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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

SENATE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

Rev. George E. Schnabel, D.D., pastor emeritus at St. Marks Evangelical United Brethren Church, Arlington, Va., offered the following prayer:

As we face a troubled world, our Father, and a problem-beset Nation, we turn to Thee to calm us, direct us and stir us with that urgency that begets action.

In this Chamber where men and women need the courage of strong convictions, we pray Thee, to be with the Members of the Senate who carry the destiny of the Nation in their hearts and in their hands.

Even now, when the rich red blood of our young men is being poured out in Vietnam, give to all of our people a deepening sense of their accountability to God, and to one another.

Help all of us across this Nation, public servant and private citizens, to know that there are four things each of us must learn to do if we would keep our record true:

"To think without confusion clearly,
To act from honest motives purely,
To love our fellow men sincerely,
To trust in God and heaven securely."

Bless, we pray Thee, those who serve in this Chamber, give to each of them a sense of Thy eternal presence as we commend them to Thy love and care in the name of One who dared to die to make men good. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, September 20, 1967, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements during the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

If there be no reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Walter E. Washington, of the District of Columbia, to be Commissioner of the District of Columbia, and the nomination of Thomas W. Fletcher, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from California (Mr. KUCHEL), who is necessarily absent, has prepared a statement on this nomination, which he has asked me to read for him.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KUCHEL READ BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

DISTINGUISHED LEADERS FOR THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I was most pleased by the nominations of Mr. Walter E. Washington as the Commissioner and Mr. Thomas W. Fletcher as the Deputy Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Their backgrounds are ample testimony to the worth of these two men who have been called upon to guide the administrative and human affairs of the Nation's Capital.

From what I have read and from what I know of Mr. Washington, he is a most capable, understanding, and energetic leader who will do justice by his new job, as he has done justice by those distinguished positions he has held in the past.

Of Thomas Fletcher, I can speak with more authority, having observed him during his 5 years of outstanding service as city manager of San Diego in my own State of California. His innovative and highly professional work to keep and enlarge San Diego's role in State and National affairs has gained for him the attention of all America. While city manager, his major innovation was to divide the city into 14 communities, each with its own representatives to work with city government. This served to make the city better serve the people and gained, in return, an outstanding record of citizen participation in the affairs of San Diego. It also led to highly enlightened use of city resources and services, and has encourage at least one other major city to follow the Fletcher example.

More recently, he has performed admirably as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. With this background, Thomas Fletcher will make a strong half of the executive team expected to bring new spirit and needed accomplishment to the government of the Nation's Capital in the months and years ahead.

Mr. President, I am hopeful that the Senate overwhelmingly will approve these outstanding nominations and unanimously launch these two distinguished public servants on their new and challenging careers.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, although I personally do not know Mr. Washington, I am aware of both his experience and education.

Mr. Washington is a graduate of Howard University, where he majored in political science, and also of the law school of Howard. Furthermore, Mr. Washington attended graduate school in public administration at American University. From 1941 until 1966 he worked his way up through the ranks of the National Capital Housing Authority here, in the District of Columbia; and in 1961 he became Executive Director of that agency. His performance as Executive Director of an agency made up of 9,000 units with 50,000 residents has won wide acclaim. Mr. Washington's reputation for getting things done was such that last year Mayor Lindsay asked him to become chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, a position which he accepted. In this position, he was responsibile for 500,000 residents living in 143,000 housing units; and to help him carry out his duties, he had more than 11,000 employees under his personal direction.

Mr. President, the District of Columbia is fortunate indeed in having President Johnson's recommendation of Walter E. Washington as Commissioner, for he is a man of national reputation in the housing field, which is one of the acute areas of concern in the growth of our cities.

I should like to point out that in course of Mr. Washington's career, he has been the recipient of the Community Service Award for meritorious community service, which was given to him by the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area. He has been similarly honored by Howard University, who bestowed upon him the Alumni Award for distinguished achievement in the field of public service.

It is my belief that the reorganization plan which is now going into effect in the District of Columbia will bring about a most progressive and most viable government for our nation's first city; and in order to do this, the best man, and only the best man, should be in the position of such great responsibility as Commissioner. It is my thought that President Johnson has chosen wisely in Mr. Washington.

I urge the confirmation of the nomination.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to these nominations?

The nominations were confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of measures on the calendar, beginning with Calendar No. 551 and the succeeding measures in sequence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Montoya in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR FILING OF REPORT OF COMMISSION ON URBAN PROBLEMS

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 112) extending the time for filing report of Commission on Urban Problems was considered, orderd to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S.J. Res. 112

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 301(b) of the Housing Act of 1965 is amended by striking "within 18 months" and all that follows and inserting in lieu thereof "not later than December 31, 1968."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 566), explaining the purposes of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Section 301(a) of the Housing Act of 1965 directed the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to undertake a comprehensive study of housing and building codes, zoning, tax policies and development standards. The purpose of the study was to consider (1) State and local urban and suburban housing and building laws, standards, codes, and regulations and their impact on housing and building costs; how they can be simplified, improved, and enforced, at the local level; and what methods might be adopted to promote more uniform building codes and the acceptance of technical innovations including new building practices and materials; (2) State and local zoning and land use laws, codes, and regulations to find ways by which States and localities may improve and utilize them in order to obtain further growth and development; and (3) Federal, State, and local tax policies with respect to their effect on land and property cost and on incentives to build housing and make improvements in existing structures.

The study was to be completed within 18 months after enactment of the 1965 Housing Act or the appropriation of funds for the study, whichever was later.

On September 6, 1966, the President approved an appropriation of $1.5 million for the study. On January 12, 1967, the President announced the establishment of the National Commission on Urban Problems to conduct the study required under section 301. Former Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, was appointed by the President as Chairman of the new Commission.

Since the Commission was formed 4 months following the appropriation of funds, and since it has taken several months to recruit the necessary staff, the Commission has concluded that it will not be able to file its report within the 18-month deadline. It has, therefore, requested an extension to December 31, 1968, in lieu of the present deadline of March 6, 1968. Although the time for reporting is extended, no increase in the budget for the Commission has been requested or is authorized.

The Commission is presently negotiating a series of contracts to assist it in carrying out its functions. However, because of the statutory reporting deadline of March 6, 1968, it has not been possible for the Commission to approve contracts which extend beyond this date. Since time is of the essence in expediting the work of the Commission, it is necessary to approve as expeditiously as possible the extension of the Commission's reporting deadline. The extension will permit the Commission to enter into its contracts on an orderly basis and will avoid a delay in carrying on the study.

The extension of the deadline was considered and discussed by the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The joint resolution has been reported to the Senate without objection with the recommendation that it be approved.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN CARRYING OUT PLANS FOR WORKS OF IMPROVEMENT FOR LAND CONSERVATION AND UTILIZATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 852) to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry with amendments on page 2, line 2, after the word "public", to insert "water-based"; in line 11, after the word "public", to insert "water-based"; and, in line 18, after the word "purposes", to insert a colon and *"Provided further,* That with respect to any single work of improvement applicable to public water-based fish and wildlife or recreational development the total estimated Federal contribution to the construction costs of such work of improvement, including the costs of the land, easements, or rights-of-way and minimum basic facilities, shall not exceed $50,000; and that any such development shall be consistent with any existing comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plan found adequate for purposes of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 897); and that such cost-sharing assistance for any such development shall be authorized only if the Secretary determines that it cannot be provided under other existing authority." "; so as to make the bill read:

S. 852

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (7 U.S.C. 1011), as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "In providing assistance for carrying out plans developed under this title, the Secretary shall be authorized to bear such proportionate share of the costs of installing any works of improvement applicable to public water-based fish and wildlife or recreational development as is determined by him to be equitable in consideration of national needs and assistance authorized for similar purposes under other Federal programs: *Provided,* That all engineering costs relating to such works of improvement may be borne by the Secretary: *Provided further,* That when a State or other public agency or local nonprofit organization participating in a plan developed under this title agrees to operate and maintain any reservoir or other area included in a plan for public water-based fish and wildlife or recreational development, the Secretary shall be authorized to bear not to exceed one-half of the costs of (a) the land, easements, or rights-of-way acquired or to be acquired by the State or other public agency or local nonprofit organization for such reservoir or other area, and (b) minimum basic facilities needed for public health and safety, access to, and use of such reservoir or other area for such purposes: *Provided further,* That with respect to any single work of improvement applicable to public water-based fish and wildlife or recreational development the total estimated Federal contribution to the construction costs of such work of improvement, including the costs of the land, easements, or rights-of-way and minimum basic facilities, shall not exceed $50,000; and that any such development shall be consistent with any existing comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plan found adequate for purposes of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 897); and that such cost-sharing assistance for any such development shall be authorized only if the Secretary determines that it cannot be provided under other existing authority."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 567), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPLANATION

This bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to bear—

(1) Part of the cost of installing public fish and wildlife or recreational developments in so-called resource conservation and development projects authorized by section 32(e) of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, and

(2) Not to exceed one-half the cost of the land, easements, rights-of-way, and minimum basic public facilities needed in connection with any such public fish and wildlife or recreational development.

At present Federal assistance under section 32(e) is limited to planning assistance and loans. Grants are not authorized for installation assistance.

BACKGROUND

The so-called resource conservation and development program was authorized by an amendment made by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. The program was funded in 1963 and the first 10 projects were authorized for planning assistance in 1964. At present there are 25 projects in the operational stage, one that is soon to be made operational, and 15 authorized for planning. The 26 plans on which planning has been completed cover about 60 million acres in 27 States. The 15 projects now authorized for planning cover more than 40 million acres in 18 States. In the first 20 project areas authorized for operations more than 350 project measures have been completed, 400 are being installed, and about 800 others are in the planning stage.

The program depends upon the determination and leadership of local people, and they have brought together many diverse interests for concerted action on locally developed goals.

Program measures include improved processing and marketing facilities, new and expanded industries, vocational training, tourist developments, and other actions designed to strengthen the rural economy.

NEED FOR THE BILL

In most project areas one of the greatest potentials for economic growth lies in the development of resources for outdoor recreation purposes—a resource use now in critically short supply throughout the Nation.

In the projects already in operation, the sponsors have made more than 500 proposals for community water-based measures for public recreation and fish and wildlife, but due to local economic conditions fewer than 10 percent of these measures have been completed.

Half of these projects are for multiple-purpose development—for flood prevention and municipal water supply in addition to recreation.

Delay in the construction of these measures essential to rural community needs seriously hampers the effectiveness of the program.

The bill would provide the Secretary of Agriculture with the authority to furnish financial help to public bodies in planning and constructing recreation and fish and wildlife developments under this program.

Under the provisions of the bill, the Secretary could provide engineering assistance and share in the cost of construction of public fish and wildlife or recreational developments and bear up to one-half the costs of land, easements or rights-of-way and minimum basic facilities.

It would give him essentially the same authority he now has under Public Law 566, the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. It would enable project measures to be accelerated that are truly multiple purpose including needed recreation and fish and wildlife developments.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The committee amendments, which were recommended by the Department of Agriculture, would limit cost-sharing under the bill to—

(1) Water-based development;

(2) Not to exceed $50,000 for any single work of improvement;

(3) Development consistent with a comprehensive statewide plan found adequate for purposes of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; and

(4) Assistance which cannot be provided under other existing authority.

The limitation to water-based recreation is in keeping with the primary and most immediate objective of the bill. Experience indicates that recreation users' greatest demands are on those recreation developments that are water-based. There are other programs, both Federal and State, which can provide financial assistance on other types of developments such as parks. The greatest need therefore is for water-based facilities.

The limitation of $50,000 for the separable costs of providing water storage and for land, easements, or rights-of-way and minimum basic facilities is designed to take care of the area of greatest need. Federal contributions of $50,000 for each structure would help meet the most pressing needs in many rural communities. The smaller populated rural areas most in need of assistance would be in a position to take advantage of the program. The third amendment listed above, in requiring that developments under the authority of this legislation be consistent with State outdoor recreation plans, would assure that the developments are properly coordinated. This should result in recreational developments located where needed and in relation to population and demands. It should also insure a proper relationship of various kinds of developments which will have the maximum beneficial impact on the local economy. The type of development anticipated under this program would also enable communities to make better use of sites where there are multipurpose needs.

It further would require consistency with a State plan "found adequate for purposes of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965." Section 5 of that act (16 U.S.C. 4601–8) provides for the contents of such plans and for a determination by the Secretary of the Interior of their adequacy to promote the purposes of that act. The Secretary has delegated this function to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. This section therefore insures consistency with State, regional, and local plans and Federal objectives.

The fourth amendment listed above recognizes that there are other Federal and State programs which provide cost-share assistance for similar purposes. For example, grants are available for recreational developments from the Land and Water Conservation funds of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. In some States funds are available from appropriations or special taxes to assist local communities. This amendment would insure that assistance from all sources is fully coordinated. It would also assure that the funds available under this act would be used in communities where advantage could not be taken of other programs. This would make possible the full development of sites and multiple-use resource development.

AMENDMENT OF MARKETING QUOTA PROVISIONS OF THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1938

The bill (S. 2195) to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 was considered, order to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 2195

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 356 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by adding at the end of subsection (e) thereof a new sentence as follows: "If the farm marketing excess of rice determined for any farm is delivered to Commodity Credit Corporation or any other agency within the Department, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, such farm shall be considered to be in compliance with the rice acreage allotment for such year."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 568), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPLANATION

This bill provides that a rice farm will be considered in compliance with its acreage allotment if the farm marketing excess is delivered to the Commodity Credit Corporation in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

The law already permits delivery of the excess to avoid marketing penalty, and the production of an excess does not affect future acreage allotments. The effect of the bill is, therefore, to permit retention of eligibility for price support through delivery of the excess. Such eligibility could be retained by destroying the excess acreage, but the Department of Agriculture advises that such destruction is difficult because of the conditions under when rice is grown; i.e., flooded fields.

The excess would be delivered to the Commodity Credit Corporation without any payment to the grower therefor, so the bill does not provide the grower with any incentive for production in excess of his acreage allotment. Similar authority to maintain price-support eligibility by delivery of the marketing excess is now provided for wheat by section 379c(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

PURCHASE OF CERTAIN LAND FROM TEXAS SOUTHMOST COLLEGE, BROWNSVILLE, TEX.

The bill (H.R. 472) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex. was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 569), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPLANATION

This bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase with any funds available for agricultural research about 4.87 acres currently leased by it from Texas Southmost College and used as an integral part of the Brownsville Entomology Field Center.

STEUBEN DAY-CONSTITUTION DAY, SEPTEMBER 17—STEUBEN PARADE, SEPTEMBER 23

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, September 17, 1967, has been designated as Steuben Day by the Governors of many States by proclamations in which the public is asked to display the flag and participate in appropriate exercises.

In the State of New York this annual proclamation has been issued on the application of the New York State Council of the Steuben Society of America, without interruption, since 1936.

This year, it is the 237th anniversary of Gen. Friederich Wilhelm v. Steuben's birth. It is also the 180th anniversary of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, a significant coincidence.

Historians agree that General Washington's defeated, dejected, and undisciplined troops who retreated to Valley Forge for the winter of 1777–78 were no match for the well trained and supplied British forces.

It was Steuben, the new Inspector General of the Army who, in the short span of less than 3 months, transformed Washington's untrained volunteers into a fighting force that could beat the then most powerful army in the world. Almost certain defeat was turned into victory. But for that victory, the U.S. Constitution might not have been written nor independence achieved at that time.

John McCauley, an authority on Steuben, in his book "General von Steuben" writes:

> In the course of my researches (into the Revolutionary War) I was soon convinced that the military services of two men, and of two men only, can be regarded as indispensable to the achievement of American independence. The two men were Washington and Steuben—each of them contributed something essential to final victory that could not be contributed by any other man then in the American Army.

Steuben was one of the few foreign officers in the Continental Army who remained here and became a citizen. A grateful Congress gave him a life pension of $2,500, and several States presented him with large tracts of land. He retired to a 16,000-acre tract of land given to him by New York State in what is now Oneida County, where he died on November 25, 1794, in his log cabin. A monument erected by the people of Oneida County stands over his grave, which is situated in a State park near the city of Remsen.

Congress also erected a statute of Steuben in Lafayette Square, opposite the White House, in Washington, D.C.

In 1963, the late President John F. Kennedy named one of the nuclear Polaris submarines *Von Steuben*, and more recently, in April 1966, the restored Steuben's quarters at Valley Forge was dedicated. The furnishing, done by the Steuben Quarters Furnishing Committee headed by the Pastorius Unit 38, of Philadelphia, Pa., is now nearing completion. There are Steuben monuments and houses in many places. They are silent reminders of a great man's contributions to a great nation.

September 23 is the date of the 10th Steuben Parade in New York City and the second Steuben Parade in Chicago, Ill. It will be a great day, and all Steubenites in both cities and their vicinities will be marching proudly with all of their fellow Americans of Germanic ancestry in a patriotic demonstration of their love of country and its fundamental freedoms, and a just pride of ancestry.

Mr. President, every year, the Steuben Societies everywhere in the country make a special point of directing attention to the birth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States, and I am delighted that they are doing it, because I believe it stirs in people a sense of high regard and reverence for our organic act and keeps it in proper perspective.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that on today, September 21, 1967, the Vice President signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 477. An act for the relief of the widow of Albert M. Pepoon; and

S. 953. An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 6418. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and expand the authorizations for grants for comprehensive health planning and services, to broaden and improve the authorization for research and demonstrations relating to the delivery of health services, to improve the performance of clinical laboratories, and to authorize cooperative activities between the Public Health Service hospitals and community facilities, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 6430. An act to amend the public health laws relating to mental retardation to extend, expand, and improve them, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 1956) to extend for 1 year the authority for more flexible regulation of maximum rates of interest or dividends, higher reserve requirements, and open market operations in agency issues, and it was signed by the Vice President.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

H.R. 6418. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and expand the authorizations for grants for comprehensive health planning and services, to broaden and improve the authorization for research and demonstrations relating to the delivery of health services, to improve the performance of clinical laboratories, and to authorize cooperative activities between the Public Health Service hospitals and community facilities, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 6430. An act to amend the public health laws relating to mental retardation to extend, expand, and improve them, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Suspension of Deportation of Aliens—Withdrawal of Name

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, withdrawing the name of Vito Thomas Zavala from a report relating to aliens whose deportation has been suspended, transmitted to the Senate on February 1, 1966 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act Amendments of 1967

A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to improve its benefits, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

PETITION

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a petition sponsored by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO, of the States of Kansas and Missouri, relating to jobs, housing, and education, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment:

H.R. 11722. An act to authorize certain construction at military installations and for other purposes (Rept. No. 570).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. INOUYE, from the Committee on Armed Services:

Thomas H. Nielsen, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services, I report favorably the nomination of one officer in the Army for appointment to the grade of brigadier general. I ask that this be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nomination, ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar, is as follows:

Chaplain (colonel) Ned Ralston Graves, U.S. Army, for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States, for promotion to the grade of brigadier general.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, in addition, I report favorably 3,627 appointments and promotions in the Air Force in the grade of major and below, 2,342 appointments and promotions in the Army in the grade of colonel and below, 65 promotions and appointments in the Navy in the grade of lieutenant commander and below, and 1,888 appointments in the Marine Corps in the grade of captain and below. Since these names have already been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order to save the expense of printing on the Executive Calendar, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

Richard N. Aloy, and sundry other Air Force officers, for appointment in the Regular Air Force;

Robert E. Hall, for reappointment to the active list of the Regular Army of the United States;

Richard J. Freidman (MSC), for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States;

Robert G. Downer, and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States;

Robert E. Chase, and sundry other distinguished military students, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States;

Robert D. Austin, Jr., and sundry other distinguished military and scholarship students, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States;

Paul J. Abeln, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Regular Air Force;

Marcelino C. Guiang, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States;

Hal C. Castle, Jr., midshipman (Naval Academy), for permanent assignment in the Navy;

John D. Johnstone, and sundry other graduates from Navy enlisted scientific education program, for permanent assignment in the Navy;

John A. Holland, and sundry other Naval Reserve officers, for permanent assignment in the Navy; and

Paul R. Aadnesen, and sundry other officers, for temporary promotion in the Marine Corps.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HART:

S. 2451. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Army to sell rifled arms at cost to State and local police departments; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. HART when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 2452. A bill to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. JACKSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. DODD:

S. 2453. A bill to facilitate the entry into the United States of aliens who are brothers or sisters of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. DODD when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS:

S.J. Res. 113. A joint resolution to establish a Commission to evaluate the progress of constitutional government in South Vietnam as it affects the continuing military participation of the United States there; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

EXPRESSION OF SENSE OF THE SENATE RELATING TO GREAT LAKES BASIN COMPACT

Mr. HART (for himself, Mr. BAYH, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DIRKSEN, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PERCY, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) submitted a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 45) to express the sense of the Congress with respect to the Great Lakes Basin compact and the Great Lakes Commission, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. HART, which appears under a separate heading.)

SALE OF RIFLED ARMS AT COST TO STATE AND LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill designed to allow local and State police departments to purchase from the Department of Defense surplus rifles and ammunition.

Presently, under existing law and regulations promulgated by GSA, members of the NRA are the only eligible customers for surplus arms. The need for my bill was graphically illustrated in a Detroit Free Press article of September 15 by Saul Friedman. In this article, Mr. Friedman notes that 400 Detroit policemen were joining the NRA in order to get surplus $20 carbines for possible riot use.

First, I do not think police officers should be assessed the cost of special weapons, and secondly, I would feel more comfortable if the local police department owned them and regulated their use.

In the disposal of practically all other Government surplus, local and State municipalities are given the first option. There is no reason why the same rule should not apply to firearms.

Mr. President, this problem is, of course, not confined to Detroit. Policemen all over the country are joining the NRA to obtain carbines for possible riot use.

Under my bill, the Secretary of the Army, under such regulations as he may prescribe, is authorized to sell, at cost, rifles and ammunition to State and local police departments.

Mr. President, I hope we will give early and favorable consideration to this bill.

At this point, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a copy of the Free Press article of September 15.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2451) to authorize the Secretary of the Army to sell rifled arms at cost to State and local police departments, introduced by Mr. HART, was received, read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

The article presented by Mr. HART is as follows:

[From the Detroit Free Press, Sept. 15, 1967]

FOUR HUNDRED DETROIT POLICE JOIN RIFLE CLUB TO BUY OWN RIOT GUNS CHEAPLY

(By Saul Friedman)

WASHINGTON.—Several hundred Detroit police officers have been obliged to join the National Rifle Association (NRA) to buy low-cost, government surplus carbines for possible riot use, it was learned Thursday.

Although the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) says the weapons are strictly for riot protection, those who purchase them are also obliged to certify they intend to use them "in civilian marksmanship programs which promote practice in the use of rifled arms."

A spokesman for the Army Materiel Command acknowledged it was a "subterfuge."

Jack Fauntleroy, membership director for the NRA, denied this but tried to conceal from a reporter the fact that officers who wanted carbines for official duties were pledging that they were to be used for marksmanship programs and target practice.

So far, about 400 Detroit policemen have joined the NRA to secure rifles. And DPOA President Carl Parsell said up to 2,000 have indicated they want the carbines.

"We need these rifles to fight riots, and the department doesn't have enough to go around," Parsell said.

The situation apparently is not unique to Detroit. The NRA, which has 852,000 members, reports a land-office business in membership applications. Many applicants are law-enforcement officers, and many are making applications only to buy carbines and other surplus weapons.

Ironically, the $5 membership fee the officers must pay goes into the NRA operating fund, part of which is now being used to lobby against firearms control legislation pending in Congress.

Following the Detroit riots, several policemen complained that the department had an insufficient supply of the proper weapons to deal with riot situations, particularly snipers.

The carbine, personally owned by some officers, was the weapon other policemen wanted. It is a relatively small lightweight rifle. It has a short range and was favored in close combat during the second World War II and the Korean War.

Individually and through the DPOA, Detroit officers sent inquiries to Washington about surplus carbines, which the Army sells at $20 each.

They were told by the Army and members of the Michigan congressional delegation that individual officers could buy the weapons only if they became members of the NRA.

They also were told that the NRA had had so many requests for membership and rifles that there would be a wait of up to a year.

Parsell complained to congressmen from the Detroit area that the riot showed that police are in "the first line of defense" and need the weapons. They should be able to buy them quickly "without having to join another association," he said.

"The officers want to have something of their own to protect themselves. Foreign countries can buy these weapons without delay. Our officers ought to be able to get them without having to go on a waiting list and without having to go through the NRA," Parsell said.

Rep. John Dingell, D-Dearborn, said he wrote Parsell offering to expedite the membership applications and the purchase requests.

Parsell insisted that police should not have to join the NRA, and the department itself ought to be able to purchase carbines from Army surplus stores.

"Parsell is just whining," Dingell said. "He appears rather dense. The only way to get these weapons is through the NRA, and that's the way it is. The NRA is the only outfit that has carbines.

"As for the damned police, they've never shown the slightest interest in getting these weapons. They could see if civil defense has some carbines. Or they could buy commercial carbines or surplus carbines from commercial outlets."

Through commercial outlets, he said, carbines cost about $60 each.

"So the congressman thinks I'm whining, does he?" Parsell replied. "I'd like to remind him that I'm not a hunter and never have been.

"We don't want these rifles to hunt jackrabbits, or to go shooting up targets for pleasure or to join some target association.

"We want these rifles for the defense of Detroit, and it's silly to have to go through some sportsmen's association. Maybe the New Detroit Committee ought to look into this."

Dingell said he has used his influence to help nearly 400 Detroit police officers get prompt action on their NRA membership application and carbine purchase requests.

Dingell has some influence with the NRA. He is a longtime member and an advocate of its position on gun control legislation.

Because stocks of surplus carbines, which are allocated by the Army only to the NRA, have declined, Dingell has introduced legislation to permit the government to repurchase carbines it has sold to other nations, after those nations declare them surplus.

The NRA has been able to virtually corner the market on surplus carbines through legislation adopted nearly 45 years ago.

The statute, under which the Army promotes rifle competitions and marksmanship, provides for "the sale to members of the NRA, at cost, and the issue to clubs organized for practice with rifled arms . . . of arms, ammunition, targets, and other supplies and appliances necessary to target practice."

A spokesman for the Army Materiel Command in Washington said the Army is not permitted to sell surplus weapons to local governmental agencies, such as the police. The Army can either dispose of the carbines for scrap or make them available to NRA members through the Army's "director of civilian marksmanship."

The NRA makes no money on the sale of the weapons, said Col. Joseph B. Berry, acting director of civilian marksmanship. The $20 is turned over to the government and the NRA gets only the membership fee of $5 a year.

When a police officer, or any other weapons buyer, sends in his membership application and a request for a carbine, he also executes a "certificate for purchase of firearms."

In the certificate, which is notarized, the arms purchaser certifies that he is at least 18, that he has not been convicted of a felony, that he is not under indictment and not a member of any group which might seek to overthrow the government.

Under the terms of the statute which gives NRA members the right to buy weapons, the purchaser also must finally certify that he "will use this weapon in civilian marksmanship programs which promote practice in the use of rifled arms."

When Fauntleroy was asked to read over the telephone a copy of the certificate Detroit and other officers were signing, he neglected to read the last section. He denied that the certificate even contained such language.

However, after a reporter secured a copy of it, Fauntleroy said: "I was reading from the wrong paper . . . I've been so busy. I should have read it to you. If I had it to do over again I wouldn't have overlooked it."

Since Parsell said the police officers' desire for the weapons was a result of the riot and the threat of more violence, Col. Berry was asked if the certificates were not false.

"I suppose so," he said. "All we can go by is the certificate."

The Army Materiel Command spokesman noted that carbines are not ordinarily used by rifle enthusiasts for target or marksmanship weapons. He said, with a shrug, that the certificates are a "subterfuge."

Dingell, a sportsman and expert on rifles, said the carbine's range is about 150 yards. Parsell and other police officers with whom he talked said carbines are desirable because they take up little room and can be carried easily getting in and out of patrol cars.

Dingell said that, because of his assistance Detroit police should be getting their rifles in two to three months.

ADJUSTMENT OF LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTION OVER CERTAIN LANDS WITHIN THE CRAB ORCHARD NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE, ILL.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, by request, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill submitted and recommended by the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Secretary of the Interior accompanying the legislation be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2452) to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois, introduced by Mr. JACKSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The letter, presented by Mr. JACKSON, is as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., September 8, 1967.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a draft of a proposed bill, "To provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois."

We recommend that this proposal be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration, and that it be enacted.

Section 1 of the proposal authorizes the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion, to relinquish to the State of Illinois such legislative jurisdiction as he may deem desirable over the lands administered by this Department as the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge. Such relinquishment would be made by filing thereof in the manner prescribed by the laws of the State. Unless a notice is filed in accordance with State laws, or with the Governor, if the laws of such State do not prescribe another manner, it shall be conclusively presumed that no transfer of jurisdiction has taken place. Upon the relinquishment by the United States of its legislative jurisdiction, the State shall, with respect to this area, exercise the same jurisdiction which it would have had if legislative jurisdiction had never been in the United States. It should be noted that by letter dated October 20, 1961, the Governor of Illinois indicated a willingness of the State to assume jurisdiction of the area, if legislation such as this was enacted.

Section 2 of the proposal permits the State to serve civil and criminal process within any area of the refuge under the exclusive, partial, or concurrent jurisdiction of the United States to the same extent as though the area was not now subject to the legislative jurisdiction of the United States.

The Act of August 5, 1947 (61 Stat. 770), transferred to the Secretary of the Interior, for administration, development, and disposition, certain lands of the United States in Williamson, Jackson, and Union Counties, Illinois, in accordance with the provisions of the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 661 *et seq.*). This area is now known as the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge and it comprises approximately 43,000 acres of land, over which uniform Federal and State jurisdiction does not exist. The northeastern portion of the refuge, consisting of approximately 21,000 acres of land was formerly administered by the War Department as the Illinois Ordnance Plant. Exclusive legislative jurisdiction of these lands was accepted by the United States from the State in 1942 and has never been relinquished.

Except for a small area of about 20 acres acquired by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, in 1957, in connection with certain work performed by the Corps at Devils Kitchen Dam within the refuge, the remainder of the refuge area of approximately 21,500 acres in the western half of the refuge was acquired by the Resettlement Administration of the Department of Agriculture under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (48 Stat. 200), and the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 115), as part of the Crab Orchard Land Utilization Project. The United States has something less than exclusive jurisdiction over this area.

Various jurisdictional and law enforcement problems, involving both capital offenses and minor crimes, have arisen within the refuge. The varying degrees of jurisdiction exercised by the Federal Government over different portions of the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge constitute an outstanding example of a problem which is nationwide in scope. We believe that this proposal is consistent with the more general legislation which we have supported in the past, since it would provide the same type of authority with respect to the Crab Orchard property as would be provided on a nationwide basis by the general legislation.

We are primarily concerned with carrying out our responsibilities for management and control of the Federal refuge in accordance with the purposes of the Act of August 5, 1947, *supra*, including the enforcement of applicable Federal laws and regulations. These responsibilities do not, in our opinion, require that the United States exercise exclusive legislative jurisdiction over any portion of the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge.

We believe that a lesser form of Federal control that permits mutual Federal and State cooperation in matters of law and law enforcement would be appropriate and in harmony with the congressional policy expressed in section 8 of the Migratory Bird Conservation Act (16 U.S.C. 715g), which provides:

"The jurisdiction of the State, both civil and criminal, over persons upon areas acquired under this Act shall not be affected or changed by reason of their acquisition and administration by the United States as migratory-bird reservations, except so far as the punishment of offenses against the United States is concerned."

This proposal would permit the Secretary, in his discretion, to adopt this lesser form of control with respect to the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in harmony with other areas administered by this Department as part of the National Wildlife Refuge System.

It should be emphasized that this proposal does not affect our general authority to acquire jurisdiction (see 40 U.S.C. 355).

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this draft bill from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

STANLEY A. CAIN,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

FACILITATION OF ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN ALIENS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 to permit alien brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens to be considered immediate relatives within the meaning of the act to facilitate their entry into this country.

I do this because I feel it is necessary in order to accomplish the stated purpose of the Immigration Act of 1965: to reunite families.

An examination of the bulletin issued August 15, 1967, by the State Department, reveals that as the mechanism of the act now stands, families are not being reunited. There is an extended wait for a visa in the fifth preference category—brother and sisters from Italy.

The bulletin shows that while applicants from other countries whose petitions have been approved prior to July 1, 1966, can be admitted to the United States, petitions for brothers and sisters of American citizens of Italian descent can only be admitted if their petitions were approved prior to March 1, 1955.

It is ironic that sixth-preference applicants who have no relatives in this country are entering ahead of brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens.

Under present law, an aging, lonely sister or brother may be living in Italy with diminishing hope of ever being able to join his family in this country.

The legislation I am introducing today will correct this inequity, for it will enable brothers and sisters to be considered immediate relatives within the meaning of the Immigration Act of 1965. Enactment of this bill will automatically facilitate their entry into this country.

Our distinguished majority leader suggested to us early in the year that rather than continue the sweeping new approaches to social problems that characterized the 89th Congress, we pause to reappraise and refine legislation enacted in recent years.

I can think of no situation in the area of legislative oversight more deserving of our attention than the one which my bill aims to correct.

I urge that my bill receive early and favorable attention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2453) to facilitate the entry into the United States of aliens who are brothers or sisters of United States citizens, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DODD, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

COMMISSION TO EVALUATE PROGRESS AND REFORM IN VIETNAM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I shall speak today in connection with a joint resolution I am going to introduce with respect to Vietnam.

Five times in July and August, I spoke here on the floor in an effort to focus attention on the crucial importance of the South Vietnamese Presidential election with respect to the future participation of the United States in that tragic conflict, and with respect to the fate of the war-weary people of South Vietnam.

It has been thought—mistakenly—that the burden of my earlier speeches was to protest the conditions of the election. I sought to do my best to correct the abuses and deficiencies in the election process, and I feel that I made some progress. A commission was sent to South Vietnam to observe the elections, as I first proposed on July 13.

There is now a popularly elected government in South Vietnam. Whatever deficiencies there may have been in the election process—and I think there were many—the results are theirs and we must be guided accordingly. I think it is clear that the spotlight of attention which I and others in the Senate focused on the elections helped to make them as fair as they were.

On that score we have what I think is a brilliant article written by Everett G. Martin, entitled "Vietnam: Last Chance?" which was published in the current issue of Newsweek magazine. I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in retrospect, however, it is equally clear that one of the major deficiencies in the electoral process—the absence of a runoff procedure—is going to complicate the process of putting together a government which has broad representation from all elements of the people. But my purpose today is not to dilate on the mistakes of the past but rather to suggest a framework for evaulating the future as it inevitably affects us.

The most important thing about these elections for the United States is that we have regained our options to decide the nature and degree of our further participation in the war. The stage is now set in South Vietnam for a clear test of whether the South Vietnamese have the will and the national unity to carry through the basic reforms which alone can break the present impasse by changing the attitude of especially the rural population toward the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front—NLF—because, to use the aphorism of Mao Tsetung, that is the water in which the guerrilla fishes swim.

Mr. President, a drastic shakeup of the Vietnamese Armed Forces is essential because its performance in combat and in the crucial pacification program, to be blunt about it, has been far below the standard to justify the sacrifices which our own forces have been making.

The article written by Everett G. Martin, which was published in Newsweek magazine, entitled "Vietnam: Last Chance?" makes that point very clearly. In addition, I have read and I would urge every Senator to read, an article published in the Washington Post on September 18, 1967, entitled "5½-Day Week Vietnamese Army." I also include this article in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. The article states that the ARVN stops fighting at night, they do not continue fighting in the field as the Vietcong and the Americans do, and they quit on Saturdays and Sundays.

The people of the United States reacted adversely when the primary mission of the ARVN shifted from field combat to the pacification of the hamlets after the Manila conference last year and the people of the United States were appalled when American fatalities in the field began regularly to exceed those of the ARVN. Equally important, basic economic and social reforms, having a material and hopefully a decisive effect in the rural areas, must be effected on a crash basis and this must be a cardinal element of U.S. policy in South Vietnam. Only when the tide of loyalty in the countryside rises in Saigon's favor will the guerrilla fishes—to use Mao's aphorism—no longer be able to swim at will and wreak havoc on our whole effort.

With our option regained as to the further prosecution of the war, it is now essential that an effective means be established to evaluate and report on questions which will decide our future course. Accordingly, I send to the desk for introduction a joint resolution to establish a 21-member blue-ribbon Commission consisting of 10 Members of the Congress and 11 public members, including a Chairman, to be appointed by the President, with the public members to be confirmed by the Senate. The task of the Commission will be to evaluate the progress of constitutional government in South Vietnam—especially in the areas I have mentioned—as such progress, or the lack of it, may affect the continuing commitment of the United States.

The advantages of such a Commission are great. It will involve on a continuing basis the Congress and the public as well as the administration in the evaluation process of our commitment in Vietnam. It will assure a flow of information bearing on this evaluation process. Its bipartisan, indeed I hope nonpartisan, character will insulate it from the political pressures and considerations which seem to color so much of what we are told about the situation in Vietnam by administration sources. Hopefully then, the alleged "credibility gap," which contributes so much to the divisiveness, bitterness and confusion surrounding the Vietnam issue, can be bridged. Another crucial advantage of a Commission such as I have proposed is that it would be freed from the operational diplomatic responsibilities which consume so much of the time and energy of our high officials here and in Saigon. Most important of all, the Commission would be free to concentrate on those crucial aspects of the situation—the social, economic and political progress in Vietnam itself—which have such a direct and vital bearing on the future of our role in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began: We are in Vietnam to aid the Vietnamese people, and for no other reason.

They now have an elected government responsible for guiding and aiding its own people. If this government does not act to aid its people, then we have got to consider ending our commitments there. No other considerations, in my judgment, will be persuasive to the Amercan people unless we are honest to that proposition.

Vietnam is not our colony. It is not our province. We are not occupying it. We never want to do so. Hence, some day, some time, Vietnam has got to help itself.

The commission which I have proposed will be set up to evaluate whether Vietnam is really trying to help itself. The commission will advise Congress, the President, and the American people on this all-important question which will determine whether we stay and do our utmost to make our assistance there successful—or whether we must begin to think about disengaging.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 113) to establish a Commission to evaluate the progress of constitutional government in South Vietnam as it affects the continuing military participation of the United States there, introduced by Mr. JAVITS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EXHIBIT 1

[From Newsweek magazine]

VIETNAM: LAST CHANCE?

(By Everett G. Martin, Saigon bureau chief)

The U.S. is presented in South Vietnam today with one of those rare occasions when opportunity knocks a second time. The first opportunity came in 1963 immediately after the coup against Ngo Dinh Diem when, for a fleeting moment, the South Vietnamese were aglow with a national spirit that could have been—but wasn't—converted into a social revolution and an all-out war effort. The recent Presidential elections, for all their imperfections, have brought the U.S. its second major opportunity of the war. There is no reason to believe that there will be a third.

To seize this last great opportunity, I believe it is imperative for the U.S. to rethink and reshape its present policies in Vietnam. Exactly a year ago, I wrote that there could be no progress in the Vietnamese war until the U.S. overcame the indifference and cynicism of the South Vietnamese and got them to pull their weight in the military and political struggle. Let's take stock of developments since then.

HAS THE UNITED STATES MADE MILITARY PROGRESS?

At the touch of a button, the U.S. military can spin out heartening statistics of roads opened, enemy killed, Viet Cong defections, weapons captured. Yet all this is misleading. A U.S. Army colonel, who recently returned to a position of command in Vietnam after a lapse of three years, summed up the current situation, I believe, most fairly. "Everyone must admit that militarily we are better off than we were three years ago," he said. "With 500,000 U.S. troops, more planes and more artillery, we should be. Wherever U.S. troops occupy the ground, security is better. But otherwise, I don't see any change. All the old problems are still with us."

Many military men and some civilian observers, in fact, believe that the main factor contributing to military progress has not been U.S. strategy, but rather a critical error in judgment on the part of Hanoi. As they see it, North Vietnamese strategists blundered seriously following the U.S. buildup by deciding to meet the U.S. head-on with force instead of concentrating on political and guerrilla warfare. We see the results of this fundamental miscalculation when North Vietnamese officers lead their forces against strong military targets such as the U.S. air base at Da Nang or a well-fortified outpost, only to be thrown back with dozens of casualties and little to show for their losses. The North Vietnamese seem to have reasoned that by taking a heavy toll of American lives they would weaken the U.S. resolve to stick out the war—just as Washington reasoned that the bombing of North Vietnam would erode the will of the leaders in Hanoi. Apparently, both sides are in error.

ARE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IMPROVING?

Gen. William C. Westmoreland believes that, although problems remain, the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) is well on its way to becoming an effective fighting force. Moreover, many U.S. military men, convinced that the poor press the ARVN receives is primarily responsible for its bad reputation, seize on every action in which the ARVN so much as performs its duty as evidence of improvement.

But other U.S. officials, not committed to parading the ARVN in its best light and not averse to criticizing the ineffective U.S. military advisory system, are far from sanguine. True, these officials say, the South Vietnamese forces are capable of an occasional big victory. But more important is the fact that the South Vietnamese record for engaging the enemy in small unit actions has dropped in the past two years from an average of one contact in every 200 operations to one contact in every 400 operations. In one critical corps area, in fact, the record is even worse: one contact in every 1,000 operations. By contrast, the U.S. average is one contact in every 38 operations. A senior U.S. official gives a rather cynical explanation for the showing of the South Vietnamese. "Their military intelligence is better than it was," he says, "so they can avoid contact more efficiently."

Nor have the South Vietnamese armed forces made a real attempt to weed out the bad officers in their ranks. Repeatedly, the Vietnamese military have given the U.S. assurances that they will begin such a reform, but it should be observed that the Vietnamese have never demonstrated any ability to perform what the U.S. Army calls "command supervision"—that is, seeing to it that orders are carried out. Nepotism and trading on the ties of friendship are the chief reasons why South Vietnamese military leadership is so bad, yet nepotism and trading on the ties of friendship are ways of life in Vietnam. It may be expecting too much to ask the Vietnamese to change their ways just because their government leaders make the proper utterances—mostly for U.S. consumption.

There is, however, one set of circumstances under which the ARVN performance has shown marked and gratifying improvement. This has occurred in the isolated instances when South Vietnamese troops have been fully integrated with U.S. troops. And in the view of many Americans, these examples offer an important guide for the future.

HAS THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM GOTTEN OFF THE GROUND?

This is one area in which nearly everyone agrees that progress is not nearly fast enough. Right now, less than one in every six hamlets is officially considered secure. The goal established for this year is to make it one in four, but at the present rate of progress there is little likelihood of attaining that goal.

Of course, basic security can be best supplied by the South Vietnamese armed forces rather than by occupying foreign troops. But the simple fact is that the Vietnamese are not providing the protection necessary and—worse yet—are not organized to do so. A proposed reorganization of the Vietnamese Army and militia that would stress the role of regional forces is a step in the right direction, but it neglects a most important element—that of building a police force to provide round-the-clock protection and to ferret out the guerrilla infrastructure. And efforts to build up the police establishment run afoul of the fears of politically minded soldiers that the police will become too powerful a force.

Given this state of affairs—a situation in which the U.S. seems to run into Vietnamese obstructionism at every turn—what should we do next? We are advised by some U.S. officials that all we need do is remain steadfast and keep turning the screws on Hanoi until the enemy cracks. But there is no reason to believe that more of the same aimless escalation will work any better than it has in the past.

Nor is there any reason to take great cheer from Washington's decision to build an anti-infiltration barrier below the Demilitarized Zone—a decision that is clearly another prelude to more of the same. Though the Administration is not making any extravagant claims about what the barrier can accomplish, it seems to be overlooking some of the dangerous ramifications of the concept.

Forgetting, if anyone can, the U.S. lives that will be lost while the barrier is being constructed within range of enemy artillery and rockets, the barrier, to be meaningful, must extend into Laos in order to block the enemy's main infiltration route, the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Insiders assure us that the barrier will be extended, but that the portion in Laos will be manned by Laotian troops with a sprinkling of U.S. Special Forces. But if the performance of Vietnamese troops is unencouraging, the lotus eaters of Laos are infinitely worse. What's more, if, as seems likely, the North Vietnamese counter by putting their regular troops into Laos to confront the barrier guards, it does not tax the imagination to foresee the day when U.S. troops will have to move in to oppose the Communists in force. The war will then be spread across two countries—another escalation that just happened without anyone intending it to.

Faced with these grim prospects, officials who have put in several tours in Vietnam argue that the U.S. should reappraise its whole order of priorities. To begin with, they say, the U.S. should place less emphasis on bombing the north and stemming the infiltration. They do not advocate stopping the bombing or ignoring the infiltrators. But as they see it from their vantage point on the field of conflict, Washington seems to be obsessed with these aspects of the war to the exclusion of more important issues. This is probably because these are the easiest aspects for the Western mind—especially the Western military mind—to comprehend.

Refocusing on the war that counts should begin with a radical change in the relationship of the U.S. with the Saigon leadership. Now that the elections have produced a legal government, the U.S. is presented with an excellent opportunity to revise its highly circumscribed advisory role which has produced more frustration than concrete results.

Many Vietnamese themselves would like to clarify the terms under which the U.S. is operating in their country. In fact, a treaty with Washington that clearly spelled out the boundaries of control was a key point in the platform of Truong Dinh Dzu, the civilian Presidential candidate who ran second to Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu. The U.S. should seize this opportunity to establish its rights formally with the new Vietnamese Government and make clear that we will insist on a larger voice in decision-making on all levels.

Here are some suggestions for terms the U.S. should obtain, most of which reflect the best judgment of knowledgeable U.S. officials in South Vietnam:

South Vietnam should undertake full mobilization—just as North Vietnam has. "It is beyond my comprehension," observes one U.S. official, "how the Americans can send one more fighting man over here until the Vietnamese throw themselves into full mobilization." The present situation in South Vietnam is an affront to U.S. servicemen who are dying here—often at a greater rate than the South Vietnamese—and to the U.S. people who are sending their sons and paying higher taxes for the privilege.

The entire Vietnamese Army, from top to bottom, should be integrated into the U.S. forces in Vietnam and a joint command should be set up. Hopefully, since relatively small-scale experiments at integration have produced quick improvements in certain South Vietnamese units, the same thing should be accomplished on an ARVN-wide scale. Integration would also provide on-the-job training for the ARVN's woefully ineffective officer corps.

The U.S. should step up its financial aid to the ARVN to raise its pitifully low living conditions, which are the major cause of corruption. Of the $25 billion the U.S. now pours into Vietnam annually, only $1.3 billion goes to the economic-aid program and to the support of the 700,000 men in the Vietnamese armed forces. That is less than the yearly upkeep of one U.S. division. And improving the ARVN would make fewer U.S. divisions necessary.

To stop the diversion of U.S. aid funds into private hands and to circumvent Saigon's top-heavy bureaucracy, all U.S. aid should pass directly through American channels down to the peasant or the soldier.

Most, if not all, of the ARVN's strength should be diverted to supporting regional forces and the police field force in a program of rooting out the guerrilla infrastructure.

The U.S. should have the right to insist on the removal of incompetent or corrupt Vietnamese officials and to review any new appointments.

In short, the U.S. should use its considerable leverage to see to it that reforms needed to win the war are not permitted to bog down as they have in the past. As a matter of fact, such proposals as I have outlined are not too far from current official U.S. thinking. A committee in Washington and another in Saigon are now engaged in studying how to apply leverage on the South Vietnamese. And it is also encouraging to hear that at a recent dinner, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky complained that his job had become much harder of late because of the increasing pressure being applied on him by the U.S.

Though it would require a dramatic shift in orientation on the part of American officials in the field to put these proposals into effect, many of them with whom I have spoken have made it clear that they would welcome the change. The net result of giving U.S. advisers more authority, moreover, would be to lessen, rather than increase, the number of Americans needed in Vietnam because each man would then be more effective.

The obvious rejoinder from the State Department to such steps as I have suggested would be that they would impinge on the sovereignty of the South Vietnamese. Let's examine that objection.

First, one should ask, what right do the Vietnamese have to expect full sovereignty while depending for their very survival on U.S. support? Indeed, no one realizes better than the South Vietnamese that they cannot get something for nothing, and many of them have been amazed at how long they have been permitted by the U.S. to do just that.

Significantly, the people who would be the least upset by increased U.S. influence in their affairs would be Vietnam's peasants and the soldiers. For them, U.S. firmness might finally mean that they would no longer be forgotten by their government. The U.S. would actually be stealing a march on the Communists by allying itself with the common man and insisting that his government meet his needs. Americans should not forget that besides guns and technology, they also have reasonably efficient governmental techniques and a degree of disinterested determination to offer their Vietnamese allies.

The key to the success of such a radical change in the U.S.-South Vietnamese relationship lies with the U.S. Congress. No senator or congressman should ever underestimate the influence his outcries have on the Vietnamese. The elections provided an excellent example. That they ultimately turned out to be as honest as they did was largely because of the protests in Congress over flagrant irregularities which marked the beginning of the campaign. Armed with this Congressional reaction, the U.S. mission in Saigon was able to argue effectively with the Vietnamese leaders that the American people would not tolerate double-dealing. Intelligent debate in Congress also serves to keep the Vietnamese in a healthy state of doubt over the inevitability of continued U.S. support.

Congress should explore ways to keep up its pressure for progress. I would go so far as to suggest that a watchdog Congressional committee be based in South Vietnam to send back private reports on every aspect of the situation. This would make Congressional criticism more meaningful and tend to focus the U.S. emphasis on the political aspects of the struggle. In this way, the Congress would guard U.S. self-interest and give proper recognition to the fact that despite all the U.S. effort, the South Vietnamese can still deprive us of victory.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 19, 1967]

South Vietnamese Army Fights a 5½-Day Week

(By Peter Arnett)

(Note.—This hard look at the South Vietnamese army represents months of research and thousands of miles of travel by Arnett, Pulitzer Prize winning war correspondent for the Associated Press, plus the assistance of other AP reporters on the scene.)

Saigon.—The dispirited South Vietnamese army, shot through with inefficiency, often lacks the will for combat and is increasingly prone to let the Americans do the fighting. Fighting statistics and a detailed survey of field operations bear out this observation. In much of the country the Vietnamese military effort has steadily tailed off as that of the Americans has increased.

The size of the South Vietnamese armed forces has doubled since 1962, yet the number killed has held constant at about 10,000 a year. In the first six months of 1967, the army lost 5494 men. The statistics are so constant from year to year as to raise questions about their validity.

By contrast, the American forces, having lost 2532 killed in the first six months of 1966, lost 4909 in the first six months of 1967, when the number of Americans engaged had doubled.

Nowhere in the country can South Vietnamese troops be said to have made real gains against the enemy, although it is clear that the army must play a significant role if there is to be any hope of lasting success against the Communists.

The American Army is clearly limited in the depth it can reach into the countryside to crush the foe and hold ground. In no instance, however, have the allies been willing to hand over any of the territory won to Vietnamese units. Allied commanders fear that the Communists would be in charge again within weeks.

A 5½-DAY WEEK

An extensive survey of the situation established these points:

South Vietnamese military ineffectiveness costs American lives in the ambushing of convoys on roads supposedly clear by Vietnamese troops, in the mortaring of U.S. installations by squads which slip past sleeping Vietnamese sentries, in sniping by guerrillas who move freely past Vietnamese outposts.

Most of the troops insist on a 5½-day week, taking Saturdays and Sundays off, while allies and the Vietcong go on fighting.

American battalions seeking to break up enemy units operate through the night. So do the Vietcong. The South Vietnamese quit when the sun goes down.

Many South Vietnamese operations are staged in areas where no guerrillas are known to be. Huge troop concentrations are deployed in areas where small numbers of the enemy are hidden. Outnumbered, the Communists decline to stand and fight.

Only two of the 44 generals in the army in 1963 are still holding their rank. The others have been purged. This has sharply impaired morale in the command echelons.

Desertions from the armed forces are running at the rate of 10,000 a month and are expected to total more than 400,000 by the end of the year.

This is twice as many men as the service lost to battle casualties.

Corruption is common at all levels of the army.

The loss of American lives traceable to Vietnamese inaction or incompetence is expected to rise directly in proportion to the depth that U.S. forces deploy in the countryside. American battalions already are operating independently in districts and villages. This trend is expected to continue.

Some Americans are demanding that the United States be given a command role over the Vietnamese similar to that held over South Korean forces in the Korean war.

Senior officials from Washington visiting Vietnam are being told, "If we have to see the war through, we will have to assume command responsibility eventually. Why not start now?" There has been an affirmative response to these views by most of the Washington visitors, a reliable source reported. But there are no indications of pressure on the Vietnamese at the top levels of government.

Part of the high-level reluctance might stem from the perennial official viewpoint that the Vietnamese troops are performing satisfactorily. In February, 1964, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara predicted that the United States would pull most of its troops out of the war the following year.

"It is a counterguerrilla war, it is a war that can only be won by the Vietnamese themselves," McNamara said. "Our responsibility is not to substitute ourselves for the Vietnamese but to train them to carry on the operations that they themselves are capable of."

Last Aug. 14, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, struck out at critics of South Vietnamese military effectiveness.

"I can say categorically that the Vietnamese armed forces are making steady progress," he told an interviewer. "They are far better than they were a year ago and this is evident from their discipline, their performance on the battlefield and the successes they are enjoying against the enemy."

Also last month, Gen. Wallace M. Greene Jr., commandant of the Marine Corps, said that six visits to Vietnam had convinced him that "the South Vietnamese forces are doing a first-class job" and "are carrying their share."

A TYPICAL WEEK

Frequent visits to the field with Vietnamese units, talks with Vietnamese and American officers and men and a close examination of results of operations give no indication that the Vietnamese military has changed much since the days when it was fighting the Communists alone and getting beaten. A typical week of the war shows this trend all too clearly.

In this particular week, ending Aug. 5, the 80 American combat battalions in Vietnam suffered 186 dead and 1064 wounded in operations that ranged from just south of Saigon to the Demilitarized Zone. The 100 battalions of Vietnamese regular troops operating in these same regions lost 32 dead and 60 wounded .

In that same week, U.S. Marines operating in the First Corps region lost 110 men killed. The 30 Vietnamese battalions in the Corps area lost six killed.

More than 60 per cent of the Vietnamese killed that week were not in Vietnamese regular battalions. These deaths occurred at the lowest level of the war among the neglected, low-paid regional and popular forces.

The mission of these troops, who comprise nearly one-half of the Vietnamese armed forces, is to defend towns, villages and bridges against the Vietcong. They operate from mud, brick or concrete outposts, often cringing in fear from an approaching enemy, only occasionally attempting to fight off an attacking force and usually dying after throwing their weapons away and attempting to run, hide or surrender.

Casualties often are taken without inflicting any upon the enemy. The 479th Regional Force Company in Thuthua District, Longan Province, has not killed a Vietcong in its two years of existence. Yet it has lost 12 dead and many wounded in frequent attacks on its position.

THIRD DIE IN OFFENSIVES

The statistics indicate that only one-third of the Vietnamese killed in the war lose their lives in offensive operations against the enemy. This one-third comes from the 285,000 regular Vietnamese arrayed in ten infantry divisions, one armored division, an airborne division and 20 ranger battalions.

The remaining losses are among the 283,000 regional and popular force men in their thousands of outposts across Vietnam.

Nearly all American losses are taken on offensive operations. The official kill ratio of one American dead to ten of the enemy reflects this agressive stance.

The regular Vietnamese army claims a 1–3.6 ratio against the enemy and the popular forces about 1–1. These ratios are based on enemy killed counts that often are fanciful.

American battalions stay out in the field at night as a matter of course to achieve their results. All the battalions of the Second Brigade, U.S. 25th Division, based out of Cuchi, northwest of Saigon, were out 28 nights each in July. None of the battalions of the nearest regiment of the Vietnamese 25th Division stayed out a single night that month.

One of the best regiments in the Vietnamese army, the 33d of the 21st Division in the southern Delta, spent only 46 battalion days in the field in July out of a possible 120 battalion days—that is, 30 days for each of the regiment's four battalions. At no time did a battalion stay out at night, not in the operational area, anyway. Night duty for a Vietnamese battalion is guarding the perimeter of an outpost or a town.

A reluctance to come to grips with the enemy has characterized the Vietnamese military effort since the war began in earnest in 1961 with 15,000 Vietcong guerrillas terrorizing villagers, blowing bridges and overrunning outposts.

In the days of President Ngo Dinh Diem, field commanders were recalled for suffering too many casualties. The practice of operating judiciously to keep casualties at an acceptable figure may well have continued.

Whatever the reasons, there can be no question that the army has failed completely in its mission of overpowering the Communist guerrilla movement. The official statistics over the years would have you believe otherwise, but there are statistics and statistics.

Walls of all the numerous U.S. advisory commands are dizzying with green, red and yellow lines that spiral ever upward, indicating greater and greater progress within the Vietnamese army. At the headquarters of the Fourth Corps Region at Cantho, an American colonel-adviser to Vietnamese forces will tell you, "Our percentage of major operations one battalion or larger are dropping off this year, but the percentage of contact is increasing. Better intelligence, you know."

The statistics don't say that in all these operations the enemy was given the field of battle each evening because government forces in the Delta like to get home before dark.

How, then, can progress be measured in a place like the Mekong Delta, still mostly in the South Vietnamese army bailiwick? One index is the estimated enemy strength, 80,000 at last count, half of them tough, skilled fighters.

The enemy estimate is the same as last year but twice as high as the previous year, which was twice as high as the year preceding that.

In July this year, half as many government troops were killed as in July, 1966. The number of enemy killed halved also.

AREA DIVVIED UP

The truth in the Delta seems to be that a status quo exists, with the Saigon government hanging on to the province and district capitals and their immediate environs and the Vietcong holding out in their lairs. The canals and roads are contested on occasion, but generally the Vietcong leave them open and collect tribute for their use.

As has been shown in the rest of Vietnam, only the infusion of American troops is likely to upset the status quo. This has happened in Giadinh Province, which surrounds Saigon, in Longan Province to the south and in Haunghia Province to the west.

By relentless operations, day and night, American troops have managed to break down the enemy battalions into small groups. They have them on the run and search for them constantly.

The Vietnamese do sometimes have major battles with the enemy, killing many and capturing sizable caches of weapons. Some of the elite Vietnamese marine and airborne units compare with American battalions. But the sustained effort that brings results has not been forthcoming from the Vietnamese and does not look likely in the months ahead.

The performance of Vietnamese regular battalions has hardly varied over the years. The 20 highly trained Ranger battalions still perform spottily. Only five of them killed more than 100 Vietcong last year, the highest with 255 kills. U.S. officers believe that, if properly utilized, a Ranger battalion should kill 600 to 900 enemy per year.

GOOD MEN AVAILABLE

How can the Vietnamese be persuaded to utilize their units better? Many Americans argue for a joint command with an American at the top. Short of that, they would like a strong voice in the selection of commanding officers.

An outspoken Vietnamese province chief commented, "The one big mistake the United States made when it sent combat troops into Vietnam was not to demand the right to relieve and appoint Vietnamese officers. You are paying for it now."

"There are plenty of young, aggressive, honest officers around," one U.S. official commented. "I have a list of them."

Unsupported by direct pressure from Washington, American commanders resort to subtle techniques of leverage. A senior American in the Delta entices his three-star general counterpart into taking field trips with him, casually discussing area problems within his earshot. This apparently satisfies the general's ego to the degree that he sometimes comes around to his American adviser the next day with a solution.

An American corps commander presents his Vietnamese counterpart with a list of five problems, no more no less, each Friday. By resubmitting the same problems, he hopes that eventually he will get something done about them.

This sort of advisory merry-go-round has proved completely ineffective in the past, but "with so many Americans around, breathing over their shoulders, the Vietnamese will have no choice but to knuckle under," one U.S. general said hopefully. He added, "They'll have to, if we are ever to get out of here."

But the problem is far more than just one of the Vietnamese listening and then doing, even though that would be a major step in the right direction, most Americans agree. Logistics problems in the Vietnamese army remain almost insoluble.

"The army is organized on American lines except for the logistics," one U.S. general explained. "Under the crazy French system they use, if an armored vehicle has its tires blown off in the foothills, the driver has to take the tires to Saigon so he can get new ones. There is equipment lying all over this country that could be repaired easily if the red tape were cut."

Vietnamese commanders are military dilettantes when it comes to running an operation. A division commander generally deploys and controls his battalions himself, unwilling to trust them to his chain of command. If he goes off for lunch or to a political conference, the operation will collapse because no one else dares give orders.

There are no long-range patrols made by the Vietnamese army, even though these patrols have proved most effective in every American unit in the country.

"We could never get any volunteers to go out in enemy territory in groups of four or five men like the Americans do," a regimental adviser said.

There is corruption at all levels. A province chief, holding the rank of colonel, commented: "Of course there is corruption. My salary is 17,000 piasters (about $150) each month. With that I have to feed, clothe and educate my family, support myself and pay for your breakfast and all the other breakfasts and dinners that I, as province chief, have to give.

"Can I be anything else but corrupt when the Americans pay 20,000 piasters salary each month to just an interpreter?"

THE HAVE-NOTS

Vietnamese troops, particularly the low-grade regional and popular forces, are poorly paid. Said a regimental commander: "My men live like pigs, in shacks, in squalor. They are forced to make love under the trees when their wives visit them. How can they be motivated with so little?"

A Vietnamese division commander complained: "American troops have helicopters, much artillery, many aircraft. Give us all these things and let us try. If we cannot do the job, then you can take over."

Vietnamese soldiers conduct themselves as their armies have for decades in much of the country, stealing and looting in the villages. A regimental commander said: "I will not condone my soldiers stealing chickens, but I accept it. Our logistics system is so bad, what else will they eat?"

There are elaborate plans for the improvement of the Vietnamese military, including the addition of 60,000 new troops, most of them militiamen. There is talk of breaking down some divisions into mobile groups similar to those used by the French.

American units are beginning to work with Vietnamese battalions, but the benefits of having Americans near at hand can boomerang. An adviser with a Vietnamese Ranger battalion working with the U.S. 199th Brigade commented: "This integration has ruined any chance there was that my battalion would ever operate independently. Now they depend completely on the U.S. All I do now is settle disputes between them and the Americans."

Rachkien, a town south of Saigon was pacified by successive battalions of American troops who operated day and night in the paddy fields and the swamps. A Vietnamese battalion from the 25th Division worked with them and, according to senior Americans, "caught fire with enthusiasm."

In early August, American commanders judged that the time was almost ripe for the Vietnamese battalion to take over the area; the U.S. unit would move on. At the last minute, the Vietnamese division commander pulled his battalion back to home base for security guard, with no explanations.

The American battalion was left in Rachkien to continue the tough, endless task of seeking out the guerrillas in the paddy fields and the leech-infested swamps.

NEW APPROACH TO GREAT LAKES BASIN COMPACT

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the Great Lakes Basin compact was approved and ratified in 1955 by five of the eight Great Lakes States—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. By 1963 the other three States—New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—had ratified the compact.

The Great Lakes Commission is the operating entity of the Great Lakes Basin compact, and is wholly supported by the eight member States. This commission has been operating as the advisory and recommendatory agency for the Great Lakes States on regional water resources for more than 11 years. The establishment of this compact and commission has been a pioneer effort in bringing about interstate cooperation and coordination. Indicative of the commission's interests in the whole spectrum of water resource matters are the fields of activity of its five standing committees, entitled: First, "Pollution Control"; second, "Water Resources"; third, "Fisheries and Wildlife"; fourth, "Shoreline Use and Recreation"; and, fifth, "Seaway, Navigation, and Commerce." The commission keeps abreast of developments which affect the Great Lakes region, and initiates or responds to actions which occur or which need to be undertaken.

Throughout the past 11 years the Commission, with headquarters in Ann Arbor, has been functioning in its advisory and recommendatory capacities, working on the regional approach to the wise use and conservation of the water and related land resources of the Great Lakes Basin. The Commission has been a forerunner in recognizing regional problems and getting those problems into action channels before appropriate local, State, or Federal agencies. The Commission has contributed significantly toward the recognition and solution of many of the regional water problems, and has been influential in bringing about the present intense effort of all concerned to assure the conservation of our water resources.

The eight States bordering the Great Lakes have recognized the diversity of conditions existing within the broad area of the Great Lakes basin and the many possible uses and competition for use of the waters in the basin. To achieve the best and fullest use of this invaluable resource, these States have banded together in an interstate compact which has stimulated productive informal discussions of water matters among the States.

The Great Lakes Basin compact, within its role as a consultative and advising agent on water resources matters, has purposes encompassing a broad scope; first, to promote the orderly, integrated, and comprehensive development, use and conservation of the water resources of the Great Lakes Basin; second, to plan for the welfare and development of the water resources of the basin as a whole, as well as for those portions of the basin which may have problems of special concern; third, to make it possible for the States of the basin and their people to derive the maximum benefit from utilization of public works, in the form of navigational aids or otherwise, which may exist or which may be constructed from time to time; fourth, to advise in securing and maintaining a proper balance among industrial, commercial, agricultural, water supply, residential, and other legitimate uses of the water resources of the basin; and, fifth, to establish and maintain an intergovernmental agency to the end that the purposes of this compact may be accomplished more effectively.

The Congress and the Nation as a whole have historically favored the establishment of interstate compacts to assist in meeting the needs and solving the problems of interstate matters. The Constitution of the United States, article I, section 10, clause 3, provides that interstate compacts shall have the consent of Congress.

Earlier this year 13 of my colleagues and I introduced S. 660, which would grant the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes Basin compact. Previously the Senate twice passed similar bills which would grant the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes Basin compact. These bills, however, were not acted on by the House. In the past there has been opposition to the passage of such a bill. Now I am able to report that agreement has been reached by all concerned and that there is no known opposition to an action on the part of Congress which would grant the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes Basin compact. Further, there has been agreement on a vehicle that would grant consent to the compact, and I am delighted that all of the Senators for all eight Great Lakes States have joined together in sponsoring the measure which I submit today—a concurrent resolution through which the Congress agrees or affirms that under the provision of the act of March 1, 1911, Public Law 435, chapter 186, 36 Stat. 961, the Great Lakes Basin compact among the Great Lakes States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, is a valid agreement or compact.

Favorable action by the Congress on this concurrent resolution is highly desirable and necessary. First, it will fulfill the requirements of the Constitution for congressional consent to this interstate compact; second, it will permit Commission employees to be covered by existing social security laws; third, it will provide Great Lakes Commission representation on the river basin planning commission established under Public Law 89–80; and fourth, it will contribute to the already highly effective work of the Great Lakes Commission.

All of us who sponsor this resolution urge its adoption by the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this concurrent resolution be printed in the Record at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the concurrent resolution will be printed in the Record.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 45) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

S. Con. Res. 45

Whereas the Act of March 1, 1911, Public Law 435, chapter 186, 36 Stat. 961, gave the consent of Congress "to each of the several States of the Union to enter into an agreement or compact, not in conflict with any law of the United States, with any other State or States for the purpose of conserving the forests and water supply of the States entering into such agreement or compact": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the existing agreement entered into pursuant to legislative action of the Great Lakes States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which is known as the "Great Lakes Basin Compact" and which established a commission known as "The Great Lakes Commission" consisting of representatives of each such State and such Commonwealth is a valid agreement pursuant to the aforesaid Act of March 1, 1911.

SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS TEST—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 336

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment intended to be proposed by me to H.R. 12080, which is now pending in the Committee on Finance.

Under the present earnings test in the social security law, a person with maximum benefits can earn just as much as a person with the lowest benefits before reduction of his social security benefits.

This seems to me to be unfair to the person most in need and most in need to supplement his income—the person with the lowest social security benefits. The amendment I have introduced to the House-passed H.R. 12080 would allow persons with the lowest benefits to earn more than presently allowed without losing their benefits. Under this amendment, an alternative earnings test is established for those individuals whose combined earnings and social security benefits do not exceed $2,700 a year. Thus, a person who receives the lowest benefit provided by the House-passed bill, $50 per month, or $600 per year, could earn as much as $2,100 and still receive all all of his social security benefits. On the other hand, a person who receives social security benefits of $100 per month or $1,200 per year, or more, could earn $1,500—as presently provided—before the reduction in benefits would occur.

I wish to point out that this amendment is a substitute for the earnings test provisions in H.R. 12080. It is designed to provide those people with the lower social security benefits, an opportunity to work and earn enough additional income to maintain a dignified but modest standard of living without losing their social security benefits, as is now the case under the law.

Mr. President, I ask that the amendment be printed and appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 336) was referred to the Committee on Finance.

AUTOMATIC SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFIT INCREASES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 337

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, today I am submitting, for appropriate reference, an amendment to H.R. 12080, Social Security Amendments of 1967.

My amendment provides automatic social security benefit increases when the cost of living rises 3 percent or more a year.

H.R. 12080 provides for an across-the-board increase in social security benefits to help compensate for rising living costs since 1965, when the last social security increase was voted by Congress. The House of Representatives voted a 12½-percent increase, but we do not know yet what amount the Senate Finance Committee will recommend as it has not completed deliberations on the bill.

We do know, however, that it is taking many months to enact this legislation. Meantime, the buying power of social security checks is declining month by month and million of Americans are suffering.

A year ago, it was generally agreed that a social security increase was imperative. But almost 12 months have elapsed and still no increase has been enacted.

Even when Congress grants an increase, which I am confident it will, this will be only a one time increase. If the cost of living continues to rise, as it is quite likely to do, we shall face the tortuous legislative process once more in order to do justice to all social security recipients.

Therefore, I propose that whenever the cost of living rises 3 percent or more in a year, benefits would rise correspondingly.

For example, if the cost of living jumps 3.9 percent, benefits for social security retirees, survivors, the disabled, all beneficiaries in fact, would be increased 3.9 percent.

An automatic cost-of-living increase will avoid future losses in buying power of social security checks. It will also assure young workers that, when they retire, social security benefits will be in line with living costs.

My bill is patterned after an existing law providing automatic cost-of-living increases for civil service retirees.

Regrettably, for the foreseeable future inflation and more inflation seems the order of the day.

Food prices are headed upward. So are housing costs and medical charges.

Higher freight rates will show up in higher prices for thousands of items, as will high prices for steel, copper, and other basic materials.

Transportation costs are rising, with major automobile companies already posting increases in prices for 1968 models.

Even the cost of mailing letters and airmail packages is likely to go up, for the President has asked Congress to raise postal rates.

Costs are headed upward on a growing list of services, durable goods, nondurable goods, necessities, and luxuries.

All this means more inflation and less buying power.

An automatic benefit increase is needed to keep pace with living costs, and to keep faith with the millions of Americans now on social security and the additional millions who will one day be on social security.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 337) was referred to the Committee on Finance.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 917) the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] to be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1582) to foster high standards of architectural excellence in the design and decoration of Federal public buildings and post offices outside the District of Columbia, and to provide a program for the acquisition and preservation of works of art for such buildings, and for other purposes, to be known as the Federal Fine Arts and Architecture Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] be added as a cosponsor of the bill—S. 1646—to remove the ceiling—two-thirds of construction cost—on Federal grants under section 204 of the Solid Waste Disposal Act, and for other purposes, to be known as the Solid Waste Disposal Act Amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, September 21, 1967, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 477. An act for the relief of the widow of Albert M. Pepoon;

S. 953. An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964; and

S. 1956. An act to extend for 1 year the authority for more flexible regulation of maximum rates of interest or dividends, higher reserve requirements, and open market operations in agency issues.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. CANNON:

Transcript of television and radio program "Issues and Answers" for Sunday, September 17, 1967.

By Mr. THURMOND:

Editorial entitled "Professional Advice," published in the September 17, 1967, issue of the State, of Columbia, S.C.

By Mr. BAYH:

Article entitled "Observance of Platting Dunlapsville Is Planned," written by Mrs. Floyd Howard, and published in the Liberty Herald of September 8, 1967.

PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY OF THE IVORY COAST AT PRAYER BREAKFAST AT THE CAPITOL

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, on August 18, 1967, I was privileged to preside at a breakfast meeting in the conference room of the U.S. Senate.

The meeting took place in order to strengthen the spiritual bonds that exist between the leaders of the Ivory Coast and our own Nation.

Among those in attendance were the majority leader of the Senate [Mr. MANS-

FIELD], Members of the U.S. Senate and Members of the House of Representatives, as well as representatives of other departments of the Government.

I was deeply impressed by the comments that were made around the table, not only by the President of the Ivory Coast, Houphouet-Boigny, but also by Secretary Henry Fowler and Congressman AL QUIE, as well as the Scripture readings by Senator JOSEPH TYDINGS and Congressman CHARLES GOODELL.

In addition to prayers being offered, a presentation was made by Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN of a Bible to President Houphouet-Boigny as a remembrance of having breakfast with this group.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the President of the Ivory Coast be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AT PRAYER BREAKFAST AT U.S. CAPITOL, AUGUST 18, 1967

Senator Carlson, Secretary Fowler, Distinguished Senators, Representatives and Guests, I am certain you realize the deep emotion I feel as I speak to you on behalf of the Ivory Coast delegation and personally to express with the utmost sincerity our great sense of rejoicing on this occasion as we are with you at this table.

Both the meeting in fellowship in the Prayer Room and the gathering here have been a most enriching and rewarding experience for all of us. The words that were uttered and to which we listened attentively, and especially all that we have felt, have opened new spiritual perspectives and strengthened ever more our deep-seated convictions that, regardless of the stature or even the greatness of man, nothing is possible and nothing is durable without God.

This morning, in witnessing the expression of your sincere faith in the Creator, we have fully understood the reasons why the United States has always been in the forefront of the struggle for the triumph of the rule of law, of freedom and of peace.

Thus we return to our land more convinced than ever that, because of the faith in God, today as in the past, the forces of faithless evil that sow hate and despair shall be powerless against the wall built of solidarity, love and true freedom for the people.

We as a young nation are very much aware of the many difficulties that lie ahead, in our continuing effort to build that nation. And we know that our actions will be fruitful only under God, for it is in a spirit of humility, charity and love that we undertake the mighty task of building a nation, no matter how great the sacrifices we have to make, and no matter how small the means available to us. Recently, in our country, an effort was made to obtain funds outside budgetary appropriations, so that three new houses of worship might be built in the capital, for Catholics, Protestants and Moslems, respectively. The response of the people was most significant and gave clear proof that dynamic and constructive faith was a reality in our nation.

Let me add that in our state there are no political prisoners, as our willingness to forgive stems from the realization that, being but dust before God, we must constantly ask for forgiveness. And how could we ask to be forgiven if we were not willing to forgive our brothers?

It is my sincere hope and wish that many world leaders may attend meetings such as the one held here today. And if they have a faith in God similar to that you show, the road leading to happiness, peace and brotherhood among men will be that much more free of obstacles.

In conclusion, please understand that those things which my lips do not say well are better spoken by my heart.

INDEFENSIBLE POLICY

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it is very unfortunate but it is the fact that of all the NATO nations, the United States is the only one which has fully met its NATO commitment. It is very unfortunate that we have six divisions stationed in West Germany. We have more than 600,000 servicemen and their dependents in Western Europe. Of this huge total, more than 425,000 are in West Germany. At least one-third of the men of our armed services in Western Europe, mostly career soldiers, should be withdrawn immediately to areas where they are needed. It is now more than 22 years since the end of World War II. The Russians have not perpetrated nor even threatened any aggressive act toward Western Europe at any time within the last 15 years. They have withdrawn thousands of soldiers from Eastern Europe to positions along their 6,500-mile border with Communist China. There is now a bitter dispute between these two great Communist nations. Our soldiers in West Germany are living like squawmen with their wives and children. The officers never had it so good. They and their wives and children, with German servants, live high on the hog. They are fattening the German economy, and our balance-of-payments deficit grows as our gold reserve drops. President Johnson, how can you defend the sending of young draftees following 4 to 6 months training to fight in Vietnam? If you and Defense Secretary McNamara demand and need more fighting men in Vietnam than the more than half a million already there, what reason can you give for not withdrawing 50,000 or more highly trained career soldiers from Western Europe and sending them to Vietnam and then sending young draftees to Western Europe as replacements?

Our balance-of-payments deficit last year and throughout the present year is like a running sore. Our balance-of-payments deficit for the period of the last 12 months is $2 billion. This represents a huge drain on our resources. Of course, our involvement in a civil war in Vietnam is one of the causes, but the maintenance of considerably more than half a million servicemen and their dependents in Western Europe is a tremendous contributing factor.

If it can be claimed, and of course it cannot truthfully be claimed, that the Soviet Union is threatening aggression against Western Europe, then our soldiers in that area should have a tour of duty of 1 year, or 13 months at the most, and no dependents should be permitted. In South Korea we have approximately 55,000 men of our Armed Forces stationed there and no dependents permitted. That tour of duty is 13 months. Furthermore, instead of sending draftees with 4 months, or 6 months, training to Vietnam, the proper policy would be to send them to Western Europe. Our highly trained and experienced soldiers in Western Europe should either be brought home or at least half of them should be returned to the United States at this time or sent to combat duty in Vietnam. Their dependents should be returned to the United States. The balance-of-payments deficit would be sharply reduced if this were done. Furthermore, from a practical standpoint, it is proven that we have the airlift capacity to send an entire combat division during a period of 48 hours from the United States to Western Europe, and this division would be in the field in Western Europe fully equipped and ready to take the offensive against any Soviet invasion of that area within that period of 48 hours or much less.

Our Commander in Chief and Secretary of Defense are continuing an indefensible policy and should immediately review this entire situation. Our NATO allies should be compelled to fully live up to and abide by their NATO commitments, or we should take appropriate action to withdraw our dependents and a part of our Armed Forces without further delay.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the Senate recently passed the bill of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] authorizing the central Arizona project, and the bill is now before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

As the Senators will recall, I spoke at some length against certain provisions of the bill. I tried to make it clear that I supported a bill to enable Arizona to take its share of the water from the Colorado River. There is no question that Arizona is short of water, and the situation is steadily growing worse. Therefore, it is imperative that Arizona acquire additional water supply.

The bill, however, contained certain undesirable features that caused me to raise my voice against those particular parts of the bill. I spoke in favor of a bill that was agreed upon last year by the States involved. This bill was reported favorably by the House Interior Committee in 1966. The Senate, however, did not agree with my position and adopted the Hayden bill which now is before the House.

The Central Utah Water Conservancy District is a legal body in my State covering about one-third of the area of the State. It has taxing power and legal authority to contract with the Department of the Interior and otherwise to obtain water within the district. After considering this matter thoroughly, the water conservancy district adopted a resolution concerning the central Arizona project and forwarded copies to me and other members of the Utah delegation. I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION, CENTRAL UTAH WATER CONSERVANCY DISTRICT

Whereas, the United States Senate recently passed a bill to authorize the Central Arizona Project; and,

Whereas, this legislation did not include provisions for safeguarding the waters of the Colorado River allocated to the other Colorado River Basin States; and, Whereas, Congressman Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, has been under great pressure to move this legislation through the House of Representatives;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Central Utah Water Conservancy District commends Congressman Aspinall for his statesmanship in protecting the water entitlements of the Upper Colorado River States as provided for them by compact and pledges to him the District's support in further action to prevent the passage of this legislation by Congress in its present form;

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman Aspinall, Utah's Congressional delegation, Governor of Utah, Utah Department of Natural Resources, and Utah Division of Water Resources.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that the foregoing is a true and accurate copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Directors of the Central Utah Water Conservancy District on September 8, 1967.

LYNN S. LUDLOW,
Secretary.

FINANCING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Senate Finance Committee, by a vote of 10 to 7, has ordered reported a bill, the purpose of which is to raid the Federal Treasury to finance political campaigns of both senatorial and presidential candidates. Under this legislative proposal, the American taxpayers would not have a free choice as to which candidate they support but, rather, would be forced to underwrite the campaign costs of both the Republican and Democrat senatorial and presidential candidates. Not only would they be forced to support the candidate of the opposition party, but, in instances where the voter may prefer the candidate of the third party, the situation is even worse.

In this instance, as a taxpayer, he would be underwriting the campaign costs of candidates for the two major parties, since under the bill those candidates could charge their expenses to the Federal Treasury, whereas the third-party candidate would be forced to finance his own campaign and would receive no Federal assistance until after the election, and even then would not get any assistance unless he had received a minimum of 5 percent of the total votes cast.

For example, several years ago the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], as a third-party candidate carried seven Southern States however, his total percentage of votes received, as compared to the national total, would not have been sufficient to have qualified his party under this bill.

This bill has been properly characterized in such terms as "outrageous," "ridiculous," and "an insult to the intelligence of the American taxpayers."

I have a series of editorials which I shall ask to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The first is an editorial which appeared in the Washington Daily News of Friday, September 15, wherein this measure is described as "a raid on the taxpayers."

The second editorial appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer of Saturday, September 16, and is entitled "Footing the Campaign Bills." This editorial describes the proposal as "fascinating" and "outrageous."

The third editorial, which appeared in the Sunday Bulletin of Philadelphia, Pa., under date of September 17, denounced this campaign subsidy proposal, particularly at a time when the administration is confronted with a huge deficit and is advocating a tax increase.

The fourth editorial, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of Monday, September 18, strongly recommends that this campaign subsidy proposal be put "on the shelf" and that the Congress should proceed to enact the campaign reform act instead.

Mr. President, I cannot conceive of either the Congress or the administration having the gall to shoulder the American taxpayers with the expense of our reelections without giving them any choice as to whether or not they even think we are worthy of their support.

The administration in power and we as Members of Congress are responsible for the deficit which is now confronting our country, and I agree that to enact a measure such as this would be an insult to the American taxpayers.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials previously described be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 15, 1967]

RAID ON THE TAXPAYERS

It took gall, and a lot of it, on the part of 10 Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee to propose a law which would stick the country's taxpayers for the costs of election campaigns.

As reported by the Committee, this bill would raid the Federal Treasury—already $335 billion in debt—for upwards of $100 million to pay the campaign expenses of candidates for President and Congress.

In addition to the effrontery embraced in this scheme, the bill itself is pockmarked.

For instance, the bill proposes that the money doled out from the Treasury would apply only to expenses of the campaign 60 days before the election and 30 days after. And any candidate would be required to choose between the taxpayer subsidy and private contributions.

But he could use any size privately raised slush fund up to 60 days before election and still dip into the Treasury for expenses incurred after that time—a loophole big enough for any gravy train.

For the 1968 campaign, the bill would syphon out of the Treasury as much as $14 million each for the Democratic and Republican candidates for President and as much as $26 million more for Senate candidates. The Senate Committee then generously proposed to leave it up to the House to determine how much additional subsidy should be provided for candidates for the House. Nobody knows what that might cost.

At the same time, the committee proposed to allow modest tax credits to private contributors to campaign funds. This deal, if it should go thru, would deprive the Treasury of another $50 million to $60 million in revenue.

Whether or not there is any merit in the idea of paying election expenses out of public funds, this is not the time. Every nickel of spending proposed by this bill would have to be borrowed—in short, the expenses of the 1968 campaign would be foisted off on future generations. This is the acme of hypocrisy.

Moreover, if any such plan ever is to be adopted, the taxpayers first ought to have an opportunity to pass on it. The Senate Finance Committee proposes to jam it down their throats.

The only excuse for this impertinent bill is that the cost of campaigns are soaring. This is not the fault of the taxpayers, whose own costs for everything are soaring.

So we hope the seven Finance Committee members who opposed this bill prevail, and that the Senate defeats the scheme—resoundingly.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Sept. 16, 1967]

FOOTING THE CAMPAIGN BILLS

In his report on Senate Finance Committee approval of a plan to finance election campaigns for President and Senator with tax dollars appropriated by Congress, Inquirer Washington correspondent Jerome S. Cahill described the reaction of Delaware Valley Senators as ranging from fascination to outrage.

The reaction of most ordinary taxpaying citizens is likely to be pretty much on the same order. It is a fascinating idea to have the burden of campaign expenses lifted from the candidate, his supporters and his party, and placed on taxpayers who may, or may not, want this particular candidate elected. It may turn out to be an outrageous idea, as some critics of the proposal regard it, if it encourages candidates to spend the whole Government allotment allowed them, even if they do not need it.

In back of the effort to find better ways to finance increasingly expensive Presidential and Congressional election campaigns is the fear that growing costs will discourage any but the wealthiest individuals, and those who can rely on contributors with vested interests, from running for Federal office. A proposal put forward last year, only to fall apart later, would have permitted taxpayers to contribute $1 each toward Presidential campaigns by checking a box on their income tax returns.

The new plan was approved by the Senate Committee by the narrow margin of 10 votes to 7. It is a long way from ratification and faces searching looks in Senate and House both from the "fascinated" and from the "outraged."

[From the Sunday Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 17, 1967]

ELECTION COSTS AND REFORMS

Russell Long's controversial tax-checkoff subsidy plan for financing political campaigns having fallen by the wayside, the Senate Finance Committee has approved a substitute which may have wider appeal in Congress but is still unsatisfactory.

The committee has undertaken to combine two concepts, one direct payment out of the federal treasury to finance presidential and senatorial campaigns, the other designed to encourage voter participation in all elections by tax credits for political donations. Moreover, there is a kicker: presidential and senatorial contenders would be permitted to choose whether to take the federal subsidy or to depend on private money.

It would seem possible under this latter arrangement for a candidate to play it both ways. If he chose to be publicly financed, he would not have to stop spending private money until two months before election day, which hardly reflects the length of today's campaigns. Might this not result in a further inflation of political spending?

The formula for federal subsidy for presidential and senatorial electioneering would require, it is estimated, congressional appropriations of some $54 million. The loss in revenue under limits set on credits for private political donations is estimated at $50-60 million. Including the House in the plan would add to the total cost.

Given the huge federal deficit now facing the country, which the Administration seeks to reduce by a tax increase, the campaign spending proposal comes at a bad time. Given the confusion of the plan proposed by the Senate Finance Committee, it would not seem advisable to rush it through for the 1968 elections.

If there is to be a campaign financing law, however, it should not be passed unless election reform is also enacted.

A mild reform bill has already been approved by the Senate. It updates a 42-year-old statue which is so full of loopholes as to be altogether ineffectual and which sets altogether unrealistic limits on spending.

Unfortunately, the reform bill also contains a glaring weakness: administration by officials of the House and Senate, their political servants, instead of by the more independent Comptroller General.

Campaign reform is needed. So are better ways of financing campaigns. But on both counts, the Senate and its committees are not doing a very good job. The House could improve on it, first of all, by strengthening and passing the reform measure.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 18, 1967]

SAFE ON THE SHELF

The campaign spending reforms the Senate passed the other day represent modest but commendable progress. We hope the lawmakers do not cancel this accomplishment with another ill-considered plan for Federal campaign subsidies.

The Senate bill lifts artificial limits on campaign spending and mildly tightens present disclosure provisions. Now the Senate Finance Committee has passed a campaign subsidy bill underwriting Presidential and Senatorial campaigns with $54 million direct from the Treasury. The committee recommends the subsidy be attached to the reform bill through some kind of parliamentary wizardry.

The ostensible argument for campaign subsidies is reasonable enough in theory. Public financing, its proponents contend, would eliminate the conflict of interest likely to arise when an official deals with legislation affecting his campaign contributors. The trouble is, though, that no proposal with any nearly reasonable price tag could accomplish this purpose.

What about nominations, to take one huge problem? If subsidies covered campaigns for nominations, their price would soar prohibitively. Especially so if, as seems likely, subsidies would encourage more candidates to seek nominations.

On the other hand, subsidies might not apply to nomination races. The Senate committee bill, for instance, would supply funds intended to cover spending only during the two months before election day. For nomination campaign and various other expenses, in other words, the candidates would have to turn to the same contributors they use now. It's hard to see that anything would be accomplished.

Similar dilemmas arise when someone asks how third parties will be treated, or even precisely which campaigns for what offices subsidies will cover. In addition, no campaign subsidy seems at all in order until Congress repeals or modifies the inane law that in practice forecloses free television time for major candidates by specifying equal time for all candidates no matter how frivolous. Repeal would cut campaign costs significantly without Federal subsidies.

This host of difficulties did not deter the last Congress from rushing through a subsidy law, which had the additional drawback of introducing a suspect "tax checkoff" provision. Congress reconsidered and suspended that law, but there are signs that the temptation to let parties tap the Federal till may again prove irresistible.

Somewhat strangely, the idea of linking subsidies with the reform bill already passed appeals to both some proponents and some opponents of the latest proposal. Senator Williams of Delaware, as opponent of direct campaign subsidies, says he wants the two attached so the House cannot ignore the reforms and pass the subsidies.

A better way to prevent that possibility, it seems to us, is for the Senate to keep its cool and keep the subsidy motion safely on the shelf.

TIME IS PAST DUE FOR SPENDING PRIORITIES

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in an editorial published this morning, entitled "Spotlight on Spending," the Washington Post calls for a bipartisan commission to evaluate Federal spending programs. The need for such a body is urgent, in my opinion. My bill (S. 2032) would set up a Government commission to evaluate programs from the point of view of cost effectiveness and would decide as to which programs should be discontinued, as well as the relative priority of various public programs.

I should like to read the last paragraph of this excellent editorial:

> Many years ago, Wesley C. Mitchell, a great American economist, wrote an essay on "The Backward Art of Spending Money" in which he contrasted the rationality of business spending, which is tied to goals and quality standards, with the irrationality of consumer spending. There is now a similar dichotomy between private and government spending. As indivduals we spend in order to satisfy known wants and cease to spend when they are not satisfied. But as taxpayers, we buy programs, and most of us have no way of judging their effectiveness or assigning them priorities. And neither does the Congress which makes the decisions. This problem is not going to be easily solved, but a beginning can be made by creating a bipartisan commission to evaluate Federal programs.

As the Post points out, Federal expenditures have been rising steadily as a percentage of gross national product and are now at a level of 21.1 percent as compared to 15 percent in 1948. This certainly highlights the importance of cost effectiveness. Are the dollars being spent in the public sector in the most effective way?

Hearings now being conducted by the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Economy in Government, which I have the honor to chair, indicate otherwise. In an intensive review of programing-planning-budgeting carried on this week, there is clear evidence that we are badly in need of more realistic programs for gaging the effectiveness of public expenditures. Our river and harbor and reclamation projects, when assessed on any realistic basis, do not produce the returns that the same amount of money would produce in other sectors, public and private. To this extent, the programs are wasteful. And there are numerous others in the same category.

The Post is a liberal newspaper and is generally favorable to wisely conceived human resource programs. They are not in the category of reactionary meat-ax budget cutters who want to go back to the last century. But they are eminently correct in stressing the growing demands on Government funds and the pressing need for a rational system of determining priorities. We cannot afford to continue wasteful expenditures.

I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPOTLIGHT ON SPENDING

The spotlight of public opinion is swinging toward the issue of Federal spending where it is likely to be focused for some time. Last week expenditure controls were the subject of some spirited dialogues in the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee which is considering the Administration's request for an income tax surcharge. This week the American Enterprise Institute, with a fine sense of timing, published an excellent statistical analysis of *The Price of United States Government: 1948–1967*.

Among the more intriguing tables in the AEI report is one on Federal cash payments to the public as a percentage of the Gross National Product. As with other tables of ratios, the data there are subject to varying interpretations. For the 20-year period 1948–1967, Federal cash payments rose from 15.0 to 21.1 per cent of the GNP. If the share of Federal cash payments were to continue to grow at that rate—about 1.7 per cent a year—they would account for 38.7 per cent of the GNP in 1977. Extrapolating the less rapidly rising trend for the decade 1957–67 places the share of Federal spending at 34.7 per cent of the GNP in 1977. And it can also be argued that the share of Federal payments in the GNP has not inscribed a genuine trend in recent years, but appears to be fluctuating about a level of 20 per cent.

Proponents and opponents of Government spending are adept at using ratios such as these to their own advantage. But aside from indicating how resources are divided between the Federal and private sectors of the economy—and that information is important—the arguments over shares often miss the point. Government spending should not be defended nor condemned because it falls short of or exceeds a certain percentage of the GNP. What is far more relevant is the effectiveness of the programs on which the money is spent. The Bureau of the Budget is using "program budgeting" techniques to rank programs with respect to their effectiveness and establish priorities within Federal departments. But the Congress is not applying those rational criteria when it authorizes spending and appropriates funds. If it were, there would not now be such deep concern over the control of Federal spending.

There was a time when the growth of Federal spending was strongly opposed—and perhaps temporarily checked—by business opposition. But in this changed climate of opinion members of the Ways and Means Committee from both parties found themselves prodding reluctant business executives on the issue of expenditure reductions. None were willing to go beyond innocuous cliches about the desirability of economy in Government, and Rep. Thomas B. Curtis, in an angry exchange, attributed the foot dragging to "big defense contracts" and "highly improper pressures." There is also the influence of "Keynesian" economics—doctrines that should be distinguished from what Lord Keynes actually wrote—which uncritically equates Government spending with virtue.

Many years ago, Wesley C. Mitchell, a great American economist, wrote an essay on "The Backward Art of Spending Money" in which he contrasted the rationality of business spending, which is tied to goals and quality standards, with the irrationality of consumer spending. There is now a similar dichotomy between private and government spending. As individuals we spend in order to satisfy known wants and cease to spend when they are not satisfied. But as taxpayers, we buy programs, and most of us have no way of judging their effectiveness or assigning them priorities. And neither does the Congress which makes the decisions. This problem is not going to be easily solved, but a beginning can be made by creating a bipartisan commission to evaluate Federal programs.

JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN AMERICAN SYSTEM—STRONG ARGUMENT FOR RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—CXLI

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, here in the United States we have abolished slavery. We have abolished forced labor. We have securely established the political rights of women. We guarantee freedom of association. In fact, so indelibly are these social facts written into our Constitution and our national laws that if the Senate were today to give its advice and consent to the Human Rights Conventions, there would be no need for even a paragraph of implementing legislation.

In view of these facts, Mr. President, our failure to ratify the Human Rights Conventions remains an unsolved mystery to me.

The Senate and the people of the United States should, through adoption of these conventions, proclaim to all the nations and all the peoples of the world our faith in our own culture and traditions.

Through adoption we would announce to friend and foe alike that the most ambitious experiment in human history—America—works and works exceedingly well.

It is not chauvinistic patriotism on our part to announce these facts to the world; rather, it is a laudable willingness to share our national experience with all nations, both old and new.

In our national life, we, more than most, live the spirit of the Human Rights Conventions. The ideals of these conventions were secure in the United States, long before there was a United Nations. They are inseparable from the American way of life.

Therefore, for the 141st time, I urge my colleagues to push for early consideration and overwhelming ratification of the Human Rights Conventions. By so doing we will be performing a great service not only for all the peoples of the world, not only for the United Nations, but just as much for the United States.

PITTSBURGH PIRATES IN POST-SEASON POLICY PITCH

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, rarely do baseball and foreign policy—two subjects which have long been of great interest to me—mix. One of those rare occasions, however, is about to occur, and under circumstances which give me a great deal of satisfaction as a representative of the great baseball State of Pennsylvania. We did not do so well in the National League pennant race this year; but wait until next year.

The September 4, 1967, issue of the weekly newsletter of the Alliance for Progress features as its lead story the report that the Pittsburgh Pirates will play five post-season exhibition games in the Dominican Republic, with all the proceeds to go to the Dominican Development Foundation, a private, nonprofit organization which provides loans for self-help development projects in low-income urban and rural communities. The Pirate players will receive no remuneration for their participation in this series against an all-star Dominican team of major and minor league players.

I point out that many of the stars in the major leagues today got their initial training in the Dominican Republic, a country which is noted for a good many different things, some of which we are not too happy about; but one thing we can be happy about is their propensity for developing major league baseball players.

Mr. President, in the interests of international amity, I think it is only fair to warn the Dominican players not to be fooled by the Pirates' seventh-place standing in the National League race this season.

When you get players like Roberto Clemente and Marty Alou and their colleagues, you have a team which has to be reckoned with, particularly with Pittsburgh's pride at stake on foreign soil.

So, Mr. President, while I commend the Pittsburgh Pirates for their splendid generosity, I should like to add a word of caution, speaking as their Senator and as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. When they enter the friendly Dominican Republic, let us hope the Pirates win, but let us hope they keep it close and clean.

Remember the respect that a great nation owes its small neighbors. Beware the arrogance of your batting power. Instruct your pitchers not to be too devious with their curves, change ups, and sliders. As ambassadors in spikes you combine the two most subtle and difficult vocations in the world, and I know you will perform in a way which will bring honor to Pittsburgh, to Pennsylvania and to the United States.

THE BATTLE FOR CLEAN AIR

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the New York Times of July 20, 1967, contains an editorial entitled "The Battle for Clean Air." With one exception, the editorial is an accurate and objective analysis of the Air Quality Act of 1967, which passed the Senate unanimously on July 18.

On July 27, I wrote to the editor of the Times to clarify the decision of the Committee on Public Works not to adopt national emission standards for air pollutants. Because of space limitations the Times, on August 31, was able to publish only an abridged version of my original letter.

To complete the record and for clarification to Senators, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Times editorial of July 20 and the full text of my July 27 letter to the editor be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 20, 1967]

THE BATTLE FOR CLEAN AIR

With unanimous approval of the Air Quality Act of 1967 the Senate has taken a long step toward strengthening the hand of the Federal Government in combating the menace of air pollution. It is up to the House to follow suit.

Some of the provisions of the Senate bill are drastic but nonetheless justified by the nature of the air pollution danger, under which three Americans out of every five now live. Thus the setting of air quality standards is left in the first instance to the states; but if they fail to act the Federal Government may step in and create Federal interstate air quality commissions.

The bill grants the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare emergency power, upon his finding that human health is in imminent and substantial danger, to go into Federal court to get an injunction to shut down the source of the danger. It might be directed at an individual plant or it might be a blanket injunction ordering a city to halt all motor traffic.

We share the hope of Senator Edmund S. Muskie, sponsor of the bill, that the threat of Federal intervention will not have to be employed, but will suffice to spur lagging states and cities to adopt and enforce antipollution measures of their own. Traditionally this is a matter for local control, but the winds do not always respect boundary lines.

The measure provides for an enormous and needed expansion of the Federal effort against air pollution. It authorizes a three-year program costing $700 million in contrast to the $99 million asked for 1968 by the President.

More than half the projected expenditures under the new program would go into research. It is estimated that presently some 135 million tons of pollutants enter the atmosphere each year. Automobile exhausts are the largest single source; factories and power plants, heating installations and refuse burning are others. All are bound to increase unless better methods of control can be devised.

One shortcoming in the bill is its failure to establish national emission standards, as President Johnson requested in his special message last January. Under heavy pressure from the coal and oil industries the Senate rejected the President's proposal and substituted a weak-kneed direction to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to undertake a two-year study of possible standards.

Despite this defect, the Air Quality Control Act of 1967 will—if the House approves—enable the Federal Government to play a far more effective role in the fight against air pollution in the future than it has until now. It will make available great resources of money and skilled personnel.

It will need to be administered with imagination and diplomacy to enlist cooperation of the states and local communities. Otherwise there is the danger that these will now sit back and leave it all up to Washington. This would be disastrous; the battle can only be won by combined efforts at all levels of Government. But the Federal Government must lead the way.

JULY 27, 1967.

THE EDITOR,
The New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial of July 20, 1967, entitled "The Battle for Clean Air," is an objective and, with one exception, an accurate analysis of the Air Quality Act of 1967 as it passed the Senate last week. Your approval of it as "strengthening the hand of the Federal Government in combating the menace of air pollution," is appreciated.

The exception to which I refer related to your discussion of the proposal for national emission standards and the Committee's reasons for not implementing that concept in the bill.

As stated in the bill, the national purpose in this field is the "enhancement of air quality." Progress toward this objective as quickly as possible is a matter of high priority in the problem areas of the country.

With respect to the kind of Federal authority which would contribute effectively toward such progress, the Committee had two choices:

(1) National emission standards which would assert Federal authority only indirectly and partially in the improvement of the ambient air in such problem areas; and

(2) Ambient air quality standards which would assert Federal authority, in the absence of effective State action, with respect to all sources of pollution in such problem areas.

The Committee chose the latter in the conviction that it would enable the Federal government to deal more effectively with the problem areas of the country.

The Committee has recognized the appropriateness of national emission standards as to certain pollution sources. The 1965 Act, for example, authorizes the setting of national standards as to emissions from motor vehicles; and that legislation was enacted over the initial opposition of the Administration and the strong opposition of industry. Legislation will be introduced shortly to deal with other mobile sources of pollution such as railroads, shipping, and aircraft. And it well may be that national emission standards for other industries may evolve out of our developing experience with ambient air quality control.

For a more complete analysis of the Committee's reasoning on the subject of national emission standards, I refer to the following extract from my floor presentation to the Senate. May I add that, to my knowledge, no member of the Committee and no member of the Senate has quarreled with the Committee's choice:

"Considerable attention was given, in the hearings and also informal conferences and executive sessions, to the concept of national emission standards. Such standards were urged by the administration (1) as a means of eliminating the economic disadvantage of complying with air pollution controls as a local requirement and the temptation for industry to leave or avoid areas where such controls are presently necessary; and (2) on the ground that some industries, by their nature, are a danger to health and welfare wherever they are located.

"In the judgment of the Committee, these arguments were offset by the following considerations."

"(1) The administration itself did not propose uniform national emission standards but rather minimal national standards. Cleary, therefore, there would be local variations which would not eliminate economic disadvantages. Dr. John T. Middleton, Director, National Center for Air Pollution Control, Health, Education, and Welfare, said:

"'Our intention is to get minimum national standards to help insure that no single pollution source would, in itself, be a threat to public health and welfare. These standards would be based on scientific criteria of the effects of air pollutants on man, animals, vegetation, and the air resource itself. The criteria we would use would be those which we are authorized to publish under the provisions of the Clean Air Act' (p. 1153).

"He said later:

"'The setting of such standards at the Federal level would not relieve States and communities of the responsibility of insuring that pollution sources located within their jurisdictions are controlled to the full extent necessary. States could adopt emission standards more stringent than those set at the Federal level' (p. 1155).

"(2) Administration witnesses testified that PHS has made no findings with respect to industries which, in and of themselves, constitute a danger to public health and welfare.

"(3) Under the bill approved by the Committee, the Secretary's authority has been extended so that he can deal effectively with any situation which, by its nature, is a danger to health and welfare, in any location.

"(4) National emission standards would eliminate some control options—relocation of pollution sources, fuel substitutes, and so forth—which may be essential in serious problem areas in the absence of effective technology.

"(5) Wise use of capital resources dictates that the first priority for the pollution control dollar is in those areas where the problem is most critical. National emission standards would give equal priority to critical areas and areas where no problem presently exists.

"(6) The program authorized in the Committee bill will lead to control of the industries described on a national basis, with the kind of local variations envisioned by administration witnesses.

"(7) The difficulty in areas which have an air pollution problem is that the quality of the ambient air has deteriorated below the level consistent with the protection of health and welfare. National emission standards would be related to the problem to the extent that "national" polluters happened to be located in the problem area. Other sources would not be touched by such standards. Such standards do not, therefore, represent a comprehensive attack on the problem of ambient air quality. The Committee has chosen to deal with the problem of ambient air quality directly and to provide authority designed to improve it."

I hope this will clarify any misunderstanding as to the reasons for the Senate's action in authorizing an air quality standards program rather than depending on national emission standards

In closing I should like to express my appreciation for the interest the *Times* has shown in focusing public attention on the problems of air pollution and the need to improve the quality of our air. Your news stories, columns and editorials have stimulated a growing concern with effective Federal, State and local action to deal with this national crisis.

Sincerely,

EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
U.S. Senator.

ESKIMO FIREFIGHTERS WIN PRAISE

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, Alaskans have known for years the value of the Eskimo firefighting crews who go out into the bush during the fire season and save our forests from tremendous losses through their efficiency and hard work.

Recently, two crews of Alaska Eskimos were flown to Montana to assist in meeting a critical fire situation in Glacier National Park. The crews performed in a highly commendable way, and I am proud of the way they served.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter written by Keith Neilson, superintendent of the Glacier National Park, praising the Eskimo firefighters for the work they did in Montana.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, GLACIER
NATIONAL PARK, WEST GLACIER,
MONT.,

September 1, 1967.

Mr. BOYD L. RASMUSSEN,
Director, Bureau of Land Management, Interior Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RASMUSSEN: I want to tell you what a tremendous job your Eskimo firefighters have accomplished for Glacier National Park. When word first came through that we were to have Eskimo firefighters, there were many expressions of skepticism. However, when the Alaskans arrived, and pitched in, there were no more doubting Thomases. In fact, it wasn't long before all the Sector Bosses and the Fire Bosses were singing their praises. Their enthusiasm, drive and initiative made them the acknowledged pace setters almost from the time of their arrival.

Their extremely friendly approach to everything and everyone only added to their reputation. I am enclosing a copy of a news release which appeared in the *Great Falls Tribune* on August 29, which covers this attribute in more detail.

When mop-up operations started, the Alaskans proved even more adept at this particular phase of firefighting which calls for small crews of 2 and 3 men who can and will work without supervision. Here again, the drive and the individual initiative of the Alaskans paid off in a big way. Each Fire Boss was asking for more Alaskans and only offering to release other than Alaskans. In fact, two of our supervisory overhead stopped by at Park Headquarters just to tell us what a wonderful job the Alaskans had accomplished. These two individuals, Messrs. Ray Sellers and James Parr had the opportunity to work with the Alaskans throughout the tour of fire duty. Hence they are qualified to make an accurate appraisal. A copy of their comments is enclosed. It is this tribute, in fact, which prompts this letter of commendation.

The drop-out and quit rate on line firefighters are extremely high. This however is definitely not true with respect to the Alaskans. They all have stayed until the job was finished.

We have had supervisory overhead from various national parks throughout the Nation assisting us on fire suppression activities. Hence, if and when this Service experiences other major forest fires, I believe you should anticipate prompt requests for the services of your Alaskan firefighters.

Enclosed is a copy of the current issue of the local *Hungry Horse News* which carries a picture and a news item on the back page.

As an expression of our appreciation we are giving them a tour of the Going-to-the-Sun Road from Lake McDonald to Logan Pass and return at the time they leave the Park.

Thanks much for sending us those Eskimos.

Sincerely yours,

KEITH NEILSON,
Superintendent.

THE SANTA FE OPERA: REBUILDING TOWARD A FINER FUTURE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the Santa Fe Opera has been known as one of the glittering cultural gems of the entire Southwest in particular and of our Nation in general. In the course of its existence, it has brightened the lives of uncounted visitors to and citizens of New Mexico. As one who has attended performances there, I can testify to the excellence of the entertainment presented.

The operatic and musical world of our

Nation has consistently rated this opera as one of the fine spots in our Nation where such entertainment was offered.

So it was a shock that assumed national proportions when a fire struck and destroyed the Santa Fe Opera. It seems that help is coming from all over the country for the rebuilding of this extraordinary facility. The great names of American art and culture are mixed in with ordinary citizens who share their love for this institution.

Patrick J. Smith, writing in High Fidelity/Musical America magazine, has shown how the company has not only responded to the challenge, but has improved as a result of the tragedy. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD to show the vitality of this institution, to elicit still more support for its swift rebuilding, and for the general information of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SHOW GOES ON: CARDILLAC AND BOULEVARD SOLITUDE

(By Patrick J. Smith)

In the early morning hours of July 27, a fire "of undertermined origin" broke out backstage in the Santa Fe Opera house and within an hour the entire structure was ablaze. When I arrived on the hilltop at eleven o'clock in the morning, the beautiful theatre was a mass of twisted, blackened girders and chunks of wood *"bruciato a messo, fumante ancor."* Bliss Hebert and I wandered about, while John Reardon, who had brought his camera, stood snapping pictures on the concrete balcony stairs which now led nowhere. There was simply nothing to say or do.

Yet five hours earlier, while the theatre still burned, the decision had been reached to continue and finish the season. (As I arrived on the site, rehearsals were in progress on the ranch below.) At ten o'clock the company had been offered the used of the high school gymnasium for performances. Since all the sets had been saved, with the exception of that for *Cardillac,* which had not yet been struck, this decision was feasible. The costumes had been destroyed, but those for *The Barber of Seville* were at the cleaners and so had been spared. It was decided to substitute the Rossini opera for the second *Cardillac,* and orchestral parts were located (all the library had burned). Music stands and substitute instruments (the timpani and the bass fiddles had been left in the orchestra pit) were flown in fron San Antonio, lighting was procured from Albuquerque, orchestral parts for *Boulevard Solitude* were flown in from Germany, and a private home became the temporary costume shop.

THE MIRACLE

In the next thirty-six hours, at the gymnasium, a miracle took place. The company's technical crew, as well as practically all the singers, working through the night, constructed a stage over the basketball court floor, rigged lights, curtains, and set, and presented *The Barber of Seville* on Friday the 28th. The miracle lay only partly in the achievement of this monumental task: the performance itself was excellent. I have rarely if ever seen a more stylish and elegant *Barber:* Reardon as Figaro, Gimi Beni as Bartolo, and Charles Bressler as Almaviva sang and acted with wit and grace and never a moment of coarse buffoonery. The orchestra had no time to retranspose the printed soprano parts down to the original mezzo range, but mezzo Helen Vanni sailed through the music of Rosina with aplomb. A great deal of the credit should go to conductor Robert Baustian, whose reading placed Rossini in the context of Mozart and Paisiello and yet brought out the champagne verve of the score. Standing ovations were the rule on that unforgettable night, and no critic should be immune to a little unashamed emotion. That one evening demonstrated the strength and depth of the Santa Fe company. A jolly, slapdash *Barber* would have equally brought down the house, but it would not have been Opera. This was.

The next night saw *La Bohème* in modern dress: a necessity that fitted in very well with the score, and struck gold in the delightful mini-skirted Musetta of Patricia Wise. By the time of the Henze opera, the company was opertaing at full efficeincy.

When I left Santa Fe, two bulldozers and a crane had already begun to level and clear out the site of the opera house. John Crosby had instituted a national appeal for funds and fully expected to open his 1968 season next June 29 in a new and slightly expanded (and fireproof) theatre. Given the spirit of the week of the fire, he will undoubtedly be able to do so.

Following are more detailed accounts of the two American premieres, both given in English. *Cardillac* was the last performance in the old house.

CARDILLAC

Paul Hindemith's *Cardillac* (performed in the original 1926 version), showed the composer as a major orchestral but minor operatic genius. All the writing for orchestra and for pantomine (of which there is a good deal), as well as all the choral writing, was masterly: concerto grosso textures with obbligato instruments, emphasis on a studied busyness growing out of repeated sequential motives and ostinato patterns, shifting of focus from chorale brass to soft winds. All of this was "dramatic" in the sense that it kept the evening moving forward, but it had little to do with what was going on onstage. Hindemith's vocal writing, largely declamatory and often needlessly florid, seemed loosely stitched onto the orchestral body, and most of the set pieces were obviously inserted. The incongruous image that kept recurring to me was of all the Niebelungs busily hammering away in Nibelheim, while above, the gods disported themselves serenely unaware.

The story itself—taken from a tale of Hoffmann about a master goldsmith who, in his monomania for his "children" (his works), kills anyone who buys them—is cleanly presented in the straightforward libretto of Ferdinand Lion. Yet the very straightforwardness is a fault, for the libretto has a matter-of-fact quality distinctly at variance with the eerie aberration of the central figure. (The stock subordinate love scenes do not help.) Hindemith's music never heightens this Hoffmannesque quality (as, for instance, Offenbach's far more plush-lined score often does); never concentrates on the artistic tyranny of Cardillac, the goldsmith who has perverted creation into domination (and this itself is a superb theme). This nonattention extends to the drama: at one point a suitor comes to ask for Cardillac's daughter's hand: Cardillac is terrified that he is going to ask for one of his works, and is flooded with relief that the man wants "only" his daughter. Yet the music never accentuates this terror or this relief: it merely continues chattering away like a sewing machine. *Cardillac,* in short, is too tidy an opera for its subject.

The production was excellent: John Reardon brought an intensity to the goldsmith's part that the music barely hinted at, and the important choral passages were vigorously sung and clearly enunciated. The choral lament with soprano obbilgato, which closes the work, was effective because it lay closest to what Hindemith did best. Here was a rapport between subject, medium, and audience—an example of that stand-off-and-comment classicism which Hindemith probably felt was rooted in Bach's cantatas but which sounded to these ears like certain passages in Britten's *War Requiem.* Robert Craft conducted with great rhythmic assurance and verve.

BOULEVARD SOLITUDE

Hans Werner Henze's first opera, *Boulevard Solitude* (1952), given in the gymnasium in the composer's presence, makes an interesting contrast to the Hindemith. *Boulevard* is at once more and less—more as an opera, and less as a piece of absolute music. It is a *jugendwerk:* bright, exuberant, unassimilated, possessing everywhere the stamp of a natural dramatic composer. The influences lie shimmering on the surface: Stravinskyian rhythms, Weberian isolated timbres, and various jazz and blues idioms derived more from Kurt Weill than from American sources. Henze binds these together by the deft use of musical formalisms (strophic songs, canons) and scenic motovic nodes reminiscent of *Wozzeck.* How many post-1930 operas bow at the Grand Altar of Herg's two operas! (Ginestera sleeps at the foot.) *Boulevard* has seven scenes, five interludes.

A problem attaches to the libretto, a retelling in twentieth-century terms of the Manon story. Whereas Puccini and Massenet, in their disparate ways, through glittering romantic episodes, charm, and heavy romantic lyricism, evaded the essentially slim nature of the basic plot (des Grieux loves Manon, still loves Manon, continues to love Manon), Henze has chosen to stress the depravity and cynicism surrounding the affair. Lescaut is brought forward and unmasked as a pimp and a thief. There is lyricism also in Henze (the lovely duet in the fourth scene is a case in point)—he is, in fact, perhaps the foremost major lyric opera composer of our time. But the influence of this century and of *Lulu* overrides. All three Manon operas are necessarily episodic, and all three fail to come to grips with the debilitating lust of des Grieux and the combination of utter innocence yet absolute wantonness of Manon (Massenet here had the most success). The superficialities of the plot tempted two composers early in their operatic careers, but the Manon story requires the vision and understanding of a mature mind.

Bliss Hebert, the director, overdid in favor of stylization in an opera that is essentially realistic. The opening presentation of a railroad station, complete with steam and clanging of a departing train, had an arresting effect, but as the opera continued, the posings seemed less and less appropriate. In several instances, also, Hebert glossed over important motivational points: in Scene Three the elderly lover, after singing an ironic trio with Manon and Lescaut, proceeds to throw them out of his apartment *before* discovering his rifled cash box. His motivation in evicting them is thus never made clear.

Lawrence Reehling's ingeniously complex sets equated depravity more with the Berlin tinsel of the Twenties than with the Paris of the Forties. Patricia Brooks, as Manon, portrayed the wantonness and élan of the character better than the innocent sweetness; Loren Driscoll's Armand developed beautifully from enamored schoolboy to disillusioned adult. The excellent conductor was Robert Baustian.

The Santa Fe Opera company has matured greatly since I last saw it two years ago. The chorus is now full-sized and extraordinarily responsive, with weight and vigor, and the orchestra has the depth, suppleness, and balance of a symphony that performs on a regular basis. The lighting techniques (seen in the theatre only once, but visible again even in the makeshift gymnasium setting) have become ever more resourceful and responsive to the stage action. A major share of the credit for this progress must go to general director John Crosby, for insisting on improvement year by year. But I suspect, too, that a good deal of that intangible factor, the tone of the company, should be ascribed to the musical administrator, Robert Baustian. Baustian, who teaches conducting at the Oberlin Conservatory, has brought with him a sense of elegance and style—in short, that sense of musicianship—which distinguishes the Glyndebournes and Salzburgs at their best.

The challenge of the new house will doubtless inspire the company to continue this improvement.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ASTHMA

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, a timely and important address was made recently at the 60th National Auxiliaries Convention of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital in Denver. The speaker was a distinguished member of the medical profession—Dr. Frederic G. Burke. As a professor of pediatrics at Georgetown University, Dr. Burke has been deeply involved with child health research. And he has given generously of his time, as a member of the National Institute of Child Health, and by serving as special consultant to the Surgeon General. Dr. Burke's address underlines the important work that must be done in combating asthma—one of the most pervasive children's diseases in the Nation. I believe the address merits the attention of all who are concerned with the Nation's health. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIGHT AGAINST ASTHMA

(Excerpts from a speech given during the 60th National Auxiliaries Convention of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (CARIH) in Denver, Colo., by Frederic G. Burke, M.D., professor of pediatrics at Georgetown University, member of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development First National Advisory Council, Consultant to the Surgeon General)

Changing patterns of disease in the American pediatric population have occurred so swiftly in the past 10 to 20 years that child health precepts taught a few years ago bear very little resemblance to the teaching programs given in the pediatric departments of our medical schools today. Dramatic advances in microbiology have virtually wiped out such formerly common menaces as Poliomyelitis, Diphtheria, Typhoid Fever and Whooping Cough, to name but a few familiar killers of our children one or two decades ago. In the United States, advances in nutrition have made it difficult today to find a patient with one of the deficiency diseases, such as Scurvy, Pellagra or Rickets, in order to demonstrate these conditions to our current medical students. In fact, all along the medical frontier, significant breakthroughs in categorical diseases have been made that excite and give us cause for pride in medical progress.

With the decline in death rates due to these infectious diseases, we have come to grips with other subtler destroyers of the health of our children—in particular, Asthma.

Good health is not simply the absence of disease, but the provision of that state of physical and mental climate that permits the fullest expression and complete development of our best genetic potential. Today, one of our most important battles for this goal of good health concerns the very basis of our minute-by-minute existence—the ability to breathe. Our protagonist is Asthma.

Asthma is not a new disease; indeed, it was well described by Hippocrates and further graphic descriptions of this symptom-complex punctuate the medical history of man. Considerable research has been conducted in investigating the possible causes of this disease and numerous theories have been advanced. At the present time, hundreds of years after recognition of this disorder, we still do not know precisely all of the triggers, the basic cellular mechanisms involved, and certainly have not defined its cure. Despite the magnitude of the job ahead, it is safe to say that the future is bright. More has been learned about Asthma in the last ten years than in all previous recorded history.

To gain heightened awareness of the importance of the Asthma problem, we need only to compare the death and morbidity statistics of yesteryear's major childhood diseases with today's vastly improved experience and then concentrate upon the rising incidence of Asthma. There are approximately 5½ million chronic asthmatics in this country; about six times more patients are suffering from air hunger due to Asthma than there are persons under treatment for cancer in the United States. In the 1963 National Health Survey of Children in our country, the data showed more than one-third of all chronic illnesses reported for children under the age of 17 years was caused by Asthma and its related diseases. Nearly one-fourth of all days reported lost from school because of chronic illness is due to Asthma. These figures are considered conservative and may well be higher. The crippling psychological, respiratory and economic effects of childhood genesis of Asthma upon adult life are increasingly coming into focus.

The calamitous plight of the air-hungry child stimulates panic in the patient, his family, and indeed, at times in the physician. Family units have been uprooted and some separated because of the frightening, recurrent attacks of acute and chronic respiratory distress in an asthmatic child.

At the last examining session of the American Board of Pediatrics, given to academically qualified doctors for specialist approval, I asked each candidate to outline his management of a child with an acute asthmatic attack. Without exception, the better-trained young specialists indicated considerable trepidation and the necessity for fastidious attention to many details of skilled observation. Such respect, needless to say, constituted an appropriate attitude in the passing candidates.

While genetic endowment and biologic and psychologic factors are undoubtedly important components in the causation of the Asthma complex, another important factor is the physical environment of the child—the urgency of investigating the role of air pollution and environmental contamination in the production and aggravation of these diseases cannot be overstated. Medical annals are filled with volumes dealing with the effects of climate on human disease, but there is a singular lack of controlled scientific observation on the effects of polluted air, food and water on human lungs.

As physicians, we think that an illness is brought on by a single cause, a classic view no longer tenable for many diseases. While there is a simple association of infectious agents exclusively producing some acute illnesses, the concept simply does not apply to many chronic diseases which are on the rise today, including Asthma.

I believe it necessary to postulate a time-biologic continuum in many pulmonary diseases which affect children and characteristically are manifested in certain age groups. Beginning with the acute respiratory distress syndromes of the newborn, we see in succeeding months of life other respiratory distress diseases which are fairly age-specific. These we designate as Bronchiolitis, Croup, Bronchitis, acute Asthma and finally as chronic Asthma-Emphysema complex. While the etiologic factors and biological responses of these afflictions may vary—they all have, in common, effects, especially air-hunger that demand elucidation and research. In addition to research of the factors involved at the cellular level, the very best methods of treatment of these frequently crippling conditions must be taught to our medical students, nurses, allied medical professionals and, indeed, to parents of involved children.

The effects of all severe lung diseases in childhood leave scars that may rob the individual of his pulmonary reserves. Chronic pulmonary disorders simply don't begin at ages 30 to 40, when they are first diagnosed, but have had their beginnings at a much earlier time—many in the childhood period.

Chronic Asthma may be considered a potentially preventable disease, the magnitude of the pulmonary reserve-robbing effect in adult life from childhood asthma can only be estimated since morbidity statistics such as this are difficult to obtain.

Chronic Bronchitis, as it is called in Great Britain, was once thought to be a specific disease. It it actually similar, if not identical, to chronic Asthma. It develops over a long period of time and can become crippling through a combination of factors. These include air pollution, smoke, a variety of respiratory antigens, repeated and recurrent bouts of pulmonary infections, occupational exposures and psychological trauma—all conditioned perhaps by genetic factors.

Indeed, if our *Fight Against Asthma* is to succeed, there must be an even greater concerted effort made. It has been estimated by the U.S. Public Health Service that in the years 1962 and 1963, 128 million days were lost from work, school and other necessary activities in the United States due to Asthma.

It is necessary to mount and support an even larger national effort if we are to deal with the immediate and long term problems of Asthma. We must make it possible for additional scientists to become involved with this disease. Where must we recruit these additional fighters to develop this total approach to Asthma? We must get them from the Social Sciences because entire families are involved and deeply affected, from the Behavior Sciences of Psychology and Psychiatry because primary and secondary psychological stresses in this disease can be extremely incapacitating and warp the surviving personality of the child with Asthma, besides directly involving the basic process, and from the biologic segment of our scientific community for accelerated effort in immunology, genetics, pharmacology, physical medicine and engineering, just to name a few.

These scientists and their associates must even more diligently pull harmoniously in developing a common language in solving the complex, multidisciplinary problems involved in the elimination of Asthma as a national threat.

Co-ordinating scientific disciplines is not always easily accomplished and occurs only in national institutions of excellence, such as the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (CARIH) in Denver, under inspired and well supported leadership.

Co-ordinated research, experience and training projects must be united under one roof further opening the windows of gnorance to let in the light of knowledge and, ultimately, air for our breathless asthmatic children. A unique, working blueprint for this integrated problem of clinical and basic research, coupled with high standards of patient care and rehabilitation, exists at CARIH, the national asthma center in Denver.

The outstanding and prophetic leadership provided by the officers, the Board and professional staff of CARIH in bringing our present point of understanding about Asthma to its current level is, of course, recognized here in the United States and the world over. Imaginative research, quality training of personnel and CARIH innovations in patient care have set high standards for others to follow. As a real pioneer in blazing research trails in Asthma, this institute assumed the robes of leadership and has exercised this responsibility with great grace, humility and distinction.

Grateful acknowledgment of these efforts is accorded by the medical profession at local, national and international levels and imitative efforts to simulate this model in whole or part must be stimulated in a widening geographic circle of distant communities. For every child selected for admission to CARIH, nearly 2,000 similar children remain in their respective home towns, left to battle their disease with inadequate weapons.

With CARIH as the example of what can be done, we need to support this extraordinary model and emulate it if we are to succeed in the *Fight Against Asthma.*

And the high standards do not come cheaply. I am informed that, at CARIH, it costs $12,000 to rehabilitate a child during a two-year course of treatment and care—none of which cost is borne by the child's family. I am sure that this figure does not include the costs of the vital research programs that constantly develop better methods of managing the disease and which are seeking out the causes of Asthma.

The costs of not providing for this high standard of care, necessary for successful management not only in terms of agonizing human suffering for the child and his family but also in actual dollars, staggers the imagination. It is expressed not only by lost human potential, but also in direct medical costs of survival. Economically, millions of dollars; humanly, millions of heartbreaks.

Since there are over 300,000 chronically intractable asthmatic children in our country, the importance of supporting research into techniques of treatment, of communicating this knowledge to those in every community concerned with methods of management, of correlating important physiologic guide-posts through medical reporting constitutes an important mission for CARIH, and this mission is being carried out.

The base of our fight against childhood Asthma must be broadened. We need to develop our resources for training, for patient service and for mobilizing research potentials internationally because this human enemy has passports to all areas of the world.

From the immense resources of the Federal budget, opportunities for support of quality training and research in the Asthma-Emphysema complex are many. These include the National Science Foundation, The Chronic Disease Bureau of the Public Health Service, The Children's Bureau, in addition to all seven of The National Institutes of Health.

The expanded health budgets of our Government for health matters reflect the intention of the Federal Government to widen its support of the battle against chronic illness.

In a world at war, many sparrows do fall. As defenders of health, we must do all we can to solve the grave problem of Asthma and to bring every energy to bear in winning the *Fight Against Asthma* for our breathless children, who if they survive, fall heir to additional diseases of the heart and of the lungs.

As a poet once said:

"Clay lies still, but blood's a rover,
  Breath's a ware that will not keep
Up, lad: when the journey's over,
  There'll be time to sleep."

LYNDON JOHNSON AND A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE OLDER CITIZEN

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, Americans have a very brief sense of history.

On July 1, when President Johnson issued a public statement on the first anniversary of the medicare program, there was hardly a ripple in the Nation, no flood of overwhelming editorial opinion, no long sustained shout of hurray for President Johnson, hurray for the Democrats, hurray for medicare.

But there should have been.

Our problem is that, once a Government program is established, no matter how many years it took to get it, the American people tend to think of that program as having been here forever.

Medicare was not here forever. It is just a little more than a year old. The social security system is hardly 30 years old. The Older Citizens Act and other community programs for the older person are only a few years old.

For those who have forgotten, or those who wish to remember, I will remind them that many a man—mostly Democrats—fought tough political battles for years before the social security system was first established under Franklin Roosevelt.

Harry Truman pledged a national medicare program, but it was defeated until 1966, when Lyndon Johnson went out to Missouri and signed the bill authorizing that new program.

Let us revitalize our memories with a few statistics which demonstrate what happens for the benefit of people when a President sticks to his commitment on programs for the older citizen.

During the very first year of medicare's operation 4 million older persons received $2.6 billion worth of hospital treatment; 200,000 patients received $60 million worth of posthospital care in certified nursing homes; payments of $800 million were made for physicians and other medical serices; and, 19 million American citizens were covered—many for the first time—by hospital and medical insurance.

Those citations might sound like numbers, but they are people. They are people who, for years, had been written off in terms of health and hospital care, and in terms of being considered a full and effective part of American society.

There are leaders in this country who are not willing to write anybody off as a part of our society. And President Johnson counts himself with the compassionate who believe that every human being counts and has a contribution to make.

Another President, having steered to passage the bill for medicare, might have leaned back and waited a few years before his next fight for the older citizen.

But not Lyndon B. Johnson. He followed medicare with the Older Americans Act. He followed the Older Americans Act with the rent supplement program—an effort which will aid a number of older citizens when it is fully funded. The Senate did its duty yesterday by approving a full $40 million this year for the program.

Since 1964, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has approved actions making possible specially designed apartments for older citizens in low-rent public housing programs and in privately sponsored housing built with Federal funds.

The antipoverty program has opened up new opportunities for older people in the foster parent program.

The social security benefit system is being revised, with its benefits to be increased, and new provisions which will permit older citizens to earn more income without losing benefits.

The commitment of the Johnson administration to the older citizen in America is a public fact which needs no defense.

Almost every program to benefit older people in this Nation has been a product of the compassion and the interest of Democratic leaders—from Wilson to Roosevelt to Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson. President Johnson continues that tradition.

He has guaranteed what one might call a bill of rights for the older citizen—that every citizen of this country shall be a true part of it, share in its benefits, share in its burden for so long as he or she wishes, and that the Nation has a responsibility to the older citizen.

This is a testament to the binocular vision of Lyndon Johnson to keep the country moving ahead and to have compassion and deep interest in the people whose lives and energies make the Nation prosper.

WHERE IS THE ARMY OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND WHAT IS IT DOING?

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, in recent weeks a series of articles has been published regarding the condition of the army of South Vietnam. The contents of the articles have raised significant doubts in my mind as to the contribution that organization is making to our joint effort in that nation.

It has always been my belief that the right of self-determination of the people of South Vietnam must be preserved. For this reason I have supported the effort of this country to preserve that right. I continue to support this effort now.

But a nation must, like any individual, help itself if it is to earn the right to exist as a viable nation-state. It seems that much of this effort has been lacking on the part of the armed forces of South Vietnam.

Recently, the newly elected President of South Vietnam made a public statement about American forces doing the fighting that appalled me. At first I did not believe my ears. Could this be possible after what we have already done? President Thieu said on "Meet the Press," on September 10:

> I believe it is better to give to the American troops more missions of heavy fighting, and to the Vietnamese troops more of the pacification and "clear and hold" missions.

We are in South Vietnam to help a nation to help itself, not to bear the full burden of its defense.

Further, it is becoming evident that the army of South Vietnam is not bearing even a reasonable share of the burden of this conflict. This, if true, I vehemently protest.

An article by Peter Arnett, Pulitzer Prize-winning war correspondent for the Associated Press, appeared last week in the Washington Post, and its contents disquiet me further, to say the least.

How is it possible for American troops to go out consistently at all hours to meet the enemy in mortal combat in the field, while the Army of South Vietnam wages a halfhearted, 5½-day-per-week war? Is this true? Has nothing been done to make the South Vietnamese pull their own weight?

This is obviously causing greater American losses in the field. If we must bear necessary losses, that is one thing. But if we are sustaining useless casualties, then that is something else.

This article goes on to document some situations that are a catalog of shame. By the time one reaches the end of it, it is quite literally a masterpiece of horror.

Mr. President, I protest this situation. I call for an end to these evils forthwith. It is time that we came to an end of puerile excuses and put forth a joint effort that will win this war. It is obviously time for reform of the structure of the South Vietnamese Army, including its draft, training policies, and daily functions.

It is time for the South Vietnamese Army to at least match the efforts of our American forces. It is time they played the same role the Army of South Korea played when that nation was in danger.

It is one thing to fight a war for principle and geopolitical necessity. It is another to see one group fight all out while another sits on the sidelines cheering them on and taking advantage of their largess.

I hope the President, the Secretary of Defense, and Secretary of State will work closely with the newly elected President of South Vietnam to rectify this situation.

I am prepared to back a war of combined principle and necessity. I am ready and willing to back American fighting men to the hilt, wherever they may be. I am not prepared to see American blood and treasure poured out while others do nothing to help themselves.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, here for the enlightenment and information of this body, the article I have referred to.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 17, 1967]

SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY FIGHTS A 5½-DAY WEEK

(By Peter Arnett)

(NOTE.—This hard look at the South Vietnamese army represents months of research and thousands of miles of travel by Arnett, Pulitzer Prize winning war correspondent for the Associated Press, plus the assistance of other AP reporters on the scene.)

SAIGON—The dispirited South Vietnamese army, shot through with inefficiency, often lacks the will for combat and is increasingly prone to let the Americans do the fighting. Fighting statistics and a detailed survey of field operations bear out this observation. In much of the country the Vietnamese military effort has steadily tailed off as that of the Americans has increased.

The size of the South Vietnamese armed forces has doubled since 1962, yet the number killed has held constant at about 10,000 a year. In the first six months of 1967, the army lost 5494 men. The statistics are so constant from year to year as to raise questions about their validity.

By contrast, the American forces, having lost 2532 killed in the first six months of 1966, lost 4909 in the first six months of 1967, when the number of Americans engaged had doubled.

Nowhere in the country can South Vietnamese troops be said to have made real gains against the enemy, although it is clear that the army must play a significant role if there is to be any hope of lasting success against the Communists.

The American Army is clearly limited in the depth it can reach into the countryside to crush the foe and hold ground. In no instance, however, have the allies been willing to hand over any of the territory won to Vietnamese units. Allied commanders fear that the Communists would be in charge again within weeks.

A 5½-DAY WEEK

An extensive survey of the situation established these points:

South Vietnamese military ineffectiveness costs American lives in the ambushing of convoys on roads supposedly cleared by Vietnamese troops, in the mortaring of U.S. installations by squads which slip past sleeping Vietnamese sentries, in sniping by guerrillas who move freely past Vietnamese outposts.

Most of the troops insist on a 5½-day week, taking Saturdays and Sundays off, while their allies and the Vietcong go on fighting.

American battalions seeking to break up enemy units operate through the night. So do the Vietcong. The South Vietnamese quit when the sun goes down.

Many South Vietnamese operations are staged in areas where no guerrillas are known to be. Huge troop concentrations are deployed in areas where small numbers of the enemy are hidden. Outnumbered, the Communists decline to stand and fight.

Only two of the 44 generals in the army in 1963 are still holding their rank. The others have been purged. This has sharply impaired morale in the command echelons.

Desertions from the armed forces are running at the rate of 10,000 a month and are expected to total more than 400,000 by the end of the year. This is twice as many men as the service lost to battle casualties.

Corruption is common at all levels of the army.

The loss of American lives traceable to Vietnamesee inaction or incompetence is expected to rise directly in proportion to the depth that U.S. forces deploy in the countryside. American battalions already are operating independently in districts and villages. This trend is expected to continue.

Some Americans are demanding that the United States be given a command role over the Vietnamese similar to that held over South Korean forces in the Korean war.

Senior officials from Washington visiting Vietnam are being told, "If we have to see the war through, we will have to assume command responsibility eventually. Why not start now?" There has been an affirmative response to these views by most of the Washington visitors, a reliable source reported. But there are no indications of pressure on the Vietnamese at the top levels of government.

Part of the high-level reluctance might stem from the perennial official viewpoint that the Vietnamese troops are performing satisfactorily. In February, 1964, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara predicted that the United States would pull most of its troops out of the war the following year.

"It is a counterguerrilla war, it is a war that can only be won by the Vietnamese themselves," McNamara said. "Our responsibility is not to substitute ourselves for the Vietnamese but to train them to carry on the operations that they themselves are capable of."

Last Aug. 14, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, struck out at critics of South Vietnamese military effectiveness.

"I can say categorically that the Vietnamese armed forces are making steady progress," he told an interviewer. "They are far better than they were a year ago and this is evident from their discipline, their performance on the battlefield and the successes they are enjoying against the enemy."

Also last month, Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., commandant of the Marine Corps, said that six visits to Vietnam had convinced him that "the South Vietnamese forces are doing a first-class job" and "are carrying their share."

A TYPICAL WEEK

Frequent visits to the field with Vietnamese units, talks with Vietnamese and American officers and men and a close examination of results of operations give no indication that the Vietnamese military has changed much since the days when it was fighting the Communists alone and getting beaten. A typical week of the war shows this trend all too clearly.

In this particular week, ending Aug. 5, the 80 American combat battalions in Vietnam suffered 186 dead and 1064 wounded in operations that ranged from just south of Saigon to the Demilitarized Zone. The 100 battalions of Vietnamese regular troops operating in these same regions lost 32 dead and 60 wounded.

In that same week, U.S. Marines operating in the First Corps region lost 110 men killed. The 30 Vietnamese battalions in the Corps area lost six killed.

More than 60 per cent of the Vietnamese killed that week were not in Vietnamese regular battalions. These deaths occurred at the lowest level of the war among the neglected, low-paid regional and popular forces.

The mission of these troops, who comprise nearly one-half of the Vietnamese armed forces, is to defend towns, villages and bridges against the Vietcong. They operate from mud, brick or concrete outposts, often cringing in fear from an approaching enemy, only occasionally attempting to fight off an attacking force and usually dying after throwing their weapons away and attempting to run, hide or surrender.

Casualties often are taken without inflicting any upon the enemy. The 479th Regional Force Company in Thuthua District, Longan Province, has not killed a Vietcong in its two years of existence. Yet it has lost 12 dead and many wounded in frequent attacks on its position.

THIRD DIE IN OFFENSIVES

The statistics indicate that only one-third of the Vietnamese killed in the war lose their lives in offensive operations against the enemy. This one-third comes from the 285,000 regular Vietnamese arrayed in ten infantry divisions, one armored division, an airborne division and 20 ranger battalions.

The remaining losses are among the 283,000 regional and popular force men in their thousands of outposts across Vietnam.

Nearly all American losses are taken on offensive operations. The official kill ratio of one American dead to ten of the enemy reflects this aggressive stance.

The regular Vietnamese army claims a 1–3.6 ratio against the enemy and the popular forces about 1–1. These ratios are based on enemy killed counts that often are fanciful.

American battalions stay out in the field at night as a matter of course to achieve their results. All the battalions of the Second Brigade, U.S. 25th Division, based out of Cuchi, northwest of Saigon, were out 28 nights each in July. None of the battalions of the nearest regiment of the Vietnamese 25th Division stayed out a single night that month.

One of the best regiments in the Vietnamese army, the 33d of the 21st Division in the southern Delta, spent only 46 battalion days in the field in July out of a possible 120 battalion days—that is, 30 days for each of the regiment's four battalions. At no time did a battalion stay out at night, not in the operational area, anyway. Night duty for a Vietnamese battalion is guarding the perimeter of an outpost or a town.

A reluctance to come to grips with the enemy has characterized the Vietnamese military effort since the war began in earnest in 1961 with 15,000 Vietcong guerrillas terrorizing villagers, blowing bridges and overrunning outposts.

In the days of President Ngo Dinh Diem, field commanders were recalled for suffering too many casualties. The practice of operating judiciously to keep casualties at an acceptable figure may well have continued.

Whatever the reasons, there can be no question that the army has failed completely in its mission of overpowering the Communist guerrilla movement. The official statistics over the years would have you believe otherwise, but there are statistics and statistics.

Walls of all the numerous U.S. advisory commands are dizzying with green, red and yellow lines that spiral ever upward, indicating greater and greater progress within the Vietnamese army. At the headquarters of the Fourth Corps Region at Cantho, an American colonel-adviser to Vietnamese forces will tell you, "Our percentage of major operations one battalion or larger are dropping off this year, but the percentage of contact is increasing. Better intelligence, you know."

The statistics don't say that in all these operations the enemy was given the field of battle each evening because government forces in the Delta like to get home before dark.

How, then, can progress be measured in a place like the Mekong Delta, still mostly in the South Vietnamese army bailiwick? One index is the estimated enemy strength, 80,000 at last count, half of them tough, skilled fighters.

The enemy estimate is the same as last year but twice as high as the previous year, which was twice as high as the year preceding that.

In July this year, half as many government troops were killed as in July, 1966. The number of enemy killed halved also.

AREA DIVVIED UP

The truth in the Delta seems to be that a status quo exists, with the Saigon government hanging on to the province and district capitals and their immediate environs and the Vietcong holding out in their lairs. The canals and roads are contested on occasion, but generally the Vietcong leave them open and collect tribute for their use.

As has been shown in the rest of Vietnam, only the infusion of American troops is likely to upset the status quo. This has happened in Giadinh Province, which surrounds Saigon, in Longan Province to the south and in Haunghia Province to the west.

By relentless operations, day and night, American troops have managed to break down the enemy battalions into small groups. They have them on the run and search for them constantly.

The Vietnamese do sometimes have major battles with the enemy, killing many and capturing sizable caches of weapons. Some of the elite Vietnamese marine and airborne units compare with American battalions. But the sustained effort that brings results has not been forthcoming from the Vietnamese and does not look likely in the months ahead.

The performance of Vietnamese regular battalions has hardly varied over the years. The 20 highly trained Ranger battalions still perform spottily. Only five of them killed more than 100 Vietcong last year, the highest with 255 kills. U.S. officers believe that, if properly utilized, a Ranger battalion should kill 600 to 900 enemy per year.

GOOD MEN AVAILABLE

How can the Vietnamese be persuaded to utilize their units better? Many Americans argue for a joint command with an American at the top. Short of that, they would like a strong voice in the selection of commanding officers.

An outspoken Vietnamese province chief commented, "The one big mistake the United States made when it sent combat troops into Vietnam was not to demand the right to relieve and appoint Vietnamese officers. You are paying for it now."

"There are plenty of young, aggressive, honest officers around," one U.S. official commented. "I have a list of them."

Unsupported by direct pressure from Washington, American commanders resort to subtle technique of leverage. A senior American in the Delta entices his three-star general counterpart into taking field trips with him, casually discussing area problems within his earshot. This apparently satisfies the general's ego to the degree that he sometimes comes around to his American adviser the next day with a solution.

An American corps commander presents his Vietnamese counterpart with a list of five problems, no more no less, each Friday. By resubmitting the same problems, he hopes that eventually he will get something done about them.

This sort of advisory merry-go-round has proved completely ineffective in the past, but "with so many Americans around, breathing over their shoulders, the Vietnamese will have no choice but to knuckle under," a U.S. general said hopefully. He added, "They'll have to, if we are ever to get out of here."

But the problem is far more than just one of the Vietnamese listening and then doing, even though that would be a major step in the right direction, most Americans agree. Logistics problems in the Vietnamese army remain almost insoluble.

"The army is organized on American lines except for the logistics," one U.S. general explained. "Under the crazy French system they use, if an armored vehicle has its tires blown off in the foothills, the driver has to take the tires to Saigon so he can get new ones. There is equipment lying all over this country that could be repaired easily if the red tape were cut."

Vietnamese commanders are military dilettantes when it comes to running an operation. A division commander generally deploys and controls his battalions himself, unwilling to trust them to his chain of command. If he goes off for lunch or to a political conference, the operation will collapse because no one else dares give orders.

There are no long-range patrols made by the Vietnamese army, even though these patrols have proved most effective in every American unit in the country.

"We could never get any volunteers to go out in enemy territory in groups of four or five men like the Americans do," a regimental adviser said.

There is corruption at all levels. A province chief, holding the rank of colonel, commented: "Of course there is corruption. My salary is 17,000 piasters (about $150) each month. With that I have to feed, clothe and educate my family, support myself and pay for your breakfast and all the other breakfasts and dinners that I, as province chief, have to give.

"Can I be anything else but corrupt when the Americans pay 20,000 piasters salary each month to just an interpreter?"

THE HAVE-NOTS

Vietnamese troops, particularly the low-grade regional and popular forces, are poorly paid. Said a regimental commander: "My men live like pigs, in shacks, in squalor. They are forced to make love under the trees when their wives visit them. How can they be motivated with so little?"

A Vietnamese division commander complained: "American troops have helicopters, much artillery, many aircraft. Give us all these things and let us try. If we cannot do the job, then you can take over."

Vietnamese soldiers conduct themselves as their armies have for decades in much of the country, stealing and looting in the villages. A regimental commander said: "I will not condone my soldiers stealing chickens, but I accept it. Our logistics system is so bad, what else will they eat?"

There are elaborate plans for the improvement of the Vietnamese military, including the addition of 60,000 new troops, most of them militiamen. There is talk of breaking down some divisions into mobile groups similar to those used by the French.

American units are beginning to work with Vietnamese battalions, but the benefits of having Americans near at hand can boomerang. An adviser with a Vietnamese Ranger battalion working with the U.S. 199th Brigade commented: "This integration has ruined any chance there was that my battalion would ever operate independently. Now they depend completely on the U.S. All I do now is settle disputes between them and the Americans."

Rachkien, a town south of Saigon, was pacified by successive battalions of American troops who operated day and night in the paddy fields and the swamps. A Vietnamese battalion from the 25th Division worked with them and, according to senior Americans, "caught fire with enthusiasm."

In early August, American commanders judged that the time was almost ripe for the Vietnamese battalion to take over the area; the U.S. unit would move on. At the last minute, the Vietnamese division commander pulled his battalion back to home base for security guard, with no explanations.

The American battalion was left in Rachkien to continue the tough, endless task of seeking out the guerrillas in the paddy fields and the leech-infested swamps.

DEATH OF REV. JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, "Each man's death diminishes me," John Donne once wrote. With the death of John Courtney Murray, we are all diminished.

Father Murray was a scholar—who was passionately involved with life. He was a man of God—who committed himself to the world of men. He was an advocate—whose mind was never shut to opposing views.

A moving tribute to this extraordinary man was offered by Walter J. Burghardt, S.J., of Woodstock College. The sermon preached by Father Burghardt at Father Murray's funeral touches on the features which make John Courtney Murray's death a diminution of us all. I ask unanimous consent that the sermon be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Tribute to John Courtney Murray: He Lived With Wisdom

(By Walter J. Burghardt)

How does one recapture sixty-three years? How do you bring to life a man who taught with distinction in the Ivy League and on the banks of the Patapsco; who served country and Church in Washington and Rome; who graced the platform of so many American campuses and was honored with degrees by nineteen; who researched theology and law, philosophy and war; who was consulted "from the top" on the humanities and national defense, on Christian unity and the new atheism, on democratic institutions and social justice; whose name is synonymous with Catholic intellectualism and the freedom of man; whose mind could soar to outer space without leaving our shabby earth; whose life was a living symbol of faith of hope, of love?

How does one recapture John Courtney Murray?

No one really recaptures him for another. Each man or woman whose life he touched, each one of you, has his or her own. Murray-for-remembrance. As for me, leafing through the last third of those sixty-three years, I remember a mind, a manner, a man.

I

I remember a mind. Few men have wedded such broad knowledge with such deep insight. Few scholars can rival Father Murray's possession of a total tradition and his ability to tune it in on the contemporary experience. For whether immersed in Trinitarian theology or the rights of man, he reflected the concerns of one of his heroes, the first remarkable Christian thinker, the third-century Origen. He realized with a rare perceptiveness that for a man to grow into an intelligent Christianity, intelligence itself must grow in him. And so his intellectual life reproduced the four stages he found in Origen.

First, recognition of the rights of reason, awareness of the thrilling fact that the Word did not become flesh to destroy what was human but to perfect it. Second, the acquisition of knowledge, a sweeping vast knowledge, the sheer materials for his contemplation, for his ultimate vision of the real. Third, the indispensable task that is Christian criticism: to confront the old with the new, to link the highest flights of reason to God's self-disclosure, to communicate the insight of Clement of Alexandria that Fr. Murray loved so dearly: "There is but one river of truth, but many streams fall into it on this side and on that." And fourth, an intelligent love: love of truth wherever it is to be found, and a burning yearning to include all the scattered fragments of discovered truth under the one God and His Christ.

The results, as you know, were quite astonishing. Not in an ivory tower, but in the blood and bone of human living. Unborn millions will never know how much their freedom is tied to this man whose pen was a powerful protest, a dramatic march, against injustice and inequality, whose research sparked and terminated in the ringing affirmation of an ecumenical council: "The right to religious freedom has its foundation" not in the Church, not in society or state, not even in objective truth, but in "the very dignity of the human person." Unborn millions will never know how much the civilized dialogue they take for granted between Christian and Christian, between Christian and Jew, between Christian and unbeliever, was made possible by this man whose life was a civilized conversation. Untold Catholics will never sense that they live so gracefully in this dear land because John Murray showed so persuasively that the American proposition is quite congenial to the Catholic reality.

II

With the mind went the manner. What John Murray said or did, he said or did with "style." I mean, the how was perfectly proportioned to the what. There was a Murray style. It stemmed, I think, from a singular feeling for the sacredness of words, the sacredness of things, the sacredness of persons. How fresh syllables sounded when *his* rich voice proclaimed them—even when he changed the Church-State issue into the "ecclesiastico-political problematic." How fascinating a problem proved as *he* probed surgeon-like for its heart—from the Law and the Prophets he plumbed so profoundly to the latest experience of contemporary man. How dear human beings became while *he* fathomed the four bases on which a people must be built: truth, justice, love and freedom.

Each of you has his or her private memory of the Murray manner. How your heart leaped when he smiled at you; how your thoughts took wing when he lectured to you; how good the "little people" felt when *he* spoke to *you*. How natural it all sounded when *he* ordered a "Beefeater Martini desperately dry." How uplifted you felt when he left you with "Courage, Walter! It's far more important than intelligence." How the atmosphere changed when he entered a room: it was warm, electric, somehow bigger. How he spoke first and softly to *you*—not because you were colored, but because you were his friend, or because you were a stranger—or because you were human. For, as his Jewish secretary put it, all you had to be was a human being, and he respected you, even loved you.

Each of you has his or her memory of the Murray manner. How aloof he seemed, when he was really only shy—terribly shy. How sensitive to your hurt, how careful not to wound—with his paradoxical belief, "A gentleman is never rude save intentionally." How courteous he was, especially if you were young, just beginning, fumbling for the answer or even for the question. How gentle he was, as only the strong tested by fire can be gentle. How firm and outgoing his handclasp—his whole self given for this moment to you only. How open he was, to men and ideas, as only "the man who lives with wisdom" can be open. How stubborn and unbending, once the demands of truth or justice or love or freedom were transparent.

How rhythmic he was, on the public platform and the private links. How serene, in delicate dialogue and mid the threat of a world's destruction. How priestly in every gesture, a mediator between God and man—not only at the altar (so warm and majestic) but in the day-to-day encounter with the learned and the illiterate, with the powerful and the impotent, with those for whom God is a living reality and those for whom God is dead. How delighted he could be with the paradoxes of life—as when the Unitarians honored this professional Trinitarian. How the laughter lit his eyes when he recalled that, during the Rome discussions on religious freedom, "Michael Cardinal Browne proved more unsinkable than his famous Irish cousin Molly." And how confident he looked as he predicted that the postconciliar experience of the Church would parallel the experience of the bishops in council: we will begin with a good deal of uncertainty and confusion, must therefore pass through a period of crisis and tension, but can expect to end with a certain measure of light and of joy.

III

The captivating thing is, the manner was the man. As the mind was the man. Here was no pose, no sheerly academic exercise. Here was a man. In his professional, academic, intellectual life, he lived the famous paragraph of Aquinas: "There are two ways of desiring knowledge. One way is to desire it as a perfection of oneself; and that is the way philosophers desire it. The other way of desiring knowledge is to desire it not simply as a perfection of oneself, but because through this knowledge the one we love becomes present to us; and this is the way saints desire it." Through Fr. Murray's knowledge, the persons he loved, a triune God and a host of men, became present to him.

The mind and the manner were the man. A man of warm affections and deep loves. In love with God, in love with man, in love with life. It is this that explains his joy in human living: at his desk or at an altar, on the lecture platform or in the home of a friend. It is this, I think, that explains his agony in the period of suspicion—agony not because he had been rebuked, not because the underground was active again, but because he knew then what most Catholics know only now, that he was right; because he knew that human beings would go on suffering needlessly, unjustly, as long as the Church did not say flatly and unequivocally what she in fact says now: religious freedom is a human right.

John Courtney Murray was the embodiment of the Christian humanist, in whom an aristocracy of the mind was wedded to a democracy of love. Whoever we are—Christian or non-Christian, believer or atheist—this tall man has made it quite difficult for any of us who loved him to ever again be small, to ever again make the world and human persons revolve around our selfish selves. We have been privileged indeed: we have known and loved *the* Christian man, the "man who lives with wisdom."

Dear friends of Fr. Murray: On his questionnaire for Woodstock's forthcoming evaluation by the Middle States Association and the American Association of Theological Schools, Fr. Murray listed the two lines of research in which he was currently engaged: 1) the problem of contemporary atheism; 2) a Trinitarian conception of the state of grace. In his mind the two areas were not segregated. For the twin poles of his life were man and God—the heady synthesis of his beloved Aquinas: God in His secret life, man as he comes forth from God, and man as he returns to God through Christ.

Through Christ, this man of God, this man of men, has returned to God. It should be an intriguing return, especially if, as I suspect, there is a Jesuit named Weigel waiting in the wings. For sheer knowledge and love, the dialogue, or trialogue, may well be unique.

[Walter J. Burghardt, S. J., is professor of patrology and historical theology at Woodstock College. This tribute is the sermon that Fr. Burghardt preached at Fr. Murray's funeral.]

THE NEED TO INCREASE THE FARMER'S INCOME

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the continuing need to increase the farmer's income and to boost the farmer's bargaining power deserves the attention of the entire country. The American farmer and his products are vital to the economy of my State of Missouri, to the Nation, and to the world. We must keep up the fight side by side with the farmer to help him achieve a fair income.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman recently described the progress being made to combat the problems. He takes a forthright look at ways in which the initiative needs to be maintained.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Mr. Freeman be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at the Governor's Meeting of Utah Farm Leaders, Auditorium, State Administration Building, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 14, 1967

I am a strong believer in close communication between citizens and public servants.

As Governor of Minnesota, I made a practice of meeting with people in various parts of the State to hear what they had to say and to try to answer their questions. As Secreary of Agriculture, I have extended this practice to the Nation. Whenever it becomes evident that people have something to say about the problems of agriculture, I want to listen. The tougher the questions, the more important it is that I listen. The harder it is to answer, the more certain it is that we need to look for new approaches and better methods of solving the hard problems.

We are currently in a period of intensive consultation with farmers, farm leaders, and people in the agricultural trades and industries.

Back in April I participated in a series of "shirtsleeve" sessions in Kansas, Iowa and Indiana. In May I took part in meetings in Georgia and Louisiana. They were so valuable that I instructed ASCS to continue the series to get the current thinking of farmers and county, area, and State leaders of farm organizations across the country. This resulted in 63 meetings in 31 States during May and June.

We met with the National Grain Advisory Committee in May, and followed this with 18 informal hearings with farmers and others interested in wheat, seeking their opinions and advice on 1968 wheat acreage allotment.

The Grain Advisory Committee will take up questions on next year's feed grain program at a meeting in Washington in September. After that, we will hold meetings around the country with feed grain producers, farm organization leaders, and grain trade representatives.

Since January 1, the Statistical Reporting Service has held eight meetings on crop reporting problems and the reporting of livestock numbers, and has scheduled additional meetings. Last week we had a symposium with users of our crop and livestock statistics.

Last week we also discussed with farm organization leaders our common objective of increasing farmer bargaining power, and we expect to meet again with this group in a few weeks. The question under discussion is how farmers can act together—supplementing price support and production adjustment programs—to gain muscle in the marketplace.

These extensive consultations make a point often overlooked. What the government can do about farm prices is sharply limited. In the final analysis, outside forces and what the farmers themselves do play the major roles in determining results.

And so I'm here to continue a dialogue I've been carrying on for some time. First, I would like to share with you my ideas on the state of American agriculture, and to leave with you a few ideas on where I think we should go from here. Second, and more important, I would like to hear from *you* on the problems you're facing and to learn what I may be able to do to help. Working together I believe we can overcome our problems and reach our parity goal. So now, let's look at where we've been.

WHERE WE'VE BEEN

Throughout World War II and Korea, the farmer produced to intense demand and received good returns. But the technological advances that enabled him to meet war-time demands betrayed him once the emergencies were over.

By the beginning of this decade, *peacetime overproduction* had stolen much of his earning power. By the close of the 1960–61 crop marketing season, 1.4 billion bushels of wheat and 85 million tons of feed grains were stockpiled—and net farm income had plummeted $2½ billion in eight short years. Farm costs, as always, continued to climb.

Farmers were despondent and disillusioned, and with good reason. To many, the fight seemed hopeless. The word "farm" seldom appeared in print without the modifier, "mess" behind it. Enemies of farm programs had wielded their brushes with a lavish hand, plastering the "surplus and subsidy" label on the farmer's back. It was widely believed that there was no answer to the so-called "farm problem."

But in six short, eventful years American agriculture turned the corner from pessimism to promise.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

The market is freer of Government now than it has been for 30 years, and nearer supply-demand balance than it has been for half a century. Most of our farm programs are now voluntary.

The surpluses of the fifties are gone. By the end of May, 1967, the Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities was down to $3.59 billion, a reduction of $2.39 billion from the previous year, and about $5 billion *less than* the peak investment years of 1956 and 1959. And equally important, we worked off the surpluses *without* depressing income. Instead, prices of commodities in surplus moved steadily up as we disposed of the overages.

While total gross farm income was setting an all-time record last year, net farm income was climbing to $16.4 billion, the second highest in history. This was 40 percent greater than it was in 1960, and 18 percent higher in 1965. Realized net income per farm also set an all-time record at $5,049 . . . 23 percent higher than the year before and 70 percent higher than in 1960.

This progress is impressive and encouraging. However, all is not bright. There are tangible reasons for farmer concern today. In 1960, per capita farm income was only 55 percent of non-farm income. In 1966 it moved up to 65 percent, but the average farmer's per capita income was still one-third below that of nonfarm residents.

Farmers averaged $1,717 per capita last year, while non-farmers averaged $2,636. Since August, 1966, prices have fallen 5.2 percent while costs continue to climb inexorably.

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

And so although there has been great progress, a big job is still ahead of us if farmers are to have the standard of living they need and deserve. Hence, this is a good time to take stock, determine where we are, and chart a future course.

First, let's take a look at our *New Era* Farm programs. As you know, they are the end product of four years of testing and major legislation passed in each of the years 1961, '62, '63, '64. Each was a bitter struggle; all culminated in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

Heated in the crucible of political fire, and hammered out on the forge of diverse commodity interests, they are practical, effective, and they work.

NEW ERA PROGRAMS

These New Era programs aren't easy to administer. For instance, it is impossible to predict, with absolute accuracy, what the weather will do, or how much of any one commodity our competitors in world trade will produce in any one crop year. Yet our export business is a major outlet for U.S. farm commodities and the quantities needed are basic in making farm program policy decisions. Thus, weather and yields—not only in this country but around the world—are important considerations in setting acreage allotments for wheat, and diversion rates for feed grains.

In 1966, after increased domestic wheat acreage had been announced, new information from the Soviet Union and Australia indicated a bumper crop. World weather conditions improved steadily and a record global wheat crop resulted. Despite this, our commercial wheat exports last year reached a record 450 million bushels and overall exports were over 742 million bushels, continuing the high levels of the past few years.

This spring, we had to make a decision on wheat acreage levels for next year. After consulting wheat farmers and others through a series of informal hearings, all evidence pointed to the need for a cutback in acreage to maintain a satisfactory relationship between production and needs. And the allotment for 1968 was set at 59.3 million acres, about 9 million acres less than for this year. However, weather this fall and next spring and summer will be a significant factor in the actual outturn of wheat.

I want to emphasize that currently there is no overall surplus of wheat as a result of the 1967 crop. The sharp drop in wheat prices from a year ago is not justified on the basis of this year's production and prospective demand for wheat.

Unfortunately, too much wheat has been loaded into marketing channels at harvest resulting in temporary gluts that have pushed prices down.

This illustrates the changed marketing situation farmers face in the new era. With surpluses gone, yearly production will be keyed to needs for the entire marketing year. This means larger supplies available from the current crop than when production was being held in check to work off the surplus. Government stocks no longer provide the stabilizing market force they did when there was a market shortfall from yearly production that had to be made up from the surplus. Now, virtually all of the needs in commercial channels are coming from free stocks.

This presents a new challenge to farmers. It requires more active orderly marketing. It requires restraint on the part of farmers in the quantities of a commodity moving into the market at any one time. The price-support program helps in the holding process. Now that we have a reseal program for on-the-farm and warehouse storage, farmers can hold on to their products and make the market work for them, rather than against them. Price supports and payments strengthen their holding power also. Direct and diversion payments in many of the basics make it possible for them to compete in world markets and, at the same time, maintain their income.

This fall, feed grain and soybean producers are facing the same marketing problem confronting wheat farmers. While the indicated production of these commodities is heavy, it is not excessive. Patient and hard-nosed marketing by farmers can avoid a sharp harvest time price dip. There will be no surplus but temporary market supplies can push prices down just as much as if there were one.

The course of feed grain production this year brings home the problems and difficulties in matching production with needs. Last fall, it was apparent that the surplus era for feed grains was ended and acreage needed to be increased.

After long sessions with people both inside and outside the Department of Agriculture, the 1967 feed grain program was fashioned to bring about a reasonable increase. Following the first indications of spring plantings last March, we resisted the pressures from many who felt production would be too low and announced that we were sticking with the original decision. There were some who were critical, but let's look at what's happened since. The first report of production as of July 1 showed a corn crop of 4,580,000,000 bushels. Weather conditions were favorable during August and the report of a few days ago showed an increase of nearly 150 million bushels to 4,651,000,000 bushels.

When the effort is to bring production in on a supply target, relatively slight weather variations can mean a plus or minus three bushels per acre. At the end of the year this variation could mean a difference in the range of 400 million bushels in the total crop, completely without regard to the amount of acreage. It isn't always possible to hit the supply target exactly. It's important that farmers understand this and help in the decision-making process so that our judgments are as accurate as possible. After the fact is too late.

The newness of the New Era Programs are another factor that bothers farmers. This newness means uncertainty, and uncertainty is always unpleasant. Under the old program, the loan rate, in effect, set the market price. This was certain and comfortable. Now the market is jumpy, although above the support rate. This newness of the programs also relates to another problem. Farmers instinctively separate their program payments from market returns. Under these new programs, wheat certificate payments and corn price-support payments are as much a part of the per-bushel return to farmers as are the market prices. Many farmers tend to forget that they receive a rather substantial payment for every bushel of wheat.

The program is designed to allow wheat to move in the market at the world competitive price but the participating farmer gets the parity price for his share of wheat used as domestic food. For 1967 this works out to about 47 cents per bushel on all the production on participating farms. For 1966, the combination of the market price and wheat certificate payment brought the wheat price average on participants' farms to $2.22 per bushel. The same principle is true for corn and for the 1966 crop the average value came to $1.40 per bushel, including an average price-support payment of 11 cents per bushel.

We're working hard to make these programs better. But they have already been effective in raising farm income. Compared to 1960, receipts in 1966 were up $500 million in wheat, and up $2.1 billion in feed grains.

Not everyone likes the New Era programs, of course. One farm organization wants to do away with all programs in the grains—for a starter. A city Congressman is sponsoring a bill that would do just that.

ALTERNATIVES

But what are our real alternatives?

The primary alternative to present programs is "no program at all."

I believe there is a real possibility that we could lose our farm programs—especially if misunderstanding continues among farm people themselves.

This is an ever-present risk—not just one we face only in 1969, when most present legislation expires. True, we are only in the second year of the four-year authorizations passed in 1965. But the laws are always susceptable to crippling amendments. A farm program can also be destroyed by withholding appropriations.

To learn what would happen to farm income if this does occur, I asked Dr. Walter Wilcox, the distinguished economist of the Library of Congress, now the Department's Director of Agricultural Economics, for a study on commodity programs in the years immediately ahead.

He and his associates, after consultations with leading economists at nine universities, concluded that in the absence of adjustment and price support programs, rising production would drive prices down rapidly. By 1970, corn would fall to around 70 cents a bushel, cotton to 18 or 20 cents a pound. Soybean prices would probably drop to around $1.90 to $2.00 a bushel. Wheat would fall to about $1.00 to $1.10 per bushel.

Within a year or two, livestock supplies would also overburden the market and prices would fall. Prices would drop most heavily in hogs and poultry, less in dairy, with the effect on beef prices somewhere in between.

By 1970 the decline in the price level for livestock would be almost 10 percent. The overall price level for crops would decline more than 20 percent, but farm production expenses would continue to rise.

Without programs, net farm income might well fall by one-third, some $5 billion *below* the 1966 figure of $16.4 billion, or back to about 1957 levels.

In short, farmers would lose all of the income gains of a decade, and then some. A crippling drop in land values would follow.

A second alternative is high price supports and mandatory programs for all commodities.

With this approach, the Government would guarantee high price supports all the way up and down the line—but with strict controls on bushels, bales, and poundage, rather than on acres. Rigid high price supports are impossible *without* such controls—otherwise surpluses, and high costs to the Treasury, would kill farm programs in a short time.

Mandatory programs with quantity controls might work very well in maintaining farm income and in holding supplies in balance. We would be less competitive in world markets, even with heavy export subsidies, but even so they would probably cost less than our present voluntary programs.

However, in order for mandatory, high-support programs to work—or even to put into effect—they would have to have the support of farmers and the Congress, a support heretofore lacking.

When we tried the supply management approach in the Congress in 1962, we lost. The farmers themselves voted down a mandatory wheat program in the 1963 referendum. Even today I can detect very little enthusiasm, nationally, for such an approach among large numbers of farmers.

As a practical matter, then, we *have* to make our present programs work. For all practical purposes, they are all the programs we're going to have, at least for the foreseeable future.

Whenever I get into a discussion on alternatives, I'm always reminded of what James Thurber said when someone asked him, "How's your wife?" The great humorist paused a moment, scratched his head and then replied: "Compared to what?" It's a good question for all of us to ask when we chart our farm program course for the future.

LATE DEVELOPMENTS

Since last August we have experienced once again the old problem of too much supply; too little effective demand. 1967 hog marketings to date, as of last month were 15 percent higher than a year ago, and prices were down nearly 20 percent. Marketings were as much as *25* percent over last year for a while. Beef production was up 5 percent—grain-fattened cattle production up about 7 percent—and cattle prices were down 6 percent.

Egg production this year is up 6 percent; prices are off 16 percent. The orange crop was up 34 percent, and prices are down 30 percent, compared to a year ago.

The Department is doing everything it can to even these peaks and valleys in the supply and demand contour. Section 32 purchases, for the School Lunch and other domestic programs, and Food for Freedom purchases, will hit roughly $2½ billion this year.

That's a lot of buying power and we are using it as skillfully as we can to strengthen prices. But under present law and marketing practices, there isn't much more the government can do. The farmer, in these "no-program" commodities, is essentially "going it alone" in the market. Sixty percent of our farmers' cash receipts come from the sale of crops and livestock not covered by farm programs. Here the responsibility for maintaining supply-demand balance—and therefore strong prices—rests primarily with the farmer himself.

Nevertheless, I feel that much can be done by farmers themselves to gain muscle in the marketplace, and tonight I'd like to explore one major avenue with you.

BARGAINING POWER

You have all heard the phrase, "farmer bargaining power." It is a subject that has been widely discussed, and has been in the wings for a long time. Last year it was the basis for some major recommendations of the Food Marketing Commission.

But it was only this spring that I began to detect a certain rare agreement on it in agriculture. Perhaps it is an idea whose time has come. Farmers are increasingly aware that they are producing for a system where more and more of the bargaining power rests with the fewer and larger firms making up the marketing sector of the industry.

Over the past several weeks "bargaining" power has been much discussed throughout the country at board meetings, at general membership meetings, and also in Washington. We in the Department of Agriculture have analyzed the various approaches to creating a more favorable climate for bargaining power. Thinking so far has centered around two proposals that can be used together as a package to enhance bargaining power.

A NATIONAL FARM BARGAINING BOARD

One idea is a National Farm Bargaining Board (NFBB), that might serve much the same function for farmers as the National Labor Relations Board does for labor.

Initially, the Board, at the request of a producer-group, would determine the boundaries, size, and composition of a "product bargaining unit," based on traditional marketing patterns. If more than one group vied to represent growers, the Board would supervise an election to be decided by majority vote.

It would then certify a bargaining agent and insure that processors bargained in good faith with it. The same legislation might provide for all producers' sharing the association costs, and might provide that prices negotiated by the bargaining agent would be binding on all suppliers, once the price was ratified by growers.

Thus, all growers supplying a particular processor would receive a similar price, much as a single negotiated wage level now covers all industrial workers who do similar work and who are represented by the same bargaining agent.

The association might be empowered to bargain with a representative of several processors, so that it could negotiate a single industry-wide contract rather than a multitude of individual contracts.

MARKETING AGREEMENTS

Another idea is marketing agreements. As you know, they are already in effect in many areas and for many commodities under state as well as Federal law. We are now studying methods to broaden their scope and authority.

Changes in existing legislation might provide for (1) inclusion of additional commodities, especially the perishables mentioned earlier, (2) authority to establish minimum prices and other terms under which handlers could acquire products from producers, and (3) more flexible authority to make adjustments in producer-allotments and marketing quotas.

The key aspect of the marketing agreement and order concept is that the initiative for action—and the leadership to design, approve, and get a program working—must come from farmers and their marketing agencies.

The market-order system has some important advantages.

First, it requires a two-thirds majority of producers in a particular commodity to approve an order, assuring broad-based support for the order. But by requiring only a simple majority to keep it in effect, the difficulties in maintaining a viable organization of often-small and geographically-scattered producers are lessened.

Second, the marketing order carries within it necessary anti-trust exemptions. No other adjustments are necesary to create a favorable legal climate for effective bargaining associations.

We have reached the stage now where we are seeking the ideas of the producers, of ourselves. I know that some of you have been quite successful in achieving significant gains in bargaining. For example, I am encouraged by the great progress in bargaining made by sugarbeet growers.

Last week, as I said earlier, I met with the leaders of several large farm organizations—the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the NFO—and also some of the large commodity organizations—the American National Cattlemen, the National Wool Growers, the National Beet Growers Federation, and many others. We had a very useful and frank discussion on ways to enhance bargaining power. I am encouraged . . . I see more solidarity of opinion and support on this issue than any since I have been Secretary of Agriculture. The meeting ended with a clear expression of opinion that we should continue to pursue ways to enhance bargaining power.

These are a few of the ideas that are being explored now. Again, let me emphasize that these are tentative ideas, not firm legislative proposals, and that they are designed to enhance—*not replace*—the existing basic commodity programs that are still key to farm income.

On occasion, when I am describing the big picture of American agriculture and how it works, I've compared the government's role in our New Era programs to that of a referee in a football game. The ref must keep the teams on the playing field. To do it, he blows the whistle when the players step out of bounds.

In its role of referee, government has done much to keep the supply team within the side markers, but not so far in as to hamper it. For example, we have got rid of burdensome surpluses, at the same time producing ample supplies to meet all needs. We have helped the demand team by massive efforts to develop foreign markets in which we can sell our food and fiber for dollars. In fiscal year 1967, export sales for dollars hit an all-time peak of $5.4 billion.

Also helping the demand side were our Section 32 and P.L. 480 purchases. This buying not only has strengthened markets, but in meeting the urgent food needs of hungry people, it has been in the overall best interests of the United States both at home and abroad.

Then, if in addition to the New Era programs, farmers themselves can build bargaining power comparable to that of the other organized groups with whom they compete, farmers at long last would have the tools to get the income they need and deserve.

But doing all these things won't be easy. There are strong forces that would destroy our present programs and fight to the death any future attempts by farmers to gain more muscle in the marketplace.

In the fifties this crowd hung the "surplus and subsidy" label on farmers. In 1967 they have a new catch-phrase, "cheap food policy," by which they are seeking to turn farmers against consumer and government programs.

When you hear the demagogues shout, "cheap food policy," be alert. Ask the person or publication using it where they heard it. Track it down to the source. Expose the distortions and outright lies on which it rests.

There is no *"cheap food policy." There never has been.* There are just the same old enemies of farm programs, dressed up in a new disguise, and equipped with a new bullhorn.

Despite these attacks and distortions, which are sure to mount in virulence and irresponsibility as another election approaches, I am optimistic.

We have a strong President in the White House, one who knows farmers and farm programs, and one who will fight for the farmer. We have a four-year program and a new unity among farmers for greater bargaining power. What we do with all this is up to us.

I am confident that with determination and confidence in each other we can continue the progress we have made since 1960. There may be interruptions of the type we have suffered since last August. Progress is not always a level path, and at times we take one step back while taking three forward. But if we presevere, we recover and go on to greater heights. We can, and we will, reach our goals if we keep on fighting.

Thank you for your attention. Now I'd appreciate your comments and questions.

UNIVERSITY BASIC RESEARCH

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate approved yesterday amendment No. 319 to H.R. 9960, which restored to the level of the budget request the appropriation for the National Science Foundation. Because of its relevance to this matter, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an article entitled "University Basic Research," written by the distinguished president of the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, and published in the August 11 issue of Science.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY BASIC RESEARCH

(By Lee A. DuBridge)

The nation's program of basic research in science is at a critical juncture. Its future progress is by no means assured, and much will depend on the outcome of the debates now in progress. These debates are going on not only in scientific circles but also in the public press, in the halls of Congress, and in the offices and conference rooms of many government agencies. Pressure for reducing or leveling off research budgets are evident.

In this debate the advice and the views of many scientists will no doubt be heard. But the critical decisions will not be made by scientists, for important matters of public policy are involved—as has been forcibly set forth in a recent article by Greenberg[1] and in many other articles, letters, and reports in this and other journals.

Yet the scientific community must be involved in this debate. Scientists must look again at the goals, the potentialities, and the values of science, and set them forth clearly and persuasively. These views must, in fact, be formulated so convincingly that nonscientists in high places will be able and willing to speak out for scientific advance as a vital national effort. It is often asserted that scientists are so prejudiced by their personal interests that they are no longer always to be believed. Nevertheless, the case for basic research in modern society—if there is one—must emerge from careful considerations set forth by scientists themselves, for no one else is likely to undertake the task.

It has, indeed, been well begun. It was begun, in fact, over 20 years ago when the case for the federal support of science was first cogently set forth in the famous Bush report, *Science—the Endless Frontier*. The discussion has continued across the country, in Congress, and in the White House ever since. The recent definitive reports from the Committee on Science and Public Policy of the National Academy of Sciences have added much to the public record.

THE CASE FOR BASIC RESEARCH

But obviously the task is not completed. Possibly it is scarcely begun. Here it may be well to start by trying to clear up a few misunderstandings.

First, we must ask whether the case for or against basic research has changed in recent years (as Greenberg implies it has) or whether it merely needs to be stated in different terms. In fact, the basic case is unchanged. The arguments can be grouped under four headings.

1) Research—that is, inquiry into the nature of the physical (and biological) world—is a prime human urge. The advance of knowledge has *in itself* been an elevating and an inspiring aspect of human history.

2) Basic research has uncovered knowledge which has made possible practical applications which have enormously affected human civilization.

3) This planet, on which 3 billion (soon to be 6 billion) human beings live, cannot become more habitable and a better place to be unless new knowledge is found, to make possible new technologies and new ways of living. (The words *food and population control* illustrate what I mean.)

4) Scholarly inquiry is an indispensable role of institutions of higher education and has a unique function in educating the minds of the future.

Basic scientific research thus has cultural or human values which result from enlightenment of the mind, and it also makes possible the advance of technology. It has become a necessity for the future.

The case for these values of science can be, and has been, documented time and time again. If people are tired of hearing of the great results of the researches of Galileo, Newton, Faraday, Maxwell, Einstein, and the rest, there are many other examples that can be set forth. I suggest that we set them forth, repeatedly and convincingly. This *is* the case that must be documented. Man *is* better off today than he was 300 years ago, and science has done much to this end by combating superstition and prejudice, by allaying hunger and disease, by laying the base for technological advance. If the world's troubles still seem tragic and complex, this is so not because we have to much knowledge but because we have not learned how to use all our knowledge effectively.

NEW QUESTIONS

And here the scientist must face, and answer, a new set of questions. If our great investment in pure and applied science has failed to cure all the world's ills—if, indeed, they are getting worse—should we not, in investing our money, focus more precisely on the problems of war, of overpopulation, of urban living, of achieving a stable economy and a better way of life for all people?

The answer of course is yes, by all means! Science never pretended to be a solution for all human problems. Science is a search for truth about the physical world. The truth so far attained has led to solutions of *some* problems. These solutions have come as welcome by-products of scientific knowledge—so welcome that we now spend eight times as much money on exploiting the applications on scientific knowledge as on seeking new knowledge.

This is fine. Applied science is important too. It is also inherently more expensive than pure science, and more evidently profitable in terms of immediate results.

But the world's problems go far beyond the problems of science and technology. They include problems of human understanding; of fulfilling human hopes and human desires; of understanding the social, economic, and political institutions which men have created; of using the knowledge we have more intelligently.

Every sensible scientist will see the need for urgently seeking to understand and solve these problems, too. Again, the university is the seat of the scholarly inquiry and the source of the trained minds needed for understanding and solving them. The universities need more resources for developing these humanistic and social studies.

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[1] D. S. Greenberg, *Science* 156, 920 (1967).

We as scientists may not have very effective ideas on ways to proceed to solve these social problems, yet we cannot withdraw from the field. We *are* human beings. We will suffer or prosper as other human beings do. Furthermore, many and possibly most of these problems have scientific and technological aspects. We can associate with our friends in the social and behavioral sciences and seek to help in areas where our help can be useful.

But society will not be well served if pure science is abandoned in this process, or even substantially impeded in its growth. The values of science remain. All efforts and investments which the nation makes in tackling these other problems will pay off in their own right—just as our past efforts in science have paid off so handsomely, even in purely economic terms.

Granted that the fundamental arguments for pure research can be set forth in impressive array, the question remains: How does one set forth to government representatives and the public just how much monetary investment is justified each year, and how it can best be distributed among subject-matter fields, among projects, or among the 50 states of the union?

THE COMPLEXITIES

Here the complexities of the problem begin to appear. And herein lie the challenges for initiating a fruitful discourse between the worlds of science and education (and their various subworlds), the world of government officials, and the world of influential taxpayers. No one of these worlds, of course, is a unified one; each contains individuals and groups with widely differing attitudes, beliefs, experiences, responsibilities, and concerns. We cannot expect to find unanimity within any of these worlds, much less full agreement between them. Yet, by some form of consensus and compromise, an agreement—or a decision—on national policy must be consummated.

A few points should be stressed.

1) The present annual investment in basic scientific research in universities (about $1 billion) is sometimes said to be "extravagant." But if we observe the results and observe the nation's scientific potential, we must conclude that this sum is a sound investment in the future. It is indeed an inadequate investment in terms of the opportunities which lie ahead and of the needs of the government agencies which support it. Every field of science sees opportunities unrealized. (The Whitford report on astronomy is but one example.)

2) We have purposely, during the past 20 years, expanded the scientific community by training many young scientists at great expense. Do we not intend to put their talents to good use? Clearly, support of science must not stay at current levels; it must increase, in order that we may capitalize on the trained talents of these young investigators, meet rapidly rising research costs, and exploit currently neglected fields.

3) We must clarify the role of basic science as compared to applied science, to engineering, and to putting to beneficial use our new scientific knowledge. These are overlapping areas of endeavor with fuzzy boundaries. Yet each has its special and distinct place in our national effort; each depends upon the others. It is folly to neglect any one.

4) Most of the current federal expenditures for university-based research and education in science do not come from a direct effort to support such enterprises but accrue indirectly from government expenditures aimed at other national goals.[2]

On this last point, for example, it is a matter of national policy—and of national necessity—that we improve our military technology. The Department of Defense spends large sums for this purpose. In the process it has found it necessary and desirable to encourage a comparatively modest amount of basic research in areas of science which seem to have immediate or long-range relevance to defense technology. When the Department of Defense finds, in a university, competent scientists who wish to undertake such research, is it not prudent to use their talents? Is it proper to regard such contracts as "handouts" or "benefactions" to the universities? Are the universities not simply performing a necessary public service?

The nation also has an established policy of advancing the technology of atomic energy for both military and peaceful purposes, of conducting a large program of space exploration, of seeking to improve the public health and to advance the conquest of disease. These and other missions in the national interest are assigned to appropriate government agencies for implementation. Each such agency turns, to a greater or lesser degree, to universities for relevant basic investigations. Again, the scientists and the universities concerned welcome these research tasks whenever they fall within their realms of interest, enthusiasm, or competence. A scientist and his institution are fortunate when it is found that the kind of research they wish to do also serves a national purpose, in that some mission-oriented government agency deems it relevant to its mission. These agencies are not authorized to give handouts to universities; they are not philanthropic institutions. They are properly charged with investing taxpayers' money in those research activities which promise to yield the greatest return. They have set up mechanisms for selecting with great care and great expertise just which of the many proposed projects they will finance. These tasks of selection have been performed with conspicuous success and integrity. It is not the fault of the agencies concerned if scientific competence has been found to be more plentiful in some parts of the country than in others.

Some 85 percent of the basic research funds allocated to universities has been placed by mission-oriented agencies in support of their own missions. In a sense it is only accidental if university science has been thereby strengthened.

BASIC SCIENCE AND NATIONAL POLICY

Only 15 percent of the dollars for university research comes from the one agency which is authorized to support general basic research not visibly relevant to specific government requirements or goals. The National Science Foundation grants for research total only about $175 million a year. These grants go to hundreds of colleges and universities, large and small, throughout the nation, supporting important fields of science. The NSF has the most extensive array of expert committees and consultants of any agency, plus a large professional staff, to insure fruitful expenditure of funds. It seeks to be the balance wheel for the national science program. It has never had enough funds for this purpose.

Now what is wrong with this whole picture? Basically, nothing! Yes, there have been administrative headaches on all sides. No system operates perfectly. Some abuses have crept in here and there. Not all experts agree on the areas of importance or on the relative merit and promise of various project proposals. It is not easy for a mission-oriented agency to judge which research areas are really "relevant" to its mission. Every scientific discipline contains many members (often a large majority) who feel that their subject is inadequately supported. And they can usually prove it by pointing to opportunities unrealized, to promising young scientists inadequately supported.

But is a major overhaul of the system either necessary or desirable? I know of no widely accepted proposals for such an overhaul. Most of the arguments and misunderstandings about the total effectiveness of the system are based on conflicting opinions as to the relative importance of the various objectives of the mission-oriented agencies. It is said by some that we are spending too much on space and not enough on cancer—or vice versa; too much on military development and not enough on weather modification or oceanography or atomic energy—or, again, vice versa.

Now these national-policy objectives are determined by the legislative and executive branches of the government on the basis of considerations having little to do with the progress of basic science. Military strength, the practical exploitation of atomic energy, the conquest of disease, the proper use of national resources are all judged by the government to have inherent value (or to be necessary in their own right), and it is only proper that all relevant resources for implementing these objectives (including the resources of university science) be employed. That many university science and engineering activities (in teaching and research) have benefited from the services they have rendered to the mission-oriented agencies is undeniable—and very fortunate! It is also fortunate that a fairly broad-based program of research support has emerged, thanks to extensive cooperation among the agencies involved. Understandably, however, there are serious gaps.

The confusion about the relation of basic science to national-policy objectives is probably most evident in the space program. Is the purpose of that program to extend scientific knowledge, or to enhance national prestige, or to achieve other objectives? Obviously the space program has many aims and objectives, and there is wide disagreement as to which ones take priority. Those who feel (wrongly) that the *principal* aim of Congress in supporting NASA is the advance of basic science contend (rightly) that $5 billion a year could be more fruitfully expended in other ways. Those who believe that the principal objectives of the space program are to enhance national prestige or to satisfy a human urge for exploration, or to assure future military or economic dividends argue that some or all of these objectives *are* being achieved and that the total result *is* worth $5 billion a year. Others deny this. Clearly the question is not a scientific one; it is one of public policy. And those (in the Congress and the Executive branch) responsible for establishing public policy have decided that the expenditure is justified. Those who disagree are entitled to say so—and they do.

Scientists who insist that this $5 billion could be more profitably expended for other scientific enterprises may be right, but they miss the point. The $5 billion is not being spent primarily to advance science, any more than the $50 billion expended by the Defense Department is. Yet, in both cases a moderate fraction of the budget is necessarily used to advance science. In the space program the resulting technologies are providing a valuable tool for carrying on scientific investigations which would otherwise be impossible. Many scientists are welcoming the opportunity to ride piggyback on this great venture, and thereby to greatly advance terrestrial, space, and planetary science.

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[2] This point has been thoroughly discussed by Harvey Brooks [*Amer. Psychologist* 22, No. 3, 187 (1967)].

However, it must again be stressed that neither NASA nor any other agency charged with implementing a national-policy goal is intended to be a philanthropic agency authorized to provide benefactions to university science departments. They are agencies seeking to get a job done, and they turn to universities only when the universities can render a service—a service usually rendered at less than full cost, incidentally.

If the government wishes (as I believe it should) to develop a more adequate and more balanced program for strengthening American science per se, then it should charge suitable agencies (prinicpally the National Science Foundation) with this particular task, and provide funds adequate for carrying it out.

As I have said, there is nothing basically wrong with the system. But there *are* serious dangers ahead in its current operations. The degree to which mission-oriented agencies of government will invest their precious funds in the rather long-range benefits to be expected from basic science will vary. Already there are pressures for concentrating on more immediate results. Project Hindsight[3] will be used by some as an argument to this end, showing, as it does, that the results of undirected research appear in the form of new weapons only many years later. Mission-oriented agencies are, understandably, in a hurry. Can we afford to let the basic knowledge so necessary for future progress depend on the winds of political and economic pressures which blow hot or cold today?

A SOLUTION

A ready solution is at hand. The National Science Foundation *can* be depended on to look to the long-range future. It can be depended upon to recognize the cultural as well as the practical values of basic science. It can serve as the balance wheel to promote the broad advance of science—if its research budget is substantially increased.

The budget levels for NSF are determined by the Bureau of the Budget and by the House and Senate appropriation committees, agencies to which scientists at large and the general public have almost no access. The burden of presenting the needs of science thus falls almost solely on the members of the Board and the staff of NSF, aided only by the behind-the-scenes work of the President's Science Advisory Committee.

Here is a serious flaw in an otherwise viable system. Herein lies the need for a widespread public discussion of the issues—so that *all* congressmen and senators become aware of the real values and needs of basic science, and of the critical role which can and should be played by NSF. Presumably, only wide public support will have the required influence on the appropriate committees and offices.

TRIBUTE TO DUKE ZELLER

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I have mixed feelings upon learning of the departure of Duke Zeller from the Republican cloakroom.

During my time in the Senate, Duke has always been of great assistance both to me and to my staff. He possesses those characteristics which will assure his success no matter what he undertakes.

He is intelligent, responsible, and willing to make that extra effort and take that extra time to assure that a job is not only done but done properly. In addition, Duke has a most pleasing personality.

So, Mr. President, although I will miss him, I do take this opportunity to thank him for his help and assistance and wish him much success and happiness.

MODEL CITIES AND BETTER HOUSING INSTEAD OF VIOLENCE AND DISORDER

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, no one individual—not a Rap Brown nor a Stokely Carmichael nor anyone else—could cause what happened in Detroit, Cincinnati, and Newark this year or in Watts 2 years ago, just as no one individual could have stopped what occurred in the Thirteen Colonies along our eastern seaboard in 1776. Those very foolish short-sighted persons who say that the rioting resulted from the war on poverty are 100-percent wrong. Poverty, not the war on poverty, was the basic cause of this rioting.

Our late great President John F. Kennedy once said:

> Those who make peaceful evolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable.

It is the responsibility of Congress to make peaceful evolution not only possible but an actual accomplishment and to do this within the framework of law and order. It would be legislative weakness on our part to fail to provide adequate programs to attack the cause of poverty, slum housing—the crowding of people into filthy, broken-down tenements—and then denying to youngsters born in such surroundings any opportunity or possibility for recreation except on crowded sidewalks or in dark, filthy alleys, or for a decent education or for gainful employment.

In attacking the roots and causes of poverty there must be adequate provisions for rent supplements, better housing, a model cities program, a Teacher Corps, and perhaps for training such as the Civilian Conservation Corps of 35 years ago. My vote has been recorded in support of this needed legislation. I shall continue to so vote during the period of my service in the Senate. It is legislative failure and neglect to fail to enact such measures, particularly when we are spending more than $2 billion each month to fight in an ugly civil war in Vietnam.

INAUGURATION OF CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on Monday night, September 18, the new center for Inter-American Relations was inaugurated in New York City. The work that the center is about to begin is of vital importance. It is designed to establish more effective communication among those concerned with the process of political, economic, and social development in the hemisphere, and to instill greater awareness in the United States of the artistic traditions and cultural accomplishments of Latin America, the Caribbean area, and Canada.

As one of the honorary trustees of the center, I am very much pleased that this institution is about to start its work and that Vice President Hubert Humphrey made the inaugural address at the center last Monday night. In view of the great importance of Vice President Humphrey's remarks, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his speech be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks, together with a list of the trustees, officers, and directors of the center; a brief description of its program; and an article entitled "Humphrey Finds Latin Parallel to U.S. Racial Strife," written by Homer Bigart and published in the New York Times of September 19, 1967.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, AT THE CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 18, 1967

A year ago I was honored to accept an invitation to become an honorary trustee of this Center. I am even more honored to address the distinguished audience which has gathered tonight to mark its opening.

The inauguration of this Center reflects the interest in Latin America that has developed in the last decade in the United States.

It reflects, too, the new attitude that has developed toward our fellow citizens in the hemisphere: An attitude based on understanding and respect for Latin American people, for their culture, and for many of their traditions.

It is based on an increasing acceptance of Latin Americans as our full partners and on a recognition that we have much to learn from our Latin American neighbors. We pragmatic North Americans sometimes find it difficult to understand why philosophy and ideology loom so large in Latin American political life.

To understand Latin American culture we must recognize that ideological considerations assume a greater importance in their culture than in ours.

We must read Latin American poets and philosophers, hear their music, see their drama, and view their paintings. For the educated person in North America, the names of Botero and Mistral, Rodo and Sanches, Villa Lobos and Borges, should be far more familiar than they are today. This Center can make this possible by becoming a showcase for the cultural achievements of Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada—a forum for the interchange of ideas and information. And, in making it possible it can assist us in understanding their concerns and in enriching our own lives and culture.

The calibre and stature, the proven interest and dedication of the men and women who have organized this center should insure its success. For few people have done more to promote solidarity and understanding among the nations of the hemisphere than those who are here tonight.

Tonight, although we are honored by the presence of distinguished Latin American officials and private citizens, I would like to direct my remarks primarily to my fellow citizens of the United States who have founded this Center.

On this occasion it is appropriate to ask: What is the basis of our interest in inter-American relations? What binds us together in this common concern?

There are those for whom the link between the United States and Latin America is based chiefly on physical proximity.

They say that it is unrealistic to seek solidarity with Latin America. And they point to the observable differences between us.

They say:

The United States is rich; most of Latin America is poor.

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[3] C. W. Sherwin and R. S. Isenson, *Science* 156, 1571 (1967).

Our culture is largely Anglo-Saxon and Yankee; theirs is largely Latin and Iberian.

We are sometimes clumsily powerful; they are often self-consciously weak.

We are to a large extent Protestant; they are to a larger extent Catholic.

The people of the United States enjoy widely the marvels of the technological and electronic age; the ordinary people of Latin America have barely begun to glimpse them.

There may have been some validity to this portrayal—at the beginning of this decade. It is surely an over-simplification now.

But the differences that divide us are small compared to the bonds that unite us.

One of the most ancient and enduring of these bonds is our common commitment to the idea of a New World.

Since the 16th century, men—whether English, Spanish or Portuguese—have been gripped with the desire to find, and the determination to build, a New World.

This New World has represented not just a new land to be exploited, not just a haven for the oppressed.

Above all, it has signified a vision of a new human chance—an opportunity to create in a new world a society, a human political system, which would make possible a truly human life.

From the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Declaration of Independence, from the first voyage of Columbus to the South American revolution of the 1820's, the idea of the New World has been both a dream and a battle cry on both continents.

On this common ground, we share one of the great visions and one of the great adventures in human history.

Now that alien forces in the world today have brought us closer together in danger and concern, let us not forget that we were—and we are—blood brothers in hope.

In their vision of a human society in a new world, our forefathers assumed that man need not be resigned to Providence . . . that he could to some extent master his own environment.

As President Kennedy said, "that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

That was a basic assumption in launching the Alliance for Progress—the framework of inter-American policy today.

Since the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este six years ago, we have been acting on the premise that man can shape his environment . . . that radical improvement in the condition of ordinary people can be achieved through deliberate, systematic political action.

Just as hope brought men to the shores of our continents four centuries ago, so the hope which has been aroused by the Alliance for Progress spurs us on to create that truly human society of which we have always dreamed.

In pursuing this goal, the initiative and resourcefulness of private institutions are indispensable. A Center like this can stimulate the efforts of private groups . . . can provoke them to focus on the problems of the hemisphere the best thinking, the most creative insights, that men and women anywhere in the hemisphere have to offer.

Most important, it can spur them to action.

Governments must deal with the problems and crises of today—and far too rarely does their preoccupation with the present permit adequate attention to the future.

Yet the very idea of a New World implies an orientation toward the future.

Never has such an orientation been more necessary than in Latin America today, where one-half the population is under 20 years of age.

This is a role which you as representatives of private institutions can play—through institutes such as the Center, through foundations, business groups, universities, labor unions, and churches.

As the Center for Inter-American Relations, you will face the temptation to deal chiefly with established institutions, to invite mostly well-known figures, to exhibit recognized artists, to accept the conventional wisdom of the day.

In confronting this temptation—which is a pervasive temptation for all of us—you must bear in mind that what appears to be an establishment may be only the temporary pinnacle of an "established disorder."

For many—particularly among the young—the establishment of today is not one which they aspire to join. It is an institution which they hope to see dismantled. I know the progressive and concerned Latin American leaders who are with us tonight not only recognize this fact, but that they are striving to build societies where the energies of the young will be devoted to constructive—and not destructive—ends.

In our contacts with Latin America we must give priority attention to the young leaders of the next decade. Some are on the scene. Others are yet to be identified.

To do this, it may be that a new edition of Who's Who will be required.

And in drawing up that revised Who's Who—we should avoid including only those who speak English, attend American Embassy receptions, or (if my friend George Moore will permit) have a sound credit rating at the First National City Bank.

The most imaginative, talented, and responsible Latin American leaders are not always the most North-American minded.

As you have long since known, if private institutions are to be on the cutting edge of history in this hemisphere, both their vision and their programs must be bold.

They must venture into those sensitive but vital areas where the risks are high, the immediate visible results low, and the recognition long in coming.

The private sector's contribution is needed in the area of agrarian reform and land utilization . . . modernization and equalization of tax systems and market systems . . . reform of outdated state university systems . . . and in confronting the myriad problems of the modern metropolitan area—high unemployment, sprawling slums, clogged transportation systems, inadequate housing and hospitals, insufficient schools and teachers.

It is needed in training young people, in developing programs for the media of mass communication, in assisting the building of free trade unions in both urban and rural areas, in strengthening existing professional associations and creating new ones.

The private sector must give attention to the ingredients of political and social development as well as economic development.

In the past two decades in the United States, the private sector has shown that it can effectively contribute to the resolution of the sensitive political and social issues of the day.

In the 1950's for instance, when fundamental American freedoms and institutions were called into question, private funds supported the creation of the Fund for the Republic which devoted itself to subject American institutions to searching scrutiny and to presenting their findings to the public at large.

Similarly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was established with foundation support to assist in the resolution of the most tormenting social issue of our times—that of the relations between the races.

And now the private sector is becoming deeply involved in the unmet social needs of this nation—from rebuilding the crowded tenements of Harlem to liberating the prisoners of rural America's taxpaper shacks.

Yes, we are beginning to develop right here at home a creative partnership . . . an Alliance for Progress between free enterprise and representative government. And the lessons learned right here must be seized and put to work in other parts of the hemisphere.

It is not necessary to review here the progress of our attempts to transform the hemisphere the past six years through the Alliance for Progress. This was done at Punta del Este earlier this year where the Presidents of the hemisphere met to assess our accomplishments and to plan for the future. They agreed that top priority for the next decade should go to institutional development, and the economic integration of Latin America.

The creation of a common market and the integration of Latin America entails breaking out of confining frontiers, reaching out to forge bonds of unity, and in unity gaining strength. But the process of creating a common market also entails difficult and painful adjustments in the fabric of established societies. It would be a great misfortune if the fear of these adjustments were to delay progress of the movement toward integration.

They agreed on the urgency of opening up the inner frontiers of the South American continent.

They agreed to consider the possibility of stimulating intra-regional trade through temporary preferential trading agreements.

They agreed on the urgency of accelerating the modernization of agriculture and the rural areas.

They agreed to facilitate the dissemination of technology through the establishment of new regional institutes.

They agreed to devote increased resources to health and education in every land.

All these initiatives must, and I am confident will, be pursued.

But beyond these material necessities, there are human necessities too.

It has, for instance, become customary to distinguish between behavior patterns in developed and developing countries of the world—and to apply this distinction to North America and to Latin America.

No one who has endured the agony of the past summer in the United States can place much faith in that distinction.

For we have seen what happens when a small but aroused minority, awakened to full consciousness of its condition, and cut off from the bonds of society, is misled by demagogues into seeing its only outlet in anarchy and violence.

Thus, when we speak of the integration of Latin America as of the hemisphere, we must concern ourselves not only with the economic integration of a continent, but with the integration into society of millions of human beings who are becoming conscious of their condition . . . who are no longer resigned to their fate on the margin of society.

Given the conditions of everyday life in many parts of Latin America, what is a tiny minority in this country could be a dangerous and broad movement—or a majority—in other countries of the hemisphere.

Most nations in Latin America have made progress during this decade in achieving economic growth and social justice.

But progress has brought with it increased tensions that spring from hopes yet unfulfilled, from rising expectations not met fast enough.

This should neither surprise nor discourage us.

We knew that the hopes and expectations which the Alliance would arouse could not all be met in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a material sense in a short period of time will always fall short of expectations.

What is important is that we be prepared to give convincing evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, that there is reason for believing that the unmet problems of society will be solved in the future.

We must be able, in short, to provide the politics of hope and of faith.

What concerns me, as I look toward the next decade, is that progress may not be fast enough to sustain the hopes that have been aroused . . . that the newly awakened millions will reject the alternatives of peaceful change and accept instead the leadership of those who glorify violence and who seek not to change society but to destroy it.

"We hope vaguely," said Valery, "but we dread precisely."

I raise this question with the full realization that more has been done in the past decade in most countries than in the previous five decades.

More has been done by two United States Administrations in this decade than ever before.

More resources have been devoted to hemisphere programs during the past three years than the previous three.

And President Johnson has made unmistakably clear his determination—regardless of any temporary setbacks—to continue the large-scale commitment of resources of the United States to the Alliance for Progress program. As he stated last month: "We will persevere. There is no time limit on our commitment." And at Punta del Este: "Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters but for long-distance runners."

But I would like to be more confident that our efforts—those of all of us throughout the hemisphere—are of a magnitude equal to the task.

I would like to be more confident that the spreading guerrilla movement in some countries, the "radicalization of the left" in others, represent a temporary phase and not a long-range condition.

I would like to be more confident that the increase in gross national product is improving the lives of those who are most in need; that the majority of the coming generation sees in progressive political democracy a system to be preserved and perfected—and not a vestige to be discarded.

I would like to be more confident that the enormous contribution which a competitive free economy can make to economic and social development is widely understood; and that the advanced trading nations of the world are prepared to adjust world trade policies to reflect the needs of the less-advanced nations of the world.

I would like to be more confident that the members of the Organization of American States will improve its machinery and institutions to make it work, in times of trouble as well as tranquility.

As we face the next decade, we are more aware today than five years ago that the economic progress we seek, and the social justice we aspire to, can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and where political leadership is secure.

Until ways are found to strengthen the political fabric of our hemisphere . . . to perfect the institutions which are the substructure of a stable political system, we can have no assurance that the economic and social modernization and proceed without interruption.

Political development in our hemisphere during the next decade must also focus on the expansion of the the Inter-American system, the inclusion of new nations or groups of nations, the possible return of old ones.

In the Caribbean, the future course to insure the development of small states with limited resources will require a political inventiveness and creativity that is not yet assured. Can these states provide the economic and social necessities of a modern nation through federation? Or must they find some other relationship to the mainland—through independence, commonwealth status, or other ties?

Given our special and historic concern with the Caribbean, we will not be able to envision its stability so long as one nation remains not only outside the inter-American system, but intent on that system's destruction. We hope for a return of the policy of the "good neighbor" to the Caribbean. But it will not return until the policy of "leaving one's neighbors alone" is applied by Havana.

Until Cuba is prepared to leave her neighbors alone, to suspend the activities and the connections that led to her expulsion from the American family, there can be no return to participation in the inter-American system.

To our neighbor to the North, Canada—which is celebrating its centennial year—we express the hope that it will, in the future, choose to play a more active role in the affairs of the hemisphere, so that all may benefit from the talents and energies which the Canadian people have displayed in their vast and beautiful land.

At the outset of my remarks, I referred to the enduring bond between the Americas stemming from our belief and participation in the New World.

This should not lead us to overlook what may prove to be an even more enduring and cohesive inheritance—the Western civilization which the New World shares with the Old.

Our efforts to perfect the inter-American system, to foster hemispheric unity, should not be defined in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater European contribution to the political, cultural, social and economic life of the Americas.

For all of us in this hemisphere are, in a sense, the children of Europe.

And thus we welcome Europe in our hemisphere, not as a rival for power, but as a partner for progress.

We welcome Europe because, like all men who carry a proud inheritance—we know from whence we came.

And we look forward to the time when Latin America may one day assume her role as equal partner of both Europe and North America in the long and enduring search which has really only begun—the search, all over this earth, for a new human chance . . . a truly just and human environment . . . a New World.

A century ago, the Argentine poet Jose Hernandez wrote: "America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind . . . One day . . . the American alliance will bring world peace . . . America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations."

That vision can be fulfilled. A New World can be made.

I give you Franklin Roosevelt's last words: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

HEADQUARTERS OF THE CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

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The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, The Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, The Honorable Jacob K. Javits, The Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, The Honorable John V. Lindsay, The Honorable Covey T. Oliver, The Honorable Sol M. Linowitz, The Marquesa de Cuevas.

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PURPOSE

The Center for Inter-American Relations, Inc., is a non-profit, tax-exempt membership corporation. It is designed to meet two critical needs: more effective communication among those concerned with the process of political, economic and social development in the Hemisphere; and greater awareness in the United States of the artistic traditions and cultural accomplishments of Latin America, the Caribbean area and Canada.

PROGRAM

The program of the Center—initiated in September 1967—comprises a comprehensive review and study of the affairs of the Hemisphere. Events range broadly from art exhibitions to talks by national leaders. While certain of the activities are open to the public, many functions engage only members of the Center and invited guests. Members are elected by the Board of Directors.

MEETINGS

The meetings program provides unusual opportunities for the study of political, social and economic problems of the Hemisphere at the regional, national and international level. Workshops, seminars and discussion groups examine a variety of issues and encourage an exchange of views among experts. Visiting heads of state, officials of inter-American agencies and other authorities will be invited to address ad hoc meetings of members and invited guests.

LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICE

The Center's library has an initial capacity of some 4,000 volumes along with filing facilities for a broad range of periodical material supporting all program areas. Extensive referral and retrieval capabilities are being developed to assist members and staff. Though the material is largely current, it includes historical reference works and a special collection of books which have significantly affected thought in the Hemisphere over the past four centuries.

GALLERY

The gallery of the Center is open to the public. Designed to stimulate interest in the cultural past and creative present in the arts of the Hemisphere, it originates, independently or in cooperation with other organization, exhibitions of paintings, graphics, sculpture, and photography. Exhibitions will travel in the United States whenever feasible. Major exhibitions are accompanied by catalogues.

MUSIC AND FILM

Concerts sponsored by the Center include music from the colonial period to the present. Chamber concerts will be held in the Center, but since concert facilities are small, arrangements have been made to hold concerts at auditoria elsewhere in the city. Most of these concerts will be open to the public. Other musical activities include cooperative arrangements with radio stations, universities and other institutions throughout the country interested in broadening public awareness of Latin American, Caribbean and Canadian music and musicians.

The Center will also be equipped to screen 16mm. films for the benefit of members and guests.

LITERATURE PROGRAM AND PUBLICATIONS

The Center is developing a literature program initiated by the Inter-American Foundation for the Arts. The program is designed to encourage both the publication of contemporary Latin American literature and the production of Latin American plays in the United States.

Other publications sponsored by the Center include: 1) monographs, collections of papers, and other material dealing with economic, political and social issues, and 2) *Mirador*, a cultural newsletter in English and Spanish editions, originated by the Inter-American Foundation for the Arts.

FINANCING

The Center for Inter-American Relations must finance its capital and operational expenses through contributions. The $1.5 million restoration fund drive is well along and is expected to meet its goal during 1967–68. The Center has already received support from seventy-five individuals and corporations. On-going operating cost will be met through foundation support and membership dues as well as corporate and individual gifts.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 19, 1967]

HUMPHREY FINDS LATIN PARALLEL TO U.S. RACIAL STRIFE

(By Homer Bigart)

Vice President Humphrey last night called the summer's race riots the product of "a small but aroused minority . . . misled by demagogues into seeing its only outlet in anarchy and violence."

Speaking at the inaugural dinner of the new Center for Inter-American Relations on Park Avenue and 68th Street, Mr. Humphrey said the disorders should make Americans aware of the even greater instability of Latin-American governments.

The Vice President, an honorary trustee of the center, said anyone who had "endured the agony of the past summer" would no longer be able to see much distinction between behavior patterns in North America and Latin America.

He warned an audience that included ministers and ambassadors from Latin-American and United States leaders involved in inter-American affairs that the rising in this country of a tiny minority "awakened to full consciousness of its condition, and cut off from the bonds of society" could be "a dangerous and broad movement—or a majority—in other countries of the hemisphere."

RISING EXPECTATIONS CITED

The social integration of Latin America, he said, would involve the integration of millions who were becoming conscious of their condition and who were "no longer resigned to their fate on the margin of society."

"What concerns me, as I look forward into the next decade," Mr. Humphrey said, "is that progress may not be fast enough to sustain the hopes that have been aroused . . . that the newly awakened millions will reject the alternatives of peaceful change and accept instead the leadership of those who glorify violence and seek not to change society, but to destroy it."

He said that President Johnson was determined, "regardless of any temporary setbacks," to continue the large-scale commitment of the nation's resources to the Alliance for Progress program.

This may not be enough, he said, adding: "I would like to be more confident that the spreading guerrilla movement in some countries, the 'radicalization of the left' in others, represent a temporary phase and not a long-range condition.

"I would like to be more confident that the increase in gross national product is improving the lives of those who are most in need; that the majority of the coming generation sees in progressive political democracy a system to be preserved and perfected—and not a vestige to be discarded."

Mr. Humphrey said he hoped for a return of the Good Neighbor Policy to the Caribbean. But it will not return, he said, until the policy of "leaving one's neighbors alone" is adopted by Cuba.

"Until Cuba is prepared to leave her neighbors alone, to suspend the activities and the connections that led to her expulsion from the American family, there can be no return to participation in the inter-American system," the Vice President asserted.

He suggested that the new center, a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation, adopt a tolerant policy in inviting non-Establishment figures to its discussions. He urged the center to avoid the temptation of dealing chiefly with established institutions, of inviting mostly well-known personalities, of exhibiting recognized artists, or accepting the "conventional wisdom of the day."

And, he said: "The most imaginative, talented and responsible Latin-American leaders are not always the most North-American minded."

The center, which occupies a five-story Georgian-style mansion, will offer lectures, studies, publications and special conferences for leaders in inter-American affairs. The ground floor exhibition gallery is open to the public. Cultural activities will also include concerts and recitals throughout the year.

AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO. TV PRODUCTION ON AFRICA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to the excellent television production on Africa presented by ABC on Sunday evening, September 10. The television industry, which has had its share of criticism in the past, has presented a commendable production that shows the high quality that TV can attain in the news and documentary field.

The ability of TV, as a medium to cover in depth wide-ranging historical, social, and political subjects and to transmit its findings to an audience of millions, was confirmed by this remarkable tour de force. The thoroughness of the production and the excellence of the editing made it a show of great interest. In presenting this program on Africa, ABC has performed a public service of the first order.

Gregory Peck's job as narrator was particularly outstandingly done and deserves special mention. His low key but lucid account created a most suitable framework for the show. Mr. President, I am sure that I speak for many others when I say that I hope this program will set a precedent for others like it.

ABC is to be commended indeed on its major contribution to the industry and its willingness to give 4 hours of time to a most important subject.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD clippings on the show published in the Washington Post and the New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 11, 1967]

TV: 4 HOURS OF AFRICA—ABC'S PRIME-TIME STUDY OF THE ENTIRE CONTINENT IS HAILED AS A LANDMARK

(By Jack Gould)

An extraordinary primer on the way of life of an entire continent—fascinating and contradictory Africa—was presented last night by the American Broadcasting Company in a dimension without parallel in television.

An entire evening of prime time—four hours running from 7 to 11—was devoted to a composite study of a part of the world about which so much is heard and so little known. By any conceivable standard the effort was a landmark in commercial TV, fulfilling a notable educational and informational purpose.

A year's work by 16 producers, directors and cameramen, under James Fleming, executive producer, and Blaine Lyttell, project producer and a veteran correspondent in Africa, was spent in preparing "Africa." Their reward is literally miles of film, of which only a portion could be used; the balance should be a permanent library of priceless material for extensive educational uses.

To attempt a kaleidoscopic inspection of the cultural traditions, economics, politics, strife and geography of so many nations on one continent in a bewildering process of change would be a formidable challenge of editorial organization for any journalist. Predictably, "Africa" was a mixture of absorbing depth and hurried superficially of content, but the total achieved its announced goal.

At the evening's end the audience was left with a far greater insight into the complexities, turmoil and restlessness of an Africa that is both determined to pursue independence yet finds it achievement fraught with problems. "Africa" was a TV social document that in its exceptional range of subject matter reflected the continent's own diversity.

In an interesting concession to popular television, "Africa", for which Gregory Peck was narrator, began with pictures of the continent's wildlife, presumably to catch the attention of the young viewers who control the set in early evening. Then, by deft juxtaposition, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Lyttell gradually introduced more serious matters, switched back at midevening to a segment on entertainment and then returned to magnificent insights into Kenya's efforts to arrange multiracial harmony and finally a most extended and uncompromising segment on apartheid in South Africa.

The closeups of humans in suffering, in luxury, in abandon, in puzzlement and in smug resistance was a gripping study in contracts. And the program's conclusion was almost a poem on the subject of change—the different meaning of Christmas to a white and to a black.

An excellent color film, of which the small home screen could reproduce only a part of the vivid perspective that the cameras undoubtedly captured originally, "Africa" was primarily concerned with that portion of the continent south of the Sahara.

In the first hour, aside from the scenes of animals, there were views of the primitive bushmen of the Kalaharie Desert, the early civilization yet slow progress that are the heritages of Ethiopia and the birth of the new independent state of Botswana.

In the second hour there were a detailed analysis of the tribalism that tears at Nigeria's stability, the diseases that strike down so many in Africa, the controversy over what kind of education would best help the continent's masses and the vanity that led the deposed Kwame Nkrumah to undermine the stability of Ghana.

In the third hour, after mention of the rise of competitive sports in African society and its own theatrical culture, there was a supremely hard-hitting indictment of how the enslavement of Africans had left its bitter residue all over the world, including the United States.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 11, 1967]

FOUR-HOUR AFRICA SHOW A SOLID ACHIEVEMENT

ABC–TV (Channel 7) introduced something new to television last night—a four-hour endurance contest under the generic title, "Africa."

Those who survived the 7 to 11 p.m. contest were richly rewarded with splendid color film footage and the low-key narration of Gregory Peck. For those who gave in to the temptations of entertainment programs on rival channels, hope remains. ABC–TV has promised to break the telecast into four equal, one-hour segments and have them telecast at times suitable for school children.

In the young television business, obsessed with tonnage and fascinated with such adjectives as "longest" and "most expensive," the "Africa" evening was a major achievement. It was well worth the $2 million production budget.

Peck's narration was not the kind that one associates with travelogues. He referred to Haile Selassie's Ethopia as a place where history has been suspended. He found most of the population living in "crushing poverty" and a look at the individuals was called a "shattering" human portrait.

Anthropologists have assured us that man survived and became supreme because of the power of his brain. A different view came from British archeologist Dr. Louis S. B. Leakey, who thinks that the first man lived at Olduvai Gorge in north-central Tanzania, East Africa.

Man survived, he guessed, because he made such a poor meal for predatory animals. "He doesn't smell nice; he doesn't taste nice," said Dr. Leakey. He added another unflattering possibility: "Or perhaps both."

Peck showed particular restraint in introducing a young Peace Corps teacher named Jonathan Peck, who works in Tanzania. Jonathan is the son of Gregory and Greta Rice Peck.

No attempt was made to hide such African problems as tribal warfare and lack of medical facilities. Peck contrasted the U.S. ratio of one physician to 730 persons with the African ratio of one physician to 20,000 persons.

At one grade school a teacher taught children to use the English word "shoes." As the children repeated key phrases, the camera concentrated on the bare feet.

The program was well served by newsman Howard K. Smith's brisk description of Africa's political leaders and by Signe Hasso's reading from Isak Dinesen's "Out of Africa."

In all, it was certainly a beneficial, worthwhile undertaking. The eight months that producer James Fleming's nine production units spent collecting this material may even have succeeded in ridding some U.S. citizens of the Hollywood stereotype of Africa. Certainly Fleming has given ABC–TV a remarkable library of material on this continent.

The four hours did, of course, deal in some monumental trivia along with political realities and Africa's mammoth collection of problems. The trivia, however, was needed both to sustain visual interest and to give the hardiest viewer a little relief.

No, it didn't turn each viewer into an instant expert of Africa. That couldn't be done in four hours or, for that matter, in 400 hours.

"Africa," however, did give ABC–TV and indeed all of television a new, fresh reason to be proud.

AMERICANS WANT FIREARMS CONTROL

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, 7 days ago, President Johnson urged Congress to enact promptly S. 1, the State Firearms Control Assistance Act of 1967, to help answer the rising gun crime rate and to help keep guns out of the hands of juveniles, criminals, and potential rioters.

Yesterday, the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Committee responded to the President's request by approving a strong gun bill designed to stop interstate mail-order sales of all firearms, except to licensed dealers; to stop over-the-counter handgun sales to any person who does not reside in the State where the seller does business; to stop sales of handguns to minors; and to curb the presently nearly unlimited importation of firearms, amounting to a million weapons a year.

This is the most effective firearms bill the subcommittee has ever reported. It will help the States enact and enforce whatever local laws are necessary to control gun crimes within the States. It is essential, because without Federal controls on the interstate shipment of guns, any State gun law can be avoided by purchase of a gun through the mails or in a neighboring State with lax laws.

The overwhelming majority of Americans, including gun owners, demand stronger gun controls. In fact, the majority of Americans, including the majority of gun owners, favor far more stringent gun control measures than those S. 1 proposes. According to a Gallup poll conducted a year ago, 68 percent of all Americans, including 56 percent of all gun-owning Americans, favor a law to require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun. According to a Harris poll released only 5 days ago, 66 percent of white gun owners favor passage of a law by Congress to require all persons to register all gun purchases, no matter where they are made. The Harris poll shows majority support in all areas of the country for a Federal registration statute.

S. 1 does not provide gun controls as stringent as registration. Nor does it interfere with the interests of sportsmen and legitimate gun enthusiasts. Sportsmen will still be able to purchase rifles and shotguns in any State in the Union and handguns from any dealer within their own State, including dealers who order guns through the mail. Ample allowance is also made for antique gun enthusiasts. But the growing public demand for stringent gun control should be met by prompt congressional passage of S. 1, which will help the States protect their own citizens from mail-order assassins, teenage gunmen, and armed criminals.

I ask unanimous consent that the Harris and Gallup polls and President Johnson's letter to Congress on firearms control be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HARRIS SURVEY

(By Louis Harris)

A national survey indicates that 27 million white Americans, representing 54% of the nation's homes, own guns. A majority of gun owners say they would use their weapons to "shoot other people in case of a riot." Large numbers of white people in this country have apparently given serious thought to self-protection, and one person in every three believes that his own home or neighborhood might be affected by a riot.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from this evidence that most whites welcome the idea of unrestricted arms. To the contrary, by a decisive 66-to-28% margin, white gun owners favor passage of a law in Congress which would require that all persons "register all gun purchases no matter where they buy them."

Gun ownership shows wide variants by regions of the country:

Gun ownership among whites

	Percent Own	*Percent* Don't own
Nationwide	54	46
By region:		
East	33	67
Midwest	63	37
South	67	33
West	59	41

Gun ownership is concentrated more in the South and the Midwest than in other parts of the country. The East, where the fewest own guns, is also the area where gun owners would be least willing (46%) to use their firearms against fellow citizens.

The cross section of white gun owners was asked:

"Would you use your gun to shoot other people in case of a riot?"

Use gun to shoot people in riot

	Gun owners *Would use* *Percent*	*Not use* *Percent*
Nationwide	55	45
By region		
East	46	54
Midwest	54	46
South	58	42
West	59	41

The willingness to use guns against other people seems to be related to white gun owners' attitudes toward a national firearms control law. Although a majority in the South and West favor such legislation, the percentages in favor are less than in the East and Midwest.

The cross section of white gun owners was asked:

"Do you favor or oppose federal laws which would control the sale of guns, such as making all persons register all gun purchases no matter where they buy them?"

REGISTRATION OF ALL GUNS

	Favor	Percent opposed	Not sure
All white gun owners	66	28	6
By region:			
East	70	21	9
Midwest	70	25	5
South	62	27	11
West	56	40	4

Clearly, the spate of civil disorders over the past summer has raised people's fears for their safety. This was evident in the replies of the special cross section of whites to this question:

"Do you fear that in a riot your own home or neighborhood might be affected?"

MIGHT BE AFFECTED BY RIOT

	Percent		
	Might be	Not be	Not sure
Total whites	34	58	8
By income:			
Under $5,000	41	49	10
$5,000 to $9,999	33	60	7
$10,000 and over	32	62	6

Low-income whites, many of whom live in fringe neighborhoods alongside Negroes, are most apprehensive.

It should be pointed out, however, that earlier Harris Surveys reported that when both Negroes and whites were asked how they feel about their personal safety on the streets, Negroes were far more anxious than whites. Fear of violence does not seem to show any color line.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 14, 1966]

THE GALLUP POLL: GUN OWNERS THEMSELVES FAVOR CURBS

PRINCETON, N.J., September 13.—Few issues spark such heated reactions as gun controls, and few issues are so widely misunderstood.

Some of the opposition to the registration of guns comes from those who think that this would mean banning all guns. Actually, the law proposed would not prohibit a person from owning a gun—either for sport or protection—but would require that a record be made of the name of the gun purchaser. The purpose of such a law would be to keep guns out of the hands of persons with a criminal record, the mentally disturbed and others unqualified to handle weapons.

The mood of the public for nearly three decades has been to impose controls on the sale and possession of weapons.

The survey questions and findings:

"Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?"

[Percentage]

	All persons	*Gun owners*
Yes	68	56
No	29	41
No opinion	3	3

Those who favor such a law:

1. Too many people get guns who are irresponsible, mentally ill, retarded, trigger happy, criminals.
2. It would save lives.
3. It's too easy to get guns.
4. It would be a help to the police.
5. It would keep guns out of the hands of teenagers.

Reasons of those who oppose such a law:

1. Such a law would take away the individual's rights.
2. Such a law wouldn't work—people would still get guns if they wanted to.
3. People need guns for protection.

"Which of those three plans would you prefer for the use of guns by persons under the age of 18—forbid their use completely, put restrictions on their use, or continue as at present with few regulations?"

[Percentage]

	All persons	*Gun owners*
Forbid use	27	17
Restrictions on use	55	59
Continue as at present	15	22
No opinion	3	2

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 14, 1967.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In August of last year, a demented sniper sat with an arsenal of weapons at the top of a University tower and coldly and systematically killed and maimed 44 Americans.

The horror of that senseless slaughter shocked the entire Nation. Yet, today, 13 months later, Congress has failed to enact a gun control law. In those intervening 13 months, guns were involved in more than 6500 murders, 10,000 suicides, 2,600 accidental deaths, 43,500 aggravated assaults, and 50,000 robberies.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has just reported that the use of firearms in dangerous crimes is on the upswing. For the first six months of 1967 there was a 24 percent rise in the use of guns in aggravated assaults, 37 percent rise in the use of weapons in robberies.

A civilized nation cannot allow this armed terror to continue.

An enlightened Congress *must not* allow it to continue.

The time has come for action.

Last year, two million guns were sold in the United States. Many of them were sold to hardened criminals, snipers, mental defectives, rapists, habitual drunkards and juveniles.

There is no excuse for this.

There is no excuse for a holdup at gun point on a dark city street or an armed robbery in a house where children are sleeping. We are long past the point where we can allow lethal weapons to be hawked by the same mail order techniques used to market frozen steaks or baskets of fruit. We are long past the point where we can allow an enemy of society to buy and use a weapon of death and disorder—when existing state laws would not even allow the same person to drive a car, or to vote.

Last February, after an exhaustive report by the National Crime Commission, I recommended that the Congress enact the State Firearms Control Act of 1967—the third such gun control bill I proposed since I became President. That legislation is designed to stop interstate mail order sales of all firearms, stop over-the-counter sales of firearms, other than rifles and shotguns, to any person who does not reside in the State in which the seller does business, stop sales of handguns to any person under 21, and sales of rifles and shotguns to any person under 18, and curb imports of firearms into the United States.

Despite the urgency, however, the bill has not been enacted by Congress and has not as yet been reported out of the Senate or House subcommittees.

The challenge of any gun control bill is to keep weapons from the hands of the dangerous and still permit the law abiding citizen to acquire them.

The Administration's bill meets that challenge. It is directed primarily at the criminal use of firearms. Its basic approach is to limit out-of-state purchases and interstate mail-order sales of firearms. This will allow State and local authorities to exercise such controls as the people of their own communities believe are warranted.

Recently, for example, the State of New Jersey enacted its own gun control legislation. During the first six months of its operation more than 7% of the prospective gun purchasers had prior criminal records. Over 540 individuals were denied licenses to buy guns because they were hardened criminals, or alcoholics, or drug addicts or mentally unstable—540 people to whom guns were not the tools of a sportsman but the potential instruments of terror and violence. Think of the tragedy and the waste this has avoided.

The measure now before Congress is aimed solely at keeping deadly weapons out of the wrong hands. It interferes neither with sportsmen nor law-abiding citizens with a legitimate need. This legislation will impose no real inconvenience on gun buyers. But under any circumstances, who would measure inconvenience against the personal safety and security of thousands of American citizens?

The passage of an effective gun control statute can be an important step in providing a climate of security for all our citizens. It can help them enjoy the right to travel unmolested, to walk without fear on the streets of our cities, and to be secure in their homes.

Its passage will avoid senseless tragedy, and promote the safety of the American people.

As I said today to the International Association of Chiefs of Police—talking about morality, speaking about crime, deploring the conditions that exist cannot get the job done. The time is here and now to stand up and vote against crime.

I call upon the Congress to serve the public interest by promptly enacting this vital gun-control legislation.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

SALE OF SURPLUS GOVERNMENT ARMS TO THE PUBLIC

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently I was astonished to learn that members of the Detroit Police Department cannot purchase surplus army carbines, which they deem essential to their work, unless they first join and pay dues to the National Rifle Association or one of its affiliates.

I have written to the distinguished chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee urging an investigation and a review of existing laws and regulations which govern the sale of surplus Government firearms.

After contacting officials of the Army Material Command, the Office of the Army's Director of Civilian Marksmanship, and the National Rifle Association, I am convinced that something is seriously wrong with procedures now in effect.

It is my understanding that, under present law and Army regulations, only members of the National Rifle Association and its affiliated units are eligible to purchase usable surplus arms and ammunition, including carbines. The Government sells a surplus carbine for $20—$17.50 cost, plus a $2.50 handling charge—commercially, such a carbine sells for between $60 and $80.

In effect, the Government has made the National Rifle Association, a private organization, its exclusive sales agent for surplus army rifles. As a consequence, the Government indirectly promotes membership in the NRA, which levies a standard fee of $5 in connection with each application.

My office has verified reports that during the past 2 months about 400 Detroit policemen have filed NRA membership applications in order to qualify for purchase of surplus army carbines.

As I understand it, under established procedures, the NRA forwards a purchase application to the U.S. Army Weapons Command; copies are then furnished to the Director of Civilian Marksmanship and the Treasury Department, and the latter is finally responsible for approving the applicant.

After a purchase request is received by the Army, 2 months are normally required to process the application.

At one time, States and local municipalities were eligible to purchase Army surplus firearms under Army regulations. However, those regulations were rescinded in 1965. While it might have been desirable to tighten those regulations or to impose reasonable limitations, I am at a loss to understand why sales to law-enforcement agencies were completely prohibited—making it necessary for individual policemen to go through the NRA.

I believe the Senate Armed Services Committee should focus on at least two areas. First, the action taken in 1965 which prohibited sales of surplus weapons to local governments should be reexamined. In a real sense, State and local policemen are a vital part of our Nation's defense system.

Second, I believe the Armed Services Committee should focus upon and review the existing statute which, in effect, confers an exclusive sales agency franchise upon the National Rifle Association. In effect, the statute grants the association preliminary authority to judge the qualifications of individuals who desire to purchase Government firearms. Even though the NRA has some special competence. I believe the authority conferred under the present statute is far too broad.

Mr. President, I hope Congress will review this whole situation and develop some procedures that make some sense.

NEW NATIONAL ASSOCIATION LENDS VALUABLE SUPPORT TO RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I was delighted to learn that at long last a group has been formed to speak for the interests of the railroad passengers. In the long fight to maintain and to improve our railroad passenger system, the passenger has until now been without a full-time spokesman. We have heard from the labor unions, the railroads, the equipment suppliers, and Government officials, but the people who use the railroads have been a silent audience as we grapple with the serious problems of transportation between our major cities.

The National Association of Railroad Passengers was recently founded in Chicago and is now engaged in a nationwide membership drive. Its executive director is Anthony Haswell, a Chicago attorney, who has already devoted a considerable amount of his time as a private citizen to the problems of maintaining passenger service. Under his leadership this new organization will actively work to develop public support for sound legislation to improve passenger service.

As one long interested in railroad problems, I welcome the creation of this association. It can be a valuable force in informing public opinion about railroad matters and in developing vital grassroots support for sound Federal programs to assist rail passenger service.

For many individuals, both commuters and intercity travelers, good railroad service is important to the conduct of their business and their personal lives. They represent a large group whose interests need to be represented. I am sure they will find an articulate spokesman in the National Association of Railroad Passengers. I look forward to working with the association in the years ahead, as it lends its valuable support to the fight for good and efficient passenger service.

I ask unanimous consent that the announcement stating the purpose and goals of the National Association of Railroad Passengers be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the announcement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Train Riders Open National Campaign To Stem Decline of Railroad Passenger Service

The formation of a national citizens' organization to preserve and promote railroad passenger service was announced today by Anthony Haswell, a Chicago attorney who has played a prominent role in fighting passenger service erosion.

The organization, known as the National Association of Railroad Passengers, has opened headquarters in Chicago (333 North Michigan Avenue) and has established permanent legislative representation in Washington.

The Association's initial steps to attract national membership include a campaign of full-page magazine advertising and direct-mail solicitation of railroad users and other concerned parties.

Haswell, who is executive director of the organization, formerly was employed in the Law Department of the Illinois Central Railroad. Since 1963 he has devoted much of his time appearing before regulatory bodies and other government agencies in behalf of continuation and improvement of rail passenger service.

"Railroad passenger service is in serious danger of extinction, and not just the milk runs and locals," Haswell said. "The recent effort to discontinue the popular *California Zephyr*, while temporarily unsuccessful, is a forecast of more widespread attempts to discontinue long-distance trains. The high-speed train program for densely populated areas, while a step in the right direction, is limited in scope. Even commuter service is in danger in some localities despite the absolutely essential function it serves.

"Rail passenger service is a valuable national asset," Haswell declared. "The train is safer, often faster, and, for many of us, more relaxing than the auto; more comfortable and usually faster than the bus; and cheaper, more relaxing, and always closer to the scenery than the airplane. It is an essential element in our total national transportation picture in peace or war."

The Association's program includes strengthening of legal controls over the discontinuance of passenger trains; fair and equal treatment for rail passenger service by government, in relation to other forms of transportation; and provision for improved rail passenger service in the national transportation policy now being formulated.

"Our aim," Haswell stated, "is to bring together enough people who feel as we do so that our voice will be heard and listened to by governmental authorities and rail managements. We plan to give every encouragement to railroads that make a conscientious effort to provide good service. We will oppose those companies that deliberately downgrade and discourage passenger business." he said.

VIETNAM DEMILITARIZED ZONE BARRIER

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, from Dongha, South Vietnam, Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak report today on the long-range purposes of the soon-to-be-built barrier along the demilitarized zone in Vietnam. It is seen, from the vantage point of Quangtri Province, as the first postwar step to be taken, as a strategy for doing more than cutting off infiltration from the north.

Behind the barrier, as the column, which I have taken from today's Washington Post, points out, South Vietnamese troops hopefully will shoulder more of the burden of defending their country's frontier, relieving U.S. marines. The barrier, then, is a major component, these writers say, to help South Vietnam defend itself against the north. It is built in advance, perhaps years in advance, of the time when we can hope that South Vietnam's capability will be sufficient for the task. In the meantime, the barrier should help reduce the enemy's penetration of northern South Vietnam and bring the marines in our advanced outposts along the zone more immediate relief.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Evans-Novak column published in today's Washington Post be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Viet Barrier Seen as First Postwar Step

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Dongha, South Vietnam.—Behind the obvious hope that the barrier to be built across the top of South Vietnam will take a little of the pressure off the hardpressed U.S. Marines is a far more significant purpose.

The barrier concept is nothing less than a longrange strategy for a permanently divided North and South Vietnam. Its chief purpose, then, is not just to ease the tactical military situation in the fiercely contested northern provinces, but to start building the postwar machinery. This, it is fervently hoped, will be needed within the next few years after the Communist organization has been uprooted in the hamlets and enemy fighting units have been destroyed.

When completed sometime next year, at a probable cost of not more than $1 billion dollars, South Vietnamese troops will begin to take on a larger share of the war along the demilitarized zone. The barrier, in short, will be manned by native troops, not U.S. Marines.

This, at least, is the plan in the back of the mind of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and no military commanders in the field here dispute him. While not wildly enthusiastic, these commanders believe that even the first portion of the barrier along an already cleared strip of land called "the trace" will make it far more difficult for Ho Chi Minh's northern legions to penetrate deeply into Quangtri Province.

It is only a two-minute hop by helicopter from the advance Marine base here at Dongha up to Conthien, the scene of the most savage fighting of the war and only one mile from the DMZ. Through the pelting rain, the first portion of the terrain cleared for the barrier is easily seen. It runs from the hilltop Marine stronghold of Conthien east for ten miles to Giolinh.

This first stretch of the incipient barrier still has neither fortification nor electronic devices installed, but these will start being emplaced soon. The work is excruciatingly slow and painful because of its easy access to enemy rockets from across and within the DMZ.

But from the vantage point of Marine Brig-Gen. Louis Metzger's helicopter, the military advantage of the barrier becomes instantly clear. The ten mile "trace" covers the flattest ground along the whole 45-mile DMZ. It is through this inviting stretch of easy terrain that the enemy has mounted his successive attacks on Conthien, slipping through in twos and threes at night, then regrouping for a dawn attack on the Marine stronghold. Block this open door and the North Vietnamese will be forced either west, into rough and hilly country, or east, into the coastal swamp that parallels the South China Sea.

The succeeding portions of the barrier will be constructed later, and they will not follow the natural contour of the land, clinging instead to the valleys and avoiding the mountains. From Conthien to the border of Laos, the land rises from the coastal plain steeply to a series of razorback mountains, each one higher than the last.

Consequently, the barrier will not at all resemble the ill-fated Maginot Line. It will be a series of pieces, like a jagged fence, with gaps where there are no valleys.

Details of the fortifications to be built within the cleared strip of terrain are top-secret, but they will include the usual border-style fort at periodic intervals, barbed wire, and highly-sophisticated electronic devices.

As long as this war lasts, the enemy will continue to infiltrate across the DMZ, but when the barrier is completed, getting across to attack our troops will no longer be as easy as a midnight stroll in the park.

The longer-range purpose, however, is more important: The Johnson Administration is now planning for what is hopefully defined here as "the postwar period" and the barrier is a major component, built in advance, to help South Vietnam defend itself against the North without 500,000 American troops. But that time is still far, far off.

METRIC SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the Scale Manufacturers Association, Inc., has, in the person of its executive secretary, Arthur Sanders, spoken strongly in favor of the legislation proposed by Congressmen George Miller, Richard Ottinger, Robert McClory, Don Edwards, and me, authorizing the Commerce Department to study the feasibility of the United States converting to the metric system of weights and measures. In an article written for the Scale Journal, Mr. Sanders has eloquently supported the need for making such a study as soon as possible.

Mr. Sanders' arguments are so sound, Mr. President, that I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Is Congress Going To Forget All About the Metric System Again?

(By Arthur Sanders, executive secretary, Scale Manufacturers Association, Inc.)

As these words are written, it appears highly probable that Congress will fail to act on important resolutions by Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island and Congressmen George P. Miller of California and Richard Ottinger of New York. Bills have been introduced by Congressmen Don Edwards of California and Robert McClory of Illinois also.

In case you've forgotten, Senator Pell and these Congressmen want to authorize the Commerce Department to make a serious study of just exactly what might be involved if the United States were to forsake measurements in pounds and ounces, inches and feet, and convert to the more precise, easier-to-use metric system.

Aside from the scientific and business communities (and weights and measures people, of course!) it seems awfully hard to get most folks much interested. At a time when war, race relations and higher taxes hold the headlines, it just doesn't seem vital to most Americans what units of weights and measures we use . . . and more's the pity for that. The United States is fast finding itself standing alone as we stand pat and take no action . . . or, worse still, seek no hard facts on what might be involved if we got in step with the rest of the world in this vital matter.

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and John Quincy Adams (to mention only a few Presidents) each in turn called upon Congress to take definitive action in the weights and measures field. We're still waiting.

Washington, our first President, called upon the First Congress to establish a uniform system of weights and measures. It was much needed. In the early days of our Republic, weights and measures were chaotic. As John Perry has pointed out in his book, *The Story of Standards,* in those times a bushel of oats, for example, varied all the way from 32 pounds in Connecticut to 36 pounds in the Washington Territory. There were many different "gallons". French, Dutch, Spanish and English weights and measures were in use in different areas of the United States. It hurt trade and confused business.

Instead of setting up a unified system of weights and measures, Congress responded by appointing a Committee . . . which asked the first Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, to recommend what ought to be done. Jefferson gave his recommendations . . . and nothing was done about them.

In 1817, Congress got around to looking into the matter of a national weights and measures law again. Another Committee asked then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams what ought to be done. The younger Adams' report on weights and measures is the most famous and scholarly treatise on the subject up to modern times. It is a classic study. But no action resulted from it, either.

Finally, the welter of confusing, conflicting standards of weights and measures became an intolerable burden on business and trade. A Treasury Department employee, Ferdinand Hassler, acting on his own, virtually "adopted" a system of weights and measures for the United States—and made his decision stick. Hassler collected standards from Europe and adapted these to American use. Trade, commerce—and the collection of taxes—demanded that standard units of weights and measures which meant the same thing to all men.

When Congress found out what Hassler was doing, instead of being unhappy, it seems to have heaved a collective sigh of relief, and passed a Resolution urging him to hurry along with his work.

So far, so good—in spite of the delay. Hassler's units of weights and measures were adopted by the states . . . the basis for our present system.

Critics of Congress have often pointed a scornful finger at our national legislature for its reluctance to pass laws in the weights and measures field. But, in some ways, it may be a sign of Congressional prudence and wisdom—rather than the reverse. Taxes may go up or down, alliances may be formed or broken. But, when you go messing around with the weights and measures laws, it is controversial as well as important. Chaos can result if you don't know what you're doing. As Kings and even Dictators have found, it isn't merely a matter of "passing a law". Usage must follow . . . custom is important.

But where does that leave us in the important matter of studying the metric system? In the early days of the Republic, inaction and lack of hard facts hurt . . . but perhaps not too much. Modern science and technology, however, has transformed the world beyond recognition from what it was in Jefferson's time, for example. Then it might take a clipper ship two years to journey—say—to China and return. Today, the transmission of news is instantaneous. Defense needs, commerce, trade and travel have been accelerated to the same ratio.

WE OUGHT TO HAVE FACTS, INFORMATION

The Resolutions of Senator Pell and Congressman Ottinger call for *studies* . . . not for legislation compelling anybody to do anything. In a matter as important as weights and measures, it's absolutely *vital* to have the best facts and the most informed, impartial opinion that it is possible to have. Every single thing that man wears, eats, or uses have been weighed or measured at least once—and often many times in its manufacture, processing, distribution or sale.

What might be involved in the wider use of the metric system in the United States? If America ultimately switched over to it?

For years, we've had debates and discussions. But most of these are by ardent *advocates* or ardent *opponents* of the metric system.

The work of the National Bureau of Standards of the Commerce Department commands universal respect among informed and intelligent people. It is neither an advocate nor an opponent of the metric system. Why not let such an informed, impartial study be made? Then the discussion could be clarified. Decisions, if any, could be made on a more informed basis.

Since 1866, the metric system has been legal but not compulsory in the United States—by Act of Congress which provided a conversion table to Hassler's weights and measures. Japan, Korea, India and Great Britain are recent converts to the metric system. Some 90% of the world's population now uses it. The United States, alone among the great powers and commercial nations, stands by our cumbersome system on the basis of custom and practice.

As the National Geographic Society recently pointed out:

"In daily life, Americans employ at least 85 different weights and measures. Length comes by the inch, foot, yard, chain, rod, furlong, league, and mile. Area may be in square miles or acres. Volumes and weights are stated in teaspoons, quarts, pecks, gallons, barrels, bushels, drams, gills and cords. There are three different tons, two pounds, three ounces, three quarts and three miles. The United States' inch differed from that of Canada until 1959."

The National Geographic Society notes: "Many of our measures grew out of the Egyptian, Roman, and British gauges based on the human hand and foot."

The Egyptian cubit was the distance between the elbow and the middle finger tip. The mile, from the Latin *mille,* or thousand, was determined by the thousand double steps of an average Roman soldier. King Henry I established medieval England's yard by measuring the distance between the tip of his finger and the tip of his nose. An early Scottish King defined the inch as the average width of the thumbnails of three men—large, medium, and small."

It is true, of course, that the costs of converting to the metric system would be high. But how high? Only a factual study can tell us this. And also, perhaps, how high the cost of continued inaction might be. 'Way back in 1906, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone and one of America's most distinguished scientists, advocated the metric system. "It is a labor-saving device of the greatest importance and value," Bell said.

It would be well if Senator Pell's Resolution . . . or one of the House bills . . . were passed. Then, perhaps, we would start getting some informed answers on this important question.

THIN ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in today's edition, the Christian Science Monitor has focused upon the remarkable peroration of Defense Secretary McNamara, which wound up his recent San Francisco announcement about U.S. plans to construct a thin anti-ballistic-missile system. The Monitor does not see Moscow more willing to give up the power struggle, or forgo stirring up the status quo, than in the past. But it does find both Washington and Moscow more willing to concede reasonableness to each other than at any time since the relations between the superpowers began to thaw. It was reasonableness that Mr. McNamara called for in San Francisco, and it is reasonableness which the world needs, rather than a new race toward armament.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Monitor's editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Reasonableness

"In the end, the root of man's security does not lie in his weaponry.

"In the end, the root of man's security lies in his mind.

"What the world requires in its 22d Year of the Atomic Age is not a new race towards armament.

"What the world requires in its 22d Year of the Atomic Age is a new race toward reasonableness."

These words were part of the remarkable peroration with which Defense Secretary McNamara wound up his announcement in San Francisco that the United States had decided on "Chinese-oriented ABM deployment."

By an apt coincidence Mr. McNamara was speaking on the eve of the formal opening in New York of the 22d General Assembly of the United Nations. With all its limitations and imperfections, the UN is still the best instrument that men have devised so far to bring the sovereign states of the world toward reasonableness and the rule of law.

Few have high hopes that this latest UN gathering will bring the world significantly closer to a solution of its chronic problems and disputes—hunger, over-population, Vietnam, the Middle East, Cyprus, and Kashmir, to cite only a few of them. But there is something novel about this 22d General Assembly.

For the first time, this annual gathering will be presided over by the representative of a Communist land, Romanian Foreign Minister Manescu. Admittedly Romanians these days are a rather special brand of Communists. Allied with Moscow, they have lines out to the non-Communist West and also try to maintain amenities with Peking. But Mr. Manescu's acceptability as assembly president to both Moscow and Washington—without which he would not have got the job—is still a token of the growing measure of reasonableness in relations between the two nuclear superpowers.

Certainly the Russians' installation of a limited ABM system of their own has played no small part in convincing the Johnson administration that the United States could no longer stay naked in terms of this latest innovation in defense. Yet Mr. McNamara leaned over backwards to telegraph to Moscow that Washington's decision to put in an ABM system did not mean a sharpening of American attitudes toward the Russians. The American system, he insisted, was "designed against a possible Chinese attack." And American deployment of the system "in no way indicates that we feel an agreement with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive forces is any the less urgent or desirable."

He so spoke because both Washington and Moscow are more willing to concede reasonableness to each other than perhaps at any time since the thaw began. This does not mean that the Russians will refrain from stirring the status quo when it is to their advantage to do so. This does not mean that the power struggle between them is over. But it does mean that both recognize the responsibilities which go with being a nuclear superpower—if the world is not to be blown to smithereens.

This is a measure of reasonableness for which we can be grateful, even if we regret that it was still not broad enough to make unnecessary the mutual deployment of ABM systems.

FRANCIS X. GALLAGHER, OUTSTANDING MARYLAND PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, for many years a large company in Baltimore City has presented an annual award for outstanding contributions in high school athletics known as the "unsung hero award." This annual award is given to that player in high school football and lacrosse in the Maryland Scholastic Association who, although having gone unnoticed by the press and most fans, has provided steady and inspirational leadership on the football or lacrosse field. Often the recipient is an offensive football lineman who has tenaciously protected his quarterback and consistently opened the holes in the opposing line. On other occasions the award is given to a defensive captain or middle linebacker who has displayed constant and steady performance although his work may have gone unnoticed because of a more colorful or spectacular defensive player on the same team. Over the years, the unsung hero award has become one of the most significant awards a high school boy in the Baltimore area can earn. This award brings the unsung hero to the public's attention; he has already earned respect of his fellow teammates long before he receives the award.

Mr. President, there should be an unsung hero award for citizen contribution in the field of public service and civic activities. If such an award is ever developed at the national level, Maryland has a unanimous choice for receipt of the national award. My reference is to Francis Xavier Gallagher, lawyer, public servant, civic leader, businessman, father, and advisor to many of the principal political leaders in the Free State.

I first met Frank Gallagher when we were both students at the University of Maryland School of Law. As any law student can tell you, studying law is no part-time occupation. However, Frank Gallagher had the mental dexterity and physical stamina to work for his master's degree in political science at the Johns-Hopkins University, work as a part-time reporter for the Baltimore Sun, teach at Loyola College, and assist in an investigation for the Baltimore City solicitor's office—all at the same time he was compiling an enviable record at the Maryland law school. This excellent performance in a variety of activities has been typical of Frank Gallagher's career from that day to this.

Mr. Gallagher's political acumen is well known in the State of Maryland. He is one of the most respected political advisors to the leaders of the Free State of both parties. He may well have been elected Governor of the State of Maryland at the age of 38 had he chosen this course of service.

As a Knight of Saint Gregory, he is recognized as one of the foremost Catholic laymen in the United States. He is the principal legal adviser to Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, Maryland's great churchman. In addition, he is recognized as one of the most knowledgeable attorneys in the field of church law in the United States.

I had the pleasure of serving in the Maryland House of Delegates with Frank Gallagher. Frank Gallagher now has the great opportunity to breath new life into the Maryland Legislature as a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention and chairman of the committee on the legislative branch.

Frank Gallagher's service to the State of Maryland has not been confined to the legal, political, and legislative worlds. He has served as chairman of the Baltimore City Hospital board, as regional chairman for the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as president of the Hibernian Society, as a member of Maryland's Fair Employment Opportunity Commission, and as a member of the Board of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association. In 1965, he was named Holy Name Man of the Year and before that he was named Young Man of the Year by the junior chamber of commerce. Frank Gallagher is also active in the business world. As a member of the board of directors of the Equitable Trust Co. and the Mercantile Trust Co., two of Maryland's most prestigious banking institutions, he has a key voice in many vital business decisions.

I am proud to claim Frank Gallagher as a friend. Maryland is proud to claim him as one of its most energetic and faithful servants.

Recently there appeared in the Baltimore Catholic Review an article which outlined Francis X. Gallagher's contribution to his State, his city, and his church.

I ask unanimous consent that this very informative article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Archdiocesan Lawyer: A One-Man Who's Who

(By A. E. P. Wall)

Francis X. Gallagher of the law firm of Tydings, Rosenberg and Gallagher was sitting on the edge of his bed. He had just hung up the telephone, and it was to ring again before we had a chance to trade a dozen words.

There were magazines on the radiator, books on the window sills and newspapers on the table. The room had the tubes, cranks and other familiar symbols of Blue Cross accommodations, but the hospital hush was missing.

A doctor poked his head through the doorway just as the phone went back into its cradle. The doctor smiled and handed over some documents concerning Good Samaritan Hospital, now under construction. The patient who received them is chairman of the Good Samaritan Building Committee, but at the time he was undergoing some tests and a checkup at Johns Hopkins.

The patient, 39 years old, is healthy enough for any two men. He has to be because he does the work of any two or three men. Right now he's in Annapolis, where he is chairman of the Legislative Committee at the Maryland Constitutional Convention.

Frank Gallagher is a law partner of United States Senator Joseph Tydings and he is attorney for the Archdiocese of Baltimore. These two associations, along with his current work in the state capital, typify his lifetime devotion to Church and to public duty—and his view of politics as a fascinating element of community service.

He was a 21-year-old law student when he ran as a delegate to the Democratic State Convention in 1950, and won. He's been a key campaigner for Senator Tydings as well as for two Presidents, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Frank Gallagher is watching today with his customary interest as another election day approaches. This time the candidate for mayor of Baltimore is Thomas D'Alesandro, III, who was Frank's boyhood chum at Loyola High School and his classmate at both Loyola College and the University of Maryland Law School.

"His father was a congressman when I met him," Mr. Gallagher recalled. Later, as Baltimore's mayor, the senior Mr. D'Alesandro offered young Frank Gallagher a job as his secretary. Mr. Gallagher didn't take the job, but he did become an assistant city solicitor during the D'Alesandro administration.

AN INFLUENTIAL FIGURE

Today that young lawyer is one of the most quietly influential figures in this part of the country. It is largely a selfless influence, applied in behalf of better housing, a broader exercise of civil rights, responsible government, improved health conditions, religious freedom and understanding and—as if those aren't enough to concern one busy man—labor and racial harmony.

Mr. Gallagher makes as many speeches as most candidates for office, and he makes them in many parts of the country. But he goes much further than just talking about the things he believes in.

If you want an idea of what one person can do, we'll have to back up a few years.

Francis X. Gallagher was born in Baltimore of a Baltimore-born mother, who was Ellen Doyle before she met Frank's father. He was Frank A. Gallagher, a native of Philadelphia and a mechanic here. He died in 1944.

One of the Gallagher sons is Msgr. J. Joseph Gallagher, who is now a member of the faculty at St. Mary's Seminary on Paca Street. Another son is Thomas G. Gallagher and there's a daughter, Mrs. William (Mary Jo) Burdell.

Young Francis X. Gallagher started school at St. Ann's, went on to Loyola High School and then to Loyola College where he became editor of the *Greyhound* and thought about a career at a journalist's typewriter.

After graduating from Loyola *magna cum laude* in 1949, Mr. Gallagher began an academic demonstration of his ability to do more than one thing at a time and to do them well.

GRAD SCHOOL, LAW SCHOOL

He enrolled—simultaneously—in the Johns Hopkins University graduate school and the University of Maryland Law School. In his spare time he taught nights at Hopkins.

The same year he earned his master's at Johns Hopkins he enrolled in the political science department as a graduate student—starting from scratch.

He also got married that year, to a pretty, soft-spoken Baltimore girl named Mary Kelly.

Frank and Mary Gallagher had gone to school together at St. Ann's. The future Mrs. Gallagher went on to the Institute of Notre Dame, and she's now the mother of five children, Mary Ellen, 12, and Francis X., Jr., 8, attend the Cathedral School. John Joseph, 4, is Monsignor Gallagher's namesake. And the twins, Patrick Edward and James Lawrence, are nine months old.

Francis X. Gallagher's name went onto a law school diploma in 1952. That was the year he began teaching at Loyola College, pressed his graduate work at Hopkins and opened a law office in downtown Baltimore. He shared the law office with Terrence E. Burke, then a reporter on the *News Post* (now the *News American*).

"He had been editor of the *Greyhound* two years before I was," Mr. Gallagher said. "He stayed at the *News Post* when we opened the law office and we covered for each other."

Mr. Gallagher continued to teach. One of his evening students was a fellow named Spiro Agnew, who went on to become governor of Maryland. The Gallagher influence did not make Mr. Agnew a Democrat, however.

All told, Mr. Gallagher taught for eight years at Hopkins. He left the Loyola faculty in 1955 to become an assistant city solicitor, and someplace along the way worked in a year teaching for the University of Maryland.

Don't try adding up all the years of service. Mr. Gallagher isn't that old. He simply takes on half a dozen assignments at a time, eating up jobs faster than most of us take vitamin pills.

HE WRITES REVIEWS

One of those jobs was writing book reviews for *The Sun* and for a Catholic magazine, *The Critic*. The newspaper book review offer came from A. D. Emmart, who taught journalism to Frank Gallagher at Hopkins while writing editorials at *The Sun*. Today he's editor of *The Sun*.

After a couple of years with the City of Baltimore, Mr. Gallagher went into the law offices of Piper and Marberry.

By 1958 the Archdiocesan attorney, William L. Galvin, was ill. He had been attorney for Archbishop Michael J. Curley and then for his successor, Archbishop Francis P. Keough. In '58, Archbishop Keough referred some Archdiocesan legal matters to Mr. Gallagher.

Later that year Frank Gallagher ran for the legislature, was elected and began to serve in 1959.

Meanwhile he formed a law partnership with Thomas J. Kenney, who is now a judge. With the death of Mr. Galvin in 1960 he became increasingly involved with Archdiocesan matters.

The next year Governor J. Millard Tawes appointed Mr. Gallagher people's counsel to the Public Service Commission, a post he held until 1963 when he resigned to become treasurer in the senatorial campaign of his friend, Joe Tydings.

"A curious coincidence," Mr. Gallagher said, "was that Tom Kenney had been treasurer for Tydings' father when he ran for the Senate."

Joseph Tydings and Mr. Gallagher had served in the legislature together, and were both chosen by newspaper correspondents for citations saluting their work in Annapolis.

Mr. Gallagher has enough specialties to start a one-man law firm—or a one-man university faculty—or even a one-man newspaper.

He was in practice for a while with John Evelius, a Loyola College classmate, but he maintained his academic interests (as a consultant to Rutgers, for example, on setting up a foundation concerned with political studies).

He began to represent Mercy Hospital as attorney, and absorbed medical information almost intravenously. He soon became the first Catholic to head the Hospital Council of Maryland.

When the city of Baltimore divorced its hospitals from its welfare department, Mayor Theodore McKeldin appointed Frank Gallagher to the hospital board. He was acting chairman for more than a year. Now, in addition to Mercy Hospital, Mr. Gallagher is counsel to St. Joseph's and the new Good Samaritan.

In 1964 he was vice chairman of the Maryland delegation to the Democratic National Convention, and four years earlier he was active in the Kennedy campaign. In 1964 he was cochairman of the Johnson campaign in Maryland.

PUBLIC SERVICE CAREER

His public service only begins there.

He's been regional chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He's a past president of the Hibernian Society. In 1965 he was named the Holy Name Man of the Year, and before that he was named Young Man of the Year by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

He was a member of the first Fair Employment Opportunities Commission in 1956. He's been on the board of directors of the Citizens Housing and Planning Association. He's chaired the Maryland State Committee on Unauthorized Practice of Law and he was first vice president of the reapportionment committee that went to the Supreme Court with a case that led to drastic changes in state legislatures.

In 1963 he was made a Knight of St. Gregory.

Mr. Gallagher has some business interests, too. He's on the boards of the Equitable Trust Company, the Mercantile Safe Deposit and Trust Company and Eastern Stainless Steel. He's an officer of numerous Catholic corporations, and his legal practice includes service to Jesuits, Sulpicians, Paulists and others.

Asked about some of the questions facing attorneys for religious groups today, Mr. Gallagher spoke first of real property tax exemptions.

"All of the churches are going to have to bring about some reforms," he said.

"The churches are going to have to help draft legislation that will not exempt income-producing property. I personally think the churches ought to pay taxes on all business income, regardless of statutory requirements."

The Archdiocese of Baltimore, he said, already pays real estate taxes on all business property it owns.

"Our Archbishops eschew owning businesses as such," Mr. Gallagher said. "Whenever any property of that sort is acquired it comes through a bequest."

EDUCATION IS IMPORTANT

Mr. Gallagher said education is a field of particular importance to both church and state today.

"A lot will depend on how federal programs are accepted, and how well they are administered."

Is there anything special about representing a church in legal areas?

"It isn't the same as representing a profit-making corporation," Mr. Gallagher said. "A church attorney must be aware of the social justice of a situation, regardless of rights that may be provided under the law.

"In cases involving wills, for example, a church doesn't bear down hard on the letter of the law without considering family and personal matters.

"I don't suggest that a lawyer in the ordinary course of events is impervious to social justice, but a church lawyer has a particular duty in this area."

Why is it that some men today are willing to work days, nights and weekends on public service activities?

"I suspect that those who do it enjoy it," Mr. Gallagher said. He added, with a smile: "I often get paid for what I do, too."

If public servants enjoy what they are doing, where does the joy lie?

"There's a satisfaction in influencing the things that go on around you," Mr. Gallagher said. "It means something not only to be subject to conditions and to the times, but to have some influence in possibly improving them.

"Also, if you like people, if you like to meet and to know them, public affairs can offer a fine opportunity."

Frank Gallagher's recreation, quite naturally, includes a heavy dose of reading. He reads journals of opinion, "as much good contemporary fiction as I can and, to the degree that's necessary, the professional journals."

His regular reading includes the local newspapers, the *Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*.

He's a subscriber to *Commentary* (Jewish), *Christianity and Crisis* (Protestant) and such Catholic magazines as *America*, *Com-*

monweal, Jubilee and the *Catholic Historical Quarterly.*

He also takes *Harper's, Atlantic, Time, Saturday Review,* the *New Republic,* the *Political Science Quarterly* and others.

"I also subscribe to the *P.O.A.U. News,* which I read devotedly," he said, referring to a publication of an organization generally hostile to Catholics.

Frank Gallagher also likes the theater, and he's an avid movie fan.

"I do most of my reading at night, or when I'm on a trip. I don't require a lot of sleep. When I sleep five hours, I've had it."

As a lawyer, concerned with public institutions, and as a Catholic, concerned with the Church, what does he think about today's debate on the institutional church?

"I think any institution can suffer from the vices of institutionalism and the Church is no exception. A lot of the old objections were not against the institutional Church as much as they were against authoritarianism, pomp and circumstance. These are disappearing."

DEMOCRACY IN THE CHURCH

Is democracy finding a place in the Church?

"The problem is this: Where does democracy fit in with dogma and the defining of dogma.

"Democracy and the Church are not incompatible, but you don't run a Church on a popularity basis. You do take soundings of opinion and open channels of communication, using the democratic processes."

Asked about changes in the Church, Mr. Gallagher spoke of its impact in the economic and social realms.

"The Church is acting in areas of civil rights, agrarian reform, the rights of minorities when Catholics are in the majority, family planning; regardless of what the Church says to a Catholic it recognizes the freedom of others—and even of Catholics—to arrive at an upright conscience."

Capital punishment, he said is "an area we ought to take a good look at."

And such looks, he said, should go beyond questions of statutes. "They should go on to behavioral questions, questions of public policy, questions relating to the Catholic as citizen and churchman."

By the time the conversation reached this point the room at Johns Hopkins had welcomed a few more visitors. There was a doctor who had been a former student of the patient. There were three nuns. There was Mrs. Gallagher. There was a secretary, just back with word about convention arrangements in Annapolis.

And then there was the telephone. The calls came faster than the commercials on a radio talkathon.

The convention was pleasant, but it also was fairly constant, and it demonstrated one of the central facts about a busy Frank Gallagher serving dozens of community, civic, governmental, religious, legal, business and occasionally even private interests. He's always available. He rarely turns down a request for advice or for help in other ways.

He liked his visitors, and he liked the people who kept his telephone busy. He wanted to see them and talk with them.

Frank Gallagher smiles a lot, and one of his friends summed things up the other day when he said that the thing he thinks of first when he thinks of Mr. Gallagher is his constant good humor.

He keeps that good humor despite an active role that causes him to take sides in disputes and to express himself in controversies. He not only keeps it himself, but he passes it around generously.

ISRAEL MUST STAND FIRM

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the opening of the current session of the United Nations, with the situation in the Near East at the top of the agenda, reminds us that the problems there are still not solved. Israel's great victories in the 6-day war reduced the immediate Arab threat to her existence, but the issues have not been settled.

In his opening speech, the Israel spokesman eloquently informed the members of the United Nations that Israel insists on direct negotiations with the Arab States. I believe Israel must stand firm in this resolve to protect her interests, her national security, and her very existence.

The outbreak of warfare between Israel and the Arabs was shattering proof of the inability of the United Nations to act as an effective peacekeeping force. The efforts of third-party nations were equally ineffective. The grandiloquent assurances and guarantees by the U.N. and individual nations to Israel over the past two decades were only valid in relation to the size of Nasser's propaganda barrage and weapons stockpile.

The same conditions must not be allowed to continue for the next 20 years, in the same climate of hate which Cairo and other Arab capitals have cultivated in the past. Israel has won the respect of the world. She must insist on recognition and respect as an equal in the Near East from her neighbors.

Hopefully, the current United Nations session can lay the groundwork for the direct Israel-Arab negotiations which must be held. The greatest opportunity in 20 years now exists to establish a lasting peace in this area. That opportunity will be lost if the U.N. again degenerates into a forum for reckless and irresponsible propaganda attacks on Israel by the Arab nations and their benefactors.

One of the main problems which must be solved in order to secure peace is that of the Palestine refugees. Another is the brutal treatment of Jews in Arab countries. While world attention is focused on the plight of Arab refugees, there is shocking indifference to the fate of over 100,000 Jews who remain in Arab countries and who are the target of savage revenge. The United Nations, in cooperation with Israel and the Arab nations, could be of great service to the cause of peace if it turned its attention and resources to these problems and found an honest and humanitarian solution.

Again, realism is the key to the problem. Israel exists. As long as the Palestine refugees remain organized as a political force and are fed on promises of return to Palestine—which means destroy Israel—there is no possibility of peace.

The current refugee relief program, administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, should be carefully reviewed. A new look and a new program could be the beginning of the end of hostilities in one of the most dangerous trouble spots in the world.

An excellent article on the Palestine refugee problem appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on August 27. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Cutting Through Propaganda: Mideast's Refugees: Victims or a Hope?

(By Martha Gellhorn)

For the best part of a month I listened to Palestinian Arabs in West Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

It always started well. Arabs have charming manners, though somewhat less charming to their own women, and are often fine to look at. Wherever we were, we sat in a circle, group formation, drank coffee from tiny cups, and conversed like reasonable people. Then suddenly all was lost.

"Bethlehem was bombed all day!" one cries. But there is Bethlehem, intact and rosy in the afternoon light.

"The Jews came to every house in Nablus, shooting. Our youths, defended their homes. Two hundred were killed, women, children, boys, at least 200." And here are the houses, solid, unmarked, of cut stone, and on a later visit, calmer counsel reduced the number of civilian deaths to 19, still incredible. Where? How?

We agree there was no fighting here. We agree that the town is untouched except for a few buildings at the southern entrance. We agree that this damage is minimal.

"Yes, the 'youths' were probably 'shooting a bit' from the now lightly pock-mocked police post out there, perhaps also from the nearby buildings. No records; no circumstantial evidence. It is comforting to feel certain that people are alive and well, whom propaganda has killed.

In a Gaza Strip refugee camp, a very fat, pleasant-faced old man, surrounded by his buxom wife and eight stout healthy offspring, announced with terror: "The Jews shoot every man, woman and child they see in the street."

OASIS OF PEACE

He had witnessed this crime? No. Then he must have heard the shots? No. The camp was an oasis of peace; not one shot had been fired anywhere near it; and the Israelis, poised to kill, were five dusty young soldiers, sitting on a wall across the main road, as guards for the large camp warehouse.

There is logic in this new postwar Arab propaganda. Before the third Arab-Israeli war, intoxicated by every propaganda drug, these Arabs truly expected to wipe out Israel.

For once, they had reason to believe their propaganda, considering the beautiful billionaire Russian weaponry of the Egyptians, and the size and might of the Arab armies.

Even as civilians, they could hope to take some part in the glorious victory, since the Jordanian and Egyptian Governments distributed weapons lavishly to the population in West Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

If the six-day war can be made to seem a nightmare, a hell of fire and flying steel, if their sufferings were unparalleled, defeat becomes justified. And the Israelis become more hateful, evil, ruthless.

The roles are reversed. David is changed into Goliath. This logic clearly dominates official Arab propaganda.

It accounts for the casualty figures put out by Jordan (an original claim of 25,000 civilian and military deaths lowered to 15,000) and for reports of "the fury of war," peril and shattered homes, which drove 200,000 refugees to seek safety across the Jordan River. The land must lie in rubble, for propaganda purposes.

SELF-EVIDENT DIFFERENCE

Happily for the Arabs in the war zones, and heartening for us all, the fact is that the third Arab-Israel war, the six-day war, scarcely touched the Arab civilian population. I am not talking about Arab emotions, I am talking about real war: death and destruction. The difference is self-evident, like the difference between civilian life in London and New York during the Second World War.

Before this recent conflict, an estimated 1,500,000 civilians lived in West Jordan, the Gaza Strip, Syrian hill villages within the

Syrian Maginot and the adjacent Syrian garrison town of El Quneitra, and two Egyptian towns on the edge of the Sinai Desert. Those were the Arab civilian war zones.

Some 410,000 Israeli citizens also lived in war zones: on their side of Jerusalem, under sweeping Jordanian artillery fire for 52 hours; on populous Israeli farm land along the entire Syrian frontier, shelled by Syrian artillery for four days; in the narrow waist of Israel from Tel Aviv to Netanya, hit by sporadic Jordanian artillery fire for two days. Nearly 2,000,000 civilians were therefore at risk.

I submit that a total of 200 civilians, Arab and Israeli, everywhere throughout the war, is the highest conceivable number of noncombatants killed.

CHECKING THE RESULTS

But I accepted Arab statements on the spot, even though they denied the evidence before our eyes. I checked at hospitals, talked with Arab Mayors, ordinary Arab residents, priests, UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) staff, and scoured the war zones to see the actual damage of war in cities, towns, villages, refugee camps.

From England eastward around the world to Japan, adults remember civilian war as bombing from the air: A horror. The people of Vietnam know this sort of war, with agony. Bombs are the mass destroyers of civilians and their homes.

In the entire six-day war, the Israeli Air Force dropped 10 to 15 light bombs on one civilian target, the Syrian garrison town of El Quneitra.

El Quneitra (population 30,000) lies immediately behind the fortified Syrian hills, a Middle Eastern Maginot Line. The Israeli Army and Air Force attacked these positions and El Quneitra on the fifth day of the war. Below El Quneitra, the Syrian villages between the military strong-points were vacated before the battle began.

It is unlikely that the Syrian Army Command, in its minor Pentagon headquarters at the edge of El Quneitra, had not also evacuated their families from the town. El Quneitra was deserted when the Israeli Army entered it on the afternoon of the sixth and last day of the war.

Twice, the Israeli Air Force operated in civilian inhabited areas. Israeli planes gave close support to infantry, fighting on the hills behind Jerusalem, and again on the road to Gaza town. No one denies the accuracy of the Israeli Air Force; bombs did not rain by accident, away from the military targets, all over helpless civilians.

DOOM OF CIVILIANS

After bombing, the doom of civilians is to live on a battlefield, pounded by artillery and overrun by soldiers fighting in the streets and through their houses.

In West Jordan, civilians live in Jerusalem, in nine small towns, 20 refugee camps, and some 350 rural settlements. The war was 70 hours long.

The Jordanian Legion and Israeli Army fought in only three inhabited areas: Jerusalem, mainly on the surrounding hills (civilian deaths, 25); a border town Qalqilye (15); a border village Ya'Bad (16). The passage of war caused civilian deaths in Jenin (2), Nablus (19), Tulkarm (30), Ramallah (2), Bethlehem (7) and the village of Beit Mersem (1).

All refugee camps were intact. Israeli civilian war deaths were in Israeli Jerusalem (15), in the remaining Israeli war zones (8). Artillery fire destroyed Israeli property and farmland; people stayed in shelter.

In the Gaza Strip, civilians live in three towns, eight refugee camps, and in innumerable single farmhouses and clusters of houses. During approximately 28 hours of war, the Israeli Army and combined Palestine Liberation Army and Egyptian units fought along the road from the strip's southern entrance into the southern section of Gaza town. No refugee camps were hit.

Judging by visible war damage, hospitals, talks with refugees, I conclude that 10 civilians is the highest probable death toll in Gaza.

Significantly, neither the Egyptian nor Syrian Governments made any claim of civilian deaths when announcing their combat casualty figures.

The heaviest battle of the war was fought in the Sinai Desert, away from all civilian habitation. On the edge of the Sinai Desert, the town of El Arish lay outside the battle zone, undamaged.

Entered on the sixth day of the war, the town of El Qantara on the Suez Canal was almost totally evacuated. It shows signs of small arms sniping at its entrance on the desert side.

For 38 hours, Israeli and Syrian forces fought in the military positions on the Syrian hills, in gun emplacements, bunkers, trenches and in three deserted villages between these positions. Early witnesses and later observation indicate there were no civilians in the battle zone during the hours of combat and that the estimated 300 civilians now in El Quneitra returned to their homes, as the whole Druse population returned to its villages, after the cease fire.

Possibly, but one can hope with reason not probably, there could have been 50 more civilian casualties in damaged private cars and isolated buildings along some major roads in West Jordan and the main Gaza road.

A WEIGHT TO CARRY

Between Jericho and the unpleasant milky blue of the Dead Sea, close to the Allenby Bridge over the Jordan River, there are four Palestinian refugee camps. The valley is green with orange groves and fields; the hills behind are eroded gray limestone; now, in summer, the heat is a weight to carry.

Imagination leaps from the term "refugee camp" to the picture of a little Belsen, hordes of hungry idle people penned in by barbed wire.

The camps are nothing like that. They are simply poor Arab villages or small towns, all different, as the houses in them are all different.

If there is enough land for the refugees to plant trees and grow grape arbors and flowers, they look livable and cheerful; if cramped for space, they look like rural slums.

But the residents have one great advantage: UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) runs a welfare state for its charges, the Palestinian camp refugees. Native Arab poor enjoy no such special care.

The largest refugee camp in Jordan, Aquabat Jaber, near Jericho, covers 700 acres of ground. It is a well-organized small town, with 9 schools, 323 shops, cafes, a post office, sports grounds, a clinic compound, mosques, and—most important—232 taps for unlimited clean water.

As in all camps, the houses and their little walled patios are built of what UNRWA sorrowfully describes as "mud brick." Mud brick is adobe, the traditional building material of peasant and working class Arabs, Mexicans, Vietnamese and others who live in a hot climate; adobe serves as natural air conditioning.

Aquabat Jaber and the neighboring Jericho camps are now ghost towns, though probably most of the residents will filter back. No other mass exodus happened anywhere else in West Jordan, and it is fishy.

The lightning war was not heard even as a passing bang in this valley. The camp leader, himself a Palestinian refugee, is a fat man, a powerful UNRWA administrator, feared and obeyed by his people, as I remembered from a visit years ago.

Why didn't he prevent this panic flight? We insisted that there must have been some sort of trouble to drive the people away.

"No, no. The battle lasted an hour, far off," the camp leader said. "There was nothing here, no, no, the Israeli Army did not come here at all; everything is all right; everything is correct. There are plenty of supplies. There is no trouble."

Since non-war had been followed by instant peace, why did the refugees run? "People talk," the camp leader said. "There were a lot of stories. Political party people spread rumors. They said all the young men would be killed. People heard on the radio that this is not the end only the beginning, so they think maybe it will be a long war and they want to be in Jordan."

STREAMING TO JORDAN

They were not escaping the danger of war, nor fleeing their shattered homes. There are 20 UNRWA refugee camps in West Jordan, not one of them was touched by the war; not one resident was killed. (Statement made by UNRWA's chief representative in West Jordan, during an interview on July 4 at Kalandia, which confirmed my own observations.)

By their location, I calculate that nine of the camps cannot have heard or seen the war. In all cases, the war passed them by quickly on the roads, whereupon the refugees set off for the Jordan River.

This second exile is doubly sad because so needless. Again they have left behind the homes they had built, the furniture and possessions they had collected, to live—we read—under tents, stupefied by glaring heat and dust, exhausted, once more self-uprooted.

I suggest that blind fear of the Israelis, not the dangers of war, was their driving emotion. Radio Cairo and its cohorts had promised destruction of the Jews; simple literal-minded people know that means killing and they were not unenthusiastic at the prospect. ("Oh, they might say, 'I'll get one Jew for myself'," another camp leader said. "They are innocent, stupid people. The Jordanian Army would never let them.")

Certainly the refugees who were enrolled in the Palestine Liberation Army would be in a wild hurry to avoid the Israelis. Ahmed Shukairy, founder of that army and the Palestinians' own demagogue, was the most vocally bloodthirsty of Arab leaders. Members of the terrorist sabotage organization, El Fatah, would also be desperate to reach asylum in Jordan.

QUICKER THAN CHOLERA

These must have been the "political party people" in Aquabat Jaber Camp who spread the rumor that all young men would be killed, and who believed it. Fear, as we know, is more catching than cholera.

The majority of Palestinian refugees do not live in camps. Any of these, like any other Arabs who were exposed to actual war, may have decided to escape immediately lest the fighting go on or start again and trap them in danger.

Perhaps some of the first waves of refugees had valid, personal reasons for leaving, like the later waves of stoical departing Arabs.

In the last few weeks, neither fear of war nor fear of reprisals nor family nor financial complications explain the smaller but steady flow of people plodding over the Allenby Bridge, no matter what the waiting hardships of exile.

"They don't feel secure," said an intelligent Palestinian woman on UNRWA's staff in Hebron. "They don't know what is going to happen next. They want to be among Arabs."

She surprised me by remarking that the local Israeli military commander had been "very kind to UNRWA, very gentle and helpful"; amazing words for an Arab to use about a Jew.

Hopefully, the Jordanian and Israeli Governments will be able to cooperate, without mutual paralyzing suspicion, on the return of all those refugees who choose to come back to West Jordan. UNRWA's "educated guess" is that 100,000 of its West Jordan refugees are now on the East Bank, including those who were working in Transjordan before the war.

It would be wise and restful not to harass Israel for an overnight solution of the 19-year-old Palestine refugee problem. With time, work, and money, the Israelis will manage simply by treating their acquired Palestine refugee population as people, not as political pawns.

During these 19 years, Israelis have gained much useful experience through resettling half a million Jewish refugees who fled to Israel from the Middle Eastern Arab countries.

After 19 futile years, there is at last a chance for three-quarters of the Palestinian refugees to escape imprisonment in the Palestine refugee problem.

They are now beyond the effective reach of Arab politics, in West Jordan and the Gaza Strip. With moral and financial support from the West, Israel could work out their permanent self-sufficient settlement in both areas, which are in fact their native soil.

But no solution is possible without the cooperation of the refugees and of UNRWA, their long-time official guardian.

ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES

What about UNRWA? UNRWA is the governing power for the 20 refugee camps in West Jordan and the eight camps in the Gaza Strip. Its actions and attitudes, filtering down from the top through all its staff, influence refugee actions and attitudes.

Israeli cooperation with UNRWA was immediate and obliging. One does not feel that the cordiality is reciprocated. Since I was in the Gaza Strip, the UNRWA high command there has changed and no doubt improved. In West Jordan, it seems to me UNRWA is making heavy weather of the Arab defeat, without justification.

Their 20 refugee camps are happily intact, untouched by war. Supplies have not run out and new shipments will arrive on schedule through an Israeli port. Their Jerusalem office building was fought over and war-damaged, but they have adequate temporary office space in the elegant UNRWA technical school farther out of the city.

UNRWA has always been treated like a sacred cow. No one has ever made a careful neutral study of the organization, totting up its successes and failures and examining its methods, its finances and its political fallout.

UNRWA is a bureaucracy composed of 11,419 Palestinian refugees and 118 Americans and West Europeans who are understandably and necessarily devoted to Arabs, converts to a cause. Of course this bureaucracy, itself preponderantly Arab, would have welcomed an Arab victory and is far from joyful over the reverse. Of course UNRWA's foreign administrators could not have operated in Arab countries for 17 years unless they accepted and supported the Arab Governments' political position on Palestinian refugees.

RITUAL SUICIDE?

But has this bias, however understandable, been the best way to help the refugees themselves? Ritually, annually, succeeding UNRWA commissioners-general deplore the fact that Israel does not commit suicide by repatriating all Palestinian refugees. That is official Arab doctrine: Return to Palestine or nothing.

Yearly, the refugee population grew, and fortunately thrived, with UNRWA's care and because the refugees fend for themselves. Neither official Arab doctrine nor UNRWA's acceptance of it changed.

For 2,300,000 Israeli Jews, 1,300,000 hate-indoctrinated Arabs (taught hate steadily in UNRWA schools as well) make a pretty big Trojan horse. Clearly Israel was not going to commit suicide.

If UNRWA could not devise, if the Arab Governments would not agree to any program except repatriation, UNRWA had to accept tacitly the official Arab alternative: War to recover the Palestine homeland. Was UNRWA totally opposed to that unique solution for a refugee problem?

UNRWA's reports and handsome publicity brochures are the basis for soliciting governmental and private contributions to UNRWA. They paint a heartrending picture.

As a side effect, UNRWA thus confirms Arab propaganda. The refugees must be kept desperate, in fact or on paper, or the Palestine refugee problem disappears. Without the Palestine refugee problem, there is no proper Arab excuse for war with Israel, since Israel impinges on no vital Arab interest.

BETTER THAN DEATH

Year after year, UNRWA states that 40 to 50 percent of the refugees are destitute or near destitute ("without resources" in my dictionary); 30 to 40 percent are partially self-supporting, and some 10 to 20 percent are all right.

Yet UNRWA does not give money to refugees. Its direct aid is a monthly ration of flour, sugar, rice, oil—amounting to 1500 unbalanced calories a day. If the destitute, without resources, had nothing else to live on they would long since be dead, instead of having a higher birth rate than other Arab peasants, and healthier children.

Over half the refugees live outside the camps, in private dwellings. They must be more than partially self-supporting to pay for rent, clothing and food (aside from UNRWA rations). Someone in each family has to work for money, and they do, and their work has benefited the "host" countries.

During the past 19 years, 67 Governments, including Israel (but never once the Soviet Union, the Arabs' friend) and innumerable private charities have contributed an average of some $35 million annually to UNRWA for the support of the Palestinian refugees.

This money is spent on goods and service and amounts to big business, however you look at it. The Palestinian refugees have been a vested interest as well as a propaganda weapon.

Three-fourths of the refugees can now be given a new deal. UNRWA, in West Jordan and the Gaza Strip, needs a fresh international staff, people who are favorable neither to Arabs nor Israel but strictly concerned with the refugees as human beings. The dispassionate newcomers should then screen UNRWA's enormous Palestinian refugee staff.

DEFINING TRUE NEEDS

And finally, there must be an accurate census of the Palestinian refugees, forbidden by the Arab Governments all these years, so that instead of a propaganda numbers game, true need is defined and adequate help given.

It really is the limit that a man, living on his native soil, among his own people, speaking his own language, the owner of a large Jerusalem hotel, a travel agency, and a house in the suburbs, is classed as a Palestinian refugee.

For 19 years, Arab politics have demanded a Palestinian problem. Two generations of Palestinian children have had to learn from refugee teachers in UNRWA schools how and why they were a problem. Being a problem doesn't come naturally.

During the same year, unaided by UNRWA but unhindered by politics, some 35 million other refugees all over the world have bravely and quietly solved their problems and made new independent lives.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF DEATH OF DOUGLAS A. MUNRO, CLE ELUM, WASH.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, it will be 25 years ago on September 27 that Douglas A. Munro, of Cle Elum, Wash., was killed on Guadalcanal, serving his country as a member of the U.S. Coast Guard. Mr. Munro was the first member of the Coast Guard to win the Medal of Honor. He won it posthumously.

Signalman First Class Munro, only 22 years old at the time of his death, was born in Vancouver, British Columbia, and attended Cle Elum High School. He studied for 1 year at Central Washington College of Education, enlisting in the Coast Guard in September of 1939. In April 1942, he was ordered to special duty with the staff of the commander of a transport division in the Pacific.

During an evacuation mission on the beach of Guadalcanal, Douglas Munro volunteered to serve as a covering agent of the withdrawal, which was under intense fire. He received his fatal wound as the last men were entering their boats.

It was the editor of Northern Kittitas County Tribune, Willard Chase, of Cle Elum, who wrote to me, noting the anniversary of Douglas Munro's heroism and death. I share Willard Chase's belief that such a fine young man as Signalman Munro must not be forgotten. His act and his final words "Did they get off?" are imprinted in Coast Guard history.

I ask unanimous consent that the Coast Guard Public Information Division's account of Douglas A. Munro's heroism and award and the letter from his commanding officer to his parents be published in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Douglas A. Munro

Douglas A. Munro, a signalman first class of the United States Coast Guard, died heroically on Guadalcanal September 27, 1942, after succeeding in his assignment, for which he had volunteered, to evacuate a detachment of Marines from a point where enemy opposition developed beyond anticipated dimensions. Munro's final words were "Did they get off?"

In the action, Munro had already played an important part, since he was in charge of the original detachment of ten boats that had landed the Marines at the scene. He had successfully got them ashore and then had headed his boats back to a previously assigned position. Almost immediately upon his return, he was advised by the officer in charge that conditions had been different than had been anticipated and that it was necessary to evacuate the men immediately. Munro volunteered for the job of heading the boats for the evacuation. In charge of the rescue expedition, he brought the boats inshore under heavy enemy fire and proceeded to evacuate the men on the beach. When most of them were in the boats, complications arose in evacuating the last man, whom Munro realized would be in the greatest danger. He accordingly so placed himself and his boats that they would serve as cover for the last man to leave. It was thus that he was fatally wounded—protecting the men after he had evacuated them. He remained conscious sufficiently long only to say four words: "Did they get off?" He died, therefore, with the realization that his mission had succeeded and his final assignment had been carried out.

Douglas Albert Munro was born in Vancouver, Canada, of American parents, on October 11, 1919, but spent his entire life previous to his enlistment in South Cle Elum, Washington. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. James Munro of South Cle Elum. Douglas Munro was educated at the South Cle Elum Grade School and was graduated from the Cle Elum High School in 1937. He attended the Central Washington College of Education for a year and left to enlist in the United States Coast Guard in 1939. He had an outstanding record as an enlisted man and was promoted rapidly through the various ratings to a signalman, first class.

Posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, his citation reads:

"For extraordinary heroism and conspicuous gallantry in action above and beyond the call of duty as Officer-in-Charge of a group of Higgins boats, engaged in the evacuation of a Battalion of Marines trapped by enemy Japanese forces at Point Cruz, Guadalcanal, on September 27, 1942. After making preliminary plans for the evacuation of nearly 500 beleaguered Marines, Munro, under risk of his life, daringly led five of his small craft toward the shore. As he closed the beach, he signalled the others to land, and then in order to draw the enemy's fire and protect the heavily loaded boats, he valiantly placed his craft with its two small guns as a shield between the beachhead and the Japanese. When the perilous task of evacuation was nearly completed Munro was killed by enemy fire, but his crew, two of whom were wounded, carried on until the last boat had loaded and cleared the beach. By his outstanding leadership, expert planning, and dauntless devotion to duty, he and his courageous comrades undoubtedly saved the lives of many who otherwise would have perished. He gallantly gave up his life in defense of his country."

The story of self-sacrifice in giving his life to save five hundred of his fellow countrymen has been told in detail by his commanding officer, Commander D. H. Dexter, U.S.C.G., who was in charge of operations at the time. His account, told with simple dignity and admiration in a letter to the boy's parents, follows:

"GUADALCANAL, BSI,
"October 2, 1942.

"JAMES MUNRO,
"South Cle Elum, Wash.

"DEAR MR. AND MRS. MUNRO: Believe me when I say sincerely that this is a very sad letter for me to write advising you of the death of your son Douglas, but as Commanding Officer of the Unit to which he was attached at the time of his death, I have pride in telling you that he covered himself with honor and I hope Glory, and fulfilled the mission so satisfactorily that almost all of the men he had under his charge returned to their unit and without exception all had praise for your son's execution of his duties.

"It was a year ago last June that Douglas and Raymond Evans came to me and asked if they could be transferred to Captain Ashe's staff. I succeeded in getting them and since that day have felt that Douglas was one of my boys, for both Douglas and Ray Evans have been with me and his loss has left a very decided space which I feel will never be filled so far as I am concerned.

"On Sunday the 27th of September an expedition was sent into an area where trouble was to be expected. Douglas was in charge of the ten boats which took the men down. In the latter part of the afternoon, the situation had not developed as had been anticipated and in order to save the expedition it became necessary to send the boats back to evacuate the expedition. Volunteers were called for and true to the highest traditions of the Coast Guard and also to traditions with which you had imbued your son he was among the first to volunteer and was put in charge of the detail. The evacuation was as successful as could be hoped for under fire. But as always happens, the last men to leave the beach are the hardest pressed because they have been acting as the covering agents for the withdrawal of the other men, and your son knowing this so placed himself and his boats so that he could act as the covering agent for the last man, and by this action and successful maneuvers brought back a far greater number of men than had been even hoped for. He received his wound just as the last men were getting in the boats and clearing the beach. Upon regaining consciousness his only question was "Did they get off", and so died with a smile on his face and the full knowledge that he had successfully accomplished a dangerous mission.

"I am sending this to you direct for I feel that you should have the privilege of knowing the facts, but request that you keep it confidential until such time as the official notification is received. I regret having to make this request but feel that it is for the good of all concerned. I consider this is a personal letter and not an official report.

"In the year and a half that I have know Douglas I have grown to admire him and through him, you. He was the true type of American Manhood that is going to win this war and I hereby promise that I will make all efforts to personally call on you whenever it is my privilege to be near Cle Elum and to pay homage to you both as the parents of Douglas.

"Sincerely and respectfully,
"D. H. DEXTER,
"Lieutenant Commander,
"U.S. Coast Guard."

WE FIGHT TO SAVE ASIA

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, in recent months I have been greatly interested in the viewpoints of a particular Oklahoman who has proven expertise in Asian affairs. This fellow Sooner of mine is Mr. Earnest Hoberecht, the former vice president for Asia of United Press International, who now has become the publisher of several newspapers in Oklahoma.

I consider Mr. Hoberecht an expert on Asia, and now that he has reestablished residence in Oklahoma, he is rapidly becoming an expert on public opinion in Oklahoma. Not only that, but he also is becoming a factor in the formation of public opinion in Oklahoma.

It is my carefully considered and tested opinion that the vast majority of the citizens of Oklahoma support the Nation's commitment in South Vietnam and in Asia generally. In frequent conversations in various parts of the State recently with all kinds of people, I have been impressed with the degree of understanding that exists regarding our posture in foreign affairs generally.

One reason the people of Oklahoma understand and support the war in Vietnam is because of the tough, straightforward editorializing of Mr. Hoberecht. Typical of his work in recent months is a column which was published September 7 in the Woodward County Journal. Mr. Hoberecht wrote this article while in Saigon on business. It sums up his most recent assessment of basic factors regarding this most important situation.

I commend Mr. Hoberecht's article to the attention of all Americans and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED—

(By Earnest Hoberecht)

Should the United States be involved in Vietnam? This is a question many Americans are asking themselves.

If you are in Vietnam, as I am as I write this, the answer to the question seems to be a strong "yes". Everything here in Vietnam seems to indicate that the United States is doing the right thing by helping to make the stand in Vietnam against Communist aggression.

Americans in Saigon and elsewhere in this embattled country speak in favor of the job they are doing. Obviously, I have not talked with all the Americans now serving in Vietnam, but nowhere have I yet met a more dedicated and determined group of people. They know what they are in Vietnam to do and feel what they are doing is important.

Before leaving the United States on this trip to Asia, where I worked for 25 years, I heard a number of Americans saying: "Maybe we never should have gone into Vietnam in the first place."

The implication of their remarks is that perhaps it would have been better for the United States to have stayed out—even if it meant losing South Vietnam to the Communists.

If this is the sum of such thinking, it is superficial and totally in error. It was not just the question of saving or losing South Vietnam. It was not that simple.

If the United States had not gone to the aid of the South Vietnamese, who were fighting to maintain their independence, much more than that one country would have been lost.

Communism has a record for pushing out all along its borders. It even reaches across oceans to seek the downfall of independent nations so they will slide into the Red camp. International Communism, whether exported by Russia or Communist China or some other nation, still has aggressive ambitions despite all propaganda that has lulled many people into complacency.

If the United States had not joined with the Vietnamese to halt Communist landgrabbing there, Laos, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia probably would be seriously endangered, if not gone, today.

The anti-Communist leaders in Indonesia never would have had the courage to take over the government there if the United States had stood aside and permitted South Vietnam to go down the drain.

So, it was not just a matter of the United States going in to save South Vietnam or permitting that one country to be written off as valueless to America and the free world.

In truth, the U.S. stand with the South Vietnamese has saved several other Asian nations from being pulled down into the bonds of Communist slavery. This is a very important fact that many people overlook. But it must not be overlooked if you are to bring the broader picture into focus.

The problem in Southeast Asia was not and is not merely the question of one country's future. The problem is to prevent several countries of the region, with their millions of freedom-loving people and their great wealth of natural resources, from falling into the greedy hands of the Communists.

If the Reds had this additional population, this important territory and these valuable resources to use against us, the situation would not be favorable to America and her allies.

As I write this in Saigon, a city I have visited and worked in often in the past 20 years, I must report that I find the U.S. effort in Vietnam worthwhile. I would approve if more of the effort were stronger. The war can be won if we really want to win it.

RELIABILITY OF MEDICAL LABORATORY TESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on April 11, 1967, testimony was given by Dr. David J. Sensor, Director of the National Communicable Disease Center, before the Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee, which indicated that 25 percent of the laboratory determinations and examinations conducted in this country are unsuccessful. That such a large percentage would be unsuccessful would indeed be a great cause for concern.

Just recently, I have received a letter from a physician who takes issue with this disturbing conclusion. The letter was from Dr. C. A. McWhorter, of the University of Nebraska. Dr. McWhorter, besides being a respected practicing physician, is a professor of pathology, chairman of the department of pathology at the University of Nebraska College of Medicine, and also a member of the College of American Pathologists.

Dr. McWhorter cites a recent survey of the board of governors of the College of American Pathologists as authority for the proposition that 95 percent of the laboratory determinations and examinations conducted in this country have been successful from a medical and pathological standpoint.

Dr. McWhorter's conclusion is supported by the testimony of Dr. Bradley E. Copeland, given before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. Dr. Copeland is from Brookline, Mass. and is a member of the Standards Committee of the College of American Pathologists.

In order that both sides of the question can receive publication, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. McWhorter's letter and Dr. Copeland's statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
COLLEGE OF MEDICINE,
Omaha, Nebr., September 5, 1967.

Hon. ROMAN HRUSKA,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HRUSKA: As a practicing physician, Professor of Pathology, and Chairman of the Department at the University of Nebraska College of Medicine, I would like to call to your attention some grave and erroneous statements made in testimony before a Senate Committee.

I am referring to statements made on April 11, 1967, before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations (of which you are a member) of the United States Ninetieth Congress. These were made in connection with H.R. 10196 Appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. These statements lead one to the conclusion that 25% of all laboratory determinations or examinations performed in the United States are in error.

May I quote from the statements on Page 325, line 26–31:

"Yet up to 25% of laboratory determinations performed were in error." "It is obvious that a 25% error cannot be tolerated."

Again on Page 1309:

"Premature death, extended hospital stay, unnecessary suffering and loss of productivity as well as tremendous economic losses are consequences of inaccurate laboratory results. It is conservatively estimated that at least 430,000,000 tests are performed annually and the approximate error rate of these tests is 25%. At an average cost of $4.00 per test, this represents a waste of some $430,000,000 annually to the nation in payment for erroneous laboratory diagnostic results. The cost in suffering in extended hospitalization and in actual loss of life is beyond monetary measurements."

Senator Hruska, there is absolutely no basis in fact for these statements. It is a very grave injustice to the practice of pathology and laboratory medicine that such statements appear in the Congressional Record. The error rate of 25% as a figure was taken from a survey chiefly of Federal Government Service Medical Laboratories and New York City Laboratories and in no way applies to the medical laboratories in hospitals throughout the United States.

Unless these erroneous statements are corrected in the Congressional Record they will be accepted as true and be used in the future to regulate and interfere with the free practice of medicine.

As a member of the Board of Governors of the College of American Pathologists I am well aware of studies which have been carried out to determine the reliability of medical laboratory examinations throughout the United States. The College has sponsored the largest comprehensive survey of laboratories and of small hospital laboratories in the United States. The result of these studies indicates that throughout the United States, *95%* of the laboratory results are medically useful. In well controlled hospital laboratories, tests leading to medical mismanagement are indeed a rarity. I am enclosing a copy of a statement prepared by Bradley E. Copeland, M.D., of Brookline, Massachusetts, a Member of the Standards Committee of the College of American Pathologists. This statement was prepared for submission to the Senate Committee on Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly on February 21, 1967.

I know that you are exceedingly busy but I hope that I can elicit your assistance in correcting these grossly incorrect statements concerning this portion of the practice of medicine in the United States. With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,
C. A. MCWHORTER, M.D.

THE RELIABILITY OF MEDICAL LABORATORY TESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Statement prepared for submission to the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, February 21, 1967, Bradley E. Copeland, M.D.)

USEFUL MEDICAL TESTS SUPPORT MEDICAL DECISIONS

It is in the public interest to discuss the reliability of medical laboratory tests. In the process of discussion, however, it should not be forgotten that these are measurements designed to guide medical decisions.

The ultimate purpose of all observations made in medical practice is the detection of disease or complications of disease. Since these tests are used to assist medical practice, the adequacy of a given measurement should be judged on the basis of its medical application.

The recent statement that 25 per cent of laboratory tests are unsatisfactory is incorrect, since it is not based on the criterion of medical usefulness but rather is the result of using the criterion of the future medical goal. On the same basis we could say that a large number of successful surgical operations are unsatisfactory because they do not achieve a complete cure which is our medical goal.

Medical goals should not be confused with reliable medical decisions. A test is useful if it supports a reliable medical decision. Medical goals always must and will be in advance of good medical practice. To call medically useful tests "erroneous" on the basis of future goals is incorrect. Therefore, when improper evaluation criteria are used, the damage is threefold. First, the public believes that they are in danger when they are not; second, the remedy selected will be incorrect and real problems and needs will be overlooked; and third, the thousands of dedicated medical technologists, clinical chemists, clinical microbiologists, clinical pathologists, and pathologists who work and are on call 24 hours a day, 365 days a year suffer the stigma and the discouragement of having their life saving work being judged faulty in spite of the fact that their work is saving thousands of lives every year.

For example, the statement that 40 to 80 per cent of differential blood cell reports are unsatisfactory [1] is a medically erroneous statement. Most of these differential count measurements are made on normal individuals as a screening test. To say that the current results are 40 to 80 per cent in error would mean that 40 to 80 per cent of normals should be called abnormal.

None of the other statements of allegedly erroneous tests [1] (hemoglobin 20–30 per cent, electrolytes 20–30 per cent, clinical chemistry 30–50 per cent, bacteriology 10–40 per cent, and blood grouping 12–18 per cent) is valid on a medical basis. The surveys used to draw the above conclusions were from New York City laboratories (400) [9] and from a Public Health Survey of federal hospitals (67) including Indian Bureau hospitals, federal prison hospitals, marine hospitals, and outpatient and infirmary laboratories.[2] [3] [4] These are not representative of the medical laboratories of the United States. When we compare other state and national surveys with these limited surveys, we see the lack of foundation for extrapolation to the national level.

Example 1

Statement: Blood grouping and typing, 12–18 per cent unsatisfactory, CDC.[1]

1. Massachusetts State Department of Public Health Survey, January 25, 1965, ABO and Rh typing, 150 laboratories, reports on 5 samples were 100, 100, 97, 99 and 92 per cent accurate.[5]

2. Small Hospital Survey, Standards Committee, College of American Pathologists, 1966. 416 laboratories, ABO 98 per cent accurate, Rh, 96 per cent accurate.[6]

3. Minnesota Department of Public Health (1958–61) 6,400 samples:

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[1] Statement to Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, February 7, 1967, Dr. David Sencer.

[9] Schaeffer, M., Health Department's Role in Improving Operations of Clinical Laboratories, Public Health Report, *81*:71–74, 1966.

[2] Clinical Hematology Evaluation Program, Hemoglobin Evaluation Survey II, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Public Health Service, Communicable Disease Center, Atlanta, November 1964.

[3] Clinical Chemistry Evaluation Program, Electrolyte Evaluation Parts 1–4, October 1965–May 1966, Communicable Disease Center, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Atlanta.

[4] Personal Communication with Dr. David Sencer.

[5] Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Institute of Laboratories Approval Program, Blood Transfusion Procedures, January 25, 1965, Report to Survey Participants.

[6] Standards Committee, College of American Pathologists, Small Hospital Survey, 1966, Chicago.

ABO 0.3% error M.T. (ASCP), 1.3% other.[8]

Rh 1.2% error M.T. (ASCP), 3.0% other.

Example 2

Statement: 30-50 per cent of clinical chemistry tests are unsatisfactory, CDC.[1]

Reference: New York State Department of Public Health, Division of Laboratories and Research, Summary, Clinical Chemistry Survey Number 1, 1965.[7]

176 laboratories: Group A laboratories—92 per cent acceptable. Group B laboratories—78 per cent acceptable.

Reference: Standards Committee, College of American Pathologists, National Comprehensive Survey, 1965, Clinical Chemistry Section.[10]

1,146 laboratories: For 11 most commonly used chemical tests, there were 92 per cent medically useful results.

IS ZERO TEST VARIABILITY POSSIBLE?

During the past fifteen years, the most significant forward step in laboratory medicine has been the recognition, the understanding, and the control of the variables which influence medical laboratory measurements. There is no test which has zero error in it. All laboratory methods are a compromise based on the degree of precision needed to support medical decisions and the cost of the personnel and equipment necessary to do the test.

Precision for the sake of precision is expensive and has no useful purpose.

The term "false positive" test is well known in medicine. It means that the test is positive, but the patient does not have the disease. False negative means the test was negative but the patient has the disease.

Each defines a result which is in error in terms of the patient. No test yet devised is completely free of this error. Some tests which give 30 per cent false positives are medically useful. Therefore, although the theoretical goal of 100 per cent accuracy continues to be our goal, realistically in terms of his patients the physician always knows that there is a 1 to 10 per cent chance of his results being false positive or false negative. Indeed, the claim of 100 per cent accuracy for any test immediately raises suspicion in the physician's mind.

In medical laboratories as a whole, over 95% of the tests are medically useful. In well controlled laboratories a test that is so erroneous that it will cause medical mismanagement is a true rarity. Few of these actual errors cause mis-diagnosis or mis-treatment because practicing physicians are trained to follow two fundamental rules:

First, always repeat laboratory measurements which lead to serious medical or surgical action. The dictum "never make a diagnosis on the basis of a single test result" is taught repeatedly in all medical schools and in internship training.

Second, always insist that the laboratory findings correlate with the clinical status of the patient. Since the erroneous report usually does not correlate with the patient, it is rejected by the physician.

QUALITY CONTROL—THE ANSWER TO WITHIN LABORATORY VARIABILITY

In general the achievable useful precision within a single laboratory has been described by Straumfjord and Copeland, American Journal of Clinical Pathology, 44:252-258, 1965[11], in their survey of precision in thirty-three university hospital laboratories. These are realistic estimates made under day-to-day regular service conditions.

These results define what happens in a single laboratory from day to day. It is well known that a single analyst doing ten analyses on a blood sample will be more precise than the composite results of ten analysts each of whom does a single analysis on the same blood sample. So it is that ten laboratories show more variability than one laboratory when the same sample is analyzed. We could not expect 2,500 laboratories, each of whom makes a single measurement on a survey, to be as precise as a single laboratory making repeated measurements on the same sample.

Tonks of Canada, (Clinical Chemistry, 9:217-233, 1963),[12] who reports that 47 per cent of clinical chemistry results in Canada are no good, uses one-fourth of the normal range of ± 10 per cent as his criteria. These criteria are so restrictive that 30 per cent of urea nitrogen tests done in a single university hospital laboratory on the same serum would be considered inaccurate. Using the same criterion to evaluate such a useful test as serum bilirubin, 80 per cent of results would be considered inaccurate.

Tonks criteria have been used in New York City, Minnesota and England. These represent medical goals and disregard the present state of methodology and instrumentation as well as disregarding medical usefulness.

How does a single medical laboratory control this variability of measurements? By quality control procedures which are very widely used within the medical laboratories of the United States. These techniques are described in publications which have been available since 1955 from the Council on Continuing Education of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists,[13] [14] [15] from other organizations and commercial companies. Thousands of quality control manuals have been distributed, and thousands of medical technologists, pathologists, clinical chemists, and clinical microbiologists have participated in workshops on quality control. Five large companies are doing a profitable business in selling control materials to medical laboratories. In Denver groups of hospital laboratories are purchasing quality control serum in large amounts in order to reduce interlaboratory variables.

SURVEYS TO CONTROL VARIABILITY BETWEEN LABORATORIES

How is the variability between different laboratories controlled? By the appropriate use of surveys in which the same sample is sent to many laboratories, the results are compiled, and on the basis of the compilation of results, conclusions are drawn as to: (1) which methods are best, (2) which instruments are the most reliable, and (3) which standards are the most appropriate.

In 1966 over 2,500 hospital laboratories participated in surveys in the United States. These surveys showed that 95 per cent or more of the work done was useful medically. A recent visitor from West Germany reported in a German technical journal that he was most impressed by the willingness of the laboratories in the United States to participate in surveys and to compare their results in order to improve them.[16]

The over-all goal in patient care is that measurements should be consistent throughout the life of a single patient no matter how often he changes physicians or hospitals. For example, his hemoglobin in 1965 should be referrable to his hemoglobin in 1975 just as his blood pressure measurements are comparable over a ten-year period. This is a medical goal.

It is encouraging to note that for hemoglobin this is now true. During the past seven years the widespread use of the National Research Council Cyanmethemoglobin standard [17] has been remarkable.

Laboratories in the United States have had a consistent stable standard for the past seven years and will have for the future fifty years at least. Hemoglobin performance on successive yearly surveys has shown continuous improvement.

MEDICAL USEFULNESS CRITERIA TO EVALUATE SURVEY PERFORMANCE

Since the variability between laboratories is important and discussion of it is in the public interest, the criteria for evaluating these surveys must be carefully chosen to reflect the proper stimulus to action.

1. Each laboratory should be evaluated on the medical usefulness of the reports made.
2. The laboratories should be compared with a composite of three or four referee laboratories who analyse the survey specimen under regular service conditions.
3. The laboratories should be compared with referee laboratories using the same method, instrument, and in the case of certain tests, the same manufacturers reagents.
4. Laboratories should receive prompt evaluation of their survey results so that if recalibration or other correction action is needed, it can be undertaken promptly. (The National Comprehensive Laboratory survey in chemistry sends air mail letters to all laboratories reporting large errors so that immediate recalibration can be carried out.)

When such criteria were used as published by the Standards Committee of the College of American Pathologists and when other surveys from Massachusetts, Minnesota, Maryland, and Canada are evaluated on this basis, the conclusions are no longer that "more than 25 per cent of laboratory tests are erroneous".

In conclusion:

1. It is in the public interest to discuss the reliability of medical laboratories.
2. The extrapolation of the New York City laboratory survey and the CDC federal medical laboratory survey to the national level is erroneous.
3. The criterion of medical usefulness should not be confused with future medical goals.
4. Throughout the United States, 95% of laboratory results are medically useful. In well controlled hospital laboratories a test leading to medical mismanagement is a rarity.
5. Valid medical criteria for evaluation of

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[8] Minnesota Department of Public Health, Blood Banking Study, 1958-61, Minneapolis.

[7] New York State Department of Public Health, Division of Laboratories and Research, Summary, Clinical Chemistry Survey #1, 1965.

[10] National Comprehensive Laboratory Survey, 1965, Standards Committee, College of American Pathologists, Chicago.

[11] Straumfjord, J. V., Jr., and Copeland, B. E., Clinical Chemistry Quality Control Values in Thirty-three University Medical School Hospitals, Am. J. Clin. Path., *44*:252-258, 1965.

[12] Tonks, D., A Study of the Accuracy and Precision of Clinical Chemistry Determinations in 170 Canadian Laboratories, Clin. Chem. *9*:217, 1963.

[13] Quality Control Manuals, Chemistry, Hematology, Commission on Continuing Education, American Society of Clinical Pathologists, Chicago, 1955.

[14] Quality Control Kit—Chemistry, Commission on Continuing Education, American Society of Clinical Pathologists, 1955.

[15] Quality Control Film Strips—Chemistry, Hematology, Bacteriology, Blood Banking—Commission on Continuing Education, American Society of Clinical Pathologists, Chicago, 1964.

[16] Buttner, H., the Internist, 7:21-22, 1966 (West Germany) (Report to the Association of German Internists).

[17] Cannan, R. K., Proposal for a Certified Standard for Use in Hemoglobinometry, Am. J. Clin. Path., 30:211-215, 1958.

surveys need to be defined so that legislation can be based on a sound foundation.

MRS. LYNDON JOHNSON TELLS HER OWN STORY

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in one of the warmest, human, and most candid articles I have ever had the pleasure to read, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson told the Nation the story of her life in Texas and Washington in the New York Times magazine of September 10.

It would be trying to gild the lily if I were to add my words to those of hers, yet I must say that the honesty, intelligence, and downright humanity of a very great American lady shines through the pages of the Times as one of its reporters interviews the wife of our President.

I have read every word of this delightful interview. I hope every American will do the same. It is a tribute not only to Mrs. Johnson. It is a tribute to the family which nurtured her, the State of Texas which is her home, and the President of the United States whom she so obviously loves, respects, and admires.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD for all the country to read the article, "A Talk With the First Lady," published in the New York Times magazine, September 10, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times magazine, Sept. 10, 1967]

A TALK WITH THE FIRST LADY

(NOTE.—Mrs. Johnson is interviewed at the White House by Henry Brandon, the Washington correspondent and an associate editor of the Sunday Times of London.)

Now you grew up in Texas, and I'm sure that the scenery and the people have had a great influence on you. Would you tell me a little about what it means to grow up in Texas?

For me it meant growing up in what's affectionately called Deep East Texas, which is the economy and the culture and the landscape of the South. It was in Harrison County, close to the Louisiana line. My father was a landowner and merchant. The economy is cotton—at that time, I mean, it was—almost entirely a one-crop way of living. And we lived in a big, old, red-brick house with white columns which, in terms of our country, was an old house. It was built before the Civil War and the bricks were right on the place, and it's still a quite noble-looking old house.

My mother died when I was 5 which was, I'm sure, quite a radical change in my life, although at 5 one is anesthetized and one doesn't know it, you know, and I didn't. My greatest delight as a very small child was to have her read to me. My two brothers, Tony and Tommy, were gone most of my childhood years off to school in New York and various places.

What difference did it make being brought up by your father, without a mother?

When my mother died, my daddy necessarily had to take over. He had quite a good deal of land and was always buying more from those people who moved to town, even in those days. He had a large country store and cotton gin, and he took me with him a lot. It made me very aware of him and very admiring of him, which one necessarily would have been because he was a commanding figure. In his small world he was a man of size and authority and presence.

The size was physical as well as in character. He was about 6 feet 3 and very broad-shouldered and a rather handsome man and, like all the men in his family, had a name that's dear to me—Thomas Jefferson Taylor. No kin to their famous namesake whatsoever except the kin of loving admiration.

But, you know, some people say that you're a very good businesswoman, too. Has this something to do with watching your father at work?

It taught me the importance of a solid economic base. On the other hand, no, Mr. Brandon, I think my business acumen is much exaggerated. I simply hope I have a sense of judgment about people. I've tried to select good people who have helped run the business interests I have and make it worth their while to stay with us through the years, establishing strong cords of friendship and interest with them. Then, as it so happens, I landed in a growing industry in a growing community and 20 or 25 years passed. That's just the story of the economic progress of our country really—no credit to me.

What was your life like as a child?

People always look back at it now and assume it was lonely. To me it definitely was not. I lived in a country of farm lands and pine forests and little country lanes. In spring there were wild cherokee roses along the fence rows, and in the woods there were violets. In the fall the roads are real bright with the sweet gum and hickory trees and all the fall foliage. I spent a lot of time just walking and fishing and swimming.

When I was 5, after my mother's death, my Aunt Effie from Alabama, my mother's sister, came to live with me. She was a very gentle and rare person. I cannot say that any of her gifts to me in raising me were on the material or practical side, but she certainly did instill in me more valuable ones like a love of nature and an enjoyment of the world around me.

What kind of education did you have?

The first years were at a little one-room school right up the hill from home called Fern School. We were about eight children, and all the grades were taught in the same room. And then high school in Jefferson and in Marshall, where I drove myself back and forth the 15 miles to school for two years, and St. Mary's School for Girls in Dallas. And on I went to the University of Texas, and that was a very great step because I—well, I had the feeling that all the doors of the world swung open.

Wasn't it something unusual for a girl to go to the university then?

Oh, no, not at all. Of the 6,000 student body at that time, I don't know how many girls there were, but I would say at least a third and maybe more.

You said you were driving yourself to school—was it unusual for a girl to have a car?

Yes, but it was simply the fact that living 15 miles out in the country, it was an awful chore for my daddy to have to delegate some person from his business to take me in and out.

So in a way there was a certain independence already developing in you?

Quite.

When did you meet the President?

I suppose it was because I went to the university, because there I made quite a few friends. Among them, Gene Boehringer, who was secretary to a member of the Texas Railroad Commission and had many friends in the political world. She was a friend of Lyndon's father, who had been a member of the Texas Legislature off and on for 20 years. And she was also a friend of Lyndon's and probably had a number of dates, although they were just friends, they both assured me. And it was through her that I met him—in her boss's office, in fact. Neither of us quite remembers the exact date . . . maybe the very first day of September of 1934.

Was it a long courtship?

No. From approximately the first of September until we married on Nov. 17.

So he's really a very fast worker?

Yes. When I met him, he asked me for a date at breakfast the next morning—and breakfast turned out to be also about a four-hour drive out into the country in which we discussed everything about each other.

Was it love at first sight?

Not on my part. It was keen interest and excitement. When I say we discussed everything, I mean he told me a great deal about his job—he was at that time secretary to Congressman [Richard M.] Kleberg from Corpus Christi—and about his interests and his family. Then he asked me if I would drive with him to meet his mother and father.

On the first date?

Yes. I think it was probably—I'm trying to remember—I think it was the next day we went to see his mother and father, and I did not know what sort of young man I had met, I just knew that he was different from anybody I'd ever met before—more intense and driving and, somehow or other, more alive.

In talking about his job, it must have already been clear that he was an ambitious person?

Yes. I would say certainly ambitious, but more a person who was immersed, enthralled in doing his job, and because it was important to him he wanted to talk about it to someone that he felt he was beginning to like.

Did he ever as a young man like to say to you, "I'd like to become President"?

No, never, never (*laughs*). And then I remember so distinctly meeting his mother and father and just seeing how much they loved him and how much their lives centered around him, and also a certain question in their eyes about "Who are you?" and "What part do you play?" Then he asked me to go down to meet his boss, Congressman Kleberg [a grandson of Richard King, founder of the 1,125,000-acre King Ranch], which was quite an experience, because the King Ranch was a fabulous place then, as now, and presided over at that time by a woman of great authority—sort of a head of the clan—Grandmother Kleberg, for whom my husband had a great admiration, and I think she liked him, too.

Now, in Texas terms you really lived in much more sumptuous surroundings than, I presume, the Johnson family did. How did this strike you at first?

Well, Mr. Brandon, there was nothing in my background that would have taught me to seek the same kind of economic level I had. One rather turned one's back on aiming toward that, because there was always the thought that with hard work and ability you could arrive at just about anywhere you wanted to. Heaven knows, my father had come up from no economic background to a very solid one, and as for my husband's family, his father had been a rancher, farmer and legislator—the latter is a very sapping job as regards making money—you don't make any—and yet he loved public service and he put an awful lot of time in on it. And his fortunes had risen and fallen with the depressions and with the slope of the years, and at the time I met Lyndon they were of quite modest means. That to me was obvious and no barrier.

When did he propose to you, finally?

He and I are really not quite sure, but I think it was perhaps the second day—of course, I didn't believe it. I just thought—well, nobody in quite such clear terms had made such a proposal on the second day, but I just couldn't believe that he would be willing to take such a chance any more than I would at that time.

How old were you then?

I was 21.

And he was?

Twenty-six.

Did you decide to wait?

The decision on my part was, "We'll wait," and on his part, "We'll go ahead pretty soon."

And then you got married, and how soon did he try to get into politics after that?

Well, I would say that he was in politics, actually, when I met him, because being secretary to a Congressman you learn all about the job, and his boss was an open and generous man who made it possible for him to exercise some amount of initiative and judgment.

At any rate, we came to Washington, we lived here from right after the honeymoon in early December of 1934 until the following July—at which time he was offered by President Roosevelt, the job of State Director of the National Youth Administration for Texas, one of those many efforts of the early Depression years to help young folks of high-school and college age get skills and education. It was just tailored to his loves, and so he accepted the job. We came back to Texas in August of '35.

The period of N.Y.A. was one of the richest and happiest and most productive of our lives. It's remembered with great warmth and spice and satisfaction. Lyndon was in that until suddenly, in February of '37, the Congressman from Tenth District [James P. Buchanan]—his district—died. Overnight he was confronted with, "Shall I run for this unexpired term? Do I take the plunge? Do I dare?"

Then he took the first plunge into politics. How clear were his ambitions then—I mean—

To go to Congress from the Tenth District, and that—oh, that, Mr. Brandon, was and is a very wonderful thing. He was pretty daring to assume he could because he was still a very young man and from a county which was the smallest of the 10 counties of the district, with the least population, and he was on a field of 10 candidates. He left the house terribly early in the morning, and I didn't see him until long after midnight—we were living in a little rented apartment—and he worked awfully hard across those 10 counties, and my contribution was simply to talk to the grocery man and the laundry man and to my own friends.

You didn't actually campaign?

No. I didn't. I would have loved to begin even then, but I was pretty shy and, well, I just didn't. I did help, though, because we couldn't really have taken this plunge if it hadn't been for the fact that my daddy was still handling my inheritance from my mother, and so I just called him up and said, "Can I have a part of it?" And he said (it was on Sunday when I called him), "Well, honey, I can't get it to you before tomorrow morning at 9 when the bank opens." That was the financial basis, and the campaign ended on April 10, and he was elected. And though it took him several year, he insisted on paying this back.

So you really encouraged him to go into politics?

Yes, I was committed and interested, because after all, by that time I'd had a 2½ years' indoctrination. The very first thing after we married, Lyndon asked me to learn the names of the county seats of those counties that his boss represented and, say, three or four of the outstanding men who were able to get things done in each county and the basis of his district's economy and working.

So already you were in favor of women in politics? This was in your blood.

No, I wouldn't say that. I was in favor of everyone knowing about their part of the country and having their say about it. And I was very much in favor of my husband making the try, although I recognized what a slim chance he had.

Were you ever tempted to go into politics yourself?

Good heavens, no! Not then, now or ever.

You went on your own whistlestop campaign tour much later, which I thought was very courageous and very enterprising. Yet I had certain reservations about it at the time, because people were not voting for you but for your husband, therefore you were using your charm and personality to help your husband. How do you feel about this?

Mr. Brandon, I think in this country there is still the legend, the deep strain of feeling, that people want to *know* the man that they're entrusting so much of their own power to, and not even the rising prevalence of radio and television has taken away that personal bond of "campaigning on the courthouse square," meeting everybody and shaking hands, and knowing what that man is like. Well, the man can't be everywhere and meet everybody. An interpreter—somebody close to him, his wife or members of his family—can do something to explain him, his aims, his character, his hopes for the folks, and I was simply an extension, an interpreter.

Do you think that the news media like radio and television project the President as you see him? You know, some people's personality comes over on television very accurately, others don't.

I do think that he is at his best in a small group of people where he simply talks straight from the heart. There's a pungency and a color and a humor and a force in meetings of that sort, and it may be equally as good in a face-to-face confrontation with a larger group. It is somewhat diluted and restricted when it gets to the mechanics of TV and the great invisible audience. I do not think it is quite as good as face to face. I think it's perhaps because he's used to and likes that bond of looking at people and feeling their response. Nevertheless, I have seen him lots of times on TV when I thought, "That is the real flavor of the man coming through."

Why at times doesn't that flavor come through?

I simply think that the sheer mechanics and the absence of the audience make it somewhat more difficult for some people. He's a human man and not a machine man.

Do you think he is somewhat afraid of these machines?

No, not at all. He just is not responsive to them. He responds to humans.

Is he ever afraid?

Yes, of course. He would be less than intelligent if he weren't afraid sometimes. Sometimes you have to be afraid, evaluate the alternatives, choose the one that you think holds the least fear, holds the least dynamite and obstacles, and go ahead. I don't think any really wise, aware person could say that he wasn't ever afraid.

Do you remember when the President discussed with you such alternatives that involve—more or less—fear?

Those several times when there have been those dead-of-the-night calls that some violence has erupted in some part of the world, and when there are minutes only to evaluate action—because one thing you don't have is the luxury of inaction, and you try to balance alternatives based on judgment of the best people you know and pick whichever path offers the most hope and the least dynamite. And in a democracy you must weigh always what path you can get your Congress and your allies to follow you on.

How much can you give him in this sort of situation?

I can give none, really, except a peaceful setting right here in the house. The best thing I can do for him is to try to create a pleasant little island where he can *work*—where you like the food and where you are not constantly bothered with questions about household and family and where you know you're coming back to somebody who even if they don't always agree with what you're doing, are not going to—

Are you not being too modest? Because you are a very alert, very intelligent woman, and you will understand the President's dilemmas and, after all, you are his best friend, and it's very difficult these days to have somebody one can trust 100 per cent.

Perhaps there is this—I'm terribly average—something like litmus paper—and I think maybe my reaction would be the reaction of millions of people across the country. On, for example, a big controversial question with innumerable ramifications, if I have a straight-from-the-heart reaction, it may have some value in that respect. Certainly I can give him a very honest criticism. In this job—his job—you are surrounded by two things—adulation and "yes," "yes," "yes," and on the other hand the acid bath of biting criticism. Maybe somewhere in between there is a firmer ground for reaction to a state of affairs and saying what you think about it.

Does he take criticism from you easily?

Yes, I think so. I'm not thinking of it so much in terms of criticism as of saying, "This is what I think about it, and why." And it is sometimes different from his own view—but, goodness knows, he asks all sorts of people that he trusts for their reaction.

Now, I presume that you really know something about Washington politics or national politics. Is this where the President takes your advice most?

Mr. Brandon, I think perhaps you think I've entered into it more substantively than I have. I have feelings about people and programs, but I think mostly it's been from the standpoint of the citizen that's going to be affected by those things, and then the wife of the man. No, sir, I don't think of myself as deeply versed—I don't know the first thing about parliamentary procedures.

You mentioned that you are interested in programs. What programs, and how did you come to select them?

After Lyndon was elected in '64, and when we got back and settled here early in January of '65, I began to think of what I could do to be of help to him and his aims. What had the greatest appeal to me (and I think in order to work on something it has to be something that you love and know a little bit about) was the whole field of conservation and beautification. And if you'll come up with a better word for it than that last, I will thank you kindly.

Why did I choose it? I think because what has given me the most joy, what surfaces when I think back over the last 50 years, are things like walking through the piney woods of East Texas listening to the wind sighing, or along the banks of Caddo Lake with gnarled cypress trees heavy with moss, and, well, the whole beautiful picture of our diverse country . . . and the little towns with the squares that have the elm trees all around the courthouse, and the long shaded residential streets, and I want that to be just as good for our grandchildren's children as it was for me. So beautification became one of the primary things I interested myself in.

The other was Headstart, one of the many educational programs—and that's my husband's most loved field. It attempts to help youngsters of 4 and 5 who have lived in deprived circumstances—to give them an opportunity to play with other youngsters, to have medical examinations which will reveal anything like bad eyesight, bad hearing, the sort of thing that would burden their start in school—to give them something of the same vocabulary and ability to cope that other youngsters have when they hit first grade, so they'll get there with hope and interest rather than be burdened with that feeling of failure already at the age of 6.

Now, the beautification program has very wide ramifications, hasn't it?

Yes, Mr. Brandon, it began, of course, as everything should begin, right at home. I mean, for me it began with setting up the Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, which operates here in Washington. But as the months went by, I found that it has so many ramifications—right down to the level of getting people not to chuck that bottle or that piece of paper out the car window as they drive along, because the sheer amount of litter in this country, now that we're really a "packaged society"—everything comes all wrapped up so fancy, you know—is tremendous. The cost of it has actually gotten to be 32 cents per article picked up off the highway.

And speaking of highways, you know the highways of the U.S.A. are the biggest public-works program in the history of mankind—bigger than the pyramids of Egypt, the temples of Greece or Rome—they cost more money, take up more land and they can be beautiful as well as being functional and safe. I think we're just now beginning to apply some sort of esthetic barometer to them. Of course, Mr. Brandon, I sort of stepped on to a moving train in all this.

Part of the beautification program is city planning, and the great problem of the cities today is that the center becomes all-Negro and the whites are moving out into the suburbs. That is now creating some sort of social confrontation. Is there any way by which, through city planning, this problem can be solved?

It's a subject of very agonizing and urgent thinking and effort. It's obvious what it does to the tax base, and it's true the center of many cities and towns are decaying. The problem is becoming clear and is of tremendous importance. The answer I do not know, except that I think our country has had the vitality to solve most of the problems it's had to face, and I believe we will solve this one.

What did you see when you visited Hartford, Conn.?

That was about two years ago. It was an extraordinary example of handling the downtown traffic problem. Great new shops were grouped around a raised plaza, which was beautifully planted. The garage was down below ground, and automobiles, moving or parked, didn't dominate the landscape. I thought it was a very impressive, clean, fresh approach to downtown.

Would you have had any inkling that Negroes in Hartford were bubbling with discontent and that there would be such outbreaks as happened recently?

I was there for one day. You don't learn a city in depth and all its problems in a time like that. No, it wasn't apparent to me.

The President in his program is trying to do so much to advance the lot of the Negro, and he can be proud of what he's done—and yet these things happen. What is the explanation?

That's a long deep question. I suppose the problem has been accumulating for—what?—175 or more years?—and I earnestly believe more has been done in the last 10 years and, very especially, I think, in the last three years, to solve it than in many, many decades before. Obviously it has not been solved and won't be in just a few years. I think, Mr. Brandon, the only solution is education and training and time, and I realize to an impatient people that is a hard answer.

Has the President discussed with you bills in advance of their being drafted—bills about schools or beautification?

Oh, the rush is so fast you don't get a chance to discuss nearly everything you want to—but, yes, we do talk about them and the people who will implement them.

How much do you see of him during the day?

Oddly enough, more now, than when he was in the Senate, for the very simple reason that his office is within about a block of our bedroom, and he comes home for lunch every day. His hours are extremely unusual. He eats and sleeps when his work is in shape, when he can stop it, so—if he does not have guests—he may have lunch as late as 4 in the afternoon and dinner as late as 11 at night. Weekends—Sundays especially—are our safety valve, our cushion. That's our time to sleep late and talk a lot and, after church, to look at the TV programs and, in the evening, just to get up a quick casual party of good friends and perhaps go out on the boat—or just come in and have dinner here and sit out on the balcony and watch the twilight.

Does he easily relax?

Oh, yes. That he can't relax is purely an incorrect impression.

What do you think is his favorite relaxation?

I think his favorite is to be at home at the ranch, and to drive around, especially in the late afternoon, looking at the cattle and the deer and just talk. We both have a feeling of closeness to the land.

He also relaxes in telling stories, doesn't he?

Yes, I think he's quite a humorous raconteur.

I mean some people relax by sinking into silence—

No, I'd say that's not his habit.

What do you do with your own free time?

Oh, it's just like a jewel to be sought and preserved. I get my daughter Lynda to go with me, and we whisk away quickly and maybe go down to the National Theater or the Arena Theater and see a play. Then I remember one golden October day when Lynda Bird and I flew out to a rocky canyon in West Texas with an archaeologist friend and the rancher who owned the place, and climbed upon the cliffs and ledges and looked at early Indian pictographs; and then I enjoy walking along the river which flows in front of our house, the little Pedernales River; along stretches of anywhere from three miles to 10 miles—there's no way to learn the country like walking on it. Riding will never do it. You come within feet of an arched-backed black and white skunk, or an armadillo that looks like it was left over from dinosaur times or—if it's April and there's rain—a pasture that's yellow—and—red with gaillardias or blue as the sea with bluebonnets.

You like walking?

It depends on how interesting it is. I'm sure I wouldn't like to walk very far just along cement streets. I think the longest river walk we had—this was quite by chance and not planning—was 10 miles. It's simply we couldn't find a place to get out. You see, there were steep cliffs on both sides.

What do you read?

Right now I'm reading three books. I frequently read several at a time, according to what mood I am in. Thomas Wolfe's "Of Time and the River." Just a torrent, a tide, a flood of language, and some of it's quite magnificent, I think, but undisciplined. And then I'm reading Thornton Wilder's "The Eighth Day." It's good writing all the way through. I just finished "Travels with Charlie" by John Steinbeck, who's one of my real favorites. It's a delicious, humorous book.

I enjoyed reading it, although I think it's probably one of his weaker ones, isn't it?

I thought it was totally fun. I can't say that it carries the wallop of "Grapes of Wrath" or—what's the one about the whaling village?—"The Winter of Our Discontent." That, too, is one of my favorites.

The relationship with the dog is quite unusual, isn't it?

Not for us. We're a dog-loving family. Dogs get to be people. We ascribe to them all sorts of personal characteristics and we spend a lot of time talking to each other about our dogs and with them. They're understanding friends.

But the President spends enormous time reading?

Yes, the tyrant of his life—the compelling master is that big stack of night reading that comes in folders from the different Cabinet members or agency heads or his own executive assistants. The tough things—well, there they are at night on his bed. Sometimes it take him until 2 A.M.—I wish we could change the way and do it in the morning, but that's the routine.

Is it that he doesn't easily fall asleep?

Oh, no. The Lord has blessed him with many things—a very, very rugged constitution and remarkable resiliency and the ability to sleep when the job permits and—most of all—a deep well-spring of faith—confidence—in the ability of mankind to solve man's problems.

He has an enormous amount of energy and dynamism although he's had this heart attack. Do you try to slow him down sometimes? Or—

I did, yes, for a while, for—perhaps two years. He was very good about his diet and reasonably good—never quite as good—about hours spent. But, you know, as danger recedes, discipline relaxes. It's not that you forget it—I'm sure that it's back there in the back of his mind, but today's needs are the ones that are pressing.

What do you do when he reads till 2 A.M.?

I, too, read, but not serious things like his are. And, then, I'm likely to go to sleep earlier.

Does he sometimes hand over a piece of paper and ask you to read it?

Yes—yes, quite often.

What does he think would interest you among state papers?

I think, mostly, the things about education and conservation are the ones he's more likely to talk over with me.

He talks to you at 2 A.M. about those?

(Mrs. Johnson laughs.)

It's sometimes been suggested that he doesn't feel altogether at ease in the company of non-Americans.

I simply don't think it's true. Of course, I think he prefers to be able to talk to people and be understood in the same langauge, but, no, I think that is fiction.

Have you traveled abroad?

Yes, I have.

Where have you been?

I went with my husband to Senegal, Africa, in the early spring of '61, and later in the year to six southeast Asian countries. The following year we went around the world again, and then in the early fall to the Scandinavian and Benelux countries. And, of course, I've been to Mexico many times.

Have you spent much time in England?

Alas, no. The meager sum of 24 hours. And, oh, I do envy my daughter so! She's having the most marvelous time in England right now. Old books are one of her passions, and she has some friends over there who know a lot about them and have taken her to places to look for them. Sotheby's, I think, was one. And she spent the weekend at a lovely old house that was built in Tudor times. And then she went to see Mr. [Ernest] Shepard, a very elderly man who did the drawings for the Winnie the Pooh books—you know, A. A. Milne's. She was raised on those. The characters in them are part of our lives. We are always comparing each other or somebody to Eeyore or Piglet or some other character. So she loved seeing Mr. Shepard.

What do you think, as a mother, of the American youth today?

My experience, Mr. Brandon, has been pretty much limited to my two children and their numerous friends. And I hardly recognize what I see in this great spate of writing as being related to those I know. I just think they're pretty marvelous young folk. And I'm not afraid of the future in their hands.

Yet the American youth today is much less conformist than it used to be even 10 years ago. It is less interested in money and in security.

Perhaps because so many of them have

always had it. They never have had to struggle for a living. Maybe when they have to get out and make a living, it might change them somewhat.

And then they are critical of the misuse of American affluence.

I don't know. I see with admiration the reaching of a lot of them for personal contribution such as they manifest in the Peace Corps and VISTA.

You think that what we read about so much relates to a small minority that gets a lot of publicity?

Mr. Brandon, how can I talk about something I don't know anything about or haven't experienced? I read about marijuana and LSD and I don't know anybody that uses it. I don't have my head in the sand—I don't deny the problem exists in many countries—I simply have not had any close observation of it that qualifies me as an authority. What I see are Lynda and Luci and their friends, and I feel good about them.

The most fun I've had in years, if I may inject this here, were the 11 days I spent with Luci about the time that the baby was going to be born. It was my good fortune that the baby was several days late. I finished a trip to New England and left immediately afterward to go down to be with Luci and had just the most wonderful time—just talking, talking, talking with her. Having dinner around the kitchen table. Sometimes she would cook it, and a very good cook she is.

And sometimes she and Patrick and I and some of their friends would go out in town for dinner. And I got acquainted once more with my own very lovely home town of Austin. And it was just the happy, slow-pace domestic life that I had missed and yearned for and didn't know it, really. I'm glad I got it. And then it was climaxed in the happiest of ways when the baby was born, well and strong, and Luci acted like this was what she'd been waiting for all her life, and she knew just exactly how to cope with it.

Has it changed you, being a grandmother?

Someone asked me how I liked it, and I said I liked the condition but not the name (*laughs*).

I'd like to go back for a moment to the President. His first year after he was elected was enormously successful, and more bills were passed, perhaps, than ever in American history. Since then the situation has changed, and now he must feel much more frustrated.

Mr. Brandon, he's been in this so long, you know—30 years. And I think he knew in the beginning that you strike while the iron is hot, and you get what you're able to get, and you settle down knowing that the pace will be slower and more restricted. No, I do not look upon him as being frustrated. I don't think he ever thought that it would be an unbroken stretch of Congressional successes.

Do you think he is concealing his frustration from you?

(*Laughs*) No.

Does the war in Vietnam weigh him down?

Yes. Terribly.

In what way?

That every one of those soldiers out there is a valuable life to himself and to his family and friends and country. Of course it weighs.

He must also feel that the war is interfering with many of his plans for the Great Society program?

Don't let that idea cloud the fact that all of those programs are going ahead. For instance, in the last three years we're spending vastly more on education and on medical care than ever before. In fact, since 1963 the Government has tripled its investment in education and medical care—and those two things are the hinge points, I think, of Lyndon's whole philosophy of government.

But don't you think that without the war he would be able to do more than he is already doing?

Yes, of course. But neither must we let the war overshadow the fact that much is being done.

Do you discuss the war with him, and do you have a personal view about it?

Mr. Brandon, I just have to trust and believe in people whose good minds and good hearts are dedicated to finding the way to deal with it.

Are you aware of having changed since you've come into the White House? What it has done to your life and personality?

I think in a way it has stretched and expanded me. You see your country in greater depth—I have traveled a lot, learned a lot. More is demanded of you, and you try to respond, you know. In a lighter vein, for instance, one thing I've tried to learn, oh, quite simply, is how to dress better. How to look better. That pleases my husband. And what pleases him pleases me.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Under the unanimous-consent agreement previously entered into, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9960) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Under the previous unanimous-consent agreement, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of the committee amendment on page 40, line 5. The time is under control.

Mr. **MAGNUSON**. Mr. President, the next amendment which we are considering is on page 40.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 40, line 5, after the word "exceed", to strike out "$581,000,000" and insert "$2,385,000,000".

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. How much time does the Senator yield himself?

Mr. **MAGNUSON**. I yield myself such time as I may need.

The pending amendment, as I say, is on page 40. Just briefly, it involves participation sales authorizations, which we discussed at some length in the Veterans' Administration section of the bill. There are several items, of course, in the housing section of the bill which involves participation sales. They include the Federal National Mortgage Association, commonly known as Fanny Mae, the public facility loan fund, a large item in the college housing loan fund, also housing for the elderly or handicapped, and FNMA special assistance functions and FNMA management and liquidation functions.

In all these cases, the House reduced the budget authorization, which totaled $2,385,000,000, the major portion of that amount being, of course, the $1,600,000,000 for the college housing loan fund. The House reduced each of the items to the point that the total authorization recommended was $581 million. The Senate committee restored the amounts for each item to the level of the budget recommendation.

These are not budget estimates; they are recommendations, and they are not involved in taxation as such, or direct appropriations. The amendment that we are now discussing is merely an authorization to allow the sale of participation sales certificates up to a certain ceiling.

The whole proposition of participation sales authorizations was discussed at some length when we considered the Veterans' Administration section of the bill. The Senator from Delaware wishes to discuss the committee amendment now before the Senate, as to each of the several items. I do not think there is a great deal I could add, Mr. President, to the discussion on this matter. What was said in the debate in connection with the Veterans' Administration would also apply here, as to each item.

So I yield to the Senator from Delaware, who wishes at this time to make a statement on this particular matter. I state to him that I agree with him, that this is the large item involving participation sales.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. By the terms of the unanimous-consent agreement, the Senator from Colorado has control of the time. Is the Senator from Delaware controlling that time now?

Mr. **WILLIAMS** of Delaware. Yes. I yield myself such time as I may need.

Mr. President, the Senator from Washington is correct; the arguments that could be made for or against this particular amendment would be identical to the arguments that were made in connection with a vote taken yesterday on the proposal to increase by $550 million the amount of participation certificates that could be sold by the Veterans' Administration. Therefore, I shall not repeat those arguments.

I do wish to point out, however, that the bill before us provides for an appropriation of $10,431,460,000. This bill as it was reported by the House recommended $435 million more than the appropriations for 1967 for the same agencies. To that amount the Senate committee had added $445 million in committee amendments.

Yesterday, by rollcall vote, the Senate added another $1,041 million in spending money. That means that the bill in its present form authorizes $1,476 million in extra money to be made available to the same agencies above the amount that was available in fiscal year 1967.

I now discuss the pending Senate amendment. The House allowed $581 million on this item. The Senate increased that amount by $1,804 million to a total of $2,385 million.

If the pending amendment is agreed to and when added to yesterday's action, it would mean that the Senate would have approved for these same agencies a total of $3,280 million more than those agencies had in the fiscal year 1967.

I do not think that anything further needs to be said except to point out that with an estimated deficit of approximately $2 billion a month it is time for Congress, and particularly the Senate, to demonstrate whether we mean what we are saying to our constituents when we answer our mail—that we are in favor of curtailing Government expenses.

The items in this bill are all domestic items. It cannot be argued that the items are involved in the financing of the war in Vietnam. Practically all of the provisions contain meritorious proposals, programs, and projects, and if the allowances were reasonable I would have liked to vote for them.

But there is a limit as to what we can afford.

Mr. President, I do not question the fact that one can take any individual item in the pending bill and, on its merits, make a persuasive argument that it should be continued or expanded as proposed. It must be remembered, however, that if we agree to all of these items it will mean an increase of $3,280 million over fiscal year 1967.

I am going to ask for a rollcall vote on this Senate amendment so that we can go on record and let our constituents know whether we as Senators mean what we say when we talk about economy.

The pending amendment would make additional spending money in the amount of $1,804 million available to these agencies. It would do it in the manner that we refer to as back-door financing by authorizing the sale of these participation certificates. That method is even worse than if the money were appropriated. If we follow that method it will cost us approximately 0.6 percent higher interest rates to finance this operation than if it were financed in the orthodox manner.

A later amendment will illustrate very dramatically how much it will cost if we authorize this method of financing these additional expenditures.

The very next amendment to be voted on is an amendment that would provide $42,115,000 to defray the extra and unnecessary interest cost of financing in this unorthodox manner.

As I pointed out yesterday, about the only objective that can be achieved in financing the operating cost of the Government in this manner is the deception of the American taxpayers as to the extent of the deficit.

I hope the Senate will reject the pending amendment not only because it is an improper and unnecessarily expensive method of financing the cost of operating the Government but also because we would be giving the same agencies $1,804 million for which there is no justification shown anywhere in the hearings.

It has been confirmed in the testimony given on the pending bill in both the House and the Senate that the various operations of the agencies would not be affected in any way in 1968 by the rejection of the Senate amendment.

The only thing that would be affected would be the deficit as it is reported by the President at the end of the fiscal year. It would mean that the President would have to tell the American people the truth as to the real cost of these Great Society programs. I certainly think that the time is long overdue when we get a little truth in government.

I hope that the amendment to provide an additional $1,804 million to these agencies will be rejected.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, if the chairman of the committee is willing I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the committee amendment. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] is absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 57, nays 30, as follows:

[No. 262 Leg.]

YEAS—57

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bible
Brooke
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fulbright
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Sparkman
Spong
Talmadge
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—30

Allott
Bennett
Boggs
Burdick
Carlson
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Russell
Smith
Stennis
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—13

Bartlett
Brewster
Dominick
Gore
Hansen
Kuchel
Long, La.
Metcalf
Percy
Smathers
Symington
Tower
Williams, N.J.

So the committee amendment on page 40, line 5, was agreed to.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 40, at the beginning of line 8, to strike out "$50,000,000" and insert "$80,000,000"; in the same line, after the word "fund", to strike out "$300,000,000" and insert "$1,600,000,000"; in line 10, after "$100,000,000", to insert "FNMA special assistance functions, $250,000,000"; and, in line 12, after the word "functions", to strike out "$131,000,000" and insert "$355,000,000".

Mr. MAGNUSON and Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the next committee amendments which include the public facility loan fund, the college housing loan fund, which appear on lines 7, 8, and 9, page 40, the housing for the elderly or handicapped fund, and the FNMA special assistance functions, which appear on line 11, and the other items down through line 12, be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I have no objection because these amendments are automatically carried as a result of the preceding vote. As the Senator from Washington knows, had the amendment been rejected we would have gone back to the House of Representatives' figure on these items. However, this is the result of the preceding vote and I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Do Senators yield back the time remaining on each of these amendments?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time on these amendments.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time on these amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments en bloc [putting the question]. The amendments are agreed to en bloc.

The clerk will state the next amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 40, line 20, after the word "exceed", to strike out "$23,000,000" and insert "$42,115,000".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on this amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, while this amendment is not a part of the amendment covered by the preceding vote, it is a committee amendment offered as the result of the preceding vote.

During the debate I pointed out that by financing the cost of these agencies in this unorthodox manner, by selling participation certificates, it is costing the taxpayers an unnecessary six-tenths of 1 percent interest charge.

This amendment, which proposes to add $42,115,000 to the bill, dramatically calls this fact to the attention of the taxpayer, because the sole purpose of the $42 million is to pay the extra interest charge that is going to be added to the cost of operating the Government as a result of the backdoor financing whereby they sell these participation certificates.

The only advantage to the administration for using this unorthodox method of financing is that the administration thereby can deceive the American taxpayers as to the true cost of its 1968 expenditures and as to the true cost of the Great Society program. By this procedure they can deceive them as to the true amount of the deficit.

This administration has said so much about truth in lending and truth in packaging that it must have had tongue in cheek when it developed this plan to deceive the American taxpayer.

More than anything else what we need in Washington is a pattern of truth in Government. I have requested a rollcall vote because I want the American taxpayers to know that this $42,115,000 is buying absolutely nothing except an opportunity for the administration to deceive them as to the cost of operating these programs. This is extra and unnecessary interest that is going to be paid on the participation certificates.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I understood the Senator to say that this would cost the taxpayers an unnecessary six-tenths of 1 percent interest charge. Is the Senator talking about participation bonds which can be purchased in denominations only of $5,000 or more?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes; but these bonds have the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government in back of them. Every bank and lending institution is well aware of the fact that they are just as solid as any Government E bond, but the average taxpayer does not know that.

The administration is displaying a great effort to sell E bonds to 70 million Americans which bear 4.15 percent interest. The only money the Government is borrowing today at low interest rates to finance the war and the Great Society program is money they borrow from the workers of America through the sales of Government E bonds, which bear 4.15 percent interest. Other Government bonds yield 5 to 5.25 percent interest. Under this unorthodox manner of selling participation certificates they are paying 5.75 percent interest and have paid as high as 6 percent.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to explore that because I have been one of those persons urging the people of South Dakota to buy bonds, and that that is a good and patriotic move and should be a good investment.

If I understood the Senator correctly, the Government borrows money from the laboring class of people, who have payroll deductions, at 4.15 percent interest, and the Government pays rich banks and insurance companies and the plutocrats who can afford to buy $5,000 bonds—how much did you say that interest was?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. They have placed a 5.75-percent rate on the issue to be sold tomorrow, but they had a 6-percent cost a few months ago.

Mr. MUNDT. That would seem to me to be a difference of at least over 1 percent.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is right. Yes. But at the time——

Mr. MUNDT. At 4.15 percent as against 5 percent.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. They are paying nearly 2 percent more interest on these than they are on the Series E bonds being sold to the average workers of America.

Mr. MUNDT. I should like to know how that could be explained. What is the reason the President and the Great Society give for paying more to the rich—as the Senator says, almost 2 percent more interest for the money which is borrowed—than they pay the poorer individual, the common individual, who coughs up $100 or $500, or perhaps even $1,000 to buy a bond? What is the justification for that?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. They yield about 1.50 or 1.75 percent more than the E bonds. I do not believe they can give any justifiable reason to workers of America as to why there should be this differential; but there it is. It is ironic that these high interests are being escalated by an administration which has said so much in years past against high interest rates. We used to hear a speech about every week from the other side of the aisle during the Eisenhower administrations when interest rates reached 4½ to 4¾ percent. But today interest rates have reached 5½ and 6 percent, and they are strangely silent. Why?

Mr. MUNDT. It is at a 40-year high.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes. Someone suggested the other day that President Johnson will go down in history and be referred to as "High Interest Lyndon." I do not know whether or not he wants that title, but he certainly seems to be working for it. I will say this, that he has achieved the highest interest rates for any administration in the White House in the past 50 years, and this policy is escalating them ever higher.

Mr. MUNDT. Quite logically in addition to the high interest rates, which are certainly deplorable, the highest in four decades, our farmers, homebuilders, and householders back home, I am sure, are very much concerned about high interest rates. What bothers me even more than that is, if I understand the Senator's explanation of this mystical manner of raising money, that this is a form of regressive taxation whereby we deny to the poor the advantages which are freely given to the rich. What is the difference between paying the poor man less for his bond and paying the rich man for his, and a taxation system which would tax the poor higher than it would tax the rich?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. There is no explanation for it. The only objective that the administration achieves when it responds to this method of financing is to conceal the amount of the deficit. This gives them a chance to get the money without it showing upon the books as a deficit. Nor does it show up as a part of the national debt, yet the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government is back of every bond. This is an effort to deceive the American people. This is one of the reasons we hear so much about the credibility gap. The administration keeps insisting on deceiving the American people as to the cost of its Great Society programs.

Now they are asking Congress to appropriate $42 million to finance the cost of its deceit.

I shall therefore be very much interested in the rollcall vote.

Mr. MUNDT. I think it is quite one thing for the administration to try to flim-flam the public as frequently as this one does about the financial status of the country, to say nothing about a lot of other problems, such as the war in Vietnam and matters of that kind. To me, it is utterly indefensible to devise a financial scheme which openly—now that the Senator has disclosed the facts—makes it is practice to pay the rich investor 1.85 percent extra on interest rates, but to pay less to the patriotic worker in the factory, or a South Dakota farmer who walks in and buys a Government bond and does not have $5,000 to invest at one time—if he did, he would not know a broker who could help him get the high interest rate bonds.

The Senator from Delaware is rendering a great public service to his country today in disclosing the double standard of morality in the matter of taxation, because it is no different from taxation, and the double standard of morality to pay one class of citizen almost 2 percent more when the Government borrows his money for Government use, than the Government pays to 75 percent, 85 percent, or even 90 percent of the people of this country who purchase E bonds.

What the Senator has described is a Great Society device whereby the rich can fleece the poor, and I am against it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, lest there be any misunderstanding as to my interpretation of the extra expense involved in this method of financing, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the comments of the Comptroller General under date of May 10, 1967, wherein he points out an example of the extra cost when the Export-Import Bank resorted to this same practice.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIB Participation Certificates

The Export-Import Bank will incur extra interest costs of about $4.3 million by selling participation certificates to private investors in fiscal year 1966 rather than relying on straight Treasury financing, a GAO audit showed.

The extra cost estimate was made by comparing the interest rates on participation certificates with rates on obligations issued directly by the government. The bank, and other government agencies, for some years have sold interests in pools of loans they have made. Money raised in this way does not count in the national debt, as would issues of Treasury securities.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the colloquy of the Senator from South Dakota and the Senator from Delaware. I believe that the Senator from South Dakota said "if he understood" what was being said was correct. Well, I think there is a great misunderstanding here. Any private citizen can buy these mortgages. We can buy these mortgages ourselves. They are groups or blocks of certificates on paper. The Veterans' Administration has been selling its mortgages to many for a long time. There are plenty of mortgages left. In the Government, I think it is almost $32 billion worth.

There is nothing in the law about it. They can be sold in blocks to people that buy them. They are available for distribution. You can still go down and buy any of these mortgages. The Veterans' Administration has been doing this for a long time.

Mr. MUNDT. But it has to be in a $5,000 bundle, though.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Only for this amount that they sell this way. There are plenty of other mortgages in the Government. I believe it is $32 billion worth of paper, in almost every department of the Government that is now available. They have been sold on many occasions.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. The Senator has had his 15 minutes. I should now like to have mine.

Every administration does it this way with big borrowers, in large lots. It costs too much to do it in small lots. Anyone can buy them if they want to. It can be changed if they want to, but this is a matter of expediency to get them into the hands of people and put them on the market. There is no problem there. No problem. I hope sometime that we will be able to distribute around the country a greater bulk of the $32 billion now on paper.

Now, Mr. President, we are now on the section on sales insufficiencies. It is an estimate by the Bureau of the Budget as to what may or may not be the difference, depending on the market. The market may even go lower. Last year, they did not use as much as we put in for insufficiencies. As a matter of fact, the Veterans' Administration came out with the profit of some $280,000 on the ones that they sold. FNMA did not use as much as was in the insufficiencies. It is an estimate. Also, the amount that was stated by the committee was to correspond with the participation sales authority amounts, in case they carried. So it is the same type of fund we had on the VA. They go hand in hand.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, how much time do I have?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Time is under the control of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott]. Five minutes are left.

Mr. ALLOTT. Is that a total of 5 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A total of 5 minutes remains to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, may I have 1 minute?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota pointed out that these mortgages were not available to the workers of America. He is correct. Under the bond sales plan they are buying $25, $50, and $100 E bonds. The bonds we are talking about here are not available in any such amounts.

Mr. MAGNUSON. They do not have to buy these; they can buy the others.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. If they save up to $5,000.

Mr. MAGNUSON. They can buy E bonds, which are the safest investment in the world. I buy them, myself.

Mr. MUNDT. Why would they be safer than the other bonds? They are all backed by the same Government.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. These participation sales certificates are backed by the same Government and pay 5¾ percent. Series E bonds pay only 4.15 percent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 5 minutes, and I will yield to the Senator from Washington any time he wants.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not want to labor this point.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I have 4 minutes left. I yield to the Senator from Delaware such time as he wants.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. It will not take long.

Mr. President, the Senator from Washington referred to $200,000 as being turned back by the Veterans' Administration last year as though it were money earned on this type of operation.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, that was not a profit incurred by this type of operation. Last year Congress appropriated $8.2 million. The agency used only $8 million, and that left $200,000 not used, so it lost $8 million instead of $8.2 million.

Here today this amendment provides $42,115,000 just to pay the extra interest that will result next year under this unorthodox method of financing.

I hope the amendment is rejected.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, if no Senator wishes time on this side, I yield back my time.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 40, line 20.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senators from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender and Mr. Long], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] is absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 32, as follows:

[No. 263 Leg.]

YEAS—54

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bible
Brooke
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Dodd
Ervin
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Sparkman
Spong
Talmadge
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—32

Allott
Bennett
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Eastland
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Russell
Smith
Stennis
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—14

Bartlett
Brewster
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Hansen
Kuchel
Long, La.
Percy
Smathers
Symington
Tower
Williams, N.J.

So the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 40, line 24, after the word "available", to strike out "for administrative and nonadministrative expenses".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield back all of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Delaware desire time?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. No, Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That concludes consideration of the committee amendments. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] has an amendment, which can be stated to the Senators who are present. I believe we can dispose of it in a very short period of time. It is of an emergency nature.

I yield the Senator from Texas such time as he may require.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 330, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 4, line 7, strike out "$15,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$30,000,000."

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, amendment No. 330 would add $15,000,000 to the budgeted $15,000,000 in the bill for disaster relief. This assures that adequate funds will be available for disasters occurring in fiscal year 1968. I call attention to page 32 of the committee report, which shows that there was appropriated for fiscal 1967 for the President's Emergency Disaster Relief Fund $24,550,000. The Bureau of the Budget estimated the needs for fiscal 1968 for that fund at $15 million.

Mr. President, the Bureau of the Budget has grossly underestimated the power of nature; because already there has been committed, out of that fund, $8 million up to the present time for disasters in this fiscal year. I have that figure from Governor Bryant, the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. This fund had a $4 million carry-over from last year, and, as I say, $8 million has already been used up this year, in dealing with disasters that have been declared in Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, and Alaska. Taking into account the $4 million carryover, they now have only $11 million left for the disaster fund for 1968, and that is for all 50 States, Mr. President.

In the meantime, since the committee reported this bill, Mr. President, a disaster of proportions without precedent has hit my State. It is reported by the Weather Bureau in newspaper accounts that I have here from the New York Times of Thursday, September 21, the Washington Post of Thursday, September 21, and this afternoon's Washington Evening Star, that this gulf-coast storm was of such fury as to be without precedent. It has also resulted in an action without precedent, involving cooperation between the State Department, the Texas officials, and officials of the Republic of Mexico, in throwing open the border. So great has been this disaster in the United States and in our sister Republic of Mexico that an open border has been declared so that people fleeing for their lives could get across the border and into stronger buildings, and to assist in aiding all the victims of this disaster.

Yesterday I talked to the county judge of Hidalgo County, the second county from the Gulf of Mexico, located on the Rio Grande. He said they had 3,000 people in a new brick courthouse building and were feeding them there with emergency food from the jail. They had run out of everything but beans and rice, and they were feeding them with the beans and rice that they normally use for the prisoners.

This amendment is offered so that in the disaster fund there would be a minimum of $30 million instead of $15 million. As a result of the disasters that have occurred before, we know something about the amount of money that will be used.

Hurricane Carla cost $8 million out of the disaster relief fund.

Hurricane Betsy in 1965 took $39,750,000 from the emergency fund.

It was estimated last night that the damage from Beulah would be $250 million, but the latest reports amount to $500 million, one-half billion dollars of damage in south Texas.

Of course, here we are dealing only with the emergency disaster relief funds for public facilities, not with the Small Business Administration or Farmers Home Administration or other programs assisting individuals who suffer losses.

This $15 million additional is a very modest amount to ask for in view of the fact that four States have already been declared disaster areas, and we do not know with respect to the other States when a disaster will hit. It seems to me that when we ask for money for the rest of the year, $15 million is too small an amount to ask for for all the States of the Union. A total of $30 million is not unreasonable.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a tabulation showing the damage from U.S. hurricanes from 1960 to 1966.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. HURRICANES, 1960–66

The record of hurricanes which hit the U.S. mainland in 1960–1966 follows:

In 1960 (Aug. 29–Sept. 13) Hurricane Donna hit Florida and continued up the East Coast through New England. Damage: $225 million.

In 1961 (Sept. 30) Hurricane Carla struck Texas. Damage: $225 million.

In 1964 (Sept. 8–9) Hurricane Dora hit the coast of upper Florida and Georgia. Damage: $240 million.

In 1964 (Oct. 2–3) Hurricane Hilda damaged Louisiana, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Cost: $100 million.

In 1965 (Sept. 7–11) Hurricane Betsy hit the Florida coast and Louisiana. Damage: $1 billion.

In 1966 (June 8–9) Hurricane Alma hit the west coast of Florida, crossed the state and struck Georgia. Damage: $10 million.

In 1966 (Oct. 4) Hurricane Inez slightly damaged the Florida Keys. Cost: not available.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Hurricane Donna went up the east coast of Florida in 1966 and did $225 million worth of damage.

Hurricane Carla struck Texas in 1961 and did $225 million of damage. That is the year in which $8 million was taken out of the relief funds.

Hurricane Dora hit the coast of upper Florida and Georgia in 1964 and did $240 million of damage.

Hurricane Hilda damaged Louisiana, Georgia, and the Carolinas in 1964 and did $100 million of damage.

Hurricane Betsy hit the Florida coast and Louisiana in 1965 and did $1 billion of damage. That hurricane resulted in the use of $39,750,000 of these funds.

Mr. President, as of now, Hurricane Beulah has caused $500 million in damage, and it has not blown out yet.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I agree with the statement of the Senator from Texas. I sympathize with him, I think he is being very conservative in his request.

With relation to the statement of the Senator that it might cost more a little later on, the Senator may rest assured that usually matters of this kind do come up on the supplemental bill, of which I am the manager. The Senator may rest assured that whatever is needed in the event of a disaster, the American people are willing to pay for it.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I thank the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations, with reference to his statement on the supplemental bill.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I have discussed this matter with the other members of the committee, and we understand the problem that is involved in an emergency of the kind that has resulted in such extensive damage in Texas.

The disaster fund is a revolving fund, and we replenish the amount as it is decreased. Some years we spend more money from the fund than we do in other years.

The senior Senator from Rhode Island in the supplemental appropriation bill has had to have the amount increased in some years in order to keep it at a level of $15 million.

With reference to the present emergency, it may be that they will want to use some of the money—and I suppose they will have to—before the supplemental bill can be passed.

The members of the committee are willing to accept the amendment if the Senator from Texas will modify his amendment so that it will be for a $10 million increase. We will have the supplemental bill later. The committee is willing to accept the amendment under those conditions.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. There will be another supplemental appropriation bill this year.

Mr. MAGNUSON. There will be one within a very short time. Supplemental legislation comes around the calendar.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the supplemental bill is as sure to come up as are "death and taxes."

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, with the assurance of the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island, a man with a great and compassionate heart, that he will give close attention to and help with the supplemental bill, and with the assurance that $10 million will be included in the bill to take care of the emergency until the supplemental bill comes along, I am willing to modify the amendment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. The Senator from Texas can be assured of our wholehearted support for anything that is needed in the event of such a tragedy.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I thank the Senator for his kindness and his responsiveness to the needs of the people of my State during this tragic disaster.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I compliment the Senator from Texas for his alertness in this matter and for not waiting until later, and in getting the matter attended to now when it is needed.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I modify my amendment so that it will provide for an increase of $10 million; in line 7 page 4, to strike out "$15,000,000" and insert "$25,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I will be very brief.

I wholly support the words of my chairman and also of the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island.

The junior Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] has asked me to report to the Senate that he would vote in favor of the pending amendment. Of course, he cannot be recorded as he is out of town. However, he wants to express his support of the measure.

He is presently on the scene in Texas in an effort to be of assistance to his constituents. He is at this moment in the Brownsville-Port Isabel area, an area that was hardest hit by Hurricane Beulah.

He has advised me that the damage is far too great for local and State governments to cope with, though the respective localities and the State itself are doing an excellent job in facilitating relief and in making their rebuilding plans.

The passage of the pending amendment will insure that adequate disaster relief funds will be available for necessary assistance to Texas and its fine citizens.

Texans are by nature pretty independent, and they are going to be doing most of this massive undertaking of digging out and building back themselves, but they will need our help.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Beulah Battles Texas, Wanes," published in the Washington Post of today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEULAH BATTERS TEXAS, WANES

BROWNSVILLE, TEX., September 20.—Hurricane Beulah, setting off a record 27 death-dealing tornados and causing millions of dollars in damage, moved tonight toward the open range country of south Texas and began to weaken rapidly.

Four persons were killed by the tornados and the Texas death toll rose to six. Seventeen persons were injured, 15 by tornados. Two of the injured were in critical condition.

The 12-day-old hurricane claimed 29 other lives in Mexico and the Caribbean before striking Texas.

More than 30,000 persons in Texas were in shelters. Gov. John Connally called up 1280 National Guardsmen. The Weather Bureau said Beulah was "one of the worst Gulf hurricanes of the century." President Johnson ordered full Federal assistance.

Texas Agriculture Commissioner John C. White estimated the hurricane did $50 million in damage to the Lower Rio Grande Valley citrus crop and industry. One motel at Brownsville estimated $3.4 million damage. Brownsville officials said it would be two days before they could start estimating damage.

As Beulah edged further and further inland from her expected route up the Gulf Coast, officials at Corpus Christi, 163 miles from Brownsville, grew increasingly hopeful the city of 190,000 would escape serious damage.

Winds of near hurricane force blew at Corpus, however, and mountainous seas punished the seawall. Hurricane-force winds were general throughout much of the Rio Grande Valley hours after Beulah's eye passed.

Brownsville suffered heavy damage, with snapped powerlines, broken windows and debris hurled through the air. On the coast nearby, shrimp boats sank at port and other craft broke loose from their moorings.

Port Isabel, a town of about 5,000 on a finger of land extending out into the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Rio Grande, was virtually destroyed by Beulah's mighty winds.

Two newsmen who were in the town during the storm said 50 per cent of the homes and businesses were destroyed and the rest were heavily damaged.

"A brick motel was scattered so much it looked like a kid's building blocks . . . the police station was blown out and abandoned," one of them said.

At midnight (EDT) Beulah was centered latitude 27.7 north and longitude 98.2 west, about 45 miles west southwest of Corpus Christi. It was moving toward the north northwest at about 8 miles an hour and was expected to continue that course for several hours.

The hurricane's highest winds were estimated at 80 miles an hour near the center with gales extending out 200 miles to the east and 50 miles to the west of the center.

At Corpus Christi, the biggest city on the south Texas coast, high tides washed over some lower areas, but officials expected 60-mile-an-hour-winds to drop about 30 miles an hour.

Tornadoes or funnel clouds, sometimes several at a time, were reported at Palacios, Louise, El Campo, Needville, Austin, the Buda-Lockhart-Manchaca area, in Brazoria County, in Jackson County, near Yoakum, in Lavaca County, at New Braunfels and at Clear Springs, all in Texas.

A tornado at Palacios killed Mr. and Mrs. Chan Dewitt and Mrs. Charles Wylie and injured seven other persons. A tornado at Louise killed Lawrence Peterson Sr. and injured four others. A tornado at El Campo injured two men.

John Wilhite, 60, drowned near Victoria when his car missed a bridge and went into a flooded creek. A 15-year-old girl drowned Tuesday near Freeport.

Brownsville was almost without electricity tonight. The streets were littered with debris. Glass windows caved in.

Damage was somewhat less across the Rio Grande in the Mexican city of Matamoros, population 200,000.

Radio reports from Matamoros said there was flooding and damage but no indications of dead or injured.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Since Port Isabel was mentioned, I might state that it is a town of 5,000 population that is reported to be virtually destroyed. It was the old city that General Taylor used as his headquarters in the Mexican War. It is one of the oldest cities on the gulf coast. It has a lighthouse which is one of the oldest monuments on the gulf coast.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 23, line 25, strike out "$17,400,000" and insert: "$17,445,000."

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the amount would give to the Securities and Exchange Commission the additional sum of $45,000 which is then the budget estimate. Since we have had our hearings, some emergency matters have arisen.

The committee desires to add this amount. The question will have to be taken up with the House conferees.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is

open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill be read a third time.

The bill (H.R. 9960) was read the third time.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, before we vote I should like to call attention to the fact that although I support many of the programs in the bill I shall not vote for the bill. I have no other method of protesting these unwarranted increases.

The bill provides a 30-percent increase over the appropriations allowed for the same agencies last year. After the bill was passed by the House and referred to the Senate it included $435 million more than the House allowed. The amendments which have been approved by the Senate in the last 2 or 3 days add an additional $2,845,000,000 to the bill; thus the bill as it is about to be voted on provides $3,280,000,000 more than was appropriated for the same agencies in fiscal 1967. Such an increase at this time is unjustified.

It is the height of folly for Congress to criticize President Johnson on the basis that he is not cutting back expenditures when at the same time, by rollcall votes, we add more than $3 billion to an appropriation bill which is 100 percent for domestic programs. This is an appropriation bill which provides 30 percent more than was appropriated for the same agencies in the past fiscal year. There is no justification whatsoever for such extravagance.

The bill as it was first reported by the Senate committee included 60 amendments dealing with dollar changes. Fifty-eight of those amendments provided for increases, and only two of them provided for reductions. After the bill was reported even the amendments that provided for reductions were reversed, and the Senate has increased both of those items. So that leaves the Senate with a perfect score of increasing every item.

Not even one item carries a single dollar reduction as compared with the appropriation of last year. It is the first perfect score—if you want to call it perfect—that the Senate has had in upholding its title of the upper House.

I believe it would be well to point out the amount of the deficit we have been creating. As I have indicated, the participation certificates are in reality spending money, but they do not show up as a deficit.

Including the authorizations in this bill $4 billion in participation certificates will be provided for FNMA to sell during the current fiscal year. In addition, it is estimated that the Government next year will pick up $1.6 billion in accelerated corporate payments plus another $519 million for the seigniorage of coins, and then assuming a $14 billion deficit for fiscal 1968—allowing for the proposed tax increase—it would mean that there still would be a true deficit of approximately $20 billion.

There is no question that the $14-billion deficit which I have included for fiscal 1968 is, after all the fancy bookkeeping methods of the administration, a very conservative estimate. In my opinion the reference to a $30 billion deficit, about which we are hearing so much from the Johnson administration, is just so much fanfare to get the American people ready for a reported $15 or $18 billion deficit next year after allowing for a tax increase. This figure will still be double that of last year and substantially higher than any peacetime deficit in the history of America. But this talk of a $30 billion deficit is in my opinion a diversionary maneuver.

We understand that in the next few weeks, in order for the President and the administration to show some indication that they are economy minded, the President plans to call a press conference and then with great fanfare and a great deal of publicity on television release the dramatic news that after surveying all his agencies he is going to achieve a reduction of $5 to $8 billion in planned expenditures. The purpose of this propaganda maneuver will be to build up the idea of a great economy movement taking place. Likewise, the plan is to use this stunt as an excuse to get his proposed tax increase moving through Congress.

What this propaganda maneuver will not disclose is that the claimed reductions are merely some paper shuffling, and in the end the escalation of spending will continue.

It will be another display of the Texas shell game.

I have examined some of the so-called economies that are being projected. If one reads the fine print he will see that they are reductions on what was "planned" to be expended, not actual reductions. When we finish analyzing them, we will find that the administration, even with all the economy talk we will hear later, is actually planning to increase the expenditures in every agency of the Great Society. In other words, all that this administration knows is to spend and tax.

I have in my hand a tabulation which has been compiled with the assistance of the staff of our committee. Not only does the tabulation include the officially reported deficits as they appear in the annual budget reports at the end of each fiscal year, but also this tabulation allows for the $9 billion in FNMA participation certificates which they have sold or are planning to sell. This is spending money and should be a part of the deficit, but it is not counted. The tabulation includes the extra amount that the Government has collected in the past 5 years as a result of the acceleration of the corporate tax payments. It includes the extra revenue derived from the acceleration of the excise and withholding tax. It includes the profit derived from the seigniorage of coins; that is, the profit derived as the result of the reduced silver content of our coins. All of these items were included as normal revenue and placed in the general fund. This increased the amount of available spending money without showing up as a part of the reported deficit.

The tabulation, which was compiled with the assistance of the staff, shows in the years 1964 through 1968 a deficit of over $60 billion. This is the true picture after allowing for their fancy bookkeeping and allowing for juggling the figures around, plus the proposed tax increase. The result is that for the 5-year period of the Johnson administration, they will have spent $60.487 billion more than has been taken in—in just the 5 years he has been in the White House. This is the most extravagant administration in the history of America. In 5 years they will have spent $60.487 billion more than has been taken in. That is the equivalent of $12 billion a year. It is $1 billion a month. It is $250 million for every week he has been in office. If we figure it on the basis of a 5-day week, with no holidays, he is spending $50 million a day more than he is taking in, or approximately $100,000 a minute. I say that we cannot afford such Texas extravagance.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this tabulation be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTUAL DEFICITS, 1964–68

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal	Sales		Speedup		Seigniorage	Total actual deficits
	Reported deficit	FNMA	Accelerated corporate tax payment	Excise and accelerated withholding		
1964	8,226		300		69	8,595
1965	3,435	300	1,000		117	4,852
1966	2,251	1,840	2,900	900	649	8,540
1967	9,734	2,900	4,300	[1] 375	1,072	18,381
1968 [2]	14,000	4,000	[3] 1,600		519	20,119
Total	37,646	9,040	10,100	1,275	2,426	60,487

[1] Includes $100,000,000 in speedup of withholding deposits and $275,000,000 in excise tax payments from a monthly to a semimonthly basis.

[2] Estimate, allowing for proposed tax increase.

[3] One-half of this includes the President's 1968 proposal for speedup in corporate tax payments.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. When we consider that we have an administration in office which in the past 5 years has spent $60 billion, or over $50 million a day, more than is taken in, I say it is time to inquire how long this extravagance can continue. The interest alone on the $60 billion Johnson deficit will cost the American taxpayers $3 billion a year—$3 billion a year to pay the interest on the deficit that is being created under Johnson's administration. We could accomplish a great deal with $3 billion. It will take a 3-percent across-the-board increase in all income taxes just to pay the interest on the money that has been borrowed to finance the deficit that has been created by the Johnson administration. When the administration talks of a 10-percent tax increase the American people should be reminded that one-third of that tax increase will go to pay for the interest charges on the deficit created by the Johnson administration in the past 5 years—including fiscal 1968.

We have heard much talk about economy. I have never heard so much talk about economy from any other man in the White House. Never before in history has any man in the White House said so much about economy and done so little about it.

In December 1965 the President speaking from his Texas ranch, announced he was going to reduce Federal employment by 25,000. That announcement was carried all over the country as a great step toward economy on the part of the Johnson administration. Government employment was to be reduced by 25,000 in the succeeding 7 months of that fiscal year.

What happened? Instead of reducing employment, the administration added 187,506 employees in the next 7 months. Then again, just 6 weeks before the 1966 election he issued an Executive order freezing Federal civilian employment at the July 1 level. It should be noted that 35,000 employees had already been added in the first quarter of that fiscal year, but under the Executive order issued on September 20, 1966, just 6 weeks before the election, the President was promising he would freeze civilian employment by the Government at the level of July 1. What happened? The ink was not dry on that Executive order before thousands of employees were being added.

In October, the month following the Executive order of September 20, 1966, the President added 24,488 employees; in the month of November they added 36,728; in December 7,588; in January, 1967, another 5,721; in February, 16,377; in March 18,013; in April 17,034; in May, 5,926, in June 74,557. Altogether a total of 206,432 employees have been added in violation of the President's own Executive order.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget estimates that the minimum cost of each Federal employee is $7,000. Thus the annual cost to the taxpayers is $1.4 billion merely to pay the salaries of the employees who, during the past 12 months, have been added to the Federal payroll in violation of the President's own Executive order as issued last September, a total of 200,000 employees whom not only I say, but he also said, he did not need. I am not excusing Congress of any of its responsibility, but this was Presidential action.

Mr. President, I say the American taxpayer just cannot afford that kind of economy. That is why I am very much disturbed by the more recent rumor that within the next few weeks we are to have another great fanfare with a big show being put on by the President to illustrate how he plans to roll back the expenditures $5 to $7 billion during the next year. Presumably, the executive officers of the various agencies will have been clubbed over the head and forced to cut down spending by $5 to $7 billion, but a careful examination of the fine print will disclose no savings. We just cannot afford that kind of economy. We are about to go broke now with that kind of Texas economy. Every time we see the President put on a great display to indicate that he has cut expenditures it costs us an extra billion dollars. Now this time, if he says he is going to cut expenditures by $5 billion, I am alarmed at the ultimate result. That could cost us $25 billion if the past results are any criteria.

I hope that the President will not give the country any more such Texas economy proposals. Based upon past experience we cannot afford it again.

Every time the President promised to reduce the number of Government employees the announcement was followed by another spectacular increase.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator repeat the descriptive term he used? What kind of economy did the Senator refer to?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Texas-style economy. As the Senator knows, they do things big in Texas. I do not quarrel with doing things in a big way, but this is punishing the taxpayers all over America. The people or Delaware and in the other States cannot afford this new brand of Texas economy. That is the reason I am discussing this subject here today. I am asking for reductions by law. Let us cut these appropriations here in the Congress.

I am disturbed by the rumors we are hearing, and I do not think they are altogether rumors. I notice the Washington press stated yesterday that the President, after Congress has finished with the appropriations, would call all of the agencies together—he has them all working right now—and announce a reduction in expenditures of $5 to $7 billion. I am concerned because past experience has shown that the more savings he promises the more he spends. I wish he would quit promising and start acting.

However, I am not putting all of the responsibility for this deficit on the President. I think that Congress must accept its responsibility. In this bill before us today the Senate has added $3,280 million more to the appropriations of these various agencies than was included in the House bill. That includes the extra participation certificates authorized for sale. I doubt that the American people are going to want to pay increased taxes to finance this type of extravagance.

Mr. President, I shall conclude my remarks. I plead with the President: Do not give us any more Texas-style economy; we are about to go broke on it.

(At this point, Mr. Hollings assumed the chair.)

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I enjoyed what the Senator from Delaware had to say. I repeat again that the entire Committee on Appropriations, on which I think there are some intelligent and very dedicated people, has told the Congress that this bill is $361,612,800 under the budget.

The Senator from Delaware keeps talking about the participation sales. That is another matter altogether. This bill as reported by the committee is still $361,612,800 under the budget.

The Senator from Delaware can talk all he wants about the deficits. I do not think anybody likes deficits. I served in this Congress when there was a Republican President with a $13 billion deficit in peacetime, and he was not doing anything. He had no program for schools; he had no program for cities; nothing. There were 8 years of drought and yet that deficit was $13 billion.

Surely, this amount has gone up, but it has gone up because Congress added many, many programs. Several of the programs added in this bill is for housing. We are over the amount of last year because, as the Senator from Colorado would tell the Senate, we have a new urban renewal item in the bill. That is one reason the amount in this bill is over the amount in the bill we had last year; that was not in the bill. We passed aid to education. We have $6.2 billion in the budget for these problems we mentioned yesterday in the cities, job retraining, and all of these programs in a growing economy in a growing country. That is why the budget is high.

The President does not have one nickel to spend unless we appropriate it. I do not think it is correct to pick on him. All the President can do is recommend the budget.

For 13 years, ever since I have been the chairman of the committee, we have compiled a record of being under the budget. Then, other programs come along, Congress votes for them by vast majorities on both sides of the aisle. I would mention the education program alone. That is a program that has been inaugurated since President Kennedy and President Johnson have been in office. Perhaps some Senator who serves on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare could tell the Senate what this year's figure is. I know that it is in the billions of dollars and much of it was not included before.

Either we cut out these programs and vote them out or else we will have to suggest that these budget items are going to have to have money to take care of them.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? I wish to give the Senator the figure he requested.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes, how much have we put into that program?

Mr. MORSE. Seven billion dollars.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Seven billion dollars.

There was a budget in another administration at one time, that had a deficit of approximately $13 billion that did not have any programs for the people of the United States.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I shall yield in a moment.

If we want to cut out education, if we want to cut out pollution programs, if we want to cut out the housing program, if we want to cut out HUD; yes, and if we want to cut out agricultural subsidies, we could balance the budget in 5 minutes. If we wanted to take out some loopholes in taxation, which I am sure the Senator from Delaware would favor, we could bring that in.

We keep books. The Senator knows how we keep books. We keep books every year and at midnight on June 30 we go down and technically look at the cash register. If there is some money in there we have a surplus, and if there are IOU's in there we have a deficit. We make no allowance for cash investments or money borrowed for the welfare of the people, which might have brought about a doubling of the amount in the long run, had we done nothing.

We have to keep some of these things going. For instance, we have cut down unemployment. Take the CAB. Is it suggested that they should have the same amount of people they had 7, 8, 10 years ago when the aviation industry has now tripled and they have more responsibility. There is close to $1 billion in the latest budget for air safety. Does any Senator wish to vote against that? I could go on and on.

Let us put the responsibility where the responsibility belongs in this case. All Presidents have been in the same situation. They underestimate sometimes the receipts that come in and they determine quite closely how the economy goes up and down. Our gross national product shows our economy has been moving up and, therefore, some of the needs appear to be greater, and this Congress has passed bills suggesting that they were.

Let us put the blame where it belongs if there is any blame, and I do not think there is any blame. I think we should be doing some of these things.

And the Congress has, too, on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield the floor. I am through.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I do not want to get into this colloquy one way or another, but I have to state that during the 8 years of the Eisenhower administration, I think it is unfair to say that nothing was done in any of these areas to which the Senator has referred.

If President Eisenhower were 60 years old today, instead of 76, we would have a wonderful candidate for 1968.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think he wanted to do a lot of things. I amend my remarks——

Mr. MORTON. And he did a lot of things.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes, however——

Mr. MORTON. I think it is unfair for the Senator to say that nothing was done.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I will amend my remarks to say that comparatively, nothing was done. [Laughter.]

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a short résumé of the Eisenhower record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, JANUARY 20, 1953 TO JANUARY 20, 1961

April 11, 1953: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare established.

May 22, 1953: Submerged Lands Act approved returning to States their rights to submerged lands and resources off their coasts to their historical boundaries (Tidelands).

July 10, 1953: Permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations created.

July 10, 1953: Second Hoover Commission on Government reorganization established.

July 15, 1953: NATO forces agreement ratified.

July 30, 1953: Small Business Administration created.

August 1, 1953: U.S. Information Agency created.

January 1954: First nuclear submarine approved.

April 1, 1954: U.S. Air Force Academy established.

June 25, 1954: Universal Copyright Convention ratified.

May 13, 1954: St. Lawrence Seaway established.

June 30, 1954: Korean GI bill approved.

July 10, 1954: Public Law 480 for disposal of surplus agricultural commodities approved.

August 16, 1954: Largest income tax reduction in history approved.

August 17, 1954: Water Facilities Act extended from 17 to 48 States.

August 24, 1954: Communist control laws enacted.

September 1, 1954: Social Security benefits broadened.

On January 18, 1955: Employment policy to assure nondiscrimination in Federal jobs established.

February 1, 1955: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) ratified.

June 17, 1955: Austrian Peace Treaty concluded.

July 14, 1955: Air pollution research and technical assistance program enacted.

July 23, 1955: Multiple Surface Use Act (Minerals and Grazing) approved.

August 11, 1955: International Finance Corporation established.

August 12, 1955: Minimum wage rate raised.

February 15, 1956: Salk poliomyelitis vaccine program developed and funds provided for same.

March 29, 1956: Mississippi-Gulf sea level canal authorized.

April 2, 1956: Federal taxes on gasoline used in tractors and other farm machinery repealed.

April 11, 1956: Colorado River storage project authorized.

June 19, 1956: Library Service Act established.

June 29, 1956: Federal Aid Highway Act approved.

July 30, 1956: Nuclear merchant ship authorized.

August 7, 1956: Great Plains program inaugurated.

April 23, 1957: Merrimack River flood control compact authorized.

June 18, 1957: International Atomic Energy Agency ratified.

August 14, 1957: U.S. Development Loan Fund approved.

August 28, 1957: Poultry Products Inspection Act approved.

September 9, 1957: Civil Rights Act approved (first in 82 years).

July 7, 1958: Alaska admitted as State.

July 18, 1958: Massachusetts-Connecticut flood-control compact authorized.

July 25, 1958: Refugee Relief Act approved.

July 29, 1958: National Aeronautics and Space Administration established.

August 6, 1958: Defense Reorganization Act approved.

August 14, 1958: Food Additives Amendment approved.

August 21, 1958: Small Business Investment Act approved.

August 28, 1958: European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) established.

September 2, 1958: National Defense Education Act established.

December 31, 1958: Federal Aviation Agency assumed full statutory powers.

Year 1959: International Food For Peace Conference initiated.

March 18, 1959: Hawaii admitted as State.

August 7, 1959: Inter-American Development Bank established.

September 14, 1959: Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act approved.

June 22, 1960: United States-Japan Mutual Security Pact ratified.

June 30, 1960: International Development Association established.

July 12, 1960: International Health Research Act approved.

August 10, 1960: Antarctic Treaty ratified.

September 13, 1960: Medical care for the aged (Kerr-Mills Act) approved.

Among other achievements are Korean War brought to an end, Trieste Treaty concluded through Administration efforts, Telstar program created.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration established July 29, 1958, began business as the new civilian space agency October 1, 1958.

Under the Eisenhower Administration which established NASA the following accomplishments took place:

1. "Project Mercury" was organized by NASA October 7, 1958.
2. NASA held a contractor and bidders' conference on the Mercury capsule November 7, 1958.
3. NASA requested top national priority for "Project Mercury" November 1958.
4. NASA selected the builder of the capsule January 12, 1959.
5. NASA selected 110 potential astronaut candidates January 20, 1959.
6. NASA selected seven astronauts April 2, 1959.

DEFENSE MISSILES

During the Truman Administration less than $4 *million* total was spent on intermediate-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Eisenhower Administration laid the basis for and built the program for development of heavy-thrust space vehicles in 1953.

From 1953 through 1961 the Eisenhower Administration planned, spent, and obligated $14 *billion* for intercontinental and intermediate-range missiles alone.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I have served on the Appropriations Committee for a good many years, as most Senators know. I dislike for anything in this debate to indicate that the pending bill has not been handled with the greatest of care and with the highest of conscientious scruples.

I do not know of anyone who handles a bill more carefully than do the two distinguished Senators who have led in working out the bill; namely, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT].

The pending bill covers—I do not remember how many agencies—I believe 30 or more, and each one of them requires——

Mr. MAGNUSON. Twenty-six and a department.

Mr. HOLLAND. How many?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Twenty-six.

Mr. HOLLAND. Twenty-six and a department. I am corrected—26 agencies—most of them completely vital to the operation of the Government.

For weeks these two distinguished Senators, with occasional help from the rest of us members on the subcommittee, have gone meticulously through the testimony of the agencies and of those witnesses who opposed—as there always are opponents. Thus, I want the record to show that, in my opinion, no more careful work on any appropriation bill was ever done than on the pending bill, thanks largely to the diligence and industry of the two distinguished Senators whom I have named.

Now, for the record, I want it also to appear what the bill really covers. I cannot take the time of the Senate to put all of the agencies in, but I invite attention in the first instance to the fact that it covers all of the so-called independent agencies which are, many of them, arms of Congress rather than arms of the executive branch. I am speaking of such agencies as the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the various other agencies in that classification. Then there are other important agencies such as the housekeeping agency for the entire Government, the General Services Administration, which is covered by this bill. Of course, such intimately necessary matters as the disaster relief fund, in the hands of the President, to meet disasters which, unfortunately, arise all over the country from time to time.

There is also a most important matter in connection with the Veterans' Administration. The bill covers the Veterans' Administration which I think is dear to the heart of every Member of the Senate and, for that matter, every American.

Mr. MAGNUSON. If I may interject there, it has to be realized that there is over $6 billion in the bill for the Veterans' Administration. That amount has constantly increased over the years. They are fixed charges, and fixed mainly by law; such as hospitalization for veterans which I am sure no Member of Congress would vote against. In-hospital care has gone up over $1 billion in an amount of almost $2 billion for total care. This has been added over the years.

This is what I think the Senator from Delaware was talking about, and what I am talking about. These are things which must be considered.

When one has the responsibility to say what is the right thing to appropriate in this great country of ours for the Veterans' Administration, he has some responsibility to make it adequate for their needs; does he not?

Everyone agrees with me on that, of course. The appropriation for the Veterans' Administration has gone up to over $6 billion—in the pending bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. Of course, the Senator is right. Veterans of World War II are getting older and many of them are coming into the situation where they need hospitalization, or other types of payments along that line. Also, very unfortunately, we are getting new veterans all the time out of our experience in Southeast Asia.

Mr. President, the only reason I rose was to make clear in the RECORD that this is a vitally important bill.

Aside from that, it is probably the most detailed bill requiring the most meticulous care in the working out of its provisions which the Senate has to consider, with one possible exception and that is the bill on public works of all kinds.

Those two bills are the ones requiring the greatest study and the longest effort to work out on the part of Senators who are charged with the responsibility of working them out.

Therefore, I want to pay high tribute to those two distinguished Senators and, for that matter, the other members of the committee as a whole who have shown such a high degree of conscience, in working out the details of the bill.

In closing, I want to say that I do not think any Senator is completely satisfied with every single item in a bill of this magnitude, covering the whole ramification and activities of the Nation with the exception of the Cabinet departments and the courts.

For instance, I voted against certain of the items reported by the committee—on the model cities item and the rent supplements item. I also did not approve, but I was in a small minority, the addition made by the Senate, in its wisdom, yesterday, to the National Science Foundation. But, that is not sufficient to justify me or, I think, any other Senator in voting against the vital agencies of government which are to be financed by this bill and which are not going to be financed any other way.

I shall certainly vote for the bill, although maintaining my own position in voting against certain items. But, I think the bill, by and large, is a necessity to the Nation. As a whole, I think it is a very fine bill.

I take off my hat to the two great Senators most responsible for bringing it up.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, without intending specifically to ingratiate myself with any of the participants in the discussion now going on, I nevertheless feel obligated to express my views.

First, I commend the Senator from Delaware for his vigorous efforts to procure a reduction in Government expenditures. He has played a valuable role in the Senate in attempting to procure the adoption of sound fiscal and monetary policies. He has been a healthy influence. Time and again, he has made it possible for us to understand the situations at which the Senate should take a look with a view to determining whether expenditures can be reduced.

Now one word about the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT]. In my 11 years of service in the Senate, I do not believe there has been a single item as to which the negative and affirmative sides of different issues were made as clear as they have been in the discussion of the pending bill. I commend both Senators for their objectivity in presenting the views which they held about the matter.

I especially commend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] for his scholarly presentation of the minority views concerning the bill we are considering. I have been on the floor of the Senate practically all of the time while this bill has been under consideration. In every instance, he has brought before us in a calm and, I might say, dispassionate way the minority side of the problem.

From my own standpoint, I had a full opportunity to acquaint myself with the arguments involved. I am, of course, disappointed that on every effort to cut the expenditures I was on the losing side. I wish there had been a yea-and-nay vote on the Texas proposal, because that would have given me the chance of being on the winning side once. But although I was on the losing side with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], I have no compunctions about it. My hopes are that it is merely the loss of a skirmish and that ultimately the real battle will be won when we give recognition to the fact that we cannot, annually, interminably, and without brakes, operate the Government on a deficit basis. It just cannot be done. The piper will have to be paid. The time will come when the debt obligations will be so great that new taxes will have to be imposed or substantial reductions in expenditures made.

Those are my words, Mr. President. Thanks are due Senator MAGNUSON and Senator ALLOTT, and also Senator JOHN WILLIAMS for his vigorous advocacy of the objective that we had better start getting careful about our public expenditures unless we propose to break the backs of the taxpayers.

Mr. PASTORE, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio has the floor.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I agree with everything the Senator from Ohio has said. I have a great deal of sympathy with some of the constructive suggestions made by the Senator from Delaware. But I think we are passing the buck this afternoon. We try to put the cat on the President's back. Now that we have kissed on both cheeks every Member of the Senate who had anything to do with this appropriation bill, I think it is time we stop twitching the ear of the President of the United States. There is not a 5-cent piece that the President of the United States can spend unless we appropriate the money. And if excuses, apologies, and alibis are to be made for anyone this afternoon, let us not make them for the President of the United States. He had nothing to do with it. He can send up a recommendation, he can send up a proposal, but he cannot dictate his recommendation or his proposal and he cannot have a dime to support that proposal unless we pass it.

I know the Senator from Delaware feels a lot different on purposes and programs than most of us in this Chamber. I know he would do much to do away with much of the educational program. I feel he would do much to do away with much of the antipoverty program. I think he would do much to do away with much of any program that comes up. But that is his own personal state of mind. Whether or not the people of the United States of America agree with him is very much another question.

What I want to say this afternoon is, let us stop pulling the President's nose. Let us stop twitching his ear. Let us take that cat off his back. Let us put it on our own back. If anyone is at fault, it is the Congress; and I am not even apologizing for the Congress of the United States. When one realizes what we are doing for education today that we have never done before, when one realizes what we are doing for the cities that we have never done before, then he begins to realize some of the money is being spent for purposes supremely decent and deserving and desperately needed.

I have been on the floor of the Senate when I have seen these protagonists of economy change their tune. I have seen these great apostles of saving when a program came up that was rather dramatic and had political appeal, shift their position. I had occasion to remind them. It was not so long ago, when the Prouty amendment came up, I raised the question, "What are you going to do about the debt ceiling?"

They told us, very emphatically, "Oh, we will take it out of something else."

What is the "something else"? Nobody has said what that "something else" is. And let us put the blame on "somebody else". Let us stop having fun with the President of the United States. Let us put the blame where the blame belongs, if blame there is at all. There is not a 5-cent piece that can be spent by anyone in the Government unless we in the Senate pass upon it and unless the House approves it. So if there is any fault to be found, let us find that fault with ourselves.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President——

Mr. PASTORE. Just a minute. The Senator had his say. Let me have an opportunity to have mine.

So, Mr. President, this grandstand play, this reaching for headlines, can be seen for what it is in due time and under proper circumstances; but we have a bill here that has been curried with a fine-toothed comb.

Why do not these complaining people come before our committee, we sit there hour after hour, interrogating, analyzing, trying to find out how we can shave an item down to the bone. We ask advice on how we can cut the fat and keep the muscle. No, the critics do not come to the committee—they come here. Why? Because here we have the galleries. Here we have the hope of headlines. That is all it comes down to.

Mr. President, I am against taxes. I am against extravagance. Everybody in this Chamber is. But at some point we have to make a decision. We have to think about the 200 million Americans in this country. We have to realize that in a society of 200 million people, we have 29,700,000 who live on the edge of poverty—and poverty is perilous. Mr. President, how do you think Newark happens? How do you think Cleveland happens? How do you think Watts happens? It is because there are underprivileged people here in the United States of America who see our luxuries, who see our abundance, but when they try to reach and get some, they cannot touch it. We have inferior schools all over these United States of America, and we do precious little in the Congress, compared with the much we should do for education.

Yes; I know the budget is high. It is the highest in the peacetime history of the country. But today in the United States the corporate coffers are fatter than they have ever been. Salaries are higher than they have ever been. There is an affluence in this country that we have never known before. And yet the paradox of our time is that there is dire poverty in America also.

The time has come when we must begin to equate, when we must begin to consider, these serious problems. Unless something is done, I say God help us.

Now I yield to the Senator if he wants me to yield to him.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, when did I lose the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio has the floor.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I do not know whether this statement was directed at me, but nothing I said warranted the implications that seemed to be contained in that statement. I am still of the opinion that there are many who believe that the President and the Congress ought to give greater thought to deficit operations.

I want to serve the 200 million people of the Nation, but I doubt very much that I will be serving them if each year I follow a course in which the Government will be spending more than it takes in.

We can do that for a year or two, but we cannot do it interminably. There comes a time when an accounting must be made; and I am of the belief that that time is upon us.

But getting back to my original thought: This bill was clearly, fully discussed. The die has been cast. I am prepared to vote on the measure. I tried to cut it, but I could not. Maybe I was right and maybe I was wrong; but I shall leave here contented that I have done my best, which I believe was my duty to my country.

I yield now to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Ohio particularly for supporting my amendment to increase the President's emergency disaster relief fund. Had we had a rollcall vote on my amendment, I am sure that the Senator from Ohio would have been recorded as voting for it, thus showing, in behalf of the State of Ohio, its compassion for the unfortunate victims of Hurricane Beulah.

Mr. President, this would have been at least the second time the people of Ohio have come to the relief of Texas. In 1835 and 1836, when the army of the Republic of Texas had lost all of its cannon at the Alamo, and, under the command of Gen. Sam Houston, was retreating without a single heavy gun to offset the ravages of the artillery of Santa Anna, the citizens of Cincinnati, by popular subscription, bought two cannon, put them on flatboats, and shipped them to Texas; and they helped to turn the tide at San Jacinto. Those two cannon, named the Twin Sisters, very famous in Texas history, were contributed to Texas by the people of the State of Ohio.

So I am glad that once again, when disaster strikes, the people of Ohio are ready and willing to lend the people of Texas a helping hand.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I do not know what started all this explosion. I certainly did not intend to embarrass anybody, but if my remarks about deficits did embarrass anybody, perhaps that is good.

First, the Senator from Florida paid his respects to the chairman of the committee and the Senator from Colorado. I join him and say there are no two Senators for whom I have a higher regard. I am sure that nothing I have said could be interpreted in any way as criticizing either of them. There is no man in the Senate I respect more than the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Washington. I will happily take my hat off to him any day of the week. I just do not want to take my shirt off also; that is all.

I do not question the fact that the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Washington have done a thorough job, and the Senator is correct in his comparison with the budget. I did not say it was $3 billion over the budget. I said that what this bill provided as it came from the House of Representatives was $445 million more than the appropriations for 1967. That is shown by the committee report. The Senate has added to the House bill, including the $2,845 million participation certificates, a total of $3,280 million. My comparison was to the 1967 expenditures. That is a staggering increase, especially at a time when we are confronted with a deficit of record proportions.

I agree fully with what other Senators have said; namely, that some of the responsibility lies with Congress. I stated that clearly as we considered these various amendments. The responsibility is that of Congress, and I do not want to cast any undue reflections on the President. I have great respect for him. I served with him several years in the Senate. I intend to do everything I can to help him out; and I emphasize the word "out." I shall continue to do so.

It has been mentioned that the Eisenhower administration had a record deficit of $12 billion. I am sure that that was not mentioned with any political motivation. I wish to answer that statement. If anything I say in comparing the Democratic budgets with the Eisenhower budget can in any way be interpreted as being political, it is so intended; so let us just proceed on that basis and have a good time here for a while, reviewing the record.

I think the American taxpayers ought to know the facts. It so happens that I am prepared to discuss this subject. I have gone back and checked the record, because I remembered that deficit under the Eisenhower administration of a little over $12 billion. It was at that time a record deficit. I regretted it; so I went back and compared just what has happened under all the administrations, Republican and Democratic, since 1900.

It has been alleged that the Republicans did nothing spectacular when they were in power. Something was said to the effect that "Well, when you are in, you have a depression."

I remember that when I first became interested in politics all I ever heard was "If you vote the Republican ticket you will have a depression." That wornout slogan has been used over and over again, with the implication that prosperity and full employment come only under the Democratic Party.

I say again, let us review the record—in a strictly nonpolitical way, of course.

Going back to 1900 we find that the Republican Party has had control of the White House 32 years, and the Democratic Party has had control 35 years, this out of the 67 years since 1900.

President Truman said he would accept no responsibility whatever for what happened in the Republican-controlled 80th Congress. Therefore, out of my great respect for the President I am taking the 80th Congress and assigning it to the Republican column, and we will accept all of the responsibility for that, because that is the way he intended it. That would leave the record, then, that the Republican Party since 1900 has had 34 years in control of our Government, and the Democratic Party, 33 years in office—practically divided control.

All right; let us start with depressions. Sure, we had one bad depression under the Republican Party, and I am not minimizing it. It was a bad one. I could make the argument that that was a worldwide depression and should not be charged against the Republican Party, but let us not alibi. Let us not make any excuses, even if we have one. This depression happened under a Republican administration; let us charge it to the Republican administration.

So now we have the record showing that the Republican Party in this century has had one depression, and we will say that the Democrats have had no serious depressions. That gives them a score.

But on the other hand, let us proceed further. Since 1900 we have had four wars. Every one of those wars has been under a Democratic administration, and the Republican Party has not had a single war. We had a depression, yes, and it was a bad one. I remember it very well. Those were a bad 3 years.

But we had 30 years of the greatest peacetime prosperity, this country has ever known, with not a single American boy dying on the battlefield. Mr. President, I will settle for that record any day in the year.

I would not want anything I say here interpreted as calling the Democratic Party the war party. I fully recognize if we had been in control of the White House during all those years, we might have had those same wars, or even worse ones. Nobody knows what would have happened.

But I do say those wars were no more worldwide conflicts than was the depression a worldwide depression; and if there are those on the other side of the aisle who want to charge the depression to the Republican Party and make political capital out of their wartime prosperity, let them take the responsibility for the wars, because war is the foundation of their prosperity today. Sure, the unemployment figures are low, but there are half a million men in Vietnam and several million men working in the defense plants, making munitions of war. If we had those men out on the streets looking for work what would be the employment record today? I am not unmindful of the fact that in 1939, when World War II was declared, we had 9 million men walking the streets unemployed—9 million men after 7 years under the New Deal administration. They took them off the streets by putting them into uniform.

I repeat, this is a nonpolitical analysis of the record, just as I accepted the remarks from the other side of the aisle as being of such a nature.

Now let us talk about balancing the budget. The Eisenhower administration had one of the largest peacetime deficits in the history of this country. This was under a Republican administration. We accept the responsibility for it.

But considering the total period, going back to 1900, what has happened? During those 67 years the budget has been balanced 25 times—only 25 balanced budgets in 67 years. Of those balanced budgets, 22 were under the Republican Party, and only three times in this century has the Democratic Party ever lived within its income. In 1916 they had a $48 million surplus; in 1920 a $291 million surplus, and in 1951, a $3.5 billion surplus.

As Republicans we balanced the budget 22 times and had 12 deficits. But let us add the totals. When we subtract the balanced budgets from the deficits, we find that the Republican Party, in its 34 years in office, spent $13.4 billion more than we took in.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party, in the 33 years that they had control of the Government, spent a grand total of $318.8 billion more than they took in; 96 percent of the national debt today was created under the Democratic Party. Sure, a lot of it was war debt; but the country was not always at war during that time, but there were always deficits. Ninety-six percent of today's national debt was created by the Democratic administration.

We have interest charges on this Nation's debt today of $14 billion a year. Over $13 billion of that annual interest charge is to pay the interest on Democratic debt, and nearly $3 billion of it is to pay the interest on the deficit created under the Johnson administration during the past 5 years. What a record. The Democratic Party boasts of what it is doing for the people. Why not talk about what it has done to them?

As I pointed out earlier, this administration spent $60 billion more than it took in; whether we want to credit it to Johnson or to the Democratic Congress is immaterial.

Yes, we are voting on appropriations. We shall vote in a few minutes on an appropriation that would increase expenditures by over $3 billion over last year. If the Senators do not want to approve these increases they can vote "No."

Let us proceed further to examine this nonpolitical record.

Much is said about taxes. Let us review the tax record of the two parties. I think it will do us all good in the nice spirit of a nonpolitical atmosphere, to review this record.

There have been a couple of tax increases under the Republican Party, too. Since the first Federal income tax law was enacted, income taxes have been increased 15 times. Twice the Republicans increased taxes; but 13 out of the 15 tax increases were imposed on the American people by the Democratic Party. It seems that they are always talking about a tax increase.

On the other hand, there have been 13 tax reductions. Nine of these tax reductions were under the Republican Party; only four times did the Democrats reduce taxes. There have been 13 tax increases and four reductions by the Democratic Party. Only twice did the Republicans increase taxes, and we reduced them nine times.

Much is said about the low $600 exemption. It is low. I wish it were higher. But how did it get to be $600? When the Republican Party lost control of the Government in 1932 the exemptions were $2,500 per couple and $1,000 for each dependent. First under the New Deal and then under the Fair Deal the exemptions were whittled down until in 1947 they had reached the low level of $500 a person and $1,000 a couple. The $500 exemption was raised to $600 by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress over the veto of a Democratic President. I might say, in all fairness, that we received support from some Members on the other side of the aisle in raising that exemption and in overriding the veto.

That action was taken by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress over the veto of a Democratic President. President Truman said he did not want to accept any responsibility on behalf of his party for what happened in the 80th Congress. Out of my great respect for him, and on behalf of the Republican Party, I accept credit for that tax reduction by the Republican 80th Congress.

Also, the Republican 80th Congress raised the exemption for persons over 65 years of age from $500 to $1,200, again over the veto of a Democratic President. The Republican-controlled 80th Congress raised the exemptions from $500 to $1,200 for all blind, irrespective of age. That was done by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress over the veto of a Democratic President. It was done with the help of many Members of Congress on the other side of the aisle. Many of them voted to override the veto.

What kind of tax policy have we had under this administration? We have had nothing but a yo-yo tax policy. First the administration was going to reduce taxes; then it would plan to raise them.

The Johnson administration even sent to this Congress a recommendation to repeal the special $1,200 exemption now available for those over 65.

They also proposed to tax social security benefits, but fortunately both these proposals were soon abandoned.

Then I remember that just before the election in 1966 they pushed through Congress a bill to repeal certain of the excise taxes. That action was before the election, and the reduction was to be effective January 1, 1967.

We had not been back in session more than 2 weeks in January before the President asked Congress to reinstate those taxes. The election was over, and he wanted them reinstated. So they canceled that tax reduction.

That was the shortest tax reduction in the history of America. It is an alltime track record, even for a Democratic Congress, and I do not think it will ever be equaled.

In January of this year the President came before Congress and said he wanted a 6-percent surtax to provide around $5 billion extra revenue, and he presumably wanted that measure passed effective July 1, 1968.

Less than 6 weeks later the Secretary of the Treasury was before the Finance Committee recommending a $2 billion tax reduction. Again the yo-yo tax policy was in operation. The reinstated 7-percent tax investment credit represented a reduction of $2 billion. At the same time the Secretary confirmed that the administration planned to repeal the telephone tax and the tax on automobiles effective early in 1968.

In June the Secretary of the Treasury was before the Finance Committee and reaffirmed this same position regarding the plans for excise tax reductions, but he insisted they still wanted the tax increase, but that they did not know how much they wanted, or when.

Later in August the President sent to the Congress his recommendation for a 10-percent tax increase and announced plans to cancel the proposed reduction in excise taxes on telephones and automobiles.

The President has been urging Congress to act quickly, but the Secretary of the Treasury, before our committee, said: "Hold action on this tax bill until the social security bill has been acted upon." Why?

That will mean November. Publicly the President and the Secretary say that we should rush it, but privately they tell the committees that we should hold back and not push the measure ahead of their other pet bills. I do not know why.

Mr. President, this great indecision as to what the administration wants and what they plan to do is what is confusing the American people and misleading them. That is what creates this great credibility gap. It is getting bigger. This credibility gap is considered big, even in Texas.

We ought to stop this confusion before it gets worse.

With relation to all these deficits, Senators should realize there is nothing political in my pointing out that the Democratic Party is always spending more money than it takes in. They thrive on deficit spending and even seem to be proud of it.

The Director of the Budget was before the Finance Committee and insisted that "there is virtue in these deficits." He said they were planned, and he insisted that deficits and a little controlled inflation were good for the country. Now the country is on the verge of reaping the whirlwind of inflation as the result of their reckless spending.

Our gold supply has dropped under the Johnson administration from $15.5 billion in January 1964 to $13 billion in September 1967.

Our supply of silver has dropped from $2 billion in January 1964 to $518 million in September 1967.

To paraphrase that great Englishman, "Never has any one man done so much to destroy the life savings of so many."

History shows that no country has ever controlled inflation without controlling its expenditures. Expenditures are out of control now. The Johnson administration is in trouble because of this inflation.

I think it is well to remember that this inflation does not hurt the wealthy. They will still own *x* percent of America regardless of the dollar value. It does not hurt so much the man that is still engaged in the labor force. He gets the benefit of an increase in wages. However, far too often by the time the man receives his wage increase, most of the benefit will have been eaten up by the increase in the cost of living. He is still in the labor force, however, and can get some benefit in the form of increased wages.

But what about the man who has retired and is living on a fixed income, a pension, such as a retired teacher or factory or government worker? Those who are living on retirement or living on their lifesavings are in trouble.

This administration, as the result of its inflationary policies, has done more to pauperize the aged of this country than has any other administration in the history of America.

The administration has done this by destroying the purchasing power of the lifesavings of these people.

For example, a man 8 years ago purchased a series E bond for $75. Today he can redeem that bond for $100, but he can scarcely buy today with the $100 what he could have purchased 10 years ago with $50.

Not only has he lost his interest, but part of his principal also has been lost.

The man who is fortunate enough to have his investments in extensive real estate holdings or in television stations has a hedge against inflation; but what about the man who owns the Government bond or a life insurance policy?

There is not one of us who cannot think of someone living in our hometown who 20 years ago retired on what at that time he thought, and we would have thought, was an adequate pension to take care of him for the remainder of his life. However, today, as the result of the erosion of the American dollar or the increased cost of living, those people are forced to appeal for welfare and Government assistance.

The Senator from Rhode Island a few moments ago pointed out that we have 29 million people in America who are living in poverty today.

I do not know whether that is an accurate figure. I will accept it. However, I call attention to the fact that on October 10, 1960, Senator John F. Kennedy, who was then campaigning for the election for the Presidency, spoke in Columbia, S.C., at which time he said:

> Five million Americans go to bed hungry every night on a substandard diet.

That was in October 1960. The Democrats were elected, and we are now told by the Senator from Rhode Island that we have 29 million Americans living in poverty today.

What a record.

That is an increase of 600 percent in 6 years. If we accept the figures of the late President Kennedy and the senior Senator from Rhode Island, soon we will all be in the poorhouse.

I completely agree; the people are getting poorer and poorer under the inflationary policies of this administration. They will go bankrupt under this administration if it does not change its policy.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, without political motivation, I ask unanimous consent that a statement made by the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], of the majority party entitled "A History of the Democratic Party," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,
Mar. 6. 1967]

A HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Democrats throughout the Nation will soon again commemorate the founding of the Democratic Party—the oldest political party in the world—through our traditional Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. This year has special meaning and significance; we celebrate on these occasions our 175th anniversary of dedicated service, constructive leadership, and progressive accomplishment benefiting generations of our fellow American citizens down through the years.

It was in May 1792 that our founder, Thomas Jefferson, characterized our party in a letter to President Washington. In the years that followed, organizational substance and philosophic alternatives to the prevailing Federalist viewpoints were developed. By 1798 a vigorous party had grown up, which 2 years later elected Jefferson as the first Democratic President of the United States.

Some 20 years later, a vigorous frontier Democrat took his place on the national scene—Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. The hero of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, Jackson's words and actions caught the imagination of Americans everywhere. Southern farmers, small planters, pioneer farmers of the newly settled Northwest Territory, German and Irish immigrants, countryfolk of New England and New York—all rallied to the Democratic Party. Workers in the cities, in the process of forming the Nation's first labor unions, saw in the Democratic Party principles then—as now—a sympathy for their own aspirations. This new coalition elected Andrew Jackson the seventh President of the United States in 1828.

These two pioneer founders and leaders of the Democratic Party are being honored in Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners in this our 175th anniversary year. We could very well add the illustrious names of other great

Democratic Presidents who by their courage, leadership, and dedication to the principles of our Nation and our party have helped make possible the tremendous advancement of our civilization—Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, and our current occupant of the White House, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mr. President, our party has made a record down through the years of which we can all be proud. The Democratic Party is truly the party of the people. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point the text of an excellent document entitled "A History of the Democratic Party" so that this historic record of accomplishment may be properly commemorated in this 175th anniversary year of its founding.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the Record, as exhibit 1.

Exhibit 1

A History of the Democratic Party

CHAPTER 1: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS BORN

The year was 1966. Speaking to the people, President Lyndon B. Johnson said:

"Our party has greatly contributed to the American Experiment. We have never represented a single interest; we have never represented a single section of the country. The Democratic Party has endured and prospered because it rested on the belief that a party exists to advance the freedom and the welfare of all the people."

The year was 1962. President John F. Kennedy, delivering his State of the Union Message before a joint session of the Congress said:

"A strong America cannot neglect the aspirations of its citizens—the welfare of the needy, the health care of the elderly, the education of the young. For we are not developing the nation's wealth for its own sake. "Wealth is the means—and people are the ends."

And the year was 1824. Thomas Jefferson, author of our Declaration of Independence, was asked how his new political party differed from its opponents. He said:

"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties; those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes; and those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe . . . The appellation of aristocrats and democrats . . . expresses the essence of them both."

In the span of more than a century and a half from Jefferson to Johnson, a great nation, and the world's oldest democracy, has sprung from the waiting lands of a continent and the hearts of a people—and spread across the waters beyond. And across that nation, as in the words of Harry Truman, is inscribed the record of the Democratic Party—its belief in the people.

This belief in the people has shaped Democratic thinking in every field of government. It has meant that government should do what it can to insure the richest, fullest possible life to all the people. It has led to the belief that every citizen should have the chance to take some part in politics. It has commanded the preservation of certain personal liberties, without which man's dignity would be lost. And it has based its foreign policy on a sincere concern for the people of every other nation in the world. Much of the story of the Democratic Party is the story of how these goals were fought for, won, lost, and fought for again in the never ending conflict with those with little trust in the people.

Perhaps the most eloquent testimony of the wisdom and vitality of the principles of the Democratic Party is the fact that it is the oldest political party in the world. It is difficult to fix an exact birthday for the Democratic Party—the most usual date given is May 23, 1792, the date of a letter from Jefferson to Washington giving a name to the party then headed by Washington. But the event primarily responsible for breathing life into the party was the fight for the Bill of Rights. These rights, which insure freedom of religion, speech and press, and guarantee fair trials to the accused, had been left out of the original draft of the Constitution. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention, mostly plantation owners and merchants, had been so concerned with building a government able to keep the peace and protect property rights, that they failed to provide these necessary safeguards. Thomas Jefferson was not at the Convention; but when he saw of the omission, he moved into action. In letters to friends and followers throughout the country, the author of the Declaration of Independence declared:

"A Bill of Rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, and what no just government should refuse . . ."

Despite opposition, Jefferson rallied enough support to make acceptance of the Bill of Rights a condition of the Constitution's approval. The organization he built up in this fight became the core of Jefferson's new party; and the principle of individual liberty became a guiding star in the Democratic constellation.

Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic Party, was the leading Democrat of his day. Despite his aristocratic upbringing, he shunned powdered wigs and finery, and greeted callers in an old brown coat and breeches. An optimist, he believed in the inevitable improvement of the world and its people. A religious man, he carried his faith into his politics. "I have sworn upon the altar of God," he said, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." A respecter of property rights, he nevertheless believed that in any conflict between property and men, the rights of men came first.

But most strongly of all, Jefferson believed in the inherent worth of the common man. "Every man, and every body of men on earth," he wrote, "possess the right of self-government." He was certain that given the facts, the people would use that right correctly. So, to educate the people, Jefferson called for the founding of schools, newspapers and libraries. Especially in the frontier states, his followers reshaped the laws to give every man a vote.

Jefferson's party first sought office in opposition to the governing class of the time, the Federalists. The Federalists had done much to bring the new American nation to life. They had been the driving force behind the Constitution, and, under George Washington, had started the operations of the new Federal Government. But the Federalists' view of government was naturally limited by their own aristocratic backgrounds, and by the administrations of monarchs among the then-great nations of Europe. As their leader, Alexander Hamilton, put it, "Our real disease is democracy." "All communities," Hamilton believed, "divide themselves into the few and the many, the first are rich and the well-born, the other the mass of the people. The people are turbulent and changing, they seldom judge or determine right." Hamilton believed that support of the rich was necessary, and that the Government could not last unless the wealthy people of the country could make money under it. To assure this, the Federalists passed a tariff law, founded a national bank, and made other moves to benefit the creditors, merchants and propertied interests.

Thus, the issue of government for the many versus government for the few was drawn before the United States was 10 years old. Jefferson's party took up the challenge laid down by the Federalists. It was no easy job. The riot and bloodshed of the French Revolution had momentarily discredited the idea of democracy, and the Federalist press interpreted every criticism of the Government as a foreign revolutionary plot. As historian Wilfred Binkley has said, "The Federalists succeeded, to their own satisfaction, in making the terms 'Federalist' and 'patriot' synonymous." But this did not check the Jeffersonians. Through their own newspapers and speeches, they aimed a running fire of criticism at the Federalist government. Small farmers, workers, and frontiersmen were urged to use their votes to give themselves a voice in the Government.

By 1798, a vigorous party had grown up. Because the word "democrat" was then in disrepute, Jefferson's party took the name "Republican," to show its determination to keep the nation a republic. As the strength of the party increased, the Federalists took alarm. Exploiting fear of foreign infiltration, they passed an Alien Law, which eased deportation of political objectionables and a Sedition Law, which made possible the punishment of anyone who dared criticize the Government. But the laws backfired. They smacked too much of kingly tyranny, against which a Revolutionary War had just been fought. The state legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky denounced them as unconstitutional and called on other states to join in resisting them. Following their example, the common people in other states rose in protest and in 1800, voted in Thomas Jefferson as the first Democratic President of the United States.

If the Democrats have been the party of strong Presidents, Jefferson was the first. In 1803, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, bringing into the nation the most productive river valley in the world. In 1804, he sent Lewis and Clark to blaze a trail through what was to become the Great Northwest. Less daring Presidents might have hesitated before taking these steps, thus holding up development of the Western states. But Jefferson's vision stretched across a continent and through a hundred years of history. Foreseeing the rich returns the Mississippi Valley would someday repay, he proceeded to use the power of the Presidency to its fullest to double America's size.

In 1808, when Jefferson retired to his home in Monticello, he left the Government in the hands of his two trusted lieutenants, James Madison and James Monroe. Madison had been a general in the fight to ratify the Constitution. His faith in the American form of government had been intensified by a lifetime spent studying every other government history had known. Drawing on his vast knowledge, Madison taught the nation the benefits of government through political parties, and the danger of allowing one group to gain control of the Government. The party behind Madison, made up as it was of Southern planters, city workers, small farmers and frontiersmen, was as diverse for a nation its size as is the Democratic Party today. Some thought it hypocritical that conflicting groups should unite to support the same candidate and program. To them, Madison said:

"In the extended republic of the United States and among the great variety of interests, parties and sects which it embraces, a coalition of a majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good."

Madison was elected President twice. His first administration was harassed by war with England, but his second was peaceful and prosperous. The small nation beside the Eastern Seaboard was growing strong, and it was building the Cumberland Road and the Erie Canal to clear its way westward. The frontier, pushing its way across the Appalachian forests toward the Mississippi, acted as a generator of democracy. There were no extremes of wealth or social classes on the frontier. Men were measured by what they could do with their hands. Because everyday life was dangerous every man was needed, and a spirit of cooperation developed between towns and families. Such people were naturally drawn to Jeffersonian democracy, and their votes helped keep it in office from 1800 to 1824.

James Monroe was President for the last eight of these years. He was the last of the "cocked hats"—leaders of the Revolution—to be President. During his Administration, the principles underlying Democratic Party foreign policy were first put into action. Relations with other countries were as important in Monroe's day as they are now—but for a different reason. The United States was a new nation, fighting for respectability among the world's powers. It could have cut itself off from the world and dealt with other countries only when threatened. But a party and a nation that believed, with Jefferson, that man's worth and his right to self-government were universal, could not close its eyes to world events. So when Europe cast eyes on the new states of South America, President Monroe gave notice that America would protect its neighbors from foreign interference. Designs on the independence of these countries, Monroe said, would be interpreted as designs on America itself. In a sense, this was America's first security pact. It was a daring gamble for a young nation, but it worked. And ever since, the principles of the Monroe Doctrine have been the root and core of American foreign policy. Despite times when the Democratic Party has followed the national trend toward isolationism, it has always come back to the fundamental principle that the safety and rights of the common people cannot long be protected if protection stops at the shores of our oceans.

CHAPTER TWO: OLD HICKORY COMES TO WASHINGTON—PEOPLE VERSUS PRIVILEGE

During Jefferson's and Madison's terms, the Federalist Party was withering away. In Monroe's years, it died. In 1820, Monroe was reelected without opposition. Everyone in public life proclaimed himself a Jeffersonian as the nation embarked on its political "Era of Good Feeling."

But the truce did not last long. Broad as it was, the Democratic Party could not embrace every region and every interest group in the nation. Party unity became increasingly strained until, in 1824, it burst. Four different candidates ran for President of the United States.

Amid this confusion, the Democratic Party temporarily lost sight of its Jeffersonian principles. The men of wealth and privilege, in whose hands Hamilton had unsuccessfully tried to place the reins of government, were quick to seize upon the Democratic split. During the Administration of John Quincy Adams, they regained influence in government. Rallying, as Jefferson had feared, behind the Bank of the United States, they seized control of the nation's credit and used this to try to get control of the nation.

The time was ripe for a new champion of the common people, and in Andrew Jackson the Democratic Party had a man to meet the occasion. A true son of the frontier, Jackson had lived in the backwoods, fought Indians and beaten the British in the War of 1812. He was tall and raw-boned, and his soldiers had nicknamed him "Old Hickory," after the toughest thing they could think of. Stern and upright, Jackson possessed an intense patriotism, a razor-sharp sense of honor, and a burning dedication to the common man.

Entering politics, Jackson and his followers fashioned many of the tools of political democracy. The national convention, the party platform, and the election campaign, were their inventions, and through them, men from all walks of life were given an opportunity to take part in politics. In the election of 1828, three times as many people voted as in any election up to that time, and Jackson was elected President.

Fortified by his victory, Jackson went after the Bank of the United States. As the official depository of the nation's funds, the Bank had become a vast monopoly, controlling all banking transactions and credit in the country. It kept newspapers and Congressmen on its payrolls, and they ruthlessly attacked anyone who interfered with the Bank's activities. Near the end of Jackson's first term, Congress extended the Bank's charter. But Jackson vetoed the bill, and withdrew all government deposits from the Bank. In a veto message which reasserted basic Democratic principles, Jackson said:

"Every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but, when the laws undertake to add to those natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the powerful more potent, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means to secure like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."

Jackson's words and actions caught the imagination of common people throughout the country. Southern yeomen and small planters, pioneer farmers in the Northwest, German and Irish immigrants, plain country folk of New England and New York—all rallied to the Democratic Party. City workers, forming their first unions for the improvement of working conditions, saw in Democratic principles a sympathy for their own aspirations. These were the people behind Jacksonian Democracy. Their votes re-elected him President. With Jackson as their leader, they so impressed their spirit upon American life that history marks Jackson's terms as the era of "the rise of the common man."

In 1836, Jackson returned to his beloved home, the Hermitage, in Tennessee. His successor in the White House was Martin Van Buren, former Secretary of State, who had become Jackson's most trusted adviser. Van Buren, a skillful politician, was one of the earliest leaders of the political organizations of the large Northern cities. But he did not inspire the other elements of the Democratic Party as Jackson had. Van Buren's attempts to extend Jacksonian Democracy were thwarted by a financial panic which hit the country in 1837. In the resulting depression, the common people suffered most. Van Buren, in his bid for a second term, became the first President to be punished at the polls because of a depression during his Administration.

The party that ousted Van Buren from office called itself the "Whigs," after a British party of the same name. As historian Roger Butterfield says, "the Whigs . . . took their political technique from the Democrats themselves, improving it as they went along. The Whigs were the new party of business and property, but they carefully suppressed—in public, at least—the old Federalist prejudice against 'the people.' Since Jackson had won his battles by appealing to the common man, the Whigs announced they were common men, too, and their campaign posters showed them with their shirt sleeves rolled up, hammering at a forge or following a "plow." Behind a military hero, William Henry Harrison, the Whigs scored a sweeping victory in the election of 1840. The era of Jacksonian Democracy was ended, but it was to remain as a model for Democratic leaders of the future.

The story of the Democratic Party from 1840 to the Civil War is closely bound up with the breakup of the Union. Although Jackson had declared "Our union—it must be preserved," forces were at work in both North and South to destroy it. Slavery was an issue beyond the reach of politics. The Northern abolitionist and the Southern planter had between them none of the common ground necessary to political compromise. As their anger at each other rose in pitch, their political parties were swept up in the bitterness that led to secession and war. Abolitionist Democrats, unable to gain control of their party, helped form the Free Soil Party, which tried to keep slavery out of the new Western lands. In 1848 they called Van Buren out of retirement to run for President on the Free Soil ticket. Northern Democrats gave him strong support. Thus Democrats were early leaders in the anti-slavery fight, even though the party itself was split over the great issue.

Despite growing sectional divisions, the Democratic Party accomplished three important goals in these years: the acquisition of the remainder of the West, the expansion of trade, and the suppression of racial and religious intolerance in the Know-Nothing movement.

Much of the credit for the Western expansion goes to James K. Polk, a Democratic President of the 1840s. Polk believed that it was the nation's "manifest destiny" to bring all the land to the Pacific under the American flag—by negotiation if possible, but by war if need be. By settlement with Britain, he won title to the Pacific Northwest. Texas entered the Union peacefully, but a war with Mexico was necessary to gain the California country. Thus, in four years, Polk had added half a million square miles of some of the richest and most spectacular country on the continent, finishing the task that had begun with Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase.

It was in Polk's Administration also that the Democrats passed the Walker Tariff. The Democratic Party has always favored moderating tariff charges on imports from abroad, both to aid the consumer and to improve relations with countries whose economies depend on what we buy from them. The Walker Tariff did both. So sound was it economically, that it remained unchanged until the Civil War.

History credits the Democratic Party with lowering the tariff and gaining the West. But almost forgotten is the strong stand the Party took against the Know-Nothing movement. The Know-Nothings were organized to end the immigration from Europe which, even in the 1850s, had reached 600,000 a year. Since most of the immigrants were of the Catholic faith, the ugly mark of religious bigotry stained Know-Nothing beliefs. Members of the organization burned churches and beat up immigrants on the streets. When questioned about their activities, they replied, "I know nothing."

By 1856, the Know-Nothing Party had elected seven Governors, and was threatening to make a party of intolerance a major political force in America. But the Democratic National Convention unanimously adopted this resolution:

"Resolved, that a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit or toleration and enlightened freedom which particularly distinguished the American system of popular government."

This united Democratic opposition broke the back of the Know-Nothing movement. In the spirit of Jefferson and the Bill of Rights, the Democratic Party had spoken up for the rights of minorities. More than this, the defeat of the Know-Nothings showed the common people of Europe that America welcomed them to a new life. Our Western lands would have been of little use without people to fill them. The Democratic sympathy for the immigrant quickened the movement that sent strong men Westward to build a nation.

Towering over all other events of the period was the widening gulf between North and South. Some Democrats, led by the "Little

Giant," Stephen A. Douglas, strove to compromise the differences. In his famed doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," Douglas proposed that the people of each new state decide for themselves whether to allow slavery. But it was too late for compromise. By 1860, the Democratic Party had split again, the Northern wing supporting Douglas for President, the Southern behind John T. Brekenridge. The result was a victory for the newly-formed Republican Party, led by Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER THREE: WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN—REDEDICATES THE PARTY

From 1860 onward, the newly-born Republican Party was to provide the main opposition for the Democrats. When first formed, the Republicans were a party of free soil and idealism, attracting many believers in Jefferson's principles. Lincoln himself was a devoted Jeffersonian. It was he who said that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society."

But with Lincoln's assassination the founders of the Republican Party were rudely shoved aside. The new leaders, called "Radical Republicans," were men with blood in their eyes. Disregarding Lincoln's plea for "malice toward none," they set up a military dictatorship in the South, and almost impeached a President who would not go along with their wishes. By their Reconstruction Acts and Force Bills, they held up progress in the South for many years.

The Democrats tried to fight these actions, but they were seriously weakened. Republican leaders had disfranchised the Democratic South, and had massed behind their postwar candidate, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the voting strength of the Grand Army of the Republic. When Democrats criticized Reconstruction measures, their opponents accused them of being rebels and traitors, unfit to govern the country. By waving the "bloody shirt" of the War, historian Charles Beard says, "the Republicans managed . . . to make party loyalty equivalent to national patriotism and voting the opposition ticket identical with sedition."

It was after the Civil War that American big business made its historic alliance with the Republican Party. The need for production and credit during the War had forced the government into measures which greatly profited industrialists and financiers of the North. After the war, the bankers, railroad magnates and the other industrial giants agreed with the party in power, to exchange campaign contributions for beneficial legislation. At first, the people did not mind this. They admired the men who were forging an industrial America, and were dazzled by their show of wealth. They even got the idea that the tremendous amounts of money being amassed at the top would trickle down to improve their own living standards. Events were soon to prove this theory wrong.

Grant's Administration provided the perfect setting for business domination of the Government. Grant himself admired and liked to associate with the millionaires and manipulators of the day—Jay Cooke, Jay Gould, and Jim Fiske, the speculators whose names have survived as symbols of financial piracy. Although personally honest Grant, as he later admitted, let crooked friends take advantage of his trust. As a result, not only was Grant's Administration run openly and notoriously for the benefit of big business, but corruption flourished on a wide scale. The Vice President, members of the Cabinet and chairman of Congressional committees took bribes and graft. They made money on government contracts and tax frauds. As historian Allen Nevins says. "The Grant era stands unique in the comprehensiveness of its rascality."

This stealing did not stop with money, but extended to national elections. In 1876, the Democrats nominated for President Samuel J. Tilden, the brilliant reform Governor of New York. He had broken the Tweed Ring in New York City, and was pledged to break the ring of thieves around Grant. With the people aroused to Republican corruption, Tilden's integrity was a welcome change. He appeared to have won the election, 4,300,590 votes to 4,026,298 and 196 electoral votes to 173. But through bribery and forgery, the Republicans changed the totals in three Southern states, where Federal troops still were stationed under the Reconstruction Acts. A Republican Electoral Commission ratified the changes. It was the only stolen election in American Presidential history. More impulsive Democrats were ready to don their war uniforms and take the White House by force, but the calm hand of Samuel Tilden restrained them. Putting his respect for orderly government above both party and personal advantage, Tilden acquiesced in the decision of the Electoral Commission and retired to private life.

By 1884, the Republicans had been in power for 24 years. The "bloody shirt" of the "rebellion" was being waved more and more feebly, and people were becoming tired of men who looked upon government service simply as a road to personal profit. So they elected to the White House another Democratic reformer from New York, Grover Cleveland. A big, gruff man whose honesty was unshakable, Cleveland devoted his two terms to raising the moral standard of government. His motto was: "A public office is a public trust." Where Presidents before him had allowed raids on the Treasury for private pensions and pork-barrel appropriations, Cleveland used the Presidential veto to prevent them. He relaxed the demands of patronage and put more workers under the Civil Service system. Officials who had a stake in the old system, including some Democrats, resented Cleveland's reforms. But the voters agreed with his nominator, Daniel Dougherty, when he said of Cleveland: "We love him for the enemies he has made."

But honest and devoted as he was, Cleveland did not fully sense the needs of the common people. In fact, a large segment of the Democratic Party had fallen under the influence of the big industrialists and their retainers. There followed a period of years in which, from the standpoint of party program, the average voter could not tell one major party from the other.

The Democratic Party needed a transfusion of new leadership and spirit. And in the agrarian movements of the Middle West this was found. Between 1870 and 1895, the nation witnessed a series of depressions, the historic price of unrestrained industrial development. True, the small businessman of the East had suffered. Twenty-three thousand small firms had failed in one 3-year period alone. True, the workingman was putting in 12 to 14 hours a day, and his attempts to organize unions were being frustrated by unsympathetic legislatures and courts. But the farmers were destitute. Crop prices had fallen 40 to 50 per cent under the impact of Republican high tariff laws. Farms were mortgaged to Eastern bankers to the sum of a billion dollars. The cost of selling farm produce was steadily rising as the trusts and railroad monopolies levied their annual tribute upon the plain people of America.

So, organizing for political action, the men of the Midwest brought new blood and spirit into the Democratic Party. Their wants, by our standards, were not radical: they desired a graduated income tax, regulation of railroad rates, popular election of Senators, and relaxation of the Gold Standard, which held them in perpetual debt to the financiers of the East. But their opponents called these measures "the dreams and fantasies of Karl Marx," and cried to the voters to "stop this communist march on private property."

Out of the Midwest came these agrarian reformers, and into the Democratic Convention of 1896. Their leader was William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, and the speech he made at that convention stands as perhaps the greatest in American political history. Picture Bryan, with his enormous head, strong flashing eyes, and vibrant voice, 20,000 delegates and spectators hanging on his words:

"When you come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have distributed our business interests by your course. We say to you that you have made the definition of a businessman too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth to bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured in the channels of trade are as much businessmen as the few financial magnets who in the back room corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen. . . . We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them . . . Having behind us the producing masses of this country and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Jefferson or Jackson would have felt at ease delivering this speech.

In Bryan, the Democratic Party had found its voice. With a great shout, the convention nominated him for President, and he went forth to wage one of the most exciting campaigns in American history. Bryan was the first modern Presidential candidate. He traveled 18,000 miles and addressed more than 5 million people—a remarkable feat for the days before radio and television.

Alarmed by Bryan's strength, the Republicans got busy. Their leader, Mark Hanna, shook down insurance companies, railroad and trusts for an estimated $16 million, the biggest campaign fund yet collected. Fourteen hundred speakers were sent out to answer Bryan. Contracts were made contingent on his defeat. Workers were told that if Bryan won on Tuesday, they need not show up for work on Wednesday. The pressure paid off: Bryan lost the election. But in so doing, he rededicated the Democratic Party to the common people.

CHAPTER 4: WOODROW WILSON MAKES AMERICA A WORLD LEADER—REFORM AT HOME AND WAR BROAD

For the 16 years following his first race for the Presidency in 1896, William Jennings Bryan was his party's acknowledged leader. And though he lost three times for the Presidency, the influence of his cause spread beyond his own party. In the opposition ranks, it inspired a new breed of Republican, which called itself, at various times, Bull Moose or Progressive. Its aims as expressed by Republican William Allen White, included "cleaning up local politics, ending the wholesale buying of state legislatures, and giving a new chance to the economic underdog." The names of their leaders are well known: Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin, George W. Norris of Nebraska, and, of course, the leader of the Bull Moose Party, Theodore Roosevelt. These men were true followers of Lincoln, but the rest of the Republican leadership, known as the Old Guard, fought them as much as they did the Democrats.

Under Bryan's leadership in foreign affairs, the Democrats opposed much of the imperialism arising from the war with Spain. Many Americans thought it great sport to shake "the big stick" at the small nations of South America. Republican foreign policy reversed the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine by declaring that, although Europe could not interfere in South American affairs, the United States could. These actions caused a resentment among our Latin American neighbors that still colors their view of the United States. But the basic sympathies of the Democrats were opposed to taking this advantage of the people of weaker nations.

The Democrats worked on more than just the national level during these years. The campaign of 1896 had invigorated the party on the state and local level as well. In the West and South, Democrats listened to stump speakers, voted in primary elections, and burned bonfires on election night. Democratic state administrations served as testing grounds for railroad regulation, minimum wages, and many other programs later to be adopted by the Federal Government.

With the quickening of immigration, the Democratic organizations of the large cities had a special task: to cast new citizens in the mold of the Republic. Millions of immigrants were streaming into America each year. Democratic ward leaders found them living space, helped them secure their citizenship, brought them food and coal when times were hard. True, the immigrants gave their votes in return. But there were other reasons for these services. The ward leaders had been immigrants themselves, not too long ago. They knew that, with a little help, these "foreigners" could become worthy Americans. One of the marvels of America is how these different ethnic groups, whose countrymen were fighting each other so bitterly in Europe, could live beside each other in the great cities in peace. Much of the credit must go to the understanding help of the politicians.

The tireless work of Bryan and his followers bore fruit in 1912. A split in the Republican Party between the Old Guard and Progressives allowed an easy Democratic Presidential victory. The President-elect Woodrow Wilson, pledged himself to remedy the evils exposed by earlier Democrats. As he said in his inaugural speech:

"We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen . . . There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children are not shielded from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with."

As President, Wilson put the strength of the Federal Government behind improvement of the life of the common man. He believed, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, that "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves."

Applying this philosophy, Wilson's Democratic Administration built an impressive record of achievement. The Federal Reserve Act took the control of the nation's currency which had been centered in Wall Street, and dispersed it among 12 regional Federal Banks. The Clayton Act attacked monopolistic trade practices, and expressly declared that "the labor of human beings is not a commodity or an article of commerce." An income tax law was passed, to distribute equitably the burden of running the Government.

The dreams of the reformers of the 1890s had been realized.

Also during Wilson's Administration, women won the right to vote. This doubled the size of the electorate and destroyed the last artificial barrier on the road to full citizen participation in government.

But impressive as were Wilson's achievements, history will remember him as a leader of the world. For in this broader task, his idealism and eloquence, his ability to plumb the moral reserves of the people, found fullest expression. America had been lucky. An ocean had isolated her from the continual strife of Europe, allowing her to develop in peace. But now that she had grown large and powerful, as the world's most successful democracy, she was destined to lead the cause of democracy in the world.

Wilson did not want to enter the First World War. But with the German forces overrunning peaceful nations and sinking American shipping, the time came when, in his words, "the right was more precious than the peace."

To achieve victory, the country equipped a large army, mobilized the home front, and greatly enlarged government services to coordinate the war effort. But, according to historian Mark Sullivan, "the largest single factor in the war was the mind of Woodrow Wilson." Wilson's thoughts and words were weapons. In the most discouraging days of the war, they gave the Allied nations fresh awareness of a reason for their sacrifices.

During this period, Wilson gave classic expression to the principles of Democratic Party foreign policy. The national interest would best be served, he said, by the attainment and preservation of world peace. He knew that just as war arose out of ill-feeling between nations, peace could only be based on mutual understanding and mutual respect. To achieve this, he proposed a League of Nations, where each country would have a voice in settling international differences.

But beyond the eliminations of war, Wilson had the vision of the world becoming more democratic—not by force, not by economic coercion and "dollar diplomacy;" but by the strength of the American example. This was the hope behind Wilson's Fourteen Points, a series of peace aims which not only shortened the War, but made Wilson the greatest leader for peace in the world.

To make his vision a reality, Wilson went to Europe at the close of the war to help construct the League of Nations. But when he returned, he found Congress, controlled by isolationist forces, unwilling to accept his plans. So Wilson toured the nation, carrying his fight for the League to the people. If the League were not approved, he warned, "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war." But too many people would not listen, Wilson lost his fight, and in the process, his health and strength as well. He returned to Washington a broken man, comforted only by the pioneer's knowledge that history would show him to be right.

CHAPTER FIVE: F. D. R. LEADS AMERICA TO NEW FRONTIERS—FROM "NORMALCY" TO THE NEW DEAL

When the Republicans took over the national Government in 1921, back into control came the men representing the same groups that were the favored interests of Hamilton's day. They moved more carefully now. They hired high-priced publicity men to dress up their schemes in fine-sounding slogans like "normalcy" and "rugged individualism." Instead of openly opposing laws which regulated big business in the public interest, they sabotaged their administration.

But the results were the same: The tariff went up; speculation and credit schemes increased, creating an illusion of prosperity. There was a series of scandals and a long farm depression. Then the whole economy came toppling down in the greatest depression in history.

Deprived of Wilson's leadership, Democrats became confused once again. The party became tangled up in the prohibition issue. But although the party lost three consecutive elections, some victories were achieved. Led by Sen. Thomas Walsh of Montana, Democrats in Congress exposed the corruption of Teapot Dome, a plot to rob the people of hundreds of millions in oil reserves. These were the years of bitter struggle for farm relief legislation. Though the McNary-Haugen farm bill was vetoed by Coolidge, and again by Hoover, and though the farm program which was written into law in 1929 was an inadequate stop-gap, the champions of farm parity in this period laid solid groundwork for the constructive measures for agricultural recovery which came in the New Deal years.

One of the Democratic leaders of this time deserves special mention. His career shows how, in the Democratic Party, men from the humblest beginnings have been able to make important contributions to good government. Al Smith was an orphan boy. He grew up in a tenement house in New York's lower East Side, where lived Irish, Italians, Poles and other new Americans. Al Smith never had a formal education. But he had a deeper understanding of the common people, of which he was surely one, than any leader of the time. He started in politics at the bottom; poll watching for his ward organization. Through native brilliance and hard effort, he worked his way through every level of government to become four times the Governor of New York. In his administrations were nurtured many of the programs later to be adopted on a national scale. Nominated for President by the Democratic Convention of 1928, Smith was beaten in a campaign in which religious bigotry was callously exploited for political advantage. But, like Bryan before him, he had awakened a new spirit which was to contribute enormously to the party's future success.

What ultimately brought victory, setting the stage for the longest continuous period of Democratic Government the nation had seen, was 1) the inability of the Republican Hoover Administration to deal with the Great Depression, and 2), the Democratic response to that challenge. Volumes have been written trying to explain the causes of the national catastrophe which struck the country in 1929 and deepened through the next three years. But whatever the cause, the Republicans had no cure. Trapped by their own philosophy of negative government, they waited vainly for the stricken business community to right itself. At the depth of the depression, unemployment stood at 14 million persons. Wages were down 60 per cent, business income down 50 per cent. One of every four farms was bankrupt, and two thirds of the nation's banks were closed. Without jobs, often without food, millions saw their savings disappear and their years of work and education go for nothing.

In this crisis, the people turned once again to the Democratic Party. They elected as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had pledged them a "New Deal" and fresh opportunity in their economic life. From that day and for the next 20 years, under Roosevelt and later under Harry S. Truman, the Democratic Party worked to make good on these promises. The story of the Democratic Party during these years is partly the story of how a party helped a country convert economic disaster into unparalleled prosperity, partly the story of how a great leader turned the country away from isolationism to undertake tasks which made it the foremost nation in world affairs.

Few need to be reminded of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The confident smile, the jauntily-tilted cigarette holder, the magnetic personality are deeply etched into the American memory. Roosevelt combined Jefferson's philosophy and Jackson's courage with Wilson's ability to tap the moral reserves of the people.

When he took office, Roosevelt frankly surveyed the desperate conditions about him, but he did not despair. "The only thing we have to fear," he said, "is fear itself." He regarded the crisis as an opportunity for a modern application of Jefferson's faith in the people and the pioneers' faith in themselves. He said:

"These unhappy times call for plans that build from the bottom up instead of from the top down . . . that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid . . . I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it—the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required—in even greater measure—to bring under proper control the forces of modern society."

With these words, the Roosevelt Administration set in motion a program that reached to every major sources of economic distress.

In retrospect, the speed and the orderliness of the New Deal achievements seem almost equally as remarkable as their magnitude. These features of the Roosevelt leadership are emblazoned on the record of F. D. R.'s "first hundred days."

In that relatively brief period, the main structure of the New Deal was built. All of that was done without any semblance of Executive dictation. Measures were submitted to the full test of unfettered debate in Congress and the other public forums. Action resulted not from the cracking of Executive or Legislative whips, but from general recognition that the proposals constituted urgently needed reforms. This represented Executive leadership and governmental teamwork in their finest sense.

From the White House came a series of Presidential messages dealing with emergency banking legislation, economy in government, repeal of prohibition, agricultural and unemployment relief, a new farm program, safeguards on stock market trading, mortgage relief, railroad coordination, government reorganization, industrial recovery, world disarmament and other major questions.

From Congress came legislative enactments which set the nation on the high road to recovery and expansion—the Emergency Banking Act, Agricultural Adjustment Act, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Recovery Administration, Public Works Administration, Securities and Exchange Act, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Home Owners Loan Corporation, Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Farm Credit Act, among others.

None of these programs passed without opposition. Roosevelt's New Deal was accused of subverting the American system of free enterprise. Actually, it was designed to save it. The New Deal was based on a concept it took America five depressions to learn: that the roots of free enterprise are in a prosperity that is broadly shared by all elements of the population. The soundness of these programs show up in the fact that, 25 years later, they are an accepted part of American life.

At the same time that it combatted the depression, the Democratic New Deal had vision enough to make longer range plans for the prosperity of the country. America's soil and forests had become depleted through reckless use. A large-scale conservation program was instituted, so that Americans in the future could have the full benefit of this natural wealth.

The potentialities of another resource, water power, had long been neglected. But in programs like the Tennessee Valley Authority, it was used to bring the comforts of modern civilization to people who had never seen an electric light.

Under President Truman's leadership, the major New Deal programs were broadened and extended. The fight against monopoly was stepped up, and slum clearance projects were started to give decent housing to those whom large-city life had crowded together. At the end of 20 Democratic years, the nation could look with pride at this record:

Unemployment:	
1932 (million)	14
1952 (million)	1.9
National income:	
1932 (billion)	$87.8
1952 (billion)	$328
National product:	
1932 (billion)	$110
1952 (billion)	$328
Worker's weekly paycheck:	
1932	$17
1952	$65
Net farm income:	
1932 (billion)	$1.9
1952 (billion)	$14.1
Corporation income (after tax):	
1932 (billion)	—$3.4
1952 (billion)	$18.3

CHAPTER SIX: DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL IN WAR AND IN PEACE—COMBATING THE FASCISTS AND THE COMMUNISTS

The Democratic Party rolled up victory after victory in the elections of the 20 years, 1932–52. The biggest vote-getter was Roosevelt, four times the unbeaten champion of American politics. In 1936, he topped his opponent by 11 million popular votes and 523 electoral votes—the biggest majority in American history.

President Truman, also undefeated, had a political style all his own. With his simple, direct approach to the voters, he was able, in 1948, to score an amazing political upset.

Harry Truman did not mind being called a politician. "Politics," he once said, "is public service." The tarnish that clung to the word could be removed if enough citizens, through their parties, took part in politics. So, working behind Roosevelt and Truman, were countless Democrats of lesser fame but equal dedication. They manned sound trucks, rang doorbells, watched polls and cheered speeches, in that great turmoil of democracy that is an American campaign.

It was important for the people of the world that the faith of Americans in democratic government had been restored by the Roosevelt Administration's battle against the depression. For history had chosen America to lead the democratic countries in the historic struggles of the 20th century, against Fascism and Soviet Communism. These twin dictatorships, to whom popular government and individual liberty meant nothing, were to challenge the democracies first in a global hot war, then in a cold war. The stakes were to be no less than the freedom of every person on earth. It was a fight that was to test all the nerve and strength America could muster.

For a democracy to meet this challenge first involved a great risk of popular education. During the 1920s, the United States had become increasingly isolationist. Minds had to be changed, people convinced that the world had become so small as to make events in other lands bound to affect the well-being of America itself. President Roosevelt pointed up the evils of the Fascist dictatorships. He also took action to strengthen the bastions of freedom. A reciprocal trade program was passed to promote friendship through increased trade. In South America, the "big stick" was replaced by the policy of the Good Neighbor. Over bitter opposition from isolationist forces, a Democratic Congress approved, in 1940–41, a peacetime draft. This provided at least partial preparation for the war launched by the treacherous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Pearl Harbor changed minds quickly. It unified America as never before. The mighty story of victory over Germany and Japan is too recent to need retelling. No political party can take credit for winning that struggle and ending the war. To do so would be to disparage the work of the Armed Forces and the performance of the great industrial machine on the home front. But directing the entire effort was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Despite his concern with the fighting, he never ceased to plan for permanent peace. His declaration of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were eloquent statements of the peace aims of democracy. The entire allied world hailed him as the supreme spokesman in the struggle for the preservation of liberty. But on the eve of victory, exhausted by his labors, he died. Although an entire world poured out its grief, the most fitting epitaph was that on his tombstone: "Died in Action."

But victory over the Axis meant the end of only one form of dictatorship. Russia, America's wartime ally, also had designs on the freedom of the people of the world. The free world scarcely had time to catch its breath before the well-organized forces of world Communism moved into the power vacuums Fascism had left.

After four years of sacrifices and war, many in America wanted to relax. But the Truman Administration kept a close eye on Russian actions. One of the earliest and most important examples of President Truman's alertness to Russian tactics occurred in 1946, when the Russians failed to live up to their agreement to evacuate their troops from strategic, oil-rich Iran. As a result of President Truman's forceful insistence, the Russians finally backed down and withdrew their troops.

In February, 1947, with Communist guerrilla activities gaining in intensity in Greece, Britain advised the U.S. that it could no longer maintain its forces in Greece and Turkey, and would be forced to withdraw them in a matter of weeks. President Truman made a quick, bold decision. On March 12, before a joint session of Congress, he enunciated the now famous Truman Doctrine—a policy of U.S. intervention where necessary to save nations in danger of being taken over by a dictatorship—and asked Congress to authorize a $400 million program of economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

The Truman Doctrine is now regarded as a major turning point in the cold war with the Communists, for it told the world that America was determined to lead the free world in the fight against Communism and its causes. It was followed by a series of dramatic programs that literally saved Western Europe from the grip of Communism: an emergency aid program that helped Europe survive the cold winter of 1947–48; the historic Marshall Plan (a long-range coordinated aid program to take the place of previous piecemeal programs) and the Berlin Airlift another dramatic example of U.S. determination to resist every Russian pressure.

As the economic strength of the free world began to grow, the Truman Administration turned to the task of shoring up its military strength. The North Atlantic Treaty became the first in a series of collective security pacts, designed to prevent Communist aggression by making it plain that any attacker of free nations would have to contend with the armed might of the U.S. This treaty was supplemented by a program of U.S. military aid to the member nations.

While building these safeguards, the Truman Administration did not neglect the United Nations, the dream of Franklin

Roosevelt as the right institution for lasting peace. The crucial test of the UN came in Korea in 1950, where troops from UN countries turned back a naked act of aggression on the part of Soviet and Chinese Communism. The heavy sacrifices made by the American people in this combat put a brake to the Communist expansion in the Far East, paving the way for a relaxation of world tensions in the following years.

Thus, in 20 years, the American people, under Democratic leadership, had revolutionized their thinking about world affairs. They had accepted the responsibilities of being the greatest nation on earth. They had defeated Fascism and built up a strong network of defense against Communism. The entire economy had adjusted to the fact that, as long as aggressors exist, the only sure way to keep peace was to keep strength. Democratic foreign policy was so well-grounded in the realities of the world situation, that the Republican Party, despite its criticisms, found it could not do away with a single major program when it came to power.

As the cold war progressed, defenses against Communists also had to be raised within the United States. The Communist Party in America was at peak strength during the Hoover Administration, when 103,000 persons voted the Communist ticket for President. During World War II, some of these Communists had taken advantage of the spirit of wartime friendship to try to infiltrate government and industry. But as soon as the postwar aggression became evident, the Democratic Party began to dig them out.

When the Democrats left office in 1952, there was only one-fourth as many Communists in the country as 20 years earlier. The top leadership of the Communist Party had been wiped out—prosecuted and imprisoned by Democratic Administrations. New laws were added to the statute books, a loyalty program was set up in the Government, and the protective strength of the Federal Bureau of Investigation greatly increased.

To administer a successful internal security program required a delicate balancing between the dangers of subversion and the importance of individual freedom. The disloyal had to be separated from the dissenter, and the old-style progressive not confused with the Communist. The Democratic Party opposed those who tried to use fear of Communist infiltration to check social progress and defame minority groups. In fashioning its internal security programs, it tried to be guided by the warning of President Roosevelt: that "if the fires of freedom and civil liberties burn low in other lands, they must be made brighter in our own."

The program to extend the New Deal and defend democracy from Communism occupied most of Harry Truman's terms in office. After seven of the most eventful years in history, he retired, and in 1952 the Democratic Convention selected Adlai Stevenson as its Presidential candidate. Stevenson, despite his distinguished record as Governor of Illinois, was not well known nationally at the time of his nomination. But beginning with his famous acceptance speech, in which he sounded the keynote for the Democratic campaign—"Let's talk sense to the American people"—the eloquence and forthrightness of Stevenson's campaign speeches made a quick and deep impression on the voters in the short period between the convention and the election. Although defeated by a military hero who had been in the public eye for a full decade before Stevenson appeared on the national scene, the Illinois Governor received more votes than any other Presidential candidate in history except two: Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower's victory was not a victory for the Republican Party. Notwithstanding his personal popularity, the party won the Congress by the narrowest of margins, and quickly lost it two years later. Nor was the Eisenhower victory a repudiation of the Democratic legislation of the previous 20 years. Public pressure forced Eisenhower to embrace the New Deal in his campaign to keep the basic domestic and foreign programs intact during his terms in office.

Not content merely to oppose, Democratic-controlled Congresses from 1953 to 1960 fashioned constructive programs of their own. They passed the first civil rights legislation in 85 years. They launched a massive program of research into the prevention of cancer and heart disease. They provided the funds through which America reached out into the exploration of space.

But direction from the Republican Administration was badly lacking in the 1950s. New problems, new needs, challenged the nation, at home and abroad. Without positive, assertive Administration leadership, America drifted. People's hopes for better futures were clouded by spreading slums, crowded schools, high medical costs, technological changes that eliminated jobs. Three recessions in seven years wracked the economy, the final one leaving almost seven million unemployed. Abroad, communism found new ways to encroach upon the free world through subversion and guerrilla warfare. Among friends, allies and uncommitted peoples of the world, who looked vainly to America to lead the way to peace and progress, American prestige hit bottom.

Among millions of those increasingly disturbed by America's drift in such perilous times was Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who looked forward and saw a New Frontier of "uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus." As the 1960 Democratic Presidential nominee, Kennedy asked all Americans to join as "new pioneers on that New Frointier"—and in a close, hardfought campaign marked by four precedent-shattering television confrontations between him and his Republican opponent, Richard M. Nixon, Kennedy was elected 35th President of the United States.

In his first words as Chief Executive, President Kennedy made it clear "that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans" and that America would pay any price, bear any burden, "to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Once again the Democratic Party had provided a leader to summon the Nation to greatness.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, with his incisive sense of history, will be remembered as the man who fought for peace in a turbulent, diversified world. He will be remembered for his leadership in obtaining the nuclear test-ban treaty, the first tentative step toward lasting peace.

President Johnson has eloquently summarized the Kennedy legacy this way:

"The dream of conquering the vastness of space—the dream of partnership across the Atlantic—and across the Pacific as well—the dream of a Peace Corps in less-developed nations—the dream of education for all our children—the dream of jobs for all who seek them and need them—the dream of care for our elderly—the dream of an all-out attack on mental illness—and above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color—these and other American dreams have been vitalized by his drive and by his dedication."

President Kennedy, after taking office, moved swiftly to implement his programs.

Acting in the Democratic tradition that produced the Good Neighbor Policy, Lend Lease, Point Four and the Marshall Plan, he moved to recapture the initiative in foreign affairs.

The Peace Corps was initiated to give young Americans a chance to help under-developed countries help themselves. This program captured the imagination of the world and enhanced the prestige of America.

Programs like the Alliance for Progress for Latin America were developed to give peoples of the world's under-developed nations new hope for a better life, stable governments and social justice.

Above all, President Kennedy sought to blaze a trail to lasting peace, realizing that such a peace could only be negotiated from a position of strength. Our Defense establishment was streamlined, strengthened and readied to meet any of the diverse challenges of the nuclear age.

The United States stood ready to meet any threat to its security and freedom—from a guerrilla uprising to a nuclear confrontation.

The Communist tide of expansion was repelled in the Congo, blocked in Berlin, held in Vietnam, stalemated in Laos.

In October 1962 the Soviet Union attempted to establish offensive missile bases on the island of Cuba, precipitating the first direct confrontation between two nuclear powers.

The iron will of President Kennedy, backed by our vast military strength, forced a humiliating Soviet backdown and removal of offensive missiles and bombers. President Kennedy had acted judiciously and with restraint. A situation that might have ended in a nuclear holocaust was resolved without violence.

The Cuban confrontation was a turning point in the cold war. It convinced the Soviet Union of the determination of the United States to protect its interests and drove home the horrors of possible nuclear destruction.

It was only after Cuba that the Soviets reversed a long-standing policy and agreed to sign a test-ban treaty with the United States. The treaty, forbidding atmospheric nuclear testing, was hailed around the world as a first step in the long, hard journey toward a lasting peace in the nuclear age. More than a hundred nations signed the treaty.

In the critical area of space exploration President Kennedy fought to help the United States achieve supremacy. He named Vice President Johnson to head a newly created National Aeronautics and Space Council to coordinate this national effort. More than 130 vehicles were placed in orbit. The United States assumed a position of preeminence as it met man's great new challenge—space.

While he was reasserting United States leadership abroad and in space, President Kennedy did not forget the importance of meeting our problems at home, nor did he forget the heritage and traditions of the Party of the People.

In the crucial area of Civil Rights, he became the architect of a comprehensive program to insure all Americans an equal opportunity to develop and utilize their talents. The government was mobilized to fight segregation in housing, employment, transportation and voting. An executive order forbade any discrimination in the Federal government. Qualified Negroes were appointed to key posts in the Administration. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission was established and, under the energetic leadership of Vice President Johnson, worked to eliminate discrimination both in Federal Service and in companies doing business with the Federal government. A civil rights bill to guarantee all citizens full participation in American life, a bill to enable men of good will to work out their problems within the framework of law and order, was drawn up and submitted to Congress.

The President also moved to strengthen our economy and improve the lot of our people.

His first executive order released surplus food to the families of the unemployed; steps were taken to extend unemployment benefits to the victims of the recession which held the country in its grip when President Kennedy took office.

Area redevelopment was initiated to help communities eroded by economic change diversify their economies and provide more jobs. Accelerated public works were initiated to create more job opportunities as well as provide needed public facilities. The Manpower Development and Training program was started to teach workers new skills that would enable them to gain employment in our increasingly more complex societies.

Incentives were provided to encourage greater business investment, strengthening the economy and providing more jobs. The development of small business was encouraged.

The Kennedy programs to increase the Nation's educational opportunities were the most comprehensive since the land grant college act was passed almost a century ago. Existing programs were expanded and new programs were begun—such as the comprehensive bill to aid medical education and the $1.2 billion college facilities construction act.

The first extension in the history of the minimum wage act was secured, and the minimum wage was raised. The Nation's first Equal Pay Act was passed to protect the rights of working women. New programs to aid rural development were begun while agricultural surpluses were cut and food prices stabilized.

Under these programs the number of employed rose to record heights, while the number of unemployed was reduced. The Gross National Product climbed to a record $600 billion, factory wages topped $100 per week for the first time in history, and industrial production, profits and personal income went up.

Despite these gains our economic growth rate remained below its potential and close to 4 million Americans remained unemployed. To counter this situation, to attack the waste of resources and the human suffering President Kennedy proposed a tax cut. The tax cut was designed to stimulate the economy by generating increased activity in the private sector of the economy, rather than through increased government spending.

President Kennedy moved the Nation ahead on other fronts too. He focused attention on the problems of our rapidly expanding cities, mapped a bold new approach to the problems of mental illness and mental retardation, increased consumer protection and undertook many other important programs.

On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was tragically assassinated. His Presidency had lasted scarcely more than a thousand days, yet, in that time, he left his stamp indelibly on the Nation. He brought a standard of excellence to everything he did—whether it was the appointment of an Ambassador or the encouragement of American culture. He renewed America's faith in itself, its tradition and its future.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PRESIDENCY OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON—"LET US CONTINUE . . ."

Lyndon B. Johnson became the 36th President of the United States upon the death of John F. Kennedy. His energy, skill and knowledge were quickly evident as he moved to carry on the work begun by the late President. And the dignity and strength with which he grasped the reins of government reassured the Nation and the world.

In a special message to Congress delivered just three days after he took office, and again in his State of the Union message, President Johnson reviewed his philosophy and outlined his programs.

Not surprisingly, his concerns were those that had always been at the core of the Democratic Party's philosophy—the vision of American greatness and the desire that the United States play its rightful role of leadership in world affairs; the desire that the national interest be placed above all else; the concern for the welfare of the common man; the desire to see all Americans—regardless of their economic background or their race or their religion—receive an equal opportunity for full participation in our society.

President Johnson began his political career as an ardent supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt. As a government administrator and a young Congressman he gave his full support to the Roosevelt programs. President Roosevelt, in turn, took an interest in young Johnson and helped further his career. Lyndon Johnson never forgot the lessons he learned from F.D.R. President Johnson's interest in the common man, his concern that the U.S. maintain its greatness as a nation and assume its responsibilities in foreign affairs are a part of this heritage.

"Our principles, our programs, our achievements represent the hopes and needs of the great majority of the American people—in every walk of life and in every part of the country," Lyndon Johnson has said of the Democratic Party.

As a good Democrat, Lyndon Johnson was above narrow partisanship. As Vice President he had explained, "We are partisans not merely for the fact of partisanship, but because through the Democratic Party we have found a way of organizing ourselves to do for the Nation those things we feel must be done."

The President of the United States, regardless of party, knew that Lyndon Johnson would give his full support to those programs and policies which were genuinely in the national interest, regardless of any political reaction his position might cause. For almost eight years he was the leader of the opposition party in the United States Senate. Never during that period did he allow the Democratic Party to fall into a pattern of negativism. When, in a matter of vital importance to national security, the President needed the support of the Democrats, he received it.

And as Vice President Lyndon Johnson fought for the principles of equal opportunity that are the foundation of the Democratic Party. As head of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission he was in the vanguard of the fight to obtain equal opportunity for all Americans (just as he had been in the Senate where he guided the first Civil Rights legislation since the Civil War to passage). He fought to maintain United States leadership in world affairs, carrying the message of his government to 33 countries in more than 150 speeches.

President Johnson sensed while a Senator the implications of a Russian Sputnik derisively circling the globe. The Preparedness Subcommittee which he headed investigated the nation's space and missile activities and recommended a 17-point program to revitalize them.

His interest played a key role in the drive by American technology to surpass the Russian space effort.

As Vice President he became head of the National Aeronautics and Space Council where he continued to preach the importance of supremacy in space.

So Lyndon Johnson came to the Presidency well grounded in the principles of the Democratic Party, skilled in the art of politics, and tempered by the responsibilities of national leadership.

Two of the hallmarks of Lyndon Johnson's career had been his tremendous capacity for work and his ability to "get things done." President Johnson threw himself into the Presidency with characteristic energy.

For example, he pushed for passage of the tax cut bill and signed it into law. In the short run the new tax cut will increase the take home pay and improve the living conditions of every American wage earner. In the long run it will give the economy a needed boost and provide the increased revenues that will lead the way ultimately to a balanced budget.

While cutting taxes, the President initiated a strenuous drive to cut government costs and maintain economy in government. The American taxpayer, he said, deserved "a dollar of value for a dollar spent."

The President explained his approach this way in his Budget Message to Congress:

"When vigorous pruning of old programs and procedures releases the funds to meet new challenges and opportunities, economy becomes the companion of progress . . .

"This, is, I believe, a budget of economy and progress."

So the new President reaffirmed by word and action his party's interest in people, in seeing that all Americans shared in the American dream.

One of his first acts was to declare his unequivocal support of the Civil Rights bill before Congress. President Johnson pledged to do all he could to secure the bill's passage and dedicated his Administration to the principles that underlie the bill.

President Johnson also moved to help the Nation's poor and underprivileged. Declaring all-out war on poverty, he outlined a comprehensive plan, national in scope but geared to local initiative, to give the Nation's poor a chance to help themselves. The President's anti-poverty program was designed to help those who have been forced into poverty by circumstance and who cannot escape without outside help.

In 1964 President Johnson and Democratic candidates for Congress campaigned on a platform of precise, forthright proposals designed to answer the Nation's need in the mid-1960's. The American people responded with overwhelming approval at the polls, returning Lyndon Johnson—with Vice President Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota—to the White House with the largest plurality ever accorded a candidate. The President and the Democratic 89th Congress turned to the task of enacting the 1964 Democratic platform, keeping the promise to the voters. The result was the greatest record of creative legislation in the Nation's history, surpassing both the 63rd Congress under Woodrow Wilson and the historic 73rd under Franklin Roosevelt.

More than 90% of the President's 170 major recommendations were enacted by the 89th Congress. But statistics tell only a small part of the story, for the achievements of the 89th were registered by breaking through obstacles that had blocked earlier efforts—and passing legislation that answered the needs of all Americans.

This historic partnership between the White House and Congress overcame the barriers that had held up federal funds so vital to insuring every child the best possible education. Landmark actions were the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided federal grants administered under local control and specialized aids for school districts with a high concentration of poor families, and a Higher Education Bill authorizing scholarship grants and loans to college students.

With the passage of Medicare legislation in 1965, a two-decades old controversy was resolved in favor of 19 million older Americans who now receive the medical attention they need—and often cannot afford. Medicare provides a basic hospital insurance program under Social Security, a voluntary health insurance program, and expanded Social Security benefits.

Meeting the President's challenge to build the Great Society, Congress expanded the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, to bring new weapons into the arsenal to defeat poverty—rent supplements, Teachers Corps, the Model Cities program, an economic development program for the depressed 11-state Appalachia region, and expanded manpower retraining programs.

In other important legislation the President was supported in his call for a new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to administer federal housing and urban development programs, a new Department of Transportation, a Voting Right of Act to insure against local discrimination, major steps to combat water and air pollution, the beautification program, a minimum wage increase and extension of coverage, excise tax reductions to stimulate the economy, immigration law reform, and the long-awaited Truth in Packaging bill to protect consumers.

There can be little doubt that historians, reviewing the achievements of the Democratic 89th Congress, will agree with President Johnson's assessment: "An inspired group of Americans, representing a sense of national purpose, has written for the United States a new chapter in greatness."

The world has changed in the 175 years that have passed since the beginning of the Democratic Party, but the principles and ideals that are the foundation of the Party are still valid. Proud of its traditions, secure in its heritage, the Democratic Party welcomes the challenge of the future. The Party of the architect of this Nation's beginnings is today the Party that maintains the vision of American greatness in the nuclear age. The mantle of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy has passed to Lyndon Johnson. President Johnson set the tone of his Administration in his first address to Congress.

"Let us continue," he said.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUTSTANDING DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States

Life: born April 13, 1743, in Albemarle County, Virginia . . . educated, William and Mary College . . . married Martha Skelton . . . six children, four of whom died in infancy . . . died July 4, 1826 at Monticello, Virginia.

Career: lawyer, writer, scientist and architect . . . Justice of the Peace, member of the Virginia Legislature, Governor of Virginia . . . member of the Continental Congress . . . minister to France and Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet . . . President from 1801 to 1808 . . . close advisor to Presidents from 1808 to 1826.

Achievements: wrote the Declaration of Independence . . . wrote the Virginia Declaration of Religious Freedom . . . Founded the University of Virginia and planned its architecture . . . Wrote the Northwest Ordinance . . . As President, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase—800,000 square miles for 15 million dollars; initiated Lewis and Clark Expedition; fought Alien and Sedition laws, sent armed forces to Tripoli to protect American trade from Mediterranean pirates.

Jefferson on the future of democracy: "Whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government; whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied upon to set them to rights . . . I have no fear, but that the result of our experiment will be, that men may be trusted to govern themselves without a master. Could the contrary of this be proved, I should conclude, either that there is no God, or that he is a malevolent being."

James Madison, fourth President of the United States

Life: born March 16, 1751, at Port Conway, Virginia . . . educated at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) . . . married Dorothy Payne Todd . . . died June 28, 1836, at Montpelier, Virginia.

Career: lawyer and political scientist . . . member of the Virginia legislature . . . delegate to the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention . . . member of the House of Representatives from Virginia . . . Secretary of State under Jefferson . . . President from 1809 to 1817.

Achievements: "Father of the Constitution" and leader in the fight for its ratification . . . helped write the Bill of Rights . . . As President, fought the War of 1812 and strengthened the permanent military and naval forces.

Madison on the separation of powers: "The great security against a concentration of powers . . . consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others . . . It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, controls on government would not be necessary . . . In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed: and then oblige it to control itself."

James Monroe, fifth President of the United States

Life: born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758, educated at William and Mary College . . . married Elizabeth Kortwright . . . two children . . . died July 4, 1831, New York City.

Career: soldier in the Revolution . . . member of the Virginia legislature . . . Governor of and U.S. Senator from Virginia . . . minister to France and England . . . Secretary of State under Madison . . . President from 1817 to 1825.

Achievements: as President, fought Seminole Indian War; acquired Florida Territory from Spain; announced Monroe Doctrine, basis of American foreign policy for 100 years.

Monroe on equal rights for all: "If all enjoy rights, merit is rewarded, and punishment inflicted only on those who have committed crimes; the number of discontended and disorderly will be inconsiderable, the great mass will cling to and cherish the government which is strictly their own."

John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States

Life: born July 11, 1767, in Quincy, Massachusetts . . . educated at Harvard . . . married Louisa Catherine Johnson . . . died in Washington, D.C. February 23, 1848.

Career: lawyer and professor . . . member of the Massachusetts Legislature and U.S. Senator from Massachusetts . . . minister to Portugal, the Netherlands, Russia and Great Britain . . . Secretary of State under Monroe . . . President from 1825 to 1829 . . . after leaving the Presidency, served in Congress for many years until his death.

Achievements: wrote Monroe Doctrine . . . helped acquire Florida from Spain . . . advocated roads and canals, a national university, and national aid to scientific enterprise.

Adams on national preparedness: "The firmest security of peace is the preparation during peace of the defenses of war."

Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States

Life: born March 15, 1767, in Union County, South Carolina . . . no formal education . . . married Rachel Donelson . . . died at Hermitage, Tennessee, June 8, 1845.

Career: soldier and lawyer . . . judge of Tennessee Supreme Court . . . Congressman and Senator from Tennessee . . . President from 1829 to 1837.

Achievements: fought the Seminole and Creek Indians . . . led American forces in Battle of New Orleans . . . helped write the Constitution of Tennessee . . . as President, vetoed the re-chartering of the United States Bank, and withdrew public deposits from the Bank . . . prevented state nullification of national tariff law. . . paid off the entire United States debt.

Jackson on the dangers of special privilege: "Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by Act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man. . . . There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to *equal* protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing."

Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States

Life: born at Kinderhook, Columbia County, New York, December 5, 1782 . . . no formal education . . . married Hannah Hoes . . . 4 children . . . died at Kinderhook, July 24, 1862.

Career: lawyer . . . member of New York State Senate . . . Attorney-General and Governor of New York . . . United States Senator from New York . . . Secretary of State under Jackson . . . Vice President, 1833 to 1837 . . . President, 1837 to 1841.

Achievements: widened the suffrage in New York . . . fought to end imprisonment for debt . . . helped to kill the Bank of the United States . . . as President, initiated independent treasury plan; opposed speculation in public lands; and instituted a maximum 10-hour working day in all Federal public works.

Van Buren on public opinion: "The sober, second thought of the people is never wrong, and always efficient."

James Knox Polk, 11th President of the United States

Life: born November 2, 1795, at Mecklenburg County, North Carolina . . . educated at the University of North Carolina . . . married Sarah Childress . . . no children . . . died June 15, 1849, in Nashville, Tennessee.

Career: lawyer . . . Congressman from Tennessee . . . Speaker of the House of Representatives . . . Governor of Tennessee . . . first "dark horse" candidate for the Presidency . . . President from 1845 to 1849.

Achievements: as President, annexed the Oregon territory . . . won the Mexican War . . . re-established an independent treasury system . . . reduced the tariff . . . acquired territory comprising California, Utah and New Mexico.

Polk reaffirms the Monroe Doctrine: "The nations on the continent of America have interests peculiar to themselves. Their free forms of government are altogether different from the monarchial institutions of Europe . . . To tolerate any interference on the part of European sovereigns with controversies in America, or to suffer them to establish new colonies of their own, would be to make, to some extent, a voluntary sacrifice of our independence. . . . Liberty here must be allowed to work out its natural results, and these will, ere long, astonish the world."

Franklin Pierce, 14th President of the United States

Life: born November 23, 1804, at Hillsboro, New Hampshire . . . educated at Bowdoin College . . . married Jane Means Appleton . . . two children . . . died October 8, 1869, at Concord, New Hampshire.

Career: lawyer . . . member of New Hampshire legislature . . . Congressman and Senator from New Hampshire . . . Federal District Attorney . . . fought and wounded in Mexican War . . . President from 1853 to 1857.

Achievements: sent Commodore Perry to open up Japan . . . reorganized diplomatic service . . . paved way for transcontinental railroad to Northwest . . . acquired 50,000 square miles of Southwest Territory in Gadsden Purchase.

Pierce's political creed: "Our forefathers of the thirteen united colonies in acquiring their independence and founding this Republic, have devolved upon us, their descendants, the greatest and the most noble trust ever committed to the hand of man . . . We have to maintain inviolate the great doctrine of the inherent right of popular self-government; to harmonize a sincere and ardent devotion to the institutions of religious faiths with the most universal religious toleration; to carry forward every social improvement to the uttermost limit of human perfectability, by the free action of mind upon mind, not by the obtrustive intervention of misapplied force; and to cherish with loyal fealty and devoted affection this Union, as the only sure foundation on which the hopes of civil liberty rest."

James Buchanan, 15th President of the United States

Life: born April 23, 1791, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania . . . educated at Dickensen College . . . unmarried . . . died in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868.

Career lawyer . . . member of Pennsylvania Legislature . . . Congressman and Senator from Pennsylvania . . . Ambassador to Great Britain and Russia . . . Secretary of State under Polk . . . President from 1857 to 1861.

Achievements: as Secretary of State, wrote the peace treaty with Mexico . . . as President lowered the tariff; opposed secession; tried to prevent civil war by enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act and advocating popular sovereignty.

Buchanan on economy in government: "We ought never to forget that true public economy consists, not in withholding the means necessary to accomplish important national objects . . . but in taking care that the money appropriated for these purposes shall be faithfully and frugally expended."

Grover Cleveland, 22d and 24th President of the United States

Life: born in Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837 . . . one of nine children . . . married Frances Folsom while President . . . five children . . . died at Princeton, New Jersey, June 24, 1908.

Career: lawyer . . . Sheriff and Mayor of Buffalo, New York . . . Governor of New York . . . President from 1885 to 1889 and again from 1893 to 1897.

Achievements: greatly enlarged the Civil Service . . . vetoed "pension grab" bills . . . built a Treasury surplus . . . fought for a lower tariff . . . encouraged arbitration of disputes between Europe and South American countries.

Cleveland on the forms of communism: "Communism is a hateful thing. But the communism of combined wealth and capital is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil."

Woodrow Wilson, 28th President of the United States

Life: born December 28, 1856, in Staunton, Virginia . . . educated at Princeton University . . . married Ellen Louise Axson and after her death married Edith Bolling Galt . . . three children . . . died in Washington, D.C., February 3, 1924.

Career: historian and political scientist . . . President of Princeton University . . . reform Governor of New Jersey . . . President from 1913 to 1921.

Achievements: led American participation in World War I . . . enunciated the Fourteen Points for lasting peace . . . fought for the establishment of the League of Nations. His domestic policy, the "New Freedom," initiated the Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission Act, Clayton Anti-Trust Act, Railway Hours Bill, National War Labor Board, United States Employment Service, Espionage Act . . . settled differences with Mexico and prepared the Philippines for self-government.

Wilson on the importance of liberty: "A patriotic American is a man who is not selfish in the things that he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share them with the whole world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty . . . I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. We shall not be poor if we love liberty."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32d President of the United States

Life: born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, New York . . . educated at Harvard University . . . married Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, a sixth cousin . . . five children . . . died at Warm Springs, Georgia, April 12, 1945.

Career: lawyer . . . New York State Senator . . . Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson . . . candidate for Vice President in 1920 . . . Governor or New York . . . President from 1933 to 1945.

Achievements of his Administrations

Recovery measures; bank holiday, Gold Embargo, Relief, WPA and CCC Act, Agricultural Production and Marketing laws, Home Owner's Loan Corporation, Securities and Exchange Act.

Welfare and resource development measures: Tennessee Valley Authority, Wagner Act, Social Security Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Farm-Tenant Act.

Anti-monopoly legislation; Robinson-Patman Act, Public Utility Holding Company Act, Rural Electrification Act.

Foreign policy: Reciprocal Tariff Act, Good Neighbor Policy, Lend-Lease Act, Four Freedoms, Atlantic Charter, laid groundwork for United Nations Organization.

Roosevelt on the basis of world peace: "Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognize brotherhood. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a sound peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbors. It cannot be a moral peace if freedom from invasion is sold for tribute. It cannot be an intelligent peace if it denies free passage to that knowledge of those ideals which permit men to find common ground. It cannot be a righteous peace if worship of God is denied. . . . We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy, and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come."

Harry S. Truman, 33d President of the United States

Life: born May 8, 1884, in Lamar, Missouri . . . no college education . . . married Bess Wallace . . . one daughter.

Career: drug clerk, bank clerk, farmer and haberdasher . . . artilleryman in World War I . . . county judge . . . Senator from Missouri . . . Vice President under Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . President from 1945 to 1953.

Achievements: Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, breaking of Berlin Blockage, North Atlantic Treaty . . . halting of Communist aggression in Korea, Greece, Turkey, Iran . . . re-armament programs . . . Point Four program . . . raised minimum wage, extended Social Security, extended farm price-support program . . . established housing and slum-clearance programs . . . recognized new State of Israel . . . fought for Civil Rights program . . . Atomic Energy Act . . . unified the Armed Services . . . established National Science Foundation.

Truman on equal rights for all: "Eventually, we are going to have an America in which freedom and opportunity are the same for everyone. There is only one way to accomplish that great purpose; that is to keep working for it and never to take a backward step . . . We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we do know that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than any totalarian nation has ever offered."

John F. Kennedy, 35th President of the United States

Life: born May 29, 1917, Brookline, Massachusetts, first President born in the 20th Century . . . educated at Harvard University . . . married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier . . . two children . . . died in Dallas, Texas, Nov. 22, 1963.

Career: decorated by the Navy for "courage, endurance and excellent leadership" demonstrated when he towed injured crew members to safety and brought them through enemy lines after his PT boat was rammed and sunk in World War II . . . newspaper correspondent at San Francisco Founding United Nations Conference, the Potsdam Conference and the British election of 1945 . . . author of *Why England Slept*, the Pulitzer Prize winning *Profiles in Courage*, and *The Strategy of Peace* . . . Congressman and Senator from Massachusetts . . . Inaugurated President January 20, 1961.

Achievements and goals of his administration: President Kennedy gave the Nation a program for greatness in the nuclear age . . . achieved a treaty enacting a ban on atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons—an historic first step in the long journey toward peace . . . captured the imagination of the world by initiating the Peace Corps to help under-developed nations to help themselves . . . initiated programs like the Alliance for Progress to give peoples of the world new hope for a better life . . . strengthened and increased the flexibility of our military establishment, thus fashioning the weapons to halt the spread of communism and cause a humiliating Soviet defeat in Cuba by forcing the Communists to remove all offensive missiles . . . initiated programs like Area Redevelopment, Accelerated Public Works and Manpower Development and Training to help communities eroded by economic change and teach workers new skills for an increasingly more complex society . . . led the drive to obtain equal opportunity for all Americans—fighting against discrimination in education, employment and voting . . . architect of the tax cut and the civil rights bill.

Kennedy on the role of Americans today: "In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

"And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

—Inaugural Address
January 20, 1961

Lyndon B. Johnson, 36th President of the United States

Life: born in Johnson City, Texas, August 27, 1908 . . . educated at Southwest Texas State Teachers College . . . married Claudia Alta Taylor . . . two children . . .

Career: Administrator of the National Youth Administration for State of Texas . . . United States Congressman . . . Lt. Cmdr., U.S. Navy . . . United States Senator . . . Senate Majority Whip and Leader . . . Vice President of the United States . . . Inaugurated President November 22, 1963 . . . and won 1964 Presidential election with largest plurality ever accorded a candidate.

Accomplishment and goals: set up and

headed the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee which uncovered military waste and inefficiency in the 1950's . . . outlined program for U.S. to gain supremacy in space following the first Sputnik . . . secured passage of the Civil Rights bills of 1957 and 1960—the first civil rights legislation to win congressional approval since the Civil War . . . as Vice-President headed the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the National Aeronautics and Space Council . . . As President, he led the fight to obtain equal opportunity for all Americans—the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, secured passage of the tax cut, Department of Housing and Urban Development, rent supplements, Model Cities program, Department of Transportation, Beautification program, Elementary and Secondary Education measure . . . other historic legislation enacted by the 89th Congress under his leadership included air and water pollution control measures, water resources, Medicare and social security improvements, reform of the immigration laws, health and consumer protection measures, highway safety, expansion of the minimum wage law, extension of the GI Bill of Rights . . . also the Appalachia program, Federal and postal employees pay raises, mine safety, Manpower Development and Training expansion, the anti-poverty program, farm program, improvements, and an expansion of Food for Peace . . . our economic and military commitments to preserve freedom in Vietnam and other parts of the world have been courageously honored.

Johnson's faith in America: "The treasure of America today as always is its young people. We must not permit that treasure to be lost or wasted."—Feb. 22, 1963.

"I happen to believe that a strong, vibrant economy is as essential to our leadership of the free world as the military hardware."—Dec. 13, 1963

"This nation is going to be solvent, because this Administration believes that you can be frugal and thifty without being reactionary."—Jan. 28, 1964

". . . we do not intend to allow the tempo of America's unprecedented prosperity to ever muffle the cries of those who are denied a fair share of it."—Apr. 24, 1964

"If a nation is to keep its freedom it must be prepared to risk war. When necessary, we will take that risk. But as long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace."—June 20, 1964

"The task of achieving a life of quality and dignity in rural as well as in urban America is one that will engage our minds and our energies for a lifetime . . . the unparalleled harvest of today's rural America has been achieved because our ancestors said this too was a reaonable goal."—Feb. 4, 1965

"Our conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation. Its concern is not with nature alone, but with the total relation between man and the world around him. Its object is not just man's welfare but the dignity of man's spirit."—Feb. 8, 1965

"America has become a highly urbanized nation, and we must face the many meanings of this new America . . . in the next 35 years, we must literally build a second America—putting in place as many houses, schools, apartments, parks and offices as we have built through all the time since the Pilgrims arrived on these shores. . . ."—Sept. 9, 1965

"Our beautiful America was built by a nation of strangers. From a hundred different places or more, they have poured forth into an empty land, joining and blending into one mighty and irresistible tide."—Oct. 3, 1965

"The . . . most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence—the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions. For a peaceful world order will be possible only when each country walks the way that it has choosen to walk for itself."—Jan. 12, 1966

"We have threatened no one, and we will not. We seek the end of no regime, and we will not. Our purpose is solely to defend against aggression. To any armed attack we will reply. We have measured the strength and weakness of others, and we think we know our own. . . . We will build freedom while we fight, and we will seek peace every day by every honorable means. But we will perserve along the high hard road of freedom. We are too old to be foolhardy and we are too young to be tired. We are too strong for fear and too determined for retreat."—Feb. 23, 1966

"Our goal is not just a job for every worker. Our goal is to place every worker in a job where he utilizes his full productive potential, for his own and for society's benefit."—Mar. 8, 1966

"This Administration has pledged that as long as racial discrimination denies opportunity and equal rights in America, we will honor our Constitutional and moral responsibility to restore the balance of justice."—Apr. 28, 1966

"Let us start here and now to build a new ideal of what ought to be the meaning of growing old. Let us here proclaim a bill of rights for older Americans. Let us make it our guide in the years ahead. . . ."—June 3, 1966

"Our Nation is stronger today than ever before. We need not, indeed we dare not, forsake our basic goals of peace, prosperity, and progress. The pursuit of peace is essential for the continued advancement of our Nation and all mankind. Prosperity and progress will lead us toward a society where all can share in the bounty of nature and the products of man's ingenuity and creativity. . . ."—Jan. 24, 1967

Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States

Life: born in Wallace, South Dakota, May 27, 1911 . . . education at Denver College of Pharmacy, University of Minnesota, Louisiana State University . . . married Muriel Buck . . . four children.

Career: Mayor of Minneapolis, Minn. United States Senator . . . Senate Majority Whip . . . elected Vice President, 1964 . . . serves as Chairman, President's Council on Equal Opportunity, Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, National Aeronautics and Space Council, Council on Youth Ftness, Economic Opportunity Council, and the National Security Council.

Accomplishments and goals: authored legislation that created the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Peace Corps, Food Stamp Program, Food for Peace Program, National Defense Education Act, Drug Regulation Act, International Health Act . . . as Majority Whip he played leading role in the enactment of every major bill during the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

Humphrey on America's future: "I am one who believes this nation is as strong, not as the Chase National Bank, not as the stock market, not even as the great powerful corporations, but the nation is only as strong as the productivity, the intelligence, the health, and the education of its people."

"We do not seek to make America strong for purposes of aggression, but actually to safeguard freedom. We do not want America's wealth just for the purpose of luxury, but rather for the enrichment of life; yes, the beautification of our country and the betterment of our education, the improvement of our cultural standards and cultural institutions, so that the wealth, the economic wealth of an economic system is in a sense partially used to bring about the spiritual wealth of a social structure."

"I believe the people of America . . .

"Desire a safer more peaceful world for themselves and their children;

"Support the efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to expand the full rights of citizenship everywhere in this country;

"Seek an end to poverty and deprivation for all peoples everywhere;

"Want to provide security and dignity to our elderly;

"Desire to improve and expand our educational system to prepare every child for a wholesome and productive life;

"Seek to transform our cities into pleasant, stimulating and decent communities.

"The hard facts of life are simply these: we cannot afford to be anything but a prosperous, booming America. We must have increased productivity, rising sales, increased employment, higher wages and bigger profits. Only under these conditions does the Great Society have meaning. These goals are clearly within reach. Our free-enterprise economy still possesses an enormous capacity to grow—and thereby to contribute to greater economic and social justice for every citizen."

Adlai E. Stevenson

Life: Born in Los Angeles, California, February 5, 1900 . . . educated at Princeton University . . . married Ellen Borden . . . three sons . . . died July 14, 1965, in London.

Career: reporter and lawyer . . . Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy during World War II . . . Assistant to the Secretary of State . . . delegate to the United Nations Governor of Illinois . . . Democratic candidate for President in 1952 and 1956 . . . U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. from 1961 to 1965.

Achievements: helped rebuild Italian economy after World War II . . . helped get United Nations Organization under way . . . as Governor of Illinois, built new roads and schools, reorganized the Mental Health Program, strengthened the civil service, achieved constitutional reforms, and effected numerous economies to balance the budget . . . as Democratic spokesman and United Nations Ambassador, Stevenson won worldwide admiration for his integrity, eloquence, and humanitarian vision.

Stevenson on the struggle against communism: "The preservation of the free world hangs upon our ability to win the allegiance of those millions and millions of people throughout the world who have not yet made their choice between our democratic system, on the one hand, and the promises which communism offers, on the other. That choice will be mainly shaped by our own performance. It will turn upon such things as our ability to avoid the disruptions of depression, to guarantee equality of opportunity, to narrow the gulfs separating economic status, to preserve freedom of thought and action, to make democracy accord in practice with its premise and professions of faith . . . No one can be certain about the meaning of peace. But we all can be certain about the meaning of war. The future is still open—open for disaster, if we seek peace cheaply or meanly, but open for real peace if we seek it bravely and nobly."

Alfred E. Smith

Life: born in New York City, December 30, 1873 . . . no formal education . . . married Catherine Dunn . . . five children . . . died October 4, 1944, in New York City.

Career: trucking hand and fish peddler . . . member of New York State Assembly . . . Sheriff of New York County . . . Governor of New York, 1918 to 1920 and 1922 to 1928 . . . Democratic candidate for President in 1928.

Achievements: as Governor: factory safety laws, child welfare programs, housing and mental institutions, veteran's bonus . . . revised New York State Constitution and reorganized the State Government.

Al Smith on religion in politics: "I can think of no greater disaster to this country than to have the voters of it divide upon religious lines. Nothing could be so out of line with the spirit of America . . . I do not wish any member of my faith in any part of the United States to vote for me on any religious grounds. I want them to vote for me only when in their hearts and consciences they become convinced that my election will promote the best interests of our country. By the same token, any person who votes against me simply because of my religion is not, to my way of thinking, a good citizen . . . The absolute separation of State and Church is part of the fundamental basis of our Constitution. I believe in that separation, and in all that it implies. That belief must be a part of the fundamental faith of every true American."

James M. Cox

Life: born March 31, 1870, at Jacksonburg, Ohio . . . married Margaretta Blair . . . four children . . . died July 15, 1957.

Career: school teacher, reporter, newspaper publisher, author . . . Congressman . . . Governor of Ohio, 1913–15, 1917–21 . . . Democratic candidate for President in 1920.

Achievements: as Governor of Ohio, achieved workmen's compensation, budget reform, school reorganization, public utility regulation and state banking code.

Cox on democratic progress: "Some people have been saying of late: 'We are tired of progress, we want to go back to where we were before; to go about our business; to restore "normal" conditions.' They are wrong. This is not the wish of America. We can never go back . . . For our eyes are trained ahead—forward to better new days . . . We cannot anchor our ship of state in this world tempest, nor can we return to the placid harbor of long years ago. We must go forward or founder."

William Jennings Bryan

Life: born in Salem, Illinois, March 19, 1860 . . . married Mary Elizabeth Baird . . . three children . . . died at Dayton, Tennessee, July 26, 1925.

Career: editor, orator, reporter and lawyer . . . Colonel in the Spanish-American War . . . Congressman from Nebraska . . . Secretary of State under Wilson . . . Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1896, 1900 and 1908.

Achievements: fought the gold standard and protection in trade . . . foe of imperialism and trusts . . . as Secretary of State, worked for arbitration as method for peaceful settlement of international dispute . . . instrumental in establishment of popular election of Senators, the Income Tax, Woman Suffrage and the Department of Labor.

Bryan on the importance of agriculture: "Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms, and the grass will grow on the streets of every city in the country."

Samuel J. Tilden

Life: born in New Lebanon, New York, February 9, 1814 . . . educated at University of New York City . . . unmarried . . . died in Yonkers, New York, August 4, 1886.

Career: lawyer and essayist . . . chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee . . . member of the New York Assembly . . . reform Governor of New York . . . Democratic candidate for President in 1876.

Achievements: exposed the Tweed Ring in New York City . . . fought corruption in State and in the Grant Administration.

Tilden on the dangers of corrupt government: "Eliminating corruption does not alone effect the saving of dollars and cents. You cannot preserve your present system of government unless you purify administration and purify legislation. The evils of corrupt government are not confined to the taking of money from the people to enrich those who are not entitled to its enjoyment, but the growth of such a system saps all public virtue and all public morality; and at last 'a government of the people, and for the people' will cease to exist."

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, with equal nonpartisanship, I ask unanimous consent that a statement made by Representative ALBERT, the majority leader in the House of Representatives, entitled "The 90th Congress Is Making a Fine Record," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 90TH CONGRESS IS MAKING A FINE RECORD

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, when the 90th Congress convened on January 10 the overriding and most urgent duty before us was to refinance and carry forward the national effort against Communist aggression in Southeast Asia.

Every minute of every day and night, there are being fought in Vietnam the gruelling battles which will determine whether mankind can find on earth the peace for which all so deeply yearn, especially at this Eastertime, or inevitably face the continuing burdens and grief of indefinite warfare.

Doing first things first, we have met this responsibility promptly. By appropriating $12.275 billion in supplemental funds; by authorizing an additional $4.5 billion for supplies and equipment to our fighting men—all for the balance of the fiscal year ending June 30—and by raising the temporary limitation on the national debt, the Congress has once again discharged its mandate under the Constitution to "provide for the common defense" and to maintain our Armed Forces.

I am happy to state that both the appropriation and the authorization for the procurement of guns, missiles, planes, and other hardware received broad bipartisan support. It is regrettable, however, that the Republican minority voted 173 to 2 against passage of the debt-limit change, which alone could make possible the purchase of this needed weaponry. The falsity of this crass political gesture of economy fooled no one and was a sad reflection on the GOP's claim of loyal opposition. Indulging in this little bit of shameful demagoguery placed the Republican Party in an untenable and irresponsible position. Had that position prevailed, we most certainly would have been unable to meet our military commitments in Vietnam. Our Armed Forces there would have literally found themselves without arms, supplies, or pay.

I believe each and every Member of this body can take pride in the humane and statesmanlike manner in which the House of Representatives acted in overwhelmingly approving House Joint Resolution 267, supporting the President in giving emergency food assistance to India. As a result of this humanitarian gesture, India will receive an additional 3 million tons of grain, thus forestalling famine in that land.

In the economic field also the House of Representatives moved decisively and with dispatch. The view has often been expressed, particularly in academic circles, that the House of Representatives is far too antiquated and much too unresponsive to changing economic conditions, to act expeditiously as is required of a legislative body in these modern times. Needless to say, I have never shared these views. These allegations, moreover, should now be laid to rest once and for all, for within a week after receiving the President's message requesting restoration of the 7-percent investment tax credit, H.R. 6950 to accomplish this purpose overwhelmingly passed this House by a vote of 386 to 2.

The House has passed the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967 which would extend for an additional 2 years the interest equalization tax. This is without doubt the most potent weapon possessed by our Government in its effort to protect this country's balance-of-payments position. Were the Congress to fail to extend and modify this measure as urged by the administration, our international credit position would, I feel certain, be little short of untenable. American dollars and gold would literally be sucked into an international financial maelstrom. In light of this, the action of a majority of the House Republicans in opposing this proposal was indeed most shortsighted and disappointing.

But these are not the only important and significant pieces of legislation which have been considered and passed by the House of Representatives. Just this week we reaffirmed our obligation to our American veterans by passing, without a dissenting vote, the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Act of 1967. This act provides for substantial increase in benefits to our veterans. It is now in conference. Early in February the Armed Services Committee reported, and the House passed, a bill strengthening our Reserve Forces and providing for improved training and equipment and creating a new Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

Just yesterday the House passed the first regular appropriation bill for fiscal year 1968. In it we provided funds for the operation of the Treasury Department, the Post Office Department, and the executive offices. Passage of this bill was right on schedule and will, I am confident, set the pace for quick action on all regular appropriation bills.

Also yesterday the House adopted the so-called Punta del Este resolution expressing support for a new phase of the Alliance for Progress. As you know, the President has requested Congress to give him this expression of our approval of his policies with respect to other Western Hemisphere nations prior to the Latin-American Summit Conference to take place next month. Unlike the Democratic Party which was in the majority in 1960 when President Eisenhower offered his Bogotá resolution, a substantial number of Republicans have been nitpicking at the Punta del Este proposal ever since it was requested by President Johnson. I am happy, however, that on the final vote last night a majority of both parties decided to support our President in this most important matter.

Those familiar with the House know that there is a lot of truth in Woodrow Wilson's famous observation that Congress on the floor is Congress on display and that Congress in committee is Congress at work. Any evaluation of what has been done and is being done this session of Congress must also give major attention to what is going on in committee.

Immediately after the recess the Rules Committee will begin hearings on the reorganization bill, which is of major importance to all Members of the Congress. Also the Rules Committee will be considering the copyright law revision bill which has just been reported by the Judiciary Committee. That committee has done an extraordinary amount of work on that measure, which is a complete revision of the copyright laws. We hope to bring it up on the floor the week we return.

The Committee on Science and Astronautics has reported bills providing for a study of the advisability of adopting the metric system and amending the National Science Foundation Act. The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has reported the Coast Guard authorization bill, which we also hope to have up soon.

The work of the committees, already apparent in these bills and in numerous reports to the House, will become even more evident shortly after we return from the recess as work is completed on a number of major bills.

For instance, we hope to have the District of Columbia and Interior Department appropriation bills cleared before the end of April. The 1967 amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are in the final stages of consideration and should be reported to the House by the Committee on Education and Labor shortly after we return. As a new member of that committee, I feel certain the committee is going to report an education bill which will be a major contribution to the effort to extend our educational frontiers.

The Judiciary Committee has hearings underway on the redistricting bill and on a wide range of crime bills recommended by President Johnson, including bills covering crime on the streets, interstate control of firearms sales, reform of correctional services and institutions, and protection of privacy from "bugging" and "wire tapping." This is a matter of overriding and unending concern to all citizens. I know the President's requests in this area are receiving the most careful study from the Judiciary Committee, and I am confident we will have before us for consideration before long an anticrime package which will make great strides forward in the all-out counterattack on crime in America.

There are, of course, many other bills reported, ordered reported, or nearing completion in the House committees which we will be programing soon. The Food Stamp and Child Nutrition Act extensions, supplemental rural electric cooperatives financing, NASA authorization, atomic energy authorization, fiscal year 1968 defense authorization bill, the National Water Commission bill, the saline water conversion program, the Social Security Act Amendments are among these.

These bills will be followed by consideration of major legislative proposals submitted to the Congress by President Johnson. Within a few weeks of our returning I would hope action would be well along on air pollution control, the antipoverty amendments, election reform, reorganization of the Government of the District of Columbia, the nationwide system of trails bill, the national parks bill, higher education amendments, draft law revisions, the educational TV bill, the beautification amendments, the Appalachian program amendments, the nursing and health care bills, the extension of the Older Americans Act, the child health bills and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act. The Congress will also consider, I am sure, the civil rights legislation and the income tax amendments recommended by the administration.

Let me caution that this list is not meant to be exclusive, by any means, but that it is intended to show the broad front on which we intend to move in the weeks ahead.

I have received assurances from all of the committee chairmen who have bills before their committees that will require appropriations that they are even with or ahead of their regular schedule for such bills. The Committee on Foreign Affairs will begin hearings immediately after we return from the recess on the foreign aid bill, and would have started them sooner but for some delay in the receipt of the presentation papers. As a former member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, I personally know that we are well ahead of previous years in hearings on the NASA authorization bill.

As I mentioned earlier, we are in an advanced stage of markup on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments. House members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy tell me things are proceeding well there, and the chairman of the Armed Services Committee tells me that all of the authorization bills from that committee will be reported in ample time for the Appropriations Committee to meet its schedule of reporting.

This is, of course, the first session of a new Congress. Reorganization, as usual, has been time consuming. As you know, most minority members were not elected to committees until January 26, so it was the first of February before most committees proceed with their own organization. This is not an unusual procedure. It has been this way ever since I have been a Member of the House of Representatives.

I am pleased, and I believe the country should be pleased, at the progress we are making and the pace we are setting in the House. We are well ahead of schedule, and I see no reason at this time why the Congress cannot adjourn by the first of August this year. Let me emphasize that this is my personal view. I speak only for myself. This is my personal target date.

One further thought—members of the minority party seem to forget at times that the Congress is still controlled by the Democrats, yet, notwithstanding their apparent misunderstanding of the fact that we won the last election, they seem to hope to run the Congress without assuming the responsibilities which go with congressional leadership. They are still the party of blind opposition, as they have always been. With the support of the minority leadership, efforts were made just yesterday to recommit the Treasury and Post Office appropriations bill. This move was defeated by a resounding vote of 210 to 147. The Democrats are still in charge of Congress and true to the traditions of our party will, in the 90th Congress, under the leadership of those two great Americans, President Lyndon Johnson and Speaker JOHN McCORMACK, write a progressive program designed to meet their responsibilities to the American people.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I strongly advise my good friend, the Senator from Delaware, to read both.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, by way of a footnote to what the distinguished senior Senator from Delaware has said about inflation, a lot of people do not realize how serious this matter has been.

We read statements in the press about the danger of inflation. Actually, we have had inflation, and we have had very serious inflation, and it has been getting worse.

Last year, the inflation amounted to about $25 billion. In other words, last year inflation took almost half as much of purchasing power away from the American people as did the Federal income tax. That is a pretty good chunk of money.

Now, the basic cause of inflation—where it all starts—is right here. As night follows day, if the Federal Government has multibillion dollar deficit spending, we have inflation. I do not say that simply because we go a billion dollars deeper into debt, we are going to have a billion dollars of inflation. But the record will show that in the last 6 years, while the Federal Government has gone $40 billion deeper into debt, we have had $85 billion of inflation and, of course, along with that, the highest interest rates in over 40 years.

In order to make this subject meaningful to the average person, I believe the best way to point it up is in terms of a sales tax. You can take purchasing power away from people just as surely by inflation as by taxes. The net results is that they have less purchasing power. Inflation and sales tax operate about the same way. Every time a person spends a dollar, he has to pay a sales tax. If there is inflation, every person who has a dollar has it reduced in its purchasing power.

In 1939, the dollar was worth 100 cents. Six and a half years ago it was down to 47 cents. Today it is down to 41 cents.

As the Senator from Delaware has pointed out, this causes great tragedy among older and retired people; but it goes much further than that. It hurts young people who are trying to obtain a college education.

The last year I was in college, in 1938, it cost my parents and me $800. Today, for the same education, it costs $2,000. And that is about right, when you realize that back in 1938 the dollar was worth 100 cents and today it is only worth 41 cents.

Of course, it hurts the very people many provisions in the pending bill are aimed at helping—the poor people, who have to spend all the money they have for the necessities of life, and who find the purchasing power of their dollar shrinking all the time.

I believe the sales tax equivalent would be interesting to some of my colleagues. When you realize that as a result of the multibillion dollar deficit spending in Congress, by those in control of Congress, last year we had $25 billion in inflation, what does that mean to your people back in your State? We had this matter researched, and you will find it on page 20361 of the RECORD for July 27.

Let me point this out: The sales tax equivalent of that $25 billion inflation last year, in the case of the State of Alabama, was almost 7½ percent. So the people of the State of Alabama had the equivalent of a 7½ percent sales tax put on their backs last year as a result of that inflation.

In Alaska, it was the equivalent of a 13.5-percent sales tax.

In Arkansas, it was the equivalent of a 6-percent sales tax.

In Connecticut, it was the equivalent of almost a 12-percent sales tax.

In Maryland, it was the equivalent of a 12-percent sales tax.

In Massachusetts, it was the equivalent of almost a 14-percent sales tax.

In Minnesota, it was the equivalent of a 9.8-percent sales tax—almost 10 percent.

In New Jersey, it was the equivalent of an 11-percent sales tax. And some people wonder why there were some riots in Newark. Well, perhaps the equivalent of a 12-percent sales tax on the backs of those poor people there had something to do with it.

In Oklahoma, it was the equivalent of a 7-percent sales tax.

In the case of the State of Oregon—I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Oregon, because I believe this is most meaningful to his people—the people of Oregon had the equivalent of a 9-percent sales tax on their backs last year. That is what inflation last year meant to people in the State of Oregon.

In Pennsylvania, it was the equivalent of a 12-percent sales tax.

In Rhode Island, it was the equivalent of a 10-percent sales tax.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Would the Senator mind telling me the source of these amusing statistics?

Mr. MILLER. They are not so amusing, I say to my friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania, to the people who bear the brunt of it. The source——

Mr. CLARK. The Republican National Committee?

Mr. MILLER. No. We would not think of getting these figures from the Republican National Committee. We went to the Treasury Department and to other official Federal Government sources. The Senator will find the sources listed on page 20361 of the RECORD for July 27.

In other words, I believe the Senator should know that the $25 billion of inflation was allocated, first of all, to the various States according to per capita net income. That is the method the Treasury Department uses for similar analyses. From that point on, it is easy to compute the sales tax equivalent.

For example, the State of Pennsylvania would have a certain amount of revenue from a 1-percent sales tax.

Mr. CLARK. What is the beginning period of the $25 billion?

Mr. MILLER. This is for the calendar year 1966.

Mr. CLARK. Twenty-five billion dollars in 1 year?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator for his interesting comments.

Mr. MILLER. If I may continue, in Wisconsin it is the equivalent of a 17-percent sales tax.

Now, whether the people in your States knew it or not, that is what happened to them. It happened to them because the foundation for the inflation was laid right here on Capitol Hill by the multibillion-dollar deficit spending. If you want to stop it, the way to stop it is to come out to a somewhat reasonably balanced budget.

If you have any doubts about whether or not the deficit spending of Congress promotes inflation, just look at the record for the last 6½ years; and you will find the figures in "Economic Indicators," which is published by the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It shows $85 billion of inflation, $40 billion of deficit spending—together with the high interest rates, I might say, which the inflation always brings with it.

You worry about the farmers in your States. I see my friend, the Senator from Minnesota. The farmers in Minnesota are adversely affected by this situation, as are the farmers in my State of Iowa and farmers all over the country. When you have inflation, the cost of production goes up. You have a very serious situation on farm prices, so the cost-price squeeze is worsening. I do not know of any farmers in our area or any other place who are not hurt by this situation and who are not unhappy about it. Why does Wallace's Farmers' Poll show that the President of the United States enjoys a popularity of only 28 percent among the farmers of Iowa? Because they are being hurt. And inflation is part of the problem.

We can do all we want in Congress in connection with appropriating for programs to help poor people. And I believe we should do so. I would have supported the House-passed figures. Some of these programs are needed. Most of them are needed. Many of them are well-administered; some are not. Some are improving in their administration. But you are just going to undercut the entire situation if you do not stop this multibillion-dollar deficit spending and the inflation which hurts the very people whom these programs are supposed to help.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is a pleasure to cast my vote for this excellent bill. I wish to congratulate the Senator from Washington, as floor manager of the bill, and all of his colleagues on the majority side and on the minority side who have brought this fine bill to the floor of the Senate.

I wish to outline very briefly 12 areas in which this bill will be of the greatest possible assistance to the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The first item I wish to mention is the appropriation for the National Science Foundation. On this item, strong leadership was shown by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], whom I congratulate for having been able to increase that appropriation, which will be of substantial assistance to a great engineering and scientific university in Pennsylvania, Drexel Institute.

My second point has to do with grants for neighborhood facilities. Here the committee succeeded in restoring a $15 million cut made by the House of Representatives.

The neighborhood facilities program, under the jurisdiction of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is closely coordinated with the poverty program. There is hardly a city in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania where neighborhood facilities are not needed to help implement the community action efforts organized under local poverty programs. This additional appropriation will make the bricks and mortar available in which community action agencies can meet in order to carry out the poverty program in many a slum area in my Commonwealth.

Mr. President, my third point has to do with housing for the elderly, a much neglected area where the committee doubled the appropriation which had been put into the bill by the House Committee on Appropriations.

Housing for the elderly is a very important program. There are in Pennsylvania in many communities where, much to my regret, young people have left to seek employment elsewhere. Johnstown, Pa., is an example.

I am pleased, indeed, that the Committee on Appropriations doubled the elderly housing figure.

The fourth point has to do with metropolitan development and urban planning grants. The committee raised the House figure by $10 million. Generally speaking, these are the section 701 grants which make it possible for the Pennsylvania State Planning Board and the planning boards of a number of our metropolitan areas, and indeed our smaller cities in the Commonwealth, to do the necessary work to assure the orderly development of the communities in which they are located.

The fifth point has to do with open space land programs. Here the Senate committee increased by $25 million the allowance approved by the House of Representatives. In metropolitan Pittsburgh and metropolitan Philadelphia there is an enormous need for open space to give the inhabitants of those two great areas an opportunity to find green space for rest and recreation.

Again I commend the committee for this increase.

My sixth point has to do with grants for basic water and sewer facilities. The committee stuck with the budget estimate and increased the appropriation from the 1967 appropriation by $65 million. If there is one thing needed by many a community along the Monongahela River, the Susquehanna River, and the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania, it is Federal assistance for water and sewer facilities. In too many parts of my Commonwealth raw sewage is being dumped into rivers. This measure will be of great help to communities in Pennsylvania, many of which are unable to finance for themselves needed water and sewage facilities.

My seventh point has to do with urban mass transportation grants. On this item the committee added $30 million to the House allowance. While the committee did not restore the budget figure, it appropriated $205 million. Urban mass transit is essential if we are going to break the traffic jams and get people back on the rails and off the highways and reduce the horrible accident toll, not only in Pennsylvania, but also all over the country.

I am sure that in Philadelphia, where we have a fine organization known as the SEPTA, the Southeast Philadelphia Transportation Authority, and in Pittsburgh we will be able to make good use of this money.

My eighth point has to do with the model cities program. Enough has been said on that matter and I do not wish to paint the lily in that regard. One of the toughest fights we had was to add $300 million to the House figure, so that the amount the House brought in of $237 million has been increased to $537 million.

There will be hardly a city from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, from Youngstown to Scranton, from Bethlehem to Reading, or from Wilkes-Barre to Harrisburg, which will not be competing for the money provided in this model cities appropriation, to improve the quality of living conditions for their citizens.

My ninth point has to do with urban information and technical assistance. The committee raised the House figure from $2 million to $3 million to give urban information and technical assistance to smaller cities in my Commonwealth and elsewhere, which do not have an adequate staff to do the kind of technical work and planning which is so necessary if our cities are to grow in an orderly way.

My 10th point has to do with the community development training programs. Here I am particularly grateful to the Senator from Washington for being willing to accept an amendment which I offered, which specifically set aside $500,000 for urban studies fellowships. I emphasize that it took 8 years to get it adopted and 2 years more to get it financed. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] was kind enough to call them Clark fellowships. I am indeed proud to have them so indicated. They provide training grants and facilities to 83 graduate students each year, and help to make up for the manpower deficit in this most important profession.

Mr. President, my 11th point has to do with urban research and technology. Here I am happy to note that the Senate tripled the allowance of the House of Representatives by raising the amount appropriated from $5 million to $15 million, thus giving the urban research and technology effort the funds that are so badly needed to enable the cities in my Commonwealth and elsewhere to do the work necessary to turn them into model cities.

My 12th point has to do with the rent supplement program. I particularly salute the Senator from Washington and his supporters in the committee and on the floor for the success of the effort to preserve in the bill the entire $40 million requested for the rent supplement program. In that connection, I would like to reiterate for the benefit of the Secretary of HUD the point made by a number of Senators, including myself, on the floor yesterday regarding certain language in the report which would purport to require that nonprofit sponsors of rent supplement projects using FNMA financing put up 5 percent of the total equity. That statement in the report does not represent the will of the Senate.

I hope that Secretary Weaver will be guided by the comments of those of us who disagree with the statement in the committee report on this issue.

I think that the rent supplements victory and the model cities victory are two great blows in support of proper and orderly development of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield?

Mr. CLARK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I am very glad that the Senator from Pennsylvania has given the outline he has of the proposed accomplishments under the appropriation bill, once the final figure is passed by Congress.

I want the RECORD to show my appreciation to the Senator from Pennsylvania for the contributions he has made on a great many of the substantive legislative issues, before they ever got to the Appropriations Committee, as he has worked diligently on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I think this should be said.

What the Senator from Pennsylvania has raised in the Chamber this afternoon causes me to find out whether he shares the point of view I now express—

We have had some interesting political speeches on the floor of the Senate this afternoon, all concentrated on the Federal Government and expenditures of the Federal Government, but not one word as to what would be the situation in the States—including the States of Senators who made political speeches this afternoon—if the Federal Government was not doing some of the things that otherwise would have to be done at the State level.

The idea that because we introduce these Federal programs we would not have to have them anyway but should split them up among the States, I think is part of the fallacy that runs through the political speeches here this afternoon.

The Senator from Pennsylvania and I worked hard for years, for example, in regard to the Federal education aid bill.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] asked for a figure that I thought would be a round number figure in regard to that program, and I said it was around $7 billion thus far.

But, just take a look at what would happen at the State level. The first year's efforts of the Kennedy administration resulted in the breakthrough on the Federal education program, which President Johnson has referred to as a legislative miracle, and so it is. If we had not had this breakthrough, what would happen at the State level?

I know what the problems are at the State level. Real property taxes are already so high in many of our State districts that real property cannot continue to bear more property taxes in order to support the schools in those districts, unless we find bond issues being turned down. Are we going to turn down the boys and girls of America? The fact is, we are going to have the responsibility to see to it that they get a decent education and that we carry out the obligation we owe them; namely, to guarantee to them the right they have to a decent education which will permit them to develop their intellectual potentials to the maximum extent possible.

What are we doing? We are substituting some Federal aid on the basis of a progressive tax basis, not a regressive tax basis which characterizes the tax base of most of the States. We are providing the States with Federal aid to help many of them on a partnership basis. This is an obligation that we owe to the boys and girls of America.

I am one Senator who wants to file this caveat against the political speeches we have heard this afternoon.

We have a mutual responsibility, both Federal and State, to carry out the obligations which the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] have placed in this appropriation bill.

If we did not do it at the Federal level, a great many programs would have to be segmentized, with resulting great waste, and more cost in the long run if we add them up together than if we do it on what I think is a much more efficient system than we are doing it in carrying out our share of the Federal responsibility in these programs.

Talk to me about waste. Talk to me about governmental waste. Take a look at the shocking waste characterizing most of the State budgets and the State fiscal policies of this country. That is where the waste is. It is far in excess of the waste at the Federal level.

Accordingly, I am very glad that the Senator from Pennsylvania has given the analysis he has. It is about time we put some of these issues in their proper perspective.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, first, let me say that it has been a privilege to serve with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] as a member of the Subcommittee on Education during the years when this legislation was pressed through the committee and through the Senate and finally enacted into law. His leadership has been a real inspiration to me.

Next, let me point out that there are a number of fine, liberal, and intelligent Republicans on that committee who supported these education programs, just as they supported the health measures of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], and others.

Thus, let no man say that this is a partisan matter. There are plenty of Senators on the other side of the aisle who made a real and useful contribution to approving of the appropriations which are so necessary to enable the people of the United States—particularly the children—to have an adequate education.

I am sure that when the Senator from Oregon mentioned real property taxes, he inadvertently forgot to mention sales taxes. This a particularly repugnant form of regressive tax under which the people in the States and localities are being in effect bled to death.

Finally, let me say to my good friend from Oregon that I thank him for his kind words. I do not think there is anything partisan here. I do not think there should be anything partisan about this bill. We could not have passed it without a lot of fine Republican votes.

I do not think the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Iowa can take much comfort from the comments they have made about inflation and high expenditures. The fact is that the effort to improve the health of the Nation, to provide an adequate education for all our children, and all the other necessary social services, could not have succeeded without the votes of many Republicans who differ with the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MORSE. I want the Senator to understand that I have never taken, and never will take, an education bill to the floor of the Senate which is not a bipartisan bill.

I see the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is in the Chamber. Without his support, we would not have had an education bill. That is also true of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY]; the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]; the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK]; the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN]; and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN].

They are not the ones making the argument I am answering here this afternoon.

There is also the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], a cosponsor, really, of the bill this afternoon. I am not talking about it, let me say, on the basis of a Democratic or a Republican division, because we have got some Democrats that make the same argument, and I am answering them, too.

All I am pointing out is that we can look at this bill and we are looking at a bill which has a great many services which if they were not rendered by the Federal Government would have to be segmentized and rendered by State governments at a much greater cost than one could possibly imagine in comparison to what I think is a much greater saving if we do it at the Federal level.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I should like to make clear the fact that my vote against this bill does not mean that I am opposed to all of the programs and agencies contained therein. There are good programs and agencies in this bill that I have supported in the past and shall continue to support. However, the bill does contain, in my opinion, a great deal of unnecessary expenditures which should be deferred.

This Nation cannot continue massively to fund every social welfare program—no matter how desirable—while engaged in a tremendously costly struggle to insure the freedom of the people of Southeast Asia.

HELP FOR THE POOREST AMERICANS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, funds appropriated by H.R. 9960, the independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriations bill of 1968, will support many programs vital to well-being of the people of the Nation. The bill includes money for outer space activities and the attacking inner-city problems; money for basic scientific research and for construction of housing.

I want to remark on one specific item, an item of $1 million, an item of small significance in a bill appropriating about $10 billion, but an item of great significance for the people who will be aided by the program the money supports.

The $1 million will launch a special $10 million remote housing program in Alaska. This program will seek to improve housing conditions unmatched in the worst city slum. Alaska's native people, made up of Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos, have been called, for good reason, "the poorest Americans."

I have introduced and worked on many bills during my more than 20 years in Washington, but no bill of mine has meant more to me than the one authorizing the housing program.

There were reports that some persons in Alaska believed the authorization bill to be some kind of "election-year" gimmick for which no money would be appropriated.

The action of the administration in requesting $1 million to start the program should have put such rumors to rest.

The action of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, which, under the leadership of the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], voted to add the funds to the House version of H.R. 9906, should have put such rumors to rest.

The action of the full Senate Appropriations Committee in supporting the subcommittee should have put the false rumors to rest.

And certainly today's vote by the Senate to approve the bill containing the $1 million should put any such rumors to rest.

There remains one more step before the skeptics will have to eat their words, and that is acceptance by the House conferees of the addition of $1 million for this program.

Last spring, the House Appropriations Committee rejected the administration's request for these funds because the State had not presented plans on how the money would be spent. I urged the State to prepare the necessary plans and invited State officials to appear with me to testify on behalf of the appropriations request before the Senate Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee. The State came up with a satisfactory plan and accepted my invitation to a joint appearance before the subcommittee.

Mr. President, at this point I want to make special mention of the senior Senator from Washington, who, during the hearing on the item, acted to strengthen the program. Initially, the State plan indicated that a portion of the $1 million would go for administration of the program. Senator MAGNUSON insisted, and correctly so, that the State should absorb administrative costs so that the entire Federal grant would go for housing or related facilities. The State agreed, and that is where the program stands today.

I would also like to commend the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the ranking minority member on the subcommittee, for his interest and cooperation in working to strengthen the program.

Mr. President, Alaska needs a special housing program badly. Over the years we have sought unsuccessfully to adapt existing Federal housing programs to conditions in our native villages.

Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance provisions are not helpful for a number of reasons, the principal ones being, first, size and construction standards are too high, thereby making the cost prohibitive not only in terms of the homeowner's ability to pay, but also in terms of construction costs exceeding cost limitations of the program itself, and second, the lack of private mortgage money to be insured.

The Farmers Home Administration has a rural home loan program which is operated to a limited extent in the remote areas where there is almost entirely a cash economy and the prospective homeowners have merchantable title to their land. Although size and quality standards under the rural housing program are workable in terms of Alaska's remote economy, most prospective borrowers would be unable to repay loans even at very favorable terms. The Farmers Home Administration requires that the prospective borrower in a rural community have merchantable title to his land and for the most part people in the remote areas do not hold their land in fee.

The Housing Assistance Administration operates the low-rent housing program and, in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, operates a low-rent, mutual and self-help housing program. Under both of these programs certain requirements in terms of size and facilities preclude usage of the programs in the remote areas for much the same reasons as given for the Federal Housing mortgage insurance program.

Under the special remote housing program, the Alaska State Housing Authority, the agency which will administer the program, will make grants or loans or both for the construction of housing units. The amount of grant or loan will be determined by a family's size and ability to pay. The average construction cost of each unit and related facilities must not exceed $7,500. Those of you familiar with construction costs in Alaska will realize that under this program we are not building palaces. Rather, the intent is to construct sound housing to protect inhabitants against the ravages of northern winters.

In addition, the program provides for mutual and self-help participation by individuals and communities. This provision will have the dual effect of making the Federal funds go further and in reducing the amount of grant or loan to the individual.

The first $1 million will finance construction of more than 100 units. It is a small but important beginning.

I am confident the Senate conferees will work hard to convince House conferees to accept this addition to the bill the House approved. I know that they carry with them the hopes of thousands of the poorest Americans.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE EDWARD WATSON SHORT, M.P., POSTMASTER GENERAL, UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, we are honored this afternoon to have with us as a guest of the Senate the Right Honorable Edward Watson Short, Member of Parliament and Postmaster General of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Edward Short was appointed Postmaster General in July 1966. Prior to this appointment, he served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and, as such, Government chief whip in the House of Commons, since the Labor Government returned to power in October 1964, at which time he was also created a privy councilor. Mr. Short had had many years' experience in the whips' office, as deputy chief opposition whip and earlier as an opposition whip northern area. He has been Labor Member of Parliament for Newcastle Central since 1951.

Many Members of the Senate attended the British parliamentary meeting at Bermuda some years ago and met and remember Mr. Short. We are pleased to have him on the floor this afternoon. I will ask him to rise in order that he may be welcomed. [Applause, Senators rising.]

COMPENSATION FOR DISABLED FIREMEN—CHANGE OF REFERENCE OF BILL

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, S. 2421, a bill to provide compensation for totally disabled local firemen or survivors of local firemen killed or disabled while performing their duties in an area of civil disorder, was introduced on September 18 and was referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

I am persuaded that the bill should go to the Committee on the Judiciary which handled a similar bill for compensation for policemen killed or injured under such circumstances.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Operations be discharged from further consideration of the bill, and that the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary for handling.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9960) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I wish to take just half a minute before we vote.

This is the 13th year that I have been handling the independent offices appropriation bill as chairman of the subcommittee. It is the 9th year that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott] has been the ranking minority member of that subcommittee. It is 19 years for Mr. Earl Cooper, 3 years for Mr. Harley Dirks, of the committee staff, and 5 years for Mr. Robert Clark, of the minority staff.

We want to pay great respect to these members of the staff for their help on this difficult bill.

The net reductions that have been made in the budget requests for these 13 years that I have served has amounted to $4.4 billion.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I merely want to express my appreciation to the chairman for his comments. This is a complicated and difficult bill, and it has been a great pleasure to work with him.

I wanted to express my appreciation to the members of the staff, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Dirks, and to Mr. Robert Clark, the minority staff member, because, without their assistance and diligence and hard work, it would be impossible to bring out such a bill.

Now I would like to speak politically for a moment and suggest that we vote on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on passage of the bill. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senators from Nevada [Mr. Bible and Mr. Cannon], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Pearson] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Pearson], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen].

If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 77, nays 5, as follows:

[No. 264 Leg.]

YEAS—77

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Griffin
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—5

Hickenlooper
Hollings
Miller
Thurmond
Williams, Del.

NOT VOTING—18

Bible
Brewster
Cannon
Dominick
Gore
Hansen
Hatfield
Kuchel
Lausche
Metcalf
Pearson
Percy
Russell
Scott
Smathers
Symington
Tower
Williams, N.J.

So the bill (H.R. 9960) was passed.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and, the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Magnuson, Mr. Ellender, Mr. Russell, Mr. Holland, Mr. Pastore, Mr. Allott, Mrs. Smith, and Mr. Hruska conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the funding measure just adopted provides appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and independent offices, including the Office of Emergency Planning, the Federal Communications Commission, the General Services Administration, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans' Administration, and many more. The funds provided will support the continuation of a number of programs vital to the health and welfare of millions of Americans; medical research, urban rehabilitation, housing, mass transportation, model cities development, Federal facility construction, and rent supplements, identify only a few of the many benefits enabled by the funds provided.

Handling an appropriation bill of such magnitude—containing so many varied and extensive programs—was an immense task. But the challenge was easily assumed and effectively met by the distinguished chairman of this Appropriations Subcommittee, the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson]. The success of the measure, the adoption by the Senate of all of its features—some of which were highly controversial and complex—was due in large measure to his strong and devoted efforts. Always has Senator Magnuson lent his talented and most effective abilities to matters of such great value and immense importance; always have his efforts been highly productive and most successful. That certainly was the case with respect to this measure. His work in the service of the Nation has today produced another outstanding achievement; an achievement that demonstrates once more that Senator Magnuson is a legislator whose effectiveness is unsurpassed in this body. The Senate is again deeply grateful for his efforts.

Joining Senator Magnuson to insure the Senate's overwhelming approval of this measure was the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott]. His deep understanding of the issues presented, his thorough knowledge of all of the many facets of this appropriation, have made his contribution as the ranking minority member of the subcommittee critical to this success. Though offering a differing view with respect to some of its features, Senator Allott cooperated strongly to assure the disposition of the measure with reasonable dispatch. The Senate is deeply grateful.

The Senate is grateful also for the splendid cooperation exhibited by the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams] during the consideration of this funding bill. He expressed his own strong and sincere views, yet in no way impeded efficient and orderly action. High commendation goes also to the Senator from Florida [Mr. Holland]. His appreciation of the issues involved and his articulate and thoughtful contributions to the discussion—as always—were most welcome.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. Yar-

BOROUGH] deserves similary high praise for so quickly responding to an emergency situation by successfully advocating his amendment designed to help mitigate the devastating effects Hurricane Beulah has already visited upon his State. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] must be credited with outstanding advocacy for the successful urging of his amendment increasing funds for the National Science Foundation.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] are to be commended for offering their clear and thoughtful views on the proposal. And similar commendation goes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER].

In sum, the debate on this measure was highly provocative. Many Members joined the discussion, and while the views offered were not entirely homogeneous at all times, the debate certainly was in keeping with the already established fact that the U.S. Senate is the greatest deliverative body in the history of mankind.

The overwhelming passage of this appropriation measure is a credit to the entire Senate.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished majority leader about the program for tomorrow and early next week, and whether a Saturday session is proposed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, first in response to the last part of the question raised by the distinguished minority leader, there will be no Saturday session.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to consider Calendar No. 548, S. 2388, a bill to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, and so forth. I do this so that it will become the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill—S. 2388—to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of the economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there may be a little discussion on this bill tonight. There will be no votes.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the military construction authorization bill has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Armed Services. If it meets with the approval of the distinguished minority leader, I wish that he would give consideration to permitting us to lay aside the pending business tomorrow to take up the military construction bill, which I understand has been reported unanimously by the committee.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will discuss the matter with the distinguished minority leader later.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That will be agreeable.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I think I can state with assurance to the Senate that the military construction bill will come up for consideration at the conclusion of the morning hour or shortly thereafter tomorrow.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of September 20, 1967, p. 26111, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the bill passed by the Senate contained one amendment—relating to disapproval of any loans that might be used for arms purchases—which was not in the House version of H.R. 9547. The House accepted this one Senate amendment in the conference.

H.R. 9547 as approved by the House contained two amendments not carried in the Senate version of the bill. One of these amendments, designed to take account of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit, provides that any dollar financing of local costs should be held to a minimum. The Senate conferees accepted this House amendment. The other amendment, entitled "audit," met with strong objections; after considerable discussion the House conferees receded from their amendment.

Yesterday, however, the House, by a vote of 274 to 126, recommitted the conference report to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist on retaining the "audit" section of the House-passed bill. It was made quite clear that there would be little or no room for maneuver leading to a possible compromise. It was also clear that if the Senate conferees had acted in an equally adamant fashion, there would probably have been a long deadlock which might have jeopardized the whole purpose of the legislation. Believing that the amendment at issue is neither important nor significant enough to warrant risking this contribution to the Alliance for Progress, the Senate conferees have accepted section I of the House bill.

Frankly, Mr. President, it is my belief that no real case has yet been made for this audit provision. The highly reputable Price Waterhouse Co. has been auditing the internal auditing procedures of the Inter-American Bank and has no criticism; nor has there been any criticism of Price Waterhouse. It has been claimed by supporters of this amendment that only the Bank's social progress trust fund is really of concern to us, because it consists entirely of U.S. money. Yet this amendment applies to the Bank as a whole.

Stranger still are the actual provisions of the section. It provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall tell our representative on the Bank's Board of Executive Directors to propose that the Board established another auditing program. Then it provides that the U.S. Comptroller General shall advise the U.S. Treasury on how to conduct an audit—so this precious information may be conveyed through our representative on to the Latin American directors. Finally, it provides that any material developed shall get back to the Congress by means of a chain consisting of the U.S. Executive Director, the U.S. Treasury, the Comptroller General, and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies.

As a matter of fact, all these operations could take place without any legislation if the Treasury believed them necessary.

Mr. President, I ask that the Senate agree to the conference report.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I would like to interpose my objections, concerns, and opposition to this provision. The majority leader has stated it more than fairly. It does not actually add anything.

Our Executive Director, in the order of natural prudence, should insist on the proper audit procedure. No Secretary of the Treasury worthy of the name would tolerate anything else as a superior officer in the general administration of our own Government.

What it does is again introduce for no reason—and if there were reason, I would be the first to agree with it—an affront which is really fancied because there is not any substance. However, the point will be raised that we are looking over the shoulder of a great international institution created for inter-American development and financing, of which we happen to be one member. There are many Latin American members. We are showing suspicion about the operations, a suspicion which belies the validity and substantiality of our own representation on the Board and of the voting power which we represent in the organization. It is completely counterproductive. It does not bring us anything. It merely hurts us.

I really think it is most ill advised. I am terribly sorry to see it happen. However, the majority leader has certainly been very statesmanlike, as he is usually, and forthright in indicating our disapproval and explaining that it does not do anything. It may help our friends to understand that we, too, have our democratic processes and that sometimes they work out in strange ways and forms, though not in substance.

Mr. President, I am not one who believes that we have to be mawkish about this matter or butter up people whom we help in their development. However, we certainly do not have to affront them unnecessarily and without substance.

There is no reason to believe, as the distinguished majority leader has said, that there is anything wrong with these accountings or that we need to look over their shoulders. If this were true, I would be the first to say that we must take precautions.

I voice the hope that our friends in Latin America will recognize that, although there is some form to this on which they might take offense, the will and posture of the United States is asserted by the substance of this matter. I hope that the Inter-American Bank, by its own conduct and deportment and bearing with respect to this matter, will demonstrate how hollow is the fear which dictated the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished senior Senator from New York who has expressed in words far better than I what the actual situation is.

I am certain on the basis of what has been said on the floor today that if there is any doubt in the minds of our Latin American friends or the directors of this Bank, they will be assured that as far as the Senate is concerned we understand the situation. We are very much in favor of the present auditing procedure that has been carried on for several years by Price Waterhouse, and think this procedure is something that will not be necessary. However, as long as the other body has acted as it has, we see no choice in the matter. We want the implications and the intent and the meaning clearly understood as we have endeavored to explain them this afternoon.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am on my way to Latin America by authority of the Senate and with the support of my minority leader as a delegate to a meeting of the Bank.

I shall do my utmost, I say to the majority and minority leaders, to make this thing clear. The substance of the matter is that we are backing the Bank with the resources it needs, and that substance should far overshadow any little incident that has occurred here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL NOON TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this afternoon, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM TOMORROW UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tomorrow, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORITY TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS AND TO RECEIVE MESSAGES DURING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate, following the completion of business today, the Vice President or the President pro tempore or the Acting President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills, and that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the pending bill (S. 2388) is the result of a 4-month study of the war on poverty.

The staff director of that study is Mr. Howard W. Hallman who has been associated with the committee as a consultant since March.

Since Mr. Hallman does not presently have the privilege of the floor of the Senate and in order that he may be available to consult with me on the floor on various matters as this legislation is debated, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hallman be granted permisison to be present on the floor during the Senate's consideration of S. 2388.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that all those staff members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare who have floor privileges be permitted on the floor during debate on the pending legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM FOR TOMORROW—ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the pending legislation is a matter of considerable importance to the Senate. I have some rather extensive remarks to make preliminarily, but I was just advised a few moments ago by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] that the majority leader intends to set aside the pending bill tomorrow in order to take up the military construction authorization bill.

It is now toward the end of the afternoon. Most Senators have left the Chamber and I should think it would be more orderly legislative practice if I deferred my opening statement until after the military construction bill is disposed of tomorrow, thus making it possible to have printed in the Congressional Record over the weekend an uninterrupted presentation on the poverty bill. I regret I was unable to contact the majority leader because I had advised him I would make a few opening remarks to keep the Senate in session a little longer. But after consultation with the secretary of the Democratic conference, Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, I am prepared to take this responsibility myself and move that the Senate stand in adjournment, under the order previously entered, until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I make that motion.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 22, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 21, 1967:

District of Columbia Government

Walter E. Washington, of the District of Columbia, to be Commisisoner of the District of Columbia for a term expiring February 1, 1969.

Thomas W. Fletcher, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth.—I Samuel 3: 10.

Eternal God, our Father, we stand at attention before Thee this moment to listen to Thy voice and to hear Thy word for us this day. Guide us as we work, give us patience when we must wait, grant unto us to be genuine in faith, gentle in love, and great in spirit.

Help us to take time to pray, time to open our hearts to Thee, time to discover Thy way for us and for our Nation. Then give us the commonsense to become aware of Thy will and the uncommon spirit to obey it for the good of our country and the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1956. An act to extend for 2 years the authority for more flexible regulation of maximum rates of interest or dividends, higher reserve requirements, and open market operations in agency issues.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House, with an amendment to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 188. An act creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials.

MAKING IN ORDER CONSIDERATION OF A CONTINUING RESOLUTION ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order on Wednesday, September 27, or any day thereafter, for the House to consider a joint resolution making continuing appropriations.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the parliamentary inquiry is this: Is a continuing resolution subject to amendment when it is brought onto the floor of the House, if the amendment is germane?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that any germane amendment will be in order. It would have to be a germane amendment.

Mr. BOW. I thank the Speaker, and I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I would assume the Speaker could add to that the statement: "If the gentleman is recognized for the purpose of offering an amendment."

Mr. Speaker, as a parliamentary inquiry is that not correct?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman restate his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. GROSS. The parliamentary inquiry is this: That the gentleman could offer an amendment if the Speaker recognized the gentleman for that purpose?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the question answers itself. The answer would be yes, subject to the right of recognition, it is a question within the discretion of the Speaker.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from Texas if this is the second, third, fourth, or fifth continuing resolution?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, this is the third continuing resolution to be considered by the House this year.

I would also say in this case, as in former cases, that the continuing resolution would be considered in the House under the 5-minute rule, and I assume any relevant amendment could be offered.

Mr. GROSS. This would be considered in the House under the 5-minute rule, and any amendment that is germane could be offered?

Mr. MAHON. We have considered them heretofore under the 5-minute rule, and that would be my intention in this case.

Mr. GROSS. Any germane amendment could be offered, otherwise the gentleman from Iowa would be constrained, in view of the fact that we have to go through this rigmarole, to object. I assume the continuing resolution is for a month or is it for a longer period?

Mr. MAHON. It would probably be for 1 month. The committee meets next week to consider the matter. We are pushing to get our bills through, but there are three appropriation bills which we have not been able to report. One of them is military construction; another is foreign assistance; both of these are awaiting authorization; another is the final supplemental which will include the poverty program for which authorization legislation has not been considered. There is other legislation to be worked on before the supplemental appropriation bill can be reported.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to ask the gentleman this question, because this obviously concerns the continuation of this session of the Congress. I would like to ask the gentleman if any light has come down to him from the Democratic leadership of the House as to when we may reasonably expect final adjournment of this session of the Congress.

Mr. MAHON. Well, no light has come to me and I am not advised by the leadership or anyone else, but I only trust and feel within myself and within my bones that we are going to be here for a very long time because we have the tax bill to consider and there seems to be an indisposition on the part of the Congress to consider the tax bill until after we know more about what we are going to do on appropriations and other spending legislation.

So that would be my observation. I would like for us to get out and go home and see our constituents, and I am sure the gentleman from Iowa is likeminded, but we are confronted with a practical proposition. We have to get these bills passed.

Mr. GROSS. Have I been misinformed by way of the grapevine that we can expect a blockbuster of a deficiency appropriation bill or supplemental as some people like to call it—later in this session?

Mr. MAHON. Not this year. I do not believe there will be.

Mr. GROSS. There will be no further supplemental appropriations?

Mr. MAHON. There will be a supplemental, of course; it will cover the poverty programs and other programs which we have not been able to consider because of the lack of authorization, and it will be a rather large bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the gentleman says the 5-minute rule will prevail and that any germane amendments will be in order to the continuing resolution, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON]?

There was no objection.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S UNENDING SEARCH FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson is fulfilling his pledge to the world that "there are no arbitrary limits to our search for peace" in Vietnam.

In a recent editorial, the Hartford Times favorably noted two of the Johnson administration's most recent constructive attempts to undertake honorable negotiations. Secretary Rusk has again sounded out other nations in an attempt to involve the United Nations in a search for peace. Moreover, the administration has expressed willingness, in the editorial's words, to "take very seriously any move by the newly elected South Vietnamese Government intended to bring about a bombing pause as a possible preliminary to negotiation with Hanoi."

American critics of our Vietnam policy overlook the fact that two sides are needed to negotiate a peace. As the Hartford Times editorial demonstrates, we are doing our part. The enemy must now show its good faith.

I include the Hartford Times editorial, dated September 11, 1967, in the RECORD as continuing evidence of the administration's commitment to peace:

MR. RUSK'S MOVE

If there has been doubt that the United States would accept the sincere help of any agency to negotiate peace in Vietnam, it must be measured against Secretary of State Rusk's latest action.

Mr. Rusk said that this nation would welcome the initiative of the UN to make any contribution toward peace. And he also stated that the United States would certainly take very seriously any move by the newly elected South Vietnamese government intended to bring about a bombing pause as a possible preliminary to negotiation with Hanoi.

He evidently has no hope that proposals that might be launched would gain much serious attention in the North.

Mr. Rusk's view may dampen his statement of willingness with pessimism, but the caution he expresses does not foreclose all possibility of action.

The Secretary's confirmation of reports that he has sounded out other nations on the possibility that the UN would tackle the problem is constructive.

JOHNSON-SARAGAT TALKS FORTIFY ITALIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson and President Saragat fortified the historic links which bind Italy and the United States during their intensive discussions this week.

The United States and Italy are bound by the common strength of our military and economic interdependence, by our shared ideals of justice and democracy, and by the heritage of Italian-descended Americans who, in President Johnson's words, "have given color, force, and vitality to our American character."

So, too, do the two Presidents share much in common. Both have fought for freedom in world wars. Both have led their nations to new prosperity. Both have an uncommon dedication to liberty. And both are champions of the North Atlantic Alliance, which has been so instrumental in preserving European peace.

The wide-ranging accord reached between the two great Presidents symbolizes a rededication of the close friendship which marks the relations between our two nations. It demonstrates commonly shared ideals and a mutual pursuit of international harmony in a turbulent world.

Italian-American relations have never been stronger. For this I commend both President Johnson and President Saragat—who are laboring to find new solutions to the old problems of tension and discord that have plagued mankind for too long.

INVESTIGATION OF MILITARY HOSPITALS

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention to one of the most ridiculous things that has come to my attention in some time. Recently a young constituent of mine, a sergeant in the U.S. Army, lost one leg in Vietnam and his other leg was pretty well shot up by shrapnel. He was at Brooke Army General Hospital, and received a 30-day medical leave to go home. His brother picked him up in a wheelchair, and when the sergeant got in the car, his brother folded up the chair and drove off.

When they reached Houston, they received an urgent telephone call that his leave had been canceled because he had carried off the wheelchair.

After inquiry from my office, they said:

> Well, we will go ahead and let him have his leave, but the family must ship the wheelchair back to San Antonio.

The Surgeon General's office here said:

> We have only 13 wheelchairs and we have 50 amputees in that hospital section.

Do you know that we have over 6,000 wheelchairs in storage, and all they needed to do was to request an additional shipment? Today I am demanding a full investigation, not only of the operation of Brooke, but of every other hospital we have. It is utterly ridiculous when a legless or crippled veteran home on medical leave cannot have the use of a wheelchair.

I sent the following telegram to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, asking for a full and complete investigation:

> SEPTEMBER 21, 1967.
>
> Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
> *Secretary of Defense,*
> *The Pentagon,*
> *Washington, D.C.:*
>
> I urge your immediate investigation into operation of service hospitals serving our Vietnam casualties to see they are fully equipped to provide ultimate in care and service. On August 29, officials at Brooke Army Hospital, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, cancelled medical leave for my constituent as punishment for carrying home inadvertently one of the hospital's wheelchairs. I was advised by surgeon general's office here the hospital ward 43–A has 13 wheelchairs to serve 50 amputees. Defense Supply Agency advises me it has in storage 6,144 new wheelchairs.
>
> This is a ridiculous situation, and I ask your immediate action to see it is corrected and that legless veterans are provided wheelchairs for leave, if they so desire.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> BOB CASEY,
> *Representative in Congress.*

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be on the floor of the House yesterday when the House voted on an audit for the Inter-American Development Bank. Had I been present, I certainly would have voted in favor of this provision of the bill, feeling that the American people have a right to affirm that American interests are being protected.

WE MUST PERSEVERE IN VIETNAM

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is spending an estimated $24 billion a year in Vietnam. That is a lot of money by any standards. Many have criticized this expenditure in a tiny country so far from the American Continent. What critics of our policy in Vietnam tend to forget, however, is that Vietnam is a strategic point in the Communist map of aggression. If we permit the Communists to take over in South Vietnam, they will not stop there. The Communist appetite for aggression is insatiable. We must therefore halt their march toward world domination.

But the price of freedom is high. Americans have never been able to economize where the principles of their heritage are involved, and this is no time to begin. We cannot stop now—too much is at stake. We must persevere in Vietnam.

U.N. RESOLUTION JEOPARDIZES SEA FLOOR SOVEREIGNTY

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is alarming to learn that a move is afoot in the United Nations whereby the control of the ocean floor would be placed in the United Nations. Word has it that the United States is prepared to support this idea which is contained in a resolution introduced in the General Assembly by Malta.

Several of us in the U.S. Congress have introduced legislation which urge that the President instruct our U.N. Ambassador to oppose this idea.

In executive meetings, the House Subcommittee on Oceanography has met informally with representatives of the White House and the State Department. The best I have been able to find out is that rather than support the Malta resolution, the United States will urge an extensive study of the proposal, looking toward guidelines to establish a basis of development of the resources under the sea.

In other words, it is clear that the United States is not intending to oppose this resolution and stand on article I of the 1958 Geneva Convention which already has established ownership of coastal states in their Continental Shelves and also, mark this, ownership of the resources beyond to whatever depth a nation could develop those resources.

In other words, the sovereignty of the seabed adjacent to each coastal nation under international agreement, approved by members of the United Nations, is already vested in each adjacent coastal nation.

This ownership is threatened. And, thereby, ownership of energy-producing fuels, metals, and resources such as oil, uranium, magnesium, gold, and other valuable and needed minerals would accrue to the U.N.

In my opinion, legally, only with the consent of the full Congress—both the House and the Senate—can American property or sovereignty be given away. And, I do not think Members of the House of Representatives would ever approve of this unwise scheme. But through the United Nations there is no telling what disposition would be made of our marine resources.

SUBSIDIZED SECOND- AND THIRD-CLASS MAIL

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, today the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee concluded discussion on the postal rates bill. I offered an amendment during this discussion, a truth-in-mailing amendment, which failed to carry by one vote. I will offer this same amendment on the floor of the House when the bill is taken up.

Mr. Speaker, the American public is entitled to know the true facts about our mail matter. This amendment, when offered, will simply provide that each person who receives a rate subsidy in sending out his mail must disclose this on the envelope. For example, on junk mail, the third-class mail, he would have to state up in the corner, "Third-Class Mail, Subsidized 17.2 percent." Second-class mail as an average would have to state "Second-Class Mail, Subsidized 72.2 percent."

The American public is unaware of the fact that newspapers and magazines have such a tremendous subsidy in mail matter. These people have editorially criticized the third-class mailers and so-called junk mail in numerous instances. I feel the public is entitled to the true facts, and this should be disclosed on every piece of mail.

REVISION OF DRAFT LAW

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to praise our young men in Vietnam. They are the bravest and finest that e'er the sun shown on.

I have supported them and will continue to support our men in the armed services wherever they are. It is unfair that the majority of these young men come from the poor, who are relatively inarticulate and cannot well speak up for themselves. I have heard no voice raised on their behalf.

Mr. Speaker, I favor revision of the present draft laws so that all our young men, rich or poor, black or white, are given the same chance. Mr. Speaker, when this law is revised to apply equitably to all and the sons of the affluent members of the great society are drafted, a wailing cry of such intensity will be generated that it will pierce even the thick walls of the White House. Then this unfortunate, inexcusable war will be brought to a conclusion.

PERMISSION FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO FILE REPORT ON S. 676, AMENDMENT OF UNITED STATES CODE TO PROHIBIT OBSTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, UNTIL MIDNIGHT TOMORROW

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary have until midnight tomorrow to file its report on S. 676, to amend chapter 73, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR THE COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE CERTAIN REPORTS UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules have until midnight tonight to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. PATMAN submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 650)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: *That the Inter-American Development Bank Act (22 U.S.C. 283–283k) is amended by renumbering section 14 thereof as section 15 and by adding a new section 14, as follows:*

"AUDIT

"'SEC. 14. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States Executive Director to propose the establishment by the Board of Executive Directors of a program of selective but continuing independent and comprehensive audit of the Inter-American Development Bank, in accordance with such terms of reference as the Board of Executive Directors itself (or through a subcommittee), may prescribe. Such proposal shall provide that the audit reports be submitted to the Board of Executive Directors and to the Board of Governors.

"'(b) The Comptroller General of the United States shall prepare for the Secretary of the Treasury the scope of the audit and the auditing and reporting standards for the use of the United States Executive Director in assisting in the formulation of the terms of reference.

"'(c) The reports of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies to the Congress shall include, among other things, an appraisal of the effectiveness of the implementation and administration of the loans made by the Bank based upon the audit reports. The Comptroller General shall periodically review the reports of audit and findings issued and report to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Congress any suggestions he might have in improving the scope of the audit or auditing and reporting standards of the independent auditing firm, group, or staff.'

"SEC. 2. The Inter-American Development Bank Act is further amended by adding a new section 16 at the end thereof:

"'SEC. 16. (a) The United States Governor of the Bank is hereby authorized to vote in favor of the resolution entitled "Increase of $1,200,000,000 in Resources of Fund for Special Operations proposed by the Governors at their annual meeting in April 1967 and now pending before the Board of Governors of the Bank. Upon the adoption of such resolution, the United States Governor is authorized to agree, on behalf of the United States, to pay to the Fund for Special Operations of the Bank, the sum of $900,000,000, in accordance with and subject to the terms and conditions of such resolution, and subject to the further condition that in consideration of the United States balance-of-payments deficit any local cost financing, by project or otherwise, with the funds authorized under this section be held to the minimum possible level. The United States Governor is also authorized to vote in favor of the amendment to Annex C of the agreement, now pending before the Board of Governors of the Bank, to modify the procedure employed in the election of Executive Directors.

"'(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated without fiscal year limitation, for the United States share in the increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Bank, the sum of $900,000,000.

"'(c) The voting power of the United States shall be exercised for the purpose of disapproving any loan which might assist the recipient country directly or indirectly to acquire sophisticated or heavy military equipment.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

WRIGHT PATMAN,
ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
WILLIAM A. BARRETT,
LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
HENRY S. REUSS,
THOMAS L. ASHLEY,
WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
SEYMOUR HALPERN,
ALBERT W. JOHNSON,
Managers on the Part of the House.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
JOHN SPARKMAN,
MIKE MANSFIELD,
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

The Senate struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute amendment. The committee of conference has agreed to a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The House bill contained a provision not included in the Senate amendment directing the Secretary of the Treasury to instruct the U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank to propose the establishment of a program of selective but continuing independent and comprehensive audit of the Bank, with the scope of the audit and the auditing and reporting standards being prepared for the Secretary of the Treasury by the Comptroller General, who would periodically review the audit reports and report to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Congress any suggestions he might have to improve the scope of the audit or the auditing and reporting standards used. The conference substitute contains the House provision.

The House bill and the Senate amendment both contained a provision authorizing the U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank to vote in favor of the pending resolution entitled "Increase of $1,200,000,000, in Resources of Fund for Special Operations," and (upon the adoption of such resolution) to agree on behalf of the United States to pay to the Bank's Fund for Special Operations the sum of $900,000,000 in accordance with such resolution. The House bill made the payment of $900,000,000 subject to the further condition (not imposed by the Senate amendment) that in consideration of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit any local cost financing with the funds so authorized be held to the minimum possible level. The conference substitute contains the House provision.

The Senate amendment contained a provision not included in the House bill directing that the U.S. voting power in the Bank be exercised to disapprove any loan which might assist the recipient country directly or indirectly in acquiring sophisticated or heavy military equipment. The conference substitute contains the Senate provision.

Wright Patman,
Abraham J. Multer,
William A. Barrett,
Leonor K. Sullivan,
Henry S. Reuss,
Thomas L. Ashley,
William B. Widnall,
Seymour Halpern,
Albert W. Johnson,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the conference report on the bill (H.R. 9547) to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would the gentleman please explain briefly what happened in the conference?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. This is the bill that has been before the House on several occasions recently. Yesterday we had a vote on the Selden amendment.

Mr. GROSS. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. The vote was overwhelming in favor of recommitting the bill.

This morning the Senate conferees receded. The conference report, of course, is exactly the way the House wants the bill.

Mr. GROSS. Then the gentleman was not exactly correct yesterday when he said the Senate was so adamant on this subject.

Mr. PATMAN. They were, up until this morning.

Mr. GROSS. I beg the gentleman's pardon?

Mr. PATMAN. They were adamant until this morning.

Mr. GROSS. We heard from both sides of the aisle only yesterday afternoon how adamant the Senate was on this provision in the bill. I say to the gentleman, I am delighted the other body has accepted the House version. The House should take the firm action it did yesterday more often.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, even though I vigorously opposed the Selden amendment during yesterday's debate, I accepted the overwhelming House vote and signed the conference report. Not wanting to be a poor loser, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Alabama for achieving what he set out to do. I know he was sincere in his effort and had what he thought to be sufficient reason for requesting the new audit authority for the Inter-American Development Bank.

What disturbs me, however, is that the Johnson administration apparently was in full accord with the gentleman's amendment. It had the full blessing of the Treasury Department.

Make no mistake about, the new audit authority will cause misunderstanding and perhaps even a crisis in United States-Latin American relations. While the U.S. Director to the Bank is merely required to bring this congressional request before the Board of the Bank, we should all recognize what the congressional reaction would be if the Bank and the other member nations refused to go along with this new auditing requirement. And although the GAO itself would not conduct these audits, they will be performed under ground rules laid out by the GAO and they will be reviewed and reported on by the GAO.

These audits will not be directed solely to the Social Progress Trust Fund but to all internal management procedures of the Bank including those governing funds contributed by foreign nations.

Latin Americans can ask with justification why their Bank has been the first to be singled out for this treatment; why their Bank has been singled out for a resounding vote of "no confidence" by the U.S. Congress as well as by the Johnson administration.

If this amendment was approved by the administration for tactical reasons, a grave error in judgment has been committed. For those who yearn for complete control and auditing procedures of U.S. development assistance, we had better make up our minds that the only way we can achieve that goal is to revert back to straight bilateral foreign aid giveaway programs.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (S. 188) creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials, with a Senate amendment to the House amendments, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House engrossed amendment to the text of the bill insert:

"FINDING OF FACT AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

"Section 1. The Congress finds that the traffic in obscenity and pornography is a matter of national concern. The problem, however, is not one which can be solved at any one level of government. The Federal Government has a responsibility to investigate the gravity of this situation and to determine whether such materials are harmful to the public, and particularly to minors, and whether more effective methods should be devised to control the transmission of such materials. The State and local governments have an equal responsibility in the exercise of their regulatory powers and any attempts to control this transmission should be a coordinated effort at the various governmental levels. It is the purpose of this Act to establish an advisory commission whose purpose shall be, after a thorough study which shall include a study of the casual relationship of such materials to antisocial behavior, to recommend advisable, appropriate, effective, and constitutional means to deal effectively with such traffic in obscenity and pornography.

"COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

"Sec. 2. (a) Establishment.—For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, there is hereby created a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), whose members shall include persons having expert knowledge in the fields of obscenity and antisocial behavior, including but not limited to psychiatrists, sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, jurists, lawyers, and others from organizations and professions who have special and practical competence or experience with respect to obscenity laws and their application to juveniles.

"(b) MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION.—The Commission shall be composed of eighteen members, appointed by the President.

"(c) VACANCIES.—Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled by appointment by the President.

"(d) ORGANIZATION OF COMMISSION.—The Commission shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among its members.

"(e) QUORUM.—Ten members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, but five members shall be sufficient for the purpose of taking testimony or interrogating witnesses.

"COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 3. (a) MEMBERS EMPLOYED BY UNITED STATES.—Members of the Commission who are officers or full-time employees of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as officers or employees of the United States; but they shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"(b) OTHER MEMBERS.—Members of the Commission who are not officers or full-time employees of the United States shall each receive $75 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission. In addition, they shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 4. Such personnel as the Commission deems necessary may be appointed by the Commission without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subtitle III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

"DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 5. (a) INVESTIGATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.—It shall be the duty of the Commission—

"(1) with the aid of leading constitutional law authorities, to analyze the laws pertaining to the control of obscenity and pornography; and to evaluate and recommend definitions of obscenity and pornography;

"(2) to ascertain the methods employed in the distribution of obscene and pornographic materials and to explore the nature and volume of traffic in such materials;

"(3) to study the effect of obscenity and pornography upon the public, and particularly minors, and its relationship to crime and other antisocial behavior; and

"(4) to recommend such legislative, administrative, or other advisable and appropriate action as the Commission deems necessary to regulate effectively the flow of such traffic, without in any way interfering with constitutional rights.

"(b) REPORT.—The Commission shall report to the President and the Congress its findings and recommendations as soon as practicable and in no event later than January 31, 1970. The Commission shall cease to exist ten days following the submission of its final report.

"POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 6. (a) HEARINGS AND SESSIONS.—The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any committee thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and such places within the United States as the Commission or such committee may deem advisable.

"(b) CONSULTATION.—In carrying out its duties under the Act, the Commission shall consult with other Federal agencies, Governors, attorneys general, and other representatives of State and local government and private organizations to the extent feasible.

"(c) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality, information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this Act, and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is authorized and directed, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman.

"(d) OBTAINING SCIENTIFIC DATA.—For the purpose of securing the necessary scientific data and information the Commission may make contracts with universities, research institutions, foundations, laboratories, hospitals, and other competent public or private agencies to conduct research on the causal relationship of obscene material and antisocial behavior. For such purpose, the Commission is authorized to obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code."

Mr. DANIELS (interrupting the reading of the amendment). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask one quick question of the gentleman.

Are all amendments germane to this bill?

Mr. DANIELS. They are, sir.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 188, a bill creating a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

Before proceeding, I wish to pay tribute to the esteemed and able senior Senator from South Dakota, the Honorable KARL E. MUNDT, who was the author of this bill in the other body.

For many years, Senator MUNDT has labored, untiringly, to have the provisions embodied in S. 188 enacted into law. On two separate occasions, the distinguished Senator from South Dakota testified before the Select Subcommittee on Education, concerning the subject matter of S. 188. In both instances, Senator MUNDT's views were enthusiastically received by the members of the subcommittee.

I know many Americans share my deep sense of gratitude to Senator MUNDT for his outstanding efforts in guiding this important legislation through the Senate.

The production and dissemination of pornographic material has become a multibillion-dollar business. The purveyors of hard-core pornography have grown so bold in recent years that knowledgeable authorities have testified the growth of this smut-peddling threatens the moral fiber of our entire society in general—and our very young people in particular. Such threats must not be ignored.

America's consideration for the sacred rights of free expression for the individual, has made the responsibility of dealing with the problem of obscenity and pornography both difficult and complex.

The U.S. Supreme Court has not succeeded in formulating a satisfactory definition of "pornography." That is why the enactment of S. 188, at this time, is imperative.

The bill H.R. 10347—passed by the House as S. 188—has now been returned to us for final acceptance. The changes in the bill as it was passed in the Senate on September 20, are very minor in nature.

S. 188 now increases the membership of the Commission from 16 to 18 members, and provides that all appointments shall be made exclusively by the President.

S. 188 also states, now, as a declaration of policy, that, "the State and local governments have an equal responsibility in the exercise of their regulatory powers, and any attempts to control this transmission should be a coordinated effort at the various governmental levels."

Another change spells out that the membership of the Commission should not be limited to psychiatrists, sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, jurists, lawyers, but should extend to "others from organizations and professions, who have special and practical competence and experience with respect to obscenity laws and their application."

Finally, a quorum shall consist of ten members, instead of nine.

In every other respect, S. 188 is identical to H.R. 10347, passed unanimously by the House of Representatives on August 7, 1967.

S. 188 provides that an Advisory Commission be established, whose purpose shall be, after a thorough study, to recommend effective, advisable and appropriate means for dealing with the rising wave of pornography.

Mr. Speaker, while I have always opposed legislative efforts to eliminate the evil of pornography by paying the price of suppression of individual liberty, I can assure you, that this bill will attack the problems of pornography, and still vigorously guard our most sacred constitutional rights.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the adoption by this body of the conference report on S. 188 is sound and I am pleased that this action has been taken. I support the conference report and believe the amendments will strengthen this Commission in its work. I commend the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] for his work on this matter and the cooperation which has taken place between the gentleman and Members of the other body. I trust the President will promptly sign the legislation and forthwith proceed to search for the high-caliber people who will be required to carry out the purposes of this legislation.

There is much that needs to be done

and much which must be considered in this complex area and I hope no time will be lost in proceeding.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to support this conference report as I supported the original bill, and I commend the House and the Senate for passing this much-needed legislation.

I first introduced legislation to accomplish this in the 87th Congress and in each succeeding Congress thereafter. However, under the former chairman of the Education and Labor Committee no hearings were held, but we have now finally brought this much needed legislation to a conclusion. I wish to compliment our distinguished colleague and my dear friend, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS], for bringing us this tool in the fight against obscenity and pornography throughout the Nation.

I have been very much concerned with this problem during the 11 years I have served in the Congress, and a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, together with other members of that committee, have held hearings on this problem on the west coast, the east coast, in the Gulf States, the Middle West, and in cities in other areas, including Washington, D.C. These hearings were held for the primary purpose of learning the depth of this problem and determining what the Post Office Committee could do so far as halting the flow of this material through the U.S. mails. As a result of our studies I began consultations with constitutional lawyers and eventually arrived at a very effective means of attacking this problem so far as the use of the U.S. mails is concerned. This is the legislation which passed the House in the 88th Congress and the 89th Congress overwhelmingly but did not become law because of inaction by the other body. However, I am hopeful that my particular approach to this problem will become law during the 90th Congress, as today the full Committee on Post Office and Civil Service voted to include my legislation in the postal rate bill.

Millions of parents are disturbed with the unsolicited mailings that have come into their homes addressed to their minor children, advertising sexually provocative materials and other unsolicited mailings in the field of obscene and pornographic literature. The bill which passed the House in the 88th and 89th Congresses and which is now part of the postal rate bill empowers the parent, should he or his minor child receive unsolicited mailings of an obscene or sexually provocative nature, to request that the Postmaster General notify the mailer that he is to remove the parent's or minor child's name from his mailing list and all other such mailing lists under his control, whether they are his sole possession or rented or leased or in any way used to send such mailings into a home as an invasion of privacy. Having notified the Postmaster General that he wishes his name to be deleted and no further mailings made, the sender is so notified and if a further mailing is received, machinery is set into motion whereby the Postmaster General may refer the matter to the Justice Department. The Justice Department shall in turn present the matter to a U.S. district court, asking for a cease-and-desist order against the sender. Should the sender again mail such material into the home, he would be subject to a contempt of court penalty.

This is just a bare outline of the ramifications of this legislation. It will be discussed more fully when the postal rate bill comes before the House of Representatives for action.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey that the House concur in the Senate amendment?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill S. 188.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO FILE REPORTS UNTIL MIDNIGHT SEPTEMBER 22

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the District of Columbia may have until midnight September 22 to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING, COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency may sit while the House is in session today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

WE MUST SUPPORT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VIETNAM POLICY

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, critics of President Johnson's Vietnam policies should consider the terrible costs of breaching our commitment there.

First, an enormous impetus will be given hard-line Communist forces throughout the world who believe in the efficacy of violent change by subtle but brutal "wars of national liberation." Their appetite for aggression will be whetted. As President Johnson has stated:

> If we allow the Communists to win in Vietnam, it will become easier and more appetizing for them to take over other countries.

Second, decades of conflict in the developing world will likely be ushered in, with the ever-present danger of nuclear confrontation. As Marshal Lin Piao proclaimed:

> The people in other parts of the world will see that what the Vietnamese (Viet Cong and North Vietnamese) can do, they can do, too.

Third, with the decline of American prestige and influence in Asia which would be certain to follow a Communist victory, the independence of Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and the Indian subcontinent would be jeopardized by a reassured China.

Last, America would betray her own ideal that freedom-loving people have the right to make their own destiny.

America cannot live as an island of freedom in what would become a sea of aggression. Freedom is indivisible throughout the world—if South Vietnam is denied her freedom, ours too is threatened. We must, in the light of these unacceptable alternatives, support the President in his continuing attempt to bring an honorable peace to Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

AUTHORIZING FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 651) on the resolution (H. Res. 871) authorizing funds for the operation of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct pursuant to House Resolution 418, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 871

Resolved, That, effective April 13, 1967, in carrying out its duties during the Ninetieth Congress, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct is authorized to incur such expenses (not in excess of $10,000) as it deems advisable. Such expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized and approved by such committee, and signed by the chairman thereof.

SEC. 2. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I am very glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Maryland yielding to me at this point. However, it strikes me that this is an unusual request. I will ask the gentleman if there are copies of the resolution available to the Members. I can find none at the desk.

I would further like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Maryland if this resolution is not unusual in that it is for an ad hoc committee or a special committee of the House Members themselves? Would the gentleman explain to the Members of the House why it is necessary, at this late date, in the efforts of this committee to produce rules of conduct, to come in here and ask for additional funding?

Mr. FRIEDEL. This is a newly formed standing committee of the House. This is the Committee on Standards of Conduct, otherwise known as the "Ethics Committee," requesting funds for consultant fees, travel of witnesses, the purchase of periodicals, publications, the rental of equipment, telephone service, and other expenses. Every House committee has been authorized funds.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Maryland will yield further; first, he makes my query more timely and valid; second, each member of the committee has a telephone and other allowances of his own. Finally this is not a particularly new committee, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Maryland will yield further, it has been in effect as is reflected by the resolution itself—now that I have a copy of it—since April 13, 1967. In other words, this is a retroactive resolution.

Further, just which Standards and Ethics Committee of the House is this for? Is this for the one headed by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], which was appointed as a special committee of the House itself, or is this the Subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration that handled a certain case during the interim between the last Congress and this one; and what is the need in addition to that stated herein?

Mr. FRIEDEL. This is a Committee on Standards of Conduct. It is a standing committee of the House. It is headed by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], and the ranking Republican committee member is the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

For one thing, the staff which is presently engaged in committee activities has need for funds for the payment for long-distance telephone calls. There are no expenses involved other than for the operations in connection with this standing committee. This in my opinion represents a very modest request.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, does the gentleman from Maryland mean to advise the gentleman from Missouri that this is the first request for expenses that this committee has made? In other words, the committee does have a staff and in addition thereto there are representatives of the committee which have conduced certain investigations in various States of the Union?

Mr. FRIEDEL. That is correct, except that this committee is a standing committee of the House, not a select committee.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I do not know why the characterization of this committee as an ad hoc committee. It was created by a resolution of the Congress, a resolution adopted here in the House of Representatives, as a committee of this Congress—as a standing committee. We have been working at the job. It is my opinion that no member of the committee sought the job. I know I did not. However, we do have four people on the staff, I might say to the gentleman from Missouri, and we could have had 10. However, we are not going to start out on this committee by spending a whole lot of money. As a matter of fact I thought this was a very small request to make. However, certainly, the "Ethics Committee" is not going to start off by spending a whole lot of money that does not need to be spent.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Yes, I yield further to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the comments which have been made by my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK]. But based upon the fact of the resolution not being available prior to its consideration, it is not apparent to the Members of the House and the other duly-elected representatives of their districts, whether or not there has been a prior allocation. In fact, if you have four counsel or assistants and if they have not been paid since April, just what is the situation, and is this to be considered as retroactive?

Mr. FRIEDEL. As a standing committee of the House a staff allowance is automatic. Each standing committee under the rules is authorized four professional and six clerical employees. The salaries of these employees are paid from funds appropriated for all standing committee staff personnel. Thus, the salaries of the employees of the Committee on Standards of Conduct are not involved in this resolution.

There has been no prior appropriation of funds for this committee. The funds authorized by House Resolution 871 would be retroactive to April 13, 1967, the date the committee was established.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to the gentleman from Missouri that this is now a regular standing committee of the House of Representatives.

Under the rules of the House we are entitled to four professional people and six clerical people. We have, however, not reached nearly this point. We have four employees. But we do not have any allowance for telephone or telegraph or any other facilities that we might need that are not included in the regular contingency fund; we have none of this. We do have a stationery allowance, of course.

I might say as far as telegraph and telephone calls, and there have been a considerable number of them, I have been permitting those to be made out of my own office use. The committee also occasionally will need consultants. We sometimes, when we request people to come from a great distance to testify, may need to pay transportation. We have no funds with which to do that now.

Mr. HALL. And this resolution, if the gentleman will yield further, will provide that? Does it include the going rate for per diems, plus travel expense?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. HALL. What is this steering committee of the standing Committee on Standards and Ethics and Conduct of the House, to which the gentleman from Maryland referred, that has been paid for out of what funds until this authorization was made? What has been accomplished to date?

Mr. FRIEDEL. That is a standing committee which automatically is allowed to have four professional employees and six staff employees. This is the first appropriation they have asked for.

Mr. HALL. Then the gentleman's reference formerly to a "steering committee" was an erroneous reference?

Mr. FRIEDEL. If I said steering commitee, I was in error.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I do believe under the circumstances this is a modest amount.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD ON CRIME CONTROL

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing charges lately from the other side of the aisle that President Johnson is being "soft on crime" and of "belatedly berating" riot agitators.

These false and malicious charges represent a blatant and ill-conceived partisan attempt to capitalize politically on the tragic events of this summer.

The record shows that President Johnson has initiated more bold and imaginative approaches to crime control than any other President in our history.

The President has sent to Congress three major messages on crime control, established no fewer than four Presidential commissions to study new methods of law enforcement, convict rehabilitation, revision of Federal criminal statutes, and to find the answers to the summertime rioting in our cities.

He has initiated legislation to provide Federal grants to help local police departments find new approaches to law enforcement; legislation to help drug addicts, once cured to stay cured; and legislation to help parolees return to society as responsible citizens.

At present, this Congress is considering two administration proposals of unprecedented scope and importance to control crime: The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act and the gun control bill.

This is not the record of a President who is "soft on crime."

Mr. Speaker, we also know that the roots of crime cannot be separated from social injustice, unemployment, inadequate housing and education.

Here, too, the record is clear: It shows which President and which party has worked unceasingly to eradicate the injustices and inequities in our society that lead to crime—and which party, by its indifference and obstruction, perpetuates the root causes of frustration and anger that lead to criminal behavior.

We Democrats stand proudly on our record of accomplishment. And this is the record we shall take to the people in 1968.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I missed the rollcall No. 267 on the Mental Retardation Act. I have long supported that bill. I supported it in the Committee on Rules and, of course, would have voted for it had I been here.

HALL OF FAME FOR MEDAL OF HONOR HOLDERS

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in every community throughout this land there are heroes of American wars, past and present, but armed conflict requires such courage on the part of all who face the enemy that only an infinitesimal few are honored with the gratitude and the lasting recognition they richly deserve. A Medal of Honor Hall of Fame would stand not only as a tribute to those 700 who have received the Nation's highest award for outstanding bravery, but also as a reminder of the valor of every man and boy who has risked his life in defense of the Stars and Stripes.

Sports halls of fame admit a highly limited ratio of the total number of players who have performed throughout history, yet they serve to maintain the prestige of all competitors, active or retired. A Medal of Honor Hall of Fame would be a constant reminder of the contributions of all servicemen who have experienced the deadly fire of enemy guns, bombs, mines, missiles, and torpedoes.

The bill I am introducing today provides for a commission to select a site and plan for a Medal of Honor Hall of Fame. I urge its immediate consideration and adoption. This recognition would be a small way in which the American public could express thanks.

MALI'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege and a pleasure to call to the attention of the House that tomorrow, September 22, is the seventh anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Mali. Successor to kingdoms that flourished in the west African interior during the Middle Ages, site of the storied city of Timbuktu, Mali has a long and colorful history.

Since independence it has attempted to find middle ground between the political extremes in West Africa. Today Mali takes material help and technical advice from Western countries, the Common Market and the International Monetary Fund as much as it does from the Soviet Union or Communist China.

Yet Mali is beholden to no one. The Malian people are intelligent, industrious, honest, and above all, proud of their country and heritage. Malians are in charge of their own destiny: making their own decisions and perhaps at times, as do others, making their own mistakes. The ruling political party has the allegiance of the people, and its influence stretches to the remotest village. Mali, under the leadership of President Modibo Keita, has been one of the most stable countries in West Africa.

The country has faced economic hardship since independence. Agricultural production has not risen as hoped, and there have been balance-of-payment difficulties. The main problem is that Mali—which is three times the size of California—has virtually no natural resources. The country's wealth is the character of its people.

Recently Mali has tended to stay away from international causes that do not directly concern it and to concentrate instead on economic development at home. It has mended its fences with neighboring countries and is attempting to find genuinely African solutions to its problems. In this endeavor Mali deserves every encouragement. We wish it well.

My personal good wishes go also to His Excellency Moussa Leo Keita, the able Ambassador to the United States from the Republic of Mali.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 268]

Adams
Aspinall
Baring
Belcher
Blackburn
Bolton
Brinkley
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Button
Conte
Corman
Cowger
Dawson
Derwinski
Diggs
Dorn
Feighan
Findley
Fisher
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Garmatz
Hagan
Hamilton
Hansen, Wash.
Harrison
Hays
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Jones, Mo.
Kluczynski
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, N.Y.
Nix
Pucinski
Purcell
Rarick
Rivers
St Germain
Stafford
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Willis
Wolff
Wyatt

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). On this rollcall 374 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 8718, TO INCREASE FEDERAL PAYMENT TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND TO PROVIDE A METHOD FOR COMPUTING THE ANNUAL BORROWING AUTHORITY

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 8718) to increase the annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia and to provide a method for computing the annual borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and request a conference with the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees: Messrs. MCMILLAN, ABERNETHY, WHITENER, NELSEN, BROYHILL of Virginia, and HARSHA.

There was no objection.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING ACT OF 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 920 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 920

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6736) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce now printed in the bill, and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the five-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any of the amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. After the passage of H.R. 6736, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill S. 1160, and it shall then be in order in the House to move to strike out all after the enacting clause of said Senate bill and insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H.R. 6736 as passed by the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA] and, pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I first wish to yield 10 minutes to the able gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. WRIGHT was granted permission to speak out of order.)

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, today I want to say a few kind words for the President of the United States—both for the awesome office which has been so aptly described as the world's most "splendid misery," and for the extraordinarily hard-working human being who occupies that office.

Alexander Hamilton once warned of the paramount importance in a republic to guard not only against the government's oppression of its people, but also against the people's abuse of their leaders.

Just as our elected leadership was never to become lordly and officious, neither was it to be cowering, servile, and obsequious. The Nation's highest public office was not intended to become a public footmat. And the sacred right to criticize was not a license to villify.

History shows that, as a people, we have often taken Hamilton's advice rather badly. It seems, in fact, that our strongest and best Presidents are precisely those for whom we have reserved our bitterest hostility and our rankest abuse.

George Washington upon retiring from the office wrote to a friend that he would rather be in his grave than back in the White House suffering the monumental accusations and nasty personal innuendos to which he had been subjected.

Jefferson's detractors called him a "Jacobin" which, in the political lexicon of the time, was roughly tantamount to being branded a "socialist" or even a "Communist sympathizer" today. And one newsman prophesied in passionate, purple prose that:

> The Republic is in the last stages . . . because that atheist from Virginia is in the White House.

Filthy stories were circulated about Andrew Jackson. He was falsely and blatantly accused of profiteering on Government contracts, and a large segment of the eastern press adopted the practice of snidely referring to him as "King Andrew."

No President was more unmercifully reviled—in the press, in the pulpit, on the street corners, and in the Halls of Congress—than Abraham Lincoln. He was scorned by his own generals and held in contempt by some in his own Cabinet. A review of the political cartoons of Lincoln's day would make even outspoken modern presidential critics blush over their surpassing bad taste.

Both Roosevelts were targets of the most vicious attacks. In 1908, a magazine called the American Businessman featured a cover picture of Theodore Roosevelt on which had been painted a crown, and editorially accused him of betraying his oath of office and of taking us down "the dead end path to socialism." Theodore, mind you.

How well we recall, though we try to forget, the dirty, unfair things that were said about John F. Kennedy, including bitter attacks upon his personal motives. In the wake of the national trauma which followed his untimely assassination, we were shocked into a sort of temporary national shame. We seemed to realize how shabbily we had treated our finest and most dedicated Presidents. And we repented—for a few months.

Now the hounds of the hunt are baying again. The pack is in full cry. Our quadrennial silly season of orgiastic overstatement is approaching, and like some weird masochistic cult we find among us those who would turn upon our leader and devour him.

Hugh Sidey, writing in this week's issue of Life magazine, observes:

> This has been a particularly virulent season. (President) Johnson has been denounced as untrustworthy, unimaginative, devious and dull.

Let me make it clear that I am not speaking of those people who criticize American policy responsibly and constructively. I am not talking of those who honestly and honorably disagree with the President on matters of opinion.

I am speaking of those who are forever assailing the President's motives, those who trade on fear and traffic in hatred. I am speaking of those who wallow in the gutter of personal abuse. I am speaking of those who superciliously set themselves above the President and sneer at his works, mistrust his words, belittle his deeds, and question his honor.

I am speaking of some urbane sophisticates who think they have discovered a safe and clever way to abuse the President's personal integrity by inventing a term they call a "credibility gap" and chattering about it incessantly in the hope that they thus can create a climate of disbelief between the American public and its elected leadership.

I am speaking of those who gleefully try to embarrass our President internationally by thwarting fulfillment of his international commitments, in the making of which he acted under the Constitution for all of us.

Once I spoke upon the floor of this House in defense of an international commitment of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. I said at that time that we have but one President at a time, and whether or not he belongs to my party, he is my President. When he is embarrassed, I am embarrassed because my country is embarrassed.

At that time I made this analogy: If we were flying over the ocean in an aircraft—and we may not have picked the pilot—we still would not pour water in the gasoline tank just to embarrass the pilot.

I felt that way when Mr. Eisenhower was President. I felt that way when Mr. Kennedy was President. And I feel that way when Lyndon B. Johnson is our President.

President Johnson's most partisan critics should remember that it was he, as Majority Leader of the Senate, who authored and effectively carried out the responsible bipartisan policy of supporting and upholding President Eisenhower in his international dealings. Because of Lyndon Johnson's inherent sense of responsibility, there was no doubt anywhere on earth that, whatever our differences at home, this Nation faced the world united.

Never has a man come to the Presidency better grounded by experience in the intricacies of our Government than Lyndon B. Johnson. Never has a man devoted himself more dutifully to the office or at greater sacrifice of his personal repose. Never has a President worked longer hours or been more deeply dedicated to the fulfillment of his promises. And never has a President kept more of his promises to the people.

For more than a generation, every American President has spoken hopefully of medical care for the aged, of equalizing educational opportunity, of fairer treatment for the minorities, and of preserving our natural heritage. It remained for Lyndon Johnson to transform those dreams into realities.

And for these efforts, he is rewarded with abuse.

The white supremacists abuse him for doing more for civil rights than any President in history; and the black power militants catisgate him for not having done the impossible, immediately.

The reactionaries flay him for producing the greatest volume of social legislation in history; and the so-called "New Left" ridicules him for preserving and honoring the very institutions and processes of our constitutional system which he is sworn to defend.

The bloodthirsty hawks scorn him for not having completely devastated North Vietnam and risked the outbreak of World War III; while the timid doves abuse him for not having cravenly abandoned an ally in its mortal struggle for freedom.

One extreme flails at the President for spending too much on Vietnam and too little on domestic programs; and another attacks him for devoting too much to domestic spending and too little to Vietnam. Surely they cannot both be right. Each is too eager to criticize and too reluctant to analyze.

Any President—and certain this President—deserves better than this. The very least we owe to any President is a modicum of understanding and an assumption of his good faith. At the very least, our propensities for partisanship and personal abuse should stop at the water's edge. In the counsels of the world, he is our spokesman. If we cannot uphold him, surely we should not undermine him.

There are, in all of this, two saving graces: while Americans historically have mercilessly abused our strongest and greatest Presidents throughout their terms in office, we seldom fail to reelect them.

And those whom partisan contemporaries most bitterly villify, history most firmly vindicates.

And so it will be, my friends, with Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 920 provides for consideration of H.R. 6736, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934. The resolution provides an open rule with two hours of general debate, making it in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment, and provides further that, after the passage of H.R. 6736, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce shall be discharged from further consideration of S. 1160, and it shall be in order to move to strike out all after the enacting clause of the Senate bill and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 6736 as passed by the House.

H.R. 6736 would continue the program initiated under Public Law 87-447—the Facilities Act of 1962—whereby Federal matching funds are provided to help pay for noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities and to extend it to noncommercial radio broadcast facilities; to provide funds—through a nonprofit private corporation—for cultural and educational programs of the highest quality so that the facilities provided under the bill can be productively utilized; and to provide for a study of instructional television.

There are approximately 745 commercial and noncommercial television stations now operating under licenses granted by the FCC. These stations broadcast over the very high frequency and ultra high frequency radio spectrum. The first noncommercial television station in the United States went on the air in May 1953.

Mr. Speaker, since we all delight in doing honor to those who deserve honor, I would not feel that it was proper to mention the subject without paying tribute, which I know is in the hearts of many Members of this House, to a great lady who was a member of the Federal Communications Commission, Frieda B. Hennock, who by the valiant fight she made year after year gained the allocation of a certain frequency in the television spectrum to noncommercial or to educational TV.

In the 9 years following 1953, only 80 additional educational television stations began broadcasting. During that period support for educational television came from local and State governments, businesses, schools and colleges, the general public, and private foundations, particularly the Ford Foundation. The 87th Congress enacted the Facilities Act of 1962 authorizing $32 million in matching funds to be used for the acquisition and installation of new educational television broadcasting facilities over a 6-year period. Since that time the number of educational television stations on the air or under construction has more than doubled to 189. As a result educational television today reaches 155 million Americans.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 would continue to provide funds to acquire facilities for educational broadcasting. In addition, it would provide funds to assist in making programs of high quality available to local noncommercial educational broadcasting stations.

Thirty-two million dollars has been provided to date under the Facilities Act of 1962, and an additional $38 million is provided under the bill for facilities. Without money for programs these facilities will lie idle much of the time, a monument to an unfulfilled promise. Most educational stations now maintain only limited broadcast schedules 5 days a week.

It is estimated that in 1967 commercial broadcasting stations will have revenues of $4 billion, while noncommercial stations will have revenues of $73 million. Title II of H.R. 6736 provides $9 million in Federal funds to supplement the meager programing resources of local educational stations.

Mr. Speaker, these are the only funds which are authorized for the public nonprofit corporation, which is to aid in the provision of material to be used by non-commercial educational television stations.

Mr. Speaker, since I have had a longtime association with educational TV and radio and I am an ardent supporter of the enormous educational potential of educational TV and radio, I hope very strongly that this rule will be adopted and this measure will be enacted by the House.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield to the able gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MACDONALD].

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I rise in support of both the rule and the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I believe today marks an important step forward in the field of educational television and radio broadcasting. In my opinion, the bill before the House today, H.R. 6736, is landmark legislation—legislation which will have an impact on the entire Nation and which will be remembered as one of the most significant achievements of the 90th Congress. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 provides dramatic means to move ahead to new frontiers of educational television and radio.

In the public hearings on this bill before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, all the significant issues presented by this legislation were fully explored and discussed. The record of these hearings contains many diverse viewpoints of American society which reflect this country's growing need for a system of noncommercial broadcasting.

Major progress has been made in the field of noncommercial broadcasting over a relatively short span of time—enough progress to both reveal the promise of its potential and to indicate the chronic shortcomings—those of underfinancing, understaffing, and underprograming. The strides which have been taken in the last 4 years in the area of educational television were made possible by the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962. The impact of that bill on establishing and strengthening educational television broadcast stations has been gratifying. The present bill would extend the effectiveness of that impact and make possible a full noncommercial broadcast service to every family in the United States.

But the Public Broadcasting Act does not stop with merely extending coverage through support of new and existing facilities. This legislation provides the realization that the time has come to take steps to create higher quality and more diverse programs. The influence of television is boundless. Television viewing alone occupies nearly one-fourth of the waking hours of the average American. We in Congress must face up to our responsibility to aid in the effort to produce a vital system of noncommercial educational broadcasting which will instruct, inspire, and enlighten the American people. This is our duty—to help the Nation take this step forward.

Briefly summarized, this bill has three parts. Title I has to do with increasing the coverage of noncommercial educational broadcasting by extending Federal support for construction of facilities. Title II is a proposal to establish a nonprofit, private corporation to improve the quality of educational and cultural programs and make them available to local stations upon their request. Title III would authorize a study of instructional television and other communications technology to determine their relationship to educational television and to the broad needs of formal education.

We have held extensive hearings on this legislation. We heard close to 80 witnesses. We sat in session well over 2 weeks and explored every detail of this bill. We listened attentively to all testimony and took careful note of all suggestions which were made. We weighed the evidence with great care and debated the crucial issues at length in executive session. The bill which you must consider today is the product of that extensive study. I will now outline the bill section by section in case you have any questions.

TITLE I

Under the provisions of title I, the bill will extend and improve the provisions of the Educational Television Facilities Act which expired at the end of fiscal 1967. Growth under that act was substantial. In 1962 there were 80 educational television stations in operation or under construction; today there are 130 on the air, 46 under construction, and 25 more represented by requests for grants.

The principal provisions of title I of H.R. 6736 will extend the ETV Facilities Act for 3 years through fiscal 1971. It will replace the $1,000,000-per-State limit with an annual State limit of 8½ percent of the total appropriation for a given fiscal year. It will increase the maximum allowable Federal share in project costs from 50 percent to 75 percent, and it will delete the limitation that not more than 15 percent of any grant may be used for installation of interconnection facilities. For the first time, it will authorize grants to be made for construction of noncommercial radio broadcast facilities.

TITLE II

Title II of H.R. 6736 authorizes the establishment of a nongovernmental, nonprofit, private Corporation—the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Among its function, the Corporation will provide operational and program support, through grants and contracts, to improve and strengthen local stations and to encourage diverse and high quality programing of regional and national interest. Although it will not own or operate any systems of interconnection or program production facilities, the Corporation would be empowered to see that such services would be provided for the noncommercial educational broadcast stations. This would allow these stations to share in the benefits of networking without forcing them to accept programs for showing at fixed times. It would enable stations to receive and store programs for future use at the station's discretion.

The bill will authorize an appropriation of $9,000,000 from the general tax fund to the Corporation for fiscal 1968. The President has indicated that following careful study and review he will make proposals next year for the continued financing of the Corporation. It should be pointed out that these Federal funds will be but one element in a broad-based pattern of financial support, combining State, local, and private funds with the Federal appropriations.

The bill contains guidelines to aid the Corporation in achieving its objectives and purposes. In an effort to clarify and strengthen these guidelines, the committee has adopted several key amendments. As originally submitted, the bill was titled "The Public Television Act" and the Corporation was to be known as the Corporation for Public Television. Since the bill is intended to assist noncommercial radio as well as television, the committee felt it was desirable to include both in the titles. Thus, it is proposed by amendment that the act be known as the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 and the Corporation as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

H.R. 6736 retains the 15-member Board of Directors for the Corporation, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. However, as amended, the bill stipulates that no more than eight shall be of a given political party. This amendment reflects the concern that the Corporation must not become overwhelmingly an organ of one party or the other. Governmental and political interference or control must be kept at an absolute minimum. Along these same lines, the committee amended the section of title II pertaining to programing to provide for a strict balance between opposing viewpoints on controversial matters.

The fundamental purpose of the bill is to strengthen local noncommercial stations, and therefore the powers of the Corporation itself must not impinge on the autonomy of local stations. Local or regional educational broadcast stations must be free to accept or reject the programs and services which the Corporation will make available. This freedom is implicit in the station's license from the FCC.

The Corporation will be able to establish and maintain a library and archives of noncommercial educational television and radio programs and may inform the public about noncommercial educational broadcasting by various means including the publication of a journal. The committee thereby rejected the Senate amendment which would have limited the Corporation to the use of a journal alone.

The Corporation may arrange by grant or contract with the appropriate public or nonprofit private agencies, organizations, or institutions for the distribution and transmission of educational television or radio programs to noncommercial educational broadcast stations. The committee again rejected a Senate amendment—one which would have allowed the Corporation to deal directly with the common carriers for interconnection facilities. In so doing, the committee sought to prevent the Corporation from directly involving itself in an operational area in which it could assert itself to the detriment of the local stations.

Here, as in title I, precautions have been taken to prevent the corporation from concentrating too large a portion of the available funds on an indivdual station or project. For fiscal 1968, no more than $250,000 may go to any one station or to any one project.

TITLE III

Title III of H.R. 6736 authorizes an appropriation of $500,000 for a study of instructional television broadcasting to include its relationship to educational television broadcasting. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will be empowered to conduct or to contract for such a study which will help in determining whether or not Federal aid should be provided for instructional television and, if so, how much and in what form. This study shall be submitted to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before January 1, 1969.

It is clear that the role of television in relation to instruction requires a much broader assessment than has thus far been possible of the relation between our rapidly expanding communications technology and the full range of our educational needs. The development of television systems utilizing closed-circuit and 2,500-megacycle frequencies for instructional purposes is already underway in many schools and colleges. But this cannot be viewed in isolation. In raising the educational opportunities of this Nation, no resources should be left untapped, no advancement scorned, no opportunity wasted. As the Carnegie Commission report supplied many of the guidelines for this bill, so, too, it is hoped, will the study set up under title III provide meaningful guidelines for Federal aid to instructional broadcasting.

Mr. Speaker, in summary, I feel it is imperative to note that in our hearings on this bill, it was supported by all witnesses, representing many facets of the American society and economy. Although many variants of detail were proposed and discussed, some of which have been incorporated into the amendments offered by the committee, all who testified concurred that the needs to which this bill is directed are crucial and that the time to act to meet those needs is now.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the able gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with the statements just made by the able gentleman from Florida, Mr. PEPPER, which pertain to the bill and to the resolution passed by the Rules Committee. There is very little opposition to this legislation, other than to the creation of this corporation. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks primarily to the corporation.

The purposes of the bill are: First, to continue the existing program of grants to noncommercial educational television stations and expand it to include noncommercial radio stations; second, to provide funds for an HEW study of instructional television, and; third, to provide funds for and to create a nonprofit corporation which will assist noncommercial television to produce and broadcast more quality shows of cultural and educational value.

Title I authorizes $10,500,000 for fiscal 1968, $12,500,000 for 1969, and $15,000,000 for 1970 for the existing grant program to educational television. This program, administered by HEW has since 1962 made grants to some 161 stations throughout the country. Current law is amended to remove several features which have been found to be undesirable. The act provides that total grants in no State may exceed $1,000,000. This dollar limitation is removed by the bill; in its place new language limits grants within a State to 8.5 percent of the appropriation in any fiscal year.

The act also limits an individual grant to a station to 50 percent of the cost of the project plus 25 percent of the cost of facilities owned by the applicant. New language will remove these two restrictions and substitute language will restrict the amount of a grant to 75 percent of the amount determined by the HEW to be the reasonable and necessary cost of the project. This language has been added because of the rapidly rising cost increase in getting an educational television station on the air.

Finally in title I, noncommercial radio stations are included among those eligible for grants, where only television operations had been eligible before. No money within the authorization is set aside for this project; HEW estimates that not more than $500,000 will be required for fiscal 1968. There is no estimate for future years.

Title III provides for a study to be undertaken by HEW of instructional television and other audiovisual forms of instruction to see how these may be more fully developed. For this purpose $500,000 is authorized. The study is to be completed and forwarded to the President and Congress by January 1, 1969.

Title II contains the new program for

improving the present quality of television programs offered the American public. It creates a Corporation for Public Broadcasting to work for this end. The major unresolved issue is how to permanently finance its operation.

According to the report, all evidence clearly points out that the noncommercial television stations cannot finance the effort necessary to make available more and better programing; and commercial television will not spend money on efforts with no mass appeal. Therefore, if the effort is to be undertaken the Federal Government must bear a major share of the load. This reasoning seems to have general agreement among the entire committee.

The Corporation will have a 15-member Board of Directors, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Each will serve a staggered 6-year term; not more than eight may be from the same party. The bill provides authority for it to operate in three related fields to stimulate educational and cultural television programing on noncommercial television stations: First, it is authorized to make grants to local noncommercial educational stations so that they can produce and broadcast educational and cultural programs for their local audiences; second, it can make grants to production companies to employ writers, actors, et cetera, to develop and produce imaginative quality television programing which will be made available to noncommercial stations; and, third, it will provide financial assistance for interconnection. This last is to set up methods so that noncommercial stations can all be broadcasting a particular program at the time they desire, even with respect to live shows. The Corporation is not to create a network; it is prohibited from owning or operating any stations.

Other safeguards were written into the bill in the committee. The Corporation may not engage in any partisan political activity; nor may it "editorialize" on news or its views thereof.

Authorizations for title II are only for fiscal 1968—in the amount of $9,000,000. The question of how to permanently finance the Corporation has not been settled, but will have to be next year. Estimates of costs run as high as $160,000,000 per year by 1980. The report makes clear that financing by direct appropriations is not the preferred way and that possibly a trust fund—like the highway trust fund—should be created.

I do not know of any objection to the rule and urge its adoption.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. During the consideration of the bill by the Rules Committee, was any question raised as to why the commercial stations should not make a contribution toward the educational stations? The gentleman speaks about the taxpayer having to pay $150 million or more eventually to this program.

I have never been able to understand the situation. I have been interested in a radio station, a smalltown station, for several years, until about a year ago. I have advocated on the floor many times that both radio and television stations should be paying for the privilege of using the air for their broadcasting.

The television stations in particular, when they get their licenses, are just like the taxpayers handing them $5 to $25 million to use.

There is no reason why the FCC could not be supported through fees from the radio and television stations, and there is no reason why the taxpayer should be saddled with an additional debt which should be paid by the industry itself.

Was that brought up before the Rules Committee?

Mr. LATTA. In answer to the question, this was discussed but not at length before the Rules Committee. As I understand it, it was discussed at length before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. When we get to the debate on the bill I will ask Members about that. I wanted to see if it had been called to the attention of the Rules Committee.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SPRINGER. In reply to the gentleman, CBS came before our committee and pledged $1 million. NBC has not said that. ABC has not said that. We would hope that some of the funds would come from these corporations.

When we are talking about financing the Federal Communications Commission from fees, that is an entirely different problem which would have to be taken up by the committee on some other bill.

This has been up before the committee on a number of occasions, but we have never been able to get anything out of the committee which would place the responsibility upon the applicants to pay what I would consider adequate fees.

It is true that when they get an allocation a TV station is worth at least $3 million the day it is allotted. There is some justification to what the gentleman has said.

In further reply, we have not been able to get anything out of the committee which, in my opinion, would pay the cost of the FCC.

May I say that the FCC handles other matters, for all kinds of long lines and other kinds of communications, which probably we should not tax. If the gentleman is asking only about the TV and radio stations, they ought to be paying their way.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am encouraged to know that one member of the committee agrees with me that they ought to be paying something.

Mr. SPRINGER. They do pay a license fee, but it is certainly not sufficient to pay the costs.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The people might misinterpret what the gentleman is saying. Just for the record, what is the license fee?

Mr. SPRINGER. It is quite small. I would guess it is not over $300.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. $300, regardless of whether it is a national broadcasting that covers the whole United States or a local station?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is very true. The applications for these radio and TV stations ought to be able to pay their own way, with an application fee which ought to cover the cost of processing that application and help to pay the cost of the FCC.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am glad to know that the gentleman agrees. I hope the gentleman will help us encourage other members of the committee to try to take some action to get some money into the Treasury, instead of giving away these valuable franchises.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from Illinois for their comments.

I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the question that the gentleman from Missouri raised is particularly applicable here because it is possible some method such as he suggested could be found for financing the cost of educational television and radio as is contemplated in his legislation. However, in fact that method of financing does not exist. The administration was reluctant to come in with any recommendations in that area. As a matter of fact, this particular question was raised during the hearings as to whether we could not finance some of this program or perhaps all of it from some kind of use tax that would provide funds rather than going to the general appropriation route. But the whole question has been left in limbo. We will start a program in this legislation, perhaps, which has no foreseeable financing solution to it. This is one of the very basic problems and one of the big question marks in this legislation.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. As a member of the committee, would you be inclined to favor a policy of collecting some fees from the broadcasting industry?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. As a member of the committee, I would feel a great deal more confident about this piece of legislation if we had some recommendation from the administration as to how it should be financed in the future, a future which, based on some of the studies made of this problem, may lead to a cost of $270 million a year.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The thing about it is no administration, nor the opposing party, either, is going to try to touch these people because of the tremendous influence they exert. Everyone feels they should exercise a hands-off policy. I found very few people who will disagree with me that these broadcasting people, both in TV and radio, should be paying something for the exclusive monopolistic privileges they enjoy. I advocated that when I was in the business and had a small station. I said that even a small station such as I was in should be paying at least $1,000 a year for its franchise and that the bigger stations should be paying up to $1 million or more a year. They would still be getting a bargain and of course I am not suggesting that any station which is not making a profit should contribute.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Is the gentleman suggesting that it is a lot easier to touch the American people as individuals for $270 million a year than it is to try to touch a multibillion-dollar industry?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. That is right. It is much easier.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am not sure that it is proper. I am not sure it is easy either way.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. It must be easier, or the committee would have done something about it.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER].

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, without going into the merits or the demerits of this program, I think we must stop for a minute now and consider the very serious and critical fiscal situation in which this Nation finds itself today.

In the House Committee on Ways and Means, of which I have the privilege of being a member, we have been tussling with the necessity of a tax increase in the light of a probable deficiency of $29 billion by the end of this fiscal year.

How in the world—I repeat this—how in the world this Congress can entertain the idea of getting into any new programs at a time when we do not have the answer and apparently cannot find the answer to the fiscal dilemma in which we find ourselves, I just do not know. I would say that here in this particular program, recognizing that it will cost only $9 million for the first year, but not knowing how it will be financed thereafter, that we should certainly stop to think of our sad fiscal condition before going into a new program. Why this House would embark or even consider this type of legislation under present circumstances I do not know.

What is it going to take to awaken this House of Representatives to the fact that we are in serious fiscal trouble? If one does not believe that statement, come down to one of our committee hearings and listen to what the Secretary of the Treasury is saying, listen to what the Director of the Bureau of the Budget is saying and listen, if you will, to the "lip service" we are getting from the administration. And, further, if one does not believe we are in trouble, it is because he is living in a world of oblivion.

It is just not the time to start any new programs.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I think the answer to the gentleman's question is very simple: It is a lot easier for the Federal Government, the administration, and Members of this Congress to spend public money than it is to find ways by which to raise funds from taxpayers.

Mr. COLLIER. Of course, that is true. But that still does not provide an answer to a problem with which the Committee on Ways and Means is now working. I might say further that this is a problem with which the American people will not be too happy with the answer, if the answer is what it may have to be.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield further to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The tragic fact and answer, of course, is that we have an estimated $30 billion deficit and the American people will get the bill for it later.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, may I say to my distinguished friend, I think possibly the Members of the Congress will wake up after November 1968 because it is my opinion the people of this Nation are beginning to wake up as to where we are going in the pursuit of our fiscal policy.

Mr. COLLIER. Let me say, forgetting the political implications, and for the good of the country, I hope it is before next year.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has again expired.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the bill H.R. 6736 before us gives us an unparalleled opportunity to continue our pursuit of excellence. We can all concede that educational radio and television are an integral part of our national life. As the report points out, educational television now reaches 155 million Americans. The Facilities Act of 1962 has proven itself to be one of our most successful ventures in stimulating the creativity and imagination of America.

It is conceded by the three major commercial networks that educational broadcasting cannot be undertaken by them. We would as a nation be tragically remiss were we to turn aside from these gateways to the mind. We are not a static people. It is in the very nature of our being that we do not cast aside the tools that will help bring the gifts of learning, gifts which will be repaid a millionfold—and I do not exaggerate—in the years to come. As Wordsworth said, "The child is father to the man."

Throughout this Nation there is a thirst for knowledge and learning. And it is upon this thirst that we must build, using every facility at our command. I do not think we will be able to measure the impact of what we do today, should we in our collective wisdom enact this legislation, for that which can appear to be just an ordinary day in the legislative process can for our future worth turn into one of truly magnificent achievement.

Perhaps the greatest benefits will be in the rural areas of the Nation and in the less wealthy States of our Union. It could well be that we are creating untold opportunities for the culturally deprived. If I sound overly enthusiastic, it is because it is my belief that no prospect can be more exciting and more challenging than the awakening and the cultivating of the mind.

I believe the grant formula adopted today is far more equitable and flexible than that of the 1962 act, and will secure the broadest possible distribution of these funds.

Another thought—it is estimated that commercial broadcasting stations in 1967 will have revenues of $4 billion, while noncommercial stations will have revenues of $73 million. This bill provides $9 million in Federal funds to supplement the resources of local educational stations. Surely this is a most modest expenditure for so great a potential return.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I anticipate an excellence of performance from noncommercial educational radio and TV facilities. Unfortunately, our present system has not yielded the required spiritual, cultural, and educational excellence. The present system in its ineluctable but often questionable quest for revenue—and more and more revenue—must appeal to the masses—to the lowest common educational and cultural denominator of our people. This practice forces the chains and stations to sacrifice quality of program to the chase of the almighty dollar. It becomes a question of quantity of money as against quality of performance.

Creation of nonprofit, noncommercial stations as envisaged by the bill made in order by this rule will be of great comfort to the Nation. The $9 million that will be spent for the first year and similar amounts for the second and third year would be a mere pittance, particularly when contemplated that our gross national product is approaching $800 billion. A nation that can develop $800 billion of goods and services should not hesitate for an instant to spend $9 million or so for facilities that will be of such immeasurable value to the majority of the American people.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I warmly share and concur in the eloquence of the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6736) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 6736, with Mr. GALLAGHER in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS].

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, I would like again to express my thanks and compliments to the members of the committee and especially the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], for their patience and help in considering this bill. This is a bill on which we had long hearings and which took a long time to mark up.

We had over 80 witnesses who appeared before our committee, from all phases of public and private life. All of those 80 witnesses were in favor of this bill with the exception of one.

When all the factors that have made the 20th century such a great century have been considered and entered on the ledger books of history and a balance struck, I believe that the peculiar mark of this century will be that of wireless broadcasting. Without it, I believe we would be living in an entirely different world today, without a great many of the advances that we have made.

Mr. Chairman, the bill we have before us is not entirely a new bill. It is a continuation—at least the first title of it is the continuation of a program we started some 4 or 5 years ago. It has worked out very well throughout the Nation. The authorizations have expired and we are back to extend them. I do not believe there is anyone who would say that they have not worked well.

I have a letter which was just handed to me from the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges of the United States. I would like to read just a part of it. There are two significant paragraphs that I think would mean something to each Member of this House because I know this association represents a university or a land-grant college, or both, in your State.

These parts of the letter read as follows:

> The National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges would like to reemphasize its strong support for the passage of H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Bill of 1967.
>
> * * * * *
>
> The Public Broadcasting Bill has been compared in importance to education in the United States to the Morrill Act of 1862 establishing the country's unique land grant system of colleges and universities.
>
> We strongly urge your continued support for the legislation that would continue and accelerate the development of this unique educational resource.

I might say that there appeared before the committee two Governors, and eight others who gave their support in writing, endorsing the bill.

In my opinion, this is one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the Congress this year. It is designed to strengthen noncommercial educational television, one of the potentially most powerful tools of education enrichment and enlightenment in the history of our Nation.

The Congress already has displayed its concern for noncommercial educational television and, in 1962, amended the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for Federal financial assistance in the procurement and installation of educational television broadcasting equipment. These amendments are commonly referred to as the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962.

H.R. 6736 will continue this program and, also, help provide desperately needed program assistance. In addition, it authorizes a study of instructional television.

There are three titles in the bill.

Title I extends the facilities act of 1962. It continues an existing program, with slight modifications, and there has been no controversy on this title.

Title II provides funds for the establishment of a nonprofit private corporation, insulated from Government control, through which will flow funds to provide high quality programs for use by local stations.

Title I addresses itself to construction; title II to programs.

There are two major areas of controversy involved with title II. One area is a concern, shared by all members of the committee, that the proposed Corporation could become an instrument for political propaganda. We think we have solved the problems with extensive legislative language in the bill. The second area of controversy has to do with the long-range financing of the Corporation. I will discuss that later.

Title III calls for an extensive study of instructional television by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

For fiscal year 1968, the bill provides $20 million. Of this, $10.5 million will be for matching funds under the noncontroversial title I to help build new noncommercial educational broadcasting stations.

Title II calls for $9 million to provide program assistance for the stations through the new Corporation.

Title III calls for $500,000 to finance a comprehensive and extensive study of instructional television.

In addition, H.R. 6736 as reported out by the committee calls for the authorization of $12.5 million in fiscal year 1969 and $15 million in fiscal year 1970 to be administered under the noncontroversial title I provisions to provide matching grants for construction.

This means, then, that the bill calls for a total of $47.5 million—$20 million in the first year under all three titles and an additional $27.5 million in the following 2 years under title I.

Title I builds on provisions contained in the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962, a previous amendment of the Communications Act of 1934.

Under provisions of the 1962 legislation, some $32 million was administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the form of matching funds to help build or expand noncommercial educational television stations. The money, which was distributed among 47 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, helped build 92 new stations and helped in the expansion of 69 stations.

The average grant in Federal funds was $200,000.

Title I of H.R. 6736 makes noncommercial educational radio as well as noncommercial educational television eligible for matching construction funds.

The matching formula has been raised from 50 to 75 percent. Under provisions of the legislation, Federal funds are used for only part of the construction costs, specifically the acquisition and installation of transmission apparatus. It does not pay for land or for the housing of the apparatus. In most cases, the new formula of 75 percent still will amount to only 50 percent of the total costs of putting a new station on the air.

The 1962 act limited the total grants in any State to a dollar limit of $1 million. Fifteen States received that maximum. H.R. 6736, as amended by the committee, replaces the dollar limitation with a percentage limitation. No more than 8½ percent of the appropriation for any fiscal year may be granted to any single State by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The new language is designed to permit flexibility while still guaranteeing a wide distribution of funds. The report accompanying the bill makes that doubly clear.

The appropriation of $10.5 in fiscal year 1968 to finance title I would result in only a modest rate of expansion of the previous program. It would not even pay for the applications currently in hand at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Department estimates that the amount would help pay construction costs for about 24 more noncommercial educational broadcast stations.

The enactment of title I will permit even more Americans, particularly those in the rural areas, to receive the benefit of noncommercial educational broadcasting facilities. The committee agrees on the desirability of this goal and is confident that other Members will lend their support to it.

But the physical equipment for noncommercial educational broadcasting is not the entire picture. Testimony before our committee revealed a desperate need for funds to aid in the production of programs for use on those stations.

Under the Facilities Act, the Congress already has invested $32 million in physical facilities. Under H.R. 6736, we stand ready to invest another $38 million for physical facilities. But to spend $70 million on physical facilities without providing for high quality programs would be like establishing a library without any print in the books.

Noncommercial stations have no advertising. They have no sponsors. A typical noncommercial educational television station has only $100,000 a year to spend on programing. A sponsor on commercial network television would pay that much for only four 1-minute advertisements on "Batman."

Testimony before our committee repeatedly pointed to the many specialized unmet needs existing in communities which would be served by an expanded and strong noncommercial broadcasting system with adequate program funds.

The stations could address themselves to the important but small audience. During a week, the number of small audiences would add up to a large audience. But they would be separate, small audiences with separate needs and requirements. Commercial broadcasting, on the other hand, feels compelled to search most of the time for the single large audience.

This is one of the reasons why the commercial broadcasters came before our committee and urged the adoption of H.R. 6736. The commercial broadcasters know that noncommercial stations can fill unmet needs. The presidents of all three major commercial television networks endorsed the bill. The president of the National Association of Broadcasters, which represents commercial broadcast stations, supported the bill.

This bill, after recognizing the need for Federal funds to aid in the production of programs, then addressed itself to solving the problem of how to administer Federal funds for broadcast programs while, at the same time, avoiding Federal control of those programs.

No one—the administration, the committee, the witnesses—wanted any hint of Federal control of broadcast programs to be permitted.

Accordingly, the legislation calls for the formation of a separate, nonprofit, private corporation to administer funds, both private and public, which will be used to provide high quality programs to the local stations. At all times the local stations have the right to accept or reject any program. The Corporation cannot require that a station broadcast any program. As required under present law, and as will be required under the new law, the sole responsibility for what goes out over the air rests upon the individual station licensee. This bill, I repeat, does not impair or affect the existing statutory duty and responsibility of the station licensee.

The 15 Directors of the Corporation, to be selected from eminent citizens by the President and subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, will serve 6-year terms. The terms will be staggered. None of the Directors may be a Government employee. In addition, the committee added a provision, under the sponsorship of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] that not more than eight of the Directors may be members of the same political party.

Existing language in the Communications Act of 1934, amended to reflect the provisions of H.R. 6736, guarantees repeatedly and strongly to local broadcast stations and systems a complete freedom from direction, supervision or control by the Federal Government. Throughout, H.R. 6736 contains language recognizing the existing statutory requirement that noncommercial educational broadcast stations are to exercise full autonomy.

Additionally, the committee added language that forbids the stations from editorializing and specifically calls for objectivity and balance in the presentation of controversial programs by local stations.

I might add that the restriction against editorializing is a requirement not imposed on commercial broadcast stations.

Still further, the stations to be served by this legislation are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission and are subject to the fairness doctrine and to the Communications Act of 1934.

I think we have solved the problem of any potential Federal control of the proposed Corporation or of any programs it will be supporting. After hearing lengthy testimony and discussion, most members of the committee feel we can conscientiously and firmly support the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The Corporation is to be a responsible, insulated, private, nonprofit organization, chartered under provisions of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act. It will be fiscally accountable. The bill requires an annual audit of the accounts of the Corporation by independent public accountants and authorizes the Comptroller General of the United States to audit and examine the Corporation's records. The financial reports are to be submitted annually to Congress.

The Corporation is specifically forbidden from owning or operating any broadcast station, system, network or interconnection or program production facility.

The Corporation has the power to make contracts with, or grants to, existing and new noncommercial educational broadcast stations to existing and new production entities and to individuals for the production of educational programs.

Also, it may make payments to stations to aid in the financing of programing costs, particularly innovative approaches, and to aid in the financing of other costs of operations.

By these and other means provided in the bill, the Corporation will assist in the creation and distribution of programs of high quality obtained from diverse sources. The programs will be made available to the stations, but the stations may refuse or accept them. The stations may fix the broadcast time for any programs they may choose to put on the air.

It is expected that the Corporation will make its grants, contracts, and payments in such a manner as not to permit any recipient to serve as a mere conduit of Federal funds to commercial program suppliers.

The Corporation is to carry out its activities in ways that will effectively assure the maximum freedom of the noncommercial educational broadcast systems and stations from interference with, or control of, program content or other activities.

In order to assure a wide distribution of funds from the relatively limited amount to be made available in the first year to the Corporation, the bill calls for a limitation of $250,000 for any one project or to any one station from the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

However, there remains additional controversy concerning title II, and that controversy has to do with the long-range financing of the Corporation.

H.R. 6736 authorizes, for 1 year only, the expenditure of $9 million to finance the activities of the Corporation for the benefit of the local noncommercial educational broadcast stations.

All of us recognize that this is only "seed money," vitally needed to get the Corporation into operation. Such a commitment to the program needs of noncommercial broadcast stations is long overdue.

As Thomas Jefferson said in 1786:

> The most important bill is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness.

We are in urgent need of knowledge and information, of education and instruction. Noncommercial educational broadcasting, with its ability to reach many specialized groups, can be a powerful tool in bringing a world of education and instruction and knowledge and information and art to the people. It is time we brought these benefits to all the people, in every State.

Now is the time to take this step.

However, certain members of the minority on the committee have expressed their concerns about the long-range financing of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

We simply do not know what the financial needs of noncommercial broadcasting will be in the distant future. No one can know. We do not know how many stations will be on the air. We do not know what the expenses of operating those stations will be. We do not know what technical developments are in store. We do not know the extent of the commitment that the Nation will wish to make to noncommercial educational broadcasting.

We have estimates. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare estimates that the budget of the Corporation in 1980 should be about $160 million a year. The report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, on which some of this legislation is based, assumes an ideal model of 380 television stations by 1980. This ideal would require about $270 million a year, of which $104 million would be provided by the Corporation.

Both these estimates are assumptions, of course, although based on detailed studies that call for a strong, true, nationwide service to the Nation's broadcast audience.

Our committee believes it is perfectly workable to establish the Corporation under title II of H.R. 6736 with 1 year's financing and solve the issue of long-range funding after solid experience and further study.

Since there are no precedents upon which to base judgments at this time, a clearer view as to future needs can best be obtained after the Corporation has gained operational experience.

This is in line with the President's request in his February health and education message to the Congress. The President recommended the establishment of the Corporation and added that—

> Next year, after careful review, I will make further proposals for the Corporation's long-term financing.

Meanwhile, the private community stands ready to support the Corporation. Dr. James T. Killian, testifying as chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, told our committee that he is confident $25 million will be donated to the Corporation in its first year after inception. Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, repeated his assurance that CBS would donate $1 million when the Corporation is established. The Communications Workers of America have offered $100,000 to the Corporation.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an inquiry?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. When CBS said they would be willing to contribute $1 million, did that mean the entire network or each of the stations they operate?

Mr. STAGGERS. That would be the network.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The whole network?

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. They were generous, very generous.

Mr. STAGGERS. I thought so. If we could get the others to contribute, it would be of great assistance. Maybe we could get them to contribute a little later. We hope so. A committee of eminent business and professional people in America has been set up to get public subscriptions for this proposal.

Mr. Thomas Hoving, director of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art testified that he heads a new committee of prominent persons, The National Citizens Committee for Public Television, which was organized to make a concerted effort to raise money from private sources for public broadcasting.

By providing for the Corporation to be established and thus proceeding to meet the urgent program needs of noncommercial educational broadcast stations, we also can set the forces into motion that will bring in funds from nongovernmental sources. Within a year, we will have a much better idea of precisely what the private contributions may be and what share the Federal Government may be called upon to support.

In our committee report, separate views of the minority, including the minority leader, support this legislation, including the establishment of the Corporation. The separate views, however, emphasize the need to get the question of long-term financing settled within the next year. The report also contains the minority views of six members who indicate their unwillingness to proceed with the title II provisions because of the question of long-range financing.

But now is the time to establish this Corporation. Now is the time to take advantage of the millions of public funds already invested in the construction of noncommercial educational broadcast stations. Let us proceed, take advantage of a year's experience, and await the report of the President.

It is a big step, yes. It is bold and imaginative, significant, and urgent. Yes, this may be one of the most important pieces of legislation to be considered by the Congress this year.

Finally, title III of the bill also is one, like title I, that comes to you without controversy. It authorizes $500,000 for a study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of instructional television—better known as classroom television. The study would determine whether Federal aid should be provided for instructional television, what form it should take, how such broadcasting activity should be used. The study is to be submitted to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before January 1, 1969.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I am voting in favor of this bill known as the Public Broadcasting Act because I believe it will fulfill many promises that television and radio offer all Americans.

This bill creates a nonprofit federally chartered Corporation for Public Broadcasting which will be a nongovernmental institution, free of political interference and control.

The Corporation will be authorized to appropriate funds to create programs of educational and cultural value for all Americans.

Many days of hearings were held by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which I am the ranking member, to consider this bill and the need for such legislation. I wish every Member of this House had been able to attend those hearings and learn as I did the wonderful improvements in broadcasting which will be realized as a result of this bill.

At those hearings this bill was not only endorsed by educators, prominent businessmen, bankers, union leaders, and writers; but it was soundly endorsed by the presidents of each of the three commercial television networks as well as the president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Basically, this bill recognizes that the commercial networks have done their best to provide varied programs for all viewers but that the economics of commercial broadcasting severely limit the ability of the networks and stations to present programs which many minority audiences would enjoy.

It is the intention of the bill to make available funds for a great variety of enlightening programs, including public forums, drama, musical performances as well as televised formal and informal educational instruction.

This bill recognizes that television and radio in this country are no longer in their infancy and audiences have become sophisticated and require varied and serious programs as well as the entertainment and amusement furnished by commercial broadcasting.

The bill continues the matching funds program whereby local educational television stations will receive Federal assistance in building and equipping their stations. It is beyond any reasonable doubt that the richest country in the world cannot afford not to equip its citizens, young and old, with all the advantages that modern technology can bring. We cannot afford to be any less than the best informed people in the world. In my opinion this bill is an important step in keeping the entire American public enlightened and educated.

I am pleased that the legislature of my own State has recently created an educational TV authority. The executive director of that agency testified at the hearings in favor of this bill. I am hopeful that this agency and many other similar groups in the country will receive the program assistance they need through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

These are particularly difficult times for Americans. They are being called upon to assist peoples all over the world. Yet we cannot turn our backs on our own people right here at home or to their needs and their hopes for a better world for themselves and their families. Never was there a time when they more needed to understand and enjoy the people, the wonders and beauties of their land, as well as the lands of others.

Unfortunately, it costs money—great sums of it—to bring to American homes meaningful creative effort via the public airwaves. Private sources of all kinds have attempted to finance this type of creative effort. However, this support has provided but a meager fraction of what must be contributed if all of us are to receive the benefits of such creative efforts. H.R. 6736 is a historic proposal—it would take a giant step forward in helping us to realize the goal of a more informed and enlightened people. I believe the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is the type of imaginative and creative step that leads in the right direction.

President Johnson has deemed the concept of a public broadcasting corporation important enough that passage of this legislation ranks high on his list of priorities for the American people. I hope all of my colleagues will join with me in helping to make the dream of a worthwhile, uplifting educational broadcasting a reality.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, in closing I would like to say this: Let us get started on a project that should be as inspiring to every Member of the House, as it should be serviceable to the land in the future. Now is the time and opportunity to do something.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I heard the question asked of the gentleman from Ohio a minute ago whether any consideration had been given in the Rules Committee.

Now I ask: Was any consideration given in the gentleman's committee to raising the money through a system of fees or licenses paid by radio and television stations which now are operating on licenses which are invaluable, which are worth far more than the physical assets of the stations themselves? Was any thought given to that?

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes, there was.

We are not now, in this bill, providing anything in that regard.

The Congress will have to take another look at this. I assure the gentleman there will be a long, hard look at this when it comes before the committee.

This and other means were discussed, such as excise taxes on TV sets and various other ways.

There is no provision in this bill for financing the Corporation in the future. It was not asked for and we did not want to go out and say, "we are going to provide it now."

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Does the gentleman mean to tell me that his committee never takes any initiative, that it only puts out what people ask for?

Mr. STAGGERS. The gentleman is misinterpreting my remarks. I said it was not requested. The gentleman does not know what is required, and we do not know.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The gentleman is asking us to commit the taxpayers of America to spend, I believe, up to $38 million.

Mr. STAGGERS. Over a 3-year period.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Over a 3-year period.

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. It does call for spending that much money.

Mr. STAGGERS. That is a continuation of a program which I expect the gentleman voted for in 1962. A great majority of the Congress did. It might have been a unanimous vote; I do not know. It is a continuation of that program.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Does the gentleman believe it is out of order for him, as chairman, or for his committee, to recommend to the Federal Communications Commission that we are unhappy about the present situation, in that so little money has been contributed by the commercial broadcasting companies of both television and radio, and therefore it is our desire that they should make a study as to what would be a more equitable method whereby the commercial broadcasters would contribute toward the maintenance and the building of public educational broadcasting?

I should like to have the reaction of the gentleman to that.

Mr. STAGGERS. I understand what the gentleman is talking about. That subject is not before our committee, and will not come up until next year. Every avenue would be gone into at that time.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I am talking about the subject generally. Why cannot the committee, independently of what has been presented to it by the administration, pass a resolution to the effect that the Federal Communications Commission shall make a study?

Mr. STAGGERS. If the gentleman is talking about the long-range financing of the Corporation, the subject is not before us and it will not be before him or me until next year. The gentleman does not know, and I do not know, and no one else knows what is the proper solution. We will investigate every aspect of financing the Corporation.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MOSS. Is it not true that before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce should undertake the position of a schedule of fees for the licensees of the Commission it should first undertake a rather comprehensive study of the financial conditions of the many licensees?

The gentleman from Missouri has mentioned the great values involved. I believe he used the word "invaluable."

I concur. Some of the licenses are invaluable.

Some of them are very marginal in operation.

There are many types of licensees of the Commission engaged in the field of commercial broadcasting. If there is a channel in one of the top 100 markets, we are talking of values running anywhere from $10 million to $20 million. That is far in excess of the value of the physical plant.

On the other hand, a broadcaster operating a radio station in a small community may be having a difficult time breaking even. So, if the committee is to take the initiative, it should be taken in a responsible manner, after appropriate hearings into that as a separate legislative subject.

It happens I do not disagree with the gentleman's urging that the Congress consider the imposition of fees for the use of the very valuable public property of the broadcast spectrum, but this is not the vehicle. I am not aware at the moment that any Member has introduced or referred to the committee a proposed schedule of fees. It would be a desirable first step and one that I would certainly be very happy as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to support.

Mr. Chairman, I thank my chairman for yielding.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, we have a very fine educational nonprofit television station called channel 13 in New York City. I am curious to know how that station would be aided under this bill. What process would be undertaken and how would money be siphoned into that organization if it needs funds? How would it be done?

Mr. STAGGERS. There are other stations similar to this. They will all be eligible for assistance under this legislation.

Mr. CELLER. In other words, I am very happy to contribute to that organization. Many in New York have done likewise. But the time must come when they face deficits. If they face a deficit, they could make an application for a grant. Is that how it would be done?

Mr. STAGGERS. This legislation would permit the Corporation to make such a grant. Whether it would or not in any particular case would be up to the Corporation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, in 1961 educational broadcasting was in a bad way. Struggling along for 9 years, it had come forth with but 80 stations in the entire country, and the effort seemed to be headed for oblivion unless more and better stations could be created. To assist in this effort Congress provided $32 million to be used over the course of 5 years for construction of educational TV stations. No more than $1 million could be used in any one State.

Apparently this nudge was the needed incentive for private and local government money to come forth. Fifteen States have used the entire $1 million to which they could lay claim. Only three States have used none at all. The number of stations on the air or under construction now totals 189. The money put forth by the Federal Government helped to build 92 new stations and expand and improve 47 others. Grants ranged from $14,000 to $777,000. Because many communities or schools were trying to put a station on the air and had acquired some of the new equipment or facilities, they were given credit for those things and then a 50 percent grant.

Title I of the bill we are considering today is an extension of this very program. The country needs many more educational stations, perhaps as many as 380. The Federal aid is justified, and this bill would allow for another 3 years for grants up to 75 percent of approved items. The percentage increase is required because the new stations will all be from scratch. When taking into account the items not approvable, the funds will work out to just about 50 percent of most projects. Additionally, the advent of color puts an added strain upon the pocketbooks of the communities or institutions building the stations.

Some of the States have linked their educational stations together in a statewide network to get better use of the actual educational potential on the broadest basis possible. One State took its entire $1 million and merely divided it by the number of stations it felt the State needed. In this case, the Federal funds were a minute portion of the funds spent to create the system. But it helped. In the bill before us today we provide $10.5 million for 1968, $12.5 million for 1969, and $15 million for 1970. These are comparatively modest sums, but if past experience is any guide they should stimulate the creation of many more stations very quickly. And for the first time we have included radio stations.

Such is title I of this bill. It can be defended and heartily endorsed by anyone who studies the program and the need. I recommend it to the House.

Over the years, one of the greatest problems in operating an educational station has been the creation or acquiring of enough appropriate programing to make a full schedule. Aside from purely instructional material, it has been most difficult. Assistance has come for the most part from foundations, particularly national educational television, an offshoot of the Ford Foundation. This organization has spent millions in the preparation of programing for noncommercial station use.

Title II of this bill addresses itself to the same problem. The proposal which has already been outlined for you has been the subject of much conversation and writing since it was suggested by the Carnegie Foundation study last year. To its proponents it would be the answer to everything that is deficient in commercial programing. It would be the great enlightener and culture purveyor as well as classroom tool. These people see it as a pioneer and crusader. I must admit that I have some healthy misgivings about charging too rapidly down that road.

To those who are suspicious of such an effort it has the potential to become either a giant, Government-controlled propaganda machine or a fourth national network destined to fill the air with more of the same. In the latter case, the air might not be able to stand the strain.

It has been my intention to make this idea workable if possible. It has been the aim of our committee. And I think that by and large it has succeeded. In such a venture there are always unknowns, and I would not predict unqualified success, but I think it can be safely said that there is no longer a likelihood that it will get out of hand as some have feared. The safeguards put in the bill should let the good things happen if they can and stop the bad before they can get moving. Just let me briefly recite the things that have been put into this bill which make me so confident.

One of the main concerns has been the possibility that the Corporation might wind up in the middle of politics. The first change made to eliminate such a possibility was an amendment to provide that no more than eight of the directors of the Corporation can come from one political party. This is the same arrangement which keeps our regulatory agencies balanced. This is the scheme that makes our congressional committees work reasonably well and, I think, in the interests of the country. The minority and the majority act as a curb on each other, ready to blow the whistle at the least suggestion of undue partisan activity. I know that there are plenty of well-qualified individuals to serve on such a board of directors, and I would have considerable faith that the policies of such a board would not go hog wild.

The bill in its original form excluded the Corporation from actual political activity. This did not go far enough to make sure that stations individually or in concert, such as a State network, might not take on issues and be the center of political activity in the broadest sense. Although commercial stations can and are encouraged to editorialize, the committee considered it inappropriate for educational stations to do so, and the bill forbids it.

And at this point I would like to remind you that all of the sections of the Federal Communications Act apply to noncommercial stations—the fairness doctrine, the equal time provisions and all.

In addition to making sure of a bipartisan board of directors, the powers of the board were well hedged. There is a limit on how much Federal money can be put in any one project. The Corporation can do nothing that would remotely resemble the operation of a network. For example, it can have no direct dealings with the common carriers which lease cable for station interconnections. In this way it cannot create the full interconnection among stations which is needed to keep a network together. Some programs may be shown on many stations at one time, but the arrangements for it will be made through the contractors which prepare the programs.

The Corporation is not going to keep any of the trappings of program production. It will own no studios and hire no acting talent. Programs will be prepared under contract only. Noncommercial stations will continue to belong to the communities or institutions which build them and will be entirely independent of the Corporation. Any station may use or reject any piece of program material as it sees fit. If it accepts it, there is no restriction as to how it will be used. For example, a documentary may be offered for simultaneous showing and funds provided for the necessary hookup to do so. Station X can join in or it can take the show for a later showing according to its own programing needs or desires.

So the Corporation has been fairly well hemmed in and the stations kept out of its clutches. Even so, different people see this whole effort in different lights. To some, in fact some members of our committee, the main purpose for any such system is to provide far more classroom instructional broadcasting. Certainly television and radio have but scratched the surface in this area and can be developed into a very potent force in formal education.

Some people see the main thrust of this effort to be a sort of semiformal adult education where programs for specific subject matter and educational goals is presented in a series form, each segment building on the former.

Some people see it as education by presentation of better material of a cultural nature such as Shakespeare and the symphony orchestras.

Some see it as the intellectual needler which presents penetrating and thought-provoking documentaries and discussion programs.

In a way every point of view is correct. There is undoubtedly room in the broad reach of broadcasting to do an adequate job in all these departments. I sincerely hope it does. I would not like to see it confined to any one category.

This leaves one knotty problem about which you will hear much this afternoon—how are we going to finance this effort over the long pull. The $9 million included in title II is obviously a drop in the proverbial bucket to approach the problems and promise of public broadcasting. If it is to do any of the things we have discussed, the money necessary for program origination will be considerable. The foundations which have studied the problem estimate the amount from $60 million to $270 million a year eventually. Of course, any amount properly spent can help, and that is partly what prompts me to support the bill as it now stands. No doubt there will be some private money from direct contributions and from foundations to assist the corporation. Everyone involved has stated, however, that substantial amounts of Federal money will be required.

At the present time we do not know what the administration proposes either as to method of providing Government funds or the level of expenditure contemplated. This is a serious weakness. It means that we must do this far-reaching and important job partially blindfolded. As for me, I have convinced myself that the good which can accrue to our educational stations demands that we go ahead. No one should commit himself at this point to any financing scheme. There may be a rousing fight on that issue when the time comes—and come it must. The administration should come forth very early with its recommendations so that all here can give them thorough study and deep thought before acting. Any attempt to rush something through should be rejected.

It is my opinion that the only alternative to financing the Corporation is appropriated funds. This presents certain dangers and drawbacks, and all other proposed methods so far present other problems. It will be a man-sized job to maintain the principle of independence of action for the Corporation while holding the life and death purse-string. That will be the next chapter in the drama of public television and will be played on this station next season.

For the present we can create the major machinery and see how it functions. I therefore recommend the legislation to the House.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. In connection with your comment on editorializing, I can understand your position that you do not want any station to be used for partisan politics, and yet at the same time if you say that no station may engage in editorializing, I think that you are limiting that station or excluding them from engaging in one of the most valuable things that could come from such a station. Your commercial stations are reluctant to provide the time for editorializing, particularly on community projects and things like that.

As long as you can have editorializing, and safeguard that by offering equal time to the other side of the question, I do not think that would affect what you are trying to reach.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I answer the gentleman on that question, first?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. SPRINGER. First, we shall divide it into two parts. On the question of editorializing, I did not want any station to get in the position which occurred in my

State last year, where they took the TV station and endorsed one candidate for Congress and took the radio station and endorsed the other. In the first place, I do not think they ought to be in the position of endorsing or rejecting any candidate for office. I say that for commercial as well as educational and noncommercial TV. I do not think they ought to be in that field.

We do lay ourselves open to this kind of possibility if we do not close this loophole now.

Educational and noncommercial television came in and said, "We want to stay out of this field."

For instance, if we do a documentary on our hometown—does the gentleman come from Cape Girardeau?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I come from a small town; Cape Girardeau is the metropolis of the district I represent.

Mr. SPRINGER. Well, let us say Cape Girardeau ran a program in depth on a certain type of housing. This does not remove from educational television the necessity under the fairness doctrine to allow the same amount of time for the opposite opinion.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. But when we get into that, we get into editorializing, if the station puts on a program advocating changes.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is a different thing from preventing a documentary in depth which might present certain facts that look like an opinion, but they could not get into the field of editorializing. A documentary in depth is one thing that I say in the future I want to keep my finger on, and I have watched my home station very carefully on this. It seems to me the documentaries I have seen thus far have been pretty good. Some of them I may not agree with, but I think the documentaries in depth were fairly presented. We would want to be sure that the fairness doctrine operates.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. That is true, but unless we have it described more detailed than I see in the bill itself, we are going to limit that station in the presentation of information which I think their audiences should have.

Mr. SPRINGER. The only thing I can say in reply to the gentleman, if the gentleman is saying editorials are the kind of information they should have, we do prevent it.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. But if we offer the opportunity for a rebuttal to that—in other words, I have confidence in the public as long as they get both sides of the question. I think they should have the opportunity to do that.

Mr. SPRINGER. There is nothing that would prevent the presentation or a demand for equal time.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Illinois. I think what the gentleman from Missouri is saying would not be prohibited at all. This would be one of the functions of educational TV, to present programs where both sides of a question that was interesting and vital to a community could be presented. But it would not be done in an editorial form. It would be done in a proper forum where both sides are present and they have a discussion, as I think the gentleman would prefer to have it done.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I think the question may be one of semantics.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I think it is.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. It is a question of what we determine and consider to be editorials. What I fall out with is when a newspaper editorializes in its news columns, and that is given, and they slip a needle in before we know what has happened, and we do not have a chance to answer that. That is editorializing in the worst form. It is the thing I do not condone. I would like to see it kept out.

But I would like to see the educational station editorializing to the extent of advocating improvements in the community and things like that. At the same time, I am not arguing with the gentleman about the equal-time business, because I know we are going to do that, or at least I think we are, and we are going to assure that. But I do not think we should limit editorializing without making some legislative history as to what we mean by it.

Mr. SPRINGER. We went over that with our counsel in every way, and we could not come up with any language we thought was meaningful on this.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. MIZE. How broad a control does the gentleman envisage this new Corporation, which is to be established under title II, will have over programing, for all the individual stations?

Mr. SPRINGER. That was a part I could not get into in depth. It is a big subject. It would take some time to explain it.

Briefly, I can say that we provide that the corporation cannot be a network. Interconnections are allowed on a spot basis only. In the first place, they do not have the money. We do provide if there is a national program of significance it would be possible for the Corporation to enter into a contract indirectly with a communicating agency which could transmit the program. That is what we in effect provide.

If anyone wants to take the program, he can. If Kansas wants to take it and Illinois does not, that is perfectly all right.

That is as near as we come to what I would call a national program. Otherwise, it is shipped out in cans and they present it at the day and hour they want on the particular stations.

Mr. MIZE. Will individual stations be permitted to develop their own instructional programs?

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes; if they have the means. But a local station does not have to take anything from outside sources it does not want. It is purely up to them.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I believe it should be made clear that the Corporation as such will have no control. The committee was very specific about this. The gentleman from Illinois was one of the biggest boosters of this point of view. All of us were concerned to make sure that this Corporation would have no control. It cannot make anybody take or use a program. All the freedom is guaranteed in the bill for the individual station. They can use a program which may have been sponsored to be produced, but no one can force an individual station to produce or use anything.

Mr. SPRINGER. Or to show anything.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I should like to mention one point that came into the gentleman's remarks, on the ultimate cost of this program.

I have before me "Public Television: A Program for Action," the report of the Carnegie Commission for educational television. In this booklet, which I understand is the bible of this whole program, or at least a testament for this program, the figure consistently used as the total ultimate operating cost of this program is $270 million, when 380 stations get on the line.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, but at this point we have less than half that number of stations.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The ultimate figure we are talking about is $270 million per year.

Mr. SPRINGER. I would guess that is about right. That would be about the same proportionate cost we have at the present time, considering the number of stations.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. This is for consideration in the future, but on the question of cost has the committee considered the fact that the commercial facilities, the radio and TV stations and networks, do not pay any license which is meaningful, and they really are getting a very valuable commodity?

Mr. SPRINGER. Earlier in the day, I say to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] propounded this question, and I agreed with him they were not paying as much as they ought to be paying, considering the value of what they get from a license for a radio or TV station.

Mr. JOELSON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong and enthusiastic support of this beginning of Government recognition of the importance of nonprofit educational TV. It seems that television has never realized its potential. In fact, we are a Nation where we have great technocracy, but our technocracy has by far outrun our good taste and our sense of values.

Think what we can do. We can sit in

our living room, turn a switch and see and hear things that are happening across the Nation, across the world. But what do we get? Banal, vapid, mediocre pablum.

This bill is a step in the direction of realizing the great potential of television. When in later years we get to the question of financing, if I am in this body, I will certainly urge that commercial stations pay the freight. We give them something which is very valuable. We give them a virtual monopoly. They need not be told by the Government how much they can charge. They charge sponsors whatever they can get. And they do not even pay the cost of their regulation. A barber has to pay a meaningful license fee. A saloonkeeper has to. You name it. If they are licensed, they have to pay at least enough to pay for the cost of their regulation. But we give the people's airwaves for sale by radio and television stations. They sell it and they do not pay a cent for it. Can you imagine if we took Government lands or Government timber and said to some private developer, "It is yours; you can take it for nothing"? It would be called a giveaway. We are giving away something of value here to the television and radio people, and they should pay for it.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I hasten to point out that when this program gets rolling we will have 380 educational television stations plus an undetermined number of radio stations which will be provided for under new provisions of title I. There will then no longer be a monopoly by some private broadcasters because that number of 380 educational stations will be the equivalent of both the NBC and CBS network stations put together. I gather that the gentleman is advocating that we take money from the present networks and stations on the network to set up the competitive stations which would be comparable in number to the combined size of NBC and CBS.

Mr. JOELSON. Yes. I do not agree with the Carnegie Commission recommendation that would finance this by an excise tax on television sets. I do not think that is the way the money should be raised, but think that the television networks that are getting something valuable from the Government should pay for it.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Devine].

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, this is a highly technical and complicated subject, and in my few minutes here today I will merely attempt to bring it down to a layman's understanding of what this legislation does.

H.R. 6736 is important legislation. It amends the Communications Act of 1934. It also provides grants for the construction of educational television and broadcasting facilities. It authorizes assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting for the first time and establishes a nonprofit organization designed to assist in establishing "innovative educational programs." It creates a public corporation, which I think is an objectionable feature of this bill. There will be an amendment offered at a later time to strike out that public corporation, title II, of the bill. Finally, it authorizes a comprehensive study of instructional TV and radio.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Hall] mentioned that the Armed Services Committee is already spending a great deal of time and some funds to make similar studies in the same general field.

The reported purposes of this legislation are, first, to continue the program that was initiated under the law we passed in 1962. I think it is Public Law 87-447. That did not pass, incidentally, unanimously in the House. I think there were about 68 votes against it and 330-something in favor of it.

Under that law we provided matching Federal funds to help pay for noncommercial educational TV broadcasting facilities and for other purposes, to extend this to radio, and also to provide funds for cultural and educational programs through a private corporation; again, I say, and to provide for a study of instructional television.

Mr. Chairman, since the first noncommercial TV station went on the air in 1953, up until we passed this law in 1962, 80 additional TV stations began broadcasting. In the 5 years since this law went into effect in 1962, up until now, we have more than doubled that number. There are 189 as a result of which educational TV now reaches approximately 155 million people.

Mr. Chairman, according to the testimony of the witnesses, the enactment of this bill today is designed to assist in making programs of what they call "high quality." That is to provide excellence of production, excellence of programing, and excellence of facilities that are now enjoyed by the commercial television networks.

Mr. Chairman, title II of this bill provides $9 million in Federal funds as "seed money" and also organized a corporation to provide program assistance by grants and contracts to support local innovative programs, grants and contracts for the production of programs and the creation of programs which will be made available to local stations. And, one of the sales points is this. This appears, I believe, at the bottom of page 10 of the committee report, and I quote:

> Who can estimate the value of a democracy of a citizenry that is kept fully and fairly informed as to the important issues of our times and whose children have access to programs which make learning a pleasure?

Then, it goes on to say as follows:

> The program support provided by title II of the bill will, among other things, enable the noncommercial educational broadcast stations to provide supplementary analysis of the meaning of events already covered by commercial newscasters.

I repeat, "enable the noncommercial educational broadcast stations to provide supplementary analysis of the meaning of events already covered by commercial newscasters."

Mr. Chairman, I understand that there is one educational TV station out on the west coast that a bunch of "hippies" are running. Someone has suggested that it would indeed be amazing to hear the type of analysis they are making with reference to these matters. This is one of the areas in which we have had to work very hard in order to try to provide some safeguards. And, along this line, I want to say that the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Springer] has done a meaningful job in this particular area in an effort to correct those deficiencies that appeared in title II of this bill. But, as I said, we think it would be a better bill without title II entirely.

Mr. Chairman, the report says:

> Economic realities of commercial broadcasting do not permit widespread commercial production and distribution of educational and cultural programs which do not have a mass audience appeal.

Admitting then that programing under this act will be aimed at a rather special kind of audience, the proponents claim that "now is the time when educational broadcasting stations should be supplied with programs of a diverse, cultural, and educational nature," and they go on to say, "We are at the threshold of new, exciting, and worthwhile advances" in instructional television and that now it is possible "to relieve educators from dissipating significant amounts of time and energy in routine mechanical tasks and allow them to concentrate their efforts on improving, broadening, and enriching the curricula and kindling the imagination of students of all ages, from all backgrounds."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, a great deal of good has been accomplished through educational television, particularly by the universities, such as the one located in my district, the Ohio State University and also Purdue University located at West Lafayette, Ind., where they instituted the pilot program in this area. I believe all of us are in complete support of the purposes behind educational TV. However, there is a serious question relative to the creation of a public corporation and the use of public funds extracted from the taxpayer that undoubtedly will end up in direct competition with the free enterprise system represented by the networks as well as the local radio and television stations.

I would invite the attention of the Members to the separate views and the minority views that appear at the end of the report, and would say to the Members that an amendment will be offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Watson] to strike title II from the bill. If we are not successful in that, and we feel we will be, then it will probably be part of a motion to recommit.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Harvey].

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to talk to the Members for a few minutes, about the financing of title II under this particular legislation.

I believe that in bringing this bill before the House today that what we are doing is "putting the cart before the horse," because we are talking about a Corporation, but we are not saying how we are going to finance that Corporation. We are turning over a tremendous job to that Corporation which is going to cost a lot of money in the future, no matter whose views you take. HEW, the Carnegie Commission, or the Ford Foundation.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. No; I cannot yield to the gentleman. I only have 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it might be helpful just to look at what a few people who know something about this particular program have had to say about it. The Carnegie Commission spent months and months studying this particular problem of public funds. The Ford Foundation spent months and months studying this problem, and I will have more to say about what both these institutions recommended about financing. I refer you to the Carnegie Commission report. This is the majority view, mind you, of the commission members on how we should go about financing this title II. They recommended that the Congress should provide Federal funds by the enactment of an excise tax varying from 2 to 5 percent on TV stations. This would be a dedicated tax, and it would go into a trust fund to pay for the provisions of title II in the program. And after saying how much it would cost in the first year, which they estimated would be in excess of $50 million, they said this:

> For these funds, within the area in which public programing is most sensitive to government involvement, the commission cannot favor the ordinary budgeting and appropriations procedure followed by the government in providing support from general funds. We believe those procedures are not consonant with the degree of independence essential to public television.

That is just exactly what is being done today by providing this money through appropriation provisions.

Let us look also for a minute at what the gentleman who filed the minority views to the Carnegie Commission report had to say, and I refer to Mr. McConnell, president of the Reynolds Co. Mr. McConnell had this to say in his report about how to finance this, and I call attention to his remarks on page 72 of the Carnegie Commission report:

> I quite agree that if public television is to be financed in major part by the federal government, it would be highly desirable to avoid year-to-year appropriation by the Congress. The political implications of these are apparent. And certainly there should be complete divorcement of the programing and other functions of the public corporation from the government.

So once again we have one of the experts saying that we should not do it in the fashion we are doing it.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. No; I cannot yield at this point, I am sorry.

Let us take a look at the members of the Ford Foundation. For instance, what did Mr. Bundy have to say when he came before our committee? He was asked by the ranking member on our side, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], on page 387 of the hearings, that assuming the program was going to cost $170 million in public funds, what he thought about it. Again I quote from page 387 of the House hearings, where the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] asked:

> At this time, let's assume it is going to be $170 million of public funds. How would it remain independent?

Meaning the corporation.

Mr. Bundy said:

> I think it would be difficult, and I wouldn't at this stage of the game be in favor of such a recommendation. It seems to me important to find an insulated means of providing funds. The direct appropriation process, as I understand the matter, is not in my judgment a satisfactory means of doing that.

So we have Mr. Bundy.

We also have Mr. Fred Friendly, who is another famous television personality who, together with Ed Murrow, had charge of the "See It Now" program, and many other CBS programs.

What did Mr. Friendly have to say? And I quote from page 184 of the Senate hearings.

He said:

> What I certainly am saying—and I would be glad to say it a thousand times—is that I am against—and I hope we all are—Federal money from general revenues going into news and public affairs broadcasting.
>
> That is what I mean, and that is what I am here to say. And it is part of my very being.

Fred Friendly is now a special consultant to the Ford Foundation on this particular matter.

So no matter how you conclude it, Mr. Chairman, the people who are in this particular field have all warned both sides of the aisle on this dangerous precedent that we are setting here in authorizing to be appropriated $9 million to start this particular Corporation—without doing either what the Carnegie Commission said of providing an excise tax; or without doing what the Ford Foundation said, to provide a satellite tax; or without doing what Mr. McConnell said in his minority views of taxing the television stations themselves.

We are doing it because this Congress is afraid to face up to the facts as to how we are going to pay for this program in the future.

If the President cannot get his tax bill to finance the war in Vietnam, I do not think he is going to get one through to finance this particular program and I do not think he is by any means whatsoever.

Just to conclude, on this note, if we as Congressmen are willing to appropriate money for title II in this particular program, we might just as well start appropriating money to write the textbooks in America because this is literally what we are doing—writing the textbooks for America by the money appropriated in this particular fashion.

I do not believe that many Members of the Congress, including those who are not in this Chamber right now, would think or vote for this to go through in order to go through with that.

Mr. Bundy did not—Mr. Friendly did not—the Carnegie Commission did not—and not the majority of Americans—I do not believe any thinking person in America would want to go through with the programing provided in title II as long as that financing is through the appropriation process, and subject to this political influence.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think it is surprising that the Carnegie Commission did not recommend a substantial license fee on commercial TV when you consider that its membership is composed of representatives of TV stations including the head of CBS.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, since the advent of commercial television, Americans have invested some $20 billion in TV sets. They continue to purchase sets at the rate of $2 billion annually. It would be difficult to think of a single modern invention that has had a more powerful impact upon the present generation. Someone has estimated that by high school graduation the average American youngster has consumed 15,000 hours of time simply watching television. The "Now Generation" as they are sometimes referred to is truly the product of an electronic era. Marshall McLuhan, the communications expert, who has become famous for the phrase "the medium is the message" has expressed the fears of many with this statement in his book Explorations in Communication:

> Harnessing the Tennessee, Missouri or Mississippi is kid stuff compared with curbing the movie, press or television to human ends.

The Carnegie Corp. has sponsored the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. The 15 members of this commission numbered some of our country's most distinguished scholars, educators, and scientists. They spent more than a year studying noncommercial television or what is also referred to as educational television. In general, this is TV programing which is not supported by advertising revenues. Today our television is predominantly commercial. There are five commercial TV stations for every existing educational station. The operating revenues of the former are approximately $4 billion a year; whereas the educational stations in existence, about 136 in number, subsist on 3 percent of that amount.

Congress has now moved to adopt most of the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission in the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The central conclusion of the commission'e report was that a well-financed and well-directed educational television system, substantially larger and far more pervasive and effective than that which now exists should be created. To accomplish this the Federal Government will continue the program begun in 1962 of providing Federal matching grants to construct new educational TV stations.

The most salient feature of this new bill is the provision for a federally chartered Corporation for public broadcasting directed by a 15-man bipartisan Board of Directors appointed by the President. This Corporation will then actually finance and produce programs of a cultural and educational nature for distribution to local stations. They will also assist local stations who wish to produce their own programs.

The law forbids financing of any programs which editorialize on political issues and defines programs permissible for this new type of Federal financing as those which are "primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes and not primarily for amusement or entertainment purposes." Other sections of the law require the total autonomy of local stations. Although the Federal Corporation can provide for a hookup between stations for telecasting the same program over a whole region or perhaps even the entire country on occasion, it is specifically prohibited from operating a Government network or owning and operating stations like the British Broadcasting Corporation. Some of the principal remaining objections to this bill lie in the fear that something like a national network under Federal sponsorship might nevertheless emerge.

Under such circumstances the danger of political manipulation of the programing or deliberate slanting of the news could create a powerful, partisan political weapon. However, proponents of the Federal Public Television Corporation insist it is designed to bring cultural uplift and educational program to a mass audience, and any such political abuses are strictly forbidden by the law itself.

The commercial networks have all endorsed the legislation. One can only hope that they do not do so secure in the knowledge that televiewers will never abandon the TV westerns, situation comedies, and daytime soap operas in favor of cultural uplift and education.

Mr. Chairman, I support the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 because I believe that it can help realize the vast potential of television to elevate cultural and educational standards in our country. I do not feel that commercial television is adapted for that purpose as presently constituted. While I support the bill I hold some reservations. I believe that Congress must very closely monitor the implementation of the various provisions of this act, particularly title II. It would be foolish to deny that there are no opportunities for misuse of the programing authority confided in the Corporation.

However, I think we must have some faith in the honor, integrity, and qualifications of those who will be selected to serve on the board of directors. If Congress maintains close scrutiny and carries out its oversight function as it should, I think that the problem can be kept within manageable proportions. In short, I think that the possibility for good so far outweigh these potentially negative features that I give this legislation my support with the enthusiastic hope that the high goals set by the Carnegie Commission on public broadcasting will be fulfilled.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. KEITH].

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill, H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

No feature of our modern world is as American as television. In a period of only two decades this medium has come to bind many regions of our land more closely as people and as a nation. Yet, while television has attained a universal audience, it has not attained a universal excellence.

Newton Minow's description of television as a "wasteland" still comes too readily to mind. Television is peculiarly American and because of this we should all make an effort to see that American television is particularly excellent.

The public broadcasting bill will help to assure this excellence. But, Mr. Chairman, as I have noted in my additional views, we have to keep an eye on this creature that we have created.

Mr. Chairman, I invite the attention of the Committee to my views in the committee report which point out the fact that this could become a partisan and political tool if we are not constantly on the alert for the danger of partisanship.

Earlier today the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] mentioned that he approved of editorializing by educational TV as it is done in commercial TV. But he said he was concerned about editorializing that takes place in news columns. I am concerned about editorializing which could take place in educational TV programs. I want to be sure that the Congress has sufficient safeguards to protect the public interest against this possible threat.

In my view, the safeguards that we have put into the legislation with the bipartisan board of directors of the Corporation and the prohibition against editorializing go a long ways toward this and will, hopefully, be effective.

But, there is still a doubt in my mind that upon occasion editorializing could sneak into the programing in the same way that it does in the news columns.

I recall that, several years ago, this administration contracted to have a film made of certain public works programs that were underway or nearing completion in one of the communities in my district. One of the subtle purposes of this film was, I am sure, to encourage public support of the legislation which made the programs possible. In the long run it could have affected the candidacy of those who supported or failed to support the legislation.

I did not happen to vote for that program. It is conceivable that I could be tied in with the opposition to that program through this film, and it could then have adversely affected my candidacy for re-election. This kind of film is the kind of program that we must guard against. Mr. Chairman, as this public TV becomes a reality those who operate it must come back to the Congress for funding in succeeding years. In my view Mr. Chairman the Congress has the power and the responsibility to watch out that the programs are both worth while and objective. We, through our Commerce and Appropriations Committees, and through the House as a whole, can and will exercise the necessary oversight and accordingly we should go along with the bill.

I should like to ask the chairman one question, if I may, with reference to the right of an injured party to sue the station or other organization. Let us assume, Mr. Chairman, that editorializing does occur or is thought to be present by an injured party. What recourse would he have in the courts to get compensation for the injury that might have been done to him?

Mr. STAGGERS. I would say that the man would have the same recourse that he would have in any other similar suit, such as a suit for libel, or anything of that sort.

Mr. KEITH. Who would pay for the damages?

Mr. STAGGERS. Of course, the station would have to, I assume.

Mr. KEITH. If Federal funds are contributed, would the Federal Government be liable?

Mr. STAGGERS. The gentleman is talking about instructional television stations?

Mr. KEITH. Yes; and any public TV supported by Federal funds.

Mr. STAGGERS. You are raising a question that I believe is very hypothetical. I believe that we have written enough safeguards into the bill so that that will not happen.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEITH. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. I think the gentleman is making a very good point. The fact is under a recent decision of the Supreme Court, a public official is a sitting duck, and he cannot recover for libel unless he can prove malice. Those of us in public office are in a position where newspapers, radio, or TV stations can say anything they wish about us. Even if it is untrue, we cannot recover unless we can prove malice, which is practically impossible to do. Therefore, the right of editorializing should be very, very carefully scrutinized.

Mr. KEITH. I would remind my colleagues that this is an area where we must be on the alert. I believe on balance it is a good bill, but I do believe that it requires us to be constantly on the alert.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to say initially that those of us who will make an effort to strike title II of this bill are as strongly in favor of giving Federal help to the local ETV stations as anyone who is in favor of retaining title II. That is not our complaint at all. Frankly, I would respectfully take issue with my friend from Illinois when he said that title II is the heart of this bill. Title II is not the heart of the bill.

The heart of this bill, if we are interested in helping our local ETV stations is title I, the continuation of the program that the Congress wisely started in 1961, which has had a highly beneficial effect upon all the local ETV stations throughout the country.

In my judgment, and I think I express the sentiments of so many others on the committee, and I believe in the House, I am fearful that title II will be the Frankenstein of this particular piece of legislation. My friend from Michigan has adequately discussed the financial aspects of it, or rather the lack of adequate financing of the public corporation. We have had some say that we will pick up a lot of money from private sources, but let us be realistic about this. Is it not axiomatic that when we set up a corporation in which we have Government funds, there is the inclination, and the strong inclination, for private sources to stop giving to that corporation?

Frankly, I think they should. If we are going to have public funds in it, then I do not think we should expect private sources to supplement it. If it is going to be on the back of the taxpayers, I think they should have the responsibility for all of it. The facts prove that when Government steps in, private financing steps out. There is no question about that at all.

The second problem we have with title II, if we create this Public Broadcasting Corporation, we are going into direct competition with the local ETV systems. We have one of the finest in South Carolina, and I am proud I had a part in inaugurating it when I was in the State legislature.

But I will say we are using some Federal funds now, and using them to good advantage. But here is what is going to happen. Those private sources that have been contributing to the local ETV stations are going to say, "Wait a minute. We have to contribute to the Public Broadcasting Corporation, and it will be spread out to all the stations throughout the country." The Public Broadcasting Corporation will be going into direct competition with the local ETV stations in the matter of trying to raise funds.

Those gentlemen who support title II say, "Do not worry about control." Local stations can either take the programs given to them by the Public Corporation or not, they can accept or reject them. Let us be practical. As a practical matter, since the local station will be getting some funds from the Public Corporation as well as programs, we can be sure the local station is going to be rather reluctant not to play those programs which are offered them by the Public Broadcasting Corporation.

Here is the hooker in it all. They say the local station can take it or not, but bear in mind that all the programs given them—unless they go out and produce their own or others—will be programs from the PBC. In other words, "You can choose from this I offer you, or from that I offer you," and so on and on. Frankly, we are not going to have adequate controls or safeguards.

There is another potential danger. This Corporation could be a propaganda monster, although we have said there shall be no editorializing. Let us be realistic. An editorial is not very persuasive or influential. Let them go ahead and editorialize. Give me the right to control program content, and others can editorialize all they want to, but I will influence the thinking of the American public more with the programs or with people I have appearing on the programs.

The American public knows editorials are subjective, but they believe regular programs are objective. So this is a very real problem we are going to have in this matter.

The committee wisely wrote in that there shall be no editorializing, and that on programs of a controversial nature there shall be balance and equal time. That does not protect us. Who determines whether or not they are objective and in balance?

Later on, we will give other reasons to the House why the House should reject this proposition. Let us give this money to the local stations who have been doing such a wonderful job in this medium of television.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WATSON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my support for titles I and III of H.R. 6736, but also to express my strong reservations about the provisions of title II.

I am a strong supporter of educational television, and we have long felt that its full potential has not been appreciated. We, of New York, have made substantial progress in this direction, however, moving now as we are toward a statewide educational TV network, connecting up the five ETV stations we now have on the air and those we soon hope to add—including one in my area of the State—into a network which will have the built-in potential for future interconnection with other State or regional networks.

For States such as New York, however, that have moved vigorously ahead on such programs, the limited amount of Federal assistance available under the Educational Television Act of 1962—surely a major benchmark in this field—and especially the $1 million-per-State cutoff point set by that act, has prevented us from moving ahead as fast and as far as we would like, even though the State itself is now contributing construction moneys.

For this reason, I introduced legislation in the last Congress to merely extend the 1962 act for another 5 years, at an additional authorization of $32 million—the same as the original authorization—but also to increase the per-State limitation from the original $1 to $2 million.

When that bill failed to move, I reintroduced it in this Congress—where it is known as H.R. 4140. However, at about the same time something of considerable import happened—which was, of course, the release to the public of the long-awaited report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television.

Now, as a result of that report, we all of a sudden found ourselves no longer just talking about educational television, a familiar concept which had already won for itself wide public and congressional acceptance and support, but about such other intriguing but possibly controversial matters as "public television" and "noncommercial television" which, though surely related to ETV, also involve difficult issues of public policy, issues that I am sure are very much in our minds at the moment.

And so it is that, in H.R. 6736 and in S. 1160 as passed by the other body, both of which, significantly, bear the title of "Public Broadcasting Act of 1967," we find in title II a proposal, described in the Senate report as embodying:

> The bold and imaginative concept of an independent, non-profit corporation to assist in developing a *vital noncommercial educational broadcasting system*—

Under which Federal funds will be used to help produce "higher quality educational programs," the programing of which—again quoting from the Senate report—

> should not only be supplementary to but *competitive* with commercial broadcasting services.

Title II provides an initial authorization of Federal funds for the purposes of the Corporation in the amount of $9 million, designed, as the Senate report says, "to get the Corporation off the ground," but it is also admitted that this is only "seed money" and that "much more money will be required in future years if the Corporation is to accomplish the task before it," however that task may come to be defined and, as we all know, the President has said that—

> Next year, after careful review, I will make further proposals for the Corporation's long-range financing.

Mr. Chairman, I am not immune to the deficiencies of commercial television programing. As the father of two teenage sons who are inveterate watchers of this wonderful but sometimes discouraging medium and who, therefore, often expose me to more of its "wasteland" than I might otherwise venture into alone, I can well understand why the Wall Street Journal editorially referred earlier this year to that "multiheaded monster which transmits a gooey mixture of soap operas, quiz shows, and kiddy cartoons"

But, given the enormous appetite of this medium—which the average American supposedly watches some 6 hours a day—I wonder whether even the average quality of commercial television's output, while admittedly bad enough, is really as bad as it is sometimes contended. I also wonder if it is so bad that, without a further public dialog than that so far engendered by the Commission's report and the hearings here this year and in the body, it is either wise or necessary for us, in our eagerness for an elusive "quality" in programing, to begin to move now in the direction of setting up at least the beginnings of a competitive, federally financed, "public television"—or "noncommercial television"—system, for that is where we would seem to be going, using the accepted virtues and great potential of educational TV to do so.

Would it not be better, I ask, to submit this portion—title II—of the bill before us, or of S. 1160, to further scrutiny—perhaps by broadening the purposes of the comprehensive study of instructional television and radio authorized under title III to be made by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare?

It would seem to me so—and that this would also permit the President time to make up his mind about the best way for arranging long-range financing of the proposed Corporation, before the creation of which even with "seed money" it would seem necessary for us, in these difficult budgetary times, to have some better idea than any of us now do about how much money such a corporation can consume and where it is to come from.

Mr. Chairman, there is—as I see it—no great urgency in creating the corporate entity envisioned in title II now, despite the probable future need for some such supporting body. To the contrary, there may well be much wisdom on the side of delaying such action for, as I have said, at least 1 year.

While, therefore, I strongly support the other provisions of H.R. 6736, I do intend to support the anticipated amendment to strike title II from the bill.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I should like to insert at this point in the RECORD a description of a kind of "public television described by the English author, George Orwell, in his masterpiece, "1984." It follows:

> The next moment a hideous, grinding screech, as of some monstrous machine running without oil, burst from the big telescreen at the end of the room. It was a noise that set one's teeth on edge and bristled the hair at the back of one's neck. The Hate had started.
>
> As usual, the face of Emmanuel Goldstein, the Enemy of the People, had flashed onto the screen. There were hisses here and there among the audience. The little sandy-haired woman gave a squeak of mingled fear and disgust. Goldstein was the renegade and backslider who once, long ago (how long ago, nobody quite remembered), had been one of the leading figures of the Party, almost on a level with Big Brother himself, and then had engaged in counterrevolutionary activities, had been condemned to death, and had mysteriously escaped and disappeared. The program of the Two Minutes Hate varied from day to day, but there was none in which Goldstein was not the principal figure. He was the primal traitor, the earliest defiler of the Party's purity. All subsequent crimes against the Party, all treacheries, acts of sabotage, heresies, deviations, sprang directly out of his teaching. Somewhere or other he was still alive and hatching his conspiracies: perhaps somewhere beyond the sea, under the protection of his foreign paymasters; perhaps even—so it was occasionally rumored—in some hiding place in Oceania itself.
>
> Winston's diaphragm was constricted. He could never see the face of Goldstein without a painful mixture of emotions. It was a lean Jewish face, with a great fuzzy aureole of white hair and a small goatee beard—a clever face, and yet somehow inherently despicable, with a kind of senile silliness in the long thin nose near the end of which a pair of spectacles was perched. It resembled the face of a sheep, and the voice, too, had a sheeplike quality. Goldstein was delivering his usual venomous attack upon the doctrines of the Party—an attack so exaggerated and perverse that a child should have been able to see through it, and yet just plausible enough to fill one with an alarmed feeling that other people, less level-headed than oneself, might be taken in by it. He was abusing Big Brother, he was denouncing the dictatorship of the Party, he was demanding the immediate conclusion of peace with Eurasia, he was advocating freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of thought, he was crying hysterically that the revolution had been betrayed—and all this in rapid polysyllabic speech which was a sort of parody of the habitual style of the orators of the Party, and even contained Newspeak words: more Newspeak words, indeed, than any Party member would normally use in real life. And all the while, lest one should be in any doubt as to the reality which Goldstein's specious claptrap covered, behind his head on the telescreen there marched the endless columns of the Eurasian army—row after row of solid-looking men with expressionless Asiaatic faces, who swam up to the surface of the screen and vanished, to be replaced by others exactly similar. The dull, rhythmic tramp of the soldiers' boots formed the background to Goldstein's bleating voice.
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> Before the Hate had proceeded for thirty seconds, uncontrollable exclamations of rage were breaking out from half the people in the room. The self-satisfied sheeplike face on the screen, and the terrifying power of the Eurasian army behind it, were too much to be borne; besides, the sight or even the thought of Goldstein produced fear and anger automatically. He was an object of hatred more constant than either Eurasia or Eastasia, since when Oceania was at war with one of these powers it was generally at peace with the other. But what was strange was that although Goldstein was hated and despised by everybody, although every day, and a thousand times a day, on platforms, on the telescreen, in newspapers, in books, his theories were refuted smashed, ridiculed, held up to the general gaze for the pitiful rubbish that they were—in spite of all this, his influence never seemed to grow less. Always there were fresh dupes waiting to be seduced by him. A day never passed when spies and saboteurs acting under his directions were not unmasked by the Thought Police. He was the commander of a vast shadowy army, an underground network of conspirators dedicated to the overthrow of the State. The Brotherhood, its name was supposed to be. There were also whispered stories of a terrible book, a compendium of all the heresies, of which Goldstein was the author and which circulated clandestinely here and there. It was a book without a title. People referred to it, if at all, simply as *the book*. But one knew of such things only through vague rumors. Neither the Brotherhood nor *the book* was a subject that any ordinary Party member would mention if there was a way of avoiding it.
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> In its second minute the Hate rose to a frenzy. People were leaping up and down in their places and shouting at the tops of their voices in an effort to drown the maddening bleating voice that came from the screen. The little sandy-haired woman had turned bright pink, and her mouth was opening and shutting like that of a landed fish. Even O'Brien's heavy face was flushed. He was sitting very straight in his chair, his powerful chest swelling and quivering as though he were standing up to the assault of a wave. The dark-haired girl behind Winston had begun crying out "Swine! Swine! Swine!" and suddenly she picked up a heavy Newspeak dictionary and flung it at the screen. It struck Goldstein's nose and bounced off; the voice continued inexorably. In a lucid moment Winston found that he was shouting with the others and kicking his heel violently against the rung of his chair. The horrible thing about the Two Minutes Hate was not that one was obliged to act a part, but that it was impossible to avoid joining in. Within thirty seconds any pretense was always unnecessary. A hideous ecstasy of fear and vindictiveness, a desire to kill, to torture, to smash faces in with a sledge hammer, seemed to flow through the whole group of people like an electric current, turning one even against one's will into a grimacing, screaming lunatic. And yet the rage that one felt was an abstract, undirected emotion which could be switched from one object to another like the flame of a blowlamp. Thus, at one moment Winston's hatred was not turned against Goldstein at all, but, on the contrary, against Big Brother, the Party, and the Thought Police; and at such moments his heart went out to the lonely, derided heretic on the screen, sole guardian of truth and sanity in a world of lies. And yet the very next instant he was at one with the people about him, and all that was said of Goldstein seemed to him to be true. At those moments his secret loathing of Big Brother changed into adoration, and Big Brother seemed to tower up, an invincible, fearless protector, standing like a rock against the hordes of Asia, and Goldstein, in spite of his isolation, his helplessness, and the doubt that hung about his very existence, seemed like some sinister enchanter, capable by the mere power of his voice of wrecking the structure of civilization.
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> * * * * *
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> The Hate rose to its climax. The voice of Goldstein had become an actual sheep's bleat, and for an instant the face changed into that of a sheep. Then the sheep-face melted into the figure of a Eurasian soldier who seemed to be advancing, huge and terrible, his submachine gun roaring and seeming to spring out of the surface of the screen, so that some of the people in the front row actually flinched backwards in their seats. But in the same moment, drawing a deep sigh of relief from everybody, the hostile figure melted into the face of Big Brother, black-haired, black-mustachio'd, full of power and mysterious calm, and so vast that it almost filled up the screen. Nobody heard what Big Brother was saying. It was merely a few words of encouragement, the sort of words that are uttered in the din of battle, not distinguishable individually but restoring confidence by the fact of being spoken. Then the face of Big Brother faded away again, and instead the three slogans of the Party stood out in bold capitals: war is peace, freedom is slavery, ignorance is strength.
>
> But the face of Big Brother seemed to persist for several seconds on the screen, as though the impact that it had made on everyone's eyeballs were too vivid to wear off immediately. The little sandy-haired woman had flung herself forward over the back of the chair in front of her. With a tremulous murmur that sounded like "My Savior!" she extended her arms toward the screen. Then she buried her face in her hands. It was apparent that she was uttering a prayer.
>
> At this moment the entire group of people broke into a deep, slow, rhythmical chant of "B–B! . . . B–B! . . . B–B!" over and over again, very slowly, with a long pause between the first "B" and the second—a heavy, murmurous sound, somehow curiously savage, in the background of which one seemed to hear the stamp of naked feet and the throbbing of tom-toms. For perhaps as much as thirty seconds they kept it up. It was a refrain that was often heard in moments of overwhelming emotion. Partly it was a sort of hymn to the wisdom and majesty of Big Brother, but still more it was an act of self-hypnosis, a deliberate drowning of consciousness by means of rhythmic noise. Winston's entrails seemed to grow cold. In the Two Minutes Hate he could not help sharing in the general delirium, but this subhuman chanting of "B–B! . . . B–B!" always filled him with horror. Of course he chanted with the rest: it was impossible to do otherwise. To dissem-

ble your feelings, to control your face, to do what everyone else was doing, was an instinctive reaction.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN].

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my strong support for the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The people of this country deserve the chance to discover and the opportunity to learn what educational television can provide. That is why I have long advocated legislation of this kind and why I am pleased to be associated as a sponsor of the bill before us.

Those of us who live in areas already serviced by noncommercial television may tend to forget that many of our citizens still do not share in our good fortune. Although 102 new educational television stations have been built or are now under construction since the passage of the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962, one quarter of the Nation's population is not yet being reached. Title I of this bill, by promoting the construction of new local stations and the expansion of existing facilities, will bring us closer to the time when all of our citizens will be able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by educational television and radio. It could help them to become well-informed citizens capable of meaningful participation in the modern world.

Educational television has already provided us with many fine examples of its potential for excellence. It has also, however, succeeded in whetting the public's appetite for more. Quality programing is an expensive investment, but the returns in increased national awareness of the problems and opportunities in our rapidly changing world will be more than commensurate with the cost. The encouragement and support of the Public Broadcasting Corporation will enable educational television to produce the imaginative and stimulating programs of which it is capable.

The employment of new talent and the opportunity to explore new ideas unhampered by the limitations inherent in commercial broadcasting, will benefit the radio and television industry as a whole. Furthermore, it will provide each individual with a chance to develop new interests and skills. The flexibility granted to the Public Broadcasting Corporation will allow it to serve both local and national interests effectively; its presence will guarantee educational television of freedom from either Government interference or control, as well as providing this new media with the direction and perspective necessary to utilize its funds more efficiently.

While noncommercial public broadcasting has been expanding and developing before our very eyes, great changes have also been taking place in the Nation's schools. Instructional television is entering more and more of our children's classrooms. The results have been so encouraging and expansion therefore so rapid, that there has been little time to step back and assess both the possibilities and limitations of this new teaching device. Title III will provide the authorization for just such a comprehensive study. Instructional television has already proven itself to be a valuable tool in the education of our children; the study to be conducted by Health, Education, and Welfare will provide us with the information necessary to utilize this tool most effectively for the benefit of all our students.

I should like to stress the immediate need for passage of this bill in its entirety. Educational technology advances more rapidly each day; it is our responsibility to insure that the maximum number of citizens are given the opportunity to share in the benefits made possible by these advances. I urge my fellow Representatives to accord to educational television the additional public support and encouragement it so richly deserves.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BROTZMAN].

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736. I believe it goes a long way toward establishing the principle that substantial Federal support—with guarantees against oppressive Government control—is in the best interest of public broadcasting and the Nation.

While the field of educational and instructional radio and television has made enormous strides in the past decade, the potential of these media for improving the quality of life in our Nation has scarcely been touched.

The basic provisions of this bill have been described today at length, but I would like to add some personal observations which I made during the pertinent hearings and discussions of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Title I of the bill will provide for the extension and continuation of the program of grant assistance in the acquisition and installation of equipment for noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities. And, for the first time, it will extend this assistance to educational radio broadcasters.

We were successful in adding an amendment to title I which, I believe, overcomes a weakness evident in the original bill. This amendment will limit the amount of funds available to any one State to 8½ percent of the total authorization, which will insure wider use of the funds and encourage more States to participate.

The most innovative features of the bill are, in my opinion, contained in title II, which calls for establishment of a nonprofit non-Government private corporation to bring to bear not only programing expertise but also a new level of facility and fiscal support for educational broadcasting. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting, as it is called, will act as a central depository for both public and private funds pledged to support educational broadcasting. The corporation will not, in itself, own or operate any broadcast outlets.

The fear of Government control of programing was recurrent during consideration of this bill by my committee. In my mind it was and is a justifiable fear. However, Mr. Chairman, I believe we were successful in adding amendments which—along with a reasonable degree of vigilance on the part of Congress—will prevent this corporation from becoming a Government propaganda tool.

For example, one amendment provides that not more than eight of the 15 directors of the Corporation can be members of the same political party. Another amendment prohibits editorializing and endorsement of political candidates by noncommercial stations.

Title III of the bill calls for a comprehensive study of educational and instructional television broadcasting by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with a monetary authorization of $500,000. The study will look into existing programing on educational television, financial factors relevant to television's use in schools, and assessment of television as an instructional medium compared to other media.

The study will be completed by January 1, 1969. This is none too soon, because data of this type is sorely needed even now for our use in correcting a basic weakness which remains in the bill—the lack of a long-range fiscal policy.

The question of financing the Corporation occupied a great deal of time during the committee consideration of this bill.

Several sources of funding were considered, ranging from conventional appropriations to levying of an excise tax on television sets. As pointed out in the separate views, which I signed, one factor behind this still unresolved quandary was the fact the President has failed to give so much as a hint as to his intentions about the manner in which Federal funds would be made available to the Corporation.

Personally, I would have preferred that the private sector fund the Corporation 100 percent, but realistically such sources would probably be inadequate. The testimony before our committee indicated that $30 million—at most—might be available from foundations and private donations. This simply would not be sufficient to meet the estimated annual need.

The committee has recommended that $9 million in Federal funds be provided to augment private-sector moneys in establishing and operating the Corporation the first year. The long-range financing policies must be agreed upon within that time, I believe, and, with the full cooperation of HEW, the Corporation, and the administration. I am confident that Congress can settle this one major piece of unfinished business inherent in the bill.

Mr. Chairman, even as it stands, this legislation will give us a sound foundation upon which to build. I therefore urge its passage.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MACDONALD].

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I should like to ask the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON] if he were present at the hearing at the time when Mr. Thomas F. Jones, chairman of the

Committee on Educational Telecommunications, of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, who is from South Carolina, testified? Is it not a fact that he endorsed this program completely, with no reservations, and said all the testimony he had heard about it would help the area that was served by his facility in South Carolina?

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. I well know Dr. Jones, the outstanding president of the University of South Carolina. I well know further that one of the principal ways used to sell this entire program to the local ETV stations was telling them the only way they would get the money under title I was to buy the entire package, including title II.

I might say further in response to the gentleman, this is from a letter written by the head of ETV in South Carolina, Dr. Cauthen, to Dr. Killian. He said that the Public Broadcasting Corporation was going to deal primarily in cultural aspects.

He stated:

> We agree that there is a place for the cultural offerings, such as symphonies, ballets, etc., so generously offered now through ETV, but we are far more impressed with the fact that 150,000 South Carolina school children and 100,000 adults are enrolled this year in courses of instruction in South Carolina.

That is what I am interested in, the bread and butter of instructional and educational TV, and not the frills.

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I yield no further.

I ask a second question. Are you disavowing the testimony on page 757 of our hearings, in which the representative from South Carolina endorsed this bill wholeheartedly? Are you disavowing him?

Mr. WATSON. I am only saying, if the gentleman will yield——

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I know you have disavowed other things other times, but I ask you, are you now disavowing him?

Mr. WATSON. Since the gentleman accuses me of disavowing things at other times, if he would be fair to the Committee—forget about being fair to me—he should tell us wherein these other instances have occurred. Otherwise, I can only assume the question of the gentleman is not a serious one and deserves no reply from me.

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I would ask for a reply from you, because you state that you represent the position taken by your State. I just know that the people who came from your State to testify before us were in favor of this program.

I ask, do you not agree with the people who testified before our committee?

Mr. WATSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. As I stated earlier, I will give the gentleman a direct response. One of the principal ways the administration has sold this program is to tell the local ETV authorities, "If you want title I money then you have to buy the whole bill, including title II, the Public Broadcasting Corporation."

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. That is not really an answer to the question.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MONTGOMERY].

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer to a couple of points that were just raised in the colloquy on the floor. I would like to have the attention of the gentlemen who have just been speaking on this program and who said that title II should be stricken from the bill because it does this or that or that we are afraid of something it might do. I would say that you just do not have the confidence in the members of the committee that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] and I have. We will take a look at this a year from now and decide what will be done. Somebody else will not tell us what to do at that time. The members of the committee who are then sitting will make the decisions. We will all be back here next year unless death occurs or something else happens. You say something might happen. You should have enough respect for the intelligence and the integrity of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to understand that it will do what is right for the country when the time comes to do it. We have not made a decision on it yet. We have spent $32 million already on broadcast equipment and the bill provides another $38 million on equipment. We need something to put this equipment into operation—programs of high quality. Without Government assistance the meager resources of local stations are not adequate to provide such programs.

The gentleman from South Carolina says that local stations are doing a good job in their localities in that State. I agree with him. But we do not want to be provincial in this country. We want this land to be connected, to be interconnected, and we want to know what is going on in other sections of the country. We want to make the best use of it that is possible. You may have the best system in South Carolina. We would like to share it with you. That is all we are trying to do. You have no way of providing a connection or an interconnection. You say that we should have each community control its own. We want it to go throughout the country.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I would like to yield, but I just do not have any more time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736. I would like to thank the distinguished chairman and the members of the committee for letting me testify in behalf of this bill during the public hearings. In my State we enacted the Educational Television Act in 1966, which placed educational TV under the control of the State. There is no question in my mind after a few years of classroom and adult educational TV that this will be one of the biggest boosts for the purpose of upgrading education in my State. The largest single grant under the facilities section of the act went to the State of Mississippi, as the gentleman from Illinois earlier mentioned. We received $777,000 to purchase cameras and equipment to put educational TV on the air. If we had not received this grant, I sincerely believe we would have lost our educational television VHF channel. There were some commercial enterprises that were very much interested in trying to get this VHF channel. They wanted to take it away from educational TV. This grant helped us to keep the channel. In my State I would say 95 percent of the homes in my State have electricity and lights. About 91 percent of the people who have lights in my State have a TV set. This is certainly going to mean a lot to our people if they can get educational television coming in on their television sets. We are excited in my State on the future of educational television.

I would like to quote from Mr. William R. Smith, director, Mississippi Authority for Educational Television, on page 12 of this report, who stated before this committee on open hearings:

> Much of what we have accomplished has been assisted and stimulated by Federal funding through the Educational Television Facilities Act, and we look forward to future financial assistance. Mississippi is not a wealthy State. There are a dozen different needs for every available dollar, but few needs more worthy, few so necessary as the development and stimulation of an eager mind.
>
> Thus, we are committed to educational television.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time on this side of the aisle to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. KUYKENDALL].

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736. I am proud of the thorough job our committee did in preparing this bill. We held lengthy and comprehensive hearings and, in executive session, went over the bill with great care to make sure that it would accomplish its purposes and to remove as far as possible dangers of abuses. The result, I believe, is a good bill, a bill which every Member of this body can support knowing that in its application we will be making a notable contribution to improving the education of those who are presently educationally deprived.

Educational TV has already chalked up an enviable record of achievement in meeting the educational needs from the illiterate all the way up to teaching highly sophisticated scientific groups. It meets the need where the need is greatest in rural areas and educationally deprived areas where standard school systems and teaching methods have been unable to make the desired impact.

There are those who will say that we may be creating a monster in setting up this type of program with Federal participation. I say to you, my colleagues, that we will create a monster only if we fail in our responsibility to keep it from becoming a monster. Any program which

Congress approves can develop into a monster if we allow it to become one. The committee has made every effort in this bill to put in safeguards so that Congress will be in control. We have limited appropriations to 1 year so that we will have the opportunity to review what progress has been made and to approve future budget requests.

If, when demands are made for additional money next year, a comprehensive workable program is not presented, then I would be among the first to refuse further authorizations. Provision is made in the bill, under title II, for constant review by Congress of the activities of the corporation and the conduct of the program.

For those who say that illiteracy in the United States is a small percent of our educational problem, it is still a problem. Those who are ill-fed in this country represent only a small percent of our population, but hunger is a national problem. Only a small percentage of Americans have participated in riots, but certainly riots are a national problem. So, as long as there is any illiteracy among our people, then we must treat it as a national problem and take whatever reasonable steps we can to alleviate it.

This is a good bill with a good purpose and it deserves your support.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Hechler].

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending legislation, H.R. 6736.

In the State of West Virginia, we have been engaged in educational broadcasting for the past 3 years, under the aegis of the West Virginia Educational Broadcasting Authority. An educational television transmitter near Morgantown, W. Va., which will serve some 15 counties in the vicinity of West Virginia University, will be completed this fall. Also, Marshall University in Huntington, W. Va., and the school systems of three counties are joining in an educational television project to serve southwestern West Virginia.

One of the important aspects of this development is the strong support which this project development has received from the commercial broadcasters and telecasters.

Mr. Chairman, recently the Governor of West Virginia, the Honorable Hulett C. Smith, testified before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He stated during his testimony:

> I feel that Federal support for instructional television—that is, for credit instruction at the college level, as is in this case, are for other levels of education as well—is badly needed to supplement the efforts of the States.

Harry Brawley, executive secretary of the West Virginia Educational Broadcasting Authority, also testified before the committee, and characterized the pending legislation as "a bold step forward." Mr. Brawley added:

> Thanks to the existence of funds for Federal aid under the ETV Facilities Program, we have begun to make great strides during the fiscal year just passed.

One of the more striking and innovative features of this legislative proposal, one which has caught the imagination of both the public and the press, is the provision for a Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

This Corporation, if enacted, will provide leadership for a national effort to upgrade the influential noncommercial television and radio media in this country. For example, one of the duties of the Corporation will be to distribute high-quality educational programs to local public television stations. Local stations will be free to accept or reject these programs, thus maintaining local autonomy and retaining program decisionmaking on the local level. At the same time, it will expand the capacity of noncommercial stations to provide, more consistently than their limited resources now allow, challenging and meaningful programing.

How will local stations benefit from the organization of this Corporation?

First, let me explain that educational television stations are in need of additional programs to achieve the potential of the media. This potential has never fully reached the promise foreseen in 1952 when the Federal Communications Commission set aside 242 station channels for the exclusive use of noncommercial educational television.

Many stations today are understaffed. Being noncommercial, they lack additional outside revenues to obtain programs. In other cases, high quality programs are simply not available. Educational stations, operating under these limitations, have tended to be stepchildren of the total broadcasting industry rather than a force by which millions of people in this country would be able to receive continual upgrading through informational and educational programs.

As President Johnson pointed out earlier this year in his message on education and health:

> Non-commercial television today is reaching only a fraction of its audience and achieving only a fraction of its potential worth.

We propose to remedy this situation.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 will build on the experience of the existing Educational Television Facilities Act, now Public Law 87-447. Through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, America's network of noncommercial stations will receive new impetus and begin to fulfill the vast potential of this valuable medium.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Watson].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman very much for yielding to me. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the chairman, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Staggers], and to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Springer] for the wonderful work they have done, and also the whole committee, in this particular piece of legislation. It happens that we have a difference of opinion, primarily over title II, but I can certainly say that the chairman has been most cooperative in giving us every opportunity to voice our objections.

Mr. Chairman, again I thank the chairman of our committee for yielding.

Mr. STAGGERS. I would like to add that as the gentleman said, it was just a difference in philosophy.

Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Pickle].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill which is before us today. I simply wish to say that this bill merely extends the 1962 Education Television Facility Act and broadens it to the extent that it allows in title II a provision which provides for adequate programing.

Mr. Chairman, the 1962 act has worked well. We have heard no criticism in this House today on the desirability of or the quality of the work of this particular program. Surely we ought to expand it and extend its intent and purpose.

I very much agree with what the chairman of the committee and the gentleman from Illinois Mr. [Springer] have said in general about the program. And the gentleman who spoke just a few minutes ago, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Kuykendall], I believe put his finger on a very important fact that this is a very worthwhile program and that the test is going to be if, in the creation of programs under title II, the corporation can administer the program well. I have confidence that they can do it, and that the measure is written in a manner that will allow them to administer the program correctly and properly. Surely $20 million is not too much to give to a 1-year trial. I certainly believe the House should support this measure.

The development to date of educational television and educational radio can only be described as somewhat disappointing. Good, perhaps; but not enough.

There was high promise for the spread of culture and learning throughout our Nation when we entered what we now call the electronic age. But these media have failed to meet that full promise.

In television, chronic underfinancing has made educational television the stepchild of an explosively growing industry. We need, therefore, to up date, and attempt to make current, the great potential this media offers for the public good.

Private television has had of necessity to provide first for its own survival in the marketplace. It is now clear that there must be new encouragement of educational television and radio if these media are to approach our national needs. And it is also clear that this encouragement should come largely from the Federal Government which is the trustee of the public in the use of television channels and radio frequencies.

I am convinced that the bill now under consideration, Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, will be a major factor in providing new vigor for educational programing on radio and television.

The bill would for the first time make educational radio stations eligible to receive Federal matching grants now available in television for construction and expansion of facilities. This provision should go far toward providing the new educational radio stations that are needed to provide adequate service to the Nation.

But the provision of facilities in both radio and television is but a first step. We also must insure that proper quality of programing is developed and maintained.

This bill would establish a most hopeful and innovative means of upgrading and expanding educational television programing. I refer to the establishment of a Corporation for Public Broadcasting which will be charged with establishing a mechanism for the encouragement of new efforts to provide programs of high cultural and educational quality. Very wisely, every effort is being made to keep the corporation free of political and governmental controls and they should properly stay in their educational field—I think they will.

And, finally, the bill authorizes a study of the needs of instructional programing.

Mr. Chairman, I feel the measures I have outlined will bring about a new blossoming of public and educational television and radio. I therefore urge all my colleagues to join me in support of this bill. We have a most outstanding ETV station in my district—KLRN-TV—which serves both Austin and San Antonio, Tex. The station is an adjunct of the University of Texas—just as similar stations serve university and college communities across our land. KLRN-TV is considered one of the best educational stations in America. The station works closely with all the regular TV and radio stations in this vast area. I believe every station supports this bill, certainly the objectives of this bill. I think it is commendable that the commercial stations and networks have endorsed this measure. We have only commenced to tap the full potential of this great television and radio media. This bill is needed to improve public educational facilities and programs.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The bill before us amends the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving existing provisions for educational television broadcasting facilities, and creates grants to be made available for acquisition and/or installation of equipment for educational radio facilities.

To date the Congress has provided $32 million for facilities needed by local stations to begin or continue educational TV broadcasting. We now seek to improve the quality and quantity of local programs.

To this end, the bill before us authorizes the creation of a nonprofit, federally chartered corporation, but with safeguards against any Federal control. In committee I was of the opinion that operational experience was necessary before we could determine future needs of the corporation. Therefore, I offered an amendment that would restrict the life of the corporation to 1 year, ending June 30, 1968. This amendment was adopted by the committee along with the provision that $9 million be authorized for use by the corporation in providing program assistance to local stations. The original bill provided for unlimited authorization beyond June 30, 1968.

The $9 million is to be used by the corporation with the provision that local stations have full freedom to accept or reject any programs offered by the corporation. Moreover, the corporation cannot own or operate any station, system, network or production facility.

The board of directors of this corporation are not Federal employees. The 15-member board will consist of eminent educators, cultural and civic leaders, and prominent persons from the commercial television industry.

Indeed, the communication industry of this Nation supports this bill. The major networks such as the Columbia Broadcasting Co., the National Broadcasting Co., and the American Broadcasting Co., do not regard educational television as a competitor. ETV will be able to do those things which the major networks cannot do in quantity or quality. However, I do want to reserve judgment on how the competition with local stations will work out. For this reason we have made title II of the bill effective for 1 year.

Specifically, this bill will allow local communities to adequately serve the educational needs of their citizens where otherwise they would be unable to do so because expensive and complex technology makes quality programs beyond their reach.

Thus, in operation, this bill will preserve the local interest and integrity of an educational station, and at the same time make available to local stations, at their option, better quality programs which they might not otherwise be able to produce.

This bill seeks to improve existing law by offering Federal matching funds to noncommercial educational broadcasting facilities on terms which enable the local stations to make the final determination.

Ours is a nation committed to education. Recall the words of Thomas Jefferson in 1786:

> The most important bill is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness.

This bill before us follows that commitment and I encourage its passage.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, in closing I would like to say this: that title II gives this legislation real meaning. We have spent money on facilities to help bring these good things to the citizens of America. Title II gives us the program material without which these costly facilities would stand idle.

Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time on this side, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. This measure both recognizes the need for and potential of educational noncommercial broadcasting, and represents a strong step forward in making the benefits of such broadcasting widely available.

The potential of broadcast media as an educational tool is almost unlimited. Unfortunately, to date, only a small portion of that potential has been realized. The educational noncommercial television and radio stations of this country have at their disposal less than one-fortieth the funds available to commercial stations. In this respect we compare most unfavorably with many other nations. Private and local organizations, groups and foundations have not been lax in their generosity to these stations. The sad fact remains that local sources alone cannot meet all the burdens that are imposed on them in the effort to develop first class educational broadcast facilities and programing.

The high level of program quality that has been achieved by educational broadcasting, at such modest cost, supports the proposal to make Federal financial assistance available all across the Nation. With such assistance, educational broadcasting can become a fully effective major instrument of education and information. A long and proud tradition of support for education as a value in itself is furthered in this bill.

The most imaginative and far-reaching provision of the Public Broadcasting Act is the establishment of a nonprofit educational broadcasting corporation. This corporation, whose members are to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, will be able to initiate program-development projects, develop interconnection facilities and will be responsible for the allocation of funds to those stations deemed eligible for support. The corporation will also be responsible for facilitating the availability of programs by the creation of a library and archives of noncommercial educational television and radio programs. By this means alone the broadcast scope of each station will be greatly increased.

Protection from political or editorial bias is established in the provision that prohibits editorializing and the support of candidates. A further check upon the latitude of the corporation is contained in the provision that no more than eight of the 15-member committee may be from one political party.

H.R. 6736, the bill which we are considering today, plays a most vital function in furthering the educational contribution of television and radio. As a cosponsor of this measure, I am pleased to commend it to your favorable consideration.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. In my judgment, this legislation, as amended by the committee, is an important start toward making the best America has to offer in educational and overall intellectual stimulation available to every American home.

The Public Broadcasting Act would extend and expand the current program of Federal grants for the construction of educational television facilities and would make possible—for the first time—such grants to noncommercial radio. It would also authorize a study of instructional television in the classroom and its relationship to educational television for the public.

The most significant section of the bill would provide funds for the establishment of a nonprofit corporation for public television that would encourage and facilitate the expansion and development of noncommercial broadcasting.

The major networks have indicated their support for a nationwide educational television system which would supplement and strengthen the programing provided by the 124 existing noncommercial stations—as well as new ones—and expand their coverage to reach the one-third of our population now beyond the range of educational television. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, stated in his testimony before the committee that the corporation represents "a realistic, workable approach to the difficult but challenging problem of making the most of educational broadcasting." Leonard Goldenson, president of ABC, noted that his network "has always approved and publicly favored the establishment of a strong and vibrant non-commercial educational television system, national in scope."

The Carnegie Corp. study of public television first recommended the establishment of a nonprofit corporation for public television and forms the basis for this legislation. Both the Carnegie Corp. and the Ford Foundation, as well as other groups, have suggested various methods for the permanent financing of the system, after the initial Federal grant for the first year. I believe that this first year should be a time of thoughtful study to formulate the most equitable and meaningful financial and interconnection arrangements so that the promising experiment on which we hopefully will embark today will realize its full potential.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, while we are discussing this bill on public broadcasting, H.R. 6736, I would like to call the attention of the House to the educational television station which serves this area, and serves the Congress during the time it is in session.

That station is WETA, channel 26. In just a few days, on October 2, channel 26 will celebrate its sixth anniversary. Throughout its existence channel 26 has had strong connections with the 10th District of Virginia. More than 6,000 families in northern Virginia have made voluntary contributions of money to keep this station strong and active. All of the major school systems in the 10th District participate actively in the planning and production of classroom programs. Each year more than 140,000 northern Virginia schoolchildren receive part of their education from channel 26.

Indeed, the station originated in Virginia. Its first studios were in Yorktown High School, in Arlington, with its transmitter and tower located nearby. Of course, the station serves a wide area. I have given statistics which involve my district, but I know that my colleagues in other nearby districts could cite similar figures.

This station represents the best tradition of Americans getting on with a worthwhile job using their own initiative and their own money. The citizens of my district have shown with their dollars and their interest that they want this kind of television.

I would like to point out to the House that last January all the television networks carried the President's state of the Union speech. But only WETA and other stations affiliated with the National Educational Television network carried the Republican press conference which followed it. This is just an example. WETA has carried numerous programs on both sides of major issues, and millions of Americans recognize this sort of programing is a genuine and vital public service.

WETA, channel 26, has originated many of the programs which deal with subjects relating to the Congress and the people. The bill before this House can mean more and better programs on vital issues, not only for the audience in this area, but for interested citizens across the Nation.

I would urge the Members to use what they see on channel 26 as an example, and support this bill for public television.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, legislation passed by the Congress in 1962 to aid noncommercial educational broadcasting brought, at a very small cost, a gratifying expansion in the number of educational television stations. In 5 short years the number of stations expanded from 80 to 189 in service or under construction. Audience coverage is now 155 million Americans. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 will continue this advance and bring the benefits of educational television to sparsely populated areas not now receiving these benefits. Alaska, as the committee report indicates, is one of the States which has no educational television stations operating or under construction. Some of the new stations financed under this act will undoubtedly be built in such areas.

The act is important for another reason, however. It establishes a corporation for public broadcasting which has the responsibility of providing Federal funds for educational programing. It is important to note that Congress intends that these funds are to be used without opening the door to Federal control. These funds should bring a rapid expansion in educational programing and with it a wider bill of fare for American TV viewers.

The corporation is further authorized to make grants for the establishment of an interconnection system between stations. Such a system would bring live educational television into areas now too remote for such service. This is of particular importance to a State such as mine. Alaska now has no live television service of any kind, educational or commercial. Our native villages have no television at all, and indeed some have no schools. What a tremendous thing educational TV could be for these people. All of the magnificant educational resources of the Nation could be brought into the homes of these villages. Instead of inferior training, they could have the best and at a relatively small cost. I am certain that other areas of the country will benefit in a similar way.

I urge the passage of H.R. 6736. Few measures that have been presented to the House will return as much benefit in relation to cost as this one.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope that the House will overwhelmingly approve the bill now before us—H.R. 6736—the so-called Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, because its objectives are so obviously and unquestionably in the public interest.

H.R. 6736 is designed to extend and expand the original legislation, which I supported and which was approved in this House on March 7, 1962, that established a program of Federal matching grants for the construction of television facilities to be used for educational purposes.

This current measure we are now considering has three basic purposes. First, to continue the program initiated under Public Law 87-447—the Facilities Act of 1962—whereby Federal matching funds are provided to help pay for noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities and to extend it to noncommercial radio broadcast facilities; second, to provide funds, through a nonprofit private corporation, for cultural and educational programs of the highest quality so that the facilities provided under the bill can be productively utilized; and third, to provide for a study of instructional television.

In substance, this measure is offered to implement and carry out, in concrete terms, the general conclusion of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television that has gained widespread public endorsement; namely, that this country should have a "well-financed, well-directed educational television system substantially larger and more pervasive and effective than that which now exists."

Mr. Chairman, the recommendation outlined above is principally fulfilled in title II of the measure before us which provides that a nonprofit corporation, free of political or governmental control, be established to help develop and disseminate educational and cultural programs of high quality. There are ample safeguards in the measure to assure that such corporation will be free to act independently of any attempted political pressure and that there would be no danger of Government control of programing.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that few, if any at all, will question the practical wisdom and value and essential need of accelerating our pursuit and utilization of the potential of radio and television as media for the cultural progress and educational enrichment of the people of this Nation, now or in the future. A great forward step toward the realization of this objective is contained in the provisions of title I of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, may I further say that at this time, particularly, when education in this country faces serious challenges, when the need is imperative for additional physical facilities and teachers for proper instruction of the increasing numbers of students, when subjects must be taught which only relatively few instructors are qualified and prepared to teach adequately, it seems unthinkable that this great promising medium of instruction through television should not be fully explored for utilization as a modern and progressive teaching instrument.

We have, also, the authoritative convictions and testimony of the most highly regarded experts in this field that instruction by educational television promises to be greatly superior to conventional methods of classroom teaching in a number of subjects, particularly in science studies involving technical demonstrations for better understanding.

All of this necessary study and research of television for instructive teaching will be provided for under title III of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, this country is now well into the second half of the 20th century, which is, truly, a vastly more complicated, diversified and specialized age than any we have hitherto known and no one can foretell what lies beyond the horizon.

However, we do know that extensive and complex technology is outstripping the ability of local communities to adequately serve the educational needs of our citizens and particularly the youth of our land. From the testimony and evidence that has been revealed here today, it is quite clear that the economic realities of commercial broadcasting do not permit widespread commercial production and distribution of educational and cultural programs which have, only, a selective audience appeal.

I think it is obvious, then Mr. Chairman, that there is urgent need for this legislation, in the public interest, and I again urge its swift and overwhelming approval.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The major feature of this legislation is the creation of a nonprofit independent Corporation for Public Broadcasting. It will provide much-needed support for noncommercial, educational programing.

The United States has the most advanced and extensive commercial television and radio facilities in the world. But our efforts in the field of educational broadcasting have been woefully inadequate. Some of our major cities have been able to support an educational station, and some of our more affluent colleges and universities operate them but, by and large, the United States has not begun to explore this field so rich in potentialities.

For example, we have made little or no attempt to use educational television as a tool for reaching the children in our ghetto schools. The effectiveness of programs like "Sunrise Semester" have demonstrated the possibilities for teaching many different subjects on television, and educational television is a natural medium for learning the vocabulary and proper pronunciation of a foreign language.

In a perceptive article on the need for public educational broadcasting, Lester Markel, of the New York Times, focused on why commercial broadcasting has been unable to meet all our needs. Markel noted that:

> The news broadcasts comprise, for the most part, a headline service, often they supply drama, but they lack depth. The cultural contributions are sporadic, even though at times they are of high order. But the most telling count in the indictment is that of timing; the evening, the important hours, for the most part, add up to a desert area with few oases.
>
> In all three areas—information, culture and program time—Public Television can fill the gaps.

The bill before us today provides a sound mechanism for channeling funds—public, charitable, and commercial—into the field of educational broadcasting. The public corporation can make grants to local educational stations so that they can either produce their own programs or acquire them, to production entities which will supply programs to local educational facilities, and for widespread distribution of educational programs.

Many details remain to be worked out. Most important of these is the absence of any permanent financial arrangements for the funding of the Corporation. The formulation of such policy will be the most difficult and significant problem facing the Corporation in its first year. One major service of funds which should be given careful consideration would be those commercial stations that now enjoy, without fee, the privilege of extraordinarily valuable licenses issued by the Federal Government.

I am sure that during its first busy year of existence, the Board of Directors and officers of the Corporation will resolve many of the most troublesome policy questions, and will make a healthy start toward realizing the full potential of educational broadcasting.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Chairman, the stampede is on. And above the tumult you can hear the cry: "Get this program on the books and hang the consequences."

The more I hear the debate on this measure, the more concerned I become about its implications.

The very fact that the bill's proponents have gone to such lengths to reassure us that the dangers are minimal suggests that my fears may indeed be well-founded.

I do not deny that educational television will revolutionize classroom procedures and has the potential to bring about a level of knowledge undreamed of in the past. As such, educational television deserves the encouragement and support of each of us.

But the scope of this bill goes far beyond the classroom.

To say that this proposal is free of political implications is plainly untrue. There has not been a bill, there has not been a meeting, there has hardly been a conversation since I came to Washington that has not had at least some political overtones.

And I can cite instance after instance where supporters of H.R. 6736, by their own statements, have shown that public television will be political, at least in part.

For example, Fred Friendly has said:

> There will be—there should be—times when every man in politics will wish that it had never been created.

The President, in discussing ways of finding financial support for educational television, once said:

> Educational television stations will realize their collective potential as the instruments of national purpose in the vast program of social action upon which we are embarked. . . .

Mr. Chairman, this is a clear indication to me that the President is not talking about supplying the information upon which judgments can be based, but rather suggests making the judgments himself and leading the people into agreement.

Furthermore, what is desirable in the way of social action in one part of the country is not necessarily desirable in another. The annual hassle over civil rights between North and South is a good example of that.

Witnesses before the committee not only saw public television as a force for social good, but said it should and will crusade. Crusade for what? I suppose that by the time I have finished this speech, it might well be a crusade for my opponent in next year's election.

It is perfectly well for proponents to say that title II is but a 1-year authorization of only $9 million. I have heard that one before. There will be no second look. Once this program is underway it will go on and on and on.

As a foot-in-the-door proposal, I think it is our duty to look beyond the coming year into the predictable evolution of this program. For this, I turn to the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission, upon whose study the bill is based.

The Commission envisions a 380-station alliance of noncommercial broadcasting outlets reaching into virtually every household in America. It urges the recruitment of top technical, artistic, and specialized personnel as well as preferential rates. It recommends that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare provide facilities for stations now in existence, assist in increasing the number of stations, and help support the basic operations of each outlet.

There is no question in my mind but that programs produced by the Corporation will be used for propaganda purposes, to encourage a particular political philosophy or to keep a political party in power.

And to what recourse can a wronged party turn? The fairness doctrine? It does not have the force of law, but is merely a guideline used on occasion by FCC Commissioners, who, by the way, are appointed by the President. The courts? What good would litigation do when an improper political thought has already been transmitted into nearly every home in America? The Congress? Usually the legislative branch is controlled by the same political party as the White House. Under such circumstances there would be little chance to curb the political excesses of the Public Television Corporation.

We have heard of Federal workers, contrary to law, subjected to pressures to contribute to political fund-raising dinners. We have seen civil servants, contrary to law, lobbying for passage of an administration program.

Do not think for one moment that the Public Television Corporation will be free of political influence. As a matter of fact Federal funds have already been used in a propaganda effort to gain acceptance of this program. The Second National Conference on the Long-Range Financing of Educational Television Stations was held last March here in Washington. Subsequently, a handsome booklet on the highlights of the conference was distributed. It included the following notation:

> The Conference reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

I deplore the fact that we are in the process of permitting the Federal Government once again to compete with private enterprise. It seems to me that we will be turning over a virtual monopoly to the Federal bureaucracy. And I am not reassured that competition is lessened by saying that public television programs must be educational or cultural. The Government, with the vast resources at its command, can outbid any of the networks for the services of any performer or technician it wants.

We are told that the Board will be independent thinkers, free of political influence. But they are nevertheless appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, which will make them as independent as, say, the Federal Communications Commission.

Not more than eight members are to be from the same political party. Supposing for the moment that Government officials could serve on the Board, the President might nominate the two Senators from New York. This would fulfill the technical qualifications of the law, but hardly the spirit.

Perhaps it was inevitable that with show business personalities coming into the Federal Government, the Federal Government would naturally go into show business. In a less facetious vein, it may also be inevitable that we will be asked next to authorize a chain of newspapers fulfilling the needs of those whom the administration feels are misinformed. Only recently it was discovered that the OEO had provided $179,000 for the printing of a weekly newspaper to serve four counties in North Carolina. And in Iowa the same agency was found to be getting their press releases into the local news media on a contract basis.

By its very name, educational television conjures up pictures of the free exchange of ideas. What we are being asked to pass today could hardly be called a major step toward academic freedom. I fear that we may really be setting in motion the means by which ideas will be subverted.

In his book, "1984," George Orwell envisioned an America in which thought control by an all-powerful central government is a substitute for reasoned judgment. What Orwell had in mind may seem like something of a lark by 1984 if this bill is permitted to pass.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Public Broadcasting Act. This measure has three major objectives, all interrelated and yet all possessing distinct and very clear purposes.

H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, will:

Assist in providing the broadcast facilities necessary to carry educational television programs to as many of the citizens of this country as possible;

Improve the service of educational broadcasting stations by authorizing a Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This Corporation will constitute a mechanism whereby programs of high quality, responsive to the cultural and educational needs of the people, can be encouraged and made available for use by local stations as they see fit to serve better their communities; and

Authorize a comprehensive study of the role of instructional television. This study would give the authority to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to assess the role of broadcast and related media such as instructional fixed television services, closed circuit, two-way communication of data computer links and other "new technology" in formal classroom instruction.

It is a pleasure to speak in support of H.R. 6736.

The three titles will provide a comprehensive and far-reaching program to enhance the general media of public broadcasting which, briefly defined, constitutes both noncommercial television and radio broadcasting.

The legislation, very simply, builds on our experience, under Public Law 87–447, with the existing program of Federal grants to local communities and other groups to construct or enlarge broadcasting facilities. It adds to this the nonprofit, nongovernmental Corporation for Public Broadcasting and authorizes a study of instructional television.

Title I, then, is nothing new. It is a simple extension of an existing program, allowing for an expansion of the authorization to a total figure of $10,500,000 in fiscal 1968.

In both the House and Senate hearings on this legislation, many experts, public and private, many legislators and others have dwelt at length with the title II Corporation and also discussed the promise of the title III study.

I would today prefer briefly to explain the existing and highly successful program of noncommercial broadcasting in my own city of New York since it serves as an example of the strong foundation we have both in New York and throughout the country to implement this legislation.

No city in the country has a greater diversity of population and educational needs than New York.

To an appreciable extent, we have made progress toward meeting such needs, with three noncommercial educational television stations already in operation.

These are, first, WNDT, which serves the larger metropolitan area and has become a vanguard station in the production of public television programing. Second, we have WNYC–TV, the municipal station, which has pioneered in the development of programing to fill a variety of professional and postgraduate educational needs. Finally, the city has WNYE–TV, whose operation will in the future make possible significant beginnings toward meeting the highly specialized instructional needs in the schools of the largest community in the country.

But these are only beginnings—and the services provided by these broadcast resources must be increased and expanded.

The legislation before us is essential to the growth of such service. Federal funds which have been available thus far under the ETV Facilities Act have played an important role in the establishment and continuing operation of two of these stations. However, the funds available to the State under the $1 million limitation have long since been entirely utilized, and further progress toward meeting needs in the city and throughout the State is dependent on the provisions for Federal assistance which are included in this bill now before us.

Although the facilities which will be eligible for support if we extend the existing program is fundamental to the establishment of new necessary broadcast stations, problems of programing are at least equally crucial.

New York has comprehensive plans already underway for development of a State communications network to interconnect all educational radio and ETV stations.

The capabilities for improvement of public television programs as well as the authorization to assist in providing network services which will be among the responsibilities of the public Corporation proposed in this legislation are essential to the service potential of the New York State network as well as to other parts of the country.

They should be supported and I urge enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my enthusiastic support of this legislation, H.R. 6736. Television in the United States may not be quite the desolate wasteland as Mr. Minow, former Federal Communications Commission Chairman, once remarked. Yet the cost of this proposed legislation is small if it acts at all to give the consumer of American television a wider choide of programs he may watch and if it acts to plant a few small blossoming flowers in the desert.

I would like to include in the RECORD a brief article by the Reverend Daniel Kechel. It describes Mr. Kechel's experience in selecting television worth watching while he was hospitalized and also effectively points up the need for better programs providing educational and cultural enrichment:

> DEAR FRIENDS: This convalescence has not been without its interesting moments. I thought it might be draggy with all sorts of limitations, but it has really been charged with excitement.
>
> I had never watched much television but in the last few days I've had a chance to see an abundance of it. The drama has been most gripping. I was caught up the other day in the heartrending story of a little girl who didn't like the taste of an anti-cavity toothpaste. Then her mother discovered the good tasting kind has been proved by leading dental authorities to be "unsurpassed in reducing new cavities." Mother and daughter clasped hands and were reunited in being a one toothpaste family again.

Then there was the tense story of a man who was timing his cigarette to see if it would smoke for seven minutes. I was soon sitting on the edge of my chair. Did you know there are some cigarettes that are not 100 centimeters long? Also, I learned, "it's not how long you make them, it's how you make them long." I'm still working on that, but don't help me.

After years of counseling with troubled persons, tears of joy came to my eyes to see marriages repaired by changing brands of coffee. I saw people once hopelessly separated brought together by a mouthwash. I found myself hissing at the father who took the Right Guard on his business trip and left his family defenseless.

I had to remember that I've been sick and too much of this might be bad for me. My emotions were torn at seeing so many people use the wrong detergents. I also wondered why my doctor hadn't given me any of that stuff for tired blood.

As I went to bed the other night, the question kept nagging me as to what kind of fabric conditioner my wife uses in my pajamas but I couldn't bring myself to ask. Actually, she may not use all the right products but she's a swell gal and I'd rather fight than switch.

DAN KECHEL.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I am indeed happy that this honorable body saw fit to continue its support for noncommercial and educational television. As passed by the House and the other honorable body, this proposal should play an historic role in the development of noncommercial broadcasting in the United States. Enactment of this legislation will enable noncommercial and educational television stations to provide greater public services instead of struggling for mere survival.

Only half of my own State of Massachusetts is served by educational television. Title I of this bill will allow the University of Massachusetts, the Commonwealth, and WGBH to go ahead with plans for constructing educational communication facilities for serving the entire State.

Title II contains provisions for a nonprofit corporation for public broadcasting. This corporation would supply leadership for the local station without dictating to them. It would exert upward pressure on standards of taste and performance for all the stations without requiring them to conform to any single philosophy of programing. It would represent local stations in matters affecting them all. It would be better able to encourage and support training and research programs, to procure programs from abroad, to establish and maintain libraries, and to utilize expert consultants and advisory boards for the benefit of all.

Title III would authorize a study to determine how educational programing might be further improved, so as to make optimum use of the facility grants provided under title I.

This legislation will clearly enhance noncommercial programs and planning, and it will provide much needed funds for keeping these stations abreast of changes in communications technology.

Mr. Chairman, certainly the future of noncommercial television looks much brighter with the passage of H.R. 6736.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will now read the substitute committee amendment printed in the reported bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Public Broadcasting Act of 1967".

TITLE I—CONSTRUCTION OF FACILITIES

EXTENSION OF DURATION OF CONSTRUCTION GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

SEC. 101. (a) Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: "There are also authorized to be appropriated for carrying out the purposes of such section, $10,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970."

(b) The last sentence of such section is amended by striking out "July 1, 1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1971".

MAXIMUM ON GRANTS IN ANY STATE

SEC. 102. Effective with respect to grants made from appropriations for any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1967, subsection (b) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The total of the grants made under this part from the appropriation for any fiscal year for the construction of noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities and noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities in any State may not exceed 8½ per centum of such appropriation."

NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING FACILITIES

SEC. 103. (a) Section 390 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 390) is amended by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational" and by inserting "or radio" after "television".

(b) Subsection (a) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(a)) is amended by—

(1) inserting "noncommercial" before "educational" and by inserting "or radio" after "television" in so much thereof as precedes paragraph (1);

(2) striking out clause (B) of such paragraph and inserting in lieu thereof "(B) in the case of a project for television facilities, the State noncommercial educational television agency or, in the case of a project for radio facilities, the State educational radio agency,";

(3) inserting "(i) in the case of a project for television facilities," after "(D)" and "noncommercial" before "educational" in paragraph (1)(D) and by inserting before the semicolon at the end of such paragraph ", or (ii) in the case of a project for radio facilities, a nonprofit foundation, corporation, or association which is organized primarily to engage in or encourage noncommercial educational radio broadcasting and is eligible to receive a license from the Federal Communications Commission; or meets the requirements of clause (i) and is also organized to engage in or encourage such radio broadcasting and is eligible for such a license for such a radio station";

(4) striking out "television" in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of such subsection;

(5) striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (3), striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and inserting after paragraph (4) the following new paragraph:

"(5) that, in the case of an application with respect to radio broadcasting facilities, there has been comprehensive planning for educational broadcasting facilities and services in the area the applicant proposes to serve and the applicant has participated in such planning, and the applicant will make the most efficient use of the frequency assignment."

(c) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(c)" and "noncommercial" before "educational television broadcasting facilities", and by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) In order to assure proper coordination of construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities within each State which has established a State educational radio agency, each applicant for a grant under this section for a project for construction of such facilities in such State, other than such agency, shall notify such agency of each application for such a grant which is submitted by it to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall advise such agency with respect to the disposition of each such application."

(d) Subseection (d) of such section is amended by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational television" and inserting "or noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, as the case may be," after "educational television broadcasting facilities" in clauses (2) and (3).

(e) Subsection (f) of such section is amended by inserting "or radio" after "television" in the part thereof which precedes paragraph (1), by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational television purposes" in paragraph (2) thereof, and by inserting "or noncommercial educational radio purposes, as the case may be" after "educational television purposes" in such paragraph (2).

(f)(1) Paragraph (2) of section 394 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 394) is amended by inserting "or educational radio broadcasting facilities" after "educational television broadcasting facilities," and by inserting "or radio broadcasting, as the case may be" after "necessary for television broadcasting."

(2) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended by striking out "The term 'State educational television agency' means" and inserting in lieu thereof "The terms 'State educational television agency' and 'State educational radio agency' mean, with respect to television broadcasting and radio broadcasting, respectively,", and by striking out "educational television" in clauses (A) and (C) and inserting in lieu thereof "such broadcasting".

(g) Section 397 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 397) is amended by inserting "or radio" after "television" in clause (2).

FEDERAL SHARE OF COST OF CONSTRUCTION

SEC. 104. Subsection (e) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(e)) is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Upon approving any application under this section with respect to any project, the Secretary shall make a grant to the applicant in the amount determined by him, but not exceeding 75 per centum of the amount determined by the Secretary to be the reasonable and necessary cost of such project. The Secretary shall pay such amount from the sum available therefor, in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments consistent with construction progress, as he may determine."

INCLUSION OF TERRITORIES

SEC. 105. (a) Paragraph (1) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by striking out "and" and inserting a comma in lieu thereof, and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

(b) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended by inserting "and, in the case of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, means the High Commissioner thereof" before the period at the end thereof.

INCLUSION OF COSTS OF PLANNING

SEC. 106. Paragraph (2) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: "In the case of apparatus the acquisition and installation of which is so included, such term also includes planning therefor."

TITLE II—ESTABLISHMENT OF NONPROFIT EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION

SEC. 201. Part IV of title III of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by—

(1) inserting

"SUBPART A—GRANTS FOR FACILITIES"

immediately above the heading of section 390;

(2) striking out "part" and inserting in lieu thereof "subpart" in sections 390, 393, 395, and 396;

(3) redesignating section 397 as section 398, and redesignating section 394 as section 397 and inserting it before such section 398, and inserting immediately above its heading the following;

"SUBPART C—GENERAL"

(4) redesignating section 396 as section 394 and inserting it immediately after section 393;

(5) inserting after "broadcasting" the first time it appears in clause (2) of the section of such part IV redesignated herein as section 398 ", or over the Corporation or any of its grantees or contractors, or over the charter or bylaws of the Corporation,".

(6) inserting in the section of such part IV herein redesignated as section 397 the following new paragraphs:

"(6) The term 'Corporation' means the Corporation authorized to be established by subpart B of this part.

"(7) The term 'noncommercial educational broadcast station' means a television or radio broadcast station, which (A) under the rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission in effect on the date of enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, is eligible to be licensed or is licensed by the Commission as a noncommercial educational radio or television broadcast station and which is owned and operated by a public agency or nonprofit private foundation, corporation, or association or (B) is owned and operated by a municipality and which transmits only noncommercial programs for educational purposes.

"(8) The term 'interconnection' means the use of microwave equipment, boosters, translators, repeaters, airborne systems, communication space satellites, or other apparatus or equipment for the transmission and distribution of television or radio programs to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations.

"(9) The term 'educational television or radio programs' means programs which are primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes and not primarily for amusement or entertainment purposes."

(7) striking out the heading of such part IV and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"PART IV—GRANTS FOR NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING FACILITIES; CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING"

(8) inserting immediately after the section herein redesignated as section 398 the following:

"EDITORIALIZING AND SUPPORT OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES PROHIBITED

"SEC. 399. No noncommercial educational broadcasting station may engage in editorializing or may support or oppose any candidate for political office."

(9) inserting after section 395 the following new subpart:

"SUBPART B—CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

"Congressional Declaration of Policy

"SEC. 396. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares—

"(1) that it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional purposes;

"(2) that expansion and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting and of diversity of its programing depend on freedom, imagination, and initiative on both the local and national levels;

"(3) that the encouragement and support of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, while matters of importance for private and local development, are also of appropriate and important concern to the Federal Government;

"(4) that it furthers the general welfare to encourage noncommercial educational radio and television broadcast programing which will be responsive to the interests of people both in particular localities and throughout the United States, and which will constitute an expression of diversity and excellence;

"(5) that it is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to complement, assist, and support a national policy that will most effectively make noncommercial educational radio and television service available to all the citizens of the United States;

"(6) that a private corporation should be created to facilitate the development of educational radio and television broadcasting and to afford maximum protection to such broadcasting from extraneous interference and control.

"Corporation Established

"(b) There is authorized to be established a nonprofit corporation, to be known as the 'Corporation for Public Broadcasting', which will not be an agency or establishment of the United States Government. The Corporation shall be subject to the provisions of this section, and, to the extent consistent with this section, to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

"Board of Directors

"(c)(1) The Corporation shall have a Board of Directors (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Board'), consisting of fifteen members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than eight members of the Board may be members of the same political party.

"(2) The members of the Board (A) shall be selected from among citizens of the United States (not regular full-time employees of the United States) who are eminent in such fields as education, cultural and civic affairs or the arts, including radio and television; (B) shall be selected so as to provide as nearly as practicable a broad representation of various regions of the country, various professions and occupations, and various kinds of talent and experience appropriate to the functions and responsibilities of the Corporation.

"(3) The members of the initial Board of Directors shall serve as incorporators and shall take whatever actions are necessary to establish the Corporation under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

"(4) The term of office of each member of the Board shall be six years; except that (A) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term; and (B) the terms of office of members first taking office shall begin on the date of incorporation and shall expire, as designated at the time of their appointment, five at the end of two years, five at the end of four years, and five at the end of six years. No member shall be eligible to serve in excess of two consecutive terms of six years each. Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this paragraph, a member whose term has expired may serve until his successor has qualified.

"(5) Any vacancy in the Board shall not affect its power, but shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointments were made.

"Election of Chairman; Compensation

"(d)(1) The President shall designate one of the members first appointed to the Board as Chairman; thereafter the members of the Board shall annually elect one of their number as Chairman. The members of the Board shall also elect one or more of them as a Vice Chairman or Vice Chairmen.

"(2) The members of the Board shall not, by reason of such membership, be deemed to be employees of the United States. They shall, while attending meetings of the Board or while engaged in duties related to such meetings or in other activities of the Board pursuant to this subpart be entitled to receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence equal to that authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"Officers and Employees

"(e)(1) The Corporation shall have a President, and such other officers as may be named and appointed by the Board for terms and at rates of compensation fixed by the Board. No individual other than a citizen of the United States may be an officer of the Corporation. No officer of the Corporation, other than the Chairman and any Vice Chairman, may receive any salary or other compensation from any source other than the Corporation during the period of his employment by the Corporation. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

"(2) Except as provided in the second sentence of subsection (c)(1) of this section, no political test or qualification shall be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking other personnel actions with respect to officers, agents, and employees of the Corporation.

"Nonprofit and Nonpolitical Nature of the Corporation

"(f)(1) The Corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock, or to declare or pay any dividends.

"(2) No part of the income or assets of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of any director, officer, employee, or any other individual except as salary or reasonable compensation for services.

"(3) The Corporation may not contribute to or otherwise support any political party or candidate for elective public office.

"Purposes and Activities of the Corporation

"(g)(1) In order to achieve the objectives and to carry out the purposes of this subpart, as set out in subsection (a), the Corporation is authorized to—

"(A) facilitate the full development of educational broadcasting in which programs of high quality, obtained from diverse sources, will be made available to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, with strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs of a controversial nature;

"(B) assist in the establishment and development of a system of interconnection to be used for the distribution of educational television or radio programs so that all noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations that wish to may broadcast the programs at times chosen by the stations;

"(C) assist in the establishment and development of one or more systems of noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations throughout the United States;

"(D) carry out its purposes and functions and engage in its activities in ways that will most effectively assure the maximum freedom of the noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast systems and local stations from interference with or control of program content or other activities.

"(2) Included in the activities of the Corporation authorized for accomplishment of the purposes set forth in subsection (a) of this section, are, among others not specifically named—

"(A) to obtain grants from and to make contracts with individuals and with private, State, and Federal agencies, organizations, and institutions;

"(B) to contract with or make grants to program production entities, individuals, and selected noncommercial educational broadcast stations for the production of, and otherwise to procure, educational television or radio programs for national or regional distribution to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

"(C) to make payments to existing and new noncommercial educational broadcast stations to aid in financing local educational television or radio programing costs of such stations, particularly innovative approaches thereto, and other costs of operation of such stations;

"(D) to establish and maintain a library and archives of noncommercial educational television or radio programs and related materials and develop public awareness of and disseminate information about noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting by various means, including the publication of a journal;

"(E) to arrange, by grant or contract with appropriate public or nonprofit private agencies, organizations, or institutions, for interconnection facilities suitable for distribution and transmission of educational television or radio programs to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

"(F) to hire or accept the voluntary services of consultants, experts, advisory boards, and panels to aid the Corporation in carrying out the purposes of this section;

"(G) to encourage the creation of new noncommercial educational broadcast stations in order to enhance such service on a local, State, regional, and national basis;

"(H) conduct (directly or through grants or contracts) research, demonstrations, or training in matters related to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting.

"(3) To carry out the foregoing purposes and engage in the foregoing activities, the Corporation shall have the usual powers conferred upon a nonprofit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, except that the Corporation may not own or operate any television or radio broadcast station, system, or network, or interconnection or program production facility.

"Authorization for Free or Reduced Rate Interconnection Service

"(h) Nothing in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, or in any other provision of law shall be construed to prevent United States communications common carriers from rendering free or reduced rate communications interconnection services to grantees of or contractors with the Corporation and local noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, subject to such rules and regulations as the Federal Communications Commission may prescribe.

"Report to Congress

"(i) The Corporation shall submit an annual report for the preceding fiscal year ending June 30 to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before the 31st day of December of each year. The report shall include a comprehensive and detailed report of the Corporation's operations, activities, financial condition, and accomplishments under this section and may include such recommendations as the Corporation deems appropriate.

"Right To Repeal, Alter, or Amend

"(j) The right to repeal, alter, or amend this section at any time is expressly reserved.

"Financing

"(k)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated for expenses of the Corporation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, the sum of $9,000,000, to remain available until expended.

"(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant or contract pursuant to this section may provide for payment from the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, for any one project or to any one station of more than $250,000.

"Records and Audit

"(l)(1)(A) The accounts of the Corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audits shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation and necessary to facilitate the audits shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audits; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

"(B) The report of each such independent audit shall be included in the annual report required by subsection (i) of this section. The audit report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements as are necessary to present fairly the Corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the Corporation's income and expenses during the year, and a statement of the sources and application of funds, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements.

"(2)(A) The financial transaction of the Corporation for any fiscal year during which Federal funds are available to finance any portion of its operation shall be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial corporate transactions and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. The representative of the General Accounting Office shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation pertaining to its financial transactions and necessary to facilitate the audit, and they shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. All such books, accounts, records, reports, files, papers and property of the Corporation shall remain in possession and custody of the Corporation.

"(B) A report of each such audit shall be made by the Comptroller General to the Congress. The report to the Congress shall contain such comments and information as the Comptroller General may deem necessary to inform Congress of the financial operations and condition of the Corporation, together with such recommendations with respect thereto as he may deem advisable. The report shall also show specifically any program, expenditure, or other financial transaction or understanding observed in the course of the audit, which, in the opinion of the Comptroller General, has been carried on or made without authority of law. A copy of each report shall be furnished to the President, to the Secretary, and to the Corporation at the time submitted to the Congress.

"(3)(A) Each recipient of assistance by grant or contract, other than a fixed price contract awarded pursuant to competitive bidding procedures, under this section shall keep such records as may be reasonably necessary to fully disclose the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

"(B) The Corporation or any of its duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance received under this section. The Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall also have access thereto for such purpose during any fiscal year for which Federal funds are available to the Corporation."

TITLE III—STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION BROADCASTING

STUDY AUTHORIZED

SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to conduct, directly or by contract, and in consultation with other interested Federal agencies, a study of instructional television, including its relationship to educational television broadcasting and such other aspects thereof as may assist in determining whether Federal aid should be provided therefor and the form that aid should take, and which may aid communities, institutions, or agencies in determining whether and to what extent such activities should be used.

CONTENT OF STUDY

SEC. 302. Such study shall be comprehensive in nature and shall cover particularly such items as:

(1) the quality and content of existing programs and how they can be improved;

(2) the financial factors involved in use of instructional television in educational institutions;

(3) the relative advantages or disadvantages of using instructional television as compared with other media;

(4) the advantages and disadvantages of closed-circuit television;

(5) the relationship between instructional and educational television; and

(6) new technology not now available including flexible teacher-controlled scheduling of programs based on videotapes, discs, films, and other materials or devices.

DURATION OF STUDY

SEC. 303. The study authorized by this title shall be submitted to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before January 1, 1969.

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 304. There are authorized to be appropriated for the study authorized by this title such sums, not exceeding $500,000, as may be necessary.

Mr. STAGGERS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the committee substitute amendment be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 269]

Adams
Ashley
Aspinall
Baring
Belcher
Blackburn
Brinkley
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Button
Celler
Cleveland
Conte
Corman
Daddario
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Dingell
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fountain
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gray
Hagan
Hamilton
Hanna
Hays
Hébert
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Hutchinson
Irwin
Kluczynski
Leggett
Long, La.
Minshall
Murphy, N.Y.
Pool
Pucinski
Purcell
Quillen
Rarick
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Smith, Calif.
Stafford
Stratton
Taft
Tenzer
Utt
Watkins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wolff
Wyatt
Young

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GALLAGHER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H.R. 737, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called, when 364 Members answered to their names, a quorum, and he submitted herewith the names of the absentees to be spread upon the Journal.

The Committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the quorum call, the committee substitute amendment, as printed in the bill, by unanimous consent had been ordered considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. OTTINGER

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. OTTINGER: On page 22, line 11, insert the following:

"(4) striking the semi-colon at the end of paragraph (1) and adding thereto the following:

"'or (E) a municipality which owns and operates a broadcasting facility transmitting only noncommercial programs;'".

And renumbering paragraphs (4) and (5) as (5) and (6) respectively.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OTTINGER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, as a longtime supporter of noncommercial television, I rise in support of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. I am pleased that my enthusiasm for this bill is shared by so many of my colleagues as well as the administration, the broadcast industry and the public at large. I believe that this measure is essential if we are to strengthen noncommercial broadcasting.

In evaluating this bill I think it is important to recognize that it will not cause the Federal Government to compete with the private radio and television industry. Rather, the activities of the Federal Government and the Corporation which it will support, will provide a much needed supplement to existing commercial broadcasting.

The stations to be aided by this measure are those providing educational, cultural, and public service programs. This type of programing is not presently available on commercial stations because it is impossible to profitably broadcast a significant number of programs of this type. Such programing can only be undertaken by individuals and organizations which are not profit oriented.

Because of the limited resources of the charitable foundations and educational institutions that have thus far provided the financial support for this programing, we must form a partnership between the Federal Government and these institutions if the potential of such broadcasting is to be fully developed. To create a viable network of broadcast stations and the requisite production capacity will require the infusion of considerable additional sums of money, sums which are available only from the Federal Government.

After careful study I have concluded that each of the three major features of this bill makes a unique contribution to the future of American broadcasting and therefore merits our support.

The first title of the measure substantially increases Federal financial support of instructional broadcasting. This recent educational innovation has achieved remarkably enthusiastic acceptance by educators representing every level of our educational complex. Educators have recognized that this medium offers perhaps our best opportunity to provide short-run relief for the critical shortage of teachers now confronting our Nation. Further, it permits a school system to offer an extraordinarily diverse and sophisticated curriculum at minimum cost.

Title II, which establishes the Corporation for Public Broadasting, holds perhaps the greatest potential for innovation. This Corporation, carefully insulated from outside political influences, will determine which broadcast stations and production facilities receive Federal aid. The success or failure of the entire concept of public broadcasting will largely be determined by the caliber of the work done by the Corporation and the aid recipients. With proper management this Corporation can employ the wide administrative discretion it has been given to achieve unparalleled success in its broadcast endeavors.

Although little money is authorized for the work to be done under title III of this bill, I think this provision, which finances a study of the future of educational television, is of the utmost importance. Before we commit large sums of money to this undertaking it is imperative that we establish clearly defined goals and priorities. These will necessarily flow from the study required by title III.

I take this opportunity to share with my colleagues two letters which I received earlier this year from constituents who are involved with WXXI, an excellent educational television station in my home town of Rochester, N.Y. The first of these letters is from Mr. Harold Hacker, the immediate past president of the Rochester Area Educational Television Association and the second is from the Rt. Rev. Msgr. William Roche, superintendent of Catholic schools in Rochester. The letters follow:

ROCHESTER AREA EDUCATIONAL
TELEVISION ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Rochester, N.Y., May 24, 1967.

Re: S. 1160/H.R. 6845.
Hon. FRANK HORTON,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRANK: I am writing to you on behalf of the Board of Trustees of the Rochester Area Educational Television Association to request your active assistance in persuading Representative Harley O. Staggers, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to schedule early hearings on the Public Television Bill. I realize that you are very familiar with the bill and its exciting potentials for improved ETV throughout the United States, so I won't make this a long letter.

Of particular concern to RAETA's trustees are the major provisions (in Title II) that would create a Public Television Corporation and provide national leadership for much-needed programming and interconnection among the ETV stations in the country so that Channel 21 here in Rochester may have access to far greater programming resources than we do today. This same Title provides an appropriation of $9 million for the Corporation, part of which will be used for contracts for programming from local stations and part to assist in supporting the local programming operations of stations, such as Channel 21.

We also have more than passing interest in Title I, which provides federal matching grants for the construction of facilities since we hope to switch to color for video-taping and filming over Channel 21 in 1968.

It is my understanding that the Senate is preparing to vote on S. 1160 in the very near future, since it was approved by the Senate Commerce Committee by an overwhelming margin. However, nothing will happen until the House gets into the act and here Representative Staggers is the key man. He has announced his intention to await the Senate vote before scheduling hearings.

All of us would be most grateful to you if you would ask Representative Staggers to schedule hearings at the earliest possible date. It means so much to the Rochester community and to RAETA that I cannot do justice to the need for early action and approval by Congress. If Congress approves the Public Television Bill, it will be one of the major educational contributions of the federal government to the people of the United States in the long history of our country—in my opinion.

Thanks ever so much for your interest and your help.

Cordially yours,
HAROLD S. HACKER,
President.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS,
DIOCESE OF ROCHESTER,
June 23, 1967.

Hon. FRANK HORTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRANK: As a member of the Board of Directors, Rochester Area Television Association, I should like to enlist your support in persuading Representative Harley Staggers to hold hearings on the Public Broadcast Bill.

As you know, RAETA is more important to our community with each passing day, and like other nonprofit corporations financed by private support, is in great financial need.

In our efforts to upgrade RAETA programming and facilities, we would hope that you would urge Representative Staggers to hold these hearings without undue delay.

We sincerely appreciate your kind efforts on behalf of RAETA.

Very truly yours,
Rt. Rev. Msgr. WILLIAM M. ROCHE,
Superintendent of Schools,
Board Member, RAETA.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OTTINGER. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, we on this side, I believe, have accepted this amendment because I believe it merely perfects what we did in the committee; we inserted this in one section of the bill, and this was not inserted in the other section.

We have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment on behalf of my friend and colleague from New York, Mr. JOHN MURPHY, who is presently taking part as a delegate to the constitutional convention modernizing our State constitution.

The amendment makes clear the qualification to receive construction funds under this act, municipally owned broadcasting facilities which transmit only noncommercial programs. Without the amendment, this qualification might be in some doubt through inadvertent omission from the present legislation of such municipal ETV stations.

New York has a very fine municipally owned ETV station, channel 13. It offers as fine an educational program presentation as can be found anywhere in the Nation. It is as deserving of participation in this program as any ETV station in the land.

Mr. MURPHY is to be commended for his farsightedness in noting the deficiency in the existing legislation which cast doubt on the ability of municipally owned ETV stations to participate in this fine program and in taking this action to correct the situation. I hope the committee will support the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WATSON

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WATSON: Beginning with line 20 on page 25, strike out all down through line 14 on page 40.

Redesignate title III and the sections therein accordingly.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I believe the amendment we are proposing now—and I am not offering it just personally, but I am offering it in behalf of a number of others who are concerned about title II of this particular measure.

Mr. Chairman, I want it clearly understood that those of us who are seeking to delete title II, the so-called Public Broadcasting Corporation provision of this measure, are in no way opposed to local ETV. Personally, I have always supported it. We were one of the active backers of it down in my beloved and progressive State of South Carolina back in 1957, I believe it was. In fact, I will tell the Members now that if we are successful in deleting title II, the Public Broadcasting Corporation, then I will personally urge the Committee to increase the amount of money under title I, which will go back to the local ETV stations for programing.

Now, why do we oppose this particular section? First, if you are going to create this new Public Broadcasting Corporation you are going to put it into direct competition with your local ETV stations. They are going to be competing for personnel. Already the local ETV stations have problems for the simple reason that the localities are not able to offer as much, salarywise, as the commercial stations are able to offer. Additionally, the Public Broadcasting Corporation will be in competition with the local ETV stations in trying to solicit private contributions.

Frankly, this is a potential monster—this title II.

Others will say there is no definite means of financing and that we only give it $9 million anyhow.

Some will say that we will come back next year and take a look at it.

Let us be realistic about this matter. Nothing is so permanent as a temporary Government program. If this is launched now, it is going to have to be financed in the future and according to the Carnegie Commission, it is estimated that this will ultimately cost $270 million a year.

Another thing that is of serious consequence so far as this particular title II is concerned is the matter of editorializing. I know that the committee wrote in the bill that there shall be no editorializing on the part of the Public Broadcasting Corporation. Perhaps there will not be. But let me tell you this. We do not need to worry about the editorials—the people know that they are subjective. But what about the program? The editorials are not nearly so influential as the regular programs. But if you let me control the content of the programs that will be distributed to your local stations you can forget about the editorializing aspect of it altogether. I will control the thinking of the viewing audience.

Some will say if you strike out title II, you strike the guts of the bill. Nothing is further from the truth. This is entirely a new program. The thrust of the whole ETV movement—the real meat of the matter is the finances in order to have the proper facilities and equipment and additionally in order to get the programs, that are necessary.

The head of the South Carolina ETV system said, and we have a good one down there—

We agree there is a place for cultural programs, and a place for symphonies, the ballet and so forth—

Which is primarily what the Public Broadcasting Corporation will be engaged in and he said:

We are far more impressed with the fact that 150,000 South Carolina school children and 100,000 adults enrolled this year in a course of education instruction as a result of ETV.

We need right now the bread-and-butter aspects of it. If we do not have the facilities, it makes no difference whether you have the finest symphonies in the world—if you do not have the facilities to transmit it to the people.

Frankly, let us get to the basics of this matter. Help your local TV systems and give them additional money under title I. Do not create a Federal monster here, and put that Public Corporation in competition with your local ETV station.

Some will say that this new Corporation will be financed by private contributions. Let us be realistic. Once the Federal Government steps into it, the private sources will dry up as they should dry up.

So far as the financing is concerned, no one knows how it will be financed. No one knows how much it will cost. There will be no realistic control of the program. Your local people need money, not Federal domination. Let us help them through title I and not create this new monster which actually would be in competition with them rather than really helping them.

I hope that you will go along with the amendment to strike out title II.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in our committee we had 80 witnesses from every stratum of life and from every section of the country, who came before the committee and testified in favor of this bill, with the exception of one witness.

I want to read again from the letter which, as I previously mentioned, was just given to me as I came here to the table.

This letter is from the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant College. That is all the State universities in America and all the land-grant colleges in America.

Part of the letter reads as follows:

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges would like to re-emphasize its strong support for the passage of H.R. 6736, the Public Broadcasting Bill of 1967.

The letter also points out:

The Public Broadcasting Bill has been compared in importance to education in the United States to the Morrill Act of 1862 establishing the country's unique land-grant system of colleges and universities. We strongly urge your continued support for the legislation that would continue and accelerate the development of this unique educational resource.

Mr. Chairman, these are the top educators of America. Moreover, the president of the University of South Carolina, Thomas F. Jones, which is in the State of the gentleman who just spoke, is referred to in the letter as supporting this legislation. I would like to read this statement from the letter:

> The Association presented testimony in support of the legislation directly through the enclosed statement of President Thomas F. Jones of the University of South Carolina. He is Chairman of the Association's Committee on Educational Telecommunication.

It has been said that this would impair the commercial broadcasting networks. Every one of the networks came in and testified they were for this bill and feared no competiton from the noncommercial educational stations which will be assisted by it. As already stated, Frank Stanton, president of CBS, said it would contribute $1 million when the Corporation was started.

If you cut out the Corporation, you will have no general interconnection between all the educational broadcast stations. All you are going to have is isolated ETC in small sections of America. You might have the finest program in Iowa, but other areas will not be able to share it. We need an educational broadcasting system in which we can work together. This will add strength to the land. That is why educators say they want this bill. When you have some good program in one section of the country or something is happening there of great importance, with interconnection it can be carried to every section of America.

As I have said, title II of the bill has been supported by every phase of American life that I know of, as testified to by the witnesses who appeared before the committee. It is insulated from Government control in every way that the 33 members of our committee could devise. I think we have the intelligence on the committee to do a pretty good job, and I think we have done an excellent job on this bill. There is fear, yes. But, as I said awhile ago, Columbus would never have crossed the ocean if he had resolved all the fears that he and his men might have had before they set off. We would not have a single thing in this land if we had attempted to resolve all our fears before we started to embark upon a new venture. The learned men of the land have said that this is one of the greatest things that could happen to us. Many have said it is probably the most important piece of legislation that will come out of this 90th Congress, and I agree with that statement.

I am in complete sympathy with the commercial TV programs because they do a good job. They are getting paid through advertisements. They have advanced the social life of America. This is a proposal to advance the cultural life of our land. In accepting our responsibility we must do everything we can to do just that. That is part of our responsibility.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. We have been talking about the policy involved. I am wondering if it is proposed to set up an intertie in the educational television system. How will we get this interconnection of the television stations? What is the mechanical means of getting this network of communications, so to speak?

Mr. STAGGERS. They will use the same kind of system that the commercial broadcasting systems use. They will have to use the systems that are already set up now. We have said that. But they would not own any network whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KYL. I would like to continue this dialog for a moment. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. Would the gentleman repeat his question?

Mr. KYL. I pose this question first: Are we going to use the coaxial cable system or the microwave system?

Mr. STAGGERS. The bill provides that every means can be used.

Mr. KYL. You say we are going to use every means. Are we going to use both the microwave system and the coaxial cable system?

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say that the public corporation could enter into contracts with the communication systems for the purpose of making an interconnection on a spot basis. They will not have enough money to run a network. They are forbidden to run a network. If there is a program of national importance and the board of directors come to the conclusion that they can, they may enter into a contract with I.T. & T. or A.T. & T., for instance, to use microwave or coaxial cable, either one, and probably in the same way that commercial stations do. They may use the ordinary means of communication, such as any network would use, in making a spot communication.

Mr. KYL. In other words, the gentleman is trying to tell me there is no institution, no medium, no means of doing now, without a national corporation, that which would be accomplished with the creation of a network through a corporation of this nature?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is only a small part of it. The big part is in the field of programs themselves.

Mr. KYL. Oh, then we get back to the comment of the gentleman from South Carolina on programing.

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman will give me a minute, I will explain what the programing is. They do not make any programs, but they execute contracts for programs, the same as they may contract for spot connections for a national program, but they may not have a network for themselves.

Mr. KYL. Are there any agencies in the field for programing at the present time?

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes. But no agency for either paying for or collecting it, arranging it, and that is the purpose of the public corporation.

Mr. KYL. Is the gentleman serious when he says there is now no entity for accomplishing this purpose?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is true. There is no entity now that can do it or has the money to put this into operation.

Mr. KYL. There is no interplay or no interstation activity for this?

Mr. SPRINGER. There is only this one thing. There is educational TV which has an office in New York. If anyone wants to have this—in other words, if there is something, and an example I gave a few minutes ago was the Israel-Arab war, when they wanted to do something in depth. They prepared a program and sent it out to Ann Arbor, where this is prepared and canned. It took 10 days to do this. The war lasted only 6 days. We want them to be able to do the same day's news on the same day. At the present time, they do not have the ability to do that.

Mr. KYL. At the present time they do not use the present news network services?

Mr. SPRINGER. No, they cannot.

Mr. KYL. And if we do have this Corporation, we assume it will have to have the same news-gathering services as others?

Mr. SPRINGER. Either that or they will have to contract for it.

Mr. KYL. With whom will they contract?

Mr. SPRINGER. They will contract with someone to produce that each day.

Mr. KYL. With whom are they going to contract to do it?

Mr. SPRINGER. With any agency that is performing that kind of job. I do not know. Whoever it is, it is with them they will have the contract.

Mr. KYL. Obviously, it would have to be the radio or television station, would it not?

Mr. SPRINGER. That I cannot say. They would have to contract for it if they cannot do it.

Mr. KYL. I can understand why the agencies would be interested in getting this kind of thing established. This is one millstone they do have around their necks, this in-depth news coverage, from which they would be free.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

I am directing this mostly to my colleagues who were not here when I spoke before, but I think there are some things that ought to be emphasized so that everybody will have at least the same perspective, insofar as I can bring it about. In the reading of the views—and I hope my colleagues will read the views—we do have minority views of six Members of the minority immediately following the report. I think my colleagues would do well to read both the majority views and the minority views, to know what our thinking was in these matters.

I know there was a great deal of skepticism, but if we will read the RECORD which was made in 1961, when this was voted on, we will see there were 49 against and 330 for it. There was voiced on the floor of this House at that time, in 1961, the thought about the danger of allowing Federal moneys to get into this whole field of television for the purpose of establishing television stations or assisting the existing television stations in the noncommercial educational field at that time.

There was a danger that in allowing this money Federal control would follow it. Yet anyone who has had any experience in the past 6 years knows there has not been the slightest control of any kind exercised by the Federal Government in making grants. They have made grants to 137 separate stations, of which 92 have been completely built out of the money. There are some 47 stations which have been helped by that money, and there has never been any allegation of any kind by anyone that there has been any Federal control.

Now we come, I believe, to the first progressive step we would make in this whole field at this time; that is, on the question of assisting these stations which are simply program starved. I happen to have one of the big ones in my district. I do not plead for that reason.

When I see some of the programing, I can see why the station itself simply does not have the programs I would visualize an educational noncommercial station which has no advertising would want.

The purpose of this corporation is to produce these programs or to contract for the production of these programs not in the commercial field. They will not take over the area of operation of ABC, by CBS or by NBC. They are not interested in that kind of programing.

Educational stations are interested in the arts, in science, in documentaries in depth, and news in depth. This is something we are not getting, and something which the commercial stations, because of the way in which they are set up, to make a profit, are not able to supply.

This is the direction in which I believe we are going with the public corporation.

Let me say that two amendments were added. I will be brief in this regard.

In the first amendment, the Board of Directors we set up in the bill, on the basis of an amendment I offered, was limited to no more than eight of the directors of one party. This was an attempt to get us out of the field of politics, to see if we could not get it on the same basis as the Federal Communications Commission, where they have five to four, or four to three, as an arrangement. We felt, with the minority present all of the time checking on the majority, there would be no chance for hanky-panky. This was one of the things we were concerned about.

The second thing concerned whether or not someone could get control over the programs. We felt that we ought to take a position against editorializing. We know that this goes contrary to the rule in commercial television, where they can editorialize.

May I say that the representatives of the noncommercial educational TV group came to my office and said, "We support that amendment. We do not want to be in politics. We want to get as far away as we can from any connection with politics or from any assertion that we are taking a one-sided position on anything."

These two amendments we thought were vitally important, to be certain that this program was fair and that we would not be looking at the administration, either Republican or Democratic, with a jaundiced eye, and a feeling that the program was not going to be fair and in perspective.

May I say in reply to my distinguished colleague from South Carolina, who says he would give more and increased money for the educational TV stations at home, we do not need that. Thirty-eight million dollars is budgeted. There is a $10.5 million this year, $12.5 million in the next year and $15 million the next year. That makes the total $38 million. That is all they need. We do not need more money for these stations.

They put 92 stations, brand new ones, on the air, and helped 47, including that of my distinguished colleague from South Carolina and his university.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. SPRINGER was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. SPRINGER. His distinguished president of his great university in South Carolina came up and testified for the bill.

I know how earnestly the gentleman feels. May I say that my colleagues on my side of the aisle who differ with me are just as conscientious in the public interest as I am. I want to pay tribute to all of them, for they have done careful thinking. It is just a difference in how we look at the approach, and what we might consider dangers of having a public corporation.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. The first point the gentleman made was that there was no problem in the present bill. I agree thoroughly, because the present bill only provides money grants for facilities and equipment. It provides not one dime for programs.

If the Members believe the Federal Government ought to provide textbooks for schools back home, then they should vote for this, because the programs for ETV are the textbooks in the schools. It is as simple as that.

If the Members believe the Federal Government ought to say what they ought to be taught in the school districts, by buying the school textbooks, then they should vote for this. That is as simple as it can be. Those programs are your textbooks for educational TV.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say to my distinguished colleague that the whole question of instructional TV is not covered here except under title III, where we have a $500,000 appropriation to make a study in depth as to what ought to be done in the field of instructional TV. That is as far as this bill goes. I think the $500,000 is warranted, because we ought to have a study of this in depth.

May I say that my own university does some of this. Purdue is one of the best in the country. My distinguished colleague from Indiana, in whose district Purdue University lies, never made an allegation of any kind that I know of.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I hope we can keep this all in context, but I do believe this whole question of instructional TV ought to be studied very thoroughly.

May I say with due credit to my distinguished colleague from Ohio, who is very vitally interested in the whole question of instructional TV, that he wanted to limit the bill more or less to instructional TV. I do not feel now is the time it ought to be limited to instructional TV. We ought to be now in the field of noncommercial TV broadcasting which is more or less directed at the whole question. We have arrived at that point in history. But I do believe the next great step to be taken in this field will be when we have completed this study under title III and see what we have to do in the field of instructional TV.

I yield to the gentleman from Kansas, who was on his feet first.

Mr. MIZE. Earlier in the afternoon the gentleman in the well explained the individual educational TV stations are under no obligation whatever to take any of the programs developed by this corporation. Is that correct?

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say that there will be stations galore that will not want some of these programs simply because it does not fit their area or fit their type of programing, or for other reasons. I imagine if you have something as sensational as the Israel-Arab war and you sent out something of that kind, they would probably put it on the air, because out of 160 stations 150 would want it as important news.

Mr. MIZE. But they are not obliged to take it?

Mr. SPRINGER. They do not have to take it if they do not want to. There will be a great deal of variation in programing and there will have to be, because certain areas will be interested in certain things. For example, New York will not be interested in things that would interest New Mexico, Texas, or Colorado.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. If I may, I would like to clarify the three segments of this bill for our colleagues.

Title I of this legislation provides funds for the construction of educational TV facilities—radio and TV.

Title II, which is the title in issue here and which the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina is designed to strike completely, is to provide a public corporation manned by appointees of the President and provides funds to enter into the field of programing.

Title III is to do a thorough study of instructional TV for future legislative reference by the Congress.

I am enthusiastically in favor of titles I and III. I have serious reservations about title II for the simple reason that title II gets into the programing area.

Title III I have no objection to because instructional TV, as the gentleman pointed out, offers this Congress and the people of this country the opportunity, perhaps, to save money in their educational procedures the way they are now oriented. However, title II carries——

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say to the gentleman I only have so much time. I appreciate having his statement, but I would appreciate his taking his own time for it if he could. If I had a little more time, I would be glad to yield to him, but

I do have some additional comments I would like to make.

May I say this—and wind up here—I believe the important thing is what we do with this bill that improves what we have already done.

It is true, as the gentleman from Ohio mentioned, that title III does have provision for a $500,000 study for instructional TV. However, the only progressive improvement contained in this bill in my opinion is contained in title II. If we do not take title II, then we have the same bill that we had in 1961 in which we just granted money to TV stations in order to get on the air. That is not what I visualize at this point and time in history, in 1967.

Gentlemen, they are starving to death, and some of the people who look at those stations realize that these stations do not have adequate programing. It is in these fields which are not covered by commercial TV that noneducational commercial TV has its great opportunity for the future. It is in the sciences, the arts, music, the documentaries, and news in depth.

Mr. Chairman, unless we proceed by philosophy, I do not see any possibility for the improvement overall in the noncommercial educational TV field.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out the fact that while I earlier had an exchange with the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON], whose integrity and beliefs I have no reason to quarrel with, the fact is that a representative from his great State of South Carolina came up and indicated that most of the Southern States needed this type of program.

Further, Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to point out something that is not understood, I do not believe, by people who have never read the bill thoroughly, and that is the fact that, by law, and under the provisions of the bill which we are undertaking to pass—and in my opinion a bill which will be passed—this will be a nongovernmental agency.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, when the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina says that the textbooks of this country and of all the States will be subjected to governmental approval, in my opinion the gentleman is just absolutely incorrect.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman when I finish by initial statement.

Mr. Chairman, I say this because on page 29 of the bill, in title II—and this is a very basic part of the bill—it states that one of the purposes of the enactment of this title would be the fact that a private corporation—repeat private—should be created to facilitate the development of educational radio and television broadcasting and to afford maximum protection to such broadcasters from extraneous interference and controls. To my mind, "extraneous interference and control" can only mean any interference from the Government. That is why it is written into the provisions of the bill, that no member of this Commission, when appointed, can be a governmental employee and that they cannot serve as a governmental employee; they serve only from the standpoint of public service in their particular field of expertise. Therefore, I say to all the people in this country who talk against commercial TV and who say that they are given no choice in commercial TV, today the Congress is given a choice to create an agency that will present worthwhile programs to this country. Yet, Mr. Chairman, the bugaboo of Federal control is raised in opposition thereto.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate what the distinguished gentleman from Illinois has just said and that is the fact that we have written into the bill guarantees that a majority of this corporation or group cannot be of any one party or of a certain party. I would not like to use my own words, but I would like to use the words of someone who is deeply interested in this matter, Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, and one may find his statement with reference to the matter contained on page 17 of the committee report.

He described the functions as he sees them of the other so-called network. He said:

> They—

And he means educational TV stations—

> They will do special things that we don't do in quantity at the present time. I would expect that they will appeal at certain times of the day to very small parts of the total audience. Because we are organized as a mass medium, because we have to serve the greatest number of people in order to do our job, they will be able to do special interest kinds of programing that we can't do.

Here is a man who represents the biggest single network in the country who has guaranteed his network will give $1 million to this so-called educational TV, because he thinks the programing of the commercial TV has fallen short of the goals that were set forth when we entered into setting up the Communications Act of 1934.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I will yield to the gentleman in just one moment.

Mr. Chairman, I would just like to read the words of the gentleman who represented South Carolina in testifying before our committee, in which he said:

> I do not know all the answers. I run a university in South Carolina, and look at much of the poverty and ignorance that pervades our world.

He said further, on the same page:

> We must innovate, we must provide funds for innovation, we must foster communications, these are things for which now there are no funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina to strike title II.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to review some of the points which have been developed today with respect to this legislation, and also to discuss title II, which is the issue before us at the moment.

Title II includes $9 million for the establishment of a public corporation to provide and distribute funds for programing for the ETV stations throughout the country. This is only a drop in the bucket of what the costs will ultimately be because, according to the Carnegie Foundation, this legislation aims at creating an eventual 390 ETV stations, not to mention radio stations which are now provided for in this legislation, and the cost for the operation of these stations will be at least $270 million a year.

Those of you who intend to vote for the tax increase I am sure will have no trouble with these facts, but some of us who may have that intention are a little concerned about where that $270 million is going to come from.

In my own area, Ohio State University plans to televise classroom instruction to the other institutions of higher learning in Ohio, and also to the public schools in that State. Some of these programs will be live; some of them will be on tape. I believe it will serve a valid purpose to have funds budgeted by which to do this. And of course the university would be happy to have some additional Federal money to help out. But I would much prefer, if we are going to give away $9 million of the taxpayers' money now and an eventual $270 million a year, that we give it directly to that institution, and not filter it through a public corporation whose members are to be appointed by the President of the United States. Incidentally, these Ohio State programs will not be in competition with private television, because they will be primarily for classroom instruction.

So if, as my chairman asks, we are going to maintain the strength of this country, let us maintain it through diversity rather than through getting a common view from the national level of the news and the public issues of our day.

It has been pointed out that this is not a network. That is true, but the corporation can decide who gets the grants and for what programs. It will not be a BBC; it will be more like a domestic U.S. Information Agency, deciding who makes the programs; and, if the right person is not going to make the kind of a program, the corporation feels is desirable, presumably that person will not get the Federal money.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare says that one of the objectives of this legislation is cultural uplift. I wonder who is going to make the decision as to what is cultural and what is not cultural.

What kind of television and radio programs go into cultural uplift? Certainly, news programs to some extent. But whose views of the news?

I will tell you this, I do not mind editorials because viewers do not pay as much attention to editorials as they do the news. I could influence more people by being able to wiggle the eyebrows of the newscaster or decide what is to be produced and who will be in it and what the voice inflection of the newscaster will be. This is exactly the kind of decision the public corporation will be making. It will have the opportunity to do it because, in the programing, corporation officials will help to select the newscaster or the person who is approved to make this program and what this program will be about.

One of the people who testified before us said that the Congress is going to provide through this means an opportunity for local programing to include high school athletic events. I do not know how cultural that is, but I do know that the little radio stations in my part of the country sells their high school athletic events to sponsors as a part of their economic survival.

We had a lot of testimony before this committee, as my chairman pointed out, in favor of this legislation. I think we only heard from one local commercial station, however.

Of course, the networks are for it because, if ETV does all the public service programing in the country, perhaps salable prime time will not be preempted by coverage of the United Nations and the commercial networks will be able to get that much more advertising money.

It has been suggested that we would have coverage of government at the local and State level and that we would have public issue programs. Our distinguished minority leader on the committee pointed out several times in the committee that the very selection of what is a "public service or public interest broadcast" has editorial overtones to it. Perhaps if we did a public service program on Bobby Baker, it might have some political implications.

I say that we ought to keep the ETV stations as instructional and truly educational and as local as possible, and the only way to keep them local and educational is to have local moneys going into their programing. A good deal of local money is going into them from the State governments now and they are staying closer to the original purpose of this legislation than they will if we offer the Federal corporation financing proposed under title II.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, it is easy for committee members to take up all the time, and I wonder if there is any desire or any intention to cut off debate here before those of us who are not members of the committee have a chance to speak on this issue. If there is, I would have to object.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I would hope not. But the gentleman might direct his inquiry to the chairman.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I will try to use less time than 5 minutes, but I do think we ought to look at this title II to which there has now developed some opposition on the floor on the part of some of my colleagues.

Let me remind the House that title I is simply a continuation of a program that this Congress has already enacted. Do you know who administers title I that these men who are speaking now in favor of knocking out title II have no objection to? It is the Department of HEW—and yet they have no objection to title I. They say "let HEW administer it" and they are not worried about any control of title I.

Title II which sets up a private nonprofit corporation with no Government control, HEW has nothing to do with it. The bill takes it out of the HEW Department and puts it in a nonprofit private corporation, just as the gentleman from Illinois explained. So that we will not have any Government control. I would not be here on the floor of this House supporting a bill to give any governmental control over television programing.

I can assure you of that. This committee has put in safeguards so that this cannot happen.

First, we are taking it out of HEW so that there cannot be, in the remotest way, any control by the Department.

Second, the local television station—and it is in the law—need not accept any program they do not want. The local station is the one that will decide its own programing.

Third, the bill does not allow this corporation to own a station, own a network, or own any production facilities.

And do you know who supports this bill? The TV industry itself. Do you think the networks of this country would be here supporting a bill which would allow a governmental TV network to be set up? Of course they would not.

Do you know how many witnesses before the committee offered any objection to this title? One out of 80. We did not have an onrushing of Governors here to say, "Oh, we are afraid of this," or the public, "Oh, we are afraid of this." We had 80 witnesses.

Do you know how long this committee heard testimony on this bill? Three weeks. Anyone in America had time to come here and tell us he was concerned if he had desired to do so.

What the committee has done is to put in all the safeguards, and we added one for the benefit of the Members of the House and for the Congress. That is, we are not going to let this proceed except for 1 year so the Congress can be shown. For 1 year we allow the corporation to be set up, and we limit the funds to $9 million. They must come back to this Congress, to our committee, and, before anything else is done, this Congress would say, "Well, we do not like the way it is working," if by chance something did happen. But I feel that the committee has put in the safeguards.

It will be an advance for the young people of America and for all the people of our country to improve educational TV and cultural programs that we can see on TV. The networks themselves say it is something that ought to be done that they cannot do. I tell you that if the industry of this country supports it, if all but one of the witnesses support it, and if the majority of this committee support it, I would submit that it is worthy of your consideration, that it is not going to be a governmental-controlled thing, but rather we have assured the independence of this program as I have outlined.

I urge you to vote against this amendment.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, the stated purpose of title II is a method of obtaining more funds for more and better program material for educational television in the country. We foresee much of the program production being done by the individual stations themselves. However, this is not the point that I shall dwell on.

What does concern me, contrary to the feelings of the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia, the chairman of our committee, I am disturbed over how these funds will be provided sometime in the future. I am disturbed over the cloudy picture that was presented to us by the many witnesses that did come before the committee and testified as to how the future financing of the Corporation would be achieved.

The bill calls for 1 year of financing, $9 million for title II. Then we will decide some time in the future how those funds would be provided. What will be the sources of those funds? Where will they come from?

I feel that the committee should go into that question now. That is why I am going to support the amendment which would strike title II, in the hope that, should the amendment be adopted, and since we will still be in session this fall, the committee could then go into any plan of financing and come up with a plan that would be presented to this House. Only by this method can we hope to have a clear picture of where we are going in the future.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank my friend from North Carolina for yielding. I hope we can clarify one point. My good friend, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS]—and he is a dear friend of mine—just plowed the same ground that was plowed earlier when he said he had no trouble with the present program of Federal assistance to educational television. But I hope the House will remember that nothing in the present program provides any assistance to the local stations for programing. Certainly we had no problem, and we shall not, if we continue this in its present form.

Another problem raised by my good friends from Massachusetts and Florida was that title II of this is non-controversial. Is it? Certainly it is governmental. We are debating it here this afternoon, when we would like to go. The

President will make nominations for the 15 members of the board of directors, and the Senate will approve them. Is it governmental? Is it nongovernmental? This is added to the fact that the only money that will be in this title II for the operation of the public broadcasting corporation will be the $9 million we put in it now. If that is nongovernmental, I would hate to see what we would have to do as a government to make it really a governmental agency.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. To conclude, Mr. Chairman, let me say we have no assurance that this legislative committee will have anything to do with the plan that may be submitted in the future for financing this corporation. This legislative committee could be bypassed in the future in the plan that is submitted, for example.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, as I understood it during our deliberations in the committee, that was the reason we limited title II to 1 year, to see who was appointed to the board of directors of this corporation, and to see what their plans were, and to get their approach as to what their idea for the future would be. They would be forced to come back to the Congress and to deal with the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I do not quite follow the gentleman when he says we have no assurance that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee would be bypassed in the future.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I see no reason for turning over this responsibility to others until our committee or an appropriate committee of the House has made the determination and the decisions that should properly be made.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, what we are doing is creating the bare bones of a carcass for $9 million, and what we will be asked for later will be $270 million worth of meat to put on it in future years. I happen to be in the newspaper business in real life, and I cannot see why we cannot have Federal help to develop in-depth background stories, or Federal help to make motion pictures on public issues, or perhaps money to subsidize writers to write plays on the great movements of our day.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, the debate on this amendment has limited itself to title II. I would like at the moment to call attention of the members to title III. I have discussed this with some of my colleagues on each side of the aisle who are on the committee—and I do not question their good intentions—but if we read title II on page 34, we find it provides that this Corporation is authorized to obtain grants from the Federal Government, then if you will read title III you will see that such section, along with other provisions provides as follows, and I quote:

> SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to conduct, directly or by contract, and in consultation with other interested Federal agencies, a study of instructional television, including its relationship to educational television broadcasting and such other aspects thereof as may assist in determining whether Federal aid should be provided therefor and the form that aid should take, and which may aid communities, institutions, or agencies in determining whether and to what extent such activities should be used.
>
> CONTENT OF STUDY
>
> SEC. 302. Such study shall be comprehensive in nature.

Now, notwithstanding the good intentions of members of the committee this will set in motion the probability of control of educational television programs by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. While such provision does not here enable that Department to directly control programs, in my judgment it could, and I think would, lead to control by indirection.

In other words, this would set up HEW to study the programs to determine or to help us determine whether grants should be made. Then title II provides that this corporation will be one of the recipients of the grants, or might be.

In my office there came in today a complaint from a school in my district.

I know that in the education bill we prohibited busing. I know that we prohibited the Department of HEW from running the local schools of this country. We prohibited any requirement for racial balancing. Yet I can cite case after case where indications of withholding Federal funds are used until the local school "voluntarily" offers to do or take steps toward racial balancing and in many cases for further balancing.

I have on my desk today the latest complaint. This is from a local school, where they have opened the school to members of all races, and it is integrated. The faculty is integrated, in order to try to please HEW, the school authorities have deliberately gone out and drafted people of another race to teach school in a school predominantly of a different race. This is insufficient to please HEW.

A representative of HEW, a member of a minority race has just visited this school. He says, "I cannot tell you how to run your school, but if you do not do something more to bring about a racial balance I will have to recommend that your funds be cut off."

I say to my friend from Florida, when you provide for HEW to make a study of programs with recommendations to Congress you set in motion another set of guidelines, controlling educational TV. Though I do not question the good intentions of my friend from Florida, a reading of the bill clearly leads to setting up another set of guidelines for HEW to operate not only the schools but also the educational programs carried on TV.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I went into this question very thoroughly during the hearings of 3 weeks, to make sure this is not so. I can assure the gentleman the fact that title III says the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is going to make a study will not result that way. If the gentleman will read on, he will see that study simply is to come to the Congress.

This does not incorporate any guidelines or anything. If the gentleman will permit, we have taken title II out of HEW entirely.

Mr. WHITTEN. Let me answer the gentleman's first statement.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Very well.

Mr. WHITTEN. Is that not exactly what we did in the education bills? We did exactly what is done here, and they paid exactly no attention, and they will pay no attention to this here. Though, of course, there are some individuals at the national level who try to help, at the local level they put on pressure for racial balance.

Answer this question: Is there any distinction between your hearings and your assurances from those which we got on the education bills? Did not the Education Committee have the same hearings and receive the same assurances? We wrote prohibitions into that law, prohibitions you do not have here.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. If the gentleman will permit, there is no comparison. The gentleman is entirely incorrect in trying to draw some analogy, because the administration of title II does not even come through HEW. The Department cannot say anything. This is to be done by a private nonprofit corporation, and that is the only way a local station can get any funds. They do not go to HEW. The gentleman is wrong.

Mr. WHITTEN. May I ask the gentleman to read sections 301 and 302. I then point out that on page 34 you clearly say that the corporation may receive grants from the Federal Government. Section 301 and 302 calls on HEW to study programs and to recommend terms and conditions on which grants may be made.

Time will prove I am right—you are here beginning not only the possibility but the likelihood of Federal brainwashing. Like other things it will develop step by step. This is the first step toward such a result by television.

I think this is an exact parallel to what has happened to our schools. As long as sections 301 and 302 remain in the bill it should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

For what purpose does the gentleman from West Virginia rise?

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to see if we can get a time limitation.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, I was on my feet, seeking recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not see the gentleman from Michigan, but did see the gentleman from West Virginia, the chairman of the committee, on his feet.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I observe there are two Members on their feet. I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment be limited to 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection

to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, certainly the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HARVEY], ought to have 5 minutes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I agree. I saw only two Members at the time. Three are now standing.

I change my request to 15 minutes. That would give each Member 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HARVEY].

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, it was said here during the course of debate that the big television networks were for this bill. It has also been said that all witnesses but one were for this bill. Somehow, no one pointed out who this one witness was or how significant this witness was who opposed the bill. I refer here to the testimony of the president of the All Channel TV Society, found on page 688 of our House hearings. This society should have some meaning to the Members of the House, because the members of the All Channel TV Society are the people we put in business back in 1962 when we passed the All Channel Act in that year. These are the UHF operators to whom we said, "Go out and invest your money; put $1 million or $2 million or $3 million in that UHF station and we will give you a channel." Mr. Stevens came before our committee and he pleaded for more time. He pointed out the study of the industry experts showed it would take these channels at least 7 years to be on a par with the other stations. He pleaded to have at least until 1971 for the members of this society so that they could better compete against the subsidized programing of the educational TV stations, also UHF stations by the Federal Government. These are the people, the educational TV stations, not the big networks, that the all channel stations are competing against. They are the ones who are pleading for time. They are the ones this Congress appears so willing to ignore at this moment although we put them in business by the 1962 Act.

Mr. Chairman, I want to reiterate what I said earlier about the method of financing. Both the majority and the minority views show that the Carnegie Commission objected and strongly disapproved of the appropriation method of financing because of the political influence connected with it. The Ford Foundation people, Mr. Bundy and Mr. Friendly, well known personalities, objected to the appropriation process method of financing. We ought to consider those views.

Mr. Chairman, in closing I would say it is true this is only a $9 million title II this year, but it will be $90 million next year and will again be financed by the appropriation process because I am convinced that is what appears to be what a majority here would like to have.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's statement. Is it not true that these people who testified in favor—and I reviewed the list of witnesses who appeared before the committee, such as the State University Associations and the educational TV networks in being, plus the land-grant colleges—are those who would naturally be in favor of an additional subsidized Federal program? This is their meat and their bread.

Mr. HARVEY. There is no question but that it is true there is a dearth of programing in educational TV. But the best thing going for programing under title II is the dearth of good programing on commercial TV as well. Because Americans are dissatisfied with present commercial programs does not mean the Federal Government should step in and create a subsidized programing. I do not think so, and neither did these people who run the all channel stations. If the Federal Government finances it, it ought to do it with a specific tax. The Carnegie Commission recommended an excise tax on the sale of television sets. The Ford Foundation recommended a tax on the satellites. Even the minority member of the Carnegie Commission recommended a specific tax on the TV stations. None of them said come in and take it out of the general fund. In fact they said just the opposite. I cannot help but think, Mr. Chairman, when I read today that the expenses of the Federal Government have grown 341 percent in the last 20 years since 1947, it is something for us to reflect on, because our population has only grown 37 percent during that period of time. It is obvious that with Government growing this fast, it is not growing to serve the needs of our people—but to serve itself. The motion to strike title II should be supported.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER].

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, as I said earlier—and I will repeat it at this time—the House Committee on Ways and Means has been struggling for days now to try to find a way to partially meet the astronomical Federal deficit. Every Member of this House is going to be faced with having to vote for a tax increase. By the end of this fiscal year—and I repeat this because apparently it does not sink in—we are going to be at least $29 billion more in debt. This is certainly no time to embark upon a new program, a new program that, No. 1, is not needed and, No. 2, no one knows how it is going to be financed. And, let me tell you something else. This afternoon I called the manager of one of the largest TV stations in the country, and I queried him as to the ratio of cost of operations of the average television station—the physical facilities and maintenance on the one hand—and the product and the program on the other. He said that between 65 and 70 percent of the total cost is put into programing and product.

Now, Mr. Chairman, project, if you will, what has been spent for facilities in 137 educational television stations—since the inception of this act—and you can really conclude what we are really talking about in total cost. It is time not for this House to put your head in the sand, because you know darn well that this Congress is going to have to finance this program. And it must concern itself with the fiscal mistakes that have been made and be responsible for decisions that are going to make our fiscal situation worse than it is today. And, Mr. Chairman, God knows it is already bad enough. I remind you that we are going to have a tax bill to vote on. It seems to me that fiscal responsibility dictates today that if ever there was a time for introducing and for underwriting a new program, a program that we do not know what it is going to produce and cost, it is certainly not at this time. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I say that the Congress of the United States should delay the authorization for this program at least till next year.

And, Mr. Chairman, I do want to make it clear that I favor resuming the program under title I. I have no great objection to title III, although there are some things contained therein with which I do not agree.

But I think this is not the time to act on this particular title of the bill because in my opinion good fiscal judgment demands that title II should be struck from the bill and that we should proceed accordingly, until we at least know in which direction we are traveling before embarking upon this kind of new unpredictably expensive program.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the gentleman from Illinois that one of the reasons the local ETV stations need money for programing is that much of their resources and funds have come from local taxes or resources, either through the State legislature or through the local governments or through institutions which support them, such as the various State universities.

These local ETV operators are smart enough to want to pass on a good portion of this cost to the Congress of the United States and to the taxpayers of the United States in general if we will take them over, so as to relieve their local governments and institutions from having to spend the required amount of money.

I understand their efforts to obtain their necessary operating funds through this approach—funds which are needed—but it is my opinion they ought to come from the local institutions and Governments which have received licenses for these stations in the first place and that if they can't obtain funds in this way, perhaps the local officials and taxpayers are saying, cut back your expenses and not saying get the money from us by way of Washington.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I will go one step further by telling the Members of the Committee that if instructional television—and no one respects its value any more than I do—is as vital to the public educational system as the experts say it is, then it seems to me that the

State legislatures, just as they appropriate money for the general public educational system, have the responsibility to appropriate such funds at a State level as are necessary to carry out the needs of educational television.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield further to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. If this program were used in carrying out the basic activities of the classroom—educational television—I would agree with the gentleman from Illinois to the effect that I think the $9 million would be worth the undertaking. However, I feel it is aimed at an entertainment program instead.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Pickle].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, permit me to say very briefly—and then I shall yield the balance of my time to our great and distinguished Speaker. There has been an established agreement all through the course of the debate during the House today that the educational television program is a good program. Primarily, what is proposed to be done under the pending legislation is that we would add a new section, a section designed to carry out and to fulfill a crying need in the programing field.

Mr. Chairman, if the members of the committee do not add this new feature to the present program, then the members of the committee are literally going to suffocate or cripple the best communications media for this type of education that the world has ever known.

Surely we are not asking too much in requesting $9 million for the purpose of carrying out plans for improved educational programs. That is primarily what this bill provides. Surely this Congress will provide that.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PICKLE. I yield to the distinguished chairman.

Mr. STAGGERS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Did we not in committee cut $27 million out of the first section of this bill?

Mr. PICKLE. We did.

Mr. STAGGERS. I notice that the gentleman from North Carolina is looking this way. It was the gentleman from North Carolina who did make the motion which cut $27 million from this bill, and certainly we know what was asked for.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, this whole bill is only $20 million for fiscal 1968.

Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to yield to our great and distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, the very heart of this bill is title II. If title II is stricken from the bill it will have a very adverse effect upon the successful operation of this legislation if enacted into law.

Title II establishes a public corporation to encourage the production of plays, operas, and other cultural offerings which commercial networks find are not economical to produce on a sustaining basis.

It is true that while Federal funds are needed to initiate this creative approach to quality programing, the fact remains that the Corporation will be truly public.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has done everything possible to guarantee that our airways will be free from any type of Federal control or programing. Certainly that meets the argument presented by my friend from Mississippi.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to cite these safeguards. They have been repeated several times, but I will cite them again for the benefit of the Members:

First, all grants for programing will be made by an independent, private, nonprofit corporation, not the Federal Government.

Second, the board of directors and employees of this corporation will not be civil servants or employees of the Federal Government.

Third, no more than eight members of the board of directors of the corporation can be from any one political party. I thoroughly agree with my friend from Illinois, Mr. Chairman, in the able presentation he made in this respect.

Fourth, the bill specifically prohibits the corporation from owning or operating any station, system, network or program facilities, and

Fifth, local stations will have full freedom to accept or reject programs.

This is one of the best-considered bills I have ever seen, that has ever come out of any committee.

Title II is of vital importance if this bill is to be successful.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the defeat of the amendment to strike out title II.

The CHAIRMAN. All time having expired, the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Watson].

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers, Mr. Watson and Mr. Staggers.

The Committee divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 111, noes 120.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. JONES OF MISSOURI

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Jones of Missouri: On page 20, line 14, strike out "$10,500,000" and the balance of line 14, and all of lines 15, 16, and 17, and substitute the following: "not to exceed $10,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968; not to exceed $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and not to exceed $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970; said appropriations to be limited to the total amount of funds collected in the form of licenses and fees assessed and collected from commercial radio and television stations by the Federal Communications Commission, and converted to the U.S. Treasury; said schedule of fees being set by the Federal Communications Commission, after an appropriate study, and approved by the Commerce Committee of the U.S. Senate and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives".

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, we have been hearing a lot about the cost of this bill. This amendment would provide for the cost to be paid by someone other than the taxpayers. In other words, the amendment would provide for the payments to be made from licenses and fees assessed by the Federal Communications Commission after approval of the schedule of fees by the Commerce Committee of the Senate and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives.

Why do I bring this amendment to your attention at this time?

First, very few people recognize the value of the license that we have given to the television stations of this country. Almost without exception the license itself is worth many times more than the physical assets of the station. Television and radio stations alike—and I have been in the radio business for about 20 years and got out of it last year—have been profitable businesses. They should have been paying a license fee for the exclusive use of the airwaves, the channels that the television stations have, and the frequencies assigned to radio stations. I have been advocating this for years, even when I was a major stockholder in a radio station, which interest I sold last year.

We give a television station an exclusive channel from which the owners of that station make many millions of dollars each year. They pay nothing for that. No one can compete with them. So this offers an opportunity to let one segment of the industry which will profit from this education bill pay a part of the cost.

Why do I say that the commercial stations will benefit by this bill? The educational stations will carry a lot of the public service that is now being carried by some of the commercial stations but in a limited amount. These people can afford to pay this money as evidenced by the fact that CBS has already volunteered that they would be willing to contribute $1 million to the cost of this program. One million per station, per year, of the stations owned by the three large networks would be a more realistic contribution.

Despite what the gentleman from Texas said a minute ago, when he spoke about a $20-million bill, if I can add the figures in the cost of this bill here for the next 3 years, it will be $48,500,000. It has been said by members of the committee on the floor that the cost of this program may reach to more than $400 million a year to be paid by the taxpayers, when you have this other source which you could tap, and which would not bring about any loss, I would say, to the stations that are making tremendous profits and which could pay for this out of their profits. I will hear from a lot of my friends who operate small local radio stations, but I can assure them that under no stretch of the imagination would they be assessed any appreciable amount if the cost is apportioned on an equitable basis with the larger TV stations bearing most of the cost, since they are the ones who profit most and should bear most of the burden.

That is all I have to say about it. We are trying to conserve money in this administration—or at least some of us are. Here is an opportunity to save not only $48 million at this time, but to save throughout the years Federal money that will go into operating stations. We will save that. This could go into billions of dollars that could be saved if we do something that should have been done years ago, collecting for the licenses that the television and radio stations should be paying.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I would like to say to the committee that if I could have heard the amendment I would have raised a point of its not being germane to the bill. It is not germane to the bill. It is a new method of financing never considered by the committee.

I urge rejection of the amendment because I just do not believe it comes at the proper time or place.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from West Virginia. I believe we should vote down this amendment, and if we need to go into the future financing, we can do it in the committee. A number of proposals have been brought forward. I am not clear in my own mind exactly what this amendment would or would not do. I hope the amendment of the gentleman will be defeated, and we can consider it later in the form of legislation or amendment to this program at a later date.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, may I say to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri that he has done some careful and good thinking on this question. To some extent I agree with him and what he said today, because I know he has been in the business and he knows the problems of this business. I believe the fraternity of broadcasting probably ought to be contributing more than it does, and for this I commend him.

I just do have a certain hesitation in accepting this amendment now. I do not fully understand it. Next year we are going to go into many more of these problems, and I think at that time we should go into the question of financing. It is with that reservation that I urge the amendment not be adopted.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I hope the Committee and the gentlemen, when they look at this question of financing next year as stated will look into the point that the national networks and commentators are not only not liable, but they are using nationwide network documentaries and commentaries. I believe it may be that this escape from the libel suits alone, would pay all the fees that are necessary. Furthermore, I think we might well test this and see how anxious to pay for this are these people, from the various networks who are coming in to testify in favor of it.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman has discussed this before. I would be glad to have the gentleman appear before the committee on this.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman. I shall avail myself of this opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Jones].

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I want to see how many people want to save a little money, so I demand a division on that.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Jones of Missouri) there were—ayes 25, noes 104.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. BROWN OF OHIO

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. Brown of Ohio: On page 28, line 14, strike out "including" and insert in lieu thereof "in particular".

On page 28, line 17, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 28, line 22, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 29, line 2, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 29, line 10, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 29, line 13, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 33, line 10, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 33, line 18, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 34, line 17, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 34, line 22, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 35, line 1, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 35, line 4, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 35, line 9, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

On page 35, line 22, after "educational" insert "and instructional".

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of the amendments is to see that the public corporation established by title II is instructed by this legislation to include and lay emphasis on instructional television as differentiated from mere educational television.

Let me explain the kind of problem the committee got into in this whole field.

Educational television, and now educational radio, originally was designed to bring education into the classroom and the home. It was not designed as an entertainment medium or the British Broadcasting kind of approach, or to bring other programing and cultural uplift to the homes of the Nation in competition with the private television networks and stations.

So the meaning of these amendments is to try to return to that original purpose in this legislation, to see that the funds allocated under title II, $9 million, are used to develop programing in the instructional area.

The ambition of this is to save the American taxpayer some dollars in his public and private educational expenses; in other words, to provide, where possible, that television can be used in classroom lectures, and to teach people at home how to do woodworking or how to garden or to shop effectively, or to instruct them in other areas of public responsibility and personal interest, and not just the entertainment or cultural approaches that have been suggested by some of the people who appeared before our committee.

There are no particular "hookers" in this amendment. If the Members believe educational television should be instructional television for both classroom and the home, they will support this amendment. If they believe it ought to be an entertainment medium in competition with present radio and television networks and stations, I suppose they will vote against the amendment.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I will not take the 5 minutes. I will say this amendment was proposed in the committee and voted down by a majority of the committee. It was discussed very thoroughly there. We are authorizing money for a study to see how instructional television should be done. I oppose the amendment now. It was defeated in the committee, and I think it ought to be defeated now.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Is it the chairman's thought that we should move away from instructional TV?

Mr. STAGGERS. No. That is not my intention. This is not the proper time for this amendment. It was voted down in the committee. We have a study set up in title III for this purpose.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. We are now in the instructional television business, are we not, in television?

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. This will help to keep us there.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown].

The amendments were rejected.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see if we could set some time for the completion of the bill. I understand there are two amendments yet to be offered. I wonder if we could set a time when we can finish this. There are a lot of Members who want to go home and who have different commitments.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to limit debate on the committee substitute and all amendments thereto to 6 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the right to object. That is a pretty poor excuse to adjourn, because some people want to get away from here.

We came here to legislate, and they want to cut us off at 6 o'clock.

Mr. STAGGERS. I am not trying to cut you off or anybody else. If you have something to say, you can be recognized at any time.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am not talking about that, but I am saying you are trying to rush a bill like this through. A bill of this importance needs some discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. McCarthy].

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to clarify my interpretation of certain provisions of title II of H.R. 6736.

It is my understanding that, in addition to grants and contracts for program development, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting can grant funds for the operation of noncommercial broadcasting stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission. If a school system operates such a station, it can receive such grants, and the programs broadcast by the school station can be received by any one, or any other school, in the service area of the station, having a television receiver. So all children, in all schools, public and private, will be able to see and use the programs broadcast as a result of Corporation support.

Many educational TV stations today provide program service to the private schools and the public schools, and, under the bill, it is my understanding that such service could continue, and in fact, be expanded through operating grants from the Corporation to the stations.

I also understand that the Corporation will not provide operational support for closed circuit or fixed-service television systems in schools since they are not noncommercial educational broadcasting stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I rise after a prearrangement with the chairman of the committee. As important as this bill is for all adults, it is even more important for children. Fifty million youngsters in our country watch television an average of 4 hours a day. We have distinguished reports which have shown that the commercial networks are not meeting the challenge in the area of children's programing. As the father of five who are 9 years of age and under, I can tell you that television for children is a mini-wasteland. Newsweek magazine recently estimated on Saturday mornings the three networks programed 23½ hours of cartoons. I can assure you most of them are dull and kooky. The Carnegie report urges that public television devote special attention to the informal educational needs of preschoolchildren and to the supplementary educational needs of school age children.

I brought this amendment to the committee. It was turned down there. And for the purpose of legislative history, I wonder if the chairman can tell us what the corporation plans to do on programing for high-quality children's programs?

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the chairman.

Mr. STAGGERS. I will say to the gentleman from New York that the committee felt we should not set any guidelines on what the money should be used for in the way of programing.

We did say in the bill that programs should have objectivity and balance.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. Farbstein].

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FARBSTEIN

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Farbstein: On page 29, after line 16 insert "(7) That in view of the privileges granted by the United States Government to commercial broadcasters of radio and television the aforesaid grantees of licenses should contribute substantially to the construction and maintenance by nonprofit corporations of public educational broadcasting. The Federal Communications Commission shall make a study of the charges to be levied against the commercial broadcasters of radio and television and advise the two Houses of Congress of their findings.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, this is a very simple amendment. Under the declaration of policy contained in this legislation it adds a statement to the effect that commercial television and commercial radio shall pay a portion of the cost of educational television; that they shall contribute to the cost of educational television and educational radio.

Mr. Chairman, the second portion of the declaration of policy is to the effect that the Federal Communications Commission shall make a study to determine how much shall be paid by commercial television and radio corporations toward the construction and maintenance of educational television and radio.

It is a very simple declaration of policy. I do not say that there is any contribution stated to be provided for in the amendment. I only ask for a study to be made. The amendment which I have offered also provides that we should be clear at this time to the effect that there is an obligation on the part of commercial broadcasting television and radio to the effect that they should contribute toward the cost of educational television and radio.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment for the same reason as I rose in opposition to the other amendment that was presented. We have had no testimony presented to the committee on this matter. We have had no opportunity to inquire into the subject. Therefore, we do not wish to be tied down to the particular study now suggested. The committee should be free to study all different types of financing proposals.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, may I say to the distinguished gentleman from New York that the gentleman showed me this amendment and, perhaps, I did state to the gentleman that there was some merit in his thinking on this, because it does represent something into which we ought to go. But I would hesitate to undertake to establish a policy and to determine what share of these costs the various interests involved should pay. They have a right to receive what is reasonable and to pay what is reasonable under the provisions of the act. However, this is a matter that should be gone into in depth. So, I think that the gentleman is assuming in the second part of the declaration a matter into which the committee has not as yet gone.

Therefore, I hope that the gentleman from New York would come before our committee next year and bring our attention to some of these matters, matters which are similar to the same things to which the gentleman from Missouri has made reference. I do not feel that we can afford to establish such a policy here at this late period of time during debate.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Good intentions, unfortunately, are evident on every hand. Yet, when a proposal appears on the floor of the House and we make a determination thereon, you know what is done. However, when you start delaying—and I have had this experience over the years—you never get anywhere because of the very philosophy which is involved here. There is inherently involved a principle that the stations should contribute to the cost of educational television.

And then they say "let the Federal Communications Commission make a study to determine how much they should contribute." I do not know what there is to going into any study in depth by the Commission, because they eventually will go into this. What there is against the proposal I cannot understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Jones].

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I believe this amendment should be adopted. I believe the amendment I offered should have been adopted. They said that was going too far. All Mr. Farbstein is asking is to give us a study, after indicating that Congress does believe that a licensee fee is equitable and desirable.

I will tell you what: I have been up here almost 19 years. When I came up here, I first went to the Federal Communications Commission to find out what was wrong with asking radio stations and television stations to pay a license fee. I found about two that were in favor of it, and the rest of them were against it. I went to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the chairman and on down, and talked to the members. I found that the longer they have been on there, the more opposed they are to doing anything to change the status quo.

I am telling you folks something is rotten in Denmark because television stations and radio stations should be paying a fee, but you are never going to get a bill out of this Committee on that, you are going to have to vote for it on this floor. If you vote for this proposal that Congress says that this is their considered policy, then you can at least make a start. That is all we are asking now to declare: that we believe these people should pay for something. I believe the amendment should be adopted.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Yes; I yield.

Mr. STAGGERS. Did the gentleman ever come to me about this proposition?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. No; I have not talked to you recently.

Mr. STAGGERS. Did the gentleman talk to Mr. MACDONALD on this?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I have not talked to him recently.

Mr. STAGGERS. Or Mr. FRIEDEL.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Yes; I have talked to him.

Mr. STAGGERS. Has the gentleman talked to Mr. SPRINGER?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Yes; I have talked to Mr. SPRINGER.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. FRIEDEL says the gentleman has not talked to him about it.

Mr. FRIEDEL. No; the gentleman has not.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. SAM, you are a very forgetful man.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FARBSTEIN) there were—ayes 57, noes 93.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BROYHILL].

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for the attention of the chairman of the committee and also the chairman of the Subcommittee on Communications and Power.

There are just two or three questions I would want to ask concerning some of the language in the bill to reinforce some of the interpretation I have of the bill.

Members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce know that I have expressed concern in the committee over actual or implied powers of the Public Broadcasting Corporation to maintain a full-time interconnection system over which regularly scheduled programs could be transmitted.

There is language in the bill as well as in the report, which deals with this situation. As I interpret this language, if any interconnection facilities are provided to an individual educational broadcasting station then some nonprofit agency or organization would have to make these interconnection arrangements.

I want to call the attention of the committee to page 355, section (E). This section deals with the authorized activities of the corporation.

This section states that if any grants or any contracts for interconnection purposes are made, they must be made through public or nonprofit private agencies or organizations.

To reinforce this interpretation, I would also call the attention of the committee to language on page 36, subsection (h) which authorizes free or reduced rate interconnection service.

This section does not authorize power to the Corporation to maintain an interconnection service at reduced rates. This section would attempt to give reduced or free rates to "grantees of, or contractors with the Corporation."

I would also call the attention of the committee to the report on page 19 which states that the Corporation will not have ownership or operative authority over interconnection facilities. As I read all this language, this reinforces my interpretation of this language and as I see it, the Corporation is prohibited from contracting directly with the A.T. & T. or any other communications common carriers for a leased line for dissemination of program material.

Would the gentleman agree with this interpretation?

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. I would agree. I would point out to the gentleman that I think this is a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time for debate has been limited.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for attempting to obtain extra time for me.

In view of the limitation of time on debate, I regret that a full discussion of these questions is not possible. I would call attention of the House to section 396(g)(1)(B) on page 33 of the bill. This language authorizes the Corporation to assist in the establishment and development of a system of interconnection. Also the section following (c), accomplishes the same purpose. There is some doubt by Members as to the proper interpretation of these sections and their relation to the other sections mentioned.

Another question which arises is the full meaning of section 396(g)(2)(B) on page 34. Here the Corporation is authorized to contract for and make grants for the production of program material. This together with language on page 36, section 396(g)(3), apparently would prohibit the Corporation from—among other things—owning or operating program production facilities. There is also a section in the committee report dealing with this matter on page 19. I would be of the opinion that this combined language definitely prohibits the Corporation from maintaining a staff of producers, commentators, announcers, and others directly associated with program production. It is my hope and desire that sufficient safeguards have been built into this legislation, but it is my feeling that only time will tell.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to take this time to express my wholehearted support of the motion to recommit which I understand the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DEVINE] will offer at the appropriate time.

As I understand this motion, it will include the amendment that a number of us tried to pass in deleting title II or eliminating the so-called broadcasting corporation for which there is no definite means of financing.

The only information we have is that the cost will probably amount one day to $270 million, and it is probable that the taxpayers are going to have to pay that.

Second, and I think this is most important, many have expressed concern about the lack of money for programing at the local level.

Granted, under title I, that the money only goes for facilities and/or equipment, while in the motion to recommit there will also be a provision to give $5 million or add $5 million to title I to be distributed equally to all of the local ETV stations in existence at the time of the passage of this act to be used specifically for programing purposes.

If you genuinely want to help your stations build up their facilities and their equipment and programs, you will support this motion to recommit.

If you just want to go out and create in the blind this monster of a public broadcasting corporation which will ultimately control your local TV and be in competition with your local TV stations, then you will oppose the motion to recommit.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WATSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Under the motion to recommit, do I understand that provision is made that $5 million made available would be distributed equally to all the ETV stations now on the line for program development purposes?

Mr. WATSON. The gentleman is absolutely correct; that is, those in existence at the time of the passage of this act.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. So every educational TV and radio station in the country will get some money for programing under this motion to recommit?

Mr. WATSON. There is no question about it. It will be a tremendous help to the local TV stations.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DEVINE].

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, I take this time merely to explain to the House what the motion to recommit will contain, the one that I expect to offer at the appropriate time. This motion to recommit would strike from the bill title II. This, of course, was the subject of an amendment that failed by a very few votes earlier this afternoon.

In addition, the motion would provide the sum of $5 million to be distributed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for programing purposes only, and this sum would be distributed to those educational radio stations and television stations that are in the educational field, in existence at the time of the effective date of the bill that we are acting on today. It is just that simple.

For those of you who feel that you have an economy problem, it will save you $4 million of the $9 million provided in the bill as now constituted, and yet it will provide money for all existing TV and radio stations.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVINE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. As I understand, the motion to recommit will provide for those stations to spend that money any way they wish. They may use it to develop their own resources, to make a program or to buy a program that someone else has developed.

Mr. DEVINE. They have the assurance that they will get some money.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. And they could pool it if they wanted to in one State?

Mr. DEVINE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the committee amendment, as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GALLAGHER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6736) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the constructon of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 920, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment to the committee substitute amendment? If not, the question is on the committee substitute amendment.

The committee substitute amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. DEVINE. I am in its present form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. DEVINE moves to recommit the bill, H.R. 6736, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce with instructions to report the bill back forthwith with an amendment as follows: On page 25, after line 19, insert the following:

"GRANTS TO EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING STATIONS

"SEC. 107. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $5,000,000 which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall divide equally and distribute among educational broadcasting stations in the United States which are in existence on the date of enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967".

Strike out all of title II.

Redesignate title III as title II and sections 301, 302, 303, and 304, as sections 201, 202, 203, and 204, respectively.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 167, nays 194, not voting 71, as follows:

[Roll No. 270]

YEAS—167

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, Ala.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Battin
Bell
Berry
Betts
Biester
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Cowger
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gardner
Gathings
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey
Henderson
Hosmer
Hull
Hunt
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McMillan
MacGregor
Marsh
Martin
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mize
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stuckey
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Winn
Wydler
Wylie
Zion

NAYS—194

Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bates
Bennett
Bevill
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brotzman
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Clark
Cleveland
Cohelan
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Delaney
Denney
Diggs
Donohue
Dorn
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Esch
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Halleck
Halpern
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kyros
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Quie
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Springer
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Walker
Wlson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Wyman
Yates
Zablocki
Zwach

NOT VOTING—71

Adams
Aspinall
Baring
Belcher
Blackburn
Brinkley
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Button
Cederberg
Celler
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Derwinski
Dingell
Dow
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Fallon
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fountain
Garmatz
Hamilton
Harrison
Hays
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Horton
Hutchinson
Kluczynski
Latta
Leggett
Long, La.
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Mills
Minshall
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Nelsen
Pollock
Pucinski
Purcell
Quillen
Rarick
Rhodes, Pa.
Ruppe
Scheuer
Shipley
Stafford
Taft
Tenzer
Udall
Utt
Waldie
Watkins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wolff
Wyatt
Young

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Mills for, with Mr. Moss against.
Mr. Willis for, with Mr. Kluczynski against.
Mr. Hébert for, with Mr. Wolff against.
Mr. Long of Louisiana for, with Mr. Tenzer against.
Mr. Fountain for, with Mr. Feighan against.
Mr. Rarick for, with Mr. Dent against.
Mr. Cederberg for, with Mr. Pollock against.
Mr. Hutchinson for, with Mr. Latta against.
Mr. Derwinski for, with Mr. Horton against.
Mr. Blackburn for, with Mr. Button against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Celler with Mr. Nelsen.
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.
Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. Stafford.
Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Fallon with Mr. Mathias of California.
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Brown of Michigan.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Belcher.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Wyatt.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Edmondson with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Young with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Waldie with Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Udall with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Brinkley with Mr. Quillen.
Mr. Dingell with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Hays with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Findley.
Mr. Hamilton with Mr. Shipley.
Mr. Purcell with Mr. Baring.
Mr. Dow with Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Holland with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Scheurer with Mr. de la Garza.

Mr. **WYMAN** changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. **SPRINGER**. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 266, nays 91, answered "present" 1, not voting 74, as follows:

[Roll No. 271]

YEAS—266

Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brotzman
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Carey
Carter
Clark
Cleveland
Cohelan
Conable
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Delaney
Denney
Dickinson
Diggs
Donohue
Dorn
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Halleck
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Lloyd
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Martin
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Minish
Mink
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, Ill.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Price, Ill.
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Resnick
Reuss
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Springer
Staggers
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tunney
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—91

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Battin
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Casey
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Collier
Colmer
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Devine
Dole
Dowdy
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Flynt
Gardner
Gathings
Gross
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hansen, Idaho
Harvey
Henderson
Hosmer
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
King, N.Y.
Langen
Lennon
Lipscomb
McClure
McCulloch
McMillan
Marsh
Michel
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Reid, Ill.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rivers
Roberts
Roudebush
Satterfield
Scherle
Scott
Smith, Calif.
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stuckey
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Waggonner
Watson
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Winn

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Ullman

NOT VOTING—74

Adams
Aspinall
Belcher
Baring
Blackburn
Brinkley
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Button
Cederberg
Celler
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Cramer
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Derwinski
Dingell
Dow
Dulski
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Fallon
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fountain
Garmatz
Hamilton
Harrison
Hays
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Horton
Hutchinson
Kluczynski
Latta
Leggett
Long, La.
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Mills
Minshall
Moss
Multer
Murphy, N.Y.
Nelsen
Pollock
Pucinski
Purcell
Quillen
Rarick
Rhodes, Pa.
Ruppe
Shipley
Snyder
Stafford
Taft
Tenzer
Udall
Utt
Watkins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wolff
Wyatt
Young

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Moss for, with Mr. Ullman against.
Mr. Multer for, with Mr. Mills against.
Mr. Dent for, with Mr. Hébert against.
Mr. Shipley for, with Mr. Long of Louisiana against.
Mr. Dulski for, with Mr. Fountain against.
Mr. Leggett for, with Mr. Rarick against.
Mr. Wolff for, with Mr. Willis against.
Mr. Stafford for, with Mr. Blackburn against.
Mr. Horton for, with Mr. Derwinski against.
Mr. Corbett for, with Mr. Hutchinson against.
Mr. Fino for, with Mr. Cederberg against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Latta.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Fallon with Mr. Button.
Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. Belcher.
Mr. Feighan with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Dingell with Mr. Snyder.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Purcell with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Hays with Mr. Quillen.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Brown of Michigan.
Mr. Eilberg with Mr. Findley.
Mr. Edmondson with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Tenzer with Mr. Wyatt.
Mr. Hamilton with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Udall with Mr. Nelsen.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Mathias of California.
Mr. Holland with Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Brinkley with Mr. Dow.

Mr. **ULLMAN**. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss]. If he had been present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The **SPEAKER**. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 920, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is discharged from further consideration of the bill S. 1160.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. STAGGERS

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Staggers moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill S. 1160 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 6736, as passed, as follows:

"That this Act may be cited as the 'Public Broadcasting Act of 1967'.

"TITLE I—CONSTRUCTION OF FACILITIES

"EXTENSION OF DURATION OF CONSTRUCTION GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

"Sec. 101. (a) Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: 'There are also authorized to be appropriated for carrying out the purposes of such section, $10,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970.'

"(b) The last sentence of such section is amended by striking out 'July 1, 1968' and inserting in lieu thereof 'July 1, 1971'.

"MAXIMUM ON GRANTS IN ANY STATE

"Sec. 102. Effective with respect to grants made from appropriations for any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1967, subsection (b) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"'(b) The total of the grants made under this part from the appropriation for any fiscal year for the construction of noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities and noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities in any State may not exceed 8½ per centum of such appropriation.'

"NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING FACILITIES

"Sec. 103. (a) Section 390 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 390) is amended by inserting 'noncommercial' before 'educational' and by inserting 'or radio' after 'television'.

"(b) Subsection (a) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(a)) is amended by—

"(1) inserting 'noncommercial' before 'educational' and by inserting 'or radio' after 'television' in so much thereof as precedes paragraph (1);

"(2) striking out clause (B) of such paragraph and inserting in lieu thereof '(B) in the case of a project for television facilities, the State noncommercial educational television agency or, in the case of a project for radio facilities, the State educational radio agency,';

"(3) inserting '(i) in the case of a project for television facilities,' after '(D)' and 'noncommercial' before 'educational' in paragraph (1)(D) and by inserting before the semicolon at the end of such paragraph ', or (ii) in the case of a project for radio facilities, a nonprofit foundation, corporation, or association which is organized primarily to engage in or encourage noncommercial educational radio broadcasting and is eligible to receive a license from the Federal Communications Commission; or meets the requirements of clause (i) and is also organized to engage in or encourage such radio broadcasting and is eligible for such a license for such a radio station';

"(4) striking the semicolon at the end of paragraph (1) and adding thereto the following:

"'or (E) a municipality which owns and operates a broadcasting facility transmitting only noncommercial programs;'

"(5) striking out 'television' in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of such subsection;

"(6) striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (3), striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof '; and', and inserting after paragraph (4) the following new paragraph:

"'(5) that, in the case of an application with respect to radio broadcasting facilities, there has been comprehensive planning for educational broadcasting facilities and services in the area the applicant proposes to serve and the applicant has participated in such planning, and the applicant will make the most efficient use of the frequency assignment.'

"(c) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting '(1)' after '(c)' and 'noncommercial' before 'educational television broadcasting facilities', and by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"'(2) In order to assure proper coordination of construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities within each State which has established a State educational radio agency, each applicant for a grant under this section for a project for construction of such facilities in such State, other than such agency, shall notify such agency of each application for such a grant which is submitted by it to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall advise such agency with respect to the disposition of each such application.'

"(d) Subsection (d) of such section is amended by inserting 'noncommercial' before 'educational television' and inserting 'or noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, as the case may be,' after 'educational television broadcasting facilities' in clauses (2) and (3).

"(e) Subsection (f) of such section is amended by inserting 'or radio' after 'television' in the part thereof which precedes paragraph (1), by inserting 'noncommercial' before 'educational television purposes' in paragraph (2) thereof, and by inserting 'or noncommercial educational radio purposes, as the case may be' after 'educational television purposes' in such paragraph (2).

"(f)(1) Paragraph (2) of section 394 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 394) is amended by inserting 'or educational radio broadcasting facilities' after 'educational television broadcasting facilities,' and by inserting 'or radio broadcasting, as the case may be' after 'necessary for television broadcasting'.

"(2) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended by striking out 'The term "State educational television agency" means' and inserting in lieu thereof 'The terms "State educational television agency" and "State educational radio agency" mean, with respect to television broadcasting and radio broadcasting, respectively,', and by striking out 'educational television' in clauses (A) and (C) and inserting in lieu thereof 'such broadcasting'.

"(g) Section 397 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 397) is amended by inserting 'or radio' after 'television' in clause (2).

"FEDERAL SHARE OF COST CONSTRUCTION

"Sec. 104. Subsection (e) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(e)) is amended to read as follows:

"'(e) Upon approving any application under this section with respect to any project, the Secretary shall make a grant to the applicant in the amount determined by him, but not exceeding 75 per centum of the amount determined by the Secretary to be the reasonable and necessary cost of such project. The Secretary shall pay such amount from the sum available therefor, in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments consistent with construction progress, as he may determine.'

"INCLUSION OF TERRITORIES

"Sec. 105. (a) Paragraph (1) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by striking out 'and' and inserting a comma in lieu thereof, and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ', the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands'.

"(b) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended by inserting 'and, in the case of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, means the High Commissioner thereof' before the period at the end thereof.

"INCLUSION OF COSTS OF PLANNING

"Sec. 106. Paragraph (2) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: 'In the case of apparatus the acquisition and installation of which is so included, such term also includes planning therefor.'

"TITLE II—ESTABLISHMENT OF NONPROFIT EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION

"Sec. 201. Part IV of title III of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by—

"(1) inserting

"'SUBPART A—GRANTS FOR FACILITIES'

immediately above the heading of section 390;

"(2) striking out 'part' and inserting in lieu thereof 'subpart' in sections 390, 393, 395, and 396;

"(3) redesignating section 397 as section 398, and redesignating section 394 as section 397 and inserting it before such section 398, and inserting immediately above its heading the following;

"'SUBPART C—GENERAL'

"(4) redesignating section 396 as section 394 and inserting it immediately after section 393;

"(5) inserting after 'broadcasting' the first time it appears in clause (2) of the section of such part IV redesignated herein as section 398 ', or over the Corporation or any of its grantees or contractors, or over the charter or bylaws of the Corporation,'.

"(6) inserting in the section of such part IV herein redesignated as section 397 the following new paragraphs:

"'(6) The term "Corporation" means the Corporation authorized to be established by subpart B of this part.

"'(7) The term "noncommercial educational broadcast station" means a television or radio broadcast station, which (A) under the rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission in effect on the date of enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, is eligible to be licensed or is licensed by the Commission as a noncommercial educational radio or television broadcast station and which is owned and operated by a public agency or nonprofit private foundation, corporation, or association or (B) is owned and operated by a municipality and which transmits only noncommercial programs for educational purposes.

"'(8) The term "interconnection" means the use of microwave equipment, boosters, translators, repeaters, airborne systems, communication space satellites, or other apparatus or equipment for the transmission and distribution of television or radio programs to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations.

"'(9) The term "educational television or radio programs" means programs which are primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes and not primarily for amusement or entertainment purposes.'

"(7) striking out the heading of such part IV and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'PART IV—GRANTS FOR NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING FACILITIES; CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING'

"(8) inserting immediately after the section herein redesignated as section 398 the following:

" 'EDITORIALIZING AND SUPPORT OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES PROHIBITED

" 'SEC. 399. No noncommercial educational broadcasting station may engage in editorializing or may support or oppose any candidate for political office.'

"(9) inserting after section 395 the following new subpart:

" 'SUBPART B—CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

" 'Congressional Declaration of Policy

" 'SEC. 396. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares—

" '(1) that it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional purposes;

" '(2) that expansion and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting and of diversity of its programing depend on freedom, imagination, and initiative on both the local and national levels;

" '(3) that the encouragement and support of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, while matters of importance for private and local development, are also of appropriate and important concern to the Federal Government;

" '(4) that it furthers the general welfare to encourage noncommercial educational radio and television broadcast programing which will be responsive to the interests of people both in particular localities and throughout the United States, and which will constitute an expression of diversity and excellence;

" '(5) that it is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to complement, assist, and support a national policy that will most effectively make noncommercial educational radio and television service available to all the citizens of the United States;

" '(6) that a private corporation should be created to facilitate the development of educational radio and television broadcasting and to afford maximum protection to such broadcasting from extraneous interference and control.

" 'Corporation Established

" '(b) There is authorized to be established a nonprofit corporation, to be known as the "Corporation for Public Broadcasting", which will not be an agency or establishment of the United States Government. The Corporation shall be subject to the provisions of this section, and, to the extent consistent with this section, to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

" 'Board of Directors

" '(c) (1) The Corporation shall have a Board of Directors (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Board"), consisting of fifteen members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than eight members of the board may be members of the same political party.

" '(2) The members of the Board (A) shall be selected from among citizens of the United States (not regular full-time employees of the United States) who are eminent in such fields as education, cultural and civic affairs, or the arts, including radio and television; (B) shall be selected so as to provide as nearly as practicable a broad representation of various regions of the country, various professions and occupations, and various kinds of talent and experience appropriate to the functions and responsibilities of the Corporation.

" '(3) The members of the initial Board of Directors shall serve as incorporators and shall take whatever actions are necessary to establish the Corporation under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

" '(4) The term of office of each member of the Board shall be six years; except that (A) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term; and (B) the terms of office of members first taking office shall begin on the date of incorporation and shall expire, as designated at the time of their appointment, five at the end of two years, five at the end of four years, and five at the end of six years. No member shall be eligible to serve in excess of two consecutive terms of six years each. Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this paragraph, a member whose term has expired may serve until his successor has qualified.

" '(5) Any vacancy in the Board shall not affect its power, but shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointments were made.

" 'Election of Chairman; Compensation

" '(d) (1) The President shall designate one of the members first appointed to the Board as Chairman; thereafter the members of the Board shall annually elect one of their number as Chairman. The members of the Board shall also elect one or more of them as a Vice Chairman or Vice Chairmen.

" '(2) The members of the Board shall not, by reason of such membership, be deemed to be employees of the United States. They shall, while attending meetings of the Board or while engaged in duties related to such meetings or in other activities of the Board pursuant to this subpart be entitled to receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, equal to that authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

" 'Officers and Employees

" '(e) (1) The Corporation shall have a President, and such other officers as may be named and appointed by the Board for terms and at rates of compensation fixed by the Board. No individual other than a citizen of the United States may be an officer of the Corporation. No officer of the Corporation, other than the Chairman and any Vice Chairman, may receive any salary or other compensation from any source other than the Corporation during the period of his employment by the Corporation. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

" '(2) Except as provided in the second sentence of subsection (c) (1) of this section, no political test or qualification shall be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking other personnel actions with respect to officers, agents, and employees of the Corporation.

" 'Nonprofit and Nonpolitical Nature of the Corporation

" '(f) (1) The Corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock, or to declare or pay any dividends.

" '(2) No part of the income or assets of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of any director, officer, employee, or any other individual except as salary or reasonable compensation for services.

" '(3) The Corporation may not contribute to or otherwise support any political party or candidate for elective public office.

" 'Purposes and Activities of the Corporation

" '(g) (1) In order to achieve the objectives and to carry out the purposes of this subpart, as set out in subsection (a), the Corporation is authorized to—

" '(A) facilitate the full development of educational broadcasting in which programs of high quality, obtained from diverse sources, will be made available to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, with strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs of a controversial nature;

" '(B) assist in the establishment and development of a system of interconnection to be used for the distribution of educational television or radio programs so that all noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations that wish to may broadcast the programs at times chosen by the stations;

" '(C) assist in the establishment and development of one or more systems of noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations throughout the United States;

" '(D) carry out its purposes and functions and engage in its activities in ways that will most effectively assure the maximum freedom of the noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast systems and local stations from interference with or control of program content or other activities.

" '(2) Included in the activities of the Corporation authorized for accomplishment of the purposes set forth in subsection (a) of this section, are, among others not specifically named—

" '(A) to obtain grants from and to make contracts with individual and with private, State, and Federal agencies, organizations, and institutions;

" '(B) to contract with or make grants to program production entities, individuals, and selected noncommercial educational broadcast stations for the production of, and otherwise to procure, educational television or radio programs for national or regional distribution to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

" '(C) to make payments to existing and new noncommercial educational broadcast stations to aid in financing local educational television or radio programing costs of such stations, particularly innovative approaches thereto, and other costs of operation of such stations;

"(D) to establish and maintain a library and archives of noncommercial educational television or radio programs and related materials and develop public awareness of and disseminate information about noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting by various means, including the publication of a journal;

"(E) to arrange, by grant or contract with appropriate public or nonprofit private agencies, organizations, or institutions, for interconnection facilities suitable for distribution and transmission of educational television or radio programs to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

"(F) to hire or accept the voluntary services of consultants, experts, advisory boards, and panels to aid the Corporation in carrying out the purposes of this section;

"(G) to encourage the creation of new noncommercial educational broadcast stations in order to enhance such service on a local, State, regional, and national basis;

"(H) conduct (directly or through grants or contracts) research, demonstrations, or training in matters related to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting.

"(3) To carry out the foregoing purposes and engage in the foregoing activities, the Corporation shall have the usual powers conferred upon a nonprofit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, except that the Corporation may not own or operate any television or radio broadcast station, system, or network, or interconnection or program production facility.

" 'Authorization for Free or Reduced Rate Interconnection Service

" '(h) Nothing in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, or in any other provision of law shall be construed to prevent United States communications common carriers from rendering free or reduced rate communications interconnection services to grantees of or contractors with the Corporation and local noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, subject to such rules and regulations as the Federal Communications Commission may prescribe.

"'Report to Congress

"'(i) The Corporation shall submit an annual report for the preceding fiscal year ending June 30 to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before the 31st day of December of each year. The report shall include a comprehensive and detailed report of the Corporation's operations, activities, financial condition, and accomplishments under this section and may include such recommendations as the Corporation deems appropriate.

"'Right To Repeal, Alter, or Amend

"'(j) The right to repeal, alter, or amend this section at any time is expressly reserved.

"'Financing

"'(k)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated for expenses of the Corporation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, the sum of $9,000,000, to remain available until expended.

"'(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant or contract pursuant to this section may provide for payment from the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, for any one project or to any one station of more than $250,000.

"'Records and Audit

"'(l)(1)(A) The accounts of the Corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audits shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation and necessary to facilitate the audits shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audits; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

"'(B) The report of each such independent audit shall be included in the annual report required by subsection (i) of this section. The audit report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements as are necessary to present fairly the Corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the Corporation's income and expenses during the year, and a statement of the sources and application of funds, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements.

"'(2)(A) The financial transactions of the Corporation for any fiscal year during which Federal funds are available to finance any portion of its operation shall be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial corporate transactions and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. The representative of the General Accounting Office shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation pertaining to its financial transactions and necessary to facilitate the audit, and they shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. All such books, accounts, records, reports, files, papers and property of the Corporation shall remain in possession and custody of the Corporation.

"'(B) A report of each such audit shall be made by the Comptroller General to the Congress. The report to the Congress shall contain such comments and information as the Comptroller General may deem necessary to inform Congress of the financial operations and condition of the Corporation, together with such recommendations with respect thereto as he may deem advisable. The report shall also show specifically any program, expenditure, or other financial transaction or undertaking observed in the course of the audit, which, in the opinion of the Comptroller General, has been carried on or made without authority of law. A copy of each report shall be furnished to the President, to the Secretary, and to the Corporation at the time submitted to the Congress.

"'(3)(A) Each recipient of assistance by grant or contract, other than a fixed price contract awarded pursuant to competitive bidding procedures, under this section shall keep such records as may be reasonably necessary to fully disclose the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

"'(B) The Corporation or any of its duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance received under this section. The Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall also have access thereto for such purpose during any fiscal year for which Federal funds are available to the Corporation.'

"TITLE III—STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION BROADCASTING

"STUDY AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to conduct, directly or by contract, and in consultation with other interested Federal agencies, a study of instructional television, including its relationship to educational television broadcasting and such other aspects thereof as may assist in determining whether Federal aid should be provided therefor and the form that aid should take, and which may aid communities, institutions, or agencies in determining whether and to what extent such activities should be used.

"CONTENT OF STUDY

"SEC. 302. Such study shall be comprehensive in nature and shall cover particularly such items as:

"(1) the quality and content of existing programs and how they can be improved;

"(2) the financial factors involved in use of instructional television in educational institutions;

"(3) the relative advantages or disadvantages of using instructional television as compared with other media;

"(4) the advantages and disadvantages of closed-circuit television;

"(5) the relationship between instructional and educational television; and

"(6) new technology not now available, including flexible teacher-controlled scheduling of programs based on videotapes, discs, films, and other materials or devices.

"DURATION OF STUDY

"SEC. 303. The study authorized by this title shall be submitted to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before January 1, 1969.

"APPROPRIATION

"SEC. 304. There are authorized to be appropriated for the study authorized by this title such sums, not exceeding $500,000, as may be necessary."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The title was amended so as to read: "An Act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television; and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 6736) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill H.R. 6736 and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 472. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex.

The message also anounced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (H.R. 9547) entitled "An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes."

TRIBUTE TO THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for

1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to say that in my opinion the House of Representatives owes a great debt of gratitude to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS], to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], the ranking Republican member, and to all of the members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. They have brought to a legislative conclusion the consideration of three very important bills within the period of three successive days. I am confident that the entire membership of the House is grateful for the splendid effort which all of the members of this great committee have put forth toward the accomplishment of this purpose.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to add my commendations to those of the gentleman from Oklahoma to these members of the committee who have had such a terribly tough week, and I commend them all for it.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time in order to ask the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] if the gentleman would kindly advise us as to the legislative program for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished Republican whip, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS], the program for next week is as follows:

Monday is District Day, and there are three bills, as follows:

H.R. 13042, to provide for election of Board of Education of the District of Columbia.

H.R. 8715, to limit the amount of alcoholic beverages which may be brought into the District of Columbia.

H.R. 13025, to permit the District of Columbia Council to make rules and regulations under the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act.

For Tuesday and the balance of the week there will be considered:

H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, under an open rule with 2 hours of debate.

H.R. 11284, the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

A joint resolution, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968. Mr. Speaker, may I advise the Members that this resolution will be the first legislative matter to be considered on Wednesday next.

H.R. 10673, amendment of Packers and Stockyards Act, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

And H.R. 478, establishing procedures to relieve industries and workers injured by imports from low-wage areas, under an open rule with 2 hours of debate.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, this announcement is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time, and that any further program may be announced later.

Mr. ARENDS. I thank the gentleman.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, we have been in session here today for approximately 7 hours. The majority leader has informed us that he wishes to go over, and that we will have no business tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say this to the leadership of this House: It looks very much to me—and I believe to the other people in Congress—that we are going to be in continuous session this year.

I believe that it is an imposition on the Members of this Congress who stay here day after day to participate in the deliberations of this Congress, and yet we only operate it approximately 3 days a week.

I believe the Congress, consisting of 435 Members, should have more consideration for the men who cannot go home and practice law and other things for Friday and Monday. I believe this Congress should stay in session for 5 days a week, and take care of the business of this Congress and then go home.

I am going to say this, Mr. Speaker: I believe many of us in this Congress—and I realize one can criticize the leadership sometimes, maybe, and not know just what is involved—but I believe many of us are getting a little "teed off" you might say, at these short sessions in the week, so to speak, and yet stay here hour after hour when many of us have other commitments we would like to meet.

Mr. Speaker, as I say, I realize that one can criticize the leadership, I know they have their problems, but we also have problems. I believe that unless this system of running this Congress is changed we are going to find it difficult to do any business by unanimous consent, and I am sure we all know that that can slow down the progress of this Congress. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS IN ORDER UNDER THE CALENDAR WEDNESDAY RULE ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday Rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

BENEFITS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS NOT EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED STATES WHO ARE KILLED OR INJURED APPREHENDING VIOLATORS OF FEDERAL LAW

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 11816) to provide certain benefits for law enforcement officers not employed by the United States who are killed or injured while apprehending violators of Federal law, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the distinguish gentleman from South Carolina if the amendments or the changes made in the other body so far as he is advised are germane under the rules of the House.

Mr. ASHMORE. Yes; I believe they are.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina? The Chair hears none and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. ASHMORE, HUNGATE, TENZER, EILBERG, SMITH of New York, MESKILL, and SANDMAN.

SCHEDULING OF LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the statement made by my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Florida, I think deserves some comment.

In the first place, we have had business every Monday and have had rollcalls, I believe, on every Monday for the past month or at least on most Mondays.

Second, we only quit when we finish our business, and we do work all the time trying to get the legislative business from the committees of the House and from the Committee on Rules in order to have a full week of business. We are concluding tonight and adjourning over only because we have finished the week's business.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALEY. Are you not leaving one bill go over which was on the notice for this week?

Mr. ALBERT. The Packers and Stockyards Act bill was put over at the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] who would manage the bill on the floor but he could not be in Washington today and he personally asked that the bill be put over.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ALBERT. I gladly yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALEY. I just want to say this to my majority leader, as I stated, I realize you have problems, but I think you ought to take into consideration and I think the leadership of this House should take into consideration that individually as Members of Congress, we have problems, too.

Mr. ALBERT. The leadership tries, of course, to take that into consideration.

Mr. HALEY. Yet, we go on here for hours and hours and continue here until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning sometimes to finish a bill and, yet, the next day we have nothing. How can we make our plans?

Mr. ALBERT. That is a very rare occurrence. May I advise the gentleman that only on Tuesday of this week we adjourned over without finishing a bill which many Members wanted us to finish in order that Members could get away at a reasonable hour.

Mr. HALEY. I think the other Members of Congress, may I suggest this to the leadership of this Congress, we have people who are testifying before committees and time after time this year I have had people from as far away as California to come here to testify before a subcommittee which I have the honor to chair and I suddenly wake up to find that you are meeting at 11 o'clock and these people who cannot put out the expenditures that are necessary in view of such circumstances are held over to another day and, of course, they must stay here in order to testify.

Mr. ALBERT. We have met early very few times this year, as few times as in any year which I have served in the Congress, and there were special circumstances in each case for meeting early. I will say to the gentleman that all of these things were done after advising with the minority leader and the minority members of committees having legislation on the floor and such arrangements were made because of special circumstances which happened to exist at that particular time.

Mr. HALEY. May I suggest to the majority leader that he only has about 19 chairmen of standing committees of the Congress, and it seems to me there would be enough communication between the leadership of this House and the chairmen of the standing committees so that we would be put on notice at least a day ahead that you are going to have to come in early.

Mr. ALBERT. If the gentleman is complaining about early meetings, he is complaining about a very minor matter. During this session of the Congress that has happened very few times, very few times.

Mr. HALEY. If you had reservations to fly back to California and did not have too much money, it would not be a very minor matter to you, and to some of my people.

Mr. ALBERT. It is only very few times that that has been the case, and it has been done less I think in this session of the Congress than in any Congress in which I have served.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ALBERT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. I certainly want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Florida, and all of the remarks, including the realization of the problems of the leadership. But on the other hand, the gentleman from Oklahoma, the distinguished majority leader cites last Tuesday night—that was the night when a division was called for by more than three people who were on their feet at the time the committee rose as to whether or not the committee should rise.

Is it the function of the leadership to preempt the prerogatives of the individuals, the elected Representatives on the floor, or could we have put it to a vote to determine whether we would continue to work that night, that is, until the bill was completed in order to complete the rest of the program on that day or to go to some party downtown?

Mr. ALBERT. The procedure is always in the hands of the majority and is in control of the committee of the House. The leadership does not preempt anyone's authority. The authority is in the House.

Mr. HALL. That night a division was denied peremptorily, I might add.

Mr. ALBERT. I had no idea that a division was denied. A Member always has the right to a division.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

DO NOT TAX PEOPLE FOR CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, there is a possibility that the American people may be called on for yet another tax burden—paying millions upon millions of dollars for election campaigns for the Presidency and the Senate.

As the measure has been reported by the Senate Finance Committee, tax moneys would go to the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates along with funds for the nominees of these parties in the Senate races.

Committee members are said to have related that it was up to the House to write its "own ticket."

If this measure should be passed by the Senate, I hope the House will not write itself a "ticket" but will defeat the entire plan.

I am very much opposed to taxing an American citizen and giving his money to a candidate that he might oppose. Why should some Democrat have even a quarter of his money go to the Republican nominee? Why should a quarter of the tax money of a Republican go to the Democratic nominee?

I submit that there are a great many citizens who favor third, fourth and fifth parties. You will remember the election of 1948 when Harry S. Truman, Thomas E. Dewey, Strom Thurmond and Henry Wallace headed honest efforts to win the Presidency.

It matters not whether I agree with their philosophy. What matters is that they had this opportunity.

I submit that there is much wrong with the present system of financing campaigns. This proposal, however, is not the solution.

I support a plan whereby a taxpayer could make a contribution to the candidate of his or her choice and receive a tax credit. This philosophy is expressed in a minor way in the bill to be considered by the Senate.

I would ask those who must vote on this proposal just where is the fairness in piling higher taxes on any citizens, no matter how small or large the amount, and then giving that money to a candidate that the taxpayer is working to defeat?

This just is not in the American tradition. This is not fair.

This Nation is faced with a $29 billion deficit this year. We have been asked for higher taxes.

At the same time we see a proposal going to the Senate which would cost more than $100 million in the 1968 campaign. I submit further that we would merely be opening the door.

Fairminded Democrats, Republicans and independents should see the unfairness of this legislation.

It means higher taxes, but that is not the point. The point is that it is unfair and against the basic concepts of our system of government to take tax dollars away from any citizen and give them to a political candidate that he or she may oppose.

It would be a sad day for America should that ever happen. I trust that it will never occur.

COMMITTING CRIME TO OBTAIN DISHONORABLE DISCHARGE

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **CABELL**. Mr. Speaker, there is a form of brainwashing going on in this country today that is far more serious and distressing than that allegedly administered in Saigon to Michigan's Governor George Romney.

It is well planned, systematic, and effective and, I firmly believe, Communist-inspired.

I am speaking of the growing trend among our more impressionable young men in service to commit a crime, if necessary, in order to obtain a dishonorable discharge.

Heartsick parents in increasing numbers are writing to this office asking both for help in preventing such tragedies or in rectifying damage already done.

This is the latest in a series of antiwar actions that began with campus demonstrations, draft-card burnings, and flag desecrations, proceeded to open defiance of induction, and is now producing hundreds of young men seeking release from the service at any cost.

Case histories available in my office consist mostly of letters either from the boy or his parents and indicate a willingness to commit armed robbery, burglary, assault, desertion, and even faked confessions of homosexuality supported by accomplices. When asked for an explanation, the reply employs such stereotyped phrases as "This is not my war," "I owe nothing to my country," or "This is a war of aggression against the people." When pressed, the youngster admits he has deliberately committed the offense in order to obtain a discharge and does not wish to appeal, preferring dishonor to further service to his country.

Many of these youngsters come from the finest and most patriotic of homes and are obviously under the influence of someone acting against the best interests of our country. So keenly do I feel that this is an organized effort, that it is inspired by our Nation's enemies, and that it is more deeply rooted in our armed services than even they realize that I am requesting permission to publish this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I am further requesting that all Government agencies, including the FBI and the Department of Defense Counter-Intelligence Corps, take action against those circulating this subversive advice. And I am also asking a thorough Department of Justice investigation against these so-called student groups and New Leftists in order that legislation can be prepared where needed.

I recognize that such action may appear extreme, but where fine American boys are being induced to become criminals, I cannot accept half-measures.

Little does the serviceman who is duped into this route realize that a dishonorable discharge will follow him for the rest of his life, that he will be ineligible for many deserved veterans' benefits, and that he can never hold down a responsible position because no company will bond him and bonding is requisite for most positions of responsibility and trust.

Even more, it is unlikely that any lending agency, including that of his own government, will lend him money for an education, for a home or its furnishings, or for any business venture.

Unless drastic action is taken and quickly, too many of our finest young men will become men "without a country or without a future."

THE HONORABLE HAL A. BECKWITH

Mr. **KAZEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **KAZEN**. Mr. Speaker, among the constituency which I am honored to represent in the Congress is an old and dear friend of mine, the Honorable Hal A. Beckwith of Eagle Pass, Tex.

Mr. Beckwith has had a long and distinguished career in the field of water development and water conservation. He has served as chairman of the board of water engineers of the State of Texas, as commissioner of the Texas Water Commission, as topographic engineer for the Texas Water Development Board, and as president of the Association of Western States Engineers.

Recently Mr. Beckwith was honored by both houses of the Texas Legislature when a concurrent resolution was passed commending him for his great work in the field of water development and conservation. This tribute is well deserved and I hasten to add my own sentiments of admiration and felicitations to my longtime friend and express to him my best wishes.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to include with these remarks in the RECORD a copy of Senate Concurrent Resolution 71 which was adopted by both the Senate of the State of Texas and its House of Representatives.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 71

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith, a most distinguished citizen and native son of Texas, has exerted a significant influence on the future destiny of the State of Texas through outstanding contributions in the field of water resource development; and

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith has achieved nationwide recognition for his leadership and contribution to national water conservation; and

Whereas, The contributive career of Hal A. Beckwith began with the design and construction of irrigation projects along the Rio Grande of Texas, extending along a segment over three hundred miles long from Cameron County to Maverick County, Texas; and

Whereas, The early leadership of the Honorable Hal A. Beckwith in the Rio Grande Valley was instrumental in initiating the modern agricultural economy of the Rio Grande Valley, with consequent contribution to the economic development of the entire state within recent years; and

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith has rendered fifty-six years of continuous service to his nation in the field of water development, which service has been interrupted only by six years of noble service in the defense of his country in both World Wars I and II, when his technical integrity and ability were utilized in the interest of National Defense, including participation in the Oak Ridge Defense Project, Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith has served as Chairman of the Board of Water Engineers of the State of Texas, as Commissioner of the Texas Water Commission, as Topographic Engineer for the Texas Water Development Board, and as President of the Association of Western States Engineers; and

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith is a distinguished member of the Texas Society of Professional Engineers, the National Society of Professional Engineers, the American Society of Civil Engineers and the Association of Western State Engineers; and

Whereas, The Honorable Hal A. Beckwith, a graduate of The University of Texas College of Engineering, Class of 1911, was honored by The University of Texas in 1965 as a recipient of the Distinguished Graduate Award for his outstanding professional record; and

Whereas, Many dams, reservoirs and irrigation works, and their contribution toward the flourishing economy, health, and well-being enjoyed by many grateful citizens bear silent witness to the perseverance, dedication, leadership, ability, and foresight of this great citizen; and

Whereas, For so long as the Rio Grande shall continue to flow, the memory and contributions of the Honorable Hal A. Beckwith shall continue to serve and benefit generations of Texas, Mexican, and American citizens; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Senate of Texas of the 60th Legislature, the House of Representatives concurring, that in recognition of the outstanding qualities of Hal A. Beckwith as a gentleman of the highest order, and in further recognition of the outstanding service he has rendered to the citizens of this state and nation, and particularly for his labors and chronological knowledge of the water resource development of the Rio Grande Valley, that the large, three-prong arm of the International Falcon Reservoir situated in the southern portion of the Zapata County; generally northwest of the town of Falcon and west of the town of Lopeno; draining Arroyo Tinajas, Arroyo del Tigre Chiquita, and Arroyo del Tigre Grande; located generally north of latitude 26°28′45″, south of latitude 26°45′00″, west of longitude 99°07′30″, and east of longitude 99°11′15″; and situated entirely within the boundaries of the State of Texas be, and is hereby designated and named "Beckwith Arm."

PRESTON SMITH,
Lieutenant Governor President of the Senate.

BEN BARNES,
Speaker of the House.

I hereby certify that S.C.R. No. 71 was adopted by the Senate on May 11, 1967.

CHARLES SCHNABEL,
Secretary of the Senate.

I hereby certify that S.C.R. No. 71 was adopted by the House on May 12, 1967.

DOROTHY HALLMAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

A SALUTE TO A GREAT AMERICAN, CARL SANDBURG

Mr. **SCHWENGEL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

Trere was no objection.

Mr. **SCHWENGEL**. Mr. Speaker, it is well for us to call attention to the ridiculous things that happen in Government. It is also good to recall, and to have called to our attention, some things that are noble and good that happen, especially when it is initiated by the House of Representatives.

On February 12, 1959, a joint session was held in which for the first time, I believe, in history, a private citizen who had never served in public office, addressed this body. That program was seen and heard by more people in this Nation and worldwide than any other program in history up to that time, and, I believe, since. The man who is the central figure, and of whom I speak, was Carl Sandburg. He has recently been taken from our midst.

A fine funeral and appropriate service was held. However, many felt this was inadequate, so it was decided we would have a special tribute to him in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial. That tribute was held last Sunday night. It was an eloquent contribution to a magnificent American.

Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege to be present the eve of Sunday, September 17, when this Nation in a very unusual, interesting and, yet, appropriate way paid tribute to a great American, Carl Sandburg.

Carl Sandburg was a friend of mine. First, because he was a friend of all men and second, because we shared a common, special interest in a man I have dubbed and he agreed, was the "most American of all Americans," Abraham Lincoln. The ceremony, appropriately enough, took place in the shadow of the best-known monument built to Abraham Lincoln and about whom the honored and highly respected Carl Sandburg thought, wrote, and recited so much and so often.

No greater tribute could come to any man than to have it said he will be missed and last night that was said on behalf of the American people by the President of the United States, who spoke so eloquently and with deep feeling along with others about Sandburg's contributions to America. The President, saying along with other things and speaking for every American who knew Carl Sandburg, said:

> To him (Sandburg) and to me, Abraham Lincoln was the embodiment of American aspiration.

Mr. Speaker, this program, via radio, television, and all our daily publications carried the story in part or in whole and with this reminded us again of the great contributions one American can make to a better understanding of what really is America, what are its aspirations and how, because we feel an ideal and appreciate the virtues of our forefathers, we keep moving forward.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful and pay high tribute to Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, whose vision and initiation of this well-deserved tribute to a great American were carried through so nobly and well.

Mr. Speaker, there follows herewith a copy of the program and the eloquent literature that was a part of this brilliant and moving ceremony:

Carl Sandburg: January 6, 1878–July 22, 1967—A Service at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., September 17, 1967

TIMESWEEP

(By Carl Sandburg, from his volume Honey and Salt)

There is only one man in the world and his name is All Men.
There is only one woman in the world and her name is All Women.
There is only one child in the world and the child's name is All Children.
There is only one Maker in the world and His children cover the earth and they are named All God's Children.

THE GREAT HUNT

(From Chicago Poems by Carl Sandburg)

I cannot tell you now;
When the wind's drive and whirl
Blow me along no longer,
And the wind's a whisper at last—
Maybe I'll tell you then—some other time.

When the rose's flash to the sunset
Reels to the rack and the twist,
And the rose is a red bygone,
When the face I love is going
And the gate to the end shall clang,
And it's no use to beckon or say, "So long"—
Maybe I'll tell you then—some other time.

I never knew any more beautiful than you:
I have hunted you under my thoughts,
I have broken down under the wind
And into the roses looking for you.
I shall never find any greater than you.

FROM THE PEOPLE, YES

(By Carl Sandburg)

The people know the salt of the sea
And the strength of the winds
Lashing the corners of the earth.
The people take the earth
As a tomb of rest and a cradle of hope.
Who else speaks for the Family of Man?
They are in tune and step
With constellations of universal law.

The people is a polychrome,
a spectrum and a prism
held in a moving monolith,
a console organ of changing themes,
a clavilux of color poems
wherein the sea offers fog
and the fog moves off in train
and the labrador sunset shortens
to a nocturne of clear stars
serene over the shot spray
of northern lights.

The steel mill sky is alive.
The fire breaks white and zigzag
shot on a gun-metal gloaming.
Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win.
Brother may yet line up with brother:
This old anvil laughs at many broken hammers.
There are men who can't be bought.
The fireborn are at home in fire.
The stars make no noise.
You can't hinder the wind from blowing.
Time is a great teacher.
Who can live without hope?

In the darkness with a great bundle of grief the people march.
In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for keeps, the people march:
"Where to? what next?"

WHEN DEATH CAME APRIL TWELVE 1945

(By Carl Sandburg, from his volume "Complete Poems")

Can a bell ring in the heart
telling the time, telling a moment,
telling off a stillness come,
in the afternoon a stillness come,
and now never come morning?

Now never again come morning,
say the tolling bells repeating it,
now on the earth in blossom days,
in earthy days and potato planting,
now to the stillness of the earth,
to the music of dust to dust
and the drop of ashes to ashes
he returns and it is the time,
the afternoon time and never come morning,
the voice never again, the face never again.

A bell rings in the heart telling it
and the bell rings again and again
remembering what the first bell told,
the going way, the great heart still—
and they will go on remembering
and they is you and you and me and me.

Can a bell ring proud in the heart
over a voice yet lingering,
over a face past any forgetting,
over a shadow alive and speaking,
over echoes and lights come keener, come deeper?

Can a bell ring in the heart
in time with the tall headlines,
the high fidelity transmitters,
the somber consoles rolling sorrow,
the choirs in ancient laments—chanting:
"Dreamer, sleep deep,
Toiler, sleep long
Fighter, be rested now . . ."

FINISH

(From Smoke and Steel, by Carl Sandburg)

Death comes once, let it be easy.
Ring one bell for me once, let it go at that.
Or ring no bell at all, better yet.

Sing one song if I die.
Sing John Brown's Body or Shout All Over God's Heaven.
Or sing nothing at all, better yet.

Death comes once, let it be easy.

PROGRAM

Invocation: Dean Francis Sayre.

Musical Numbers: "He's Gone Away," "The Colorado Trail," Choir (The Air Force Singing Sergeants).

Eulogy: Mark Van Doren.

Songs: "There's A Man Goin' Roun' Takin' Names," "He's Got The Whole World In His Hands," Jessye Norman.

Eulogy: Archibald MacLeish.

Two Guitar Pieces: "Barbra Allen," "Where O Where Is Old Elijah?" Charlie Byrd.

Reading of Some Favorite Sandburg Poems: "The Great Hunt," "The People, Yes," "When Death Came April Twelve 1945," "Finish," Archibald MacLeish.

Songs: "Shout All Over God's Heaven," "John Brown's Body," Choir and Jessye Norman.

Carl Sandburg: January 6, 1878–July 22, 1967—A Service at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., September 17, 1967

TIMESWEEP

"There is only one man in the world
and his name is All Men.
There is only one woman in the world
and her name is All Women.
There is only one child in the world
and the child's name is All Children.
There is only one Maker in the world
and His children cover the earth
and they are named All God's Children."

This is the appointed hour for the Memorial Service for the late Carl Sandburg. The Program will proceed as it is printed. Would you rise, please, for the Invocation by Dean Francis Sayre?

INVOCATION

O God, Maker of sea and land, of sky and air,

Thou who doth not lock away thy love nor keep it hid:

With what rejoicing do we thank thee for the homely spirit of our brother, Carl, who gave words to the whisper of our hearts, and music to the yearning of our souls.

As he quested Thy love in every cherished bypath of mankind, so may we ever seek Thy grace.

As amid storm and dream he breathed his deep silent prayers, so may the shadow of his keening life lie reverently upon the people and the land he revered.

So, O Lord, do Thou open the doors of morning: throw not away the keys of night, that he who loved so well here on earth may ever dwell in the splendor of Thy glory. Amen.

MUSICAL NUMBERS

The Air Force Singing Sergeants: "He's Gone Away," "The Colorado Trail."

EULOGY BY MARK VAN DOREN

Mr. President, Chief Justice, Mrs. Sandburg, distinguished guests, friends of Carl Sandburg, we have assembled here to honor a poet recently dead, who devoted the best decades of his long life to honoring another poet, whose image towers above us at this moment. Abraham Lincoln was a great poet whose genius happened to express itself in prose, and Carl Sandburg, though his genius expressed itself in both prose and verse, may never have achieved a more lasting poem than the one we find in the six large volumes of his "Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years and the War Years." Whether or not this is true, only time, of course, will tell. Meanwhile, however, let us look at the memorial in words which Carl Sandburg added to the Memorial in marble before which we are gathered. On February 12, 1959, Carl Sandburg celebrated the 150th birthday of Lincoln with an address to the Congress of the United States which began with these already famous words. . . . "Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and as soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect." The address went on to assert that if ever such a man arrived on earth, his name was Abraham Lincoln, and the whole of Sandburg's biography documents the assertion.

This was not an easy thing to do, nor could it have been done briefly. It could not have been done without canvassing insofar as such a thing is possible, all of the impressions made by Lincoln upon those who lived with him in that time. All the memories of him they set down, all of the opinions from high to low that people had of him, all the legends verifiable or not that grew like grass, like flowers, like weeds, like trees around the mystery that he was. For he was never fully understood. Just as he was never seen with simple clarity by those for whom his figure, his face, and his infinitely subtle mind were always changing. We still study him through a haze of contradictory beliefs, of superimposed images. He will never be at rest.

To write such a biography of a man might seem to be impossible. But it was possible for Carl Sandburg because he knew a certain secret that no other biographer has known. Or, if he did not know it as men know things, he possessed it by virtue of his own unique nature so that he did not have to think of it as something outside himself. He knew from the ground up the man in Lincoln who was both serious and humorous, the man, indeed, whose seriousness was best certified by the humor that he kept ever in reserve. His humor, mysteriously enough, was itself a serious thing. It was the final evidence of his wisdom. We cannot take him as seriously as we do, and as Carl Sandburg undoubtedly did, were it not for the way his mind worked and played at the same identical moment, and this can thoroughly be comprehended only by those lucky persons who have the same double gift within themselves.

Carl Sandburg, whose seriousness nobody has ever impeached, and whose view of Lincoln took in all the agony, the brooding he was called upon to endure, nevertheless, took in as well the man who said once in Illinois, "A woman is the only thing I am afraid of that I know can't hurt me."

The Sandburg who quoted this probably with no expression on his poker face, was the Sandburg who explained in 1954 when he was publishing the one volume edition of his "Lincoln", why it had been necessary to abridge the longer work.

At various times I had met persons who had the time to read the six volumes, though not the price to buy them. So they read Public Library volumes, one by one. One man had started with Volume III of The War Years, then Volume II, after which he was able to get Volumes I and II of The Prairie Years. Finishing the six volume set, Volume IV, then Volume IV of The War Years, the only comment I could make was, "What a way to run a railroad!"

It was the same Sandburg who in The Prairie Years remarked of Lincoln, "He didn't wear clothes. Rather, clothes hung upon him as if upon a rack to dry, or on a loose ladder on a wind-swept chimney. His clothes seemed to whisper, 'He put us on when he was thinking of something else.' " Or who in the War Years described General Winfield Scott, corpulent, old war hero whom Lincoln inherited in 1861 as military head of the United States Government . . . "Six feet, five inches tall, three hundred pounds in weight, in shining gold braid and buttons, in broad epaulets, and long plumed hat, when he walked he seemed almost a parade by himself. Small boys waited every morning to see him come out of his house and see him move like six regiments to the waiting carriage. Part with age, dropsy, vertigo, and old bullets to carry, he could no longer mount a horse."

Other biographers have talked about Lincoln's humor, but Carl Sandburg had it. Quick and light between the terrible dark moments he had . . . that also had to be told. And Sandburg told them so that his memorial in words weeps quite as often as it smiles. But it smiles as often as it weeps.

So that we have in the end a rich, deep, resonant story convincing for us, because we are more than near or with its subject, we are in it. We live as Lincoln lived, and it will never be possible to forget the experience. The steel and the velvet, the heartbreak and the humor . . . all are one as surely was intended.

SONGS

Jessye Norman: "There's A Man Goin' Roun' Takin' Names," "He's Got The Whole World In His Hands."

EULOGY BY ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH

Mr. President, Mr. Chief Justice, Mrs. Sandburg. Eight weeks ago I wrote a poem which asked itself a question. Where are poets from? Where he is born, settles, where the papers claim him.

Carl Sandburg, born in Illinois, died in Flatrock, Carolina, in Chicago famous . . . Where was Sandburg from? Chicago? People knew where Frost was from in spite of San Francisco, from New England. What town or what proud county knew that other coming? He lived around. He lived in Kansas, Chicago on the old West Side, Michigan, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. Where was Carl from in the Carolinas when he died? His tongue might tell. He talked Peeooolia. "O" as in "O" where the railroad trainmen on the Illinois called it out in cool, reverberating stations. His sound might say . . . he said "Missooooora", a stumbled "m" and an "s", and an "oooo" long as a night freight; long across the prairie, asking the moon for answers and the sound goes through and through.

Where was Sandburg from, old poet, dead in Carolina, in his great repute . . . Peoria, he said. Missooooora, the neglected names that now, because his mouth uttered them, are beautiful.

But there is far more to say of Carl Sandburg than where he was from. There is the question also of where he was going. Where he went. Back in the 1930's, he published some lines in which he recorded the convictions of a Chicago poet, one of the early Chicago poets, one of the slouching, underslung Chicago poets, having only the savvy God gave him, lacking brass knuckles, having one lead pencil to spare, wrote, "I am credulous about the destiny of man, and I believe more than I can ever prove of the future of the human race, and the importance of illusions"

No one who knew Sandburg would identify this as a self portrait. Sandburg, though he sometimes slouched, was never under-slung. There are, however, likenesses, traits, and associations in common.

There was Chicago, one might say here, early Chicago. There was that one lead pencil to spare, and there was more obviously the talk. Some in this audience will hear Sandburg's living voice as I do in the importance of illusions. But the principle likeness, of course, is the credo itself. Sandburg, too, was credulous about the destiny of man and believed, more than he could ever prove, of the future of the human race.

Indeed, it was precisely because he so believed and was thus credulous that he became the poet whose death has brought us here this afternoon. Here not only to Washington, but to this particular place in Washington. For this particular place was also committed to an unprovable, and as yet, unproved belief in the future of the human race. A credulity about the destiny of man.

Poets are not comparable. They are not as the lawyers say fungible, interchangeable like grains of wheat. You cannot measure one against another saying, "This one is larger or more durable than that one, greater." as the textbooks say.

What foot rule would measure the comparative dimensions of Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, or Sapho and Socrates, of Dante and Donne? Poets, when they are poets, are as unique as poems are when they are actually poems, which is to say . . . incomparably unique. Essentially themselves.

But though poets cannot be compared, they can be distinguished, and one of the most elementary distinctions is that between the poet, however great, whose achievement is in a particular poem or poems, and the poet, however incomparable, whose achievement is in the work as a whole, the body of the work. All sorts and kinds of degrees bound up together.

Frost spoke unforgettably for the first when he said at a dinner in Amherst on his 80th birthday, that he hoped to leave behind a few poems that would be hard to get rid of. Which, of course, he did, and more than a few, and far more than hard to get rid of, though, perhaps, nothing is really more than that.

Sandburg might stand in our own time, at least, for the second. With Sandburg, it is the body of the work that weighs, the sum of it, the whole quite literally, greater than the total of its parts, and what creates that whole? What binds the parts together, of course, is precisely the credulity confessed by that slouching, under-slung Chicago poet.

Sandburg had a subject, and the subject was the belief in man. You find it everywhere. You find it announced in the title of the book in which that Chicago poet appears, "The People, Yes". You find it in one form or another in the one hundred poems and proses of which that extraordinary book is composed. You find it in other poems and other books.

Most important of all, you find it in the echo which all these poems and books leave in the ear, your ear and the ears of others . . . the echo which has made the body of Sandburg's work a touchstone for generations of readers. Almost by this time for three generations. A touchstone of what? A touchstone of America.

If ever a man wrote for a particular people, however he may have reached in his heart for all people, it was Sandburg. "Between Amarillo and the North Pole, there is only a barbed wire fence out here, the only windbreak is the North Star." And if ever there was a man who has been heard by those he wrote for, it was Carl. Europeans, even the nearest in that direction, the English, don't truly understand him, but Americans do. There is a raciness in the writing, in the old, strict sense of the word, raciness . . . a liveliness, a pungency, which is native and natural in the American ear and underneath the raciness, like the smell of earth and the vividness of rain, there is a seriousness which is native, too. The kind of human, even mortal, seriousness you hear in Lincoln. An American touchstone, but is there not a contradiction here? Can a body of work bound together by credulity constitute a touchstone for Americans? For Americans now? Once perhaps in a generation of Jefferson, once again in the generation of Lincoln, but now?

There is a notion around in great parts of the world—in Asia, and in certain parts of Europe—that Americans have changed in recent years, that the last thing one can expect from Americans or from the country itself is credulity. It is asserted that the American people have now, as the saying goes, grown up. They have put aside childish things, beliefs which can't be proved. That they have come to see what the world is, and put their trust in the certainties of power.

Listening to some of our contemporaries, reading the papers, one can see where these opinions of America come from, but are they true? Are they really true? Can we believe in this place, thinking of this man that they are true?

Sandburg was an American. He was an American also of our time, of our generation. He died fifty seven days ago. He was seen and known and talked to by many in this meeting. He struggled with the struggles of the generation to which most of us belong . . . and Sandburg, though he listened to those who thought themselves realists, though he was attentive to the hard headed, was not convinced by them. In "The People, Yes", he said, "The strong win against the weak. The strong lose against the stronger, and across the bitter years and the howling winters, the death lists, dreams will be the stronger. Shall man always go on dog-eat-dog? Who says so? The stronger? And who is the stronger?"

What Sandburg knew and said was what America knew from the begining and said from the beginning, and there is not yet, no matter what is believed about her, forgotten how to say. That those who were credulous about the destiny of man, who believe more than they can prove about the future of the human race, will make that future, shape that destiny. This was his great achievement, that he found a new way in an incredulous and disbelieving and often cynical time to say what Americans have always known. And beyond that, there was another and even greater achievement—that the people listened. They are listening still.

Two guitar pieces by Charlie Byrd: "Barbra Allen," "Where O Where Is Old Elijah?"

READING OF SOME FAVORITE SANDBURG POEMS BY ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH

These are four poems of Carl Sandburg's. Dear to many. Dear to many close to Carl.

"THE GREAT HUNT"

(From "Chicago Poems" by Carl Sandburg)

"I cannot tell you now;
When the wind's drive and whirl
Blow me along no longer,
And the wind's a whisper at last—
Maybe I'll tell you then—some other time.

"When the rose's flash to the sunset
Reels to the rack and the twist,
And the rose is a red bygone,
When the face I love is going
And the gate to the end shall clang,
And it's no use to beckon or say, 'So long'—
Maybe I'll tell you then—some other time

"I never knew any more beautiful than you:
I have hunted you under my thoughts,
I have broken down under the wind
And into the roses looking for you.
I shall never find any greater than you."

"FROM THE PEOPLE, YES

(By Carl Sandburg)

"The people know the salt of the sea
And the strength of the winds
Lashing the corners of the earth.
The people take the earth
As a tomb of rest and a cradle of hope.
Who else speaks for the Family of Man?
They are in tune and step
With constellations of universal law."

"The people is a polychrome,
a spectrum and a prism
held in a moving monolith,
a console organ of changing themes,
a clavilux of color poems
wherein the sea offers fog
and the fog moves off in train
and the labrador sunset shortens
to a nocturne of clear stars
serene over the shot spray
of northern lights."

"The steel mill sky is alive.
The fire breaks white and zigzag
shot on a gun-metal gloaming.
Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win.
Brother may yet line up with brother:"

"This old anvil laughs at many broken hammers.
There are men who can't be bought.
The fireborn are at home in fire.
The stars make no noise.
You can't hinder the wind from blowing.
Time is a great teacher.
Who can live without hope?"

"In the darkness with a great bundle of grief the people march.
In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for keeps, the people march:

" 'Where to? what next?' "

"WHEN DEATH CAME APRIL TWELVE 1945

(From "Complete Poems," 1950, by Carl Sandburg)

"Can a bell ring in the heart
telling the time, telling a moment,
telling off a stillness come
in the afternoon a stillness come,
and now never come morning?

"Now never again come morning,
say the tolling bells repeating it,
now on the earth is blossom days,
in earthy days and potato planting,
now to the stillness of the earth,
to the music of dust to dust
and the drop of ashes to ashes
he returns and it is the time,
the afternoon time and never come morning,
the voice never again, the face never again.

"A bell rings in the heart telling it
and the bell rings again and again
remembering what the first bell told,
the going away, the great heart still—
and they will go on remembering
and they is you and you and me and me.

"Can a bell ring proud in the heart
over a voice yet lingering,
over a face past any forgetting,
over a shadow alive and speaking,
over echoes and lights come keener, come deeper?

"Can a bell ring in the heart
in time with the tall headlines,
the high fidelity transmitters,
the somber consoles rolling sorrow,
the choirs in ancient laments—chanting:
'Dreamer, sleep deep,
Toiler, sleep long
Fighter, be rested now . . .' "

"FINISH

(From "Smoke and Steel" by Carl Sandburg)

"Death comes once, let it be easy.
Ring one bell for me once, let it go at that.
Or ring no bell at all, better yet.

"Sing one song if I die.
Sing John Brown's Body or Shout All Over God's Heaven
Or sing nothing at all, better yet.

"Death comes once, let it be easy."

SONGS

Choir and Jessye Norman: "Shout All Over God's Heaven," "John Brown's Body."

Our Program will conclude with a personal tribute by the President of the United States.

Secretary Udall, Mrs. Sandburg, our beloved Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren, members of the United States Senate, Dean Sayre, Mr. Van Doren, Mr. MacLeish, ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:

I am both honored and saddened by the opportunity to join today with Carl Sandburg's friends in celebrating that vital, exuberant, wise and generous man.

This is the right place for thinking about Carl Sandburg. To him—and to me—Abraham Lincoln was the embodiment of our national aspirations, the nearest that any man has come to summing up the American experience in himself.

Sandburg loved to come here, to what he once called "the fogswept Lincoln memorial, white as a blond woman's arm."

I have no pretensions as a literary critic, but I think Carl Sandburg belongs in a very special category among poets, along with Walt Whitman.

Whitman wrote: "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem. . . . Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadest doings of the day and night."

Like Whitman, Sandburg seemed to have his finger on the American pulse. He seemed able to give voice to the whole range of America's hopes and America's hates. He seemed able to communicate, above all, the restless energy that has vitalized, stimulated, and—on occasion—degraded the history of our nation.

He could give you the savage emotions of a lynch mob. He could just as well express, with affection and insight, the courage, impatience, even the braggadocio, that spurred our amazing development.

He said in "Good Morning America:"

"We are afraid:

"What are we afraid of?

"We are afraid of nothing much, nothing at all, nothing in the shape of god, man or beast.

"We can eat any ashes offered us,

"We can step out before the fact of the Fact of Death and look it in the eye and laugh, 'You are the beginning or the end of somthing.

" 'I'll gamble with you, I'll take a chance.' "

And only those of us who have spent a lifetime in the pressure chamber of politics could possibly appreciate the humor and insight of his "Money, Politics, Love and Glory."

"Who put up that cage?

"Who hung it up with bars, doors?

"Why do those on the inside want to get out?

"Why do those outside want to get in?

"What is this crying inside and out all the time?

"What is this endless, useless beating of baffled wings at these bars, doors, this cage?"

At the end of a long day, with the phones all ringing and the world in disarray, those words have a very special impact for some of us.

Well, Carl Sandburg is gone. He is part of the earth that he celebrated in Illinois and Kentucky and North Carolina. He is part of the American earth.

What will live forever is his faith in the individual human beings whom we impersonally call "Americans."

He knew that always in America "the strong men keep coming on."

Let us respect his wishes and "ring no bell at all" to mourn his death. But surely we must, as he asked us, "sing one song" in memory of this strong singer of ours.

I will miss him; we will all miss him. There will not be one like him again.

The Program is finished. We thank you for coming. Good evening.

THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU AND S. 109

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, a very curious thing happened this morning in the Committee on Agriculture that I thought the Members of this body and, indeed, the American public, would be interested in knowing about.

We opened hearings on a bill called S. 109, which is a bill to give the farmers of America more power to bargain with food processors, canners, and retailers in order for the farmers to receive more money for their crops. One of the witnesses scheduled was Mr. Charles B. Shuman, well known as the head of the American Farm Bureau.

Now when I asked my distinguished chairman if Mr. Shuman had to reveal all of his affiliations, such as being the president of the National Food Conference which includes 60 of the biggest processors, canners, and retailers of food, our distinguished chairman pointed out that our committee did not have any such rules for disclosure.

However, Mr. Speaker, when the witness list was presented for this afternoon, it was found, unfortunately, that Mr. Shuman had a previous engagement and, therefore, would not be able to testify.

I point this out to the House because if there was ever one bill where the position of the farmers versus canners, and processors were directly opposite, it is S. 109. The American Farm Bureau Federation, of the four major farm organizations, is the only one to support S. 109 in its present form. The other three organizations are against it.

The Department of Agriculture is against it in its present form. But the American Farm Bureau Federation is for it, and testified that it would be a step backward for the American farmer in his well-justified demand for higher prices.

I cannot state that Mr. Shuman has been influenced in his judgment or the American Farm Bureau would have been influenced in their judgment, on the basis of his being the head of these two diametrically opposed organizations. I am very sorry I did not have the opportunity to ask Mr. Shuman about this most important question—but perhaps next time.

Mr. Speaker, one of the leading organizations in the National Food Conference, the National Association of Food Chains, has publicly called for the abolition of the family farm. Most of the major food chains are also members of the National Food Conference. Under unanimous consent, I am including a list of members of the National Food Conference to provide a clearer picture of the crimes the AFBF is committing against the American farmer—in the name of the American farmer:

NATIONAL FOOD CONFERENCE ASSOCIATION INC.—A LISTING OF MEMBER FIRMS

Acme Markets, Inc.
Allied Mills, Incorporated.
American Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages.
American Can Company.
American Dairy Association.
American Farm Bureau Federation.
American Feed Manufacturers Assoc., Inc.
American Meat Institute.
American Medical Association.
Armour and Company.
California Packing Corporation.
Campbell Soup Company.
Carnation Company.
Cereal Institute, Incorporated.
Coca Cola Company.
Consolidated Foods Corporation.
Cooperative Food Distributors of America.
Corn Products Company.
Creamette Company.
Florida Citrus Commission.
Frito-Lay, Incorporated.
General Foods Corporation.
General Mills, Incorporated.
Gerber Products Company.
Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company.
Green Giant Company.
Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.
H. J. Heinz Company.
Hershey Chocolate Corporation.
George A. Hormel and Company.
Hygrade Food Products Corporation.
Independent Grocers' Alliance Distributing Co.
Institute of American Poultry Industries.
Jewel Tea Company, Incorporated.
Kellogg Company.
Kraft Foods.
Lever Brothers Company.
Thomas J. Lipton, Incorporated.
Oscar Mayer and Company.
John Morrell and Company.
Nat'l-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn.
National Association of Food Chains.
National Biscuit Company.
National Canners Association.
National Dairy Council.
National Live Stock and Meat Board.
National Live Stock Producers Association.
National Tea Company.
Pepsi-Cola Company.
Poultry and Egg National Board.
Procter and Gamble Company.
Quaker Oats Company.
Ralston Purina Company.
Rath Packing Company.
Safeway Stores, Incorporated.
Salada Foods, Incorporated.
Standard Brands Sales Company.
Sunshine Biscuits, Incorporated.
Super Market Institute, Incorporated.
Super Valu Stores, Incorporated.
Swift and Company.
Universal Foods Corporation.
Visking Company.
Wheat Flour Institute.
Wilson and Company.

RULES FOR COMMITTEE WITNESS

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, with all deference to my friend, the gentleman from New York, I think he misunderstood the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture this morning. The chairman is not here—he probably would have been here had he been notified of the remarks.

The gentleman from New York propounded a hypothetical question to the chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

The chairman, as I understood, said:

> Well, now the gentleman from New York has submitted a hypothetical question. It does not relate necessarily to the witness before the committee at that time.

I think the gentleman from New York will agree with me that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] then said:

> When and if the question that the gentleman from New York has raised is before the committee, I will then rule on it.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RESNICK. I would like to make it very clear that I imply no criticism of the distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE]. I simply pointed out that I asked him if there were any committee rules that insisted, as there are in some of the committees of this distinguished House, that the witness disclose all of his connections to that particular bill. As you point out, the chairman said that he would rule when I brought it up.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Just a minute—that is not what the gentleman just now said to the House.

Mr. RESNICK. No; I am sorry to disagree with my distinguished colleague on the Committee of the House, but I believe I pointed out that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] said—and again I want to repeat that I imply no criticism of Mr. POAGE's ruling—I believe I said that Mr. POAGE did not feel there were any rules forcing this disclosure.

I would point out to my distinguished colleague that, at the end of the session, I asked the question again and at that time the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] again said that there was no such rule. I have no quarrel with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

The **SPEAKER.** The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

A GOD BUT A LIAR

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as anyone knows who keeps in touch with foreign events, this year is the 50th anniversary of the Soviet October revolution of 1917. Already two major statements have been issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union regarding the commemoration of this all important year. One can expect a deluge of propaganda emanating from the Soviet Union extolling the October revolution and the many benefits to mankind which have accrued from it. A perusal of the two CPSU statements mentioned above, for instance, would lead one to ask if perhaps the Soviets were not referring to an entirely different world and not this sadly fractured globe.

Fortunately, there are made available from time to time firsthand accounts of what life is really like in the Soviet paradise-to-be. One such account is the recently published "I Am From Moscow," by Yuri Krotkov, a scenario writer prior to his defection in 1964. A review of Krotkov's book appeared in the Evening Star, here in Washington, on September 14. The reviewer, Reed J. Irvine, describes the facade which hides the realities of Soviet life and how Krotkov and others provide the light of truth for the free world to see. A famous Soviet jazz musician sums up his conversation with an American visitor:

> What I told him was not the truth at all. I could not tell him the truth, especially now—now that I am a god. A god but a liar.

Krotkov himself poignantly illustrates the change which has taken place in Soviet Russia since the Stalin era:

> During Stalin's rule the leaders arrested people physically; now they arrest them psychologically. The same conflict in human relations remains, the same collison between spiritual freedom and tyranny.

That we may appreciate more fully by comparison the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness which is ours, I include the book review, 'A God but a Liar" by Reed J. Irvine, in the Record at this point:

A God but a Liar

(By Reed J. Irvine)

There is abundant evidence that literary circles in Russia are permeated with discontent. Pasternak, Tarsis, Sinyavsky and Daniel have attracted international attention by daring to publish their "unthinkable thoughts," risking the severe displeasure of the totalitarian regime that holds the U.S.S.R. in its grip. Others such as Yevtushenko have daringly skated on thin ice.

Writers are, by and large, one of the more privileged classes in the U.S.S.R. Since they have been well rewarded materially, why do they display ingratitude? Yuri Krotkov, who was a well-paid scenario writer prior to his defection in 1964, provides a convincing answer to this question in "I Am From Moscow."

A THIRD COURSE

He tells how difficult it is for a creative artist and a rational human being to live under a regime that kills creativity and mocks rationality. Krotkov was haunted by this thought: "Literary creation is my very life. Yet all that I have ever written is a lie, a dishonorable fabrication of situations, images, conflicts, pseudo-values, nothing but literary hack-work and propaganda." He came to the point where he either had to abandon his ambition of being a genuine creative writer, resigning himself to a "life of lies," or risk everything and write without regard for what was officially permissible.

He chose a third course—flight. He admits that this was not as courageous as the course chosen by Pasternak, but he felt that it offered certain advantages. Not having Pasternak's reputation, he would undoubtedly have been more severely treated than was Pasternak had he chosen to defy the regime. Tarsis was sent to an insane asylum and Daniel and Sinyavsky still languish in prison. In seeking asylum abroad, Krotkov felt that he could satisfy his drive to write honestly and at the same time provide the outside world with some appreciation of what Soviet society is really like. "Now I can write what I believe to be the truth," he says. "While I lived in the Soviet Union I was silent."

But it is not permitted to a Soviet intellectual to be mute. He must speak when the occasion demands, and there is the most painful rub. Krotkov quotes a famous Soviet jazz musician who told him sadly about a conversation with an American visitor. "What I told him," he said, "was not the truth at all. I could not tell him the truth, especially now—now that I am a god. A god but a liar." This, says, Krotkov, is characteristic. The foreigner is ill-advised to give much credence to anything he is told by a person subject to Soviet discipline, for they are obliged to pay homage only to what is "officially" true. Krotkov says that the change since Stalin's day is merely this: "During Stalin's rule the leaders arrested people physically; now they arrest them psychologically. The same conflict in human relations remains, the same collision between spiritual freedom and tyranny."

DARE NOT STRAY

The Soviet citizen is no freer to speak abroad than he is at home. Permission to travel is a highly prized privilege. It would not be given a second time to one who was accused of any indiscretion. As Krotkov describes them, Soviet tourists abroad are like sheep. "We travel only in groups . . . we are afraid, we dare not stray more than a couple of steps from one another; we move in a group, we reply in chorus, and we sleep no less than two to a hotel room."

Nevertheless, the Soviet citizen keenly feels his inability to travel more freely. "He feels as if he were really nothing more than a mouse, a rabbit, a mammal, incapable even of independent movement about the earth. This is terrible!" Commenting on a trip to Japan, Krotkov says, "Was Japan really so good? What can one say? Its borders are open. If the borders of our motherland are closed, all is not right with our motherland. After all, even Hitler did not forbid emigration."

Krotkov describes other irrationalities encountered in daily life in the Soviet Union that help make it unpleasant. Cramped living quarters are a major headache. The stupidity and corruption of the ubiquitous bureaucracy is another. "Thievery and embezzlement have permeated the whole system," he says. Those who are eager to know what life in Russia is really like should read "I Am From Moscow."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it was necessary for me to be in Florida on Monday, September 18, 1967. Had I been present, I would have voted against H.R. 4451.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES SUPPORTS PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S EFFORTS TO INVOLVE PRIVATE SECTOR IN WORK OF REBUILDING CITIES

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the life insurance industry to invest a billion dollars in slum neighborhoods is the most dramatic evidence to date of the changing attitude of private investors and big business toward the need to remove urban blight as a cancer that could spread and destroy American cities.

This editorial by the Chicago Sun-Times emphasizes the importance of the major breakthrough achieved by the Johnson administration in involving private enterprise in the rebuilding of our cities.

As the Sun-Times notes:

> The need for that investment to save the cities—and with them the very foundation of business and industry—is becoming more apparent with each passing day. Moreover, rebuilding the nation's slums could create a new and profitable industry itself.

The meaning of this is clear: We in Congress must do our share to support these efforts to rebuild the American city.

We must restore in full President Johnson's request for rent supplements and model cities—two key measures for involving greater participation of the private sector in urban redevelopment.

Americans do not expect Washington to do this massive job alone. Nor do they expect the Government to stand aside and allow private enterprise to shoulder the entire burden.

What our people do hope for and expect is that a partnership of effort between the public and private sectors can be forged to do the job effectively and efficiently.

The Sun-Times notes:

> Interest in rebuilding American slums grows daily. They are being compared with underdeveloped countries America has helped with loans and grants. Business appears readily to accept the reality that such efforts should begin at home and that they are not charity but are vital to the nation's survival.

I insert into the Record this timely editorial from the Chicago Sun-Times.

Clearing Slums Is Good Business

The decision of the life insurance industry to invest a billion dollars in slum neighborhoods is the most dramatic evidence to date of the changing attitude of private investors and big business toward the need to remove urban blight as a cancer that could spread and destroy American cities.

Until comparatively recently, urban renewal has been considered mostly a matter of concern to government or public officials. In the 1930s and 1940s the emphasis was on public housing projects, huge impersonal buildings that provided poor families with decent living quarters but that often created new social problems.

In later years, the emphasis was on the clearing of slum land with the hope of selling it to private investors. Some good projects resulted, such as New York Life Insurance Co.'s Lake Meadows project. But such projects often did little good for the actual slum dweller.

More recently efforts have been made to rehabilitate existing buildings or rebuild them, keeping neighborhood characteristics and tenants intact. To encourage private investment in such projects the government would supplement the amount of rent poor tenants could pay.

At this point a hitch developed. The House this year balked at a White House request for $40,000,000 to fund the program. Some 437 projects are blueprinted but Congress doubted whether private funds would become available to finance construction. Venture capital has long shied from the high risks of low-rent housing.

The insurance companies answered that doubt and okayed the principle. They would divert one billion out of their normal investments of $16 billion a year into the high risk areas. The industry may receive less interest on the money than their normal investments would yield but they will be investing in a type of insurance for their own and their policy holders' future.

As President Johnson said, the companies will be making a major investment in improving American life. The need for that investment to save the cities—and with them the very foundation of business and industry—is becoming more apparent with each passing day. Moreover rebuilding the nation's slums could create a new and profitable industry itself.

The recently announced partnership of the United States Gypsum Co. with public officials to rehabilitate five Chicago buildings should be profitable to the company. It will use Gypsum's own products. The company successfully and profitably rehabilitated six buildings in New York 18 months ago. Incidentally, the tenants are maintaining the properties well.

Interest in rebuilding American slums grows daily. They are being compared with underdeveloped countries America has helped with loans and grants. Business appears ready to accept the reality that such efforts should begin at home and that they are not charity but are vital to the nation's survival.

ANNIVERSARY OF NIKOLA PETKOV'S MARTYRDOM

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Nikola Petkov was the robust son of a peasant family, and during his active life in politics he became the uncompromising and courageous leader of the agrarian group in Bulgaria. He was a marked foe of all those who wanted to undermine and weaken democratic forces in his native land. Being a true believer in the gradual working of democratic forces for the general welfare of the public, he worked for the strengthening of these forces. But his efforts to maintain his outspoken views and his courageous opposition to the Communists, who were becoming masters of Bulgaria even before the end of World War II, spelled his doom, leading to his arrest and execution by his political opponents in 1947.

Toward the end of the war, as Communist strength grew throughout the country, Petkov and his associates realized that they could not cope with these Communists who were fully supported by the Soviet Government. However, they did not want to yield to all Communist demands and thus betray the mass of the Bulgarian people. Instead, they thought that even under the umbrella of communism at least some form of democracy and freedom could be salvaged.

Tragic and inevitable events soon proved that they were sadly mistaken, for the Communist leaders asked for total surrender and did not tolerate compromises. Finally, when the postwar regime was firmly established and duly confirmed in international treaties, then the Communist government began to eliminate all opposition to the government. One of the first to be arrested was Nikola Petkov. This was done in June 1947. He was tried on charges of "conspiracy and high treason," and hanged on September 23, 1947.

In observing the 20th anniversary of Petkov's judicial murder by Communists, we are paying tribute to the memory of a gallant fighter for democracy and freedom.

PANAMA CANAL TREATIES ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the 15-man Republican Committee on Western Alliances, which I serve as chairman, has recommended against approval of the proposed new Panama Canal treaties, pending completion of final studies of the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission.

The Study Commission has been unable to complete its work on proposed new canal sites and has requested a 2-year extension.

The Republican committee's recommendations are threefold. In addition to the postponement of approval at least until after the final report of the Study Commission, the committee has recommended reappraisal after the final report and full disclosure of any proposals of the negotiators at that time so that informed public dialog can ensue.

The report is critical of the lack of disclosure surrounding the proposed treaties which have aroused storms of controversy, both in the United States and Panama.

The detailed analysis of the treaties and conclusions were prepared by a subcommittee consisting of Representative Sherman P. Lloyd of Utah, chairman; with Representative William O. Cowger of Kentucky; and Representative Rogers C. B. Morton of Maryland, as other members.

In my view, the work of Chairman Lloyd and his subcommittee in dealing with this complex and controversial area has been thorough, objective, balanced, and constructive in every respect. It is the result of a long series of interviews and conferences with State Department officials and others with special knowledge and interest in this field.

The analysis and recommendations constitute a reference work which I am sure Members of Congress on both sides of the political aisle and other students of the treaty proposals will find extremely valuable.

Here is the text of the analysis and conclusions as recommended by Chairman Lloyd and his subcommittee and approved by the full House Republican Committee on Western Alliances:

Renegotiation of the Panama Canal Treaty

I. BACKGROUND TO THE HAY-BUNAU-VARILLA TREATY OF NOVEMBER 18, 1903

Official United States policy toward Central America underwent a dramatic shift at the close of the Nineteenth century. Previously, the United States was content to limit foreign influence and share with Britain in the protection of a neutral, commercial route planned to cross the Isthmus of Panama (Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850). However, as the century came to a close, a rising tide of national feeling demanded the complete elimination of foreign influence and exclusive U.S. control of the prospective canal.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 dramatized the threat to American security when an American naval ship, the U.S.S. *Oregon*, required two months to sail from California around the Horn to Cuba in response to the Caribbean Crisis. The rise to power of Theodore Roosevelt with his deep belief in American nationalism and an efficient navy focused pressure for re-negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. With the Treaty revised, American construction of the Canal would probably begin.

Great Britain, hoping for speedly construction of the commercial route and improved relations with the U.S., readily agreed to renegotiation proceedings. The first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, limiting but not abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, emerged from the discussions on February 3, 1900. This Treaty came before the Senate and was amended and ratified. The British refused to accept the treaty as amended, and a second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated.

Signed on November 18, 1901, this second treaty specifically abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, called for neutrality of the prospective canal, gave police powers to the U.S., and made the United States the sole guarantor of these treaty provisions. Now, all European obstacles to a canal built and controlled by the United States were removed.

In 1902, the Walker Commission, a Presidential commission to select "the most feasible and practical canal route," recommended the Panamanian Canal route over a Nicaraguan alternative because of its shorter length and lower construction cost. In the same year, Congress passed the Spooner Act authorizing $40 million for the purchase of the old French Canal Company's construction rights and the acquisition of a six-mile zone from Colombia.

Secretary of State Hay and Colombian representative Tomas Herran reached a compromise agreement on January 22, 1903. The Agreement granted Colombia a $10 million indemnity and $250,000 annual payment in return for U.S. construction, maintenance, and protection of a six-mile wide canal zone administered under dual sovereignty with mixed courts. The agreement was to last for 100 years.

The Hay-Herran Treaty passed the Senate swiftly, but in August of 1903 the Colombian Congress denounced Herran and almost unanimously rejected the Treaty's terms.

They demanded a $15 million indemnity and rejected the loss of Colombian sovereignty to U.S. courts in the Zone. In addition, the Colombian leaders hoped to get the $40 million which was to be paid to the French Canal Company.

The Colombia Congress was controlled by liberals who bitterly opposed the conservative government. The country had been convulsed by intermittent civil war in 1901 and 1902, and the leaders were under great internal political pressure from both the liberal opposition and rival factions within their own party. Compounding this domestic pressure was the firmness of the United States in its position that Colombia sign the treaty as written. President Roosevelt publicly denounced the Colombians. Also, Roosevelt began drafting a message to Congress requesting authority to begin digging a canal without Colombian agreement. This difficult situation was solved by a department or province of Colombia called Panama.

Due to inadequate jungle communication, Panama was only connected to the rest of Colombia by sea and had a long history of separatist movements. In 1840 and 1850, the Panamanians had attempted to secede from Colombia.

In May of 1903, a new separatist group was formed, and as the Colombian government fumbled with the treaty ratification, the group gained strength. They were eager to exclude Colombia from the Canal profits, but they also feared that if the Colombians did not act quickly, the U.S. might turn back to the Nicaraguan route and Panama would lose all benefit from the canal.

Speaking in support of the rebel leaders, the Frenchman Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a former engineer on the Canal, traveled to the United States and spoke with President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay. Neither American seems to have explicitly promised to protect the rebels, but both listened with obvious sympathy.

The rebels struck on November 3, 1903, in Panama City on the Pacific side of the Isthmus. The Colombian troops necessary to quell the insurrection were on the opposite side of Panama in Colon, but by direct order of the U.S. Navy, the Colombians were refused access to the American-controlled trans-Isthmus Railroad. When the Colombians threatened to force their way onto the Railroad, the recently-arrived U.S.S. Nashville prepared for battle and the Colombians retreated.

By November 5, the rebels were in complete control and the United States warned Colombia that American naval ships would block any attempted troop landings in Panama.

The United States recognized Panama on November 6, 1903, and signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty on November 18, 1903. This Treaty gave Panama the $10 million indemnity and the $250,000 annual payment. The United States received benefits beyond the proposed Colombian treaty, including a ten-mile wide canal zone, full sovereignty within the zone, and the entire treaty arrangements were granted in perpetuity.

II. ACTIONS AFFECTING THE TREATY, 1903–67

The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was the object of great domestic controversy in the United States, due first to the controversial role played by the U.S. in the Panamanian Revolution, and second, to what were charged to be generous provisions granted to the U.S. Nevertheless, the Treaty was ratified and has remained the bulwark of Central American policy for 64 years.

Over this period, several events have modified, but not significantly, altered the basic principles of the 1903 Treaty.

To smooth over our ruffled relations with Colombia, the U.S. negotiated a treaty in 1914 which extended preferential use of the canal and granted a $25 million payment to Colombia. In return, Colombia recognized "entire and absolute" U.S. title to the canal and railroad. The Thomson-Urrutia Treaty was finally ratified in 1922.

In response to Panamanian demands which conflicted with the Treaty, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes in 1923 reaffirmed America's attitude of firmness toward the canal treaty: it was, he said, "an absolute futility for the Panamanian government to expect any American administration, no matter what it was, any President, or any Secretary of State, ever to surrender any part of the rights which the U.S. had acquired under the 1903 Treaty."

The 1930's saw the beginning of a more flexible policy toward Panama. In the Hull-Alfaro Treaty of July 27, 1936, (in force July 27, 1939) the U.S. agreed to increase the annual payment from $250,000 to $430,000 to account for devaluation of the dollar. In addition, the U.S. withdrew its guarantee of Panamanian independence, relinquished the right to exercise eminent domain, and gave up the right to intervene in Panamanian affairs.

This softening trend continued during the Eisenhower Administration. In the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty of 1955, the annual payment was increased to the present level of $1,930,000. The U.S. also relinquished $25 million worth of land and improvements, and the U.S. was relieved of its responsibility to enforce sanitation standards in Colon and Panama City.

Events in Panama

Since World War II, Panama has experienced a rising tide of national feeling which has focused on the canal and the position of the United States in the Zone. In 1947, the National Assembly voted unanimously to deny renewal rights on American military bases constructed outside of the Zone during the War.

This national spirit was further inspired by the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956. Although the two situations are not comparable and Panama does not seek nationalization of the operation of the canal, Egypt's example has encouraged the drive for Panamanian sovereignty within the Canal Zone.

On May 2, 1958, students entered and placed the symbol of sovereignty, the Panamanian flag, within the Canal Zone. On Panama's Independence Day, November 3, 1959, Panamanians staged a violent "march for sovereignty" which ended only after U.S. citizens were injured, the U.S. flag had been desecrated, and American troops were called in.

On September 17, 1960, President Eisenhower went against a House Resolution passed (382–12) and agreed to fly the Panamanian flag alongside the U.S. flag at one point, Shaler Triangle, in the Zone.

Through the early '60's Panama urged renegotiation of the 103 Treaty, but the U.S. hesitated because of unfavorable public sentiment and U.S. interest in nuclear excavation of a sea level canal.

In 1964, a full scale riot developed over flag placement in front of an American school, Balboa High, just inside the Zone. In violation of a recent agreement to fly neither country's flag, American students raised an American flag and blocked officials from removing it. Panamanians students entered the Zone with their flag which was torn in a scuffle. Three days of intense rioting ensued in which U.S. troops fought with Panamanian citizens across the Zone line. Twenty Panamanians and four U.S. soldiers were killed.

Panama severed diplomatic relations, charged the U.S. with aggression, and presented a complaint to the Organization of American States, which was unable to resolve the dispute. Finally, on April 3, 1964, the two nations agreed to restore relations and explore means to eliminating the causes of conflict.

On December 18, 1964, President Johnson announced that (1) the U.S. would investigate a sea level canal, and (2) the U.S. would re-negotiate the present Canal Treaty.

Robert B. Anderson, representing the U.S., and Jorge Illueca of Panama opened discussions which eventually developed into exploratory re-negotiating proceedings. In January, 1965, formal negotiations began over a new canal treaty, a possible sea level canal, and a defense treaty. This three-part treaty package reached final form on June 21, 1967, and prior to Senate ratification, is expected to be signed in Washington in the late summer of 1967.

THE THREE TREATY PROPOSALS OF THE NEGOTIATORS (EXCERPTS—UNOFFICIAL)

Three treaties represent the conclusions of the negotiators. They are treaties between the Republic of Panama and the United States:

1. Concerning the Panama Canal
2. Concerning a Sea Level Canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans
3. On the Defense of the Panama Canal and of its Neutrality

The signing of all three treaties is to be simultaneous.

1. Treaty concerning the present canal (excerpts—unofficial)

a. All previous treaties inconsistent with this treaty are terminated.

b. There is created a "Joint Administration of the Panama Canal." Panama assumes sovereignty over the "Canal Area." A governing body of nine members, four from Panama—five from the U.S., appointed for six-year terms. Majority rule. Chairmanship shall alternate annually.

c. The administration assumes the responsibilities and duties of the Panama Canal Company, but does not assume the liability of the unrecovered investment of the United States in the Panama Canal. The interest-bearing unrecovered investment was $330.7 million on June 30, 1966. The total United States investment is $1.9 billion in the canal and about $3 billion in defenses.

d. The Canal is a primary source of employment of Panamanians.

e. The Administration shall supply water for operation of the Canal and to operate the Panama Railroad, and shall operate germane facilities and services, but after five years shall give up operations of businesses and shall promote economic development by authorizing new business.

f. The Administration shall have police power in the area and when necessary may call upon military assistance from Panama or the U.S.

g. Civil laws of Panama shall prevail in the Canal Area. Specific statutes for the Canal Area will be drawn up and adopted by the Commission with legal advice from Panama and the U.S.

h. An eight-judge "Court of the Joint Administration of the Panama Canal" is established, four each from Panama and the U.S., one from each nation as a judge, and three from each nation as associate judges.

i. Panama shall impose no taxes upon the Panama Canal or upon the Administration or its property.

j. The Administration shall establish all tolls. Panama shall receive 17 cents per long ton from the Administration the first year and an additional cent per ton each year until a ceiling of 22 cents is reached.

k. The Panama Canal shall be neutral—free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, subject to rules which may be established in time of war.

l. Differences between Panama and U.S. to be settled by three-man arbitration board.

m. Duration to December 31, 1999; then the Panama Canal reverts to Panama.

If a sea level canal opens prior to December 31, 1999, the treaty will terminate one year later.

If construction has started on a sea level canal prior to Dec. 31, 1999, the treaty shall terminate one year after opening of canal or Dec. 31, 2009, whichever is first.

2. Treaty Panama—United States Sea level canal (*excerpts—unofficial*)

a. Grants U. S. the right to finance and construct a canal. Verbal option must be exercised within 20 years.

b. Establishes the *Panama Interoceanic Canal Commission* to operate, protect, and maintain Canal. Commission sets toll. The Board consists of four Panamanians and five Americans, plus representatives from other nations that contribute to the canal venture. Length of term is six years. The Director General, appointed by the nine-member board for a four-year term, carries out the wishes of the Commission.

c. A joint land commission of four members (2 U. S., 2 Panamanian) to determine land values of private individuals who are dislocated by canal construction.

d. Other nations, corporations, or individuals may form an organization (regional or international) after consultation with Panama.

e. Panama must agree to nuclear excavation (also subject to agreement or revision of Nuclear Test Ban Treaty).

f. Canal will be a commercial venture.

g. Canal will be neutral.

h. Defense—Panama and U. S.—Defense Treaty applies.

i. Duration: 20 years to notify Panama of our intention to build canal, 5 years later construction must be started, 1 year advance warning to Panama before construction starts, 15 years to construct, 60 years after opening of canal on Dec. 31, 2067, Canal and properties revert to Panama.

j. U.S. will refrain from constructing or concluding an agreement with any other nation for a canal until U.S. has specifically told Panama whether U.S. will or will not build canal in Panama. Also, Panama will not arrange with any other country for canal construction in Panama.

Annex I—Possible routes in Panama.

Annex II—Temporary Joint Commission to facilitate construction (1 Pan., 1 Am.)

Annex III—Facilitate operation.

3. Treaty on the Defense of the Panama Canal and of its Neutrality (*excerpts—unofficial*)

a. A Joint Committee comprised of one representative from each government is created as the initial stage for resolving difficulties which arise from the implementation of the treaty. If no agreement is reached, the matter is referred back to the two governments and alternate channels may be implemented.

b. Defense of Canal (a) Panama provides defense areas (i.e., existing leases, etc.); (b) U.S. has right to ensure canal defense.

c. Defense within the Canal area—"For the purpose of carrying out its responsibilities hereunder (Defense), the United States of America shall have access to and free movement between the Defense Areas and the Canal Area . . ." (Article II Section 1)

d. Any U.S. military action outside of Canal or defense area which will affect Panama will be the subject of consultation by Joint Committee.

e. The U.S. and Panama may jointly or the U.S. alone (not Panama alone) may cease operating a defense area. Also, the U.S. is guaranteed the rights of access to and from canal and defense areas as well as the rights of easement for pipelines and other utility services to defense areas.

f. Cooperation of U.S. and Panama in enforcement of customs and criminal law. Legal jurisdiction is primary to Panama unless: (a) An American violates American property or personnel, (b) An American is on official duty, (c) Panamanian laws do not apply. U.S. has no jurisdiction over Panamanian citizens. Basic Western legal principles are in effect: speedy trial, informed of charge, etc. A U.S. government representative is allowed at trial.

g. Taxation: Income: only if a resident or if drawing an income from Panamanian source. Sales and other "hidden taxes" apply on purchases in Panama. Property: if temporary or non-resident, then not taxed.

h. Benefits and exemptions to temporary U.S. contractors in defense areas.

i. Rights to public services are equal.

j. Defense area is under Panamanian flag with provisions for U.S. flag to be determined by Joint Commission.

k. Treaty applies to defense of a sea level canal when appropriate treaty changes are made.

l. Treaty terminated 5 years after "Treaty Between Rep. of Panama and the U.S. Concerning the Panama Canal" expires *or* when U.S. is no longer committed to a bi-lateral treaty to defend the area, whichever comes later.

STATEMENT BY GENERAL EISENHOWER, JULY 26, 1967

Agreement between United States and Panamanian negotiators on new treaties for the Panama Canal is welcome news—it offers hope for a new era of harmony in our relations with Panama—it gives promise of far-reaching benefits for world commerce.

The Panama Canal stands as a monument to American vision and technical skill. It has been efficiently operated for over sixty years for the benefit of world commerce without profit to the United States. It has been open on a basis of complete nondiscrimination to the ships of all nations. In all these ways it has been a symbol of American responsibility within the world community and of the principles of fair play and justice that Americans believe should govern our dealings with other nations.

These same considerations oblige us to recognize that changes are now necessary in the regime that governs the Canal. More than sixty years have passed since we negotiated with Panama the present canal treaty. The construction and operation of this important international waterway have brought great benefits to the United States, to Panama, and to the whole community of nations. But in many ways it does not fit the spirit and the reality of the world of the 1960's. It has become a source of resentment and conflict between the United States and Panama—two nations whose close community of interest gives them every reason to work together in close and friendly cooperation.

The new treaties can help to achieve this sort of relationship and can be of mutual advantage to both. They lay a basis for eliminating resentments. They provide Panama a role in the Canal enterprise that recognizes its valuable contribution in making its territory available for the Canal. They can diminish the possibility of armed harassment that might involve United States troops on the soil of a foreign nation. They can provide an atmosphere of stability that will facilitate the efficient operation of the Canal during its remaining years of usefulness. And they can open the way for the United States to go ahead with plans for modernizing the trans-Isthmian sea passage through the construction of a sea level canal.

I was complimented when I was consulted before our Government announced its decision to negotiate with Panama in December, 1964. I approved that initiative and am pleased that it has led to an agreement satisfactory to the representatives of both countries. I believe that the treaties are an achievement which merits the most sympathetic consideration of the American people and the United States Senate.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MINORITY REPORT OF THE GEORGETOWN PANEL OPPOSING NEW TREATIES

Panama's independence has been compromised by a succession of crises, some fomented by communist-oriented agitators, and some by surrenders to Panama by the U.S. of important rights, power, and authority which are indispensable to safeguard U.S. interests there. The global implications of these mounting crises in Panama, aimed at wresting control of the Canal from the United States, may be seen in the coincidence of events there with those in the Suez Canal, in South Africa, and in Vietnam, all directed toward gaining control of the strategic waterways of the world. The preservation of the sovereign control of the United States over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal is more vital to this nation than victory in Vietnam. The further forfeiture of that control will constitute a major surrender by the United States and may be expected to trigger communist takeovers of governments in Latin America.

We are losing control of the Panama Canal through a policy of retreat and surrender. We must reaffirm our rights of sovereignty and unilateral canal management. We must improve the canal which we now have through the Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan rather than embarking upon a risky and costly sea level canal.

In return for the concessions which the United States made to Panama in the treaties of 1936 and 1955 Panama promised to "strengthen further the bonds of friendship and cooperation" with the United States to promote mutual understanding and friendship of her people with the United States. Panama has not fulfilled her part of this bargain. Meanwhile the concessions made to her are increasingly seen to have been unwise, for they appear as part of a plan to wrest control of the Canal from the United States through piecemeal erosion. The agitation and demonstrations in Panama against the treaty position of the United States in the Zone, if continued, can only result in driving the United States from the Isthmus. Panama's repeated thrusts are directed toward the total liquidation of United States sovereignty and control over the Panama Canal.

In that event, and in view of Panama's five unconstitutional changes of heads of state since 1930, who will control this priceless interoceanic utility? Who will operate it to serve the needs of world commerce?

RESOLUTION OPPOSING APPROVAL OF THE TREATIES[1]

Whereas it is the policy of the Congress and the desire of the people of the United States that the United States maintain its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone; and

Whereas under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 between Great Britain and the United States, the United States adopted the principles of the Convention of Constantinople of 1888 as the rules for the operation, regulation, and management of said canal; and

Whereas by the terms of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903, between the Republic of Panama and the United States, the perpetuity of use, occupation, control, construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection for said canal was granted to the United States; and

Whereas the United States has paid the Republic of Panama almost $50,000,000 in the form of a gratuity; and

Whereas the United States has made an aggregate investment in said canal in an amount of over $4,889,000,000; and

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[1] This Resolution and similar resolutions have been supported by 89 Republicans and 39 Democrats in the House of Representatives.

Whereas said investment or any part thereof could never be recovered in the event of Panamanian seizure or United States abandonment; and

Whereas 70 per centum of the Canal Zone traffic either originates or terminates in United States ports; and

Whereas said canal is of vital strategic importance and imperative to the hemispheric defense and to the security of the United States; and

Whereas a treaty has been proposed between the United States and the Republic of Panama which in effect would greatly impair if not all but eliminate the known and admitted sovereign rights of the United States in said canal; and

Whereas under said proposed treaty, said canal becomes the property of a non-American Government authority; and

Whereas the Suez Canal has been closed twice in the past ten years, subject to the discretion of the Egyptian Government, and that the most recent closing, this June, 1967, has meant a very substantial increase in United States shipping costs; Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States maintain and protect its sovereign rights and jurisdiction over said canal and that the United States Government in no way forfeit, cede, negotiate, or transfer any of these sovereign rights or jurisdiction to any other sovereign nation or international organization.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE (MAJORITY)

We recommend a balance between outright and final rejection of renegotiation proposals on the one hand and immediate approval on the basis of presently existing evidence on the other.

The study of canal sites by the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission has not been completed, and the Commission has asked for a two-year extension. The work of the Commission has been delayed, partly because the Atomic Energy Commission's program of plowshare nuclear excavation experiments was postponed during negotiations on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Commission has requested a two-year extension for the purpose of completing its work.

Approval of new Panama Canal Treaties now is therefore premature.

With the United States involved in armed conflict in Southeast Asia and the administration of the Suez Canal in doubt due to hostilities in the mid-East, the exigencies of national defense and United States responsibility to this hemisphere and to the free world make it adverse to the national interest to consider at this time any diminution of sovereignty in the Canal area.

Before further consideration should be given to approval of the Treaties, there should be full public disclosure of the proposals recommended by the negotiators, which at this time are not made public. Lacking this public disclosure, citizens of the United States and citizens of Panama risk hostile debate without full knowledge of the facts.

Opinions concerning the proposed treaties are clouded to a great degree by guesswork and misinformation. The decision of the Administration not to publicize the exact language was most unfortunate and unquestionably this contributed to the furor now raging.

We recommend against approval of the Treaties until the final studies of the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission have been completed after a two-year extension of authority. Following the report of that Commission, we recommend reappraisal of treaty proposals based upon the evidence then existing. We urge full disclosure of any recommendations of the negotiators at that time so that informed public dialogue can ensue before commitment is made.

POSSIBLE VIOLATION OF ANTI-DUMPING ACT OF 1921

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to report to my colleagues about the possibility of a violation of the Federal Antidumping Act of 1921, as amended (19 U.S.C. 160(a)). As I called to your attention on September 11, the Hunt-Wesson Food Products, Inc., has purchased enormous quantities of vegetable oil from the Soviet Union. I have found that this purchase will total 40 million pounds. Because of the extraordinary circumstances under which this is being done, I have respectfully urged the Secretary of the Treasury to ask the Tariff Commission to investigate the possibility that this purchase constitutes a violation of the Antidumping Act.

Information which has come to my attention has convinced me that the Soviet oil is being sold, and is likely to be sold, in this country at less than fair value. In that case the importer would be subject to assessment of damages under the act.

For the first time in more than 25 years, large shipments of vegetable oil are coming to this country from the Soviet Union. One shipment to Hunt-Wesson, consisting of 6,533,604 pounds, was unloaded at New Orleans in March. The second consisted of 6,983,000 pounds, and was unloaded at Savannah in July. The Department of the Treasury has confirmed that an additional shipment, consisting of about 20 million pounds, is scheduled to arrive at New Orleans next month. Mr. Harold Williams, president of Hunt-Wesson, confirmed to me by telegram dated September 12 that his firm has purchased a total of 40 million pounds from the Soviet Union. For the full text of his telegram to me I would refer you to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 11, 1967, pages 24978–24979.

The magnitude of this shipment of cottonseed oil, which, of course, is competitive with soybean oil, is apparent. Forty million pounds of oil is the equivalent of 4 million bushels of soybeans, or the production from 300,000 acres of cotton. The introduction of such massive quantities of a commodity from an unprecedented source naturally has an adverse impact on market prices.

Vegetable oils are selling in the domestic market well below what the industry has paid in the past. Cottonseed oil is 12 cents, compared with 15¼ cents a year ago. Soybean oil is more than 3 cents cheaper, and corn oil down more than 2 cents.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, cottonseed is bringing farmers only 77 percent of parity, as compared with 96 percent a year ago. Soybeans are only 78 percent of parity, as compared with 109 percent a year ago. Parity of 100 percent is officially established as representing a fair market price, so it is obvious that U.S. producers of vegetable oil are getting less than a fair price.

The world market price of cottonseed oil, therefore, was already depressed, and because the Soviet Union historically has not been an exporter of oil to the United States, the purchase undoubtedly was made at less than the depressed world price.

It would not be unprecedented for the Soviet Union to use dumping tactics as a means of engaging in economic warfare against the United States while it fights a military war against us by proxy in Vietnam. The closing of the Suez Canal may have blocked normal channels of commerce and caused the Soviet Union to welcome a chance to unload this oil to the disadvantage of the U.S. farmer.

The telegram I received from the president of Hunt-Wesson made it plain that the purchase was made from Moscow out of concern for the U.S. price. In it, he said, and I quote:

> To attempt to buy domestic cottonseed oil for export use, in competition with our own, and other, domestic consumer needs, could put an extreme inflationary pressure on the price of domestic vegetable oils,

Unquote.

Now, I question whether the impact on U.S. prices would have been "extreme" but certainly an upward pressure would definitely be in order, in view of the fact that farmers are currently getting only 77 percent of parity for cottonseed and 78 percent for soybeans. But the important fact is Hunt-Wesson's admission that the Soviet purchase was made in order to forestall higher U.S. prices.

The commodities manager of the Hunt-Wesson firm is reported to have informed a group of those attending the August 7–8, 1967, meeting of the National Soybean Processors Association that the purpose of the purchase was even more far-reaching: it was a deliberate effort to cause a reduction in the U.S. price of cottonseed oil. This was made at Boyne Mountain, Mich., at a time when the prices of cottonseed oil, soybeans, and soybean oil were down about one-third from a year earlier. There have been even further declines in price since then.

I would also like to point out that a purchase of several million dollars worth of cottonseed oil from abroad adversely affects the U.S. balance of payments.

BULGARIAN ANNIVERSARY

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, September 23 marks the 20th anniversary of the execution of the Bulgarian national hero by the Soviet occupation forces which had overrun Bulgaria in September of 1944. For 3 years opposition leader Nikola Petkov had organized and led the Bulgarian opposition forces. To free Bulgarians, therefore, he will always be a hero and his example continues to inspire them to seek the restoration of freedom to their country.

Although the Soviet oppressors in the last 20 years have tried hard to mold the satellite into a willing slave state, the spirit of freedom still lingers. One marvels how. In spite of its rich natural resources and fertile soil, the economic oppression in Bulgaria is increasing, with steadily rising cost of living and noticeable decline in quality of goods, scarcity of even the most vital consumer products, and grossly unequal trade arrangements with Russia. Religious persecution continues to be vicious. Many churches have been turned into museums and amusement centers. Training of clergymen and rabbis is discouraged. Yet the Bulgarian people overcrowd their places of worship and observe religious holidays.

While the Government seeks to tighten its control, its ineptitude in administration has allowed unexpected liberalization in some respects. Literary figures call for relaxation of restrictions and a return to truth. Within every segment of society there is a strong undercurrent of anti-Soviet feeling, although few dare to express this openly. The youth of the nation, who have grown up under slavery conditions, manifest widespread dissatisfaction with the regime. This offers hope for a brighter future. Every year courageous souls risk their lives to escape.

Free Bulgarians stay informed of developments in their native country and are keeping alive the dream of freedom for their country. Until the day that dream is realized we must continue to support their efforts and focus the world's attention on their just cause.

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the matter of congressional ethics is one of the most important facing the Congress of the United States. The Congress is truly the people's branch and it is important that its reputation be of the highest. Recently I appeared before the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the House of Representatives and stated my position.

The testimony I gave follows:

> Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, I believe that the work assigned to this committee and the result that is expected are among the more important activities of the Congress in this Session. I say this because if the Committee could make a substantial contribution to the Public's image of Congress it would, in my opinion, do more than any other thing to reestablish Congress in its rightful place as the chief representative of the people in the making of our Federal Law. In other words Gentlemen, the rewards will be great for intelligent and forceful action, if it is taken by this Committee and followed up by the Congress. On the other hand, I believe this Committee could end up taking actions which would be mainly useless and probably have no other effect than placing a great many restrictions on Congressmen and on their relationships with others. This could be done without in any way rectifying the image of Congress as is now held by many of our fellow citizens.
>
> The first problem, therefore, is to state the questions that we wish answers to and to get down to basics as to what really can and should be accomplished by this Committee insofar as the ethical standards of the Congress are concerned. I believe the whole purpose of this Committee's activity is to see that nothing interferes with the Congressman's handling of the public interest. We should have rules that would make it hard if not impossible for any Member of Congress, who is so inclined, to subvert the public interest to some other private interest. It seems to me quite clear that the purpose of such rules is not punitive in purpose, but to protect the public by making clear to the Congress and to the public the rules that should be followed to see that the public interest is always kept paramount.
>
> Judged against this standard then, let us see what can be done. First, let us get to the question of restrictions on a Congressman's outside activities. It is quite apparent that no matter what activities a Congressman has outside the Halls of Congress, there may be some conflict with his Congressional responsibilities. This is so whether those activities concern his family, his relatives, his friends, inherited wealth, speech making, his trade or occupation, or even the persons with whom he may go to dinner or even stop to talk with on the street. A Congressman is, after all, a whole man and he will have activities that do not relate to his Congressional duties. There does not appear, however, to be any problem in this unless he allows his personal affairs to unduly influence his Congressional duties or unless he allows himself to gain some personal benefit from the performance of his Congressional duties. If the objective is to avoid this, it seems to me it can easily be accomplished by a statement of clear, concise and direct rules on the type of outside activity that can be engaged in and the limitations on such activity so that it will not result in using Congressional position for his personal benefit. I believe this Committee should propound a set of clear, concise and direct rules and regulations which would indicate to all the limitations on a Congressman's activities. This would be helpful to the Members of Congress and would be most reassuring to the public at large. The Congressman should be allowed to continue all his other outside activities that do not interfere with his Congressional duties. Drawing this line in some cases is difficult but I think can be done and enforced by the regular election procedures that control the activities of the Congressman. I personally find it is most healthy and beneficial for a Member of Congress to have outside business interests which do not conflict with his Congressional duties but on which he can rely in the event that he is not re-elected as a Member of Congress. Total and complete reliance on Congressional continuation in office is not the most healthy atmosphere a Congressman can live in when faced with pressures from powerful groups in his district. The first need then is a clear set of ethical rules of conduct for Members of Congress which would get to the very heart of this problem of a Congressman's personal affairs.
>
> The second need is financial disclosure. It is clear to me that Congressmen are not second-class citizens who must live in a fishbowl in every aspect of their lives. It is also clear to me that we are public servants who have accepted the responsibilities of public life and who therefore must make certain concessions to it. My own preference would be for an utter and complete disclosure of a Congressman's entire financial matters.
>
> I believe, however that this disclosure should not be made in the public press but rather should be made to a totally nonpartisan commission of individuals of great public standing, who would be given the right to make any part of the disclosure public if they thought it was in the public interest. Further, the commission should have the right to investigate any part of the statement which they thought required such investigation and to make any part of that investigation public when it thought it was in the public interest. I, for example, would be quite willing to give such a commission a copy of my income tax returns which are a complete record of my financial transactions during the course of the year. I think if we were to do this it would end the public's misconception that many Congressmen are dealing in matters which conflict with their duties in the Halls of Congress. The facts, I am sure, are quite to the contrary. Once we were to establish the procedures I have outlined above, I think this particular matter would no longer be an issue in the minds of the public. Partial disclosures would, to my mind, not bring the criticism or speculation to an end, and therefore, would serve no useful purpose.
>
> Finally, I think we should establish procedures whereby an individual or another Member of Congress could question and establish the ethical propriety of a particular act by a Congressman. This should be modeled on the form of a grievance committee of a bar association which works very well and has good precedent. In addition, such a committee could issue rulings as a Congressman might request as to the ethical propriety of his proposed actions. The main problem regarding such a procedure would be the fact that many candidates for a Congressional office would find it useful to file charges with such a committee a week or two before the election amid great publicity. The Committee would have to establish procedures which would reduce such activity to a minimum, but there would be a residue of abuse as an unfair political tactic. I feel, however, that as Members of Congress this is one of the crosses we must bear in our public life.
>
> What I have outlined to this Committee appears to me to be a sound and reasonable plan which would do much to reassure the public in this situation. What the public wants, and what it is entitled to, is reassurance that Congressmen are putting the public's interest first. I think a clear statement of ethical rules followed by a complete disclosure system and backed up by a grievance committee procedure would meet this need. I realize these requirements are unusual and do transgress on our rights as ordinary citizens of our nation. This, however, is part of the job and responsibility of being a Congressman. I, for one, am prepared to accept them.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously indicated on all legislation relating to the broadcasting industry, I am not participating in the debate or votes on the Public Broadcasting Act of

1967. The reason for my position, is that my prior business and legal connections with the industry, as well as the continued ownership position of members of my family and myself, could result in a possible conflict of interest.

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH COMPREHENSIVE RAT EXTERMINATION AND CONTROL PROGRAMS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Gude] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, on July 20, I voted to consider a measure establishing a program to control and exterminate rats. I did so because I am deeply concerned about the grave health menace caused by rats. However, the resolution to consider the measure was defeated.

When this week the House again had the opportunity to consider legislation to establish comprehensive rat extermination and control programs, I voted to approve the measure. This amendment to the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967 authorized increases in an already existing program operated by the Public Health Service in cooperation with State and local officials. It also allows those communities with only a minor rat problem to continue using funds for major health programs, thus diverting only the needed funds for a relatively small rat control program.

To give you an idea of the seriousness of this problem and what we are up against, I would like to quote some very startling figures concerning rats. A rat can have from eight to 12 litters a year, or from 150 to 300 young in that period. A rat eats from $2 to $10 worth of food and destroys from $20 to $50 worth in a year. In all, it is roughly estimated that up to a billion dollars worth of food is destroyed by rats in this country each year.

In my own Eighth Congressional District of Maryland, Montgomery County is plagued by rats. The Montgomery County Health Department Rodent Control Division receives about 30 complaints a month, and more often than not, one complaint is in behalf of several other individuals. I might also add that rats in Montgomery County do not discriminate between high and low income, commercial and noncommercial areas.

And of course, Metropolitan Washington is infested with these diseased rodents. A very conservative estimate by the District of Columbia Department of Health shows we have some 800,000 rats. District hospitals reported 75 babies and young children were victims of ratbites last year. I should point out that these were the most severe cases. When parents do not take their children to the hospital for treatment of ratbites, they are not reported.

Mr. Speaker, this same deplorable condition exists in every major urban and suburban area in our country. The amendment offered by my distinguished colleague and friend, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Mathias], provides a realistic and effective means of getting at this problem.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW ON THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Wyman] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the Congressional Record of August 28, 1967, I included a report to the people of the First District of New Hampshire on the subject of our dilemma in Vietnam. Implicit in this report was the view that stalemate in Vietnam would continue unless the military were authorized to proceed to win the military war free of most prevailing civilian restraints both with respect to target and tactics. I say "most civilian restraints" because even the military has expressed the conviction at the highest levels that military victory is possible without the use of atomic weapons.

Yesterday I received a letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Mr. William B. Macomber, Jr., commenting upon my remarks on August 28 and concluding that Communists in Vietnam are presently "struggling to stave off military defeat." I hope Mr. Macomber's statement of position reflects accurately the situation existing in Vietnam at this hour.

We should get this war over with honorably at the earliest possible moment to save lives and to end the staggering cost of reserves.

Whether or not it is possible to win or maintain the peace after a military victory is beside the point. We should give greater leeway to the military at this juncture, however. In the interests of objectivity, I am including Mr. Macomber's letter in the Record at this point:

Department of State,
Washington, D.C., September 19, 1967.

Hon. Louis C. Wyman,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Wyman: We have noted your remarks in the August 28 Congressional Record concerning military stalemate in Viet-Nam and would like to pass on to you the following information to help you understand our views on the subject.

A few weeks ago certain press reports picked up the theme of military stalemate in Viet-Nam, and the subject received considerable publicity in the United States.

Our leading military commanders, including General Westmoreland and General Wheeler, publicly stated that a stalemate definitely did not exist in Viet-Nam. To a question on whether we have reached a stalemate the President stated at his August 18 press conference: "No. I think there are those who are taking a pretty tough drubbing out there (in Viet-Nam), who would like for our folks to believe there is a stalemate. I have not been there. I cannot personally say that I have observed all the action that has taken place. General Westmoreland is there. I have sent General Wheeler there within the month. General Larson, a very able General who has been in the II Corps now for two years, has just returned from there. All of these men think that the stalemate charge is nothing more than propaganda."

Aside from the official statements on the stalemate question, there is a vast amount of information to prove that we are slowly but steadily making progress. If one looks at the situation two years ago and compares it with the situation today, there cannot be any doubt that much progress has been made. Over the past year the South Vietnamese desertion rate has steadily declined. Defections from the Communist side have already surpassed 20,000 so far this year and the rate is nearly twice that of 1966 which in turn was double the 1965 rate.

Two years ago the South Vietnamese army was losing three weapons for each weapon captured. Today the South Vietnamese army is capturing four Communist weapons for each one they lose. The Communists are losing in combat more than four times as many men as all the allied forces. Both the morale and the performance of the South Vietnamese armed forces has improved dramatically. Two years ago, Communist forces were on the offensive and won some significant victories. Now the Communists are on the defensive. Enemy infiltration by sea has been greatly reduced. Allied forces have shattered the enemy offensive across the Demilitarized Zone. The percentage of South Vietnamese roads and waterways that are safe for normal military and economic use have been significantly increased. Enemy forces all over the country are experiencing severe manpower problems. Food has become a critical problem for the Viet Cong, even in the Mekong River Delta "rice bowl."

It is clear to us that there has been a drastic and favorable change in the military situation in the past two years. At that time the Communists thought they were on the brink of a military victory—now they are struggling to stave off military defeat.

I hope the foregoing information will be helpful to you in understanding our view on the military situation in Viet-Nam.

Sincerely yours,
William B. Macomber, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

UNDERSTANDING THE TERM "POVERTY"

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the term "poverty" must be more clearly understood. In the United States today, it is definitely not subsistence poverty which is the term developed in the Western World over the past 17 decades as a scientific work of art, which is used in the United Nations and applied with a real and practical meaning to many societies in the world today. It relates to caloric intake per person to sustain life. The term "poverty" as used in the United States today can only mean comparative poverty, an entirely new concept and one which has little relationship to subsistence-poverty, albeit it is descriptive of a very real and important bundle of social and economic problems.

The term "poverty" as used by the administration in its political parlance is comparative poverty. Yet for the sake of rhetorical impact and persuasiveness, the promoters of the "poverty" programs seek to create the impression that we are dealing with "subsistence" poverty. The true meaning of comparative poverty must be clarified if we are to develop programs that meet the real problems that do face us. In this regard I found a recent article in the September 4, 1967, issue of U.S. News & World Report to be of great value.

The article, entitled "Is United States Really Filled with Poverty?" by John B. Parrish, professor of economics, University of Illinois, follows:

Is the United States Really Filled With Poverty? A Look at the Facts

(By John B. Parrish, professor of economics, University of Illinois)

(Note.—How many Americans are really in poverty? Thirty million? Eighty million? Or only a handful? This article, written for "U.S. News & World Report," is based on a study of poverty—and of the "poverty cult" that has developed in this era.)

When future historians write the history of the 1960s, there will be no more extraordinary episode in their accounts than the rise of America's "new poverty" cult. Intellectuals from every social-science discipline, every religious denomination, every political and social institution have climbed aboard the poverty bandwagon.

This article is concerned with a few fundamental questions: How did the new cult get started? What are its claims? Does the economic evidence support the claims? Are we moving toward a new and better social order or toward social chaos?

After a decade of exploring every nook and cranny of the poverty world, the "new poverty" cult has settled on a few basic doctrines which together form a dogma that apparently must be accepted on faith. These claims may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The economic process, which in earlier years brought affluence to a majority of Americans, recently has slowed up and apparently stopped. As a result, a large minority of Americans are "hopelessly" trapped below the poverty line.

2. The size of this poverty population is "massive," and may be increasing. Minimum estimates place the number at 30 million, maximum at nearly 80 million.

3. Despite its great size, the poverty population is hidden away—"invisible," unknown, unwanted, unaided, helpless.

4. The hard core of the "other America" is the Negro. Because of racial discrimination, he has been unable to participate in economic progress. He is frustrated, embittered, forced to live outside the affluent society of the majority.

5. The "new poverty" can only be eradicated by massive, federal social-action programs involving income maintenance, self-help, education and training, in a milieu of racial integration, the latter voluntary if possible, compulsory if necessary.

Does the evidence on diffusion of economic well-being support the "new poverty" cult? Has diffusion mysteriously slowed to a halt, leaving millions "hopelessly trapped"? Are 30 to 80 million suffering acute deprivation in today's America? The plain truth is there is no basis in fact for the "new poverty" thesis. The high priests of the poverty religion have been exchanging each other's misformation. Let's look briefly at some illustrative evidence.

Diet: The diet of U.S. families has continued to improve steadily over time until today at least 95 per cent, perhaps 96 per cent or 97 per cent of all families have an adequate minimum daily intake of nutrients.

Automatic cooking equipment: Are 20 per cent, perhaps 40 per cent of U.S. families without decent equipment with which to prepare this food intake? No. As a matter of fact, 99 per cent of all U.S. households have automatic cooking equipment, including most of those families living in rural and urban "ghettos." The diffusion has been consistent and persistent over the last six decades.

Refrigeration: Could it be that millions of American families are experiencing dull and dreary meals because they have no way to preserve foods and beverages against spoilage? No. About 99 per cent of all U.S. families have purchased electric or gas refrigerators. It is reasonable to assume they know how to operate them, even in the "ghettos."

Communication: Are millions of America's poor shut off from all contact with the rest of their affluent countrymen—alone, frustrated, in that "other world" of poverty isolation? At last count, the diffusion of TV sets had reached 92 per cent of all U.S. households, providing instant access to entertainment, news, sports, cultural enrichment. Since a small per cent of middle, and upper-income families who can afford TV have chosen not to buy, the per cent of families having TV who want it must be around 96 or 97 per cent—a diffusion achieved in just 15 years.

Medical aid: Have the "new hopeless poor" found the doors to modern medical service "slammed shut" forcing them to rely on quack remedies, superstition, midwives, or to die alone and unattended?

In 1910, only one of every 10 American families had access to hospitals for childbirth. The diffusion since then has been spectacular and persistent for all groups, including nonwhites. By 1960, over 97 per cent of all American women had their babies born in hospitals. Today it is somewhere between 98 per cent and 99 per cent.

The luxury of telephone service: Telephone service is ordinarily not a rock-bottom consumer necessity. It is useful and convenient but not an absolute requirement, as was demonstrated during the Great Depression of the 1930s when the per cent of families with telephones declined.

Yet today nearly 90 per cent of all U.S households have telephones. Since there are still a few pockets of unavailability, it is reasonable to conclude that close to 95 per cent of all U.S. households in availability areas who would like this luxury actually enjoy it.

THREE POVERTY FALLACIES

The foregoing illustrative evidence raises an interesting question: *How can the "massive" group of America's "hopeless poor" buy so much with so little?* Perhaps this basic question can be put another way: How could the poverty intellectuals be so wrong? The answer is actually very simple. The intellectuals have chosen to be wrong. Most members of the "new poverty" cult are quite well-trained in statistics. Some are acknowledged experts. They know better. But, for the sake of the "new poverty" religion, they have chosen to accept three poverty fallacies.

The "new poverty" cult has built much of its case on family-income statistics. Some technical matters aside, there is nothing wrong with these statistics, per se. But there is something wrong, very much wrong, with their use. It is impossible for anyone adequately to interpret them in terms of average family economic well-being.

Poverty fallacy No. 1 got its big push from the 1964 report on "The Problem of Poverty in America" by the Council of Economic Advisers. CEA determined that households with less than $3,000 annual income were in poverty. Using this income yardstick, it was determined that 20 percent of U.S. households containing 30 million persons were in the poverty class.

This report provided a wonderful takeoff point for poverty statisticians. With 30 million to build on, it was not difficult to find millions of additional families who should be added to the poverty population. The poverty numbers game became quite exciting. Who could count the most? Honors so far have gone to those claiming nearly 80 million. A majority of cult members have settled for a more modest 40 to 50 million.

The truth about poverty-income statistics is this: Under no reasonable assumptions does income below $3,000 indicate poverty status. It may or may not, and to say otherwise is not only erroneous but absurd.

Let's take as an example a young married couple, the Smiths. They are attending college. They constitute a statistical household. Their annual income is $1,500 a year. They are not being "hopelessly" shut out from the good things of life. They are, along with other American youth, enjoying a rate of access to higher education greater than the youth of any country, any time, any place. They enjoy electric lighting, refrigeration, adequate if not fancy food, and a second-hand automobile or motorcycle. They would like a new Cadillac, but will manage without one. They aren't "poor" and need no crocodile tears shed in their behalf.

At the other end of the life cycle are the Joneses. Mr. Jones has been a machinist all his life. He and Mrs. Jones had always wanted to visit the country's great national parks after the children had grown up and left. So he has opted to retire at age 60. The retirement income will come to only $2,000 a year. Are they poor? The poverty cult says, "Yes," these people are suffering from deprivation. They have been "hopelessly" cast aside. Yet the truth is they have a small home paid for, a modest automobile paid for. They enjoy refrigeration, automatic cooking equipment, inside plumbing, TV, enough clothes to last for years—the accumulation of a lifetime. And now they propose to enjoy more leisure, in more comfort, for more years than similar working-class families of any country, any time. The Joneses think the Council of Economic Advisers is statistically wacky.

And take the Browns. They are in the middle years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brown work. Their three children are in school. They have a modest new home, partially paid for, some savings, some insurance, good clothes—yes, and a paid-for refrigerator and TV set. They have a new car and six installments still outstanding. Mr. Brown becomes ill. Mrs. Brown quits work to take care of him. Their income drops to below $3,000 for the year. Are they in trouble? Yes. Are they in desperate consumer poverty? Are they "hopelessly trapped"? By no means. After a tough year they will resume as members of the affluent society even by CEA's definition.

ECONOMIC WELL-BEING: "CUMULATIVE"

These illustrations could be multiplied many times. Cross-section household-income statistics are a very inappropriate yardstick with which to measure economic well-being, which is a longitudinal and cumulative process.

Let's return for a moment to the telephone as a luxury—or at least a semiluxury—consumer good. Now take the desperately poor on whom the doors of affluency have presumably been "slammed shut." Now take the "poorest of the poor"—those at the very rock bottom of the income scale, those desperately deprived households earning less than $500 a year. You just can't get much poorer than that.

Now observe that nearly 60 percent of these poorest of the poor had telephone service in 1965. How could this be? Why would families presumably facing the grim miseries of malnutrition order telephone service? And if we make allowance for the availability factor and the "can afford but don't want" factor, then it is reasonable to conclude that 70 to 80 per cent of America's poorest poor had telephones in 1965.

If this is the "new poverty," it is apparently not too severe. How to explain this paradox of income poverty, consumer-goods affluence? The answer is quite simple. Income data are a very bad measure of economic well-being. The Smiths, the Joneses, the

Browns, all had telephone service even though the CEA's income statistics put them in the "poverty class."

There is a second big fallacy in the "new poverty" claims, and in some respects an inexcusable one. The poverty cult measures the economic well-being of families at all income levels by determining what they can buy with their income at current retail prices. In fact, the poverty cult makes much out of the fact that because of the greed of retail merchants and the gullibility and lack of buying savvy on the part of many poor buyers, the "new poor" actually pay more for the same goods than the affluent classes. This is hogwash.

The truth is, America's low-income classes have access to a low-price consumer-goods market in which prices are a fraction of published retail prices, and in which the purchasing power of "poor" dollars is multiplied many times. This discount market yields levels of consumption far above that indicated by retail prices.

As the poor could explain to CEA and the poverty intellectuals, this market is America's enormously big resale market—the world's largest. Every year, from 25 to 65 per cent of many consumer durable-goods purchases involve second or third-hand goods moving in established trade or in informal, person-to-person channels.

Take as an example a popular consumer durable good, the electric refrigerator. In 1923, this appliance was a new item. In current dollars, it cost around $900. Its capacity was small, averaging less than 6 cubic feet. It averaged only six years of service life, or about $150 a year. There were too few produced, and service was too short for a resale market. Only the rich could afford a refrigerator.

Today a good new refrigerator can be purchased for about $300. Its capacity will average about 10 cubic feet. Service life will be around 18 years. The average replacement year currently is around 10. So the first buyer pays about $30 a year, minus trade-in. Resale value will be about $50. This will permit the second buyer to purchase eight years of the same quality of refrigeration for about $6 a year. The low-income buyer, not particular about the latest style, has expanded his purchasing power 500 per cent over that of one first high-income buyer.

Today's low-income, "new poverty" buyer has purchasing power 25 times greater than that of the rich buyer of 1923. America's consumer durable-goods market is operating under a law of accelerating diffusion. America's low-income families are not being shut out. They are being pulled into affluence at an ever-increasing rate.

There is a big, hidden, tertiary consumer-goods market not measured even by retail or resale price statistics. This is the intergeneration movement of goods accumulated over time and handed down or distributed from one generation to another. In an affluent society this becomes a very large market. Sewing machines, automobiles, electric irons, kitchenware, furniture, silverware, dinnerware, bicycles, etc.—all these provide an enormous source of consumption for all income classes, including the poor.

GROWTH OF NO-COST GOODS, SERVICES

If ignoring the durable-goods resale market is inexcusable, the failure of the poverty cult to take account of the rapid growth in low-cost or no-cost goods and services in America is well-nigh incredible. It is incredible because much of it has been brought about by the very federal agencies whose economists have been among the high priests of the poverty cult. This failure constitutes poverty fallacy No. 3.

To illustrate: Nearly 90 per cent of all Negro births today are in hospitals. Yet the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor in 1964 said half the Negroes in America were suffering from acute poverty, measured by income statistics. How can so many poor afford so much medical service? For two reasons: First, as already noted, the income data are faulty. But more to the point here, almost every urban community has free or very low-cost medical services for low-income families. In fact, surveys show that in some communities the lowest-income families have more medical checkups, vaccinations, chest X-rays, eye examinations than some higher-income groups.

The number of low-cost food programs has been growing rapidly. For example, the national school-lunch program provided low-cost noon meals for nearly 20 million children in 1967. The food-stamp plan provided low-cost food for 1 million persons in 1966, and was scheduled to rise to 2 million in 1967. The low-cost milk plan—along with school lunch—accounted for 5 per cent of total U.S. nonfarm fluid-milk consumption in 1966, and would have expanded even more in 1967 had not cutbacks been ordered because of Vietnam.

The total number of low-income persons reached by various food-subsidy programs came to nearly 30 million in 1966, or precisely the number of persons classified as poor in 1964 by the Council of Economic Advisers. Since many of CEA's 30 million didn't belong in the poverty classification in the first place, some questions may well be raised as to who and how many poor have been "forgotten."

If the evidence suggests the "new poverty" intellectuals have grossly exaggerated the extent of poverty in America, can we now sit back and comfortably and forget the poverty claims? Unfortunately, we cannot.

SOME DISTURBING TRENDS

There are some very disturbing social trends which have accompanied the spread of affluency. Even more disturbing is the possibility that the federal antipoverty programs may be causally as well as associationally related to these developments. We may be headed not toward a great new society, but toward social chaos. Let's look briefly at six problem areas, all of them interrelated:

1. The various federal-State income-maintenance programs seem to have generated an explosion of illegitimacy in America that will have far-reaching consequences for the future. The illegitimacy rate has doubled in the last few years, until today 1 out of 12 Americans is born illegitimate. At recent rates of growth, every tenth American by the early 1970s will be born out of wedlock.

2. Related to illegitimacy is the long-run growth in households managed only by females, a large proportion subsidized by various federal-State aid programs. Today in America, 1 out of 10 households is fatherless. There is every reason to expect this to rise in the future. Among Negro families the percentage is already 1 out of 4.

3. A particularly disconcerting development over the above trends for the whole population is the upsurge in the number and proportion of unwanted and unguided Negro youth. Today 1 out of 4 Negroes is born illegitimate. In some sections of large urban areas the percentage is very much higher. If the trends of 1950–64 continue, then by 1975 about one third of all Negro youth born in the U.S. will be born outside normal family-life patterns. They will be arriving at the teen ages not suffering from malnutrition or abject consumer-goods poverty, but from acute social and intellectual poverty. The future consequences for the rest of the urban population, both white and nonwhite, will be considerable.

4. Related to but not solely derived from problems 1 to 3 is the rise of juvenile delinquency. The rate has doubled in the last decade. How long can society tolerate such a rate of growth? At least in part, the steady climb of delinquency may be due not to poverty, but to an affluent society—more leisure, more spending money, fewer responsibilities, less motivation, failure of rehabilitative programs.

5. The diffusion of affluency has been accompanied not only by rising juvenile delinquency but by a rising rate of general crime. The rate rose by one third, 1960 to 1964. The law-abiding segment of the population has an ever-increasing struggle to avoid the depredations of criminals, the latter experiencing not acute deprivation but the encouragements of easy and profitable pickings of the affluent state.

6. Perhaps no problem illustrates so well the failure of the poverty intellectuals than the upward drift of youth unemployment. Very strenuous and dedicated efforts have been made by the U.S. Congress to do something about youth unemployment. A great diversity of programs has been attempted. Recent conditions of tight, full employment have provided a favorable labor market. Yet the "new poverty" intellectuals have only failure to show for their efforts. Youth unemployment has not retreated. For nearly 20 years it has shown a rise—slight for white youth, sharply upward for nonwhite youth.

Could it be the "new poverty" cult has been fighting the wrong war? Measured by consumer-goods yardsticks, less than 5 per cent of U.S. households are below the poverty line, and the percentage continues to decline.

There is a war to be fought, however. There are disturbing signs of deep social problems around us, and more on the horizon. The most rapidly growing segment of the American population is the illegitimate segment. The largest proportion of this "other America" is Negro.

Who is to discipline, guide, train this growing army of unwanted, unmotivated? The ordinary family influences, so strong among earlier ethnic groups immigrating to U.S. cities, appears to be lacking. In fact, such influences appear to be declining and may well be disintegrating.

The churches, historically an important institution in shaping constructive life patterns, appear to have limited and perhaps declining influence.

The "new social problem" is being dumped onto the public schools and the police. But schools cannot discipline—and without discipline they cannot educate.

The police can discipline—but they cannot educate and motivate. Racial-integration efforts have created new antagonisms to add to the problems of the already overburdened schools and police.

PHONY STATISTICS: HARDLY CONVINCING

The poverty intellectuals say they are building a great new society. Perhaps they are. But phony statistics are hardly convincing proof. Perhaps they should take a second look. They may well be rushing us pell-mell toward social chaos. The dogmas of the poverty cult may not prove as effective as expected.

Efforts to force racial integration may bring about as many disruptive as constructive influences. We may well need some new institutions designed for the problems of an affluent society of the present, not the poverty society of the past.

If this conclusion is even partially correct, then we should be about the task before it is too late. It may be already too late.

Some clues to how much poverty in the United States

[In percent]

	1920	*1965*
Percentage of families having—		
Minimum adequate diet, or better	50	95
Electric or gas stoves	28	99
Electric refrigerators	1	99
Television sets	0	92
Telephones in home	35	[1] 88
Children born in hospitals	20	98

[1] In metropolitan areas.

Source: Study by Prof. John B. Parrish, University of Illinois.

THE LITHOGRAPHIC INDUSTRY'S VIEW OF THE JOB CORPS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to receive this week a reprint from the September issue of Modern Lithography, which was concerned with the effectiveness of the Job Corps program in the lithographic industry. This article is valuable in my judgment, because it provides an industry perspective on the program, which contains thoughtful criticism as well as praise for this effort. A copy of the article follows:

JOB CORPS

(By Lawrence E. Hayter, associate editor)

(NOTE.—Train high school drop-outs for a trade such as lithography. That's the theory. How does it work in practice?)

Take an unemployed high school drop-out. Hire a leading electronics company to train him in a trade such as offset printing and to improve his academic education for at least six months, and pay him a salary of up to $125 a month while he learns, at a total cost to the taxpayer of more than $3,000. Find him a job in the industry for which he is trained. Result: a gainfully employed citizen instead of another name on the welfare rolls.

That is the theory behind the Job Corps. Unlike most other "War on Poverty" programs, the Job Corps produces immediate, tangible results, which can be measured.

How well does the theory work? The answer is of as much interest to the litho industry, with its much-publicized manpower problems, as it is to a nation facing severe social problems.

Fewer than one in four Job Corps graduates, for whom jobs in printing have been obtained, have made the transition from drop-out to successful employee in the graphic arts, according to a limited survey by *ML* of placements by the offset printing course at the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J., one of three centers offering litho training. (The others are Rodman Center in New Bedford, Mass. and Gary Center in San Marcos, Tex.)

From several lists compiled by Kilmer officials of graduates employed in printing, employers who had hired 11 Job Corpsmen were contacted. Of the 11, two were still employed by those firms. Additional information was obtained from Printing Industries of Metropolitan New York, which recently began a program of placing Job Corps graduates. Of six Corpsmen placed by **PIMNY** since mid-May, two were still employed last month, the trade association reported.

Kilmer officials say their intent is to train Corpsmen for the entry level in the litho industry. Misunderstanding about the level of training appears to be a major problem. Several employers dissatisfied with the Job Corps program complain that placement representatives overstate the extent of a graduate's training. On the other hand, there are indications that Corpsmen who have spent six months operating a camera or an offset duplicator—even though they may not know much about the principles involved—are too impatient to stick with such "entry level" jobs as messenger or shipping clerk with a printing firm.

Inadequate screening of Job Corpsmen seems to be another major problem. Several employers who have discharged Corpsmen stated that the youths seemed to have no real interest in lithography. By far the most commonly cited reason listed for the discharge of a Corpsman was inability to learn on the job. Because lithography is a highly-skilled craft, proper screening for the necessary mental capacity is obviously more crucial than for less-skilled trades such as truck driving and food service, in which the Job Corps program seems to have been more successful.

SCREENING HAS IMPROVED

The screening procedures have been noticeably improved, according to Carl Stern, director of the Kilmer offset course. "At the beginning we had a lot of kids who didn't belong here, but those that are here now are a lot different," he says. "It's easier to keep their interest, and there's a more serious working atmosphere." Transfers of trainees from one trade course to another, when the original one isn't satisfactory, are fairly common even when the transfer requires relocation to another Job Corps Center, Mr. Stern says.

According to Kilmer officials, the 16 to 21-year old drop-outs from poverty-level families are screened when they are referred to the Job Corps by social service agencies or state employment agencies, and are assigned to the center which offers the appropriate training. On their arrival at Kilmer, new trainees visit each of the 20 trade schools and undergo additional screening before assignment to a course. "More than half" wind up in the trade of their choice, the officials say.

For their first two weeks in the litho course, the Corpsmen rotate between the press and camera-preparatory departments, before picking one field in which to specialize. For five months, the Corpsmen spend three hours a day in the offset shop and three hours in the academic classroom, improving their reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and basic science skills. The last month of the six-month course is devoted to full-time vocational preparation.

The academic education is geared whenever possible to the litho field, in an attempt to apply the Corpsman's motivation to "learn a trade" to the necessary basic skills he can learn in the classroom. Corpsmen are encouraged to earn a high school equivalency diploma, and the center has been successful in making a "promotion" from the regular academic class to the equivalency class something of a status symbol among Corpsmen, who enter the center with an average sixth-grade education level. A larger portion of Kilmer's budget appears to be spent on the classroom instruction, for which class sizes are kept below ten, while the three instructors in the printing shop supervise 50 Corpsmen during each three-hour period and rely on more advanced trainees to help with instruction of newcomers.

Kilmer officials say the annual cost per Corpsman is $5,600, and that the average youngster spends nine to ten months at the center. The cost figure includes a clothing allowance, the Kilmer center's "proportional share of the overhead for Job Corps offices in Office of Economic Opportunity facilities", and the salary paid to the Corpsmen.

The Job Corps trainees receive a basic salary of $30 a month, which is increased to as much as $50 for Corpsmen with outstanding records who have been at the center for a long time and who do extra work. In addition, they receive an adjustment allowance of $50 a month on completion of the course. The Corpsman may elect to send half of that amount home each month, in which case the government will match his contribution.

OPERATED BY ITT

The Kilmer Center is operated by Federal Electric Corp., the service subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., under contract with the OEO. Other Job Corps centers are operated on a similar basis by other leading U.S. companies.

The offset shop's camera and plate department is equipped with a Robertson 400 camera, an A–M Photo-Direct camera plate processor, a nuArc platemaker and five stripping tables. The press facilities include a Heidelberg Offset 18 x 24½, and six offset duplicators, including Whitin Masterlith, A. B. Dick, Fairchild-Davidson, Multilith 1250 models and an old Addressograph-Multigraph tandem.

The original Job Corps offerings in the field were four-month courses in "duplicating machine operation" and "photographic stencil operator", which have gradually been broadened to include some orientation to larger equipment. However, only two boys during each three-hour shift can work on the Heidelberg, which is reserved for the most advanced Corpsmen. Nearly all press department graduates leave with only duplicator experience.

The shop produces all the internal publications and forms used at the camp, including a newspaper and promotional materials for the community and public relations office, and does a small amount of public service printing for community organizations which provide various services to the camp. Boys in the preparation department spend part of their time practicing color stripping with negatives donated by commercial lithographers in the area.

Mr. Stern is a sculptor who first joined Federal Electric five years ago in the reproduction shop of the Rome office while studying art in Italy. Previously the course director has been a process photographer for a silk screen decal manufacturer, general manager of a reproduction business, and a cameraman for color separation houses.

The other instructors are experienced in the litho field. Thomas Fields, who handles camera and prep instruction, has been a camera operator since 1942 for several New York and northern New Jersey litho firms, and also has some press experience. Eugene Smith, the press instructor, was a color pressman for 12 years before deciding to go into teaching last fall, and has worked in graphic arts for 20 years with New Jersey print shops.

POOR COMMUNICATIONS

After more than a year of operation for the Kilmer offset course, the program seems to be plagued by a lack of communications. For example, no one seems to know how many boys have completed the course. During an early visit to Kilmer, officials said that 78 had graduated from the offset course through February. Four months later, a Kilmer spokesman said "records show that 56 have graduated from the printing school." Since Mr. Stern and Mr. Smith joined the staff in November, "about 75" have graduated, they said last month, but they could only estimate the total number of graduates since the program began at "between 100 and 200."

Drop-outs from the offset course are rare, according to Mr. Stern, who says 98 percent complete the six-month course. However, John Matusza, new director of PIMNY's manpower development and placement office, says that "AWOL's who haven't completed the training but walk in and say they are graduates" have been such a problem that PIMNY now discourages placements of Job Corpsmen except those recommended directly by Kilmer.

There apparently is little follow-up of Corpsmen once they leave Kilmer. John Lee, placement representative for Kilmer's Offset course, says, "all we can do is set up interviews and provide letters of introduction and résumés. We're not staffed and geared to follow these people once they get out of the Job Corps." It normally takes several months before Kilmer learns that a graduate has been hired.

There is obviously no follow-up beyond that point. To cite one extreme example, Kilmer records lists one Corpsman as employed as a press helper at Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore. According to the personnel department of Waverly Press, the individual began work on the 3:30 shift and left without notice 50 minutes later.

On the other hand, some Corpsmen who have left their original employer could conceivably have moved up to better jobs with some other litho firm. The Job Corps has no idea whether this has occurred.

HEART WASN'T IN IT

Even though other Corpsmen may have been fired from a printing job, they could conceivably be employed in some other field, in which case the expense of training the youngsters would not have been totally wasted. For example, Floral Park Printing, Inc. of Floral Park, N.Y. had to discharge its Corpsman after three months because he was too slow and couldn't grasp the job. But George Dodson, president of the firm, said "his heart apparently wasn't in printing, and he decided he wanted to go onto the police force." Mr. Dodson has no idea how the boy made out. The Job Corps doesn't know either.

Several of the graduates, whose names were supplied by Kilmer, apparently got their jobs on their own, without the help of the Job Corps. Several employers said they had no idea that the employee had graduated from the Job Corps, and one had never heard of the Job Corps. In many of these cases, the graduate's job was not directly related to his training. In one case, where Kilmer listed the graduate as trained and employed as an offset press operator, the boy was actually employed as a camera trainee, a field which the employer said he knew nothing about when he was hired.

Mr. Stern agrees that better information about what happens to the graduates would be desirable. "We don't get any feedback at all," he said, "and we would like this information if we could get it, so that we could tell our boys what to expect." He adds, "I've been told that 85 percent of our graduates are employed, although this figure includes those in the armed forces."

SKEPTICAL ATTITUDE

The attitude of employers toward the Job Corps appears to be somewhat skeptical, in the experience of PIMNY's Mr. Matusza. "Most of our members have responded negatively" he says. "We've had complaints that the people we referred were unqualified. Most employers are interested in someone with skills. We're trying to establish better rapport between the Job Corps and our members, to establish a good image for the program. Some employers won't talk to kids connected with any type of poverty program. Others don't care if an applicant is from Mars, as long as he's willing and able to do the work."

Employers don't seem any more willing to hire a Job Corps graduate than any other high school drop-out who walks in off the street, according to Mr. Matusza. But he adds that Corpsmen appear more polished than other drop-outs who haven't had special training. Many employers of Corpsmen who haven't worked out successfully state that the youngsters are "nice boys," but that their training or ability was inadequate.

KIDS EXPECT TOO MUCH

"One of the Job Corps' big failures is that the kids expect too much," according to Mr. Matusza. "No employer is going to start a trainee out on a machine which has expensive down time. Even graduates of the local printing trade schools have to start at the bottom, and nearly every craftsman in the industry started this way. Very few employers, even in union shops, ask for a trainee for a specific piece of equipment."

Mr. Stern replies that his staff is constantly trying to keep expectations down, "to tell the kids that they're not going to start with a great job or great money. We're constantly telling them that they've got to get into the printing business at any level they can, and to work hard and demonstrate their responsibility so they'll be given a chance to move up.

"We put a lot of stress on simple things, like cleaning off the ink knife and closing up the can right away," he adds. "We try to get good work habits across to the kids, so they will impress their employer as being responsible, even though they start out in a helper's job."

If the results produced by the Job Corps have not yet matched its potential, most lithographers who are dissatisfied with the program have not totally given up on the theory behind it. The society's need to somehow train the unemployed, and the industry's need for good lithographers despite the lack of time and money for many companies to provide the training themselves, are recognized by all.

He Didn't Know Why

The Franklin Press,
Blytheville, Ark.

The graduate will someday make someone a good printer, but the only credit the Job Corps can take for this is in introducing him to the printing profession . . . He knew what to do, but didn't know why . . . Had he been trained in the fundamentals of offset, he would have been far better off than simply memorizing the steps in setting up a 1250 Multilith. . . When we tried to move him from the 1250 to a Chief 17, he was in a whole new world . . . He could not come close to measuring up to the recommendations given him by officials of the school. An honest evaluation of the individuals would be of more help to all concerned.

Tommy Sylvester,
Owner.

(At presstime, Mr. Sylvester reported that the Job Corpsman later was satisfactorily employed by another Arkansas print shop—Ed.)

Couldn't Apply

Sentinel Printing Co.,
Grand Junction, Colo.

We were impressed with his vocabulary of technical terms and phrases . . . But, after a few days it became apparent that he was unable to apply his knowledge to the operation of our equipment; he seemed incapable of applying basic principles which he should have learned under an intensive training program. In this one instance the graduate lacked the desire or drive or genuine curiosity to make a good offset printer.

Glen F. Wilson,
President.

Well Screened

Irwin Karkus Printers,
Newark.

We have hired three graduates; only one has worked out and he is still with us . . . But we absolutely would go back to the Job Corps if we were looking for help . . . The boys seem to be well screened. Job Corps applicants are of much better quality than those referred by the state unemployment office, who are right out of the gutter.

Irwin Karkus,
President.

Didn't Comprehend

Col-Lith Press Corp.,
New York.

I don't now whether it was lack of training or just no intelligence . . . He had no capacity for retaining knowledge . . . You'd tell him something three, four, five times and he just didn't comprehend . . . The printing business requires knowledge, not physical labor.

Sidney Antonoff,
President.

He Was Willing, But . . .

Dover Publications, Inc.,
New York.

Applicant was willing but insufficiently trained and experienced for the daily requirements of the job.

Mrs. Blanche Cirker.

I'll Never Hire Another

Graphic Reproductions, Inc.,
New York.

I'll never hire another guy like him . . . After six months, including a two-month period when business was slow and I didn't need him, but kept him on anyway so he could learn while we had the time to train him, he just walked in and quit without notice, when we had a big backlog of work and men out on vacation . . . I didn't know he was a Job Corps graduate; perhaps he would have done better if he was working in a department in which he was trained, but he had no knowledge about camera work . . . I spent lots of time training him and ended up with a big, fat cost and no benefits . . . while he learned, I lost; even at a trainee's salary of $60 a week I wasted a lot of money in trying to train him.

Bernard Kaplan,
President.

We're Pleased

King Typographic Service Corp.,
New York.

The graduate has been here for more than half a year, is getting along fine, and we're pleased with him.

Robert Brunk,
Assistant Production Manager.

PRESS REPORTS FAILURE TO FULFILL CONTRACT WITH STATE OF ISRAEL

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rumsfeld] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I have noted with concern recent press reports that have revealed a failure of the Johnson administration to fulfill a contract executed with the State of Israel for the sale of possibly as many as 36 Douglas A–4 Skyhawk jet attack aircraft.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has resupplied the Arab nations with the latest jet aircraft following their losses in the war last June. Israel won the war but lost a substantial number of her own French-built aircraft. President de Gaulle's policies are currently such as to withhold from Israel any further shipment of military equipment.

It is my understanding that the United States contracted to sell Israel the Douglas Skyhawks in the spring of 1966 for delivery early this fall. Some F–104 jets contracted for during that same period have already been delivered by the U.S. Government to Jordan. But it is reported that not a single U.S. A–4 has gone to Israel.

Mr. Speaker, the Israelis have not asked for American troops or even for military equipment on a grant basis. Israel has merely asked to purchase the aircraft she feels she needs to deter further attempts to "drive Israel into the sea." And the United States agreed to the sale.

The statements of the Soviet delegate at the present session of the United Nations General Assembly do not indicate any softening of their position on the Middle East. In fact, the Soviet policies of sending vast quantities of new arms to the Arabs, threatening to send Russian "volunteers" to fly the planes, and basing missile cruisers and nuclear submarines in Egyptian ports, seem to verify the conclusion that Russia is continuing to encourage militancy by the Arab states.

In view of the rapid military resupply of the Arab nations by the Soviet Union, how can the administration possibly justify what appears to be a decision to hold back on the delivery of jets to the Israelis? How can the United States refuse to fulfill its contract on which partial payment has already been made? One suggestion has been that the U.S. position might be based on a desire to exert pressure on the Israelis to withdraw from territories won in battle. If true, that position would be most unwise, in that any such decision, in my view, should be made only through a general peace settlement, negotiated between and agreed to by both sides.

Viewing the history of the recent conflict in the Middle East and the long standing hostility of the Arab nations against Israel, it would seem imprudent for the United States to pursue a policy which intentionally or unintentionally results in pressure on Israel by denying her the needed capability to deter further Arab aggression. Stability in the Middle East will not be achieved if an imbalance of military power exists.

Continued U.S. refusal to honor commitments regarding jet aircraft for Israel could lead to a military imbalance or, at least the appearance of imbalance which could well result in another miscalculation by the Arab states. In short, it could encourage a renewal of warfare in the Middle East. In addition, by failing to fulfill our contract, the administration will unquestionably further undermine the value of our word throughout the world.

I hope and trust that the administration will promptly clarify the justification, if any, for the U.S. position in this matter.

RUSSIAN COTTONSEED OIL IMPORTS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, a situation has developed which requires our attention and demands congressional action. I refer to the practice of importing cottonseed oil from the Soviet Union. In March of this year a single shipment of 6,553,604 pounds of cottonseed oil was brought into the United States from the Soviet Union by an American company. In July there was another shipment of over 6 million pounds. In October of this year another 20 million pounds are expected to be imported by the same company.

These shipments of cottonseed oil are made possible through the use of the customs drawback system which in some form or another has been on our statute books since 1789. Under this system the import subject to duty may be processed under bond and reexported within a 3-year period thus entitling the importer to a refund of the duty paid on the original shipment.

At the time of the first shipment of cottonseed oil from Russia, the domestic price stood at 12 cents per pound here in this country. Approximately 11 cents per pound was paid for the Russian cottonseed oil. Purchases in these quantities at the Russian price have a depressing effect on the price of cottonseed oil here in this country and a depressing effect on the entire domestic edible oil market. I might point out that the prices of cottonseed oil and soybean oil have dropped approximately one-third during the past year.

The importer has stated that his firm bought Russian cottonseed oil because of a domestic shortage. This I find hard to believe. Prices have declined reflecting a lessening of demand. Then too, many edible oil users have shifted from cottonseed oil to soybean oil thereby reducing the pressures on the cottonseed market.

Purchases such as these put American dollars into the hands of the Russians, add to the outflow of our gold supply and has the effect of depressing our domestic oil market. In an attempt to put a stop to this practice of importing Russian cottonseed oil, I am today introducing a bill to amend section 313(h) of the Tariff Act of 1930. The effect of the enactment of my proposal would be to deny application of the drawback privilege to the importation of any commodities from Communist countries. When my bill is enacted, the drawback privilege of receiving a refund of customs duties paid on imports from Communist nations would no longer be available. I want to emphasize that my bill would not eliminate the historic drawback provisions of our tariff laws, but it would repeal its effect on imports from Communist countries only.

I urge early consideration of this proposal. The edible oil market in this country is now depressed and the elimination of this drawback privilege on imports such as those recently made will have the effect of firming up our domestic world market.

Mr. Speaker, I am particularly concerned about this situation because of the fact that cottonseed oil and soybean oil compete for virtually the same market. Imports of cottonseed oil would, therefore, have an almost direct effect on the demand and supply situation of the soybean oil market. My State of Minnesota ranks fourth in the production of soybeans, and the farmers in Minnesota, like farmers throughout the country, have been suffering from a disastrous cost-price squeeze in the past few years.

This cost-price squeeze hurts all of rural America and the importation of farm commodities from Soviet Russia contribute to an already distressed situation.

CAMBODIA SAYS REDS REFUSE TO GIVE DATA ON GI CAPTIVES

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, we here are certainly all very concerned about the treatment of U.S. and allied prisoners of war in Vietnam, and in this regard, I consider worthy of attention an article which appeared in the Washington Post during the congressional recess. The information was especially significant to me for it closely followed a visit to my office by the wife of a serviceman held prisoner in Vietnam.

I believe that the time has come for Congressmen as well as other Americans to hold up before the court of world opinion the attitude of the North Vietnamese toward the prisoner of war situation.

I, therefore, insert for your attention the Post article, which focuses on the uncertainties of this tragic aspect of the war, and the news column I released to the newspapers in my congressional district, and which was also the subject of my weekly radio and television report to my constituents:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 3, 1967]

CAMBODIA SAYS REDS REFUSE TO GIVE DATA ON GI CAPTIVES

Neutral Cambodia's Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has made an unsuccessful effort to determine the fate of American soldiers captured in Vietnam.

Sihanouk, in a letter dated August 19, said the North Vietnamese government and the National Liberation Front have both declined to supply information about American prisoners in their custody.

They are withholding the information, he said, because they cannot "hope for reciprocity" from the United States and the Government of South Vietnam.

U.S. officials in Washington said yesterday they were puzzled by Sihanouk's comment. Information on prisoners taken by the U.S. and the Saigon government is regularly turned over to the International Red Cross for delivery to the other side, the American spokesmen said.

The letter from Prince Sihanouk was addressed to Mrs. Gustav Hertz of Leesburg, Va., whose husband, an American civilian employed by the Agency for International Development, has been a prisoner of the Vietcong since February 1965. Sihanouk said he had been assured by the VC that Hertz was alive and was receiving humane treatment.

But he was unable, he said, to obtain any news about U.S. military prisoners held by the enemy.

The U.S. is uncertain of the number of Americans in POW camps. About 600 U.S. military personnel have been listed as missing or captured, and it is thought that perhaps 200 are actually held as prisoners of war.

But no POW list has ever been supplied by the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong.

Both sides in the war have, from time to time, released small numbers of prisoners. But no agreements have been entered into on prisoner exchange.

Congressman Tom Railsback Reports From Washington

We hear and read so much every day about Vietnam and the war there that we sometimes find ourselves unconsciously wishing we could "tune out" on an effort which seems to drag on month after month—sometimes with slight success, but oftentimes tragically and without significant change or direction toward any kind of settlement or solution.

The staggering statistics of the wounded and dead shock us back into an awareness of the real human effort—and human destruction—involved there, but the awareness becomes ever so acute with the personal report of even one human being who has or is suffering the consequences of this tragic conflict.

Such was my experience recently when the wife of a young man from our 19th District stopped by my office here in Washington. Her hsuband is one of approximately 600 servicemen imprisoned or missing in North Vietnam. I say approximately, for neither the Hanoi government nor the Vietcong have provided lists of names or numbers of prisoners, as required by the 1949 Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War—and to which the principal parties to the conflict in Vietnam are all parties.

Despite intensive efforts, North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front refuse to observe the Geneva Convention provisions. Their claims of humanitarian treatment of prisoners cannot be verified because neither neutral governments nor humanitarian agencies are allowed to visit the prisoners or to inspect their places of detention. Nor have they agreed to repatriate sick and wounded prisoners. In reality, most captured Americans have been isolated from every contact with the outside world.

The war in Vietnam has not been noted on either side for tenderness toward captives. From its beginning as a guerrilla and counter-guerrilla operation in South Vietnam, the conflict has been productive of few prisoners of war in the conventional sense. Summary executions and coercion of captives to obtain information have been attributed in news accounts to both Vietcong and South Vietnamese. Both are grave breaches of the Geneva Convention. As United States participation has increased, however, steps have been taken to regularize treatment of prisoners held by South Vietnam.

In its handling of prisoners of war in Vietnam, the United States government has placed great emphasis upon proper treatment in accordance with its responsibilities under international law and its desire to insure equal treatment of its own personnel captured by enemy forces. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces captured in South Vietnam are detained by the government of South Vietnam in PW camps inspected by the International Committee of the Red Cross where they are given the decent treatment required by the Geneva Convention. Sick and wounded prisoners have been repatriated to North Vietnam as the convention requires, and others have been repatriated or released in South Vietnam, in the hope that our adversaries will reciprocate.

Unfortunately, this has not been the case. In the past two years there have been several incidents of abuse of American prisoners of war.

The Geneva Convention establishes special protections for prisoners of war. Together with the government of South Vietnam and our allies we shall insure that enemy prisoners of war are treated humanely in accordance with the convention. But we must continue to make every effort to persuade North Vietnam and the Vietcong to apply the Geneva Convention for the benefit of U.S. and allied prisoners of war.

Even more than this, we must work to focus world opinion on the atrocities committed and behavior of this enemy force. Hopefully, the pressure of world opinion will result in a more humane approach in the treatment of prisoners of war by the North Vietnamese. This is in the interest of the humanitarian policy which we and they proclaim and to which we all must aim.

DR. ARCHIBAND L. GALBRAITH, HEADMASTER EMERITUS OF WILLISTON ACADEMY, EASTHAMPTON, MASS., CELEBRATES 90TH BIRTHDAY

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Conte] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, with the large number of fine private secondary schools and colleges and the University of Massachusetts located in the First Congressional District, I often have occasion to salute and call attention to the accomplishments of the educators who are the vital blood of these educational institutions.

Tomorrow is no exception for it is the 90th birthday of Dr. Archiband L. Galbraith, the headmaster emeritus of Williston Academy, located in Easthampton, Mass.

In recognition of his long and dedicated service to the young men he has influenced in his long teaching career and to Williston Academy which he served as its headmaster for 30 years, I would like to have reprinted at this point in the Record a portion of an article which appeared in the September 6, 1967, issue of the Northampton, Mass., newspaper, the Daily Hampshire Gazette.

The article follows:

Dr. Galbraith graduated from Harvard College, Magna Cum Laude, in June 1899 and in 1944 Amherst College awarded him an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. He taught at Milton Academy, Penn Charter School and Middlesex School. In 1919 he was elected to the headmastership of Williston Academy and when he retired in 1949 he had served the longest term of any previous headmaster.

During Dr. Galbraith's 30 years as Williston's Eighth Headmaster the student enrollment doubled, the Recreation Center was built, and dormitories and facilities were improved.

The school prospered financially and an existing indebtedness was cleared. At the same time provision for faculty retirement funds was instituted and faculty salary standards attracted able teachers. Dr. Galbraith's concern for the future and the necessity of a one-campus school prompted the launching of the Second Century Fund.

During his administration the curriculum was geared to meet the current college requirements and the school acquired a high reputation for the quality of its students.

Dr. Galbraith had been a good athlete and had coached the Harvard baseball team in 1902. He had also coached tennis and hockey for years. He saw the wisdom of changing the athletic exercise schedule for students and promoted organized sports with emphasis on good citizenship. Galbraith Field was made ready and named in his honor, and the school Cabin and ski slope area were added.

During Dr. Galbraith's term of office Williston celebrated its centennial. The following year more than a thousand Williston alumni, most of whom had attended Williston under Dr. Galbraith's headmastership, were engaged in World War II. A Navy Pre-Flight school used part of the school's facilities, and for six months Williston undertook the task of instructing and training the Naval Aviation Cadets in ground school subjects and discipline. When draft calls reached down to undergraduate levels, the Williston Summer School was inaugurated. This accelerated program enabled boys to complete their secondary education before entering the Armed Forces. From these beginnings the current Williston Summer Session evolved.

Under his leadership the Dramatic Club and Student Council were formed. In 1921 the establishment of the Williston Chapter of the National Cum Laude Society was, and still is, a spur to students to meet the high academic requirements for membership.

Dr. Galbraith was the third recipient of the Williston Academy Distinguished Service Award given annually "to one who has made the most significant contribution to the School."

He was a trustee of Smith College for a ten year term; and trustee of Clarke School for the Deaf and chairman of its Board in succession to Mrs. Calvin Coolidge (1930–64). The Galbraith Center, newly dedicated physical education center of Clarke School for the Deaf, was dedicated in his honor in 1966.

Other educational institutions and civic organizations have benefited by his unselfish service. He was charter member of the Easthampton Rotary Club and its first president; and one of the organizers of Easthampton Community Chest and its first chairman. Since 1920 he has been a member of the Headmasters Association of the U.S., served as its secretary for four years, vice president in 1926, and president in 1942. From 1926 to 1964 he was trustee of the Easthampton Savings Bank, and from the time of his retirement until 1963, trustee of Cummington School of the Arts. In 1950 be became a member of the Awards Committee of the Barr Fellowship for graduate study.

AMENDMENTS TO THE FLAMMABLE FABRICS ACT OF 1953

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Halpern] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the fact that precious time is passing while no action is taken on legislation to protect the American public from the pain, death, disfigurement, and expense of injuries caused by fabrics which are too violently flammable.

A bill which I have introduced, plus a number of similar bills sponsored by other Members of this House, as well as a measure passed by the other body 2 months ago, would amend the Flammable Fabrics Act of 1953, making it a more flexible and more useful law, and broadening its coverage.

These amendments remain pigeonholed in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no plans for hearings on this critically needed legislation, and no indication of any action to move it toward enactment.

I am distressed to think that the chief victims of flash fires caused by flammable clothing, rugs, drapes, blankets, and other fabrics in homes are children, the elderly, and the infirm. They are slow to react and, in many cases, incapable of protecting themselves or attracting assistance quickly enough.

These people look to us to provide the protection they need from the hazards all about them. The first step toward such protection was taken by the enactment of the Flammable Fabrics Act of 1953. It was a great advance, but it did not go far enough.

You must remember that act was passed after public indignation swept across the country as a result of repeated incidents of girls being burned by sweaters which flashed into flames from a lighted match, a glowing cigarette, or a spark.

The act certainly drove those sweaters off the market. Whether or not it was adequate for the protection of the public 14 years ago, we have a good measure of the present inadequacy of the law in the Public Health Service estimate that 150,000 persons in the United States are still burned by clothing fires each year.

And these figures do not take into account the additional tens of thousands maimed, injured and killed by fires in other household fabrics, like rugs, drapes, upholstery and other decorative materials.

The jurisdiction of the 1953 act is limited to fabrics used specifically in clothing. It is deeply ironic to note that it resulted in halting the sale of flammable bridal veils, but did not apply to baby blankets capable of flaring into a flash fire.

A fabric which cannot be sold for the manufacture of bathrobes, because it is prohibited under the act, could be made into drapes, bedspreads or wall hangings, and offer as dangerous a hazard in the home.

We must keep in mind that textile technology moves speedily. New fabrics are being created, and new raw materials are being converted to textile uses each year. Even in the area of fabrics used for clothing, no standards set in 1953 can be considered sufficiently effective in 1967, without constant study and reevaluation.

The 1953 act is fixed and inflexible, and some new fabric created in the intervening decade and a half may be more dangerous than anything barred in the original legislation, but may still be legal under the unbending language of the act.

Possibly even worse than the actual hazard of such new material is the fact that because the 1953 act does exist, people are given a false sense of security, believing that anything now manufactured is free from the dangers of flash flammability.

That just is not so, even with clothing. The proposed amendments would give the Secretary of Commerce the right to increase the standards as changing circumstances required such changes. Thus, people could be assured of continuing protection against materials which burn at a dangerously rapid rate.

The additional safeguards needed in the home and in public places are also established by the wider scope provided by the amendments, which would extend the act's control to all fabrics and related products, whether or not they are used for articles of clothing.

While giving the Secretary of Commerce the duty to maintain flexible standards to meet changing circumstances, we must also provide the means of maintaining accurate and up-to-date information on which to base changing regulations.

Data on the number and type of injuries is rare, virtually nonexistent. The proposed amendments would provide means of gathering, collecting, and studying such information to guide the functions of setting new standards.

Under the provisions of the amendments to the act, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to work with the Department of Commerce to conduct continuing studies, in depth, and to investigate the occurrence and recurrence of fabric fires. Such studies would establish reliable, significant statistics on the number and causes of death and injuries, and the economic costs of fabric fires.

Thus, through the flexibility written into the act, and the new powers provided, the safeguards for the people of the United States would be kept constantly up to date, and in step with textile developments.

I do not think it necessary to labor the point of the importance of any measure which can prevent death, injury, and economic loss. Even if the changes proposed by the amendments affected only a handful of people, they would be vital. The fact that they affect tens of thousands accentuates the need for speed.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to urge our colleagues to bring to the attention of the committee this need for prompt action to move this bill on toward enactment.

MESKILL POLL FINDS DISTRICT SPLIT ON VIET POLICY BUT RESIDENTS SPURN WAR'S CONDUCT BY 3 TO 1

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MESKILL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, today I released to the news media the results of a questionnaire I mailed to all postal patrons in the Sixth Congressional District, of Connecticut. Under unanimous consent, I herewith submit for the RECORD a copy of my news release giving the detailed tabulations:

MESKILL POLL FINDS SIXTH DISTRICT SPLIT ON VIET POLICY—RESPONDENTS DISAPPROVE ADMINISTRATION WAR CONDUCT 3 TO 1

Congressman Thomas J. Meskill (R.-Conn.) today published results of his questionnaire showing residents of his District almost evenly split on the question of U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and disapproving of the way in which the administration has conducted the war by a margin of nearly 3 to 1.

To the question: "Do you agree with our country's position on Viet Nam?" 5,509 replied "Yes" and 4,963 "No". To the question: "Do you approve of the way the Johnson Administration has conducted the war in Viet Nam?" 2,634 replied "Yes" and 7,617 answered "No".

On the other questions asked in the 10-question computer-card poll, respondents:

3. Endorsed the Meskill bill to double the personal income tax exemption (8,286 to 1,851);
4. Approved the Meskill bill to provide automatic increases in Social Security benefits in line with raises in the cost-of-living (8,432 to 2,158);
5. Opposed lowering the voting age to 18 (6,828 to 3,806);
6. Opposed construction of an anti-ballistic missile defense system at a cost of $30 billion (5,687 to 4,041);
7. Favored tax credits to offset some of the expenses of college tuition (7,465 to 3,031);
8. Favored reduction in the level of Federal spending (8,711 to 1,664);
9. Opposed increased trade with the Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe (5,724 to 4,653); and
10. Judged that the War on Poverty has not been successful in improving the lot of poor persons (8,468 to 1,692).

The questionnaire, prepared and printed at the Congressman's expense, was mailed to 138,000 postal patrons in the Sixth Congressional District in early July. More than 11,000 replies received during July, August and the first part of September were tabulated. Replies coming in since that time bring the total received to more than 12,000, Meskill said.

MESKILL ANSWERS OWN QUESTIONNAIRE

Meskill also published his own replies to the questionnaire as follows:

1. Do you agree with our country's position on Viet Nam? Yes.
2. Do you approve of the way the Johnson Administration has conducted the war in Viet Nam? No.
3. Do you favor the Meskill bill to double the personal income tax exemption? Yes.
4. Do you favor making automatic raises in Social Security benefits in line with raises in the cost-of-living? Yes.
5. Should the minimum voting age be lowered to 18? Yes.
6. Should the United States deploy an anti-ballistic missile system at a cost of $30 billion? Yes.
7. Do you favor tax credits to offset some of the expenses of college tuition? Yes.
8. Should Federal spending be reduced? Yes.
9. Do you favor increased trade with the Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe? No.
10. Do you think the War on Poverty has been successful in improving the lot of poor persons? No.

THE FINAL TABULATION

Following is the complete tabulation of the results of the Meskill questionnaire by age group, sex, and political affiliation:

Question No. 1. Do you agree with our country's position on Vietnam?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	107	72	382	206	551	340	934	984	1,974	1,602
Female	42	34	103	88	156	183	419	662	720	967
Total	149	106	485	294	707	523	1,353	1,646	2,694	2,569

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	94	42	280	112	323	173	358	302	1,055	629
Female	54	30	97	54	87	93	183	227	421	404
Total	148	72	377	166	410	266	541	529	1,476	1,033

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	128	96	280	164	277	201	312	411	997	872
Female	70	80	73	55	76	97	123	257	342	489
Total	198	176	353	219	353	298	435	668	1,339	1,361
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	5,509	4,963

Question No. 2. Do you approve of the way the Johnson administration has conducted the war in Vietnam?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	32	147	138	349	204	682	388	1,508	762	2,686
Female	11	64	39	153	57	272	174	890	281	1,379
Total	43	211	177	502	261	954	562	2,398	1,043	4,065

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	47	99	164	232	189	298	243	405	643	1,034
Female	30	55	63	85	58	116	133	263	284	519
Total	77	154	227	317	247	414	376	668	927	1,553

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	47	172	113	326	137	338	168	544	465	1,380
Female	48	105	39	89	39	132	73	293	199	619
Total	95	277	152	415	176	470	241	837	664	1,999
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2,634	7,617

Question No. 3. Do you favor the Meskill bill to double the personal income tax exemption?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	136	41	437	127	643	222	1,545	331	2,761	721
Female	68	5	159	21	285	54	948	140	1,460	220
Total	204	46	595	148	928	276	2,493	471	4,221	941

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	109	33	323	67	406	78	535	97	1,373	275
Female	68	16	120	22	147	23	338	72	673	133
Total	177	49	443	89	553	101	873	169	2,046	408

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	163	49	236	92	352	106	590	128	1,341	375
Female	126	24	103	16	140	26	309	61	678	127
Total	289	73	339	108	492	132	899	189	2,019	502
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	8,286	1,851

Question No. 4. Do you favor making automatic raises in social security benefits in line with raises in the cost of living?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	134	44	383	206	598	290	1,582	359	2,697	899
Female	57	17	134	55	248	94	933	195	1,372	361
Total	191	61	517	261	846	384	2,515	554	4,069	1,260

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	119	26	326	77	406	80	582	80	1,433	263
Female	73	11	132	19	149	31	376	53	730	114
Total	192	37	458	96	555	111	958	133	2,163	377

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	174	52	326	120	353	118	630	106	1,483	396
Female	131	15	105	20	147	35	334	55	717	125
Total	305	67	431	140	500	153	964	161	2,200	521
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	8,432	2,158

Question No. 5. Should the minimum voting age be lowered to 18?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	68	112	192	393	273	625	585	1,367	1,118	2,497
Female	34	43	68	130	114	233	363	764	579	1,170
Total	102	155	260	523	387	858	948	2,131	1,697	3,667

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	76	69	163	242	196	302	261	394	696	1,007
Female	44	42	54	93	88	96	166	251	352	482
Total	120	111	217	335	284	398	427	645	1,048	1,489

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	108	117	165	279	172	302	264	479	709	1,177
Female	70	83	49	79	74	105	159	228	352	495
Total	178	200	214	358	246	407	423	707	1,061	1,672
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3,806	6,828

Question No. 6. Should the United States deploy an antiballistic missile system at a cost of $30 billion?

REPUBLICANS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	75	98	270	290	375	454	666	1,077	1,386	1,919
Female	33	45	69	104	113	193	312	659	527	1,001
Total	108	143	339	394	488	647	978	1,736	1,913	2,920

DEMOCRATS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	72	67	196	177	223	237	313	347	804	828
Female	34	48	58	78	59	101	139	240	290	467
Total	106	115	254	255	282	338	452	587	1,094	1,295

INDEPENDENTS

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male	101	111	199	218	185	264	275	406	760	999
Female	64	73	48	69	57	103	105	228	274	473
Total	165	184	247	237	242	367	380	634	1,034	1,472
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4,041	5,687

Question No. 7. Do you favor tax credits to offset some of the expenses of college tuition?

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
REPUBLICANS										
Male	135	46	421	170	693	200	1,304	618	2,553	1,034
Female	60	18	149	46	273	69	701	396	1,183	529
Total	195	64	570	216	966	269	2,005	1,014	3,736	1,563
DEMOCRATS										
Male	108	35	297	102	383	111	416	221	1,204	469
Female	74	9	115	33	138	42	288	119	615	203
Total	182	44	412	135	521	153	704	340	1,819	672
INDEPENDENTS										
Male	166	56	329	113	353	125	463	265	1,311	559
Female	117	33	97	29	126	55	259	120	599	237
Total	283	89	426	142	479	180	722	385	1,910	796
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	7,465	3,031

Question No. 8. Should Federal spending be reduced?

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
REPUBLICANS										
Male	138	40	497	85	778	106	1,821	117	3,234	348
Female	62	15	171	20	301	44	1,054	72	1,588	151
Total	200	55	668	105	1,079	150	2,875	189	4,822	499
DEMOCRATS										
Male	87	51	262	125	348	122	494	135	1,191	433
Female	51	34	93	50	131	39	305	78	580	201
Total	138	85	355	175	479	161	799	213	1,771	634
INDEPENDENTS										
Male	148	69	333	104	357	104	619	107	1,457	384
Female	119	31	86	36	146	23	310	57	661	147
Total	267	100	419	140	503	127	929	164	2,118	531
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	8,711	1,664

Question No. 9. Do you favor increased trade with the Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe?

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
REPUBLICANS										
Male	102	74	284	305	427	446	821	1,082	1,634	1,907
Female	36	42	64	124	123	206	364	701	587	1,073
Total	138	116	348	429	550	652	1,185	1,783	2,221	2,980
DEMOCRATS										
Male	75	72	217	177	208	283	295	351	795	883
Female	38	46	62	86	62	115	170	234	332	481
Total	113	118	279	263	270	398	465	585	1,127	1,364
INDEPENDENTS										
Male	126	96	226	213	232	236	353	369	937	914
Female	71	81	52	74	70	106	175	205	368	466
Total	197	177	278	287	302	342	528	574	1,305	1,380
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4,653	5,724

Question No. 10. Do you think the war on poverty has been successful in improving the lot of poor persons?

	Age 17 to 26		Age 27 to 36		Age 37 to 46		Age over 46		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
REPUBLICANS										
Male	28	148	67	503	95	772	205	1,666	395	3,089
Female	12	63	22	176	44	289	132	924	210	1,452
Total	40	211	89	679	139	1,061	337	2,590	605	4,541
DEMOCRATS										
Male	42	101	96	286	99	376	144	479	381	1,242
Female	20	64	47	98	51	127	114	276	232	565
Total	62	165	143	384	150	503	258	755	613	1,807
INDEPENDENTS										
Male	48	169	71	351	79	370	111	581	309	1,471
Female	25	128	23	99	33	141	84	281	165	649
Total	73	297	94	450	112	511	195	862	474	2,120
Grand total	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,692	8,468

LAKE POLLUTION PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the great natural resources that the Nation, and particularly the State of Minnesota, have been privileged to have in generous quantity is the many beautiful lakes. The scenic surroundings and satisfying recreational and relaxing activities that go with them will be in ever greater demand as our Nation's population continues to grow. Every day there is developed more problems of congestion and a desire of people to find places that offer exposure to nature's beauty and removal from the routine and tiring demands of overcrowded cities.

This resource needs our immediate attention for preservation. During recent years it has become more and more evident that manmade pollution offers a great threat to the future availability of attractive lakes with clean water that can be enjoyed by everyone who has an interest in, and finds enjoyment from fishing, boating, beaches, picnic areas, and so forth.

In view of this properly recognized problem, I am introducing legislation today to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize a comprehensive planning program in lake pollution prevention and control. There are many complexities related to this problem which make it necessary that we approach on a pilot program basis. In this manner we could determine the extent to which proper control and abatement of water pollution can be accomplished through local, State, and Federal action.

It is both obvious and desirable that local and State authorities be alerted and urged to participate in all endeavors to keep our lakes attractive and free from pollution. There are many communities throughout Minnesota, as well as other parts of the Nation, where their future economic well-being is entirely dependent upon the extent to which these lakes and lake waters can be kept free of pollution and maintain their natural attractiveness.

While this legislation takes on substantial significance to the future economic survival of these local communities, it also bears equal significance to the many people who now reside in the heavily populated and oftentimes overcrowded metropolitan areas. The diversion and healthy activities in clean, fresh air, together with the physical activities involved in the recreation possibilities of an attractive lake provide a great health asset to every citizen who may find occasion to use them.

As the population continues to grow, the importance and demand for this resource will grow in equal proportion. It is, therefore, of necessity that we take action now to prevent any further deterioration and to learn how to manage and preserve for future generations the health-providing and relaxing opportunities that nature has offered to us through the many well-established lake areas of our country.

I would urge an early and favorable regard for this legislation by Congress.

The language and provisions of the bill follow:

H.R. 13064

A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize certain grants for rehabilitation of the lakes of the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 6 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act is amended by redesignating subsection (e) as subsection (f), including any references thereto, and by adding at the end of subsection (d) the following new subsection:

"(e) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any municipality or intermunicipal agency for the purpose of assisting in the development of any project which will demonstrate a new or improved method of rehabilitating and improving the water quality of, for multipurpose usage, the lakes of the United States, including but not limited to lakes in proximity to urban-metropolitan areas where rehabilitation and improvement of water quality of the lake is necessary for the development of its recreational potential. Federal grants under this subsection shall be subject to the following limitations:

"(1) No grant shall be made for more than 70 per centum of the cost of the project;

"(2) No grant shall be made for any project unless the Secretary determines that the applicant is implementing a satisfactory comprehensive program of municipal and industrial waste water control and abatement;

"(3) No grant shall be made for any project under this section unless the Secretary determines that such project will serve as a useful demonstration for the purpose set forth in this subsection."

(b) Subsection (f) of section 6 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as redesignated by this Act, is amended (A) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (2), (B) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon, and (C) by adding at the end of such subsection the following new paragraph:

"(4) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for each of the next three succeeding fiscal years, the sum of $15,000,000 per fiscal year for the purpose set forth in subsection (e) of this section."

SEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL POLL OF PEOPLE OF SECOND DISTRICT OF MONTANA

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Montana [Mr. BATTIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, the following is a result of my seventh annual congressional poll of people of the Second District of Montana which I am sure will be of interest to my colleagues.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN JIM BATTIN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 22, 1967

DEAR FRIENDS: In addition to my regular mail and frequent trips home to Eastern Montana, I have found it enlightening to send out questionnaires to find out how the voters feel about issues pending in Congress. Each year I have found that Montana people are well informed on local and national issues and are eager to express their views. Last week I tabulated the results of my seventh annual poll and found strong opinions prevail in Montana on most of the issues in Montana on most of the issues in the questionnaire.

The strongest indication was that Montanans are united almost unanimously in not wanting a tax increase as proposed by the Administration. More than 90% of the people who answered the poll expressed opposition to the present spending practices of the federal government.

It turned out that President Johnson's tax increase request is the most unpopular issue among Montanans. In fact, only 4% indicated approval of the ever-increasing national debt. The other 96% answered "yes" to my question: "Do you favor holding spending within revenues and a concerted effort to reduce the public debt which is predicted to reach $365 billion by 1969?" With that many people opposed to the tax increase it is obvious that the tax isn't being accepted as a war tax. This is more obvious by the 91% who said they "prefer applying our military might (with the exception of atomic weapons) and a determined effort to end the war" to the present policies.

More than 7,500 persons have already returned their questionnaire and more arrive in my office everyday. Many of the returns include letters further explaining the stand taken by the poll participants. Those who wrote expressed alarm at the growing cost of maintaining a sky-high national debt and adding to the debt every year. As I read the letters, people are not willing to dig deeper in their pockets for Social Security withholdings and more taxes when inflation is already taking a large part of their earnings. The answers on the poll reflect this opinion. Below is a copy of the questionnaire that was sent to every postal patron in Eastern Montana along with percentages of answers.

	Percent	
	Yes	No
Do you favor—		
1. In Vietnam:		
(a) Complete withdrawal of our forces and cessation of bombing?	39	61
(b) Applying our military might (with the exception of atomic weapons) and a determined effort to end the war?	91	9
(c) Continued limited warfare with restricted targets and no invasion over the demilitarized zone?	43	57
2. Holding spending within revenues and a concerted effort to reduce the public debt which is predicted to reach $365,000,000,000 by 1969?	96	4
3. Any further Federal law on the sale of firearms?	18	82
4. Development of an antimissile defense system against nuclear attack?	80	20
5. Tax credits for parents who pay tuition to send their children to college?	71	29
6. (a) Continued farm price supports?	37	63
(b) Continuing the present farm program?	38	62
7. Increased social security benefits that would increase payroll taxes and possibly require payments from the Treasury?	22	78
8. Expanded trade with Communist East Europe and "bridge building" with the Russians?	34	66
9. Guns and butter—continued spending on great society programs and the war in Vietnam, requiring a 6 percent tax surcharge?	16	84

Another issue that has been troubling Congress is the issue of installing an antimissile system to defend the U.S. from nuclear attack from either Red China or Russia. This problem came painfully before us two months ago when the State Department disclosed that China will probably have nuclear missiles capable of reaching our largest cities by 1970. The people of Montana seem to stand squarely behind this system of defense even though the cost may run as high as $30 billion. Proposals to expand trade with Communist countries found little favor with Montanans and this opinion is also evident in national polls. The people of America are not taken in by soft words of the Chinese and Russian leaders as long as these two countries actively support and prolong the war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

JIM BATTIN.

PROMISE OFFERED BY INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of an international meeting which promises momentous results in the realm of international economics, I feel that it would be heartening as well as instructive to reflect upon those areas in which sincere and diligent cooperation among nations has brought forth constructive solutions to urgent world problems.

The historic meeting to which I refer is the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, scheduled to begin in Rio de Janeiro next Monday, September 25.

The major item to be considered at this gathering is the newly formulated plan for reform of the international monetary system, which is one of two major agreements concluded in recent months in the area of international economic activity. The final outline of this monetary agreement was decided upon by the Group of Ten major financial countries late in August; at the end of June, the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations was concluded, resulting in the most comprehensive attack on trade restrictions ever accomplished.

I believe that these examples, wherein painstaking negotiations culminated in agreements which portend great benefit to our Nation and to the world, might well serve as models of a serious and constructive approach to the solution of world dilemmas.

Turning our attention first to the monetary agreement, for several years prior to the formal declaration of intention by the Group of Ten to examine the functioning of the international monetary system, experts in this field were warning of a potential shortage of international liquidity, which would inevitably result in a scarcity of reserves, a decline in international trade and commerce, and a slowing of world economic progress. Because gold production could not expand with sufficient rapidity to supply the need for growing reserves, and because of the U.S. commitment to ease and ultimately eliminate its balance-of-payments deficit, thereby largely removing the U.S. dollar as a major source of reserves, there was a growing danger that such a shortage of liquidity and diminution of international economic intercourse would ensue.

Since a healthy system of international finance is essential to the continuing economic prosperity of all nations, it might seem that there would be little cause for dissention among the countries concerned in their search for a solution to this dilemma. This was, however, not the case. Even among academic economists in this country, there were major differences in the approaches they felt to be most promising, with preferences ranging from the initiation of a freely flexible exchange rate system, through various plans to create new credit arrangements embodied in the form of reserve units of different types or drawing rights based on various criteria, through to a resumption of a strict gold standard. Although the extreme techniques were early eliminated from consideration, and discussion for the most part centered on new systems of international credit creation, there were major differences in the particular system advocated, which alone would require considerable examination and negotiation.

The area of disagreement was not, however, limited to the basically academic economic issues suggested above. There were essential policy conflicts, with the United States and France as the major protagonists. France, in a strong reserve position, was not as sensitive as other large trading countries, particularly deficit countries such as the United States, to the urgency of the need for expanded international liquidity. Furthermore, being critical of the prolonged U.S. deficit, as well as of some of the purposes for which this deficit was accumulated—particularly Vietnam and large-scale American investment in European firms—the French Government emphasized that the first necessary step toward strengthening the international monetary system would require the elimination of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

The United States, on the other hand, while agreeing that its deficit was undesirable and committing itself to take the strongest possible remedial steps, emphasized that reduction of the U.S. deficit would even further aggravate the liquidity problem; to the extent that U.S. dollar liabilities to other nations were reduced, international reserves would similarly contract. Thus, while France wanted to concentrate on the problems of balance-of-payments adjustment and confidence in the international monetary system, which problems were reflected in the U.S. deficit, the United States tended to regard these problems as secondary in importance to the need for increased liquidity.

Because there were significant disagreements between two of the major countries involved, the final plan naturally required certain compromises on the part of both sides, but the most significant factor to consider is that, despite the differences, a solution satisfactory to all parties was evolved. The very fact that a new system for the creation of reserves was constructed reflects a willingness on the part of the French to adjust their original position; the allocation of voting rights and other features of the plan involve limitations on the freedom of debtor nations which the United States had to accept.

The ultimate effect of this new plan on the actual functioning of the international monetary system and the broader economic ramifications that may follow remain to be observed. The mere achievement of such an agreement, however, indicates a highly desirable ability on the part of all nations concerned to make a concerted effort to resolve mutual problems, and to preserve and extend international systems which are recognized as crucial to the continued stability and prosperity of all nations.

The successful conclusion of the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations presents another model of how both conflicting and mutual national goals can, through earnest effort and negotiation, be combined to achieve results which maximize the individual satisfactions of the nations involved, while simultaneously attaining their joint objectives to the greatest possible extent. Despite the desire on the part of all negotiators to guard as carefully as possible the interests of their domestic industries, tariff concessions were made during the Kennedy round covering about $40 billion of trade.

Major conflicts arose during the negotiations which, without the aid of careful economic and diplomatic bargaining, might have created bottlenecks which could have deadlocked the negotiations entirely. The United States was anxious to insure entry of its agricultural products into the markets of the European Economic Community, while the EEC, still in the process of forming its common agricultural policy, wanted to protect its domestic producers. The Common Market and other chemical producers wanted the United States to reduce its restrictions against chemical imports not merely by lowering tariffs, but by surrendering its American selling price system of valuation as well, which the U.S. negotiators were not in a position to do. Differences over these and many other seemingly insurmountable issues might well have signified an end to the constructive potential of the Kennedy round; diligent bargaining, with a recognition of the ultimate benefits which would be forthcoming to all participants with the reduction of trade restrictions, allowed all these major disputes to be resolved in such a way as not to impede the progress of the negotiations.

The successful completion of the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations and of the Group of Ten efforts to construct a plan to reform the international monetary system are major events in the realm of international economics. Their ultimate impact to some extent depends on decisions still to be made, but they nonetheless represent commitments on the part of all the free world nations to support and expand the international economic contacts which are so vital to our continued prosperity and growth.

Of at least equal importance, however, these international agreements can be seen as evidence that a sincere desire on the part of the nations involved to surmount common problems can, with dedication and effort, result in solutions of great mutual benefit.

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF ORGANIZED CRIME

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. POFF] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, about 3 weeks ago the House Republican Task Force on Crime issued a statement highly critical of the Attorney General's "retreat" in his war on organized crime. As evidence of this we pointed to his new regulations strictly limiting legal electronic surveillance by Federal investigators.

Recently I received a letter from Mr. John P. Diuguid, counsel for the Association of Federal Investigators. He enclosed a statement of the association concerning electronic surveillance which was prepared for submission to both Judiciary Committees which are considering legislation in this area. The letter and statement read as follows:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1967.

Hon. RICHARD H. POFF,
Chairman of Republican Task Force on Crime, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. POFF: I am counsel to the Association of Federal Investigators. I thought you might be interested in having a copy of a draft statement concerning electronic surveillance that we have prepared for presentation to the Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress.

You will note that the Association supports legislation which would give law enforcement officers the limited right to use electronic surveillance devices under court order during the investigation of certain types of crimes. From the experience of the membership, these devices are necessary, useful and effective investigative weapons particularly where organized crime cases are concerned.

You will also note that the Association disapproves of the Attorney General's regulations limiting the use of certain types of electronic surveillance which are as yet legal under court decisions. These regulations were, of course, the subject of a recent critical comment by your Task Force with which the Association is in complete agreement. We applaud what you have said and, quite frankly, appreciate the fact that someone would take the time to speak out in support of the investigators.

Yours very truly,
JOHN P. DIUGUID.

STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the members of the Subcommittee for the opportunity to express the views of the Association of Federal Investigators on electronic surveillance and other law enforcement matters. I am John P. Diuguid. My firm, Carr, Bonner, O'Connell, Kaplan and Scott of Washington, D.C., is counsel for the Association.

First, let me say that the Association of Federal Investigators is an organization whose membership is composed of career government employees, active in the field of Federal law enforcement, compliance and security. Total membership exceeds 1,000 at this time. Twelve chapters are now active in major population centers of our country. The national headquarters is located in Washington, D.C.

Members are employed in all cabinet departments and most administrative agencies. The primary purpose of the organization is to advance the professionalization of Federal investigators by developing and devising training, educational and research programs for the membership.

The one issue that has caused the greatest amount of comment and discussion among Association members is electronic surveillance. Yet, for some years now, Federal investigators have contented themselves with letting state and local law enforcement agencies carry the message on the uses and needs for such techniques.

We, of course, recognize that a diversity of opinion exists in this particular area of law enforcement. But, the diversity does not exist to any appreciable degree among law enforcers. Our group is as close to unanimity as any group can be on one issue. The Association does not feel that it can remain silent on so critical a matter. Failure to speak might be construed as an endorsement of the total outlawing of *all* electronic surveillance.

The report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice carries the following interesting comment in its chapter on organized crime: "The great majority of law enforcement officials believe that the evidence necessary to bring criminal sanctions to bear consistently on the higher echelons of organized crime will not be obtained without the aid of electronic surveillance techniques." (Page 201.)

The same chapter also indicates that while tactical intelligence is of value to a specific prosecution, the real need today is for strategic intelligence, i.e., information regarding the capabilities, intentions, and vulnerabilities of organized crime groups. This information would enable agencies to predict what directions organized crime might take, which industries it might try to penetrate, and how it might infiltrate.

Based upon their collective experience our members feel that we know more about organized crime and its national and international implications than any other group in America. Our people see its effects daily in the death masks of its victims and the squalor and poverty it perpetuates through its activities in gambling, loan-sharking, drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution and the moral degeneration and official corruption that results therefrom.

As illustrations of the gravity and magnitude of the problem we meet daily, we are attaching to this statement copies of some selected newspaper articles. The articles document the refined knowledge of electronic devices by the members of organized crime, their infiltration of legitimate businesses and the confusion which surrounds the use of electronic devices.

As an organization of professional investigators, the Association is appalled by the fact that the recent crop of editorial comment and public debate on wiretapping and eavesdropping has taken on partisan characteristics. This should not be. The issue is too important to be looked at from a parochial or narrow point of view.

We believe in the fullest and most comprehensive type of dialogue on the problem. All viewpoints of substance should be explored and analyzed. It is in this light that my client feels constrained to make its sentiments known. Frankly, its membership cuts across *all* political parties. The Association has its liberals and conservatives—its progressives and reactionaries. But on this one issue, it finds an almost total unanimity of opinion.

The A.F.I. feels, of course, that investigators should be free to utilize every *legal* investigative device currently available. Association members were therefore appalled when the Attorney General issued his "Memorandum to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies of June 16, 1967," in which he put his office in "control" of *every* "use of mechanical or electronic devices to overhear or record nontelephonic conversations" and required this clearance of every proposed use of such devices even though their use has not been forbidden by any statute or court decision. The effect of this regulation has been to limit materially the use of perfectly legal modern devices in Federal investigations. Agency heads are understandably reluctant to become involved in the additional "red-tape" which this memorandum has created. Thus investigative agents, even in situations where, through personal sacrifice and risk, they are in a position to gather valuable intelligence or evidence often are deprived of modern assistance. Morale suffers among agents; society is deprived of adequate protection against the menace of crime; and organized crime, which employs *every* modern device—legal and illegal—in detecting and combating Federal investigations is the beneficiary. Thus, while the Attorney General's authority to control all Federal investigations may be questionable, his memorandum has been extremely effective and, in the opinion of this Association, extremely damaging to the fight against organized crime.

The Association therefore requests the assistance of this Committee in altering the unfortunate situation created by regulations such as the Attorney General's, by statute and by court decision.

The Association of Federal Investigators therefore recommends that legislation be enacted permitting the use of electronic listening devices with judicial permission and control where the suspected illegal conduct involves a violation of Federal, state or local laws concerning gambling, narcotic and dangerous drugs, extortion, blackmail, labor-racketeering, commercial bribery, industrial piracy, political and police corruption, kidnapping, frauds against government agencies and matters involving the integrity and security of government employees.

We recommend further that legislation be enacted permitting the interception of telephone conversations, with court permission and supervision for the purpose of gathering strategic intelligence on organized crime groups.

Finally, we recommend legislation permitting the use in court of intercepted telephonic communications where the crime committed or intended to be committed involves interstate: (a) narcotic and dangerous drug trafficking, (b) gambling, (c) labor-racketeering, (d) prostitution, (e) kidnapping, and (f) extortion; provided, however, that a search warrant be secured therefor from a U.S. District Judge prior to such interception and that the warrant be predicated on probable cause existing at the time of application for the warrant.

The Association believes that passage of the proposed "Electronic Surveillance Control Act of 1967" (H.R. 10037) would be a major step toward meeting the aforementioned recommendations. The bill, while limiting severely the circumstances under which electronic devices could be used, would give Federal investigators flexibility and capability much needed in the detection of major crimes and in the war against organized crime.

By permitting electronic surveillance in limited circumstances the Act would, we believe, effectively insure that no investigator would be tempted to utilize illegal means to gather information.

The need for and value of the proposed Act very recently has been underscored by the revelations in Life Magazine's September 1st and September 8th feature articles concerning the power and scope of organized crime in this country. Copies of these articles are attached in order that they may be made a part of the record of this Committee.

The Association of Federal Investigators strongly urges early passage of the Electronic Surveillance Control Act of 1967.

It is enormously significant that this association supports H.R. 10037, the Electronic Surveillance Control Act, and deplores the Attorney General's obstructionism toward Federal investigations. Until now the only spokesman for the Federal Government on these issues has been Attorney General Clark. He has continually articulated the administration line that electronic surveillance is ineffective and unnecessary in dealing with what he calls the tiny problem of organized crime.

But now, a group of more than 1,000 career employees of the Federal Government active in law enforcement have spoken out in direct opposition to his view. Association membership transcends party lines; it encompasses the highest levels of career Government service in all cabinet departments and most Federal administration agencies. Their views are not to be taken lightly. I earnestly commend them to the Congress.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Virginia yield?

Mr. POFF. I am pleased to yield to the able gentleman from Illinois, a member of our task force and a man with wide experience in the field of law enforcement.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, I have read the statement of the Association of Federal Investigators just referred to by the gentleman from Virginia.

This is an amazing document, made even more amazing when one considers its source.

When the Attorney General stated that it was his experience that electronic surveillance was neither necessary nor useful in dealing with organized crime, I had understood that he was speaking for the collective experience of the entire Federal Establishment.

But now it appears that obviously he was not.

Evidently the collective experience of the Federal Establishment is just the opposite. Just as evidently when the Attorney General speaks on this issue he speaks for himself and himself alone.

I am unaware of the experience with organized crime that has led the Attorney General to his position and I am unaware of any other individuals in the Federal Government who share his view.

The statement of the Federal investigators is plain, clear, and unequivocal. The experience of their membership is manifest. To me, they have utterly destroyed any basis for the administration's position.

Mr. POFF. I thank the gentleman for his important contribution. I now want to yield to another member of our task force, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. WYMAN] who served formerly as attorney general of his State and as president of the National Association of Attorneys General.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, as the distinguished Member from Virginia [Mr. POFF] has emphasized so well today, legislation to permit electronic surveillance by law enforcement authorities with court supervision is urgently needed in the cause of protecting the law-abiding members of our society.

The Supreme Court has indicated this to be constitutional. We should be on with getting it enacted into law at this session of Congress—not postpone it to some dim and distant future date. The public protection demands action now.

Indicative of national concern about this is the adoption by the National Association of Attorneys General on August 30, 1967, at its annual meeting in Portland, Oreg., of a resolution calling on the Congress to enact this legislation.

The text of this resolution reads as follows:

> Whereas we believe that modern law enforcement, in order to be both effective and law abiding, must not be denied the right to use advanced, scientific methods of crime detection, including electronic surveillance; and
>
> Whereas at the same time we recognize the strong public interest in guarding the right to privacy of law-abiding individuals and against the dangers of abuse of electronic devices and hence the need for devising safeguards, controls, and restrictions applicable to their use;
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved by the 61st Annual Meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General in Portland, Oregon, that we favor in principle federal legislation now pending before the Congress, permitting the use of electronic surveillance devices limited to federal and, where authorized by state law, state enforcement agencies, under strict supervision by the courts, along principles applicable to the issuance of search warrants and confined to specifically enumerated classes of cases involving serious crimes and organized criminal activities, as each state may deem appropriate.

As a former president of this national association, I am personally familiar with the fact that it includes the chief law enforcement officers of every State in the Union. This resolution was adopted after debate and discussion. It represents the conviction of more than 90 percent of the several States. It is a tangible contradiction to the stated position of the Attorney General of the United States that such legislation is unnecessary in law enforcement.

But, Mr. Speaker, the national Attorney General went further than this. As chief law enforcement officer of the Federal Government, he said in substance that such investigative techniques were unnecessary to effective law enforcement in combating crime. This just is not so, and I cannot understand how a public prosecutor charged with the responsibility for the integrity and protection of our vast Federal Establishment could bring himself to making such an obviously unsound statement. Narcotics, tax evasion, organized crime, murder, counterfeiting, what have you, there is no question but what in this computerized age with electronic surveillance in command of our submarines, controlling our aircraft and literally managing vast sections of modern industry, it is utterly essential that we use equivalent technology to keep abreast of what the deliberate and intentional criminal is doing—all under the appropriate court supervision.

This neither violates individual rights nor invades constitutionally protected personal privacy. On the contrary, it enables law enforcement officials to act to defend law-abiding members of our society against crime, and they need it in these days of rising crime more than ever before.

I urge this House to enact this legislation as a matter of priority and before the end of this session.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I am glad the gentleman has added this resolution to this colloquy.

It becomes daily more difficult to find any official, Federal or State, who is active in the fight against organized crime, who agrees with Attorney General Clark's position on electronic surveillance legislation.

TAXPAYERS' MONEY IS FINANCING THE UNIONIZATION OF FARM LABOR

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on February 27 of this year I told the House of the strange activities of the California Self-Help Service Corps, financed by poverty funds which were channeled through the California Center for Community Development. My remarks clearly pointed to the possibility that these funds were being used for the purpose of training farm labor organizers.

On March 22, I again addressed the House and presented evidence which led to the clear presumption that Federal funds allocated by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the CCCD were being used in union organizing activity. I named names and places and urged that the General Accounting Office investigate to determine whether Federal funds were being utilized improperly.

Subsequent to my remarks on March 22, I officially requested the General Accounting Office to conduct an investigation and I am happy to announce that they have done so in depth.

Though the General Accounting Office had hoped for an original target date of October 1 for the completion of their report, it may take until the middle of October. I have no advance notice regarding GAO's findings, but I am so confident of my facts that I predict the report will show that Federal poverty funds have been used in union organizing activity. I am hopeful that the Office of Economic Opportunity will constructively benefit from what the report will undoubtedly show and will take steps to prevent such things from recurring in the future.

Today, I would like to discuss still another instance where Federal funds administered through the poverty program are being utilized in a highly questionable manner. I speak of California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., financed out of poverty funds, which recently inspired and masterminded a suit against the U.S. Department of Labor and drew from that Department a concession in the form of an agreement in exchange for a promise from California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., that it would bring no further litigation with respect to foreign agricultural workers already certified by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Mr. Speaker, this is blackmail of a department of the U.S. Government which is financed by Federal funds channeled through the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Recently the regional office of the Department of Labor, after the usual thorough study of local labor conditions, certified growers in central California as eligible to receive Mexican braceroes to harvest their crops. This eligibility was determined only after a complete investigation by the Department and a determination that, first, crops would go to waste unless braceroes were imported, second, that growers had, in fact, exhausted every effort to recruit domestic labor; third, that they were offering wages which were in strict compliance with the Labor Department's criteria; fourth, that domestic workers were not available; and fifth, that the importation of braceroes would not adversely affect domestic workers.

California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., financed out of war on poverty funds, went into court to enjoin the certification by the Secretary of Labor and a hearing date was set for September 12.

Growers representatives, as interested parties, went to the courtroom on September 12 expecting to hear the matter argued. Instead, they were dumbfounded to hear Mr. Glick, the attorney for California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., announce:

> The representatives of the Department of Labor and the representatives of the California Rural Legal Assistance have reached a full settlement in this matter.

I have been reliably informed that representatives of the Department of Justice and other attorneys had urged Secretary Wirtz to resist the lawsuit brought against him by California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., and had predicted that it could be thrown out of court in "half a day." I am also informed that the Secretary of Labor said that he did not wish to be placed in the position of defending the growers, and urged instead that an agreement be negotiated.

This agreement is fantastic and something which constitutes a new low in groveling submission to blackmail by an agency of the U.S. Government. It is more than a novelty when an incorporated group such as the California Rural Legal Assistance can use Federal funds for the purpose of bringing suit against an arm of the Federal Government, in this case, the Department of Labor.

It is even more strange that the Department of Labor, which apparently had an airtight legal case against the suit, would surrender to such a group and make unusual concessions which were unnecessary, unrealistic, and which besmirch the dignity of a Government department headed by a member of the President's Cabinet.

Under this agreement, the Labor Department agreed to expeditiously appoint an independent panel, consisting of seven members, to study and examine certification procedures for hiring foreign labor, and make recommendations for changes. It agreed that three of the seven members would be nominated by California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc.

Since when has the Labor Department of the U.S. Government paid tribute to a rump organization which suckles the Federal poverty program for its very existence? Since when have we tolerated blackmail?

It is reliably reported that one of the three members to be nominated by California Rural Legal Assistance will be Bert Corona of MAPA—Mexican-American Political Association—a well-known and uncompromising foe of importation of any foreign labor. It is also reported that a representative of the United Farm Workers organizing committee and one of the attorneys of the California Rural Legal Assistance will be appointed. The Labor Department's regional administrator, Mr. Glen Brockway, is reported to have said he would appoint as the remaining four members men of the "caliber" of those who served on the Labor Secretary's three-man panel which met in 1965 to establish compliance standards and to make recommendations for the importation of foreign labor. Anyone who remembers the report of this panel certainly recognizes it as biased against the grower and user of foreign labor. Thus, this seven-member panel, which has been legitimatized by a behind-the-scenes deal in a court case brought with poverty money, is a stacked deck. There is little chance that its recommendations will be fair and unbiased.

Another facet of the agreement, which might better be termed as a surrender document to the poverty-financed CRLA, requires each employer, under penalty of perjury, to file a statement of compliance with the Labor Secretary's criteria for certification of foreign labor requirement. Such a statement may be perfectly proper if found necessary by the Secretary of Labor, but the fact that he was coerced into requiring it by an organization with as little claim to legitimacy as the CRLA which exists only through the handout of Federal poverty funds is shameful.

Another section of the "surrender document," erroneously titled as an "agreement," states that all and interested affected parties can demand the availability of all evidence, both pro and con, of alleged violations of the Secretary's criteria. Thus, any person, including professional agitators who use harassment as a technique to produce disruption, can demand evidence which is not rightly theirs. Why must the great Department of Labor be blackjacked and blackmailed into giving a rump organization like CRLA information to which it is not legally entitled? The Department and the growers are the parties concerned in the making of a strictly administrative decision, which, when made, can be legally challenged by any person in the courts if he disagrees with it. Why should one court case and the "surrender document" which brought it to a close serve the purpose of including every Tom, Dick, and Harry as a party of interest? This opens the way for administrative turmoil and complete chaos.

Another section of the "surrender document" says that no braceroes shall be certified after the date of the agreement until 7 days after an employer has requested foreign workers and the attorneys for California Rural Legal Assistance have had the opportunity of presenting evidence of noncompliance on the part of that grower. I am reliably informed that an arrangement has been made to immediately notify a Miss Silva in the Los Angeles office of CRLA when a grower makes a request. Thus, CRLA, a group of private attorneys financed by poverty funds, is set up as another branch of the U.S. Government. Obviously, CRLA, armed with all the information which will be required in a previously mentioned section of the agreement, will be in a position to delay and harass every applicant for foreign workers. With this special privilege it will be in a position to contact individual growers and to blackmail them into making labor agreements provided CRLA agrees to take no action to protest the certification. When a highly perishable crop is ready for market, a farmer is fair game for such blackmail and CRLA knows it.

Still another amazing section of the "surrender document" requires the California State Department of Employment to immediately submit copies of all work orders for domestic workers which might lead to a request for foreign workers. The document states further that all requests, both intra- and interstate, shall be available for public inspection. Thus, a farmer's anticipated needs, the wages he intends to pay, and much data which, according to normal business practice, should be confidential will become public. Here again, the person who desires to harass or agitate and cause labor troubles would be armed in advance with the necessary tools of his trade. He is so armed because the U.S. Labor Department, in seeking to avoid a legal confrontation on a case it most certainly would have won, has surrendered to a group which survives on handouts from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This is blackmail of one branch of the U.S. Government financed by still another branch.

Mr. Speaker, it would be useful at this point to look at the history and makeup of California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. CRLA was organized pursuant to the general nonprofit corporation law of the State of California on March 3, 1966. Among the specific and primary purposes for which the corporation was formed are:

First. To secure, for benevolent and charitable purposes, justice for and protection of the rights of farmworkers and poor persons residing in rural areas who appear worthy thereof and who are unable to procure satisfactory assistance elsewhere; to assist persons without means in the pursuit of any legal remedy; and to promote measures for their protection.

Second. To advance the knowledge of and appreciation for the law among the general public, and cooperation with the courts of justice of the State of California and with the bar, and with social agencies, and any and all other persons, person or groups of persons interested in the administration of justice.

Some of the early directors of the California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. and their affiliations were Cesar Chavez, director, National Farm Workers Association; Oscar Gonzales, president of the United Farm Workers; Larry Itliong, Agricultural Workers organizing committee; Kathryn Peake, vice chairman of Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers; Al Pinon, president of Community Service Organization; and Violet Rotan, a farmworker.

In late March of 1966, application was made to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C., by the corporation, for funds to conduct a project to supply legal assistance to farmworkers and other poor persons residing in rural areas of California.

In September of 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity attached certain special conditions to the activities of the corporation prior to the issuance of funds. Among the special conditions were:

First. The rural legal assistance program may not act as legal counsel for, nor supply any legal representation to any labor union or political organization.

Second. The board of directors shall include two persons who are agricultural producers and who will be selected by the Giannini Institute of the University of California, Berkeley, or if the selections are not made by said institution, will be selected by the head of the agriculture department of the University of California, Davis, Calif.

The California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. has almost completely ignored the stated purposes for which it was formed and the special conditions imposed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., has become generally known as the legal arm of the United Farm Workers organizing committee. Its early organizers and subsequent acts leave little doubt to an open-minded man that its purpose is to bring pressure against growers by preventing the proper administration of the law concerning foreign workers and, in so doing, promote the organization of farm labor.

Mr. Speaker, I do not argue against the unionization of farm labor. That is a proper and just objective if farmworkers desire it, but it is wrong for taxpayers' funds to be used directly for this purpose, or indirectly, as they are being used by California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. Further, it is highly questionable that such a group financed from poverty funds should duplicate work which is properly the function of the U.S. Department of Labor and actually bring suit against that Department.

At this point in the RECORD, I submit a declaration circulated by CRLA which has been returned to that group by signatories who have sworn to its truth under penalty of perjury:

DECLARATION

I, ----------------------, declare that the following questions were propounded to me on ------------, 1967. I declare that I propounded the following questions on -------, 1967, to ----------------------.

Date of Interview------------------------------
Name ----------------------------------
Address --------------------------------
Telephone -------------- Age ---- Sex ----

A. Did you work in a tomato field in the last year? Yes ---- No ----.

(a) Name of employer--------------------
(b) Address of employer-----------------
(c) Dates of employment-----------------
(d) Was this a farm labor contractor? Yes--- No ----

B. Did you work for a grower of tomatoes on some *other* crop? Yes ---- No -----.

(a) What crop? ----------------------------
(b) When? ----------------------------------

C. Did you have a written contract? Yes--- No ---; if yes, did the contract guarantee that you would work at least ¾ of the time that it would be in effect? Yes ---- No----.

D. Did you live at home when you worked there? Yes ---- No -----.

(a) If no, where were you living? ---------
(b) If you lived in a labor camp, did you have to pay for it? Yes ---- No -----.
  (1) If it was *not* free housing, what did you pay? ---------------------------
(c) Were meals provided in the camp? Yes ---- No ----; if yes, what was the cost per day? ------------------------

E. How many people were there working for the employer? -------------------------

F. Are you working there now? Yes ---- No -----.

RATES PAY

1. Is there a sign posted, which tells when payday falls and the time and place of payment? Yes ---- No -----.

2. How often paid? Every week -----. Every two weeks -----. Every month -----. (If latter, did employer supply room and board? Yes ---- No ----; other ------------------).

3. Were you fired? Yes—— No——; if yes, why? ——————. Were you paid immediately? Yes—— No ——.

4. Did you quit? Yes —— No.——; if yes, were you paid within 3 days? Yes—— No ——.

5. Were you laid off? Yes—— No ——; if yes, were you paid within 3 days? Yes—— No——.

6. Were you paid less than you were told when you started working? Yes—— No ——.

7. If there was a disagreement over how much the employer owed you did he make you sign a statement that indicated that you had been paid in full? Yes—— No——.

8. Did the employer ever refuse to pay you anything? Yes —— No ——.

9. What wage were you promised when you started? ——————.

10. How much were you actually paid? ——————————.

11. Did the employer tell you what the wage rate was when you started? Yes—— No ——.

12. Did your paycheck ever bounce? Yes —— No ——.

13. Did employer provide a written statement of deductions with each paycheck, e.g., check stub? Yes —— No ——.

14. Do you have any check stubs? Yes—— No ——; if so, do they show:

(a) The inclusive dates of the pay period, e.g., 9/1/66–9/7/66? Yes —— No ——.
(b) Your name *or* soc. sec. no.? Yes ——. No ——
(c) The employer's name? Yes —— No ——.
(d) All deductions?
  (1) Disability insurance (SDI)? Yes —— No ——.
  (2) Social security (OAS or FICA)? Yes —— No ——.
  (3) Other? Yes —— No ——.
  Explain: ——————————.

WATER

1. Was there drinking water in the field where you worked? Yes—— No——; if yes, where? —————— Was it close? Yes—— No——; how close? —————

(a) If yes:
  (1) Was the container covered? Yes—— No——
  (2) Was the water fresh and pure? Yes—— No——; if no, explain: ——————
  (3) Did the container have a faucet? Yes—— No——
  (4) Did the container have a dipper? Yes—— No——
  (5) Did everybody drink from the same cup? Yes—— No——
  (6) Individual cups? Yes—— No——
  (7) How many people drink from the same cup? —————

TOILETS

1. Were there toilets you could use? Yes—— No——

(a) If yes:
  (1) Was there toilet paper? Yes—— No——
  (2) How many toilets? ————
  (3) Were they within 5 minutes walking distance? Yes—— No——
  (4) Did they provide privacy? Yes—— No——; if no, explain ——————
  (5) Were they clean? Yes—— No——
  (6) Were there many flies around the toilets? Yes—— No——
  (7) Did the toilets have seats? Yes—— No——
  (8) Did they have lids? Yes—— No——

HANDWASHING FACILITIES

1. Was there water near the toilets to wash your hands? Yes—— No——

(a) If yes:
  (1) What kind of container was it in? —————
  (2) Was the water clean? Yes—— No——
  (3) Was there soap? Yes—— No——
  (4) Were there towels? Yes—— No——
  (5) Did everybody use the same towel? Yes—— No——
  (6) Where was the "used" water disposed? —————

UNION MEMBERSHIP

1. Did you sign an agreement not to join a union? Yes —— No ——

(a) If yes, did the employer say you had to sign to keep or get the job? Yes —— No ——
  (1) If yes, explain: ——————

2. Did the employer ever hire you without telling you that there was a strike? Yes —— No ——

TRANSPORTATION

1. Did the employer supply you with transportation, either from your home, the labor camp, or on the farm itself? Yes —— No —— If yes, explain: ——————————. Describe the vehicle: ——————

(a) Did it have seats? Yes —— No ——
(b) Was it a flat bed truck? Yes —— No ——
(c) How many people rode in it? ————
(d) Was it overcrowded? Yes —— No ——
(e) Did anyone have to stand? Yes —— No ——
(f) Did you ever drive the truck or bus? Yes—— No ——; if yes, do you have a farm labor vehicle driver's license? Yes —— No ——

MINORS

1. Do you know if anyone under 18 worked on the farm? Yes —— No ——; if yes, about how many worked there ———, how old was the youngest ———. (The following questions apply only if the person you are interviewing is under 18, or was under 18 when he worked on the farm.)

2. What grade in school had you completed when you worked? ———

3. Did you have a work permit from your school? Yes —— No ——

4. Did the employer ask you for it? Yes —— No ——

5. Was there a sign around which said that minors must have work permits? Yes —— No ——

6. How many hours did you work each day?———

7. Did you ever work more than 8 hours/day? Yes——— No———

8. Was there a sign around which said that minors could not work more than 8 hours/day? Yes——— No———

9. Did you get at least a 10 minute break every 4 hours? Yes——— No———

10. How long did you get for lunch?——— minutes.

11. Did you work at any "dangerous" job? Yes——— No———; if yes, explain———

WOMEN

1. Were there women working on the farm? Yes——— No———; if yes, how many?———

2. What type of work were they doing? ———

3. How much were they being paid?———

4. Were they given at least 10 minutes rest break every 4 hours? Yes——— No———

5. Did they have to carry anything over 25 pounds? Yes——— No———; if yes, what did they carry and how much did it weight? ———

6. Were they provided with meals and lodging? Yes——— No———; if yes, how much did they charge for each?———

I declare under penalty of perjury that my answers to the above questions are true and correct.

Executed this———day of———, 1967, at———, California.

———

I declare under penalty of perjury that the above questions were propounded to ———; that the answers thereto were recorded by me, and that they are the answers given me by said individual.

Executed this———day of———, 1967, at———, California.

———

It will be noted that these are questions which are properly the concern of the Department of Labor. What right has another agency of the Government to set itself up in competition with the Government and demand such information under penalty of perjury? Obviously, there should be no such right, and there was not until the Labor Department surrender in a California courtroom on September 12. It is equally obvious that any organization which compiles such information is doing so for the purpose of eventually taking unto itself what is the proper function of the Department of Labor.

Before closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce into the RECORD two more clear-cut evidences that poverty money is being used for the purpose of organizing farmworkers. First is a copy of a statement in Spanish which was circulated to farmworkers in Gilroy, Calif.

The statement follows:

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE AFL–CIO

Se hace una atenta y cordial invitación a todos los Miembros de esta Unión así como a todo trabajador campesino de esta región, a una Junta Extraordinaria que se llevará a cabo en la casa No. 222 de la Calle Martin de esta ciudad a las 7:30 P.M. del dia martes 6 de Junio del presente año.

Habrá votación del acuerdo que se tomó con los Teamsters y la AFL–CIO. No deje de asistir porque será muy necesario su voto y para que se dé cuenta personalmente de todos los trabajós de la Unión.

Esperamos su puntual asistencia.

Atentamente.

SUS ORGANIZADORES,
Gilroy, Calif., Junio de 1967.

I asked the Library of Congress to translate the statement, and I include the translation at this point:

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE AFL–CIO

A cordial invitation is made to the members of this Union as well as to all farm workers of this region, to a special meeting, which will be held at house No. 222 of Martin Street of this city at 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday, June 6, 1967.

There will be voting on the agreement made between the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO. Don't fail to attend because your vote will be greatly needed and also so that you may get a first-hand view of the work of the Union.

We will expect your punctual attendance.

Sincerely,

YOUR ORGANIZERS,
Gilroy, Calif., June 1967.

It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that the address for the special meeting, where voting was to take place on the agreement made between the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO, is the address of the Gilroy Area Service Center, which is part of the war on poverty and is financed from Federal poverty funds.

Another circular, which is not identified as having been printed at the Gilroy Area Service Center, but which compares closely with other mimeographed material emanating from that office, advertises a meeting featuring Cesar Chavez in Gilroy on July 30 and makes reference to the United Farm Workers organizing committee of the AFL-CIO.

A connection between promotional activity for this meeting and the Gilroy poverty program is clear and conclusive from a copy in my files of a publication entitled "Comunidad en Accion" which bears the name of the Gilroy Area Service Center. The first page of the August issue features the banner of the UFWOC, United Farm Workers, and the AFL-CIO. The last page carries a notice in Spanish in which the UFWOC invites interested parties to see and hear Cesar Chavez at the July 30 meeting. The mimeographing of this publication was obviously done on the same machine which produced the previously mentioned circular.

I repeat again, Mr. Speaker, there is nothing wrong with efforts to organize farmworkers, but it should not be done with Federal antipoverty money.

The evidence continues to mount that one of the principal thrusts of the poverty program in California and one of the principal causes benefited by antipoverty money is the outright unionization of farm labor. And now, unfortunately, it appears that the Department of Labor, which has the responsibility to oversee farm labor conditions and make certifications regarding the need for supplementary foreign labor, has become the silent and acquiescent partner in the illegal activity of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

When, Mr. Speaker, will Mr. Shriver stand up and do his duty? When will he administer the law as Congress intended?

SENIOR SERVICE PROGRAM TO BE FUNDED BY LABOR AND HEW

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, one of the most appealing legislative proposals that I have been associated with in the Congress is creation of an older Americans community service program, which would allow our older citizens to undertake satisfying projects for the benefit of their communities and local charitable agencies and organizations.

Legislation authorizing such a program was first introduced in 1965 by Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS in the Senate, and I was proud to be one of the two original sponsors here in the House. Three days of most useful hearings were held in the Senate, and it became clear that not only were our senior citizens eager to contribute their time and energies to meaningful activities but that they had performed effective service when called upon in the past. Pilot or demonstration projects like Meals on Wheels—using the elderly to bring meals to shutins and invalids, Project Green Thumb—using retired farmers to help with conservation and beautification projects, and Medicare Alert—using the elderly to acquaint others with the necessity to register under medicare—had proved phenomenally successful, and eloquent personal statements were given by those whose lives had been brightened by their new-found responsibilities, satisfactions, and friends. On the very last day of the 89th congressional session, the Senate passed this legislation by unanimous consent.

During this session, I reintroduced the bill to create an older Americans community service program, and have pressed for early hearings on it. On September 18, the Senate Aging Subcommittee opened its hearings and called on representatives of the appropriate executive departments to testify.

While the proposal has received informal support from within the administration, it had never been made part of the administration's program. I was therefore surprised, and doubly delighted, to learn that Labor Secretary Wirtz and Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Gardner believed that the program could be initiated within 3 to 4 months under existing legislation and with existing funds.

I look forward to seeing the details of the joint program these two Departments are planning. The possibilities for developing an imaginative program to engage the willing hands and mature minds of our older citizens are enormous. I have already contacted Secretaries Wirtz and Gardner about their intentions, and plan to closely oversee the future development of this new program which should be carefully nurtured through any early growing pains.

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS ON MONDAYS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to establish the observance of four of our national holidays on Mondays. These are Washington's Birthday, on the third Monday in February; Memorial Day, the last Monday in May; Independence Day, the first Monday in July; and Veterans' Day, the second Monday in November. The net effect would be to provide that, in each case, the holiday would be part of a 3-day weekend.

The benefits would be severalfold. For many Americans, it would guarantee the opportunity to share these holidays with families which may be dispersed through different cities. For industries and schools, it would mean an end to the high absenteeism experienced on a Monday or Friday—when a holiday falls on Tuesday or Thursday. Schedules could be more predictably formulated.

I realize that this will mean some changes in tradition, but, in no case, is there a violation of the nature of the tradition. President Washington—who was not born on February 22, according to the modern calendar—could as well be honored on or about February 22 as on that precise date. Memorial Day and Veterans' Day were originally to celebrate the termination of specific conflicts, but, since World War II, they have come to be occasions for honoring those who have served our country in all our wars.

Finally, my proposal would also fix the fourth Thursday in November as Thanksgiving. This would end the need for annual Presidential decrees. My inclination it not to change this date because, by custom, this has become virtually a 4-day holiday.

As for Independence Day, because the holiday has come to be known as the Fourth of July, there is perhaps more reason to preserve the precise traditional date. But there is no compelling reason to preserve that date. The Declaration of Independence was, for example, written on July 2.

If my bill, and those like it, are brought up for full debate in the House and Senate, the exact coverage of the proposal could be finally settled in the light of general public reaction throughout the country.

THE JOHNSON-SARAGAT MEETING EMPHASIZES THE CLOSE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. DADDARIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson and President Saragat, of Italy, have concluded a highly successful meeting in behalf of world peace.

The communique issued by the two heads of state reflects the common bonds of understanding enjoyed by our two countries. In fact, peace was the keynote of their meeting.

In their discussions on NATO, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, trade and monetary policies, and on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, both statesmen explored new opportunities to create better understanding between nations and new means to achieve world stability.

These meetings emphasize, I think, the close understanding and commonly shared hopes and desires of our two nations.

It is clear that to the United States, Italy is more than an ally—she is a close and trusted friend.

And for Americans this fact is a matter of pride and satisfaction.

The meetings between the two Presidents this week are a further advance to close partnership between Italy and the United States—a partnership based on peace, progress, and justice for all mankind.

JAMES A. FARLEY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Kirwan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, James A. Farley, who wrote the accompanying excellent article especially for the Little Dispatcher, is one of America's best known and greatest senior statesmen. His great love and understanding of humanity is much in evidence in this article.

Former national chairman of the Democratic Party, he was largely responsible for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency. They parted company when Roosevelt decided to break precedent and seek a third term in 1940.

In Roosevelt's Cabinet, Mr. Farley served as Postmaster General from 1933 to 1940. Now 79 years old, he is chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., and still in vigorous health.

Before entering politics in New York, Mr. Farley had his own building material business and he always felt that politics and business were closely related. A big man physically, he never smoked or drank, is famous for his friendly, warm personality and his phenomenal ability to remember names.

Mr. Farley's message is one that should be read and reread because it contains a message that could well guide you safely through the rest of your life:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Little Dispatcher]

Carriers Vital, Says Statesman Farley

(By James A. Farley)

Free enterprise has organized such a wonderful way of life that the only time it is really noticed is the few times it doesn't work. Millions of people never noticed what electricity was doing for them until the temporary power failure. Millions never noticed how easy it was for them to travel until the transportation systems were tied up. Thus the way to measure the importance of a service is to imagine what would happen if it wasn't performed.

The people of Columbus read the Columbus Dispatch every day. They do not rush out of their houses to thank you for it each time you deliver it. They expect it. That is because you are doing a responsible job in a responsible way. The fact that they expect the delivery of their papers by you is the highest compliment that they can pay you. They depend upon you to do your duty and you do it well.

Whether it's on the streets of Columbus, Ohio, or the decks of battleships, the principle is the same. Before the Battle of Trafalgar, Admiral Nelson hoisted his signal: "England expects every man to do his duty." The United States Navy's highest recognition comes when the commanding Admiral signals a ship, "Well Done."

The reason is perfectly simple. One man who doesn't do his duty can sink a ship, and one ship lost can lose a battle. It often follows that if there is one break in the line of duty, all else fails. I depend on my daily newspapers heavily. It follows that I depend heaviest of all on the people who deliver them, because if they don't deliver them, I can't read them.

Sometimes I think we should have a second national motto.

Our motto, "In God We Trust" is a good one, but we might well add, "And forgive us, O Lord for taking so much for granted."

By that I mean "That all isn't as simple as it looks." Tens of millions of Americans expect their newsboys to deliver their newspapers. But do they ever consider how many hundreds of different skills and the work of how many thousands of men are involved in that simple act?

Lumbermen have to cut the trees, paper factories make the papers, power companies provide the power, and ship, rail and trucking companies are used to deliver the physical property alone.

To get the news, reporters rove the world and the telephone, and telegraph companies have to bring it to the editors. The amount of men and skills involved are too many to mention. But when they are all through, they give it to the newspaperboys to deliver and if they didn't do their jobs, the whole thing would be a waste of time, money and effort.

Thus, though you are boys, you have accepted a man's responsibility. By accepting that responsibility you are in business. You make a profit because you discharge your responsibility. So does every man who helps put the paper in your hands to put in the hands of the readers. Responsibility with profit is the heart of free enterprise. Neither can exist without the other. I am a lot older than you, but I live by the same principles that you are learning so young.

I am not going to elaborate upon the function of a free press.

It is so important that it is protected by the first Amendment of the United States Constitution. You were born a free person, you are engaged in a free enterprise and you deliver a free newspaper which is final proof that you live in a free country. That's how important your job is; if one ever falls, the other falls with it.

You have earned the joy of work. Never lose it. "By the sweat of his brow shall man earn his bread" was no curse; it was one of God's greatest gifts.

CENTENNIAL OF THE SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME DE NAMUR IN CHICOPEE, MASS.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to pay a few minutes of tribute to the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur who this year mark their 100th year in my district. This centennial is of special significance for the first school staffed by the Sisters of Notre Dame, now Holy Name in Chicopee, Mass., represents the founding of parochial education of any kind in Massachusetts beyond the Boston area. So the centennial of the Notre Dame order in Chicopee marks not only the establishment of a system, but celebrates the continuance of a tradition of service and excellence. This is what we commend today.

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur was founded in 1804 by Blessed Julie Billiart in Cuvilly, Belgium. The purpose in the beginning was the education of young women. Because of the demand through the years, they have extended their service in the elementary grades also to boys, however, their high schools and colleges even today remain dedicated to their primary concern: to produce the fully educated woman. It is the caliber and reputations of these institutes of learning that best pay tribute to the order today.

The goals of this great community can attest to the service they are making. Their primary one is education—education not to impose a code, but to "free" the person in order that he or she may be able to recognize right and establish his or her own code. The student is able to judge and act upon that judgment. The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur base their work on the contention that only the informed and aware can be substantially complete, and only the complete person can contribute significantly. It is unnecessary and superfluous to expound on the worth of such a service.

The centennial celebration took place on September 8, 9, and 10 at Holy Name Parish and the College of Our Lady of the Elms in Chicopee, Mass. I was honored to participate in the program and would like to include at this point in the Record remarks which I delivered at the celebration, a short background of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Chicopee, the program for the centennial, and the newspaper account of the address given by Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, which appeared in the Springfield Sunday Republican on September 10, 1967:

Remarks of Congressman Edward P. Boland at the Centennial Dinner of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Saturday, September 9, 1967

Mr. Toastmaster, Sister Matilda Marie, Monsignor Devine, Commissioner Kiernan, Senate President Maurice Donahue, Representative Mitsie Kulig, reverend clergy and devoted Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, I am grateful for the honor you pay me by your invitation to this historic and memorable event. I come to join all of you in this salute to the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur for the contribution they have made to the social and educational life of this community over the past one hundred years.

Think of it! One hundred years of administering to the spiritual and educational needs of the thousands and thousands who have come and gone from the historic buildings that sheltered their formative learning and yearning years.

What an era that century has been! The events that keynote specific benchmarks along the corridor of the one hundred years of the Sisters of Notre Dame's presence in this community attest to the herculean tasks they have so willingly and joyously shouldered.

In 1867 the anguish of the Civil War was still being felt. In 1917, your Golden Jubilee found the shores of our land washed by World War I. In 1942, your Diamond Jubilee found us in the midst of World War II. And now in 1967, this centennial is celebrated during another difficult and trying conflict.

Yet, during all of these years, the Sisters of Notre Dame have continued to serve God and Man. What they wrought can never be fully calculated, but of this we can be sure. The long line of devoted, dedicated and magnificent sisters have added to the strength of our land . . . the fabric of its people . . . and the character and ability of all those who have been touched by their zeal. Our nation has been enriched and our community is better because they came our way.

On this historic centennial, I want to express my own personal congratulations to the Sisters. I bring the best wishes of Senators Kennedy and Brooke. I am honored and privileged to express the gratitude of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, to the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur for their century long contribution to American education.

Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

BACKGROUND

This year marks the one hundredth anniversary of the coming to Chicopee of four Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. They came at the request of Rev. Patrick Healy, who had been appointed pastor of Holy Name Parish in 1864 for the purpose of staffing a new and imposing school of brick and stone construction which was the first of its kind beyond the greater Boston area. The establishment of this school, therefore, represents the founding of Parochial School education in the western two-thirds of Massachusetts and in what is now the Roman Catholic Diocese of Springfield, but which at that time also included the present Diocese of Worcester.

Chicopee holds special significance in the history of Catholicism outside the Boston area. The first Catholic settlers came to Chicopee in 1824; the first public Mass was celebrated by the famous Father Fitton in a local store in 1830.

What is now Holy Name Parish was established under the name of St. Matthew in 1838 with Rev. John D. Brady as first pastor. At that time Chicopee was still a part of the city of Springfield. The new parish boundaries encompassed the four western counties: Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire. Thus, Holy Name is the Mother Church of the Springfield Diocese.

The present Church structure, which still excites admiration from all who see it, was begun in 1857 and completed in 1859. It was followed in the short space of eight years by a rectory, school, and convent which solid construction endures to this day. This was a remarkable achievement for the parishioners of those days, most of whom were mill workers earning only two or three dollars a week.

It was to this cradle of Catholicism in Western Massachusetts that the Sisters of Notre Dame came in 1867 and started a school which opened with over three hundred pupils, many of whom came from Holyoke, South Hadley, and Springfield for the purpose of getting a Catholic education.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Several events are scheduled to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Chicopee and of Catholic Education in Western Massachusetts. This is the calendar:

Friday, September 8, 1967, Centennial Concert: At College of Our Lady of the Elms, Veritas Auditorium, by the United States Eighth Air Force Band, under the direction of CWO William D. Berky, assisted by CMS Gerald Bertiromo and Robert J. Holt. Time: 8:15 p.m. Free to the public. No admission charge. This Concert commemorates the contributions of the Sisters of Notre Dame to the cultural life of the community.

Saturday, September 9, 1967, Memorial Mass: At Holy Name Church. Con-Celebrated by: Rev. Thomas A. Shea, present Pastor of Holy Name with Rev. Robert H. Stafford, Rev. William O'Shea, Rev. Francis E. Shannon, Rev. John M. Shea, Rev. Joseph F. O'Neil, Rev. Albert Blanchard, and Rev. Daniel Gill. Time: 10:00 A.M.

This Mass is in memory of all the deceased Sisters who taught at Holy Name in the past 100 years as well as for deceased students, including those who died in the armed services; and also, priests, parish workers, parents, and parishioners. It emphasizes the religious contributions of the Sisters to the Parish.

Faculty Open-House: At Holy Name Grammar and High Schools. By Former teachers returning to Holy Name for the Centennial. For Former students who would wish to renew old times and friendships. Time: Saturday, 2 to 4 in the afternoon. This event commemorates the *educational* and *social* contributions of the Sisters.

Centennial Banquet: At College of Our Lady of the Elms, College Center. Time: Saturday, 7:00 P.M. Speaker: Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, Commissioner of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This event stresses particularly the *educational* and *social* contributions of the Sisters to community life.

Sunday, September 10, 1967. Faculty-Clergy-Religious-Dinner: At Holy Name Hall. Time: 12:00 Noon. This Luncheon, hosted by the Sisters of Notre Dame, is for the area Clergy and the Religious of other congregations working in the Diocese, and it is designed to mark the community of spirit and purpose existing among all who labor in the field of Catholic education.

Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving: At Holy Name Church. Time: 2:00 P.M. Celebrant: Most Rev. Christopher J. Weldon, D.D., Bishop of Springfield. By this most Solemn Mass, the Sisters of Notre Dame will express their profound gratitude to Almighty God for having blessed the labors of a hundred years and for having permitted them, as His instruments, to help form the *religious, educational, social,* and *cultural* lives of so many over so many years.

[From the Springfield Republican, Sept. 10, 1967]

Kiernan Praises Teaching Efforts of Chicopee Nuns

Chicopee.—Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, state strength of their program was bound up in 450 persons attending a banquet commemorating the 100th anniversary of the educational work of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Chiopee that the basic commitment of the teaching order is the same today as it was in 1867.

SERVE GOD, COUNTRY

Dr. Kiernan, in assessing the educational achievements of the Sisters of Notre Dame in their contributions to Chicopee, the United States and to the world, stated that the strength of their program was bound up in the fourfold commitment of the teaching order as outlined by their founder, Blessed Mother Julia in Belgium, and redefined in this country.

Kiernan said the main purpose of education was to serve God and country, and the Sisters of Notre Dame accomplished this through seeking the truth, a dedication to what is good, by manifesting a passion for justice and developing their faith in mankind.

In lauding the work of the sisters here, Kiernan pointed out that the order was dedicated to quality education without frills. Neverthless, he said, that much like their founder, who was opposed to rigidity and was a true innovator in her own right, the Sisters of Notre Dame have been able to make the adjustments to meet new demands in every generation. "Their work here has been extremely significant during their first 100 years and will be even more so during the next 100 years."

GREEN THUMB PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to place before the House a statement made by Mr. John Reed, a member of the Green Thumb Corps, delivered while presenting a Green Thumb award to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. Mr. Reed is a constitutent of mine whom I have known for a very long time. He is one of the finest men that I have ever been privileged to know. The words that he spoke in this presentation came directly from his heart and, for that reason, are all the more creditable. Mr. Reed is living evidence of the good that the Green Thumb program is doing. Long may it flourish. Mr. Reed's statement is as follows:

Statement by John Reed

Mr. Secretary, in honor of the Green Thumb, we want to make you an honorary member of the Green Thumb. I was a farmer for 35 years and, of course, I was reared on the farm; and the farmer is the backbone of the world. Without farming, the world would come to naught. And there are so many people with their stomach full forget about where their life is. Their life is in the farm. God said to till the earth and you will be satisfied with bread. Bread is the staff of life, and praise be to God for these great men that push these programs in agriculture. Without agriculture the world would be in chaos. And we are praising the Secretary of Agriculture, in the person of Mr. Freeman. We pray God's blessings upon this great man who has done so much for the farmer and is continuing to do it. We ask God's blessings upon him, his staff and all those that have to do with him. We realize that there are so many poor people on the farm, and he had a vision of that effect. That is why he pushed these programs to make a knock-out-blow on poverty. And I, myself, was one of the men in the middle of poverty. I was expecting to lose my home for the lack of money to pay my taxes. And along came this good gift from God. And the reason I said it is a good gift from God is because all good and all perfect gifts come from above, handed down from the father of life. You'll find that in James 1st Chapter, 17th Verse. And these great men have pushed these problems so hard and stuck their necks out. And I want to say that these men have the characteristic of a turtle. The turtle will never move unless he sticks his neck out. These men have stuck their necks out, to rush this job.

With all problems and criticisms these men have worked hard and in honor of the Green Thumb we present the Secretary of Agriculture this jacket and this helmet. And hope that he will live long to do the great work that he has done and is doing.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL PROGRAM TO ENCOURAGE EMPLOYERS TO HIRE HANDICAPPED WORKER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Monday, in a special ceremony at the White House, President Johnson marked the 20th anniversary of the national program to encourage employers to hire the handicapped worker.

Mr. Speaker, you told us yesterday about the history of this program, its beginnings under President Harry Truman, and its growth and success in human and economic terms since 1947.

The Democratic Party has always been committed to the principle that improvement of human life and human worth is our central objective.

The President spoke about the physically handicapped. Yet he could just as well have spoken about the educationally handicapped; the mentally handicapped; the men and women culturally handicapped by the ghetto, handicapped by rotting homes in rotting central cities. We must continue our efforts to help overcome these grievious social ills.

I insert in the Record the remarks made by the President at the Employer of the Year Award Presentation in the Cabinet Room at the White House, September 18, 1967:

Remarks of the President at the Employer of the Year Awards Presentation

Secretary Wirtz, Chairman Macy, Mr. Ochel, Mr. Payne, ladies and gentlemen:

Unlike Robert Merrill, I have never sung at the Metropolitan Opera. Unlike Frank Howard, I cannot play baseball with the Washington Senators.

As a matter of fact, there are a few other things I cannot do these days with the Senators. Unlike my Science Adviser, Dr. Hornig, I cannot do equations with three unknowns or even with two unknowns.

But with all that, I have never considered myself a handicapped person. I think that touches upon the main point of our gathering here in the Cabinet Room for this ceremony today.

Human beings have varying degrees of ability. Some can hit home runs. Some can sing in the opera. Some, like Thomas Edison, can produce great inventions—even though Edison was deaf. Some, like Sarah Bernhart, can be great actresses—even though Sarah Bernhart was an amputee.

What counts in life is not what people can't do. What really counts is what people can do.

We are finding out in America these days the so-called handicapped people can do far more than we ever dreamed before was possible. They can do their jobs as well or do them better than many so-called normal workers.

Two gentlemen, whom I have just met, are receiving awards today. They know that for sure. The companies they work for, the Wichita Division of Boeing Aircraft Company, and the International Optical Company, have shown great leadership in our country in employing the handicapped.

This has worked to the companies' benefit as well as to the benefit and the dignity of their employees. I am very grateful to all who have made this policy possible.

They knew, as many in Government today are learning, that what we call health is a broad concept that goes far beyond mere survival to a stated number of years. In Government and out, our aim is not only to add years to life, but to add life to years.

The Committee on Employment of the Handicapped is doing that. Men like Mr. Ochel and Mr. Payne are doing that. On our country's behalf to the Chairman of the Committee, to the Cabinet officers concerned, to the companies involved—and particularly to the individuals who demonstrated that they are "can do" people—I express the gratitude of an interested Nation and the people who serve in it for the examples that you have set.

Thank you very much.

A HIGHER TAX EXEMPTION

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. William D. Ford] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to increase the individual income tax exemption from the present $600 to $1,000. This, I believe, is a long overdue action, and one that this Congress should take as quickly as possible.

The present $600 figure is obsolete, and entirely unrealistic. Since it was adopted, 20 years ago, the cost of living in this Nation has risen by an estimated 40 percent. It may have been possible to feed, clothe, and educate a child 20 years ago on $600 a year, but it is obviously impossible today.

Prior to the Second World War, the exemption was $2,500 for a man and wife, and $400 for each child. A typical family of four thus paid no taxes on its first $3,300 of income. To match this in terms of today's dollars, we would have to raise the exemption to $2,000 per person, or $8,000 for a family of four.

My proposal would provide a tax-free base of $4,000 for such a family. A couple with four children would pay no taxes on the first $6,000 of income.

I firmly believe that this liberalized personal exemption plan should be put into effect before we even consider asking American workers to pay additional income taxes. This Congress must take note of the increasing pressure from all sources—Federal, State, and local—on the taxpayer's income. We must give some relief to those families in the middle-income groups, particularly those who are struggling to raise families on today's inflated dollar.

A higher tax exemption is the most apparent answer, and I call upon my colleagues to give this proposal full and immediate consideration.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO LAUDS USAF SECURITY SERVICE FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on September 13 I had the pleasure of attending a banquet given by the Defense Credit Union Council at which Maj. Gen. Louis Coira delivered the major address.

I take this opportunity to commend General Coira for the outstanding service he is rendering to the troops under his command and for the manner in which he is protecting his soldiers from unscrupulous business interests which charge exorbitant interest rates. At the present time the USAF Security Service Federal Credit Union offers worldwide services. Its membership totals 19,000 persons in 16 countries and it has assets of over $11 million.

During the 89th Congress, Hon. Wright Patman, the distinguished chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, conducted hearings on these unscrupulous business interests which operate all over the world, charging exorbitant interest rates ranging from 70 percent to 100 percent to our servicemen.

I had the privilege of being a member of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee when an investigation was made of these unscrupulous operations, and I am happy to inform my colleagues in the House that the Department of Defense, after much prodding, is well on the way to protecting our servicemen from these unscrupulous operators.

It is a pleasure for me to insert into the Congressional Record at this point the speech which General Coira gave on September 13. His speech contains firsthand information regarding the effectiveness of credit unions in helping to give adequate financial service, including protection from unscrupulous business interests, in fighting our balance-of-payment deficit, in encouraging the habit of thrift, and in protecting the families and children of our servicemen.

I want to reiterate what I have said in the past that the Department of Defense and every branch of the military service must insure that credit unions are established outside America wherever American servicemen are stationed so that they can have the benefit of the credit union movement.

The speech by General Coira follows:

The USAFSS Federal Credit Union as a Case Study in Credit Union/Sponsor Cooperation and Support, Presented by Maj. Gen. Louis E. Coira, USAF, Commander, USAF Security Service

I'm delighted to be here—it was kind of you to invite me—but it struck me as quite unusual that last year your annual meeting was held in San Antonio, and you brought General Berg from Washington. This year your meeting is in Washington, and you invited me from San Antonio as the guest speaker. It almost suggests that I ought to use that old cliché about an expert being anyone more than 50 miles from home carrying a briefcase.

In thinking specifically about why I was invited, I was reminded of a farmer friend of mine who entered a mule in the Kentucky

Derby. "John," I asked, "why did you pay a $100 entry fee when you knew he couldn't possibly win?" My farmer friend thought a bit, then replied, "I know that he can't win—but I thought the association would be good for him." I accepted your invitation—thinking that the association would be good for me!

I think it is fairly obvious why you invited me—it's because of my extensive transactions with the credit union. Having $13.52 in the credit union must qualify me as somewhat of an expert. Actually, our credit union is so conservative that they wouldn't give me a loan last year. They used some feeble excuse about my being on the board!

Now let me be serious; and at the outset, let me make two quick observations:

First, I have been amazed at the rapid growth of credit unions—particularly in the Defense Department. Over 500 now serve some 2 million members. This suggests—in fact, it dramatically emphasizes—the fact that there was a real need for such financial institutions to serve men and women of the Defense Department.

Second, I have been impressed—perhaps overwhelmed would be the better word—by the services that the credit unions have provided to the men and women in uniform as well as to civilians of the Defense Department.

With those general observations, let me step back and look at credit unions as I see them from a commander's point of view. But before I do that, let me briefly state that my experience with credit unions accrues from three distinct relationships:

First, as a member who appreciates and is pleased with the service that I get from the credit union.

Second, as a past member of a Credit Union Board of Directors—an experience that I found educational as well as pleasant and rewarding.

Third, and finally, as a commander of a major command—the United States Air Force Security Service—I am now head of the sponsor organization of an active and, I believe, highly efficient credit union.

My topic for this evening is the USAFSS Federal Credit Union as a case study in credit union/sponsor cooperation and support. In exploring this subject, I'm going to discuss with you our command philosophy toward the credit union, outline the very practical way in which our credit union helps the command and the people in it, and finally touch upon some ways that I believe a sponsor organization can help its credit union.

First, in the area of philosophy, our command supports its credit union on the very pragmatic grounds that it makes the lives of our people better. As a commander and as a senior Air Force officer, one of my responsibilities is to do whatever I can in the area of morale and welfare—to see that people do, in fact, have adequate financial service including protection from unscrupulous business interests that charge exorbitant interest rates. The credit union encourages our assigned people in a very real and practical way to develop the habits of thrift.

This is extremely important since our very sensitive misison requires that our personnel meet the very highest standards of reliability, behavior, and performance. Simply stated, we cannot retain a man if he is financially irresponsible.

Our credit union offers worldwide services—not only to the people of AF Security Service but now also to the overseas personnel of the Air Force Communications Service. Our membership presently totals over 19,000 members in 16 countries with assets of almost $11 million. It does a substantial mail order business. Each month, in addition to a check from the AF Accounting and Finance Center for over a half-million dollars representing over 8,900 individual allotments, our credit union receives some 1,700 checks, money orders, and other financial instruments from people around the world. Thus, our USAFSS credit union helps our people build their financial future while protecting the future of the United States.

Our credit union also assists personnel in their financial planning. This service is stressed to our younger, junior airmen. It gives them that sense of security which can come only from having funds safely invested and drawing liberal interest but readily available for use in emergencies.

There is also an inherent responsibility to see that the credit union serves its entire field of membership—not just a favored few. Last year at your annual meeting it was suggested that Defense Credit Unions were not serving the lower grade airmen. I took the time to look into this matter; and of the 10,000 loans we have in our credit union. I found that over 4,000 are to airmen of grades E–4 or below—amounting to 42 percent of the total loans outstanding.

While supporting the credit union and believing that it is a great help to the USAF Security Service, our philosophy also takes into consideration the fact that a credit union is a voluntary association of members. It *is not* and *must not be* dictated to by the sponsoring command or organization.

Now let me outline to you some of the specific ways the USAFSS Federal Credit Union helps our people.

First, a little background. The Air Force Security Service is deployed around the world. Our people are assigned at 60 stations in 16 different countries. Consequently, we need a credit union which offers a full array of services, no matter where our people may be located. Credit union personnel help them establish budgets and take prudent actions to enhance their financial position and stay out of financial difficulties. This counseling and advice can only be provided by people with sound financial background or, in many cases, people with long management and personnel experience. Since we deal principally with military, I think we are fortunate to have in four of our key positions, retired officers and NCOs representing some 90 years of military experience. The availability of these well-qualified, understanding, credit-union people to counsel these young men is, in my judgment, a major factor in promoting financial responsibility among our personnel.

Another very valuable contribution which our credit union makes, not only to our command but to the United States as a whole, is its assistance in stemming the outflow of gold. By encouraging people to save money while they are stationed overseas, we have done much to reduce the amount of American money which is being spent in foreign countries. I needn't emphasize to you how important this is. We estimate that each year, well over $6½ million is returned from members overseas to our Credit Union as share deposits and loan payments.

In some instances, when a man is faced with a crisis and needs money, he can obtain help from either the Air Force Aid Society or the Red Cross. However, these two organizations can only go so far in helping a man. They can usually give only the initial assistance to get him "over-the-hump," so to speak. While our credit union personnel stress the importance of making loans which are sound risks, they feel that they have a moral obligation to help our junior airmen obtain badly needed funds during critical situations.

Here are a couple of typical examples I might relate:

Three years ago a young airman with wife and infant reported to one of our units at Kelly AFB for duty at 7:30 a.m. after driving all night in an old car. He arrived with less than $3 in his pocket. There was no prospect of settling his family without help. The First Sergeant called the Credit Union at 8:00, giving the airman's name and particulars of the case. A half hour later he brought the young man to the credit union office where a $300 loan was ready for him. This loan enabled him to rent an apartment, buy food and clothing before the day was over, and have much needed repairs made on the car—ready to go to work the following day.

A little over two years ago, a message was received from a commander overseas reading substantially:

"Imperative that Mrs. Blank, wife of Staff Sgt Blank residing at 100 North Main in Philadelphia, receive $250 soonest. Money needed to hospitalize one of three children for serious illness. Paperwork follows."

On the strength of this message, the credit union airmailed a check for the amount the same day. The wife received the money in less than 48 hours from the time her husband, 8,000 miles away, received the letter upon which the commander's message was based. Within a week the Sergeant's note and related papers were received from the unit commander with an allotment authorization.

Thus, the credit union offers a way to help out people in their financial-management matters that is beyond the capability of the Air Force Aid Society and the Red Cross.

A service that our credit union provides—which is neither required by law nor very profitable—is the wage earner plan. It works like this: An airman who is in financial straits and whose career may be in jeopardy can come to the credit union—they will pay off all of his debts and will take his monthly pay and administer it so as to get him out of debt as quickly as possible. Under this arrangement, the credit union really doesn't profit but, in many cases, it *does* salvage an individual who otherwise might have been declared financially irresponsible and either removed from USAF Security Service, or conceivably, from the Air Force.

Despite our liberal policies, our credit union's delinquency rate of less than 4/10 of 1 percent, is, to my knowledge, one of the lowest of any credit union in the country.

In summary, then, our credit union helps the people of Security Service and Communications Service, both by encouraging thrift and by providing funds to them at reasonable rates. While all members of the command are eligible to be served, the policy of the credit union board and of management has been to stress service to the junior airmen. This wise policy is aimed at making it possible for the young man just beginning his military career to have the funds which he requires and to develop early in life the habits of thrift which are so vital to his future financial well-being.

I'd like to turn now to the other side of the coin—that is—how Security Service helps the credit union.

First, I'd like to emphasize that neither I nor my staff attempt in any way to dictate to the USAFSS Federal Credit Union what its policies should be. In the atmosphere of mutual trust which has developed, we work together—but we work together as two distinct entities which respect each other's prerogatives.

Here are some of the actions Security Service has taken which I believe have helped our credit union to grow so rapidly in its services, membership, assets, and value to its members.

Like the previous commanders, I encourage senior, management participation in the affairs of the credit union. Historically, either the Vice Commander or the Chief of Staff has been available as a nominee for the credit-union board of directors. During the period in which I served as the Vice Commander of Security Service, I had the privilege of serving on the board of directors for 2 years. As I mentioned earlier, it was a challenging, rewarding, and very pleasant experience.

Presently, my Chief of Staff and Comptroller are working members of the board, being Chairman of the Executive Committee and President of the Board respectively. I stress the words "working members" because their positions in the military staff is in no way carried over to their participation on the board. They work, as would any other member—and in the USAFSS Federal Credit Union, the board *works!*

I feel that this working participation by senior personnel of the command has had a very fine effect. First, it has made available to the board of directors, individuals who have wide experience in the management field. Secondly, it has taught many of our senior officers a great deal about credit-union activities, and I believe they have benefited greatly from the experience.

Another way we have helped the credit union is by authorizing and encouraging the establishment of a credit-union representative at each of our units throughout the world. The credit union has found it very helpful to have an individual at each of our organizations who is thoroughly informed in our credit union operations and the manner in which loan applications are processed. In some instances, the unit commander or the first sergeant serves as the credit-union representatives. In others, this representative is an individual who is merely interested in assisting others and one who possesses the necessary maturity and other characteristics to do the job well. In every case, however the credit-union representative is fully supported by the unit commander and is free to use his time available after his military duties to assist others in credit union matters. I might add that these representatives work voluntarily without pay and that a great deal of work is involved in each case. We have found that this dedicated group of individuals working with and helping their colleagues has given us an essential link between the USAFSS Credit Union home office and the people they serve in the remote corners of the world.

I believe that we have also helped the credit union by indoctrinating all commanders newly assigned to Security Service in the purposes of the credit union and the way in which it can help them help their people. Every one of our new commanders if fully briefed on this matter and understands my full and complete support of the credit union as a tool to promote the welfare of his subordinates.

We also use every reasonable opportunity to promote the credit union and to explain its advantages. For example, we try to ensure that our personnel officers and chaplains—people who deal with the problems of officers and airmen every day—understand the objectives of the credit union and the services it provides.

In the early days of the USAFSS Credit Union, we provided office facilities in the headquarters building. With the rapid growth of the organization, it became obvious that they needed more space than we could provide. The credit union, acting on its own, arranged for adequate office space located on the base directly across the street from the headquarters. We were, however, through continued and personal liaison with the Commander of our host base, able to assist them in getting priority action to remodel the facilities. Also, members of our civil-engineering staff gave their off-duty time and valuable assistance in planning the new office and monitoring its construction.

We encourage all members to contribute any of their unique skills that may be needed by the credit union in an advisory or consultant capacity. A case in point was the contribution of our Security Service Director of Data Automation who, as a credit union committee chairman, gave freely of his interest, free time, and experience in helping the credit union determine the most effective way to upgrade its data-processing operations.

Another example—the Credit Union recently published a manual on credit-union personnel procedures which was written and edited by persons on our personnel and administrative staff.

To summarize, I believe that the command has assisted in establishing an environment in which our credit union, directed and managed by the membership, can grow and give maximum service to the people of the command. When you consider that the USAFSS Credit Union has grown from less than 12 members and $50 in assets when it was organized in 1956 to its present membership of over 19,000 and assets of almost $11 million, I think it's an understatement to say that it has done quite well.

Your letter inviting me to speak to you this evening suggested that I discuss some of my personal experiences and observations on defense credit unions. I hope that I have covered this topic adequately. You also asked if I had any criticisms or recommendations. Because I have been associated with the USAFSS Credit Union, which is operating in an outstanding manner, I have no specific criticisms. I would like to be presumptuous by quickly summarizing for you some of the pitfalls that I think should be avoided in Defense Credit Unions and some of the objectives and goals that should be established.

First, try to avoid the professional crusader of the credit-union movement who may have lost sight of the reason for its existence. I'm speaking of the individual who is not practically oriented and who views the credit-union movement as an activity made up of meetings, politics, etc. The danger here is that the individual becomes so involved in the peripheral aspects of credit-union activities that he loses sight of the real goal.

Second, don't let your credit union fall into the trap of serving just some of your members. Be sure that it offers total service to the entire field of eligible membership.

Above all, let me reemphasize that you should ensure that the board and the management and the employees of the credit union are entirely service-oriented.

In conclusion, let me say that my experience with the credit union in the three roles of member, director, and sponsor has convinced me of its worth as a practical means of helping people live more secure lives. I promise my continued full support.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON EXTENDS RECOGNITION TO ATOMIC PHYSICIST—DR. ENRICO FERMI

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, I introduced H.R. 11726 to provide that the nuclear accelerator to be constructed at Weston, Ill., be named the "Enrico Fermi Nuclear Accelerator" after one of the world's greatest atomic physicists—Dr. Enrico Fermi.

Just 2 days ago, while I was attending a dinner in honor of the President of Italy, Giuseppe Saragat, I was delighted to hear President Johnson refer to Dr. Fermi during a 4-minute toast in which he mentioned some prominent Italian-Americans.

The President said:

> As you once were, Mr. President (Saragat), he (Fermi) was exiled from his country. He found a haven here.

President Johnson went on to say he had discussed with his guest "how we may maintain the peace in this nuclear world that your brilliant countryman—Fermi—led us to. I believe that our talks have advanced the quest for peace that unites our nations."

In addition to the recognition extended to Dr. Fermi in his toast, the President also gave a sample of uranium fuel in a shielded box to President Saragat as a memento of Dr. Fermi who headed the group which built the world's first nuclear reactor.

It is gratifying to know of the President's esteem and respect for this great Italian-American who gave his life in order to achieve a scientific advancement of immense significance to all mankind.

I am pleased also that the House has approved $7,333,000 to be used in fiscal year 1968 for architect-engineer planning costs for the nuclear accelerator and that the Senate Appropriations Committee presently has this proposal under active consideration.

The Joint Atomic Energy Committee is presently awaiting the receipt of a report on my proposal from the Atomic Energy Commission, and I hope this report is forthcoming in the early future so that "laying the cornerstone" and "naming the accelerator" after one of the world's greatest atomic physicists may be accomplished simultaneously.

Again, I want to say how gratified I am to learn of President Johnson's high esteem for Dr. Fermi and to reiterate that I can think of no greater tribute to the famous architect of the atomic age—Dr. Enrico Fermi—than to name the nuclear accelerator at Weston, Ill., after him.

ANTIPOVERTY WORKERS AND RIOTS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when the Nation undergoes a severe domestic crisis as it has this summer—it is natural that the strain of the moment should lead many to look for scapegoats and for simple solutions. With the return of calmer times, many of the scapegoats are absolved of blame and many of the simple solutions turn out to be fallacious.

In the wake of this summer's rioting in a number of cities, the economic opportunity program became a scapegoat for civil disorder. There was a good deal of talk in some quarters that participants in the poverty program were responsible for, or aided and abetted, violence in the streets.

With the end of the long and hot summer, it has become fairly obvious that such charges were groundless. Though I cannot speak with authority on each and every riot situation, I think it is safe to say that the bulk of evidence on the rioting absolves the vast majority of poverty workers of any complicity in violence. In my own State of Michigan, which experienced some of the worst rioting, only a tiny handful of poverty workers or trainees participated, in any way, in rioting. And there is much evidence that many involved in Michigan's poverty program were active in efforts to persuade rioters to "cool it."

Judd Arnett, a columnist for the Detroit News, recently reported that of the 1500 staff members connected with the Detroit antipoverty agency—the mayor's committee on human resources development—and the 5,000 participants in various antipoverty training programs, only three have been charged with taking part in looting or rioting.

This is hardly a record which can be condemned. Indeed, it speaks extraordinarily well of the poverty program in Detroit and its ability to reach the conditions of hopelessness and despair in which riots are bred. It is tragic, I think, that the Detroit program did not have the time and the funds to reach more Detroit residents before rioting broke out.

So that our colleagues may read Mr. Arnett's enlightening report on Detroit's war against poverty, Mr. Speaker, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

HANDS OFF POVERTY WAR!

(By Judd Arnett)

Those in Congress who seek to sabotage what little war on poverty we are waging have been insinuating that recent incidents of lawlessness were aided and abetted by those receiving benefits from the programs now being undertaken.

By and large, these "representatives of the people" were among those who had such a hilarious time at the ramparts as the "rat bill" was kidded to death. In the current move to discourage the fight against assistance to the under class in city and rural slums they have on their side incidents which occurred in Nashville and Newark. If a little bit of this type of ingratitude has been demonstrated, might not a great deal more of it exist elsewhere?

NOT NECESSARILY

In the aftermath of the Detroit riots, for example, not one charge of looting or arson has been brought against the 1,500 staff members connected with the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development (formerly TAP) or its components.

Further, Phil Rutledge, the director, reports with pardonable pride that of the 5,000 participants in such programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Youth Service Corps and Police Cadet Corps, only three have been accused of taking part in the looting and rioting.

The largest component of Mr. Rutledge's total operation is the Archdiocesan Opportunity Program, and from that source comes a more detailed chronicle of nonparticipation in the burning and sacking.

In Project Freshstart, a program offering rehabilitation to women released from prison, there were no involvements in an enrollment of 181.

In the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which accords training, counseling and placement to poverty area youth, there were two curfew violations in the enrollment of 607.

In Project Return, offering rehabilitation to former inmates of the Detroit House of Correction, there was no involvement in an enrollment of 55.

And in Project Identity, which attempts to rehabilitate young people on probation from the Wayne County Juvenile Court, there was one curfew violation in an enrollment of 26.

These statistics speak for themselves. What we are not hearing enough about these days, however, is the desperate need in all of America for a new sense of values.

PROGRAMS AND PRIORITIES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this fall, one of the major items on the agenda of this House, and on the agenda of the other body, will be the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act. In the coming weeks, many of us will be discussing at great length the programs which make up our antipoverty efforts.

There will be some, Mr. Speaker, who will point to the rioting which many of our cities experienced in recent months as evidence of the failure of the Economic Opportunity Act and related programs to successfully attack the root problems of poverty and despair which they were designed to combat.

It is true, of course, that our antipoverty programs have not totally and instantly eliminated poverty. But this does not mean that they have failed. On the contrary, given its size and extent, the Economic Opportunity Act has been a startling success. In many areas, the war on poverty has won significant victories. If the poverty program has not been able to prevent all civil disorder, it is not because its concept and design are poor—but because it has not had the time nor the resources to fulfill its mission.

In a recent issue of the Reporter magazine, two distinguished students of poverty and manpower problems, Sar Levitan and Garth Mangum, have analyzed the successes of one aspect of the antipoverty program—the work-training area—and have suggested new efforts which must be undertaken to build on the foundation which has already been laid. I would commend this thoughtful piece to the attention of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, and insert it at this point in the RECORD. The article follows:

PROGRAMS AND PRIORITIES

(By Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum)

The recent riots in city slums across the nation have been seen by many as evidence of the failure of the antipoverty and manpower programs. A more correct assessment was given by President Johnson in the wake of the violence that ravaged Newark and Detroit. After listing the major Great Society welfare and educational legislation, the President concluded, "Our work has just begun." He might also have added that a strange sense of priorities has been involved.

To be sure, billions have been spent for urban renewal, but little to house the families that were displaced. Federal aid has concentrated on insuring mortgages on middleclass homes, improving higher education and college housing, and building roads and airports to speed suburbanites to their downtown offices or to favorite vacation spots. Only the antipoverty program has been specifically designed for the poor, and its expenditures have been relatively modest. Congress appropriated $1.7 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity during the last fiscal year. The amount may appear massive but actually it amounts to only $57 per poor person.

Dollars, however, provide little understanding. It was people who rioted and the relevant comparison is the number of people helped. The Economic Opportunity program was designed not to make poverty comfortable but to provide work, training, and various services as roads out of poverty. It was preceded by the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 which was originally designed to retrain experienced workers who had been displaced by technological change. However, as quickening economic growth reabsorbed them into new jobs, the program has gradually transferred its attention to a more disadvantaged clientele.

WHAT WE ARE DOING

The Economic Opportunity Act established four key work and training programs. The Neighborhood Youth Corps provides some education and public employment at $1.25 an hour to poor youth both in and out of school. The Job Corps recruits youth from low-income families for training in residential centers. The Work Experience and Training Program aids public assistance recipients and other adult poor. The Community Action Program, among other activities, hires the poor to serve the poor in their neighborhoods. Other EOA job-creation and training programs are either too small to be significant or too new to have had an appreciable effect. Head Start and similar programs may make the greatest contribution in the long run but they have little relevance to immediate problems.

The number of persons involved provides a more accurate measure of the impact of the poverty programs than does the dollar outlay. No separate enrollment or completion data are available for slum residents, although breakdowns by race are published. But all slum residents are not Negro and all Negroes do not live in slums. Nevertheless, if Negro enrollment is accepted as a rough indication (probably an over-estimate) of the number of slum residents involved, the irrelevance of the programs to the riots is clear. More than two million Negroes experienced unemployment during 1966 and a third of them were idle for more than fifteen weeks. Another third of a million looked for work but did not find it at any time during the year. A half million of those with jobs worked only part-time but wanted full-time work. In addition, more than a quarter of a million Negro males in the prime working ages were outside the labor force and some 350,000 were not even found by the census takers. Nearly nine million Negroes are poor, even though two-thirds of their family heads worked full or part-time.

These figures are an indication of need. To what extent are those needs being met? According to the latest available statistics, MDTA enrolled 47,000 Negroes, though all the unemployed and many underemployed were eligible. With some 300,000 Negro youth eligible, the out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps had 33,000 enrolled. The Work Experience and Training Program enrolled 17,000 Negroes, though the eligible number exceeded half a million. Of 3.5 million poor Negro adults, some 30,000 were employed as "indigenous" Community Action Program aides. Only public welfare, providing income to about 3.3 million Negroes, can qualify as a massive program and it does nothing for rehabilitation or dignity and, in too many jurisdictions, little to alleviate utter deprivation. One of every six Negro families receives public assistance.

National statistics tend to blur into the unreality of multiple zeros. The situation in pre-riot Detroit, with its relatively well developed antipoverty and manpower program, may bring the order of magnitudes into sharper focus. Despite record employment, the Michigan State Employment Service estimated 56,000 seeking jobs, 11,000 of them long-term unemployed, and 70,000 out of the labor force entirely—the "hidden unemployed." Unemployment among Negroes in the slum areas was twelve per cent. Yet at the same time, only 1,400 persons, white and nonwhite, were enrolled in MDTA projects in the entire metropolitan area. The Neighborhood Youth Corps had a total of 3,500 enrolled. The Work Experience and Training program had enrolled 1,700 persons. Only 340 Detroit boys were recruited for the Job Corps in fiscal 1967.

The relatively small size of the programs no more proves their merit than the riots prove their failure. Their value can only be demonstrated by their contribution to the employability and incomes of individual participants. In general, MDTA appears to have significantly bettered the employment and income experience of its graduates. The Neighborhood Youth Corps' in-school program has lowered dropout rates and the out-of-school program has provided temporary employment and income. The Job Corps has aided the approximately one-third who remained long enough to profit by the experience. The Work Experience and Training Program provided income to offset to some degree the capriciousness and niggardliness of public assistance programs, but half of the enrollees continued to depend upon relief after they had completed the programs. The Community Action Program has provided jobs but not futures. The total, given the magnitude of the problems, has left scarcely a scratch.

Negroes have no monopoly on poverty and unemployment, though they bear the burdens of both disproportionately. Nearly twelve per cent of white persons lived in poverty during 1966 compared with forty-one per cent of Negroes; the incidence of unemployment among Negroes was more than double that of whites. Yet most of the unemployed and two-thirds of the thirty million poor persons are white. During 1966, 2.5 million persons were unemployed fifteen weeks or more; another 1.25 million looked for but did not find any work; 1.3 million males twenty-five to sixty-four years of age did not seek work, and more than five million worked for less than the Federal minimum wage. Almost two million family heads (ninety-five per cent of them male) worked the entire year without boosting their family income above the poverty level.

The categories overlap, but all are potential candidates for manpower and poverty programs. Yet at the latest count, the total enrollment in all programs attempting to reach these people was 290,000. Clearly; an adequate remedial program would require several times the current manpower and poverty budget, in addition to expansion of the preventative efforts of education and various social services. But while money talks, it isn't everything. Many middle-of-the-road members of Congress express, probably sincerely, a willingness to vote increased support once they are presented with proof of accomplishments. War was declared against poverty in 1964 with the weapons vaguely defined.

A hodgepodge of existing and proposed programs was thrown together for an experimental initial attack. The budget was kept deliberately small awaiting experience to justify expansion. The expansion never came, partly because Vietnam provided an excuse to those who opposed the war on poverty. Also at fault were the administrators who developed a vested interest in their programs and defended them as if they were beyond compromise. At the same time, no adequate organizational capability was ever developed for efficient delivery of the available services. Yet neither administrators nor legislators have made serious efforts to expand the more successful programs.

Though some of the manpower and poverty programs have experienced but little success, the total effort has demonstrated the need for and effectiveness of a number of new functions: the searching out of the discouraged and apathetic; remedial education for the victims of deficient schools and adult basic education for those left behind by rising educational attainment; training allowances to make it possible for the poor and for family heads to learn skills; job development to sell the services of the disadvantaged; and supportive services to remove health and child-care barriers to employment. The list could be extended.

THE PUBLIC PAYROLL

The most immediate need, particularly in the cities most threatened by riots and in depressed rural poverty pockets is deliberate endorsement of the role of government as "employer of last resort." The concept has become increasingly intriguing since it was recommended more modestly in a report by Senator Joseph Clark's Labor and Public Welfare Employment and Manpower subcommittee in 1964 and explicitly by the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress in 1966. Several EOA programs flirt with the concept but fail to endorse it openly.

The notion has been receiving increasing attention from Congress. Earlier this year, Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut introduced a Public Service Employment Opportunities bill with an annual $2 billion price tag. Partly as a response to the riots, more bills along the same line have been introduced both in the Senate and in the House, including one reported by the Senate subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty and another sponsored by the majority of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the respective committees in the Congress responsible for the enabling legislation. The Senate bill would expend $1 billion per year for "emergency" employment and the House bill would quadruple the cost. Chances for the passage of either bill, however, are not bright.

There is little proof of the frequently made assertion that the poor and unemployed don't want to work. The sixteen thousand Detroiters who applied last September in pursuit of three thousand new jobs and the hundreds who lined up for hours in Philadelphia on the last day of July to apply for five hundred low paid city jobs would seem to argue the contrary. The Detroit situation was of particular interest, in part because employment was already at a record level, but especially because a study was undertaken as to why the unsuccessful candidates lost out. The latter were followed up, interviewed, and counseled by the State Employment Service in an effort to identify their problems and to help them gain employment. Negroes were found to suffer more than whites from lack of education, skills, and work experience, but the white unemployed were more burdened with apathy, poor personal appearance, and bad work histories.

There is ample evidence of the need for more jobs. But it does not necessarily follow that a large-scale job-creation program must follow the WPA prototype. In our expanding economy, the private sector can be made a partner in the effort. Indeed, given the difficulties experienced by the government in organizing work and training programs, private industry can add significant and meaningul dimensions to the effort.

An open guarantee of employment opportunities might cost the public $10-billion per year. A more limited program could narrow eligibility to the long-term unemployed, to family heads, or to residents of slums and depressed rural areas. Whatever restrictions might be imposed on guaranteed employment programs, opportunities for training and remedial education should be provided for all seeking such aid. Yet even a program of this scope could not be counted on to buy riot insurance. Unemployment and underemployment certainly help to cause riots, but additional jobs may not necessarily prevent them in the short run.

Some progress has of course been made toward alleviating the prolonged depression and neglect of our city slums. But the accompanying chorus of promises far beyond the nation's willingness, though not its ability, to fulfill have muted the achievements. More recently the issue has been posed as one of guns and butter, but it is not. Certainly from an economic standpoint, the most effective antipoverty program of the 1960's was the Vietnam war, however unpleasant this may sound. To expand the demand for labor still further would aid primarily the disadvantaged, because most of the others already have jobs. But the cost would be a rising price level, and those who would be hurt by inflation have more political power than those who would gain the jobs.

The comfortable pre-1965 situation in which the growing Federal revenues generated by a progressive tax system could be siphoned off to the benefit of the social sector by either tax cuts or increased public expenditures is, alas, no longer with us. Truly massive sums are being poured into the Vietnam war. However, we have vast additional resources which we can bring to bear by reassessing our domestic social priorities. These include parts of the $50 billion nondefense Federal spending, the $82 billion state and local spending, the $50 billion retained corporate earnings, and the half a trillion dollars of disposable personal income. The inescapable conclusion is that antipoverty and remedial manpower efforts have low priority. That may be a deliberate public decision, but we should not deceive ourselves that the riots in our slums represent the failure of really substantial efforts.

AIR SAFETY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this has been a week which will deserve special mention in the annals of air safety in our Nation. It has been a week marked by a most welcome reversal of a policy which has permitted airport safety control procedures to fall far behind the growth of air traffic.

President Johnson, Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd, and the Federal Aviation Administration Administrator, Gen. William McKee, deserve praise for the series of acts this week intended to make our skies and aircraft far safer for air travelers.

These were but the first steps to improve air safety. But they were the most important steps because they mean the job has begun.

Safety standards have been proposed for aircraft. The President has asked for a $7,000,000 appropriation to bolster FAA control tower personnel. And a comprehensive study of facilities, equipment and personnel needs has been ordered.

From this latter study must come a far more liberal policy to provide control towers and radar facilities at a greater number of airports. In my own congressional district, the 15th of Pennsylvania, we have what may well be the worst air safety conditions in the heavily traveled airlanes of the east coast.

Since the beginning of this year, the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport has registered 90,000 landings and takeoffs without the benefit of radar. Five other airports in the area rely on the A-B-E control tower.

Something must be done and I am grateful to see that a start is being made. Because these views are echoed in several recent newspaper editorials published in my district, I incorporate these editorials in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Allentown (Pa.), Morning Call, Sept. 19, 1967]

FUNDS FOR AIR SAFETY

The urgent request of the Federal Aviation Agency for funds to expand safety operations on the nation's airways is amply supported by what has been happening at the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport.

According to the latest operating report, the Lehigh Valley's principal airport handled 90,000 arriving and departing commercial passengers in the first eight months of this year. The increase was better than 50 per cent over the same period last year.

Total operations included 80,700 landings and takeoffs by commercial airliners, military craft and private planes, an increase of almost 50 per cent. On the record day last month these operations were at the rate of one every 2.8 minutes. Actually, they were much more frequent than that during the normal flight hours. Counts of both passengers and flights will go up sharply when Allegheny Airlines begin service to the Lehigh Valley next month.

In asking the White House to approve a supplement of about $100 million, the FAA points to increases in air traffic across the country. More controllers and maintenance men, more towers and more electronic patrols like the radar surveillance units long needed to guard the access routes to the A–B–E Airport are essential for safety.

The $811 million the FAA is asking for this year's operations is a modest enough investment to make in the safety of the more than 10 million Americans who ride the airlines regularly and whose lives so often depend on men and equipment in the government's control towers. It is indefensible to postpone making it until more lives are lost in crashes that could be avoided.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Sept. 11, 1967]

AIRPORT RADAR CRITERIA

Something considerably more than the economic criteria once again reported under study by the Federal Aviation Agency are involved in the proposed installation of surveillance radar long needed as an added safety factor in the airlanes controlled from the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport tower. This is a matter in which lives are at stake.

Four years ago this summer three men were killed in the midair crash of two light planes just west of Allentown. The FAA didn't deny then or since that radar could have prevented this crash.

The agency had no answer, either, several weeks ago when Rep. Fred B. Rooney asked whether this equipment could have saved 82 more lives in the crash of an airliner and a small private plane at the Hendersonville-Ashville Airport in North Carolina last July. The congressman quite properly is pressing for answers.

The only reason the FAA offers for not installing radar at A–B–E and other medium airports is that there are not enough landings and takeoffs to justify the cost. These minimum standards have been upgraded several times, however, just as the count of landings and takeoffs was approaching the levels then required. While the local airport has been kept waiting for the urgently needed safety equipment, the cost has gone up from something like $300,000 to an estimated $750,000.

Government agencies must have yardsticks for measuring requests with some degree of objectivity. The gauges mean little, however, if they are changed whenever it is necessary to justify decisions influenced by obscure reasons.

In this instance the FAA count needs to include the number of lives involved in the increasing number of passengers on flights operating out of the A–B–E Airport, in the landings and takeoffs at neighboring fields in the flight pattern controlled by the local tower and in the increased use of this community's facilities when there are emergencies at Philadelphia and New York airports.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Evening Chronicle, Sept. 1, 1967]

A POINT TO BE CONSIDERED

Under present criteria the A-B-E airport does not qualify for airport surveillance radar.

But the Federal Aviation Agency is considering a change in criteria which may make an installation possible at A-B-E, where provisions for it are included in designs for expansion of the terminal building.

Present criteria base radar installations on the number of landings a year. Thus, A-B-E is classified as a small hub airport because its landing operations fall in the 36,000 to 180,000 annually. Airports with over 180,000 landings qualify for radar installations as medium hub airports.

While the volume of air traffic should have some bearing on the federal safety facilities installed at an airport, other things need to be considered.

Certainly one point in this category is the geographic location of the airport.

This is a compelling reason for a thorough FAA evaluation of A-B-E for a radar installation. Not only are there five small airports within short range of A-B-E, but the airport also is a primary alternate landing field for airliners when weather conditions create too much traffic congestion or close entirely the larger metropolitan airports at New York and Philadelphia.

Furthermore, the chart of traffic at A-B-E has been steadily upward and the outlook for the immediate future is for much more traffic, local and long distance, commercial and private.

MENTAL RETARDATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 6430, the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967.

Mental retardation is a problem afflicting over 6 million Americans today, and about 126,000 children born each year will be considered mentally retarded at some time in their lives. Although we have made considerable progress from the days not long ago when a retarded child was treated like an animal, the unfortunate fact is that at present there is no prospect of any immediate or substantial reduction in the number of children born with this affliction, or the number of people already faced with the problem. It is possible, however, to make it possible for a larger number of the retarded to attain some degree of a normal and productive life in our society. We must help those who are able to be helped while at the same time working to prevent or treat retardation in the future.

This bill makes significant strides in the field of mental retardation by assisting three types of facilities—research centers, university-affiliated facilities, and community facilities for the care of the mentally retarded.

The first of these programs—the research centers—has achieved its present goal, and its extension is not recommended. However, in order to assure the necessary research effort, assistance for research in mental retardation is included under the provision for university-affiliated facilities.

The construction of university-affiliated facilities is a major part of the bill which is included to provide for training efforts to alleviate the acute shortages of professional and technical personnel. The facilities must also provide both inpatient and outpatient services for the mentally retarded.

The university, of course, is the ideal location to provide for the training of personnel. In addition, because of the close association between retardation and other types of neurological disabilities, the location of these facilities in universities will enable research to be done on the widest range of factors associated with retardation.

The other major part of the bill provides for the construction of community facilities for the mentally retarded. This, of course, is in recognition of the fact that retardation is found, and must be treated, at the local level. It is important to focus the available services where they are accessible to those who need them the most.

We have made considerable progress in the past years in our understanding and treatment of mental retardation. This bill provides the necessary response to continue that record of progress.

AN ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON, D.C., EXAMINER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, newspaper coverage in the Washington metropolitan area has recently been augmented by the introduction of the Washington, D.C., Examiner. I would like to commend the Washington, D.C., Examiner for its auspicious beginnings, and by extending my wishes for its long and successful career.

I note with particular interest the inclusion in the Examiner's second issue of September 14–17 of a provocative column on consumers' rights titled, "I Would Cook Up a Storm" by Arthur Rouse. Mr. Rouse is the publisher of U.S. Consumer, a newsletter on consumer affairs.

The article follows:

"I WOULD COOK UP A STORM"

(By Arthur Rowse)

If I were Betty Furness . . .

Well, let's put it this way: If I were such a well-known person as she and were the President's full-time adviser on consumer affairs . . .

I would commit every resource at my command to the nation's most urgent and most unrecognized domestic problem.

By that I don't mean LBJ, LSD, or RATS.

And I don't mean prices or The Pill.

Nor am I singling out unemployment, rotten housing, racial discrimination, inadequate schooling or crime.

To be sure, these are all urgent matters of great importance. But they have also been discussed thoroughly in public. I am referring to a problem hardly ever discussed in polite society.

It is the exploitation of innocent consumers, particularly the poor and ill-educated.

The American consumer needs help. He needs help in getting his money's worth. He needs to know which products will protect his health and safety and which won't.

Higher incomes can help. But often they merely increase consumer problems. What good is training people for better jobs, handing out more subsidies or raising minimum wages if the extra money winds up as extra profit for unscrupulous merchants and lenders?

Why is it so difficult for people in authority to read the smoke signals from places like Watts, Harlem, Hough and Newark?

In my opinion, the message is about economics as much as race—and problems as much as job problems.

The evidence stands starkly in the charred ruins. The principal targets of the arsonists and looters were business firms that specialized in excessive prices, inferior merchandise and slick tricks.

They included many pawn shops, "easy credit" furniture stores, "friendly" loan outfits, high-price food and liquor stores, etc. If the door-to-door peddlers had offices, they would have been sacked, too.

Apparently the poor are getting tired of paying more than other people for the same things. A survey by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows the poor indeed do pay more for most necessities, including food, drugs, appliances, housing and loans.

But exploitation of the poor does not rest solely with the ghetto merchant. In many cases, he merely passes on the higher costs he himself must pay.

The blame should be shared by the "respectable" banker who feeds on usurious small loan outfits, the manufacturer of flimsy merchandise, the ad writer who lies about the quality and the "middleman" who always raises prices but never lowers them.

The blame also is shared by the local publisher or broadcaster who always has space for ads but not always space for unfavorable news about advertisers, the clergyman who prays for justice while soliciting conscience money from unethical parishoners, the government official who talks about protecting the public while catering to special interests, and the educator who sticks to outmoded courses and concepts while the world is exploding around us.

In my opinion, the ghetto riots and the supermarket boycotts are largely examples of widespread consumer resentment against The System or profiliteering, exploitation, deception and worse. Consumers of all races and incomes are demanding to be heard and they are employing their own means in doing so.

No one, of course, can speak for all consumers. And no one person can solve any of these huge problems. But a person with a big name and a big title can do a lot.

So, if I were the Administration's top consumer spokesman, I would:

Assign every member of my professional staff (all ten of them) to work full-time on consumer problems of the poor. (Helping to solve them would help solve the problems of all consumers.)

Call in leaders in all fields, particularly business executives, for frank discussions on how to improve communications with people on consumer matters.

Persuade the President and his proverty warriors to put as much emphasis on teaching people how to manage money as they do on teaching people how to earn money. (Less than one per cent of Community Action Program money goes to this purpose.)

Persuade the President to call a national educational conference to discuss the feasibility of using the consumer problem-solving approach to make schools more relevant to today's youngsters. (Less than one percent of classroom time in public school touches on consumer problems.)

Challenge local, state and Federal agencies, which claim to protect the public interest, to live up to their claims. (Agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission. Federal Communications Commission and the Departments of Interior and Agriculture work harder to protect producer interests than the overall public interest.)

Set up an award system (similar to the E-Award) to stimulate voluntary improvements by merchants and manuacturers by giving recognition for outstanding service to the public. (For example, few people know about the $100 million conversion of the detergent industry to "soft" detergents.)

Publicize the types of complaints people make in letters to the consumer office and interview, when appropriate, to clear up inequities.

Support legislative efforts to give consumers more assurance of safety, truth and reasonable choices in the marketplace. (Almost every special interest is well represented on Capitol Hill except the consumer.)

In other words, I would cook up a storm. Then if I found I couldn't stand the heat, I'd get out of the kitchen.

ARAB BOYCOTT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ST GERMAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, unrestrained pursuit of commerce within the boundaries of the law is a basic tenant upon which this great Nation stands. The strength and economic progress of this Nation is predicated upon the perpetuation of this freedom in commerce. Therefore, every effort must be made to insure that American businessmen can operate in a milieu that is free from practices opposed to this system of commerce.

I would like to speak today about a practice that American exporters are subjected to that is in direct opposition to this system; that imposes undue hardship upon our exporters and unwillingly places them in the middle of an international dispute. I am speaking about the Arab boycott of Israel in which American firms have become involved.

This matter has been before this body before and, though some action has been taken, we have failed to adequately protect American exporters from restrictive trade practices or boycotts imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States.

American companies are being exposed to practices which are not only in contradiction to our own free system of commerce but are also considered irregular in the normal course of international trade.

These practices arise from an agreement among Arab nations to boycott Israel, Israel goods, and all companies engaged in business arrangement, direct or indirect, with Israel. The Arabs have involved third parties, like American businessmen, in their economic war against Israel, subjecting them to various processes of interrogation, unusual requirements for affidavit and certification of commercial invoices, and outright threats.

Presently, the American Government requests and encourages exporters not to cooperate with the boycott. Some exporters do comply while others who though they complain that the boycott is morally wrong, nevertheless give in because they feel that they must put the stockholders views above personal belief.

Mr. Speaker, those who refuse to give in to this blackmail should not be made to suffer the kind of economic discrimination which results from the fact that others may have given in to the Arabs. We should not allow this to happen. Our laws should make it mandatory for all American exporters to refrain from complying with these atrocious practices. If we allow this to continue, other nations may also enlist our businessmen in boycott practices and tell our businessmen that they cannot sell their goods to another nation friendly to the United States but hostile to themselves.

Our laws, Mr. Speaker, should vividly reflect our immutable belief in free commerce and inform all nations that Americans may trade and invest where they will—that they will not allow themselves to be participants in a secondary or tertiary boycott.

Currently an unprecedented effort is being made to promote international peace through the fostering of trade and commerce between nations. These efforts should not be jeopardized by our own participation in restrictive trade practices.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing at this time a bill to prohibit domestic exporters from taking any action, including the furnishing of information on the signing of agreements in furtherance of restrictive trade practices or boycotts imposed by foreign countries against other foreign countries friendly to the United States.

The Arab boycott of firms doing business with Israel is a form of discrimination which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles to which this Nation has always adhered. We must take legislative action against its perpetuation and must do so now.

FEDERAL DONABLE PROPERTY PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal donable property program, authorized by subsection 203(j) of the Federal Property Act of 1949, as amended, has proved vastly beneficial to the people of our States. During fiscal year 1967, Federal surplus personal property, having an original acquisition cost of over $277 million was donated to State surplus property agencies for distribution to public health and educational institutions and to civil defense organizations. It is a remarkable program which illustrates on a grand scale the truth of the scriptural precept: "Cast thy bread upon the running waters; for after a long time thou shalt find it again."

Below the Federal level, the program is administered by State agencies for surplus property. There are now 53 such agencies, covering all 50 States, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. These agencies have joined together in a National Association of State Agencies for Surplus Property, which was founded in 1947, even before the presently authorized program began.

When you, Mr. Speaker, assumed your present duties at the beginning of the second session of the 87th Congress and hence relinquished membership on the Committee on Government Operations, our colleague, John S. Monagan, of Connecticut, was designated by Chairman William L. Dawson of the Committee on Government Operations to assume chairmanship of the Special Donable Property Subcommittee, which you had previously held since its establishment early in the 84th Congress.

From the beginning of the special subcommittee's existence, the National Association of State Agencies for Surplus Property has been an able and active advocate for the beneficiaries of the Federal donable property program. It has also been of valuable assistance to the special subcommittee not only through its proposals and formal presentations, but also through its being a ready and reliable source of information and advice bearing on the matters of concern to the subcommittee.

That the relationship between the subcommittee and the national association has been one of mutual cooperation and benefit is well demonstrated, I think, by the resolutions which the association has adopted in past years expressing appreciation to you, Mr. Speaker, for your work and leadership in the establishment and improvement of the program.

As a member of the present Special Subcommittee on Donable Property, I am pleased today to observe that the national association recently passed a resolution expressing its sincere appreciation and thanks to Congressman Monagan as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property for his untiring support of the donable property program. This is the text of the resolution:

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE AGENCIES FOR SURPLUS PROPERTY, AUGUST 22, 1967

Whereas, Honorable John S. Monagan, a distinguished member of the House of Representatives from the State of Connecticut, has demonstrated his interest in and support of the Donable Property Program; and

Whereas, Congressman Monagan as Chairman of the special Subcommittee on Surplus Property has worked diligently and faithfully to promote the Donable Property Program;

Therefore be it resolved, that the Members of the National Association of State Agencies for Surplus Property by copy of this resolution express to Congressman Monagan their sincere appreciation and thanks for his untiring support of the Donable Property Program.

Richard J. Zook,
President.

OPEN HOUSING

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Burton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, more and more people are beginning to realize that fair housing laws are the basic means of solving a major civil rights problem.

It is therefore good news to read in the AFL–CIO News that another strong voice has been raised in support of open housing legislation, the Washington State AFL–CIO. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the story of this action be reprinted in the Record:

WASHINGTON CONVENTION ASKS FAIR HOUSING LAW

Yakima, Wash.—Strong support for a statewide fair housing law was voted unanimously by more than 500 delegates to the Washington State AFL–CIO's 10th annual convention here.

The proposed law, aimed at eliminating discrimination by real estate salesmen and brokers, will be on the 1968 general election ballot.

The state labor federation, during the convention, also presented a $1,000 check to assist migrant farm workers stranded in the Yakima Valley. State AFL–CIO Pres. Joe Davis pledged that labor will renew its efforts in the next session of the legislature to bring farm workers under unemployment compensation coverage.

A unity appeal by Davis helped bring about acceptance of a compromise resolution on apprenticeship standards and programs, which includes appointment of a committee of craft and industrial union members to make a study and bring back recommendations on apprenticeship problems.

Republican Gov. Daniel J. Evans also had a unity plea, but his proposal got a cooler reception from the convention.

Evans urged that labor and industry negotiate their differences on legislation and agree on a common program.

Davis termed this a "threadbare" philosophy. He charged that what the governor "is asking labor to do is to give industry a veto power over labor's programs."

Delegates approved a constitutional change allowing past presidents and secretary-treasurers full delegate status at future conventions, with expenses paid.

The state federation elects its officers and board members through referendum rather than at conventions.

MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN ALABAMA

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Burton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, it has been two and a half years since the civil rights march from Selma, Ala., to the capitol in Montgomery. Since that time much has happened in this Southern State. One significant development was reported in a recent issue of the AFL–CIO News.

Since we are all interested in Selma, Ala., I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the article from the AFL–CIO News be reprinted in the Record.

SELMA NEGRO COMMUNITY TURNS OUT TO SUPPORT STRIKERS, UNION DRIVE

Selma, Ala.—"This is the greatest thing that ever happened to the Alabama labor movement."

The speaker was Barney Weeks, president of the Alabama State AFL–CIO.

He spoke from the pulpit of Browns Chapel, the church in the heart of Selma's Negro district—just two and one-half years ago—was the command post for the civil rights march through Alabama that led to passage of the Voting Rights Act.

The occasion was a mass rally supporting nearly 400 striking members of the Ladies' Garment Workers at Laura Industries and an affirmation of welcome from the Negro community for a major trade union organizing campaign in Dallas County.

Nearly 1,000 persons filled every seat and standing room space inside the church; hundreds more gathered around a loudspeaker outside.

The strikers, 90 percent of them Negro women, have shown "unprecedented heroism and unity," the Rev. P. H. Lewis, pastor of the church, declared.

NEW STRUGGLE

The Negro community, victors in "a movement for civil rights, is now engaged in a labor movement for human rights," he declared.

The Rev. F. D. Reese, president of the Dallas County Voters League, told the enthusiastic audience, "If we have to march again, we're ready. We've got our marching shoes warm and dry."

He pledged, "We're not going to see these ladies at Laura defeated. Whatever needs to be done to see that they win is going to be done."

Rev. Reese appealed to the small number of strikebreakers who have taken jobs at the struck plant, "Don't cross that picket line."

More than 400 persons attending the rally filled out cards for an area organizing drive announced by James M. Pierce of the AFL–CIO Industrial Union Dept. Pierce, who described the rally as the "most moving experience" he's had in the labor movement, pledged assistance to every group of workers seeking union representation.

Ramelle MaCoy, the ILGWU's assistant regional director, told the gathering that a victory for the strikers would be "a victory for all working people," a setback would be a defeat for the entire community.

It was MaCoy who called on the company to bargain while outside, on the street in front of the plant, virtually the entire work force was gathered in a demonstration of support for their union.

After refusing to deal with the union, the employer went outside to appeal to the workers to return to their jobs.

His answer was a chorus from a song that has been sung on picket lines from coast to coast—"Roll the Union On."

After more than a month on the picket line, the strikers' enthusiasm and morale remain high, the ILGWU reports.

The Laura plant makes raincoats on federal contract, the ILGWU said. Most of its workers receive only the federal minimum wage; those who meet a high production quota for two successive weeks are paid 10 cents an hour above the minimum.

Not only is there no premium pay for working on a holiday but, the ILGWU reports, an employe who refuses to work on a day off is fired and the announcement of the discharge is made over the plant's public address system.

Shortly before the Browns Chapel rally, the strikers elected two spokesmen to bring to Washington, D.C., a petition protesting the fact that a company that defies the nation's labor laws is working exclusively on government contract business. The petition was signed by 386 employes of Laura Industries.

INVESTIGATIONS INDICATE NO VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW OCCURRED IN 1966 ELECTION OF VIRGIN ISLANDS LEGISLATION

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Carey] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, I have, in cooperation with members of the subcommittee on both sides, conducted extensive hearings into the affairs of the territory of the U.S. Virgin Islands. The purpose of these hearings was to determine whether the people of the territory had achieved sufficient political maturity to conduct elections for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Islands.

Considerable material was introduced in the hearings with regard to alleged irregularities in the 1966 elections of the Virgin Islands Legislature. Some factions attempted to indicate that because of these irregularities, elections for Governor and Lieutenant Governor should be delayed indefinitely.

Investigations of the election proceedings have been carried on over a period of nearly 7 months by the U.S. attorney for the Virgin Islands. There now comes a communication from the Assistant Attorney General of the United States stating that no Federal election law had been violated and therefore no basis for prosecution.

I believe this puts this matter to rest and we should now proceed with favorable consideration of the bill to elect the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Virgin Islands. The letter from Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the United States, follows:

Department of Justice,
Washington, September 15, 1967.

Hon. Hugh L. Carey,
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman: This is in further reference to my letter of August 23, 1967, forwarding a copy of the report of investigation conducted by the Virgin Islands Department of Public Safety of allegations of election law violations in the 1966 election in the Virgin Islands.

That investigation disclosed no violation of any federal election law. As to possible violations of the Virgin Islands Code, United States Attorney Almeric L. Christian has advised that in his opinion the matter does not warrant further investigative or prosecutive action. The Department has forwarded a copy of the investigative report to Alexander Farrelly, Chairman of the Virgin Islands Committee on the Judiciary.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, Senator Gordon Allott, and Congressman Wayne N. Aspinall have been similarly advised.

Sincerely,

Fred M. Vinson, Jr.,
Assistant Attorney General.

SHOULD THE WAR ON POVERTY CONTINUE?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, we are fortunate indeed in Texas and that region in general to have the dedicated services of Walter Richter, director, Southwest region, Office of Economic Opportunity. Those of us who have known of Mr. Richter's brilliant career are aware of the good fortune. Mr. Richter has served in the Texas State Senate with distinction, and now with great success as regional director. I insert at this point the text of remarks recently made by Mr. Richter in Texas. They are words of wisdom and experience and I hope we all heed them:

SHOULD THE WAR ON POVERTY BE CONTINUED?

(Address before the Lions Club of Austin, Tex., by Walter Richter, Director, Southwest region, Office of Economic Opportunity, August 24, 1967)

The grapevine has it that there is a possibility that this Congress will kill the poverty program or at least substantially mutilate it. A few months ago, prior to the spate of riots in a couple dozen of our major cities, the picture looked different. Volumes of testimony had been produced in Senate and House subcommittee hearings, most of it positive, including endorsements from almost every organization you can mention from the American Bar Association to the AFL–CIO. On the sidelines, no less a personage than the Reverend Billy Graham provided a resounding endorsement of the antipoverty campaign. So did governors, mayors, social workers, housewives, butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers.

There was also dissent, of course, but the tide was definitely moving in favor of continuation of the OEO and the program. All of this was bolstered by a recent Harris poll which concluded that 60% of the American people wanted the poverty program continued at the present level or enlarged.

Then came the riots and reaction. Now the legislation is in trouble.

I should like to take this opportunity to share with you my personal assessment of this state of affairs and the implication for this community and, in fact, for America.

First, I should like to review some of the considerations which properly were a part of the judgments that led to the formal declaration of war on poverty by President Johnson and the subsequent enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Questions that were properly and logically asked included these: "Is poverty real in America? If so, is it really damaging our society? Are the poor salvageable and worth worrying with? If so, how do we go about it? Is this a proper concern of the federal government?"

Time does not permit me to elaborate at length on these questions but, briefly stated, these were and are the conclusions:

Is poverty real in America? The answer is definitely yes. Using the arbitrary poverty-level measure of a $3,000 annual 4-member family income, it was estimated that the United States had some 34 million such people in 1964. (A recent estimate indicates that this has now been reduced to something less than 30 million.)

Whatever the measuring device we use, the fact is inescapable that America has far too many citizens who are receiving insufficient and inadequate diets, medical and dental attention, housing, and other commonplace benefits of this affluent society. Few evidences of poverty are visible from main street or along the paths we normally travel in our daily routines, but they are there and can be shown to any doubter willing to seek them out.

Well then, the next question is—is poverty really damaging and costly to our society? The answer is again clearly yes. America spent some $30 billion on crime last year—and only the naive would deny that a great deal of criminal activity relates to slum environment and poverty. Disease breeds in the slum areas far out of proportion to other parts of a city, and its overall cost defies measure but is obviously enormous. Welfare costs, which the War on Poverty seeks to reduce, are a direct price we pay for poverty.

Our society suffers in many ways from the loss of productivity by the legions of unemployed and underemployed who cannot qualify for decent jobs which are available but which require special training and skills. It is interesting to note that the businessman with a cash register business has the most to lose from poverty in dollars and cents. For every $100 per year increase in the income of the poor in America (and you can depend on their spending every penny), our economy would be fattened by $3 billion—which, my economist friends who know about multiplier formulas tell me, would turn over five times.

There is, of course, the most important price—which is human misery and unhappiness, a cancer in any society. In these are rooted the breeding grounds for hatred and discontent which find expression in all types of overt, devious, and dangerous manifestations, including physical violence.

So we concede that poverty is costly, very costly, in many ways. The next logical question is: can the poor be helped or are they intrinsically worthless. A Gallup poll in 1965 indicated that 55% of all Americans believe that the poor are poor because they are lazy, and I honestly believe that this attitude on the part of large numbers of our people has been in large measure responsible for the difficulty we have experienced in obtaining public support for the anti-poverty program. Certainly they have been quick to accept and even applaud any and every indication of failure.

Let us examine briefly the validity of this generalization about the poor as an excuse to accept poverty as a way of life for countless numbers of our people and as a necessary evil in our society.

About 40% of the poor are children. They can hardly be written off as undeserving of our sympathetic attention. In fact, now while their work habits and attitudes are being formed is obviously the best time to try to achieve positive response to direction and training.

About one-third are the elderly who, whatever their past work experience, have their productivity pretty much behind them. Many of them have worked hard all their lives but now have to cope with reduced physical capabilities, increased vulnerability to disease, and an employment rationale which cruelly penalizes workers on the basis of age, starting as early as age 45.

Countless numbers are widows and divorcees with children, with debts, and without sufficient skills to earn a decent wage.

Roughly half of the adults among the poor are not unemployed at all—witness, for example the tens of thousands of migrants who live in the Texas Valley. They can hardly be accused of being lazy—and yet they are in poverty because of illiteracy and lack of occupational skills.

Even the assumption of the worthlessness of people on welfare which most of us indulge in can be effectively challenged. A recent survey of the 7.3 million Americans who are on welfare revealed that only 50,000 males have anything like the capability of getting off the rolls through job training that could make them self-sufficient.

Who then is on welfare? 2.1 million are 65 or older, average age 72; 700,000 are either blind or severely handicapped; 3.5 million are children whose parents cannot support them; the remaining one million are the parents of these children: about 900,000 mothers and 150,000 fathers. Two thirds of the 150,000 fathers on welfare are incapacitated, leaving 50,000 capable of receiving training. The OEO, incidentally, has a program specifically designed to provide training to such as these, and it has been very successful.

What I'm saying is that any American who assumes his poverty-stricken brother is deserving of his fate and could improve his lot if he only had the gumption is making a dangerous generalization from too small a sample of truly worthless indigents. These creatures do exist, and since lack of motivation is a symptom of poverty I'm not sure that we should give up on them. For the time being, however, I would be willing to yield to a critical public and concentrate on the hundreds of thousands of deprived Americans who earnestly and sincerely welcome a chance to help themselves. Maybe we can get to the others later.

I hope at this point you agree with me that poverty in America is real, that it is costly to our society, and that to assume that poor people are beyond salvage is to be our responsibility. If so, then we are now at the point that Congress was when it passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which presumed to suggest that Americans were strong enough, rich enough, resourceful enough, and wise enough to make a manly effort to eradicate poverty from the environs of this great country.

In his inaugural address, President Johnson declared, "In a land of wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die unattended."

In the Economic Opportunity Act, Congress made a historic declaration of national policy. Upon the recommendation of the President, Congress declared it to be the policy of the United States "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation."

Pursuant to this national policy commitment, the fundamental goals of the OEO are simple but most important in terms of national objectives. As defined in the Economic Opportunity Act itself, those goals are to open up to every individual in this nation: the opportunity for education and training; the opportunity to work; and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

This noble statement of mission—with the accent on opportunity—is certainly in the American tradition and can hardly be decried. There are those, of course, who question the involvement of the federal government in this undertaking. I can only respond that the stakes for our society are sufficiently high that we can defend federal participation on the same basis as we support our defense establishments, interstate roads, and the postal service. Moreover, the primary thrust of the anti-poverty legislation is to support and encourage local communities in establishing, expanding, and properly utilizing local (and other) resources through the use of local initiative and local community action.

Other interesting new dimensions of the anti-poverty campaign rationale include a dedication to the concept of removing the causes of poverty rather than treating the symptoms; the establishment of a broad-based independent but responsible local administrative body widely representative of all elements and segments of a given community; and the "maximum feasible" participation of the poor themselves.

Emphasis has been on communication—especially on the development of important dialogues, between the poor and the representatives of the so-called power system and between the agencies, public and private, which have resources designed to serve the needs of the poor.

There has ensued a great ferment of ideas, and one might even say with some authority that among the War on Poverty's most significant accomplishments are side effects on established educational, training, and people-serving institutions.

The next part of my comments I shall omit because of lack of time. This would be a recitation of specific impressive accomplishments of the War on Poverty effort—despite many difficulties which you might correctly assume would be encountered in such a massive, complex and exceedingly difficult undertaking. The record is there and I believe any objective observer examining it will find it over-all indeed quite impressive.

I want to share with you briefly my concern about the anti anti-poverty campaign sentiment of today—a public attitude which seems to me to border on hysteria. I see the nobility of the mission being obscured by side issues and allegations which are either not germane or of little actual consequence.

Let me cite a few examples.

An OEO employee makes a questionable judgment about the purchase of some gun sights. One single employee—a respected man in the community. The incident made headlines—some of the banner variety—across the country and has triggered a congressional investigation, no less. The entire poverty program is discredited.

OEO establishes a summer work program to ease tensions. Some OEO officials have the notion that the program might reach and rehabilitate some of the chronic trouble makers by employing a few youth with minor police records. More headlines. Reaction: let's kill OEO.

OEO funds a program in which one of the educational components is aborted by a staff person to teach very young pupils what might correctly be termed as "hate" materials. The scheme was discovered before any funds were expended. More headlines. OEO is an evil thing.

A community submits an application for the establishment of a newspaper to be delivered to the poor free of charge. OEO has received many such applications and has rejected them all. But the newspapers receive and reprint from coast to coast a story that OEO is putting the government into competition with the privately owned journals. Headlines. Not many retractions. Damn OEO!

Thirteen OEO employees are among more than 12,000 people arrested in 27 cities experiencing riots this summer. While the record of OEO efforts to help prevent or cool down potential tension-filled situations is a thing of joy, the headlines stress OEO involvement in the riots. OEO gotta go, go, go.

If you wish to play this game further, search your memory for the negative things you have heard or read about the War on Poverty. Job Corps boys in trouble (they get in less trouble than all youth that age); the mayor's son shows up on the Neighborhood Youth Corps (it happened in the beginning before better controls were established but the stories go on and on).

Then there are such as these:

A mother of a poverty kid in a summer camp complaining because the food isn't good enough.

A Community Action program personnel committee hiring a guy for political reasons when obviously there are better qualified candidates.

A minority group being discriminated against in the staffing of a neighborhood center.

I could go on and on. And you, I'm sure, could contribute a few choice items yourself.

The significant point I want to make is that it is my judgment that 99% of the disenchantment with the OEO stems from deficiencies not of the program but of individual humans—usually in the form of personal transgression, immorality, or ineptness at the local level.

One of OEO's strengths—its dedication to local control and local initiative—becomes a serious weakness and could be its undoing. Already the local autonomy has been eroded by the earmarking process and by other forced priority judgments for local projects.

This is not to suggest for an instant that this operation has been free of mistakes at all levels. It hasn't. I can tell you, however, that we're working hard at building quality into every phase of the program and tremendous progress has been made operationally. Seems I recall a part of an old gentleman's prayer in which he observed: "I ain't what I ought to be. I ain't what I want to be. I ain't what I'm gonna be. But thank God, I ain't what I wuz!" That's OEO!

My plea to Congress, to use an earthy expression, is simply this: please don't burn down the house to kill the cockroaches. The poverty program is too right, too necessary, and the stakes are too high to scuttle it for reasons which in the final analysis are superficial.

To eliminate the OEO on the basis of the type of criticisms and charges floating around this summer would be like abolishing banking because a teller got off with some cash or closing our public schools because a teacher was discovered at a pot party. It's almost like denying Christianity because a preacher takes a shine to the organist.

OEO in my book *is* Christianity in practice because it decries evil and supports the innate nobility of the individual person. OEO is liberal because it seeks change where, heaven knows, we need change. OEO is conservative because its operational emphasis is on self-help, on local initiative and on honest effort.

Should the War on Poverty be continued?

I am convinced it would be a great tragedy for all of America if it is not continued. Can we afford it financially? The OEO costs per year about what the war in Vietnam costs in a month. And unlike in that war, this expenditure has all the earmarks of money invested with a guaranteed return.

In closing, I want to testify that I have never been so excited or so challenged by an assignment. I want the world to know that I am proud to be identified with a program that has a deep commitment to fight ignorance, intolerance, injustice, and—I believe worst of all—indifference. You know Dante wrote that "the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality." You better believe that we're in a period of moral crisis in this country right now. And if too many of us respond by maintaining a posture of neutrality and indifference, we may not only go to Hell—we may go a bit sooner than we expected.

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOW REVIEWS UNITED STATES–PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the American Political Science Association enjoys well-deserved recognition for its excellent congressional fellowship program, which grants fellowships to qualified political scientists and journalists for a year's work on Capitol Hill. Also affiliated with the program are a number of Federal career employees and a small number of Asian fellows.

It was my pleasure this year to have Mr. Fazlur Rahman Khan, a congressional fellow from Pakistan, spend the second half of his program assignment in my office.

Mr. Khan has written a very candid review of relations between Pakistan and the United States, which I believe my colleagues in the Congress would find interesting.

Congressional Fellow Khan's paper, "Pakistan-United States Relations—A Review," written in July 1967 prior to his return to Pakistan, follows:

PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS— A REVIEW

(By Fazlur Rahman Khan, congressional fellow from Pakistan)

Relations between Pakistan and the USA—which have been friendly since the former's inception in 1947—do not seem to me as warm as they were a few years ago. As a believer in Pakistan-American friendship, I feel that these two great nations should continue to stand firmly for mutual assistance and cooperation as before. In the common interest of both, I feel that we should try to find out the causes of our difference, if any, and do our best to remove them.

While receiving training as a Congressional Fellow under the supervision of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C., I worked as an intern in the office of Republican Senator Cliff P. Hansen from the state of Wyoming. I am now attached with the office of Democratic Representative Spark M. Matsunaga from Hawaii. Both of these able U.S. law makers and their staff members have all along been sympathetic and very helpful to me. As a part of my training program, which is financed by the Asia Foundation in San Francisco, I have visited a number of states including Wyoming and Hawaii right from east to west under the good offices of Sen. Hansen and Rep. Matsunaga. I am happy to note that the people whom I have met in these places are enthusiastic and eager to learn as they do not know much about Pakistan. I also find in them ample good will for the people of Pakistan. From my experience in the Federal Capital as well as in the states, I find that a good number of American people take keen interest in Pakistan's affairs. Some of them are sympathetic to Pakistan's cause. I have also observed that many Americans have misunderstood the people and the government of Pakistan due to ignorance, and as such they cannot appreciate Pakistan's viewpoint.

It seems to me that Pakistan's importance as an independent democratic nation of more than 100 million people, and her record as America's best friend in the Middle East and East Asia, have not been fully recognized in this country. This is clear from the following lines quoted from ORBIS, a quarterly journal of world affairs published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania:

"Curiously, though Pakistan has been in alliance with the United States, it has never had in the United States the kind of fulsome press accorded to India. U.S. ambassadors to India—not to Pakistan—have frequently been eloquent national figures whose views on India have been given widespread coverage in the United States. Pakistan's ambassadors to the U.S.A., outstandingly pro-western, such as the late Mohammad Ali and Aziz Ahmad have been able to reach only a small group of U.S. State and Defense Department officials and even smaller groups of 'opinion molders'."

Even textbooks written by scholars for the children in America are not free from biased reports against Pakistan, (Cf. pages 294–297, *One World Divided* by Professor Preston E. James of Syracuse University). Some of the newspapers, particularly The Washington Post as I have observed, carry exaggerated and misleading reports about Pakistan and ignore genuine information. These are some of the instances which show that Pakistan has not been truly depicted in this country, whereas America and American people are still held in high esteem in Pakistan.

Pakistan emerged as an independent nation when British India was divided in 1947 as a result of the demand of the Muslims of that subcontinent for a separate homeland. After the creation of Pakistan, it had to build everything which she now possesses from scratch. A democratic government was set up under the parliamentary system to administer and govern the entire country consisting of several provinces with local governments. The provinces in West Pakistan were later amalgamated into one province so that there have since been only two provinces—East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Following the revolution of 1958, Pakistan has now a presidential form of government under the able leadership of President Ayub Khan.

Like other countries of the world, the U.S. government recognized Pakistan and both these countries soon established diplomatic relations on the ambassador level. As a young nation, while Pakistan was striving hard for its existence and progress, both the big powers—USA and USSR—approached her. At first, the Soviet Premier extended an invitation to the late Liaqat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan to visit the USSR. While preparations for his visit to Soviet Russia were going forward, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan received an invitation from President Truman to visit the USA.

The Pakistan Cabinet considered both the invitations and decided in favor of visiting the USA preceding the visit to the USSR. It was the first visit of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan to a foreign country. His visit to the USSR was postponed and did not, finally materialize.

It should be kept in mind that Pakistan has always advocated Islamic socialism which differs in many ways from present-day Communism. In the first instance, there is the basic difference of a faith in God between Islam and Communism. While Pakistanis are staunch believers and have full faith in Almighty God, the Communists do not believe in the existence of God. Secondly, Pakistan's strategic position is significant and important. West Pakistan borders on the Middle East, close to Russia's southern frontier, and shares a common border with China. It stands across the great mountain passes through which all land invasions of the Indian subcontinent have taken place. East Pakistan, on the other hand, borders on Burma and is close to the southwest frontier of China. East and West Pakistan flank India on her northeast and northwest and virtually constitute a defense shield for India. Most important of all is the strong threat from the Communists in the Middle East and Southeast Asia as a result of the spread of Communism in China which ultimately has led to their influence and control in North Korea and North Viet Nam and partial control in Iraq, Syria, Indonesia and other Asian countries.

In these circumstances, while the U.S. was eager to check the Communist expansion in Asia, it was only Pakistan who came forward and stood by her side—as early as 1950. Since then, Pakistan has joined with the USA in a series of agreements, treaties and alliances for the defense of the free world.

Pakistan became the ally of the West and signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the U.S. Pakistan also became a member of SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), along with the USA, Britain, France, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. Pakistan further joined the Baghdad Pact, another mutual defense organization sponsored by the U.S. with Britain, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. When Iraq left this pact it was renamed CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), comprising Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. Although the U.S. has not joined this organization, it has remained closely associated with it since its formation. Again Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement of cooperation with the USA which was designed further to reinforce the defensive purpose of CENTO.

Pakistan did this, ORBIS says, "at a time when other newly independent countries inspired or led in large part by India, adopted a neutral or non-aligned policy on the issue created by the cold war initiated by Stalin and the USSR in Asia and elsewhere."

As a result of these pacts and other agreements, Pakistan received economic as well as military aid from the U.S. This assistance was no doubt useful for the speedy growth and development of the country and the people and government of Pakistan appreciated very much this gesture of American goodwill. However, the U.S. aid was prompted not only by the interest of the USA in the stability and progress of Pakistan but also by her own interest. US aid to Pakistan was mainly in furtherance of her own interests in checking Communism in Asia, maintaining her base in Pakistan against Russia and selling her products and surplus food stock to Pakistan. Aid was thus equally beneficial to the people of America.

The USA does not seem to have distinguished between friends and foes in the matter of trade and business as she has as a matter of course been supplying food, giving military assistance and granting loans in cash to almost all aligned or non-aligned countries and even to some Communist countries of the world wherever she considers that her interests warrant it. On the other hand, on account of these aid agreements, Pakistan has faced great opposition from its own people, first, and from the outside world. According to *Great Decisions 1967*, issued by The Foreign Policy Association, New York, India vehemently objected to the US-Pakistan military entente, saying that the subcontinent was in no danger of Communist attack. India also announced that Pakistan's participation in these military alliances had destroyed the *status quo* in Kashmir and a free plebiscite which she pledged to hold was now unthinkable. This has unfortunately been proved the source of all the troubles between these two giants of the subcontinent.

Soviet Russia, who had maintained a neutral stand in the Kashmir dispute, began to subscribe to India's claim over Kashmir when she saw Pakistan joining hands with the US in concluding various military pacts and called it an aggressive "western alliance." Soviet Russia totally changed her policy towards Pakistan and even vetoed the Security Council Resolution of June 22, 1962, on Kashmir which she considered to be against the interests of India. The then Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, threatened Pakistan on account of the US base in Peshawar (West Pakistan), where a U2 plane took off for reconnaissance purposes over the USSR and was shot down. Even some of the Muslim countries, notably the United Arab Republic have not been happy with Pakistan because of her alliance with the USA. Therefore it is to be admitted that Pakistan had to sacrifice a lot and pay dearly for her military alliance and friendship with the US.

When India clashed with communist China in 1962 over the border issue, the US Government, on India's request, rushed military aid to India. This was resented by Pakistan, because the US Government did not consult Pakistan—her closest ally in Asia—before giving military aid to India who was her worst critic and vicious opponent till yesterday.

"Americans should remember," as ORBIS says, "India's neutralist policy operated against the U.S. during the difficult Cold War Years of the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies. Indian policy was included to favor Moscow at the expense of the west."

Pakistan, besides the military pacts and agreements, has allowed the U.S. to maintain an electronic base in Pakistan. On the other hand India refused to allow the United States of America to set up a radio station for the VOA (Voice of America) on her soil even after receiving huge military aid from America who saved her from communist attack.

While Cuba, a very small country and a hostile U.S. neighbor was armed by Soviet Russia, there was a hue and cry in the United States of America and the late President Kennedy threatened Russia to get her to withdraw her rockets and other military equipment. Fortunately, the Soviet Premier came to his senses and withdrew the Soviet missiles and rockets from Cuba which saved the civilized world from a great crisis. Naturally when Pakistan saw her closest ally the U.S., giving military aid to Pakistan's worst enemy who was likely to use those arms and ammunitions against her (Pakistan) and which India actually did during the Indo-Pak conflict in September, 1965, there was ample justification and much force in Pakistan's criticism of such a dual USA policy.

But the U.S. failed to take serious notice of Pakistan's grievances. This American attitude frustrated Pakistan. It ultimately encouraged Pakistan to seek friendship with the Communist countries whom she had neglected and antagonized till then for the sake of America's alliance. In this way, Pakistan came into close and friendly contact with Russia and China and other Communist countries.

Both Russia and China, who were previously very much critical about Pakistan's military alliance with the USA, welcomed Pakistan's move and responded cordially. Russia went a step further. She changed her old policy of appeasing India and recognized Pakistan's claim over Kashmir, which she had refused to accept so far. Russia's eagerness to gain Pakistan's friendship was furthered as a result of Tashkent Agreement between Pakistan and India under the good offices of Prime Minister Alexi Kosygin. But Pakistan's friendship with Russia and China should not be misunderstood by her ally the USA.

Pakistan's friendship with China is not definitely an alliance as it is in the case of America. Nor shall the people of America think of it in these terms. The American people, who always uphold the cause of liberty and freedom of the independent and peace loving nations, should appreciate that as an independent nation, Pakistan has the same right as America to establish friendly relations with any nation—communist or noncommunist, aligned or non-aligned—in the world.

According to the Great Decisions, 1967, "the power to decide the course of human events has been concentrated in the hands of one people—the American people."

If that is a fact, the U.S. Government should be able easily to solve amicably the Kashmir problem which has been threatening a large scale war in Asia for the last 20 years, by bringing together Pakistan and India at the conference table and exercising the necessary diplomatic pressure.

But the U.S. Government does not appear to have made any serious concentrated efforts along this line so far. In this connection the National Review says that:

"As for Kashmir . . . it would be prudent for the US to decline to involve itself. It is not a matter of great importance to the average American who India or Pakistan rules over Kashmir."

I differ from these views expressed by the National Review on America's attitude toward Kashmir problems.

I believe that it is the average American who is fighting to uphold democracy, not only in America, but throughout the world. The members in the U.S. Congress still remind the independence-loving nations of the Free World of the forcible occupation of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia by the USSR.

And that is why thousands of Americans are sacrificing their lives to uphold democracy in Viet Nam.

Therefore, the average democratic-minded American person cannot forget the four million oppressed people of Kashmir whose fate has been hanging in the balance for the last 20 years. The average American also cannot ignore the feelings of more than one hundred million people of Pakistan. Americans' impression upon India's vast population, seems to me is based on their wrong idea of eliminating Communism in that country. But the present policy of the U.S. toward India cannot check communism in that country as it is clear from the fact that one of India's state has since gone to communist and some more are on the way.

The government of India and her people have never supported America on her foreign policy, especially in Asia from the very beginning and with this background, I am sure, India will never support America in her efforts to form a "Great Society".

Pakistan has all along been trying for an honorable settlement of all outstanding disputes (including Kashmir) with India.

Pakistan has also been expecting that her ally the U.S. will come to her aid in this hour of real need and that the U.S. will persuade India to settle her disputes with Pakistan.

Even President Ayub Khan asked Washington during the last Indo-Pakistan conflict in September, 1965, for direct diplomatic intervention on Kashmir. While Soviet Russia took practical steps at her own initiative for a solution, the U.S. decided to place its hope in the United Nations which had failed to make any successful progress on the Kashmir issue on account of the neutral and unconcerned attitude of the big powers including Russia and America who control the World body. Pakistan has not thus received any material help so far on Kashmir from the United States of America or from SEATO and CENTO.

However, "U.S. interest can best be served" as the Great Decisions, 1967, says "if India and Pakistan can be successfully persuaded to coexist peacefully. If India and Pakistan manage to reconcile their differences, both can look forward to higher standard of living and greater political stability. Their success in attaining these goals through a nontotalitarian process is vital to the U.S. because it would set an example for other countries in the underdeveloped 'third world' and undercut the communist argument that communism is the wave of the future in the developing countries."

It is the universal desire of the people of Pakistan and of President Ayub Khan who has brought economic stability and prosperity to the country to maintain everlasting friendly relations with all the countries of the world, including the USA, China and India. This is highly essential for her safety and progress as a small young independent nation. It is made amply clear from the article written by President Ayub Khan which appeared in Foreign Affairs, an American Quarterly Review. As far as the USA's concern about Pakistan's friendship with China is concerned, I would like to point out that the New York Times has stated in a recent editorial that Pakistan, on good terms with both Peking and Washington, is not necessarily a danger but could, in fact, be an asset. Pakistan might, in time, be capable of acting as a bridge between the two countries and thus serve the interests of both the nations.

President Ayub Khan, a born soldier, has emerged as a great statesman and politician, not only to lead the destiny of his own people but the entire Middle East, East Asia and Southeast Asia. It has been proved beyond doubt on several occasions that he has been playing a very important and effective role in these regions. It would be most advisable if the U.S. extends its hands of cooperation to President Ayub Khan and the people of Pakistan in bringing permanent peace and tranquillity among the people in these areas especially in Pakistan and India.

JOBS—NOT CHARITY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty is not being run entirely for the poor. It is for all Americans—because all Americans stand to gain.

The above quotation is the second paragraph in a recent Miami News editorial. The article stresses the importance of providing job opportunities for all citizens, and states the paper's optimism about the current attack upon joblessness in Miami:

> In the short time of eight days, metro government's equal opportunity task force has found hundreds of jobs for skilled and unskilled labor alike.

And it concludes:

> Miamians are making a major investment in the future, an investment they hope will change tax users to taxpayers, from welfare recipients to contributing citizens. The return may prove to be many times over every cent invested.

Mr. Speaker, the Office of Economic Opportunity is not operating "giveaway" programs. Our Government's goal is to make it possible to reduce, not increase, the numbers of Americans on welfare roles and the tools we are employing are education and job opportunities, not charity.

Because the Miami News editorial sets forth these goals so clearly, I insert it in the RECORD for my colleagues' benefit:

JOBS FOR EVERYONE

These comments have been made many times since Newark and Detroit and Harlem, to say nothing of Tampa and Riviera Beach and Washington:

The war on poverty isn't being run entirely for the poor. It is for all Americans—because all Americans stand to gain.

Continued disorders lead to renewed political attacks through public programs—an effort to find more jobs, better housing, improved education and the need for justice. Some argue that such community action has not prevented riots, but the obvious answer is that these are all difficult, time-consuming tasks.

We are headed in the proper direction, given enough time.

This is why we feel especially optimistic about the current concentrated attack upon joblessness in our community.

In the short time of eight days, Metro government's Equal Opportunity Task Force has found hundreds of jobs for skilled and unskilled labor alike.

The business commitments are binding, offer permanency, and as County Manager Porter Homer told the Metro Commission: "JOBS represents a massing of community effort to meet a community need."

Perhaps the forces of social revolution may argue, too, that this community fears violence and is trying to head it off. This is not inconceivable but equally important is that more responsible elements in this area are aware that public order must prevail. We need firm hands who will not be baited by reactionaries.

Miamians are making a major investment in the future, an investment they hope will change tax users to taxpayers, from welfare recipients to contributing citizens. The return may prove to be many times over every cent invested.

REPUBLICAN POLL IN NEW JERSEY SAYS PRESIDENT JOHNSON LEADS ALL CONTENDERS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PATTEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, we read an awful lot these days about how polltakers are reporting that Lyndon B. Johnson is at low ebb in the public mind.

But you have to read the small print below the headline to discover that people will still choose President Johnson over every other possible candidate now being talked about—Republican or Democratic.

We saw some polls put out by a major labor organization some months ago which showed the President ahead of everyone else, yet the press played that one as showing the President had fallen behind.

Well, in New Jersey we now have some positive proof about just who is leading whom.

A recent poll taken by a leading public opinion expert, John Bucci, for the Republican State Committee of New Jersey, shows Lyndon B. Johnson outpolling six other Democratic and Republican contenders.

The poll showed the President ahead of Nixon by 9 percent, ahead of Romney by 15 percent, ahead of Rockefeller by 15 percent, and defeating Reagan by a solid 19 percent.

The poll also showed that 52 percent of the voters in New Jersey are Democrats—although I think that is a low estimate; 30 percent Republican, and the rest independent.

Here we have a Republican polltaker publicly telling us that President Johnson is going to beat all comers. And even though Mr. Bucci is a Republican, I believe him.

I also believe that whatever newspapers are now saying, they will be singing a different tune when Lyndon Johnson goes to the country with his story of the most magnificent legislative record in the history of American government.

When the people get the clear picture of what Lyndon Johnson has done for business, what he has done for the schoolchild, what he has done for the farmer, what he has done for the city and the countryside, we will not need any polls to count our victory in November 1968. We are just going to let the computers total up the smashing plurality which Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party are going to roll up.

I insert in the RECORD an article from the Philadelphia Bulletin of September 19 describing the results of a recent Republican poll of New Jersey voters:

JOHNSON LEADS VOTE POLL IN NEW JERSEY

TRENTON—(UPI)—President Johnson has outpolled six other Democratic and Republican presidential possibilities in a survey of New Jersey voters conducted by a professional pollster for the Republican State Committee.

A Republican candidate, however, still would have a good chance of winning the state, the pollster found.

Mr. Johnson was selected by 26 percent of the 600 voters interviewed in all the state's 21 counties. His nearest rival was Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.), the only other Democrat in the survey, who drew 19 percent of the votes.

The others, all Republicans, were former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, 17 percent; Gov. George Romney, of Michigan, 11 percent; Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, of New York, 11 percent; Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California, 7 percent; and U.S. Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) 4 percent.

The poll, taken last month by E. John Bucci, of Public Opinion Surveys, Swarthmore, Pa., indicated that 52 percent of the voters in New Jersey are Democrats, 30 percent Republicans and 18 percent independent.

SEA-BASED MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ANDERSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the more astonishing features of this last decade and a half is the relative equanimity with which nations have accepted the flat military fact that the power to decide their survival or destruction lies with others. In the realm of strategic war, the mightiest of nations possess the power—at hand, not potential—to destroy any other state. Yet none among them can presently defend itself from strategic nuclear attack. We confront each other watchfully as swordsmen in a small ring, each with a terrible blade poised, none possessing a shield. Defense becomes deterrence and an uneasy peace prevails upon what Winston Churchill termed "a balance of terror."

Now we have long known that the peace of mutual deterrence has in its nature certain ominous features of instability. First, the security from attack of any one major power rests upon the rational perception and decisions of all the others. The record of the practice of nations provides us scant cause for faith in the prevalence of such rationality. Especially disturbing is the fresh development of a nuclear strike capability by a nation which is simultaneously ambitious, internationally frustrated, desperately poor, self-isolated from the world community, and demonstrably paranoid.

Second, the configuration of destructive power places a decisive advantage with any contender who could deliver a disabling surprise attack on his adversary. Where you have a confrontation of swords without shields, protection and conquest are achieved by the same act—disabling your opponent. This condition tempts the ambitious and intensifies preemptive considerations by the defensive.

So it is not surprising that both we and our potential adversaries seek to develop an effective shield. And up until now, at least, we have shared the common frustration of technological inability to create a defense that could meaningfully reduce the impact of a determined ballistic missile attack.

Now we have reason to believe that our strongest potential adversary is deploying a marginally effective, terminal phase antiballistic missile system around his cities and strategic weapon sites. We believe that we can saturate, confuse, and breach his new defenses without great difficulty. We certainly also are under great pressure to deploy a terminal phase missile interception-type defense for our own most important and vulnerable potential targets. But we have hesitated in this costly commitment because we suspect that by the completion date of our proposed defense system, it too will be obsolete.

We have now committed ourselves to the deployment of a "thin" land-based, terminal-phase missile-interception system oriented primarily toward a total war threat from Communist China. This ABM system is conceived to be a minimal unit to be augmented or changed as the situation demands. I submit that SABMIS offers a clear and feasible improvement of our strategic position for both defense and deterrence against every potential adversary and against various possible threats of limited nuclear war directed at either ourselves or our allies. Its flexibility and mobility offer capabilities of concentration and dispersal to meet a variety of challenges and a wide range of threats not in any way affected by our presently planned terminal-phase system.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following articles by the distinguished military affairs analyst, L. Edgar Prina, concerning the SABMIS:

[From the South Bay (Calif.) Daily Breeze, June 30, 1967]

Interception at Sea Eyed

(By L. Edgar Prina)

WASHINGTON.—Navy planners believe it would make sense to put anti-missiles at sea so that enemy ICBMS could be destroyed far from the continental United States.

Accordingly, the Navy—with the blessing of the Defense Department—has asked industry to join in a study it hopes will lead to the design of a ship-based missile intercept system.

The Office of Naval Research on June 1 advertised for help, as follows:

"Firms and organizations having demonstrated capabilities for performing a study of ballistic missile intercept systems and subsystems are invited to submit information regarding their qualifications.

"Selected firms and organizations will be considered for participation in a study program leading to preliminary design of a sea-based ballistic missile intercept system (SABMIS) . . . it is expected that a study effort in this field will cover a six-month period."

The Navy got 31 responses from industry. After reviewing them, it selected six firms or teams of firms, to submit proposals for the study. The firms were given classified briefings and have until July 19 to turn in their proposals.

It is understood that one—and possibly two—firms or teams will get the contract for the study, probably by Aug. 1 or soon thereafter. The Navy hopes to have the study completed by next Feb. 1.

The Navy has declined to identify the six firms in the competition.

Navy planners say that the beauty of a sea-based anti-missile system is that the U.S. could knock down enemy rockets long before they approached the continental limits. This is particularly important in this era of multiple warheads.

Defense officials have told reporters that the Navy's submarine-based Poseidon rocket will have several warheads.

It is understood that each of these thermonuclear "bombs" could be directed to individual targets several hundred miles or more apart.

[From the Elgin (Ill.) Daily Courier-News, Apr. 18, 1967.]

Pentagon Eyes New Missiles

(By L. Edgar Prina)

WASHINGTON.—Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze says the Pentagon is studying new offensive and defensive ballistic missiles for launching from both surface ships and submarines to help meet the potential Soviet threat in the 1970's.

Writing in the April issue of Navy—the magazine of sea power, out tomorrow (Monday), Nitze asserts that increased U.S. missile forces, more certain penetration systems on American rockets and an ability to launch attacks from any direction, may be required.

He cited the major future threats to U.S. strategic capabilities as (1) the potential ability of Soviet ICBMS to threaten our fixedbased missile systems and (2) the deployment of Soviet anti-ballistic missiles.

Pointing out that the U.S. could respond in various ways, the secretary said:

"Advanced intercontinental missiles could be developed, using either fixed or mobile basins on land and possibly protecting the missiles with ABM defenses.

"In addition, new sea-based systems could be developed and deployed in surface ships as well as submarines. We could also build additional Poseidon submarines.

Poseidon is the more powerful, twice-as accurate successor to the Polaris missile. It will be installed aboard 31 fleet ballistic missile submarines when it is combat-ready.

According to Nitze, "U.S. options for maintaining nuclear deterrent forces and for anti-ballistic missile forces" include new naval systems of strategic importance.

"We are investigating possible advanced ballistic missile systems, using submarines and surface ships as launch platforms," he said. "Our studies show that both surface missile ships and submarines can survive to accomplish their mission."

[From the San Diego Union, Dec. 20, 1966]

Navy Pushes Sea-Based Missile Defense System—Europe, Asia Allies Seen Protected

(By L. Edgar Prina)

WASHINGTON.—While Pentagon, congressional and White House experts warm up for next year's debate over the Army's Nike X system, Navy planners quietly have come up with a proposal for a sea-based anti-ballistic missile system that could help protect the United States and its allies around the world as well.

It is understood the plan already has been discussed with Defense Department officials, and their interest has been piqued. They want more facts and figures as to feasibility, projected effectiveness and cost.

The Navy plan would involve the installation of modified Nike X antiballistic missiles aboard picket ships deployed in strategic parts of the world's oceans.

FORWARD LOCATION

The advantage of such a deployment would be its forward position, allowing interception of an enemy missile at a relatively early stage of its flight. The Nike X uses a line-of-sight radar, which, because of the curvature of the earth, would be able to pick up a rocket fired at the United States from the Soviet Union only after it was half-way to its target.

Aboard ship in the Adriatic, Mediterranean or North Sea, the Zeus—the long-range missile in the Nike X system—it is contended, could knock down a Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) while it still was behind the Iron Curtain. Thus, it would afford protection to America's North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies in Western Europe. How much protection, of course, would depend upon how many antimissile ships were deployed.

An antiballistic missile ship in the Sea of Japan would provide a missile screen for the Japanese home islands. One in the northern sector of the South China Sea could help protect the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, all allies of the United States aiding in the war against the Communists in Vietnam.

STATE DEPARTMENT VIEW

With aggressive, tough-talking Communist China racing to build a nuclear missile force, such an American defensive system doubtless would ease the fears of these countries.

State Department officials are understood to have shown a keen interest in the sea-based antiballistic missile system because of its promise of protecting U.S. allies without requiring any installation of weapons and equipment on their national territories. American bases abroad often have produced a train of political problems—for them and for the United States.

[From the San Diego Evening Tribune, Feb. 3, 1967]

Navy Forms Authority To Develop Weapons—More Use of Oceans Held Vital

(By L. Edgar Prina)

WASHINGTON.—Underlining the Navy's rapidly expanding role in strategic warfare, Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze announced yesterday the establishment of an authority for a major offensive and defensive weapons system. The program is linked to the greater use of oceans.

The new unit will be headed by R. Adm. George H. Miller, 56, a senior officer and one of the Navy's foremost planners.

The Nitze announcement said Miller's office would "provide over-all guidance and coordination for planning, development and study of the Navy's growing strategic forces."

BIG-WAR ROLE

In a memorandum to Adm. David L. McDonald, chief of naval operations, Nitze added:

"The establishment of this office recognizes within the Navy Department the increasing importance of naval forces in national strategic systems."

Just a day earlier, in testimony before the Senate's Armed Services Committee and defense appropriations subcommittee, Nitze had focused attention on the Navy's big-war role, saying:

"Navy strategic forces are an important and growing segment of our national deterrent forces. In fact, over half of the programmed U.S. ballistic missile re-entry vehicles will be sea-based."

MAINLY AT SEA

When the new Poseidon submarine-launched missile force is completed in the early 1970s, more than half of the nation's ballistic-missile nuclear warheads will be deployed at sea.

Poseidon, the planned successor to Polaris, will be armed with many warheads—up to 14, to assure penetration of enemy defenses.

The Johnson administration has asked Congress for $1 billion in fiscal 1968 to get production started on Poseidon.

Under present plans, 31 Polaris submarines will be converted to carry the larger Poseidons—16 to each vessel. The remaining 10 missile subs will carry the 2,500-mile-range A3 Polaris. That would mean a total of 496 multiple-warhead Poseidons and 160 Polarises.

OVERALL VIEW

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, in his military posture statement to Congress on Jan. 23, said that more Poseidon submarines might be built. He indicated that this would depend on whether the Soviet Union continued to increase its intercontinental ballistic missile force.

Miller's office will be concerned with sea-based antiballistic missiles as well as with Poseidon, Polaris and future offensive systems.

Nitze suggested that the new office would look at strategic warfare systems across the board to determine how the Navy can increase its contribution to the national security.

The secretary is known to feel that the fact the Soviet Union has more than twice as much territory as the United States makes it imperative that new ways of broadening America's strategic operating base be found. This points to greater use of the oceans.

[From the Springfield, Illinois State Register, June 29, 1967]

SECRET STUDY ON NEW OFFENSIVE MISSILE SYSTEMS

(By L. Edgar Prina)

WASHINGTON.—A super-secret study on possible advanced strategic offensive missile systems for the United States in the 1970s will be laid before Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara in the very near future, probably early next month.

While little if any information on the results of the eight-month-old study, called "Strat-X" (for "strategic exercise"), is likely to be made public, the objective, in general terms is this:

To set forth the leading alternatives open to the U.S. for the development of improved long-range ballistic missiles, both sea-based and land-based, with special attention to (1) survivability of the systems and (2) the cost to the enemy to defend against them.

McNamara ordered the study last fall. Fred Payne, on leave from a vice presidency with the Marquardt Corp., a California aerospace firm, reported in as director of the project last Nov. 1.

Payne, a former deputy director of defense research and engineering (for strategic and space systems) at the Pentagon, gathered a blue-ribbon panel of scientists and military men, with the help of the Defense Department and the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), the Strat-X manager.

By Jan. 1, the study was fully under way and the Payne group began an evaluation of several dozen "candidate" missile systems.

It is understood that the field has now been narrowed down to four proposals, two sea-based and two land-based. No air-based candidates, such as the old Air Force Skybolt project, survived.

Payne's group was not charged with recommending a particular system. What it will be doing next month, before polishing up its final report by Aug. 1, is to brief defense officials and industry representatives on the following alternatives:

1. A surface ship-based long range missile system, with perhaps as many as 32 weapons per ship.

2. A new under-water long-range missile system, which would be an improvement over the yet to be developed submarine based Poseidon Rocket.

3. A deep underground missile system in extra hard silos, an improvement over the Minuteman III.

4. A land-mobile strategic missile which could be carted about by huge tractors and-or on specially built railroad cars.

Estimated costs of the above alternatives are said to run from approximately $15 billion to $30 billion, with the sea-based systems less expensive than the land-based ones.

Despite the allegedly lower cost for the sea-based systems and their reduced vulnerability, there have been reports in the trade press that Dr. John S. Foster, director of defense research and engineering, has already told Congress that he favors land bases for advanced U.S. long-range missiles. One reason cited: land-basing supposedly would permit better command and control.

When asked about this, the Pentagon replied that Foster, who will have an important voice in the ultimate decision, had not made up his mind one way or the other.

One of the major determining factors in whether or when the U.S. will go beyond the Poseidon and Minuteman III rockets and order a full-scale research, development and production program for a new missile for the mid and late 1970s concerns the Soviet Union.

Should the Russians continue what now appears to be an accelerated missile deployment and should they develop multiple warhead rockets—both are within their capacity—the U.S. would have no choice. It would have to push forward, too, lest a "missile gap," a myth in the past, actually develops.

Top U.S. defense officials have said that Poseidon will carry a number of warheads. Some estimates place the number at a dozen or more. Minuteman III also is expected to be armed with multiple warheads or MIRV (Multiple Individually targeted Re-entry Vehicles).

As McNamara told Congress earlier this year:

"It is not the number of missiles which is important, but rather the character of the payloads they carry; the missile is simply the delivery vehicle."

PROPOSED NATIONAL SHRINE A NATIONAL SCANDAL

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1967—this coming Saturday—a U.S. shrine will be dedicated in honor of an "American" who: First, heralded the Communist revolution in Russia; second, defended Lenin's execution of countless thousands and thousands of White Russians; and third, attacked and bitterly denounced the American system of free enterprise and capitalism.

This character was arrested on at least three different occasions. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment at least twice—the most serious of which was for sedition. He was sentenced to 10 years in a Federal penitentiary for this action against his country—never to regain his American citizenship.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall is scheduled to dedicate the home of Eugene V. Debs, Socialist and anti-American, as a national historical landmark.

Sad indeed this is, when the home of a seditious, pro-Communist criminal is turned into a shrine while American boys are fighting and dying at the hands of atheistic Communists every day.

Such actions as this by the present Federal bureaucracy cannot help but make one wonder in disbelief. Of all people, why Debs? And why at such a crucial time?

Certainly, this criminal Debs did not have the respect nor the admiration of true Americans of his day, for he ran for President of the country five times—never even once receiving 925,000 votes nationwide.

Yet this man—who spoke against free speech and freedom of the press in Russia and for the Communist revolution—is today bestowed a great honor. Why? Who are those responsible for such action?

Mr. Speaker, when this place is officially dedicated by Secretary Udall it will signify a slap in the face of every American who has fought for his country.

It will be a trampling disrespect upon the graves of those who have paid the supreme sacrifice serving their country, and a knife in the back of the surviving relatives of these departed heroes.

This act on the part of "big brother" government is scandalous. It is a national disgrace, and an outrage.

I insert the pertinent portions of the biography of Eugene V. Debs, taken from the "Dictionary of American Biography." and an article from the August 14, 1967, Enginemen's Press of Detroit following my remarks:

Debs, Eugene Victor (Nov. 5, 1855–Oct. 20, 1926), Socialist advocate, born in Terre Haute, Ind.

On June 9, 1885, he was married to Katherine Metzel of Pittsburgh, and in the fall of the year was elected to the lower house of the Indiana legislature.

From an early day he was an opponent of the organization of labor by crafts and an advocate of organization by industries. In June 1893, he took part in the formation of a labor society of the "industrial" type, the American Railway Union, of which he was chosen president.

On July 10, 1894, a federal grand jury, charging conspiracy to obstruct the mails, indicted Debs and three others, who were immediately arrested, and were again arrested on July 17 for contempt of court in violating the injunction. The trial before Judge Grosscup, Feb. 6–12, 1895, resulted in a discontinuance because of the illness of a juror, but on the charge of contempt Debs and six others were sentenced by Judge Woods to six months in the McHenry County jail at Woodstock. Here Debs spent much of his time in reading, with the result that he avowed himself a convert to Socialism. Released on Nov. 22, he returned to Chicago.

In June 1897, helped bring about the Social Democratic Party of America. Three years later a tentative combination was made with the faction of the Socialist Labor party and Debs, as the fusion candidate for president, polled 96,116 votes.

In the following year the two wings were formally united under the name of the Socialist Party of America, and in 1904 Debs was again nominated for president, polling 402,321 votes.

About this time he became associate editor of the Socialist weekly, the *Appeal to Reason*, of Girard, Kans., and for five or six years gave his time to editorial work and to lecture tours in behalf of the *Appeal* and the Socialist party.

In 1908 he was again the Socialist candidate, and in a train known as the "Red Special" made a speaking canvass of the entire country; but his vote (420,973) showed only a slight gain over that of 1904. In 1912 he was nominated for the fourth time, and he again made a general canvass. That year the Socialist vote increased to 901,062.

The manifesto of the St. Louis convention of the party (April 1917), denouncing the war and counseling party members to oppose it by all means in their power, was warmly approved by Debs.

In the following year, stirred no doubt by resentment over convictions for sedition, he took more extreme ground. At the Socialist state convention in Canton, Ohio, June 16, 1918, he delivered a speech in which he bitterly assailed the administration for its prosecution of persons charged with sedition.

Four days later, at Cleveland, he was indicted by a federal grand jury for a violation of the Espionage Act, and on Sept 14, after a four-days trial, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on each of two accounts, the sentences to run concurrently

Appeal was taken to the federal Supreme Court, which on Mar. 10, 1919, upheld the verdict. On Apr. 13 Debs was taken to the penitentiary at Moundsville, W. Va., and on June 13–14 was transferred to the penitentiary at Atlanta.

In the following year, while still a prisoner, he was nominated for the fifth time as his party's candidate for president, and polled 919,799 votes. On Christmas Day, 1921, by order of President Harding, he was released, though without restoration of his citizenship.

He returned to his home. In 1924 the Socialist party, with Deb's approval, joined with the La Follette forces. In the following year it established in Chicago a national weekly organ, the *American Appeal*, of which Debs was made editor. His health declining, early in 1926 he went to Bermuda. In April he returned home, but in September became an inmate of the sanitarium at Lindlahr, where a month later he died.

Though the standard-bearer of his party, Debs was not a student or a reasoner, but a passionate advocate, and his words and acts were impulsive. He initiated none of the policies of the party, and he formulated none of its programs.

Even his place as standard-bearer was anomalous; for though the fundamental tactic of the party was to seek a close affiliation with the trade-unions, Debs was their steadfast opponent, and in his prime there was perhaps no man in the labor movement whom the union leaders regarded as a greater menace.

Debs thundered out his invectives against the capitalist system and sought to bring home to each of his hearers a guilty sense of responsibility for its continuance. Each of his addresses was, from the standpoint of its immediate influence over his hearers, a personal triumph. Though the common people heard him, most of them voted against him. His message did not convert them.

His language, both of denunciation and of praise, was often extreme. His social philosophy was naïve and all-embracing; capitalism, with all its works, was an unqualified evil, and Socialism, with all its promises, a panacea. He had neither time nor thought for any modification of this simple creed; what was not white was black, and he spoke his convictions with a positiveness that revealed a mind untroubled with doubts. He was often inconsistent.

Though he opposed repression and violence, he could find palliation for either provided it was employed in behalf of "the cause."

To a friendly interviewer who talked with him in the Atlanta penitentiary he asserted (*Appeal to Reason*, Apr. 17, 1920) that because the Russian revolution was "a forward step" it was right for the Soviet Government to suppress free speech and a free press, whereas it was wrong to deny free speech in his own case because American participation in the war was "a reactionary step." In a long manifesto on October 8, he indulged in a sweeping defense of the Communist Government in spite of its imprisonment and execution of dissentients.

UDALL TO DEDICATE DEBS HOME AS U.S. SHRINE IN SEPTEMBER

TERRE HAUTE, IND.—The home of Eugene V. Debs, labor leader and five-times Socialist candidate for President of the United States, will officially be made a national shrine on September 23.

Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall will dedicate the Debs home here as a National Historical Landmark of the National Park System and unveil the Park System's bronze plaque marking the house and telling why the house has been designated as a historic landmark.

The evening of September 23, Udall will be the principal speaker at the Eugene V. Debs Foundation third annual awards dinner.

The 1967 recipient of the Debs award is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and AFL–CIO vice president. Randolph, whose headquarters is in New York City, will come to Terre Haute to be honored.

Randolph, as a young man, knew Debs personally and vigorously supported him. He has been an outstanding leader in the labor movement for 50 years and has been one of the elder statesmen of the Civil Rights movement.

The award to Randolph is in the field of labor. He was selected by the Debs award four-member panel—Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and president of the Debs Foundation; Victor Reuther, director of the International Affairs Department of the United Auto Workers; Dr. David Shanon of the history department, University of Maryland; and Harry Golden, noted writer and editor of the Carolina Israelite.

PROPOSED PARALLEL BRIDGE ACROSS THE CHESAPEAKE BAY

The **SPEAKER**. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Public Works today reported favorably H.R. 11627, which would authorize certain toll projects in Maryland. The House will now vote soon on this bill which includes a parallel bridge across the Chesapeake Bay that the voters of Maryland rejected decisively last November on public referendum.

Last week, I spoke of the relationship between this parallel bridge and the J. E. Greiner Co. You may recall my disclosure that E. J. Donnelly, the J. E. Greiner partner who recently signed a report recommending the parallel bridge, had, along with another J. E. Greiner Co. official, been indicted earlier, in 1957, on a charge of "conspiracy to cheat and defraud the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission of millions of dollars." [1]

Moreover, the Turnpike Commission dismissed the J. E. Greiner Co. as consulting engineers and brought a $7.7 million civil negligence suit against the firm.[2] The two indicted officials escaped conviction, but the J. E. Greiner Co. paid the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission to settle the civil suit out of court.[3]

The J. E. Greiner Co. recently was recommended by the Maryland State Roads Commission to the State Board of Public Works as consulting engineers for the parallel bridge. In view of the imminent award of this contract, and in view of the coming House action on H.R. 11627, I hereby place in the RECORD further information on the J. E. Greiner Co., brought out by a grand jury investigation in Tampa, Fla.

In 1965, a Florida grand jury ruled that fees charged by the J. E. Greiner Co. for engineering and designs for the Tampa Airport were "unduly excessive" by $907,000.[4] This J. E. Greiner Co., which has recommended the parallel bay bridge, is now being recommended by the Maryland State Roads Commission as consulting engineer for that project.

Greiner's total fee for the Tampa Airport project amounted to $2.4 million, of which $907,000 or 37 percent, was found by the Hillsborough County grand jury to be "excessive."

The grand jury findings were supported by an independent probe by the Consulting Engineers Council of Florida, which agreed that the J. E. Greiner Co.'s fees for the proposed airport were too high.[5]

As a result, the aviation authority drew up a new contract with J. E. Greiner, which the local newspaper reported "could result in substantial savings." [6]

This reduction in Greiner's fees was made despite an attempt by another panel of engineers to refute the findings of the grand jury and the Consulting Engineers Council of Florida.[7]

The vice chairman of the aviation authority, George W. Barron, had led a lone flight against the aviation authority. Mr. Barron said in November 1965, prior to the grand jury probe, that even though he was vice chairman, he was denied material in the authority's own files on its own investigation into architectural and engineering fees.

"Is there something being hidden?" he asked. "There seems to be a private dynasty trying to handle this as a private deal rather than the public's business." [8]

Three days later, State Attorney Paul Antinori announced that he was beginning his own investigation, which prompted the grand jury ruling on December 27, 1965, that the fees were excessive.[9]

There may be a similar mystery in the State of Maryland. Why, after the people of Maryland decisively rejected the parallel bridge, are Governor Agnew, the State roads commission, and the J. E. Greiner Co. pressing so insistently for this bridge alongside a bridge?

The Governor of the State of Maryland was found to own land near the parallel bridge in company with eight business and political associates. The State roads commission has indicated that the J. E. Greiner Co. will be awarded a contract as consulting engineer on the parallel bridge. But the State roads commission has not yet made the details of this contract public. What the exact terms are must still, therefore, be a matter of conjecture. However, the J. E. Greiner Co. once listed its prospective fee on the parallel bridge as 10 percent of construction costs, or $5.1 million, despite the fact that it had done the design for the present bridge in the same location, a design which is presumably still available to assist the Greiner Co. in designing the parallel bay bridge. Because construction costs will have risen since Greiner listed its prospective fee in 1965, Greiner's fee, on this 10-percent basis, could be $7 to $10 million. Could this land deal and this huge possible fee help explain the powerful pressures to build the parallel bridge over the voters' objections?

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[1] Dauphin County Reports, Vol. 72. 1958. Twelfth Judicial Circuit of Pennsylvania. Page 34.

[2] Civil Action No. 10250. U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland.

[3] Minutes of meeting of Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, November 18, 1957.

[4] Tampa Tribune, article by Jerry Wallace, December 29, 1965, based on report of the Grand Jury of Hillsborough County, Florida, Fall Term, 1965.

[5] Tampa Tribune, article by Jerry Wallace, December 30, 1965.

[6] Tampa Tribune, article by Herschel Cribb, February 9, 1966.

[7] Tampa Tribune, articles by Herschel Cribb, February 2, 1966 and February 9, 1966.

[8] Tampa Tribune, article by Fred Smith, November 10, 1965.

[9] Tampa Tribune, unsigned article, November 13, 1965.

To quote Mr. Barron, "Is there something that is being hidden?" Is there "a private dynasty trying to handle this as a private deal rather than the public's business"?

IF THE UNITED NATIONS IS TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN BRINGING PEACE IN VIETNAM, WE MUST STOP BOMBING NORTH VIETNAM

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the United States is again talking about invoking the aid of the United Nations in bringing peace to Vietnam.

I believe the U.N. can play a constructive role in this quest. But for a move in the United Nations on our part to be worthwhile it must be a move that has some chance of success. If it is not a move that has some chance of success—if it merely reiterates our stand that North Vietnam must stop interfering with the South before there can be negotiations—we shall not only fail to get anywhere in the United States by forcing the United Nations to bite off more than it can chew, we shall materially weaken the organization.

The only appeal to the United Nations that appears to have any chance of succeeding is one accompanied by an announcement that the United States is unconditionally stopping the bombing of North Vietnam.

Hanoi has repeatedly said that an unconditional cessation of the bombing is a necessary precondition to talks.

Scores of United Nations members obviously take this view. In his conversations with Prime Minister Wilson in London last February, and with President Johnson at Glassboro last July, Soviet Premier Kosygin again said that peace negotiations could begin if the bombing were stopped unconditionally.

Accompanying our cessation of the bombing should be a request to the United Nations—either the Security Council or the General Assembly—to ask the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, cochairmen of the Geneva Conference powers, to reconvene that conference, and to invite all parties to it, including Peking and Hanoi. The National Liberation Front should also be invited. At the same time, the United Nations should make known its willingness to assist the negotiating parties in any way it can, including the provision of a United Nations force to police any settlement that may be arrived at.

I have no way of knowing whether Hanoi or the National Liberation Front would respond to this request to negotiate, or on what terms. I do know that they both seem prepared to fight forever unless we do negotiate.

What is clearest of all is that we must at least make an honest attempt to negotiate—and this means stopping the bombing as a precondition—if we are ever to check the flow of blood and treasure which Vietnam is costing us.

With the cessation of the bombing and a start to negotiations, there is a reasonable likelihood that the fighting in South Vietnam would simmer down in a sort of de facto deescalation. A cessation of the bombing now would be vastly preferable to an announced pause, in that a pause rather than a cessation gives strong temptation to the other side to load up its supply lines while the loading is good.

If, during the cessation of the bombing, North Vietnam attempted a large-scale increase in military pressure, all options would be open to us, including a resumption of the bombing.

At the very least, a sincere appeal to the United Nations, accompanied by a cessation of the bombing, would range world opinion on our side and bring pressure upon the Soviet Union and on Hanoi to negotiate.

In making the use of the United Nations in Vietnam that I have just described, we would have to be prepared to accept something less than total victory. Our war aims, while not including the destruction of North Vietnam, apparently envisage an independent anti-Communist South Vietnam. The full war aims of North Vietnam apparently include establishing a single Vietnamese state under the leadership of the Hanoi regime, or at least a puppet regime in the south.

Somewhere between these two aims may lie the possibility of a neutral, independent South Vietnam, with participation in public life for both Communists and anti-Communists.

It is a long chance, shot through with dangers. But the dangers seem to me less than those inherent in our present disastrous course.

To provide the military presence necessary to police such a neutralist South Vietnam, we need more than the relatively powerless International Control Commission set up by the Geneva Conference. We need the United Nations. It alone has the administrative capacity and moral authority that is needed.

It should be noted that the actual forum for negotiations needs to be not the United Nations, but a reconstructed Geneva Conference. This is so because the United Nations does not include among its members parties essential to the negotiations, mainly Red China and North Vietnam.

Though the prefered situs for negotiations is at the Geneva Conference, we must be prepared for efforts that might be made to bring about membership in the United Nations for Peking and Hanoi. In my judgment, we should not oppose a proposal for membership for the two Vietnams, North and South, and for Red China, with membership for Taiwan retained.

If peace is to come to Vietnam through a negotiated settlement, it would be helpful to have both Chinas and both Vietnams in the United Nations. It would give them a voice in the decisionmaking process. More, it would commit them legally to the responsibilities of member states. It would be an important step toward the universality of membership needed to make the United Nations more effective.

Communist China, of course, may continue to reject membership unless its unacceptable conditions are met. Nevertheless, the mere offer of membership to Peking is worthwhile, since it can relieve the Soviet Union of the necessity of taking a public position in favor of a sister Communist state against a U.S. policy of exclusion. It can enable the Soviet Union to participate more readily in negotiations.

In 1957 the Soviet Union proposed the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of both North and South Korea and North and South Vietnam. The United States then opposed this action, and the Soviet Union has not renewed its suggestion. But the Soviet Union may bring it up again, and we should be flexible on this point.

The national interest of the United States requires peace in Vietnam. For 30 months we have fought a bloody war for a military victory, and we are about where we started. The United Nations can play a useful role in bringing about negotiations for peace, if we will cease the bombing of North Vietnam. On balance, this is where our national interest lies.

A PROPOSED WAY OUT

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the August 13 issue of the New York Times magazine carried an excellent article by Mr. Bayard Rustin, a man well known in connection with civil rights and the problems of Negro society today.

Mr. Rustin assessed our role in meeting the challenge to our society made by the summer's riots.

While recognizing that racism obviously exists, Mr. Rustin rejects this as the chief cause of these riot-rebellions. Rather, he points to the unfulfilled promises of recent administrations. This, coupled with the situation in the ghetto which does not appear to be getting better, creates in the mind of the Negro an increased frustration regarding his situation.

A key to understanding the true situation was provided by the Department of Labor, giving us information on the "subemployed." This includes five different categories of people, by Mr. Rustin's count, who are not counted in employment figures, but who are genuinely in need of better employment.

The significance of this distinction is made clear when we consider that while unemployment in urban slums averages about 10 percent—as compared to the national average of 3.7 percent—the subemployment figure in the urban slum area is 35 percent. Of special importance to the recent disturbances in many of our slum areas, is the unemployment figure for the Negro youth, 16 to 19 years old. In 10 slum areas surveyed by the Department of Labor, the figure is 38 percent. This is the group, according to Rustin, which is at the core of the rioting.

This problem is multiplied by other considerations. In many cases, these youths want to work but the jobs are not there. Consider the effects of an Oakland "Job Fair" to which 15,000 are attracted, and 250 are placed.

We are confronted with a situation in Harlem where 52 percent of the youths who have taken the physical for the Army have failed.

The conclusion to this article is a challenge to back up the boast we have made that we not only can provide "guns and butter" in our society, but that we will provide them. This challenge, I submit, is a formidable one. But then so are riots. I urge my colleagues to read Mr. Rustin's challenge.

Mr. Rustin's article follows:

A NEGRO LEADER DEFINES A WAY OUT OF THE EXPLODING GHETTO

(By Bayard Rustin)

There is no longer any denying that this country is in the throes of a historic national crisis. Its ramifications are so vast and frightening that even now, shocked into numbness and disbelief, the American people have not yet fully grasped what is happening to them.

The grim data are clear enough and still coming in. Since this summer began, 30 of our cities, big and small, have been wracked by racial disorder; scores of citizens, almost all of them black, have been killed, thousands injured and even more arrested. Property damage has exceeded a billion dollars; total income loss is incalculable.

As a people, we are not unaccustomed to violence. Frontier lawlessness, Southern vigilante-ism, Chicago gangsterism: these are images and themes embedded in the American tradition. We have only just lost a President to an assassin's bullet. But, having escaped the bombs of two world wars, we are not familiar with the horror of burned-out buildings, smoking rubble, tanks in our streets, the blasts of Molotov cocktails, the ring of snipers' bullets from rooftops. Today we look at sections of Detroit and think of war-torn Berlin. We see rampaging, looting mobs and think of the unstable politics of underdeveloped countries. A nation's identity has been overturned.

In our own history we can find no precedent in this century for the massive destruction the past three years have brought to our cities—no precedent since the Civil War. But the greatest toll is not in property damage or even in lives lost. Nor is the greatest danger that the violence will go on indefinitely, any more than the Civil War did. It is that the aftermath of that war will be repeated, that as in the Compromise of 1877 the country will turn its back on the Negro, on the root causes of his discontent, on its own democratic future.

Not since the Great Depression have social policy, our national institutions, our political order been more severely tested than at present. The coming months will shape the character of America in the remainder of the 20th century—and I am trying to speak with the utmost sobriety, precision and restraint.

Why does the Republic find itself at a crossroads? What has actually happened?

The term "race riot" is unilluminating and anachronistic. It describes the Detroit disorders of 1943, when the Negro and white communities were locked in combat. White mobs invaded the ghetto. Negroes forayed downtown. Men were beaten and murdered for the color of their skins. In the upheavals of the last four summers, destruction has been confined to the ghetto; nor, discounting the police, were black and white citizens fighting. In fact, in Detroit whites joined in the looting and sniping. And I am told that whites were free to walk through the embattled ghetto without fear of violence from Negroes.

This is not to deny the importance of antiwhite hostility. One has only to hear the sick racial epithets "honkey" and "whitey" to recognize the deep and bitter hatred that is loose on the streets of the ghettos. But if white blood was what the rioters thirsted for, they didn't go very far to get it. What they assaulted were the symbols of white power—police and property, the latter embracing the entire ghetto. These are traditional targets of rebellions and in that sense the riots can be called rebellions.

That sense, however, must be sharply qualified. Is it correct to speak of "race rebellion," or "Negro rebellion"? Are America's Negroes on the verge of revolution? More than one newspaper and television commentator has already begun to draw comparisons between the ghetto uprisings and the French, Russian, Algerian, Irish and Black African independence revolutions. Some Black Power advocates have proclaimed the beginnings of guerrilla warfare and see the urban Negro as a counterpart to the Vietcong. And in Paris it has become fashionable to speak of the *"révolution des noires"* in the U.S.

The reality is that the revolutionary rhetoric now employed by some young Negro militants cannot create the preconditions for successful, or even authentic, revolution. The independence movements in colonial territories provide no model for the simple reason that American Negroes can have no geographical focus for nationalist sentiment.

Moreover, American Negroes do not constitute a popular majority struggling against a relatively small white colonial ruling group—the ideal condition for guerrilla warfare. Whatever separatist impulses exist among American Negroes cannot find appropriate models in the colonial world.

If independence revolutions are no model, what of social revolutions? This is a more interesting subject because the phrase "social revolution" has been widely used by the civil-rights and liberal movements generally. But in this sense—and the sense in which I have been using it for 30 years—the phrase designates fundamental changes in social and economic class relations resulting from mass political action. Such action would be democratic. That is, it would aim to create a new majority coalition capable of exercising political power in the interest of new social policies. By definition the coalition has to be interracial.

As a minority, Negroes by themselves cannot bring about such a social revolution. They can participate in it as a powerful and stimulating force; or they can provoke a counter-revolution. In either case the decisive factor will be the political direction in which the majority will move.

Numbers are not the only issue. Also important is the class content of revolt. At least in the French and Russian revolutions, revolutionary leaders and parties sought to mobilize fairly definable and cohesive socioeconomic classes—workers, peasants, the middle class—which, though oppressed or aggrieved, were part of the society they sought to transform. Upon what classes do the advocates of rioting, the voices of the apocalypse, base their revolutionary perspective? This is another way of posing the question I left hanging earlier: Who is rioting?

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is correct in locating the riots in the "lower class" or in the words of another controversial man, Karl Marx, in the *"lumpenproletariat"* or "slum proletariat." Lower class does not mean working class; the distinction is often overlooked in a middle-class culture that tends to lump the two together.

The distinction is important. The working class is employed. It has a relation to the production of goods and services; much of it is organized in unions. It enjoys a measure of cohesion, discipline and stability lacking in the lower class. The latter is unemployed or marginally employed. It is relatively unorganized, incohesive, unstable. It contains the petty criminal and antisocial elements. Above all, unlike the working class, it lacks the sense of a stake in society. When the slum proletariat is black, its alienation is even greater.

From the revolutionist point of view, the question is not whether steps could be taken to strengthen organization among the *lumpenproletariat* but whether that group could be a central agent of social transformation. Generally, the answer has been no.

The black slum proletariat has been growing in numbers and density. As agricultural mechanization and other factors continue pushing Negroes out of the South, the urban ghettos expand each year by half a million; only 40,000 Negroes annually find their way into the suburbs. This trend has not been affected at all by any antipoverty or Great Society programs.

When the migration of Negroes to Northern and Western cities was at its height during World War II, factory jobs were available at decent wages. With the advent of advanced technology eliminating many semiskilled and unskilled jobs, and with the movement of plants from the central cities to the suburbs (New York lost 200,000 factory jobs in a decade), urban Negroes suffered rising joblessness or employment in low-paying service jobs.

The depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettos is indicated in a recent U.S. Department of Labor report on "subemployment" in cities and slums. While the traditional unemployment rate counts only those "actively looking" but unable to find work, the subemployment index reflects in addition: (1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, (2) those who are working part-time but want full-time jobs, (3) heads of households under 65 working full time but earning poverty wages (less than $60 a week), (4) individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 a week in full-time jobs and (5) a conservatively estimated portion of males known to be living in the slums but who somehow do not show up in employment or unemployment counts.

The report states: "If the traditional statistical concept of 'unemployment' (which produced the nationwide average of 3.7 per cent unemployment rate for January, 1967) is applied to the urban slum situation, the *'unemployment rate' in these areas is about 10 per cent . . . three times the average for the rest of the country."* [Original italics.] The figure for Detroit's Central Woodward area, incidentally, is 10.1 per cent.

The subemployment rate in the 10 cities surveyed yields an average figure of almost 35 per cent. Though possibly in need of further refining, the subemployment rate is the more meaningful figure. Not only does it include the categories listed above, but it also tends to reflect the number of people who experience unemployment over a period of time. By contrast, the official rate counts those unemployed at a point in time (i.e., the time the survey is taken).

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. Without adequate income, there is no access to the decent housing market, educational opportunity, even proper health care. (In 1964, East and Central Harlem, comprising 24 per cent of Manhattan's population, accounted for 40 per cent of its TB deaths, 33 per cent of its infant deaths; in Bedford-Stuyvesant, which contains 9 per cent of Brooklyn's population, the respective figures were 24 and 22 per cent.)

The tendency of much current antipoverty rhetoric to create a multitude of disparate problems out of a central multifaceted one is a mistake. It is precisely in the expansion of public facilities and social services that new employment opportunities can be generated, at varying skill levels. High subemployment rates and the lack of decent housing in the slums are two sides of the same coin.

Meanwhile, within the slum proletariat, youth constitutes a subdivision of increasing economic and political importance. While according to the official unemployment rates the joblessness gap between Negro and white men over 20 has been narrowing since 1961, even this official rate records a widening of the gap between Negro and white teen-agers since 1957. Right now the national Negro unemployment rate is 25 per cent nationally but for 16-to-19-year-olds in the 10 slum areas surveyed, it is over 38 per cent! Moreover, this rate was unaffected by the downward trend of the nation's over-all unemployment rate late last year. For white teen-agers, on the other hand, unemployment since 1957 never went beyond 15 per cent and is now at 10 per cent.

Nor is there any evidence that Negro teenagers do not want to work. Whenever job programs have been announced, they have turned out in large numbers, only to find that the jobs weren't there. In Oakland, a "Job Fair" attracted 15,000 people; only 250 were placed. In Philadelphia, 6,000 were on a waiting list for a training program.

What Negro teen-agers are not inclined to accept are dead-end jobs that pay little and promise no advancement or training. Many would prefer to live by their wits as hustlers or petty racketeers, their version of the self-employed businessman or salesman. That their pursuit of this distorted entrepreneurial ideal only mires them deeper in the slum proletariat is not the point. They want to be part of the white collar organization man's world that is America's future, not trapped behind brooms and pushcarts.

Nor can they fairly be blamed by a society which has itself produced these yearnings, revealed in its affluence, encouraged the consumption of trivia and proclaimed the coming of computerized utopias. The middle classes may nostalgically extol their immigrant parents' fortitude and perseverance in manual labor, but they do not steer their own children toward the construction gang or the garment district. They show them the push buttons, not the pushcart. Might they not then show some compassionate understanding of black youngsters who dream of better things even when crippled by poor education, broken families and the disabilities bred by slum life. If it is true that a Negro boy is nobody unless he owns alligator shoes and an alpaca sweater, who created these symbols? Who whetted this appetite? Who profited from the sale of these commodities, and who advertised them? And who is victimized?

The ghetto youth who is out of school, unemployed, and rejected even by the draft (as 52 per cent are in Harlem) is the extreme embodiment of the bitter frustration in the slum proletariat. He is utterly propertyless, devoid of experience in the productive process and without a stake in existing social arrangements. At the same time, because he is young and not beaten down, he is irreverent, filled with bravado, hostile to the alien authority of the police and determined to "make it" in any way that he can. He is at the core of the rioting.

In Detroit, the riot begins when pimps and prostitutes taunt police who are raiding a "blind pig" at 5 A.M. In Minneapolis, two women fight over a wig, the police try to break it up and a riot erupts in an atmosphere already charged by delays in the mailing of Federal Youth Opportunity Program paychecks to youths in the ghetto area. In Cairo, Ill., a Negro soldier dies in the city jail; police say it was suicide but order the body embalmed without an autopsy, and fire bombing and shooting follow.

In these cases, the police figure prominently in the incidents that triggered the rioting. Sometimes they are not directly involved, but rumors of police brutality flood through the ghetto. Although it may be of some interest to search for a pattern, no very profound purpose is served by concentrating on who struck the match. There are always matches lying around. We must ask why there was also a fuse and why the fuse was connected to a powder keg.

To pursue this analogy: Whether the match is struck by police misconduct or by an "extremist" exhorting his listeners to violence, the fuse is the condition of life among the black slum proletariat—hostile, frustrated and with nothing to lose. The powder keg is the social background against which the riots break out and which extends their scope. They become more than riots pure and simple, yet less than politically coherent rebellions. They are *riotous manifestations of rebellion.*

The social background is defined by the fact that the black slum proletariat is part of a larger community of oppressed and segregated citizens—the overwhelming majority of the Negro population. Were it not for this the riots could be dismissed merely as wild, inchoate sprees of looting and violence, the expressions of criminal greed, a carnival of destruction to be suppressed by police force. Such actions, detached from political policies, programs and goals—and, make no mistake about it, the riots were not on behalf of the Black Power ideology; the latter is an after-the-fact justification employed by people in search of a constituency—do not properly constitute a rebellion. But because of the social background, the riots, while not *the rebellion* of the Negro people, are charged with manifestations of rebellion.

It is because of this background that the riots can set off a chain reaction, fan out from the slum proletariat and, as Detroit showed, involve people who ordinarily would not be found looting stores. It is because of this background that snipers and the most violent elements can feel that their actions are in some sense heroic. And it is because of this background that the riots have enormous implications for the future of all Negroes.

As Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young pointed out in their recent statement, the most severe and immediate damage has been to the Negro community itself. In addition to those who lost their lives, thousands lost their homes, food supplies, access to schools. There is danger of a counterreaction enlisting the most bigoted, vigilante-minded elements in the white community. Ammunition has been given to the reactionaries in an already backlash-dominated Congress. Many whites sincerely in favor of integration will be silenced out of fear and confusion. Riots do not strengthen the power of black people; they weaken it and encourage racist power.

But why, asks white America, do the Negroes riot now—not when conditions are at their worst but when they seem to be improving? Why now, after all of the civil-rights and antipoverty legislation? There are two answers.

First, "progress" has been considerably less than is generally supposed. While the Negro has won certain important legal and constitutional rights (voting, desegregation of public accommodations, etc.), his relative socioeconomic position has scarcely improved. There simply has not been significant, visible change in his life.

Second, if a society is interested in stability, it should either not make promises or it should keep them. Economic and social deprivation, if accepted by its victims as their lot in life, breeds passivity, even docility. The miserable yield to their fate as divinely ordained or as their own fault. And, indeed, many Negroes in earlier generations felt that way.

Today, young Negroes aren't having any. They don't share the feeling that something must be wrong with them, that they are responsible for their own exclusion from this affluent society. The civil-rights movement—in fact, the whole liberal trend beginning with John Kennedy's election—has told them otherwise.

Conservatives will undoubtedly seize the occasion for an attack on the Great Society, liberalism, the welfare state and Lyndon Johnson. But the young Negroes are right: the promises made to them were good and necessary and long, long overdue. The youth were right to believe in them. The only trouble is that they were not fulfilled. Prominent Republicans and Dixiecrats are demanding not that the promises be fulfilled, but that they be revoked.

What they and the American people absolutely must understand now is that the promises cannot be revoked. They were not made to a handful of leaders in a White House drawing room; they were made to an entire generation, one not likely to forget or to forgive. If Republican leaders Everett Dirksen and Gerald Ford, hand in glove with the die-hards of the Confederacy, continue their contemptible effort to exploit the nation's tragedy for partisan political advantage, they will sow the dangerous seeds of race hate and they will discredit themselves morally in the eyes of the coming generations and of history. This is not a wise policy for a party that only yesterday reduced itself to a shambles by catering to the most backward and reactionary elements in the country.

It is ironic that in a nation which has not undertaken a massive social and economic reform since the New Deal one now hears even liberal voices asking: "Don't the causes of the riots go deeper than economics, than jobs, housing, schools? Aren't there profound moral, cultural, psychological and other factors involved—powerlessness, an identity crisis?"

Of course, but in the present context such questions smack of a trend toward mystification which, if it gains ascendancy, will paralyze public policy. Then, too, I cannot help but suspect that they are rationalizations for the yearning of some white liberals to withdraw. "Obviously," they are saying, "there seems to be nothing we can do. We're not even wanted. Why not give the ghettos over to the Black Power people?"

I have no hesitation in saying that this recommendation simply aids and abets the Congressional reactionaries, who would have no objection to letting Negroes run their own slum tenements, dilapidated schools and tax-shared communities. Isn't this in the best tradition of rugged self-help, Horatio Alger and all that? Haven't Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley endorsed this notion of Black Power? Just so long as white people are left alone. Just so long as the total society is not forced to examine its own inner contradictions. Just so long as the Federal Government isn't challenged to launch radical and massive programs to rebuild our cities, end poverty, guarantee full employment at decent wages, clear our polluted air and water and provide mass transportation.

This is just the challenge posed by A. Philip Randolph's $185-billion "Freedom Budget for all Americans"—a carefully designed, economically feasible program for the obliteration of poverty in 10 years. Unless the nation is prepared to move along these lines—to rearrange its priorities, to set a timetable for achieving them and to allocate its resources accordingly—it will not be taking its own commitments seriously. Surely it cannot then turn amazedly to responsible Negro leaders whose pleas for large-scale programs it has failed to heed, for an explanation of the consequences.

The present Administration has a grave responsibility. It is very well for it to proclaim that we can have guns *and* butter, that we can pursue our course in Vietnam and still make progress at home. We do have the economic capacity for both, as the Freedom Budget itself shows. But we are not doing both. Let us stop proclaiming that we *can* do what we *don't* do and start *doing* it.

If Administration actions are not to mock its own rhetoric, the President must now take the lead in mobilizing public opinion behind a new resolve to meet the crisis in our cities. He should now put before Congress a National Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction bill aimed at building housing for homeless victims of the riot-torn ghettos, repairing damaged public facilities and in the process generating maximum employment opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Such a bill should be the first step in the reconstruction of all our decaying center cities.

Admittedly, the prospects for passage of such a bill in the present Congress are dismal. Congressmen will cry out that the rioters must not be rewarded, thereby further penalizing the very victims of the riots. This, after all, is a Congress capable of defeating a meager $40-million rat extermination program the same week it votes $10-million for an aquarium in the District of Columbia!

But the vindictive racial meanness that has descended upon this Congress, already dominated by the revived coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats, must be challenged —not accommodated. The President must go directly to the people, as Harry Truman did in 1948. He must go to them, not with slogans, but with a timetable for tearing down every slum in the country.

There can be no further delay. The daydreamers and utopians are not those of us who have prepared massive Freedom Budgets and similar programs. They are the smugly "practical" and myopic philistines in the Congress, the state legislatures and the city halls who thought they could sit it out. The very practical choice now before them and the American people is whether we shall have a conscious and authentic democratic social revolution or more tragic and futile riots that tear our nation to shreds.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. CORMAN, for today, on account of official business (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders).

Mr. BUTTON (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. REUSS (at the request of Mr. McCORMACK), from September 22 to September 30, on account of his attendance at the IBRD Conference.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to the following Members (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) to revise and to extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:

Mr. LONG of Maryland, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. REUSS, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. COHELAN, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. ZABLOCKI in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. CANNON.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SCHERLE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CONTE.

Mr. UTT.

Mr. O'KONSKI.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MACHEN.

Mr. BLATNIK.

Mr. FLOOD.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operation of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12257. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and expand the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to authorize assistance in establishment and operation of a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults, and to provide assistance for migrants.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1956. An act to extend for 1 year the authority for more flexible regulation of maximum rates of interest or dividends, higher reserve requirements, and open market operations in agency issues.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, September 25, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1091. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated August 11, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of the report on Little Blue River, vicinity of Kansas City, Mo., requested by resolutions of the Committees on Public Works, U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, adopted August 23, 1962, and October 1, 1962 (H. Doc. No. 169); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

1092. A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a report on the awarding of military construction contracts during the period January 1, 1967, through June 30, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89-568; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1093. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to improve its benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

1094. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of projects in Colombia showing need for improvements in planning and supervision, Agency for International Development, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1095. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improved planning and surveillance of economic development projects in India, Agency for International Development, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee of conference. H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 650). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FRIEDEL: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 871. Resolution authorizing funds for the operation of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct pursuant to House Resolution 418 (Rept. No. 651). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 5754. A bill to amend section 1263 of title 18 of the United States Code to require that interstate shipments of intoxicating liquors be accompanied by bill of lading, or other document, showing certain information in lieu of requiring such to be marked on the package; with amendment (Rept. No. 652). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 12144. A bill to clarify and otherwise amend the Meat Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State meat inspection programs, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 653). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 925. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 478, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas (Rept. No. 654). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MATSUNAGA: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 926. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 11284, a bill to amend the organic act of the National Bureau of Standards to authorize a fire research and safety program, to establish a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 655). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DELANEY: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 927. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 12120, a bill to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes (Rept. No. 656). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McMILLAN (for himself, Mr. Nelsen, Mr. Multer, Mr. Sisk, Mr. Hagan, Mr. Fuqua, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Walker, Mr. Springer, Mr. Harsha, Mr. Mathias of Maryland, Mr. Horton, Mr. Broyhill of Virginia, Mr. Winn, Mr. Zwach, Mr. Steiger of Arizona, Mr. Blatnik, Mr. Brown of Michigan, Mr. Brown of Ohio, and Mr. Myers):

H.R. 13042. A bill to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 13043. A bill to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 13044. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Madam Marie Sklodowska-Curie, the discoverer of radium; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 13045. A bill to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD:

H.R. 13046. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from $600 to $1,000 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemptions for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H.R. 13047. A bill to extend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PERKINS (for himself, Mr. Daniels, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, Mr. Holland, Mr. Dent, Mr. Pucinski, Mr. Brademas, Mr. Carey, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Hathaway, Mrs. Mink, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Meeds, Mr. Burton of California, Mr. Ayres, Mr. Reid of New York, Mr. Quie, Mr. Bell, Mr. Erlenborn, Mr. Scherle, and Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin):

H.R. 13048. A bill to make certain technical amendments to the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H.R. 13049. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H.R. 13050. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize an increase in the numbers of officers of the Navy designated for engineering duty, aeronautical engineering duty, and special duty; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 13051. A bill to amend section 245(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit adjustment of status of an alien from the Western Hemisphere who is the spouse, parent, or child of a U.S. citizen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 13052. A bill to provide for uniform annual observances of certain national holidays on Mondays; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 13053. A bill to amend title 46, section 1159, to provide for construction aid for certain vessels operating on the inland rivers and waterways; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. DENT (for himself, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, Mr. Holland, Mr. Pucinski, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Brademas, Mr. Carey, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Meeds, and Mr. Burton of California):

H.R. 13054. A bill relative to age discrimination in employment; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 13055. A bill to authorize the construction of a low diversion structure or dam on the Potomac River, Md.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 13056. A bill to amend section 8336(c) of title 5, United States Code, to include the position of customs inspector in the category of hazardous occupations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Serivce.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 13057. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to disallow drawback on merchandise used in the manufacture of articles for export if such merchandise is imported from a Communist-dominated country or area; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROUSH (for himself, Mr. Davis of Georgia, Mr. Brinkley, Mr. Roudebush, Mr. Vander Jagt, and Mr. Hathaway):

H.R. 13058. A bill to repeal certain acts relating to containers for fruits and vegetables, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 13059. A bill to provide for a commission to select a site and plan for a Medal of Honor Hall of Fame; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. WATTS:

H.R. 13060. A bill to amend section 2204 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a method for the discharge of fiduciaries from personal liability for the estate tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONABLE:

H.R. 13061. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 13062. A bill to provide matching grants for the construction of athletic facilities constructed in accordance with Olympic standards; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 13063. A bill to provide compensation for totally disabled local firemen or survivors of local firemen killed or disabled while performing their duties in an area of civil disorder; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 13064. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize certain grants for rehabilitation of the lakes of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 13065. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H.J. Res. 840. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.J. Res. 841. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that appointments of judges to the Supreme Court and judges to all other Federal courts, as established under section 1 of article III, be reconfirmed ever 6 years by the Senate and to require 5 years' prior judicial experience as a qualification for appointment to said offices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H. Con. Res. 507. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should have one uniform nationwide fire reporting telephone number and one uniform nationwide police reporting telephone number; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 13066. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Biondo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 13067. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Tandes Prado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 13068. A bill for the relief of Chin Jin Hing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 13069. A bill for the relief of Angelo Acocella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 13070. A bill for the relief of Joel Samuel Scott; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 13071. A bill for the relief of Ray Phelps Co., Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 13072. A bill for the relief of Giuseppa Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 13073. A bill for the relief of Dr. Julio C. Mena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The Spirit of '76 (Trombones, That Is)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, "76 trombones hit the counterpoint"—and the boys of River City marched away from the pool table into purposeful activity. Of course the "Music Man" was written about an era before girls, too, joined bands and drill teams, but the reasons for having just such a band are as true today as they were in the era when Meredith Wilson's Professor Hill suggested a boys band as a way to keep the River City "young ones moral after school."

Professor Hill was right. There was trouble right there in River City. Well, we have got trouble today, too, in Newark, in Detroit, in Hampton Beach, and a whole long list of et ceteras. But on the bright side, we have got several regiments of young people who, instead of turning their youthful energy against society, are spending their after-school hours practicing, rehearsing, drilling, and working for money to support their activity: the drum and bugle corps. The youths who join these units have found a very worthwhile way of using their time. It may not keep them off the streets, but it keeps them off the sidewalks.

But there are better reasons for drilling with drum and bugles than killing time. The drum corps keeps kids away from the pool halls and Cap'n Billy's Whiz Bang because it teaches them character, an idea as old-fashioned as the sight of 76 trombones in the big parade, but one we miss just as much. The drum corps drill promotes discipline, responsibility, reliability, precision, attention to dress and grooming, respect for authority, cooperation, creativity, and a striving for a perfection which, if attainable only in theory, still inspires high standards of performance.

We try very hard to install these traits in youth, but as long as we use only words, we rarely succeed. Youngsters know the trust that actions mean more than words, and they learn character when they see that they need it for their activities. It takes a high degree of self control to make a drum corps go, and these youth learn that quickly.

A drum and bugle corps is a hobby, but it is more than just a hobby. It produces an impressive musical performance that is almost an integral part of our folk culture. It is a part of our folk art, and requires the dedication that art demands. It is a drill team and competitive unit, and instills the pride and poise that comes from athletics.

From each of these aspects of drum and bugle drill, something can be learned: the musical art fosters creativity and dedication; the drill—precision and perfection; the competition—perfection and group cooperation; and all of these traits, separately and combined, produce discipline, responsibility, and reliability.

I find it very fitting that we recently observed International Drum Corps Week in honor of the music men and women of America who have devoted their time and energy to the traditions of the drum and bugle corps. By their example, they have shown what a reward it can be to:

> Get your kicks
> With horns and sticks.

Polish Painter Wins Sao Paulo Biennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to learn this morning that an important competitive exhibition of contemporary art gave one of its highest awards to a Polish painter, Tadeusz Kantor.

This event took place yesterday at the São Paulo Biennial, one of the two or three most influential international exhibitions of modern art.

Mr. Kantor, I am informed, was awarded $2,500 for one of his entries in that exhibition.

As some of the Members may recall, modern Polish painters made a considerable impression on the Western world following the so-called October Revolution in Poland in 1956.

Their works, finally made available to us, proved to be as inventive, as expressive, as technically excellent, and as modern as any produced in the West.

It was in 1961, if I recall correctly, that Mr. Peter Seltz, then the assistant director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, put together an exhibit of the works of 15 modern Polish painters and brought it to the United States where the exhibit met with great praise.

Mr. Kantor's works were among those selected by Mr. Seltz for that exhibit and they were received enthusiastically in our country.

The award made to Mr. Kantor yesterday in São Paulo, Brazil, is an eloquent testimonial of the fact that even the most totalitarian and oppressive ideology cannot for long suppress the human spirit.

Men and women of talent, wherever they may live, will express themselves through their writings, paintings, and sculpture regardless of how their particular government may view such activities.

Man's spirit remains free even in a Communist environment—and the tribute paid at São Paulo to Mr. Kantor is in some measure a tribute to the indomitable spirit of the Polish people.

A Salute to Clyde T. Ellis, Able Rural Electric Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to a dynamic and dedicated American for the outstanding contributions which he has made to rural America in general and rural electrification in particular. I salute one of our former colleagues, Clyde T. Ellis, who has just announced his retirement as general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

Clyde Ellis has served his country well, first in the State legislature of his native Arkansas, then as a Member of the House of Representatives, and later as the dynamic leader of the national association of the nearly 1,000 rural electric cooperatives which provide electricity in rural areas of 46 States.

In the 25 years it has been my privilege to serve in the Congress, I have seen firsthand the wonderful work which has been accomplished by the rural electrics in electrifying rural America. And the 10 rural electric cooperatives in my home district have done much more than simply providing lights to their almost 45,000 consumer members and their families. The power furnished by these co-ops is helping our farmers produce the food and fiber which make our Nation the best fed and best clothed in the world. That co-op power is also a vital ingredient in the revitalization of the rural economy by making possible the recreational and rural industrial developments which are so important to rural areas development.

Mr. Speaker, the 25 years I have served in the Congress parallel the 25 years that Clyde T. Ellis has been general manager of NRECA, so I have had the opportunity and pleasure of working with Clyde many times on matters of importance to the rural electrification program. I have found him to be a man of great knowledge, vision and dedication.

I was very pleased to learn that Clyde Ellis will continue to serve the cause of rural electrification in the capacity of special consultant to NRECA. In this way, the rural electrics—and rural America—will continue to benefit from his experience and talents.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many of my colleagues in the House who know and admire Clyde T. Ellis join me in saluting him for his numerous contributions to the social and economic welfare of the Nation. We wish him well in his new role as NRECA general manager emeritus, special consultant to NRECA, and young-in-spirit elder statesman of the rural electrification program.

The Outstanding 28th National Guard Division of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been much criticism aimed at the leadership and administration of the National Guard of the several States. If applicable to some, this criticism is not universally applicable to all of the Guard.

The Pennsylvania National Guard in the past several months has performed exceedingly well and has achieved or exceeded the standards established by the Department of the Army.

The 28th Infantry Division—SRF—was initially directed to perform annual field training in New York. After most of the planning had been completed, plans were changed to train in North Carolina and participate in a joint training exercise. This training was canceled by the Department of the Army with instructions to train in Virginia. The plans were again changed and directed to train at Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Pa. This change occurred after all unit advance detachments departed home stations for Virginia. The ability of commanders and staffs to rapidly adjust themselves to these continued changes, some of which occurred on short notice, demonstrates the capability and professionalism of all ranks.

All organizations of the Pennsylvania Army National Guard including the 28th Infantry Division—SRF, despite all the difficulties that were incident to their training, accomplished every training objective imposed by the Department of the Army and U.S. Continental Army Command. The three infantry brigades of the division each successfully completed a 3-day brigade field training exercise. The division, by making adjustments in previously prepared training schedules, completed 32 hours of riot-control training. This is of particular significance because this requirement was not placed upon the division until after it had arrived at the training site.

Despite the many changes, most of which took place on very short notice, the morale, discipline, and esprit de corps of all units was above average. The morale, as well as the enthusiastic spirit of the Pennsylvania Guardsmen was commented on specifically by the representative of the commanding general, 1st U.S. Army, who was evaluating every aspect of the training of these units. He wrote as follows:

> As per conversation with Colonel Ralph G. Moye, Senior Army Advisor, Pennsylvania Army National Guard, and myself, the following informal evaluation of the morale of the troops of the 28th Infantry Division at the half way point in their training is submitted for your information.
>
> My evaluators find that the state of morale of the troops of the 28th Infantry Division is very high. It is very noticeable that a very high percentage of the personnel have a "Can Do" attitude.

Many units of the 28th Infantry Division—SRF—had 100-percent attendance at their annual field training. The average attendance of Pennsylvania units of the 28th Infantry Division was 98.9 percent. The attendance of the entire Pennsylvania Army National Guard was 98.8 percent. The sick call, including accidental injuries was 1 percent. This is substantially lower than the absentee sick rate in civilian life.

Training of all units of the Pennsylvania Army National Guard was evaluated by Regular Army evaluators during annual field training. No deficiencies or unsatisfactory ratings were received in any of these evaluations. The final results of these evaluations for all units of the Pennsylvania Army National Guard were 41 superior ratings, 103 excellent ratings, and three satisfactory ratings. Of these, the 28th Infantry Division received 23 superior ratings and 43 excellent ratings.

In addition to annual field training, all units are inspected annually at home stations by the inspector general, 1st U.S. Army. The results of these inspections reflect performance of the units during armory training periods. A total of 195 inspections were made, of which 62 were superior ratings, 100 excellent ratings, and 33 satisfactory ratings.

All personnel of the Guard are required to be technically qualified in their military occupation specialty. Tests prepared by the Active Army are administered periodically throughout the year: 94.1 percent of Pennsylvania Guardsmen are MOS qualified; 94 percent of 28th Infantry Division—SRF—personnel are MOS qualified.

Members of the National Guard are all volunteers. As a volunteer organization, the Pennsylvania Army National Guard, from the information and facts stated herein, has achieved or exceeded established standards and speaks for itself. It is well qualified in command, training, and administration to perform both State and Federal missions.

Nikola Petkov: Champion of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, Monday, September 25, marks the 20th anniversary of the political martyrdom of the Bulgarian statesman and patriot, Nikola Petkov.

To commemorate the death of this hero, the Bulgarian National Committee, representing the anti-Communist Bulgarian emigrees and Americans of Bulgarian ancestry, will hold a memorial meeting in New York City.

The following day a religious service will be held here in Washington, D.C., at the Russian Orthodox Church in Petkov's memory, with a reception following in the evening.

On this occasion, I join my colleagues in saluting the courageous anti-Fascist, anti-Communist, democratic and liberal statesmen and people of Bulgaria, whose efforts and sacrifices are epitomized in the life of Nikola Petkov.

True nationalists, these persons have been made to suffer persecution, death, and exile because of their political beliefs. Bulgaria, their homeland, has been crushed under totalitarian governments and manipulated by stronger neighbors for decades.

We join our hearts and hands with them in the prayerful hope for a future in which Bulgaria will take its place among the truly free, independent, and democratic nations of the world.

In that time, truly, the memory and inspiration of Nikola Petkov will come to fruition. Then we will recognize the truth we hold so dear: Nikola Petkov did not die in vain so long as the memory of his courage inspires us to continue the fight for justice and liberty.

Chief of Navy Medical Service Corps Should Have Rank of Rear Admiral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill I introduced September 19 is to provide for the rank of rear admiral for the chief of the Navy Medical Service Corps. Although the corps was established in 1947, the position of chief of corps with the rank of captain was not authorized by law until 1954. At that time, there were 39 officers in the grade of commander under the corps chief, who was a captain. The corps has grown to the point where there are now 76 officers serving in the same grade as the chief of the corps. However, the chief of the Medical Service Corps is not legally authorized to attain the rank commensurate with this responsibilities which have grown over the past 20 years.

The Navy Medical Service Corps is composed of widely diversified professional specialists embracing the academic disciplines utilized in health research, patient care and in all aspects of health administration and financial management. The corps consists of the allied health sciences: optometry, pharmacy, podiatry, supply and administration, and medical specialist sections. Educational requirements for original appointment into the corps conform to those prescribed by the civilian community and include all academic and health doctorate degrees, including the doctor of philosophy degree, and the attainment of license or certification when required.

Within the entire Navy there are but 136 officers who hold the doctor of philosophy degree and almost half—64—of these officers are in the Medical Service Corps.

There are now approximately 1,600 officers in the Medical Service Corps. Within the Navy, the Medical Service Corps is the only male staff corps not entitled to flag rank. There are several other staff corps in the Navy composed of fewer or an approximately equal number of officers that have been authorized from two to seven flag officers. Yet, the Medical Service Corps has none.

Enactment of Public Law 89-603 permitted the appointment of a brigadier general in the Army Medical Service Corps, and the chief of that corps is now serving in that grade. The duties and responsibilities of the chief of the Navy Medical Service Corps are as varied and demanding as those of his Army counterpart. It is to correct the existing grade disparity within the Navy that I am proposing this bill for your early consideration and approval.

At this point I wish to insert a copy of my bill, H.R. 13002, followed by a sectional analysis and a table showing Navy flag officer strength as of May 31, 1967.

H.R. 13002

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5139 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by striking out "captain" each place where it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "rear admiral," and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) For purposes of determining the number of officers in the grade of rear admiral and above, any officer holding the grade of rear admiral under the provisions of this section shall be disregarded."

SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF H.R. 13002

1. The amendment of section 5139, title 10, USC provides for the rank of rear admiral in lieu of the present grade of captain for the Chief of the Medical Service Corps of the Navy.

Other corps in the Navy with smaller, or just slightly larger numbers of officers have already been authorized the rank of rear admiral for the corps chief and other members of the corps. (see table attached). The Medical Service Corps, established in 1947, has now reached a size and composition comparable to other corps in the Navy. Medical Service Corps officers now occupy command billets, and the responsibilities of the Corps' Chief are such that the position warrants the rank of rear admiral. The Medical Service Corps, composed of over 1500 officers is comparable with the Chaplain Corps (just over 1100 officers), and the Civil Engineer Corps (just over 1700 officers). Yet, the Chaplain Corps is authorized two (2) rear admirals; the Civil Engineer Corps seven (7); the Medical Service Corps *none*. In the last Congress the Medical Service Corps of the Army was authorized one Brigadier General; the present Corps Chief has been appointed to this grade. This bill would provide equitable treatment for the Medical Service Corps of the Navy.

2. Addition of new subsection (c) provides that the appointment in the grade of rear admiral for the Chief of the Medical Service Corps shall not be subject to the legislative or administrative limitations on the number of flag rank in the Navy. Since the Medical Service Corps of the Navy is under the cognizance of the Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, authorization for one (1) additional rear admiral under the Surgeon General of the Navy would permit the appointment of the Chief of the Medical Service Corps to this grade. Unless the legislation makes provision for the appointment to be over and above the authorized number limitations on flag rank, there can be no assurance that the appointment will ever be permitted.

NAVY FLAG OFFICER STRENGTH AS OF MAY 31, 1967

Designator	Corps	Corps strength	Flag officers
210x	Medical Corps	4,283	14
220x	Dental Corps	1,898	4
230x	Medical Service Corps	1,569	0
310x	Supply Corps	5,015	19
410x	Chaplain Corps	1,056	2
510x	Civil Engineer Corps	1,870	7
	UNRESTRICTED LINE		
110x	Surface	27,727	133
130x	Aviation	22,151	96
	RESTRICTED LINE (ANALOGOUS TO STAFF)		
14xx	Engineering duty	987	17
15xx	Aeronautical engineering duty.	598	8
16xx	Special duty	1,400	5

Raw Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, James Madison said a long time ago:

> I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by the gradual and silent encroachments of those in power . . . than by violent and sudden usurpations.

The vacillating, indecisive and mixed up policies of the Johnson administration—which is terror stricken at the thought of war escalation in Vietnam—have been escalating the loss of freedom which the people of this Nation have been experiencing through the many years of the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society. Our people have truly been the recipients of the "raw deal."

Sold as a "rediscovery of the consumer," by the administration, the expensive consumer specialist, Betty Furness, is busy selling L.B.J., via Madison Avenue techniques, to the American public. She says he has started the "most ambitious and comprehensive consumers' program a President ever presented to Congress."

What has he done for the consumer? What he has done can better be characterized as "to" rather than "for." The inflation caused by his wild spending has robbed every housewife of a portion of her grocery budget. It has inflated the cost of every repair, every loan for whatever purpose, and every type of education. It has motivated businessmen, harassed by restrictions and tax upon tax, to seek every avenue of sales pressure, with growing instances of unethical activity being inevitable. He has "protected" the consumer by making sure he does not have sufficient money to buy too many things and thereby reducing his chances of being "taken."

Judging from his activities while serving as Secretary of Defense, Robert Strange McNamara is one of the most scrambled of the mixed-up whiz kids in Washington. The most charitable description of him would be to call him stupid, but it would hardly be an accurate characterization.

The news columns of the Nation have included almost daily instances of contradictory statements by this amazingly tenacious Secretary. A few months ago, he issued a dispatch to the UPI stating that he was calling upon the whole Military Establishment to give "maximum disclosure of information except for that which would be of material assistance to potential enemies." Later developments make one wonder whether he was in truth referring to political enemies of the administration rather than to foreign nations.

On the same day that the "full disclosure" order was reported, the good Secretary suppressed the facts accompanying the award of contracts for the TFX plane. Rejecting the recommendation of acknowledged experts, the Secretary favored the higher bidder with the award, calling for a price tag of $2.9 million each. The price is now up to $8 million, and is still climbing, as military men put it, "higher and faster than can the plane itself, as it is overweight and underpowered." As one Washington wag puts it:

> This just about sums up the Great Society in general.

Again ignoring the recommendations of military experts and the demands of many Congressmen, Secretary McNamara refused to bolster our defenses and, in fact, in the view of many of us, actually weakened them by decisions regarding the Strategic Air Command. In 1963 he urged the Russians to get more missiles so they would be on a par with us. They took his advice and keep building antiballistic missiles at the rate of 240 a year and putting them in hardened—shielded against enemy missiles—silos. They are equipping them with warheads which spray out like a shotgun blast upon reentry into the atmosphere.

Now the Secretary announces that we will spend $5 billion on a defense system, but that it would be foolish to spend more to protect the people—that it would be more practical to further develop our offenses. If we had, and continued to have, the vast military superiority we once had, and made it unmistakably clear that we had the capability, and would use it, of massive retaliation, as ex-President Eisenhower expressed it, Mr. McNamara's policy might make sense. But no such believable warning can be expected from this pussyfooting administration.

The State Department has an equally long history of addled operation. One of the reasons the United States is in so much trouble around the world is that we have more "experts" working at it. Prior to World War II, the State Department had approximately 6,000 employees. The population explosion hit there, too, and they now have 44,000 and are seeking more men and money all the time. Too infrequently does Congress block the efforts of this "diplomatic" corps to give away American jobs. They take away from American firms, and give, as good will bribes to foreigners, business that makes such jobs possible. One of the rare instances occurred last week when we did succeed in blocking the award of shipbuilding contracts to the British. The direct result of such State Department bribery has been a proportionate decline in the respect in which we are held by its recipients.

The Johnson administration piously deplores the effect on American business and American jobs when the Congress takes steps to reduce the ability of foreign nations to supply North Vietnam. The President warned last week that restrictions on exports to countries dealing with North Vietnam will "cost American businessmen $1.5 billion and Americans 150,000 jobs."

Yet he takes no cognizance of the heavier loss of life resulting from that trade. Our exports reaching Haiphong Harbor become part of the military resupply which enables the Vietcong to continue fighting and more effectively to kill and wound our boys. At the same time, it prolongs the war and increases the monetary cost of its prosecution.

Every American family is disturbed and apprehensive about the rapidly escalating crime rate. Violent crime in the United States soared 18 percent during the first half of 1967. The number of robberies jumped 30 percent. Congress made it unlawful to counsel others to refuse or evade the draft registration or service in the Armed Forces, setting a penalty of 5 years imprisonment and a fine of up to $10,000 for violation.

The Justice Department, bolstered by Supreme Court decisions, takes little or no action against criminals, even indicating that they do not intend to prosecute such individuals as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and others who have been publicly urging men to evade the draft.

In 1962 Congress sought to bar deliberate fraud in award of military contracts without competitive bidding. In a review of 186 major prime and subcontracts since then, the General Accounting Office found that only 20 met conditions of the law. Scores of other contracts were awarded during the 4-year period, but this sampling was enough for the Comptroller General to charge the Defense Department with failure to obey the law. Total value of the contracts involved is approximately $600 million. Yet the Justice Department has not taken the slightest action against McNamara.

Our Attorney General apparently should have taken more lessons from his fine father, and listened a lot less to the liberal professors who taught him. He would then have realized that the oath of office he took obliged him to enforce the law as it is written, not as he would like to have it written, and that such enforcement should not be altered in the slightest, whether the offender is unknown or infamous.

President Johnson submitted to our committee a proposed budget of $135 billion. In 6 months he raised this to $144 billion, blaming the increase on the Vietnam war, in spite of the fact that some 55 percent of the budget is for domestic, nondefense spending in support of his Great Welfare Society. In the 1960–68 period, such spending increased by 97 percent. From 1965 to 1968, it increased by 39 percent—referring to fiscal years.

If it were possible that Mr. Johnson honestly erred by $9 billion 6 months earlier, it is an indictment of the inadequacy of his administration. If he erred intentionally, his action is completely reprehensible.

Ways and Means Committee members are now repeating the demand made upon the President at the time the Congress first refused to pass the $9 billion raise in the debt ceiling. They want to know where spending will be cut on nonessential matters. As before, the administration remains absolutely silent on reduction of spending while stepping up the pressure for a tax increase.

President Theodore Roosevelt once said:

> We have room in this Country but for one flag, the Stars and Stripes . . . We have room but for one loyalty . . . loyalty to these United States.

That is more true today than ever, and we have no room for the type of individuals who make up so much of this administration in Washington.

Harold W. Greenwood, Jr., President, Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harold Greenwood, Jr., a distinguished Minnesotan and the dynamic president of Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association of Minneapolis, Minn., testified recently before the Subcommittee on Bank Supervision and Insurance in support of legislation providing for Federal chartering of mutual savings banks.

Mr. Greenwood's comments reflect a commonsense, mature, and sound approach to a complex issue. Not only does he have a thorough understanding of the savings and loan field, but he also has a keen grasp of the problems of the homeowner, the small businessman, and the banking industry, as well as their relationship to the best interests of the general public.

I feel that Mr. Greenwood's statement is of special significance and would like to share it with my colleagues by including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FEDERAL CHARTER LEGISLATION FOR MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS—1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SUBCOMMITTEE ON BANK SUPERVISION AND INSURANCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1967.

Mr. MULTER. Good morning, gentlemen. We will resume our hearings this morning on bills to authorize Federal chartering of mutual savings banks.

We are very pleased to welcome here our distinguished colleague, Congressman John A. Blatnik. It is always good to have any of our colleagues come in and visit with us and we are particularly pleased to have Congressman Blatnik with us. He is one of the most able Members of the House, and this is without any partisan reflection. It is well known that he always does a good job on any of the work he tackles.

We are very pleased to ask him to take his place at the witness table, together with Mr. Greenwood, whom I believe he will present to the subcommittee.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your very kind, generous and sincere words.

I am truly pleased to be here personally to present to the chairman of the subcommittee and the members of the subcommittee a very close friend of mine for quite some years now, Mr. Harold Greenwood, Jr., one of the very dynamic, progressive, imaginative and forward-looking young men that are not too frequently found in the field of finance. It comes to few, so early in life, to achieve the measure of success as has he. Mr. Greenwood is president of what is now the second largest savings and loan institution in the State of Minnesota. He is now, and has been for some years, president of the Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association in Minneapolis.

Further accomplishments: Mr. Greenwood has already served as president of the Minnesota Savings & Loan League; he is currently a member of the legislative committee of the United States Savings & Loan League; he is also chairman of the Minnesota Small Business Administration Advisory Committee, and also serves on other important committees.

Through his own initiative he has, more than any other single person I know in his field of enterprise, advanced—not only his personal interest, but to a commendable degree has worked for the broader general interests of the financial institutions, as well as the home and property owner, the small businessman, and the general community and State in their best interests.

So, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the special courtesy extended to me to present to you and to the subcommittee Mr. Harold Greenwood, Jr., of Minneapolis.

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, Mr. Blatnik. We are very happy to have you here, Mr. Greenwood.

I notice that you have a prepared statement. You may summarize it or you may read it as you please.

STATEMENT OF HAROLD W. GREENWOOD, JR., PRESIDENT, MIDWEST FEDERAL SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION; ACCOMPANIED BY HAROLD J. SODERBERG, COUNSEL

Mr. GREENWOOD. I wish to read it, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Harold W. Greenwood, Jr., and I am president of Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association which has its principal office in Minneapolis, Minn. I have served as president of the Minnesota Savings & Loan

League and I am currently a member of the Legislative Committee of the United States Savings & Loan League.

The subject of the bill which is now before your committee, H.R. 10745, providing for Federal chartering of mutual savings banks, has been discussed among members of the savings and loan industry for some time. In my opinion, the objects of this bill are in the public interest and I appreciate this opportunity to appear to express my support of H.R. 10745.

As president of Midwest Federal, my first obligation in any matter of this nature is, of course, to protect the interests of that association. I wish to say, therefore, that it is my view and the view of the members of our board of directors, that passage of this bill would not adversely affect our institution. In fact, we believe its passage would be very beneficial. The most obvious benefit is the option the bill provides for a savings and loan association such as ours to apply for conversion to a Federal savings bank if and when such a conversion appeared to be in the best interests of the institution. A large mutual savings bank, the Farmer & Mechanics Savings Bank of Minneapolis, is located within a few blocks of our principal office and I feel that we do now, as a savings and loan association, compete effectively with it. We are not prepared, at this time, to indicate any intention to seek conversion to a savings bank if this bill were to pass. On the other hand, a Federal savings bank as constituted under this legislation, would have a number of attractive features the advantages of which we would certainly consider. With the many innovations and changing currents which everyone in the financial industry is experiencing, the availability of this alternative is clearly advantageous to us.

I feel also that this legislation deserves our support for the effect it will have on the expansion and possible unification of the mutual thrift industry. The interests of our association are tied not only to the success and development of the savings and loan industry, but to that of the mutual thrift industry as a whole. It is difficult to predict the extent to which that industry would be expanded as a result of the passage of this bill, but I think it is fair to assume, in view of the limited number of States which presently authorize the formation of mutual savings banks that some expansion, especially geographically, of mutual savings banks and, therefore the mutual thrift industry, would occur. Savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks, as members of the mutual thrift industry, have many interests in common which the expansion of that industry should serve to promote.

The organizations of mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations have both expressed support for unification of the mutual thrift industry. If this unification is to become a reality, I think its best prospects lie in the passage of this legislation.

Apart from the effect this bill might have on our associations or the mutual thrift industry, I feel very strongly that its objectives are to protect and promote the public interest. The history of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks has already been extensively presented to this committee and I wish to say, as a member of the savings and loan industry, that I am extremely proud of that record. In view of the role that the mutual thrift industry has played in the development of our country and the function that it continues to serve in our society, I am convinced that its further expansion is definitely in the public interest. Among other things, this expansion would broaden the promotion of thrift, would improve the flow of funds between savers and borrowers, would provide savers and borrowers with an alternative source of accommodation, and, where needed, would provide the stimulation of competition.

In regard to the effect of this bill on savings and loan associations and other financial institutions, I do not believe that it would be prejudicial to them. H.R. 10745, providing for the Federal chartering of mutual savings banks, makes extensive provisions for such chartering, their regulation and the nature of their powers.

The bill follows extensive studies and hearings and it carefully and comprehensively defines the circumstances under which any such institution would be created and the conditions under which they would operate. I am satisfied that the law, under the administration of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, would not result in any undue prejudice to existing financial institutions of any nature.

In view of the numerous safeguards which exist to protect the interests of existing financial institutions, I think it is appropriate to note the considerations of fairness which apply to existing mutual savings banks seeking passage of this legislation.

The bill would give to mutual savings banks, or the organizers of mutual savings banks, the option to become federally chartered and regulated in the same manner that that option now exists for commercial banks, savings and loan associations and credit unions. The importance of that option is readily apparent to me in the light of experience in my own State. Our association began as a State savings and loan association in 1891 and was converted to a Federal association after 72 years as a State-chartered institution.

At the time of our conversion, we were the largest State association in Minnesota as well as the oldest. We finally concluded, however, that limitations in the laws of our State caused certain competitive handicaps and prevented our association from having the growth which it should have in relation to other competing institutions. Since our problem under State law involved the question of authority to establish branches, among other things, I have watched with interest and sympathy the efforts of Farmers & Mechanics Bank to obtain authority to establish branches under the laws of the State of Minnesota.

Following a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Minnesota that Farmers & Mechanics Bank did not have such authority, the bank has in repeated efforts before the State legislature tried without avail to gain authorization for the establishment of branch offices to better serve its customers and maintain a competitive relationship with other financial and mutual thrift institutions in the Twin City metropolitan area.

Similar problems undoubtedly confront mutual savings banks in other States of the country where their establishment is authorized and would be equally lacking in justification. In the field of commercial banks, savings and loan associations and credit unions where a dual system of Federal and State chartering and regulation exists, once the law under which the institution was chartered no longer meets the needs of the institution as they have developed, it can at least consider the possibility of converting to regulation under another authority where its legitimate goals can be realized.

Savings and loan associations were first established in 1831 and mutual savings banks in 1816. It was not until 1933 that provision was made by Congress for Federal chartering of savings and loan associations. In that accomplishment, as you are no doubt aware, it was necessary to overcome much of the same reluctance which now exists with regard to the Federal chartering of mutual savings banks.

Experience has shown that the decision to authorize Federal savings and loan associations was a good one. I can see no reason why authorization of Federal mutual savings banks would not likewise add to the public good. The basic needs to encourage thrift, to facilitate the flow of funds and to provide mortgage loans at better rates and terms are all desirable goals which this proposal should help to achieve. The eventual unification of the mutual thrift industry, for which this legislation may serve as a vehicle, would be a most fitting objective of congressional activity in this field.

In conclusion, I wish only to say that my views are shared by a number of other members of the savings and loan industry, that the time has come for the authorization of Federal mutual savings banks.

Thank you.

Smoking Is Harmful to Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, last week in New York City some 400 delegates, representing over 30 nations, gathered to participate in the World Conference on Smoking and Health.

The conference heard firm, unrefuted evidence that smoking is harmful to health. It was stated during the conference that a greater effort must be made in the United States to provide educational programs and materials aimed at giving our young people sufficient evidence to enable them to make an affirmative decision against cigarette smoking.

As a climax to the world conference, the American Broadcasting Co., produced a television and radio program devoted entirely to the conference. The Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] and the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy] appeared on the program "Issues and Answers" on ABC.

I ask unanimous consent that a transcript of the broadcast be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Issues and Answers

Sunday, September 17, 1967

Guests: Senator Frank E. Moss (D.-Utah); Dr. Luther Terry, Former Surgeon General of the United States; Sir George E. Godber, Chief Medical Officer, British Ministry of Health.

Interviewer: ABC News Science Editor Jules Bergman.

Producer: Peggy Whedon.

Senator Robert Kennedy. Every year cigarettes kill more Americans than were killed in World War I, the Korean War and Vietnam combined. Nearly as many as died in battle in World War II. And that is every year here in the United States. Each year cigarettes kill five times more Americans than traffic accidents. Lung cancer alone kills as many as die on the road. And we must accept the fact that the cigarette industry is peddling a deadly weapon. It is dealing in people's lives for financial gain. If cigarettes turned people the same color outside that they do inside, instead of just killing people they would surely have been banned a long time ago.

The cigarette companies have demonstrated a total inattention to public responsibility. It is also a reflection on our society as a whole, on all of us, that cigarette smoking has been permitted to continue in our various countries. There is no reason for another generation of mankind, however, to end up disabled and the victims of premature death.

We must act, and we must act now. I would only suggest the anti-smoking material should show the danger involved clearly and graphically, and with all the ingenuity that Madison Avenue uses to suggest that smoking is desirable.

One suggestion I want to pass on to you for your consideration which I thought would be appropriate would be to place the tough, rangy man with the tattoo on his hand in front of a hospital ward, and have him say: "This is emphysema country."

Dr. WILLIAM STEWART. The 100 millimeter cigarette is absolutely in the wrong direction, based on the evidence we have. It's really an affront to the American people.

We have no authority at the present time to limit the size of cigarettes. We do have evidence that people smoke those cigarettes down as far as they smoke the smaller cigarettes, so they're getting a much bigger dose of tar and nicotine.

ANNOUNCER. How great is the health hazard from smoking cigarettes?

What can be done to discourage young people from beginning to smoke?

How can we make cigarettes less harmful?

From New York City, the American Broadcasting Company brings you ISSUES AND ANSWERS. Our guests: Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer, British Ministry of Health, in charge of Great Britain's smoking controls; Senator Frank Moss, Democrat of Utah, author of legislation to deal with the hazards of smoking; and Dr. Luther Terry, former Surgeon General of the United States, who this week headed a world conference on smoking and health in New York City. They will be interviewed by ABC Science Editor, Jules Bergman.

BERGMAN. Dr. Terry, five hundred scientists from thirty-four countries met here this week at this first world conference on smoking in health. What did you accomplish? Can you stop people from smoking?

TERRY. Well, you have a double question there. I think, in the first place, that we did have some very significant accomplishments as a part of this conference. In the first place, we brought up to date an understanding and discussion of the scientific facts related to smoking, not only the basic facts but many facts related to the psychological and sociological aspects of smoking and why people smoke. I think this is in meeting with our program people who are working out in the field, it's done a great deal to disseminate information to help give them new approaches.

One of the most important things I think was to get this group of five hundred people together and to get the unanimity of understanding of the health hazard of smoking so clearly brought out, understood and agreed upon.

BERGMAN. Scientists around the world feel the danger is common, feel that it is absolutely uniform. Are we stopping people from smoking?

Dr. Godber, you've had a unique experience in Britain that you reported on this week.

GODBER. I think we've stopped people by persuading them to stop themselves. I don't think someone from outside can stop a man from doing that sort of thing, but in fact from 1961 on, after our own report in 1962, we did succeed in getting an appreciable number of people to give up smoking. We've got a million more non-smokers now than we had in 1961.

BERGMAN. And you brought out the rather dramatic fact, I thought, this week that British doctors who had stopped smoking showed a markedly lower rate of lung cancer.

GODBER. Well, we've more lung cancer than you have in the United States. But British doctors began to get the evidence fifteen years and more ago, and they began to absorb it and to act on it. And in fact now not more than one in four of our doctors is smoking cigarettes only and regularly. Some of them smoke cigars, some of them smoke pipes, but less than half of them are smoking at all, and their death rate from lung cancer has gone down by 30%, while the general male death rate from lung cancer has gone up by 25%. Because two-thirds of our people are still smoking, our men.

BERGMAN. Senator Moss, where does the Congress stand on this all-important issue? Do you feel you can stop people from smoking by legislation, or what?

MOSS. Well, I don't think that we can ever just legislate to stop smoking. But I think there is an area for legislation in education and warning people about smoking. We took the first tentative steps of course last year when we required that a label be put on the package of cigarettes. It was rather a milktoast and tentative sort of warning, and it is hoped now, and there is a bill now pending that would beef up that warning greatly, saying that cigarettes are harmful to health, and may cause lung cancer and other diseases.

I think that we need to do this. I think we need to be more direct. I think we need additional requirements such as requiring the printing of the amount of tar and nicotine in the cigarettes that are contained in the package, which is one of the things that it's an additional warning, but I don't believe that it's in the cards to just make a flat prohibition against smoking. It's a matter of education and getting the message through as to the effects, the bad effects there are that come from smoking, and especially getting it to our younger people.

One of the things that we've noticed in the United States since the Surgeon General's report came out is that a number of our adults have voluntarily stopped smoking; about a million of them a year give up smoking. But at the same time the young ones come on, and at least as many and probably a few more than give it up. So we're not gaining very much. We have just about as many smokers now as we had before we started any legislation in this field.

BERGMAN. And cigarette sales, Dr. Terry, do continue to show a slight increase.

TERRY. Total sales, yes. Actually, per capita consumption is remaining over the recent months, has remained about the same or has actually dropped some. So that it does represent a reversal in trend of what we had over a period of years where there were, even the per capita consumption was rising steadily every six months and every year.

Well, at least this has plateaued off now and is showing a tendency to drop.

BERGMAN. Dr. Godber, what has happened in England where cigarette advertisements have been banned from television these past two years?

GODBER. Well, things began to happen before the ban on television advertising, and there has been a reduction, not yet a big reduction, but there has been a reduction, and it's still continuing. I'd like to see it go a lot faster.

TERRY. In that respect I think we should give the British a great deal of credit for the real stimulation of one of the first comprehensive reports to come out on smoking and health, the Royal College of Physicians report which came out in '62.

GODBER. In '62, yes.

TERRY. And it was a real stimulus to move ahead faster with our studies in this country and elsewhere in the world.

MOSS. I was going to say on this ban of cigarette advertisings on television that Britain has put into effect, we've taken a step in this direction now with the ruling of the Federal Communications Commission on the equal time doctrine, that if cigarette advertising is carried extolling the virtues of cigarette smoking that equal time must be allotted to educational programs explaining the hazards of cigarette smoking. I think this is a fine step forward. I hope that it can be wired and tied into the law and can be expanded.

I understand that the American Cancer Society has had a sudden demand for a lot of their spot educational spots on television since this ruling came out.

BERGMAN. Excuse me, gentlemen. In just a moment we'll be back with more issues.

Dr. Terry, Senator Kennedy threw a triple-barrelled basket of hand grenades into the legislative hopper this week to end the smoking hazard. Do you think that's the right way to go?

TERRY. In general, yes, I think his objectives are correct in what he's trying to do. I might have some difference of opinion with regards to certain of the specific proposals. For instance, the question of taxing certain types of cigarettes more than others because they have a higher nicotine content. I'm not sure that this could successfully be done.

On the other hand, I'm quite in sympathy with the objectives which he's approaching.

BERGMAN. Senator Moss, I understand the bill which you and Senator Magnuson authored rating the tar and nicotine content on packages is first up in that legislative hopper. What chances, realistically, do you give Senator Kennedy's proposals?

MOSS. Well, I think Senator Kennedy has some very good proposals, and I was happy to join him on one of his bills that he introduced in the Senate. I don't think, however, that it's likely that we'll have hearings set this year. I think it will be next spring or the beginning of next year's session before we can have hearings. I think that there's a reasonably good chance.

Of course, you're in a tough field here; the tobacco industry is a very large and lucrative industry, and it employs a lot of people. It goes clear back down to the tobacco farms as well as all the manufacturing and salesmanship and Madison Avenue sales and all of this. So naturally there will be a great deal of counter-pressure from those who have an economic interest.

However, it seems to me that the evidence is in, and it's almost crushing now as it takes hold, and the conference that we were talking about, the World Conference, was one more step along the way. As that evidence piles up more and more I think the members of the Congress are convinced that we must move in a counterattack, and at least inform our people and try to educate them about the dangers of cigarette smoking.

BERGMAN. Dr. Terry, many hospitals have removed cigarette machines. Now there's pressure to stop the airlines from their customary habit of giving away free packages of cigarettes.

TERRY. Many hospitals have not only removed cigarette machines but you will frequently find signs in hospitals, "Please, No Smoking While in the Hospital."

Getting to the airline question, we in the National Interagency Council have been working towards this problem over a period of, oh, almost two years, in which we have made representations to the airlines requesting that they cease the gratis distribution of cigarettes. Fortunately, some of the smaller airlines have already made movement in that direction and have stopped the routine distribution. Recently we have had communication with Air Transport Association, and I think this is our greatest hope for action, because many of the larger companies are reluctant to stop this service unless their competitors do.

But I think there's a real hope that we'll get action in this respect.

Bergman. It looks like the bigger airlines are about to act.

Terry. I think so.

Moss. I think it's interesting that our military hospitals have cut out the distribution of cigarettes. It wasn't long ago that it was considered very patriotic for veterans organizations and others to send a lot of cigarettes to the hospitals for hospital service men. Now we've of course come full cycle and decided that we were harming them rather than helping them, and the military hospitals have cut it out entirely.

Bergman. Deep down, though, where is the real secret stopping the smoker from smoking, or stopping the youngster from acquiring the habit of smoking? You can do so much to legislate it out of action. You can increase taxes on higher tar content cigarettes the way Senator Kennedy proposes, you can lessen cigarette advertising, but somehow there's a secret psychological satisfaction of some kind the smoker seems to get out of the act of smoking. How do you beat that?

Moss. Well, if I may volunteer, being the layman on the panel here—and this has been a part of the discussion of the conference and other conferences, is that we need really great research in the psychological and the sociological factors surrounding smoking. We've pretty well—well, at least we've got a handhold on the medical results of smoking. But why is it that people want to smoke? And I'm not sure that we have the answers yet, and that's the reason there must be continued research. But in the meantime we at least ought to make it so that people know they have their eyes wide open when they take on the cigarette habit, that they're not only lessening their life span, but it may have some immediate detrimental effects on the body functions, and that knowing that they must at least jump in that hurdle in order to go into the smoking habit.

Terry. Related to the Senator's remarks I think it's very important for one to appreciate that one of the things that we made quite clear in calling this World Conference was that we were not here to discuss whether or not cigarettes were harmful to health. We feel very clearly that this has been established beyond any doubt. And this conference was directed more towards, well, what are we going to do about it since this has been established?

Bergman. Dr. Godber, what do you tell your young medical students, for example, to stop them from smoking?

Godber. Well, we certainly don't tell our young medical students enough. This is one of the disappointing things, that too many of the medical students are smoking. But this conference helps to bring out quite clearly that we've got a connected story to tell them now. We can tell them that just smoking at all limits physical capacity. We can tell them that if they go on they'll certainly suffer more sickness absence from work. And we can certainly say that they're more likely to suffer premature death from a number of things.

There's a connected story that's really convincing that we haven't put across yet. And Dr. Terry gave some credit to the British Royal College of Physicians for their first report. But the really significant publication of the last few years has been the report produced by the United States Public Health Service in the last few weeks. I think that's the biggest step forward we've had in a long time.

Terry. It was a great step. You may recall that in the report of January, 1964, over three thousand articles bringing a review of the medical literature up to date at that time was embraced in this report. Then the present report, which has just been brought out by the Public Health Service, is one which covers an additional two thousand scientific articles published since that time, and gives us a great deal more current information as what might be called a supplement or an extension of the report published in January of '64.

Bergman. There's an amazing wealth of detail now present linking the hazard.

Terry. Yes. By the way, if I may turn back to a question you were discussing with Dr. Godber a moment ago, in this country of persons in the age group and sex of our medical students the lowest incidence of smokers among the young people in this country is among medical students; and the next lowest is among dental students.

So I think it brings out quite clearly as with the same thing, a very low incidence of smokers among physicians, and getting lower all the time. I think it brings out quite clearly that people who can appreciate the scientific facts related to the health hazard of smoking, that you will find a response to it. And this is very clear among medical students and physicians too.

Bergman. I was fascinated by one report at the meeting from the Agency for International Development Medic who brought out the fact that men over 35 who smoke more than one pack a day in effect double their chances of dying.

Terry. Yes, and much information is brought out in the recent report from Public Health Service with relation to overall life expectancy, and mortality, morbidity. As well as specific diseases. And it just amplifies the information which was brought out in 1964 and makes it even more completely convincing. I don't know how anyone could doubt the question now.

Bergman. The British, Dr. Terry, have launched a massive advertising campaign against smoking. What does your group plan?

Terry. We expect of course to expand our program. I think that the new ruling of the FCC will stimulate us to produce more material to make available to broadcasters to present. Actually, we have a shortage of such material now, so that we're going to need to put a great deal more money in this. We expect to continue the expansion of our programs with regards to youth education, whether we're doing it through civic groups or religious groups, or whatever.

You may recall that we started last year through the National Association of Parents and Teachers a large program directed at school children, in which the PTA's are cooperating in about twenty states, I believe, with the Inter-Agency Council and the National Clearing House, making information available to youngsters.

Bergman. Senator Moss?

Moss. May I volunteer that I think perhaps part of the story that hasn't been told adequately is that there is an immediate effect such as illness and loss of work days which can be documented showing that those who are smokers and heavy smokers just have increased illness, they lose more days of work, and generally they have a health level that's below the average person.

I'm afraid that the idea up to now has been that, well, maybe you're going to die a few years earlier, and so a young fellow just brushes that off. He isn't thinking about when he's going to be sixty years old and worrying about getting in the bracket where he's going to die, until he gets near there.

But if he knows that right today it increases his chance of being sick and being out of work, et cetera, then perhaps the message will get through better.

Terry. Since our report in '64 I think one of the things that I've had to continually combat is the impression and expression of so many people this was a report on smoking and lung cancer. Well, after all, lung cancer was only one part of the report, and there are many other diseases that are just as important and probably even more important in terms of the numbers of people involved, the disability and the deaths.

Bergman. Thank you very much, gentlemen. In just a moment we'll be back with more issues and answers.

There were other strong words on smoking this week from advertising executive Emerson Foote, Surgeon General William Stewart, and a call for legislation by Senator Robert Kennedy of New York:

Kennedy. I introduced three bills today dealing with cigarettes and cigarette advertising. The first is a strengthened version of a bill requiring a warning in all advertising, and the warning would read: "Cigarette smoking is dangerous to health and may cause death from cancer and from other diseases."

The second bill would authorize the Federal Communications Commission to regulate the times and types of programs on which cigarette advertising may appear. And the overall volume of cigarette advertising as well.

These are self-regulatory steps that I think the industry should take, but as they have not taken them, as they have not seen fit to move in this field I think that the Federal Communications Commission should deal with the problem itself.

The third bill will establish a sliding scale on cigarettes. The current rate is four dollars per thousand cigarettes. It would remain on cigarettes with less than ten milligrams or .8 milligrams of nicotine. Others would be taxed at a higher rate, at a rate of fifteen dollars per thousand imposed on cigarettes with more than thirty milligrams of tar or 1.6 milligrams of nicotine. Eighteen brands of cigarettes would fall into this category, as would most of the hundred-millimeter cigarettes themselves.

This legislation would speed the development of low tar and low nicotine content for cigarettes and enable the public to spot the most dangerous cigarettes by the amount of their cost.

I would hope that the second Surgeon General's report would give impetus to the members of the Senate and the members of the House of Representatives to pass legislation which is so necessary. I think we'll only know that when the debate begins. But I think that this is extremely important. There wasn't a great deal of interest in passing legislation dealing with safety in automobiles. But we finally enacted it; and I think that there is public interest, public pressure, plus the interest and efforts of the Executive branch of the government that we could pass some legislation.

Dr. William Stewart. I personally feel that we do need some regulation of TV advertising of cigarettes, the right audience, something about the content. They're overpersuading.

Bergman. What kind of regulation do you advocate?

Stewart. Well, I can see regulation on time of showing TV commercials so that younger children are not exposed to them. I can see some regulation of content so that there is no symbolism of skiing, sporting, beautiful girls. I also would like to see the message added to it that cigarettes are hazardous to your health.

Emerson Foote. A law enacted by Congress requiring a stern health warning in all cigarette advertising, a warning such as: "Cigarette smoking frequently leads to disease and death" might well result in the disappearance of cigarette advertising because those who pay for cigarette advertising might not wish to see such warnings fastened to it. I hope this will be the case.

But if cigarette manufacturers elect to continue advertising with such a warning as I've just suggested, an integral part of their copy, I feel sure it will do us more good than it will do them. One way or another, the disastrous effect of cigarette advertising on the health of our people, present and future, must be done away with.

BERGMAN. More points of view on how to deal with the hazards of smoking.

Thank you, gentlemen, for being with us today on Issues and Answers.

ANNOUNCER. Our guests were Sir George E. Godber, Chief Medical Officer of the British Ministry of Health; Dr. Lurther Terry, former Surgeon General of the United States; and Senator Frank Moss, Democrat of Utah. They were interviewed by ABC News Science Editor Jules Bergman.

SENATE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Clifford Francis Custer, former minister of the Tracy Presbyterian Church, now minister at large, San Jose, Calif., offered the following prayer:

God of our fathers, author of liberty, spirit of wisdom and truth, we pray Thy blessing upon each Senator of these United States. Grant that they who bear the awesome responsibility of representing the citizens of our land and of molding in great measure the destiny of Thy world may have the clear guidance of Thy spirit in these days of domestic strife and international conflict.

Give them the costly courage to damn tyranny—even when that tyranny is politically attractive, to stand for hard truth when easy falsehood promises personal gain but national loss. So illumine and inspire them that they may be judged by history as a Senate which found Thy will and followed it, and left the land they served closer to peace, more truly united under Thee.

We thank Thee, O Father, for every holder of this honored office. May the blessing of Thy love and holy spirit rest upon each one, today and always.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1160) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 188) creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials.

The message further announced that the House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8718) to increase the annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia and to provide a method for computing the annual borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. McMILLAN, Mr. ABERNETHY, Mr. WHITENER, Mr. NELSEN, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, and Mr. HARSHA were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11816) to provide certain benefits for law-enforcement officers not employed by the United States who are killed or injured while apprehending violators of Federal law; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. ASHMORE, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. TENZER, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. SMITH of New York, Mr. MESKILL, and Mr. SANDMAN were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 21, 1967, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Arthur J. Goldberg, of Illinois; William B. Buffum, of Maryland; L. H. FOUNTAIN, U.S. Representative from the State of North Carolina; WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, U.S. Representative from the State of Michigan; and Adrian S. Fisher, of the District of Columbia, to be representatives of the United States of America to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations; and

I. W. Abel, of Pennsylvania, Robert S. Benjamin, of New York, Hector P. Garcia, of Texas, Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, of the District of Columbia, and Herbert R. O'Conor, Jr., of Maryland, to be alternate representatives of the United States of America to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Thomas H. Nielsen, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

U.S. ARMY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Chaplain Ned Ralston Graves (colonel), U.S. Army, to be brigadier general.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK—AIR FORCE, ARMY, NAVY AND MARINE CORPS, AND MARINE CORPS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Air Force, the Army, the Navy and Marine Corps, and the Marine Corps, which had been placed on the Secretary's desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

UNITED NATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Committee on Foreign Relations this morning reported the nominations of the U.S. representatives to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I have cleared them with the distinguished minority leader.

I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The legislative clerk read the following nominations:

The following-named persons to be representatives of the United States of America to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Arthur J. Goldberg, of Illinois.

William B. Buffum, of Maryland.

L. H. Fountain, U. S. Representative from the State of North Carolina.

William S. Broomfield, U.S. Representative from the State of Michigan.

Adrian S. Fisher, of the District of Columbia.

The following-named persons to be alternate representatives of the United States of America to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

I. W. Abel, of Pennsylvania.

Robert S. Benjamin, of New York.

Hector P. Garcia, of Texas.

Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, of the District of Columbia.

Herbert R. O'Conor, Jr., of Mayland.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Under authority of the order of the Senate of September 21, 1967,

The Secretary of the Senate, on September 21, 1967, received the following message from the House of Representatives:

That the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills; and they were signed by the Vice President:

H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12257. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and expand the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to authorize assistance in establishment and operation of a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults, and to provide assistance for migrants.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL—WITHDRAWAL OF NOMINATION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 21, 1967, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 1956) to extend for 1 year the authority for more flexible regulation of maximum rates of interest or dividends, higher reserve requirements, and open market operations in agency issues; and withdrawing the nomination of Kenneth V. Petro, to be postmaster at Lakeport, Calif.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON OVEREXPENDITURE OF AN APPROPRIATION

A letter from the Public Printer, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, that the appropriation to the Government Printing Office for the fiscal year 1967 has been overexpended; to the Committee on Appropriations.

AIR FORCE MILITARY CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, reporting, pursuant to law, the total military construction contracts awarded by competition by the Department of the Air Force during the 6-month period January 1, 1967 through June 30, 1967; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A letter from the Executive Secretary, Public Service Commission of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on savings available if the Commodity Credit Corporation recovers interest costs on repaid price-support loans and on storage facility and equipment loans, Department of Agriculture, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of projects showing need for improvements in planning and supervision, Agency for International Development, Department of State, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the need for improved planning and surveillance of economic development projects in India, Agency for International Development, Department of State, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON CLAIMS SETTLED UNDER THE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES' CLAIMS ACT OF 1964

A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims settled under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the period September 1, 1964, through June 30, 1965, and fiscal years 1966 and 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A letter from the Director of the U.S. Information Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, report of claims settled by this Agency during period September 1, 1966 through August 31, 1967 (with an accompanying report) to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT ON PROGRAM FOR SHARING MEDICAL FACILITIES

A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the activities of the Veterans' Administration during fiscal year 1967 in connection with programs for sharing medical facilities and the exchange of medical information (with an accompanying report) to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

BILL INTRODUCED

A bill was introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. GRUENING (for himself, Mr. Fong, and Mr. Inouye):

S. 2454. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920 in order to exempt from the provisions of such section the transportation of merchandise between points in the State of Alaska and points in the State of Hawaii; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Gruening when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

ALASKA AND HAWAII MUST BE LOOSED, AT LEAST IN PART, FROM THE SHACKLES OF THE JONES ACT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the two newest States of the Union—Alaska and Hawaii—although strikingly different in climate are marvelously complementary in terms of natural resources and consumer requirements.

One thing Alaska and Hawaii have in common is the fact that each is noncontiguous to the continental United States and must depend almost completely on water transportation for the importation of everything needed to keep the State and its citizens alive. Although Alaska can be reached by overland transportation from the "lower 48," for purposes of importing merchandise, Alaska is almost as much an island as are the islands of Hawaii.

A distressing consequence of the facts of noncontiguity with the continental United States and dependence on water carriers for freight movement to the economy of both States is that costs of transportation are so extremely high that, especially in the case of Alaska, our people suffer from an unduly inflated cost of living. The Federal Maritime Commission has recently issued a study of the Alaska trade which demonstrates, with facts and figures researched and compiled by the Commission staff, that water transportation costs add an onerous burden to the cost of buying everything that must be imported into the State. Alaskans are seeking ways of reducing these costs. With the advice of the Federal Maritime Commission now published we are exploring possibilities of improving port facilities and otherwise encouraging the introduction of competition in the trade now completely lacking in the southeast and northwest sections of the State, a development which could bring lower costs. More than 4 years ago the infant State of Alaska bonded itself in an amount of $23,000,000 to construct an imaginative and extremely useful marine highway—a system of ferries serving southeast ports which provides a framework for, hopefully, expanded and improved freight transportation at lower cost for this area.

Alaska's principal problem, borne out by the findings of the Federal Maritime Commission, has been the existence in the past of an absolute monopoly of Alaska water transportation by one Seattle-based company—the Alaska Steamship Co. Competition has improved that situation in parts of Alaska, namely the rail belt, but not in other parts of Alaska where the monopoly persists. Having no need to provide improved service at lower rates in those other areas, southeastern and northwestern Alaska, the tariffs have kept going up and up and up over the years in one increase after another. The predictable result has been that development of Alaska's resources of mineral and other natural wealth has been retarded, while the cost of living continues to rise. High transportation costs have prevented or impeded efforts at resource development that could well have advanced Alaska's progress a generation ahead of its 1967 status.

While Alaska has suffered especially from this source of unreasonable freight costs, another obstacle has made it impossible to reduce these costs—an obstacle also encountered by the State of Hawaii.

That is the restrictive effect of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920—the law which prohibits shipment of merchandise between domestic ports in vessels under foreign registry. Thus, neither Alaska nor Hawaii can gain the advantage of lower transportation costs which might be available if foreign freighters passing by both States on the way to foreign ports could be allowed to discharge cargo originating at commercial centers of the continental States.

The protection of our domestic shipbuilding industry and its workers has long been recognized as essential to the defense and the economy of many parts of the Nation. This policy has served well to achieve objectives for which it was designed.

However, the time has now come to examine the validity of the premise of the cabotage laws as applied to trade with Alaska and Hawaii—new States in a state of political and economic development undreamed of at the time section 27 was first enacted. As the natural resources of Alaska have been explored and developed and as the economy and population of the State of Hawaii have grown it becomes apparent the latter need the former and that trade between the two new States could be vastly expanded to the benefit of both. Hawaii needs the mineral, timber, and fuel resources abundant in Alaska and lacking in Hawaii while Alaska could be the beneficiary of fruits, vegetables, and other products of Hawaii. The economy of Alaska, long stifled and restrained by the high cost of doing business there, could be healthily stimulated by the growth of new markets in Hawaii, which, in turn, could benefit by receiving directly such products as liquefied natural gas which it needs and Alaska is about to produce, if a cheaper form of water transportation were made available to move the cargo.

Unfortunately, this beneficial state of affairs cannot be achieved under the existing restrictions of the Jones Act.

This aspect of the water transportation problem has come dramatically to light with the increasing development of trade relations between Alaska and Japan. Japanese businessmen have long been active in the lumber industry of southeast Alaska. Their cargoes of timber products have been moving regularly for years from their plants at Wrangell and Sitka, via Japanese ships, to the industrial centers of Japan.

Last May two major petroleum companies announced the beginning of construction, in the Kenai Peninsula, of a great new plant for the liquefaction of natural gas, found in vast quantities in Alaska. At this time it is planned that the entire production of this plant will be shipped across the Pacific—to be delivered at a rate of 139 million cubic feet of gas a day—to Japan. Fuel-short Japan, which sought this supply of Alaska natural gas, will be supplied at a lower cost for this essential commodity by the liquefied gas of Alaska than it could be by other means explored.

As this product of the Kenai Peninsula of Alaska travels across the Pacific Ocean to Japan, it will pass right by another fuel-short region under the American flag—the State of Hawaii. The Hawaiians, as in the case of the Japanese, are seeking a supplemental supply of fuel to provide energy requirements of an ever-expanding economy and ever-growing population. But the Hawaiian citizens of the United States will have no chance at purchasing this greatly needed gas. This is because the tankers in which it is destined to travel to Japan will be constructed in Sweden. The necessity for construction of a specially designed vessel for this unusual trade caused the companies involved to seek the lowest cost ship construction available. As is common knowledge, U.S. ship construction costs are the highest in the world. If the liquefaction project is to be feasible at all, low-cost vessels are absolutely essential and U.S. construction is so costly as to be out of the question.

As in the case of shipping costs to Japan, so shipment to Hawaii from Alaska in American-built vessels would raise the price of Alaska's liquefied gas to a point at which the trade would not be economically feasible. However, Hawaii's need for low-cost fuel to provide low-cost power could be accommodated if the gas could be delivered in Hawaii as an intermediate transaction on the way of the vessel to Japan. How ironical that oriental countries can receive an American product at a far lower price than an American area, especially one which lies nearer the source of supply than are the Asian countries.

The same factor of exorbitant shipping costs via American-constructed vessels also prohibits shipment to Hawaii of Alaska's other resources, especially our badly needed forest products.

Since it is irrational to stifle the supply by Alaska of its sister State, Hawaii, of commodities needed by the people of Hawaii, I believe we must amend section 27 of the Jones Act to allow the use of foreign carriers in this important trade.

Accordingly, I introduce today a bill cosponsored by our colleagues from Hawaii, Senator FONG and Senator INOUYE, to remove—in part at least—the Jones Act shackles which now prevent a promising, thriving, industrial traffic between two States who need each other.

It is my reasoned judgment and hope that the opposition which has manifested itself in the past to changes in the Jones Act whenever Alaska has sought them should not and need not be mobilized against this legislation, for it is most unlikely that the American shipping industry would construct ships specifically to carry liquefied gas from Alaska to Hawaii. In other words, if this legislation becomes law, it should not curtail or interfere with any new development in our own merchant marine, but would improve the economy of both Alaska and Hawaii. It is to be hoped that these facts will be sufficiently appreciated so that this legislation may not run the gauntlet of the opponents of any substantial change in our cabotage laws.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2454) to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, in order to exempt from the provisions of such section the transportation of merchandise between points in the State of Alaska and points in the State of Hawaii, introduced by Mr. GRUENING (for himself, Mr. FONG, and Mr. INOUYE), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2454

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended (46 U.S.C. 883), is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof a colon and the following: "*And provided further,* That this section shall not apply to the transportation of merchandise between points in the State of Alaska and points in the State of Hawaii".

EXTENSION OF LIFE OF CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 338

Mr. THURMOND submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H.R. 10805) to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2431) to provide more effectively for the regulation of the use of, and for the preservation of safety and order within, the Executive Mansion and grounds, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2453) to facilitate the entry into the United States of aliens who are brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes. I make this request on behalf of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF AMENDMENT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of amendment No. 307, my amendment to S. 1125 which would allow a minimum annual allotment of $100,000 to each State for the education of the handicapped, the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

By Mr. THURMOND:

Editorial entitled "For ABM Policy U-Turn, McNamara Awakened Late," published in the Nashville Banner of September 20, 1967.

Editorial entitled "Defense Against Missiles," published in the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier of September 20, 1967.

By Mr. BYRD of Virginia:

Article entitled "More Politics Than Logic Seen in New Decisions," written by Crosby S. Noyes, and published in the Washington Evening Star of September 21, 1967.

Editorial entitled "Rat Act Reversal," published in the Richmond Times Dispatch of September 22, 1967.

By Mr. JACKSON:

Correspondence between C. Wilson Harder, president, National Federation of Independent Business and President Johnson, relating to proclamation of a day of recognition for firefighters.

By Mr. CHURCH:

Article entitled "Bureau of Land Management Uses Cost-Free Wire Winder," published in the Caldwell News-Tribune of Saturday, September 16, 1967.

FIFTY MONTHS IS TIME ENOUGH—SENATE SHOULD ACT NOW ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—CXLII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, 50 months ago today, on July 22, 1963, President Kennedy submitted to the Senate for this body's advice and consent three human rights conventions: Convention on Forced Labor, Convention on Political Rights of Women, and the Supplementary Convention to the Abolition of Slavery.

Now, after 50 months, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate is about to meet in executive session to consider the reporting of these three conventions to the full Senate.

I believe it would be especially appropriate at this time to recall the message of President Kennedy when he submitted these three conventions to the Senate:

> I have today transmitted to the Senate three conventions with a view to receiving advice and consent to ratification. These are:
>
> 1. The Supplementary Convention to the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, prepared under the direction of the United Nations in 1956, to which 49 nations are now parties.
>
> 2. The Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labor, adopted by the International Labor Organization in 1957, to which 60 nations are now parties.
>
> 3. The Convention on the Political Rights of Women, opened for signature by the United Nations, in 1953, to which 39 nations are now parties.

I might point out that in each case a large number of nations have ratified these individual conventions in addition to the ones that President Kennedy cited in his letter of more than 4 years ago.

The letter from President Kennedy goes on:

> United States law is, of course, already in conformity with these conventions, and ratification would not require any change in our domestic legislation. However, the fact that our Constitution already assures us of these rights does not entitle us to stand aloof from documents which project our own heritage on an international scale. The day-to-day unfolding of events makes it ever clearer that our own welfare is interrelated with the rights and freedoms assured the peoples of other nations.
>
> These conventions deal with human rights which may not yet be secure in other countries: they have provided models for the drafters of constitutions and laws in newly independent nations; and they have influenced the policies of governments preparing to accede to them. Thus, they involve current problems in many countries.
>
> They will stand as a sharp reminder of world opinion to all who may seek to violate the human rights they define. They also serve as a continuous commitment to respect these rights. There is no society so advanced that it no longer needs periodic recommitment to human rights.
>
> The United States cannot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny. Accordingly, I desire, with the constitutional consent of the Senate, to ratify these Conventions for the United States of America.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> John F. Kennedy.

NIKOLA PETKOV—VICTIM OF BULGARIAN COMMUNIST REGIME

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Nikola Petkov was the most courageous and consistent champion of democracy in the Balkans during the last war, and during the 2 postwar years, until his judicial murder by the Communist regime in Bulgaria. In taking such a stout stand he became the foremost foe of communism, and as such he was marked for liquidation by his heartless foes.

Toward the end of the last war Bulgarian politics was something of a tug-of-war, mostly between the Communists and anti-Communists. But when the country was "liberated" by the advancing Red army, then it was clear that the Communists were to have the upper hand, to the definite disadvantage of all other groups. Among these was the Agrarian Party, with its large following led by Nikola Petkov. It was the most powerful party, and its leader thought that in any open show of hand, or elections, he and his party would win out. But Petkov and his associates did not realize at the time that when dealing with Communists the majorities and popular following do not always count, for with the Communists force has usually been the decisive factor in their dealings with their adversaries. Having no scruples, the Communists rely on steamroller tactics, smothering all opposition.

The postwar regime installed in Bulgaria was Communist, backed to the hilt by the Soviet authorities. Even though Communists formed a small part of the population, and were not even strong enough to fill all Government posts, they managed to control all important and key posts throughout the country. To maintain their control, they resorted to all sorts of tricks and treachery, always accusing their opponents as "enemies of the people," and stooges of imperialists, their goal being to discredit the leaders of their adversaries, and then to liquidate them. By such tactics they succeeded in the course of 2 years in silencing and then eliminating all their critics except Nikola Petkov.

For more than a year the rump Parliament, the result of a rigged election, kept the appearance of democracy of a sort in the country. Petkov himself was a member of this Parliament, and was most critical of the way matters were handled. He was a disturbing and discordant factor in Government, and on one occasion Prime Minister Dimitrov warned Petkov that he would "lose his head" if he did not put a stop to his criticism of the Government. Unhappily Dimitrov kept his word, for early in June 1947 Petkov was arrested, tried on certain trumped-up charges, and then hanged on September 23. Today in recalling the passing of this gallant spokesman of freedom in Communist-dominated Bulgaria, we pay tribute to his memory.

EXCELLENT POSTAL SERVICE PROVIDED AMERICAN SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I should like to comment this morning on what appears to me to be the very excellent postal service being provided American servicemen in Vietnam. In recent months, I have received mail from Vietnam with some regularity, and I have been well impressed with the expeditious way in which it has been handled.

This week I received a letter on Wednesday, September 20, which had been written and dated in Vietnam on Sunday, September 17. I was even more impressed with that record of mail service—a letter written by an enlisted marine in Vietnam on Sunday, September 17 being delivered here in Washington on Wednesday, September 20. Sometimes it takes almost that long to get a letter from Alexandria across the Potomac over here to the city of Washington.

When we realize that Vietnam is some 12,000 miles away from Nation's Capital, I think it worthy of mention in the Senate that our military personnel are being supplied with very rapid mail service in Vietnam.

In that connection, in checking on the matter this morning, it is my understanding that the Army has the single managerial responsibility for the handling of the military mail. Of course, it is a joint endeavor once it reaches the United States. Then the Post Office Department takes charge of it.

So I would like this morning to commend those who handle the military mail from Vietnam, both those in the postal service and those in the military service.

I should like to read into the Record the names of those officers, first, who have overall responsibility in the handling of this Vietnam mail.

For the Army, it is Lt. Col. John M. Godwin.

For the Air Force, it is Col. Andrew Di Antonio.

For the Navy it is Lt. Cmdr. William R. Knapp.

For the Marines, 1st Lt. Paul Siemsko.

The responsibility for the Far East Postal Service rests in the following officers:

For the Army, Lt. Col. Paul Wildman.

For the Air Force, Lt. Col. Perry McElroy.

For the Navy, Lt. Owen R. Smith.

For the Marines, 1st Lt. Orville L. Sayre.

It seems to me it is vitally important to the morale of our troops in the field that they do have fast and good mail service. It is also important to the morale of the parents here in the United States that this mail be handled with rapidity.

I think it is also desirable that the Congress arrange that the mail from the serviceman in Vietnam should come postage free. This tends to encourage the serviceman to communicate with his family and his friends, not just because of the elimination of the cost involved in a postage stamp, but because of the convenience in not having to concern himself with putting stamps on his mail.

Again I want to commend those who have the responsibility of getting mail to and from the military personnel in Vietnam.

My impression, from the large number of letters which I have received from Vietnam, is that the postal service is being handled in a very able way.

Since Vietnam has been mentioned, I should like to cite the casualties of last week. Slightly more than 2,000 Americans were casualties in Vietnam this past week; that is both killed and wounded.

I wish to state for the record also, Mr. President, the figures for the period January 1, 1967, to September 16, 1967. During that 8½-month period, U.S. casualties totaled 52,426. For the period, the casualties among the South Vietnamese totaled 29,278.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

EFFORTS TO INTIMIDATE CONGRESS SHOULD BE REBUFFED

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the continuing efforts of groups that seek special privileges to disturb the work of Congress constitute a growing menace to our cherished democratic way of life. A few days ago, demonstrators opposing their country's policies in Vietnam dropped leaflets from the Senate gallery. This week, what the press described as "angry welfare recipients" staged a wait-in or a sit-in demonstration in the hearing room of the Senate Finance Committee. They did so because they objected to proposals that would cause some of those on relief to have to go to work, and that would limit the number of children on welfare.

Mr. President, where are these disorders taking us? To what is the Congress to be subjected next? I, for one, do not regard such pressure techniques lightly. I am dismayed that so many persons in positions of responsibility and authority exhibit such timid toleration for sit-ins, lie-ins, wait-ins, and drop-ins.

Unless we act to stop them, these things may well become throw-ins or shoot-ins. For I am convinced that inaction against them can only lead to a more difficult and more serious situation. If those who can take action against these revolutionary developments do not do so, they may well find that they have permitted a new kind of Frankenstein's monster to be created in our midst.

It is time, Mr. President, for the Members of Congress and for public officials in all branches of the Government not only to speak out against such mob demonstrations, but also to take appropriate action to prevent them. The orderly processes of government must go on without such interruptions. I would not wish to visit retribution on persons such as those misguided women who demonstrated in the Senate Finance Committee room; but I think it should be made clear to them and to others that such efforts at intimidation will not be permitted and will not be tolerated by the Congress of the United States. I think it should further be made clear to them and to all who may think they can gain their dubious ends by demonstrations and threats that such displays serve only to prejudice Members of Congress, as well as to prejudice a wide segment of the public, against their cause. Those who participate in such activities, in short, hurt rather than help themselves; and in so doing, they hurt this Republic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I believe, Mr. President, that there is a sinister design in these growing efforts to interrupt, to disrupt, to harass, and to intimidate. In my opinion, they fit into a revolutionary pattern inspired, if not planned, by those who would drastically change our system and our way of life.

Almost a year ago, I warned on this floor that a "strategy for political crisis" was being advocated by certain individuals and groups who would like to see welfare recipients organized to blackmail Congress. I referred, in that speech last year, to an article written by Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven entitled "A Strategy to End Poverty." I believe that the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche] also, at that time, about a year ago, made reference to the same article, written by Cloward and Piven, which appeared in the May 2, 1966, issue of the Nation. I refer to it again today.

Mr. Cloward was then a professor of social work and Mrs. Piven was a research associate in the Columbia University School of Social Work. I quote again today from their article, which I brought to the Senate's attention last year:

> How can the poor be organized to press for relief from poverty? How can a broad-based movement be developed . . . It is our purpose to advance a strategy which affords the basis for a convergence of civil rights organizations, militant anti-poverty groups and the poor. If this strategy were implemented a political crisis would result that could lead to legislation for a guaranteed annual income and thus an end to poverty.
>
> The strategy is based on the fact that a vast discrepancy exists between the benefits to which people are entitled under public welfare programs and the sums which they actually receive.
>
> The discrepancy is not an accident stemming from bureaucratic inefficiency; rather, it is an integral feature of the welfare system which, if challenged, would precipitate a profound financial and political crisis. The force for that challenge, and the strategy we propose, is a massive drive to recruit the poor *onto* the welfare rolls . . .
>
> The right to income must be guaranteed, or the oppression of the welfare poor will not be eliminated . . .
>
> In order to generate a crisis, the poor must obtain benefits which they have forfeited . . .
>
> The idea of "welfare rights" has begun to attract attention in many liberal circles . . .
>
> By crisis, we mean a *publicly visible* disruption in some institutional sphere. Crisis can occur spontaneously (e.g., riots) or as the intended result of tactics of demonstration and protest which either generate institutional disruption or bring unrecognized disruption to public attention. Public trouble is political liability; it calls for action by political leaders to stabilize the situation. Because crisis usually creates or exposes conflict, it threatens to produce cleavages in a political consensus which politicians will ordinarily act to avert.

So, Mr. President, what is being proposed by the authors of this article, as I stated previously, is a revolution, a destruction of established systems, and I repeat that statement and that warning today.

Since the time that I spoke on the floor of the Senate last year, we have seen this plan implemented, to a degree at least, by the riots, by the demonstrations conducted on the part of and participated in by welfare recipients, by the stimulation of demonstrations by some anti-poverty groups, and by the most recent sit-in in the Senate Finance Committee room.

The "irate welfare mothers," as the press called the demonstrators who attempted to force their demands on the Senate Finance Committee, seem to me to fit precisely into the announced strategy for political crisis.

These are not just spontaneous things that are happening by accident. They are outrageous things that are happening according to a calculated plan.

It is a strategy of intimidation and political blackmail to which all of us submit only at our peril.

Threats, such as the Finance Committee demonstrators made, that there would be a "holocaust in every city" if certain welfare changes do become law, are as offensive and as abominable to me—and should be to every right-thinking American—as the growing demand for something for nothing and the threats by black power advocates. In my opinion, these things can no longer be shrugged off, nor dismissed. I do not think they can be accepted as just a part of the times in which we live. I think they should be cause for serious alarm in the executive branch. They should be cause for serious alarm in the legislative branch. And they should be cause for serious alarm in the judicial branch.

These disturbing developments are part of the overall strategy of revolution that is developing in this country and that has been developing in this country clearly now for the past 3 or 4 years—a revolution which began with the first intentional mass violation of a municipal ordinance in American cities, a revolution that began with the first march down the streets under the pretense of so-called civil disobedience, a revolution that was encouraged by many well-thinking, but misguided, citizens who encouraged and joined with publicity-seeking agitators in an epidemic of demonstrations often in violation not only of local laws and State statutes but also of court orders. There the wind was sown; we are now reaping the whirlwind.

Mr. President, Edwin Markham wrote a bit of verse which I feel may have presaged the alarming things that are beginning to happen in this Republic. Markham may not have foreseen the decline of this Republic, but his poem was indeed prophetic. I shall attempt at this moment to recall it:

The Fear for Thee, My Country

In storied Venice, where the night repeats
The heaven of stars down all her rippling streets,
Stood the great Bell Tower, fronting seas and skies—
Fronting the ages, drawing all men's eyes;
Rooted like Teneriffe, aloft and proud,
Taunting the lightning, tearing the flying cloud.

It marked the hours for Venice: all men said
Time cannot reach to bow that lofty head:
Time, that shall touch all else with ruin, must
Forbear to make this shaft confess its dust.
Yet all the while, in secret, without sound,
The fat worms gnawed the timbers underground.

The twisting worm, whose epoch is an hour,
Caverned his way into the mighty tower;
Till suddenly it shook, it swayed, it broke,
And fell in darkening thunder at one stroke.
The strong shaft, with an angel on the crown,
Fell ruining: a thousand years went down!

And so I fear, my country, not the hand
That shall hurl night and whirlwind on the land;
I fear not Titan traitors who shall rise
To stride like Brocken shadows on our skies;
These we can face in open fight, withstand
With reddening rampart and the sworded hand.

I fear the vermin that shall undermine
Senate and citadel and school and shrine—
The Worm of Greed, the fatted Worm of Ease,
And all the crawling progeny of these—
The vermin that shall honeycomb the towers
And walls of State in unsuspecting hours.

Mr. President, in my humble judgment, what we are witnessing in America today is in many ways summed up in Edwin Markham's lines.

The worm of greed—the spreading desire to get something for nothing—and the proliferating worm of ease are insidiously gnawing at the roots of the Republic. And all the crawling progeny of these are threatening the structure itself.

It seems to me no mere poetic license to liken the threatmakers, the rioters, and the inciters to vermin that are honeycombing the fabric of this Nation. And once the foundation is undermined, the fabric must fold.

Mr. President, it is my opinion that Congress and the Nation have had enough of threats from agitators of any stripe who propose to set off new holocausts in our cities if Congress does or does not take certain actions.

The time is now for men in this Government to take a stand and for the people of the United States to become aroused.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the articles from the newspapers to which I have alluded; also, that additional extracts from the article which appeared in the Nation, authored by Cloward and Piven, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 20, 1967]

Irate Welfare Mothers Hold "Wait-In"

(By Eve Edstrom)

A bitter band of welfare mothers staged a "wait-in" for the entire Senate Finance Committee yesterday after testifying that there would be a "holocaust in every city" if restrictive House-passed welfare changes become law.

Angered because only two Committee members heard their noontime testimony opposing House-approved work requirements for mothers and a freeze on welfare for children, they refused to budge from the Committee hearing room from 1 p.m. until 3:45 p.m.

With police ringing both the hearing room and outside corridors, the mothers, some with youngsters in their arms, finally walked out.

George A. Wiley, director of the Poverty Rights Action Center here who had mobilized the mothers, said they left because Capitol police threatened them with "arrest for unlawful entry."

The hearing on the Social Security and welfare package had been scheduled to resume at 2 p.m. with other witnesses. But with the mothers insisting on finishing their testimony, reporters were barred from the hearing room and camera crews were ordered to leave the area. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long (D-La.) entered about 2:45 p.m. to formally recess the hearing until today.

Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, who lives in the Watts section of Los Angeles and is chairman of the National Welfare Rights Organization that Wiley has organized, said Long was "very angry and red in the face." Others reported that he banged the gavel so hard that its head flew off.

In a statement issued for delivery to Long, Mrs. Tillmon asked, "What happened to the hearing?" noted that her group had been "peaceful and patient," and had thought Long was "intelligent enough to listen to both sides."

Long and Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.) had listened to the mothers for an hour, longer than any other public witnesses. The mothers were unmoved by Harris' explanation that other Senators were absent because they were voting on a money bill that included funds for model cities and rent supplements.

"Look at all those empty seats," said Mrs. Hazel Leslie of Philadelphia. "We're just being completely ignored. They don't want to hear what we have to say."

Mrs. Etta Horn of Washington said the Nation's Capital is a "powder keg" that will "blow" if the Senate approves House-passed welfare measures that would force mothers to work and freeze the number of children on relief.

"The only time you listen to it is when the cities are burning and the people are dying," she said. "The time to listen is now."

TERRIBLE DISGRACE

She declared the welfare bill is a "terrible disgrace" because it says that "children in America are not to be fed but if they live long enough they can fight for their country."

Mrs. Alice Nixon of Pittsburgh asked "why not take your heads out of the sand" and then "you will stop wondering why we're burning down our houses."

The people in the ghettos are going to stop mumbling," she said. ". . . There's coming a time when your children are going to have to suffer, too."

Beulah Sanders of New York City said the present welfare system is "rotten." But she said it isn't going to be improved by training programs that lead to dead-end jobs and by forcing mothers out of the home so their children are on the streets and are picked up by police.

"We can't live by your law," she said. "Get rid of that bill. Give us a guaranteed income, give us jobs with a future."

Mrs. Dorothy DiMascio of Rochester, N.Y., described the welfare restrictions as a "dictatorship" that imposes changes on "our lives, our children, our husbands and yet we haven't been asked about them."

The welfare amendments, aimed at reducing spiraling relief rolls, were hammered out in closed sessions of the House Ways and Means Committee and brought up on the House floor under a rule that permitted no changes.

JAVITS ASKS REFORMS

In earlier testimony, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) called for "welfare reform, not punitive action." He proposed spending $10 million to experiment with a children's allowance system, similar to payments now in existence in 40 countries.

Another indictment of the welfare amendments was delivered by AFL–CIO President George Meany. He criticized them as a "seriously misguided effort" to force mothers and older children into a "very badly conceived work and training program."

But most of Meany's testimony was concentrated on the House cuts in President

Johnson's proposed cash increases for Social Security beneficiaries.

Meany said the House-passed 12½ per cent increase would leave most beneficiaries "in the mire of poverty." The President's proposed increase of 15 to 20 per cent would be a modest down-payment toward the 50-per-cent boost that is required for an adequate level of payments, he said.

Meany recommended raising the wage base for Social Security taxes even higher than the President proposed. But he said the tax rates are probably the maximum that workers should be expected to pay. Therefore, he said, there should be a gradual introduction of general revenue funds into the Social Security system.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce spokesman Henry H. Chase testified for a 9-to-10-percent Social Security increase without raising the taxable wage base.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 21, 1967]

Protesting Welfare Mothers Rebuked

(By Eve Edstrom)

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long (D-La.) declared yesterday that protesting welfare mothers had "hurt their own case" by their "deliberately insulting" behavior.

Neither his Committee nor Congress, he said, would be "intimidated" into bowing to their demands for changes in House-approved restrictive welfare measures.

"If they can find time to march in the streets, picket, and sit all day in committee hearing rooms, they can find time to do some useful work," Long said.

The mothers, representing the National Welfare Rights Organization, staged a three-hour "wait-in" at the Finance Committee's hearing room Tuesday. They wanted more Senators to hear their objections to House-passed measures that would force mothers on relief to go to work and would limit the number of children on relief.

After being threatened with arrest by Capitol police they left but returned yesterday when hearings on the Social Security welfare package resumed. Police barred them from entering the hearing room.

Inside, Long was being lauded as a friend of the poor. The leadoff witness was Rep. Phillip Burton (Calif.), one of the most liberal Democrats in the House.

He declared that Long was "responsible for helping more poor people receive some measure of economic security than any member" of either the House or Senate.

Burton was followed by New York Welfare Commissioner George K. Wyman who agreed with Long that the mothers had hurt their cause. Later, in an interview, Wyman said "you don't kick your friends in the teeth," and that the mothers conduct would "adversely affect the attitude of the Committee."

The Administration, along with numerous national welfare leaders, hoped that Long's Committee would soften the House welfare provisions.

But Long, in a televised broadcast, said, "We don't intend to help those who refuse to help themselves," that they could be "picking up litter in front of their homes" instead of impeding the work of Congress.

Meanwhile, the mothers had moved across the street from the Senate Office building for sidewalk interviews. They were accompanied by George A. Wiley, director of the Poverty Rights Action Center in Washington, who created the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Wiley and Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, chairman of the national mothers' organization and a resident of the Watts section of Los Angeles, said the women would return to their home communities where they would hold their own hearings to show "what a rotten mess welfare is."

Mrs. Tillmon said that she would tell the people "what they have to do," and if this means trouble, "that's not my problem."

Yesterday's formal testimony also centered on the need to increase Social Security cash benefits beyond the 12½ per cent voted by the House and to eliminate restrictions on the Medicaid program of health care for the poor. Between 600,000 and 900,000 persons in New York would be denied medical benefits if the restrictions become law, Wyman said.

[From the Washington Star, Sept. 20, 1967]

Angry Welfare Group Holds Hill Sit-In

(By Barry Kalb)

A group of about 50 angry welfare recipients staged a 2½ hour sit-in in a hearing room of the Senate Finance Committee to demand more time for airing their opposition to House-approved welfare restrictions.

Members of the National Welfare Rights Organization, who had come to testify yesterday on a bill amending the Social Security Act, sat in the room from 1 p.m., when Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., adjourned the hearing, until 3:45, when police threatened them with arrest if they did not leave.

Other members of the welfare group—along with Capitol police and Metropolitan police—milled noisily in the hall outside the hearing chamber while the sit-in was in progress.

The bill in question contains two sections which would seriously affect welfare recipients.

One provision would require mothers on welfare to take job training, which, the welfare group contends, would force them to neglect their children.

The other would freeze aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) rolls at the Jan. 1, 1967 level.

POINT OF CONTROVERSY

Yesterday's controversy apparently arose over the question of what constitutes adequate testimony.

Harris said last night that the welfare group had been allowed more than 30 minutes to testify, while most witnesses are being allowed only 10 minutes.

He also said that by the time he adjourned the meeting, "the welfare group had ceased making affirmative statements, and had started to ask questions of me."

But Dr. George A. Wiley, executive director of the Poverty Rights Action Center in Washington, which coordinates the activities of the national organization, contended that a case like the present one cannot be adequately heard in the normal manner.

"TAKE HEARING TO PEOPLE"

"This hearing should be taken to the people," he said. "This so directly and vitally affects poor people, that I don't think this would be unheard of."

The welfare contingent, composed of Negroes and Puerto Ricans arrived in Washington Monday. Most of them are from East Coast cities, although the national chairman, Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, is from Los Angeles.

Wiley said that originally, only he was scheduled to testify. But when he went to the witness table, he said, he took six members of the group with him, and Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., allowed these women to speak in Wiley's place.

The hearing was interrupted several times by the roll call bell, and on one occasion, both Long and Harris, the only members of the committee present yesterday, left to go to the Senate floor.

Harris soon returned alone.

About 1 p.m., Harris announced that he was recessing the committee to answer another roll call, but that he would return in about an hour. Then, he said, he reversed himself, and announced that the hearing could be reconvened only at the discretion of Sen. Long.

Most of those in the room, under the impression that the hearing would soon resume, sat and waited for the afternoon session to begin, Wiley said. He said Harris' announcements were "ambiguous."

NEWSMEN BARRED

At this point Capitol police asked newsmen in the room to leave, and barred the entrances. The few members of the welfare group who left to get something to eat protested loudly when they were refused readmittance.

In the ensuing confusion, television crews said, Finance Committee counsel Thomas Vail pulled their power plugs and refused to let them continue filming outside the hearing room.

At 2:45, Long made a brief appearance, announced that the hearing was formally adjourned, and walked out.

Those in the room reported that Long banged his gavel so hard it broke, and Mrs. Hazel Leslie, chairman of the group's Philadelphia unit, said:

"He just stalked out. Was he ever livid."

JAVITS TALKS TO SOME

Then an aide of Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., appeared in the hall and said that the senator would speak with a contingent of welfare delegates from New York.

Five delegates went to Javits' office. They reported later that Javits told them, "I will try to arrange time for you to testify. I will do my best."

Javits said he would talk to Long personally, but by this time, over 50 policemen, including many usually on duty at the House office buildings, had arrived to clear the room in the New Senate Office Building.

At 3:45, the doors opened and the protestors filed out. Their colleagues cheered.

The protestors announced that police had threatened to arrest them for unlawful entry if they did not leave.

Wiley said his group would try to testify again, but most of those here yesterday had to leave for home. As Mrs. Meggie Nord of Brooklyn said, "I have a sick husband and five kids at home. I can't stay here."

Extracts From Cloward-Piven Article

How can the poor be organized to press for relief from poverty? How can a broad-based movement be developed and the current disarray of activist forces be halted? These questions confront, and confound, activists today. It is our purpose to advance a strategy which affords the basis for a convergence of civil rights organizations, militant anti-poverty groups and the poor. If this strategy were implemented, a political crisis would result that could lead to legislation for a guaranteed annual income and thus an end to poverty.

The strategy is based on the fact that a vast discrepancy exists between the benefits to which people are entitled under public welfare programs and the sums which they actually receive.

* * * * *

The discrepancy is not an accident stemming from bureaucratic inefficiency; rather, it is an integral feature of the welfare system which, if challenged, would precipitate a profound financial and political crisis. The force for that challenge, and the strategy we propose, is a massive drive to recruit the poor onto the welfare rolls.

The distribution of public assistance has been a local and state responsibility, and that accounts in large part for the abysmal character of welfare practices * * * public welfare systems try to keep their budgets down and their rolls low by failing to inform people of the rights available to them; by intimidating and shaming them to the degree that they are reluctant either to apply or to press claims, and by arbitrarily denying benefits to those who are eligible.

A series of welfare drives in large cities would, we believe, impel action on a new federal program to distribute income, eliminating the present public welfare system and alleviating the abject poverty which it perpetrates. Widespread campaigns to register the eligible poor for welfare aid, and to help existing recipients obtain their full benefits, would produce bureaucratic disruption in welfare agencies and fiscal disruption in local and state governments. These disruptions would generate severe political strains, and deepen existing divisions among elements in the big-city Democratic coalition: the remaining white middle class, the white working-class ethnic groups and the growing minority poor. To avoid a further weakening of that historic coalition, a national Democratic administration would be constrained to advance a federal solution to poverty that would override local welfare failures, local class and racial conflicts and local revenue dilemmas. By the integral disruption of local bureaucratic practices, by the furor over public welfare poverty, and by the collapse of current financing arrangements, powerful forces can be generated for major economic reforms at the national level.

The ultimate objective of this strategy—to wipe out poverty by establishing a guaranteed annual income—will be questioned by some. Because the ideal of individual social and economic mobility has deep roots, even activists seem reluctant to call for national programs to eliminate poverty by the outright redistribution of income * * * many of the contemporary poor will not rise from poverty by organizing to bargain collectively. They either are not in the labor force or are in such marginal and dispersed occupations (e.g., domestic servants) that it is extremely difficult to organize them. Compared with other groups, then, many of today's poor cannot secure a redistribution of income by organizing within the institution of private enterprises. A federal program of income redistribution has become necessary to elevate the poor en masse from poverty * * * the right to income must be guaranteed, or the oppression of the welfare poor will not be eliminated. Because benefits are conditional under the present public welfare system, submission to arbitrary government power is regularly made the price of sustenance. People have been coerced into attending literacy classes or participating in medical or vocational rehabilitation regimes, on pain of having their benefits terminated. Men are forced into labor on virtually any terms lest they forfeit their welfare aid. One can prize literacy, health and work, while still vigorously opposing the right of government to compel compliance with these values.

Conditional benefits thus result in violations of civil liberties throughout the nation, and in a pervasive oppression of the poor.

* * * * *

In order to generate a crisis, the poor must obtain benefits which they have forfeited. Until now, they have been inhibited from asserting claims by self-protective devices within the welfare system: its capacity to limit information, to intimidate applicants, to demoralize recipients, and arbitrarily to deny lawful claims.

Ignorance of welfare rights can be attacked through a massive educational campaign. Brochures describing benefits in simple, clear language, and urging people to seek their full entitlements, should be distributed door to door in tenements and public housing projects, and deposited in stores, schools, churches and civic centers. Advertisements should be placed in newspapers; spot announcements should be made on radio. Leaders of social, religious, fraternal and political groups in the slums should also be enlisted to recruit the eligible to the rolls. The fact that the campaign is intended to inform people of their legal rights under a government program, that it is a civic education drive, will lend it legitimacy.

But information alone will not suffice. Organizers will have to become advocates in order to deal effectively with improper rejections and terminations. The advocate's task is to appraise the circumstances of each case, to argue its merits before welfare, to threaten legal action if satisfaction is not given. In some cases, it will be necessary to contest decisions by requesting a "fair hearing" before the appropriate state supervisory agency; it may occasionally be necessary to sue for redress in the courts. Hearings and court actions will require lawyers, many of whom, in cities like New York, can be recruited on a voluntary basis, especially under the banner of a movement to end poverty by a strategy of asserting legal rights. However, most cases will not require an expert knowledge of law, but only of welfare regulations; the rules can be learned by laymen, including welfare recipients themselves (who can help to man "information and advocacy" centers). To aid workers in these centers, handbooks should be prepared describing welfare rights and the tactics to employ in claiming them.

Advocacy must be supplemented by organized demonstrations to create a climate of militancy that will overcome the invidious and immobilizing attitudes which many potential recipients hold toward being "on welfare." In such a climate, many more poor people are likely to become their own advocates and will not need to rely on aid from organizers.

As the crisis develops, it will be important to use the mass media to inform the broader liberal community about the inefficiencies and injustices of welfare. For example, the system will not be able to process many new applicants because of cumbersome and often unconstitutional investigatory procedures (which cost 20c for every dollar disbursed). As delays mount, so should the public demand that a simplified affidavit supplant these procedures, so that the poor may certify to their condition. If the system reacts by making the proof of eligibility more difficult, the demand should be made that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare dispatch "eligibility registrars" to enforce federal statutes governing local programs. And throughout the crisis, the mass media should be used to advance arguments for a new federal income distribution program.

* * * * *

The idea of "welfare rights" has begun to attract attention in many liberal circles.

* * * * *

To generate an expressly political movement, cadres of aggressive organizers would have to come from the civil rights movement and the churches, from militant low-income organizations like those formed by the Industrial Areas Foundation (that is, by Saul Alinsky), and from other groups on the Left. These activists should be quick to see the difference between programs to redress individual grievances and a large-scale social-action campaign for national policy reform.

* * * * *

The plan has the extraordinary capability of yielding mass influence without mass participation, at least as the term "participation" is ordinarily understood. Mass influence in this case stems from the consumption of benefits and does not require that large groups of people be involved in regular organizational roles.

Moreover, this kind of mass influence is cumulative because benefits are continuous. Once eligibility for basic food and rent grants is established, the drain on local resources persists indefinitely.

* * * * *

The ultimate aim of this strategy is a new program for direct income distribution. What reason is there to expect that the federal government will enact such legislation in response to a crisis in the welfare system?

We ordinarily think of major legislation as taking form only through established electoral processes. We tend to overlook the force of crisis in precipitating legislative reform, partly because we lack a theoretical framework by which to understand the impact of major disruptions.

By crisis, we mean a publicly visible disruption in some institutional sphere. Crisis can occur spontaneously (e.g., riots) or as the intended result of tactics of demonstration and protest which either generate institutional disruption or bring unrecognized disruption to public attention. Public trouble is a political liability; it calls for action by political leaders to stabilize the situation. Because crisis usually creates or exposes conflict, it threatens to produce cleavages in a political consensus which politicians will ordinarly act to avert.

* * * * *

The electoral context which made crisis effective in the South is also to be found in the big cities of the nation today. Deep tensions have developed among groups comprising the political coalitions of the large cities—the historic stronghold of the Democratic Party. As a consequence, urban politicians no longer turn in the vote to national Democratic candidates with unfailing regularity. The marked defections revealed in the elections of the 1950s and which continued until the Johnson landslide of 1964 are a matter of great concern to the national party. Precisely because of this concern, a strategy to exacerbate still further the strains in the urban coalition can be expected to evoke a response from national leaders.

* * * * *

A crisis in public welfare would expose the tensions latent in this attenuated relationship between the ghetto vote and the urban party leadership, for it would thrust forward ghetto demands and back them with the threat of defections by voters who have so far remained both loyal and quiescent.

In the face of such a crisis, urban political leaders may well be paralyzed by a party apparatus which ties them to older constituent groups, even while the ranks of these groups are diminishing. The national Democratic leadership, however, is alert to the importance of the urban Negro vote, especially in national contests where the loyalty of other urban groups is weakening. Indeed, many of the legislative reforms of the Great Society can be understood as efforts, however feeble, to reinforce the allegiance of growing ghetto constituencies to the national Democratic Administration. In the thirties, Democrats began to put forward measures to circumvent the states in order to reach the big-city elements in the New Deal coalition; now it is becoming expedient to put forward measures to circumvent the weakened big-city mayors in order to reach the new minority poor.

Recent federal reforms have been impelled in part by widespread unrest in the ghetto, and instances of more aggressive Negro demands. But despite these signs that the ghetto vote may become less reliable in the future, there has been as yet no serious threat of massive defection. The national party has therefore not put much pressure on its urban branches to accommodate the minority poor. The resulting reforms have consequently been quite modest (e.g., the war against poverty, with its emphasis on the "involvement of the poor," is an effort to make the urban party apparatus somewhat more accommodating).

A welfare crisis would, of course, produce dramatic local political crisis, disrupting and exposing rifts among urban groups. Conservative Republicans are always ready to declaim the evils of the public welfare, and they would probably be the first to raise a hue and cry. But deeper and politically more telling conflicts would take place within the Democratic coalition. Whites—both working-class ethnic groups and many in the middle class—would be aroused against the ghetto poor, while liberal groups, which until recently have been comforted by the notion that the poor are few and, in any event, receiving the beneficent assistance of public welfare, would probably support the movement. Group conflict, spelling political crisis for the local party apparatus, would thus become acute as welfare rolls mounted and the strains on local budgets became more severe. In New York City, where the Mayor is now facing desperate revenue shortages, welfare expenditures are already second only to those for public education.

* * * * *

If this strategy for crisis would intensify group cleavages, a federal income solution would not further exacerbate them. The demands put forward during recent civil rights drives in the Northern cities aroused the opposition of huge majorities. Indeed, such fierce resistance was evoked (e.g., school boycotts followed by counter-boycotts), that accessions by political leaders would have provoked greater political turmoil than the protests themselves; for profound class and ethnic interests are at stake in the employment, educational and residential institutions of our society. By contrast, legislative measures to provide direct income to the poor would permit national Democratic leaders to cultivate ghetto constituencies without unduly antagonizing other urban groups, as is the case when the battle lines are drawn over schools, housing or jobs. Furthermore, a federal income program would not only redeem local governments from the immediate crisis but would permanently relieve them of the financially and politically onerous burdens of public welfare—a function which generates support from none and hostility from many, not least of all welfare recipients.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from West Virginia for his very effective and inspirational presentation of the problem which he has discussed.

Tragically, we are not within our country giving adequate recognition to the dangers that are directly facing us.

The many demonstrations that are taking place are attributed in many instances to alleged social injustices without any recognition being given to the fact that the character of the disorders and injustices is of an identical type.

The Senator from West Virginia mentioned the demonstration that took place on the floor of the Senate approximately 1 week ago. He mentioned the demonstration that was staged in the meeting room of the Committee on Finance approximately 2 days ago. In each instance, the demonstrators threatened that unless their demands were granted, disorders and disturbances would follow.

In the District of Columbia, yesterday and the day before yesterday, I believe, approximately 100 prisoners demonstrated.

The Senator from West Virginia mentioned the paper written last May by a Dr. Cloward and a Mr. Piven. That paper should be read by every citizen, especially by every Member of Congress. It urges civil disobedience.

I discussed the subject the day before yesterday, and I ask unanimous consent that a transcript of what I said at that time be printed in the Record at this point, in connection with what the Senator from West Virginia has said.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mr. Lausche. Mr. President, during the day there has been a discussion about the causes of riots, insurrection, and rebellion. A discussion was carried on by the Senator from New York dealing with what is the anatomy of riots. The impression is left that the cause of riots within our country should be laid to the misdeeds and misconduct and cruelty and inhumanity of our Government. I cannot go along with that charge.

Not one word is spoken about causes, except that which was just mentioned by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott]—that there are many who are not concerned about improving the housing, educational, recreational, and health facilities of our country, but are only concerned with the creation of disorder.

It is on this subject that I want to speak primarily at this time. Mr. President, I shall read, substantially, from an article written by Alice Widener and published in Barron's magazine. The title of the article is "The East-West Ballroom—A Report on the Second Conference of Socialist Scholars":

"While ordinary out-of-towners were registering at the reception desk in the main lobby of the Hotel Commodore in New York City, Friday evening, September 9, 1966, more than two thousand members of the Old and New Left were registering at tables set up in ballroom floor hallways to attend the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars."

Miss Widener further writes:

"The New Left movement in the country is generally described as a spontaneous, amorphous grouping of rebellious youth. It is not. Any observer who attended the conference during the week-end of September 9–11, would have recognized that most members of the New Left are activists who are instigated, controlled and manipulated by disciplined members of the Communist Party, working in a united front with Marxian ideologists."

This conference was held a little less than a year ago. I anticipate that there will be another one in October 1967. Two thousand Socialist scholars assembled at this annual conference of Socialist scholars.

I shall, as I proceed, invite the attention of Senators to arguments made at that conference. I read further:

"At the Socialist Scholars' discussion of 'poverty and powerlessness,' panelist James Haughton, director of the Harlem Unemployment Center, ranted into the microphone on the dais:"

I now call the Senate's attention specifically to what he said:

"Specifically, yes, the welfare system is rotten, but so is the whole American system rotten. You can't look anywhere in this country and see anything but rottenness. . . . Wherever the American octopus reaches out its tentacles, there you will find exploitation, cruelty, poverty, mass impoverishment."

"Dr. Haughton called for 'revolutionary change, not reform' . . . .

"The applause in the ballroom was deafening."

With due respect and humility, I ask, how do the words that are spoken in this Chamber differ from the words of this man, who labeled the U.S. Government an octopus, exploiting everywhere its tentacles could reach?

I repeat:

"Specifically, yes, the welfare system is rotten, but so is the whole American system rotten."

Mr. President, I reject those words. They are not true. They are not the words of a man who believes in our country. They are against our Government, and they indicate a purpose of those who uttered them to look toward the achievement of the destruction of this great system for the preservation of which so many lives have been given and so many bodies broken during the history of the existence of the Nation.

But this is not all that was said. I quote Alice Widener further:

"Haughton's impassioned speech had followed a calmly academic but insidiously dangerous paper presented by Prof. Richard A. Cloward of Columbia, whose work in sociology has greatly influenced the scandal-ridden, multi-million dollar Mobilization for Youth program in New York City, and also the multi-billion dollar federal Poverty Program and Job Corps project. Dr. Cloward is a member of Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, the group organized by Walter Reuther.

"Written with associate sociologist Frances Piven of Columbia, Dr. Cloward's paper for the Socialist Scholars opened with a call for a systematic strategy of 'irregular and disruptive tactics' among the poor, urging them to overburden city and state governments with their 'demands'."

Hear this noted sociologist, listened to by 2,000 people, making a call for a systematic strategy of irregular and disruptive techniques among the poor, urging them to overburden city and State governments with their demands.

It grows worse as the meeting goes on. It grows so bad that every lover of this country ought to become alarmed when he hears what has been said:

"Prof. Cloward explained that each welfare client in New York City is entitled under existing law to special benefits for clothing, blankets, etc. He said that in 1965 city special benefits welfare payments amounted to 'about $40 per client' and he called for each welfare client to demand $100 to $1,000 in such benefits."

Why demand $1,000 a month benefits, and, unless you get them, engage in disruptive demonstrations, if it is not for the purpose of paralyzing the normal operations of our Government?

He said there are now 550,000 welfare clients in the city, but that by 1967 there probably will be 600,000.

He tried to point out that 600,000 persons demonstrating can achieve their demands, because Government will give in, and give them whatever they ask for.

Cloward further went on to say that the previous month he had participated in "a national conference to organize the welfare recipients movement."

Mr. President, my query is: Does this indicate a sole purpose of trying to improve the social and economic life of the ones who protested, or is the purpose to create disorder and disruption, and thus paralyze the Government?

I come now to what is the most telling and most frightening part of what took place.

"The prospects—"

Outlined by Dr. Cloward—

"delighted Prof. William Ryan, formerly of Harvard, now of Yale, who described himself to the audience as 'a radical without portfolio.' He said, 'I have been enchanted with the Cloward strategy of blowing a fuse in the welfare agencies, housing developments, and among unmarried mothers. I wonder what would happen if there was a really systematic overload.' "

Overload of what? Overload of the demands made upon the Treasury.

Are we trying to put an overload upon the Treasury which some day might blow out the fuse?

I continue to read:

"When a member of the audience asked whether Dr. Cloward's strategy is a substitute for 'socialist organization of the proletariat, the industrial factory workers,' Dr. Frances Piven of Columbia replied from the dais: 'I really only want to make one point—the disruption of the system. Welfare rolls will begin to go up; welfare payments will begin to go up—the impact will be very, very sharp. The mounting welfare budget will increase taxes, force cities to turn to the federal government. We have to help people to make claims; for this they will organize and act.'"

Mr. President, my only purpose in discussing what took place at that Conference of Socialistic Scholars was to give one added element to this anatomy of riots. Our country has been humane and generous. It has tried diligently and effectively to help the poor.

There are those, however, who would gladly see the collapse of the Government and are prepared to place upon the Treasury a tax burden that will blow the fuse.

I do not propose to be stampeded. I want to help, but I am going to help within limits that are reasonable, without being intimidated and threatened by demonstrators. I want solely to perform my duty to my Government and to all the people of our Nation.

Mr. President, I subscribe to the words spoken by the Senator from Colorado. I want to go along in part with this program, but I do want it clearly understood that we should beware and should understand that if we continue to yield to demonstrations and riots artificially stimulated by socialistic scholars, as evidenced in this meeting in New York City, we will never satisfy the demands of those who are pounding on the doors of the U.S. Treasury for inordinate expenditures.

I should like to discuss the fiscal status of our country. However, I know that that subject has been adequately discussed in the past. Therefore, I shall not do so.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Our country was established with the understanding that through peaceful conferences by legislative bodies, social and economic advances would be made; the poor would be protected; the powerfully rich would be stopped whenever they attempted to use their power improperly. Through more than 170 years we have moved under that principle. Today, it is no longer that.

I am in the twilight of my life, and it is the first time, after 35 years of public service, that I am observing, practically every day, manifestations of the belief that peaceful methods, through our legislators and Congress, are improper in achieving goals.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I had compassion for the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], who alone was in the room the day before yesterday when he was told that unless the committee yields, there will be further disorder and violence.

Our citizenry must wake up; and the law enforcement officials must recognize that unless law and order is maintained, anarchy must come into existence. And when there is anarchy, the innocent individuals, the weak, are the ones who pay the price.

Golden liberty was the thought of our forefathers. Achieve your objectives through peaceful means. Cast aside the gun and the club and the bullet, and proceed in the democratic processes to achieve your end. That is no longer the principle that prevails. The principle is, "Create disaster wherever you can, and you will achieve your objective."

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from West Virginia for his brilliant presentation. The subject should be discussed every day on the floor of the Senate, and those who are precipitating and in many instances innocently participating in the demonstrations should be taught that they are the ones who will pay the most painful price if the process is continued. My commendations go to the Senator from West Virginia.

Does the Senator have the paper which quotes what one of the women said about "unless you give in, there will be further disorders?"

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I shall read the first paragraph of the article that the Senator from West Virginia asked to have printed the RECORD:

> A bitter band of welfare mothers staged a "wait-in" for the entire Senate Finance Committee yesterday after testifying that there would be a "holocaust in every city" if restrictive House-passed welfare changes become law.

A holocaust—the burning down of buildings, private and public, in every city in the Nation. Are we going to give in? If we do, we might as well turn out the lights, pull down the flag, and say that our democracy is gone.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the Senator from Ohio for his remarks.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia and the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

It is time that we start developing a sincere dialog in Congress, so that we can, through mandate of law, prevent the occurrences which have been taking place not only in Congress, but also throughout the vast expanse of this land.

The right of petition, guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States, is being subverted by those who seek its shelter. Before too long, this very important and sacred provision of our Constitution will be eroded by those it seeks to help, and eventually our Constitution, the sacred document which guarantees the establishment and endurance of all our institutions, will be no more, except in letter. The spirit will be stolen from it by those who trample upon it.

It is time that we in Congress assure to ourselves, and for the health of this country, in free deliberation, that these people will not come upon the Capitol, that these people will not come upon the grounds of the White House or any other Federal building, to try to disrupt the just and true deliberations on the part of those who have been entrusted to handle the helm of Government.

I am in sympathy with the bill which has been introduced and which is being considered by the Committee on Public Works, to try to develop a course of behavior which, if violated, will constitute a grave offense against the dignity of our institutions as guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States.

In addition to the legislation which is confined to behavior on the Capitol Grounds, I have introduced a separate measure which will prescribe a definite mandate for course of behavior on the White House Grounds, so that our Vice President and President can handle the affairs of Government without threats, without unfair demonstrations, without any demonstrations which violate the sanctity of the right of petition or take advantage of it unjustly.

Mr. President, I wish to commend the Senator from West Virginia for his very concrete and fine statement and for his observations in this respect.

It is about time that we in Congress put a glaring light upon this type of demonstration and that we encourage our State legislatures and our municipalities to pass laws and ordinances so that these demonstrations can be controlled within the purview and spirit of the right of petition so that our institutions will not be jeopardized by this undemocratic behavior on the part of many who want to subvert our Constitution and all that it stands for.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for 30 seconds?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I wish to commend the Senator from New Mexico for his statement.

Mr. President, I ask that the Senator permit me to become a cosponsor of the measure about which he spoke.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me briefly?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to thank the Senator for his kind reference to my speech.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I listened with interest to the speeches today, and I am delighted that emphasis has been placed on constitutional processes including the right to petition as against the forces of pressures and coercion. I think it is about time that these matters were faced up to. I think that it is about time, as do the Senator from New Mexico and my other colleagues, that we observe not only the spirit of the Constitution, but the letter as well. The Constitution has served this Republic very well since its adoption, and in my opinion it is just as good today, and applies with the same effect as it did in the beginning.

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S SPEECH BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Ambassador Goldberg made a speech before the General Assembly yesterday. The point of Ambassador Goldberg's speech before the General Assembly yesterday was that the Vietnamese problem is a world problem; that a solution in Vietnam would be in the interest of all nations.

I would hope, on the basis of this speech, which I thoroughly approve of because I think it is a sound step forward, that the United Nations would face up to its responsibility and stop placing the emphasis on other areas and other problems because in my opinion the most urgent problem facing the world is Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a fine editorial which was published in the Baltimore Sun of today, entitled "Goldberg's Restatement."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Goldberg's Restatement

The point of Ambassador Goldberg's speech before the General Assembly yesterday was that the Vietnamese problem is a world problem; that a solution in Vietnam would be in the interest of all nations, even the "micronations" of which Secretary General U Thant spoke the other day. Not that the United Nations is likely to agree to try to seek a solution. Russian opposition alone would prevent that, and many other countries are reluctant to involve themselves in so tangled and thorny a matter.

It was still proper for Mr. Goldberg to bring the issue up, and to put forward again, this time in the forum of the Assembly, the fundamental American position. This is that the Untied States wants peace talks, at any time and in any place, and that we continue to await any authoritative message from Hanoi that a cessation of the bombing would lead to negotiations. To many of his listeners this undoubtedly seemed sterile stuff, repeated so often as virtually to have lost meaning. But Mr. Goldberg insisted also on another aspect of the American policy. It is his Government's conviction, he said, that a military victory is not the answer in Vietnam. That is, he emphasized once more the still-limited nature of the American commitment—not a total war of annihilation, but war with force enough to persuade the enemy that he himself cannot win militarily, and so bring him to a settlement that neither destroys his own state nor permits him to achieve domination over another.

This portion of Mr. Goldberg's address will surely stick in some minds, even though the Assembly as a body is prevented from approving it.

UNITED STATES-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in our great concentration on the conflict in Vietnam, we tend to relegate our international situations to the background. With us, it is understandable that Vietnam should come first with us. By the same token, however, it should be recognized that other nations may also be preoccupied with issues of primary concern to them. Japan is a case in point. There is, at this time, a heavy pressure emanating from that nation for a prompt adjustment in the status of the Bonins—including the Volcanos—and the Ryukyu Islands.

The Senate will recall that the United States has administered these island groups since the end of World War II. We exercise this administrative authority, however, in the context of a treaty—commitment, to the effect that the islands remain Japanese territory and shall revert to full Japanese control at an appropriate time.

The question of what would be an appropriate time has been involved for many years with problems of security of the United States, Japan, and other nations of the western Pacific. During these years, the United States has developed at great cost on the island of Okinawa an enormous military base complex of immense power.

In remarks which I made in Japan last week I dwelt at some length on the question of Okinawa. Among other things, I suggested that it might be helpful to a satisfactory final Japanese-United States resolution of this question if there could be, first, a tripartite conference. First, we would know better what to do about the bases on Okinawa and when if we had an exchange of views, as among Japan, the United States, and the Soviet Union on the prospects for peace in the western Pacific and other questions of that region.

On the basis of an exploration of that kind, it seems to me that the United States could proceed with Japan, as we must at some point, to a satisfactory bilateral solution of the security issues which are involved in the Okinawan reversion. In a similar fashion, moreover, it seems to me that Japan and the Soviet Union might also subsequently be able to find a satisfactory bilateral settlement of the problem of the Habomais and Shikotan, Etorofu and Kunashiri—the southern Kuriles—all islands which are claimed by Japan but are held by the Soviet Union at the northern end of the Japanese chain.

There was considerable disagreement expressed in the Japanese press and elsewhere with the proposed tripartite approach. In general, the disagreement appeared to arise primarily from a Japanese concern about possible complications or a postponement in the settlement of the Okinawan problem. The Japanese clearly desire to have Okinawa returned to Japanese control without delay.

I can understand these anxieties, Mr. President, and insofar as the nonmilitary aspects of the Okinawan question are involved, I do not think, as I made clear in my statement, that there ought to be any undue delay in seeking agreement. However, I still think that the possibilities of arriving at a sensible bilateral resolution of the military aspect of the Okinawan problem, as between Japan and the United States, would be greatly enhanced by a better understanding of Soviet intentions and other insights which might result from a prior tripartite meeting.

In any event, Mr. President, the discussion which has been stimulated by the proposal for a tripartite conference seems to me to be a contribution to clearing the air of United States-Japanese relations and to bringing the issue into a better perspective. In spite of Vietnam, Mr. President, I would urge that the matter be pursued most attentively. The issue of Okinawa has become, quite suddenly, a central problem in the U.S. relationship with Japan. And there is no other relationship of greater significance to the interests of the United States in the Pacific and to the peace of that region.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address to the Japanese-American Assembly on United States-Japanese relations which was given on September 15, 1967, in Shimoda, Japan, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

United States-Japanese Relations: Properties, Problems, and Prospects

(Address of Senator Mike Mansfield before the Japanese-American Assembly, Shimoda, Japan, September 15, 1967)

It is a long way from Washington to Shimoda but Mrs. Mansfield and I were delighted with the opportunity to make the journey. As we anticipated on the basis of past visits, a brief exposure to Japanese hospitality has served to dissolve the great distances. We are happy to be with you and I am deeply moved by the privilege of addressing this distinguished gathering.

Each of us who is in attendance has come to Shimoda for a different complex of reasons. Yet I believe we are also drawn here by a common consideration. It is that we attach a high significance to the preservation of good relations between Japan and the United States. Most of us are old enough to remember a time and pain when these relations had deteriorated to such a degree that they were, in the end, consumed by war. We can remember the gulf of devastation over which it was necessary to try to build a bridge of conciliation.

After the conflict, we did try and we managed—Japanese and Americans—to construct that bridge. For two decades, effective ties have been maintained between our countries. They are ties which have enriched our lives and contributed to the prosperity and progress of both nations. They are ties which have been a mighty factor in the preservation of the peace of the Pacific.

I think the question which should engage us most profoundly at this time is whether we can continue in the pattern of the past two decades. Can the effectiveness of the U.S.-Japanese relationship persist, in the decade ahead, even as the ties themselves are woven into new forms for new times?

If the source of the U.S.-Japanese relations were solely contacts among those attending this Japanese-American Assembly, the question would pose no dilemmas. Without any hesitation, the properties of U.S.-Japanese relations could then be described as excellent, the problems as negligible and the prospects as unlimited.

The same would be true if it were simply a matter of commerce between Japan and the United States. The two nations buy and sell from one another with great liberality. Current trade is at a new high level and on a very profitable mutual basis. Japan is second in the world after Canada, as a purchaser of U.S. exports. The United States, in turn, takes something like 30 per cent of all of Japan's exports. Japanese industrial techniques, moreover, are highly respected and the products of Japan's brilliant design are currently very much in demand in the United States.

If I may digress, I can personally attest to the great acceptability of these products. My ears have become attuned to the subtle difference between the "putt-putt" of a Honda and that of a Suzuki and the "purr-purr" of a Datsun and that of a Toyota. These and other Japanese vehicles are to be found in considerable numbers and are in great favor in most of the neighborhoods of the United States—except late at night.

Insofar as trade is concerned, then, any difficulties between Japan and the United States would seem to be more in the nature of removable irritants rather than major headaches. The sum of Japanese-U.S. relations, however, is not calculated solely on the computers of commerce. Nor is the tone of the relationship established only by the warm dialogues of groups such as this Japanese-American Assembly. The relationship, rather, reflects the continuous flow of change within each nation and takes form in the complex international politics of the Western Pacific and the world.

Let me emphasize that the thoughts which I am about to voice are those of one Senator of the United States. I do not speak for the Senate of the United States or any segment of its Membership. Nor do I speak for the President of the United States even though we are of the same political party. I speak for myself and only myself. But I speak freely and frankly, as a student, a teacher and a Member of the Senate who has been deeply concerned for many years with the problems of foreign relations.

In asserting this independence, I would not wish to create the impression that the Senate is in constant conflict with the Executive Branch of the United States government. Seen from this distance and through the prisms of the press that may sometimes appear to be the case. The reality, however, is to the contrary. The President of the United States and the Senate are in frequent consultation and far more often than not, in agreement. The United States government, in short, proceeds most of the time, with its component bodies moving in separate orbits but in substantial harmony. That is true in matters of foreign policy no less than domestic policy.

I stress these systemic details, because I wish to emphasize that I am not here to transmit the official views of the United States government. Only the President and his emissaries are able to speak in that fashion. I am here as all of us are here—as an interested person. I am here to express to you my understanding, my concern and my hope for U.S.-Japanese relations. I am here in the expectation of returning to the United States with new and enriched insights into these relations.

With that as background, let me say first, that the official U.S.-Japanese relationship appears to me to be satisfactory at this time. If the bell does not ring perfectly in every instance, nevertheless, it continues to ring with a certain mellowness of tone. I have already alluded to the value and mutuality of our commercial contacts. It can be noted, too, that our governments do not denounce each other in communiques. On the contrary, our diplomats work together with civility and understanding.

Over the years these public servants who are at the very tip of contact between the two nations have met their responsibilities with great energy, high skill and exceptional dedication. We have been particularly fortunate in the caliber of the Ambassadors who have served both countries. Professor Reischauer, for example, is widely regarded in the United States and by both the Administration and the Senate as one of the most effective representatives our country has ever sent abroad. Ambassador Takeuchi, who recently returned to Japan after a four year assignment, was greatly admired in the United States for, as was said in a Washington newspaper, "his good sense, good manners, and good diplomacy." The present Ambassadors, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Shimada, are the inheritors of an exemplary tradition to which they are in the process of adding contributions.

An able diplomacy, then, has been a critical element in fashioning the effective ties which exist between Japan and the United States. Over the years, it has been a diplomacy which has faced difficulties in a temperate fashion. It has been a diplomacy which has devised timely adjustments of policies to meet these difficulties.

That kind of diplomacy is an imperative if the quality of the U.S.-Japanese relationship is to endure in the new situation which is emerging in the Western Pacific. Perhaps "new situation" is not precisely the term. What is transpiring in this region, as I see it, is a reassertion of an historic situation in up-to-date form.

The decisive element in the new situation is the reemergence of Japan. Great material strength is, of course, a part of this development. The Japanese economy has displayed an extraordinary dynamism which has already restored this nation to the first rank of the industrialized nations of the world.

Yet there is more involved than economic virtuosity. An emergent Japanese leadership, I believe, derives a world-wide acceptability from new and perceptive approaches to the rest of the world and its needs. These approaches may well have been forged in the tragedy of World War II and tempered by the profound postwar experiences of this nation.

In this context, Japan's enormous achievements in every field of modern human endeavor have special relevance to the old-new nations of Asia and to the entire world in the search for human progress and a stable peace. Japan is already making significant contributions in the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations and in other regional and world-wide organizations. The Japanese nation can play, if it so chooses, a part of even greater importance, particularly in the process of integrating an economic modernization with a responsible nationalism, within a framework of multilateral cooperation.

The unfolding of the international capabilities of Japan has coincided with a degree of redirection in the American effort with respect to the underdeveloped nations. There has been a kind of dovetailing of adjustments as between Japanese and U.S. policies in connection with economic development, with the one rising towards its potential and the other falling from what has long been, in my judgment, an abnormal level, particularly in this part of the world.

There has also been a dovetailing of policies with regard to the defense of the Western Pacific. Over the years, significant adjustments have been made in the largely unilateral American military base upon which this defense has rested. It is not so long ago, for example, that there were tens of thousands of American soldiers quartered in every part of Japan. It is not so long ago, that these forces constituted the only military defense of Japan. It is not so long ago, too, that this nation served as a point of departure for massive American forces bound for the war in Korea.

As you know, all this has changed. May I say that it is a relief to the people of the United States that it is no longer necessary to keep massive forces in Japan and I expect that that is also a relief to the people of Japan.

Other changes of this kind will be made by an alert diplomacy, I am sure, as the desirability is indicated. With respect to Okinawa, obviously, the need for an adjustment seems to be coming to the surface at this time.

Before considering this question, let me stress the urgency of keeping open minds on all aspects of the U.S.-Japanese relationship if the open doors of essential cooperation are not to close. We must face change if changes are indicated in any and every aspect of the relationship. We must be prepared to face changes before change is forced upon us by events.

The Okinawan problem, you will recall, arises from the fact that certain clauses were left dangling, so to speak, in the Peace Treaty of 1951. Those clauses involve not only the status of the Ryukyus but also of the Bonins and Volcanos. As I understand the problem, there is no question that these territories are Japanese within the meaning of the Peace Treaty. A question arises, however, as to the date—the timing—of the transfer of full authority from the United States to Japan. A question also arises as to the possibility of interim adjustments in administration before the final return of the islands.

With regard to the Bonins and the Volcanos, let me say that I am not aware of any circumstances so compelling as to require an indefinite postponement of the liquidation of the Treaty commitment. There are no major U.S. military installations there and strategic considerations do not appear to be involved in any significant way. In sum, there would appear to be no major blocks—at least I know of none—to the restoration of the Bonins and the Volcanos to Japan as required by the Peace Treaty. It would appear moreover, that this piece of unfinished business of the Treaty could be closed out not only without difficulties but also without delay.

I wish that the same might be said for Okinawa and the Ryukyus. Since there is a problem in this connection, it seems to me that a full consideration of the situation is in order. The absence of frank exchange of views, in the open, on Okinawa has given rise to rumors and innuendos. These hints seem to me to distort the motives of the United States and certainly do not contribute to the cordiality of U.S.-Japanese relations.

It has been said, for example, that the United States clings to the Ryukyus because of the war in Viet Nam. Of course, Okinawa is of importance to the United States in this connection. We have over half-a-million men involved in Southeast Asia. Our military installations in Okinawa serve as one source of supply for these forces, and we are determined that these men shall not lack supplies. That is not to say that there are no alternative ways by which their needs may be met. In my judgment, therefore, it is quite inaccurate to ascribe the problem of Okinawa to Viet Nam.

It has also been suggested that the United States desires to use the Ryukyus as some sort of bargaining chit in the extension of the Japanese-U.S. Defense Treaty. I do not know whether the Defense Treaty will be modified a few years hence and, if so, in what way.

It should be obvious, however, that the American government would not be so crass as to use the well-being of the people of the Ryukyus for some vague bargaining purposes in connection with the review of the Treaty. What could be sought and obtained by that course which would be of significant value to the United States? The assertion that the U.S. will seek to bend the Japanese viewpoint in treaty revision with the lever of Okinawa is as uninformed as it is unfounded. Even the thought that such could be the case is out of harmony with the entire character of Japanese-U.S. relations during the past few years.

To be sure, there are difficulties with regard to the return of the Ryukyus. They involve, however, not transitory considerations or base motives but very fundamental questions. These questions have to do with the uncertainty of the general security needs in the Western Pacific in the years ahead. They have to do with Japan's safety no less than that of the United States and other Asian-Pacific nations. They have to do with the relevance, today, of the defense concepts which prevailed at the time of the signing of the Japanese-U.S. Defense Treaty a decade and a half ago. They have to do with the nature of the American role in the Western Pacific in the decade or decades ahead—with what is expected of us by Japan and others as a defense contribution in this region.

Let me say bluntly in this connection that it would be only in an inertia of intellect, that we would fail to grasp the significant

differences in the Western Pacific today as compared with 15 years ago or even ten or five. Consider for a moment the change in the very positioning of American military power. Fifteen years ago, as I have already noted, U.S. strength was concentrated largely in Japan and it had converged with a great force of men and equipment on the peninsula of Korea. Where is it now? To be sure, there are still points of power north of Okinawa. But the focus of the U.S. military role in the Western Pacific has shifted south to Viet Nam at the other end of the Asian littoral.

Consider, too, the extraordinary change in the character of relations between China and the Soviet Union. You will recall that these two nations signed a Defense Treaty in 1950 on the basis of unbreakable Communist solidarity and an implacable hostility towards the United States and Japan. Today, the fury of Peking comes down—as the rain—impartially upon the Soviet Union and the United States. Today, the monolith of Sino-Soviet relations which stood until Stalin's death lies shattered by border quarrels and by ideological and other clashes between the two great mainland powers. Yet only a few years ago, it was commonly believed that, through communism, Russia had fastened a permanent yoke on the Chinese people. The fact is that there is not even a common ideology within China, much less one which binds the Chinese forever in subservience to the Russians.

I cite the disintegrative characteristics of the Chinese situation and the Sino-Soviet relationship only as a factor; I am not at all sure what consequences will flow from them in the end. Rather I make reference to them because they are profound elements in the changing situation in the Western Pacific. In a similar vein, I would note certain constructive adjustments which are taking place in this region. There is, for example, the more balanced view of Japan which has developed in Moscow and appeared to be developing in Peking at least until the outbreak of the current inner difficulties in China. There is the complementary effort of Japan to build bridges to its mainland neighbors. Together the two adjustments have produced an impressive increase in contact between China and Japan and between the Soviet Union and Japan, particularly in the realm of commerce.

If I am not mistaken, China now ranks fourth in the world in Japan's foreign trade with a current total volume of about $600 million. With respect to the Soviet Union, it is my understanding that not only is there a very substantial and growing Japanese trade but the general tone of the relationship has so improved that it has become feasible even to contemplate a joint Soviet-Japanese development of the natural resources of Sakhalin and Siberia.

These new trends have emerged from what was, just a few years ago, a sea of fear between Japan and the Northeast Asian mainland. They would appear to herald the return of more normal relationships in this region. Normal, in the sense in which it is used would involve the return of Japan, China and the Soviet Union to the center of the stage, so to speak, in the affairs of the Western Pacific. In view of the history of this region, it should not be surprising if this inner triangular relationship should be reasserted.

Indeed, it would be my hope that the changes which are appearing in this connection will permit the role of the United States in this region also to be scaled to more normal dimensions. The United States did not seek the massive role in which we have found ourselves in the Western Pacific for so many years. Rather it was the exigencies of World War II and its aftermath which thrust us deeply into this region. A restoration of a more stable situation as between China and Japan and Japan and the Soviet Union would appear to me to be helpful to the United States in the adjustment of its own position.

At this point, however, we still do not know whether the developments which I have been discussing foreshadow a more stable situation in the Western Pacific. We still do not know whether they foreshadow a situation in which the demands on U.S. military power in this region can be reduced.

There are, in any event, no certain responses to such questions. There can only be sound judgments. It seems to me that Japan and the United States should come together to try to make joint calculations respecting these developments. It seems to me that the two nations should do so without undue delay, on behalf of their common security and the peace of the Western Pacific.

Such calculations would also have relevance to the problem of the Ryukyus. That is not to say that security calculations are especially pertinent to the non-military aspects of this question. I cannot see, for example, that it is necessary to clarify the ambiguities of the Sino-Soviet dispute, in order to give consideration to the possibilities of a restoration of Japanese jurisdiction over islands in the Ryukyus, other than Okinawa. Nor do I see that we have to be assured that the fragile new bridges which stretch between Japan and the Soviet Union and between Japan and China will stand for all times in order to give consideration to Japanese participation in the administration of the civilian affairs of Okinawa, *provided* we bear in mind the great necessity for safeguarding the effectiveness of the military installations which are located there.

As I have suggested, however, the ultimate disposition of the Okinawa question does involve a sober and joint estimate of the significance of major developments and changes in the Western Pacific. An estimate of that kind, in turn, requires a better understanding of Soviet intentions in the Northeast Pacific. It requires a better understanding of the upheavals within China and their relevance not only for the Sino-Soviet Defense Treaty of 1950 but also for the Japanese-U.S. Defense Treaty. It requires, finally, a better understanding of nuclear development in China and the prospects for curbing by agreement the grave risks which are posed by nuclear weapons to the Western Pacific and the world.

One would expect that our joint understanding of these matters would be improved in connection with review of the Japanese-U.S. Defense Treaty a few years hence. However, it is not necessary to sit on our hands until that time. It occurs to me that the problem of Okinawa itself provides a sufficient basis for beginning now a joint consideration of the security questions of the Western Pacific. It occurs to me, too, that consideration might also be given to inviting the Soviet Union to join with the United States and Japan in joint examination of these questions. Would not tripartite discussions of this kind be of value in clarifying them? Indeed, I should think even that quadripartite meetings, to include China, would be useful, except for the turmoil which exists at this time on the Chinese mainland.

The illumination which would be provided by tripartite discussions of Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States might help to provide a more rapid conclusion of the Ryukyus question. One would hope that it might also hasten a final resolution of the question of Etorofu and Kunashiri and of Shikotan and the Habomais. In sum, a tripartite meeting might speed the liquidation of all vestiges of the unfinished business of World War II and give more durable form to the peace of the Pacific. And may I add, two decades after, that it is about time.

I make the suggestion to an American-Japanese discussion group that there might well be three-way discussions of problems of the Western Pacific which would include the Soviet Union because I am confident that the Japanese and the Americans here share a hope for the peace of the Pacific. I am confident, too, that we share a realization of our obligation, as human beings, to work together through our respective nations and with all other nations for that peace and for world peace, to the end that there shall be no end to the civilized experience on this planet.

SOUTH VIETNAM—CHIEU HOI PROGRAM

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I am happy to be able to report that the latest figures on the Chieu Hoi program in South Vietnam indicate mounting success in the effort to bring Vietcong guerrillas back to the side of the National Government. As of the week ending September 8, 1967, the total number of returnees in 1967 is 22,494. This compares with 20,242 during the entire 12-month period of 1966.

In my report, submitted to the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services after my trip to Vietnam earlier this year, I stated:

> For many reasons, primarily military pressure, the morale of the Viet Cong shows signs of deterioration. In this respect, I was impressed with AID's program of "Open Arms" or Chieu Hoi.
>
> This program actively solicits defections from the Viet Cong through the use of various propaganda techniques. These returnees furnish a mass of intelligence; 20 percent of them join the Army of South Vietnam.
>
> The success of this program affords a barometer on Viet Cong morale.

The Chieu Hoi program began as early as 1963 when President Diem announced an amnesty for those members of the Vietcong who would return to the side of the Government. Well received initially, the number of returnees fluctuated according to the political conditions in South Vietnam and with the success of the Vietcong military operations. However, the failure of the Communists to win a quick victory, along with the arrival of large numbers of combat troops from the United States and the establishment of a more stable government in Saigon gave impetus to the program. In 1965 more than 11,000 Vietcong defected. As I mentioned earlier, the number almost doubled in 1966.

To attract returnees from the Vietcong ranks, the Government conducts an extensive information campaign. Leaflets, radio broadcasts, loudspeaker announcements, drama teams, and folk singers are a few of the means used to spread the Chieu Hoi message. During the truce for the Lunar New Year, Tet, the Government enlarged the campaign at a time when the Vietcong were considered to be most receptive to the appeals. Many of them returned to their homes during the holiday. The Government propaganda teams visited the home of each suspected Vietcong before the holiday and left an envelope containing the New Year's greeting of the Government, a description of the Chieu Hoi program, a safe-conduct pass, and instructions on how to defect, including a map showing the route to the nearest reception center. This extra effort is reflected in the larger number of defectors during the period between the end of February and the first week in April.

Reception centers have been set up in each of the 44 mainland provinces, in three autonomous cities, in four regional locations, and in one national center in Saigon. The 52 centers have a yearly capacity of 45,000 returnees based on six 2-month cycles.

When the returnee arrives at a reception center, he is carefully interviewed to determine his sincerity in coming over to the Government and to develop information about Vietcong operations in the area. He is given food, clothing, housing, medical care if needed, and a cash allowance for incidental expenses. If he has brought along weapons or significant documents, he is given a cash reward.

After a period of rehabilitation and indoctrination, most of the returnees go back to their home villages and resume their old occupations, generally farming. The Government assists them with food and farming supplies and a resettlement allowance. If he has no home, or if it is in a Vietcong territory, he may settle in a Chieu Hoi village. Here he receives a house, some land, and subsistence for 6 months for himself and his family.

Few of the defectors go back to the Vietcong, although enemy propaganda continuously invites them back.

There would seem to be a significant corollary to the effectiveness of the Chieu Hoi program in the diminishing rate of North Vietnam recruiting of South Vietnamese into the Vietcong. This was reported in the Joseph Alsop column, datelined Saigon, in the Washington Post of September 22, 1967. While the Hanoi government was recruiting South Vietnamese at the rate of 7,000 men a month in the early part of 1966, the number has now dropped, according to Alsop, to only 2,000 a month.

Mr. President, this program merits the full support of our Government. Its obvious success is contributing to the war effort. I ask unanimous consent that the latest figures on the Chieu Hoi program and the Alsop column of September 22, be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table and column were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Chieu Hoi program—Returnees during 1967

January 1 to 7	437
January 8 to 14	420
January 15 to 21	592
January 22 to 28	823
Total	2,272
January 29 to February 4	581
February 5 to 11	612
February 12 to 18	616
February 19 to 25	1,108
Total	2,917
February 26 to March 4	1,168
March 5 to 11	1,198
March 12 to 18	1,004
March 19 to 25	1,187
March 26 to 31	1,000
Total	5,557
April 1 to 7	1,005
April 8 to 14	693
April 16 to 22	642
April 23 to 29	465
Total	2,805
April 30 to May 6	492
May 7 to 13	591
May 14 to 20	538
May 21 to 27	528
Total	2,149
May 28 to June 3	475
June 4 to 10	485
June 11 to 17	474
June 18 to 24	526
June 25 to 30	483
Total	2,445
July 1 to 7	419
July 8 to 14	423
July 15 to 21	518
July 22 to 28	504
Total	1,864
July 29 to August 4	389
August 5 to 11	418
August 12 to 18	519
August 19 to 25	472
August 26 to September 1	333
September 2 to 8	355
Total to date	22,494

The Chieu Hoi program—Returnees during 1966

January 1 to 7	315
January 8 to 14	289
January 15 to 21	252
January 22 to 28	247
Total	1,103
January 29 to February 4	351
February 5 to 11	368
February 12 to 18	441
February 19 to 25	922
Total	2,082
February 26 to March 4	660
March 5 to 11	431
March 12 to 18	422
March 19 to 25	324
March 26 to April 1	499
Total	2,336
April 2 to 8	646
April 9 to 15	314
April 16 to 22	285
April 23 to 29	265
Total	1,510
April 30 to May 6	291
May 7 to 13	364
May 14 to 20	335
May 21 to 27	247
May 28 to June 3	257
Total	1,494
June 4 to 10	354
June 11 to 17	373
June 18 to 24	274
June 25 to July 1	313
Total	1,314
July 2 to 8	339
July 9 to 15	256
July 16 to 22	322
July 23 to 29	261
Total	1,178
July 30 to August 5	295
August 6 to 12	254
August 13 to 19	280
August 20 to 26	262
August 27 to 31	166
Total	1,257
September 1 to 7	204
September 8 to 14	189
September 15 to 21	266
September 22 to 28	226
Total	885
September 29 to October 5	315
October 6 to 12	377
October 13 to 19	477
October 20 to 26	392
October 27 to November 2	501
Total	2,062
November 3 to 9	566
November 10 to 16	611
November 17 to 23	556
November 24 to 30	772
Total	2,505
December 1 to 7	464
December 8 to 14	448
December 15 to 21	585
December 22 to 28	602
December 29 to 31	417
Total	2,516
Annual total	20,242

HANOI'S LOSSES IN MANPOWER ARE HEADING TO CRUCIAL STAGE

(By Joseph Alsop)

SAIGON.—Are the intransigent noises currecently being made in Hanoi a kind of whistling in the graveyard, in the most horribly literal sense of that phrase?

The question arises for two quite different reasons. In Israel, to begin with, Moshe Dayan was explaining the almost inconceivably detailed and far-sighted preparations the Israeli General Staff had made before their confrontation with the Arabs. This reporter thoughtlessly remarked that all this forethought no doubt explained the trifling figure of Israeli losses.

"Trifling!" said Dayan with some sharpness. "You do not seem to have figured out that for our small Israel to lose 800 men in a week is like your giant United States losing more than 60,000 in a week."

Obviously Dayan was right, as he has a habit of being, to use the population-loss ratio as the correct gauge of a war's cost. Obviously, too, this is the right way to gauge the cost of the war here to North Vietnam, which has a population of approximately 16 million.

It must be said at once that this matter of the war's cost to Hanoi has already produced grave errors of judgment, including grave errors by this reporter. In particular, far too little weight was given to the cardinal fact that at the time of the serious American intervention in the summer of 1965, we were beginning a war of attrition from what amounted to a standing start.

At that time, in other words, the war was costing North Vietnam almost nothing. The military hardware came from China, in the main. The cost of delivery in South Vietnam was then minimal. Hanoi's main investment then amounted in fact to the two North Vietnamese divisions, about 25,000 men, that were then in the South, plus the cadres needed to maintain Hanoi's entire direction and control of the southern War.

The Southerners—the true Vietcong—were then paying all the rest of the bill. And throughout 1965 and early 1966, the largest part of the burden continued to be borne by Hanoi's puppets in the South, for in this period Vietcong recruitment rates were still maintained at a high level.

By the spring of 1966, however, replacing losses by recruiting in the South began to become more and more difficult. Careful analysis of captured documents has shown that the Southern recruiting rate was then 7000 men a month; and this was not enough to prevent an increasing requirement for troops from the North.

By the spring of this year, further careful analysis of the continuing flood of captured documents revealed that the Southern recruiting had dropped to about 3500 men a month. Another round of analysis is now in progress, with results not as yet exactly predictable. But it is a good horseback guess that the new rate of Southern recruitment will not be much above 2000 men a month.

The Southern recruiting rate must in turn be set against enemy losses in battle, in prisoners of war, and in deserters that reached just under 10,000 men in January, soared to 16,000 in March, again passed 15,000 in April and dropped to the level of a bit more than 12,500 in July. Adding the very substantial losses along the Ho Chi Minh Trail (often as high as 10 per cent of an outfit in transit) plus the serious toll taken by malaria and other diseases, and you get a total enemy loss for July that cannot have been much below 15,000 men and may have reached 18,000.

Let us take the median figure of 16,000 a month, which is probably very conservative. Nearly half this total were soldiers who fell in the particularly heavy fighting along the DMZ and elsewhere in the First Corps Area. Here the enemy troops engaged are mainly North Vietnamese.

In the Second and Third Corps Areas, too, almost all the big units have by now become predominantly North Vietnamese, even when they have a VC label. These units have also been fairly heavily engaged. Thus it is a fair estimate that about 7000 North Vietnamese were lost in the month of July alone.

Furthermore, the Hanoi war planners have reached the crucial stage where they must choose between replacing very large VC losses with still more North Vietnamese, or quite radically changing their own plans. If Southern recruitment is only 2000 to 3000 per month, and the overall enemy loss rate is something like 16,000 per month, then the North must meet a monthly replacement bill of at least 13,000 per month.

Using Dayan's ratio, the North Vietnamese losses in July are equivalent to American losses of about 80,000 men in a single month. Again using Dayans' ratio, furthermore the monthly replacement requirement the Hanoi war planners now appear to have to meet is equivalent to a requirement for about 170,000 Americans per month. It also exceeds the maximum manpower drain the Pentagon experts long ago decided Hanoi could withstand for any period.

The Hanoi war planners of course have the option of changing the wars pattern—by relinquishing their designs on the First Corps Area, particularly. But that means the beginning of acceptance of defeat, And if they do not change the pattern, the question then arises, how long they can possibly continue at such cost?

Not forever is the obvious though lamentably imprecise answer.

RIOTS AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a very fine article, written by David Lawrence, appeared in the Washington Evening Star on September 15, 1967. It is entitled "Riots and the U.S. Government." I want to read it to the Senate.

This is what Mr. Lawrence had to say:

President Johnson has apparently decided that he will not allow any blame for riots of the last two years to be imposed upon him in the political arena in 1968. But the speech he made in Kansas City yesterday to the International Association of Police Chiefs, stating that the responsibility for keeping the peace is "squarely on the shoulders of local authorities" and that the federal government cannot "prevent a riot in a great metropolis," by no means closes the debate.

Strictly speaking, the President is right in saying that the local police must bear the burden of law enforcement. But this is not the basic issue. The causes of riots are far more pertinent than what is done to squelch them once they have begun. Indeed, the federal government is today primarily responsible for the climax that has been reached in the conflict between the races arising from the problems of segregation and desegregation.

Under the civil-rights acts which have been passed in the last few years, the federal government has assumed a responsibility for racial relations such as has never been undertaken by the states in the North or the South. Congress has enacted laws giving the federal government the right to intervene in questions involving racial "discrimination" in almost any form.

The federal government, moreover, wields its vast powers over the disbursement of public funds as a club over the heads of state and local authorities in order to speed up "integration" not only in schools but in public accommodations, housing and employment.

What Johnson conveniently overlooks is that in many cities in the North—like Milwaukee, for example—the issue of "open housing" would never have developed into the bitter controversy that has been the cause of recent rioting if it had not been for the federal government's intrusion into the whole housing problem.

Thus, while it may be literally true that the federal government itself cannot prevent a riot by sending policemen into a community, the federal courts and a majority of the congress, together with the President, joined to impose upon the states rules and regulations in the handling of racial "discrimination" which are at the heart of the whole problem of rioting and discontent.

The Department of Justice goes into court promptly to take action against schools or other institutions in the South which allegedly are engaging in "discriminatory" practices, but is slow to do so in other areas of the country. Federal troops were sent into Mississippi and Alabama to quell disturbances without any request on the part of the governors of those states, but President Johnson hesitated to order troops to Detroit until he had a written request from the governor of Michigan. A controversy is still going on as to who was responsible for the delay, during which the casualty list grew.

The President himself in his Kansas City speech declared that a new threat to local law enforcement has been raised in the "violence this summer," which has "spawned a group of men whose interest lay in provoking others to destruction while they fled its consequences." He condemned "these poisonous propagandists." But weren't these very persons moving in interstate commerce and thus subject to federal power?

Johnson has heretofore made a few abstract statements about the breakdown of law and order, but he has not until now denounced the irresponsible individuals who have provoked violence by arousing the passions of both whites and Negroes in various parts of the country. There are authentic reports, too, about nationwide organizations with Communists in their midst.

It is largely because there has been no denunciation from the White House that large numbers of "civil rights" demonstrators have felt that they had the support of the administration in their quest for more and more benefits and that "the end justifies the means."

When the 1968 campaign begins, it may be expected that, just as has happened in the past, the voters may tend to blame the incumbent administration for the unrest and lawless conditions prevailing throughout the country.

Mr. President, this article goes to the heart of a great deal of the trouble, and I hope that Senators will study the contents of it very carefully.

At the same time, as Mr. Lawrence stated, when President Johnson tries to wash his hands of this situation in this country, he is pursuing a course which cannot be justified.

He told the chiefs of police in Kansas City that keeping the peace was "squarely on the shoulders of local authorities." That may be true as for combating riots after they have begun is concerned, but what are the basic causes of riots? What can the President do there? What can Congress do? What can the Supreme Court do?

There is no question in my mind that there are things that should be done.

The President of the United States, in my judgment, should recommend that the appellate power of the Supreme Court be limited. He should recommend that Congress pass legislation to do that. He should recommend that technicalities not be allowed to intervene and defeat the ends of justice.

In my opinion, the recent decisions of the Supreme Court have done more than any other single thing to contribute to a general atmosphere to cause crime to increase in this country. When criminals know that they can commit crimes and may not be apprehended, but if apprehended stand a good chance of being allowed to get off on a mere technicality, it only encourages more crime.

The decision of the Supreme Court, holding that a lawyer must be present if a confession is made, is an unnecessary decision and is greatly handicapping law enforcement. If a confession is truly voluntary, obtained without coercion, force, or compulsion, it should be admitted into evidence.

When the Supreme Court held that a defendant was held a little too long, for his confession to be admitted in evidence in his trial, although he was guilty and had admitted that he was guilty, in my judgment, the Supreme Court did this country and the cause of law and order a great injustice.

I think that the President of the United States has a duty, to crusade, if necessary and certainly to recommend to Congress that it take steps to offset those Supreme Court decisions which have done such great harm to this country.

Then, too, I am convinced that the President has a duty in connection with the subject of civil disobedience.

There are preachers and teachers in colleges today, and other leaders in this country, who are saying that if the law offends the conscience of a person he should not have to obey that law. There are teachers in colleges telling their students that if a law does not agree with their conscience, they do not have to obey it.

That is completely unreasonable. I think that the President has a duty to tell the people that. He also has a duty to tell the college teachers that, as well as our misled preachers, if we are going to continue to have a civilized society based on law and order.

I remember, in World War II, when we went into France, Germany, and other countries, the very first thing our military authorities did was to restore law and order.

You cannot have a civilized society without law and order. We will not maintain a civilized society in America without law and order. Law and order is the very heart of a civilized society.

Then, too, in my judgment, the President ought to expose some of these leaders. I think he ought to take the record of Martin Luther King and tell the American people who he is, where he is geting his money, and whom he represents. I think he ought to take the record of Rap Brown and expose it to the American people. He ought to expose these other leaders who are going from State to State, agitating, creating disturbances, making inflammatory speeches, and causing riots to erupt and demonstrations to occur, as if they were all spontaneous.

I think the President has the responsibility to lead in this matter. I have not heard him say one word that I felt was important in this law-and-order question. He now says the burden is on the local police. Of course it is on the local police, and the law enforcement people, to enforce the law; but the President has the responsibility and must shoulder the blame when he does not help to prevent the causes of these riots, demonstrations, and violations of law and order.

I have not heard the President criticize when people have come down to this Capitol and have done things here to, in effect, virtually coerce or threaten Members of Congress. Why does he not speak out on that? He is the Chief Executive of this country.

I want to see Congress take a stand on this question, too. I want to see the appellate power of the Supreme Court limited. I want to see some of those decisions set aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. THURMOND. I ask unanimous consent to have 3 more minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there is another thing, too, that I think the President of the United States has the responsibility to do. That is to tell the American people they cannot get something for nothing. I think that enters into this question. We might call it false compassion, leading the people to believe they can get something for nothing, leading them to believe that the Government will support them whether they work or not.

What inducement is it to people when they can stay on relief for 38 weeks in the District of Columbia, 9½ months, and then get off it for only a short period of time and then get back on unemployment relief?

It seems to me it is the responsibility on the part of the executive to recommend legislation to remedy this. There is a responsibility on the part of the Congress to pass that legislation. I think there is a responsibility here for leadership to be shown in these matters.

In my judgment, if a man is disabled, physically or mentally, somebody has got to take care of him. If the local community does not do it, the State ought to do it. If the State does not do it, the Federal Government ought to do it. If he cannot get a job, the same thing applies. I think the local community or the State or the Federal Government ought to provide jobs if necessary, because people have to work to make a living. But so far as a handout goes, I do not think anybody ought to have a handout given to him if he is physically or mentally able to work.

I say, let the President come out with a program to let the Government give people jobs if they cannot get jobs. It is not a difficult thing to get jobs in most places in this country. In South Carolina we want workers. We cannot get people in South Carolina to fill the jobs there. Our personnel people are crying for workers. They are crying for skilled workers. They are crying for semiskilled and even unskilled workers. We need people in South Carolina. I understand that in most places today people can get jobs if they want them. A lot of the people do not want to work. They are parasites. They want to live on the public. I do not think the Government ought to support them. I think every man ought to support himself and his own family unless he is physically or mentally incapable of doing so.

Another point enters into this question, and that is that some of these people in this country, as I mentioned a few moments ago, are subversively inclined. Some of these people, if they do not start or direct these demonstrations, have infiltrated them and participated in them. I think the President of the United States has an obligation to investigate communism in the crimes, in the demonstrations, in the riots, in the violations of law and order. It is there. If he does not think it is there, let him talk to the FBI. The FBI will tell him. I think he knows where it is, but he is afraid he will offend certain blocs of voters and he will not tell the American people about it. He will not take the necessary steps to expose the undercurrents working behind the scenes. He will not recommend to Congress that it do something about it. He does not do anything about it himself because he does not want to lose the votes of certain groups.

In my judgment, this is a very serious question, and I think the time has come when something must be done. I hope the President will change his position and show some leadership in this field. I further hope Congress will take the necessary steps, whether the President does or not.

ECONOMISTS AGREE GOVERNMENT WASTING BILLIONS IN PUBLIC WORKS SPENDING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on Wednesday, September 20, three economic experts testified before the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee on the wasteful way this Congress is pouring out billions of dollars in a gross misallocation of our resources.

This is not because Members of Congress like to throw money away, not because there is venality or corruption in the Congress. It is because we have no way of establishing priorities. We make no effective effort to determine whether the Federal Government can better invest funds in our economy or whether it is wiser to leave that investment to the private economy. We have no sensible way of determining whether we are going to get back in benefits the cost of the billions of dollars which this Government invests every year.

For most of our spending the Congress applies no benefit-cost system at all. We can and should apply such a system throughout most of the spectrum of Federal spending, and this may be beginning. If we follow through, our allocation of resources could be based on a system of priorities that would first only permit the investment of a dollar when we know that the benefits received for that dollar would exceed its cost.

Second, we would be in a position to invest first in those projects which promised the best return.

It is true that this benefit-cost system is applied for some public works projects. Indeed, no public works project which shows a benefit-cost ratio of less than one—that is, that its costs exceeds its benefits—will pass the Congress.

The trouble, however, is that the Congress insists on stacking the deck, rigging the calculations in favor of the public works project.

I say this on the basis of the testimony of three of the outstanding economists in this field before our committee on Wednesday. And, further, these experts testified that there is not an economist in the country with any knowledge or competence in this field who does not agree with their position.

This stacking of the deck to persuade the Congress to appropriate billions which should never be spent is achieved by a congressional directive that works this way:

The benefits of each project, of course, are to be received in the future, so each dollar of benefits must be discounted since a future dollar is of less value than a present dollar. This principle is acknowledged by the Congress. But the cards are stacked by discounting this future benefit at an unconscionably low, wholly unjustifiable rate of interest.

This greatly overstates—exaggerates—the value of the future benefit.

What should the discount factor be?

The Congress has decided to use the long-term cost of money to the Federal Treasury and this has been calculated at 3⅛ percent.

But the expert economists agree that the discount factor would be no less than the current cost to the Treasury, which would now be about 4¾ percent.

They so testified, and there is not a competent economist who does not agree with that position.

Mr. President, if we accept this 4¾-percent discount factor, this alone would immediately convert billions of dollars of our projects to a less than unit cost benefit ratio. In doing so it would prevent the appropriation of billions of dollars.

But most economists including all of the top experts who testified before our committee on September 20 testified that the fair and proper discount rate should be the effective return in the private sector of the American economy, before corporate taxes. This has been calculated as being between 10 percent and 15 percent, possibly as high as 20 percent.

This so-called opportunity cost is calculated as the return on private investment before taxes.

Mr. President, if we should take the most conservative of these figures—10 percent—I doubt very much if we would fund any of the major public works projects that have been before us. We would drastically reduce public works.

But why should we not put public spending on the same opportunity cost basis as private spending? Are we not wasting our resources—literally wasting them—by following a system that persuades the Government to take from the taxpayer part of his resources and invest that part at a far lower return for our economy than we could get from the private sector?

Mr. President, this issue is so important to public policy and to the decisions made by this Congress that I intend to call the matter to the attention of the Senate repeatedly over a period of several weeks.

Today, I call the attention of the Senate to remarkably able statements of Dr. Jacob Stockfisch, senior associate of the Institute for Defense Analysis. Dr. Stockfisch, in my judgment, states the case for stopping this Government waste and establishing our spending on a rational, ordered objective system of priorities. I ask unanimous consent that his statements be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Interest Rate Applicable to Government Investment Projects

(By J. A. Stockfisch)

This paper holds that decision makers apply to Government investment projects an interest rate that equals the opportunity return on investment in the private sector of the economy. Moreover, it should be the rate of return that prevails *before* corporate taxes. This position may be termed the application of an "equalization principle." Presently this rate is between 10 and 15 percent.

Most resource using activities permit substitution between different kinds of resources. Often, it is possible to substitute larger initial investment outlays for smaller annual or periodic outlays, or vice versa, to achieve the given objective. For example, a large investment in spare parts can reduce the periodic maintenance and transportation costs necessary to support a weapon system during its life span. Or a law enforcement agency may acquire electronic data processing equipment in order to dispense with file clerks and thus reduce annual operating expenses. Possibilities such as these require that some interest rate be explicitly employed to make rational decisions.

There is a class of Government resource-using activities which serve private ends by providing individuals instrumental services or products. For these activities it is often possible to identify the individuals or groups who benefit from the Government operation. Government enterprises such as the Post Office Department, reclamation, conservation, and power projects are examples of such activities. It is also often possible for the Government to employ prices to ration the service and to finance the operation. To determine the appropriate price, it is necessary to employ a cost of capital. The Government may or may not use the price mechanism to ration the benefits or services the activity provides. To the extent that it does not price the service to cover the *full cost* of the project, including an appropriate interest cost, it provides private users a "subsidy in kind." Whether a subsidy should be provided is not a point at issue in a discussion of what the interest rate should be. An appropriate interest rate should nevertheless be applied to the project if only to determine the magnitude of the subsidy itself.

Not to employ the same appropriate discount rate in the public sector that is encountered in the private sector can lead to many anomalies. A low discount rate "justifies" or signals the use of "capital intensive" production methods. As such, it would mean, for example, that a fork lift truck in a government warehouse or machine tools in a government arsenal would be more expensive and durable than are used in identical private operations. Government office buildings would be longer-lived than those in the private sector. More expensive automobiles, which would afford lower annual operation cost, would be called for. There appears to be no rational justification to promulgate such behavior.

The level of the interest rate applicable to government operations has nothing to do with whether the total amount of government goods and services, or the magnitude of government activity as applied to meeting purely government ends, be large or small relative to the private sector of the economy. It does not imply one way or the other whether we should have more "public goods" such as education, national parks, space probes and ballistic missiles and fewer consumer goods, or vice versa. This issue is still to be determined by essentially political processes, to be hammered out by the liberal and conservative spenders. To follow the equalization principle is simply a means of maximizing the combined amount of both private and collective goods over whatever foreseeable future for which the appropriate rate of return will hold.

It is held by some students, however, that the rate of return on private investment in the private sector is "too high" because private investors and savers invest too little. The private sector thus makes inadequate provision for future generations. Since the government has a responsibility for the unborn there is no necessary reason why it should use the private rate of return for its investment decision making. It is therefore argued that a "social time preference" rate be employed to evaluate government investments. Such a line of argument is another way of saying that a larger capital stock is better than a smaller capital stock. The issue therefore becomes one of determining the rate of economic growth and net capital formation which assures that future generations will enjoy some policy-determined level of income.

Even if we grant that the over-all rate of growth of the economy and the rate of investment spending should be higher than what it would otherwise be, it does not follow that the government should employ, for evaluating its projects, an interest rate that is lower than the rate of return prevailing in the private sector of the economy. To the extent that a more rapid rate of capital accumulation promotes a higher rate of economic growth, it is simply sufficient that investment *per se* be increased, whether it be in the private sector of the economy or in government projects. In order to achieve a given growth objective most efficiently, we should still adhere to the equalization principle. By means of tax and subsidy devices, monetary policy, and possibly through other techniques, the opportunity return on all investment could be forced down from 15 percent to 10 percent, or even 3 percent. Whatever the rate of return might be, the same rate should also be employed for evaluating government projects. If the rates in the two sectors are not equalized, the policy of employing a lower rate for evaluating government projects will be an inefficient way of attaining the growth objective. It will also change the composition of output available to future generations. Moreover, it changes the product mix in an extremely inefficient manner. Let us demonstrate these points in connection with reclamation projects.

Let us assume that the going rate of return (before taxes) in the private sector of the economy is 15 percent. A proposed reclamation project that will provide water to irrigate land that can grow tomatoes is subjected to a cost benefit study. The study reveals that the internal rate of return on the tomato land reclamation project is 5 percent. In the cause of offsetting the "myopia" of the private sector of the economy, government policy-makers employ a 4 percent "social time preference" rate in their cost benefit analysis. On this basis the tomato-land reclamation project is undertaken. What are its consequences, and how dose it benefit future generations?

Let us assume that the tomato-land reclamation project costs $100,000,000. In the cause of enhancing the welfare of future generations, steps are taken to insure that the resources diverted to the reclamation project come only out of private consumption. In this case future generations would enjoy a higher gross national product of $4,000,000 annually—the increment consisting solely of tomatoes. Should, however, $26.7 million of the resources required for the reclamation project be displaced from private investment, the future gross national product would be at the same level it would be if there had been no government project, although future generations would have more tomatoes but less consumer durables, entertainment, and other items normally produced in the private sector. Any larger displacement of resources from private investment into the tomato-land project would reduce the gross national product. For example, should the $100,000,000 project displace $40 million from private investment the future GNP will be $2 million less. Each year future generations would have $4 million more a year of tomatoes, but $6 million a year less of other goods. Thus the growth objective is defeated. For this happy outcome the present generation in addition sacrifices $60 million of consumption.

Rates of return on investment in physical assets in the American economy vary, depending on the sector and the type of investment. Table 1 summarizes rates of return, before corporate taxes, in a number of major industries. With the exception of the railroad industry, the rate of return in the regulated sector is around 10 percent. In manufacturing, the major non-regulated sector, the rate of return exceeds 15 percent.

Table 2 shows the allocation of investment spending for plant and equipment in the private sector over the past five years. Roughly, about 70 percent was allocated to the non-regulated sector; 30 percent, in the regulated sector. If one assumes that the 15 percent rate of return revealed in manufacturing is experienced overall in the non-regulated sector, one could weight the 15 and 10 percent rates of the return at the ratios of 70 and 30 percent respectively. The overall rate of return is thus 13.5 percent.

TABLE 1.—SUMMARY OF RATE OF RETURN BEHAVIOR FOR SELECTED MAJOR SECTORS

Sector	Total earning assets, 1965 (billions)	Period	Annual average rate of return (percent)	Annual average rate of return, 1961–65 (percent)
Manufacturing	$274, 574	1949–65	17. 7	15. 4
Electric utilities	53, 534	1949–65	8. 9	9. 3
Gas pipelines	8, 782	1955–65	8. 5	8. 6
Telephone	31, 429	1949–65	10. 6	11. 9
Railroads	25, 203	1956–65	4. 8	4. 1
Motor carriers	1, 293	1958–64	13. 0	[1] 14. 7
Oil pipelines	2, 793	1956–65	14. 4	15. 6
Airlines	4, 384	1959–65	6. 1	8. 2

[1] Average of 1961–64 only.

TABLE 2.—ALLOCATION OF BUSINESS INVESTMENT SPENDING ON PLANT AND EQUIPMENT 1960–65

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	5-year total	Percent
All industries	$34. 37	$37. 31	$39. 22	$44. 90	$51. 96	$207. 76	100
Manufacturing	13. 68	14. 68	15. 69	18. 58	22. 45	85. 08	41
Mining	. 98	1. 08	1. 04	1. 19	1. 30	5. 59	3
Commercial and other	8. 46	9. 52	10. 03	10. 83	11. 79	50. 63	24
Public utilities	5. 25	5. 48	5. 65	6. 22	6. 94	29. 54	14
Communications	3. 22	3. 63	3. 79	4. 30	4. 94	19. 88	10
Railroads	. 67	. 85	1. 10	1. 40	1. 73	5. 75	3
Transportation, other than railroads	1. 85	2. 07	1. 92	2. 38	2. 81	11. 03	5

Source: Survey of Current Business, April 1964, p. S–2, and January 1967, p. S–2.

THE INTEREST RATE APPLICABLE TO GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT PROJECTS

(By J. A. Stockfisch)

(NOTE.—The author is a Senior Research Associate in the Institute for Defense Analyses. This paper had its origin in a study undertaken for Planning Research Corporation, Los Angeles, in the spring of 1960, on behalf of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Department of the Navy, under contract No. NOnr-2713(00). The study received additional support through a research grant from the Division of Research of the UCLA Graduate School of Business Administration during the summer of 1960. Support from the Institute for Defense Analyses facilitated the final stage of gestation.)

(None of the above named institutions necessarily endorse or accept the views advanced in this paper.)

This paper seeks to demonstrate that decision makers should apply to Government investment projects an interest rate that equals the opportunity return on investment in the private sector of the economy. Moreover, it should be the rate of return that prevails *before* corporate taxes. Presently this rate is between 10 and 15 percent.

The use of a rate as high as 15 percent, as contrasted with one in the neighborhood of from 4 to 6 percent, is profound. Arnold Harberger, for example, stated that a majority of 53 Bureau of Reclamation and Corps of Engineers projects which he examined would have been rejected at a 10 percent rate.[1] Hirshleifer, DeHaven, and Milliman show that California's Feather River Project would be uneconomical at a 6 percent rate.[2] To employ a 15 percent rate would therefore radically change Government practices and operations. Current thinking in the Government suggests that the proposed Supersonic Transport Program will be regarded a financial success or economically viable if the Government can recover its outlay plus 6 percent. If a rate in the neighborhood of 15 percent is valid, it appears that present Government investment decision making is extremely inefficient.

This paper consists of two parts. Part I develops the principle of why the opportunity rate of return on investment in the private sector should be used as the measure of capital cost in the public sector. Part II and Appendix A presents a method to estimate that opportunity rate of return.

I. THE PRINCIPLE

A. The positive statement

Most resource using activities permit substitution between different kinds of resources. Often, it is possible to substitute larger initial investment outlays for smaller annual or periodic outlays, or vice versa, to achieve the given objective. For example, a large investment in spare parts can reduce the periodic maintenance and transportation costs necessary to support a weapon system during its life span. Or a law enforcement agency may acquire electronic data processing equipment in order to dispense with file clerks and thus reduce annual operating expenses. Possibilities such as these require that some interest rate be explicitly employed to make rational decisions.

There is a class of Government resource-using activities which serve private ends by providing individuals instrumental services or products. For these activities it is often possible to identify the individuals or groups who benefit from the Government operation. Government enterprises such as the Post Office Department, reclamation, conservation, and power projects are examples of such activities. It is also often possible for the Government to employ prices to ration the service and to finance the operation. To determine the appropriate price, it is necessary to employ a cost of capital. The Government may or may not use the price mechanism to ration the benefits or services the activity provides. To the extent that it does not price the service to cover the *full cost* of the project, including an appropriate interest cost, it provides private users a "subsidy in kind." Whether a subsidy should be provided is not a point at issue in a discussion of what the interest rate should be. An appropriate interest rate should nevertheless be applied to the project if only to determine the magnitude of the subsidy itself.

We may elaborate upon these points by an example which treats hypothetical alternative missile systems:

[In millions of dollars]

System	Initial investment cost	Annual operating cost
A	500	20
B	300	70

Note: System life, 5 years.

For simplification we can assume that both systems have the same "kill potential."

It is unnecessary to be concerned with the question of whether the "product" is "worth" the cost of either system: this judgment may be a political-military one, not an economic one.[3] We may assume that the Strategic Air Command requires either system. Given agreement on this point the procurement decision can be approached in the same fashion as businessmen would evaluate two machine tools.

In the example of missile systems "A" and "B", one evaluation approach would be as follows: System "A" requires an incremental investment, as compared with System "B", of $200 million. System A relative to System B saves $50 million a year for five years. System A therefore enables the Government to acquire a five-year annuity of $50 million a year. The internal rate return on the incremental $200 million investment is therefore 7.9%.

If the interest rate applicable to Government investment projects is 15 percent, the Government should not buy System A, since the incremental investment of $200 million in System A does not meet the 15 percent test, and System B is the preferred one. Stated another way, if the present costs of both systems were determined by applying a 15 percent discount rate, System B would be less costly: The present cost of System B is $534.6 million; System A's cost, $567 million.

Not to employ the same appropriate discount rate in the public sector that is encountered in the private sector can lead to many anomalies. A low discount rate "justifies" or signals the use of "capital intensive" production methods. As such, it would mean, for example, that a fork lift truck in a government warehouse or machine tools in a government arsenal would be more expensive and durable than are used in identical private operations. Government office buildings would be longer-lived than those in the private sector. More expensive automobiles, which would afford lower annual operation cost, would be called for. There appears to be no rational justification to promulgate such behavior.[4]

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[1] Arnold C. Harberger, "The Interest Rate in Cost-Benefits Analysis," *Federal Expenditure Policy for Economic Growth and Stability*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1957, p. 241.

[2] Jack Hirshleifer, James C. DeHaven, and W. M. Milliman, *Water Supply; Economics, Technology, and Policy*, Chicago: 1960. pp. 341–346.

[3] It is possible, however, to address by analytical methods the question of whether the capability provided by either system is worth the cost. But this point takes us into other aspects of cost-effectiveness analysis, particularly the problem of identifying and measuring benefits. These problems should not be intertwined or confused with those of cost, which is what the discount rate treats.

[4] However, the point discussed above can help one understand the behavior of government agency and bureau heads to the extent that they do advocate the more "capital intensive" methods. To employ a less capital intensive technique necessitates higher annual outlays to maintain a given level of operations. Annual outlays can be (and are) controlled through the annual budget cycle. A capital intensive method, therefore, provides the agency a larger measure of protection against possible future control by higher decision makers, including Congress.

It should be noted that the level of the interest rate applicable to government operations has nothing to do with whether the total amount of government goods and services, or the magnitude of government activity as applied to meeting purely government ends, be large or small relative to the private sector of the economy. As exemplified by our weapon system example, the use of a 15 percent rate does not affect the decision of whether the government should procure a large or small quantity of weapons. Nor does it imply one way or the other whether we should have more "public goods" such as education, national parks, space probes and ballistic missiles and fewer consumer goods, or vice versa. This issue is still to be determined by essentially political processes, to be hammered out by the liberal and conservative spenders. To follow the equalization principle is simply a means of maximizing the combined amount of both private and collective goods over whatever foreseeable future for which the appropriate rate of return will hold.

B. The Social Time Preference School of Thought

The "equalization principle" advocated here is not accepted by many students. Rather, they hold that the government employ some "social" rate of "time preference" for purposes of evaluating its investment projects. The main argument adopted by this group seems to run as follows: Investment decision-making in the private sector is governed by "time preference," which reflects the relative value that private individuals attach to present versus future consumption. The rate of return in the private sector reveals the "time preference" of private individuals who control resources. But there is no necessary reason, however, why the government should use the same rate. The private rate of time preference may be "too high" because private individuals are apt to be afflicted with "myopia," or possess a "defective telescopic facility," which causes them to save and invest less. The government should take a "longer view" since it has an obligation to promote the welfare of unborn generations. The appropriate social rate of time preference, therefore, should be lower than the "myopic" market rate.[5]

Such a line of argument is another way of saying that a larger capital stock is better than a smaller capital stock. The "optimum social rate of time preference" is therefore the opportunity return on the margin of investment that is consistent with some desired and larger total output goal. The assertion that the private rate of time preference is "too high" is therefore an assertion that the rate of capital formation will not be rapid enough, which is also an assertion that the national output at some future point in time should be higher than would result from spontaneous private investment and saving. The issue therefore becomes one of determining the rate of economic growth and net capital formation which assures that future generations will enjoy some policy-determined level of income.[6]

Even if we grant that the over-all rate of growth of the economy and the rate of investment spending should be higher than what it would otherwise be, it does not follow that the government should employ, for evaluating its projects, an interest rate that is lower than the rate of return prevailing to the private sector of the economy. To the extent that a more rapid rate of capital accumulation promotes a higher rate of economic growth, it is simply sufficient that investment per se be increased, whether it be in the private sector of the economy or in government projects. In order to achieve a given growth objective most efficiently, we should still adhere to the equalization principle. By means of tax and subsidy devices, monetary policy, and possibly through other techniques, the opportunity return on all investment could be forced down from 15 percent to 10 percent, or even 3 percent. Whatever the rate of return might be, the same rate should also be employed for evaluating government projects. If the rates in the two sectors are not equalized, the policy of employing a lower rate for evaluating government projects will be an inefficient way of attaining the growth objective. It will also change the composition of output available to future generations. Moreover, it changes the product mix in an extremely inefficient manner. Let us demonstrate these points in connection with reclamation projects.

Let us assume that the going rate of return (before taxes) in the private sector of the economy is 15 percent. A proposed reclamation project that will provide water to irrigate land that can grow tomatoes is subjected to a cost benefit study. The study reveals that internal rate of return on the tomato land reclamation project is 5 percent. In the cause of offsetting the "myopia" of the private sector of the economy, government policy-makers employ a 4 percent "social time preference" rate in their cost benefit analysis. On this basis the tomato-land reclamation project is undertaken. What are its consequences, and how does it benefit future generations?

Let's assume that the tomato land reclamation project costs $100,000,000. In the cause of enhancing the welfare of future generations, steps are taken to insure that the resources diverted to the reclamation project come only out of private consumption. In this case future generations would enjoy a higher gross national product of $4,000,000 annually—the increment consisting solely of tomatoes. Should, however, $26.7 million of the resources required for the reclamation project be displaced from private investment, the future gross national product would be at the same level it would be if there had been no government project, although future generations would have more tomatoes but less consumer durables, entertainment, and other items normally produced in the private sector. Any larger displacement of resources from private investment into the tomato-land project would reduce the gross national product. For example, should the $100,000,000 project displace $40 million from private investment the future GNP will be $2 million less. Each year future generations would have $4 million more a year of tomatoes, but $6 million a year less of other goods. Thus the growth objective is defeated. For this happy outcome the present generation in addition sacrifices $60 million of consumption.

The operation is also an expensive way of getting additional tomatoes. If increasing tomato output is an important public goal, a more efficient way to attain it would be to subsidize tomato growing in the private sector of the economy that would cause some capital resources, which on the margin are yielding 15 percent, to be reallocated to tomato production and diverted from the production of other privately produced commodities.

C. Summary on the equalization principle

When we recognize that the government can attain any desired product mix by the use of selected excise taxes and subsidies, the use of an interest rate on government projects that supply private goods that is lower than the opportunity return in the private sector is an inefficient way of changing the composition of output. The use of a lower rate also leads to irrational decision-making within the government sector itself. For example, with the use of a zero rate, a $3 billion freeway system for a large metropolitan area, would appear to have an annual opportunity cost of zero. At a 15 percent rate, the annual cost is $450 million. If we explicitly recognize the $450 million annual cost, the investment of say $1 billion in a rapid transit system with an annual operating subsidy of $100 million a year and only $2 billion in freeways might provide an overall more effective urban transportation system. The use of low interest rates, or a zero rate, for evaluating government investments therefore seems almost certain to insure that the public goods and services we do get are likely to be the wrong kind.

Critics of the equalization principle (who generally are "low" interest rate advocates) usually criticize the position on the ground that it assumes that the level and structure of rates revealed in the private sector of the economy are optimal. They then correctly assert that optimality has not been proven. Therefore, the equalization principle should be rejected. Rejection of the equalization principle for this reason is a palpable *non sequiter*.

To invest resources purposefully in activities where the return is lower than the highest attainable is simply wasteful and inefficient, whether the highest rate of return is "optimal" or not. If we wish to attain a given growth objective, resources should be invested where the return is highest. If we want to change the composition of private goods, whether produced by government or private firms, the most efficient investment channels should be directed to that end by means of excise taxes and subsidies. If we want a given amount of government goods that meet "collective" wants, the investment policy that provides the highest GNP is the best means to get it. Even those who decry our nation's alleged "imbalance" between public and private goods (to say nothing of those who fly bombers or man submarines, or who teach school or supervise the national parks) can be motivated by offering them command over productive power, which includes the services of privately-created investment goods. If there is more such productive power, as contrasted with less, the burden of taxation or the inflationary incidence of deficit spending is less. The government can therefore proceed to divert more resources from the private sector to attain collective goals than it could if it caused resources to be invested in less productive channels. Thus, the assumption that the private opportunity rate of return is "optimal," in terms of some desired rate of economic growth, is not necessary to support the principle that the rates of return in the government and private sectors of investment be equalized.

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[5] See, e.g., Otto Eckstein, "A Survey of the Theory of Public Expenditure Criteria," *Public Finances: Needs, Sources and Utilization*, Princeton, 1961, p. 10; Stephen A. Marglin, "The Social Rate of Discount and the Optimal Rate of Investment," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, (February 1963), pp. 95–111. This line of thinking has its intellectual foundation in the work of A. C. Pigou. See his *The Economics of Welfare*, 4th Ed. (London, 1949), p. 24. It was first published in 1912.

[6] At this point we must recognize that the "optimum" interest rate could be zero or even negative. For example, a per capita personal income of $50,000 a year by the year 2000 might be attainable by utilizing all investment opportunities which at that time could offer any positive rate of return. Under such a condition the opportunity return would be zero. On the other hand, if we thought the per capita personal income should be $100,000 a year at that same point in time, an investment program that results in a negative opportunity return would have to be undertaken. Such a program, since all projects yielding positive returns would be exploited, would require that goods be stored for future generations. The cost of storing and deterioration would be responsible for the negative rate.

II. ESTIMATING THE RATE OF RETURN

Ideally, we need a measure of the "marginal efficiency of investment." Moreover, it should be the rate of return before corporate and property taxes. Such a measure would enable us to address the following question: given an increment of new investment in the economy, what will be the resulting and permanent increase in the net national income and product? The reason we want the rate of return before taxes is because the government shares in the yield from private investment. This point is particularly germane with regard to treating government investment projects because the government experiences a loss of tax yields if it causes resources to be diverted from investment in the private sector. For example, an increment of private investment of, say, $100 million may increase the net national product by $15 million annually. With a 50 percent profit tax, the government is able to extract $7.5 million of that increment. The overall social benefit of the private investment is thus 15 percent, and this should be the rate of return used to evaluate government investment projects.[7]

Such a rate of return concept also implies an equilibrium in the sense that rates of return are equal in all lines of activity. Actually, no such equality exists. The lack of equality between rates available on different margins of investment may be due to the fact that at any given time the economy is not in equilibrium.[8] It may also be due to the fact that investors have "tastes" for the differences in risk encountered with various types of physical assets. One is therefore forced to employ some average of marginal rates of return in order to get an overall measure of the social benefits of private investment.

Table 1 shows the average rates of return attributed to physical assets in major sectors of the American economy for selected periods. Column 1 shows total "earning assets" in 1965, to provide the reader a feeling for the relative importance of these sectors. Columns 2 and 3 show the average annual rates of return for the periods stated in Column 2. Column 5 presents the average annual rates of return for the period 1961–65.

Before treating the behavior shown in Table 1, it is useful to describe the basis upon which the rates of return estimates were made.

"Earning assets" in these calculations include inventory, net plant and equipment, and accounts receivable. Excluded from the asset base were cash and other short term liquid assets, and securities and long term debt that a company may hold as an investment. These adjustments warrant explanation.

TABLE 1.—SUMMARY OF RATE OF RETURN BEHAVIOR FOR SELECTED MAJOR SECTORS[1]

Sector	Total earning assets, 1965 (billions)	Period	Annual average rate of return (percent)	Annual average rate of return, 1961–65 (percent)
Manufacturing	$274, 574	1949–65	17.7	15. 4
Electric utilities	53, 534	1949–65	8. 9	9. 3
Gas pipelines	8, 782	1955–65	8. 5	8. 6
Telephone	31, 429	1949–65	10. 6	11. 9
Railroads	25, 203	1956–65	4. 8	4. 1
Motor carriers	1, 293	1958–64	13. 0	[2] 14. 7
Oil pipelines	2, 793	1956–65	14. 4	15. 6
Airlines	4, 384	1959–65	6. 1	8. 2

[1] Further detail, by year, is provided in appendix tables A–1 through A–8.

[2] Average of 1961–64 only.

Source: See appendix tables A–1 through A–8.

From a firm's point of view, cash is necessary to provide liquidity. But, from the point of view of the overall economy, cash is not a "productive" resource. It yields no service or product in the same sense that workers or physical equipment create products. It is only a paper of legal claim against the government or a bank. The marginal cost of cash to society is zero, since the supply of money can be increased or decreased by bookkeeping transactions and banking operations. As such, cash is not an asset the existence of which causes a displacement of real resources from the point of view of the economy as a whole, nor does cash create any real product in the economic system.

Other legal claims such as bonds and stocks are not physical, real resources; rather, they are claims against physical resources. Their creation, and their existence, therefore, do not involve the displacement of physical resources. Moreover, to the extent that a manufacturing or other operating enterprise owns them, that company is functioning as a portfolio investor, rather than a producer of economic goods and services. For these reasons such assets should not be considered part of the assets associated with the operations for which its physical investment is undertaken.[9]

The exclusion of these items from the estimate of a capital base, particularly the exclusion of cash and other short term financial assets, will cause the asset base to be smaller, and the derived rate of return to be higher, than those encountered in normal financial calculations.

TABLE 2.—ALLOCATION OF BUSINESS INVESTMENT SPENDING ON PLANT AND EQUIPMENT, 1960–65

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	5-year total	Percent
All industries	$34. 37	$37. 31	$39. 22	$44. 90	$51. 96	$207. 76	100
Manufacturing	13. 68	14. 68	15. 69	18. 58	22. 45	85. 08	41
Mining	. 98	1. 08	1. 04	1. 19	1. 30	5. 59	3
Commercial and other	8. 46	9. 52	10. 03	10. 83	11. 79	50. 63	24
Public utilities	5. 25	5. 48	5. 65	6. 22	6. 94	29. 54	14
Communications	3. 22	3. 63	3. 79	4. 30	4. 94	19. 88	10
Railroads	. 67	. 85	1. 10	1. 40	1. 73	5. 75	3
Transportation, other than railroads	1. 85	2. 07	1. 92	2. 38	2. 81	11. 03	5

Source: Survey of Current Business, April 1964, p. S–2, and January 1967, p. S–2.

In line with the same asset base, asset earnings were calculated to derive earnings before payment of interest on debt a company owes, before corporate taxes, and to exclude income not derived from operations, such as dividends or interest received from stocks or debt that a company owns.[10]

Table 1 indicates that in manufacturing the rate of return is around 15 percent; in the preponderance of the regulated sector it is around 10 percent, with the notable exception of the railroads. Examination of Appendix Tables A–1 through A–8 indicates that in manufacturing the rate of return has held fairly constant at around 15 percent after a leveling off from the Korean War induced highs. In the regulated sector, from the early and middle 1950's, the rate of return has tended to rise, to level off at around 10 percent. Railroads, however, have consistently done poorly, which reflects basic structural changes in our transportation sector. Until the last few years, airlines also fared poorly. However, since 1962 they have picked up dramatically, both in terms of rate of return performance as well as the absolute and relative allocation of investment to that sector.[11] Thus, a rate of return of 10 percent in the regulated sector and 15 percent in manufacturing—attributable to earning assets as defined above—appears to be a reasonable estimate of the opportunity cost of private investment in those sectors.

One may go a step further to ascertain the relative importance to attach to these rates. Table 2 shows the allocation of business investment on plant and equipment, by year, during the five year period of 1961–65. According to these data, about 70 percent of the total flows into the unregulated sector of manufacturing, mining, and commercial;[12] the remaining predominately regulated sector absorbs 30 percent. If we assume that the revealed 15 percent rate of return in manufacturing would also apply to the mining and commercial sectors, on the ground that competition within the unregulated sector would tend to promote equality in the rates of return, one could weigh the 15 and 10 percent rates of return at the ratios of 70 and 30 percent, respectively. The overall rate of return is thus 13.5 percent.

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[7] The overall impact of taxes on the earnings from all wealth—if one recognizes property, and corporate and personal income taxes—has been estimated by Arnold Harberger to be slightly under 50 percent, although the effective tax rates vary considerably as between sectors and activities. See Arnold Harberger, "Efficiency Effects of Taxes on Income From Capital," in *Effects of Corporation Income Tax*, ed. by Marian Krzyzaniak, (Detroit, 1966) p. 110. Harberger's estimate is based on 1953–59 behavior, which may be mitigated somewhat by the Revenue Acts of 1962 and 1964. On the other hand, increases since that period in state income taxes and local property taxes will have worked in the opposite direction.

[8] However, there is nevertheless a strong tendency toward an equilibrium. See George J. Stigler, *Capital and Rates of Return In Manufacturing Industries*, (Princeton, 1963), for a demonstration of this point.

[9] Accounts receivable are also legal claims, rather than physical assets; and one might contend that they, too, should not be part of the physical asset base. However, they constitute part of the "stock in trade" necessary for the conduct of business operations. They reflect displaced physical resources. They may be viewed as a "lending" or "renting" of goods or services for some specified period of time, with the firm receiving its earnings on its investment in the form of higher prices to its customers.

[10] Further detail on the calculating methodology, including some discussion of the data sources, is presented in the Technical Notes in Appendix 1.

[11] The performance shown in Appendix Table A–8 for airlines has continued into 1966 when the rate of return was 12.5 percent, and the earning assets increased to $5.6 billion.

[12] The "commercial and other" category shown in Table 2 absorbs a large portion (24 percent) of the total. It includes trade and services. The preponderance of unincorporated businesses will be found in this sector, although it also contains large corporate activities—e.g., hotels, retail trade. Because of the diversity of activities and the importance of non-corporate firms in this sector, good data on investment and asset earnings is not readily available. For a discussion of some of the analytical and measurement problems of treating unincorporated businesses, see Stigler, op. cit., pp. 114–118.

APPENDIX A

TABLE A-1.—MANUFACTURING EARNING ASSETS, EARNINGS AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES), 1949-65

[Earnings and assets in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Operating profit [1]	Interest [2]	Earnings [3]	Rate of return (percent)
1949..	79,723	14,319	344	14,663	18.4
1950..	84,061	22,651	340	22,992	27.4
1951..	102,045	25,365	442	25,807	25.3
1952..	122,780	22,456	624	23,080	18.8
1953..	129,616	24,004	702	24,706	19.1
1954..	132,092	20,541	663	21,204	16.1
1955..	139,144	27,655	703	28,358	20.4
1956..	159,043	28,742	932	29,674	18.7
1957..	170,701	27,379	1,111	28,490	16.7
1958..	175,341	21,926	1,173	23,099	13.2
1959..	185,819	28,699	1,350	30,049	16.2
1960..	198,713	26,486	1,538	28,024	14.1
1961..	208,518	26,454	1,624	28,078	13.5
1962..	222,624	30,819	1,822	32,641	14.7
1963..	233,604	33,777	1,887	35,664	15.3
1964..	248,896	38,416	2,143	40,559	16.3
1965..	274,574	45,630	2,545	48,175	17.5

[1] Net operating profit as reported in source below.

[2] Estimated by method discussed below.

[3] Sum of operating profit and estimated interest costs.

Source: Quarterly Financial Report for Manufacturing Corporations, Federal Trade Commission, Securities Exchange Commission, 1949-66.

TABLE A-2.—RATE OF RETURN, TOTAL AND SELECTED ASSETS, PRIVATELY OWNED ELECTRIC UTILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1949-65

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return on earning assets (percent)
1949	16,475	1,323	8.0
1950	18,150	1,519	8.4
1951	19,887	1,724	8.7
1952	21,954	1,985	9.0
1953	24,517	2,183	8.9
1954	26,716	2,371	8.9
1955	28,776	2,681	9.3
1956	31,127	2,888	9.3
1957	34,136	3,012	8.8
1958	37,012	3,212	8.7
1959	39,710	3,567	9.0
1960	42,241	3,828	9.1
1961	44,401	4,058	9.1
1962	46,403	4,372	9.4
1963	48,539	4,585	9.4
1964	50,770	4,753	9.4
1965	53,534	4,995	9.3

Source: "Statistics of Electric Utilities in the United States, Privately Owned," 1959 and 1965 volumes, Federal Power Commission.

TABLE A-3.—NATURAL GAS PIPELINE COMPANY EARNING ASSETS, EARNINGS (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES) AND RATE OF RETURN, 1955-65

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1955	5,232	323	9.2
1956	5,789	359	9.0
1957	6,697	395	8.0
1958	7,270	427	8.0
1959	7,990	474	7.9
1960	8,718	549	8.6
1961	8,876	560	9.0
1962	9,356	605	8.6
1963	9,522	616	8.9
1964	9,397	586	8.3
1965	9,673	603	8.2

Source: Statistics for Interstate Natural Gas Pipeline Companies, 1965, Federal Power Commission.

TABLE A-4.—TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS EARNING ASSETS, INCOME, AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES), 1949-65

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1949	7,635	453	5.9
1950	8,239	709	8.6
1951	8,938	817	9.1
1952	9,801	915	9.3
1953	10,789	1,052	9.8
1954	11,729	1,184	10.0
1955	12,933	1,424	11.0
1956	14,685	1,572	10.7
1957	16,590	1,725	10.4
1958	18,015	2,085	11.6
1959	19,455	2,404	12.4
1960	21,108	2,601	12.3
1961	22,966	2,800	12.2
1962	24,861	3,030	12.2
1963	26,796	3,273	12.2
1964	28,964	3,377	11.7
1965	31,429	3,602	11.5

Source: Statistics of Communications Common Carriers Federal Communications Commission (annual reports).

TABLE A-5.—RAILROAD EARNING ASSETS, EARNINGS, AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES), 1956-65

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1956	23,756	1,713	7.2
1957	24,034	1,515	6.3
1958	24,479	1,305	5.3
1959	24,469	1,340	5.4
1960	24,613	787	3.2
1961	24,496	1,167	4.7
1962	24,538	885	3.6
1963	24,593	970	3.9
1964	24,240	956	3.9
1965	25,203	1,126	4.5

Source: Transport Statistics in the United States (annual reports), Pt. I, Railroads, Bureau of Accounts, Interstate Commerce Commission.

TABLE A-6.—OIL PIPELINES, EARNING ASSETS, INCOME AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES), 1956-65

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1956	1,990	328	16.5
1957	2,048	291	14.2
1958	2,094	246	11.7
1959	2,253	259	11.5
1960	2,267	269	11.9
1961	2,316	326	14.1
1962	2,316	342	14.8
1963	2,718	358	13.2
1964	2,739	476	17.4
1965	2,793	521	18.7

Source: "Transport Statistics in the United States" (annual reports) Pt. 6—Oil Pipe Lines. Bureau of Accounts, Interstate Commerce Commission.

TABLE A-7.—INTERCITY MOTOR CARRIER EARNING ASSETS, EARNINGS, AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES), 1958-64

[Assets and earnings in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1958	844	95	11.2
1959	966	141	14.5
1960	991	66	6.7
1961	1,020	142	13.9
1962	1,104	164	14.9
1963	1,188	166	13.9
1964	1,293	208	16.1

Source: Transport Statistics in the United States (annual reports), Pt. 7., Motor Carriers. Bureau of Accounts, Interstate Commerce Commission.

TABLE A-8.—AIRLINES (CERTIFICATED AIR ROUTE CARRIERS) EARNING ASSETS, EARNINGS, AND RATE OF RETURN (BEFORE FEDERAL INCOME TAXES AND SUBSIDIES), 1959-65

[Earnings and assets in millions of dollars]

Year	Earning assets	Earnings	Rate of return (percent)
1959	2,114	75	3.5
1960	2,663	22	.8
1961	3,072	−58	----
1962	3,249	107	3.2
1963	3,236	197	6.0
1964	3,804	388	10.1
1965	4,384	593	13.5

Source: Civil Aeronautics Board, Air Carrier Financial Statistics. (So-called Yellow Book, issued quarterly.)

[Technical notes on tables A-1 through A-8]

I. DERIVATION OF EARNING ASSET ESTIMATES

A. Annual versus quarterly asset values

For all sectors, except manufacturing, asset values were end of year (December 31) magnitudes. For manufacturing, the average of end of quarter magnitudes was employed. To the extent that an industry is growing, this difference will tend to cause the asset base to be larger when the end of year value is used than when the average of the quarters is employed, with an opposite effect on the rate of return calculation. Thus the rates of return developed in this study on the regulated industries will be slightly understated relative to those shown for manufacturing.

B. Elements of the asset base

1. *Manufacturing*—The items in the *Quarterly Financial Report* (FTC–SEC) "Total Receivables," "Inventories" and "Total Property, Plant, and Equipment (net)," were summed.

2. *Electric Utilities*—The accounts labeled "net total utility plant," "notes and accounts receivable less accumulated provisions for uncollected accounts" and "materials and supplies" were summed.[1]

3. *Natural Gas Pipelines*—"Net gas utility plant," "gas stored underground—non-current" accounts were summed to derive long-term assets; "notes and accounts receivable, less accumulated provision for uncollected accounts," "materials and supplies" and "gas stored underground—current" constituted short term earning assets.

4. *Telephone Communications*—"Total communications plant—net," "materials and supplies" and "accounts receivable from customers, agents and others" were summed.

5. *Railroads*—"Total Properties less recorded depreciation and amortization," "materials and supplies," "net balance receivable from agents and conductors," "miscellaneous accounts receivable," and "accrued accounts receivable" were summed.

6. *Oil Pipelines*—Only selected balance sheet data are provided in ICC reports treating this industry. Earning assets were estimated as follows: "carrier property" less the sum of "accrued depreciation-property" and "accrued amortization-property" constituted estimate of physical plant. "Total current assets" less "cash" served as an estimate of receivables and inventory or supplies. This method undoubtedly overestimates "earning assets" as defined in this study, and will cause a slight underestimate of the rate of return.

7. *Motor Carriers*—"Net carrier operating property" plus 50 percent of "Current assets-total" were summed. The 50 percent factor was derived from examination of more detailed statistics for a subsample of the industry.

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[1] See references cited in Tables for source documents.

8. *Airlines*—"Net value of operating equipment," "materials," "net value of spare parts" and "accounts receivable" were summed. For the years 1959 and 1960, the above short term asset accounts could not be clearly identified; hence, 50 percent of total short term assets was employed.

II. EARNINGS

A. For each of the regulated industries, annual operating income (before fixed charges, particularly interest) and major tax components (including federal income taxes) were readily identifiable. For airlines, federal subsidies (which mainly accrue to selected local route carriers) were *subtracted* from aggregate industry profits to derive before tax earnings. (In 1965, for example, the federal subsidy was $79 million.) It is possible that mail revenues may contain a subsidy element; however, we had no way of estimating this for a fact.

B. *Manufacturing*—The FTC-SEC definition of "Net profit from operations" *excludes* interest charges. That is, cost and expenses include interest on debt and bonds. Thus the "profit" figure (which compares with what corporate stockholders normally focus on) would understate asset earnings by the amount of interest payments. (The FTC-SEC reports, incidentally, follow the pattern employed in the Department of Commerce national income accounting methodology). Nor do the FTC-SEC Quarterly Reports provide a separate interest cost component. It was therefore necessary to estimate interest charges. (This estimate is shown by year in Table A-1.)

The estimating method for interest was as follows: The FTC-SEC reports do provide balance sheet data on "short term loans from banks" (maturity of one year or less), "installments, due in one year or less, on long term debt," and "long term debt due in more than one year." For each year the quarterly average of these items was determined; the short term item and the sum of the two long term items were multiplied by an appropriate interest rate. The sum of these products constitutes the estimated "interest" item shown in Table A-1.

The derivation of the interest rates was as follows: For long term debt, a 10 year moving average of Moody's composite yield on industrial bonds. For short term debt the arithmetic mean, for each year, of the rate on short term bank loans and the rate on 4 to 6 month prime paper. These rates are shown in Appendix Table A.

APPENDIX TABLE A.—INTEREST RATES EMPLOYED TO ESTIMATE INTEREST COMPONENT OF MANUFACTURING ASSET EARNINGS, 1949–65

Year	Short-term rates			Moody's composite yield on industrial bonds (10-year moving average)
	Short-term loans bank	Prime commercial paper (4 to 6 months)	Average	
1949	2.68	1.49	2.08	2.82
1950	2.69	1.45	2.07	2.78
1951	3.11	2.16	2.63	2.77
1952	3.49	2.33	2.91	2.77
1953	3.69	2.52	3.10	2.82
1954	3.61	1.58	2.59	2.85
1955	3.70	2.18	2.94	2.90
1956	4.20	3.31	3.75	2.99
1957	4.62	3.81	4.21	3.13
1958	4.34	2.46	3.40	3.25
1959	[1] 5.00	3.97	4.48	3.42
1960	5.16	3.85	4.50	3.62
1961	4.97	2.97	3.97	3.78
1962	5.00	3.26	4.13	3.93
1963	5.01	3.55	4.28	4.04
1964	4.99	3.97	4.48	4.18
1965	5.06	4.38	4.72	4.33

[1] Beginning 1959, series revised to exclude loans to nonbank financial institutions.

Source: Short-term rates: Economic Report of the President, January 1967, p. 272. Long-term rate: Moody's Industrial Manual, 1965, p. a21.

HURRICANE BEULAH DEVASTATES SOUTH TEXAS—DISASTER AREA DECLARATION NEEDED

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, my State has just suffered a devastating blow from nature. Hurricane Beulah has unleashed on the coast of Texas winds and waters of unprecedented force. Only now are the winds dying down and the waters receding to allow us to take stock of the damage—it is not a heartening picture. But Texans are hearty individuals by nature, and already we are busy at the task of recovery from this tragic disaster.

Yesterday on this floor I sought Senate approval of an amendment to the independent offices appropriation bill to make available an additional $10 million to the President's emergency disaster relief fund. With the cooperation and support of my distinguished colleagues from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] and Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] the amendment was approved, thus making available a total appropriation of $25,000,000 for disaster relief if the House concurs in my amendment.

Mr. President, under Public Law 81–875 and section 9 of Public Law 89–769, the Federal Government will provide assistance to State and local governments in the event of a declared major disaster by the President. By Executive Order 10427, responsibility for administration of this emergency relief program rests with the Office of Emergency Planning. I am told that some $11 million is presently available for disaster relief work performed under this authority. Approval by the House of my amendment of yesterday will bring this total to about $36 million. Once the President designates the area of Texas devastated by Hurricane Beulah a disaster area, this Federal financial assistance will be made available to the people of Texas who have suffered from this tragedy.

In addition to the Federal departmental efforts coordinated by the Office of Emergency Planning, other aid is available to our people. I have checked with Mr. Cowles, Director of the Office of Disaster Loans at the Small Business Administration and learned that some $150 million exists for loans to assist those small Texas business concerns that suffered the ravages of Beulah this week. He informs me that Hurricane Carla, which struck Texas in September of 1961, resulted in SBA loans and the Small Business Administration advises that it is capable of providing the necessary aid arising from this tragedy.

I also want to mention the emergency credit revolving fund of the Farmers Home Administration. This fund finances emergency loans in areas where agricultural credit is not readily available because of natural disasters. Hurricane Beulah struck one of this country's richest agricultural areas, and farmers and ranchers of the disaster area will be eligible for loans made at 3-percent interest. I am assured by the Farmers Home Administration that adequate moneys are available to cover whatever loans will be necessary as a result of Hurricane Beulah.

Early this morning I sent telegrams to President Lyndon Johnson and to Director Farris Bryant, Office of Emergency Planning, recommending that the heavily damaged areas of south Texas be declared a disaster area.

My telegram to President Johnson reads as follows:

> Reports from Texas indicate vast, incalculable, and growing damage from Hurricane Beulah, with suceeding torrential rains of more than thirty inches in some areas of south Texas and the early estimates of five hundred million dollars of damage in south Texas growing hourly, with vast areas of land under water.
>
> I recommend the immediate declaration of south Texas, southeast of San Antonio, including an area as far north as Victoria, as a major disaster area.

Mr. President, I sent an identical telegram to Farris Bryant, Director, Office of Emergency Planning. I ask unanimous consent that both telegrams be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 22, 1967.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

Reports from Texas indicate vast, incalculable, and growing damage from Hurricane Beulah, with succeeding torrential rains of more than thirty inches in some areas of south Texas and the early estimates of five hundred million dollars of damage in south Texas growing hourly, with vast areas of land under water.

I recommend the immediate declaration of south Texas, southeast of San Antonio, including an area as far north as Victoria, as a major disaster area.

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senator, Texas.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1967.

Hon. FARRIS BRYANT,
Director, Office of Emergency Planning,
Washington, D.C.:

Reports from Texas indicate vast, incalculable, and growing damage from Hurricane Beulah, with succeeding torrential rains of more than thirty inches in some areas of south Texas and the early estimates of five hundred million dollars of damage in south Texas growing hourly, with vast areas of land under water.

I recommend the immediate declaration of south Texas, southeast of San Antonio, including an area as far north as Victoria, as a major disaster area.

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senator, Texas.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. GEORGE B. GALLOWAY, OFFICER AND AIDE TO CONGRESS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Congress has sustained a great loss in the death of Dr. George B. Galloway, whose highly effective and outstanding service has benefited the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives for more than two decades. As senior specialist in American government and public administration in the Legislative Reference Service, Dr. Galloway's record should stand as an inspiration to those who aspire to make a contribution to good government. He was one of the Nation's foremost experts on the legislative process, and he was intensely interested in strengthening procedures which would lead to wise legislation. He understood the Congress as an institution as few people do and he had the respect and confidence of both the Democratic and Republican Members.

When his advice was sought, Dr. Galloway gave wise counsel based upon his thorough knowledge of American history. He could state a problem in clear terms, set forth alternative solutions, analyze the advantages and disadvantages of each proposed course of action, and estimate the probable consequences. He was dedicated to democracy in government and always had a healthy respect for differing viewpoints which might help to contribute to the solution of a legislative problem.

Having become an expert on the Congress, it was natural that Members of Parliament from all over the world came to his office to learn about the American government, to seek his advice, and to take back to their own legislative bodies the knowledge they had acquired about the United States. His biography has been in "Who's Who in America" for some 30 years.

Dr. Galloway's outstanding reputation both at home and abroad made him a natural choice for executive secretary of the U.S. group of the Interparliamentary Union. It was in this connection that I shall always cherish the memory of the briefings he gave the U.S. delegations prior to the Interparliamentary Union conferences, to the private counsel which he gave me in preparing for these meetings where the Congress actually plays a role in the conduct of foreign relations. His wishes and ideals for a stronger Interparliamentary Union were guidelines for those of us who were fortunate enough to be appointed as members of the U.S. delegation.

One of the main objectives of the Interparliamentary Union, which has been in existence since 1889, is the promotion of personal meetings between Members of Parliaments of all nations, in the belief that they will find mutual interests leading to common courses of legislative action. This is a method which can strengthen democratic institutions and peaceful international relations. There are now some 67 active national groups which are members of the IPU. standing study groups have been organized in recent years into, first, the committee on political questions, international security and disarmament; second, the parliamentary and juridical committee; third, the economic and social committee; fourth, the cultural committee; and fifth, the committee on non-self-governing territories and ethnic questions. These committees require considerable staff work in preparation for their spring meetings.

Dr. Galloway instituted the plan of briefing workbooks, often assembled other professional experts on specific subjects when they were needed and arranged for briefings of the delegation prior to conferences. The legislative branch of the Government needs its own staff experts, scholars who understand practical problems of the Congress in enacting laws, investigating various situations, and learning about complicated problems in the shortest time possible.

Every year a plenary session of the Interparliamentary Union is scheduled in the capital city of a different nation, the conferences always using the Parliament building of the host country. As a U.S. delegate to the Interparliamentary Union meetings at Brasilia, Brazil, in 1962, Dublin, Ireland, in spring of 1965, Canberra, Australia, spring of 1966, Tehran, Iran, the fall of 1966, and in Mallorca, Spain, in spring of 1967, I found the advice and counsel of Dr. Galloway, and his vast knowledge of governments and peoples of incalculable aid to me. I miss his wise counsel in such matters.

Some of the Members of Parliaments with whom the U.S. delegation has worked during a conference find it possible to visit Washington. Many others always came with a letter of introduction to Dr. Galloway, who entertained visiting legislative representatives from all over the world. Typical of the many letters which Mrs. Galloway has received from abroad are the following.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that several letters of condolence to Mrs. Galloway be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION, AUSTRALIA BRANCH,
Canberra, September 7, 1967.

MRS. EILENE GALLOWAY,
Senior Specialist in International Relations, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. GALLOWAY: Alan Turner has told me of your husband's sudden death. Please accept from myself and from the Australian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association our most sincere sympathy.

The many Members of Parliament who have visited Washington have grateful memories of the friendly help they always received from Dr. Galloway in his capacity as Secretary of the United States Associated Group of the Association.

He will be long remembered by his many friends.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. MCMULLIN,
President of the Senate: Chairman Australian Branch, C.P.A.

PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALIA,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Canberra, September 7, 1967.

DEAR MRS. GALLOWAY: I was deeply shocked, as were my colleagues, to hear that George had died. My friendship with both of you has been something I have valued. I will not now be able to repay my considerable debt for his unfailing courtesy and help.

America has lost an outstanding citizen and an exceptional public servant. His contribution to Congress and Government has been appreciated in a wide field and I know that he will be sadly missed in the Library which he served so well so long. He will be missed too by his many friends in so many countries of the world.

Thank you for writing me. Ina joins in sincere sympathy and regards.

ALAN TURNER.

AUSTRALIAN SENATE,
Canberra, September 8, 1967.

MRS. EILENE GALLOWAY,
Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. GALLOWAY: I was very sorry to learn of the death of your distinguished husband, George Galloway. My colleagues in the Senate, a number of whom were fortunate to know George and to have enjoyed his hospitality in Washington, join with me in sending deepest sympathy.

As you know, George and I first met in Washington in 1955 and maintained a regular correspondence. I will always be grateful to him for his kindness and for the assistance he extended to me in understanding the American system of government. His profound learning was much respected in Australia.

My wife, Jean, joins me in expressing to you our most sincere sympathy.

Yours sincerely,

J. R. ODGERS,
Clerk of the Senate.

PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALIA,
THE SENATE,
Canberra, September 8, 1967.

DEAR MRS. GALLOWAY: I have just heard from the Clerk of the Senate, Mr. Odgers, of the death of your husband, and I feel that I must write immediately to convey my sympathy.

I'm very sincere when I say that I have met very few men whom I have come to admire, love and respect like your late Doctor. His warm sincerity and gentle courteous manner endeared him to all his friends—and I felt deeply honoured that he should regard and accept me as one.

I shall always remember Dr. Galloway as a quietly spoken cultured gentleman in the very finest sense, and as a man who combined the rare qualities of calm personal serenity with a keenly intelligent and active interest in the welfare of his fellow men.

Would you please pass on my sympathy to your family. The night your husband invited me to dinner with you all at the Cosmos Club stands now very vividly in my mind.

Yours sincerely,

ROY BULLOCK.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it is noteworthy that Dr. Galloway received from his alma mater, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., the Distinguished Alumnus Award in recognition of outstanding achievement and service, with the following citation:

After graduation with honors in 1920, George Galloway obtained an M.A. from Washington University and a Ph. D. from Brookings Institution in 1926.

His keen interest, broad experience and study of the functioning of government qualify him as an expert on Congressional organization and procedure. As Staff Director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, he did much of the research that led to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Since then he has been with the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress as Senior Specialist in American Government and Public Administration. His vast knowledge and experience in legislative matters is frequently sought by Congressional Committees and by individual members of Congress. He also briefs numerous officials from other countries, as well as student and civic groups, on the work of Congress.

As consultant, lecturer and author of numerous books and articles, George Galloway has contributed significantly to improved understanding and more efficient functioning of the legislative branch of our government.

I believe that Dr. Galloway's record should be made known so that it can be emulated by those who come after him in dedicating their lives to the public service.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR JOINS BUILDING FORCES OF PEOPLE AGAINST ERADICATION OF WORLD'S WILDLIFE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, recently I received an impressive and significant publication put out by the Christian Science Monitor, "The Call of the Vanishing Wild." This booklet, containing essays of such varied and distinguished authors as Cleveland Amory, newspaper reporter and Pulitzer Prize Winner Brooks Atkinson, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, treats with the vital subject of conservation of our wildlife. The plight that these essays convey astonished me, even though I have been working for conservation, and against the forces of destruction, during 10 years in the Senate and for many years before that in Texas.

I was stymied by the figures cited by Dr. Lee M. Talbot, of the Smithsonian Institution, a scholar, ecologist, conservationist, and geographer. In his article, "The World's Most Endangered Species," Dr. Talbot points out that since the beginning of the Christian era, "the world has lost an estimated 110 kinds of mammals."

He noted:

> Furthermore, nearly 70 percent of the losses have occurred in the last century, and almost 40 percent within the past 50 years—one species a year since 1900.

This is a record of annihilation of which mankind must be ashamed, for it represents not only a loss to the biological collection which forms our world; it represents a loss to mankind now and in generations to come. Dr. Talbot cites examples of the early recognition of need to stop mankind's extermination of his fellow species, such as Plato's declamation against denuding of the hills of Attica, and "what this meant in terms of soil, water, timber, and crop losses." Especially he points out in this knowledgeable essay, the Indians in 250 B.C. recognized long ago the value of protecting wildlife, taking "a strong stand that it was not ethically or morally right for man to completely destroy another form of life."

It is time that we here in America, tens of centuries later, took this stand, and took up the fight against further decimation of our Nation's and our world's wildlife. It is for this reason that I have introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 41, to provide for an International Conference on the Conservation of Wildlife. And it is for this reason that I have introduced S. 4, the Big Thicket National Park bill, to protect an area of Texas long visited by naturalists and biologists from all over the Nation, for its many, varied, and rare forms of animal and plant life. Now it is found to provide the last known habitat for the ivory-billed woodpecker, one of the species of American wildlife which has been thought altogether wiped out for the last 20 years. The Big Thicket is, moreover, one of those locales with the peculiarities of climate and soil which make a place of "critical speciation"—that is, a place of development and modification of forms of life. It is of value to man as more than an advocate of natural beauty—it is of value to him as a member of the community of living things.

I urge all of my colleagues to think seriously about the implications of the present slaughter going on throughout the world. In Africa and other habitats of rare and beautifully furred animals, the fashion industry is wiping out vital and well-known species by the demand created in New York, Dallas, and Paris. Superstitious symbols and artistic usage are contributing to the disappearance of horned species, such as the Sumatran rhino. And here at home, our very growth and development as a great industrial Nation threatens species after species with loss of a natural habitat and extinction.

As Dr. Talbot points out:

> Today, our greater awareness of man's role in changing the face of the earth, and our greater technological capabilities merely emphasize that we have the ability to protect or destroy a species, and therefore we—not an impersonal evolution—have the responsibility to make the decision.

I commend the Christian Science Monitor highly on this publication, which argues with eloquence characteristic of this journal for the action now to protect man's environment and the disappearing life forms of his world.

We have, indeed, the responsibility, and we have, too, the means, if we will use them. I urge action now on this important front.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Talbot's article in "The Call of the Vanishing Wild," being one chapter of the book, be printed at this point in the RECORD, for other Senators to review.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHAPTER 10

(By Lee M. Talbot)

(NOTE.—Dr. Lee M. Talbot is the Smithsonian Institution's field representative for international affairs in ecology and conservation. A graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, he has traveled in more than 60 countries in connection with land use and wildlife researches and surveys. He is consultant to various African and Asian governments as well as to United States and international organizations. Dr. Talbot has written extensively as ecologist, conservationist, and geographer.

(Mankind has been exterminating mammals throughout the Christian era. But the rate of extinction has risen drastically in the past century. The following article explains the need for concern about the 1,000 forms threatened with extinction today.)

The world has lost an estimated 110 kinds of mammals since the beginning of the Christian era, and all of these departed animals owe their extinction to man's activities.

These same activities have brought another 1,000 forms to the point where they may be considered threatened with a similar fate today.

Roughly 100 extinctions spread over 2,000 years might not at first appear a particularly urgent matter. The urgency becomes clear, however, when one realizes that the rate of extermination—like the rate of the world's human population growth with which it is closely associated—has sharply accelerated in recent years.

Nearly 70 percent of the losses have occurred in the last century, and almost 40 percent within the past 50 years.

Stated another way, from the time of Jesus to A.D. 1800, one mammal was exterminated each 55 years.

During the next century the rate increased to one each year and a half. Since 1900, man has exterminated roughly one form each year!

HABITAT CHANGES

And this number refers only to mammals—mostly the large and conspicuous ones at that. No one has made a similar tally of reptiles, amphibians, fishes, or insects.

However, since 1689 when the last dodo is thought to have perished, about 162 species or subspecies of bird are believed to have been exterminated.

We exterminate animals in two ways: directly, through killing them; and indirectly, through changing their habitat. Less obvious than direct killing, but often far more threatening to the species' survival, is changing its habitat.

An animal does not exist by itself, isolated and independent. Instead, it might be considered as the center of a complex ecological web.

The radiating strands of this web are the animal's relations with and requirements for a variety of factors, including water, soil, plants, other animals, climate, and parasites.

These strands, in turn, are themselves interconnected, as with the circular strands of a spider web.

When any one strand of the web is altered it has some effect on most other strands. The strands, in sum, make up the animal's whole habitat. Survival of the animal usually depends on the habitat web's remaining relatively intact.

Some human activities, such as cultivation, flooding through dam construction, construction of cities, and some forms of lumbering virtually annihilate entire habitat webs. The results are easy to see.

Less easily recognized are the longer-term effects of those human activities that alter only a part of existing habitats.

These activities include grazing of domestic livestock, use of fire, diversion of surface or subsurface water, and introduction of parasites, diseases, and exotic species of plants and animals.

IMPACT ON MANKIND

Regardless of the form that such habitat changes take, they almost inevitably accompany human activities. It is difficult to find any significant area of the earth's surface that has not been altered in some fashion by man, and whose wildlife has not been affected accordingly.

Man set the stage for the extermination of animals when he became able to modify his own environment—when he became an ecological dominant.

This point in man's development was reached far back in prehistoric time. The prehistoric men were hunters and used fire extensively. Doubtless they exerted considerable influence on plant and animal populations of their times.

The implications of man's impact on his own environment were realized early in historic times. In the 4th century B.C., for example, Plato spoke eloquently of the then recently denuded hills of Attica, and of what this meant in terms of soil, water, timber, and crop losses.

An appreciation of man's impact on wild animals and plants came early also. In India in the 3d century B.C. the need for complete protection of certain areas and animals was realized.

As the human population increased and more of the earth's surface was actually occupied or modified by man, increasing numbers of mammals were threatened.

The first species to go were those which competed with or threatened man. The earliest documented exterminations include 3 more cats (the Cape lion, Barbary lion, and Eastern cougar), 17 bears, and 5 wolves and foxes.

Over half of the species exterminated in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Antarctic, and North America have been largely predators.

LIONS DECIMATED

Many of the surviving forms of large predators are threatened species. Among these are such diverse creatures as the polar bear, maned wolf, the Spanish lynx, the Indian lion, and rarest of all with probably less than 10 left, the Javan tiger.

Now such animals can only survive in a protected area or a remote region where their activities do not conflict with those of man. The Indian lion is a dramatic example.

Two thousand years ago the Indian lions were so common that they were mentioned some 130 times in the Scriptures. They were found from the Eastern Mediterranean countries and the Arabian Peninsula eastward into India.

But they were gradually killed out of this vast area. Since 1884 the last real population of Indian lions has been limited to the remote Gir Forest in northwest India.

By the early 1900's hunters had so decimated the population, now variously estimated at between 12 to 100 animals, that the lion was declared protected in the forest and has remained so to the present. Thanks to this action, an estimated 200 to 300 lions still survive.

Another threatened carnivore is the black-footed ferret, a diminutive weasellike creature which is the only North American representative of a group of Old World weasels.

It is almost exclusively found in association with prairie dogs, living in their burrows and living on them. The near extermination of the prairie dog has had the same effect on this ferret.

UNGULATES HIT HARD

The other principal group of continental mammals to be exterminated was the large ungulates (hooved, herbivorous mammals) which required extensive feeding grounds, thereby competing with man and his domestic livestock; and which were hunted for food and other products.

The exterminated ungulates have included such diverse animals as the European wild horse, the aurochs, the Portuguese ibex, Caucasian bison, Eastern wapiti, Oregon bison, Badlands bighorn sheep, Algerian wild ass, Quagga, Syrian wild ass, and rufous gazelle.

About 40 percent of the mammal species exterminated in Asia, Europe, Africa, and North America were from this group, which also includes nearly half of the species presently threatened with extinction.

Among the more seriously threatened ungulates are the four mammals which probably were the basis for the legend of the unicorn.

Three of these are the Asian rhinos—the great Indian, Javan, and Sumatran. All formerly were found throughout much of South and Southeast Asia. All have been brought to the verge of extinction by habitat changes and intensive hunting.

SANCTUARIES SET SIDE

Because of the medicinal and magical properties credited to all parts of a rhinoceros by many Asian peoples, very high prices are paid for rhino products, especially the horn which is almost literally worth its weight in gold. As the rhino habitat and rhino numbers declined, the profit-hunting pressure on the survivors has increased.

The last several hundred Indian rhinos are protected in sanctuaries in northeast India and Nepal.

The remaining Sumatran rhinos, mostly heavily hunted single individuals, are widely scattered in Sumatra, Borneo (Kalimantan and Sabah), and in several countries on the mainland, and their total numbers are estimated at 100–200.

The last known Javan rhinos, 2 to 4 dozen animals, still survive in the magnificent Udjung Kulon Reserve on the western tip of Java, which is also the last habitat of the Javan tiger.

The other gravely threatened "unicorn" is the Arabian oryx, a fleet white desert antelope with long, straight horns which, when seen from the side, appear to be one—hence the unicorn.

Intensive hunting from cars and aircraft reduced the once widespread population to a few ever-more intensively hunted survivors, probably under 100, scattered around the southern fringes of the Empty Quarter desert in Arabia. Survival in their natural habitat at this time appeared unlikely, so in 1963 Operation Oryx was undertaken.

Sponsored by the Fauna Preservation Society and other organizations concerned with conservation, an expedition captured 3 oryx and secured 5 more from existing collections.

These animals were taken to Phoenix, Ariz., to start a survival center with.

OBJECTIVES SET UP

The first objective was to establish several breeding herds. The ultimate objective was to reintroduce the oryx back into its former range when there are sufficient animals in hand and conditions are favorable for their survival.

The captive herd has produced eight calves, justifying cautious optimism about the future of the oryx.

"All right," some people say, "many animals have become extinct and others are threatened; why worry? Thousands of animals have become extinct as the world developed. That's evolution. Nobody worried about the dinosaurs!"

True enough. Man was not on hand to worry about the passing of the dinosaurs—or to cause their extinction. But we are here today, and it is we who are doing the exterminating.

All the mammal species lost during recorded history owe their extinction to man's activities, and these same activities today have brought many others to the point where they are threatened with a similar fate.

FIRST ACTIONS TRACED

Further, the dinosaurs and other forms of prehistoric animal life that followed them evolved and became extinct over geological periods extending for many millions of years. Compared with these periods, the rate of modern, man-caused extermination is almost instantaneous.

Under Emperor Asoka of India in the 3d century B.C., some of the answers were provided to the question, "Why worry about threatened species?"

At the same time, the Indians took the first recorded actions to do something about the problem, through the establishment of reserves and game laws including complete protection for some species and closed seasons for others.

The Indians saw clearly, first, that man was the agent of extermination, and that therefore he must accept the responsibility for it or take action to prevent it.

Today, our greater awareness of man's role in changing the face of the earth, and our greater technological capabilities merely emphasize that we have the ability to protect or destroy a species, and therefore we—not an impersonal evolution—have the responsibility to make the decision.

Recognizing this responsibility, the ancient Indians took a strong stand that it was not ethically or morally right for man to completely destroy another form of life. They further recognized the importance of some forms of wildlife to their cultural background and possibly as a link with their historical past.

They also appreciated the recreational values involved, in terms of people's enjoyment of viewing animals. Today, these arguments are felt strongly by an increasingly large segment of the world's population.

ECONOMIC VALUES

The ancient Indians recognized an economic value in some animals, particularly those that provided food or other products, including medicines, and they furnished protection to maintain adequate stocks of those species.

Today we recognize a variety of economic values to man from threatened species, ranging from their very considerable value as tourist attractions in some cases, to the industries based on harvesting them or their products.

In parts of Russia and Africa, wild animals once considered threatened now are ranched commercially. They have proved capable of making more productive use of the habitats to produce meat and hides than the conventional domestic livestock.

The need to develop such resurces to make the most effective use of the land is becoming increasingly urgent.

We now recognize that the scientific values and potential benefits to man of threatened species are particularly great. With the ever-increasing interest in space exploration, we tend to lose sight of the fact that our knowledge of natural biological processes on on the earth is incomplete. And this lack is a major stumbling block in our efforts to increase the world's production of food and fiber.

A 5-YEAR PROGRAM

In recognition of this fact, the International Biological Program (IBP), a 5-year worldwide program of basic research into biological processes, will be initiated next year. Already over 60 nations have participated in the preparatory stages.

Threatened species, many of which provide real links with past conditions, can supply much needed information on the basic biological processes. They can also furnish materials for medicines and other needs of man, and some can serve as subjects for medical and other research of direct human application. These species also provide living "gene pools" from which information and products better able to provide for human requirements may be met. In other words, we may well need these animals—their extermination is our loss.

Some people believe that extermination of wild animals is necessary or unavoidable wherever there is a dense human population, especially in developing economies or highly industrialized civilizations.

This is simply not true. India, with one of the densest human populations in the world, until recently had not exterminated a single mammal. In the United States and a few other highly industrialized countries, wildlife is abundant and is managed as an important renewable natural resource.

RESEARCH URGED

The answer to immediate protection of most species can be found in provision of effective protection from overexploitation, habitat management, establishment of parks or reserves to protect the habitat as well as the animals, or in extreme cases (such as the oryx) the establishment of survival centers.

If we will only use them, we have the capabilities for effective action on these lines now. And we should have—it was done in India in 250 B.C.!

However, research is still much needed: (1) to find out what species are indeed threatened; and (2) to provide the foundation for effective, long-term management and protection.

In the 22 centuries that have passed since Emperor Asoka's pioneering but effective worry about threatened species, the problem and the need for action has greatly increased, but so has our ability to do something about them.

It is increasingly realized that threatened species ultimately are an international concern rather than a purely local one.

Wild animals do not recognize political boundaries. When a species becomes extinct the irreparable loss is equally great to all those concerned whether they are in the country of extermination or on the other side of the world.

PANAMA CANAL JURIDICAL STRUCTURE—PART VI: SPOONER ACT OF 1902

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in a series of statements to the Senate on the Panama Canal juridical structure on July 17, 18, 21, 24, and 25, I quoted, with appropriate comments, the full texts of the following treaties relating to the Panama Canal:

First, Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 with Great Britain; second, Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903 with Panama; third, Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914–1922 with Colombia; fourth, Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1936–39 with Panama; and fifth, Eisenhower-Remon Treaty of 1955 with Panama.

In addition to the indicated treaties, there are three important enactments by the Congress relating to the juridical structure of the Panama Canal. These three laws form the legislative framework for the canal, and should be of particular interest since they are within the domain of Congress.

First. The Spooner Act of 1902 under which the Canal Zone was acquired and governed and the Panama Canal constructed, 1904–14.

Second. The Panama Canal Act of 1912 for the permanent organization and operation of the canal, 1914–51.

Third. The Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950—Thompson Act—placing the canal on a self-sustaining basis, effective in 1951.

Today, I shall limit my comments to the Spooner Act, which is one of the great landmarks in modern Panama Canal history, prepared by one of the ablest men ever to serve in this body of Congress—Senator John C. Spooner, of Wisconsin. Passed by the Senate on June 19, 1902, by a vote of 67 to 6, the House on June 26 by a vote of 259 to 8, the enactment was approved by President Theodore Roosevelt on June 28, 1902, thus becoming the basic Panama Canal law.

In brief, the Spooner Act authorized the President of the United States to do the following:

First. Acquire the French holdings on the isthmus, including the Panama Railroad, at a cost not exceeding $40 million, which amount was actually paid in 1904.

Second. Acquire from Colombia the perpetual control of a strip of land between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans at Panama for the construction of the Panama Canal and its perpetual operation, and of the Panama Railroad.

Third. Obtain such additional necessary rights from Colombia required to facilitate the general purpose of the law.

Fourth. Construct the Panama Canal when satisfactory title to the French holdings was acquired.

Fifth. In event of inability to secure a title or to negotiate an adequate treaty with Colombia, the President was authorized to obtain perpetual control of the necessary territory for a Nicaraguan Canal.

Sixth. Create an Isthmus Canal Commission to be nominated and appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Mr. President, I first made reference to the Spooner Act when I pointed out that it was the legislative foundation for the negotiation of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903. However, for the convenience of those who are studying these documents in logical order, and who wish to compare the text with my analysis of its general legislative intent and function, I ask unanimous consent that it now be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the act was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SPOONER ACT[1]

(Approved June 28, 1902)

An Act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to acquire, for and on behalf of the United States, at a cost not exceeding forty millions of dollars, the rights, privileges, franchises, concessions, grants of land, right of way, unfinished work, plants, and other property, real, personal, and mixed, of every name and nature, owned by the New Panama Canal Company, of France, on the Isthmus of Panama, and all its maps, plans, drawings, records on the Isthmus of Panama and in Paris, including all the capital stock, not less, however, than sixty-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-three shares of the Panama Railroad Company, owned by or held for the use of said canal company, provided a satisfactory title to all of said property can be obtained.

SEC. 2. That the President is hereby authorized to acquire from the Republic of Colombia, for and on behalf of the United States, upon such terms as he may deem reasonable, perpetual control of a strip of land, the territory of the Republic of Colombia, not less than six miles in width, extending from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and the right to use and dispose of the waters thereon, and to excavate, construct, and to perpetually maintain, operate, and protect thereon a canal, of such depth and capacity as will afford convenient passage of ships of the greatest tonnage and draft now in use, from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, which control shall include the right to perpetually maintain and operate the Panama Railroad, if the ownership thereof, or a controlling interest therein, shall have been acquired by the United States, and also jurisdiction over said strip and the ports at the ends thereof to make such police and sanitary rules and regulations as shall be necessary to preserve order and preserve the public health thereon, and to establish such judicial tribunals as may be agreed upon thereon as may be necessary to enforce such rules and regulations.

The President may acquire such additional territory and rights from Colombia as in his judgment will facilitate the general purpose hereof.

SEC. 3. That when the President shall have arranged to secure a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company, as provided in section one hereof, and shall have obtained by treaty control of the necessary territory from the Republic of Colombia, as provided in section two hereof, he is authorized to pay for the property of the New Panama Canal Company forty millions of dollars and to the Republic of Colombia such sum as shall have been agreed upon, and a sum sufficient for both said purposes is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be paid on warrant or warrants drawn by the President.

The President shall then through the Isthmian Canal Commission hereinafter authorized cause to be excavated, constructed, and completed, utilizing to that end as far as practicable the work heretofore done by the New Panama Canal Company, of France, and its predecessor company, a ship canal from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Such canal shall be of sufficient capacity and depth as shall afford convenient passage for vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest draft now in use, and such as may be reasonably anticipated, and shall be supplied with all necessary locks and other appliances to meet the necessities of vessels passing through the same from ocean to ocean; and he shall also cause to be constructed such safe and commodious harbors at the termini of said canal, and make such provisions for defense as may be necessary for the safety and protection of said canal and harbors. That the President is authorized for the purposes aforesaid to employ such persons as he may deem necessary, and to fix their compensation.

SEC. 4. That should the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia and the rights mentioned in sections one and two of this Act, within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President, having first obtained for the United States perpetual control by treaty of the necessary territory from Costa Rica and Nicaragua, upon terms which he may consider reasonable, for the construction, perpetual maintenance, operation, and protection of a canal connecting the Caribbean Sea with the Pacific Ocean by what is commonly known as the Nicaragua route, shall through the said Isthmian Canal Commission cause to be excavated and constructed a ship canal and waterway from a point on the shore of the Caribbean Sea near Greytown, by way of Lake Nicaragua, to a point near Brito on the Pacific Ocean. Said canal shall be of sufficient capacity and depth to afford convenient passage for vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest draft now in use, and such as may be reasonably anticipated, and shall be supplied with all necessary locks and other appliances to meet the necessities of vessels passing through the same from ocean to ocean; and he shall also construct such safe and commodious harbors at the termini of said canal as shall be necessary for the safe and convenient use thereof, and shall make such provisions for defense as may be necessary for the safety and protection of said harbors and canal; and such sum or sums of money as may be agreed upon by such treaty as compensation to be paid to Nicaragua and Costa Rica for the concessions and rights hereunder provided to be acquired by the United States, are hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be paid on warrant or warrants drawn by the President.

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[1] *Statutes at Large* (57th Cong., 1st Sess.), Vol. 32, Part 1, pp. 481–84; Public—No. 183. Also, *Isthmian Canal Commission, Annual Report, 1911*, pp. 549–52; I. E. Bennett, *History of the Panama Canal, Its Construction and Builders*, pp. 507–9.

The President shall cause the said Isthmian Canal Commission to make such surveys as may be necessary for said canal and harbors to be made, and in making such surveys and in the construction of said canal may employ such persons as he may deem necessary, and may fix their compensation.

In the excavation and construction of said Canal the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, or such parts of each as may be made available, shall be used.

SEC. 5. That the sum of ten million dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated toward the project herein contemplated by either route so selected.

And the President is hereby authorized to cause to be entered into such contract or contracts as may be deemed necessary for the proper excavation, construction, completion, and defense of said canal, harbors, and defenses, by the route finally determined upon under the provisions of this Act. Appropriations therefor shall from time to time be hereafter made, not to exceed in the aggregate the additional sum of one hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars should the Panama route be adopted, or one hundred and eighty millions of dollars should the Nicaragua be adopted.

SEC. 6. That in any agreement with the Republic of Colombia, or with the States of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the President is authorized to guarantee to said Republic or to said States the use of said canal and harbors, upon such terms as may be agreed upon, for all vessels owned by said States or by citizens thereof.

SEC. 7. That to enable the President to construct the canal and works appurtenant thereto as provided in this Act, there is hereby created the Isthmian Canal Commission, the same to be composed of seven members, who shall be nominated and appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall serve until the completion of said canal unless sooner removed by the President, and one of whom shall be named as the chairman of said Commission. Of the seven members of said Commission at least four of them shall be persons learned and skilled in the science of engineering and of the four at least one shall be an officer of the United States Army, and at least one other shall be an officer of the United States Navy, the said officers respectively being either upon the active or the retired list of the Army or of the Navy. Said commissioners shall each receive such compensation as the President shall prescribe until the same shall have been otherwise fixed by the Congress. In addition to the members of said Isthmian Canal Commission, the President is hereby authorized through said Commission to employ in said service any of the engineers of the United States Army at his discretion, and likewise to employ any engineers in civil life, at his discretion, and any other persons necessary for the proper and expeditious prosecution of said work. The compensation of all such engineers and other persons employed under this Act shall be fixed by said Commission, subject to the approval of the President. The official salary of any officer appointed or employed under this Act shall be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation provided by or which shall be fixed under the terms of this Act. Said Commission shall in all matters be subject to the direction and control of the President, and shall make to the President annually and at such other periods as may be required, either by law or by the order of the President, full and complete reports of all their actings and doings and of all moneys received and expended in the construction of said work and in the performance of their duties in connection therewith, which said reports shall be by the President transmitted to Congress. And the said Commission shall furthermore give to Congress, or either House of Congress, such information as may at any time be required either by Act of Congress or by the order of either House of Congress. The President shall cause to be provided and assigned for the use of the Commission such officers as may, with the suitable equipment of the same, be necessary and proper, in his discretion, for the proper discharge of the duties thereof.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States from time to time, as the proceeds may be required to defray expenditures authorized by this Act (such proceeds when received to be used only for the purpose of meeting such expenditures), the sum of one hundred and thirty million dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and to prepare and issue therefor coupon or registered bonds of the United States in such form as he may prescribe, and in denominations of twenty dollars or some multiple of that sum, redeemable in gold coin at the pleasure of the United States after ten years from the date of their issue, and payable thirty years from such date, and bearing interest payable quarterly in gold coin at the rate of two per centum per annum; and the bonds herein authorized shall be exempt from all taxes or duties of the United States, as well as from taxation in any form by or under State, municipal, or local authority: *Provided*, That said bonds may be disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury at not less than par, under such regulations as he may prescribe, giving to all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to subscribe therefor, but no commissions shall be allowed or paid thereon; and a sum not exceeding one-tenth of one per centum of the amount of the bonds herein authorized is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay the expense of preparing, advertising, and issuing the same.

Approved, June 28, 1902.

IN DEFENSE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, on my way to the Capitol Thursday I turned on my car radio to NBC and heard Commentator Chet Huntley deliver an excellent report on what he called "A Startling Evening." Mr. Huntley spoke of a dinner party at which the conversation turned to indictment and criticism of President Johnson that continued until a young attorney announced that he could think of no more attractive case than to defend the President of the United States against his detractors in front of any reputable judge or any fair jury.

Mr. President, Chet Huntley's presentation on the NBC Emphasis series was very brief and needs to have no analysis applied to it. For those who missed it, however, I should like to make the thoughts available, and pass on this young unnamed attorney's challenge that we name any other contemporary American whom we would have preferred in the White House at this time and who could have solved the problems and spared us some of our current anxiety.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Huntley's commentary be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the commentary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STARTLING EVENING

Chet Huntley, Emphasis, Plain Talk.

It happened one evening this week at a dinner party. The conversation began with the customary barrage of indictments of President Lyndon Johnson—the credibility gap, the Vietnam War, the state of our cities, the presence of poverty, the riots of American Negroes, the state of our alliance with Europe, and so on.

Finally, a bright young New York attorney spoke up. He came on with a rush of words and there were startling little evidences of deep concern and deep feeling in the pitch of his voice. He began by saying that as a lawyer he could think of no more attractive case than to defend the President of the United States against his detractors in front of any reputable judge or any fair jury.

The attorney then said that his defense would rest on the solid premise that it is not Lyndon B. Johnson who has created or exacerbated the problems and dilemmas which bother us. Rather, he said, the problems and the dilemmas were there, and that this President has had the misfortune to be in office at a time when they have become most painful. The attorney declared that far from ducking problems or doing nothing about them, this President has had the daring to call problems to national attention. Poverty was an example. The attorney said that in his opinion this country might have gone on paying little attention to poverty for a few more years, but it was Lyndon B. Johnson who called the attention of the nation to it and tried to do something about it.

As for the credibility gap, the attorney lashed into that issue and called it a hackneyed cliche employed by a section of the population which is too soft to endure dilemmas and to face the unknown. Having no immediate solutions to some of our current dilemmas, he said, we turn to the lame excuse that our President has not told us all and therefore we are confused.

Our attorney friend reached his peroration with a challenge that we name any other contemporary American whom we would have preferred in the White House at this time and who could have solved the problems and spared us some of our current anxiety. He finally ended with the statement that he was not really a Democrat and he was certainly not a Lyndon B. Johnson Democrat but he was getting tired of the abuse being heaped upon the President.

It was a memorable evening. It had been a long time since any of us had heard a defense of the President. I think it had a sharp effect. Some of us went away with a queasy and uneasy feeling that there might be considerable justice in the proposition that all of this unrest and angry talk and complaint is not a case of the man . . . but rather it is a case of the times and the state of things.

THE GOLDEN VOICE OF SENATOR DIRKSEN

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on September 12, 1967, Jack Mabley wrote a column about the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN]. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OLD MASTER HAS VOICE BOX FULL OF GOLD

(By Jack Mabley)

The cheering subsided, and Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen leaned across the speaker's stand, grasped the microphone, and in his dramatic booming bass voice asked undramatically:

"Can everyone hear me? I always try to find out before I proceed whether you are hearing me well." The audience was quiet. Sen. Dirksen, still grasping the microphone, continued:

"I want to thank you for that warm reception. You know, there was a farmer up in South Dakota who went out to milk his cows in 40 below zero—and it does get to 40 below, I can assure you—and when his warm hands touched those conduits that deliver the milk that old cow turned and said, 'Boss, thanks for the warm hand.' And I thank you for the warm hand."

Each vowel was lovingly caressed. Dirksen doesn't just talk—he plays a mighty vocal organ. He rarely uses three words if it can be said in 10. A cow's udder becomes "those conduits that deliver the milk."

"God created man" is translated by Sen. Dirksen as: "Then came the only creature that was created with intelligence, a soul, a personality, the prospect of divinity. There he was, this lonely creature. He had a beautiful home, if a garden can be called a home. God made it without the aid of the Housing administration. They were not even around then."

Sen. Dirksen was in Calumet City Sunday dedicating a handsome junior high school named for him. I studied him during his half-hour speech to try to analyze what makes Dirksen one of the great orators of the generation.

First of all, he looks like a Senator ought to look. His greatest physical blessing, tho, is a magnificent set of pipes.

"Can you imagine [legato] the army of fresh faced eager-eyed youngsters who will become the tillers of the soil tomorrow or the technicians of tomorrow or the generals?"

"I have tried [molto appassionato] to restore voluntary prayer in the schools of the United States. [Fortissimo] And if the Lord is willing and my spirit don't fail [crescendo] I'll get it done in spite of the Supreme Court!"

The audience roared to its feet in appreciation.

Dirksen has no trouble establishing rapport with his listeners because he talks with them, not at them. He loves being where he is. He is not condescending, and he has a rare ability to be self deprecating without for a moment sacrificing his sense of dignity or importance.

He talked steadily at the school dedication without a note, in a virtual stream-of-consciousness delivery.

Usually names of public persons are bestowed on airports or dams, he said, and even cigars [Ralph Waldo Emerson]. It's nicer to have a school named after you. Teachers should find high joy and rich satisfaction in teaching. A nursing home in Springfield was named the Everett McKinley Nursing Home, but a school is better, for in a school life begins. Some senators say cotton is the greatest national crop, others say it is corn, and some say the peanut. Just think of the peanuts sold in ballparks and the joy they give. But the greatest crop is children.

At the end of 30 minutes he climaxed his speech with a clenched fist, shouting, "There'll always be an America" and the thousands jammed in the big school gym cheered.

Dirksen had come out in favor of schools, children, prayer, soybeans, and America, and against draft card burners and low pay for teachers. There wasn't a person in the room who felt his time was not well spent.

We'll be seeing more of Sen. Dirksen than usual in the next 13 months because no matter how powerful a United States Senator becomes, every 6 years he has to go back home and ask the voters to return him to office.

If you get a chance to hear him, I recommend you do, because you'll be seeing a master, maybe the last of the oratorical masters because of what television is doing to politics.

MRS. LYNDON JOHNSON LEADS A TIMELY CRUSADE TO PRESERVE THE VALUES OF RURAL AMERICA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Minnesota was honored this week by a visit from our charming First Lady who is on a Midwestern tour to remind Americans of the virtues of rural living.

Mrs. Johnson was accompanied by three distinguished Minnesotans—Mrs. Muriel Humphrey and secretary, and Mrs. Orville Freeman—along with three other distinguished Americans—Secretary Robert Weaver, Mr. Roger Stevens, the President's special assistant on the arts, and Mrs. Stevens.

I commend Mrs. Johnson for making this trip. Smalltown America contributes tremendously to the vitality of our national life. The values, the attitudes, the way of life shaped by the rural experience has been for countless generations synonymous with the American way of life.

As our cities continue to grow, rural America will remain as a vital influence for shaping the American character. We cannot turn our backs on rural America without endangering one of the most valuable ingredients in our society: America's greatness has always been the diversity of its people, its culture, its community life.

And as Mrs. Johnson said yesterday in Montevideo, Americans must continue to have a choice between rural and city living.

Our First Lady is performing a valuable service by reminding Americans of the quality of their heritage—as both a rural and urban people dependent upon one another not only for food and jobs, but for the exchange of ideas and values that contribute to the full richness of American life.

I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Johnson's thoughtful address on the values of rural America be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at the Downtown Urban Renewal Area of Montevideo, Minn.

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Aaker, Mr. Secretary—friends:

There are 17,000 towns across the country with less than 6,000 people—but I am especially glad to come to this one, because Montevideo has taken action which makes it an example to the others.

I have enjoyed this morning thoroughly, and I know my traveling companions have, too—especially Secretary Robert Weaver who deals with the problems of cities. He is so pleased to see one town where you can find a place to park!

Our group arose this morning at dawn in Washington, flew by jet across 1225 miles and eight states; boarded a bus and drove 60 miles across two states to get here. So you know we really wanted to come to Montevideo!

Your own Orville and Jane Freeman had told us that what we would see would be well worth the effort. And it certainly is!

I am beginning to see evidences of this kind of new zest as I travel. What is happening here is beginning to happen other places. You have a head start.

About 71 million Americans live in towns of 10,000 persons or less. In many of these towns, the streets are coming alive with commerce and industry, old problems are being solved in new ways and the arts are flourishing.

The Census Bureau estimates that in the past 20 years, 200 of these towns have disappeared from the map, and across the land, hundreds of others have settled into a coma. Opportunity went to the city, and the people went after it.

These ghost towns of the 60's have been created not by industries that died such as gold rush towns or coal mining communities, but by populations that simply moved to payrolls and excitement in the city. These towns have literally been dying on the map.

There are no tombstones for them. But if there were, the tombstone might read:

"Here lies fresh air, a place to play, friendly neighbors. It was great while it lasted."

There is no chance of that decline in Montevideo—and I want to congratulate you for setting the pace for other towns.

There is no secret in this land that many of our cities are beset with problems that breed crime: bad housing, rats, pollution, congested traffic, streetside boredom—perhaps the most dangerous of all.

The re-energized small towns across this country may offer one of the important answers to that rising problem. That is why I am glad that our government has joined in with localities like Montevideo for action such as we find here today.

Now the speed of modern transportation, which once drained off the small town to the city, may be the very artery which pumps life back into the small town with new industries, new residents.

Over the past few years, the fact of American life has been that the traffic was all one one way: into the city.

One thing my husband has been striving for—is to give Americans a choice. Once, they had to go to the city for jobs, amenities—and entertainment. If these things are available in small towns, might not some of the traffic of people be reversed?

And so I salute you for making your own place on the map secure—and happily—for refusing to give up, and for rolling out such a gay fiesta carpet that says for all who come this way: "Welcome to Montevideo, a good place to live."

DR. EDWARD K. STIMPSON, BELLINGHAM, WASH., HONORED

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, St. Luke's General Hospital in Bellingham, Wash., recently honored a longtime physician of the community. The hospital announced that it would identify its new addition as the Edward K. Stimpson wing. The hospital board took this action by unanimous vote.

Dr. Stimpson is a brilliant medical practitioner who has devoted his life to serving the health needs of a community of some 35,000 people in the northwest corner of the United States. His medical career in Whatcom County has now ended because of his own ill health. His friends and admirers in the community have taken quick action in naming the new "extended-care" structure in his honor.

Dr. Stimpson has been a member of the medical staff of the hospital more than 30 years and was chief of staff in 1947 and 1948. He was chairman of the medical section on financing for the construction of the present hospital.

His father, Dr. E. W. Stimpson, also was a member of the staff for many years. One son, Edward W. Stimpson, is Assistant Administrator for Congressional Liaison of the Federal Aviation Agency here in Washington, D.C. Another son, Jon, a Sehome High School senior in Bellingham, has worked in my office as an intern the past two summers.

Dr. Stimpson has reason to be proud of his fine family, just as he has reason to feel pride for his many contributions to the community he has served so many years. He represents the best in the medical profession.

The people of Bellingham and Whatcom County sincerely appreciate his efforts, as noted in an editorial in the Bellingham Herald and an article in the same newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and article be printed in the RECORD so that all Senators may be aware of this honor given an outstanding physician.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ST. LUKE'S WING NAMED FOR DR. STIMPSON

The new wing of St. Luke's General Hospital will be named the Edward K. Stimpson Wing in honor of the Bellingham physician whom the hospital board of trustees "recognizes as a great humanitarian, an outstanding citizen of Whatcom County and a physician who represents the highest ideals of the medical profession."

The name of the new wing received unanimous approval from the board, and dedication has been tentatively set for mid-December.

Dr. Stimpson has been a member of the medical staff of the hospital since 1934, was its chief of staff in 1947 and 1948, served on the advisory board to the board of trustees for a number of years, beginning in 1941, and was chairman of the medical section on financing for the construction of the present hospital.

His father, Dr. E. W. Stimpson, also was a member of the staff for many years.

CHANGE PLANNED

The new wing, due for completion near the end of the year, was designed as a convalescent or extended care unit, but because of the impact of the Medicare program on the hospital's census, the board decided that the opening of the 31 bed unit will provide the opportunity to reorganize the services and facilities of the hospital's North Wing.

The Stimpson Wing will therefore be used for acute patients for the time necessary to modernize the older portion of the hospital constructed in 1924. It currently has 29 beds.

AN EARNED TRIBUTE

Admirers of Dr. Edward K. Stimpson—and that includes just about everybody who knows him—are pleased that his name will identify the new wing of St. Luke's General Hospital.

The structure, an "extended care" unit, was designed as an intermediate facility between hospital and nursing home care and will play an important role in the community's health picture for many years to come. It is to be completed late this year.

In honoring a dedicated local doctor whose longtime practice must close because of ill health, St. Luke's trustees have recognized "a great humanitarian, an outstanding citizen of Whatcom County and a physician who represents the highest ideals of the medical profession." So true!

KIMBERLY-CLARK LEADS THE WAY

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, we in Wisconsin are proud of our industrial achievements. We rank our State as No. 1 in the Nation in the paper industry.

Kimberly-Clark Corp., of Neenah, Wis., has helped to lead the way for the entire industry. It has taken great strides in the field of paper and allied products. It is rated as one of the top companies in the United States.

The far-sighted management of President John R. Kimberly and others of the executive staff is well documented in the company's 1967 annual report.

Kimberly-Clark reported a 10.4-percent increase in net sales during its last business year, a net increase in earnings of 11 percent and an attractive 4.8-percent increase in new jobs created. Over 1,000 new employees now enjoy the benefits of a well-run company.

I have had occasion to scan many annual reports, but Kimberly-Clark's is an exceptionally fine one. It combines excellent photography and an interesting format with a straightforward presentation of the facts. I would commend it for review by my Senators, and I would be happy to supply complete copies to any Senator who would care to contact me.

REPUBLIC OF MALI NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I wish to extend my compliments and best wishes to the Government and people of the Republic of Mali, who today celebrate their national holiday. This year marks the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic.

Self-determination and self-fulfillment are the hallmarks of this nation's goals, and the people of Mali are to be commended for their efforts in meeting the stimulating and frustrating challenges of social and economic advancement.

In international affairs, Mali has actively engaged in regional African affairs but has avoided any binding commitment to the major political-ideological blocs. We Americans, who after the Revolutionary War sought to secure our independence through avoiding so-called "entangling alliances," can appreciate and respect Mali's basic policy of nonalinement.

It is my wish, which I am sure is shared by many Americans, that our two nations may enjoy friendly and fruitful relations based upon mutual respect. It is appropriate that we in the Senate take note today of this nation's special achievements and salute its government and people as they celebrate the anniversary of their Republic.

U.S. POLICY IN VIETNAM—ADDRESS BY SENATOR TOWER

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], a member of the Committee on Armed Services, delivered a major speech on our Nation's Vietnam policy last night.

Because Senator TOWER was prevented by the flooding of Hurricane Beulah from getting from south Texas to Dallas, where he was scheduled to make these remarks to the Dallas Council on World Affairs, he spoke to the group by telephone on what I understand was a rather tenuous hook-up.

In order that the entire text of the Senator's remarks may be available, and because I believe other Members of the Senate will wish to give attention to it, I ask unanimous consent that Senator TOWER's complete speech, entitled "Vietnam: Victory or Gradualism?" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM: VICTORY OR GRADUALISM?

(Remarks of Senator JOHN TOWER)

As 1968 approaches we are being beseiged by rhetoric—some logical, most not—designed to persuade this nation of the futility of winning the war in Vietnam.

But, there are good reasons why we must persevere and achieve victory.

First: There are selfish reasons why we must win.

A rebuke for the communist conviction that wars of insurgency are, indeed, the wave of the future could buy 30 years of peace for ourselves and our friends in Asia.

And, there are reasons of honor:

The U.S. pledge to honor its military obligations in defense of our beliefs, wherever we may have such commitments, will not long claim respect if we discard it when confronted by a difficult test.

There are reasons of justice:

The most severe critics of the war have failed to explain why a pacific, innocent Vietnamese people should be abandoned to the atrocity and terror of a communist regime that is determined to impose its ideology upon them.

There are reasons of morality why we must win in Vietnam.

The entire Free World ascribes to the conviction that the United States as the Free World's leader has a moral obligation to provide leadership and assistance throughout the world. We cannot turn back the clock of history and plunge America into a period of "new isolationism", hoping that the rest of the world will just go away and leave us alone. Neither our common sense nor our conscience permits that.

The facts are that if we will quit pulling our punches against the enemy in Vietnam, then victory is within sight.

Not the "unconditional surrender" military victory which Americans came to expect after World War II, but the kind of military-political victory we obtained in Korea when an exhausted enemy finally decided that he could no longer afford to impose his will where he was not wanted. The fact is that there are signs our enemy in Vietnam is reaching exhaustion.

Now, we should not expect an actual surrender or truce; we probably will not even recognize the end when it comes, but only see in retrospect that during a particular month of the combat the enemy began to fall back. Indeed, that moment may already have been reached. It is important to note that every report currently coming out of Hanoi proves beyond any doubt that the enemy knows he cannot defeat us. He can only hope that we will despair and pull out leaving the field to him.

But none of the reasons for winning the

war which I have cited thus far are as vital to this nation, and to its future, as this last reason:

It is not in its successes that a civilization, or a great nation, endures, but rather in its response to adversity. For it is in the response to challenge, rather than in easy affluence, that national sinews of strength, survivability, and growth are forged.

America faces a number of crucial challenges at this juncture in our brief history. Our commitment in Vietnam is one of those crucial challenges.

If we were to turn our backs on that challenge, we would not only close our eyes to the important reasons for winning the war, but we would also level a self-inflicted blow at the very foundations of our national strength. We would weaken ourselves for the challenges and adversities of the future.

Nevertheless, some spokesmen of our so-called "Peace" movements will continue to rationalize America out of the Vietnam war because they find it neither honorable, nor just, nor moral, nor important to future U.S. and free world security and stability.

In succumbing to such a rationalization, these spokesmen duck the real issue—the Red hope that Vietnam-type wars may be too much of a challenge for American society. Mao Tse-tung in Peking and Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi have placed their bets—have publicly staked their policy—on the firm conviction that America will not stand up to this challenge.

I, for one, do not believe that the Vietnam war is too much of a challenge for this great nation!

I have from the very beginning supported what the President has stated as his goals for Southeast Asia. I have supported his announced intention to arrest the spread of communist aggression. I have supported and applauded his stated goal of insuring the freedom and territorial integrity of South Vietnam.

But, along with my support of the long-range goals, I have made suggestions to the President and his Defense Secretary about ways in which our Vietnam effort might be improved. The Administration, however, has remained tied to a single, inflexible policy.

As a result, I must clearly state that I cannot be satisfied with the Administration's present conduct of the war. The Administration has committed us to an open-ended, no-win, long-war policy of gradualism, frittering away the early advantages our massive power afforded us.

We simply must have a new policy to shorten the war.

Military force is successful only when massively applied. Gradual, halting spurts of pressure only enable the enemy to gradually increase his ability to withstand that pressure.

We must begin immediately to apply unrelenting military pressure on the enemy, bombing all targets of military significance and closing the supply port of Haiphong. (A port closed for the duration of World War II by two airplanes laying mines.)

I believe it is important that we confront and defeat communist aggression in Vietnam and promote creation of a series of Asian buffer states around Red China which can help peacefully to contain her just as we have peacefully contained Russia in Europe, but I cannot justify nor support further committing of U.S. lives and resources to a no-win policy.

We need not, nor should we use nuclear weapons in Vietnam, but quite aside from that power we have sufficient conventional air and sea power to shorten the war. We must adopt policies that will end this war before Red China deploys a nuclear missile capability, and that gives us only about two years leeway.

We must act decisively for victory.

As you know, I have been to Vietnam three times in the last two years, and I hope to go again this fall. After each of my investigation trips for the Senate Armed Services Committee, I have frankly reported my assessment of the Vietnam War situation and my suggestions on steps that could speed an end to the fighting.

Nearly two years ago, after my first trip to Vietnam, I advised Texans than an intensified air war against North Vietnam would cut U.S. casualties in the South. And, I stated that the closing of the North Vietnamese supply port of Haiphong was the single, most effective way to damage the communists' war effort.

Again in the spring of 1966, and in the subsequent spring of 1967, I returned from Vietnam with identical observations. Closure of the Haiphong port is still the thing that most needs to be done against North Vietnam. It is entirely possible that had the Administration acted decisively to close Haiphong 24 months ago, the war would be nearly over today.

Throughout the two years that I have been recommending this step toward victory, much of the *evidence* which led me to make that recommendation has been *obscured* by Defense Department *secrecy* restrictions.

Now, within the last month, the *Senate Armed Services Preparedness Subcommittee* has taken evidence from our top defense officials, and released to the public for the first time many of the *previously classified* reasons why the air war in the North has so long concerned not only me, but also other members of Congress.

The facts are that the Administration has so restricted and hamstrung our airmen that the U.S. air effort against North Vietnam has not been *allowed* to achieve the *pressure for victory* which it *could* and *should* achieve. The Senate subcommittee reports that U.S. air power has been *purposely prevented* from waging the air campaign in a way best calculated to achieve results—prevented by overly restrictive controls, strict limitations, and the general Administration doctrine of "gradualism."

It should be nothing less than astounding to Americans that throughout all of 1966 our airmen were allowed to strike less than one percent of the militarily significant targets in the North. Only in very recent weeks have some of the restrictions on our air effort been lifted, but there still remain about *50 key targets recommended for attack* by the Joint Chiefs of Staff *but placed off-limits* by Administration civilians.

The Senate subcommittee states that in its view "the long delay in approving targets in North Vietnam has almost certainly contributed to our aircraft and pilot *losses* since it has given the North Vietnamese the time to build up formidable air defenses."

Moreover, the subcommittee feels the long delay enabled the enemy to prepare for and to alleviate anticipated loss of key supplies and installations by giving the Reds lots of time to relocate and conceal such things as *oil storage*.

Another key point made by the subcommittee report is that, even in cases in which some major targets have been approved for attack, *second attacks* on those same targets *after they have been repaired by the enemy* have been *denied*, particularly in the areas around Haiphong and Hanoi. And, despite target-attack improvements in recent days, there still remain *absolute sanctuary* areas in North Vietnam into which the enemy may move his supplies and operations and know with certainty that he *never* will be subject to air attack. These sanctuaries have enabled the North to concentrate its war-making materiel where it is safe and secure and then dash it south under cover of darkness and bad weather.

The Senate subcommittee also points out again that the port of Haiphong is the *top priority target* still unstruck in the North. Through that port comes the great bulk of North Vietnam's imports—as much as *58-hundred tons* each day.

Every one of the top military experts who testified told the subcommittee that closure, neutralization, or isolation of Haiphong is the *single-most-important military action* that can be taken to speed an *end to the war* and to *save* American and allied lives in the South.

The Administration's conduct of the war is now fully open for public review. It amounts to a policy of restricted gradualism. A policy which discounts the professional judgment of our top military men and substitutes civilian judgment for the smallest details of target selection and timing.

Obviously this strategy of restraint and restrictions has *not* brought the war to an end. We have *not lost*, but we have *not* achieved our objectives *and the war goes on*. The price we have extracted from North Vietnam for its continued aggression is a price North Vietnam is still willing to pay.

Neither the Senate subcommittee, nor I, can support continuation of a *no-win* policy that ignores military judgment. If we are to continue to fight on the ground in the South, then we must press the *air war* in the *North* in a *much more effective way*.

We have been heavily involved in this war for almost two and a half years, since the regular bombing of North Vietnam began in February 1965. By next March, we will have been fighting in Vietnam longer than in the Korean war, and if the war goes into 1969, only our Revolutionary War will have lasted longer.

And there seems to be general agreement that this war will drag on into 1969 and beyond if only our current level of effort is maintained.

Already, the lives of too many American boys have been needlessly sacrificed because civilian officials have refused to follow policies designed to achieve prompt military victory.

The Administration is pulling our punches in Vietnam.

It's not pulling them because our *top military experts* advise that they be pulled. Quite to the contrary, the Joint Chiefs of Staff testifying to the Senate Armed Services Committee have made it clear they favor action against all significant military targets in North Vietnam and unrelenting military, political and economic pressure on the enemy.

The Administration is not pulling our punches either because it really fears intervention by Red China. Both the facts and the Administration's own words refute that contention. In the first place Red China is adequately occupied by internal unrest and disorder and appears in no position to make the massive effort necessary to intrude ground troops across very difficult terrain into Vietnam. In the second place, the President has just belatedly approved U.S. bombing attacks within 10 miles of China proving that he does not think such attacks will provoke China.

If such attacks near China will not bring her into the war, it seems perfectly clear that the removal of restrictions on other significant targets are even less likely to arouse Red China.

Why, then, does the Administration allow this war to drag on?

Either the Administration simply does not understand how to apply American power or it has been unnecessarily stalled by a very small, vocal group in the Congress and around the country and is concerned about the domestic effects of its policy on an already discredited "Great Society".

But the President has only to check the polls to see that the vast majority of Americans will support a strong U.S. policy in Vietnam and that they feel that we *should* apply the means at our disposal to bring this ugly war to an end. The surveys show, moreover, that more than half of the American people are *not* satisfied with the way the war is being conducted now.

Where has the policy of gradualism brought us? We have methodically built up our forces in Vietnam, from about 25,000 in February 1965 to more than 460,000 today. It is true that the enemy hasn't won a major battle on the ground in over two years, but we have not defeated the enemy forces. The Viet Cong had forces of about 100,000 at the beginning of 1965, but our gradualism policy has allowed the Viet Cong time to also build up its forces to a present total of more than 300,000.

American forces in Vietnam have lost more than 15,000 dead (including nearly 13,000 in combat) and nearly 80,000 wounded.

We will needlessly lose thousands more if present policies continue.

Let's remember that our national interest makes it imperative that Communist aggression be *defeated* in Vietnam.

A check of the record shows that both Republican and Democratic administrations have argued that a policy of containing Asian communism is vital to U.S. interests.

President Eisenhower stated in 1957 that without U.S. assistance, "Strategic Vietnam and Southeast Asia would probably be lost today to the Free World." He said that if Indochina was lost, then Burma would be unable to remain non-communist, the Malayan peninsula would be indefensible and "all India would be outflanked."

President Kennedy is 1963 stated that any significant reduction of American help to South Vietnam and other countries in the area would eventually lead to communist control of all of Southeast Asia "with the inevitable effect this would have on the security of India and, perhaps all the way toward the Middle East."

We are *not* satisfying our national interest in allowing this war to drag on. But, the communists are quite happy to see it drag on. Documents captured in South Vietnam indicate that Hanoi expects the war to last another four or five years and that Peking is urging the North Vietnamese to hold out even longer. Hanoi believes the communists can outlast us. Peking not only believes this, but has publicly stated that U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war will keep America bogged down, and unable to respond to communist moves in other parts of the world.

Some argue that the Soviet Union wants to get this war over. This does not square with the fact that the Soviet Union is the major supplier of military supplies to North Vietnam. The Vietnam war clearly has been a boon to the Soviet Union in its campaign to become a major force in Asia, in its campaign to up-stage communist China in the international communist movement, and as a means of proving to other revolutionary elements in the world that Moscow still is the center of revolutionary communism.

A long, drawn-out Vietnamese war can only be a victory for communists, whether they be of the Moscow, Peking or Hanoi brand.

I submit to you that the communist attitude toward the war will not change unless pressure—heavy military pressure—is applied. The Korean war dragged on for three years and only ended because President Eisenhower made it clear in May 1953 that the war would be broadened unless the shooting stopped. Secretary of State Dulles, in a 1956 interview, indicated that China was told targets would have been attacked in China to win in Korea. The Korean war ended in July 1953, two months after America took a firm stand.

Never in the military history of mankind has a war of indecision produced a victory. Americans who have studied the world's military history know that. Many of them have articulated the principle clearly over the years.

General Douglas MacArthur has stated that: "Once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory—not prolonged indecision. In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory. . . . History teaches us with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement begets but new and bloodier war".

"The surest way to insure World War III," General MacArthur said, "is to allow the Korean War to continue indecisively and indefinitely."

Today, it appears equally obvious that the surest way to insure World War III is to allow the Vietnam War to continue indecisively and indefinitely.

Here is what General Eisenhower said on August 15: "If you are going to fight a war I believe in winning it. You should get everything you can, and use it just as fast as you can and get over with . . . because war is a nasty thing."

Our present military commander in the Pacific, Admiral U. S. Grant Sharp, stated last month to the Armed Services Committee that we must keep the pressure on the communists. He confirmed that there were many good targets left to be hit in North Vietnam. Admiral Sharp said that from a military standpoint, anything that could be done to stop the flow of material into Haiphong would be a fine move, whether by bombing, blockade or mining. And he pointed out that mines from two U.S. planes and one submarine in 1943 closed the port of Haiphong for the rest of World War II.

We simply must not continue to fight the enemy on his terms, but must hit him where it hurts with the least cost to ourselves. Our Air Force and Navy have clear superiority in the air over North Vietnam and in coastal areas, and they have the necessary weapons to force the communists to immediately reconsider their current plan to let this war drag on. All restrictions on our bombing and sea attack must be removed.

It would be the greatest act of folly to limit further our pressure on North Vietnam, and any concession to the Communists on bombing would be the quckest way I know to ensure that this war drags on indefinitely. The communists were hurt badly in Korea in the spring of 1951 and shortly thereafter they agreed to negotiate. Then, when the pressure was off, after negotiations began, the war dragged on for an additional two years. It was only when additional pressure was threatened that the communists agreed to stop fighting. During those two years of negotiations, the United States lost some 20,000 of its total of 54,000 dead suffered in the Korean War.

General Mark Clark, who negotiated with the communists in Korea in 1953, has stated this year that if we agree to stop bombing North Vietnam, then we are going to be whipped at the conference table. General Clark added that he was sure the communists would use peace talks in Vietnam as a cover, to build up their military position, to infiltrate forces into the South and to confront us sooner or later during negotiations with a position of supreme strength that we would not have. General Clark said that military commanders should be allowed to hit every remunerative military target in North Vietnam, "Then you'd find the enemy running to the conference table."

All indications are that the communists hope to put us through the same wringer in Vietnam that they put us through in Korea and which they used to force the withdrawal of France from Vietnam. If we agree to their present conditions, they may well agree to some kind of negotiations. But these conditions would take the pressure off North Vietnam, would eliminate use of our best weapons and force us to fight on communist terms.

The available evidence does not indicate that the communists would agree to a cease-fire in conjunction with a current opening of talks, nor does it indicate that the communists have backed off from their proclaimed goal of a unified Vietnam under communist rule.

Captured enemy documents include a report by Le Duan, number two man in Hanoi, which indicates that if "tactical negotiations" take place, *fighting would continue.* The deputy chief of staff of the North Vietnamese army stated that *fighting would continue* during negotiations, without any restrictions, as a means of influencing the talks under way. These captured documents show that the communist aim is *victory,* not a negotiated settlement. To achieve victory, the communists believe the "key requirement" is to destroy a major portion of U.S., South Vietnamese and other allied forces. We should be wary and not fall into the trap of agreeing to a conference in which we are bound to lose.

The only way to win the war and the peace in Vietnam is to increase the pressure on the enemy, rapidly: to force the communists to give up their attempt at aggression in Vietnam.

I don't believe the American people will accept or should accept a 10- or 20-year war. I don't think they're prepared to tolerate a war of attrition that goes on year after year. Our problems would be simpler, and the war would be shorter, if the Administration would give greater heed to professional military advice. We have the highest caliber of professional military men in our history. They are men who fully understand the political implications of military acts.

If we use the military muscle available to us to punish the enemy—to convince him that war is too costly an instrument of national policy to employ—we will not only win this war but we will also discourage future brush-fire wars.

It is important for us to remember what circumstances have led the Administration to its mistaken Vietnam policy. What we are seeing in Vietnam is the ultimate perversion of the so-called "escalation theory" which was popularized in about 1949 when the Soviets left us in a state of shock by suddenly achieving a nuclear capability.

Stated in lay terms the "escalation theory" goes like this: Nuclear disaster impends in the world; the only way to avoid a nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and the USSR is for the U.S. to make no sudden moves that might upset the enemy or be misinterpreted by the enemy; therefore, the U.S. will publicly announce that it has adopted a policy of "gradualism" and will move to meet enemy pressures only in tiny power-increments—each of which the Communist enemy will be advised about.

This "escalation theory" was all very well when it was implemented by policies of *determination.* In the Cuban Missile Crisis President Kennedy took a series of increasingly severe steps which were fully understood by the Soviet Union. Taken in a controlled but quick and determined fashion, these steps enabled President Kennedy to achieve his policy objectives in short order.

But in Vietnam "escalation with determination" has been replaced by "escalation with gradualism." Not only has it failed, it is actually inhibiting us from moving soon enough and decisively enough to achieve American objectives.

Our enemies in Vietnam know the Administration is committed to gradualism. They know with certainty that no matter how they move against us the Administration will *not* deliver any quick and major response but will respond only bit by bit.

This gives the enemy ample time to absorb our bits of pressure, readjust his operations and keep on fighting.

Worse than that, viewed in a strategic sense, gradualism actually gives the enemy an *incentive* to challenge us, because he knows we will not act decisively to counter him.

It is analogous to a poker game. Our opponent knows that even if he holds a strategically weak hand he can continue a bluff and we will not drive him from the game with a decisive raise. Instead, he can prolong his game, meeting and surviving our small, indecisive raises until at length *we* have in the pot far more than we had ever intended to commit—so much more that we are tempted to abandon the effort. Our gradualism has thus increased, not decreased, our risks.

So long as this Administration gives the Communists in Vietnam and over the world the *incentive* of guaranteed, gradualistic response, the Reds can and will profitably foment disorder and drain U.S. manpower and resources.

The theory of *gradualized* escalation—which perverts the theory of *determined* escalation by which Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy maintained peace—has been shown a costly fraud in Vietnam. We must face up to the facts of that failure and discard the disproved policy, exercising instead controlled but decisive action.

American power for peace can be decisive only when decisively applied.

A policy of gradualism is too much obsessed with short-term risks and too blind to long-term risks. The gradualist worries too much about the risks he sees in steps needed to shorten the war; but he fails to give proper weight to the far more dangerous risks of letting the war drag on and on while Red China moves nearer and nearer to an inevitable nuclear missile capability.

Gradualism is the greatest risk of all.

Instead of gradualism we need guts.

Instead of procrastination we need pressure.

Instead of vacillation we must have victory.

ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS R. BYRNE, MAYOR OF ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the National Institute of Public Affairs is sponsoring a series of urban forums to acquaint local urban officials with problems in other cities across the Nation, and with potential solutions to these problems. Last night the Honorable Thomas R. Byrne, mayor of the city of St. Paul, gave the major address at the sixth urban forum.

I am particularly pleased to be able to bring this speech to the attention of Congress, because Mayor Byrne exemplifies the young and creative urban leadership we all know is essential for the rejuvenation of our cities.

In the speech, Mayor Byrne has presented an excellent analysis of the problems cities face and what they can do to solve them. He correctly notes that an entire new attitude on the part of city dwellers is needed—the willingness of each individual to examine the problems of all city neighborhoods and not just his own. Mayor Byrne states:

> We must become convinced that adequate municipal services in sanitation, health, housing code enforcement, demolition of abandoned and hazardous buildings, protection to the innocent against violence to person or property, must be provided in our poorer neighborhoods with the same solicitude as they are provided in those which are wealthier.

But even more significant, in my opinion, is Mayor Byrne's recognition that the Federal role in solving the urban crisis must be one of partnership with the cities, and not domination of the cities. He states:

> In spite of Washington's absolutely vital role as leader, financier, and shaper of urban programs, I do not feel that this Administration or this nation actively desires to see its great cities placed in receivership to the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mayor Byrne's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITIES AT THE CROSSROADS

(Remarks of Mayor Thomas R. Byrne to the Sixth Urban Affairs Conference of the National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967)

The National Institute of Public Affairs and the Ford Foundation are to be commended for conducting this series of seminars. The dimensions of our "urban situation" are so vast as to require the concerted attention of America's entire leadership, and only through events like this, which help vitally to broaden the base of concern throughout the business community as well as government, will we ever be able to see the matter through.

Modern history is the history of the city. The great *20th Century* movements and advances in art and literature, in finance and commerce, in politics and government, have stemmed almost entirely from men living in the urban situation. Since the beginning of the modern era, the urban mass has chosen and deposed rulers, determined the course of history, and, on the dark side, been the advance guard of coming upheaval.

In many countries other than our own, great cities grew up around the capitals of various rulers, and thus enjoyed rather more than their share of government attention and of what we would today call "beautification". In view of the power of the urban mob to dethrone kings and princes, the attention flowed more from a healthy respect for survival than from any exaggerated sense of concern for the quality of urban life. To this day the chief of police of Paris is an appointee of the Prime Minister of the country.

In America, by contrast, our traditions and the scope of our vast land led most of our cities to "jest grow", without planning, and, more to the point, with a minimum of concern whether their ultimate form would contribute to the general well-being and happiness of those who would dwell there.

As men become increasingly aware that the *quality* of urban life is not only a matter of grave concern but also is being seriously endangered by present trends, an urban debate of considerable and growing dimensions has begun to spread throughout our land.

It seems to me strange that as a basis for this debate we have not seized upon the elemental and overwhelming fact about urban existence, from which flows most of the corollary problems we face, and that is that the basic *cause* of an urban center, its basic reason for existing and growing, is economic necessity. *In spite of* the romantic talk about the bright lights of the city, about cultural enrichment, and all the rest, the vast majority of people who live in urban centers do so because to do otherwise would be to starve or to live an existence so poor as to be intolerable. People live in the city because they *have* to, *not* because—or *just* because—they like to.

Having decided to live in the city to keep bread in their mouths or to escape oppression, most people find enough there to make life tolerable, if not enjoyable.

But while the urban debate goes on, and the country gradually wakes up to the ramifications of the fact that within the near future more than three-quarters of our people will live in cities and suburbs, it has become apparent—brutally apparent—that our cities have become places where millions of people live lives of not-too-quiet desperation. The racial circumstances of these events have made it difficult for the country to accept Daniel Moynihan's observation that *class*, not *race*, produces these urban upheavals, but I do not feel the observation is any less true.

These outbreaks of street violence have produced a sudden shift of emphasis in this continuing national debate. Until recently the "in" topics for discussion were such middle-class matters as proliferation of governmental units, the growth of various kinds of "megalopolis", mass transit, waste disposal, and the like. We knew Gunnar Myrdal had said "there is an ugly smell rising from the basement of the stately American mansion". We had read Michael Harrington's description of "the other America". Some of us even recalled Dr. Conant's brutally prophetic statement that the high school dropout is "social dynamite", but I think we all uneasily hoped that Sargent Shriver would somehow take care of the whole problem and then we buckled down to *really* important problems such as how to get the new sewage plant built.

Now of course it has been brought home to us in a compelling way that all is not well, that all is in fact going badly, and that significant numbers of our urban residents in this Age of Space are so unutterably frustrated as to be willing to burn the town down to get someone's attention.

We do not "give in to rioters" if we admit that our attention has in fact been got. One of the great relief valves provided by a democratic system is its ability to provide a medium for changing intolerable situations without revolution.

We who form a part of the "political establishment" in this difficult time (and who must ask the people to respect and to support the forces of law and orderly change) must demonstrate by action, not words, that the democratic process can and will provide solutions to legitimate grievances. We have not done so, and time is not on our side.

I am disturbed by much of the public response to our street violence. While it goes without saying that riot training, additional police, and similar measures are necessary—and for a lot of reasons other than repressing urban riots—mere repression did not work for the Czars and it will not work for us. This past summer saw an event whose sad and symbolic value was overlooked in the greater shock. In America, and in 1967, it became necessary for troops of the *central government* to be used to put down a revolt by its own citizens, an action so disturbing to the Framers of our Constitution that it was specifically prohibited except upon application of the Legislature or the Governor of a state. In other countries of the world such an action has always been viewed as a sign of serious civil discord, if not of impending revolution.

As disturbing as the attitude of those who preach repression has been that of those who point the accusing finger of scorn at the Federal government. The defeat of the rat bill on the eve of rioting has become a national "in" joke for cartoonists. While no one can defend the callous jokes made on the House floor by some whose whimsy outweighed for the moment their sense of humanity, one similarly cannot defend the opinion which places the major share of the blame for our urban crisis upon the shoulders of Uncle Sam.

For all the legitimacy of complaints that Federal programs are involved in vast amounts of red tape, for all the truth to the comments that officials 1500 miles away cannot possibly make judgments on all local situations, the Federal government has for a generation been the leader and the shaper of much of the real progress which has been made in the public sector of urban life. Public housing, urban renewal, public health, welfare reforms, stiffer housing code enforcement, land use planning and recreation, community renewal, and a host of other programs would be weak or nonexistent without enlightened Federal participation and leadership.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the responsibility for urban crisis might be said to result from local governments doing the same things in the same old way, state governments doing nothing at all, and the Federal government doing those things it should have been doing, but not enough of them, while occasionally getting into areas where it did not belong because nobody else *would*. Those who criticize Uncle Sam for not getting into rat control should ask why the States did not do it twenty years ago, or ask the cities why the rats are there in the first place. They certainly were not put there from Washington.

The rather widespread assumption that local leadership—and by that I mean everyone comprehended within the inaccurate term "power structure"—is incompetent to contribute to solving our urban mess, that everything depends upon Federal action, is not only untrue, but more to the point may cause trouble. It may very well force the Federal government, as the level of government historically most responsive to urban problems, into areas in which it simply cannot do as good a job as local government could have done if it had the will, the public support, and the money.

What this nation must have, it seems to me, is a radical change in the "set" of the uneasy coalition of downtown business interests, taxpayers' associations, labor union central bodies, pressure groups, and local politicians who actually form and determine major decisions in every large American city. This isn't really a "power structure", in the sense that its members feel an identity or even agree among themselves, but is rather a "power mix", each of whose components is strong enough to *prevent* actions which are deeply unfavorable, or to *promote* actions which it sees as desirable to its own interests. It determines in fact the level of city expenditures, the priority of various claims on the city's funds and attention, and the vigor with which city policies are established and pursued. The mix determines, for instance, if we will have a downtown shopping mall before we will have a new school in the ghetto, or if we will have a new convention center before we will have public housing, and so on and on. It determines how vigorously the housing code will be enforced as it determines whether or not we will use our limited funds to hire more police, to improve welfare and health services, to clean streets or pick up garbage.

The mix has not really *interested* itself in many of the "gut" problems which cause our current urban tumult. Which of you public officials can recall a telephone call from the local Chamber of Commerce or Labor Assembly demanding more frequent trash collections in the slum area? Demanding stricter health code enforcement in rental dwelling property?

Unless this basic change in local attitudes and practices takes place, the Federal government will not be able to assist in solving our urban crisis without an exercise of national brute force which will permanently affect the course of our tradition of strong local government. And in spite of Washington's absolutely vital role as leader, financier, and shaper of urban programs, I do not feel that this Administration or this nation actively desires to see its great cities placed in receivership to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. I am one liberal Democrat who believes that enlightened, locally elected Democrats with a proper approach can do a better job of solving problems which are really local than the same Democrats appointed by a Federal agency.

Now—which changes must we have before we can approach the millenium?

Most important, as I mentioned above, is the radical change in attitude necessary to bring about *any* significant changes in the policies of local government.

Then we must buckle down to the most immediate problems which face our particular local competences. Vice-President Humphrey put it well in his address to the National League of Cities on July 31, 1967:

"We do not need riots to tell us what is wrong in our urban slums. We all know that in the slums, garbage pickup is at best infrequent if it occurs at all, the snow is plowed away last, the incidence of crime is highest and law enforcement worst, housing is more decrepit, public transportation is most inadequate; . . . the people themselves tell us what is needed".

We must—and I am referring to the entire public and private leadership of the city—we *must* become convinced that adequate municipal services in sanitation, health, housing code enforcement, demolition of abandoned and hazardous building, protection of the innocent against violence to person or property, must be provided in our poorer neighborhoods with the same solicitude as they are provided in those which are wealthier. The common City Hall practice of sending the services where the most taxes come from must come to an end.

The private sector must become as interested in creating and lobbying for improvements to, and expansion of, programs to strengthen family life, guide and correct delinquents, provide job training and opportunities to all, improve welfare programs and services, and the like, as it now is in the construction of convention centers and the building of freeways to reach downtown.

As part of this approach, the business community is going to have to look at local government programs in terms not only of their *cost* but of their *effectiveness*. It does no good for the National Chamber of Commerce, in testifying against Federal programs, to emphasize the role of the private sector and of local government while many of its local affiliates seem to feel their chief role in local government is to keep taxes down. In your business, you don't ask just what a program costs—you ask will it be *worth* the cost. We have simply got to realize that solving our local ills will take money, and that the position of local government as low man on the tax totem pole cannot be forced to continue except at the cost of turning more and more of our problems over to Uncle Sam.

The Federal role in the urban situation, it seems to me, is to provide its vast financial resources to local governments to solve their own problems, while at the same time using its very useful remoteness and position as financier to force upon local governments and power structures decisions and programs which are acknowledged to be right, but which the politics of localities prevent from being adopted.

There must be a strong federal role in urban reform. Central cities, especially, are strapped enough competing for tax bases with suburban communities which can offer attractive locations at convenient distances from the problems of minorities and lower income groups without being forced to bear all the costs of serving as society's melting pot on their own. But you as businessmen and we as public officials are going to have to recognize that really adequate municipal services in declining areas with major social problems will cost more than the present level of service, and that the bill will have to be paid. After all, gentlemen, you might very well ask yourself the long-term value of low property taxes on a burnt-out building.

Another necessary change in attitude is best illustrated by a story. My campaign was based upon having a block worker on every residential block in the city, pledged to go door-to-door with literature, baby-sit on election day, and so forth. More than 1200 volunteers signed up, including a wonderful elderly woman with whom I am personally acquainted.

After the election, she came up to me and said she had a confession to make. "Mr. Byrne," she said, "I signed up as a block worker, and I got all my kit and literature, but I didn't do my job, and finally I didn't even vote for you."

I was a bit stunned, but I managed to ask her why she didn't vote for me.

Very earnestly, and a little sadly, she said, "Because you're just too *nice* to get mixed up with all those people at City Hall."

Humorous? Yes. But also tragic, because it reflects all too accurately an attitude which, however well earned in the past, hampers city government today in dealing with any problems. I feel honest. I think politics, while a tough way to make a living, is pretty respectable. Its so-called "seamy side" is not a bit worse than what I know to be the rough side of any private business. The sense of honor and duty among my co-workers in Saint Paul City Hall is strong and visible.

I can only suggest to all you gentlemen that a community's leaders set the tone for its government. If you don't like what's going on, run for office or support those whose convictions agree with yours. If you do like what's going on, say so. But for the good of all that's holy, the custom of casual remarks which *make* it appear as if everyone in City Hall has two left feet and an outstretched hand is as damaging to the hope that local government can ultimately do what it must do in this nation as *any other* single factor I have named. Companies spend millions of dollars a year to protect and improve their "images". The image of government is in the hands of anyone with a gripe and a tongue. Don't make it any worse than it has to be.

With these changes in attitude, local government itself is due for an overhaul. If anyone tried to run a business the way antiquated city charters, suspicious state legislatures, and the oppressive power of custom requires us to run City Hall you couldn't meet your second payroll. In St. Paul it takes nineteen separate steps, seven signatures, two publications in the legal newspapers, and a performance bond to let a contract to fix a street. It costs us $600 in cash outlay and $1,000 in man-hours of paperwork to tear down an abandoned house. The examples go on and on. After a year of hard work we are submitting a new, modern Charter to our voters December 5; and if it is adopted we will spend the following year, at least, reorganizing our whole government from top to bottom along functional, rather than sentimental or traditional, lines. There probably isn't a major city in the country whose power to act isn't seriously hampered by obsolete charter restrictions on acting *and* taxing, which date back to the first Henry Ford and are the philosophical results of Boss Tweed. If time has proved anything, it has proved that tight restrictions on city powers do not protect the people from the crooks who could twist any system to their own ends; restrictions end up by frustrating the very objectives for which the people organize a government.

If the millenium arrives and the entire local leadership of our own country really buckles down to solving our urban problem, it *will* be solved. While there are encouraging signs that things are moving in this direction, all too much of the talk today reminds me of the lines of Carl Sandburg. "We asked the cyclone to go around our barn, but it didn't hear us".

Until the late 1800s this nation had a frontier. The poor, the frustrated, the unhappy of the nation and the world had *always* an escape to the west, where land was cheap and restrictions were few.

When the frontier closed, the frontier for vast numbers of immigrants became our great cities.

The frontier is still in the city streets. As I said at the beginning of these remarks, people have always lived in cities because they had to do so to survive. In this country's last, great migration, the Mississippi sharecropper, the Appalachian miner, the back country farmer, white and Negro alike, have come to our great cities seeking the Good Life. They are coming because they have to. They are not finding what they expected, but they are not going back either.

I am confident that given a real recognition by the whole leadership structure of this country that we have in our city streets a revolution of rising expectations different in degree but not in nature from those going on throughout the world, we can solve these problems within the framework of democracy with the same practical success that we have had on every other occasion, except one, when our nation was faced with a great social issue. Nevertheless, the outcome is by no means certain, nor is it at all clear what our nation will look like when the smoke of battle drifts away.

The social choice we face is real. We had enough information at hand to know it was coming, and the question now, the very real question, is will the opinion-making groups of this nation recognize and seize the challenge to do what needs doing? . . . or will we permit hysteria and self-righteousness, the twin cloaks of selfishness, to lead this country into the path of blind reaction and repression which has been the fruitless answer in so many of the nations of this world, old and new?

We must bring to our city courage and conviction; may God give us the strength.

CREDIT UNIONS HELP IN ECUADOR

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, Credit Union magazine is an interesting and informative publication published by the CUNA International, Inc., of Madison, Wis.

This month's issue contains an excellent article describing the impact a credit program is having on the economy of Ecuador.

Prime beneficiaries of these credit programs have been small farmers who, without this assistance, would be forced to go out of business.

Working in cooperation with the AID program, the credit unions are making an important contribution to the welfare of the people of Ecuador.

I am happy that the United States, through the remarkable Credit Unions of North America, based in Wisconsin, is performing such noteworthy work in Latin America.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEACHING GRASSROOTS ECONOMICS IN ECUADOR

"I've never been out of debt, so what have I to lose by trying this new scheme?" the *campesino* thought to himself. Since the answer was "Nothing!" he gave it a try.

After a few weeks of study and discussion he had the seed of an idea that would alter his life. He saw a way to own something free and clear for the first time since he began working his small farm. It would take at least a year, but it could be done.

Basically, the plan worked this way: He buys a top-breed sow for $50 with a one-year loan from his village credit union. The sow has two litters during the year. At the end of the year, he sells the sow for what it cost—or maybe even more—and repays his credit union loan. He then has the two litters free and clear—minus the cost of sheltering and feeding the sow during the year.

For years Ecuador's small farmers have been on the fringe of the economy, constantly in debt to usurious moneylenders and barely scraping out an existence from their tiny farms.

What good would it do to tell a poor farmer he needs better seed, fertilizer, insecticides, pesticides, fungicides, and vaccines if there is no way for him to purchase these things? By the same token, what good would a source of low-cost credit be to him if he didn't know how to use it wisely?

The solution came through a special CUNA/AID program which combined credit union services with the technical training necessary to farm profitably. The pilot project began high in the Andes Mountains near the Colombian border in the village of Julio Andrade, and has since spread to 16 other areas of Ecuador.

The dozen and a half credit unions operate a little differently from most of those in North America. Members attend classes to learn about the credit union, how it's organized, and their role in it. As for loans, the stress is on the productive type; loans which will produce income so they can be repaid. Loans are granted only after the member has shown exactly how he plans to use the money and follows the advice of the agricultural extensionist.

In the village of Yaruqui, about 35 miles and more than an hour's drive east-southeast of Quito, the community credit union serves 250 of the 400 families in the area. One of its members, farmer Alfonso Hidalgo, was skeptical of the value of all this involvement. So with his credit union loan he planted some potatoes the old way and some in the manner recommended by the agricultural extensionist.

The new method of planting was much more expensive because of the use of chemicals, but the return was bigger, too. Because of a superior crop, potatoes harvested from the experimental plot sold for more per hundredweight than the other crop. And because he kept accurate records of all expenses and income, Hidalgo made a startling discovery:

He lost 38c (U.S.) on each hundredweight of seed planted the old way but made a net profit of $26.25 on each hundredweight of seed planted the new scientific way.

Even before harvest, Hidalgo and his neighbors could see the difference in the two methods of planting. The new method of planting was producing a more abundant and healthier crop.

"During the year few members took into consideration the advice and technical assistance the credit union was trying to provide," said Nicolas Paillacho Lovat, manager of the Yaruqui Credit Union. "But the few who did had tremendous crop production, so today others want fertilizer, insecticides, and fungicides."

Combining credit with technical advice "was the biggest thing ever to hit Yaruqui," said credit union director Rafael Molineros. "Before we learned how to use fertilizer and fungicides we would plant potatoes at a certain time of the year to avoid the blight season. Now we can plant anytime and harvest 500 hundredweight per hectare (2.471 acres) as compared with a maximum of 200 hundredweight per hectare before."

It also means that the farmers can harvest a crop every seven months (the normal growing season) instead of just once a year.

Another practice recommended in the program is diversification. At Julio Andrade, Luis Filiberto Yar-Maya borrowed from the credit union to plant wheat. An unexpected frost wiped out his crop. He was able to repay his credit union loan, however, because he was also raising hogs and made money on them.

This year Luis is fattening steers. He borrowed 9,500 *sucres* ($475) from the credit union to cover the cost of buying six steers, renting pasture land, hiring a watchman, salt, veterinarian expenses, and the 10 per cent of the loan which must go into credit union shares.

It takes two and a half to three months to fatten the cattle. In the first three lots Luis fattened and sold his net profit came to $60 per lot—a total of $180 in less than nine months. This is an amazing figure in a country with one of the lowest annual per capita incomes in the world.

"I am a farmer's son—a small farmer—and I know the problems of the small farmer: no credit and no place to get technical advice," said Manuel Benitez, managing director of the Ecuador Credit Union League. "This agricultural production credit program is the answer to the small farmer's problem."

Benitez also sees some far-reaching effects from the program. "Farm people have been moving to the cities and creating new social problems such as housing shortages, disease, poverty, and unemployment. So the stress is on solving the cities' problems. But if the concentration were in rural areas, and farm conditions were improved, this would encourage people to stay on the farms and many of the urban problems would disappear."

The production credit program which is so drastically changing the lives of Ecuador's *campesinos* is a tribute to the simplicity and adaptability of the credit union idea.

When Henry Cruz, formerly of St. Joseph's credit union in Saginaw, Michigan, went to Ecuador in August of 1962 under the CUNA/AID contract to get the first credit union program underway, he saw the need for a strong rural program. At his recommendation, CUNA sent Jim Jukes, now managing director of the Kansas League, to Ecuador for three months at the end of 1963 to determine the needs of the *campesino*.

Jukes found the small farmer was still planting potatoes by the full moon, using sticks to dig holes, intermingling his crops, never using fertilizers or other chemicals, and selling his crop in advance to moneylenders for money to buy seed.

By visiting various farmers, Jukes was able to establish the costs of properly planting and caring for the different crops. He also knew what changes would be necessary in the mechanics of the credit union. Jukes recommended the training of members, coordinating the program with the agricultural extension agent, and using Peace Corps volunteers. Loans were to be only for productive purposes, short term credit for a maximum of one year to coincide with the harvest. He also recommended a production credit specialist to implement the activity.

As a result of his last recommendation Percy Avram, formerly of Saskatchewan and CUNA's world extension department, went to Ecuador in October of 1964 to put the program into effect.

Avram set up his pilot project at Julio Andrade, a 55-square-mile farming area with about 1,000 families. The credit union had been in existence for about a year but was not very active.

The new program called for each borrower to receive six hours of instruction. Since the program started, members have received 3,624 man-hours of training. Subjects include the operation of the credit union, the importance of saving and borrowing, the need to repay promptly, the annual meeting, functions of the board and committees, and production credit.

Through the program members learned the proper fertilizer formula based on Julio Andrade's soil conditions, how to mix rations and vaccinate chickens, and new and better hog and chicken breeds were introduced into the community.

In addition to putting the *chulco*, or loan shark, out of business and helping farmers increase production anywhere from 100 to 500 per cent, the credit union has also created a sense of social consciousness in the area.

"The philosophy of the credit union has accomplished much," said Padre Gerardo Onofre, whose church provides the credit union with an office at no cost. "The people have learned mutual respect and mutual help. Before, the political aspects were sharp. Now members of both political parties work together."

The credit union has loaned more than $95,000 without any write-offs. Of the $37,667 in loans outstanding only five are delinquent and these amount to a mere $141. There is indeed a social consciousness in the village as well as a sense of obligation to the credit union.

As other credit unions enter the program, the league helps them prepare promotional campaigns to build up savings, provides information and training on loan procedures and credit regulations, and assists in orienting the members to using productive credit.

They also get strong encouragement to hire fulltime managers if they are to grow, said Mark D. Moriarty, credit union program director under the CUNA/AID contract. "The problem is that they look upon a manager as an expense instead of an investment." So far 10 of the 17 credit unions in the program have fulltime managers.

Most of the participating credit unions are purely agricultural, but a few are in the semirural class. As a result, their loan portfolios also contain loans for productive purposes to artesans, small businessmen, and small industry. The 17 credit unions in the program have more than 6,000 members with nearly $4,000,000 in savings and more than $500,000 in loans outstanding.

Filling the gap between the savings of the members and their loan needs is the Bank for Cooperatives of Ecuador.

The three-year-old co-op bank has nearly $600,000 out in loans to 93 credit unions and eight cooperatives. The bank lends in proportion to what the credit union's loans are for: For each *sucre* a credit union has out in productive loans the bank will lend three; for each *sucre* in consumer loans the bank will lend one.

At Julio Andrade, for example, the members have $15,500 in savings but $37,667 out in loans, possible because of a $23,250 loan from the co-op bank.

In less than three years of operation, the bank made 101 loans for $730,000 at 7 per cent (which includes a government tax of 1 per cent). Commercial loans are about 14 per cent.

Because the investment of credit unions and co-ops in the bank is small, its working capital comes from a $1.2 million line of credit from AID and a 20-year loan from the Ecuadorian government.

Before a loan is granted, the credit union must declare for what purpose the funds will be used, productive or consumer loans. Loans up to 400,000 *sucres* ($20,000) are approved by the credit committee consisting of the general manager and two members of the board of directors. Loans above that amount must be approved by the board.

Only 10 of the 17 credit unions in the production credit program have borrowed so far from the bank. But as the others grow and new credit unions enter the program, loan demands are sure to soar.

Although present plans call for 10 new credit unions to enter the program each year, there are hopes of doubling this figure. But as the program grows new problems are certain to develop.

For example, the small farmers will soon become bigger producers earning bigger incomes, which in turn will make them bigger spenders and bigger consumers. In the near future they'll need marketing co-ops to handle their increased production; farm supply co-ops to get the seed, chemicals and equipment they'll be using in quantity; and consumer co-ops to meet the needs of these new consumers.

Some of this is already taking place on a small scale. "A substantial improvement does not yet exist nationally," explained Carlos Flores of the Ecuador League, "because we only have one and a half years in the program. But the income per member participating in this program is increasing considerably."

One of the more significant aspects of this program is the stress put on training local leaders so that they can carry on without the help and supervision of people like Avram.

One credit union member told THE CREDIT UNION MAGAZINE how his credit union was organized by a priest. "When he had to leave everyone thought the credit union would fail. Another priest came along and he worked with the credit union. The people thought if we are to have a credit union it must be run by the priest. But as we grew and the (production credit) program started we hired a manager, and the credit union grew and all have confidence in the credit union and its manager."

So it is with the program itself. Now that Avram has left, the league is playing a bigger role in the production credit program.

Avram left Ecuador last month to join the staff in CUNA's Latin America regional office in Panama. Through this office CUNA is actively supporting credit union work in 14 Central and South American countries. Avram will now be setting up production credit programs in these other countries.

Continuing Avram's work in Ecuador is Carlos Flores, who has been with the league since November, 1963. Flores and three other Ecuadorians will work with credit unions in setting up production credit programs. These specialists work with a credit union for about six months. Once it reaches the point where the manager and board are trained and it has enough capital to get a loan from the co-op bank, the specialist steps out and regular league fieldman takes over.

"We're convinced that this is the exact program countries in the process of development need," said Flores. "It has changed the methods of farming for some, and enabled others to branch into new types of activities, such as the raising of pigs and chickens.

A strong educational process, naturally, is the keystone of any program. Education is available at three levels in Ecuador, through the league's director of education, the Rev. Ramiro Leon, S.J.

The basic level is aimed at the credit union members and stresses credit union operation, philosophy and history. The text is a league-prepared 8½ x 11-inch, 104-page booklet. Courses are taken right to the individual credit unions.

The second level consists of week-long regional seminars for credit union directors, covering much of the basic course but in more depth. Primarily workshop sessions, they involve participants in setting up and directing committees and threshing out problems actually encountered in their own credit unions.

The third level is a 15-day school held annually in Quito for credit union managers. The highly specialized courses deal with various phases of credit union operation.

"None of these courses are given free," explained Father Leon, a graduate of both the CUNA School and the Coady International Institute at Antigonish, Nova Scotia. The credit unions pay five *sucres* (20c) for each credit union member who takes the basic course; 50 *sucres* ($2.50) for the six-day regional seminars, which includes food and lodging; and 100 *sucres* ($5) for the two-week managers' course, again including food and lodging.

"We are educating our people that they shouldn't expect anything for nothing. They must learn that they have to pay the expenses of the league," explained Father Leon, a native Ecuadorian.

The instructors include personnel from the league and the co-op bank, Peace Corps volunteers, and—most important—local leaders. "We're insisting that credit union people from the local levels help us," says Father Leon. This has alleviated the fear of what would happen when the Peace Corps volunteers and CUNA people stop coming, as one day they must.

"We now have well-trained local leaders to take over," the priest said happily.

In its recent report on CUNA/AID activities, the Agency for International Development termed the "over-all progress" as being "very good."

ASIAN VIEW OF U.S. PARTICIPATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, in an interview with Scripps-Howard Newspapers' editor in chief, Walker Stone, this week laid out the Asian view of America's responsibility and presence in Vietnam and, in fact, in all of Asia. The Washington Daily News followed this interview with an editorial summing up—

> If we are a global power—

Wrote the editors—

> we are automatically a Pacific power. Geography, our national history, and compulsions of international politics since World War II make it so, and there is no point ducking the fact.

President Marcos made it clear that he would consider an American withdrawal from Vietnam a disaster because:

> The central fact of life here in Asia is Red China. Whatever it does is of interest to all the leaders and peoples of Asia. Vietnam is merely the theater where the intention of Red China may be reflected. Right now it is supporting North Vietnam and is supporting what we call an exported war, something which all independent nations here in Asia fear most.

Mr. President, I commend these statements and others by President Marcos in this excellent interview to the attention of Senators and the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that Walker Stone's dispatch on this interview from Manila and the Daily News' editorial of September 21 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 19, 1967]

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: PHILIPPINES FEAR A PULLOUT

(By Walker Stone)

MANILA, September 19.—President Ferdinand Marcos' sensitive antennae are attuned to the political debates in the United States on the conduct of the Vietnam war.

Because of the Philippines' long association with our country he perhaps understands better than other Asian leaders of the vagaries of American politics, and recognizes that a political pendulum swing from internationalism to isolation has historical American precedent.

He hopes the swing will not go so far as to cause the United States to withdraw from Vietnam short of attaining a stabilizing peace settlement, and certainly not so far as to cause withdrawal from all Asia.

WRONG POLICY

He thinks this would be a "wrong policy," and foresees dire consequences.

With the British already abdicating as a Pacific power, says President Marcos, "if the United States pulls out of Asia, Asia will have to accommodate itself to the reality that Red China is the power that they (Asian nations) cannot prevent from exerting not only pressures but ultimately military control over the countries. Now you tell me where such a conclusion is mistaken."

The word "accommodation," said the president, is a more palatable term than "domination," but ultimately they mean the same.

"If that gap, the security gap or the development gap, is not filled up by an outside power, I can foresee that in the long run, Asia will be run by Red China," he said.

AFRAID?

Are the people afraid of that?

"Definitely so. Leaders realize it not only here in the Philippines but in other places. Ministers that have come here for periodic gatherings in Manila have indicated this growing fear that if America is tired of the war, if America is tired of the burdens of wars brought on them, we now have to think of the possibility that America will withdraw. You will close yourself up again and isolate yourself from all these confrontations. Of couse we feel strongly that would be a wrong policy."

The immediate consequence of an unsatisfactory resolution of the Vietnam conflict would be, said the president, that "almost every country in Southeast Asia would start compromising with Red China. Even Taipei would have to accommodate itself in this situation. And thereafter ultimately, the hegemony of Asia would be attained under the overlordship of Red China. Not that we will not oppose with the force necessary if they try to take over our country. We will."

Vietnam, said the president, "still agitates everybody. The Philippines is no exception. The central fact of life here in Asia is Red China. Whatever it does is of interest to all the leaders and peoples of Asia. Vietnam is merely the theater where the intention of Red China may be reflected. Right now it is supporting North Vietnam and is supporting what we call an exported war, something which all independent nations here in Asia fear most. It is a kind of subversion which may be effective depending on the circumstances. We have had our own experience with communism and subversion, as you will remember.

"I think our country is the only country that has succeeded in overcoming a nationwide communist-inspired rebellion with indigenous troops—tho it is true we had help of American arms and equipment. And you will member this moved (the late) President Quirino in declaring before the United States Senate that, even before the Korean war had erupted, Asia was endangered by communist intentions and activities."

These warnings of the Filipino president should not be interpreted to mean that his is only a gloomy outlook. He sees hope in the recent Vietnam elections, which he describes as "a fantastic success."

"I am surprised," he said, "that they could have such elections. We sent observers, three observers—one from the department of foreign affairs, one from the Senate and one from the House. The three were unanimous that there was free voting. There was an atmosphere of complete freedom although, of course, there were a lot of men in uniform, especially in the north in areas recently under Viet Cong attack."

He is proud of the work being done by the Filipino engineering construction battalion in Vietnam in rebuilding and rehabilitation work. He believes possibly more resources of Vietnam and her allies should be devoted to this "second front."

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 21, 1967]

An Asian Leader Speaks

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, in his interview this week with Scripps-Howard Newspapers' Editor-in-Chief Walker Stone, laid out an Asian leader's point of view on the Vietnam war, communist China and the American role in Asia. You might find it interesting to compare your views on those three controversial subjects with those of that friendly yet independent-minded man.

To him, the Vietnam war is an "exported war," a war of subversion sponsored by Hanoi with the support of Peking. It is the type of war all independent nations fear most, because China, with its great weight—its vast land mass, teeming population, long history and urge toward expansionism—is, in President Marcos' term "the central fact of life here in Asia."

In the absence of any other great power, Mr. Marcos believes the U.S. must stand up against the exported war in Vietnam, and stay there until there is a "stabilizing peace settlement." Even then, the Philippine President said, the U.S. cannot withdraw from Asia, for to do so would force the smaller nations in China's great shadow to make an "accommodation" with Peking, meaning to recognize China's "overlordship," at the minimum, her ultimate military control at the probable worst. That doesn't exempt Asian nations from doing all they can toward their own security and development. But it does say the U.S. must stick around as the first line of defense and as provider of assistance in the foreseeable future.

In our own mind, we have never been able to understand how some apparently isolationist-leaning Americans can acknowledge proudly their country as a "global power," yet somehow deny we have any business in Asia. If we are a global power we are automatically a Pacific power. Geography, our national history, and the compulsions of international politics since World War II make it so, and there is no point ducking the fact.

A generation ago America went to war in the Pacific to prevent an imperialistic Japan from clamping all Asia into its own "Greater Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." If that war (tho thrust upon us) was worth it, how can we now fail to do what is necessary to contain a China bent on the same sort of mission, yet working from a much more advantageous base and with greater ability? The present challenge in Asia is another round in our effort to help the smaller nations of Asia stay free. Foolishly, the Japanese of 1941 put the issue squarely on the line by attacking Pearl Harbor. The Chinese of today are unlikely to make such a mistake. But we must recognize the challenge just the same.

THE 90TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF HEADMASTER-EMERITUS ARCHIBALD V. GALBRAITH, WILLISTON ACADEMY, EASTHAMPTON, MASS.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, today marks the 90th birthday anniversary of one of New England's and Massachusetts' most distinguished and dedicated educators, Headmaster-Emeritus Archibald V. Galbraith, of Williston Academy, Easthampton, Mass.

In addition to being a trustee of Smith College and chairman of the board of trustees of the renowned Clark School for the Deaf, Dr. Galbraith served for almost a third of a century as headmaster of Williston Academy. Under his long administration, this fine school prospered and flourished, and it is no exaggeration to suggest that its present high scholastic standing in the academic community is largely attributable to the vision, leadership, and devoted service of Dr. Archibald Galbraith.

In a State which has produced many giants in the field of education, the name of Dr. Archibald Galbraith will always stand out as one of our really great teachers and brilliant administrators.

It is with special pride, therefore, that I take this opportunity of wishing Dr. Galbraith the very happiest of birthdays. If any man ever had a right to look back upon his life with the utmost satisfaction and with the knowledge that his contribution to the field of education has been a particularly rich and fruitful one, it is certainly the man who today celebrates his proverbial fourscore and 10 years amongst us. In wishing for Dr. Galbraith all of the best for today and always, I am privileged also to express my appreciation for all that he has done to bring the highest standards of excellence to the educational institutions which have been so remarkably enriched by his truly distinguished and devoted service.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION, 1968

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 555, H.R. 11722.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

TITLE I

SEC. 101. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND

(First Army)

Fort Belvoir, Virginia: Operational and training facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $3,210,000.

Fort Devens, Massachusetts: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,304,000.

Fort Dix, New Jersey: Hospital facilities, $2,585,000.

Fort Eustis, Virginia: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $976,000.

Fort Hamilton, New York: Operational facilities, $127,000.

A. P. Hill Military Reservation, Virginia: Training facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,893,000.

Fort Holabird, Maryland: Administrative facilities, $588,000.

Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Pennsylvania: Training facilities, $581,000.

Fort Knox, Kentucky: Training facilities, and utilities, $3,325,000.

Fort Lee, Virginia: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, and utilities, $2,139,000.

Fort George G. Meade, Maryland: Hospital facilities, and administrative facilities, $4,510,000.

Camp Pickett, Virginia: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, and ground improvements, $329,000.

(Third Army)

Fort Benning, Georgia: Troop housing and utilities, $3,759,000.

Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,019,000.

Fort Campbell, Kentucky: Hospital facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $1,654,000.

Fort Gordon, Georgia: Training facilities, supply facilities, utilities, and real estate, $4,364,000.

Fort Jackson, South Carolina: Hospital facilities, $11,412,000.

Fort Rucker, Alabama: Training facilities and troop housing, $2,118,000.

(Fourth Army)

Fort Bliss, Texas: Training facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,693,000.

Fort Hood, Texas: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $3,075,000.

Fort Polk, Louisiana: Supply facilities, $954,000.

Fort Sill, Oklahoma: Training facilities and community facilities, $3,636,000.

Fort Wolters, Texas: Utilities, $379,000.

(Fifth Army)

Fort Carson, Colorado: Operational and training facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $15,152,000.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana: Operational facilities and utilities, $1,106,000.

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Administrative facilities, $392,000.

Fort Riley, Kansas: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $21,962,00.

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri: Training facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, and utilites, $2,575,000.

(Sixth Army)

Fort Irwin, California: Operational facilities and utilities, $439,000.

Fort Lewis, Washington: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $4,615,000.

Fort Ord, California: Hospital facilities and troop housing, $27,329,000.

(Military District of Washington)

Fort Meyer, Virginia: Troop housing and utilities, $1,680,000.

(CONUS Various)

CONUS Various Locations: Community facilities, $1,053,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND

Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland: Training facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $7,228,000.

Aeronautical Maintenance Center, Texas: Utilities, $419,000.

Anniston Army Depot, Alabama: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $964,000.

Fort Detrick, Maryland: Research, development, and test facilities, $2,151,000.

Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland: Troop housing, $653,000.

Letterkenny Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities and supply facilities, $552,000.

Lexington Blue Grass Army Depot, Kentucky: Maintenance facilities, $160,000.

Fort Monmouth, New Jersey: Utilities, $1,523,000.

New Cumberland Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Utilities, $330,000.

Pine Bluff Arsenal, Arkansas: Production facilities, $1,713,000.

Pueblo Army Depot, Colorado: Maintenance, and supply facilities, $855,000.

Red River Army Depot, Texas: Supply facilities, and administrative facilities, $376,000.

Redstone Arsenal, Alabama: Training facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and administrative facilities, $695,000.

Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois: Utilities, $320,000.

Sacramento Army Depot, California: Supply facilities, $93,000.

Savanna Army Depot, Illinois: Operational facilities, and utilities, $102,000.

Sharpe Army Depot, California: Supply facilities, $199,000.

Tobyhanna Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities, $268,000.

Tooele Army Depot, Utah: Supply facilities, $680,000.

Watertown Arsenal, Massachusetts: Research, development, and test facilities, $3,471,000.

White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico: Research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $4,781,000.

Fort Wingate Army Depot, New Mexico: Utilities, $166,000.

Yuma Proving Ground, Arizona: Research, development, and test facilities, $176,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Chicago Defense Area, Illinois: Operational facilities, $365,000.

Detroit Defense Area, Michigan: Operational facilities, $130,000.

New York Defense Area, New York: Troop housing, $327,000.

CONUS Various Locations: Operational facilities, and utilities, $64,846,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY SECURITY AGENCY

Two Rock Ranch Station, California: Supply facilities, $174,000.

Vint Hill Farms, Virginia: Operational facilities, and supply facilities, $433,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS COMMAND

Fort Ritchie, Maryland: Utilities, $136,000.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

United States Military Academy, West Point, New York: Training facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,495,000.

ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE

Madigan General Hospital, Washington: Medical facilities, $185,000.

Walter Reed Army Medical Center, District of Columbia: Hospital facilities, and community facilities, $12,840,000.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Army Map Service, Maryland: Utilities, $156,000.

MILITARY TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT AND TERMINAL SERVICE

Bayonne Naval Supply Center, New Jersey: Operational facilities, $95,000.

Oakland Army Base, California: Utilities, $289,000.

Sunny Point, North Carolina: Utilities, $70,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, ALASKA

Fort Greely, Alaska: Operational facilities, $852,000.

Fort Richardson, Alaska: Utilities, $1,800,000.

Fort Wainwright, Alaska: Utilities, $84,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, HAWAII

Fort De Russy, Hawaii: Troop housing and utilities, $7,132,000.

Schofield Barracks, Hawaii: Training facilities, $286,000.

Fort Shafter, Hawaii: Utilities, $1,944,000.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES ARMY, PACIFIC

Camp Zama, Japan: Supply facilities, $193,000.

Korea: Hospital facilities, $2,810,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, SOUTHERN COMMAND

Fort Clayton, Canal Zone: Utilities, $7,985,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND

Kwajalein Atoll: Research, development, and test facilities, housing and community facilities, $12,255,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY SECURITY AGENCY

Various locations: Operational facilities, housing and community facilities and utilities, $4,601,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, EUROPE

Germany: Supply facilities, $2,000,000.

Various locations: Operational facilities and supply facilities, $6,815,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS COMMAND

Various locations: Operational facilities and utilities, $3,821,000.

SEC. 102. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop classified military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisitions, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the amount of $2,873,000.

SEC. 103. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop Army installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Army missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next military construction authorization act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Army, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a final decision to implement, of the cost of construction in any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public works projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 104. (a) Public Law 87-554, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Third Army)" with respect to Fort McClellan, Alabama, strike out "$1,-

352,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,554,000;"

(b) Public Law 87–554, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$102,370,000" and "$150,879,000" and inserting in place thereof "$102,572,000" and "$151,081,000" respectively.

Sec. 105. (a) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "ARMY COMPONENT COMMANDS (Pacific Command Area)" with respect to Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, strike out "$913,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,006,000".

(b) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$155,826,000" and "$200,695,000" and inserting in place thereof "$155,919,000" and "$200,788,000", respectively.

Sec. 106, (a) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Second Army)" with respect to Fort Lee, Virginia, strike out "$2,900,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,000,000".

(2) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Military District of Washington, District of Columbia)" with respect to Fort Myer, Virginia, strike out "$4,052,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,330,000".

(3) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Fifth Army)" with respect to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, strike out "$5,544,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,350,000".

(4) Under the subheading "UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND (United States Army Missile Command)" with respect to Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, strike out "$2,389,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,563,000".

(5) Under the subheading "TECHNICAL SERVICES FACILITIES (Signal Corps)" with respect to Army Pictorial Center, New York, strike out "$1,120,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,185,000".

(6) Under the subheading "TECHNICAL SERVICES FACILITIES (Medical Service)" with respect to Letterman General Hospital, California, strike out "$14,305,000" and insert in place thereof "$15,424,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$252,994,000" and "$304,055,000" and inserting $256,536,000" and "$307,597,000", respectively.

Sec. 107. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the heading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Second Army)" with respect to Fort Lee, Virginia, strike out "$700,000" and insert in place thereof "$925,000".

(2) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND, less Army Materiel Command (Fifth Army)" with respect to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, strike out $16,084,000" and insert in place thereof "$16,536,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188 is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$253,722,000" and "$310,583,000" and inserting "$254,399,000" and "$311,260,000", respectively.

Sec. 108. (a) Public Law 89–568 is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the heading "Inside the United States" and under the subheading "UNITED STATES CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (First Army)" with respect to United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, strike out "$2,451,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,705,000".

(2) Under the heading "Outside the United States" and under the subheading "UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND" with respect to Kwajalien Atoll, strike out "$31,333,000" and insert in place thereof $36,907,000".

(b) Public Law 89–568 is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$57,219,000," "$36,141,000," and "$126,360,000" and inserting "$57,473,000," "$41,715,000" and "$132,188,000".

TITLE II

Sec. 201. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment for the following projects:

Inside the United States

FIRST NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Utilities, $575,000.

Naval Shipyard, Boston, Massachusetts: Utilities, $496,000.

Naval Construction Battalion Center, Davisville, Rhode Island: Troop housing, $2,613,000.

Naval Station, Newport, Rhode Island: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $3,747,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Newport, Rhode Island: Supply facilities, $82,000.

Naval Destroyer School, Newport, Rhode Island: Training facilities, $1,486,000.

Naval Schools Command, Newport, Rhode Island: Training facilities, $2,848,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Newport, Rhode Island: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,697,000.

Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, Rhode Island: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $2,823,000.

THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Submarine Base, New London, Connecticut: Operational facilities, and maintenance facilities, $2,355,000.

Naval Submarine School, New London, Connecticut: Training facilities, $1,607,000.

Naval Submarine Medical Center, New London, Connecticut: Medical facilities, $1,590,000.

FOURTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Lakehurst, New Jersey: Troop housing and utilities and ground improvements, $1,786,000.

Naval Air Test Facility, Lakehurst, New Jersey: Research, development, and test facilities, $148,000.

Naval Air Development Center, Johnsville, Pennsylvania: Research, development, and test facilities, $1,684,000.

Naval Shipyard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,526,000.

Naval Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,859,000.

Navy Aviation Supply Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities, $80,000.

Naval Air Technical Services Facility, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities, $586,000.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Scientific and Technical Intelligence Center, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $1,374,000.

Naval Research Laboratory, District of Columbia: Operational facilities, and utilities, $874,000.

Naval Security Station, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $2,271,000.

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland: Training facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,443,000.

Naval Hospital, Annapolis, Maryland: Hospital and medical facilities, $134,000.

Naval Radio Station, Annapolis, Maryland: Operational facilities, $5,000,000.

National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland: Utilities, $630,000.

Naval Communication Station, Cheltenham, Maryland: Troop housing and utilities, $925,000.

Naval Ordnance Station, Indian Head, Maryland: Utilities and ground improvements, $1,208,000.

Naval School, Explosive Ordnance Disposal, Indian Head, Maryland: Training facilities, $296,000.

Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, Maryland: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,522,000.

FIFTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Hospital, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina: Troop housing, $267,000.

Naval Facility, Cape Hatteras, North Carolina: Troop housing, $92,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point, North Carolina: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $5,349,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, New River, North Carolina: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $2,866,000.

Fleet Anti-Air Warfare Training Center, Dam Neck, Virginia: Training facilities, and troop housing, $2,378,000.

Naval Radio Station, Driver, Virginia: Troop housing, $21,000.

Naval Amphibious Base, Little Creek, Virginia: Medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,072,000.

Naval Amphibious School, Little Creek, Virginia: Training facilities, $693,000.

Naval Shipyard, Norfolk, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $4,723,000.

Headquarters, Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet, Norfolk, Virginia: Troop housing, $2,508,000.

Fleet Operations Control Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Utilities, $424,000.

Naval Station, Norfolk, Virginia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,997,000.

Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $4,714,000.

Naval Degaussing Station, Norfolk, Virginia: Operational facilities, $364,000.

Naval Supply Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Operational facilities, and supply facilities, $153,000.

Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Virginia: Troop housing, $808,000.

Fleet Training Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Training facilities, $65,000.

Nuclear Weapons Training Center, Atlantic, Norfolk, Virginia: Training facilities, $1,557,000.

Navy Preventive Medicine Unit, Norfolk, Virginia: Medical facilities, $339,000.

Naval Air Station, Oceana, Virginia: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $8,412,000.

Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Virginia: Troop housing, $498,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Yorktown, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,051,000.

SIXTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Cecil Field, Florida: Operational and training facilities, and troop housing, $3,590,000.

Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida: Maintenance facilities, $5,260,000.

Naval Hospital, Jacksonville, Florida: Troop housing, $302,000.

Naval Station, Mayport, Florida: Operational facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $6,558,000.

Naval Station, Key West, Florida: Operational facilities, $300,000.

Naval Air Station, Key West Florida: Supply facilities, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $1,511,000.

Naval Hospital, Key West, Florida: Troop housing, $243,000.

Naval Training Center, Orlando, Florida: Operational and training facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $13,425,000.

Navy Mine Defense Laboratory, Panama City, Florida: Troop housing, $441,000.

Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida: Maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $5,608,000.

Naval Aviation Medical Center, Pensacola, Florida: Troop housing, $338,000.

Naval Communications Training Center, Pensacola, Florida: Training facilities, and troop housing, $1,864,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Saufley Field, Florida: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,317,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Whiting Field, Florida: Troop housing, $1,020,000.

Naval Air Station, Albany, Georgia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,530,000.

Naval Air Station, Glynco, Georgia: Operational and training facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $3,143,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Beaufort, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and community facilities, $955,000.

Naval Shipyard, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $3,063,000.

Naval Station, Charleston, South Carolina: Community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $4,048,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $16,186,000.

Naval Air Station, Memphis, Tennessee: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $5,246,000.

EIGHTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Chase Field, Texas: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $12,784,000.

Naval Air Station, Corpus Christi, Texas: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $3,603,000.

Naval Hospital, Corpus Christi, Texas: Troop housing, $344,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Kingsville, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $3,894,000.

NINTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois: Troop housing, $6,869,000.

Naval Hospital Corps School, Great Lakes, Illinois: Training facilities, $1,561,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Great Lakes, Illinois: Utilities, $306,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Crane, Indiana: Maintenance facilities, $225,000.

ELEVENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Observatory, Flagstaff, Arizona: Research, development, and test facilities, $704,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Yuma, Arizona: Operational facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $2,133,000.

Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California: Research, development, and test facilities, $2,486,000.

Naval Aerospace Recovery Facility, El Centro, California: Research, development, and test facilities, $460,000.

Naval Air Facility, El Centro, California: Troop housing, $427,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities and hospital and medical facilities, $4,918,000.

Naval Shipyard, Long Beach, California: Maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $489,000.

Naval Station, Long Beach, California: Community facilities, $800,000.

Fleet Anti-Submarine Warfare Training Facility, Long Beach, California: Training facilities, $434,000.

Naval Dental Clinic, Long Beach, California: Medical facilities, $821,000.

Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, California: Research, development, and test facilities, $509,000.

Naval Ship Missile Systems Engineering Station, Port Hueneme, California: Administrative facilities, $1,591,000.

Naval Construction Battalion Center, Port Hueneme, California: Troop housing, $2,638,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, Santa Ana, California: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,145,000.

Marine Corps Auxiliary Landing Field, Camp Pendleton, California: Operational and training facilities, $381,000.

Naval Amphibious Base, Coronado, California: Administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $8,380,000.

Naval Air Station, Miramar, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, adminstratve facilites, and utilities, $5,836,000.

Naval Air Station, North Island, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilites and ground improvements, $7,692,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Ream Field, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,471,000.

Naval Submarine Support Facility, San Diego, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilites, and troop housing, $4,720,000.

Fleet Anti-Air Warfare Training Center, San Diego, California: Administrative facilities, $475,000.

Fleet Anti-Submarine Warfare School, San Diego, California: Training facilities, $286,000.

Naval Training Center, San Diego, California: Training facilities, and troop housing, $12,491,000.

Naval Hospital, San Diego, California: Troop housing, $986,000.

TWELFTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Lemoore, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilites, $5,955,000.

Naval Air Station, Alameda, California: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $383,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Concord, California: Operational facilities, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $20,079,000.

Naval Radio Station, Dixon, California: Medical facilities, and troop housing, $172,000.

Naval Schools Command, Mare Island, California: Troop housing, $2,738,000.

Naval Air Station, Moffett Field, California: Utilities and ground improvements, $119,000.

Naval Hospital, Oakland, California: Troop housing, $1,436,000.

Naval Shipyard, San Francisco Bay, California: Troop housing at Hunters Point; and maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities at Mare Island, $9,174,000.

Naval Station, Treasure Island, California: Utilities and ground improvements, $850,000.

Naval Schools Command, Treasure Island, California: Training facilities, and troop housing, $5,825,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Hawthorne, Nevada: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $598,000.

THIRTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Facility, Coos Head, Oregon: Utilities and ground improvements, $65,000.

Naval Shipyard, Bremerton, Washington: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $6,923,000.

Naval Hospital, Bremerton, Washington: Troop housing, $83,000.

Naval Radio Station, Jim Creek, Oso, Washington: Community facilities, $130,000.

Naval Communication Station, Puget Sound, Washington: Operational facilities, $713,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Seattle, Washington: Utilities and ground improvements, $252,000.

Naval Air Station, Whidbey Island, Washington: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $2,626,000.

FOURTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Communication Station, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, $370,000.

Naval Shipyard, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $2,237,000.

Naval Station, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,395,000.

Naval Submarine Base, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $4,102,000.

Naval Supply Center, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, $62,000.

Fleet Submarine Training Facility, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Training facilities, $944,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Utilities and ground improvements, $7,636,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Kaneohe Bay, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,554,000.

Fleet Operations Control Center, Kunia, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, and utilities, $1,728,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,170,000.

Naval Air Station, Barbers Point, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $494,000.

Naval Radio Station, Lualualei, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $6,793,000.

Pacific Fleet Tactical Range, Barking Sands, Kauai, Hawaii: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $2,264,000.

SEVENTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Station, Adak, Alaska: Maintenance facilities, hospital and medical facilities, and utilities, $4,587,000.

Naval Radio Station, Buskin Lake, Kodiak, Alaska: Operational facilities, $686,000.

VARIOUS LOCATIONS

Various Locations: Operational facilities, $55,000.

Various Naval Communication Activities: Utilities, $3,278,000.

MARINE CORPS GROUND FORCES FACILITIES

Marine Corps Schools, Quantico, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,571,000.

Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina: Medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $12,507,000.

Marine Corps Supply Center, Albany, Georgia: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $892,000.

Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, South Carolina: Training facilities, medical facilities, and troop housing, $2,149,000.

Marine Corps Supply Center, Barstow, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $1,230,000.

Marine Corps Base, Twentynine Palms, California: Operational and training facilities, and utilities, $6,704,000.

Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California: Maintenance facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $11,290,000.

Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego, California: Troop housing, $912,000.

Camp H. M. Smith, Aiea, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, $1,549,000.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

TENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Facility, Antigua, West Indies: Utilities, $87,000.

Naval Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba: Troop housing, $3,918,000.

Naval Air Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba: Troop housing, $1,600,000.

Naval Hospital, Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico: Operational facilities, and maintenance facilities, $1,468,000.

Naval Hospital, Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico: Hospital and medical facilities, and troop housing, $6,283,000.

Naval Radio Station, Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico: Troop housing and community facilities, $513,000.

FOURTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Station, Midway Islands: Utilities and ground improvements, $1,669,000.

ATLANTIC AREA

Naval Station, Bermuda: Operational facilities, $1,253,000.

EUROPEAN AREA

Naval Communication Station, Londonderry, Northern Ireland: Medical facilities, $116,000.

Naval Radio Station, Guardamar del Segura, Spain: Community facilities, $58,000.

Naval Station, Rota, Spain: Operational facilities, and community facilities, $288,000.

Naval Communication Station, Nea Makri, Greece: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $133,000.

PACIFIC OCEAN AREA

Naval Air Station, Agana, Guam, Mariana Islands: Operational facilities, and community facilities, $467,000.

Naval Communication Station, Finegayan, Guam, Mariana Islands: Troop housing, $142,000.

Naval Facility, Guam, Mariana Island: Operational facilities, $200,000.

Naval Station, Guam, Mariana Islands: Troop housing, $284,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Guam, Mariana Islands: Supply facilities, $2,590,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Guam, Mariana Islands: Utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $8,452,000.

Naval Radio Station, Totsuka, Japan: Utilities, $97,000.

Naval Ordnance Facility, Yokosuka, Japan: Maintenance facilities, $336,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, Futema, Okinawa: Operational facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $6,169,000.

Fleet Activities, Ryukyus, Okinawa: Community facilities, $80,000.

Naval Air Station, Cubi Point, Republic of the Philippines: Medical facilities, $105,000.

Naval Communication Station, San Miguel, Republic of the Philippines: Community facilities, $501,000.

Naval Station, Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines: Community facilities, $179,000.

VARIOUS LOCATIONS

Various Locations: Operational facilities, $65,000.

Various Naval Communication Activities: Utilities, $662,000.

SEC. 202. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop classified naval installations and facilities by acquiring, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $6,784,000.

SEC. 203. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop Navy installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Navy missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next military construction authorization act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public works projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 204. (a) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended in title II, section 201, under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to Naval Shipyard, Mare Island, California, by striking out "$850,000" and inserting in place thereof "$908,000".

(b) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended in section 602, clause (2), by striking out "$116,031,000" and "$202,930,000" and inserting, respectively, in place thereof "$116,089,000" and "$202,988,000".

SEC. 205. (a) Public Law 88–390 is amended in title II, section 201, under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS FACILITIES (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to the Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by striking out "$4,760,000" and inserting in place thereof "$5,240,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390 is amended in section 602, clause (2), by striking out "$160,237,000" and "$225,639,000" and inserting respectively in place thereof "$160,717,000" and "$226,119,000".

SEC. 206. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 201, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS FACILITIES (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to Naval Shipyard, Long Beach, California, and Naval Shipyard, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii, strike out $2,931,000" and "$3,591,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$3,857,000" and "$4,650,000", respectively.

(2) Under the subheading "FLEET BASE FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Station, Key West, Florida, and Naval Station, Treasure Island, California, strike out "$1,293,000" and "$1,856,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$1,462,000" and "$2,234,000", respectively.

(3) Under the subheading "MARINE CORPS FACILITIES" with respect to Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, strike out "$7,126,000" and insert in place thereof "$8,402,000".

(4) Under the subheading "SERVICE SCHOOL FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois, strike out "$11,457,000" and insert in place thereof "$12,732,000".

(5) Under the subheading "MEDICAL FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Dispensary and Dental Clinic, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii, strike out "$2,800,000" and insert in place thereof, "$3,026,000".

(6) Under the heading "COMMUNICATION FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Autodin Facility, Albany, Georgia, and Naval Autodin Facility, Syracuse, New York, strike out "$313,000" and "$45,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$926,000" and "$135,000", respectively.

(7) Under the heading "OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Research Laboratory, District of Columbia, strike out "$5,560,000" and insert in place thereof "$7,368,000".

(8) Under the heading "OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "FLEET BASE FACILITIES" with respect to Headquarters Support Activity, Taipei, Republic of China, strike out "$199,000" and insert in place thereof "$370,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (2) of section 602 "$228,770,000", "$34,436,000", and "$314,305,000" and inserting in place thereof "$236,590,000", $34,607,000", and "$322,296,000", respectively.

TITLE III

SEC. 301. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Duluth Municipal Airport, Duluth, Minnesota: Administrative facilities and community facilities, $316,000.

Hamilton Air Force Base, San Rafael, California: Utilities, $204,000.

Kingsley Field, Klamath Falls, Oregon: Administrative facilities and utilities, $290,000.

McChord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Washington: Operational facilities and utilities, $1,598,000.

Niagara Falls Municipal Airport, Niagara Falls, New York: Maintenance facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $377,000.

NORAD Headquarters, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Operational facilities, $1,201,000.

Otis Air Force Base, Falmouth, Massachusetts: Utilities, $184,000.

Oxnard Air Force Base, Camarillo, California: Training facilities, $264,000.

Paine Field, Everett, Washington: Operational facilities, $401,000.

Perrin Air Force Base, Sherman, Texas: Operational and training facilities and maintenance facilities, $1,105,000.

Peterson Field, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $5,405,000.

Selfridge Air Force Base, Mount Clemens, Michigan: Utilities, $1,681,000.

Stewart Air Force Base, Newburgh, New York: Utilities, $166,000.

Suffolk County Air Force Base, Westhampton Beach, New York: Utilities, $475,000.

Tyndall Air Force Base, Panama City, Florida: Supply facilities, $85,000.

AIR FORCE LOGISTICS COMMAND

Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York: ministrative facilities, and community facilities, $1,628,000.

Hill Air Force Base, Ogden, Utah: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and community facilities, $1,626,000.

Kelly Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,147,000.

McClellan Air Force Base, Sacramento, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $7,035,000. $7,035,000.

Newark Air Force Station, Newark, Ohio: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $365,000.

Robins Air Force Base, Macon, Georgia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $5,130,000.

Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $3,597,000.

Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $10,862,000.

AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND

Arnold Engineering Development Center, Tullahoma, Tennessee: Research, development, and test facilities, and supply facilities, $1,554,000.

Brooks Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Research, development, and test facilities, medical facilities, and troop housing, $4,185,000.

Edwards Air Force Base, Muroc, California: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and supply facilities, $4,023,000.

Eglin Air Force Base, Valparaiso, Florida: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $7,087,000.

Eglin Auxiliary Airfield Numbered 9, Valparaiso, Florida: Operational facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $1,732,000.

Grenier Field, Manchester, New Hampshire: Troop housing, $465,000.

Holloman Air Force Base, Alamogordo, New Mexico: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $3,621,000.

Kirtland Air Force Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Operational facilities and utilities, $181,000.

Laurence G. Hanscom Field, Bedford, Massachusetts: Research, development, and test facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,482,000.

Patrick Air Force Base, Cocoa, Florida: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $1,040,000.

Eastern Test Range, Cocoa, Florida: Research, development, and test facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $4,787,000.

Western Test Range, Lampoc, California: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,333,000.

Satellite Tracking Facilities: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $3,137,000.

AIR TRAINING COMMAND

Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois: Training facilities, hospital facilities, medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,523,000.

Craig Air Force Base, Selma, Alabama: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $1,665,000.

Keesler Air Force Base, Biloxi, Mississippi: Operational and training facilities and administrative facilities, $3,071,000.

Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing

Laredo Air Force Base, Laredo, Texas: and community facilities, $23,457,000. Utilities, $92,000.

Laughlin Air Force Base, Del Rio, Texas: Operational and training facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $736,000.

Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado: Training facilities and troop housing and community facilities, $5,479,000.

Mather Air Force Base, Sacramento, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, hospital facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $7,005,000.

Moody Air Force Base, Valdosta, Georgia: Operational and training facilities, $875,000.

Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Troop housing and utilities, $1,203,000.

Reese Air Force Base, Lubbock, Texas: Operational and training facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $3,795,000.

Sheppard Air Force Base, Wichita Falls, Texas: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $3,655,000.

Vance Air Force Base, Enid, Oklahoma: Training facilities and utilities, $619,000.

Webb Air Force Base, Big Spring, Texas: Hospital facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $2,296,000.

Williams Air Force Base, Chandler, Arizona: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $2,939,000.

AIR UNIVERSITY

Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama: Supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $302,000.

ALASKAN AIR COMMAND

Eielson Air Force Base, Fairbanks, Alaska: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $225,000.

Elmendorf Air Force Base, Anchorage, Alaska: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $3,987,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $11,618,000.

HEADQUARTERS COMMAND

Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, District of Columbia: Maintenance facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, utilities, and ground improvements, $7,819,000.

MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND

Altus Air Force Base, Altus, Oklahoma: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $3,655,000.

Charleston Air Force Base, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $7,892,000.

Dover Air Force Base, Dover, Delaware: Operational facilities and utilities, $866,000.

McGuire Air Force Base, Wrightstown, New Jersey: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $843,000.

Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,219,000.

Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $459,000.

Travis Air Force Base, Fairfield, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,047,000.

PACIFIC AIR FORCE

Hickam Air Force Base, Honolulu, Hawaii: Medical facilities, troop housing facilities, and utilities, $2,566,000.

STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND

Barksdale Air Force Base, Shreveport, Louisiana: Operational facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,483,000.

Beale Air Force Base, Marysville, California: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $356,000.

Blytheville Air Force Base, Blytheville, Arkansas: Utilities, $88,000.

Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Peru, Indiana: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $795,000.

Carswell Air Force Base, Fort Worth, Texas: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $1,689,000.

Castle Air Force Base, Merced, California: Administrative facilities, $123,000.

Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi: Operational facilities, hospital facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,132,000.

Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Tucson, Arizona: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $2,954,000.

Dyess Air Force Base, Abilene, Texas: Training facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $537,000.

Ellsworth Air Force Base, Rapid City, South Dakota: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $229,000.

Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $345,000.

Fairchild Air Force Base, Spokane, Washington: Operational facilities and medical facilities, $389,000.

Grand Forks Air Force Base, Grand Forks, North Dakota: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, hospital facilities, medical facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,652,000.

Homestead Air Force Base, Homestead, Florida: Administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $584,000.

K. I. Sawyer Municipal Airport, Marquette, Michigan: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,032,000.

Little Rock Air Force Base, Little Rock, Arkansas: Operational facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $759,000.

Loring Air Force Base, Limestone, Maine: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $388,000.

Malmstrom Air Force Base, Great Falls, Montana: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $1,428,000.

March Air Force Base, Riverside, California: Administrative facilities, and community facilities, $5,471,000.

McCoy Air Force Base, Orlando, Florida: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $430,000.

Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,354,000.

Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebraska: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $960,000.

Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $2,203,000.

Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Plattsburgh, New York: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and community facilities, $2,068,000.

Vandenberg Air Force Base, Lompoc, California: Maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $3,581,000.

Westover Air Force Base, Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $3,120,000.

Whiteman Air Force Base, Knob Noster, Missouri: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $248,000.

Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Oscoda, Michigan: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,053,000.

TACTICAL AIR COMMAND

Bergstrom Air Force Base, Austin, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, hospital facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $5,866,000.

Cannon Air Force Base, Clovis, New Mexico: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $6,311,000.

England Air Force Base, Alexandria, Louisiana: Operational facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and real estate, $4,243,000.

Forbes Air Force Base, Topeka, Kansas: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $970,000.

George Air Force Base, Victorville, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $2,454,000.

Langley Air Force Base, Hampton, Virginia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $2,243,000.

Lockbourne Air Force Base, Columbus, Ohio: Utilities, $51,000.

Luke Air Force Base, Phoenix, Arizona: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $3,165,000.

MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,169,000.

McConnell Air Force Base, Wichita, Kansas: Operational facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,395,000.

Mountain Home Air Force Base, Mountain Home, Idaho: Operational facilities and administrative facilities, $470,000.

Myrtle Beach Air Force Base, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina: Community facilities and utilities, $839,000.

Nellis Air Force Base, Las Vegas, Nevada: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,201,000.

Pope Air Force Base, Fort Bragg, North Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $5,680,000.

Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, Goldsboro, North Carolina: Training facilities, administrative facilities, and community facilities, $613,000.

Shaw Air Force Base, Sumter, South Carolina: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,582,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY

United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Training facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,648,000.

AIRCRAFT CONTROL AND WARNING SYSTEM

Various Locations: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,876,000.

Outside the United States

AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $818,000.

MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND

Wake Island Air Force Station, Wake Island: Operational facilities and maintenance facilities, $484,000.

Kindley Air Base, Bermuda: Operational facilities, $84,000.

PACIFIC AIR FORCE

Okinawa: Community facilities, and utilities, $950,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities and troop housing and community facilities, $1,355,000.

STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND

Andersen Air Force Base, Guam: Troop housing and utilities, $1,255,000.

Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico: Administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $1,347,000.

Goose Air Base, Canada: Administrative facilities and utilities, $90,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCES IN EUROPE

Germany: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $2,502,000.

United Kingdom: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $10,457,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,520,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCES SOUTHERN COMMAND

Howard Air Force Base, Canal Zone: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,625,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE SECURITY SERVICE

Various Locations: Operational facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $486,000.

SEC. 302. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop classified military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $51,922,000.

SEC. 303. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop Air Force installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Air Force missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next Military Construction Authorization Act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, on install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Air Force, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a final decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public work projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 304. (a) Public Law 87–57, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND", with respect to Nellis Air Force Base, Las Vegas, Nevada, strike out "$2,433,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,504,000".

(b) Public Law 87–57, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$146,868,000" and "$474,461,000" and inserting in place thereof "$146,939,000" and "474,532,000", respectively.

SEC. 305. (a) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE", with respect to Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois, strike out "$3,137,000" and insert in place thereof "$3,998,000".

(2) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebraska, strike out "$1,888,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,259,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$165,327,000" and "$303,447,000" and inserting in place thereof "$166,559,000" and "$304,679,000", respectively.

SEC. 306. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "AIR DEFENSE COMMAND", with respect to McChord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Washington, strike out "$3,736,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,277,000".

(2) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois, strike out "$5,442,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,347,000".

(3) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND" with respect to Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, strike out "$5,510,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,663,000".

(4) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND" with respect to Moody Air Force Base, Valdosta, Georgia, strike out "$1,782,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,017,000".

(5) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND" with respect to Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, strike out "$651,000" and insert in place thereof "$732,000".

(6) Under the subheading "AIR UNIVERSITY" with respect to Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, strike out "$770,000" and insert in place thereof "$970,000".

(7) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE" with respect to McGuire Air Force Base, Wrightstown, New Jersey, strike out "$2,094,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,440,000".

(8) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE" with respect to Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois, strike out "$2,240,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,612,000".

(9) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Peru, Indiana, strike out "$1,785,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,945,000".

(10) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to K. I. Sawyer Municipal Airport, Marquette, Michigan, strike out "$148,000" and insert in place thereof "$223,000".

(11) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Lockbourne Air Force Base, Columbus, Ohio, strike out "$565,000" and insert in place thereof "$706,000".

(12) Under the subseading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to McCoy Air Force Base, Orlando, Florida, strike out "$40,000" and insert in place thereof "$66,000".

(13) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota, strike out "$109,000" and insert in place thereof "$132,000".

(14) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Whiteman Air Force Base, Knob Noster, Missouri, strike out "$218,000" and insert in place thereof "$250,000".

(15) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Osconda, Michigan, strike out "$45,000" and insert in place thereof "$70,000".

(16) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND" with respect to Langley Air Force Base, Hampton, Virginia, strike out $3,696,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,063,000".

(17) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND" with respect to Pope Air Force Base, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, strike out "$2,560,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,801,000".

(18) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND" with respect to Shaw Air Force Base, Sumter, South Carolina, strike out "$1,189,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,267,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$210,630,000" and "$334,376,000" and inserting in place thereof "$215,631,000" and "$339,377,000", respectively.

SEC. 307. (a) Public Law 89–568 is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND" with respect to Eglin Air Force Base, Valparaiso, Florida, strike out "$6,277,000" and insert in place thereof "$7,262,000".

(2) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND" with respect to Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois, strike out "$586,000" and insert in place thereof "$885,000".

(3) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND" with respect to Vance Air Force Base, Enid, Oklahoma, strike out "$1,169,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,313,000".

(4) Under the subheading "ALASKAN AIR COMMAND" with respect to Elmendorf Air Force Base, Anchorage, Alaska, strike out "$1,265,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,500,000".

(5) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND" with respect to Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, California, strike out "$7,706,000" and insert in place thereof "$8,560,000".

(6) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi, strike out "$494,000" and insert in place thereof "$607,000".

(7) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" with respect to Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota, strike out "$440,000" and insert in place thereof "$498,000".

(b) Public Law 89–568 is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$107,098,000" and "$198,014,000" and inserting in place thereof "$109,786,000" and "$200,702,000", respectively.

TITLE IV

SEC. 401. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, for defense agencies for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

DEFENSE ATOMIC SUPPORT AGENCY

Sandia Base, New Mexico: Administrative facilities and hospital and medical facilities, $1,732,000.

DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

National Military Command System Support Center, Pentagon, Washington, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $600,000.

DEFENSE SUPPLY AGENCY

Defense Depot, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Supply facilities, $375,000.

Defense Construction Supply Center, Columbus, Ohio: Maintenance facilities and supply facilities, $847,000.

Defense Supply Depot, Tracy, California: Supply facilities, $4,026,000.

Defense Logistics Services Center, Battle Creek, Michigan: Administrative facilities, $305,000.

Defense Personnel Support Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities and utilities, $2,429,000.

NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

Fort George G. Meade, Maryland: Operational facilities, production facilities, and utilities, $3,416,000.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

DEFENSE ATOMIC SUPPORT AGENCY

Johnston Island: Community facilities, and ground improvements, $1,410,000.

NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

Various Locations, Europe: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,407,000.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop installations and facilities which he determines to be vital to the security of the United States, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $200,000,000.

SEC. 403. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 401 as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY" with respect to Arlington Hall Station, Arlington, Virginia, strike out "$17,900,000" and insert in place thereof "$20,000,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended, by striking out in clause (4) of section 602 "$100,051,000" and inserting in place thereof "$102,151,000".

TITLE V

SEC. 501. The Secretary of each military department may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, which are necessary outside the United States in connection with military activities in Southeast Asia, or in support of such activities in the total amount as follows:

Department of the Army, $33,156,000

Department of the Navy, $17,964,000

Department of the Air Force, $23,880,000: *Provided*, That materials only are authorized in connection with dependent military housing facilities for the Vietnamese.

SEC. 502. The Secretary of Defense, in connection with construction projects undertaken in South Vietnam pursuant to section 501 above, shall furnish to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives such reports as were heretofore furnished pursuant to section 401(c) of Public Law 89–367 (80 Stat. 36, 37).

TITLE VI

MILITARY FAMILY HOUSING

SEC. 601. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to construct, at the locations hereinafter named, family housing units and trailer court facilities in the numbers hereinafter listed, but no family housing construction shall be commenced at any such locations in the United States, until the Secretary shall have consulted with the Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, as to the availability of adequate private housing at such locations. If agreement cannot be reached with respect to the availability of adequate private housing at any location, the Secretary of Defense shall immediately notify the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives and the Senate, in writing, of such difference of opinion, and no contract for construction at such location shall be entered into for a period of thirty days after such notification has been given. This authority shall include the authority to acquire land, and interests in land, by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

Family housing units for—

(a) The Department of the Army, two thousand one hundred units, $38,444,000:

Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, two hundred units.

Presidio of San Francisco, California, two hundred units.

Fort Benning, Georgia, three hundred and sixty units.

Fort Gordon, Georgia, four hundred units.

Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois, fifty units.

Fort Meade, Maryland, three hundred units.

Fort Jackson, South Carolina, two hundred units.

Fort Hood, Texas, one hundred and twenty units.

Fort Stewart, Georgia, one hundred and twenty units.

Pacific Side, Canal Zone, one hundred and fifty units.

(b) The Department of the Navy, four thousand four hundred and sixty-two units, $90,760,000:

Marine Corps Air Station, Yuma, Arizona, four hundred and thirty units.

Naval Air Station, Lemoore, California, fifty units.

Naval Complex, Long Beach, California, five hundred units.

Naval Submarine Base, New London, Connecticut, three hundred units.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Whiting Field, Florida, one hundred units.

Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida, fifty units.

Naval Supply Corps School, Athens, Georgia, forty-two units.

Naval Complex, Oahu, Hawaii, five hundred units.

David Taylor Model Basin Field Station, Bayview, Idaho, four units.

Naval Air Station, Glenview, Illinois, one hundred and fifty units.

Naval Security Group Activity, Winter Harbor, Maine, thirty-two units.

Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, Maryland, two hundred units.

Naval Facility, Nantucket, Massachusetts, fourteen units.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Hawthorne, Nevada, one hundred units.

Naval Ammunition Depot, McAlester, Oklahoma, thirty units.

Naval Complex, South Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, two hundred units.

Naval Complex, Newport, Rhode Island, two hundred units.

Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, Rhode Island, two hundred units.

Naval Complex, Charleston, South Carolina, one hundred and fifty units.

Naval Complex, Norfolk, Virginia, one hundred units.

Naval Shipyard, Bremerton, Washington, one hundred units.

Naval Security Group Activity, Marietta, Washington, thirty units.

Naval Air Station, Whidbey Island, Washington, two hundred and fifty units.

Naval Communication Station, Sugar Grove, West Virginia, twenty units.

Naval Station, Guam, two hundred units.

Naval Communication Station, North West Cape, Australia, seventy units.

Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, two hundred units.

Naval Station, Keflavik, Iceland, one hundred and forty units.

Naval Station, Subic Bay, Republic of Philippines, one hundred units.

(c) The Department of the Air Force, three thousand three hundred and twenty-two units, $66,588,000:

Craig Air Force Base, Alabama, three hundred units.

Luke Air Force Range, Arizona, four units.

George Air Force Base, California, three hundred and seventy-two units.

Dover Air Force Base, Delaware, one unit.

Tyndall Air Force Base, Florida, one hundred and sixty units.

Hickam-Wheeler Air Force Bases, Hawaii, four hundred units.

Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Indiana, two hundred units.

McConnell Air Force Base, Kansas, two hundred units.

Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska, two hundred units.

Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma, three hundred units.

Shaw Air Force Base, South Carolina, three hundred units.

Bergstrom Air Force Base, Texas, fourteen units.

Laredo Air Force Base, Texas, four hundred units.

Laughlin Air Force Base, Texas, one hundred units.

Reese Air Force Base, Texas, one unit.

Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico, one hundred units.

Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, two hundred units.

Wake Island Air Force Station, twenty units.

Albrook-Howard Air Force Bases, Canal Zone, fifty units.

SEC. 602. Authorization for the construction of family housing provided in this Act shall be subject, under such regulations as the Secretary of Defense may prescribe, to the following limitations on cost, which shall include shades, screens, ranges, refrigerators, and all other installed equipment and fixtures:

(a) The average unit cost for each military department for all units of family housing constructed in the United States (other than Hawaii and Alaska) and Puerto Rico shall not exceed $19,500, including the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

(b) No family housing unit in the areas listed in subsection (a) shall be constructed at a total cost exceeding $32,000, including the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

(c) When family housing units are constructed in areas other than those listed in subsection (a), the average cost of all such units, in any project of fifty units or more, shall not exceed $32,000, and in no event shall the cost of any unit exceed $40,000. The cost limitations of this subsection shall include the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

SEC. 603. Notwithstanding the limitations contained in prior Military Construction Authorizations Acts on cost of construction of family housing, the limitations on such cost contained in section 602 of this Act shall apply to all prior authorizations for construction of family housing not heretofore repealed and for which construction contracts have not been executed by the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 604. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions not otherwise authorized by law, to existing public quarters at a cost not to exceed—

(a) For the Department of the Army $7,000,000.

(b) For the Department of the Navy, $5,000,000.

(c) For the Department of the Air Force, $5,000,000.

(d) For the Defense Agencies, $671,000.

SEC. 605. Section 507 of Public Law 88–174 (77 Stat. 307, 326), as amended by section 505 of Public Law 89–188 (79 Stat. 793, 814), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 507. For the purpose of providing military family housing in foreign countries, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to enter into agreements guaranteeing the builders or other sponsors of such housing a rental return equivalent to a specified portion of the annual rental income which the builders or other sponsors would receive from the tenants if the housing were fully occupied: *Provided*, That the aggregate amount guaranteed under such agreements entered into during the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 shall not exceed such amount as may be applicable to five thousand units: *Provided further*, That no such agreement shall guarantee the payment of more than 97 per centum of the anticipated rentals, nor shall any guarantee extend for a period of more than ten years, nor shall the average guaranteed rental on any project exceed $185 per unit per month, including the cost of maintenance and operation."

SEC. 606. Section 501(b) of Public Law 87–554 (76 Stat. 223, 237) is amended by deleting the period at the end thereof and adding the following new clause: "and (3) notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of debt service, proceeds of the disposal of family housing of the Department of Defense, including related land and improvements, whether disposed of by the Department of Defense or any other Federal agency, but less those expenses payable pursuant to section 204(b) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 485(b)), to remain available until expended."

SEC. 607. Section 515 of Public Law 84–161 (69 Stat. 324, 352), as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 515. During fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, respectively, are authorized to lease housing facilities, for assignment as public quarters to military personnel and their dependents, if any, without rental charge, at or near any military installation in the United States, Puerto Rico, or Guam if the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, finds that there is a lack of adequate housing facilities at or near such military installation and that (1) there has been a recent and substantial increase in the personnel strength assigned to such military installation and such increase is temporary, or (2) the permanent personnel strength of such military installation is to be substantially reduced in the near future, or (3) the number of military personnel assigned to such military installation is so small as to make the construction of family housing uneconomical. Such housing facilities may be leased on an individual basis and not more than seven thousand five hundred such units may be so leased at any one time. Expenditures for the rental of such housing facilities may not exceed an average of $175 per unit per month for each military department, including the cost of utilities and maintenance and operation."

SEC. 608. Subsection (g) of section 407 of Public Law 85–241 (71 Stat. 531, 556), as amended (42 U.S.C. 1594j(g)) is amended by adding the following sentence at the end thereof: "Any such housing so exempted in connection with depot-type installations, as to which the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, determines, subsequent to July 1, 1967, that indefinite retention may be necessary to satisfy unanticipated housing requirements resulting from future expanded activity at such installations, may be retained and utilized as necessary, notwithstanding that the foregoing criteria are no longer satisfied."

SEC. 609. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to acquire by transfer, without reimbursement, all rights and interests of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, in ten family housing units located on Auxiliary Field Numbered 6, Eglin Air Force Base, Florida.

SEC. 610. (a) None of the funds authorized by this or any other Act may be expended for the repair or improvement of any single family housing unit, or for the repair or improvement of two or more housing units when such units are to be converted into or used as a single family housing unit, if the cost of such repair or improvement to such unit or units, as the case may be, exceeds a total cost of $10,000, including any costs in connection with (1) the furnishing of electricity, gas, water, and sewage disposal; (2) roads and walks; and (3) grading and drainage, unless such repair or improvement in connection with such unit or units is specifically authorized by law. As used in this section the term "repair or improvement" includes maintenance, alteration, expansion, extension, or rehabilitation of any housing unit or units.

(b) The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to accomplish repairs and improvements to existing public quarters in amounts in excess of the $10,000 limitation prescribed in subsection (a) of this section as follows:

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, eight units, $158,000.

Commandant, United States Marine Corps Quarters, Washington, District of Columbia, one unit, $67,000.

Chief, Naval Air Training Quarters, Pensacola, Florida, one unit, $19,900.

Quarters A, Naval Station, New York, one unit, $23,500.

Flag Quarters T–143, PWC San Diego, California, one unit, $18,100.

Flag Quarters Number 23, Honolulu, Hawaii, one unit, $16,300.

General Officers Quarters, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, twelve units, $190,400.

Sandia Base, New Mexico, twelve units, $125,000.

(c) Section 609 of the Military Construction Act of 1961 (75 Stat. 111) is hereby repealed.

SEC. 611. There is authorized to be appropriated for use by the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, for military family housing as authorized by law for the following purposes:

(a) for construction and acquisition of family housing, including improvements to adequate quarters, improvements to inadequate quarters, minor construction, rental guarantee payments, construction and acquisition of trailer court facilities, and planning, an amount not to exceed $215,673,000, and

(b) for support of military family housing, including operating expenses, leasing, maintenance of real property, payments of principal and interest on mortgage debts incurred, payments to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and mortgage insurance premiums authorized under section 222 of the National Housing Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1517m), an amount not to exceed $520,000,000.

TITLE VII

HOMEOWNERS ASSISTANCE

SEC. 701. In accordance with subsection 1013(i) of Public Law 89–754 (80 Stat. 1255, 1292) there is authorized to be appropriated for use by the Secretary of Defense for the purposes of section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, including acquisition of properties, an amount not to exceed $27,000,000.

TITLE VIII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 801. The Secretary of each military department may proceed to establish or develop installations and facilities under this Act without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), and sections 4774(d) and 9774(d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

SEC. 802. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act, but appropriations for public works projects authorized by titles I, II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII shall not exceed—

(1) for title I: Inside the United States, $284,447,000; outside the United States, $40,480,000; section 102, $2,873,000; or a total of $327,800,000.

(2) for title II: Inside the United States, $408,703,000; outside the United States, $39,515,000; section 202, $6,784,000; or a total of $455,002,000.

(3) for title III: Inside the United States, $297,008,000; outside the United States, $25,973,000; section 302, $51,922,000; or a total of $374,903,000.

(4) for title IV: A total of $217,547,000.

(5) for title V: Southeast Asia support—Department of the Army, $33,156,000; Department of the Navy, $17,964,000; Department of the Air Force, $23,880,000.

(6) for title VI: Military family housing, $735,673,000.

(7) for title VII: Homeowners assistance, $27,000,000.

SEC. 803. Any of the amounts named in titles I, II, III, and IV of this Act, may, in the discretion of the Secretary concerned, be increased by 5 per centum for projects inside the United States (other than Alaska) and by 10 per centum for projects outside the United States or in Alaska, if he determines in the case of any particular project that such increase (1) is required for the sole purpose of meeting unusual variations in cost arising in connection with that project, and (2) could not have been reasonably anticipated at the time such project was submitted to the Congress. However, the total costs of all projects in each such title may not be more than the total amount authorized to be appropriated for projects in that title.

SEC. 804. Contracts for construction made by the United States for performance within the United States and its possessions under this Act shall be executed under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, or the Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of the Navy, unless the Secretary of Defense or his designee determines that because such jurisdiction and supervision is wholly impracticable such contracts should be executed under the jurisdiction and supervision of another department or Government agency, and shall be awarded, insofar as practicable, on a competitive basis to the lowest responsible bidder, if the national security will not be impaired and the award is consistent with chapter 137 of title 10, United States Code. Regulations issued by the Secretary of Defense implementing the provisions of this section shall provide the department or agency requiring such construction with the right to select either the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, or the Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of the Navy, as its construction agent, providing that under the facts and circumstances that exist at the time of the selection of the construction agent, such selection will not result in any increased cost to the United States. The Secretaries of the military departments shall report semiannually to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives with respect to all contracts awarded on other than a competitive basis to the lowest responsible bidder.

SEC. 805. (a) As of October 1, 1968, all authorizations for military public works (other than family housing) to be accomplished by the Secretary of a military department in connection with the establishment or development of military installations and facilities and all authorizations for appropriations therefor, that are contained in titles I, II, III, and IV of the Act of September 12, 1966, Public Law 89–568 (80 Stat. 739), and not superseded or otherwise modified by a later authorization are repealed except authorizations for public works projects as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts or land acquisitions in whole or in part before October 1, 1968, and authorizations for appropriations therefor.

(b) Effective fifteen months from the date of enactment of this Act, all authorizations for construction of family housing, including trailer court facilities, all authorizations to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions to existing family housing, and all authorizations for related facilities projects, which are contained in this or any previous Act, are hereby repealed, except (1) authorizations for family housing projects as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts or land acquisitions or manufactured structural component contracts in whole or in part before such date, and (2) authorizations to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions to existing family housing, and authorizations for related facilities projects, as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts before such date.

SEC. 806. None of the authority contained in titles I, II, III, IV, and V of this Act shall be deemed to authorize any building construction project inside the United States (other than Alaska) at a unit cost in excess of—

(1) $36 per square foot for cold storage warehousing;

(2) $9 per square foot for regular warehousing;

(3) $2,300 per person for permanent barracks;

(4) $8,500 per person for bachelor officer quarters; unless the Secretary of Defense or his designee determines that, because of special circumstances, application to such project of the limitations on unit costs contained in this section is impracticable: *Provided*, That notwithstanding the limitations contained in prior Military Construction Authorization Acts on unit costs, the limitations on such costs contained in this section shall apply to all prior authorizations for such construction not heretofore repealed and for which construction contracts have not been awarded by the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 807. Section 610 of the Military Construction Authorization Act, 1967 (Public Law 89–568; 80 Stat. 756) is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting, after the words "under this Act" appearing in subsection (b), the following: "or hereafter authorized" and

(b) By striking the period at the end thereof, substituting a colon therefor and adding the following: "*Provided, however*, That this authorization may be averaged and applied to a single facility of two or more facilities, or among projects on an installation, when such application will result in more fallout shelter space, or is needed to meet minimum fallout protection standards in such facilities or projects."

SEC. 808. None of the funds authorized by this Act shall be expended for the construction of any waste treatment or waste disposal system at or in connection with any military installation until after the Secretary of Defense or his designee has consulted with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Department of the Interior and determined that the degree and type of waste disposal and treatment required in the area in which such military installation is located are consistent with applicable Federal or State water quality standards or other requirements and that the planned system will be coordinated in timing with a State, county, or municipal program which requires communities to take such related abatement measures as are necessary to achieve areawide pollution cleanup.

SEC. 809. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the lands constituting Fort DeRussy, Hawaii, may be sold, leased, transferred, or otherwise disposed by the Department of Defense unless hereafter authorized by law.

SEC. 810. Titles I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII of this Act may be cited as the "Military Construction Authorization Act, 1968."

TITLE IX

RESERVE FORCES FACILITIES

SEC. 901. Subject to chapter 133 of title 10, United States Code, the Secretary of Defense may establish or develop additional facilities for the Reserve Forces, including the acquisition of land therefor, but the cost of such facilities shall not exceed—

(1) for Department of the Army:

(a) Army National Guard of the United States, $10,000,000.

(b) Army Reserve, $10,000,000.

(2) for Department of the Navy: Naval and Marine Corps Reserves, $4,500,000.

(3) for Department of the Air Force:

(a) Air National Guard of the United States, $9,800,000.

(b) Air Force Reserve, $4,000,000.

SEC. 902. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop installations and facilities under this title without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), and sections 4774(d) and 9774(d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

SEC. 903. This title may be cited as the "Reserve Forces Facilities Authorization Act, 1968."

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the pending bill provides construction and other related authority for the military departments and Defense agencies within and outside the United States, including authority for the construction of facilities for the Reserve components. The sum total of the new authority contained in the bill is $2,251,225,000. In addition, approval is granted for an increase in prior years' authority of $29,963,000 for a total authorization of $2,281,188,000.

The Army is authorized $327.8 million; the Navy, $455 million; the Air Force, $374.9 million; Defense agencies, $217.5 million; Southeast Asia requirements, $75 million; military family housing $735.7 million; homeowners' assistance, $27 million; and $38.3 million for the Reserve components.

The military construction bill this year is the largest to come before Congress in many years. As proposed, it called for a total authorization of about $2.7 billion, and the authorization recommended by the Committee on Armed Services is $379,195,000 below the amount requested for a total decrease of about 14 percent. Likewise, this is $127.6 million less than the new authority approved by the House of Representatives.

The magnitude of the bill this year, we are told, results from two major reasons. First is a resumption of a long-range program on behalf of the Department of Defense to replace outmoded and inadequate facilities, and secondly, a return to the Department's objective of including annual increments of military family housing in the annual construction program.

The committee has made every effort to analyze each individual request in light of the importance of the mission to be performed and eliminated those projects that lack urgency, those that appear to be overdesigned and overpriced, and those where present facilities could be continued in use without disruption to the various programs.

One significant element of this year's request is directed toward implementing the recently enacted Federal Water Pollution Control Act, and about $45.3 million was asked for this purpose. The committee seriously questions some of the waste treatment and disposal projects, as did the House of Representatives, since some were slated for extremely remote locations and others were in areas where it is apparent that local authorities are lagging behind in their responsibility. We strongly endorse the need for military installations to set an example of leadership in pollution control, but at the same time it would well prove wasteful of public funds and futile in terms of end results if these military bases were to construct modern treatment facilities while cities and factories in the same areas will continue to discharge inadequately treated waste. Approval has been granted for each such project requested, however, but a general provision has been included in the bill which is designed to preclude the expenditure of any funds for this purpose until the Secretary of Defense or his designee has consulted with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Department of the Interior and has determined that the planned system is in keeping with local and Federal standards and is coordinated in timing with similar State, county, or municipal programs which require communities to take such related abatement measures as necessary to achieve areawide water pollution cleanup.

Now, the new authority granted to the Department of the Army is $90.7 million less than the amount requested; and in regard to the Army program, I wish to specifically mention three matters of some importance.

First, the House inserted in the bill $7,132,000 for troop housing and utilities at Fort DeRussy, Hawaii. The committee is in agreement with this. As we know, Fort DeRussy is located on Waikiki Beach in the Honolulu area and is the principal rest and recreational area for the military in Hawaii. Many of our military personnel involved in the Southeast Asia conflict are returning daily to Hawaii for rest purposes, and there is now a lack of facilities to provide for their needs. There have been some attempts made in the past on the part of the Department of Defense to dispose of a portion of this valuable property, and the committee was of the unanimous opinion that this property should be held within the Department of Defense inventory to provide a rest and recreational area for the military. And a provision has been included in the bill to preclude the Department from disposing of any of this property without specific authorization by law. The committee endorses the construction of low density troop billets since they can be in place and ready for use much earlier than a high-rise structure. And in any event, it will be expected that such facilities as may be constructed will be shared on an equitable basis by both enlisted and officer pesonnel. Secondly, I mention the Walter Reed Medical Center in the District of Columbia. That outstanding medical center has operated for years in what might be termed inadequate, antiquated, and substandard structures. There has been added to the bill $12,480,000 to provide for the first phase of replacing the buildings at this medical center.

The amount granted will permit the removal of various community and related activities from the reservation proper to the Forest Glen, Md., annex, thus relieving unwarranted congestion and permitting the orderly replacement of hospital facilities.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I would prefer to finish the statement, but I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I recall I was present when that matter was brought up. The congestion is due to the fact that we have a few commissaries at Walter Reed to which all of the dependents of soldiers come to purchase food and other articles.

Mr. JACKSON. That is partly true. Also, it is the place where military personnel stationed within the District of Columbia, who may be assigned to other installations, can also purchase whatever is available at the Walter Reed commissary.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is the program to provide other facilities to take care of this situation at another place?

Mr. JACKSON. There are two features to the proposals. One involves the removal of the commissaries, and PX, and the other unrelated hospital facilities to nearby Forest Glen, Md., Annex, which is, I believe, about 3 miles away.

Mr. ELLENDER. How much would be spent to increase the facility at the new location?

Mr. JACKSON. The total amount, including the removal of the buildings and the new structures at Forest Glen is $3.6 million.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator will recall that I objected to that provision. I do not see why we should provide commissaries when we have many such facilities that are nearby. This is an expense that could be avoided.

Mr. JACKSON. It is not just the commissaries. It pertains to garages and other installations.

Mr. ELLENDER. I know. However, we are providing for commissaries at quite an expense. These commissaries would be operated by the Army. Great expense will be incurred, and added to the burden of our taxpayers.

I wonder why this is being done now in view of the huge deficit we are running. That situation, of course, obtains not only with respect to this particular project, but I notice also in the report that we are providing in excess of $15 million to enlarge West Point.

Today, at West Point, as I recall, there are approximately 2,400 students, and the plan is to increase that number to 4,400.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that S. 2388 be temporarily set aside, and that the Senate continue with its consideration of H.R. 11722.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Under this measure, in excess of $15 million is being provided to expand West Point from a capacity of 2,400 to 4,400. This is an item that I feel could be easily deferred.

I am sorry, Mr. President, that I could not participate in the markup of the bill because I am not a member of the Committee on Armed Services. I was present at the hearings on the bill because they were held jointly by the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Armed Services. Nevertheless, I intend to take a very close look at all items in the forthcoming appropriations bill.

As the Senator knows, we now have three military academies. To educate a man at West Point requires $12,776 per year. At Annapolis, the cost is $9,296 per year, and the cost of training an air cadet is $12,564. This amount is about half of what the cost was a few years ago when the enrollment at the Air Force Academy was less than the present enrollment.

As I pointed out before the Committee

on Appropriations, during the hearings that were held on the regular defense appropriation bill, more than 80 percent of our officers come from ROTC establishments and officer candidate schools To educate an officer in the ROTC program is much less than the cost of training cadets at the academies. As I recall a full 4-year ROTC course will approximate $5,600.

In view of these facts, I just cannot understand why it is proposed to expand West Point to the extent of doubling its student capacity. I was hopeful that this could be postponed at least until we were able to balance the budget, if that day will ever come.

I also pointed out at the hearings, Mr. President, that we have been acquiring much land in order to add to our various forts throughout the country. A couple of years ago, we expanded Fort Carson, Colo., through the purchase of 78,648 acres of land, although we have much land in various parts of the country that can be used for the purposes for which the land at Fort Carson is now being used. At Fort Riley, Kans., we acquired 46,384 acres at a total cost in excess of $13 million.

Mr. President, as I pointed out during the hearings, we have Fort Polk in Louisiana which includes 7 million acres of the finest land for training soldiers and carrying on maneuvers. Yet, we let this fine training area remain idle while we expand other forts at tremendous cost to the taxpayer.

I am not necessarily pleading for Louisiana, by any means; but it seems to me that before we enlarge and expend huge sums to further increase the size of these other forts, we should try to utilize those now in existence. If that were done, I am confident that much money could be saved.

I am gravely concerned about the large amount that is authorized in the bill for family housing.

In the past, we provided for 7,500 units. In this bill we are being asked to provide 9,888 units, at a cost of $735,673,000.

It seems to me that this is a poor time to ask for such huge sums, when the President is asking for a cutback, and when he is asking, in the same breath, for increased taxes. It seems to me that many projects, in addition to those deleted by the committee, could well be delayed, in order to deprive the fires of inflation with additional fuel.

Mr. President, I shall not go further into this matter at this time. I realize that this is only an authorizing bill and that, so to speak, we will have a second shot at these projects when the bill comes to the Committee on Appropriations. I serve notice that, so far as I am concerned, when these requests come before the Committee on Appropriations, I shall do my best to scrutinize each item carefully, in the hope that we can either eliminate some of the items or postpone them. In my opinion, this is a bad time to expand these facilities.

As the Senator from Washington may recall, some efforts were made to expand hospital facilities at many of our forts in order to construct permanent buildings. To what extent has that program been cut in the bill?

Mr. JACKSON. We cut the funds for at least 3 complete replacement hospitals. A substantial sum was requested for Beaumont General Hospital. There were funds for Otis Air Force Base in Massachusetts, England Air Force Base, Louisiana, and we denied some seven hospital additions, such as Fitzsimmons in Denver, Colo., and Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, the latter in the amount of $13,737,000.

Mr. ELLENDER. Those were eliminated?

Mr. JACKSON. That is correct, and in addition, several other editions and renovations.

Mr. ELLENDER. Which were included?

Mr. JACKSON. We have money in the bill for the Navy hospital at Roosevelt Roads and several others.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is in Puerto Rico?

Mr. JACKSON. In Puerto Rico. As the Senator is aware, the Navy is building a large naval support facility at Roosevelt Roads. In my judgment, it is in a part of the world that is very vital. We denied the money in the past, as the distinguished Senator from Louisiana will recall, on the ground that we had not been given assurance that the services would not build another hospital in San Juan, which is 30 or 40 miles away.

In connection with the hearings, we obtained a letter from the Department of Defense assuring us that the hospital facilities now available—primarily the VA hospital in San Juan—would be utilized, that they would not come in and ask for funds.

On that condition, we approved the money for Roosevelt Roads.

Mr. ELLENDER. The report was available only about an hour ago, and I did not have a chance to go over it. As I recall, there were quite a few other facilities to be constructed at places in which we already had sufficient facilities.

Mr. JACKSON. There are 3 complete hospitals that we eliminated.

Mr. ELLENDER. I find that our three services endeavor to take advantage of us by seeking an increase of funds to build permanent facilities at these various forts while we are at war. This has traditionally been the case.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is quite right. This is a danger. We have tried to be very prudent. In going through the bill we cut $127 million below the House figure. We have cut 14 percent from the administration request. That is a fair cut, I believe.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does the Senator mean 14 percent of the money?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. We have cut 14 percent from the administration request.

Mr. ELLENDER. I notice that the bill contains an authorization to buy 5,021 acres of land at a cost of approximately $4,000 an acre at Concord, Calif.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. I wonder if the distinguished Senator can justify the purchase of this land at $4,000 an acre.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is asking a very proper question.

Mr. ELLENDER. I always try to do that.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, sir. I shall try to give the Senator a forthright answer.

First of all, we are not talking about unimproved land. We are talking about the fundamental problem that exists at Port Chicago. The Senator will recall that in 1944 at this naval ammunition loading facility 320 people were killed in a disastrous accident. That accident occurred during World War II.

We have been concerned about safety standards at Concord, as it is called, for a long time.

There is involved in that request the acquisition of 5,021 acres surrounding and including the town of Port Chicago to take them out of the danger zone. This item involves $19,800,000. Now, we learned that there are three chemical plants that employ approximately 700 people. One plant has about 300 employees. We were of the opinion in the committee that if they are going to take the residential and business property in the city of Port Chicago and other surrounding property, in connection with these 5,000 acres they will have to take the plants and we do not know what that will cost. I venture to say that if they are going to comply with existing regulations as to safety in handling ammunition it might come to $60 to $80 million. The committee authorized the amount requested in dollars and told the Navy, "You had better check some alternate solutions to the problem; maybe you should move from Port Chicago."

Mr. ELLENDER. That is what I was going to suggest.

Mr. JACKSON. That is right.

Mr. ELLENDER. Has the committee given any thought to that suggestion, instead of buying this land? It would seem to me that it would be cheaper to move away from this area than to purchase this land at $4,000 an acre.

Mr. JACKSON. I shall explain the options. If they move out and completely replace this facility, we are talking, in terms of expenditure of funds, over $100 million.

I call to the attention of the Senate that the subcommittee warned the Navy about it as far back as 12 years ago and told them they should be looking at another location. Now, we are confronted with a situation where we have to do something. If we do not, we could have another disaster at Port Chicago in which many hundreds of people, if not thousands of people, could be killed in the event of an accident.

In this bill, as reported from the committee, we tell the Navy that we are not satisfied with their proposal to acquire the residential property in the Concord area because they are going to have to take factories with it and it will cost a large sum of money. We have told them they should check the other alternatives. We are making that very clear so that we will know what we are getting into. However, we did not want to deny all funds because then the burden is placed on the Senate and it could be said that we denied funds to eliminate the hazard in this area.

Mr. ELLENDER. But money was provided to buy 5,000 acres.

Mr. JACKSON. No. The way we have it now is that it is discretionary. The

House action was to approve this amount to acquire the land in the Concord area. It is a safety zone.

Unless these people are moved out, in the event of an accident there could be fatalities within that area or serious injury.

The way the situation stands now, the Navy can either go this route or they can go any other route, starting with the authorization of $19 million. They are not confined and limited to acquiring this land, if they have a better alternative. We think the present proposal is not adequate. We think they should look at other options to see what they can come up with.

Mr. ELLENDER. How does the Senator expect the Navy to act, if after 10 to 12 years they have not done anything?

Mr. JACKSON. There was an alternative proposal involving the building of a causeway out to an island adjacent to the Concord weapons station which might possibly avoid this large land acquisition. However, there are structural problems in building in that area. So we are not in a position to direct the Navy to go to that area. What we are saying is that other possibilities should be considered, because we feel the route the Navy is going will run the cost up to $80 million or $90 million if they acquire all land required to meet safety standards.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is it the Senator's opinion that the money now being provided, if the Navy goes the route that is proposed—that is, to acquire these 5,000 acres—will be the end, or will it be necessary to purchase more land than is now proposed?

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question in my mind that this is but a downpayment proposal.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does the Senator have any idea of what the total cost might be? Are we going in blindfolded?

Mr. JACKSON. We are partially blindfolded. I am trying to give a forthright answer. The proposal that was submitted to Congress this year is not confined to $19.8 million. I want to make that clear, because they had eliminated three chemical plants. We do not know the true value of those plants.

The Senator from Louisiana and I know that estimates are always misleading. We know they will cost more. We have informal information that would indicate that those three plants—well I do not want to give the estimates here, because this is something later to be bargained for if the Navy goes that route.

I want to make it clear to the Senate that this is only a downpayment on the problem. I wish I could give a more favorable report, but I cannot.

The west coast needs a munitions loading facility. It involves, in every nature of its operation, dealing with a highly dangerous situation that could result, obviously, in disaster in the course of loading or handling munitions at such a facility.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON. The distinguished Senator from Louisiana raised the issue of family housing in the defense installations we have. I notice on page 55 of the report, dealing with the request of the Department of Defense for 1968, that they request 12,500 units of family housing, of which 1,010 are designated for overseas locations. I notice also, for the Army, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., 400 units. As I understand this report on housing units for Fort Leavenworth, in addition to those mentioned for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, they were deleted; is that not correct?

Mr. JACKSON. That is correct.

Mr. CARLSON. Does the distinguished chairman, the Senator from Washington, have any suggestions as to why they might have eliminated, not Fort Leavenworth, but the entire group?

Mr. JACKSON. The reason is that in many instances the local communities provide adequate housing or, in other instances, it might be that they can be postponed. It is our impression that the situation at Fort Leavenworth is one which could be postponed and one in which there is reasonable housing already available in that area, to provide for current needs.

Mr. CARLSON. I appreciate very much the Senator's statement.

Mr. JACKSON. In many instances on housing, as the Senator knows, we run into trouble in some areas in which they oppose military housing on the ground that there is already adequate housing in the local community, and that to build a large set of new housing could upset the market locally.

Mr. CARLSON. I appreciate that statement very much. I am not personally familiar with the situation at Fort Leavenworth. I do know that enrollment at the staff college there was doubled last year, so that a housing problem did develop.

Secretary of the Army Resor wrote me under date of March 9, 1967, in which he said in part:

> Based on the requirements and assets, both on-post and in the community, that were given to you in my previous letter, there will be a continuing long range deficit of more than 500 housing units required in support of Ft. Leavenworth, after the FY 1966 and 1968 projects are completed.

I wanted to get that statement into the RECORD, in view of the fact that I believe the House did include this item in H.R. 11722, page 60, line 20, I believe.

I want the RECORD to show that when we go to conference, after further study, I hope the chairman will look into it and see if it is not possible to restore this housing.

Mr. JACKSON. I want to assure my good friend, the distinguished senior Senator from Kansas, that we will be happy to do that, and I will be glad to talk to him personally. We have a problem at Fort Leavenworth, too, where the numbers of personnel go up and down. This causes a problem in connection with the operation of the school. If we build to excess capacity, when enrollment later on goes down, then the community is plagued with a substantial number of vacancies.

Therefore, looking at this matter as a whole, it was our judgment, based on information we had, that this was a matter which could be postponed. However, I will be happy to discuss it further with the distinguished Senator, so that when we go to conference we will have the benefit of any additional information that might be available.

Mr. CARLSON. I know that the distinguished chairman and those who worked on the committee have gone into every detail. I am confident that when this matter comes up for final consideration, he will keep in mind this discussion we have had.

Mr. JACKSON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. MONRONEY. I want to take this occasion to express for myself and my junior colleague appreciation for the selectivity used by the distinguished Committee on Armed Services on the military construction branch, in providing a headquarters building for the region for electronics in GEEIA, at Tinker Air Force Base, with an award of a building as a headquarters for the laboratories and the very highly technical and selective electronics installation at Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma City.

I deeply appreciate the fact that such careful consideration was given, and that as a result of many years of study it has now been incorporated in the bill. I think it is a very necessary and a very important building to have. It will save a great deal of money in providing for an adequate, fireproof building, and modern in every detail, which will be able to handle this important distribution to all Air Force sources.

Again I thank the distinguished chairman for his interest and the special consideration given to this matter.

Mr. JACKSON. I wish to thank the able Senator from Oklahoma. He did speak to me on this matter at some length. The information he gave to us was extremely helpful in trying to come to an appropriate decision on the matter.

Mr. MONRONEY. I also appreciate the 300 units of housing which are very necessary for Tinker Air Force Base, where the personnel has increased in order to maintain the viability of our heavy bombers and other jet aircraft.

Mr. JACKSON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I should now like to return to my prepared remarks. The authority provided for the Walter Reed Medical Center will also provide for an neuropsychiatric and extended-care facility. The replacement of facilities at Walter Reed is long past due and it is hoped that the Department will proceed with this replacement program promptly.

The third item on which I wish to comment briefly is the construction funds for the Nike X antimissile system which are contained in this bill. As we are all aware, the Secretary of Defense announced on September 18 that production and deployment of the Nike X system would be undertaken. As I have indicated previously, I strongly concur in this course of action and I urge that all Members do likewise.

There are $64 million Nike-X construction funds contained in this bill which will support initiation of construction activities essential to deploying this missile defense system which can provide protection for the whole Nation, including our strategic missile forces on a thin basis. Additionally, there is $12,255,000 for construction of the research, development, and testing work on the Kwajalein Atoll. These funds will also allow accomplishment of the necessary soil and subsurface explorations as well as oceanographic surveys required for this facility design and the follow-on construction. This design and site investigation work is necessary since the facilities required are unique to the Nike-X system. Then, based upon these essential preliminary activities, the majority of these funds, that is $64 million, will be utilized to construct tactical and support facilities at the first Nike-X site. The tactical facilities at this site will be composed of a perimeter acquisition radar and missile site radar and launch facilities for both the long-range Spartan missile, which will provide defense of an extended area, and the shorter range Sprint missile, for defense of the immediate facility. In addition to facilities at the first site, the $64 million will also provide power generation equipment required to operate the radars and other equipment at the second site as well, and acquisition of some additional land required for the first sites.

Since it will take months and even years to produce and deploy the Nike-X system, regardless of the level of deployment ultimately achieved, I fully support initiation of production now. We can make judgments at the proper times in the future as to the necessary final level of deployment.

As a Nation, we need the protection that only the Nike-X antimissile system can provide. I ask for the full support of all Members in providing the funds needed, not only in this bill to initiate construction, but those additional funds that will be required to complete an adequate deployment.

The $455 million granted the Navy is $90.6 million below their request. Of particular significance within the Navy program, approval is granted for a new and larger hospital for the Navy station at Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico, which was denied by the House. This facility has been previously denied by the Congress because we had received no assurance that additional facilities would not be programed for the San Juan area. We have now received this assurance in writing and believe that this project should be approved.

The House, in introducing the bill, omitted $8,495,000 the Navy had requested for an underseas warfare laboratory at Los Alamitos, Calif., which work is now being performed primarily at Pasadena. The committee has denied the project because there is considerable doubt as to the proper location of the facility and as to whether in fact it is necessary.

Finally, I wish to mention the Navy's request for $19,800,000 to acquire a buffer zone around the Naval Weapons Station at Concord, Calif., which would include the town of Port Chicago. This has been the cause of much controversy and emotionalism and is not a new problem to the Congress. It is a matter that has been under consideration for the past 15 years. Many studies have been made and many proposals advanced. The time is at hand, however, when some solution must be forthcoming to this problem. The committee was not convinced that the current Navy plan is the most desirable one or that the Navy can obtain the 5,000-odd acres of property for the sum specified. As a result, the committee has broadened the language in the bill to permit the selection of an alternate proposal if such is deemed more appropriate. The Secretary of the Navy will be expected to restudy all proposals and advise the Committees on Armed Services of both the House and the Senate of his decision prior to proceeding with the proposal selected.

A reduction of $148 million was made in the Air Force request. Here, as in connection with the requirements of the other two services, the committee found itself in agreement with many of the reductions made by the House of Representatives. Additional reductions were made, primarily in the classified portion of the bill. For example, $19.5 million was denied for additional war reserve materiel storage overseas which is unrelated to the Southeast Asian crisis. Considerable funds have been provided for this purpose in past years which are believed to be sufficient for the present. Twenty-five million was requested for a joint venture in the Indian Ocean area, of which only a portion is proposed for funding, and the committee has denied the balance although it has approved the program in general. A reduction was also made in the amount requested for the theater airbase vulnerability program, concerning which the committee has serious reservations. The amount approved for this program relates primarily to airfield pavements which are considered to be a valid operational requirement.

For the Defense agencies, the principal amount approved was a $200 million contingency fund for the Secretary of Defense, which it is expected will be used primarily in Southeast Asia as a supplement to $75 million approved under title V for specific projects in that area.

Next, I should like to mention the military family housing program, which is an important one, but also is one that has been difficult to monitor. As a result, the committee spent considerable time and effort to place this year's request in the proper perspective and to clear up what have proved to be certain ambiguities in existing law. Approval was granted for 9,884 new units of the 12,500 where community support is believed to be adequate to fulfill the housing needs.

An increase was granted in the limitations on the average unit cost from $17,500 to $19,500 per unit, and the maximum cost of a single unit has been increased from $28,000 to $32,000. These increases are justified in light of the increase in building costs since the old limitations were established. The committee also took steps to clarify and tighten up somewhat on the amount of funds that may be spent per unit on the rehabilitation and repair of existing Government quarters and has spelled out the committee's intent in regard to the domestic leasing program.

Now, Mr. President, I should like to refer briefly to title VII of the bill, which provides $27 million to cover the cost of assistance payments, property acquisition and administration under the homeowners assistance program during fiscal year 1968. It is to be recalled that this program was established by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, which in section 1013 authorized the Secretary of Defense to render assistance to homeowners, both military and civilian, who were displaced as a result of the base closure program subsequent to November 1, 1964, and who have run into difficulty in disposing of their homes. You will recall that in April of this year, the Senate approved the bill, S. 1216, which authorized the appropriation of $11 million to carry out the program during the balance of fiscal year 1967. The House failed to act on this measure and during consideration of the bill before us, approved only $22 million of the amount requested and restricted the assistance to military homeowners only. The committee considers this to be injudicious, and if any relief is to be forthcoming under the provision of the law, it should apply to both military and civilian homeowners of the Department of Defense who have been affected by base closures.

The administration proposed this year to amend section 159 of title 10, United States Code, by adding a new section which would grant the Secretary of Defense broad general authority to carry out bilateral or multilateral agreements with any foreign government by sharing the cost of acquiring and constructing military facilities, et cetera, for collective defense. The House in considering the bill properly revised this provision to apply only to NATO countries and specified $60 million for this purpose during the coming year and placed the responsibility under the Department of the Army. Subsequently, however, this authority was included in the foreign aid bill as passed by the Senate, and it has, therefore, been deleted from the bill before us.

Finally, I should like to mention the provisions made for the construction requirements of the Reserve components. A total of $38.3 million has been provided for this purpose. The committee agrees with the House action in adding to the bill $10 million in new authorization for both the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve. In submitting the bill to the Congress, the Department did not request funds for these two Reserve components because of the unresolved status of the restructuring of the Army Reserve and National Guard. Since it appears likely, however, that these restructurings will proceed early in 1968, it is believed the construction programs of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve, which have been in a deferred status for over 2 years, should be rapidly accelerated.

Mr. President, I believe, I have fairly summarized the committee's action in regard to the military construction authorization bill for this fiscal year. I am confident we have generously provided for the essential requirements as we see them.

Mr. President, before I conclude, I do wish to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for the fine support that was obtained at all times by the members of the subcommittee. The minority was very ably represented by a senior member of the committee, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER]. On the Democratic side, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] were of invaluable help in working out this bill.

Mr. President, as I indicated earlier, the hearings this year were held on a joint basis. We met with the Subcommittee on Appropriations that handles military construction, ably presided over by the distinguished senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE]. This joint arrangement of holding hearings, I think, has been extremely helpful to both committees and to the executive branch as well.

In connection, of course, with the holding of hearings, there is nothing more important than having an able staff. Mr. Gordon Nease, who has served as the staff director for the Military Construction Subcommittee for a number of years, rendered invaluable assistance to the subcommittee. Mr. Mike Rexroad, who has likewise served as the able staff director for the Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction, worked very closely with the committee and with Mr. Nease and did a terrific job in supporting the committee in trying to come up with the right answers. I commend Mr. Rexroad and Mr. Nease most highly. I am sure all members of the subcommittee will concur in my appraisal of the assistance they gave, as well as all members of the committee. Without an able staff, it is pretty difficult for Senators to do a satisfactory job.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding. First I wish to congratulate him warmly because of the fine work that he and the other members of the subcommittee, the full committee, and the staff have done upon this very complex and very difficult bill. It seems to me that as a result of their hearings and work, they have brought forth an excellent bill. I note that the hearing record shows that the committee took 766 pages of very careful testimony, and the report speaks for itself of long and arduous work done in this field.

Mr. President, I wish to state that the Senators from Florida appreciate—though we did not ask for a single one of these items, as the Senator knows; we never do, but we leave it to the Defense people themselves—the fact that for Navy, Navy Air, and Air Force installations in Florida—there were no Army installations there affected—the committee has recommended a total of $63,691,000, which I am sure represents the fact that the committee thinks that the strategic locations of those various facilities justified and indeed required that recommendation.

Mr. President, I always reserve the right to bring back to the committee matters which reach me, either from the Armed Forces themselves or from affected citizens, employees, or personnel relative to facilities in my own State; and it is with reference to two communications that I wish now to speak to the distinguished Senator from Washington—both of which communications, by the way, I have heretofore furnished him.

First, I note that the committee has deleted the item for a steamplant and electric system addition at the Navy Public Works Center, Pensacola, Fla., as it was, "of the opinion that additional electrical power needs may be satisfied through commerical sources."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, a letter from Mr. Robert C. Tyler, president, National Association of Supervisors, addressed to me under date of September 13, 1967. The distinguished Senator from Washington has a copy of the letter.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SUPERVISORS,
Pensacola, Fla., September 13, 1967.
Hon. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLAND: We have been informed that the Senate Sub-Committee on Military Construction is considering the removal of Pensacola Naval Air Station Steam Distribution Plant and Electrical Distribution System request from the current budget.

We request that you consider retention of these items because of the following facts:

A. STEAM PLANT

1) Present steam system utilization at full capacity.

2) The portion of the steam system located in building 47 is obsolescent and has been slated for demolition.

3) Additional new buildings needed for support of this activity will overtax the present system. The new facilities principally are Barracks, BOQ, Avionics and Training Facilities.

4) Trend is to steam absorption air-conditioning units which are more efficient and reliable which give year round steam requirements for essential climate control in major vital environmental areas.

5) No commercial source of steam is available to augment present capacity.

B. ELECTRIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

1) Part of required electric power is generated "in house" and a portion is purchased from Gulf Power Company.

2) Gulf Power has extended a second power line to our station. This new line cannot be used until funds are made available to connect to it and make proper distribution.

3) Additional new buildings again will overtax present "in house" capacity and currently available Gulf Power capacity.

4) Inadequate distribution is now resulting in power failures costing many manhours and delaying the training and reducing our war effort capability.

In light of the foregoing facts, we rest assured that you will make maximum effort to see that these projects are retained.

With best regards, I remain,
Sincerely,
ROBERT C. TYLER,
President.

Mr. HOLLAND. As the letter indicates, the need for this facility is primarily for steam generation as present facilities are obsolete and overtaxed due to the increased support facilities being constructed and the trend toward steam-absorption air-conditioning units.

Since this item will be a subject of conference, I do not intend to ask that the bill be amended. I am hopeful, however, that the conferees will carefully consider this matter and that the item will be retained by the conference committee, if in the judgment of the committee that correction is justified.

I have noted, of course, the statement in the report of the committee that this item was omitted because they felt that the electrical power that was needed could better be purchased from local commercial utilities, with which I would certainly agree, because I am in favor of private industry in that field.

The letter, however—it is one of several which I have received, and I think the one that is fullest in the information given—indicates that the real need for this particular facility was largely for the production of steam, rather than of electrical power, and I do hope that the distinguished Senator and his conferees will carefully examine the situation in conference, with a view to determining exactly what the facts are respecting this project.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I wish to assure the able Senator from Florida that we will do precisely that. I think the Senator has stated very well the basis on which the committee proceeded. There may have been a misunderstanding. We had the definite impression that the primary problem was electric power. However, there is this new factor that is stated in point 4 in Mr. Tyler's letter, with reference to the steam absorption air-conditioning units. I do not quite understand it, but the point apparently is that the steam is to be used in connection with an air-conditioning program.

We will certainly, before going to conference, go into the matter very carefully. We have no predisposition to deal with the matter except on an objective basis. I assure the Senator from Florida that that will be done.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the distinguished Senator. I expected nothing else. I am sure that is the way he goes into all these projects, and that is why we all have such confidence in his reports and in the action of his committee.

Mr. President, there is one other project in my State on which I have received a letter, which I have conveyed to the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee some days ago. That is relative to the basic training center at Orlando.

I note that the committee, in considering the bill, did not include the authorization for the Wave Training Center at Orlando, Fla., that was deleted by the House, as stated in House Report 512, "to allow the Navy to reconsider its decision" to relocate the activity from Bainbridge, Md.

Mr. President, I do not intend to offer an amendment to the bill to provide for this relocation, but I do call to the attention of the distinguished Senator from

Washington, Senator Jackson, that I have recently received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Paul R. Ignatius, under date of September 15, 1967, reiterating the Navy's desire to move the Wave Training Center to Orlando, and I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Department of the Navy,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, D.C., September 15, 1967.
Hon. Spessard L. Holland,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Holland: I am replying to your request for information regarding the current status of the Military Construction Program for the Naval Training Center, Orlando.

As you recall, the 89th Congress approved seven line items at a cost of $14.9M to provide the necessary facilities to commence our recruit training complex. These line items were the first increment of the first 4,000 man Recruit Training Camp and construction has already commenced on the majority of these items. A detailed listing by line item is contained in the attachment. The ultimate Recruit Training Complex will provide for facilities to train a total of 8,000 recruits.

The FY 68 Military Construction Program for NTC Orlando as submitted to Congress contained 24 line items at a cost of $21,072,000 (listed in the attachment). One line item at $2,980,000 is for the relocation of the Advanced Undersea Weapons School from Key West, Florida which is not directly related to the recruit training aspect of the Naval Training Center. Sixteen line items at a cost of $12,801,000 are for the 2nd increment of the Male Recruit Camp and seven line items at a cost of $5,291,000 are for the relocation of WAVE Recruit Training Camp from NTC Bainbridge, Maryland. The House Authorization Action deleted two line items from the Male Recruit Camp—Indoor Rifle Range at $322,000 and Fire Fighting Training Facility at $995,000—and all seven items for the WAVE Recruit Training Camp. All of these items are urgently required for the planned orderly development of the Naval Training Center, Orlando.

The Indoor Rifle Range and the Fire Fighting Training Facility are required to provide two of the most important elements of recruit training. Training in these areas is basic to "at sea" operations and there is no substitute for the need for these facilities. Familiarization with small arms and elemental emergency shipboard type fire fighting practice are among the most essential aspects of the training of new recruits. Not all Navy men will become highly proficient in the use of pistols or rifles. However, recent emphasis on unconventional warfare, such as river patrols and counter-insurgency activities in Vietnam has increased the importance of small arms training. Personnel requiring concentrated training will receive it in later training and in addition to recruit training. However, in a military organization every man must be familiar with weapons for reasons of safety to himself and others. This familiarization is obtained in recruit training with small arms. An indoor range is dictated at Orlando by safety precautions because of its proximity to residential areas. An enclosed range will also minimize the noise of gun fire and permit its use under all conditions thus facilitating training all recruits on a closely timed schedule.

We all recognize that any fire on any ship is an extreme emergency. Fire fighting involves every many aboard ship, often in a life or death situation. Training in fire fighting is imperative for every Navy man because fire fighting is a team effort dependent upon the capability of every member of the team. Realistic, hands on, fire fighting drill is a vital exercise for every recruit. Here he first learns the rudiments of fighting large fires in company with team mates. More importantly, the recruit learns to minimize the natural, human fear of uncontrolled fire that often causes untrained persons to behave in a manner disastrous to themselves and others. Fire fighting must be included in the curriculum for adequate, complete recruit training.

Denial of these two line items will make it necessary for us to eliminate two of the most fundamental elements of recruit training in the newly authorized Orlando Recruit Training Center.

The seven line items for the WAVE Recruit Training Camp are needed to provide the Navy adequate facilities for WAVE recruit training as a part of the planned development of the approved third Recruit Training Center at Orlando, Florida. This requirement has been evaluated several times, including a special review by the Congress in 1966. This review, based on a Navy recommendation, concluded that the third recruit camp should be located at Orlando, Florida. The Navy proposal, approved by the Congress, encompassed the WAVE recruit training camp at Orlando. This will permit consolidation of East Coast recruit training under a single command permitting economies of operations and overhead, curricula, classification and examination functions and the use of closed circuit television and other training aids resources. This could not be economically provided for in a separate WAVE recruit training establishment.

The evaluation regarding location at Orlando has taken into consideration facilities now at Bainbridge, Maryland. Except for a recently constructed barracks building, new construction would be required for all other WAVE recruit needs at Bainbridge at a cost commensurate with costs at Orlando. Since other needs at Bainbridge will fully utilize the WAVES barracks, the operating economies for Orlando, noted above, outweigh any benefit to be derived from retaining WAVE recruit training at Bainbridge.

Denial of these items will delay the orderly progression of the establishment and operation of the Navy's urgently required recruit training center at Orlando, approved by the Congress in 1966. This delay will require continued use of substandard facilities (classrooms, mess hall, community center) at Bainbridge by young WAVE recruits.

I hope the above provides you with all of the information you desire. I will be pleased to provide any additional information you may desire.

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Ignatius,
Secretary of the Navy.

Fiscal year 1967 military construction program for NTC, Orlando

Recruit training building	$1, 985, 000
Drill field	247, 000
Recruit dispensary and dental clinic	2, 442, 000
Recruit barracks (3,200 spaces)	6, 727, 000
Recruit messhall	1, 767, 000
Utilities	407, 000
Heating and air-conditioning plant	1, 325, 000
Total	14, 900, 000

Fiscal year 1968 military construction program for NTC Orlando

AUW training building (2d increment)	$2, 980
MALE RECRUIT CAMP	
Indoor rifle range	$322
Recruit REOU building	2, 034
Ship mockup	300
Outdoor training pool	250
Fire fighting training facility	995
Cold storage warehouse	274
Warehouse	778
Administration building	970
Staff barracks	686
Recruit barracks (2d increment)	1, 957
Receiving barracks	1, 241
Chapel and Sunday School	600
Reception center	223
Gymnasium, fieldhouse and theater	918
Community center	567
Utilities	486
Subtotal—1st male recruit camp	12, 801
WAVES' RECRUIT CAMP	
Training and administration building	1, 050
Drill field	75
Waves' recruit barracks	1, 297
Waves' staff barracks	773
Messhall	460
Community center with training pool	876
Utilities	760
Subtotal—Waves' recruit camp	5, 291
Grand total	21, 072

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I call particular attention to one paragraph of this letter which clearly shows the purpose and the savings such a move would accomplish:

> The seven line items for the Wave Recruit Training Camp are needed to provide the Navy adequate facilities for Wave recruit training as a part of the planned development of the approved third Recruit Training Center at Orlando, Florida. This requirement has been evaluated several times, including a special review by the Congress in 1966. This review, based on a Navy recommendation, concluded that the third recruit camp should be located at Orlando, Florida. The Navy proposal, approved by the Congress, encompassed the Wave recruit training camp at Orlando. This will permit consolidation of East Coast recruit training under a single command permitting economies of operations and overhead, curricula, classification and examination functions and the use of closed circuit television and other training aids resources. This could not be economically provided for in a separate Wave recruit training establishment.

That is the portion of Secretary Ignatius' letter which deals with this subject.

I am hopeful that the committee will bear this in mind when it next considers a military construction authorization bill.

I repeat what I stated a while ago, that I did not ask for the Orlando project. It was a recommendation of the Navy. I do not know how important or necessary it may be to include as part of that project the WAVE training project also, but I do ask that the program originally suggested, and still strongly recommended, by the Navy, be again considered by the committee when it next considers a military construction authorization bill.

I further understand that the committee has appropriately restored the authorization for firefighting training facility for the male recruit training center. That was another major additional request made by Secretary Ignatius. I strongly commend the committee for this action for, as is stated in the letter from the Secretary of the Navy, familiarization with elemental emergency shipboard-type firefighting practice is most essential in the training of recruits. This training need has recently been borne out by the most unfortunate accident that recently occurred on one of our larger naval vessels in the Vietnam area. I urge the Senate conferees to insist upon the retention of this vitally important item.

I do not see how any of us reading the report of not only that major disaster in the Gulf of Tonkin, but also the report with respect to two other smaller ones could fail to note the tremendous importance of the firefighting training program.

I again commend the distinguished Senator from Washington and the committee for including this item in the bill, even though it was eliminated in the other body.

The final item referred to by the letter from the Secretary concerns authorization for an indoor rifle range which the Secretary wanted to have included. This item was deleted, as I understand it, by House action and considered by the committee, but after careful consideration the committee believed that this item should be deferred. After discussing this matter with the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], I concur in the action taken that this item can be deferred—meaning that it does not have to be constructed right now, and not that it would not be a desirable portion of the facility.

Mr. President, again I congratulate the Senator from Washington for doing his usual good job in reporting a good bill to the Senate, and I shall certainly support him strongly.

I do wish to state again, however, that I hope the committee will very carefully consider the relocation of the WAVE Training Center to Orlando at the time of its consideration of the next military construction authorization bill and carefully weigh the statement of the Navy in its desire for such location, which is a reiteration of its previous position in this matter.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator for yielding, and if he has any comments to make on any of the subjects I have mentioned, I shall appreciate it, and particularly with reference to the remarks on the recommendations of Secretary Ignatius with reference to the WAVE Training Center.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Florida for his very helpful remarks on the three specific items he has just covered.

The first item was with reference to the facilities for the transfer of the WAVE training operation from Bainbridge to Florida.

I should like to observe that one of the things that troubled the committee related to the amount of money that the Navy has just finished investing at Bainbridge. It is my recollection that the new barracks facility which had just been completed represented an investment of $4 million. The committee felt that in light of that fact alone, we ought to go slow in considering the possibility of a removal at this time.

We therefore deferred action on that.

With reference to the item of $995,000 for the firefighting school at Orlando, the House had deleted this item, as the able Senator has pointed out. The members of the committee were unanimous in their judgment that this is a high priority item.

It is obvious that it is essential as part of a training program for all Navy recruits. I can, therefore, assure the able Senator from Florida that we will take a very firm position in conference on that item.

With reference to the item for the indoor rifle range, it seemed to us that this is something that could at least be handled outdoors. The Army and the Marines in connection with their small arms program use out-of-door ranges. In any event, it was not of such a high priority that it could not be deferred for the present.

I thank my good friend, the senior Senator from Florida, for his helpful comments.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JACKSON. I have in mind the wonderful weather, of course, in Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I was going to say that I think the Navy recruits will be able to withstand the rigors of the Florida weather sufficiently for the time being so that they may have their small arms training out of doors.

I have already stated in my remarks that I have agreed with the distinguished Senator that here is an item that can be deferred.

I again say that I think the whole matter has been very carefully considered. I have no complaint to make. I think that the willingness of the Senator to reexamine the Pensacola situation is typical of him.

I hope that such a reconsideration will ensue in conference, since the House put the item in the bill, as I understand it, and it was eliminated in the Senate committee.

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question with reference to the powerplant facility at Pensacola to which the Senator has called our attention, that some information was not appropriately brought to our attention at the time the matter was before the committee. I therefore personally thank him for the information he has given us on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Washington and commend him for the tremendously hard work he has done as chairman of the subcommittee.

Perhaps I should not even ask the question, but I wonder regarding a couple of items.

I would like to ask the distinguished chairman first concerning an item I observe on page 83 of the subcommittee report—"Location not specified, Office of Secretary of Defense, $200 million."

I then observe on page 138 in the bill an item——

Mr. JACKSON. What page of the report?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. On page 83 of the report there is an item that reads: "Location not specified, Office of Secretary of Defense, $200 Million."

That is a very bare statement regarding the expenditure of a large sum of money, $200 million. I wonder if that is a Central Intelligence Agency item.

Mr. JACKSON. No. There is nothing really secret about it at all. The $200 million is a contingency fund for the Secretary of Defense.

In other words, this gives him authority to expend up to $200 million, upon appropriate reporting to the committees of Congress, on any items that he may be able to certify of an emergency nature. So many changes take place in a program as large as this that, unless you have some flexibility, you are in trouble.

The Senator has said that this situation is subject to abuse. I can only say that, if any Secretary should attempt to abuse it, the next time the matter came up he would be so tied in knots that he would not be able to function the way he should function. Therefore, we have not had any situation called to our attention in which there has been an abuse of discretion in the use of these funds. We went into that matter very carefully.

I do wish to point out that, of the $200 million, some funds may be expended for construction of facilities of a classified nature. But the $200 million is simply a contingency fund.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. And some such provision has been customarily included?

Mr. JACKSON. For the past several years, a contingency fund has been available to the Secretary.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Now may I ask a question regarding another item on page 90 of the bill? It indicates for Germany, supply facilities for the Air Force, $2,502,000, and for our Army in Germany, $2 million. The total sum, $4,502,000, is for Germany.

It is on page 129 of the bill and on page 82 of the report, Mr. President.

I am wondering about the request for an authorization of such a tremendous sum of money at a time—22 years after World War II—when we have 425,000 servicemen and their dependents in West Germany, when we are the only NATO country, as the chairman knows, who has fulfilled its NATO obligations. I am wondering whether it is really essential, when many of us feel that we should cut down on our forces in Germany. I believe the chairman feels that way—I hope he does. That is a tremendous sum of money. Was more than that authorized in the House bill?

Mr. JACKSON. We made a reduction in connection with the Army's request for depot facilities in Germany of $1,577,000. We approved $2 million.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. That is, $2 million for the Army?

Mr. JACKSON. Two million dollars for the Army. But we made a reduction of $1,577,000.

Mr. President, so that we understand the reason for these two items, let me explain. This relates directly to the move out of France. These facilities are essential in connection with the redeployment of American forces. We can thank our good friend, General de Gaulle, for having to expend this sum of money. It relates directly to that situation.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. General de Gaulle, our good friend, as the Senator says——

Mr. JACKSON. Do not take it literally.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I take it in the same manner that the Senator meant it. After all, we moved our headquarters from France to Belgium, and this is an expenditure not in Belgium. This calls for a huge expenditure of $4,502,000 in West Germany, at a time when we have 425,000 servicemen and their dependents in West Germany; and there has been no aggression threatened from the Soviet Union toward Western Europe, at least in the past 15 years.

It appears to me that, instead of adding $4,502,000, we should reduce our expenditures in West Germany, and that is why I bring up the question.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I should like to correct the RECORD in one respect. We took out for the Army alone, in connection with the requests made for Germany and depot facilities, $1,577,000. I referred to that item previously. In addition, we took out a request for a controlled-humidity storage facility in the sum of $3,618,00. What we left in and what we approved relates directly to the redeployment of Air Force personnel and Army personnel from France to Germany. The personnel from France were redeployed either to Germany or to England. We have a small item or two in the bill that relate to that situation.

I understand that we have been engaged in negotiations with the French for compensation for at least part of the cost we have sustained as a result of being given an eviction notice by General de Gaulle. I hope we can recover some of the costs in connection with the redeployment of American forces from France.

Mr. President, I believe that the items we have approved are essential to support the forces that have been redeployed to Germany.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The Senator from Washington believes, then, that the $4,502,000 contemplated in the bill for West Germany has been trimmed as much as it should be?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. I believe we have trimmed as much as we can for Germany, and the $4,502,000 the Senator refers to is not necessarily for Germany, but for several items at several locations in Europe.

I have not mentioned the theater air-base-vulnerability program. We have included some money to upgrade the airdromes, in Germany that are very close—a matter of minutes—to Soviet forces. However, we have cut some of those funds. We have given a priority to upgrading the airdromes that are very close to the East German border. Again, we went about it very carefully, and we tried to make prudent cuts. We did not approve everything that they requested, by any means. The military construction investment in Europe is relatively small in the budget this year.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I should like to ask a final question. In that connection, I observe that for the United Kingdom, for operation and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing for the Air Force, the bill contains an extremely large authorization, it seems to me, of $10,457,000. Has that amount been trimmed?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, we did make some cuts in connection with the United Kingdom installations.

I believe that my good friend, the Senator from Ohio, will agree that the British have been quite cooperative in trying to honor their commitment.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. That is correct. They have come closer than anyone else.

Mr. JACKSON. Of all our allies, considering what they have had to go through, they have been there when the going has been rough.

I must say, Mr. President, that we again found it necessary to redeploy primarily some Air Force units to the United Kingdom. The expenditures involved in the figure of $10,457,000 cover, in large part, the developments in connection with the move out of France.

There are some continuing maintenance requirements and new facilities that go back to the operation of American bases in the United Kingdom over a period of a number of years.

I think the Senator from Ohio would be interested in this. In connection with all direct overseas items we had before us a request from the administration for $315 million. We cut $145 million. That is a pretty big cut.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. That leaves $170 million. It is nearly one-half, and would leave $170 million in the budget, as I have said.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I wish to thank the Senator from Washington for the information he has supplied.

Mr. JACKSON. It represents over one-third of the total cuts in the bill.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I thank the Senator. I appreciate the information.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Washington for yielding to me. I wish to commend and congratulate the distinguished Senator from Washington and the members of the Committee on Armed Services, together with the staff, for the excellent bill which they have presented to the Senate.

I am pleased, Mr. President, that the committee has seen fit to authorize the sum of $45 million for necessary Army, Navy, and Air Force projects in the State of Hawaii.

I am also pleased that the committee has seen fit to authorize over $7 million for the construction of billeting and other facilities at Fort De Russy. I wholeheartedly support additional accommodations for military personnel. Such facilities are sorely needed and would add greatly to the enjoyment of Waikiki by servicemen and women, including thousands on rest and recuperation leave from Vietnam.

I wish to ask a question of the Senator from Washington concerning the endorsement of these facilities at Fort De Russy expressed in the report, particularly about the intent of the committee.

I have been told there has been some fear in the committee that Fort De Russy land, which may be in excess, may be disposed of by the Department of Defense, and consequently that the committee wrote into the bill a new section 809 as follows:

> SEC. 809. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the lands constituting Fort DeRussy, Hawaii, may be sold, leased, transferred, or otherwise disposed by the Department of Defense unless hereafter authorized by law.

Was the committee concerned that the Department of Defense might dispose of this excess land if no provision were written in the bill?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, going back some 12 years, there have been a series of moves by the Department of Defense which made it clear to the committee that they were interested in disposing of all or a part of Fort De Russy. The committee was concerned lest a similar move be made again.

Therefore, the committee was of the unanimous judgment that there should be a provision, not in the report, but in the statute, to the effect that no part of Fort De Russy could be disposed of except pursuant to specific authorization by law.

Mr. FONG. Section 809 provides that the Department of Defense must come back to Congress if the Department of Defense wishes to dispose of excess land. Under present law, the Department would have to have just the consent of the two Committees on Armed Services?

Mr. JACKSON. That is not correct. The existing law provides that the Department of Defense merely has to report to the committee its proposed action. We have no authority to insist on consent. We can write a letter saying we do not agree with them but they can go ahead and sell it.

Mr. FONG. This provision, if enacted, would prevent the Department of Defense from disposing of it?

Mr. JACKSON. By unilateral action it would require them to go to Congress to get a bill through for it.

Mr. FONG. With section 809 in the bill there is no fear that the Department of Defense will ever dispose of excess land without Congress approving it?

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question that they could not do it legally. Any deed they might give would be invalid.

Mr. FONG. With the writing in of this provision, there is no fear that the Department of Defense will ever alienate any Fort De Russy land.

Mr. JACKSON. Not without the approval of Congress.

Mr. FONG. The endorsement of the committee, which is on page 25 of the committee report, reads:

> The committee endorses the construction of low-density troop billets.

Is that a mandatory provision or a flexible provision, as far as the members of the committee are concerned, now that the committee has written into the bill that the Department of Defense cannot alienate the land?

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I yield to the junior Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, on behalf of the committee, I wish to respond to my senior colleague from Hawaii.

This phrase "low-density troop billets" would apply to the number of people per acre, the density of population. It does not apply to the height of buildings or the number of stories involved in construction.

The committee was not in favor of cluttering Fort De Russy with a jungle of high rise buildings or using up every square foot. We wanted to maintain the atmosphere there. This would not prohibit the Army from building high rise buildings.

Mr. FONG. I am happy to hear the explanation of my colleague from Hawaii. This matter has been of great concern to our people in Hawaii. Fort De Russy is situated in a densely populated area of our community. This land is estimated to be worth $60 a square foot. The 72 acres are probably worth $188 million. Every planner and designer of hotels, and every person who owns land in Waikiki, is trying to use every portion of land for the best possible use.

I am happy to hear the explanation of my colleague that the low density applies only to acreage. This will give the Department of Defense the flexibility to do what they think is best for Waikiki.

Mr. INOUYE. Definite engineering plans have not been drafted.

Mr. FONG. I understand.

Mr. INOUYE. We are still in the process at this moment. The commanding general in Hawaii is discussing this with local authorities in Hawaii.

Mr. FONG. I hope the Department of Defense and the architects in the Army will consult with our planners in the city and county of Honolulu and the State of Hawaii, so that we can arrive at the best possible solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

Mr. INOUYE. I have discussed this with General Lassiter, the commanding general of the U.S. Army, Hawaii. He has been there and he will continue to discuss this matter with authorities for the city and county of Honolulu and the State of Hawaii.

Mr. FONG. I am happy to receive the explanation of the junior Senator from Hawaii and the explanation of the Senator from Washington. I wish to congratulate the Senator from Washington for a very excellent bill.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I wish to say for the record, so that the matter is clear, on behalf of the committee, I concur in the comments made by the junior Senator from Hawaii in response to the questions propounded by the senior Senator from Hawaii as to the intent of the committee.

The Army does have the discretion for working out details as to the kind of facility that should be located at Fort De Russy.

Mr. FONG. I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding to me.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I am happy to yield to the able senior Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I commend my esteemed colleague, the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], for his excellent statement concerning the military construction authorization for fiscal year 1968, and wish to add a few comments in its support.

Having had the privilege to serve on the subcommittee during the review of this bill, I know the depth to which this dedicated group examined each item of the proposed construction. The subcommittee was able to report to the full committee a well-rounded program that takes into consideration the realities of the war in Vietnam and recommends only what is really needed by our Armed Forces. There is no window dressing here—just hard-and-fast requirements for sorely needed construction.

I support this bill wholeheartedly and, at the same time, respectfully invite attention to certain items of interest.

First, there is the specific language in the legislation that preserves for the Armed Forces the extremely valuable tract of land at Fort De Russy on Waikiki Beach in Hawaii. We all know how our servicemen look forward to periods of rest and recreation from the rigors of service in Vietnam. Fort De Russy has been a veritable mecca for combat-weary tired men since the beginning of World War II. In spite of this, we know that in the past certain actions have been taken by the Department of Defense to declare some of this valuable property excess in favor of commercial real estate interests. The language of the bill before us contains provisions which will prevent the disposal of this land and will retain the entire property—72 acres—under Federal jurisdiction for use as a military rest and recreation center. Although the report on page 25 provides that the committee endorses construction of low-density troop billets, this will leave the Department of Defense in a flexible situation so that it could erect either low- or high-rise apartments for our servicemen.

Mr. President, the second item that I bring to your attention concerns the replacement of outmoded medical facilities at Walter Reed Hospital here in the District of Columbia. The addition to the bill of $12,480,000 for the hospital is only the first step of a larger program of repair and extended construction. You will note that approximately $3.5 million is earmarked for relocation of the commissary and other community facilities not necessary to the provision of medical service to hospital patients. The Army did not anticipate this action by the subcommittee and, consequently, did not have a master plan for the total program ready in time for our consideration. I hope that next year we will be able to continue this important replacement on a high priority basis with a complete plan for guidance.

Some Senators may share the earlier concern that I had for the third item that I will mention. It has been mentioned in debate today. This is the $200 million contingency fund for defense agencies. Some of us in the subcommittee had reservations over providing the Secretary of Defense a lump sum of money in this large amount. While I will not object to this fund at this time, it would appear to me to be better management practice for the Congress to have more control over the use of these funds. For example, the Secretary of Defense could submit his plan for emergency use to the committee and obtain prompt consideration and approval if the expenditures were justified.

In conclusion, I wish to commend Senator JACKSON for the careful and thoughtful review that he directed in the subcommittee. It was indeed a pleasure for me to work with him. I also wish to commend the other subcommittee members on both the majority and minority sides.

And lastly, it is my pleasure to invite attention to the outstanding work performed by the staff members of the Senate Armed Services Committee in the preparation of this comprehensive review.

In particular, I wish to compliment Mr. Gordon Nease, one of the ablest and most dedicated staff members I have known since I became a Member of the Senate. Also, Miss Mary Keough of that staff for the excellent work she has done. I wish also to commend Mr. Vorley Rexroad of the Appropriations Committee who worked with the staff members and was instrumental in rendering fine service in preparation of the report.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I want to thank and commend the able senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] for his very helpful participation in connection with the hearings held on the military construction bill, the markup of the bill, its reporting to the full committee, and the action we are now taking today. He was extremely helpful, as were other members of the committee. The result is that we have submitted to the Senate a unanimous judgment of the committee on the bill.

Mr. President, I call up my amendment now at the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. JACKSON to the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installation, and for other purposes:

On page 95, line 16, insert the following: Strike out "$3,747,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$4,368,000."

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is to restore $621,000 for an officers' mess hall for the Naval Station at Newport, R.I., which is badly needed.

This project was denied in the belief that it was to be a replacement for an officers' open mess, which is an officers' club, when in fact it would be for a closed mess, which is a regular dining hall now located in a deteriorating and unsanitary facility.

I have discussed this matter with the ranking minority members of the committee, the able Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and there is no objection to the amendment.

I therefore ask that it be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe there are no more amendments to be offered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

If there be no further amendments to be proposed, the question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute as amended.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I support the military construction authorization bill which is today before the Senate. Although the sum requested is large, I recognize that these funds are necessary if we are effectively to conduct the war in Vietnam and shore up our military installations here at home and at our bases abroad.

The fiscal 1968 military authorization bill contains a total of $2,308,000 for construction in the State of Utah. This includes $680,000 for Tooele Army Depot for the construction of maintenance, production, and supply facilities.

Hill Air Force Base, which is the largest military installation in the State of Utah, will receive authorization to renovate and construct new facilities in the total amount of $1,628,000.

The Ogden Air Material Area, Hill Air Force Base, Utah, is one of the largest depots of the Air Force Logistics Command. This installation has prime responsibility for the Minuteman missile and also for the RF-4-C aircraft. The Minuteman is a key weapon in the U.S. missile system and consequently this Utah installation is one of the strategic facilities in our Nation's defense. The RF-4-C aircraft is making a primary contribution to our war efforts in Vietnam.

The 2705th Airmunitions Wing is stationed at Hill and it has the responsibility for testing many of the munitions and weapons systems used by the U.S. Air Force. Hill Air Force Base is also a major supply depot for aircraft and missile parts, and last year this installation moved more than 150,000,000 pounds of cargo to air bases all over the world. Consequently, I feel that the modest request made in the military construction bill for updating and renovating a number of buildings at Hill Air Force Base is fully justified.

Mr. President, I am concerned about the long delay in getting the military construction bill to the Senate floor for consideration. Normally this legislation is one of the first matters considered by the Congress. Usually this legislation is called up early in the session so that the Defense Department might advertise for bids during the summer months for the renovation of existing buildings and the construction of new buildings authorized by this legislation. This year the Senate has waited until one-third of the 1968 fiscal year has passed before calling up the military construction authorization bill.

A further delay will of necessity occur before we receive and vote on the military construction appropriations bill. This will mean that much construction which could have started this fall probably will have to wait until next spring. In many areas of our country it is impossible to begin construction of new facilities during cold weather and this is especially true in areas where we have severe winters. I express the hope that in future years an effort might be made to get this vital military bill to us at an earlier date so that we will not experience any delay in constructing urgently needed facilities.

I fully support the military construction authorization bill and appreciate and understand the complex problem faced by the members of the Committee on Armed Services and their competent staff in reviewing the proposed legislation. I urge speedy passage of the bill by the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent—and do so with the concurrence of the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]—that the vote on the pending bill, H.R. 11722, take place at 3 o'clock p.m. on Monday next.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Is this a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. For a rollcall vote?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, on Monday next, at 3 o'clock.

Mr. CLARK. At 3 o'clock on Monday next on the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana ask also that rule XII be waived?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement was subsequently reduced to writing, as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That on Monday, September 25, 1967, at 3:00 o'clock p.m., the Senate shall proceed to vote on H.R. 11722, an Act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FEDERAL PAYMENT AUTHORIZATION AND BORROWING AUTHORITY ACT OF 1967

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House on H.R. 8718.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8718) to increase the annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia and to provide a method for computing the annual borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. SPONG. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Chair appointed Mr. SPONG, Mr. MORSE, and Mr. MORTON conferees on the part of the Senate.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, now I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to the business which was laid aside temporarily, Calendar No. 548, S. 2388.

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is the hope of the joint leadership that we will be able to get started on the pending measure this afternoon. There has been a certain amount of delay in the consideration of the so-called Economic Opportunity Act, and it would be my hope, at least, that enough will be stated this afternoon so that some of us could study the statement of the distinguished manager of the bill, the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], over the weekend.

This bill, in my opinion, will take some days before we reach a final conclusion on it, and I think it is deserving of the most serious, intimate, and close study.

Mr. President, before the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania embarks on his opening remarks, which I hope he will, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll. The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LACK OF HELP FROM ALLIES IN THE VIETNAMESE WAR

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Washington Daily News of today carries a special article written by the editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, which is datelined Manila.

The editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers is Walker Stone, an unusually able newspaperman, and a very keen observer of political and economic conditions throughout the world over a long period of time.

Mr. Stone is making a visit to a number of Southeast Asian countries, and I feel he has written a very enlightening article on the situation in some of those countries, particularly as it pertains to the opportunity for the United States to obtain some help in Vietnam from some of the Asian nations.

Mr. Stone points out that South Korea has approximately 50,000 troops in South Vietnam now, and that those troops are doing a very valiant job.

Then he gets to the Philippines. There is a paragraph in his article concerning the Philippines which I think is worthy of mention on the floor. I quote now from the article by Mr. Stone. In his interview with President Marcos, he asked whether or not the Philippines might be sending more troops to Vietnam. As you know, they have sent 2,200, but they are noncombat troops. I quote Mr. Stone:

> Asked if the Philippines in the future might send combat troops to Vietnam, President Marcos said the policy of the ruling party as well as the opposition party is to send only construction troops. "This aid," he said, "was specifically requested by Vietnam. Vietnam being a protocol state of SEATO, necessarily, if there is any request of the Vietnamese government to this end, then we will have to reassess our policy."

I am just wondering why it is that the Philippines, as well as the other countries, have not been formally requested to send troops to Vietnam. I remember a press conference which Secretary of Defense McNamara held in Washington several months ago in which he said, "We do not ask our allies for troops." Why do we not ask our allies for troops? President Marcos of the Philippines seems to recognize, in his interview with Mr. Stone, that, being a signatory to the SEATO agreement, the Philippines are obligated to send troops if they are requested to do so.

That brings up the matter of Great Britain. Great Britain is a signatory to the SEATO agreement, and Great Britain has sent no combat troops whatsoever to help in this struggle in Vietnam. Not only that, Mr. President; not only are we not getting help from our allies, not only are we not getting help from those nations with whom we have mutual defense agreements, but the facts show that during the first 8 months of 1967, 49 ships flying the flag of free world nations carried cargo into the enemy port of Haiphong.

I submit that the Government of this country, if it is going to draft men, if it is going to take men from their homes, their families, and their communities and send them to Southeast Asia to fight, has an obligation to see that our allies come to its defense; and if they are not willing to come to our defense, at least see that our allies are not permitted to carry on trade, such as is being done now, with the enemy in Vietnam.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I am glad to yield.

Mr. GRUENING. I would like to call the attention of the Senator from Virginia to the fact that most of our allies are conspicuously missing in this area. It is rather distressing, because newspaper dispatches refer to our allies there, but none of our allies from the free world are there. I make an exception of Australia, which has rather reluctantly sent 5,000 troops there.

The Philippines, after a splendid handout given to the President, I think sent a few engineers there.

As far as Korea is concerned, of course, they have sent a division, I believe, but only when we keep two divisions there, and of course we are paying handsomely, at higher prices, for their participation.

As far as our allies are concerned, they might as well not be there at all. They are not. That includes most of our SEATO allies.

So while I might not agree with everything being done there, this is a fact the American people should bear in mind.

I have long felt that if we are going to carry on a crusade against communism on behalf of the free world, we should do it with our allies, and not virtually alone, which we are doing.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I thank the distinguished Senator from Alaska. I agree 100 percent with what he says with regard to the lack of support which this Nation is getting from our allies.

Both of us were talking about the SEATO agreement, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Besides the United States, there are seven other signatories to that agreement. Three of those are not involved in any way, shape, or form in South Vietnam. The other four are furnishing some support.

Mr. GRUENING. Token.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. In most cases, token support.

I again thank the Senator from Alaska for his contribution to this discussion.

To get back to Mr. Stone's report from Manila, he then discusses Japan. He says:

> Japan is making money on the war. Direct payments of U.S. dollars into Japan's economy due to Vietnam are at the rate of $200 million a year. That, plus markets opened to Japan by American industry's diversion to war production, account for an estimated $750 million advantage in Japan's balance of payments.

There again, I do not like to see profits being made out of a war in which the United States, this one year, 1967, from the period January 1 through September 16, has suffered 52,000 casualties. Fifty-two thousand casualties in that time, and that on top of the 35,000 casualties which were suffered by our Nation during the year 1966.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the entire article entitled "We Can Expect Very Little More Aid From Allies," written by Walker Stone, editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and published in the Washington Daily News of Friday, September 22, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 22, 1967]

SCRIPPS-HOWARD EDITOR ON TOUR GETS THE MESSAGE: WE CAN EXPECT VERY LITTLE MORE AID FROM ALLIES

(By Walker Stone)

MANILA, September 22.—If the Vietnam war drags on into an indefinite future, how much more help can America expect from our friends in this part of the world?

From two weeks of questioning high officials and private citizens in Japan, Korea and the Philippines, the answer as to those countries comes thru clear; Not much more.

In South Korea spirit is strong, but resources are limited.

The Koreans now have nearly 50,000 troops in Vietnam, mostly combat, and they have performed magnificently as guerrilla fighters. Yet, that number is just about equal to the count of American troops still in Korea helping patrol the UN armistice line.

If let alone, the Koreans would proudly do more in Vietnam. But in recent months, there has been an increase of communist incursions across the demilitarized zone and of subversion terms infiltrating along the coast.

At present the situation is under control. The Koreans have an efficient constabulary and, more important, a co-operative citizenry who quickly tell police of suspicious strangers in their midst. It is not a politically porous land in which fifth columns can operate successfully.

A further step-up of communist harassments—a logical tactical operation to make the Koreans more concerned with internal security—could cause the Seoul government to hesitate before making heavier commitments in Vietnam.

The Philippines also has difficulties at home. Thirty thousand of 50,000 Filipino troops are devoted to internal security. The old HUK communist movement, smashed by the late President Magsaysay, has not been rebuilt, but small bands of HUK terrorists and mafia types in the provinces still are engaged in assassination and extortion tactics. On the whole, Philippine internal security is in hand.

A Philippine battalion of 2200 non-combat engineers is engaged in reconstruction work in Vietnam. A Philippine election campaign is on, and the 15 remaining engineering battalions have been put to work at home building roads and schools, much to the political credit of President Marcos' Nationalista Party. Yet there is a criticism that the engineer troops in Vietnam might also well be employed at home. Indeed there are enough potholes in Manila streets alone to give substance to that argument.

Asked if the Philippines in the future might send combat troops to Vietnam, President Marcos said the policy of the ruling party as well as the opposition party is to send only construction troops. "This aid," he said, "was specifically requested by Vietnam. Vietnam being a protocol state of SEATO, necessarily, if there is any request of the Vietnamese government to this end, then we will have to reassess our policy."

Japan, the great economic power of Asia, is one country which could make a truly large contribution to the Vietnam effort, but it is not likely to unless it comes to think it needs to.

Japan is making money on the war. Direct payments of U.S. dollars into Japan's economy due to Vietnam are at the rate of $200 million a year. That, plus markets opened to Japan by American industry's diversion to war production, account for an estimated $750 million advantage in Japan's balance of payments.

Yet from the beginning of the Vietnam trouble up to now Japan's total economic assistance to Vietnam has been only about $55 million, partly reparations, mostly in construction of a large power dam across the Danhim River. Other contributions include a six-man medical team, 4544 cases of medical supplies, 20,000 transistor radios and 25 ambulances.

Will Japan give more? Maybe.

Recent moves of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, including a visit to Taiwan, of which Red China took a dim view, seem to be putting him in a neutral position more sympathetic to our side.

Whatever Japan does has to be limited to economic aid. American military power, including atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, convinced Japan of the folly of war and the virtue of pacifism.

AUTHORIZATION OF ADDITIONAL TIME FOR THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE TO FILE REPORT ON CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Finance have whatever additional time may be necessary to file a report on campaign financing that was, by previous order of the Senate, due to be filed before the close of business today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. CHURCH in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, for a long time the Internal Security Subcommittee has been accumulating evidence with respect to the activities and the plans of the National Conference for New Politics.

This is an organization spawned by the so-called New Left, with a little financial midwifery by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, that left-liberal stepchild of the Ford Foundation, out of the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. President, in a little over 2 years the National Conference for New Politics, which started out with some genuinely radical but non-Communist leaders, has become a fairly sophisticated and somewhat complicated organization working hand in glove with the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Originally controlled by a small group of white socialists and other radicals, the NCNP has become a large group which is now, ostensibly, controlled by Negro black power organizations. The original goal of the NCNP was revolution in the United States, and that is its goal today. The new emphasis of the NCNP is on attaining this goal through the actions and activities, both violent and political, of Negro organizations and Negro groups throughout the country.

There is substantial evidence that the Communist Party has been successful in its drive to infiltrate the National Conference for New Politics, and that the recent decisions of the NCNP at its Chicago convention earlier this month, even including the shameful capitulation of that convention to the so-called black caucus, were Communist-dictated.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party has had the hope of turning the new politics movement into a political front, as a successor to the now-defunct Progressive Labor Party. There is substantial evidence that the Communists are succeeding in this objective; but their new political front has become and will remain a black party. The degree of success which may be achieved by this Communist effort will depend, in very substantial degree, upon what proportion of the Negro population can be whipped into line by the black power organizations through which NCNP now is working.

Mr. President, I do not want my statement today to be construed as an announcement that the Internal Security Subcommittee will hold public hearings on the National Conference for New Politics and its activities; because the subcommittee has not yet voted on a resolution to authorize such hearings. However, I do not consider it either misleading or improper to mention the possibility that the subcommittee may vote to hold such hearings. Evidence already in the possession of the subcommittee is adequate to justify such hearings.

We know that the black power activities of the NCNP extend into many States, and involve many organizations.

Because of the possibility that the Internal Security Subcommittee will hold hearings in this area, I do not propose to discuss this subject in more detail, except with respect to certain information which concerns my own State, the State of Mississippi. I am turning this information over to the Internal Security Subcommittee, for consideration along with all the other material relating to the National Conference for New Politics which the subcommittee has accumulated; but I propose to make certain items of this information public by putting them in the RECORD today.

Because of the possibility that these items of evidence and information which I make public today may form a part of the record of public hearings before the Internal Security Subcommittee in the near future, I shall not attempt to draw conclusions, but shall confine myself to asking certain rather obvious questions. The evidence in the record can then speak for itself.

Since the early part of 1961 I have discussed publicly, from time to time, what I referred to in May 1961, in a Senate speech, as the activities of provocateurs who have descended upon the Southern States in the name of so-called civil rights, but whose sole purpose was the stirring up of discord, strife, and violence. I have warned repeatedly that if such tactics were permitted to go forward in the South, they would be spread to other parts of the country when it suited the purposes of the Communist Party. Now we have seen these predictions borne out.

I have discussed in considerable detail, here on this floor, the so-called Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and its supporters, and I have provided documentation with respect to some of the organizations and individuals participating in the fomenting of racial violence in Mississippi and elsewhere, and some of the connections of these organizations and individuals with the Communist conspiracy. I have discussed some of the evidence of Communist support, both national and internationally, for these activities which involve magnifying racial tensions and capitalizing upon racial unrest to create violence and bloodshed, all in furtherance of the Communist objective of weakening this Nation internally to advance the day of the projected Communist takeover.

More than 2 years, in March 1965, I pointed out that the people of Mississippi had known for more than 2 years, at that time, that Communist incitement was at the bottom of most of the racial strife which has been making so many headlines.

I have pointed out here on this floor how Communist infiltration of the so-called Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party can be traced clearly and demonstrated readily.

The files of the National Conference for New Politics contain a document entitled "Proposal for 6-Month Project for Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party." This document shows on its face that it refers to a period beginning July 1, 1967, and running through December 31, 1967. This document was submitted by four individuals whose names appear thereon. There are Joseph Harris, listed as "organizer for Sunflower and Morehead May 2, 1967, election"; Lawrence Guyot, listed as "chairman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party"; the Reverend Ed King, listed as "committeeman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party"; and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, listed as "vice chairman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party."

The budget outlined for this project amounts to more than $141,000 for the 6-month period, in support of a 6-month political campaign in 20 counties of Mississippi.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this document to which I have referred, headed "Proposal for 6-Month Project for Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party," may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPOSAL FOR 6-MONTH PROJECT FOR MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BEGINNING JULY 1, 1967–DECEMBER 31, 1967

(Submitted by Joseph Harris, organizer for Sunflower and Moorhead May 2, 1967 election; Lawrence Guyot, chairman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; the Reverend Ed King, committeeman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, vice chairman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party)

BACKGROUND

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is a rank and file controlled political organization open to all without regard to color, although presently—and quite understandable—composed primarily of Negroes.

The Freedom Democratic Party, believing that racial equality is only the first step in solving the basic problem of poverty, disease and illiteracy confronting American Society, welcomes the participation of all Mississippi citizens in a joint effort to realize the goals of economic growth and individual self-fulfillment in a spirit of human concern for the welfare of every person.

With all humility, we ask the guidance of Almighty God in these difficult times. May His power and spirit fill us all as we approach these problems that beset us all.

This is a proposal to conduct a six month political campaign in *twenty counties* at the county level, by and for Mississippi Negroes and public affairs, legislative and political processes and social problem. The project will be sponsored by the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The program will be managed by this group, who will have full responsibility for this project.

The Needs: 1967 is a critical year in Mississippi. It is a year of great social and physical hardship for the very poor as they feel the impact of the national minimum wage act of 1966. It is also a year of political opportunity. The impact of the year of struggle for voting rights is slowly being felt as the number of registered Negro voters climb in each of the Mississippi counties. But people need voter education. It is the year of local election for the key county positions, sheriff, tax assessor, board of supervisors, board of education and circuit clerk. It is the year that Negroes, for the first time since Reconstruction, can realistically aspire to political office. It is the year for political and civic awareness, education and responsibility.

PROPOSED PROGRAM

The proposal which follows outline a program which will provide intensive work for 100 indigenous residents of Mississippi over a six month period. After the initial six months working period, 100 people would be continued to utilize themselves to carry on a more extensive program in their county. The proposed program is to develop local leadership in Mississippi.

PROGRAM

I. One person from each beat in the county will be responsible for organizing the beat. (a) Politically, (b) Economically, (c) Other Services Needed.

II. Create new leadership, ideas and programs for the county.

III. Conduct numerous workshops with candidates or potential candidates.

IV. Conduct voter education and literacy classes and explain nature of duties and office.

V. To be of any service to the county and work along with any program the county initiates.

The need for such a program is and has been for a long period of time in Mississippi. It puts responsibility in local Mississippians hands.

ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

Policy Direction

The program and policies of the project will be determined by the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Responsibility for the employment of staff will be vested in the Executive Committee and the Executive Director when once hired.

PROGRAM SUPERVISION

Responsibility for direct supervision of the program will be vested in the Director and Executive Secretary. They will be the chief administrators.

Staff: The Director will be assisted by an Executive Secretary, 2 secretaries, 2 office workers and a researcher.

Budget for office staff for a period of 6 months

Director, $125 per week	$3,300
Executive secretary, $110 per week	2,860
2 secretaries, $60 per week	3,120
2 office workers, $40 per week	2,080
Researcher, $70 per week	1,820
Total	13,180

FIELD STAFF

100 people, $50 per week	120,000
Rent, $60 per week	360
Office supplies	700
Office equipment	500
Telephone	1,400
Postage	600
Transportation in State for 20 counties for field workers	3,000
Travel out of State	600
Miscellaneous expense, $40 per week	960
1 car and insurance	4,000
Total	128,120
Grand total	141,300

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, on July 12, 1967, a letter signed by Owen Brooks on the letterhead of "Mississippians United To Elect Negro Candidates, Post Office Box 202, Greenville, Miss. 28701" was addressed to Mr. Michael Wood, National Conference for New Politics, Midwest Region, National Convention Headquarters, 1517 West Howard, Chicago, Ill. 60626. This letter included a list of the names of Negro candidates, or prospective Negro candidates, in Mississippi. Under date of July 17, a letter was addressed to Mr. Joseph Harris, of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party by William F. Pepper, of the National Conference for New Politics, with a carbon copy to Mike Wood of NCNP, discussing "cooperative effort" between the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party project and the convention organization of the NCNP.

Mr. President, I ask that the full text of these two letters, including the list of Negro candidates to which I have referred, may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISSISSIPPIANS UNITED TO ELECT
NEGRO CANDIDATES,
Greenville, Miss., July 12, 1967.

Mr. MICHAEL WOOD,
National Conference for New Politics, Midwest Region, National Convention Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. WOOD: Mrs. Lucy Montgomery suggested that you would be interested in the material we have put together on the needs for the campaigns of Negro candidates in Mississippi this year.

We need to get the widest coverage possible with this and would certainly appreciate your help. Additional copies of the brochure, which points out priority areas in which Negro candidates have excellent chances of being elected, and of the printed cover letter are available if you would have use of them.

If we can be of any further help to you with information on the campaign or individual candidates and counties, please do let us know. We will be supplying you with more detailed information throughout the summer as the campaigns develop.

Sincerely,

OWEN BROOKS.

JULY 17, 1967.

Mr. JOSEPH HARRIS,
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party,
Sunflower, Miss.

DEAR MR. HARRIS: Thank you for your letter of July 30. All of the staff energy and financial appropriations of NCNP at this time are being devoted to the national convention at which we hope the MFDP will be well represented. I have sent a request to our Chicago office and asked Mike Wood, the convention coordinator, to be in touch with you. If there could be some cooperative effort relating your project to our convention organizing, I would encourage it and have suggested that Mike negotiate it.

Thanks so much.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. PEPPER.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, files of the National Conference for New Politics contain a card index of so-called key contacts in various States. Under "Mississippi," two names are listed in this index. David Doggett is listed twice, once with the address "Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.," and again with the address "In care of Freedom Information Service, Box 120, Tougaloo, Miss." Also listed is John Buffington, 461 Cottrell Street, West Point, Miss.

Files of the NCNP also contain a "list of names and/or groups" designated as "those which have so far registered as representatives for the convention, donated money to the NCNP, or who have either recently joined the NCNP or contributed money."

A note heading this "list of names and/or groups" states that—

> Regardless of their affiliation, they are all in support of the policy of NCNP. All pertinent information regarding each individual or organization was taken verbatim from their own credentials and reports. Each applicant listed sent a minimum of $5 membership or registration fee and will attend as a delegate, observer, or representative (from a Congressional district) as indicated.

Item 57 on this "list of names and/or groups" is "Friends of Children of Mississippi, 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Miss. 39202." Under this heading, two individuals are listed as delegates. They are Frederick R. Mangrum, Jr., designated as "director," and Dave Fleming, listed as "deputy director." Under the heading of "Miscellaneous Information," this entry shows that the organization "Friends of Children of Mississippi" was formed on January 18, 1967, and has 435 members.

A so-called credentials report of the Convention of the National Conference for New Politics dated August 31, 1967, carries a headnote that—

> The following is a list of all the organizations credentialed for delegate status up to the present, with notations for groups which the Credentials Subcommittee is querying for future determination of their status.

In this report, groups are listed in one column, with a second column showing either the number of persons allegedly "credentialed," or a question mark. Under the subhead "Mississippi," the following are listed:

1. Child Development Group of Mississippi	(?)
2. Freedom Democratic Party, A.C.B.C.	400
3. Freedom New Brick Co	50
4. Friends of Children of Mississippi	435

5. Hinds County Mississippi F.D.P.	150
6. Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party	(?)
7. People's Corp	(?)
8. Sunflower County Improvement Association	(?)
9. Tougaloo College Political Action Committee	(?)

Mr. President, I would like to call particular attention to one of the organizations listed as being accredited by the Credentials Subcommittee of the National Conference for New Politics.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is apparently accredited to send delegates to conventions of the NCNP. This organization is one of the most heavily funded of the Federal poverty programs. It has already received and is scheduled to receive for the current calendar year $7 million. The preceding year it received $4,700,000, and the year before $1,500,000, making a gross total of $13,200,000 in Government money that has gone to this organization. I will say it has gone over the protests of the entire congressional delegation from Mississippi, and this same group was subject to an investigation by the Senate Committee on Appropriations for illegitimate use of funds and for shortages in substantial sums. Members of this same group were likewise investigated by the Department of Justice for excessive activity in the recent Mississippi elections and charges that many Negroes were terrorized and abused by members of this group in connection with these elections.

I am greatly concerned that an organization heavily funded by the Federal Government and supposedly dedicated to the education of children and adults to combat poverty should be involved with a national organization apparently infiltrated by the Communist movement.

According to the exhibited documents, one of the purposes of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in attending the NCNP convention was to submit a budget to solicit the aid of the member organizations in raising funds.

It is only logical to assume that if an organization such as the Child Development Group, of Mississippi, which handles millions of dollars in Federal funds, is called on through its membership to raise money, they might be in a tempting position to make a handsome contribution.

In fact, I understand it has been discovered that the Child Development Group of Mississippi has more than a half million dollars in expenditures which cannot be accounted for.

I think we should ask where this Federal money has gone.

I am including for the Record a copy of the Hinds County Chapter of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party newspaper of September 8, 1967, which further illustrates the type of politics being generated by the National Conference for New Politics. This newspaper lists as delegates to the Chicago meeting of the NCNP Henry Hatches, Ralph Wheeler, and Louis Clark of Hinds County. On the front page of this publication is a fully illustrated diagram on the construction of a Molotov cocktail, which is labeled "New Politics." The publication describes the activities of the delegates at the convention with emphasis on black power and how to run a successful revolution.

Three letters from Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and one letter from Daniel Rubin, national organization secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are contained in the NCNP convention files.

Under date of July 24, 1967, the public relations director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., addressed a letter to Mr. Michael P. Wood, chairman, convention steering committee, National Conference for New Politics, making formal application for participation in a steering committee meeting. In this letter, Johnson described himself as "a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, U.S.A." and stated that he has "a responsibility in the areas of political action and peace as well as in the total field of politics."

Johnson also stated, in this letter, that he has been active "on the leading Committees of the National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam and more recently, on the Spring Mobilization Committee and its continuing work."

On the same date, July 24, 1967, Arnold Johnson addressed a letter to William Pepper, executive director of the National Conference for New Politics, enclosing a copy of his letter to Michael Wood asking for accreditation at the steering committee meeting of the NCNP, and suggesting that he have a preliminary meeting with Pepper.

One day later, July 25, 1967, the public relations director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., addressed another letter to Michael Wood, chairman of the convention steering committee of the National Conference for New Politics, enclosing a copy of the Communist paper, the Worker, of July 16, 1967, and calling attention to an editorial in that paper dealing with the New Politics Convention. In this letter, the Communist Party's public relations director also expressed his confidence that the chairman of the NCNP Convention steering committee would be "interested in the section of Gus Hall's report to a recent meeting of the Communist Party which deals with the question of political action."

On August 11, 1967, Daniel Rubin, national organization secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., addressed a letter to Mr. Michael P. Wood, chairman of the convention committee, National Conference for New Politics, listing six individuals as having been elected as delegates of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to attend the Convention of the National Conference for New Politics. The six listed delegates were Arnold Johnson, Claude Lightfoot, Gilbert Green, Roscoe Proctor, Thomas Dennis, and Mike Zagarell.

In this letter, the national organization secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., stated that—

> We have designated our delegation as representative of our National Committee of 80 members so as to avoid any concept that we are seeking to influence the Convention by the voting strength of our total membership throughout this country.

Then he continued:

> Arnold Johnson and Gilbert Green will be in Chicago from August 28th to attend any preliminary meetings, and to confer and cooperate on all matters in which we may have an interest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the four letters to which I have just referred, three signed by Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and one signed by Daniel Rubin, national organization secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

July 24, 1967.

Mr. Michael P. Wood,
National Conference for New Politics,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Wood: In the "New Politics News" with all the information on the forthcoming convention there is a notice that "deadline for application from groups and individuals wishing to be accredited at the July 29–30 Steering Committee meeting is July 28th. On this basis I assume that you are accepting applications and I trust that you will consider this letter as an application to attend and be accredited at the July 29–30 meeting.

As to a bit of information, I am a member of the national board of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and have a responsibility in the areas of political action and peace as well as in the total field of politics. I have been active on the leading committees of the National Coordinating Committee to end the War in Vietnam and more recently, on the Spring Mobilization Committee and its continuing work.

In the past I was the district organizer of the Communist Party in Ohio from 1940 to 1947 during which time I ran for School Board in Cleveland in 1943 and received some 47,000 votes and in 1945 when I got some 60,000 votes. I have also run for other offices.

I became the National Legislative Director of the Communist Party, USA in 1947 and since then have been on the staff of the national office of the Party except for a brief 3-year sentence under the Smith Act from 1955–57.

I make this application to participate in a Steering Committee meeting in an individual capacity with the understanding, of course, that my organizational affiliation is with the Communist Party, U.S.A.

I trust the above information is sufficient and that you will let me know the time and place of the Steering Committee meeting by air mail.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Johnson.

New York.

July 24, 1967.

Mr. William Pepper,
National Conference for New Politics,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Pepper: I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just sent to Michael Wood as an application to be accredited at the Steering Committee meeting this coming weekend. I trust that this will receive favorable consideration and if it is at all possible to see you before that date, I would appreciate an appointment, although I can also recognize that you must be very, very busy.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Johnson.

New York.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
New York, N.Y., July 25, 1967.

MICHAEL WOOD,
National Conference for New Politics,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. WOOD: I am enclosing herewith a copy of the *Worker* of July 16th because I feel you should have directly from us the editorial on the New Politics Convention, as well as other references to the call to your Convention contained in this particular issue.

I trust that you will also be interested in the section of Gus Hall's report to a recent meeting of the Communist Party which deals with the question of political action.

I am also sending a copy of this to William Pepper.

Sincerely yours,

ARNOLD JOHNSON,
Public Relations Director.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.,
New York, N.Y., August 11, 1967.

Mr. MICHAEL P. WOOD,
National Conference for New Politics, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. WOOD: In accord with the purposes of the Convention as outlined in the Call to the Convention and the Rules and Procedures as presented in "New Politics News", the following have been elected as delegates of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. to attend the Convention: *Arnold Johnson, Claude Lightfoot, Gilbert Green, Roscoe Proctor, Thomas Dennis* and *Mike Zagarell.*

While we are confident that our policy and activities which can be documented by many publications does not need extensive elaboration, yet we are enclosing copies of pamphlets which can be used for reference.

We have designated our delegation as reppresentative of our National Committee of 80 members so as to avoid any concept that we are seeking to influence the Convention by the voting strength of our total membership throughout the country.

Arnold Johnson and Gilbert Green will be in Chicago from August 28th to attend any preliminary meetings, and to confer and cooperate on all matters in which we may have an interest.

Trusting that this is satisfactory and awaiting a favorable reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

DAVID RUBIN,
National Organization Secretary.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I have said that I would not prejudice possible future hearings before the Internal Security Subcommittee by attempting to draw conclusions from the documentation I have presented here, but would only ask a few obvious questions.

My questions are these:

In the face of this evidence, who can doubt the cooperation between the Communist Party and the Conference for New Politics?

Who can doubt the cooperation between the Conference for New Politics and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the other Mississippi organizations and individuals referred to, or the participation of those organizations and individuals in the convention and activities of the NCNP?

Who can doubt that the political activities of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are in furtherance of the general objectives of the National Conference for New Politics; or, to put it another way, that these political activities of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are a part of the drive to bring about Negro revolution in this country?

How much of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's budget of more than $140,000 for political operations in Mississippi during the second 6 months of 1967 has been supplied, either directly or indirectly, by the Communist Party or by organizations or individuals connected with or influenced by the Communist Party?

How much of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's budget for its operations during 1968 will be similarly supplied?

How much is the National Council of Churches going to contribute to the activities of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party or for its operations?

I hope, Mr. President, that the Internal Security Subcommittee will hold public hearings on the National Conference for New Politics and its activities, and that these hearings will supply positive answers to these questions, and to similar questions applicable to other areas of the country where the black power movement is making itself felt.

We are approaching a crisis in this country, where it will be determined whether law and order is to triumph over revolution and anarchy, whether black power is to be substituted, either in the country as a whole or in any of our States, for normal and peaceful political processes; and whether the Communist Party, U.S.A., is to be permitted to grasp the reins of political power through the mechinations of the National Conference for New Politics and other cooperating organizations.

Unless we meet this crisis with firmness and resolution, unless we free ourselves from an attitude which renders immune from criticism, and even immune from investigation, any organization or activity which chooses to wrap itself in the banner of so-called civil rights, this Nation may not awake to the realities of the situation until it is too late; and if the Communists are permitted to attain their objectives, the loss to all the people of this country, including the minority for whose alleged benefit the forces of revolution have been set in motion, will be irredeemable.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the pending bill, S. 2388, is known as the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967.

This is an original bill, prepared initially by the Subcommittee on Employment Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The subcommittee considered at some length the administration bill, and held extensive and quite unusual hearings, to which I will advert in a moment.

The purpose of the bill is twofold: First, to modernize, streamline, and bring up to date the original Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; and, second, to add thereto an emergency employment program, occasioned by reason of the disturbances in some 30 cities across the country this year—disturbances which resulted in an almost unanimous consensus of informed opinion that while there is no simple solution to the complex social problems and disorders which plagued so many of our cities this spring and summer, one thing is superabundantly clear, and that is the vital necessity to give useful employment to minority groups, both in rural and urban areas, old as well as young, but more young than old, who all too frequently have tended to be the ringleaders in those distressing violations of law and order which have caused so much concern, not only all over our country, but to friends of the United States all over the world.

Let me briefly refer to the preliminary work which has resulted in bringing this bill to the floor.

Last year, when I had the honor to floor manage the 1966 Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, there was great criticism from Senators that there had not been an adequate study in depth of the poverty program, which had then been in effect somewhat less than 2 years, having been passed in the late summer or early fall of 1964. Last year, we held only 4 days of hearings, listening mostly to administration witnesses, but also giving, to a brief and somewhat inadequate extent, an opportunity for other interested citizens and organizations to be heard.

When I brought the bill to the floor last year, I made a commitment that before we moved to the floor of the Senate with the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty would undertake to study the poverty program in substantial depth, so that when we came back with the legislation this year, the members of the subcommittee would know a great deal more about the program than they did last year, and would have made available, to other Senators and to the public generally, the results of a searching congressional investigation or inquiry into the poverty program.

On February 20, 1967, the Senate, through the Committee on Rules and Administration, authorized the subcommittee, in effect, to undertake a thorough examination of the war on poverty.

When we instituted that examination, I stated categorically that the inquiry would be neither a whitewash nor a witch hunt. I stated that we wanted to find out what was wrong with the legislative aspects of the war on poverty and the administrative aspects, too, in order that we might repair some of those deficiencies.

I also stated that we wanted to find out what was right about the administration program and the legislative guidelines which had been set down for regulating the conduct of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its extremely able Director, Mr. Sargent Shriver.

In the performance of those commitments, the subcommittee has conducted 33 days of public hearings in Washington and around the country. We heard 401 witnesses. Their testimony took 144 hours. We received countless statements for the record. We made 11 inspection trips in the field all over the United States.

I have been in the last 6 months to Jackson, Miss., Phoenix, Ariz., Albuquerque, N. Mex., San Francisco, Calif., and to the San Joaquin Valley in California to study the migrant program and rural poverty. I have been not only to Jackson, Miss., but also from there north to the Tennessee border, investigating and taking testimony with respect to abject poverty in the Mississippi Delta counties. I have been to Johnstown, Pa., Chicago, Ill., and New York cities.

My colleagues frequently accompanied me and, in order appropriately to share the burden, conducted hearings, at which I was not present, in Boston, Mass., Providence, R.I., and Sparta, Wis.

We studied in some depth poverty in the District of Columbia, including a couple of field trips. We retained a consultant who made separate investigation of the administration of the poverty program in each of the seven regions into which the Office of Economic Opportunity is divided for administrative purposes in the United States.

Each of those seven consultants studied five areas, city or rural areas, in each of those regions. So, we have 35 separate consultant reports on poverty programs in 35 communities in the seven regions.

We have also received 18 staff reports from consultants who studied various aspects of the organization, administration, and implementation of the poverty program. For example, they studied seven State technical assistance agencies involving a sample of the program in 26 States. They interviewed more than 1,000 persons.

Six other consultants wrote special studies for the committee, with particular concentration on statistical analyses of the manpower program.

The subcommittee's effort is contained in 18 volumes of hearings and eight volumes of consultant and staff reports, the more important of which are presently looming high on the desk of every Senator.

At this stage the committee is ready to report on the first examination of the poverty program. We deal with the Economic Opportunity Act, its operation and what legislative changes should be made.

The report which accompanied S. 2388, therefore, encompasses both the findings of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty and the committee's legislative recommendations as contained in the reported bill.

Here is a copy of the report which is also on the desk of all Senators. I think I can say with accuracy that this is an unusually comprehensive report, including as it does 223 pages of findings of fact, conclusions, and recommendations.

Included in the report are minority views signed by all six members of the Republican minority which, generally speaking, commend the Economic Opportunity Act and its administration, and take credit—appropriate and just credit—for many changes made in the bill at the behest of the minority, and list those changes, eight in number.

In addition, there are supplemental views filed by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], to which I take grave exception, and with which I will deal in detail later on during the debate.

There are also supplemental and somewhat differing views of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], with which I also find myself in substantial disaccord.

There are supplemental views of the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], with respect to which I regretfully make the same comment.

There are extensive supplemental views of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], very well conceived views if one accepts his point of view—which I do not—but views which will have to be met in the course of the debate if those of us in the majority are to carry the burden of pressing this bill to enactment in the Senate.

Mr. President, I have spoken on what has taken place so far in our investigation and of what is contained in the report currently available to Members of the Senate. However, a second and final report will deal in a more general way with the total array of Federal programs affecting the poor, for we must remember that only a small part of the funding in the war on poverty is encompassed in the Economic Opportunity Act amendments which are presently before the Senate.

As the President pointed out in his comprehensive message some months ago dealing with urban and rural poverty, approximately $25 billion of Federal funds are in the budget this year for programs which have a direct impact on poverty, but only less than $2 billion is directly under the administration of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The remainder is in such areas as primary and secondary education, including technical and vocational education; manpower training of many kinds; health programs; higher education programs; welfare programs; the vast array of programs to help the poor which, from time to time, have been authorized by Congress and are presently being administered by a host of Federal agencies.

On the basis of the examination which the committee has made to date, we have come to five general conclusions.

First. The magnitude of poverty in America continues to be a serious national problem and deserves continuing national attention. The United States has experienced steady progress in the reduction of poverty for 30 years, and this progress has accelerated since the inception of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I should point out that the first real poverty programs began in the early days of the New Deal, in the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Two of the programs achieved the greatest "notoriety."

One was the PWA program—the Public Works Administration—which put millions of Americans then out of work to work on useful public works projects, the results of which shine out in grandeur all over the United States today and bear living testimony to the wisdom of President Roosevelt and his administration.

The second program was known as the WPA, or Works Progress Administration, subject to strenuous criticism at the time, sneers about men leaning on shovels and raking leaves. Very little public recognition was given to the spiritual value of that program in saving the souls as well as the bodies of millions of Americans. As an example, some of the finest art that came out of the thirties was painted and sculpted by artists who did not know where to look for the next meal, in view of the massive unemployment of those days and the fact that there were no longer any rich people to buy the product of their labor. Some of that art will live in history. This is just one example of the overall benefit which the WPA program achieved.

So I say, Mr. President, that the war on poverty has been going on now for the better part of 35 years; and yet, today, almost 30 million Americans are still poor. Who are the poor today? They comprise about 11 million households. About 12½ million of the roughly 30 million poor, 43 percent of the total, are children under 18—far too many of them living in homes without a man at the head of the household, far too many of them illegitimate children, far too many of them children in families so large that one wonders how their mothers can support them on the meager welfare grants which are available in many States.

At least 1,500,000 of the poor are young adults between the ages of 19 and 21. Most of them by then are out of school. Most of them are unable to find jobs because they do not have the technical qualifications which only a liberal arts or a technical or a vocational education could give them, to enable them to obtain useful employment.

Five million aged Americans are impoverished. Eight million additional Americans are saved from the quicksands of poverty only by their usually totally inadequate social security benefits. About 5,700,000 of the latter are 65 years of age or over.

The second conclusion to which the committee has come is that the basic programs authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act are desirable and should be continued. However, the experience of the last 3 years has shown a number of ways in which administration can be improved and how the legislation can be strengthened. The committee's report proposes a number of administrative improvements, and the reported bill embodies the committee's legislative recommendations. In many instances, it seemed better to put the recommendations in the RECORD in order to give adequate flexibility to the administrating agency. In others, it seemed wise to the committee to write the recommendation into the proposed legislation. This has been done, and this is one reason why we were unable to accept the administration bill and decided, as a result of our extensive study, that we would bring in a clean bill.

The third point we make is that the Office of Economic Opportunity has been an essential national instrument for focusing attention on the problems of poverty, for serving as an advocate for the poor within the Federal Government, and for conducting and overseeing a number of useful programs.

Let me expand a bit on the third point. Whitney M. Young, Jr., the executive director of the National Urban League, testified before the subcommittee:

> Destruction of the Office of Economic Opportunity would turn out to be the destruction of the most ambitious innovative and imaginative program the Nation has ever undertaken to help the poor become self-sufficient.

We considered carefully in our deliberations—I should say, Mr. President, that we had eight executive sessions, each of which lasted a couple of hours or more—such questions as: Is the Office of Economic Opportunity necessary? Is it desirable to have a separate agency in the Executive Office of the President as the command post for the war on poverty? Or should the OEO be abolished and all its functions turned over to other Federal agencies? A majority of the committee determined that the answer to that question should be "Yes"—OEO is necessary. It should not be abolished. Its programs should not be spun off.

During the course of the coming debate, amendments will be proposed to spin off a number of the OEO programs to other conventional bureaucratic agencies of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, I use that word "bureaucrat" in no invidious sense, for every agency of every department which has more than a few Government employees is a bureaucracy; some are good, some are bad, and most are indifferent.

However, the majority concluded that it would be a mistake to spin off any of these programs and that Mr. YOUNG was correct that it would be a serious mistake to eliminate the OEO. Most of the minority disagreed. They think, for example, that the vastly successful Headstart program should be transferred to the Office of Education. They think the same of the embryonic Followthrough program, which is an effort to carry youngsters, who have successfully met the challenge of Headstart, through the first couple of years of school so that the benefit of the Headstart program would not be lost in utterly inadequate schooling sometimes provided in many of our States for the first, second, and third grades, particularly in the urban and rural slums, where, the record shows, without peradventure of doubt, that the child of a slum family starts behind and falls further behind the longer he or she stays in school. One of the major efforts of the poverty program must be to see that that does not happen. In the opinion of the majority of the committee, the way to keep it from happening is to keep OEO's finger on the tiller, where it is now. Because of OEO and the poverty program this Nation has begun to come to grips with poverty problems.

OEO has placed poverty in the public spotlight and it has served as a rallying point for a broad spectrum of our citizens who want to eliminate poverty—businessmen, labor union officials, religious leaders, State and local officials, social welfare professionals, minority group leaders, and hundreds of thousands of plain citizens and, most of all, the poor themselves.

OEO has been an experimenter, an originator of pilot projects, a designer of new programs which have the potential for solving problems of poverty. If OEO were abolished its unique contribution could not be duplicated by any other agency. Worst of all, the poor, whose hopes have been raised, would feel a deep sense of repudiation.

The time may come, and the time will come within the foreseeable future, when the administration of the poverty program will have been such a success, and local school boards will have become so fired with the idealism inherent in programs like Headstart and Follow Through, that it will be administratively sound and wise to transfer these programs to other governmental agencies.

However, there is a strong feeling by the majority of the committee that that time has not yet come. When it does come, and I hope it comes soon, I shall be the first person to advocate the transfer.

I should point out, Mr. President, that it is only in relatively rare instances that the OEO itself actually administers the programs which some persons presently desire to have spun off.

In the usual instance the OEO delegates to the older and more conventional bureaucracy the actual operation of the program, but by retaining a finger on the paycheck and by setting standards which it insists shall be complied with as a condition to receiving a Federal grant, OEO, without bringing up a bureaucracy all its own, is able to control standards of operation by others of programs that some presently desire to spin off.

The view I have just expressed is not merely the committee's point of view. This may surprise many of my colleagues. It is the opinion of nearly every witness who appeared before the committee at its hearings throughout the country, both poor and nonpoor, both white and Negro, Spanish-American and native Protestant.

Of all 400 witnesses, only two advocated abolishing OEO and the transfer of its functions to other agencies. Not one witness recommended termination of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.

I should say here that those 400 witnesses were not, as is intimated in one of the minority reports, carefully selected and screened individuals with a preconception of Mr. Shriver and his organization. We heard everybody who wanted to be heard. I pleaded with the minority to bring in their own witnesses. Every now and then they did. This was no whitewash, but I say again, neither was it a witch hunt.

Nevertheless, OEO's contribution to American life has not been without difficulty. We found a lot of things wrong with OEO. There are a lot of things that are still wrong with OEO today and it is only very recently, indeed, that the agency has begun to achieve sound internal management. Let us remember that the OEO Act was passed in the late summer of 1964. It was in many ways a jerry-built organization. It was put together with scotch tape and baling wire.

Mr. Shriver was called out of the Peace Corps and was given two hats to wear, one for the Peace Corps, and one for the Office of Economic Opportunity. He had to put together an organization almost overnight, and it is a great tribute actually that the first grants were made by OEO in November of 1964, only 6 weeks after the appropriation for the agency was approved.

Mr. Shriver and his assistants had a great feeling of urgency. They wished to launch an all-out attack on poverty, and they did. Within the limitations inherent in the time and organization of the agency, in my opinion, they have done overall an excellent job with some exceptions.

Let us remember that most Federal agencies take from 3 to 6 months, and sometimes as long as a year, to get a new program underway.

Much of the early application review was done by the senior staff which made policy decisions on an ad hoc basis as issues arose. This worked well for awhile. By the summer of 1965 the process was beginning to bog down and that is when the criticism began to buzz. Much of that criticism was justified. Some of it is still justified. But under the whiplash—if I may say so—of the subcommittee, an alert press, and the keen interest taken by community action agencies all over the United States in the program—many of them very critical, indeed, of the administration of the OEO—the administration of the program has been steadily and constantly improved until, in my opinion, today it is at least as good, if not better, than that of many far more seasoned Federal agencies.

For example, it was not until January of 1966 that a joint management survey team of Federal officials assigned to develop a better organization and more effective procedures went into action. There was a 6-month delay in initiating the improvements. That is a source of some of the difficulty which is still plaguing the OEO.

This interagency team presented its report in June of 1966 and by now virtually all of its 68 recommendations have been put into effect.

In the 15 months since June of 1966, OEO has carried forward a process of administrative decentralization in seven regional offices. The view of the subcommittee in its hearing, and in studies by its experts, is that most of the current administration difficulties come into focus in these regional offices. There has been, on the one hand, too much delay and redtape in passing on requests for funding from local community action programs which go to the regional offices and sometimes have to be submitted to Washington for final approval.

There has been too much delay in Washington getting back to the regional offices, and the regional offices, in turn, getting back to the local community action agencies and other local groups administering a part of the poverty program.

The final decision was as to whether—and if so, how—the request for funding was to be granted. Based on a yearlong study by McKinsey & Co., Inc., retained by Mr. Shriver and his organization, OEO is presently reorganizing its regional offices and is instituting a series of uniform procedures which, if properly implemented, should remedy many of the difficulties.

I think the subcommittee can take some credit for having pressed the OEO to move effectively in that direction.

In short, the committee has found that the administrative practices of the OEO have shortcomings. The committee, however, is also convinced that the shortcomings can be, and are being, remedied. As these defects are taken care of, OEO will be in a much better position to serve as the command post for the poverty program and lead the way to achievement of the goal which President Johnson has held up to the American people.

THE ELIMINATION OF THE SCOURGE OF POVERTY

Mr. President, to summarize again the third point, our third general conclusion is that the OEO has been an essential national instrument in focusing attention on the problems of poverty by serving as an advocate of the poor within the Federal Government, and for conducting and overseeing a number of useful programs.

The OEO should, therefore, continue in operation under the changes recommended, administrative and legislative changes both, as recommended in the report and in the bill.

At this point, I think it would be helpful to quote from President Johnson's message to Congress entitled "America's Unfinished Business; Urban and Rural Poverty," wherein he says:

> We have recognized that public housing, minimum wages, and welfare services could not, standing alone, change the bleak environment of deprivation for millions of poor families. A successful strategy requires a breakthrough on many fronts—education, health, jobs and job training, housing, public assistance, transportation, recreation, clean air, and adequate water supplies.
>
> The basic conditions of life for the poor—

Said the President—

> must and can be changed.

The fourth major conclusion to which the committee came was that one of the major, unsolved problems of the poverty program is the lack of sufficient coordination among the wide variety of programs which serve the poor.

This problem exists at the Federal, State, and local levels, and in layers between these layers.

Accordingly, the reported bill contains a number of proposed remedies for the difficulties, remedies we thought to be necessary to put in the legislation and in the report because of our strong view that one of the weaknesses in the administration of the program was in the area of coordination.

Thus, I should like to direct a few words to the subject of coordination and explain what the bill and report do in this regard.

George Niccolo, commissioner of the community development agency in New York City, who testified before the subcommittee, told us:

> It is difficult enough to plan programs involving multiple funding sources, but when a number of Federal agencies do not plan together, it becomes almost impossible to plan essential multiple funding projects.

When the President announced unconditional war on poverty in the United States in January of 1964, he defined that war in terms of the concerted use of all the weapons at the Government's command, and all existing programs with an impact upon the problems of the poor, plus new programs to be enacted. As the new programs, which eventually became the OEO Act of 1964, were developed, two organizational possibilities were available.

First, these programs could be assigned to existing agencies, to be administered in coordination with existing programs relating to the elimination of poverty.

Second, they could be assigned to the new agency which was being set up in the executive office of the President as the command post for the war on poverty in the OEO.

The former alternative was chosen for six of the 10 new programs; that is to say, they were assigned to existing agencies. These programs were the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the college work-study program, the adult basic education program, rural loans, small business loans, and work-experience and training.

Except for this latter, work-experience and training, which was assigned to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, statutory responsibility was placed in the Office of Economic Opportunity, but delegated by the Director to existing Federal agencies; and to those I referred a few moments ago.

In the case of the college work-study and adult basic education, the programs were later transferred by statute.

The four remaining original programs were assigned to OEO for direct operation, including the two that were the most complex, innovative, far reaching, and costly—the Job Corps and the community action programs, VISTA, or Volunteers in Service to America, and the migrant labor program.

While most of the Economic Opportunity Act dealt with the authorization of the 10 new programs, four sections were included to provide a statutory basis for OEO's role as Government-wide coordinator across-the-board—meaning programs which were never remotely in OEO but were part of the overall war on poverty—programs embracing general education and college work; that is to say, sections 604, 611, 612, and 613 of the act.

These sections specifically charge the OEO Director with "coordination of antipoverty efforts by all segments of the Federal Government." That is section 604. In the same section a Cabinet-level Economic Opportunity Council, chaired by the Director, is created to assist him.

Section 611 empowers the Director to obtain data and reports from other agencies regarding their antipoverty programs and directs them to cooperate with him.

Section 613 authorizes the Director to establish an information center on all Federal antipoverty programs and to make information available to States and communities.

Section 612 directs all agencies, within limits of feasibility and legal authority, to give preference to projects which are elements of approved community action programs.

All this, of course, deals with coordination at the Federal level.

At the community level, the community action agency was designed as a mechanism with a coordinating role analogous to that of OEO at the Federal level.

The community action program would, in the language of existing law (sec. 202(a)(1)), "mobilize" and "utilize" public and private resources in the attack on poverty, as well as provide direct services.

There are presently over 1,000 of these local community action agencies. I would be less than candid if I did not say some of them are better than others. Some of them are working splendidly. Some of them are working badly. Most of them are working, in my opinion, pretty well, all things considered; and I am confident that they are working better every day, as constant supervision over administration at local, State, and national levels is constantly improving.

We must remember the very difficult coordinating problem that exists when, for example, a Headstart program is put underway in, let us say, a Pennsylvania community, or in any community in any State in the Union. Theoretically, the Headstart program is under the jurisdiction of the local community action program. This means that the community action agency has to get an authorization for funding out of Washington.

That application has to go first to the regional office of OEO. Then it goes to the top office for approval, except to the extent—and this is becoming more and more the case—where authority has been decentralized, under very strict guidelines, to the regional office to make the decision, subject to the right of appeal.

Having gotten the money, then the local community action agency has to go to the local school board and hope to find it sufficiently cooperative, as in many instances it is, but in many instances it is not, so that it will provide classroom space and teachers to take on the Headstart project. And when the local school board either cannot or will not cooperate, then, as I have seen with my own eyes in places in Mississippi and elsewhere, the community action agency has to find some public-spirited citizen or citizens who will find some shack or some abandoned dwelling, or frequently make available their own dwelling, where the program can be conducted, and also has to find the individuals adequately qualified—and it does not take a trained psychiatrist to run a Headstart program—to take care of the kids.

But this is only a part of it, because one of the great benefits of the Headstart program is the involvement of parents in this work. Many of these children come from the homes of illiterate parents. In many of these homes there has never been a book. In many of these homes there is only the most rudimentary undertanding of measures of public health and sanitation. So the coordination of a program like this is a very difficult one.

I have not mentioned the States, because in many States, although not all, because the laws are so different, the State superintendent of education would have something to say, and so would the State welfare commissioner and the State department of health.

I make these comments only because of the desirability of indicating the immense complexity of the coordinating task and because OEO is assigned the formidable task of organizing new programs of unusual difficulty and sensitivity. Because of this task, the agency adopted a conscious strategy of dealing with the coordination of other antipoverty programs only as that became necessary to the implementation of the programs for which it was responsible.

This was probably a good short-term decision, but it was an impossible way to run an agency on a long-term basis.

This became apparent once the programs got well underway and the need for further coordination was understood. Nevertheless, OEO does list a number of accomplishments in its capacity as coordinator. It is the view of the committee that these are real accomplishments and that the OEO has good reason to be proud.

First, it has developed, for internal use only, a national antipoverty plan, projecting for 5 years recommended funding levels for antipoverty programs throughout the Government and proposing new programs and program modifications.

I may say that, in what I consider personally to be an utterly unjustifiable exercise of executive privilege, the Director of the OEO, under instructions from higher authority, refused to make that 5-year program available to the committee. In the bill, we require him to do so. How effective that will be with higher authority in the light of present rulings on executive privilege, one may perhaps leave to the imagination. But we do not want it to be said on behalf of Congress that that kind of information which has nothing whatever to do with the national security should not be made available to every Member of Congress.

The second achievement in coordination is that OEO has stimulated and taken a leading part in discussions of basic questions of policy, such as income maintenance proposals—this, as Senators know, being what was considered a good many years ago a far-out suggestion that we should substitute for current welfare programs a proposal or a program under which every man, woman, and child in the United States should receive a minimum allowance for subsistence.

In my view, we are a good long way from that. The time may come—and it will come unless we can bolster up our present welfare and social security systems to take far better care of the almost 30 million impoverished citizens with whom we are dealing today.

The third achievement in coordination is that, through technical assistance grants, it has provided each State with an agency, usually located in the Governor's office, which has the potential for dealing with a wide range of State and Federal-State functions.

The fourth achievement is that, through grants to community action agencies, it has encouraged the formation of broadly based agencies which in many communities are contributing to the coordination of Federal assistance programs at the receiving end. It has negotiated "checkpoint" procedures with Labor, HUD, and agencies of HEW to assure that applications for aid under their programs are submitted for comment to community action agencies.

The fifth achievement in coordination is that OEO has encouraged and funded projects, such as neighborhood centers, which have a special potential for mobilizing and coordinating community resources.

This, Mr. President, is a very great achievement in coordination at the local level, and will be immeasurably assisted by the bill we passed yesterday, which gives to HUD a substantial amount of money to acquire neighborhood community facilities in which community action agencies can conduct their neighborhoodwide program, bringing under one roof, as I saw done in Phoenix, Ariz., this spring, all the multiple agencies dealing with welfare, health, education, job placement, and a score of other programs which bring badly needed services to the poor.

This sixth achievement in coordination is that OEO has combined its funds with assistance from other agencies, such as the Department of Labor, to undertake joint projects. This is a real achievement in a Federal bureaucracy, with all the jealousies which usually afflict inter-agency projects. OEO has been able, not only with Labor but with HEW and to some extent with HUD, to work out joint projects where they do the job together, without too much concern for who is going to receive the ultimate credit.

The seventh achievement is that the OEO has established an information center with data, county by county, on 160 programs.

The dissemination of this information all across the country, available to all 1,000 community action agencies, results in a spread of knowledge to make the most successful projects available for consideration by many other agencies. This is a very real achievement.

I point out as an example the opportunities industrialization centers, organized first in Philadelphia by that inspired Baptist minister, Rev. Leon Sullivan, which have had fantastic success in training the poor for useful employment, with the assistance of private industry which helps with on-the-job training. As our testimony shows, this was not only a fantastic success in Philadelphia, but as a result of the dissemination of information of which I have been speaking, similar programs have been instituted in 45 other cities.

We know they will not work in all 45, and the reason is that this kind of project requires inspired leadership of the type which Dr. Sullivan has so amply given. Where that kind of leadership can be obtained, it is going to work, and it is working in many another city.

The eighth achievement in coordination is similar to the one I have just outlined. It is the publishing of a "Federal Catalog of Programs for the Improvement of the Community and the Individual." In its information and training centers, the OEO has sought to cover the whole range of Government antipoverty activities, and make all of that information available in every community.

I might say that in Johnstown, Pa., I saw a U.S. Employment Service agency carrying on this antipoverty work under an inspired local director, and making all of these programs available to the wide range of the poor in both rural and urban Cambria County, Pa. This was a magnificent, splendid example of the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of useful information.

The final achievement in coordination is that the Economic Opportunity Council has organized multiagency projects to deal with problems of displaced farmworkers in the Mississippi Delta, problems of Indians on reservations, and consumer programs. This I have seen with my own eyes both on an Indian reservation in New Mexico and in the delta counties of Mississippi.

But not all is well in connection with coordination. There is much that is not good at all. For that reason, the subcommittee is recommending a number of changes in legislation and in administrative practices.

There remain very serious problems. Many of these show up, not in Washington, but at the local level, where the services are actually delivered. A constantly recurring theme in the subcommittee's field hearings and consequent study is the complaint of lack of effective coordination among Federal programs. I observe the able junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] in the Chamber. I point out to him that Gov. John A. Volpe of Massachusetts, observed that coordination is paramount among the problems which have made themselves apparent in the operations of the antipoverty program.

One of the committee's consultants documented the interagency difficulties of following through on the President's speech made in Syracuse, N.Y., on August 19, 1966, calling for "the establishment in every ghetto in America of a neighborhood center to serve the people who live there." However, not until June of 1967, 10 months later, were any grants made, and these only for planning of pilot projects in 14 cities.

The committee has itself experienced the frustrations in dealing with several agencies on crucial problems of this sort as it has tried to stimulate the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, and the Office of Economic Opportunity to respond quickly to the problem of hunger in America, which the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] and I saw so graphically before us in the inspection trip we made on a long, hot day in the Mississippi Delta country. This problem I know exists also in areas in Appalachia as well as in many urban ghettos.

It is so difficult to get these old-styled, entrenched bureaucracies off their rear-ends, if I may be mildly vulgar. We started at the top and worked down. Finally we got some action. However, it was like trying to pour molasses outdoors in the middle of winter in Vermont.

Coordinated activities would help. However, in the opinion of the committee, section 612, which requires other Federal programs to give preference to components of community action programs, has been found unworkable in any literal sense because community action agencies usually do not develop comprehensive programs embracing programs funded outside of the Economic Opportunity Act.

As I pointed out earlier, only about one-tenth of the programs dealing with poverty in America in terms of funding are within the coverage of the Economic Opportunity Act or the Office of Economic Opportunity. And this is because other Federal agencies are generally unwilling and not disposed to honor the preferences which are established pursuant to section 612. Even the preference provision for programs funded by the OEO Act, and this is section 212, has little application. The OEO has substituted the checkpoint procedure to achieve the same objective.

The Economic Opportunity Council has been a useful forum for communications among Federal agencies and for discussion of some relatively minor problems of coordination on an ad hoc basis, but it has not served, in the opinion of the committee, as an effective tool for concerted action with coordinated followthrough. In this respect, it has the same weaknesses that we have seen so often in other interdepartmental committees.

If we are going to try to coordinate programs among various Federal programs, or State or local agencies as I know from my experience as mayor, there has got to be a coordinator with enough power to require coordination.

Mr. Shriver, sitting on this Interagency Committee as Economic Opportunity Director, presumably speaks with the voice of the President because he is located in the Executive Office of the President.

Try to tell that to the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, or to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who sit in the Cabinet and consider themselves to some extent the superior, if not the peer, of the estimable gentleman who happens to have the titular right to say that he is in the Executive Office of the President in the White House.

So we have made a number of legislative recommendations to improve coordination. To start with, with respect to coordination at the Federal level, the committee bill completely rewrites part B of title VI of the original act, which deals with Federal coordination. It revises the Economic Opportunity Council, which is section 631, to provide the President a more versatile tool which he can use in assuring that Federal antipoverty efforts are well coordinated, for ultimately only the Chief Executive has final jurisdiction in resolving interdepartmental difficulties.

The bill does not name any specific members of the Council other than the Director of the OEO, but rather permits the President to designate whom he chooses from time to time and to appoint the Chairman. It gives the Council far stronger powers than at present, including the following ways in which he can assist the President:

First, it provides for coordination of Federal programs and activities related to the Economic Opportunity Act.

Second, it develops basic policies and sets priorities with respect to such programs and activities.

Third, and this is important, it resolves differences arising among Federal departments and agencies with respect to such programs and activities.

Fourth, it initiates and arranges for the carrying out of specific actions or projects designed to achieve the objectives of the act.

As important as these new powers is the creation of a full-time Executive Secretary with his own staff to serve the Council and to follow through on Council actions. He would be a level 2 executive appointed by the President, similar in rank to the Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

This is done by giving the same authority as the President himself possesses while permitting him full power to delegate authority by creating a full-time staff with loyalty to the Council, as opposed to administrators lent on a part-time basis by existing agencies.

The committee hopes that coordination at the Federal level can be substantially improved.

The bill contains additional provisions to achieve this result. It requires the Director of OEO to conduct continuing studies and evaluations, to identify problems of coordination, and to propose solutions. That is section 632.

It requires Federal agencies to cooperate with the Council and the Director, and it authorizes the President to direct agencies to carry out programs and functions in conjunction with the poverty program. That is section 633.

It encourages combinations of Federal projects and programs. That is section 634.

It sets forth procedures for joint funding. That is section 612.

Thus, it builds into the legislation itself procedures which have been used in some instances, and used pretty satisfactorily, for achieving these results, in the hope that, by giving a legislative mandate, the coordination will be vastly improved.

The legislation contains and expands the role of the information center. That is section 635.

It retains a provision of the original act which prohibits duplication of functions. That is section 636.

It retains a previous amendment designed to achieve greater coordination of manpower training programs. That is section 637.

I must say parenthetically that one of the things that concerned the subcommittee the most was the inadequate coordination of manpower programs. We saw in Greenfield, Miss., for example, relatively illiterate Negroes being taught under the Manpower Development Training Act to read and write.

It was hoped that after a year of this effort, they would achieve a level of fifth-grade education. Yet, the MDTA told us that unless one had a 10th-grade education, there was no job available anywhere in the county or, indeed, anywhere in the region.

We found young women being trained to be nurses' aides in a State which refused to accept Negro girls as nurses' aides.

So, there is a lot to be done in coordination in this area.

To give long-range perspective to coordinated Federal efforts to combat poverty, the bill requires the Director to prepare a 5-year national poverty action plan. That is section 632, subsection 3.

This plan should consider alternative periods of time in which poverty in America could be eliminated and should estimate Federal and other governmental expenditures and also contributions of the private sector necessary to achieve these alternative goals.

This plan should encompass all Federal programs related to the elimination of poverty, without regard to whether they are administered by the OEO, and should indicate what new programs might be necessary.

I say again, as I said earlier, that this plan is in existence. But they will not show it to the committee. They will not show it to Congress. I say again that this exercise of executive privilege, to my way of thinking, is unjustifiable and untenable.

One other means of coordination—the use of delegation powers—remains unchanged from existing law—section 602(h). Although the Director delegated six of the original 10 programs to other Federal agencies, the initial delegation orders contained no built-in controls which would assure coordination. However, new manpower programs, added last year—Nelson-Scheuer, and the Kennedy-Javits special impact programs—were delegated to the Department of Labor, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps was redelegated. This time the delegation instrument was broader in its scope and established a firm foundation for program coordination. One of the reasons the committee is opposed to the statutory transfer of programs from OEO to other agencies is that the delegation route offers a much higher potential for establishing an effective system of coordination.

Mr. President, for a brief moment, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

2. STATE COORDINATION

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I now turn to the question of State coordination.

The original act provided two roles for the States. The first was technical assistance, and all of the States established technical assistance agencies—although

Indiana has since discontinued its agency. These agencies have been useful instruments in getting poverty programs started, especially in rural communities. The second role was the right of a Governor to disapprove projects, subject to an override by the Director for programs under titles I-B and II provided by a 1965 amendment. These were the Neighborhood Youth Corps and community action programs. This veto has been used 15 times during the first 3 fiscal years of the act, and the Director's override has been used twice. In an unknown number of instances the threat of the Governor's veto has led to the modification of a local program.

The committee has concluded that the roles given the States are too limited. The Governor's veto is essentially a negative role, and technical assistance, while useful, does not go far enough. Yet, a few States, such as New Jersey and Massachusetts, have shown that the States can potentially make a significant contribution to the poverty program. This is especially true for the coordination of Federal programs which are channeled through State governments and for programs which the States themselves finance.

Therefore, the committee bill allows the Director to provide financial assistance to State agencies not only for technical assistance but also to assist in coordinating State activities related to the poverty program. It would be up to a State to embark upon such coordinating efforts, but OEO could help finance the operation. These functions could be carried out for both the community action program—section 231—and the work and training program—section 129. The bill also gives the States a role in advising the Director of OEO and the Economic Opportunity Council. It allows for joint funding of certain projects which combine State and Federal funds and retains the Governor's veto in the same form as existing law—sections 114, 231, and 810.

The question of the Governor's veto is a vexing and controversial one. I know that many Senators on the other side of the aisle believe that it should be reinstated in full force. I know that my able colleague, the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], feels very strongly that the Governor should not have an ultimate right of veto; and I have no doubt there will be a lively controversy about that matter on the floor of the Senate before the matter is finally determined. The committee has indicated its view in support of Senator YARBOROUGH's position.

3. LOCAL COORDINATION

Program coordination is not an end in itself but only a means to an end. Coordination provides a means of dealing with complex, interconnected problems in their totality and of serving program participants as whole persons. In this perspective, the most important locale of coordination for the poverty program is at the community level where the poor live and work. Therefore, Federal and State programs must be organized to facilitate, not impede, local coordination.

The committee has concluded that the key to effective local coordination is the existence of a capable local agency with jurisdiction broad enough to deal with a variety of programs and with sufficient leverage to mobilize community resources. One of the best ways to obtain such leverage is through control over the allocation and expenditure of funds, such as those which come to the community under the Economic Opportunity Act.

This observation has led the committee to propose that the community action agency should be perceived as a prime sponsor for receiving and allocating community action funds—section 210. As prime sponsor it would not be expected to operate all programs directly but instead would channel funds to delegate agencies. But in determining what programs would be funded and by attaching conditions to the expenditure of funds, the community action agency would be in a position to bring about coordination. This, in fact, is what the most effective community action agencies are already doing, and this approach should be extended. As a planning and coordinating body, the community action agency would be required to adopt a systematic approach to the implementation of programs and the utilization of funds—section 220(b).

I point out that the concept here is to reduce authority to the lowest possible level as close as possible to the poor themselves. It is the view of the committee that the community action agencies in these thousand communities are far better able to deal with the wide variety of programs and administration which arise under this act than is any bureaucracy in Washington, be it in the OEO or elsewhere, or even at the State level. Therefore, our effort has been not to earmark programs but to leave a wide variety of decision to the community action agencies at the local level, having, in the end, implicit confidence in the successful workings of American democracy. If you cannot make these programs work at the local level, no bureaucrat is going to be able to make them work by issuing orders from Washington.

However, as the planning and coordinating role of the community action agency is strengthened, it will be necessary to assure that the agency is broadly representative of the community and does not represent a narrow segment—section 213.

Furthermore, it should be encouraged to use delegate agencies which would actually operate many of the programs—section 215. This role as prime sponsor would apply both to programs locally designed—section 220—and national emphasis programs, such as Headstart and legal service—section 221.

I should, perhaps, explain that these various programs are, roughly speaking, broken into two categories of what are called national emphasis programs, where OEO has indicated certain programs such as Headstart or the Neighborhood Youth Corps should be instituted, or communities where the program is being carried into effect. As I shall explain at greater length later, 50 percent of the funds are set aside for national emphasis programs. The other 50 percent of the funds are to be utilized in such a way as the local community action agency may determine.

The role as prime sponsor would apply to both programs locally designed—section 220—and national emphasis programs, such as Headstart and legal services—section 221.

However, the Director would have certain options to fund statewide or regional agencies to operate programs where community action agencies do not exist, as they do not in many rural areas of this country—section 212—or to fund independent agencies directly if it would better serve the purposes of the act—section 220(c). That would be in rare instances where a local community action agency has gotten out of hand and is no longer a reputable group.

The committee bill would extend the concept of prime sponsor to the work and training programs of part B of title I. This part B is a pulling together of most of the local programs, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and other programs which operate at the local level and deal with manpower and employment.

Generally the prime sponsor would be the community action agency unless the Director determines that an alternative agency is likely to have greater capability—section 12(b). As with the community action program, the work and training prime sponsor would be required to adopt a systematic approach—section 123(d)—and would be encouraged to use delegate agencies—section 122(d). Here, too, the Director would have the option of using State agencies—section 129—or other independent agencies—section 123(c)—under certain circumstances.

This brings me to the fifth general conclusion reached by the committee. As desirable as these new programs are, the United States has not yet committed sufficient resources nor developed all the programs needed to eliminate poverty in the foreseeable future. During the second phase of the study the subcommittee intends to study what else is needed to do the total job. Meanwhile, the committee is recommending the adoption of the Emergency Employment Act in order to make an immediate impact upon the lack of job opportunity in areas of severe concentrations of poverty and unemployment.

During the course of our hearings, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] pressed Mr. Shriver pretty hard with respect to his plans for eliminating poverty in the United States in the next 10 years, as he had expressed himself as being able to do, if he got sufficient support from the President and Congress.

Mr. Shriver, as I indicated, was reluctant to respond to the questioning of the Senator from Rhode Island. Senator PELL said to him:

> Mr. Shriver, if the poverty program continues to be funded at the rate recommended by the President in his budget message this year, how long will it be before the war is won?

Mr. Shriver squirmed in his seat, like a loyal representative of the President, ducking as best he could. He looked us in the eye, and said, "Never."

That is the problem which confronts

us in a world beset by war, with a military budget running in excess of $70 billion, and a $2.3 billion military construction bill, which only at the last moment was saved from being adopted by a voice vote with only three Senators in the Chamber.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I would like to inform the Senator from Pennsylvania that that is not quite the case. I did not know at that time what the majority leader's intention was. I later learned, upon his return to the floor, that it was his plan to go over until 3 p.m. on Monday. He did not arrive at that decision on the basis of any discussions that have lately transpired.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator from West Virginia, the acting majority leader. I have been heartened by this information which restores some of my confidence, for the Senate faces up to its responsibility by having a rollcall vote when the amounts involved run over $2 billion. I thank my friend from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the war on poverty——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. What is the definition of poverty?

Mr. CLARK. Poverty is defined as a level of income which, for a family of four, a wife, husband, and two children, does not exceed $3,000 a year. There would be a good deal of variation in that amount, depending, for example, on whether the family lived in the mountains of West Virginia or in Philadelphia, Pa. As the family increases, there would have to be modification.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Of course, there are mountains in Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. There are, indeed, beautiful mountains as those in West Virginia.

However, that is a rough and ready rule of thumb. The Senator from New York thinks that is too low an income level and it probably is for New York. I am sure that many persons in the South and in the Mountain States think that is too high. It has to be varied and flexible, but that is the rule of thumb.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. How would the Senator equate a $3,000 annual income today with, let us say, 1932?

Mr. CLARK. The Senator has me at a little bit of a disadvantage. I am trying to think through how much a 1932 dollar is worth today. My recollection is that it is about 25 cents, is it not?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. A $3,000 income today could, therefore, be equated with, let us say, $750 in annual income in 1932?

Mr. CLARK. Somewhere in that range. Of course, we have to remember not only the cost of living but I suppose, to a certain extent, some of the amenities of decent living today which were not even in existence then. I do not know if it is appropriate for a family living in poverty to have a television set. I am inclined to doubt it; they all do. I do not know whether they are entitled to have an old jalopy to take the children to school. I do not think that in 1932 they thought so, but they do today. So much of this developed without any plan that I find it difficult to apply the same standards to poverty today as one would have applied in the depths of the depression in 1932.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. If the Senator will yield further while I have interrupted him, would it not be better if the Headstart program were under the auspices of local school boards?

Mr. CLARK. I have to give the Senator a complicated answer to that question. I think in many, many school districts the answer would be clearly "Yes." But I have seen school districts where I would not turn it over to the local school board for all the tea in China.

This is largely a racial problem. It also has something to do with the competency of teachers. I do not want to be invidious and name States and locations, but the best answer I can give to the Senator is that, in my opinion, authority to delegate the local school boards should be always there in the director of the OEO, and he should be encouraged so to delegate unless, in his opinion—and I have seen some places where in my opinion this would happen—it would at least wreck the program by doing it.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Is the authority to operate the Headstart program vested within the local school boards in any jurisdictions throughout the country?

Mr. CLARK. No. The Director of OEO is given the authority with power to delegate. I should point out also to my friend that the Headstart program is not primarily an educational program. It is a child development program, as I mentioned earlier in my remarks, which includes in addition to an educational component, medical and dental services, nutritional and social services, and probably most important of all, parental involvement.

I have been to a score of these Headstart classes and have been extremely heartened by them. It would be difficult to convince oneself that the activities going on there are educational in anything other than the very broadest sense of the word. For example, many of the children are being taught the difference between their left and right hands. They are being taught things our parents taught us early in our lives.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Even so, would not these things be more within the capacity and capability of local schools than community action groups?

Mr. CLARK. If they want to, but there are so many cases and so many places where they do not. The Senator from West Virginia is an expert on the District of Columbia. I am not. I would hate to see a Headstart program turned over to the Board of Education in Washington, D.C., today.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I may disagree with the Senator on that.

Does the Director have the authority at the present time to delegate this responsibility to the local school boards?

Mr. CLARK. Oh, yes. He often does.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. In what percent of the Headstart programs throughout the country has he so done?

Mr. CLARK. One-third of the full year, and two-thirds of summer programs are run by the public school systems. The Senator appreciates the difference in administrative difficulty between a summer program, when the school boards are generally more relaxed and have more time, than in all-year-round programs, in which—with so many different school districts—there is not any room and no teacher to take on the additional load of a Headstart program.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I have had, in general, good reports concerning the operation of the Headstart program. Most of the criticism I have heard has been to the effect that it should be operated by the school systems.

Mr. CLARK. This is the strong lobbying position of the National Education Association and the teacher unions. There is an enormous vested interest in this country trying to get the Headstart program away from the OEO and to have it placed in the school boards. I have great respect for the National Education Association. I have quite a lot of respect for the various teacher unions. But we must recognize it for what it is; namely, a lobbying effort.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. With regard to VISTA, does the Governor of a State presently have the privilege of vetoing the operations of VISTA?

Mr. CLARK. Yes, he does.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. How many of such vetoes have occurred?

Mr. CLARK. I do not know of any. I am speaking off the cuff here. I can get the information for the Senator by Monday next. Generally speaking, the VISTA program, I know, has been in trouble in West Virginia. But West Virginia is one of the very few places where there has been any trouble. We have been proud of VISTA in Pennsylvania.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. There has been a great deal of trouble with VISTA in West Virginia. Can the Governor of West Virginia take action to preclude any further activities by VISTA in West Virginia?

Mr. CLARK. I am sorry, I did not hear the Senator's question.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Even though VISTA has been operating in West Virginia, can the Governor, at some future date, veto further activities of VISTA?

Mr. CLARK. It is my understanding that he can.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Did the Senator's subcommittee hold any hearings in West Virginia?

Mr. CLARK. No. We intend to do so. What happened was that because of administrative problems, the Senator's colleague [Mr. RANDOLPH] who is on the subcommittee, and I, were unable to agree on a date when I could go with him to West Virginia. We set three different dates. Something came up each time. It certainly was not his fault. I had other obligations. We fully intend to go there.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I know that the hearings had been announced and that the dates were changed from time to time. I did not know what the problems were. I wish that the subcommittee had conducted hearings in West Virginia.

Mr. CLARK. I can assure the Senator that we will.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I wish it had done so prior to the discussion on this bill because we have had problems with VISTA in West Virginia. I think it would have been good for the subcommittee, and for Congress, to know just precisely what the facts are regarding VISTA in West Virginia.

Mr. CLARK. I quite agree with the Senator.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I am sorry that the subcommittee did not conduct hearings in West Virginia. As I recall, I think I wrote to the distinguished chairman suggesting that hearings be conducted in Beckley, which is the county seat of my home county. Also, I believe, in Williamson in Mingo County.

Mr. CLARK. The reason we did not accept the invitation was that the Senator's colleague [Mr. RANDOLPH] had already selected Charleston and Princeton in West Virginia. I certainly do not want to pass the buck to the Senator's colleague [Mr. RANDOLPH], who is not here to defend himself. But I took it from him. I wanted to go where he wanted us to go.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Certainly, I am sure that my colleague needs no defense, but I say again, I wish that the subcommittee had held hearings in West Virginia prior to debate on the bill before us.

Mr. CLARK. I wonder whether the Senator is possibly confusing VISTA volunteers with the Appalachian volunteers, which are entirely different cases?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I am not at all sure that I may not be. Yet, I do not think I am. I know about the latter cases also, and their difficulties which have arisen in the State of Kentucky. But, in any event, I am quite sure that VISTA people have created some problems in West Virginia.

Mr. CLARK. All I can say to my friend is that if the Governor does not like it, he can throw them out at any time, under the provisions of section 810(b) of the present act which reads in part:

> Volunteers—

And this applies to VISTA—

> shall not be assigned to duties or work in any State without the consent of the Governor.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I say to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania that I hope the Governor of West Virginia will do just that.

Is the Senator from Pennsylvania aware of the fact that Gov. Hulett C. Smith wrote a letter to Mr. Shriver complaining recently about the activities of VISTA workers?

Mr. CLARK. I read about it in the newspapers.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Well, I suspected that the Governor could refuse consent under the law. However, I cannot tell him what to do. I know what I would do if I were in his place.

Mr. CLARK. I cannot tell my Governor what to do, either. He is a Republican.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania for yielding to me.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I intend, almost immediately, to terminate my remarks for the day. First, however, I should like to note a number of impressive accomplishments which the war on poverty has achieved.

First, 1,300,000 children have participated in Headstart and have received its educational, medical, and nutritional benefits.

Second, nearly 70,000 men and women have graduated from Job Corps centers. Seventy percent of them have moved directly from graduation into jobs, many of them for the first time in their lives. A good many others, I might note, went into the military service.

Third, at least 300,000 poor people have received advice and services provided by the legal services program.

Fourth, more than 7,000 VISTA volunteers have served or are currently serving at least a year in rural poverty areas, urban slums, or Indian reservations, or with the migrant poor.

Fifth, 30,000 poor but talented high school students have participated in the Upward Bound program to equip them for the opportunity to attend a college.

Sixth, more than 900,000 boys and girls from 16 to 21 have received full time or part time work-experience in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Seventh, more than 42,000 Americans have received rural loans for farm improvements and small income-producing enterprises.

These are only a few of the many specific achievements of the war on poverty. They speak of specific and measurable gains. There are, of course, other gains very difficult, if not impossible, to measure, I shall deal with them in the course of the debate.

Mr. President, I think that is a good place to stop for today. I have attempted to lay down the general philosophy of the bill, the work done by the subcommittee in bringing it before us, the five major conclusions which the committee came to. I have discussed in some depth the problem of coordination.

Frankly I am not too sure whether it would be wise to go into an extended explanation of these programs before permitting general debate and consideration of amendments, but I would like to do two things: first, to outline the various programs which are dealt with in the act; and, second, to give some indication of the floor issues which will come up in the debate next week as indicated by the minority and individual views.

There will be much discussion of the Job Corps. That is title IV of the report, and title I–A of the bill.

We have consolidated into title I–B all of the work and training programs. That is title V of the report.

We have put the special impact program, which is the brainchild of Senators KENNEDY and JAVITS of New York, into title I–D of the bill. It is title VI of the report.

Title II of the bill—title VII of the report—contains the community action program.

The rural loan program is title III(a) of the bill and title VIII of the report.

The migrant program is title III(b) of the bill, and title IX of the report.

The small business part of the bill is title IV of the act and title X of the report.

The day care part of the bill is title V(B) of the act and title XI of the report.

The public assistance and training income section is title XII of the report.

VISTA is title XIII of the report.

The emergency employment program is title XIV of the report.

With respect to each of these titles in the report, which I strongly commend to Senators who are interested in acquiring a mastery of this complex bill, each of the titles is divided into a finding which, generally speaking, describes the program and what the committee thinks about it, and then the legislative recommendation.

I would not expect Senators to wade every bit of the way through this entire report, but nevertheless a reading of the full report will provide a far better picture than I can in a floor speech reported in the RECORD of the various complex issues with which we will be confronted.

I would like, however, to summarize, in conclusion today, the floor issues which, in my judgment, will come before the Senate in a rather extensive debate.

The first one has to do with the spinoff or transfer of programs from OEO to other agencies. There might be an effort to transfer the Job Corps—an effort made unsuccessfully last year.

There is the possibility of an effort to transfer Headstart to the Office of Education, Follow Through to the Office of Education, and Upward Bound to the Office of Education.

In each case the committee considered the suggestions and rejected them.

That would be the position of the floor manager of the bill.

The second category of issues would have to do with funding. In this connection, the bill provides a 2-year authorization but does not state a figure for the second year, slightly increases the administration's recommended budget for the antipoverty programs, and contains a separate 2-year, $2.8 billion Emergency Employment Act.

I will be prepared to justify the position of the committee in these regards, and I feel the committee's position is unquestionably justified.

There may be an effort to earmark funds for Headstart instead of permitting the local community action agencies to have far greater flexibility as to how they desire to spend the funds at the local level. It is the view of the committee that this effort to earmark puts the strong Federal hand into the administration of programs at the local level. This is an unwise move. We think greater local flexibility is highly desirable. To sit here and tell Charleston, W. Va., Newark, N.J., Springfield, Mass., or anywhere else how much they should spend for each one of these programs is unwise.

A highly controversial area, which I mentioned earlier, has to do with the

Governor's veto. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] and I have already had a discussion on that point, but it applies to areas far wider than VISTA.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator again at this point?

Mr. CLARK. Certainly.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I think the Director of OEO indicated, in response to the Governor's letter, that a number of VISTA workers were being withdrawn. However, I am not sure that they would not have been withdrawn anyhow, because summer had ended. Moreover, I would not want to leave the impression that it is my intention to cast any reflection on all VISTA personnel. Undoubtedly some of them may have had good intentions. But so far as the proof of the pudding in West Virginia is concerned, I think our people have been quite disturbed and dissatisfied with the operation of the VISTA program there.

I have a good impression of the Neighborhood Youth Corps as it has been operated in my State. I think the people of West Virginia have been favorably impressed with this program and with some of the community action programs.

Although the subcommittee has not been able to go to my State to hold hearings, which I think would have been highly beneficial at this point, I hope that it still will go. I hope it will conduct hearings in the communities to which I have referred, as well as in any other communities where the subcommittee may wish to hold hearings. But I would hope to speak with the distinguished chairman and suggest to him certain communities and certain persons within those communities.

Mr. CLARK. I should be happy to discuss that with the Senator. I feel certain that he would agree that the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] should be brought in on these discussions, since he is a member of the subcommittee.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Absolutely.

Mr. CLARK. Some other issues may be raised concerning the Job Corps. There may also be other issues concerning the community action program, which is not uncontroversial. I have no doubt that a discussion of these problems will take a good deal of time.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. As witness Washington, D.C.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct. The subcommittee had 2 days of hearings on the community action program right here in the District of Columbia. I must say to the Senator that we also had a special staff assistant make a study, in some depth, of the workings of this program. Say what one will, in my opinion it was working pretty well.

Mr. President, I think I have said enough for today to outline the general course the debate will take. It may be necessary for me, on Monday, to return to this subject in order to make a more detailed statement in some depth, and I reserve that right.

Mr. President, for the time being, I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the AFL–CIO Executive Council, in its recent session in New York, urged Congress and the American people to support the bill amending the Economic Opportunity Act as reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The council also commented on the war on poverty legislation now before the House.

Since the arguments made by the AFL–CIO are well worthy of our consideration, I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON ANTIPOVERTY LEGISLATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER, 12, 1967

We must bring the millions living under conditions of privation and poverty into the mainstream of our national life.

The war on poverty being carried on under the Office of Economic Opportunity is an important step in this direction. It was intended and to a large degree has been successful in involving the poor in such community action programs as Head Start, neighborhood health centers, legal services, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and a host of other programs.

The war on poverty under the OEO is not the whole answer to the problem of the ghetto, but it is a good beginning. As such, it deserves the continued support of the American people and of the Congress; it deserves more adequate funding so that it can expand its various programs; it deserves to be retained as an entity as the central anti-poverty agency of the Federal government.

Earlier this year the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, under the leadership of Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, made an extensive survey of OEO's anti-poverty programs. The results of this study have largely been incorporated into the bill amending the Economic Opportunity Act and reported out by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The legislation now before the Senate deserves the support of Congress and the American people. The AFL-CIO Executive Council endorses it and urges that it be adopted without amendment.

The present bill closely follows the original Act in concept and language. However, it does make some changes which may be regarded as strengthening the existing program. The bill provides for the continuation of the 90 percent Federal—10 percent local—funding ratio; it provides for a two-year authorization period instead of the current one-year period; it continues the local community action agencies as the spearhead of the local war on poverty and permits greater flexibility in their organization and operation; and it provides for continuation of the Job Corps, the In-and-Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Nelson Amendment (Operation Mainstream), the Scheuer Amendment (New Careers) and the Concentrated Employment Program.

An important innovation in this bill is a new Emergency Employment Act of 1967, which provides for a major employment program. The program would provide jobs in both the public and private sectors for the unemployed and disadvantaged in the slum areas in such fields as health, public safety, education, welfare recreation and also in municipal and neighborhood improvement, maintenance, reconstruction and beautification projects. The program is intended to provide meaningful jobs and socially-productive employment.

The bill calls for the expenditure of one billion dollars in the current fiscal year for the creation of an estimated 200,000 jobs.

The AFL–CIO called for a massive job creation program in its testimony before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty last March. While we believe that at least one million jobs are needed annually, the Emergency Employment Act as part of the omnibus OEO bill, is an important first step. We strongly urge the Senate to approve it.

The House Education and Labor Committee is scheduled to begin marking up the anti-poverty bill this week.

One proposal before the Committee would provide a direct 25% wage subsidy to private, profit-making companies employing unskilled youth. The AFL–CIO strongly opposes such a wage subsidy as an ill-advised incentive for short-term, substandard jobs when the emphasis should properly be placed on the training necessary for permanent employment of young people as gainful members of the work force.

The war on poverty cannot be regarded as a partisan effort. It is and, in fact, should be above partisan politics. It is a war from which there must be no retreat and the AFL–CIO intends to push steadfastly on to victory over poverty.

AUSTIN LIONS CLUB RECEIVES PERSUASIVE ADDRESS ON WAR ON POVERTY FROM SOUTHWEST REGIONAL DIRECTOR WALTER RICHTER

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on August 24, 1967, Mr. Walter Richter, director of the Southwest Regional Office of Economic Opportunity addressed the Austin, Tex., Lions Club on the questions which have recently arisen across the country about the effective operation of the war on poverty. This intelligent and encouraging speech will be, I am sure, a landmark in the progress of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its work in Texas. A clear and forthright statement of the needs of our country which this program meets, the speech presents clearly all the aspects of the war on poverty and its appeal for all the different political persuasions of this country.

Mr. Richter concludes that the war on poverty is liberal and conservative, and Christian, and that "it would be a great tragedy for all of America if it is not continued." He further notes:

> I want the world to know that I am proud to be identified with a program that has a deep commitment to fight ignorance, intolerance, injustice, and—I believe worst of all—indifference.

I commend Mr. Richter on this outstanding presentation of the actual workings and purpose of OEO, and on his thoughtful service as director of their Southwest Regional Office.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that "Should the War on Poverty Be Continued?" a speech by Walter Richter, of Texas, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD THE WAR ON POVERTY BE CONTINUED?

(Address before the Lions Club of Austin, Tex., by Walter Richter, director, Southwest Regional Office of Economic Opportunity, August 24, 1967)

The grapevine has it that there is a possibility that this Congress will kill the poverty program or at least substantially mutilate it. A few months ago, prior to the spate of riots in a couple dozen of our major cities, the picture looked different. Volumes of testimony had been produced in Senate and

House subcommittee hearings, most of it positive, including endorsements from almost every organization you can mention from the American Bar Association to the AFL-CIO. On the sidelines, no less a personage than the Reverend Billy Graham provided a resounding endorsement of the anti-poverty campaign. So did governors, mayors, social workers, housewives, butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers.

There was also dissent, of course, but the tide was definitely moving in favor of continuation of the OEO and the program. All of this was bolstered by a recent Harris poll which concluded that 60% of the American people wanted the poverty program continued at the present level or enlarged.

Then came the riots and reaction. Now the legislation is in trouble.

I should like to take this opportunity to share with you my personal assessment of this state of affairs and the implication for this community and, in fact, for America.

First, I should like to review some of the considerations which properly were a part of the judgments that led to the formal declaration of war on poverty by President Johnson and the subsequent enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Questions that were properly and logically asked included these: "Is poverty real in America? If so, is it really damaging our society? Are the poor salvageable and worth worrying with? If so, how do we go about it? Is this a proper concern of the federal government?"

Time does not permit me to elaborate at length on these questions but, briefly stated, these were and are the conclusions:

Is poverty real in America? The answer is definitely yes. Using the arbitrary poverty-level measure of a $3,000 annual 4-member family income, it was estimated that the United States had some 34 million such people in 1964. (A recent estimate indicates that this has now been reduced to something less than 30 million.)

Whatever the measuring device we use, the fact is inescapable that America has far too many citizens who are receiving insufficient and inadequate diets, medical and dental attention, housing, and other commonplace benefits of this affluent society. Few evidences of poverty are visable from main street or along the paths we normally travel in our daily routines, but they are there and can be shown to any doubter willing to seek them out.

Well then, the next question is—is poverty really damaging and costly to our society? The answer is again clearly yes. America spent some $30 billion on crime last year—and only the naive would deny that a great deal of criminal activity relates to slum environments and poverty. Disease breeds in the slum areas far out of proportion to other parts of a city, and its overall cost defies measure but is obviously enormous. Welfare costs, which the War on Poverty seeks to reduce, are a direct price we pay for poverty.

Our society suffers in many ways from the loss of productivity by the legions of unemployed and underemployed who cannot qualify for decent jobs which are available but which require special training and skills. It is interesting to note that the businessman with a cash register business has the most to lose from poverty in dollars and cents. For every $100 per year increase in the income of the poor in America (and you can depend on their spending every penny), our economy would be fattened by $3 billion—which, my economist friends who know about multiplier formulas tell me, would turn over five times.

There is, of course, the most important price—which is human misery and unhappiness, a cancer in any society. In these are rooted the breeding grounds for hatred and discontent which find expression in all types of overt, devious, and dangerous manifestations, including physical violence.

So we concede that poverty is costly, very costly, in many ways. The next logical question is: can the poor be helped or are they intrinsically worthless. A Gallup poll in 1965 indicated that 55% of all Americans believe that the poor are poor because they are lazy, and I honestly believe that this attitude on the part of large numbers of our people has been in large measure responsible for the difficulty we have experienced in obtaining public support for the anti-poverty program. Certainly they have been quick to accept and even applaud any and every indication of failure.

Let us examine briefly the validity of this generalization about the poor as an excuse to accept poverty as a way of life for countless numbers of our people and as a necessary evil in our society.

About 40% of the poor are children. They can hardly be written off as undeserving of our sympathetic attention. In fact, now while their work habits and attitudes are being formed is obviously the best time to try to achieve positive response to direction and training.

About one-third are the elderly who, whatever their past work experience, have their productivity pretty much behind them. Many of them have worked hard all their lives but now have to cope with reduced physical capabilities, increased vulnerability to disease, and an employment rationale which cruelly penalizes workers on the basis of age, starting as early as age 45.

Countless numbers are widows and divorcees with children, with debts, and without sufficient skills to earn a decent wage.

Roughly half of the adults among the poor are not unemployed at all—witness, for example the tens of thousands of migrants who live in the Texas Valley. They can hardly be accused of being lazy—and yet they are in poverty because of illiteracy and lack of occupational skills.

Even the assumption of the worthlessness of people on welfare which most of us indulge in can be effectively challenged. A recent survey of the 7.3 million Americans who are on welfare revealed that only 50,000 males have anything like the capability of getting off the rolls through job training that could make them self-sufficient.

Who then is on welfare? 2.1 million are 65 or older, average age 72; 700,000 are either blind or severely handicapped; 3.5 million are children whose parents cannot support them; the remaining one million are the parents of these children: about 900,000 mothers and 150,000 fathers. Two thirds of the 150,000 fathers on welfare are incapacitated, leaving 50,000 capable of receiving training. The OEO, incidentally, has a program specifically designed to provide training to such as these, and it has been very successful.

What I'm saying is that any American who assumes his poverty-stricken brother is deserving of his fate and could improve his lot if he only had the gumption is making a dangerous generalization from too small a sample of truly worthless indigents. These creatures do exist, and since lack of motivation is a symptom of poverty I'm not sure that we should give up on them. For the time being, however, I would be willing to yield to a critical public and concentrate on the hundreds of thousands of deprived Americans who earnestly and sincerely welcome a chance to help themselves. Maybe we can get to the others later.

I hope at this point you agree with me that poverty in America is real, that it is costly to our society, and that to assume that poor people are beyond salvage is to beg our responsibility. If so, then we are now at the point that Congress was when it passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which presumed to suggest that Americans were strong enough, rich enough, resourceful enough, and wise enough to make a manly effort to eradicate poverty from the environs of this great country.

In his inaugural address, President Johnson declared, "In a land of wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die unattended."

In the Economic Opportunity Act, Congress made a historic declaration of national policy. Upon the recommendation of the President, Congress declared it to be the policy of the United States "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation."

Pursuant to this national policy commitment, the fundamental goals of the OEO are simple but most important in terms of national objectives. As defined in the Economic Opportunity Act itself, those goals are to open up to every individual in this nation: the opportunity for education and training; the opportunity to work; and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

This noble statement of mission—with the accent on opportunity—is certainly in the American tradition and can hardly be decried. There are those, of course, who question the involvement of the federal government in this undertaking. I can only respond that the stakes for our society are sufficiently high that we can defend federal participation on the same basis as we support our defense establishment, interstate roads, and the postal service. Moreover, the primary thrust of the anti-poverty legislation is to support and encourage local communities in establishing, expanding, and properly utilizing local (and other) resources through the use of local initiative and local community action.

Other interesting new dimensions of the anti-poverty campaign rationale include a dedication to the concept of removing the causes of poverty rather than treating the symptoms; the establishment of a broad-based independent but responsible local administrative body widely representative of all elements and segments of a given community; and the "maximum feasible" participation of the poor themselves.

Emphasis has been on communication—especially on the development of important dialogues, between the poor and the representatives of the so-called power system and between the agencies, public and private, which have resources designed to serve the needs of the poor.

There has ensued a great ferment of ideas, and one might even say with some authority that among the War on Poverty's most significant accomplishments are side effects on established educational, training, and people-serving institutions.

The next part of my comments I shall omit because of lack of time. This would be a recitation of specific impressive accomplishments of the War on Poverty effort—despite many difficulties which you might correctly assume would be encountered in such a massive, complex and exceedingly difficult undertaking. The record is there and I believe any objective observer examining it will find it over-all indeed quite impressive.

I want to share with you briefly my concern about the anti anti-poverty campaign sentiment of today—a public attitude which seems to me to border on hysteria. I see the nobility of the mission being obscured by side issues and allegations which are either not germane or of little actual consequence.

Let me cite a few examples.

An OEO employee makes a questionable judgment about the purchase of some gun sights. One single employee—a respected man in the community. The incident made headlines—some of the banner variety—across the country and has triggered a congressional investigation, no less. The entire poverty program is discredited.

OEO establishes a summer work program

to ease tensions. Some OEO officials have the notion that the program might reach and rehabilitate some of the chronic trouble makers by employing a few youths with minor police records. More headlines. Reaction: let's kill OEO.

OEO funds a program in which one of the educational components is aborted by a staff person to teach very young pupils what might correctly be termed as "hate" materials. The scheme was discovered before any funds were expended. More headlines. OEO is an evil thing.

A community submits an application for the establishment of a newspaper to be delivered to the poor free of charge. OEO has received many such applications and has rejected them all. But the newspapers receive and reprint from coast to coast a story that OEO is putting the government into competition with the privately-owned journals. Headlines. Not many retractions. Damn OEO!

Thirteen OEO employees are among more than 12,000 people arrested in 27 cities experiencing riots this summer. While the record of OEO efforts to help prevent or cool down potential tension-filled situations is a thing of joy, the headlines stress OEO involvement in the riots, OEO gotta go, go, go.

If you wish to play this game further, search your memory for the negative things you have heard or read about the War on Poverty. Job Corps boys in trouble (they get in less trouble than all youth that age); the mayor's son shows up on the Neighborhood Youth Corps (it happened in the beginning before better controls were established but the stories go on and on).

Then there are such as these:

A mother of a poverty kid in a summer camp complaining because the food isn't good enough.

A Community Action program personnel committee hiring a guy for political reasons when obviously there are better qualified candidates.

A minority group being discriminated against in the staffing of a neighborhood center.

I could go on and on. And you, I'm sure, could contribute a few choice items yourself.

The significant point I want to make is that it is my judgment that 99% of the disenchantment with the OEO stems from deficiencies not of the program but of individual humans—usually in the form of personal transgression, immorality, or ineptness at the local level.

One of OEO's strengths—its dedication to local control and local initiative—becomes a serious weakness and could be its undoing. Already the local autonomy has been eroded by the earmarking process and by other forced priority judgments for local projects.

This is not to suggest for an instant that this operation has been free of mistakes at all levels. It hasn't. I can tell you, however, that we're working hard at building quality into every phase of the program and tremendous progress has been made operationally. Seems I recall a part of an old gentleman's prayer in which he observed: "I ain't what I ought to be. I ain't what I want to be. I ain't what I'm gonna be. But thank God, I ain't what I wuz!" That's OEO!

My plea to Congress, to use an earthy expression, is simply this: please don't burn down the house to kill the cockroaches. The poverty program is too right, too necessary, and the stakes too high to scuttle it for reasons which in the final analysis are superficial.

To eliminate the OEO on the basis of the type of criticisms and charges floating around this summer would be like abolishing banking because a teller got off with some cash or closing our public schools because a teacher was discovered at a pot party. It's almost like denying Christianity because a preacher takes a shine to the organist.

OEO in my book is Christianity in practice because it decries evil and supports the innate nobility of the individual person. OEO is liberal because it seeks change where, heaven knows, we need change. OEO is conservative because its operational emphasis is on self-help, on local initiative and on honest effort.

Should the War on Poverty be continued? I am convinced it would be a great tragedy for all of America if it is not continued. Can we afford it financially? The OEO costs per year about what the war in Vietnam costs in a month. And unlike in that war, this expenditure has all the earmarks of money invested with a guranteed return.

In closing, I want to testify that I have never been so excited or so challenged by an assignment.

I want the world to know that I am proud to be identified with a program that has a deep commitment to fight ignorance, intolerance, injustice, and—I believe worst of all—indifference. You know Dante wrote that "the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality." You better believe that we're in a period of moral crisis in this country right now. And if too many of us respond by maintaining a posture of neutrality and indifference, we may not only go to Hell—we may go a bit sooner than we expected.

VIETNAM

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, yesterday before the General Assembly of the United Nations our distinguished Ambassador, the Honorable Arthur Goldberg, asked the Hanoi government for assurance that if our Government would cease bombing in the north, the Hanoi government would begin negotiations for peace in Vietnam.

The Ambassador suggested two possible means by which talks could be initiated. The Geneva Conference could be convened, or there could be private talks leading to a political settlement in Vietnam. He further said that once peace had been achieved, the United States would undertake a major commitment to the development of all of Southeast Asia.

I applaud this conciliatory address by the Ambassador to the United Nations. I think that it represents a forward step on the part of our Government toward bringing about peace in Vietnam, and I am very hopeful that the Hanoi government will accede to the request, and affirm its willingness to negotiate upon cessation of bombing of the north.

Mr. President, also yesterday, the President of the United States was asked whether our commitment in Vietnam was worth the loss in lives and materiel that we have endured there. In essence, the President said that in his opinion it was.

I would support his assessment. This certainly is no time for second guessing as to whether our commitment is worthy. Questions of this sort are no consolation to the more than 100,000 casualties that we have suffered there, nor to the mothers and widows of our more than 13,000 servicemen whose lives have been lost in Vietnam, nor to the American people, who have spent billions and billions of dollars in that far-off Southeast Asian land.

Our Government has steadfastly said that we are in Vietnam for the purpose of giving the South Vietnamese people an opportunity to choose their form of government in freedom and in security. We are also there because we wish to prevent the spread of Communist regimes by force and by terror.

I think it cannot be questioned that both of those objectives are worthy. The more than 13,000 men who have lost their lives in Vietnam have not died in vain, nor have the 100,000 other casualties been injured in vain. We have prevented the spread of an unpopular regime by force and by terror.

But the other purpose for being in Vietnam—namely, that of permitting the Vietnamese people to choose their own form of government—is of extreme importance to us today and even though I am very hopeful that the Hanoi government will give us an assurance, so that negotiations for peace can begin, nevertheless, we cannot count on them to do so. We are still at war, and we must take those steps, militarily, and politically, which will begin to move us toward an honorable and final conclusion.

I suggest, Mr. President, that the political purpose for which we are in Vietnam to some degree has already been realized. The elections in Vietnam are history. A government has been chosen by the people of Vietnam. There have been criticisms of that election—some of them very valid criticisms. But there have been valid criticisms of some of our elections here in the United States of America. We cannot expect a nation of people who have never had the opportunity to choose their own form of government, who have had little or no exposure to real democracy, to carry on a perfect election. I, too, have been critical of many of the things that have taken place in regard to the Vietnam elections. I deplore the fact that there has been censorship of the press in Vietnam by the government, and that the candidates were not always permitted to campaign according to the rules that had been adopted. I deplore the fact that the military ticket itself frequently violated the established rules of procedure. And am greatly disturbed at the fact that the government has seen fit to arrest a number of its political opponents since the elections.

Yet, Mr. President, the election has been described by persons who were on the scene as being as fair and as impartial an election as could be expected under the circumstances. Some have gone so far as to say that it was as fair as any election held in the United States of America. Though I do not believe that, at least there is evidence that the election, to a large degree, was fairly and freely conducted. A variety of opinions were aired, some surprising results were achieved. And it can safely be said that South Vietnam will never be quite the same again.

Eighty-three percent of the people voted, which is important and extremely significant. And, though the present government received only 34.8 percent of the votes, nevertheless it does reflect the first time that the people of Vietnam have had a say in the choice of a national government.

We could have hoped for better. We could have hoped that there would have been a civilian government elected, persons who were not identified with the military junta. We could perhaps have hoped that there would have been wider representation of other groups. Of the six tickets that were elected, three of them were Catholic. It is unfortunate that this occurred in a country where the great majority of the people, 90 percent, are Buddhists.

These things can be corrected, however. The government can appoint Buddhists to administrative office, especially cabinet positions, in the new government.

There is still an election to be held, on October 22, for the lower house. And the wrongs that were perpetrated in the Senate election can be righted. We must not ignore the importance of the election to be held on October 22. They must not be open to criticism.

I am hopeful that censorship of the press, which was removed for a time, and now seems to have been reimposed, will be lifted permanently. Freedom of the press, indeed any freedom, cannot be intermittent. It must be constant and continuous.

I am hopeful that the procedure of arresting political opponents will also stop and that this government will instead begin to invite these former opponents to form a truly national, coalition government.

A plurality government such as we now have in South Vietnam is not unusual. We have had plurality Presidents in the United States of America. After World War II, the French and German governments were plurality governments, and they did well.

It is now up to the South Vietnamese Government to begin to form this coalition, and to unite the people of South Vietnam behind its purposes.

Mr. President, much must be done by this government. They are constantly getting advice from us, and I think it is important that Members of the U.S. Senate continually let the South Vietnamese Government know what we think, because we do have a very grave commitment in South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese Government has promised land reform. And if they are to ever win over the peasants in Vietnam, or win the war, they must get on with land reform.

However, the thing that disturbs me most is that it still appears that the South Vietnamese Government and its people have not made a total commitment to this war.

Mr. President, this is not our war. Vietnam is not our country. We are sending Americans to die there, and they are dying and being injured there daily.

I think that certainly the South Vietnamese should begin to assume more responsibility for this war.

The government has now been elected. It would seem to me that they should begin to increase their areas of responsibility both in the field of combat and in economic and political matters. And as they begin to increase their responsibility, it would seem to me that we could begin to decrease our responsibility and our commitment of manpower and materiel to South Vietnam.

I think that the South Vietnamese Government should forthwith institute an effective program for military conscription. They are still only taking men who are 20 years of age. Let us compare this with North Vietnam.

In North Vietnam, every able-bodied man is fighting in the armed forces. In North Vietnam young women are performing military duty. In North Vietnam, older men and women are carrying 600 pounds of supplies on bicycles and doing all that they can to assist their government in its efforts.

Surely the South Vietnamese people have as great a stake in the future of their country. It would seem to me that they too should make an all-out commitment, and that they should begin to take on more and more of this responsibility. It is their war, and it must always be considered their war.

Mr. President, I do not believe that our Government should send one more soldier or one more marine to fight and to die in Vietnam until the South Vietnamese Government begins to stand up to its responsibility and utilize its manpower to successfully conclude that war.

I know that they will have problems. I know that they have been plagued with corruption in the military. I know that their officers have not had the best training and that their salaries are very low. And I do not want anything I say here tonight to be construed as not living up to our commitment in Vietnam.

I do not believe that our job is finished. And I do not believe that we should get out of Vietnam until we finish our job.

I am merely saying that the responsibility of the South Vietnamese should be increasing constantly so that our responsibility can decrease constantly.

I am very hopeful that our Government will do more to urge the Vietnamese Government to move in this direction. I think it can be done. I think that it should be done.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield to the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts has been making a very great contribution. His general thesis is one which I myself have felt for a long time was very close to the truth concerning Vietnam.

As he did, I, too, visited Vietnam earlier this year, in May. I came back convinced that the commitment we had made by our presence there in such great force was one that could not be lightly walked away from.

I felt equally that it was a matter which we could not deal with effectively by heavy escalation or bombing in North Vietnam, that the war must be fought and won in South Vietnam, that in general our present policy was the correct one, but that the great failure of the effort that this administration was attempting to make lay in the fact that we had not succeeded in getting the South Vietnamese Government to do the job which only it could do.

I said that in June and in July and in August and in September. I am glad to have this opportunity to repeat it now in support of what I believe to be the main thesis of the Senator from Massachusetts.

I have the greatest admiration for our military, and I believe that no one could fault in any way the job they have done on the military side. We have many good men on the civilian side of this effort, also in Vietnam.

But our great failure has been—and it is a failure on our part, one for which this administration bears responsibility, and it must—that we have not accomplished the reform of the South Vietnamese Government so that the people of South Vietnam have any feeling of loyalty to it, in the main, or have any feeling of nationality based upon the leadership of that Government; or that the South Vietnamese Army—the Arvin, so-called—has any feeling that it has any reason to fight.

This is the reason we are asked to send over another 45,000 men in addition to those already committed.

I was deeply distressed by a statement, in the form of a quotation, attributed to General Johnson, in a recent article in U.S. News & World Report, that the reason for asking for additional U.S. troops was so that we could get more heavily into the pacification program in South Vietnam.

Mr. President, if there is anything in the world that the United States should not do, it is to use its military in the pacification program in South Vietnam. On the contrary, the South Vietnamese military should be taking over from us some of the main force unit fighting that we have assumed for ourselves, in which, in practice, we are the only ones engaged, except for very small numbers of other allies. I was glad to see Thailand's small contingent arrive in South Vietnam. The Koreans have a substantial force, the Australians a token force, and some other countries have certain auxiliary support efforts.

The Senator from Massachusetts is absolutely correct: We must get the South Vietnamese Government to do what only it can do in creating a national morale, in creating support for itself among its own people, by giving the people of that area something to believe in and work for. The same applies to the South Vietnamese military: a motivation, a morale, good training, and a correction of the shocking corruption which now permeates the life of that entire area.

And here is the failure of this administration: It has not done this. I have defended this administration against the charge that it got us into the mess in South Vietnam. It did not, Mr. President. Former administrations were far more responsible for this than the Johnson administration. When the President took office, we were already deeply involved. I believe it is a fair statement that this administration and President Johnson had far fewer options in regard to Vietnam than any of its predecessors, back to and including President Truman; and I believe that President Johnson has been unfairly criticized. But for him to protest against that unfair criticism, and to say that such criticism is unfair, is no answer to the charge that he is not meeting his proper responsibility for conducting, in the best and wisest and most effective way, the operation in which we are involved.

The core of our failure in South Vietnam is not our inability to recognize a particular wink of the eye or some other kind of signal from Hanoi, or being unwilling to negotiate. We have failed primarily because we have not done the job that the Senator from Massachusetts has pointed out is the core of our job, and that is to get the South Vietnamese to do their job.

We have more than 500,000 military in that part of the world in this effort. The South Vietnamese have between 600,000 and 700,000. It is time that those 600,000 or 700,000 began to do their job.

I should like to make one other point—and I am sorry to have taken so much time from the Senator from Massachusetts and from the Senate at this late hour on a Friday evening.

The reason often given in high places in our Government for our failure to accomplish the reform of the South Vietnamese Government is this: we are so deeply involved, and our prestige is so deeply committed, that the South Vietnamese Government feels that it can get away with anything in leaving the burden on us, and that we will not withdraw.

Mr. President, I am not for withdrawal, except under circumstances involving the accomplishment, in the main, of our objective. But I say that if we are not going to succeed in the end, I am for withdrawal now and letting the South Vietnamese Government know that we will withdraw. And we will not succeed in the end if the South Vietnamese Government does not reform itself.

So I would make very clear to the South Vietnamese Government that, disastrous as withdrawal would be in my opinion, we will withdraw unless the South Vietnamese Government does what they must do, or face certain disaster later. It seems very clear that if we are going to face disaster in the long run, we had better accept our loss now. I am not for withdrawal, but in considering the choice between withdrawing now or at some time years later, after we have killed tens and hundreds of thousands of American soldiers, it is better to do it now—to let the South Vietnamese know that we are willing to do it, if we have to, if they will not do what they must.

I thank the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. To a certain extent I am sympathetic toward the viewpoint that has been expressed by the Senator from New Jersey. But suppose we do withdraw. Suppose we were to withdraw. Then, under the conditions which have been stated by the Senator from New Jersey, where would we go?

Mr. CASE. If the Senator will permit me to do so, I wish to make it very clear that I am not advocating withdrawal.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I understand that.

Mr. CASE. I am advocating that we break out of this dilemma into which the South Vietnamese Government has been allowed to draw the United States.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I understood the Senator from New Jersey to say that we should let the South Vietnamese Government know that if it did not do certain things, we would withdraw.

Mr. CASE. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Where would we go then?

Mr. CASE. I do not know. We could come home.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Should we take a stand on a new line somewhere else?

Mr. CASE. I am not now trying to outline the strategy of our foreign policy in that part of the world. We are talking about doing a job which has to be done in South Vietnam. I am for doing that.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. So am I.

Mr. CASE. I am not for accepting the situation in which we now find ourselves, in which the South Vietnamese Government is not making the effort to do the job which it must do; namely, getting the support of its own people, both civilian and military. This is essential.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I feel, as does the Senator from New Jersey, that the South Vietnamese Government must do more.

Mr. CASE. It must do more if it is to win.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. My question is: Suppose it does not. Should we then withdraw?

Mr. CASE. Then, I think, the question of deciding what is the best way to proceed is one for consideration by the highest councils. I am not attempting to dictate policy as to the day-to-day operations.

We can, however, for the longer period, decide broad policy and at least participate equally in the making of broad policy, which must be on a cooperative basis, of course.

I am not trying, as I have said, to run the war, which a committee cannot do. But as one American and as one Senator, I am no longer prepared indefinitely to support our Government in the dilemma in which it appears to find itself, in the opinion of some in our Government—and I have seen official statements to that effect—namely that there is nothing we can do about this or that failure of the South Vietnamese Government, because we are too deeply involved to withdraw. That might be fine if it meant nothing more than spending money indefinitely; but I will not see American boys killed indefinitely if the South Vietnamese will not correct their operations in what is becoming a hopeless cause in the end. We must make the South Vietnamese Government realize this. We must cause them to discard the happy feeling which they apparently are indulging in that they can do anything they please, for example, in regard to tolerating corruption or even participating in it, in regard to letting the American Army carry the military burden, both in pacification and also in large unit fighting, and in a kind of money making for a favored few, which is disgusting, as the Senator knows.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Of course, it is.

Mr. CASE. We are not trying to establish some idea of morality of our own. This is not the point.

The point is that this whole effort cannot succeed, and the consequences would be dire, indeed, unless the things which we have been discussing, and I think all of us understand, can be accomplished, are accomplished in fact.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. If the Senator will kindly yield to me briefly, I would not want the Senator from New Jersey to assume from what I have said, or rather from the question I asked, that I disagree with his premise that we should expect the South Vietnamese to do more. I think we should. I do not think it can be gainsaid that the South Vietnamese have not already sacrificed a great deal in the cause for which we are fighting there.

Mr. CASE. Yes. But the question has been properly asked: How many South Vietnamese generals have been killed in South Vietnam? This is the point.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The two things that concerned me about what the Senator was saying are these: one, that our Government is at fault for not having motivated the South Vietnamese to do more. I cannot quite agree with that statement. I do no know what one does to motivate a people who are not already motivated. If the people are not motivated properly to defend themselves and lay down their lives in a sacrifice for their country, I do not know what our Government can do to motivate them further.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on the question of motivation?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I yield.

Mr. BROOKE. The Senator asked what our Government can do to motivate the people. I think it is clear that if our Government had not sent billions of dollars in materials and hundreds of thousands of troops to Vietnam, the South Vietnamese Government could not exist. Our Government does have a leverage in South Vietnam. I do not think we ever wanted to run that country and I do not think we should. I do not think we should tell them what they should do. However, I do believe if we are sending American boys to die in Vietnam and sending billions of dollars in material, and if we are going to have to take on a surtax to continue this commitment in Vietnam, then certainly we must be assured that the South Vietnamese Government and the South Vietnamese people are going to put everything they can into this war effort themselves. This has not yet been done, and that is exactly the point.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I shall yield in a moment, if I may continue. The Government of South Vietnam has promised it would prosecute those officers who have been known to be guilty of corruption in the army. The Government has not done this, nor has it made any effort to increase the size of its army over the 700,000 troops which it now has under arms. Certainly, if they want us to send more American troops—45,000 more now and we do not know how many in the future—if they want us to continue to send planes, if they want us to continue to send bombs, if they want us to continue to send food and everything we send there, certainly it is not unreasonable for us to not only ask, but also to demand that they commit themselves to the full degree that they can in return.

We know they do not have all of the equipment they need. We knew that when we went into Vietnam. We knew their army was not well trained, we were aware of the problem of corruption, and we knew they did not have the resources on which to draw.

On the other hand, we expect them to give all they can. That is not unreasonable.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Does the Senator have reason to believe the administration has not asked the Vietnamese to do just this?

Mr. BROOKE. No, I do not say that. I say that now that the elections are over, they have a government. Before, they had a military junta. Presumably this new government can do more than a military junta could have done to rally the people to the cause and to take positive steps for creating a capable military fighting unit in Vietnam, and for getting the support of the South Vietnamese people totally behind their effort. This is what we are saying.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. There is no disagreement on this point. I think the administration feels the same way about it. I am confident the administration has sought in every way it could to elicit the support, the utmost support, of the people of South Vietnam in their own cause.

However, the two questions I raised were: one, what do we do that we already have not done to motivate the people of South Vietnam to give more?

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield.

Mr. CASE. This, I think, represents the kind of way in which the administration has been ducking responsibility for failure by asking every critic: "What would you do?"

I am not the President of the United States, nor is the Senator, nor is the Senate. The operation of this policy is the job of the President. When one asks a taxicab driver to drive him from here to the station, he does not take the wheel and drive for the taxicab driver. One tells the driver what he wants done and the objective, and it is the driver's job to get you there.

In broad policy we are in agreement. The President wants this war ended and the objective accomplished. It has not been accomplished and he is the President. This adds up to responsibility which cannot be ducked by asking, "What would you do?"

I would get this job done my making the South Vietnamese reform itself and not by asking it to, as the Senator suggests this administration has done.

We are getting the blame all over the world for the conduct of the Vietnamese war. We had better see that what we are being blamed for is what we actually deserve.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE. I yield.

Mr. BROOKE. The distinguished Senator from West Virginia asks what can our Government do.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes, and I have not received the answer.

Mr. CASE. Admit it has not the capacity, and this is the question that it is going to be faced with next year.

Mr. BROOKE. I have answered that our Government has leverage, and the distinguished Senator admits that leverage is there.

I have not said our Government has not tried to urge the South Vietnamese Government to move in this direction. However, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia very well knows that our Government is handicapped in so far as much of the decisionmaking is concerned in Vietnam.

We have been on the sidelines in many instances, acting as advisers; we counsel, we advise. To some degree I am sure that the South Vietnamese Government and the South Vietnamese military accept our advice.

I am sure that in some areas, they do not accept that advice, that they feel their decisions and their opinions are better and superior to ours.

If this new government wants to be a viable government, if it wants to make decisions, then it will have to make those decisions and get results. If it is not willing or able to do so, then why should we be sending more American troops to die and be committing ourselves to more billions of dollars in Vietnam?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I ask the same questions. I am not arguing with the Senator from Massachusetts. I am not disagreeing with his premise at all. I merely seek to know, how do we go about motivating these people?

Mr. CASE. Well, if the Senator will yield to me once more——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Second—if I may finish my statement—failing to so motivate, if we follow the suggestion of the Senator from New Jersey to withdraw, then what? Where do we go next? Where do we draw the next line on which to make a stand?

Mr. CASE. Now will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield.

Mr. CASE. The Senator has asked those questions several times. I think the answer has been given several times. The latter question; namely, where do we withdraw to, involves questions of strategy that can be dealt with only after the most careful consideration.

I am not prepared to answer these questions now. I think it would be irresponsible for me now to attempt to lay out a line for dealing with them. There are many alternatives which should be canvassed, but that is not the point——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, that is the answer that the Senator——

Mr. CASE. No, no——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. No—the Senator has given several times, but it does not answer the question.

Mr. CASE. I will not even, for the moment, admit that the Senator is embarrassing the position that I hold by saying that I have not answered the question, one which it is not proper to answer in this fashion.

There are undoubtedly studies which have been made about what could be done as alternatives, and all the rest of it. I would expect to get the best advice I could on this before I chose, just off the cuff, the way some of our colleagues have been inclined to do, the next strategic steps.

This point is this: We want to succeed here. We can succeed here but only——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I trust that the Senator is not including me among those colleagues.

Mr. CASE. I am not, of course, except to the slight extent that the Senator's pro tempore duties seem now to require him to press questions which he knows are really not to be answered on the Senate floor in a session of this kind.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Well, the Senator has made certain statements on the Senate floor.

Mr. CASE. I have made this statement and repeat it now, that the job of getting the South Vietnamese Government to do its job is an operating job. The job of operations—the Executive's job—our Executive's job—involves conducting business with South Vietnam with a number of people—ambassadors, military leaders, and people who go over there from time to time on shorter missions. Through these agents, and any direct contacts he may want to have himself, he must persuade South Vietnam to do what only it can do if we are to succeed.

If he fails in this, he has failed here. I am satisfied that the South Vietnamese Government will not permit iself to be so reformed unless it is faced with an absolute ultimatum of this sort.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, the leverage which has been applied by our Government, and the urging by our Government to bring about motivation on the part of the South Vietnamese people to do the things that all of us agree should be done in Vietnam, has heretofore been directed to the military junta, because the military junta was running South Vietnam. Now we have a different political situation. For the first time, we have a political government, so to speak, even though it is comprised of military men at its head. It was elected through a political process.

Now what I am suggesting on the floor of the Senate today, and I think the distinguished Senator from New Jersey joins me in this suggestion, is that our Government direct its attentions to the President and Vice President of South Vietnam, who have been elected by the people, and to the Senate of South Vietnam as elected by the people, and to the House of Representatives of South Vietnam to be elected by the people on October 22. This government, in my opinion, is certainly much more of an entity than was the military junta in the past. It should be more responsive to its own people, and more responsible to them. We must use what leverage we have to make them meet their responsibilities, and to earn the loyalty and support of their people in return.

These men are now representatives of the people of South Vietnam. They will serve as a representative government. It occurs to me that they are in a much better position to motivate the people of South Vietnam, to earn their loyalty and respect, than was the military junta which was holding power only through military might.

That is the purpose of the discussion on the floor of the Senate today. Thus, when the distinguished Senator from West Virginia asked what have we not done in the past that we can do now, I can say that we can step up our drive and redirect it, make it very emphatic and let President Thieu and Vice President Ky know that we insist they take more responsibility, that we are hopeful of decreasing or de-escalating our areas of responsibility, that we want to begin to bring our men back home.

I am sure that the distinguished Senator from West Virginia does not disagree with that objective.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Not at all, Mr. President. I feel that this should be a laudable purpose of ours. I am confident that the President has every intention of seeking to impress upon the new Government in South Vietnam its responsibilities. A different set of circumstances may hereafter exist than what have heretofore prevailed.

I would not want the RECORD to leave the impression that I am in disagreement with the premise of the Senator from Massachusetts at all.

Under a new set of circumstances, perhaps there is new hope that the people of South Vietnam will put forth a greater effort.

Mr. BROOKE. If the Senator from West Virginia will yield at that point, he states, "There is new hope," but unfortunately, Senator, there are also some areas of discouragement and, therefore, a need to restate the American position.

The areas of discouragement are the arrest and jailing of political enemies, the reimposed censorship of the press. Such measures certainly are not designed to motivate the people of South Vietnam to get behind their Government and get behind the war effort.

As previously stated, the new Government received only 34.8 percent of the vote. The other candidates, the civilian candidates together, received nearly two-thirds of the total vote. The peace candidate, Truong Dinh Dzu, was a surprising runner-up.

I think this is most significant, and I think it should put us and our Government on notice that everything possible must now be done to bring the people of South Vietnam into a common purpose. I fear that a start in the wrong direction has been made by the arrest of political opponents, including Presidential Candidate Dzu, who was arrested for crimes allegedly committed 3 years ago.

If the new Government continues this, very obviously it is not going to win over the peasants and the others, and persuade them to back their Government and back the common purpose in Vietnam.

To me this is a very clear and present danger, for if this continues, we may see civil war in Vietnam. I cannot think of a more disastrous thing to happen at this time than to have a civil war in Vietnam. But if the Government of South Vietnam continues in this way, it may very well come to that.

Therefore, it is my purpose on the Senate floor today to again restate our position, and to urge our Government to move with all deliberate speed in again impressing upon the new Government of South Vietnam that everything possible must be done to unite South Vietnam in a common purpose.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. Yes; I am happy to yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I make no argument against that expressed desire on the part of the Senator from Massachusetts, and I think this would be a commonly accepted purpose. I would assume that it is.

I think our Government has sought all along to do whatever it could to encourage the people of South Vietnam to do everything they could do in behalf of their own defense.

Perhaps under the new set of circumstances we can do more. Perhaps they can do more. Perhaps they will be better motivated to do more.

I simply sought to question the statement that this administration was at fault in not having motivated the South Vietnamese people to do more.

I do not care to carry this argument on ad infinitum——

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I realize that I do not have the floor and I cannot control the argument.

Mr. CASE. I thought the Senator had the floor.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. No.

Mr. BROOKE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. As I said, I do not seek to carry the argument on. I raised a question. The Senator feels, in his own mind, that he has answered it.

But where do we go if we fail in so motivating the Vietnamese people to act in their own behalf as we would want them to or as we feel they have the capacity to do? Where do we then go? The Senator has answered. He has said he is not prepared to say where we will go. Neither am I. But this is a question which, it seems to me, is a logical one. If we do at some future time withdraw, where do we go? Do we have to fight this battle all over again on some other battleline somewhere else?

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, has the Senator completed his remarks?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes.

Mr. CASE. I think the Senator understands that if we have to make that decision, the Senator from New Jersey will do his best to do his share in the future to arrive at a wise decision as to what alternatives are taken. But that is not the question before us now.

I would say, on the other matter, that I have not any partisan purpose in this except to stimulate this administration to do what it has not yet done. I would only say I am not trying to tell the driver how to drive the car. If he does not know, then he should not be driving it.

The answer to the Senator's question is really this: That you are not paid off for making a good effort or having good intentions; you are paid off, one way or the other, by success or failure. And that is the test that is properly to be applied here.

The Senate of the United States is in the general position of a board of directors, not the executive. It shares in policy decisions. I am not one to try to suggest, and I am not now suggesting, an argument on the Tonkin Gulf resolution or anything of that sort. I am just trying to get this administration to do what I think it must do and has not yet succeeded in doing, and that is to get the South Vietnamese regime so to reform itself and the society in that area that our joint effort, in whose success the Senator from West Virginia and I are deeply concerned, because it means so much to the world and the United States, will be successful.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I share the hope of the Senator that this can be done.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, the evening is late, and I am indeed very grateful to the distinguished Senator from West Virginia and the distinguished Senator from New Jersey for making their rich contributions to this discussion. My purpose here today was to stimulate the South Vietnamese Government and the South Vietnamese people into action. Circumstances are different now in South Vietnam. We have an elected Government there, and I for one have high hopes that the people of South Vietnam and their Government can and will be motivated. I do not think we need to give up hope at this time.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I hope that that motivation will be there, and I hope that we can all join together, somehow, in finding a solution to our problem there, from which it has been so difficult to extricate ourselves. But when reference is made to withdrawing—and this may someday prove to be the proper course for us to take, who can tell? But, in any event, I think we cannot eschew the statement of General Giap to the effect that if the United States can be defeated in South Vietnam, it can be defeated anywhere else in the world. Nor can we fail to carefully recall and give full credit to a statement that was made by the Peiping People's Daily, the foremost Communist newspaper, to the effect that the South Vietnamese conflict is the focal point of the international class struggle and that it is the "acid test" for all of the political forces of the world.

We have to take these statements at their face value, and then weigh the consequences if we at some future time were to choose to withdraw from South Vietnam.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, again I thank the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, and I yield the floor.

PROGRAM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as a reminder to Senators, the Senate will convene at noon on Monday next.

Following the transaction of routine morning business, the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania will again take the floor to continue work on the antipoverty bill.

Under the previous agreement there will be a rollcall vote at 3 o'clock Monday afternoon on final passage of the military construction authorization bill, after which the Senate will resume consideration of the antipoverty legislation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order of yesterday, September 21, 1967, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 40 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 25, 1967, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 22, 1967:

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ARKANSAS

Edward B. Gilbert, Bearden, Ark., R. L. Burleson, retired.

Merlin R. Walters, Hartman, Ark., Emma Hurst, retired.

CALIFORNIA

Richard K. Kintzel, Solvang, Calif., A. M. Madsen, retired.

Kenneth W. Stoneburner, Twin Peaks, Calif., R. A. Stubbs, retired.

COLORADO

Sheldon D. Brooks, Greeley, Colo., R. E. Wilkinson, deceased.

FLORIDA

Merlo Claudio, Opa Locka, Fla., E. G. Krigline, resigned.

Catherine R. Collins, Plymouth, Fla., W. M. Brown, retired.

GEORGIA

John W. Callaway, Ringgold, Ga., W. W. Ware, declined.

ILLINOIS

Hazel N. Prince, Broughton, Ill., J. F. Wooldridge, transferred.

Myrtle L. Hasenauer, Melvin, Ill., C. E. Wilson, retired.

Robert L. Seelbach, Morrisonville, Ill., L. E. Kinney, retired.

INDIANA

Ruby M. Sherrick, Beverly Shores, Ind., G. W. Irvin, retired.

KENTUCKY

Paul W. Baker, Greenup, Ky., F. L. Coldiron, retired.

William H. Markaberry, Philpot, Ky., R. R. Bell, retired.

MARYLAND

J. Hopkins Kolb, Harwood, Md., C. D. Kolb, retired.

MICHIGAN

Lawrence D. Dugan, Flat Rock, Mich., C. F. Collins, resigned.

MINNESOTA

Benjamin C. Smith, Saint Francis, Minn., D. J. Osterloh, transferred.

MISSISSIPPI

Johnnie J. Jones, McCool, Miss., B. B. Boyd, retired.

MISSOURI

Robert L. Jackson, Macks Creek, Mo., Wayne Osborn, retired.

NEBRASKA

Douglas R. Graul, Carleton, Nebr., R. A. Frank, transferred.

NORTH CAROLINA

Ross L. Edwards, Jr., Roanoke Rapids, N.C., A. D. Waters, Jr., transferred.

John F. Wells, Teachey, N.C., J. B. Kilpatrick, retired.

PENNSYLVANIA

Andy F. Sabo, Jefferson, Pa., M. C. Schandel, retired.

Wilford C. Park, Saltillo, Pa., Beaver Cornelius, deceased.

TENNESSEE

Kenneth W. Overstreet, Celina, Tenn., J. B. Overstreet, retired.

WASHINGTON

Dorothy L. Bluhm, Edison, Wash., B. R. Bluhm, retired.

Thomas J. O'Connell, Kent, Wash., H. S. Long, retired.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, September 22, 1967:

UNITED NATIONS

The following-named persons to be representatives of the United States of America to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Arthur J. Goldberg, of Illinois.

William B. Buffum, of Maryland.

L. H. FOUNTAIN, U.S. Representative from the State of North Carolina.

WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, U.S. Representative from the State of Michigan.

Adrian S. Fisher, of the District of Columbia..

The following-named persons to be alternate representatives of the United States of America to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

I. W. Abel, of Pennsylvania.

Robert S. Benjamin, of New York.

Hector P. Garcia, of Texas.

Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, of the District of Columbia.

Herbert R. O'Conor, Jr., of Maryland.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

Thomas H. Nielsen, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

U.S. ARMY

The following-named officer for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States to the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3442 and 3447:

To be brigadier general

Chaplain (Col.) Ned Ralston Graves O43164, U.S. Army.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The nominations beginning Richard N. Aloy, to be major, and ending Edward W. Zwack, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 14, 1967; and

The nominations beginning Paul J. Abeln, to be captain, and ending Mary A. Zavatson, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 30, 1967.

IN THE ARMY

The nominations beginning Robert E. Hall, to be colonel, and ending Charles L. Zitnick, Jr., to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 24, 1967; and

The nominations beginning Marcelino C. Guiang, to be lieutenant colonel, and ending Jane F. Sager, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 11, 1967.

IN THE NAVY AND MARINE CORPS

The nominations beginning Hal C. Castle, Jr., to be ensign in the Navy, and ending William J. Sandusky, to be a permanent lieutenant (j.g.) and a temporary lieutenant in the Navy, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 11, 1967.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The nominations beginning Paul R. Aadnesen, to be captain, and ending Roger D. Zorens, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 12, 1967.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate September 22, 1967:

The nomination sent to the Senate on February 2, 1967, of Kenneth V. Petro to be postmaster at Lakeport, in the State of California.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Day of Recognition for Firefighters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 22, 1967

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on January 25, 1967, I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 24 which would have authorized the President to proclaim May 4, 1967, as a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters. The senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] has introduced a similar resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 77, except that it would authorize the President to proclaim the first Wednesday in May of each year as a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters; and H.R. 2156, introduced by Representative WALDIE, of California, would authorize the "Day of Recognition" to be the first Saturday in May of each year.

A proclamation honoring the dedication and heroism of the Nation's firemen is particularly appropriate during these difficult times.

Recently, Mr. C. Wilson Harder, president of the National Federation of Independent Business, the largest business organization in the United States, having more than 239,000 small business members, addressed a letter to the President on the subject. The White House reply indicates that should a joint resolution of Congress ever be forthcoming, the President will be most happy to honor the request.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of Mr. Harder's letter and the White House reply.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
San Mateo, Calif., August 31, 1967.
President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is respectfully suggested that national attention be given to the courage and devotion to duty that has long been displayed by the members of the fire departments of this nation, with the institution of a national Firemen's Day.

For generations, at the risk of their own life and limb dedicated corps of men throughout the land have battled to save life and property and the honor roll of those who have died in the line of duty is indeed long.

Such a proclamation setting aside a day for observance of the heroism of firemen would be especially appropriate during this era of anarchy when on many occasions firemen have been the prime targets of snipers, while helpless to defend themselves in carrying out their duties.

Sincerely,

C. W. HARDER,
President.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., September 4, 1967.
Mr. C. W. HARDER,
President, National Federation of Independent Business, San Mateo, Calif.

DEAR MR. HARDER: The President has asked me to reply to your recent suggestion that he proclaim a national Firemen's Day.

The President is deeply appreciative of the heroic contributions our firemen make to this country and also of the unfortunate and inescapable hardships under which they are sometimes compelled to perform their duties.

Unfortunately, there are so many requests for special days of observance that it has been the policy, for many years, that Presidents of the United States issue such Proclamations only in response to those requested by a Joint Resolution of the Congress. Should such a Joint Resolution ever be forthcoming, I can assure you that the President will be most happy to honor the request.

With the President's and my own best wishes,

Sincerely,

WILL SPARKS,
Assistant to the President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the Lord, thy God, hath given unto thee.—Deuteronomy 26:11.

Almighty God, grant that through the ministry of this moment of meditation we may draw near to Thee and receive from Thy hand wisdom to make wise decisions, good will to relate ourselves affirmatively to others, and faith to hold us steady amid the troubles of this time. May we be with Thee and through all our discussions we pray that Thou wilt keep us mindful of Thy presence.

We pray for our country that in this day our Nation may be Thy channel for peace in our world and Thy servant for good will among the people on this planet. As leaders and as a people may we grow in spirit, and as mature persons assume our position of responsible leadership among the nations of the world. In Jesus' name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 21, 1967, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On August 31, 1967:

H.R. 6056. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide rules relating to the deduction for personal exemptions for children of parents who are divorced or separated; and

H.R. 10566. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Sac and Fox Indians, and for other purposes.

On September 5, 1967:

H.R. 158. An act to amend section 209 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, so as to require future authorization of funds for certain programs of the Maritime Administration.

On September 6, 1967:

H.R. 11945. An act to amend the college work-study program with respect to institutional matching and permissible hours of work.

On September 11, 1967:

H.R. 547. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to sell the Pleasanton Plant Materials Center in Alameda County, Calif., and to provide for the establishment of a plant materials center at a more suitable location to replace the Pleasanton Plant Materials Center, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3717. An act for the relief of Mrs. M. M. Richwine; and

H.R. 5876. An act to amend titles 5, 14, and 37, United States Code, to codify recent law, and to improve the Code.

On September 17, 1967:

H.R. 9837. An act to amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1959, as it relates to transportation expenses of Members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

On September 22, 1967:

H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 9960. An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 9960) entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. ALLOTT, Mrs. SMITH, and Mr. HRUSKA to be conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 8718) entitled "An act to increase the annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia and to provide a method for computing the annual borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. SPONG, Mr. MORSE, and Mr. MORTON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 852. An act to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes;

S. 2195. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; and

S.J. Res. 112. Joint resolution extending the time for filing report of Commission on Urban Problems.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 1862, TO AMEND THE AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency have until midnight tonight to file the conference report on S. 1862, to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

SHRIVER RESIGNING?

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I have heard a rumor that Sargent Shriver, Director of the poverty program, is resigning. In all honesty, I must say I hope the rumor is true.

After 3 years, an expenditure of some $4 billion of the taxpayers' money, and some 91,000 persons on the antipoverty payroll, the program has been a basic failure to provide jobs for the poor. A witness at a recent congressional investigation hearing said:

> The only people who are making money are those in the poverty program. Those who need training in order to earn money are not getting the training.

Federal poverty workers have become involved in racial and other demonstrations leading to riots as well as outright political activity in registering voters. This stems directly from Sargent Shriver, Director of the national program.

My distinguished colleague, Representative Edith Green, has said:

> Outside of the outrageous costs for this program, the additional tragedy is we are reaching so very few who need help.

The inefficiency of Mr. Shriver's operations should not be tolerated. He cannot seem to manage the programs and the financing he already has been given.

His resignation would be in the best interests of the country.

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE THIS AFTERNOON

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on House Administration be permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, unfortunately I did not hear the gentleman's request.

Mr. BURLESON. I requested that the Committee on House Administration be permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

REVISING FEDERAL ELECTION LAWS

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I want it to be noted that the gentleman from Minnesota has objected to the Committee on House Administration meeting this afternoon. I do not know why. I assume the gentleman has a reason or perhaps he does not. We wanted to meet for the purpose of considering the election reform bill, which many people have been insisting that we take action on. The other body has acted unanimously on a similar measure. We have attempted to meet in the morning a number of times, but because there are so many members of that committee who are on other important committees, it is understandable that a quorum is difficult to obtain in the morning. Quite a few members are on the House Administration Committee who are also on the Committee on Education and Labor where they are in the process of considering the revision and extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity program and a number are on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce where they have a number of important bills before them. So the situation is understandable.

The point is, however, that the newspapers have said that I as chairman of the Committee on House Administration have been somewhat derelict in trying to get something done. I just want you to know that we are trying to get a quorum, and I do not know why we should have an objection. We are getting down into the session, which means that committee calendars, as well as legislation scheduled for floor action, will become more and more crammed. We need to act soon.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. It might be said for the Record at this same time that this is a pattern that should be met. I would rather imagine there will be no more unanimous-consent requests set for this session. The gentleman from Minnesota, though, clearly understands what he is responsible for.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. From this side of the aisle I would like to note the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Texas, in the well now, has certainly been diligent in trying to get the full committee together in force to act on this bill. I supported his action in trying to get this opportunity to meet this afternoon, because it did seem to be the only way we could get a quorum of the committee. As a matter of fact, the gentleman's comments are absolutely correct. The members who are on the Committee on House Administration are also members of other legislative committees. They have been considering extremely important matters in those committees. They cannot be in two places at once. The gentleman simply sought the convenient means of doing the job he wants to get done and which all of us want to get done.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for his remarks. The Committee on House Administration agreed last Tuesday morning to meet this afternoon at 2 o'clock and hence the reason for my request. If this method is to be used to prevent a meeting I do not know if there is going to be opportunity of considering a bill or not but I want it clear that it is not the fault of the committee or it's members, since the gentleman objecting to the meeting this afternoon is not a member of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I give notice that tomorrow I shall again request permission for the House Administration Committee to sit and at 2 p.m. I hope there will be no objection and certainly do not see any reason for anyone to object.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I regret to say that a number of politicians are seizing the Vietnam issue for their own selfish purposes. Without much thought to the needs of our Nation, they are hoping to make political "hay" out of a subject of controversy. They concentrate their efforts on criticism of our conduct of the war and encourage opposition to the President.

I wish to point out that this disunity among the American people during time of a shooting war is truly a dangerous situation. This is the very thing that Marx and Lenin called for when they formulated the doctrines of communism. The idea of cutting the population into dissenting factions is not original with Marx and Lenin, however. It is the same old tactic used by dictators throughout the world's history. It is commonly known as the theory of "divide and conquer."

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE DENIED

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. To address the House for 1 minute?

Mr. ARENDS. I object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

THE REAL WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, this past week revealed to the world the agreement between the Soviet Union and the

Communist government of North Vietnam whereby Russia pledged to furnish Hanoi with all the armaments and weapons necessary to insure total victory against the united democracies now fighting for the survival of liberty and freedom in South Vietnam. This agreement should make it clear even to the politically blind that the indisputable fact regarding the nature of the conflict, in which our brave soldiers now courageously die, is that it is a war in which the aggressive forces of international communism unite for the purpose of advancing their cause against the democracies of the world, a war to bring about the eventual domination of the United States itself. The agreement is further proof that President Johnson has been right all along regarding the nature of the struggle.

Mr. Speaker, our people should resolve to unite behind our great leader, and with patience and perseverance, recognizing the true nature of the struggle in which we are engaged, courageously support our brave men at the front, and strive on for complete victory of the forces of liberty over the inimical power of communistic tyranny.

BUSINESS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I merely rise to respond to the remarks of my good friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BURLESON], for whom I have the very highest regard. I certainly do not have any disagreement with the stated views of the gentleman from Texas. It is my opinion that the gentleman from Texas, chairman of the Committee on House Administration, would not want to delay consideration of the bill to which reference has been made.

Further, I should say that I happen to favor that kind of bill. But, this afternoon the House of Representatives is scheduled to consider important measures relating to the District of Columbia. The affairs of the District of Columbia happen to be a matter of importance so long as the Congress of the United States insists upon maintaining control over those affairs of the District. In my opinion the practice which has grown up in recent years, the practice of relegating matters of important concern to the District to a secondary position, is not a desirable situation to continue.

If the gentleman renews his request to meet on another day of the week, I shall certainly have no objection.

STATEMENTS AND CHARGES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSED SURTAX INCREASE

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, during the past several days some Members of Congress have been making headlines by saying that they will not vote for any surcharge tax until the President cuts out his spending. They say, "Reduce at least $7 billion of domestic spending if you want us to pass any tax increase." And other timid Members parrot an old charge that "No tax increase until we have closed all the tax loopholes."

Clearly they leave the impression that the President is doing all the spending, that he controls the tax levels, and that he is the one who has caused the $28 billion deficit. Well, Mr. Speaker, I was under the impression that the President only has such moneys as the Congress—particularly the House since we originate tax bills—votes to provide him. As I view it, the President does not have a dollar to spend, unless we authorize it.

We, the Congress, have done that, and it hardly becomes us to yell, "Stop that spending," when we have okayed the money to spend.

To the President's credit, the past 2 years he has refused to spend all we have appropriated, and he received a lot of criticism in doing it from the very people who cry most now for no taxes.

I think we must cut back in our domestic spending, and I am not at all sure that we cannot reduce some of the military or semimilitary and defense expenditures. But I also think we ought to designate how we can cut back—and where. At least, we ought to say so in general or broad terms, specifying the general areas.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has appropriated the money for specific purposes. We ought not to criticize the President when he attempts to make us more fiscally responsible. In my opinion, the real cause of our problem—aside from overspending—is that we pass on appropriations in a piecemeal manner instead of considering the tax measures as a whole.

In the meantime, under the present conditions, we ought to tell the President where the reductions can be made.

The fact is that it is up to Congress—not the President—to establish budget priorities or to authorize the administration to make cuts in programs.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. 170)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress the annual report of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation for the year ending December 31, 1966.

After 8 years of operation the seaway is playing a major role in our national and international transportation network. The gains registered in 1966 are noteworthy:

Traffic in wheat increased from 8.6 million cargo tons in 1965 to 11.2 million tons in 1966.

Traffic in iron ore rose from 12.8 million tons in 1965 to 15.5 million tons in 1966.

In total, more than 49 million tons of cargo passed through the seaway, an increase of nearly 6 million tons over 1965.

Revenue from this traffic was a record $7.1 million.

For the first time in its history, the seaway was not required to defer any portion of its annual interest payment. It returned to the U.S. Treasury $5.2 million to repay current and deferred interest.

This report contains a catalog of successes. But it reveals as well an unfortunate deficiency in the seaway's construction. The concrete of the Eisenhower lock is rapidly deteriorating.

We cannot allow this situation to persist. Ships must not be delayed. The flow of cargo must not be interrupted. Three bills introduced this session—S. 2131, H.R. 11826, and H.R. 11871—would provide the funds necessary to repair the lock.

I urge your prompt and favorable consideration of these measures, and I commend this report to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 25, 1967.*

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

The SPEAKER. This is District of Columbia Day.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMILLAN].

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 272]

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Aspinall
Baring
Barrett
Bingham
Blackburn
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Corbett
Curtis
de la Garza
Dent
Donohue
Dorn
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Gubser
Hall
Halpern
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Hébert
Helstoski
Holland
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Kluczynski
Landrum
Leggett
Lipscomb
Long, La.
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mathias, Md.

Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Nichols
O'Konski
Philbin
Pool
Pryor
Purcell
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Roberts
Ronan
Rostenkowski
Sandman
St Germain
Sisk
Stafford
Staggers
Stephens
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Tiernan
Udall
Utt
Vander Jagt
Watkins
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 329 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTED BOARD OF EDUCATION ACT

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 13042) to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13042

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Elected Board of Education Act".

AMENDMENTS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BOARD OF EDUCATION LAW

SEC. 2. (a) Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to fix and regulate the salaries of teachers, school officers, and other employees of the board of education of the District of Columbia", approved June 20, 1906 (D.C. Code, sec. 31–101), is amended by striking out the first paragraph of subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. (a) The control of the public schools of the District of Columbia is vested in a Board of Education to consist of eleven elected members, three of whom are to be elected at large, and one to be elected from each of the eight school election wards established under the District of Columbia Election Act. The election of the members of the Board of Education shall be conducted on a nonpartisan basis and in accordance with such Act.

"(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection and section 10(e) of the District of Columbia Election Act, the term of office of a member of the Board of Education shall be four years.

"(2) Of the members of the Board of Education first elected after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, three members elected from wards and two members elected at large shall serve for terms ending January 26, 1970, and the other six members shall serve for terms ending January 24, 1972. The members who shall serve for terms ending January 26, 1970, shall be determined by lots cast before the Board of Elections of the District of Columbia upon a date set and pursuant to regulation issued by the Board of Elections.

"(3) The term of office of a member of the Board of Education elected at a general election shall begin at noon on the fourth Monday in January next following such election, except that in the case of the members of the Board of Education first elected after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, the term of office shall begin at noon on June 17, 1968. A member may serve more than one term.

"(4) The members of the Board of Education shall be reimbursed (on vouchers signed by the President of the Board of Education or his designee) in an amount not to exceed $100 in any month for actual and necessary expenses incurred while engaged in the performance of the duties of the Board of Education.

"(c)(1) Each member of the Board of Education elected from a ward shall at the time of his nomination (A) be a qualified elector (as that term is defined in section 2 of the District of Columbia Election Act) in the school election ward from which he seeks election, (B) have, for the one-year period immediately preceding his nomination, resided in the school election ward from which he is nominated, (C) have, during the three years next preceding his nomination, been an actual resident of the District of Columbia and have during such period claimed residence nowhere else, and (D) hold no other elective office. A member shall forfeit his office upon failure to maintain the qualifications required by this paragraph.

"(2) Each member of the Board of Education elected at large shall at the time of his nomination (A) be a qualified elector (as that term is defined in section 2 of the District of Columbia Election Act) in the District of Columbia, (B) have, during the three-year period next preceding his nomination, been an actual resident of the District of Columbia and having during such period claimed residence nowhere else, and (C) hold no other elective office. A member shall forfeit his office upon failure to maintain the qualifications required by this paragraph.

"(3) No individual may hold the office of member of the Board of Education and also be an officer or employee of the District of Columbia government or of the Board of Education. A member will forfeit his office upon failure to maintain the qualification required by this paragraph.

"(d) Whenever, before the end of his term, a member of the Board of Education dies, resigns, or becomes unable to serve or a member-elect of the Board of Education fails to take office, such vacancy shall be filled as provided in section 10(e) of the District of Columbia Election Act.

"(e) The Board of Education shall select a President from among its members at the first meeting of the Board of Education held on or after the date (prescribed in paragraph (3) of section 2 of this Act) on which members are to take office after each general election. The Board of Education may appoint a secretary, who shall not be a member of the Board of Education, and they shall hold stated meetings at least once a month during the school year and such additional meetings as they may from time to time provide for. All meetings of the Board of Education shall be open to the public, except committee meetings dealing with the appointment of teachers."

(b) The second, third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs of such section 2(a) are redesignated as subsections (f), (g), (h), and (i), respectively.

(c) Subsection (b) of such section 2 is repealed.

(d)(1) The provisions of the Act of June 20, 1906, listed in paragraph (2) of this subsection, are amended by striking out the terms "board of education" and "board" each place they appear in such provisions and inserting in lieu thereof "Board of Education" and "Board", respectively.

(2) The provisions of the Act of June 20, 1906, amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection are as follows:

(A) Subsections (f), (g), (h), and (i) of section 2 of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) (D.C. Code, secs. 31–102, 31–103, 31–104, 31–101).

(B) Section 3 of such Act (D.C. Code, secs. 31–105, 31–108, 31–110, 31–111).

(C) The first paragraph of section 5 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31–112).

(D) Section 12 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31–117).

AMENDMENTS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION LAW

SEC. 3. The Act entitled "An Act to regulate the election in the District of Columbia of electors of President and Vice President of the United States and of delegates representing the District of Columbia to national political conventions, and for other purposes", approved August 12, 1955 (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1101 et seq.), is amended as follows:

(1) The first section of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1101) is amended by inserting immediately after "Vice President of the United States" the following: ", the members of the Board of Education,".

(2) Section 2 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1102) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(4) The term 'ward' means a school election ward established by the Board under section 5(a)(4) of this Act.

"(5) The term 'Board of Education' means the Board of Education of the District."

(3) Paragraph (4) of section 5(a) of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1105(a)(4)) is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon the following: "; divide the District into eight compact and contiguous school election wards which shall include such members of precincts as will provide approximately equal population within each ward; and reapportion the wards accordingly after each decennial census".

(4) Section 7 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1107) is amended—

(A) by striking out in subsection (a) "he registers in the District during the year in which such election is to be held." and inserting in lieu thereof "he is duly registered in the District on the date of such election. A person shall be considered duly registered in the District if he registers under this Act after January 1, 1968, and if after the date he registers no four-year period elapses during which he fails to vote in an election held under this Act.";

(B) by amending subsection (d) to read as follows:

"(d)(1) During the calendar year 1968 the registry shall be open during normal business hours, except that the registry shall not be open (A) during the thirty-day period ending on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of that year, (B) during the period beginning thirty days before the date of the general election in that year for members of the Board of Education and ending on the first Tuesday in May of that year, and (C) during such other period as the Board may provide in the case of a special election.

"(2) During the calendar year 1969 and each calendar year thereafter the registry shall be open during normal business hours, except that the registry shall not be open (A) during the thirty-day period ending on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each odd-numbered calendar year and of each presidential election year; (B) during the thirty-day period ending on the first Tuesday in May in each presidential election year, and (C) during such other period as the Board may provide in the case of a special election.

"(3) The Board may close the registry on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. While the registry is open, any person may apply for registration or change his registration."; and

(C) by striking out in subsection (e) "Municipal Court for the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "District of Columbia Court of General Sessions".

(5) Section 8 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1108) is amended—

(A) by striking out in subsection (a)(1) "thirty days" and inserting in lieu thereof "fifty-six days"; and

(B) by adding the following new sections at the end thereof:

"(h)(1) Except in the case of the three members of the Board of Education elected at large, the members of the Board of Education shall be elected by the qualified electors of the respective wards of the District of Columbia from which the members have been nominated.

"(2) In the case of the three members of the Board of Education elected at large, each such member shall be elected by the qualified electors of the District of Columbia.

"(i)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, each candidate in a general election for member of the Board of Education shall be nominated for such office by a petition (A) filed with the Board not later than fifty-six days before the date of such general election; (B) signed by at least two hundred and fifty persons who are duly registered under section 7 in the ward from which the candidate seeks election, or in the case of a candidate running at large, signed by at least two hundred persons in each ward of the District who are duly registered under section 7 in such ward and by at least an additional four hundred persons who are duly registered in the District of Columbia (irrespective of the ward in which registered); and (C) accompanied by a filing fee of $100. Such fee may be refunded only in the event that the candidate withdraws his nomination by writing received by the Board not later than three days after the date on which nominations are closed. A nominating petition for a candidate in a general election for member of the Board of Education may not be circulated for signatures before the ninety-ninth day preceding the date of such election and may not be filed with the Board before the seventieth day preceding such date. The Board may prescribe rules with respect to the preparation and presentation of nominating petitions and the posting and disposition of filing fees. In a general election for members of the Board of Education, the Board shall arrange the ballots in each ward to enable a voter registered in that ward to vote for any one candidate duly nominated to be elected to such office from such ward, and to vote for as many candidates duly nominated for election at large to such office as there are Board of Education members to be elected at large in such election.

"(2) In the case of a nominating petition for a candidate in the first general election for members of the Board of Education held after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, such nominating petition shall (A) be signed by at least fifty persons who are duly registered under section 7 in the ward from which the candidate seeks election, or (B) in the case of a candidate running at large, be signed by at least fifty persons in each ward of the District who are duly registered under section 7 in such ward.

"(j)(1) The Board is authorized to accept any nominating petition for a candidate for any office as bona fide with respect to the qualifications of the signatories thereto if the original or facsimile thereof has been posted in a suitable public place for the ten-day period beginning on the fifty-third day before the date of the election for such office. Any qualified elector may within such ten-day period challenge the validity of any petition by a written statement duly signed by the challenger and filed with the Board and specifying concisely the alleged defects in such petition. Copy of such challenge shall be sent by the Board promptly to the person designated for the purpose in the nominating petition.

"(2) The Board shall receive evidence in support of and in opposition to the challenge and shall determine the validity of the challenged nominating petition not more than eight days after the challenge has been filed. Within three days after announcement of the determination of the Board with respect to the validity of the nominating petition, either the challenger or any person named in the challenged petition as a nominee may apply to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals for a review of the reasonableness of such determination. The court shall expedite consideration of the matter and the decision of such court shall be final and not appealable.

"(k) In any election, the order in which the names of the candidates for office appear on the ballot shall be determined by lot, upon a date or dates and under regulations prescribed by the Board."

(6) Section 9 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1109) is amended—

(A) by striking out "for electors of President and Vice President" in the second sentence of subsection (b); and

(B) by striking out "Municipal Court for the District of Columbia" in subsection (e) and inserting "District of Columbia Court of General Sessions".

(7) Section 10 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1110) is amended—

(A) by striking out the second and third sentences of paragraph (1) of subsection (a) and the second sentence of paragraph (2) of such subsection;

(B) by adding at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(3) The first general election for members of the Board of Education shall be held on April 16, 1968, and thereafter on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of each odd-numbered calendar year.

"(4) If in a general election for members of the Board of Education—

"(A) no candidate for the office of member of the Board of Education from a ward receives a majority of the votes validly cast in that ward, or

"(B) no candidate for the office of member of the Board of Education elected at large receives a majority of the votes validly cast for such office,

a runoff election shall be held on the twenty-first day next following such election. The candidates receiving the highest number of votes in such runoff election shall be declared the winners. The Board may resolve any tie vote occurring in such runoff election by requiring the candidates receiving the tie vote to cast lots at such time and in such manner as the Board may prescribe.

"(5) In the case of a runoff election for the office of member of the Board of Education elected at large, the candidates in such runoff election shall be those candidates, in number not more than one more than the number of such offices to be filled, who in the general election next preceding such runoff election received the highest number of votes less than a majority. In the case of a runoff election for the office of member of the Board of Education from a ward, the runoff election shall be held in such ward, and the two candidates who in the general election next preceding such runoff election received respectively the highest number and the second highest number of votes validly cast in such ward or who tied in receiving the highest number of such votes shall run in such runoff election. If in any case (other than the one described in the preceding sentence) a tie vote must be resolved to determine the candidates to run in any runoff election, the Board may resolve such tie vote by requiring the candidates receiving the tie vote to cast lots at such time and in such manner as the Board may prescribe.

"(6) If any candidate withdraws (in accordance with such rules and time limits as the Board shall prescribe) from a runoff election held to select a member of the Board of Education or dies before the date of such election, the candidate who received the same number of votes in the general election next preceding such runoff election as a candidate in such runoff election or who received a number of votes in such general election which is next highest to the number of votes in such general election received by a candidate in the runoff election and who is not a candidate in such runoff election shall be a candidate in such runoff election. The resolution of any tie necessary to determine the candidate to fill the vacancy caused by such withdrawal or death shall be resolved by the Board in the same manner as ties are resolved under paragraph (5)."

(C) by amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"(b) All elections prescribed by this Act shall be conducted by the Board in conformity with the provisions of this Act. In all elections held pursuant to this Act the polls shall be open from 8 o'clock antemeridian to 8 o'clock postmeridian. Candidates receiving the highest number of votes in elections held pursuant to this Act, other than general elections for members of the Board of Education, shall be declared the winners.";

(D) by inserting after "In the case of a tie" in subsection (c) the following: "vote in any election other than an election for members of the Board of Education,";

(E) by inserting after "official" in subsection (d) the following: ", other than a member of the Board of Education,"; and

(F) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) Whenever a vacancy occurs in the office of member of the Board of Education, such vacancy shall be filled at the next general election for members of the Board of Education which occurs more than ninety-nine days after such vacancy occurs. However, the Board of Education shall appoint a person to fill such vacancy until the unexpired term of the vacant office ends or until the fourth Monday in January next following the date of the election of a person to serve the remainder of such unexpired term, whichever occurs first. A person elected to fill a vacancy shall hold office for the duration of the unexpired term of office to which he was elected. Any person appointed under this subsection shall have the same qualifications for holding such office as were required of his immediate predecessor."

(8) The first sentence of section 11(b) of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1111 (b)) is amended by striking out "the United States District Court for the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "the District of Columbia Court of Appeals".

(9) The following new sections shall be added at the end of such Act:

"SEC. 15. No person shall be a candidate for more than one office in any election. If a person is nominated for more than one office, he shall, within five days after the Board has sent him notice that he has been so nominated, designate in writing the office for which he wishes to run, in which case he will be deemed to have withdrawn all other nominations. In the event that such person fails within such five-day period to file such a designation with the Board, all such nominations of such person shall be deemed withdrawn.

"SEC. 16. This Act may be cited as the 'District of Columbia Election Act'."

TERMINATION OF OFFICE

SEC. 4. The term of office of the members of the Board of Education appointed under section 2 of the Act of June 20, 1906, before the date of the enactment of this Act shall terminate on the date on which at least six of the members first elected to the Board of Education take office.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 5, line 4, strike out "section 2 of this Act" and insert in lieu thereof "subsection (b) of this section".

On page 5, line 7, strike out ", and they" and insert in lieu thereof ". The Board".

On page 5, line 9, strike out "they" and insert in lieu thereof "it".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this legislation is to relieve the Federal judges of the District of Columbia of the responsibility of having to appoint the members of the School Board of the District of Columbia. We have followed this practice for a number of years. Since the Board members have never been paid any compensation, the Committee on the District of Columbia decided to authorize the expenditure of $100 a month for the members of the Board.

Mr. Speaker, the election of the Board members under provisions of this bill will be held on April 16 of next year and on the off year thereafter, when it will be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Mr. Speaker, the Board will consist of 11 members, eight of the members to be elected from the eight wards of the District of Columbia and three from the District of Columbia at large.

I hope the House will take favorable action on this proposed legislation and relieve the Federal judges of this unnecessary duty on their part. We also hope this system of selecting Board members will improve the schools in the Nation's Capital. A member from all sections of the city certainly should prove to encourage an interest in all the schools and all sections of the city.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of H.R. 13042 is to provide for the election of the Board of Education for the public schools of the District of Columbia by the registered voters of the District of Columbia.

Under existing law, approved in 1906—34 Stat. 316—the control of the public schools of the District of Columbia was vested in a Board of Education consisting of nine members appointed by the judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. In 1936, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia was substituted for the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia as the appointing authority.

In May of this year, following review of this appointive function of the Judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the judges of that court and the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia recommended that the members of the Board of Education for the District of Columbia be selected by some other method. The provisions of H.R. 13042 would relieve the judges of this responsibility and place the selection of Board of Education members in the hands of the voters of the District of Columbia.

The letter from the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit to the Speaker of the House, and resolution of the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, requesting that the Judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia be relieved from appointing members of the Board of Education, are as follows:

JUDICIAL CONFERENCE OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT,
Washington, D.C., June 2, 1967.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: At the direction of all the judges of the United States Court of Appeals and the United States District Court of the District of Columbia, I am forwarding you herewith a copy of a resolution which was adopted unanimously by the aforesaid judges, meeting in Executive Session of the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit, on May 26, 1967.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

NATHAN J. PAULSON,
Secretary.

JUDICIAL CONFERENCE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

(Resolution by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in executive session of the Judicial Conference for the circuit, 1967)

Whereas, Under the District of Columbia Code (1961) Title 31, Section 101, the Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia are charged with the duty of appointing the members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, and

Whereas, This duty has rested with the Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia since June 20, 1906, and

Whereas, In recent years the appointment of members of the Board of Education has become an extremely controversial question among the citizens of the District of Columbia, and

Whereas, The matter of appointing members of the Board of Education is now a very sensitive political question, not in the party sense, but in a broader sense, and

Whereas, The Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia feel that they should not be required to act in this political field, and

Whereas, The Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia feel that in view of the foregoing, the appointive power of members of the Board of Education should not be in the Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to amend the District of Columbia Code (1961) Title 31, Section 101, to remove the appointive powers of members of the Board of Education from the Judges of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to lodge said power elsewhere.

Adopted: May 26, 1967.

A true copy.

Teste:

NATHAN J. PAULSON,
Secretary of the Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia Circuit.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Your committee held public hearings on this legislation. Four members of the present Board of Education of the District of Columbia were the principal witnesses. Your committee received the comments and suggestions of these witnesses. All members present favored an elected Board of Education for the District of Columbia public schools.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

The bill, H.R. 13042, amends the act of June 20, 1906—34 Stat. 317; District of Columbia Code, section 31-101 and the following—relating to the Board of Education for the District of Columbia schools, and the election laws—act of August 12, 1955, 69 Stat. 699; District of Columbia Code, section 1-1101 and the following.

AMENDMENTS TO BOARD OF EDUCATION LAW

The bill provides for the election of an 11-member Board of Education for the public schools of the District of Columbia in lieu of the present nine-member Board appointed by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Except for those members elected initially, the term of office of all Board members shall be for 4 years, except in case of a death, resignation, or inability to serve, in which event any vacancy is filled by the appointment of a member by the remaining members of the Board of Education for the remainder of the unexpired term or until the next election.

Three of the members of the Board are to be elected at large by the voters of the District of Columbia. Of the eight other members of the Board to be elected, one shall be elected from each of the eight school election wards which are to be established by the Board of Elections. The election of the members of the Board of Education shall be conducted on a nonpartisan basis.

The first election for members of the Board of Education shall be held on April 16, 1968. The second election for members of the Board of Education shall be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of 1969. Thereafter, elections for members of the Board of Education will be held in November in the odd-numbered years.

Of those members elected in April 1968, two of the three members to be elected at large and three members elected from the wards shall serve until their successors, elected at the November election in 1969, have qualified and taken office in January 1970. Those members who will serve this initial term will be determined by lot, following their election, pursuant to regulations of the Board of Elections. The remaining members of the Board of Education, elected in April 1968, shall serve until their successors have been elected and have qualified and taken office in January 1972. Those members initially elected in April 1968, take office on the third Monday of June following the election. Members of the Board may serve for more than one term.

Members of the Board of Education shall serve without compensation. However, the bill provides that members of the Board may be reimbursed up to the amount of $100 per month for expenses actually incurred in connection with Board of Education matters.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR BOARD MEMBERS

In order to qualify for nomination or election as a member of the Board of Education, a candidate, first, must be a qualified voter of the District of Columbia; second, must have been a resident of the District of Columbia for 3 years; and third, hold no other elected office. Members to be elected from each of the eight wards must have the foregoing qualifications but in addition, must have resided for a period of 1 year within such ward. If a member fails to maintain these qualifications during his term of office, he must forfeit his office.

An employee of the government of the District of Columbia or of the Board of Education may be nominated as a candidate and may be elected to the Board of Education. However, such person may not continue his employment with the District of Columbia government or with the Board of Education, after becoming a member of the Board of Education.

In the event of any vacancy on the Board of Education as a result of death, resignation, or inability to serve, the members of the Board of Education shall fill the vacancy on the Board by appointment and such appointed member shall serve the remainder of the unexpired term of office or until a successor is elected, whichever occurs first.

The Board of Education is authorized to appoint a secretary who shall not be a member of the Board. The Board shall hold stated meetings at least once each month during the school year and such additional meetings as the Board may determine. The Board meetings shall be open to the public except committee meetings dealing with the appointment of teachers. The Board shall select a president from among its membership at the first meeting of the Board held on or after the date the newly elected members take office.

AMENDMENTS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION LAW

The bill, H.R. 13042, makes several amendments to the District of Columbia election laws. The election of the members of the Board of Education shall be in accordance with the Election Act.

NOMINATING PETITIONS

The bill amends the Election Act to provide for a sequence for the circulation, filing, posting, challenge, and for court appeal taken from any Board of Elections decision relating to a nominating petiton prior to the placing of names on an election ballot. Nominating petitions may not be circulated more than 99 days before the election date. Nominating petitions may be filed with the Board of Elections not more than 70 days before the date of election and not later than 56 days before the date of the election.

Nominating petitions must be posted for a 10-day period, beginning on the 53d day before the election. Any challenge of a nominating petition must be filed with the Board not later than the 43d day before the date of the election. The Board of Elections must rule on the validity of any challenge of a nominating petition not later than the 35th day before the date of election. Any appeal from the ruling of the Board of Elections on the challenge of a nominating petition must be filed with the District of Columbia Court of Appeals not later than 32 days before the date of the election. The sequence includes a period of 9 days for the court decision on any appeal. Twenty-one days before the election, the Board of Elections shall hold the drawings for the position of names on the ballot.

The petition of any candidate for election from a school election ward must carry the signatures of 50 voters, registered in the ward from which the candidate is to be elected, to qualify as a nominee for the April 16, 1968, election and the signatures of 250 registered voters in the ward in any subsequent election. Nominating petitions for candidates running at large must be signed by at least 50 registered voters in each of the eight school election wards for the election to be held April 16, 1968, and thereafter by at least 250 persons registered in each election ward and, in addition, the signatures of 400 persons registered in any ward in the District of Columbia, for a total of 2,000 signatures.

Nominating petitions of candidates for the Board of Education filed with the Board of Elections must be accompanied by a filing fee of $100. A refund of the filing fee may be made to a candidate only if he withdraws by notice in writing to the Board not later than 3 days after the closing date for nominations.

The bill directs the Board of Elections to arrange the ballots so as to enable each voter in a ward to vote for any one candidate duly nominated to be elected as a member of the Board of Education from such ward and to vote for as many candidates nominated for election at large as there are members to be elected at large.

RUNOFF ELECTIONS

The bill provides a procedure for holding runoff elections in the event that no candidate receives a majority of the votes validly cast for the office of member of the Board of Education. In the case where no candidate, to be elected from a ward, receives a majority of the votes cast in that ward, those candidates who received the highest and second highest number of votes or who tied in receiving the highest number of votes shall run in a runoff election. In the event of a tie for the second highest number of votes, the determination of the candidate to run in a runoff election shall be resolved by lots cast before the Board of Elections.

Where no candidate for the office of member of the Board of Education to be elected at large receives a majority of the votes cast, the candidates who run in a runoff election shall be those who received the highest and next highest number of votes, less than a majority, in the election as will provide one more candidate than the number of offices to be filled in such runoff election. In the event of tie votes, the candidate who shall run in the runoff election shall be determined by lots cast before the Board of Elections.

In the event that a candidate in a runoff election withdraws or dies before the date of the runoff election, the candidate who, in the general election, received the same number of votes or the number of votes next highest to those received by a candidate in the runoff election, shall become a candidate in the runoff election.

WARDS

The bill provides that the Board of Elections shall establish eight compact and contiguous school election wards with approximately equal population. The Board of Elections is required to reapportion the wards after each decennial census.

REGISTRATION

The Election Act is amended to provide for permanent registration of voters in the District of Columbia. Present law requires that an individual must register in the year in which an election is to be held in order to qualify to vote in such election. Thus, all registrations made during the election year 1964 are no longer valid for any election to be held during 1968. New registration will begin in January 1968. Registration will remain valid for any registered voter unless he fails to exercise his privilege of voting within any 4-year period thereafter.

Beginning in January 1968, voters may register with the Board of Elections during the normal business hours, except registration shall be closed during the period of 30 days prior to any regular election or special election called by the Board and the 30-day period prior to the April 16, 1968, election of members of the School Board through May 7, 1968, the date of the party primary.

FILLING OF VACANCIES

The bill provides for the filling of vacancies on the Board of Education in the event a member, or member-elect dies, resigns, or becomes unable to serve. Whenever a vacancy occurs, the remaining members of the Board of Education shall choose an individual to fill the vacancy. Members appointed to fill vacancies shall serve for the remainder of the unexpired term of office or until a successor has been elected to fill the vacancy, whichever occurs first. If a vacancy occurs more than 99 days before the date of a regular election for members of the Board of Education, a member shall be elected to suceed any appointed member of the Board of Education. Any person appointed by the Board of Education to serve as a member of the Board must have the same qualifications as those which were required of his predecessor.

The bill provides that no person shall be a candidate for more than one office in any election. Where a person is nominated for more than one office, he shall designate in writing to the Board of Elections the office for which he wishes to run within 5 days after having received notice of such nomination from the Board. All nominations of such persons shall be deemed withdrawn if such person fails to notify the Board of his decision within 5 days after notice.

The bill provides that when at least six members of the Board of Education are first elected to take office, the term of office of the members of the Board of Education appointed under existing law shall terminate.

COURT APPEALS

The bill amends existing law which provides that the determination of any election contest shall be made by the U.S. District Court for the District of

Columbia. Such election contests will come under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals after enactment of this legislation. The bill provides that in cases where the validity of a nominating petition is challenged, the decision of the Board of Elections may be appealed to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to appear here today in support of this bill to provide an elected school board for the District of Columbia. In the past, there have been many arguments here as to the merits or demerits of home rule, and I have reservations about granting the degree of home rule some would ask for. But this most assuredly is not a home rule issue. This bill concerns children and their parents and the system of educating those children.

The children of the people who live here are involved, and the parents should have the responsibility to lead and to accept the responsibility of running the schools of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, I may point out that many of us have different opinions regarding the government of the District of Columbia because all of us, whether we live in Minnesota, Alaska, Iowa, or Kentucky, should have a voice in the destiny of our Nation's Capital. But when we deal with things of parochial interest—and the School Board is parochial—then it seems to me that we would be taking a giant step forward in the area of education if the parents in the District of Columbia could be given responsibility to take the leadership of making better schools for their children.

So, Mr. Speaker, while I may disagree with some on granting home rule, I do agree that in every area where strictly parochial interests predominate, the local people should control. This is where we can give the District of Columbia proper grassroots representation without any possible threat to the overriding Federal interest in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment our chairman [Mr. McMillan]. He and I and the members of both sides of the committee have worked closely and carefully together. As a result, the committee has made some great strides by creating the liberal arts college, and the technical school. We have passed an excellent revenue authorization bill. We collaborated together in the rehabilitation for the handicapped bill. This School Board bill is another instance where we have worked hand in hand together in the best interests of the District of Columbia.

I must say that I appreciate the fine work the chairman has done. I also am grateful for the atmosphere which has existed between the chairman and myself which, I believe, has contributed to the progress of the District of Columbia.

I would like to point out that there may be those who might say that this bill will cost something. There were those who objected to a transit bill because it would cost something. But I do want to point out that this is our Nation's Capital, and the responsibility of Congress and while we discuss legislation dealing with mass transit all over the Nation certainly the Nation's Capital should be the model city of the United States of America. While I am one of those who believe Congress should exercise its constitutionally granted authority over the Federal City, there are certain powers of strictly parochial or neighborhood import that Congress can delegate to the citizens of the District without jeopardizing the primary Federal interest in the District. This bill is just such an example of our duty to delegate such responsibility without threatening the Federal interest.

I believe a lot of good can come of this bill. This would be an excellent area where our District citizenry can exercise a very close and personal interest in this most essential concern, education of their children. This would give initial experience to our District citizens in administration, authority, and responsibility, and this also contributes to pride and direct involvement.

So, Mr. Speaker, I do hope this bill will pass today, and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this essential measure.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Last summer an estimated $175,000 worth of window glass was knocked out of the schools of the District of Columbia. Does the gentleman think that the election of a school board would tend to develop enough civic pride on the part of the citizens of the District of Columbia to end this sort of wanton destruction of public property.

Mr. NELSEN. I am sure I cannot answer the gentleman's question. I would agree with the gentleman that this is a sad state of affairs. But it seems that all over the Nation senseless vandalism is a scourge. I know of a farm where there is a vacant set of buildings. There is not one window and not one door left in them. Even the plaster has been knocked off the walls. The house, which was a livable home, was completely destroyed by vandals.

I think a good deal of attention needs to be given to the training of youngsters in the home for a proper regard and respect for law and order which I think in some cases has been a complete failure.

I do believe, however, in response to the gentleman's question that we can and must delegate such responsibility and authority as we are constitutionally permitted. We have hopes that something good will come of it. I cannot answer the gentleman's question specifically and I am sure the gentleman knows that. But I thank you for calling the attention of the House to this problem, and I compliment you for it.

I think it is a tragedy that this kind of thing happens.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I join with the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on the District of Columbia in extending a word of commendation to our able and distinguished chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMillan], and at the same time to him and to all of my colleagues on the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure if this bill, when it passes, as I am certain it will, gets any attention from the press or from the mass media at all, it will probably be to the effect that this bill was passed by the House. But I cannot help saying that if there is anything in the bill that some of the mass media do not like, they will again take out after our distinguished and able chairman and after the other members of the committee—and do so without justification.

It is high time that our mass media learned to pay a compliment once in a while to the men who work so hard and so diligently, even though on occasion the newspapers may not agree with the ultimate result, or with the positions that these Members take.

Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. It is cosponsored by 22 Members of the House of Representatives led by our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMillan], and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen]. They have worked hard and diligently on this bill and every member of the committee has cooperated and given of his best to bring to the floor of the House a bill that will do the full job.

I think there are very few places in the United States where boards of education have not been kept out of politics. It is most essential, if a board of education is to function properly, that it, should be kept out of partisan politics. There is no Republican Party way and no Democratic Party way to run a school system. There is no partisan way to teach or to learn.

We sought to accomplish that purpose here in the District of Columbia by providing for the first election to take place next April and thereafter elections will take place in the off years so as not to get mixed up with the partisan politics that may be involved. Too often partisanship arouses the emotions of the electorate and causes it to vote not on the basis of the merits of a particular proposal or a particular personality. We have done the best we could to keep this Board of Education out of politics, and at the same time to involve the people of the District of Columbia in the election of their Board of Education so that they, too, will know that their voice is being heard and that their needs are being taken care of. And more important, that the needs of the children of the District of Columbia are being properly attended to by the Board of Education. We hope that an elected Board of Education will more effectively attend to those needs and to those desires in order to create a Board of Education in this city of Washington that can be an example to the rest of the country.

I do hope that the bill will be unanimously passed by this House. It will be a deserving tribute to the chairman, the ranking minority member, and the other members of this committee, who have done such yeoman work in struggling with this bill, and who have tried to do the best job that could possibly be done.

All good legislation is the result of honest and honorable compromise. This bill does not embrace everything that was urged upon the committee nor does it exclude all that was objected to. As we gain experience under it, we may amend it accordingly.

It is, however, workable and it is a good start.

I am sure the people of the District will respond by electing knowledgeable men and women of high character, good repute, and with a dedication to public service that will make our Nation proud.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield to our distinguished chairman.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I would feel derelict in my duty if I did not pay the highest respect possible to my colleague from New York. The gentleman made a great contribution to this proposed legislation.

At the same time I wish to congratulate the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL] and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER]. I am certain this bill would never have been reported to the floor of the House if it had not been for these fine gentlemen cooperating and assisting in getting together on some of the ramifications—and there are many—in this proposed legislation.

Mr. MULTER. I second and echo the comments of our able chairman. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL] have worked extremely hard to produce this fine new piece of legislation, and they have had the cooperation of all the other Members.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] in commending the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMILLAN], and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN], as well as all the members of the committee, who cooperated so well and worked so hard to make this legislation possible.

Mr. Speaker, for many, many years we have had a great deal of debate, disagreement, confusion, and misunderstanding on how we could provide for the people of the District of Columbia a greater voice in the management of their own affairs. We have argued about the principle or the desirability of representative government or self-government.

We have a problem here. This is the Nation's Capital, as pointed out by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN]. We have a Federal interest, a Federal responsibility, and these are paramount. We cannot be indifferent to problems of police and fire protection in the Nation's Capital, to public utilities, and many other public services. We are naturally concerned about the representation of the scenic beauty of our Nation's Capital, and the preservation of its historic buildings.

We own over half of the land area, the real property here in the District of Columbia, and we must be willing to pay our share of the cost of operating the Nation's Capital. We cannot discharge that responsibility by some magic formula or by delegating to the people of the District of Columbia the powers and the authority to tax Federal property.

Then, of course, Mr. Speaker, we have the constitutional limitation as contained in article I, section 8, which delegates to the Congress the exclusive legislative jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever over the District of Columbia. So the question is, and has been for many years, how can we provide the people of the Nation's Capital, the people who live within the District of Columbia, a maximum voice in the management of their own affairs without being in conflict with the Constitution? Also how can we make certain that the Federal interest and Federal responsibility are not jeopardized? We cannot do it by merely giving complete rule of the Nation's Capital to the people who are living within its boundaries.

Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, that word "rule" seems to me to conflict somewhat in a democracy or with respect to any self-governing people. We have found many ways in which we could give the people in the Nation's Capital a voice in the management of their own affairs.

We have the 23d amendment to the Constitution, which gives the people of the District of Columbia the right to vote for President and for Vice President. There is now pending before the House Committee on the Judiciary—and I hope it will be reported out in this session—another proposed constitutional amendment that will provide for the people of the District of Columbia voting representation in the House and possibly in the U.S. Senate. Certainly this can be provided without any conflict with the Federal interest or shrinking of Federal responsibility.

Then, of course, we could retrocede part of the Nation's Capital, that part which is not needed as a Federal City, to the people of Maryland, and in that way they could have complete self-government. We did this in 1846 by retroceding the city of Alexandria and the county of Arlington to the State of Virginia. I do not know why the people of Maryland do not want part of this land back. I do not know what they have against the people who are living in the District of Columbia. At any rate, this is one of the many alternatives we could consider in providing a maximum voice for the people of the District of Columbia.

Of course, an elected school board is a very simple, clear-cut way by which we can separate the interest of the Federal Government and the responsibility of the Federal Government from the interests and responsibilities of the people who live in the District of Columbia. The operation of a school system in most communities accounts for more than half of the annual budget. In the District of Columbia, I see no reason why we could not give the people of the District the complete authority over the operation of their educational system.

This bill is a step in that direction. It does not please everybody in every technical aspect. There are many technical problems, involving considerable give and take, involved in writing legislation of this sort. In the consideration of this particular bill, questions arose as to whether there should be a nine-man Board or an 11-man Board; whether there should be one member elected at large or three members elected at large, or whether all should be elected at large; whether Board of Education members should serve without pay or whether there should be compensation of $100 or $200 a month; and then, of course, whether the members of the School Board should be elected in November or in April. All these problems needed to be worked out, and we may have to use trial and error over a period of years to perfect the best system we can devise to permit the people of the District of Columbia to elect their own School Board. However, this bill is at least a step in the right direction.

Later on, I hope we will consider legislation which will give the citizens of the District of Columbia, or members of the School Board, authority to set their own tax rate and raise their own revenue. In the meantime, I am fearful that whenever there is any problem related to the financing of the District of Columbia school system, the blame will be laid at the doorstep of Congress.

But all this can come in time, and I think what we should do right now is get the show on the road. I hope the bill before us today will be passed unanimously.

I wish, therefore, Mr. Speaker, to express my wholehearted support for the bill, H.R. 13042, which is designed to provide for the election of the members of the District of Columbia Board of Education. It has long been my conviction that the citizens of the Nation's Capital should be granted this franchise, as an exercise in the democratic process in an area of the city's government in which the Federal Government has no interest to protect. For this reason, I introduced legislation to accomplish this purpose, both this year and in the 89th Congress.

This proposed legislation, as reported by the House Committee on the District of Columbia, will authorize the District of Columbia Board of Elections to divide the city into eight wards, contiguous and of approximately equal populations, to serve as the framework for elections of members of the Board of Education. These wards are to be reapportioned after each decennial census, for the purpose of maintaining equality of population. It is provided further that a Board of Education of 11 members shall be elected, eight of whom shall represent the wards described above, and three of whom shall be elected from the city at large. These elections are to be nonpartisan in nature.

These elections are to be held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each odd-numbered year. This will avoid holding the nonpartisan school board election simultaneously with the presidential elections. However, in order that the election of the first such District of Columbia Board of Education not have to be delayed until 1969, the bill provides that the first such election be held on April 16, 1968. Five of the members elected at this time, determined by the drawing of lots, will serve until the end of 1969; and the other six will serve until the end of 1971. Thereafter, all terms will be for periods of 4 years, with five members being elected in 1 year and six members 2 years hence, to accomplish a staggered system of service on the Board.

The members of the first elected Board, chosen next April, will take office in June of 1968. Thereafter, members elected in November will take office on the fourth Monday of the following January.

In the event that no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast for a given seat on the Board of Education, the bill provides for a runoff election between the two candidates who received the highest number of votes, to be held 21 days after the original election. In the case of the election to be held next April, the runoff is authorized to be held on May 7, 1968. Tie votes cast in any School Board election shall be resolved by the casting of lots before the District of Columbia Board of Elections.

In order to qualify as a candidate for the District of Columbia Board of Education, a person must be a registered voter in the District of Columbia. If he is a candidate from one of the eight wards, he must have resided in that ward for at least 1 year, and in the District of Columbia for at least 3 years, immediately prior to the election. Candidates for election from the city at large must have been residents of the city for at least 3 years prior to the election.

In the original election to be held in April 1968, candidates for seats from the wards must present to the Board of Elections a petition signed by at least 50 voters registered in that ward; and candidates for seats representing the city at large must file petitions bearing the signatures of at least 400 registered voters, including at least 50 from each ward. Thereafter, in the case of the elections to be held in November of the odd-numbered years, candidates from the wards must present nominating petitions signed by at least 250 voters from that ward, and candidates at large must file petitions signed by at least 2,000 registered voters. Of these latter, 200 must be from each of the eight wards and 400 more from the city in general. Each filing of candidacy must be accompanied by a filing fee of $100.

The Board of Elections is required to arrange the names of the candidates on the ballots by lot.

The bill provides that no employee of the District of Columbia School Board or of the District of Columbia government may serve as a member of the District of Columbia Board of Education. Such an employee may, of course, be a candidate for election to the School Board, but if elected he shall be required to resign his position before serving as a member of the Board.

The chronology spelled out in this proposed legislation, necessary for the orderly process of conducting the elections, is as follows. Nominating petitions for candidates may be circulated as early as 99 days prior to the election, and such petitions may be filed with the District of Columbia Board of Elections as early as the 70th day and as late as the 56th day before the election. Then the Board of Elections is required to post these petitions publicly, in order that any voter wishing to challenge the validity of any such petition may have the opportunity to do so. Such challenges must be filed with the Board of Elections not later than the 43d day prior to the election, and the challenge may question the eligibility of the candidate himself, or the fact that the requisite number of bona fide voters have signed the petition.

It is then incumbent on the Board of Elections to determine the validity of any such challenge, and the Board must make all such decisions not later than 35 days before the election date. A person whose challenge of a petition has been overruled by the Board of Elections will then have a period of 3 days, or until the 32d day prior to the election, to file an appeal from the Election Board's ruling with the District Court of Appeals. The last day for the registration of voters is established as the 31st day prior to the date of the election.

The present District of Columbia election law provides for a complete registration of voters in every election year. While this may have proved satisfactory under the present situation in which there is an election in the District only every fourth year, it would obviously be impractical to require registration every 2 years for the School Board elections. For this reason, and at the request of the District of Columbia Board of Elections, the bill, H.R. 13042, amends the present act to provide for permanent registration of voters in the District of Columbia. Under this system, a registered voter who fails to vote for 4 successive years will be removed from the list of registered voters. This system, in my opinion, is both practical and equitable.

The elected District of Columbia Board of Education will be required to meet at least once each month, with all meetings being open except those at which teachers are to be engaged. The bill provides also for the payment of as much as $100 per month to each member of the Board for reimbursement of expenses incident to service on the Board.

A vacancy occurring on the Board of Education, by reason of the death or resignation of a member, is to be filled at the next general election occurring more than 99 days after such a vacancy occurs. The person elected to such a vacancy is to serve the unexpired part of the term. When a vacancy occurs, the Board of Education shall immediately choose a successor to serve the remainder of the unexpired term or until a successor is elected to fill the vacancy, whichever shall occur first.

I hail this carefully drawn and thoroughly workable bill as a monumental step forward, in granting to the citizens of the District of Columbia what I consider to be a proper duty, responsibility, and privilege—that of choosing the members of their Board of Education in nonpartisan elections. As a matter of fact, I personally would prefer that this elected Board of Education be given the authority and the responsibility of approving its own budget and raising its own revenues. I believe that the revenues available from proper sources of taxation in the District, plus the Federal funds which accrue to the city's school system under such programs as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, and the program of aid to impacted areas, are sufficient for the effective operation of the District of Columbia public school system. I believe this autonomy would be entirely proper, since the administration of the city's public school system in no way affects the Federal Government's interest in the city, except to the extent that the citizens of the entire Nation contribute through taxation to its financial support. It is my hope that this may become a reality.

Meanwhile, I offer my support enthusiastically to this bill, and urge that its approval by this body be unanimous.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I noticed the gentleman made reference to a voting and a nonvoting delegate for the District of Columbia. My feeling is the people here should have someone to go to, as we in Minnesota and the people in Virginia have, someone to represent their interests. There should be someone to represent the interests of the District of Columbia in the Congress, and a voting delegate bill, I understand, will be reported soon. I support it. A nonvoting delegate will be a help and could be immediately provided for, because this could be done without a constitutional amendment.

These are areas in which I feel, as the gentleman does, there is need for attention. I thank the gentleman for yielding and for the very good support he gave us on this bill in the committee, working in the best interests, we believe, of the District of Columbia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. As the gentleman will recall, the 23d amendment was ratified by the States in record time. I hope and believe that a similar amendment, to provide a voting delegate for the District of Columbia will also be approved in record time.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I yield to our chairman.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, there will certainly continue to be important problems with respect to conditions in the individual school districts. At present, some of the people are complaining because they say they have no representation on the Board. I think the enactment of this bill will also assist in correcting the problems mentioned by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] in connection with the destruction of so many of the glass windows in the school buildings.

Certainly the local School Board member from a district would try to see that the police check closely on the school buildings in his district.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. There is no question that the eight members elected from various wards would give a very good cross section of representation on the School Board. Having three members elected at large will certainly help to overcome the so-called parochial interest referred to by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN].

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I shall be brief, Mr. Speaker.

As one of the Members representing a district which is a suburb of the District of Columbia, and being very cognizant of the problems of the District in the metropolitan area, I am pleased by the action taken by the committee.

I should like to compliment the chairman of the committee and the ranking minority member, as well as all other members of the committee, for bringing this bill to the floor.

I was particularly interested in the comments made by the ranking minority member; namely, that we should see that the Nation's Capital is the showplace of the country. The Nation's Capital is one which belongs to all of us. I hope we can continue to work to make the Nation's Capital truly the most beautiful capital of the Nation and of the world.

I have one brief comment to make to my colleague from Virginia. We have discussed many times the fact that Virginia was an "Indian giver" and took back what they gave to the District of Columbia. Maryland left its part of the District of Columbia, which now comprises the District of Columbia. Certainly at this late date we are not going to be "Indian givers" and take back the District of Columbia into Maryland. We believe they can, with the help of Congress, well manage their own affairs.

I support this bill.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACHEN. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. I rise to associate myself with the remarks which have been made in favor of the passage of this legislation.

Having been a resident of the Washington metropolitan area since 1934, I am fully cognizant of the manner in which the School Board has been selected in the past. It has not been a democratic way of selecting members.

I am pleased that judges of the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia do not want this chore and it does seem proper to me for the people of the District of Columbia to select their own School Board members.

Therefore I fully support this legislation.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I rise in support of this bill. I want to join with the other Members in commending the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. MCMILLAN], the ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN], and the other members of the committee for what has proved to be a very cooperative bipartisan effort to give the people of the District of Columbia a voice in the running of their own schools.

I should add, I believe, that this is another step in what has been a very constructive pattern of action by the District of Columbia Committee.

Earlier this year the committee proposed to the House, and the House accepted, some new revenue measures to strengthen the capacity of the District of Columbia to meet its obligations to the people and to finance its programs essential to the health and welfare of the residents of the District. This measure is still in conference, and I know it will get sympathetic consideration as ways are found to work out the differences between the House-passed version and that of the other body.

Reinforcing this pattern of cooperation has been the fact that the school board bill is strongly supported by the President of the United States. It was shortly after the chairman of the committee introduced, with the support of many other members, this school board legislation that the President sent a message to the Congress urging that such legislation be adopted. So on all fronts—the executive and the legislative—we find agreement that this change will be a constructive and a forward step in creating a stronger system of education for the children of the District.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that there is some concern about the election date provided in this bill. The initial objections I heard to the election in April; that is, the transitional first election, were based on technical grounds, as I understood them. It did not seem to me that there were adequate reasons on a technical basis for postponing the elections beyond April. However, I should say in all candor that others who have spoken to me have made other observations about the desirability of more time, inasmuch as this will be the first election in which citizens participate. For the first time there will be wards drawn by the election officials. There will have to be a certain amount of learning which will take place in the District.

It is my view that if an amendment should be offered, though I have no intention of offering one, if one should be offered to put the date off to September, I would see no serious objection to it. The committee was of the opinion, and I think with some justification, that the school board elections should not be at the same time as partisan elections. So the choice which was open to the committee was limited. I do not happen to feel strongly about this matter. Certainly the will of the House can be worked to arrive at a different decision if that is the desire of the House.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that while the bill that is before the House does not expressly require coordination between the board of education and other agencies of the District of Columbia, such coordination and cooperation is going to be essential if the full benefit of the school system and of the school physical plant is to be made available to the District. There will be a need to coordinate with the District of Columbia Recreation Board and coordinate with the other agencies so that the maximum potential of the schools can be realized and the schools made as strong a center of community activity as possible. I am confident that the new school board will observe their responsibilities in this connection.

President Johnson emphasized the integral relationship of the school system with the municipal government in his letter of August 16, 1967, endorsing the idea of an elected board of education for the District of Columbia. He asserted that—

> If that (educational) system is to succeed it must be a part of community life. The problems of delinquency, crime, and empty summers—and the promise of vocational training, recreation, and full opportunity—must be no less the concern of the educational system than of the community as a whole.
>
> Education can no longer be considered a seasonal experience, when the problems of a modern city know no calendar.
>
> To answer this challenge in our Nation's Capital, the school board I propose will have a broad charter
>
> To involve itself deeply in the affairs of the community.
>
> To coordinate its efforts fully with other agencies of the City's government.
>
> And, most importantly, to work closely with the new officials of the City government.

Further support for coordination between the schools and the District of Columbia government can be found in the recent Passow report on the District of Columbia schools. As the report states—

> A school which serves its community will be an educational center in the broadest sense—a place where children, youth and adults have opportunities for study and learning. Beyond that, the school may also function as a neighborhood community center; a center for community services (health, counseling, legal, employment and welfare); and as the center of community life, catalyzing action for study and solution of significant neighborhood problems.

Such community schools cannot be achieved unless the Board of Education and the Commissioner of the District of Columbia work out effective procedures to assure full coordination in developing community and educational programs.

To be sure, the Board has very substantial statutory dependence on the District government—mainly in that the District must approve the school budget and capital program. But the coordination that is needed and expected goes far beyond this. It involves cooperative policy development on matters of joint interest and smoothly meshed operations. It is the kind of cooperation vital to successful community programs and meaningful educational programs.

What does all this mean in direct, operational terms? Among other things, it may mean that educational facilities should be designed and constructed to accommodate civic and community activities such as recreation, adult and vocational training, civic meetings and other community purposes;

Educational facilities should be made fully available for community purposes during nonschool hours;

Municipal services such as police, sanitation, recreational, and maintenance services to schools should be stepped up so as to enhance the effectiveness and stature of the school in the community;

The Board of Education should welcome District officials to participate in its deliberations and ways devised to share responsibility in programs of community enrichment.

A municipal school system that regards itself as an instrument of the total community is a powerful tool for achieving a quality community. This can better be achieved by coordination between the Board of Education and the other agencies of the District of Columbia government.

Mr. Speaker, I want to close by saying that having been on this committee for 3 years that the very constructive leadership which the chairman has offered with respect to the problems of the District of Columbia is most gratifying to me. I hope that the House will support the bill.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, should like to compliment the chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMillan] and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen] for this forward-looking piece of legislation. I am pleased, along with many other Members of Congress, that they acted with such dispatch to bring this legislation to the floor. I wish to compliment them and the other members of the committee for doing so.

I even want to compliment the President for his interest in this particular piece of legislation, an interest stimulated perhaps by the action of this committee and several other Members of Congress. But I think it is salutary and will work to the best interest of the people of the District of Columbia.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I shall be happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I just wish to point out to my colleagues that, perhaps, one of the unsung heroes of the school board bill is our good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown]. It is my recollection that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown] drafted the first bill that was introduced. Much of the legislation which we are now considering was taken from the language of the bill which he introduced. Therefore, we are happy to welcome the support of the gentleman from Ohio for this District of Columbia Committee bill and to thank the gentleman for his fine work and the contribution which he has made toward the accomplishment of this objective. The gentleman from Ohio has been of very excellent help to all of us.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The gentleman from Minnesota is very flattering and I think unduly so. Perhaps, no other person has contributed so much to the accomplishment of this purpose as has the gentleman from Minnesota, not just during the course of this year but over the past years. However, I do appreciate his kind words.

Mr. Speaker, as a product of the school system of the District of Columbia, having graduated from Western High School some 23 years ago, I have felt strongly that the District in the past has enjoyed an excellent school system. I further feel that the quality of that system can be restored with effective local leadership.

But, perhaps, only with effective local leadership can the school system of the District of Columbia be better than it is now. This will occur only if the citizens of the District will accept the interest and responsibility which they have now been given. They now have the opportunity to reorganize and develop the local schools which, after all, are so vital to the citizens of any area. I say this, Mr. Speaker, because it is the local school which prepares the children of the local citizens, intellectually, morally, and as future citizens, whether they will grow up to live in the areas where they attended school or in other areas of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, if there is any governmental area or governmental program where people should have the right to govern themselves, this is it—the public school system. If there is any governmental area where people should do well with the personal responsibility and opportunity for self-government to show that they can govern themselves effectively, this is it—the public school system.

I am confident that this system will work well in the District of Columbia, as it has worked so well elsewhere across our Nation, in the deep-rooted tradition of our great country. I hope it will represent an example for future efforts to provide self-rule or expanded representation in government.

I do feel that the congressional interest and the interest of the executive branch of Government must continue to be represented in the government of the city of Washington, D.C. However, I feel it is vital that the schools be thus self-governed by the people of the area where the schools function. These people, in turn, should direct their most effective efforts and responsibilities toward this kind of home rule.

Again, permit me to compliment the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia. Permit me to wish well the citizens of the District of Columbia in their efforts at operating their own schools. I think that every one of us faces this new era in the District of Columbia school system with hope and with confidence and, perhaps, with a certain feeling that we are embarking upon something that could or could not establish the effectiveness of self-rule for the citizens of this city and influence the course of future deliberations in this Congress on the question of self-government for the citizens of the Nation's Capital City.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. It will bring to Washington a concept of school management that is working very well all over the country. I happen to be the chairman of the Subcommittee on General Education. We handle legislation affecting some 47 million children in this country. It is rather significant to me that the best school system in America are those managed by elected school boards. In many of our suburbs throughout the country we find the highest scholastic achievement by young people and we find elected school boards playing an important part in meeting the school needs of those communities.

Last year it was my privilege to serve as chairman of a special task force that investigated the school system here in the District of Columbia, and we found that the needs of the school system in the District of Columbia are monumental. We found that the schools in Washington will need some very extensive help from the Federal Government, but we also found that much could be done at the local level to help the schools immediately. This is not being done at the present time. My judgment is that an elected School Board will have a great deal of latitude in marshaling the local forces of the District of Columbia to bring some immediate relief to the school system of this city.

I cannot think of anything more archaic than the present system of appointing school board members in the District of Columbia, and since we have an archaic system of appointing School Board members we get a very archaic system of education.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I, too, would like to join in commending the chairman of the committee and the members of this committee. I would also like to join in commending President Johnson for providing the leadership in presenting this concept of managing the District of Columbia schools to Congress. I am sure it will serve as a model for many other communities across the country. Education is the most single important function of local government. I believe the concept of electing school board members will spread across the country. Perhaps the time has come when the people themselves ought to have a greater voice in the affairs and management of their schools. I find in talking to people across the country that in great numbers they are dissatisfied with the kind of education their children are receiving. It would appear to me that members of school boards elected by the people themselves would have a greater voice in setting the policies of management for their schools. There is no question but that we are all now trying to do everything we can to improve education in America. This Government is spending tremendous sums of money on education, and the largest item on local real estate tax bills is support of the school system.

When I first came to the Congress in 1959, the United States was spending $450 million in Federal aid to education. Today this country is spending more than $13.5 billion in Federal aid to education. It would appear to me that it is just and wise and well to have those who are administering these programs elected by the people, because I know of no more effective way of managing these Federal aid programs to our schools than through a mandate of the people expressed by their elected school board. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I join in support of this legislation.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I support this legislation, but in listening to the speeches and remarks that have been made about the educational system in Washington, D.C., I am concerned. I certainly agree that it is proper to commend the members of the committee, because this is a thoughtful piece of legislation. However, I must say that it is appropriate, in my view, to caution against anticipating that this legislation is going to dramatically change the quality of education in the District of Columbia.

I believe that talk of the possibility of the District of Columbia becoming a model for the rest of the country in education in the new term is far off the mark.

Mr. Speaker, I have two children in the schools of the District, one in the sixth grade and the other in the second grade. I have had an opportunity to watch the operation of the school system in the District for several years, and I must say the District schools are in serious trouble. The children in the District of Columbia are not getting quality education. The problems are great, and it is going to take more than money to solve them. It is going to take the people in the District, and the people who have responsibility for the caring about what is going on in the District of Columbia schools. It is particularly important for the parents and the people in the District to become involved and participating in helping to solve the school problems.

It is a very easy thing to say simply that they need more money. It is very easy to say they need an elected school board. Indeed, they need both. But the District of Columbia schools need more. I am not optimistic that, alone, either more money or an elected school board will solve the problems that we face here in the District of Columbia.

I commend the chairman of the committee and the ranking member for bringing the legislation to the floor of the House.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. McMILLAN. I certainly agree with the statement that the gentleman has made. I think a majority of the members of the committee are of the same opinion. We feel that if the schools are going to get better or worse, the responsibility should be placed on the shoulders of the people here in the District of Columbia and not on the Congress of the United States, and the District court that named the school board that has had authority over the schools.

I think that this will place the responsibility where it belongs. I have always been of the opinion that every community should handle its own school system ever since I have been in the Congress.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I agree with the statement made by the gentleman that there are many problems besetting the District of Columbia public school system today, and that money alone cannot solve all these problems. I know also that this elected school board is certainly not a panacea. I wonder if the gentleman has any more specific observation as to what is wrong and what may be helpful in improving the educational system in the District of Columbia? I know that those of us who have served on the Committee on the District of Columbia for years have been most anxious to do everything possible from the legislative standpoint and we have, I believe, in many instances approved legislation that was recommended by the Board of Education and by the District of Columbia Commissioners. As I say, I agree with the gentleman that we have a problem in the educational system of the Nation's Capital and would appreciate any specific suggestions he may have as to how we could improve that system.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I could talk about this subject, as the gentleman could, for several hours, but time does not permit it here. The thing that I believe will assist in helping to solve these problems is, as I indicated, that the parents who have children in these schools become involved in the parent-teachers organizations and become involved in the problems of the local schools, and that they, as your bill helps to provide, have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process that is so important to the quality of education.

I could go on and talk about the recent court decision here and the problems that it has caused in the District of Columbia, of the delay in the starting of the schools, and the days the children will miss and the problems of teachers and difficulties in getting good teachers.

There are so many areas here. But to place responsibility where it belongs, it is the people who reside in the District of Columbia who must care and deal with these problems. Simply complaining about the Congress will not solve these problems. They are not going to solved until the people are ready to work for sound solutions, take a part in meeting the problems, and deeply care about solving them. They are solvable. I am convinced that they are, but they will only be solved when we reach that point. I must say from what I have seen they they are not getting the attention on the part of the citizens of the District of Columbia and of the parents that they require. Too many people are fleeing the city or placing their children in private schools. If this continues the prospects are bleak.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 327, nays 3, not voting 102, as follows:

[Roll No. 273]

YEAS—327

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corman
Cowger
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McDade
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Perkins
Pettis
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stratton

Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Tunney
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—3

Burleson
Colmer
Whitten

NOT VOTING—102

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Aspinall
Baring
Barrett
Bingham
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Corbett
Curtis
de la Garza
Dent
Donohue
Dorn
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Hagan
Hall
Halpern
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Hébert
Helstoski
Holland
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Kluczynski
Landrum
Leggett
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Pepper
Philbin
Pool
Pryor
Purcell
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Roberts
Ronan
Rostenkowski
Sandman
St Germain
St. Onge
Staggers
Stephens
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Tiernan
Udall
Utt
Vander Jagt
Watkins
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Hall.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Curtis.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Morgan with Mr. Halpern.
Mr. St. Onge with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.
Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Feighan with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Hosmer.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Tenzer with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Erlenborn.
Mr. Zablocki with Mr. Morton.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Widnall.
Mr. Donohue with Mr. Cahill.
Mr. Philbin with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Roberts with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Brown of Michigan.
Mr. Hanley with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Staggers with Mr. McEwen.
Mr. St Germain with Mr. Sandman.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Dorn with Mr. Thompson of Georgia.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Brasco with Mr. Edwards of California.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Barrett with Mr. Helstoski.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Pryor.
Mr. Moss with Mr. Rarick.
Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Pool.
Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Ashley.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Jones of Alabama.
Mr. Bingham with Mr. Kee.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Long of Maryland.
Mr. Pepper with Mr. Rees.
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Purcell.
Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Rostenkowski.
Mr. Young with Mr. Udall.
Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Williams of Mississippi.
Mr. Wright with Mrs. Green of Oregon.
Mr. Willis with Mrs. Hansen of Washington.
Mr. Hagan with Mr. Reuss.
Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Kazen.
Mr. Mathias of Maryland with Mr. de la Garza.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks in the RECORD on the bill just passed, and also on the next two bills to be considered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

TO PERMIT DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL TO MAKE REGULATIONS UNDER DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL ACT

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 13025) to permit the District of Columbia Council to make rules and regulations under the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13025

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. The District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act is amended as follows:

(1) The first sentence of the second paragraph of section 7 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 25–107) is amended to read as follows: "The Council shall have specific authority to make rules and regulations for the issuance, transfer, and revocation of licenses; to facilitate and insure the collection of taxes; to govern the operation of the business of licensees, with full power and authority to prescribe the terms and conditions under which alcoholic beverages may be sold by each class of licensees; to forbid the issuance of licenses for manufacture, sale, or storage of alcoholic beverages in such localities in, and such sections, and portions of, the District of Columbia as they may deem proper in the public interest; to limit the number of licenses of each class to be issued in the District of Columbia and to limit the number of licenses of each class in any locality in, or sections or portions of, the District of Columbia as they may deem proper in the public interest; to forbid the issuance of licenses for businesses conducted on such premises as they, in the public interest, may deem inappropriate; to forbid the issuance of any class or classes of licenses for businesses established subsequent to the date of enactment of this Act near or around schools, colleges, universities, churches, or public institutions, to prescribe the hours during which alcoholic beverages may be sold and to prohibit the sale of any or all alcoholic beverages on such days as the Council determines necessary in the public interest."

(2) Subsection (g) of section 11 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 25–111(g)) is amended by striking out the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sentences and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "In the case of restaurants and hotels, said spirits, beer, and wine shall be sold or served only (1) to persons seated at counters or tables, (2) to persons in an enclosed or screened-off area in any such restaurant or hotel set aside for the accommodation of persons waiting to be seated at public tables, and (3) to assemblages of more than six individuals in a private room when such room has been previously approved by the Board. In the case of hotels, said alcoholic beverages may also be sold and served in the private room of a registered guest. In the case of clubs, said beverages may be sold and served in any room or area available only to bona fide members of such club and their bona fide guests."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by section 1 of this Act shall take effect on the thirtieth day following the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on the District of Columbia has given careful consideration to this proposed legislation. Just recently the House of Representatives, by a large majority, created a new District of Columbia Council. This is the first bill that we have called on the House of Representatives to act upon so as to permit this new council to establish rules and regulations.

I hope the House of Representatives will agree with the committee that this is one item that should be handled by this new District of Columbia Council, and not by the House Committee on the District of Columbia.

The new Council is in a better position to know the conditions in the District of Columbia than are the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia. I hope the House will pass this measure. Certainly this is pursuant to the wishes of the majority Members of the Congress who voted to create this new council.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of H.R. 13025 is to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act in two respects, as follows:

First, permit the District of Columbia Council to make rules and regulations under the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, including prescribing the time when alcoholic beverages may or may not be sold; and

Second, permit hotels and clubs to

serve distilled spirits at food counters and at other places as well as public tables, subject to the same conditions under which restaurants are presently permitted to do so.

BACKGROUND

The genesis of this bill is proposed legislation which was submitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia in the last Congress.

The Commissioners had strongly urged the enactment of such legislation, which had been drafted pursuant to the recommendations of a special Citizens Committee to Conduct a Cooperative Study of the ABC System. This so-called blue ribbon committee, appointed by the Commissioners on March 29, 1962, and comprised of 15 prominent and respected citizens of Washington, held extensive hearings before making their report and recommendations to the Commissioners on July 25, 1962.

Your committee, after public hearings, approved many of their proposals, and these were included in the bill, H.R. 10744, that passed the House on May 23, 1966, but failed of final action in the other body before adjournment of the last Congress.

The Commissioners' request for this legislation—and other provisions not contained in H.R. 13025—is printed in the committee report—House Report 657.

HEARING

At the public hearing on this legislation held by Subcommittee No. 3 on June 23, 1967, witnesses expressing approval of this legislation, in addition to the District of Columbia Commissioners, included spokesmen for the District of Columbia Alcohol Beverage Control Board, the Hotel Association of Washington, D.C., the Restaurant Association of Metropolitan Washington, the Restaurant Beverage Association of Washington, D.C., the National Association Executive Club, the National Press Club, the Touchdown Club of Washington, D.C., and the University Club of Washington, D.C., as well as spokesmen for more than 20 private clubs in the District.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

SUBSECTION (1)

This subsection permits the District of Columbia Council, when appointed, to make rules and regulations under the Alcohol Beverage Control Act with respect to the following:

First. The issuance, transfer, and revocation of licenses;

Second. To facilitate and insure the collection of taxes;

Third. To govern the operation of the business of licensees, with full power and authority to prescribe the terms and conditions under which alcoholic beverages may be sold by each class of licensees;

Fourth. To forbid the issuance of licenses for manufacture, sale, or storage of alcoholic beverages in such localities in, and such sections and portions of, the District of Columbia as they may deem proper in the public interest;

Fifth. To limit the number of licenses of each class to be issued in the District of Columbia and to limit the number of licenses of each class in any locality in, or sections or portions of, the District of Columbia as they may deem proper in the public interest;

Sixth. To forbid the issuance of licenses for business conducted on such premises as they, in the public interest, may deem inappropriate.

Seventh. To forbid the issuance of any class or classes of licenses for business established subsequent to the date of enactment of this act near or around schools, colleges, universities, churches, or public institutions.

Eighth. To prescribe the hours during which alcoholic beverages may be sold and to prohibit the sale of any or all alcoholic beverages on such days as the Council determines necessary in the public interest.

Your committee agrees that the new Council, when appointed, should be permitted to prescribe the hours during which alcoholic beverages may be sold and to prohibit their sale on such days as the Council may deem advisable. It is the committee's opinion that this permission should not be limited or restricted in any way by law, and that the Council may be depended upon to exercise proper judgment thereon in the best interests of the city.

SUBSECTION (2)

This subsection permits serving of alcoholic beverages in hotels, restaurants, and clubs under the following conditions:

Paragraph (2) of section 1 of the bill, as amended by your committee at the request of the District of Columbia Commissioners, permits the sale of alcoholic beverages first, to persons seated at counters or tables in both hotels and restaurants; second, to persons in an enclosed or screened-off area for the accommodation of persons waiting to be seated at public tables; and third, to assemblages of more than six individuals in a private room in a hotel or restaurant when the room has been previously approved by the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. Also, it is provided that alcoholic beverages may be sold and served in the private hotel room of a registered guest, and in clubs alcoholic beverages may be sold and served in any room or area available only to bona fide members of the club and their bona fide guests.

In connection with the last provision, it should be made clear that many clubs make their premises and facilities available from time to time to what might be termed as "outside groups" for the obvious purpose of securing additional revenue for the club. However, your committee is informed that it is the invariable practice in such instances for the club to require that one or more of its members sponsor the use of the club's premises and facilities by such an outside group and to be responsible to the club for such use. Therefore, it is the intent of your committee that the language of this paragraph allow clubs to serve alcoholic beverages to such outside groups who are considered to be present in the clubs as the bona fide guests of the club member or members sponsoring their use of the club's premises and facilities.

Public Law 87-470—76 Stat. 29; D.C. Code, sec. 25-111(g)—approved on May 31, 1962, authorized restaurants to serve spirits, beer, and wine only to persons seated at public tables or bona fide lunch counters; and to persons in an enclosed or screened-off area set aside for the accommodation of persons waiting to be seated at public tables. Inadvertently, however, this same authority for the serving of alcoholic beverages was not extended to hotels. Further, while the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act presently permits hotels to sell and serve alcoholic beverages to a registered guest in his private room and to assemblages of more than six individuals in a private room which has been previously approved by the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, this latter permission is not granted to restaurants. And finally, clubs are presently authorized to serve and sell alcoholic beverages only in the private room of a member or a guest of a member, or to persons seated at tables.

On the subject of clubs, your committee received testimony at its hearing on this bill, to the effect that the established clubs in the District of Columbia have thought through many years of lawful, licensed, and inspected operation that they have had the right to serve alcoholic beverages to members and their guests anywhere in their club premises which is private to the members and their guests. Thus, the provisions of H.R. 13025 will merely grant these clubs an authority in regard to the serving of alcoholic beverages which they previously thought they have always had.

The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia have strongly endorsed the purpose of this section of H.R. 13025, to remove these existing inequities and to make more uniform the requirements relating to the restaurants, hotels, and clubs insofar as the service of alcoholic beverages is concerned.

The District of Columbia Commissioners also pointed out that while existing laws allow restaurants to serve alcoholic beverages to persons seated at "bona fide lunch counters," the service of food at a counter may be only incidental, depending on circumstances. They expressed the belief that the primary factor determining the character of a restaurant or a hotel should be the atmosphere of the entire establishment, and that it is therefore unnecessary and undesirable to specify that the service of beverages in such an establishment shall be at, among other places, a "bona fide food counter." In this connection, the Commissioners pointed out that the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board has the power to disapprove licenses where undesirable situations could result from the indiscriminate use of counters.

Your committee concurs with the District of Columbia Commissioners' views on this matter, and incorporated into the bill the language recommended by them to accomplish these several purposes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, if I understand this bill correctly, the main purpose is to provide for the sale of liquor in the District of Columbia on Sunday. Is that correct?

Mr. McMILLAN. If the gentleman will yield, that is not my purpose. My purpose is to get this headache out from under my committee.

Mr. GROSS. But if the House approves this bill it will have approved the Sunday sale of liquor by the drink in the District of Columbia?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, sir; it would not. This would give the new council and the Commissioner authority to issue new rules and regulations.

Mr. GROSS. Yes, it would give such authority to the Council and District of Columbia Commissioner, is that correct?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Is there any doubt in the gentleman's mind that sale of liquor on Sunday would be the end result of this legislation?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not know. I have not talked to the new Commissioner, and I have not talked to any member of the council. I do not know how they feel on this subject.

Mr. GROSS. I believe the House should be aware of what this bill proposes to do. It delegates the power to officials of the District of Columbia to provide for the sale of liquor by the drink in the District on Sunday.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that up to midnight of any Saturday ought to be time enough for those so inclined to get their skins full of booze. I would hope that this would not be extended beyond midnight on any Saturday, because if it is, then perhaps the imbibers will not even be able to fasten their safety belts.

Mr. McMILLAN. I heartily agree with the gentleman. I believe anyone should be able to drink all they should have by 12 o'clock on Saturday night.

I have been trying to handle this situation the best I could for the past 20 years, and if Members of the Congress are not satisfied and want to create a council to handle the rules and regulations, I am willing to pass this on to the council.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, so far as the sale of liquor is concerned in the District of Columbia, I think the hours are sufficient if sales are halted by midnight Saturday. I think the liquor dealers and those who otherwise peddle liquor will do very well if they have until midnight on that day. There is no need whatever to carry this into Sunday. As has been suggested by one of the Members near at hand, they ought to have all least 1 day to sober up.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this bill.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, as has been pointed out by the gentleman from South Carolina, this legislation does not change the law regarding the sale of whiskey on Sunday here in the Nation's Capital. It does delegate authority to this new city council, which the House of Representatives approved of by an overwhelming vote about 3 or 4 weeks ago, to write the regulations dealing with that subject.

The Committee on the District of Columbia and the Congress has been criticized over the years for getting overly involved in minor administrative details. It has even been suggested that we turn over the complete operation of the Nation's Capital to the people living in the Nation's Capital.

By degrees, we are delegating to the citizens of the city as much of this legislative and regulatory authority as possible. We will soon have a new city council that many of the proponents feel will be broadly representative of the people in the Nation's Capital. If this city council is indeed representative, and has any ability whatsoever, we feel that it should be able to write proper regulations governing the sale of alcoholic beverages. The Congress should not have to be involved in setting the hours so far as the closing of restaurants is concerned here in the District of Columbia. The Council or the present Commissioners have the authority to set the time for the sale of alcoholic beverages during the other six days of the week. Why should not they have the authority to set the hour of closing also on Saturday night?

This does not mean that they are going to permit the sale of whisky on Sunday. There may, however, be occasions and as, for example, when New Year's Eve may fall on a Saturday or a Sunday, when it may be wise and it may meet with the approval of the majority of the people of the District of Columbia and of the Congress to make a moderate and special exception to this present law prohibiting the sale of whisky on Sunday. This bill would enable the District of Columbia Council, by a special regulation, to permit the sale of whisky on such an occasion.

There are other inequities in the existing law which were inadvertently approved by the Congress a few years ago, when we amended the law so as to permit restaurants to sell whisky at food counters and to people standing up in screened-off areas while waiting for a table. By an oversight, however, hotels and private clubs are not permitted that same privilege. This bill seeks to correct that inequity, and this provision is strongly recommended by the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners and the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this bill is approved.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. The gentleman said a moment ago that the Congress hopes that by passing this legislation to divest itself of some of the responsibility and some of the details of administering liquor legislation.

Could the gentleman tell me why the committee went to the extent that they did in subsection (2) of the legislation in the instance of restaurants and hotels where only persons could be served who were seated or in an enclosed, screened off area and that sort of thing?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. This obvious inequity, as I just said a moment ago, was created a few years ago by error. We made the error by legislation and we are correcting it by legislation. I wish to point out to the gentleman that the new District of Columbia Council, and the single District of Columbia Commissioner, will not have authority to legislate, or to amend existing law.

So far as the sale of alcoholic beverages on Sunday is concerned, by law, the Commissioners do not have the authority to regulate that. By law we are giving them the authority.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. You said earlier in your initial remarks that we have a city council now. Later you referred to the city council or present commissioners. Does the gentleman have any idea of who will actually compose this new council that will be nominated by the White House to serve as councilmen?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I do not think I need to tell the gentleman that I am not tuned in to the White House any better than he is, and I have no more idea of who will be the members of the council other than what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I was somewhat pleased, even though I did not support the legislation here, to learn that the administration in naming the commissioner and council would be looking for the best qualified people they could possibly find to fill those positions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I was somewhat pleased, when we had the Reorganization Act before the Congress, that the administration stated to the Congress that it would be their intent and their purpose in reorganizing the District of Columbia government in naming a Commissioner and a city council to select to serve in these all-important posts the best qualified people that could possibly be found—in the instance of Commissioner, that could be found anywhere in the United States; in the instance of city councilmen themselves, residents of the District of Columbia to serve in these all-important posts.

I was further pleased, even though I did not support the legislation, to see that they were considering, among others, people of the stature of John Gunther, people qualified to serve in Government at any level.

But I have a clipping in my hand from the Washington Post—even though I do not like to use the name—dated September 20, 1967, which states, "White House Seeking New Names for Council." It is a news item, by Robert Asher and Peter Milius. It goes on to say that:

> The Administration is asking selected leaders in the District for some fresh names for the City Council, it was learned last night.
>
> Administration aides are asking, in particular, for names of civil rights militants from Northeast and Southeast Washington.
>
> The solicitation of new names began Mon-

day, after some weekend criticism of the list of the Council prospects known to be under consideration.

If you can believe what this article states—and no one has denied it to this point—they have forgotten the idea of selecting qualified people who might know something about government and who might be interested in government, and they are interested in selecting only civil rights militants without regard to qualification.

I simply raise the question, considering the authority that this new council, whoever they will be, will have under this proposed legislation, whether or not there is any wisdom in turning over to the city council affairs which contribute to crime, as they could conceivably do, over to people who are going to be selected obviously not for their qualification. I would simply like to ask some member of the committee if they can justify this action, if indeed, this is what they are going to be faced with.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. As the gentleman knows, the gentleman from Virginia did oppose this concept of reorganization plan.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am quite aware of that. I think you will be happier about it in time to come.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. One of the fears that were pointed out, one of the points of concern, was that the council would consist of various political appointees, representatives of various pressure groups, and would not have the best interests of the Nation's Capital at heart. With the background of some of the people who have been recommended or mentioned in newspapers as possible candidates, it does appear that the White House is considering the groups that these people represent rather than their individual ability, background, and stability. I would like to say to the gentleman that that is somewhat beside the point. I think we have the responsibility of trying or attempting to divest ourselves, insofar as possible, of the regulatory details or the administrative details of the District of Columbia.

I think it is the responsibility of the executive branch, the President—and the other body, in confirmation—to find the necessary people to represent the city government here in the Capital.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman have any reason to believe this might be the situation in view of this Washington Post item of September 20?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman have any reason to believe that this might be the case, that the executive branch of the Government will exercise some diligence to find qualified people to serve on the executive council in the District of Columbia?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have a great deal of concern as to the type of people who will be appointed to serve on the city council. Certainly I do have.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am a little surprised at some of those who support the sale of liquor in the District of Columbia on Sunday. I note that in the State of Virginia there is no sale of liquor by the drink on any day of the week, that it is all package store liquor. So I am a little surprised that there should be this strong advocacy from some people to continue the sale by the drink in the District of Columbia on Sunday.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the statement I made and the questions I asked are really not aimed at whether or not they are going to sell liquor on Sunday. I come from a State that has a liquor law as liberal as any State. I believe only New York, the District of Columbia, and Louisiana allow sale of liquor to those 18 years of age. Most States require 21 years of age before liquor can be sold to a person.

The question here is whether or not we have any reason to believe that anybody of integrity and responsibility will enforce this legislation. I agree Congress has more important business to tend to. It shocks me and should shock the Congress to hear that the primary qualification to serve on the District of Columbia Council is to be a civil rights militant. Are we going to regret this, I ask. If the Council is to be composed of men like John Gunther it is safe to pass this legislation. If it is to be loaded with militants, then we had better review the matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

(On request of Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, and by unanimous consent, Mr. WAGGONNER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa referred to "some people" advocating the sale of liquor in the District of Columbia on Sunday, indicating the State of Virginia does not permit the sale of liquor by the drink at any time. This is correct. This is something the State legislature will, in due course, take care of.

But I want to correct the gentleman, if by "some people" he means the gentleman now speaking. I am supporting not the sale of liquor on Sunday, but I am merely supporting the bill which merely delegates authority to the new city Council to regulate the sale of liquor. The gentleman can put whatever connotation he wants to on that, but I do not believe he has authority to interpret what my intentions are in respect to this legislation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

(On request of Mr. GROSS, and by unanimous consent, Mr. WAGGONNER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I note in the report, the gentleman from Virginia, since he has now identified himself as being the spokesman, evidently subscribes to the report on this bill. It reads:

> Also—Saturday night is usually the night that people go out for entertainment and relaxation but, ironically, here in the District the sale, service and consumption of beverages must be stopped at midnight, whereas the hour is 2:00 A.M. on Tuesday through Saturday 2:00 A.M. The Saturday night situation has for too long a period of time been a source of inconvenience and irritation to both visitors and local residents alike.

I submit that the gentleman is well aware of what is here proposed and what he expects to take place if this legislation, giving this authority to the District Commissioners, is adopted by the House.

I hope it will not be adopted.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has again expired.

(On request of Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, and by unanimous consent, Mr. WAGGONNER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether the gentleman from Iowa is violating the rules of the House or not in questioning the motives of another Member.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am not questioning the motives.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. But I beg to point out that the language in the report to which the gentleman refers is in a letter which, I believe, was submitted to the committee by the District of Columbia Commissioners or some other organization, or some other group. It is not the language of the committee or the language that had been recommended by the committee.

I repeat, this legislation merely delegates the authority to the new city council to regulate and does not in any way imply that the committee or this House is approving the sale of alcoholic beverage on any day of the week.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. McMILLAN. I am certain the gentleman would agree with me that the House never would have approved the legislation a few weeks ago unless it had in mind that we give them some responsibility.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I certainly do understand the problem. I only raise the question that perhaps we are letting ourselves in for some trouble because of those who might serve.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I should like to ask two questions of the members of the committee.

The last time we had District bills before the House for consideration there was H.R. 6727, which appears to me to be quite similar to this bill in most respects.

Can any member of the committee tell me why that bill was shelved and this new bill introduced in its place? It appeared that H.R. 6727 did not have sufficient votes to pass during the last District day, and that was one of the reasons why it was taken off the calendar. Now another almost identical bill, with a different number, is before the House.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TALCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. The reason for the change in the language of the bill and in the bill number is that subsequent to the time the original bill was reported out of the committee, the governmental structure of the District of Columbia was changed. We now have to refer in our legislation to the city council rather than to the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners.

As to why the bill was taken off the calendar that day, the gentleman will recall that most Members had left for the Labor Day recess. As I understand it, several Members asked that it be taken off the calendar at that time.

Perhaps the chairman of the committee could further answer that question.

Mr. TALCOTT. Can I be assured that there are no changes in this bill, H.R. 13025, other than the changes to meet the new structure of the new city council?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. None whatsoever.

Mr. TALCOTT. My other question is, is it the intent of the Committee on the District of Columbia from now on to turn over all of the problems concerning liquor control and the sale of liquor to the new city council? Is this a piecemeal turning over of control?

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TALCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. McMILLAN. This is for rulemaking. They have the authority for rulemaking. We have the authority to legislate.

Mr. TALCOTT. Some of the control over the sale of alcoholic beverages has been retained by the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct.

Mr. TALCOTT. Is there an intention now, I ask the Chairman, to turn over other aspects of the liquor control problem in the Capital City to the new Council?

Mr. McMILLAN. If we expect them to use this new council, I believe we can turn over any part of the procedures that can be handled by rules and regulations.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TALCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I call the attention of the gentleman to the Reorganization Act which we approved a little more than a month ago. I believe there were approximately 422 provisions in that act transferring specific regulation-making authorities from the present Board of Commissioners to the future city council.

From time to time throughout the years we have delegated certain regulating and rulemaking authorizations to the city authorities. I presume that from time to time we will do so in the future.

Mr. TALCOTT. The sale of alcoholic beverages does not seem to me to be similar to the work of a local school board. The sale of alcoholic beverages has some national import. This is the Nation's Capital, and not just the local city of Washington, D.C. Some conditions and circumstances have affected visitors from other nations and from other States. I believe it is very important for the committee to maintain control over the Capital's problems even though the local problems of education can be properly managed by a local school board.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I do not quarrel about whether we should maintain legislative jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, or maintain the authority we now have. However, in the past we have delegated regulations or rulemaking authority in certain areas to the commissioners, including setting the hours when alcoholic beverages can be sold during the week.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TALCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. I believe the question that some Members have in mind—which I do not believe was specifically answered—is, if we pass this bill, under the rulemaking authority can the council permit the sale of liquor on Sunday?

Mr. TALCOTT. There is no question about that in my mind. That was agreed to by members of the committee.

Mr. BOW. Is it a fact that the city council could, under the rulemaking authority, provide for the sale of liquor on Sunday in the District of Columbia?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. They could, by regulation; but they are not directed to do so.

Mr. TALCOTT. But is this not the sole purpose of this legislation? Is that not the very purpose of the legislation today, to sell booze in the city of Washington on Sunday? There is no other reason for the legislation.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I cannot agree. There are other more important problems, referred to in my remarks, that this legislation would correct.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to discuss this controversial subject—but my friends from Iowa and California have made reference to "booze" here today. It would seem apropos for someone from the Bourbon State to comment on that reference.

If, when they say "booze," they mean the devil's brew, the poison scourge, the bloody monster, that defiles innocence, dethrones reason, destroys the home, creates misery and poverty—yea, literally takes the bread from the mouths of little children, if they mean the evil drink that topples the Christian man and woman from the pinnacles of righteous living into the bottomless pit of degradation and despair, shame and helplessness and hopelessness, then certainly they are right in calling it "booze."

But, if, when they say "booze," they mean the oil of conversation, the philosophic wine, the ale that is consumed when good fellows get together, that puts a song in their hearts and laughter on their lips and the warm glow of contentment in their eyes; if they mean Christmas cheer; if they mean the stimulating drink that puts the spring in the old gentleman's step on a frosty morning; if they mean the drink that enables a man to magnify his joy, and his happiness and to forget, if only for a little while, life's great tragedies, and heartbreaks, and sorrows; if they mean that drink, the sale of which pours into our treasuries untold millions of dollars, which are used to provide tender care for our little crippled children, our blind, our deaf, our dumb, our pitiful aged and infirm, to build highways, hospitals, and schools, then certainly they are in error in calling it "booze."

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, Washington has always been to me the shrine of my country. I see people come into the galleries of this House, young people and older people. I see them in the corridors of the Capitol. I see them as they gather in front, looking up at the dome and the Stars and Stripes flying above the Capitol. And what I envision in their eyes is the light of worship of their country. I sense that they have come to Washington on a patriotic pilgrimage, have traveled here as to a shrine. So, Mr. Speaker, I have been glad during the close to 19 years I have lived and worked in Washington that the serving of intoxicants stopped at midnight on Saturday. Now, that does not mean that the bars in Boston, New York, Chicago, Des Moines, and the other cities of America necessarily and in conformity should close at midnight, but this is Washington. This is the shrine of our country. I like to feel that these young men and young women and the older folks and the children coming down here as pilgrims to the shrine of their country will suffer no distraction from the reverently patriotic mission of their pilgrimage. On Sunday I know they would wish to rise reasonably early and refreshed to visit and be thrilled by the many historic sights with which Washington is enriched.

Mr. Speaker, in all fairness, I think it should be said that this bill as drawn, and as intended by the chairman and the other members of the able District committee, was intended for the good and worthy purpose of advancing the cause of democratic government in the District of Columbia by giving a larger measure of local authority to the local governing body. Unfortunately, the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District put something in his letter of approval and endorsement that sticks out like a sore thumb and cannot be ignored.

The words of the gentleman have been read by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS], and I think he was at the time thinking erroneously that they came from the committee. Here is the passage from the letter of the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] interpreted, and I must agree with him, as implying pretty broadly that the purpose of this bill is to permit the sale of alcoholic beverages after midnight on Saturday:

> The primary purpose of the bill is to improve the administration of the ABC Act. However, there is also some need to change the Act so as to better meet the needs of residents and of visitors to the District of Columbia, particularly in respect to the manner of the sale and the serving of alcoholic beverages. Experience has demonstrated that District law contains features which tend to inconvenience or embarrass visitors who encounter legal restrictions on the service of alcoholic beverages that may differ from the practices with which they are familiar, such as, for example, the requirement that no distilled spirits shall be sold after midnight on Saturday, nor shall champagne be sold on Sunday.

To say that the Board of Commissioners should have broader powers, as should a city council when authorized, is one thing, and something with which I might agree. But it is quite another thing, and something with an ugly face, to present such a proposition with the advance notice that its primary purpose is not to advance democratic government but to make it easier to sell liquor after midnight on Saturday.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 153, nays 182, not voting 97, as follows:

[Roll No. 274]

YEAS—153

Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Bell
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brooks
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Casey
Clancy
Clark
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conte
Conyers
Cowger
Culver
Daniels
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
Delaney
Derwinski
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards, Ala.
Eilberg
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fuqua
Gettys
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Grover
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kyros
Laird
Leggett
Long, Md.
Lukens
McDade
FcFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Morse, Mass.
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Pickle
Pike
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Railsback
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Smith, N.Y.
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stratton
Sullivan
Taft
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Van Deerlin
Vigorito
Waldie
Whalen
Wilson, Bob
Wydler
Yates

NAYS—182

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, Ala.
Arends
Ashbrook
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Colmer
Conable
Corman
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis, Ga.
Dellenback
Denney
Devine
Dole
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Findley
Fisher
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fulton, Pa.
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Horton
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
MacGregor
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
May
Mayne
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Montgomery
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Mosher
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Patman
Perkins
Pettis
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Quie
Quillen
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Talcott
Taylor
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Ullman
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Winn
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—97

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Baring
Barrett
Berry
Bingham
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Corbett
Curtis
Daddario
de la Garza
Dent
Donohue
Dorn
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Green, Pa.
Hagan
Hall
Halpern
Hanley
Hébert
Helstoski
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Landrum
Long, La.
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
Philbin
Pryor
Purcell
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Roberts
Ronan
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Sandman
Staggers
Stephens
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Udall
Utt
Vander Jagt
Watkins
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

So the bill was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Brasco for, with Mr. Pryor against.

Mr. Barrett for, with Mr. Vander Jagt against.

Mr. Adams for, with Mr. Utt against.

Mr. Dent for, with Mr. Hall against.

Mr. Aspinall for, with Mr. Brock against.

Mr. Feighan for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. Widnall for, with Mr. Rarick against.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania for, with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota against.

Mr. Holland for, with Mr. Sandman against.

Mr. Ronan for, with Mr. Watkins against.

Mr. Fino for, with Mr. Roberts against.

Mr. Philbin for, with Mr. Thompson of Georgia against.

Mr. Donohue for, with Mr. Minshall against.

Mr. Wolff for, with Mr. Dorn against.

Mr. Tenzer for, with Mr. Flynt against.

Mr. Murphy of New York for, with Mr. Stephens against.

Mr. Carey for, with Mr. Long of Louisiana against.

Mr. Celler for, with Mr. Willis against.

Mr. Daddario for, with Mr. Ashmore against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Zablocki with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. Bingham with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Broomfield.

Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.

Mr. Hanley with Mr. McCulloch.

Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Hosmer.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Morgan with Mr. Corbett.

Mr. Kee with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.

Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Brown of Michigan.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Don H. Clausen.

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Erlenborn.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.

Mr. Staggers with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. McEwen.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Moorhead.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Karth.

Mr. Brademas with Mr. Baring.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Rees.

Mr. Reuss with Mr. Hagan.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Helstoski.

Mr. Young with Mr. Charles H. Wilson.

Mr. Wright with Mr. Udall.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. de la Garza.

Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Moss.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Kazen.

Mr. HANNA changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I was out of the Chamber when the vote was taken. Had I been here, I would have voted "nay." I ask that the RECORD so reflect.

TO AMEND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL ACT

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 8715) to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to limit the amount of wines, spirits, and beer that may be brought into the District of Columbia, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8715

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsections (a) and (b) of section 39 of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act (D.C. Code, sec. 25–137) are amended by striking out "one gallon at any one time" and inserting in lieu thereof "one quart in any one calendar month".

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 3, strike out "subsections (a) and (b)" and insert in lieu thereof "subsection (b)".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is designed to close a presently existing loophole in the District of Columbia alcoholic beverage control law. At the present time there are certain importers, mainly from one country, who have been circularizing the residents of the District of Columbia in order that they might ship in certain alcoholic beverages which under the present law are exempt from the District of Columbia tax. The taxes are $1.75 per gallon. This is designed to close this loophole so that these people will not be able to bring this liquor into the District of Columbia. The bill has the support of the Board of Commissioners and the ABC Board and all those concerned.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FUQUA. I shall be happy to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that this is a piece of legislation as represented by the bill now pending before the House that one can rise and stand in support thereof in the firm belief that it will, as the gentleman from Florida pointed out, close or correct a loophole wherein certain individuals at the present time can have alcoholic beverages shipped by mail or by common carrier into the District of Columbia and thereby be exempt from the payment of the sum of $1.75 per gallon on such shipment of liquors into the District of Columbia.

Mr. FUQUA. And, I might point out to the gentleman from Virginia, that this only affects that portion which can be shipped in by mail.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FUQUA. I shall be glad to yield further to the gentlemen from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Incidentally, up until a few years ago one could bring 1 gallon of whisky into the United States without the payment of an excise tax.

Mr. FUQUA. The gentleman from Virginia is correct.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. This is limited now to one quart. However, insofar as the District of Columbia is concerned, individuals can still bring in goods up to the value of $1,000 without the payment of any tax thereon.

Mr. FUQUA. This is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FUQUA. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I note in the report that the British are apparently among those who contribute a substantial part to this transportation of liquor into the District of Columbia. Is this correct?

Mr. FUQUA. It is my understanding that primarily those who have been circularizing along this line is a company located in Great Britain.

Mr. GROSS. In Great Britain?

Mr. FUQUA. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, were the British consulted? We are not in any way hurting their feelings by passing this legislation, are we? I raise this question because we consult with them and follow their lead about everything else. I would be surprised, therefore, if they have not been consulted.

Mr. FUQUA. There was a public hearing held on this subject by the Committee on the District of Columbia, and I do not recall any of these gentlemen or their representatives testifying before the committee on this subject.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FUQUA. I shall be happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to remark, in view of the statement which was just made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] to the effect that he is a teetotaler, indicates to me the old proverb which my father used to always repeat:

> Beware of a fellow who keeps telling you how honest he is.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. SCOTT was permitted to speak out of order.)

STATEMENTS REFLECTING UPON THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York a few minutes ago referred to those who had voted "No" on the question that the House last considered stating that he looked forward to seeing them at the next "House liquor party."

Now, I am not aware of the House of Representatives having any liquor parties. Certainly, I voted "No" on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I do not question the integrity of anyone who votes in any manner he chooses in this House of Representatives. It is a question for each individual Member to decide how he shall vote. Therefore, I resent anyone questioning my integrity or that of the House. I might add, Mr. Speaker, that I, too, am a teetotaler.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I could extend my remarks and extend myself during the consideration of this measure, because I am not a teetotaler. Neither have I been to any liquor party in the House of Representatives or in its environs. I come from an area in which we have had and have maintained most cosmopolitan views on these matters.

I do not believe anyone's motives are in question on a vote such as we have just had on the matter that we have been deliberating here. I believe each one of us has his own reason for a vote. It may be hard for some other Member to understand why we voted in such a fashion, but I believe those of us who have the privilege of serving here have always recognized the basic fact that each man answers for himself, to himself, and to his constituency without in any way questioning motives. I presume my motives are good until they are proven otherwise beyond any peradventure of a doubt. I give that same assumption to my colleagues.

But on the question here I believe that there are specific legislative matters that have been deliberated by the committee, and with all respect to the committee I believe that those of us who may have voted contrary to the recommendation of the committee do not mean to imply we are criticizing the work of the committee, but it just happens we have our own reasons for voting the way our votes were registered. There may have been some residual doubts that were not fully resolved, and therefore we cast a negative vote. But I believe that when we get into the question about whether we are teetotalers or whether we are not teetotalers, we are striking at the wrong point, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to add my views to those who in the spirit of give and take in the legislative process do not question motives when questioning motives are not in order.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. McMILLAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say this:

That I certainly would be the last one to question anyone's motives on the vote that was just taken. I certainly believe every person in this House has a right to vote as he so desires. The only thing that bothers me just a little is as to why any Member who just a few weeks ago would vote to create a new council uptown, and then the first bill we bring in here to give them authority, they vote otherwise.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, may I comment on that in further extension of my remarks, that I can answer only for myself as to the vote that was cast. But I say that there are many reasons as to the way a vote is cast. I personally have even introduced a bill asking for self-determination locally for the District of Columbia, but in this bill we just considered there were other residual doubts in my mind that bore upon the discretionary power of the Government, and for this reason I cast my vote the way I did.

I believe the phraseology of the committee report is indicative that there is a gap there as to just what places would be authorized to do certain things without fully enumerating them. I believe these were the things that motivated my vote. I wanted to make sure that I knew to the best of my ability concerning these things, and I had no opportunity to get an enumeration of this. Therefore I cast my vote for that reason; because of that doubt. However, I do not believe there is any contradiction as to a negative vote and sustaining the basic principle of self-determination for the District of Columbia.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am a teetotaler, but I voted "yes." At the same time, while being a teetotaler, I have always been a good host, both in my own home and at my office. I have a goodly supply of liquor at both places, and always treat my friends accordingly, so that to those who, particularly, I take it the gentleman referred to, may I again extend an invitation to any of the gentlemen or gentlewomen who would like to imbibe occasionally, that I guarantee them that I will be a good host.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 8715 is to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act so as to restrict to 1 quart per month the amount of wines, spirits, and beer which may be mailed into the District of Columbia for delivery to any person other than a licensed manufacturer, wholesaler, or retailer in the liquor trade.

BACKGROUND

It has been brought to the attention of your committee that in recent months certain foreign companies, mostly in England, have been circularizing residents of the District of Columbia for the purpose of soliciting a mail-order business of selling alcoholic beverages at prices substantially lower than those prevailing in the licensed retail outlets in the District. These companies pay no license fees nor taxes of any kind to the District of Columbia, and the present District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act permits 1 gallon of such alcoholic beverages to be brought into the District at any one time, by common carrier, for delivery to any person other than a licensed manufacturer, wholesaler, or retailer in the liquor trade. In view of this laxity in the present law, it is obvious that this mail-order business in tax-free alcoholic beverages may attain a considerable volume, to the detriment of the licensed liquor dealers in the District and to the city revenues. The tax loss to the District through such mail-order sales is $1.75 per gallon.

Your committee is advised that at the present time this type of mail-order sales is prohibited in both Virginia and Maryland, and in most other States as well.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

At the time of the adoption of the 21st amendment to the Constitution, the Congress established the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, with power to regulate and control the orderly distribution of alcoholic beverages in the Nation's Capital. At the same time, a system of license fees, and excise and other taxes on such alcoholic beverages was established in order to raise revenues for the use of the District. This system for the control of the distribution of such beverages, and for the collection of appropriate revenues, has operated well.

It is the view of your committee that this rising business of mail-order sale of alcoholic beverages in the District of Columbia, without the payment of any local taxes whatever and entirely beyond the control of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board which is responsible for the orderly distribution of such beverages in the District, is detrimental to the best interests of the city. For this reason, and since the present language of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act does not impose any effective limitation on the volume of this business, your committee feels strongly that the approval of H.R. 8715, which will effectively terminate this business by limiting the amount of wines, spirits, and beer which may be brought into the District by common carrier for delivery to any person unlicensed in the liquor trade to 1 quart in any 1 calendar month, is very much in the public interest.

HEARING

A public hearing on this and other bills pertaining to the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act was held on June 23, 1967 by Subcommittee No. 3. At this time, approval of H.R. 8715 was expressed by spokesmen for the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and the District of Columbia Retail Liquor Dealer's Association. No opposition to the enactment of the bill was expressed.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Your committee amended the bill by striking out language which would also have imposed new restrictions on the amount of alcoholic beverages which a person may personally bring into the District of Columbia. It is the opinion of your committee that there is no problem in connection with the present law in this area.

COMMISSIONER'S LETTER

The following is the letter from the President of the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, expressing the Board's support for this proposed legislation:

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, June 22, 1967.

Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCMILLAN: The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have for report H.R. 8715, 90th Congress, a bill "To amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to limit the amount of wine, spirits, and beer that may be brought into the District of Columbia."

Subsections (a) and (b) of section 39 of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act (47 Stat. 319), as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 25137 (a) and (b)), presently limit the importation into the District of Columbia of alcoholic beverages in excess of one gallon at any one time by anyone except a properly licensed retailer, wholesaler, or manufacturer. The bill amends these subsections by striking out "one gallon at any one time" and inserting in lieu thereof "one quart in any one calender month".

Direct shipments or individual importations of alcoholic beverages as allowed under existing law are not taxed by the District of Columbia. Although the amount of revenue lost under existing law can not be estimated or even approximated, there nevertheless remains the possibility that considerable quantities of alcoholic beverages could be imported into the District of Columbia, a gallon at a time, thereby avoiding the payment of local taxes of $1.75 per gallon. Reports furnished by some States to the District of Columbia Finance Office indicate there have been shipments to persons in the District of Columbia of alcoholic beverages in amounts of one gallon or less. These reports have also revealed that in some cases there was more than one shipment per month to the same person. Further, the Commissioners are informed that liquor administrators in some States have reported a problem with mail solicitations of retail sales from abroad. If this latter type of transaction should result in sizable shipments of alcoholic beverages into the District in amounts of a gallon or less, there could be some loss of revenue to the District.

In the belief H.R. 8715 might have a beneficial effect on District revenue, the Commissioners recommend its enactment.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER N. TOBRINER,
President, Board of Commissioners, D.C.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMBATING JUVENILE CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, America's crime problem is continuing to grow at an alarming pace. In the first half of this year there was 17 percent more serious crime than in the same period last year, according to the FBI.

Since 1960, crime figures show that serious crime has gone up 62 percent and the population, only 9 percent. This means serious crime is growing 7 times as fast as the population.

Such a rapid increase has brought the crime rate to a new crest in the United States. In 1967, nearly two out of every 100 Americans will be the victim of a serious crime, a statistic I find the most shocking of all. A society founded on law and order simply cannot tolerate threat so severe and so widespread as this.

Here in the District of Columbia, the crime rate exceeds the national average by a wide margin. Between two and three Washington residents out of 100 will be serious crime victims this year. In the first 6 months of this year crime in the District was up nearly 30 percent over last year.

There were 7,067 reported burglaries in the first 6 months, 3,611 auto thefts, 3,016 larcenies of $50 or more, and 1,509 aggravated assaults. The number of robberies jumped from 1,466 to 2,666, a rise of 73 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the District of Columbia are entitled to advanced legislation in the field of crime, just as is every other American citizen. The problem of crime in the District of Columbia, however, is not just a problem for District citizens. It is our problem as Members of Congress. And it is a problem for the entire Nation because if there are bad living conditions and crime in our Nation's Capital, this reflects shamefully on every American.

It is in this spirit that I plan to introduce three bills aimed at the problems of crime here in the District of Columbia. Today I am introducing a bill for a study commission on the most crucial single part of the District's crime situation—juvenile crime and how juvenile offenders are handled.

Shortly I will be introducing two other bills related to crime in the District. One would set up a Federal Violent Compensation Commission to compensate innocent victims of crime and good samaritans who come to their aid and are injured. A companion bill to this would make all good samaritans immune from damage suits arising from their helping in an emergency. This is the same civil immunity physicians and nurses have had in the District since 1965.

JUVENILE COURT STUDY NEEDED

The bill I am introducing today for a study commission will, I hope, lead to badly needed reform and innovation in the way the District deals with its juvenile criminal offenders. If progress can be made here in the District to curb both the amount of juvenile crime and the rate of juvenile recidivism, then surely progress can be made in many another major American city with similar problems.

Three basic observations have convinced me that we need a commission to study in detail the criminal justice system for juveniles in the District.

First, almost a third of the total crime in the District is committed by teenagers under 18. In fact, youths under 15 are surprisingly active in lawbreaking. From 1961 through 1965, youths under 18 were 30 percent of all those arrested in the District for crimes. In 1965, 36 percent of those arrested for housebreaking were children under 15. Twenty-seven percent of those arrested for robbery, and the same percentage of those arrested for auto theft, were under 15.

Second, the juvenile court appears to have a poor batting average in the rehabilitation of these young people in trouble. Of 1,068 juvenile court cases studied in 1965, 61 percent of the youths had been in juvenile court at least once before. Forty-two percent had been there two or more times previously, and 19 percent had been in juvenile court four or more times.

Third, the juvenile court appears to be a mere turnstile for the young offender to pass through on his way to an adult life of criminal behavior. In 1965 more than half the adult convicted felons in the District had juvenile court records, and for certain serious crimes the percentage was higher. Three out of four adult rapists, seven out of 10 adult robbers and three out of five adult burglars had passed through juvenile court when they were younger, apparently to no avail.

COURT NOT SOLELY TO BLAME

I am not trying to blame a court system or a rehabilitation program as solely responsible for this grim picture of recidivism. A leading cause of crime is the poor economic and social conditions in some of our urban neighborhoods. We must not be blind to the job needs, the housing needs and the education needs of Washington's poor, for their neighborhoods are the major source of our crime problem. The poor, and poor youths in particular, commit more crime than others. The poor are also crime's principal victims.

However, we must at the same time have a criminal justice system that can more effectively stem the tide of juvenile crime than the present system is.

When three youths out of five brought before juvenile court have been there previously, how can we in the same community feel safe knowing such a high percentage of released juveniles are going to repeat their criminal behavior?

As the President's Commission on Crime in the District said last December in its report:

> The number of young offenders who violate the law repeatedly is persuasive evidence that the District's procedures and facilities for deliquents require substantial improvement.

The study commission which I propose in my bill, can, I hope, be the first step in that "substantial improvement." A seven-member body appointed by the President and aided by a professional staff, it will be assigned to learn all it can about the way juvenile offenders are presently handled.

We need to know how District police deal with juveniles, what happens when juveniles are held in detention, how juvenile court intake authorities handle their cases, how juvenile court judges decide cases and how juvenile probation programs and correctional institutions operate.

We need to know whether the public and private agencies for delinquency control are contributing to a solution of the community crime problem. We need to know whether they are reaching enough youths and helping those whom they do reach. We need to know what, if anything, they are doing about the high rate of recidivism among juveniles.

We need to know whether there is any systematic referral of boys and girls to the proper youth agency once they have been discharged by the police or by juvenile court.

Finally we need to know if our juvenile criminal justice system is serving the community by protecting it from dangerous juvenile offenders and by providing sanctions strong enough to deter future juvenile crime.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH SERVICES BUREAUS

With these questions answered, the commission would go to work on the heart of its project—an action plan for setting up in the district a number of neighborhood youth services bureaus with responsibility for rehabilitating youths in trouble.

Neighborhood youth services bureaus are a promising new approach to the problem of juvenile crime prevention. They were a key recommendation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice when it reported last February. But to the best of my knowledge, the administration has yet to take action on it.

Youth services bureaus, while public in nature, would not be part of the juvenile court. Police would refer boys and girls to the bureaus, but so could parents and school officials. What the bureaus would offer would be a centralized service in the neighborhood, whether the boys or girls needed counseling, job training, remedial schooling, psychiatric help, medical care, or even a place to live.

The aim of youth services bureaus would be to rehabilitate the maximum number of youths in their own neighborhood, without resorting to the juvenile court process.

Juvenile court would hear those cases of youths who become repeated offenders. It would hear cases of first offenses if the crime is a serious one. And a youth services bureau would be able to refer a boy or a girl to juvenile court if, after a sufficient testing period, the bureau found it could not do anything for him or her.

THREE MERITS OF PLAN

There are three basic merits to such a plan.

First, it would bring to the neighborhoods of Washington local centers fully equipped and staffed to deal with youths in trouble, before they become enmeshed in the juvenile court system, before they become indelibly tagged as "delinquents," before it is too late to help them.

Second, it will guarantee to the Washington community that when a boy or a girl leaves the custody of police or of juvenile court authorities, that boy or girl is sent to a central place for the proper care, not just turned loose in the city while a variety of different agencies try to reach the youth in a hit-or-miss fashion. The President's Commission on Crime in the District said these agencies' work was "sincerely motivated" but "uncoordinated" and, in fact, seldom put to any test of evaluation.

At the same time, the Commission saw a need for such a network as the Youth Services Bureaus which I am proposing:

> There must be a single place where a juvenile can be referred by the police or intake worker and be reasonably assured of getting whatever kind of help he needs. At the present time there are too few places to send a child and the waiting lines are too long. Until we solve the basic problem of referrals for early delinquency cases, we are losing a prime opportunity to reduce juvenile crime.

The third merit of the plan is that it will give the community a juvenile court that can deal firmly with certain juvenile offenders. The main job of rehabilitation would be done by the Neighborhood Youth Services Bureaus. The juvenile court would hear those cases in which rehabilitation was not the community's only interest. If the case warranted, the judge could rule that the community needed protection from the particular youth, or that punishing the youth would serve to deter others from committing that offense.

The bill I am sponsoring, then, is to establish a District of Columbia Commission on Youth Services and Juvenile Courts with a life of 1 year.

The Commission would study how the District's criminal justice system for juveniles operates, and what role public and private youth service agencies play in combating juvenile crime.

The Commission would draw an action plan, based on its study, to establish Neighborhood Youth Services Bureaus in the District that would have responsibility for rehabilitating young people in trouble.

The Commission would accordingly draft revisions to the District of Columbia Code so that the Neighborhood Youth Services Bureaus could take responsibility for rehabilitation and the juvenile court would have its jurisdiction limited to cases where firmer treatment of a boy or girl might be justified as well as rehabilitation.

Mr. Speaker, I consider this bill a vital first step toward the reduction of crime in the District of Columbia. This bill can point the way to an ambitious attack on some of the root problems in Washington. And Washington is hardly different from scores of other American cities, now experiencing sharp increases in juvenile crime. A solution here can be a model for solutions elsewhere, too.

The key to our crime problem lies with our youth. Unless we actively seek ways to halt crime before it starts among our young people, we can only expect the crime problem to worsen. I stated at the beginning of these remarks that I thought crime had already reached an intolerably high level in our society. I would not like to think of what the dimensions of our crime problem will be if we leave the matter of juvenile crime alone much longer.

SMALL BUSINESSMEN MOST AFFECTED BY TIGHT MONEY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the investment banking firm of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenerette, of New York City, recently concluded a survey of 711 companies throughout the Nation to study the affects of the 1966 tight money period on these firms.

While most of the news stories during the tight money period have dwelled for the most part on the credit squeeze effect on big business, the Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenerette study makes it clear that small companies were the hardest hit by the limited availability of funds. Of the smaller companies in the study, 90 percent reported that they reduced spending during 1966 because of the limited availability of credit and, of course, when spending is curtailed, disastrous effects on the money flow in our economy occur.

The small companies do not have the financial outlets available to them that were available to bigger companies. Most small companies do not have retained earnings to fall back on in tight money periods nor can they easily go to the bond or stock market for additional funds even though interest rates on such issues would be high.

Unlike big business, there is no delayed action effect when a tight money situation occurs. When a small businessman has trouble obtaining operating funds, he is affected immediately.

Mr. Speaker, as I have done many times in the past, I am again calling on the Federal Reserve Board to take all necessary steps to end the tight money crisis. Thousands of small business owners have been irreparably damaged by the current tight money situation. Unless the Federal Reserve Board takes immediate action, it is impossible to conceive the vast numbers of additional small businesses that will be hurt.

MARVIN WATSON: PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S WHITE HOUSE TRAFFIC COP, AND ONE OF THE CAPITAL'S MOST IMPORTANT MEN

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Roy Reed, of the New York Times, has done a great service to all of us by presenting Mr. Marvin Watson of the White House in true-to-life perspective. Mr. Watson now takes the stature that is his, by right of his own splendid qualities, as well as the job he fills. Because he is superlatively loyal and dependable it is usual to describe Marvin Watson with words such as steady, firm, reliable—and in so doing one is likely to miss the perceptive mind, the quick sure grasp of policy and detail, and the imaginative, constructive will to make everything come out right. It is my great privilege to record herein the following New York Times article of September 17, 1967, which so well describes my friend and constituent from Daingerfield, Tex., the Honorable W. Marvin Watson:

JOHNSON'S TRAFFIC COP: ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MEN IN CAPITAL

(By Roy Reed)

WASHINGTON, September 16.—In the office next to Lyndon B. Johnson sits one of the least-known but most important men in Washington. With his dark brown hair and incongruously light gray eyes almost continually framed by a telephone receiver, he directs some of the world's most urgent traffic in and out of the world's most important office.

Anyone wanting to see or talk with the President—from the Senate majority leader to the Shah of Iran—must first deal with W. (for William) Marvin Watson.

He not only has the President's ear more often and more intimately than any other man, he also is so esteemed by Mr. Johnson that he exercises various degrees of influence over patronage, the passage of legislation, political fence-mending and Presidential liaison with Democratic functionaries in and out of Washington.

In short, Marvin Watson, 43 years old, of Daingerfield, Tex., is the political manager for the nation's most powerful politician.

DISTORTION OF REALITY

It would be a distortion of reality to speak of Mr. Watson or anyone else as the most powerful man on the White House staff. Mr. Johnson leaves no room for secondary spheres of power under his roof. No one is likely to become the "assistant President," as Sherman Adams was sometimes called during the Eisenhower Administration.

Nevertheless, Mr. Watson has emerged, since the departure earlier this year of Bill D. Moyers, as the President's right hand man. Mr. Moyers, who was the favorite Presidential confidant as well as press secretary, is now publisher of Newsday, a Long Island newspaper.

One reason for the importance of the soft-spoken, unobtrusive Mr. Watson is that he sees more of the President during the President's waking hours and probably talks to him about a wider variety of subjects than any other person, including Mrs. Johnson.

Like Mr. Moyers, he comes from the same state and speaks with the same accent as the President.

Unlike Mr. Moyers, however, he springs from the same political establishment, the controlling element of the Texas Democratic party, that gave the President his base in national politics. That establishment has produced such conservative leaders as Gov. John B. Connally Jr., and former Gov. Price Daniel, and Mr. Watson has been close to them, too.

CENTER OF POWER

For these, and other, personal reasons, Mr. Watson now sits nearer the center of American political power than anyone except the President himself.

And yet, outside of Washington, Texas and the tightest circles of power around the globe, he is practically unknown.

Mr. Watson approves of that anonymity.

"I am here to serve the President," he says often and with such fervor that the statement is easy to believe.

Mr. Watson's title is Special Assistant to the President, and he is only one of several who share it. More specifically, he is Mr. Johnson's appointments secretary. But he is not simply a high-level traffic cop which is what his title would suggest and what Mr. Watson would have people believe.

Intelligent observers have been taken in by his modesty. A Congressman who has known him for years called him "the major-domo to the President."

But, just as Mr. Watson's conservative blue suit and vest do not quite conceal the soft blue checks of his shirt, the flashing gold of his cufflinks and the dash of his triangular wrist watch, just so is his dedication to obscurity foiled by his just-visible ambition for perfect service.

LOYAL AND DEPENDABLE

The two words that acquaintances use most often to describe Mr. Watson are loyal and dependable. These attributes apparently have been with him since his Texas farm beginnings, developed through the rigid training of the Southern Baptist Church (of which he is a deacon) and honed by the harsh demands of Texas politics and Texas commerce.

There is no question of his loyalty to Mr. Johnson. Mr. Watson, himself, is quick to point out that the President was "the only man who hired me, and he is the only one who can fire me."

It is said that he was as loyal and dependable when he was the right hand man to E. B. Germany, the conservative president of the Lone Star Steel Company in Texas, as he is today as the right hand man to the author of the Great Society.

Mr. Watson came to Washington with an apparently deserved reputation for conservatism, but he has never permitted ideology to interfere with loyalty.

In Texas, one of his political interests, because it was Mr. Germany's, was protecting the Texas "right-to-work" law, prohibiting the union shop. Since coming to Washington he has lobbied against right-to-work laws—on Mr. Johnson's instructions.

It was the same with party loyalty. Once he became active in the Democratic party, he stayed with it. Even in 1952 and 1956, when a great many Texans became "Eisenhower Democrats," Mr. Watson campaigned for Adlai E. Stevenson.

Later he became a friend of Representative Wright Patman of Texas. Despite Mr. Patman's well-known populism, Mr. Watson served as his colleague manager in a number of elections.

A catalogue of Mr. Watson's importance and influence must begin with one of his more fervent disclaimers.

"I am not the politician of the White House," he says, and the gray eyes sparkle with good-humored persuasiveness. But, here again, it appears that he is too modest.

Anyone who answers 125 telephone calls a day in the office of the President of the United States is certain to exercise influence. The telephone is so vital to Mr. Watson that his is equipped with push buttons and a long cord that permits him to walk around his desk and exercise.

During a recent 25-minute period checked by a visitor, Mr. Watson was on the phone 23 minutes. He talked with the President three times and called four Senators (three of whom answered) and a Governor. George Christian, the White House press secretary, had to wait seven minutes to confer with him.

One of Mr. Watson's three secretaries noted that this was a slack period.

He does not live a relaxed life, yet he insists that he sees more of his wife and three children now than when they lived in Texas. Their older son, Lee, 20, is a sophomore at the University of Maryland. Their daughter, Kimberly, 16, is a high school junior. The second son, Bill, is 3½.

HOME IN ARLINGTON

Mr. Watson usually reaches his home in Arlington, Va., between 8 and 10 P.M. He rises at 6 A.M. A chauffeur picks him up after breakfast and drives him in a Chrysler selected each day from a pool of White House cars, the 10 minutes to the White House, arriving no later than 7:45 or 8 A.M.

He spends the first hour or two with the President in the private quarters of the mansion, going over the day's schedule and other work. Then he goes to his own office and reaches for the phone.

He agrees that a certain amount of subjectivity enters the question of who sees the President, but he says that he has a system for reducing it to tolerable levels.

Any member of Congress or any Governor automatically gets an appointment with the President any time he needs it. Mr. Watson's job is simply working out a time.

Thus, when one of the South's most recalcitrant segregationists phoned for an appointment last winter, Mr. Watson calmly invited him up. Gov. Lester M. Mattox of Georgia, as it turned out, wanted to complain about frozen highway funds, not integration.

Most callers are not so easily classified as Congressmen and Governors. Outside of government, most who call represent organizations, Mr. Watson says, "and you'd be surprised how many organizations there are in this country."

If he is uncertain of the standing of a caller or the validity of his claim on the President's time, he puts off a decision long enough to ask the opinion of a Cabinet member or one of his lieutenants, who can usually offer sound advice.

CALLERS REFERRED

Callers who cannot justify an interview with the President are referred to someone in the appropriate executive agency or to a member of the White House staff, Mr. Watson says.

Some persons, realizing the President's heavy work load, do not ask to see the President, but do want to get their viewpoints before him. Mr. Watson is the man who can carry such messages.

The administrative aide to one of the most important Congressional committee chairmen told how he decides when to ask for Marvin Watson at the White House:

"There are four or five levels of people you talk to over there when you want something. You call one person for one kind of thing and another for another kind, and they might be at all different levels. But when I want to get a message to The Man from my man, that's who I call. He is the top level."

There are exceptions. Some labor leaders, although not all, still tend to distrust Mr. Watson and take their case to Joseph A. Califano Jr., another top Presidential assistant, in the belief that it will receive more sympathy.

Mr. Watson also exercises a notable, but vaguely defined, influence on patronage, particularly over Presidential appointments to middle and lower positions.

THE FINAL DECISION

The President makes the final decision, but he cannot be expected to fret over every appointment. Mr. Watson does the worrying. That means, according to one Washington Democrat, that Mr. Watson actually makes the decision on the more routine appointments, "those that are not likely to get in the papers."

Mr. Watson insists that he has "very little power of decision," he says. "I try to remember that that's a fact."

DOES SOME LOBBYING

Top drawer lobbying for Administration bills is another of his duties. He does not speak of this work and he is not as well known in this field as Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien or any number of other White House aides.

But it is well known among the handlers of important bills that legislative leaders can expect telephone calls from Mr. Watson, especially at critical junctures. The importance of a call from him, of course, is that it originates in the President's outer office and obviously on the President's order.

Mr. Watson has still another job, an amorphous function that might be called trouble-shooting. He is called in for some of the political first aid that the President himself would handle were it not for appearances.

For example, the President was dismayed when Democratic Governors met after last November's election and blamed him for the party's losses. The same Governors met again in St. Louis July 1 while Mr. Johnson was at his Texas ranch. Should he accept their invitation to attend their meeting?

Mr. Johnson waited almost all day before making up his mind, then, he suddenly decided late in the afternoon to join the Governors before their meeting broke up.

STATEMENT OF ACCORD

Shortly before he arrived, the Governors issued a "statement of accord" pledging their support to him. Governors who had publicly questioned in December whether he could be re-elected in 1968 were now in the vanguard of his admirers.

Afterward, it was learned that Mr. Watson had been there all day, and the statement of accord was said to have been edited, if not actually ghost-written, by him. When all was ready, he phoned the President.

Another such delicate and vital task came to light last week when it was learned that a political agent would soon be dispatched to begin quietly organizing support for Mr. Johnson in the New Hampshire Presidential primary. The agent, not yet named, will work under the direct supervision of Mr. Watson.

One of the contentions of the Watson watchers is that he is the real head of the Democratic National Committee and that John M. Bailey, the chairman, is little more than a figurehead.

There was talk last spring that John Criswell, the committee's acting treasurer and chief administrative officer, was soon to be named executive director. The new title has not materialized.

"The real reason," says one well informed Democrat, "is because Marvin Watson is really the executive director."

DENIAL ON POWER

Mr. Watson denies that he exercises that much power over the committee. A friend on the committee staff supports the denial. Both confirm, however, that when the committee has business with the White House, it is generally handled through Mr. Watson.

The same friend, who has known Mr. Watson for years, offers an explanation for Mr. Watson's weight in political affairs. He is the most experienced person on the White House staff in election campaigns, the friend points out.

He began working in elections as early as 1948 when he was a student at Baylor University. He first met his future employer during Mr. Johnson's campaign for the Senate that year.

"I'm not sure he remembers that, but I do," Mr. Watson says.

He worked in the Johnson campaign at Waco. In succeeding years they became better acquainted and by 1960 their friendship had developed so far that Mr. Johnson asked Mr. Watson to take a leave from Lone Star Steel and help in his campaign for Vice President. Mr. Watson traveled with the candidate and arranged his schedule.

Again at Mr. Johnson's request. Mr. Watson took the major responsibility in arranging the 1964 Democratic convention at Atlantic City.

With this experience, Mr. Watson has learned many of the sources of political power in the states.

How well he knows them is sometimes debated. Some who are aware of national party affairs say that neither Mr. Watson nor his employer knows the real state party powers, especially in Northern and Eastern states, well enough to appreciate their strengths and problems.

MEMORY FOR NAMES

Mr. Watson has a good memory for names and a quiet manner that never permits him to inject his own personality into the business that he handles for the President.

One Texan who knows both Mr. Watson and Mr. Johnson believes that Mr. Watson is an excellent example of what might almost be called a new breed of political employe—the able man who appreciates and uses power, but only under the aegis of a strong personality, with his own distinguishing marks carefully obliterated in the interest of a greater glory.

This type of service suggests a large measure of agreement with the boss without talking back. Mr. Watson, however, denies that he or anyone else on the White House staff is a "yes-man".

One source says that Mr. Watson had to be courted by the President for several months before he would agree to leave Texas and then only with the understanding that he would have the right to talk back.

Mr. Watson turned the President down when Mr. Johnson first sought to persuade him to take the job.

As the President tells it to friends, he later cornered Mr. Watson at a cocktail party and shamed him into accepting. He did this by an allusion to an ex-Marine, which Mr. Watson is, who would rather live "high on the hog" than help his President when he needed him.

Whatever the circumstances, Mr. Watson has grown close enough to the President so that he and his wife, Marion, are regularly invited to see the Johnsons socially after working hours.

This relationship worries some Texas liberals, who see Mr. Watson as a pernicious influence.

Texas labor people recall that Mr. Watson was executive assistant to Mr. Germany at Lone Star Steel during a violent labor dispute in 1957. Several employes staged a wildcat strike and Mr. Germany dismissed them, leading to a long struggle that both sides eventually said they had won.

Chris Dixie, a Houston labor lawyer who was involved in the dispute, said the antilabor reputation that Mr. Watson carried out of that controversy was "not undeserved," but conceded that he could not pinpoint any definite antilabor action.

Mr. Dixie has no use for Mr. Watson, nevertheless.

CALLED TEXAS YOKEL

"He's a Texas yokel," he said. "Of course, Lyndon Johnson likes to surround himself with Texas yokels. That's the kind of people he likes to have around him."

Other Texas liberals speak well of the other Texans on the White House staff.

Mr. Watson is used to being called names, but the antilabor label still pains him. The word "strikebreaker" produced the only sign of impatience during two hours of interviews. His face flushed but his denial came out calmly.

"I'm for organized labor," he said. "I've never been against organized labor.

Almost always he remains imperturbable.

When he was forced to interrupt one interview because the Shah of Iran was due on the South Lawn in three minutes, he apologized with no sign of haste, his friendly drawl suggesting that nothing really pressing was at hand. He carefully arranged a time for a second interview. When all was agreed on and proper leavetakings had been said, he saw the guest to the office door and stood watching while he walked out.

Then, just before the door closed, he swung to his desk in a blur of dark blue fabric and golden cuff links, his left hand reaching for the telephone receiver, his right finger already jabbing at the buttons, his light gray eyes trained without humor on the instrument that is the most constant detail of his life.

MANDATORY MAGNETIC CHECKS—MORE BANK REGIMENTATION

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, nearly every citizen of this country received formal notice of the Federal Reserve's arrogance.

All of us with checking accounts received brief, curt notices in the mail instructing us on the Federal Reserve's new demands on checkwriting.

Forthwith, the banks informed us, we would be required to write our checks only on approved checks bearing magnetic numbers. No longer would "customer drafts" or any other form of check be allowed. If we attempted to use our regular checks—sans the magnetic numbers—we might face "heavy handling charges."

All these decrees were of course handed down by the Federal Reserve. Obviously, the American people—at least those with checking accounts—now must knuckle down to the requirements of the Federal Reserve and its computers.

The convenience of the people is not important as the Federal Reserve views things. It is only the convenience of the banks and the Federal Reserve that matter.

It is interesting that the banks and the Federal Reserve feel so free to issue these kinds of ultimatums on checking accounts on which they pay not one dime of interest. These are absolutely interest-free funds—demand deposits—which cost the banks nothing. Yet, now they tell us that they will hit us with "heavy handling charges" unless we bow down to the magnetic numbers. This, apparently, is to be added on top of already heavy service charges imposed by most banks.

Once again, we have the Federal Reserve and the banks dictating to the American people. This is a new form of bank regimentation imposed by a Federal Reserve System more interested in computers than people.

Mr. Speaker, a column in the Saturday, September 23, issue of the New York Times, written by E. B. White, is illustrative of the way I believe most Americans regard this newest evidence of Federal Reserve arrogance.

The column follows:

DEAR MR. ':0214'''1063': ''02'''10?30'''8''

(By E. B. White)

My bank, which I have forgotten the name of in the excitement of the moment sent me a warning the other day. It was headed: "An important notice to all our checking account customers." The burden of this communication was that I would no longer be allowed to write checks that did not bear the special series of magnetic ink numbers along the base.

My bank said the Federal Reserve System had notified them that it will not accept for processing any checks that don't show these knobby little digits. For example, I would no longer be free to write a check on a blank form, because it would lack a certain magnetism that computers insist on.

SLIGHTLY RHEUMATOID

I first encountered these spooky numbers a few years back and took a dislike to them. They looked like numbers that had been run over by a dump truck or that had developed rheumatoid arthritis and their joints had swollen. But I kept my mouth shut, as they seemed to be doing me no harm.

Now, however, it appears that we are all going to knuckle under to the machines that admire these numbers. We must all forgo the pleasure and convenience of writing a check on an ordinary, nonmagnetic piece of paper. My signature used to be enough to prod my bank into dispatching some of my money to some deserving individual or firm. Not any more.

This, I think, is a defeat for all—a surrender. In order to accommodate the Federal Reserve System, we are asked to put ourselves out.

I EMBARRASS EASILY

The notice I received says that if I try to palm off a check that lacks the magnetic ink numbers, the check cannot be processed without "delay, extra handling charges, and possible embarrassment." I embarrass easily—it doesn't take much, really—and naturally I am eager to learn what form this embarrassment will take if I should decide to write a check using the old blank form that has proved so convenient, for I don't know how many decades, on those occasions when one is stuck without his checkbook or enough lettuce to carry the day.

"The tremendous increase in the use of checks," writes my bank, warming to its subject, made it necessary for the Federal Reserve to establish a completely computerized operation for processing all checks from all banks. Their computer can function only when proper magnetic numbers are used."

Well, I can believe that last part, about the computer requiring a special diet of malformed numbers; but I am suspicious of that first statement, about how the Federal Reserve would have been unable to carry on unless it went completely over to machines. I suspect that the Federal Reserve simply found machines handy and adventurous. But suppose we had had, in this country, a tremendous increase in the use of checks before anybody had got round to inventing the computer—what would have happened then? Am I expected to believe that the Federal Reserve and all its members would have thrown in the sponge?

I know banks better than that. Banks love money and are not easily deflected from the delicious act of accumulating it. Love would have found a way. Checks would have cleared.

I'm not against machines, as are some people who feel that the computer is leading us back into the jungle. I rather *like* machines, particularly the egg beater, which is the highest point the machine has yet reached. I'm against machines only when the convenience they afford to some people is regarded as more important than the inconvenience they cause to all.

In short, I don't think computers should wear the pants, or make the decisions. They are deficient in humor, they are not intuitive, and they are not aware of the imponderables. The men who feed them seem to believe that everything is made out of ponderables, which isn't the case. I read a poem once that a computer had written, but didn't care much for it. It seemed to me I could write a better one myself, if I were to put my mind to it.

TIME TO FIND OUT

And now I must look around for a blank check. It's time I found out what form my new embarrassment is going to take. First, though, I'll have to remember the name of my bank. It'll come to me, if I sit here long enough. Oddly enough, the warning notice I received contained no signature. Imagine a bank forgetting to sign its name!

MISS BETTY FURNESS WARNS BANKERS AGAINST THE "MALPRACTICE" OF SENDING OUT UNSOLICITED BANK CREDIT CARDS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Betty Furness, President Johnson's Assistant for Consumer Affairs, yesterday told a number of bankers at a meeting in Colorado Springs, Colo., that they can take their choice: Stop sending out bank credit cards where none have been requested, or else Congress will enact my bill, H.R. 12646, to outlaw "this malpractice."

Of course, it is not realistic to believe that the banks would voluntarily stop this unsafe and unsound practice when the banking supervisors, such as the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Reserve Board, have stuck their heads in the sand like the proverbial ostrich.

Legislation is the only answer, Mr. Speaker, and I assure you that your Committee on Banking and Currency will insist upon consideration of this legislation during this session of Congress.

A news article about Miss Furness' statement appearing in the September 20, 1967, New York Times follows:

MISS FURNESS ASKS BANKS TO ABANDON UNSOLICITED CREDIT

WASHINGTON, September 19.—Betty Furness, President Johnson's Assistant for Consumer Affairs, cautioned bankers today to stop sending out unsolicited credit cards or else the possibility of being forbidden to by law.

"A bank's most precious commodity is its integrity, and it shouldn't take a law to uphold a banker's reputation," she said in a speech before the Consumers Bankers Association in Colorado Springs. Her office made copies of her prepared remarks available here.

She said that she thought bankers would prefer to act on their own rather than having legislation passed "to correct this malpractice." Representative Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, the chairman of the House Banking Committee, has introduced legislation that would outlaw the offering of unsolicited credit by banks, and would place a ceiling on the debt that could be run up on any credit card.

Miss Furness said she had received a considerable number of letters of protest from individuals who had received unsolicited credit cards from banks.

One writer said that the bank that had sent him two unsolicited credit cards "put me in jeopardy by not even providing for a signature on the cards."

Miss Furness, herself, protested that many of the unsolicited cards could be used to charge mail or telephone orders, thus making their use by some person other than the one to whom it was issued all the easier.

She said that a "reliable current estimate" put the number of outstanding bank credit card holders at about 10 million and said that a survey made by the Consumer Bankers Association "revealed that almost half of the new card offerings were made without prior credit checks."

FINANCIAL WRITERS ACCLAIM BANKING AND CURRENCY STAFF ANALYSIS OF BANK TAKEOVER PRACTICES

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the favorable response in the financial press to a staff analysis published by your Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the Committee on Banking and Currency should be noted by the entire House. This analysis is entitled "Acquisitions, Changes in Control and Bank Stock Loans of Insured Banks."

Released 1 month ago, it carefully studies nearly 1,000 bank takeovers reported to the Federal supervisory agencies between September 1964 and the end of 1966. Observations and conclusions of the developing banking structure which are of tremendous importance to the public as well as the industry itself are included, along with suggestions for correcting certain weaknesses in the Bank Holding Company Act. Without going into further detail on its findings, Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the Members of the House that a limited number of copies are still available.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD a number of press comments congratulating your committee. I am aware of no unfavorable response to this study.

These publications include a Washington Post editorial of July 13, articles appearing in the American Banker newspaper, and the August issue of Burroughs Clearing House magazine.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, July 13, 1967]

BUYING BANKS ON CREDIT

A report by the industrious staff of the House Banking Committee suggests that financial ingenuity knows no bounds. Banks can be attractive investments, and some people are able to purchase control of them on credit. According to the staff report, there were 944 changes in bank ownership between September 1964 and December 1966, and 454—nearly half—were effected by loans from other banks. In fact, the loans amounted to nearly 90 per cent of the purchase price of the bank stock that changed hands.

More than a century ago, in the era of "wildcat banking," promoters of new banks frequently created "capital" out of thin air by voting themselves loans with which to pay installments due on their own bank stock. This trend uncovered by the House Banking staff poses a similar danger. What is to prevent a group of sharp operators from borrowing to gain control of a bank, and then voting themselves bank loans to take over other banks or nonfinancial enterprises? Hard evidence of such maneuvers is lacking, but at least one pending investigation suggests that a concern over pyramiding by unscrupulous persons may be justified.

The staff report makes no recommendations for legislation, but they are surely right in urging further investigation of bank takeovers on credit.

[From the American Banker, July 14, 1967]

PATMAN REPORT ON BANK OWNERSHIP IS VALUABLE, REGARDLESS OF MOTIVE

(By Joseph D. Hutnyan)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. Wright Patman has made a worthwhile contribution to the fact sheet in prying from the Federal banking agencies data about ownership changes that have occurred in the industry since 1964.

This information has been gathering dust in government files for the past three years. Chances are that if the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee had not taken the initiative, these vital facts about patterns of bank ownership still would be entombed there.

The information was gleaned from hundreds of reports filed under a 1964 law which required a bank to notify Federal regulatory agencies whenever a significant change in its ownership occurred.

The law was passed after Congress had expressed concern about the possibility of criminals and other undesirables infiltrating the banking system.

Predictably, Mr. Patman used these facts to lambast the banking industry. The data was part of a staff report which saw the industry as being slowly choked by creeping tentacles of monopoly.

Mr. Patman's conclusions are arguable, and his motivation is bound to be questioned. However, these are probably the least important aspects of the report, since many of the recommendations merely were repeats of previous charges by the Texas Democrat.

The report's true impact stems from the fact that it made available to the public for the first time vital documentary material about the banking industry.

Included is a 61-page state-by-state breakdown of all ownership changes reported under the law, up to Dec. 31, 1966. Another 11-page section of the report contains data on the financing of these shifts in ownership.

This document should be of considerable interest to a banker, a student, or just an interested citizen who would like to know what is happening at the banks in his home town.

There is no indication that the Federal regulatory agencies had made any move to suppress this data in the past. However, it is unlikely that the information would be available today if Mr. Patman's report had not been published.

And the word is getting around. Staff members of the committee already have been swamped with requests for the report, which was released Monday.

Banking leaders are divided on this objective phase of the report. One line of argument is that disclosure is fine, but why give Mr. Patman factual material that he intends to use only to cast the industry in a bad light?

The answer to this seems obvious.

Mr. Patman's report on the changing patterns of bank ownership has drawn some sinister inferences. The important question revolves around whether these conclusions are justified.

This can be determined only by opening the record and giving the public access to the same factual material used in making this critical analysis.

The fact that Mr. Patman did this in this instance is commendable. If the banking industry ever shied away from such a test, it would be alarming.

[From the American Banker, July 18, 1967]

Patman Study Finds Gaps in Holding Act

(By James R. Hambelton)

New York.—The staff study by the House Banking and Currency Committee on changes in bank ownership does more to document the inadequacies of the present holding company law than any amount of Congessional testimony.

The report not only shows that banks are changing hands at a rapid rate but that many—250 out of 944 over the past two years—are falling under the control of non-bank corporations. This mingling of banks and other types of business under common ownership is contrary to the intent of the Federal holding company statute which requires that bank holding companies spin-off non-banking subsidiaries.

But since the act defines a holding company as a corporation owning at least two banks, the way is open for two types of circumvention. Both are documented in the report. In one, a corporation can buy a bank and, because of the two-bank feature of the act, stay outside the definition of a holding company.

According to the report, "The 'one-bank loophole' is currently enjoyed by literally hundreds of financial, commercial and industrial companies owning a single bank." In backing up this assertion, the report says that nearly one-third of all the banks that have been sold in the last two years were taken over "by a company apparently engaged actively in some business enterprise."

The effort to keep banks from being controlled by other corporations, of course, grew out of concern that common ownership might open the way for self-serving loans that might not be in the best interest of depositors. The report does not claim that any such thing is happening. But there are at least two instances in the statistical tables which show that groups of investors used loans from banks which they controlled to buy still other banks.

In addition to the one-bank loophole, the other most common way of circumventing the holding company law is for a group of investors to buy a bank. They may form a partnership or they may have only an informal understanding. But they do not form a corporation to do the buying and this keeps them outside the jurisdiction of the Fed. The holding company law covers only purchases made by corporations.

But if, according to the report, one reason for the law was to prevent undue concentration of banks, the activity of groups of investors in buying banks is at least contrary to the spirit of the law. Undue concentration can develop from the wholesale acquisitions of banks by individuals, as well as from purchases of corporations.

The report is far less precise in its estimates of "chain-banking," as it calls the activity of these groups, than in citing the number of banks being taken over by corporations. For one thing the question of "control" is moot. For another, a precise tabulation is virtually impossible with the present data. Often the same individuals will be behind different "corporate shells." This makes it difficult to know who owns what bank.

The study was released July 10 by the staff of the subcommittee on domestic finance of the House Banking and Currency Committee. Rep. Wright Patman, D., Texas, is chairman. The staff analyzed changes in bank ownership. Under a new 1964 law, these changes must be reported to the three federal banking agencies. The agencies had not previously released the reports.

The report is sharply critical of the Federal Reserve for not keeping track of these investor groups. It recommends that the Fed "immediately proceed to identify the personnel and groups controlling chains of all insured banks (not merely member banks) and their nonbanking business affiliates.

"Individual controlling persons and members of controlling groups should be required to register under the act and divest themselves of their controlled nonbanking business," the report states. As a rule of thumb as to what constitutes control, the report suggests that holding of less than 10% "would raise a presumption of lack of control."

These proposals may be far too radical to get a serious hearing in Congress, or elsewhere but at least they do go to the heart of the problem.

The report also suggests that computers be used by the Fed to improve its knowledge of "who owns and controls our 14,000 banks."

No estimates are made as to how widespread these investor groups are, but in the report's detailed breakdown of who bought what bank, there are frequent instances where the same name crops up as the buyer of various banks.

The report cites some of the better known examples of investors who own two or more banks, but because of their organization do not fall under the Holding Company Law. In Chicago, Victor Muscat and Edward Krock, head a group that controls four small Chicago banks. Roy M. Cohen, whose law firm is general counsel for the group, is chairman of one of the banks.

A Fed spokesman said the staff was making an "inquiry" into the holdings of the Chicago group.

In Michigan there is Donald H. Parsons, and investors associated with him, who in three years has taken over eight banks with combined deposits of about $1.3 billion.

The question of undue concentration may not be valid in Mr. Parson's case as his banks are spread out all over the state, but under the present law the issue is not even raised. Neither the Fed nor any other regulatory body is involved. Mr. Parsons uses separate partnerships to acquire each of the banks.

Then too, there is S. Mort Zimmerman of Dallas who along with associated investors, controls three Florida banks, as well as Underwriters Trust Co. in New York. Mr. Zimmerman's holding company does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Fed since as he pointed out the company never acquires more than 24.9% of a bank's stock.

To insure firm control, Mr. Zimmerman and others in his group, as individuals, then buy still more of the bank's stock. In the case of Underwriters Trust Co., Mr. Zimmerman says his group controls in excess of 41%.

Most of the issues raised in the report have been debated for years. But the report does set out the dimension of the problem by, for the first time, publishing the facts on changes in bank control. By doing so, the report provides the basis, for detailed studies that could lead to legislative changes.

[From the American Banker, July 7, 1967]

Climate of Candor

The banking industry, and the Federal agencies which govern it, have a fresh and valuable object lesson before them in the usefulness of public disclosure of bank ownership changes. This is the Report on Acquisitions, Changes in Control, and Bank Stock Loans of Insured Banks prepared by the staff of the House Banking and Currency Committee subcommittee on domestic finance and published last week.

This report, which makes public for the first time the changes in bank ownership that were reported to the regulatory agencies under the disclosure law which became effective on Sept. 12, 1964, is first and foremost a source document of vast potential importance for legislators, regulators and bankers of responsibility throughout the industry regardless of the size of their banks.

Many bankers and officials may smart under some of the conclusions drawn from the material by the staff in writing its report, and may dispute hotly some of the charges made by Wright Patman, D., Tex., chairman of both the subcommittee and the full committee. But it would be extremely difficult to argue against the value of placing on the public record the basic facts of ownership changes, so that rational analysis, debate and ultimately perhaps, if necessary, corrective action might take place.

The importance of the publication of this information cannot be underestimated; for if this Congressional subcommittee had not made this effort, it would have been much harder for anybody else to have gained access to this vital record. The law which calls for the reporting of ownership changes requires only that these reports be made to the appropriate regulatory agencies; it does not specifically state that they be made known to the public.

The staff report carries this information over that final gap. Admittedly it is running a little late—it includes reports of ownership changes filed from the date the law was passed up to Dec. 31, 1966, a period of 27 months. And that means that some of the information is almost three years old by now.

The question which now arises is whether the banking industry will have to depend upon a Congressional inquiry each year to gather this information from the regulatory agencies, or whether the agencies will make such an effort unnecessary by making this information public themselves.

Obviously, even though the pioneering work has been done in this initial effort, it will still take a lot of work each year to keep the record up to date if the subcommittee has to assume that responsibility. And a serious question could be asked as to whether it should become the responsibility of a legislative group to carry out a function which more properly may be an administrative or executive matter.

Once the subcommittee has put on the record this information, clearly in what it conceives to be the spirit of the new law on disclosure of ownership changes, it then would seem to be the responsibility of the regulatory agencies to observe the Congressional intent so expressed and make publication of this information a routine.

In its timing, also, publication of this staff report was singularly appropriate, for within a few days after its appearance the Freedom of Information Law went into effect. While there are bound to be cases of misunderstanding as to the letter of this new law, which is designed to break through some of the bureaucratic crust which prevents the free flow of proper information from the government to the public, its spirit is clear and has been underscored by the Attorney General in a recent memorandum. The essence of this spirit is that when there is doubt about the propriety of making information public, the presumption will be that it is in the public interest to do so, unless a strong case can be made in favor of keeping it secret.

The staff report has set a good example of just what the new Freedom of Information Law is designed to accomplish. And while banking may feel a bit uncomfortable at first out in this bright new light, this industry more than any other is run and regulated so as to stand up well under public scrutiny and, therefore, should be in a position to benefit more than any other over the long run from exposure to this new climate of candor.

[From the Burroughs Clearing House magazine]

House Report Views Bank Acquisitions, Stock Loans

There is some fascinating reading for bankers in an analysis by the staff of the

House Banking Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of acquisitions, changes in control, and bank stock loans of insured banks. At the simplest level, the report is a great gossip-sheet: glancing over the extensive tables in the document, one can learn a great deal about the number of banks that changed hands between Sept. 12, 1964 and Dec. 31, 1966, such as the names of the banks involved, their sizes, the names of new owners, and the name of the bank that lent money to the new owners of an acquired institution.

But the report has serious implications for the banking community. In a well-supported way, it makes a good case for changes in the banking laws. It is, perhaps, the lack of flamboyancy that gives the report its greatest impact. In the past, dramatic statements calling for revisions in the banking laws have been based in large part on inferences drawn from incomplete data. It may be argued that the data in the present report are incomplete, too, but this is for all practical purposes a point to be made in favor of strengthening the law.

Recommendations made as a part of the subcommittee's report are hardly novel. They have all been suggested before. But they have not been as well supported. Indeed, the facts themselves are sufficiently impressive that their impact is modestly diminished by recurrent references to the possibility that "unsavory elements" may be among the new bank owners—a possibility that is not further elaborated in the report.

As Chairman Wright Patman (D., Tex.) interprets the data in the report, there were 424 banks, with assets of $3.4 billion, that were acquired by persons who borrowed 90 per cent of the total purchase price from other banks. As he sees it, the "widespread borrowing from one bank to finance the takeover of other banks obviously increases the danger of super concentration and monopoly." The report itself notes that "a correspondent bank which holds as security 25 per cent or more of the stock of another bank potentially controls that bank."

One thing revealed in the report that probably will come as a surprise to many bankers is the amount of turnover in bank ownership. Over a 27-month period, federal regulatory agencies received reports of 944 changes in control, involving 860 banks. Since no penalty is provided in law for failure to report changes in control, the possibility exists that some changes have not been reported. The report recommends that consideration be given to changing the law to provide for regulatory agency "approval of changes in control or management of insured banks, rather than mere notification." Congress, the report observes, has authorized the federal agencies to remove dishonest management, "but their hands are tied to prevent takeovers of insured banks by undesirable elements, even those with underworld connections." Consideration should also be given to willful failure to file the reports required under present law.

The Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 also comes in for substantial criticism in the subcommittee report. Rep. Patman has long been opposed to what he calls the "one-bank loophole" in this law. Not surprisingly, he wants it to be plugged by new law. Rebutting the contention that there is "no substantial evidence of abuses occurring in one-bank companies," the report observes that over 250 of the 944 transactions covered in the document "show a bank takeover by a company actively engaged in some business enterprise." The report also asserts that even under the two-bank definition of a holding company, there are instances where a company has apparently acquired sufficient stock in banks to be required to register as a bank holding company, but has not done so.

"Chain banking" is also attacked by the subcommittee staff report. "Chain banking" takes advantage of the exemption accorded to control of multiple banks by entities other than corporations. The report says that significant numbers of banks are acquired or controlled by non-corporate groups, and that "the utilization of the partnership exemption is most significant with respect to the existence of chain banking." Needless to say, the report also points out that "chain banking" through multiple-bank ownership is wholly out of keeping with the intent of those states which, for example, have chosen to limit themselves to unit banks, or to otherwise place sharp restrictions on branching.

The report does not disclose the purchase price or individual banks or the terms of the loans made to purchase bank stock. All in all, however, 199 banks made 454 loans (secured by 25 per cent or more of the stock of insured banks) in the amount of $206 million. The total purchase prices came to $236 million, while deposits were about $3.4 billion. It concludes that "control of a huge sum of highly liquid financial assets owned by public depositors passed into the hands of 'purchasers' with an equity investment of only $30 million, less than one per cent of the total assets controlled. The attractiveness to speculators, promoters, and worse, of the virtually unlimited 'leverage' possibilities in bank buying on credit is obvious." The report also asserts that "it is difficult if not impossible to defend the diversion of bank credit" for such purposes, particularly when credit conditions are tight. The report recommends careful scrutiny of the terms of loans made for the purpose of acquiring bank stock.

It finds that there is some question of the specific authority of the federal regulatory agencies to make sure that such loans are in accordance with sound banking practice. But, it says that these agencies are "specifically authorized to prohibit unsound banking practices." The document suggests that "terms such as little or no down payment, no regular repayment of principal, an extremely high loan-to-value ratio and below market interest rates on such loans may well constitute an unsound banking practice." The report proposes further investigation to determine whether remedial legislation is necessary in this area.

The report finds little, if anything, to commend in the way the federal regulatory agencies have approached the problems of multiple-bank ownership. It feels that "haphazard administration" of the Holding Company Act is responsible for some apparent evasions of this law. It feels that "chain banking" is not regarded sufficiently seriously as a means for achieving economic concentration.

FOREIGN TRADE AND TEXTILES: THE BATTLE HEATS UP

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an article.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of the domestic textile industry in meeting the accelerated import of textile fibers and products is one in which every Member of the Congress should be interested. This interest is required if we are to have a sound domestic economy.

Textile World, one of the outstanding trade publications in our country, has recently done an article entitled "Foreign Trade and Textiles: The Battle Heats Up." This article presents the problem very graphically, and I will make it a part of my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

FOREIGN TRADE AND TEXTILES: THE BATTLE HEATS UP

A showdown is coming on the problem of imports of textiles into the United States. After years of government promises and unsatisfactory action, the domestic textile industry is ready to go to the mat with all opponents. And it's lined up some impressive backing in Congress along with earlier promises from the White House.

The influential chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), has introduced a bill that would limit imports of man-mades and woolens along lines similar to the long-term cotton textile agreement. And in the Senate, Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) has introduced a similar bill.

Although it's too early to tell what the outcome will be, it has generally been conceded that this time the textile industry will have to live with the results for a long while.

The way was cleared for the fight with the end of the Kennedy Round trade talks in Geneva on June 30. Virtually everyone in the U.S. textile industry felt hurt by the results of the Kennedy Round. Perhaps the feeling was best summed up by American Textile Manufacturers Institute President William J. Erwin when he said, "The tariff agreements reducing substantially textile duties signed in Geneva today make it all the more important for the government to move quickly and effectively to place realistic controls on textile imports.

"There is a serious and immediate need for the government to open negotiations now to implement its long-range textile program, which calls for effective quantitative controls on textile products of all fibers. This must be done in order to reverse the alarming trend of textile imports."

At stake is some method of offsetting the textile package that U.S. negotiators agreed to at Geneva. Basically, the package grants an average tariff reduction of 21% on cotton textiles, 15% on man-made-fiber products and 2% on wool textiles. In addition, on the plus side of the ledger, the long-term cotton textile agreement was extended for the next three years.

Needless to say, the Johnson administration stands firmly behind the cuts. Commerce Secretary Alexander B. Trowbridge told a group of businessmen shortly after the cuts were announced, "the growth of textile imports has been particularly strong in recent years. In return for a three-year extension of the Long-Term Agreement for Cotton Textiles (LTACT) on the part of exporting countries, the countries importing textiles agreed to reductions of about 15 to 20% and certain adjustments in import quota levels. In manmade fiber textile our overall reduction was approximately 14 to 15%. Our reduction varied by sensitivity, with yarn reduced by 37%, fabric by 18%, and apparel by 6%.

"Our reductions on wool textiles averaged 2%. Virtually every major sensitive item was excepted from negotiations. Items on which tariffs were reduced were mostly low trade, nonsensitive items."

And Trowbridge concluded, "So we can again say that in a trade area of large dollar value, with heavy pressure from many sources for expanded entry into our huge market, we come to a level of agreement in which all parties found benefit, and our negotiators were responsive to the serious problems faced by this key industry."

Few persons in the textile industry agree with Trowbridge. The industry has complained time and again to Washington that its health is precarious. During the first quarter of 1967, profits were off 37.5% from the same quarter, 1966. Prices were off 2.4% in May from a year ago, according to the Federal Reserve Board. And according to the FRB, May production was off 6% from the same period in 1966.

But not everyone buys industry's arguments. A serious blast at the industry has been leveled by Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.), second ranking minority member of the House Ways & Means Committee and an acknowledged expert on import-export problems. Curtis told the House in late July that the "American textile industry is a veritable Janus. The industry's smiling face is turned toward the consumer, the investor, and the public at large; its scowling face is turned toward the Federal government, including Congress, which is presented with statistics and complaints, that, without the benefit of considerable background knowledge, appear to show that the industry is in very bad times."

There has been a reluctance in the industry to rebut Curtis head on. One industry official points out that "Curtis seems to take the optimistic view for our industry while we tend to be more pessimistic." One thing seems certain, the recent past has not been a particularly profitable period for the textile manufacturer. A look at recent earnings figures shows.

Burlington Mills earnings for the quarter ending July 1 were 56 cents per share compared to 80 cents per share for the same quarter in 1966.

Fieldcrest Mills earnings declined 37.6% in the quarter ending July 1.

West Point-Pepperell earnings declined 5.6%, last quarter.

In addition, a look at earnings for fiber companies shows . . .

E. I. DuPont earnings declined 33.9% in the second quarter.

Celanese Corp. declined 12.1% in the second quarter.

Monsanto earnings declined 30.1% in the second quarter.

Celanese, DuPont, and Monsanto all complain about the increased competition of imports of man-made fibers in discussing earnings declines. Curtis admits there is a "serious import situation" in man-made fibers, especially yarns and apparel. And he also calls attention to increased imports of wool yarns, although he indicates imports of wool fabrics, apparel, and made-up articles have decreased since 1965. But turning to cotton, Curtis says records show that for the first three months of 1967, yarn and apparel imports are down, and only fabric imports have risen—all in heavy military demand.

Looking at the overall import problems of textiles, Curtis concludes from data in hand that the "industry has experienced two or three quite good years and seems headed for more. The problems of the present and the future don't resemble those of the immediate past."

However, Curtis concedes that even in good times textile industry profitability is below the national average. But he comments that "apart from whatever economic justification can be made, the continuing requests for comprehensive quotas rest ultimately on a political commitment."

The political commitment has a long history. And it currently is most important for man-made fibers and wool, the two items Curtis admits have problems.

On February 6, 1962, while negotiations for the long-term cotton textile agreement were going on in Geneva, U.S. negotiator Michael Blumenthal told textile industry officials that he would notify the State Department that the LTA would be acceptable to the industry providing wool and man-made fiber import problems were dealt with. President Kennedy indicated at the time that any significant rises in imports of wool or man-mades would precipitate import controls.

When President Johnson took office he committed himself to the same import position. On September 28, 1964, President Johnson told a presidential campaign audience in Portland, Me., "I share with our late, beloved President Kennedy the view that woolen textile and apparel imports must be kept at reasonable levels." Johnson repeated the commitment later for both wool and man-made fibers. And there were indications that White House Assistant Joseph Califano and Harry C. McPherson were also studying the problem.

However, no action was taken before the Kennedy Round was completed. Many in the industry felt that the delay resulted in large part from a general feeling that trying to forge import controls on the two fibers while the talks were snarled would only make negotiating a total Kennedy Round package that much more difficult.

Exactly how active the White House is on the problem now is questionable. Officials say Johnson aides are merely being kept informed. The textile industry has presented to Vice President Hubert Humphrey a 25-p. memorandum backgrounding White House support for import controls on textiles going back to talks between Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the Japanese in 1935.

With the Kennedy Round over, Congress has picked up the administration commitment. Actually, the Senate bill to limit imports of all textiles was introduced by Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) and 23 cosponsors, primarily from textile states, on May 17, 1967, shortly before the Kennedy Round came to an end. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) introduced a similar bill on July 19. By the middle of August the Hollings bill had the support of over 50 senators, while the Mills bill had the support of about 75 representatives.

Basically, the two bills are the same. Here's how they vary point by point:

Only the House bill points out that a seven-point textile program has not been fully implemented; imports have grown sharply and are disrupting certain textile markets and cutting U.S. employment.

The Senate version authorizes the President to increase, decrease, or otherwise limit the levels of imports from any country included in the agreement. The House specifies in addition to provisions of the Senate bill that future annual import limits should be based on import levels for at least one calendar year prior to 1967 and this period would be the same for all importing countries.

Both bills say that when the law is passed, the President should begin by limiting textile imports to their average annual quantity for the 1961–1966 period.

Where there is no international agreement with an importing country, beginning January 1, 1969, both bills would authorize import increases and decreases proportionately to fluctuations in the U.S. market if they are more than 5%. The Senate version adds that imports of any article cannot exceed the proportionate share of the market for that quarter of 1966. However, the House version says that any import increase must not exceed 10% of the growth in U.S. consumption for that product.

Both versions define specifically the term "textile articles." Generally, the definition includes top, yarn, fabric, apparel, man-made staple fiber, filaments filament yarn, and all other textile manufactures whether spun, woven, knitted, fitted, bonded or otherwise manufactured of cotton, wool, or man-made fiber or produced in combination with other fibers.

Administration of the law in the House version would be vested in the President. The Senate version also gives administrative authority to the President, but it specifically instructs the Secretary of Commerce to allocate the allowable quantity of imports among supplying countries by category of product, based on their share of the U.S. market during a representative period. And he may also take into account the interests of developing nations and other special factors that are affecting trade in any category of textile article.

Under terms of both bills, the cotton textile agreement would not be touched. Previously-made import commitments are excluded from the terms of the bills. However, if extension of the new three-year agreement reached in the closing stages of the Kennedy Round fails, at some future time cotton might become part of the proposed law.

Actually, the long-term cotton textile agreement has not been totally effective in keeping import levels down since it was enacted in 1962. A quick check of import figures shows that in the first year of the LTA imports of cotton textile manufacturers totaled 1,122,600 square yards. During the fourth year of the agreement ending on September 30, 1966, imports totaled 1,724,400 square yards.

And in the first half of the fifth LTA import year that began October 1, 1966, total imports hit 1,626,100 square yards.

Looking at the rapid growth despite LTA, Halbert M. Jones, president of Waverly Mills, Inc. and chairman of the ATMI International Trade Committee, recently pointed out that "instead of the growth rate of approximately 5% per year contemplated with the negotiation of the long-term textile agreement, we have seen a growth of 24% in 1965 and an astounding 39% in 1966. Certainly the administration of the long-term arrangement has not been effective in the restraint of these imports during the past two years." (TEXTILE WORLD, May 1967, page 93.)

Rep. Curtis doesn't buy this argument, and if it is brought up during hearings on the Mills bill when it reaches that stage in the House Ways & Means Committee, Curtis, as number two minority member of the committee, will take pot shots at it. Curtis claims, "The cotton import production statistics are confused by the long-tern cotton textile arrangement, which has a unique measurement year that begins October 1 and ends September 30, and there is a complicated and fuzzy base period that confuses the calendar year, fiscal year and LTA year (October-September).

"The base periods for the measurement of the growth of cotton textile imports that are frequently presented by the Department of Commerce and the textile industry are calendar year 1961 and LTA year 1961. Because of the short-term cotton textile agreement, predecessor of the long-term arrangement, imports in these two periods were significantly lower than the previous calendar year of 1960. If such base periods are used, the absolute growth of imports to the fourth LTA year which ended last October looks quite phenomenal, even though in relative terms it might not seem so great."

Cotton textiles—The industry is sticking to its argument that cotton textile imports are hitting hard at the domestic industry. ATMI's May report on cotton textile imports says the "made-up goods total for May 1967 was the highest thus far in the fifth LTA and brought the eight-month total to a record high 79-million square yards."

Major exporters of cotton textiles into the United States are Japan, Hong Kong, Portugal, and Brazil, followed by a host of others. Most of these countries pay wages of less than one fourth those paid by U.S. textile companies, and their techniques are virtually as advanced as the United States, according to industry experts.

Compounding fears over cotton imports are the new tariff cuts agreed to by U.S. negotiators during the Kennedy Round. They are slated to take effect January 1, 1968.

Overall, tariff cuts on all cotton textiles averaged about 20.8%. The smallest cut, 16.3%, came in apparel, which accounts for about 50% of textile imports. Cotton yarns were cut an average 27.2%, fabric 24.7%, made-up 24.7% and miscellaneous products 33.4%.

The Administration feels the cuts were

well within the bounds of keeping the U.S. industry from getting seriously hurt. But textile executives still fear what will happen next year. They point out that the cuts they got in return will probably do little to improve the imbalance in trade between U.S. imports and exports, primarily because U.S. prices are too high. Compared to imports of 1.7-million square yards in the fourth LTA year, U.S. exports of cotton textiles totaled 612,200 square yards. Exports for the first half year of the fifth LTA were virtually unchanged from last year at 303.4-million compared to 301-million square yards in the same period of the fourth year (see export report below.)

Man-made fibers—There's little argument that man-made fiber imports are a real problem. Even Curtis admits, "In man-made fiber products a serious import situation continues to exist."

E. Fontaine Broun, president of the Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, told TEXTILE WORLD flatly, "It is quite apparent from the substantial growth of U.S. imports of man-made fibers over the last six years, an increase of 256%, that existing U.S. duties on these products (before the Kennedy Round cuts) have not, and do not, constitute a barrier to trade.

"It is common knowledge that world-wide excess capacity exists for production of man-made fibers, and that this factor, when placed in combination with past reductions in the U.S. customs duties on man-made fibers, has stimulated imports thereof to a degree which is damaging to the man-made-fiber producing industry. The industry is now faced, as a result of the Kennedy Round reductions, with the burden of a full 50% additional reduction in these duties."

Broun says his industry feels the deep Kennedy Round cuts will just make a bad situation worse. He says, "They will draw much of the output of the excess capacity in Europe and Japan into the U.S. market, to the continued disruption of that market for the sale of domestically produced man-made fibers.

"Published financial reports of many U.S. fiber producers for the 1966 calendar year and the first and second quarters of 1967 show severely depressed earnings because of the lessening of the textile demand in the United States, the cost burden of the excess capacity for the production of man-made fibers in the United States, and the depressing effect of these factors in conjunction with the excessive volumes of rapidly increasing imports of man-made fibers and man-made textile products in all forms."

Industry statistics show that man-made imports have risen rapidly in recent years in almost all categories. From total imports of 213.4-million square yards in 1962, imports rose to 797.5-million in 1966. And through May 1967, they totaled 484.8-million for the year.

At the same time exports of man-made fiber piece goods have failed to climb in recent years. U.S. exports totaled 139.6-million square yards, and they had only risen slightly to 151.4-million by 1966 and the levels for 1967 appear to be about the same.

Needless to say, the industry is fighting hard to get the Mills and Hollings legislation passed. Brown points out that "the pending legislation by international agreements will be desirable in the long run not only to the United States, but to other trading nations involved, by providing a basis for fair and orderly participation by all nations involved in the U.S. market.

Woolens—Hardly was the ink dry on Mills' import bill than the woolen industry leaped up to express its appreciation. It had fought long for some results in its program to limit wool imports. Morton Darman, chairman of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers and president of the Top Co., said, "Quantitative control of all textile imports is urgently needed to prevent further disruption of our market. We trust Congress will act promptly on the Mills and Hollings bills and confidently expect widespread Congressional support. We heartily endorse both measures."

Tariff cuts on woolens agreed to during the Kennedy Round were negligible for many products. However, wool blankets were cut the full 50%. Nevertheless, the industry has been upset for years over the loss of U.S. markets to imports. Darman ticks off these points:

Imports of wool cloth, chief product of the wool textile industry, in 1966 were 64% over those in 1961. In terms of labor, the 1966 cloth imports alone displaced some 20-million man-hours of work in U.S. mills.

Imports of other products of the industry, such as wool tops and yarns, in 1966 were more than double those in 1961.

Imports of wool garments, the products that are made by the customers of the wool textile industry, in 1966 were more than 2½ times those of 1961.

U.S. production of woven wool apparel fabrics is estimated to have been about 10% below the figure for 1961.

Curtis challenges these arguments. He contends that the "big growth in wool imports, as measured by the Commerce Department, came in 1958 through 1962. From 1963 through 1967 the ratio of imports to consumption by this measurement has been quite stable." Curtis' figures show the ratio of U.S. imports for consumption to the apparent domestic market rose from 9.3 in 1958 to 18.1 in 1962. In 1963, the ratio was 20.6 and has slowly increased to an estimated 21.6 in 1967.

The figures are sure to get a thorough thrashing around when hearings open on the Mills bill. And similar arguments are anticipated in the Senate on the Hollings bill.

WHEN WILL ACTION COME?

When the two bills will come before committees in the two houses is hard to estimate, but it won't be as fast as the industry would like.

Ways & Means will be grappling with the President's proposed 10% surtax until at least the middle of September, perhaps longer. The Senate Finance Committee, responsible for the Hollings bill, started hearings on Social Security legislation in August after passage by the House. After that, it will take up the tax proposal.

Under the circumstances, it isn't likely that the textile bills will be brought up this year. Congress will be impatient to recess until after January 1 once the exhausting work of handling tax legislation is finished. In addition, the two import bills are controversial despite the heavy support they have received in both houses. When they come before the committees it is fairly certain lengthy hearings will be held to give proponents of both more protection and no protection for imports a chance to be heard.

This means that a good bit of work will be going on behind the scenes until the bills come to hearing. Textile industry officials have already begun building as strong a case as possible for the need for import controls. And one top industry executive says "We'll win this fight only if we keep after it from now until final passage."

A big question at the moment is whether the White House will come to the U.S. industry's aid. The history of verbal commitments to some protection for man-made and woolen imports is lengthy. But there is the problem of supporting the Kennedy Round agreements, and this will make it hard for the President to throw strong support behind any new protectionist measure.

One thing is certain, supporters of import controls won't let the President forget past commitments. And key congressmen are calling on industry officials to give them major support in the fight. Sen. John Pastore (D-R.I.) made that plain recently when he told the Southern Textile Association, "This is a big undertaking. This is not a one-man job. It is not a two-man job. Nor is it a job that can be done by Washington alone. We need your help. It is your responsibility to keep your senators and representatives completely and intelligently informed of what is going on—and the help you need from us."

WHAT'S HAPPENING WITH EXPORTS

Exports of textiles in recent years have not been satisfactory. In fact, government officials admit the situation is dismal and efforts are underway to get a better break for textiles. Industry is being leaned on heavily in the push.

Key to export growth is the work of the Exporter's Textile Advisory Committee (ETAC), a group of about 20 industry export experts that meets monthly with the Commerce Department's Office of Textiles and other government officials. The committee is trying to carve out areas where the government can help fight the textile export battle.

Efforts are under way to get better help in insuring export credits through the Foreign Credit Insurance Association. The association is made up of a group of insurance companies that insure sales of foreign credit against nonpayment. FCIA works closely with the Export-Import Bank to help guarantee U.S. companies against losses on sales to countries with shaky economies.

Textile exporters complain that the U.S. government is not as liberal as many foreign countries—notably Europe and Japan—in backing credits on sales to less-developed countries and sales behind the Iron Curtain. Some of the additional credit provisions ETAC has told FCIA it would like include:

Extension of the 30-day delinquency rule on payments.

Political insurance continued on deals where the FCIA cancels both commercial and political insurance coverage on shipments that are made to a customer delinquent on a prior shipment.

Extension of insurance on shipments against revokable letters of credit.

Insurance of the excess when seasonal or special shipments exceed a buyer's credit.

In addition to credit problems, the Commerce Department is working with the industry on developing new foreign markets for textiles. Within the Office of Textiles there is now a special section dealing with export expansion. Efforts are being made to keep all companies in the industry advised of sales possibilities in foreign countries, information coming from counselors in all U.S. embassies and other foreign trade sources; and foreign trade shows are being pushed.

HANDLING THE BARRIERS

ETAC and the Office of Textiles are also making an attack on the sticky, confusing problem of nontariff barriers, the barriers foreign countries throw up against U.S. imports in addition to tariffs.

Current material on the many different barriers used by textile importers is sadly out of date. However, the industry has agreed to make available to Commerce experiences it has had in having sales held up or lost because of these barriers. In return, Commerce experts on trade for each country considered a real or potential customer for U.S. textiles are studying the countries' nontariff barriers. When the studies are completed, the information will be put in the hands of all U.S. textile companies so they will know what they are up against in dealing with foreign trade.

Also it is expected that Congress will want to look into the problem of trade barriers when it gets around to studying administration requests for new trade legislation. Congressmen who are seeking greater protection for the U.S. textile industry will certainly balk at granting the Administration new trade legislation if U.S. companies are going to continue to come up against special barriers when they try to sell abroad.

Back in March the ATMI adopted a resolution that stated, "The American textile industry competes in its domestic market with by far the largest volume of imports entering any country in the world. On the other hand, American textile exports are discriminated against by a wide range of nontariff barriers such as licensing agreements, taxes, and other special arrangements.

"Many of those countries which discriminate against American textile exports enjoy a large and growing market in the United States. We urge the U.S. government to intensify its efforts to secure the same equality of treatment for American textiles in markets abroad that are accorded to foreign textiles in the U.S. markets.

These discriminatory nontariff barriers were discussed during the Kennedy Round. It was finally decided, however, that they should be treated separately at a later date because of the complicated methods used by various countries in implementing them.

CITING SOME EXAMPLES

Textile men point to many examples of foreign countries that juggle duties seemingly at whim. One textile executive cites the example of a customer from Peru who ordered knit piece goods in New York. When he ordered the goods, the prevailing import rate was 90 soles a kilo (about 84¢ a yard). In the meantime, it was raised to 300 soles a kilo (about $2.50 a yard). And he is now trying to cancel his order, which the plant has already turned out.

Another country with "capricious" import rates is Australia, this executive continues. It is so complicated that an Australian buyer who knows his business isn't sure what his goods will come in at. What's more, he adds, custom duties on the same fabric differ from port to port. And he knows of one fabric that had a 30% duty at one port and 5% at another.

Another point U.S. textile men make is that most foreign countries level duties on prices that include the freight to the foreign port. The United States does not do this—it is based on f.o.b. mill value of the goods no matter where they come from.

Many foreign countries offer incentives to exporters as well. Colombia, for example, has decreed new export incentives this year—a tax credit equal to 15% of the export value and duty-free imports of raw materials used in manufacturing exported goods. Australia, too, has export tax incentives—a double tax reduction on all export promotion costs including foreign travel, plus payroll tax rebates for export increases.

The U.S. textile exporters want the U.S. government to do more hard bargaining. "For instance," says one textile man, "a foreign country will send a delegation to the United States asking for a slice of our market. When they're asked for something in return, however, they say they aren't authorized to discuss it. They get the slice and we get nothing."

Rep. Curtis cites these examples of nontariff barrier discrimination against U.S. textile exports:

South Africa put into effect in the period between 1964 and 1966 higher tariffs and import quotas that effectively stop imports of low-price staple items like poplin, canvas, most kinds of cotton cloth, and certain man-made fibers. Result: a decline in U.S. exports of cotton broadwoven cloth to South Africa from $7.7 million to $4.7 million in the 1964–66 period.

The Philippines in August 1966 issued an order requiring that all U.S. shipments of remnants be accompanied by shippers' export declarations, which U.S. law prevents from being turned over to foreign governments except in certain instances approved by the Secretary of Commerce. An agreement (now expired) was reached on supplying the declarations, but trade still is way off in exports of textiles to the Philippines—from $17.2 million in 1963 to $3.5 million in 1966.

Venezuela in July 1965 put a temporary duty increase and prior import licensing requirement on most textile products, and in September made the restrictions permanent. Venezuela is not a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade, government body for international trade agreements among the major trading nations, so the United States has no international legal grounds for trying to get the restrictions removed.

There are many other nontariff barriers at work around the world. In Europe, for instance, it is common practice to levy border taxes on imports. These are arbitrary taxes that raise the price levels of imports considerably, often making them barely competitive.

The one area where a new plan for dealing with a nontariff has been adopted by the Kennedy Round nations is in dumping, the practice of selling in foreign markets for less than is charged at home. Almost every nation including the United States does this. In the future, however, major trading nations will follow a standard code for finding that dumping exists and setting penalties.

How average hourly earnings compare in textile industries of the world

Country:	Hourly rate
United States	$2.02
West Germany	.96
Belgium	.80
France	.63
Italy	.55
Spain	.44
Portugal	.19
Netherlands	.75
Colombia	.21
Mexico (weavers)	.55
Japan	.39
Hong Kong (weavers)	.29
Singapore (weavers)	.17
Taiwan (weavers)	.14

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

TEXTILE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS: HOW THE BALANCE OF TRADE IS SHIFTING

[In millions of dollars]

Year	Imports	Exports	Trade balance
1957	990	1,518	+528
1958	877	1,195	+318
1959	1,209	1,025	−184
1960	1,261	1,605	+344
1961	1,179	1,493	+314
1962	1,453	1,157	−296
1963	1,523	1,214	−309
1964	1,539	1,395	−144
1965	1,778	1,145	−633
1966	1,988	1,173	−815
1967	[1] 2,100	[1] 1,132	−868

[1] Estimate.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce.

TOKYO, RIO BUREAUS CABLE ON FOREIGN TRADE

TOSHIO YOSHIMURA, TOKYO, August 18.—Elias for Christiansen Texworld (Reur Telex on barriers): the second largest textile producing nation in the free world, Japan is one of the most liberal countries for foreign textile imports. Most foreign yarns, fabrics and made-up goods can be imported without restriction. The exceptions are (1) wool fabrics, (2) tule and lace, (3) embroidered fabrics and (4) ramie and waste.

However, precise quotas are not made public. There are no import duties levied on textile raw materials except ramie and waste which bear a 20% average tariff. Tariffs on textile goods are set at an average of 15%, ranging from 5% for cotton yarns and fabrics to 35% for wool fabrics, tule and lace, and embroidered fabrics. The only direct government subsidies are a total of $67.3-million granted the weaving industry to aid its $465.6-million modernization scheme aimed at scrapping 126,000 obsolescent looms out of the industry's present total loomage of 667,000 looms and replacing more than 300,000 existing looms with new and more efficient machines by 1971.

Other segments of the Japanese textile industry have not been given any promises for subsidies yet although spinning industry is pressing government for some amounts of subsidies for its modernization efforts.

RIO.—Press McGrawhill Network—Prochristiansen Texworld Brazil's thriving textile industry exports to Africa, Australia and other Latin countries stop one hundred percent import duty on imported textiles practically eliminates imports by pricing out of market stop Mackenzie

ANOTHER PROBLEM: LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Another problem facing the textile industry is the emergence of the less developed countries. The White House is stepping up its drive to work out a special system of preference on trade with LDC's. In line with President Johnson's pledge—made at the Punta del Este conference—the administration is conferring with Congress and with other developed nations in a move toward global preferences for LDC's. All of the richer nations would take part.

A subcommittee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development is studying the problem, will make a report to the November 30 meeting of OECD ministers. Washington hopes that OECD countries (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries and Japan) can reach agreement in principle in time for the second United Nations Conference on Trade & Development at New Delhi next February. UNCTAD is LDC's voice in trade matters.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States recently endorsed extension of trade preferences by industrialized countries to exports of LDC's. And the Chamber would also like to see increased protection and stability for private foreign investment in LDC's.

Washington wants to gear any system of LDC preferences into a broader new U.S. trade policy calling also for further trade liberalization among developed countries. Johnson has ordered William Roth, chief Kennedy Round negotiator, to conduct a two-year study of the next phase of U.S. trade policy. The final U.S. position on LDC trade preferences would be meshed into that study. A request to Congress for a broad new trade law could be ready by 1969.

How to give preferences to the LDC's and not hurt the U.S. textile industry will be a major question to be answered by any LDC trade study. Most emerging nations have some form of native textile industry, primarily the result of raw materials available to clothe the population. However inefficient these industries may be, they usually are more advanced than other manufacturing in many LDC's. So it is natural that this is one place to begin a country's industrialization.

The problem as many textile officials see it is that textile production in most LDC's is highly inefficient and will require heavy subsidization. And they ask why inefficient industry should be subsidized with U.S. funds so that it can compete with U.S. textiles.

One textile official sees the LDC problem, somewhat facetiously, this way: "First, they want a jet airplane, then a numbered Swiss bank account, and then a textile industry."

Nevertheless, official U.S. policy is to do something for the LDC's providing other major trading nations will take a share of the burden. So far, other major industrial nations have remained cool to any such scheme although most countries pay lip service to the idea. So any LDC aid still may be a good way off.

RACKET VICTIMIZES BOTH BUSINESSMEN AND LABOR UNIONS

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago an attempt was made to extort a considerable sum of money from a respected small businessman in my hometown of Akron. The technique used was an implied threat of labor trouble unless the victim kicked in with the sum demanded.

On the morning of last Thursday, the intended victim phoned me not only as a friend but as ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee.

Prior to calling me, he had been called from Washington by a John Fitzpatrick, who described himself as the publisher of a Teamster Union magazine called the National Labor Chronicle. Mr. Fitzpatrick asked him, "How are your deliveries being handled?" My friend replied that he had a very pleasant relationship with the union. Fitzpatrick then said that it would be nice to keep it that way and asked my friend to place an advertisement in the magazine. The latter has in the past placed such ads in legitimate State and local labor union publications, and therefore asked how much it would cost. Fitzpatrick said it would be $1,000. Asked how that figure was arrived at Fitzpatrick said it depended on the size of the enterprise, and if this was a small business, it would be only $500.

My friend, never having heard of either Fitzpatrick or the magazine, suspected a racket, but was also deeply worried by the implied threat. So he requested Fitzpatrick to send him a bill and he would return a check. Fitzpatrick asked him to send the check to the National Labor Chronicle, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., and assured him that it could be charged in his tax return as a legitimate business expense. He also asked him to phone 293-2120 in Washington if he had any questions.

After hearing my friend's story I immediately called an official of the International Teamsters Union, who after checking, informed me that the union had no connection with the magazine, that Fitzpatrick was not connected with the union, and in short, disowned the whole operation.

I then called the number Fitzpatrick had given my friend. A young lady answered who told me she was an employee of a telephone answering service, that this was her first day on the job, and she had never met Fitzpatrick. My suspicion that this was just a racket was thereby confirmed.

I thereupon told the story to the chief investigator for the minority of the Education and Labor Committee, who is a former FBI agent and an extremely competent individual. Within a few hours he reported to me on what he had learned about the so-called National Labor Chronicle:

First. The "U.S. Directory of Magazines and Periodicals for 1967" contains no reference to a National Labor Chronicle.

Second. On September 5, 1967, the National Labor Chronicle by telephone from New Jersey, for a monthly fee of $35 arranged for a telephone answering and mail service from 1629 K Street NW. Personnel of the service have never seen any of the magazine's officials. Phone calls are received for Fitzpatrick and the Chronicle, and each day a James Meehan calls from New Jersey to get these messages.

Third. Each day the answering service receives a large envelope from the Chronicle in Jersey City which contains letters to be mailed out from Washington, each bearing the Washington return address. Each day the answering service receives incoming mail which is placed in large envelopes and mailed to Jersey City in bulk.

Fourth. In April 1967, the Chronicle, again by telephone, for a fee of $17.50 a month secured a telephone answering and mail service at 422 Washington Building here. The same procedures were used at this address, and the service never actually met any of the Chronicle's personnel. However, from April to September, the magazine's mail was sent to a Newark, N.J., address and thereafter changed to room 602, 880 Bergen Avenue in New Jersey.

Fifth. There is no listing for the Chronicle or for Fitzpatrick in the Jersey City telephone directory.

Mr. Speaker, I have advised the Post Office Department of these circumstances and I am delighted to report that they have taken immediate steps to investigate the situation. But I felt it necessary for several reasons to inform the Members of the House of all the details of this sordid story.

I am pleased that my friend turned to me in his distress. He recognized that Members of the House are intimately concerned with the problems of their constituents, and that they do everything they can to help solve these problems and they are often able to enlist the willing cooperation of the executive branch of the Government where appropriate. And finally, I wish to emphasize that in this situation I am concerned not only to aid a constituent, or to secure protection for a small business, but to help safeguard the good name of the American labor movement, a wish which I am sure is shared by every Member of this body. And if problems arise which require corrective legislation for their solution, I am equally certain that the House of Representatives, as so often in the past, will not be found wanting.

The moral of my story is, that despite everything, our Government is still close to the people, and will act when the facts of wrong doing are available.

RISING RATE OF CRIME

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, during the summer, Gordon Radley, of the district in Illinois I have the honor to represent, who now has returned to his studies at Amherst College, was an intern in my office. Among the assignments I gave him was a study of House Joint Resolution 624, his report on which I am extending my remarks to include:

CRIME AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 624

There has been a common concern echoed throughout our society about "the rising rate of crime." Many have spoken of "the declining respect for law and authority" and suggest that the "rule of law," an integral part of our democratic way of life, has lost its essential grip on the American personality. Crime figures for the year 1966 released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicate a nationwide rise of 11 percent in the Crime Index. The violent crimes of murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault increased 11 per cent, as did the group of offenses against property which include burglary, larceny $50 and over, and auto theft. Geographically, the Northeastern States reported a 9 per cent increase, the Western States 10 per cent, the North Central States 11 per cent, and the Southern States 13 per cent.

These statistics, however, do not indicate the diverse and pervasive effect that crime has on our soceity. Violence and theft have not only injured, often irreparably, hundreds of thousands of citizens, but have directly affected everyone. Crime occurs in every part of the country, in every neighborhood, in every income bracket, and in every social class. Its practitioners may be unemployed skid-row drunks or successful college graduate executives. Its form may be a sidewalk purse snatching or a corporate price-fixing conspiracy. The variety of crime adds to its complexity, a complexity that will not lend itself to easy solutions or panaceas.

Referring to the crime of robbery, the Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has written: "Robbery takes dozens of forms, but suppose it took only four: forcible or violent purse snatching by boys, muggings by drug addicts, store stickups by people with a sudden desperate need for money, and bank robberies by skillful professional criminals. The technical, organizational, legal, behavioral, economic and social problems that must be addressed if America is to deal with any degree of success with just those four kinds of events and those four kinds of persons are innumerable and refractory."

Robbery represents only one of the 28 crimes the FBI has categorized. Each of these categories has its own unique social, and law enforcement problems. They are problems that can not be considered in an abstract or general sense; rather, they should be dealt with separately, according to the intrinsic questions involved. For instance, lack of respect for law is very often assumed to be evidence of a willful disregard for legitimate authority. It is often considered to be evidence of a personal defect or shortcoming. Yet as Joseph D. Lohman of the University of California School of Criminology and former Sheriff of Cook (Chicago) Illinois has said:

"We have much to learn about the mysteries by which societies generate an abnormal response within their own circle. But this has become increasingly apparent. It is the social structure itself which contributes to such behavior. Indeed, it is the selfsame social structure expressing its force and influence in an ambivalent manner which produces on the one hand the conforming individual, the person respectful of the social codes, and on the other, the deviant and lawbreaker who are disrespectful of the law. It may well be that what we observe as "disrespect for law" is a normal reaction of normal people to an abnormal condition."

Dean Lohman, as does the Presidential Commission, feels that crime is "in some measure a reflection of the community." The Commission stated: "To speak of controlling crime only in terms of the work of the police, the courts, and the correctional apparatus, is to refuse to face the fact that widespread crime implies a widespread failure by society as a whole." If we are to deal effectively with crime we must alleviate the conditions that stimulate it: through action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities.

As it was suggested earlier, however, these are problems that can not be dealt with in the abstract, but must be considered separately, according to the particular problems involved. The social action that would do much to prevent ghetto crime would have little effect on organized crime, for organized crime exists by virtue of the power it purchases with its money.

Few Americans seem to comprehend how the phenomena of organized crime affects their lives. Because it desperately seeks to preserve its invisibility, organized crime has been able to affect the lives of millions of Americans, many of whom are unaware they have been affected at all: i.e. the price of a loaf of bread may go up a cent as the result of an organized crime conspiracy, but the housewife has no way of knowing why she is paying more. The great threat of organized crime, however, is not its daily economic effect on the American public (as insidious as it may be); it is, rather, the power it purchases with its money. As the Commission stated: "The millions of dollars it can invest in narcotics or use for layoff money give it power over the lives of thousands of people and over the quality of life in whole neighborhoods. The millions of dollars it can throw into the legitimate economic system give it power to manipulate the price of shares on the stock market, to raise or lower the price of retail merchandise, to determine whether entire industries are union or nonunion, to make it easier or harder for businessmen to continue in business. The millions of dollars it can spend on corrupting public officials may give it power to maim or murder people inside or outside the organization with impunity, to extort money from businessmen, to conduct businesses in such fields as liquor, meat or drugs without regard to administrative regulations, to avoid payment of income taxes, or to secure public works contracts without competitive bidding."

Dealing with the syndicate gangster is very different than dealing with the ghetto criminal. Fighting organized crime should involve a full scale commitment of Federal, State, and local authorities. Legislative investigations, citizen crime commissions, newspaper exposes, special police intelligence units, investigative grand juries—all must interact in order to form a concerted and directed campaign against "the most sinister kind of crime in America." As the Commissions state: "the men who control it have become rich and powerful by encouraging the needy to gamble, by luring the troubled to destroy themselves with drugs, by extorting the profits of honest and hardworking businessmen, by collecting usury from those in financial plight, by maiming or murdering those who oppose them, by bribing those who are sworn to destroy them. Organized crime is not merely a few preying upon a few. In a very real sense it is dedicated to subverting not only American institutions, but the very decency and integrity that are the most cherished attributes of a free society."

Confronting the threat of both organized crime and ghetto crime must also involve a reevaluation and possible redefinition of the role of the policeman, the judge, the prison guard, and parole officer. Each of these people, as integral parts of the criminal justice system, represent a tremendous impact on the individual and his attitudes toward society. The role of the policeman, for example, has always been a difficult one. Yet, if the policeman's lot in the past years has been, as Gilbert and Sullivan said, "an unhappy one," it is likely to be an even unhappier one in the future. In a textbook for new police recruits, three leading police scholars (A. C. Germann, F. D. Klay, and R. J. Gallati) with long experience in police affairs had this to say:

"Those who enter the service may expect to find that his very finest efforts for the community will often be misunderstood, resented and sometimes bitterly opposed by otherwise good citizens simply because they themselves are inconvenienced. And too there exist in almost every community, a certain number of citizens who resent authority in any form, delight in community disturbances and do all they can to obstruct the conduct of police business. Those who enter the service may expect to find, in many situations, exhausted testing of their patience, stability, and objectivity."

This antipathy the policeman is often subject to is a consequence of one part of the public's dual response to the role of police in our society. Most men both welcome official protection and resent official interference. The way the police perform their duties depends to a large extent upon which state of mind predominates, whether the police are thought of as protectors or oppressors, as friends or enemies. For the police officer this is a delicate situation and one for which he is usually inadequately prepared. The organization of police departments and the training of policemen are focused almost entirely on the apprehension and prosecution of criminals. They receive little guidance in handling the countless intricate human situations that generate this dual public reaction.

This is only one of the many problems that confront police and law enforcement agencies: problems that involve the legal powers of the police, problems of investigation and patrol, problems of community service and community relations, problems of personnel diversity and citizen grievances, problems of developing efficient police policy and procedure, problems of recruitment and attracting quality personnel, problems of entry standards, promotions and equitable salaries, problems of training and advanced education, problems of controlling police misconduct, of communication and of organization. The list could go on and on. These problems confronting law enforcement agencies do not represent a condemnation of present practices or inadequacies as much as a mandate for change and reform. It is a mandate that extends into the judicial and penal areas as well. For instance in the "corrections" part of the criminal justice system, the Presidential Commission found that for a great many offenders "corrections" do not correct. The Commission stated: "Experts are increasingly coming to feel that the conditions under which many offenders are handled, particularly in institutions, are often a positive detriment to rehabilitation. Life in many institutions is at best barren and futile, at worst unspeakably brutal and degrading. To be sure, the offenders in such institutions are incapacitated from committing further crimes while serving their sentences, but the conditions in which they live are the poorest possible preparation for their successful reentry into society, and often merely reinforce in them a pattern of manipulation or destructiveness."

With regard to the courts Dean Edward Garrett observed: "Wherever the visitor looks at the system, he finds great numbers of defendants being processed by harassed and overworked officials. Police have more cases than they can investigate. Prosecutors walk into courtrooms to try simple cases as they take their initial looks at the files. Defense lawyers appear having had no more than time for hasty conversations with their clients. Judges face long calendars with the certain knowledge that their calendars tomorrow and the next day will be, if anything, longer, and so there is no choice but to dispose of the cases. Suddenly it becomes clear that for most defendants in the criminal process, there is scant regard for them as individuals. They are numbers on dockets, faceless ones to be processed and sent on their way. The gap between the theory and the reality is enormous."

These problems in the law enforcement, judicial and penal aspects of the criminal justice system only hint at the diversity and complexity of dealing with crime in our society. The causes of crime, for example, is a subject that is much discussed and debated. Clearly, if prevention of crime is to be effective, it must deal with the causal factors involved. Yet, where do you look to seek the "causes" of crime? Human motivation is a causal factor, but there are some crimes so irrational, so unpredictable, so incomprehensible that they resist all explanation in motivational terms. At the other extreme are the carefully planned crimes of the professional criminal. The skillfully executed jewel theft, the elaborately planned robbery of an armored car are so deliberate, calculated and rational that understanding the motivation involved in these crimes will not necessarily lead to effective prevention. Keeping intelligent and competent men from choosing crime as a way of life is as big a problem as trying to predict and prevent sudden criminal outbursts.

Besides human motivation, however, there are other causal factors involved. In a sense many crimes are "caused" by their own victims. The victim of an assault is often the one who started the fight, or the victim of a mugging is the one who was willingly solicited by a prostitute, or the victim of a burglary is the one who left his front door open. Crime can also be said to be caused by the public's indifference or tolerance of it. The fear of "getting involved" or the attitude that "it's none of my business" often creates an insulating cover under which crime or vice can flourish. In addition, social and economic conditions exist as causal factors. Poverty, racial discrimination, overcrowded and inadequate housing, lack of job opportunities often create an environment of hopelessness with the result of lawlessness.

Finally, it can be said that causal factors also involve the failure or inability of the criminal justice system to do its job effectively. The Presidential Commission stated: "If the police are inefficient or starved for manpower, otherwise preventable crimes will occur; if they are overzealous, people better left alone will be drawn into criminal careers. If the courts fail to separate the innocent from the guilty, the guilty may be turned loose to continue their depredations and the innocent may be criminalized. If the system fails to convict the guilty with reasonable certainty and promptness, deterrence of crime may be blunted. If correctional programs do not correct a core of hardened and habitual criminals will continue to plague the community."

The complexity and magnitude of these problems indicate that if the challenge of crime in our society is going to be met effectively and comprehensively in our national Congress, a necessary and facilitating prerequisite for legislative action would be the establishment of a joint committee to investigate and evaluate legislation in this area. Functioning as an intelligence center and clearinghouse, it would increase understanding through investigations and studies of all aspects of crime in the United States. In a specific sense, the functions of such a joint committee have been set down in H.J. Res. 624, Sec. 2(a): The joint committee shall make continuing investigations and studies of all aspects of crime in the United States, including (1) its elements, causes and extent; (2) the preparation, collections, and dissemination of statistics thereon, and the availability of reciprocity of information among law enforcement agencies, Federal, State, and local, including exchange of information with foreign nations; (3) the adequacy of law enforcement and the administration of justice, including constitutional issues pertaining thereto; (4) the effect of crime and disturbances in the metropolitan urban areas; (5) the effect, directly, or indirectly, of crime on the commerce of the nation; (6) the treatment and rehabilitation of persons convicted of crimes; (7) measures for the reduction, control or prevention of crime; (8) measures for the improvement of (a) detection of crime, (b) law enforcement, including increased cooperation among the agencies thereof, (c) the administration of justice; and (9) measures and programs for increased respect for the law.

National legislative action is a necessary and desirable step in meeting the challenge of crime in our society. However, it is only one of many steps. Combatting crime must become a coordinated national effort, and as such it must involve every American. As the Presidential Commission concluded: "if America is to meet the challenge of crime it must do more, far more, than it is doing now. It must welcome new ideas and risk new actions. It must spend time and money. It must resist those who point to scapegoats, who use facile slogans about crime by habit or for selfish ends. It must recognize that the government of a free society is obliged to act not only effectively but fairly. It must seek knowledge and admit mistakes. Controlling crime in America is an endeavor that will be slow and hard and costly. But America can control crime if it will."

BUSINESS ATTACKS SLUMS

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Widnall] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement by the insurance industry of a pledge of $1 billion to assist communities in the rehabilitation of their slum areas is noteworthy on several counts. The first, obviously, is the most welcome commitment of this important segment of the business community to the total effort underway to provide decent housing and job opportunities for the less fortunate. The job of urban renewal is immense and requires the involvement of every element in our society—agencies both public and private, citizens both corporate and individual, and interested groups both religious and lay. The Federal Government neither can nor should be the sole instrumentality concerned with and working toward the elimination of blight and poverty from our society. The entry of the insurance industry into this total effort is to be commended.

A second point, however, is the hoped-for results from the application of the energies and abilities of insurance companies to the problems of rehabilitation. If the success of other companies and industries in this field is any example, we can anticipate significant accomplishments. Government suffers from several problems not shared by the business community. Bureaucracy is the antithesis of efficiency and expertise. And the comparison of Government involvement in urban renewal to corporate involvement too often shows the people in the Government-run projects to be on the losing end of the deal.

From my own studies, I have long noted the insensitive attitude among Government agencies which so often have ended with urban renewal proving to be "Negro removal." To the contrary, most corporate efforts in the rehabilitation of slums have displayed great sensitivity to the needs and feelings of the individuals in the area with successful consequences.

A recent article in News Front mazazine, entitled "Business Attacks Slums," gives an excellent analysis of why businessmen have interested themselves in urban renewal and why they have found it a worthwhile undertaking. Of particular interest is a box score comparison of public urban renewal efforts with private urban renewal efforts. To acquaint my colleagues with this growing trend, I submit the following article and comparison for their perusal:

Business Attacks Slums

Private enterprise is playing a new and creative role as the partner of government in the rebuilding of our cities.

In a paradoxical reversal of a principle before which both the Federal Government and private industry have genuflected for more than three decades, private business is now entering the massive job of urban renewal because the government isn't "big enough" to do the job.

The principle, of course, has been that Washington must take over projects that are too big for the private sector or for local authorities. Under this principle, the Tennessee Valley Authority was formed to build dams and bring power to a vast area. Similarly, the government is now laying out money for the development of a commercial supersonic jet transport because the job is too big for any one company to do on its own.

But the Federal government's failure to make any significant progress in the rebuilding of our cities has been one of the factors leading to Congress' slowness in approving such major new projects as the Model Cities Program. Even Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D.-Conn.), who has been in the forefront of the effort to channel Federal money into urban renewal, now admits that more private initiative is needed. "It is self-evident that the job is too big to be accomplished by government alone," he said recently.

The role of corporations and private individuals in urban renewal is emphasized in most of the 35 bills that the Senate housing subcommittee considered during July 1967. Major interest was generated by proposals from Senators John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), and Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.).

The Sparkman bill has Administration backing. Its major provision would allow the sale of public-housing apartments to tenants as cooperatives or condominiums. Private, rather than public ownership is the goal. The Percy bill would set up a privately capitalized National Home Ownership Foundation to help low-income families buy homes with Federally-subsidized mortgages. The loans would be made at the "retail" level at interest rates as low as 2% and the government would make up the difference between that and the current market rate (now about 5½%).

The Kennedy bill is similar in parts to the Percy bill, but is more extensive and tries to involve private contractors and large business firms in a scheme to provide rental dwellings for low-income families. Rehabilitation of old structures and construction of new ones is envisioned, and low-interest, long-term loans are proposed. While Percy wants $2 billion to underwrite his plan, Kennedy wants $3 billion for purchasing mortgages.

The new approach to slum clearance does not mean that the Federal government is getting out of the housing effort. It is merely building another road, parallel to the old one, to get to the same destination. There are a number of reasons for the secondary effort:

Most observers concede that Federal urban renewal has been a failure up to now, despite the fact that some low-income people have been resettled in better homes. A number of authorities have cited statistics to show that more housing units were demolished than were rebuilt to replace them. Moreover, most of the people from the old units found the rents in the new houses too high, and now live in other slum areas. In a speech in Indianapolis early in 1964, Edwin F. Neilan, then president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, denounced Federal urban renewal as inequitable and corrupt. That same year, nine Congressmen charged at the National Conference on Urban Renewal in Rockford, Ill., that the program was "taxing the needy to benefit the greedy."

While there has not been any wholesale graft, there has been considerable inefficiency and bungling. Bureaucratic red tape has led to disenchantment on the part of many mayors and other local officials. They ask: "Is Federal aid as now set up worth the effort?"

Public uproar has mounted over the use of eminent domain in evicting tenants and owners from substandard housing condemned for urban renewal. Some of the condemned land eventually would be used for stadiums, office buildings and factories.

Not only have families been dispersed from old neighborhoods, but merchants have been forced out of business at locations where they had painstakingly built up reputations and customers. A Brown University study showed that 40% of the stores and shops which were affected in a Providence, R.I., renewal program went out of business. Concerned citizens began to ask for a reappraisal of urban renewal legislation and guarantees of property rights. Such reappraisal was needed, they claimed, especially in view of the then pending legislation that would authorize the spending of billions of dollars in a massive Federally-run "demonstration cities" program.

Just how confusing the urban renewal situation has become was revealed during Senate hearings in August, 1966. One day Robert Weaver, the Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, testified that the government was spending $28 billion on urban renewal projects, and the next day, then-Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach testified that the figure was $14 billion.

Committee Chairman Ribicoff never got an answer to his question: "Is the $96 billion that the Federal government invested in state and city aid over the past 10 years solving anything?"

At the hearings, many instances were cited where urban renewal funds had gone for expensive, high-rise apartments and commercial buildings. One of the witnesses, Rep. William B. Widnall of New Jersey, pointed out how urban renewal began as a residential effort to re-house slum dwellers but was redirected for commercial and industrial purposes. Land speculators had taken over the programs, he charged.

He said that although the cities cry for more housing, during the past five years Federal renewal projects approved have been 95% commercial in Atlanta, 77% in Baltimore, 62% in Boston, 60% in Chicago, 49% in Cleveland and 56% in New York.

The new commercial buildings are mainly office structures in which the lower-income segments of our population don't even get jobs, he said.

Rep. Widnall cited instances of self-help programs in several cities which saved millions of tax dollars. He said that the people who helped put over these programs are never called by Congressional committees so that the rest of the nation can learn from them. Only the speculators are heard from, he claimed.

Obviously, these speculators must share the blame for the failure of Federally-sponsored urban renewal projects. And just as obviously, the entrance of the private sector into the urban renewal picture will improve the situation. Industry is quite capable of making the same kind of mistakes that government has made. However, there is good reason to hope that the participation of major corporations outside the real estate and construction fields, concerned with public service and with long-term rather than short-term benefit to their own interests, will bring a change for the better.

It's not just the sheer size of the job that dictates the new approach, but also its complexity. The search for solutions to the problems of our cities will require all the talent, imagination and creativity that the nation can muster. It will require great sensitivity to local and individual needs. And U.S. industry can, when it wants to, demonstrate all these qualities in abundance.

Even before the disenchantment with the state of urban renewal became widespread, private firms were getting into the slum clearance business.

The reasons for non-construction firms becoming involved in rehabilitation projects vary from company to company. The building supply firms are interested because it gives them an opportunity to demonstrate their products on large-scale "fix-up" programs, and eventually boost sales of their merchandise.

Some industrial firms have gotten into building programs because they want to be good neighbors and have thus generally rehabilitated houses in areas where they have plants and offices and where their employees live. The cost of this kind of effort can be charged off to good public relations.

The banks and insurance companies are in urban rehabilitation because it pays. The rate of failure in privately sponsored projects is lower than in Federally-sponsored ones.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the urban rehabilitation market. Federal programs have not generated as much business as was hoped for, despite the billions appropriated. Considerable Federal money has gone into the support of the necessary bureaucracy and planning. This cuts the funds that might go into bricks, cement, lumber and hardware.

In the privately-sponsored rehabilitation projects, there is less overhead and more of the money is going into the buildings themselves.

One of the reasons why it is difficult to estimate the size of the potential is the uncertainty about how much of a movement the privately-sponsored effort may become. If the nation could embark on a massive, year-round "fix up, paint up" program such as is publicized in spring by the paint and hardware suppliers, the market would be substantial. It would also make our cities more liveable.

Another reason is that questions are being asked about the validity of the total urban renewal effort.

Although scores of top experts feel that the rehabilitation approach is a good one, there are others who disagree. They feel that we are throwing good money after bad, and that the concept of the city as we know it today is at fault.

Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, the respected planning authority, feels that urban renewal, as a concept, is "basically ridiculous."

"The city is not being renewed," he says. "Rather, a blighted area is being razed at great expense for the erection of new buildings that, although modern architecturally, are subject to the same conditions of urban over-concentration as the rest of the city."

Dr. Spilhaus contends that the old cities cannot be renewed or rehabilitated because "their basic mechanism—the haphazard collection of streets, sewers, utility lines, transit nets, industrial and residential densities —work in opposition to each other, rather than being integrated into a rational, mutually-supporting whole."

He would like to scrap our cities and begin anew. "It has been the consistent experience of businesses that it costs much more to bring an old factory up to date than to tear it down and build a new factory. So it is with cities."

Lewis Mumford, for decades the country's leading authority on technology and urban problems, also has great doubts about urban renewal and rehabilitation. He feels that even such large sums as $50 billion over the next 10 years (as has been proposed by Senator Ribicoff) wouldn't achieve the "happy result hoped for."

He, too, favors a new—regional—concept for cities, and told a Senate committee last year that if urban planning and renewal are done on the basis of existing city neighborhoods, Congress would deceive itself into thinking that it could solve the slum problem. He does not think any governmental crash programs can produce anything but more rapid disintegration and congestion.

"The time for fresh thinking on this whole subject is long overdue," he warns.

Yet there are experienced city planners who are just as sure the city can be saved. Says Edward J. Logue, Administrator of Redevelopment of the city of Boston: "The city is not obsolete. It is the center of our civilization." He maintains that we can improve our cities, and that we can make a start "without waiting for the necessary but cumbersome public aid programs, vital as they are."

"The first thing we can do is to improve their tone, decide we care, allow a concern for the city as a whole and its future to guide private decisions," he believes.

Logue feels that the government must have an important role in saving the cities "because it is, in effect, saving itself." But he believes just as strongly that private enterprise must "face the challenge of the slums."

Even the Administration, which had been pushing hard for a Federally-controlled urban renewal program, has now come out for the idea of a business-government partnership that would be concerned with solving the slum problems.

Last April, HUD Secretary Weaver told a conference that just the rehabilitation of housing can create a whole new industry. He said that the profit motive of business and the national interest "can merge at the point of greatest urban need—housing help for low-income families."

"The potentials here for housing and all other products and services can constitute new markets. The satisfaction of those markets can result in the emergence of new industries," he explained.

The potentials are being understood. During the past few months, the list of major corporations willing to undertake rehabilitation has been growing. Public relations notwithstanding, recent corporate impetus is due mostly to that old profit motive—you can't beat it.

PUBLIC URBAN RENEWAL

LOS ANGELES

After ten years of bureaucratic wrangling private middle-class homes in the Bunker Hill area were razed and high-rise buildings are going up. Apartments will rent from $175 to $400 per month. In another area, land set aside since World War II for low-rent housing was turned over to sports promoters and a baseball stadium built on it.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

In the $100 million urban renewal Project B apartments were to be $17 per month, or $68 for a two-bedroom unit. Instead the area now has modernistic apartments which rent for $175 a month and up.

CLEVELAND

Planners found that 80% of the buildings in a 96-acre tract proposed as Erieview Project No. 1 were sound. The law says that only sub-standard houses may be torn down. Federal planners re-classified all buildings as "sub-standard" and $26 million worth of private property crumbled before the bulldozer. In the East Woodland area the planners first decided the area should have residential housing. All industry was ordered out and existing buildings bought for $2 million tax money. Fifty private home owners were told they could stay if they improved their homes. They did so. Then the planners decided the area shouldn't be residential because there was a cemetery nearby. Industry and business were invited back. The 50 home owners, who had by now spent considerable money to improve their properties, were told to leave and their homes were torn down.

WINK, TEX.

This former oil-boom town, whose population fell from 15,000 to 3,000 as oil wells were completed and put on automatic pumps, asked the Federal Government for $336,000 but got $2 million. Some 75 families were evicted from their homes, a $750,000 city hall was built and a giant shopping center was planned. Then the bubble burst. Today the shopping center is a huge parking lot, no cars on it because even the three large oilfield service companies moved out.

PRIVATE URBAN REHABILITATION

NEW YORK

U.S. Gypsum is investing $1.6 billion in six tenements in the Harlem area and $1.2 million in Cleveland's Hough area. The apartments are rebuilt, the houses spruced up on the outside and then rented back to the former tenants. A seven-bank group is lending money on low terms for the private rehabilitation of 55 five-story apartment houses on Manhattan's West Side.

PITTSBURGH

Some 25 firms have set up an organization—Action Housing—to rebuild 22 row houses and finance construction of more than a thousand new town houses and apartments. Plans for an even larger group, to rehabilitate 5,000 homes in the city, are under study. The Pennsylvania Railroad is converting rail complex into a parklike apartment house development. The railroad is also turning "air rights"—the area over its tracks and stations in New York and Chicago into modern business centers.

CLEVELAND

Warner & Swasey Co., maker of lathes and earth-moving equipment is spending $100,-

000 to renovate an old apartment house in the heart of the riot-plagued Hough district. The firm has facilities in the area. It reports that it will cost about $8,000 to renovate each of the 13 three-bedroom units in the four-story building. This is about half of what new construction would cost. The company expects to maintain the present $85-per-month rents.

PHILADELPHIA

Reynolds Aluminum is working on what is probably the largest privately-sponsored urban rehabilitation project in which 100,000 homes, stores and industrial facilities will be modernized. Alcoa is also deeply involved in a number of rehabilitation projects at a number of locations. For example, Alcoa has taken over a large movie lot in Los Angeles and is putting up an apartment house-office building complex known as Century City.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. **HECKLER** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. **RUMSFELD**. Mr. Speaker, on August 17, 1967, it was necessary for me to be away from Washington. Two record votes developed on which I would have voted as follows had I been present:

First. Rollcall No. 222, H.R. 12080, Social Security Act Amendments of 1967, final passage, "yea."

Second. Rollcall No. 223, S. 16, Veterans Pensions and Readjustment Assistance Act, conference report, "yea."

EXPORT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL

Mrs. **HECKLER** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'KONSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. **O'KONSKI**. Mr. Speaker, America's balance-of-payments deficit has been the subject of increasing concern. One major cause that has been frequently overlooked is the flight of U.S. capital to foreign countries, especially Canada and the nations of Western Europe.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in its recent meeting, pointed out the need of Government restrictions on this outflow because of the adverse effects not only on the balance of payments, but also on American jobs and exports.

Mr. Speaker, because of the importance of this issue, I place the text of the AFL-CIO statement and the background information that accompanied it in the RECORD for our study:

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON EXPORT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 12, 1967

Government and business policies have actively encouraged the export of American private capital. The sharp rise has been overwhelmingly to industrial nations, like Canada and those in Western Europe, rather than to the developing countries.

The estimated book-value of direct private investment in foreign countries skyrocketed from about $12 billion in 1950 to $49 billion in 1965 and considerably more at present.

Outlays of U.S. companies and other private investors for plants and machines in foreign nations jumped from $3.8 billion in 1960 to $8.7 billion in 1966. These investments include outflows from the U.S., as well as plowed-back profits and funds raised abroad.

Outflows from the U.S. for direct private investment soared from less than $1 billion a year in the first half of the 1950s to $1.7 billion in 1960 and $3.5 billion in 1966—contributing substantially to America's balance of payments deficit.

This skyrocketing rise in the export of U.S. private capital has cost American jobs, cut into American exports and added to imports. Unregulated outflows of U.S. private capital are not in the best interest of the American people. Moreover, if a foreign nation does not want increased U.S. private investment, it is self-defeating for the government to insist upon it, particularly in nations that have barriers to U.S. exports.

While the AFL-CIO does not oppose the export of private capital as a matter of principle, we do contend that private capital should not have absolute freedom of movement from the U.S. to foreign countries, regardless of consequences. The freedom of private business to make profits has been conditioned in the United States by a variety of social, legal and economic restraints—such as health and safety standards, tax policies, and minimum wage laws. Under these measures, our nation has prospered, business has expanded and profits have grown. It is now time for government restrictions on the outflow of private capital.

Therefore, the AFL-CIO urges immediate and thorough congressional investigation of the economic and financial operations of U.S. private investment in foreign countries. Such an investigation is long overdue and has become increasingly urgent. We believe the time has come for government regulation of private capital outflows to protect the national interest.

BACKGROUND ON EXPORT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL

U.S. private direct investment in foreign countries has skyrocketed from a book value of about $12 billion in 1950 to $49 billion in 1965 and increased rapidly in 1966 and 1967. ("Private direct investment" means the government-estimated book value of U.S. investments in overseas industry where the U.S. corporations or other investor holds at least 10 percent of the equity. Often they are wholly-owned subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. See Table I)

This very sharp rise of U.S. direct investment in foreign countries has impacts on American jobs and the balance of payments deficit, as well as on international trade in a wide variety of industrial products.

WHAT KIND OF INVESTMENT AND WHERE?

Manufacturing companies represented 39 percent of this total in 1965, petroleum and mining industries 39 percent and other industries 22 percent.

Canada had the largest share of U.S. private direct investment abroad in 1965, with 31 percent of the total. Europe was a close second with 28 percent, Latin America third with 19 percent and other countries made up the remaining 22 percent.

The amount of U.S. direct investment in Canada was $15.2 billion, in Western Europe $14 billion, in Latin America $9.4 billion, in the Far East $2 billion, in Africa $1.9 billion, in Oceania (including Australia) about $1.8 billion and in the Middle East $1.6 billion. (See Table I)

THE CHANGING PATTERNS

In 1965, petroleum, mining and smelting investments were about 38 percent of the total, roughly the same share as in 1950. But manufacturing investments have increased their share of the much larger total—rising from about 32 percent in 1950 to about 39 percent in 1965.

In the 1960s, manufacturing companies have become the important factor in direct investment spending on machine and factories abroad.

In 1960, all direct investment spending for plant and equipment abroad by U.S. investors was about $3.4 billion, with $1.4 billion in manufacturing. By 1965, however, total spending for new plant and equipment had more than doubled to $7.5 billion, while manufacturing affiliates' spending for new plant and equipment soared to $3.9 billion. In 1966, estimates for direct investment spending on plant and equipment increased further to $8.7 billion, with $4.6 billion spent on manufacturing investment. (See Table II)

A private survey by McGraw-Hill reports that foreign spending by U.S. companies in 1967 is expected to be 7 percent higher than in 1966. (See Table III)

Not all the funds for this foreign direct investment come from the United States, each year. Part of the spending for new plant and equipment is from re-invested profits and dividends abroad and from borrowing in foreign capital markets by U.S. corporations. About half of these soaring investments each year, however, are from the U.S.—outflows of U.S. funds.

In recent years, the major investors in manufacturing plant and equipment abroad have been the chemical, machinery (including electrical) and transportation equipment companies. These manufacturing companies accounted for about 70 percent of U.S. plant and equipment manufacturing expenditures abroad both in 1965 and in estimates for 1966.

THE IMPACT OF TRADE

Foreign investment has an important effect on international trade, both on exports and imports. Businessmen emphasize the importance of foreign investment for exports, through the use of machinery and semi-finished materials shipped from the U.S. and by building markets for U.S. products overseas. Government reports indicate that U.S. major industrial exports are machinery, transport equipment and chemicals. These account for much of America's favorable balance of trade in manufactures. How much of these exports would exist even in the absence of skyrocketing foreign investments is not known, although it is clear that some of it, if not most of it, would be maintained.

Moreover, foreign production by U.S. subsidiaries and affiliated companies obviously also substitutes for some U.S. exports. Foreign sales by U.S. affiliates abroad have risen much more rapidly than U.S. exports, even in those manufactured products which are our leading exports.

In 1965, foreign affiliates of U.S. manufacturing firms increased their sales about 13 percent to $42.4 billion, while U.S. exports of manufactured products increased less than 5 percent.

Chemical manufacturing foreign affiliates' sales soared from $2.4 billion in 1957 to $6.9 billion in 1965. Machinery sales of foreign affiliates rose sharply from $3.9 billion in 1957 to $9.2 billion and the sales of foreign transportation equipment affiliates skyrocketed from $4.2 billion to $10.8 billion. Exports from the U.S. in these products rose less rapidly: Chemicals from $1.4 billion in 1957 to $2.4 billion in 1965, machinery from $4 billion to $6.9 billion, transport equipment from $1.6 billion to $3.5 billion. Much of the export trade in these products was in shipments—frequently semi-finished products—from U.S. companies to foreign subsidiaries.

In addition, imports into the U.S. are also affected by the operations of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies. Imports from U.S. affiliates abroad, as reported by the U.S. Department of Commerce, showed that 22 percent of total chemical imports, 14 percent of non-electrical machinery and 7 percent of electrical machinery, and 23 percent of transportation equipment imports were from U.S. affiliates abroad in 1965. Some of these imports are finished products that compete with U.S. made goods. In addition, many products that are finished and sold in the U.S. are composed of components made in foreign countries by subsidiaries of U.S. firms.

A significant part of America's foreign trade—both exports and imports—is now composed of trade between U.S. and foreign plants of the same company. Semi-finished products are shipped from the U.S. plant to foreign subsidiaries for completion; the finished product is then often sold in world markets, including the U.S. Components produced in foreign subsidiaries, are shipped to the U.S. plant for assembly and sale in the U.S. Finished products, made by foreign subsidiaries, are sold in the U.S. by the companies' sales agencies, in competition with U.S.-made goods.

Among the international corporate giants, production and sales are often juggled, in this way, among the U.S. plants, the factories of foreign subsidiaries and company sales agencies in the U.S. and foreign countries. Only the companies, themselves, have information on the details of these production, sales and financial operations.

It is clear that the soaring investments of U.S. companies in foreign countries had had an adverse impact on international trade in at least several industries and a large number of products.

IMPACT OF JOBS

Both exports and imports affect jobs. About 3 million jobs are reported to be related to exports, 1.4 million in manufacturing employment.

The chemical, machinery and transportation equipment industries' exports often involve exports to their foreign affiliates and make up a large share of America's export trade. Government reports show that, in 1965, 10 percent of U.S. machinery industries' employment was export-related, for the engine and turbine segment about 20 percent, and about 14 percent of chemical industry employment and 10 percent for aircraft was export-related. However, some of these exports would have existed in the absence of great foreign investments and part of such exports would have been finished rather than semi-finished products.

It is also claimed that foreign activities of U.S. firms add to American jobs through helping to expand markets in other countries. Without U.S. locations abroad, it is pointed out, many U.S. products could be shut out of foreign markets. And business reports claim that the interchange among international companies creates jobs in the U.S. through the use of imported foreign-made components.

However, imports of products and components also displace jobs and create unemployment. No specific information about the amount of import-related employment and unemployment is currently available from the government.

Some foreign production of U.S. subsidiaries obviously substitutes for American production and therefore costs American jobs, although there is no government information on this subject.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IMPACT

The sharp rise of foreign direct investment by U.S. companies has a direct relation to America's balance of payments deficit.

Since 1958 when the U.S. balance of payments deficit gained much public attention, direct investment outflows have varied from year to year, but the trend has been sharply upward.

Direct private capital outflows from the U.S. soared from $1.2 billion in 1958 and $1.7 billion in 1960 to $3.4 billion in 1965 and $3.5 billion in 1966. (See Table IV.) These outflows represent most of the total U.S. private outflows in recent years (which also includes bank lending and investments in foreign securities, etc.).

Despite the government's program, adopted in 1965 to limit the impact of direct-investment outflows on the balance of payments, this outflow has continued to rise—with a continuing adverse impact on the balance of payments deficit.

TABLE I.—VALUE OF U.S. PRIVATE DIRECT INVESTMENT ABROAD, BY AREA AND INDUSTRY [1]

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	1950	Percent of total	1965	Percent of total
Total	$11.8		$49.2	
Area:				
Canada	3.6	31	15.2	31
Latin America	4.6	39	9.4	19
Europe	1.7	14	13.9	28
Other	1.9	16	10.7	22
Industry:				
Manufacturing	3.8	32	19.3	39
Petroleum	3.4	29	15.3	31
Mining and smelting	1.1	9	3.8	8
Public utilities	1.4	12	2.1	4
Other	2.1	18	8.7	18

[1] The figures understate investment, but are the only available official figures.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

TABLE II. PLANT AND EQUIPMENT SPENDING OF DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENTS, 1960–66

[In billions of dollars]

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Total	3.8	4.1	4.6	5.1	6.2	7.5	8.7
Mining and smelting	.4	.3	.4	.4	.5	.7	.7
Petroleum	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.8
Manufacturing	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.3	3.0	3.9	4.6
Other	.5	.5	.5	.5	.6	.7	.8

Source: Survey of Current Business, September 1966 and May 1967, U.S. Department of Commerce.

TABLE III.—OVERSEAS CAPITAL EXPENDITURES BY AMERICAN COMPANIES

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	Actual, 1966	Planned, 1967	Percent change, 1966–67
Manufacturing	$4.6	$4.9	+7
Petroleum	2.6	3.2	+23
Mining	.8	.9	+15
All industries	8.0	9.0	+13

Source: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Economic Department.

TABLE IV.—PRIVATE DIRECT INVESTMENT OUTFLOWS FROM THE UNITED STATES

	Amount (billions)
1958	$1.2
1960	1.7
1961	1.6
1962	1.7
1963	2.0
1964	2.4
1965	3.4
1966	3.5

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

BEECH AIRCRAFT CORP. OF WICHITA, RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EXPORT "E" AWARD

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SHRIVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend a ceremony at the Department of Commerce this morning during which the Beech Aircraft Corp., of Wichita, Kans., one of my constituent companies, was honored.

Mrs. O. A. Beech, president of the company, accepted the Presidential Export "E" Award from Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge for progressive foreign sales policies practiced by Beech Aircraft.

I take this time to inform Members of the House of the recognition given to Beech, and to offer my congratulations to the company, its officers, and employees, upon attaining this honor.

Beech has been in the export business for 35 years, and has built a distribution network in 100 countries. The majority of its business can be classified as civic action type. Its aircraft are widely used in mapping unexplored jungle, mountain, and desert areas. One type of craft is equipped to handle specialized photographic equipment. Others are used as flight trainers, by flying clubs, and airlines, and as short-haul cargo carriers, and in ambulance work.

Significantly the company's export sales have increased from $9.1 million in 1962 to $24.5 million in 1967. This impressive record represents important economic benefits at home and abroad.

Such exports help our balance-of-payment situation. Beech products have contributed to the economic development of less developed countries. And, of course, the growth of the company and sale of its products overseas create employment opportunities and benefit the economy of Wichita, the State of Kansas, and the Nation.

It is a pleasure to commend Mrs. Beech, her fellow officers, and Beech employees for their continuing efforts and achievements in the development of export markets for aircraft products. Such efforts speak well for our American free enterprise system and contribute in a very meaningful way to America's effort to strengthen underdeveloped countries.

RESULTS OF SIXTH DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STEIGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, early this year, I mailed a questionnaire to all the post office box holders in the Sixth Congressional District. I was most gratified with the 12,000 responses I received and would like to take this opportunity to bring the results to the attention of my colleagues.

I would ask that special attention be given to the items listed under "Domestic Issues." I have cosponsored several of these measures and I am heartened by the overwhelming affirmative response, which indicates the support for legislative action.

I have cosponsored legislation calling for the establishment of standards of conduct for Members of this body and almost 90 percent of those responding to my questionnaire support this position. In addition, my legislation to remove postal appointments from politics received strong endorsement. I believe this is a call for action on the part of this House and I hope that action will be taken on these two important matters during the 90th Congress. In addition, the other matters covered in this questionnaire deserve careful consideration by this body.

For the information of my colleagues, the residents of the Sixth District, and in particular those who have answered my questionnaire, I include as part of my remarks the answers in percentages of the Sixth District questionnaire.

RESULTS OF 6TH DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE CIRCULATED BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM A. STEIGER

Question	Percent		
	Yes	No	No response
1 Vietnam: Do you favor—			
(a) Calling an all-Asian peace conference of Asian nations, including North Vietnam and Communist China?	59.6	26.3	14.1
(b) Suspending bombing attacks on North Vietnam only if Hanoi makes a reciprocal move toward deescalation?	65.4	21.3	13.3
(c) Ending bombing attacks on North Vietnam without a reciprocal move by Hanoi?	9.8	74.9	15.3
(d) Increasing the military effort in North Vietnam by bombing additional strategic military targets and closing Haiphong harbor?	67.9	17.2	14.9
(e) Continuing present course but increasing U.S. troop commitment?	24.5	54.5	21.0
(f) Unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam?	17.9	62.9	19.2
(g) Continuing present course with about same number of men?	22.1	52.1	25.8
(h) Negotiating with all combatants including the Vietcong?	63.1	20.7	16.2
(i) Terminating U.S. aid to nations trading with North Vietnam?	74.3	14.5	11.2
2. Social security: Do you favor—			
(a) An 8-percent increase in benefits without an increase in payroll taxes?	50.3	28.3	21.4
(b) A 20-percent increase in benefits with appropriate increases in payroll taxes?	22.5	55.0	22.5
3. Trade with communist countries: Do you favor an expansion of trade of nonstrategic goods with—			
(a) The Soviet Union?	47.6	43.5	8.9
(b) Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary?	50.8	39.2	10.0
(c) Other Eastern European satellite countries?	49.7	39.6	10.7
4. Domestic issues: Do you favor—			
(a) Sharing Federal tax revenues with State and local units of government on a no strings attached basis?	57.6	29.4	13.0
(b) Legislation to remove the appointment of postal officials from political patronage?	88.7	5.9	5.4
(c) Legislation to require a creditor to inform a customer of the approximate annual interest rate charged for time payments?	89.6	5.0	5.4
(d) The establishment of standards of conduct for Members of Congress?	88.9	5.3	5.8
(e) Federal income tax relief for part of college educational expenses?	63.5	29.4	7.1
(f) Federal legislation to regulate the sale of firearms?	54.6	39.3	6.1
5. Do you feel you are being adequately informed by our Government about developments in Vietnam?	20.5	68.0	11.5

BILL TO EXEMPT ALL ALASKA-HAWAII TRADE FROM SECTION 27 OF MERCHANT MARINE ACT OF 1920

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining my distinguished colleagues from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA and Mrs. MINK] in the introduction of a bill designed to do away with an artificial barrier that has long separated the 49th from the 50th State. As you know, section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, popularly known as the Jones Act, prohibits the transportation of merchandise between American ports on foreign vessels.

The purpose of the Jones Act is laudable. It protects American shipping and American seamen against competition they cannot meet. Our high standard of living inevitably brings higher costs of operation, and without special protection or subsidy, our shipping industry would not survive. Indeed, the industry is in a sad condition in foreign trade today even with subsidy provisions. The bill introduced today, therefore, is not an attack on the cabotage laws, for in my view these laws are absolutely necessary under present circumstances for our domestic waterborne trade. There are circumstances, however, where the application of the act serves no useful purpose and indeed may actually prevent economic development in our country. In such cases, the law should not operate for it is harmful to the public interest without promoting the benefits its enactment intended. Congress, I submit, has the obligation in such an instance to declare an exception to the act. Such an exception is needed for Alaska-Hawaii trade. The bill introduced today is designed to provide that exception.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, Alaska and Hawaii are isolated from the contiguous 48 States and depend heavily on water transportation. In each case, American carriers with American ships protected by the Jones Act serve the public. Here the act serves the purpose for which it was intended though some contend that this is outweighed by higher costs to the public. Unfortunately, the act also blankets trade between Alaska and Hawaii. Here, however, no purpose at all is being served because there is presently no waterborne trade between the two States whatsoever, and indeed under the present laws, there is no prospect of any in the foreseeable future. The costs of constructing vessels in American shipyards makes any such trade uneconomical. With foreign-built vessels, such a trade would be possible. It can readily be seen that the operation of section 27 does not, in this instance, promote American shipping, but rather prohibits American trade. In such a case, the Jones Act is an obstacle to American economic growth.

There is an exciting possibility for Alaska-Hawaii trade now being studied. The discovery of huge fields of natural gas in Alaska has opened the way for faraway cities to obtain a cheap, clean heating fuel. Such a project is already underway. Using two huge specially constructed foreign ships, Tokyo, Japan, will receive liquefied natural gas from Alaska. The multimillion-dollar contract signed this year will promote economic development in Alaska and help the Nation's critical balance-of-payments problem through increased exports. All of this is possible only because the ships are being constructed in Sweden. Without this fact, there would be no contract.

With the development of the Alaska gas fields, there has arisen the possibility that a similar service can be established to serve Hawaii. The Honolulu Gas Co. has studied the idea. It was determined to the surprise of no one that if the transporting ships had to be American built the price of the gas would be raised to a prohibitive point where the service would simply not be economically feasible. Thus, the Jones Act is stifling a potentially beneficial trade between two States. In this instance, only if the vessels can be built in foreign shipyards can the project be feasible. It is indeed a paradox that under existing law Alaska can trade with Japan with these specially built Swedish vessels to export liquefied gas, is not allowed to do so in trade with our own sister State of Hawaii. Accordingly my colleagues [Mr. MATSUNAGA and Mrs. MINK] and I have introduced this bill to eliminate the useless barrier of section 27 as it pertains to the Alaska-Hawaii trade. A similar bill has been introduced in the other body by members of the Alaska and Hawaii delegations.

There are other potential areas of trade between our two newest States that could begin but for the Jones Act restrictions. As a result, the bill introduced today exempts all Alaska-Hawaii trade from section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920.

This is a long overdue measure, Mr. Speaker, which will contribute to our goal of ending the isolation of our newest States. I hope it can receive the favorable and swift consideration of the Congress.

GOOD WORDS FOR A GOOD CONGRESSMAN

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, too infrequently the names of conscientious, hardworking Congressmen are mentioned in a context that will let the people know they are well represented, but I have come upon an editorial in the Chattanooga News-Free Press of September 16 which gives credit where credit is due. The man mentioned, of course, is the gentleman from Tennessee, Bill Brock, and the editorial shows why they "hope the people realize what a fine Congressman they have." It is good to see that some of the people realize that there are men who put principles of good government and sound logic before "vote getting."

I submit the editorial for the Record:

Bill Brock Acted for You

We hope the people of this congressional district realize what a fine congressman they have in Rep. Bill Brock.

Many are the congressmen who talk against heavy taxing—and then vote in a way that makes heavy taxes inescapable. Many are those who talk against deficit financing—and then help create the deficits. Many are those who talk against unnecessary spending—and then vote for more of it if they think they can get some for their areas.

Economy is often what you want to apply to "somebody else's project"—but never something to consider on a local one.

But Bill Brock doesn't operate that way. How can we avoid higher taxes and bigger deficits and excessive spending if we do not have the courage to curb even ourselves?

A bill was before the House to extend the Appalachia regional program for two years and authorize spending 420 million dollars of your money for it.

That's nearly half a billion dollars.

Bill Brock knew that some of that money would come into this general area—but he also knew that to pay the price a lot of money would have to come out of our area, too.

So he stood up—the only congressman in Tennessee to do so—and voted against the Appalachia program.

He can expect criticism and opposition in his next election campaign because of his courage. But isn't this the kind of congressman we want? Don't we appreciate representation that considers not just "what I can get" but also what the people must pay?

One of the biggest troubles with our nation's leadership today is that the LBJ Administration is irresponsibly spending without regard to cost. How do you balance the budget and avoid higher taxes? The only answer is to avoid unnecessary spending. And that's the way Bill Brock voted.

The spenders and taxers are numerous and vocal. The question is whether we are going to let them take the hide off our representative for doing the right thing or whether the people are going to be appreciative enough of Bill Brock's concern for their pocketbooks, which caused him to do the politically daring but right thing.

Our country is going to continue to be in economic trouble until the people stand up and applaud and support and demand the kind of action Bill Brock took instead of seeking handouts as a price for their votes.

We appreciate Bill Brock and hope all our people appreciate his realistic action to save them from higher taxes.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INSTALLATIONS POLLUTING POTOMAC RIVER WATERS

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Cramer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, during the past several years, the Congress has enacted, and I have supported, two significant pieces of water pollution control legislation—the Water Quality Act of 1965 and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966. These acts placed a great responsibility upon the States, the local communities, and industry, to stop the pollution of our streams and to clean up our river basins.

Pervading hearings on water pollution control before the House Committee on Public Works since 1963 have been reports of massive pollution from installations owned and operated by the Federal Government. The philosophy of the Federal Government with respect to water pollution abatement efforts appears to be: "Do as I say; not as I do." Such an attitude, to me, reflects a dangerous outlook on the part of those in the Federal Government who are responsible for the proper administration of Federal water pollution control acts. In my opinion, it is not fair to place a strained burden upon the State and local governments and upon industry to abate water pollution, while, at the same time, the Federal Government takes no additional responsibility onto itself to clean up its own pollution. It surely is not effective administration to be spending hundreds of millions of Federal tax dollars to clean up our waters, while, at the same time, installations of the Federal Government just keep polluting along.

Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Government Operations released two reports during the 89th Congress on the extent of pollution by Federal installations, the contents of which were shocking to me. The report entitled "Disposal of Sewage and Industrial Wastes by Federal Installations—Water Pollution Control and Abatement," House Report No. 555, 89th Congress, first session, revealed that the pollution from Federal installations of untreated wastes amounted to 29.6 million gallons per day. Other findings in the report were equally appalling. The second report, entitled "1965 Survey of Disposal of Sewage and Industrial Wastes by Federal Installations—Water Pollution Control and Abatement," House Report No. 1644, 89th Congress, second session, contained equally shocking information on the extent of pollution by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, over the past weekend, our colleague from Maryland [Mr. Mathias] released information showing the extent of pollution by the Federal Government in the Potomac River Basin watershed in and around the Nation's Capital. The extent of this pollution is most disturbing. Case after case, from monkey cages at the National Zoo to the Secretary of the Navy's yacht, are cited. I commend the gentleman from Maryland for his release of this information and for his determination to clean up the Potomac River.

An article in the Washington Post of this morning concerned itself with this matter. The article indicates that, while the Federal Government has undertaken some token measures to abate its pollution in this area, the extent of pollution is still extensive. Furthermore, one wonders whether or not the Federal Government has undertaken a limited program to curtail pollution from its own installations in the Washington area as an example of what needs to be done by the Federal Government throughout the Nation or only as a gesture to critics in Congress and in the metropolitan area.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the text of this morning's article, and commend it to the attention of everyone concerned about cleaning up our waters.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 25, 1967]

U.S. Facilities Linked To Rise in River Filth

(By Robert L. Asher)

Government surveys show that 11 Federal installations in the Potomac Basin have been spilling out a million or more gallons of inadequately treated wastes daily in the area's waters over the last three years.

The report on water pollution came yesterday from Rep. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-Md.), who issued a call for increased Federal efforts to abate the flow from Government facilities here.

Mathias said the surveys were made by the regional office of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. Among the agency's findings were these:

A check in February showed that none of an estimated 192,300 daily gallons of domestic wastes from the Naval Ordnance Station at Indian Head, Md., was being fully treated. It is discharged into the Potomac at a spot where commercial and sports fishing takes place.

Overflows of ash residue from a sluice at the Washington Navy Yard—about 606,000 gallons a day in April—discharges through a storm sewer into the Anacostia River to settle on the river bottom.

At Fort Washington National Park in Prince George's County, effluent from four septic tank and sand filter systems in July was flowing into gullies leading to the Potomac without chlorination, as required by Maryland law.

Industrial wastes from the General Services Administration central heating and refrigeration plant at 13th and C Streets sw have been emptying from storm sewers into the Potomac at the rate of about 40,000 gallons a day.

While action since 1963 has eliminated more than 75 per cent of pollution from the National Zoo, a continuous, highly polluted effluent from the duck ponds, and cage washings in the lion and monkey houses still causes problems.

Other facilities listed included Andrews Air Force Base, where aircraft washracks in 1964 were discharging insoluble oil and solids to Cabin Branch at an average rate of 10,000 gallons a day; the Dalecarlia Treatment Facility of the Army Corps of Engineers; GSA's Pentagon heating, refrigeration and sewage disposal plant; the Marine Corps Schools and Air Station at Quantico, Navy installations at Cheltenham, Md., and Dahlgren, Va.; the Anacostia Naval Station, and Washington Navy Yard.

Mathias emphasized that corrective action is being taken "in nearly every case," noting that the 1968 military construction budget now under House consideration includes funds for pollution abatement at Indian Head, Quantico and Andrews.

Other facilities are also working to improve procedures in response to the Federal recommendations, the Congressman reported.

In evaluating the reports, Mathias said "the problems revealed, while serious, involve a relatively small portion of the domestic and industrial wastes produced by these 11 installations."

He noted, for example, that only 15.8 per cent of the total domestic waste generated at the facilities—which produce more than 4.6 million gallons a day—does not receive adequate secondary treatment.

Yet "Federal leadership is imperative in the Washington area," Mathias warned, "both because we have a concentration of Federal facilities, and because the Potomac basin, as the President has said, should be a model for the Nation."

NAVY BOSS' BOAT POLLUTES STREAM

Everything is far from shipshape aboard the Secretary of the Navy's official yacht, "The Sequoia," Federal surveys of water pollution here have revealed.

An April check of pollutants being discharged into the Anacostia River showed that raw domestic wastes from the yacht and a nearby boathouse averaged 1500 gallons a day.

The report, included in a summary of surveys made by Rep. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.), noted that some "corrective action is being taken" but that "no definite method for eliminating waste discharge from vessels has yet been found."

Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge the Federal Government, that is demanding that other government and private polluters end pollution, halt its own indiscriminate pollution of America's waters.

WHAT IS HOLDING UP CONGRESSIONAL REFORM?

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, much earlier in this 90th session of Congress the Senate passed, by an overwhelming vote, the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1967. This legislation is the product of the efforts of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. I was privileged to serve as ranking minority House member on this joint committee and fully endorsed this much-needed comprehensive proposal for congressional reform. The joint committee's report to the 89th Congress was unanimous in its approval of the suggested reform measures.

Yet to this day the full House has not yet had a chance to consider this important measure. A reason for this delay has been suggested by columnist Roscoe Drummond in a recent article in the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 8, which I am placing in the RECORD at this point for all to consider:

DEMO ARROGANCE BLOCKS TRY TO REFORM CONGRESS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives is treating Congress—and the country—to an arrogant example of partisan power-politics.

It is giving the back of its hand to majority rule.

The Democratic leadership is adding bad politics to the already bad reputation of Congress on ethics and when the facts get out the voters will not be amused.

Here are the facts—and you can judge whether they tell a pretty story:

A year ago, after months of hearings and study, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress presented its findings on what urgently needs to be done to enable Congress to transact the public business more efficiently.

The committee was made up of six senators and six representatives and equally divided between the parties. Its co-chairmen were Sen. Mike Monroney, D-Okla., and Rep. Ray J. Madden, D-Ind.

Its recommendations for modest and constructive reforms were unanimous. One of its central provisions would transfer some of the almost dictatorial power of the committee chairmen to a majority of the committee members.

No quick action was sought—quite reasonably. Members of Congress were given a year to study the proposals.

On March 7, after 18 days of debate, the Senate gave its overwhelming approval, 75 to 9, to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 which embodied the joint committee recommendations.

And now the Democratic leaders are subverting majority rule by not allowing the House to vote on it.

Nice, isn't it?

For more than six months the so-called Reformed House Rules Committee, controlled by the Democratic leadership, locked this measure so tightly in its solitary cell that Houdini couldn't break it loose.

It did venture to start some public hearings on the bill—but closed them down after one day. Evidently its supporters were expounding its merits too persuasively.

I don't want to say that the Democrats in the House have done nothing, absolutely nothing, about congressional reform. They have. They looked over the proposals, said "humm" and introduced a bill dealing boldly with the guides who shepherd the tourists and the pages who run errands.

And one other thing. They peered a little further into the measure the Senate passed and found a nice little item—clearly justified as part of the whole package of reform—which gave increased travel allowances for Congressmen to and from their districts. So they extracted this little dividend, introduced it all by itself, passed it with a gleeful whoop—and left all the real reforms under lock and key in the vault of the Rules Committee.

Nice, isn't it?

Fortunately the Republicans are beginning to stand up and do something about this scornful refusal of the Rules Committee to permit the bill to come to a vote. Rep. James C. Cleveland, R–N.H., put it pointedly in the House a few days ago:

"I want to know by what rationale this legislation can be permitted to reside so long in the dark recesses of the House Rules Committee."

They don't need any rationale. The nearly omnipotent Democratic committee chairmen aren't going to give up one iota of their dictatorial powers or anything else in the cause of congressional reform and they are out to see it doesn't happen. Their strategy is to keep the bill bottled up until the last frantic days of the session and then to bring out a meaningless, watered-down measure—or nothing.

And nothing it is likely to be unless Congress feels the hot breath of public demand.

A NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH STUDY MAY HAVE WASTED $75 MILLION

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WHALEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned about how effectively the Federal Government uses the hard-earned tax money of its citizens.

We would like to think that none of it is wasted or used improperly. It is part of our responsibility as Members of Congress and the keepers of the public purse to be watchful that such excesses do not occur.

However, we know from experience that the taxpayers' dollars are not always wisely spent and I regret to inform my colleagues that I have information indicating that this has happened again.

The case in point is a $75 million research project, initiated 10 years ago by the National Institute of Neurological Disease and Blindness—NINDB. NINDB is part of the National Institutes of Health, which comes under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The study covers 60,000 pregnant women and their offspring and was the subject of an evaluation by a blue-ribbon committee which filed a report critical of the project.

Among other things this report reflected two glaring deficiencies. First, millions of dollars were authorized for a project which now appears to have been poorly defined and improperly constructed. Second, there has been an absence of congressional oversight in ascertaining whether taxpayers' funds are being effectively utilized in connection with the study.

Steps apparently are being taken by NIH authorities to correct the problems identified in the evaluation report. However, Mr. Speaker, such action probably has come too late. Conclusions, based in part on 10 years of questionable statistics, always will remain suspect.

My attention was drawn to this study by the Dayton Daily News, an outstanding Ohio newspaper, and its astute medical reporter, Miss Jayne Ellison. I would like to commend Miss Ellison and the Dayton Daily News for their diligence and public service in this matter.

The newspaper published a comprehensive story on the study and the evaluation report in its editions on September 22, 1967.

For the information of my colleagues, I hereby insert the full text of the account in the RECORD:

A NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH STUDY MAY HAVE WASTED $75 MILLION

(By Jayne Ellison, Daily News staff writer)

Congressman Charles W. Whalen Jr. (R-Ohio) today charged that a $75 million federal health research project was "poorly defined" when begun 10 years ago and that stop-gap salvage attempts have "probably come too late."

He scored a study involving 60,000 pregnant women and their offspring, which has drawn the fire of a blue-ribbon evaluating committee.

The committee's report, filed in May, 1966, has been suppressed until now.

It was prepared as an evaluation of a project begun in 1957 in 16 American hospitals, under the title of "collaborative perinatal research program" of the National Institute of Neurological Disease and Blindness (NINDB).

CRITICIZED FROM START

The project has been criticized by scientific investigators almost since it began.

The Daily News sifted through reports and consulted top medical authorities in uncovering the ad hoc Gordon committee findings.

Dr. Harry Gordon, dean of the Albert Einstein college of medicine, New York, chaired the evaluating committee. Also serving was Nobel laureate Dr. Frederick G. Robbins, dean of Western Reserve university school of medicine.

Project weaknesses found by the evaluating committee were:

Children's hospital, San Francisco, and Yale university, pulled out of the project because "these institutions could not fulfill their commitment to the program."

Too few women were enrolled in the study in the first weeks of pregnancy.

Design for genetic studies was found unsuitable and "does not justify the program's existence."

Some principal investigators drifted away from the research and left work to project directors.

Too many institutions, too many study cases.

Data collected were uneven and differed, even within the same institutions.

There was no strong direction for the project.

Too much information was collected in the collaborating institutions which detracted from items of primary interest.

Some institutions were a year behind in editing material required by the Perinatal Research board of NINDB.

Institutions did not have competent staffs, despite funding to train them, to pursue some aspects of the project.

No technical solution is possible to solve the problem of collected data of questionable quality.

Originally, the giant project began to study conditions or events from conception to pregnancy which affect the baby at birth. At this time, the study encompasses cerebral palsy, epilepsy, mental retardation, defects of speech, hearing and vision, organic behavioral diseases, and reading and learning deficiencies as they relate to the period between conception and the early months of life.

Plans are also under way to follow children through age seven or beyond.

ENORMOUS UNDERTAKING

Enormity of the undertaking reflects in the four million cards, with about 30 million "bits of information" yet to be evaluated.

Committee chairman Dr. Gordon refused to comment on the report when contacted by The Daily News.

The NINDB rose to its own defense, after the committee report was delivered to Dr. James A. Shannon, director of the National Institutes of Health.

Dr. Richard L. Masland, NINDB director, admitted "there are differences in the quality and completeness (of data) between institutions and within single institutions at different times."

"We have greater faith in the quality of the date—or in the extent of usable data—than is implied by the committee's report," he wrote.

The Gordon ad hoc committee urged that a strong research scientist head the project. Dr. Masland replied that this wasn't feasible on a temporary basis and proposed a small working committee to review data analyses already completed and to direct evaluation of data base as recommended.

Dr. Stuart Sessons, deputy director of the National Institutes of Health, was told The Daily News had a copy of the Gordon committee report and Dr. Masland's response.

"Being aware of the criticism, Dr. Shannon deliberately undertook to have an analysis of the program to identify the problem areas and see what recommendations the group (Gordon ad hoc evaluation committee) could make," Dr. Sessons said.

"You will notice he selected committee members who have no association with the project."

CONTROLS TIGHTENED

He agreed that Dr. Masland's response was defensive.

"Information that we now have appears clearly evident that all parties are now more comfortable with the soundness of the data base," Dr. Sessons said. "There has been a general conclusion that it is pretty sound and will go forward without jeopardy.

"Some aspects will be run, as they say in the Navy, as a tighter ship."

Dr. Sessons denied that the beleaguered collaborative project got out of hand. He said instead that it became a question of how much could be added to the original design without damaging the original intention.

Calls to Dr. Masland's office were directed to the NINDB public information office.

A spokesman said, "It may take a year to evaluate the material on the collaborative study."

"The magnitude of this hasn't been fully appreciated yet," he said. "It is fantastic. They tried to enroll enough women to get significant numbers and it is now the largest study of its kind in the world.

"One of the real weaknesses was in the collaboration between institutions. It made it difficult to keep a tight rein. Human nature as it is, some hospitals didn't have rigid controls.

"I felt some of the Gordon committee were biased. Everyone is interested in mothers and babies and they want information."

According to the spokesman, all collaborating institutions were changed from grants to contracts July 1, 1967, to tighten controls.

BIG SUCCESS OR FIASCO

NINBD, a satellite of the National Institutes of Health, is part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Dr. George Silver, assistant acting secretary for health and scientific affairs, was asked if the Gordon committee report didn't make the collaborative study look like a fiasco.

"Well," he said, "the ad hoc committee report is over a year old. It was a fair report, but the committee was prejudiced against collaborative studies.

"It is not as critical as it appears to be. There are bugs.

"Can you say 'fiasco' before the data evaluation is made?

"You can call it a fiasco or a big success when the report is in."

According to Dr. Silver, the research thus far is "positive." He concurred with Dr. Sessons that the evaluation "isn't really such severe criticism."

Is the project an albatross.

"We don't know that yet," he replied.

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WHO DID EVALUATION, HOW WAS MONEY SPENT?

Who were members of the ad hoc committee who evaluated the $75 million research project in 14 American hospitals?

Two of them were Dr. Harry Gordon, dean of the Albert Einstein college of medicine in New York and Dr. Frederick G. Robbins, dean of Western Reserve university school of medicine.

Dr. Gordon was chairman of the committee, whose members included:

Dr. William M. Allen, obstetrics and gynecology, Washinton university school of medicine; Dr. Leslie B. Arey, anatomy, Northwestern university school of medicine; Dr. Alfred L. Baldwin, psychology, New York university.

Dr. Arthur L. Benton, neurology, State University of Iowa; Dr. Joe Robert Brown, neurology, Mayo clinic; Dr. Robert W. Deisher, director, child health division, University of Washington.

Dr. Wilfrid Dixon, University of California school of medicine, Los Angeles; Dr. F. Clark Fraser, genetics, McGill university; Dr. Brian MacMahon, epidemiology, Harvard university; Dr. Edith Potter, pathology, University of Chicago Lying-in hospital.

Dr. R. L. Schiefelbusch, director, University of Kansas bureau of child research, and Dr. Harry M. Zimmerman, laboratory division, Montefiore hospital, Bronx.

The ad hoc committee was reinforced during the evaluation by a select group of 30 specialists from medical schools, hospitals, and health departments. They were chosen for recognized abilities in areas covered by the collaborative study, such as epidemiology, genetics, neurology, speech and hearing pathology, child development, child health and obstetrics and gynecology.

How was the $75 million spent?

According to the Gordon ad hoc committee report, costs for the Perinatal Research branch within NINDB, are $2.7 million per year.

Then, awards were made to the collaborating institutions on an annual basis. Boston Lying-in hospital, for example, received over $5 million during the 10 years, plus overhead expenses of either 15 or 20% annually in a number of years. University of Minnesota received over $3 million, with similar amounts going to the other institutions in the study.

Participating institutions are:

Boston Lying-in hospital; Children's Medical center, Boston; Pennsylvania hospital, Phildelphia; Children's hospital, Philadelphia; Institute for Health Sciences, Providence, R.I.; University of Minnesota.

New York Medical college (Metropolitan hospital); Medical college of Virginia; University of Oregon Medical school; Johns Hopkins hospital; Charity hospital, New Orleans; Columbia university; Children's hospital, Buffalo, and University of Tennessee.

POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Iowa). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time in order to join with several of my colleagues in a discussion of resolutions introduced today.

Each of the resolutions reads as follows:

> *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that upon the adoption of this resolution the appropriate committees of the Congress shall immediately consider and report to their respective bodies their determination as to whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to policies in Southeast Asia.

Sponsoring this resolution are 51 Members of the House. The 51 include four Democrats and 47 Republicans. In addition to the 51 Members whose names appear on the resolutions, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KYL] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LUKENS] have indicated their support. The gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] introduced one of the resolutions.

The other 50 names appear on two identical resolutions divided equally. The sponsors are the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] and myself.

These three resolutions call upon the Congress at long last to undertake formal consideration of the U.S. policy in the war in Vietnam. The key words in the resolution are "whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to policies in Southeast Asia."

In my view they provide the means through which the Congress can discharge the responsibilities in foreign policy which very clearly have been placed upon it by the Constitution but which up to this point have not in my view been fully discharged.

It arises from a deep seated feeling, indeed the conviction, that the Congress itself should deal at this time with questions of basic policy in regard to the Vietnam war instead of leaving this area of policy almost exclusively in the hands of the executive.

Of course, I speak only for myself in these remarks but I do feel a sense of great uneasiness among Members of the Congress, many of whom voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution back in 1964, and indeed I was one of those.

This uneasiness pervades the entire country. It arises in great part from an important error of omission on the part of the Congress in connection with the Tonkin resolution.

At that time the Government failed to invoke properly the SEATO Treaty, which serves as the only expressed basis for section 2 of the resolution. Section 1, of course, deals entirely with the armed attack which occurred against two U.S. vessels. The omission, that is, the failure of our Government to invoke properly the SEATO Treaty which, as I say, is the only express basis for section 2 of the resolution, was a serious oversight.

It was serious because it denied the American people the great synthesizing debate and the unifying influence through which we traditionally hammer out major policy decisions. We never faced up to the fundamental question of what to do in regard to military policy in Vietnam.

We did authorize by that resolution the response, which, of course, had already been taken, to the attack on U.S. naval vessels. But at that point there was not a determination before the Congress, a determination that armed attack had occurred against South Vietnam.

And because of that omission, we never debated in any degree the question of military policy in Vietnam. It is not too late to correct this error, and this resolution provides a means for doing so. In doing so, we will fulfill constitutional procedure and comply with the provisions of the SEATO Treaty. In my view this is the logical, the proper, and the sensible way to remove the feeling of uneasiness so prevalent today in regard to the war.

This procedure, far from causing the enemy to misjudge our determination, would in the end clarify America's will and purpose.

No Representative should feel that fulfillment of the constitutional procedure would constitute criticism of past conduct of the war. Rather, it would be recognition that it is time, time right now, for both Houses of this representative Government to measure up to the grave responsibility placed upon them by the Constitution. It is important for reasons other than legal reasons that the Congress do this at this time.

This appears to be an important milestone or plateau in the military operations in Southeast Asia. We are bombing close to the border of China. The troop commitment is approaching a half million, and the prospect is for another 40,000 or 45,000 troops his year. Because the extra 45,000 troops promised by the President is considerably less than the number of troops requested by General Westmoreland, it is probable that this 45,000 addition is to be but an installment unless the Congress should give directions to the contrary.

The most important reason for the Congress to take up this question is because the question of war is so far reaching and touches so intimately the lives of the American people. Accordingly, the decision should be made by the branch of Government most representative of the people, and that branch, of course, is the Congress. It is the logical place where public opinion can be brought to bear effectively.

I am glad to yield at this point to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] who is cosponsoring this resolution with me, and voice my appreciation to him for the fine leadership he has given to this enterprise. He is one of the respected members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and it is a pleasure to be associated with him.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution that our distinguished colleague from Illinois has sponsored. He deserves the gratitude of all of us for his creative initiative, which reminds those of us who are privileged to serve in this body of the immense responsibilities we have in the field of foreign affairs. As the gentleman indicated, I have introduced for myself and 24 of my colleagues a companion measure. As Mr. FINDLEY pointed out, in the aggregate there are over 50 sponsors of the proposal from both sides of the aisle.

The purpose of this resolution is to give the Congress an opportunity to review its role and our Government's policies in Southeast Asia. I underline the fact that sponsorship of this resolution in no way implies criticism of our past or our present policies in the area, and no Member should so construe the language of the resolution. It is, rather, a bipartisan effort to bring into focus the traditional and constitutional responsibility of the Congress in the conduct of our Nation's foreign policy, and, more specifically, its role in the conduct of a foreign war of major proportions.

This is not to say that the Congress should seek to enlarge its role beyond proper limits, or in any way seek to substitute its judgment for that of the Executive, or even to seek to share those decisions which are alone for the President to make. Rather, it is to say that it is as important for the Congress to fulfill its constitutional role as it is for the President to fulfill his.

If we agree—and I think we must—that the Congress should, to an appropriate degree, influence the conduct of major foreign policy undertakings, then I think we face the question: Has the Congress fully exercised its role in regard to our policies in Southeast Asia, in particular in regard to the war in Vietnam?

The only direct expression of the Congress on the subject, as we all know, was made in the Gulf of Tonkin resolution on August 10, 1964. At that time, the war in South Vietnam was clearly and unquestionably a Vietnamese war being fought by Vietnamese. Today it is increasingly an American war being fought in large measure by Americans. In August 1964 there were 16,300 American troops in Vietnam. Today, in September of 1967, there are 465,000 Americans fighting in that country and more are on their way. In August 1964, American casualties in Vietnam numbered 182 killed and 1,909 wounded. Today, 37 months later, more than 13,000 American men have lost their lives in Vietnam and more than 83,000 have been wounded in battle. The number of casualties mounts tragically as each day passes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit me to interrupt at that point, am I correct that during the period since August 1964, when the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was adopted, nothing in the way of legislation has been enacted which deals with the basic policy in Southeast Asia? Am I correct in that point?

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would agree with the gentleman, with the possibility of certain prefatory language that might have been included in certain authorization bills, but I am not aware of any contradiction. The only direct resolution which this body or the other body has acted upon was that adopted by Congress in 1964.

Mr. FINDLEY. It cannot then reasonably be argued that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution properly invoked the SEATO Treaty and fulfilled the requirements of constitutional processes which is required by the SEATO Treaty?

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I certainly do not pretend to the expert knowledge on the SEATO Treaty and its application to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution which the gentleman has, but I find his argument—and that made before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee not long ago—relevant to the technical validity of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

I think we ought to remind ourselves, too, that in August 1964 there was no bombing in Vietnam, and today, as we all know, we are bombing targets perilously close to Chinese territory and Soviet vessels in North Vietnamese ports. Many of our pilots and other servicemen are prisoners in North Vietnam. There are thousands of American civilians involved in pacification efforts in that country.

This, it seems to me, clearly is not the situation which was considered by the Congress when it adopted the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in August 1964.

It is a new war.

I believe, also, we ought to point out it is a new Congress. There are 123 Members of this body alone who were not Members of the 88th Congress which passed on the August 1964 resolution and who therefore have never had an opportunity formally to express their views in a formal consideration of the war by the Congress. A little arithmetic tells us that the Representatives in the 90th Congress of more than 50 million people have not had an opportunity formally to vote on this most critical national issue.

To suggest that this subject be raised before Congress at this time is not to suggest that the will or the determination of the Congress is any less than it was 3 years ago, nor is it to suggest that the will of the people of our Nation has diminished. But are we, in the conduct of what has become a major war, to rely forever on one resolution passed in a different time and under totally different circumstances? I personally believe it is appropriate and necessary for us to recognize that the time has come to review the situation and to review the role of the Congress in it.

Mr. FINDLEY. I might interpose at this point that in August of 1964, when the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was enacted, the man who is now President and who was then President warned against those who would carry the attack to the north; that is, use air attack in North Vietnam. He was castigating those who would get our men involved in an Asian land war. So the atmosphere is tremendously changed today from what prevailed at that period of history.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. The gentleman's observation certainly underlines the fact that circumstances have changed. I believe his citation of the President's own concern at that time involves a relevant authority.

To conclude, I believe it should be observed that it should not be the intention of Congress to encroach in any way upon the prerogatives of the President in the conduct of foreign policy or to diminish his necessary flexibility in the conduct of war. But I would remind my colleagues—all of us—that we do have a responsibility to express the national will and to determine the national interest in this most critical area.

I thank the gentleman for his graciousness in permitting his colleagues to take part in what I believe is a most important endeavor.

I hope we can find even greater support, throughout the body. I hope that perhaps the leadership will recognize the fact that by making the kind of effort we are making we seek not to criticize but we seek merely to discharge the responsibilities which our oaths impose upon us.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] for yielding.

As one of the 50 Members of the House cosponsoring the resolution calling for congressional consideration as to further action with respect to policies in Southeast Asia, I want to emphasize my reason for participating in this legislative proposal.

In January, shortly after the convening of the 90th Congress, I took the floor and urged a full debate on Vietnam. Since then, on a number of occasions, I have stressed the importance of the House discussing this issue and thereby writing a factual record for our own Members and the American people.

Mr. Speaker, when the President of the United States or his Cabinet members, especially the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of Defense, gives a speech or talk on television it is not like the forum of the House and Senate with lengthy and detailed questions and answers. The public is given one side, and also at congressional committee hearings many facts are furnished by the administration in executive session so the transcript is not public.

Under the resolution which is the subject of this colloquy, the appropriate congressional committees would immediately consider and report to their respective bodies—the House and the Senate—their determination as to whether further action by Congress is desirable in respect to policies in Southeast Asia. In other words, since the Gulf of Tonkin resolution Congress has not considered policies in regard to the war in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Speaker, recently President Johnson challenged Congress to reappraise its vote on Vietnam and the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. As I recall he indicated that he would disregard any reversal, but that is beside the point. Members of Congress, under the Constitution, have a responsibility as to declaring war, and being the closest elected officials to the people, of informing and representing the public.

The accelerated pace of the Asian conflict and the President's proposed 10-percent tax increase to help pay for this stepup, have caused many Americans to question the manner in which the war is being fought.

Mr. Speaker, at this moment my words are not intended as criticism. I have criticized—but this is not the time for that. My idea is that a full debate in Congress would require President Johnson indirectly by spokesmen in Congress to defend the positions of the United States taken since September 25, 1964, when in a campaign speech before the November 1964 election he told the American people:

> We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys.

He said he did not want to get tied down in a land war in Asia. He said we were supplying some of the things to South Vietnam that we have—some tanks, some planes, and some helicopters. He said we had 20,000 men out there advising and helping.

Since then we have suffered 13,000 losses of American boys, and have nearly 500,000 American boys out there fighting.

So, as I say, Congress has a role to responsibly question the actions of the administration.

That is part of the discussion that I hope for under this resolution.

The other is to discuss the conduct of the administration as far as alternative suggestions for achieving peace are concerned, and a justification to the American people of what we are hoping to achieve.

For example, Moscow now says that the National Liberation Front's objective is a neutral state of South Vietnam. If that includes, as I assume it would, a coalition government between the Vietcong and the existing military junta, would it satisfy us, and if not why not?

There is no time to go into all these details today, but I rise to say that this resolution would give the American people, through their Representatives in Congress, a chance to express themselves. Now, Mr. Speaker, is the time to establish a record of full debate and not wait until the election next year.

I sincerely believe the cause of peace, which all the people favor, can be advanced by action on this resolution, so I earnestly urge its favorable consideration by the Democratic leadership of both the House and the Senate.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] for yielding.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONABLE. I want to commend the gentleman also for the initiative he has shown on this important resolution. I should like to join him.

I believe there are as many motivations back of those participating on this resolution as there are people participating.

Almost one-third of the House of Representatives was not here when the Tonkin Gulf resolution was passed, and I am among those. There has been a considerable turnover in House seats since that time, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] pointed out.

The controversy surrounding the Vietnam war and the indirect role in foreign and military affairs which the House of Representatives plays have combined to leave some doubt in the minds of people both inside and outside the country as to the extent of congressional support for the American commitment in Southeast Asia.

In the Congress itself there are those who have supported appropriations bills designed to supply American servicemen in Vietnam while seeking to distinguish their position from that of the President. There have been others who have talked repeatedly about the error of our direct military involvement, condemning an historic decision without real reference to the current condition. The President himself, fearing a loss of freedom of action, has not sought to enlist and to crystalize congressional support.

All of these factors have created strong implications that America is a seriously divided Nation as to the critical decisions toward which our continued involvement is pressing us. We should speak with one tongue to our enemies and our constituents and should not permit that to be surmised which is not true. Congressional debate of our policies in Southeast Asia will not be easy—it will require the President to provide a different kind of leadership and the Congressmen to face the real alternatives open to us rather than hinting darkly at them. But the American people desire the guidance such a debate can give, in my opinion, and it cannot fail to impress an enemy hoping for the faltering of American will and purpose.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman for those comments.

The country does seem to be seriously divided or appears so from abroad. I noticed the other day a survey of the other body indicated a substantial number of Members said that they would not today vote for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution if it were brought up. I am not sure they would really take a negative position if the roll were called, but their expression does indeed underscore the fact that this is a tormented nation today. Part of the reason and perhaps the most important reason for the torment is that the Congress itself has not faced up to its responsibility, hammering out on the anvil of democracy, as one author called this representative body, a basic policy on this most important question.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CONABLE. It seems to me, if we are badly divided—and I do not believe we are—that the President ought to know it and the American people ought to know the extent and the seriousness of the division.

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes. I agree.

Mr. CONABLE. But we should not continue to permit implications of division where none may exist. And debate at this time can sharpen our own understanding of the real alternatives open to us.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman.

I am glad to yield now to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROBISON].

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to the gentleman from Illinois that I certainly appreciate the leadership he has taken and given us in this difficult question as to who does or who should make U.S. foreign policy. I know that the gentleman has been investigating this question with his usual scholarly attitude. I have been following, through the recent months, the things he has said and written along these lines and have been attempting to make some inquiry into this question myself. My conclusions are that, at best, we have to say that our Constitution is not definitive in this respect. In fact, instead it seems to invite a rather constant, and I think, self-defeating, struggle for predominance between the President and the Congress in the foreign policymaking field.

But in that struggle, as Prof. Edward S. Corwin pointed out in his book, "The President—Office and Powers," the President does have certain advantages. Corwin lists these as follows:

> The unity of the office, its capacity for secrecy and dispatch, and its superior sources of information; to which it should be added—

Says Mr. Corwin—

> that it is always on hand and ready for action, whereas the Houses of Congress are in adjournment much of the time.

I think, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Corwin wrote those last words at a time before Congress became addicted to these marathon-long sessions in which we now engage. In any event, it seems to me that his listing of the advantages that the President has are well taken, and combined with the fact of the nuclear age in which we live are sufficient to induce me, at least, to say that the President should have the dominant voice over the substantive content of U.S. foreign policy.

And Mr. Speaker, permit me to go on, as Mr. Corwin himself says:

> This is the verdict of history—American foreign policy being a divided power (but) with the lion's share falling usually to the President.

But, since it is a divided power—and since struggles over that power are not only self-defeating but may, indeed, be harmful to the national interest—it ought to be just what a "divided power" implies; that is, a shared responsibility.

And, in my view, for what it is worth, to a much too large extent, President Johnson has not seen his power and responsibilities in Vietnam in such a light, as our involvement in Vietnam has deepened and lengthened. This is why there is no real consensus regarding Vietnam here in Congress, or at home, and this is the source of much of our trouble— the President's trouble, the Nation's trouble, at the moment.

So it is, Mr. Speaker, that I am pleased to join the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] and with my other colleagues in calling for a review of the implications of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution as it is known and to consider whether or not further congressional action is desirable in respect to our policies in Southeast Asia.

In my opinion, this is an effort through which Congress can regain its appropriate position as intended under the Constitution of this country in the foreign policymaking field—that is by returning Congress for today and for tomorrow, also, as an active, responsive and responsible partner with the President in the awesome task of guiding the destiny of this great Nation through the unchartered seas of this dangerous and difficult world.

Of course, there are certain risks involved, I suppose, in any such venture as the gentleman from Illinois suggests, and that I support. But it is my opinion that they are risks which we ought to take, because I strongly believe we go on only at our own peril in continuing to make foreign policy in any other than that joint fashion that the gentleman from Illinois and I are trying to get back to.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for those generous and very helpful comments.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to know what the gentleman from Illinois thinks, as to whether or not the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was permissive to the administration, to the extent that it has gone in the conduct of the war?

Mr. FINDLEY. Here I speak only for myself as the gentleman realizes. But when one examines the legislative history of that resolution and realizes that the debate on it dealt almost entirely with two incidents at sea involving U.S. naval vessels and the attackers, and did not deal with military operations on the land or in the air over Vietnam in any substantial degree, then I think it would be reasonable to conclude that this resolution did not convey adequate authority to the President——

Mr. CARTER. At that time it was never envisioned by this body that such drastic steps would have been taken; is that correct?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am sure that is correct. I hardly believe anyone would dispute that point.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I would ask the gentleman further, since many Members on the floor of the House have recently made the statement that if we withdrew from South Vietnam other countries would lose confidence in us because of the commitments which we have made to that country. What are the commitments which we have made to South Vietnam?

Mr. FINDLEY. The commitments would arise from the SEATO Treaty, and that is not a precise commitment. It provides authority for military operations if certain steps are taken. These steps require consultation with Congress. The legislative history of that treaty showed clearly by testimony of the Secretary of State—at that time Mr. Dulles—that consultation meant the convening of Congress, if the Congress was not then in session. It meant far more than just calling up a committee chairman or two to consult with them about what to do. It meant formal consideration by Congress as to whether actual military measures should be taken in defense of any given ally. These steps have never been properly taken. Even though there could be a possible commitment under the SEATO Treaty, we have not properly invoked that treaty in regard to South Vietnam.

Mr. CARTER. I believe SEATO did take up the possibility of going into South Vietnam, did they not?

Mr. FINDLEY. In one section it did, by providing—did the gentleman say the SEATO treaty?

Mr. CARTER. SEATO itself. Did they not have a meeting concerning intervention in South Vietnam?

Mr. FINDLEY. I must yield to the gentleman for that information. I am sure the gentleman has it.

Mr. CARTER. I believe they did do so, and the majority voted not to intervene.

Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentleman for the excellent work he has done on this subject. It is my feeling also that more debate should be engaged in concerning the commitment of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to add my commendation to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] for his leadership on this question. I am glad to join with him in this resolution, as I have on his previous resolution on the Gulf of Tonkin.

I believe the country wants analyses of the type suggested. It is time the constitutional power of the Congress on the issue of war or peace was invoked.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

At the outset, I would like to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] here for taking the initiative in presenting this very significant resolution. I certainly am pleased to join him in cosponsoring this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, as an economist I have been quite concerned about the fiscal implications resulting from our involvement in South Vietnam. As the Members of this body recognize, nondefense appropriations stem from authorizations made by the respective standing committees. This in fact is not the case, however, in connection with defense appropriations. The actual defense appropriations, or at least those funds which are earmarked toward our efforts in South Vietnam, in a sense represent a fait accompli. In effect, the administration or the executive branch of Government comes to the Congress and says we have so many thousand troops in South Vietnam and we need x billions of dollars. It seems to me that this open-ended fiscal situation is causing extensive economic problems for us here in the United States. We are confronted at present with an administrative budget for fiscal 1968 which has a potential deficit approaching $30 billion. With this we are seeing inflationary pressures generated and are faced with the possibility of a tax increase.

Of course, it might be argued that Congress, after all, can turn down defense appropriations requests. It seems to me this is not a reasonable suggestion. I believe that most Members of Congress, whether they are in sympathy with or against our involvement in South Vietnam, realize if we were to vote down the defense appropriation, we might well leave many thousands of American young men stranded without support in South Vietnam.

As has been suggested by previous speakers, the adoption of this resolution will restore to the Congress the responsibility which I feel we have to the people of the United States. Through the dialog which passage of this resolution will provide, Congress will determine whether or not we should be involved in South Vietnam, and if so, the extent of our involvement.

This, in turn, in my opinion, would give to the people of the United States a more meaningful fiscal policy, one which responds to their wishes and desires as expressed by their elected representatives in Congress.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman. I am sure he would agree with me that once this procedure is completed and Congress does speak through legislative language, it would then follow almost automatically that our Nation would get its priorities in the right order, put first things first and delay until a later day some things that we can ill afford at this pressing moment in our history.

But lacking this fundamental decision by the Congress, we tend to drift into one problem after another.

Former President Eisenhower said quite wisely the other day, addressing a group of freshmen Republicans, that wars of gradualism cannot succeed. We have had gradualism in this conflict mainly because the Congress has not faced up to its responsibilities.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. Indeed, I am very glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I would like to also join my colleagues in commending the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] on bringing this important matter to the floor of the House by special order.

I would also like to say, this discussion is so timely in that we have young Americans who are fighting and dying in Vietnam at this very moment and we are spending well over $2 billion a month in Vietnam winning the war. I think it is very much in order to discuss and review our policies in Vietnam. So, I join with what my colleagues have said. I think this is a very timely subject to bring now to the floor of the House

Mr. FINDLEY. I appreciate what the gentleman has said very much.

I would like to reiterate that this is a bipartisan move and that four Democrats have joined 46 Republicans in sponsoring the resolutions today and I hope that others from the gentleman's side of the aisle will see fit to join in cosponsoring the resolutions at a later time.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CARTER. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the war is supposed to continue for quite awhile. May I ask the distinguished gentleman from Illinois how long he thinks it will last? About how long does he think it will go on according to his best information?

Mr. FINDLEY. I do not have the remotest idea. I hear estimates ranging from 5 years on up. The other day I heard a distinguished general who was asked at what point in the war he felt we were then in—this was a couple of months ago—and he said:

> Well, if I were to compare it with the Civil War, I would say that we are in the 1862 period.

So you see in his judgment the years and the lives we have invested in Vietnam up to now are simply a beginning when one considers the long stretch that it might eventually involve.

Mr. CARTER. If the gentleman will yield further, I believe it has been stated by General Greene that the war would last perhaps 8 or 8½ years and by General Walt perhaps 12 to 15 years. I heard him make that statement, I believe, a few days ago—and at a cost of even $20 billion a year and 6,000 men dead perhaps per year. That would be 60,000 in a 10-year period which I think is perhaps the median or an average, with perhaps five times that many wounded. It looks like it is going to be an extremely expensive war, does it not?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes. And I will say that if these estimates are anywhere near correct, the country is in for a period of continuing torment unless the Congress does face up to its responsibility, and through this legislative process, comes forth with a decision on policy in that part of the world.

Mr. CARTER. In other words, it is time for a reevaluation. I should like to ask, if we do win in Vietnam, what will be the situation then? What will we win? What will be the disposition of our troops there? Will we continue to garrison the country? What will be the approximate expenditures after that?

Mr. FINDLEY. I hope the administration, and perhaps the Congress, has done more planning and engaged in more foresight on that question than I think has been the case. I am afraid that we have moved from crisis to crisis as this war of gradualism has progressed, without trying to look into the distant future to see what responsibilities will fall on us under various eventualities.

It has occurred to me that the lawyer's game, as I think it is sometimes called, should be employed in regard to Vietnam. In other words, ask the question, What comes next? Then, when you get the answer to that question, Then what comes next? And so on.

Vietnam is a question of great complexity, and it should not be left merely to the Executive to decide.

Mr. CARTER. If the gentleman will yield further——

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. CARTER. Our actions in Vietnam might be merely a precedent. We have troubles also in Thailand, as I recall.

Suppose, then, that we have a more serious rebellion there. Then we would have to commit more troops perhaps in Thailand. Is that true?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes, that is very true. I think the gentleman will agree with me that we ought to clarify the question as to why we are engaged in military operations. There is a lot of vague, loose talk, generalizations about self-determination, guaranteeing the right of free elections, and that sort of thing. I wonder if really that is the reason we are there.

If we are to take on the responsibility to sacrifice, say, 15,000 American lives in order to guarantee free elections in a remote part of the world, and have no broader, higher objective or justification in mind, then we are in for an endless, costly, and bloody task.

Mr. CARTER. In response to the "free elections," I would say that if we are there for free elections, then I should like to ask why we did not have such an election in 1956 when we were supposed to, according to the Geneva accords?

Mr. FINDLEY. The Geneva accords, I believe, did provide for free elections throughout the entire area. They were not held. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. CARTER. Also at that time it was to have been determined whether South Vietnam became a part of North Vietnam. At that time it was estimated, was it not, that 70 percent of the South Vietnamese would have voted to go with North Vietnam?

Mr. FINDLEY. I think the gentleman's recollection on that point is correct.

Mr. CARTER. Then it seems to me we are on very untenable grounds, and that actually it is of great interest to the United States that we should sacrifice so many men and so much of our wealth. Our men certainly could enjoy living here, and we could use the money which is being blown away, never to be used again, the wealth of our country.

I thank the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

The names of those who are cosponsors of the resolution sponsored by the gentleman from Massachusetts and myself are as follows:

Joseph P. Addabbo, Democrat, of New York.

Mark Andrews, Republican, of North Dakota.

Edward G. Biester, Jr., Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Laurence J. Burton, Republican, of Utah.

Daniel E. Button, Republican, of New York.

Tim Lee Carter, Republican, of Kentucky.

Don H. Clausen, Republican, of California.

James C. Cleveland, Republican, of New Hampshire.

Harold R. Collier, Republican, of Illinois.

Barber B. Conable, Jr., Republican, of New York.

William C. Cramer, Republican, of Florida.

Thomas B. Curtis, Republican, of Missouri.

John J. Duncan, Republican, of Tennessee.

Florence P. Dwyer, Republican, of New Jersey.

John N. Erlenborn, Republican, of Illinois.

Edwin D. Eshleman, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

George A. Goodling, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Gilbert Gude, Republican, of Maryland.

Edward J. Gurney, Republican, of Florida.

Seymour Halpern, Republican, of New York.

Frank J. Horton, Republican, of New York.

William L. Hungate, Democrat, of Missouri.

Robert W. Kastenmeier, Democrat, of Wisconsin.

Hastings Keith, Republican, of Massachusetts.

Theodore R. Kupferman, Republican, of New York.

Sherman P. Lloyd, Republican, of Utah.

Robert McClory, Republican, of Illinois.

Clark MacGregor, Republican, of Minnesota.

William S. Mailliard, Republican, of California.

Charles McC. Mathias, Republican, of Maryland.

Thomas J. Meskill, Republican, of Connecticut.

Chester L. Mize, Republican, of Kansas.

Rogers C. B. Morton, Republican, of Maryland.

Charles A. Mosher, Republican, of Ohio.

Richard L. Ottinger, Democrat, of New York.

Thomas M. Pelly, Republican, of Washington.

Albert H. Quie, Republican, of Minnesota.

Howard W. Robison, Republican, of New York.

Donald Rumsfeld, Republican, of Illinois.

Herman T. Schneebeli, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

William L. Scott, Republican, of Virginia.

Robert T. Stafford, Republican, of Vermont.

William A. Steiger, Republican, of Wisconsin.

Vernon W. Thomson, Republican, of Wisconsin.

Charles W. Whalen, Jr., Republican, of Ohio.

Lawrence G. Williams, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Larry Winn, Jr., Republican, of Kansas.

John M. Zwach, Republican, of Minnesota.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OTTINGER. I would like to congratulate my colleague on the foresighted resolution he drafted and introduced and in which I joined him. I think it is time that the Congress reassert itself in this most important area. While Vietnam is a subject about which our conversation in the corridors is dominated, our discussions in the House on this vital subject have been sparse indeed.

I think it is time that we looked into the questions raised by the gentleman. The resolution is a far more affirmative step than any we have taken in the past. I am very pleased to be associated with the gentleman in the well in offering this resolution.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for his contribution.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to demonstrate that the American public is highly concerned and worried about the scope and direction of U.S. foreign policy. Most Congressmen and Senators have been flooded with constituent mail expressing dissatisfaction with current U.S. policies, especially those directed at Southeast Asia. They are worried, also, about the long-term implications of new processes of policymaking which have developed in the past few years—new processes which seem to bypass the Congress.

Add to this the requests by voters for referendums, the dialog in the mass media, and even demonstrations, and the picture becomes startlingly clear—the public feels a need for more involvement in foreign policy determination.

The Congress is the most practical and effective organization through which the exercise of governmental power may be held responsible to the American people.

THE CONGRESS HAS NOT BEEN A FULL PARTNER IN FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINATION

Under Secretary Katzenbach stated before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations—August 17, 1967—that "Congress has been a full partner" with the President in foreign policy determination. Most other observers, however, disagree. They note that the Congress, as the most direct representative of the people, has not been able to fill its role as it should. Although they cite the usual reasons why a legislative body is sometimes precluded from exercising minute control over executive policy, press and academic observers note many other reasons why Congress has been prevented from exercising its constitutionally prescribed powers.

REASONS WHY CONGRESS HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER FOREIGN POLICY

A recent California study—Commonwealth Club of California, "Powers of the President in Foreign Affairs," 1966—noted that:

> The power of the President is more strengthened (in relation to that of Congress) by the fact that his action . . . has a *conclusive character* (emphasis added) because the people have it right away on television and radio, as well as in vivid newspaper headlines.

This has the effect of rendering fait accompli the President's actions, and thus preventing congressional initiative.

In Senate subcommittee testimony, Prog. Alfred deGrazis recently noted that in direct contrast to the past—where the academic community looked approvingly toward the President as the "proper" center of power—today most writings call for increased vigor and initiative in the Congress as a way of keeping American government responsible and democratic.

In a recent conference on the role of the public in foreign affairs, Professor Hans Morganthau commented on the role of Congress in relation to the President in foreign affairs:

> In former times I tried to admonish a number of Presidents to use their enormous power against an obstructionist Congress in order to put American foreign policy on the right course. Today it is necessary to admonish a subservient Congress to make use of its power of criticism, delay, and if necessary even obstruction, in order to prevent pernicious tendencies in American foreign policy to come to fruition. But the Congress today is subservient, to an unprecedented degree, to the power of the Executive. (From Conference Papers, "The Role of the Public in the Formation of American Foreign Policy," University of Illinois, December 3-4, 1965, page 32.)

Other criticisms of the inactive role of Congress in determining foreign policy are:

> (1) although the Congress has always been in a reactive role to Presidential initiative—for obvious reasons—today the Congress is not really given a fair chance to react as it should in order to fulfill its role for democratic government.
>
> (2) the role of Congress results in the final analysis in providing a "cloak of legitimacy for what the *President* decides to do". (Carroll, *The House of Representatives and Foreign Affairs*, page 364.)
>
> (3) congressional review of policies and oversight of their administration is called "ritualistic". (Conference Papers, page 33.)
>
> (4) with specific regard to the House of Representatives, its chief role in the determination of foreign policy is confined to foreign aid votes, and even there to an insignificant, frustrated, and inadequate review. (Carroll, page 356.)

In summary, most observers note a general decline in the role of Congress in shaping American foreign policy.

A CALL FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

In this time of national emergency and world crisis, the Congress must reassert itself to obtain its rightful role in foreign policymaking. The Founding Fathers noted that the Presidency was the logical office to manage U.S. foreign relations—primarily because of the "secrecy, unity, and dispatch" with which that office could operate. Yet "secrecy" and "dispatch" pose grave problems by their very nature for the continued existence of effective democratic government in the United States. The public must be kept informed on foreign commitments, and public opinion must not only be respected but heeded.

And the Congress is the only logical place where public opinion can be brought effectively to bear on the policymaking process. It may be customary to note that Presidents follow opinion polls, but Presidents are not as bound as is the Congress to follow the dictates of the public will.

> The most important action that the public takes in effecting (sic) foreign policy is in selecting candidates and sending them to Washington. (Conference Papers, page 35.)

The public has little if any influence over appointed officers of the executive branch, except through congressional review and oversight.

Under Secretary Katzenbach stated on August 17 that:

> It is, therefore, as important that the Congress fill its constitutional role as it is that the President fill his.

This frank acknowledgment serves as a further indication of the importance of congressional initiative in foreign affairs.

The "power of the sword" is the most awesome and fundamental of governmental powers. And the primary control of the "power of the sword" rests with the Congress. Thus it becomes absolutely necessary that the Congress fulfill fully and vigorously its constitutional role in order that democratic government may continue to exist.

It is obvious that the attention of the Congress be focused upon the long-range aspects of foreign policy. The role of Congress, in summary, must be one of monitoring, testing, criticising, and overseeing the policies and actions of the executive branch.

The crucial question is this: is the continued existence of democratic government—control by the people of governmental power—to depend solely upon election returns for one candidate every 4 years?

The Founding Fathers had a philosophy which we could wisely follow—it was the power of Government is too dangerous to trust to only one set of hands, and that concentrated power tended to result in tyrannical actions. Especially is this true with the war-making powers. Contrary to the old adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth," the cauldon of American democratic Government depends upon governmental power being exercised by the President and the Congress, each acting coordinately with the other. Only in this sort of governmental system—proved by 178 years of experience—can democracy safely survive.

The safety of American democratic Government, then plainly rests in democratic controls over governmental power which rest with Congress.

Congress must assert itself in foreign policy determination, and exercise its constitutionally prescribed, democratic responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

U.S. FINANCIAL POLICY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. **PICKLE**. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I addressed the House and reminded my colleagues that the President has only such moneys as we, the Congress, give him and that it was not proper for us to criticize the President for big spending when we, the Congress, had appropriated every dollar which the President has to spend.

During the past several days some Members of Congress have been saying that they would not vote for any surtax until the President reduces his spending. And some Members have charged that they would not vote for any tax increase until we have closed all tax loopholes.

The impression has been, Mr. Speaker, that the President is doing all the spending, that he controls the tax levels, and that he is the one who has caused the $28 billion deficit. You and I know, Mr. Speaker, that the President has only such moneys as the Congress provides him. The President does not have a dollar to spend unless we authorize it.

We, the Congress, have done that and it hardly becomes us to yell, "Stop the spending," when we have OK'd the moneys to spend.

I also told the House, Mr. Speaker, that the President has refused, the past 2 years, at least, to spend all that we have appropriated, and he received a lot of criticism in doing it from the very people who cry most now for no taxes.

It is easy to say, "Stop the spending" or "Close the tax loopholes," but if we say that, we ought to give leadership by pointing out where and how. We should reduce domestic spending, but we ought to give some direction to the President on how it should be done. If we do not, then I do not think we have the right to criticize the President for making reductions where he thinks best. But I prophesy, Mr. Speaker, that if or when the President recommends these reductions, you will find that the very people yelling most for reductions will be the ones who will then cry out against the President's proposals to reduce.

Personally, I do not see that Congress has any alternative under present conditions except to reduce expenditures and to pass the surtax, which the President has recommended.

It seems to me that our economy requires that this be done. However, I think that this is a good time to remind the American people of some fundamental facts about our economy and our prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, after limping through 8 years of Republican rule, the American people have made an amazing discovery: economic recessions are probably not inevitable; the American economy can be guided and strengthened in strong outline and form.

We are now in the 79th month of the most remarkable period of economic growth in our history. And we know that this progress did not just happen: It is the result of the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, and President Kennedy.

If our economy has proven to be a winner in our terms and our times, it is because of firm leadership and careful planning of the Democratic administration.

This Congress now has the opportunity to continue our economic advance by supporting the President's tax bill. And in our deliberations on this bill, we would do well to keep in mind that the man who has proposed it is the same man who has guided our economy so well since 1963.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard all kinds of small and lame excuses from some Members of Congress on the reasons why they are opposed to the administration's tax surcharge proposal.

I am speaking, in particular, about the false argument that if the administration would cut spending, a tax increase would not be necessary. This is not an argument; it is political shilly-shallying—nothing more and nothing less.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, that it is up to Congress—not the President to establish budget priorities or to authorize the administration to make cuts in its programs.

We all know that the President cannot spend a dime unless we in Congress authorize him to do so. And to argue that no tax surcharge should be voted until the President cuts expenditures is simply an empty excuse for not facing this issue squarely.

President Johnson does not relish proposing a tax increase. But he has done so for one good and simple reason: Our economy requires such action and requires it now.

In my opinion, without a surtax we face a grave possibility of rapidly escalating prices, wages and interests rates that cause inflation. And as the New York Times pointed out yesterday:

> The evidence to support the fears of overheating (in the economy) is beginning to trickle in and has persuaded almost all the major government experts, an apparent majority of economists and a great many of the most influential leaders.

Can we in Congress fail to react positively to avoid the terrible dangers of inflation? I think we do so only at the Nation's peril. We ought not to allow a $28 billion deficit to remain on the books—by ignoring it. That is not the responsible thing to do.

We must act—promptly and decisively—to provide the administration the tools it needs to avoid runaway inflation. Our choice is not necessarily what we want; it is what we must do.

This tax surcharge represents a 10 percent tax on an individual's total income tax payment. It is not a prohibitive tax; it is not a tax on the poor. It is a fair and reasonable program, well within the means of the people. In reality, it is only a 1 percent tax.

These have been 79 consecutive months of prosperity—free of either recession or runaway inflation. And most important of all: This has been a truly national prosperity that benefits all segments of society and reaches all sections of our country.

Consider the following facts:

Under President Johnson's leadership some 5½ million Americans have moved above the poverty line since 1963.

Nearly 6½ million more people are at work, and at higher paying jobs than ever before.

The average American's income, after taxes and corrected for price change, has increased by 17 percent, and American families have increased their net financial wealth by $160 billion.

Unemployment has dropped by over 1 million, and the number of long-term unemployed by 611,000.

Total wages and salaries paid have grown by 32 percent, and profits, after taxes, have risen by 34 percent.

In today's prices, the gross national product, in the past 3½ years alone, is up almost $120 billion, or 18 percent—almost as much as during the entire 8-year period of the Eisenhower administration.

Now, these splendid economic achievements did not just happen.

We know that in 1964 and 1965, we enjoyed a healthy economic advance triggered largely by the President's tax cut. This action supplied extra purchasing power which flowed into markets for goods and services, creating jobs and adding to wage and profit incomes.

With the excise tax reductions of 1965, fiscal policy continued to be stimulative. But with a growing commitment in Vietnam, we experienced a period of hectic economic advance in late 1965 and early 1966. The economy was exceeding reasonable speed limits and the brakes had to be applied.

They were promptly applied—both through monetary and tax measures recommended by President Johnson in January 1966 and promptly enacted by Congress. The overall pace of economic advance was reduced to a reasonable rate by summer 1966.

Yet, there was also the problem of a capital boom that was seemingly immune to restraining policy actions. This boom placed intolerable pressures on wages and prices in capital goods and industries, and contributed to a huge upswing in imports.

President Johnson's fiscal program last fall turned the tide of these interest rates and financial pressures. The capital boom was finally brought to a halt by a combination of forces—the suspension of tax incentives which Congress enacted last October, the direct and indirect impact of tight money, the more moderately paced economic activity of the Nation, and the related lessening of inflation worries.

These policies have worked—and worked well. The proof is that our economic situation today is sound and consistent.

Over the past two quarters, the total production sold to final users—consumers, homebuyers, business for fixed investment, and net sales abroad—rose by $15½ billion a quarter.

This rate of advance exceeds the increase in buying by final users in any single year in our history. In only two previous quarters since 1951 has the growth of final sales been greater.

There is every reason to expect further gains in consumer spending. After reaching a high point in the first quarter of 1967, the consumer savings rate has begun to decline, although it is still well above its normal level. Over the past 5 months, retail sales have advanced an average of almost 1 percent a month. And just recently, General Motors predicted that car sales in 1968 will push past the 9-million mark if the economy continues on its present course.

And recent indicators show that the economy will be strong through 1968.

The overall unemployment rate dropped again in August—to 3.8 percent.

Payroll employment in August was up a very large 300,000—more than half of it in manufacturing—bringing payroll jobs 1.9 million above a year earlier.

Average hours of work were up for the second consecutive month.

New orders remain high—exceeding shipments in each of the last 3 months, so that order backlogs have been increasing, and are essentially back to their all-time peak in 1966.

We have avoided inflation. We have bypassed recession. And we have maintained a strong and balanced course through the tricky waters of a booming prosperity.

But without a tax increase and a restraint on expenditures, there is a real danger that demand will expand more rapidly than production can match, producing strong inflationary pressures and renewed credit stringency. With President Johnson's tax program, there is a good prospect of keeping the growth of demand in pace with production.

Mr. Speaker, let us stop sidestepping this issue. Time is on the side of inflation—inflation that can wreck all the strong economic gains we have achieved in the past few years. If for no other reason, the surtax is vitally important to our continued efforts in Vietnam.

The administration's leadership of the economy has not failed us yet. Let the Congress not fail to do our part to keep the economy sound by supporting the very necessary tax surcharge proposal.

I think the American people have every reason to feel confident in the way in which President Johnson has guided the economy.

The President and the Democratic Party can go proudly to the American voter next year as the leader and the party that has provided the most remarkable period of economic growth in American history.

CONTINUE JOB CORPS—INCREASE NUMBERS

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my own strong endorsement to Senator JACKSON's proposal, described editorially in the Washington Post, that the Job Corps conservation centers be continued without curtailment. Events of the summer have, of course, highlighted the magnitude of our urban problems. Nevertheless, it would be a serious mistake, in my view, to cut back on the program which places very disadvantaged youngsters in conservation centers in our rural areas.

As the editorial points out, the removal of impoverished youngsters from "undesirable urban environments to small conservation centers with helpful staffs is said to have given many youths new motivation." As a matter of fact, Job Corps records show this to be true.

Indeed, while some people honestly believed that it was a mistake to place young men in surroundings far removed in distance and in kind from his own urban environment, these fears have proven to be virtually groundless. After all, the squalid and oppressive atmosphere of slum life is frequently a principal cause of the hopelessness which breeds the unmotivated dropout.

I am reminded of the story—a true story—of the Job Corpsman who entered military service after his stint at a conservation center. On his very first military leave he did not go home. Instead, he traveled a far greater distance to the Job Corps center which signified to him a hope and happiness he had never before enjoyed. This poignant story says a great deal, Mr. Speaker. It emphasizes the great need to continue centers where youngsters staring poverty and urban squalor in the face can discover new hope.

Once located in a conservation center the corpsman begins a wideranging series of experiences designed to instill motivation, skills and an enthusiasm for productive citizenship. In my own State, as in virtually every State in which a conservation center is located, corpsmen have donated their skills and their enthusiasm in service to urgent community needs. They have fought forest fires and floods, they have volunteered to hunt for persons missing in the wilderness, they have built roads and trails and campgrounds. And while they perform these services they are learning firsthand the satisfaction of constructive action.

Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps conservation centers blend very nicely the problems of youngsters in need with the opportunities for human renewal. I hope the Congress will provide for the continuation of these great reservoirs of hope in our rural areas.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the Washington Post editorial at this point in the Record:

Job Corps Conservation

> Senator Jackson has made an impressive plea for continuation of the Job Corps Conservation Centers without curtailment. The Job Corps is about equally divided between Conservation Centers and Urban Centers, with some units in each category serving as Demonstration Centers. In reporting the so-called Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, however, the Labor and Public Welfare Committee eliminated the clause under which 40 per cent of the male Job Corps enrollees must be assigned to the conservation centers. Fearing that this would lead to a change of policy, Senator Jackson is seeking to restore the requirement.
>
> We think there is good reason to keep the 83 rural centers in operation. They have taken the least educated youths entering the Job Corps. About 35 per cent of them cannot read or write. The literacy of another 40 per cent is below the fourth grade level. Yet these youngsters have made remarkable educational gains and have been taught manual skills in the construction of trails, campgrounds, buildings, wildlife projects and so forth. Their removal from undesirable urban environment to small conservation centers with helpful staffs is said to have given many youths new motivation.
>
> Senator Jackson and others have described these centers as the most successful part of the Job Corps program. Yet they operate with a lower-than-average cost per enrollee, and the work they perform has obvious value. In many instances the youth in the Conservation Centers have assisted local communities afflicted by fires, tornadoes and floods, and their work in fighting forest fires has been outstanding.
>
> Congress should not take a chance on being misunderstood by eliminating the clause which has kept an even balance between urban and rural Job Corps centers.

ALIEN STRIKEBREAKERS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Burton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the AFL–CIO executive council in its recent fall meeting called upon the U.S. Attorney General to take whatever steps are necessary to halt the use of foreign labor in strikebreaking.

Since I feel certain this is a situation about which many of us are not aware, Mr. Speaker, I include the text of the statement in the Record, as follows:

Alien Strike Breakers

(Statement by the AFL–CIO executive council, New York, N.Y., Sept. 11, 1967)

> Down through the years the AFL–CIO has consistently urged and supported a liberal immigration policy which welcomes to our nation's shores, without undue restrictions, those who look to America as a land of freedom and opportunity and who seek to live here and share in its blessings. At the same time, it has consistently insisted that this policy must not be the means by which the just and proper interests and opportunities of the American worker are endangered.
>
> Therefore, the AFL–CIO has supported a liberal immigration policy but has opposed any immigration legislation or policy which would permit the use of immigrant labor to depress American standards of wages, benefits and conditions. In that connection, it has insisted that there is no room for a law or a policy which would permit immigrants, not yet citizens, who hold entry and resident visas, to act as strike breakers in areas where a bona fide labor dispute exists.
>
> This is the very situation that now exists in Texas and California where alien holders of Form 1–151 visas (commonly referred to as "green cards") have been hired and exploited in fields where American workers are now on strike. This intolerable injustice to the American worker is becoming more critical daily and demands immediate correction.
>
> On June 7, 1967, the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice enacted a regulation designed to eliminate this practice. We believed this regulation would prove effective. However, the manner in which the Immigration and Naturalization Service interpreted this regulation for enforcement purposes has rendered it impotent and devoid of meaning. It has created a situation as bad or even worse than formerly existed in the old bracero days under Public Law 78. Under this interpretation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, foreign strike breakers are not in violation of the regulation unless they came directly from a foreign land for the specific purpose of taking a job in a struck field. Therefore, "green card" holders already in the states are being used as strike breakers, and growers, who are not struck, are importing workers who are then transferred into strike-bound fields.
>
> Strike breaking proscription against aliens should be complete and total, with no room for technical evasion or permissive avoidance. Once a strike has been certified by the Secretary of Labor, no holder of Form 1–151 visa, regardless of the time of his entry or the purpose of his entry, should be allowed to offer himself for employment within the area of a labor dispute so long as the strike exists.
>
> The Executive Council therefore requests the Attorney General of the United States to initiate such steps as may be necessary and appropriate to assure that alien labor will not be permitted, at any time, in any place and in any form, to be used as a strike breaking technique and to effect a strict enforcement of this policy in the field, with adequate and efficient personnel.

TEAMWORK: THE FARM BUREAU AND THE RIGHTWING

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Resnick] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, for the past 3 months I have been on a journey of discovery into the world of the Farm Bureau. When I began, I had no idea where my curiosity would take me or what I would find along the way. But it has turned out to be a most productive, fascinating, and informative experience. Because the Farm Bureau is a registered lobby, because it is tax exempt, and because it is a wealthy and powerful force in vast areas of our Nation—in other words, because it has a public responsibility—I have made it a point to share my discoveries with the American people.

I would at this time like to present a further report on the Farm Bureau, and shed light on a particular aspect of its activity which most Americans are completely ignorant about.

Nothing I have learned has disturbed me more than the Farm Bureau's active role in the political indoctrination of our rural youth, and its unholy alliance with spokesmen of the radical right wing in the United States.

We have already examined the multibillion-dollar business operations of the Farm Bureau, but it would be a deadly error to assume that the Farm Bureau is only interested in making money. It is doing a lot more than that. It has built up an organization which reaches directly and deeply into the heart of rural America. It has created the very things a propagandist needs most: an audience, and the channels to reach that audience.

The Farm Bureau uses this readymade network to spread ultra-right-wing propaganda. And it employs the most experienced and articulate spokesmen to accomplish this. The targets are generally high school juniors and seniors, handpicked for their intelligence and leadership qualities. Very often, school principals are used as unwitting tools to help in the selection of students. Here is how this system works.

The Farm Bureau, in most States, sponsors well-planned, well-financed youth conferences each year. They go under several names, but most are called "citizenship seminars," or "freedom forums." They last from 2 to 5 days. Each county Farm Bureau unit is told to select two or three top students, whom it sponsors.

The cost of sponsoring each student is generally underwritten by the county Farm Bureau alone—with tax-exempt funds—or in cooperation with local businessmen or civic groups, like the chamber of commerce. Conferences are widely publicized in the State Farm Bureau publication, county Farm Bureau publications, local newspapers and radio stations—via local Farm Bureau publicity chairmen in each county—and local speakers' bureaus. Even Farm Bureau insurance salesmen get into the act. This publicity machine, by the way, operates before the conference and after it to publicize the message of the speakers. The attending students, furthermore, are expected to return home to their communities as "leaders" to conduct similar programs on their own.

These conferences consist of a series of lectures and discussions, augmented by a wide variety of visual aids, including slides, films, charts, and literature.

Who does the Farm Bureau select to give these lectures? Political scientists? Historians? Prominent journalists? Recognized experts on government? Present or former officials? Politicians?

And what kind of lectures are given? What views of our Government are presented? Are these true seminars, which promote thought and discussion by the students, after they are given a balanced picture representing different shades of opinion? Do these seminars deal with our Nation's pressing social, economic, military, and political problems? Is there debate and discussion about this country's goals and needs?

If even one of these questions could be answered affirmatively, we might accept these so-called "citizenship seminars" or "freedom forums" for what they are claimed to be: efforts to promote better citizenship. But the answer to every one of these questions is a resounding "no." So once again I ask, who are the lecturers, and what do they teach?

The only people selected more carefully than the students are the lecturers. They consist of the most active and best-known spokesmen for the far right in the United States. A careful examination of the speakers at these Farm Bureau-sponsored youth conferences reveals that the same half dozen names keep reappearing. Like the Horsemen of the Apocalypse, they keep showing up together at Farm Bureau "citizenship seminars," no matter where they are held, from Texas to North Dakota. They supposedly preach "patriotism." Actually, they preach a political doctrine calculated to sow distrust of our Nation, its policies, and its leaders. This same handful of persons has been traveling from State to State each summer for about 6 years, when this particular Farm Bureau program appears to have moved into high gear.

Let us take a close look to see who the Farm Bureau is using to mold the minds of thousands of rural youth, using the taxpayers' money:

Dr. George Benson has spoken at Farm Bureau youth seminars this year in North Dakota, South Dakota, Missouri, and Kansas, to mention just a few. Let us examine Dr. Benson's credentials. From 1936 until recently, he was president of Harding College in Searcy, Ark. He is now president emeritus of Harding College, which is recognized as the academic center of the rightwing. Its national education program generates a torrent of pamphlets, tapes, films, speeches, newspaper columns, and other propaganda material. It is also the home of other active rightwing figures, including many John Birchers. The national education program's "educational" materials are used extensively at the Farm Bureau youth seminars.

Harding's national education program claims that Dr. Benson and his colleagues have addressed Farm Bureau organizations in "practically every State." Benson's column has appeared in Farm Bureau newspapers in Missouri, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Virginia, Kansas, Tennessee, and other States.

While it is not known whether Dr. Benson is a card-carrying member of the John Birch Society, he and the Birchers have a mutual admiration for each other. A front-page article by Benson in the April 1960 issue of the National Education Program Letter stated:

> Any American who loves freedom and is willing to work, work, work, to protect it can find intelligent direction and companionship in the John Birch Society group.

The next month John Birch president, Robert Welch, returned the favor. In the society's bulletin he wrote:

> Down in Searcy, Arkansas, Dr. George Benson and his associates have long been in the forefront of those most ably promoting better understanding and support of the Americanist philosophy and sociological system. One of their most important activities is the National Education Program.

Dr. Benson served on the policy committee of "For America," under the cochairmanship of Dean Clarence Manion, a prominent John Birch leader; received an award from the rightwing Congress of Freedom in 1959; has personally received nine awards from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge; is chancellor of the Oklahoma Christian College, home of the American Citizenship Center—which Benson refers to as the "counterpart" of the National Education Program—and has frequently shared platforms with almost every prominent rightwing extremist in this country.

Benson is one of the Farm Bureau's favorite and most active lecturers.

Another of the busiest men on the Farm Bureau's traveling lecture team is Dr. Clifton Ganus, Benson's successor as president of Harding College. Ganus lists many of the same credentials as Benson, and has been frequently honored by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. This summer, Ganus spoke at many Farm Bureau youth seminars, including North Dakota, Missouri, Michigan, and Texas.

A man seen even more often than Dr. Benson at Farm Bureau seminars is W. Cleon Skousen. Skousen claims to give about 300 speeches per year, many to Farm Bureau groups. In addition, he often lectures for Fred Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Project Alert, and other well-known forums of the far right.

A former FBI agent for 16 years, Skousen was fired as chief of police of Salt Lake City by Mayor J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah. Mayor Lee, himself an endorser of the John Birch Society and a member of its publication's advisory committee—which hardly makes him a flaming liberal—had this to say about Skousen:

> That man is an incipient Hitler. Both his motives and his means are open to question. He ran the police department in Salt Lake City in exactly the same manner as the Communists in Russia operate their government. He is a master of half-truths.

Skousen has written "The Naked Communist" and other anti-Communist books.

In recent months, he has spoken to Farm Bureau adult and youth seminars in North and South Dakota, Missouri, Texas, Kansas, and a number of other States.

In a Seattle speech a few years ago, Skousen referred to the 26 new African nations as "170 million backward, uneducated, uncivilized primitive people—well, let's call it by name—basically second-generation cannibals."

He referred to their delegates at the United Nations as "U.N. witch doctors."

Another frequent Farm Bureau lecturer is Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi. Since his arrival in the United States from Hungary in 1940, this self-proclaimed expert has lectured and written on the threat of communism, external and internal. He has been frequently quoted in the John Birch Bulletin. He has referred to an article by former Presidential adviser, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as "the plan, the scheme, and the schedule of establishing socialism in our country."

Skousen is affiliated with the American Opinion Speakers Bureau, a John Birch Society adjunct.

One of the most active of all Farm Bureau lecturers is John Noble. Noble has addressed more than 25 Farm Bureau youth seminars in the past few years. Certainly, a man invited so often to influence the minds of our best youth must have something really important to say. Noble's claim to face is that he was once a prisoner of the Communists in East Germany and Russia. He has been telling his story ever since, in writing, lectures, and records, although his recollections of his experiences vary from telling to telling. He operates the Faith and Freedom Forum, a company which distributes his story and the materials of other rightwing propagandists.

Noble also proposes breaking off diplomatic relations with Russia, economic blockade of the Soviet Union, and other similar policies. He was the featured speaker in 1966 at a meeting of INKO—investigate now, King and others—a John Birch-supported, anti-civil-rights group.

This is just a partial listing. Virtually all other speakers at Farm Bureau youth "citizenship seminars" have the same impeccable rightwing credentials. For example, Melvin Munn, the former Texas grocery clerk who is now heard daily over more than 435 radio stations on H. L. Hunt's "Life Line." Unsuspecting Farm Bureau members and parents are told in Farm Bureau publications that these speakers are people who will give the student "a better understanding of the American way of life"; outstanding lecturers "on the present trends jeopardizing the very foundation of our American heritage"; "recognized authorities on the American system" who deplore "spoon-fed socialism."

These "citizenship seminars" are official Farm Bureau functions. For example, the statewide youth meeting held at Rock Springs Ranch, Kans., in August 1966, was endorsed and affirmed by the voting delegates representing the State's 105 county farm bureaus at the 47th annual meeting of Kansas Farm Bureaus in Topeka, November 3, 1965. Benson and Skousen headed the list of speakers at this seminar, attended by 280 high school juniors and seniors. In its official statement, Farm Bureau leaders said:

> Today our American way of life faces the most serious challenge it has ever encountered—a challenge that rejects our concepts of individual responsibility, that flaunts our basic moral standards, that refuses to honor sacred pledges and promises, and one that does not recognize God as supreme. This is the challenge of communism.
>
> We are disturbed by the apathy and complacency with which many of our citizens view the advance of communism and the infiltration of communists and communistic sympathizers into our public life. We particularly deplore the socialistic trends and the expansion of welfare statistism which are all too evident in all segments of our society and government.
>
> Young people have a special stake in the outcome of current attempts by some people to change our economic system and our form of self-government. They need to learn the great truths underlying our American system and participate actively in programs designed to strengthen it.

Thus, the Farm Bureau manages to firmly implant the idea that Government programs to help the poor and underprivileged are contrary to the will of God, since these efforts have been brought about by unnamed "Communists" in our Government, and Communists do not recognize God. Therefore, God-fearing Americans are those who support good, old-fashioned free enterprise which—in plain Farm Bureau language—puts God squarely against price supports and production controls.

What is happening is obvious. The State Farm Bureaus are using their tremendous communications-distribution network and economic reserves to propagate an extremist, reactionary economic and political philosophy to a whole generation of young farm leaders, in the disguise of "citizenship" and "patriotism." And the taxpayer is picking up a good part of the bill.

The Farm Bureau's ties to the rightwing go beyond the speakers they present to their youth. Many Farm Bureau publications which are sent to all members carry the columns of such rightwing writers as Tom Anderson, a member of the executive committee of the John Birch Society, of the National Advisory Committee of the Christian Crusade, and the policy committee of the Liberty Lobby. A recent article—July 1967—in the Missouri Farm Bureau News most favorably reviewed a book by Mr. Anderson, extensively quoting from his editorials entitled "Straight Talk."

Many State Farm Bureaus, such as Nebraska, actively support the liberty amendment—repeal of the income tax—which is actively promoted by the Liberty Lobby.

In 1964, Senator MILTON YOUNG—Representative of North Dakota—accused the North Dakota Farm Bureau of being "infiltrated by John Birch Society members."

The ease with which Birch Society policies are picked up and adopted by the Farm Bureau is illustrated by this incident. The John Birch Society in 1964 was in the midst of its drive to have Chief Justice Earl Warren impeached. The John Birch Society Bulletin, in its issue of March 2, 1964, restated this goal and said:

> In the meantime, without lowering the steam pressure one degree under all of the activities which contribute to the purpose of getting the Chief Justice impeached, we have only one suggestion either to add or to emphasize here. It is that all members who are in position to do so increase the drive to have other organizations and conventions pass resolutions calling for Warren's impeachment."

The bulletin then goes on to say:

> In our last Bulletin we mentioned that such a resolution had been passed by the Texas Farm Bureau. We did not have the details at that time, but this action had taken place at the State convention held on November 12 and 13 (1963) at Fort Worth. The original resolution had been drawn up by one of our good members in Houston, who had already pushed it through the community and county conventions, before thus getting it sent to the State body. There were 808 voting delegates at the State convention, and the resolution was passed by a voice vote.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

It has been reported by many sources that the Farm Bureau is a significant contributor to Harding College and other organizations represented by their seminar speakers. It has never been revealed how much these speakers or their organizations are paid for these appearances. It is obvious, however, that the Farm Bureau—directly and indirectly—has become a major supporter of rightwing activity in the United States. It not only provides the funds, it provides the platforms and captive audiences.

The book lists recommended for reading at State conventions of the Farm Bureau are replete with the standard rightwing treatises.

The Farm Bureau provides rightwing groups with the use of its mailing lists. Mrs. Bryce Olmstead of Guide Rock, Nebr., testified before my ad hoc committee in Washington on August 30, that when she became county women's chairman for her county Farm Bureau, she began to receive letters from a group called "the Citizens Womens Council," addressed exactly as her Farm Bureau mail came to her. This mail consisted of bizarre propaganda, including red stickers that looked like eyes and said "I see Red." These were to be placed on letters written to Congressmen who did not fit their ultraconservative mold.

The American Farm Bureau Federation appears to be the "talent scout" that discovers these speakers for the State Farm Bureaus, and the coordinating agency that arranges the bookings between the two.

One of the founders of the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action was former AFBF president, Ed O'Neill. Alan Kline, Charles Shuman's predecessor as president of the AFBF, is presently an ACA trustee.

Mr. Shuman himself is a frequent guest on Dean Clarence Manion's "Forum" radio broadcast. And Manion, well-known ultrarightist and John Birch Society member, has frequent words of glowing praise for his friends—the American Farm Bureau Federation, and Charles Shuman. Mr. Shuman, who one imagines would have his hands full with farm problems, nevertheless also finds time to speak regularly at Harding College's freedom forums.

We have now seen a small piece of "the dark side of the moon"—the pattern of rightwing political indoctrination generated and supported by the Farm Bureau. The target of this activity is our farm youth. Every effort is made to brainwash tomorrow's farm leaders. This activity is guided by a group of men closely tied to the extreme rightwing fringe in this country. We who have been asking "What does the Farm Bureau do with the great wealth its business activities generate?" now have part of the answer.

This ideology is manifested in the kind of anti-Government propaganda promoted by the Farm Bureau. I have heard extensive testimony to the effect that the American Farm Bureau Federation, in its campaign against 1962 wheat referendum, did not campaign on the issues. Instead, they mounted a massive, costly campaign to create fear of the Government itself. One picture widely circulated by the Farm Bureau showed several Russian leaders sitting around a conference table, apparently in the Kremlin. The caption indicated that a vote for that wheat referendum was a vote for that kind of government. As one witness described the Farm Bureau's anti-Government campaign: "It was just filthy."

Mr. Speaker, that the outstanding youth of large areas of our Nation—our future leaders—are being systematically indoctrinated with untruthful, anti-Government, extremist philosophy is a national disgrace. It is essential that every American be made aware of what the Farm Bureau is doing under the false banners of "citizenship" and "freedom," words it has corrupted and endowed with a new and alien meaning.

THE 4-H CLUBS—LEARNING BY DOING

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, once again it is my privilege to pay tribute to the 4-H Clubs of America as they celebrate their national week beginning September 30 through October 7 and, as always, I am eager to salute this outstanding and praiseworthy organization.

It is hardly necessary to cite the excellent programs carried out by a national membership of nearly 3 million American boys and girls because their tremendous achievements speak for themselves.

Fifty-three years ago the Congress of the United States enacted the Smith-Lever Law which established the Cooperative Extension Service, thus actually initiating the official 4–H Club movement. The growth of the 4–H Club idea has been of extraordinary proportions and through the International Farm Youth Exchange now circles the globe with about 74 countries adapting youth programs, similar to 4–H, to their own needs.

Aside from 4–H'ers learning practical skills in a wide range of agriculture, home economics, citizenship projects, plus personal development, these young people learn beyond a doubt the importance of responsibility and that to be responsible one has to be steadfast and trustworthy.

All through the years the various 4–H Club programs and projects have appropriately changed with the times, conforming to the new situations in which our young people find themselves. Now approximately 100 projects are available to interest and inspire our young citizens and since many of the boys and girls growing up on our farms will eventually seek employment in the cities, 4–H is assisting them to fit themselves for the future in preparing for new career possibilities.

Certainly our 4–H Club members, from coast to coast, continually impress us by their positive approach to present-day issues and their manner of handling their allotted tasks.

In addition to notable achievements in promoting the standard programs of 4–H Club activities; namely, to assist young people to become creative and productive citizens, the State of Kentucky has now distinguished itself with a statewide 4–H automotive program supervised by the extension service of the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Last year Kentucky topped the Nation with its enrollment of nearly 5,000 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 19 in this program and this year's enrollment is expected to reach 12,000, thus proving what can be accomplished toward the need to help our teenagers become better prepared to take their place at the wheel of a car or truck.

Mr. Speaker, I have an abiding faith in the youth of today and do not hesitate to say that I believe the benefits which they receive from participating in the multiple programs sponsored by the 4–H Clubs will bring them enduring rewards and enhance greatly the roles which they will assume as our leaders of tomorrow.

FINANCIAL EXPERT URGES ENACTMENT OF 10-PERCENT SURCHARGE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Sidney Homer, a partner of Salomon Brothers & Hutzler, recently delivered a very informative and well-reasoned speech outlining the reasons why Congress should enact the President's 10-percent surcharge proposal.

Mr. Homer is one of this country's most eminent experts on the money markets and interest rates. He warned that the failure to enact the surcharge would have very serious and dangerous repercussions for the credit markets. He said:

> I will spare you the details of the financial chamber of horrors . . . Corporate bond yields could well reach 7 per cent, Treasury bill yields could reach 6 per cent . . . This is not a forecast; we live in too enlightened an age to permit such a calamity. But this is a genuine threat if we substitute words and hopes and compromises for adequate fiscal action.

Mr. Speaker, I think Mr. Homer's speech on September 5 before the annual convention of the Savings Association League should be of interest to our colleagues. It is as follows:

THE POLITICS OF INTEREST RATES IN 1967 AND 1968

(An address given before the Annual Convention of the Savings Association League of New York State at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., by Sidney Homer, on September 5, 1967)

Fellow Republocrats:

At a time like the present when the future level of interest rates will be importantly influenced by one decision of the Congress, it seems appropriate for me to concentrate on the political aspects of the money market. I will have something to say about interest rates if the Congress passes a measure of effective fiscal restraint and also about interest rates if the Congress fails to do so. I will even try to guess which it will be. However, I warn you that this will be blind guessing at its worst.

When I was a small boy my big sister used to amuse me and herself by holding both her hands behind her back and asking me to pick one. In one hand was a gumdrop and in the other was a camphor ball. This, of course, was blind guessing. I loved it. In fact, my craving for this sort of blind guessing probably hinted at my future career in Wall Street. One day, however, I discovered that she had a camphor ball in both hands. Alas, my faith in the world was shattered. I became a pessimist—for a few minutes. But she succeeded in persuading me that at other times there has been a gumdrop in both hands. And I tried again and sure enough there was. I only wish the game of guessing the actions of this Congress could be so painless.

The fate of the President's proposal for fiscal restraint will affect us all for years ahead. It will have narrow transitory effects for good or ill and it will have basic effects which will condition Government economic policies for a long period of years. Some will say: if a technical economic decision is so vital, how can we afford to leave it to the politicians? This, however, is only a challenge to the historic premise of democracy. In a democracy, basic public policies, even on highly specialized subjects such as defense, diplomacy, health, space and economics, if they involve general welfare, must ultimately be decided not by specialized experts but by politicians.

HISTORIC PRECEDENTS

It is no novelty at all to find credit and interest rates involved in politics. Interest rates have been a hot political issue on and off for at least three thousand years. In pre-classical Athens there was a fierce political battle on the subject of credit and rates which came near to being a revolution. The upshot was that, under the Laws of Solon, all interest rates were freed from political controls but, as an offset, slavery and other heavy sanctions for default were abolished. In classical Rome, the centuries of struggle between the Patricians and the Plebeians largely concerned debts and rates of interest. The upshot was that firm legal limits were put on interest rates (but poorly enforced) and default penalties became very rigorous and included slavery.

In the Middle Ages when the church frowned on all interest payments as usury, there were frequent heated debates and much political and ecclesiastical legislation on the subject, usually poorly enforced. At times indeed savings institutions of a non-profit sort were organized by the princes or by the church to provide theoretically illegal credit to small borrowers at reasonable rates. Later one of the driving forces behind the Reformation was the urge to legalize interest and thus to bring interest rates down; it worked that way and in the 17th and 18th Century prime rates in Northern Europe came down from 8% to as low as 3%.

The English then adopted the Roman system of legal limits (first 10%, then 6%, then 5%), while the Dutch adopted the Greek system of no restrictions. Dutch rates, however, came down a century earlier than English rates and even further, reach 3% around 1700.

When the English colonists came over to America they brought with them the English tradition of a legal limit on rates. It was then 6% in England, and is still the same in most of our states. Although the English abandoned legal rate limits one hundred years ago, we retain them today as you very well know. The colonists shared the English aspirations for low rates. The Continental Congress had many hot debates on the subject, but never consented to pay high market rates for loans to finance the Revolution. The result was a wild inflation. Alexander Hamilton compromised at 6% for his first bond issue, but could not prevent the bonds from selling at heavy discounts. Then came the fierce political battles revolving about the two banks of the United States, and later the monetary controversies aroused by William Jennings Bryan. Money and credit thus has been a political battleground since the day this country was formed. It is much too much to expect that the nation will now cede full powers to any board of independent experts to decide this vital issue on technical grounds, even though our politicians have always found it a troublesome and frustrating issue.

THE VETO OF THE MARKETPLACE

We are told that high rates are popular with bankers, Republicans, and conservatives, and that low rates are popular with farmers, Democrats, and liberals. This may be true but if so a glance at interest rate history provides irrefutable testimony to the repeated failure of these groups to achieve the sort of rates they are supposed to favor. In the words of a famous politician, lets take a look at the record.

First, the Republican era of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, McKinley, etc., was a period of steadily declining interest rates, not only from inflated Civil War levels, but by 1900 down to almost 3% for prime bonds. Furthermore, William Jennings Bryan was not calling the shots. Second, the Democratic era of Woodrow Wilson (with Bryan in the Cabinet) and the new Federal Reserve saw interest rates rise swiftly, reaching by 1920 their highest point in this century up until recently. Next, the conservative Republican era of the 1920's with Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, saw interest rates decline almost steadily. Mr. Mellon refunded his maturities successively at 4¼%—4%—3¾%—3⅜%—3⅛% and 3%. Next, of course, came the great depression and then World War II: Democrats, liberals, and low rates. This was almost the only period when the political forecast of interest rates seemed to work; and yet a glance abroad showed conservative Stanley Baldwin presiding over a similar decline in British interest rates; it showed French rates, and Dutch rates, and Swiss rates also declining sharply.

After the war most ruling politicians promised continued low interest rates. But what happened? No sooner was labor in power in postwar England than British interest rates began to rise steeply. Here Truman threw the prestige of the White House behind low rates, but failed and rates started to rise in 1951, and continued to rise for two years. Next came a Republican Era under Eisenhower; the Truman bear bond market continued briefly, then reversed. Republican rates declined sharply; Treasury 2½'s recovered to 100 under Eisenhower, and Humphrey. Then the rise in rates resumed, then reversed, then resumed. Indeed, during the Kennedy recession of 1960–1961, interest rates remained far above their levels of the two Eisenhower recessions. Then came President Johnson and Secretary Fowler with their explicit policy of low rates. What happened? Mr. Fowler, since taking office, has refunded at 4¼%—4¾%—5%—5⅝%. He has set high yield records and is still setting them. If Mr. Mellon was indeed a high interest rate man and if Mr. Fowler is indeed a low interest rate man, they both were certainly frustrated. Actually, I doubt that either man thought he could set the level of rates—but the markets sometimes seemed to think so.

In all of this history, I call your attention to one recurrent fact: the overwhelming power of the market place to veto the interest rate decisions of any government. Only in times of all out war and complete wartime controls has a predetermined pattern of yields been enforced on the economy. At other times, when, as usually is the case, official policy coincides with the natural direction of the market, it can certainly hasten and exaggerate interest rate fluctuations; it can also delay and soften adverse trends and completely eliminate temporary adverse fluctuations. But whenever there are powerful cyclical forces towards lower or higher interest rates, they are just about sure to win out over any contrary exercise of authority.

The Fed seems to have very great power over short-term interest rates—almost complete power if it chooses to exercise it. Its power over long-term rates, however, especially private bond yields, is very indirect and largely psychological. Short-term rates are almost controlled by the banking system and hence by the Fed, but long-term rates are the result of thousands of autonomous private decisions. However, even in the short market, the Fed's control of rates is illusory. If the Fed persists in restraining a strong natural tendency for short-rates to escalate or decline, it will soon find commodity prices rising or falling, and long bond yields rising or falling, and in time it will be forced by inflation or deflation to bow to the natural trend.

The natural trend of interest rates, however, and indeed the whole economic environment can be changed by fiscal policy, especially if it is coordinated with monetary policy. This is just about where we are today. Monetary policy this year succeeded for a few months in holding short-rates down at a time of heavy credit demands and especially of demands for liquidity. But commodity prices have already started up after a year of stability and bond yields have escalated again to the highs of this century in spite of a relatively flat economy. Thus, the official policy of ready availability of credit at moderate rates is right now in the process of being vetoed again by the market.

THE DILEMMA OF 1967

The bond market has recently told us in unmistakable terms that if an outsized Treasury deficit is superimposed on existing heavy private credit demands, the market will again have to ration credit by means of a money crunch. This would probably be more severe than that of 1966 when the Treasury had no deficit. And savings institutions, if no counter measures are taken, will again be the first victims. The revival in home construction will die on the vine. Commercial Bank CD's will again be outpriced by the market and the banks will lose deposits and refuse loan requests. Life insurance companies will again suffer from policy loans and withdraw from the capital market. Thus, if there is such a repetition of 1966, there will be important victims of the sort that escaped in 1966. A mere glance at the figures will show how drastic the rationing of private credit will have to be to make room for a giant Treasury deficit. Hence, of course, the President's vigorous tax request.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable group of people who blame the whole money crunch of 1966 on Mr. William McChesney Martin and his associates, and threaten to do so again in 1968 if unlimited bank credit is not created. Extremists in this group seem to believe that the powers of the Government, and especially of the Fed, over interest rates are absolute and that the free market is a fiction. Just how Mr. Martin could control commodity prices, or decide how much individuals will save, or what they will do with their savings, and how much the Treasury and the private economy will try to borrow, is not explained. But somehow by a wave of his wand Mr. Martin, they say, can raise or lower interest rates at will. And if he raises interest rates, somehow or other rich bankers will reap a bonus at the expense of depositors (whose interest income has soared by $3 billion in the last few years of rising interest rates). You gentlemen, of course, know that all this is nonsense, premises and conclusions alike. At this point I would like to paraphrase a famous rebuttal by Daniel Webster in the United States Senate:

> "The gentleman from -------- has told us much that is original and much that is true; but unfortunately that which is true is not original and that which is original is not true."

Fortunately, we are living in too knowledgeable and sophisticated an age to have much fear of this extremely fuzzy doctrine which seems to imply (whether it knows it or not) complete power of Government over the economic lives of all the people. But there is a more moderate and intellectually respectable school which still exaggerates the powers of monetary policy to create credit and hold down interest rates in a period of rising commodity prices. Long experience has proved beyond much doubt that managed low market interest rates in a boom period result in escalating commodity prices and credit demands, declining savings, and in the end, interest rates which rise much higher than otherwise would be the case. We had a small sample of this in 1966.

The surprising fact is that Mr. William McChesney Martin, in spite of the habitually stern tone of his voice and his many warnings of the dangers of credit expansion and especially of his austere public image, has presided over a very much larger peacetime expansion of Federal Reserve credit than any other board chairman. And this year, so far, his bank credit expansion is beating all records by a wide margin. And yet some have implied that Martin was stingy in late 1965 and early 1966, and that if he had only been a good fellow the crunch of 1966 could have been avoided. It could have been avoided, indeed, by an exercise of vigorous fiscal restraint in late 1965 or early 1966, but in the absence of timely fiscal restraint a more expansionary monetary policy at that time could only have made the inevitable crunch worse when it came and interest rates even higher than they were. All of his history simply points up the limited powers of monetary policy to regulate the economic lives of our people. This has been the great lesson of the last five years both in Europe and here. One by one the governments of the world are turning to fiscal policy as an essential ally of monetary policy in providing healthy economic growth.

THE SURTAX: OBJECTIONS

Now let me review the great debate which is surrounding the President's proposal for a 10% surtax. Nobody likes higher taxes, and most admit that we are faced with a choice of evils. In favoring a policy of vigorous fiscal restraint, I can be accused of special pleading because I am an investment banker and investment bankers with an interest in the bond market are supposed to prefer declining interest rates. You can also be accused of personal bias because your industry has more than any other to lose by escalating market rates of interest. But indeed I believe most of us are able to look beyond these narrow personal advantages to the economic welfare of the nation as a whole. We know that our personal welfare will depend more on the general welfare of the country than on transitory advantages or disadvantages local to our own enterprises. Fortuitously, but fortunately, I believe that in this case our own near-term interests coincide with the long-term interests of the nation as a whole.

Let me first review some of the objections to the program of fiscal restraint. *First,* it is argued that the economic need for higher taxes is not clearcut, that there is no assurance that the inflationary upward economic trend forecast for late this year and next will in fact occur. So far, so good. Thinking back, I can scarcely remember a time when the economic outlook was clearcut. The economic indicators are almost never unanimous. There has been hardly a month in the postwar period when the bears could not bring forth strong arguments for their gloomy opinions, and the bulls cite other arguments in support of their optimism. If plant and equipment expenditures were rising perhaps housing starts were simultaneously falling. If commodity prices were rising, so perhaps was unemployment. If durable goods orders were soaring, so also perhaps were inventories. And so it goes. If we wait for unanimity, we will wait forever. Fiscal policy cannot afford to wait for certainty; it must anticipate. It is too cumbersome for quick, frequent and subtle changes. If as one distinguished economist recently suggested, we wait until we, "See the whites or their eyes," i.e., until inflation is a gigantic looming reality, then unrecoverable damage would have been done and the emergency counter measures we would then have to take would be far more painful and costly than the mild restraint that is now proposed.

Second, it is argued that for almost a year we have been in a period of slack and that a $7–$10 billion tax increase now (reducing our Treasury deficit to a mere $15 billion or so) might plunge us into a recession. The key word here is *slack.* In 1965 and 1966 our economy climbed at a fabulous unsustainable rate to an extremely high level of activity, far beyond the hopes of the optimists. The important point is not that it has recently been rising more gradually, but that it has held this fabulously high level during a year of inventory adjustment and flat consumer buying. In other words, we are not in a period of poor business, we are still in the boom of 1965–1966. Nevertheless, both fiscal and monetary policy right now are highly expansionary. If there is no tax increase, fiscal policy will soon be even more expansionary and monetary policy will be forced to become restrictive.

Third, it is seriously argued by at least one economist that a $29 billion deficit is opposed by the Administration only because it will be a political liability in the 1968 campaign; that such a deficit is not a persuasive economic argument for either a tax increase or a reduction in expenditures. While this argument could be valid in a period of depression, it has many obvious flaws in a period of boom. After all such a deficit adds billions of additional stimulation to an economy already operating at the highest level in history with low unemployment and rising costs. But the great flaw in this argument lies in ignoring the task of raising this vast sum of money in the already clogged credit markets. Obviously the Treasury would have to preempt credit on a grand scale from the private economy. I would suggest that such a deficit at such a time would soon dislocate the capital markets and thus be much more likely to damage the economy and cause the feared recession than would a tax increase.

There are, of course, other adverse arguments, some of which are merely pious hopes. There are those who instead of increasing taxes would end the Vietnam War but they don't tell us how or when. There are those who would cut domestic expenditures drastically but again it is hard to say how and where. And the fiscal problem is looming directly ahead of us. It will not wait on long range cures.

REASONS FOR THE SURTAX

In reciting the arguments in favor of some effective form of fiscal restraint (and I attempt no case for the President's precise program), I will skip quickly over a few important but familiar points. Thus, it is argued, and I believe correctly, that the burdens of the Vietnam War, or any other war, and whether we like the war or not, should be shared by all of us. Again, it is argued, and I believe correctly, that the threat of inflation inherent in such an outsized deficit must be contained by vigorous action in advance of the inflation itself or not at all. Again, it is argued, and I believe correctly, that a deficit of this size with no end in sight, would undermine confidence in the dollar both at home and abroad at a time when foreign confidence in the dollar is our first line of defense in a dangerous world and at a time when the willingness of Americans to save in dollar form is essential to financing both our domestic economy and our war.

Again, while a large majority of private and public economic projections for 1968 forecast a high rate of economic growth and upward price pressure. a small minority disagree and make recessionary forecasts. Some of these pessimists are inviting us to run the risk of a disrupted economy in case they are wrong and the majority is right. The overriding point is that the damage potentially caused by this measure of fiscal restraint, even if the pessimists are right, is very small compared to the damage caused by an outright inflationary boom if the pessimists are wrong. Thus, we can press our argument for the surtax without sponsoring any specific economic forecast. We don't have to be sure of a boom to agree strongly for fiscal restraint.

Now I should like to enlarge on some further arguments for fiscal restraint which are also compelling. The volume of real savings in the economy is always limited by the decisions of millions of individuals or firms to save or to spend. The Federal Reserve cannot augment the total of real savings by providing an unwanted excess of deposits; indeed, by this inflationary process the Fed is more apt to reduce the total of real savings. Therefore, if the Treasury absorbes $15 or more of these real savings next year, compared with $3 billion last year, and if private credit demands remain as large as they are, and if the total of real savings continues inadequate to go around, as we know it was in 1966, then a massive rationing of private credit will have to take place in 1968, far more severe than the credit rationing of 1966. I will spare you the details of the financial chamber of horrors which would follow in the capital markets. Corporate bond yields could well reach 7%, Treasury bills could reach 6%, and so forth. Your business would of course, be the first victim, but there would be many others. This is not a forecast; we live in too enlightened an age to permit such a calamity. But this is a genuine threat if we substitute words and hopes and compromises for adequate fiscal action.

I said earlier that we are faced with a choice of evils. A tax increase will, of course, hurt most of us and will dampen down our rate of economic growth, it is hoped from an excessive rate to a substantial rate. But the alternative seems to end up with a disruptive crisis which would indeed reverse economic growth. With no fiscal restraint, but rather a record fiscal stimulation, monetary policy in 1968 would be forced to became restrictive. With fiscal restraint monetary policy could remain reasonably expansive or at worst neutral. This depends on the degree of fiscal restraint and the response of the economy to the surtax. Therefore, what we are really seeking is an optium mix of fiscal and monetary policy. I submit that a mixture of less fiscal stimulation coupled with less monetary restraint would produce much better economic growth than a mixture of continued intense fiscal stimulation and renewed monetary restraint. In other words, an adequate tax increase now would produce a more prosperous economy than no tax increase or an inadequate increase.

Next I would like to touch on the New Economics. This attractive lable is attached to a program wherein monetary and fiscal policy are deliberately used to avoid booms and depressions and to keep the economy growing on an even keel. Whether we belive in such a program of government intervention or not, it is a reality and for the sake of our economy we must hope that it works. Now in this tax debate the future of the New Economics may be at stake. Five years ago when a tax reduction was proposed in the name of the New Economics, sceptics said that the whole program was an inflationary fraud, that the politicians were seizing upon an attractive new excuse to gain votes and to stimulate, but that when the program called for restraint, which the New Economics is sure periodically to require, the politicians would abandon the whole scheme and refuse to restrain a boom. Just this could be happening right now. If so, the whole basis for the New Economics will be in doubt. Therefore, it is imperative to those congressmen who look forward to the benefits of sustained economic growth through the techniques of the New Economics to support it at this crisis. Future tax cuts, under circumstances like 1964, will be much more difficult to achieve if the tax cut of 1964 ends up disastrously. Indeed, Mr. Reuff, de Gaulle's economist, will be able to claim that he was right when he said that no Democracy can manage its own fiscal affairs successfully.

Finally, a measure of strong fiscal restraint now will help us avoid not only a credit crunch, but alternatively a program of official credit rationing or credit controls. If the Congress refuses to raise enough new taxes, the excessive pressures on the credit markets might be alleviated by a program of "voluntary" domestic credit rationing. I put "voluntary" in quotation marks. I do not have to enlarge on the hardships and dislocations and disadvantages of such a program.

IS IT ENOUGH?

Now what does all this seem to mean for the future of interest rates? If the President's program is passed intact, the question will immediately arise: Is it enough? It may not be. After all the new budget estimates seem to absorb the whole of the new taxes and leave us still with an expansionary deficit unless large cuts in expenditures are also made.

The near-term effects of the President's program, if passed, will depend partly on its psychological impact on business and on consumers. If as a result of higher taxes, consumers cut back expenditures and business cuts back its expenditures for inventory or plant (and by cutbacks I don't mean reductions from present levels but from potential overstimulated future levels), then the legislation will be effective. If however as some expect, consumers simply reduce the savings by the amount of their tax increase and business borrows all it needs to pay the higher taxes, then the total of demand for goods and demand for credit will not be reduced and nothing will have been accomplished except lower Treasury borrowing offset by higher private borrowing and lower private savings. This specter is raised by some opponents of the tax cut; they usually do not say what we should do about it, but their argument seems to me to lead straight to either a crunch or unwanted direct credit controls. Much more likely is the prospect that private and business expenditures will in fact be reduced by these new taxes but not by the full amount of the taxes. If so, Government borrowing will be much less than otherwise and private borrowing will remain high for awhile. However, a combination of fiscal restraint and confidence in money availability soon should induce corporations to reduce their present abnormal rush to borrow for the future. They will if they are assured that next year ample credit will be available. This is a key objective of the program.

If the economy responds in this way to the President's program, and if budgetary expenditures are restrained, then there is a chance that the program will be adequate.

What then will such a program of adequate fiscal restraint mean for interest rates? Over the next year, there will be many other factors influencing interest rates which are beyond my assignment today—for example, the course of the war, international monetary affairs, our elections, and the response of the economy itself to these imponderables. We are not required to maintain that the surtax by itself will solve all our fiscal problems. However, we can be sure that it will hold down interest rates below what they otherwise would be. If we try then to isolate the effect of fiscal restraint in an otherwise unchanged environment, I believe we can draw the following conclusions:

1. Monetary policy will be able to avoid outright restraint but in a rising economy it will not remain as expansive as it now is. Some decline in the rate of bank deposit expansion should be expected but should be matched by moderation in both private credit demands and in Treasury demands. This would suggest a stabilization of short rates around present levels without the sharp escalation towards 6% which would otherwise happen.

2. The volume of corporate bond financing should decline and this should bring about a decline in our freak corporate bond yields.

3. Higher taxes and continued bank demand should bring about lower municipal bond yields.

4. Stability elsewhere should in time permit a small reduction in deposit rates.

5. Good deposit flows should permit a continued rise in housing starts and hence a good volume of mortgage creation. When corporate bond yields at length decline, mortgage rates should stabilize.

6. The promise of a substantial volume of Treasury financing, in spite of the tax increase, should tend to hold Treasury yields up. The need of the Treasury to sell longer term paper should have the same effect.

We must always keep in mind that most interest rates and bond yields are today historically extremely high—some are higher than they have been since 1877. An understandable but extraordinary confluence of political and economic events have brought this about. While we can assume that the Vietnam War and other extraordinary influences will not last forever, I am assuming here no change in the fundamentals for the period of this estimate, except only the surtax. Therefore, my estimates of rate declines in a few areas, if an adequate tax is enacted, are moderate and indeed very much less than they would be in the event of an improved international situation.

Unfortunately, there are alternatives. There is a very real possibility that the President's fiscal program is not large enough in view of rising expenditures. Again, the Congress may whittle it down severely. Again, the private economy might respond as some fear by simply borrowing more. Or expenditures in Vietnam might again escalate.

What do these alternatives seem to mean for interest rates? If not countered in any way, they all mean a return to an overheated economy, to restrictive monetary policy, and to another severe credit crunch. The market is already expressing its pessimism. Just in the last two weeks, since the President's message, bond yields have started up again. Many have broken through the crisis highs of last August with no resistance level in sight.

As I said before, I do not think this trend will be allowed to go on to its logical conclusion. The adverse economic consequences would be too severe and so would be the political consequences in an election year. Thus, the level of the bond market and indeed of the whole interest rate structure is today a political force in itself. If rates rise fast enough and far enough, our political leaders in and out of the Congress will be led to take counter action—probably not fast enough or large enough to avoid all damage, but enough to avoid catastrophe.

Consequently, if the prospective tax bill is unduly delayed or is inadequate. I would expect a further sharp rise in interest rates followed by more adequate legislation, followed in turn by a decline in rates. Thus, if we do not get adequate legislation now, we will later on. Hopefully, such action should be forthcoming quickly without first moving to the brink of massive economic and financial dislocations.

ARNO C. FIELDNER (1881–1966): WORLD FAMOUS AUTHORITY ON FUELS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, my home State of Pennsylvania has been associated in significant ways with the careers of many leaders in the sciences who have become world famous. One of these was Dr. Arno C. Fieldner, who served as superintendent and chief chemist of the Bureau of Mines Experimental Station at Pittsburgh, 1921–27.

Dr. Fieldner was the author of more than 400 scientific papers now having 131 cards in the Library of Congress card index. Among his many scientific contributions was the development of the experimental data that was required for the installation of the ventilation systems of the Holland Tunnel in New York and the Liberty Tubes in Pittsburgh.

An admirable biographical sketch of Dr. Fieldner by Dr. Robert W. Webb and Dr. Charles W. Wright was published in the September 1967 issue of the Cosmos Club Bulletin.

In order that the story of Dr. Fieldner's life and achievements may be more widely known and thus serve as an inspiration to the youth of the Nation, I include the indicated sketch as part of my remarks:

ARNO CARL FIELDNER (1881–1966)

Dr. Arno C. Fieldner was an emeritus member of the Cosmos Club for a period of seven years, having been elected on June 2, 1919. A bachelor, he lived in our Clubhouse for the last 40 years of his life, perhaps longer than any other member. He was, therefore, a pillar of the Club in letter and spirit. He met a tragic death in an automobile accident on July 13, 1966, as he was returning from a fishing trip in Canada.

Dr. Fieldner's many scientific achievements were truly impressive and spanned over half a century. Born in Ney, Ohio, on December 12, 1881, he received his bachelor of science degree in chemical engineering in 1906 at Ohio State University, which some years later awarded him an honorary doctorate of science, as did also the Universities of Alabama and North Dakota. His interest in coal technology began at Ohio State, and his success as a chemical engineer developed so rapidly that when the U.S. Bureau of Mines was created in 1910 and its coal division established in Pittsburgh, he was made chemist in charge of its fuels chemical laboratory where he served until 1917.

Shortly after the start of World War I, he moved to Washington and was placed in charge of the gas-mask division of the Chemical Warfare Service with the rank of major, where for two years he directed more than 2,000 scientists and engineers in research on gas masks and absorbents. Following the war, he rejoined the Bureau of Mines and was its supervisory chemist at Pittsburgh, 1919–21, followed by promotion to a position of greatly increased duties and responsibilities; namely, superintendent and chief chemist of the Bureau's Pittsburgh Experimental Station, a vast complex of research laboratories, 1921–27. Then he returned to Washington, where he held a series of positions of successively increasing responsibilities in the Mines Bureau.

Thus, Dr. Fieldner devoted most of his entire professional life to research, testing, and developments in the U.S. Bureau of Mines until he retired from Government service in 1955. Even then, however, he did not stop his Federal career, for—by special invitation and appointment—he continued on as a consultant to the Director of the Bureau for several years. Several times during his mature years he was approached about becoming Director of the Bureau of Mines, but he always declined, feeling that his primary interests and strongest assets better enabled him to be a research leader than to try to be a "high-power" administrator. Proof of that wisdom lies in the fact that the Bureau's first Experimental Station at Pittsburgh, which was so successfully developed and expanded during his leadership over an early six-year period, served as the prototype for all the regional laboratories that the Bureau of Mines established thereafter.

He was the author of more than 400 scientific papers, reports, and technical publications, particularly on fuel testing and research. He directed pioneering studies on the development and standardization of methods of analyzing and classifying coals; the combustion, carbonization, and gasification of coal; synthetic liquid fuels; and explosives and explosions. Working under most hazardous conditions and assisted by a selected group of engineering and medical specialists, he developed the mass of experimental data needed to establish ventilation specifications for acceptable human safety in the Holland Tunnel in New York and the Liberty Tubes in Pittsburgh, which were the first specifications of maximum reliability under such extreme and varying conditions and which served as the basis for similar vehicular tunnels and tubes later constructed in this country and abroad. He also invented a gas mask as a preventive against the effects of carbon monoxide and breathing of dust, the cause of silicosis.

Dr. Fieldner was an unusually active member of the American Society for Testing Materials for 52 continuous years, and he was a dynamic force in all of its work on coal, coke, gas, and other fuels throughout that period. This medium furnished him an ideal forum for giving invaluable extension and practical effect to his vast research achievements and leadership, and he served the Society with further distinction by being elected its vice president in 1934–36 and its president in 1936–37.

During his career, he received many medals and honorary awards in recognition of his achievements, including the Distinguished Service Medal of the Department of the Interior (1949). Just five months before his death, he was presented a highly prized certificate by the American Society for Testing Materials naming him the first honorary member of its Committee D-5 on coal and coke, of which he had been chairman for an unprecedented span of 28 continuous years, during which important nationally and internationally acceptable methods for sampling and analysis of coal, coke, and gas were developed under his leadership and subsequently adopted by mines and nations around the world.

While chemical engineering was Dr. Fieldner's first love and his professional work always came first, he had many other interests and activities. He was an ardent fisherman, indulging in this sport at every opportunity throughout his life, even to the very end. During his younger and more active years, he played golf with pleasure and enthusiasm. He was an avid fan of collegiate and professional football and baseball. Too, he was a great lover of music, his favorite listening being operatic, and he even studied the cello for several years during early life. He also was an accomplished photographer and was an enthusiastic member of the Cosmos Club group known as the "Cosmotographers," attending all their monthly presentations of slides. He was, in fact, a fanatic for attending illustrated travelogue lectures, very rarely missing one of the National Geographic Society's weekly presentations in Constitution Hall since their inception many years ago.

Dr. Fieldner's very warm, personable, simple, consistent, and patient nature was outstanding and served him well in all his professional activities. Basically, he loved people, making friends easily and quickly among all age groups and walks of life and being able to maintain lasting friendships. Until his death, in fact, he carried on a voluminous and detailed correspondence, both personal and professional, with old friends and former associates.

Dr. Fieldner was not only a good talker but also a splendid listener, and he always extracted the best from his associates and companions. Much of his charm and success lay in his masterful knowledge of human nature and in his special ability, if not uncanny knack, in being able to "spot" young graduates with great potential, attract them to his staff or to those of cooperating agencies, stimulate and inspire them into motivation and dedication, and give them increasing responsibilities and appropriate guidance until they had developed themselves into strong and successful professionals.

Thus, with each of the countless engineers whom Dr. Fieldner developed, he gained an extra pair of capable eyes and loyal hands for giving practical extension and effect of his own mind, vision, and imagination to the many new and changing problems and needs constantly arising throughout his own and related fields of work. All this was made possible only because people loved working for and with him.

He enjoyed many triumphs during his long life, but his influence—through his countless contributions, students, and professional associates—will be felt for many years to come. Arno Fieldner, in fact, was endowed with such an extraordinary combination of personal, professional, and character qualities, and he used them to such good advantage and benefit for mankind, that it truly may be said: "When Nature made him, she broke the mold!"

Robert W. Webb (1937).
Charles Will Wright (1904).

AFL-CIO SUPPORT FOR STRIKES

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Holland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the AFL-CIO executive council recently declared its support for various unions now on strike. This is certainly a natural action on the part of the labor federation, and I think that the statements made in each instance should be carefully considered. Therefore, I include them in the Record, as follows:

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on Support of the American Federation of Teachers

In three states, New York, Michigan and Illinois, members of the American Federation of Teachers of the AFL–CIO, are engaged in crucial battles for their own economic advancement and for the improvement of the public school system.

The AFL–CIO has a long-time heritage of support for public school systems and for the achievement of decent standard of pay and working conditions for the teachers into whose care we entrust our children.

We, the Executive Council of the AFL–CIO, wholeheartedly support the members of the American Federation of Teachers in New York, Michigan and Illinois in their current struggle. We urge members of all the affiliated unions of the AFL–CIO to give these teachers the support they need at this time.

We say to the Boards of Education and the local and state officials that their use of court injunctions will not educate children, will not provide the better school systems we need, will not solve the problems of the neglected youngsters of the ghettos and will not provide the wage levels and the decent working conditions that teachers need and the kind of effective school programs that America needs.

We say to these officials, that the path to achievement to all of these goals, to which the AFL–CIO and the American Federation of Teachers is dedicated, lies through honest, good faith collective bargaining negotiations.

In the three states now involved and in the future battles that are certain to come, the AFL–CIO solidly supports its affiliate, the American Federation of Teachers.

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on Support for the UAW Strike

The United Auto Workers have been forced to strike the Ford Motor Company in order to win the honorable and equitable contract terms the company refused to accept at the collective bargaining table.

The Big Three of the auto industry have forced this strike by their adamant refusal to give UAW members their proper share of the fruits of the industry's advancing technology.

The success of the UAW in this strike is a matter of concern to the entire trade union movement. All of the affiliated unions of the AFL–CIO can be counted upon to rally to the support of the UAW and its members.

Therefore this Executive Council pledges the full support of the AFL–CIO to the UAW in its battle for economic justice with the auto industry.

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on Support of Strike in Non-Ferrous Metals Industry

On July 15, 40,000 members of 19 affiliated unions of the AFL–CIO in the non-ferrous metals industry were forced on strike. For nearly two months, these workers have battled for fair wages and working conditions in an industry where both are notoriously inadequate.

Standing together, these 19 unions, led by the United Steelworkers of America, are presenting a united front against corporations which have refused to provide their workers with realistic conditions.

All of American labor supports this strike and supports the coordinated efforts of the unions involved. The AFL–CIO Executive Council pledges any and all support necessary to assure the workers involved the victory to which they are entitled.

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on Boycott of Boren Clay Products

For six months the workers in four plants of the Boren Clay Products Co. in North Carolina have been on strike in an effort to win a first contract.

They were forced to strike when the company—one of the largest in the industry, with 14 other plants in the area—refused, during nine months of negotiations, to make any contract offer except an inadequate pension plan. Wages were as low as $1.40 an hour.

Moreover, before and since the strike the company has carried on a campaign of harassment and intimidation of local union leaders, has sought to arouse racial antagonisms and in other respects has engaged in tactics similar to those of the giant textile firm, J. P. Stevens & Co., previously denounced by this Executive Council.

Such flagrant attempts to frustrate workers in their lawful desire to organize and bargain collectively are as reprehensible when applied to few workers as to many.

The United Brick and Clay Workers of America, AFL–CIO, has called for a consumer boycott against Boren Clay Products Co., which ships millions of bricks to the northeastern and Great Lakes regions. This Executive Council hereby endorses that boycott and calls upon all affiliated unions to give this struggle their full support.

NIKOLA DIMITROV PETKOV

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. Kelly] may extend her remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, we honored the memory of Nikola Dimitrov Petkov, one of the most illustrious Bulgarian patriots, whose life was dedicated to the cause of freedom and justice. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria, in 1894, he was the son of Dimiter Petkov, a self-educated peasant from Dobrudja, who became Prime Minister of Bulgaria. Petko Petkov, Nikola's brother, was one of the great Bulgarian peasant leaders.

Nikola himself, who earned a law degree in Paris, was one of the most vocal and effective opponents of totalitarianism in all its forms. During World War II, as leader of the radical wing of the widely supported Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, he was active in an underground movement, the Fatherland Front, created to fight fascism. Petkov was imprisoned several times because of his association with the underground movement during the Nazi occupation of Bulgaria.

In September of 1944, Petkov became a member of the new coalition government which included representatives of the political group called "Zveno," Communists, Socialists, and the independent intellectuals. He did so with the hope that dialog and cooperation were possible, and that the Communists too wanted to establish a more democratic society. He was not alone in believing that his wartime allies would also be his peacetime allies.

When the outrages, terror, and violence of the Communist regime became apparent, Petkov resigned from the government and became its most outspoken and uncompromising critic. He led the opposition in the elections for a constituent assembly in October 1946. Despite terrorism, arrests, the threats and electoral fraud, his party won one-third of the votes. There were 101 representatives, headed by Petkov, acknowledged to have been elected, and they entered the Grand National Assembly. Here Petkov's most courageous and heroic struggle began. Yet his struggle was doomed to failure. The odds against him were too great. The presence of Soviet troops and control of the police gave the Communists the power to extinguish the last vestige of liberty in Bulgaria. After dramatic and stormy debates in Parliament, Petkov was arrested in June of 1947. He was tried on trumped-up charges of treason to which he never confessed. His trial was a travesty of justice, and he was hanged on September 23, 1947.

Petkov died for the causes for which he had always fought—those of freedom, democracy, and justice for all men—and the courage which he displayed in his fight has evoked worldwide admiration. His life was sacrificed for the people of Bulgaria. It is my privilege to pay tribute to him today.

THE UNFINISHED BATTLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, since first coming to Congress, I have been privileged to assist in the development of programs designed to promote full employment. And I have been greatly gratified to witness the success of many of these programs.

But the battle against unemployment and its disabling effects is not over. Although unemployment levels have dropped significantly in the last few years, we have yet to fulfill the pledge of the 1946 Employment Act to provide job opportunities for all those willing, able and seeking to work. In the slums and ghettoes of many of our cities and in many rural areas, there are Americans who cannot find jobs.

A recent editorial in the AFL–CIO News outlined some of the dimensions of the unfinished war against unemployment and some of the dangerous consequences which unemployment can breed. The editorial went on to suggest new efforts which must be undertaken to combat joblessness.

Mr. Speaker, I include the editorial at this point in the Record and hope that our colleagues will take the time to read it:

JOBLESSNESS AND RIOTS

> One of the major ingredients of the unrest and violence that have swept the nation's cities this summer is unemployment. In a nation that reported 76.2 million of its citizens employed last month and a jobless rate of 3.9 percent, the grim fact of unemployment seems out of place. But in the Negro areas of the nation's cities it is a very real and hard fact of life.
>
> The same report that disclosed record employment in July contained also figures showing the impact of joblessness of Negroes and whites.
>
> While 35 out of every 1,000 white workers were searching for a job, more than twice as many Negroes, 72 out of every 1,000 were in the same fix, and given patterns of hiring and discrimination, their outlook was much more than twice as bleak.
>
> For the youngsters in the 16 to 21 age bracket, who reportedly were deeply involved in the violent outbreaks, the comparative figures were even worse.
>
> The unemployment rate for white youngsters was 11.8 percent; for Negroes, 24.8 percent.
>
> When one out of every four young Negroes between the ages of 16 and 21 is out looking for a non-existent job in a period of rising expectations and hope, there is on hand a major ingredient of violence and unrest.
>
> A look behind the raw unemployment figures reveals some of the whys. Employment is expanding most rapidly in the services and in public employment at all governmental levels. It is growing in the white collar area while remaining steady or declining in manufacturing, transportation and construction.
>
> Negro employment in the growth areas is minimal due to employer hiring practices, inbred patterns of political discrimination in public jobs and other factors. The growth areas are where the jobs must come from and yet Negro workers are not getting them in anything resembling a fair proportion.
>
> The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has released some preliminary studies showing that Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans, the nation's two largest minority groups, hold fewer jobs in terms of their numbers in the population and are concentrated in the lowest-paying jobs.
>
> If Negro unemployment is to be reduced and decent-paying jobs made available to them, it is obvious that hiring policies must yield to economic realities and moral responsibilities, particularly in the areas of growing unemployment.
>
> But it takes more than hiring practices. Government policies that will provide in meaningful terms the jobs that spell a full-employment economy, the training that will prepare minorities who have suffered a century of discrimination for the jobs of the mid-20th Century, the education and housing that are vital ingredients in a decent life and a decent standard of living—all these are necessary to a solution.
>
> As long as the outrageously high level of Negro unemployment persists the threat to a peaceful and orderly society remains very much alive.

THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT IS REVITALIZING EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN INDIANA

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, recently I met with school administrators in the 17-county Ninth Congressional District of Indiana to discuss education generally, and the effectiveness of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act specifically.

The meeting had two purposes: to follow up on a series of reports from one of my staff members who conducted extensive interviews with school superintendents throughout the district, and to exercise one of my principal duties as a Congressman, that of legislative oversight.

When we enacted the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, we had the advice and testimony of scholars and experts; an abundance of statistical documentation, and a great deal of evidence of the need for such legislation.

But we still were working only with concepts and theories. We legislated where no Congress had legislated before. I felt it was time to see how successful we were in this effort in the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana.

The school officials with whom I met spoke candidly, expressing their concern with problem areas, citing their successes and suggesting changes in the implementation of this program.

On the whole, I found them to be enthusiastic about ESEA and the potential which it offers for innovative ideas in education. This encouragement of new ideas, fashioned to meet local needs, and the finances to meet those needs, has prompted Ninth District educators to undertake programs they otherwise could not have attempted.

Permit me to quote some of these educators:

> The money received has certainly helped to bring the home and school closer together by allowing us to add additional personnel to make home visits and provide services to make children feel they are a part and someone is trying to help them.

> If I should attempt to evaluate the benefits, I would say without hesitation that ESEA is accomplishing what it is designed to accomplish.

> We sincerely believe that these programs are facilitating the total instructional program and are rendering a valuable service to the specific categories for which they are designed.

> The program has been of great value to our school.

And the list goes on. But it is long enough to indicate the ESEA has helped improve the quality of education in the 17 counties of the Ninth Congressional District. They are rural counties, some of them prosperous, some of them not so prosperous. Many of these counties have not had the resources to develop adequate educational programs. It has not been a case of not wanting to improve. It has been a case of literally having no money to expend on improvements.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has given these counties their first chance to develop programs which previously they could not afford. The impact of a few thousand dollars in these counties has been as great as the impact of several hundred thousand dollars in urban areas.

Some of these communities now have their first school nurses and social workers to "make children feel they are a part and someone is trying to help them," as one superintendent said.

And, in many cases, local officials have been inspired by these Federal programs to innovate and experiment in areas not supported by Federal funds.

Because of limited tax bases, many school districts have been unable to afford the auxiliary services which long have been standard elements of educational systems in urban areas. Now, through ESEA, rural districts may offer these services and begin to close the educational gap which has been widening between urban and rural America.

In the Ninth District, as in the rest of Indiana, we are completing a reorganization of county school systems, consolidating the smaller, often-inadequate facilities into units offering a greater variety of educational courses, services, and facilities. The ESEA is helping significantly in this general improvement in the level of education.

The investment has been comparatively small, but the range of services under titles I and III of ESEA is wide and varied. Under title I, the following projects have been initiated in the Ninth District:

Reading	38
Teacher aids	31
Health services	25
Guidance	23
Speech therapy	12
Food services	11
Remedial math	9
Library services	9
Kindergarten	4
Vocational education	3
Special education	2

I include now a summary of the title I grants and amounts approved in the Ninth District to date:

INDIANA, 9TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, TITLE I, ESEA

	Maximum grant	Amount approved to date
Bartholomew County:		
Bartholomew Consolidated School Corp	$108,616.84	$108,616.84
Flat Rock-Hawcreek School Corp	14,130.41	14,130.41
County total	122,747.25	122,747.25
Clark County:		
Bethlehem Township schools	4,596.64	4,596.64
Carr Township schools	9,193.28	9,193.28
MSD of Charlestown Township	55,329.89	55,329.89
Clarksville School, town	10,385.00	10,385.00
Jeffersonville School, city	80,185.78	80,185.78
Jeffersonville Township schools	41,539.98	41,539.98
Monroe Township schools	12,938.68	12,938.68
Oregon Township schools	3,915.65	3,915.65
Owen Township schools	8,171.80	8,171.80
Silver Creek Township School Corp	8,512.30	4,602.93
Union Township schools	8,852.79	8,852.79
Utica Township schools	5,447.87	5,447.87
Washington Township schools	11,576.72	11,576.72
Wood Township schools	9,363.52	9.363.52
County total	270.009.90	266,100.53
Dearborn County:		
Aurora City schools	17,535.33	10,164.81
Clay Township schools	5,107.37	5,107.37
Greendale Town schools	None	None
Harrison Township schools	3,575.16	3,575.16
Lawrenceburg Joint High School	6,128.85	6,128.85
Lawrenceburg City schools	13,619.66	13,619.66
Lawrenceburg Township schools	1,872.70	1,872.70
Manchester Township schools	11,406.47	11,406.47
Miller-Logan-Harrison schools	6,639.59	6,639.59
Miller-York Joint School	3,915.65	None
North Dearborn Joint High School	5,277.63	3,023.21
Sparta Township schools	3,965.90	3,260.41
County total	79,044.31	64,798.23
Decatur County:		
Decatur County community schools	62,480.22	62,480.22
Greensburg Community School Corp	37,113.59	37,113.59
County total	99,593.81	99,593.81
Fayette County: Fayette County School Corp. (county total)	90,060.05	90,060.05
Franklin County:		
Laurel Township schools	12,768.45	12,768.45
Metamora Township schools	11,065.98	11,065.98
Posey Township schools	12,087.45	12,087.45
Salt Creek Township schools	3,234.67	3,234.67
Springfield Township schools	14,130.41	14,130.41
Whitewater Township schools	1,532.21	1,532.21
MSD of Brookville	33,027.69	33,027.69
County total	87,846.86	87,846.86
Jackson County:		
Brownstown Central Community School Corp	23,664.17	23,664.17
Carr Township schools	11,576.72	11,576.72
MSD of Vernon Township	8,512.29	8,512.29
Owen Township schools	24,855.89	24,855.89
Salt Creek Township schools	680.98	680.98
Seymour community schools	53,797.69	53,797.69
County total	123,087.74	123,087.74
Jefferson County:		
Graham Township schools	12,598.19	12,598.19
Madison Consolidated	71,503.25	71,503.25
Southern Jefferson Consolidated School Corp	29,112.04	29,112.04
County total	113,213.48	113,213.48
Ohio County: Rising Sun-Ohio County Community School Corp	12,427.95	12,427.95
Orange County:		
Orleans community schools	21,791.48	21,791.48
Paoli Community School Corp	57,543.07	57,543.07
Springs Valley Community School Corp	33,538.44	33,538.44
County total	112,872.99	112,872.99
Lawrence County:		
MSD of Mitchell	38,645.81	38,645.81
North Lawrence community schools	97,040.12	97,040.12
County total	135,685.93	135,685.93
Ripley County:		
Batesville Community School Corp	$22,812.94	$22,812.94
Jac-Cen-Del Consolidated School Corp	18,897.28	18,897.28
Milan Community School Corp	12,427.94	12,427.94
Otter Creek Township schools	9,704.05	9,704.05
South Ripley community schools	12,400.00	None
Sunman Consolidated School Corp	14,300.65	14,300.65
County total	90,542.86	78,142.86
Scott County:		
Scott County School District No. 1	22,812.96	22,812.96
Scott County School District No. 2	65,272.09	65,272.09
County total	88,085.05	88,085.05
Shelby County:		
Northwestern Consolidated School Corp	None	None
Shelby eastern schools	18,727.04	18,727.04
Shelbyville central schools	32,857.44	32,857.44
Southwestern Consolidated School District	12,938.69	12,938.69
County total	64,523.17	64,523.17
Switzerland County: Switzerland County School Corp. (county total)	44,946.78	44,946.87
Washington County:		
East Washington School Corp	44,433.16	44,434.16
Salem community schools	60,607.52	60,607.52
West Washington School Corp	43,242.44	43,242.44
County total	148,284.12	148,284.12

Ninth District educators also have taken advantage of the innovative services offered under title III of ESEA. The following projects have been approved and are underway:

TITLE III PROGRAMS IN INDIANA'S 9TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Project	Description	Amount of funds
66–246	A mobile counseling unit provides staff and equipment to 17 high schools in Lawrence, Martin, Orange, and Washington Counties. Dropout rates, absenteeism, and vocational aspirations are among the focal concerns of the guidance unit.	[1]$46,311 [2]62,142
66–1635	School administrators are engaged in planning methods of curriculum innovation and inservice training programs for local school systems in Lawrence County.	63,835
67–3626	The Southeastern Indiana Educational Service Unit serving 14 counties is making an assessment of educational needs and resources, expanding counseling services, planning innovative curricular programs and a model school.	105,061
66–544	The objective of the planning period is the development of model educational programs and facilities designed to serve all age groups in the Jeffersonville community.	8,847
66–2374	The Spring Hill Community Educational Center serving Clark County offers supplemental services to all segments of the community. Program emphasis is upon remediation, guidance counseling, adult education, health and nutrition, aesthetic experiences, and library resources.	140,214
66–1921	A program of clinical services for children in Jefferson County who have serious learning and adjustment problems utilizes the facilities of the Madison State Hospital.	10,079
66–2669	Work orientation and job study for slow learners in high school is the focal point of attention in a pilot program involving 11 school corporations in a 9-county area (including Bartholomew).	135,743
66–1543	The southern Indiana area cooperative vocational program utilizes the consortium approach toward developing innovative vocational education programs.	41,462

[1] 1st year.

[2] 2d year.

PROBLEMS

There is a certain irony in the fact that new, badly needed educational programs are becoming accessible at a time when there are fewer and fewer good teachers available. At a time when the winds of change are moving through the world of education, teachers to implement these changes are becoming more and more scarce.

School administrators in the Ninth District are extremely concerned about this development. They are looking to their local, State, and Federal governments for help. If we are to maintain the scope and level of education as envisioned in the ESEA, we must also look to ways of bringing more of our innovative young people into the teaching profession.

The ESEA, by virtue of its new concepts of education, is a means in itself of attracting dedicated young people. But we must also see that salaries are improved, working conditions made better and retirement benefits and other areas are made more attractive.

The Ninth District school administrators pointed out a number of problems in the implementation of ESEA-sponsored programs. They are not insurmountable problems, but ones which must be resolved in order to carry out the aims of the act more effectively and more efficiently.

First. The complaint voiced most often and most emphatically was the need for earlier appropriations.

The word "uncertainty" was used regularly in their comments. I quote a few of them:

> The greatest problem which we are experiencing, and I am sure this is true of all school corporations, is that of the uncertainty, both in terms of the continuation of the programs and the individual local approval. We find that we cannot plan ahead, and thus, it is difficult for us to secure and hold qualified personnel.

> (The uncertainty of allocations) . . . necessitates the usual "hurry up and wait" that is so common. Where employees are concerned, it necessitates a "wait and see" attitude for their employment. For the school corporation, it makes planning difficult, to say the least.

> Some improvement may be affected if the program could be funded over a longer period than one year. This would alleviate some of the uncertainty which is inherent in the program as it now is.

> Last week we received our allotment for Title I and found it cut again very substantially. The good program we have initiated will need to be reduced again.

I quote from another of the superintendents at the meeting:

> We are now involved in a Title III program with eleven other school corporations which will provide a work-study program for the mentally handicapped pupil at junior and senior high school levels. Funding during the past school year has enabled us to develop the details of the program and we are ready to implement it during 1967–68. We were advised on July 6 by the State Director of the program that funds would be committed to our use for September through November only.
>
> We are very hesitant at this point to enter a program, employ personnel, purchase

> equipment and enroll pupils when we can only be assured of one semester of the program.
>
> My only suggestion for improving the situation is to introduce into any legislation sufficient lead time to enable school boards and administrators to adequately plan for any programs which involve Federal funds.

School administrators, concerned with budgets, the hiring of teachers, and the establishment of curriculum now cannot rely on specific allocations of ESEA funds at the time they are planning programs for the coming school year.

The authorization, funding, and appropriation of ESEA funds has not been synchronized with the school systems' programing, budgeting, and recruiting schedules. This in turn makes it difficult to fully integrate ESEA programs into the the educational system.

Second. School officials complain, too, that reports required by ESEA administrators often are too complicated. Statements are asked for that are meaningless in some instances, difficult to answer truthfully in others, and impossible to answer in a few instances.

Again, I quote from the comments of Ninth District School administrators:

> There have been times when the regulations implementing the programs have been frustrating.
>
> ---
>
> The only disadvantage to the program is that it has increased my workload in planning programs and in accounting for money spent. I could eliminate this by hiring a Federal Money Coordinator but then his salary would use up most of this money and this cannot be justified educationally.

These excessive paperwork requirements place an added burden on the staffs of all schools and most particularly on the smaller schools. These smaller schools, which can least afford to devote the time and personnel to administrative tasks, cannot prepare these complicated forms as carefully as the larger schools. And ESEA officials tend to respond to those statements which are the most carefully prepared, thus the schools that need help most receive the least consideration.

These administrative problems are compounded by an apparent lack of coordination in the Office of Education. Many school administrators report duplicate forms, requiring repetitive and unnecessary information.

School administrators complain, too, that it often takes too long for an application for ESEA funds to be processed and approved. After approval, the wait for funds is long.

Third. Educators complain that the formula for fund distribution under title I for ESEA is unrealistic. Basing fund allocations on the 1960 census is outmoded, they said.

They question the allocation of ESEA funds based on income levels, suggesting that funds could be distributed more equitably on the basis of assessed property evaluation or perhaps the average income per school community rather than per county.

Fourth. While high in praise of the work designed for special need groups, educators say there is a need for a widening out of the program and for more long-range planning. Being forced to spend a specific amount of money in a specific time period often leads to waste, they point out.

Fifth. ESEA programs sometime lead school officials into construction projects to accommodate them. The construction of facilities for specialized programs is prohibitive, they say. They suggest that funds also be authorized to accommodate debt service on construction loans, that lower interest rates be allotted for such projects, or that the Federal Government guarantee such loans.

Sixth. School officials complain that there appears to be an uneven application of ESEA funds. For example, they point out that some schools are allowed to establish kindergartens with ESEA funds, while other applications for kindergarten funds are turned down.

Seventh. Finally, school officials point to communication problems in the establishment and implementation of ESEA programs.

Often, they admit, the problem is within the school systems themselves. But they say there are frequent misunderstandings in all areas of the program, between the Washington level and the State agency; between the State agency and the school administrators, and finally, between school administrators and the teachers.

By the same token, there are misconceptions between the school systems and the communities which they serve.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Obviously, the program's most immediate need is for Congress to remedy the uncertainty school officials face in the allocation of ESEA funds. This is an intolerable situation.

School officials should know by April of each year how much to expect from the ESEA program for the coming school year.

I need only point to the fact that school officials across the country do not know today how much in ESEA title I funds they will be receiving for the current school year.

The ESEA has generated new educational ideas and new enthusiasm in the Ninth District, but enthusiasm and efficiency are dampened considerably by late allocations of funds.

We must, as one administrator said, "introduce into any legislation sufficient leadtime to enable school boards and administrators to adequately plan for any programs which involve Federal funds."

The administrative burden on schools participating in ESEA programs should be reduced.

I recognize that the ESEA calls for a more critical evaluation of educational programs that most schools have had to make in the past. This is a new concept in education and the Government and the people have a right to know what progress is being made.

However, there should be a review of application forms, procedures, and evaluation techniques with an eye toward eliminating duplication of statistics and the requirements for difficult and often impossible information.

The smaller schools, particularly, are hard hit by bewildering requirements for duplicity of information. They simply do not have the personnel to devote to these requirements in most cases.

The formula for allocating funds under title I should be revised to utilize the most recent and most realistic data possible.

ESEA programs, particularly those under title I, should be developed into longer range programs, fashioned to meet a widening area of students, not just those with special educational needs. And in this respect, coordination among school systems should be encouraged to develop regional programs.

Congress should explore ways to assist schools in the construction of new facilities to carry out the ESEA programs. A construction program to parallel the ESEA is an obvious solution. But Federal assistance could come, too, in guaranteeing construction loans or in lower interest rates on construction loans.

Since the education of a child is but a part of his development into a responsible citizen, efforts should be made to carry the aims of the ESEA programs into his whole environment, not just his schooling.

Other programs, such as the community action programs, should be coordinated with ESEA projects to insure the total development of the disadvantaged child.

And finally, we must continue to work in Congress to relieve a growing shortage of teachers in this country. Without effective, dedicated teachers, the ESEA, or any other program, is not going to function.

CONCLUSION

Suffice it to say that school officials in the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana are enthusiastic with the potential ESEA offers. This landmark legislation has stimulated individuals, educators, agencies, and communities to take a new look at the role of education.

There remains the need for a continual evaluation of the program at all levels, however, to see that it is being adapted effectively to local needs and that it is carried out in the most efficient manner possible.

Finally, I would say that no realist thinks all the problems of American education are going to be solved by this act. Nevertheless, it constitutes an historic breakthrough, and almost certainly will become one of the most significant statutes ever passed by the Congress.

In the final analysis, it represents not a solution, but an opportunity. We must continue to nurture this opportunity and not allow it to become strangled in administrative redtape or to perish in inefficiency.

THE GENERAL PUBLIC MUST COME FIRST

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the current interest in air safety reflects two significant developments. First, this interest is not reacting simply to an air disaster but is rather an independent growth based on several indicators of trouble ahead in airspace. Second, and more important, responsible people are beginning to question the air safety system and not just its human and mechanical components.

The New York Times, for example, devoted its principal editorial last Saturday to a plea that "in the competition between private and commercial planes, those that serve the general public must come first."

The editorial follows:

Luck Is No Copilot

When Tennyson looked into the future over a century ago, he saw "the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,/ pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

Or, more prosaically, 6 P.M. of a September twilight over Kennedy, La Guardia and Newark Airports, when 95 planes are landing or about to land, and another 250 private planes are taking off or landing at smaller fields in the New York area.

All told, 110 million passengers were transported by "magic sails" last year in 2,300 commercial liners and 100,000 general aviation (private) planes. By 1975 these fleets are expected to double; among the newcomers will be jets carrying 450 passengers each and 1,800-mile-an-hour supersonic transports. The result: A tripling of passenger travel, more traffic jams in the skies, delays on the ground and added hazards of every kind.

These factors underlie President Johnson's request to Secretary of Transportation Boyd for a master plan to expand the nation's air traffic control system. Mr. Boyd set the right financial compass by declaring that "neither the Federal Government, nor state and local governments, can be expected to increase drastically their expenditures for an airport grant-in-aid program." Basically, the new money must come from the airlines and from airport authorities.

Safeguards in the sky must precede expansion on the ground. Here the warnings of commercial pilots are worth heeding. They say that present communications are inadequate, that landing aids, lighting and runways must be improved. Basic to greater safety is the system of air-traffic control.

The Federal Aviation Administration has requested $100 million in extra air safety funds for fiscal 1968, which the President has denied—but without setting forth precise reasons for doing so. It is not enough for him to say that "this nation has an enviable record of air safety." The F.A.A. has called for more controllers and other personnel dealing with flight standards, and it deserves a chance to prove its case before Congress. The principle holds: On air safety precautions and control, there can be no stinting or delay.

Two recent crashes in the Bronx, and the collision with a commercial liner in North Carolina, have focused attention on private planes.

The F.A.A. records show that in the past two and a half years there were 82 near-collisions over Queens. Most involved light planes. According to the Guggenheim Center at Cornell University, deaths involving private planes totaled 1,069 last year, compared with fifty for scheduled domestic airlines. In most cases the fatalities involved pilots "lacking professional ability"—usually in private aviation. Surely general aviation fliers must be examined as rigidly as commercial pilots, and small aircraft must be equipped with the best possible safety devices.

One highly constructive program to help relieve air congestion is the new agreement to develop Teterboro Airport in New Jersey and the Republic Aviation Airport on Long Island. This will accomplish two things: provide alternate bases for private aircraft and air taxis and lessen the traffic for the large commercial liners at Kennedy, La Guardia and Newark.

This joint venture of the Port of New York Authority, the Aviation Development Council and Pan American World Airways calls for development of airport facilities and special ground transportation between Teterboro and Manhattan. At both small airports, helicopters will be available to shorten the commuting time to New York City.

There is a balance and priority of air space and facilities as there is for all other transportation essentials before Congress. In the competition between private and commercial planes, those that serve the general public must come first. Above all, the need is for safety. Here luck cannot serve as co-pilot over New York or anywhere else in the United States.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON FOR THE AMERICAN CONSUMER

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Howard] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, another of President Johnson's programs to protect and aid the American consumer is moving closer to fruition.

A few days ago, the House subcommittee dealing with consumer affairs approved a bill to establish a National Commission on Product Safety. This Commission would recommend ways in which the consumer can be protected from a growing number of injuries and deaths caused by hazardous or faulty household products.

This is just another dramatic example of President Johnson's personal concern for equity and safety for the American consumer.

It illustrates once again the central role which the consumer and consumer affairs have in President Johnson's Great Society programs.

The President's record for the consumer is outstanding.

Periodic messages to the Congress on consumer affairs alerting the Nation to the problems of the consumer and the need for greater Government protection.

The historic Truth-in-Packaging Act which was passed in 1965, and of which I am proud to say I was a cosponsor.

The landmark truth-in-lending bill which has already passed the Senate overwhelmingly and is now before the House. For the first time, this act will provide full disclosure on credit rates for the American consumer.

The Flammable Fabrics Act and the Wholesome Meat Act.

These are the programs of a President who, no matter how deeply involved he becomes with questions of war and peace, never for one moment diminishes his fundamental concern for the individual American citizen.

I am convinced that when President Johnson's total consumer package is enacted into law, we will witness—as we are already beginning to witness—a wholesome transformation of the conditions under which the American public purchases food, obtains credit, and uses the wondrous products of the American free enterprise system.

Consumer protection is first and foremost a people's program.

I know that as each consumer protection measure comes to the floor, this House will give it their overwhelming support. And I know that the President of the United States will share with us the joy of having done our duty for our country.

THE LAND OF CANAAN

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Bevill] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Record an article by my good friend, Mr. Rubin Hanan, president of the Alabama League of Aging Citizens, Inc., Montgomery, Ala., and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

The Land of Canaan—"The Land of Promise for the Israelites"

History is moving inexorably to fulfill God's covenants to Israel's patriarchs of old, even though the fierce hatred between the Arab nations and the Israelites had its origin many centuries before the descendants of Abraham were driven from the Promised Land.

The followers of Mohammed, known today as Arabs, swept out over the Middle East during the 6th century and subjugated all in their paths. Throughout the Dark Ages and into the Middle Ages the picture did not change. The Crusaders attempted to wrest the Holy Land from Saracens, murdering and pillaging as they went.

The question today is who is this seed to this land was promised as an everlasting possession? This is the question at the basis of the entire Middle East situation. We must confine ourselves entirely to the Bible's answer to this question and not to historians who may never know the exact meaning of God's prophecy and promises.

We neither defend nor condemn Israel or the Arabs but merely repeat what God has to say in the matter.

When Abraham was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between Me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face; and God talked with him, saying, "As for me, behold My Covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham (the father exalted); for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceedingly fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish My Covenant between Me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee."

Israel is descended from Isaac. The Arabs from Ishmael, son of Hagar. God had made promises to Abraham—of tremendous national supremacy and world power! The Arabs wanted it. They are children of Abraham! The Turks wanted it—and for over 600 years did possess most of the Holy Land. They are the children of Esau, who sold that birthright to Jacob. Israel is descended from Jacob.

The Bible contains the record of Israel's history from the beginning to end extending over a period of more than four thousand years. Yet scores of old prophecies concerning Israel as the Abraham's seed have been fulfilled without one single failure, but have proven one hundred percent correct.

Since Abraham had several sons, the question arises in this age of automation: "which son is to be reckoned as the "Covenant Seed?" The importance of this question will come obvious when we remind ourselves that both the Arabs and the Jews are Abraham's "physical" seed.

Today, both the Arabs and Israel claim title to the land of Canaan, the Promised Land.

Islam did not develop until the 6th century, in the wake of Judaism and Christianity, it also affirms Biblical origins, considering Mohammed the latest in the line of prophets, including Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus.

The question as to which line of Abraham would receive "everlasting possession" of the Promised Land is answered in Genesis 17:21:

"But My Covenant will I establish with Isaac"

And the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying:

"Command the children of Israel, and say unto them;

"When he come unto the land of Canaan, this shall be the land that shall fall into you for inheritance, even the land of Canaan according to the borders thereof."

Israel is the one nation, and the only one, among all the nations of the past or present, whose entire history was minutely foretold, predicted and described in detail before it even became a nation. The Bible contains the record of her entire history from beginning to end extending over a period of approximately 4,000 years.

Palestine is the one land which was given to the single nation of Israel by an unconditional promise to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; a promise which can never be broken or annuled, and confirmed by the return of the nation of Israel to the land of their fathers fulfilling the prophesy of Ezekiel 36:24–28.

The Arabs view that they were inhabitants of Palestine before the 6th century. 634 A.D. Caliph Omar's army capitulated the old City of Jerusalem, this produced a Moslem exodus to Jerusalem.

Palestine became an Arab country, not only because of the Mohammedan conquest, but also because Arabs had come to the Promised Land by immigration for centuries back. The Arabs argue this length of time has given them a prescriptive right to continue to live in Palestine and to retain their property there. As for the Israeli's claim to have a right to reoccupy Palestine, the statute of limitations applies to this. According to the Arabs, Israel has no right to keep the Palestenian Arabs out of their homes and to rob them of property. However, the universal question is "Who is this seed to whom this land was promised as an everlasting, inalienable possession?"

Israeli's view is that the Jews have been beaten about the globe for centuries, extended little compassion and less protection by law.These pioneers of Israel have survived their trials as a sword survives the flame in which it is tempered. They made the desert bloom. They emerged at last from their endless wanderings and created the old home and a new home in their ancient homeland. They built cities, hospitals, schools. They resolved to preserve their freedoms and always ready to defend her sovereignty and life against aggressors. When they fight, as their history reveals, it was in defense of their people, possession, laws, right and country. Israel's fighting men and women are not transformed into wild-blood-thirsty beasts as the enemies of ancient and modern Israel. After holding the land for 1,400 years despite periodic captivities and invasion by Babylonians, Syrians, Persians and Macedonians, Israel was finally crushed by Rome in 70 A.D. leaving the Jewish people without a country until 1948.

The history of the people of Israel is the history of ordinary beings living ordinary lives under the incessant repetition of that threat for centuries. Today, they are backed up and surrounded by 110 million Arabs in 14 nations and by just enough military activity to prove that the threat might be put into action any moment. During the very days when Egypt's main army in Sinai was suffering one of the most humiliating defeats in military history, Nasser's forces in the Yemen were busily spraying poison gas on fellow Arabs.

And Communist imperialism is another major enemy of peace in the Middle East, and it is fed by dictatorships, large and small. When the world is in an unsettled condition, they have their biggest opportunity to fomet trouble and bring on the little wars which eventually can develop into an Atomic holocaust and eventually the world's destruction. The devilish thing about the Soviet strategy here is its attempt to carry the disastrous Arab myths of the past into the future, to provoke the Arabs into thinking that they can rearm and do better in the next round with their hated enemy.

Nasser was rescued from oblivion by the intercession of the United Nations cease fire. This will probably rate in history's pages as one of the greatest blunders of the century.

Israel seeks nothing less than one of the most basic human rights of our day; that each person should have the right and the opportunity to choose his own destiny free from fear and free from force, to reap the blessing of freedom.

Israel has faced a desperate hour of ultimate agony and turned it into a glorious page in her short history. This is the time to extend our hand. To protect the life of Israel's Promised Land. "Israel embattled, cried out to you . . . out of the hope of years, out of the growing fears, out of the anguish and threats, and out of the diplomats' tangled nets", help Israel to hitch the chariot of their daily deeds to the blazing star of that stupendous faith so that common tasks and the trivial may be edged with Crimson gold.

That Israel of today will survive to be a greater Israel of tomorrow and Forever.

TWO NEW OUTSTANDING HOUSING PROGRAMS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Rodino] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am particularly happy to place in the Congressional Record recent material concerning two new outstanding housing programs that have recently been launched by the Prudential Insurance Co., the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co., both having their home offices in Newark, and the Mount Carmel Guild of Newark.

President Johnson is certainly to be commended for the initiative that brought American insurance companies together in their announcement to invest $1 billion for housing and jobs in central cities. Newark is indeed fortunate that Governor Hughes, Mayor Addonizio, and spokesmen for the insurance industry have all moved swiftly and surely in order to begin immediate construction under this new housing program. Such private, Federal, State, and local cooperation for a goal that we have long sought is of great satisfaction to us who represent overcrowded urban areas.

The material follows:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Sept. 22, 1967]

A Promising Start

The announcement that Newark would be the first city in the nation to directly benefit from the $1 billion mortgage pool set up by insurance companies for investment in ghetto real estate marks a significant breakthrough in the community's long-shunned area of middle-income housing.

Another major development is the decision by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark to take an active role in low and middle-income housing in Newark and municipalities in the four other counties under its spiritual jurisdiction.

Further impetus was given social programs for the nation's ghettoes by the Senate, which voted appropriations of $537 million for the model cities program and $40 million for rent supplements. This is a responsible awareness of the pressing needs of American large cities that has still to be reflected in the House, which has imposed totally unrealistic reductions on these programs.

These are the sinews of a city's resurgence, the involvement of the private sector and a religious group in projects and programs that will have a vital impact on the lives of its deprived citizens.

The initial, primary thrust in this direction will come from the construction of a $4.5 million middle-income cooperative housing project; a site for the garden apartments already has been cleared near the center of the city.

The Prudential Insurance Co., which has pledged $200 million as its share of the mortgage fund, will provide the financing. This is one phase of the Pru's commitment in Newark; it already has agreed to provide similar underwriting for the $24 million Gateway redevelopment in a two-block area adjacent to the Penn Station.

These projects can be expedited because the sites have already been cleared by the Housing Authority, the city's redevelopment agency.

The urgent need of middle and low-income housing in the state's largest city has been amply demonstrated and documented in the past; it was cited with a despairing repetitiveness as a major cause for the racial turbulence that struck the city this summer.

But there is also sufficient evidence that the garden apartment project is a sound investment; the city has had a gratifying, eminently successful experience with a similar development that was built above High St., near the site of the one the Pru is financing.

Both the cooperative development and the housing plans by the Archdiocese will utilize the financing provisions of the state's $250 million fund for middle-income housing. This could be a potent lever for the state's large cities which are confronted with large-scale redevelopment programs to wipe out slum areas.

The spate of activity in redevelopment is significant in another sense, the contrast it provides in comparison with the lethargic policies of the Federal Housing Administration, the federal agency that has traditionally skirted investment in urban centers, the areas of greatest need.

This policy of ultra-conservatism has been widely criticized by governmental officials who feel that the FHA has not been doing the job for which it was created during the Depression. The agency was established by Congress during that lean economic period to stimulate construction investment, moving into areas that were considered hazardous by the private financial community.

There was a major shift in FHA policy this summer when the agency announced that it would begin to underwrite mortgages in slum areas.

The FHA office for the North Jersey region, in the wake of the Newark disturbances, said it was prepared to approve applications for a garden apartment and a high-rise apartment project to be built under the auspices of a union, both in Newark. Ironically, the garden co-op is the same one that the Pru is now financing.

The FHA has yet to act on either of these projects. It would seem that the brave new policies of the federal agency, proclaimed in the heat of the racial turbulence, have not yet been translated into actuality. It may be too much to expect the FHA to change its conservative stance overnight; after all these are habits fixed by years of administrative apathy in the neglect of urban projects.

Perhaps the announcements by the Pru and the Archdiocese may spur some belated action by the FHA. And if it does, the agency would only be doing what it pledged to do.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Sept. 21, 1967]

MOUNT CARMEL'S BLUEPRINT FOR A HOUSING REVIVAL

(By Herb Jaffe)

A massive long-range physical and social improvement project, designed to provide new housing for low and middle income families and acompanied by a comprehensive educational and guidance program, was outlined in depth yesterday by the Mt. Carmel Guild. It would affect problem communities in four North Jersey counties.

The overall program, which could involve an expenditure of $50 million in the next two years, will be sponsored by the Mt. Carmel Guild, a multi-service and non-profit rehabilitation agency of the Newark Archdiocese.

Archbishop Thomas A. Boland first announced the program last week after several discussions with a panel of priests which visited Newark's summer riot zones.

Msgr. Joseph A. Dooling, archdiocesan director of the Mt. Carmel Guild, referred to the church's new form of participation in Essex, Union, Hudson and Bergen Counties as "a return to missionary work in our own country and in our own community."

The program will be similar to others sponsored by Protestant and Jewish groups, in addition to private non-profit projects. Its scope, however, makes it one of the largest such undertakings anywhere.

The program outlined at a news conference in Newark yesterday will encompass the following aims:

The establishment of advisory committees in each of the four counties which will finance and develop nonprofit housing in cooperation with federal and state agencies.

Rebuilding a social structure within the confines of each housing development by using the educational, recreational and health facilities of the Mt. Carmel Guild.

To provide a non-profit, non-sectarian form of cooperative living and to offer community teaching, counseling, budget assistance and motivation.

In middle class areas, to assist home owners materially and with counsel so they could remain in neighborhoods where they have spent much of their lives.

A program to inspire family understanding and counsel.

A plan of cooperative buying involving such essentials as food and clothing within the premises of each development.

"Response from Negro leaders has been very pleasing," said Msgr. Dooling. "This is not just another housing authority. It is not just another physical structure; it is a social structure that is designed to meet the basic problems of disadvantaged people, such as in Newark's Central Ward and in other sections of Newark where people are being displaced."

SIMPLE INCENTIVE

Msgr. Dooling was quick to add that the program will be strictly voluntary. "The incentive is simple," he stated.

"We can provide these people with a better family life which in turn will improve their levels of income and general living standards. It will open horizons for their children," he explained.

Also present at the news conference were Msgr. Vincent P. Coburn, a member of the Mt. Carmel Guild Board of Trustees, and Dr. Charles Carluccio, executive medical director of the Guild and a psychiatrist in charge of the Guild's mental health clinics.

Dr. Carluccio explained that a pilot program already has proven highly effective in Jersey City.

BUILD DIGNITY

"Through 'Project Help' (Health Education Leadership Program) we have provided facilities for building a completely new atmosphere of dignity both for and wtihin the individual family. This has been a big problem, and it is the major problem in many ghetto areas," said Dr. Carluccio.

"We don't want these people collectively to be called housing projects. We want them to be called families—individual families, and we want them to take pride in this reflection.

"We want to open every avenue of potential for development of the individual human being as part of a family, with family dignity the focal point," the phychiatrist explained.

"This is not mental health in the sense of the term, it is the means to self development," he added. Dr. Carluccio explained that the Guild program will make available the teachers, counselors and other professional people who "will help teach disadvantaged people how to participate on their own."

FOUR CITIES

Msgr. Dooling characterized several of the larger communities in the four counties as problem areas, where the Guild program could be most effective. He mentioned Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Plainfield, Hackensack and Englewood.

As to financing, he explained that high rise and other housing initially undertaken by federal and state programs would be sought out by the advisory councils in each of the four counties.

The councils, composed of nine to 11 representatives, including bankers, lawyers, teachers and other professional people, would arrange for private financing to replace governmental appropriations.

BANKERS INTERESTED

"We have already met with several banking institutions which have shown considerable interest. In effect, the Guild will sponsor the programs, and a private nonprofit corporation will be established for each development to administer the project. Rentals will be regulated according to governmental standards," Msgr. Dooling explained.

"The non-profit corporations would actually own the development after paying back 75 per cent of the overall cost, yet it would abide by governmental regulations for low and middle income housing," he explained.

Msgr. Dooling said two projects already are under way in Jersey City and two more are on the drawing boards for Newark, including three middle income units on North Sixth St. that will accommodate 700 families. It is expected to be finished in six months.

RIGHT STEP

Msgr. Coburn called the basic federally sponsored programs a move in the right direction. "The federal government has done very much in the area of housing, but we can do more by implementing the physical structures with a social structure."

Commenting on the open housing marches in Milwaukee being led by Father James Groopi, Msgr. Coburn said:

"We approve in essence what Father Groppi is doing . . . But I don't think that such activities are necessary in Newark.

"Open housing is one of the very special reasons for the Guild's activity. We want to sponsor open housing, so that the Negro—just as the forefathers of the white community—will be able to pull himself up by his bootstraps and buy a house where he pleases."

Msgr. Dooling said that the Mt. Carmel Guild may have an initial outlay of $250,000 in starting the program, and added that it may be reimbursable. "We will apply for money through our advisory councils for worthwhile projects as it is needed," he said.

NEWARK THE FIRST CITY TO GET NEW HOUSING LOAN MILLIONS

(By Connie Cedrone)

Newark will be the first city in the country to dip into a $1 billion mortgage till set up by the nation's insurance industries for slum clearance and improved housing.

The Prudential Insurance Co. of America said yesterday it will break ground in 30 days for a $4.5 million middle income co-op housing project in the heart of Newark, at Washington and Kinney Streets.

The 270-unit garden type apartments were announced at a joint conference with Gov. Richard J. Hughes and Prudential President Orville E. Beal in Trenton yesterday afternoon.

Prudential, which is investing more than $200 million in the nation-wide program, has agreed to finance the project. It will also provide a two-year construction loan for the builder, Jack Parker Associates.

Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, who also met with Hughes and Community Affairs Commissioner Paul N. Ylvisaker, said:

"I'm very excited and pleased about the action here today. It's the kind of cooperation and help we need in rebuilding our cities."

Beal said the nine-acre urban renewal site is already cleared and immediately available for construction. This, he said, will make it possible for Newark to complete the project within 9 months to a year.

"It's the first instance of project approval in the country since the announcement was made in Washington last week," Beal said. Prudential started delving into Newark's housing situation more than a year ago.

AIDS RELOCATION

Hughes said he expects the new middle income dwellings to assist city officials in relocating Central Ward families displaced by the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry.

Ylvisaker, who has been meeting with "a great variety of non-profit housing groups," said:

"This is a tremendous take-off point. It's what the public sector has been hoping for a long time."

He anticipates that as a result of the Washington Street project, the rate of applications will pick up "very fast, soon giving us room for everybody."

Essentially, Prudential has guaranteed that it will purchase the state's bonds at the present interest rate. The rate will be determined next Tuesday when the program is given final approval at a public meeting of the State Housing Finance Agency. If, when the buildings are completed, the bond market is below the present 1967 rate, the state retains the right to by-pass the insurance company's offer and accept open bids.

RENT ESTIMATE

Under the direction of the state FHA, the project will consist of 16 separate three-story buildings, interspersed with lawns and parking facilities for 180 cars.

Down payment costs for Newark families are estimated at $800. Monthly costs will range from $100 to $125 for one and two bedroom apartments and up to $150 for three bedroom units.

[From the Newark (N.J) Evening News, Sept. 21, 1967]

NEW NEWARK HOUSING PROJECT TO GET STARTED IN 30 DAYS—GOAL IS SET BY HUGHES

TRENTON.—Ground will be broken within a month in Newark for the first housing project under the state's new middle-income housing law. The Prudential Insurance Co. and the state will be partners in the project. Prudential president Orville E. Beal said this is the first instance of a life insurance company committing itself to a ghetto housing project since the nation's insurance companies pledged last week to make available a total of $1 billion to rebuild slum areas across the nation.

Beal added, "in taking this action, Prudential recognizes the pressing need to improve housing conditions in our central cities and reverse deterioration of our great urban centers."

The $4.5 million project, of 16 separate three-story garden apartment type buildings will be built on nine acres of cleared urban renewal land bounded by Washington, High, Court and Kinney streets on the fringe of Newark's downtown section.

Gov. Hughes, at a press conference yesterday, said ground would be broken within 30 days by the Jack Parker Associates of New Jersey. Completion is expected within 9 to 12 months of the start of building.

FOUR AND ONE-HALF MILLION DOLLAR LOAN

Prudential will loan Parker Construction $4.5 million to build the project. By the completion date, the new State Housing Finance Agency will have issued long-term, low-interest bonds to finance this and other middle-income projects.

The agency bonds will be used, in effect, to repay the $4.5 million short-term construction loan. The long-term authority bonds will be repaid by mortgage payments produced by fees paid by the tenants. Prudential, however, has agreed to purchase $4.5 million of the authority's long-term bonds, which are expected to bear about a 4 per cent interest rate.

Occupants of the 270-unit project designed to accommodate 900 persons will be shareholders in an non-profit cooperative corporation which will run the project and pay off the mortgage.

As in other cooperative apartment ventures, the tenants will have to make a down payment on their apartments. Monthly carrying charges, equivalent to rent payments, will be $100 a month for one-bedroom apartments, $125 for two-bedroom units, and $150 for three-bedroom apartments.

EXCITED, PLEASED

To assist lower-income families in making the down payments, expected to average $800 per apartment, the state community affairs department will use demonstration housing grant funds to guarantee bank loans for the prospect tenants who otherwise could not get a loan.

Newark's mayor, Hugh J. Addonizio, who attended the press conference, said he was excited and pleased by the announcement of the middle-income project.

Noting the land was cleared by federal and city funds, he said, "this is an example of the kind of cooperation that can do the city rebuilding job. This is the way urban renewal was meant to work.

Paul N. Ylvisaker, state community affairs commissioner, said the new project would accommodate some of the thousands of families who will be dispossessed by clearing of land for the initial phase of construction of the N.J. College of Medicine and Dentistry campus near City Hospital in Newark.

He admitted that many of the families in the area to be cleared might not be able to afford the rents in the new project. But he said a survey showed some families in the area are paying more in rent now than they would be in the new project.

He also said the Newark Housing authority could make down payments on some of the apartments and rent them out as public housing units at lower rents financed in part by federal funds.

The community affairs commissioner said the project should be "a tremendous take-off point" for a full-scale middle-income housing program in New Jersey cities. He said he and his staff are talking with dozens of non-profit groups, all of whom want to move rapidly with middle-income housing projects.

Jack Parker, president of Parker Associates, said the design of the Newark middle-income project will follow that of the 460-unit High Park Gardens which his firm built in Newark.

Lawns, sidewalks and parking areas will be interspersed between the buildings. There will be 36 one-bedroom apartments, 198 two-bedroom apartments, and 36 three-bedroom apartments.

CATHOLICS IN WIDE PLAN

(By Josephine Bonomo)

Four projects in Newark and Jersey City will launch a low- and middle-income, nonsectarian housing program to be sponsored by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark in Essex, Hudson, Union and Bergen counties, Msgr. Joseph A. Dooling announced yesterday.

The building program, to get under way immediately, may involve an outlay of $50 million within the next two years, through funds obtained from state, federal and private bank sources.

Msgr. Dooling, director of the Mt. Carmel Guild, archdiocesan social service agency which will direct the housing program, said the project marked a new phase not only in church activity, but also in housing.

"I think now we are listening to people and what they need in housing, and we didn't before," he said.

Msgr. Dooling gave details of the plan at a press conference at the 744 Club, 744 Broad St. With him were Msgr. Vincent Coburn, executive secretary of an archdiocesan committee on housing that was established after the July riots, and Dr. Charles Carluccio, executive medical director of the Mt. Carmel Guild. The new program is the result of meetings with residents of the riot areas and the determination of Archbishop Thomas A. Boland to involve the church more fully in their problems.

The guild will set up a central housing office and branch offices in each of the archdiocese's four counties, Msgr. Dooling said. An advisory council in each county will devise programs to fill the needs of its own area, and a nonprofit corporation will be formed to apply for funds for each housing development that is planned.

Advisory groups already have been set up in Essex and Hudson counties and corporations to handle the first projects that will be organized within the next week.

The first site is in N. 6th Street in Newark's North Ward, where the archdiocese will purchase three units of a public housing project already under construction near Stephen Crane Village. The units, which will house 700 families, will be ready for low-income occupancy within six months, Msgr. Dooling said, and will include stores and space for various health and welfare services offered by the Mt. Carmel Guild.

Other Newark sites are in W. Market Street in the Central Ward area allocated to the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, and in a four-block area of Orange Street near St. Rose of Lima's Church. At both sites, it is hoped to provide varied housing, including two-family houses, as well as apartments.

Msgr. Coburn stressed the desirability of finding sites outside the heart of the city, possibly even in the suburbs, in order to bring people out of "closed ghetto" areas. He also discussed the possibility of providing cooperative or condominium housing as a means of giving the residents a pride of ownership that would encourage them to keep the property attractive.

In Jersey City, the archdiocese will cooperate with the city and the two other faiths in a low-income project near the Medical Center. Another project is planned for North Hudson, Msgr. Dooling said.

The Mt. Carmel Guild will supply the entire organization for the housing program and may spend a quarter of a million dollars in setting it up, he said. These funds may be reimbursable from state or federal sources, he said.

The new housing will provide not only a physical facility but also the social structure for "good family living and good, responsible community living," Msgr. Dooling said. Health and welfare services, education, counseling, training and rehabilitation will be offered through the Mt. Carmel Guild in an experimental program in "transitional living" to help slum dwellers adjust to their new surroundings.

Dr. Carluccio described an extensive health service program, which the Mt. Carmel Guild already provides in public housing in Jersey City, which will be available in the new housing developments. The program provides information and referral in physical and mental health problems and is aimed at helping each individual to develop to his full potential.

Msgr. Dooling said church representatives have met with antipoverty workers and Negro leaders in underprivileged areas and have had a good response to the housing program.

EXTENDING THE FRANCHISE TO 18-YEAR-OLDS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I favor extending the vote to 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old citizens. Today I have introduced a joint resolution which would submit to the States a constitutional amendment prohibiting denial of the vote on account of age to anyone 18 years of age or older.

The proposal to grant 18-year-olds the franchise has been germinating since at least 1942 when the late Senator from

Michigan, Mr. Vandenberg, sponsored a joint resolution to that effect in the Senate and the then Representative and now Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph], introduced a similar joint resolution in the House.

From the 77th through the 89th Congresses 86 joint resolutions have been sponsored to grant 18-year-olds the voting privilege. Two joint resolutions have been introduced in that time period to extend the franchise to 19-year-olds. In the 89th Congress alone, 25 joint resolutions in the House and two in the Senate would have permitted those 18 years of age and older to vote either in presidential elections, or all Federal elections, or all Federal, State, and local elections.

Already in this the 90th Congress, several joint resolutions to grant the vote to 18-year-olds have been introduced in the House. I noticed in the Congressional Record that the majority and minority leaders in the Senate have cosponsored an 18-year-old-vote joint resolution, and that the honorable Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph] has introduced his eighth joint resolution proposing to extend the suffrage to 18-year-olds.

The abundance of enthusiasm in this and the last Congress for this proposal indicated that it may soon be acted upon by the Congress, hopefully in this session.

Like most controversial ideas, strong pro and con attitudes prevail on this proposal. After careful study of both sides of the question, I have concluded that the situation today recommends favorable action on the proposal to extend the franchise to 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds. There are several reasons why.

First, it is increasingly true that young people today are better equipped than before to exercise responsibly the voting privilege. The average 18-year-old has just completed high school studies in American history and civics. He has become well informed about the political process; he is eager to join in it; he is prime for civic responsibility. By refusing him the vote, we pull the rug from beneath his feet and leave him suspended for 3 years. The consequences show in our voting statistics. Studies indicate that the 21-to-30 age voter group has one of the poorer turnout averages. One very probable reason for this could be the interim period between 18 and 21 when our young citizens are not permitted to vote. Too often interest wanes. The initial impetus to join in the political process is squandered.

Now, the fundamental political act for the average citizen in this country is casting his ballot. This is the form of political "communion" which retains his interest in and enthusiasm for his government. Educational psychologists, furthermore, inform us that the ability to grasp new ideas peaks at the age of 18. By permitting our 18; 19; and 20-year-old citizens to vote, we shall infuse the electorate with a group of voters very open to new ideas and we shall, at the same time, be extending the precious privilege of voting at an age when it is most apt to insure an enduring commitment among young persons to vote.

I should further add that I am certain that the average 18-year-old is fully appreciative of the meaning of his vote. He can cast an intelligent ballot as has been proven true in Georgia since 1943 and in Kentucky since 1955.

Second, these youthful voters will bring a fresh breeze of idealism and enthusiasm to the conduct of politics. If anyone doubts this, let him only remember the tremendous enthusiasm that the 1960 presidential election generated among our youth. They provided a good measure of the zest exhibited in that campaign. I trust, moreover, that none of us questions the value of idealism in the political process.

Third is the controversial argument that those who are old enough to fight are old enough to vote. Critics of this proposition suggest that no correlation holds between the qualities needed to vote intelligently and those requisite to fighting. This is a matter of opinion, of course. It seems to me, nonetheless, that both fighting and voting assume a sense of duty and responsibility in the individual. I submit that our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds have displayed a keen sense of duty and responsibility when it comes to fighting for our country. This is particularly true today in Vietnam. Reports from the battle zone indicate that our military leadership considers the young men serving in the Armed Forces today among the most responsible and intelligent ever to have served. I believe that they also will make fine voters.

Fourth, and a very potent argument in favor of extending the vote to young people, are the serious legal responsibilities which appertain to them.

For example, youngsters between the ages of 18 and 21 can sign job contracts and are required to pay property and income taxes, and many do. Furthermore, all are tried in adult courts if accused of crimes, and, if found guilty, are committed to State or Federal prisons. They are considered adults by insurance companies and can sign contracts for coverage which are legal and binding. Almost all are considered old enough to marry without parental consent.

All these responsibilities imply a measure of intelligence and good sense among 18- to 21-year-olds. They raise the inevitable question: "If we can trust them with these responsibilities, how can we then deny them the vote?"

In conclusion, I point out that the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation in its 1963 report states that it believes the low-voter participation of the age group from 21 to 30 may stem from the fact that "by the time they have turned 21 many young people are so far removed from the stimulation of the educational process that their interest in public affairs has waned."

Their conclusion comports with my own. The Commission recommended that each State give careful consideration to reducing the minimum voting age to 18. Almost all of the States have considered lowering the voting age. Only four now have it lower than 21: Georgia and Kentucky with 18, Alaska with 19, and Hawaii with 20. A constitutional amendment would facilitate State action on lowering the voting age.

I might add as a point of information that the Bureau of the Census estimates that right now 10,267,000 additional persons would become eligible as voters if the franchise were extended to 18-year-olds. Presently, the potential electorate is estimated at 116,383,000 persons. How many of these 10 million plus would actually register to vote and then vote cannot be predicted. I should think a substantial number. Let us, however, provide them the opportunity.

JOBS FOR EVERYONE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Fascell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker—

> The war on poverty isn't being run entirely for the poor. It is for all Americans—because all Americans stand to gain.

The above quotation is the second paragraph in a recent Miami News editorial. The article stresses the importance of providing job opportunities for all citizens, and states the paper's optimism about the current attack upon joblessness in Miami. The editorial reports:

> In the short time of eight days, metro government's equal opportunity task force has found hundreds of jobs for skilled and unskilled labor alike.

And it concludes:

> Miamians are making a major investment in the future, an investment they hope will change tax users to taxpayers, from welfare recipients to contributing citizens. The return may prove to be many times over for every cent invested.

Mr. Speaker, the Office of Economic Opportunity is not operating "giveaway" programs. Our Government's goal is to make it possible to reduce, not increase, the numbers of Americans on welfare roles and the tools we are employing are education and job opportunities, not charity.

Because the Miami News editorial which I quoted recognizes OEO goals, and because it sets forth these goals so lucidly, I know my colleagues will be interested in it:

> JOBS FOR EVERYONE
>
> These comments have been made many times since Newark and Detroit and Harlem, to say nothing of Tampa and Riviera Beach and Washington:
>
> The war on poverty isn't being run entirely for the poor. It is for all Americans—because all Americans stand to gain.
>
> Continued disorders lead to renewed political attacks through public programs—an effort to find more jobs, better housing, improved education and the need for justice. Some argue that such *community action* has not prevented riots, but the obvious answer is that these are all difficult, time-consuming tasks.
>
> We are headed in the proper direction, given enough time.
>
> This is why we feel especially optimistic about the current concentrated attack upon joblessness in our own community.

In the short time of eight days, Metro government's Equal Opportunity Task Force has found hundreds of jobs for skilled and unskilled labor alike.

The business commitments are binding, offer permanency, and as County Manager Porter Homer told the Metro Commission: "JOBS represents a massing of community effort to meet a community need."

Perhaps the forces of social revolution may argue, too, that this community fears violence and is trying to head it off. This is not inconceivable but equally important is that more responsible elements in this area are aware that public order must prevail. We need firm hands who will not be baited by reactionaries.

Miamians are making a major investment in the future, an investment they hope will change tax users to taxpayers, from welfare recipients to contributing citizens. The return may prove to be many times over every cent invested.

THE WOUNDED SERVICEMEN'S VISITATION ACT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from from Maryland [Mr. Long] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today the Wounded Servicemen's Visitation Act to finance trips of needy relatives to servicemen wounded in Vietnam and hospitalized in this country far from their homes.

My bill would enable a hospitalized GI to designate two relatives he would like to visit him. If either or both of these relatives could not afford to pay room, board, and transportation for the trip to the hospital, the Secretary of Defense would be authorized to pay or provide the following travel and living costs for each such relative:

First, the standard fare for round-trip transportation by common carrier by the shortest route usually traveled from the place of residence of the relative concerned to the place where the serviceman is hospitalized, including bus, streetcar, or taxi fares to or between terminals and to and from the place of lodging and the hospital; or

Second, if travel is performed by means other than common carrier, a reasonable mileage allowance for the shortest distance usually traveled from place of residence to place of hospitalization, but in no event at a rate in excess of 12 cents per mile, plus reimbursement for such necessary expenses as parking fees, ferry fares, and road, bridge, and tunnel tolls;

Third, lodging and meals for not to exceed 7 days in connection with each visit if facilities are available at the military hospital or nearby military base; or

Fourth, in lieu of lodging and meals, a subsistence allowance not to exceed $16 per day.

Duration of each visit would be up to 7 days, and 12 such visits to a serviceman would be authorized in any one year. The American National Red Cross would make the determination of the relative's financial need.

The least the American people can do to recognize the sacrifices made by our young fighting men is to pay a small amount of money to finance bedside visits by a needy mother, father, wife, or child. Family visits are the biggest morale boosters money can buy.

This program is not likely to be large or expensive because the armed services' policy is to treat the hospitalized serviceman at the hospital nearest his home.

But if a badly wounded patient needs specialized surgical care, he will be sent wherever the medical specialist is stationed, not where his family is located. These special and severe cases are the particular beneficiaries of the legislation I am introducing here today.

There is no existing program to provide the kind of assistance provided by the Wounded Servicemen's Visitation Act. The American Red Cross now provides financial aid to needy families only in cases of medical emergency.

The armed services now makes no arrangements to provide military transportation to family members who wish to visit wounded patients. While food is available at military hospitals or military bases at reduced rates, and reduced-rate lodging is sometimes available—depending on the size of the hospital or base—under no circumstances are either food or lodging provided at Government expense.

I would like to insert in the Record an example of the kind of situation my bill is designed to remedy. This case is described in a letter from James E. Merna, originator and chairman of "Operation Appreciation," the hospitality and recreation program sponsored by the Landover Hills, Md., Douglas MacArthur Post of the Catholic War Veterans of the USA.

I invite my colleagues in the House to join me in the sponsorship of legislation that will express the appreciation of a grateful public to badly wounded GI's who should not remain neglected in their hospital wards.

The letter follows:

New Carrollton, Md.,
September 5, 1967.

Hon. Clarence D. Long,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Long: Thank you for your August 30th letter and the Congressional Record insert containing an item about our Operation Appreciation "Firehouse Party" for the wounded Marines from Bethesda Naval Hospital. Your interest and support of our program for these deserving Americans is deeply appreciated.

I am more interested and quite excited about your proposed bill to provide federally-financed trips of needy relatives to U.S. servicemen wounded in Viet Nam and hospitalized in this country. *This type of legislation is badly needed and long overdue.* You are to be commended for your foresight and initiative, Mr. Long, in recognizing the need and taking the necessary action to see to it that this Nation's fighting men hospitalized from war wounds and injuries receive this supplemental aid and assistance.

As the originator and Chairman of Operation Appreciation, I can cite from first-hand experience many cases of dire need among our wounded servicemen at Bethesda Naval Hospital in support and justification of your proposed bill. In the interest of brevity, however, I shall limit my remarks to a single case.

One of our favorite patients at Bethesda Naval Hospital was an 18 year old Marine, PFC Jimmy Patridge from Clay City, Illinois. Jimmy was wounded in action at Danang, South Viet Nam on March 31, 1966 at which time, in addition to multiple fragmentation wounds in the chest, face, abdomen, and head, he sustained bilateral amputation of both legs and serious eye injuries.

Jimmy's closest relatives are a widowed mother and one or two brothers. His mother works in a Flora, Illinois restaurant, barely able to support herself. Confronted with these financial difficulties, Jimmy's mother was only able to visit him but once throughout his entire 6 months stay at Bethesda Naval Hospital. And this single trip to visit her seriously-wounded son was made possible only through contributions from friends, neighbors, business interests in Illinois and the Bethesda Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Associated Press described Jimmy at that time as "jubilant" over the visit by his mother and brother. He has since been retired from the Marine Corps on disability and was recently released from the Veterans Hospital at Hines, Illinois after further extensive therapy and treatment.

It is America's finest and most deserving men in uniform like Jimmy Patridge, and thousands of other U.S. hospitalized G.I.'s like him, who would benefit directly by your bill, Congressman Long. I do not believe that it is the wishes of the American public, nor the intent of the Congress, to have reunions in such instances of financial hardship between mothers and wounded sons, or between wives and wounded husbands contingent only upon privately-financed contributions or some other form of charitable donations.

The American public will never be able to repay its full debt of gratitude to those who have personally sacrificed for us and our allies in defense of liberty and freedom. But we can make an effort, and this bill is one of the concrete ways to show our support and express our appreciation to them.

Under our Operation Appreciation Program, we have taken the hospitalized Viet Nam Veterans to every major sport event imaginable ranging from baseball to wrestling, to many social events ranging from pizza parties and crab-feasts to high-society lawn parties, dances, and theater parties. On many of these occasions, the patients have been treated to the company of pretty hostesses and the finest of liquid refreshments. Yet, as helpful as all of this is to their welfare and rapid recovery, I have yet to find a better or more effective "morale booster" than a visit from their family and loved ones.

And surely the 90th Congress that recognizes the importance of home travel (passed a bill Aug. 31, 1967 and sent it to the President for signature allowing each House Member to take 1 round trip home each month Congress is in session) will equally recognize, I feel certain, the need for making possible visits from home to our convalescing Viet Nam Veterans. This Government can afford to do no less for its defenders.

I apologize for the length of this letter but felt that it was necessary to state my experiences relating to this problem and my reasons for urging its support. I hope consideration will also be provided in the language of your bill for our Viet Nam Veterans recuperating in Veterans Hospitals as well as in Military Hospitals.

Please keep me posted on the status of the bill, when you expect to introduce it, its number, etc. In the meantime, "I will do all that I can to drum up support for its passage in my contacts with the press, the major national veterans' organizations, the D.A.R. (I have been invited to discuss our Operation Appreciation Program before their assembled Congress), other Members of Congress, etc.

Best personal wishes,

James E. Merna,
Chairman, Operation Appreciation.

INDIANAPOLIS DOCTOR DESCRIBES SOCIETY THAT LEADS TO RIOTS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Jacobs] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I have seldom read a more eloquent statement of an injustice than the following letter to the editor which appeared in the September 2 issue of the Indianapolis Recorder:

COUPLE EXPERIENCE BIAS IN HOME-BUYING ATTEMPT

To the Editor:

Everyone seems to have a theory on what caused the recent series of riots in U.S. cities. There appears to be general agreement that living conditions in the big city ghetto are the major contributing factors, with most emphasis being placed on poverty and the resulting deprivations.

Generally, I agree with this conclusion, but I don't think enough attention is being given to another important factor and that is the many insults to their human dignity that slum dwellers receive, particularly if they are Negroes.

Those who have never lived under such conditions cannot possibly know the bitterness that small incidents create. I have never lived in a big city ghetto per se, but the effect of less traumatic incidents related to race and the differences between the "haves" and "have not" have made their marks and taught me some invaluable lessons in the process. A recent experience illustrates this point.

Wednesday afternoon, Aug. 2, my wife and I went to inspect the property at 4106 Winding Way. The property was listed for sale by F. C. Tucker Co., Realtors in the July 28 issue of "Homes," a bi-monthly publication listing Indianapolis Real Estate for sale.

When we arrived it was apparent that the salesman showing the property, Russ Hottel, seeing that we were Negroes, was not very enthusiastic about making the sale, at least not to us. Incidental to half heartedly showing us through the house, he introduced us to the owner, a Mrs. Hill. It was obvious that Mr. Hottel just wanted us to "look and leave," to just "go away."

Although he invited us out to see the property, his stated reason for rushing us away was that he was scheduled to show the same house to another couple within one hour. When informed that this probably would not be necessary since we had decided to buy the property, he appeared shocked.

We were directed to meet him in his office in 10 minutes. Twenty minutes later he appeared and conducted us into the office of Joe Boleman (his F. C. Tucker C. business card lists him as a partner). After about 15 minutes of the expected preliminary statements such as, "This is not company policy," "Personally I regret this," Mr. Boleman informed us that Mrs. Hill did not wish to sell the property to us.

He also advised us that for the good of all concerned and to avoid any further embarrasment to anyone, that we should "just forget the whole thing." Since we were not embarrassed and Mrs. Hill had not told us that she did not want to sell to us, we could not see that this procedure, would be in our best interest so we ignored his advice and asked him to continue with the usual procedure for purchasing property. After the usual question and answer routine he executed and signed a proposition and accepted an earnest money deposit.

On Friday, Aug. 4, we were informed by Mr. Boleman that the earnest money (same check) was being returned as Mr. Hill had decided to withdraw the property from the market rather than sell to us.

Isolated incident, No. An everyday occurrence. The reason you don't hear more about incidents of this nature is that the people attempting to purchase property do not want the associated publicity. They either "forget it for the good of all concerned," or "just go away."

I personally know of at least six such couples. There are probably hundreds. The trouble with this of course is that it does nothing to correct or draw public attention to a deplorable situation. More importantly, it leaves its mark against society in the minds of those who are victims. Some one is sure to ask, "Why would you want to live in that neighborhood?" The answer is probably for some of the same reasons that the hundreds of citizens who currently live out there would give. If not the very same reasons, then for others equally as valid. But more important to the fundamental principle involved is the question, Why should I have to give any reason? Others will say "There ought to be a law," There is a law. Yes, there are laws, state and local. Enforcement of open housing laws in Indianapolis and Marion County is a joke and nobody knows this any better than the officials charged with this responsibility.

What has all this to do with riots? Directly, nothing. Indirectly? Everything! Every such incident publicized or not, does its bit to alienate the victim toward government and society. With each one something inside dies a little. In the ghetto the blows are more severe and more frequent. The beating is more traumatic and death comes more quickly. Earlier generations died easier. Probably because they were more concerned about life in the hereafter and a greater reward for having suffered more. The present generation is more concerned about here and now. The more severely they are wounded the harder they fight. Seldom do they "die easy." With enough blows and a little provocation, they riot.

I am sure within myself that none of the individuals involved hate either my wife or me as individuals. They had not known us that well or that long. There is a very good possibility that neither of them dislike Negroes as a group. They are members of the cast in the drama of our society and must play the role as written or be reprimanded. Understanding this, I am able to react in the expected manner. Any rational person can control his actions and to some degree his emotions, but no individual can control what he feels inside.

I have no dislike for Mr. Hottel, Mr. Boleman, or Mrs. Hill. At the same time, I have no dislike for Mr. Carmichael or Rap Brown, as they too play roles. I am a little less enthusiastic in promoting the progress and development of the sick society that spawned them all. I could not in good conscience encourage or support a riot, but such incidents as I have stated make me less willing to discourage them. I know of no magic formula for preventing riots, but there is no doubt in my mind as to what causes them.

Reuben L. White, D.D.S.,
3016 North Gale Street,
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE JOB CORPS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, much has been said, pro and con, about the Job Corps. I have had the great privilege of seeing firsthand the great and monumental accomplishments of the Job Corps in Texas at the center in San Marcos, Tex., just 49 miles from my district in San Antonio. I know its worth and the successful work being done there.

Therefore, I was very grateful when a very dispassionate article in the Des Moines Sunday Register, of Des Moines, Iowa, printed an extensive article on the Job Corps Center at Clinton, Iowa.

As the distinguished Mr. W. P. Kelly, Director of Job Corps, OEO, has so eloquently put it:

> Few articles have come as close to describing Job Corps—not as an institution, but through the individuals it affects—as a recent article in the Des Moines Sunday Register. Frances Craig has highlighted one of the most significant aspects of Job Corps—the exposure of different segments of our population to one another and the difficult task of understanding those whose background has not equipped them to be "socially acceptable."

Mr. Speaker, I insert into the Record, at this point, this highly instructive article:

JOB CORPS: WHY CLINTON MAY NEVER BE QUITE THE SAME AGAIN

(By Frances Craig)

Clinton, Iowa.—A little more than a year ago, a phenomenon called the Job Corps arrived with a kind of a whoop and a holler to the tranquil Mississippi River town of Clinton.

A lot of people won't ever be the same—and that's how it's meant to be.

With a recent expansion to some 900 enrollees at the Clinton Job Corps, one of the government's second-chance programs for underprivileged girls, this may be the second-biggest of the nation's 15 Job Corps centers for women. Omaha Job Corps is close to the same size, and only Poland Spring (Maine) Job Corps is larger than either, with a capacity of 1,130.

Clinton's Job Corps girls now make up nearly one-fortieth of the city's population.

Coming from the Harlem jungle of New York, from Indian reservations in Montana, from rocky, unproductive farms in Missouri and dusty little towns in Texas—and a hundred other places—the girls arrive by train, plane and bus from almost every state in the union.

Their aim: To equip themselves for employment, choosing from the Job Corps' solid fare of vocational education. Perhaps they'll be key punch operators, dental assistants, beauty operators—the choices are many. They've nothing to lose, for most come as grade school or high school dropouts. Their average age is 18.

A gray station wagon with government insignia meets and delivers the girls, sometimes weeping and sometimes wisecracking, to the main door of a great hooked-together complex which used to be a veterans' hospital. It's a dismaying first look.

Sprawling over 80 acres of land in Clinton's north end, the buildings couldn't appear more institutional.

Inside, it's no better, with endless corridors stretching in all directions.

And this is meant to be a home as well as a school for a host of the homeless whose last stop was perhaps a training school, an institution, the latest of many foster homes—or maybe the streets.

"Can you blame us for not wanting girls like that in Clinton?" asks a shoe salesman.

Some other cities haven't been exactly ecstatic about having job corps centers, either.

Director Wilford A. Lewis of the Clinton center thinks citizens here are among the nation's more accepting. But—

"It looks like everybody over there is colored," says a milkman.

And he's about two-thirds right. Of current enrollees, 64 per cent are Negro and another 10 per cent includes Spanish-speaking, American-Indian and Oriental girls.

If the milkman is shaken by this minority turned into a mass, he ought to know what it's like for the girls, confronted with their first experience in interracial living.

Take white Patsy who grew up poverty-ridden in Austin, Tex., her only "asset"—being white. In competition, "even SHE can see she isn't superior," says a counselor.

Negro girls, too, are often bigoted and hostile because "we represent The Man to them."

Some girls, especially southern whites, can't take it and go home. Negro urban girls generally stick it out; of all groups, they make the best adjustment.

Of those who stay, Negroes and whites alike repeatedly cite this learning-to-live-with-other-races as one of their most significant Job Corps gains.

"They shove us off the streets," complains a Clinton farmer.

And sometimes the girls do—deliberately or otherwise. They push and insult each other in the halls, too.

"It's their way of life," says an adviser.

Theirs is a dormitory hubbub where radios blare full blast, tempers and mirth are equally explosive, and signs like this are posted on doors:

"The Flame of New Orleans Lives Here," "Thiefs Not Welcome, Don't You Steel," and a sheet of names headed, "My Lovers of '67."

Some girls never get used to this turbulence. There was the shy youngster from a Montana Indian reservation who drooped her head and pleaded with Dr. Barbara Mason, until recently director of education:

"Let me go out and sleep in the hills awhile . . . where's it's quiet . . ."

Dr. Mason says, "I only prolonged her stay a little . . ."

"They hang out in the bars all night," says a factory worker.

A guidance counselor agrees: A few do. "I've come over here Sunday after Sunday with Marie because the police pick her up drunk. She's going to lose custody of her babies if we have to dismiss her . . ." (About half the girls have children, some illegitimately.)

But living restrictions at the Clinton Job Corps are stricter than at many Iowa colleges and universities.

Sunday through Thursday, girls must be in dormitories by 10 p.m., with 12 p.m. permission on Fridays and 1 a.m., Saturday. (Clinton's 11 p.m. curfew every night for girls under 18 also applies to Job Corps girls. They are restricted accordingly.)

A limited few, perhaps older and close to graduation, and who have earned "points" in classes and dorm activities, may have special permission, perhaps to attend a dance in Davenport leaving there at 1 or 2 a.m.

"I suppose we'd like them all right if we knew them personally," concedes the farmer.

Which one do you want to know?

Mina?

She's 19, from San Antonio, Tex., and one of the Center's smartest girls, graduating soon in business and clerical studies.

Mina was born in Mexico and before she was a year old, her mother was divorced. Mina was in third grade—and didn't speak a word of English—when her mother remarried and the family came to live in San Antonio.

Mina remembers: "The teacher told me to shut up and I didn't know what she was saying. She got mad at me and I was so embarrassed!"

Teachers didn't often get mad at this fine student. Mina conquered her language handicap and was an A student when her family went as migrant laborers to California the spring of her junior high school year.

Returning in December to San Antonio, Mina was humiliated to find herself far behind in her studies. She became a dropout—a restaurant dishwasher.

It's different now, though.

In the 10 months since she came to Clinton, Mina has completed her high school work and learned some other skills resulting in this determination:

"I'm going to be the best secretary in the world."

Mina probably will go back to Texas and eventually marry, although that's far in the future, she says.

She doesn't go out much, even to the Center's popular recreation center, because "the boys I meet there are dropouts—like I was."

But there's Lonnie, also 19, white and from Cleveland.

Her story: she'd quit high school as a sophomore because "I had a few problems with my mother." Her father is a schoolteacher, she says. She's proud of her popularity at the center and repeatedly commented: "Everybody knows me here," and "I can't stand to leave." She thinks towns people like the Corps better than they used to "even if a few girls get drunk and give it a bad name."

Unlike Mina's account, Lonnie's didn't check out with facts.

The truth: Lonnie hasn't a mother or father.

When she was an infant, her father disappeared, and as a child of nine, Lonnie stood in court and heard her mother give her away.

She can't begin to remember the names of all her foster mothers, and she was living with another teen-ager when an agency worker recruited her for the Job Corps.

Lonnie didn't finish the eighth grade, and reads and writes on a third-grade level. Although she's one of the most skillful girls in her cosmetology course, she's too illiterate to achieve licensing in any state—and too proud to admit her illiteracy.

She's telling one truth when she says, "Everybody knows me." Lonnie's exuberance and her bawdy wit are beloved by girls and staffers.

But staff members also know her through one of their fattest personnel folders. She's often drunk and in trouble with police.

Things were better for a long time—"really looking hopeful," says a counselor. Lonnie was telling another truth when she said. "I can't bear to leave the Center."

Maybe that's part of her trouble, now. It's very likely the first home and security she's had.

Staff members don't really know what to do in this case—or a lot of others.

"They just waste a lot of money over there," insists the factory worker.

It's hard to tell at this point how well the money is spent (about $440 per month per girl, with current enrollment). Vocational classes can last a year and more, and the Center began operating just a year ago—June, 1966.

Graduated in vocations so far are 72, and 39 have achieved their high school equivalency diplomas. Of the graduates, three-fourths are employed, most in their chosen fields.

Half returned to their home states; others relocated, including three who remained in Iowa (Davenport: Two—one from New Mexico, one from Montana—are dental assistants, and the third, from Tennessee, was a nursing assistant until her recent marriage.)

Even those who drop out of the Corps (about one-fourth of all enrollees) may be "successes" to some extent, suggests Mrs. Lois Hart, guidance director.

"They've seen people settle their differences with talk instead of violence; they've known staff members who don't beat up their children when they misbehave; they've slept in warm beds and had some pretty clothes."

Maybe they're a little different. Maybe Clinton people are, too:

"We're cruel because we don't understand," observes a Clinton housewife.

Iowans can understand ambitious girls like Mina and some others pictured here.

Maybe they understand others who cry in the night for their homes, however squalid.

But what about those others? The tough and intractable who shout and swear but seldom weep—with loneliness grown vast and formless and too familiar for tears . . . the ones who'd stopped looking for a home and found it here . . .

Here. In Clinton, Iowa.

STEUBEN DAY

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ADDABBO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, this past week, September 17 through 23, had great meaning for every American, but especially to Americans of German descent.

September 17, 1967, marked the 180th anniversary of the ratification of our Constitution. This date also marked the 237th anniversary of Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben's birth, a gentleman who contributed greatly to our Nation's fight for independence.

Many States have designated September 17 as Steuben Day, and I include here the text of the proclamation of Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, proclaiming Steuben Day in our great State:

PROCLAMATION

A tribute to the memory of Major General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben is an annual and appropriate custom in our State.

Von Steuben joined Washington during the crucial days at Valley Forge and helped transform a disorganized group of raw recruits into an effective and disciplined fighting force. In this and other ways he contributed greatly throughout the Revolution to the securing of American liberty and independence by his military skill, wisdom and experience. His personal traits of valor, honor, courage, and bravery are exemplary ideals for Americans in today's troubled times and will ever remain so.

It is proper and fitting for the people of the State of New York to join with the Steuben Society of America in doing honor to the memory of this brave and accomplished patriot who did so much for his adopted country and whose spirit is so worthy of emulation today.

Now, therefore, I, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim September 17, 1967, as "Steuben Day" in New York State.

[SEAL]

Given under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State at the Capitol in the City of Albany this fifth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven.

By the Governor:

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.
ALTON G. MARSHALL,
Secretary to the Governor.

On Saturday, September 23, it was my privilege and honor to review the 10th Annual Steuben Parade held in the city of New York and to attend the parade dinner that evening. I have watched this parade grow year by year, and it is one that is awaited eagerly by thousands of people. To best describe this parade, I include "The Steuben Parade and What It Stands For" as taken from the program of the parade dinner:

THE STEUBEN PARADE AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

The Steuben Parade is staged by the German-American Committee of Greater New York, representative of some four hundred societies and organizations, through its affiliated Steuben Parade Committee. It is not staged by any one German-American organization but is a joint undertaking by all groups.

The Steuben Parade takes place every year on the fourth Saturday in September, the month of General Friedrich Wilhelm Baron von Steuben's birthday, on New York's Fifth Avenue.

Its aim is to provide our fellow Americans in general and our political leaders in particular with a visual picture of the part played by immigrants of Germanic birth in the development of the United States, and to instill in the many millions of first, second, third and prior generations of Americans of Germanic ancestry a deep-rooted sense of pride of origin and accomplishment. By an impressive annual cavalcade in which the nation's leading statesmen as well as the public at large will view the various segments of the German-American community in person, they will gain through the historic events depicted on the parade floats a better understanding of the vital part German immigrants have played in the making of America as we know and love it. German immigrants ranging from Franz Daniel Pastorius who brought over the first group from Krefeld in 1683, to German born Peter Minuit who purchased Manhattan from the Indians, to John Peter Zenger who fathered the freedom of the press, to Carl Schurz who helped elect Lincoln and served in his cabinet, to latter day statesmen like the late Senator Robert F. Wagner and to men of science and accomplishment like John A. Roebling, Ottmar Mergenthaler, Charles P. Steinmetz, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Prof. Paul Tillich, Wernher von Braun and many others.

The Parade was named in honor of General von Steuben because by drilling an American Army almost devoid of hope for victory and instilling it with new competence and confidence, he helped so greatly to achieve ultimate victory for General Washington's Army in the Revolutionary War.

Some 15,000 marchers took part in this year's parade, headed by Honorary Grand Marshals Mayor John V. Lindsay, and Dr. Hans Filbinger Minister President (Governor) of the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Federal Republic of Germany, Grand Marshal Judge Hon. William E. Ringel, Judge of the Criminal Court City of New York, this year's General Chairman Hellmuth G. Dippel and the Co-Chairman Gustave I. Jahr. Every segment of the German-American community is represented: singers, turners, social and welfare groups, sport clubs, political organizations, fraternal orders, all religious groups, trade unions, folklore groups, dance and carnival societies, and others.

The Steuben Parade normally consists of some fifty floats and employs some fifty different bands. It is financed entirely through the German-American community, by individual donations, cornflower distributions, float charges, and receipts from social functions and other similar events. It is a self-sustaining parade, paid in its entirety by those Americans of German ancestry who participate in it, actively or from spectator ranks. All monies collected are used to finance the staging of the parade and a part has been given to German-American charitable groups.

The 11th Annual Steuben Parade will be held in the city of New York next September. I know that it will be a great success, and I hereby invite my colleagues to mark the date on their calendars. A visit to our city is always an exciting time—come when you can have the added excitement of this momentous parade.

CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF REGISTERED NURSES

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the United States today has a critical shortage of registered nurses. By 1970, we need at least 210,000 more nurses than we have now, to provide adequate nursing care for our mounting population. But we cannot possibly achieve that goal by 1970, and unless there is prompt action to put our Nation's diploma schools of nursing back on their feet we probably will not come close to that goal by 1980.

Virtually every diploma school of nursing in the country is confronted with serious financial problems in the struggle to keep its doors open. In 1959 there were 918 of these nursing schools. Since that time 121 have discontinued their nursing education programs.

The Nurse Training Act of 1964 was intended to stimulate substantial growth in the ranks of registered nurses. In some respects, that act is making significant headway. But a great many of the diploma schools found they could qualify for little or no aid under that act because mounting operating deficits had made their future insecure.

They could not guarantee enrollment growth over a period of years because most were uncertain from one year to the next whether they could operate for another year. There are so many strings attached to the aid provided by the 1964 act that its effects to stop the steady demise of diploma schools has been negligible.

Because of the ever-dwindling number of diploma nursing schools, the simple fact is that there were fewer nurses graduated from diploma schools, baccalaureate degree programs, and associate degree—community college—programs combined in 1966 than were graduated in 1964.

Mr. Speaker, because this nurse shortage is extremely serious and warrants immediate congressional attention, I am pleased to introduce today, with broad bipartisan cosponsorship, a measure I believe will fill this gap in America's corps of civilian nurses by providing vital assistance to hospital-oriented diploma schools of nursing which traditionally have been the backbone of our nursing education programs.

This measure will establish a 5-year program of Federal aid specifically intended to help diploma nursing schools regain a firm financial footing, enable them to build their enrollments, and alleviate the nursing shortage. This bill makes some changes in H.R. 12571 which I introduced previously. The introduction of that bill already has prompted several hospital diploma nursing schools to defer a decision to close, hopeful that Federal aid to nursing education will enable them to continue training nurses.

The dilemma confronting each of these diploma schools is that high costs to operate nursing education programs have forced tuition increases, discouraging some potential students from pursuing nursing careers. This is evident in the fact there are 4,400 vacancies in the nursing classes entering diploma schools across the country this fall.

Despite tuition increases, diploma schools are piling up tremendous deficits which must be passed along to the patients in the hospitals through higher fees for hospital care.

We must act, Mr. Speaker, not only to fill up these nursing education classes but also to enable diploma schools to expand their training capacities if we are to overcome the shortage of registered nurses detracting from the high level of nursing care we must strive to achieve.

In summary, the objectives of the legislation are to:

First. Help bolster training resources and staff through annual grants ranging from $12,000 to $24,000 per school, based on enrollment.

Second. Improve library resources through matching fund grants not exceeding $6,000 per year.

Third. Help reduce training deficits and control rising tuition costs through $400 per pupil grants to diploma schools.

Fourth. Authorize the Surgeon General to participate in determining eligibility of diploma schools for assistance.

Fifth. Stimulate development of comprehensive plans for nursing education, including development of facilities and recruitment of students, in each State.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for an indefinite period, on account of a personal matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today and the balance of the week, on account of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Conference.

Mr. FLYNT (at the request of Mr. ADDABBO), for Monday, September 25, 1967, on account of official business.

Mr. BROCK (at the request of Mr. GER-

ALD R. FORD), for today and the balance of the week, on account of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Conference.

Mr. BRADEMAS, for the period September 25 through October 2, on account of addressing the Greek Heritage Symposium in Athens, Greece.

Mr. KAZEN (at the request of Mr. PICKLE), for an indefinite period, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. PICKLE, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. TUNNEY (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY), for 30 minutes, on September 27; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. TENZER.

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BERRY.

Mr. REINECKE.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BLATNIK.

Mrs. SULLIVAN.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 852. An act to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 2195. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S.J. Res. 112. Joint resolution extending Urban Problems; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 472. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 188. An act creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on September 21, 1967, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 9547. An act to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12257. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and expand the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to authorize assistance in establishment and operation of a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults, and to provide assistance for migrants.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 26, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1096. A letter from the Public Printer, transmitting a report on a violation of section 3679 of the Revised Statutes as amended, pursuant to the provisions of 31 U.S.C. 665 (i)(2); to the Committee on Appropriations.

1097. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of opportunities for savings through use of spare Government-owned communications circuits in Europe, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1098. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of savings available if the Commodity Credit Corporation recovers interest costs on repaid price-support loans and on storage facility and equipment loans, Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1099. A letter from the Commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, transmitting a report that proceedings have been finally concluded with respect to Docket Nos. 177, 181–A and 181–B, *The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, et al., Petitioner*, v. *the United States of America, Defendant*, pursuant to the provisions of 60 Stat. 1055; 25 U.S.C. 70t; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1100. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of contract relating to proposed drainage and minor construction work on the Crooked River project and extension, Oregon, which will exceed a cost of $200,000, pursuant to the provisions of 70 Stat. 274; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1101. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a report on a certain case involving suspension of deportation, pursuant to the provisions of section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1102. A letter from the Director, United States Information Agency, transmitting a report of claims settled during the period September 1, 1966 through August 31, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 88–558; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1103. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report of all claims settled during the period September 1, 1964, through June 30, 1965, and fiscal year 1964 and 1967, pursuant to the provisions of 31 U.S.C. 240–243; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1104. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend the period during which Secret Service protection may be furnished to a widow and minor children of a former President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1105. A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting a report on activities of the Veterans' Administration in connection with programs for sharing medical facilities and the exchange of medical information, during fiscal year 1967, pursuant to the provisions of 38 U.S.C. 5057; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES OF PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of September 21, 1967, the following bills were reported on September 22, 1967:

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 13025. A bill to permit the District of Columbia Council to make rules and regulations under the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 657). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 13042. A bill to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia; with amendment (Rept. No. 659). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CELLER: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 676. An act to amend chapter 73, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States (Rept. No. 658). Referred to the House Calendar.

[*Submitted September 25, 1967*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee of Conference. S. 1862. An act to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 660.) Ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HUNGATE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2283. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ray F. McMillan; with amendment (Rept. No. 661). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 13074. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BEVILL:

H.R. 13075. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to returns and deposits of the excise taxes on gasoline and lubricating oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 13076. A bill to designate Columbus Day, the 12th day of October in each year, a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 13077. A bill to amend section 312 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to exempt certain additional persons from the requirements as to understanding the English language before their naturalization as citizens of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana:

H.R. 13078. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to estate tax treatment of certain interests created by community property laws in employees' trusts and retirement annuity contracts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13079. A bill relative to age discrimination in employment; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 13080. A bill to raise additional revenue by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 13081. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MADDEN:

H.R. 13082. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 13083. A bill to amend the Export Control Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SCHNEEBELI:

H.R. 13084. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 13085. A bill to amend section 2204 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a method for the discharge of fiduciaries from personal liability for the estate tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WATSON:

H.R. 13086. A bill to provide assistance to first processors of cotton who have suffered substantial losses because of the economic impact of cotton programs of the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BLATNIK:

H.R. 13087. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DELLENBACK:

H.R. 13088. A bill for the establishment of a commission to study and appraise the organization and operation of the executive and legislative branches of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 13089. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 13090. A bill to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission, after investigation and hearing, to require the establishment of through routes and joint rates between motor common carriers of property, and between such carriers and common carriers by rail, express, and water, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARDNER:

H.R. 13091. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to change the composition of the local board in the community action program; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 13092. A bill to provide financial assistance, if needed, to close relatives of servicemen wounded in Vietnam to permit such relatives to visit those servicemen while they are hospitalized in the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA (for himself, Mrs. Mink, and Mr. Pollock):

H.R. 13093. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, in order to exempt from the provisions of such section the transportation of merchandise between points in the State of Alaska and points in th State of Hawaii; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 13094. A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 13095. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania (for himself, Mr. Multer, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Eilberg, Mr. Helstoski, Mr. Vigorito, Mr. Madden, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Annunzio, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Sandman, Mrs. Dwyer, Mr. Nelsen, Mr. Cahill, Mr. Broyhill of Virginia, Mr. Gonzalez, Mr. Hall, Mr. Kornegay, Mr. Karth, Mr. Moorhead, Mr. Blatnik, Mrs. Green of Oregon, and Mr. Matsunaga):

H.R. 13096. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SCHWEIKER:

H.R. 13097. A bill to establish a District of Columbia Commission on Youth Services and Juvenile Courts; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 13098. A bill to exempt the State of Iowa from certain provisions of the General Bridge Act of 1946; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. TAYLOR:

H.R. 13099. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WHALEN:

H.R. 13100. A bill to provide authority to increase the effectiveness of the Truth in Negotiations Act; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 13101. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 13102. A bill to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHEUER (for himself, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Pucinski, Mr. Brademas, Mr. Carey, Mr. Meeds, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Hathaway, Mrs. Mink, Mr. Bell, Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, Mr. Dent, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Burton of California, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Roybal, Mr. Pepper, Mr. Keith, Mr. Eckhardt, Mr. Polanco-Abreu, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Udall, Mr. Holifield, and Mr. Feighan):

H.R. 13103. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual educational programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.J. Res. 842. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of age to persons who are 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.J. Res. 843. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.J. Res. 844. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FINDLEY (for himself, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Biester, Mr. Don H. Clausen, Mr. Collier, Mr. Conable, Mr. Cramer, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Erlenborn, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Hungate, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. McClory, Mr. MacGregor, Mr. Mailliard, Mr. Meskill, Mr. Morton, Mr. Pelly, Mr. Rumsfeld, Mr. Schneebeli, Mr. Scott, Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin, Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania, Mr. Winn, and Mr. Zwach):

H. Con. Res. 508. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MORSE (for himself, Mr. Andrews of North Dakota, Mr. Burton of Utah, Mr. Button, Mr. Carter, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Duncan, Mrs. Dwyer, Mr. Eshleman, Mr. Goodling, Mr. Gude, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Horton, Mr. Kastenmeier, Mr. Keith, Mr. Kupferman, Mr. Mathias of Maryland, Mr. Mize, Mr. Mosher, Mr. Ottinger, Mr. Quie, Mr. Robison, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin, and Mr. Whalen):

H. Con. Res. 509. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H. Con. Res. 510. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to

U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H. Res. 928. Resolution authorizing the printing of extra copies of part 3 of the hearings relating to activities of Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States, 89th Congress, second session; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 929. Resolution authorizing the printing of extra copies of part 4 of the hearings relating to activities of Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States, 89th Congress, second session; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 930. Resolution authorizing the printing of extra copies of part 5 of the hearings relating to activities of Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States, 89th Congress, second session; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII.

288. Mr. DELLENBACK presented a memorial of the Oregon Legislative Assembly, 1967 regular session, memorializing the Congress of the United States to take appropriate action to insure and provide a sound and and healthy domestic trawl fishery through quota protection on such imported products, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 13104. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Fausta David Lopez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 13105. A bill for the relief of Maria Bontempo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 13106. A bill for the relief of Gioacchino Ferrara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 13107. A bill for the relief of Nikolaos Gagkas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRINKLEY:

H.R. 13108. A bill for the relief of Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FALLON:

H.R. 13109. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rolando G. Vieta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 13110. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Baratta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 13111. A bill for the relief of Owen Garth Abrahams and his wife, Colleen Claudette Abrahams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 13112. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe and Rosa Camagna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13113. A bill for the relief of Salomon and Rosa Yaker; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 13114. A bill for the relief of Dr. M. Farooz Anwar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 13115. A bill for the relief of Diamantis D. Androutsopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 13116. A bill for the relief of Filippo Sardo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 13117. A bill for the relief of Kang-Be Chu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

159. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Property Owners Association, Cruz Bay, St. John, V.I., relative to amending the revised organic act of the Virgin Islands to clarify and guarantee that the people of the Island of St. John shall have at least one representative in the legislature of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

160. Also, petition of Joseph Daniel Logan, Attica, N.Y., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

161. Also, petition of Department of Maine, American Legion, Presque Isle, Maine; relative to the establishment of a Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs; to the Committee on Rules.

162. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., relative to creation of a special committee on secrecy in the White House; to the Committee on Rules.

163. Also, petition of City Council of Glendale, Calif., relative to governmental tax sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

164. Also, petition of City Council of the City of Arvin, Calif., relative to governmental tax sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Father of all mankind, with minds burdened for the Nation and for the world, we turn to Thee in this baffling hour, praying that in this fear-haunted earth the flame of our faith may not grow dim. Unworthy though we are, Thou hast made us keepers for our day of the holy torch of freedom the Founding Fathers kindled with their lives.

In our hearts we cherish the golden heritage that has been given us through the virtue and valor of those whose records within these Legislative Halls have helped to make the greatness of our free land.

We would share that sacred fire until tyranny everywhere is consumed and thus all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Steel our wills and our hands with power and wisdom, that with eager joy we may dedicate the Nation's strength to throw open the gates of a new life for Thy children everywhere.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, September 22, 1967, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On September 22, 1967:

S. 163. An act for the relief of CWO Charles M. Bickart, U.S. Marine Corps (retired);

S. 653. An act for the relief of Capt. Robert C. Crisp, U.S. Air Force; and

S. 1601. An act to increase the appropriation authorization for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin by the Secretary of the Interior.

On September 23, 1967:

S. 828. An act to amend section 5(b) of the Act of March 18, 1966 (Public Law 89-372), so as to make the prohibition contained therein on the filling of certain vacancies in the office of district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania inapplicable to the first vacancy occurring after the enactment of such act.

REPORT OF THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 170)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Public Works:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress the annual report of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation for the year ending December 31, 1966.

After 8 years of operation the Seaway is playing a major role in our national and international transportation network. The gains registered in 1966 are noteworthy:

Traffic in wheat increased from 8.6 million cargo tons in 1965 to 11.2 million tons in 1966.

Traffic in iron ore rose from 12.8 million tons in 1965 to 15.5 million tons in 1966.

In total, more than 49 million tons of cargo passed through the Seaway, an increase of nearly 6 million tons over 1965.

Revenue from this traffic was a record $7.1 million.

For the first time in its history, the Seaway was not required to defer any portion of its annual interest payment. It returned to the U.S. Treasury $5.2 million to repay current and deferred interest.

This report contains a catalog of successes. But it reveals as well an unfortunate deficiency in the Seaway's construction. The concrete of the Eisenhower lock is rapidly deteriorating.

We cannot allow this situation to persist. Ships must not be delayed. The flow of cargo must not be interrupted. Three bills introduced this session—S. 2131, H.R. 11826, and H.R. 11871—

would provide the funds necessary to repair the lock.

I urge your prompt and favorable consideration of these measures, and I commend this report to your attention.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *September 25, 1967*.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Damon J. Keith, of Michigan, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Michigan, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Legislative Calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 188. An act creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; and

H.R. 472. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Proposed Extension of Secret Service Protection to Widow and Minor Children of Former President

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend the period during which the Secret Service protection may be furnished to a widow and minor children of a former President (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of Indian Claims Commission

A letter from the Administrator, Indian Claims Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on docket Nos. 177, 181–A and 181–B, *The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, et al., petitioner* v. *The United States of America, defendant* (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Appropriations.

Report of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on opportunities for savings through use of spare Government-owned communications circuits in Europe, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Crooked River Project and Extension, Oregon

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a draft of contract relating to proposed drainage and minor construction work which, together with previously executed contracts, will exceed a total of $200,000 on the Crooked River project and extension, Oregon (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution adopted by the city council of the city of Arvin, Calif., endorsing the basic principle of tax sharing in order to make additional revenues available to the States and cities; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the city council of the city of Burbank, Calif., endorsing the basic principle of tax sharing in order to make additional revenues available to the States and cities; to the Committee on Finance.

Three petitions signed by sundry members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO, relating to jobs by providing public service employment, eradication of slum housing, and free public education; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 170); which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is hereby authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Ninetieth Congress, $10,000 in addition to the amount, and for the same purpose, specified in section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act approved August 2, 1946.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FANNIN:

S. 2455. A bill to amend the Norris-La Guardia Act so as to permit the granting of injunctive relief in suits brought to enforce the provisions of contracts between employers and labor organizations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fannin when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SCOTT:

S. 2456. A bill to permit the vessel *Clar-Lo* to be documented for use in the coastwise trade; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. DIRKSEN (for himself and Mr. Percy):

S. 2457. A bill to expand and improve the provisions of the Oil Pollution Act, 1924; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Dirksen when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 2458. A bill for the relief of the State of Utah; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

RESOLUTION

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 170) to provide additional funds for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. Jackson, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 4, NORRIS-LA GUARDIA ACT

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act so as to restore jurisdiction to our Federal courts sitting in equity, to grant injunctive relief, where otherwise appropriate, after notice and hearing, where the relief sought is to enjoin the breach of a clause, contained in a contract between an employer and a labor organization, forbidding a strike, slowdown, sitdown or other interference with production, or a lockout.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the Record at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2455) to amend the Norris-La Guardia Act so as to permit the granting of injunctive relief in suits brought to enforce the provisions of contracts between employers and labor organizations, introduced by Mr. Fannin, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 2455

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4 of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes", approved March 23, 1932 (47 Stat. 70; 29 U.S.C. 104), is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That nothing contained in this section or in section 8 shall be deemed to deny jurisdiction or prohibit the granting of injunctive relief, where otherwise appropriate, after notice and hearing, where the relief sought is to enjoin the breach of a clause, contained in a contract between an employer and a labor organization, forbidding a strike, slowdown, sitdown, or other interference with production, or a lockout".

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, whenever it becomes apparent that any particular legislation enacted by the Congress is producing serious inequities among those who are subject to its provisions, or where its application is productive of consequences detrimental to the public interest, it is the duty of the Congress to enact such remedial legislation as is necessary to eliminate such inequities and detrimental consequences.

For example, it was the need for legislation to correct the inequities and inadequacies in existing Federal labor laws, and to provide further protection for the public interest, which led to the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, and the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959.

The legislation which I am proposing in the bill which I have introduced today has become necessary because of a decision issued by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962, in the case of *Sinclair Oil Co.* v. *Atkinson*, 370 U.S. 238. In that case, the Supreme Court held that, although section 301 of the Taft-Hartley Act gives an employer the right to bring an action against a union for going on strike in violation of its no-strike pledge in a collective-bargaining contract, the courts are severely limited in the relief they can grant to the employer, since they are prohibited by section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act from issuing an injunction against the strike.

In other words section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act as interpreted by the Supreme Court as denying to the Federal courts the only enforcement power which could insure that the breach of a labor union's contractual commitment not to strike would be speedily and effectively remedied.

When Congress enacted section 301 of the Taft-Hartley Act, it set forth in clear and unambiguous language that it was the intent of Congress to confer jurisdiction upon our Federal district court to enforce collective-bargaining contracts.[1]

Unfortunately, when the Supreme Court ruled in the Sinclair Oil Co. case that such enforcement power was limited to granting an award for damages and, because of section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act, did not include the power to issue injunctions to effectively deter the unlawful strike activity which breached the contract, it left both the employers who are parties to such contracts and the general public deprived of the only remedy which could effectively protect their respective interests.

The authorities are almost unanimous in pointing out that an action for damages is, in fact, an insufficient deterrent to breaches of no-strike pledges because unions in too many instances have little hesitancy to subject themselves to a difficult-to-calculate damage action tried by a jury several years later, in order to reap the immediate gains which might be secured by strike action, even though such action would be in violation of an existing collective-bargaining contract.[2]

These same authorities point out that a remedy restricted to damages is inappropriate since the loss of orders customers, and goodwill which result from such work stoppages and disruptions constitutes an irreparable injury to the employer, which cannot be adequately compensated for in money damages. Furthermore, as a practical matter, an employer can rarely afford to jeopardize labor-management relations by suing a union made up of his own employees, after the end of a strike.

However, even if actions for damages were adequate to compensate employers for losses and injury suffered as a result of violations of no-strike pledges by labor unions, and clearly they are not, they would still remain completely inadequate to protect the public interest. Furthermore, when parties enter into contractual commitments not to strike and not to lockout, it is a peaceful and harmonious relationship and continuity of operations which they want, if they are dealing in good faith, not damages, and the public interest demands that they be held to those commitments.

Mr. President, it would be difficult indeed to imagine a situation more inconsistent and more at variance with our national labor policy than that which is disclosed by the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Sinclair Oil Co. against Atkinson.

When Congress enacted the Taft-Hartley Act and promulgated our national labor policy, it made the following pertinent observations—see section I and title I of the Taft-Hartley Act:

> Industrial strife which interferes with the normal flow of commerce and with the full production of articles and commodities for commerce, can be avoided or substantially minimized if employers, employees, and labor organizations each recognize under law one another's legitimate rights in their relations with each other, *and above all recognize under law that neither party has any right in its relations with any other to engage in acts or practices which jeopardize the public health, safety or interest.*
>
> It is the purpose and policy of this act, in order to promote the full flow of commerce, to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, *to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other*, to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to define and prescribe practices on the part of labor and management which affect commerce and are inimical to the general welfare, and *to protect the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce* * * *.
>
> Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, *by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of differences as to wages, hours, or other working conditions*, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees.
>
> *Experience has further demonstrated that certain practices by some labor organizations, their officers, and members have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce by preventing the free flow of goods in such commerce through strikes and other forms of industrial unrest or through concerted activities which impair the interest of the public in the free flow of such commerce. The elimination of such practices is a necessary condition to the assurance of the rights herein guaranteed.*

And now I come to the very heart of our national labor policy as promulgated by the Congress in the Taft-Hartley Act:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred *by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining* * * *.

Clearly a basic and fundamental objective of our national labor policy is the prevention of strikes, lockouts, and other labor practices disruptive of the free flow of commerce and detrimental to the public interest. By encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining, the promulgators of our national labor policy hoped that industrial peace would be realized through the medium of collective-bargaining contracts which stabilized wages, hours and working conditions, and provided for the adjustment of grievances between the contracting parties, in accordance with orderly and peaceful procedures.

This basic objective of our national labor policy was clearly pointed out by the U.S. Supreme Court when, on June 20, 1960, it issued its decisions in *Warrior & Gulf Navigation Co.* v. *United Steel Workers*, 363 U.S. 574; *United Steel Workers* v. *American Manufacturing Co.*, 363 U.S. 564; and *United Steel Workers* v. *Enterprise Wheel & Car Corp.*, 363 U.S. 593. There, the Court declared that:

> * * * The present Federal policy is to promote industrial stabilization through the collective bargaining agreement. A major factor in achieving industrial peace is the inclusion of a provision for arbitration of grievances in the collective bargaining agreement * * *.
>
> Complete effectuation of the Federal policy is achieved when the agreement contains both an arbitration provision for all unresolved grievances and an absolute prohibition of strikes, the arbitration agreements being the "quid pro quo" for the agreement not to strike.

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[1] Sec. 301(a) Suits for violation of contracts between an employer and a labor organization representing employees in an industry affecting commerce as defined in this Act, or between any such labor organizations, may be brought in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties, without respect to the amount in controversy or without regard to the citizenship of the parties.

[2] See, e.g., Rice, "A Paradox of our National Labor Law," 34 Marq. L.R. 233 (1951): Stewart, "No-Strike Clauses in the Federal Courts," 59 Mich. L.R. 673 (1961).

Obviously, the fundamental objective of our national labor policy can be achieved only if such collective-bargaining agreements represent the solemn and good-faith commitments of the contracting parties and are subject to effective and impartial enforcement under our laws and by our courts.

Unfortunately, it is only too clear that such is not the state of the law today with respect to the status and enforceability of collective-bargaining agreements. For example, while a labor union can, under currently existing law,[3] obtain an injunction to compel an employer to live up to his contractual commitment to arbitrate, that same injunctive remedy is barred to the employer when he seeks court enforcement of what the Supreme Court has described as the labor union's reciprocal commitment not to strike. Such imbalance between the remedies available to the employers and unions who are parties to collective-bargaining agreements not only creates industrial strife, unrest, and disrespect for law and order but also it is destructive of the very foundation and integrity of the collective-bargaining process.

Surely, if collective-bargaining agreements are to be effective instruments for the prevention of strikes and other forms of industrial unrest which interfere with the free flow of commerce and jeopardize the public interest, those inequities and inadequacies to which I have referred and which are interfering with their effective enforcement by the courts must be remedied.

As the Federal district court for the District of Columbia said in the case of *United States Electrical Workers* v. *National Labor Relations Board*, 223 F. 2d D.C. Cir. 338:

> The prevention of strikes is one of the principal purposes of labor contracts and of the (Taft-Hartley) Act. A no-strike provision is the chief advantage which an employer can reasonably expect from a collective bargaining agreement.

Surely, the public and those contracting parties who, in good faith, enter into collective-bargaining contracts, should be entitled to rely on no-strike and no-lockout pledges as assurance that there will be labor peace during the term of any collective-bargaining contract in which they are incorporated. The enforcement of such clauses by court order is the only method of assuring that peace. Only the remedy of injunction can effectively head off or terminate the unlawful breach of a no-strike or no-lockout pledge and thereby reestablish or assure the continuity of operations which the collective-bargaining agreement contemplates and the public interest demands.

The very integrity of the collective-bargaining process is at stake. Not only the groups directly affected, labor and management, but the public as well, stand to suffer dire consequences if the collective-bargaining process, which is the keystone of our national labor policy, fails as a means of achieving industrial peace.

I am introducing this bill because I firmly believe that it is in the public interest. In that belief, I am joined by the American Bar Association, whose house of delegates adopted the following resolution:

> Be it resolved, that the American Bar Association recommends that the Congress enact a modification to section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act to permit the issuance of a restraining order, temporary or permanent injunction by a court of the United States in any action brought therein pursuant to section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, as amended, for the purpose of filling the inequitable gap which exists in the law relating to the mutual enforcement of collective bargaining agreements as provided by the Congress under section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, as amended, provided that such modification shall require that no injunction against the strike shall be permissible in the absence of notice and hearing.
>
> Be it further resolved, that the labor relations law section be directed to urge upon the proper committees of Congress the foregoing recommendations.

That resolution was the product of long research and study by the labor law section of the American Bar Association, starting in August 1962. At the association's annual meeting in Chicago in August 1963, the labor law section, after considering three committee reports, and extended oral discussion, approved the resolution and transmitted it to the house of delegates for final approval.

It is my belief that the Supreme Court misconstrued congressional intent when it held that section 4 of the Norris-La Guardia Act was intended to prevent Federal courts from enjoining breach-of-contract strikes.

Congress' intent, in passing the Norris-La Guardia Act in 1932, was to limit the tendency of some courts to nip the growth of the then-infant trade unionism in the bud, by enjoining recognition and bargaining strikes for subjective reasons. But Congress had no desire thereby to encourage union disregard of its contractually assumed duties. My conclusion in this respect is buttressed by the fact that, in passing the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, Congress specifically intended to make unions more conscientious in living up to their contractual no-strike commitments, and to that end inserted the new section 301 in that act, allowing breach-of-contract suits to be brought in Federal courts against unions or employers.

As the minority opinion in the Sinclair case states, under the decision of the court:

> SEC. 301, a provision plainly designed to enhance the responsibility of unions to their contracts, will have had the opposite effect of depriving employers of a State remedy they enjoyed prior to its enactment.

I agree also with the dissenters' statement that:

> Today's decision cannot be fitted harmoniously into the pattern of prior decisions on analogous and related matters. Considered in their light, the decision leads inescapably to results consistent neither with any imaginable legislative purpose nor with sound judicial administration.

One of the arguments which may be raised against my bill is that it seeks to put an age-old union-busting weapon back into the hands of management. Perhaps at one time in this country's history this fear was not without foundation, but its perpetuation in the modern-day, sophisticated climate of labor relations is unrealistic.

Congress, in enacting the Norris-La Guardia Act in 1932, was primarily concerned about the indiscriminate use of the labor injunction by some Federal judges, who, without legislative guidelines, were sometimes frustrating the legitimate organizational efforts of unions.

Congress has already narrowed the original restrictions of the Norris-La Guardia Act by permitting injunctions to be issued in jurisdictional or work assignment disputes, secondary boycotts, and national emergency strikes. My bill would merely extend such relief to those situations in which mutuality of obligation and the integrity of the collective-bargaining process require that the pledge to refrain from taking strike or lockout action voluntarily offered by one party to another not be rendered illusory.

OIL POLLUTION CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and my distinguished colleague from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] I introduce a bill to amend the Oil Pollution Control Act of 1924.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2457) to expand and improve the provisions of the Oil Pollution Act, 1924, introduced by Mr. DIRKSEN (for himself and Mr. PERCY), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, there is reason for the bill because within the past week in Lake Michigan there was sighted a floating deposit of oil of massive proportions spreading out for a distance of approximately 75 miles and placing in jeopardy the water supply and beaches of the adjoining States. The source of this colossal pollution has not as yet been determined and the magnitude of the event demands prompt action.

The press of my State has performed nobly in focusing public attention upon the problem of water pollution which is rapidly reaching crisis proportions. Lake Erie is already in an advanced state of decay and we cannot permit Lake Michigan to reach a state of irreversible pollution. The water supply of our people is too precious to allow its contamination to continue unchecked.

The Oil Pollution Control Act of 1924 does fail in some particulars that in light of these new developments must be tightened up both as to application and the penalties involved.

Mr. President, I introduce, at this time, a measure to strengthen the law against pollution and to increase the penalty for violation. This bill will cover and define the terminal facilities which may contribute to the discharge of oil into navigable waters. The Secretary of the Interior is charged with a duty to remove the oil and to proceed for expenses and penalties against the vessel or facility responsible. Penalties are increased commensurate with the gravity of the violation to a maximum of $50,000 for gross negligence.

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[3] *Textile Workers Union* v. *Lincoln Mills*, 353 U.S. 448 (1957).

Mr. President, it is my hope that before this session is over there will be an opportunity to get action on this proposal because this is one of the emergency situations that cries for attention and cries for it right now.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, of the many evolving crises facing the United States, there is perhaps none which poses such an individualized threat to each and every citizen as pollution. The air we breathe; the water we drink; the land in which we travel, and, upon which we must build future homes and cities—the quality and even the availability of all of these are threatened by pollution. Ignorance, accident, negligence and wanton disregard for the rights and welfare of others all contribute to a growing menace. Apathy and inaction are the chief deterrents to the mounting of a broad-gage attack on pollution across the wide front of areas in which it threatens.

Dramatic examples of air and water pollution are becoming commonplace, as the hearings and debate on the Air Quality Act of 1967 recently demonstrated. I dare say that few single examples of wanton polluting activity can match the recent discovery of an oil slick 75 miles long which last week threatened the water supply and the beaches of the Chicago area. The situation was made more acute upon the discovery that laws designed to control and to remedy oil pollution in the navigable waters of the United States were hopelessly inadequate.

Accordingly, I am introducing today with Senator Dirksen the Oil Pollution Control Amendments of 1967. The bill is designed to make the Oil Pollution Control Act of 1924 enforceable, as well as broaden the coverage of that act to make it effective in its coverage. Very briefly, the bill proposes the following changes:

First. Any and all discharges of oil will be covered by the act, not merely grossly negligent or willful contamination. The person discharging oil under any circumstances is responsible for cleaning it up.

Second. Graduated penalties replace the single misdemeanor restriction of present law, recognizing the increased culpability of those who willfully pollute our waterways.

Third. Discharges of oil from terminal facilities and shore installations will be covered under this bill. Presently, only discharges from boats and vessels are covered, leaving a major source of waterborne oil discharge virtually unchecked.

Mr. President, I am hopeful that quick action can be taken on this particular bill, and that the Congress and the Federal Government will be encouraged to take active steps on all threatened fronts to control and reverse the trend of ever-increasing pollution of our air and water.

Mr. President, the recent oil slick on Lake Michigan—like the *Torrey Canyon* disaster—should be a reminder of what we on the Great Lakes can expect if we continue to allow the pouring of oil on our already troubled waters.

I ask unanimous consent that two excellent editorials, from the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun Times be printed following my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 21, 1967]

Seventy-Five Miles of Lake Pollution

The oil slicks stretching for 75 miles in Lake Michigan are further proof that in spite of all the conferring, threatening, and lawmaking in the last few years not much has been accomplished to stop the fouling of the lake. Supt. Vinton W. Bacon of the sanitary district, after a helicopter tour, described the oil globs as "the worst case of pollution I've ever seen in a body of water."

Regretably, nobody knows who is responsible for the pollution and even if the culprits were known they probably could not be prosecuted successfully. The oil pollution act of 1924 prohibits the spilling or dumping of oily materials into navigable waters of the United States but the last session of Congress amended the act to limit the provision to "willful" discharge.

Willfulness is almost impossible to prove in such cases. Polluters of the lake ought to be held responsible, whether their actions are willful or accidental. The discharge of large quantities of oil into a body of water is very rarely accidental. Congress should amend the law again, making it an effective instrument against the polluters.

One possible source of the oil slicks is the industries of the Calumet area. A study by a federal agency two years ago showed that 100,000 pounds of oil was being discharged into the southern end of Lake Michigan. This is equivalent to 300 barrels. There may have been some improvement in the last two years, but the Indian Harbor ship canal is still an oily mess, as Tribune reporters have shown. Oil is the most serious problem at the Chicago water filtration plants.

While the 75 miles of oil slicks were being inspected by officials of the sanitary district, coast guard, and Chicago fire department, Gov. Kerner was in Springfield trying to defend his astonishing veto of a bill prohibiting the dumping of dredged materials in the Illinois portion of Lake Michigan. When he vetoed the bill, he said it was unnecessary because the state department of public works could refuse to issue dumping permits.

At a news conference on Tuesday the governor changed his explanation. He declared that the state no longer had primary responsibility for maintaining water standards here; that a new law gave this responsibility to the sanitary district.

Later the state's chief waterway engineer, John C. Guillou, told a reporter that what Gov. Kerner meant to say was that the sanitary district has a responsibility for halting pollution by industries along the lake shore. The state still issues permits for dumping into the lake.

The vetoed bill, introduced by Rep. Carl L. Klein (R., Chicago), had bipartisan support in the legislature. It was indorsed by the Chicago city council, the sanitary district, numerous civic organizations, and the state director of public health, Dr. Franklin D. Yoder, who is a member of the governor's cabinet.

The bill has been reintroduced by Sen. Arthur R. Gottschalk (R., Chicago), chairman of the legislature's economic development commission. It should be passed. The army corps of engineers has ceased part of its dumping operations, but there is nothing to prevent the issuance of permits for dumping material dredged at privately owned industrial docks.

Furthermore, there is no assurance that the private dredge operators will take the trouble to go to the designated dumping ground 14 miles from the lake shore. Federal anti-pollution officials, on a recent flight over the lake, observed dredges spilling a red plume of muck only four or five miles from shore.

For years the polluters of Lake Michigan have been saying that the solution of pollution is dilution. As a rhyme this may be rather clever, but it is no longer funny. The polluters have been spoiling the lake long enough.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 21, 1967]

A Million Years Too Soon

The oil slick that fouled Lake Michigan and its beaches from Glencoe to Calumet Harbor is dramatic evidence of the lake pollution crisis.

Unlike most of the pollution dumped into the lake the oil is visible. It soils everything it touches. It is likely that the oil on the water does not exceed a few thousand gallons. It is estimated that far more than 1 billion gallons of polluted water is poured into Lake Michigan each day by industry, lakeside communities and other sources.

More than two years ago on this page we pointed out that the Great Lakes face premature death because of pollution. Lake Erie, the smallest of the five, clearly shows signs of death. Some experts hold the opinion that Lake Erie may have to be dredged from end to end to prevent it turning into a giant, stinking bog.

Lake Michigan is only a step away from being a cesspool. Industrial and other wastes containing phosphorus and nitrates fertilize and accelerate plant growth far beyond the capacity of the lake to support. The overabundant plant life dies, sinks to the bottom and decays, using up the oxygen in the water in the process and creating "dead water" in which neither fish nor aquatic life can survive. Other sources of pollution, oils, chemicals, drainage from farm lands containing pesticide residue, contribute to the crisis.

Efforts to extend the deadline for control of pollution in Lake Michigan from Dec. 31, 1968, to June 30, 1970, apparently have been defeated. Interior Sec. Stewart L. Udall, acting in response to Mayor Daley's urgent request, has indicated he will not approve of any extensions of the deadline. Udall pointed out, however, that Indiana is at odds with Illinois on how soon the lake should be cleaned up. Indiana favors extending the pollution control deadlines. Udall could clear up that difference immediately, if he would.

Lake Michigan is now so far along toward its eventual death that nothing short of the most strenuous effort will save it. Even if all pollution were to end today the algae that fouls the water would take years to vanish. The ecologic imbalance created by pollution would be years in righting.

There can be no halfway measures if Lake Michigan is to be saved. There should be no arguments about whether one government agency or another can or should issue permits to use the lake for a dumping ground. The answer to all such requests should be an unequivocal "No!"

In time all lakes die, become bogs, then swamps, then grassland. The inescapable fact is that man, with his enormous capacity for fouling his own environment, is killing Lake Michigan a million years before its normal span. Only man can halt that process.

PROVISION FOR AN IMPROVED ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 339

Mr. DOMINICK (for himself, Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Fannin) submitted amendments (No. 339), intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic

Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 340

Mr. PROUTY submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2217) to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to increase the rate of duty on honey, and to impose quotas on the quantity of honey which may be imported into the United States.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

CREDIBILITY GAP

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, in the September 4, 1967, issue of Barrons appears an article citing a specific example to show why the credibility gap of the Johnson administration is ever more widening.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> President Johnson announced last March that the Federal National Mortgage Association was raising its price for mortgages by $1 per $100. Last month, in contrast, FNMA quietly announced it was lowering its bid by $1.50, in order to make its prices "more comparable" with those paid by private investors. The Chief Executive took no notice of the latter announcement: Presidents usually take credit only for "good news." Such public relations tactics may fool people for a time, but in the not too long run they create a "credibility gap."

GOVERNMENT INCREASES USE OF PER DIEM CONSULTANTS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, concern has been expressed by various congressional committees over what seems to be an unnecessary expansion by the various agencies of the number of experts and consultants employed on a per diem basis.

No doubt in some instances the employment of such type personnel is fully justified; however, in recent years there has been an indication that ofttimes this procedure is being used to give a job to some friend or defeated politician.

To determine the extent to which the use of consultants has expanded, I request Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, to conduct a survey of the various agencies as to the number employed and the amounts paid during the 6-month period July 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966.

I have just received this report, which shows that as of December 31, 1966, there were 20,738 experts and consultants on the public payroll, who, during the same 6-month period, received salaries totaling $11,170,402, plus expenses allowed totaling $2,271,955.

It should be noted that these 20,000 consultants are not included in the tabulation of total Federal employment; however, in some instances these consultants are kept on the payroll over an extended period of time.

At this point I ask unanimous consent that the report giving an itemized breakdown of the employment of experts and consultants of the various agencies during the 6-month period July 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966, as furnished by Chairman Macy under date of August 31, 1967; a letter from me to Mr. Macy, dated August 31, 1967; and a bulletin issued by the Civil Service Commissioner, dated May 17, 1967, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., August 31, 1967.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I have now obtained more precise information from the agencies on the number of experts and consultants employed during the period of July 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966.

The attached represents data received from the agencies in response to Commission Bulletin issued after receipt of your March 9, 1967, request. We have listed the agencies in descending order based upon the number of experts and consultants on the rolls as of December 31, 1966 (the Office of Economic Opportunity is shown at the bottom of the list as their data was received after preparation of the report). We have listed only those agencies that reported experts and consultants on the rolls during the report period. Those submitting negative reports have not been listed.

In addition to the report on experts and consultants employed, I am enclosing a copy of the Commission Bulletin which provided the reporting format for the departments and agencies.

I hope that the attached information is satisfactory.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if I can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
Chairman.

[From the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., Bulletin No. 291-49, May 17, 1967]

BULLETIN

Subject: Special report on employment of experts and consultants.

Heads of Departments and Independent Establishments:

REPORT DUE JUNE 30, 1967

Senator John J. Williams has requested specific data concerning the employment of experts and consultants by all Federal agencies and departments in the executive branch, during the period July 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966. The Commission is requesting input from each agency and department to be used in compiling the report.

The questions and format for the report are transmitted as an attachment to this bulletin. Definitions of experts and consultants, and discussion of their employment, appear in chapter 304 of the Federal Personnel Manual. All temporary and intermittent employees covered by these definitions are to be reported, even though their employment is excepted from the Commission's jurisdiction. Each agency's and department's report should be submitted in duplicate to: Management Analysis Section, Room 6615, U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1900 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20415, Stop 227.

This report has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget in accordance with the Federal Reports Act of 1942.

Attachment: Report Format.

NICHOLAS J. OGANOVIC,
Executive Director.

Inquiries: Management Analysis Section, Code 183, extension 6181.

Code: 291, Personnel Reports.

Distribution: Limited.

Bulletin expires November 30, 1967.

EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS EMPLOYED DURING PERIOD, JULY 1 THROUGH DEC. 31, 1966

Agency	Total						Expense allowances			
	On rolls as of July 1, 1966	Appointed July 1 to Dec. 31	Separated, July 1 to Dec. 31	On rolls as of Dec. 31, 1966	Man-days worked, July 1 to Dec. 31	Salaries paid, July 1 to Dec. 31	Per diem [1]	Travel	Other	Total expenditure
Total	19,976	3,136	2,374	20,738	201,557	$11,170,402				$2,271,955
Veterans' Administration	7,519	480	473	7,526	74,420	3,770,950	No	Yes	No	152,215
Health, Education, and Welfare	5,272	881	737	5,416	26,948	1,568,412	Yes	Yes	No	431,168
Department of the Army	2,484	158	82	2,560	11,162	683,809	Yes	Yes	No	114,535
National Science Foundation	549	84	92	541	1,792	132,278	Yes	Yes	No	157,605
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	438	58	42	454	5,437	440,533	Yes	Yes	No	68,310
Department of the Air Force	376	86	34	428	2,158	132,457	No	Yes	No	39,617
Department of State	317	64	32	349	2,281	160,426	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	62,456
Department of the Interior	301	69	52	318	1,900	130,957	Yes	Yes	No	36,997
Agency for International Development	349	107	140	316	11,007	733,359	Yes	Yes	No	174,917
Atomic Energy Commission	266	49	1	314	1,562	144,196	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	62,241
Department of the Navy	184	43	11	216	2,341	157,006	No	Yes	No	18,011
Department of Commerce	194	76	55	215	9,779	479,457	No	Yes	No	59,034
Office of the Secretary of Defense	22	202	11	213	2,129	154,499	Yes	Yes	No	193,017
Peace Corps	151	177	121	207	15,870	543,808	No	Yes	No	190,97
Office of Science and Technology	200	21	35	186	996	68,609	Yes	Yes	No	100,11

See footnotes at end of table.

EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS EMPLOYED DURING PERIOD, JULY 1 THROUGH DEC. 31, 1966—Continued

Agency	Total						Expense allowances			
	On rolls as of July 1, 1966	Appointed July 1 to Dec. 31	Separated, July 1 to Dec. 31	On rolls as of Dec. 31, 1966	Man-days worked, July 1 to Dec. 31	Salaries paid, July 1 to Dec. 31	Per diem [1]	Travel	Other	Total expenditure
Department of Labor	139	81	35	185	3,712	$135,627	No	Yes	No	$84,784
Bureau of the Budget	83	35	10	108	1,479	109,578	Yes	Yes	No	31,816
Department of Housing and Urban Development	104	88	93	99	4,061	288,496	No	Yes	No	39,011
Department of Agriculture	83	44	29	98	2,094	112,987	No	Yes	No	27,500
Office of Emergency Planning	77	22	5	94	928	62,659	Yes	Yes	No	14,788
Federal Aviation Administration	74	12	1	85	363	36,219	No	Yes	No	7,733
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	20	71	13	78	538	33,717	Yes	Yes	No	22,016
Office of the Secretary of the Treasury	72	27	24	75	741	47,961	Yes	Yes	No	11,568
Defense Atomic Support Agency	64	6	1	69	323	16,195	Yes	Yes	No	1,371
Tennessee Valley Authority	56	8	14	50	517	71,238	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	9,669
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	51	....	1	50	166	8,763	Yes	Yes	No	4,016
Information Agency	41	5	12	34	398	18,606	Yes	Yes	No	9,632
Department of Justice	44	15	35	24	1,459	45,712	Yes	Yes	No	2,810
Commission on Civil Rights	17	12	6	23	1,122	52,752	No	Yes	No	12,009
President's Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice	32	12	22	22	225	13,840	Yes	Yes	No	5,310
Post Office Department	15	8	2	21	324	20,764	Yes	Yes	No	5,595
Defense Intelligence Agency	17	2	....	19	77	503	Yes	Yes	No	5,758
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	12	6	1	17	222	14,925	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	2,806
Civil Service Commission	3	15	2	16	130	8,275	Yes	Yes	No	3,797
General Services Administration	14	3	2	15	156	11,067	Yes	Yes	No	3,908
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	12	5	3	14	444	33,000	No	Yes	No	2,900
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	11	5	2	14	16	200	Yes	Yes	No	421
National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber	13	2	1	14	236	17,001	Yes	Yes	No	2,980
Defense Communications Agency	....	14	2	12	113	6,351	Yes	Yes	No	5,851
Internal Revenue Service	5	2	....	7	232	17,660	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	1,302
Interstate Commerce Commission	7	....	....	7	....	....	Yes	Yes	No	....
Federal Power Commission	1	4	....	5	74	5,133	No	Yes	No	724
National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development	....	7	2	5	116	9,855	Yes	Yes	No	767
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	8	....	3	5	119	5,921	Yes	Yes	No	43
Federal Communications Commission	3	3	2	4	114	8,063	Yes	Yes	No	1,163
President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing	3	1	....	4	16	1,949	Yes	Yes	No	208
Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Narcotics	4	....	....	4	13	751	Yes	Yes	No	1,186
Federal Trade Commission	6	....	3	3	81	5,865	Yes	Yes	No	1,105
President's Committee on Consumer Interests	2	4	3	3	129	7,998	Yes	Yes	No	313
Smithsonian Institution	6	7	10	3	181	8,920	No	No	No	....
National Capital Planning Commission	1	1	....	2	147	5,750	Yes	Yes	No	....
National Conference on the Problems of Mexican-American and Puerto Rico Communities	....	2	....	2	76	5,708	Yes	Yes	No	....
Securities and Exchange Commission	2	....	....	2	11	1,114	No	Yes	No	....
Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons	2	....	1	1	140	9,105	Yes	Yes	No	3,290
Export-Import Bank	....	2	1	1	18	1,251	Yes	Yes	No	414
National Labor Relations Board	1	1	1	1	40	2,463	No	Yes	No	150
Public Land Law Review Commission	1	1	1	1	177	14,421	Yes	Yes	No	....
Renegotiation Board	1	....	....	1	6	450	No	No	No	....
Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration	....	1	....	1	13	1,150	Yes	Yes	No	90
Selective Service System	1	....	....	1	27	2,432	Yes	Yes	No	1,051
Department of the Treasury, Savings Bond Division	1	1	1	1	....	....	Yes	Yes	No	....
Tariff Commission	....	1	....	1	....	....	No	Yes	No	....
Department of the Treasury, Comptroller of the Currency	1	....	....	1	....	....	No	No	No	....
Water Resources Council	1	....	....	1	90	8,863	Yes	Yes	No	628
Department of the Treasury, Bureau of the Mint	1	....	1		29	1,728	Yes	Yes	No	1,082
Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Customs	1	....	1	....	60	1,987	No	No	No	....
Canal Zone Government	....	....	....	....	....	....	Yes	Yes	Yes [2]	1,800
Office of Economic Opportunity	241	45	110	176	9,022	574,673	No	Yes	No	77,381

[1] Covers subsistence allowances to employees in travel status as prescribed by the Standardized Government Travel Regulations.

[2] Covers reimbursement for such expenses as telephone, clerical and stenographic assistance, copy duplicating services, visual aids, etc.

AMERICANS OF THE INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICES SHOW THE WAY TO PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, for years in South Vietnam we have maintained a fine organization termed the "International Voluntary Services." These men and women are teachers, farm specialists, and social workers. Over the years they have helped the Vietnamese peasants grow much more rice and other crops from the land they either own or toil on for absentee landlords. These volunteers who work at the rice-roots level in education, agriculture, and community development programs in Vietnam receive living allowances only and $80 a month. No scandal has ever been attached to this organization nor any black marketing and profiteering which have afflicted ur AID program due to the dishonesty of some of its officials in Saigon. The constructive work for peace and understanding of the volunteers in the International Voluntary Services have in recent years and particularly during recent months been well nigh destroyed and engulfed in the futile destruction of the Vietnam war.

Recently 50 of these specialists who have acquired a deep feeling for the Vietnamese peasants sent a written appeal to President Johnson to suspend bombing of North Vietnam without applying any conditions, and in addition to recognize the National Liberation Front as the political arm of the Vietcong, which it is, and to seek peace negotiations between the Hanoi government and the Saigon regime and to do this without delay. The result: no acknowledgment of their plea.

Seven of the top leaders of the International Voluntary Services including Don Luce, who has served in Vietnam 9 years, and Gene Stoltzfus, who has been there for 4 years, have resigned their posts in protest over our continuing escalation of the civil war in Vietnam.

The volunteers stated that they are finding it increasingly difficult to pursue quietly their main objective of helping the people of Vietnam in face of the present realities in that war-torn country. They assert that the suffering of the Vietnamese people is "greatly intensified by today's American presence."

The letter objects to forcible resettlement of refugees which has been "generated not by Vietcong terrorism, but by a policy of the war, an American policy." The letter also takes issue with the pacification program which, it says, "consists of young men and women often motivated by draft exemption and the security of a government job, with 3 months' training in concepts that take several years to master." The volunteers term these so-called "Revolutionary Development Teams" as "imitation Vietcong."

The result of the whole situation, the letter says, is that—prostitution increases, corruption increases, crime in the streets increases, and more and more capable people joining their compatriots—either Vietcong or those on the American payroll. The conclusions made by the authors of this statement are as clearly and convincingly stated:

> The former have dedicated themselves to a difficult and uncomfortable struggle, with no end in sight. The latter have sought the

> easier road; the American dollar, a comfortable life, outwardly compromising their own culture. Inwardly they have not. In their eyes the United States is the exploiter to be exploited.

The letter goes on to condemn American support of "a government generally detested by the Vietnamese, a power group which has proven for 5 years that it is unable to bring about unity and peace in South Vietnam."

The International Voluntary Services volunteers closed their letter by saying:

> It is with sadness, therefore, that we make our views known. But because above all our first concern is for the Vietnamese, there is no alternative. It is their cry and ours: End this war.

These dedicated Americans in giving up their posts protesting our policy of destruction of Vietnamese villages, herding the survivors in groups and transporting them to refugee camps made it crystal clear that their protest as loyal Americans was made more in sorrow than in anger. A concluding part of their statement summarized their views.

> We saw what was happening more and more in Vietnam, the situation is being dehumanized—
>
> Everything is statistics and fire power.

The final statement of fact was:

> We do not accuse anyone of deliberate cruelty . . . Vietcong terrorism is real, so are the innocent victims of United States bombing, strafing and shelling.

Mr. President, Ambassador Goldberg's speech before the United Nations last week in which he said we would stop the bombing of North Vietnam if the North Vietnamese would state ahead of time that they are willing to enter into negotiations was merely a rehash of our old position with a few cosmetic retouches applied covering the harsh ridges and bringing out the soft lines. The speech was made against the background of stepped up bombing of North Vietnam. How can the world be expected to take seriously our talk of peace unless it is joined with an act of peace, an unconditional suspension of the bombing?

CONGRESSIONAL TURN DOWN OF TAX INCREASE WOULD BE LOGICAL AND RESPONSIBLE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it is most distressing to hear the dire predictions of Treasury Secretary Fowler that our economy would be "in shambles" and that the country would suffer serious inflation if the 10 percent surtax is not voted by the Congress.

This is precisely the kind of talk from the top financial authorities in our Government that can provide just the psychological business and consumer climate on which inflation feeds.

The Secretary of the Treasury has accused Members of Congress of giving too much weight to constituents' mail and too little to the economic indicators.

What do the indicators show? They show this American economy still has an immense amount of slack. Far from suffering from the kind of inflation that would require a tax increase, industrial production is ambling along at less than 85 percent of capacity.

Our manpower is still working at close to the shortest hours per week in the past 6 years. We will be lucky to achieve a growth rate of 3 percent for the calendar year, far below last year's rate and I might add, far below the rate of growth the Russians have attained this year.

The American economy has grown in productive capacity far more rapidly in the past 3 years than ever before in our history. Even many of our economic experts fail to appreciate the perfectly immense productive potential this Nation has achieved and the enormous demand necessary to keep our rapidly growing manpower and our huge productive facilities busy.

There is solid evidence that the immense business investment in plant and equipment that was the prime driving force in the 1964–66 boom will give little additional steam to the economy in the next couple of years. That is, there is sure to be a slowdown in business investment in plant and equipment. The capital goods boom is over for several years. We may not have a capital goods recession, but with 15 percent of our plants idle, business is not going to be struggling to vastly increase capacity as they did in the past. We will be doing well to maintain the rate of business investment in plant and equipment we built up to in 1966. Meanwhile this vastly increases our capacity to meet demand pressures on production.

It is true that the economy has been speeding up a little in the past month and that it is likely to continue to accelerate somewhat for the next 6 months. But we have a long, long way to go before demand pressures become seriously inflationary.

It is also true that prices have begun to rise too rapidly in the past month or so. But virtually every price increase has been the result of cost pressure. This cost pressure would be aggravated, not moderated, by a tax increase.

In color television, steel, automobiles, chemicals, the price increases have all been in the face of demand well below last year when both productive capacity and labor productivity were less. Clearly, increased costs are pushing up prices in the face of sagging demand.

And while the economy might not suffer seriously from a tax increase in the first few months of next year, it could be in serious trouble later. The economy would be frozen into that tax increase throughout election year 1968. To cut taxes during next year's session of Congress would be viewed as sheer political opportunism.

But even if I am wrong and Secretary Fowler right and the economy does threaten to become seriously overheated, there are plenty of things the Congress and the President can do to avert the "shambles" Secretary Fowler describes. For one thing, we can cut expenditures which, in my opinion, would be the healthier approach by far. But if the Congress is going to achieve significant reductions, leadership must come from the President.

Second, much more can be done with voluntary restraints. I think we could have significantly reduced the pressures on prices this year if the administration had taken the lead with a wage-price guideline policy, keeping wage increases as close as possible to productivity increases. Instead, the administration this year threw out completely a wage-price policy that had served the Nation well by helping to keep prices reasonably stable for 4 years.

The prime point, Mr. President, is that the most reasonable outlook for the economy now is for substantial growth and expansion without a tax increase; but with more than 15 percent of our vast productive capacity idle, with so much of our manpower working short hours, with more than a million and a half new workers coming into our work force each year, this immensely productive economy of ours can take such a growth and expansion in stride, without demand inflation, without a tax increase.

LEADING INDICATORS SHOW TAX INCREASE AT THIS TIME AN ECONOMIC BLUNDER

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I hope that the administration proponents of a tax increase who have been accusing Members of Congress who oppose the tax increase of giving more attention to constituents' mail than to the economic indicators take a good long look at the article published this morning on the first page of the Wall Street Journal on the state of the economy.

Those of us who have opposed a tax increase have insisted that the present state of the economy may not need this kind of depressant and indeed that it might slow down real growth and promote unemployment.

This morning's "Appraisal of Current Trends in Business and Finance" by Alfred Malabre in the Wall Street Journal shows the good sense and force in this analysis.

Mr. Malabre conceded that the so-called coincident indicators that tell us the state of the economy at a given time do indeed indicate that the economy recovered from its doldrums somewhat in August; that is, that industrial production, retail sales, and personal income were all up.

But, Mr. President, as Mr. Malabre points out these tell us where we have been—not where we are going.

On the other hand—in the words of the Wall Street Journal:

> The leading indicators tell a very different sort of story from the coincident indicators. They suggest that booming business in the months ahead is by no means a certainty. In fact, the leaders cast considerable doubt on whether business will continue to expand at even a moderately healthy pace. A review of the 12 key indicators based on the latest information available produces a decidedly spotty box score. Six of the 12 point down toward reduced business activity in coming months. Only four point up toward further expansion and two are moving sideways.
>
> Overall this box score is actually slightly less optimistic than one compiled in a similar review of the leaders in this column on July 17. At that time six of the twelve leaders pointed up and six pointed down.

Mr. Malabre further points out that American industry is currently operating at only 85 percent of capacity. And he adds:

> The recent speed-up in consumer prices notwithstanding—economic history shows that troublesome sustained inflation is rare when plant operations drop much below 90% of capacity.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this excellent analysis on the economic outlook, constituting a prime case against the tax increase, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OUTLOOK: APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

(By Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.)

Is the long business expansion beginning to heat up again? That's the key question facing Congress as it ponders whether to approve President Johnson's request for a tax surcharge to fight inflation. If the boom is on again, inflation presumably will become an increasingly difficult problem in the months ahead. But if the outlook for business is a good deal less than booming, the inflation threat would seem less menacing. A badly timed tax increase could conceivably even trigger a full-fledged recession.

How do things look?

Headlines in recent days seem to indicate that the economy has been gathering steam. One recent report quotes Presidential economic adviser Gardner Ackley asserting that the business sluggishness of early 1967 is "already over" and that "a business acceleration is no longer a forecast, it is a fact." Other sanguine reports in recent days include the news that industrial production in August scored the sharpest gain in more than a year and that retail sales and personal income in August each climbed to record levels.

Such headlines, at first glance, may even suggest that an inflationary boom is getting under way. And that may indeed turn out to be the case.

A seemingly safer way to try to gauge the probable course of the economy, however, is to peruse the so-called leading indicators of economic activity, compiled by the National Bureau of Economic Research, a nonprofit group based in New York. Generally, these leading indicators have been found over the years to foreshadow with remarkable accuracy the course of the economy. But ironically they often receive less publicity than the National Bureau's so-called coincident indicators, the broad yardsticks that show where the economy stands, not where it is heading. The headline-catching economic measures that performed so well in August—industrial production, retail sales and personal income—are all coincident indicators.

The leading indicators tell a very different sort of story from the coincident indicators. They suggest that booming business in the months ahead is by no means a certainty. In fact, the leaders cast considerable doubt on whether business will continue to expand at even a moderately healthy pace. A review of the 12 key leaders, based on the latest information available, produces a decidedly spotty box score. Six of the 12 point down toward reduced business activity in coming months. Only four point up toward further expansion and two are moving sideways.

Overall, this box score is actually slightly less optimistic than one compiled in a similar review of the leaders in this column on July 17. At that time, six of the 12 leaders pointed up and six pointed down.

Among the key indicators that point down are some that most economists regard as especially reliable forerunners of overall business activity. One is the statistical series measuring new factory orders for durable goods. The volume of these orders dropped in August for the second straight month. The record for new orders was set all the way back in September 1966. Another yardstick that has recently turned down is the series that measures contracts and orders for new plant and equipment. Other leaders pointing toward slower business are job placements in nonagricultural industries, net new business formations, the net change in consumer installment debt and the ratio of prices to unit labor costs in manufacturing.

The leading indicators that suggest business will continue to expand are the average workweek of production workers, the change in the book value of manufacturing and trade inventories, corporate profits after taxes and stock prices, which on average have been higher in September so far than in August. The indicators that point approximately sideways are industrial material prices and new private housing permits.

The recent overall performance of the key leading indicators, it is noteworthy, isn't the only bit of evidence suggesting business may not necessarily be entering a boom period. Among other factors, of course, is the strike at Ford Motor Co., which started early this month, after the latest reporting period for most of the key indicators. The Ford shutdown, while not an overriding influence in the general economy, undoubtedly will tend increasingly to slow overall business as it goes on.

In this connection, a top economist at the Federal Reserve Board estimates that the impact of the strike will "knock about two points" off this month's industrial production index. Partly for this reason, the economist predicts that the country's output index, which stood at 158% of the 1957–59 base in August, will decline in September. "There's hardly any question about it," the economist says. As the Ford strike continues, he adds, "more and more firms that supply Ford will be forced to cut back operations."

The Federal Reserve official also notes that some "very special factors" contributed to August's 1.3-point rise in industrial production. Roughly half the increase, he says, can be traced to a sharp rise in crude oil production because of curtailment of Mideast supplies. Now, with more oil flowing from the Arab states, crude oil output is running below the high August levels. Other special factors, the economist says, included sharp output gains in the rubber and electronics industries following strikes.

Taking such considerations into account, and allowing for new plant facilities now coming on stream, the Government analyst reckons that U.S. manufacturers currently are using only about 85% of their full production potential, no higher than in the year's second quarter when there was far less talk about inflation. And—the recent speedup in consumer prices notwithstanding—economic history shows that troublesome, sustained inflation is rare when plant operations drop much below 90% of capacity.

ANALYSIS OF SECRETARY McNAMARA'S TESTIMONY ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in the "Talk of the Town" feature of the September 16 issue of New Yorker magazine, there is a perceptive commentary on Secretary McNamara's testimony before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee on the policy of bombing North Vietnam.

After examining Secretary McNamara's testimony in the light of the announced objectives of the bombing policy, the writer concludes:

> The Secretary . . . has told the careful reader that, even putting moral considerations aside, the bombing is not worth its enormous cost in men and planes, its alienation of our allies, the incredulity or disgust it has aroused throughout the world, or its undeniable diminution of chances for a negotiated settlement.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NOTES AND COMMENT

Perhaps because it is encased in the stolid monotone of Pentagon-committee language, Secretary McNamara's testimony before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee on the bombing of North Vietnam has not been generally greeted as the astounding document it is. The Secretary himself has helped to dull reaction by omitting the obvious conclusions to be drawn from his analysis. As a result, the "debate between McNamara and the generals" has been understood to involve an argument over the wisdom of further escalation, whereas in fact the McNamara statement cuts the heart out of the military case for bombing North Vietnam at all. Since our stated national objectives do not include the overthrow or destruction of North Vietnam, the only military justification for the bombing is that it will shorten the war in the South, or, at least, reduce the war's cost, in life and money, and McNamara has virtually demonstrated that it does neither.

Three claims are basic to the official rationale. The first is that the bombing slows down the infiltration of men and supplies into the South. Yet the Secretary points out that no level of bombing short of complete obliteration can keep the North Vietnamese from supplying and reinforcing their troops in the South, either at the current level or at a much higher one. The reason has been clear to almost every outside observer for a long time. North Vietnam does not manufacture weapons. It is not the source of supply. It is simply a rather sprawling way station for goods on their way from the Soviet Union and China. Tens of thousands of tons of matériel must be moved through North Vietnam each day simply to keep the country going. Yet, as McNamara indicates, only between one hundred and two hundred tons—a few dozen truckloads—a day, at the most, is needed to supply the conflict in the South. As long as North Vietnam gives top priority to this vital but tiny trickle, there is no way to halt it. To attempt to do so by bombing is a little like building Grand Coulee Dam to stop a leaky faucet. Moreover, the infiltration has been steadily increasing. When the bombing began, there were four hundred North Vietnamese regulars in the South; now there are more than forty thousand, and no evidence exists that there is any limit on further increases except the limit imposed by Hanoi's tactical judgment.

The second claim, or hope, is that bombing may break the will of the North Vietnamese and bring them to the conference table—or, even better, force them to give up. All the evidence, including the reports of detached observers, is that Hanoi is less inclined to enter into negotiation now than it was in early 1965. Bombing seems to have the same effect on Asians that it had on Anglo-Saxons; by making the victims angry, it stiffens their determination and unifies the national will. The Secretary admits as much when he states that we can never bomb "the other side" to its knees.

Having knocked down the two major supports for the bombing, the Secretary does assert that it is serving the third purpose: to make the war more costly and painful for the North Vietnamese. As an example, he produces the now classic figure of five hundred thousand North Vietnamese compelled to leave civilian occupations in order to repair bomb-torn roads, railroads, and so on. The bombing *is* costly (and to both sides). But, simply as a matter of logical analysis, this statement is meaningless unless one can show that the increased cost hampers North Vietnam's ability to make war, either immediately or over a long period. Every indication is that it doesn't. North Vietnam is basically a rural country, with only a few factories, many of which are now gone. An agricultural economy cannot be destroyed from the air. The increased Soviet aid alone since early 1965 is four or five times the estimated bombing damage. And food received from the various allies of North Vietnam more than makes up for any loss in production caused by the diversion of those five hundred thousand workers. A good case could be made for the contention that, except in terms of human life, North Vietnam is showing a profit. Even the most militant among us have failed to produce evidence of food shortages or other economic distress in the North. If every time your rent was raised your pay was increased even more, living would be more costly, but it would be hard to claim that a worsening financial situation required you to leave your home.

Almost every expert, military or nonmilitary, who is not personally involved in conducting the war has come up with the same analysis. Included are Generals Ridgway and Gavin, former Marine Commandant Shoup, and a large group of the country's most distinguished scientists who spent months studying the problem. For this logic now to be publicly adopted by the Secretary of Defense is a remarkable acknowledgment of its accuracy, since he favored the bombing initially and has supported nearly every step in its escalation—at least, until recently. Both the available recollections of insiders and the public record point to Secretary McNamara as one of the three men who must share the principal responsibility for transforming a political and economic conflict first into a military struggle and then into an American war. The others, of course, are Secretary Rusk and President Johnson. Now the Secretary of Defense, by indirection, has told the careful reader that, even putting moral considerations aside, the bombing is not worth its enormous cost in men and planes, its alienation of our allies, the incredulity or disgust it has aroused throughout the world, or its undeniable diminution of chances for a negotiated settlement. The bombing is militarily ineffective. It is unfortunate that McNamara, having just offered a powerful argument for not bombing any targets whatever, did not come out and say so but, instead, chose to assert that we should not bomb many more targets. However, in days when no distinction is made between fact and rhetoric, and both are being constantly reshaped to meet the political and propaganda needs of the moment, even a little bit of intellectual honesty about the war, mired though it may be in the familiar, deceptive confusion, still manages to shine with an unexpected, heartening light.

MR. McNAMARA FACES BOTH WAYS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record as a part of my remarks the lead editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of September 20, 1967, entitled "Mr. McNamara Faces Both Ways."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mr. McNamara Faces Both Ways

Secretary McNamara at San Francisco Monday made an eloquent and powerful appeal for "rational discussion and decision making" on nuclear strategy—and concluded with the announcement of a decision which seems anything but rational.

The decision is to proceed with production and deployment of a "light" anti-ballistic missile defense intended primarily to protect us against China. Mr. McNamara had argued vigorously against the decision only a few months ago. In our view he falls short of giving adequate rational grounds for it now.

To much of his speech, one of the most important he has made, no exception can be taken. With measured and irrefutable arguments he destroys any case for building a "heavy" ABM system designed to protect us against Russian nuclear power. Our protection, he says, lies in our offensive missile superiority, which is now on the order of three or four to one, and which assures us for the foreseeable future of the power to wipe out any enemy or combination of enemies even after absorbing a surprise attack.

Building a "heavy" ABM system, Mr. McNamara persuasively argues, would not provide an impenetrable shield. What it would provide is an incentive for the Soviets to multiply their own offensive forces, thus triggering "a senseless upward spiral of nuclear arms." At the end of this new stage in the arms race, both sides would be essentially where they were before. After wasting vast resources, each would still lack the power to wipe out the other with a first strike, but each would still possess the power to destroy the other in a retaliatory second strike. Surely he is right in concluding that in these circumstances what the world needs is not a new race of nuclear arms, but "a new race towards reasonableness."

Yet it is hard to agree that he and the Administration are racing towards reasonableness by deciding to build, if not a "heavy" ABM system against Russia, a "light" ABM system against China. The decision seems to be dictated not by reason but by political and military pressures. Mr. McNamara's effort to justify it simply does not carry conviction.

The Secretary says China may have a "modest" nuclear force by the mid-70s, and a small ABM system would enable us to deter China from using it for "nuclear blackmail" in Asia. But ABMs on American soil are not going to protect Formosa or Vietnam or India from Chinese missiles. As Mr. McNamara himself cogently argues with respect to Russia, the real protection, the real deterrent, lies not in ABMs of questionable effectiveness but in our power to destroy an enemy in retaliation for a nuclear attack anywhere.

Mr. McNamara argues also that a "light" ABM system would incidentally strengthen defense of our missile bases against Soviet attack, but since he has previously argued that a "heavy" system would not strengthen those defenses enough, this must be considered a weak rationalization. He says there would be some degree of protection of our population against an accidental missile launch somewhere in the world; but the only way to gain any population protection of meaningful proportions would be to surround every city with ABMs, and this he does not propose to do.

Mr. McNamara is quite right in warning that we must guard against pressures to expand his "light" system into the "heavy" one which, as he says, would accelerate the "mad momentum" of the nuclear arms race. But where he hopes to have relieved those pressures we fear he has only encouraged them. Already militarist Congressmen are proclaiming his decision as but the first step, the foot in the door. At the next stage we expect to hear them proclaiming how absurd it is to build a little ABM defense against a minor nuclear power like China when what is needed is an enormous ABM defense against Russia. Having yielded a little, Mr. McNamara will find it very hard not to yield more.

The Secretary, far more than many others, has faced up to the awful realities of the nuclear age, and grasped the folly of endless escalation of overkill capacity. But he does not follow the logic of his own conclusions. Just as in Vietnam he marshals an overpowering case against the effectiveness of bombing the North, yet presides over the bombing and each stage of its escalation, so in this case he destroys any rational grounds for building an ABM system light or heavy, and yet winds up building one. What are, we wonder, his basic principles?

A SLUR ON INTER-AMERICAN BANK

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I approve of the editorial published in the New York Times of September 23 regarding the Inter-American Development Bank, and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Slur on Inter-American Bank

The Inter-American Bank is one of the pioneering institutions in development finance. Congress has recognized the commendable job it has done for the Alliance for Progress by continuing to approve sizable contributions to its operations. But the demand of the United States Congress that the bank be subjected to a special audit may well be interpreted as a slur on its dedicated staff and on the programs it has sponsored in Latin America.

It is doubtful that Congress intended to cast aspersions on this estimable institution or to inflame its Latin-American members. But, as it did in denying Britain the right to bid on construction of some Navy minesweepers, Congress through such petty actions is jeopardizing this country's friends.

Indeed, there is a real danger that Latin-American contributors will retaliate by also demanding expensive audits of their own. It would not be surprising if other foreign countries sought to examine the books of the International Development Association, the new Asian Development Bank and other international financial institutions. Such offensive tactics could only embitter relations between cooperating countries and make it impossible to keep the high quality personnel now at work.

The Inter-American Bank and other institutions borrowing funds in the market place already undergo scrupulous independent audits. Moreover, they are under the general supervision of the national representatives who sit on their boards. So there is no reason for the United States or any other country to insist on further superfluous inspections. It is too late to reconsider this measure now, but it will hardly win friends and influence for the United States in Latin America.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I do believe, however, that it would be a service to the public to be told the full story, which is that the Senate deleted the Selden amendment requiring the audit; that the administration did not object; that the House rejected the conference report, which did not include this amendment. The House vote was about 2 to 1 in rejecting the conference report.

In short, the Senate did all that it reasonably could to prevent this slur upon the Inter-American Bank management, but was overridden by the House of Representatives with the tacit support of the administration.

MUST AMERICAN BOYS CONTINUE TO DIE TO KEEP SAIGON POLICE STATE IN POWER?

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the leading editorial of the Washington Post this morning is entitled "Retrogression in Saigon." In it, the comment is made that the recent midnight raid and subsequent arrest and detention of former Finance Minister Thanh for 18 hours "did not quite jibe with that glowing firsthand report of the President's special commission gave us of democracy burgeoning bravely in a war-torn land."

There has been no retrogression in Saigon.

The Government of South Vietnam was a police state before the rigged elections of September 3, 1967.

The rigged elections changed nothing. Many of us pointed that out here on the floor on August 11, 1967.

The stage was set well before September 3 with the props all in place—the strictly controlled press, the careful screening of candidates, with the complete elimination from participation of popular candidates who posed too great a threat to the military junta—the eligible electorate screened with equal care—duplicate ballots given to the military. Then the curtain was drawn and the President's commission was permitted to watch where, and when only to the extent permitted by the military junta.

The surprise of the Washington Post that with such careful rigging of the election in South Vietnam "instant democracy" did not result from the September 3 elections is really what is surprising.

What else could be expected?

It is to be hoped that the Washington Post will call its editorial to the attention of some of its columnists who seem to be living in a "never-never" land, oblivious to the facts of life.

The Washington Post expresses the hope that the Government in Saigon "continue to try to advance, rather than retard, some measure of political reform." It warns that without such reforms, "the generals should be on notice that our war effort may suffer, in turn, from an erosion of popular support at home."

I agree with that warning but must point out that all signs indicate that the tide of that erosion grows stronger daily. The question may well be asked: "Must American boys continue to die for that Saigon gang?"

Well, I am asking it. More than 13,000 have already been killed in combat, and 100,000 wounded, many of them crippled for life—blinded, armless, legless, paralyzed. It is positively disgraceful that we continue to pretend we are instilling democracy down there, and sacrificing our boys wantonly for that illicit purpose.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Retrogression in Saigon," published in the Washington Post of September 25, 1967.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TALMADGE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

RETROGRESSION IN SAIGON

That was some sample, the other day, of the new look in South Vietnamese politics that was supposed to have been ushered in by the presidential elections early this month. Gun-toting policemen rampaging through the home of former Finance Minister Thanh and terrifying his small children, knocks on the door at midnight and summary arrests on the street, newsmen roughed up and cameramen robbed of their film—somehow it didn't quite jibe with that glowing first-hand report the President's special commission gave us of democracy burgeoning bravely in a war-torn land. Apparently the ruling military clique now believes that with this clean bill in hand on their conduct of the actual voting, anything goes.

They should be told, in no uncertain terms, that it does not. The release of Mr. Thanh after 18 hours of detention on charges of "Communist connections" cannot erase the record of systematic, strong-arm tactics against a man who many responsible American officials have pronounced to be one of the ablest and most effective leaders in all of South Vietnam. It was bad enough to bar him from candidacy in the election as a "neutralist" or "pro-Communist" in the first place. His release from custody confirms the strong impression that this was always a trumped-up case. This outrage is only compounded by his recent manhandling which must also be read in the context of the swift jailing, on corruption charges, of Mr. Du, the "peace" candidate, who was allowed to run in the election and had the audacity to give the winner, General Thieu, an uncomfortably close race.

Perhaps the Administration should have been a touch more restrained in its effusive efforts to pronounce the vote as something of a triumph for representative government, for the findings of the President's study group could not have been expected to take into account the effects of police-state rough stuff which preceded the vote, of the press censorship, of the backstage manipulations to determine who could and could not run. Already press censorship is tightening again. The spirit of "reconciliation," which was so much a part of the winners' campaign oratory, does not seem to be much in evidence now.

It would be quite unreasonable, of course, to expect the generals to mend their ways in a month. And it was never realistic to think that one election could transform the character of Vietnamese politics or alter a power structure which inevitably makes the military much the most potent single force.

But is it not too much to expect that the newly elected government continue to try to advance, rather than retard, some measure of political reform. Our war effort depends in no small part on the new Saigon government's efforts to establish a strong, popular base. If these South Vietnamese efforts are not forthcoming, the generals should be on notice that our war effort may suffer, in turn, from an erosion of popular support at home.

MEXICO'S SUCCESS STORY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, as one whose acquaintance with Mexico goes back 45 years and has watched with hopeful sympathy its steady progress from revolution to evolution, the evidence of its success is most gratifying. No less gratifying is the present happy state of our relations with our southern neighbor. They have never been as good as they are now, and we want to keep them so—or better.

Mexico laid the foundation for its success through revolution. That revolution antedated the Communist takeover of the Russian revolution and Mexico's revolution was never infiltrated by the Communist ideology and methods. Its revolutionary reforms arose out of its own experiences; they were directed at abuses which had retarded that country for centuries.

Mexico still has problems. The one which perhaps more than any other threatens its future progress is overpopulation. To date it has done nothing to face that issue, but there are hopeful signs that it soon may realize the enormity of its problems when its present population doubles in the next third of a century.

A fine summary of Mexico's success is found in an article entitled "Mexico's Success Story," published in U.S. News & World Report of October 2, 1967. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEXICO'S SUCCESS STORY: NEW INDUSTRIES, SOUND MONEY, STEADY GROWTH

(NOTE.—The Mexicans appear to have found a success formula that is unique in Latin America. Massive worries remain—nagging poverty in the rural areas and an exploding population, as examples. But fresh capital, sound currency and business incentives are giving the U.S. neighbor development on a steady and stable course.)

MEXICO CITY.—Just to the south of the United States is to be found a real success story in what has been an underdeveloped nation. This story points to what can be done by a combination of hard work with policies that experience has shown to be practical.

Mexico, if all of the signs are right, definitely has "taken off." It is breaking through the restraints that long have held the nation in check. Still to be solved are massive problems—rural poverty, maldistribution of income and an exploding population.

The contrast with many other nations of Latin America is sharp. Instability, inflation and unwillingness to face up to basic problems have showed progress in many of these countries. Mexico, by contrast, is proving that planning for the future, sound policies of taxing and spending, and insistence on a strong currency can be the keys to steady and stable growth for developing nations.

SOUND CREDIT

Two years ago, the International Monetary Fund declared the Mexican peso a "hard currency." Mexico's international credit is strong and there is no trouble in floating bond issues in the New York market. One loan recently was marketed in Europe.

This country's planners seek to keep the nation's rate of growth between 6 and 7 per cent a year, which they regard as a "sustainable rate." When that rate rises to 10 per cent or above, inflation threatens and steps are taken to cool things off.

The result is that the average rise in the cost of living in Mexico has been about 2 per cent annually—a record that compares favorably with rises in the so-called "advanced" nations of the world. A special effort is made to keep down costs of the basic elements of diet—beans, corn and milk. It is in this field that the contrast is sharpest with most developing nations.

CONFIDENCE HIGH

With the Mexican peso stable, private savings have been growing at a rate of 15 per cent or more a year. The growth of financial institutions has been equally striking. The increased flow of savings is providing capital for both private and public investment—in building, in industry.

The high rate of savings and of investment reflects confidence of people in Mexico's future.

Younger people in Mexico have the idea that the way to make money is to go into business—just as Americans long have felt. The country's "new rich" are industrialists. In most of Latin America, by contrast, the idea is to own land, to go into the military service, or to invest in U.S. or Europe.

FOREIGN PLANTS WOOED

Mexico's policies are encouraging investment from abroad. In the past two years direct foreign investment and reinvested earnings of foreign-owned firms have averaged around 200 million dollars annually. At present, many smaller U.S. firms are joining the bigger companies in Mexican investment.

A new development is in the plants that are springing up near the Mexican-U.S. border.

Border towns, once best known for vice, now are attracting American firms. Most are light manufacturing industries, including textiles and electronics, that use much hand labor. Tijuana, Mexicali, Ciudad, Juárez have 30 to 40 of these firms, with others interested.

A special policy of the Mexican Government is encouraging foreign-company investment along the border. So long as the finished products of these companies are not sold in Mexico, the firms are permitted to bring in materials duty-free. The hope apparently is to compete with Hong Kong and other centers in Asia. Labor costs are one third to one half those in U.S. While these costs are much higher than Hong Kong's, the cost of transportation to the American market is far lower.

FLEXIBLE POLICY

Mexico, like other nations, including Canada and France, frets about too much control by foreign interests.

There is a so-called "Mexicanization" policy requiring 51 per cent Mexican ownership of new industries that sell inside the country. This tends to deter some U.S. firms. However, the policy is flexible.

If an American firm is producing goods not competitive with Mexican firms, uses a lot of labor, wants to locate in an area that needs new industry, and the products can be exported, the 51 per cent requirement is waived. In one recent case, only 15 per cent Mexican ownership was required.

Said one official: "U. S. investors scream about the Mexicanization policy—but go right on investing."

Although Mexico is making a major effort to become self-sufficient in both manufactured goods and farm products—and imports are held down to around 8 or 9 per cent of the country's total output—the Government often has refused to protect many inefficient industries. There is pressure on the country's industrialists to cut costs and become more efficient. If prices get out of line, the tap is opened and foreign products are let in more freely.

This country has shown farsightedness in development of the tourist trade—while others in Latin America lagged.

In 1961, despite strong objections from Mexican airlines that wanted protection, U.S. and other foreign airlines were given new routes. Results have been spectacular, with annual increases in traffic from 7 to 14 per cent.

Last year tourists, including those to U.S.-border cities, numbered 1.5 million, and they spent 860 million dollars. This income was a big plus to Mexico in balancing its international payments.

Everything possible has been done to make tourists feel at home. Special examinations are required of guides. Police and other officials wear armbands telling what languages they speak. Ceiling prices are set on hotel rooms—and enforced. Tourist offices have been set up over much of the world.

Hotel space in Mexico City always is in tight supply. Acapulco, once strictly a winter playground, has developed a year-round business. New areas are being developed. The 1968 Olympic Games, in Mexico City, will give a boost to the profitable tourist trade.

Ingenuity and initiative are being shown in other fields as well.

BOON FOR AGRICULTURE

Two years ago, when the American Government ended the *bracero* program which permitted thousands of Mexicans to enter the U.S. to pick vegetable and fruit crops, the Mexican Government entered only a mild protest despite heavy loss of *bracero* income.

Now, U.S. capital is pouring into the development of Mexican fruit and vegetable growing for the American market. Many U.S. growers, faced with higher wage rates, have had to switch to crops requiring less "stoop labor."

A good example is found in tomatoes. When production dipped in California, Mexico rushed to fill the gap, and tomatoes now are an important export. One major U.S. firm has set up a catsup plant. Other plants are being planned.

In the end, U.S. termination of the *bracero* program—the result of heavy pressure by labor unions—may prove a boon instead of a deterrent to Mexico.

Over all, agriculture in Mexico is not advancing as rapidly as manufacturing. Yet farm gains are outstripping those of other countries in Latin America.

FAST-GROWING POPULATION

The area of land in Mexico that is suitable for efficient and really productive farming is small in relation to the population of 43 million. This problem is further complicated by a still unsolved problem of a population explosion of the kind that is general through Latin countries of the Hemisphere.

A portion of the Mexican farm economy consists of peasants, on marginal land, barely eking out an existence. Yet another portion of Mexico's farm economy—where it is possible—is highly developed. Says a bank economist:

"The commercial sector of the farm economy here is vigorous, productive, impressive. It can hold its own with the Western United States."

ADVANCED IRRIGATION

Mexico's drive for irrigation goes back to the 1920s when farsighted policies were applied. Irrigation has opened the way for large increases in production on otherwise unproductive land.

On Mexico's Northwest Coast are large irrigated wheat farms, operated by progressive farmers. In harvesting season, an American would think he was in Kansas. Yields are extremely high and modern machinery and techniques are used.

Mexico has passed self-sufficiency in wheat and could produce much more than it does. However, the Government has drawn back from protecting marginal farmers by the use of price supports, and is not trying to become a surplus producer. Policy, instead, is to urge farmers to grow oilseeds, feed grains and other crops in which Mexico is not yet self-sufficient.

Varieties of wheat developed in Mexico, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, are being sent to India, Pakistan, Turkey and other parts of the world. These strains are more suitable for hot climates and irrigated land than are U.S. varieties.

MANY TRAINED EXPERTS

One explanation for Mexico's success lies in its "cadre of technicians."

Unlike its neighbors to the south, Mexico has trained experts in fields such as finance and banking, dam construction, highway and railroad engineering. If the country wants to build a dam, it does not need to run to the U.S. for either money or know-how. Some Mexican-built dams are regarded as engineering masterpieces. U.S. engineers admit there is nothing they can teach Mexican engineers about draining and irrigation.

Mexico, among other things, ranks as a pioneer in the construction of superhighways and freeways. Some of its engineering ideas in this field have been borrowed by U.S. highway engineers.

Another key factor in the Mexican success story: hard work.

Says an official of the U.S. State Department:

"This is rather hard to explain, but Mexicans are not afraid of getting their hands dirty. In fact, to earn a degree in any professional field, a student must spend at least six months to a year in social service. Many work in remote areas as doctors and engineers. The son of a peasant in Mexico can work up to any job he is capable of filling."

Hand in hand with economic stability has been stability of Government.

A one-party system usually has been found to lead to nepotism, corruption and stagnation. Nobody seems to know quite why, but in Mexico, one-party Government has worked. Upper levels of Mexican bureaucracy are competent and dedicated.

Explains an official of an international bank: "Mexicans try to explain this to me in terms of the revolution, of tradition and culture, but I still do not understand it at all."

CIVILIAN CONTROL

Since before World War II, this country has had civilian, middle-of-the-road Government. At times, Mexico has shifted to the left; at other times, to the right. There has been change even when outgoing Presidents have, for all practical purposes, named their successors.

The way the political system operates, extremists so far have had no chance of election. In addition, the military has little power; so does the church. Whatever the reason the result is a system that provides government in a responsible manner.

The Mexican Government, for example, has played a major role in spurring the country's development boom through the *Nacional Financierá*, a Government finance corporation. This agency, through development loans, has helped to establish more than 50,000 industrial concerns.

Many of Mexico's most successful manufacturing firms got their start, or their impetus for expansion, from the *Nacional Financierá*. Its officials are highly respected for their business know-how and sense of responsibility.

Yet Mexico still is beset by serious problems.

HERITAGE OF POVERTY

The worst of the troubles is rural poverty, inherited from the past and aggravated by land reform which resulted in units too small for efficient, modern farming.

In sections of the Mexican interior, there are places where per capita income is as low as in countries such as India or Egypt, or lower. In some semidesert areas, water is too scarce to meet needs of the people. As a result, some are on the verge of starvation. There are about 3 million native Indians living in remote areas on unproductive land. They speak no Spanish and exist much as their ancestors did across the centuries.

Because of inability to live on the land, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans in a population that is burgeoning have flocked into the larger cities. The result is an employment problem. Mexico has its slums, but they do not compare with those in many other Latin-American countries.

GOVERNMENT'S CHOICES

In view of the need to improve the plight of the rural poor, Mexico's economic planners are faced with hard choices.

Some think more should be done for the poor—smaller irrigation projects should be built in poverty-stricken areas, and more secondary roads built to open up remote areas.

Others say money should be put, first, into productive, modern agriculture to build Mexico's economic strength, and that the country is not yet able to undertake a U.S.-type "war on poverty."

The Mexican Government is trying to maintain a balance between these two viewpoints—doing enough in rural areas to prevent starvation, but putting most resources where the payoff is bigger and quicker.

Some steps have been taken to alleviate poverty. Strong efforts are being made in education especially. One program is trying to provide more jobs in small towns in rural areas; another is designed to provide more agricultural credit for small farmers. Officials admit much more needs to be done.

Mexico's Government, despite a good overall record, has had some setbacks.

As an example, the Government requires that automobile assembly be done locally, with 60 per cent of the parts produced in Mexico. It is almost impossible to import a car because of Government regulations. But the market is not large enough to support the required assembly plants. The policy has produced inefficiency and high prices.

Among other problems:

Mexico's birth rate is extremely high, and nothing much has been done about family planning. This is not the result of any church doctrine. Mexicans believe every child born is another fine Mexican to be proud of, and the more Mexicans the better. Outside experts say this may be a "time bomb" which will act as a deterrent to social and economic development in the future.

Occasional violence has occurred in Mexico as elsewhere. A gun battle between rival union factions in Acapulco in August killed 32 and wounded nearly a hundred. Police recently arrested 13 persons on charges of participating in a plot financed by Red China to overthrow the Government by guerrilla warfare.

Higher education is inadequate. Too much of college training is concentrated in the National University at Mexico City, now enrolling 85,000 students. Many teachers and students are part-time, and standards are low. New idea is to improve provincial schools, especially technical schools.

Mexico needs to develop more advanced industries, and to develop its own domestic markets. Too much emphasis is on such products as dishes and home appliances that are exported to foreign markets.

THE WAY TO PROGRESS

Added up, however, Mexico is a shining light that is pointing the way to progress for other nations in this Hemisphere and throughout the developing world.

The United States has indicated that it would be happy to see Mexico assume political leadership in Latin America. Mexico has never assumed this role.

Mexican Presidents have been quiet, locally oriented men as a rule, concerned mainly with domestic problems rather than with hemispheric power and leadership. Some observers say that this may be one of the secrets of Mexico's success.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance, on which I am privileged to serve, is scheduled this week to report the so-called Federal election campaign financing bill to the Senate.

I strenuously opposed this measure in committee, and I expect to vote against it on the floor of the Senate. At a time when we are conducting a $2-billion-a-month war in Vietnam and when our economy is in such a state of disarray that the President proposes to put more of a tax burden on the American people, I can find no justification for using public funds to pay for the election campaigns of politicians.

In addition to minority views which I shall file with the Finance Committee, I also expect to have more to say on the bill when it is brought before the Senate.

At this time, I desire to call to the attention of the Senate the results of a recent poll taken by the Columbus, Ga., Ledger-Enquirer on public sentiment about the bill. The poll asked this question:

> Do you favor the bill presently before Congress to use public funds to pay the cost of presidential campaigns?

The results showed 80 percent answered in the negative, 16 percent in the affirmative, and 4 percent undecided. Judging from the mail I have received, this same high percentage in opposition to the campaign financing bill prevails throughout the State of Georgia.

REAL NEED IN 1967 FOR RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION ON SLAVERY—CXLIII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the practice of forced labor is widely reported in the press. The facts are there for all to see.

Anyone can easily discover that political equality for women is far from a universal fact.

But slavery is a different question. Most people—especially in the Western World—have already consigned slavery to the history books. We can make no more serious mistake. In 1967, just as in 1667, slavery is a flourishing commercial enterprise and a totally dehumanizing process.

We, in the United States, of course, have constitutionally proscribed slavery and all its related activities. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 stated clearly:

> No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

But the difference between these noble words and the brutal practices is vast.

The excellent newspaper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Justice, has performed a distinguished public service by focusing on the contemporary practice of slavery.

Slavery persists in many places today. The Convention on Slavery is a reasonable response to a real problem. The U.S. ratification of this convention would give both prestige and impetus to the continuing fight against slavery. I urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to the Slavery Convention and all the Human Rights Conventions now before us.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Forbidden by Law—But Slavery Persists," published in the April 1, 1967, issue of Justice, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORBIDDEN BY LAW—BUT SLAVERY PERSISTS

Slavery is the oldest institution known to man and the most inhuman. And while it is no longer accepted as a coin of trade in the commerce between nations or as a respectable symbol of an individual's wealth, it is still being practiced in too many communities throughout the world.

Despite the laws and regulations that have been written to abolish slavery, this act of condemning a human being to exist as a piece of property is still a risk of life in many Arab, African, South American and Asian nations.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948 included the provision that "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms." Even in countries where slavery persists, similar provisions have been drafted into the laws of the land.

The law forbids it, but the practice goes on, either because the governments in these nations lack the power to enforce their own edicts or because they are unwilling to challenge the ancient traditions so long as the evidence is kept well beneath the surface and cannot be readily recognized by the world at large as a form of involuntary bondage.

Merely writing slavery out of the national policy apparently comes easy to rulers who are aware that the rest of the world refuses to tolerate it and who are anxious to offer proof that they are remaking their feudalistic societies into modern states. A formal ban on slavery is a means of attracting praise and improving their standing in the world community. Too often that is all it accomplishes.

In 1963 the U.N., acting upon a recommendation made by its Economic and Social Council, appointed a Special Rapporteur to gather up-to-date information on the extent to which slavery, the slave trade and similar institutions and practices still exist; his report was presented to the Council last July.

The Rapporteur, Dr. Mohamed Awad, distributed a questionnaire to the member states of the U.N. and in addition utilized the findings of U.N. agencies and nongovernmental consultative groups.

Only three states admitted to the existence of customs that might be considered as slavery but added that these were limited to remote parts of their territory. Some 40 nations did not answer the questionnaire at all.

The difficulty of acquiring documented information from other sources was underscored by Awad, who said that incidents and examples of slavery were reported to him by individuals whose integrity he did not doubt but whose names could not be revealed.

Typically, these people fear that if they are identified action will be taken against the companies or agencies that they are employed by or the native guides who risked showing them the secret that the world was not supposed to be told about.

Nevertheless, one of the groups aiding Awad—The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, a British organization founded in 1823—has compiled a detailed account of how the sanctions against slavery are being evaded and clandestine markets where people are pedaled for a price are still being uncovered.

An Englishwoman who had lived in the north of Lebanon revealed to the Society how, in 1960, a girl of 10 was offered to her for $30 by the girl's mother.

A Lebanese citizen who has devoted her life to rescuing peasant girls forced to become prostitutes described how the girls were first taken as domestic servants, then used as concubines in the household and finally transported to brothels in the cities and towns.

An eye-witness report from Ethiopia recently depicted a troop of cavalry surrounding a village and seizing a large number of boys and girls to be traded off as slaves.

In 1964, a Norwegian churchman who had spent 30 years at a mission in Ngaoundere, in Northern Cameroun, told the Society and the U.N. of the extensive slave holdings of the local ruler, the Lamido of Ngaoundere, and the attempts of the women held captive in his harem to escape to the mission. One woman who managed on her third try to get over the 16-foot wall surrounding the harem had been there for nine years, since she had been kidnapped on her wedding day.

The priest returned to Ngaoundere in 1966 and, with the help of a Norwegian technician, made movies of the thousands of slaves owned by the Lamido. In the district of Rei Bouba, these people were bound to work from sunrise to sunset without eating and were permitted 15 minutes to rest during the entire day. Men and women worked side by side, a sign in that country of slave status.

At the same time that the Algerian government was denying the existence of slavery within its borders in 1963, a French school teacher, Andre Chalard, was being expelled from the country for daring to try to obtain the freedom of the father of one of his pupils.

Chalard estimated that there were some 2,000 slaves in the Tamanrasset area of southwest Algeria, where Tuareg chiefs sent men to work at a nearby nuclear plant and kept two-thirds of the wages they earned.

After the incident involving the pupil had received substantial publicity in French newspapers, the Algerian Minister of Justice wrote to Chalard in May 1966 to the effect that the girl's father had been freed but now the girl had been enslaved and carried off to Mauretania.

A European ambassador to one of the West African nations confirmed that slave holding and trading are still accepted with a "business as usual" shrug in Mauretania and often result in the buying and selling of children from nearby countries.

Wherever there is extreme poverty of the kind to be found in those areas of the world that are just beginning to discover the principles of economic justice and social equality, slavery has endured.

A family with too many children and no food will continue to sell a son or a daughter in order to survive. A tradition that was established on a day beyond the memory of history calls for acceptance of this as a way of life, and a simple decree cannot erase it unless the government means to enforce the law as strictly as it is written.

Until then, agents will still be sent from Malaysia to Singapore to purchase concubines and children will still be seen dying in the brothels of that city. Indians in the back-country of Brazil will still be captured by rubber tappers, tatooed for identification in case they should escape and whipped into working. Children in Iran will still be in danger of being kidnapped for sale in the Trucial States and Muscat, and men and women will be enslaved by means of perpetual debt bondage.

The Awad Report was presented on July 6, 1966 to the Economic and Social Council. During the eight days of debate that followed, a proposal was made by Pakistan to create a special committee of experts that would be empowered to enter any member nation in order to investigate slavery charges. It was defeated by being ignored. In its place, a measure sponsored by Algeria, Gabon, Cameroun, Iraq, Morocco and Tanzania referring the issue to the Commission on Human Rights for further study and suggestions, was approved.

The United Nations has designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights and has adopted a special resolution urging all member states to emphasize the need for protecting the dignity of the individual.

Included in the resolution, which was entered in the Congressional Record on January 25 by South Dakota's Democratic Senator George S. McGovern, is an appeal to all U.N. members to ratify the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery of 1956.

It is the third time since 1962 that the U.N. has asked for all nations who have not yet ratified the convention to affirm their support of the principles it established. Only 65 nations belonging to the world body have done so. Barely a majority.

MIDTOWN AIRLINE TERMINAL FOR WASHINGTON AREA

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the October issue of Washingtonian magazine will feature a proposal by architect Arthur Cotton Moore for a midtown terminal to service passengers using Dulles and other area airports. This proposal merits careful study, both in its own right and as an alternative to expanding the facilities at National Airport.

The idea of a midtown airlines terminal is not new. New York City has had one for many years as have other cities, and they have worked very well. But, although such a terminal for the Washington area has been discussed from time to time, this is the first concrete proposal to be put forward to my knowledge.

The proposed terminal would be located in Rosslyn at the Virginia end of the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge, and would be connected to the bridge by ramps. It would be situated on a vacant, 3-acre plot which lies between intersecting highways on land now owned by the State of Virginia.

This should be a good location for such a terminal, for it is just off George Washington Parkway which leads on to the Dulles access road—a drive of about 25 minutes to the airport. Buses could easily be routed to National and Friendship by way of the parkway for passengers desiring to use those airports.

Route 66, to be completed in the near future, and the projected commuter rail service line, would also pass next to the terminal. By either of these means, travel time to Dulles from a Rosslyn terminal would be only about 12 minutes.

The terminal building itself is envisioned as a handsome elevated structure with parking spaces for 2,800 cars and facilities for passengers to purchase tickets and check their baggage through to their final destination.

The key to the terminal concept, however, is the bus and limousine service which would operate on frequent schedules from the terminal to any one of the three major airports. These buses would be scheduled to coincide with the flight schedule of the airports.

The estimated cost for the entire development is about $12 million, part of which could be financed by the airlines and bus companies. The airlines are presently financing the total $11 million cost of temporary improvements at National.

This could be a promising approach to solving some of the present problems of the area's airports—and much less expensive than expanding the facilities at National Airport which has already more than doubled its intended size.

Studies are now underway for such changes at National and I understand that the cost of this program could run as high as $100 million. The purpose is to increase the passenger capacity of National Airport to as many as 15 million passengers a year. That would be roughly a 50-percent increase over the present number of passengers serviced at National.

In line with these changes, the Federal Aviation Administration anticipates that National would eventually increase to 100-percent jet service as compared with the 46 percent jets now using the airport.

National Airport serves a useful purpose in the Washington area airport scheme. Its facilities from time to time must be modernized. But I see little justification for expanding National's facilities at tremendous cost to the American taxpayers, when we already have invested $120 million in building Dulles International for the very purpose of relieving congestion at National.

The issue involved here is the public convenience and necessity—and safety—in the regulation of Washington's airport traffic.

It is clear to most individuals that Washington National Airport can no longer accommodate the bulk of the air traffic of this area as it has in the past.

I feel, as I am sure most of those who live or work in the Washington and Virginia area do, that it is imperative to reduce the number of flights utilizing Washington National Airport. That airport was not built to handle the traffic it now receives, and it would be wholly impractical to attempt a large-scale expansion of the airport for this purpose.

The Rosslyn project would provide a midtown airline terminal within easy reach of most Washington area residents, probably no more than a zone 2 cabfare away.

For the air traveler, this midtown terminal would mark the beginning of his trip no matter which airport he desired to use. If he drives, he can park his car, buy a ticket, check his baggage and board a bus to begin his trip.

While this terminal is very modern in appearance, it could be built immediately without waiting on any other developments such as the completion of Route 66 or a commuter rail system. When these are completed, however, the midtown terminal would be well located to take advantage of them.

Washingtonian magazine and Mr. Moore have presented a suggestion which I would hope would be given serious study by the FAA and the CAB. It could simultaneously help solve some of the problems of both Dulles and National.

AID MISSION WINS PANAMANIANS' RESPECT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to a recent article published in La Prensa, of Panama. Written to counter an erroneous news report, the article clearly expresses the appreciation and respect of the Panamanians toward the AID Mission Director, Mr. James Megellas. It is reassuring to read that the efforts of most Americans in our foreign service, like those of Jim Megellas, do not go unnoticed. The respect and admiration so clearly acknowledged by the Panamanians is an achievement to which all American overseas personnel should dedicate themselves.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From La Prensa, Aug. 28, 1967]

MEGELLAS AND PANAMA

Recent news report had misinformed the public that the U.S. Government in Washington had replaced Mr. James Megellas, as Director of A.I.D. in Panama.

This information caused considerable uneasiness and discomfort in Panama, because if we evaluate the work of Megellas in our country, the goodwill he has displayed in performing his duties, and his ample eagerness in winning the acknowledgement and appreciation of all Panamanians, we must agree that he has a very favorable balance.

James Megellas is a very well known person from Darien to the boundaries with Costa Rica; but the knowledge the average Panamanian has of him is, not only for the assistance that in the performance of his official duties he has accomplished in the cities as well as in the rural areas; but for the appreciation he has won for his pleasant and noble manners, absent of all gestures of superiority, in dealing with all Panamanians of all social classes.

There has been many North-Americans who, in accomplishing official missions have helped in developing our country; but, if Mr. Megellas continues with his plans and policies as done so far, when he leaves our country, the people of Panama will keep an imperishable memory of his winning manners and nobility.

It is the desire of the people of Panama, that Megellas continues the magnificent job he is doing in our country.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF JUDICIAL MURDER OF BULGARIAN NATIONAL HERO NIKOLA PETKOV

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, September 23, 1967, marked the 20th anniversary of the judicial murder of the Bulgarian national hero, Nikola Petkov, the gallant leader of the united democratic opposition in the Bulgarian Parliament. He committed this heroic self-sacrifice not merely in defense of Bulgarian freedom and independence, but also to oppose Communist worldwide aggression, which today threatens seriously the freedom of all humanity.

Basically, the Bulgarian people believe in the dignity of man and the need of government that will enable every individual to exercise fully his capacity of mind and hand in the promotion of his individual good without undue interference by government.

The heroic and patriotic service to the Bulgarian people of the Petkov family began with the assassination in 1907 of Dimiter Petkov because he unrelentingly opposed the intervention of czarist Russia in the management of the affairs of the Bulgarian people.

The devotion to the Bulgarian cause initiated by Mr. Dimiter Petkov was followed by his son, Petko Petkov, who, likewise, gave his life for the Bulgarian people when he was shot down on a Sofia street on June 14, 1924, because of his fight against Fascist dictatorship.

The gallant and inspiring service for the Bulgarian people reached its highlight in the services rendered by Nikola Petkov, a member of the Petkov family—an underground leader, who several times was imprisoned because of his fight for the establishment of freedom in Bulgaria.

The Petkov father and the Petkov son had already rendered services for the Bulgarian people for beyond the ordinary call of duty—both of them gave their lives for Bulgaria. Nikola Petkov, the second son of Dimiter Petkov, without fear gave his life in the advocacy of the cause of the Bulgarian people rather than to become a slave of Stalin's dictatorship. In the service of his Bulgarian fellowmen, he was dauntlessly willing to share the same end as fell upon his father and brother.

History records that Nikola Petkov could have saved his life by repenting his condemnation of the Communists and abandoning the cause of his Bulgarian brethren. In response to the proposal of the Communists to spare his life, he stated:

> You are even trying to desecrate my sacred memory! My sentence was pased by your Moscow masters and no one can revoke it. I do not seek any mercy from you! I want to die so that my people can be freed sooner.

Mr. President, on the 23d day of September 1967, while Bulgarians in the free world are tenderly and inspiringly paying tribute to a hero of the cause of freedom, I join with them in the songs that are sung and the tributes that are expressed in memory of Nikola Petkov, a gallant leader not only of the cause of liberty in Bulgaria but also that of the whole world.

ECONOMIC EXPERTS AGREE ON CUTTING FEDERAL SPENDING BY BILLIONS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, testimony last week before the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee clearly showed that the administration's economic policies are working at cross purposes. On one hand, Secretary Fowler is warning of "an economy in shambles" if the administration's tax increase is not enacted. On the other hand, the administration is proposing investments and large expenditures which cannot be justified on any rational economic basis.

This striking contradiction came to light last Wednesday when the subcommittee's hearings on planning, programing, and budgeting focused on the question of interest rate guidelines for Federal decisionmaking. Our witnesses were unanimous in their opinion that the Government is undertaking projects that have too low a rate of return to be justified. They do not even earn as much as they cost on any realistic basis. The unfortunate situation has developed because the Government computes the cost of most public works investments at much too low a rate of interest. Witnesses were unanimous in their recommendation that the minimum interest rate should be the current average yield on long-term Government securities. Although the long-term Government rate is now close to 5 percent, some agencies are still evaluating their projects on the basis of a 3 or 3½ percent rate.

Mr. President, if we accepted the unanimous recommendation which the subcommittee was told virtually the entire economic profession accepts, we would postpone the appropriation of billions of dollars now going into public works. Unless such a reduction is made in expenditures, the administration will be guilty of feeding the inflationary pressures that it seeks to curb via a tax hike.

Because of the overriding importance of realistic cost-benefit analyses, I am asking the Department of the Interior to recalculate its cost-benefit comparisons of public works projects undertaken in the last 3 years on two different bases: one would be at the rate of 4⅞ percent, which is slightly below the prevailing rate of long-term Government debt. The second is at a 10-percent rate, which is closer to a true opportunity cost; that is, the rate of return which a similar investment might be expected to earn in the private sector.

Today, I invite the attention of the Senate to the able testimony of Prof. Morton I. Kamien, associate professor of economics at the Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University, entitled "Interest Rate Guidelines for Federal Decisionmaking." I ask unanimous consent that the testimony be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objections, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

INTEREST RATE GUIDELINES FOR FEDERAL DECISIONMAKING, SEPTEMBER 20, 1967

(Testimony presented to the Congress of the United States, Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on Economy in Government, by Morton I. Kamien, Associate Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

The intention in this testimony is to present and appraise current thinking among economists about the proper interest rate to be used for discounting future benefits and costs of government projects. The choice of an interest rate for discounting is a crucial part of cost-benefit analyses since the appraisal of a project is critically related to the interest rate used. If a relatively high interest rate is used the project may look bad while a relatively low interest rate will make the project look good. Thus, the key questions to be posed are:

1. Is the appropriate rate of interest the one that the government must pay to borrow or is it the interest rate that private enterprises must offer in order to borrow?
2. Should the evaluation of present versus future benefits reflect individual preferences or should it reflect collective preferences?

The discussion of interest rates will be confined to the context of these two questions and a few closely related issues. No attention will be paid to the use of the interest rate as an instrument for redistributing income or promoting full employment.

While subsequent statements will be couched in monetary terms, dollars, it should be constantly remembered that what is of concern is the allocation of real resources, labor, land, and machines, between providing for the present and providing for the future and between private allocation and public allocation for these needs. In other words, there is a twofold problem: what portion of resources that can provide present benefits should be sacrificed for future benefits and of the resources devoted to provision of future benefits how should they be divided between investments undertaken in the public sector versus the private sector? These questions are simply restatements in terms of allocation of resources of the questions posed above. The manner in which these questions are actually resolved will determine the level of satisfaction or well being that will be derived from our resources by both present and future generations. The answers to these questions are directly related to the choice of an interest rate. What is sought is that answer, and consequently that interest rate, which will maximize the total satisfaction of both present and future generations.

On the basis of the arguments to be presented below, it is concluded that the appropriate rate of interest to be used in cost-benefit analyses is the rate paid on long-term government bonds. The maturity of the bond should correspond to the projected lifetime of the project under consideration. Uncertainty regarding future benefits and costs of the project should be directly accounted for in the estimation of benefits and costs. Furthermore, no special adjustment should be made in the discount rate used for evaluating government projects to take account of collective preferences regarding present sacrifice for future gain. However, adjustments should be made in cost-benefit studies to take account of present tax structure. Again, this should be done by calculating benefits and costs after taxes. Finally, a downward adjustment in the interest rate may be required to make up for inflation.

These conclusions, particularly in reference to the treatment of uncertainty, call for careful scrutiny of cost-benefit studies. This may sometimes require duplication of the study, which can be very costly. Yet, relative to the amounts of money being invested in the project, even a complete redoing of a cost-benefit analysis will appear cheap. Naturally, an independent agency would be in the best position to scrutinize proposed government projects.

To make clear how these conclusions were reached it is necessary to make a few remarks regarding the formation of interest rates, the role of interest rates in allocating real resources between present and future benefits and between the public and private sectors, the nature and types of uncertainties that must be accounted for, and relationship between collective and individual preferences. The formation of interest rates will be dealt with first.

The explanation of how interest rates are formed usually begins in the context of an idealized economy and then proceeds to a discussion of the real world. The same route will be followed here.

As understood by economists, the interest rate results from the simultaneous interaction of two factors: individuals' valuations of future benefits versus current benefits (this is affected by an individual's wealth, age, and tastes, among other things) and the physical possibilities for transforming resources into desired end products. (This is affected by the present state of technology and the amount of resources on hand, among other things). The resulting interest rate serves two purposes: insofar as it reflects the desires of individuals regarding present sacrifice for future gain it makes the present and future benefits commensurable; insofar as it defines the productivity of existing resources it provides a measure for comparison of alternative projects. Thus, at least in theory, this interest rate provides the best answers to the questions posed. Investment, both private and public, should be carried on up to a level beyond which further investment will not yield a return equal to the rate of interest. Pushing investment above this level will violate the desires of individuals relating to the trade off between present and future benefits. Stopping short of this point will mean that worthwhile investments will not be undertaken and maximum satisfaction will not be achieved. As to the balance between private and public investment, it follows that each should be pushed to the level at which any further investment will not yield a return equal to the rate of interest. This can be seen from the elementary notion that if at given levels of investment the yield in the private sector is less than the yield in the public sector then a withdrawal of resources from the private sector and an addition of resources to the public sector will raise the overall yield. Obviously, if the situation is reversed then the opposite flow of resources is called for.

If the private sector is competitive then the forces of competition will insure that the aforementioned level of investment is undertaken. Lack of competition, naturally, may impede the attainment of this goal. The proper role for government in that instance is to enhance competition through anti-trust legislation and its other regulatory powers. The forces of competition, however, are not operative in the public sector. While in the private sector entrepreneurs must bid against each other in securing funds, and thereby command over productive resources, the government can raise money not only by selling bonds but can also resort to taxation or even printing money. Indeed, the source of most government funds is taxes. Consequently, there is an ever present danger that the proper balance between private and public investment will not be achieved. It is this concern that justifies and calls for the Planning-Programming-Budgeting approach to the undertaking of government projects.

The above discussion of the formation of the interest rate is in substantial agreement with the views of most, if not all, economists. That discussion relates to an ideal, hypothetical economy. It is ideal because all the interacting parts work perfectly, it is hypothetical because no such economy has ever been observed to exist. Thus, for example, while in the above discussion the existence of a single rate of interest was implied, even a casual glimpse at reality reveals the simultaneous presence of many different interest rates. There are the interest rates paid by savings banks on deposits, the interest rates on municipal bonds, the rates on long-term government bonds, the implicit interest rates paid by mutual funds, the interest rates charged on a mortgage, on a personal loan, on a car loan, and the interest rate paid by large corporations, sometimes referred to as the "prime rate," to mention only a few. It is the presence of a multiplicity of interest rates that poses the dilemma, and consequent disagreement among economists, of which interest rate to use in discounting government projects. Clearly, if there were only one interest rate, as in the idealized economy, this question would never arise.

Why are there a multiplicity of interest rates? The answer is because there is uncertainty about the future outcome of an action taken today and this uncertainty cannot be completely insured against. This answer deserves some clarification. What do we mean by uncertainty? Two types of uncertainty can be distinguished. The first type is the lender's uncertainty regarding the borrower's ability and willingness to pay the interest on the loan or even repay the principal. A consequence of this type of uncertainty is that the borrower must put up collateral against a loan. The more collateral the borrower can present the lower will the interest rate on a given size loan be to him or he will be able to borrow a larger amount at the same rate or both. It is essentially for this reason that a large corporation, say United States Steel, can borrow at a lower rate of interest than the neighborhood grocer or druggist. Put another way, the lender bears the risks of default.

The second type of uncertainty relates to the payoff from the project undertaken by the borrower. If a manufacturer decides to introduce a new product, he cannot be sure that it will find a market of sufficient size to generate a profit, or that a rival will not simultaneously introduce a superior product. It is this type of uncertainty that prompts corporations to employ market research staffs. In relation to government projects this type of uncertainty arises in connection with the actual costs of the project and whether the benefits will materialize and to what extent. Technological advances, which might permit the achievement of the same results at lower cost, also cannot be foreseen perfectly. These are some of the risks borne by the actual undertaker of a project, be that a small private enterprise or a large one, or the government. Of course, larger corporations with better research staffs may be more able to assess these uncertainties and perhaps avoid some of them. Ford's experience with the Edsel, however, shows that even large corporations can make mistakes.

How are the risks borne by the borrower and those borne by the lender related? If the borrower's ability to repay the lender depends entirely on the outcome of the specific project for which the money was borrowed then the risks borne by the borrower and lender, respectively, are identical. It is as if the lender were undertaking the project himself. This is of course the case when a project is financed by the personal savings of the individual undertaking the project. The lender can reduce his risk by providing funds only to a large corporation whose ability to repay does not rest solely on the success of a single project. Put another way, he might choose to lend only to a corporation which has several sources of revenue so that the likelihood of all of them drying up simultaneously is very small. In so doing the lender diffuses the risk of default among many projects. Another way he may achieve the same end is to spread out his loans among several alternatives of varying degrees of riskiness. The purpose of mutual funds is to provide this option. Whichever alternative he chooses, the lender's purpose is to insure against the possibility of default.

To the extent that the lender cannot completely insure against the risk of default he will demand a higher rate of interest than he would otherwise. The lender may be unable to obtain this total insurance because it may be unavailable in general or unavailable to him in particular. Two consequences stem from this phenomenon. First, there will be a multiplicity of interest rates corresponding to different degrees of uncertainty regarding the borrowers ability to repay. Second, borrowers will be forced to undertake only those projects whose anticipated returns are high enough to meet the interest payments.

There is a way for the lender to completely avoid the risk of default, namely by lending to the Federal government. For the government, though perhaps no more capable of predicting the outcome of a venture than a corporation, can through its power to tax diffuse the risk of default among all of us. Short of national catastrophe, the return on a governmental bond is absolutely certain.

The government, however, just as a corporation must bear the risk of the borrower. A corporation attempts to minimize this type of risk by looking at the most likely outcome of a venture and not at the best possible outcome. Indeed, a corporation may even be more conservative than this. Even a large corporation will scrutinize each new project very carefully. For even if the corporation can avoid the consequences of not paying the premiums or repaying the loan, its overall profitability will decline if it undertakes an unsuccessful venture. It is well known that a corporation's stockholders do not look favorably on a decline in profits.

The proper procedure for government to follow is the same, namely, incorporate adjustments for uncertainty into the estimation of costs and benefits. It should then use the interest rate on government bonds of maturity equal to the expected duration of the project for discounting costs and benefits. If the government does not take uncertainty into account but naively relays on its taxing power to repay the loan and interest, it will be misallocating resources from their most productive uses. Moreover, if taxpayers do not eventually see appreciable benefits from government projects, then that government might find it difficult to remain in office.

While the earlier discussion relating to an idealized economy would find almost unanimous agreement among economists, the latter discussion of the real world and the prescriptions derived therefrom, would not. The disagreement among economists revolves around the manner in which uncertainty should be taken account of in cost-benefit analyses, and with some factual questions. The different viewpoints can conveniently be categorized into three different schools of thought.

The first school of thought, the one to which I ascribe, is that uncertainty be handled via the estimation of future benefits and costs of the project. The advantage of this approach is that it focuses attention on the appropriate type of uncertainty, namely the uncertainty about the level at which the benefits will materialize. The fact that the same level of security against default cannot be attained in the private sector as in the public sector indicates either that capital markets are imperfect or that it is too costly to do so, or both. In either eventuality it does not call for the government handicapping itself unnecessarily. Moreover the additional premium required above the interest on government bonds by lenders to private enterprise reflects more the lender's risk of default than the actual riskiness of the projects.

The second school of thought argues that the riskiness of a government project be compensated for by discounting future costs and benefits by an interest rate that would have to be paid by a private enterprise undertaking an equally risky venture. Thus, proponents of this procedure nominate the rate of return on a mutual fund or on a private utility, if the government project is in that area, as possible candidates. The basis for this argument is that firms will only undertake projects whose rate of return is high enough to cover the cost of borrowing. Since the cost of borrowing is higher to businesses than to the federal government the possibility exists that firms will be undertaking projects with a higher return than government projects. As mentioned earlier, this would imply that a redistribution of productive resources from the public sector to the private sector would increase the overall return of our productive resources. This fear is, of course, legitimate. The fact that the government can borrow at a lower cost than corporations does not give it license to undertake projects from which the benefits are negligible or nonexistent. Indeed, the government must be especially careful to avoid such temptations. However, it does not follow from these considerations that the only way, or the best way, for the government to avoid this possibility is to penalize itself by using a higher rate of interest for discounting than the rate at which it can borrow. As has been mentioned earlier, the difference between the government's cost of borrowing and private cost reflect more the lender's risk of not being repaid than the actual uncertainty regarding the outcome of the project. Moreover, this difference in interest rates is not an inherent feature of a private enterprise economy. Instead, this difference mirrors our present institutions and laws. Methods could be devised whereby a private firm could borrow at the same rate of interest as the government.

The third school of thought on this issue contends that neither the interest rate the government must pay or a private enterprise must pay to borrow are appropriate for discounting in cost-benefit analysis. The former rate is too low, this group argues, because it does not take into account the uncertainties attached to the project. The latter rate is too high because it reflects not only the lender's risk, or lack of total insurability, but also the discriminatory practices in the capital markets. The latter contention is of course a question of fact which can only be resolved by presentation of empirical evidence. Currently, there does not exist compelling evidence to deny or confirm this allegation. This group, therefore, advocates that the source of the funds used to finance a particular project, most often taxes, be traced back to its origin and the return on the alternative uses of these funds be calculated. The resulting rate of return would be used for discounting in cost-benefit analyses. The referred to origin of the funds would be taxpayers in different income brackets and the resultant rate of return would be an average of several rates. The reasoning behind this proposal is very much the same as the basis for the second school of thought along with the belief that discriminatory practices exist in the capital markets on a large scale. As stated earlier, whether or not discrimination exists, and how important a distortion this creates are currently unknown. The question of fact is critical to this argument as the advocated procedure is very difficult to carry out. It seems that further research into the workings of the capital markets is required before this proposal can be seriously contemplated.

The discussion till now has been mainly directed toward answering the first question posed at the beginning of this paper. The underlying issues were outlined and several different proposals regarding the proper rate of interest to be used in cost-benefit analyses were presented and appraised. On that basis it was concluded that the appropriate rate of interest was the rate on long-term government bonds and that the uncertainty associated with the project be accounted for in the estimation of future benefits and costs. In particular, what this means in practice is that all possible eventualities relating to future benefits be considered. The likelihood of each eventuality then be estimated. The expected, or most likely, benefits would be calculated by taking a weighted sum of the possible outcomes, where each outcome is weighted by its possibility of occurrence. Further adjustments could be made to take account of the variability of the most likely outcome, say by dividing the expected outcome by its variability.

Let us now turn briefly to the second question posed earlier. Some economists argue that even if the economy were of the idealized type described earlier, the single interest rate determined by market forces would still not be the correct one to use for discounting purposes. Recall that in an idealized economy the government and private enterprises would have to pay exactly the same amount to borrow funds. The reason it is inappropriate is that the market determined rate of interest reflects the evaluation of present sacrifice for future gain of individuals acting independently of one another. If they were to act collectively, the argument continues, they would place a higher value on future benefits and a correspondingly lower value on present sacrifice than when they act separately. The conclusion reached is that account should be made of this by using a lower rate of interest than the rate on long-term government bonds for discounting in cost-benefit analyses. Again, the validity of this argument rests on a question of fact, namely is there a discrepancy between our collective evaluation of present and future benefits and our individual evaluations. The evidence at this time is not conclusive. However, even if this turns out to be true it does not follow that a special lower rate of interest should be used for government projects. If we collectively value future benefits more than we do individually than this is so regardless of the source of the benefits. That is, whether the benefits derive from the private sector or the public sector. The appropriate policy for the government to follow in this eventuality, is to lower the rate of interest in both sectors via monetary and fiscal policy.

Before concluding, two further issues deserve mention. The first pertains to the fact that corporations usually do not finance projects entirely with borrowed funds. A portion of a private project is financed out of equity capital. Because tax laws treat equity and debt financing differently a corporation may have to realize a higher before tax return on a project than is actually needed to pay the interest on the borrowed funds. The public sector is not affected by this circumstance. This again gives rise to the possibility that the return on investments may be higher in the private sector than in the public sector. Unless allowance is made for the difference between before tax and after tax returns in evaluating government projects the overall yield on productive resources will not be maximized. The called for adjustment can be made either by raising the interest rate used for discounting or by calculating benefits after taxes. The latter alternative seems preferable because it focuses attention on who the recipients of the benefits will be. The after tax adjustment of benefits and costs can then be made in accordance with the tax-brackets into which the beneficiaries fall.

The final point to be touched upon deals with the question of how to take account of inflation in cost-benefit analyses. Since in a cost-benefit analysis costs and benefits are calculated in terms of current dollars a corresponding adjustment should be made in the discount rate. Put another way, the interest rate that must be paid on long-term government bonds partially reflects lenders' anticipations of the future value of a dollar. Consequently, a downward revision of the discount rate is necessary. The precise manner in which this should be done is a technical matter. Various techniques of forecasting the rate of inflation are available though not all economists agree on a single best procedure. Nevertheless, there is no disagreement in principle that this should be done.

YEOMAN WORK BY VICE PRESIDENT TO PROCURE SUMMER WORK FOR YOUNGSTERS

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Drew Pearson's column in the Washington Post of Sunday, September 24, 1967, was a tribute to the yeoman work done during the past summer by our Vice President and presiding officer, Hon. HUBERT HUMPHREY. Mr. Pearson has recounted the efforts of the Vice President to find jobs and outlets for youngsters, particularly those in our big urban ghettos. His efforts here in the Nation's Capital have drawn attention, but Pearson has recounted how he functioned elsewhere, and how he worked at urging mayors, chambers of commerce, and private employers to produce jobs and recreational opportunities for these young people.

Without these efforts by our Vice President, the summer just past doubtlessly would have been much more chaotic than it was. Certainly, thousands upon thousands of young people would have had little joy to look back upon as the summer ended, and many with some coins in their jeans would not have felt that satisfaction either.

Mr. President, the commendations for Vice President HUMPHREY are well deserved. I wish to second them and ask unanimous consent that Mr. Pearson's column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

H. H. H.'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

(By Drew Pearson)

The job of being Vice President is probably the toughest in Washington. President Johnson found it that way when he was No. 2 man; so have many other Vice Presidents, including Hubert Humphrey.

The trouble is that the Constitution gives the Vice President no work except the boring job of presiding over the Senate, plus looking over the President's shoulder to check on his health.

In searching around for something to keep the Vice President busy, President Johnson made him chairman of the "Youth Opportunity Council," composed of Cabinet members charged with getting jobs for unskilled semiilliterate dropouts in Negro ghettos.

Early in the summer Stokely Carmichael, the No. 1 Negro rabble-rouser, boasted that he would reduce the big cities of the United States to rubble.

The Vice President immediately met with District of Columbia leaders. "We ought to recognize that challenge and meet it," he told them. "We've got to make the Nation's Capital a model for youth."

The Vice President got busy. His activities ranged from getting the Army, Navy and Marine Corps service bands to play more than 150 concerts in the Negro areas of the city rather than just in the park areas around the Lincoln Memorial; opening up National Guard armories as gymnasiums; getting 118 playgrounds illuminated at night, as against 18 last summer; arranging for 3000 youngsters to see the Senators play baseball on one night alone.

He also opened Camp Roosevelt on Chesapeake Bay, closed for some months, and raised $90,000 to refurbish it. A total of 1300 boys from slum areas, who had never been to camp before, enjoyed Camp Roosevelt.

More important, Humphrey rode herd on the mayors of big cities to prevent race riots. He telephoned or wrote to every Chamber of Commerce in the country to urge that they give jobs to youngsters. He wrote to every Senator and Congressman just before they left on Fourth of July vacations asking them to check on their districts or states to make sure racial problems were handled before they reached a boil. The response was excellent.

Most important of all, perhaps, were his telephone calls to big-city mayors. If he found the mayor was lying down on the job, Humphrey telephoned the leading newspaper publisher in town to tell him the mayor didn't have a youth program and the city might be in trouble.

The Vice President has listed the mayors in the big cities who did the best job in heading off riots. At the top of the list are: Richard Daley of Chicago, Democrat; John Lindsay of New York, Republican; Theodore McKeldin of Baltimore, Republican; James Tate of Philadelphia, Democrat; and A. W. Sorensen of Omaha, nonpartisan.

It was Humphrey's idea to open up the National Guard armories all over the Nation to serve underprivileged youngsters. They were used as gyms, shower rooms, locker rooms and recreation centers in the bigger cities.

Chicago used National Guard trucks to take youngsters to beaches and turned a Navy pier into a giant gymnasium, thanks to the work of the Chicago fire department. In New Brunswick, N.J., the National Guard turned over an old armory to the city to use as a recreation center.

The Defense Department, at Humphrey's suggestion, opened various camps around the Nation, including Camp Roberts near the Watts area of Los Angeles. Last summer the same National Guard which was called out to quell the Watts riots organized a program for 2000 Negro children. The Vice President pays tribute to Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles for obtaining food and other aid for the Watts youth program.

The Defense Department also opened Camp Robinson near Little Rock, Ark., where 1700 boys camped out on an integrated basis. They were not far from where Federal troops were called out to enforce integration at Central High School ten years ago.

The Vice President figures that the best job training was done by the Department of Labor. He also gives great credit to private industry. As a result of their combined efforts, plus those of various local groups, a total of 1,400,000 summer jobs were found for youths.

GENERAL MILLS AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the past few years have witnessed the most intense and determined effort in our history to resolve the manifold problems created by decades of prejudicial treatment for the minorities in our midst. Those efforts have been good, and their long-range impact on minority group members and society as a whole will be positive.

Our determined effort to achieve equality in voting rights, in education, in housing, and in employment has taught us that the problems created by years of prejudice and deprivation for minority groups in each of these areas are far greater and far more resistant to change than we had thought.

Previously, we addressed ourselves to the task of righting racial and religious wrongdoing in America. What remains now is to rededicate ourselves to the more difficult task of bringing legislative enactments into real life experiences for minority group members.

Equal employment opportunity is an excellent example of the gap between our best efforts to date and the reality of full social equality and opportunity for American Negroes and other minority group members. Numerous firms endorse and enthusiastically pursue the principle of equal employment opportunity. One such firm is Minnesota-based General Mills, Inc. Recently, Gen. E. W. Rawlings, president of General Mills and a distinguished Minnesotan, committed the corporation he heads to going far beyond a simple willingness to hire qualified job applicants without discrimination. He has, in his own words, committed General Mills to "give help in the development of employability and motivation among those culturally or educationally deprived."

Mr. President, I commend General Mills and General Rawlings for this enlightened approach. Only comparable commitments by firms in every city and State can make a reality of the full social opportunity envisioned by the landmark civil rights legislation enacted in the past few years.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the newspaper report of General Rawlings' statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CORPORATION HEAD LOOKS AT MINORITY HIRING

(From a report by Gen. E. W. Rawlings, president of General Mills, Inc., at its annual stockholders meeting)

Your company (General Mills) is fully aware of some of the problems now affecting our country nationwide—particularly with regard to employment opportunity for minority groups.

In this respect, our official position is clearly presented in our corporate policy statement, which says: "In the best interests of progress and efficiency, General Mills, Inc., must employ and promote the most capable and promising individuals available, without regard to race, religion, sex or political party." Beyond this, it should be noted that we are an equal opportunity employer and have signed an agreement as such with the federal government.

This is all well and good, but at the practical level the best of intentions do not bring us to grips with a problem which is growing with intensity throughout the nation.

Willing as we are to hire minority group members in every instance in which their qualifications match our job requirements, there are factors which limit the number of minority group applicants who can qualify for the jobs we have.

This problem, of course, is not peculiar to General Mills. It is nationwide and economy-wide, and grows daily more difficult as technical standards at every level of employment grow more demanding.

As a result, it is becoming increasingly obvious that industry needs to go further than mere willingness to hire qualified job applicants without discrimination. We must, additionally, give help in the development of employability and motivation among those culturally or educationally deprived.

To this end, General Mills has provided financial aid to organizations dedicated to the well-being of minority groups. In the Twin Cities and elsewhere, we actively support such organizations as the Urban League, Industrial Opportunity centers, Plans for Progress programs and others.

We have participated in training programs designed to raise the level of skills of potential job applicants who cannot now qualify for some of our job openings, but who, hopefully, will be able to do so when their training is complete.

We have also, through our Corporate Contributions Committee and the General Mills Foundation, increased our grants to Negro educational programs at graduate schools, colleges and secondary schools.

Meanwhile, through advertising, we seek minority group employees and actively recruit at a number of Negro and predominantly Negro colleges, and we have embarked upon a program designed to let all of our management people in every location know of our concern and of our commitment to help in the solution of this complex problem.

All this, however, is only a beginning, in the light of today's needs. The programs already instituted must be expanded and intensified and new programs added. American business, along with the American people as a whole, faces a challenge in which all of us are involved and which none of us can side-step.

THE LEADEN AGE OF U.S. LIBERALISM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it was with something of a leaden heart that I read Howard K. Smith's Sunday column in the Washington Star, for he wrote of the leaden age of American liberal intellectualism, and it was obviously rather painful. Mr. Smith had always counted himself in that group, as he said, and so had I. He has articulated the same distress I think so many of us feel at seeing one liberal of the intellectual bent after another display blindness to the issues and irresponsibility in stating them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Smith's column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, Sept. 24, 1967]

ASHMORE AND THE LEADEN AGE OF U.S. LIBERALISM

(By Howard K. Smith)

If times of unusual brilliance are known as Golden Ages, this is surely the Leaden Age of American Liberal Intellectualism. It is with distress that this reporter, who has always counted himself in that group, watches one old friend after another compete to see who can be blindest to issues and most irresponsible in stating them.

Harry Ashmore has just added his leaden thump. One of a small number allowed into North Vietnam, he found Ho Chi Minh conciliatory and says President Johnson is brutal. It reminds me of an interview I had with Dr. Goebbels once. He was conciliatory to me but he told me President Roosevelt was brutal. I suspected that dictators rarely kick you in the teeth after they have culled you as one of few to be allowed access to them. In my case I chose to be skeptical and did not parrot Goebbels' line.

On the basis of Ho's friendly attitude, Mr. Ashmore came back and with State Department aid composed a letter to Ho—vague, but hopeful of opening a channel for peace talks. While Ashmore's vague letter was on the way, President Johnson had found it necessary to send a more specific one to Ho. Now, Mr. Ashmore gives vent to his peeve about this "cancellation" of his effort by writing an article fulsome in its accusations that Mr. Johnson does not want peace and deliberately thwarts it.

There are a few basics Mr. Ashmore needs to be reminded of. One is that the Constitution makes the President—alone—responsible for foreign policy. You may search the document in vain for a cause that gives private citizens precedence. If a move is made which causes extra loss of life, no one but the President of the U.S. is held responsible.

Still another basic is that President Johnson wants peace. He badly needs it. He may not be reelected if he does not achieve it. His every act in office indicates he is vastly more interested in his domestic program and would give much to be able to forget Vietnam and pass laws. The image of Johnson slyly and deliberately thwarting peace—which figures ever more prominently in my old friend, Herblock's cartoons—is simply ridiculous.

Next some statistics: So urgent is the wish for peace, that the Administration made or authorized more than 300 official and private efforts to establish hopeful contacts with Ho in the year 1965. I have not seen a tabulation for 1966, but in both 1966 and 1967 there must have been many hundreds more. I would guess that in every case, private probes were not phrased exactly as official probes were.

Next, Mr. Ashmore happens to have got involved at a time when some very complex developments were taking place that Mr. Ashmore knew nothing about. For one thing, the Communists had begun moving into South Vietnam, not by the Ho Chi Minh trail, which takes two to six months—they had begun moving straight across the DMZ which, though vastly bloodier, takes two to six hours.

It is known that in view of this, the President was apprized of a great danger; Ho might suddenly shove five to eight divisions across the DMZ into the South—then quickly accept America's terms that nobody send any more troops into South Vietnam from that moment. The U.S. thus by its own terms would be forbidden to bring in troops to match Ho's, and our casualty rates would have soared while peace talks went on for a year or two.

This was one of several reasons why it became a matter of life and death for the President to clarify terms quickly—no matter how many private probes were simultaneously in the works: the President in his letter to Ho said we would stop moving in American troops, after we were assured Ho had stopped. That was not brutal. But it would have been brutal—to American troops—had he not made the condition clear.

I will say one thing for the critics. Part of our problem in Vietnam is the President's failure to articulate purposes and reasons. He seems overwhelmed by the conviction that, since the press is against him, therefore there is no reason for him to try. Or by the belief that if he said something once, then it is on the record and people can look it up if they want to and he need not repeat it. These are grave defects. His relative silence permits the Leaden Age of the intellectuals who have abandoned intellect to clank loudly on.

THE VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, recently the Washington Star's Sunday magazine contained a story by Mr. Woody West paying tribute to the Tuxedo-Cheverly, Md., Volunteer Fire Department and, by implication, to the volunteer fire departments in other Washington suburban communities in Maryland and Virginia. It is a well-deserved tribute. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

(By Woody West)

The coffee urn, its red warmer button glowing like a stunted cyclops, dominates a corner of the kitchen at the Tuxedo-Cheverly Volunteer Fire Department. This is the center of expectant *inactivity*. Men sit on chairs canted against the wall, perch on the counter next to the sink, cluster around the scarred table. It is a scene of incessant comings and goings as the volunteers study fires, discuss fires and wait for fires.

"We crawled up to the second floor and, man, we found the fire—it burst down on us from the ceiling and three walls . . .;" ". . . his face was as red as that light so I started external heart massage . . .;" ". . . . you could see a column of black smoke from a mile away and the third and fourth alarms came in on top of each other . . ."

Inside the stationhouse bay, three fire engines, an ambulance and the heavy-duty rescue unit gleam dully under the ceiling lights. Along one wall are narrow bins containing each man's "running gear"—protective coat, steel-reinforced boots and helmet. A bunkroom that sleeps eight and a small television room occupy the rear second floor, with the kitchen beneath.

Throughout the stationhouse, the county fire radio sputters intermittently, prefacing emergency calls with high-tonal beeps. The blare of the fire radio doesn't halt conversation, but there is a barely perceptible pause as men accustomed to listening to an emergency radio react to the first syllables, rapidly interpreting the crackling voice of the dispatcher.

And when it is their call, chairs clatter and bang to the floor, men scramble out the kitchen door and hurtle down the stairs, coordinating and ordering the charge with shouts as they grab their gear and throw themselves onto the vehicles. (They tell the anecdote of a new volunteer who, running late, snatched an indiscriminate handful of equipment and hurtled aboard as the engine was pulling out of the stationhouse. As he began to dress on the swaying truck, he discovered he had two helmets, three coats and one boot.)

There are nearly 5,000 volunteer firemen in the counties around Washington. (The District of Columbia has only professional firemen.) The Tuxedo-Cheverly department has about 100 men on the rolls—some 60 are counted as regulars, including 26 who are also professional firemen elsewhere.

Chief Colin Colgan is 29, married with two children and works as a dispatcher for the Prince Georges County Fire Board. Assistant Chief Robert Daly also is 29, married with two children and works for the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.

The department—Company 22 in the county system—is responsible for an area just northeast of the District, lying within and adjacent to the intersection of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and John Hanson Highway. Its jurisdiction includes the towns of Cheverly and Tuxedo with about 1,500 homes and 600 apartments and two expanding industrial sections. Under the county's mutual aid fire system, the department also responds in nearby areas and, if necessary, goes anywhere in one of the fastest growing counties in the nation.

Prince Georges, with its sprawling 486 square miles, has some 2,000 volunteers in 37 companies. Montgomery has 16 fire companies and two rescue squads manned in varying proportion by professionals and some 1,500 volunteers. Two county departments—Bethesda and Chevy Chase—are fully professional. In Fairfax County, 1,300 volunteers in 20 companies are augmented by 150 full-time firemen. Arlington County pays 215 men who are backed by about 500 volunteers in 15 companies. Alexandria's department is fully professional. Levels of volunteer activity, obviously, vary from department to department throughout the area.

The Tuxedo-Cheverly department lists, in addition to its 26 pros, a lawyer, doctor, computer operator, welder, pharmaceutical salesman, insurance adjuster, construction foreman, an engineer, sheet metal workers and a number of students—high school and college. Company 22 last year answered some 1,100 fire calls and made 400 emergency runs. An average of 500 man-hours per week were logged by the volunteers.

Tuxedo-Cheverly was honored last year for having the best county rescue squad and Pvt. Vincent Curl, 19, was cited as rescue squadsman of the year for his role in saving two youngsters from a house fire. Curl's twin brother, Mark, a student at Frostburg State Teachers College, also is a member of the company.

The concrete block, white, and-red firehouse, built by the volunteers, backs on the

John Hanson Highway about half a mile east of Kenilworth Avenue. A new larger building is in the planning stage.

Company 22 requires its members to attend a basic 60-hour fire fighting course at the University of Maryland and a 12-hour Red Cross first aid course. Officers are elected by the members for a one-year term.

Prince Georges volunteer system is supported primarily by a portion of the county tax and allocations from the municipalities, the volunteers themselves turning to various activities, such as dances, to bolster the kitty. In July of 1966, the county began paying the salaries of two professionals in each department—an expense some departments had been paying themselves. In July of this year, a further expansion of full-time men was authorized by the county, with some of the companies now having up to five professionals.

"We're trying to perpetuate the volunteer system in Prince Georges," says Walter Lanier, Tuxedo-Cheverly ex-chief. "We've shown that we can give good service and we work hard to improve."

Most of the men in Company 22 became volunteers while in their teens and many had relatives or friends on the department. Mike Goucher followed his younger brother Tom; Tom says laconically that he "got a notion to join." Captain Jack Jarboe had several friends in high school in the company and he joined before becoming a District policeman, a job he recently left to become a professional fireman in College Park. His younger brother, Dan, who just graduated from St. John's College High School, now is also on the department. Philip Clements had two sons in Company 22 before he joined. Tom Daly, Sgt. Al Watts and Lanier all had brothers or fathers who were volunteers. Ed Chaney lived in the neighborhood and "just wandered in one day."

Motivation, of course, is an individual equation. One end of the spectrum is illustrated by a member of Company 22: "It's quite a feeling to see a man on the street that you helped breathe life back into."

There is within the department a conspicuous comradeship and pride that translates itself into acceptance by the group. And in a sprawling metropolitan area where community sloshes into community in an amorphous blur, being a volunteer fireman can bring a certain status within one's community. Excitement and challenge also offer an appeal increasingly shadowed in an institutionalized middle-class society.

Chief Colgan, taciturn and competent, reduces it to basics: "There's a great feeling of accomplishment in knowing that I have done what I can to help save a life."

Alongside the stationhouse ramp is a stone marker. In front of it is a small shrub-bordered plot of grass. Enclosed in glass in the monument is a fireman's helmet and a plaque honoring an 18-year-old volunteer:

"Dedicated to Dennis Michael Boswell who died of injuries received while fighting a fire at 64th Street and Sheriff Road, Cedar Heights, Maryland, on November 23, 1963—His 1,409th Alarm."

AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the summer of 1967 will be recorded as one of the most violent in the history of this Nation. This was a summer when racial unrest reached the point where violence was so common that it was news when it was quiet in our cities. Bloodshed, looting, burning, and destruction were all too prevalent as one segment of the community took to the street with its grievances.

Out of this dismal picture came one piece of heartening news, the creation of the Urban Coalition. This organization of some of the most prominent people and organizations in the country may mark the turning point in our programs for the cities. Here, for the first time, we have an effective voice representing the first political philosophies in geographical regions; here we have a voice that is intent on shaping governmental programs for the poor.

One of the leading groups in the Coalition has been the AFL–CIO. The labor movement has been fighting for programs for the poor for many years and much of our legislation in this field is due to the efforts of labor. Recently, the executive council of the AFL–CIO issued a statement entitled "America's Urban Crisis," in which a program for action is detailed.

This program recognizes that riots are not caused by one item, not instigated by outside rabblerousers, but caused by the squalor and deprivation found in the ghettos. Thus, this program calls for an attack on the ghetto and all those things associated with it. It calls for new jobs, better housing, work experience programs, quality education, and a restructuring of the welfare system. This is one of the best statements of the needs of America that has been presented.

Mr. President, this program is so valuable that I suggest that each one of us should read it and use it as a reference for action. I ask unanimous consent that the statement and a background paper be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

America's Urban Crisis

(Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council, New York, N.Y., September 12, 1967)

America's urban crisis is rooted in the radical social and economic changes of the past quarter of a century, as well as in the tragic history of Negro slavery, segregation and discrimination.

The population of America's metropolitan areas has skyrocketed, with an increased birth-rate and the migration of millions of people from the farms and rural areas. While middle-income families have been moving to the suburbs, the cities are being left with a minority of wealthy people and large numbers of the poor, the deprived, the new migrants.

At the same time, the spread of automation has reduced job opportunities for uneducated, unskilled workers and speeded up the shift of industrial location from cities to suburbs and outlying areas. The need for adequate housing, community facilities and services has soared, while the tax-base of the cities has narrowed. And despite the long overdue adoption of federal Civil Rights legislation, discriminatory practices are still a widespread reality, although rapidly declining under the pressure of government, churches, trade unions and other private institutions.

Instant adjustments and overnight solutions to this complex of problems are impossible. Gimmicks and slogans can achieve headlines, but hardly any positive results.

Yet complacency can lead to disaster. Rapid forward strides are essential to the preservation of a free and democratic society.

Immediate measures are needed to provide jobs, decent housing and adequate community facilities. Planned programs over the next decade or two are required to revitalize our metropolitan areas as centers of American civilization.

The Economic Policy Committee of the AFL–CIO has given careful and thoughtful consideration to both immediate and long-term programs which will meet the needs of America's urban areas. The Committee's report to this Executive Council, which is hereby made part of this Council statement, contains solid recommendations which the AFL–CIO Executive Council now adopts as its program for meeting the urban crisis. Specifically, the AFL–CIO calls for:

1. One million public service jobs for persons now unemployed or seriously under-employed. To provide this necessary means of helping people lift themselves out of poverty and deprivation, Congress must immediately adopt a $4 billion program to fund federal, state and local government agencies and non-profit organizations, along the lines of the O'Hara bill. We also consider the Clark bill a step in the right direction.

2. Two and a half million new housing units each year including:

A. Public housing through new and rehabilitated low-rent homes for the 20 percent of city families whose incomes are below requirements for a minimum decent standard of living. New public housing construction, now at a 30,000-to-40,000 annual level, should be immediately increased to 200,000 to 300,000 for each of the next two years and 500,000 a year thereafter. Adequate appropriations for the rent supplement program are a necessity.

B. Housing for lower middle-income families, not eligible for public housing and unable to afford decent dwellings in the standard, privately financed housing market. Federally subsidized interest rate loans and a federal subsidy for the partial abatement of local taxes on such properties are needed to increase construction of such housing by cooperatives, non-profit and limited dividend corporations. In addition, federal legislation should make it possible for such groups to acquire existing properties, with government insurance of long-term and low-interest loans.

C. Moderate-income housing, already operating with government-insured mortgages, stepped up through measures to increase involvement of pension funds, college endowment funds and private trusts.

D. Open housing, in suburbs as well as in cities, an essential part of a meaningful effort to rebuild our metropolitan areas.

E. Urban renewal no longer is confined to commercial and expensive high-rise construction. The focus instead must be on homes in balanced neighborhoods, with families displaced by slum clearance given assistance in finding decent dwellings at rents they can afford.

F. Model Cities program, with adequate appropriations.

3. Mass transit, improved and expanded, is an urgent need in all metropolitan areas.

4. Accelerated construction of public facilities, such as water supplies, sewage systems, mass transit, schools, hospitals, daycare centers, playgrounds, libraries, museums, clean air and water, are essential to rebuild America's metropolitan areas. For this, we urge Congress to adopt at least a $2 billion a year grant-in-aid program to state and local governments in addition to categorical grants-in-aid.

5. A substantially expanded Neighborhood Youth Corps program to help youngsters remain in school and to provide work and training for those who have dropped out of school.

6. The opportunity for quality education can be met only by realizing the need to close the educational gap between the privileged and underprivileged school children of our nation, by special incentives to teachers in slum areas, federal subsidy of the More Effective School type program, full use of school buildings for job-training, adult education, and community centers. In addition, vocational training must be realistically geared to the modern job market.

7. Manpower training must be linked with

job placement and training allowances must be increased so that trainees can afford to remain in the program.

8. Public welfare assistance must be restructured, with the program based on need alone, a federal minimum standard of payments and adequate federal funds should be provided, state work-incentive programs should enable welfare recipients to retain a substantial amount of the dollars they earn without penalty, and demeaning investigations of applicants should be eliminated, on the principle that comprehensive social services are a matter of right to those in need.

9. Relief of rural poverty, concentrated in the southern and southwestern states primarily, by federal legislation to provide farm workers with unemployment compensation and according to them the same right other workers have under the National Labor Relations Act to organize unions and bargain collectively; by adequate federal funds to assist low and moderate-income rural families to buy or rehabilitate housing; continuation and strengthening of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Education Act of 1965 in rural areas; federal aid in establishment of adequate public facilities, such as highways, hospitals, schools, vocational and technical training institutions; extension of the Agriculture Department recreational and tourist activities in rural areas, and provision of full and fair employment opportunities for Negroes, Mexican-Americans and other minorities to work in the industries of rural areas and in state and local governments.

10. Economic planning, under federal leadership, and including each state and metropolitan area, should include the development, coordination and maintenance of an inventory of needs for housing, public facilities and services, to facilitate application of the nation's resources to meet the needs of a rapidly growing urban population, while also providing a sound foundation for a continually increasing private economy.

America's urban crisis did not come upon this nation without warning. It has been coming for a long time and the government has not been alert to its responsibilities.

The program we have offered will not achieve success overnight. By its very nature it is a step-by-step proposal for both immediate action and solid achievement.

America cannot wait any longer to get started and the Federal government must supply the leadership and resources to the great national effort that is mandatory.

BACKGROUND ON AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

The growth of the American population has increased sharply—from several hundred thousand a year in the 1930s to an average yearly rise of 2.7 million since World War II. Moreover, the number of people in rural areas has been declining, while metropolitan area growth has been booming. Each year, the population of America's metropolitan areas grows by over 3 million, the size of a very large city.

Under the impact of the technological revolution in agriculture, employment in farming has dropped—it fell 2.2 million between 1950 and 1966. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, farm workers and their families—several million people—have been leaving the rural areas in search of jobs and homes in the cities.

Many of those who seek their future in the cities are Negroes. Between 1940 and 1967, probably about 4 million Negroes moved from the South—primarily rural areas—to the cities of the North and West. In 1960, according to the Department of Labor, about 40 percent to nearly 50 percent of the Negro population of ten major northern and western cities was born in the South.

The Department of Labor estimates that almost 1.5 million Negroes left the South in 1950–1960, following a similar migration of 1.6 million Negroes in the wartime decade, 1940–1950. This historic migration is continuing at about that rate in the 1960s.

For the country as a whole, the proportion of Negroes in city populations rose from less than 10 percent in 1940 to over 20 percent in 1965. In most of the large northern and western cities the rise was greater.

All of the new migrants to America's cities of the past quarter of a century—whites and Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans—have faced the difficulties of adjusting to a new and strange environment. But these difficulties have been especially harsh for Negroes.

The Negro migrants to the cities of the past quarter of a century have brought with them a history of slavery, segregation, lack of education, and, frequently, poor health, as well as suspicion of government authorities. On coming to the cities of the North and the West, the new migrants have faced the discriminatory practices of those areas, lack of adequate housing and the impact of automation on job opportunities for uneducated, unskilled workers.

The northern and western cities are suffering, in part, from the social ills and delinquencies of the South—including color bars in private, state and local government employment; backward standards of education, vocational training and public welfare generally, with particularly low standards for Negroes and Mexican Americans; social patterns to enforce the dependency of both poor whites and Negroes.

Since World War II and particularly since the early 1950s, the spread of automation has been reducing the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that require little or no education or training. The types of jobs that helped to adjust previous generations of foreign immigrants and rural American migrants into America's urban areas have not been expanding.

In ghetto areas in the cities, about 10 percent to 15 percent of the adult men and about 40 percent to 50 percent of out-of-school teenagers (including an estimate of those usually not counted by the Labor Department) are unemployed. In addition, a Labor Department survey of slum areas in November 1966 found that nearly 7 percent of those with jobs were employed only part-time, although they wanted full-time work, and 20 percent of those working full-time earned less than $60 a week. This same Labor Department survey found that nearly 40 percent of the families and unrelated individuals in big city slum areas earn less than $3,000 a year.

However, it costs about $7,000, at present prices, to maintain a modest standard of living, including a few amenities but no luxuries, for a family of four in America's metropolitan areas— more for a larger family and less for a smaller family. Elimination of the amenities would result in a cost of about $5,000 to maintain a minimum decent standard of living for a family of four in our urban areas—scaled up and down for different family sizes.

Yet government reports indicate that probably about 20 percent of the population, within city limits, earns less than the amount necessary for a minimum decent standard of living. Within ghetto areas, perhaps 60 percent to 70 percent or more of the families are in that category. The result is badly overcrowded housing, inadequate diet, poor medical care, few books and magazines for about 20 percent of city families and about 60 to 70 percent of those who live in ghetto slums.

The hard-core slum areas continue to deteriorate. People with jobs, some skills and some regular incomes have been moving out. They are replaced with new migrants from the rural South—added to the remaining lowest-income families, the jobless, the aged and fatherless families.

A large proportion of these slum residents depend on welfare payments, often to mothers with dependent children and no father present. The Labor Department survey of November 1966 found that 30 percent of the population of East Harlem, 30 percent of the Watts population, 40 percent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant children and 25 percent of the adults receive welfare payments. Moreover, the lack of adequate child-care facilities in slum areas is a barrier to employment for women with children.

Trapped by a history of degradation and the recent impact of automation, these new migrants to the city are also trapped by the unavailability of low-and-moderate cost housing, as well as by discrimination against colored peoples.

The peak home construction year, before World War II, was 1925. From 1926 to 1945, a period of 20 years, home-building was in a slump. It wasn't until 1946 that the 1925-level of housing starts was reached.

Since 1945, the up and downs of residential construction have followed conditions in the money market—interest rates and availability of money. Normal business operations and government programs have provided housing for families in the middle-income range and above (at present, about $7,000–$8,000 annual income and more).

The residential construction of the postwar period, however, has essentially ignored housing for the entire bottom half of our income distribution—for the lower middle-income group as well as the poor.

For lower middle-income families, with current incomes of about $5,000 to $8,000, the postwar years have seen only little new housing construction, with present rentals or carrying charges and taxes of about $85–$135 per month. This is particularly true for large families, with three or more children, in this income-range.

For the urban poor—families with current incomes of about $5,000 a year and less—there has been hardly any new housing construction during the 22 years since World War II and there was very little of such construction in the preceding 20 years from 1926 through 1945. Almost a half century of rapid change in our cities—including the great Negro migration has passed, with hardly any housing construction for low-income families.

Realistic rentals for poor families would have to be concentrated around $40 to $70 a month. Since the private market cannot provide such housing, public housing and public rehabilitation are essential. But, in recent years, the total number of new public housing dwelling units has been only about 30,000–40,000 per year.

Moreover, the urban renewal program, which has bulldozed Negro slum areas, has concentrated on the construction of commercial buildings and luxury high-rise apartments. Relocation of families, displaced from the slums, has been neglected or ignored and there has been hardly any replacement of low-rental housing.

In addition, during the 1950s and early 1960s, the traditional conservative opposition to low-cost publicly subsidized housing for the poor was joined by many so-called liberals—the same coalition that debunked the impact of automation on unskilled and semi-skilled factory workers and on industrial location as a trade union myth.

At the same time, middle and upper-income families have been moving to the suburbs. This movement has opened up older housing in the cities. But, combined with the movement of industry to the suburbs and countryside, it has reduced the tax-base of the cities, when the demands on their financial resources for housing, welfare, education and public facilities are mounting. Moreover, the change of industrial location has compounded the problems of inadequate mass transportation facilities for low-income city-dwellers to get to the new areas of employment-growth. And most suburban communities have rather rigid color-bar restrictions, as well as an absence of low-cost housing.

The New Deal's beginnings to provide low-cost public housing nearly perished between 1952 and 1966. And much of the long-delayed legislation of the 1960s to achieve partial adjustments to the radical changes in American life, were first steps, without previous experience, precedents and trained personnel. Moreover, federal appropriations for even these purposes were kept down by public apathy. Yet, they were greatly oversold and their adoption aroused expectations of overnight solutions that were impossible to achieve.

America's urban crisis is a national complex of social problems—rather than simple problems of individual communities. No city or state government can solve them in isolation. Neither can private enterprise, even with the promise of tax subsidies. Their solution requires nationwide social measures, with adequate federal funds and standards.

Step by step, we must begin immediately to rebuild America's cities and lift the living conditions of the American people.

ONE MISSION PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS

There are a large number of people who cannot find regular employment in the job market—due to insufficient jobs for those who lack education, vocational training and previous regular employment. Such long-term unemployed and under-employed people, including those who have given up seeking jobs, should be given the opportunity to work in local, state, federal and nonprofit public services that would not otherwise be done.

Jobs of this type, with wages not less than the federal minimum wage, could provide services for which society has growing needs—such as in parks, recreational facilities, day-care centers, hospitals, schools and libraries. In endorsing the concept of such a program, the tri-partite National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress declared:

"The public service employment program should be coupled with basic education, training and counseling to raise the productivity of the employees and assist them to move on to better jobs. With this assistance the opportunity for higher incomes would provide the necessary incentive to seek other jobs. Since the jobs would provide services for which society has growing needs, no element of make-work would be involved."

We urge immediate adoption by the Congress of a $4 billion program, along the lines of the bill introduced by Congressman O'Hara of Michigan and 76 associates, to provide the necessary funds to federal, state and local government agencies and to nonprofit organizations, to help them bear the cost of creating one million public service jobs for those who are now unemployed or seriously under-employed. The Emergency Employment section of the Anti-Poverty bill, introduced by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, represents a step in this direction.

In a work-oriented society, jobs for the unemployed are the first essential toward helping people to lift themselves out of poverty and deprivation.

TWO AND ONE-HALF MILLION NEW HOUSING UNITS EACH YEAR

America requires a national housing goal of 2½ million new dwelling units each year, during the next decade, supplemented by a large-scale effort to rehabilitate substandard housing that is worth saving—to provide an ample supply of decent homes for our rapidly growing population, as well as for those who live in substandard housing. Such goal is in sharp contrast to the annual construction of only 1.2–1.6 million new housing units in recent years, accompanied by very little rehabilitation.

The most urgent needs are: 1) to provide low-rent publicly subsidized housing—new and rehabilitated—for the approximately 20 percent of city families whose incomes are below the requirements for a minimum decent standard of living (about $5,000 a year for a family of four); 2) to provide adequate housing for lower middle-income families (between about $5,000 and $8,000 a year for a 4-person family) who are not eligible for public housing and cannot obtain decent dwellings in the standard, privately financed housing market; and 3) to provide expanded and improved community facilities and services—such as schools, hospitals, mass transit, day-care centers and playgrounds.

Low-Rent Public Housing—Construction of new, low-rent publicly-subsidized housing should be stepped up immediately from a yearly rate of 30,000–40,000 new starts of recent years to 200,000–300,000 per year in the next two years and stepped up, thereafter, to an annual rate of 500,000.

New public housing construction should be supplemented by large-scale publicly-subsidized rehabilitation to provide additional low-rent housing. Rentals of such new and rehabilitated housing should be concentrated in a range of $40 to $70 per month to meet the needs of the city poor. In order to maintain decent housing at low rentals, a partial government subsidy should be provided for adequate maintenance of the properties.

A major federal effort along these lines should include architectural designs and first-class construction for attractive homes and neighborhoods. It should also include an emphasis on people and services—with provision for nearby shopping, schools, transportation, playgrounds and the availability of social services. As part of an overall effort to rebuild our urban areas, new and rehabilitated low-rent public housing should be located in both the city and suburbs and interspersed with other types of rental and private housing for the creation of balanced neighborhoods.

The federal program should include provision for the potential sale of low-rent public housing developments or parts of such developments to tenant cooperatives or to tenants who meet the income requirements for home-ownership.

We strongly support an adequate rent supplement program, but this program should be a supplement to, not a substitute for, a major effort to provide new and rehabilitated, low-rent homes for low-income families.

Housing for Lower Middle-Income Families—Another large-scale program is needed to provide the opportunity for decent homes for lower middle-income families—with monthly rentals concentrated in a range from about $85 to $135.

A considerable step-up and overhaul is needed in the present, very small program of federally subsidized interest rate loans—at 3 percent—to sharply increase the construction of such housing by cooperative, nonprofit and limited dividend corporations. A federal subsidy for the partial abatement of local taxes on such properties is also required.

Federal housing legislation should also make it possible for cooperative, nonprofit and limited dividend corporations to acquire existing properties—with government insurance of long-term and low-interest loans—for the operation of such housing.

Trade unions, limited dividend corporations, cooperatives and churches should be encouraged to participate in a large-scale effort to provide decent homes that lower middle-income families can afford.

Moderate-Income Housing—This section of the housing market already operates with government-insured mortgages, such as FHA and VA. There is need, however, to increase the supply of funds that move into this part of the housing market.

Major sources of additional funds, such as pension funds, college endowment funds, and private trusts are not attracted, to a sufficient degree, by mortgage investments, even when they are government-insured. A bond or debenture-type obligation, fully guaranteed by federal insurance, could be the method to channel additional funds, through the private bond market, into the financing of housing, as a supplement to the funds of private mortgage financing institutions.

An increase in the supply of moderate-income housing will enable such families to upgrade their living conditions and make additional dwellings available for lower middle-income families.

Open Housing—Housing restrictions against Negroes and other minority groups must be eliminated. All people, regardless of color or national origin or religion, must have the legal right to buy or rent dwellings that they can afford—in the suburbs and outlying areas, as well as in the cities. Open housing is an essential part of a meaningful effort to rebuild our metropolitan areas.

Urban Renewal—The emphasis of the federal urban renewal program should be shifted drastically from commercial and expensive high-rise construction to a focus on homes for people, balanced neighborhoods, community facilities and services. Families to be displaced by the elimination of slum housing must be provided assistance in finding decent dwellings at rents they can afford.

We have repeatedly stated our support of the Model Cities program with adequate appropriations and we reiterate our support. But this program, alone is not enough.

The ghettos of our major cities must be replaced, as rapidly as an increasing volume of new and rehabilitated housing becomes available, by balanced neighborhoods, with a mixture of different types of housing and different economic and racial groups. A combination of new sites for housing developments, open housing in the suburbs, the large-scale construction and rehabilitation of low-rent and lower-middle-income housing can quickly begin to eliminate ghettos and the isolation of their inhabitants. Any semblance of apartheid—whether enforced by old racial barriers or new legislative proposals of well-meaning liberals—has no place in America.

Mass Transit—Every American city has an urgent need for an improved and expanded mass transit system. The need is greatest and most urgent in the low-income areas of most cities. With the movement of industry to outlying areas and suburbs, open housing and the establishment of adequate mass transit systems are as essential to the solution of America's urban crisis, as the massive construction and rehabilitation of housing.

In localities where the construction or rapid transit systems will take several years emergency measures should be adopted to provide temporary but adequate and fast service in areas that now have inadequate transit service or none at all.

Mobility has always been an important part of American life. The rebuilding of America's metropolitan areas must include adequate provisions for mobility in transportation, housing and employment, rather than the stifling isolation of ghettos.

ACCELERATED CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

The rebuilding of our metropolitan areas will require an increased pace of public facilities construction—water supplies, sewage systems, mass transit, schools, hospitals, day-care centers, playgrounds, libraries, museums, clean air and water.

The Congressional Joint Economic Committee has published a comprehensive and detailed inventory of existing state and local facilities and projected needs, in each category, for the decade 1965–1975. This report projects a rise from $20 billion for state and local public facilities in 1965 to more than $40 billion in 1976—for a total expenditure of $328 billion over the decade.

In the past, federal grants-in-aid have accounted for 20 percent of the aggregate cost of these state and local outlays—with borrowing accounting for 50 percent and current state and local revenues for 30 percent. Federal grants-in-aid vary by category from none, at all, to 5 percent and more.

An acceleration in the pace of building these essential facilities—the underpinnings of adequate living conditions—will require a step-up of federal grants-in-aid.

We urge the Congress to adopt at least a $2 billion a year additional grant-in-aid program for an acceleration of public facilities construction by state and local governments—in addition to categorical grants-in-aid.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

The highly succesful Neighborhood Youth Corps program provides about 300,000 full-time and part-time jobs for youngsters below the age of 21—part-time for youngsters who are in school and full-time including training, for out-of-school youth. This program should be expanded substantially—to aid youngsters to remain in school and to provide some work and training for young people who have dropped out of school.

The small Job Corps program in rural and urban centers for jobless out-of-school youth should also be expanded, as experience with this effort increases the feasibility of solid progress.

QUALITY EDUCATION

The 89th Congress of 1965–1966 rightfully deserves recognition as the education Congress, for never before in our history was there such a comprehensive attempt to deal with the specific problems facing the nation in education. There remains, however, significant gaps in the over-all plan to fully develop programs which will realistically meet the needs of urban communities.

At the elementary and secondary school levels, priority must be given to the principle of equalizing the standard and quality of instruction provided pupils from low income families with those from middle- and upper-income groups.

The recently developed More Effective Schools program advanced by American Federation of Teachers locals should be implemented in all urban communities. The program requires additional funding beyond present levels because of its very nature. It addresses itself to the remedying of years of substandard education offered minority and low-income groups.

Significant aspects of the program are costly, but there are no alternatives. To meet our current and future needs, local school systems must have funds available to approve programs which will reduce class size to a maximum of 22, add additional teachers to deal with problem children, add to guidance counselor services and upgrade the skills of counselors, provide special care for the seriously disturbed child, provide teacher-aids and add medical and dental services over and above the amount now provided in regular school programs.

Vocational education and training is not reaching the hardcore of the large number of unemployed youth in our cities, the school dropouts and youths with socio-economic disadvantages.

Vocational education must be geared to the needs of the modern job market. It must adopt educational methods that reach into young peoples' minds to prepare them for work—not merely to teach them the skills of an occupation, but to prepare them for the complicated world of work, through a combination of general education, occupational education and practical learning on the job at the going wage rate.

To reach these young people in large cities, the federal government should make available to the states and local communities grants to encourage innovation vocational education programs. Experts have estimated that at least $1 billion will be necessary to make such innovative programs effective.

In addition, year-round use of school buildings in the afternoon and evenings, as well as regular daytime sessions is essential to meet the growing need for job training, remedial education and recreational facilities, for working youths and adults. Such use of school building is also needed to serve as community centers and to house a variety of activities related to the improvement of urban conditions.

Recent federal legislation in the field of higher education has placed great emphasis on student aid, to meet the increasing tuition costs and fees at the nation's institutions of higher learning. Major reliance on the financial institutions of the nation, to make government-insured loans to meet this need, has proven, thus far, to be unworkable and unrealistic. The financial institutions have not responded adequately to this program. As matters now stand, Congress should return its attention to this problem to bring about a workable solution.

MANPOWER TRAINING

Manpower training programs must be strengthened and increased emphasis given to training for meaningful job opportunities.

The government's training program provides for training, with the payment of allowances, up to two years. Unfortunately, the present emphasis is often on training programs for jobs which are dead-end, as well as low-wage. Moreover, as long as present training allowances remain as meager as they now are, few workers, especially heads of families, can afford to forego the opportunity for immediate employment, even at low wages—particularly if there is no assurance of a job at the end of the training period.

The government's training programs should be linked with job-placement, when training is completed. Also, it is essential that training allowances be increased to strengthen the staying-power of the trainees.

PUBLIC WELFARE

Our federal-state public welfare programs were intended to provide assistance and services to deal directly with poverty and social deprivation. Public welfare is supposed to provide assistance—on a dignified basis and as a matter of right—to individuals and families, in need of the basic essentials of living.

Today, our public welfare programs fall far short on these counts. Over 7½ million people are today living on a precariously low level of existence, in many cases shut off from even the most basic necessities of life.

It must be remembered that those on public assistance include about 2 million over 65 years of age, 700,000 are blind or permanently and totally disabled and about 5 million are in families with dependent children (of which about 3,750,000 were children).

The entire public welfare program must be restructured. A comprehensive program of public assistance should be established, based on the single criterion of need. A federal minimum standard for public assistance payments, below which no state may fall, should be determined. Comprehensive social services should be readily accessible, as a right, to those who need them. The Administration of all welfare programs receiving federal funds should be in accordance with the principle of public welfare as a right. The Advisory Council on Public Welfare, in its report of June 1966, recommended these principles as a basis for correcting the existing deficiencies of our public welfare system.

The federal government should estabish nationwide federal standards—with adequate federal funds—to provide a decent floor for the public welfare system.

State work-incentive programs should be required by the federal government to permit welfare recipients to retain a substantial number of the dollars they earn without penalty, thus encouraging them to go into the job market and eventually move off the welfare rolls.

Eligibility requirements for welfare applicants should be simplified, and demeaning investigations of applicants should be eliminated, to enable social workers to perform their professional services of guidance, counselling and assistance.

Neither the federal government nor the states should seek to coerce welfare recipients to participate in work-or-training programs without providing adequate day-care protection for the children, or without prior determination of the skills and aptitudes of the welfare recipient for the work or training, and without offering some cash incentive for the welfare recipient to participate in such a program. Such work or training program should be part of the Labor Department's manpower and training structure.

RURAL POVERTY

The American urban crisis is, in part, a reflection of the poverty and backwardness of many rural areas—particularly in the southern and southwestern states. The cities of the North and West are now paying for the delinquency of these rural areas. A meaningful attempt to solve urban problems must include efforts to lift the living conditions in the poor rural areas and to upgrade the education and skills of the rural population.

Nearly 30 percent of the American population lives in rural areas. Only about one-fourth of these rural residents are farmers or farm workers. The others live in small towns or villages, strip settlements along old roads, Indian reservations, old mining settlements or in scattered isolated dwellings.

Federal legislation should provide farm workers with the same protection afforded other workers—such as unemployment compensation and the right to organize unions and bargain collectively with employers.

The Federal program to assist low- and moderate-income rural families to buy or rehabilitate housing should be provided with adequate funds.

In the long-run, the solution of the nation's urban and rural problems requires a population with adequate education and vocational training. The beginnings to achieve this objective in rural areas—under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Education Act of 1965—should be continued and strengthened.

The approach of the Appalachian Regional Development Program should be extended to other regions of rural poverty—federal aid for the establishment of adequate public facilities such as highways and roads, hospitals and health centers, schools, vocational and technical training institutions.

The Agriculture Department's encouragement of recreational and tourist activities in rural areas should be extended, as well as such community improvement projects as the improvement of water and sewage facilities.

Fair employment practices are as essential in rural areas, as in metropolitan communities. Rural Negroes, Mexican-Americans and members of other minority groups must have full and fair employment opportunities to work in the industries of the rural areas and in the rapidly growing employment in state and local governments.

Such efforts are needed to improve the economic and social balance between rural and urban areas and lift the standard of life of all Americans.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

We urge the federal government to develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs for housing, public facilities and services, by the specific categories, based on present unmet backlogs and estimate of future population growth.

We urge each state and metropolitan area to develop a similar inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction.

Such inventories of present and projected requirements should serve as the foundation for programs in each category. They should also be used as yardsticks for the measurement of progress towards meeting the objective of adequate housing, public facilities and services.

A planned national effort, under federal leadership, is needed to apply as much of the nation's resources as possible to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing, urban population, while providing a sound foundation for the continued advance of the private economy.

RETIREMENT OF L. T. "TEX" EASLEY FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that Mr. L. T. "Tex" Easley, of the Associated Press, will retire from that media at the end of this month and take up new duties as a committee staff member in the House of Representatives.

It has been my privilege to know and to work with "Tex" Easley throughout my Senate career. He has covered my office and others ably as the AP's expert on the Southwest. For all of these years he has maintained a professional and courteous attitude which has been reflected in the effectiveness of his reporting.

It was my added pleasure at one point to have working on my office staff Mr. Easley's daughter, Rita. Her industriousness could only have been learned from her father's no-nonsense attention to business.

We in the Senate who have known "Tex" will miss him. I know AP will miss him. We wish him well in his new work, and we hope he will return from the House from time to time to visit with his old and lasting friends on this side of Capitol Hill.

TRIBUTE TO DUKE ZELLER

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, this is the first opportunity I have had to add my voice to the others which have been raised concerning the departure of our good friend Duke Zeller. For the past 10 years he has served all of us on the minority side with precision, thoughtfulness, and dedication.

As one who has had the opportunity to receive his counsel on the status of the legislative picture many times, I know how much his services will be missed.

It is indeed seldom that a young man is able to accomplish as much in 10 short years as Duke has, and still be only 25 years old. I join with all Senators in wishing him Godspeed in his new vocation.

W. MARVIN WATSON, OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a very interesting article on one of the most important men in the Capital, Hon. W. Marvin Watson, was published in the New York Times of Sunday, September 17, 1967.

Mr. Watson is one of the finest gentlemen I have known and has always been courteous, considerate, and understanding in my dealings with him. What influence he exercises at the White House I do not know, but I do know that in any relationship between the Senate and the White House this soft-spoken, unobtrusive, ex-marine has been most cooperative. I know him as an honorable man and as one who serves the President faithfully and with devotion. He is candid and frank in his answers to questions and his modesty conceals a keen mind and a striking intelligence. He carries a heavy workload, and he is trusted by those who know him.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to express my personal feelings about a man who I think has done an outstanding job in a most difficult position. He has earned our confidence and trust as well as that of the President.

I ask unanimous consent that portions of the article previously referred to be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 17, 1967]

Johnson's Traffic Cop: One of Most Important Men in Capital

(By Roy Reed)

Washington, September 16.—In the office next to Lyndon B. Johnson's sits one of the least known but most important men in Washington, With his dark brown hair and incongruously light gray eyes almost continually framed by a telephone receiver, he directs some of the world's most urgent traffic in and out of the world's most important office.

Anyone wanting to see or talk with the President—from the Senate majority leader to the Shah of Iran—must first deal with W. (for William) Marvin Watson.

He not only has the President's ear more often and more intimately than any other man, he also is so esteemed by Mr. Johnson that he exercises various degrees of influence over patronage, the passage of legislation, political fence-mending and Presidential liaison with Democratic functionaries in and out of Washington.

In short, Marvin Watson, 43 years old, of Daingerfield, Tex., is the political manager for the nation's most powerful politician.

DISTORTION OF REALITY

It would be a distortion of reality to speak of Mr. Watson or anyone else as the most powerful man on the White House staff. Mr. Johnson leaves no room for secondary spheres of power under his roof. No one is likely to become the "assistant President," as Sherman Adams was sometimes called during the Eisenhower Administration.

Nevertheless, Mr. Watson has emerged, since the departure earlier this year of Bill D. Moyers, as the President's right hand man. Mr. Moyers who was the favorite Presidential confidant as well as press secretary, is now publisher of Newsday, a Long Island newspaper.

One reason for the importance of the soft-spoken, unobtrusive Mr. Watson is that he sees more of the President during the President's waking hours and probably talks to him about a wider variety of subjects than any other person, including Mrs. Johnson.

Like Mr. Moyers, he comes from the same state and speaks with the same accent as the President.

Unlike Mr. Moyers, however, he springs from the same political establishment, the controlling element of the Texas Democratic party, that gave the President his base in national politics. That establishment has produced such conservative leaders as Gov. John B. Connally Jr. and former Gov. Price Daniel, and Mr. Watson has been close to them, too.

CENTER OF POWER

For these, and other, personal reasons, Mr. Watson now sits nearer the center of American political power than anyone except the President himself.

And yet, outside of Washington, Texas and the tightest circles of power around the globe, he is practically unknown.

Mr. Watson approves of that anonymity. "I am here to serve the President," he says often and with such fervor that the statement is easy to believe.

Mr. Watson's title is Special Assistant to the President, and he is only one of several who share it. More specifically, he is Mr. Johnson's appointments secretary. But he is not simply a high-level traffic cop which is what his title would suggest and what Mr. Watson would have people believe.

Intelligent observers have been taken in by his modesty. A Congressman who has known him for years called him "the majordomo to the President."

But, just as Mr. Watson's conservative blue suit and vest do not quite conceal the soft blue checks of his shirt, the flashing gold of his cufflinks and the dash of his triangular wrist watch, just so is his dedication to obscurity foiled by his just-visible ambition for perfect service.

LOYAL AND DEPENDABLE

The two words that acquaintances use most often to describe Mr. Watson are loyal and dependable. These attributes apparently have been with him since his Texas farm beginnings, developed through the rigid training of the Southern Bapist Church (of which he is a deacon) and honed by the harash demands of Texas politics and Texas commerce.

There is no question of his loyalty to Mr. Johnson. Mr. Watson, himself, is quick to point out that the President was "the only man who hired me, and he is the only one who can fire me."

It is said that he was as loyal and dependable when he was the right hand man to E. B. Germany, the conservative president of the Lone Star Steel Company in Texas, as he is today as the righthand man to the author of the Great Society.

Mr. Watson came to Washington with an apparently deserved reputation for conservatism, but he has never permitted ideology to interfere with loyalty.

It was the same with party loyalty. Once he became active in the Democratic party, he stayed with it. Even in 1952 and 1956, when a great many Texans became "Eisenhower Democrats," Mr. Watson campaigned for Adlai E. Stevenson.

Later he became a friend of Representative Wright Patman of Texas. Despite Mr. Patman's well-known populism, Mr. Watson served as his campaign manager in a number of elections.

A catalogue of Mr. Watson's importance and influence must begin with one of his more fervent disclaimers.

"I am not the politician of the White House," he says, and the gray eyes sparkle with good-humored persuasiveness. But, here again, it appears that he is too modest.

Anyone who answers 125 telephone calls a day in the office of the President of the United States is certain to exercise influence. The telephone is so vital to Mr. Watson that his is equipped with push buttons and a long cord that permits him to walk around his desk and exercise.

During a recent 25-minute period checked by a visitor, Mr. Watson was on the phone 23 minutes. He talked with the President three times and called four Senators (three of whom answered) and a Governor. George Christian, the White House press secretary, had to wait seven minutes to confer with him.

One of Mr. Watson's three secretaries noted that this was a slack period.

He does not live a relaxed life, yet he insists that he sees more of his wife and three children now than when they lived in Texas. Their older son, Lee, 20, is a sophomore at the University of Maryland. Their daughter, Kimberly, 16, is a high school junior. The second son, Bill, is 3½.

HOME IN ARLINGTON

Mr. Watson usually reaches his home in Arlington, Va., between 8 and 10 p.m. He rises at 6 a.m. A chauffeur picks him up after breakfast and drives him, in a Chrysler selected each day from a pool of White House cars, the 10 minutes to the White House, arriving no later than 7:45 or 8 A.M.

He spends the first hour or two with the President in the private quarters of the mansion, going over the day's schedule and other work. Then he goes to his own office and reaches for the phone.

He agrees that a certain amount of subjectivity enters the question of who sees the President, but he says that he has a system for reducing it to tolerable levels.

Any member of Congress or any Governor automatically gets an appointment with the President any time he needs it. Mr. Watson's job is simply working out a time.

Thus, when one of the South's most recalcitrant segregationists phoned for an appointment last winter, Mr. Watson calmly invited him up. Gov. Lester M. Maddox of Georgia, as it turned out, wanted to complain about frozen highway funds, not integration.

Most callers are not so easily classified as Congressmen and Governors. Outside of government, most who call represent organizations, Mr. Watson says, "and you'd be surprised how many organizations there are in this country."

If he is uncertain of the standing of a caller or the validity of his claim on the President's time, he puts off a decision long enough to ask the opinion of a Cabinet member or one of his lieutenants, who can usually offer sound advice.

CALLERS REFERRED

Callers who cannot justify an interview with the President are referred to someone in the appropriate executive agency or to a member of the White House staff, Mr. Watson says.

Some persons, realizing the President's heavy work load, do not ask to see the President, but do want to get their viewpoints before him. Mr. Watson is the man who can carry such messages.

The administrative aide to one of the most important Congressional committee chairmen told how he decides when to ask for Marvin Watson at the White House:

"There are four or five levels of people you talk to over there when you want something. You call one person for one kind of thing and another for another kind, and they might be at all different levels. But when I want to get a message to The Man from my man, that's who I call. He is the top level."

There are exceptions. Some labor leaders, although not all, still tend to distrust Mr. Watson and take their case to Joseph A. Califano Jr., another top Presidential assistant, in the belief that it will receive more sympathy.

Mr. Watson also exercises a notable, but vaguely defined, influence on patronage, particularly over Presidential appointments to middle and lower positions.

THE FINAL DECISION

The President makes the final decision, but he cannot be expected to fret over every appointment. Mr. Watson does the worrying. That means, according to one Washington Democrat, that Mr. Watson actually makes the decision on the more routine appointments, "those that are not likely to get in the papers."

Mr. Watson insists that he has "very little" power of decision," he says. "I try to remember that that's a fact."

DOES SOME LOBBYING

Top-drawer lobbying for Administration bills is another of his duties. He does not speak of this work and he is not as well known in this field as Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien or any number of other White House aides.

But it is well known among the handlers of important bills that legislative leaders can expect telephone calls from Mr. Watson, especially at critical junctures. The importance of a call from him, of course, is that it originates in the President's outer office and obviously on the President's order.

Mr. Watson has still another job an amorphous function that might be called troubleshooting. He is called in for some of the political first aid that the President himself would handle were it not for appearances.

For example, the President was dismayed when Democratic Governors met after last November's election and blamed him for the party's losses. The same Governors met again in St. Louis July 1 while Mr. Johnson was at his Texas ranch. Should he accept their invitation to attend their meeting?

Mr. Johnson waited almost all day before making up his mind. Then, he suddenly decided late in the afternoon to join the Governors before their meeting broke up.

STATEMENT OF ACCORD

Shortly before he arrived, the Governors issued a "statement of accord" pledging their support to him. Governors who had publicly questioned in December whether he could be re-elected in 1968 were now in the vanguard of his admirers.

Afterward, it was learned that Mr. Watson had been there all day, and the statement of accord was said to have been edited, if not actually ghost-written, by him. When all was ready, he phoned the President.

Another such delicate and vital task came to light last week when it was learned that a political agent would soon be dispatched to begin quietly organizing support for Mr. Johnson in the New Hampshire Presidential primary. The agent, not yet named, will work under the direct supervision of Mr. Watson.

One of the contentions of the Watson watchers is that he is the real head of the Democratic National Committee and that John M. Bailey, the chairman, is little more than a figurehead.

There was talk last spring that John Criswell, the committee's acting treasurer and chief administrative officer, was soon to be named executive director. The new title has not materialized.

"The real reason," says one well informed Democrat, "is because Marvin Watson is really the executive director."

DENIAL ON POWER

Mr. Watson denies that he exercises that much power over the committee. A friend on the committee staff supports the denial. Both confirm, however, that when the committee has business with the White House, it is generally handled through Mr. Watson.

The same friend, who has known Mr. Watson for years, offers an explanation for Mr. Watson's weight in political affairs. He is the most experienced person on the White House staff in election campaigns, the friend points out.

He began working in elections as early as 1948 when he was a student at Baylor University. He first met his future employer during Mr. Johnson's campaign for the Senate that year.

"I'm not sure he remembers that, but I do," Mr. Watson says.

He worked in the Johnson campaign at Waco. In succeeding years they became better acquainted and by 1960 their friendship had developed so far that Mr. Johnson asked Mr. Watson to take a leave from Lone Star Steel and help in his campaign for Vice President. Mr. Watson traveled with the candidate and arranged his schedule.

Again at Mr. Johnson's request, Mr. Watson took the major responsibility in arranging the 1964 Democratic convention at Atlantic City.

With this experience, Mr. Watson has learned many of the sources of political power in the states.

How well he knows them is sometimes debated. Some who are aware of national party affairs say that neither Mr. Watson nor his employer knows the real state party powers, especially in Northern and Eastern states, well enough to appreciate their strengths and problems.

MEMORY FOR NAMES

Mr. Watson has a good memory for names and a quiet manner that never permits him to inject his own personality into the business that he handles for the President.

One Texan who knows both Mr. Watson and Mr. Johnson believes that Mr. Watson is an excellent example of what might almost be called a new breed of political employe—the able man who appreciates and uses power, but only under the aegis of a strong personality, with his own distinguishing marks carefully obliterated in the interest of a greater glory.

This type of service suggests a large measure of agreement with the boss without talking back. Mr. Watson, however, denies that he or anyone else on the White House staff is a "yes-man."

One source says that Mr. Watson had to be courted by the President for several months before he would agree to leave Texas and then only with the understanding that he would have the right to talk back.

Mr. Watson turned the President down when Mr. Johnson first sought to persuade him to take the job.

As the President tells it to friends, he later cornered Mr. Watson at a cocktail party and shamed him into accepting. He did this by an allusion to an ex-Marine, which Mr. Watson is, who would rather live "high on the hog" than help his President when he needed him.

Whatever the circumstances, Mr. Watson has grown close enough to the President so that he and his wife, Marion, are regularly invited to see the Johnsons socially after working hours.

Almost always he remains imperturable.

When he was forced to interrupt one interview because the Shah of Iran was due on the South Lawn in three minutes, he apologized with no sign of haste, his friendly drawl suggesting that nothing really pressing was at hand. He carefully arranged a time for a second interview. When all was agreed on and proper leavetakings has been said, he saw the guest to the office door and stood watching while he walked out.

Then, just before the door closed, he swung to his desk in a blur of dark blue fabric and golden cuff links, his left hand reaching for the telephone receiver, his right finger already jabbing at the buttons, his light gray eyes trained without humor on the instrument that is the most constant detail of his life.

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS C. WYMAN BEFORE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, Representative LOUIS C. WYMAN recently delivered a most thoughtful speech before the National Conference on Citizenship here in Washington. Because I believe that other Members of Congress will find much worthwhile in Representative WYMAN's thoughts, I ask unanimous consent that the full speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS THROUGH UNDERSTANDING

(Address by Congressman LOUIS C. WYMAN, Republican, of New Hampshire, 22d National Conference on Citizenship, September 19, 1967, Washington, D.C.)

Chairman Brewbaker, Members of the Conference and distinguished guests: It is a privilege and an honor for me to substitute this evening for the distinguished Senator from Texas, Mr. Tower, whose State is on the receiving end of a hurricane at this moment. Coming from New England I have vivid memories of what the hurricane of 1938 did to my own State and I can well understand the Senator's concern for his people at this hour.

Perhaps I should invite you to come to New Hampshire and ride the cog railway on Mt. Washington. This was a terrible tragedy, but, to show how meaningful—or meaningless—statistics can be, it is still safer than driving your car to the nearest supermarket.

I shall address myself tonight to the need for achieving progress in America through understanding. By this I mean understanding people, both as individuals and in groups, their philosophies, motivations and needs.

The more controversial the group or cause, the more caustic or harmful its role in our society, the greater the need for understanding why they act as they do and from this to learn how to let off the steam without blowing up the boiler.

In this process it is impossible to overstate the importance of young Americans, for it is the youth of America on whom we must depend for the survival of our way of life and to whom we must look for the leadership of tomorrow. They should understand the meaning and necessity of established forms of government and *we should understand them.*

Not all young people are racing toward escapism. No matter the emphasis in headlines the great majority of young Americans are serious, law-abiding and trying to be responsible. They are also creative, imaginative, exciting and understandably disillusioned. I say understandably for what do they see around them?

Asked to save, they see Government consistently overspending, unable or unwilling to operate within revenues, borrowing heavily for current operating costs, charging bills for present pleasures to their generation, monstrously increasing the national debt, making no pretense of balancing the budget and steadily eroding the purchasing power of their dollars. In short they see an utter absence of fiscal integrity on the part of those entrusted with the management of their legacy.

Translated to actualities of daily life they pay seventy-five cents for a hamburger and a cup of coffee in a land with a minimum wage of less than a dollar and a half an hour.

This is like the story of the two shoppers in the supermarket who were discussing inflation. The first woman remarked, "at least it has one good point in its favor." "Just what can be good about inflation," asked the other. "Well, she replied these days it is almost impossible for the kids to get sick on a five cent candy bar."

Asked to serve, they see their friends dying in an undeclared war in a far-away country, in military uniform, subject to military discipline obeying military commands when all the while civilian policy control does not allow the military to perform those military operations necessary to win military victory. And they also see such a measure of civilian instability in this same faraway country as to provide little assurance that it is even possible to win or maintain the peace after a military victory.

Asked to believe, they see greater and greater emphasis on materialism at home, less and less spiritual guidance and more and more agnosticism and outright atheism.

Asked to obey the law, they see deliberate law breakers, some of them notorious recidivists, treated as misunderstood children in a pattern tending toward a government of men rather than a government of law operating within a system of law enforcement that to the least has become personally and politically selective in its prosecutions.

These and a host of other examples of the malaise that afflicts the domestic pattern of the American scene, tend to obscure and conceal the real value and greatness of our constitutional system—itself designed to protect individual freedoms within a government of limited powers guaranteeing democracy under a Republican form of government. For all its weaknesses, in operation, no better system to govern peoples of widely varying beliefs, faiths, likes and dislikes, has ever been devised in the history of mankind.

This national conference on citizenship chartered "to support and strengthen the efforts of the people in maintaining the blessings of freedom and justice and in protecting and perpetuating the principles and ideals upon which this nation was founded" reflects growing concern over the need to inspire among all citizens, young and old alike, a deeper devotion to the obligations of citizenship. In this highest of worthy pursuits, there is ever-increasing need for understanding the viewpoints and desires of restless factions in the flux of change. Perhaps not the least of the misunderstandings relates directly to members of Congress and their role in our government. One of the wisest of all constitutional mandates, that providing for a separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial, requires that this government of ours be run by the executive branch. Congress does not and may not operate the government. Congress makes laws. It monitors, it investigates, but it cannot administer.

This constitutional limitation on the legislative role frustrates many Members who disagree sharply with occasional administrative policies. It also results in a great deal of popular misunderstanding on the part of the people who, when they see things going wrong, tend to place the blame on Congress.

The system is sound but public understanding is often lacking.

In this light there is need for understanding of the nature and meaning of the American pavilion at Expo '67 in relation to the Soviet pavilion. America as it is, for better or for worse, appears to have been the administratively designated theme. Whether the "worse" ought to have been omitted or the "better" augmented was not the responsibility of the Congress.

Speaking of the urgency of the need to understand why people act as they do, it seems to me that we ought to try to better understand the motivations of the psychedelic groups, popularly referred to as the "hippies." They say they seek to make love not war, to throw flowers not rocks. Why? What do they seek?

Much of this reflects shades of Viet Nam. It's a bad place to fight. Many feel it's useless. We have suffered great losses. Their lives and those of their friends have been interrupted and lost. The prospect for many is death, for others maiming, and the domino theory is far away to them. Death or the prospect of death, however, is near, and they seek escape.

Most of this is essentially harmless, if offensive, provided the escapism of the long hair, unconventional garb and nonconformism does not lead to narcotic use and addiction.

At the other end of the spectrum young men in pilot training on board a carrier off our Pacific coast don't understand either. Yet what they do not understand is not sought in escapism but in the realistic questioning of fighting a war by the Marquis of Queensbury rules while the enemy has none.

There is a need to understand the draft card burners and the conscientious objectors so there can be light instead of heat. But when it comes to burning the flag of this country we have a total act of nihilism that is the precursor of anarchy itself. This is unforgivable on any theory.

The frustrations expressed by these and other acts is also found in the problems of large sections of urban populations whose protests have led to violence again and again in recent months. It is here that a larger effort on our part is needed, not merely in the restrictiveness of additional criminal laws but in meeting the reasonable needs of those families and children who simply cannot be relocated and who should have their fair share of God's green acre and sunlight.

It is unfortunate that so many billions are required for the war effort in Vietnam that priorities in spending must be established: yet they must. There is not enough money available to the Congress to provide for what needs to be done on the domestic scene in America and fund the war in Viet Nam too. All will be lost if the national currency is wildly inflated by continued reckless overspending.

In the meantime, there is something each citizen can do to help. He and she can and must be an ambassador of good will each to the other. With a smile and an act of graciousness now and then will come a greater measure of good will than all the bureaucratic handouts can buy. This is not being soft. It is being a good American.

A more difficult group to understand are those who deliberately abuse our precious freedom of speech by inciting to crime. The first amendment to the U.S. Constitution says merely that Congress shall make no law . . . abridging freedom of speech. Court decisions have extended this to mean that advocacy of criminal conduct may not be prohibited if it does not incite to the commission of an overt act of crime. A new definition is sorely needed here to restrict that element of speech that is demonstrably connected with violence and anarchy. *Freedom of speech does not and cannot mean the right to destroy freedom itself.* Neither should the Constitution be so foolishly interpreted as to constitute the first amendment a license to destroy our society. No one wants that, not even the American Civil Liberties Union.

A large segment of our people need to better understand the concern of our military leaders with the problem of missile defense. Faced with Red China's growing nuclear capability and missile technology there is a real need to provide some measure of defensive posture for prime civilian and military targets in continental United States.

Military leaders and members of the Appropriations Committees of the Congress alike, concerned about cost in lives and dollars, are acutely aware that we must not become involved in a war with Red China while the Soviet Union sits it out on the sidelines. A part of the great debate over war policy and defense strategy includes the profoundly important question of where we get the best dollar's worth for each dollar, in missile defense or in increased offensive retaliatory deterrent? Probably the final answer will be a compromise between both, and this answer is of vast importance to the young people of this Nation.

All of which reminds me of the definition of the modern Paul Revere—"an astronaut in a space capsule speeding to the moon at 20,000 miles an hour to tell whomever is there that it won't be long before they'll be eligible for foreign aid."

The challenge to youth has never been greater than in this space age of computerized machine control over men. The late President Kennedy once said to a commencement class at Harvard:

"I ask only that you offer to the political arena, and to the critical problems of our society which are decided therein, the benefit of the talents which society has helped to develop in you. I ask you to decide, as Goethe put it, whether you will be an anvil—or a hammer."

And Senator Tower addressing the students and faculty of Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge on April 19, 1967, said:

"The next century's American government will be able—if you let it—to direct citizens' lives from birth to death, monitoring them all the way.

"It will have the knowledge to control when or whether babies are born and how long the elderly are permitted to survive. It will be able to hear and see everything said or done. It will be able to teach both facts and attitudes from central teaching machines programmed by the government. It will be able to dispense drugs to make dissenters docile. It will possess the ability to subject its citizens to mass hypnosis at its omniscient whim. It will be able to refashion the human being in size, shape and conscience. It can feed or starve; create or destroy.

"All this government will do, if you let it.

"Everything will occur at the consent of the government—not the governed—unless man forsakes over-centralized government for renewed individual freedom and initiative.

"Nevertheless, I have no fear that such a doomsday future really is in store, because I see clear evidence that thoughtful Americans recognize the danger and already are moving to cope with it. I believe American government in the next century will continue to exist very much as we know it today—as a democracy of diversity which can and does solve those problems upon which men must act in concert.

"We'll meet this challenge."

As never before in the relatively brief history of the United States, there is a need for independence of church and home from all pervasive government control. Note that I do not say government assistance, for there is a proper role for Federal aid in many fields. But the dignity and independence of the individual his home and church must remain inviolate.

The role of this great National Conference in helping young and old alike to be better citizens cannot be overstressed. Citizenship without preparation is an empty thing. We cannot afford it.

Despite impatience and restlessness abroad in this land let us each and every one resolve to make progress through understanding others, first by adequately preparing ourselves and second by helping others to attain the goals of this conference. By understanding people, of all stripes and view, their problems and their needs, and then by developing programs that will provide them equal opportunity and the prospect of a better tomorrow, we will dissolve the frictions and dissipate the hatreds rampant at this time.

America is indeed a melting pot—a melting pot of good will.

Let us be on with the task of making our country a better place in which to live for all.

NEW YORK TIMES OPPOSES TAX HIKE; CALLS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SPENDING CUTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, yesterday's New York Times in a lead editorial set forth in detail just why the administration should lead the way toward spending cuts instead of the tax hike they are proposing. Members of Congress should be impressed by this remarkable editorial for three obvious reasons.

First, the New York Times has a well-earned reputation as a great and responsible newspaper which gives the most careful consideration to its editorial positions.

Second, the New York Times has repeatedly demonstrated its profound concern with the vital responsibilities of our Federal Government for meeting its social obligations, and for moving the country ahead in the war on poverty and rebuilding our cities. The Times recognizes that these take money and yet it also recognizes that there are lower priority Federal programs that can and under present circumstances should be cut back.

Finally, the New York Times editorial spells out in detail precisely how spending can be cut without turning our backs on our social responsibilities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday's lead editorial from the New York Times, entitled "Prescription for the Economy," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESCRIPTION FOR THE ECONOMY

Through techniques reminiscent of the scare tactics used by President Kennedy in 1963 when he predicted a recession if taxes were not cut, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler and other Administration spokesmen are now warning that the economy will become an inflationary "shambles" if taxes are not raised.

The economy is already in trouble, largely because the Administration failed to recognize early enough that inflation was in the making. But it is irresponsible to do nothing but fan the flames of inflationary psychology until Congress is panicked into passing a tax surcharge that may or may not restrain demand.

The Republicans have correctly pointed out that there is an alternative way of dealing with the problem. It is to cut spending. Unfortunately, the Republicans and the Southern Democrats are thinking mainly in terms of hacking away at the barely adequate outlays for social welfare. Such a course is as unacceptable as a cut in the military budget for Vietnam.

But at a time when the nation is in combat abroad and in battle against poverty at home, there is no excuse for the kind of wasteful spending that is associated with business-as-usual. Instead of trying to pressure Congress into overhasty action on taxes and possibly dangerous decisions on spending, the President should be taking the lead in proposing a new prescription for reductions in nonessential spending that will bring the budget—and the economy—under control.

There are many areas where reductions and postponements can be made. Federal spending on highway programs, which is running at over $4 billion, should be a prime target for a cutback. So is the space program, with its expenditures of over $5 billion, and so is the plan for subsidizing construction of a supersonic passenger plane. Quite apart from their potential inflationary impact, the technological problems involved in space and in the SST's sonic boom argue for delay.

Prudent fiscal policy also calls for stringent economizing on all other Government subsidy programs, direct and indirect. Subsidies for shipping and for agriculture are, to an important extent, extravagances now that the deficit is out of control. Farmers who cannot make ends meet will require Federal assistance, but there is no reason to hand out more than $3 billion a year, mainly for the benefit of large-scale producers. And consumers should not be made to pay up to $3 billion in higher oil prices because of the oil import quotas granted petroleum producers.

Most of these programs, products of lobbying and logrolling, are deeply entrenched in Congress. It is unrealistic to expect that Congress will take the initiative in trimming them. But Mr. Johnson should not be afflicted by a similar inertia. Since so many of these nonessentials actively undermine the economic prosperity he seeks, President Johnson could help calm the unsettled financial markets and temper inflationary psychology by proposing reductions.

A cutback in nonessential spending would prevent a crippling of vital antipoverty spending and perhaps even allow for an increase. And it would give the Administration an opportunity to press for additional stabilizing insurance, whether in the form of excise-tax increases, which would have a direct impact on demand, or in the form of discretionary authority to raise or lower tax rates.

Mr. Fowler can accuse Congress of playing "political Russian roulette" by failing to approve the tax increase. But the Administration is also running grave risks with the stability of the economy and the state of the nation's political health by failing to press hard for reductions in nonessential spending. The end result threatens to be a paralyzing stalemate with either no effective action at all, or a disastrous economic—and political—overkill that would entail both increases in taxes and reductions in programs essential to the public welfare.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CONDOMINIUM PLAN

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, Dr. Martin Luther King has recently announced a major new plan for assisting Chicago slumdwellers to become owners of their own condominium apartments. Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Lawndale Union To End Slums, and the Kate Maremount Foundation of Chicago, have cooperated to design this imaginative program.

It is interesting to note that the sponsors of this project chose to take advantage of section 312 rehabilitation loans for financing purposes. This was done because there is no existing Federal program to help lower income families become owners of condominium apartments, and also because the section 312 program can be processed in only one-third of the time that it takes FHA to handle a similar mortgage in Chicago.

The purpose of the National Home Ownership Foundation Act is to help groups such as these obtain private sector financing for this kind of project, and to provide them with technical assistance they need to design not only the housing components of the program, but also the vitally important social and educational components. This legislation is much needed to make possible the multiplication of projects such as this one in Chicago.

I commend all who are involved in making this important and pioneering project possible; in particular, Dr. King; Mr. Meredith Gilbert, of the Lawndale Union To End Slums; and Mr. Victor DeGrazia, the very able executive director of the Maremont Foundation. I ask unanimous consent that an article describing this project, published in the Chicago Sun-Times, of August 30, and the text of a telegram I sent to Mr. Gilbert, lending my support to it, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 30, 1967]

King, Others Plan Poor Peoples Condominiums

(By Richard T. Cooper)

A new program for helping Chicago ghetto dwellers become homeowners by using federal funds to turn slum buildings into "poor people's condominiums" was announced Tuesday by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other project leaders.

(In a condominium, each resident owns his own apartment and shares equally with other residents ownership of hallways and other common areas.)

The plan calls for rehabilitation of 11 deteriorating buildings containing 156 dwelling units, which will be sold to tenants for payments averaging less than $100 a month.

The Kate Maremont Foundation will handle acquisition and renovation of the buildings, according to its executive vice president, Victor de Grazia. Management of the project is to be supervised by the Lawndale Union to End Slums and a body representing the tenants, under the plan.

TWENTY-YEAR MORTGAGES

The estimated $1,200,000 cost of the conversions will be covered by a federal loan under Section 312 of the National Housing Act of 1964, according to de Grazia. Tenants, possibly including welfare recipients, will be able to pay off mortgages on their apartments over a 20-year period, he said.

Dr. King and de Grazia said they had obtained general federal approval for the project at a recent meeting in Washington with Sec. Robert C. Weaver of the Housing and Urban Development Department.

The Chicago Department of Urban Renewal must approve details of the project, but de Grazia said preliminary talks have been held and "we don't see any roadblocks." The city department will be the federal government's respresentative in the program.

RESEMBLES PERCY PLAN

The plan resembles Sen. Charles H. Percy's program for financing home ownership by the poor through a national housing foundation. The principal difference is that under Percy's system construction would be financed with government-back bonds sold by a nonprofit, private organization, while the King group will obtain capital directly from the federal government.

In a recent telegram to Meredith Gilbert, project co-ordinator for the Lawndale Union, Percy praised the plan and said it was just the kind of project his national housing foundation was intended to support, according to de Grazia.

(The program announced Tuesday also closely resembles a larger plan begun by Dr. King and reported exclusively in The Sun-Times last December. Under that proposal $4,000,000 in federal funds were to have been obtained to buy groups of run-down buildings which would be turned over to tenant co-operatives.)

UPKEEP FEES

The sponsoring organizations plan to conduct programs of tenant education, and monthly assessments will be made for repairs and maintenance, Dr. King said. A model apartment at 3808 W. Fillmore, was opened to newsmen for comparison with an unrenovated apartment in the same building.

Dr. King declared the project "offers ghetto dwellers new hope, a stake in his community, a share in his future, a chance to move up in society."

Dr. King rejected newsmen's suggestions that tenants might fail to take care of the renovated buildings.

"I believe absolutely in the wisdom of home ownership," he said, predicting that tenants would maintain the converted units because ownership will give them "a greater sense of involvement."

De Grazia said renovation of each apartment will cost about $7,500, which will be covered entirely by tenants' mortgage payments. The units will not be sold on contract, he said.

DOWN-PAYMENT HELP

For tenants who cannot make down payments, the Maremont Foundation will put up the necessary funds, Dr. King said, emphasizing that some purchasers probably will be public aid recipients.

"For years," de Grazia noted, "public funds have been subsidizing slumlords, paying their taxes, building up their equities." Under the new plan, "occupants will have the pride and dignity that goes with owning property and the title to prove it," he said.

The Maremont Foundation has on option to buy the 11 West Side buildings from Atlas Real Estate Co., according to de Grazia. Purchase and renovation will begin as soon as the city gives the green light, he said.

De Grazia noted that the 11 buildings have been the target of rent strikes and demonstrations by the Lawndale Union to End Slums during the past year.

He said some units might be ready within six months.

Dr. King, de Grazia, and Gilbert Meredith, project coordinator for the Lawndale Union stood answering reporters' questions in a vacant area behind the crumbling building at 3808 W. Fillmore while crowds of giggling children hung from porch railings or edged into the half-circle around the speakers, oblivious to the frantic cries of television film crews.

During the press conference, Dr. King turned aside a number of pointed questions about his activities in the antiwar movement and their impact on civil rights progress.

He denied that his political activties would prejudice the condominum project's chances for getting federal funds and expressed hope that it might set an example to be followed elsewhere in Chicago and other cities.

August 25, 1967.

Mr. Meredith Gilbert,
Lawndale Union To End Slums,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gilbert: The condominium project sponsored on the West Side by the Lawndale Union to End Slums, in cooperation with Dr. Martin Luther King and the Kate Maremont Foundation, has my enthusiastic support, and I wish to commend all those whose energy and vision have made this important project possible.

I have long considered it vitally important that the opportunities for the ownership of a decent home or apartment be expanded for those millions of families who today have no choice but to rent—often from a slum landlord or in public housing. That is the purpose of the NHOFA, which I have sponsored in the Senate.

Your project, conceived and initiated by a neighborhood group dedicated to the improvement of that neighborhood, will contribute directly to the expansion of those opportunities. It is precisely the kind of undertaking the NHOFA would be created to assist. I hope it will prove outstandingly successful and worthy of widespread emulation in other parts of Chicago and in other cities across the country.

If there is any way in which I can be of assistance to you in proceeding to implement this creative plan, I hope you will feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Percy,
U.S. Senator.

THE VITAL ROLE OF INDIVIDUALISM

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, a very enlightened speech concerning the virtues of individualism and its role in American progress was recently brought to my attention. The address was delivered by the then chairman of the board of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Robert P. Gerholz, of Flint, Mich., to a luncheon sponsored last June by the Religious Heritage of America, Inc. I believe Mr. Gerholz' remarks will be of interest to my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that his address, entitled "Goals for America," be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Goals for America

Distinguished guests, members of the religious heritage of America, Inc.; I deeply appreciate the honor and privilege of joining with you in a richly deserved tribute to our distinguished award winners. I wish it were possible to find the words to express our respect, esteem and great admiration we have for the ambassadors of our religious heritage.

Their Christian leadership, dedication, devotion and commitment have made a permanent imprint on the minds and hearts of their fellow Americans.

It is extremely gratifying to me personally to have this opportunity to share with you some of my observations, experiences, optimism, spadework and above all, my faith in my fellowman—in our country's brilliant future.

In my 45 years of banking, real estate, and community development, unfortunately, I have discovered no magic formulas for success to share with you.

I have found no substitute for money . . . for credit . . . or hard work . . . for enthusiasm . . . for creativity . . . or innovation . . . or cooperation—no substitute for decision-making, determination, dedication, or daring action—for bold planning, for visionary thinking that is supported by the will and desire to make it practical reality . . .

Across the Nation today, we are witnessing a tremendous transformation in our institutions . . . in our people . . . in our society . . . in our living patterns. This transformation is the result of exploding technologies, which are all familiar to us and, as a result, need no restating. We need only to look at our own communities for testimony to this fact. And, why has this been so?

Because of the free Nation in which we live—a Nation of free people . . . free minds and most importantly, freedom of choice and freedom of worship. And we know—you and I know—that whatever the mind of free man visualizes, the genius of modern science can turn into a functioning reality.

The future goals belong to the men and women of great vision, to the adventurers, but they must have the courage and the initiative to reach out and grasp it and then the willingness and determination to hold it.

The greatest resource of any nation is the resourcefulness of its people. Unleashing this great resource is the secret strength of our free society.

For centuries, mankind has been engaged in three great struggles:

First, the struggle for political freedom and against tyranny;

Second, the struggle for economic freedom and against poverty;

Third, the struggle for intellectual freedom and against ignorance.

And in the last quarter century, the struggle we call the cold war. And in order to understand it and who is going to win it (because it's a war of ideas) we must remember that the cold war is a war for men's minds, to convince them that either the Communist world or the free world can give them the kind of a world they want in the last third of this century and the beginning of the next.

History is the story of man's efforts to gain these four freedoms which liberate humanity from tyranny, poverty, ignorance and

Communism. In vast areas of the world the plodding generations have followed a slow and painful road in the attainment of these freedoms.

There has never been any question in this nation of our determination to achieve these objectives.

The American people then began to make those significant contributions to economic and intellectual progress that were to become the envy of the world. They were determined to eliminate poverty so that every man could have economic freedom. They were determined to eliminate ignorance so that every man could have intellectual freedom. Liberty and economic opportunity were no mere catch phrases.

These early Americans crossed the Nation from East to West by the tens of thousands. They made highways of rivers, fertile fields of prairies, cities of hamlets. They cleared forests, built roads and staked out a new Nation which reached from ocean to ocean. They began the process of binding the East and West with stagecoaches and railroads.

They developed the iron plow and the reaper to take their rich toll from the prairies. Processes for hardening rubber were discovered. The sewing machine and the telegraph were invented. Foundations were laid for vast new industries. The economic pendulum was swinging high.

There were booms and depressions, the tragedy of civil war, crop failures, and crises that shook the Nation to its foundations.

This is a time to remember who we are—our great heritage, of the people we are and must continue to be. The people who fathered Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Lincoln and Lee. The people who first united a continent with roads and railroads, produced the steamship, the telephone, the airplane and the greatest economy the world has ever known.

Yes, let us remember who we are. For a little pride is the wellspring of courage. Let us endure unflinchingly whatever sacrifices we are called upon to make to defend our free institutions from the night of communism, which is bent on undermining our faith in ourselves and our God.

Speaking of man and of what should be included in the declaration of independence, John Adams said, "let us hear the dignity of his nature and the noble rank he holds among the works of God." This was the impressive philosophy of the declaration. It held high the dignity of the individual man. With the adoption of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights defining the right of free men to govern themselves, the struggle for political freedom for the individual had made a monumental gain.

Although the environment in which we live, mental as well as physical, is in the process of changing more swiftly—and perhaps more threateningly—than ever before in mankind's history, there is little change in the realities of a man's inner life. The lessons man learns through human experience change little, if at all.

The concept of freedom, which the genius of the Athenians of 2500 years ago brought to the Western World, and which is so integral a part of our American outlook, still challenges the thoughts and consciences and actions of the men who are our leaders in every walk of life.

The inner man, that part of him which we recognize as his character, is developed in the frontrunners of business management and of politics—indeed, in every man whose ambition urges him to leadership—by intelligent and consciously directed discipline. It is all very well for Albert Einstein to remark, "How do I work? I grope."

But in order for that scientific genius to reach the point where he could recognize the truths his gropings uncovered, he must have trained his inner man stubbornly and searchingly.

Preoccupied, as we are today, with new discoveries, new products, new inventions of things, it is well to remember that long before man created objects that would do something—autos, guns, television sets, space craft—he created objects that were something—beautiful or meaningful or magical.

To reach the full maturity of the inner man, not only is intelligent training and self-discipline a necessity, but the aspiring leader must also assiduously cultivate the speculative spirit and the accommodation to uncertainty that are indispensable to any endeavor.

"All truth is safe," wrote Max Muller, "and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, for motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal or both."

This is a hard lesson, as uncompromising as a policeman's club, but it is a lesson that the true leader must make an undeviating element of his character.

That wise man with the improbable name, Panayotis Pipinelis, has written, "If you are honest, it is the best thing in the world. It goes above intelligence." Certainly this is one character trait that exemplifies more than any other the inherent dignity of man. Just as the quality of being adaptable makes human beings the dominant race on this planet—for no other organism is so independent of environment—a man's rigid adherence to honesty toward himself and toward his fellow men distinguishes the one person to whom other men may look, safely and confidently, for guidance.

In the hurly-burly of today, as almost unimaginable changes compress and intensify difficulties men have always been called upon to face, a sure and solid base is an explicit requirement if a man is to be able to realize even a part of Archimedes' boast, "Give me where to stand and I will move the earth."

AN OBSERVATION ABOUT OUR AMERICAN YOUTH

A very successful U.S. advertising agency got out a booklet called "a study of young people."

In the preface, the booklet forecasts "a new image of youth" and says, "whether we like it or not, the new image is coming and on the whole we should welcome it.

In the communications field we must learn to recognize it and work with it . . . (because) . . . the advertiser who adjusts first to the new trend will be the one who builds the strongest rapport with the youth of tomorrow.

The government official, the civic leader, the manufacturer of consumer goods, the advertising man, the teacher, the preacher, the rabbi who does not recognize the change soon enough to act on it may be left behind.

For a long time, we have become accustomed to a "delinquency image" of the younger generation. But today a great transition is in progress.

We are witnessing an almost complete reversal in many very basic values. The change is definitely coming. In some respects, it is already here.

We predict that soon one of the most powerful images in the world will be the image of the nobility of youth.

The components of the new image are nobility, virtue and romanticism. Tomorrow's image is a picture of high purpose—the higher the better.

This prediction is confirmed on many sides. Each day, it seems, I pick up a new bit of confirmation.

Today, my fellow Americans, we face a new world, a world of change, the thrust into outer-space with the satellites, spheres and missiles, marks a beginning of another epoch in the long story of mankind.

We are reaching out for a new boundless frontier.

We think and speak in strange terms—of harnessing the cosmic energy, of making winds and tides work for us.

Such dreams and fantasies as to make life the most exciting and challenging of all times.

The time is coming when studying the ocean, mining and farming its resources, living and working beneath its 139 million square miles will become commonplace—as familiar as all these activities are now on the one-third of the earth's surface which is not under water.

Oceans will become, along with aerospace, the two great new markets of the 21st century.

Exploration of the ocean depths has already revealed a world quite as strange and exciting as that of outer space—a world of mountain ranges taller than the Himalayas, of trenches deeper than the Grand Canyon, of undersea currents that may be swifter than our fastest streams, and of continental shelves that are continually growing and changing the balance of the continents on which we live.

The new frontiers in science and technology will continue to provide miraculous developments in electronics, computer control of manufacturing plants, supersonic commercial travel, communications, space travel . . . more Telestars and early Birds which will make possible instantaneous worldwide communications—provide a ringside seat to all important world events. What will business (your business or any business) be like only 18 years from now? Startling as it may seem, says Thomas J. Watson, Jr., of IBM, in a recent speech, it is a plain fact that even without a radical acceleration in our productivity by 1985 we shall have a choice which past ages would never have believed possible. We could, Mr. Watson says, choose to:

Work only 22 hours a week.

Or 27 weeks a year.

Or let everybody retire at the age of 38 and still produce enough to give every American the standard of living he has today.

Whether one accepts this extreme formulation or not, it doesn't take much longheadedness to understand that all of this will present the dedicated American with a number of serious challenges and opportunities if he is to fulfill the key role of leadership and citizenship which rightly belongs to him.

In sketching for you briefly what I believe to be some of the major factors in the coming decade which will affect the way you live and transact your business, I believe the first thing is to understand the speed at which a change is occurring. To get a focus on this, take your mind back just 27 years ago.

Yes, "looking backward" to 1940—twenty-seven years ago, we were what was then called "the mature society." Over-production was the curse of the industrial revolution and mass unemployment its permanent cost. From the vantage point of an economy which has just reached the awesome total of some $764 billion of gross national product, this is the moment to recall that 27 years ago our GNP was $91 billion.

Nine-and-a-half million were unemployed, retail sales were ½ what they are today, personal savings less than 10 per cent of today's total.

Twenty-seven years ago, the League of Nations had died. The phony war was on. Neville Chamberlain's peace in our time had collapsed and Winston Churchill was still a hardly heard voice in the wings.

The United States was invulnerable behind the shield of two vast oceans. The neutrality act governed our international behavior. Joseph Stalin and Adolph Hitler had divided and swallowed Poland.

Twenty-seven years ago, 309,000 Americans traveled overseas. More than two million last year.

Twenty-seven years ago, three odd-ball scientists were trying by letter to interest President Roosevelt in the notion that the power of the atom could be harnessed. Japan was our biggest overseas purchaser of scrap metal.

Twenty-seven years ago, no one could have guessed that we were then on the edge of the most extraordinary scientific, technological and social change the world had ever witnessed, that our economy would triple while our population would grow by half.

Twenty-seven years ago, television was an oddity unveiled at a New York World's Fair in Flushing Meadows, whose theme was world peace. The calculator was the most advanced instrument used for data processing. Magnetic tape was a gleam in someone's eye. The DC-3 at 196 miles per hour was the workhorse of aviation and in something under twenty hours and three stops you could make it from New York to San Francisco.

Twenty-seven years ago, only one out of eight employed Americans had been in high school. Today, 4 out of 5 of high school age attend high school.

Twenty-seven years ago, only 4% of college age were in college. Today 35%.

Fifty-six million students—28% of population are enrolled in our schools and colleges—a number greater than entire population of France or Italy.

27 years ago, the rocket was a spectacular piece of fireworks invented by the Chinese. And the world population before the most devastating war in all of human history was 50 per cent less than it is today.

Do any of us really emotionally comprehend what is involved in the fact that a vehicle launched by us has made its way to Mars? That man has walked in space or that our fierce ingenuity can package into one transportable device more explosive power than all the bombs that were dropped on Germany throughout the entire length of World War II?

Yet, unless we develop some deeper sense of what has happened just in the period of our own adult years, how can we even begin to comprehend how much change will occur during the next generation?

The rate of change is so accelerated that you must conservatively expect that much more will happen that is totally new within the next ten years that did during the last 27. It requires tremendous leaps of imagination to grasp the implications of the choices before us.

I feel confident that given a world at peace—which currently does not exist, as both Viet Nam and Near East remind us—and people willing to work for the things they need and want—more will happen in the next 15 years:

More change will occur.
More growth will take place.
More inventions added.
More distance covered.
More needs satisfied.

More goods made, shipped, sold, junked in the next 15 years than in the entire civilization called Rome, or that period of several hundred of Europe's most creative years called the Renaissance.

More in your next 15 years than in all of America's hundred which followed the Revolution and included in the Civil War.

We're just on the threshold of a great knowledge explosion—90% of all scientists in the history of the world are alive and working today.

People are reaching out for knowledge . . . impressions . . . understanding. The typist in the office pool no longer is satisfied to spend her vacations at the nearest resort. Instead, she is admiring the art of Florence or visiting the ancient shrines of Athens and Rome.

There are two times the number enrolled in our colleges and universities as 10 years ago. Adult education classrooms are jammed full across the Nation.

Everything in our lives—including time—seems to be accelerating now at a rate we can barely keep up.

The doubling of world knowledge, for example, once took many centuries to accomplish. Now scientists tell us, it takes only 10 years.

It has taken a million years to reach a world population of 3 billion. It will take only 33 years more to reach 6 billion.

Indeed, we are experiencing swift . . . incessant . . . fundamental change. We may never be able to catch up with the future. It is important, I believe, that we constantly keep in mind the rapidly changing world in which we live . . . and in which we will continue to live. It is even more important that we help shape and direct the winds of change that blow about us.

It is terribly important that we recognize that the jet age—new scientific age and space age are a reality.

As you move along the inspiring pathway of American history you quickly discover the reason for the greatness of this Nation. It is the genius of the individual. The genius of the competent businessman that combines labor, capital and raw materials to produce a vast outpouring of goods for the enrichment of the lives of the masses.

It is the genius of the workingman, whose labor, self discipline and thrift are vital to the creation and operation of modern industry. It is the genius of the great doctor that frees children from crippling disease.

It is the genius of the talented architect that creates magnificent buildings. It is the genius of the devoted teacher and preacher that inspires youth to greatness. It is the genius of the dedicated public servant that enables good government to survive.

Those who built this Nation to its present greatness believed in the invincibility of intelligence, economy and hard work.

Guided by providence they entered a wilderness with vision, industry, and courage. They took the forked stick and made a steel plow. They took the rude sickle and made a reaper. They took the wagon and made an engine, an automobile, an airplane, a tractor. They made an iron thread into an ocean cable, rough type into great color printing presses, and steel beams into soaring skyscrapers. They made forest trails into magnificent highways. They put the little red schoolhouse and the little white church on a thousand hills.

America is great because individual men have freedom and equality, because individual men have been given the incentive to create, to produce, and to save, because individual men have been rewarded for their labor with a generous share of the goods, they helped to produce. America has taken its place among the great civilizations of history because the cornerstone upon which the republic rests is the social, economic, and spiritual betterment of individual men.

Today, we live in a world of threatening insecurity and exciting promise. But there is genius enough in the individuals in this great Nation to create political, social, and economic policies that will give us in material well-being and social enrichment, a future that will exceed even the amazing progress of the past.

We are not in the bleak twilight of individualism, but in the brilliance of its morning.

We need to bring to the difficult problems of our time those heroic qualities of character, industry and self-discipline which have made our people strong and this nation great. We need contantly to reaffirm our deep faith in the dignity and worth of the individual man and of his creation by providence.

To men and women of great vision, dedication, courage and faith, I want to share this prayer—God give us men! A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands; men whom the lust of office does not kill; men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; men who posses opinion and a will; men who have honor; men who will not lie; men who can stand before a demogogue and damn his treacherous flatteries without blinking; tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog in public duty and in private thinking.—Josiah Gilberg Holland, 1819–1881.

My sincere personal appreciation to all of you—for the great honor, privilege and opportunity of sharing with you my faith in our country's brilliant future.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 548, S. 2388.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President—

> If New Haven is a model city, God help the cities of America—

Said Mayor Richard Lee, shortly after a civil disturbance broke out there in August.

Unfortunately, his remark may be prophetic.

The administration, despite all the passionate-sounding words, has failed to face up to the dimensions of the problems that beset our cities.

The President has spoken often—but his actions belie his words.

The Vice President at one point sounded a moving plea for a "Marshall plan" for slum areas.

Almost at the same time, the President urged upon the Congress an "all-out commitment" to prevent a "recurrence of the tragic events of this summer."

A few days later the Vice President explained that what he really had in mind was support limited to what the President requested in his budget message last January. Other than that, what he was really talking about was "a concept."

Reading the fine print of the President's statement, it turned out that all he too was seeking was a "commitment" to proposals approved and authorized for funds long before this summer. Some of the "urban aid programs" he specified have at best only an indirect bearing on urban problems. For example, included on his list was the food stamp program from which nine of the 20 largest cities secure no funds at all.

It was reminiscent of the President's budget message and his message on the war against poverty which lumped together a curious assortment of measures to arrive at the sum of $25.6 billion "for programs directly aiding the poor." A look at the President's package revealed he had included such items as social security, railroad retirement benefits, and, most audacious of all, the cost of highway construction—the very highways that in too many cases have closed off the ghettos from the rest of our cities.

There are times in the life of every man, and every nation, that demand the courage of conviction. I find it difficult to discern either courage or conviction in the actions of the administration to date. The banner is raised, at least intermittently, but there is no drive behind it. The administration marches backward.

Nowhere is the vacuum of leadership more apparent than in the transparent attempts to make the Congress the scapegoat for past and present failings.

Shortly after his call for "all-out commitment," the President made it explicitly clear that he was asking for no new programs, much less any additional funds to meet the urban crisis. Given the variety of programs already underway, new kinds of programs may not be necessay. But who will contend that any one of the existing programs or all of them together, can, given their present scale, make more than a dent in the situations they are designed to correct?

Nevertheless, despite the woeful inadequacy of present efforts, the President has challenged the Congress, not to respond to the urgencies of the need, but only to make any cuts it can over and beyond those he has made already. For the administration itself has made cuts, cuts far below the amounts Congress previously authorized in many programs that are essential elements in any long-range program to prevent an increasing division of our people into those who have and those who have not.

The administration knows the need is massive. When on a recent telecast an interviewer questioned the worth of the antipoverty program if it could not prevent the disorder in New Haven, Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was quick to point out that though the New Haven effort was indeed a "model" one, it was not "massive."

He was at some pains to explain that the war on poverty he heads cannot begin to meet the needs of the cities. He cited the very small fraction—well under 20 percent in most cases—of applications from cities that it is possible to fund on his agency's budget. Yet he defended the administration's failure to ask for funds more nearly commensurate with the task as a matter of being "realistic."

"Realistic" in what sense? Admittedly not in terms of the need involved. Certainly not in terms of prevention of the troubles that have plagued our cities. Perhaps in terms of immediate advantage in political jockeying, but clearly not in terms of what forthright and insistent leadership demands.

The mayors of our cities know this. Over a year ago Mayor John V. Lindsay testified at a congressional hearing that it would take $50 billion to make New York City a thoroughly livable place. At the same hearings, Mayor James B. Cavanaugh of Detroit, then president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and also president of the National League of Cities, estimated $53 billion a year for the next 10 years would be required to accomplish the rebirth of our cities.

Moreover, Mr. Shriver and other executive officials consistently ignore the commitments that Congress has, in some cases on its own initiative, already made in authorizing legislation.

The field of education affords an interesting illustration of the administration's approach.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides assistance to schools for programs for educationally disadvantaged children. According to educational authorities, the programs launched under this title are bringing striking improvements in educational services to the children of the poor. Surely, quality of educational opportunity is basic to U.S. success in any war against poverty. But what has been the administration attitude toward the title I program?

It may come as a surprise to those who are persuaded that only congressional niggardliness holds back faster progress but the fact is the administration has never acted to implement fully the actions of Congress in this area. Quite the contrary, the administration keeps scaling down its effort, as Senator MORSE, the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, has so ably pointed out.

In a statement to the Subcommittee on Labor-HEW Appropriations, Senator MORSE noted that in 1966 Congress acted to increase assistance under title I. Nonetheless, despite a specific increase in the authorization of 125 million above the administration's budget proposal, the administration requested no increase in the appropriation for fiscal 1967. Moreover, because of "budget decisions which had previously ignored program requirements," to use Senator MORSE's words, the administration further aggravated the fiscal 1967 situation by not permitting transfer within a State of funds allotted but unused by a school district.

And the story is the same for fiscal 1968. There is congressional authorization for a program of $2.4 billion, but the administration has asked only $1.2 billion, or one-half that amount.

The result, as Senator MORSE summed it up:

> Thus, it is proposed that the program be financed for next year at 50 per cent of the authorized amount. In other words, it is proposed that we slide back from 70 per cent programs in 1967 to 50 per cent programs in 1968 at a time when we should be expanding our effort. The number of eligible children in the formula in fiscal year 1968 will rise from 6 million to 8 million with the result that the amount available per child will decrease again to a sum close to $150 per child. Thus, in the three years the program will have been in operation the average amount available on a per capita basis for each educationally disadvantaged child in the formula will have gone steadily down from $210, to $170, to $150, despite nominal increases in total appropriations.
>
> It is now well established that educationally deprived children require resources far in excess of those needed for the average, middle-class child. In recognition of this principle, the authorizing legislation was based on a principle of increasing the financial resources available to educationally deprived children. This principle is being discarded at the very time that we are beginning to see positive signs of success in our treatment of the needs of educationally deprived children.

While title I is a glaring example of the talk one way, act another, approach of the administration, it is by no means the only one. At this point I list some of the programs having a direct bearing on the problems of our cities, showing the authorization approved by Congress, and the far lower amount requested by the President.

For supplementary educational centers and services, Congress authorized $515 million, but the President asked only $240 million. For higher educational facilities, including community colleges—in which I have had a very direct interest since my suggestion of that program—Congress authorized $728 million, but the President asked only $390 million.

For strengthening State departments of education, Congress authorized $50 million, but the President asked only $29.7 million.

For education of handicapped children, Congress authorized $154.5 million, but the President asked only $15 million, less than one-tenth of the authorized amount.

For contribution to student loan funds, Congress authorized $225 million, but the President asked only $190 million.

For HUD grants for neighborhood facilities, Congress authorized $121 million, but the President asked only $42 million.

For urban planning grants, Congress authorized $83.8 million, but the President asked only $50 million.

For grants for basic water and sewer facilities, Congress authorized $400 million, but the President asked only $165 million.

For community development training programs, Congress authorized $30 million, but the President asked only $5 million.

Is it "unrealistic" to expect that the President will ask for at least what Congress has already authorized? Is it "unrealistic" to hope that the President, as the leader, the one and only President of all the people, as he has so often pointed out—and correctly—will forgo, at least temporarily, the temptation to use Congress as the justification for surrender before the issue is even joined? Is it "unrealistic" to expect the Commander in Chief to realize that this war, no less than the war for freedom in South Vietnam, cannot be won "on the cheap?"

I do not think this war at home is lost. But it becomes vastly more difficult to win in the absence of leadership whose determination matches its words, whose sense of national purpose is equal to its sensitivity to political opportunity, whose commitment goes deeper than devotion to slogans.

I am not the only one in the Senate who stands ready to help the President to help the Nation to maintain progress toward the great goals that were charted by our forefathers. There are many—in and out of Congress—who are eager to work in that cause.

The newly formed urban coalition is evidence of a common concern that goes deeper than the ordinary groupings of party, or economic interest, or social association. As the coalition stated:

> We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. . . . The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education and the other needs of the cities.

The coalition is right. The American people and Congress will have to take the leadership since the President has failed to do so.

I have been happy to join with Senators CLARK and JAVITS in sponsoring the Emergency Employment Act. The basic proposal was first recommended by the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty in 1964. Since then three Presidential commissions have supported the idea. Yet the administration inexplicably opposes it.

I hope the Senate will approve its passage. It is only a modest step but it is a key step in marshaling the resources of this Nation to deal effectively with the mounting urban crisis.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator from Alaska without losing my right to the floor. The Senator desires to speak briefly on the military construction bill which we will be voting on at 3 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, we are about to vote on the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1968 to authorize the expenditure of $2,251,225,000.

In addition, approval is granted for an increase in prior years in authority of $29,963,000, making a total authorization of $2,181,188,000.

While this is the largest military construction bill in years, I intend to support it.

I want to make clear that I have voted consistently against military appropriations which were obviously designed to carry on and escalate the illegal, immoral, and utterly unjustifiable war in Vietnam.

While the military construction bill contains some authorizations for work in Southeast Asia, the greater part of the authorizations deal with domestic establishments. In other words, they are for defense.

I am wholly for the defense of the United States. The tragedy is that when we went overseas and began to carry on offensive warfare in Southeast Asia, we were violating principles, traditions, and precedents which are without justification.

Thus, to the extent that this is a defense measure, I am happy to support it.

I definitely feel that the American people are not, many of them, fully aware that we are waging offensive war in Southeast Asia and that, contrary to the official version, we are not the victims of aggression but are the aggressors there.

It is for that reason I have consistently voted against every action to increase, perpetuate, and extend our activities in Southeast Asia where we have no business being.

This bill, however, is an entirely different matter which provides largely for defense establishments at home, and they, of course, I support.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] has an amendment which he would like to propose, I believe, before the vote on the military construction bill. I believe that he will be available, reasonably promptly. As there are a few matters which I should like to discuss for the RECORD, which I had no opportunity to finish on Friday afternoon last, I shall now proceed with an explanation of the bill.

Mr. President, at the conclusion of my talk on Friday afternoon. I had outlined the work which the committee had done in preparing for floor action, and had drawn the conclusion that the committee believed it was necessary to maintain the OEO intact with a number of legislative improvements in its administration and in the authority given to it. I had also discussed at some length the next problem of coordination, which very much disturbed the committee and with respect to which we have made a number of legislative recommendations dealing with coordination at the Federal, State, and local levels.

Today, I should like to begin with a summary of the quite impressive accomplishments of the poverty program to date, before discussing somewhat more briefly the particular titles of the bill which are before the Senate for approval.

The war on poverty has chalked up many impressive accomplishments. Among these are, first, 1.3 million children participating in the Headstart program received educational, medical, and nutritional benefits from that program. I should point out that the Headstart program is divided into two major categories; namely, the summer program and the all-year-around program.

From an administrative point of view, these subdivisions present different but very real difficulties.

For the summer program, it has been possible in most, if not all instances, to obtain room to conduct the program in the schools of the public and private educational systems across the country because they are not, generally speaking, conducting school programs in the summer months. It has been much more difficult to obtain both space and teachers for the year-round Headstart programs. Accordingly, there have been many more youngsters in the summer Headstart programs than in the all-year-round programs. This is almost inevitable but it does result in the children—usually at the age of 3 or 4, sometimes at the age of 5—getting far less out of the program during the summer months than they could if they were in Headstart during the whole year.

On the other hand, they are apt to get teachers better skilled, because teachers in the schools are available for employment in Headstart, in many instances, in the summer months.

The Headstart program, it should be pointed out, is far from being primarily an educational program. The work of parent orientation and parent participation is very important, indeed. So are the regular physical examinations, including dental examinations, for children who in far too many instances have never seen a doctor, either for their parents or for themselves.

The public health aspects of the Headstart program are very important, indeed. There has been a tendency among some of the Headstart children to slide back after they get into the public school system. For this reason, in this legislation we are proposing to legitimatize a program called Followthrough, which the OEO has been promoting around the country, in order to keep Headstart children up to the standards which they have achieved as a result of the work done for them in the Headstart program in the years before they went to school.

When we went into Mississippi, for example—as elsewhere in the country—we found that the medical and nutritional benefits of the Headstart program were most important. These, of course, are not primarily educational. There are far too many undernourished, malnourished, and hungry children in the United States today. The Headstart program has identified many of them and has made it possible for both public and private charities to provide the funds necessary to assure that these children obtain a healthy and adequate diet.

I shall not go into the statistical details at the moment, but the medical side of the Headstart program requires emphasis because so many of these children from underprivileged, poverty-stricken families have had not only no public health instruction, but their parents also have not had the benefit of any medical examinations or any medical advice as to how to rear them as healthy kids.

So I say that having 1.3 million children participating in Headstart and receiving these educational, medical, and nutritional benefits is an achievement. I believe we should all be very proud of it, and I commend the Office of Economic Opportunity and everybody who worked with it, including the parents of these children, all over the country for having lifted the sights of both parents and children, so that the youngsters can go on in the educational system of the country with some assurance that they will be able to benefit from it, and not constantly fall behind, as has been the case with so many underprivileged children from poverty families before the Headstart program was initiated.

The second achievement of the war on poverty has been the Job Corps centers. Nearly 70,000 men and women have graduated from the Job Corps centers all the way across the country. They are, generally speaking, of three kinds.

There are the urban residential centers.

There are the conservation centers, generally speaking, are located in our national forests or national parks, or the State forests or national parks. Very much of the work done is in supplementing the always inadequate appropriations made by both the State and Federal Governments to the upkeep and maintenance of these great conservation areas.

There are a few Job Corps demonstration centers, and the members of the committee visited a number of these centers. I myself went to the women's center in Albuquerque, N. Mex., and found that while it had been criticized, and perhaps criticized for some reason, for inefficient administration and generally disciplinary conditions which left much to be desired, by the time I got down there in the spring of this year I was satisfied that all those defects had been remedied. I did not take the say-so of the faculty which was in charge of the project or even of the representative of the Bell-Packard Co., the well-known industrial concern from the former Packard Automobile Co. and the Bell Aircraft Co., who are operating a women's center on a contract basis. This is only one example of how private enterprise has been involved in the program. Bell-Packard was making a legitimate profit in operating the center. I am glad they were. It was not exorbitant. This is not charity work. It was an experienced business contractor moving into an area in which it had a certain amount of experience by reason of its aircraft, automobiles, and other businesses beforehand.

Of these 70,000 men and women who graduated from Job Corps centers—they go in no earlier than age 16 and come out no later than age 21—70 percent have moved directly from graduation into jobs, many of them taking jobs for the first time in their lives. That 70 percent does not include young women—and there were many women in the Job Corps; 23 percent of the Job Corps enrollees are women—who married and went away to raise families of their own and did not join the labor force. So the 70 percent figure is extremely conservative.

A number in the 70 percent went into military service. A number could not have gotten into the military service before they went into the Job Corps because they had neither the physical nor the mental capability to be accepted by one of the Armed Forces.

So despite the criticism that comes with respect to the Job Corps—some of which comes from the minority members of the committee—I am sure the Job Corps experience will stand the test today and has been a good experience on the whole.

I should perhaps stress again that nobody on the committee, least of all I, is of the view that the Job Corps or any other agency here is perfect.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that immediately following the vote on the military construction authorization bill, which is to take place, by special order, at 3 o'clock p.m., today, the amendment (No. 324) which the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] is about to offer to the pending bill be voted upon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK subsequently said: Mr. President, pursuant to the unanimous-consent order entered not too many moments ago, it was agreed that we would vote on the pending amendment immediately after the vote on the military construction bill.

Thereafter, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] pointed out to me that this particular amendment would nullify a provision which the committee had agreed to accept at the urging of the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], who is out of town and who will not be back until tomorrow. We hope to persuade him not to oppose the amendment but we do not know.

I have conferred with the Senator from Washington, the Senator from Vermont, and the majority leader. They have said that it would be agreeable to them if the vote could be postponed until tomorrow when the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] will return.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the agreement to vote on the Jackson amendment this afternoon may be rescinded.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, reserving the right to object——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. I renew my unanimous-consent request.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unanimous-consent request is approved.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote on the Jackson amendment may take place not later than 2:30 tomorrow afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I did not hear the unanimous-consent request.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, so as not to embarrass the Senator from Colorado or myself I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I renew my unanimous-consent request to vote on the Jackson amendment not later than 2:30 tomorrow afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield on that point?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I presume that, if there is any delay in the return of the Senator from California, we could have an extension of time.

Mr. CLARK. Yes, indeed; but I am assured by the Republican staff that he will be here. Yes, of course.

The agreement was later reduced to writing, as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That on Tuesday, September 26, 1967, at not later than 2:30 o'clock p.m., the Senate shall proceed to vote on Amendment No. 324 (offered by Mr. JACKSON and others) to the bill S. 2388, to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 324

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 324, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Washington [Mr. JACK-

SON] proposes an amendment, for himself and others, as follows:

> On page 9, after line 8, amend section 106 by the addition of a new subsection to read as follows:
>
> "(e) Assignments of male enrollees shall be made so that, at any one time, at least 40 per centum of those enrollees are assigned to conservation centers, as described in section 107, or to other centers or projects where their work activity is primarily directed to the conservation, development, or management of public natural resources or recreational areas and is performed under the direction of personnel of agencies regularly responsible for those functions."

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I offered this amendment to S. 2388 because I feel that the committee's recommendation to drop the requirement that 40 percent of the male Job Corps enrollees be assigned in conservation centers would place in jeopardy a most promising facet of the Nation's war on poverty. President Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 required that at any one time no less than 40 percent of the Job Corps enrollees be assigned to conservation centers. This was later changed to be 40 percent of the male enrollees. The administration's proposal this year, introduced as S. 1545, would have continued this requirement.

The committee's report states:

> The requirement that at least 40 percent of all male enrollees be assigned to conservation centers is dropped in order to permit more flexibility in establishing demonstration centers.

An analysis of the situation reveals that the reasoning behind this statement is not correct. S. 2388 would limit total Job Corps enrollment to 45,000 during fiscal year 1968, and at least 25 percent of these must be women. Forty percent of the remaining 33,750 spaces would be only 13,500. Based on the June 30 enrollment of more than 16,000 in conservation centers, this 13,500 minimum requirement would leave 2,500 spaces at conservation centers which could be used to provide the flexibility in establishing demonstration centers.

In addition, I believe that the "flexibility" which the committee seeks already exists. At this time there are two conservation centers which are also "demonstration centers": Liberty Park in New Jersey, demonstrating accelerated training in general education development—high school equivalency—and Jacobs Creek in Tennessee, demonstrating heavy equipment operation training.

The question may arise just how good a job are these conservation centers doing? There are 90 of them scattered across our land, involving 38 States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Six of them are State-related centers, three actually being operated by the States of California, Hawaii, and North Dakota. Three are run by Puerto Rico. The Forest Service has 47 conservation centers, and the remainder are administered by resource agencies in the Department of the Interior.

Conservation centers are small in size, ranging from 112 to 256 corpsmen per center. Urban Job Corps centers are much larger, ranging from 700 to 3,000 corpsmen per center. The conservation centers provide for a much closer, personal working relationship between staff and corpsmen. Many staff members actually reside at these rural centers. The presence of the staff families develops an atmosphere with fewer stresses, enabling corpsmen to devote their energies to learning. The indepth knowledge of each corpsman's problems, and the espirit de corps developed in this environment, have been highly effective in obtaining needed social adjustment. In addition to removing disadvantaged youth from undesirable neighborhood environments and influences, conservation centers have also proved to to be a good opportunity for the rural disadvantaged youth who cannot compete well in an urban environment.

The cost of operating the conservation centers is 20 percent less per corpsman man-year than it is in the larger urban centers. The savings accrued by having the 16,000 young men assigned to conservation centers rather than urban centers exceeds $22 million per year, not even including the value of conservation work they perform and other benefits the corpsmen receive. As I will show later, these benefits accruing to the public lands are considerable.

As the Senate may know, the least educated youth entering Job Corps have been assigned to conservation centers. Most corpsmen who cannot read at the seventh-grade level have been assigned to conservation centers. Thirty-five percent of them cannot read or write and 40 percent are under fourth-grade level. The educational gains, 1.5 times better than public school norm in math and 1.25 times better in reading, are slightly less than at men's urban centers. When you consider, however, the selective assignment giving conservation centers 35 percent who cannot read or write, compared to 8 percent in urban centers, the achievements are remarkable.

Vocational training in conservation centers takes place primarily in an on-the-job situation. Work skills training directed toward conservation work has provided recreation and other resource improvements valued at $32 million through July of this year. This includes construction of roads and trails, public recreation areas, range and wildlife improvements, bridges and buildings, and roadside beautification.

The widespread geographical location of conservation centers and the tools, equipment, and transportation available at these centers present a capability to assist communities in times of disaster, such as flood, fire, tornado, and so forth. A few examples of these include:

Corpsmen contributed more than 10,000 man-days of firefighting during the recent forest fire disaster in the Pacific Northwest. Corpsmen were actively working in every phase of firefighting from operating pumpers to constructing firelines. Corpsmen worked an average of 12 hours a day and lived in fire camps near the blazes. All the corpsmen had received training at their centers in fire behavior and firefighting. Officials reported:

> The Job Corpsmen have turned in top notch performance in fighting these fires. They are enthusiastic, well trained, and hard working young men.

Six hundred and eighty corpsmen man-days contributed to cleanup of tornado aftermath in Topeka, Kans., June 1966.

Eight hundred and ten corpsmen man-days contributed to emergency assistance to individual families, temporary repair to houses, and general cleanup after tornado in Belmond, Iowa, August 1966.

Other instances include flood prevention and cleanup, search and rescue operation for lost persons and accident victims, emergency repair and reconstruction of burned homes, churches, and farms.

With few exceptions, conservation centers have been remarkably free of adverse community reaction. High standards of corpsmen discipline have been maintained since the start of the program. Most conservation centers have one or more community relations councils as a means of maintaining communication with adjacent communities. Council members have repeatedly stepped in to assist in overcoming any community difficulties which have arisen.

As an example of good community relations is the case in September of 1966 at the Blue Jay Corps Conservation Center in Forest County, Pa. There were 77 young men who were not eligible to receive Government-paid trips home for Christmas as their annual leave. Local citizens launched a drive in the area to raise $2,100 needed to pay for these trips. I believe this reflects the good will created by these young men.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, in conclusion, I express my hope that the manager of the bill, the Senator from Pennsylvania, and the Senate will accept this amendment this afternoon. I believe that the flexibility for demonstration centers which is desired can exist without jeopardizing one of the real significant achievements of the program, the conservation center portion of the Job Corps.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a letter from Dr. Spencer M. Smith, secretary of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, a telegram from the New York State Conservation Council, and an editorial entitled "Job Corps Conservation" from the Washington Post of September 24, all urging that the requirement for 40 percent of the male enrollees to conservation centers be retained.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITIZENS COMMITTEE
ON NATURAL RESOURCES,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967.

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We respectfully ask and urge your support for the Jackson amendment to S. 2388, the Economic Opportunity amendments of 1967, which is to be considered shortly on the floor of the Senate.

Senator Jackson, on behalf of himself and Senators Morse, Burdick, Nelson and Proxmire, submitted his amendment to the Senate on September 19 (CR 13179), which would restore the requirement that 40% of the male enrollees of the Job Corps at any one time be assigned to Conservation Centers. This requirement is contained in the present statute and no recommendation by the administration has been made to exclude it. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare deleted this requirement in their Report #548, page 15, item 4.

To eliminate the 40% requirement would reduce the effectiveness of the Conservation Centers. The natural resources agencies of the government cannot properly train and utilize the services of the enrollees without some assurance of continuance, since much of the capital employed is not mobile, and the programs by their very nature must be long range.

Ironically, at a time when many of the original problems have been overcome, the continuance of the program is jeopardized. The critics have dramatized many of the difficulties but few of the accomplishments. Also, standards of success are urged that bear little relationship to, or understanding of, the dimensions of the task.

Conservationists have observed closely the programs of the Conservation Centers and feel that the performance has been effective and worthy of continued support.

Sincerely,

SPENCER M. SMITH, Jr.,
Secretary.

NEW YORK STATE CONSERVATION COUNCIL,
Glens Falls, N.Y., September 22, 1967.

Senator JACKSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Urgently request your support of Senator Jackson's amendments 324 to S. 2388 which would restore provision that 40 percent of males hired would be assigned to conservation centers. Copy to Robert Kennedy and Javits.

EDMUND MORETTE,
President.
MARTIN TURNER,
STEPHEN GEHRING,
SHERRY ALLEN,
LORRELL COOK,
W. J. JENKINS,
Vice Presidents.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 24, 1967]

JOB CORPS CONSERVATION

Senator Jackson has made an impressive plea for continuation of the Job Corps Conservation Centers without curtailment. The Job Corps is about equally divided between Conservation Centers and Urban Centers, with some units in each category serving as Demonstration Centers. In reporting the so-called Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, however, the Labor and Public Welfare Committee eliminated the clause under which 40 per cent of the male Job Corps enrollees must be assigned to the conservation centers. Fearing that this would lead to a change of policy, Senator Jackson is seeking to restore the requirement.

We think there is good reason to keep the 83 rural centers in operation. They have taken the least educated youths entering the Job Corps. About 35 per cent of them cannot read or write. The literacy of another 40 per cent is below the fourth grade level. Yet these youngsters have made remarkable educational gains and have been taught manual skills in the construction of trails, campgrounds, buildings, wildlife projects and so forth. Their removal from undesirable urban environments to small conservation centers with helpful staffs is said to have given many youths new motivation.

Senator Jackson and others have described these centers as the most successful part of the Job Corps program. Yet they operate with a lower-than-average cost per enrollee, and the work they perform has obvious value. In many instances the youths in the Conservation Centers have assisted local communities afflicted by fires, tornadoes and floods, and their work in fighting forest fires has been outstanding.

Congress should not take a chance on being misunderstood by eliminating the clause which has kept an even balance between urban and rural Job Corps centers.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, with respect to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington, the present provision in the pending bill which removes the 40-percent requirement for Job Corps enrollment in a conservation center was placed in the bill because the committee wanted to assure that under the limited budget for the Job Corps, which is only $295 million, OEO might close the few unsuccessful centers and use that money to demonstrate the use of nonresidential facilities and other new techniques in dealing with poor youths eligible for the Job Corps.

The second reason for the committee provision was that in this connection we adopted the two amendments proposed by the minority to demonstrate the use of residential vocational skill centers and special centers dealing with youths with serious behavioral problems.

Of course, I feel committed to the position which I reluctantly agreed to at the request of the minority. I cannot accept the proposed amendment on behalf of the committee. Personally, I am extremely sympathetic to it, and I know that conservation interests in my own State and elsewhere would be much pleased if it were passed.

Two members of the minority are in the Chamber, one of whom at least—the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY]—was active in arranging for the changes in the present act which the Senator from Washington would presently like to see removed. I would be very happy, indeed, having stated why the changes were made, to leave to my friends on the other side of the aisle the defense of the committee position, which personally I do not favor. But in the interest of harmony, and to report a bill with which people would agree, I felt that I could go along with this matter.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. JACKSON. I merely wish to say that I appreciate fully the problem that the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania had in committee in connection with reporting the bill.

I believe that the 40-percent provision has worked very well—it has worked well for the Job Corps men. It is the finest thing in the world for young men who come off the streets of the big cities to have a chance to work outdoors. I believe the record of performance in connection with their assignment at these conservation centers has been outstanding as compared with some of those assigned to the urban centers.

I should also like to observe that they have made a substantial contribution. As I indicated in my opening remarks, some $32 million equivalent has been added to our conservation programs.

So, on all counts—for the benefit of the young men involved and from the standpoint of the conservation of our own natural resources as well as the human resources involved—it seems to me that this is a pretty sound policy to pursue.

I would hate to see a deviation from the practice and the custom that has been established by statute over the past several years.

Mr. President, before yielding, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] be added as a cosponsor of the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PELL in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I am happy to yield the floor to my friend, the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I intend to speak very briefly.

I believe that some of us on the minority side of the aisle were persuaded that in many of the Job Corps camps—particularly the conservation camps—the young men came and left without receiving any training or acquiring any skill whatever. I believe the head of the Job Corps indicated that that was true in many instances.

However, I should like to point out that since Mr. Kelly, the present Director of the Job Corps, assumed responsibility, I have been persuaded that there will be a great change in the operations of these camps. Indeed, great change has already taken place. Many staff members have been replaced by more competent individuals. The legislation has been tightened up in committee as a result of some amendments which I offered, and which I will discuss in greater detail later this afternoon.

Because of these factors, I shall not oppose the amendment which has been offered by the distinguished Senator from Washington.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I commend the able Senator from Vermont. I am sorry that I did not have an opportunity to speak to him prior to the introduction of the amendment. I know that he has taken a keen interest in the entire Job Corps effort, and I thank him for the attitude and the stand he has taken with respect to the pending amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I, too, thank my friend, the distinguished Senator from Vermont, for the position he has just taken with respect to the pending amendment.

Frankly, I was embarrassed because I felt I was bound by the committee action—I certainly could not accept it. On the other hand, I must admit that the points made by the Senator from Washington are most persuasive to me.

It is a pleasure to find that the ranking minority member of the committee takes the same view of this matter. We will have no problem with respect to whether I should be out there fighting hard against the pending amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. I am not sure that I can speak for the minority, but expressing a personal view, I have no objection to the pending amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Before the Jackson amendment was brought before the Senate, I had covered two of the principal accomplishments of the war on poverty dealing with the Headstart program and the Peace Corps program. A third accomplishment is that at least 300,000 poor people have received advice and services provided by the legal services program. This, I believe, is the first time in American history when the organized legal profession has come to the assistance of the poor people of America without any real compensation.

The American Bar Association and the bar associations in the various States and cities are to be highly commended for the way in which they have picked up the legal services program and, under their initiative, caused it to be spread all over the United States.

Mr. President, I point out that the legal services rendered are entirely civil legal services. Voluntary defenders and public defenders in practically all the criminal courts in the country now represent without fee the indigent poor accused of crime.

These 300,000 poor people who have been helped by the legal services program are infinitely better off knowing their rights than they could have been before.

The kinds of cases handled deal with such varied areas of law as landlord-tenant relationships, small loan contracts, and various other types of installment credit, areas where the poor very rarely read the fine print of a contract before they sign, often for unconscionable payments to landlords who all too frequently do not keep the premises in proper repair, or at disproportionate interest rates, which we hope will be helped by the truth-in-lending law which has been passed by the Senate.

Mr. President, since I understand that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] wishes to address some questions respecting the military construction bill to the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], the Senator in charge of that bill, and since the Senate will be voting on it at 3 o'clock p.m., I yield the floor.

Mr. President, not to be wearisome, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mr. DOMINICK. There has been a considerable amount of discussion in recent weeks concerning Mr. Stokely Carmichael, and whether he has violated any laws of the Federal Government. There has been some question as to whether quotations which have been attributed to him are, in fact, accurate.

Recently, through the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, I received a copy of a weekly review entitled "Gramma," which is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. It contains some messages, reportedly verbatim, from Mr. Carmichael addressed to the United States and to the people of the world. The review contains direct quotations from him.

Some of them seem to me to be of sufficient import that we should study them carefully to see whether it would be advisable for the Justice Department to take some action. Let me quote one of them, where he is talking about the black liberation movement:

> We will not fight for Vietnam, Santo Domingo, or anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the United States.

He goes on to say:

> While we are fighting to destroy imperialism from the inside, we know you will be fighting from the outside.

This was said in a press conference in Cuba in talking to Castroites there.

It strikes me, Mr. President, that this is of sufficient import to warrant Senators, and those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to study Carmichael's statements.

I have been in touch with the Department of Justice on this question of whether he has violated any Federal laws, and have been told that in their opinion, he has not.

However, I am frank to say that I do not understand their comments. I have reviewed the various pertinent titles in the United States Code and it seems to me that Carmichael has violated at least two or three sections of the Code and that some action should be initiated against him if, as, and when he comes back within our jurisdiction.

I do not believe that we can continue to have people going around the world, or in this country, advocating violence as a method of curing either real or fancied grievances.

To the extent that we continue to permit this to happen, we shall continue to have trouble within our cities and in the country generally.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the complete weekly review of the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, which is dated August 13, 1967, reporting on the press conference held by Stokely Carmichael in Cuba.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO MESSAGES FROM CARMICHAEL

Negro leader Stokely Carmichael of the United States spoke over Radio Havana Cuba addressing words of greeting to the courageous veteran guerrilla leader, Ernesto Che Guevara, wherever he may be. He also sent a message of salutation to "our comrades in the armed struggle against imperialism and racism." The two messages follow:

TO MY FELLOW COMRADE CHE

HAVANA, CUBA,
August 1, 1967.

To my fellow comrade Che:

The African-Americans inside the United States have a great deal of admiration for you. We eagerly await your writings in order to read them, digest them and plan our tactics based on them.

We want you to know, wherever you are, that you are an inspiration not only to the Blacks inside the U.S. by to the Liberation Struggle around the world. Please keep on fighting because by your fighting you are inspiring us. Do not despair, my comrade.

We will win.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States since there is no other way to obtain our homes, our lands, and our rights. For 400 years, the Negro population of the U.S. has tried to coexist, but to no avail. We have no other alternative but to take up arms in order to attain liberation."

The speaker was Stokely Carmichael, honorary delegate to the First Conference of OLAS, a man who at the moment personifies the best of the Negro people's struggle in the United States.

The U.S. Negro leader gave an interesting press conference in which he answered with extraordinary forthrightness, questions put by both local reporters and foreign correspondents.

Many of his answers, given with the simplicity, honesty and firmness of a genuine revolutionary leader, drew rounds of applause.

Accompanying Carmichael were his comrades of the SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) Julius Lester and George Ware.

Carmichael continued: "For 400 years, the Negro population in our country has lived under the most brutal Fascism ever known. What is now happening from New York to California and from Canada to Mexico is nothing but the response of rebellion to the constant aggressions we have been subjected to." He gave a brief explanation of what Black Power consists of:

"It is the union of the Negro population to fight for liberation by any means whatsoever. It is the union of the Negro population of the U.S. with the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world. It is the struggle against capitalism and imperialism that oppress us from within and oppress you from without."

Questioned as to the possible coordination of the Negro struggle with that of the other peoples, he replied:

"Our very presence here indicates that." Stokely once again picked up the Negro theme:

"When we created our organization, conditions were different in the struggle of the Negro people of the United States. That is why we called it "non-violent." It was the year 1960 and Dr. Martin Luther King was the leading figure of the movement. He was a pacifist and for that reason we had to adopt that name. But we did not believe in non-violence at the time, and we organized our people telling them that we would have to use our weapons.

"In 1965, following the Watts revolt, non-violence ceased to be a point worthy of discussion. It became necessary to adopt other means of struggle."

VIETMAN: OUR BROTHER IN STRUGGLE

The Negro leader spoke of the war being waged by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people.

"We don't want to serve as cannon fodder for an imperialist cause. That is why we refuse to do compulsory military service. We will not take up arms against the Vietnamese people because they have not done anything against us and because they are not to blame for the exploitation that we have been subjected to. The people of Viet Nam are our brothers in struggle because we are both fighting against the structure oppressing us."

Explaining that 40% of the U.S. frontline troops are Negroes, he added: "The United States has taught us to kill. Upon their return, our brothers will put this teaching to good use in the cities."

This statement brought forth a murmur of excitement among national and foreign newspapermen, attending the conference. A series of questions followed which Carmichael answered with great spirit.

"In the U.S. the soldiers will have to fight a hand to hand combat with us and we'll wipe them out.

"The insurrection in Detroit is hurting the U.S. economically.

"Even if the authorities make it difficult for us to obtain arms for the struggle, we can always get them.

"The joint struggle of the peoples against the U.S. will destroy the monster.

"Only recently, Martin Luther King supported the sending of troops in Detroit. This shows that in fact he is against the Negroes.

"The only condition under which we would accept having a separate territory in the U.S. would be the existence of nuclear bombs and rockets in both territories.

"Present Negro rebellions are the result of an awareness we have built up in the population.

"We are not afraid because we know we will win."

"OUR LOVE FOR HUMANITY WILL MAKE US CONTINUE THE FIGHT"

HAVANA, CUBA,
August 1, 1967.

"We, of the Black Liberation Movement of the U.S., want all of you to know wherever you are, that we are your comrades. We are no longer going to allow our enemies to make us fight against you as they have done in the past. We will not fight in Viet Nam, Santo Domingo or anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the U.S.

"While we are fighting to destroy Imperialism from the inside, we know you will be fighting from the outside. We are dedicated with our very lives to destroy imperialism as you have proven time and time again that you have dedicated your lives. We look forward to the day, which will be very soon, when we will overthrow decadent governments and will start the real Revolution of building a society based on humanity rather than a society based on exploitation. Our struggle is the same. Our love for humanity will make us continue the fight."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (S.N.C.C.)

SOME WHITES MAY TAKE UP ARMS—THE CASE OF NEGRO MILLIONAIRES

A reporter asked if U.S. whites who call themselves liberals have joined the present Negro movement. Both Carmichael and Julius Lester answered the question:

"Whites who call themselves liberals are enemies of the Negro struggle since, in general, they are rich people who derive benefits from the system. And we are fighting to destroy that system that oppresses us and brings about tragedy. It is impossible for us to come together. Theirs is an intellectual commitment, not a commitment of conscience, stemming from suffering.

Carmichael spoke rapidly, in sharp tones, "When they see a white policeman kill a Negro they talk to the policeman and ask him why he did it. When I see a policeman kill a Negro I want to kill the policeman."

He went on, barely waiting for the interpreter to translate his words:

"The only whites who may join us are those who are ready to take up arms and fight the regime. Idle talk has been going on for 400 years."

A foreign correspondent asked: "What do the Negro millionaires think of all this?"

Carmichael laughed and replied, "What could they think? After all, they are millionaires. There are 67 Negro millionaires who want to continue making profits. They, too, must be destroyed."

LINCOLN, A WHITE RACIST IN THE BEST SENSE OF THE WORD

Stokely and Ware had this to say about Abraham Lincoln:

"He was a white racist in the best sense of the word. He had absolutely no idea of the true integration of the Negro. He made a war solely for economic reasons. His story has been only a myth to tell young people."

Speaking of Negro leader Malcolm X, murdered in the U.S. in 1965, he said:

"He is our spiritual leader. He was one of the most legitimate Negro leaders in the U.S. He spoke for the black masses, to the black masses, and he struggled for the black masses. He was assassinated by Cuban exiles. In an effort to confuse our people the CIA accused the Black Muslims of being behind the crime."

FIDEL: SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

Carmichael said that for a long time our Prime Minister, Major Fidel Castro, has been a source of inspiration for him and for other Negroes because of his constant struggle for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

Speaking of his visit to Cuba he said that he had been greatly impressed by the country and its people.

"This is the first time I have seen an army" he said "and was not afraid of it."

Julius Lester and George Ware gave their opinions on our country and the Cuban Revolution, saying that they understood why the U.S. Government will not let U.S. citizens visit Cuba, explaining that the U.S. Government is afraid U.S. citizens will learn the truth about the Revolution and its leaders.

Lester said: "I have been a free man twice. On my visit to Viet Nam and now."

Ware said that U.S. Negroes know instinctively that the Cuban Revolution is good. He added that he and his comrades had come here to learn.

CUBA: THE NEAREST SYSTEM

Asked if he was a sympathizer of communism, Carmichael replied that there were several forms of communism, although the Cuban system was the nearest one.

Speaking of Robert McCloskey's threats with regards his trip to Cuba, Carmichael said emphatically, "He is neither my mother nor my father. We'll go wherever we want to go and we'll see whoever we want to see. To hell with McCloskey!"

CHE: A MAN OF WORD AND DEED

In answer to a question about Major Che Guevara, Carmichael answered quickly, "Che is important to us because he is a man of word and deed. He is militant. He is the opposite of what we call armchair revolutionaries. We never heard a man speak so clearly."

On Che's call to create two, three, many Viet Nams:

"When the U.S. have 50 Viet Nams inside and 50 outside this will mean the death of imperialism."

BLACK REVENGE IF WE ARE MURDERED

With regard to retaliatory measures that might be taken against him for his brave and determined position of struggle, the Honorary Delegate to OLAS replied that the CIA is an international organization and has a "license" to kill.

"We'll pay them back in kind," he added.

The three men stressed the fact that Israel is a U.S. stronghold in the Middle East and that the Arabs have the right to recover the lands that belong to them. This was the most extensive press conference ever given by Stokely Carmichael.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes it business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity, if I may, to indulge in a colloquy with the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], who is in charge of S. 1241, the bill on military construction.

As I understand the parliamentary situation, we have already had the third reading of the bill, and we are ready for a vote at 3 o'clock. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. There is an order to that effect.

Mr. DOMINICK. This, therefore, eliminates the possibility of any Senator offering any amendments on the floor at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Except by unanimous consent.

Mr. DOMINICK. I would appreciate. therefore, if I could just engage in a colloquy for the RECORD in connection with some of the authorizations for projects in Colorado which are of pretty substantial importance to us.

First, I want to express my gratitude to the distinguished Senator from Washington and to the committee for the $32.740 million which has been allocated for construction purposes for very worthwhile projects in the State of Colorado. These include $15.152 million for Fort Carson, where one of our major divisions is now training; $855,000 for the Pueblo Army Depot; $5.479 million for Lowry Air Force Base, where we have really quite a series of extraordinary training programs going on—electronics, intelligence, and all kinds of programs which are of substantial importance to our defense posture; $1.201 million for NORAD headquarters, which is the North American Air Defense Command; $5.405 million for Peterson Field, Colorado Springs; and $4.648 million for further work on the U.S. Air Force Academy.

All of these are of very substantial importance.

I would say to my friend from Washington that one of the items which was deleted was $9.555 million for hospital additions and alterations at Fitzsimons Army Hospital.

Fitzsimons, as I am sure the distinguished Senator from Washington knows, is now doing intensive work of all kinds on injury cases on returnees from Vietnam. I personally have seen some of the suffering these men have been through and their tremendous morale, and they have excellent morale. I would say the additions and alterations would be of substantial assistance in the overall administration of the hospital if we can get that done.

I wonder if the Senator could give me an explanation of the reasons for the deletion of this amount.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, first of all, I should like to say to my distinguished colleague from Colorado that there was no purpose on the part of the committee—our findings were unanimous—to single out Fitzsimons General Hospital in any way. It is an important hospital facility. We felt this was a project, however, which could be postponed and deferred. The project is No. 6 on the Army's priority list.

I may mention that we denied the request for Beaumont General Hospital. I think the request there was for $17.5 million. It had a higher priority than Fitzsimons General Hospital.

In addition, we cut the funds for at least three complete replacement hospitals, and we denied some seven hospital additions, in which category Fitzsimons would be.

So I should like to say to my colleague that it was done entirely on a priority basis. It was not done to single out Fitzsimons, because it is an important facility. As I have said, we denied funds for Beaumont, which had an even higher priority, according to the Army.

Mr. DOMINICK. Who sets up the priorities, if the Senator can tell me? Is it done by the Secretary of the Army?

Mr. JACKSON. I believe it is done on the recommendation, in this case, of the Surgeon General; but it was an Army priority, and not a Department of Defense priority. I believe the recommendation emanates from the Surgeon General, who in turn reports it to the Secretary of the Army. In that way it is submitted to the committee.

Mr. DOMINICK. But the committee has not taken the position that this project has been denied? It is just of the belief that it ought to be postponed for a year, and that its present facilities are adequate to take care of its workload?

Mr. JACKSON. In our judgment, this is a project which could be deferred. This is the position we took on hospitals similarly situated. This is a relatively modern hospital. As I recall, it is 25 years old. It is true that there are some temporary buildings there now being used for certain functions. It is in this connection that the request was made. We think they can continue to do those functions there for the time being.

As a matter of fact, we might look at Beaumont General Hospital. They are using some 51 temporary buildings at the present time.

Mr. DOMINICK. Do I understand that the committee would be more or less warmly disposed, as soon as we get our economics in balance a little more, to try to take action on starting construction, perhaps, next year?

Mr. JACKSON. Of coure, that will depend in large part on what kind of list they come up with from the Department. I certainly feel that we should move on the problems as soon as conditions warrant. I am not referring now just to Fitzsimons, but as to all of them, to what extent we will continue to need the additional hospital facilities depends in part, at least, on what happens in Vietnam.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the distinguished Senator. I think this provides a record of the reasons behind the committee action.

I would hope, however, that since this amount is in the House bill, that if evidence can be presented to the conference committee indicating the need for the hospital improvements, in particular, that this amount would be considered very carefully by the committee before we arrive at an ultimate decision on the overall amounts.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I just wish to say for the record that the junior Senator from Colorado was a very able member of the full Senate Armed Services Committee, and has been most diligent, not only on this item, but the other items in connection with the pending measure, as a result of which I point out that over $32 million has been allocated to the State of Colorado, which I believe is the third or fourth highest amount for any State in the Union. That comes about, in large part, through the representations he has made to me previously about the State of Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. I certainly appreciate this. Turning to the amount that has been deleted from the Peterson Field project in Colorado Springs, it is my understanding that of the total amount deleted, which was about $911,000, $374,000 of those requested funds were for a BOQ for permanently assigned bachelor officers, one unit having been built already from the 1966 authorization. The second unit will not fully meet the present needs; and a third unit probably would not be full. The amount deleted, $374,000, however, covered only the second unit, which undoubtedly would be full, and which they feel very strongly they need for their permanently assigned bachelor officers.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me state, however, what they stated in their justification. I read directly from the justifications:

> These officers' quarters are required to accommodate the presently assigned strength. The number of officers spaces is insufficient to handle the existing complement of visiting officers.

We had taken the position, in the committee, that where funds had been requested which involved the need to meet visiting officers requirements, at least those partciular BOQs could be deferred or postponed.

I say to my good friend from Colorado that the action we took with reference to this project is uniform with that taken in connection with similar requests on BOQs affecting other base installations in the services.

Mr. DOMINICK. If we can show that the situation here is different, that it does not develop from a visiting officer situation, but affects permanently assigned personnel, I would hope that the distinguished chairman, with his usual ability, would agree, and seek to restore this amount, it having been included in the House bill originally.

Mr. JACKSON. We will certainly look at it impartially again in the conference, and if appropriate showing can be made to establish that this item is needed, and there is no other way to meet the need, we will certainly give it a favorable review.

Mr. DOMINICK. I sincerely appreciate that.

There are one or two other items here. One is for a one-story classroom unit needed to train Cheyenne Mountain personnel, some $78,000. I know they need this item, but I know also that the committee has had it under consideration, and feels it could be deferred, that there are other methods of making classroom units available for training these personnel; so I shall not press the chairman on that item very hard at all.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator, I think, is familiar with the fact that this is a policy question.

Mr. DOMINICK. I understand.

Mr. JACKSON. That relates to the desirability of the Air Force getting involved in this particular program of rehabilitation. It has been denied, I believe, twice before.

Mr. DOMINICK. I think what the chairman was referring to there was another item.

Mr. JACKSON. Oh, yes. I withdraw my previous remarks; that relates to another facility, which I think the Senator from Colorado fully understands.

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes. I might say I not only understand, but I fully agree with the committee on that.

I think the committee went over this matter pretty carefully, and decided there were units that could be made available for another year.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. As I recall, the $78,000 we denied was for an academic classroom to replace facilities now being used at a Naval Reserve center. We felt that this was a problem that could be deferred.

Mr. DOMINICK. We have a problem with the next item, which was an amount of $407,000 for purchasing three aircraft hangars plus two maintenance buildings at Peterson Field, one owned by Colorado Interstate Gas Co., and the others also privately owned.

What they are trying to do is to implement an approved program to be operated by the training command. The program is supposed to start on October 15, 1967, and the commanding officer of the squadron is already on the base.

The contract for maintenance of the 45 aircraft has been let to a company in Enid, Okla.—I hope they will do a good job; I know that they also had some bids from people in Colorado on this matter. While I am also happy to see Oklahoma prosper, I rather wish we had prospered some more in our own State.

But the commanding officer at Peterson Field has told me over the telephone that failure to go forward with this hangar purchase would really create problems for him.

If they are going to have the aircraft, and are going to have a training program—which has already been authorized—and if there is no hangar to store the airplanes when they are not in use, it can be very troublesome, particularly in our winter months.

As the Senator from Washington probably knows, our winter is such that we can fly practically all the year around in Colorado, but we do have sudden and serious storms come along, which, if all the planes have to be tied down outside on a ramp, can create quite a few problems.

Mr. JACKSON. As I understand, this involves moving all the Air Force facilities to the east side of the field, leaving the west side for civilian activities.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. The Air Force proposes to purchase five buildings located contiguous to the existing Air Force area, which will permit complete Air Force control of the east side of the field.

I will say to the Senator that I would be happy to check into this matter more specifically before the conferees meet.

Mr. DOMINICK. I would really appreciate it, because I know the Senator knows my interest in aviation, and I know his; and we both know it is pretty hard to operate a training program with 45 aircraft if you do not have any place to put them. I think this is one of our major problems.

Mr. JACKSON. We will definitely run that one down, and certainly, if this is an emergency matter, we will take appropriate action.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the distinguished Senator.

I think this record will be of substantial assistance in trying to explain the action of the committee in these various spots. As the Senator knows, any time you have anything deleted, it always causes telephone calls and some problems. I think the committee has, in large sum, acted very wisely in what they have done; but I do hope we can look at perhaps one or two of these things again during the conference.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I again say that the able and distinguished Senator from Colorado has been most diligent in connection with the project in his State. The best evidence of that is the large sum that is being appropriated.

We certainly tried to be as objective as we could. We felt that the committee had a responsibility to set up some priorities. We have managed to save a little more than 14 percent on the administration request. We feel that we did cut some of the fat, but that we left, hopefully, all the muscle in the structure of our military system.

I compliment the Senator from Colorado for his help and support. I assure him that when we go to conference, we will very carefully review these matters alluded to on the floor, with special reference to the situation at Peterson Field.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JACKSON. I yield.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I call attention to section 808 of the bill, on page 157, which reads as follows, and I think it might be well to have the actual wording of the section in the RECORD:

> SEC. 808. None of the funds authorized by this Act shall be expended for the construction of any waste treatment or waste disposal system at or in connection with any military installation until after the Secretary of Defense or his designee has consulted with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Department of the Interior and determined that the degree and type of waste disposal and treatment required in the area in which such military installation is located are consistent with applicable Federal or State water quality standards or other requirements and that the planned system will be coordinated in timing with a State, county, or municipal program which requires communities to take such related abatement measures as are necessary to achieve areawide water pollution cleanup.

I should like to ask simply for clarification of this language. The section seems to lay down two requirements. The first is that whatever is done in a military installation by way of waste treatment should be consistent with Federal or State water quality standards.

I think with respect to that point the language is clear, and I have no difficulty with it. I think it is a sensible requirement. However, the second requirement would appear to be this, that the planned system be coordinated in timing.

I should like to pose three hypothetical situations and ask the Senator what he thinks the application of this language to those situations might be.

First of all, let us take the hypothetical situation of a community which has completely defaulted upon its responsibility to do something about the water pollution problem within its jurisdiction.

With respect to that situation, I take it that this language would mean that the Federal Government ought not to go ahead with its pollution control measures until the community has indicated an interest in going ahead with its own.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is correct. I think this is a matter of equity between the Federal Government and the local communities involved.

Mr. MUSKIE. The second hypothetical situation which I would like to pose concerns a situation in which the community has not acted, but in which the Federal installation is the major polluter. In such a situation, a community may very well have failed to take action because of the lack of evidence that the major polluter, the Federal installation, intended to act.

It seems to me that in that situation, the Federal Government has a responsibility to lead. I would like to know what the impact of this language might be on such a situation.

Mr. JACKSON. I would say that where the Federal Government, through one of its instrumentalities, is responsible for a majority of the pollution in a given area, then certainly the Federal Government should move to expedite action on it without regard necessarily to the local situation, as far as the State or community is concerned. However, I would assume even in that situation that when the Federal Government moves, there should be an understanding with the local or State officials and with the Federal officials, so that some commitment would be obtained that they would at least move on it without delay, but the Federal Government need not move as a condition precedent. I think that is what concerns the Senator the most. This would occur in very few installations where the major contribution to pollution comes from a military installation.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the third hypothetical situation is one which creates the most difficulty for me because I think it is an actual situation in many cases. It concerns the situation in which a local community is ready to move forward with its waste treatment plans and the State also has concurred in that local initiative. However, the Federal Government has failed to make available the Federal matching funds which would be available under existing law.

May I make the situation more specific. Last year's water pollution bill increased the authorization for waste treatment plants to $450 million. For the current fiscal year, the House has approved appropriations for $200 million. The Senate committee has not yet acted. And, of course, the Senate has not yet acted.

It may very well be that Federal appropriations will be less than the total appropriations approved by Congress last year. It may very well be in many communities that the community initiative is frustrated by the failure of the Federal Government to provide money that was authorized last year.

In that situation, it seems to me that if this language in section 808 has the impact which it appears to have, the Federal Government may be in the position of saying no on two counts. The first is that the Congress has not appropriated the full amount authorized under last year's bill. The second is that the Congress is not willing to go ahead on cleaning up pollution from a Federal installation because the local government in the absence of full Federal support has not gone forward with its program.

I should appreciate the comment of the Senator on that kind of situation.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I think in connection with the third hypothetical proposition proposed by my good friend, the Senator from Maine, that good faith is obviously the crucial factor in this proposition.

It would seem to me that it would be good sense and good judgment for the Department of Defense to coordinate, as provided in the first part of the proposed section 808, with the Department of Interior in setting up their list of priorities for pollution abatement.

In this way, those priorities so set up could tie in with the funds they are requesting and asking approval for in connection with the regular program.

What I am trying to say is that there is an opportunity to coordinate the military effort with the civilian effort, and that they should go hand in hand.

I would concur heartily with my good friend, the Senator from Maine, that there should not be a penalty in a situation where there has been a showing of good faith on the part of the local community.

I should like to emphasize, however, that as we envisage the section, it is the setting up of a program for next year and from here on out because this is permanent law. The Department of Defense would work closely with the Department of the Interior, and their budget request for pollution abatement would tie in with the funds they are allocating to the States so that we could accomplish the two things together.

Mr. MUSKIE. What the Senator is saying is that the judgment may well vary, case by case.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUSKIE. Depending upon the overall priorities and the good sense indicated in a given situation.

Mr. JACKSON. I just wish to make the general comment that what we were really trying to move against was the idea of making the Department of Defense the guinea pig in communities and sections of the country where there had been no real effort to move on pollution abatement.

I am sure that this colloquy will help to establish the record with reference to section 808. I assure the able Senator from Maine that when we go to conference, we will take a good look at the entire problem, in light of what has been discussed on the floor and what the able Senator from Maine has called to the Senate's attention.

Mr. MUSKIE. I thank the Senator very much for this colloquy.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the Senator from Maine has made a cogent point concerning section 808 of the Military Construction Act. I should like to add my own views on this matter.

We in Government have begun to recognize the critical work which must be done at all levels—local, State and Federal—in ending the pollution of our waters. The Defense Department, and the Administration have shown their recognition that action is needed. Under Executive Order 11288, water pollution programs will be encouraged at military installations.

Section 808 of the Military Construction and Authorization Act is designed to promote coordination between these Federal programs, and those local, or State programs which are underway. It is of course desirable to promote such coordination; such an effort will provide the maximum use of our resources.

But it is also important that action not be delayed by any one level of government, because of the hesitancy of other levels. I am concerned that Defense Department officials may read this act as crippling their antipollution efforts.

Section 808 bars use of water pollution funds until the Secretary of Defense determines that:

> The planned system will be coordinated in timing with a State, county, or municipal program which requires communities to take such related abatement measures as are necessary to achieve areawide water pollution cleanup.

The committee report indicates at page 68:

> The above provision was therefore adopted to assure insofar as possible that these projects are carried out only in those areas where the local government is also complying with the Water Pollution Control Act.

I would hope that the "coordination in timing" required by the act will not be read to bar the Federal Government from taking any action until local governments actually begin their work. Once a locality begins to participate in the Water Pollution Control Act, Federal action would be permitted. That is how I read this act, and I would hope the Defense Department adopts this interpretation. The fight against pollution is too important to be blocked by restrictive readings of legislation.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the military construction authorization bill before the Senate today is the result of months of painstaking, detailed effort by the Subcommittee on Military Construction of the Committee on Armed Services.

Since April the subcommittee under the able chairmanship of the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] has worked long and hard on the bill. I commend the subcommittee for a job well done.

I wish especially to commend the subcommittee's action in cutting funds totalling some $5 million which would have allowed the Navy Department to move the WAVE recruit camp from Bainbridge, Md., to Orlando, Fla.

Just 2 years ago, Congress appropriated $1.2 million to construct permanent WAVE barracks at Bainbridge. To turn around now, and move the WAVES to Orlando just after they have moved into their new barracks would be clearly wasteful and against the best interest both of the Nation and of a community whose economy is closely associated with the Bainbridge installation.

I should like also to commend the committee for approving $2.1 million for a central animal holding laboratory for Fort Dietrick, Md. I was disturbed, however, to note that a similar facility for the Edgewood Arsenal was stricken.

Both of the above facilities for experimental animals are necessary for strategic research on incapacitating agents requiring a long-term, laboratory-controlled environment. Additionally, the present facilities do not comply with Public Law 89-544, the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, providing for the humane care of animals.

There are two items in title II, District of Columbia Naval District, that I would like to bring to the attention of the conference committee.

The first, section 807 of the House-passed bill, would prevent the Department of the Navy from closing or otherwise disposing of the Naval Academy dairy farm unless specifically authorized by act of Congress. The Senate committee struck this provision as being unnecessary, and this action reflects my feeling exactly on the dairy farm. I am vigorously opposed to the plans of the Navy to continue the operation of the farm. The U.S. Naval Academy Board of Visitors has recommended that it be closed, and I urge that we and the Department of the Navy defer to the good judgment of the Board. There are sufficient civilian resources in the area surrounding the Naval Academy to provide its dairy requirement adequately and at lower cost.

The second item, and one of utmost importance to the U.S. Naval Academy, concerns the need for concurring with the House in providing $1,135,000 for a new laundry and drycleaning plant at the Academy. Land is at a premium in Annapolis and the relocation of the present laundry is necessary to free space for the single most important future facility at the Naval Academy—a new, adequate library. The need and timing for this facility has been strongly endorsed by the Academy's Board of Visitors and by its Academic Accrediting Association.

The Senate Committee on Armed Services recognized the need for the facility but believes it is "overdesigned and out of line costwise." I shall present information refuting this contention to the conferees upon their selection. Unfortunately, I know of no way to measure the cost in terms of academic loss to the midshipmen should this project be delayed.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the bill, H.R. 11722, provides the authorization for the construction of military installations for fiscal 1968.

The original request of the Department of Defense amounted to $2,660,383,000. The committee in reporting its bill was able to reduce this amount by $379,195,000 to $2,281,188,000 and the amount authorized by the Senate committee is some $127,618,000 below the amount approved by the House. Notwithstanding these reductions, it is my view that the emergency fiscal situation in which the country finds itself today requires that further substantial cuts be made.

I shall vote against the bill for the following reasons:

First, the bill would have little or no effect on the conduct of the war in Vietnam.

Second, the greater majority of the funds authorized in this bill are for construction and improvements in U.S. military bases, military family housing, and other facilities located inside the United States.

Last, in view of the projected deficit of some $30 billion in the budget, and the administration's request for a tax increase, I urge the Senate Appropriations Committee to make further cuts in the appropriation of funds for the construction of those military bases and facilities of a low priority which are not directly related to the operations and conduct of the war in Vietnam and which could properly be postponed to a later date.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement of September 22, the Senate will now proceed to vote on H.R. 11722. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana

[Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] are absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 74, nays 3, as follows:

[No. 265 Leg.]

YEAS—74

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—3

Cooper
Ellender
Morse

NOT VOTING—23

Bayh
Bennett
Brooke
Dodd
Eastland
Fulbright
Gore
Hansen
Harris
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Javits
Kuchel
McIntyre
Murphy
Pastore
Pearson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Stennis
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough

So the bill (H.R. 11722) was passed.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. HOLLAND. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. JACKSON, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. CANNON, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. THURMOND, and Mr. TOWER conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] is to be highly commended for the outstanding manner in which he directed the passage of this measure which authorizes more than $2 billion for military construction purposes. His clear and convincing explanation of all of the items covered, his persuasive and articulate arguments served more than anything else to assure its overwhelming acceptance by the Senate. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] who unfortunately was unable to be with us today, as he is unavoidably and necessarily detained on other business, asked me to convey to Senator JACKSON his deep appreciation for the work he performed on this measure. I might add that Senator STENNIS himself should be commended for his strong efforts in behalf of this legislation.

Also to be thanked for joining to assure swift and orderly Senate approval is the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]. He demonstrated once again his broad knowledge of the status of our military forces and the scope and needs of our military facilities both at home and abroad.

Other Senators joined the discussion of this proposal and I wish to note the contributions of some of the Members. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], with characteristic diligence, raised a number of issues concerning certain features of the authorization. The Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CARLSON], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] added their thoughtful appraisals as did the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

To these and many others go our sincere appreciation for joining to dispose of this measure expeditiously and with full consideration for the views of every Member.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 340

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I propose to offer to S. 2388, the pending business, and ask that it be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment is a variation of the human investment proposal which I offered in 1965. However, it does not involve the tax credit which that legislation did, but, in my opinion, if agreed to by the Senate, it would make it possible for private industry to participate a great deal more extensively than has been the case in the past in manpower training and retraining programs.

VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on September 11, 1967, I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 44, a resolution that seeks to have the United States submit to the United Nations a request that the United Nations take over complete jurisdiction of the war in South Vietnam to the end of enforcing the peace as called for under the United Nations Charter.

There have been a good many editorials written in this country, including some in my home State, which demonstrate that the editors apparently have never read the Charter of the United Nations. They take exception to my resolution because it contains a commitment on the part of the United States that we will abide by the application of the principles of the charter. The primary purpose for which nations signed the charter is to enforce the peace wherever the peace is threatened. In this instance this means enforcing the peace against the United States because in South Vietnam we happen to stand in open violation of the charter article after article.

Mr. President, my Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 has nothing to do with the charge of those editors who alleged that my resolution jeopardizes our country's sovereignty. What nonsense. If an international body, including the United Nations, were to start jeopardizing our sovereignty, we would have the sovereign right to withdraw from cooperating with that body. The paper in my hometown, the Eugene Register Guard wrote in its editorial that my resolutions involved the buying of a pig in the poke. More journalistic nonsense.

However, not all editors are as ignorant as those to whom I have referred, for we have in St. Louis the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Its enlightened board of editors has demonstrated over the years that they are students. In my judgment this is one of the qualifications for being an editor. Often it seems to me that many editors have ceased to be students and have become nonreaders except for the reading of their own unenlightened editorials.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have my resolution printed in the RECORD, along with two editorials from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on the United Nations. These editorials deal with the United Nations and the war in Vietnam. One editorial was printed Friday, September 15, 1967, and the other Monday, September 18, 1967. Let me read a few quotes from the editorial of September 15:

> What prevents UN action is the refusal of the United States to end the bombing of North Vietnam, as repeatedly urged by U Thant and various members who have tried to take steps toward peace. Because North Vietnam and China are not members of the UN, the chance that they would participate in UN discussions is exceedingly small in any circumstances. So long as the bombing continues there is no chance at all, as Hanoi has consistently stated.
>
> Thus the most effective trigger for a serious effort to involve the Security Council in the problem would be a decision by the United States to end the bombing. If President Johnson finds that step impossible to take on his own initiative, then the next-best trigger would be a pledge that the United States stands ready to abide by whatever resolution the Security Council might adopt, without exercising its veto.
>
> Senator Morse has incorporated such a pledge in his resolution calling for UN action, but it is absent from one sponsored by Senator Mansfield and 26 other Senators. The omission is critical.

There being no objection, the resolution and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. Con. Res. 44

Whereas the United States is now fighting a major land war in Southeast Asia which threatens to widen into world war III and a nuclear holocaust which could destroy civilization; and

Whereas the primary purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to take collective measures to remove threats to world peace; and

Whereas in ratifying the charter of the United Nations the United States undertook a solemn treaty commitment to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and

Whereas under the charter the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, which devolves to the General Assembly when the Council is unable to act; and

Whereas the United States has failed to take effective steps to bring about United Nations involvement which would bring an end to the conflict in Southeast Asia: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that:

1. The President should request an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider all aspects of the conflict in Vietnam and to act to end the conflict, pledging the United States in advance to accept and carry out any decision on the matter by the Council, in accordance with article 25 of the charter.

2. If the Security Council is unable to act, the United States should take all steps necessary to assure action on the issue by the General Assembly.

3. The United States objectives in the United Nations should be to obtain—

(a) support for an immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties, and

(b) recommendations for appropriate measures, such as the convening of an international conference, for reaching a permament settlement which will assure a lasting peace for Southeast Asia.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Sept. 15, 1967]

What Bars the U.N.

In a recent address to the Missouri Bar Association, excerpts from which which we publish in today's Mirror of Public Opinion, Senator Mansfield made a strong case for action by the UN Security Council on Vietnam. Unfortunately he omitted the one element that is best calculated to make such action possible. It seems to us there is little hope of meaningful intervention by the UN unless the United States takes a strong initiative to make clear that it wants the UN to act and not just to talk.

What prevents UN action is the refusal of the United States to end the bombing of North Vietnam, as repeatedly urged by U Thant and various members who have tried to take steps toward peace. Because North Vietnam and China are not members of the UN, the chance that they would participate in UN discussions is exceedingly small in any circumstances. So long as the bombing continues there is no chance at all, as Hanoi has consistently stated.

Thus the most effective trigger for a serious effort to involve the Security Council in the problem would be a decision by the United States to end the bombing. If President Johnson finds that step impossible to take on his own initiative, then the next-best trigger would be a pledge that the United States stands ready to abide by whatever resolution the Security Council might adopt, without exercising its veto.

Senator Morse has incorporated such a pledge in his resolution calling for UN action, but it is absent from one sponsored by Senator Mansfield and 26 other Senators. The omission is critical. Without such a pledge, the Security Council has no assurance that the United States would comply with the one condition Hanoi has laid down for negotiations. With it, the way would be clear for the Council to adopt a resolution calling for an end of the bombing as the first step. Unless UN members can see this first step as a realistic possibility, they will not be strongly motivated to intervene.

Senator Mansfield has himself in other speeches called for the sort of pledge Senator Morse advocates. We should think he ought to incorporate it in his own resolution if he has serious hopes of obtaining the UN action for which he so cogently argues.

As has frequently happened before, while the Administration has been vaguely talking about involving the UN, it has been escalating the bombing. This week's attacks on Haiphong and the harbor of Cam Pha repeat a now-familiar pattern. Both cities were among those mentioned by Secretary McNamara as samples of targets which he opposed bombing, on the ground that the military results would be offset by the risks of enlarging the war.

Has Mr. McNamara been overridden, then, and the hawks upheld? Not exactly. The public is told that though Haiphong was attacked, the docks were not, and that Cam Pha harbor was attacked only because no foreign shipping was there. Thus the raids were not after all serious efforts to interdict Hanoi's ocean supply lines, and so were consistent with Mr. McNamara's view that attempting to interdict shipping is not worth the trouble. In that case, the question is why such targets were hit at all. What can possibly be gained by seeming to attack the ocean supply lines without actually attacking them?

While the bombing becomes more senseless than ever in military terms, it remains the single greatest obstacle to peace talks, in or out of the UN. Sincere advocates of peace like Senator Mansfield should recognize that UN action is not to be expected so long as American policy is to escalate, rather than end, the air war.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Sept. 18, 1967]

The U.N. Convenes

The United Nations General Assembly gathers for its twenty-second regular session tomorrow with a heavy agenda of consequential items but with prospects uncertain for substantive action in pursuit of peace, its goal and reason for being. And this is not the collective fault of the 122 members; it is the fault of the United States.

The Vietnam war, which the United States is prosecuting virtually alone, is of course the one event that ought to engage the full time and attention of the UN. And this could easily be done if the United States wished it. The United States could end the futile bombing of North Vietnam and create the atmosphere in which meaningful deliberations could be conducted in the Security Council; or it could ask the Council to consider the matter with the understanding it would abide by the result.

Secretary General U Thant, who has repeatedly urged a halt in the bombing as a precondition to the start of negotiations looking toward peace, is suspending his efforts for the time being. Ambassador Goldberg has told a group of Congressmen he is engaged in "intensive efforts to determine whether it would be possible for the UN to be useful in connection with the war in Vietnam." He wants to talk to newly-arrived diplomats before making recommendations to the State Department.

The general view seems to be reflected in the comment of Representative Jonathan Bingham of New York, who sees little to be gained in bringing the issue before the General Assembly unless the U.S. halts the bombing indefinitely. Mr. Bingham, formerly a member of the American delegation to the UN, thinks that "the whole political atmosphere" would be changed by a bombing suspension, and that in this event the international opinion represented in the Assembly could be used to help bring about negotiations.

Mr. Bingham was a member of an unofficial congressional delegation that visited the UN last week. Another member was Representative Claude Pepper of Florida, who commented that he believed the United States is trying to get out of the Vietnam war as soon as it honorably can—"But somebody's got to try to help us find a way out." The honorable way out, or at least the first steps, has already been indicated by Mr. Thant, and the United States does not need any help to activate it. But what would help would be a face-saving formula, and this is the area in which the UN is uniquely qualified to be useful.

What better course could the United States follow than to defer to world opinion as represented in the UN and let the UN help devise a schedule for honorable withdrawal? When U Thant, a native of Southeast Asia, urges an end to the bombing he speaks for the UN majority as well as from an Asian viewpoint. So the way is really quite clear—and it is, moreover, simple and practical.

If instead of paying lip-service to the UN the Johnson Administration would seriously give it a chance to function as it ought to in a matter which surely threatens the peace of the whole world, both the U.S. and the UN would benefit immeasurably. The arresting fact is that this is no pollyannish fancy—it can be done. But will it?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am very much pleased that the chairman of the

Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], agreed to schedule hearings on my resolution. Twenty-seven Senators, speaking in the Senate recently, have expressed views in varying degrees regarding support of United Nations intervention in the war in Vietnam. These Senators have stressed the need for the United Nations to take jurisdiction over the war and enforce a peace in Vietnam.

I hope that we can come to an early hearing on the resolution and then that Senators will again have the opportunity to stand up and be counted to determine how their votes compare with their speeches.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the executive council of the AFL–CIO, meeting in New York recently, urged a number of changes in the social security amendments passed by the House of Representatives—H.R. 12080.

The American labor movement from the beginning of the social security program has been concerned to adjust and improve the social security and welfare programs in order to provide more adequate benefits for citizens.

I ask unanimous consent that the AFL–CIO statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Social Security Bill

(Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council, New York, N.Y., September 11, 1967)

Substantial Social Security gains, as a down-payment on the fully up-to-date Social Security system the nation should have as soon as possible, are a major legislative objective of the AFL–CIO this year. The bill passed by the House of Representatives (H.R. 12080), while providing somewhat higher Social Security benefits and a few other changes, falls far short of the steps which can and should be taken now to improve the lives of 23 million elderly and others dependent on Social Security.

While the House did improve the Social Security system somewhat, though not nearly enough, it also has made drastic and punitive changes in our Public Welfare system which, if allowed to stand, could deprive hundreds of thousands of mothers and children of the pitifully meager payments they have been receiving.

The House bill provides for a 12½ percent increase in Social Security payments with only a minimally higher benefit rise for those receiving lowest benefits. By contrast, the President recommended and the AFL–CIO strongly supports a 15 percent across-the-board increase with substantially higher minimum benefits. This would mean not only retirement benefits more in line with pre-retirement incomes for all beneficiaries, but would have a significantly more effective impact on the living conditions of the 8 million Social Security beneficiaries now below the poverty line. Here the contrast is sharpest: The President's proposal would lift at least 2 million Social Security beneficiaries from the mire of poverty. The House bill would achieve this goal for only half that number.

The House refused to extend Medicare coverage to the disabled. This is a group with limited incomes and higher-than-average medical costs who particularly need and deserve the protection Medicare can offer. The House bill contains some minor Medicare improvements, but does virtually nothing to put brakes on skyrocketing fees and charges paid under Medicare. These rapidly rising costs are not only holding back needed Medicare improvements but, by their impact on the general structure of medical charges, are forcing up, at an unprecedented rate the medical costs of all Americans.

By sharply restricting eligibility standards for participants in the Medicaid program, the House would bar hundreds of thousands of the needy and medically needy from medical care their limited incomes put beyond their reach. To make matters worse, the House has also made possible severe limitation on essential medical services for those who will still be eligible for Medicaid.

The worst features of the House-passed bill are those relating to public assistance. Since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this country has adhered to the fundamental principle that people who are unable to work or cannot find jobs are entitled to assistance. That assistance is provided by the states and localities, largely under their own standards of eligibility, need, and level of payment, with some of the costs defrayed by the Federal government. Everywhere the assistance is extremely meager; in fact, in most states it is below the estimate of minimum needs set by the states themselves. In the majority of states, no assistance whatsoever is available when there is an able-bodied father in the home, regardless of how determined his efforts to secure work.

What America needs is a thoroughgoing overhaul of the public assistance system, which would include raising to at least minimum levels the below-subsistence payments prevailing today and greatly stepping up training and employment programs for welfare recipients. This would improve existing subpoverty living conditions and give able-bodied public assistance recipients, who are not caring for small children, the opportunity to obtain jobs at decent wages and under good working conditions.

Instead, the House of Representatives has passed a punitive measure which does nothing to improve shockingly inadequate public assistance payments, but jeopardizes the chances of large numbers of the poor of continuing to obtain even these pittances. Under sanction of removal from assistance, the House bill would force mothers with children into locally-administered training programs with no assurance that the training would be adequate or that there would be employment after training is completed. Even worse, there would be no guarantee of adequate day-care for children in such families or of financial support for needy children whose parents would be removed from the rolls. To reinforce these harsh conditions, the House placed an absolute ceiling on the number of children in a state whose families could be given assistance because of the absence of a father. Thus, the full weight of these punitive provisions would fall most heavily on innocent children who could be deprived of either the bare necessities of life or of their mother's care.

We are deeply disturbed that the House has failed to transfer the community work and training program to the Department of Labor, as the President wisely recommended. The Labor Department has developed the skill, knowledge and machinery for effectively training those who have been marginally equipped to enter the labor market. Welfare recipients need the best possible training, under good working conditions and decent wages, to restore them to self-sufficiency. We also strongly object to the fact that under the House bill welfare recipients, assigned to community work and training, could be placed in private industry at subminimum wages and without other safeguards that would prevent their exploitation.

The Social Security bill is now under Senate consideration. The AFL–CIO urges the Senate to make the necessary changes in H.R. 12080 in order that it more nearly meets the nation's Social Security and Welfare requirements. In particular, we ask the Senate to:

1. Raise the minimum Social Security benefit level to $70 for a single person and $105 for a couple, and increase all other benefits by at least 15 percent. This would make possible the over-all 20 percent increase in benefit payments the President has recommended.
2. Finance the benefit improvements by an increase in the earnings level on which both contributions and benefits are determined, by steps from the present $6,600 to $10,800.
3. Extend Medicare coverage to the disabled.
4. Establish reasonable controls on unduly high hospital charges and physician fees paid under Medicare.
5. Assure that Medicaid is available to the needy and the medically needy whose limited incomes cannot pay for adequate health care, and that it provides essential medical services to those covered.
6. Improve present appallingly inadequate public assistance payments and assure adequate day-care for children of families receiving assistance in which the mother is participating in work and training programs; eliminate provisions in the House bill which would force mothers with small children into work and training programs without assurance of decent jobs after training or adequate day-care for their children; and remove inflexible ceiling on assistance to families with dependent children eligible because of absence of a parent.
7. Strengthen rather than weaken the possibility of poor families remaining together by requiring States to make assistance available where the father is in the home until he can obtain work for which he is qualified.
8. Transfer administration of community work and training to the Department of Labor with provision of adequate safeguards for those assigned to this program, including requirement of payment of prevailing wages and in no case less than the applicable minimum wage.

SECRETARY FREEMAN URGES ENACTMENT OF STRATEGIC GRAIN RESERVE BILL

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, last month, I introduced in the Senate S. 2233, a bill to provide for the establishment of a strategic grain reserve program. Representative Purcell introduced a similar bill in the House. The House Committee on Agriculture has held hearings on the measure.

The bill would do three things. First. The bill would establish a reserve of wheat, feed grains, soybeans and cotton as a safeguard against the hazard of crop failure, to assure adequate supplies for the export market, and to assist the needy people of other nations in time of famine and disaster.

Second. The bill would permit the Commodity Credit Corporation to make purchases to maintain the reserve level and it authorizes the CCC to pay up to 15 percent above the announced loan level for such purchases. At present, CCC can increase its stocks only when the current farm market price drops to the loan level or lower. This authority would enable CCC to buy before the bottom had been reached and thus to help maintain farm prices.

Third. The supplies in the strategic

reserve would be insulated from the market. Sale of the reserve stocks could not be at less than 145 percent of the current price support loan rates, unless the President made a declaration of emergency.

This year, American farmers responded to the need for greater production. The crop yield has been exceptionally good. Now we are faced with the usual result of declining farm prices. We should not expect farmers to produce the amounts needed for a national reserve and then to absorb the price decline which comes because they responded. The amounts needed for a national reserve should not be used to depress the market. The American farmers reserve this minimum protection.

I am pleased that the Department of Agriculture is supporting legislation of this kind. Last Monday at a news conference, Secretary Freeman, in reviewing Department action to check the current price decline of feed grains and wheat, gave highest priority to enactment of legislation to provide a strategic grain reserve.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks, made in Omaha, Nebr., where he was addressing the National Association of County Agricultural Agents, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY ORVILLE FREEMAN BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENTS, OMAHA, NEBR., SEPTEMBER 18, 1967

I share the frustration of our country's grain growers over a price problem that is persisting beyond the end of surpluses. There is no wheat surplus in the United States today, but as we try to adjust to the "New Era" farm programs that make it possible to approximately gear yearly production to yearly needs we are finding that immediate supply levels occasioned by world-wide bumper crops are prompting irregular and discouraging short term market action.

An oversupply at harvesttime in the U.S. has temporarily glutted the market and forced prices down.

We are also faced with the continuing effect on our price levels of production in other countries. Both Western and Eastern Europe grain crops are big this year. The Soviet crop, while not as large as last year, is expected to be large. Indian crop prospects are far better than in the last two years. Canada's crop has shown considerable improvement, and both Argentina and Australia expect to have large quantities for export. Despite this competition, however, we are still optimistic that our export goal of 750 million bushels will be met.

What is crucial at the moment, however, is the urgent need to shore up prices. We have taken every possible action we can legally take to check this downward trend.

Looking to next year, we have already reduced the wheat acreage allotment as a move designed to strengthen wheat prices. This action is consistent with the New Era Farm program. The program's flexibility is geared to any supply need. When more production is needed, acreage can be increased. If less is needed, acreage can be reduced.

CCC stocks are off the market. We just are not selling any grain—wheat, feed grains or soybeans. A very limited volume of the lower qualities must be moved for prudent inventory management. And we are continuing to provide a very limited amount of wheat for export on the West Coast as an interim and necessary action to insure the supplies needed to encourage expansion of our dollar markets in Asia, particularly Japan.

We are moving large amounts of wheat in the Food-for-Freedom program. Just recently another million tons of grain were made available to India. Additional quantities under the program will be announced in the near future.

We are taking all possible actions to help farmers achieve a more orderly movement of their wheat in order to get better prices. Most wheat program participants have received their 1967 marketing certificate payments. These have averaged 47 cents per bushel on all production. They totaled $725 million. This payment enables farmers to withstand the financial pressure many of them experience at harvesttime. In addition, the loan program offers immediate money, thus helping farmers to keep their wheat off the temporarily distressed market.

I urge once again that farmers use the loan program to hold back their grain and not rush to sell at distressed prices.

We have stepped up utilization of CCC surplus bins as a supplementary means of adding storage facilities for farmers who want to withhold their wheat from the temporarily glutted market. Bins are being sold or rented. We are emphasizing use of the facility loan program which has made it possible for farmers to add millions of bushels of storage capacity on their farms and materially strengthen their holding power.

Since wheat prices in every area influence prices in others, we have tried to relieve storage distress in the South and East earlier this year. An oversupply of CCC bins in some Midwest areas has been moved South and East to give those farmers added storage for the grain and soybeans they want to keep off the market at harvest. We have moved, or will move shortly, more than 6,700 bins with a total capacity of 22.5 million bushels.

A new provision in the price support program this year will enable farmers who have wheat and other grains in commercial warehouse storage to extend these loans beyond the initial loan period. This will supplement the long-time farm reseal program which has enabled us over the years to hold millions of bushels out of market channels.

The new International Grains Agreement, while not effective until next year, will insure a higher minimum export price—about 23 cents a bushel above the level of the old agreement.

Notwithstanding all these specific actions, what we need most now is passage of the Purcell Bill.

This bill is designed to establish and maintain government reserves—insulated from the market—of essential grains and soybeans at not less than specified percentages of the amounts needed annually for domestic use and export. Such a reserve would be in the national interest, as insurance against domestic or global emergencies, and would serve to bolster farm prices.

Purchases for reserve supplies would significantly increase farm income. If the CCC had the authority to buy grain at prices above the loan level, market prices would move up quickly. In making these purchases, CCC obviously would reduce its loan activity. There would be correspondingly less cost to the Government as the volume of price support loans lessened. Stocks acquired for the reserve would have value and probably would return to the Government more than the original asset value. The boost in market prices would increase total farm income for 1967: crop wheat, feed grains and soybeans.

This bill, so urgently needed by our grain producers, is being side-tracked and stalled by some members of the House Agriculture Committee who seem to want a political issue more than they want higher farm prices. Every farmer who raises wheat or feed grains or soybeans should be deeply concerned with the delay in enactment of this important measure—the Purcell Strategic Reserve Grain bill.

PANAMA CANAL, THE JURIDICAL STRUCTURE—PART VII: THE PANAMA CANAL ACT OF 1912

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in a previous statement to the Senate, I quoted the full text of the Spooner Act of 1902 under which the Canal Zone was acquired and the Panama Canal constructed, 1904–14. As this act did not provide for its permanent organization and operation, the Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Col. George W. Goethals, at congressional hearings in 1911, submitted a general outline of the proposed organization and made this meaningful statement:

> The construction of the Canal is not a military proposition; it is a civil and commercial proposition. The fact that I am in the Army does not alter that situation at all. I look upon the operation and maintenance of the Canal, as a distinctly civil and commercial function, and that the reason for one being here is for the operation and maintenance of the Canal, and after its construction this should be a civil function. But we should create such an entity here that in time of war the military necessities of the situation would predominate, and the operation of the canal will be subordinated to those military features.

These key ideas pervaded the Panama Canal Act of 1912, which was approved by President William H. Taft on August 24 of that year. The highlights of this act are as follows:

First. Designated the area acquired from Panama as the "Canal Zone" and the waterway as the "Panama Canal."

Second. Authorized the President to declare by Executive order that "all land and land under water within the limits of the Canal Zone is necessary for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, or protection of the Panama Canal" and to extinguish "all claims and titles of adverse claimants and occupants" with compensation.

Third. Authorized the President to discontinue by Executive order the Isthmian Canal Commission at an appropriate time and "to complete, govern, and operate the Panama Canal and govern the Canal Zone" through a Governor of the Panama Canal appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Fourth. Provided for the levy of transit tolls for use of the canal.

Fifth. Established one U.S. district court for the Canal Zone in two divisions, Balboa and Cristobal, as part of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the United States.

Sixth. Authorized the President, in time of war in which the United States may be involved or in danger, to vest exclusive authority over the Canal Zone Government and Panama Canal in such officer of the U.S. Army as the President may designate.

Pursuant to the provisions of the Panama Canal Act of 1912 and in conformity with treaty, President William H. Taft, by Executive order on December 5, 1912, declared:

All land and land under water within the limits of the Canal Zone are necessary for the construction, maintenance, operation, protection, and sanitation of the Panama Canal.

As title to all such area was acquired by the United States from individual owners, the Canal Zone, in its entirety, is a U.S. Government reservation.

Mr. President, on two different occasions, World War I and World War II, the President, by Executive order, gave the Commanding General of the U.S. Army on the isthmus supreme authority and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone government. It is a matter of historical fact that in neither of these wars was any act of sabotage committed or any injury inflicted by enemy nations because of the effective precautions taken by our Armed Forces and the canal organization—services of the highest importance that reflected great credit on those responsible.

Because of the historical importance of the Panama Canal Act of 1912, many provisions of which are embodied in the Canal Zone Code, I ask unanimous consent to have its full text printed in the RECORD to make it readily available for Members of the Senate and all others who may be interested.

There being no objection, the act was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PANAMA CANAL ACT OF 1912

An act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the zone of land and land under water of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the canal now being constructed thereon, which zone begins in the Caribbean Sea three marine miles from mean low-water mark and extends to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific Ocean to the distance of three marine miles from mean low-water mark, excluding therefrom the cities of Panama and Colon and their adjacent harbors located within said zone, as excepted in the treaty with the Republic of Panama dated November eighteenth, nineteen hundred and three, but including all islands within said described zone, and in addition thereto the group of islands in the Bay of Panama namely Perico, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco, and any lands and waters outside of said limits above described which are necessary or convenient or from time to time may become necessary or convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, or protection of the said canal or of any auxiliary canals, lakes, or other works necessary or convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, or protection of said canal, the use, occupancy, or control whereof were granted to the United States by the treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama, the ratifications of which were exchanged on the twenty-sixth day of February, nineteen hundred and four, shall be known and designated as the Canal Zone, and the canal now being constructed thereon shall hereafter be known and designated as the Panama Canal. The President is authorized, by treaty with the Republic of Panama, to acquire any additional land or land under water not already granted, or which was excepted from the grant, that he may deem necessary for the operation, maintenance, sanitation, or protection of the Panama Canal, and to exchange any land or land under water not deemed necessary for such purposes for other land or land under water which may be deemed necessary for such purposes, which additional land or land under water so acquired shall become part of the Canal Zone.

SEC. 2. That all laws, orders, regulations, and ordinances adopted and promulgated in the Canal Zone by order of the President for the government and sanitation of the Canal Zone and the construction of the Panama Canal are hereby ratified and confirmed as valid and binding until Congress shall otherwise provide. The existing courts established in the Canal Zone by Executive order are recognized and confirmed to continue in operation until the courts provided for in this Act shall be established.

SEC. 3. That the President is authorized to declare by Executive order that all land and land under water within the limits of the Canal Zone is necessary for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, or protection of the Panama Canal, and to extinguish, by agreement when advisable, all claims and titles of adverse claimants and occupants. Upon failure to secure by agreement title to any such parcel of land or land under water the adverse claim or occupancy shall be disposed of and title thereto secured in the United States and compensation therefor fixed and paid in the manner provided in the aforesaid treaty with the Republic of Panama, or such modification of such treaty as may hereafter be made.

SEC. 4. That when in the judgment of the President the construction of the Panama Canal shall be sufficiently advanced toward completion to render the further services of the Isthmian Canal Commission unnecessary the President is authorized by Executive order to discontinue the Isthmian Canal Commission, which, together with the present organization, shall then cease to exist; and the President is authorized thereafter to complete, govern, and operate the Panama Canal and govern the Canal Zone, or cause them to be completed, governed, and operated, through a governor of the Panama Canal and such other persons as he may deem competent to discharge the various duties connected with the completion, care, maintenance, sanitation, operation, government, and protection of the canal and Canal Zone. If any of the persons appointed or employed as aforesaid shall be persons in the military or naval service of the United States, the amount of the official salary paid to any such person shall be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation provided by or which shall be fixed under the terms of this Act. The governor of the Panama Canal shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, commissioned for a term of four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified. He shall receive a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. All other persons necessary for the completion, care, management, maintenance, sanitation, government, operation, and protection of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone shall be appointed by the President, or by his authority, removable at his pleasure, and the compensation of such persons shall be fixed by the President, or by his authority, until such time as Congress may by law regulate the same, but salaries or compensation fixed hereunder by the President shall in no instance exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the salary or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons employed by the Government in continental United States. That upon the completion of the Panama Canal the President shall cause the same to be officially and formally opened for use and operation.

Before the completion of the canal, the Commission of Arts may make a report to the President of their recommendation regarding the artistic character of the structures of the canal, such report to be transmitted to Congress.

SEC. 5. That the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and from time to time change the tolls that shall be levied by the Government of the United States for the use of the Panama Canal: *Provided*, That no tolls, when prescribed as above, shall be changed, unless six months' notice thereof shall have been given by the President by proclamation. No tolls shall be levied upon vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. That section forty-one hundred and thirty-two of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4131. Vessels built within the United States and belonging wholly to citizens thereof; and vessels which may be captured in war by citizens of the United States and lawfully condemned as prize, or which may be adjudged to be forfeited for a breach of the laws of the United States; and seagoing vessels, whether steam or sail, which have been certified by the Steamboat-Inspector Service as safe to carry dry and perishable cargo, not more than five years old at the time they apply for registry, wherever built, which are to engage only in trade with foreign countries or with the Philipipne Islands and the islands of Guam and Tutuila, being wholly owned by citizens of the United States or corporations organized and chartered under the laws of the United States or of any State thereof, the president and managing directors of which shall be citizens of the United States or corporations organized and chartered under the laws of the United States or of any State thereof, the president and managing directors of which shall be citizens of the United States, and no others, may be registered as directed in this title. Foreign-built vessels registered pursuant to this Act shall not engage in the coastwise trade: *Provided*, That a foreign-built yacht, pleasure boat, or vessel not used or intended to be used for trade admitted to American registry pursuant to this section shall not be exempt from the collection of ad valorem duty provided in section thirty-seven of the Act approved August fifth, nineteen hundred and nine, entitled 'An Act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes.' That all materials of foreign production which may be necessary for the construction or repair of vessels built in the United States and all such materials necessary for the building or repair of their machinery and all articles necessary for their outfit and equipment may be imported into the United States free of duty under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: *Provided further*, That such vessels so admitted under the provisions of this section may contract with the Postmaster General under the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, entitled 'An Act to provide for ocean mail service between the United States and foreign ports, and to promote commerce,' so long as such vessels shall in all respects comply with the provisions and requirements of said Act."

Tolls may be based upon gross or net registered tonnage, displacement tonnage, or otherwise, and may be based on one form of tonnage for warships and another for ships of commerce. The rate of tolls may be lower upon vessels in ballast than upon vessels carrying passengers or cargo. When based upon net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed one dollar and twenty-five cents per net registered ton, nor be less, other than for vessels of the United States and its citizens, than the estimated proportionate cost of the actual maintenance and operation of the canal, subject, however, to the provisions of article nineteen of the convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama, entered into November eighteenth, nineteen hundred and three. If the tolls shall not be based upon net registered tonnage, they shall not exceed the equivalent of one dollar and twenty-five cents per net registered ton as nearly as the same may be determined, nor be less than the equivalent of seventy-five cents per net registered ton. The toll for each passenger shall not be more than one dollar and fifty cents. The President is authorized to make and from time to time amend regulations governing the operation of the Panama Canal, and the passage and control of vessels through the same or any part thereof, including the locks and approaches thereto, and all rules and regulations affecting pilots and pilotage in the canal or the approaches thereto through the adjacent waters.

Such regulations shall provide for prompt adjustment by agreement and immediate payment of claims for damages which may arise from injury to vessels, cargo, or passengers from the passing of vessels through the locks under the control of those operating them under such rules and regulations. In case of disagreement suit may be brought in the district court of the Canal Zone against the governor of the Panama Canal. The hearing and disposition of such cases shall be expedited and the judgment shall be immediately paid out of any moneys appropriated or allotted for canal operation.

The President shall provide a method for the determination and adjustment of all claims arising out of personal injuries to employes thereafter occurring while directly engaged in actual work in connection with the construction, maintenance, operation, or sanitation of the canal or of the Panama Railroad, or of any auxiliary canals, locks, or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, or sanitation of the canal, whether such injuries result in death or not, and prescribe a schedule of compensation therefor, and may revise and modify such method and schedule at any time; and such claims, to the extent they shall be allowed on such adjustment, if allowed at all, shall be paid out of the moneys hereafter appropriated for that purpose or out of the funds of the Panama Railroad Company, if said company was responsible for said injury, as the case may require. And after such method and schedule shall be provided by the President, the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act granting to certain employees of the United States the right to receive from it compensation for injuries sustained in the course of their employment," approved May thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eight, and of the Act entitled "An Act relating to injured employees on the Isthmian Canal," approved February twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and nine, shall not apply to personal injuries thereafter received and claims for which are subject to determination and adjustment as provided in this section.

Sec. 6. That the President is authorized to cause to be erected, maintained, and operated, subject to the International Convention and the Act of Congress to regulate radio-communication, at suitable places along the Panama Canal and the coast adjacent to its two terminals, in connection with the operation of said canal, such wireless telegraphic installations as he may deem necessary for the operation, maintenance, sanitation, and protection of said canal, and for other purposes. If it is found necessary to locate such installations upon territory of the Republic of Panama, the Presdent is authorized to make such agreement with said Government as may be necessary, and also to provide for the acceptance and transmission, by said system, of all private and commercial messages, and those of the Government of Panama, on such terms and for such tolls as the President may prescribe: *Provided*, That the messages of the Government of the United States and the departments thereof, and the management of the Panama Canal, shall always be given precedence over all other messages. The President is also authorized, in his discretion, to enter into such operating agreements or leases with any private wireless company or companies as may best insure freedom from interference with the wireless telegraphic installations established by the United States. The President is also authorized to establish, maintain, and operate, through the Panama Railroad Company or otherwise, dry docks, repair shops, yards, docks, wharves, warehouses, storehouses, and other necessary facilities and appurtenances for the purpose of providing coal and other materials, labor, repairs, and supplies for vessels of the Government of the United States and, incidentally, for supplying such at reasonable prices to passing vessels, in accordance with appropriations hereby authorized to be made from time to time by Congress as a part of the maintenance and operation of the said canal. Moneys received from the conduct of said business may be expended and reinvested for such purposes without being covered into the Treasury of the United States; and such moneys are hereby appropriated for such purposes, but all deposits of such funds shall be subject to the provisions of existing law relating to the deposit of other public funds of the United States, and any net profits accruing from such business shall annually be covered into the Treasury of the United States. Monthly reports of such receipts and expenditures shall be made to the President by the persons in charge, and annual reports shall be made to the Congress.

Sec. 7. That the governor of the Panama Canal shall, in connection with the operation of such canal, have official control and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and shall perform all duties in connection with the civil government of the Canal Zone, which is to be held, treated, and governed as an adjunct of such Panama Canal. Unless in this Act otherwise provided all existing laws of the Canal Zone referring to the civil governor or the civil administration of the Canal Zone shall be applicable to the governor of the Panama Canal, who shall perform all such executive and administrative duties required by existing law. The President is authorized to determine or cause to be determined what towns shall exist in the Canal Zone and subdivide and from time to time resubdivide said Canal Zone into subdivisions, to be designated by name or number, so that there shall be situated one town in each subdivision, and the boundaries of each subdivision shall be clearly defined. In each town there shall be a magistrate's court with exclusive original jurisdiction coextensive with the subdivision in which it is situated of all civil cases in which the principal sum claimed does not exceed three hundred dollars, and all criminal cases wherein the punishment that may be imposed shall not exceed a fine of one hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, or both, and all violations of police regulations and ordinances and all actions involving possession or title to personal property or the forcible entry and detainer of real estate. Such magistrates shall also hold preliminary investigations in charges of felony and offenses under section ten of this Act, and commit or bail in bailable cases to the district court. A sufficient number of magistrates and constables, who must be citizens of the United States, to conduct the business of such courts, shall be appointed by the governor of the Panama Canal for terms of four years and until their successors are appointed and qualified, and the compensation of such persons shall be fixed by the President, or by his authority, until such time as Congress may by law regulate the same. The rules governing said courts and prescribing the duties of said magistrates and constables, oaths and bonds, the times and places of holding such courts, the disposition of fines, costs, forfeitures, enforcements of judgments, providing for appeals therefrom to the district court, and the disposition, treatment, and pardon of convicts shall be established by order of the President. The governor of the Panama Canal shall appoint all notaries public, prescribe their powers and duties, their official seal, and the fees to be charged and collected by them.

Sec. 8. That there shall be in the Canal Zone one district court with two divisions, one including Balboa and the other including Cristobal; and one district judge of the said district, who shall hold his court in both divisions at such time as he may designate by order, at least once a month in each division. The rules of practice in such district court shall be prescribed or amended by order of the President. The said district court shall have original jurisdiction of all felony cases, of offenses arising under section ten of this Act, all causes in equity; admiralty and all cases at law involving principal sums exceeding three hundred dollars and all appeals from judgments rendered in magistrates' court. The jurisdiction in admiralty herein conferred upon the district judge and the district court shall be the same that is exercised by the United States district judges and the United States district courts, and the procedure and practice shall also be the same. The district court or the judge thereof shall also have jurisdiction of all other matters and proceedings not herein provided for which are now within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone, of the Circuit Court of the Canal Zone, the District Court of the Canal Zone, or the judges thereof. Said judge shall provide for the selection, summoning, serving, and compensation of jurors from among the citizens of the United States, to be subject to jury duty in either division of such district, and a jury shall be had in any criminal case or civil case at law originating in said court on the demand of either party. There shall be a district attorney and a marshal for said district. It shall be the duty of the district attorney to conduct all business, civil and criminal, for the Government, and to advise the governor of the Panama Canal on all legal questions touching the operation of the canal and the administration of civil affairs. It shall be the duty of the marshal to execute all process of the court, preserve order therein, and do all things incident to the office of marshal. The district judge, the district attorney, and the marshal shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of four years each, and until their successors are appointed and qualified, and during their terms of office shall reside within the Canal Zone, and shall hold no other office nor serve on any official board or commission nor receive any emoluments except their salaries. The district judge shall receive the same salary paid the district judges of the United States, and shall appoint the clerk of said court, and may appoint one assistant when necessary, who shall receive salaries to be fixed by the President. The district judge shall be entitled to six weeks' leave of absence each year with pay. During his absence or during any period of disability or disqualification from sickness or otherwise to discharge his duties the same shall be temporarily performed by any circuit or district judge of the United States who may be designated by the President, and who, during such service, shall receive the additional mileage and per diem allowed by law to district judges of the United States when holding court away from their homes. The district attorney and the marshal shall be paid each a salary of five thousand dollars per annum.

Sec. 9. That the records of the existing courts and all causes, proceedings, and criminal prosecutions pending therein as shown by the dockets thereof, except as herein otherwise provided, shall immediately upon the organization of the courts created by this Act be transferred to such new courts having jurisdiction of like cases, be entered upon the dockets thereof, and proceed as if they had originally been brought therein, whereupon all the existing courts, except the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone, shall cease to exist. The President may continue the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone and retain the judges thereof in office for such time as to him may seem necessary to determine finally any causes and proceedings which may be pending therein. All laws of the Canal Zone imposing duties upon the clerks or ministerial officers of existing courts shall apply and impose such duties upon the clerks and ministerial officers of the new courts created by this Act having jurisdiction of like cases, matters, and duties.

All existing laws in the Canal Zone governing practice and procedure in existing courts shall be applicable and adapted to the practice and procedure in the new courts.

The Circuit Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit of the United States shall have jurisdiction to review, revise, modify, reverse, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the District Court of the Canal Zone and to render such judgments as in the opinion of the said appellate court should have been rendered by the trial court in all actions and proceedings in which the Constitution, or any statute, treaty, title, right, or privilege of the United States, is involved and a right thereunder denied, and in cases in which the value in controversy exceeds one thousand dollars, to be ascertained by the oath of either party, or by other competent evidence, and also in criminal causes wherein the offense charged is punishable as a felony. And such appellate jurisdiction, subject to the right of review by or appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States as in other cases authorized by law, may be exercised by said circuit court of appeals in the same manner, under the same regulations, and by the same procedure as nearly as practicable as is done in reviewing the final judgments and decrees of the district courts of the United States.

SEC. 10. That after the Panama Canal shall have been completed and opened for operation the governor of the Panama Canal shall have the right to make such rules and regulations, subject to the approval of the President, touching the right of any person to remain upon or pass over any part of the Canal Zone as may be necessary. Any person violating any of such rules or regulations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction in the District Court of the Canal Zone shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or by imprisonment not exceeding a year, or both, in the discretion of the court. It shall be unlawful for any person, by any means or in any way, to injure or obstruct, or attempt to injure or obstruct, any part of the Panama Canal or the locks thereof or the approaches thereto. Any person violating this provision shall be guilty of a felony, and on conviction in the District Court of the Canal Zone shall be punished by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars or by imprisonment not exceeding twenty years, or both, in the discretion of the court. If the act shall cause the death of any person within a year and a day thereafter, the person so convicted shall be guilty of murder and shall be punished accordingly.

SEC. 11. That section five of the Act to regulate commerce, approved February fourth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, as heretofore amended, is hereby amended by adding thereto a new paragraph at the end thereof, as follows:

"From and after the first day of July, nineteen hundred and fourteen, it shall be unlawful for any railroad company or other common carrier subject to the Act to regulate commerce to own, lease, operate, control, or have any interest whatsoever (by stock ownership or otherwise, either directly, indirectly, through any holding company, or by stockholders or directors in common, or in any other manner) in any common carrier by water operated through the Panama Canal or elsewhere with which said railroad or other carrier aforesaid does or may compete for traffic or any vessel carrying freight or passengers upon said water route or elsewhere with which said railroad or other carrier aforesaid does or may compete for traffic; and in case of the violation of this provision each day in which such violation continues shall be deemed a separate offense."

Jurisdiction is hereby conferred on the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine questions of fact as to the competition or possibility of competition, after full hearing, on the application of any railroad company or other carrier. Such application may be filed for the purpose of determining whether any existing service is in violation of this section and pray for an order permitting the continuance of any vessel or vessels already in operation, or for the purpose of asking an order to install new service not in conflict with the provisions of this paragraph. The commission may on its own motion or the application of any shipper institute proceedings to inquire into the operation of any vessel in use by any railroad or other carrier which has not applied to the commission and had the question of competition or the possibility of competition determined as herein provided. In all such cases the order of said commission shall be final.

If the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be of the opinion that any such existing specified service by water other than through the Panama Canal is being operated in the interest of the public and is of advantage to the convenience and commerce of the people, and that such extension will neither exclude, prevent, nor reduce competion on the route by water under consideration, the Interstate Commerce Commission may, by order, extend the time during which such service by water may continue to be operated beyond July first, nineteen hundred and fourteen. In every case of such extension the rates, schedules, and practices of such water carrier shall be filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission and shall be subject to the act to regulate commerce and all amendments thereto in the same manner and to the same extent as is the railroad or other common carrier controlling such water carrier or interested in any manner in its operation: *Provided,* Any application for extension under the terms of this provision filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission prior to July first, nineteen hundred and fourteen, but for any reason not heard and disposed of before said date, may be considered and granted thereafter.

No vessel permitted to engage in the coastwise or foreign trade of the United States shall be permitted to enter or pass through said canal if such ship is owned, chartered, operated, or controlled by any person or company which is doing business in violation of the provisions of the Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," or the provisions of sections seventy-three to seventy-seven, both inclusive, of an Act approved August twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, entitled "An Act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," or the provisions of any other Act of Congress amending or supplementing the said Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, commonly known as the Sherman Antitrust Act, and amendments thereto, or said sections of the Act of August twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and ninety-four. The question of fact may be determined by the judgment of any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction in any cause pending before it to which the owners or operators of such ship are parties. Suit may be brought by any shipper or by the Attorney General of the United States.

That section six of said Act to regulate commerce, as heretofore amended, is hereby amended by adding a new paragraph at the end thereof, as follows:

"When property may be or is transported from point to point in the United States by rail and water through the Panama Canal or otherwise, the transportation being by a common carrier or carriers, and not entirely within the limits of a single State, the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have jurisdiction of such transportation and of the carriers, both by rail and by water, which may or do engage in the same, in the following particulars, in addition to the jurisdiction given by the Act to regulate commerce, as amended June eighteenth, nineteen hundred and ten:

"(a) To establish physical connection between the lines of the rail carrier and the dock of the water carrier by directing the rail carrier to make suitable connection between its line and a track or tracks which have been constructed from the dock to the limits of its right of way, or by directing either or both the rail and water carrier, individually or in connection with one another, to construct and connect with the lines of the rail carrier a spur track or tracks to the dock. This provision shall only apply where such connection is reasonably practicable, can be made with safety to the public, and where the amount of business to be handled is sufficient to justify the outlay.

"The commission shall have full authority to determine the terms and conditions upon which these connecting tracks, when constructed, shall be operated, and it may, either in the construction or the operation of such tracks, determine what sum shall be paid to or by either carrier. The provisions of this paragraph shall extend to cases where the dock is owned by other parties than the carrier involved.

"(b) To establish through routes and maximum joint rates between and over such rail and water lines, and to determine all the terms and conditions under which such lines shall be operated in the handling of the traffic embraced.

"(c) To establish maximum proportional rates by rail to and from the ports to which the traffic is brought, or from which it is taken by the water carrier, and to determine to what traffic and in connection with what vessels and upon what terms and conditions such rates shall apply. By proportional rates are meant those which differ from the corresponding local rates to and from the port and which apply only to traffic which has been brought to the port or is carried from the port by a common carrier by water.

"(d) If any rail carrier subject to the Act to regulate commerce enters into arrangements with any water carrier operating from a port in the United States to a foreign country, through the Panama Canal or otherwise, for the handling of through business between interiors points of the United States and such foreign country, the Interstate Commerce Commission may require such railway to enter into similar arrangements with any or all other lines of steamships operating from said port to the same foreign country."

The orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission relating to this section shall only be made upon formal complaint or in proceedings instituted by the commission of its own motion and after full hearing. The orders provided for in the two amendments to the Act to regulate commerce enacted in this section shall be served in the same manner and enforced by the same penalties and proceedings as are the orders of the commission made under the provisions of section fifteen of the Act to regulate commerce, as amended June eighteenth, nineteen hundred and ten, and they may be conditioned for the payment of any sum or the giving of security for the payment of any sum or the discharge of any obligation which may be required by the terms of said order.

SEC. 12. That all laws and treaties relating to the extradition of persons accused of crime in force in the United States, to the extent that they may not be in conflict with or superseded by any special treaty entered into between the United States and the Republic of Panama with respect to the Canal Zone, and all laws relating to the rendition of fugitives from justice as between the several States and Territories of the United States, shall extend to and be considered in force in the Canal Zone, and for such purposes and such purposes only the Canal Zone shall be considered and treated as an organized Territory of the United States.

SEC. 13. That in time of war in which the United States shall be engaged, or when, in the opinion of the President, war is imminent, such officer of the Army as the President may designate shall, upon the order of the President, assume and have exclusive authority and jurisdiction over the operation of the Panama Canal and all of its adjuncts, appendants, and appurtenances, including the entire control and government of the Canal Zone, and during a continuance of such condition the governor of the Panama Canal shall, in all respects and particulars as to the operation of such Panama Canal, and all duties, matters, and transactions affecting the Canal Zone, be subject to the order and direction of such officer of the Army.

SEC. 14. That this Act shall be known as, and referred to as, the Panama Canal Act, and the right to alter, amend, or repeal any or all of its provisions or to extend, modify, or annul any rule or regulation made under its authority is expressly reserved.

Approved, August 24, 1912.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I should like now briefly to complete my presentation of the bill.

For the information of Senators, I understand that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] will want to represent the point of view of the minority on the committee.

It is my information that there will be no possibility of any votes this afternoon, but it is anticipated that there will be a good many votes tomorrow.

Mr. President, earlier today, I spoke about some of the impressive accomplishments of the war on poverty, mentioning the Headstart program, the Job Corps, and legal services.

I should now like to refer to the fourth accomplishment which deals with the VISTA volunteers. These are young men and young women who have enlisted in the Volunteers in Service to America who have served or are currently serving at least a year in rural poverty areas, in urban slums, on Indian reservations, and with the migrant poor.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has indicated some disenchantment with certain activities of the VISTA volunteers in West Virginia. It may well be that most of those problems arise from the conduct of Appalachian volunteers who are not recruited and are not operating under the poverty program.

I do not want to take further time at this point with regard to VISTA other than to say I have personally followed the training and the work of the VISTA volunteers all over the country, and everywhere the subcommittee went in connection with our hearings, and also during the course of the Washington hearings, we had occasion to examine and test the effectiveness of its work.

I think I can say without legitimate fear of contradiction that, with very, very few exceptions—in fact, one could name them with far fewer than the fingers of one's hand—the VISTA volunteers have been extraordinarily successful in their accomplishments. They are the domestic equivalent of the Peace Corps. They are motivated by the same ideals. They are given nearly identical training, although, of course, their training goes to areas in the United States where they expect to be assigned.

As we followed their work, I found, at least, that they have given almost uniform satisfaction in every poverty community they have served.

I personally feel that the 3,000 VISTA volunteers constitute a real star in the crown of the director of the war on poverty.

A fifth area where there has been a substantial achievement is in the fact that 30,000 poor but talented high school students are participating in the Upward Bound program, which equips them for the opportunity of attending college. One of the concerns which we have had with respect to children from poverty families who went into high school, and in many cases to college, was the lack of any motivation for the bright ones to go on and take college training and undertake a college career.

A great many of these young men and women have plenty of talent to go through college. Many of them had financial difficulties in their families, which made it difficult for them to raise tuition money, but a great many more were not motivated because it had not occurred to them that they were college material. These students who were brought into the Upward Bound program—30,000 of them—have been given that motivation, through on-campus training which they have received during the summers of their junior and senior high school years, and to some extent during the course of the academic year, also.

I have seen a great many of these young people. A good many of them come down to Washington from time to time. When we went to Johnstown, Pa., with the subcommittee not too long ago, we had a magnificent exposition of the work which is being done in Upward Bound there under a very able professor in one of the institutions of higher learning.

I am confident, from what I have seen myself, that this Upward Bound program has helped take the chains of poverty off the feet and hands of many a talented high school student who never thought, before this program was begun, that he would go on to college.

A sixth achievement of the war on poverty deals with the Neighborhood Youth Corps. There, over the years since that program began, more than 900,000 boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 21 have received full-time or part-time work—experience in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This work experience has been confined to two categories; first, among these who are still in high school or college; and, second, work-experience for those who dropped out of school and did not attend college.

There have been "bugs," to use the vernacular, in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, but I believe we will be able to sustain, during the course of the debate, the proposition that these 900,000 boys and girls who went through the experience of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program came out of it far better citizens than they were when they went in it, were far better able to obtain useful employment, and were far better oriented to the communities of which they are a part. I think the Neighborhood Youth Corps program on the whole has been one of the great successes of the poverty program.

And finally, as an eighth achievement of the poverty program, more than 42,000 Americans have received rural loans for farm improvements and small income-producing enterprises. These 42,000 Americans have in large part been able to lift themselves out of the penury and misery in which they were living with the assistance of the rural loans which have been made under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture.

I think there is a solid record of achievement in connection with the rural loans, and the committee proposes to extend that program in the pending bill.

These eight are only a few of the many specific achievements of the war on poverty. These are obvious, palpable, and measurable gains in terms of statistics, but there are many other gains that must be ascribed to this war on poverty which are less obvious and nearly impossible to measure. Among these we would have to add the goodly number of families who have been rejoined and strengthened because, through economic dignity, they have been given new hope; young people who have been diverted from delinquency, crime, and even rioting by their involvement and pride in the Neighborhood Youth Corps; high school dropouts who have been inspired to continue their education and go on to college; young parents who have kept their children instead of offering them for adoption as the result of job training that gave them new ambitions and new goals; impoverished individuals who were saved from becoming cynical and antisocial as the result of free legal services on evictions or repossession of furniture, automobile, television set, and so forth.

These are the kinds of changes in spirit and viewpoint to which President Johnson referred when he suggested that the basic conditions of life for the poor must be and can be changed.

There are 13 particular titles to the bill pending before us, and I recited them both with respect to the titles of the bill and the titles in the report—where in each instance there are findings and legislative recommendations—when I made my opening speech last Friday.

I do not intend to review each of these titles in detail, nor do I at this time intend to make a presentation in support of the emergency employment program which is title II of the act, and which is discussed with respect to findings and legislative recommendations as part 14 of the report. I think for the present this is an adequate presentation of the bill from the point of view of the committee; and in order to advise the Senator from Vermont that we are now ready for him to speak, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, at the outset, and before beginning my comments on the war on poverty in general, and on S. 2388 in particular, I want to point out an error of quotation in the supplemental views which I made in the committee report to this bill, which is designated "90th Congress, first session, Senate Report 563 on S. 2388, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967."

Mr. President, on page 209 of that committee report I have included a short paragraph which I attributed to Prof. Sar A. Levitan, of the George Washington University.

Mr. President, Professor Levitan to my knowledge did not make the statement which I have attributed to him and I regret most sincerely that this error has occurred. I sincerely hope that it will result in no embarrassment to Dr. Levitan.

Those who know Dr. Levitan will know upon reading my supplemental views that the quotation is in error, for those who know him also would realize that the quotation simply is not his own.

Mr. President, I have had a long working relationship with Dr. Levitan. I know he has what I consider one of the most brilliant minds in the field of manpower and training. I have enjoyed working with him during my membership on the Senate Labor Committee and there are few persons for whom I have greater respect. I know that my colleagues share these thoughts of Dr. Levitan and his capabilities. I depend upon him very heavily, and this relationship will, I am sure, continue. The Congress itself continues to profit in large respect from the contributions which Dr. Levitan so willingly makes to it.

Mr. President, again, I regret sincerely that this error has occurred and I am going immediately to discuss the matter with the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ask that this quotation which I attributed to Dr. Levitan be deleted from the permanent records of the reports of that committee.

Mr. President, I should now like to address myself to the pending bill. Once again it is time for our annual discussion of the war on poverty. Each time this measure has come to the floor, increasing numbers of controversies surrounding various programs are noted, and increasing numbers of people express doubts about the overall effectiveness of the legislation. But despite this mounting skepticism, no viable alternative programs have been suggested, or seriously considered.

I have consistently voiced doubts about the efficacy of the Economic Opportunity Act as it is presently designed. Yet, since I have agreed with and continue to support its purpose, and because I see an increasing urgency for legislation in this area, I have not and will not introduce any disabling or crippling amendments to the bill.

However, I feel that the time has come to suggest that while the Economic Opportunity Act as we know it today has raised the aspirations of millions of poor Americans, it has fallen far short of fulfilling their expectations. I suggest, therefore, that this is perhaps the last time that such a mixed collection of outdated and ineffectual programs can be expected to pass this body without innovative and creative changes. We cannot continue to rely on the shopworn cliche "well, we have tried."

Early this spring I indicated to the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty that I was going to conduct my own investigation of the war on poverty.

I would have liked to study poverty in all areas of the country. However, my staff is small and I was forced to limit the area and scope of my investigation. Therefore, I decided to concentrate on the effect of the poverty program in the District of Columbia.

I initiated my investigation, Mr. President, because I found the reports completed by OEO and the subcommittee's special investigation committee discouraging. I was appalled by their lack of objectivity, their lack of reliable statistics and their failure to utilize scientific techniques or evaluation. The community action agency reports which I have seen are both cursory and inaccurate.

My study, I hope, when it is complete, will demonstrate that reliable data can be easily obtained and clearly presented through utilization of scientific methods. I am collecting the following kinds of data: tape-recorded interviews with poverty officials and ordinary citizens, questionnaires given to poverty staff personnel and recorded on IBM cards, GAO audits, reports on the progress of neighborhood development center programs, and random sample survey information culled from interviews with inhabitants of poverty areas in the District.

This study has not yet been finished, and I anticipate that it will take some additional time to complete. As my investigation continues, I will from time to time inform the Senate of the results.

If there is anything I have learned from my investigation, it is that poverty in the United States is a complex phenomenon to which there are no simple solutions. My views on this subject are necessarily somewhat involved, and, therefore, I ask that Senators bear with me as I attempt to set before them the problem as I see it.

First of all, Mr. President, no perfect definition of poverty has yet been developed. Certainly poverty in the United States is noticeably different from poverty in a country such as India, where millions annually starve and hundreds of thousands have no home other than the streets. The fact that the poor in the United States have comparatively more than their counterparts in the rest of the world has bothered some experts.

Reviewing this paradoxical situation, I can sympathize with Prof. John B. Parrish when he raises the following question in a recent article printed in U.S. News & World Report:

> How can the "massive" group of America's "hopeless poor" buy so much with so little?

He cites the fact that almost all Americans have automatic cooking equipment, refrigeration, telephones, and some kind of medical aid as evidence that—

There is no basis in fact for the "new poverty" thesis.

But, Mr. President, as Mollie Orshansky points out in a recent article in the Social Security Bulletin—

> As yesterday's luxuries become tomorrow's necessities, who can define for today how much (income) is enough?

The 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress confirms her thesis when it points out that—

> It is the nature of the American experience to upgrade constantly the notion of what constitutes a decent minimum, and correspondingly, poverty.

While we may fall far short of obtaining a consensus with respect to a universal definition for poverty, it is obvious that too many Americans are faced with unnecessary want in this land of plenty.

The yardstick most commonly used to measure poverty is that of income. The U.S. Census Bureau has indicated that in 1966, there were 29.7 million people in the United States with incomes below that which is adjudged by the Social Security Administration to be necessary for freedom from want. Fourteen percent of America's 60 million families have incomes under $3,000. This poverty affects all age groups from the young to the aged.

Poverty among the young is often hidden, but the fact that there are 4.8 million parents and children currently on the rolls for aid to dependent children is a shocking reminder of its existence. In addition to those on AFDC, President Johnson has indicated that there are perhaps "12 million children in families below the poverty level—$3,000," who do not receive welfare benefits.

Poverty often does irreparable damage

to the young poor. This is readily apparent when we consider that in 1966 more than 1 in 3 of the poor children, ages 16 to 21, were not in school and were not high school graduates, as compared with only 1 in 7 from nonpoor families. These facts are particularly significant since without education an individual is severely disadvantaged in the job market. Such a disadvantage in the job market subjects the individual to low earnings and causes a lifetime of poverty.

Among adults, growing relief rolls and high unemployment rates are testimony to the fact that many individuals do not have marketable job skills. During 1966, 2.5 million were unemployed 15 weeks or more. Of these, 1.25 million looked for jobs but could not find them. Another 1.3 million males between the age of 25 to 64 did not even look for work either because of indifference or lack of hope in finding one.

For these adults poverty has too often become a way of life. Their lack of formal education or job training gives them little chance for escaping their plight even in their old age.

Now, Mr. President, I would like to be able to say that the poverty cycle is broken at retirement, but I cannot. As a matter of fact, quite the opposite situation is true. Many individuals who had been fully self-sufficient during their working years for the first time are thrown into poverty when they retire. Thousands of these individuals are rudely awakened to the fact that their retirement income will probably equal less than one-third of the income they were used to receiving during their productive years.

At this very minute, more than 5½ million Americans over age 65 have total annual incomes below the paltry poverty level of $1,500 a year for an individual or $1,900 for a couple. For many of these older Americans, this standard is certainly grossly inadequate. It is grossly inadequate because living costs for the widow or widower increase; it is grossly inadequate because the infirmities of age often necessitate additional services; it is grossly inadequate because inflation continues to stretch their fixed incomes beyond the breaking point.

Americans over the age of 65 constitute the largest single group trapped by poverty. Thousands are having their first encounter with want since the depression years of the 1930's. Their encounter is with a poverty which is the cruelest of all. It is the cruelest, Mr. President, because it is attacking human beings who are least able to defend themselves from its terrible consequences. The older American has several disadvantages. Physically and psychologically he is severely handicapped in compensating for low income, poor housing, and inadequate nutrition. In addition to these limitations affecting the individual himself, society imposes discrimination, impatience, and an almost callous disrespect for the aged.

Mr. President, while dividing the population by age groups presents one way of looking at poverty, other divisions are also significant; for example, poverty is not confined to the big cities alone. During the hearings the subcommittee conducted, it was graphically demonstrated that the rural poor are probably those who are most seriously affected by poverty. Poverty is very real to those suffering from malnutrition in Mississippi, in large sections of Appalachia, and even in my own State of Vermont. Poverty has robbed thousands of adequate education, job training, and dignified retirement.

It is often alleged that rural areas receive more than their fair share of poverty money and programs. This allegation, Mr. President, is without foundation. As Sargent Shriver indicated in a letter to Senator JAVITS on March 11 of this year, the Office of Economic Opportunity had spent only about 30 percent of its funds in rural areas even though the rural areas have about 45 percent of the poor population.

Sargent Shriver himself admitted:

> We have not been able to get enough programs active in the rural areas.

In many rural areas of the country we find that there are almost no social service agencies, visiting nurse services, homemaker services, senior citizen centers, public transportation, or adequate medical facilities.

So that I will not be misunderstood, Mr. President, let me emphasize that I am not opposed to fighting an efficient war on poverty in the cities. However, I believe that each one of us must not forget that the poor family in the country has as serious a problem in existing as the poor family in the city.

Obviously, Mr. President, urban problems represent the greatest threat to domestic tranquillity since the depression years of the 1930's. While urban difficulties are highly complex, it is generally agreed that poverty is one of the major urban problems. The presence of poverty in urban areas is often compounded by large nonwhite populations.

Utilizing the yardstick of income alone, the nonwhite American does far worse than his white counterpart. The median income of white Americans was $7,722 in 1966 and was only $3,971 for nonwhites. In addition some 30.4 percent of nonwhites reported incomes of less than $3,000 while 12.4 percent of whites were in a comparable situation. The rift between the two groups is widening as the differential risk of poverty among the groups changes. While increasing numbers of white persons have been able to lift themselves out of poverty, the incidence of poverty among nonwhites has increased. For example, of nonwhite families with as many as five children, 71 percent were categorized as poor in 1959; 76 percent in 1964.

Up to this point I have talked about the characteristics of poverty. We have seen that poverty knows no age barrier—it affects those who are young; those in their working years; those in their retirement years. We have seen that poverty has no geographic barrier—it affects those in the city and those in the country. We have seen that poverty has no racial barrier—it affects the Negro and the white.

Now, Mr. President, I would like to discuss some of the factors which contribute to poverty. Without an understanding of these causes there can be no lasting solutions.

Inferior education, ineffective job training, inadequate social security payments, substandard housing, welfare doles, urbanization, and suburbanization all contribute, both separately and together, to the continuation of poverty. Although it is difficult to isolate the effects of individual causes, I would now like to attempt to discuss each of these major areas briefly.

First, Mr. President, as a Nation we have consistently recognized the importance of education to individual and national well-being. We have justifiably taken pride in our public schools being open to all children and our compulsory school laws which require the youth of our land to avail themselves of this opportunity.

While our commitment to education is complete, our efforts are not effectively reaching those who should gain the most from it—the disadvantaged poor. Probably the most universal measurement of education achievement of our youth is the selective service mental examinations. A surprisingly large number of individuals score low marks or fail this relatively simple test. Caryl Connor and Richard deNewville in an article entitled "How Good Are Our Schools" point out:

> The 1963 Department of Labor study reported that the majority of young men failing the AFQT, White and Negro alike, were the products of poverty. Forty percent of them had never gone beyond grammar school, four out of five didn't finish high school, one-third came from broken homes, and one-fifth came from families that have needed public assistance.

The statistics are legion, Mr. President, which prove that children from poor families do not go as far in school as their middle and upper class counterparts, nor do they achieve as much while they are there. Ironically, we find ourselves in the position of telling the poor that education is the vehicle by which they can escape poverty. Yet, our school system fails particularly with children from poor families. It is imperative that we overcome this failure.

The English historian H. G. Welles characterized the dilemma we face when he said:

> Man's existence is a race between education and catastrophe.

If we do not succeed in providing the poor with an adequate education, their "catastrophe" will be a lifetime of poverty due to lack of the skills necessary for successful competition in the job market.

It is essential that the Economic Opportunity Act and other Federal education programs find ways to provide adequate education for the poor children of the Nation.

Second, Mr. President, we find that large numbers of Americans do not have training adequate enough for competition in our fast moving job market. Sar A. Levitan and Garth I. Mangum, in a recent article entitled "Programs and Priorities," estimated that most of the 2.5 million periodically unemployed, 1.25 million who looked for but did not find work, and 1.3 million who did not seek work are all "potential candidates for manpower and poverty programs." The article indicated that the total enrollment in programs attempting to reach these people was 290,000. Clearly, we must provide these people with an opportunity to overcome their skill deficiency.

Unfortunately, we in Congress accepted the challenge of job training with such overzealousness that we produced a hodge-podge of legislation with much duplication and overlap in programs.

The Federal Government alone administers 79 separate training and education programs under the auspices of 15 different bureaus and agencies. The W. E. Upjohn Institute reports that funds for job recruitment can be obtained from nine manpower sources; funds for adult basic education from 10; funds for prevocational training and skill training from 10, and funds for work experience from five. On-the-job training can be subsidized by five programs and supportive services can be funded from nine programs.

Yet, ironically, Mr. President, the multitude of programs available meet only a small part of the Nation's training and vocational education needs. The adverse effects of diffused responsibility are self-evident. For one thing, familiarity with all available resources of training and educational assistance is almost impossible for both those who need the aid and those who administer the program. For another, it has led to so much proliferation that it is now an established fact that many of these programs actually compete for and assist the same needy clientele. The inevitable result is the wastage of hundreds of thousands of dollars and incalculable time and effort. Training and vocational education programs must, of necessity, be improved, expanded, better coordinated and used more prudently.

In addition, there has been less than a complete commitment to job training by private enterprise. I believe this is understandable, Mr. President, when we consider that few businesses, large or small, can afford the time and effort necessary to seek out and negotiate with all the Federal and State purveyors of job training programs.

Another limitation to our piecemeal approach in the job training field has been that too often the really disadvantaged poor are bypassed. I suppose this is understandable, since it is human nature for a program administrator or an independent businessman to want only the "creme of the crop" when it comes to job training. Nevertheless, there can be no hope for self-sufficiency for the poor unless and until they receive adequate training for available jobs.

Third, Mr. President, reliance on an inadequate social security system by millions of Americans has significantly contributed to poverty.

(At this point Mr. MORSE assumed the chair.)

Mr. **PROUTY**. Mr. President, my belief that there is an overreliance on the adequacy of the social security benefits can be amply supported by statistics. Less than 15 percent of the nearly 20 million Americans who are now retired are covered by private pension systems. As I pointed out earlier, the vast majority of those retired rely on social security benefits as their major source of income. With such a reliance, more than 5½ million older Americans continue to live in abject poverty.

Fourth, Mr. President, poverty is both bred and nourished by substandard housing.

The most striking and noticeable visual feature of poverty in our Nation's cities is that of dirty, dilapidated, closely packed tenement buildings, whose windows and doors overflow with poorly dressed, predominantly Negro people, and whose fronts and alleys are littered with refuse and trash. Inside, if one can maneuver past the garbage which blocks the entrance and fight down the nausea which rises because of the stench, one sees falling plaster, leaking pipes, defective lighting, and many other features too numerous to enumerate.

Rural squalor is less visible, but just as real. Millions of Americans dwell in tarpaper shacks of plywood shelters tucked away in Appalachia. The numbers of people who live in these conditions is appalling.

The 1960 census classified 10.6 million of the 58.3 million housing units in the country, substandard by virtue of either structural deficiencies or lack of plumbing. Of these 10.6 million substandard units, 4.3 million were located in urban places, 4.8 million in rural nonfarm communities, and 1.5 million on rural farms.

These statistics become even more appalling when one considers that generally the number of individuals per housing unit is greater in bad housing than in good housing.

Many experts in the field argue that probably over 30 percent of American families are living in substandard homes. The inadequacies of housing are particularly evident in our Nation's Capital. During our subcommittee hearings, Mr. President, we learned that over 41 percent of the people in Washington, D.C., are living in substandard housing.

Government efforts at eradication of substandard housing can be considered minimal, piecemeal, and ultimately harmful. The latter is true because while urban renewal concepts have raised expectations of change, the actual effect of programs put into operation has been to exacerbate already horrendous conditions.

For example, VA- and FHA-guaranteed loans have tended to move middle class families from the inner city to the suburbs. Urban renewal legislation has tended to raze large sections of inner cities, causing massive dislocation of low-income families. Public housing has encouraged continued dependency on the welfare dole by destroying self-sufficiency incentives, since severe income restrictions force inhabitants to move out after slight increases in income.

Poor housing is an integral part of poverty and cannot be isolated from it. Elimination of substandard housing can pave the way to victory over poverty. However, so long as one out of five American families live in unfit housing our war on poverty becomes a stalemate never to be won.

Fifth, Mr. President, the welfare dole all too often significantly contributes to the continuation of poverty. Poverty has been described as a vicious circle. It does seem to be self-perpetuating. For example, it has been noted from studies of welfare recipients that as many as three generations in the same family have lived entirely on the welfare program.

Certainly, it cannot be denied that there is a need for welfare payments in many instances. However, it is frightening to consider that the 8.25 million individuals now on public welfare number one million more than those on relief during the depression year of 1936.

It is frightening, Mr. President, because this Nation has the highest standard of living in the world.

It is frightening, Mr. President, because it seems that the welfare dole is becoming a matter of right rather than merely a means whereby society acts humanely.

It is frightening, Mr. President, because the welfare dole, because of its very nature, encourages dependency rather than self-sufficiency.

For those families in which welfare has become a way of life, generation after generation, the very system of welfare payments must be held at least partly responsible for the continuation of poverty.

Sixth, Mr. President, urbanization and suburbanization have been major contributing factors to poverty.

There are wide and constant population shifts in our country. The promise of the city and the hope of jobs pulled millions off the farms and into the city, particularly during the decades including and following the great depression. The shift from country to city life produced strains, caused dislocation, and disruption of traditional social patterns and undoubtedly contributed to urban poverty.

Urbanization continues today, but in a slightly different way. There are several aspects of this new type of urbanization which are relevant to the problems of poverty. First, it should be noted that Negroes who are at an economic disadvantage are now more urbanized than are whites. In 1960, according to U.S. census figures, 69.5 percent of whites were urban dwellers compared with 73.2 percent of Negroes.

A concomitant phenomenon has been the departure of the whites for the suburbs, leaving the Negro behind in the inner city. Between 1930 and 1960 the Negro proportion of the population of Washington, D.C., for example, increased from 27.1 to 53.9 percent and in 1965 became 61.4 percent. The 92,890 persons who moved from the District between 1953 and 1960 were 95 per cent white.

Those who migrate to the suburbs from both races are the middle-aged population or younger middle-aged population. This means that there are increases in the numbers of very old and very young age groups, but decreasing numbers of the people in between—people who would be most likely to be capable of self-sufficiency.

Industry is moving to the suburbs with the employable people. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study reveals that from 1960 to 1965, 62 percent of valuation permits authorized for new industrial buildings and 52 percent of valuation for mercantile buildings were issued for the suburbs.

A CEA report indicated that in seven large metropolitan areas 975,000 new jobs became available in the suburban ring in the period 1948–62. At the same time central cities gained only 60,000 jobs. This indicates a major redistribution of employment.

These facts—

As Secretary Wirtz has said:

> reveal a long-term tendency for major sources of employment to be located quite a distance from the residence of workers with a very high incidence of unemployment and poverty.

A third aspect of the urbanization phenomenon is the push-pull mechanism which causes the very poor—particularly but not exclusively Negro—to continue to migrate to the city. Lower welfare payments, fewer job opportunities and less general economic activity tend to push residents from poorer rural States to urban areas which generally have higher welfare payments and more Federal and State job training and job-creating activities. And the increasing amount of Federal activity on the job-creating area exercises a pull on those in rural areas.

Finally, Mr. President, the isolation and alienation of the poor in the inner city are significant factors of poverty. Urban life with its overcrowding, dirt, and impersonality has a dislocating effect on the individual moving to the city from the country, and a disruptive effect on normal social patterns.

In addition, Mr. President, we have become such a complex society that a high degree of organization seems to be our hallmark. In every city in this country without exception, one can find hundreds of organizations espousing various interests. With all these organizations it would seem that every individual in the city would feel a part of the city through one or more of the interest groups. But this is not the case.

In city after city individuals have become more isolated and alienated from the rest of the city. This isolation and alienation all too often create frustration against the existing structures of society.

Formerly, there were institutions in large cities which took a special interest in the poor. However, many of these have tended to become middle class, changing status along with the immigrants they first organized and have moved to the suburbs. The day of party patronage and of the ward politician has, for the most part passed. City government has become increasingly more centralized and impersonal, and the individual in the slums is unable to relate to it in any way.

In this kind of environment, Mr. President, where the individual is often thrown out of—or never incorporated in—the family fold, where the individual finds few opportunities or incentive for advancement, and where the individual feels disassociated from institutions of all kinds, isolation, frustration, alienation, lack of motivation and withdrawal are common reactions.

Mr. President, poverty is still with us, as we have seen from our examination of characteristics and causes. And, the existing programs, indeed the whole war on poverty, has failed to break the vicious circle of poverty. I submit that the operation has failed to reach the takeoff point because the approach has been wrong.

The poverty program has for the most part consisted of solutions proposed to alleviate the specific ills of the 1930's. These are ideas and programs which are largely inappropriate to, inadequate for, and unadaptable to the complex poverty problems of the 1960's. The dedication on the part of the administration to these outdated ideas has resulted in a stalemated poverty war which has become itself a vicious circle of inefficiency and, in many cases, ineffectuality.

Utilization of old ideas has resulted in a hodge-podge program and piecemeal efforts. These piecemeal efforts are ineffectual, so additional panaceas are offered leading to a proliferation of programs.

The great number of programs is confusing, and often unsuccessful, so similar programs are adopted, resulting in duplication and overlap.

Because of duplication and overlap, there is lack of coordination between agencies running programs, especially with regard to funding.

Lack of coordination results in misunderstanding which leads to actual administrative in-fighting over programs.

Since each agency is jealous of its own programs, there is no effort made to effectively evaluate the programs, and cutbacks in financing or phaseouts are unheard of.

Since there is no evaluation, no cutback and no programs are terminated, there is little effort made to develop new ideas, so the old ideas and old programs of the 1930's remain.

We must be open to innovative ideas which will take into account the different complex causes and effects of poverty. We must also discontinue our piecemeal efforts, realizing that many of the problems of poverty are interrelated. Only comprehensive, integrated, coordinated efforts will enable us to make maximum headway on the poverty front.

Toward this end, I would propose that the following steps be taken toward finding solutions to poverty in the United States.

Mr. President, better education is an ultimate and long range solution to the problems of poverty. We must concentrate on developing more effective and innovative tools for motivating and training those who are economically, physically, or mentally disabled. Some progress has been made in this area, but our efforts must be doubled.

I believe that the education being provided for retarded children in this country exemplifies what can be done with constructive cooperation between the Federal, State, and local governments. While we still have a long way to go in that area, we have made significant strides in educating those who were considered ineducable 10 or 15 years ago.

If through cooperation, we can make great strides forward for those who are mentally or physically disadvantaged we can also provide a better education for those who are economically and socially disadvantaged.

Some of the new education-type programs developed in the war on poverty are proving to be of considerable importance in our effort to help those who have not been helped through presently existing educational institutions.

The Headstart program for preschool children has proven very successful in helping youngsters to adjust to the school environment.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is a program which has mixed blessings. The in-school portion of NYC programs have proven to be most beneficial because they do encourage young people to remain in school and at the same time help them acquire needed skills essential to future employment.

The out-of-school NYC programs, however, leave much to be desired for they are too often merely of a make-work nature. Exclusive of providing temporary income, out-of-school NYC seems to fall short of any real valuable training experience.

In the first years of the war on poverty, I was opposed to the Job Corps program, and have, in the past, offered amendments to remove it from the bill. It is an inordinately expensive program in relation to the results it has produced. This year, however, significant administrative and personnel changes have taken place in the Job Corps structure at OEO, and I look forward with considerable hope for the increased worth of the program as a result of these changes. The Job Corps has developed excellent techniques for educating disadvantaged youth which should be studied carefully and emulated by educational institutions which are themselves attempting to cope with large numbers of poor youths.

Mr. President, several of my amendments affecting the Job Corps were accepted in subcommittee. These, I hope, will aid the Job Corps in achieving its purpose. Among those was an amendment which provided that the final salary check of a graduating enrollee be picked up at the nearest office of the U.S. Employment Service. I believe that this will give the Employment Service an opportunity to be of service to the returning graduates. Hopefully, this will not only result in better job placement, but will also provide a means for maintaining better statistics concerning the success of Job Corps training.

Also adopted was my amendment which would provide that an enrollee's rate of pay not exceed $35 per month during the first 6 months; but could go as high as $65 per month thereafter. I believe that this will provide incentives for young men and women to stay in the Job Corps until they receive the fullest benefits possible.

Along the same line, my amendment providing that there should be no readjustment allowance for enrollees who do not stay in the program for at least 180 days was adopted.

Second, Mr. President, the man who is unemployed is similar to a patient with many ills. He needs the assistance of a variety of specialists to cure him. Most, of course, do not have necessary skills—they need training. Many of the unemployed, however, also suffer from health defects. Others lack the incentive to seek help; they must be sought out. Still others do not have the motivation necessary to remain on a job they have been trained for—these people need counseling and advice. Because of these factors, there is a need for the establishment of centers where services can be provided as training takes place.

Just as the services of every medical specialist in a hospital must be available to a patient with multiple ills, so every segment of the community must cooperate in providing both training and services. There must, in addition, be Federal and local cooperation in improving the environmental conditions of the city so that the efforts of the newly trained individual to actually secure employment will be facilitated. In this regard, better interurban transportation, the establishment of more day care centers, and the adjustment of employment criteria are important areas in which action and improvements are needed.

What is being done to improve the present piecemeal approach? Not nearly enough. Instead, Mr. President, the Labor and Public Welfare Committee has seen fit to recommend a new emergency Employment Act which will not provide training or supportive services, but will spend an inordinate amount of money on make-work jobs. This approach is reminiscent of the WPA projects of the thirties. It is not a long-range solution to the problems of unemployment.

In addition, there is a great danger inherent in the title II program. Such a job program could actually exacerbate the problems of our cities by attracting a multitude of rural poor to the cities. Eli Ginzburg, in an article entitled "Advice to the Urban Coalition," printed in the Reporter, mentions the following problems which could plague a massive Federal job program:

> What of the substantial numbers of poor whites and poor Negroes who, despite the massive cityward migration of the last two decades, still live on farms or in rural nonfarm locations. We must expect them, too, to drift into the cities and attempt to get jobs on the Federal work program.
>
> The truth is that it will not be possible to design a work program satisfactory to the disadvantaged of the slums without also creating a magnetic pull on many other poorly paid workers in the urban and rural economy, a pull so powerful that the Federal government would not be able to cope with the numbers seeking jobs on the new program.

Even this vast make-work project, however, will not provide all the people who need jobs with employment. There should be some system of priorities in any program so that those most needing assistance can receive it. The heads of families, for example, since they have dependent children, should be given first consideration.

Mr. President, until now, the most important and most successful of our training programs have been those which provide on-the-job training and those projects under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Their results have been valuable because they have permitted the poor to make advances which they otherwise would have not made. It is well for us to remember, however, that MDTA and OJT have been significantly more successful than other programs because those who have been selected as participants have possessed the greatest potential for achievement.

Government programs cannot hope to take care of training the vast number of those who need it, however. Thus, the participation of private industry must be sought.

During the past two Congresses, I have offered what has become known as the Human Investment Act, which would provide tax credits to businesses and industries which conduct training programs to assist in developing the skills among the unemployed and upgrading those of the employed and underemployed. This approach to training increases the worth of the poor of the Nation, and permits them to become gainfully employed without the stigma which inevitably will attach to any make-work program.

What is more important, Mr. President, the human investment approach provides the incentive which we must have if we are to overcome the great reluctance which business has to hire and train middle-aged persons. I am well aware that there are programs going on in American industry today in which older persons and others are being trained in order to fill empty jobs which now are going begging. But I am convinced that industry, and indeed our entire commercial structure, can and will expand this type of training very substantially if provided with meaningful inducements.

I submit that the human investment approach might very well be the answer to many of the training problems encountered in the war on poverty.

Third, Mr. President, I would like to propose a solution for eliminating poverty among our older citizens.

For the vast majority of Americans who have reached age 65, job training, additional education or Federal programs providing work relief have little application. But, Mr. President, we in Congress have the ability to eliminate the plight of the older American by providing adequate social security benefits. For the last few years, I have proposed that we increase the minimum social security benefits from $44 per month to at least $70 per month. Unlike last year, the administration joined in proposing this goal for this session of Congress. I am hopeful that when the social security bill reaches the Senate floor, we will be able to increase the $50 minimum contained in the bill which passed the House and increase it to at least $70.

I realize, Mr. President, that even $70 per month will not completely eliminate poverty for the 5½ million older Americans who desperately need more income. However, Commissioner Ball, of the Social Security Administration, testified before the Finance Committee that such an increase would have the effect of lifting 2 million Americans out of poverty. There are few times that Congress has been offered such a certain opportunity for eliminating a large segment of poverty.

Another part of the social security law which should be amended in order to eliminate poverty among the aged is the so-called retirement test or earnings limitation. At present, a social security recipient is, in effect, penalized whenever he earns more than $1,500 a year. I have proposed raising that retirement test or earnings limitation to $2,400 a year, for two reasons:

First, I believe that a significant number of older Americans are quite ready, willing, and able to supplement their income by their own efforts.

Second, I believe that for many older Americans employment contributed not only to the productivity of the Nation, but also fulfills their physical and psychological needs.

In this area, Mr. President, we do not need piece-meal legislation; we do not need gimmicks; we do not need a proliferation of programs. What we do need, Mr. President, is to provide adequate social security benefits.

Fourth, Mr. President, I would like to propose that the time has come for a more realistic approach to the problem of substandard housing.

Our greatest efforts have been in the area of urban renewal. However, as Congressman WILLIAM WIDNALL noted in testimony before the Ribicoff hearings on urban affairs, urban renewal has not been a success. He said:

> Urban renewal started in 1949, and here it is 1966, and we haven't taken any kind of look at what has been accomplished by it, whether or not taxes have improved because of it. We do know that in city after city throughout this country, buildings have been bulldozed, just knocked down, and the land has been left fallow for years, with a loss of any revenue ratables at all. I can cite you one city after another where this has happened.

Mr. President, the time has come for some creative thinking in the housing field. Certainly public housing with its income limitations and welfare approach does not encourage self-sufficiency for its beneficiary.

It was with that thought in mind that I was pleased to cosponsor S. 1592 which was introduced by the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY]. That bill, if enacted, would establish a national homeowners foundation which would provide a constructive partnership between the public and private sectors of our economy.

More importantly, Mr. President, it would provide homeownership for thousands of American families who could otherwise not afford it. I am convinced that the principle of homeownership has distinct benefits over any system based on welfare alone.

Fifth, Mr. President, I propose that we study how this Nation can decrease the size of its welfare rolls.

I believe that it is appalling that today we have 1 million more recipients on the welfare rolls than in the depression year of 1936. I would hope that serious consideration be given to proposals which encourage able-bodied individuals in receipt of welfare to participate in work-training programs.

As you know, title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided for work experience programs specifically designed to remove heads of households from the welfare rolls. Unfortunately, my investigations of the title V project in Newark, N.J., and elsewhere convinced me that poor administration and an overemphasis on the work relief approach seriously impaired the effectiveness of title V.

As with other parts of the poverty program, I believe constant scrutiny and evaluation are necessary so as to insure that we get the most for our money.

Sixth, Mr. President, we must develop an overall approach which will minimize the detrimental effects of urbanization and suburbanization.

Basically, Mr. President, what is required is that people and job opportunities be brought together. There must be adequate mobility so that people can travel to and from work. There must be incentives for industry to provide jobs in areas where they are needed.

It was with these thoughts in mind, Mr. President, that I cosponsored Senate Joint Resolution 64, introduced by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt]. That resolution, Mr. President, will establish a commission for a balanced economy which would look into the possibility for locating industry in rural areas. Perhaps we will find that the time has come to conduct economic planning in partnership with business so as to minimize the migration of citizens from one jobless area to another.

Finally, Mr. President, some method must be devised for enabling the isolated, alienated individual who lives in the inner city to act in concert with his fellow slum dwellers to improve his conditions, communicate his feelings to government, and to institute change.

The recent urban upheaval we have had should be proof to all of us that there is a need for new and constructive thinking with respect to urban living. When we consider the problems of poverty, we often forget that part of the problem is political rather than economic, and stems from the isolation, alienation, and frustration of the urban dweller. Milton Kotler, of the Institute for Policy Research, has perhaps stated the problem most eloquently. He says:

> The greatest current defect of city government is the vast distance which exists between its administration and its citizens. The process of city administration is invisible to the citizen who sees little evidence of its human components but feels the sharp pain of taxation. With increasingly poor public service, his desires and needs are more insistently expressed. Yet his expressions of needs seem to issue into thin air, for government does not appear attentive to his demands. This disjunction between citizen and government is the major political problem of city government because it embodies the dynamics of civil disorder.

Community action agencies and neighborhood development centers have, for the most part, not succeeded in either involving individuals in the neighborhood or enabling them to relate their feelings to government. For this reason, I have viewed with extreme interest the concept and the possibilities of the neighborhood corporation.

A neighborhood corporation, as I understand it, is in effect a city within a city, organization based on a territorial unit which enables an individual through his natural group structure to relate to government. Such an approach is most attractive. As I understand it, a neighborhood corporation could, upon demonstration of its responsibility, gradually be given more and more authority.

Coming as I do from Vermont, where the town meeting provides a political outlet for all citizens, and makes it difficult for any Vermonter to feel isolated or alienated, I am interested in any concept which will encourage participatory democracy.

The distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff] has introduced S. 143, which would provide incentives for the formation of neighborhood corporations. I would hope that the Senate would carefully consider this concept of the neighborhood corporation which has been demonstrated effective in at least one instance.

Mr. President, I think it is fair to say that we have reached a point where the war on poverty must be reevaluated. Promises are plentiful, but meaningful results have fallen far short of expectations.

We must recognize, Mr. President, that piecemeal proposals left over from the 1930's are not adequate to meet the needs of the 1960's.

I have offered some viable alternatives to the antiquated approach represented in this act. It is all too apparent to individuals in this body and to the country at large that creative measures such as the Human Investment Act, the Commission for Studying a Balanced Economy, the National Homeowners' Foundation, increased benefits for older Americans, and other imaginative proposals must be given a greater priority.

We must try to keep the young in school by providing adequate education which prepares them for entry into the Nation's work force. We must insure that all able-bodied Americans who form a part of the working force have the skills, training, motivation, and opportunity necessary for securing and keeping employment in a job which will provide sufficient income for existence above the threshhold of poverty. We must provide adequate income for those who are partially or completely out of the work force because of age. Finally, for those who are physically or mentally handicapped or who for other reasons are untrainable, the Government, I am afraid, must act as employer of last resort.

But, Mr. President, the Federal Government cannot do the job of eliminating poverty all by itself. There must be a coordinated and comprehensive effort by the Federal, State, and local governments and above all both the private sector of the economy and organized labor must become fully involved.

Working together, avoiding excessive duplication and avoiding the piecemeal approach of programs from the 1930's, we can win the war on poverty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Morse in the chair). The Chair suggests the absence of a quorum.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, earlier today, the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey severely criticized the President of the United States for an alleged vacuum of leadership in dealing with the problems of the cities. Among other things, he used this language:

> There are times in the life of every man, and every nation, that demand the courage of conviction. I find it difficult to discern either courage or conviction in the actions of the Administration to date. The banner is raised, at least intermittently, but there is no drive behind it. The Administration marches backward.

Mr. President, the legislation which is pending before us is of great concern to all of us—to the Senators from New Jersey, the Senators from Maine, and the Senators from all 50 States. The record shows that it is a problem of concern to the President of the United States. I think the record will show further, Mr. President, that no President in our history has shown more concern, forwarded more recommendations, or fought harder for programs dealing with the problems of the cities, than has President Johnson.

Understandably, among those who are concerned there will be differences of opinion as to specifically what programs should be enacted, what programs should be supported, or what programs should be pushed, and at what time. But to disagree as to these details, Mr. President, is something different from questioning each other's motives or each other's sincerity. I submit, Mr. President, that it does not serve the cause of the cities, the cause that so many of us seek to serve, to destroy the credibility of one who has been one of the best friends that the cities have had in the history of our country.

The record of the 89th Congress, Mr. President, is replete with new, imaginative, and meaningful programs dealing with the problems of urban America which were submitted to us by the administration. The 89th Congress enacted scores of programs having an impact upon the lives of the citizens in our cities. The number of grant-in-aid programs, for example, has increased from slightly more than 70 in 1960 to well over 200 at the present time; and most of those programs deal, in one way or another, with the problems of the crowded masses of people in our cities.

The Senator from New Jersey has criticized the President for the inadequacy of his programs. Let me say, on that point, that the President must deal with the political realities which confront him, as much as must the distinguished Senator from New Jersey.

(Mr. CLARK assumed the chair as Presiding Officer at this point.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. MUSKIE. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I rise to support the Senator from Maine, because I think there is not the slightest basis in fact for criticizing the President of the United States in respect to the position he has taken in trying to help the cities, and particularly to help solve our ghetto problems. I think history will record that the President of the United States has exercised remarkable leadership in trying to awaken the American people to the nature of this very serious domestic problem.

As the Senator from Maine knows, I have worked very closely with the President ever since he has been in office, and with President Kennedy before him, in connection with our whole educational program. If Senators will just take a look at the record President Johnson has made in proposing legislation and supporting those of us who have handled his legislation in connection with Federal aid to education for special educational programs within the cities, they will have all the rebuttal they need to meet any partisan attack on the President of the United States.

Mr. President, I feel that I have some little right, as well as a duty, to express my support of the President, in view of the fact that when I find myself in disagreement with him, as in the field of foreign policy, I do not hesitate to express my disagreement.

I wish to say that this President is a great President, and I want particularly to stress the fact that his greatness is illustrated time and time again by the positions he has taken in connection with our city problems. He has again, as I have worked with him this year on our educational programs, recognized the importance of our doing something about the problems of education in the ghettos and the metropolitan areas of the country. I shall not take further time to state the documentation I can state in support of that position, but let me mention one very quickly: The leadership of the President in connection with the Job Corps training program, which seeks to get down to the slum areas and take out of them the school dropouts which, if we do not do something for them, will drastically increase the populations of the prisons of this country.

What the President seeks to do is to have them increase the number of men and women in jobs. For, when we do that, we give them the economic wherewithal with which they can develop their citizen responsibiilty.

I am therefore pleased to have this opportunity to say these few words in support of the position the Senator from Maine has taken.

The support he has given the President with respect to this issue is richly deserved.

(At this point, Mr. MORSE took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Oregon for giving me this support. He can speak first hand on this subject, especially in the field of labor and education legislation. I am delighted to have him help fill out the record.

Mr. President, I was speaking of the political reality which the President has had to face and which the Senator from New Jersey must face. For example, last year the President sent up his recommendation for the model cities program. He asked for $2.3 billion to be spent over 6 years.

In committee, where I was privileged to handle the legislation, in order to get the bill out of committee I had to agree to a reduction of that program from $2.3 billion to $900 million for a 2-year period.

We brought that bill to the floor of the Senate. I point out to the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey that a majority of his party on this floor voted against a bill which represented a sharp reduction from what the President had requested.

What has happened this year? This year the President asked for full funding of the model cities program in the amount of $662 million. What happened to that request? The House cut it to $237 million. And how did the Members of the House from the political party of the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey vote? One hundred and forty-one Republicans in the House voted against the measure, or voted for the cut.

I do not use these figures to question the honesty of the support which the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey gives to these programs. I use these figures to point out that, just as he must face the political reality, so must the President.

With respect to the pending legislation, the poverty program, has the Senator from New Jersey forgotten that it was this President who created the war on poverty? I can recall vividly when he sent that recommendation up to us shortly after he became President, the cries of ridicule and political expediency with which it was greeted by Members on the Republican side of the aisle.

The President fought to get that program created. He has fought to keep it alive ever since. And it is interesting to note the reaction of another member of the political party of the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey to the President's leadership in this respect.

I will read from this morning's issue of the New York Times, a statement of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, of New York, made on the program "Issues and Answers."

Mr. Rockefeller, when questioned whether President Johnson had failed to recognize the racial problem, said:

> To the contrary, I personally think he, as much as anyone, has anticipated the situation, and his poverty program will go down in history as one of the truly significant programs.

This is not Senator MUSKIE speaking. This is not President Johnson speaking. This is the Governor of the State of New York, a member of the political party of the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey, speaking.

Returning to the subject of political realities, the President sent up a request this year for funding of the rent supplement program, and on the House side it was completely eliminated from the bill—163 Republicans voted against it; 12 Republicans voted for it.

Mr. President, in his speech the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey used this language:

> The banner is raised, at least intermittently, but there is no drive behind it.

Mr. President, I would like to refer to some copies of correspondence which indicate that the President not only sends up these recommendations and appropriation requests, but also works unceasingly day in and day out behind the scenes to rally congressional support for the programs.

One would think that in these days when he is beleaguered by our overseas problems that he might let up, and that he might be forgiven for letting up, on these domestic programs. However, in August of this year—and I have copies—three letters were sent by the President to the appropriate leaders on the Hill pleading for their support for programs of the cities.

On August 23, 1967, he wrote to the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], in which letter he said:

> I am glad I had an opportunity to speak to you Friday about the critical importance of obtaining favorable and prompt legislative action on the problems of our cities.
>
> We are all very much encouraged by your support for the Rent Supplement Program and I wanted you to have copies of letters I have sent to Senators Mansfield and Magnuson. I hope you will study them and give your support to these programs which are so important to all of our cities some of the most important of which you so eloquently speak for.

On the same date, he wrote to the Vice President, and in the opening paragraph of that letter, he said:

> As we discussed at breakfast this morning, it is of critical importance that the programs for the cities now pending before the Congress be enacted with the funding we have requested.

On the same date, the President wrote to the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], who so ably handled the independent offices appropriations bill last week, and the President said in the opening paragraph:

> I am writing to you about three vital requests now pending before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriation: the rent supplements program, the Model Cities program, and a program of urban research and technology. These three new, far-reaching and innovative measures are, I believe, among the most important measures of this decade.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the three letters be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., August 23, 1967.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HUBERT: As we discussed at breakfast this morning, it is of critical importance that the programs for the cities now pending before the Congress be enacted with the funding we have requested.

As you know, both you and I have met over the past several months with hundreds of Governors, Mayors and urban specialists and we have attempted to enlist their support in the major effort that must be mounted at every level to attack successfully the problem of the cities.

The most critical point of our attack at this time must be directed at enacting the programs carefully and thoroughly planned and thought out by our Task Forces and Special Commission Groups, the Bureau of the Budget and Cabinet Officers involved. As you are well aware from our many meetings and discussions of this subject, this is the legislation outlined in the letter I wrote to Senator Mansfield and the enclosed letter which I have sent to Senator Magnuson.

I want you to intensify your efforts in this area with the Cabinet and work closely with my staff in obtaining prompt consideration and action on this legislation.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., August 23, 1967.

Hon. EVERETT DIRKSEN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: I am glad I had an opportunity to speak to you Friday about the critical importance of obtaining favorable and prompt legislative action on the problems of our cities.

We are all very much encouraged by your support for the Rent Supplement Program and I wanted you to have copies of letters I have sent to Senators Mansfield and Magnuson. I hope you will study them and give your support to these programs which are so important to all of our cities some of the most important of which you so eloquently speak for.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

AUGUST 19, 1967.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing to you about three vital requests now pending before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriation: the rent supplements program, the Model Cities program, and a program of urban research and technology. These three new, far-reaching and innovative measures are, I believe, among the most important measures of this decade.

As the subcommittee begins its deliberations, I hope you will consider several facts about these measures:

They embody the best thoughts, the newest ideas, and the wisest advice of the Nation's most eminent specialists on city problems.

They are programs which have enormous potential for our cities.

They are programs to stimulate local initiative and private investment, which are essential to effective action in the cities.

THE RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM

The most striking feature of the rent supplement program, I believe, is its "multiplier effect"—the power of a few million Federal dollars to call up many millions in private capital.

The $40 million I am requesting for this fiscal year will generate an estimated $500 million in private construction—to plan and build more than 40,000 homes and apartments for poor families.

In the twelve months after I signed the first measure providing funds for the rent supplement program, commitments were made to assist more than 34,000 housing units.

At a time when inadequate and dilapidated housing afflicts so many neighborhoods, we dare not lose the momentum which we have already gained. This year, however, the House eliminated all funds I sought for continuing the program.

I believe that this was a step backward—a serious blow at a time when interest in the program was high. When the House acted, Secretary Weaver was preparing to move forward on new applications for this fiscal year. The House action jeopardized that forward movement.

More than any other low-income housing program, this new initiative brings into play the resources and the energy of private enterprise. For it is private developers who build and operate housing projects under this program—and who receive the incentive which rent supplements provide. I believe we can well afford to pursue this creative idea. It will bring new vitality not only to our neighborhoods, but to all private efforts in housing and community development.

THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

Nothing shames this modern nation more than squalor in the cities. But it would be unwise to suggest that mere dollars alone can cure that squalor. What is needed most critically is a concentration of manpower, imagination, and local initiative—bolstered by public funds.

The Model Cities program provides exactly such a focussing of talent, planning and money. It is the cement which holds together the plans, efforts and programs to build a decent life in the cities. Perhaps more than any other program, Model Cities promises a new charter for American cities.

In 1966, I asked the Congress to approve this program at $2.3 billion over six years. Congress authorized $900 million over two years. This year, we have asked for full funding under that authorization—$400 million, together with $250 million for special urban renewal projects and an additional $12 million in Model Cities planning funds, or a total of $662 million. This $662 million is the minimum that Congress should consider. Last month, however, the House reduced this figure by two-thirds—to a total of only $237 million.

I believe that action was a serious setback for the approximately 200 cities, including most of the largest ones in the Nation, which have already applied for model cities funds. I think we owe those 200 cities and their citizens the hope and progress which the Model Cities program, adequately funded, can provide.

Like the rent supplement program, this approach is innovative. It is precisely aimed at the most critical urban problems—and it is prudent. Like the rent supplement program, it features a striking economic-multiplier effect.

Every dollar of Model Cities funds, for example, has the potential to attract ten additional dollars—in local public funds, in private investment, and in other federal funds. The $400 million I am requesting can generate as much as $4 billion in other funds, private, city and state joining in.

When considered in terms of its direct cost to the taxpayers, the Model Cities Act is a modest program. But when seen in terms of its potential to generate new dollars and new efforts—this program has vast power to transform our cities.

I urge you to bring to the attention of each member of the Committee these facts—and to restore funds for this program to the full $662 million I requested in January. Eight months have already passed since the request and the need is urgent and the cities need a go-ahead signal now.

URBAN RESEARCH

We need the tools which these two programs offer for city building and city planning. But we must also advance in another vital field: urban research and technology.

Since World War II, we have seen truly revolutionary technological advances—in space, in defense, in health and medicine. But in meeting city problems, we too often rely upon the same techniques which sufficed decades ago.

If we are to provide the new housing and new knowledge which our Nation urgently needs, we must develop new and faster and more efficient housing techniques. If we are to improve the cities, we need to learn more about the life of cities and their people. The key to that knowledge is intensified research.

I therefore urge that the Committee approve the full $20 million which I requested in my budget for research in urban technology, which the House recently reduced to $5 million.

Today, as never before, those of us in position of national leadership face historic choices. And today, as never before, it is the city which occupies the center of our concern. I hope that you and the other members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and all Senators, will act—and act promptly—in the light of our historic opportunity and obligation to improve the life of America's city dwellers.

Sincerely,

L. B. J.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, it is not my purpose this afternoon to attack the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE]. I understand that this is a very political year and that we are on the threshold of another year which will be even more political. The newspapers are full of the alleged problems of the President in the political field. So, understandably, it must be a temptation to those on the other side of the political aisle to take a potshot at the program.

But the problem we are discussing, the problem of the cities, is perhaps the most critical domestic issue with which this country has been confronted since the Civil War, if not since the founding of the Republic. If we are to solve it, we must mobilize all of the support, all of the friends, all of the ideas, all of the imagination, all of the courage which is available from any source and apply to them the greatest wisdom of which we are capable. It does not serve that cause to undertake to destroy the credibility of the best friend the cities have ever had in the White House.

The President has sent to Congress more and more innovative programs dealing with these problems than has any other occupant of the White House. I fully understand that there are those in this body who think that we ought to do more at this particular time than the President has recommended. I happen to think that we ought to be doing more in supporting the program to clean up our waters than the President has recommended this year; but because he and I disagree as to the amounts we should make available this year does not make him less a friend of clean waters, less a friend of conservation. His dedication, his interest, and his concern fully match mine in that respect, and I would not for a moment, when I express disagreement with him on the dollar amount we should spend this year, question his motivation.

I am suggesting that we should use the same standard with respect to the problems of the cities.

The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania is the principal author of title II of the bill pending before the Senate, to create jobs in the cities. I have great sympathy for that title and may vote for it. But the fact that the President has not given that title his support does not take away his credentials as a man dedicated to the problems of the cities.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUSKIE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I completely agree with what the Senator from Maine has just said. The President has a very different problem than we do in the Senate. He has the fiscal problem, the budgetary problem. He has on his shoulders the entire responsibility, in large part, of the war in Vietnam.

We in the Senate try to do what we believe is right for our constituents, within the level of our legislative competence and our legislative experience. The fact that the committee has reported this emergency employment bill is not a reflection in any way on the President of the United States.

Mr. MUSKIE. I am happy to have that comment for the RECORD from the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

In addition, I wish to make the point I was about to make, that in order to get maximum support for that concept over the long run—and, hopefully, the short run—the sound tactic is not to divide the friends of the cities but to unite them.

The President supports title I. He created the basic program which title I seeks to advance further.

I do not see that we are serving any useful purpose by undertaking to criticize the President's motives or his effort or his courage or his convictions. If ever leadership has moved into this field, it moved in in the person of President Lyndon B. Johnson. I believe history will give him full credit for that effort, as Governor Rockefeller has suggested. Whatever else happens in his Presidency, whatever has happened in his Presidency, I am sure that the President himself will count as one of his great services to this country the effort he has made to awaken America to the dangers which abound in urban America.

At the turn of this century, my hometown celebrated an anniversary. The principal speaker on that occasion was the president of Brown University. One of the remarks he made which I believe will live for a long time up there, is that Americans have succeeded nobly in founding States, but they have not yet learned to govern cities. This was true in 1900. It is still true in 1967.

President Johnson did not create the problem in 1900, but he is the first President since that time to fully respond to the challenge and to give us programs so sweeping and so broad that Congress itself has not yet given the full support he has requested.

At such time as Congress surpasses the President's recommendations, then perhaps we can stand on the floor of the Senate and say that the President has not done as much as he should have. But at this point no Member of Congress can say that about the President, and there is still a full agenda of possible action in the field of urban problems with which Congress must work.

On August 16 of this year, the President sent to the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], a list of the programs dealing with urban problems upon which Congress has not yet acted.

So I suggest, Mr. President, that we address ourselves to this agenda. When we have completed action on it, then let us measure what we have done against what the President has requested, and judge each other accordingly. I doubt that the President will come out second best when that evaluation has been made.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the President to Senator MANSFIELD be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER ON THE AMERICAN CITY FROM THE PRESIDENT TO SENATE MAJORITY LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD

DEAR MIKE: It has long been apparent that the health of our nation can be no better than the health of our cities.

Surely not a single American can doubt this any longer, after the tragic events of this summer.

Just two months after I became President—in January 1964—I sent to the Congress a Special Message on Housing and Community Development. In outlining a series of new proposals for the cities of America, I said: "Whether we achieve our goal of a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every American citizen rests, in large measure, on the action we take now."

Shortly thereafter, I called together some of the most brilliant minds, the most talented planners, and the most experienced urban experts in the nation. After exhaustive study, they recommended to me a number of proposals that hold vast promise for the future of every city in this nation. Chief among these proposals was the Model Cities Program—the most coordinated, massive and far-reaching attack on urban blight ever proposed to the Congress. This was not just a federal program. It was designed to stimulate local initiative in the private sector, and at the state, county and local level.

I asked Congress to authorize $2.3 billion for the first six years of this program. Congress reduced that request to $900 million for 2 years.

This year, I requested full funding of the Model Cities—$662 million. The House has already cut that request to $237 million.

I urge that this request be restored in full. We can no longer be satisfied with "business as usual" when the problems are so urgent.

These problems demand the best that an enlightened nation can plan, and the most that an affluent nation can afford.

In addition, the Congress now has before it a number of other programs proposed by the Administration which are concerned entirley or significantly with the urban problems of our nation. These programs, taken together, represent an all-out commitment to the safety and well-being of our cities and the citizens who live in them:

Programs	*Funds requested—Fiscal year 1968*
Crime control	$50,000,000
Firearms control.	
Civil Rights Act of 1967.	
Juvenile delinquency	25,000,000
Economic Opportunity Act	2,060,000,000
Model cities	662,000,000
Rent supplements	40,000,000
Urban renewal	750,000,000
Urban mass transit, advance appropriation	230,000,000
Urban research	20,000,000
Neighborhood facilities	42,000,000
Home rehabilitation	15,000,000
Family relocation assistance	62,000,000
Rat extermination	20,000,000
Elementary-Secondary Education Act	1,600,000,000
Manpower Development and Training Act	439,000,000
Food stamps	195,000,000
Child nutrition and school lunch program	$348,000,000
Community health services	30,000,000
Mental health	96,000,000
Mental retardation	25,000,000
Hospital modernization (Hill-Burton)	50,000,000
Maternal and Infant care	30,000,000

All of these programs have been pending before the Congress since the beginning of this session and are included in our January budget.

The task before us is immense. But we have charted a beginning—and we have done so with the help of the best and most experienced minds in the Nation. I believe the enactment and funding of these programs is the first step in making this commitment a reality for the people of America.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Sunday's Washington Star carried a serious and thoughtful analysis of the Peace Corps and its promise to America for a new form of community, national, and world service based on freedom and responsibility—on what author Harris Wofford called its soul. Mr. Wofford formerly was associated with the Peace Corps in Africa, Mr. President, and writes from the State University College at Old Westbury, N.Y., where he is president.

His article demands attention and I ask that unanimous consent be given for its inclusion in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PEACE CORPS' ULTIMATE VALUE TO YOUTH

(NOTE.—Harris Wofford, now president of the State University College at Old Westbury, N.Y., was until January associate director of the Peace Corps. As special assistant to President Kennedy, he worked on the original task force establishing the Peace Corps. From 1962–64, he was the Peace Corps' special representative for Africa and director of its volunteer teacher program in Ethiopia.)

(By Harris Wofford)

A leading Russian educator, serving as a delegate to a recent international conference, was speaking privately to an American friend after having officially attacked the Peace Corps as a neoimperialist, CIA-plot. "We can send out propagandists and technical experts, but we could not turn our young people loose all around the world," he conceded reluctantly. "I must admit that you have created something extremely interesting that probably reflects important things about your society."

What is the Peace Corps amounting to, now that it is six years old?

Is it producing a new breed of teachers and public servants and better-educated Americans? Does it point to a new kind of education and politics? Does the scope it gives to amateurs suggest the possibility of a 20th Century Renaissance man, a realization of Jefferson's dream, a modern embodiment of Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee? Or is it all a flash in the night, a rocket set up by President Kennedy that will soon run out of fire and speed?

The Peace Corps was indeed an amazing creation for any government. A kind of antibureaucratic bureaucracy, its basic principle was volunteering and individual initiative. Its product and constituent—the Peace Corps volunteer—was at conception a strange animal, the most free-wheeling amateur any government ever commissioned as its agent and ambassador. And the volunteer exemplified and engendered the freedom—the capacity for self-government—that the Peace Corps was designed to promote in the world, a remarkable combination of ends and means.

ITS IMAGE

In the beginning people were taken by surprise, but some of that surprise has worn off. Has this new bureaucratic animal already reached middle age? What is the present state of the Peace Corps? In the light of the experience of over 25,000 volunteers in 50 countries, does the Peace Corps tell us something important about American society?

It is said that a society can be measured by its saints—or by its sinners; by whom it declares to be, and how it treats its heroes and its underworld. But there is a readier test: its youth. The Peace Corps is one important measure of the spirit and health of the generation to whom Kennedy tried to pass the torch.

Not noted for a high ratio of sinners and still notably free of scandal, the Peace Corps has sometimes seemed to wear a halo. But this "image" is just what the volunteers like least. As a cross-section of a cool generation, they are repelled by what George Bernard Shaw called "the awful odor of goodness," a skepticism about "doing good against people" that has been compounded by the good we are doing the people of Vietnam by bombing them.

Nevertheless, in an age of nonheroes, the Peace Corps comes as close to a collective American hero as anything else this country has recently produced. That about half a million Americans have applied to be volunteers is certainly a big item on the right side of our national ledger. That the rate of applications has continued to increase, with no apparent lessening of quality, and in fact with some increase in quality in terms of skills and training, is a sign that a substantial part of the student generation is not dropping out. They are turning on in large numbers to the difficult challenges involved in Peace Corps service.

LEARNING RAPIDLY

David Riesman, author of "The Lonely Crowd," has described the nature and implications of these challenges. "The Peace Corps is no exotic junket, made socially defensible by primarily physical strenuousness," he says. "What it does do is to put people into positions of awesome and complicated responsibility." After visiting volunteers in Latin America, Riesman concluded that through their "terrifying and illuminating" experiences, they were getting "experience in mastering new situations and in learning rapidly," and thus were enlarging their definitions of what they were capable of. For example, he wrote:

"Many had become self-trained anthropologists in villages whose complicated networks of influence, malice and rare benevolence no one had mapped yet, and where any small mistake could have catastrophic consequences for the volunteer and his project and perhaps for the whole cadre of volunteers. Even those who go out to apparently more structured jobs, as teachers do, may discover that the schools to which they have been sent haven't been built yet, or have fallen in, or are embroiled in the kinds of struggles over authority that are not unknown in school systems elsewhere. A change of government can topple a program, and indeed any one of a thousand things can go wrong . . . In a society where some people desperately want and need them, while others fear and resent them, they have perforce to become diplomats without portfolio, in a language in which they feel awkward, among customs easily and unknowingly violated."

In most measurable ways, the Peace Corps is in good shape. It has survived the loss of the White House dramatization that Kennedy repeatedly gave it, and the loss of its organizing genius, Sargent Shriver, the most creative, effective and hard-driving public administrator in recent American history. Its second director, Jack Vaughn, is making it more professional; he is requiring more careful programming; he has increased the overseas supervising staff; he has stiffened language requirements for the volunteers in training and while overseas.

"SOUL" OF THE CORPS

But the Peace Corps defies that kind of measurement. It was born as an idea and spirit, and it will die when they die. Once it becomes just another agency, well-programmed or not, it will not be the creature that took the world by surprise. What would it profit us for the Peace Corps to increase tenfold and win the approval of a hundred other countries, and lose its soul?

What is the "soul" of the Peace Corps? Stalin was once told by a visting philosopher that he had been impressed with many of Russia's material achievements, but still found something missing. "What is missing?" asked the old dictator. "The soul," said the philosopher. "What is this thing called 'soul'?" asked Stalin. "That which you have not got," said the philosopher.

The Peace Corps' "soul is that which no other government has got with anything like the spirit and scope of the Peace Corps, which no other overseas agency of the U.S. government has got. It is the combination of freedom and responsibility, and trust in people—trust in the capacity and will of the younger generation particularly—that makes the Peace Corps unique.

Don't trust anyone under 30, Plato warned. Kennedy and Shriver disregarded that advice, and their trust was returned in full measure. Shriver would never let anyone on the staff call the volunteers "kids." They are men and women, he said, old enough for the Army to want them as soldiers; old enough for the country to ask them to undertake important responsibilities; old enough to expect them to carry these out best in conditions of maximum freedom.

At first in every country to which volunteers were sent, there was suspicion that they were, if not spies, at least propaganda agents. The debacle of CIA involvement in international student and educational affairs has no doubt reawakened and strengthened that suspicion, though two Presidents and both directors of the Peace Corps have forced the CIA to keep its hands off the Peace Corps. (The CIA is under orders not to employ any Peace Corps volunteer even years after his overseas service.) What most often makes honest human relations dissolves foreign suspicion and possible is the obvious honesty of the volunteers.

DANGER SIGNS

By being themselves, volunteers make foreign friends; they also contribute to their friends' understanding of America. (One of the Peace Corps' statutory purposes is to promote a better understanding of America on the part of other people.) By being examples of American freedom they are making visible what, for too many people around the world, has usually been invisible about America—our relatively open society.

There are danger signs, however. This spring volunteers began in mounting numbers to write letters-to-the-editor or sign petitions protesting American policy in Vietnam. The Peace Corps sent out a directive ordering them not to do either in such a way as to be identified as Peace Corps volunteers, and specified that they should not write using their overseas address. If they insisted upon expressing themselves on such a controversial issue, they should send their letters via their parents or friends in the U.S., so as not to bring the Peace Corps in any way into the picture.

The caution is understandable. The President does not appreciate opposition, especially from within his own family, and as the former head of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council, he has reason to feel close to the Peace Corps. He wants to allow our soldiers to fight this war in peace. If he begins to hear about volunteer protests, the Peace Corps may lose his support.

Nor will controversial positions by volunteers enhance the Peace Corps' immediate standing in Congress or the country. Until now the Peace Corps has had a virginal quality that placed it somewhere between motherhood and the Boy Scouts.

President Johnson will remember how in the early days he helped Sargent Shriver even against a decision of President Kennedy. A presidential task force had recommended against any real independence for the Peace Corps; it said the new agency should be a part of the Agency for International Development. Shriver fought within the White House and lost. Finally he took his case to Lyndon Johnson, who intervened personally and persuaded Kennedy to reverse the decision. To win in Congress and public opinion, he said, the new wine has to be in a new bottle.

The Peace Corps' separate bureaucratic bottle is not in jeopardy, but the quality of its wine is. The forces for conformity are powerful in the government and in society generally, especially in a time of war. Fortunately, the force for autonomy within the Peace Corps is strong, too.

Despite the directive from Washington, volunteers have continued to sign "Negotiation Now" petitions and to write letters-to-the-editor identifying themselves as Peace Corps volunteers. One volunteer in Chile had his service terminated and was sent home, but his case was confused by the fact that he had published his letter in a Chilean newspaper as well as in the U.S.; the Peace Corps based his termination on this alleged intervention in Chilean politics. Then five volunteers in Ecuador published a letter in the New York Times protesting both the administration's policy in Vietnam and the Peace Corps' policy of curtailing volunteer protests. Equivocating, the Peace Corps decided not to terminate their service, on the ground that their letter was primarily protesting Peace Corps policy—but the original directive was still in force.

At this point, with ex-volunteers, members of the National Advisory Council, the Civil Liberties Union and others protesting the policy, corps director Vaughn visited Latin America and found many of the best volunteers also strongly disagreeing with the corps' policy. He reversed himself, a strong step for any man, and especially for one influenced by the Latin idea of machismo, or manliness.

ESSENTIAL RIGHTS

The prohibition against a volunteer's interference in the politics of the host country does not require limitation of a volunteer's essential rights as a citizen, including his right to petition his own government—or write a letter-to-the-editor of a paper in the U.S.—on matters of U.S. policy. But at stake, even more than the volunteer's individual right to say anything that he wants to say about American policy, is the American public need to hear anything relevant to its self-government. The views of Peace Corps volunteers as Peace Corps volunteers, rising out of their special experience in other parts of the world, whether expressed separately or in joint petition, are certainly relevant to a matter such as the war in Vietnam.

Whether Peace Corps volunteers are more than a permanently adolescent gadfly, whether the Peace Corps is more than an exception that proves the rule, will depend on whether the rest of us, particularly leaders of American education, business and government, are stirred to a new vision of education that fuses theory and practice, on campus and out in community action; and to a new vision of politics that cuts through ideology and partisanship to a politics of service; whether we map our national needs and see the opportunities for applying the Peace Corps' experience in new forms of community, national and world service; whether we dare to practice on a much wider scale what we preach.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to talk about Job Corps. It is a program of vital importance to all of us for it serves the most disadvantaged in all the States and territories of this Nation. Have you heard of Ethyl, La.; Bradley, Ark.; Picher, Okla.; Hooksett, N.H.; Caribou, Maine; or Groveland, Mass.?

Job Corps has. Youth from these as well as thousands of other small communities are being served for the first time. Towns that do not appear on any map, youth that have never seen a doctor—no less a hospital—parents who cannot afford shoes for their children to go to schools, which sometimes do not exist: all have another chance through this program.

And for the first time, the many resources of this Nation, both public and private, are initiating extensive outreach to needy youth. The State employment services, rural community action programs, the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, the AFL–CIO, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, private businesses, urban leagues have joined in this search and aid program. One of the major reasons is that but for Job Corps there is no alternative to failure for many of our rural youth.

And what about the inner-cities? Today Job Corps is serving almost one-third more youth than a year ago. The number of Spanish-speaking youth has significantly increased. Every major city in this country has sent its representative to Job Corps. And while we speak of Job Corpsmen from all over the Nation, it is important to note that Job Corps is sending youth over 400 miles closer to home today than a year ago. These representatives from our communities are returning as ambassadors of good will. And this is one of the aims of the program.

Once recruited, our youngsters have shown marked disciplinary and conduct improvements which are reflected in overall reduction of incident rates. In December of 1966, the Job Corps arrest rate was 3.18 percent per 100 youth as against the FBI annual standard population rate for the 16-to-21 age population rate of 6.5 percent. In May of 1967, the Job Corps rate dropped further to 2.81 percent per 100, notwithstanding that our youth come from the lowest socioeconomic stratum. In other words, the arrest rate for Job Corps enrollees is more than 50 percent less than that of the total population in the same age range. It should also be pointed out that the arrest rate includes all types of offenses, most of which are simple disorders, and the conviction rate is less than three-quarters of those arrested. On-center disorders have become a rarity, and none have involved more than three youngsters at any time. Nationwide, our youngsters were conspicuous by their absence from participation in riots though normal leaves continued and some Job Corps members were in the vicinity of riot-torn cities during the outbreaks.

The record reflects a further important improvement in our program as relates to citizenship and moral support. At the beginning of the Job Corps program only 54 percent of the Corps members were sending allotments home, which generally amounts to $50 a month. As the number of enrollees increased, the percentage of allotments to their families has increased. As of August 31, 1967, 79 percent or 29,541 Corps members were sending allotments home. It can be easily recognized that the youth who have come into our program have a deep feeling or responsibility to their families. The majority of allotments are being sent to mothers of Corps members to help alleviate poverty conditions in the home.

Further, Corps members have shown an awareness and concern for the care of their minor children by their inclusion in the allotment program who were previously welfare charges. We anticipate that by the end of this fiscal year, approximately 85 percent of our Corps members will be sending allotments home.

Some time ago, I read a Job Corps recruitment flyer. It said "Be Somebody—Join Job Corps." We must not take this chance away from our neighbors. I am thrilled at the opportunities Job Corps is providing to youth from every hidden and apparent pocket of poverty in the land. Youth who would never be touched by our prosperity, who have suffered the greatest from low education, frightening living conditions, and broken families are finding an open door never before unlocked to them.

This door—Job Corps—must remain open for the greater need and good of us all.

NOT EVERYONE REALIZES THE PURPOSE BEHIND THE JOB CORPS CONSERVATION CENTERS

Mr. HART. What this program does is to take a young man or woman, age 16 through 21, away from our ghettos, from our depressed areas, from our Indian reservations, and put them in an environment that is suited to their total needs; not just their educational needs or their health needs or their vocational skill training needs or their personal guidance needs—but all of these combined.

Now some people may say it does not make sense to take young men from Harlem and have them pick up sticks in our Nation's forests and parks. Those who say this may not be aware of the objective in removing these youth from their environment and the type of training they get at these centers.

About 20 percent of these youth in conservation centers are illiterate, have had no motivation to work, and have come from homes in which the parent had not worked. They have not even been taught elementary, basic hygiene needs. Their appearance alone would prevent many from getting jobs, even if they had a little skill. Others have health needs so severe—missing teeth, undernourishment, poor eyesight—that they could not get jobs. They lacked the vision to see a way out, to learn the skills to get a job until the Job Corps came along.

So what the Job Corps is doing is giving a young man from Harlem the experience of learning good work habits while being taught the remedial education necessary to read a vocational manual and learn a job skill. The environment, the food, the guidance counselors, while at the Job Corps, all serve to stimulate his desire to achieve the education necessary to obtain jobs.

Even among our more affluent youngsters, summer camps and the outdoors have played a very important part in helping them to adjust to situations of personal distress. Surely, this is applicable with the most deprived. I therefore hope that we will continue a program to train another 90,000 young men and women in our 127 Job Corps centers throughout the country during this fiscal year and those young men in conservation centers are an integral part of this program.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY SENATOR ERIC DE SCHAETZEN OF THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I am happy to introduce at this time a distinguished Senator from one of our oldest and warmest allies, the great Kingdom of Belgium. I am very happy to present Senator Eric De Schaetzen, a member of the Upper House of Belgium, who is escorted by the Belgian Ambassador, Baron Louis Scheyven, who is acting as Senator De Schaetzen's interpreter.

Senator De Schaetzen is visiting the United States with his wife. He is very interested in comparing the operation of the Belgian House and Senate with our two houses. Their House and Senate are somewhat similar to ours, except that Senators may not trespass upon the floor of the House of Representatives in Belgium, nor may the House members trespass upon the floor of the Senate.

It is a great honor to have them here, and I know that the Senate appreciates this opportunity to have them visit with us. [Applause, Senators rising.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is honored to have your presence, sir.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the parliamentary inquiry I am about to address to the distinguished occupant of the chair has no relation to the remarks just made by the distinguished Senator from Maine nor to the interventions made by the distinguished Senator from Oregon and the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

As a matter of fact, I had asked the Senator from Pennsylvania to come to the floor, to be here when I addressed this parliamentary inquiry to the Chair.

Mr. President, Senators will note that

this bill, of some 125 printed pages, is divided into two titles. The first title, with the preliminary part which sets up the authorization for an appropriation for that title only, is title I, and it is named "Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act." That title occupies the first 119 pages of the printed bill.

The second title is styled "Emergency Employment Act." That title begins at page 120 and runs to the end of page 126.

Without describing these in any detail, I simply want to have the Record show that they are both extremely important; that the authorization for the amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act comprise a total for 1 year of some $2,258,000,0000 and an "open ended" second-year authorization and that the authorization for title II, Emergency Employment Act, is an authorization for $2.8 billion.

Mr. President, my parliamentary inquiry is this: Assuming that both of these titles remain in the bill, would I have the right, as a Senator, to ask for a division of these two titles, so as to have separate votes upon them at the time the bill is ready for final action?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is the opinion of the Presiding Officer that the Senator from Florida would not have the right to have the titles divided. The Parliamentarian advises the Chair that there is a clear precedent which upholds the ruling.

I would like to have the Parliamentarian give the Chair the precedent so that the Chair may read it to the Senator from Florida.

The precedent reads as follows:

> A bill or joint resolution which has been read the third time, and the question is put on its passage, is not susceptible of a division under the rule relating to division of amendments even though it contains several distinct and unrelated titles, but must be voted upon as a whole; a single vote must be taken on its passage.

The Senator from Florida will find that language on page 357 of Senate Procedure, by Mr. Watkins and Mr. Riddick. The footnotes contain the documentation in support of the ruling.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator from Florida is familiar with that ruling, but he thinks it is not the controlling ruling.

At any rate, at this time all that I wished to do was to serve notice that if both of these titles remain in the bill at the time the bill comes on for final vote I shall ask for a division so that Senators may be allowed the opportunity to vote separately on amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, which is title I, and upon the totally new measure in title II, which is the Emergency Employment Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is clearly within his rights to serve this notice. The Senator from Florida also understands that at the time he raises this parliamentary inquiry, if at that time the then-Presiding Officer supports the ruling which the Chair laid down this afternoon, the Senator from Florida will be within his rights to appeal the decision of the Chair.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Presiding Officer. I am familiar with that right.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have a few insertions that I would like to make before this working day is over.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a document entitled "Questions and Answers About VISTA," which deals with a colloquy I had with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] earlier in the day, may be printed in the Record. I have discussed this matter with the Senator from West Virginia and made several changes in it at his suggestion.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT VISTA

Mr. President, last Friday during the opening debate on the 1967 Economic Opportunity Act amendments my distinguished colleague Senator Robert Byrd, of West Virginia, raised some pertinent questions concerning one of the most successful and valuable of the antipoverty programs.

Volunteers In Service To America, popularly known as VISTA, has compiled a brilliant record in some of the most difficult assignments issued anywhere in the antipoverty campaign. Their work has been relatively unpublicized; but it has been hardship work, arduous, self-sacrificing, yet rewarding.

At the present time the total number of Volunteers in the field and in training is 3851 an 18% increase over a year ago. Altogether, nearly 8300 Americans have entered VISTA since the program began.

VISTA Volunteers are currently serving on 420 projects in 48 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico.

The value of VISTA Volunteers and their work is clearly reflected in the swift increase in the number of requests for their projects. Last year at this time there were requests for 13,580 VISTA Volunteers to serve on 1101 projects. Today those figures are nearly 50% higher with nearly 19,000 Volunteers requested to serve on more than 1500 projects.

More than 206,000 citizens have written letters expressing an interest in VISTA, with the number of last month's letters 80% higher than for the same month a year ago.

Even a hurried examination of VISTA programs and their volunteers is extremely revealing.

Currently there are 127 rural projects in 37 states involving 942 Volunteers.

VISTA now has 58 projects operating on 58 Indian reservations in 20 States and using 304 Volunteers.

VISTA's excellent, and badly needed work with migrant workers is now functioning through 18 projects in 13 States and with 118 Volunteers.

Urban projects now number 158 in 35 states involving 1635 Volunteers.

VISTA's work with the Job Corps is found in 46 projects in 24 states with 95 Volunteers.

And finally VISTA's mental health efforts are now centered in 13 projects in 12 states with 165 Volunteers.

The total national picture of VISTA emerges as one of a dedicated organization moved by an abiding sense of humanitarianism, altruism and idealism; an organization that has developed skills and loyalties which have contributed greatly to the alleviation of poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. The country has reason to be proud of the organization and proud of the individual Volunteers.

With this as background I would like to take up the questions raised Friday by the Junior Senator from West Virginia.

Senator Byrd inquired whether the governor of a state has the privilege of vetoing the operations of VISTA within his state. I replied on Friday that the governor certainly does have that veto privilege and I repeat that again today. The privilege is stated under Section 810(b) of the present OEO legislation.

The Senator also inquired as to how many such vetoes have occurred. The answer to that question is that in only one instance has a governor's approval been withheld for any proposed VISTA project. Mississippi has consistently vetoed any and all VISTA programs. And in this connection, it should be mentioned that in addition to the 48 states in which VISTA is currently operating, one other state is now in the process of receiving VISTAs.

Senator Byrd said that considerable dissatisfaction had been indicated on the part of many of his constituents with regard to VISTA. The best answer to his question—and perhaps the most authoritative one—may be a letter written to VISTA this past summer by the Director of West Virginia's Department of Mental Health. The Director, Dr. M. Mitchell-Bateman, sent the following statement to the Deputy Director of VISTA:

"I am writing you because I know of your interest in the problems of mental health in West Virginia, and because I thought you would be interested in a report on the work the VISTA Volunteers are doing here.

"The effectiveness of the VISTAs has been tremendous, even greater than we had hoped for. They have made a major contribution both to our mental hospitals and our communities. And what too few people realize is that they have not only helped the mentally ill, they have actually saved the state hundreds of thousands of dollars a year.

"Some VISTAs work in hospitals, directly with patients, and enable many to be discharged earlier than would be possible with present limited hospital staffs. Because of VISTAs in the hospitals, an estimated six hundred patients were released in the last fiscal year an average of thirty days earlier than they would have been. In round figures, these early discharges represent a saving to the state of $81,000 a year.

"Most VISTAs work in communities. They see patients home from state mental hospitals on trial visit or after discharge. Many men and women are able to stay out of mental hospitals because VISTAs in the community see them, discuss their problems, get services for them when necessary. We estimate that because of VISTA, many former patients stayed out three months longer, on the average, than they would have if no VISTA volunteer had been working with them. In round figures, based on one thousand patients staying out an average of three months each, these delayed returns to the hospitals represent a saving to the state of West Virginia of $405,000 a year.

"On an annual mental hospital budget of eight and a quarter million dollars, savings of $486,000 are considerable, and allow the Department to give better services to those in our hospitals. The state mental hospitals, incidentally, are operating at about 170% of capacity.

"VISTA volunteers are also working in other capacities in communities across the state. One young man is training local people to be Boy Scout leaders so that there will be Boy Scout troops in rural areas for the first time. Most important, these troops will be run by the local people themselves, with benefits to the leaders, the boys, and the community. Other VISTAs have organized day care centers for children, tutoring programs for elementary and high school students, special programs for the retarded. In all these activities, they are training local people to take over when the VISTAs leave. This is really a program in which VISTAs try to work themselves out of a job.

"Some VISTA volunteers have been helpful to County Courts in planning mental health programs to serve all the people of the county. VISTAs work with state agencies on programs relating to mental health: Vocational Rehabilitation, Welfare, Education, Health and others.

"It is difficult to put a price tag on their activities, but it is significant that with VISTAs working in fifty-one of West Virginia's fifty-five counties, the counties themselves have undertaken to contribute to the support of VISTA programs. You know how tight county budgets are, and when you have a depressed rural county going into its own budget to buy a car so that a VISTA worker can get around to people and carry on his duties, you know the program is meeting the needs of the local people. At this moment, twelve such cars are being used by VISTAs, at an estimated cost of $130 a month each. Another dozen such cars will be in use within the year.

"Ninety VISTAs are working in various community assignments at a cost to the community in office space, telephone service and consultation estimated conservatively at $100 a month each, this nine thousand dollar monthly expenditure being only one token of the community's need for and acceptance of the VISTAs.

"There is another aspect of VISTAs work which could be translated into dollars, although the total benefit to the individual and the community are far beyond any immediate price tag. I quote from the report of one VISTA mental health worker in a county which has experienced a severe economic decline.

" 'I helped Mrs. C., who was discharged from the hospital and has been drawing a welfare check, to get a job taking care of a semi-invalid. She is doing well on the job, and the woman she is caring for is so pleased with her. The other day I went with Mrs. C. to the welfare office so that she could return her check and tell them she is now able to take care of herself and doesn't need welfare money any longer. What a proud day that was!'

"A most significant result of VISTA service in the Department of Mental Health in West Virginia is that we are now planning a three-year program to recruit and train local workers from the poverty level who will be employed to render the same kinds of services VISTAs give today. Anticipating the eventual termination of the present VISTA program, we are preparing to assume greater local responsibility. Four hundred and twenty West Virginians are to be trained within the three year program to provide more than triple the manpower of VISTAs now in the mental health project.

"We have found the VISTA volunteers a most important part of our program for planning comprehensive mental health services for all the people of West Virginia, and we are most grateful to all who have made this special project possible.

"Sincerely,

"M. Mitchell-Bateman, M.D.,
"Director."

There has been praise, also, from Governor Hulett C. Smith of West Virginia, who has not only authorized and approved the work of 153 full-time VISTA Volunteers on 15 projects throughout West Virginia, but has repeatedly expressed strong personal support for their work among the poor.

Last May Governor Smith visited VISTA Volunteer trainees at Weston, West Virginia, at their graduation ceremony and wished them well in their endeavors.

Just last month, on August 18, 1967, Governor Smith declared, during a press conference in Charleston:

"Our experience with VISTA in West Virginia has been highly successful, particularly in the field of mental health where the VISTA volunteers are performing great services to the citizens of many of our communities."

In addition to the support and approval of such state officials as Governor Smith and Dr. Bateman, VISTA Volunteers serving in West Virginia have inspired confidence and support from local community groups and citizens. At present, there are on file over 40 requests in the OEO office for additional VISTA projects in West Virginia. These requests have originated from local groups, charities, agencies, and institutions in West Virginia. These project requests have specified the need for 471 additional VISTA Volunteers to serve in poverty areas in West Virginia.

The humanitarian and selfless work performed by VISTA Volunteers in a wide range of projects in West Virginia has set a good example for local citizens. More than 671 West Virginians have applied to the OEO for VISTA Service and 53 of them are presently serving as VISTA Volunteers offering their skills and concern to their fellow Americans.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following letters and telegrams, each of them supporting title II of the pending bill may be printed at this point in the Record. The first is a letter from Joseph M. Barr, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and who is also the mayor of Pittsburgh, urging the enactment of title II of the act; second is a telegram from John M. Lumley, director, National Education Association, Division of Federal Relations. I think that this telegram is particularly significant, coming, as it does, from the National Education Association; third, is a letter addressed to me by Carl J. Megel, director of legislation for the American Federation of Teachers; and, finally, a telegram from Matthew Guinan, international president; Douglas L. MacMahon, international secretary-treasurer; James F. Horst, international executive vice president, Transport Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, endorsing title II, the Emergency Employment Act portion of the bill.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Conference of Mayors,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967.
Hon. Joseph S. Clark,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator: A few weeks ago the Urban Coalition, consisting of representatives of local governments, civil rights organizations, the business community, churches, and labor organizations called for an Emergency Work Program. Its goal was to provide one million worthwhile jobs for our unemployed. The United States Conference of Mayors joins this coalition in supporting the Clark-Javits "Emergency Employment Act of 1967" as a meaningful step towards that goal.

We urge your support of this modest proposal to attack one of the most serious problems facing our nation—joblessness and human despair in our slums.

Throughout the several months of hearings chaired by Senator Clark, the urgent need of jobs was a constant theme. Not only will a program such as the Emergency Employment Act envisages be a step toward solving the great problem of slum unemployment but it will also contribute toward bringing dignity to our impoverished citizens. With the help of counseling, training and a worthwhile job these Americans can move to a meaningful and productive role in our society.

I urge you to be part of our national response to the national crisis of slum unemployment and vote for the "Emergency Employment Act of 1967."

Sincerely yours,

Joseph M. Barr,
President.

NEA Division of
Federal Regulations,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967.
Hon. Joseph Clark,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

The National Education Association urges passage of S. 2388 as approved by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, to continue operation of economic opportunity programs and to establish the Emergency Employment Act.

John M. Lumley,
Director.

American Federation of
Teachers, AFL–CIO,
Washington, D.C., September 12, 1967.
Re Office of Economic Opportunity.
Hon. Joseph S. Clark,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Clark: The recent Convention of the American Federation of Teachers adopted a resolution recommended unanimously by its Committee on Legislation to support the continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its programs, with these considerations:

A. The American Federation of Teachers strongly supports the efforts of the Urban Coalition and Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, including the $3 billion grant proposed by the Senator, to wage massive war on poverty in our central cities, administered through the Office of Economic Opportunity, and involving matching efforts by city government, business, and labor in our nation's cities.

B. The American Federation of Teachers strongly urges the Congress to provide that Job Corps Centers—both urban and conservation—be expanded under the Office of Economic Opportunity, provided that guarantees are written into law for fair labor conditions and collective bargaining rights as defined otherwise by Federal law.

Sincerely,

Carl J. Megel,
Director of Legislation.

Transport Workers Union of
America, AFL–CIO,
New York, N.Y., September 22, 1967.
Hon. Joseph S. Clark,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Passage of the anti-poverty bill (S. 2388) would be a big step in providing an effective antidote to the rash of disorders in our cities during the past summer. Experiences with past and present poverty programs have shown a direct relationship between successful job and training projects and peaceful communities.

We must increase our efforts in this direction if we are to make any meaningful progress in our fight against poverty and our striving to bring equal rights to all our people. The officers and members of the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, urge your support for S. 2388 as a strong move in the direction of the prosperity and freedom that, we are sure, are the goals of all good Americans.

Matthew Guinan,
International President.
Douglas L. MacMahon,
International Secretary-Treasurer.
James F. Horst,
International Executive Vice President.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE ECONOMISTS ENDORSE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am pleased to announce that 251 nationally known economists have endorsed the Emergency Employment Act—title 11 of the omnibus antipoverty legislation of 1967—which would appropriate $2.8 billion to open up 500,000 public service jobs for the Nation's hard-core unemployed during the next 2 years.

A nationwide survey conducted by Dr. Garth L. Mangum, of George Washington University, Washington, D.C., found that the 251 economists—some connected with private organizations, but the majority with universities and colleges—strongly favor the Emergency Employment Act.

Mr. President, the roster of these economists includes a number of experts in the field of manpower and labor economics and also authorities who have appeared as witnesses before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, which I serve as chairman. Included in the list are these economists:

John T. Dunlop, Harvard University; Charles C. Killingsworth and Daniel H. Kruger, Michigan State; Robert Solow, MIT; Oscar Ornati, New York University; William H. Miernyk, West Virginia University; Gerald G. Somers, University of Wisconsin; Fred Harbeson, Princeton; Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, George Washington University; and Vivian W. Henderson, Clark College.

Economists at the following universities and colleges were among the endorsees: Arizona State University, Brigham Young University, Carnegie Mellon University, City University of New York, Clark College, Duke University, George Washington University, Harvard University, Iowa State University, Michigan State University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, New York University, North Carolina State University, Ohio State University, Oklahoma State University, Pennsylvania State University, Rutgers University, Syracuse University, University of California, University of Illinois, University of Kentucky, University of Maryland, University of Utah, University of Wisconsin, Washington State University, Washington University—St. Louis, Wayne State University, West Virginia University, Yale University, Swarthmore College, and Brooklyn College.

Endorsements also came from economists associated with the National Planning Association and the National Manpower Policy Task Force.

Following is the complete list of endorsements:

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Richard B. Wirthlin, Martin T. Farris, Gerald R. Ladman, M. E. Bond, Neal Gooding, Donald V. Plantz, John A. Cochran, Richard D. Winkelman, Richard Yates, Aryln J. Larson,, Dennis J. O'Conner, Robert L. Knox, Benjamin Taylor.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Glen T. Nelson, Willard B. Doxey, J. Kenneth Davies, Wayne W. Clark, Dean Rickenbach, Merrill J. Bateman, Glen R. Foster, Larry T. Wimmer.

CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY

Economics Faculty, Graduate School of Industrial Administration: Michael C. Lovell, Timothy W. McGuire, David P. Ruttenberg, Lester B. Love, William W. Cooper, Myron L. Joseph.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Maurice C. Benewitz, Alfred Conrad, Alan Spiro.

CLARK COLLEGE

Vivian W. Henderson.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Juanita M. Kreps, John O. Blackburn, Thomas Naylor.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Sar A. Levitan, Garth L. Mangum.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Jonathan Baitsel, Peter B. Doeringer, John T. Dunlop, E. Robert Livernash, James G. Scoville, David Shapiro.

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

Edward B. Jakubauskas, James Alexander Socknat, Neil A. Palomba.

MICHIGAN STATE

Charles C. Killingsworth, Jack Stieber, Daniel H. Kruger, Bruce Allen, Walter Adams, John Henderson, Max Kreinin, Harry Trebing, Allan B. Mandelstamm, Subbiah Kannappan, Einar Hardin, Michael E. Brown.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Karl L. Shell, Peter Temin, Everett E. Hagen, Paul MacAvoy, Robert M. Solow, Richard S. Eckaus, Evsey D. Domar, Peter A. Diamond, Franklin M. Fisher, Donald Farrar, Miguel Sidrauski, Edwin Kuh, Daniel M. Holland, Jerome Rothenberg, John Harris, Gerald Pogue, Douglas Brown, Charles A. Myers, Frederic Meyers, Abraham Siegal, Michael Piore, David Taylor.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

S. M. Miller, Oscar Ornati.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY

Leonard J. Hausman, Christopher Green.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Herbert S. Parnes, Peter S. Barth, Paul G. Craig, Glenn W. Miller.

OKLAHOMA STATE

Julian H. Bradsher, Joseph J. Klos, Pauline W. Kopecky, Richard H. Leftwich, Richard L. Porter, John C. Shearer.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE

Jacob J. Kaufman, Michael Bradley, Grant Farr, Irwin Feller, A. H. Reede, Will E. Mason, Wesley Long, Edward C. Budd, Eugene Myers, David Stevens.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

Monroe Berkowitz, Richard Blackhurst, Michael Taussig, Stanley Masters, Jeffrey Schaefer, Paul Davidson, Robert Alexander, Marshal Kolin, Alex Balinsky, Roger H. Hinderliter, Collette Moser.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Melvin A. Eggers, Jerry Miner, Eric W. Lawson, Robert Wolfson, Seymour Sacks, Jesse Burkhead, John A. Henning, Dale Tussing, Edward J. Stevens, James Thornblade, Arnold Simson, James Price.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Berkeley, California: Robert A. Gordon, Margaret S. Gordon, Lloyd Ulman.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

V. Lewis Bassie, Hugh Folk, Fred M. Gottheil, Harold W. Guthrie, Joseph D. Phillips, Melvin Rothbaum, Herbert I. Schiller, Vladimir L. Stoilov.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Ray Marshall, Joseph Krislov, Carl Erwin, John Madden, Niles Hansen, Walter Pearce, Richard Gift, L. Randolph McGee, David F. Ross, Charles Haywood, Alan R. Winger, Robert H. Stroup, Virgil Christian, Hugh Pitcher.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Prof. Robert Knight, Dudley Dillard, Charles Peake, Neil M. Singer, Thomas H. Mayor, Robert L. Bennett, Barbara Bergmann, Paul Meyer, Myra Strober, Thomas Havrilesky, Milton Lower.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

R. Thayne Robson, Reed C. Richardson, Boyd Fjeldsted, Lawrence Nabors, Joseph S. Perry, Richard C. Bernhard, Jewell J. Rasmussen, Claron Nelson, Ivar Brandley, Frank C. Hochman.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Gerald G. Somers, Arthur S. Goldberger, Harold Watts, Martin H. David, David B. Johnson, Jack Barbash, James L. Stern, Everett M. Kallalow, Ralph L. Andreano, Glen G. Cain, Donald Nichols, Allen C. Kelley, Murray A. Tucker, John D. Bowman, Earl Brubaker, Laurits R. Christensen.

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Walter R. Butcher, Dr. Walter Slocum, Dr. Gary Sorenson, Dr. Ralph Thayer, Dr. Warren Gramm.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

St. Louis, Missouri: Edward Kalachek, David Barkin, Hyman P. Minsky, Edward Greenberg, Trout Radar, Theodore Bergstrom, Harold J. Barnett, Charles L. Leven, Marshall Hall, George W. McKenzie.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Gebhard D. Long, John E. Tower, John M. Mattila, Lon Polk, Larry B. Singell, Bernard Goodman, Stuart Schweitzer, Richard F. Kosobud, Mark L. Kahn.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

William H. Miernyk, Kenneth L. Shellhammer, Donald E. Russell, Robert J. Saunders, Carl W. Hale, James H. Thompson, Richard D. Raymond, Raymond A. McKay, Vance Allen, Woo Sik Kee, Gilbert Britman, Betty G. Fishman, Leo Fishman.

YALE UNIVERSITY

E. Wight Bakke.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

Clair Wilcox, Mrs. Zora Pryor, Frederic L. Pryor, Frank Pierson.

NATIONAL MANPOWER POLICY TASK FORCE

Arnold Nemore.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Prof. Harry Malisoff, Edward Marcus, Dean Sol Jacobson, Dean Louis Fier.

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

Leonard A. Lecht, Marshall K. Wood, Phillip M. Ritz, Mannie Kupinsky, Norman Frumkin, Joyce G. Powell.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE SUPPORTS EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Mr. President, I would like also to place in the Record at this point an excellent statement on S. 2388, the antipoverty bill, and on the Emergency Employment Act, by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. This organization is a coalition of 112 national civil rights, labor, and religious organizations.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights gives its wholehearted endorsement to S. 2388, the Economic Opportunity Act, as reported by the Senate Labor Committee, and particular endorsement to the Clark-Javits amendment establishing the Emergency Employment Act of 1967.
>
> These proposals, together, would bring us significantly closer to the goal of the Conference, "an integrated, democratic, plural society in which every individual is accorded equal rights, equal opportunities and equal justice. . . ." In our statement of purpose we recognize that civil rights cannot be considered in any narrow sense but must also mean "the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible." The proposals that will be before the Senate shortly will help create the necessary conditions.
>
> One of the most pressing concerns of our urban and rural poor is decent jobs. Without them, the rights that the Leadership Conference has fought to advance for nearly two

decades can be virtually meaningless. President John F. Kennedy put it vividly when he said, "No one gains by being admitted to a lunch counter if he has no money to spend. . . . No one thinks much of the right to own a good home and to sleep in a good hotel or go to a theater if he has no money and no work. . . ."

In his Poverty Message to Congress this year, President Johnson observed that while many Americans have found employment during the three years of the War on Poverty, "economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the nation's slums."

The Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act with its immediate promise of 200,000 new jobs the first year and 300,000 jobs the year after that, would begin to move thousands of the unemployed and unskilled poor into a position where they can become functioning members of American society, able to enjoy their constitutional rights.

The battle cry of the Civil Rights Movement in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, was "Jobs and Freedom." The 112 national civil rights, religious, labor and civic organizations in the Conference believe we can help make that cry a reality by urging all members of Congress to vote for the Economic Opportunity Act in the form in which it is now before the Senate of the United States.

AFL-CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT SUPPORTS EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I would also like to place in the RECORD at this point a letter from Jack T. Conway, executive director of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, which represents 6,500,000 workers in 60 unions. This is a strong statement of support for S. 2388 and for the Emergency Employment Act.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT,
AFL-CIO,
Washington, D.C., September 19, 1967.

Hon. JOSEPH S. CLARK,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CLARK: The Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO enthusiastically supports S. 2388, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 and the Emergency Employment Act. To eliminate poverty among 30 million Americans as quickly as possible is the most important issue before this Congress. S. 2388 makes real progress toward that goal.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has demonstrated its capacity to serve as an effective advocate of the poor by supporting imaginative and innovative programs that help the poor help themselves out of poverty. The experience over the last three years calls for OEO to continue as the central anti-poverty agency of the Federal government. Consequently, we oppose transfer of any OEO programs to other agencies. The inevitable effect of such transfers would be to end the unique contribution OEO has made as an anti-poverty program innovator and advocate for the poor. Through national emphasis programs such as Head Start and local community action programs, public attention is now focused on the problems of poverty. Successful efforts are now being made to end poverty. This momentum must be maintained and accelerated.

Coupled with extension of OEO programs is the urgent need to provide jobs in urban and rural areas with high concentrations of unemployment. This is a necessary condition of waging any real war on poverty and of attaining full employment.

We believe it is inexcusable that, given our high levels of productivity and technology, two of every three of those heading the nation's seven million impoverished families either have no opportunity for employment at decent wages or must content themselves with inadequate opportunities at dead-end and poorly paid jobs. The Emergency Employment provision of S. 2388 makes a significant start in correcting this condition. It establishes that society has a responsibility to guarantee jobs for those willing and able to work but who are unemployed. It would provide opportunities for citizens to contribute productively to many of society's needs and offers them a chance to embark on a personally satisfying career.

This legislation would provide meaningful public service and non-profit private jobs that concentrate on the huge backlog of our needs in health, recreation, education, public facilities, municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development.

Emergency work is a proposal that has been studied and supported by Presidential and statutory commissions: the National Commission on Automation, Technology and Economic Progress, the Public Welfare Advisory Council, the National Crime Commission, and the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber all supported creating jobs for those willing and able to work.

We urge that you support the retention of the Emergency Employment Act in S. 2388. To either delete this provision or to make it a separate bill amounts to killing it. The issue has been studied at length. The time for action is now. We urge that S. 2388 be supported as reported by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Sincerely yours,

JACK T. CONWAY,
Executive Director.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I want to ask the leadership to make sure that I am advised if I am not on the floor just prior to the time that the bill is placed for third reading, for at that time I shall certainly ask that the two titles be divided, if they are still in the bill.

I understand from the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] that there will probably be an amendment addressed to title II, seeking to strike it. If that amendment is successful there would be no occasion to ask for a division. If that amendment is not successful, regardless of the way the vote goes, it would be my position that Senators should have the right to pass on these separate issues by separate votes. I shall ask for a division at that time.

Therefore, I ask the acting majority leader to make sure that I am advised before the bill is placed for third reading.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The leadership is happy to be informed by the Senator from Florida as to his wishes in this regard, and the leadership will make every effort to see that he is advised just prior to the third reading of the bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the bill is now open to amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Parliamentarian advises the Chair that the amendment of the Senator from Washington is pending. Since a time has been set for a vote on the amendment it would require unanimous consent to offer an amendment at this time.

Mr. CLARK. In view of the ruling of the Chair and the further fact that I believe it has been agreed that the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] will be voted on not later than 2:30 p.m. tomorrow, and since there are no other Senators present who desire to speak or file amendments, I suggest to the acting majority leader that this might be a good time to adjourn.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

NEW FORESTRY SCIENCES LABORATORY AT MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on Saturday, September 23, 1967, I spoke at the dedication of the new Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Morgantown, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent to insert my printed remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE FORESTRY SCIENCE LABORATORY, MORGANTOWN, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 23, 1967

It is always a pleasure to help dedicate a fine new building such as this one and it gives me even greater pleasure to know that these ceremonies mark only the beginning of the benefits which this facility will bring to the city of Morgantown, the State of West Virginia, and the United States.

Our State is fortunate to have two other forestry laboratories located within its borders. These are at Parsons and at Princeton. And with the dedication of this third laboratory here at Morgantown I think we can say, with no little pride, that these laboratories give West Virginia a special lustre and that West Virginia is fast becoming the hub of forestry research activities in the northeastern United States.

But these laboratories are simply bricks and stone without the skill and vision of the men who man them. These men are seeking to unlock the giant potential which is locked within our forests.

Our forests are one of our most historic and treasured natural resources. They are not only a thing of beauty but they are economically valuable and, if harvested wisely, self-renewing. If conserved, our forests will give of their bounty for generations to come.

The key to this conservation of resources is research.

For if we are to make the most of the more than 11 million acres of forests that cover our state, intensive research efforts will be required:

Efforts to improve the kinds of trees being grown and to improve their growth rates.

Efforts to more adequately protect our forests from fire, pests, disease, and other destructive forces.

Efforts to more economically harvest and process our timber.

Efforts to expand the markets for timber products.

And, finally, efforts to fully develop and use the other resources of the forests—fish, game, recreation, and natural beauty.

I am proud of the strides the Forest Service is taking toward meeting these challenges.

As I mentioned, in West Virginia alone the Service operates three research stations.

Let me tell you about some of the work being carried on at these three laboratories.

At Parsons, scientists are conducting research on timber and watershed management. Researchers have found profitable ways to lay out, construct, and maintain logging roads while simultaneously protecting valuable watershed resources.

They have shown that—done carefully—heavy timber cutting can substantially increase water yield without damaging water quality.

Parsons scientists are also searching for ways to rid our streams of pollution so both urban and rural dwellers will always have a clean and continuous water supply.

As timber growing and harvesting techniques are improved, there is a commensurate need to improve the demand for, and the marketing of, forest products. This is the work that is being carried on at the Princeton Products Marketing and Utilization Laboratory.

Princeton, West Virginia, scientists are partly responsible for the resurgence in the use of hardwood flooring, rather than other materials. Other research is aimed at developing a floor-leveling system suitable for use in urban housing renewal projects.

With the cooperation of State and private industry officials, Princeton scientists have assisted in the development of a promising system using wooden posts for highway guardrails. The posts are driven into the ground by a kind of mobile pile-driver. If adopted nationwide, this system will sharply expand the demand for wood, while reducing road construction costs.

Do all these projects sound visionary—far off in the future?

Not at all.

Research done at Princeton contributed greatly to the establishment of a new hardwood veneer plant in that town. This plant employs about 100 persons and purchases some 2 million board-feet of logs annually.

I am sure we will witness similar developments through the State as a result of Forest Service research.

The third laboratory operated by the Forest Service in the State is the one we have come to dedicate today. Here at Morgantown, scientists are conducting research in the field of forest engineerings and in wildlife habitat. There is also a field office here for the Forest Service's State and private forestry program.

In the engineering field, a wide range of studies is underway. They are developing improved methods of transport and handling of primary forest products, and improved methods of utilizing low-grade primary forest products.

One study, already completed, has provided engineering data for redesigning wheeled skidders to obtain greater logging efficiency. This and other engineering advances could save the logging industry millions of dollars annually.

The second activity at this new laboratory is wildlife habitat research. This is the newest function at the lab, but it holds great promise.

Wildlife is a valuable forest resource but experts feel that the State's forests are producing game far below their potential.

The wildlife scientists will be searching for systems of forest management that yield not only the maximum amount of timber but also the optimum game crop.

If the number of deer, turkeys, grouse, squirrels and other game could be increased, it is believed that hunting and all the attendant demands for hunter service industries also will increase.

Finally, to be of maximum benefit, research discoveries must be applied in private industry. The staff of the State and private forestry program must work to keep open the lines of communication between researchers and industry officials.

Briefly, then, these have been, and will be, some of the activities of the three Forest Service laboratories in West Virginia.

I know the work being done at these three laboratories will insure continued healthy forest growth. I am firmly convinced that reseach being carried on at these laboratories will keep our State's forest products industries economical and viable for years to come. I wish to commend the U.S. Forest Service for its fine work in the past and I know this will continue in the future.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 19 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Tuesday, September 26, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate September 25, 1967:

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

Damon J. Keith, of Michigan, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Michigan, vice Thomas P. Thornton, retired.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

New Director for Voice of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, September 20, 1967, the well-known American newsman, Mr. John Charles Daly, was sworn in as Assistant Director of the U.S. Information Agency in charge of its broadcast branch, the Voice of America.

When Leonard H. Marks, Director of USIA, announced earlier this year that Mr. Daly would succeed the equally capable John Chancellor, as Director of the Voice of America, Mr. Bernie Harrison, radio and television critic for the Washington, D.C., Star stated:

> The Voice is getting a pro to succeed a pro.

The famed American newsman and columnist, Bob Considine, stated:

> John Daly is the perfect choice for the exciting but little-understood job of directing the activities of the Voice of America.

The United States is indeed fortunate to be able to attract to Government service men with the skills and dedication of Mr. Daly and Mr. Chancellor and as noted by Director Marks "at a considerable sacrifice of income."

To John Daly, we say "thank you—and welcome to the challenges inherent in this vital task which you now undertake as Director of the Voice of America."

Bulgarian National Hero Reminds Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday afternoon at the Russian Orthodox Church here in Washington, D.C., a special memorial service was held commemorating the 20th anniversary of the death of Bulgarian national hero Nikola Petkov. He was a gallant leader of the united democratic opposition in the Bulgarian Parliament.

This occasion reminds us of the plight of the freedom-loving people who still languish behind the Iron Curtain in Bulgaria, and the other captive nations of the world. We have grown too accustomed to a world half free, and half slave. It is time that we as Americans determine once again that the cause of democracy must be a crusade. We must declare once again to the world that we shall not allow the torch of freedom to fall into the pit of despair and tyranny.

Résumé of Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD my newsletter covering a résumé of legislation up to the Labor Day recess. It is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 22, 1967.

DEAR FRIEND: Congress has returned from its Labor Day recess with many important votes yet to be taken before adjournment, which is not expected to come before Thanksgiving. Several days at the State fair gave me an opportunity to visit with friends from every part of the state. They were concerned over the Vietnam war, the rising crime rate, the lower dollar value, the proposed tax increases, and everyone was really concerned over declining farm prices. In this report I will endeavor to give you a brief résumé of what has been done, and what remains on the agenda.

Probably first in the order of importance is news on the Oahe Irrigation Project. No hearings could be held in the House Interior Committee until the Budget Bureau and the Department of Interior had presented a favorable report on the project. In spite of the fact that my office had called Budget twice each week for two months urging completion of the report, it was not filed until August 29, even though both Budget and Interior knew the House Committee was adjourning business on August 31. The delay means no House action this year.

Am happy to report, however, that our committee plans field hearings in Huron on October 27, in Redfield on the 28th, and then on the 29th will view the entire project by car and by air. The Senate Committee completed its hearings in Washington last week, (Sept. 13). They will without doubt pass the bill before adjournment, even though the House cannot act until next year. Of course we still have the problem of getting the appropriation even after the authorization has become law. This delay was the major determining factor in my decision not to retire from Congress. After 30 years of work for river development, I am determined to see it to completion.

A THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE KILOVOLT LINE

I was assigned the task of handling this Interior Committee bill on the House floor. It provided a high voltage transmission line from Ft. Thompson to Grand Island, Nebraska. I had originally blocked passage in the committee until the Interior Department changed their plan of operation of unit seven in the Oahe Dam. The penstock for unit seven is constructed with a "Y" so that part of the time this unit can be used for power generation and part of the time for pumping water to the irrigation project. The original plan of operation called for closing down the pumps on unit seven during July and August so that the unit could be used for the generation of power to be sold for irrigation pumping in Nebraska. My objection held up the transmission line authorization until the Bureau gave me their guarantee that South Dakota irrigation would come first. Catching this very serious flaw in the Bureau's plans not only insures South Dakota irrigators a constant water supply, but saves the $2.8 million in construction costs.

FOREIGN AID

At long last the House took a closer look at this spending program and sliced $500 million from the original request. At $2.8 billion it was still substantially more than should have been authorized. After an all-night session, at four in the morning we came within eight votes of sending it back to the committee for further cuts. I was not only successful in several dollar cut amendments but also in broadening a provision for food protein research. The amendment provided for research to include wheat, soybeans and other grains which show great promise as diet supplements for the people of underdeveloped nations.

TAX INCREASE

Instead of the 6 percent surtax originally suggested, the President has requested a whopping 10 percent boost. The Vietnam war was given as an excuse for this needed revenue, although domestic spending has increased at a greater rate than war expenses. Rep. Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, served notice on the administration that he would require a definite plan for reduced spending before considering a tax increase. Congress generally promises to take a long, hard look before turning more of the people's hard-earned money over to federal spenders.

FARM

Despite the fact that agricultural income is standing at 75 percent of parity, the lowest in 33 years, the Administration continues to belt the farmer. The belting includes further tariff cuts, increased import competition, inflated prices on everything the farmer must buy, as well as dumping of CCC stocks to help beat prices down. The explanation of course is that it is impossible to reduce consumer prices without beating down producers' prices, and there are more votes among the consumers. Their own reports are most discouraging for agriculture. The Department of Commerce reports that national income rose $5½ billion in the second quarter of the year while the Department of Agriculture reported a 2½ percent decline in farm income for the same period. We had a bumper crop of small grain in South Dakota but prices fell from $1.70 per bushel last year to $1.40 this year and many reported selling their wheat at the elevator for $1.18 or $1.20—this in spite of the famous wheat bill that was so highly publicized as the "farmers' friend" only two years ago.

GOLD

The bill providing a subsidy for gold production which I co-sponsored, has been reported from the Interior Committee to the House floor. It is awaiting action by the Rules Committee. The bill provides a 6 percent subsidy to current producers and a 125 percent subsidy to new mines. This is simply a cost of operation payment made necessary because all gold mined in this country must be sold directly to the Treasury at a price established in 1934. Kenneth Kellar of Homestake spent several days here helping me pry the bill out of Rules.

RIOTS

A bill which I co-sponsored, making it a crime to cross state lines for the purpose of inciting a riot, has passed the House and is currently under consideration in the Senate. I have also introduced another bill cutting off all federal benefits from anyone convicted of rioting. The nation cannot continue to tolerate violence and lawlessness terrorizing its citizens.

SOCIAL SECURITY

In an effort to help our senior citizens resist the ravages of Great Society inflation, the House has passed a measure providing Social Security increases averaging 12½ percent, with the monthly minimum raised from $44 to $50. To pay for it, the wage base was increased from $6,600 to $7,600 next year with the tax rate scheduled to reach 11.8 percent in 1987.

DRAFT

A four-year extension of the draft was enacted, continuing the present educational deferment for undergraduates. It also permits the President to reverse the order of induction to place 19-year-olds at the top of the list.

VETERANS

A major increase in veterans benefits was enacted providing pension increases for 2 million veterans and their widows averaging 5.4 percent. Vietnam veterans would receive benefits comparable to those of other conflicts, and educational allowances for those serving after February 1, 1955, would be increased.

OBSCENE LITERATURE

Legislation I co-sponsored in the past several Congresses to crack down on the flow of obscene books, movies, and other materials is awaiting conference committee action after passing both the House and Senate. It would establish a 16-member Commission to recommend legislation to curb the $1 billion-a-year traffic in obscenity and pornography.

POSTAL RATES

In all probability it is going to cost a lot more to mail a letter next year. The nation's postage bill is likely to go up by another $1 billion. The House is expected to act soon on increases proposed to raise air mail from 8 cents to 10 cents an ounce. First-class letters would go up from 5 to 6 cents, postal cards from 4 to 5 cents. Newspapers and magazines would go up 23 percent, and bulk mail 31 percent. Much of the increased income would be required to provide postal employees with an anticipated pay boost. The person who saved three cent stamps in the past was lucky—two of them will send a letter, first class.

RATS

The House refused to bring up for consideration a $40 million, two-year rat extermination act, rousing the ire of the President and resulting in Administration attempts to add the money to other measures. Needless to say, everyone is against rats but some felt Uncle Sam wouldn't make the best exterminator at a cost of $6 per rat under the proposal. Also overlooked has been the fact that the OEO, Interior Department, General Services Administration and Public Health Service already have extensive rat elimination programs.

Sincerely yours,

E. Y. BERRY.

General Assembly Action on Vietnam Is Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, since the commencement of my service in the House of Representatives, I have on several occasions discussed and outlined comprehensive proposals for peace in Vietnam—see March 2, 1967, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 5137–5138—because I join many colleagues in the thought that the pursuit of peace is the proudest tradition of our American democracy.

Last week in a speech to the U.N. General Assembly, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg repeated that the United States continues to seek a political solution in Vietnam. No restrictions were outlined in his endeavor to seek meaningful negotiations with Hanoi. Other than third-party statements, similar formulations directed toward Hanoi have not received a favorable response. It has been alleged that Hanoi will also fail to accept this offer.

On June 14, 1967, in a House speech, I called for the use of the "uniting for peace" resolution to bring United Nations action in Vietnam. This proposal directs the cochairmen of the Geneva Conference—Great Britain and the Soviet Union—to immediately reconvene the peace conference.

On September 22, 1967, I wrote to Secretary of State Dean Rusk asking that he instruct Ambassador Arthur Goldberg to take the necessary step to invoke the "uniting for peace" resolution, thereby bringing the Vietnam issue before the General Assembly. I believe this formula for peace can be both diplomatically and politically implemented.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD at this point the full text of my letter to Secretary Rusk for the benefit of my colleagues:

SEPTEMBER 22, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Our present course in Vietnam concerns every nation in the world. Because they have a vested interest in the maintenance of peace, each nation has the right to air its views and work toward a peaceful settlement of this conflict.

For that reason, I have consistently supported United Nations action to stimulate peace discussions at a Geneva Conference on Vietnam because the United Nations is the only body within which the nations of the world can be heard on this vital question.

The apparent failure of the United States efforts to involve the U.N. Security Council on this question should not lead to an abandonment of further efforts to bring about United Nations action.

The Soviet Union has expressed its opposition to Security Council discussion of the Vietnam issue in stating that the proper forum for discussions is a reconvened Geneva Conference. This position is inconsistent with the refusal of the Soviet Union—as a co-chairman—to convene a peace conference.

In the event of inaction by the Security Council, I urge you to instruct Ambassador Arthur Goldberg to take the steps necessary to invoke the "uniting for peace" resolution in order to bring the Vietnam issue before the U.N. General Assembly.

Until the Middle East crisis, the Soviet Union had not recognized the validity of that procedure. However, during that crisis, the Soviet Union recognized and utilized that procedure for the first time.

Now the United States has an opportunity to prove its good faith by using the same method to bring a resolution on the Vietnam war to the General Assembly.

Whether or not a nation supports or opposes United States involvement in Vietnam, that nation may well support a resolution of the United Nations calling upon the co-chairman of the Geneva Conference to immediately bring all interested parties together for peace talks.

In light of the Soviet position, I believe the United States should press for General Assembly consideration of a resolution urging that the Geneva Conference be reconvened.

Mr. Secretary, since Woodrow Wilson first dreamt of a world organization for peace, the hopes of men have longed for the day when an effective peace keeping force could be devised. At present, the United Nations represents our best hope for realization of that dream.

If the United Nations is to be effective, we must never fear utilizing every means available to us in that body to preserve and when necessary, restore the peace. It would indeed be ironic if we, as one of the principle architects of the United Nations, were the least bit reluctant to use it for the very purpose we helped create.

Sincerely,

HERBERT TENZER,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, if the United Nations fails to act, we will have lost nothing. If a resolution is passed for a Geneva conference, we will have accelerated the wheels of diplomacy in the pursuit of peace.

Ambassador Goldberg, in his address to the United Nations, stressed the importance of negotiations now. I not only want negotiation now—I wanted them yesterday, last week, and last year.

It is time to undertake a major new peace offensive in Vietnam and the United Nations—as the forum of world diplomacy—stands as one avenue of diplomacy which must be used.

Until the Middle East crisis, there appeared to be no way to overcome a Soviet veto of a Vietnam resolution. Now a possibility exists. However slim it may be, that possibility must be pursued.

Why the Outlook Is Grim for Consumer Bills and Other Vital Legislation—Speech by Congresswoman Sullivan to Heads of National Voluntary Organizations at White House Consumer Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 25, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, September 22, it was my great honor to attend an all-day meeting at the Executive Office Building and at the White House, at which the heads of many of our national voluntary organizations met with the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, Miss Betty Furness, and members of her staff. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the status of legislation vitally important to the people of this country as consumers.

It was a most impressive gathering of leaders in the civic and community life of this country, and I am sure that out of this conference will come wider awareness among the general public of the issues which affect every family in the United States in so many different ways.

I was called upon to present a "View From the House of Representatives" of the legislative situation. Perhaps not all the Members of the House will agree with my assessments and evaluations of the situation, but I am sure there will be general agreement among the Members that the outlook for much of the consumer legislation is somewhat grim. We may disagree as to why that is so.

I submit herewith my own analysis of this matter, as follows:

A VIEW FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Remarks by Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, chairman, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, House Committee on Banking and Currency, at consultation with presidents of national organizations sponsored by President's Committee on Consumer Interests, Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday morning, September 22, 1967)

I am grateful to Betty Furness for inviting me to join you this morning because I certainly want to encourage her, and to encourage all of you, in the work this conference is intended to accomplish. To a very large extent, the organizations represented here today constitute the collective conscience of the American people, and it is only when we impress that conscience deeply enough to stir a national reaction that we can accomplish anything *for good*.

It is particularly urgent that the national conscience be touched now in just that way. We are here today primarily to discuss consumer issues, and all of us consider those issues terribly important or we would not be participating. But the very same blanket of apathy which smothers progress on the consumer front is stretched over most of the vital national issues which Congress is now wrestling with, and frankly, we aren't getting very far on many of them.

And for that, I blame the good people in the organizations this audience represents. Your members are fearful and discouraged but they aren't shaken up. They aren't "turned on"—if I can use that expression without psychedelic connotations. They are not pressing for solutions. And if *your* members are complacent and apathetic, this country drifts.

A good question might be whether the Congress reflects this apathy and indecision, or *causes* it. Perhaps the people feel that whether or not they got excited about some of the major issues now stalled on dead center, Congress would still do nothing effective about them.

If that is the feeling, it is based on a false assumption. This Congress apparently is not going to do very much about *anything* on the basis of its own initiative, enterprise and solid conviction, but any Congress composed of politicians who must constantly run for re-election can be prodded into taking whatever action it is convinced represents the overwhelming desire of the voters. Right now, however, the desires of the voters are seemingly just to be let alone to the greatest extent possible—don't bother me; don't tax me; don't upset my routine; don't push things on me; don't crusade at me; do something about that *other* fellow.

We can all deplore this attitude, and I'm sure all of us do. But the question I direct at you leaders of our voluntary national organizations this morning is: what can *you* do about it? I hope you *can* do something about it, for we in the Congress who try to work for consumer causes and for improvement in the quality of living for all of our citizens desperately need the help of a more aware and more issue-active public.

REWARD FOR GOOD CONGRESS WAS DEFEAT OF ITS BALANCE OF POWER

In the 89th Congress, which was elected with President Johnson in 1964, we had a good solid working majority in the House of Representatives on most of the major issues of domestic concern and we enacted some extremely far-reaching legislation which will have landmark significance equal to some of the great enactments of the first New Deal. Not everything went through smoothly, by any means, and some things went through with more title than substance—such as the packaging bill on which Senator Hart had labored so hard and so long only to have its ribs crushed in the embrace of many of its enemies, so that it fell miles short of its target.

On the other hand, much of what we did accomplish in the 1965 and 1966 sessions of the Congress will have tremendous impact on the future of this country and of the well-being of our people. It was a good Congress. But its reward, unfortunately, was the defeat of most of the young forward-looking new Members of the House who had given the 89th Congress its liberal muscle on the Yea and Nay votes which determined the fate of the major bills, from Elementary Education to Medicare, from Model Cities to Voting Rights, from minimum wage to rent supplements, from arms control to automobile safety.

Those who have taken the places in the 90th Congress of the defeated House one-termers of the 89th are far less inclined than their predecessors to prospect for new areas of public improvement, and are apparently quite willing to have the 90th Congress enact little more than the necessary appropriation bills, with as low a price tag as possible. In this attitude, I am sure they feel they are faithfully and accurately reflecting the wishes of their constituents—at least, those they hear from.

My own mail reflects this. Over the 15 years in which I have served in the Congress, I have built up quite a correspondence with thousands of constituents who have brought problems to my attention for whatever help I could provide or guidance I could supply, and with thousands of others who wanted to share with me their views or hopes or fears on legislative issues.

A CONGRESSMAN'S MAIL

A Congressman's mail is by no means an accurate reflection of the public view on any issue; it is, however, a very good indicator of what is *bothering* people. For every constituent upset enough to write in, dozens more are brooding over the same issue. Then you have vast numbers of others who *would* write in if they had time to think about the issue and if someone, or something in the newspaper, goaded them into writing. Generally, the mail we receive indicates to us not so much what we should be *for* but rather how far we dare go in opposing what appears to be a sizable segment of our constituency.

It is a well-known fact that those who are strongly against proposed legislation are far more likely to write to their Members of Congress than those who favor the same legislation. We learn rather quickly, therefore, not to weigh the mail or keep score of the yes and no letters as any reliable guide to prevailing sentiment. But we get so much No mail, on every issue, that an occasional thoughtful and encouraging letter *in favor*, from a constituent with no personal ax to grind but with a decent respect for the problems of other citizens, makes a profound impression upon us—if for no other reason than morale purposes. So please continue to encourage your members to wrote in to us. It *does* help. It is important.

Through my extensive correspondence over the years with many, many constituents, I know that most of them support my efforts on consumer issues, because they frequently mention this in their letters—but usually they do so in a reference made in passing, incidental to their main purpose in writing to me about personal problems or their reactions to some event in the news which may or may not have any connection with the work of the Congress. Presumably, they are just taking it for granted that I will continue to vote for, and work for, the things they have associated with my record in the Congress.

CONGRESS "NOT GETTING THE WORD"

But it is discouraging to me that despite my close identification with the Truth-in-Lending and other consumer credit issues, I received a total of about a dozen letters from my own constituents addressed directly to this issue—not as an afterthought in a letter dealing with another matter.

My mail on the rat control bill was practically nil. City officials wrote or wired about the appropriation for model cities and rent supplements—but no one else did. When the Public Television bill was scheduled to come up in the House this week, my office received a call from a Washington lawyer in behalf of the educational broadcasters of Missouri asking how I planned to vote on it. At that point, I had very little knowledge of what was in that bill—after all we have more than 15,000 bills pending in this Congress and we are submerged in the technical provisions of the bills we are working on in our own Committees and cannot possibly be up on everything in the other Committees. But I had not received a single letter from any Missouri college or university or other group interested in this legislation telling me what this bill would mean to their efforts in this field.

In other words—good Congress or bad, we're just not getting the word. We're not hearing the facts about the local application of national legislation. We have to dig for this information, and frankly, there isn't enough time for each of us to do that on every issue. This is one area in which all of your organizations are falling down right now.

OUR PROBLEMS ARE VAST

If everything in our economy were fine and dandy, and our cities were Camelots of joy and well-being, if our schools were flourishing and our elderly living in solid comfort and exposed to interesting activities, if the children were all getting their polio and diphtheria and whooping cough and measles shots under the free vaccine program we have enacted, if all the needy who qualified were signed up for the food stamp program everywhere it operates, if new homes and apartments were being rushed to completion to house the low-income families which desperately need decent places in which to live, if the people were safe in their homes or on the streets from the gun-wielding hopheads and violent criminals, if we had solved the air and water pollution problems and the crisis of waste disposal, if we had established scrupulous honesty in the marketplace and outlawed the predatory credit practices which victimize the poor, if we had done all of these things and more, then we would have a right to some complacency and lack of citizen concern.

But these necessities have not been accomplished, as all of you know in your own scared souls. Passing resolutions condemning Congress for not having passed more of the laws necessary to achieve these goals will not accomplish a thing. The fact is that in many instances, Congress *has* passed the essential laws, and even provided sufficient funds to carry out some of the objectives—not all—not nearly enough of the objectives—but many of them.

In a nation in which every boy and girl who can do the work can readily achieve a college-level or higher education—the opportunities are there, now, and so are the necessary financial aids—we have a frightening hard core of continuing illiteracy. Youngsters graduate from high school unable to read and write and speak well enough to hold meaningful jobs. And the nation's economy cries not only for skilled, but for merely trainable workers. The billions we have spent, and are spending, in trying to solve this dilemma will not accomplish the job unless and until every American who does function effectively in the economy and in our society is involved in helping to lift up or guide or encourage or inspire those who do not manage to function.

REACHING THE ULTIMATE

We have achieved miracles in the use of the handicapped and the retarded in many fields. But we have failed in reaching the unmotivated, whose envy, despair, and daydreaming, coupled with a desperate impatience to share in the good life they see all about them, threaten to tear down the whole fabric of our society in crime and internal strife.

I look out at you good people, and think of the millions of good people you represent who belong to your organization, and I am moved to say that it appears now that the solutions are going to be up to you. I am not passing the buck from the Congress; rather, I am trying to find a way for you to pass it back to us in a manner in which we can be prodded or forced into doing our share.

Let me give you one very elementary example. In the list I enumerated of some of the things which are NOT being accomplished, I mentioned the innoculation of children against the killing and crippling diseases. Congress has provided the funds to enable the states to innoculate *every* child. I was horrified to learn, the last time I checked into this matter, that an estimated 65 percent—I will repeat that figure, 65%—it is an unbelievable one—of children on Aid to Dependent Children had not been given the polio and other shots, even though the shots are available free. These are children whose mothers are, in effect, paid by the Federal and State Governments, out of tax funds, to care for their own children. That is the *job* for which they are paid the far-from-adequate monthly checks they receive.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY IS IT TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE?

It seems to me, as I am sure it must seem to you also, that the very minimum service one would expect in return for this subsistence payment is that the mother try to the best of her ability to keep the child alive and well. There are food stamps to assure adequate diets, public housing in many areas to provide dry and warm shelter, social workers to provide guidance—not enough, of course; all of these things break down in application for lack of sufficient funds and sufficient personnel and sufficient time to provide sufficient guidance—but we do provide some of the essentials, and we do provide free vaccines.

Where the shots have not been given, it is to be assumed it is a case of ignorance and not of venality. But who on the local level is assuming the *responsibility* to get those children innoculated? Is anyone?

"Medicare alert" showed us how community action can find the people who need to know about the existence of programs to help them, and then make sure the help is obtained. The whole poverty program was oriented toward guiding the poor to the help they can obtain. But the paid social worker or community action worker has too many families to cover and too little time to cover them.

In time of flood or hurricane or other natural disasters, the entire resources of the community are quickly mobilized by volunteers to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend to the ill and elderly and the children, clean out the debris and restore the community's facilities.

Right now our cities are nearly all disaster areas, without the designations, and without the volunteer help a disaster brings. Instead of fearing typhoid from broken sewers in a devastating flood or storm, we face instead the slow but steady collapse of the city itself into the kind of sewer which poisons the spirits.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS MUST HELP ADMINISTER PUBLIC PROGRAMS

For years, your organizations have been effective activist groups in helping to achieve necessary legislation to upgrade American society.

You have been instrumental as organizations in accomplishing great new programs. But somewhere along the line, the people to whom we have turned over those programs for administration have become submerged in a rising tide of problem families and problem situations, and all of our public services are collapsing under the traffic load.

We have reached a point, I am convinced, where the voluntary organization must do more than propose and press for solutions; it must now take a growing role in the administration of those programs.

In the field of housing for low-income families, we have numerous programs of financial assistance to non-profit organizations, or limited dividend corporations, to get in and do the job of providing decent housing, and managing that housing to keep it decent. Not nearly enough organizations have responded.

When we wrote the program into law for below-market-interest rate loans for housing for the elderly, I wrote to every union, every church organization, every fraternal or beneficial association I could find in the St. Louis directory to urge them to investigate this avenue for solving one of the greatest problems of our community, or of any city. Over a period of 8 years the Teamsters union has acted, and the Council of Jewish Women has acted. That makes two. There are also some FHA-insured elderly housing projects, sponsored by non-profit organizations.

How many of you here have undertaken any program of this nature?

HOW A NEW HOUSING LAW ORIGINATED

In St. Louis, two priests who were trying to cope with the human tragedies of broken families and deprivation in a slum area started from *nothing* to rehabilitate *one house* in a deteriorating neighborhood, finding a family which would help to restore the home, and then helped that family to buy the house through a sympathetic Federal savings and loan association. Thus started a program which has worked successfully on a *home-by-home* and *family-by-family* scale. It has worked so well that I was impressed enough to impress Congress enough to pass a separate provision of the Housing law to promote this unique home ownership idea by offering financing to such non-profit efforts at only 3% interest.

Senator Percy was also impressed by the St. Louis experiment—so much so that he wants to set up a $2 billion Foundation to spread this idea quickly to every city in the country. This is thinking big—but in my opinion much too big. What such a program must depend upon for success is the direct participation of civic-minded individuals who *will* volunteer endless hours of their own personal time and effort—NOT hired help, but their personal assistance to those families to teach them how to get and keep a job, how to budget their pay to meet the monthly mortgage costs, how to maintain the property, how to do all of the things a home owner has to learn how to do, and which very poor families which have never owned anything must learn from scratch.

It is a one-to-one relationship—one family to one volunteer businessman or lawyer or clergyman or teacher or banker. That is what made the experiment succeed so well in St. Louis.

AVENUES OPEN TO VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

In all of the numerous special assistance programs for low-income housing which require the participation of non-profit organizations, it is a monmumental task to find the local organizations willing to take on the responsibility.

If you will investigate the many, many avenues open to your organizations to provide administrative guidance and direct participation on the local level to help solve the problems which are strangling our cities, you can then get this Congress, or any Congress, to help you, for you have status and prestige and respectability, and even more important, you have lots of members with know-how, which is the prime requisite for success.

We need to get the local bar associations into the credit jungle, to help the gullible poor avoid signing away their rights to due process when buying something they cannot afford and don't need, or which they might need desperately but can buy only in return for constant garnishment leading either to unemployability or a life of indentured servitude. We must involve the real estate boards in providing advice to those house-hungry families who are subject to come-on deals which any reasonable person would know they cannot handle without illegally turning the property into a rooming house. We need to involve the food industry in helping the authorities to police the outfits selling tainted meat not subject to Federal inspection.

I guarantee that when the House of Representatives is presented with the kind of facts the non-profit organizations can develop out of personal involvement of their members in such issues as these, you will see action on the legislation now so long overdue.

In the meantime, short of a great national emergency, the 90th Congress will limp along for the rest of this session and through the next one doing much less than enough until and unless the good, solid, middle class of this country—which sets the national tone on most issues—gets enough involved to see its own stake in those issues. Right now, that sense of involvement is so numbed in personal comfort as to be virtually nonexistent and unreachable *except through your organizations* to which so many of them belong. Can you rouse them?

Unless you can, the anguished cries to Washington for help in solving this problem or that—from our mayors, our governors, our scientists and sociologists and others—will continue to make us all nervously guilty and we'll apply some bandaids, but very little will happen to provide basic solutions. For that's the way it is here.

SENATE

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Merciful God, whose law is truth and whose statutes stand forever, we beseech Thee to grant unto us, who in the morning seek Thy face, the benediction which a sense of Thy presence lends to each new day. Unite our hearts and minds to bear the burdens that are laid upon us.

Let us put into the fugitive fragments of every day such quality of work as shall make us unashamed when the day is over and all the days are done.

The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, September 25, 1967, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SPECIAL FUNDS FOR THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 171)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Congress of the United States:

This generation of Americans knows the importance of peace in Asia.

Twice since 1950 we have fought for the right of small Asian nations to be free from coercion by their neighbors. In Vietnam this struggle continues. It will continue so long, and only so long, as aggression persists.

Yet lasting peace in Asia requires much more than resistance to armed aggression.

Peace will come to stay when despair gives way to hope, when insurrection gives way to peaceful opportunity, when hunger gives way to harvests.

Peace in Asia will rest on the citizen's trust—in his government, in his nation's economy, and, most of all, in his ability to improve the conditions of his life.

Asians must create this trust. Only they can decide to build the schools, the roads, the dams, and the clinics that provide the foundations of trust. Only they can decide to put aside their ancient differences and join in a common effort to improve the life of all.

There is good reason to believe that Asia has made that choice.

Hope is a living fact in the rugged hills of Korea, in the thriving cities of Thailand, and in the lush riceland of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Free Asia has determined to break the vise of poverty which has killed and maimed many more Asians than all the wars ever fought.

The nations of Asia are working together to provide more food, better housing, and more education for their growing numbers. They have given a clear signal to the world that they are ready to make the sacrifices progress demands. And they have asked for help.

These are the facts. They are established by the reports of Mr. Eugene Black, my Special Adviser on Asian Development. They are confirmed by the many Senators and Congressmen of both parties who joined in the founding of the Asian Bank.

Mr. Black has traveled widely in Asia in the past 30 months. He has talked with nearly every Asian leader. His careful judgment is that the hopeful signs in Asia are real.

With his help, we have begun the transition from American programs to build Asia to world programs to build Asia.

The Asian Bank was born out of the belief that international cooperation is not only possible and desirable, but absolutely necessary to the growth of freedom and prosperity in Asia. It united 31 nations, and distributed the financial burden of assisting Asia among them.

After consultation with Mr. Black, with senior officials of the U.S. Government, and with many Members of the Congress, I propose that we join with other nations to strengthen this international instrument of peace and progress.

I propose that the Congress authorize a U.S. contribution of up to $200 million to new Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank.

This authorization will not involve any budget expenditures in fiscal 1968.

Our contribution would be made over 4 years, and would constitute a minority share of total contributions to the Special Funds.

This must not and will not be an American effort alone. The development of the most populous region of the earth affects every nation. It must be supported by all who are able to help.

Several leaders of the Congress and the Nation have urged that we transform the bulk of our foreign assistance from bilateral aid programs to multilateral, cooperative efforts where all the wealthy nations of the world join to help the developing nations through the World Bank, regional development associations, and other multilateral arrangements.

We look to the day when our foreign assistance can be handled under these arrangements.

The proposal I make today is a step in this direction. It is an example of multilateral assistance that we fervently hope will be followed increasingly in the years ahead in Asia and throughout the developing world.

THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IN ASIA

Free Asia has done more in the last 2 years to create a true community of interest among its peoples than in all the long centuries that went before. Here is part of that extraordinary record:

Asian initiative founded the Asian Development Bank with assets of $1 billion, to finance development projects throughout the great arc from Afghanistan to Korea.

Nine nations joined to form the Asian and Pacific Council, the first regular forum for discussion of the full range of Asian problems.

The nations of Southeast Asia and Indonesia formed a subregional association to foster better understanding and economic cooperation.

The Mekong Coordinating Committee and other existing agencies moved with new energy and urgency, producing such important projects as the Nam Ngum Dam in Laos.

Asians are gaining new insights into the needs of their region:

The Asian Development Bank is sponsoring a comprehensive study of Asian agriculture which will identify the specific projects necessary to meet the food crisis of the next decade.

The Southeast Asian Ministers of Education are planning regional centers of academic excellence, to open the way toward improved education, more broadly shared among their peoples.

Led by Malaysia, representatives of eight Asian nations met last week to plan the transportation and communications networks Asia needs to achieve trade, travel, and economic integration.

These are the beginnings of a peaceful revolution in Asia—a constructive revolution which serves not just the interests of the United States, but of all humanity.

It is a revolution which seeks to build, not to destroy; to succor, not to subvert.

But planning is only the first stage. Blueprints must become bricks and mortar.

Most of the money Asia needs must come from the Asians themselves. Some will come from the World Bank, from national aid programs, and from private sources. Some will come from the ordinary capital of the Asian Bank. But there remains a gap, particularly for projects in the most critical areas—agriculture, education, transportation, and development of the Mekong River Basin.

It is that gap that I propose we help close.

THE PROPOSAL

Experience in the World Bank and with regional development banks suggests that development finance requires two different and separate funds:

Ordinary capital, largely to finance the foreign exchange costs of projects which have a relatively rapid and direct return on investment; and,

Special Funds, for longer term loans at lower interest rates, to finance the foreign exchange costs of projects such as schools and roads which do not yield immediate financial returns, but which add powerfully to economic growth.

This is the investment structure of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The 31-member nations of the Asian Development Bank have determined that it should also be the structure of their organization.

The Asian Bank now has subscriptions totaling $1 billion in ordinary capital. This appears sufficient for the foreseeable future.

Today's need is for Special Funds to complement the ordinary capital. Development cannot be limited to projects which can be financed at commercial interest rates. Where there are factories and powerplants there must also be dependable all-weather roads, farm equipment, and clean water supplies. The Bank must be able to lend for these long-term, as well as for short-term, necessities.

The Government of Japan has already announced that it will contribute $100 million to these Special Funds, mainly to support projects in agriculture. The Government of Canada indicated its willingness to contribute to the Asian Bank's inaugural meeting. Other governments have contributions under consideration.

I propose that the United States pledge up to $200 million to be provided over 4 years, on the following conditions:

The U.S. contribution must comprise less than one-half of the Special Funds. The executive branch would make every effort to assure that our share of total contributions is as modest as possible.

Because of our balance-of-payments problem, our contributions must be available only for the purchase of U.S. goods and services for use in Asia.

The Funds will be used only on the firm understanding that they will supplement, not supplant, the efforts of Asian nations to help themselves. Self-help will be the watchword in these programs, just as it is for all our foreign assistance.

This proposal would result in no cash disbursements during this fiscal year. Appropriations would be sought from the Congress as other contributors pledge their share to the Special Funds.

I believe this proposal represents our fair share.

I believe it protects our vital interests in Asia.

I believe it provides the American taxpayer with the assurance he demands, and deserves, that his money will be put to careful and productive use.

THE ASIAN FUTURE

It is hard for any of us to visualize the face of Asia in the decades ahead. Caught up in the trials and frustrations of the day, many people assume that the poor will always be poor, and that this new wave of Asian determination will falter and dissolve.

But Americans know what can be done with natural resources. We know that a single river can transform the lives of millions. Properly developed, it can provide food, jobs, and transport. It can be an avenue to the bounty of modern life.

What has worked here will work in Asia.

Flowing through Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, the Mekong River drains an area 60 percent the size of the Missouri Basin. But only 8½ million people live in the Missouri Basin. Thirty million draw their sustenance from the lands surrounding the Mekong. The Mekong's flow is eight times greater than the Missouri's, and its hydroelectric potential is two to three times as great.

Ten solid years of work have already gone into careful and comprehensive planning for the Mekong area. The Mekong Coordinating Committee, along with 23 donor nations and 18 United Nations agencies, have—

Invested $30 million in the most detailed study of the area;

Invested $70 million in three major projects which set the stage for full development of the region;

Identified 34 potential tributary damsites and completed detailed studies on 11 of them;

Conducted feasibility studies on three of the 12 potential main stream damsites.

These are examples of the sound ideas and projects which will be financed by the special funds I propose today. They are the Asian equivalents of the Erie Canal, the Transcontinental Railroad, and the land-grant-college system which transformed our own society.

These are the productive works which build nations. They carry with them social progress as well as economic growth. Our decision to support them is a test of faith in our own vision. Meeting that test is as important to us as it is to Asia.

More than 2 years ago, when I first announced our willingness to respond to Asian initiatives, I said:

> I would hope that all other industrialized countries, including the Soviet Union, will join in this effort to replace despair with hope, and terror with progress. The task is nothing less than to enrich the hopes and the existence of more than a hundred million people. And there is much to be done.

Much has been done since then—more than we could reasonably have hoped. Thirty-one nations have joined to build a Bank, and the nations of free Asia have joined to strengthen a continent.

The task now is to capitalize on the progress of the past 30 months.

The Congress knows this record of progress. Its Members have been deeply involved in the birth and growth of the Asian Development Bank.

Now the question is whether the United States will join other nations to provide the Bank with a new dimension of productive effort in the basic areas of human need.

The United States knows many needs in this critical hour. Many worthy causes compete for our time, our attention, and our limited resources. In the last analysis, only the people's representatives in Congress can decide where the priorities lie.

I offer this proposal because I believe whatever we do to strengthen Asia, and to enable her people to achieve security and growth in the years ahead, is in our national interest—and thus deserves consideration among our national priorities. In that spirit and with that understanding, I urge its consideration by the Congress.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 26, 1967*.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that the Vice President, on today, September 26, 1967, had signed the following enrolled bills which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 188. An act creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; and

H.R. 472. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report on Reapportionment of an Appropriation

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, reporting, pursuant to law, that the appropriation to the Department of Agriculture for "Forest protection and utilization," Forest Service, for the fiscal year 1968, had been reapportioned on a basis which indicates the necessity for a supplemental estimate of appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Report on Research and Development Procurement Actions

A letter from the Deputy Chief of Naval Material (Procurement and Production), Department of the Navy, transmitting pursuant to law, a report of research and development procurement actions of $50,000 and over, for the period January 1 through June 30, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report on Administration of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the administration of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, for the year ended May 31, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution adopted by the Glendale, (Calif.) Council, endorsing tax sharing between the States and the Federal Government; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Santa Clara, Calif., urging the Congress to enact a workable and realistic Federal tax-sharing program; to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 10345. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 571).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce:

G. Joseph Minetti, of New York, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board;

John F. Kincaid, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce;

Paul Rand Dixon, of Tennessee, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner; and

Carl E. Bagge, of Illinois, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BROOKE:

S. 2459. A bill for the relief of Dr. Harbans Singh Sachdev; and

S. 2460. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Krishna Sachdev; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 2461. A bill for the relief of Asif M. Zahir; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCOTT:

S. 2462. A bill for the relief of Elsian Thomas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. CLARK):

S. 2463. A bill to amend the Social Security Amendments of 1965 so as to eliminate therefrom certain provisions which deny hospital insurance benefits to certain individuals otherwise eligible therefor because of their membership in certain subversive organizations or their prior conviction of crimes involving subversive activities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 2464. A bill to provide judicial reforms for the courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. 2465. A bill to amend section 11-1701 of the District of Columbia Code relating to retirement of certain judges of the courts of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TYDINGS (for himself, Mr. INOUYE, and Mr. MAGNUSON):

S. 2466. A bill to amend section 704 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 2467. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to permit an individual to become entitled to hospital insurance benefits under title XVIII of such act, if he is otherwise qualified therefor, without filing application for benefits under title II of such act; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 2468. A bill for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

S. 2469. A bill for the relief of Dr. Carlos Hernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2470. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. LONG of Louisiana when he introduced the last above-mentioned bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

ADVANCE ACQUISITION OF LAND

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, in recent years the defacing of the American countryside by urban sprawl—the aimless, formless meandering of housing subdivisions and commercial development—has highlighted as never before the need for farsighted comprehensive development planning. To be effective, this planning must involve more than creation of well-ordered, attractive paper schemes. Local governments must also have the fiscal resources to anticipate the needs which their plans reveal. One of the most vital needs is advance land acquisition.

When a comprehensive development plan for an area indicates the anticipated pattern of population and commercial growth, local government should, I believe, undertake an ambitious program of public acquisition of land sites to anticipate the planned growth. Through such advance acquisition, vast amounts of tax dollars are saved since the local government is purchasing before land values skyrocket in response to increased development. Moreover, advance land acquisition avoids family relocation problems which are inevitably created if the local government waits until it has immediate need for land in a developed area.

The advantages of advance land acquisition were clearly recognized by the 89th Congress in enacting the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Section 704 of that act provided for Federal grants to cover interest charges for 5 years on the cost of advance land acquisition. Although the concept of this statutory provision was basically sound, in application it has been disappointing. The requirements imposed on local government to qualify for grants were so rigid and unrealistic that few governments have applied for grants and only a negligible amount of the funds appropriated under the section have been spent. In 1965 Congress appropriated $5 million for advance land acquisition grants, to be available until expended. But, to date, only two grants have been made under the program totaling less than $200,000. Since the need for advance land acquisition is so compelling, there is something drastically wrong with this program that so little of the appropriated funds has been expended.

I believe that rigid and unrealistic requirements in section 704 have prohibited the advance land acquisition program from realizing its potential. I am today introducing legislation, with the cosponsorship of Senator Inouye and Senator Magnuson, which would change the following aspects of section 704.

First. Under present law, land is eligible for assistance only if it is purchased no more than 5 years in advance of construction on it for public works or facilities. This time limitation is both too short, and too inflexible. Comprehensive planning, if it is to be effective, must be projected for periods considerably longer than 5 years. And the advantages of avoiding skyrocketing land values, and getting a jump on real estate speculators, can too easily be lost if a local government waits until it can give an ironclad guarantee that construction will begin on a particular site within 5 years from acquisition. Indeed, in a great many governments, 5 years is simply the normal time lag between site acquisition and initiation of construction of any major facility. The 5-year period is simply too short a time.

But it would not, in my judgment, be a proper remedy simply to substitute another fixed time limit. To anticipate future municipality land needs, flexibility is most desirable. No fixed time period should be specified within which the land must be used for particular purposes. The only basic requirement should be that land should be acquired in connection with a comprehensive plan for the development of the area, and that it should be used within a reasonable period of time from its acquisition.

Second. Under the present law, a government which obtains assistance for advance acquisition of land can be barred from later obtaining other Federal assistance in developing the land. If, for example, a locality purchased land, for future use as a hospital, it appears that the locality must choose between section 704 assistance in acquiring the land and Hill-Burton Act assistance in the construction of the hospital. Because section 704 assistance is relatively minimal—a grant of 5 years' interest payments on land cost—it is clear that the locality would opt for the more generous Federal program.

But, as a consequence, the locality might well not purchase the land until it was actually needed for a hospital and, at that time, land costs would undoubtedly have increased and the construction of the hospital, under Hill-Burton matching funds, would be more costly both for the locality and for the Federal Government. Thus it is ultimately self-defeating to require localities to choose between assistance under this Federal program and others. Acceptance of funds under the advance land acquisition program should be no bar to eligibility for assistance under other Federal programs.

Third. Under present law, land can only be acquired for use "in connection with the future construction of public works or facilities." It appears from this formulation that acquisition of land for use as open space or even recreation areas would not qualify for Federal assistance. I know of no reason why open space use should be thus discriminated against, or a bonus be awarded to intensive development of land acquired in advance of actual need. Open space planning is as important a component of comprehensive planning as any other aspect and should be treated accordingly. I would propose that land can be acquired under this program simply if it is planned to be utilized in the future for any public purpose.

Fourth. Under the present law, only "local public bodies or agencies" are eligible for advance land acquisition assistance. But State governments have an equally important role in comprehensive development planning, and they equally should be assisted in advance acquisition of land for State purpose. Indeed, States can often purchase land on a considerably larger scale than local governments, and thus the program can be significantly boosted by permitting State participation.

Fifth. Under present law, Federal assistance is available for payment of 5 years' interest charges on loans made to finance the purchase of land. But if the funds for land purchase are raised by means other than loans—for example, from general revenues or from earmarked taxes—then no Federal assistance whatsoever is made available under this program. I believe that this discrimination in favor of land purchased through loans is irrational and undesirable. The basic purpose of section 704 is to encourage and to facilitate land acquisition in advance of actual need, not to promote such acquisition through one financial means rather than another. There are many reasons why a community may prefer to purchase land through revenue sources other than loans—the amount of debt already outstanding may be quite high, or the local procedures for authorization of new debt may be quite cumbersome. I might note, as one example, that Montgomery County, Md., has an excellent and farsighted program of advance acquisition of school sites and maintains a revolving fund from school tax revenues for such purchases. In my view, if a community decides it wishes to purchase land in advance of actual planned need, and it does not wish to borrow for such purchase, I do not believe that that decision should cost the community loss of Federal assistance under this program.

Accordingly, I propose that Federal assistance should be available either for 5 years' interest charges or for their equivalent if interest charges are not actually incurred because funds for the land purchase are raised through means other than borrowing.

Sixth. Under the present law, a municipality which purchases land with Federal assistance under this program and later decides to use the land for some purpose inconsistent with the specifications of the program is required to repay the amount of the Federal assistance. Although this requirement is not on its face unreasonable, many municipalities are barred from obtaining assistance under the program because, as a matter of local law, they cannot impose such financial obligations on future governing bodies of the municipality. If this provision were redrafted so that a local government does not bind its successors to pay out funds if a future contingency materializes, but rather binds its successors to follow specified procedures in dealing with land under its control, then, I am informed, this legal difficulty should disappear. Accordingly, I propose that the repayment requirement be deleted from section 704 and in its place, it should be specified that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development must approve any disposition of land inconsistent with the terms on which it was originally purchased and for which the purchasing government received Federal assistance under this program. The Secretary would be authorized to approve such disposition only if the disposition is essential for the comprehensively planned development of the area and a reasonably equivalent parcel of land is substituted for the land disposed of.

With these six changes that I propose in the advance land acquisition program, I believe that the program can be brought to life. The need for advance land acquisition as part of comprehensive development planning is clear. In my view, the need is equally clear both for Federal assistance for advance land acquisition and for the statutory amendments which I have proposed today. I urge the Senate to act favorably on this matter.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the legislation I am proposing be printed in the Record at this point.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2466) to amend section 704 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, introduced by Mr. Tydings (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 2466

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 704 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"ADVANCE ACQUISITION OF LAND

"Sec. 704. (a) In order to encourage and assist in the timely acquisition of land planned to be utilized in the future for public purposes, the Secretary is authorized to make grants to States and to local public bodies and agencies to assist in financing the acquisition of a fee simple estate or other interest in such land.

"(b) The amount of any grant made under authority of this section shall not exceed an amount equal to—

"(1) the aggregate amount of reasonable interest charges on the loan or other debt obligation actually incurred to finance the acquisition of such land; or

"(2) if such land is to be acquired from revenues other than through the use of borrowed funds, the aggregate amount of interest charges which the Secretary determines would be required on any loan or other debt obligation which might reasonably have been incurred to finance such acquisition; for a period not exceeding the lesser of (A) five years, or (B) the period of time between the date of land acquisition and the date the land is utilized for public purposes.

"(c) No grant shall be made under this section for any project for the acquisition of land unless the Secretary determines that (A) the land will be utilized for public purposes within a reasonable period of time, and (B) the use of such land for such purposes will contribute to the comprehensively planned development of the area.

"(d) No land acquired with assistance under this title shall, without the approval of the Secretary, be converted to non-public uses. Any land so acquired which is not utilized for public purposes within such reasonable period of time as the Secretary may approve shall be deemed to have been converted to non-public uses. The Secretary shall approve no conversion of such land from public uses unless he finds that such conversion is essential to the orderly development and growth of the area involved, and is in accord with the then applicable comprehensive plan (meeting criteria established by him) for such area. The Secretary shall approve any such conversion only upon such conditions as he deems necessary to assure the substitution of other land of at least equal fair market value and of as nearly as feasible equivalent usefulness and location.

"(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the principal cost of land the acquisition of which is assisted under this section may be considered an eligible project cost for the purpose of any other Federal loan or grant program which includes assistance for land acquisitions."

FOSTER CARE BILL

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, last year I called the Senate's attention to the relatively small but extremely serious gap in our Federal programs to assist the economically underprivileged. Despite the expenditures of billions of dollars, very little has been done to assist what is often referred to as the "forgotten child," the child requiring foster home care. Since these children are unable to vote or articulate their needs, and do not have parents or close relatives who can do so, the social reforms which have benefited such groups as the aged, the blind, the disabled and the unemployed, have passed them by.

It is true that some effort was made to help these needy children in the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962, but due to the severely limiting eligibility requirements this legislation has proved to be of scant benefit to them. It provides assistance only to those children who receive benefits under the aid-to-dependent-children program prior to their being placed in foster homes, and who are also placed in these homes by court order. As a result, in 1965, the last year for which data is available, only about 6,000 of the approximately 254,000 children cared for in foster homes received aid under the Federal program.

Last year, I introduced S. 3723, which would have done much to rectify this unfortunate situation. Since we were unable to act upon this measure before the close of the 89th Congress, I called upon Secretary Gardner to consider this proposal for inclusion in this year's Presidential recommendations to Congress. I was very disappointed to note that despite the very sweeping proposals sent down to Congress on the subject of our Nation's youth, the administration did not see fit to recommend action on this front.

However, I was heartened to see that the House bill, in spite of the administration's reluctance, has liberalized the foster care program. Under the House proposal, on which we are presently holding public hearings, the foster care payments for children under the aid to families with dependent children are upgraded by increasing the present maximum for which Federal funds are available from $32 to $100.

The so-called AFDC eligibility requirements for foster care are also liberalized by permitting children, who would have been eligible for AFDC 6 months prior to legal proceedings for placement in a foster home, to receive financial assistance. Presently, the child must be eligible for AFDC payments at the time he is placed in a foster home.

I readily agree that these improvements proposed by the House are needed. However, I do not feel they go far enough. The new benefits for foster care are basically limited to the AFDC program and it is estimated that only 50,000 more needy children would be eligible for these benefits.

When one considers that there are approximately one-quarter million children in foster care, these suggested improvements are not adequate. We have forgotten the needy foster care child who is not eligible for AFDC.

Mr. President, it would be a sad travesty if this Nation were to continue making large expenditures for the so-called war on poverty, for the social welfare programs, and to combat juvenile delinquency and crime and at the same time, decline to make an extremely modest effort to help these neglected youngsters. Of all kinds of public assistance, an investment in the well-being of our children is likely to produce the greatest beneficial results.

Therefore, I am introducing, for appropriate reference, a bill similar to S. 3723 of the 89th Congress. It would provide for the distribution of Federal matching funds by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to those States implementing a plan of foster children care. These funds will be available for care furnished in both child-care institutions and foster family homes, including the newly instituted small group homes wherein small groups of children live with foster parents in a family atmosphere.

Unlike last year's bill, which provided for Federal payments to the States on a 50-50 matching basis up to a maximum of $90 per child, this measure utilizes a ratio varying from 50 to 65 percent based upon the individual States' per capita income up to a maximum of $100 per child. This matching Federal percentage is the same as that used in other public assistance programs and the maximum $100 is the same as that adopted by the House bill for AFDC foster care cases. It will benefit the poorer States, which are harder pressed for resources with which to provide for foster care, but which have children who need this care just as badly as those children fortuitously located in the richer States.

Under both present law and the House bill, in order for the majority of children to be eligible for foster care payments, a court order must be granted to remove the child from his home and place him in foster care. Although the House bill liberalizes the present stringent test of requiring that the child be eligible for AFDC payments at the time that he is removed by a court order, it still maintains the requirement of a court mandate.

A recent survey indicated that the court order requirement is not a proper or adequate test upon which to base a foster care payment. The ultimate purpose of foster care is to reunite the child with his natural parents. In many instances the court order may definitely be necessary but ultimately the legal removal of the child from his parents generally precludes the child's return to them. It does not promote the overriding objective of child welfare.

In view of this I do not feel that we should promote legal action by making it the only basis upon which we can help foster children. Surely, where a child has come within the responsibility of the welfare agency and has been placed in a foster home, at their direction, the Federal Government should do its share in helping provide for that child. My bill will accomplish this worthwhile aim.

I realize that in some respects this bill may be considered a modest proposal, but this springs from the fact that the Vietnam war has forced us to limit expenditures. It is thought that this proposal is preferable to those which offer more benefits but which, because of the times, do not have a great chance of success.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2470) to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care, introduced by Mr. LONG of Louisiana, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I also send to the desk and ask that it be printed with the bill I am introducing, an amendment (No. 350) to H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967. This amendment contains the same provisions as my foster care bill and provides foster care payments on the same basis as that bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 350) was referred to the Committee on Finance.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 341

Mr. CURTIS submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 342

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], I submit an amendment, intended to be proposed by us, jointly, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which would transfer Headstart from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education, and ask that it be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

AMENDMENT NO. 343

Mr. MONTOYA (for himself and Mr. ANDERSON) proposed an amendment to Senate bill 2388, supra, which was ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 344, 345, AND 346

Mr. MONTOYA (for himself and Mr. ANDERSON) submitted three amendments, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 347

Mr. MILLER submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 348 AND 349

Mr. MONRONEY submitted two amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 350

Mr. LONG of Louisiana submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 12080) to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND AMENDMENT

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] be added as a cosponsor of my bill, S. 2263, the Cooperative Rural Fire Protection Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that at its next printing, the names of the Senators from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], from Montana [Mr. METCALF], from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as cosponsors of my amendment No. 265 (S. 17). This is an amendment to H.R. 12080, the proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967, to provide coverage of certain drugs under medicare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as a cosponsor of S. 2415, the Marine Sanctuaries Study Act of 1967.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, is is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President on behalf of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2218) to clarify and otherwise amend the Meat Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State meat inspection programs, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, September 26, 1967, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 188) creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINATION BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Tuesday, October 3, 1967, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, on the following nomination:

Damon J. Keith, of Michigan, to be U.S. district judge, eastern district of Michigan, vice Thomas P. Thornton, retired.

At the indicated time and place persons interested in the above nomination may make such representations as may be pertinent.

The subcommittee consists of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], chairman; the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT].

THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, for those observers of the passing scene to whom politics is little more than a cheap game in which one man or one group tries to advantage itself at the expense of another, the distress of Congress over the administration's continuing misuse of the Tonkin Gulf resolution means only that a crafty President has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress.

How stupid you Members are and were, they say, not to have known that Lyndon Johnson would extract the last ounce of advantage from the situation he so cleverly put you in.

What this glib view so conveniently ignores, however, is that the American political system requires mutual confidence and trust between the President and Congress, just as it requires confidence on the part of the people in the President and Congress.

This is important in tranquil times. It is essential in times of stress like the present. Yet, in somber fact, the Johnson administration's handling of the war in Vietnam since 1964 has produced a crisis of confidence.

The basis anxiety of Americans, in and out of Congress, by no means rests solely on the rising casualty lists or the increased money cost of the war or its diversion of resources and energy from urgent domestic needs—critical as these are.

The people's anxiety, and that of Congress, too, springs perhaps in greatest part from a growing conviction that the administration is not telling them the truth.

I have pointed out before that the administration's continuing assurances of progress in Vietnam simply do not square with the cold fact that toward our basic objective—that of creating an independent self-governing society supported by its citizens—there has been no significant progress at all.

This week, for example, U.S. News & World Report, in a well-balanced appraisal of the Vietnam war, points up the continuing failure of the South Vietnamese to do the job only they can do—to bring security to the countryside. The writer concludes that "unless there are major changes in the way things are going—particularly, changes in the South Vietnamese Army—the United States will continue to be dragged steadily into a long, frustrating job of occupation."

I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "A Fresh Look at the Vietnam War," be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CASE. Recently, the clash between administration words and deeds has enveloped the bombing issue. On August 25, Secretary McNamara, in stating the case for a policy of limited bombing of North Vietnam, argued persuasively that attacks on the ports of North Vietnam "would not be an effective means of stopping the infiltration of supplies into South Vietnam."

We were assured, moreover, that the Secretary was speaking for the President in this regard—I was involved in this colloquy myself—both by the White House and the majority leader of the Senate. Shortly thereafter, however, heavy attacks were launched against targets in two of North Vietnam's three major ports.

Has Secretary McNamara been overruled by the President? It may not be so, but it looks that way. An alternative assumption is even more ominous—that the President, whatever his own attitude toward the need for restraint, is indulging the proponents of a "military solution" in Vietnam for political reasons.

Today I wish to call attention to another example of what one prominent correspondent has called the Johnson administration's "operation behind a false front." This concerns the interpretation given by the President and his advisers to the joint resolution passed by the Congress on August 7, 1964—the so-called Tonkin Gulf resolution.

That resolution, it will be recalled, was presented to Congress by the President in an atmosphere of emergency. American naval vessels, we were told, had been attacked off North Vietnam, and the President had ordered a retaliatory raid against "gunboats and supporting facilities used in these hostile operations."

Therefore—

Said the President—

> I have concluded that I should now ask the Congress, on its part, to join in affirming the national determination that all such attacks will be met, and that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. The resolution that we then adopted, with only two dissenting votes in the Senate and none in the House, stated:

> Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

It further stated that the United States is "prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

The Members of Congress knew the wording of the resolution. They knew that the naked words could be construed to give the President almost complete sanction to involve the United States militarily in anything he considered necessary to the national interest in Southeast Asia.

That, however, was not the Nation's understanding of administration intentions in the summer of 1964. To the contrary, it was the understanding of Congress and of the public that it was our basic policy to "assist" South Vietnam and that, as the President put it in September, he was not about to send American boys to fight a war that Asian boys should fight for themselves.

The Members of Congress were, in fact, given specific assurance that the Tonkin Gulf resolution was not intended to grant the unlimited sanction which, stretched to their ultimate, the words could be taken to convey. They had specific assurance on this point from Senator FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who persuaded Senator NELSON not to offer an amendment to bar "extension of the present conflict."

Such a proviso was unnecessary, Senator FULBRIGHT told us, because the objective sought was an "accurate reflection of what I believe is the President's policy." Senator FULBRIGHT was then known to be a confidant of the President, and the authority of his words was unchallenged. And if Senator FULBRIGHT had asserted, to the contrary, that Congress was being asked to approve a fundamental change in our role in Vietnam, the administration "would have repudiated him out of hand," as Senator NELSON stated the other day on the floor of the Senate.

There was, moreover, the President's own suggestion that the expression of support he sought from Congress was limited in time, no less than in scope. For this is how he concluded his message of August 5, 1964:

> The events of this week would in any event made the passage of a Congressional resolution essential. But there is an additional reason for doing so at a time when we are entering on three months of political campaigning. Hostile nations must understand that in such a period the United States will continue to protect its national interests, and that in these matters there is no division among us.

Those 3 months have stretched into 3 years, yet we still find the President relying upon the literal words of the Tonkin Gulf resolution to justify every action he has taken in Vietnam—actions that have raised the number of Americans engaged from a few thousand to more than one-half million, have initiated and expanded the bombing of North Vietnam, and have turned this into a largely American war with no end in sight.

Only recently, on August 18, the President told his news conference:

> I believe that every Congressman and most of the Senators knew what that resolution said. That resolution authorized the President—and expressed the Congress' willingness to go along with the President—to do whatever was necessary to deter aggression.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator may proceed for an additional **5 minutes**.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator. I hope I do not use that much time.

Mr. President, this is a complete distortion of what Congress understood and intended by its action 3 years ago. It amounts to a claim that we gave Mr. Johnson a perpetual letter of credit, which no Congress can or would do.

We knew quite well what we were doing when we adopted the Tonkin Gulf resolution. We were not wrong, nor were we stupid, in acting in reliance on the essential element in all relations between the President and the Congress—mutual trust and confidence.

When we relied on the assurance given us by Senator FULBRIGHT for the administration, we were acting in the only way in which we could act, consistent with the need to make the American political system work in times of emergency.

For the President to take advantage of the restraint and responsibility of Congress in this situation has been, I think, highly irresponsible. It amounts to reckless tampering with the most fragile of all the essential ingredients of a democratic society, the trust of one man for another.

And the President compounds his error when he deliberately taunts the Congress with a dare to repeal the resolution. Such a step would amount to a vote of "no confidence," which in a parliamentary system would produce a change of government, but would only produce chaos under our system of fixed terms of office. Congress will not indulge in such recklessness, and Mr. Johnson knows it.

If the potential consequences of his misrepresentations were no more than the undoing of one political leader, the damage to our system might not be so serious. But the President has done more than to squander his credibility; he has dealt a grievous blow at the process by which we have arrived at the expression of national unity in the face of international crises since the Second World War.

The "sense of Congress" resolution has served an invaluable purpose in this respect under President Truman, President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy. But President Johnson's perversion of the Tonkin Gulf resolution has so undermined the mutual confidence and trust upon which this technique was built that its future utility may have been irreparably compromised.

EXHIBIT 1

[From U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 25, 1967]

DISPATCH FROM SAIGON—A FRESH LOOK AT THE VIETNAM WAR

(NOTE.—This is the report of a veteran foreign correspondent who has just taken his first look at Vietnam—its people, the countryside, the war.

(James N. Wallace, of the International Staff of "U.S. News & World Report," spent a month traveling and observing in Vietnam, and came up with some surprising discoveries about a war unlike any the United States ever fought before.)

SAIGON.—In an air-conditioned office here, a U.S. Army colonel, shouting over the roar of a portable generator outside the window, ticks off a list of "intelligence indicators" pointing to a definite—and favorable—turn in the war.

In a sweltering makeshift headquarters hut, another U.S. Army officer, wearing only undershorts and combat boots, wipes drops of sweat off a map and tells a visitor: "We've been losing a little ground in the past few weeks; Charlie is proving he can still blow up almost anything he wants, just about when he wants."

At Da Nang, a coastal town that has been a focal point of the Vietnamese struggle for 20 years, a Marine corporal scrubs yellow mud from the barrels of the recoilless rifles on an Ontos carrier and boasts: "The VC really hate this baby; they've never seen firepower like we lay on them."

And in another Vietnamese provincial capital, a U.S. civilian official frets:

"We still could lose this war because of corruption. We've proved we can beat the Communists militarily, but if we can't lick corruption all the effort will be wasted."

To a newcomer, these four isolated bits of conversation seem to picture faithfully the shape and status of the Vietnam war as another autumn's fighting begins, even while there is talk around the world of peace negotiations.

These conversations, plus dozens of similar incidents, tell a great deal about what has been accomplished in Vietnam, what has failed, and what still must be done before anything like "victory" can be claimed.

The war in Vietnam, seen for the first time up close, is far different from—and vastly more difficult than—anything this correspondent had been prepared for. But the differences and difficulties, here in the war zone itself, have relatively little to do with the bitter dispute in the U.S. between "hawks" pressing for greatly stepped-up bombing of North Vietnam and "doves" urging the U.S. to get out of Vietnam at almost any price.

The things that strike the mind and imagination here are the hard realities of a war unlike any the U.S. has ever fought before, and of a country that sometimes seems possessed by an almost perverse determination to destroy itself.

Travel a month through Vietnam, from flooded rice fields in the Mekong Delta to steaming mountain jungles, from huge military bases to lonely sentry outposts, and you come away with a whole new set of impressions of what the war and the country are really like.

Among the sharpest of these impressions:

The size and scope of the U.S. military effort.

Vietnam is variously called a guerrilla war, a jungle war, or a limited war. It is all of those things, but a great deal more. Increasingly, about the only "limit" is the absence of nuclear weapons. By any other measure—manpower, weapons, firepower, casualties, cost—Vietnam seems destined to equal or exceed any similar-sized theater of World War II.

The sophistication and power of the enemy.

From afar, the Communist forces are often imagined as bands of black-pajama-clad guerrillas, raiding by night and hiding by day. In reality, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces are tightly organized, well-armed, professionally led armies. The Viet Cong do make primitive mantraps from sharpened and poisoned bamboo stakes. But they also use 140-mm. rockets, field hospitals, voucher systems for supplies, even a postal service.

The difficulty of the terrain that's being fought over.

Picture-book Vietnam is a water-logged field, a peasant farmer wearing a cone-shaped straw hat, and perhaps a Buddhist temple in the background. But more than half the country actually is rugged, jungle-choked hills, some over a mile high. Often the jungle cover is so thick a company of infantrymen is invisible from a helicopter hovering only 200 feet above.

The vast disruption of the war.

Almost one out of every eight South Vietnamese is or recently has been a refugee. A few quit their farms and homes because of Communist pressure. Most are simply fleeing the fighting. South Vietnam was once a major rice exporter. Now 700,000 tons a year is brought in from the U.S. Even in villages surrounded on every side by rice fields, you see grain from Louisiana and Texas.

Along with impressions, a month's travel and talks with scores of Americans and Vietnamese begin to produce some ideas about Vietnam's basic questions: Is the war stalemated or progressing? What will it take for real victory? Can South Vietnams' own Army be made into an effective fighting force? How is the "other war" for reform and economic development going? Have thousands of lives and billions of dollars bought anything worthwhile in Vietnam?

You quickly learn that in some Saigon offices "stalemate" is now a dirty word. On one occasion, most of a half hour with a military planner was chewed up by sharp, almost angry, denials that "stalemate" was a proper description of the war in Vietnam.

It is true that a U.S. military commander can, if he wants to, pick any spot in South Vietnam, overwhelm, occupy and "secure" it. Except near the 37-mile-long Demilitarized Zone—the DMZ—separating North and South Vietnam, Communist forces simply cannot match U.S. firepower, manpower and mobility.

But it is equally true that no place in South Vietnam is beyond the reach of sudden, devastating Viet Cong raids or mortar attacks. The Communists proved this again on August 27 with almost simultaneous mortar barrages on seven different towns in widely separated parts of the country.

There are no front lines or safe rear areas anywhere, a fact that U.S. troops seldom forget for long. An artillery sergeant on a hilltop near the tiny village of Mo Duc comments: "You know, there's just no place around where you can sit down and drink a beer without knowing Charlie might drop one down your shirt collar."

To a nonmilitary newcomer, the "stalemate" question is a matter of over-all momentum, not of ability to occupy a valley or mortar a town. In recent weeks, neither side in Vietnam has shown convincing signs of winning or holding momentum. Perhaps the best assessment comes from a non-American adviser in Saigon who has watched Southeast Asia for 20 years, both as a military officer and as a civilian. His comment:

"The war isn't going especially badly for the Americans, nor especially well. It is just not going. There's no sense of movement, and it can be dangerous when you lose that. It is much harder to get things going again—and it costs a lot more—than to keep going."

"After the battle." More important than the current "stalemate" argument in the long run is the question of what happens in Vietnamese valleys, towns and rice-growing hamlets after the shooting battle for any particular piece of real estate is over and won. At the end of a trip through Vietnam, three things about this "after the battle" question seem discouragingly clear:

(1) The only really "secure" or "pacified" places in Vietnam are places where U.S. units are physically present, in force.

(2) Far too often, U.S. forces sweep impressively through an area, killing or capturing hundreds of Communists, and then have to be pulled out to meet a threat someplace else. The Communists simply drift back in and reassume control over the local population.

(3) So, unless there are major changes in the way things are going—particularly, changes in the South Vietnamese Army—the U.S. will continue to be dragged steadily into a long, frustrating job of occupation.

Over and over, when U.S. officers in the field are asked for an assessment of the future of their area, they reply with some version of, "It all depends on whether we stay here in force."

Around Nha Be, on the edge of the Delta, the once almost-unchallenged Viet Cong has been checkmated since the U.S. 199th Light Infantry Brigade moved in about eight months ago.

"They've managed to collect some taxes, but that's about all," explains a brigade intelligence officer. "There have been no assassinations, no kidnapings, no mines planted along the roads, no terrorism."

How was this accomplished? The officer answers:

"By having our line companies physically occupying the villages. The men are constantly out on saturation patrols. The people see them all the time; that's won confidence. Attitudes of whole villages are changing."

Outlook for peace. How long will it take to turn this confidence into a feeling of real peace and security?

"It may take five years of physical occupation," predicts the intelligence officer. "To win, you simply must stay here physically and hold the land. Kill Viet Cong when the opportunity presents itself, but hold the land."

"Unfortunately, in much of South Vietnam, U.S. forces do not go in to "hold the land," or at least not as long as many commanders in the field think will prove necessary.

The occupying chore—and very likely demands for still more American troops—is falling to the U.S. because of a combination of continuing Communist strength and the South Vietnamese Army's still unresolved disarray.

There's no doubting the Communists have been badly mauled since U.S. troops came to Vietnam in force in mid-1965. Almost all the "indicators" intelligence experts piece together to form a mosaic picture of the over-all war situation show that the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese backers are hurting.

The Communists have lost more than 200,000 killed and several times that number wounded in the past two years. By the end of July of this year, 20,398 persons had deserted the Communist forces and come over to the Government side—more than in all of 1966.

Larger numbers of women and teen-age boys showing up in the ranks of the Viet Cong, and even of the North Vietnamese Regular Army, indicate that Communist recruiting is becoming more difficult. Intercepted messages reveal recurrent shortages of food, medicine and ammunition. Captured documents indicate that fewer than a third of the North Vietnamese infiltrators starting down the Ho Chi Minh Trail reach their destinations in the South; bombing, disease and anti-infiltration patrols are taking a heavy toll.

Yet from the Delta to the DMZ, American officers, troops and civilian advisers agree that "Charlie" is still a tough, imaginative and formidable enemy.

"Charlie's" suprises. To a newcomer, briefed by Washington officials on the steady progress being made in Vietnam, there are many surprises in on-the-spot accounts of what the Communists still have in this country, and what they are able to do.

Despite all their losses, the Communists still have, by U.S. reckoning, more than 295,000 troops in South Vietnam—about as many as there ever have been.

Increasingly, these are North Vietnamese Regular Army troops. Like so much else about Vietnam, this can be rated a plus or a minus, depending on what you are trying to prove. The influx of Northern regulars means the Viet Cong is having trouble maintaining itself through local recruiting. But it also means facing a better-trained, better-armed foe.

U.S. marines near the DMZ, who face North Vietnamese most regularly, have a healthy respect for the enemy. A private comments:

"When we were down around Chu Lai [about 90 miles south] we kept right on working when guerrilla snipers opened up. But man, up here, if you hear two sniper shots in succession you know somebody's been hit."

North Vietnamese regulars also are bringing bigger, more powerful weapons into the South. In recent weeks U.S. forces have been hit by 140-mm, and 120-mm, rockets, 120-mm. mortars, and an antitank gun known as the RPG 7, which is capable of piercing several inches of armor with a direct hit.

These and other weapons are Russian or Red Chinese models, sometimes modified for Vietnam. Most common modification is breaking down a weapon into small parts that can be carried along a jungle trail on a man's back.

New danger for helicopters. More worrisome to American commanders are still unconfirmed reports that newer, more accurate Soviet rockets and 37-mm. antiaircraft guns are appearing inside South Vietnam.

A major factor in U.S. military success in the South has been almost unhampered air power. Communists blaze away at the U.S. planes with rifles and machine guns, but only occasional lucky hits do real damage. Introduction of regular antiaircraft batteries, especially against helicopters, would pose sharp new dangers.

Watching jet fighter-bombers scream off the Da Nang airport runway, riding an armored personnel carrier down a provincial road or listening to B–52s unload tons of bombs onto a jungle target, you get the impression that Communist forces would be lucky simply to survive in South Vietnam.

But in just one recent week—and a "slow" one, at that—the Communists managed, in addition to numerous sharp fire fights, to:

Cut Highway 4 leading to Saigon in 22 places. Severing of this key supply route pushed Saigon food prices up 3 per cent in one week.

Build underground concrete bunkers in a half dozen Delta locations, despite daily U.S. patrolling.

Assassinate or kidnap 140 persons, including nine police officers, four hamlet chiefs and a deputy village chief.

Employ bulldozers and heavy trucks building roads into the A Shau Valley from Laos, a possible preliminary to an attack from the rear against Marine positions along the DMZ.

Needed: a better ARVN. Barring an unexpected Communist agreement to peace negotiations, the only apparent way the U.S. can avoid taking on at least a semioccupation role would be a major improvement, almost a complete renovation, of South Vietnam's own Army.

This is by no means impossible. Many of the same U.S. officers who dismiss the ARVN—Army of the Republic of Vietnam—as "worthless or worse" said the same thing about the Korean Army more than a decade ago. Now the Koreans in Vietnam are rated as topflight soldiers. It is pointed out, however, that the Korean Army was rebuilt after a war, not in the midst of it.

Few U.S. military men, talking privately, have many kind words for the ARVN. There is often considerable respect for individual Vietnamese soldiers. Some units, like the Marines, paratroops and Rangers, do a generally good job. But the ARVN, the main Vietnamese force, is doing only a small fraction of the job it should be doing.

ARVN's shortcomings are inadequate training, poor security, corruption, lack of supplies, and, above all, weakness of leadership.

Some of the training shortcomings are largely the Americans' fault. Until a little over two years ago, ARVN was trained primarily for a Korea-type, big-unit frontal war, not the kind of guerrilla fighting that developed in Vietnam.

One of the many intriguing Vietnam "might-have-beens" that a newcomer quickly hears is the thesis that if the ARVN had been trained as an antiguerrilla force five years ago, major U.S. units would not have been needed to beat back the Viet Cong in 1965-66.

ARVN security is so lax that often, in joint operations with U.S. forces, Vietnamese officers are told nothing until the last possible moment, to prevent battle plans from leaking to the enemy. There's a frequently expressed suspicion that Communist agents have infiltrated almost every ARVN unit.

The pilot of a U.S. Air Force C–130 transport one recent day thoroughly and personally searched the entire cabin after hauling a Vietnamese rifle company. He explained: "Last time I carried a bunch of Vietnamese, I found two hand grenades stuck under a piece of paneling. It may have been an accident, but why were the pins pulled halfway out?"

"Intolerable" corruption? In Vietnam, corruption is an accepted way of military and civilian life. A certain amount is inevitable in a society that is fighting a war, writing a constitution, holding elections, adjusting to alien cultures and developing economically all at once.

But a visitor cannot escape the conclusion the "tolerable" level of corruption has been far overstepped. There are too many stories of generals and colonels who don't really want the war to end because that would mean an end to their profits from renting apartments to Americans, black-marketing military supplies, and doing favors for anyone who's able to pay.

There are too many instances of Vietnamese soldiers going into villages with a rifle in one hand and a looting bag in the other. True, you do see Vietnamese soldiers carrying live chickens on their backs because their unit's supply services are so unreliable. But many times the soldiers "forget" to pay villagers for chickens they carry off.

Better leadership would cure most of the ARVN's ills. Few Americans, military or civilian, see where this leadership is coming from any time soon. Another of the many things that are apparent only after some time in South Vietnam is the fact that most of an entire leadership generation is missing. There are almost no high-ranking South Vietnamese officers who fought against the French for independence when that struggle was basically nationalist rather than Communist.

Many potential leaders, of course, have been killed in 20 years of conflict. But many also are in exile, sometimes self-imposed. Some are with the Communists.

Fifty-three ARVN battalions, half the Regular Army, now are assigned to protecting "Revolutionary Development" teams that are themselves supposed to protect Vietnam's hamlets and villages while starting them on the way to self-help development. In most cases, the RD teams are not getting much protection, and the hamlets and villages are not getting either security or development.

All over Vietnam, you hear stories of ARVN battalions that for one reason or another did not come to the aid of a hamlet being overrun by the Viet Cong less than a mile away from a battalion base.

A hamlet is the lowest level of Vietnamese government. It usually contains a half dozen to two dozen or more families living in thatch-roofed huts or simple wooden buildings on high ground alongside rice fields, or at some kind of road or trail crossing.

Unimpressive as the hamlets may be at first glance, winning control over these settlements and their people is what the war is really all about. Of roughly 12,500 hamlets in the country, about 2,000 now are firmly under Government control, and at least an equal number are under Communist control. The rest are "contested," meaning the Government may control them in the daytime, the Viet Cong at night, or that they are controlled by whoever happens to have a patrol on the spot.

Originally, the 1967 goal for the "other war" for reform and development was to firmly control or "pacify" another 1,100 hamlets. Now it is generally acknowledged even this modest goal cannot be met. Revolutionary Development teams are suffering steady erosion through VC attacks and desertions. Pacification is behind schedule in more than half of Vietnam's Provinces.

Spend as much as a week in Vietnam, and you will come to some conclusions.

Stay much longer, and most of the things you thought were answers turn back into questions. But a few things do seem solid.

While it is undoubtedly unrealistic to hope for much reform or economic progress in the midst of a war, the still precarious security situation is another matter. Unless a minimum of security can be maintained in the hamlets—perhaps defined as a peasant farmer's being able to plant rice with reasonable assurance of harvesting it a few months later—there is obviously little hope of ultimate triumph.

The real measure of success in Vietnam is not the "body count" of Communists killed. It is the miles of road open to safe travel, the rice acreage planted and harvested, the number of hamlets secure enough that the hamlet chief dares to sleep overnight in his own hut.

Americans have proved beyond any doubt they can win battles in Vietnam. But the war is roads, rice, hamlets and people. Any real turning point in that war still appears to be a long, expensive, frustrating distance away.

Mr. JAVITS, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, and Mr. MANSFIELD addressed the Chair.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, if I have time remaining, I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I came to the Chamber especially to hear the speech of the Senator from New Jersey. I am sorry that I missed most of it, but I do know what was contained in the speech.

I think the statement of the Senator from New Jersey is extremely important to our Nation because it speaks with a voice of responsibility: The question which the Senator from New Jersey properly raises cannot be begged.

To have a declaration of war, as some have asked with respect to Vietnam, would enormously complicate our situation legally, and it might expand the war by our emotions. We do not want to bring into being so many complications, many of which we could not and should not endeavor to deal with at this particular time. This would be most unwise.

Mr. President, the technique of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution is a sound one. President Eisenhower used it with respect to the entry of marines into Lebanon, where it worked effectively.

I agree with the Senator that it is tragic, indeed, that it should suffer the discredit which it obviously has. In addition, it is completely obsolete in terms of time, not being germane or apposite to the situation we now face.

I wish to ask the Senator this question. Whereas we should not repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution, must we not consider ourselves seized of the issue and, to bring the situation to a terminal point, will not the initiative have to come in Congress? For all practical purposes, with the "dare" the President has given us on the issue, it has to be this way. I know of no other way.

Mr. CASE. I think that Congress must be seized of the issue at all times and continuously. I agree with the Senator that the President, taunting us in this fashion, has increased the obligation of Congress to come up with constructive alternative solutions. But it is clear that Congress cannot run the war and, if the President cannot run it, nobody can take the place of Congress except another President.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have listened with interest to the statements made by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey. I am a bit surprised at the vehemence of his attack on the President of the United States. It seems to me that he is placing all of the blame on the President but at the same time recognizing that the Congress bears a share of the responsibility because of its adherence and approval of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

I did not have any idea that the approval of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution would lead us to the situation which confronts this Nation today; but it was a desire on the part of the President to enter into a partnership with the Congress so that the Executive and the legislative together, would face up to a problem and a difficulty which the President conceived to be facing this Nation in Southeast Asia at that time.

I am sure that the Senator from New Jersey is well aware of how I feel personally about the war in Vietnam and our participation in it. However, I would point out that since the Baltimore speech of 1965, the President has been trying to create or find pathways which he could walk in an effort to reach the negotiating table, to the end that an honorable peace could be achieved.

I feel that the great failure was not so much the Gulf of Tonkin resolution as it was the assassination of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, because with his assassination—and I do not know who was responsible for it—a decline in our fortunes in Vietnam and Southeast Asia began. Under him, there was a stable civilian government, the only one South Vietnam ever had; under him there were some prospects for the future; but since this tragic event there has been nothing but a series of military dictatorships, soon to be replaced by the results of an election held on September 3 of this year, again with two military men who, incidentally, are from North Vietnam, assuming the offices of President and Vice President.

As far as the President telling the truth is concerned, it is my honest opinion that he has told the American people the truth insofar as he knew it at the time he spoke.

In relation to the Senator's statement, I agree with him when he says that another reason for the difficulty in which we find ourselves in South Vietnam at the present time is that the South Vietnamese themselves have failed to face up to their responsibility, not only of governing and fighting, but also of carrying out the pacification program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If it is their war, it is their responsibility to do a great deal more than they have done up to the present time.

In response to the question relative to the statement of Secretary McNamara to the Stennis Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, I do recall the distinguished Senator from New Jersey raising the question shortly after that statement was made as to whether or not the Secretary was speaking for the President. I stated categorically then and I state categorically now that Secretary McNamara was speaking for the President.

May I say, incidentally, that I did not like to see the Secretary of Defense being wedged in between 10 of the highest ranking admirals and generals of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. It looked to me like a squeeze play the way the line was set up.

But, I will say this: In my opinion, the best statement which has come out of the committee hearings is the statement made by Secretary McNamara. He laid it on the line. He spoke for the President. He enunciated what the President's position was.

At this late date, I do not intend to find fault. I am not happy about the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. I am not happy about our being in Vietnam, but it is too late now to go back and point the finger because the question of how or why we got there is moot.

The important question is, How do we get out and how do we get out under honorable circumstances?

Again, I can say categorically that there has never been a suggestion made on the floor of the Senate to which the President has not given consideration; there is no path which in his way, and in his opinion might lead to negotiations has been left untraveled; there is no idea which has not been given the consideration which was its due.

As one who, among many others in this body, has made suggestions from time to time, I think it is safe to reiterate what I have just said because I think it should be nailed down; namely, that any proposal made by any Senator, on or off the floor, has been given consideration by the administration. Whether it has any validity has, of course, been for the administration to decide.

As the Senator from New Jersey has stated, Congress cannot conduct war, but Congress, by all means, must do what it can to help the President find a pathway to the negotiating table.

Speaking as one Senator from the State of Montana, and not as majority leader, I have a responsibility in the former capacity which I intend to uphold. I intend to do it constructively. I do not intend to do it personally. I intend to do it with the best interests of the Nation at heart at all times.

I think that is what the Senator from New Jersey had in mind, but I did not like the idea of the personal attack upon the President because of the difficulty in which we find ourselves in Vietnam and for which, whether we like it or not, we are in part responsible.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] because I mentioned his name.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Montana has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator from Montana for yielding to me and I also thank him for his generous statement. He believes that I was acting in what I certainly regard as the best interests of the country in doing my duty.

The Senator from Montana stated that he was not happy about what sounded like a personal reference.

As to that, Mr. President, I can only say that the job of a Senator, as the Senator from Montana has always accepted it, is to do his best to agree or disagree and to state his agreement or disagreement very clearly, although not in any personal terms.

I meant nothing personal about this, but I do feel that when I opposed the President yesterday on the matter of our domestic programs, and now today on the matter of foreign policy and his conception of the relation of Congress to the President in conducting that foreign policy as to the meaning of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, I must say so very clearly, even though that statement, of course, sounds as if it were a personal attack. It is not meant to be one in personna, but it was meant very definitely to cover what I consider to be the Presidents' position.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I appreciate the statement of the Senator from New Jersey. I know that he means to act in the best interest of the Nation, as every Member of this body does, regardless of party, or regardless of views. But I do think that we should recognize that this is not a one-sided affair entirely, that there is a good deal of blame to go around—and I include myself in that allegation.

Mr. CASE. I wish to associate myself with the Senator from Montana.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. It is typical of the nature and character of the Senator from Montana, and of his personal disposition, that he speaks for all of us. He certainly speaks for me. No attack upon the President is intended or desired. We should help him. We are, each of us, responsible—each of us for collective guilt or responsibility—whatever that may be.

Let me say that I was much taken by the statement of the Senator from Montana that suggestions are very much in order. I do not want the Senator to react to this suggestion as majority leader. I would want him to think about it. I think a great deal of difficulty would be cured if the Foreign Relations Committee were to be encouraged by the President—and he would say so publicly—to take up the many responsibilities it has before it, with the feeling that he would not be stabbed in the back if they came out with another resolution to replace the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

I think, to that extent, this is a suggestion which the President could carry off with the greatest dignity and compatibility, consistent with his position. It would, in a sense, free Congress as to what the Senator from New Jersey was talking about, which so many of us feel is really a very difficult point for all.

I submit that to the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator knows that the President has indicated to Congress that if it desires to do so, it can repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Mr. JAVITS. I am not for that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator also knows that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] has introduced a resolution to that effect. As to whether hearings will be held, that is not the responsibility of the President. That is the responsibility of the Foreign Relations Committee. As to what it proposes to do, I do not know.

Let me say also, that in that Gulf of Tonkin resolution there is this proviso, as in all resolutions of this nature, to the effect that the Senate could, on its own, withdraw its approval of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Mr. JAVITS. I respectfully submit to the majority leader that if the President cooperates with the Senate in a new, substitute resolution, it would be the best way out.

I thank my colleague.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I commend and congratulate the distinguished senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield], our majority leader, on the statement he has just made.

I desire to associate myself with what he has stated. I feel I am in a good position to do so. For one reason, if for no other, on March 1, 1966, I was one of the five Members of the Senate who voted in favor of repealing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Should an opportunity be afforded later in the session, I shall again vote to repeal that resolution.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I read with much interest the press release and listened with much interest to the comments of the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey. I would say that as one of the two Members of Congress who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, it seemed to me that in giving the President the right to use armed force anywhere in Southeast Asia as he saw fit, the language of that resolution was explicit. It was not made in fine print. It was made in the same kind of print as the whole resolution. I could not see my way clear to give the President that unlimited power from which our now major war in Southeast Asia has developed.

It the Senator from New Jersey feels that Congress has been misled and deceived by the White House, as he indicates, I wonder why he did not join us a year ago last January when the vote came up in the Senate to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Mr. CASE. If the Senator from Alaska will yield——

Mr. GRUENING. I yield.

Mr. CASE. The Senator has not had an opportunity to read my full statement, because I dealt with——

Mr. GRUENING. I have.

Mr. CASE. Then the Senator from Alaska does not believe me when I say that I read the language and understood it at the beginning, and that I was not misled. This is not a case of being brainwashed. I was not misled in any sense by what the language stated. What I was saying about that was this: That it was clear to me that no matter what the language said, this had to be dealt with on that basis. Here the Senator, with all due respect to him, took a different view and regarded those words literally. He was one of two Members in the whole of the Senate who did that on this important thing. And this is an important thing.

It is not the literal words of such a resolution as this that are important; it is the use of a joint resolution, whatever the specific words may be, as evidence of the unity in the country between, among others, the President and the Congress, and the President and the Congress and the people. That is the purpose of the resolution.

What I complain about, what I am so unhappy about, is not that in recognizing it, Congress would have an understanding of what the words, stretched to their ultimate, would mean. We were not dupes. We knew what we were doing. We had the assurance by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] that it was not necessary. This was relied on by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson].

Having accepted that in the spirit in which it was offered at that time, the administration turns and says, "The exact language had this intent. You are stuck with it."

I protest against that. We did not pass a resolution which gave specific power or authority to the administration which it was empowered to do. The Constitution sets out the powers and authority of the Congress and the powers and authority of the President. This was an action evidencing unity rather than a grant of power in the passage of the resolution. Now the President turns around and uses the words as though that authority was given by the Congress.

I think that such a distortion of the device or tool—a very useful one, that of a resolution—has further weakened the relationship between the President and the Congress and reduced the confidence of the country and the Congress in the President. That is my whole point.

So I again repeat, this is nothing but a deliberate misunderstanding of the point I was making. This is not a grant of authority which can be repealed. This was an action evidencing unity between the Congress and the President, and we cannot repeal that. With all respect to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] and the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], for Congress to attempt to do that would be a terrific blow at the Presidency. It would be a nonconfidence vote in the President, which has no part in the American system, and which would reduce the effectiveness of the Presidency for the rest of the President's term.

Mr. GRUENING. There is very little doubt that few, if any, Members of Congress are happy about the war in Vietnam. I think nearly everyone in the Congress would subscribe to the idea that if we could find an honorable way to get out, we would get out. If anyone here dissents from that statement, he can get up and say so. The question is how to get out of that mess.

Mr. CASE. Of course.

Mr. GRUENING. Those of us who said from the very beginning that this military engagement was folly have voted in the only way in which we can to show our continuing disapproval, and that is to vote against the appropriations. There is no use talking against it or making fine speeches on the floor. The only thing that counts with those who are directing our war policies is to vote against appropriations to support the war. The President has in fact indicated that if the Members of Congress did not approve of his course, they would not vote for the appropriations.

I know it is said that we have to vote for the appropriations to back up our boys over there. I want to back our boys by bringing them back home. I do not want them to continue to get slaughtered over there. Thirteen thousand of them have been killed up to now. For what? For a war that will never be won, a war that will be settled ultimately by the Asians. The only way to stop it is to stop appropriating money for it. The only way I have to show that I disapprove of this folly is to vote against the appropriations. I want my colleagues to consider that that is the only method of showing disapproval of this war and thereby stopping the escalation. If they feel the Tonkin Gulf resolution has carried our Nation in too far and too deeply, they can stop this escalation by voting against appropriations for it.

I think the President's position is vulnerable in one respect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. GRUENING. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRUENING. That is in what he indicated in his campaign prior to his reelection, when he said he would not send American boys where Asian boys should do the fighting. That is what led the American people to believe that when he was elected, he would pursue a different policy and withdraw. At that time, the President could have withdrawn them easily and honorably. He had not sent any troops into combat. He had inherited whatever mess was there at that time, but we were not in so deeply that he could not have gotten out of it.

In my first speech on the subject, I pointed out that the President had inherited this mess which was not of his making and that he could disengage himself and our country. I pointed out that he did not.

Doubtless the President did what he thought best. But the American people clearly felt that he had promised the opposite of the policy which instead he followed. That was the reason for the overwhelming landslide. I do not question his sincerity. I have no doubt he would like to find a way out. He has not found a way to get out and we are getting into it deeper and deeper. It is urged by almost everyone that we have to find an honorable way to get out. I am for that, but I say any way is more honorable than to continue the slaughtering of our boys and the killing and burning of noncombatants with bombs and napalm, and letting our own vital domestic programs be steadily eroded.

The United States was without any obligation to get into this war, a war in which we were not attacked, a war in which our country was not threatened, and where no vital American interest was at stake. We should admit that we made a mistake when we barged unilaterally into a civil war and supported characters not worthy of our support. The sad fact is that we are the aggressors. Instead of insisting on the allegation that the North Vietnamese are the aggressors we should negotiate with the Vietcong who are now assisted by the North Vietnamese, but only after we violated existing treaties and poured massive help to the various South Vietnamese, administrations, and get out in any way we can.

I do not expect agreement in those views from my colleagues, but that is my feeling based on much study of the record.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, when William Jennings Bryan presented Woodrow Wilson, one phrase almost got lost in that speech. He said, "The man who kept us and who will keep us out of war." Thirty days later we were at war. Those few words, "and will keep us," are forgotten.

Then the recriminations began.

The same thing happened in the Roosevelt administration. It happened in the Truman administration. And it happens now.

The rather careless reader or the average reader of this statement by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey might get the idea, if he ignored the explanation of it, that actually the Congress was stupid when it passed the resolution. The language does not exactly say that, I am quite aware; I know what punctuation means; but it gives the impression that 533 Members of the House and the Senate were stupid.

And how can anyone confess stupidity in this matter when we know that on the 2d of August 1964, the *Maddox* was under torpedo attack in the Gulf of Tonkin? We knew that our aircraft carrier the *Ticonderoga* was there. We knew that 2 days later other torpedoes were fired. We knew that Adlai Stevenson, our Ambassador to the United Nations, presented the whole case to the Security Council and set forth the facts. And it was then, with all that information before us, that we passed on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution; and we did so on the 7th of August, and it was approved on the 10th of August.

Mr. President, I am not blind and I am not lacking in imagination. One might well know, from the facts that are involved here, that anything could happen. I was not insensible to the fact that we were going to send about 600 advisers there. I had been in Vietnam before that, both North and South Vietnam. I saw the uncertain situation that the French had left there when Dienbienphu fell. I saw the situation when the French thought they were going to win a war with open-front stores in Saigon——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I ask unanimous consent to have 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That were filled with photographs with a French general very prominent in nearly every one. They were not kidding anybody, and they were not kidding me as a sort of lonesome one-man band who was over there.

So comes this resolution, in the face of these facts. Read it. I have read it. I do not know how many times. And at this point, so that other people can read it instead of having to send over and get a book somewhere, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD, together with the presentation of Ambassador Stevenson to the Security Council on August 7, 1964.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTHEAST ASIA RESOLUTION [1]

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

SEC. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

SEC. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

SECURITY COUNCIL HEARS U.S. CHARGE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE ATTACKS: STATEMENT BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AUGUST 5, 1964 [1]

I have asked for this urgent meeting to bring to the attention of the Security Council acts of deliberate aggression by the Hanoi regime against naval units of the United States.

Naval vessels of my Government, on routine operations in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, have been subjected to deliberate and repeated armed attacks. We therefore have found it necessary to take defensive measures.

The major facts about these incidents were announced last night by the President of the United States and communicated to other governments at the same time I was instructed to request this meeting. I shall recount these facts for you, Mr. President, in chronological order so that all the members may have all the information available to my Government.

At 8:08 a.m. Greenwich meridian time, August 2, 1964, the United States destroyer *Maddox* was on routine patrol in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, proceeding in a southeasterly direction away from the coast about 30 miles at sea from the mainland of North Vietnam. The *Maddox* was approached by three high-speed North Vietnamese torpedo boats in attack formation. When it was evident that these torpedo boats intended to take offensive action, the *Maddox*, in accordance with naval practice, fired three warning shots across the bows of the approaching vessels. At approximately the same time, the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga*, which was also in international waters and had been alerted to the impending attack, sent out four aircraft to provide cover for the *Maddox*, the pilots being under orders not to fire unless they or the *Maddox* were fired upon first.

Two of the attacking craft fired torpedoes, which the *Maddox* evaded by changing course. All three attacking vessels directed machinegun fire at the *Maddox*. One of the attacking vessels approached for close attack and was struck by fire from the *Maddox*. After the attack was broken off, the *Maddox* continued on a southerly course in international waters.

Now, Mr. President, clearly this was a deliberate armed attack against a naval unit of the United States Government on patrol in the high seas—almost 30 miles off the mainland. Nevertheless, my Government did its utmost to minimize the explosive potential of this flagrant attack in the hopes that this might be an isolated or uncalculated action. There was local defensive fire. The United States was not drawn into hasty response.

On August 3 the United States took steps to convey to the Hanoi regime a note calling attention to this aggression, stating that United States ships would continue to operate freely on the high seas in accordance with the rights guaranteed by international law, and warning the authorities in Hanoi of the "grave consequences which would inevitably result from any further unprovoked offensive military action against United States forces." This notification was in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva accords.

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[1] Text of Public Law 88-408 [H.J. Res. 1145], 78 Stat. 384, approved Aug. 10, 1964.

[1] Department of State Bulletin, Aug. 24, 1964, pp. 272–274.

Our hopes that this was an isolated incident did not last long. At 2:35 p.m. Greenwich meridian time, August 4, when it was nighttime in the Gulf of Tonkin, the destroyers *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy* were again subjected to an armed attack by an undetermined number of motor torpedo boats of the North Vietnamese navy. This time the American vessels were 65 miles from shore, twice as far out on the high seas as on the occasion of the previous attack. This time numerous torpedoes were fired. That attack lasted for over 2 hours.

There no longer could be any shadow of doubt that this was a planned, deliberate military aggression against vessels lawfully present in international waters. One could only conclude that this was the work of authorities dedicated to the use of force to achieve their objectives, regardless of the consequences.

My Government therefore determined to take positive but limited and relevant measures to secure its naval units against further aggression. Last night aerial strikes were thus carried out against North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their support facilities. This action was limited in scale, its only targets being the weapons and facilities against which we had been forced to defend ourselves. Our fervent hope is that the point has now been made that acts of armed aggression are not to be tolerated in the Gulf of Tonkin any more than they are to be tolerated anywhere else.

I want to emphasize that the action we have taken is a limited and measured response, fitted precisely to the attack that produced it, and that the deployments of additional U.S. forces to Southeast Asia are designed solely to deter further aggression. This is a single action designed to make unmistakably clear that the United States cannot be diverted by military attack from its obligations to help its friends establish and protect their independence. Our naval units are continuing their routine patrolling on the high seas with orders to protect themselves with all appropriate means against any further aggression. As President Johnson said last night, "We still seek no wider war."

Mr. President, let me repeat that the United States vessels were in international waters when they were attacked.

Let me repeat that freedom of the seas is guaranteed under long-accepted international law applying to all nations alike.

Let me repeat that these vessels took no belligerent actions of any kind until they were subject to armed attack.

And let me say once more that the action they took in self-defense is the right of all nations and is fully within the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The acts of aggression by the North Vietnamese in the Gulf of Tonkin make no sense whatsoever standing alone. They defy rational explanation except as part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose. As isolated events, the kidnapping of village officials in the Republic of South Viet-Nam makes no sense either. Neither does the burning of a schoolhouse—or the sabotage of an irrigation project—or the murder of a medical worker—or the random bomb thrown into a crowd of innocent people sitting in a cafe.

All these wanton acts of violence and destruction fit into the larger pattern of what has been going on in Southeast Asia for the past decade and a half. So does the arming of terrorist gangs in South Viet-Nam by the regimes in Hanoi and Peiping. So does the infiltration of armed personnel to make war against the legitimate government of that nation. So does the fighting in Laos—and all the acts of subversion—and all the propaganda—and the sabotage of the international machinery established to keep the peace by the Geneva agreements—and the deliberate, systematic, and flagrant violations of those agreements by two regimes which signed them and which by all tenets of decency, law, and civilized practice are bound by their provisions.

The attempt to sink United States destroyers in international waters is much more spectacular than the attempt to murder the mayor of a village in his bed at night. But they are both part of the pattern, and the pattern is designed to subjugate the people of Southeast Asia to an empire ruled by means of force of arms, of rule by terror, of expansion by violence.

Mr. President, it is only in this larger view that we can discuss intelligently the matter that we have brought to this Council.

In his statement last night, President Johnson concluded by emphasizing that the mission of the United States is peace. Under the explicit instructions of President Johnson, I want to repeat that assurance in the Security Council this afternoon: Our mission is peace.

We hoped that the peace settlement in 1954 would lead to peace in Viet-Nam. We hoped that that settlement, and the supplementary Geneva accords of 1962, would lead to peace in Laos. Communist governments have tried aggression before—and have failed. Each time the lesson has had to be learned anew.

We are dealing here with a regime that has not yet learned the lesson that aggression does not pay, cannot be sustained, and will always be thrown back by people who believe, as we do, that people want freedom and independence, not subjection and the role of satellite in a modern empire.

In Southeast Asia we want nothing more, and nothing less, than the assured and guaranteed independence of the peoples of the area. We are in Southeast Asia to help our friends preserve their own opportunity to be free of imported terror, alien assassination, managed by the North Viet-Nam Communists based in Hanoi and backed by the Chinese Communists from Peiping.

Two months ago, when we were discussing in this Council the problems created on the Cambodia-South Viet-Nam frontier by the Communist Viet Cong, I defined our peace aims in Southeast Asia. I repeat them today:

There is a very easy way to restore order in Southeast Asia. There is a very simple, safe way to bring about the end of United States military aid to the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Let all foreign troops withdraw from Laos. Let all states in that area make and abide by the simple decision to leave their neighbors alone. Stop the secret subversion of other people's independence. Stop the clandestine and illegal transit of national frontiers. Stop the export of revolution and the doctrine of violence. Stop the violations of the political agreements reached at Geneva for the future of Southeast Asia.

The people of Laos want to be left alone.

The people of Viet-Nam want to be left alone.

The people of Cambodia want to be left alone.

When their neighbors decide to leave them alone—as they must—there will be no fighting in Southeast Asia and no need for American advisers to leave their homes to help these people resist aggression. Any time that decision can be put in enforcible terms, my Government will be only too happy to put down the burden that we have been sharing with those determined to preserve their independence. Until such assurances are forthcoming, we shall stand for the independence of free peoples in Southeast Asia as we have elsewhere.

That is what I said to this Council in May. That is what I repeat to this Council in August.

When the political settlements freely negotiated at the conference tables in Geneva are enforced, the independence of Southeast Asia will be guaranteed. When the peace agreements reached long ago are made effective, peace will return to Southeast Asia and military power can be withdrawn.

Mr. DIRKSEN. How could 533 Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives be kidded or deceived with respect to the language that was before us? It was our business to examine it. There are enough lawyers in this body, I must say— probably two-thirds of us—to know that it is the language that governs; and they ought not to complain afterwards if the language rises up and hits them in the face.

I shall not remark about any other thing in this statement except to defend Congress, because I believe the Members of Congress knew what they were doing; they knew what the implications were; and if they did not, it is a pretty tragic confession, and might well cause the American people to go back and reexamine their consciences about the fitness of people to sit in this body, if they failed to understand when language so ominous in nature, on a background of simple, well-understood facts, was before us, with all those implications. If we had any imagination whatsoever, we might well have known what could happen.

We have had our lesson in Korea and our lesson in Vietnam; and who shall say that this will be the last lesson in the history of this country? Go back and refresh on the hard facts. Then perhaps we will come to an understanding.

But I do not wish to let this statement stand entirely unchallenged, because in paragraph 2 it says:

> How stupid you members are and were, they say, not to have known that Lyndon Johnson would extract the last ounce of advantage from the situation he so cleverly put you in!

This is a carefully thought out statement. But the average reader does not read too carefully, at times. They are likely to say, "Why, that bunch of dummies down there in the Senate, 98 of them"—we have to make exception for the two dissents—"and all those dummies in the House. The resolution was not that long, and did not have that many words in it; it should have been easy to be understood."

So I wish to defend this body as to what it has been doing. The recurrence to it does not bother me in the least. If the Committee on Foreign Relations wants to come in with some other resolution, I have an idea it will get a pretty thorough going over before this body takes any action on it.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CASE. I ask unanimous consent

that the Senator from Illinois have an additional minute.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am happy to let the Senator from New Jersey have it.

Mr. CASE. I hope that after I get it for the Senator, he will let me have it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Oh, sure.

Mr. CASE. The Senator is very kind. He wanted to make sure that nobody misunderstood my meaning, and that was exactly what he was doing. I thank him for that.

(Several Senators addressed the Chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, this morning I heard a radio report covering the speech of the distinguished Senator from New Jersey. Frankly, it concerned me greatly and for this reason: Here were statements of this character made by one of the most earnest and sincere Members of this body, a Member who is certainly working for what he believes to be the best course.

But I think, Mr. President, with great deference to the Senator and others who agree with him, that we are doing a grave disservice, and falling into grievous error, to debate again and again every few days the Tonkin Gulf resolution. As I pointed out the other day when the Department of Defense appropriation bill was before the Senate, in doing this we unintentionally give comfort, encouragement, and hope to the enemy. While I did not say aid, in a sense it amounts to that—and no one intends this, of course—because I believe our enemies are hanging on, and waiting, and hoping—in the belief, and with some fragmentary evidence to support it, that if they punish us long enough, fight us long enough, and bleed us long enough, we will finally grow weary and abandon the fight.

That is why I think such statements are the worst possible error we could fall into. With all deference, it seems to me that we have long since passed the time when it was useful to argue the question of whether we should go into Vietnam and why we are there. The fact is that we are there. We have lost more than 13,000 men in battle. More than 80,000 have been wounded. The battle is raging even now. The question is where we go from here.

I am very much concerned by these repeated debates over the meaning of words formulated many months ago under circumstances that are long since out of date and past. I fear that such debates give very substantial encouragement to the enemy. I have not carried the banner of the Department of Defense, nor of the President, nor of anyone else, in the work I have done with respect to this matter. I have said over and over that I thought the President was entirely right in standing firm against the pressure to stop the bombing, or to suspend it again, because there is an absolute certainty of an enemy buildup of men, material, and supplies every time this occurs. This is obvious from the photographs of enemy activities during past bombing pauses. These showed a heavy and continuous flow of war materials and equipment, largely supplied by Soviet Russia and Red China, from North to South Vietnam.

So I feel deeper and deeper in my heart we are on the wrong track in this type of debate, and that we are not facing the real issue, which is what is the best manner to end this war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair). The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. STENNIS. I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Again I say that I speak with great deference to the Senator from New Jersey. I notice that he stated that we are making an American war out of this thing. The fact is, Mr. President, that if we had not gone into South Vietnam 2 years ago with large forces, that beleaguered nation would have long since been cut to pieces. If we do not take a major military role there now, I do not believe the South Vietnamese could last 60 to 90 days. Call this an American war, or whatever you wish; the fact is that we are in there with a purpose; we are committed to it; and we must see it through.

I lament, as I have stated, that now, for the first time in the history of America that I know of, we should stop in the middle of a major war and get in a big argument about how we got in, whether we should have gone in, and what we did 2 years ago.

We must look forward. We must not only back these people, and our commitment, but we should support a policy that will bring this war to an end upon honorable terms just as quickly as possible. I believe we are just wasting daylight in arguing and rearguing the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

(Several Senators addressed the Chair.)

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Senator mentioned my name, if I may respond.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, if I have control of the time, that I may have 3 minutes to yield to these gentlemen. I believe I should yield first to the Senator from New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Senator from Mississippi is one of the most generous and sweet individuals who ever sat in this body. He is as kind to all his fellow Senators as any man could be. I know he would not deliberately misunderstand something the Senator from New Jersey said; but in this instance he has misunderstood.

I agree completely that we should stop talking about how we got into this mess. Mr. President, the problem is what to do now, and how to move most wisely.

This discussion of the Tonkin Gulf resolution was not as to whether its words were understood at that time, or whether it should have been adopted at that time, in any sense. It was a protest against the misuse of the language, currently, by the President and by the administration, to shut off debate, and to say to Congress, "You gave me complete authority, and you have no right to question what is going on now."

That was my purpose, and I am very glad that the Senator from Mississippi has made it possible for me to make that clear.

Mr. STENNIS. I was happy to yield to the Senator from New Jersey and for him to restate his purpose.

I yield to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I merely refer to that statement in the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Mississippi in which he said the United States never got halfway out of a war. We did precisely that in the Korean war.

Our action in getting out of that war was directly due to the fact that the then candidate for President, General Eisenhower, said, "I will go to Korea," and he implied thereby that he would put an end to the fighting, which he did. It was on that basis that he was elected by a landslide. The American people approved his action.

I see nothing wrong with stopping a war in the middle of it, if we can do it. What is wrong with it? It will stop sooner or later, and the sooner we stop it, the more lives and treasure we save.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, with great deference to the Senator, I said that we had never stopped in the middle of a war and gotten to arguing about the war and how we got into it. As long as we were in the war and fighting, we fought through.

We went there on a United Nations resolution. The Senator from Mississippi was here and remembers those facts, as does the Senator from Alaska.

I do not think that the analogy applies in the present situation at all.

Mr. GRUENING. I thank the Senator.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I had not intended to comment on the Tonkin Gulf resolution and the dispute in Vietnam today. However, my name was used on a couple of occasions with respect to the resolution.

So perhaps it is appropriate for me to say something.

In the first place, I opposed the involvement of the United States on the ground in Vietnam from the very beginning. The first speech I made against such involvement was in March 1963, 2 years before we made our ground commitment.

I said then, and I say now, that I think it was a mistake. However, I have never selected out the administration or anybody else for specific criticism about what I personally think was a mistake. The fact of the matter is that the majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress strongly supported our intervention with ground troops in 1965. The majority of the editorial writers in this country strongly supported the intervention and the majority of our military leaders in this country strongly supported it, too.

And, furthermore, in the Gallup polls, the majority of the public supported our expanding commitment there. So, now, those who believed that we ought to have made this allocation of men and resources in this particular place in the world at that particular time for the purpose of saving South Vietnam from being taken over should not be allowed now to desert the cause and blame the President.

I sat in this Chamber and listened to Republican leaders demanding a faster escalation. And I read the debates had in the House of Representatives by the Republican leaders who demanded a broadening of the war and a faster escalation.

The President had the support of Republicans and Democrats.

Two years ago I gave a speech in my State in which I said that the time is not far away when those Republicans who are now supporting the administration will, when we get deeper and deeper into a war in which they have underestimated the opposition, desert the administration. And so they have.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to continue for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, these same people are now running for cover. They are setting up conditions for their continued support that cannot be met. Then they say, "You haven't met our conditions. Too bad. We can't support you any longer."

This is the first evidence I have seen of any validity in the so-called domino theory. Every time a Republican falls off the bandwagon, another one falls off with him.

Certainly we are not going to let them get by with that. I have listened to the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] refer to the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

Let me read something about that. I do not know what anybody else's judgment on this resolution was. However, I was on the floor at the time. I had great reservations about it. There was a sentence in it that could be interpreted to mean that it authorized the exercise of whatever power was necessary to repel aggression in South Vietnam.

I was concerned enough to offer an amendment. The distinguished Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], and the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] voted against the resolution. I voted for passage on the assurance of the manager of the resolution, Mr. FULBRIGHT here on the floor of the Senate as to the limitations of the meaning of that resolution.

I want to read into the RECORD at this time a part of the colloquy and I ask unanimous consent to have the entire colloquy between the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and me at that time printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the colloquy was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[August 6, 1964]

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

PRESENT POLICY

Mr. NELSON. As I understand, the mission of the United States in South Vietnam for the past 10 years—stating it in the negative—has not been to take over the Government of South Vietnam, and has not been to provide military forces to do battle in place of South Vietnamese forces. To state it in the positive sense, our mission has been to supply a military cadre for training personnel, and advisory military personnel as well as equipment and materiel—our objective being to help in the establishment of an independent stable regime. And, if my memory is right, we had about 1,000 troops there the first 5 or 6 years, up to 1960. There are now approximately 16,000 troops there. In addition, it is now proposed that this number be expanded to, I believe, 21,000.

Looking at sentence 6 of the resolution, I understood it to be the position of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] that Congress is saying to the President that we would approve the use of any might necessary in order to prevent further aggression. Am I to understand that it is the sense of Congress that we are saying to the executive branch: "If it becomes necessary to prevent further aggression, we agree now, in advance, that you may land as many divisions as deemed necessary, and engage in a direct military assault on North Vietnam if it becomes the judgment of the Executive, the Commander in Chief, that this is the only way to prevent further aggression"?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As I stated, section 1 is intended to deal primarily with aggression against our forces. "That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

This means to me that it is with regard to our own forces. I believe section 2 deals with the SEATO area, which we are committed to protect under our treaties, particularly when they ask for our assistance.

If the situation should deteriorate to such an extent that the only way to save it from going completely under to the Communists would be action such as the Senator suggests, then that would be a grave decision on the part of our country as to whether we should confine our activities to very limited personnel on land and the extensive use of naval and air power, or whether we should go further and use more manpower.

I personally feel it would be very unwise under any circumstances to put a large land army on the Asian Continent.

It has been a sort of article of faith ever since I have been in the Senate, that we should never be bogged down. We particularly stated that after Korea. We are mobile, we are powerful on the land and on the sea. But when we try to confine ourselves and say that this resolution either prohibits or authorizes such action by the Commander in Chief in defense of this country, I believe that is carrying it a little further than I would care to go.

I do not know what the limits are, I do not think this resolution can be determinative of that fact. I think it would indicate that he would take reasonable means first to prevent any further aggression, or repeal further aggression against our own forces, and that he will live up to our obligations under the SEATO treaty and with regard to the protocol states.

I do not know how to answer the Senator's question and give him an absolute assurance that large numbers of troops would not be put ashore. I would deplore it. And I hope the conditions do not justify it now.

Mr. NELSON. We may very well not be able to nor attempt to control the discretion that is vested in the Commander in Chief. But the joint resolution is before the Senate, sent to us, I assume, at the request of the executive branch.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is correct.

CLARIFICATION OF INTENTION

Mr. NELSON. It was sent to the Congress in order to ascertain the sense of the Congress on the question. I intend to support the joint resolution. I do not think, however, that Congress should leave the impression that it consents to a radical change in our mission or objective in South Vietnam. That mission there for 10 years, as I have understood it, has been to aid in the establishment of a viable, independent regime which can manage its own affairs, so that ultimately we can withdraw from South Vietnam.

Mr. President, we have been at the task for 10 years. I am not criticizing the original decision to go into South Vietnam. I do not know how long that commitment should be kept in the event we are unable to accomplish our mission. And I would not wish to make a judgment on that question now. But I would be most concerned if the Congress should say that we intend by the joint resolution to authorize a complete change in the mission which we have had in South Vietnam for the past 10 years, and which we have repeatedly stated was not a commitment to engage in a direct land confrontation with our Army as a substitute for the South Vietnam Army or as a substantially reinforced U.S. Army to be joined with the South Vietnam Army in a war against North Vietnam and possibly China.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it seems to me that the joint resolution would be consistent with what we have been doing. We have been assisting the countries in southeast Asia in pursuance of the treaty. But in all frankness I cannot say to the Senator that I think the joint resolution would in any way be a deterrent, a prohibition, a limitation, or an expansion on the President's power to use the Armed Forces in a different way or more extensively than he is now using them. In a broad sense, the joint resolution states that we approve of the action taken with regard to the attack on our own ships, and that we also approve of our country's effort to maintain the independence of South Vietnam.

The Senator from Wisconsin prompts me to make a remark which perhaps I should not make. He has said that we might be mistaken in our action. If any mistake has been made—and I do not assert that it has been—the only questionable area is whether or not we should ever have become involved. That question goes back to the beginning of action in this area, and I do not believe it is particularly pertinent or proper to the debate, because in fact we have become involved. However, the Senator has mentioned it. As an academic matter, the question might be raised. But having gone as far as we have in 10 years, it seems to me that the question now is, How are we to control the situation in the best interest of our own security and that of our allies? I believe that what we did was appropriate. The joint resolution is appropriate, because it would fortify the strength of the Executive and the Government. It would put the Congress on record—and we are the most representative body that we have under our system—as supporting the action. If anything will deter aggression on the part of the North Vietnamese and the Chinese, I believe it would be the action taken together with the joint resolution supporting the action. That is the best I can do about justification of the resolution. In frankness, I do not believe the joint resolution would substantially alter the President's power to use whatever means seemed appropriate under the circumstances. Our recourse in Congress would be that if the action were too inappropriate, we could terminate the joint resolution, by a concurrent resolution, and that would precipitate a great controversy between the Executive and the Congress. As a practical question, that could be done.

Mr. NELSON. I have a couple of additional questions. But first I wish to say that I did not suggest that by the use of hindsight I would now conclude that the intervention in 1954 was wrong. I do not know. I understand the necessity for the United States, since it is the leader of the free world, to do all it can in furtherance of the protection of the idea of freedom and independence, and that, to do so, we must make gambles. We shall lose some; we shall win some. I believe the public is slow to recognize that we have vast responsibilities, and they expect us to win every gamble that we take. I do not expect that. And I do not now rise here to criticize the original decision.

But I am concerned about the Congress appearing to tell the executive branch and the public that we would endorse a complete change in our mission. That would concern me.

Mr. Fulbright. I do not interpret the joint resolution in that way at all. It strikes me, as I understand it, that the joint resolution is quite consistent with our existing mission and our understanding of what we have been doing in South Vietnam for the last 10 years.

[August 7, 1964]

INTERPRETATION

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, I have read the Record. There was some colloquy on the floor yesterday. I noticed that every Senator who spoke had his own personal interpretation of what the joint resolution means.

One Senator yesterday stated for the Record that he understands the resolution to mean that there will be no more privileged sanctuaries.

Another Senator interprets the resolution to mean that it would authorize the Chief Executive to eliminate any aggression, future and present. Some Senators interpret this language to mean aggression against South Vietnam; others interpret it to mean aggression directly against our military forces.

Another Senator interpreted the joint resolution to mean that it is the sense of Congress that no change is suggested by Congress in the present mission in South Vietnam—the mission that has been ours for 10 years, which is to supply advisers, technical advice, and materiel, for the purpose of attempting to encourage the establishment of an independent, viable regime, so that we can withdraw our forces; and that it has not been our mission in the past 10 years to substitute our military forces for the South Vietnamese forces, nor to join with them in a land war, nor to fight their battle for them, nor to substitute our Government for theirs.

This 10-year-old limited mission can be legitimately defended as a responsibility of ours to assist free and independent nations; and it can be legitimately questioned, too, because of the geographic location of that mission.

In any event, I am most disturbed to see that there is no agreement in the Senate on what the joint resolution means. I would like to see it clarified.

NELSON'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Nelson. In view of the differing interpretations which have been put upon the joint resolution with respect to what the sense of Congress is, I should like to have this point clarified. I have great confidence in the President. However, my concern is that we in Congress could give the impression to the public that we are prepared at this time to change our mission and substantially expand our commitment. If that is what the sense of Congress is, I am opposed to the resolution. I therefore ask the distinguished Senator from Arkansas if he would consent to accept an amendment, a copy of which I have supplied him. I shall read it into the Record:

"On page 2, line 3, after the word 'That' insert '(a)'.

"On page 2, between lines 6 and 7, insert the following:

"'(b) The Congress also approves and supports the efforts of the President to bring the problem of peace in southeast Asia to the Security Council of the United Nations, and the President's declaration that the United States, seeking no extension of the present military conflict, will respond to provocation in a manner that is "limited and fitting". Our continuing policy is to limit our role to the provision of aid, training assistance, and military advice, and it is the sense of Congress that, except when provoked to a greater response, we should continue to attempt to avoid a direct military involvement in the southeast Asian conflict.'"

This amendment is not an interference with the exercise of the President's constitutional rights. It is merely an expression of the sense of Congress. Would the Senator accept the amendment?

Mr. Fulbright. It states fairly accurately what the President has said would be our policy, and what I stated my understanding was as to our policy; also what other Senators have stated. In other words, it states that our response should be appropriate and limited to the provocation, which the Senator states as "respond to provocation in a manner that is limited and fitting," and so forth. We do not wish any political or military bases there. We are not seeking to gain a colony. We seek to insure the capacity of these people to develop along the lines of their own desires, independent of domination by communism.

The Senator has put into his amendment a statement of policy that is unobjectionable. However, I cannot accept the amendment under the circumstances. I do not believe it is contrary to the joint resolution, but it is an enlargement. I am informed that the House is now voting on this resolution. The House joint resolution is about to be presented to us. I cannot accept the amendment and go to conference with it, and thus take responsibility for delaying matters.

I do not object to it as a statement of policy. I believe it is an accurate reflection of what I believe is the President's policy, judging from his own statements. That does not mean that as a practical matter I can accept the amendment. It would delay matters to do so. It would cause confusion and require a conference, and present us with all the other difficulties that are involved in this kind of legislative action. I regret that I cannot do it, even though I do not at all disagree with the amendment as a general statement of policy.

Mr. Nelson. Judging by the Record of yesterday, many Senators do not interpret the resolution in the same way.

Mr. Fulbright. Senators are entitled to have different views. However, most members of the committee, with one or two exceptions, interpret it the same way.

[August 8, 1964]

FIRMNESS CLEAR

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, yesterday I voted in favor of the joint resolution respecting southeast Asia. I did so upon the specific assurance of Senator Fulbright, one of the authors of the resolution, and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that in voting for this resolution, the Congress approved no change in our basic mission in Vietnam.

That mission is one of providing material support and advice. It is not to substitute our Armed Forces for those of the South Vietnamese Government, nor to join with them in a land war, nor to fight their war for them.

Yesterday Senator Fulbright assured the Senate that although some have interpreted the resolution as a broader endorsement of any action against aggression, this is not its meaning. Rather, in response to my question, he stated that most of the Foreign Relations Committee, in reporting this resolution, interpreted it along the lines of an amendment I suggested.

I believe the resolution overwhelmingly approved by the Congress demonstrates the unity of our country and our strong support for the President. There can be no doubt about our determination to respond to aggression, nor our power to do so in a manner that is fitting to any occasion.

Having made our firmness unmistakably clear, I believe it would be equally fitting at this time to make it clear that, as the late President Kennedy felt, though we shall never negotiate out of fear, we do not fear to negotiate. We seek peace, and end to aggression, and the independence of the nations of southeast Asia. I believe the North Vietnamese and the Chinese have learned in the last few days that they can gain little by aggression. They should now know that they have every interest in avoiding further conflict. While this awareness is fresh, I believe we should attempt to make it clear that if negotiation and diplomacy can achieve the objectives of peace and freedom, this Nation is more than willing to "walk the last mile" in search of a peaceful settlement.

For these reasons, I support the proposal of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern] that a conference of the nations with interest in the area be convened in order to seek a political settlement in southeast Asia.

Mr. NELSON. I stated then concerning the resolution:

> One Senator yesterday stated for the Record that he understands the resolution to mean that there will be no more privileged sanctuaries.
>
> Another Senator interprets the resolution to mean that it would authorize the Chief Executive to eliminate any aggression, future and present. Some Senators interpret this language to mean aggression against South Vietnam; others interpret it to mean aggression directly against our military forces.

I then referred to the 10-year limited commitment—from 1954 to 1964—that our country had there. I said that I hoped it was not the intent of this resolution to authorize a change of the mission.

I then said:

> In view of the differing interpretations which have been put upon the joint resolution with respect to what the sense of Congress is, I should like to have this point clarified. I have great confidence in the President.

Mr. President, I state here that I still do. I think the President is a great leader. I happen to have disagreed on this issue with majority position in the country—in both political parties.

Incidentally, when I asked yesterday on the University of Wisconsin campus about my support of the President, I stated that I strongly support him. I think he is a great President. The only person that I agree with 100 percent of the time is myself.

Continuing to read, I said:

> However, my concern is that we in Congress could give the impression to the public that we are prepared at this time to change our mission and substantially expand our commitment. If that is what the sense of Congress is, I am opposed to the resolution. I therefore ask the distinguished Senator from Arkansas if he would consent to accept an amendment, a copy of which I have supplied him.
>
> I shall read it into the Record:
>
> **"On page 2, line 3, after the word 'That' insert '(a)'.**
>
> **"On page 2, between lines 6 and 7, insert the following:**

> " '(b) The Congress also approves and supports the efforts of the President to bring the problem of peace in Southeast Asia to the Security Council of the United Nations, and the President's declaration that the United States, seeking no extension of the present military conflict, will respond to provocation in a manner that is "limited and fitting." Our continuing policy is to limit our role to the provision of aid, training assistance, and military advice, and it is the sense of Congress that, except when provoked to a greater response, we should continue to attempt to avoid a direct military involvement in the Southeast Asian conflict.' "

The words "limited and fitting" are taken from the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

The Senator from Arkansas then said:

> Mr. FULBRIGHT. It states fairly accurately what the President has said would be our policy, and what I stated my understanding was as to our policy; also what other Senators have stated. In other words, it states that our response should be appropriate and limited to the provocation, which the Senator states as "respond to provocation in a manner that is limited and fitting," and so forth.

In any event, my interpretation, after the colloquy which I have asked to have printed in the RECORD, was that it did not authorize a change of our mission in South Vietnam.

I simply wish to make it clear that so far as my position is concerned, the resolution did not, for me, authorize a change of our mission there, because I opposed a change of the mission from the very beginning.

I am astonished to see the number of people in Congress, in the Democratic Party, in the Republican Party, in the editorial pages, who gave an all-out endorsement of the President's position, now refuse to share the responsibility for the participation in the first place.

I ask unanimous consent to have another statement printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON ON VIETNAM, SEPTEMBER 1, 1967

In recent weeks there have been renewed and vigorous discussions about the meaning and intent of the Tonkin Bay Resolution. It has lately been repeatedly asserted by Administration spokesmen, writers and others that the overwhelming vote for the resolution in 1964 expressed Congressional approval of whatever future military action the Administration deemed necessary to thwart aggression in Vietnam including a total change in the character of our mission there from one of technical aid and assistance to a full scale ground war with our troops.

This, of course, is pure nonsense. If such a proposition had been put to the Senate in August, 1964, a substantial number of Senators, if not a majority, would have opposed the resolution. What we are now witnessing is a frantic attempt by the Hawks to spread the blame and responsibility for Vietnam on a broader base. They should not be allowed to get away with it. It is not accurate history and it is not healthy for the political system. The future welfare of our country depends upon an understanding of how and why we got involved in a war that does not serve our national self interest. If we don't understand the mistakes that got us into this one we won't be able to avoid blundering into the next.

The intent and meaning of any proposition before the Congress is determined by the plain language of the act itself, the interpretation of that language by the official spokesman for the measure and the context of the times in which it is considered.

Because of my concern about the broad implications of some of the language I offered a clarifying amendment. The official Administration spokesman for the resolution, Mr. Fulbright, said the amendment was unnecessary because the intent of the resolution was really the same as my more specific amendment. In short, according to Mr. Fulbright, the resolution did not intend to authorize a fundamental change in our role in Vietnam.

Three Presidents had made it clear what that limited role was, and this resolution did not aim or claim to change it.

If the official Administration spokesman for a measure on the floor is to be subsequently repudiated at the convenience of the Administration, why bother about such matters as "legislative intent?" In fact, why bother about Administration spokesmen at all? At the conclusion of these remarks I will reprint from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my colloquy with Mr. Fulbright which formed the basis for my vote on the Tonkin Bay Resolution. Had he told me that the resolution meant what the Administration now claims it means I would have opposed it and so would have Mr. Fulbright.

However, an even more important factor in determining the intent of that resolution is the political context of the times when it was considered by the Congress. It was before the Senate for consideration on August 6 and 7, 1964. We were in the middle of a Presidential campaign. Goldwater was under heavy attack for his advocacy of escalation. The Administration clearly and repeatedly insisted during that period that we should not fight a ground war with our troops. No one in the Administration was suggesting any change in our very limited participation in the Vietnam affair.

The whole mood of the country was against Goldwater and escalation and particularly against the idea that "American boys" should fight a war that "Asian boys" should fight for themselves, as the President put it in September of that year.

For the Administration now to say that the Tonkin Resolution considered during this period had as part of its purpose the intent to secure Congressional approval for fundamentally altering our role in Vietnam to our present ground war commitment is political nonsense if not in fact pure hypocrisy.

If Mr. Fulbright, speaking for the Administration, had in fact asserted that this was one of the objectives of the resolution the Administration would have repudiated him out of hand. They would have told him and the Congress this resolution had nothing to do with the idea of changing our long established role in Vietnam. They would have told Congress as they were then telling the country that we oppose Goldwater's irresponsible proposals for bombing the North and we oppose getting involved in a land war there with our troops. That was the Administration position when the Tonkin Resolution was before us. They can't change it now. It is rather ironic now to see how many otherwise responsible and thoughtful people have been "taken in" by the line that Congress did in fact by its Tonkin vote authorize this whole vast involvement in Vietnam. The fact is neither Congress nor the Administration thought that was the meaning of Tonkin—and both would have denied it if the issue had been raised.

The current intensity of the discussion over the military status of Vietnam, the Tonkin Resolution and the elections signal a new phase of the war dialogue. What's really new in the dialogue now is the sudden, almost universal recognition by a majority of the Hawks that this is after all a much bigger war than they had bargained for.

They now realize for the first time that to win a conventional military victory will require a much more massive commitment of men and material than they ever dreamed would be necessary. How many men? A million at least and perhaps two million without any assurance that a clear cut military victory would result in any event. Furthermore, it has finally dawned on the Hawks that a military victory does not assure a political victory—in fact there is no connection between the two and one without the other is of no value whatsoever.

This new recognition of the tough realities of Vietnam affords the opportunity for a reappraisal of our situation in Vietnam and a redirection of our efforts.

The danger we now face is the mounting pressure from military and political sources for a substantial escalation of the bombing attack in the North. The fact is the whole military-political power establishment (both Republican and Democratic) has been caught in a colossal miscalculation. They have been caught and exposed in the very brief period of 24 months since we foolishly undertook a land war commitment.

They did not then nor do they now understand the nature, character and vigor of the political revolution in Vietnam. But in order to save face they are now demanding an expansion of the war. If they prevail we will then see another fruitless expansion which will not bring the war to a conclusion but will extend our risk of a confrontation with China.

Unfortunately the Administration continues its policy of so called controlled expansion of pressure on the North which really is nothing more nor less than endless escalation which will likely lead to a vast expansion of the war. It ought to be understood once and for all that no amount of pressure on the North will settle the war in the South. A complete incineration of the North will not end the capacity of the guerrilla to continue the fight in the South.

Though we committed a grave blunder in putting ground troops into Vietnam in the first place, it does not make sense to compound the blunder by pouring in additional troops. The Administration proposal for 45,000 additional troops with tens of thousands more demanded by the military is simply a blind and foolish move in the wrong direction.

What the military really needs is a million or two million ground troops for the war they want to fight. Furthermore, no one can explain what possible proportional benefit this country or the free world will get for this kind of massive allocation of resources—even assuming this would win the military-political war which I think is highly doubtful.

There is no easy solution to our involvement, but now, before it is too late, is the time to decide what direction from here we are going to go in Vietnam.

There is, it seems to me, only one sensible direction to go and that is toward de-escalation and negotiations.

It was a mistake for us to Americanize this war in the first place, and it is an even greater mistake to continue it as an American war. As soon as the elections are over this Sunday we should cease bombing the North in order to afford the opportunity to explore the possibility of negotiations. It is rather ironic that Chief of State Thieu, the military candidate for President, favors a bombing pause but our military oppose it. Whose war is this?

Next we should fundamentally alter our military and political policies in the South. We should notify the South that henceforth it will be the job of South Vietnamese to do the chore of political and military pacification of the South. While our troops occupy the population centers, furnish the supplies, transportation and air cover, it must be the job of the Vietnamese to win the political and military war in the South. If they do not have the morale, the interest, the determination to win under these circumstances then their cause can't be won at all.

Surely it ought to be understood by now that if there is going to be a meaningful solution to the Vietnam problem they must be the ones who make it meaningful.

Furthermore, if it is true, as our State Department says, that all other South East Asian countries feel they have a stake in Vietnam, let them send some troops of their own to prove their interest.

Under this approach we will reduce the loss of our troops to a minimum and we will find out whether our allies in the South really believe they have something to fight for. If they do, they have the chance to build their own country. If they don't, then we should get out.

This it seems to me is our best alternative to the fruitless policy of endless escalation.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this is a very important debate. I have a view on it, which I wish to express. I shall not even try to respond to the idea that somebody is trying to take the President apart because he is a Democrat and others of us are Republicans. There is just as much difference on that side of the aisle as there is on this, and I cannot accept the concept that this matter will be torn apart on a partisan level, and I will not be a party to it.

I do believe a number of things are clear, and I shall attempt to state them and my own view with respect to them; because I hope that, accepting the typical invitation of the majority leader that suggestions are very much in order, we may have the result of this morning's debate in focus.

First, Mr. President, Senator CASE has said that he disapproves the strain which is put on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution by its being continued to this day as an unalterable mandate. That is what he said, in essence. He said, "I do not feel that is a fair way in which to use this document. Nor," said he, "do I think it is fair to ask us to repeal it, though we have the power; because if we do, that is the kind of repudiation of a President which no American in his right mind would make." So it is impractical to consider repealing the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I thoroughly agree with that. It is there. We voted for it. I voted for it, though the RECORD is replete with reservations that I had, as Senator NELSON had, and as Senator COOPER had. The Republicans put out a paper which describes the matter in great detail.

Rather, we should proceed as follows:

Point 1: We are all bound by the resolution. It is on the books. I believe it is fair to say that it would be most unwise to repeal it.

Point 2: The circumstances have completely changed, and the resolution is obsolescent. There has been a great deal of rethinking of the American position.

Point 3: There should be another resolution. I am against the declaration of a state of war, although that has been suggested. There should be a rephrasing, a reconsideration, of what Congress wants the President to do—at least, what our view is upon this score. That is point 3—that there should be another resolution.

Point 4: As the Democratic majority controls Congress, and as we have a Democratic President, there will not be another resolution unless the President gives that word. And he should. He should lend his encouragement and support to Congress adopting another resolution for the purpose of bringing policy in Vietnam, so far as we are concerned, up to date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. That, as I see it, is a proper four-point program for bipartisan agreement.

The only thing that one could say is, "Suppose that in another resolution all you do is repeat what you do in the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, and what is the purpose of it?"

The answer is that we would not, and for this reason: At the very least, it would contain certain responses of the newly elected Government of Vietnam which will condition our presence there and our action there. At the very least, we would do that. There is a new situation which requires a new resolution.

I predict that the President would get almost as big a majority on a new resolution as he got on the old one. But he would get a much more united country, because a new resolution would truly reflect what the great majority of Congress believes should be done today. I assure you that it will not be a resolution of withdrawal—to answer Senator STENNIS. It will not be a resolution of weakness. But it will give the Members of Congress an opportunity to assert the way they believe this matter should be handled now. I believe it is necessary.

The President, with all respect to him as the President—whom we all honor and sustain in the Office—it makes it more difficult for us to act in the interests of our Nation when he gives us only the alternative of repealing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. However bad it is, we should not do that. We will not do it, in view of the fact that the majority party, quite properly, will feel that it must follow its President. It cannot repudiate that resolution completely with a new resolution which it drafts on its own. It will not act unless the President gives the signal, which he should do.

I feel it my duty to state this view. In my judgment it is the best course for the people of my State as well as for the people of the entire Nation.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, although I was involved in offering the amendment to the resolution a few years ago, I do not see any point in repealing, amending, or substituting something for the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I believe the debate should revolve about what we do now.

What we should debate is, where do we go from here? I am satisfied that nobody in the United States is more anxious to negotiate an honorable settlement in Vietnam than is the President. He happens not to agree with some of us as to the approach or the tactic to be used to reach a negotiated settlement. Who is correct, only history will tell.

My own view is that we should adopt a modification of the enclaves theory; that we should hold our present positions of strength and that we should stop the bombing of the north. Then we should turn over, slowly, the job of search and destroy to the South Vietnamese Army; and we should turn over, in orderly fashion, the problem of pacification of the villages in South Vietnam. If the South Vietnamese do not have the resolve, the conviction, and the morale to successfully fight the Vietcong while we provide the supplies, air cover and hold the population centers then their cause is doomed to failure. If we do it for them, they will not, once we leave, be able to hold their own country against the Vietcong, anyway.

So I believe that the job must be turned over to them. We will then reduce our losses substantially, and we will find out whether or not the South Vietnamese have the morale and dedication that the Vietcong have.

I have listened to all types of experts on the floor of the Senate, people who told us 2 years ago that we had to get in there and that it would not be much of a war. The sad part of it is that many fellows went to Vietnam and came back instant experts. I did not go to Vietnam so my judgment was not so badly affected.

The fact is—and history will have to record it—that the military expertise of this country was wrong. That is all. If you could go back 2 years and say to the military experts, "We have the foresight now to know that you will be into this thing with 600,000 troops in September of 1967, and that the job will not be half over, and that, in fact, you are probably going to have to go to a million or a million and a half troops on the ground to win the war," every one of them would back up and say, "No, we will not do that." They were so expert that they thought by the infusion of 50,000 or 60,000 troops, they could get to the bargaining table.

Well, some of us in the Senate did not believe that was so, because this is a war and a revolution in which the Communists have been fighting for 26 years. Bombing North Vietnam and shooting some soldiers onto the ground in the south is not going to settle it.

The people should understand that simply because a military expert opens his mouth, that does not necessarily mean he knows what he is talking about, when the problem involved is not only military but political as well. This is fundamentally a political war, and we should not rely very heavily upon their judgment about such wars.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the observation I wish to make is relevant to the comment which the Senator just made rather than a statement to be made in the morning hour business.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McGEE. I do not wish to have the floor. I wish to say something in the context of the matter about which the Senator was speaking.

Mr. NELSON. I yield to the Senator from Wyoming for 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the Senator from Wisconsin. I certainly agree with him that any man who pretends he is an expert in connection with Vietnam in any context has to be speaking either from ignorance or bravado. He is not entitled to pretend he is an expert. There are no experts on Vietnam. However, the situation is not going to go away whether we have experts or not.

We sometimes lose sight of the fact that we did not go in there in the beginning to save or lose Vietnam. The issue is all of eastern Asia. As President Marcos of the Philippines said in an interview this week, the issue was: What was going to be our fate; the Philippines, the Thais, the Burmese, the Indonesians, and on down the line.

I do not belong to that group of people who think that some day we will have to fight in Honolulu or San Francisco if we do not stand our ground in Southeast Asia. I think that is nonsense. I think we have a stake in eastern Asia with a capital "P" for Pacific power, and America is a Pacific power. Today the front is in Asia and perhaps in Asia more than in Europe.

We went in there at the time the National Liberation Front was on the move, not just north to south, but into Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and the two northern provinces of Burma. The issue was: Where was the best place or the best time to try to interrupt this effort? The decision was made that perhaps it was cheaper now. No one questioned the timetable on it.

I agree with the Senator that the situation should not be entrusted to the generals. The generals are tacticians who have to meet limited objectives. This belongs in diplomacy and to politics, and to that extent it is a political cause.

In order to be measured now, it needs to be measured in terms of our breaking off or withdrawing. In the judgment of these small countries which are directly involved, they urge us not to grow tired. They say that this effort has already made a difference; that they are winning a chance and some day they hopefully will have a chance to be able to restructure this area. However, if they do not win the chance they will not have a chance to restructure.

That is why we should stop talking about North Vietnam and South Vietnam and the historic cleavage between them and talk about eastern Asia, for it is a question involving all of that part of the world and not only Vietnam.

For that reason I think it is not quite germane to suggest that this matter should all be turned over to the South Vietnamese. The question is so much bigger than South Vietnam that the fate of eastern Asia cannot be left to a single country there. We are the only large power in that area. There are no other forces there commensurate with the job, and this is the reason for the American commitment.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for 3 minutes?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. NELSON. I am not suggesting turning over the whole problem of Southeast Asia to South Vietnam. I recognize that there is obviously room for honest and intelligent differences of opinion as to what our tactics have been and should have been and should be in the future concerning our involvement in South Vietnam. I know that the Senator disagrees with me. Whether or not he is right or I am right probably only the benefit of historical perspective will tell. I thought we were mistaken to get in there, not because I am not interested in Southeast Asia, I am; but because I thought it was an allocation of resources and manpower in excess of any return we could get out of a victory in South Vietnam.

I thought and said at that time that an allocation of half these resources in Southeast Asia to countries such as India, Pakistan, Malaysia, et cetera, to strengthen them would pay us a bigger return in strengthening the viability of countries in Southeast Asia than pouring these resources into South Vietnam.

Second, there is one fundamental point on which we should all agree and recognize in the future. There are countries that cannot be helped no matter how morally right they may be, nor how much we may wish to help them.

If a government does not have the support of the people and does not have an effective army we cannot expect to successfully substitute our Government and our Army for theirs. It will not work. If a country has a viable government which can stand on its own, then we can effectively assist them.

In the Vietnam situation, there is no government, and the military will not fight. That was one of my fundamental objections to getting into the situation in the first place.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask that I may be recognized for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I wish to remind my friend from Wisconsin that it was a man named Lin Piao in Peking who said to us publicly that he thought if China could break through in Southeast Asia, meaning in the future, in that simple stroke he could outflank India, confront head on the Philippines, and then be only a small jumping space from Malaysia. They are thinking big, are not about Vietnam. Vietnam could not mean less to them. They are thinking about strategy and resources important in Southeast Asia. They are playing for the future, not in terms of North Vietnam versus South Vietnam.

I would say to my friend that the people in these areas around there have a little more at stake than their own necks.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. This is what the Secretary of State said:

> If they have so much at stake, where are their troops? Why do they not send a few?

Mr. McGEE. No. 1, the Koreans have sent troops from eastern Asia in numbers that exceed ours in proportion to the population of Korea. Second, the Philippines have committed——

Mr. NELSON. The Koreans are our clients; we are paying them for what they are doing.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator from Wisconsin is shifting his ground. He says we do not get help from Korea. Then he calls them names. Korea has committed three divisions, which is a greater number than our own in proportion to Korea's population.

The Philippines have sent 3,000 combat engineers. The Thais landed troops this week. The Thais have been of immeasurable advantage to us all along.

In Singapore, a brand new Republic, which is hardly more than an expanded city, we are reminded again, only this week, by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew that if we get out, they are finished.

So I think it makes a difference. The Cambodians are beginning to have a second look. The Burmese are saying that it does make a difference. It wins time for them.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on my time?

Mr. McGEE. No; I ask unanimous consent for an extension of time.

Mr. NELSON. I merely wish to make it clear at this point——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, how much time does the Senator from Wyoming request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin has three-quarters of a minute remaining.

Mr. NELSON. The Senator from Wyoming keeps saying, "If we pull out; if we withdraw; if we let Southeast Asia go." I want to make it clear for the RECORD and clear to the Senator that I am not suggesting that. I am suggesting that the allocation of the resources we are making is taking place in a situation in which the opportunity to win politically is very slim. Militarily, it is a waste of resources compared with what we could do with half that allocation to other countries in Southeast Asia. That is my point. It is not that we should let them go, but that we should not get tied down in this kind of situation when in fact we could do more for Southeast Asia by using our resources elsewhere.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have an extension of my time for 3 minutes.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, may I be heard?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I have been seeking the floor for about 30 or 40 minutes. Other Senators have come into the Chamber since then and have spoken.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, would the Senator from Utah object to the unanimous-consent request that I have just made?

Mr. MOSS. If I knew where the end would be. I have heard the time extended innumerable times.

Mr. McGEE. Would the Senator agree to a 3-minute extension?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I should like to say something on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I was addressing myself to the importance of Southeast Asia. We all agree on the importance of India. Southeast Asia, as Lin Piao has been frank enough to face up to, lies at the crossroads of that part of the world. It is on the main channels of that part of the world. It contains almost 300 million people. That area is loaded with rubber, tin, bauxite, rice, and oil. It is a strategically important part of the world because of our commitment that happens to be in Vietnam. That is not the basic reason. It happens to be in Vietnam.

This has already made a difference, as the Indonesians will tell us, in bringing new blood into Indonesia. It is because we are in Vietnam.

The Thais will tell us that if we stand in Vietnam, there will be no second Vietnam there.

The option is not whether we shall stand or put our money in India. The option is that if we do not stand in Vietnam, all will be lost in India.

That is the reason for so much trouble here, the testing of such things wherever the enemy can find weaknesses. They have tested the borders of India. We have rushed to India's help when that test has been made. They have tested Southeast Asia. We stand there. Who are we to say we have got to measure it in terms of what Vietnam does or the Government of Saigon does? The issue is so much bigger than Vietnam. There is no yardstick, however we measure it, in terms of whether we stick it out in Vietnam or whether we pull out of there.

Mr. NELSON. I have not suggested pulling out.

Mr. McGEE. I thought the Senator said that we should begin to pull out if they cannot carry on their army or produce a more viable government.

Mr. NELSON. I said that we should hold our position of strength and start changing over to let them take over the search and destroy missions, to let them do the pacification of the villages. If they do not have the morale to do it, then certainly they cannot hold the country if we leave, anyway. They are not fighting very well. The Senator knows that. It is so much nonsense for us to continue investing our resources and getting our boys killed when they have an army which does not have the morale to fight the Communists.

All I am saying is that we should select the places where we are going to exercise force, but for heaven sake do not select this kind of place again where there is no government and the people do not want to fight.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What place would the Senator select?

Mr. McGEE. The issue is, where else will we stand? The issue is, we now stand in a place where we can bring to bear the greatest advantage in sea power and air power rather than in some remote area.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President——

Mr. McGEE. Out of deference to my good friend from Utah, I shall not ask for an extension of the unanimous-consent request. I appreciate the Senator's infinite patience. I only hope that the American people will have that much patience to see it through in Vietnam.

Mr. MOSS. I thank the Senator from Wyoming. Let me say that I have enjoyed this dialog. It is an excellent debate. However, we are in the morning hour and I have a matter I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate.

COPPER INDUSTRY SHUTDOWN

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, for more than 74 days the United States has experienced a major work stoppage in the copper-producing industry. The strike of the employees of Kennecott Copper Co., and other copper producers in the West is now causing copper fabricators and users to begin laying off employees because of a shortage of copper products.

It has been apparent for some weeks that there is a real lack of conscientious bargaining between the unions and companies which are involved in this dispute.

Labor-management relations in the United States are conducted on the foundation of free collective bargaining by all parties to the dispute.

The process of free collective bargaining presupposes a bona fide effort to reach agreement through give-and-take bargaining by labor and management representatives. Consequently these representatives must hold bargaining sessions to arrive at the terms of a new contract.

But this has not been the case in the present copper industry work stoppage—a situation which becomes more distressing to those of us whose States are involved.

Both labor and management, in this instance, appear to be flouting their rights under the law to engage in collective bargaining. They ought to be meeting daily or even around the clock at the bargaining table for meaningful discussions on ways of reaching agreement.

Not long ago, Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge called to a Washington meeting representatives of the unions and the companies. Meetings were held with each side to the dispute and then with the entire group, but there was no progress reached toward a settlement. Following the meetings, both Cabinet officers reported that the situation bordered on being hopeless.

To the worker affected by a shutdown of this industry, the situation does look "hopeless." His taxes continue to come due; groceries must be purchased; children must go to school; homes and cars must be paid for; and other obligations met. Many of those copper industry employees are now seeking part-time work or some form of income but are faced with personal losses which can never be recovered.

One of the Governors of the States which are most seriously affected by the copper industry work stoppage, Gov. Calvin L. Rampton, of my State of Utah, has used every form of persuasion and argument that he can to get both sides in the dispute to meet and attempt a settlement.

I was encouraged this week to note that Governor Rampton last Friday asked President Frank R. Milliken, of Kennecott Copper Corp. and Joseph Maloney, vice president of the United Steelworkers of America, to meet in Salt Lake City on October 2, if no meaningful negotiations take place prior to then. At present there apparently are no plans to resume the negotiations. I would urge those who have been invited to meet with Governor Rampton to begin serious and urgent bargaining at once, but in the unhappy event that meaningful bargaining is not underway before October 2, those involved should accept the invitation and join the Governor in a cooperative movement to find a mutually satisfactory solution.

I have talked to representatives of both parties in the Utah strike and have urged them to resume talks at the earliest possible time.

I was also joined by two western colleagues several weeks ago in a letter to President Johnson, asking him to appoint a study committee to assess the effects of the strike on the national defense effort. Those who joined with me in the letter to the President were the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA].

At this time, I renew my request to the President to appoint a study committee which would be able to gather together all of the facts associated with the almost total work stoppage in this vital industry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON in the chair). The time of the Senator from Utah has expired.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MOSS. In closing, Mr. President, I wish to point out that it is my belief that the free collective bargaining system can work if it is made to work. It would be tragic if this voluntary system should be replaced by a form of compulsion in settling work contract disputes.

I also ask unanimous consent that copies of letters from Governor Rampton to Frank R. Milliken of the Kennecott Copper Corp., and to Joseph Maloney of the United Steelworkers of America, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF UTAH,
Salt Lake City, September 22, 1967.

Mr. FRANK R. MILLIKEN,
President, Kennecott Copper Corp.,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. MILLIKEN: The work stoppage at Kennecott's Utah properties is now in its 70th day. No negotiations toward settlement have been conducted here in Utah since August 22nd, one month ago today, and so far as I am informed, no negotiations toward settlement have been conducted anywhere since the meeting of the company and union officials with Secretaries Wirtz and Trowbridge in Washington, D.C. on September

6th. Furthermore, the negotiations which were conducted before that date have reportedly moved the parties no nearer a solution to the problem than they were when the work stoppage began in mid-July. I am further informed by representatives of the Federal Mediation Service that there presently exist no plans for further negotiation.

I believe that disputes between labor and management should be settled by voluntary negotiation. However, negotiations can be successful only if both sides bargain in good faith with full motivation to achieve a solution equitable to both sides. It is difficult to believe that more could not have been accomplished to date had both sides bargained aggressively but fairly with a desire to settle the basic issues as expeditiously as possible.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that this work stoppage is having a disastrous effect upon the economy of the state of Utah. Certainly Kennecott company is suffering financially. The distress of the miners and their families is obvious to anyone who visits in the communities where they live. The revenues of the state, county and city governments are being reduced so far that the ability of the government to meet its commitments for services to the people is being seriously impaired. Some day, presumably, the strike will be settled, but in the meantime every day that it goes on is costly to the company, to the workers, and to the economy of this state. Still, in spite of these obvious facts, nothing is moving.

I have conferred frequently during the past three months with representatives of the company, representatives of the union, and with people from the Federal Mediation Service. One thing is apparent to me, although I have been told otherwise, and that is that neither the company representatives residing in the state of Utah, nor the union representatives residing here have the necessary authority on their own to conduct meaningful negotiations. This is not surprising, nor do I criticize this fact. The company does business in many states. Therefore, it is understandable that the New York office will set policy for the company, and that the national union leaders will set policy for the union. We are not being provincial about this matter, however, I feel, and I am sure the overwhelming majority of the people of Utah feel that with our economy so closely tied to the widespread operations of Kennecott, both the officers of the company and the officers of the union, even though they do not reside here, have got to demonstrate much more concern for the welfare of the people of the state of Utah than has been indicated in the negotiations to date. The patience of the people of this state with the situation that now exists is rapidly being exhausted.

I wish to urge that both the company and the union request the Federal Mediation Service to resume negotiations during the week commencing Monday, September 25th. If no meaningful negotiations take place during the week, I would like to request that you meet with me in my office at 9:00 A.M. on Monday, October 2nd for an open discussion of the present status of the negotiations, and an exploration of methods to get meaningful negotiations moving. I am making a similar request to the union leadership in Denver and Pittsburgh. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the union. I would appreciate it very much if you would inform me by wire of your acceptance or rejection of this request.

Sincerely,

CALVIN L. RAMPTON,
Governor.

STATE OF UTAH,
Salt Lake City, September 22, 1967.

Mr. JOSEPH MALONEY,
Vice President, United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR MR. MALONEY: The work stoppages at Kennecott's Utah properties is now in its 70th day. No negotiations toward settlement have been conducted here in Utah since August 22nd, one month ago today, and so far I am informed, no negotiations toward settlement have been conducted anywhere since the meeting of the company and union officials with Secretaries Wirtz and Trowbridge in Washington, D.C. on September 6th. Furthermore, the negotiations which were conducted before that date have reportedly moved the parties no nearer a solution to the problem than they were when the work stoppage began in mid-July. I am further informed by representatives of the Federal Mediation Service that there presently exist no plans for further negotiation.

I believe that disputes between labor and management should be settled by voluntary negotiations. However, negotiations can be successful only if both sides bargain in good faith with full motivation to achieve a solution equitable to both sides. It is difficult to believe that more could not have been accomplished to date had both sides bargained aggressively, but fairly, with a desire to settle the basic issues as expeditiously as possible.

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I wish to urge that both the company and the union request the Federal Mediation Service to resume negotiations during the week commencing Monday, September 25th. If no meaningful negotiations take place during the week, I would like to request that you meet with me in my office at 9:00 A.M. on Monday, October 2nd for an open discussion of the present status of the negotiations, and an exploration of methods to get meaningful negotiations moving. I know that there are representatives of other unions involved whose presence would be necessary for a complete discussion of these matters. As I am not presently acquainted with these men, I would appreciate it very much if you would extend my invitation to them to accompany you at this meeting.

I am making a similar request to the company management in New York. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the management. I would appreciate it if you would inform me by wire of your acceptance or rejection of this request.

Sincerely,

CALVIN L. RAMPTON,
Governor.

AMENDMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 1160.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING ACT OF 1967

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1160) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes which was, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Public Broadcasting Act of 1967".

TITLE I—CONSTRUCTION OF FACILITIES

EXTENSION OF DURATION OF CONSTRUCTION GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

SEC. 101. (a) Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: "There are also authorized to be appropriated for carrying out the purposes of such section, $10,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970."

(b) The last sentence of such section is amended by striking out "July 1, 1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1971".

MAXIMUM ON GRANTS IN ANY STATE

SEC. 102. Effective with respect to grants made from appropriations for any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1967, subsection (b) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The total of the grants made under this part from the appropriation for any fiscal year for the construction of noncommercial educational television broadcasting facilities and noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities in any State may not exceed 8½ per centum of such appropriation."

NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING FACILITIES

SEC. 103. (a) Section 390 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 390) is amended by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational" and by inserting "or radio" after "television".

(b) Subsection (a) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392 (a)) is amended by—

(1) inserting "noncommercial" before "educational" and by inserting "or radio" after "television" in so much thereof as precedes paragraph (1);

(2) striking out clause (B) of such para-

graph and inserting in lieu thereof "(B) in the case of a project for television facilities, the State noncommercial educational television agency or, in the case of a project for radio facilities, the State educational radio agency,";

(3) inserting "(i) in the case of a project for television facilities," after "(D)" and "noncommercial" before "educational" in paragraph (1)(D) and by inserting before the semicolon at the end of such paragraph ", or (ii) in the case of a project for radio facilities, a nonprofit foundation, corporation, or association which is organized primarily to engage in or encourage noncommercial educational radio broadcasting and is eligible to receive a license from the Federal Communications Commission; or meets the requirements of clause (i) and is also organized to engage in or encourage such radio broadcasting and is eligible for such a license for such a radio station";

(4) striking the semicolon at the end of paragraph (1) and adding thereto the following:

"or (E) a municipality which owns and operates a broadcasting facility transmitting only noncommercial programs;"

(5) striking out "television" in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of such subsection;

(6) striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (3), striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and inserting after paragraph (4) the following new paragraph:

"(5) that, in the case of an application with respect to radio broadcasting facilities, there has been comprehensive planning for educational broadcasting facilities and services in the area the applicant proposes to serve and the applicant has participated in such planning, and the applicant will make the most efficient use of the frequency assignment."

(c) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(c)" and "noncommercial" before "educational television broadcasting facilities", and by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) In order to assure proper coordination of construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities within each State which has established a State educational radio agency, each applicant for a grant under this section for a project for construction of such facilities in such State, other than such agency, shall notify such agency of each application for such a grant which is submitted by it to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall advise such agency with respect to the disposition of each such application."

(d) Subsection (d) of such section is amended by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational television" and inserting "or noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, as the case may be," after "educational television broadcasting facilities" in clauses (2) and (3).

(e) Subsection (f) of such section is amended by inserting "or radio" after "television" in the part thereof which precedes paragraph (1), by inserting "noncommercial" before "educational television purposes" in paragraph (2) thereof, and by inserting "or noncommercial educational radio purposes, as the case may be" after "educational television purposes" in such paragraph (2).

(f)(1) Paragraph (2) of section 394 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 394) is amended by inserting "or educational radio broadcasting facilities" after "educational television broadcasting facilities," and by inserting "or radio broadcasting, as the case may be" after "necessary for television broadcasting".

(2) Paragraph (4) of such action is amended by striking out "The term 'State educational television agency' means" and inserting in lieu thereof "The terms 'State educational television agency' and 'State educational radio agency' mean, with respect to television broadcasting and radio broadcasting, respectively,", and by striking out "educational television" in clauses (A) and (C) and inserting in lieu thereof "such broadcasting".

(g) Section 397 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 397) is amended by inserting "or radio" after "television" in clause (2).

FEDERAL SHARE OF COST OF CONSTRUCTION

SEC. 104. Subsection (e) of section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 392(e)) is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Upon approving any application under this section with respect to any project, the Secretary shall make a grant to the applicant in the amount determined by him, but not exceeding 75 per centum of the amount determined by the Secretary to be the reasonable and necessary cost of such project. The Secretary shall pay such amount from the sum available therefor, in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments consistent with construction progress, as he may determine."

INCLUSION OF TERRITORIES

SEC. 105. (a) Paragraph (1) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by striking out "and" and inserting a comma in lieu thereof, and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

(b) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended by inserting "and, in the case of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, means the High Commissioner thereof" before the period at the end thereof.

INCLUSION OF COSTS OF PLANNING

SEC. 106. Paragraph (2) of section 394 of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: "In the case of apparatus the acquisition and installation of which is so included, such term also includes planning therefor."

TITLE II—ESTABLISHMENT OF NONPROFIT EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION

SEC. 201. Part IV of title III of the Communications Act of 1934 is further amended by—

(1) inserting

"SUBPART A—GRANTS FOR FACILITIES"

immediately above the heading of section 390;

(2) striking out "part" and inserting in lieu thereof "subpart" in sections 390, 393, 395, and 396;

(3) redesignating section 397 as section 398, and redesignating section 394 as section 397 and inserting it before such section 398, and inserting immediately above its heading the following;

"SUBPART C—GENERAL"

(4) redesignated section 396 as section 394 and inserting it immediately after section 393;

(5) inserting after "broadcasting" the first time it appears in clause (2) of the section of such part IV redesignated herein as section 398 ", or over the Corporation or any of its grantees or contractors, or over the charter or bylaws of the Corporation,".

(6) inserting in the section of such part IV herein redesignated as section 397 the following new papagraphs:

"(6) The term 'Corporation' means the Corporation authorized to be established by subpart B of this part.

"(7) The term 'noncommercial educational broadcast station' means a television or radio broadcast station, which (A) under the rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission in effect on the date of enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, is eligible to be licensed or is licensed by the Commission as a noncommercial educational radio or television broadcast station and which is owned and operated by a public agency or nonprofit private foundation, corporation, or association or (B) is owned and operated by a municipality and which transmits only noncommercial programs for educational purposes.

"(8) The term 'interconnection' means the use of microwave equipment, boosters, translators, repeaters, airborne systems, communication space satellites, or other apparatus or equipment for the transmission and distribution of television or radio programs to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations.

"(9) The term 'educational television or radio programs' means programs which are primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes and not primarily for amusement or entertainment purposes."

(7) striking out the heading of such part IV and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"PART IV—GRANTS FOR NONCOMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING FACILITIES; CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING"

(8) inserting immediately after the section herein redesignated as section 398 the following:

"EDITORIALIZING AND SUPPORT OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES PROHIBITED

"SEC. 399. No noncommercial educational broadcasting station may engage in editorializing or may support or oppose any candidate for political office."

(9) inserting after section 395 the following new subpart:

"SUBPART B—CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

"Congressional declaration of policy

"SEC. 396. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares—

"(1) that it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional purposes;

"(2) that expansion and development of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting and of diversity of its programing depend on freedom, imagination, and initiative on both the local and national levels;

"(3) that the encouragement and support of noncommercial educational radio and television broadcasting, while matters of importance for private and local development, are also of appropriate and important concern to the Federal Government;

"(4) that it furthers the general welfare to encourage noncommercial educational radio and television broadcast programing which will be responsive to the interests of people both in particular localities and throughout the United States, and which will constitute an expression of diversity and excellence;

"(5) that it is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to complement, assist, and support a national policy that will most effectively make noncommercial educational radio and television service available to all the citizens of the United States;

"(6) that a private corporation should be created to facilitate the development of educational radio and television broadcasting and to afford maximum protection to such broadcasting from extraneous interference and control.

"Corporation established

"(b) There is authorized to be established a nonprofit corporation, to be known as the 'Corporation for Public Broadcasting', which will not be an agency or establishment of the United States Government. The Corporation shall be subject to the provisions of this section, and, to the extent consistent with this section, to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

"Board of Directors

"(c)(1) The Corporation shall have a Board of Directors (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Board'), consisting of fifteen members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than eight members of the Board may be members of the same political party.

"(2) The members of the Board (A) shall be selected from among citizens of the United States (not regular full-time employees of the United States) who are eminent in such fields as education, cultural and civic affairs, or the arts, including radio and television; (B) shall be selected so as to provide as nearly as practicable a broad representation of various regions of the country, various professions and occupations, and various kinds of talent and experience appropriate to the functions and responsibilities of the Corporation.

"(3) The members of the initial Board of Directors shall serve as incorporators and shall take whatever actions are necessary to establish the Corporation under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

"(4) The term of office of each member of the Board shall be six years; execpt that (A) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term; and (B) the terms of office of members first taking office shall begin on the date of incorporation and shall expire, as designated at the time of their appointment, five at the end of two years, five at the end of four years, and five at the end of six years. No member shall be eligible to serve in excess of two consecutive terms of six years each. Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this paragraph, a member whose term has expired may serve until his successor has qualified.

"(5) Any vacancy in the Board shall not affect its power, but shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointments were made.

"Election of Chairman; compensation

"(d)(1) The President shall designate one of the members first appointed to the Board as Chairman; thereafter the members of the Board shall annually elect one of their number as Chairman. The members of the Board shall also elect one or more of them as a Vice Chairman or Vice Chairmen.

"(2) The members of the Board shall not, by reason of such membership, be deemed to be employees of the United States. They shall, while attending meetings of the Board or while engaged in duties related to such meetings or in other activities of the Board pursuant to this subpart be entitled to receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, equal to that authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"Officers and employees

"(e)(1) The Corporation shall have a President, and such other officers as may be named and appointed by the Board for terms and at rates of compensation fixed by the Board. No individual other than a citizen of the United States may be an officer of the Corporation. No officer of the Corporation, other than the Chairman and any Vice Chairman, may receive any salary or other compensation from any source other than the Corporation during the period of his employment by the Corporation. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

"(2) Except as provided in the second sentence of subsection (c)(1) of this section, no political test or qualification shall be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking other personnel actions with respect to officers, agents, and employees of the Corporation.

"Nonprofit and nonpolitical nature of the Corporation

"(f)(1) The Corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock, or to declare or pay any dividends.

"(2) No part of the income or assets of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of any director, officer, employee, or any other individual except as salary or reasonable compensation for services.

"(3) The Corporation may not contribute to or otherwise support any political party or candidate for elective public office.

"Purposes and activities of the Corporation

"(g)(1) In order to achieve the objectives and to carry out the purposes of this subpart, as set out in subsection (a), the Corporation is authorized to—

"(A) facilitate the full development of educational broadcasting in which programs of high quality, obtained from diverse sources, will be made available to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, with strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs of a controversial nature;

"(B) assist in the establishment and development of a system of interconnection to be used for the distribution of educational television or radio programs so that all noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations that wish to may broadcast the programs at times chosen by the stations;

"(C) assist in the establishment and development of one or more systems of noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations throughout the United States;

"(D) carry out its purposes and functions and engage in its activities in ways that will most effectively assure the maximum freedom of the noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast systems and local stations from interference with or control of program content or other activities.

"(2) Included in the activities of the Corporation authorized for accomplishment of the purposes set forth in subsection (a) of this section, are, among others not specifically named—

"(A) to obtain grants from and to make contracts with individuals and with private, State, and Federal agencies, organizations, and institutions;

"(B) to contract with or make grants to program production entities, individuals, and selected noncommercial educational broadcast stations for the production of, and otherwise to procure, educational television or radio programs for national or regional distribution to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

"(C) to make payments to existing and new noncommercial educational broadcast stations to aid in financing local educational television or radio programing costs of such stations, particularly innovative approaches thereto, and other costs of operation of such stations;

"(D) to establish and maintain a library and archives of noncommercial educational television or radio programs and related materials and develop public awareness of and disseminate information about noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting by various means, including the publication of a journal;

"(E) to arrange, by grant or contract with appropriate public or nonprofit private agencies, organizations, or institutions, for interconnection facilities suitable for distribution and transmission of educational television or radio programs to noncommercial educational broadcast stations;

"(F) to hire or accept the voluntary services of consultants, experts, advisory boards, and panels to aid the Corporation in carrying out the purposes of this section;

"(G) to encourage the creation of new noncommercial educational broadcast stations in order to enhance such service on a local, State, regional, and national basis;

"(H) conduct (directly or through grants or contracts) research, demonstrations, or training in matters related to noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting.

"(3) To carry out the foregoing purposes and engage in the foregoing activities, the Corporation shall have the usual powers conferred upon a nonprofit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, except that the Corporation may not own or operate any television or radio broadcast station, system, or network, or interconnection or program production facility.

"Authorization for free or reduced rate interconnection service

"(h) Nothing in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, or in any other provision of law shall be construed to prevent United States communications common carriers from rendering free or reduced rate communications interconnection services to grantees of or contractors with the corporation and local noncommercial educational television or radio broadcast stations, subject to such rules and regulations as the Federal Communications Commission may prescribe.

"Report to Congress

"(i) The Corporation shall submit an annual report for the preceding fiscal year ending June 30 to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before the 31st day of December of each year. The report shall include a comprehensive and detailed report of the Corporation's operations, activities, financial condition, and accomplishments under this section and may include such recommendations as the Corporation deems appropriate.

"Right to repeal, alter, or amend

"(j) The right to repeal, alter, or amend this section at any time is expressly reserved.

"Financing

"(k)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated for expenses of the Corporation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, the sum of $9,000,000, to remain available until expended.

"(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant or contract pursuant to this section may provide for payment from the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, for any one project or to any one station of more than $250,000.

"Records and audit

"(l)(1)(A) The accounts of the Corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audits shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation and necessary to facilitate the audits shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audits; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

"(B) The report of each such independent audit shall be included in the annual report required by subsection (i) of this section. The audit report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements as are necessary to present fairly the Corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the Corporation's income and expenses during the year, and a statement of the sources and application of funds, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements.

"(2)(A) The financial transactions of the Corporation for any fiscal year during which Federal funds are available to finance any portion of its operation shall be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial corporate transactions and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where accounts of the Corporation are normally kept. The representative of the General Accounting Office shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the Corporation pertaining to its financial transactions and necessary to facilitate the audit, and they shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. All such books, accounts, records, reports, files, papers and property of the Corporation shall remain in possession and custody of the Corporation.

"(B) A report of each such audit shall be made by the Comptroller General to the Congress. The report to the Congress shall contain such comments and information as the Comptroller General may deem necessary to inform Congress of the financial operations and condition of the Corporation, together with such recommendations with respect thereto as he may deem advisable. The report shall also show specifically any program, expenditure, or other financial transaction or undertaking observed in the course of the audit, which, in the opinion of the Comptroller General, has been carried on or made without authority of law. A copy of each report shall be furnished to the President, to the Secretary, and to the Corporation at the time submitted to the Congress.

"(3)(A) Each recipient of assistance by grant or contract, other than a fixed price contract awarded pursuant to competitive bidding procedures, under this section shall keep such records as may be reasonably necessary to fully disclose the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

"(B) The Corporation or any of its duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance received under this section. The Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall also have access thereto for such purpose during any fiscal year for which Federal funds are available to the Corporation."

TITLE III—STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION BROADCASTING

STUDY AUTHORIZED

SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to conduct, directly or by contract, and in consultation with other interested Federal agencies, a study of instructional television, including its relationship to educational television broadcasting and such other aspects thereof as may assist in determining whether Federal aid should be provided therefor and the form that aid should take, and which may aid communities, institutions, or agencies in determining whether and to what extent such activities should be used.

CONTENT OF STUDY

SEC. 302. Such study shall be comprehensive in nature and shall cover particularly such items as:

(1) the quality and content of existing programs and how they can be improved;

(2) the financial factors involved in use of instructional television in educational institutions;

(3) the relative advantages or disadvantages of using instructional television as compared with other media;

(4) the advantages and disadvantages of closed-circuit television;

(5) the relationship between instructional and educational television; and

(6) new technology not now available, including flexible teacher-controlled scheduling of programs based on videotapes, discs, films, and other materials or devices.

DURATION OF STUDY

SEC. 303. The study authorized by this title shall be submitted to the President for transmittal to the Congress on or before January 1, 1969.

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 304. There are authorized to be appropriated for the study authorized by this title such sums, not exceeding $500,000, as may be necessary.

And to amend the title so as to read: "An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television; and for other purposes."

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House and request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. PEARSON conferees on the part of the Senate.

PLEDGING EARLY ACTION ON HOUSE-PASSED BILL TO ELECT A DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOL BOARD

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, for those of us who have labored over the years in the vineyard of greater progress for the citizens of the District of Columbia, passage yesterday by the other distinguished body, with an overwhelming margin of 324 yeas to 3 nays, of a locally elected School Board bill marks another plus in what has already been recorded as a banner legislative year for good government in Washington, D.C.

Some weeks ago, the Congress approved President Johnson's reorganization plan for a single commissioner-council type system of local government, a major step toward what many of us hope will be a goal of true representative local government. That plan is already in the implementation stage. This body confirmed last week the nominations of Walter E. Washington as Commissioner and Thomas W. Fletcher as Assistant to the Commissioner. Nominations for the 9-member City Council are anticipated in the immediate future.

Today, the Senate has before it for consideration the House-passed School Board bill, H.R. 13042. This bill was a response to a recommendation made to the Congress early in August by President Johnson "to modernize the structure of the District's educational system by providing for the popular election of its School Board."

As another step in what appears to be the beginning of an era of greater democracy for the Nation's Capital City, may I pledge that the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I have the honor to be chairman, will schedule early hearings on this legislation. I joined several weeks ago as a cosponsor with the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, "Mr. Education" of the Senate, in introducing a Senate counterpart of the House bill. The Senator from Oregon will handle the elected School Board bill before the District Education Subcommittee. He has promised to move it along with expeditious hearings and prompt action, in his usual capable manner.

An elected School Board, more commonplace than not in the 50 States of this country, would be new to the District of Columbia. Historically speaking, the District's first Board of Education was appointed by an elected City Council back in 1804. And the first President of that Board of Education was Thomas Jefferson. In fact, his School Board duties were an addition to his more demanding responsibilities as the fourth President of the United States.

As an interesting historical side note, I am advised that the first District Board of Education met in the Chambers formerly occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States here in the Capitol.

Never before has the District had an elected School Board. However, the Senate in the 89th Congress on July 22, 1965, approved legislation providing for the popular election of a School Board. I believe that the Senate in the 90th Congress will again duplicate that action and pass this bill at an early time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in my remarks a letter sent to me this date by the President of the United States, expressing his wholehearted support of this legislation. I trust that my colleagues who believe in the future of Washington, D.C., will again support an elected School Board as they did in 1965.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., September 26, 1967.

Hon. ALAN BIBLE,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ALAN: Yesterday the House of Representatives acted to bring democracy closer to the citizens of the District of Columbia by making them responsible for the election of their own school board.

By an overwhelming vote of 324 to 3, the House carried forward the much needed modernization of the District's educational system which I recommended to the Congress on August 16, 1967.

The speed and virtual unanimity of the House action underscores both the urgency of replacing the present archaic selection system and the wide acceptance of the legislation drawn to meet this need. The bill passed by the House of Representatives incorporates each of the provisions recommended as central to reform in my August 16 message. It would:

Create an 11-member school board; eight to be selected by school electoral ward, and three at large.

Set the following requirements for board membership: Eligibility to vote, District residence for at least three years, residence in the school electoral ward for at least one year.

Provide for staggered four-year terms of office.

The House-passed bill calls for election of the first School Board on April 16, 1968. This sets a tight time schedule for completion of the many tasks necessary to assure an orderly election. The city must be divided into school electoral wards. The Board of Elections must conduct a new registration for all citizens.

Candidates must be identified and nominating petitions filed 56 days in advance of the election. Campaigns must be mounted not only in each ward, but city-wide for those seeking the three at-large seats.

As you can see, prompt action is essential if the District of Columbia is to have the time it needs to prepare for the election of its school officials next April. I hope your Committee will act as soon as possible to open the way for early passage by the Senate.

Together, the Congress and the President have brought Twentieth Century Government to the District of Columbia. The recent reorganization unburdened it of outmoded municipal machinery.

This bill would carry forward the momentum of reform by producing a modern, strong system of educational leadership for the Nation's Capital and for the 150,000 school children who live here.

The Administration stands ready to assist your Committee in every appropriate way. This is the time for action—when new government is bringing new promise to the Nation's Capital City.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson.

VIETNAM—THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, in the discussion which took place here this afternoon, charges were made that the President of the United States has exceeded his authority as granted under the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I disagree completely with those charges. I have been in disagreement with the President in many instances, but I do not hesitate to stand by his side when charges are made against him that are completely unjustified.

In the August 22 Congressional Record there appears a statement by me dealing with the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I will read a brief part of it but, Mr. President, I shall ask unanimous consent that the entire statement which I made be printed in the Record.

Mr. President, I said:

> Mr. Lausche. Mr. President, it has been alleged that the Congress must act on its own. It has been said this is an undeclared war prosecuted by the President. It further has been said that the President is incorrect in saying he can do as he pleases. Moreover, the statement has been made that we have the largest defense budget in the history of our Nation.
>
> Mr. President, in the last several days the discussion in the Committee on Foreign Relations has been: What authority did we give to the President in the Tonkin resolution in 1964? It is that subject that I wish to discuss with Senators to refresh their memories as to exactly what happened. I shall proceed immediately to the discussion which took place on August 6, 1964. I submit, Mr. President, that this discussion is of the most vital importance, and is concerned with the problem confronting the people of our Nation today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I ask unanimous consent to have 3 more minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I continue to read from my statement:

> Is the President violating his authority? Has he usurped powers which do not belong to him? If he has usurped powers he should be impeached, but I respectfully say to Senators that an examination of what took place on August 6, 1964, will show clearly that the President is acting completely within the authority given to him by the Tonkin resolution. I shall now proceed to read what took place on August 6, 1964. The proceedings are carried in the Congressional Record:

I shall not now read the discussion that took place, but to any reasonable-minded individual who will read that discussion and pay particular attention to what was said by Senator Fulbright, Senator Mansfield, and other Senators, no other conclusion can be reached than that we gave to the President the power which he is exercising.

The culmination of what took place is reflected by a question put to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster]:

> Mr. Brewster. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

He directed his question to me.

Mr. Brewster was speaking:

> I had the opportunity to see warfare not so very far from this area.

Senator Brewster was a member of the military of the United States—

> And it was very mean. I would look with great dismay on a situation involving the landing of large land armies on the Continent of Asia. So my question is whether there is anything in the resolution which would authorize or recommend or approve the landing of large American armies in Vietnam or in China.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, may I have unanimous consent for 3 more minutes? I ask this without hesitation because I listened to an exchange of words that went on for a half an hour on this very subject.

May I have that consent?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I continue to read.

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] is still speaking:

> Now, the query is, what did the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee answer? What did the manager of the bill say?

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, of course, is Mr. Fulbright. Now I read Mr. Fulbright's answer:

> There is nothing in the resolution, as I read it, that contemplates it.

That is, the landing of the forces in the land area of South Vietnam or in the land area of China.

Then Mr. Fulbright went on to say:

> I agree with the Senator that is the last thing we would want to do.

He further went on to say:

> However—

And this is Senator Fulbright speaking—

> the language of the resolution would not prevent it.

Mr. President, that was practically the culmination of the discussion. Senator Fulbright gave the answer, that the language of the resolution would not prevent the landing of troops.

I am not now arguing whether the landing of troops and the number that have been landed is right. My argument is directed to those who contend that the President of the United States is usurping his powers, and to one Senator who spoke about the President being impeached.

Mr. President, the best way to give comfort and aid to our enemy is, in this critical period, to talk about the impeachment of the President, to talk about the claim that he is abusing and usurping his powers, when a reading of the Record will show that, in a discussion that lasted for 2 hours, repeatedly statements were made that the President would have full power to act.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record my statement and the colloquy as it appears in the August 22, 1967, issue of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the Record was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mr. Lausche. Mr. President, it has been alleged that the Congress must act on its own. It has been said this is an undeclared war prosecuted by the President. It further has been said that the President is incorrect in saying he can do as he pleases. Moreover, the statement has been made that we have the largest defense budget in the history of our Nation.

Mr. President, in the last several days the discussion in the Committee on Foreign Relations has been: What authority did we give to the President in the Tonkin resolution in 1964? It is that subject that I wish to discuss with Senators to refresh their memories as to exactly what happened. I shall proceed immediately to the discussion which took place on August 6, 1964. I submit, Mr. President, that this discussion is of the most vital importance, and is concerned with the problem confronting the people of our Nation today.

Is the President violating his authority? Has he usurped powers which do not belong to him? If he has usurped powers he should

be impeached, but I respectfully say to Senators that an examination of what took place on August 6, 1964, will show clearly that the President is acting completely within the authority given to him by the Tonkin resolution. I shall now proceed to read what took place on August 6, 1964. The proceedings are carried in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

"Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the Vietnam resolution be laid before the Senate. It has been cleared with the chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services, with the ranking members of those committees, with the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN], and with the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is interested in the subject."

Following the statement made by Senator MANSFIELD, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] rose, and I ask Senators to listen carefully to what the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations said with respect to the Tonkin resolution:

"Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, pursuant to the order of the Senate on yesterday, the Committee on Armed Forces, headed by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Committee on Foreign Relations met jointly this morning to take testimony on Senate Joint Resolution 189."

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], still speaking, said:

"Mr. President, I recommend the prompt and overwhelming endorsement of the resolution now before the Senate. The resolution, which has been approved by the Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services with only one dissenting vote, endorses the wise and necessary action of President Johnson in ordering the 7th fleet and its air units to take appropriate measures in response to the unprovoked attacks on American naval vessels by North Vietnamese torpedo boats.

"The resolution further expresses the approval and support of the Congress for the determination of the President"—

I want to emphasize this—

"to take such action as may be necessary now and in the future to restrain or repel Communist aggression in Southeast Asia."

I now skip a bit of the discussion and I go down to the most important part of what took place.

* * * * *

Mr. LAUSCHE. This is the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] speaking:

"I had the opportunity to see warfare not so very far from this area, and it was very mean. I would look with great dismay on a situation involving the landing of large land armies on the Continent of Asia. So my question is whether there is anything in the resolution which would authorize or recommend or approve the landing of large American armies in Vietnam or in China."

Now the query is, What did the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee answer? What did the manager of the bill say?

Mr. President, I want you to listen carefully to what was said:

"There is nothing in the resolution, as I read it, that contemplates it."

That is, the landing of forces in the land area of South Vietnam or in the land area of China.

The manager of the bill went on to say:

"I agree with the Senator that that is the best thing we would want to do"—

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The last thing.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Last thing.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Last thing we would want to do; yes.

But listen further—

"however, the language of the resolution would not prevent it.'

Would not prevent what? The landing of forces in South Vietnam and if necessary in China.

I did not agree with that. That is what the chairman answered thus far.

"However, the language of the resolution would not prevent it. It would authorize whatever the Commander in Chief feels is necessary."

Who is the Commander in Chief? The President of the United States.

The chairman, or the manager of the bill, further answering:

"It does not restrain the Executive from doing it. Whether or not that should ever be done is a matter of wisdom under the circumstances that exist at the particular time it is contemplated."

What is the meaning of that statement? The action taken should be commensurate with the demands of the circumstances existing at the time that the action is taken.

The manager of the bill further speaking:

"This kind of question should more properly be addressed to the chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Speaking for my own committee, everyone I have heard has said that the last thing we want to do is to become involved in a land war in Asia."

That is the last thing that I want to do. It is the last thing that the President wants to do.

"That our power is sea and air, and that this is what we hope will deter the Chinese Communists and the North Vietnamese from spreading the war. That is what is contemplated. The resolution"—

This is the final sentence—

"The resolution does not prohibit that, or any kind of other activity."

I think the Senator from Maryland remembers the question being asked, and he understands that that is the answer that was given to him. It was not in conformity with what he hoped would be the answer but it was, nevertheless, the answer, that the President was given full power to assign the troops of the United States in Southeast Asia in a manner that would meet the circumstances that existed.

Then Senator Morton, who is not here now, addressing the Presiding Officer, said:

"Mr. President, first, I say to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas that I approve the action that has been taken, and I approve this resolution. On the matter which was the subject of the colloquy between the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, can we not associate our presence in the Gulf of Tonkin to a degree with our own interpretation of our obligations under the SEATO Treaty?"

Senator ELLENDER, according to my recollection, questioned whether or not there was a definite attack by North Vietnam upon our ships in the Tonkin Gulf. The query at that time was, Did we falsify? Did we deliberately claim that we were attacked when in fact we were not?

I continue reading:

"Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes; I made mention of it. That is a further responsibility that we undertook in alining ourselves with other countries in trying to bring peace and stability into this area. That was another obligation which we undertook. It fortifies our right on responsibility for being in the Gulf of Tonkin."

* * * * *

Mr. LAUSCHE. I will conclude in 3 minutes. I want to say respectfully to the Senator from Mississippi the issue before the country today is whether the President is transgressing his authority.

I have no reason to be deeply sympathetic to the President. He has rejected my recommendations and my proposals time and time again, but I think in this matter he has acted completely within his authority.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] was speaking:

"I believe the action taken by the President helps to avoid any miscalculations on the part of either the North Vietnamese or the Chinese Communists. I believe the joint resolution gives that policy further strength. In my opinion, the three major wars in which we have been involved in this century have come about by miscalculation on the part of the aggressor."

I now conclude. Miscalculation on the part of the aggressor. Miscalculation that the United States would not stand firm. Those are the final words.

In summary, I say to this body, while I have been in disagreement with the President, while he has rejected my recommendations, in my opinion, under the Tonkin resolution he was given the full authority that he is now exercising.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, let us not pass the buck. We adopted the Tonkin Gulf resolution. We were the ones who acted. Let us act honorably now in our capacity as Members of Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I ask unanimous consent that I may have an additional one-half minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania object to 30 more seconds.

Mr. CLARK. Oh, no.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Let us act honorably in our capacity as Members of the Congress of the United States, sharing the responsibility that is ours

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I listened with keen interest to much if not all of the debate which has taken place during the morning hour today, initiated by the remarks of the distinguished majority leader, the subject, of course, being Vietnam.

In my own view, while that debate is always interesting, as my fellow Senators are always interesting, much of it is irrelevant and immaterial to any issue confronting the country today. To me, what we did in the Tonkin Gulf resolution is over the dam, and was years ago. Arguing about it now, to my way of thinking, is largely a waste of time. We shall have full opportunity to consider the respective powers of the President and Congress shortly when we shall have, I hope, from the Committee on Foreign Relations a joint resolution dealing with the sense of the Senate having to do with the making of commitments by the President without the approval of Congress. We will have a chance, during the debate on that resolution, to discuss all of these matters.

The point I wish to make now is that we want to get out of Vietnam with honor—as I think we all do—the first step is to stop the bombing, and the second step is to persuade the South Vietnamese—and this should be easy, indeed—to fire only when fired upon, because, as the present occupant of the chair pointed out, the South Vietnamese Army is practically disintegrated as an offensive force.

If we do those two things, in my opinion, we have an excellent chance of getting to the negotiating table within a month or 6 weeks. Unless and until we do those things, this war, in my opinion, will continue indefinitely.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I do not think that the speech made today by the Senator from New Jersey will go down in history as one of his best efforts. In fact, I suspect that it will be cited by historians as an example of the weakness and partisan politics with which a President is confronted during a time of national ordeal.

I note that the Senator referred to the conduct of the war by the President and his administration as a cheap game, in which one man or one group tries to seize advantage for itself at the expense of another; a crafty President putting it over on stupid Members of Congress.

Mr. President, nobody fooled and nobody tried to fool the Senator from Louisiana. I was on the floor debating the interest equalization tax at the time the President asked some Members of Congress to come down and consult about what should be done with regard to the attack on our ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. The President responded without any resolution of Congress; he had the authority to respond. He well knew what the situation was in South Vietnam; and he asked for a resolution which approved of the strong position this Nation took under the leadership of President Johnson.

It went further. I now quote the language of the resolution as quoted by the Senator from New Jersey:

> Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Mr. President, any Senator who did not know what those words "repel further aggression" meant, may I say, certainly must not have been around this body very long. I had previously voted on resolutions of this sort time and again. Sometimes I held my breath, feeling that such action could very well mean the beginning of a very big war.

I voted on such resolutions when General Eisenhower was President with respect to Formosa and with respect to the Near East. Many times I have questioned why such a resolution was necessary, because the President already had the authority to use the Armed Forces of the United States without a declaration of war.

Some of us, the Senator from Oregon for example, used the language, "This is an undated declaration of war." We never accused President Eisenhower of being a crafty President, trying to put something over on anyone. We understood what the language meant, that the President was authorized to use all Armed Forces of the United States without further approval of this body, and had Congress behind him in the event that we had to go to war.

Some of those resolutions, may I say, were dictated in advance by the position that the Republican Party had taken during the Korean war. I recall speeches by the late Senator Robert Taft, taking the position that what President Truman did in Korea was right, but that he should have come to Congress for a resolution before he did it. In this instance, President Johnson asked Congress for the resolution, and sent it up.

I have heard Senators who had a direct responsibility with regard to the consideration of it say time and again that they understood what that resolution meant, and I certainly did: That it gave the President the authority, in advance, that he needed to fight the kind of war that we are fighting.

We are not planning to land our Armed Forces on the shores of North Vietnam. There is no intention of doing that. There are a lot of things that we could be doing that we are not doing; but we are taking the steps that this Nation deems necessary to resist aggression there.

Mr. President, I happen to believe what the great majority of Americans believe, that we ought to be doing more, not less. We ought to be pressing on to win this war and get it over with, and making even stronger efforts than we are making.

While I say that I would like to do more, and make a greater effort to win this war and to prevail, I recognize the problems with which the President is confronted. It is entirely possible that if we did all the things I would like to do, it might be a bigger war. We might have Red China in the war alongside North Vietnam, and have an even greater problem and a greater struggle on our hands than we have now. I personally would favor taking greater risks.

That is what the majority of the American people think, as shown by the polls. They would like to press harder, make a greater effort, win it, and get it over with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I ask unanimous consent that I may have 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the people have some conception of what is involved here. From the point of history, this is a much bigger struggle than a mere fight over South Vietnam. If that were all that is involved, my point of view on this matter might be entirely different.

This is a part of a struggle that involved Greece, it involved Turkey, it involved Berlin, it involved all Western Europe, it involved the Near East, it involved Korea, it involved Formosa, it involved India—where Chinese troops invaded, some years ago—it involved Malaysia, and it involved the Philippines—where Communist troops might be in control now, were it not for the strong stand taken by this country.

I firmly believe that if the United States does not make a strong stand in Southeast Asia, it will be lost to communism. I do not mean to say we will lose it; it is not ours to lose. But it will all be lost by those who are not Communist to those who are Communists; we will see that entire part of the globe taken by the Communist worldwide conspiracy to overthrow every free government that borders on it, first, and then every free government that borders on that one, after they overthrow the first line of free governments.

The question was asked the other day of the Senator from New Jersey, who advocates getting out:

> Well, when we get out, where should we make our stand next?

The Senator said:

> That is a detail that I should not be required to answer.

It is a very important detail. How many more nations do we propose to see go down the drain of communism before we make a stand somewhere else?

If this Nation has not the courage to stand firm where it is now, it will never have the national will to defend Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, or Burma.

We will not be able then to persuade the American people to back a President who wants to go anywhere in that area if we allow one nation of about 16 million people to drive out and defeat this great Nation of 190 million people.

The Communists have said, and quite correctly, that if they can defeat us there—this nation of 16 million people that is suffering 10 deaths for every one this Nation suffers—then the Communist powers generally can run us out of anywhere on this planet.

If, with the strength of this great Nation, we cannot make the necessary sacrifice to hold what we have and resist aggression in this area, it seems to me that it is a pretty good indication that it is not our will to defend or to help defend any nation anywhere in Asia that is under a very serious Communist threat.

That would mean that the area including 900 million people in non-Communist countries would fall under Communist domination.

If we look at the stakes involved in the present conflict, it is a very small price to pay.

How would those who propose to turn tail and run and give the Communists a victory in the next American election that they cannot win on the battlefield—if they unintentionally bring about that result—propose to hold the areas where we are confronted with Red China on the one hand and other Communist countries on the other who are seeking to overthrow governments all around the world?

When we gave the President the authority to resist aggression, we intended that he use it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue for an additional 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. When the North Vietnamese proceeded to bring their troops in to step up their aggression, we brought in more troops to stop that aggression. When they made a greater effort, we also made a greater effort.

In my judgment, we are winning. They

cannot continue to take for a long time the punishment that they are taking.

In their endeavor to win a military victory over the United States in the kind of war that is taking place in Southeast Asia, their greatest hope of winning is through a default on the part of the United States of America.

Their greatest hope is that we will continue to make divisive speeches, fight among ourselves, and quarrel about the situation that exists rather than to recognize that we are involved in a fight which must be won unless we are going to see a great number of countries in Southeast Asia overrun.

If Asia goes under, where would we make a stand? Would we make a stand in the Near East? It would be much more difficult to defend if Asia is gone.

If we do not stand there, would we propose to make a stand in Africa? Where would we make our stand?

If this Nation had not made a strong stand in Greece, Turkey, Korea, the Dominican Republic, and other nations at a great cost in blood, and agreed to a resolution saying that we would fight if necessary in Vietnam, I hate to think of where the world would be today.

We paid a high cost, but we have saved a great deal of the world from the Communist threat. We saved the nations in Western Europe. We saved Japan. We saved Greece, the Dominican Republic, possibly Turkey.

If this Nation stands firm in its faith, I have no doubt that we will prevail. The type of speech tending to make the task more difficult for our President will be one more obstacle to overcome.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator has not answered my question.

Does the Senator from New Jersey advocate pulling out?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To whom does the Senator from Louisiana yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. I should be glad to answer that question. For the purpose of answering the question, I am not sure who granted to the Senator from Ohio the right to put a question to the Senator from New Jersey. However, I would be happy to indicate my views about this war.

I have said many times that it may be we should not have gotten into it. However, we are in it. We are in deep trouble in meeting our national demands. However, it is my hope that we can do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I have indicated many times I do not favor pulling out of Vietnam. I favor winning the war in South Vietnam.

I think that is the only sound way to do it.

I have been critical about the methods applied here in seeking to meet this problem. However, I oppose pulling out.

I am sure the Senator did not mean to give any such implication.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have been trying to find one Senator, among all those who speak so loudly against this conflict, who advocates pulling out. There is not a single one.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the Senator from Louisiana knows I am a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

During our hearings in which Kennan, Galbraith, Taylor, and others testified, I questioned every witness. I said: "Do you advocate pulling out?"

How many witnesses answered in the affirmative and agreed that we should pull out? Not a single one.

I then said: "Assuming that we pull out, will that be the end of our troubles?"

How many agreed that it would be the end of our troubles in Southeast Asia with the Communists? Not one.

I said, "If it will not be the end of our troubles if we pull out, where should we make a stand?"

That is what the Senator from Louisiana has just been discussing.

Some witnesses said Malaysia. Others said Thailand. Galbraith said India. However, everyone said that it would not be the end of our troubles, but that we would have to make a stand.

I then asked: "Is there a better place to make a stand than in South Vietnam?"

Not one of them could point to a better place.

Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator from New Jersey whether he recommends pulling out.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Will the Senator answer the question?

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I should like to have the floor so that I might answer the question.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I suggest to the Senator from Ohio, before he opens an attack upon the speech that he read it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I am asking a question of the Senator.

Mr. CASE. The Senator has not heard or read what I said, or he would not have said what he has.

I should like to have the floor.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I made no mention of the Senator's speech.

Mr. CASE. I am sorry. Before I was present, the Senator discussed it in terms that indicated that he thought I, in my speech, advocated pulling out.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I did not discuss it in that way. I pointed out that the——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Louisiana yield the floor?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Now, then, if the Senator does not recommend pulling out, what are we to do—just sit there and allow us to be mowed down?

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

VIETNAM—TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for a few minutes, despite the rule, with respect to the remarks made by the majority whip.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the Senator from New Jersey asked that I yield to him, and I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to him for a question, if he wishes me to yield for a question.

Mr. CASE. I understood that I had the floor.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator from New Jersey asked unanimous consent.

Mr. CASE. I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for a few minutes in response to the remarks of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Reserving the right to object, may I have an equal amount of time to respond to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. CASE. I certainly would not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. The point I wish to direct my remarks to is something I did not hear entirely because I was not in the the Chamber during all of the Senator's remarks. I thought the discussion about my earlier remarks had been completed; otherwise, I would not have left. However, I did hear the Senator from Louisiana say something to the effect that remarks such as those I made this morning were not something or other—were not helpful or what?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. In my judgment, they do not help at all to carry on the struggle in which this Nation is involved. I believe they give comfort to the enemy, to think that he can prolong this matter, when he is suffering 10 times the casualties, in terms of death, that we are suffering, and that he will prevail. The enemy will believe that Americans will keep fighting among themselves until America quits.

It seems to me that in time of war—and it is a war—this is not a speech which the Senator will be proud of, from the standpoint of history. If a Senator said this sort of thing about a fellow Senator, referring to his conduct as "a cheap game in which one man or one group tries to advantage itself at the expense of another—a crafty President has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress," he would be subject to being ordered to take his seat for violating rule XIX.

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator for making clear what he said. The very thing he said was a distortion of what I said. I did not accuse the President of being "a crafty President" who has "put it over on the stupid Members of Congress." What I said was this:

> For those observers of the passing scene to whom politics is little more than a cheap game in which one man or one group tries to advantage itself at the expense of another, the distress of Congress over the administration's continuing misuse of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution means only that a crafty President has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress.

I did not say this myself. I am glad to have the opportunity to make it clear that others said this.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator from New Jersey says that to anyone who is a decent person, it means the President is a crafty man who "has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress."

Mr. CASE. The interpretation which the Senator puts on these words cannot be borne by the words. I am talking about a group of people who have derided Congress because they have said, "Why, you stupid people, you let the President put it all over on you." That is the person I am saying said this, not I. So let us get it straight. I do not believe that anybody except the Senator from Louisiana has misunderstood that from the first.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Having read this paragraph the third time, I am pleased to hear that the Senator is not suggesting that the President is a crafty man who "has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress."

May I say that the remarks of the minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], sounded as though that is the way it sounded to him, and that is the way it sounded to me.

Mr. CASE. The minority leader said he wanted to be sure that nobody misunderstood it, that he saw where the exclamation points were and where the punctuation was; but he was afraid that in the general hubbub surrounding debate, it would be misunderstood.

Am I correct?

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May we have this understood: that the Senator from New Jersey wants it understood that what is going on in this country is not "a cheap game in which one man or one group tries to advantage itself at the expense of another," and that this is not a crafty President who "has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress."

Mr. CASE. I do not have to agree that this is so, because I did not say it in the first place. I do say, and I repeat, that the President has misused the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I said—and made it clear in the development of the point—that he has done it by relying on the exact language of the resolution, rather than upon the spirit in which we moved together in a particular emergency.

The President, of course, has the power which he has under the Constitution. It cannot be added to and it cannot be taken away from him by Congress. So the exact language of the resolution is not something which can grant or take away power from the President.

This should be clear to every Member of Congress and to the people of this country. What we were doing when we adopted the resolution was showing unity at a time of emergency. This was the purpose of the resolution. When the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] expressed concern—as others did at that time—about the breadth of the language of the resolution, he was reassured specifically, by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who stood right here, that it was not meant to extend the present conflict. So it was not necessary for the Senator from Wisconsin to propose an amendment to the effect that he had in mind.

This was expected by everybody. We all knew the language, of course, and what it could be taken to mean if interpreted literally. We all understood—except two of us, at least—that we were not adopting a resolution giving specific authority or authorization to the President. We were just agreeing in general with the course which he had in mind in the immediate emergency. That was the purpose of the resolution.

My reason for bringing this matter up now is not to attack the adoption of the resolution, not to talk at all about the conduct of the war, but to say that for the President to say that our adoption of the resolution 3 years ago forecloses us from questioning the way in which the war is being conducted now, or its extent, is a misuse of that resolution, because he relies on the exact language. That is my point.

If this be giving aid and comfort to the enemy, in the judgment of the Senator from Louisiana, the Senator from New Jersey completely disagrees. If this country, this great democracy, cannot stand discussion of great issues in time of war or in time of peace without fear that it is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, then we have come to a pretty pass.

I would say that to adopt the view of the Senator from Louisiana about refraining from discussion of this sort with respect to the resolution would leave the President untrammeled and unchecked. No man is entitled or should be entitled to that kind of untrammeled, uncriticized power. So long as I am able to use the English language, I will raise my voice whenever in my judgment—it will always be a responsible judgment, at least in intent—the President is taking action that is unwise or wrong. If this be wrong in time of war, then I believe we have come to a pretty pass.

It is not a question of disagreement with basic objectives. I agree with the basic objectives. I want to see them achieved. But for anybody to say that suggesting the way the President is going about accomplishing them is the wrong way—at least in part—is treasonous, is misusing words.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I believe I had an agreement that I be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I am pleased to see that the Senator, I believe, disclaims what he suggested here, that the President is a crafty man who "has again put it over on the stupid Members of Congress." I read his statement about four times before it dawned on me that that is not what he is saying. He moderates his statement to say that the President is taking advantage of a situation.

The situation is that we gave the President a resolution commending him for resisting aggression and striking back, that we called upon him to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack upon forces of the United States and to repel further aggression.

The newspaper accounts at that time were that we expected Hanoi to strike back, and the only way they could do it was with an increased effort against South Vietnam, such as sending their own troops, which they proposed to do.

The President, pursuant to that resolution, made a greater and greater effort. The prevailing opinion in this country is that he should have made a greater effort than he made. If one will look at the polls he will see that. That is what the American people think. He should have been doing more, not less.

There are some who want us to pull out. There are attacks suggesting that the President does not have the authority to do what he is doing. These attacks do nothing but undermine and weaken this country in time of war. That is the kind of thinking that tends to divide the American people among themselves when we should be united against our enemy. These attacks tend to prolong the war and do not help to bring it to a close.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. ERVIN. I wish to ask the Senator from Louisiana if all the President did in describing the scope of the resolution was not to emulate the example of Portia in the Merchant of Venice and state that it is so nominated in the bond.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I thank the Senator. It seems to me that as the Communists have made a greater effort, this Nation has made a greater effort. If we continue to persevere in this matter we will win. We are winning now. Some people also overlook the tremendous sacrifices made by the South Vietnamese in terms of blood and effort, and particularly those village leaders who have been murdered by the hundreds and thousands because they sought to provide leadership for their people away from communism and toward freedom as we view it.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, there are several points I would like to make with regard to the Senator from New Jersey's [Mr. Case] remarks today, concerning both his comments about Secretary McNamara's testimony of August 25 and the understanding which I think all, or virtually all, Members of Congress had with regard to the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

First of all, let me say that the Senator's remarks about Secretary McNamara's testimony suggest that it is inconsistent with subsequent actions against the ports in North Vietnam. This is incorrect. Senator Case noted Mr. McNamara's statement that attacks on the ports of North Vietnam "would not be an effective means of stopping the infiltration of supplies into South Vietnam." This is, of course, entirely accurate. Because of the other supply routes, both land and water, even the complete closing of the ports could not put a complete stop to this infiltration.

But Senator Case fails to note that Mr. McNamara also stated that attacks on the ports "would interfere seriously with North Vietnam imports of war-supporting materials." Accordingly, such attacks would serve our paramount purpose of reducing the flow and/or increasing the cost of the continuing infiltration of men and supplies into South Vietnam.

Determinations of the particular targets to be attacked, whether they are ports or other targets, turn on four factors that Mr. McNamara has outlined. These are, first, the value of the target in achieving our objective of making infiltration more difficult and costly; second, its potential cost in the lives of American pilots; third, the risk involved that attacking a particular target might widen the war; and, fourth, the likelihood of civilian casualties. As Mr. McNamara pointed out, the relative weight of these four factors constantly changes as the hostilities continue.

In the case of the port of Cam Pha, for example, it was found that a bombing attack could be made at a time when there was no foreign shipping in that port. The port could therefore be taken under attack without risk of widening the war. In the case of Haiphong, where there is a steady volume of foreign shipping, the port itself has not been attacked. Instead, attacks have been undertaken in an effort to block the land lines of communication running from the port and thus to cause supplies to pile up and interfere with continued port operations.

Mr. McNamara also pointed out that potential targets in North Vietnam are under continuing review and that, as the four controlling factors change in relative significance, decisions on whether or not to take a particular target under attack will also change.

Now, let me turn to the Tonkin Gulf resolution, which clearly authorized, Mr. President, those subsequent U.S. actions which have been carried out in Southeast Asia.

The Tonkin Gulf resolution states that—

> The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

The quoted portion thus authorizes the President to act—using armed force if he determines that it is necessary—to assist South Vietnam at its request in defense of its independence. The identification of South Vietnam through the reference "protocol state" is unmistakable and the granting of authority to use armed force "as the President determines" is unequivocable.

There was full and effective consultation by the President and senior administration officials with the congressional leadership.

As Senator Dirksen—then, as now, the distinguished minority leader—stated:

> I attended the briefing at the White House. It lasted for almost and hour and a half. The whole case was laid on the table by the President, by the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, by the Secretary of Defense, and by the Secretary of State. Thereafter, there was no limit on the amount of discussion or on the questions that any member of the joint leadership from both the House and Senate might have wished to propound, whether they were addressed to the Secretaries or to the President.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who "was present at the briefing" then affirmed "what the distinguished minority leader—Senator Dirksen—has said."

The responsible Cabinet officials presented the administration's position and made themselves available for questioning before four congressional committees.

Both Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara testified in favor of the Tonkin Gulf resolution before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and Senate Armed Services Committee.

Among others, the floor manager, Senator Fulbright, clearly informed the Congress of the scope of the resolution.

Senator Cooper asked Senator Fulbright:

> Does the Senator consider that in enacting this resolution we are satisfying that requirement of article IV of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty? In other words, are we now giving the President advance authority to take whatever action he may deem necessary respecting South Vietnam and its defense, or with respect to the defense of any other country included in the treaty?

And he replied:

> Mr. Fulbright. I think that is correct.
>
> Mr. Cooper. Then, looking ahead, if the President decided that it was necessary to use such force as could lead into war, we will give that authority by this resolution?
>
> Mr. Fulbright. That is the way I would interpret it. If a situation later developed in which we thought approval should be withdrawn it could be withdrawn by concurrent resolution.

The record thus summarized amply supports the President's statement at his press conference August 19 of his belief that:

> Every Congressman and most of the Senators there knew what that Tonkin Gulf Resolution said and that Resolution authorized the President and expressed the Congress willingness to go along with the President in doing whatever was necessary to deter aggression.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, again and again during the continuing debate on Vietnam, reference has been made to Senate Joint Resolution 189 adopted by the Senate on August 7, 1964, by a vote of 88 to 2. The resolution is usually referred to as the Tonkin Bay resolution.

In order that the proceedings in the Senate prior to the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 189 may be conveniently available to the public, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the President's message and the debate in the Senate of August 6 and 7, 1964, be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION

The basic purpose of this resolution is to make it clear that the Congress approves the action taken by the President to meet the attack of U.S. forces in southeast Asia by the Communist regime in North Vietnam. Full support by the Congress also is declared for the resolute policy enunciated by the President in order to prevent further aggression, or to retaliate with suitable measures should such aggression take place.

BACKGROUND

It should be stressed that the current conflict in the area of the Gulf of Tonkin occurs against the backdrop of a Communist-directed military and subversive offensive which has been sustained with little real interruption since 1946. In that year France resumed titular control over what was then Indochina from the Japanese wartime occupation, and by year's end was under guerrilla attack by the Communist-trained and supported Vietminh under the leadership of Ho Chi-minh. The latter organization gained much support throughout Indochina by reason of its ability to pose as a nationalist movement dedicated to ousting a colonial regime; few of the Indochinese rural areas were left untouched by Vietminh infiltration. For almost 8 years the French, at great cost—mitigated by about $2.5 billion of U.S. aid—fought what has been described as "the longest war of the 20th Century," until the disaster at Dien Bien Phu in May of 1954 led France to submit armistice proposals to the Geneva Conference convened the previous month to discuss Korea and "peace in Indochina."

The Geneva armistice agreements, signed on July 21, 1954, theoretically ended the war between French Union forces and the Vietminh in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, which were to become fully independent countries, with the last-named partitioned near the 17th parallel into two states pending reunification through "free elections." Yet the day after signature President Ho Chi-minh of North Vietnam was calling for a "continuation of the struggle." As Senator

Mansfield noted after his visit to the area in September of that year:

"Vietminh sympathizers are to be found throughout that region [South Vietnam] and it is likely that their number is growing. It must also be presumed that Vietminh activists are being left behind as the Vietminh withdraw their regular forces * * *."

Such proved to be the case: there was scarcely any break in the long process of Communist-inspired subversion aimed at encouraging chaotic conditions in South Vietnam. This activity in itself constituted a violation of the intent of the Geneva agreements, although one difficult to detect and virtually impossible to document satisfactorily.

Since that time, the North Vietnamese campaign against the South has increased in scope and tempo. It has added a new dimension to traditional concepts of warfare and aggression—the dimension of subversion and terror on a planned, centrally directed, and coordinated basis. This new kind of aggression is not symbolized by armies marching across frontiers with bands playing and flags waving. But it is no less outrageous international behavior.

Another point should be made here. Of the participants at Geneva, South Vietnam and the United States alone did not sign the agreements (the other participants and signatories were the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France, Communist China, Laos, Cambodia, and North Vietnam). South Vietnam merely declared its intention to seek peace through all means, and "* * * not to use force to resist the procedures for carrying the cease-fire into effect, although it deems them to be inconsistent with the will of the nation * * *."

The United States noted that it would not join in an arrangement which could have the effect of denying self-determination to the Vietnamese people. It nevertheless declared that—

"(i) it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them [the agreements], in accordance with article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with the obligation of members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force; and (ii) it would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security."

At the beginning of 1955 the United States began to fill the vacuum in the area created by the general but somewhat halting withdrawal of France from Vietnam. U.S. assistance was directly provided to South Vietnam, rather than through the French, and a small number of American military advisers took over the training of the Vietnamese Army from France.

At the same time, the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty [1] came into effect—on February 19, 1955. This pact, described as a "comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific area," was envisaged by the United States several years before its creation, but was especially sought by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles in March of 1954. In the words of the latter:

"The President and I had hoped that unity could be forged in time to strengthen the negotiating position of the free nations during the Indochina phase of the Geneva Conference. However, this proved impracticable.

"The Geneva outcome did, however, confirm the need for unity."

The deliberations which followed in September resulted in two particularly significant actions for the purposes of committee consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 189. First, an "Understanding of the United States of America," was made a part of the treaty to record the fact that this country would only take measures to meet military attack on a treaty member if it were Communist aggression, although it would follow the consultation process in other circumstances. Second, a protocol was added to the treaty to provide that Cambodia, Laos, and "the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam" would be covered by treaty articles III and IV; these read as follows:

"ARTICLE III

"The Parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

"ARTICLE IV

"1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

"2. If, in the opinion of any of the Parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any Party in the treaty area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense.

"3. It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement under paragraph 1 of this Article or on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned."

The period from 1955 to 1957 saw the South Vietnamese Government struggling valiantly under President Diem's leadership to create order out of near chaos. A substantial amount of progress was achieved, and it probably was a measure of that success that large-scale Communist guerrilla attacks began to occur at the beginning of 1958, refleoting a steady increase in such armed activity since Diem's visit to the United States in mid-1957 and the promise of continued help against communism: By 1960, North Vietnam was abandoning any subterfuge and was proclaiming itself the "revolutionary base" for the attacks on the South. It was in this context that the United States agreed to the South Vietnamese Government's request for increased assistance. Such aid has continuously expanded since that time, in large measure scaled to keep pace with the heightened North Vietnamese contributions to the guerrilla war. Some decrease or suspension of assistance took place in connection with the developments surrounding the fall of the Diem government in November 1963, but was resumed shortly thereafter. Just as North Vietnam's open involvement in the war has reached new levels, so has the U.S. provision of aid to the government of Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh formed last February. This aid has always been entirely defensive in character and the United States has taken no action outside the territory of South Vietnam.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

It is against this background that the unprovoked attacks by North Vietnam on U.S. forces in international waters must be assessed. The joint committee believes that the best means of describing these events is by quoting from the presentation of Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson to the U.N. Security Council, convened at our request on August 5:

"At 8:08 a.m. Greenwich meridian time, August 2, 1964, the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* was on routine patrol in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, proceeding in a southeasterly direction away from the coast about 30 miles at sea from the mainland of North Vietnam.

"WARNING SHOTS FIRED

"The *Maddox* was approached by three high-speed North Vietnamese torpedo boats in attack formation. When it was evident that these torpedo boats intended to take offensive action, the *Maddox* in accordance with naval practice, fired three warning shots across the bows of the approaching vessels.

"At approximately the same time, the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga*, which was also in international waters and had been alerted to the empending attack, sent out four aircraft to provide cover for the *Maddox*, the pilots being under orders not to fire unless they or the *Maddox* was fired upon first.

"Two of the attacking craft fired torpedoes which the *Maddox* evaded by changing course. All three attacking vessels directed machinegun fire at the *Maddox*. One of the attacking vessels approached for close attack and was struck by fire from the *Maddox*. After the attack was broken off, the *Maddox* continued on a southerly course in international waters.

"Now, Mr. President, clearly this was a deliberate armed attack against a naval unit of the U.S. Government on patrol in the high seas—almost 30 miles off the mainland.

"HASTY RESPONSE AVOIDED

"Nevertheless, my Government did its utmost to minimize the explosive potential of this flagrant attack in the hopes that this might be an isolated or uncalculated action. There was local defensive fire. The United States was not drawn into hasty response.

"On August 3, the United States took steps to convey to the Hanoi regime a note calling attention to this aggression, stating that U.S. ships would continue to operate freely on the high seas in accordance with the rights guaranteed by international law, and warning the authorities in Hanoi of the 'grave consequences which would inevitably result from any further unprovoked offensive military action against U.S. forces.'

"This notification was in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva accords.

"Our hope that this was an isolated incident did not last long. At 2:35 p.m. Greenwich time, August 4, when it was nighttime in the Gulf of Tonkin, the destroyers *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy* were again subjected to an armed attack by an undetermined number of motor torpedo boats of the North Vietnamese Navy.

"This time the American vessels were 65 miles from the shore, twice as far out on the high seas as on the occasion of the previous attack. This time, numerous torpedos were fired. The attack lasted for over 2 hours.

"NO 'SHADOW OF DOUBT'

"There no longer could be any shadow of doubt that this was planned deliberate military aggression against vessels lawfully present in international waters. One could only conclude that this was the work of authorities dedicated to the use of force to achieve their objectives regardless of the consequences.

"My Government therefore determined to take positive but limited relevant measures to secure its naval units against further aggression. Last night aerial strikes were thus carried out against boats and their support facilities.

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[1] The SEATO members are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

"This action was limited in scale, its only targets being the weapons and the facilities against which we had been forced to defend ourselves.

"Now, Mr. President, gentlemen, it is our fervent hope that the point has now been made that acts of armed aggression are not to be tolerated in the Gulf of Tonkin any more than they are to be tolerated anywhere else."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

On August 4 and 5 the President consulted with congressional leaders, both before and after the limited military retaliation directed against North Vietnam. On August 5, 1964, he sent the following message to Congress:

To the Congress of the United States:

Last night I announced to the American people that the North Vietnamese regime had conducted further deliberate attacks against U.S. naval vessels operating in international waters, and that I had therefore directed air action against gunboats and supporting facilities used in these hostile operations. This air action has now been carried out with substantial damage to the boats and facilities. Two U.S. aircraft were lost in the action.

After consultation with the leaders of both parties in the Congress, I further announced a decision to ask the Congress for a resolution expressing the unity and determination of the United States in supporting freedom and in protecting peace in southeast Asia.

These latest actions of the North Vietnamese regime have given a new and grave turn to the already serious situation in southeast Asia. Our commitments in that area are well known to the Congress. They were first made in 1954 by President Eisenhower. They were further defined in the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty approved by the Senate in February 1955.

This treaty with its accompanying protocol obligates the United States and other members to act in accordance with their constitutional processes to meet Communist aggression against any of the parties or protocol states.

Our policy in southeast Asia has been consistent and unchanged since 1954. I summarized it on June 2 in four simple propositions:

1. America keeps her word. Here as elsewhere, we must and shall honor our commitments.

2. The issue is the future of southeast Asia as a whole. A threat to any nation in that region is a threat to all, and a threat to us.

3. Our purpose is peace. We have no military, political, or territorial ambitions in the area.

4. This is not just a jungle war, but a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity. Our military and economic assistance to South Vietnam and Laos in particular has the purpose of helping these countries to repel aggression and strengthen their independence.

The threat to the free nations of southeast Asia has long been clear. The North Vietnamese regime has constantly sought to take over South Vietnam and Laos. This Communist regime has violated the Geneva accords for Vietnam. It has systematically conducted a campaign of subversion, which includes the direction, training, and supply of personnel and arms for the conduct of guerrilla warfare in South Vietnamese territory. In Laos, the North Vietnamese regime has maintained military forces, used Laotian territory for infiltration into South Vietnam, and most recently carried out combat operations—all in direct violation of the Geneva agreements of 1962.

In recent months, the actions of the North Vietnamese regime have become steadily more threatening. In May, following new acts of Communist aggression in Laos, the United States undertook reconnaissance flights over Laotian territory, at the request of the Government of Laos. These flights had the essential mission of determining the situation in territory where Communist forces were preventing inspection by the International Control Commission. When the Communists attacked these aircraft, I responded by furnishing escort fighters with instructions to fire when fired upon. Thus, these latest North Vietnamese attacks on our naval vessels are not the first direct attack on Armed Forces of the United States.

As President of the United States I have concluded that I should now ask the Congress, on its part, to join in affirming the national determination that all such attacks will be met, and that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom.

As I have repeatedly made clear, the United States intends no rashness, and seeks no wider war. We must make it clear to all that the United States is united in its determination to bring about the end of Communist subversion and aggression in the area. We seek the full and effective restoration of the international agreement signed in Geneva in 1954, with respect to South Vietnam, and again at Geneva in 1962, with respect to Laos.

I recommend a resolution expressing the support of the Congress for all necessary action to protect our Armed Forces and to assist nations covered by the SEATO Treaty. At the same time, I assure the Congress that we shall continue readily to explore any avenues of political solution that will effectively guarantee the removal of Communist subversion and the preservation of the independence of the nations of the area.

The resolution could well be based upon similar resolutions enacted by the Congress in the past—to meet the threat to Formosa in 1955, to meet the threat to the Middle East in 1957, and to meet the threat in Cuba in 1962. It could state in the simplest terms the resolve and support of the Congress for action to deal appropriately with attacks against our Armed Forces and to defend freedom and preserve peace in southeast Asia in accordance with the obligations of the United States under the Southeast Asia Treaty. I urge the Congress to enact such a resolution promptly and thus to give convincing evidence to the aggressive Communist nations, and to the world as a whole, that our policy in southeast Asia will be carried forward—and that the peace and security of the area will be preserved.

The events of the week would in any event have made the passage of a congressional resolution essential. But there is an additional reason for doing so at a time when we are entering on 3 months of political campaigning. Hostile nations must understand that in such a period the United States will continue to protect its national interests, and that in these matters there is no division among us.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 5, 1964.*

COMMITTEE ACTION

The President's message and Senate Joint Resolution 189, introduced by Senator Fulbright (for himself and Senator Hickenlooper, Senator Russell, and Senator Saltonstall) to give effect to the Presidential recommendations, by unanimous consent were referred jointly to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services. During the morning of August 6 the joint committee, with Senator Fulbright presiding in executive session, heard Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and Gen. Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

After receiving the testimony the joint committee voted 31 to 1 to report the resolution favorably without amendment.

SCOPE OF THE RESOLUTION

Senate Joint Resolution 189 is patterned quite closely upon precedents afforded by similar resolutions: the Formosa resolution of 1955, the Middle East resolution of 1957, and the Cuba resolution of 1962.

The phrasing in section 2, "in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty," comprehends the understanding in that treaty that the U.S. response in the context of article IV(1) is confined to Communist aggression. It should also be pointed out that U.S. assistance, as comprehended by section 2, will be furnished only on request and only to a signatory or a state covered by the protocol to the SEATO Treaty. The protocol states are Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam.

The language in section 3, which governs the termination of the resolution, combines the relevant provisions of the Formosa and Middle East resolutions.

JOINT COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

With only one dissenting vote, the joint committee endorsed the resolution and recommended its adoption by the Senate. Members of the committee expressed approval of the handling of the crisis in southeast Asia by the President and the Secretaries of State and Defense, by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and by U.S. naval forces in the area of Vietnam.

On the basis of testimony submitted by the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the committee was satisfied that the decision of the President to retaliate against the North Vietnamese gunboat attacks was both soundly conceived and skillfully executed. In the circumstances, the United States could not have done less and should not have done more.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 6, 1964]

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the Vietnam resolution be laid before the Senate. It has been cleared with the chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services, with the ranking members of those committees, with the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN], and with the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is interested in the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is it agreed that a vote on the treaty with Belgium will be held at 2 o'clock?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is it further understood that it is the intention to call up the so-called Vietnam resolution following the vote on the treaty?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to make a few remarks on the Vietnam resolution.

The President has acted against repeated Communist provocations in the Tonkin Gulf. He has acted in the hope of preventing an expansion of the conflict in Asia, in the hope of minimizing the American involvement on that continent.

He has weighed the degree of military

response to the degree of military provocation. He has taken military steps for legitimate defense and, at the same time, he has brought the matter to the conference tables of the United Nations, as a matter of urgency in connection with the maintenance of world peace.

He has counseled with the congressional leadership, the relevant committee chairman and ranking minority members and the Republican candidate for President. Two nights ago he informed the entire Nation of his action.

The President, in short, has acted with a cool head and a steady hand in a most critical situation. He has acted as the leader of a great free nation, fully aware of a great nation's responsibilities to itself, to freedom, and to the peace of the world.

Let no man make light of what has been done in the past 72 hours. What has been done is no automatic or certain solution to the difficulties. A reasoned approach to this situation on our part is no assurance that others will have the same capacity. Our own restraint is no guarantee of the restraint of others. Our wish for peace is not necessarily the wish of others.

But the President has acted in the hope of restraining the dogs of war. It remains to be seen, now, whether others will act in the same fashion. Escalators go up as well as down and, in this instance, our hand is not the only hand on the control. We hope for the best. But let us also be prepared for the worst. The situation may well become more critical—far more critical—before its resolution becomes visible.

One would hope that those who have acted with provocation will now cease so to act. One would hope that the United Nations will be helpful. One would hope that those nations deeply concerned but not directly involved in Indochina will redouble their efforts to find a peaceful solution to all of the difficulties which have beset the peninsula for almost two decades and ourselves for 10 years.

But those are matters which are not in our own hands alone. For us, it is sufficient at this time to know that the President has set a course for the best interests of the Nation, for Democrats and Republicans alike, for the Government and people of the United States. He asks for and he will have, in this endeavor, the support of the Congress and the people of the United States. Let there be no doubt of that in any nation in Asia or in any part of the world. What needs to be done to defend ourselves will be done. What can be done by us to give human freedom a chance in southeast Asia will be done. It will be done not alone by the President. It will be done not alone by the armed services which he commands. It will be done not alone by Democrats or by Republicans. It will be done by an entire Nation united in their trust and in their support of the President of the United States.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to correct the text of the resolution. There was a technical mistake, an omission on line 10, page 2, as follows, following the words "consonant with the Constitution," the words "of the United States" were inadvertently left out. It is perfectly obvious that it was the Constitution of the United States that was being referred to. I ask unanimous consent that it be corrected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, pursuant to the order of the Senate on yesterday, the Committee on Armed Forces, headed by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Committee on Foreign Relations met jointly this morning to take testimony on Senate Joint Resolution 189.

Mr. President, I recommend the prompt and overwhelming endorsement of the resolution now before the Senate. The resolution, which has been approved by the Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services with only one dissenting vote, endorses the wise and necessary action of President Johnson in ordering the 7th fleet and its air units to take appropriate measures in response of the unprovoked attacks on American naval vessels by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. The resolution further expresses the approval and support of the Congress for the determination of the President to take such action as may be necessary, now and in the future, to restrain or repel Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

The action taken by the United States in retaliation for the North Vietnamese torpedo boat attacks must be understood both in terms of the immediate situation and in terms of the broader pattern of Communist military and subversive activities in southeast Asia over the past 10 years. On both levels the North Vietnamese regime is patently guilty of military aggression and demonstrably in contempt of international law.

As stated in the report of the joint committee on the resolution:

> "The North Vietnamese campaign against the South has increased in scope and tempo. It has added a new dimension to traditional concepts of warfare and aggression—the dimension of subversion and terror on a planned, centrally directed, and coordinated basis. This new kind of aggression is not symbolized by armies marching across frontiers with bands playing and flags waving. But it is no less outrageous international behavior."

The facts of the immediate situation are clear. On August 2 the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* was attacked without provocation by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin. The American vessel, with the support of aircraft from the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga*, fired back in self-defense and drove off the attackers. The United States thereupon warned the Hanoi regime of "grave consequences" in the event of further military attacks on American forces. On August 4 the *Maddox* and another destroyer, the *C. Turner Joy*, were again attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in international waters. The attack, which lasted for over 2 hours, was without any doubt a calculated act of military aggression. The United States thereupon responded with air strikes against North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their supporting facilities at various points on the coast of North Vietnam.

The American action was limited and measured in proportion to the provocation which gave rise to it. It was an act of self-defense wholly consistent with article 51 of the United Nations Charter and an act of limited retaliation wholly consistent with the international law of reprisal. The single, most notable fact about the American action was its great restraint as an act of retaliation taken by a great power in response to the provocation of a small power.

The action taken by the United States was appropriate as policy as well as justified in law. An act of unambiguous aggression cannot be tolerated or ignored without inviting further provocations, especially when the act is committed by a regime which has been engaged in consistent and repeated aggression against its neighbor states.

Has the attacks on the *Maddox* and the *C. Turner Joy* been isolated occurrences it might have been appropriate to respond by a lesser act of force than that employed, or even by measures short of force. This, however, is not the case. The North Vietnamese regime has made an international career of aggression almost since its inception in 1954. Certainly supported and quite possibly incited by Communist China, North Vietnam has persistently engaged in subversion and more direct hostilities against the duly constituted governments of both Laos and South Vietnam. It has done these things in gross violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and of the Geneva Agreement of 1962 pertaining to Laos. It has done these things in violation of international law, in contempt of the United Nations Charter, in malice toward its neighbors, and in reckless disregard of the requirements of peace in southeast Asia.

Under these circumstances, it was incumbent upon the United States to act, as it did, in a manner proportionate to the provocation. Viewed in the context of the immediate provocation, the retaliatory measures taken by the United States were necessary and justified. Viewed in the context of a decade of reckless and irresponsible behavior on the part of the North Vietnamese regime, the action taken by the United States was the minimum consistent with its own vital interests and with its obligations to its allies and partners in southeast Asia.

The situation in southeast Asia illustrates an extremely important principle of foreign policy—that the challenges which confront us in the world are widely varying in character and intensity and must be dealt with accordingly by a wide variety of instruments and policies. Just as it is a mistake to assert that force is the only proper response to every challenge of Communist power, it is no less a mistake to assert that military action is never a necessary instrument of policy. Whatever the outcome of the present crisis in southeast Asia, it is important for us to refrain from making sweeping generalizations as to both the provocation and our response to it. Special combinations of circumstances suggest special patterns of response, which may or may not be valid in different situations.

The point which I wish to make is that while we must be consistent in the objectives of our foreign policy, we must be flexible in the instruments we use to attain them. We must bear in mind that military force is not an end but an instrument, a dangerous and repugnant one which is never desirable but sometimes essential. It is equally unwise to assume that force must never be used and to assume that its successful use in one instance warrants its use in any or all others.

The current crisis in southeast Asia, I believe, is one in which the use of limited American force has been necessary and may be necessary again. It is essential, however, that we evaluate this crisis in its global context. That context is one in which hopeful tendencies toward peace are on the rise despite events in crisis areas such as Vietnam. It would be a great mistake to allow our optimism about promising developments in our relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to lead us to any illusions about the aggressive designs of North Vietnam and its Chinese Communist sponsor. It would be no less a mistake to allow our concern with baleful events in southeast Asia to drive us to actions and attitudes which would undermine current progress toward the relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union and the European Communist regimes. At all times, but especially at this moment of crisis, we must be extremely clear about the different policies pursued by different Communist regimes, about the different challenges which they pose and the different responses which they warrant. We must have the wisdom and the discrimination to be able, when necessary, to engage simultaneously in the local prosecution of hostilities and the global pursuit of world peace.

In southeast Asia itself, we must leave no doubt in the minds of both adversaries and friends as to what our objectives are and what they are not. It should be clear to all concerned that our purpose is to uphold and strengthen the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962—that is to say, to establish viable, independent states in Indochina and elsewhere in southeast Asia, states which will be free of and secure from the domination of Communist China and Communist North Vietnam. It should be emphasized that we wish the nations of southeast Asia to be free of and secure from domination by Peiping and Hanoi, but not necessarily hostile to these regimes. It should be further emphasized to all concerned that our objective is not to establish our own military power in Indochina or in any way to bring the nations of Indochina under our own domination or even to bring them into an American "sphere of influence."

It should be made clear to the Communist powers of Asia, if it is not yet sufficiently clear, that they can enjoy peace and security as long—but only as long as they confine their ambitions within their own frontiers. It should also be made clear that whenever the Communist powers show a willingness to settle the problems of southeast Asia by peaceful and lawful means, these problems can then be placed largely or entirely under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. It should be made equally clear to these regimes, if it is not yet sufficiently clear, that their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, wherever advanced, will meet precisely that degree of American opposition which is necessary to frustrate them. The resolution now before the Senate is designed to shatter whatever illusions our adversaries may harbor about the determination of the United States to act promptly and vigorously against aggression. For this reason, Mr. President, I urge its prompt and overwhelming adoption by the Senate.

Mr. President, in addition to the strong support of the Congress, there have been expressions of widespread support for the President's action in the country and in the press. I ask unanimous consent that there be inserted in the RECORD at this point a number of newspaper editorials which are illustrative of the general support for President Johnson's actions in southeast Asia.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"[From the Philadelphia Inquirer,
Aug. 6, 1964]

"A NATION UNITED

"In this grim, dark hour—when the issue of peace or war hangs precariously in the balance—President Johnson has called upon the American people to meet the test of courage and determination that has been thrust suddenly and irrevocably upon us all by a treacherous foe.

"The Nation must stand firm and united in unwavering support of the President at this crucial juncture in the history of mankind.

"We are confident that Americans, irrespective of political party, shall do so—in keeping with the highest traditions of this country in times of crisis.

"In his solemn address to the world on Wednesday, at Syracuse, Mr. Johnson reiterated and exapnded upon points he made late Tuesday night in his report on the swift succession of ominous events in southeast Asia.

"The President is right, beyond any question, in making it clear to the leaders of Communist North Vietnam, and to any other government bent on unprovoked aggression, that America's earnest desire for peace is not to be misconstrued as weakness.

"Delivering one of the finest addresses of his long career in public service, Mr. Johnson summed up the situation succinctly at Syracuse in these terse phrases: 'The attacks were deliberate. The attacks were unprovoked. The attacks have been answered.'

"After the North Vietnamese torpedo boats had opened fire against U.S. naval craft in international waters, for the second time in 3 days, it was unmistakably clear that the American reply, in action as well as words, needed to be prompt and appropriately forceful—commensurate with the seriousness of the North Vietnamese challenge and the flagrant disregard they showed for the rights of our vessels to sail the seas without interference.

"These rights have been hard won, over many years, by valiant Americans. Freedom of movement on the oceans must be defended.

"Retaliatory U.S. air strikes against North Vietnamese torpedo boat bases and other installations, as reported by Defense Secretary McNamara, unfortunately have resulted in the loss of American planes and, possibly, American lives. This sorrowful and tragic development underlines not only the perils that must be faced in the battle zone but the sacrifices that all of us must be prepared to accept.

" 'Aggression unchallenged is aggression unleased,' the President said at Syracuse. This is undeniable truth. To retreat from, or even to tolerate, armed attack against vessels of the U.S. Navy would be to invite steadily bolder assaults that would lead us surely and inevitably down the path of war.

"Mr. Johnson's notation of broken promises made by the North Vietnamese Government, in pacts signed by them in 1954 and 1962, is a timely reminder of the demonstrated untrustworthiness of the Red regime in Hanoi. It is fitting also that the President, while reaffirming this country's commitments to allies, has reminded those allies that the fight for freedom ought not to be the sole burden of any one nation but should be a collective responsibility. Our allies—in NATO, in the Far East, and elsewhere—can help the cause of peace by giving unqualified endorsement to U.S. action against North Vietnam.

"Freedom and peace remain our goals—but let those forces of enslavement and armed aggression abroad who have unleashed their fire against us give pause. They will do well to show a healthy respect for America's resolves to defend, by whatever means necessary, our rights on the high seas and to carry out, by whatever action required, our obligations abroad in the struggle against Communist aggression."

"[From the Washington Post, Aug. 6, 1964]

"STERN CRISIS

"President Johnson has earned the gratitude of the free world as well as of the Nation for his careful and effective handling of the Vietnam crisis. The paramount need was to show the North Vietnamese aggressors their self-defeating folly in ignoring an unequivocal American warning and again attacking the American Navy on the high seas. This Mr. Johnson did by means of a severe but measured response deftly fitted to the aggression: retaliation against the boats and bases used in the attack.

"The air strikes did not merely decimate Hanoi's fleet, leaving it unable to defend its own coast, and demonstrate North Vietnam's vulnerability to American power. The counterattack smashed the "paper tiger" myth, proving the U.S. readiness to use whatever means necessary to stand up for its interests in the Far East and underlining the reliability of its commitment to its friends there.

"Most immediately, the reprisal rendered obsolete the old terms of the debate on whether to carry the guerrilla war in South Vietnam back to the aggressors in the North. Long reluctant to do this itself on the ground, or to have Saigon forces do it, the United States has now acted alone, by sea and air. Whatever restraint had previously been exercised through lack of precedent or provocation has been removed by the events in the Tonkin Gulf. No one can tell at this point the precise form which the Vietnam war will take, but it is bound to be a new form, and the newness would seem inevitably to be on the side of more direct American participation and more direct action against the North.

"To a capital and a world sensitive to the uses of power by an American President, the crisis—the first major foreign-policy crisis faced by President Johnson—has found him not wanting in toughness or in nuance. But the crisis has also pointed up the office of the Presidency as the single center of control and responsibility for American power. It is worth remarking that this respect for the Presidency has been conveyed even by those who believe that, for instance, local military commanders should be given discretion for important decisions in the field.

"Military measures were only a part of President Johnson's response. He coordinated them with the other constituencies and communities of which he is the leader. He asked and got from Senator GOLDWATER a promise of nonpartisanship. The Senator, like the patriot he is, instantly forsook politics and stood by his side. He also went, calmly, to the people, both American and foreign, offering information and reassurance in appropriate degrees.

"The President went to Congress too for a resolution of national unity and support, and to the United Nations, for international backing. The request to Congress, like his approach to Senator GOLDWATER, may later affect the election campaign, but the seriousness of the situation warrants these expressions of confidence and cooperation. The U.N. plea forces the Soviet Union to a climactic choice between its conflicting interests in the Communist and Western worlds. But regardless of the Security Council's stance on the torpedo attacks, a condign response has already been meted out to Hanoi.

"The impressive orchestration of American policies contrasts revealingly with the fragmented and tardy reactions of the different Communist states. This broken pattern, including the fact that Premier Khrushchev was out in the Soviet hinterlands, suggests how unexpected Hanoi's attacks were to some Communists and how unexpected Washington's reprisals were to others. There is still no convincing explanation of why Hanoi would challenge the United States under conditions so patently unfavorable to it. One notes, however, that there is in Hanoi a war weariness conducive to desperate heroics; that Hanoi has seemed to share Peiping's distorted vision of the American 'paper tiger'; and that the Tuesday attack fell on the anniversary of the test ban, a Soviet-American agreement based on the fact that the 'paper tiger' has nuclear teeth.

"This element of uncertainty in Hanoi's intentions is what makes the crisis potentially dangerous. The fear is, of course, that Hanoi's harassments may be a prelude to escalation of the war in Vietnam, perhaps drawing in Peiping. It was the President's awareness of these ominous possibilities that made his management of the crisis so significant and correct."

"[From the New York Herald Tribune,
Aug. 6, 1964]

"THE RIGHT RESPONSE

"President Johnson spoke clearly and acted with prompt decision in reply to the second torpedo boat attack on American ships in the Tonkin Gulf. The reasons behind the wanton North Vietnamese provocations are still mysterious, but there is nothing obscure about Mr. Johnson's firm statement that 'there can be no peace by aggression and no immunity from reply'—especially against the background of the sharp and effective American air assault on the North Vietnamese naval bases.

"The United States has a chain of sentries around the world; lonely men in Korean trenches, lonely planes over the Arctic wastes, lonely ships in distant seas. They keep watch over an uncertain peace. But their vigil would have no meaning if it were not that power stands leashed behind them; power ready to be used swiftly and with vigor for peace. That power, and the equally essential will to use it, found expression in the action ordered by President Johnson against North Vietnam.

"The power was still on leash. The air action against the aggressor's bases was a limited action. And in that fact, no less than in the speed and efficiency of the response, lies much of the effectiveness of the policy put into effect by the President. As he said, the overall strength of the United States is 'vast and awesome.' But it is not a monolithic mass, like the European armies before World War I, impossible to guide or check by diplomacy once the initial impetus is given. It is not just 'the button' whose rejoinder must be nuclear war or supineness. It can be used to pinpoint and punish the immediate offenders—in this case, the North Vietnamese mosquito fleet.

"Thus, whoever planned the torpedo-boat attacks, for whatever purpose, stand warned. If they were probing the intentions of the United States, of Red China, of the Soviet Union, they at least know that the United States will resist aggression, and that it has the capability of doing so.

"At the same time, the rest of the world knows that this capability will be used with restraint; that force will be used in proportion to the need. The United States can, as Mr. Johnson said, welcome and invite the scrutiny of all men who seek peace, 'for peace is the only purpose of the course we pursue.'

"The controlled force of the American counterblow has clearly made its impact on the world. From its friends, this country has received such congratulations as that of Japan (very directly concerned with the problem of Communist expansion in Asia) and such encouragement as that of Britain in the Security Council. From the Soviet Union has come denunciation—but it is oddly perfunctory. In asking that North Vietnam come to the United Nations, even the Soviet delegate on the Security Council seemed to be trying, in some earnestness, to find out what has been going on in the Tonkin Gulf.

"The United States, too, is puzzled by much of what has been happening in southeast Asia. But it stands as one behind the President's action. The hearteningly prompt support given Mr. Johnson's course by Senator GOLDWATER is only the most striking of many evidences of the unity of Americans in the face of this strange kind of terrorism on the high seas."

"[From the New York Times, Aug. 6, 1964]

"WIDER WAR

"On July 24, President Johnson said that 'the United States seeks no wider war' in Vietnam, but he warned that 'provocation could force a response.' That provocation—twice repeated—now has brought a response that has been, in the President's words, 'limited and fitting.' Whether this ends the incident now is up to North Vietnam and to Communist China. The United States plans no further military strikes if there are no further Communist attacks. President Johnson has made it clear that 'we still want no wider war.'

"Whether or not the confrontation stops there, the crisis in southeast Asia has been altered in fundamental ways—all involving great uncertainties and even greater dangers.

"The United States has become a direct combatant on a significant scale, even if only briefly. The sword, once drawn in anger, will tend to be unsheathed more easily in the future.

"Congressional authority for future military action will, in effect, be delegated to the President by the joint resolution scheduled to be voted today. The President has rightly asked that the resolution express a determination that 'all necessary measures' be taken.

"The concept of a Communist 'privileged sanctuary,' heeded hitherto both in Korea and Indochina, has been breached. The circumstances under which North Vietnam may be struck again remain undefined. But the rules of the war have undergone a basic change—a change that applies to Communist China as well as to Hanoi. President Johnson was clearly addressing Peiping when he warned 'any who may be tempted to support—or to widen—the present aggression' that 'there can be no peace by aggression and no immunity from reply.'

"Hanoi's sea patrol fleet largely has been wiped out and, lacking an air force, North Vietnam has been shown to be virtually open to hostile air attack. Hanoi's willing allies in Peiping are now under pressure to provide new means for sea and air protection—and even, perhaps, to intervene directly. Hanoi's reluctant allies in Moscow are under pressure, as yesterday's Soviet statement showed to demonstrate their backing for North Vietnam before world Communist opinion.

"Ranks have been closed in the United States with Senator Goldwater's open support for administration action. If Hanoi's attacks were an attempt to exploit political and racial division in the United States, the American reaction has proved this futile. Vietnam, in fact, has been taken out of the presidential campaign for the moment. The attempt to keep it out, by retaining Republican support, means that President Johnson henceforth will find firmness politically easier to emphasize than restraint.

"American reluctance to go to an Indochina peace conference, as urged by President de Gaulle, is strongly reinforced. If Hanoi's purpose was to force such a conference, it could not have been more poorly advised.

"These are some of the political and military realities after the Tonkin Gulf exchange. The lines have hardened. A highly dangerous period has opened. It is a time that calls for coolness, as well as determination, for restraint as well as firmness.

"We still have no real idea of what prompted the North Vietnamese to launch their potentially suicidal adventure. The Nation's united confidence in its Chief Executive is vital. No one else can play the hand. That confidence will be best maintained by a continued adherence to the principles the President himself has enunciated of firmness but a firmness that will always be measured—a firmness whose mission is peace."

"[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 6, 1964]

"PEACE THE PURPOSE

"At Syracuse University yesterday, while the world waited for further developments in southeast Asia, President Johnson set forth the central concern of this Nation for all to see. 'We welcome—and we invite—the scrutiny of all men who seek peace, for peace is the only purpose of the course we pursue.' Only hours before, after a second Communist attack on American naval vessels, the President had ordered an air strike against the torpedo-boat bases along the coast of North Vietnam. The attack had been carried out, and the bases lay in ruins. Two American airmen had been lost. In its promise to repulse aggressors the United States had not been bluffing. Of that there could no longer be any doubt.

"It is not an easy thing to lose even a small fraction of the military power available to the Commander in Chief, but in this case there was no choice. 'Aggression unchallenged,' the President said, 'is aggression unleashed.' In striking back at a time of grave provocation, the United States hoped not to spread the fighting but to pinch it off before it got out of hand. To reasonable governments the message should be clear, but American forces are being deployed in such as way as to respond appropriately if somewhere there is a misreading. That, too, is a statement of American purpose.

"If there has been a suspicion abroad that the American people are dangerously disunited, this episode is proof to the contrary. Crisis always draws Americans together, and on this issue support for President Johnson is without reservation. Senator GOLDWATER set the pattern for his party, and congressional leaders, briefed early at the White House, have responded with the traditional closing of ranks. When the Nation is under the gun, politics loses all coloration. The quick rush of support from America's allies also has been gratifying.

"None can foretell the perils that lie ahead. North Vietnam is an annoyance, but it is not the major consideration. The key to peace in Asia is hidden in Communist China, in the course it may essay alone, or with the encouragement of Moscow. Yesterday's convoking of a United Nations session was intended not only as a report to the nations but as an assessment of the intentions of the Soviet bloc. Whatever the dangers, the United States will face them with the courage possessed only by those who are both free and strong."

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. McGOVERN. Without in any way casting any doubt on the wisdom of the resolution, there are a few brief questions that I should like to address to the Senator from his comments, if he would be willing to comment.

All of us have been puzzled, if not baffled, as to why a little state such as North Vietnam should seek a deliberate naval conflict with the United States with the overwhelming naval and air power that we have in that area. In an effort possibly to throw some possible light on that question, Mr. Murrey Marder, in his column in the Washington Post yesterday, made the following statement in the closing paragraph of his column:

"North Vietnam on Sunday charged that the United States and South Vietnam had sent warships 'to shell the Hon Me and Hon Ngu islands in the territorial waters' of North Vietnam. Those islands are near the area where the *Maddox* was attacked Sunday. Hon Me is used as a naval base, American sources said, and Communist PT boats have been seen in the area.

"The United States has denied that any of its warships shelled the islands of Hon Me and Hon Ngu. However, despite some reports published yesterday, the State Department denial did not equally exculpate South Vietnam. It only denied American participation.

"SPECULATION ON ATTACK

"There are some indications, however, that the South Vietnamese may in fact have attacked the two islands American officials have declined to discuss that, although U.S. warships on occasion reportedly have escorted South Vietnam vessels part way to their targets."

I wonder if the Senator from Arkansas could shed any light on the possible explanation for the North Vietnamese attack.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In dealing with warfare, which essentially is an irrational business, it is dangerous to speculate as to the motives of one's enemies or adversaries. However, in this case, first, the Secretary of Defense himself stated, after the first attack on the *Maddox*, that he did not expect a repetition of the attack. He made that statement publicly. That showed how wrong he was. He said he could see no motive for it, and none of us at the first meeting we had on the question could explain why that kind of attack by a few torpedo boats against the elements of the 7th Fleet should take place, whether it was an isolated action or an impulsive action by the local commander.

But after the action was repeated, it was shown to be clearly calculated. It is my understanding, as best I can interpret what actually happened, that there were some South Vietnamese raids, if they might be so-called—coastal raids—by South Vietnamese junks or naval vessels—the only kind of naval vessels they have. My information is that they have relatively small PT boats, comparable to those of North Vietnam, plus what are called motorized junks, and those from time to time have engaged in what are called hit-and-run raids, none of them of a major nature, by South Vietnamese boats with South Vietnamese crews.

Our own naval vessels, such as the *Maddox* and other associated vessels, have never engaged in any attacks on those islands or anywhere else in North Vietnam.

The best information that I have from high officials in our Government in this field is to the effect that our boats did not convoy or support or backup any South Vietnamese naval vessels that were engaged in such attacks.

Mr. McGovern. The Senator would say the implication of the article is probably in error?

Mr. Fulbright. It has been asserted by others that the *Maddox* was backing up or convoying the smaller vessels of the Vietnamese.

The testimony I am familiar with shows that this is not a fact.

I am reminded also that it was asked whether or not the junks of the South Vietnamese had American personnel in the nature of advisers or otherwise. We were advised they did not, that they were manned by non-Americans in all cases. In other words, the patrol duty by such ships as the *C. Turner Joy* and the *Maddox* was an operation for patrol, to keep our own forces informed about the activities in this very critical area, and was entirely unconnected or unassociated with any coastal forays the South Vietnamese themselves may have conducted.

Mr. McGovern. I should like to put one other question to the Senator. Over the past few days, possibly the past 2 or 3 weeks, there have been statements in the press quoting General Khanh, the South Vietnamese leader, as saying that the war had to be won by carrying it to North Vietnam. Almost simultaneously our administration leaders have been quoted as saying that the only way the war can be won is by taking on the guerrillas in South Vietnam, and that our policy is not one of extending the war to the north; quite to the contrary, that the victory must be had in the south and that we will take all reasonable steps to confine the war to South Vietnam.

Does the Senator think there is any danger in this resolution that we may be surrendering to General Khanh's position our attitude as to where the war should be fought?

Mr. Fulbright. I do not think there is any danger of that. There is, of course, a danger in this whole area, and there has been for 10 years. It is dangerous. The policy of our Government not to expand the war still holds. That is not inconsistent with any response to attacks on our vessels on the high seas where they have a right to be.

Mr. McGovern. I agree.

Mr. Fulbright. I do not think the policy that the war be confined to South Vietnam has changed. I think it is still the policy. I thing it is the correct one. What causes difficulty is the fact that this is a new type of war. It is not a war in the orthodox sense. This is subversion, inspired and conducted through infiltration of supplies and men by a neighboring country without a declaration of war. It does not fit the pattern of the traditional way we think of war. It is, nevertheless, aggression—a modernized, specialized kind of aggression, brought to a high degree of perfection by the leader of the Chinese Communists, Mao Tse-tung, who established the basic theory of how to conduct this type of warfare.

It is difficult to adjust our concepts to warfare of this kind. I think it is just as savage and as much in violation of international good behavior and law as is an overt invasion by troops. I tried to make this point in my remarks. North Vietnam has been an aggressor against South Vietnam; and I do not think so merely because of the testimony in the past 2 or 3 days. Over several years, we have received testimony about what the North Vietnamese were doing in Laos and to a much higher degree in South Vietnam.

They had two major ways of approaching South Vietnam, one by sea, and one by ground. The sea approach was the easiest way to supply the Mekong Delta. So we helped the South Vietnam Government try to interrupt the transfer of men and supplies to the Mekong Delta. Junks were built up for that purpose. The boats that may have struck at the coastal areas of North Vietnam may have been supplied by us. We have been helping South Vietnam arm itself. I do not know about the specific boats.

I personally think this is a perfectly legitimate and proper way to defend oneself from the kind of aggression South Vietnam has been subjected to for many years.

Mr. McGovern. I am inclined to agree with the Senator. I did not want my remarks to be interpreted as prejudicing the case for aid——

Mr. Fulbright. I am glad to try to clarify the situation. It is difficult and confusing.

Mr. McGovern. There have been references in the press to the effect that General Khanh was in political trouble and that one way he thought he could get out of it was to divert attention from failure in the conduct of the war in the south to some kind of strike in the north, presumably largely underwritten by the United States. It was because of my concern with that possibility that I raised these questions.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. Ellender. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Fulbright. I yield.

Mr. Ellender. The Senator has stated that in the last 2 or 3 days the committee has had some hearings. Can he tell us how long these ships of ours have been in that area?

Mr. Fulbright. On patrol?

Mr. Ellender. On patrol, yes and at whose request?

Mr. Fulbright. We have had patrols in the Tonkin Gulf for about 18 months.

Mr. Ellender. At whose request were these patrols made?

Mr. Fulbright. These are international waters. Our assistance to South Vietnam is at the request of the South Vietnamese Government. The particular measures we may take in connection with that request are our own responsibility. The particular ships on this particular patrol are there at our own decision.

Mr. Ellender. Are they part of the 7th Fleet, which protects Formosa?

Mr. Fulbright. Yes.

Mr. Ellender. The Senator says our ships have been in that area for a year and a half.

Mr. Fulbright. Yes.

Mr. Ellender. In the Gulf of Tonkin?

Mr. Fulbright. In the Gulf of Tonkin. I can be corrected on this by the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee. My recollection is that they have been in that particular area a year and a half.

Mr. Russell. Mr. President, elements of our fleet have been in this gulf periodically for about 1½ years.

Mr. Ellender. Why?

Mr. Russell. These waters are the high seas. If in our general patrolling throughout the world and in the movements of our fleet on the high seas everywhere we saw fit to send our ships there. Certainly no foreign nation has a right to challenge our use of the high seas. We have a right to be there.

Mr. Ellender. Was any action taken by any of our ships to prevent the carrying of war materiel to the Mekong Delta?

Mr. Fulbright. Does the Senator mean ships flying our flag and manned by our personnel?

Mr. Ellender. Yes.

Mr. Fulbright. It is my understanding that that operation was conducted entirely by Vietnamese ships and personnel.

Mr. Ellender. Were we there to protect them?

Mr. Fulbright. No; what happened here happened on patrol duty. As the Senator from Georgia has said, these ships were there in accordance with our responsibility and our rights in this general area. The ships were not assigned to protect anyone. They were conducting patrol duty. That question was asked specifically of the highest authority, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State.

They stated without equivocation that these ships, the *Maddox* and the *C. Turner Joy*, were not on convoy duty. They had no connection whatever with any Vietnamese ships that might have been operating in the same general area.

Mr. Ellender. Was their presence in the delta area at the request or suggestion of the South Vietnamese Government?

Mr. Fulbright. They were not in the delta area. Does the Senator mean in the Gulf of Tonkin area?

Mr. Ellender. I understood that this——

Mr. Fulbright. The delta area is north of the gulf area.

Mr. Ellender. I am trying to discover if our forces could have done anything which might have provoked these attacks. You say the ships were not engaged in any activity near the Mekong Delta?

Mr. Fulbright. No; where they were is hundreds of miles north of the delta area.

Mr. Ellender. The ships that were attacked?

Mr. Fulbright. Yes.

Mr. Ellender. The patrols carried out in the delta area were to give protection or confidence to the junks and patrol boats that were there to prevent the North Vietnamese from carrying materials of war to the South Vietnamese. Is that correct?

Mr. Fulbright. That was not the duty of the *Maddox* or the *C. Turner Joy*. They were on patrol duty in the Gulf of Tonkin—not near the Mekong Delta. They had nothing to do with the interruption of such traffic as may be carried on between North Vietnam and the delta. This duty was assigned to a fleet of junks and small craft of the South Vietnamese Navy. That is still their function. They stop and examine thousands of people in order to identify them and see what they are up to. They have found a good many North Vietnamese who were coming down to carry on guerrilla warfare.

Mr. Ellender. Is the Senator satisfied from the evidence presented to the committee that our Armed Forces, that is, our naval forces, did nothing to invite the attack that was made in the last few days?

Mr. Fulbright. Nothing that they are not entitled to do. Their very presence in the Gulf of Tonkin could be said by someone to invite an attack, but they had every right to be there, and they were not shelling the coast or intervening in any of the legitimate operations of the Government of North Vietnam. In an area in which there is tension and in which there has been this very bloody kind of guerrilla warfare or irregular warfare, one might say, broadly speaking, that their presence could be a provocation. I do not think so. I do not believe that can be rightfully said. They had every legitimate right to be there.

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not question that fact at all. My question was directed to whether or not the evidence showed any act on our part which might have provoked this attack.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I would say categorically that that was not shown. Whatever provocation there may have been arose, if it did arise, from the activity of the North Vietnamese ships.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. I had the opportunity to see warfare not so very far from this area, and it was very mean. I would look with great dismay on a situation involving the landing of large land armies on the continent of Asia. So my question is whether there is anything in the resolution which would authorize or recommend or approve the landing of large American armies in Vietnam or in China.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. There is nothing in the resolution, as I read it, that contemplates it. I agree with the Senator that that is the last thing we would want to do. However, the language of the resolution would not prevent it. It would authorize whatever the Commander in Chief feels is necessary. It does not restrain the Executive from doing it. Whether or not that should ever be done is a matter of wisdom under the circumstances that exist at the particular time it is contemplated. This kind of question should more properly be addressed to the chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Speaking for my own committee, everyone I have heard has said that the last thing we want to do is to become involved in a land war in Asia; that our power is sea and air, and that this is what we hope will deter the Chinese Communists and the North Vietnamese from spreading the war. That is what is contemplated. The resolution does not prohibit that, or any other kind of activity.

Mr. BREWSTER. I thank the distinguished chairman.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, first I say to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas that I approve the action that has been taken, and I approve this resolution. On the matter which was the subject of the colloquy between the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, can we not associate our presence in the Gulf of Tonkin to a degree with our own interpretation of our obligations under the SEATO Treaty?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes. I made mention of it. That is a further responsibility that we undertook in alining ourselves with other countries in trying to bring peace and stability into this area. That was another obligation which we undertook. It fortifies our right or responsibility for being in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Mr. MORTON. I believe the action taken by the President helps to avoid any miscalculation on the part of either the North Vietnamese or the Chinese Communists. I believe the joint resolution gives that policy further strength. In my opinion, the three major wars in which we have been involved in this century have come about by miscalculation on the part of the aggressor.

I believe Congress should speak loud and clear and make it plain to any would-be aggressor that we intend to stand here. If we make that clear, we will avoid war, and not have to land vast land armies on the shores of Asia. In that connection I share the apprehension of my friend the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER].

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator has put it very clearly. I interpret the joint resolution in the same way. This action is limited, but very sharp. It is the best action that I can think of to deter an escalation or enlargement of the war. If we did not take such action, it might spread further. If we went further, and ruthlessly bombed Hanoi and other places, we would be guilty of bad judgment, both on humanitarian grounds and on policy grounds, because then we would certainly inspire further retaliation.

This situation has been handled in the best way possible under the circumstances, so as to calm the situation, and not escalate it into a major war.

Mr. MORTON. I thank the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to add something to the answer that was given to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. In my opinion, the evidence is very clear that our Government did not design or manipulate a situation which would precipitate violence. The proof shows clearly that the commander of the *Maddox*, when the patrol boats were following it, called the commander of the *Ticonderoga* and informed him that the North Vietnamese patrol boats were following him and were indicating all the purposes of violence. It was not until the patrol boats fired upon the *Maddox* that the *Maddox* took any action. We waited; and no action was taken by our Government until the torpedoes were set into motion. Our ship turned seaward.

Second, the island of Hainan is in the gulf. Chinese aircraft and military bases are on that island. Our ships were patrolling the gulf, surveying the activities that were going on in the gulf. My answer is that not to have been there would have been a disservice to our country. We were where we had a right to be. We did nothing to precipitate this unwarranted action. The action of violence was not on the part of our Government, but on the part of the North Vietnamese against us.

What were we to do? Were we to allow them to fire at us and take no action? The commander of the *Maddox*, when he contacted the commander of the *Ticonderoga*, acted with complete restraint and indicated no purpose of engaging in violence. Not until we were fired upon did we fire back.

Furthermore, to conclude that we developed a design to precipitate this violence is not supported by any testimony whatsoever. To make the pronouncement that we manipulated the situation, that we designed a set of circumstances that would give us an excuse to fire, is wholly unwarranted. Not one syllable of testimony supports that conclusion.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Will the Senator from Ohio allow me to answer questions? Then he may speak on his own time.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Just half a second more.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thought the Senator wished to ask a question. But I have no objection to his concluding his statement.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I wanted to give my understanding of this very important, crucial aspect of the dispute. I repeat: There is not a single bit of testimony warranting the conclusion that we manipulated or designed the situation.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I was questioning the Senator from Arkansas merely to seek assurance that the evidence shows there was no possibility that our forces took any action, even accidentally, which might have provoked an attack. Certainly I did not intend to intimate that the commanders of our ships were at fault, or that we were looking for an excuse to attack North Vietnam.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I understand, Mr. President. I merely wanted to make plain that our forces were not at fault in any way; that our ships had a perfect right to be in those waters, and that there is absolutely no evidence of any design or manipulation involved in the chain of events which took place. I did not wish to allow that impression to stand in the RECORD.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? I wish to ask a question.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I should like to yield the floor.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to ask a question, and a rather serious one.

I shall support the resolution, because I think we must defend freedom in that area, or else see the balance of a large segment of the population of the world tipped against freedom. The degree of our resistance under the action that may be taken in southeast Asia, under the resolution, will determine not only future events in Vietnam, but also the freedom of Malaysia, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia, and perhaps even Australia and New Zealand.

My question is this: To the extent that the Senator may know—and be permitted to disclose—are we not implementing the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty? This treaty has eight countries who are parties to it including the United States—three in the area, the rest in Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, and ourselves. The inclusion of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam is by protocol. That is, the protection of the treaty is extended to them, though they are not parties to it.

The question I address to the Senator is this: Are we to assume that the action which the President has taken with respect to reacting to the attack on American vessels is the result of a consultation with our allies who are parties to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty? If it is, what are we to assume with respect to the future progress of the action which we authorize under the resolution, which is admittedly a broad action? Is it that the President may take all necessary steps, including the use of Armed Forces, to assist any member or protocol state, which would include Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, in the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, that may request assistance in defense of its freedom?

What I wish to know from the Senator is, first: Have we consulted with our allies? Second, what are we to look to from our allies in the way of assistance, aid, comfort, partnership, and the future implementation of the resolution? It is one thing to stand alone; it is another thing to stand with seven other countries, three of them in the area, implementing a solemn commitment, which is just as binding on them as it is on us. I am sometimes inclined to agree with those who say that we cannot be the policeman or guardian of the whole world. We cannot lead it by the hand. We can be the linch pin; but what are we to accept from the others?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is quite a question. It has several facets, all of them of pertinent interest.

First, this particular action was not taken in consultation with the other signatories of the Southeast Asia Treaty. It was an act for which we took the responsibility. It had nothing to do with the treaty. The fact that we are present in the area grows, at least in part, out of our obligations under the treaty. That is one of the reasons why we are in the area, and have been for a number of years. But we would have the right to be there without the treaty.

As to the contribution of the protocol states—there are three, as the Senator from New York has said. Under the Laotian Agreement of 1962, Laos is out of the treaty. Cambodia has renounced any desire to be protected by the United States. So actually this is a technical way of saying that we are assisting South Vietnam, because that country is all that is left That phrase means South Vietnam.

As to contributions by other members of SEATO, they have been too little. There has been consultation in the past on numerous occasions, in an effort to persuade the other countries to bear a greater share of the burden. The question has been asked, "What are the others doing"? We were informed as late as this morning, and on other occasions in the past several days, that they are not doing very much. Pakistan is preoccupied with its own problems with India, so I do not believe Pakistan is doing anything.

The French are doing a good deal in the way of investment. France has a traditional relationship there. France supplies some personnel, but the major part of her contribution is in the form of investment.

Australia's contribution has been small, but Australia is building up her contribution of advisory and military personnel and some contribution of technical assistance. The same is true of New Zealand. The Thai, of course, are there in the area and they are, I am sure, anxious to do what they can. Who else is there?

Mr. JAVITS. The Philippines and the United Kingdom.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Philippines have not made a large contribution. The United Kingdom has been more than occupied with its responsibilities in Malaysia and has made no contribution.

Mr. JAVITS. That is in the right direction——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. An indirect contribution, yes; but it is in Malaysia. The greater part of the burden has been borne by this country. Unfortunately, we find this to be true in other areas as well. Until recently, within the past several years, we were the only major free country capable of doing it. Now the other countries that are becoming more capable have not yet assumed what I consider to be their proper part of an overall effort to defend free countries.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like to ask one follow-up question of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am ready to yield the floor so that the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] can give the Senate much more light on the situation, but I am glad to yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. I believe that the Senator will agree that we are dealing with pretty substantial matters.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. They are very important. I consider this situaton to be a facet of the most important matter now before the country.

Mr. JAVITS. I agree with the Senator. Let me ask one further question: May a Senator voting for the resolution assume that the United States, with all its means, diplomatic and otherwise, will continue, first, to keep the SEATO Treaty in effect by continuing consultations even if for the moment it does not get enough assistance from our partners; second, it will continue to press for maximum contributions compatible with their own capabilities and their own national security from their other partners; third, that it will continue to utilize all the organs for international peace which are mentioned here, including the United Nations, in order to secure freedom in that area. And because the President gets the resolution, we are not going to vote on that one proposal and make everything else perfunctory.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. We have had positive assurance from the Secretary of State about the very matter the Senator is discussing. I approve of that policy. Much has been said about bringing the United Nations into it. I am sympathetic to that. One of the Members of this body has had a great deal to say about that. I approve of it, with this reservation, or this qualification, that it is not timely, when one is in dire straits, to turn over a situation such as this to a body which is not equipped to assert the kind of power I believe to be necessary to stabilize the area.

At the present time, this is not a quarrel in which a "yes" or "no" to the United Nations would bring them in to control and direct this effort. Having assumed this burden, and the situation having deteriorated as it has, I believe that we have to establish some sort of stability before we can say to the United Nations, "You take it."

I look forward to the time when this can be done. I believe that if we could ever stabilize the situation and there were some reasonable assurance that North Vietnam and the Chinese would leave these people alone, we could take it to the United Nations with some assurance that it would work.

Mr. JAVITS. With the thoughts and the principles I have laid out, can the Senator commit himself, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, to bring our "sentinel," to follow through on these matters, after the joint resolution is passed.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I shall do everything I can, within the limits of my capacity and my position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, because I really agree with this philosophy. I am not looking for an expansion of war. I am looking, in any way that I can, to bring in with us both our allies and the United Nations, when and if conditions can be created that that would be a feasible procedure to follow. I believe that this particular action is well designed to help stabilize the entire area.

Mr. JAVITS. I agree with the Senator, provided we would have some feeling in our heart that there will be a really manful followthrough, which we have sometimes lacked before.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator did not ask me this precisely, but I must say that the Secretary of State has performed extremely well.

Mr. JAVITS. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Secretary of State is an indefatigable worker. He has consulted with the members of SEATO on numerous occasions. The Senator has read about it in the past. I do not know how he stands up under the constant schedule of visits and consultations that he has endured during the past 3 years. I believe that he is committed to the proposition the Senator has stated. I certainly am. I hope that we can work this problem out. I believe that we have had some success in the past. We tend to forget every instance of success in working with countries on situations somewhat like this one—perhaps not quite so threatening, but we have had some bad ones, and they have faded into the past.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The combined judgment of the military and the civilian branches of the Government has worked extremely well in this instance. They all seem to be in agreement. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs testified that they were unanimous in their recommendation. There seems to be no division within the highest circles of our Government. I thought it was very encouraging.

Mr. JAVITS. I shall detain the Senator no longer. I shall vote with the Senator from Arkansas on this basis.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. I also support the resolution. However, there is some phraseology in the resolution which troubles me somewhat. I should like to ask a question about it. On page 2 of the resolution, there is a clause which reads:

"That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President * * * to prevent further aggression."

I was wondering whether there was any particular design in the wording of that clause, or if we intend to not only talk about further aggression, but also the President's determination to put an end to present aggression?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That whole phrase reads—

"* * * to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack"—

That is one we have just had—

"against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

I am sure that we took action calculated to prevent further aggression, because it was a very good, positive, and affirmative action.

Mr. MILLER. It is left open. It does not say aggression against whom. It is broad enough so that it could mean aggression against the United States, or aggression against the South Vietnamese Government, which I would suggest certainly fits in with the President's determination——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I believe that both are included in that phrase.

Mr. MILLER. I would hope so.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I would so take it.

Mr. MILLER. If that is so, then we are talking about further aggression against the South Vietnamese, but it seems to me that we should be talking about present aggressive action. We should be talking about the President's determination to put an end to present aggression as well as further aggression. I am sure that this is his determination, but I do not believe that we have said it. I merely call this to the attention of the Senator from Arkansas, because I thought it was perhaps——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not believe that the Senator should look solely at that part. Section 2 is important and is related to this question.

Mr. MILLER. Section 2—it covers it very well. My own regret is that we do not also cover it in the first part of the resolution.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Would that not be unduly repetitive and make the resolution longer than necessary? The original resolution proposed to certain members of both committees was quite long and involved. On the advice of members of the committee, the Department cooperated in reducing the resolution to what we thought would be its bare essentials, both as to its "whereas" clauses and to the resolution itself. We thought it would be much clearer and more positive to make it as concise and limited as possible. If there is fault to be found with the resolution because it is too limited, I believe that I, along with some of my colleagues, must bear a part of that responsibility.

Mr. MILLER. I know that it is difficult to draft a resolution of this kind to satisfy everyone and keep it concise. I know that conciseness is a virtue, but all I should like to do is to point out what I have done and, also, to inquire whether there will be any change in the resolution. I leave that up to the distinguished chairman of the committee. I affirm the opinion of the Senator from Arkansas that we are supporting the President's determination not only to prevent further aggression, but also to put an end to present aggression. I would appreciate his expression on that policy.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Section 1 deals, in general, with the attacks on U.S. forces and the aggression against us. Section 2 deals with the attacks on SEATO, of which we are a part. We have a dual role. We are a sovereign power. Our forces are in the Gulf of Tonkin, and the aggression there is one thing. We are also part of SEATO. This is not spelled out, but that is the general idea, I believe, that is expressed in the two sections.

Mr. MILLER. But there is no intention expressed other than to prevent further aggression and stop the present aggression in southeast Asia.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. I did not think there was. But I wanted to make that crystal clear.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I would be glad to yield. But I am embarrassed not to turn the floor over to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator need not be embarrassed. He can handle the situation.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, if either of the two questions that I shall ask concerns matters that the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] thinks the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] should answer, I shall be glad to refer them to the Senator from Georgia.

My first question is, Based upon the knowledge that we all have, that Malaysia has a long frontier with Indonesia and Burma with Red China, am I correct in my understanding that neither Malaysia nor Burma is a party to or a protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct. In the report, on page 3, there is a statement with regard to the SEATO and protocol members. A statement was made about the protocol members.

Mr. HOLLAND. I heard the statement. I want the record to be very clear that Congress is not being asked by the joint resolution to make any advance commitment relative to these two states.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is absolutely correct in his statement. In the preliminary meeting which was concerned with the drafting of the resolution, this very point was brought up. This language does not cover either Malaysia or Burma.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator. I have one more question. I note in section 3, with interest and with approval, if I correctly understand it, the provision that, in effect, Congress reserves the right to terminate any advance expression or commitment in this field by the passage of a concurrent resolution upon which the President would not have to pass. Am I correct in that understanding?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct. This whole joint resolution can be terminated at any time by a concurrent resolution of the Congress. That is taken verbatim, I believe, from the Mideast resolution.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. I believe that is a very proper matter to be included here. It shows clearly that while Congress is giving various assurances and approval of certain acts, if necessary, by the President in the fields covered by the resolution, it delimits those fields clearly. Then it further reserves to itself the right to terminate, for any cause sufficient to itself, this advance expression or commitment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is correct. That was put there for that purpose.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. I could not hear all the colloquy between the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER]. I heard a part of it.

As I understand, the mission of the United States in South Vietnam for the past 10 years, stating it in the negative has not been to take over the Government of South Vietnam, and has not been to provide military forces to do battle in place of South Vietnamese forces. To state it in the positive sense, our mission has been to supply a military cadre for training personnel, and advisory military personnel as well as equipment and materiel—our objective being to help in the establishment of an independent stable regime. And, if my memory is right, we had about 1,000 troops there the first 5 or 6 years, up to 1960. There are now approximately 16,000 troops there. In addition, it is now proposed that this number be expanded to, I believe 21,000.

Looking at sentence 6 of the resolution, I understood it to be the position of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] that Congress is saying to the President that we would approve the use of any might necessary in order to prevent further aggression. Am I to understand that it is the sense of Congress that we are saying to the executive branch: "If it becomes necessary to prevent further aggression, we agree now in advance, that you may land as many divisions as deemed necessary, and engage in a direct military assault on North Vietnam if it becomes the judgment of the Executive, the Commander in Chief, that this is the only way to prevent further aggression"?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As I stated, section 1 is intended to deal primarily with aggression against our forces. "That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

This means to me that it is with regard to our own forces. I believe section 2 deals with the SEATO area, which we are committed to protect under our treaties, particularly when they ask for our assistance.

If the situation should deteriorate to such an extent that the only way to save it from going completely under to the Communists would be action such as the Senator suggests, then that would be a grave decision on the part of our country as to whether we should confine our activities to very limited personnel on land and the extensive use of naval and air power, or whether we should go further and use more manpower.

I personally feel it would be very unwise under any circumstances to put a large land army on the Asian Continent.

It has been a sort of article of faith ever since I have been in the Senate, that we should never be bogged down. We particularly stated that after Korea. We are mobile, we are powerful on the land and on the sea. But when we try to confine ourselves and say that this resolution either prohibits or authorizes such action by the Commander in Chief in defense of this country, I believe that is carrying it a little further than I would care to go.

I do not know what the limits are. I do not think this resolution can be determinative of that fact. I think it would indicate that he would take reasonable means first to prevent any further aggression, or repel further aggression against our own forces, and that he will live up to our obligations under the SEATO treaty and with regard to the protocol states.

I do not know how to answer the Senator's question and give him an absolute assurance that large numbers of troops would not be put ashore. I would deplore it. And I hope the conditions do not justify it now.

Mr. NELSON. We may very well not be able to nor attempt to control the discretion that is vested in the Commander in Chief. But the joint resolution is before the Senate, sent to us, I assume, at the request of the executive branch.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. NELSON. It was sent to the Congress in order to ascertain the sense of the Congress on the question. I intend to support the joint resolution. I do not think, however, that Congress should leave the impression that it consents to a radical change in our mission or objective in South Vietnam. That mission there for 10 years, as I have understood it, has been to aid in the establishment of a viable, independent regime which can manage its own affairs, so that ultimately we can withdraw from South Vietnam.

Mr. President, we have been at the task for 10 years. I am not criticizing the original decision to go into South Vietnam. I do not know how long that commitment should be kept in the event we are unable to accomplish our mission. And I would not wish to make a judgment on that question now. But I would be most concerned if the Congress should say that we intend by the joint resolution to authorize a complete change in the mission which we have had in South Vietnam for the past 10 years, and which we have repeatedly stated was not a commitment to engage in a direct land confrontation with our Army as a substitute for the South Vietnam Army or as a substantially reinforced U.S. Army to be joined with the South Vietnam Army in a war against North Vietnam and possibly China.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it seems to me that the joint resolution would be consistent with what we have been doing. We have been assisting the countries in southeast Asia in pursuance of the treaty. But in all frankness I cannot say to the Senator that I think the joint resolution would in any way be a deterrent, a prohibition, a limitation, or an expansion of the President's power to use the Armed Forces in a different way or more extensively than he is now using them. In a broad sense, the joint resolution states that we approve of the action taken with regard to the attack on our own ships, and that we also approve of our country's effort to maintain the independence of South Vietnam.

The Senator from Wisconsin prompts me to make a remark which perhaps I should not make. He has said that we might be mistaken in our action. If any mistake has been made—and I do not assert that it has been—the only questionable area is whether or not we should ever have become involved. That question goes back to the beginning of action in this area, and I do not believe it is particularly pertinent or proper to the debate, because in fact we have become involved. However, the Senator has mentioned it. As an academic matter, the question might be raised. But having gone as far as we have in 10 years, it seems to me that the question now is, How are we to control the situation in the best interest of our own security and that of our allies? I believe that what we did was appropriate. The joint resolution is appropriate, because it would fortify the strength of the Executive and the Government. It would put the Congress on record—and we are the most representative body that we have under our system—as supporting the action. If anything will deter aggression on the part of the North Vietnamese and the Chinese, I believe it would be the action taken together with the joint resolution supporting the action. That is the best I can do about justification of the resolution. In frankness, I do not believe the joint resolution would substantially alter the President's power to use whatever means seemed appropriate under the circumstances. Our recourse in Congress would be that if the action were too inappropriate, we could terminate the joint resolution, by a concurrent resolution, and that would precipitate a great controversy between the Executive and the Congress. As a practical question, that could be done.

Mr. NELSON. I have a couple of additional questions. But first I wish to say that I did not suggest that by the use of hindsight I would now conclude that the intervention in 1954 was wrong. I do not know. I understand the necessity for the United States, since it is the leader of the free world, to do all it can in furtherance of the protection of the idea of freedom and independence, and that, to do so, we must take gambles. We shall lose some; we shall win some. I believe the public is slow to recognize that we have vast responsibilities, and they expect us to win every gamble that we take. I do not expect that. And I do not now rise here to criticize the original decision.

But I am concerned about the Congress appearing to tell the executive branch and the public that we would endorse a complete change in our mission. That would concern me.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not interpret the joint resolution in that way at all. It strikes me, as I understand it, that the joint resolution is quite consistent with our existing mission and our understanding of what we have been doing in South Vietnam for the last 10 years.

Mr. Nelson. Did I correctly understand the Senator from Arkansas to say a while ago that the language of the resolution is aimed at the problem of further aggression against our ships and our naval facilities?

Mr. Fulbright. I think that is the logical way to interpret the language. It makes reference to the armed attack against the forces of the United States which has just taken place, and to prevention of further aggression against our forces. Then the joint resolution passes on to our obligations under the treaty, which involves other countries.

I believe also that it is implicit, if not explicit, in the next section that the intent is to prevent the continuing aggression that now exists against South Vietnam.

Mr. Nelson. If the Senator would permit, I should like to ask a few brief additional questions. I could not hear the colloquy between the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from Louisiana. In relation to international boundary waters, can the Senator tell me what distance offshore we recognize in respect to North Vietnam and Red China?

Mr. Fulbright. Three miles is the established principle that we recognize.

There is some difference among countries. Some countries try to assert a distance greater than that. Some assert a greater distance for reasons such as the ownership of minerals, for example, but do not assert it for political reasons, such as control of the surface of waters. They agree that another country has the right to be there.

Recently an effort has been made to divide the North Sea for purposes of exploration for oil. It is not being divided in the sense that we would be excluded from crossing the North Sea. It is still the high seas.

But we recognize the 3-mile limit for political purposes. We might recognize a boundary a greater distance from a country if that country wished to drill for oil. We have done so in other places.

One of the reasons given for sending the *Maddox* in closer than 12 miles from the shore was that in doing so the action would demonstrate that we do not recognize the 12-mile limit.

Mr. Nelson. That was to be my next question. Does the Senator know how close to the North Vietnam coast or the Red China coast our ships were patrolling?

Mr. Fulbright. It was testified that they went in at least 11 miles in order to show that we do not recognize a 12-mile limit, which I believe North Vietnam had asserted.

Mr. Nelson. The patrolling was for the purpose of demonstrating to the North Vietnamese that we did not recognize a 12-mile limit?

Mr. Fulbright. That was one reason given for going in to a point 11 miles from the coast. The patrolling as such was not for that purpose. That action was in execution of our mission and our responsibility in that area under the SEATO treaty. As I said a moment ago, we have a right to go where we like on the high seas. The reason we are in this particular area is that we have assumed responsibilities under the treaty as well as bilaterally with South Vietnam.

Mr. Nelson. Recognizing, as we all do, the great sensitivity of all countries, especially enemies, or those hostile to each other, what purpose in the promotion of our mission in South Vietnam is served by having our ships go within 11 miles of the North Vietnam coast?

Mr. Fulbright. This strikes me as a question that raises a difficult problem, with which I tried to deal in describing modern war. The Senator refers to the sensitivities of the North Vietnamese. What about the fact that the North Vietnamese have for years been sending in trained personnel, material, guns, and ammunition, to attack their neighbor? Why should the United States be so careful about the sensitivities of North Vietnam? Of course, we were there for the purpose of observation of what went on in that area, because our people felt it necessary as a part of our activities in protecting and helping to protect South Vietnam.

The problem is difficult. Who is the aggressor in this area? It has been asserted on the floor, and elsewhere, that the United States is the provocateur, the aggressor, and that we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. I do not subscribe to that view. I know it is difficult to go into a person's motives. There is a rule about doing so on the Senate floor. So far as I know of this situation, we have been trying, in good faith, to help these countries establish their own independence.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the moving party in this matter has been North Vietnam, supported by Red China. They feel this is an area over which they should have domination. It is an area over which many centuries ago they did. I have no doubt that in the long run it is an area where they will have great influence. We do not profess or expect to dominate that country or annex it or control it in any way.

We have adopted the principle that we shall do what we can to enable the people there to have an independent life and control their own affairs. We have tried, in good faith, to do it in this area. We have been interfered with, in a most material and vicious and savage way. The program of terror has been almost unprecedented. I suppose there has been some precedent for it, but it has been long continued, violent, and vicious.

We have tried our best to control this situation. We have supported the Government of South Vietnam. We had every right to have patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin to see what was going on and to be informed about any movements—the usual function of patrol in a critical area. I do not see why we should be so responsive to the sensitivities of the North Vietnamese. I am sure that the presence of our ships there is bothersome and irritating to them, but they brought it on themselves. For my part, I do not apologize for it at all. I do not believe they are in any position to question our right to be in the Gulf of Tonkin, or in any position to question our right to assist South Vietnam, however, irritating it may be to Ho Chi Minh.

Mr. Nelson. Let me repeat that I presently intend to support the joint resolution. I do not think we should give up recognized international rights. I do not suggest that we need to apologize to anybody. I do suggest—and this is what I do not understand—if patrolling that close has no necessary bearing upon the mission we have insisted we have in South Vietnam, it would seem to me that perhaps it is not the exercise of our best judgment to do it.

Let me put the question another way.

Mr. Fulbright. I apologize to the Senator. I was diverted for just a moment. I did not hear what he said.

Mr. Nelson. What I said was that, recognizing what we assert to be our rights, I am suggesting that if patrolling that close does not have a direct, necessary bearing upon the accomplishment of our mission, I am wondering whether we should be taking the risk of the sinking of our ships.

Mr. Fulbright. That is a legitimate question. All I can say is that, from the best information I have, it most certainly has an important relevance to our mission in the observation of the traffic that goes through the area.

Whenever there is a state of tension such as exists between us and South Vietnam on the one hand, and North Vietnam, on the other, I think it is traditional that the activities of the adversary be observed as closely as possible. This is one of the principal sea routes for the supplying of North Vietnam. The information we would normally find there is important.

I do not see how the Senator could believe that this was not relevant to our efforts to assist South Vietnam, or, to put it another way, to restrain the activities of North Vietnam, and especially to be forewarned if there were a possibility of a major blow.

Mr. Russell. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Fulbright. I yield.

Mr. Russell. May I say to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas that it is extremely irritating to me, and I believe to millions of American citizens, that Soviet Russian ships should patrol the waters and sail in the waters off our coast, 3 miles from our shores, near some of the most sensitive installations we possess. It irritates me no end, but I have not advocated, and very few Americans have advocated, violating international law by moving out and making attacks on those Russian ships because they are in highly sensitive areas for us. This kind of activity is carried out by all nations of the world that have any navy worthy of the name. If it is not done by warships, it is done by ships in other guise, to try to get information. The mere fact that to have a ship of a nation one does not like, within international waters, off that country's shores, is irritating, seems to me to be scanty excuse for the attacks in these two cases. It so happens that in the second attack, as I understand it, the ship was 60 miles offshore.

Mr. Fulbright. Mr. President, I would like to yield the floor.

Mr. Scott. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me before he yields the floor?

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, I simply am asking questions to be sure I am adequately informed.

Mr. Fulbright. I understand. I do not quarrel with the Senator at all. He is perfectly within his rights to ask for information.

Mr. Nelson. I would conclude by saying that no two situations are comparable, but it would be mighty risky, if Cuban PT boats were firing on Florida, for Russian armed ships or destroyers to be patrolling between us and Cuba, 11 miles out. It would be a grave risk for her to be testing our viewpoint about her patrolling that close when Cuban boats were firing on Florida. So the question was whether the patrolling that close was really necessary to the accomplishment of our mission. We are, after all, dealing with the possibility of incinerating the whole world.

Mr. Fulbright. As the Senator from Georgia pointed out, Russian ships come within 4 or 5 miles, although not within 3 miles, of our shores.

Mr. Nelson. I referred to the assumption of Cuban boats firing on Florida.

Mr. Fulbright. We are not firing on Cuba, nor they on us. I do not see how the case is analogous. There is a new state of modern warfare that is not orthodox. It is subversion and guerrilla warfare. These people are, for all practical purposes, engaged in a war, without a declaration of war, that is going on between South and North Vietnam.

Mr. Nelson. I have taken enough time. I merely wish to add that it is not quite correct to say that we are not firing on North Vietnam.

Mr. Fulbright. We are not firing on Cuba, I said.

Mr. Nelson. I said assume a situation in which Cuba was firing on the coast of Florida with PT boats. It would be a risky thing for Russia to be out there testing our viewpoint about their patrols within 11 miles of our coast.

Mr. Fulbright. I do not deny that it is risky. The whole operation is risky. It is full of risks.

Mr. NELSON. I hope we do not take risks that are unnecessary for the achievement of an objective that we have asserted to be ours for the past 10 years.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I hope so.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. SCOTT. I support the resolution. I was glad to hear the chairman say that there is nothing in the resolution which limits the right of the President to repel any attack or prevent further aggression within the areas described in the resolution.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. That is one of the reasons I support the resolution. As I understand it, the question of so-called privilege sanctuaries have always been a question of how long such sanctuaries remain privileged if the security of the United States is menaced by vessels operating out of such privileged sanctuaries. I believe the President has quite properly and rightly announced that the United States is authorized and seeks approval of Congress to continue to act to defend the United States, even if it be against a so-called or hitherto described privileged sanctuary. Is that not correct?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think that is correct. The retaliatory action taken against the bases from which these ships came fits that description.

Mr. SCOTT. I do not have the experience that the distinguished Senator from Arkansas has. However, I have heard the President, in off-the-record discussions, refer to the pros and cons of privileged sanctuaries generally, without reference to a specific country.

I understand he is doing now what he was at any time prepared to do if in his judgment it was necessary to do it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was wise and proper to do it. It is difficult to generalize about these matters. I believe that under the circumstances which existed in this situation he was wise. The action was well calculated and designed to achieve his purpose. I hesitate to generalize too far, because the conditions under which these things are done must be understood. We should not ruthlessly attack a country under different circumstances, perhaps, than these. I have reference to the Greek rebellion. Senators will remember that we had forces there seeking to maintain the independence of Greece. The Communists had a sanctuary across the border. By persistence we finally brought the affair to a successful conclusion. When that border was closed, the rebellion stopped, and Greece went on its way quite successfully as an independent country. That is what we hope to bring about here.

Mr. SCOTT. I believe we all have confidence that the President was right under international law to do what he did, whether it be called hot pursuit or anything else, in order to protect this country.

Is it not a fact that our naval planes, in the course of reconnaissance along the Chinese mainland, have received—and this is not classified information, and it has been published in the newspapers—numerous warnings and, in fact, a series of warnings, for having proceeded within the 12-mile zone, which, of course, we do not recognize, but these warnings were based on our penetrating what the Communists call a 12-mile zone. That is nothing new. There have been a whole series of similar objections. However, we have been engaged in this process for the purpose of protecting the 7th Fleet and protecting our lines of communication and protecting our roles and missions and protecting the security of the United States.

Our vessels had every right to be where they were within the 12-mile limit and without the 3-mile limit. That is what I understood the Senator to have said.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I said it so happens— I say this to keep the record straight—that the actual attack, according to my information, took place far beyond the 12-mile limit. The first attack was approximately 25 miles out, and the second was about 60 miles.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe it was 30 and 60 miles.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. I might add that our vessels had turned away from the South Vietnam shore and were making for the middle of the gulf, where there could be no question, at the time they were attacked.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. At the time of the first attack they were steaming away from the shoreline. The second attack came at night. The first one was in the daytime. Our ships were not within the 12-mile limit, so called, at the time of the attack. I have stated that from time to time we did go deliberately within the 12-mile limit simply to emphasize our nonrecognition of the 12-mile limit, or, to put it another way, to establish and reaffirm our right to go there.

Mr. SCOTT. That clarifies the situation. I am glad the President has acted. The action was very much indicated. I believe it helps to make our Nation more secure. I intend to support the resolution.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for two questions?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. I know the Senator has been on his feet for a long time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It is not that. The Senator from Georgia would like to say something.

Mr. RUSSELL. My remarks will be very brief.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am perfectly willing to continue. I believe the Senator from Georgia should have an opportunity to say something.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator. I ask these questions for two reasons: One is to get the opinion of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and of the chairman of the Armed Services Committee as to the extent of the powers that are given to the President under the resolution. The second is to distinguish between a situation in which we act in defense of our own forces, in which without question we would risk war, and the commitment to defend South Vietnam.

My first question goes to the first section of the resolution—the operative part which, as the chairman has said, applies to any armed attack or any aggression directed against the forces of the United States.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. COOPER. In that case, of course, we confirm the power that the President now has to defend our forces against an immediate attack.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is a very distinguished lawyer, and I therefore hesitate to engage in a discussion with him on the separation of powers and the powers of the President. We are not giving to the President any powers he has under the Constitution as Commander in Chief. We are in effect approving of his use of the powers that he has. That is the way I feel about it.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that, too. In the first section we are confirming the powers.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. We are approving them. I do not know that we give him anything that he does not already have. Perhaps we are quibbling over words.

Mr. COOPER. We support and approve his judgment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Approve and support.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Approve and support the use he has made of his powers.

Mr. COOPER. The second section of the resolution goes, as the Senator said, to steps the President might take concerning the parties to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty and the countries under the protocol—which are, of course, Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. The Senator will remember that the SEATO Treaty, in article IV, provides that in the event an armed attack is made upon a party to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, or upon one of the protocol states such as South Vietnam, the parties to the treaty, one of whom is the United States, would then take such action as might be appropriate, after resorting to their constitutional processes. I assume that would mean, in the case of the United States, that Congress would be asked to grant the authority to act.

Does the Senator consider that in enacting this resolution we are satisfying that requirement of article IV of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty? In other words, are we now giving the President advance authority to take whatever action he may deem necessary respecting South Vietnam and its defense, or with respect to the defense of any other country included in the treaty?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think that is correct.

Mr. COOPER. Then, looking ahead, if the President decided that it was necessary to use such force as could lead into war, we will give that authority by this resolution?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is the way I would interpret it. If a situation later developed in which we thought the approval should be withdrawn, it could be withdrawn by concurrent resolution. That is the reason for the third section.

Mr. COOPER. I ask these questions——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is properly asking these questions.

Mr. COOPER. I ask these questions because it is well for the country and all of us to know what is being undertaken.

Following up the question I have just asked and the Senator's answer, I present two situations that might arise.

Under the first section of the joint resolution, the President is supported and approved in action he may take "to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

It has been reported that we have already sent our planes against certain ports in North Vietnam. I am sure that the reason is "to repel armed attack and to prevent further aggression" under U.S. forces.

Under section 2, are we now providing the President, if he determines it necessary, the authority to attack cities and ports in North Vietnam, not primarily to prevent an attack upon our forces but, as he might see fit, to prevent any further aggression against South Vietnam?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. One of the reasons for the procedure provided in this joint resolution, and also in the Formosa and Middle East instances, is in response, let us say, to the new developments in the field of warfare. In the old days, when war usually resulted from a formal declaration of war—and that is what the Founding Fathers contemplated when they included that provision in the Constitution—there was time in which to act. Things moved slowly, and things could be seen developing. Congress could participate in that way.

Under modern conditions of warfare—and I have tried to describe them, including the way the Second World War developed—it is necessary to anticipate what may occur. Things move so rapidly that this is the way in which we must respond to the new developments. That is why this provision is necessary or important. Does the Senator agree with me that this is so?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, warfare today is different. Time is of the essence. But the power provided the President in section 2 is great.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. This provision is intended to give clearance to the President to use his discretion. We all hope and believe that the President will not use this discretion arbitrarily or irresponsibly. We know that he is accustomed to consulting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and with congressional leaders. But he does not have to do that.

Mr. Cooper. I understand, and believe that the President will use this vast power with judgment.

Mr. Fulbright. He intends to do it, and he has done it.

Mr. Cooper. I do not wish to take more time now, because the distinguished Senator from Georgia wishes to speak, and I want to hear him.

Mr. Fulbright. I have no doubt that the President will consult with Congress in case a major change in present policy becomes necessary.

Mr. Cooper. I will speak further later in the day. I wish to say this now: I know it is understood and agreed that in the defense of our own ships and forces any action we might take to repel attacks could lead to war, if the Vietnamese or the Chinese Communists continued to engage in attacks against our forces. I hope they will be deterred by the prompt action of the President.

We accept this first duty of security and honor. But I would feel untrue to my own convictions if I did not say that a different situation obtains with respect to South Vietnam. I know that a progression of events for 10 years has carried us to this crisis. Ten years have passed and perhaps the events are inevitable now, no one can tell. But as long as there is hope and the possibility of avoiding with honor a war in southeast Asia—a conflagration which, I must say, could lead into war with Communist China, and perhaps to a third world war with consequences one can scarcely contemplate today—I hope the President will use this power wisely with respect to our commitments in South Vietnam, and that he will use all other honorable means which may be available, such as consultations in the United Nations, and even with the Geneva powers.

We have confidence in the President and in his good judgment. But I believe we have the obligation of understanding fully that there is a distinction between defending our own forces, and taking offensive measures in South Vietnam which could lead progressively to a third world war.

Mr. Fulbright. The question concerns the kind of actions taken in this instance. I think the President took action that is designed to accomplish the objective the Senator from Kentucky has stated. That is what I have tried to make clear. I join in the Senator's hope that all-out war can be avoided.

Mr. McGovern. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one question?

Mr. Fulbright. I shall yield for one question; then I shall yield the floor.

Mr. McGovern. The Senator may recall that about 10 years ago, on December 2, 1954, the United States signed with the Nationalist Chinese Government a mutual defense treaty. In effect, we committed ourselves to joint defense for security interests in the western Pacific.

Shortly after that agreement was signed, there was a considerable amount of anxiety expressed in the United States that perhaps we in effect have surrendered control of our foreign policy in that part of the world to the Nationalist Chinese. Partly to offset that anxiety, there was an exchange of notes between Secretary Dulles and the Nationalist Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which the two gentlemen agreed in effect that if there were to be any action by military forces on the part of either the Nationalist Chinese Government or ourselves in the western Pacific the two countries would consult with each other, and that any such action would be taken only after mutual agreement.

I am wondering whether there is any similar protection written into the security arrangements that we have with reference to South Vietnam. Is that kind of protection, for example, written into the SEATO agreement, or in any of the notes which have been exchanged between our Governments, so that we would not, in effect, be surrendering control of our actions in southeast Asia to the Government of South Vietnam?

Mr. Fulbright. I do not believe we are surrendering control to them. Under the SEATO Treaty, as I recall it, we take our own actions according to our constitutional processes. I do not believe that we have surrendered control of our actions. However, as a practical matter our influence upon the Government of South Vietnam is a matter of relations between our Ambassador and General Khanh. We consult daily, I believe, with regard to the conduct of our mutual affairs in that area. To give a short answer, I know of no exchange of notes, or anything of that kind. I do not recall any testimony on the precise point the Senator has brought up.

Mr. McGovern. What I am getting at is, suppose the Government of South Vietnam, for whatever reason, should decide to launch a major military attack on North Vietnam, would we be obligated in any kind of arrangement we have with South Vietnam?

Mr. Fulbright. No. We have no obligation to follow through with a situation which we believe to be unwise, stupid, or silly. We could disavow it and withdraw and have nothing to do with it. We have no treaty agreement or any other agreement that I know of that binds us to follow through with that.

Mr. Lausche. The southeast Asia treaty provides specifically that it is applicable only when aggressions are committed against members of the treaty, and is not applicable should members of the treaty commit aggressions against countries other than those who are members of the treaty. That is written into the treaty.

Mr. Fulbright. I believe that it also applies only to aggression from Communist countries.

Mr. Morse. It covers the protocol countries.

Mr. McGovern. I was not a Member of the Senate at the time, and I know that the Senator from Arkansas knows infinitely more about it than I do, but when the Formosa resolution was approved by Congress early in 1955, I believe that the approval for that resolution was secured partly because of the exchange of notes which had taken place months before, in which both Nationalist China and the United States agreed that neither country would undertake any kind of military action in the Pacific without making it a joint action. It is on the basis of that assurance that the Formosa resolution was approved. So that is why I rose to ask my question.

Mr. Fulbright. I know of no such exchanges in this case.

Mr. McGovern. I thank the Senator.

Mr. Fulbright. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. Russell. Mr. President, I shall be very brief in my comments in support of this resolution.

Mr. Stennis. Mr. President, would the Senator from Georgia wish to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. Russell. I do not think so. I thank the Senator, however, for his thoughtfulness.

Mr. President, this resolution has precedents in those that were adopted at the time of the crisis in Formosa, at the time of the crisis in the Middle East, and also in connection with Cuba. These other resolutions will be remembered by many Members of the Senate.

Some reservation has been expressed about the grant of power—which is broad power—to the President. The language that grants this power to the present President of the United States is almost identical with the language used in granting similar power to President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the case of Formosa, and Matsu and Quemoy—the two islands just off the Chinese mainland held by Chiang Kai-shek against the wishes of Red China. The Red Chinese had been shelling those islands intermittently and there was great apprehension that they were about to launch an attack to capture them.

Congress granted President Eisenhower almost the identical power that would be granted in section 2 of this resolution, to enable him to protect those islands, in the event that he concluded they were important and vital to the maintenance of international peace and security, and the vital interests of the United States.

What became of that power?

It is in existence at this very moment.

Senators refer to the new power which is being granted today. But the power granted to President Eisenhower existed during the tenure in office of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and resides at this very moment in Lyndon Baines Johnson at the White House—power which is very similar, except for the geographic area involved, to that which we propose to grant today in the case of North Vietnam.

The same is true with respect to the Middle East resolution. We granted certain power to President Eisenhower in March of 1957, in connection with the situation in the Middle East, by approving a resolution that reads:

"The President is authorized to undertake in the general area of the Middle East military assistance programs with any nation or group of nations in that area desiring such assistance. Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces to assist any such nation or group of nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."

What became of that power?

It is in existence today. It has never been terminated or annulled by the means set forth in the resolution. The same situation is true in the case of the Cuban resolution. The power that was originally granted to President Kennedy, the assurance of support from the Congress, is in existence today and resides in the Chief Executive.

Unless some steps should be taken to cancel it, the power granted in this resolution with respect to the vast difficulties in Vietnam—and I do not underestimate them, neither do I undertake to underrate them—will continue for whoever is elected President in November.

Mr. President, the spirit of crisis and impending danger that hung over this Chamber when we were considering the Formosa resolution was far greater than it is at this very hour. But in that instance, and when we approved the other similar resolutions, our national solidarity and our steadfastness in the face of crisis prevented much more serious and much broader military action.

I am sure that all of us who intend to vote for the joint resolution pray that the adoption of the resolution, and the action that may be taken pursuant to it, will achieve the same purpose and avoid any broadening of war, or any escalation of danger.

This resolution does not alter the constitutional separation of responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations for the command of our Armed Forces and for the establishment and maintenance of our Armed Forces. Instead, the resolution is intended to demonstrate that Congress approves the retaliatory action that has been taken in defense of our flag and our Armed Forces, and that Congress shares in the determination that this country will do everything necessary to defend our national interests, wherever they may be endangered.

The events that bring the resolution before us are too well known to require detailed repetition. Suffice it to say that U.S. naval vessels have been attacked while in international waters. The President has authorized a response. That response was, in a way, commensurate with the attacks up to this point. If there is further unprovoked military action against our forces, response under this resolution will undoubtedly be tailored to fit the facts and needs of that situation.

There is, of course, the hope that the outrageous attack which gave rise to this resolution is only a spontaneous, irresponsible action by the North Vietnamese without the direction and approval of any of their Communist associates. The rulers of North Vietnam must know that any further belligerency toward us or our forces can lead to their destruction. If they proved to be so irresponsible as to continue these unprovoked attacks, they will be inviting consequences of the direst sort.

In the present circumstances, it will serve no useful purpose to debate the wisdom of our original decision to go into Vietnam. It is unnecessary for me to state that I had grave doubts about the wisdom of that decision. It would certainly do no good to dwell on those doubts here today. Indeed, second guesses about our foreign policy, and what it should be in that area, or whether our support to South Vietnam has been too much, or has been too little, are not involved directly in the question before us. What is involved is our right as an independent state to operate our vessels upon international waters that have been recognized as free to all states for many centuries. Involved also is our national honor. Our national honor is at stake. We cannot and we will not shrink from defending it. No sovereign nation would be entitled to the respect of other nations, or, indeed, could maintain its self respect, if it accepted the acts that have been committed against us without undertaking to make some response.

Our Armed Forces are capable of a broad range of reaction. In the instant case, the President selected one so limited that no reasonable and objective observer could assume a desire on our part to escalate the war or to broaden its scope. I shall say, however, that if future events demand a more vigorous response, this Nation has the power, and I believe our people have the will, to use that power. The portents of this resolution are great. No action whatever can be taken in the field of internationl relations in today's troubled world that does not involve some danger. But I submit to this body the view that I firmly believe there is much more danger in ignoring aggressive acts than there is in pursuing a course of calculated retaliation that shows we are prepared to defend our rights.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, unfortunately I have been at a legislative appropriation conference. I have not heard all of the discussion. But I know that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services have gone into the broad aspects of this problem very thoroughly. I join the Senator from Iowa and with the two committee chairmen in sponsoring this resolution. I believe it is of fundamental importance to our prestige in the world today and to the prestige of our armed services.

Mr. President, from the beginning of our Nation, Massachusetts men have always gone down to the sea in ships. We are proud of our Navy. We know its strength and effectiveness in preserving our country and our defenses. Its prestige and the prestige of our country in the eyes of the world is at stake.

It is the responsibility of the President to take immediate action to defend our country when he believes that it is under attack in one way or another.

As the representative of all our people, he now asks Congress to support him in the position he has taken in this instance where our Navy has been fired upon. He made the decision to retaliate for the attack.

The resolution before us today lends support to the President's decision to defend our Navy and to build up and to maintain its prestige in the eyes of the world.

I support it wholeheartedly and hope that the Senate will adopt it by an overwhelming vote. Because I believe in the sentiments and principles set forth in the resolution, I joined in sponsoring it.

I believe it is one of the most fundamental propositions to come before the Senate since I have been a Member of this body and I hope there will be little opposition to it.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Missouri, who happens to be the only Member who serves on both committees that met jointly to consider the resolution today.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the remarks of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia, the leading civilian military authority in this town today. I would associate myself with his remarks, as well as with those of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, one of the truly great scholars of those matters having to do with foreign affairs.

It seems to me this is a relatively simple matter we are discussing this afternoon.

I would agree that it is not as serious as other recent crises and most certainly it is not as serious as the Cuban confrontation, where a possible aggressor had nuclear weapons.

The matter for decision is whether the United States accepts an attack on one of its ships 65 miles offshore or should defend itself against this clearly planned aggression.

If we allow these attacks to proceed without any response, the position, the prestige of the United States abroad that part of the world, very possibly in all other parts of the world, would suffer a serious loss of respect. The free world continues free today because of the physical, economic, and above all spiritual strength of the United States, although we welcome any and all support from our allies. It is a privilege to be on the floor of the Senate and hear my chairman once again express his pride and confidence in the future of America. It is also a privilege to associate myself with his remarks.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think the distinguished Senator for his very kind words.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I shall yield first to the Senator from Louisiana, and then I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Iowa, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I am in thorough agreement with the views expressed by my friend the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

I should like to ask whether or not the Senator knows if any effort has been made by us in the last few days or in the past to get our allies to join us in our effort, and whether any insistence has been made by his committee in order to effectuate that endeavor.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, that question is not primarily within the purview and jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee, but I may say to my distinguished friend that no one feels more deeply than I do—about the fact that when the United States intervenes, many others who have equal responsibility have tended to say, "Let Uncle Sam do it." I will say that I have been assured by both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense that they have endeavored to get assistance. The Senator is familiar, of course, with the peculiar conditions that exist with respect to France at the present time.

France is a nation that had more familiarity with this area of the old colonial days than any of the other nations of the Western World. Great Britain is a tried and trusted friend. But they are engaged at the present time in the Malaysian operations. Their armed forces are not as large as I should like them to be. But their military strength is on a standby status under the threats that have been issued by Sukarano against the new state of Malaysia.

Australia has increased its assistance in Vietnam within the past 6 or 8 months. They actually have personnel in the field now as advisers with military units, just as American military personnel serve with those units.

I do not make any of those statements to indicate that I think our associates are doing as much as they can or as much as they should. But there has been some increase at least, and I hope and earnestly pray that this will be a harbinger of willingness to assume a fairer share of the great responsibility of protecting the free world from domination by international communism.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does not the Senator think that it is incumbent upon us as members of the SEATO organization to make every effort to get assistance from the members of SEATO? As I understand, France, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, New Zealand, Australia, the United States, the Philippines, and Thailand, are members of SEATO. Is it not incumbent upon us to have a meeting of SEATO before we go too far? The reason I make that statement is that I fear that we shall once again be left holding the bag, alone, unless we do something along those lines.

Mr. RUSSELL. I share the Senator's feeling. The Senator knows that SEATO meets at regular intervals. We have been assured that our representatives have urged increasing assistance. The question is important, not only from a military standpoint, but also from a psychological standpoint. It is important that all countries associated in SEATO make a more substantial contribution to this deplorable condition that exists in Vietnam.

As I said at the outset, the question is one which is more within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee than that of the Armed Services Committee, but I have been concerned about it. I have done what I could to encourage our representatives to insist upon greater participation.

Mr. ELLENDER. I express the hope that action will be taken soon, and that we shall not have a repetition of what happened in South Korea. As the Senator knows, we carried most of the burden there—in fact, over 90 percent of it—and in excess of 90 percent of the soldiers who died in South Korea, other than South Koreans, were American.

Mr. RUSSELL. We carried more than 90 percent of the financial and logistical cost.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes, indeed, we did. Unless we take action now to try to get our allies to assist, the chances are that the burden will fall upon us.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank the Senator. I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Georgia. I shall not repeat the philosophical and political arguments that have taken place on the floor of the Senate in support of the resolution. They have been amply presented by the Senator from Georgia, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and by the Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. As one of the cosponsors of the joint resolution, I merely wish to approve the basic arguments underlying the submission of the joint resolution and its purposes, its necessity, and its justification.

We are in a serious situation. Any time a question of this kind comes up it is of the utmost seriousness. I shall not go far enough to say that it is a question of extreme situation. I do not know whether I dare use that word or not. But it is of the greatest seriousness. I will say that. Therefore we must act, not only in defense of the national honor and the prestige of the Untied States, but also in defense of the basic principles which we will either defend or see destroyed and eroded away by our inaction.

I have always felt that it was a little bit silly, if a fire started in one of the main buildings of a town or in someone's house, to call a meeting of the town council to determine whether the fire department should be called. Meanwhile, the fire is burning down the building. Someone must get a bucket or a hose and put out the fire.

We are up against much the same situation here on the question with which we are confronted. As the Senator from Georgia has pointed out, the proposed action is not without precedent. In my experience, which has encompassed the various resolutions to which the Senator has referred in his argument, we have joined with the President on various occasions in certain defined areas of the world for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States and the protection of freedom. On certain principles involved in Presidential action, involving force, I am not in full agreement with all of my colleagues; I am in agreement with some and in disagreement with others as to the inherent power of the President or the extent of such power.

In this case there is not the slightest question in my mind that the President not only has full authority, but has a responsibility, to protect American institutions and interests when they are attacked, without having to come to the Congress for that authority.

At a future date, the question of use of American force may rise to some persuasive arguments, perhaps on both sides of the question. However, a resolution of this kind forecloses that argument and joins the Congress with the President of the United States in unity in saying that when our forces are attacked, when we are endangered, we are united, not only in repelling, but if necessary, in attacking the source of that infection or difficulty that is threatening us. That is why I say it is our responsibility. That is why I have joined as a cosponsor of the resolution.

I, as I am sure every Member of the Senate, regret that we must take this action, but we must let not only our enemies but our friends in the world know that there is a line beyond which the United States will not tolerate destruction or endangering of freedom.

If we are to survive in a world of freedom—if that is to be our objective—we will keep our commitments and hold our heads high, as we always have, and defend our liberties and rights.

While this issue could become emotional, I hope we are approaching it with considerable calmness and objectivity. I am sure the overwhelming majority of the Members of this body are approaching it with objectivity and calmness, but sincere determination and unity on any issue must be shown not only to our enemies, but to our friends.

I join the Senator from Louisiana in the earnest hope and desire that our allies and associates will come in with us. That is very true. But again, if someone is drowning and another has the power to save him, he does not say, "I won't jump in and get you out unless you and you and you also jump in with me and help me get the person out of durance vile and a state of extremus."

When something like that happens, we have a responsibility to ourselves, to our civilization, and to the cause of freedom, to do something about it. I think that is the way we are approaching the issue here.

We must invite and urge all freedom-loving nations to join with us, if possible, but a dangerous situation exists now. That is why the resolution is urgent and essential. It is why I support it. As the President pointed out, similar authority exists in other areas, and it will only enlarge those powers for this section of the world, under the circumstances which exist there.

I congratulate the Senator from Georgia for the clarity of the statement he has made.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank the Senator from Iowa. I have been privileged to serve with him for many years. He approaches these problems without the slightest hint of partisanship. He is a great patriot and Senator. No more loyal or dedicated patriot has ever served in the Senate.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, it is always difficult not to accede to a request from the President of the United States, especially one which is couched in terms of high principle and national interest. I have no doubt that the President fervently believes that the course he is pursuing in southeast Asia is in the best interests of the Nation.

By long established practice, the Executive conducts the Nation's foreign policy. But the Congress and particularly, by constitutional mandate, the Senate has a right and duty in these premises to "advise and consent." Especially is this true when it is specifically called upon by the Executive, as is the case now, for its participation in momentous decisions of foreign policy. Therefore we in the Senate would be derelict in our duty if we did not individually express our views if those views embody doubt or dissent, and where a vote is called for, to cast that vote as our conscience directs.

As early as March 10, nearly 5 months ago, I took the floor and in an address of considerable length urged that the United States get out of South Vietnam, at least to the extent of participation by our soldiery. Since that time, I have discussed U.S. participation in this area of the world repeatedly. I have stated and restated my view that this was not our war; that we were wholly misguided in picking up the burden abandoned by France 10 years ago after the French had suffered staggering losses running into tens of thousands of French young lives and vast sums of money to which the United States contributed heavily, and thereupon entering upon a policy which would be bound to result, as it has resulted, in the sacrificing of the lives of our young Americans in an area, and in a cause that in my reasoned judgment poses no threat to our national security.

I have repeatedly called attention to the pertinent fact that we, the United States, are going it all alone; that our SEATO allies, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand, are not taking part, despite our earnest pleas for them to do so, which pleas may, in recent days, have resulted in a few slight token gestures which are wholly insignificant. I have called attention to the fact, and do again, that whereas American boys are dying in combat, although presumably they are there as advisers, no British boys are on the firing line; no French boys are any longer at the front, they appear to have learned their lesson; no Australian youths are being killed; no New Zealand youngsters are being sacrificed; no Philippine casualties are being incurred; and the same may be said for the Pakistanis, despite the fact that we have given them close to a billion dollars in military aid.

In any event, I am convinced that peace will not be established by military means. Sooner or later the issue is bound to be settled at the conference table. Eventually, why not now?

While I am deeply convinced that American security is not involved, the allegation that we are supporting freedom in South Vietnam has a hollow sound. We have been supporting corrupt and unpopular puppet dictatorships which owe their temporary sojourn in power to our massive support. They have scant support from their own people, who have shown little disposition to fight. Hence our steadily increasing involvement. Yet we have persistently alleged that the war cannot be won except by the South Vietnamese. It is not happening, nor will it.

Some weeks ago I urged on the floor of the Senate that the United States take the lead in seeking a cease-fire, and that this be accompanied and implemented by a United Nations police force, as has been done in the Congo and is being done in the formerly troublesome border between Israel and Egypt. It has worked there. It has largely put an end to border strife and killing. Why not try it in South Vietnam, where the cost in lives has already proved infinitely greater?

But the United States has not pursued peace as it has pursued and carried out armed intervention on an ever-increasing scale.

The latest episode—the attack by North Vietnam vessels—on U.S. naval vessels, I consider an inevitable development of the U.S. steady escalation of our own military activities in southeast Asia in recent weeks. I do not justify or condone that attack on our ships. It was both stupid and outrageous. I do not at all disagree with the administration's policy of countering this attack and of not merely repelling the attackers but destroying them and giving them the same medicine which they seek to inflict on our vessels.

But that does not mean that I can approve the whole U.S. policy of active, unilateral military intervention in southeast Asia, and I have expressed myself repeatedly to that effect in the Senate.

I repeat now that I do not consider this our war and that I feel that all Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy. We inherited this putrid mess from past administrations, and we should have made, and should now make, every effort to disengage ourselves. We have lost altogether too many American lives already. Unless we reverse our policy, their number will steadily increase.

I regret, and consider it a pity, that both our political parties appear now to be committed to a policy of war in southeast Asia. Yet American public opinion, judged by my mail, is overwhelmingly commited to a different policy—a policy of peace. It apparently at this time has no spokesman in the high councils of either major political party. My mail pours in with virtual unanimity on this subject. It comes from all over the country. It comes from a truly representative cross section of the American people. It includes bishops, deans of schools and colleges, university professors, business executives, teachers, retired Army officers, and it comes from every State of the Union.

The case against the pending proposal to endorse our southeast Asian policy of steadily increasing escalation, which despite the President's expressed desire not to extend the war, has taken place and will take place inevitably, the case against this pending resolution, was admirably, and in my view—

wholly convincingly—set forth in great detail yesterday by the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, Wayne Morse.

I would hope that every Member of this body would have read his comprehensive analysis of how the situation has reached its present tragic involvement before each casts his vote. No one, in the Senate or elsewhere, can consider himself fully informed to pass judgment on the momentous decision we are asked to make and its involvement of our country without hearing both sides of the argument. The press has given very little of this other side.

Senator Morse has presented the case for not voting approval of the administration's course. I have long supported a similar view. I do support enthusiastically the taking of the latest episode; namely, the attack by North Vietnamese vessels on U.S. naval vessels, and our reprisal, to the United Nations.

But not merely this serious incident which is a part of the undeclared war in southeast Asia, should be considered. The United Nations should not be limited to consideration of that incident by itself. I do not see how it can logically do so. Let us hope—and I do hope—that out of this may come a complete investigation by the United Nations of the whole southeast Asian situation, and that from this may emerge a referral of that situation to the council table.

The joint resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 189, which we are considering in section 2, bases its case in part on the charter of the United Nations. The drafters of this resolution seem to have disregarded several other provisions of the United Nations Charter, which seem to me highly pertinent, indeed far more pertinent.

Article 33 provides:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

I submit, Mr. President, that the United States, as well as North and South Vietnam, have totally ignored this specific mandate. Have any of these three parties to this dispute, as this article requires, sought "a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice"?

Mr. President, I ask this question:

Has the United States, has South Vietnam, has North Vietnam, obviously parties to the long-standing dispute, or have any of our SEATO presumed allies, following the clear prescription of article 33 of the United Nations Charter, sought "first of all"—let me note that the charter says "first of all"—a solution by negotiation?

Have they sought a solution by inquiry?

Have they sought a solution by mediation?

Have they sought a solution by conciliation?

Have they sought a solution by arbitration?

Have they sought a solution by judicial settlement?

Have they sought a solution by "resort to regional agencies or arrangements"?

Have they sought a solution by resort to "other peaceful means of their own choice"?

Obviously, they have not. Obviously, none of the parties to the dispute, "the continuance of which" is certainly "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security," sought any one of the eight means which the United Nations Charter spells out so clearly.

The United States has not only not done so. It has not even attempted to do so.

South Vietnam, whose policies and very existence the U.S. controls, has not done so.

North Vietnam has not done so.

Obviously, the United States, far from being, as Senate Joint Resolution 189 asserts in section 2, "consonant with the Charter of the United Nations," has flagrantly disregarded it.

But to have done otherwise, to have resorted to these peaceful means, namely, "first of all" to "seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means," would have been precisely the policy which I deeply believe we should have followed.

At the very least we should have tried.

But, instead, we have become more and more enmeshed in the folly of an inherited policy, with steady enlargement of the area of conflict, a steady increase in American participation, and a mounting loss of American lives.

Despite the President's declared worthy purpose not to expand the conflict, the conflict has been and is being steadily expanded. We are adding more advisers, and we are increasing our participation by all three branches of the service—Air Force, Navy, and Army. And with these increases, there will be inevitably an increasing loss of American lives.

It is a difficult and painful decision for me to make, but in good conscience I cannot do other than to vote "no" on the pending resolution.

Mr. Kuchel. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senate Joint Resolution 189 be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"Whereas naval units of the Communists regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

"Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

"Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military, or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way; Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

"Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

"Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress."

Mr. Kuchel. By way of emphasis I wish to read section 2 of the resolution, as follows:

"Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia, Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Mr. President, this is not the first time that the legislative branch of our Government has been called upon to recognize and to confirm in the President the authority, the duty, and the responsibility resting in him to take such steps as he deems appropriate under our Constitution, to defend our country and our people, and to discharge America's solemn obligations as they may arise through our agreements for collective security with likeminded free nations all around the globe.

I remember the Middle East resolution. I remember the Formosa resolution. Both came to Congress from President Eisenhower. Both were requested so that all might know that the people's representatives in this branch of the Government agreed with the Chief Executive of the United States with respect to the authority he possessed and the circumstances under which he would be compelled to utilize his power.

Those two resolutions demonstrated to all the world the unity, dedication, and solidarity of purpose not only among the representatives of the people in Congress and the President, but among the people of our country as well.

Once again a storm is gathering over a long tormented area of this weary world. Ominous and ugly are the threat and thrust of communism in southeast Asia. The storm may yet be dissipated, but only if the Red regime unmistakably understands that the United States will honor its pledge and assist her SEATO allies in time of peril.

That is the plain intent of the joint resolution now about to be passed by Congress. Let friend and foe alike understand that we—America—shall keep the faith. Our country stands together in the face of danger. That is the clear meaning of our message. If Communist Asia, even at this late time, carefully assesses the high cost of her contemplated marauding aggressions, peace can return to the lands of her peaceloving neighbors and the sun will shine again.

Mr. Church obtained the floor.

Mr. Stennis. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Church. Mr. President, without losing my right to the floor, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. Stennis. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Few persons have had more concern than I during the last 10 years about the growing menace and threat by the Communists to freedom in Vietnam. I have recently taken sworn testimony, classified, from some of our pilots who have been on duty in Vietnam during the last 2 years. I can say with solemnity, but with certainty, that a grave and serious situation already exists on the mainland of Vietnam. We are involved to an appreciable degree.

Someone has suggested that the conditions necessitating this joint resolution are not nearly so serious as those which confronted us when the Formosa joint resolution was before Congress. On the whole, I suppose I would agree. Still, I believe we would make a great mistake if we minimized in any degree the graveness and seriousness of the situation confronting us now.

I do not believe the American people have been sufficiently warned and informed about the gravity of conditions there.

I remember that when the Formosa resolution was before the Senate for consideration a few years ago, a Member of this body, who is no longer with us, said he believed that if the resolution were passed, the United States would be at war in 90 days. That prediction proved to be erroneous. On the contrary, I believe the Formosa resolution helped us to avoid war. I believe this one will, too. That is one of the major reasons why it deserves support.

Today we have no choice. Our flag has been attacked, and our country has been challenged in international waters—on the high seas—where we had a right to be. Our flag and our men have been fired upon. Many hundreds, if not thousands, of our naval personnel could have lost their lives had the torpedoes been more accurately aimed and hit one or more of the destroyers.

We properly gave the aggressors fair warning after the first shot. Then they hit us again. Very properly, we then struck back.

The matter has now been referred to Congress, to see what we will do; whether or not we believe the action taken was right; whether we shall stand on the realistic policy in the future; and whether we are united. Either we must stand our ground or run away. That may be oversimplicity; but if we do not send such a message as that, we are in reality inviting another attack from any nation, large or small, who might wish to push us around.

We have already struck the aggressors a severe blow. Section I of the resolution merely expresses the attitude of Congress that we will stand by it and will strike again, if necessary. I believe this firm course, if we take it, may be our last or only chance to avoid what could quickly develop into full-scale war. The joint resolution shows our unity as well as our determination. It also shows that no one dares to attack us without paying a heavy price therefor.

I emphasize that the situation is serious; but it will become far worse if we show the slightest weakness or hesitation. If we must have a showdown, it is far better that it comes before Red China obtains nuclear weapons. Our honor, our safety, and our security are at stake.

For these reasons, I shall vote for and support the resolution. None of us are happy about the situation in Vietnam and about our position there. But that bridge has long since been crossed. We are already there. We dare not run away, certainly not while we are under attack. I am sure the people will support this position. They will be given the opportunity to understand more about what is happening in Vietnam.

I commend the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and other Senators for their remarks and their position on this grave matter and endorse their position.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the ominous events that have taken place in the Gulf of Tonkin merely serve to emphasize how close we are living to the fuse of war. Whether those events have lighted that fuse remains for the future to disclose.

None of us has any doubt about why this joint resolution is before the Senate. It results directly from the Communist attack on the American destroyers. Those ships, when attacked, were on the high seas, where they had a legal right to be. Those ships, from all that we have been told, were not engaged in my aggressive action directed against the shores of North Vietnam.

Our reply to the first attack upon the *Maddox* was confined to the immediate defensive needs of the destroyer. When a second, clearly premeditated attack followed the President chose not to confine over counteraction to the immediate defenses of the ships involved, but to retaliate in kind. Having twice been stung by bees, he chose to strike back at the hive itself. Still, the retaliation was limited to the PT bases on the North Vietnamese coast, and to the petroleum tanks that fueled the PT boats themselves.

The President is to be commended for the restraint, as well as for the promptness and effectiveness of the American retaliation.

In the narrowest sense, the joint resolution could be supported on grounds of ratifying the action already taken, our right to free access to the seas, and our duty to defend ourselves, in appropriate ways, against attacks upon us.

Mr. President (Mr. SALINGER in the chair), I believe that on such ground alone Congress would be justified in its support of the joint resolution, upon the principle that the punishment was fitted to the crime.

The President has emphasized—and I believe properly so—that in the retaliatory action we have taken, there is not to be read any change of purpose on the part of the United States. He has stated that it is not our policy or our purpose to expand the war. If that expansion occurs, then it will be the choice of others—not our own. I am in wholehearted agreement with the emphasis he has given to the peaceful goals we hope to serve, and to the fact that it is not the policy of the United States to extend the war in southeast Asia.

But, Mr. President, it would not be either candid nor correct to consider this resolution on such narrow grounds.

It is necessary to recognize that our situation today must be viewed within the context of American policy in the Far East; otherwise, our ships would not be in the Gulf of Tonkin, and the serious events of the past few days would not have occurred.

I have had doubts about American policy in southeast Asia. I have expressed those doubts from time to time, in this Chamber, in interviews for publication in newspapers, and in magazine articles I have written. My doubts have not been eradicated by the attacks made upon American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. My misgivings have not been dissipated by the ominous events of the past few days. Rather, they have been intensified. Because who can say that these events are not the natural consequence of the hazards we have assumed by the policy we have adopted in this part of the world?

We had every reason to expect that some such incident might occur. It is a risk we assumed, necessarily, when we chose to intervene, following the defeat of the French, in that great peninsula which was once French Indochina—when we assumed an American responsibility for the future of this remote region of the world.

I have entertained and continue to entertain, serious misgivings about the correctness of American policy in southeast Asia. It seems to me that this policy is more the product of our own addiction to an ideological view of world affairs—an affliction which affects us as well as the Communists—rather than a policy based upon a detached and pragmatic view of our real national interests.

However, my dissent, to the extent that I hold it, and to the degree that I have been able to define it, is not appropriate for this occasion. This is not a time to decry the policy. A country must live with the policy it adopts, whether it be wise or foolish.

We have adopted the policy. It was initiated under the Eisenhower administration, when the original decision was made for the United States to intervene actively in South Vietnam. It has been inherited and upheld by the Kennedy administration, and by the Johnson administration, in the years which have followed.

Congress shares its responsibility for that policy. If we have not formulated it, we have funded it, from year to year, with our votes. Who is there to say that we have not acquiesced in it down through the years?

So, Mr. President, we must accept the consequences of our own actions. We must now face the fact that the difficulties in which we find ourselves are our responsibility, in having chosen to pursue a course of action which exposed us to such hazards.

It is in this spirit that I approach the pending joint resolution. Under the circumstances, we must unite behind the President.

The attack upon us cannot be justified. It was an act of aggression. When this country, or its ships, or its military personnel are made targets of attack, then Congress will uphold whatever action the President takes in defense of American interests and American lives.

I shall vote for the joint resolution in the belief that President Johnson will wisely use the authority conferred by the resolution, and that he will have the same attitude toward it that he has displayed in other crises; namely, an attitude of reason, responsibility, and restraint.

I believe that President Johnson is a man of peace. I believe that he is sincerely interested in doing everything possible to keep the war from spreading, in this seething and dangerous area of the world.

At the same time, I believe that he will uphold the honor and the good name of the United States against any nation that would make itself our enemy.

Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart, with a genuine concern about the future of American policy in Asia, and with a zealous desire that we might examine all of its tenets in the days ahead, that I shall vote for the joint resolution, confident that in a time of crisis the President's hand must be upheld, and that the lives and interests of the U.S. citizens must be protected against all her enemies.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield.

Mr. GORE. I wish to congratulate the Senator upon an able, candid, courageous, and eloquent address.

With him, I have attended many executive sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the past few years in which the subject of U.S. policy and action in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula was under discussion.

The able Senator has lucidly put forward his reservations and doubts. Although I have not publicly voiced my doubts, as has the Senator from Idaho, nevertheless, in the performance of the duty of a Senator to advise and consent, I have, in the executive sessions of the committee, expressed deep concern and I have raised critical questions as the Senator from Idaho will recall, about U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Perhaps I was remiss in not giving public expression to these views. But every Member of this body performs his duty as he sees it. It had been my view that I could perform best and most responsively in executive sessions of the committee.

Now, however, when U.S. forces have been attacked repeatedly upon the high seas, as I said immediately upon the convening of the Senate after the second attack, whatever doubts one may have entertained are water over the dam. Freedom of the seas must be preserved. Aggression against our forces must be repulsed.

I compliment the Senator and associate myself with almost all the sentiments he has expressed.

To go further back, I was one of those who did not think it wise for the United States to undertake this burden after the fall of Dienbienphu. That, too, is history. We must act today in light of facts today.

I join the Senator in the conclusion he

reaches in support of the joint resolution. I join him, too, in confidence that President Johnson will act with prudence, caution, and wisdom, and with the courage necessary for the eventualities that may come.

Mr. CHURCH. I thank the Senator very much for his remarks. I appreciate them more than I can say.

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

VICTORY AND PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, whatever the reasons may be for some Senators opposing either the language or the purpose of the resolution before the Senate, I am sure that there can be no disagreement on one point—that party lines cease to exist on issues affecting the national security of the United States and of the free world. I rise to lend my wholehearted support to this resolution. I was heartened by the decision to strike against the naval bases from which the unprovoked attack on our naval ships were launched. At long last perhaps here is the beginning of the initiative that has been totally lacking in our southeast Asian effort, for it is our purpose not only to "assist in defense," as the resolution states, but to assist in achieving victory against an avaricious enemy bent upon the total conquest of all of southeast Asia.

Mr. President, I support this resolution because in Vietnam there is a crisis in which politics has no part. But, let me say that I sincerely hope that the next time Soviet missiles are implanted in Cuba or the next time Cuban exiles attempt to exercise their rightful prerogatives in fighting for the freedom of what was once known as the Pearl of the Antilles the United States will act with spontaneity, enthusiasm, and force comparable to what we have done in Vietnam.

It is tragic that a response as dramatic as our destruction of naval bases upon the territory of a sovereign Asian state was not executed in our own hemisphere in October of 1962 or even earlier—in April of 1961. Had we responded then with arms as well as metaphors, we could have struck a significant blow for freedom and independence in our own hemisphere.

I support wholeheartedly the military action of this Government against the North Vietnamese naval bases, and I support this resolution in the sincere and reverent hope that it indicates an end of our policies of indecision, vacillation, and compromise, and heralds the beginning of that measure of commitment which will forge victory from the Communist-fomented chaos of southeast Asia.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I support the pending resolution.

Not only is it important to stand behind our President in this time of tension, when unity is above partisan debate, but I have confidence in President Johnson's prudence and in his determination to avoid any unnecessary widening or escalation of military clashes.

I have full confidence that the President with his wide experience and his intimate knowledge today of the facts of this situation will even further strengthen our efforts toward peace as he seeks to avoid any weakening of our position and purpose.

Still, let us think ahead as we support this resolution. Ho Chi Minh's action cannot have been by error or accident. Therefore, let us practice prudence and play our hand with reason and calmness. If we over-respond, we can, by destroying installations considered vital by Communist China to her national interest, induce an outpouring of Red Chinese soldiers as happened in Korea.

In the days and weeks ahead, this current crisis may—and probably will—worsen. Let us act—and wisely. And, let us resolve here and now, today, in wisdom, and for the sake of our people and Nation, to keep this issue removed from the arena of political conflict and ambition. Rather, let us support this issue in the reasoning place of men's minds which we have helped establish for this purpose—the United Nations.

I would hope, too, that other freedom-loving Asian nations, particularly Pakistan, the Philippines, and Japan, might help us carry some of the burdens for keeping the peace in the Far East. It is also their responsibility to participate in this endeavor, which is vital to their safety and security as well. It is my hope that such a sharing of the load may also emerge from the United Nations Security Council.

This country's policy cannot, and must not, be pummeled for the sake of political gain. As an American, I urge leaders of both political parties to exert every effort to keep Vietnam out of this campaign.

I trust the people and press of the world will be aware that as the world's strongest nation and defender of freedom, we will not stand for unprovoked attack or aggression, but at the same time be aware we do not seek material or territorial gain. We only desire freedom, for ourselves, and for peoples of other nations.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator withdraw that request?

Mr. MORSE. I shall withdraw it on the condition that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] asks for a quorum call at the close of his remarks, unless I am back on the floor.

Mr. COOPER. That is agreeable.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I withdraw the request for a quorum call.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Oregon.

A few moments ago I directed several questions to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and I spoke briefly on the joint resolution. I wish now to raise some considerations which I know have addressed themselves to the President of the United States, but which we have the duty, in this debate, to convey to the President of the United States.

I intend to vote for the joint resolution. I shall vote for it not merely because we are required to do so because of recent events. I shall vote for it because it expresses the unity of one purpose to defend our country.

The first section of the resolution supports the President and approves his determination to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression. That is his right and authority. If we have any power to confirm it, we do confirm it. We support him in his power to protect the security of our country and its honor. I join other Senators wholeheartedly in asserting our support of the President.

Earlier, I raised questions about the second section of the joint resolution, although I know it is practically impossible to separate the objectives of the first section from those of the second section. In response to my questions, the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], and I believe, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], confirmed my viewpoint that in passing this joint resolution we would satisfy the conditions of the SEATO treaty, and would exercise our constitutional function to give the President of the United States authority to do what he determines may be proper and necessary with respect to any situation which affects our security in South Vietnam.

I believe that is the essence of the second section. At least that was the meaning and interpretation given to it by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

There is no choice so far as the first section of the joint resolution is concerned. If there is any attack upon our troops, our vessels, or our installations, we have the duty, for our security and our honor, to defend our own forces.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MORSE. I am not sure I understand the meaning of the Senator's comment on the SEATO treaty. Is the Senator arguing that the SEATO treaty gives us the authority to do what we have done in South Vietnam?

Mr. COOPER. No. What I said is that article IV of the SEATO treaty provides that in the event of an armed attack upon one of the parties to the SEATO treaty, or upon the countries such as South Vietnam included in the protocol, the United States, or any party to the treaty, could take action after resorting to its constitutional processes—which I would assume would mean coming to the Congress for authority.

Earlier today I asked the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the chairman of the Armed Services Committee whether they considered that, by enacting the resolution, the Congress would be exercising its constitutional process, providing to the President power to take such action as he determined proper in South Vietnam in the future?

Mr. MORSE. I shall not interrupt the Senator further. I shall discuss the point in detail later. I only wish the Senator to know that, in my opinion, we have violated the United Nations Charter time and time again in South Vietnam, and that we cannot justify it on the basis of carrying out the SEATO treaty.

Mr. COOPER. A few minutes ago, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] said that the situation is not simple. We are in a crisis.

I hope that this joint resolution, connected with the resolute action the President has taken, will have effect in bringing the North Vietnamese and the Communist Chinese to their senses, and that they will know that to continue to take aggressive measures could lead to consequences which can hardly be contemplated. And we must know for ourselves the extent of the determinations we are making. Whether we dislike saying it—and there is a tendency to dislike making the statement—it must be said that there is great danger in the situation. The two attacks upon our destroyers indicate a system in the action of North Vietnam or the Communist Chinese.

We remember that, during the early days of the Korean war, the threats of Communist China were not believed—but they were carried out. We must contemplate, hoping that it will not be true, the possibility of an expanded war. And with an expanded war, which again we hope will not occur, there is the possibility of a great war.

I make this statement because the President has, with respect to our action in South Vietnam, a certain maneuverability, and avenues of negotiation which should be assiduously used, however they may be received.

I have confidence in President Johnson. I know that he is a man of good judgment. I know that he speaks truly when he says it is not our intention to expand the war except as it would be in our own defense. And I know that he is a man of peace. But I hope very much that he will continue to make every effort to find, if it is possible, some solution for the situation in South Vietnam, without the choice of war.

I may not be joined by others in the statement I am about to make, but I have not believed that southeast Asia is the chief area of interest to the United States. We are committed in Europe and believe our chief interest is in the Western Hemisphere and Europe. In the Pacific we are committed to the defense of Formosa, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. I do not know how widely we can spread our resources and our men in the military forces. It may be argued that this decision has been made, because for 10 years we have been on the present course, in South Vietnam. But I shall still emphasize my hope that the President of the United States will use all of the great powers of his office and of our country to find some peaceful and just solution in South Vietnam, slender as the chance may be.

The Senator from Oregon has argued the subject for months; I have spoken on it. There is still the possibility of reference to the United Nations. There is still the possibility of action through the Geneva powers; and these courses must not be overlooked.

Like many other Senators, I have had some experience in war, an experience which I value above all others. Anyone who has had such experience knows, awesome as it is, that it does not make one less afraid or less courageous. It makes one determined to protect the security and honor of his country. But it makes one also more determined and more thoughtful about seeking out every honorable and just course to avoid the possibility of a great war, and the awful eventuality of nuclear war with all the sorrow and disaster it would bring to our country and humanity.

I am hopeful that the joint resolution and the President's action will bring reason to the North Vietnamese and the Communist Chinese, and that they will cease their aggressions. But I state my conviction that the President and the Congress have the responsibility to continue to work for ways, consonant with our honor and security, to avoid the great catastrophe of war. If we cannot do so, we stand together to defend, at whatever cost, our country and freedom.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to support the position just enunciated, with his usual heart and humanity, as well as wisdom, by my colleague from Kentucky. I rise not necessarily because he needs any support. His word is strong enough in this Chamber and in the world. I rise only because the discussion ties in so closely with the questioning of the Senator from Arkansas on the real meaning and implication of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. We who support the joint resolution do so with full knowledge of its seriousness and with the understanding that we are voting a resolution which means life or the loss of it for who knows how many hundreds or thousands? Who knows what destruction and despair this action may bring in the name of freedom? I hope we shall be very sober in our judgment, as befits the great historic tradition of this body.

We have a right to expect from the President of the United States, who will receive this great grant of confidence, which I am sure the Senate will give by an overwhelming vote, and from the Foreign Relations Committee, which has direct charge of these matters in this body, as vigorous a diplomatic effort as we are authorizing in the other field. We have every right to believe that the nations in the SEATO treaty have interests in this region as great as ours. They may not be able to muster the military power we can, but they certainly can muster some help which will give them a sense of participation. We know they can muster great moral strength. There is a great population in that area. Pakistan has a population of more than 100 million. India, though in dire trouble, is still the counterweight to Communist China. She has a profound interest in what happens in that area. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand have considerable influence. All those strengths must be mustered, in a physical and moral sense. The same is true of France, Great Britain, and others.

I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] as to the moral strength—although I do not agree with him as to what we have to do in this situation—that must be mustered by the United States, constantly and continuously, to appeal to the conscience of the world, in order to give the world an opportunity to bring about a sense of justice and morality, and an opportunity to act in its own freedom.

In fundamental aspect, the prize that the Chinese Communists are seeking is the possession of the great arsenal of production in Asia, including Japan. The aim of Communist China in respect of Japan is parallel to that which the Soviet Union, in its worst Stalinist days, had toward Germany. They seek a ready-made arsenal in order to develop it quickly——

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Will he repeat what he just said? I think it is important.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator. The objective of the Chinese Communists is the great arsenal of production which is Japan, just as the objective of the Soviet Union in its Stalinist days—and probably still is—was the great arsenal of production which was Germany. They are the main bases which the Communists are seeking to capture.

We must understand the deep feeling of every American and every American family on this question. I have already received in my office, as I am sure all other Senators have, numerous telegrams since yesterday on this subject. I was awakened three times between 12 o'clock and 3 in the morning—and I do not complain; I understand the feelings of the families involved—by people in New York telling me how deeply concerned they were and with what prayer and devotion I must determine how to act on the joint resolution.

For those people we have a pledge to use every instrument of diplomacy, as we are willing to use every element of force, necessary to preserve freedom.

We have also another pledge. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] said it was expected that these means should be used with the greatest moderation and understanding of the vital issue with which we are dealing.

Also, and finally, we have the sad duty which generals have in war, of comparing the number of casualties we are willing to endure in order to achieve an objective which will save even greater casualties. Does anyone think that President Truman had an easy decision to make about dropping the bomb on Hiroshima? Yet history records that a million or more lives were saved, devastating as the dropping of that bomb was.

These are dread decisions which great powers must make. They must make them with morality, and with a willingness to walk the extra 10 miles—to paraphrase President Eisenhower—and consider every avenue that means an "out," even if we have to swallow a little pride, in dedicating ourselves to using every means of diplomacy and persuasion on the people of the world, while they have yet time to exercise a choice.

I hope the joint resolution will be administered in that spirit by the President and by the Foreign Relations Committee, which also bears a heavy responsibility as the trustee of all of us here.

It is under those conditions that I shall, with deep knowledge and notice of what I am doing, cast my vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I wish to make some comments with respect to what was said by the Senator from New York dealing with what we obligate ourselves to do by this resolution. Earlier today the Senator from New York made some inquiries on this subject. Other inquiries have been made by other Senators.

Under the first section of the resolution, we commit ourselves and authorize the Commander in Chief to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

In other words, under the first section, we contemplate that our Government shall repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and will take such action as is necessary to prevent further aggression.

Section 2 has been rather widely discussed this afternoon. I wish at this time to call attention to certain articles of that section. It deals solely with the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, SEATO. It empowers the President to determine, limited by the authority of SEATO, what action we shall take in protecting the rights of the members of SEATO. Our obligations under SEATO are divided into two parts.

Part I, in substance, declares that the Government of the United States will join in the protection of its fellow members against any aggression. I wish to emphasize that under the first part of article IV of the SEATO Treaty our Government is only obligated to lend its military forces in instances in which our allies are attacked and such attack endangers the security of our country. I wish to read the first part of article IV, which is applicable to the statements which I have thus far made:

"Each party"—

That means each party that has subscribed to the SEATO Treaty—

"recognizes that aggression"—

I emphasize the word "aggression"—

"by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties or against any State or Territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereinafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event"—

The question is, What event? The answer is in the event of attack and that in addition thereto it endangers the security of the United States of America, our country will—

"act to meet the common danger in conformity with its constitutional processes."

Under article IV of SEATO we are obligated only to give military help to our allied members of SEATO when they are attacked from without. We are not obligated to give them help if they attack nations which are not members of SEATO.

The first half of article IV makes it abundantly clear that under the SEATO Treaty our Government is not obligated to come to the aid of any country unless that country, a member of SEATO, has been attacked by an enemy and that attack endangers our security. Probably I ought to add that the treaty makes it conditional that the countries which attack, and upon which we are allowed to impose our military strength, are Communist countries.

Now we come to the second half of article IV of the SEATO Treaty. The second half deals with no attack upon members. It deals with conduct that does not constitute an attack but which endangers the security of the member countries.

I read the provisions of the second half of article IV:

"If, in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or sovereignty or political independence of any party in the treaty area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article from time to time apply, is threatened"—

I wish to repeat that—

"is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on measures which should be taken for the common defense."

The second half of this article, dealing with our obligations, provides, in effect, that if one of our allies is not attacked but is subjected to threats and conduct that endanger the security of the country and ourselves, we do not have the obligation to impose our Armed Forces in order to secure a settlement of that threat.

In the second instance, our obligation is only to sit down with the members and consult. We say to the members in that consultation: "None of us has been attacked. Therefore, there is no obligation to impose our arms according to our constitutional processes." In effect, it is further stated that, though we have not been attacked, the practices and the activities to which we have been subjected are a danger to the security of the individual and the composite countries.

In the second half of the section, the members are obligated to consult and determine what the course shall be.

Now I get down to what I term to be the significant aspect of section 2 of the resolution. To the President, Congress assigns the rights that are vested in Congress itself. In the event there is an attack upon an allied country, the United States is obligated to come to its aid against that attack (provided such an attack in the opinion of the United States endangers the security of the United States). In the event there is no attack, we have no obligation whatsoever, except the obligation to consult. I have discussed this aspect of the problem, because today a number of Senators asked questions implying that it was their belief that if South Vietnam attacked North Vietnam, under the SEATO treaty we were obligated to give South Vietnam help. That is not true. We are not obligated at all. We are obligated only when an attack has been made by North Vietnam on South Vietnam. That attack must be in an offensive and, of course, belligerent nature.

I ask unanimous consent that articles IV and the second part of article XI be made a part of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"ARTICLE IV

"1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

"2. If, in the opinion of any of the Parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any Party in the treaty area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense.

"3. It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement under paragraph 1 of this Article or on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned.

"UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"The United States of America in executing the present Treaty does so with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto in Article IV, paragraph 1, apply only to communist aggression but affirms that in the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2."

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there is no reluctance and no reservation in my support for the pending resolution. The President of the United States has acted with firmness and wisdom. The course of action followed—and apparently decreed for the immediate future as well—has the merit also of embracing directness and objectivity without involving the danger of unlimited hostile activity. There should be maximum unity within the Government on this issue—and this degree of unity is as incumbent on the Congress as on the executive branch.

I believe the President was right in requesting that there be an emphasis in the resolution—indeed, an expressed determination that "all necessary measures" be taken. In effect, congressional authority for future military action in southeast Asia would be delegated to the President—and properly so—by this resolution.

Columnist David Lawrence calls attention today to U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's speech in the United Nations Security Council yesterday in which he said the attacks on the U.S. Navy vessels in international waters of the Tonkin Gulf were "part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose."

And, as the New York Times this morning declared editorially:

"The lines have hardened. A highly dangerous period has opened. It is a time that calls for coolness as well as determination, for restraint as well as firmness."

Although we can suspect, as Ambassador Stevenson indicated, that the attacks were part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose, I agree with the Times' further editorial comment:

"We still have no real idea of what prompted the North Vietnamese to launch their potentially suicidal adventure. The Nation's united confidence in its Chief Executive is vital. No one else can play the hand. That confidence will be best maintained by a continued adherence to the principles the President himself has enunciated of firmness, but a firmness that will always be measured—a firmness whose mission is peace."

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise in support of the resolution which is the pending business before this body.

It is not the United States of America which is the aggressor in southeast Asia. The Communist aggressors launched the attack on U.S. Navy forces in the Bay of Tonkin, and they are the aggressors in Laos and in Vietnam. The United States had no alternative but to retaliate against the unwarranted and unprovoked attack by North Vietnamese on U.S. destroyers.

It is fitting that the Congress express its approval and its support of the determination of the President to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Mr. President, the approval and support which the Congress now expresses for the President to take necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States is not new. This authority the President now has, and, indeed, he has been exercising this authority as well as the authority to assist our southeast Asian allies to repel armed attacks against their nations and their armed forces.

The resolution which we are considering today does approve a new element which has not, prior to this week, been exercised, and that is the taking of all necessary measures to prevent further aggression. I sincerely hope that the President will take all necessary measures to prevent further aggression, not only against our own military forces, but also to prevent further aggression against our southeast Asian allies. If he does so, it will mean that we are at last abandoning our purely defensive posture in favor of a "win policy" in the war which the Communist aggressors have initiated and are continuing.

It is imperative that victory, not stalemate, be our objective in dealing with Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to state my support of the joint resolution before the Senate, Senate Joint Resolution 189. I know that this matter is of serious consequence, but I also know that the precedent of a joint resolution to promote the maintenance of international peace and security is well established. I will recall, as I am sure other Senators have in the debate, that in the instance of the Formosa crisis, and in the instance of the Middle East crisis, Congress joined the President in a statement of national security policy relating to our national security interests in those areas. The joint resolution before us follows very much the same guidelines and the same form as the other resolutions to which I have referred.

It is my view that the President has the authority under the Constitution to order the Armed Forces of the United States to protect the vital interests of this country whenever those interests are threatened. In other words, the President was acting fully within his authority when orders were given to the destroyer *Maddox* to repeal the PT boat attack from the North Vietnamese.

The President, as Commander in Chief, not only has the authority under the Constitution to use the Armed Forces of the United States for the protection of our freedom and security; he has the duty to do so. In the day and age in which we are living, attacks upon our country often come swiftly. They frequently come at a time and a place in which only a swift response will achieve the purpose of the action. Delayed response would be of no avail.

We live at a time when communications make it possible for an enemy to strike serious blows at our country and to adversely affect our vital interests, and to do it so rapidly and so decisively that unless we can respond quickly, we shall suffer defeat before we even have an opportunity to evaluate what has happened.

So I believe that President Lyndon B. Johnson, in ordering our aircraft to destroy certain facilities of the North Vietnamese regime, facilities which have been used to harass American shipping and to attack units of the American fleet, did what he should have done. He is to be commended for having done it, and is to be respected for the manner in which he took this decisive action.

The joint resolution now before the Senate, in the "whereas" clauses, states the facts. It reads:

"Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

"Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

"Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military, or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way; Now, therefore, be it"

All those statements in the "whereas" clauses are facts—known facts of foreign policy and known facts of international life.

This Nation has an obligation to fulfill its treaty responsibilities. This Nation, as a leader of peoples in the free world and of free nations in the world, has the responsibility of assuming the heavy burdens of leadership, which at times includes the defense of helpless people, the defense of defenseless people.

Therefore, Mr. President, (Mr. Brewster in the chair), the joint resolution before the Senate makes note of the fact "that the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

I do not believe that anyone would disagree that such measures are necessary.

Surely, we cannot permit an unprovoked attack upon the forces of the United States without response. Surely, the Congress would not condone a pattern of international conduct that would deny the fleet of the United States the use of international waters. It is a part of our national history and our national heritage to support freedom of the seas—from the time of George Washington, through the administration of Thomas Jefferson and the incidents with the Barbary pirates, up to this very hour. As a great maritime power, we must insist upon a strict application of international law, insofar as the high seas and international waters are concerned.

Therefore, the attack which was made upon our vessels had to be repulsed; and in repulsing that attack it was essential that the particular facilities in the haven from whence the attack took place should be destroyed.

The second section of the resolution recites once again what has been the policy of this Nation since 1954, insofar as southeast Asia is concerned.

It states very directly and simply for all to understand.

"The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia."

We are signatories to the SEATO treaty. The South Vietnamese Government—the government of a free country—has asked for our assistance. We have a mutual assistance pact with them. We have given assurances, since the days of the Eisenhower administration, through the Kennedy administration, and now into the Johnson administration, that the obligations of the mutual assistance agreement will be fulfilled.

It is my view that the minute we back away from commitments we have made in the defense of freedom, where the Communist powers are guilty of outright subversion and aggression, on that day the strength, the freedom and the honor of the United States starts to be eroded.

I remember a Senator once saying in this Chamber that he doubted very much whether the Communist nations intended to blow the world to pieces; that he thought possibly they intended to pick it up piece by piece.

The more I think of that expression, the more truth there seems to be in it.

The aggressor seeks to bite off piece by piece the areas of freedom. They seek to do it through terror, subversion, and persistent aggression.

We have seen this happen in our own hemisphere. We have watched, for example, how the Castro Communist regime in Cuba used every conceivable means to destroy the free government of Venezuela through subversion, terrorism, assassination, propaganda—every conceivable method, military, economic, and political.

I am of the opinion that what is going on in southeast Asia is a persistent attack on the part of the Communist forces to nibble away at certain areas in southeast Asia which we can call free and independent, to take them one by one—this would include Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, in the southeast Asia peninsula.

Let us not forget for a single moment that only a few months ago an international agreement was arrived at in reference to the country of Laos, and a man by the name of Souvanna Phouma, who was a neutralist, was elected as the Premier. I can recall when Souvanna Phouma was looked upon as less than desirable to the Government of the United States. But he is the Premier of Laos, and he is attempting to keep the obligations and to fulfill the commitments of the international agreement. All the forces in that little country were supposed to have come together and were supposed to follow the commitments and the terms of the agreement—the rightist forces, the neutralist forces, and the Pathet Lao.

What has happened?

The Pathet Lao, the Communist forces, have waged a relentless attack upon the established regime. Were it not for the Government of the United States resisting, were it not for the Government of the United States attempting to maintain the strength of the established regime and government of Souvanna Phouma, Laos today would be only another Communist-bloc country.

I do not believe that we show any love of peace by letting the Communists take the world over piece by piece. We show no love of peace by permitting unprovoked and unadulterated aggression to take place against friendly and peace-loving nations, or against the Armed Forces of the United States.

What this joint resolution does is to place the elected representatives of the American people in Congress assembled on record as supporting the actions of the Commander in Chief in defense of American sovereignty, in defense of American Armed Forces, and in fulfillment of our treaty obligations and commitments.

A great power must be an honorable power. A great nation must be willing at times to make great and difficult decisions. I would be the last to say that this decision did not have within it the possibilities of even greater troubles ahead. But I do not believe that we can duck these troubles. I do not believe that we can avoid them by pretending they are not there.

I do not believe, if the fleet had been withdrawn from Tonkin Bay area where it was attacked, that it would have made the Chinese any more peaceful, or the North Vietnamese any more considerate of the legitimate rights of the people of South Vietnam. On the contrary, I believe that were we to have withdrawn, or had we pretended it was nothing more than a little incident, all it would have done would have been to feed the beast of aggression. North Vietnam in concert with the Communist Chinese regime, would have continued to build up its airfields, its depots, its supply lines, and its bases.

So we did what we had to do.

Mr. Church. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. Humphrey. I yield.

Mr. Church. Would not the Senator agree with me that there is a proper time to question the merits of a national policy, whether it be in southeast Asia or anywhere else in the world? One of the functions of the Senate is to keep our foreign policy under continuing surveillance.

There is a time to question the route of the flag, and there is a time to rally around it, lest it be routed. This is the time for the latter course, and in our pursuit of it, a time for all of us to unify.

Mr. Humphrey. Mr. President, the Senator from Idaho, in his usual and brilliant manner, has stated the case precisely and succinctly. There is not only a time, but there is an obligation on the part of Members of this body to question policy, to express concern if we have a doubt, or to express approval. That is what the Senate of the United States is for. That is why we have the committee structure. That is why we have committee hearings and testimony. There is a time when we can get up and say that the policy ought to go in another direction, and suggest alternatives. And Senators have done so.

But there comes a time when the aggressor may feel that because of our discussions, we are disunited, and he then could launch an attack.

The power that we have today is to be used for the cause of peace and justice. The power that the American people have in their great military establishment is to help other people as well as ourselves in their pursuit of freedom and in their pursuit of national independence and national dignity.

I believe that we are using it for this purpose. I commend the President of the United States, not only the present President, but the others—the late beloved President Kennedy, and former President General Eisenhower—not only because they were at times willing to use the power, but also because they had the moral character to restrain the use of power that was in their hands when that restraint was necessary.

Mr. Carlson. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Humphrey. I yield.

Mr. Carlson. Mr. President, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church] has just made a statement. I think I would be less than frank if I did not state, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that I had several times questioned the policy of this country in southeast Asia.

It seems to me that that time has passed. It seems to me that the President has a responsibility, and that Congress has the duty to insist that our Nation's rights of protection on the high seas be observed, that none of our vessels are fired on, and, that we defend ourselves by retaliatory action.

It seems to me that in dealing with international problems, we must show firmness. We must show strength. For that reason, I support the President's decision in this matter. I shall vote for the resolution.

I had hoped that there would have been some way that we could have arrived at an arrangement in southeast Asia without continually seeming to be escalating the war.

I have watched the progression of this situation for about 10 years. I know that every other member of the Committee on Foreign Relations has, too. It has concerned me greatly. It seems that we take step after step that involves us in a situation from which it is most difficult to extricate ourselves, even by conferences in the United Nations, or meetings in any other area of the country that we might select.

I associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Idaho. We have reached a place where we have not only to support the President, because he has the responsibility, but we have a duty and a privilege today, and we should exercise it.

Mr. Humphrey. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Kansas. Lest I be misunderstood, I, too, on occasion have expressed concern over certain aspects of our policy in southeast Asia. I have tried to make at times what I thought were constructive suggestions to modify, to complement, or strengthen that policy.

I believe that this must be done. Our objective must be made crystal clear. Our Government is not attempting to accelerate a conflict. Our objective is to achieve stability in the area so that we can then go to the conference table. But we ought to make it clear to the world that we do not intend to sit at the conference table with a Communist gun at our heads.

We do not intend to sit at the conference table while the Communist forces continue acts of aggression against ourselves or against our allies. The Communists must learn sometime that the United States of America and other nations associated with it are not going to be blackmailed by Communist subversion, Communist aggression, and Communist power tactics. They must learn that we are perfectly willing to assume the role at the conference table of negotiation and diplomacy, but only under circumstances in which there is a respect for law and order, and in which there is a respect for national sovereignty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think we can all subscribe to the views expressed by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] as affirmed by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON]. Of course, we are not supposed merely to take things without questioning. The thought occurred to me that down in the Foreign Relations Committee, where we meet so often, we exercise the power of questioning. When we have briefings and conferences, the individual members of the committee express themselves and ask questions. Most of the time we gain a pretty fair understanding among ourselves and the representatives of the State Department, the executive department, and the military who come before us. I do not know of any problem that has been considered more frequently and more vigorously than the problem of southeast Asia, not merely Vietnam, but also Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and the entire area of southeast Asia, but particularly the Indochina states.

It has not been one that we merely accepted. Some of the thoughts that have been exchanged in the Foreign Relations Committee have been helpful to the State Department and the Defense Department in trying to meet the problems. I fully agree with the Senator from Kansas that this is a responsibility of the President. When President Eisenhower proposed, in 1953, the Formosa Straits resolution, I spoke on the floor of the Senate regarding that resolution. At that time I said that the resolution was not necessary, that the President had full power and authority to pronounce this policy and to carry it out. I related it back to the Truman doctrine in the Greece-Turkey situation in 1947. The Senator will remember that President Truman came before Congress and said, "This is what I have done. This is the program. I wish you to appropriate the money to carry it out."

I have always felt that the President had such power. However, I supported President Eisenhower's resolution on the Formosa straits issue, and I supported the resolution on the issue involving the Near East, because the President made it clear, as it is made clear at the present time, that what he wanted was a show of unification on the part of the country. Such an expression is provided in the joint resolution before the Senate. It is inherent in it, and it certainly has been in the expressions of the President.

There is one provision in the joint resolution which particularly pleases me, and it follows up closely the resolution relating to the Formosa Straits, the Near East resolution proposed by President Eisenhower, and the Cuban resolution proposed by President Kennedy. It recognizes the power of the President to do these things in defense of our country on the high seas. But it calls for support from the Congress and from the people of the United States. For that reason I believe it is a good resolution, and I think it fully complies with the requirements that all of us would expect.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I say to the Senator from Alabama that the analysis of the joint resolution and the work of the Foreign Relations Committee, not only at times in the offering of such resolutions or in passing upon them, is exactly my understanding of the constitutional powers of the President and the reason for this type of joint resolution. The President does have the power. The joint resolution in no way would weaken his constitutional prerogatives or powers, but it would place behind the President, as a demonstration to the American people, and to the world the fact that the Congress of the United States, representing the people of the United States, supports the action that has been taken. Indeed it not only supports it but, is strongly behind it.

I think that is very important. I call to the attention of the Senate the fact that the Communists have a way throughout history of engaging in aggressive attacks during our election years.

They have some sort of feeling that possibly the country is disunited. One of the most revealing experiences each time is how, regardless of party preference or individual views, the American Congress and the people of our country unite. That has been true in the present instance. The President of the United States consulted and spoke with members of both parties who were called to the White House. Officials of the Government have been to the Congress. The President of the United States was in contact with the standard bearer of the Republican Party. All united in support of the action that was taken and the joint resolution.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is a mobilization of the strength of democracy.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I should like to yield to the Senator from Montana.

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

ORDER FOR LIMITATION OF DEBATE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 3 hours on the pending joint resolution, 2 hours to be given to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and 1 hour to be divided between the majority leader and the minority leader, and that a vote on the joint resolution occur at 1 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

I ask unanimous consent that the provisions of rule XII, clause 3, requiring a quorum call, be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

"UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

"*Ordered*, That effective at 10 a.m. on Friday, August 7, 1964, debate on the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia shall be limited to 3 hours, of which 2 hours shall be allocated to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and 1 hour to the majority and minority leaders, and that a vote on the passage of the said joint resoultion shall be taken at the hour of 1 p.m. on said day, August 7, 1964."

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. BARTLETT. I have had deep doubts about the wisdom of our policy in Indochina, with particular reference to Vietnam. I have expressed those doubts many times on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere.

I have feared that there might be an escalation of the war, but I never dreamed that its possibility would come from such causes as have been noted during the past several days.

Mr. President, it has seemed to me that the basic need—of insuring the people of South Vietnam to fight for their freedom, to bring into being a government of stability, a government that would be free of Communist influence—has been too often lacking, despite the massive help that we have given in that far-off land.

The distance between the United States and southeast Asia has been one of the basic difficulties we have encountered. It has been said repeatedly that that part of the world is vital to our national security. There can be doubt on that point. I have never felt, that the proposal as advanced by President de Gaulle, that the war in southeast Asia should be negotiated, was worthy of derision from us or from anyone else. I thought that the proposal should be considered carefully. I believe that; and I have had no reason to change that view, that in the long run the only satisfactory one of concluding what is a desperate situation, not only for the South Vietnamese, but also for us, could be arrived at around the conference table. But it has been apparent from the start—so far as I was concerned at least—that we should not go to the negotiatiing table from a stance of weakness. We must, first, set up a system there through military strength, through desire on the part of the South Vietnamese themselves, where negotiations might be conducted on a basis of equality.

But whatever my views or the views of others on this sorry situation may have been, the fact remains that they now must be considered in the light of what has happened this week. For me there will be no difficulty in voting for the joint resolution which is now being considered by the Senate. All Americans must unite behind their President and behind their Government in the hope, as the President has so frequently expressed during the past few days, that there will be no further developments in the war, that the strikes which we have made, after acts of aggression have been committed against us, will constitute a sufficient warning, and that even now, in this hour of crisis, the dangers will be resolved, and that at a date not too far distant, peace may be restored to those unhappy lands.

Meanwhile, it is my intention to vote tomorrow for the joint resolution.

For me, there is no alternative.

I wish we had never committed ourselves to the course of action upon which we embarked several years ago. But we did. And now we have been attacked. Our honor, our integrity, our vital interests are assuredly now at issue. We can do but one thing as I see it—unite behind the President.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Alaska for his comments. I conclude by saying that the Senator from Minnesota will vote for the joint resolution.

I invite the attention of our countrymen to the fact that the desire of the Government is for peace with justice; the desire of the Government is for the cessation of hostilities in any part of the world; the desire of the Government is not to extend or to expand the struggle or the war in southeast Asia; the desire of the Government is to have nations live by their commitments, their treaty obligations, and to respect the sovereignty and independence of the nations in that area. This Government has as its objective the fulfillment of its treaty obligations; and our action in southeast Asia is directed toward that purpose.

I commend the President and hope that the joint resolution will be overwhelmingly supported.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I rise to support the joint resolution to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. The deliberate and unprovoked military attacks by the

North Vietnamese upon our naval vessels created a situation in which the President was forced to take immediate and firm action. The action was taken, and all Americans can be proud of the firmness which our military forces have displayed. It has been a firmness, without giving the appearance of being tough, and I feel that the exercise of restraint, in the use of the overwhelming power which we possess in the area immediately affected, has created a very favorable impression throughout the free world.

While the initial incident appeared at first to be an isolated event, subsequent aggressive action by the North Vietnamese indicated that the attacks were planned and carried out for purposes concerning which we are not fully aware even at this moment. For the United States to have vacillated or hesitated would have encouraged further acts of aggression, and, in my judgment, we had only one course to pursue in the upholding of our country's honor and in the protection of its immediate and long-term security. That course was taken. We should be under no illusions as to the grave consequences which may follow in the train of events which have recently transpired. We may be confronted with an escalating Vietnamese war, and the danger of deeper U.S. involvement must be faced up to. We know not what lies ahead. We do not know what the next Red move may be, but we can hope that the resoluteness and determination which have already been displayed by our Commander in Chief and our military forces will duly impress the North Vietnamese and Red China and indeed the Soviet Union, and that the Communist regimes in those countries will not dare to discount the danger to world peace involved in further provocative behavior.

The people of America share with other freedom-loving nations the fervent hope that reason will prevail and that peace can be restored in the Far East. Nonetheless, the unity and determination of the American people, through their representatives in Congress, should be manifested in terms which are certain and clear. It is imperative that the resolution be adopted unanimously and with promptitude. As a member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, I voted this morning to favorably report the resolution, and I am now ready to support its adoption by the Senate. Our country is not interested in the plunder of aggrandizement, but our country is bound to resist every peril to our security and the security of the free world. Action, not words, should be the order of the day.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as the record of the Senate already shows, the majority leader and I had a conference a few moments ago, in which a unanimous-consent agreement was reached that the Senate would resume tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, that we would vote at 1 o'clock tomorrow afternoon, that the senior Senator from Oregon would be allowed 2 hours of that time, and that the other hour would be divided equally between the majority and minority leaders.

I shall make my major rebuttal speech at that time, but for just a few moments tonight there are certain facts I want to put into the RECORD, so that they will be in the RECORD tomorrow.

Yesterday I made a major speech in opposition to the pending resolution. I now incorporate that speech by reference and stand on every word I uttered.

In that speech I said the United States was a provocateur, along with South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Red China, and the Pathet Lao in Laos, and possibly on some occasions, Cambodia, and that the United States must assume and be charged with its share of responsibility for a series of provocations that have led to the crisis which now exists in southeast Asia.

I repeat it tonight. I am satisfied that there is no question about it.

Mr. President, we have stood in violation of the United Nations Charter for years in South Vietnam. Even the neutral commission composed of representatives from India, Canada, and Poland found North Vietnam and South Vietnam in violation of the articles of the Geneva accords. The South Vietnam violation was due to the military operations of the United States in South Vietnam. That is our provocation.

As will be seen before I finish these brief remarks tonight, we have not reported our military buildup in South Vietnam to the United Nations under article 51, which is a clear treaty obligation of the United States. We have never done it, Mr. President.

So the senior Senator from Oregon does not modify in one iota his charge that contrary to its treaty obligations, the United States has been a provocateur in southeast Asia along with South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Red China, the Pathet Lao in Laos, and possibly Cambodia.

No one can possibly justify the attack on American ships in Tonkin Bay off North Vietnam. The senior Senator from Oregon, from the very beginning, has been highly critical of it and has condemned it.

As in domestic criminal law, crimes are committed, but they are sometimes committed under provocation. The provocation is taken into account by a wise judge in imposing sentence.

Some provocative factors were involved, which I mentioned yesterday, but I want to mention them again tonight for the record. On Friday, July 31, South Vietnamese naval vessels—not junks but armed vessels of the PT boat type made available to South Vietnam by way of our aid program—had bombed two North Vietnamese islands. One island is approximately 3 miles and one approximately 5 miles from the main coast of North Vietnam.

As I made clear this morning in the committee meeting, the United States did not act in a vacuum with respect to that bombing. The United States knew that the bombing was going to take place. The United States has been in close advisory relationship with the military dictatorship we have been supporting as a military protectorate in South Vietnam for quite some time. We knew for quite some time that the dictator of South Vietnam has wanted to go north. We know that recently there was a big demonstration in Saigon, staged pretty much by students, but there were others, and in response to a speech made by Dictator Khanah, the cry was, "Go north, go north, go north," which meant that the cry was for escalating the war into North Vietnam.

We also know that as a result of that incident, which ended in an incident of some riot proportions, in that the rioters pulled down some memorials which had been erected to the French dead in Saigon, General Khanh and Ambassador Taylor had some diplomatic conversations. Most Senators have read that the latest diplomatic conversation had taken place at a party out in the country, at an estate, which Khanh and the Ambassador had attended. The stories which came out of that meeting were to the effect that they had resolved their differences and that there was a recognition on the part of the general that the United States would not favor an extension and expansion of the war to the north.

On Friday, July 31, the war was escalated to the north. That is not a matter of infiltration. That is not a matter of junks seeking to bring in supplies. That is not a matter of South Vietnamese intelligence people being slipped into North Vietnam or of North Vietnamese intelligence agents being slipped into South Vietnam. This was a well thought out military operation. These islands were bombed.

When these islands were bombed, American destroyers were on patrol in Tonkin Bay, and they were not 60 or 65 miles away. What I am about to say I can say without revealing the source and without violating any secrecy.

It is undeniable that in the patrolling operations of our destroyers in Tonkin Bay the destroyers have patrolled within 11 miles and not more than 3 miles off the coast of North Vietnam. The reason that these are the figures is that there is a conflict between the United States and North Vietnam. North Vietnam claims that her national waters go out to 12 miles. She is not the only country in the world that claims it. The United States takes the position that national waters extend only 3 miles. I believe our position is absolutely right. I believe the weight of international law is in favor of us. I think the so-called exceptions which are often cited in international law cases, which certain proponents seek to use to throw doubt over the whole principle, are exceptions which apply in geographic locations in the world and are special in their nature. Some Latin American neighbors claim not only 12 miles, but, in some instances, more than 12 miles, particularly when they think extending the national waters beyond 12 miles may give them great commercial advantages in respect to fishing rights.

I only mention it in passing to show that this fact is a point of international law which is frequently under considerable dispute and controversy.

I repeat my premise. There is no question about the fact American naval vessels, in their legitimate rights of patrol in Tonkin Bay, patrolled within an area of 3 miles to 11 miles in extent.

They patrolled under 12 miles to demonstrate that we did not recognize any 12-mile limit, and stayed beyond 3 miles to make it clear that we respected and abided by what we thought was the international law right of North Vietnam.

We had the international right to do that. The senior Senator from Oregon has never taken the position that we have no right to patrol in Tonkin Bay in international waters. It ought to be done with discretion. If we wish to argue in one breath that we are against escalating the war, we have a little difficulty in the next breath justifying, in my judgment, the course of action that we followed in respect to South Vietnamese bombing of the two islands 3 to 5 miles off the coast of North Vietnam, and then having American naval vessels, a part of our Navy, so close to the North Vietnamese coast although in international waters, as they were on Friday, July 31, when the bombing took place.

Oh, Mr. President, the Pentagon and the State Department throw up their hands in aggrievement if anyone suggests, as I did in my speech yesterday, that their very presence there is subject to the interpretation that they were a backstop. All the protestations on the part of the State Department and the Pentagon cannot change a physical fact. The presence of those ships in that proximity to the North Vietnamese coast, while an act of war was being committed against North Vietnamese coast by the bombings of those islands, was bound to implicate us. We are implicated.

One can deny, deny, and deny, but the fact that the ships were that close while the bombing took place is bound to be interpreted as a provocation, and also must be considered when we look at the matter of the reaction to it as an extenuating fact.

Mr. President, I do not know exactly the mileage location of the American naval vessels while the bombing took place. I do not know whether it was 4 miles, 11 miles, or 20 miles. But the very fact that these ships were in that general area of Tonkin Bay, where they could have given, if it became necessary, protection, in my judgment implicates the United States.

It is bound to be looked upon by our enemies as an act of provocation; and it makes us a provocateur under the circumstances.

It is difficult to find out exactly what happened in regard to the ultimate attack on the *Maddox* on Sunday. The bombing took place on Friday. But I think I violate no privilege or no secrecy if I say that subsequent to the bombing, and apparently because there was some concern about some intelligence that we are getting, our ships took out to sea; that is, they changed their course, instead of remaining close to the mainland of North Vietnam, as they had a perfect right under international law to do. But as a result of the concern that was caused by the bombardment by the South Vietnamese—our ships went a considerably greater distance from the shores of North Vietnam. Approximately 60 miles offshore was the point at which the attack by the North Vietnamese PT boats took place.

That was an act of aggression on their part against the United Staets. There is no question that we were clearly within our rights in replying with force and sinking their ships, if we could. Apparently we did sink one of their ships. That closed that incident.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MORSE. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator just made the statement that, on the basis of certain intelligence received by, I assume, the commander of the *Maddox*——

Mr. MORSE. I am not going to comment on that. I think I have said all that I have a right to say within the proprieties.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There has been no proof of any kind whatsoever that any intelligence was received, except as to the pursuit by the PT boats of our *Maddox*. So my question is, On what basis does the Senator from Oregon say that we received certain intelligence that our ships were being attacked?

Mr. MORSE. I did not say that. Read the record. Have the record read back.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Will the Senator please state, then, what his understanding——

Mr. MORSE. If it will help the Senator, I will repeat what I said. I had pointed out that after the bombardment of the islands, the American ships, from the point where they were, took out to sea a greater distance.

Then I made the comment that it was my understanding that on the basis of intelligence reports there was some concern about the situation. I did not say what the Senator said I said. I do not think I should say it. I do not believe the Senator from Ohio should say it, either.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I am glad to have the Senator's information.

Mr. MORSE. I do not think the Senator from Ohio should say it either; but on the basis of intelligence reports, a decision was made that our ships should go farther out to sea. That is all I have said.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does the Senator mean on the basis of knowledge, or on the basis——

Mr. MORSE. It is on the basis of what the Senator from Ohio and I heard in a secret session of the committee. I think I have said all I should say. I merely say that there was a change in our patrol policy, that our patrol boats went farther out to sea and were followed by the PT boats of North Vietnam.

Finally, on Sunday, they were close enough together for the engagement to take place.

Mr. LAUSCHE. So that we may have an understanding, our *Maddox* did go out to sea; but according to my recollection, that had no relationship to what had happened on the islands. It had a relationship to the pursuit that was being made by the PT boats of our *Maddox*.

Mr. MORSE. I have not said it had a relationship to what had happened in the islands. I am merely saying—the conclusion I am about to make in a moment is—that we had naval craft in the area of Tonkin Bay, where the enemy, in my judgment, has good reason to believe that there was a cause-to-effect relationship between the bombardment and our naval boats, and that our authorities knew of the bombardment. It does not make any difference whether the *Maddox* knew of the bombardment. Our authorities had the right to put the *Maddox* wherever they wanted to put her. The fact is that our authorities knew of the plans for the bombardment. The conclusion I was about to make is that they made a great mistake, in my judgment, in having our ships as close as they were to the mainland of North Vietnam when that bombardment took place, for they assisted the North Vietnamese to draw the conclusion that there was a relationship between the American patrol boats and the boats bombarding the islands. I think that was the only interpretation we could expect the North Vietnamese to make; and it would be exactly the same interpretation the United States would make under reverse circumstances.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield further?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The exchange of our words will not solve this problem. However, I am obliged to say that my recollection of what has been testified to is completely inconsistent with what the Senator from Oregon has stated.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Ohio is entitled to his interpretation of what we both heard. I am satisfied that my interpretation is unquestionably correct as to what happened to those ships.

The point the Senator from Oregon is making is that if we had knowledge—and we did have knowledge—that there was to be a South Vietnamese bombardment of the islands, we should not have had our ships anywhere in the area. In my judgment, we ought to have had them well beyond the 60 miles where the engagement finally took place. But there is no question that they were much closer to the North Vietnamese coast before that engagement took place. In fact, they were trailed out to 65 miles by the PT boats.

My point is, if we are to talk about provocation, that the United States was a provocateur by having any ships anywhere within striking distance or bombing distance; and the South Vietnamese boats did bomb those islands. We should have been completely out of the scene.

If Senators want my opinion, a "snow-job" is being done on us by the Pentagon and the State Department in regard to that bombardment. Not only had we full knowledge of it, but it was being done with our tacit approval. If we did not want to escalate the war into North Vietnam, that was the time for the United States to stop escalating.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I recognize the absolute sincerity of the Senator from Oregon in the statement he has made. I hope that he will also recognize that I am trying to be sincere.

Mr. MORSE. No one could be more sincere than the Senator from Ohio. We are just poles apart in regard to what our obligations and actions ought to be in South Vietnam. The Senator from Ohio favors the program that we are following, which, in my judgment, is a historic mistake. I oppose it. Two men could not be more sincere.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to state my judgment as to what the evidence shows. Our Government had no knowledge of any nature about the attacks which were made upon the two islands by the North Vietnamese. The *Maddox* was miles——

Mr. MORSE. Do not talk about the *Maddox;* talk about our American officialdom in Saigon, and our American officialdom in the Pentagon and the State Department. I state categorically that they knew the bombardment was going to take place before the ships ever moved up there.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Let me state to the Senator from Oregon that there is not a syllable of such testimony in the record which has been taken in the several days we have been listening to witnesses supporting the declaration made by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. There was complete admission that that was known.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It is the judgment of——

Mr. MORSE. It was written out in cold print.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It is the judgment of the Senator from Oregon based in a measure upon his wish that that happened, because that is in conformity with the position that he has taken. There is no testimony in the——

Mr. MORSE. I shall ignore the——

Mr. LAUSCHE. Of any kind that——

Mr. MORSE. I shall ignore the implications of that snide remark.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That is not a snide remark.

Mr. MORSE. It certainly is a snide remark, but I shall ignore the implications of it and state categorically that high officials of this Government have admitted on the record that they were aware of plans for the bombardment, but that they had nothing to do with it, they said—but they were aware of it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There is no testimony to that effect whatsoever. That is an inference made by the Senator from Oregon as to the——

Mr. MORSE. Get permission of the State Department or the Pentagon to publicly release the whole of the transcript without a single word deleted, and let the country know what they said.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to discuss this subject a little further, but we shall not reach any conclusion, except I must say that I disagree fully with the statements made by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I know that the Senator from Ohio has good hearing, but on that occasion I do not believe that he was hearing very well.

I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I shall be brief.

I shall be unavoidably absent from Washington tomorrow, having been of the view that the vote on this resolution would take place tonight. I have been unable to change my plans.

I state for the record that I strongly support the pending joint resolution. Were I present here, I would vote for it. I dislike to make the statement to the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] that my prognosis is that the resolution will pass.

Mr. MORSE. The resolution will pass, and Senators who vote for it will live to regret it.

Mr. President, to pick up where I left off, the point I am making is that I believe that when the United States became aware of the fact that South Vietnamese planned to bomb the two islands, the United States should have moved in and done everything it could to prevent an escalation of the war.

In my judgment, that act constituted a major escalation of this war. The escalation has been speeding up at an increased tempo ever since I had made the point that there were naval boats in Tonkin Bay in much closer proximity to the two islands, 3 to 5 miles from Vietnam, than the 60- to 65-mile location which the *Maddox* had reached on Sunday when the attack took place, the bombardment taking place on Friday.

Mr. President, I wish to make it clear that it is quite irrelevant and immaterial whether the captain of the *Maddox* knew anything about the bombardment of the island. He was not conducting a war He was under orders. I am taking the criticism that, in my judgment, American armed vessels should not have been as close to the islands as they were on Friday, July 31. In my judgment, that gave cause for the North Vietnamese to assume that there was a cause-and-effect relationship between the bombardment by the South Vietnamese vessels and the presence of the American naval patrol boats in Tonkin Bay at the location where they then were.

I repeat that I believe we not only had every right, but we had the clear obligation to protect our men aboard, to protect the vessels, and proceed with the military action by way of the response that our vessels gave to the PT boats of the North Vietnamese who were attempting to torpedo them.

On Tuesday, the next incident occurred. I agree with those who have expressed perplexity as to why the North Vietnamese on Tuesday night in a storm, after 9 o'clock, apparently at night, attempted another armed attack on our vessels.

It certainly was within our right, and I believe our clear duty in order to protect the men aboard and the vessels, to respond with military action designed to sink the attacking vessels.

Mr. President, that action on both Sunday and Saturday night was completely within the realm of international law. We were completely engaged in acts of self-defense. We had every right to respond with force.

I now come to the delicate question. I come to the one, Mr. President—and I make the statement respectfully—about which many people wave the flag into tatters. That is the subsequent action, when our ships were not under fire, in which the United States escalated the war to the mainland of North Vietnam, and the United States selected for itself targets on the mainland of North Vietnam to bomb. We know that that was substantial bombing. We know that that involved the bombing of the areas where their naval vessels were harbored, and that it involved the bombing of ammunition dumps and oil locations.

I do not care how one tries to spell it. I do not care with how much political fervor by way of semantics we attempt to describe it. The fact is that the United States was not protecting any ships at that time.

Mr. President, we either believe in settling international disputes by resort to the procedures of international law or by resort to war. We cannot cut this one both ways. After the second attack in defense of our ships in which we engaged, unless we expect to be charged with engaging in acts of aggression, we should have immediately laid our case under the United Nations Charter before the Security Council of the United Nations. In my judgment, we were dead wrong in proceeding to bomb the establishments on the mainland of North Vietnam and then out of the corners of our mouths saying, "Well, we are not seeking to expand the war. We do not want to widen the war. We are just going to defend ourselves."

Mr. President, bombing those sites was not necessary for self-defense at that point. At that point the United States was guilty of an act of aggression. The United States could no longer after that say that the war was being escalated only by South Vietnam, for the United States then escalated the war into North Vietnam. It is my judgment that it violated its obligations under the United Nations Charter, for there is nothing in the United Nations Charter that justifies such an act of aggression under those circumstances.

What a much stronger position we would be in in keeping with our oft-repeated professing that we believe in the substitution of the rule of law for the jungle war of military might as a means of settling disputes between nations.

Mr. President, we should have resorted to the United Nations then.

Oh, say some in their patriotic speeches, that would have been putting our tail between our legs and running.

What nonsense. I should like to use an argument by analogy in the field of domestic law. We lawyers know that there are few controversies between people that can be more heated than a dispute over a boundary line between property owners. The lawbooks are full of remarkable accounts of what human frailties cause people to do sometimes over a dispute involving boundary lines. So let us take my farmers A and B. They have one rough argument over a boundary line. The disputes took place for some time. Finally one day A and B met in the area of the disputed boundary. A pulled a gun on B, shot at him, and missed him. B, excercising his right to defense, knocks him down, takes the gun away from him and beats him up, and B goes back home. On his way back home he say, "I have more guns."

Now, A was in the right and B was in the wrong. B was the aggressor; A was the aggressed upon, and he had a just cause for assault or a more serious crime—assault with intent to kill. Instead of taking his charge to the courts, going down and getting the sheriff to take jurisdiction and proceeding to take the course of judicial process, suppose A decided he would invade B's home and destroy the guns that he might have in his home. We know what would happen under domestic law to Mr. B under those circumstances. In the second case he would now be the aggressor.

I use the analogy, but I do not apply it beyond the point that I now make, and that is that after the second attack, there is no question that we had North Vietnam dead to rights in any charge we might bring before the United Nations. And that is where we should have gone. Let us face the foreign policy that we decided to follow. That is what I meant yesterday when I pointed out that apparently the line of American foreign policy in southeast Asia is the line that we shall demonstrate to them that we shall use force, and that there will be more force to come if they do not desist from violations of their international obligations. When I say "they," I mean North Vietnam, Red China, the Pathet Lao, and others on that side of this war.

That is the policy that the United States apparently has been trying to get away with. It is a policy that asserts that if we merely use enough force, and make clear by way of enough threats that it will be pretty bad and hard on them if they do not fold and yield to our threats—if we follow that course of action, we shall avert the danger of war. Under that policy we greatly increase the risk of a full-scale war in Asia. But whether we did or not, that policy cannot be justified as a matter of principle, because that policy cannot be reconciled with our obligations under the United Nations Charter. In my judgment, we ought to abide by our treaty obligations.

Although I know the point I have just made is highly unpopular with those who think we ought to do just as we please under the circumstances and then, after we dominate the battlefield, go to the United Nations, and that that is the policy of my Government. It is dead wrong. It is wrong in principle. It is wrong in morality. It is wrong also because it cannot be reconciled with our professing that we do not believe in the use of military might as the weapon to be used to settle disputes that threaten the peace of the world. To the contrary, we claim a belief in a resort to the rules of reason as they are embodied in treaties we have signed, such as the United Nations Charter.

So I say we are a provocateur. My colleagues become excited and seem to think I am guilty of some heinous accusation without any substantiation in fact. We would have been in a stronger position before the eyes of the world tonight if, after we had responded, as we had a right to respond Tuesday night, to the attack on our ships, we had on Wednesday laid that issue before the United Nations and asked the United Nations to proceed to take action encompassed under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Oh, no. We had to proceed to bomb the mainland of North Vietnam on the basis that we had the right to do it in self-defense because they had attacked our ships on the high seas.

We have a right to do it if we want to make war, but then we should not deny that we have a policy of war when we say we are seeking peace. It is hypocrisy to say out of one side of one's mouth, "We only want peace," but to say from the other side of the mouth, "But we are justified in committing acts of war."

Issues of international litigation are involved in this case. There would not be a system of justice on the domestic front if we allowed people to shoot each other up while a trial was being conducted to determine whether the shooting of A by B was justified.

Mr. President, other arguments were made today. Several Senators think they help their case by voting for the joint resolution if they make statements in the RECORD such as were made today, to the effect "We want it understood that, although we are going to vote for this resolution, it is very important that we make clear to our allies that they come in under the SEATO Treaty and be of help to us."

They asked questions as to wether or not the resolution gives assurance of it. There is not a word of it in the resolution. There is not a word in the resolution that involves any commitment by anybody that there is going to be any help under the SEATO Treaty. All we say is that, because of the SEATO Treaty, we are going to do certain things.

It was said by one of my good colleagues that Great Britain was involved elsewhere, and that Pakistan and India are involved elsewhere. With hundreds of millions of dollars of American military aid under the foreign aid of past years, they are maneuvering themselves into a position where they can conduct a war against each other—with American equipment—if somebody pulls the trigger and a battle starts over Kashmir.

As I have been heard to say on the floor in recent weeks, even the foreign minister of Pakistan stood up in the Press Club in Washington, D.C., and publicly stated that they had no intention of helping us in South Vietnam. As the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will show, I made the statement that we should make it clear that we are cutting off military assistance. That would be a good thing, anyway, from the standpoint of maintaining peace between India and Pakistan, because they could not carry on a war very long if the United States did not continue to pour millions of dollars of the American taxpayers' money into those countries by way of foreign aid.

We were told that Australia is stepping up its assistance and that she is going to increase the number of men she has sent there. He forgot to say that the offer of Australia was to increase the manpower contribution to the war in Vietnam from 30 to 60. Mr. President, do not think you misunderstood me. That is the figure—from 30 to 60 men.

As I said to the Secretary of State when he made the announcement some weeks ago, he insulted my intelligence and the intelligence of the American people.

There was one other condition in that great offer on the part of Australia to expand its contribution and help in South Vietnam. Perhaps, in 4 months, they may be able to have six cargo planes available.

Of course, if there is one thing we can get along without, it is cargo planes. We have our own surplus of them.

Mr. President, when we run down the list of allies, we find none of them offering to send boys to do any of the dying in South Vietnam. The dying will have to be done by American boys and South Vietnamese boys.

If any Senator thinks he is a face saver, in connection with a vote from this joint resolution, on the basis that the resolution is going to help increase the cooperation of our allies under SEATO in the conduct of the operations in South Vietnam, I say there is not a word in the resolution that would justify any such hope or implication.

Another Senator thought, in the early part of the debate, that this course would not broaden the power of the President to engage in a land war if he decided that he wanted to apply the resolution in that way.

That Senator was taking great consolation in the then held belief that, if he voted for the resolution, it would give no authority to the President to send many troops into Asia. I am sure he was quite disappointed to finally learn, because it took a little time to get the matter cleared, that the resolution places no restriction on the President in that respect. If he is still in doubt, let him read the language on page 2, lines 3 to 6, and page 2, lines 11 to 17. The first reads:

"The Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

It does not say he is limited in regard to the sending of ground forces. It does not limit that authority. That is why I have called it a predated declaration of war, in clear violation of article I, section 8 of the Constitution, which vests the power to declare war in the Congress, and not in the President.

What is proposed is to authorize the President of the United States, without a declaration of war, to commit acts of war.

It is not a new position for the senior Senator from Oregon. I opposed the Formosa resolution in 1955. I opposed the Middle East resolution in 1957. I will say something about those resolutions in a moment.

Let us go to section 2 of the pending joint resolution. Line 9 reads:

"Consonant with the Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force"—

It does not say "excluding the use of the Army." It does not say "including the use only of the Navy." It does not say "including the use of the Air Force." It says, "including the use of armed force." That is all branches of the Military Establishment, and nuclear as well as conventional weapons.

"to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Mr. President, it is as broad as the Military Establishment. A Senator cannot get any consolation out of that by hoping that, if he votes for it, the President cannot send out large numbers of ground forces.

U.S. FORCES TO BE COVERED INCLUDE THOSE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

I was very much interested in the comments of several Senators in the debate this afternoon in regard to the SEATO Treaty. I say most respectfully that the SEATO Treaty will not help any Senator, either. The resolution supports "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States."

We have forces of the United States in South Vietnam. I should like to ask the proponents of the joint resolution, before the debate is over, to tell us whether the language "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States" includes our Armed Forces in South Vietnam, which now includes troops, vehicles, tanks, and aircraft. Apparently we are pouring more in. There is no question that we have more than 20,000 troops there tonight. Does this language mean an authorization to become full combatants in the civil war if there is an attack on any segment of our forces in South Vietnam?

Let us face the issue. I do not believe there is any doubt that we are being engaged, in an increasing tempo, in escalating this war into North Vietnam. I am not sure that we shall be able to stop there. We may take it into Red China before we are through. I am also satisfied that we shall become combatants along with the South Vietnamese in the civil war. That is exactly what they would like.

They have done a very poor job settling their own civil war.

Here is a country, as I stated in my speech last night, of 15 million population. Here is a country, with its armed forces of 400,000 to 450,000 men, engaged in a civil war with a group of Vietcongs—South Vietnamese, too—of not more than 35,000. The testimony before our committee is that it is probably in the neighborhood of 25,000. Fifteen million people, with an armed force of 400,000 to 450,000 soldiers, cannot bring under subjugation a dissident group of 25,000 or 35,000 people, in spite of the fact that the American taxpayer has poured $3½ billion into South Vietnam. Whom do they think they are fooling? They will not fool the American people indefinitely.

The French Government tried that. For 8 long bloody years they did a pretty good job of fooling the French people. But after 240,000 casualties, including 90,000 killed, and thousands upon thousands badly wounded, the French people pulled down the government. They said, "We have had enough. We are not going to sacrifice any more French manhood."

Unpopular as it is, I am perfectly willing to make the statement for history that if we follow a course of action that bogs down thousands of American boys in Asia, the administration responsible for it will be rejected and repudiated by the American people. It should be.

Mr. President, this problem in Asia cannot be settled by war. The problem in Asia requires a political and economic settlement. It requires a negotiated settlement. It requires a conference table settlement. It requires the application of reason, not bullets.

I cannot understand what is happening to my country. I cannot understand what makes people think that way. There are not many at the grassroots of America who think that way. People in positions in Government think that we can entrench ourselves as a military power in Asia and bring about a peaceful solution of the problem. The result will be that the yellow race will hate us more than it hates us already. If the yellow race has not made clear to the white man that Asia is not his fort, I do not know what the white man has to learn by way of an additional lesson.

The place to settle this controversy is not by way of the proposed predated declaration of war, giving to the President the power to make war without a declaration of war. The place to settle it is around the conference tables, the only hope mankind has for peace; namely, the United Nations.

With all its shortcomings, if we destroy it—and we would destroy it with a war—not much hope will be left.

NO LIMITS ON WORDS "FURTHER AGGRESSION"

Before the debate is over tomorrow I should like to have the proponents of the resolution comment on the fact that the resolution continues with the words "and to prevent further aggression."

I should like to have the proponents spell that out. Further aggression against whom? Further aggression by whom?

I should like to have them spell out the provisions of the SEATO Treaty and the United Nations Charter with which our actions are consonant. If we are engaged in helping South Vietnam repel an armed attack, we are obliged under the SEATO Treaty and under article 51 of the U.N. Charter to report it to the Security Council. We have not done that through all the years.

Some of my colleagues in the Senate object to my calling the United States a provocateur. Our constant, repetitious violation of our treaty obligations under the U.N. Charter, which I set out by documentation yesterday in my speech on the floor of the Senate, is clear provocation. We have said to our potential enemies, "We are going to do what we want to do, and you can like it or not." Not so many weeks ago Adlai Stevenson lent his lips in the Security Council to say, in effect—in my judgment to his historic discredit, and it would have been better if he had resigned as Ambassador—as the representative of the United States at the United Nations that the United States was going to do what it wanted to do in Asia, and they could like it or not.

That is not the world statesman for whom I campaigned in 1952. No, Mr. President; we are a provocateur nation. We have provoked trouble because we have not even kept our commitments, either under SEATO or article 51 of the United Nations Charter, by carrying out the requirement of the reports that we are pledged to make, and by placing the issue before the U.N.

Yet we are saying to the world, "All we want is peace." Our Secretary of State says that we will have peace if the countries of North and South Vietnam will do exactly what we want them to do. In essence, that is what the position of the Secretary of State adds up to. There would not be lawsuits, either, if one of the parties would do what the other wanted him to do. That is what the controversy is all about.

FIRST OBLIGATION IS TO FOLLOW U.N. CHARTER

I do not agree with the North Vietnamese. I do not agree with the Vietcong. But we must face up to the fact that they, too, have their international rights; and the place to settle the controversy over international rights and obligations in this modern day is not on a battlefield, but around the conference table, where the procedures or authorities that set forth the rules of international adjudication will prevail.

The great Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] in his speech this afternoon, cited that important article of the United Nations Charter that places upon every signatory thereto the obligation, first—that is spelled "f-i-r-s-t"—to seek to resolve disputes by way of adjudication or mediation or arbitration or conciliation or negotiation. In that great speech, the Senator from Alaska cited the disputes, and then, in one rhetorical question after another, asked: Have we taken it to arbitration? Have we taken it to conciliation? Have we taken it to mediation? Have we taken it to negotiation? Have we taken it to conference? The answer is that the United States has a grade of zero on that examination. We have flunked the course.

To Senators who object to my suggesting that the United States is a provocateur nation, I say we have a dismal record—so dismal that it spells out the word "provocateur." I listened to a couple of my colleagues on television last night. They had heard the senior Senator from Oregon charge that we are a provocateur nation. So I was all ears. I thought I was going to hear the case that we are not. But there was no case.

It is so easy to say that these things should not be said; that they create disunity and misunderstanding. So long as there is any hope to win a peace and stop a war, the senior Senator from Oregon will state the facts as he honestly believes them to be. When those facts involve misdoings of my own country, it is all the more important that they be stated.

Mr. President, we have a great historic opportunity to strengthen the cause of the rule of law in the world. But we cannot strengthen it and make war at the same time.

The Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] said again today, as he said a few weeks ago, that what is needed is an agreement to enter into a cease-fire order. Why have we not proposed it? That is the kind of speech Adlai Stevenson should be making at the United Nations. I am greatly disappointed that the other signatories to the United Nations Charter have not been proposing it.

Are we so powerful that they dare not bring up a case to which we are party without our consent? I am exceedingly disappointed that North Vietnam, South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao, the United States, and Red China have not had the rules apply to them in connection with the war in southeast Asia, because that war cannot be reconciled with the United Nations Charter and the obligations in respect thereto by the signatories thereof.

But, say Senators, Red China is not a member of the United Nations. Red China does not have to be a member of the United Nations for the signatories thereto to take jurisdiction over a threat to the peace of the world. Where do Senators get the idea that the United Nations does not go into action unless all the countries involved in a threat to the peace of the world are members of the United Nations? Senators should re-read the Charter of the United Nations. I have read it for the benefit of the Senate. It has occurred time and time again during the last 5 months.

I say with great sadness in my heart that many of the signatories to the United Charter have failed mankind by not having brought before the United Nations this threat to the peace of the world in Asia, in all of its aspects.

Some Senators said to me today, "What is the matter with you, WAYNE? Don't you know that we now have the situation in Tonkin Bay before the Security Council?"

Certainly. We had another one before the Security Council a while back, when the little prince in Cambodia kicked us out of Cambodia, and said, "We have had enough of you. Get out. We don't want any more of your aid." Then he filed charges against us for violating his borders, after we had been caught redhanded and had a helicopter shot down after it had dropped a fire bomb and burned a village, killing 16 civilians. Unfortunately, the American boy who was flying that helicopter was sacrificed. We quickly apologized. But, as I have said, does anyone think that that apology would have been forthcoming if we had not been caught? We would not have heard about the incident. I am satisfied that that was not the only violation of Cambodia's borders by both South Vietnam and the United States. We heard about this one only because we got caught.

What about all the threats and actions and incidents that preceded that in the Gulf of Tonkin? Why have they never been submitted to the Security Council?

Here we are about to authorize the President of the United States to do whatever he wishes and use any armed force he likes, not in the Gulf of Tonkin, but anywhere in southeast Asia. But there is no "southeast Asia" question before the U.N.

Why not? If there is not a breach of the peace and a threat to international peace and security there, I do not know what is.

All of South Vietnam for the last 3 years has been a threat to the peace. Why is not that situation placed before the U.N.?

We do not get much consolation out of our sorry record of not having reported our courses of action under article 51 of the United Nations Charter. I hope some Senators tomorrow will have something to say about that. I have a long list of interesting fallacious arguments and exhibitions of wishful thinking that were expressed in the debate this afternoon; but I shall reserve them for tomorrow.

Mr. President (Mr. HART in the chair), I close by commenting only on previous resolutions passed in the Senate: Formosa, the Middle East, and Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD in parallel column form, as shown in the paper which I hold in my hand, a comparison of those resolutions.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD:

"VIETNAM	"CUBA
"Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace;	"Whereas President James Monroe, announcing the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, declared that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of European powers 'to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety'; and
"Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; "Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area but desires only that they should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way; now, therefore, be it	"Whereas in the Rio Treaty of 1947 the parties agreed that 'an armed attack by any state against an American state shall be considered as an attack against all the American states, and, consequently, each one of the said contracting parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations'; and
	"Whereas the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States at Punta del Estes in January 1962 declared: "The present Government of Cuba has identified itself with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology, has established a political, economic, and social system based on that doctrine, and accepts military assistance from contracontinental Communist powers, including even the threat of military intervention in America on the part of the Soviet Union; and "Whereas the international Communist movement has increasingly extended into Cuba its political, economic, and military sphere of influence: Now, therefore, be it
"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.	"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the United States is determined— "(a) to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere; "(b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and
"SEC. 2 The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any protocol or member state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.	"(c) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination."
"This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, and shall so report to the Congress, except that it may be terminated earlier by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses."	

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in connection with these resolutions, several Senators stated this afternoon that the United States was not asking for any more in the resolution now before the Senate than has already been asked for in the past, as though that were a sound argument. What has that to do with whether or not we pass the pending joint resolution? If we made mistakes in the past—as we have done, in my judgment—we should not make another one now.

I did not make those mistakes. With that great liberal, the former Senator from New York, Herbert Lehman, who in my 20 years of service in the Senate has had no peer, I joined in 1955 in opposition to the Formosa

"FORMOSA	"MIDDLE EAST
"Whereas the primary purpose of the United States in its relations with all other nations, is to develop and sustain a just and enduring peace for all; and	
"Whereas certain territories in the west Pacific under the jurisdiction of the Republic of China are now under armed attack, and threats and declarations have been and are being made by the Chinese Communists that such armed attack is in aid of and in preparation for armed attack on Formosa and the Pescadores.	
"Whereas such armed attack if continued would gravely endanger the peace and security of the west Pacific area and particularly of Formosa and the Pescadores; and	
"Whereas the secure possession by friendly governments of the western Pacific island chain, of which Formosa is a part, is essential to the vital interests of the United States and all friendly nations in or bordering upon the Pacific Ocean; and	
"Whereas the President of the United States on January 6, 1955, submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification a Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China, which recognizes that an armed attack in the west Pacific area directed against territories, therein described, in the region of Formosa and the Pescadores, would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the parties in the treaty: Therefore be it	
"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President of the United States be and he hereby is authorized to employ the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.	"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President be and hereby is authorized to cooperate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East desiring such assistance in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence.
	"SEC. 2. The President is authorized to undertake in the general area of the Middle East, military assistance programs with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace and preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed force to assist any nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: *Provided,* That such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States.
"This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, and shall so report to the Congress."	"This joint resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the nations in the general area of the Middle East are reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise except that it may be terminated earlier by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress."

resolution. At that time, I pointed out, as I have done in the course of this debate, that it, too, was a preventive war resolution. By a preventive war resolution at that time, we meant that it was a resolution that, first, sought to give the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the authority to make a strike against the mainland of China before an act of aggression had been committed by China against the United States.

As a result of the argument in committee over that statement, Mr. President, the Senate will remember that we received the famous Eisenhower White House statement, in the course of that debate, to the effect that the President, and he alone, would make the decision as to what course of action would be followed under the resolution.

I stated that that was not good enough for me. I do not intend to give to any President the power to make war by way of a predated declaration of war. I argued then, as I have argued in this historic debate, that the power to make war is vested in the Congress and not in the President. I voted against it.

With reference to the Formosa resolution there was a reference to the President, and I quote from it:

"That the President of the United States be and he hereby is authorized to employ the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores."

The same principle is embodied in the pending joint resolution.

The Middle East resolution was another predated or undated declaration of war resolution, giving to President Eisenhower predated declaration of war power in the Middle East. That will be found in the Middle East resolution:

"Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces to assist any nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."

Clear authorization of what I stated at the time, and repeat tonight, was an unconstitutional power to be vested in the President of the United States.

CUBAN RESOLUTION DELEGATED NO POWER TO PRESIDENT

Now we come to the Cuban resolution. The interesting thing is that the Cuban resolution was not a resolution designed to vest any power in the President. That fact has been lost sight of in debate this afternoon. Senators have stated that we did this in the Cuban resolution. The answer is that we did not.

I voted for the Cuban resolution. I voted for the Cuban resolution because that constitutional power of Congress was not delegated to the President in that resolution.

In a statement I wrote to my constituents on October 2, 1962, discussing my vote on that Cuban resolution, I stated:

"On September 21, I joined 85 other Senators in voting for the following resolution on our relations with Cuba: 'The United States is determined (a) by whatever means necessary, including the use of arms, to prevent the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere; (b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and (c) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination.'

"Earlier, I had joined in signing a unanimous joint report from the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, recommending adoption of this resolution. The report was made following hearings at which we heard from Secretary of State Rusk and William P. Bundy, Director of the Office of International Security Affairs of the Defense Department.

"They described in some detail, in closed session, the nature and technique of the sea and air surveillance we maintain over Cuba, and over activities on this narrow island. It was from this observation that they were able to say that the military activities in Cuba are still of a defensive nature and not now an offensive threat to the United States.

"The resolution, unlike the Formosa and Middle East resolution, is not a delegation of warmaking power to the President. It is a statement of U.S. foreign policy. It is one I heartily endorse, and one which should be read carefully and with sober consideration in both Havana and Moscow."

Mr. President, I close by reading the full language of the Cuban resolution. I have just made a distinction between the Cuban resolution, the Formosa and the Middle East resolutions—and now the southeast Asia resolution, which is as different as night from day.

The Cuban resolution provided:

"Whereas President James Monroe, announcing the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, declared that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of European powers 'to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety'; and

"Whereas in the Rio Treaty of 1947 the parties agreed that 'an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States, and, consequently, each one of the said contracting parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations'; and

"Whereas the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States at Punta del Este in January 1962 declared: 'The present Government of Cuba has identified itself with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology, has established a political, economic, and social system based on that doctrine, and accepts military assistance from extracontinental Communist powers, including even the threat of military intervention in America on the part of the Soviet Union'; and

"Whereas the international Communist movement has increasingly extended into Cuba its political, economic, and military sphere of influence: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the United States is determined—

"(a) to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere;

"(b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and

"(c) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination."

Mr. President, there is not one word authorizing any power to be vested in the President of the United States.

Senators have forgotten the record made when we debated, in connection with the Cuban resolution, what is proposed under the southeast Asian resolution. That question was debated on the floor of the Senate.

I say with sadness, in view of the situation in the Senate tonight, that when the Cuban resolution was being considered, a substantial number of Senators served clear notice that they would not vote for it if it sought to authorize any power in the President of the United States.

Out of deep affection and great love for President Kennedy, I say that President Kennedy did not ask to have any authority authorized in that resolution as far as the Presidency was concerned. I have no quarrel with that statement of foreign policy. I would have no quarrel with that statement of foreign policy applied to southeast Asia.

Under that statement of policy, doors are left open and the obligations remain clear, to resort to the peaceful procedures set forth in the United Nations treaty, and set forth in our other treaty obligations.

I close, Mr. President, by saying, sad as I find it to be to have to say it, that in my judgment there is no course of action that I could possibly follow in keeping with my conscience and my convictions in regard to my constitutional obligation under the oath that I took four times when I came into this body, but to vote against the joint resolution tomorrow. In my judgment, this resolution, no matter what semantics are used, spells out the ugly words: "Undated declaration of war power to be vested in the President of the United States."

Congress has no constitutional power to grant such authority to the President of the United States. The only difficulty is that under our constitutional system, I know of no way that we can get it before the Supreme Court for a constitutional determination.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 6, 1964]

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on my own time, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SALINGER in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I shall proceed to discuss briefly the points that I did not cover in detail last night with regard to the pending joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the senior Senator from Oregon wish to yield himself?

Mr. MORSE. I yield myself such time as I may need.

Mr. President, in view of the debate which took place last night, which we did not contemplate at the time we entered into the unanimous-consent agreement, as I have stated to the majority leader, I wish now that we had fixed the time to vote at 12 o'clock today. There is little remaining to add, by way of rebuttal, to what I said last night, except the points that I shall cover this morning. However, I do want to discuss in some detail the predated declaration of war aspects of this unfortunate resolution.

I hope, as I said to the majority leader, that the defenders of this unfortunate resolution will come to the floor of the Senate and give a defense of it in answer to the points that I made in rebuttal last night and shall amplify this morning. I am waiting for their replies.

I have a little reply of my own to make this morning to the Washington Post. There is a very fallacious editorial in this morning's Washington Post entitled "Democracy's Response." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"DEMOCRACY'S RESPONSE

"Congress is responding with commendable promptness and with an almost unanimous voice to President Johnson's request for support in the Southeast Asian crisis. The President consulted the leaders of both Houses and then asked for a supporting resolution not only because he felt the necessity for congressional approval of what is being done, but also because he wished to demonstrate before the world the unity of the American people in resisting Communist aggression. That unity has been demonstrated despite the reckless and querulous dissent of Senator MORSE.

"There is no substance in Senator MORSE's charge that the resolution amounts to a 'predated declaration of war.' On the contrary, it reaffirms the longstanding policy of the United States of aiding the States covered by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty in the protection of their freedom as a contribution to international peace. It pledges military action only to resist aggression against American forces in that area. Of course, the President has authority to respond to attacks upon American forces without any approval in advance by Congress. So the resolution means only a recommitment of the Nation to the policy it has been following—an almost unanimous recommitment in the face of the inexplicable North Vietnamese challenge.

"This means of reasserting the national will, far short of a declaration of war, follows sound precedents set in other crises President Johnson noted in his message to Congress that similar resolutions had been passed at the request of President Eisenhower in connection with the threat to Formosa in 1955 and the threat to the Middle East in 1957. The same course was followed in 1962 at the request of President Kennedy to meet the missile threat in Cuba. None of these emergencies led to war. Rather, the firm action that this country took interrupted Communist maneuvers that might otherwise have led to war.

"Congress ought to be very pleased with the now firm establishment of this mechanism for meeting an emergency with a united front. Reliance solely upon the power of Congress to declare war as a last resort would not be appropriate in these days of repeated crises short of war. A resolution of support for the executive arm in meeting an emergency has all the virtue of rallying national strength behind a firm policy—without taking the calamitous step of war in this nuclear age. We surmise that the almost unanimous sentiment behind this resolution on Capitol Hill reflects appreciation for the President's sharing of responsibility as well as support for the tough punishment for aggression that he initiated."

Mr. MORSE. The Washington Post has demonstrated in editorial after editorial that it does not have a good constitutional lawyer on its editorial staff. The editorials published in the newspaper demonstrated that fact constantly. In an editorial which appeared in this morning's issue of the newspaper there appears the following statement:

"There is no substance in Senator MORSE's charge that the resolution amounts to a 'predated declaration of war.' "

One wonders whether or not the editorial writer has ever read the joint resolution. No one can read the joint resolution and the authority proposed to be given the President in the joint resolution without recognizing that it would clearly authorize the President to proceed to follow whatever courses of action are necessary in his opinion; and such action would constitute authority to conduct war.

I should like to make an additional comment on a statement in the editorial in reference to resolutions passed by previous Congresses. In the body of the editorial the statement is made:

"President Johnson noted in his message to Congress that similar resolutions had been passed at the request of President Eisenhower in connection with the threat to Formosa in 1955 and the threat to the Middle East in 1957. The same course was followed in 1962 at the request of President Kennedy to meet the missile threat in Cuba."

The editorial writer apparently had not read, or certainly had not read recently before he wrote that editorial, the Cuban resolution, for there is no similarity between the Cuban resolution on the one hand and the Formosa, the Middle East, and the pending resolutions on the other hand.

But returning to the comment of the Washington Post that there is no substance in Senator MORSE's charge that the resolution amounts to a "predated declaration of war," I should like to read for the benefit of that unenlightened editorial writer of the Washington Post page 2 of the joint resolution:

"Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President"—

Not the Congress, but of the President—"as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

The joint resolution thus gives the President warmaking power.

I shall come to another section of the resolution same item in a moment. The Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, has the inherent constitutional power immediately to defend the United States in case of an attack, but he does not have the inherent power after that immediate defense to proceed to make war. That is the distinction which this unenlightened editorial writer of the Washington Post has never grasped.

Mr. President, the right of immediate defense is something quite different from the right to proceed to lay out a campaign of war. Under the joint resolution the President would be given the authority to go beyond immediate self-defense of the United States and proceed with a war campaign. That is why I say today, as I said in 1955, and as I said at the time of the Middle East resolution, that such resolutions constitute a predated declaration of war. The Washington Post editorial writers ought to consult with Senators who occupy high positions in the Senate on the other side of the issue in connection with the defense activities of the country. They might be surprised to learn that they are not quarreling with the Senator from Oregon in regard to the effect of the joint resolution. The joint resolution does propose to give to the President of the United States authority beyond the inherent authority that he already possesses to act immediately in national self-defense.

Mr. President, that is a very important distinction in constitutional law. The Senator from Oregon repeats that, under the Constitution, the President has no power to wage war until a declaration of war is passed by the Congress. The joint resolution is a contravention of article I, section 8, of the Constitution, just as the Formosa resolution and the Middle East resolution were contraventions of the Constitution and caused the senior Senator from Oregon in the debate on these two resolutions to take a stand in opposition. As one of the Armed Services Committee leaders of the Senate told me this morning, "Wayne, there is no difference between the position that you are taking today and the position that you have taken consistently with regard to the other resolutions. No one can really quarrel with your conclusion that the joint resolution does go beyond the inherent authority of the President to act in the self-defense of our country and does vest in him authority to proceed to carry out a campaign that amounts in fact to the waging of war."

Mr. President, I do not believe we should do it. It is not necessary to do it. There is inherent power in the President as Commander in Chief under the Constitution to meet an attack immediately, and then come to the Congress of the United States asking for a declaration of war. We should require those steps, rather than give the President blanket authority under the joint resolution to proceed to wage war without a declaration of war.

Ah, but it may be said, and is said, by some in conversations with me, "But, WAYNE, a President would not do that for very long."

I do not care whether he does it for a short time or a long time. It is not necessary for him to do it, so long as he has the inherent authority to meet attack with immediate self-defense actions.

As I said in 1955, I believe it is important in these trying times that we not extend and expand the authority of the President of the United States beyond the limits of the Constitution.

It may be said that if the President should commit an unconstitutional act under the joint resolution, or if the joint resolution in effect, as argued by the Senator from Oregon, is an attempt to give to the President an unconstitutional power, he can be checked. I wish I could say that he could be. The difficulty in relation to these constitutional questions as they involve the Presidency of the United States is that we do not have a procedure for having them tested in the U.S. Supreme Court. That has been the subject of great discussion, concern, and debate among constitutional lawyers for many decades. It is difficult to bring the President of the United States before the U.S. Supreme Court. Our constitutional fathers provided for other procedural checks upon the President of the United States, one of which is impeachment, which, of course, is unthinkable when we have a President who seeks only in the exercise of his powers—though he may be mistaken in regard to having exceeded an inherent power—to protect the interest of the United States. But that is a check that is provided in the Constitution. Then, of course, we check the President in regard to the purse strings by way of appropriations.

We have the authority, of course, to check the President by way of appropriations, with his ancillary check on Congress of the veto. It is not impossible to eventually get a case before the Supreme Court involving the warmaking powers of the President, but the legal road could be long and tortuous. The time consumed would make the question moot by the time it was decided as far as the emergency is concerned and give rise to the issue in the first instance.

When Congress passes a joint resolution such as this, it is practically impossible—in fact, I think it impracticable—procedurally to have the power checked, on constitutional grounds, before the U.S. Supreme Court. I do not know, and I know of no constitutional lawyer who has ever been able to point out, a procedure by which we could bring the President before the Court on the charge that he was making war unconstitutionally. I can hear the Court, in refusing jurisdiction, say, "Congress will have to follow the procedures set out in the Constitution for checking the President."

So I am concerned about the resolution in respect to its giving to the President what I honestly and sincerely believe is an unconstitutional power—that is, the power to make war without a declaration of war. It feeds a political trend in this country that needs to be checked. For some time past in this Republic we have been moving in the direction of a government by executive supremacy.

It is very interesting to listen to the arguments that one hears for extending and expanding the power of the White House. It is extremely important—and I speak soberly and out of a depth of great sincerity—that we never grant a single power to any President, I care not who he is, that in any way cannot be reconciled with that precious fundamental foundation of our Republic; namely, a system of three coordinate and coequal branches of Government.

It is dangerous to the freedoms and liberties of the American people to vest in any President, at any time, under any circumstances, power that exceeds the constitutional concept of three coordinate and coequal branches of Government.

The American people will quickly lose their liberty if you do not stop feeding the trend toward Government by executive supremacy. In my opinion, the joint resolution would do just exactly that. It would give to the President of the United States an authority which, in my judgment, he does not need, by any stretch of the imagination. He has inherent power to react, in the self-defense of this Republic, in the event of an immediate attack.

It is particularly essential that we continue to require a President of the United States to conform to article I, section 8, of the Constitution, in regard to making war, and that we continue to hold any President—I care not who he is—under the strictest restraint with regard to the making of war.

We have entered an era of civilization in which an unconstitutional act of war on the part of a President of the United States can lead to nuclear war and the end of this Republic, no matter how sincere a President may be in his intentions in respect to exercising the power to make war.

We need to be on guard in respect to vesting power in the White House. The White House has plenty of power under the Constitution. I am for giving the White House no more power than the Constitution gives him.

I have heard sincere colleagues on the floor of the Senate—and I respect them—differ with me in regard to the effect of the joint resolution. There are also colleagues on the other side of the issue who have come to me and said, as did one who discussed it with me this morning, "WAYNE, there is no doubt as to the effect of the resolution that you are pointing out, and that you pointed out in 1955. It bothered me in 1955; but we have every reason to count on the fact that the President of the United States will not abuse the power."

Mr. President, I do not think he would deliberately abuse the power, but he could most sincerely exercise the power in a manner that would result in great damage to this Republic.

There is an elementary rule of law which states that when we come to deal with procedural matters, if a procedure is subject to abuse we had better change the procedure.

My majority leader, who always is courteous to me and was exceedingly courteous to me in arranging the format for this debate, has heard me say many times as we have served together in this body that we should never forget that our substantive rights are never any better, and can never be any better, than our procedural rights. Our procedural rights determine our substantive rights. There are no substantive rights unless there are procedures for implementing them.

I have said many times—and the statement should be applied to this issue, because it is applicable—let me determine the procedure of any human institution or the administration of any law, and I will determine all the substantive rights anyone may have under that law, that tribunal, or that administrative body. Let me determine the procedure of any courtroom, and I will determine all the substantive rights that can be adjudicated in that courtroom."

Although some critics will say that this principle involves a legalistic abstraction, nevertheless the great principles of so-called legalistic abstraction are principles that determine, in the last analysis, whether one remains a free man or not. This is true because the procedures of our Government written into the Constitution and the laws of our country determine our substantive rights as freemen.

In my judgment, the pending joint resolution tinkers with and impairs the great procedural rights of the American people written in article I, section 8 of the Constitution—namely, that the power and the right to declare war is vested in the Congress, and not in the President of the United States.

War cannot be declared speculatively; war cannot be declared in futuro under article I, section 8 of the Constitution. War cannot be declared to meet hypothetical situations yet to arise on the horizons of the world. War is declared in relation to existing operative facts of the moment of the call for a declaration of war.

In the resolution before the Senate—and I shall read the section to which I have referred and another section momentarily—the President of the United States would be given power to make war in relation to operative facts not now in existence, but which may come into existence in futuro. That cannot be reconciled with article I, section 8 of the Constitution.

For the education of the unenlightened editor of the Washington Post who wrote the ignorant editorial in respect to this constitutional point, I hope he will reread article I, section 8 of the Constitution, and that he will read again—assuming that he ever read the resolution before he wrote the editorial—the section to which I have referred and read, and which I repeat. That part of the joint resolution reads:

"The Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

Let us analyze that sentence for a moment. Let us analyze that part of the sentence that deals with the inherent power of any commander in chief, any President, to react immediately in the defense of this Republic. That part of the sentence is not needed. He has that power now. If there is to be read into that part of the sentence which starts on line 4—"to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States"—authority to commit an act of aggression, preventive in nature, it goes beyond the Constitution.

That was my argument in 1955. How well I remember it. In 1955 I participated in the same format of committee organization in which I took part yesterday; namely, a joint meeting of the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee. I opposed the Formosa resolution. My recollection is that in committee in 1955 two of us took that position. When we came to the floor of the Senate, my recollection is that I was supported by a third member, as I said last night, the great Senator from New York, Herbert Lehman; and I believe we ended in 1955 with three Senators voting against the resolution. As I remember my opening speech in 1955—and the RECORD will speak for itself—I said, as I say now, that I was standing in a position on the floor of the Senate in which a few other liberals had stood throughout the history of this great parliamentary body. Like them I was confronted with the choice of telling the American people what I was satisfied they were entitled to know about their foreign policy, and run the risk of violating the rules of secrecy of the Senate, thereby risking the discipline of the Senate, or failing in my obligation to tell the American people things that I thought they were entitled to know in regard to the foreign policy of the country and avoid running the risk of being disciplined by the Senate.

If Senators will read that speech they will see that I said I thought I could give the American people what they should be warned about within the rules of the Senate, without subjecting myself to Senate discipline. Senators will find that I said—I paraphrase the speech, but accurately:

"I wish to tell the American people that this is a preventive war resolution; and if any Senator has any question about it, let him go to the Foreign Relations Committee on the floor below and read the testimony of the Secretary of State"—

Who was then John Foster Dulles—

"and the testimony of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Military Establishment"—

Who was then Admiral Radford.

I said:

"If Senators will read that testimony, they will know that behind this resolution is the proposal that the Military Establishment and those in charge of American foreign policy are to be given the authority to make a strike against the mainland of China before China makes a strike against the United States. Such a strike would be an act of aggression. Such a strike would be an act of war. Authorization for such a strike in the Formosa resolution amounts to seeking to give to the Military Establishment, without a declaration of war, the power to make war. Senators will find that clear power in the resolution."

Senators will remember that in 1955 the senior Senator from Oregon took that position in the hearing before the committee. My position became known. After I took that position the chairman of the committees sitting jointly, Mr. Walter George, of Georgia, declared a recess, and announced that he would go to the White House for the purpose of discussing with the President the argument that I had made in committee. He went to the White House. Out of that conference came the famous White House pronouncement with respect to the Formosa resolution, in which President Eisenhower announced that he, and he alone, would make the decision under that resolution as to what course of action this Government would follow in implementing the Formosa resolution.

Senator George came back and had a conference with me. He thanked me for what he considered to be the service I had rendered. He said, "It was a very important service. I would not support the resolution in the absence of the White House announcement." He said, "WAYNE, I hope you will work with me now to help get the resolution through the Senate."

I said to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who served on that occasion as chairman of the committees sitting jointly, "That does not make it any better so far as I am concerned. You missed the point of my objection. Although the testimony in committee would have left the impression that the Secretary of State and the military officials could have made the decision, they will still be making the decision, because the President will follow their advice." I said, "I would not vote for it if they had no voice in it at all, because I will not vote to give to any President this power, because the Congress of the United States must jealously guard its prerogatives under article I, section 8 of the Constitution. All that the President needs to do is to come before Congress and ask for a declaration of war. He has inherent authority to meet an emergency that requires national self-defense action prior to the time he gets to the Congress."

Senators will note in the RECORD that I used the beginning of the war with Japan as a precedent. I said, "After the strike at Pearl Harbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt exercised the power as Commander in Chief to defend this country in national self-defense, but he came to Congress for a declaration of war.

I made that argument in 1955. I repeated it in summary form at the time of the Middle East difficulty, and I am summarizing it again in this historic debate.

I have heard no answer in all the intervening years to the constitutional point that I now raise, and of which the editor of the Washington Post who wrote the editorial this morning is abysmally ignorant.

Mr. President, this joint resolution is not needed for the defense of the Republic. It should not be used to make an end run around article I, section 8, of the Constitution. So long as an attack is in progress, the President has the inherent power to protect the Republic in self-defense. But there is reserved to Congress, under the Constitution, the responsibility of passing judgment on whether or not even an attack calls for our declaring war. It may very well be that after a response to an attack, the attacking party may start diplomatic maneuvers into motion—to surrender, to capitulate, to ask for a negotiated settlement, or to resort to the rule of law—which might cause Congress, in exercising its authority under the Constitution, to check the President and cause him to decide not to make war at that time. It is an important procedural check.

It is easy, understandable, and natural in a time of high national emotion, in a time of strong patriotic fervor, to say, "Give 'em the works." It is also true that in such an hour of high national emotion and hysteria, we who sit in seats of responsibility, so far as the legislative process is concerned, can say, "Let us wait. Let us first analyze the situation on the facts, and then vote the authority that is needed to protect the country. Sincere and honest men can differ as to the procedural form that the grant of such authority shall take."

In 1955 and again in 1957 the senior Senator from Oregon took the position, as he does in the instance of this resolution that the Middle East resolution and the Formosa resolution would be grants of authority to the President to exercise power which would amount to predated declarations of war. That should not be done. It is not necessary. All the world knows that any country that attacks the United States will be met immediately with the exercise of inherent power of the President, under the Constitution, to defend the Republic. All the world knows that if any country continues to attack upon this country, the President will come before this body and quickly, as the great Roosevelt did after Pearl Harbor, in 1941, obtain from Congress a declaration of war. What more is needed?

A constitutional principle is involved. It is dangerous to give to any President an unchecked power, after the passage of a joint resolution, to make war. Consider the procedural complications that could develop if Congress decided that the President was making serious mistakes in the conduct of a personal war—for it would be a Presidential war at that point, How would the President be stopped? He could not be stopped. Consider what would happen to this Republic if we got into that kind of conflict with the President in carrying out the joint resolution.

But, say some, see what the end of section 3 provides:

"This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress."

That would create a nice mess, would it not? That would be a nice portrait of the United States to paint before the eyes of the world. What havoc of disunity that kind of procedure would encompass.

What is wrong with letting the Constitution operate as written by our constitutional fathers? Why this indirect amendment of the Constitution? There are Senators, for whom I have deep affection, who become a little shaken, in our private conversations, when I say, "What you are really seeking to do is to get around the amending process of the Constitution. In effect, you are trying to get around article I, section 8, by amending the Constitution by way of a joint resolution."

I do not believe we ought to establish any more precedents of this kind. I do not accept the argument that because we have made two mistakes in the past—we made no mistake in connection with the Cuban resolution; and I shall speak of that later—because we made mistakes in the Formosa and the Middle East joint resolutions, we can make another one. Even a repetition of mistakes does not create a legal right in the President. I do not believe it is good legislative process to repeat mistakes. We ought to stop making them.

In effect, this joint resolution constitutes an amendment of article I, section 8, of the Constitution, in that it would give the President, in practice and effect, the power to make war in the absence of a declaration of war. It is also important to demonstrate to the world, including the free nations, that the Constitution of the United States is not an instrument to be tinkered with; that the Constitution is a precious, sacred document, so far as our form of government is concerned, and is not subject to subversion in the legislative process. We should never miss an opportunity to demonstrate this principle to the totalitarian nations of the world. We should never forget that under Fascist or Communist regimes there are no rights and liberties of the person.

It is proposed, by this joint resolution, to subvert the Constitution. We are engaging in a subterfuge, so far as article I, section 8, is concerned. We should not do that. We should not in any resolution tinker with the Constitution in respect to the powers and prerogatives of the President, and the limitations upon such powers and prerogatives.

Going back to section 1 of the resolution, I assert again that in the language "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States," there is no question about the inherent power of the President to do so without a resolution.

I have stated that if this proposed grant of power implies that the right of the President of the United States to take all the necessary measures to "repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States"—which former Secretary of State Dulles and Admiral Radford asked for in 1954—includes the authority to commit an act of aggression before an act of aggression is committed against the United States on the basis of the theory of a preventive war, that is a dangerous doctrine. It cannot possibly be reconciled with the Constitution; nor can it be reconciled with sound national policy.

I remember that in 1955 former Secretary of State Dulles said to me, "Would you wait for the Red Chinese to strike?"

My reply was that when I thought of the billions of dollars I had joined in voting for the defense of my country, including great sums of money for intelligence service, if there were particular concern about a Red Chinese air base closest to the coast of Alaska and our intelligence agency had given us reports as to what it had found in regard to the size of that Communist air armada, I would wish to believe that when the first Red Chinese plane left the ground and started for Alaska, our alerting stations and our intelligence would be such that our planes would meet it before it ever reached Alaska.

At that time, I also made perfectly clear to former Secretary of State Dulles and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Radford, that under international law we could not possibly justify our being an aggressor in the first instance. I frankly stated that it was a risk which we must run in order to remain in a sound constitutional framework under our system of government.

Why should we give arbitrary discretion to mere men who happen to hold office at a given time, when the American people and their lives are at the mercy of the discretion of those mere men?

One of the great protections that the American people have in constitutional theory, under our form of government, is that we are a government of laws and not of men. Granted, we are a government of laws, it is also true that those laws must be administered by men. Human failings being what they are, we must always keep a check on the exercise of the discretion of mere men who administer government, or we shall constantly run the risk of being victimized by arbitrary and capricious discretion.

In 1955, I made clear that I had observed too frequently the psychology of trigger-happy military men, and the psychology of diplomats who convince themselves that it is necessary to pull the trigger before an act of war has been committed against us.

Mr. President, we like to boast—and for the most part our glorious history sustains the boast—that we are not an aggressor nation. Resolutions such as the pending joint resolution, as well as the Formosa resolution and the Middle East resolution, frequently raise grave doubts among our friends in the free world as to whether there are not great differences between our theory and our practice.

So, then as now, on the constitutional grounds to which I objected in the Formosa resolution, I voted against it—as I shall vote against the pending joint resolution today.

I repeat this, so that there can be no misunderstanding of my position: So far as the inherent right of the President to meet an aggression in the self-defense of the Republic is concerned, the pending resolution is not needed. The President has that inherent right now, under the Constitution. But, so far as having any right to commit an act of war in the absence of an aggression, he does not have that right under the Constitution. The pending resolution cannot give it to him under the Constitution.

Of course, we can sanction his exercise of that unconstitutional right. That is what the Senate will be doing today in adopting the pending resolution.

In constitutional effect, the Congress is saying to the President, "You can go ahead and act unconstitutionally and we will look the other way," because it is known that there is no existing procedure which would be effective by which we can check the President. Once the pending resolution is adopted, the Senate thereby will sanction such conduct. There is no way to check it by taking the case before the U.S. Supreme Court for final determination of the constitutionality of this course of action in time to be effective.

I am asked, "Should we not amend the Constitution in this respect?"

I believe that we should amend it by clearly denying to the Congress the power to pass such a resolution as this one. Because the past situations such as are present in this case are such rarities, so extraordinary and so novel, I am enough of a political realist to know that we shall never get anywhere with that kind of constitutional amendment. The only time we become interested in it is when a crisis such as this exists. When a crisis exists, it is so serious that people are not going to become interested in a very important constitutional abstraction, even though it is a constitutional abstraction which after all, is determinative, in the last analysis, of their rights as free men.

In times of hysteria and high national emotionalism, it is only human for most people, particularly those not sitting in the seats of legislative responsibility, to be willing to look the other way on such questions as I raise in this debate again this year. But I believe it is so dangerous to establish another precedent toward the creation of a government by Executive supremacy in the United States, that I am willing to stand up and oppose the overwhelming majority against me, and take all the castigation and criticism which is bound to be heaped upon my head, for a constitutional principle that I am sincerely convinced is vital to the very preservation of this Republic.

I am satisfied that if we continue to build up a wall, brick by brick, precedent by precedent, which separates the executive branch of the Government from the people, resulting in making the executive branch of the Government more and more inaccessible to direct control, we shall endanger the very survival and preservation of the Republic and our constitutional system upon which it is based.

Mr. President, if it is self-defense we are concerned about, we do not need this resolution. If it is to empower the President to commit an act of aggression before an act of aggression is committed upon us, as was the program in 1955, and as was openly testified to, let me say—I can say it now—as the transcript will show, by the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time, it is a dangerous precedent, a power that never should be given, never should have been granted by the Congress, and should not be granted now under the pending resolution.

Turning to the language I have read, "to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States," does that mean that the attack must have started, or does it mean that all the President and his advisers have to conclude is that in all probability an attack may be made.

That is preventive war. There is no power in the Constitution for the President of the United States to wage a preventive war. I cannot imagine a set of hypothetical facts which would cause the President of the United States, the Congress, the Department of State, and those in the Pentagon Building to become alarmed about the danger of an attack against the United States that cannot be taken immediately to existing channels of international law. The right of national self-defense would still vest in the inherent constitutional power of the President.

The fact that we are not doing very much about using those channels of international law does not excuse us. And as we use those channels of international law, the inherent power of the President to defend this country continues. With all the military might of this country at the present time, the world knows that the power of self-defense is adequate to protect the security interests of this country until the processes of international law can run their course.

There is no question about the meaning of the next four words on line 6 of page 2 clearly authorize—"to prevent further aggression."

That is when the whole realm of judgment upon the part of the President of the United States comes into play. That is when we substitute the President for article I, section 8 of the Constitution. That is when we say to the President, "You can go beyond acts of immediate self-defense of the Republic. You do not have to come to the Congress, as Franklin Roosevelt did after Pearl Harbor, and ask for a declaration of war. You can proceed in the exercise of your judgment to prevent further aggression."

The uninformed, unenlightened editor of the Washington Post who wrote that stupid editorial in this morning's paper has not the slightest conception of the meaning of those words. If he had, he would not have written in his editorial:

"There is no substance in Senator MORSE's charge that the resolution amounts to a 'predated declaration of war.' "

That is exactly what those words mean. It is incontrovertible. The President would not have to come and ask for a declaration of war. He would be given sanction by Congress to make war without a declaration of war. It will be noted that I do not say "the authority," for the authority cannot be granted by Congress. Congress cannot amend the Constitution in this way. This does not conform to the amendment processes of the Constitution. It is proposed that Congress sanction the action of the President in making war if, in his judgment, he thinks making war is necessary to prevent further aggression. I shall come to that point later. But that is why I said last night that so many want to turn away from the most delicate question involved in the debate. That is why I said last night—and shall discuss it at greater length today—that the President and our country were quite right in meeting the attack on the destroyers last Tuesday night. But, in my judgment, that did not empower him, under the right of self-defense, to try to proceed beyond protecting those ships, and strike the mainland of North Vietnam. In my judgment, that constituted an act of war—not an act of self-defense.

Mr. President, at that point, under our treaty commitments, our allegations in regard to the absolutely inexcusable and illegal attack on our ships on the high seas by the North Vietnamese forces should have been taken immediately to the United Nations. As to that attack we had an unassailable case. They attacked us on the high seas and we responded in self-defense.

We were clearly within our international law rights. Unfortunately we did not stop there. We then went beyond our rights of self-defense and proceeded to bomb the mainland of North Vietnam.

We either support a rule of law procedure or we ignore it. We ignored it. We had an irrefutable case of violation of international law by North Vietnam in connection with their attack on our ships. We would have a hard time, under international law, supporting our subsequent attack on North Vietnam in the absence of a declaration of war. There will be those who will say that that is cutting the line pretty fine. Nevertheless, the difference is between acting within the Constitution and acting outside of it. It is the difference between staying within our rights of self-defense and proceeding to turn ourselves into an aggressive warmaking power.

No one despises, hates and repudiates more than does the senior Senator from Oregon, communism, Communist regimes, including North Vietnam, Red China, Cuba, Red Russia, and all of the rest. But I do not propose to allow my hatred, my detestation, my complete disgust with the police state methods of a Communist regime to cause me to give support to a proposal to go outside the constitutional guarantees of our system of government. I want to keep my Government in an impregnable position, so that we can go before any international tribunal and establish our case, and not have thrown back in our teeth a showing to establish a series of allegations in regard to the exercise of power and military might on the part of the United States that takes us outside the framework of international law.

There is no doubt that the language, "to prevent further aggression," rouses all the objections that I made in 1955 to the Formosa resolution. This proposal seeks to vest in the President of the United States the power to carry on a so-called preventive war. By preventive war, we mean making a war against another country because it is assumed that that country is about to make war, or contemplates making war, against the United States. Such authority is not to be found in the Constitution. The Congress cannot give such authority to the President of the United States as far as the Constitution is concerned. It can sanction the exercise of the authority, but the exercise of the authority would still be just as much outside the Constitution as though the President acted without the joint resolution. The joint resolution could never make legal the exercise of such authority by the President of the United States.

That is not the only place in the resolution in which we would give to the President a preventive war authority. I refer the Senate to section 2, line 7, which provides—

"SEC. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution"—

It has been agreed, by way of an amendment to the joint resolution, that that means the Constitution of the United States—

"and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Mr. President, that is an awful power to give to a President. If the Washington Post does not think that that is a predated declaration of war, the editor ought to start asking himself some questions about certain hypothetical situations.

Shall we allow any President of the United States to decide, with no check—that is, no check for immediate application—to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom?

We had better pause long enough to take a look at the nature of some of the countries involved, because many of the countries are not free countries. Many of those countries are totalitarian countries. Many of those countries are dictatorships. It is wishful thinking to assume that it would be safe to give the President of the United States unchecked authority to proceed to use American boys in defense of those countries on the basis of claims that acts of aggression are being committed against them by some other country, without a congressional check. Have we reached the point in American foreign policy where we are going to permit the President to send American boys to their death in the defense of military dictatorships, monarchies, and fascist regimes around the world with which we have entered into treaty obligations involving mutual security, no matter what the provocation and no matter what wrongs they may have committed that cause an attack upon them? Are we going to do that without a check of Congress by way of a declaration of war? What are we thinking of? What time factor would justify such precipitate action?

Mr. President, this Senator will never vote to send an American boy to his death anywhere in the world under any such language as is contained in that part of the joint resolution. It is of utmost importance that we surround that language with a congressional check. And there is none.

One could say, as I said a few moments ago, "But Mr. Senator, the Congress can terminate this authority by a concurrent resolution."

I have already pointed out the kind of hassle that such a situation would create, and the kind of disunity that such action would produce. The American people should be protected from a possible abuse of the authority. So long as abuse of a procedure is possible, the procedure should be modified to prevent the possibility of the abuse.

Mr. President, that is why it is so important that we hold any President—I care not who he is—to Article I, section 8, of the Constitution in the carrying out of mutual security agreements. We should hold him to the approval of the Congress before the fact and not after the fact.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. GRUENING. I wish the Senator would discuss what seems to me the obvious escalation of the war by the authority granted in section 2 of the joint resolution—

"To assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty."

Mr. MORSE. I was about to do so.

Mr. GRUENING. Hitherto we have been dealing wholly with South Vietnam. The President has stated his purpose, which is quite evident—not to extend the war.

In the section to which I referred we are including a number of additional nations into which we could send our Armed Forces. The joint resolution would extend the prospective war all over southeast Asia, would it not?

Mr. MORSE. It certainly would, with no check on it.

Mr. GRUENING. In other words, in effect, the Congress would authorize an escalation of the war to Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, South Vietnam—and what else?

Mr. MORSE. Pakistan.

Mr. GRUENING. I have in my possession, which I intend to present when the foreign aid bill comes before the Senate, a statement from a high official of Pakistan indicating that his government has no intention of using the nearly $1 billion in military aid that we have given to Pakistan to help out our cause because it is needed in their prospective difficulties with India.

Mr. MORSE. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan in effect made that statement in Washington, D.C., when he addressed the Press Club not so many weeks ago. He was asked by a newspaperman at the meeting to state whether or not Pakistan could be counted upon to be of assistance in southeast Asia. He said, "No."

He gave his reason. His reason was Pakistan's involvement with India. Pakistan has no intention of responding to any calls to SEATO members.

I yield further.

Mr. GRUENING. It seems to me that the joint resolution presents an unlimited authorization for war anywhere in southeast Asia, including Pakistan, which is really not in southeast Asia, but which is in south central Asia, and it seems to me a very dangerous, unwarranted, and unprecedented action.

Mr. MORSE. Do not forget, Pakistan is a member of SEATO; its obligations to South Vietnam are the same as ours.

Mr. GRUENING. Yes; but it has shown no disposition whatever to carry out its obligations under that treaty.

Mr. MORSE. That is correct; but, she being a SEATO member, we would be obligated to go to her assistance.

Mr. GRUENING. This resolution, in effect, is an authorization which would be the equivalent of a declaration of war by the Congress. Would it not be?

Mr. MORSE. I think so.

Mr. GRUENING. That is one thing I am very apprehensive about. If we should get into an all-out war, which I fear may happen, this resolution would be considered the authorization by the Congress to so proceed. Would it not?

Mr. MORSE. That is correct.

Mr. GRUENING. I expressed my views on it yesterday. I do not at all criticize the President—in fact, I think the President was correct—for repelling the assault, whatever may be the background, on American vessels and destroying the attackers. I approve of that action, but the resolution goes far beyond such action, which apparently precipitated the request by the President for such a resolution, and covers the whole of the southeast Asia area. I distinctly disagree with the administration policy.

As I have stated repeatedly, this was a policy which the President inherited, and from which I hoped he would disengage himself. He inherited it from the Eisenhower administration, from John Foster Dulles, when we picked up the fiasco the French had engaged in with the loss of over 100,000 young lives. We contributed vast sums of money to that operation. It was obviously a failure.

Now we have escalated it, as could be foreseen, and as I in fact did foretell, and as the Senator from Oregon foretold, into an all-out war in southeast Asia. Regrettably, the end is not yet. I am extremely fearful about the situation.

This is a moment when patriotic passions are aroused, and it seems indicated that we should do whatever the President asks.

It is very painful for those of us who disagree with the policy. I felt it was wrong in the beginning and have repeatedly stated for 5 months that I thought it was wrong, and that we should continue to try to find a peaceful solution; that we should take the issue to the United Nations, and seek a cease fire. It is, as I have said, painful not to support the President, but I cannot do so in good conscience under the blanket terms of this resolution.

Mr. MORSE. As the Senator knows, last night it was impossible for him, because of a previous appointment, to be present when I paid my high respects to him for his courage, statesmanship, and leadership in this matter for many months past. I said last night that the Senator from Alaska had put the issue squarely.

Now, in a very few moments, the Senator from Alaska has summarized succinctly the major points of the address I have been making on the floor of the Senate the last hour and 15 minutes. I wish to formalize those points before I come to the next major issue which I shall discuss in my speech.

What I have said expresses my views as to the power that would be granted to the President in the resolution. It is what I have called an undated declaration of war. I summarize the points as follows:

First, the unlimited language of the resolution would authorize acts of war without specifying countries, places, or times. That language cannot be reconciled with article I, section 8 of the Constitution. It amounts, in fact as well as in law, to a predated declaration of war.

Next, as I said last night, we have armed forces in South Vietnam, some 20,000, or more, apparently, with the number increasing by planeload after planeload.

Senators can bemoan and warn against a land war in Asia, but the resolution would put the United States in the middle of the Vietnam civil war, which is basically a land war.

Under the resolution Congress would give to the President of the United States great authority, without coming to the Congress and obtaining approval by way of a declaration of war, to carry on a land war in South Vietnam. The choice is left up to him.

As I said last night, the interesting thing is that South Vietnam, with a population of 15 million, and an armed force of 400,000 to 450,000 men, has been unable, through all the years of the holocaust in South Vietnam, to put down a Vietcong force of a maximum of 35,000 men. The Pentagon and the State Department, in testifying before the committee, say the number probably does not exceed 25,000. We have to have more than 20,000 American boys over there, to die in whatever numbers they are killed, in an attempt to win that war. And for whom?

Mr. President, the leaders of this Government keep talking about freedom in South Vietnam. There is not one iota of freedom in South Vietnam, for the South Vietnamese people, by and large, do not know what the word means. I quoted, in a speech the day before yesterday, a letter I received from a Republican Member of Congress, in full support of the position I have taken on this issue. I paraphrase it, although the quotation is already in the RECORD. He said that the average man of North or South Vietnam would not know what democracy looked like if he met it on the main street of Saigon. The difference between their governments is like the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. But both are interested in the next bowl of rice.

That is why this Senator has been pleading for years, in connection with foreign policy, that the great need of the United States in the field of foreign policy is to export economic freedom, and to stop exporting military aid, for our military aid makes Communists. Prepare the seedbeds of economic freedom for the masses of the people of any country and we prepare for the growth of freedom. Unless the people are first economically free, they cannot be politically free; and, what is more important, they will never understand political freedom until they are first economically free.

There is great danger now that Congress will give to the President of the United States power to carry on whatever type of war he wishes to wage in southeast Asia. That is why I said, in answer to an argument that was made on the floor of the Senate yesterday, apparently some colleagues are laboring under the illusion that perhaps the resolution would reduce the danger of fighting a land war in Asia. There is not a word in the resolution that has any bearing on the subject. To the contrary, the broad, sweeping, sanction of power—note my language, because it cannot be done legally—the broad, arbitrary, sweeping power Congress is sanctioning for the President would in no way stop him from sending as many American boys as he wants to send into South Vietnam to make war.

As the Senator from Alaska has said over and over again, and as I have joined him in saying, all South Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy; and the killing of a single American boy in South Vietnam is an unjustified killing. It ought to stop. It is not going to stop until we turn our warmaking policy into a peacekeeping policy. It is not going to stop until we insist that our alleged allies in SEATO come in with as many divisions of peacekeeping units as are necessary to keep the belligerents apart. It is not going to stop until the United Nations, under the procedures of international law, can come in and keep the peace and set up whatever controls are needed, by way of United Nations trusteeships if necessary, to bring that war to an end.

This result will not be achieved by unilateral military action. It makes me sad to have to say it, but I am satisfied that history will record this horrendous mistake of the United States in its false assumption in the year 1964 that it could supplant in South Vietnam military control by Asiatics with military control by the United States.

We could never win such a war. We might win military victory after military victory. If we did not stop the escalation, we would kill millions of people, because the escalation, step by step, would lead to all-out bombing of North Vietnam and Red Chinese cities. When we were through, we should have killed millions, and won military victory after military victory, but we should still have lost the war.

The United States can never dominate and control Asia, with 800 million people in China alone. That kind of war would create a hatred for the United States and for the white man generally that would persist for centuries. Dominating Asia, after destroying her cities and killing her millions by bombings—that is the danger that we are walking into—would not make the white man supreme in Asia, but only hated.

We know what the floods of human history do. Eventually the white man will be engulfed in that Asiatic flood and drowned.

I do not know why we should be so shortsighted. It is difficult to follow the processes of international law. I suppose the saddest announcement that has been made recently is that of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. U Thant, from Burma, who is not even a shadow of the great world statesman who preceded him, Dag Hammarskjold. He announced in Washington yesterday his grave doubts as to whether the Security Council could help resolve the matter.

Mr. President, we will never know until such procedures are tried. The Secretary General should have been using his voice and his influence to persuade the Security Council to carry out its obligations under the charter. Not a word has been heard from the Secretary General in regard to the power and authority of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Secretary General knows the power of the General Assembly if the Security Council is incapacitated by a Russian veto. I repeat what I have said for many months past on the floor of the Senate. I wish to put Russia on the spot. Let her exercise her veto, if she dares. The rest of the world will be her judge. We did not find her following that course in the Middle East, or in Cyprus, or in the Congo.

I was highly disappointed by what I considered to be the abdication of the leadership and responsibility on the part of the Secretary General of the United Nations in the unfortunate statement he made in Washington yesterday.

The next point I wish to make, by way of summary, is that the fear expressed by some Senators in this debate against involvement in a land war means no more than the reservation expressed in 1954, that we should not become militarily involved in South Vietnam. We did not intend then to do any of the things we are now doing in South Vietnam, but we have done them. That pious expression of intention in 1954 came to naught. This policy is sucking us into military involvement deeper and deeper, and will continue to suck us in, under this resolution, deeper and deeper.

Mr. President, you and I will be gone in a few years; but I am satisfied that the end of the road that we are traveling today will be the engulfment and drowning in world history of the influence of the white man in Asia, if we follow this course of action.

I despair frequently at the fact that so often people in positions of responsibility are inclined to think only of the present, and not a century hence. Yet, when we are dealing with matters of foreign policy and the roots of peace or war, we need to remember that the seed we plant today, be it a seed of peace or seed of war, is the seed that will finally come to fruition in a blossoming plant, perhaps a 100 years hence.

I say most respectfully and sadly that in my judgment, in this resolution, we are planting seeds not of peace, but of war. Those who will follow us in the years to come will cry out in anguish and despair in criticism over the mistake that was made in 1964 when the joint resolution was passed.

Why do we do it? I do not know. We are dealing here basically with a civil war between conflicting forces in South Vietnam. So many in this debate have overlooked the geographic problem. Let us not forget that prior to the Geneva accord of 1954 North Vietnam and South Vietnam were one people. One could go into North Vietnam today, after he had been in Saigon, and think that he was still in South Vietnam. He would feel the same way if he first went to North Vietnam and then to Saigon. They are the same people. Unfortunately, as a result of the partition under the Geneva accord in 1954, they were divided into two countries, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

Many of the people in South Vietnam who are involved in this civil war have close relatives in North Vietnam. One reason why the military dictator-puppet whom we are supporting in South Vietnam, Khanh, is having so much difficulty with the mass of the people—and he is having a serious difficulty—is his insistence that he must stage a blood bath in North Vietnam. He will never get the support of the people, because a blood bath would kill the relatives of hundreds of thousands of people in South Vietnam; and vice versa.

It is a tragedy that the Vietcongs try to subvert South Vietnam, but that is a reality. The solution is not the exercise of military might. As a critic of De Gaulle on many points, I say that the sad fact is that the De Gaulle solution is far superior to the American solution. The solution is a political and economic solution, not a military solution. De Gaulle is right. We should go to the conference table. We should not take the American position that we will go to the conference table only after we dominate the battlefield.

If we ever establish that principle, we shall have assassinated the rule of law as an instrumentality for settling disputes among nations. If we ever take the postiion that we must first dominate the battlefield, that we must be in control, that our orders must be carried out, then going to a conference table will mean only that the dominating authority tells the others at the conference table what, in effect, Adlai Stevenson unfortunately said in the sad speech he made some weeks ago before the Security Council—that, in effect, we are going to do what we think is necessary, and the others can like it or not. When he did that, as I said, he extinguished his lamp of world statesmanship.

We cannot follow the theory that underlies the present policy of our Government; namely, that until we first dominate the battlefield, we will not follow De Gaulle's suggestion to settle this dispute at the conference table. De Gaulle is right. This problem will never be settled except by a political and economic settlement. It can never be settled by the imposition of the military might of the United States upon Asia.

Mr. Gruening. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. Morse. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. Gruening. As I have said on previous occasions, my mail has been running several hundred to one in favor of withdrawal; in favor of the policies I have urged. Only this morning, I am in receipt of a number of telegrams which relate to the pending joint resolution. I shall read one of them into the Record. It comes from Oakland, Calif.:

"Oakland, Calif., *August 6, 1964.*
"Senator Ernest Gruening,
"*Washington, D.C.:*

"The statement of policy of Oakland's Women for Peace representing 400 women in regard to Vietnam. Because U.S. military involvement in Vietnam endangers world peace and because the American people have not been properly informed about the magnitude and significance of our involvement, therefore we urge full public discussion and congressional debate to explore nonmilitary alternatives to the problems. We urge that the United Nations be employed to negotiate settlement and we urge that the 14-nation committee set up by the Geneva conference be reconvened to implement the United Nations settlement.

"Oakland Women for Peace."

Mr. President, I have a number of other messages, which if time permits, should be in the Record. They are from Palo Alto, Calif., Van Nuys, Calif., from a professor at Denison University, from New York City, from Cambridge, Mass., from Fresno, Calif., from Richmond, Calif., several from Washington, D.C., from South Kortright, N.Y., from Framingham, Mass., from Berkeley, Calif., from Kemberton, Pa., from Baltimore, Md., from Fairlawn, N.J., from South Laguna Beach, Calif., from Null Valley, Calif., from Flushing, N.Y., from Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alaska yield, to enable me to clarify the procedural situation?

Mr. Gruening. I yield.

Mr. Morse. I wish to yield the floor and save the remaining time for the Senator from Alaska to use for the final rebuttal, after the proponents of the joint resolution have used their hour. We have only 8 minutes left.

The telegrams are important. Senators will find in the Record 10 pages of telegrams that I received yesterday in response to the speech I delivered the night before last in opposition to the joint resolution.

I am satisfied that at the grassroots of America the people are overwhelmingly with the Senator from Alaska and the Senator from Oregon. My mail is running more than 100 to 1 in support of our position.

I shall yield the floor; and later, at the close of the debate, the Senator from Alaska will make the final statement.

Senators who are pleading for the passage of the joint resolution are thinking of President Johnson. I yield to no one in that respect. I have complete confidence in and high regard for President Johnson, and shall campaign with all my heart for his reelection next November. I think he is dead wrong on this issue. The most loyal service I can render any President is to disagree with him when I think he is wrong and to try to correct his mistaken course of action.

Mr. President, on yesterday I asked unanimous consent to insert in the Record a cross section of the messages that I had received in connection with the position I had taken on the predated declaration of war resolution in respect to Asia which passed just a few minutes ago.

I said that they were all favorable except two. Two of them had questioned the human source of my paternity. I did not think that under those circumstances they would be very fitting messages to insert in the Record.

Maintenance of International Peace and Security in Southeast Asia

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. Keating. Mr. President, the unprovoked attacks on U.S. vessels in international waters by armed PT boats from North Vietnam rightly led to a strong reaction on the part of the United States. Although there had been some suggestion from the Department of State that the first attack might be an isolated incident, there was no doubt whatsoever that the second attack 2 days later by an undetermined number of North Vietnamese PT boats in the early evening signaled a new course of action by Vietnam Communists, perhaps a calculated effort to escalate the conflict in Asia or perhaps a probing operation to test the strength of the U.S. reaction.

President Johnson's strong and unequivocal statement followed by the action now taken should answer some of the questions that may be asked by our friends and enemies around the world as to what the United States will do. Even more specifically the retaliation against coastal facilities in North Vietnam which supported the raiding PT boats should make clear to them that Communist forces in Asia are embarked upon a collision course in which, if necessary, the full strength of the U.S. military will be brought to bear. This resolution confirms the support of Congress for a firm policy of resistance to Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

It is curious, and perhaps something more than a coincidence, that in recent years the greatest cold war crises have come in the months immediately preceding an American election. The process of free elections and political campaigns is alien to Communist experience, and it may be that the Communists misinterpret the sharp revival of partisan political activity as a sign of division and mistrust on the part of the American people. In my judgment, the members of the Republican Party have a particularly heavy responsibility to make clear at this time their full support and bipartisan backing for the action undertaken by the President of the United States in defense of free world interests. This the leaders of the Republican Party have done. For my part, I should like to make perfectly clear that I stand 100 percent behind the President. He has my prayers for the heavy responsibility he bears at this time and my assistance and support in whatever way can be most useful to our Nation's security.

Mr. President, there are and will always be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of the policies which have brought us to the present impasse. There are, and always will be, differences as to the future direction and detail of American policy in southeast Asia. But when the moment arrives that it is necessary to order the Armed Forces of the United States into action, the President is Commander in Chief. The allegiances of the Nation are to him. And the entire Nation joins in mourning the American airmen lost in action during this crisis.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that these actions pose the threat of expanded military operations in Asia. What should the long-term policy of the United States be if we should be faced with prospect of conflict with Red China? I do not believe this conflict is upon us today, but undoubtedly the situation today is more explosive and more dangerous than it was a week ago. The guns of August have again resounded through the world and none can tell the final result. Prompt retaliation was necessary.

But in the long run, American policies toward Asia, both the free nations of Asia and the Communist aggressors, must not be determined merely by speedy reaction to Communist offensives. For the future, the United States must determine whether we will defend the independence of the nations of southeast Asia at any cost and with any force, or whether our military and political policies will be strictly limited. This will be a major international issue for years to come. It should be thoroughly explored not only within the executive branch of the Government but in full coordination and consultation with Members of Congress and with the full knowledge and understanding of the people of the United States.

Mr. President, I have complete confidence in the ability of our Government to handle any immediate crisis in southeast Asia, but the long-term crisis must be settled only after long-term and penetrating analysis in which all of the factors are thoroughly weighed by all of those who bear a part of the responsibility for the defense of freedom and the future of our Nation.

Through this resolution the Congress is making clear its present support for our Commander in Chief at the moment of conflict. It is a vote of confidence in the action that has been taken, but it is not a blank check for policies that might in future be carried on by the executive branch of the Government in other cases, without full consultation by the Congress. It is not a blank check authorizing U.S. military actions against Red China, nor is it a blank check authorizing guerrilla activities or other actions on the part of the Government of South Vietnam. It is not a blank check authorizing other nations in Asia to pursue independent military actions which are not in clear defense of their own territories.

In sort, Mr. President, this resolution expresses the determination of the United States to resist aggression against our forces or our allies in Asia. It reemphasizes the principles of the U.N. Charter condemning aggression. It should also be used as a clear call for support from our allies in Asia and elsewhere who should not be slow to recognize that any attack upon the U.S. 7th Fleet is indeed an attack upon every free nation in Asia that looks to U.S. naval forces for help and security.

Mr. Gruening. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. Keating. I have only 5 minutes. I wish to complete my statement. The Senator from Alaska will have time in his own right to reply.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from New York declines to yield.

Mr. Keating. Help and coordination of policies with other free nations of Asia are important steps in the search for long-term peace in the area. In the immediate crisis, the long-term problems and needs must not be neglected.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask that the time for the calling of the quorum be charged to me.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. Mansield. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call may be rescinded.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes on the resolution to the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken].

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, for some months it has appeared to me that an expansion of military operations in southeast Asia was inevitable. I have been skeptical of the repeated assurances of high government officials that no such expansion was contemplated.

I have repeatedly stated to those officials, including the President of the United States, that I was opposed to an expansion of the war.

The decision, however, was not mine to make. The decision, and also the responsibility for expanding such military operations, rest squarely with the President, under the authority delegated to him by the Congress over the years.

The President has now made such a decision and has assumed the responsibility.

Mr. President, I am still apprehensive over the outcome of his decision. But, since it has been made, I feel that I, as an American citizen, can do no less than support the President in his capacity as leader of our Nation.

I believe that our country will be in greater jeopardy if we do not now support his decision.

I sincerely hope that the fears I have entertained over the past few months may prove to have been groundless. I sincerely hope that the President's action, taken evidently in the belief that vigorous action now will save more lives than it will cost, will prove to be correct.

Mr. President, I shall support the joint resolution even though I still regard the decision of President Johnson with misgivings. It is a very difficult decision to make, but I do not believe that any of us can afford to take a position opposing the President of the United States for exercising the power which we, under our form of government and through our legislative bodies, have delegated to his office.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask again that the time for the calling of the quorum be charged to me.

The Presiding Officer. (Mr. Brewster in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. Javits. Mr. President, I note the presence in the Chamber of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright]. We almost exhausted him yesterday by keeping him on the floor to answer questions.

I believe that a very important question is raised by Mr. Reston's article in the New York Times of this morning in respect to our relationship with the South Vietnamese Premier, General Khanh. Mr. Reston writes of the pattern which we followed in respect to the Formosa resolution in 1954. I know the inhibitions of secrecy and the effects upon national policy in all these respects. We may assume that our Government is taking the necessary precautions so that the broad support—to use a juridical term—which we would give to the President in respect to the extended operations of a military character in this area of the world, is not an action by which our freedom of control may be taken away by actions to which the Khanh regime may commit us for practical purposes. But we would have a right to assume in voting the joint resolution that our Government is taking the necessary precautions to see that whatever commitment was undertake is our own, and that we shall not be forced into a position of broadening that commitment against our will because the country in whose interest we are working so hard will commit us beyond what we wish to be committed to as a practical matter.

In short, to be very practical, suppose we are faced with a situation in which the South Vietnamese position should be jeopardized by its own extension of the struggle beyond its own capacity to wage a successful war in North Vietnam. Then what would happen in terms of our commitment and the commitment which our President is empowered to undertake anyhow, but which we would support in the joint resolution?

Mr. Fulbright. As a practical question, there is the closest cooperation between the Government of South Vietnam and our representatives, particularly our Ambassador, General Taylor. I do not believe there is any probability, or even a possibility, that they can commit us beyond what our own people believe to be in the interest of our common effort.

There is some distinction between the present situation and the declared policy of Chiang Kai-shek during the time of the Formosa resolution. As the Senator well knows, it was—and perhaps it still is—his declared intention to retake the mainland of China. That was a question of considerable concern. That Government had quite a large army of its own, and perhaps had greater capabilities than presently exist in South Vietnam.

I do not believe there is any substance to the fear that the Vietnamese could involve us beyond the point where we ourselves wish to be involved. I do not think a full scale or a substantial invasion or extension of the war without our approval and assistance could be mounted. No such invasion has been mounted. I do not know that there is any prospect of it. That is a question which I believe is in the field of tactics, on which I am not competent to comment at the moment. But on the political aspect of the question, I do not think there is any substance to the fear that the South Vietnamese may lead us down a road that we do not wish to travel. It is a question of judgment as to what is the wise road to follow, of course.

The question will remain one of great difficulty until it can be settled. I do not believe there is any reason for such a fear at the present time.

I share with the Senator, as we all do, nervousness over these resolutions. I think it is caused by nervousness about war in general. It is not because of the specific individual involved. We are all nervous about the expansion of the war. I know the President is.

The Presiding Officer. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. Javits. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield 2 additional minutes to me, so that I might finish my colloquy with the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. Dirksen. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from New York.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from New York is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. Fulbright. I am sure the President shares our concern. Great concern and apprehension are always created by the breaking out of violence in these areas.

Mr. Javits. I should like to ask the Senator whether we have a right to feel satisfied that our Government has taken or will take the necessary precautions to see that we shall not be committed beyond the extent to which we wish to be committed by the local Government of South Vietnam itself.

Mr. Fulbright. I believe we have, both in the past and presently. I do not believe that there is any probability of their going off and involving us where we do not wish to be involved. I believe we can maintain complete control over our own commitments.

Mr. Javits. I believe that is a definitive answer. I accept it as such. I believe other Senators will do likewise. Again I appeal to the Senator from Arkansas with respect to the role of the Foreign Relations Committee on the question, which, in my judgment, begins rather than ends when we pass the joint resolution. I hope that, before the debate is over, the Senator will give us some definitive statement of his own feeling, so that, within the proper area of legislative oversight, those of us who wish to vote yea on the resolution may look to the Foreign Relations Committee to keep its hands on the controls, as far as the Constitution and the practice of the Congress allows, in respect to the troublesome questions which we have raised in the debate, such as the present one with respect to General Khanh and his regime and the concurrence of our allies, continuous consultation, and the other questions.

Mr. Fulbright. I should like to make two statements which I believe are appropriate. First, both the present administration and the previous administration have been very good about reporting to us and briefing us about the situation. I do not believe there has been any tendency to withhold anything. I do not believe that at any time when representatives of the administration came to brief us and we requested information they have refused to divulge it. In many cases they themselves have initiated such a request as far as the information goes.

Second, the more important point in this case, I believe, is the fact that the administration went to great lengths to find the best equipped and qualified men to send to Vietnam. I personally felt great satisfaction in the selection of U. Alexis Johnson to be our civilian representative. He is one of the most experienced men we have. I know of no one who does not have a high regard for General Taylor. After all, on these difficult subjects there is no way of enacting a law promulgating a rule which would be self-executing. We must rely to a great extent upon the wisdom, judgment, and experience of those actually in charge. I believe that is the most reassuring aspect of the question. The Government has sent two of the best men available into this very critical area.

Mr. Javits. Will the Foreign Relations Committee continue to play an active role in respect of the question? I believe an affirmative answer would be a real assurance to all of us.

Mr. Fulbright. I do not wish to mislead anyone. As the Senator knows, our role is one of an advisory nature. Information is submitted to the committee. The administration has never held anything back, to my knowledge. It has been frank. We have an opportunity to advise them, and that is all. We cannot direct or force them. Even within the committee, as the Senator knows, there are some very sharp differences of opinion. So all we can do it to advise with them, which we have done.

On questions of importance, the administration has consulted, in addition to the committee or the senior members of the committee, and the leadership of both Houses. We have the further assurance of the majority leader, the minority leader, the whips, and senior members of the committees of both Houses.

Mr. Javits. If information is not volunteered, will the chairman of the committee call and get it?

Mr. Fulbright. Yes; we have and do.

Mr. Javits. I thank the Senator.

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield some time to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. Fulbright. I shall be glad to do so. How much time does the Senator wish?

Mr. President, how much time have we remaining?

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Arkansas has 9 minutes.

Mr. Fulbright. How much time would the Senator like?

Mr. Nelson. I do not understand the Chair's response. I thought 30 minutes were left.

The Presiding Officer. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, there is a time limitation. The Senator from Oregon has 23 minutes, and the Senator from Arkansas 9 minutes.

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, I should like all that extra time, but I want to be fair. I do not have that much time. I would be glad to use it, but I want to be fair. The time started running at 10 o'clock. I finished at 7 minutes to 11, I believe. I will take the time if the Senator from Arkansas does not want it.

Mr. Nelson. I have an amendment to suggest. If the Senator from Arkansas accepted it, I would vote for the resolution. If it were not accepted, I might not. So whose time should I take?

Mr. Fulbright. I am perfectly willing to yield the Senator time.

Mr. President, does the Chair have the time reversed?

The Presiding Officer. The Parliamentarian informs the Chair that the Senator from Arkansas has 7 minutes left.

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, not to take up all the time, would the Senator from Oregon yield me 5 minutes?

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, I understand the Senator from Wisconsin has an amendment to offer which might make the joint resolution a little better, but still unacceptable so far as I am concerned.

Mr. President, how much time have I?

The Presiding Officer. Twenty-three minutes.

Mr. Morse. For the good of the cause, I will yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks and any colloquy I may have with the Senator from Arkansas there be printed in the Record excerpts from the President's address, a column from this morning's Washington Post by Chalmers Roberts, a column from today's New York Times by James Reston, a column from the Washington Post by Marquis Childs, and a reprint of an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. Nelson. Mr. President, I have read the Record. There was some colloquy on the floor yesterday. I noticed that every Senator who spoke had his own personal interpretation of what the joint resolution means.

One Senator yesterday stated for the Record that he understands the resolution to mean that there will be no more privileged sanctuaries.

Another Senator interprets the resolution to mean that it would authorize the Chief Executive to eliminate any aggression, future and present. Some Senators interpret this language to mean aggression against South Vietnam; others interpret it to mean aggression directly against our military forces.

Another Senator interpreted the joint resolution to mean that it is the sense of Congress that no change is suggested by Congress in the present mission in South Vietnam—the mission that has been ours for 10 years, which is to supply advisers, technical advice, and materiel, for the purpose of attempting to encourage the establishment of an independent, viable regime, so that we can withdraw our forces; and that it has not been our mission in the past 10 years to substitute our military forces for the South Vietnamese forces, nor to join with them in a land war, nor to fight their battle for them, nor to substitute our Government for theirs.

This 10-year-old limited mission can be legitimately defended as a responsibility of ours to assist free and independent nations; and it can be legitimately questioned, too, because of the geographic location of that mission.

In any event, I am most disturbed to see that there is no agreement in the Senate on what the joint resolution means. I would like to see it clarified.

If we are telling the public by this resolution that it is our responsibility to use our forces to win a war in southeast Asia——

The Presiding Officer. The 5 minutes of the Senator from Wisconsin have expired.

Mr. Nelson. I ask the Senator from Oregon to yield me some time.

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, I am willing to make a deal with the Senator from Arkansas. If I yield the Senator 4 minutes, will the Senator from Arkansas yield him some time?

Mr. Fulbright. We have only 7 minutes.

Mr. Dirksen. All the time for the quorum calls came out of our time.

Mr. Morse. I did not ask that it come out of the time of the other side. I did not ask for any quorum call. I am willing to enter into a unanimous-consent agreement that the time taken for the quorum calls be not counted.

Mr. Dirksen. Perhaps we should find out how the timekeeper can change the record.

Mr. Morse. I specifically said I would reserve time to yield to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. Dirksen. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator will state it.

Mr. Dirksen. Is it the understanding of the Chair that the last hour was to be equally divided between the two leaders for disposition as they saw fit; and is it also correct that the time for the quorum calls was taken out of our time?

The Presiding Officer. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, 1 hour was to be divided between the leadership. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, at the request of the Senator from Montana, the time used during the quorum calls was taken out of that 1 hour.

Mr. Morse. I say most respectfully that quorums calls were asked for by the proponents of the bill.

Mr. Dirksen. What happened to my half hour?

Mr. Morse. The proponents did not have any speakers for the resolution. That is why they suggested the absence of a quorum. Let us be frank about it. We have speakers against the resolution. I shall not deny my colleague from Alaska an opportunity to close the debate on the resolution. It is now 20 minutes to 1. Do Senators still wish to vote at 1 o'clock? How much time have I remaining?

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Oregon has 15 minutes remaining. Very briefly let the Chair state that 1 hour was allotted to the majority leader and the minority leader. It was not understood that the time was to be divided between them.

Mr. Morse. I will reserve 10 minutes of my time for the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening]. The Senators from Arkansas and Illinois may have the rest of the time and use it as they see fit.

Mr. Dirksen. Out of whose time is that to come?

Mr. Morse. I have 15 minutes. I am reserving 10 minutes for the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. Fulbright. We have 7 minutes.

Mr. Morse. I will give the Senator 5 minutes of my time.

Mr. Nelson. I wonder if the Senator would accept an amendment.

Mr. Morse. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin, with the understanding that the time that I have reserved for the Senator from Alaska will be protected.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Nelson. In view of the differing interpretations which have been put upon the joint resolution with respect to what the sense of Congress is, I should like to have this point clarified. I have great confidence in the President. However, my concern is that we in Congress could give the impression to the public that we are prepared at this time to change our mission and substantially expand our commitment. If that is what the sense of Congress is, I am opposed to the resolution. I therefore ask the distinguished Senator from Arkansas if he would consent to accept an amendment, a copy of which I have supplied him. I shall read it into the Record:

"On page 2, line 3, after the word 'That' insert '(a)'.

"On page 2, between lines 6 and 7, insert the following:

"'(b) The Congress also approves and supports the efforts of the President to bring the problem of peace in southeast Asia to the Security Council of the United Nations, and the President's declaration that the United States, seeking no extension of the present military conflict, will respond to provocation in a manner that is "limited and fitting". Our continuing policy is to limit our role to the provision of aid, training assistance, and military advice, and it is the sense of Congress that, except when provoked to a greater response, we should continue to attempt to avoid a direct military involvement in the southeast Asian conflict.' "

This amendment is not an interference with the exercise of the President's constitutional rights. It is merely an expression of the sense of Congress. Would the Senator accept the amendment?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It states fairly accurately what the President has said would be our policy, and what I stated my understanding was as to our policy; also what other Senators have stated. In other words, it states that our response should be appropriate and limited to the provocation, which the Senator states as "respond to provocation in a manner that is limited and fitting," and so forth. We do not wish any political or military bases there. We are not seeking to gain a colony. We seek to insure the capacity of these people to develop along the lines of their own desires, independent of domination by communism.

The Senator has put into his amendment a statement of policy that is unobjectionable. However, I cannot accept the amendment under the circumstances. I do not believe it is contrary to the joint resolution, but it is an enlargement. I am informed that the House is now voting on this resolution. The House joint resolution is about to be presented to us. I cannot accept the amendment and go to conference with it, and thus take responsibility for delaying matters.

I do not object to it as a statement of policy. I believe it is an accurate reflection of what I believe is the President's policy, judging from his own statements. That does not mean that as a practical matter I can accept the amendment. It would delay matters to do so. It would cause confusion and require a conference, and present us with all the other difficulties that are involved in this kind of legislative action. I regret that I cannot do it, even though I do not at all disagree with the amendment as a general statement of policy.

Mr. NELSON. Judging by the RECORD of yesterday, many Senators do not interpret the resolution in the same way.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Senators are entitled to have different views. However, most members of the committee, with one or two exceptions, interpret it the same way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Differences of interpretation are necessarily always present. I think the Senator's statement is a fair statement.

"EXHIBIT 1

"[From the New York Times, Aug. 4, 1964]

"THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

"My fellow Americans, as President and Commander in Chief, it is my duty to the American people to report that renewed hostile actions against U.S. ships on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin have today required me to order the military forces of the United States to take action in reply.

"The initial attack on the destroyer *Maddox* on August 2 was repeated today by a number of hostile vessels attacking two U.S. destroyers with torpedoes.

"The destroyers and supporting aircraft acted at once on the orders I gave after the initial act of aggression.

"We believe at least two of the attacking boats were sunk. There were no U.S. losses.

"The performance of commanders and crews in this engagement is in the highest tradition of the U.S. Navy.

"But repeated acts of violence against the Armed Forces of the United States must be met not only with alert defense but with positive reply.

"ACTION NOW IN EXECUTION

"That reply is being given, as I speak to you tonight. Air action is now in execution against gunboats and certain supporting facilities in North Vietnam which have been used in these hostile operations.

"In the larger sense, this new act of aggression aimed directly at our own forces again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in southeast Asia.

"Aggression by terror against the peaceful villages of South Vietnam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America.

"The determination of all Americans to carry out our full commitment to the people and to the Government of South Vietnam will be redoubled by this outrage. Yet our response for the present will be limited and fitting.

"We Americans know—although others appear to forget—the risk of spreading conflict.

"We still seek no wider war. I have instructed the Secretary of State to make this position totally clear to friends and to adversaries and, indeed, to all.

"I have instructed Ambassador Stevenson to raise this matter immediately and urgently before the Security Council of the United Nations.

"CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ASKED

"Finally, I have today met with the leaders of both parties in the Congress of the United States and I have informed them that I shall immediately request the Congress to pass a resolution making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom and in defense of peace in southeast Asia.

"I have been given encouraging assurance by these leaders of both parties that such a resolution will be promptly introduced, freely and expeditiously debated, and passed with overwhelming support.

"And just a few minutes ago I was able to reach Senator GOLDWATER and I am glad to say that he has expressed his support of the statement that I am making to you tonight.

"It is a solemn responsibility to have to order even limited military action by forces whose overall strength is as vast and as awesome as those of the United States of America.

"But it is my considered conviction, shared throughout your Government, that firmness in the right is indispensable today for peace.

"That firmness will always be measured. Its mission is peace."

"[From the Washington Post, Aug. 7, 1964]

"LAND WAR FEARED—CONGRESSIONAL DOUBTS STRONG DESPITE ACCORD

"(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

"The Congress is about to pass a resolution upholding the President's hand in a foreign crisis but once again what the resolution says isn't everything that is in congressional minds.

"Back in 1955 the Senate was so unhappy over the prospects of war with China that the then chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Walter George, of Georgia, had to give a public assurance that the Formosa resolution gave no power to Adm. Arthur Radford, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that only President Eisenhower would act under its terms.

"This year a Democratic Congress will uphold a Democratic President, and the Republicans, now led by a man who wants victory in Vietnam, will back him, too.

"LAND WAR FEARED

"The Senate debate yesterday made amply clear that what Members fear now is escalation of the current crisis to a point where President Johnson might decide to send American troops to fight a land war in Asia.

"That, said Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, is 'the last thing we would want to do.' But, rightly, he could give no assurance that it would not happen.

"The probability, however, is that it will not happen, no matter what the Communists in either Hanoi or Peiping now decide to do. At first glance that may seem encouraging but, in fact, it means a limitation on the options that would be open to the President.

"There has been a lot of talk around Washington for a long time about the "Never Again Club," a term applied to those, chiefly in the military but also among civilian leaders outside the Pentagon, who say we should never again face Red China in a land war as we did in Korea. To some, there also is an implication that nuclear weapons should be used next time.

"SENATORIAL MEMBERS

"It sounded yesterday as though the club has a lot of senatorial members, too, on the anti-land-war point though no one was advocating the use of nuclear weapons.

"But if massed armies are ruled out—and the thousands of American soldiers we already have in South Vietnam are not such an army—the United States has only air and seapower to apply against the Communists whose strength, as demonstrated in Korea, lies in massed armies.

"We do not yet know what Hanoi and Peiping will do but it would be very suprising if they accepted the American reprisal without response. Their ability to respond, given limited air power and minor sea power, most probably would have to be in the form of land army action unless it were limited to harassment, murder, and sabotage in South Vietnam against Americans and American installations.

"In short, while Congress is worrying about the United States being bogged down in a land war in Asia, the very avoidance of that—given a major Communist response—could lead to major American air and naval assaults on Communist territory.

"MILITARY OF DIPLOMATIC?

"Unraveling the tangle of events that led to the North Vietnamese torpedo boat attacks is, for the moment, something for the historians, since the story goes back a decade and more.

"The immediate problem facing the Johnson administration is whether, if there is a major Communist retort, the United States should increase the fury of its response or whether it should attempt to find some diplomatic solution.

"It is questionable, however, whether United Nations Secretary General U Thant's new suggestions will be any more attractive than General de Gaulle's earlier ones, given the total Asian Communist hostility toward the United States.

"The exultation of victory, even in small doses, is a heady business. Anyone now inclined to exaltation had better think twice because there are unlikely to be any meaningful cheap victories in Asia in a military sense.

"The signs of concern that showed yesterday in the Senate Chamber, rather than the overwhelming votes expected today for the resolution itself, will have to be taken into account by the President and his associates at the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon."

"[From the New York Times, Aug. 7, 1964]

"SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT VIETNAM

"(By James Reston)

"WASHINGTON, August 6.—The Nation has united quickly behind the President's strong military action in Vietnam, but unity and speed, important as they are in the present crisis, should not muffle some fundamental questions about the future political and military relationships in that area.

"First, should there not be a formal public undertaking by the South Vietnamese Government that the military weapons supplied by the United States will not be used in offensive measures against Communist North Vietnam without the advance consent of the United States?

"Second, should not the United States give a similar formal undertaking to the Government of South Vietnam?

"Third, is the mission of the United States in South Vietnam to provide arms and advice to the Government of South Vietnam, as stated officially in the past, or is President Johnson now asking for a congressional resolution that would authorize him to take any military measures he pleases in all of southeast Asia at the request of any southeast Asian ally?

"THE FORMOSA PRECEDENT

"The official view here is that it is not helpful to raise such questions when the United States must act together in a hurry, but the President, as Commander in Chief, has the power to repel any new sudden attack, as he did last weekend, and it may be wise to take a day or two to analyze where we are and where we are going.

"Obviously, no formal agreement between the United States and South V'etnam could be permitted to interfere with each government's right of self-defense. No American destroyer captain under Communist attack is going to be asked to wireless Saigon for permission to defend himself, and no South Vietnamese military unit defending South Vietnam is going to be asked to get permission from the United States before firing on its attackers.

"However, any attack on North Vietnam by either the United States or the South Vietnamese clearly involves the possibility of retaliation by the Communists on both, and thus should be launched only by joint agreement.

"This principle of joint action in mutual danger was appended to the Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China signed here in December of 1954.

"At that time, Secretary of State Dulles and Ambassador George K. C. Yeh, of the Chinese Republic, exchanged letters, the key paragraph of which read as follows:

"'In view of the obligations of the two parties under the said treaty, and of the fact that the use of force from either of these areas (Formosa or the offshore islands) by either of the parties affects the other, it is agreed that such use of force will be a matter of joint agreement, subject to action of an emergency character which is clearly an exercise of the inherent right of self-defense.'

"It is stated here officially that there is already an 'understanding' with the South Vietnamese Premier, Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh, that he will not attack North Vietnam without our consent, and, of course, the United States controls the arms and the gasoline necessary for any prolonged attack, but since General Khanh has recently been waging an open propaganda campaign for an attack on the North, it is not clear why the existing understanding should not be stated formally and publicly.

"After all, even fairness to the South Vietnamese requires advance consultation, at least, before any assault on the enemy's territory.

"JOHNSON'S POWERS

"The proposed congressional resolution, as it now stands, is a more delicate matter. It could easily be amended to include the principle of joint agreement on any attack on the North, but amending it to restrict the President's action further is more difficult, and maybe it should not be done.

"But it should at least be recognized what the resolution now authorizes. It says that the United States regards the maintenance of peace and security in southeast Asia as vital to its national interest and to world peace. And it adds:

"'The United States is, therefore, prepared as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.'

"This is a little different from merely sending arms and 'advisers' to South Vietnam. It would approve any military action as the President determines in any part of southeast Asia, including military action in support of any nation in the Southeast Asia Treaty (whose military support of South Vietnam has been virtually nil), provided our military action were sought and the President approved.

"Maybe this is what the country wants and there is a good case to be made for it, but even in the hurry to get the resolution passed there shouldn't be much objection to looking at what it says and what it doesn't say."

"[From the Washington Post, Aug. 7, 1964]

"VIETNAM OF 1964 RECALLS KOREA OF 1950

"(By Marquis Childs)

"The really deep trouble in Vietnam lies outside the scope of American sea and air power. The great question is whether the South Vietnamese Army has the will to go on fighting on the ground against Communist guerrillas after 17 years of almost unremitting warfare.

"Before the naval action in the Gulf of Tonkin, evidence was accumulating that war weariness and political dissension in Saigon had raised grave doubts about the future. Hints were coming from the military clique headed by Gen. Nguyen Khanh that the United States would have to take a much larger share of the burden, including even direct participation in combat.

"On the recommendation of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, the new Ambassador in Saigon, Washington moved to increase the number of American military advisers from 16,000 to 22,000. They were, it was reported, empowered to fire back if fired on. No one can say whether this will be enough.

"At the same time, disturbing rumors have circulated in Saigon about a new coup to replace General Khanh. If the worst should happen, the Johnson administration faces an awesome choice—sending in large numbers of American combat troops or expanding the war with massive bombing in the north. The risks in either course are incalculable. To get out, a third choice, seems impossible in view of what has gone before and in the light of politics in the presidential year.

"The beginning of the Korean war 14 years ago comes vividly to mind. The atmosphere then was very much what it is today. Republicans and Democrats were rallying around President Truman and promising him support against Communist aggression. Robert A. Taft, minority leader in the Senate, gave reluctant assent despite his strong isolationist convictions. It was a moment of patriotic fervor in which Mr. Truman, by almost unanimous opinion, emerged as a strong and decisive President.

"But that mood quickly altered. As the woefully untrained American troops that were rushed from Japan were pushed back almost off the Korean Peninsula with fearful casualties, it became 'Truman's war.'

"By the 1952 campaign and the disaster resulting from the massive Chinese invasion, this was the chief line of Republican attack. General Eisenhower could say at the University of Illinois that Midwestern farm boys should stay at home and let Asians fight Asians.

"Mr. Truman had resisted the demand to bomb the privileged sanctuary across the Yalu River. He had shown marked restraint out of concern that the war would be enlarged to a global scale. He was damned from hell to breakfast for that restraint.

"There is one important difference today. In 1950, Mr. Truman went to the United Nations before responding to the North Korean attack. By a piece of luck, the Soviet delegate was absent, so that the Security Council could pass a resolution calling on the U.N. to join in resisting aggression. This time the United States struck first.

"Except for the Communist nations, almost every U.N. member approved a joint defense of Korea. Even neutralist India sent an imbulance unit. If a widened conflict developed in Vietnam, this country will find it hard to rally support. It will have the look of a war waged by white men against Asians.

"That is, in effect, what President de Gaulle has been saying—that the war, as it is currently being fought, cannot be won. The French tried for nearly 7 years, beginning in 1947, and they sacrificed the cream of St. Cyr, their West Point, in the vain effort. Unhappily, De Gaulle's prescription for ending the war has been based on a formula of neutralization that sounds like surrender.

"Three long-term consequences of a greatly enlarged war in Asia, if it comes to that, are unforeseeable. The most important single event of the last 2 to 3 years has been the split between, the Soviet Union and China, with reverberation throughout the Communist world. In recent weeks that split has seemed to be irreconcilable. It could be healed by a war between the United States and China. Expert opinion here is that Moscow would stop short with condemnation of American moves.

"But that is conjecture. As often in the past, the most baffling and frustrating element in the new crisis is the enigma of Red China. American policy has walled off a nation of 600 or 700 million people and what goes on in the fastness of Peiping is as mysterious as what may be happening on Mars. That may have been inevitable after Korea. But it is today a tragic commentary on the darkness that cloaks the dubious future in Asia."

"[From a Milwaukee Journal editorial, Aug. 6, 1964, as reported in the New York Times]

"APPEAL FOR RESTRAINT

"It may be that the North Vietnamese, with the backing of Communist China, were testing the American will. If so, they have their answer.

"There is some danger that this country may tend to overreact to North Vietnamese stings because of our political situation. President Johnson has been under attack for what opponents call a 'no win' policy in southeast Asia. He has been unwisely urged to escalate the war.

"Under such circumstances, a President can be handicapped in making vital decisions. President Johnson will need courage and patience and restraint to keep the Nation from the wider war that he—and all who realize what modern war is—wish to avoid."

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 189) to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, has my time expired?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MORSE. In fairness to the Senator from Alaska, I cannot yield any more time.

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time not to be charged to either side.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold that suggestion?

Mr. MCNAMARA. I withhold it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Since the House has passed a joint resolution which I understand is identical to our resolution, by a vote of 414 to 0, with one Member voting present, and the House joint resolution has now been received by the Senate, is it proper to ask unanimous consent to take up the House joint resolution and substitute it for the Senate joint resolution?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is proper to ask unanimous consent to take up the House joint resolution, and to vote on the House joint resolution in lieu of the Senate joint resolution.

Mr. MORSE. Temporarily, I shall have to object. When the time has been exhausted, if the Senator wishes to renew his request, I may not object. I do not wish to sacrifice any more of our time, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What happened to my 7 minutes? Every time I inquire as to how much time I have left, the time goes down by 5 minutes. I was not talking on my time. I was responding to a question by the Senator from Wisconsin. I did not yield myself any time to respond to the question. I do not see how I can possibly have used any time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair's statement as to the remaining time is based on what the Parliamentarian advises the Chair.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Perhaps his watch——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All these discussions take a great deal of time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It depends on whose time it is. The Senator from Arkansas did not yield any time.

Mr. MORSE. This is becoming ridiculous. I ask unanimous consent that the agreement be extended for an additional 10 minutes, with that time made available to the Senator from Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I voted for this resolution in the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, and I expect to support it when we vote in the Senate today.

In the committee I had the occasion to commend the Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler, and—of course—the President of the United States, on the action which they took in response to the unprovoked, premeditated, and deliberate attacks made on our naval ships on the 2d of August and again on the night of the 4th of August.

The facts are indisputable. At the time of the first attack by the North Vietnamese PT boats on the U.S.S. *Maddox* on August 2, the U.S.S. *Maddox* was something in the neighborhood of 25 to 30 miles offshore operating in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin. According to the testimony, the commander of the U.S.S. *Maddox* had some information that this attack might develop and he was seeking to avoid any contact with the PT boats, yet they pursued and overtook him, firing torpedoes at his ship and subsequently coming alongside and strafing him with .50-caliber machineguns.

The U.S.S. *Maddox* returned the fire, damaging seriously one of the PT boats. It was shortly after this occasion that we were briefed by the Department of Defense as to just what had transpired. Secretary McNamara told us of plans to continue to operate our naval ships in the international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, and said that now the President had given orders for the ships and men not only to defend themselves, but to shoot to destroy. It was shortly after these orders went out that we were called to the White House and told of the second attack by a host of North Vietnamese PT boats against not only the U.S.S. *Maddox*, but the destroyer *C. Turner Joy* which was operating in conjunction with the *Maddox* some 65 miles from the nearest coast.

After all the facts were presented to us no responsible persons could arrive at any other conclusion than that the attacks were deliberate and intended to be provocative. When the President told us of his orders in response to the attack, it was agreed by all those present that our retaliation was appropriate. It was decisive; it was thorough; it was quick, and yet it was restrained and it was measured. The punishment fit the crime.

By such action the President of the United States made it clear that the United States was not going to have its ships, its men, or its flag, shot at or attacked anywhere in the world where we had a legal right to be without quick and decisive response. This action is, figuratively speaking, language which the Communists understand. If they made a miscalculation with respect to whether or not the United States was in truth and in fact, as their propaganda had insisted, a "paper tiger," they no longer suffer from such disillusionment. They now know for a certainty that we will respond totally and completely if necessary, to any unwarranted action they may take against us.

They now understand that we are concerned in southeast Asia through our membership in the SEATO Organization; and that our commitments there are totally concerned with protecting the newly independent countries of southeast Asia and assisting them in achieving freedom and democracy. They now know that we are not going to be bluffed or bullied out of our commitments to our friends and allies in that area of the world.

I, along with others, approved of this action by the President of the United States because I believe it signifies a long needed change in policy. It, in effect, states that there will never again be a haven behind which the Communists can hide after they have made attacks on us, such as existed in Korea, north of the 38th parallel.

If we should become involved in stepped-up military action in the Asiatic theater, and we of course hope and pray that we do not, but if we do, the Communists must understand that there will be no sanctuary from which their military forces can operate with impunity.

I hope and trust that those who would make these momentous decisions for the Communist world, would understand that the policy has changed.

Mr. President, I shall not delay the Senate longer. I am sure each Senator has his mind already made up. I am certain that a vast majority of Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle stand wholeheartedly behind this action taken by the President of the United States.

I am certain that every Member of the United States Congress who votes for this resolution recognizes that if we do not make such response—as we did in this recent instance against the North Vietnamese—there will be other more serious aggressions against us, and others in the free world. And the time would come when we would be forced out of international waters, and forced to retreat and run from our friends and allies around the face of the globe. This resolution makes it clear that we stand behind the President in a firm resolve to give whatever is required in time, substance, money or lives to the protection of those ideals of freedom which we hold so dear and for which this Nation has so long stood. I feel that each Senator who supports this resolution recognizes that in being true to our heritage we have no other course.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, last night I read in one of the local newspapers a speculative article which undertook to give this subject something of a partisan cast. One of the expressions used was, "The President has done it again." That is an unfortunate speculation, because that was not involved in any of the discussions we have had about the joint resolution.

I attended the briefing at the White House. It lasted for almost an hour and a half. The whole case was laid on the table by the President, by the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, by the Secretary of Defense, and by the Secretary of State. Thereafter, there was no limit on the amount of discussion or on the questions that any member of the joint leadership from both the House and Senate might have wished to propound, whether they were addressed to the Secretaries or to the President.

When the meeting was over, we discussed the content of a resolution, with the understanding that the resolution could be modified and simplified, if that were necessary or deemed desirable. That was the whole story.

Before we left the Cabinet room, the President asked every Member who was present whether he would give support to the resolution. Every Member responded. I am rather proud of the fact that every Republican who responded said that, speaking for himself and, hopefully, for the party, he would support the President in his determination to meet the crisis now before us in the South Pacific.

This is in line with every policy statement that the minority policy committee and the minority party have made with respect to foreign affairs. We have constantly emphasized that all we ask, when a decision is pending or a crisis is upon us, is to be consulted, to have an opportunity to offer alternative proposals and substitutes. When we have had our day in court and the decision has been made, we are prepared to abide by the decision and to demonstrate to the whole wide world that there is no division between the Executive and Congress in repelling aggression aimed at our forces wherever we are under protocol or treaty obligations. We have religiously adhered to that posture and that policy ever since.

The President could have taken this action in his own right as the Commander in Chief. He does not have to ask Congress about the deployment of troops, submarines, bombers, and fighter planes.

What is involved is a demonstration that the executive and legislative branches of the Government stand together in an hour of need and threat, and when there is peril in a section of the world that could easily jeopardize the entire free world.

I wished to make clear how the minority stands, and how it stood in that briefing session, and also when this subject was before the various committees of the Senate and House.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I wish to affirm what the distinguished minority leader has said. I was present at the briefings. There was not the slightest indication of any kind of partisanship in any sense. Back through the years, when similar resolutions have been under consideration, this has also been true. It was true when there was a Republican administration.

I cannot resist paying a compliment to the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. While on certain matters he is a great partisan leader, nevertheless, on all matters affecting the security of this country, matters which are comparable to this kind of situation, I have never seen him be partisan, either on the floor or off the floor of the Senate. He always rises above partisanship in dealing with problems that directly involve our security and reserves his partisanship, as all of us do, for less profound subjects than those which threaten the security of our country. This is, of course, normal and demonstrates the distinction between foreign relations and domestic relations.

I did not see any such article as that to which the Senator from Illinois has referred; but if there was such an article, it was entirely in error, because there was no partisanship, and none is involved in this measure.

Now I wish to say a word or two about the House joint resolution. It passed the House by a vote of 414 to 0. I do not believe that in a democracy unanimity is always necessary. Certainly, it is not necessary when we are dealing with matters of substance involving domestic legislation, or even legislation dealing with foreign relations. However, in the expression of an advisory opinion of broad policy, which this resolution is, it is a happy and fortunate circumstance if there can be a high degree of unanimity. So I am much pleased by the House action. I hope the Senate will approach that unanimity, if possible.

I realize that we all have our apprehensions about what may happen in South Vietnam or elsewhere. But fundamentally, under our system, it is the President, as our representative in these activities, who must necessarily have the dominant role, however jealous we may be of our own privileges—and we rightly should be in many areas. But in dealing with the Nation's security or with threatened warfare, we must rely to a great extent on the decisions of the Executive. We always have a reserve power, when we see that the President has made a mistake. We can always later impeach him, if we like, if we believe that he has so far departed from the sense of duty that he has betrayed the interests of our country.

But essentially the joint resolution is an exhibition of solidarity in regard to the will and determination of this country as a whole, as represented in Congress, to support the broad policies that have been well announced and well described in the words of the President, both recently and in past months. We are exhibiting a desire to support those policies. That will have a strong psychological effect upon our adversaries, wherever they may be.

I believe the joint resolution is calculated to prevent the spread of the war, rather than to spread it, as has been alleged by some critics of the resolution. I have considered every possible alternative, both those that have been suggested on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere, and I still have come back to my own conclusion that the action that was taken; the resistance that was made in the Gulf of Tonkin; the joint resolution adopted in committee; and all our actions in this connection, are best designed to contribute to the deterrence of the spread of war.

No one knows, in this uncertain world, whether the war will spread. It could easily spread because of the determination of our adversaries, in spite of anything we might do. But I sincerely believe that this action, taken with such general support by both Houses of Congress, will result in determining any ambitions or reckless adventuresome spirit on the part of the North Vietnamese or the Communist Chinese. So I ask and hope that Members of this body will support the joint resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks certain editorials relating to this subject.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Aug. 5, 1964]

"INTENTIONS IN THE GULF OF TONKIN

"Whatever the Vietcong attack on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* may mean about Communist intentions in southeast Asia, the decisive response it sparked both aboard the warship and in the White House underscores the clear American intention to stick by its commitments in that troubled area.

"While viewing the incident as serious, U.S. officials were not sure what it portends. It might have been a hapless joy ride undertaken by a trio of thrill-seeking patrol boat jockeys. It might have been a tactical maneuver, a planned one-shot probe to test U.S. reflexes in a sensitive location. It might have been the opening gambit in a drive to insulate coastal supply lines between militarily important Luichow Peninsula of Red China and North Vietnam. Or it might have been a political play to forestall pending division in the Communist ranks by increasing tensions in a vital area of conflict between East and West.

"Against this range of possibilities, the U.S. response was at once appropriate and cautious. The *Maddox's* counteraction against the three attacking torpedo boats and President Johnson's shoot to kill order illustrate the importance the United States attaches to continuance of patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin. That waterway has significant strategic importance as a line of supply for men and material in support of guerrilla activities in South Vietnam. And it offers the readiest access for assault on supply links into North Vietnam.

"Orders to bolster and defend the naval positions there seem to mean that the United States intends to stay right on the job."

"[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Aug. 6, 1964]

"THE MOMENT OF TRUTH

"If the ghost of John Foster Dulles were lurking in the wings of the world stage at this climactic moment, he would smile grimly to see his policy of brinkmanship implemented by the very liberals who denounced his basic premise; namely, that the United States must dare to go to the very brink of war in order to halt the expansion of Red imperialism.

"President Johnson's statements of the past 2 days revealed the deep reluctance of the United States to risk a major war. But he paraphrased Dulles' contention when he said that 'aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed.'

"It is reassuring to learn that our NATO and SEATO allies, with the tentative exception of France, agree that the instant retaliation ordered by Mr. Johnson was unavoidable. Yet they expressed hope that Red China will realize the futility of provoking a military showdown certain to occur, should Peiping decide to overrun southeast Asia.

"Whether she will do so depends to a great extent on whether Moscow considers the time propitious to revert to Stalinism, throw in her lot with Red China, and shoot the works in a desperate gamble to destroy Western capitalism and clear the track for a Communist takeover of the globe.

"Moscow's temptation to do so cannot be dismissed, but it is highly doubtful that Khrushchev—and Mao, for that matter—would risk counterrevolutions. The peoples of East and West equally dread a nuclear war that would exterminate millions and, in all likelihood, condemn survivors to a painful, lingering death on a nuclear-contaminated planet.

"For the time being, Moscow has worked its comments obliquely. Tass, as the Kremlin's mouthpiece, has stated that competent Soviet circles resolutely denounced the U.S. retaliatory attack on North Vietnam as absolutely unjustified. Under the circumstances some such gesture was to be expected. It is to Moscow's advantage to retain at least a perfunctory alliance with Peiping, if only to keep the West off balance, and Russian nuclear weaponry as a bargaining counter in negotiations over Berlin, Cuba, and her European satellites.

" 'Truth is the first casualty,' in any war, as history has redundantly proved. The North Vietnamese propagandists claim that our report of a second attack on U.S. destroyers was a fabrication. Peiping's New China News Agency denounced Johnson's order to bomb North Vietnam bases as a move to enhance his position in the forthcoming presidential election.

"Both claims are palpably false; the first, because the approach of North Vietnam's torpedo boats within range of the *Maddox* and *Joy* proved their intention to invite return fire; the second, because the President's decision to attack North Vietnam naval bases was approved by leaders of both parties and by Senator GOLDWATER, Mr. Johnson's opponent in the November elections.

"As the President said yesterday, at Syracuse, in this crisis—'We are one Nation, united and indivisible.' "

"[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Aug. 4, 1964]

"POLITICAL MATURITY AS WELL AS OUR NAVY ARE TESTED IN TROUBLED ASIAN WATERS

"The unprovoked North Vietnamese attack on the American destroyer *Maddox* was a test both of our naval preparedness and the maturity of our diplomatic judgment.

"Happily, we came through both tests with flying colors.

"The *Maddox* herself was undamaged, but she and Navy jets scored hits on two of the PT marauders. The third was stopped cold.

"Diplomatically, we forcefully restated our position in southeast Asia, and President Johnson backed it up with orders for a beefed-up Navy force.

"But the President, for the time being at least, declined to let the incident trigger carrying the war into North Vietnam.

"The difficulties of conducting a wise foreign policy and a presidential election at the same time are well illustrated by the incident. After repeated sniping from the why-not-victory crowd, the President must have been tempted to order direct retaliation on North Vietnam. But because of the delicate involvement of Vietnam in the entire southeast Asia problem, Mr. Johnson exercised restraint.

"The time may indeed come when there is no honorable alternative to retaliation on North Vietnam's land bases. We should never fail to make that clear to the Communists.

"In the meantime, however, President Johnson and the Navy have made our position plain:

"U.S. ships have a right to sail in international waters. They will defend that right with immediate return of fire against any attacking vessel.

"North Vietnamese are probing America for any signs of weakness and dissention during this political year. It is to be hoped that none of our homegrown politicians give the Reds any comfort with scatterbrained proposals."

"[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Aug. 6, 1964]

"UNITED STATES ANSWER TO AGGRESSION

"The U.S. response to what President Johnson called deliberate and unprovoked attacks on American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin was fitting in selectivity, proper in application, and—given the clear, long-standing statement of U.S. intentions—inevitable in delivery.

"There is not the slightest doubt that further attempts by the Communists to interfere with U.S. ships in international waters or U.S. planes in free skies will be met with retaliatory blows of equal promptness and severity.

"As the President made plain in both his address to the Nation Tuesday night and his talk at Syracuse University on Wednesday, the United States seeks no enlargement of the conflict. But this Nation is united in its belief that, in Mr. Johnson's words, 'there can be no peace by aggression and no immunity from reply.'

"We Americans have also the solemn compulsion to face the fact that the Communists, by their attack on American vessels in international waters, have themselves escalated the hostilities—an escalation we must meet. Thus the struggle in southeast Asia inevitably will become deadlier. At least now the cause is clear and we know what we are doing and why we do it.

"The motives behind North Vietnam's deliberately aggressive acts are for the moment obscure. It must have been clear to both Hanoi and Peiping that shooting at U.S. ships would not frighten the 7th Fleet out of Tonkin Gulf. Nor, it should have been equally clear, would these acts be permitted to go unpunished.

"The destruction of Red antiaircraft batteries in Laos 2 months ago after U.S. planes were shot at should have been ample proof of this.

"Perhaps the North Vietnamese and Chinese were counting on U.S. retaliation as a lever to force greater Soviet commitment to the Communist side, in the belief that regardless of doctrinal differences the Russians would stand with their fellow Communists in the event of a showdown with the United States.

"Perhaps the attacks were part of an overall strategic plan, timed to coincide with stepped-up ground activities in South Vietnam.

"Or perhaps the intent was simply to gain a propaganda victory by a quick humiliation of vaunted U.S. seapower.

"In any case the North Vietnamese challenge has been answered, and the United States has shown that any further attempt to escalate the conflict will indeed result in what North Vietnam has called grave consequences.

"The Communists may believe that domestic U.S. policies precludes our taking effective action in southeast Asia. They are wrong. Senator GOLDWATER's statement Tuesday night and the response in Congress have shown that, as the President noted, 'there are no parties—and there is no partisanship—when our peace or the peace of the world is imperiled by aggressors in any part of the world.'

"The crisis continues, and in the days ahead may intensify. U.S. strength in the area is being increased, a further earnest of our intentions to challenge any aggression. As the quickly mounted, multipronged strikes against the North Vietnamese naval installations proved, the United States has the power as well as the will to destroy selective targets on a controlled basis. Whether that power will be again used is very much up to the Communists."

"[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 4, 1964]

"SHOOT TO DESTROY

"It is difficult to understand why the North Vietnamese would want to provide a clash with the U.S. 7th Fleet.

"In any such encounter the odds would be overwhelmingly against the attackers. They have no naval force which would stand a chance in a sea engagement, and if they were to damage or sink a U.S. ship on the high seas this would amount to an engraved invitation for a counterattack against North Vietnam.

"The fact remains, however, that three PT boats did attack the destroyer *Maddox* while the latter was on patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin, and there seems no doubt that the Communist ships came out of a North Vietnamese base.

"In these circumstances, the President's response, it seems to us, has been appropriate. He has instructed the Navy to continue its patrols in the gulf, to add another destroyer to the patrol, to maintain fighter plane cover over the destroyers, and, most significantly, to shoot with a view to destroying any attacking force. This last reflects a major policy change since previous instructions to the *Maddox* had been to defend itself if attacked, but not necessarily to destroy the attacker.

"It seems unlikely that Hanoi, in the face of these beefed-up defensive measures, will permit any further attacks on American ships steaming in international waters. If the contrary should prove to be the case, however, the North Vietnamese would be solely responsible for the consequences—and we hope the consequences, if need for retaliation arises, will be severe."

"[From the New York (N.Y.) Times]

"WARNING TO HANOI

"President Johnson's response to the North Vietnamese attack on the destroyer *Maddox* contained the right mixture of firmness and restraint. No reprisals are being undertaken. But a strong diplomatic protest is being combined with military measures that should discourage Hanoi from further attacks, if any are planned. American naval forces in the Tonkin Gulf area are being strengthened. And they now have orders to destroy any forces that attack them, rather than merely to drive them off.

"It must be hoped that this first attack by North Vietnam on the U.S. 7th Fleet was an error. South Vietnam's small naval forces have staged a number of raids on the North Vietnam coast. One theory in Washington is that the American destroyer, as seen on North Vietnamese radar, may have been taken for a similar South Vietnamese ship. Another theory is that the incident may simply have been the trigger-happy response of a North Vietnamese patrol, or its command, to an encounter with an American vessel near coastal waters. There have been other recent indications of North Vietnamese nervousness, following talk in Saigon of extending the war.

"But the possibility cannot be excluded that the torpedo boat strike was intended to be the first of a series designed, perhaps, to test Washington's determination to continue aiding Saigon. If that be the case, it is essential that Hanoi realize immediately that it has opened a Pandora's box.

"North Vietnam's capability of injuring the 7th Fleet is small. The power of the 7th Fleet to damage North Vietnam is incalculable. Since this must be evident, nothing is more vital than for Hanoi to be left in no doubt about the American intention to remain in the Tonkin Gulf and to continue supporting South Vietnam's military effort. The President's action should convey this message clearly."

"[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

"SOBER RESPONSE

"The administration has responded with a reassuring blend of firmness and balance to North Vietnam's attack on the destroyer *Maddox*. President Johnson reaffirmed the shoot-back orders which had led the *Maddox* to return the fire of the three Vietnamese torpedo boats, and he beefed up the 7th Fleet patrol in the international waters off the Vietnamese coast. At the same time he directed that a protest be made through one of the indirect channels available to this country in the absence of formal relations with Hanoi.

"This sequence, no less than the calmness with which it was undertaken, should leave no doubt in Hanoi's mind about the intention of the United States to claim and exercise its right to cruise in international waters and to defend itself against any further unprovoked attacks. The President's actions should also leave no doubt that the United States is determined to use its great power wisely, to husband its strength unless and until there is appropriate military and political occasion for its employment, and to avoid being tricked or provoked into imprudence.

"Naturally, it will be asked if the American reaction was adequate to the needs of the situation. These needs are, in our view, limited: the protection of American ships and men and the discouragement of further attacks. Premier Khanh of South Vietnam feels the United States must also act so as not to appear a 'paper tiger.' One can guess that others, perhaps thinking of different ends than morale in South Vietnam, will join him in extending the list of needs which require satisfaction.

"There is nothing sacred about the President's restraint, to be sure, but we feel it was tailored well to the specific challenge and that it leaves the United States in a strong position, politically and diplomatically, to take more drastic action later if that should become necessary. In our view it was sensible to treat the attack as a single incident or uncertain purpose, and not as the deliberate start of a campaign to tease the American Navy or provoke a David-Goliath confrontation with the mighty 7th Fleet. Hanoi's persistent efforts to pry the United States out of the Vietnam conflict argue against the latter view. The Communists must also consider that the advantages which accrue to guerrillas on land are largely lacking to marauders by sea.

"The difficulty of reading Hanoi's mind on this score is enhanced by the peculiar half-light of signal and security which shines on, but fails to illuminate, many moves by both sides in Vietnam. Of all the moves so lighted, those connected with proposals to carry the war to the North are the most delicate. Over the weekend the North charged that two islands had been shelled by American and South Vietnamese ships and that a border village had been hit from the air by American planes crossing over from Laos. These accusations were promptly rebutted by American officials, but they contribute to the atmosphere of danger and ambiguity that enshrouds the attack on the *Maddox*."

"[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Aug. 4, 1964]

"ON WARNING

"When the news of the North Vietnamese attack on the U.S.S. *Maddox* was flashed back to Washington early Sunday the administration decided to play the affair in low key. That posture was deliberate and studied. At home nerves already are on edge, and in southeast Asia tension is a standard component of the atmosphere. Because the raid on the patrolling destroyer was repulsed without American casualty, there was nothing to be gained from turning it into an emotional production. The news was made public in an announcement exemplary for its restraint, and in subsequent discussion the administration portrayed the attack as an incident of minor consequence.

"There is a danger in such caution. It conceivably could encourage a rash enemy, thwarted once, to try again. If the North Vietnamese or any of their allies had found the American reaction deceptive, and had thought of new adventures, the President's fresh instructions to the Navy must make the prospect singularly unattractive. The White House has ordered the patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin to be continued with air cover and in doubled strength, and the Navy is directed to destroy any attacking force. In the future there can be no doubt as to the response.

"The presence of American warships off the Communist coast is necessary to the defense of South Vietnam. It is a surveillance operation designed to detect any unusual movement of troops or supplies and to prevent any sudden Communist push. It is a perfectly legal patrol, and American ships have as much right to be there as on the high seas off Hampton Roads. No ship in international waters can be expected to endure attack without reprisal, and the Communists have been put on formal notice that American reprisal will be swift and devastating."

"[From the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Aug. 6, 1964]

"Mao Facing War-or-Peace Choice in Southeast Asia

"For the second time in less than 2 years the United States—and perhaps the world—stands on the brink of major war.

"Now, as in October 1962, there is no need to talk of national unity or national determination. These we have in full measure.

"All the political leaders who have so recently been engaged in partisan strife, from Senator Barry Goldwater on down, have thrown their support to the President without hesitation in a critical hour. Congress is speedily backing his hand.

"Ugly as they are, the Mississippi murders, the northern race riots and the growing bitterness between races and between political factions, all these have been suddenly thrust into the shadows by gunfire and bomb bursts in the Far East.

"We wait and watch while the deployment and use of vast destructive powers move toward a showdown, link by link.

"The chain began with an incident which, in a tactical sense, would scarcely have rated mention in the annals of World War II. North Vietnamese patrol boats made torpedo attacks on the *Maddox*, a 7th Fleet destroyer on solitary and lonely patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin of North Vietnam. The *Maddox* acquitted itself well, and with the help of naval aircraft, damaged and drove off the attacking craft.

"President Johnson responded with the kind of caution which is imperative in world leaders in the nuclear age. He issued a warning and ordered air and surface reinforcements to the scene. It was barely possible that the attack had not been authorized by the government of Ho Chi Minh.

"Tuesday a new flash came, and all doubt was blasted away. The *Maddox*, the destroyer *C. Turner Joy* and supporting aircraft had fought off another attack, sinking two enemy boats and damaging two.

"In every capital of the world, all lingering questions about timidity or excessive restraint were answered by President Johnson's response. The punishing air attack which he ordered against the coastal installations of North Vietnam constituted but one thing—a heavy punch on the nose of Asian Communists.

"But as the President stated, it was a 'limited and fitting' response. While force was met with superior counterforce, the options for broadening the conflict now rest in the lap of Mao Tze-tung, the real originator of Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

"Given the Chinese sensitivity to loss of face, it will not be an easy blow to absorb. Yet Mao has the instincts of a thousand Chinese warlords before him who knew that canny restraint, or even evasion, was sometimes necessary in the presence of great danger.

"We can only hope that Chinese wisdom outweighs Chinese sensitivity in the critical hours and days ahead. For with all bluff gone, the issue is joined and a bloody and destructive war is almost certain to come with any new Communist aggression."

"[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Aug. 6, 1964]

"U.S. Answer to Aggression

"The U.S. response to what President Johnson called deliberate and unprovoked attacks on American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin was fitting in selectivity, proper in application and—given the clear, long-standing statement of U.S. intentions—inevitable in delivery.

"There is not the slightest doubt that further attempts by the Communists to interfere with U.S. ships in international waters or U.S. planes in free skies will be met with retaliatory blows of equal promptness and severity.

"As the President made plain in both his address to the Nation Tuesday night and his talk at Syracuse University on Wednesday, the United States seeks no enlargement of the conflict. But this Nation is united in its belief that, in Mr. Johnson's words, 'there can be no peace by aggression and no immunity from reply.'

"We Americans have also the solemn compulsion to face the fact that the Communists, by their attack on American vessels in international waters, have themselves escalated the hostilities—an escalation we must meet. Thus the struggle in southeast Asia inevitably will become deadlier. At least now the cause is clear and we know what we are doing and why we do it.

"The motives behind North Vietnam's deliberately aggressive acts are for the moment obscure. It must have been clear to both Hanoi and Peiping that shooting at U.S. ships would not frighten the 7th Fleet out of Tonkin Gulf. Nor, it should have been equally clear, would these acts be permitted to go unpunished.

"The destruction of Red antiaircraft batteries in Laos 2 months ago after U.S. planes were shot at should have been ample proof of this.

"Perhaps the North Vietnamese and Chinese were counting on U.S. retaliation as a lever to force a greater Soviet commitment to the Communist side, in the belief that regardless of doctrinal differences the Russians would stand with their fellow Communists in the event of a showdown with the United States.

"Perhaps the attacks were part of an overall strategic plan, timed to coincide with stepped-up ground activities in South Vietnam.

"Or perhaps the intent was simply to gain a propaganda victory by a quick humiliation of vaunted U.S. seapower.

"In any case the North Vietnamese challenge has been answered, and the United States has shown that any further attempt to escalate the conflict will indeed result in what North Vietnam has called 'grave consequences.'

"The Communists may believe that domestic U.S. politics precludes our taking effective action in southwest Asia. They are wrong. Senator Goldwater's statement Tuesday night and the response in Congress have shown that, as the President noted, 'there are no parties—and there is no partisanship—when our peace or the peace of the world is imperiled by aggression in any part of the world.'

"The crisis continues, and in the days ahead may intensify. U.S. strength in the area is being increased, a further earnest of our intentions to challenge any aggression. As the quickly mounted, multipronged strikes against the North Vietnamese naval installations proved, the United States has the power as well as the will to destroy selective targets on a controlled basis. Whether that power will be again used is very much up to the Communists."

"[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Aug. 6, 1964]

"Mr. Stevenson Speaks for America

"Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson's calm and lucid discussion before the United Nations yesterday of Communist torpedo attacks upon American warships off the coast of North Vietnam provided the American people with an understanding of the crisis in southeast Asia which, until he spoke, had been sadly lacking.

"President Johnson, in his address to the Nation Tuesday night and in his speech yesterday at Syracuse University, had asked unity in support of American firmness. He is more likely to get it now that Mr. Stevenson has stated the facts and explored the Communist motives.

"As our spokesman told the U.N. Security Council, the attacks by North Vietnamese patrol torpedo boats in international waters—the first 30 miles offshore and the second more than 60—were senseless in themselves. But, said Mr. Stevenson, taken as part of a larger pattern, they disclosed a relentless determination by the Communists to subjugate the whole of the area by terror and force.

"In this enterprise, he emphasized, the Ho Chi Minh regime in Hanoi could not be considered to be acting alone. It was teamed up with and supported by Communist China in a systematic violation of the Geneva accord of 1954 which was supposed to guarantee the peace of the countries which formerly composed French Indochina.

"Mr. Stevenson said that these aggressors must be taught that their criminal methods would not pay. He said that the American reprisal air raids against Communist torpedo boat flotillas, their bases, and their oil depots were limited in intention, designed to correct the mistaken Communist impression that the United States would hold still for any brazen act of piracy.

"If Peiping and Hanoi get the message and put into practice the agreements to which they are honorbound under the Geneva accord, the Ambassador said, southeast Asia could look forward to peace. But not until there are visible proofs that the Communists intend to cease their aggressions on land and sea and leave their neighbors in peace would the United States find it possible to withdraw its forces from that part of the world.

"Mr. Stevenson repeated what President Johnson had said—that the United States does not want any wider war. He went beyond that to say that the United States does not want war at all, and there would be no war in southeast Asia if the Communists, in violation of their Geneva pledges, were not making it.

"The Russian spokesman, who followed Mr. Stevenson, made the usual Soviet effort to befog the issue by calling for an appearance by North Vietnam before the Council. That country is not even a member of the United Nations, and the only purpose would be to fill the air with propaganda.

"We have felt all along that the American people will support the policy of this or any other administration as long as they know what it is and what is at stake. Until now, the administration has created most of its difficulties in winning public confidence by its own failure to deal honestly with the people.

"When its Pentagon spokesman has declared the existence of a policy of 'news management' and has spoken of news as 'weaponry' available to the President, adding that is the right of a government 'to lie to save itself,' it is hardly inviting the confidence of the people.

"Mr. Stevenson has put Communist piratical acts and the systematic campaign to conquer South Vietnam and Laos in clear perspective. His unadorned recital of what has happened and is happening in southeast Asia will go a long way toward persuading the people that they now are informed about Communist objectives and the purpose of American counteraction. The Washington administration should be relieved that its brief was given such effective presentation."

"[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 6, 1964]

"The President's Decision

"Everyone hopes the President's decisive move in ordering limited retaliation against North Vietnam will cause the Communists to abandon their forays in the Gulf of Tonkin and perhaps rethink their whole war effort. Yet, decisive though this U.S. reaction was, an aura of indecisiveness still clouds important questions on both sides of the struggle.

"While Communist intentions can only be a matter of speculation, it may be that the Red's own uncertainty about how far to push the war inspired the attacks on the 7th Fleet. At least it seems reasonable to interpret the attacks as a probing action designed to gage the American response; for a long time no one could be sure how strongly the United States would prosecute the defense of South Vietnam. Now the Communists have part of the answer, though what they will make of it is something else again.

"It is possible Communist China and its allies have decided now is the time for a showdown with the United States, but their own past behavior suggests otherwise. They did not push Korea to the bitter end. They did not mount an all-out attack on Taiwan. They did not pursue the harassment of Quemoy and Matsu to the point of major hostilities.

"In Vietnam itself, of course, the Red tactic has been guerrilla warfare—incessant probes for weakness, if you like—rather than frontal assaults, and so far there has been relatively little evidence of direct Chinese participation. Since this type of warfare has been increasingly successful for them, it seems likely they will continue to step it up despite their stern rebuff in the Gulf of Tonkin.

"That prospect leads us to the remaining areas of uncertainty about the U.S. position. It seems beyond doubt that the Government has decided to stay in Vietnam. It seems further that a decision has been reached to make a stronger stand—advocated, perhaps not so incidentally, by Senator GOLDWATER. Even before this week's naval engagements, it was planned to beef up the American forces in South Vietnam.

"But if the war aim is to rid South Vietnam of the Communists once and for all, how is it to be accomplished? It certainly is not being accomplished now. Will it be necessary to intervene in much greater force and finally take over the direction of the war from the Vietnamese generals?

"Anything along that line faces serious obstacles. Those generals are jealous of their prerogatives. The political instability in Saigon is so bad that talk is heard of yet another coup. Many of the people are far from dedicated to the fight against communism and indeed an undetermined number in the countryside are evidently sympathetic to the Communist Vietcong guerrillas.

"Even if it is possible to extirpate the Communists with a major undertaking, it is difficult to see how future infiltration could be prevented. At any rate, it would seem to require a very large force to seal off the various and fluid borders, and the force might have to remain indefinitely, as in Korea.

"Perhaps the Pentagon has effective answers to all these questions, but our Vietnamese involvement to date does not lend much support to that hope. Indeed, the history of that involvement has been marked by indecisiveness and confusion. The United States has drifted deeper and deeper into the war, without even appearing to know how to achieve its aims or always knowing what the aims were.

"For some time, however, the course of events has itself narrowed the range of indecision. That is, the failure of small-scale 'advisory' action has led to progressively fuller participation and mounting American casualties until now we are at the point of limited action against North Vietnam. Unless the Communists are deterred by that, it seems only too probable that the process will continue until we are committed to doing all that is necessary to get the Communists out.

"Whatever actually happens, it is regrettable the United States is once again so enmeshed in so unpromising a venture. Yet we have gone so far that there appears no acceptable alternative. And if the President's order means the Government is at last on the road to firmness and decisiveness, it may be the best hope the circumstances offer."

"[From the New York (N.Y.) Daily News, Aug. 6, 1964]

"BACKLASH IN TONKIN GULF

"The North Vietnam Reds on Tuesday mounted their second PT boat attack on U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin.

"Thereupon, President Lyndon B. Johnson remembered that he is a Texan, or gave a thought to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER's repeated 'Why not victory?' cracks, or both.

"Anyway, the President ordered our Far East air and sea forces to backlash fittingly at the North Vietnam Reds.

"Our men carried out this assignment yesterday, superbly.

"U.S. naval aircraft destroyed or damaged 25 North Vietnamese PT boats, hashed up 5 torpedo bases, and wrecked the big oil storage depot at Vinh, in North Vietnam.

"Cost to us: two planes and their pilots, may they rest in peace.

"Unless the North Vietnamese take some more pokes at us, this backlash will be our last, according to present plans. The President said we want no wider war, in his dramatic TV-radio address to the Nation late Tuesday night.

"The great majority of Americans, we believe, heartily approve all this; and we think Congress should endorse it after adequate debate.

"And it is reassuring to see our Far East forces get set for whatever may grow out of the episode.

"North Vietnam President Ho Chi Minh is obviously hopping mad over this unexpected singe dealt by us to his wispy whiskers. He may try to get hunk; Red China may try to help him.

"Both of the Communist governments' press and radio mouthpieces are making big talk about how they will soon be coming around to get revenge for yesterday's U.S. air strikes.

"In that event, it may be our heaven-sent good fortune to liquidate not only Ho Chi Minh but Mao Tse-tung's Red mob at Peiping as well, presumably with an important assist from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Chinese forces on Taiwan (Formosa)."

"[From the Providence Journal, Aug. 6, 1964]

"WE ARE ONE NATION, UNITED AND INDIVISIBLE

"In the short but calmly strong address in Syracuse, President Johnson restated this country's simple formula for the restoration of peace in southeast Asia. He also made it abundantly clear that in the current crisis, there are no parties and no partisanship dividing the American people.

"What Mr. Johnson offered as a formula for peace in southeast Asia is essentially the same formula to which President Eisenhower and the late President Kennedy dedicated their efforts: the governments in that part of the globe ought to follow international agreements already supposed to prevail.

"The President urged the governments there to leave each other alone, to settle their differences peacefully, and to 'devote their talents to bettering the life of the peoples by working against poverty and disease and ignorance.' 'Peace requires that the existing agreements in the area be honored.'

" 'To any who may be tempted to support or to widen the present aggression' by North Vietnam, he said, 'I say this. There is no threat to any peaceful power from the United States, but there can be no peace by aggression and no immunity from reply. That is what is meant by the action' taken by the Navy.

"Having made plain 'to the people of all nations' the reasons for this Nation's course of action in recent days, the President made it equally plain that, for Americans, this is no time for politicking with crisis. Congressional support of the President yesterday dramatized this fact.

" 'Let no friend needlessly fear and no foe vainly hope that this is a nation divided in this political year,' he said. 'Our free elections—our full and free debate—are America's strengths, not America's weaknesses * * *. We are one nation, united and indivisible; united and indivisible we shall remain.'

"There was strength of purpose and calmness of language in the President's brief message. But there also was clarity and eloquence. There will be plenty to debate in the coming campaign, but in the face of savage threat to 'our peace and the peace of the world,' there is solid national unity."

"[From the New York Journal-American, Aug. 6, 1964]

"ACTION IN THE EAST

"President Johnson has acted with appropriate firmness and dispatch in ordering retaliatory action against North Vietnam for its attacks on U.S. naval vessels on the high seas.

"There is no doubt the overwhelming sentiment of the Nation is behind him. This was swiftly expressed in terms of bipartisan congressional support and included a special statement from Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

"The salient fact of this grave development in the Far East is this: the Communists have changed the ground rules of the continuing struggle in the Far East—and now cannot unchange them. Nor should the United States, in its show of firmness, seek to unchange them.

"Before the attack by North Vietnamese torpedo boats on American destroyers patrolling the Gulf of Tonkin, the 'rules' were clear. They specified that North Vietnam was a supplier of men and arms to Red guerrillas in South Vietnam. They specified that the United States would train and advise the forces of South Vietnam in operations against those guerrillas.

"Now the North Vietnamese Government, or perhaps the Peiping Government, has apparently decided on a broader confrontation. The manipulators have thus forced the United States to raise its own sights, too. And it is too early to foresee the consequences of this sudden escalation of war in the Far East.

"However, now that our sights are thus adjusted, perhaps the issue of quelling Communist imperialism in the area is closer at hand than before. Perhaps now the vast power of the United States will be brought to bear to enforce peace in the Far East.

"The aim of the United States in its blows against North Vietnam is not to spread conflict and not to engage in a major war, nor should it be.

"The aim is peace—peace instead of unprovoked assault on the high seas, peace instead of armed attempts to overthrow legitimate governments and peace instead of the outlaw behavior of regimes contemptuous of the fate of millions."

"[From the New York Post, Aug. 6, 1964]

"THE U.N. AND VIETNAM

"Clearly the United States does not seek a wider war. Let us hope Asia's Communists do not either. The initial Soviet response, as given by Tass, was quite restrained. While deploring U.S. 'aggressive actions,' the statement avoided committing Moscow to doing anything about them.

"At the U.N., the Soviet delegate was equally restrained. His request that a representative of North Vietnam be invited to participate was doubly significant.

"It served to suggest that Moscow did not know what its Communist brethren in Asia were up to. It also set up interesting possibilities of dividing Hanoi from Peiping.

"Whatever Russia's motives, there is every reason to invite North Vietnam.

" 'It is a solemn responsibility,' said President Johnson Tuesday night when he disclosed an air strike was in progress, 'to have to order even limited military action by forces whose overall strength is as vast and as awesome as those of the United States.'

"That awesome strength makes it all the more baffling that the North Vietnamese should be seeking to provoke us. Direct contact with the representatives of Hanoi may shed some light on this.

"North Vietnam may not like our vessels' presence in the Tonkin Gulf. The Communists have always been sensitive about their frontiers—almost to the point of paranoia. But neither does the United States exactly welcome electronically equipped Soviet vessels carrying on continuous surveillance off Cape Kennedy.

"But we put up with it. The right of ships to voyage on the high seas is incontestable. The response of the United States was wholly predictable. The question remains: Why did Hanoi do it?

"The more basic question, however, is where are we heading in Vietnam? Are we being sucked into a dark tunnel from which there may be no egress?

"Ambassador Stevenson eloquently stated our case. But it was a limited brief, largely restricted to justifying our air strikes under the right of self-defense set forth in article 51 of the U.N. Charter.

"We owed this explanation to the U.N. But the U.N. should be more than a sounding board.

"The smaller nations, those not directly involved in the dispute, and therefore capable of some detachment, should be encouraged to come forward with proposals for mediation, perhaps conciliation.

"Several weeks ago U Thant called for a new Geneva conference. If the parties involved in the war could reach an agreement, Thant said, the U.N. could play a role in seeing that the agreement was carried out. 'Even at this late hour,' he suggested, means might be found to end the war.

"Nothing happened. The United States is again perilously close to a major military venture on the Asian mainland. Surely before we venture further, a major effort should be made to open up channels of communication with our adversaries.

" 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' said President Johnson in June, quoting the Bible in a foreign policy speech that coupled firmness with an olive branch.

"Provocative as the Communists have been, that still remains true."

"EDITORIAL REACTIONS TO ASIAN CONFLICT

"(Following are excerpts from newspaper editorial comments on the situation in Vietnam.)

"EAST

"[From the New York News (independent)]

"Backlash in Tonkin Gulf

"Unless the North Vietnamese take some more pokes at us, this backlash will be our last, according to present plans. The President said we want no wider war, in his dramatic TV-radio address to the Nation late Tuesday night. The great majority of Americans, we believe, heartily approve all this; and we think Congress should endorse it after adequate debate.

"And it is reassuring to see our Far East forces get set for whatever may grow out of the episode.

"It may be our heaven-sent good fortune to liquidate not only Ho Chi Minh but Mao Tse-tung's Red mob at Peiping as well, presumably with an important assist from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Chinese forces on Taiwan.

"[From the Herald Tribune (independent Republican)]

"The right response

"Whoever planned the torpedo-boat attacks, for whatever purpose, stand warned. If they were probing the intentions of the United States, of Red China, of the Soviet Union, they at least know that the United States will resist aggression, and that it has the capability of doing so.

"The controlled impact of the American counterblow has clearly made its impact on the world. From its friends this country has received such congratulations as that of Japan (very directly concerned with the problem of Communist expansion in Asia) and such encouragement as that of Britain in the Security Council. From the Soviet Union has come denunciation—but it is oddly perfunctory.

"[From the Journal-American (independent)]

"Action in the East

"President Johnson has acted with appropriate firmness and dispatch in ordering retaliatory action against North Vietnam for its attacks on U.S. naval vessels on the high seas. There is no doubt the overwhelming sentiment of the Nation is behind him.

"The salient fact of this grave development in the Far East is this: The Communists have changed the ground rules of the continuing struggle in the Far East—and now cannot unchange them. Nor should the United States, in its show of firmness, seek to unchange them.

"Now the North Vietnamese Government, or perhaps the Pieping Government, has apparently decided on a broader confrontation.

"[From Newsday (independent)]

"Mild response

"The North Vietnamese and their Chinese preceptors should now realize that we mean what we say: that further aggression will be countered by further, carefully directed force, and that the peace of Southeast Asia can be reestablished overnight only if the Communists will cease meddling in the affairs of small nations that want to live at peace.

"The purpose of the United States is to demonstrate that we are willing, as the President says, to face with courage and to meet with strength this challenge precisely as we did in Greece and Turkey, Berlin and Korea, Lebanon and Cuba.

"On that platform for national defense, and for peace, the whole country can unite, regardless of political differences.

"[From the Post (independent)]

"The U.N. and Vietnam

"North Vietnam may not like our vessels' presence in the Tonkin Gulf. The Communists have always been sensitive about their frontiers—almost to the point of paranoia.

"But neither does the United States exactly welcome electronically equipped Soviet vessels carrying on continuous surveillance off Cape Kennedy. But we put up with it. The right of ships to voyage on the high seas is incontestable. The response of the United States was wholly predictable.

"The question remains, why did Hanoi do it? The more basic question, however, is: Where are we heading in Vietnam? Are we being sucked into a dark tunnel from which there may be no egress?

"The smaller nations, those not directly involved in the dispute and therefore capable of some detachment, should be encouraged to come forward with proposals for mediation, perhaps conciliation.

"NEW ENGLAND

"[From the Boston Herald]

"Test of U.S. policy

"The sudden flareup of hot war in Vietnam provides a vital test of the flexible defense strategy favored by the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

"The next move is up to the Reds. If they seek a wider war, they can have it. Because of our flexible strength, because we are able to answer first in a limited and fitting way, the chances of avoiding a major showdown are good. The flexible defense strategy has given us options which may make a life-or-death difference for our generation.

"[From the Hartford Courant (Republican)]

"Red China blamed

"As in Korea, when this country last stood up against military aggression, we may expect a world that often wonders about our maturity and responsibility to support our sharp but limited retaliation. Let us hope United Nations Security Council understands and does not temporize with a great threat to the peace it is its duty to preserve.

"Most likely explanation of what has happened is that this is Red China's response to the American decision to step up its aid to South Vietnam and to all southeast Asia if need be, by way of countering increasingly successful North Vietnamese pressure southward.

"MIDDLE ATLANTIC

"[From the Newark Evening News]

"After the storm

"Whatever the intention, the attack and the precisely tailored response it has drawn serve to reinforce the conditions that must prevail before a realistic settlement can be attempted. Neither the United States nor any of its allies need, or will, settle for less freedom and more Communist encroachment in Southeast Asia. Negotiation is possible. It is desirable. But it must be more firmly rooted than in 1954 or 1962. Its results must be susceptible to more effective enforcement.

"One dividend to be derived from the conflict in the Gulf of Tonkin is that the United States has demonstrated its capability of dealing wtih a variety of eventualities. However much they may rant and threaten in the dangerous days that lie ahead, our Communist adversaries cannot lose sight of that fact.

"[From Philadelphia Bulletin (independent)]

"The rapid concentration of our military might in the southeast Asia area for a major show of force lends great credence to the United States determination. The crisis in Vietnam has by no means ended, and, as Secretary Rusk said, the situation remains very explosive, but it seems to be dwindling, thanks to the clarity and forcefulness of our response.

"SOUTH

"[From the Washington Post]

"Gratitude for Johnson

"President Johnson has earned the gratitude of the free world as well as of the Nation for his careful and effective handling of the Vietnam crisis. The paramount need was to show the North Vietnamese aggressors their self-defeating folly in ignoring an unequivocal American warning and again attacking the American Navy on the high seas.

"To a world sensitive to the uses of power by an American President, the crisis—the first major foreign-policy crisis faced by President Johnson—has found him not wanting in toughness or in nuance.

"[From the Star (independent)]

" 'Paper tiger' rebutted

"President Johnson's order to the 7th Fleet to bomb North Vietnamese PT boats and the facilities from which they operate is fully justified. What counteraction, if any, will come from the other side, remains to be seen. If they react forcibly, however it would be logical to expect some enlargement of the war against South Vietnam.

"Our response to the PT-boat attacks should disabuse the Communist mind of the 'paper tiger' fiction. But if the war in the South is stepped up we should not be content merely to hold our ground. Our purpose, as contrasted to Korea, should be to destroy the enemy and the sources from which his attacks are being mounted.

"[From the Atlanta Constitution (independent Democrat)]

"A test of will

"The Communists apparently have decided to test our resolve, in southeast Asia and even the Congo, during this presidential election year. Quick action by both political parties and approval by GOP Nominee GOLDWATER shows there is no partisanship when the Nation's security is at stake.

"We seek an honorable solution without war and welcome U.N. help, but we cannot negotiate the wanton violation of solemn treaty agreements to which we are a party.

"[From the Journal (independent Democrat)]

"We have made it clear

"We have made our move in southeast Asia. We have replied with bombs on North Vietnam bases to deliberate attacks on our naval vessels in international waters. We have made it clear to the Reds in that part of the world that we have been pushed far enough.

"Here we have done the sensible thing. It also happens to have been the honorable thing. Somewhere and some time a line had to be drawn. The Nation has been aware of this for a long time. It is a relief that this line finally has been drawn.

"[From the Baltimore Sun (independent Democrat)]

"There was no choice

"It is not an easy thing to loose even a small fraction of the military power available to the Commander in Chief, but in this case there was no choice. In striking back at a time of grave provocation, the United States hoped not to spread the fighting but to pinch it off before it got out of hand.

"The key to peace in Asia is hidden in Communist China, in the course it may essay alone, or with the encouragement of Moscow. Whatever the dangers, the United States will face them with the courage possessed only by those who are both free and strong.

"[From the Louisville Courier-Journal]

"War can be averted

"The convincing show of the national unity on the war threat in Asia, met with speed, wisdom, and restraint by President Johnson, strengthening the possibility that a major war with Red China can be averted.

"It leaves no doubt in Communist minds anywhere that if war is what they want, war is what they will get—a certainty that should bring even Peiping's fanatics to their senses unless they remain irresponsibly addicted to the opiate that only a major war can head the Sino-Soviet rift.

"SOUTHWEST

"[From the Houston Post]

"Goldwater is quoted

"There can be no question of support for the President's action. This support was aptly expressed by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, with whom the President talked before telling the people what he planned to do.

"Emphasizing his support of the President's action, the Republican presidential nominee said, 'We cannot allow the American flag to be shot at anywhere on earth if we are to retain our respect and prestige.'

"Hopefully, the quick and decisive action by the United States will convince the world that we will carry out our commitments to all free people without seeking any wider war. Certainly the prompt support of Senator Goldwater should erase any doubts.

"MIDWEST

"[From the Chicago Sun-Times (independent)]

"Whether events in Vietnam develop into full-scale warfare involving the United States now depends on what the Communists do next.

"Whatever their motive for the suicidal attacks on American ships in international waters, they and all the world have learned—once again—that the United States does not become weak when divided internally by a presidential election campaign."

"[From the Chicago Tribune (independent Republican)]

"Unity is foreseen

"Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson's calm and lucid discussion before the United Nations yesterday of Communist torpedo attacks upon American warships off the coasts of North Vietnam provided the American people with an understanding of the crisis in southeast Asia which, until he spoke, had been sadly lacking.

"President Johnson, in his address to the Nation Tuesday night and in his speech yesterday at Syracuse University, had asked unity in support of American firmness. He is more likely to get it now that Mr. Stevenson has stated the facts and explored the Communist motives."

"[From the Milwaukee Journal (independent)]

"Appeal for restraint

"It may be that the North Vietnamese, with the backing of Communist China, were testing the American will. If so, they have their answer.

"There is some danger that this country may tend to overreact to North Vietnamese stings because of our political situation. President Johnson has been under attack for what opponents call a 'no win' policy in southeast Asia. He has been unwisely urged to escalate the war.

"Under such circumstances, a President can be handicapped in making vital decisions. President Johnson will need courage and patience and restraint to keep the Nation from the wider war that he—and all who realize what modern war is—wish to avoid."

"[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (independent Democrat)]

"The guilt is shared

"The two Communist naval attacks on units of the U.S. 7th Fleet, and the swift and devastating U.S. reply, need not and should not bring about an 'escalation' of the struggle in Indochina.

"This country plans no further belligerent action unless there is another attack; President Johnson and U.S. Ambassador Stevenson have made clear we want 'no wider war.'

"It is true that if the Communists would abide by the Geneva political settlements peace and independence would be assured and military power could be withdrawn.

"But the West is not guiltless in this respect, and there is not likely to be an end of the conflict short of a negotiated political settlement guaranteed by the big powers and, perhaps, supervised by the U.N."

"[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer (independent Democrat)]

"Warnings to Reds

"North Vietnam's acts of aggression against U.S. ships in the Tonkin Gulf have been given a fitting response.

"President Johnson, speaking yesterday in Syracuse, has solemnly warned there will be 'no immunity to reply' from further aggression.

"The meaning of the President's words is clear. There is no excuse for Hanoi or Peiping to misunderstand them."

"[From the Indianapolis Star (independent)]

"The proper reaction

"President Johnson's decision to use full military action against Communist aggression in southeastern Asia is the proper reaction to the events of recent hours.

"The attacks on U.S. naval craft in the Gulf of Tonkin appear to have been calculated provocations. To react in any way suggestive of fear or hesitation would simply invite more attacks. As long as we are involved in such a conflict, the only thing to do is try to win it."

"MOUNTAIN STATES

"[From the Denver Post (independent)]

"Nixon's view backed

"We are inclined to agree with Richard Nixon that these attacks were set up by the Chinese Reds to test U.S. reactions during the election campaign.

"The Communists probably expected the Nation to be so split that the President would be afraid to react decisively to such attacks. This phenomenon of our political parties' interrupting bitter partisan warfare to close ranks whenever there is an outside threat to the Nation has baffled Europeans and Asians for years. But it is a rock-hard fact of American life."

"PACIFIC

"[From the Los Angeles Times (independent Republican)]

"Conflict grows deadlier

"Communists, by their attack on American vessels in international waters, have themselves escalated the hostilities—an escalation we must meet. Thus the struggle in southeast Asia inevitably will become deadlier. At least now the cause is clear and we know what we are doing and why we do it."

"[From the Portland Oregonian (independent Republican)]

"Old, familiar situation

"If the facts are as represented, the American response was justified, even necessary.

"What now, of the Communist response? Red China has a defense treaty with North Vietnam. So has the Soviet Union.

"There is the possibility that the PT-boat attacks were designed to trigger the certain American retaliation against North Vietnam to provoke and force China's entrance to the war in southeast Asia. With each side charging aggression, the old, familiar situation which has led to other big wars has been created."

"[From the San Francisco Chronicle (Republican)]

"Answer to Peiping

"The answer has been given. In the words of President Johnson, it was an unmistakable 'positive' answer, and Peiping now knows that the U.S. forces in Vietnam can and will strike back effectively if attacked.

"The principle is incontrovertible, and the measures thus far employed under it were sound and no doubt inevitable. It is the hope of world peace that they were also effective."

"[From the Seattle Times (independent)]

"Affront to U.S. dignity

"No self-respecting nation could have permitted without retaliation the indignity of a second armed attack on its vessels in the face of a protest over the first such attack—least of all that nation which bears the principal burden of restraining Communist aggressors in all parts of the world."

"[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Aug. 7, 1964]

"AS THE TENSION CONTINUES

"One inevitable consequence of momentous events in southeast Asia the past few days is the necessity for American foreign policy experts to reassess the entire situation in that part of the world.

"Although the basic U.S. objective—to preserve freedom and repel Communist aggression—remains the same, there will need to be major revisions in the planning and execution of methods to achieve the goal.

"The Communists should have no delusions now about the overwhelming superiority of American naval power in the Far East—but on land it is a different story. For this reason, the great peril is that the Reds will step up their offensive in the jungles of South Vietnam and Laos where American destroyers, aircraft carriers and jet planes can't help much.

"Meanwhile, as fresh policy studies proceed, and the U.S. military buildup in the Far East is accelerated in preparation for any eventuality, it is important for Americans to remain united behind President Johnson in this crisis and to be wary of any wishful thinking that the danger has passed. The North Vietnam dragon is nursing humiliating wounds. 'Saving face' is very important in that part of the world.

"Russia, apparently, is not anxious to encourage North Vietnamese attacks against the United States, as indicated by the relatively mild nature of official Soviet words emanating from Moscow and the United Nations. Red China, of course, is another matter. Peiping is always unpredictable. Mao is always dangerous.

"Under existing circumstances it was shocking to have unity in Congress rudely shattered by Senator MORSE, of Oregon, a maverick Member of the President's own party, who charges that the trouble in southeast Asia 'is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam.' Mr. MORSE ignores all the facts in the case—notably the prolonged Communist aggression against Laos and South Vietnam and the unprovoked Red attacks on U.S. warships on the high seas.

"In contrast to the ill-advised outburst by Senator MORSE was the prompt support given to President Johnson by Senator GOLDWATER in a spirit of bipartisan cooperation that is so essential in this grave time.

"Facing up to all the new implications inherent in the radically altered situation in southeast Asia is a task that requires the best in all of us. This applies especially to those in positions of public responsibility who should dedicate themselves unstintingly to the task of doing whatever may need to be done to win the struggle for peace and freedom."

"[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 7, 1964]

"AS OTHERS SEE THE TONKIN GULF

"The Washington Post: 'President Johnson has earned the gratitude of the free world as well as of the Nation for his careful and effective handling of the Vietnam crisis. The paramount need was to show the North Vietnamese aggressors their self-defeating folly in ignoring an unequivocal American warning and again attack the American Navy on the high seas. This Mr. Johnson did by means of a severe but measured response deftly fitted to the aggression; retaliation against the boats and bases used in the attack * * *.

" 'Most immediately, the reprisal rendered obsolete the old terms of the debate on whether to carry the guerrilla war in South Vietnam back to the aggressors in the north.

" 'To a capital and a world sensitive to the uses of power by an American President, the crisis—the first major foreign-policy crisis faced by President Johnson—has found him not wanting in toughness or in nuance. But the crisis has also pointed up the office of the Presidency as the single center of control and responsibility for American power.

" 'Military measures were only a part of President Johnson's response. He coordinated them with the other constituencies and communities of which he is the leader. He asked and got from Senator GOLDWATER a promise of nonpartisanship. The Senator, like the patriot he is, instantly forsook politics and stood by his side.'

"Pittburgh Post Gazette: 'In both his Tuesday announcement of the attack order and in his speech Wednesday at Syracuse University, the President stressed the limited nature of the American response to the gunboat attacks and the desire of the United States to avoid the tragedy of a wider war. Yet no one in Washington has any way of anticipating the thinking of officials in Pieping.

" 'In view of the serious danger to world peace from the broadened hostilities in southeast Asia, the United States has properly called for an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council to deal with the crisis. Hopefully, through the good offices of that agency and the good sense of responsible officials in various capitals and chancelleries, the ugly Vietnamese war can be kept from triggering an immeasurably more destructive wider conflict.'

"The Boston Globe: 'President Johnson, speaking at Syracuse University Wednesday, enunciated the proposition that 'aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed.' This striking phrase reiterated a principle that has long lain at the heart of American foreign policy and at the core of every international crisis, however complex it has seemed.

" 'Peiping, with an unsolved food problem, would like an excuse to move into the "rice bowl" of Indochina. It might hope by a mass attack to leave the United States only the alternative of giving way or fighting a major—perhaps an all-out—war. Success would give the Chinese an immense advantage in the competition with Russia for the leadership of world communism.

" 'This country has moved fast to dampen any such hopes.'

"Christian Science Monitor: 'Premier Nguyen Khanh of South Vietnam makes sense.

" 'He points out that President Johnson warned the Asian Communists against the "very dangerous game" they have been playing in southeast Asia. And that the Communist answer has now come. It is intensified war—both in South Vietnam and in torpedo boat attacks on an American destroyer off the North Vietnam coast.

" 'The immediate response from President Johnson was being announced in Washington even as the South Vietnamese Premier spoke in Saigon. It was the obvious response. The Navy was instructed to destroy any such attacker in the future.

" 'The United States is unavoidably going in further. The only question are when and how far.'

"The Times, London: 'The next step is left to the Communists, and in attempting to assess what it may be there are three guiding thoughts. The Americans, having made their counteraction, have issued no threats or ultimatums. The Communists are not forced against a wall. Secondly, the American reinforcements are enough to warn the Communists that any extension of the war would be highly costly and dangerous to them, as well as to others. And the third point: the Americans have, very rightly, put the whole matter to the Security Council.'

"The Guardian, Manchester: 'The war will be won or lost in the south; and it would continue there if every military base in the north were pulverized. In fact, any extension of the war is likely to make the Vietcong more determined.'

"Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: 'The American revenge came unexpectedly fast and sharply * * * but still the retaliation of Washington did not get out of control. That is important.'

"Aurore, Paris: 'In the Gulf of Tonkin it is Mao who is maneuvering with his docile satellite of North Vietnam and it is Khrushchev who is the target. How will Khrushchev get out of it?'

"Vienna Volksblatt: 'If Johnson rattles his saber a little it is mainly to show the electorate that he is not the defeatist and friend of Communists that GOLDWATER has made him out to be.'

"Mainichi Shimbun, Tokyo: 'The United Nations is urged to act promptly in order to prevent the present conflict from developing into a full-fledged war'."

"[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 7, 1964]

"BE IT RESOLVED—

"As Commander in Chief, President Johnson could, and did, order retaliatory action against North Vietnam for its unprovoked attacks upon American ships. That was a logical extension of the right of self-defense; speed was of the essence. But the continuing crisis in southeast Asia may call for other, more elaborate measures. It is sound policy to provide congressional indorsement in advance for such steps, both as an expression of the role of the legislature in the American system of government and, at least equally important, as a demonstration of American determination.

"This dual role will be performed by the joint resolution to be voted today by both the Senate and House, approving the President's action and empowering him to 'take all necessary steps including the use of armed force,' to aid America's allies, to repel attacks upon U.S. forces, and prevent further aggression.

"Red China has made it very clear that it considers North Vietnam's cause its own. It is very far from clear just what Peiping intends to do about it. But in the light of past history (in Korea, on the Indian border, along the Formosa Strait) it would be folly to brush the Red Chinese menaces aside. It would also be folly to assume that if action does not immediately follow on the threat the latter is empty.

"Red China has not always made good its boasts. But it has hit hard in almost every case. It brags now that Indochina presents a far better field of military action for its teeming divisions than the Korean Peninsula, while no body of water separates China from Indochina as was the case with Quemoy, Matsu, and Formosa.

"The United States and its allies, then, would do well to regard the threat from Peiping as a time bomb, which will only go off when the Red Chinese want it to. The best method of preventing an explosion is to impress, as strongly as possible, upon Mao Tse-tung and his band, that this country is prepared, physically and morally, to meet any thrust.

"The joint resolution gives the President full backing for any preparations that the Armed Forces may require in the danger area. It does so publicly and unequivocally. At the same time, it gives voice to the American will. Indeed, it might be said that the most significant part of the measure is the formal preamble, which in this context is full of meaning: 'Now, therefore, be it resolved'."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time to the great statesman from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING].

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, yesterday, I made my views on the pending resolution known on the floor of the Senate, and they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. There is no need to add to them, except to reaffirm them. It is a matter of deep regret for me that I cannot, on this major issue, support the resolution drafted by the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees in response to a message from the President to the Congress requesting such support.

I believe that President Johnson in his more than 8 months in office has shown himself to be a great President. I find myself in warm accord with most of his actions and declarations of policy. I intend to campaign for him after the adjournment of Congress.

Regrettably, I find myself in disagreement with his southeast Asian policy, and have repeatedly voiced my disagreement in the Chamber. The serious events of the past few days, the attack by North Vietnamese vessels on American warships and our reprisal, strikes me as the inevitable and foreseeable concomitant and consequence of U.S. unilateral military aggressive policy in southeast Asia.

I consider the action of the North Vietnamese in attacking our vessels as utterly stupid and outrageous, and our prompt retaliation justifiable and proper. But this is precisely the kind of episode that our unilateral and aggressive policy in southeast Asia would inevitably bring forth. That incident has in turn brought about the President's message and the responding resolution by Congress.

If this resolution merely affirmed its approval of the President's declared policy and action to respond to attacks on our fleet when in international waters, as he has responded, that would be one thing. I would gladly approve of such a resolution, as I approve of his action. But this resolution now before us, goes far beyond that. It not only endorses all our Government has done to date in southeast Asia, but also gives the President a blank check, not merely to do whatever he likes in South Vietnam, but, to quote the text of the resolution:

"To take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

That is, in effect, a predated declaration of war, if and when the Executive chooses, and war not merely in South Vietnam but in all southeast Asia.

Is that what the Congress intends?

That is what the Congress is doing.

We now are about to authorize the President if he sees fit to move our Armed Forces—that is, the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps—not only into South Vietnam, but also into North Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and of course the authorization includes all the rest of the SEATO nations.

That means sending our American boys into combat in a war in which we have no business, which is not our war, into which we have been misguidedly drawn, which is steadily being escalated. This resolution is a further authorization for escalation unlimited.

I am opposed to sacrificing a single American boy in this venture. We have lost far too many already.

I have repeatedly expressed my view which I now reiterate. That we should have been waging peace with the same energy and fervor with which we have been waging war.

I have asked, and ask again now, that instead of multiplying our Armed Forces and the resulting casualties, we request a ceasefire and seek, instead of hostile military action, a peacekeeping United Nations police force. I should be happy to see Americans as a part of that peacekeeping police force.

This procedure, as I have pointed out, has been successfully used on the Israel-Egypt border, and in the Congo. Why not try it in South Vietnam?

My time being short, I can only call attention to my earlier statement on this resolution and repeat that I cannot in good conscience support the pending resolution, which opens the door to unlimited unilateral war by our country in an area and for a cause which pose no threat to our national security, and in which no more American lives should be sacrificed.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, how much time remains to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I shall not use all of that time. I wish only to correct a misapprehension that I was not able to cover in my speech earlier, but I wish to add one further point which I overlooked.

I was commenting on a Washington Post editorial which cited the Cuban resolution as being comparable to the pending resolution.

Last night, I pointed out that they are quite different resolutions.

I ask Senators to turn to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 110, part 14, page 18429, where I inserted the Cuban resolution. It will be recalled that in discussion of the Cuban resolution the point was made, both in committee and on the floor of the Senate, that the resolution differed from the Middle East resolution and the Formosa resolution, in that it made no reference whatever to authorizing any power to the President of the United States. It was because of that that we were able to get support for the resolution. At the time of the Cuban resolution if there had been an attempt to give war making authority to the President, the resolution would not have received the votes it did. Some Senators announced that they would not support the resolution with such a clause in it. If we examine the resolution, we see that all it does is to set out the opinion of Congress as to what American foreign policy should be, vis-a-vis Cuba.

That is quite a different thing from giving the President any authority for a predated declaration of war in respect to Cuba, as this resolution does in respect to Asiatic problems.

I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States, article I, section 8, thereof by means of this resolution.

As I argued earlier today at some length, we are in effect giving the President of the United States warmaking powers in the absence of a declaration of war.

I believe that to be a historic mistake. I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake.

Our constitutional rights are no better than the preservation of our procedural guarantees under the Constitution.

We are seeking by indirection to circumvent article I, section 8 of the Constitution. Senators know as well as I do that we cannot obtain a test before the U.S. Supreme Court of that attempt to grant warmaking powers to a President by a resolution because under this set of facts we cannot hail the President of the United States before the Supreme Court for a determination of such a question as to the unconstitutionality of the pending resolution.

I am sorry, but I believe that Congress is not protecting the procedural, constitutional rights of the American people, under article I, section 8 of the Constitution.

If the President of the United States, after Pearl Harbor, could exercise his inherent power in defense of this country, as every President has the right to do and then come before the Congress and ask for a declaration of war as Roosevelt did, then the pending regulation is not necessary. The President can come to Congress and ask for a declaration of war, as was done against Japan at that time. The President of the United States can now do likewise, if the time ever comes when the President must ask for a declaration of war against a country in Asia or anywhere else.

For the reasons I have set forth, I shall vote against the resolution.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] is necessarily absent today but has asked that he be recorded in favor of the resolution supporting the President's policies in Vietnam. The Senator would state, if he were here, that the United States was the victim of unnecessary provocation and that the United States was compelled to respond and, he would add, that it is essential for the country to unite behind the President at this time of crisis.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Joint Resolution 1145, as a substitute for the Senate joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution coming over from the House, which will be stated by title.

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1145) was read twice by its title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the House joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call may be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the House joint resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is necessarily absent and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 88, nays 2, as follows:

[No. 520 Leg.]

YEAS—88

Aiken, Allot, Bartlett, Bayh, Beall, Bennett, Bible, Boggs, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd, Va., Byrd, W. Va., Carlson, Case, Church, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dodd, Dominick, Douglas, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fong, Fulbright, Goldwater, Gore, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Hickenlooper, Hill, Holland, Hruska, Humphrey, Inouye, Jackson, Javits, Jordan, N.C., Jordan, Idaho, Keating, Kuchel, Lausche, Long, Mo., Long, La., Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Mechem, Metcalf, Miller, Monroney, Morton, Moss, Mundt, Muskie, Nelson, Neuberger, Pastore, Pearson, Pell, Prouty, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Robertson, Russell, Salinger, Saltonstall, Simpson, Smathers, Smith, Sparkman, Stennis, Thurmond, Tower, Walters, Williams, N.J., Williams, Del., Young, N. Dak., Young, Ohio.

NAYS—2

Gruening and Morse.

NOT VOTING—10

Anderson, Cannon, Clark, Edmondson, Johnston, Kennedy, Scott, Symington, Talmadge, Yarborough.

So the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1145) was passed as follows:

"Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

"Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

"Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

"Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

"Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress."

The preamble was agreed to.

Mr. Fulbright. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate Joint Resolution 189 be indefinitely postponed.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MILLER AT LOS ANGELES MAYORS' FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on Saturday, September 23, the Los Angeles Mayors' Fourth Annual Conference for Senior Citizens, of which I am one, was held at Los Angeles City Hall. The keynote speaker at this conference was the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller.]

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the informed, forward-looking, and most interesting speech by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Federal Action in Meeting the Challenge

(By Jack Miller, U.S. Senator from Iowa)

(Note.—Prepared for delivery, Los Angeles Mayor's Fourth Annual Conference for Senior Citizens, Los Angeles City Hall, Saturday, September 23, 1967. Senator Miller is a member of the Special Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate.)

It is a personal pleasure and most welcome privilege for me to be a part of this Fourth Annual Conference. I think your Mayor, Sam Yorty, is to be commended for sponsoring this conference, and its quality reflects the hard work and dedication of his Coordinator of Senior Citizens Activities, my friend, Elsa Carrow. The theme of this conference, "Meeting the Challenge," is most appropriate.

At the federal level of government, the landmarks of federal action directed at problems of older Americans would probably be considered the Social Security Act of 1935. But it wasn't until 1961 that the Congress crystalized its awareness of federal responsibilities to this segment of our society, when the Senate Rules Committee approved a resolution establishing the Special Committee on Aging. Shortly thereafter the full Senate approved the resolution. Although it was not my good fortune, as a freshman Senator at the time, to be named to the Special Committee, I take a little pride from the fact that I was a member of the Rules Committee, which unanimously voted for the new committee.

In the fall of 1961, a White House Conference on Aging was held; and in 1962, the late President Kennedy carried forward one of the ideas that came out of the conference by appointing a President's Council on Aging. In 1963, based on recommendations received from the Council, the President sent to Congress a Special Message on Aiding Our Senior Citizens. Two years later, after long hearings and a great amount of research, the Special Committee produced what became known as the Older Americans Act of 1965. I was a member of the committee by then, and it was gratifying to be called to the White House to receive one of the pens used by the President when it was signed into law.

One of the principal features of the Act was creation of an Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, operating under the direction of a Commissioner on Aging appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The present Commissioner is Mr. William Bechill. This Administration on Aging is the focal point for coordinating all federal activities relating to our senior citizens. It administers federal grants authorized by the Older Americans Act, provides technical assistance to state and local governments, plans and arranges research and demonstration programs, prepares educational materials and statistics, and evaluates all programs affecting older Americans with a view to improving upon them.

As you probably know, the Older Americans Act provides for grants to states for community planning and for programs and the training of specialists to carry out programs designed to make retirement years more meaningful. Money is also available for grants to or contracts with public or private non-profit organizations for study, demonstration and evaluation projects relating to the needs of the elderly. Some $10 million was appropriated for these purposes last year and $18.5 million has been budgeted for this year.

The Act also created a 16-member Advisory Committee to advise the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on problems of the aging. One of the members is Mrs. A. M. G. Russell, Chairman of your State's Commission on Aging.

It was our intention, when we passed this legislation, that every state and community be encouraged to establish a coordinated program of services and opportunities for its older citizens, or, if one was already established—as was the case in Iowa, where for years we have had an outstanding Institute of Gerontology—to improve upon its program.

Our intention was well borne out during the next two years. Programs and projects under the Act were begun in forty-three states and the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, bringing new opportunities to millions of older Americans.

Our mandate in the Older Americans Act of 1965 was "to assist our older people to secure opportunities to the full and free enjoyment of retirement years." This was reaffirmed last June with passage of the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 by a vote of 332–0 in the House and 83–0 in the Senate, extending for five years the programs authorized by the 1965 Act. Hearings on the Amendments bill revealed that we, as a nation, with our great reservoir of ingenuity and creative thinking, were making progress towards enriching the retirement years of our people.

The Committee on Aging has a wide range of subjects for study, and I would like to comment on some of these. Let me say that some of the action we propose is action which must be taken at the federal level; but most of the action must be carried out at the state and local level, and in our system of government this is as it should be.

THE INCOME PROBLEM

One of the first requirements to enable retirement years to be lived in dignity and self-respect is adequate income. A study for the year 1965 revealed that one-third of families over 65 had an annual income of less than $2,500—from all sources, pensions, social security, Railroad Retirement Act benefits, interest, and employment. Two-thirds had an annual income of less than $5,000. For persons living alone, the situation was worse—seventy-one percent had incomes of under $2,000.

The situation wouldn't be so bad if it were not for inflation. Under the multi-billion-dollar deficit spending sprees of the federal government, inflation has steadily eaten away at the value of our money. In 1939 the dollar was worth 100 cents. Today it is worth less than 43 cents, and it is continuing to go down. This tragedy is dramatized by Social Security pensions. For example, an annual pension of $499 in 1940 had a value of $495 (based on a 1939 dollar worth 100 cents). When pensions were increased in 1958, this same pension had increased from $495 to $1,140—more than double; but the purchasing power was only

$548. After the 7% increase in 1965, the pension had risen to $1,220, but its value was only $537—less than the value in 1958. Today that $1,220 pension is worth only $506. From 1958 until the 7% increase in 1965, inflation robbed our Social Security pensioners of $1.5 billion in purchasing power. The inflation in 1965 and 1966 took away another $1.7 billion in their purchasing power. And, with the federal deficit for the current year completely out of control, it is going to get worse.

One reaction of Congress necessarily is to increase Social Security and Railroad Retirement Act pensions, and this will be done. However, if inflation isn't stopped, it will only be a question of time when pensions will have to be increased again. But there usually is quite a time lag between increases, and the hardship caused by inflation in the meantime is severe. What should be done, in my opinion, is to provide for automatic increases in Social Security and Railroad Retirement Act pensions to meet increases in the cost of living. This could be done automatically each year, so that the time lag between legislation of specific increases by the Congress would be eliminated. There is nothing new about the idea. In 1962 we provided for such increases in the case of Civil Service retirees. Incidentally, I made this proposal at the time we were considering the 1965 Social Security bill, and I intend to offer it again this year when the Social Security bill comes before the full Senate. It will not be easy to get this passed, because there are always some politicians who like to hold out the promise of Social Security and Railroad Retirement Act increases in their campaigns, and provision for automatic increases would put a stop to such a gimmick. But I am confident that the overwhelming number of our Social Security and Railroad Retirement Act beneficiaries are less interested in such campaign promises and more interested in the value of their pensions.

The automatic increase approach has another virtue—namely, that it would not require a boost in the employers' and employees' Social Security tax rates. A group of us who studied this found that inflation would be accompanied by overall increases in wages within the income base subject to the Social Security tax, and this would produce sufficient additional taxes to cover cost-of-living increase in the pensions.

Of course, it is recognized that cost-of-living increases in pensions treats the symptom and not the disease. The disease is inflation, and the single most helpful thing the federal government could do for not only older Americans but for all Americans is to stop its multi-billion-dollar deficit spending and the inflation and high interest rates which accompany it. In the last six and one-half years, your federal government has gone $40 billion deeper into debt, and this has been accompanied by nearly $86 billion of inflation. In 1966, the deficit came to $7.5 billion, and we had inflation amounting to $24 billion. Incidently, California's share of this inflation was $2.8 billion—the same as a 17% sales tax on top of the regular State sales tax!

EMPLOYMENT OF THE ELDERLY

About half of our Social Security beneficiaries supplement their pensions with other income—principally from employment. With benefits averaging $1,000 a year for individuals and $1,700 for couples, it is obvious that many have to have employment in order to make ends meet. There are two problems here. The first is the $1,500 ceiling on earnings. Once this point is reached, a worker is cut back $1 on his Social Security for each $2 of employment income for the next $1,200; and beyond that point, or beyond $2,700 of earnings, he loses $1 of Social Security for each $1 of employment income. This may not be so bad for the person receiving maximum Social Security benefits, but for the person who had a low earnings base and therefore has a small Social Security pension, it means a real hardship; because this person simply has to work in order to make ends meet. The Administration has proposed raising the $1,500 to $1,680. You may have noted in the September issue of the Senior Citizens News that the Republican Task Force on the Problems of the Aging has recommended that the ceiling be lifted from $1,500 to $2,100. The Social Security Administration advises that this would cost $600 million a year, compared to $170 million a year under the Administration's proposal, and this would mean a substantial tax increase. With the furor over the President's proposed 10% income tax increase, I would be dubious over the prospects of much, if any, of a Social Security tax boost except as required to meet increased costs of Medicare. With this in mind, I have offered an amendment to the pending Social Security bill by way of a compromise. Under my amendment, there would be no cut-back in Social Security until the earnings and Social Security payments combined exceed $2,700. A person receiving $100 a month, or $1,200 a year, could earn $1,500 without any reduction, as at present. But a person receiving the minimum of $50 a month, or $600 a year, would be able to earn $2,100 without reduction. This would cost considerably less and, most importantly, it would meet the most serious part of the problem of adequate income, regardless of from whatever source derived, for our older people.

Many representatives of organized labor have opposed increases in the earnings test. Their position is that older people should not be encouraged to work, but should retire to make room for younger members of the working force. But this ignores the fact that most of the jobs held by older people are not the kind the younger workers would either want or be able to handle. Nearly half these jobs are part-time.

The second problem of employment of the elderly is opening up job opportunities. The Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments bill passed last year directed the Secretary of Labor to submit to Congress a specific legislative recommendation on this point. The Secretary has proposed an outright prohibition of discrimination, based on age, on the part of employment agencies, labor organizations and employers; and the proposal is pending in the labor committees. For the fiscal year 1967, we appropriated $15 million for the U.S. Employment Service for services to older jobseekers—employment, counseling, job development, referral to training, and job placement; and this amount has been continued for the present fiscal year. The Manpower Development and Training Amendments Act of 1966 directed the Secretary of Labor to provide a special program of testing, counseling, selection, and referral of persons 45 years of age or older for occupational training and further schooling designed to meet the special problems faced by such persons in the labor market. This is in the experimental and demonstration project stage, and one of the projects is being conducted by the State of California at Sacramento. Another, funded under what is known as "Project 60" was conducted in San Francisco to demonstrate that the great need for employment by persons aged 60 and over can be met by mobilization and expansion of existing community resources to provide comprehensive services which meet the special requirements of this age group.

MEDICARE

One of the most serious problems of older Americans, especially those in the lower income brackets, is being able to obtain and pay for medical, hospital, and nursing home service. There have been staggering increases in the costs of these services, which were up last year, the first year of Medicare, by 12% from the year before. Hospital services were up 21% from 1965, and it has been forecast that, unless inflation is stopped, the cost per day in a hospital will be up to $100 in the large cities by 1970. Blue Cross has estimated an increase in rates of 11% for each of the next two years.

Not all of these increases are attributable to inflation. Some of it represents better service—better service through the use of expensive, highly sophisticated equipment and the technical personnel needed to operate it. For example, I read of a recent brain operation which required a team of 15 doctors and technicians.

But inflation is the major cause. It is reflected in higher wages for employees who are being squeezed by increases in the cost of living. Sixty-two percent of the costs of running a hospital go for wages, and hospital wages have doubled in recent years. One hospital in San Francisco pays its nurses $600 a month to start—up 40% over last year.

Doctor's fees were up 8% last year over 1965, and, for the most part, the story is the same as for hospitals, with increased payroll costs for nurses and technicians and increased costs of equipment and supplies. Part of the increase might have been due to anticipation of the Medicare provision for payment of the so-called "prevailing fee"; and one doctor in the Los Angeles area reported that he raised his fees to make up for time lost in working with a government-sponsored mass immunization program.

A good many deficiencies have come to light during the first year of Medicare. The cost of the program has turned out to be considerably higher than estimated. As a result, increased taxes must be obtained from employers and employees to fund the program. The Administration has proposed raising the earnings base from $6,600 to $7,600, along with a slight increase in the tax rate itself. There are many who believe this will prove to be inadequate—especially if coverage continues to be extended to everyone over sixty-five, regardless of the amount of their income or property.

There are many of our elderly who simply cannot afford to pay the first $40 of their hospital bill, the first $50 of the doctor's bill, plus 20% of the costs over that amount. Certainly this requirement ought to be eliminated in the case of the low income group.

With Medicare and Medicaid, many of our communities face a serious shortage of hospital facilities. There is a serious shortage of doctors, nurses, and other health technicians. Demand for doctors' services is expected to increase one-third by 1975, but the Public Health Service estimates that the number of doctors will increase by only 17 percent. Since the time lag in producing physicians is considerable, a major increase in the supply of physicians beyond the 17 percent simply cannot be achieved by 1975. The Congress is trying to cope with the problem under the Health Professions Act, the Nurses Training Act, and the Allied Health Professions Act, which were enacted to encourage more students to enter the Health Professions and to enlarge and improve our college and university facilities for their training.

The hospitals and nursing homes are literally up in arms over what they regard as inadequate reimbursement for services to Medicare patients. Unless some changes are made, costs of non-Medicare patients will have to be increased to make up the difference, or the quality of service will decline. And they have been put to very expensive bookkeeping and accounting systems in order to comply with the Medicare regulations. Most of them have done an outstanding job of coping with these problems, but the growing pains have been deeply serious.

The old saying, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," makes its appearance in programs conducted by what was formerly known as the Gerontology Branch of the Public Health Service—now known as the Adult Health Protection and Aging Branch. These programs are designed to protect the health of what are called "the well aging." This has nothing to do with becoming well aged. Rather, the programs are directed at health maintenance through improved disease detection techniques, clinics, and counseling. The Pubic Heath Service has produced a film entitled "Ready for Edna," which depicts the broad range of health services needed for the elderly and encourages community support in supplying these services, and it can be obtained for showing from the Service.

HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY

Another problem of vital interest to older Americans is safe and decent housing. I have noted with great interest the statement of Mr. James Belda, Chief of Elderly Housing Loans, from the Department of Housing and Urban Development regional office in San Francisco, that your Mayor's Senior Citizens Housing Committee is one of the most active of the Mayor's committees.

Congress has recognized the need for increasing the supply of housing especially suited to the elderly at rents they can afford by enacting several programs of federal assistance for the development of such housing. The low rent public housing program was amended in 1956 to include the construction of public housing units especially for the elderly. That this was responsive to a need recognized in communities throughout the country is indicated by the fact that nearly half of the 100,000 units of public housing authorized by the Public Housing Act of 1961 were devoted to housing for the elderly. An additional 37,500 units were authorized by the Housing Act of 1964, and the 1965 Act authorized 60,000 units a year for four years. During 1966 over half of the new public housing units placed under contract were designed for occupancy by the elderly.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development administers what is known as the "202 Program" of long-term, three percent loans to nonprofit organizations, consumer co-operatives, and public bodies to build rental housing for the elderly. As of the end of last year, loan approvals had been issued for 215 projects totaling 27,000 units in forty states.

Another program, which serves a somewhat higher income group among the elderly than that served by public housing or the direct loan program, is administered by the Federal Housing Administration. This agency is authorized to insure lenders against losses on mortgages for construction or rehabilitation of rental housing for the elderly. The amount of insurance is 90 percent of replacement cost in the case of business sponsors and 100 percent in the case of nonprofit sponsors, with mortgage terms as long as 40 years. By the end of last year, mortgage insurance commitments had been issued for 276 projects totaling 42,000 units in 42 states and Puerto Rico.

The Farmers Home Administration administers a program of direct loans or mortgage insurance for the construction of rental housing for the elderly in rural communities, and 112 of these projects had been authorized by the end of 1965.

The Rent Supplement Program was established by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. This has been an extremely controversial program, and I am sure you have read enough about it to be familiar with it. It was not funded until 1966, when $12 million was appropriated. This was increased to $20 million for fiscal 67. This year the House of Representatives not only rejected an Administration increase to $40 million but knocked out the entire program. This week the Senate restored the $40 million, but it faces a most uncertain future in the Conference Committee of the two Houses. Under the law, one of the categories eligible for rent supplements is that either the applicant or his spouse be 62 years of age or older. There are income and property requirements, and in all fairness to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, I should point out that these requirements have been made much more uniform and exacting than they originally were, although there is still room for improvement.

MEANINGFUL RETIREMENT YEARS

Even though the essentials of adequate income, housing, and medical service are achieved, there is another ingredient necessary to achieve the "peace of mind" which comes from meaningful retirement years. It was this realization which prompted the Special Committee on Aging to create a new subcommittee this year, called the Subcommittee on Retirement of the Individual. Its function is to inquire into and report on the institution of retirement and its impact on the individual, especially the problems of adjusting to a new role in life and the need for meaningful activity.

Since 1900 the number of Americans 65 and over has increased from three to eighteen million. In another fifteen years the number will grow to twenty-five million. Science is steadily adding years to the life expectancy table. The challenge is to make these years of retirement for these millions of people really meaningful.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Gardner pointed up the challenge when he recently testified before this committee as follows: "Retirement, as we now see it in our society, leaves older people with a vast amount of time either for constructive use or aimless boredom."

The Office of Economic Opportunity last year inaugurated some programs not only aimed at assisting in the material needs of older people but in enlisting them in meaningful work of a community service nature. Community Action Programs are including activities in behalf of older persons which also make use of the experience and talents of older persons. Sixty-three Foster Grandparents demonstration projects have been established by local Community Action agencies, including one in my own state at the Glenwood State Hospital for retarded children. Today there are seventy-five foster grandparents—senior citizens from the low income group—enjoying a more meaningful life in Iowa because they are engaged in helping make life more meaningful for their foster grandchildren through the best therapy known to man—love and personal attention. They are only paid $1.40 an hour, which is needed to supplement their low income status. But the money is secondary to the realization that they are accomplishing something worthwhile.

Legislation was introduced early this year to establish an Older Americans Community Service Program. The President of the American Nursing Home Association strongly endorsed this when he said: Actions envisioned in and by an Older Americans Community Service Program are things that need doing and ought already to have been done." Under this proposal, retired persons would be enlisted in service projects within their home communities. For example, they would engage in planting trees, shrubs, and flowers for local beautification—along the lines of the Green Thumb project in rural communities. They would help serve the needs of incapacitated older persons, not unlike the Foster Grandparents service to children. And I don't need to point out to a group such as this what it would mean to those who are bedridden and confined to have someone visit them regularly to cheer them up. If children or other close relatives are not around to do this, life can become awfully lonely. Older people usually have hobbies, and they can provide a great amount of know-how and enthusiasm to groups of youngsters needing hobby activities to keep otherwise idle hands busy.

This legislative proposal did not go unnoticed by the White House. This week a story appeared in the local newspaper that, in a complete reversal of policy, the Administration told a subcommittee holding hearings on the bill that the program would be started, and no new legislation would be required for such action. The $9 million that would be authorized by the bill apparently can be obtained from appropriations already available.

The Commissioner of the Administration on Aging, William Bechill, put his finger on it when he said: "There is no higher form of service than unselfish work for the public good. Retired men and women are in a position to think and act independently and they have the time to participate fully in community affairs."

Education offers a great opportunity for many older people. The thirst for knowledge does not diminish with age. All too often the man reaching age sixty-five has spent much of his work career in a routine type job, has been denied the opportunity to think actively and constructively about the use of his abilities, and has learned no new skills or interests for years. Adult education classes offer one means of filling this void. And there are possibilities for older people in teaching a course or two also, whether it be in a skill or trade, in a business course, or in the home economics field.

Formal pre-retirement education is receiving a great amount of attention. Some of our major corporations have already established such a program. The idea is that sometime during the middle years—say ten or fifteen years before retirement—a person should have access to effective pre-retirement information and education about some of the problems and adjustments that can be expected upon retirement. The big need here is for teachers who are trained and experienced in this field, and some of our retired people could help meet the need. Secretary Gardner also testified that the extension services of our universities could be, as he put it, "extremely useful" in establishing and conducting such programs.

I would be remiss if I did not pay tribute to your own Senior Volunteer Service Program, which is training older persons to serve as volunteers to conduct art classes, supervise social functions for needy children, provide library services in hospitals, and act as aides in a veterans hospital—and with the toll of casualties being taken by the war in Vietnam, this latter service is of increasing importance. And I also should add a word of praise for your senior citizens symphony orchestra—a really magnificent idea. There is a saying, you know, that "old musicians never die, they just fiddle away!"

Over two thousand years ago, Zoroaster said:

> "Years wrinkle the skin, but giving up enthusiasm wrinkles the soul. . . You are as young as your faith, and as old as your doubts; as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fears; as young as your hopes, as old as your despair."

The enthusiasm which pervades this conference, reflecting, as it deos your faith, self-confidence, and hopes, is an inspiring assurance that each of you has succeeded already in meeting the challenge, and that you are prepared to help others to meet it.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Rivers, Mr. Philbin, Mr. Hébert, Mr. Price of

Illinois, Mr. HARDY, Mr. BATES, Mr. ARENDS, Mr. BRAY, and Mr. O'KONSKI were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 8715. An act to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to limit the amount of wines, spirits, and beer that may be brought into the District of Columbia; and

H.R. 13042. An act to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

H.R. 8715. An act to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to limit the amount of wines, spirits, and beer that may be brought into the District of Columbia; and

H.R. 13042. An act to amend the act of June 20, 1906, and the District of Columbia election law to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia.

L. B. J.'S GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Lyndon Johnson has built a domestic program which demonstrates that even big Government in a big society and a big economy—cares for the people.

Millions of older citizens are never going to forget that it was L. B. J. who moved medicare from dream into reality.

Millions of older citizens are not going to forget that it is the Johnson administration which has proposed a new increase in social security benefits this year.

Millions of mothers and fathers with children in schools are not going to forget—and we ought not let them forget—that Federal aid to education programs under President Johnson created a scholarship or work-study program for their sons or daughters, or got their children an extra teacher or a better library or a better science lab.

Millions of wage earners are not going to forget that it was the Johnson administration which gave them the coverage and protection of the national wage and hour act for the first time in history. I am talking especially about service workers and many farmworkers who are now guaranteed a minimum wage and respectable working conditions.

I assure you that millions of Americans in the cities and in the countryside will not forget that from his first days in office Lyndon Johnson turned the full resources, might, and majesty of the Federal Government toward water and air pollution control programs, toward the beautification and conservation of our landscapes, toward highway safety and auto safety programs. And, for the first time in recent years we saw industry fully charged with the responsibility for its own products—whether that be a safe auto or the control of its own pollution of rivers and streams.

It is an unforgettable fact for millions of Americans that more has been done by President Johnson for minority groups, regardless of race, creed, or color, than by any other President.

Nor will millions of veterans forget the recently signed GI Bill of Rights Act which provides millions in educational, housing, and other benefits for servicemen and their families from the post-Korean period through to the present Vietnam conflict.

I am proud that the Senate has already acted favorably on such critical items as model cities and rent supplements, but we have others before us—the war on poverty, now under debate; elementary and secondary education, hospital modernization, crime control, and manpower training.

These are only some of the city programs which the President has asked for and which the people will not forget.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, as I have stated, it has been difficult indeed for me to find rank and file Georgians who favor the Federal election campaign financing bill, which is due to be reported by the Committee on Finance this week.

Comments on this measure run from "ridiculous" to "preposterous." It is regarded by many, myself included, as a blatant attempt to permit politicians seeking public office to raid the Public Treasury of an amount that could run more than $100 million.

There appeared in one of Georgia's most outstanding weekly newspapers, the Hartwell Sun, an excellent front-page editorial criticizing the bill and expressing the hope that it will be defeated by the Senate.

I invite the attention of the Senate to the editorial and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON'S LATEST

The most startling news to come out of Washington in a long time was the announcement that the Senate Finance Committee voted to make $54 million in federal funds available to finance the political campaigns of major parties.

This news, coming at a time when the administration is trying to increase taxes, has appalled and dismayed Mr. Average Citizen.

In a cross-section interview of local Hart County folks, they, without exception, expressed their dislike of such a campaign finance bill. The word most commonly used was "ridiculous". We agree that the expression used aptly describes the action of the Senate Finance Committee.

The final passage of this bill into law would indeed be a terrible mistake. The far reaching consequences of such a precedent would be never ending. Next, the House of Representatives would vote themselves a similar campaign fund, then on down the ladder for every elective office.

How and where the money would be spent would most certainly create dissension and confusion. Then a new bureau would have to be established to supervise and account for the candidates expenditures. Eventually the cost could run into the billions.

The minimum amount for any one senator in any one campaign calls for one hundred thousand dollars. One senator, a 27 year veteran, said he hadn't spent that much money in all his years of campaigning.

On the bright side of this disastrous news from Washington, Georgia's own Senator Herman Talmadge voted against this ridiculous bill. Our deepest thanks to Senator Talmadge, for his courage and common sense in a time when it is needed more than ever before.

We hope he can prevail on his senate associates to completely reject the Campaign Finance Bill.

GREAT SALT LAKE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, before and since Senate approval of S. 25, my bill to create the Great Salt Lake National Monument on Antelope Island, I have received many favorable letters from interested Americans. However, I have in my hand a letter from Mrs. Isabel M. Jackson of Excelsior Springs, Mo., a recent visitor to Utah. In her own handwriting, and on only two pages, she summarizes in excellent fashion the general tenor of my mail on this subject.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCELSIOR SPRINGS, MO.,
September 20, 1967.

Hon. FRANK E. MOSS,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The September 4 issue of the "National Observer" carried a most interesting article about the controversy over Antelope Island. It immediately caught our attention because we had just returned from a vacation trip to California, going out of our way to return by Salt Lake City. Two things I wanted to see: Great Salt Lake and Temple Square. Altho we are Baptists, the great Mormon choir music has enriched our lives and we are grateful.

But since grade school geography days Great Salt Lake has fascinated me. I'll never forget our first view of the Great Salt Desert shining in the distance between the Nevada Mountains. I studied the map to see where we could reach the lake most easily, since time was running out on us, and after hundreds of miles we could only look and depart. Finally we found a disappointing, tawdry little beach, where, altho shocked, we paid 50 cents just to ride in, and look, and wet our feet, take one picture and leave in ten minutes. Granted we couldn't have stayed to enjoy a park or perhaps detoured enough to see it. However, I was disillusioned to see there was no place if I had had time.

More power to you as you seek to create a park. Sure, it is barren, desolate, desert land. That is the reason I wanted to see it! It is fascinating to feel you can see a "moon landscape" right here and it has a wild beauty of its own. Perhaps I shall never get back again, altho if the park materializes, I hope I may. But Utah ought to do better by its great attraction. I was vaguely resentful and definitely disillusioned to be cheated out of seeing my dream of childhood; thank you for trying to correct the situation.

By the way, we moved recently from Georgia and there's lots of this West for us to see and we loved it.

Sincerely yours,

ISABEL M. JACKSON.

OVERHAUL OF TAX LAWS NEEDED TO FIGHT SLUM HOUSING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a few day ago I introduced an amendment that would prohibit property owners from taking depreciation deductions on Federal income taxes unless they maintained their property in accordance with local housing codes.

However, by making the award of depreciation tax benefits contingent upon adequate maintenance practices, we would simply be removing one of the incentives to irresponsible property management fostered by the tax code.

Our tax laws increase the profitability of operating slum housing, encourage inadequate maintenance expenditures and discriminate against new construction as an alternative real estate investment.

How do Federal taxes breed slums?

First of all, there is a built-in incentive not to make repairs because the shorter the economic life of a structure, the quicker the tax writeoff. Real estate investors normally seek to write off their investments as rapidly as possible. A landlord who regularly makes needed repairs undermines his case for a shorter estimated building life and the resulting fast writeoff.

Second, the tax code encourages a perpetual series of short-term investors who seek only to milk the property of its tax benefits and dispose of it. The accelerated depreciation provisions of the code permit an investor to write off property much faster than the actual decline in market value and then sell it to another investor who can obtain an additional round of liberal depreciation deductions.

Third, the tax provisions favor investments in used buildings as opposed to new construction because the shorter estimated life on used property permits more rapid tax writeoff of the initial investment.

Also, the code prohibits depreciation deductions for the cost of land and land clearance expenses. This is another incentive to invest in used property rather than new construction because, in used property the investor has much wider latitude in allocating his investment between the land and the structure because land acquisition costs are a matter of judgment rather than a matter of record as they are on new construction projects.

I believe our entire real estate tax policies need to be thoroughly reexamined and updated, and I am hopeful that the Treasury Department will give this problem thorough consideration.

Consequently, I have asked Secretary of the Treasury Fowler to investigate this entire problem area and propose reforms as part of a loophole-closing reform package that I understand is being seriously considered by the Treasury Department at the present time and may be submitted to Congress in the next few weeks. As I put it in my letter to Secretary Fowler:

> Tax reform in the field of real estate can be a most effective way of helping to solve the problems of our central cities without costing the Government money.

OMBUDSMAN

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, Prof. Stanley Anderson, of the Institute of Governmental Studies, has recently written a book cataloging the many Canadian Ombudsman proposals now in existence.

Representative Henry Reuss, of Wisconsin, one of the leading proponents of Ombudsman in the House of Representatives, reviewed Professor Anderson's book in the May 1967 issue of the American Bar Association Journal.

I ask unanimous consent to have the book review printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the book review was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> Canadian Ombudsman proposals. By Stanley V. Anderson. Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California Press, Berkeley, California 94720, 1966. $2.50. Page 168. *Reviewed by United States Representative Henry S. Reuss (Democrat-Wisconsin), author of the bill now before Congress to create a Congressional ombudsman.*
>
> The ombudsman idea is spreading so rapidly that this excellent catalogue-with-commentary is both possible and needed.
>
> It is possible because the idea has been discussed more thoroughly in Canada than in any other country except its native Scandinavia and New Zealand. Since 1960, proposals to create parliamentary grievance commissioners have been debated in eight out of Canada's ten provincial legislatures. The concept is now being studied by three commissions, and the Dominion Government has promised to set up a federal commission.
>
> It is needed because more and more thoughtful Americans, as they see our growing population forced daily into closer touch with our growing government, are asking whether we should adopt and how we should adapt the institution of citizen's defender. Ombudsman bills have been presented in six state legislatures, and serious interest is evident in eight more states. An ombudsman was appointed in 1966 for Nassau County, New York, and the office is being actively discussed for New York City. Congress has before it both my bill and Senator Edward V. Long's proposal for an ombudsman for the District of Columbia.
>
> Mr. Anderson, who is associate professor of political science at the University of California, first summarizes the chronology of Canadian debates, concluding that "it seems likely that the Ombudsman will break through somewhere in Canada before too long". He then analyzes the main proposals by comparing the provisions of each—for example, concerning the ombudsman's qualifications, his jurisdiction and his investigatory and enforcement powers—with each other and with law and practice in New Zealand and Scandinavia. Next, he appraises Canada's need for ombudsmen, focusing on such key issues as ministerial responsibility and the relationship between ombudsmen and legislators. The book's final half consists of notes, a list of readings and the texts of four Canadian bills and the New Zealand Parliamentary Commissioner (Ombudsman) Act of 1962.
>
> The concise commentary will ease the work of American lawyers exploring the ombudsman concept for the first time, when several misgivings commonly appear. One is the fear that an ombudsman will undermine the proper authority and responsibility of elected officials. "The Ombudsman does not make policy, but he helps those who do. . . . It is the job of the Ombudsman to see that the act of the subordinate is consistent with the broader policy which he is supposed to implement." Ombudsmen in Scandinavia and New Zealand dismiss on their face about half of the complaints received and another quarter after brief inquiry. Even though ombudsmen uphold administrative decisions in most of the remaining cases, they serve the public interest by responding fairly to a complainant's grievance and by dispelling his misunderstanding. But in cases where a bureaucratic policy is at fault, so great is the ombudsman's prestige that a discreet mention in his annual public report will likely set matters right.
>
> This book is only one part of a larger ombudsman project which includes a companion study of ombudsman proposals in the United States. Mr. Anderson's research complements that of Columbia University Law Professor Walter Gellhorn. Because Mr. Anderson sees the many ombudsman proposals as signs "that the idea is undergoing a process of legitimization", he predicts widespread adoption soon.
>
> Henry S. Reuss.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL MESSAGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, if there is one single justifying reason why Congress should support President Johnson's request for $200 million toward special Asian Development Bank projects, it is the heartening news that regionalism in educational planning is becoming a reality in Southeast Asia.

When one considers the fact that only a few years ago many of the nations of Southeast Asia were still under colonial rule, and that today they are joining together in regional arrangements to promote educational excellence for all their people, it gives one a feeling of confidence that American policies are bearing fruit.

I am much impressed with the fact that the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education have established a Southeast Ministers Education Council which included Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

I understand, too, that Asian nations have endorsed the establishment of an Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok, regional centers for tropical medicine in Thailand, and other educational and research institutes in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

This is precisely the kind of regional Asian development President Johnson was talking about when he called the Asian Development Bank proposal an "economic Magna Carta" in March 1966.

The President's request today is another instance of his unwavering support for the economic and social development of Southeast Asia.

We should support this proposal. It is good for us, and it is good for the Asians.

The United States is proving, day by day, that its commitments to Asia will be fulfilled, and that the freedom and dignity of the Asian citizen is as important to us as is our own freedom and dignity.

I support the President's request, and I hope that Congress will join him in this compassionate and fruitful endeavor.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Wyoming State AFL–CIO, meeting recently in its sixth biennial convention, renewed its support of the President's war on poverty, and of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In a resolution sent to the President and to OEO Director Sargent Shriver, the labor organization praised the administration's policy and noted:

> The number of Americans in the poverty sector have shown a marked decline since the war on poverty has been in effect.

In order that Senators might read the full resolution, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Resolution No. 1

(Resolution on Great Society, submitted by Casper central body)

Whereas, the war on poverty is designed to attack the very roots of poverty; and

Whereas, the number of Americans in the poverty sector have shown a marked decline since the war on poverty has been in effect; and

Whereas, organized labor has always supported programs to aid underprivileged and economically distressed citizens of this nation; and

Whereas the program of the war on poverty is in the tradition of Labor's support of the oppressed and significant inroads have been made on poverty by the office of economic opportunity; therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Wyoming State AFL-CIO once again go on record as supporting the Office of Economic Opportunity and its continuing fight on the roots of poverty; and be it further

Resolved: That this convention forward the sense of this resolution to President Lyndon B. Johnson, Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and members of the congressional delegation of the state of Wyoming.

TIME TO CLEAR UP MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN CONVENTION—CXLIV

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President—

> Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men without any discrimination.

This is article I of the Human Rights Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

Article II and article III read as follows:

> Article II. Women shall be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.
>
> Article III. Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

This is what the Convention on Political Rights of Women is all about. It is written in straightforward language. It deals with a very basic question of human dignity—the political equality of half the human race.

Some opponents of this convention have pointed to the fact that England and the Netherlands have not ratified this convention and suggested that their absence was significant.

Well, I hope to put these fears to rest right now. The reason why the Netherlands and England have not ratified this convention is quite apart from any special knowledge they have to which we are not privy. These two countries have one problem in common relative to this convention—the question of royal succession. Article III of the convention, entitling women to hold public office on equal terms with men, is the roadblock under the royal succession laws of these two countries.

We do not have this problem in the United States. We have no royal family or dilemma about who will assume the throne.

The 19th amendment to our Constitution firmly establishes the political freedom and equality of American women.

We are not forcing our system upon any nation or any people. Any party to this convention simply commits themselves to enact legislation to grant these specified rights to their women citizens. This obligation is freely assumed by the nation which ratifies the Convention on Political Rights of Women.

Mr. President, this point is valid on all the human rights conventions. We do not have to concern ourselves with implementing legislation in the United States. Our own Constitution and statutes already establish far higher standards of human dignity as the birthright of every American.

But the human rights conventions must be understood for what they are—voluntary international efforts to establish minimum universal standards of human dignity. Therefore, I again urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to the human rights conventions now.

THE COMPUTER MENACE

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, for several months, my Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure has been carefully studying the potential invasion of personal privacy which the rapid growth of electronic computers now threatens to bring about.

A most recent book entitled "Privacy and Freedom," by Prof. Alan Westin, of Columbia University, has just sharply warned of this potential danger. According to Westin, "we are now in a last-minute position" to establish safeguards against indiscriminate use of data.

I urge Senators to read carefully "Privacy and Freedom," for it deals not only with computer problems but also with the entire spectrum of invasions of privacy.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Expert Says Computers Pose a Growing Menace to Privacy," written by Fred P. Graham, and published in the New York Times of September 18, 1967. The article discusses Professor Westin's book.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Expert Says Computers Pose a Growing Menace to Privacy

(By Fred P. Graham)

Washington, September 17.—Intimate facts about the private lives of many Americans may soon be available to Government officials and private institutions at the touch of a computer button, an expert on privacy warned in a book published today.

Prof. Alan F. Westin of Columbia University said that "we are now in a last-minute position" to establish safeguards against indiscriminate use of data that will soon be made available by the rapid advance of computer technology.

The book, "Privacy and Freedom," is the product of a four-year study sponsored by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and financed by the Carnegie Corporation. It is the most comprehensive study to date of the psychological, social, political and legal aspects of privacy.

Professor Westin, a lawyer and political scientist, said that Americans are pouring a stream of personal data about themselves—school records, credit ratings, birth and marriage records, medical and psychological reports and income tax returns—into files that are being computerized at an increasing rate.

But since there is at present no system for classifying the highly personal data as non-circulating, the computers may soon spew out an individual's most intimate secrets along with such public records as the date of his birth and marriage.

SERIOUS THREAT TO PRIVACY

"The trend toward greatly increased collection of personal data, exchange of information among the collectors, and consolidation of such personal information into central data banks represents by far the most serious threat to privacy in the coming decade," Professor Westin concluded.

He urged that data retrieval systems be designed to reject some information, such as sexual records and wiretap information and that other data be classified according to sensitivity.

Further, the computer information should be "scrambled" to prevent curious computer operators from obtaining print-outs of juicy personal information, he said. Computers should also be locked so that highly sensitive data can be obtained only if two or three officials requested it together, he said.

No computer can be made completely secure by mechanical means, he said, so legal and ethical policies must be developed to avoid indiscriminate use of computerized data.

He said that the law should recognize that each person has a property right to information about his private personality, so that such data could not be used or kept by others without consent.

SMALL DEVICES CITED

Professor Westin reported that electronic eavesdropping by private individuals, businessmen and law enforcement officials had been accelerated by the availability of small, low-cost devices.

Some of these are so tiny that a person can unwittingly be made a "walking radio transmitter," he said, citing one electronic bug that can be built into the button of a suit coat and sewn onto the victim's clothing without his knowledge. Another bug can be mounted in the victim's false teeth, Professor Westin said.

He urged the enactment of laws forbidding electronic eavesdropping by private persons and local and Federal officials. However, Professor Westin conceded that there was a need for limited court-controlled wiretapping and bugging by state and Federal law enforcement officials—a position that is opposed by the Johnson Administration.

President Johnson has called for enactment of a law to prohibit all wiretapping and bugging except in national security cases and with the permission of the president.

THE FRAUDULENT SOUTH VIETNAM ELECTION

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the much-publicized South Vietnamese election of September 3, 1967, should be carefully scrutinized.

The news of the arrest of former Finance Minister Au Truong Thanh merely because he had requested permission to leave the country only serves to point out once again how undemocratic is the regime in Saigon. Thanh had twice served as Minister of Economy and Finance under Generals Thieu and Ky, but had been denied a place on the September 3, 1967, ballot because he wanted to run as a peace candidate. It is still a crime in South Vietnam to advocate peace or neutrality.

The foundation for the September 3, 1967, elections for president, vice president, and members of the Senate was laid in the Declaration of Honolulu of February 8, 1966, in which the so-called Government of South Vietnam pledged "to formulate a democratic constitution in the months ahead, including an electoral law; to take that constitution to our people for discussion and modification; "to seek its ratification by secret ballot; to create, on the basis of elections rooted in that constitution, an elected government."

In the months that followed, the first three pledges were quietly dropped. Instead, it was determined to elect a constituent assembly which, in turn, would adopt a constitution subject to veto by the military junta governing South Vietnam—or at least that part of South Vietnam not controlled by the Vietcong.

Those permitted to run for membership in the Constituent Assembly were handpicked by the military junta. In an excellent analysis of the recent elections in South Vietnam by Mr. Alfred Hassler, able executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the election of members of the Constituent Assembly is described as follows:

> Rules for the elections were set up by the Constituent Assembly, which in turn was elected in September, 1966. That election was so characterized by manipulation and fraud that the Buddhist leadership, whose actions had forced the elections to be held, publicly called for an election boycott. Here, too, public figures known to stand for peace or neutralism, as well as NLF supporters, were barred from becoming candidates, and American reporters noted that campaign speeches made no references to the war and government corruption, the two principal issues in the public mind.

Thus the Constituent Assembly was composed of members none of whom were permitted to advocate peace or neutrality and who were elected by a constituency from which potential voters with similar ideas were excluded.

Under the watchful eyes of the military junta, the Constituent Assembly drafted a Constitution from which all mention of land reform was excluded.

The Constitution was never submitted even to the limited electorate for discussion, modification, and its ratification by secret ballot—as was promised at Honolulu. Certain decisions by the Constituent Assembly with respect to the September 3 election assured the election of the Thieu-Ky ticket.

First, the election of the President and Vice President was to be by a mere plurality and not by a majority of the votes cast, thus obviating any possibility of a runoff. Second, two strong peace candidates who wanted to run were ruled off the ballot, in obedience to the wishes of the military junta.

Before the elections, it was announced in Saigon, with much fanfare, that censorship of the press had ceased. However, analysis of the actions taken indicated that actually the penalties for printing news displeasing to the military junta were increased: instead of deleting offensive material before publication, the newspapers published on pain of having the entire issue destroyed. A few days before the elections, the publication of one newspaper deemed unfriendly to the Thieu-Ky government was suspended completely.

The election—thus rigged in advance—took place on September 3, 1967. Mr. Alfred Hassler's analysis of the election results, already referred to, shows clearly that—

> The people of South Vietnam, against immense obstacles, have shown unmistakably that they favor the end of the war through a cease-fire and negotiations with the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that the thoughtful analysis of the South Vietnamese elections, prepared by Mr. Alfred Hassler, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE AND THE VIETNAM ELECTIONS

The September 3 elections, though characterized by extensive manipulation and fraud, revealed the overwhelming desire for peace on the part of the South Vietnamese population.

On September 3 the voters of South Vietnam elected a President, a Vice-President, and a Senate, under their new constitution. Both the Constitution and the elections were a response to the insistent agitation of the "militant" Buddhists of South Vietnam, who have long made plain their dissatisfaction with the governing military junta and their longing for an end to the war.

General Nguyen Van Thieu, the present chairman of the military junta, was elected *President*, and *General Nguyen Gao Ky*, the present premier, *Vice President*. Spokesmen for the Johnson administration have hailed the elections as a significant step toward democratic self-government.

The elections *were* highly significant, but not in the terms that the Administration would like us to believe. What they demonstrated, against enormous obstacles, was the overwhelming desire on the part of the Vietnamese people for an end to the war. Any Americans who still believe that the United States is fighting on behalf of the South Vietnamese people should find in the results of the elections reasons for sober rethinking.

The Results

There were eleven sets of candidates for the Presidential and Vice Presidential offices: one military and ten civilian. The results were as follows:

Ticket	Total vote	Percent
Nguyen Van Thieu-Nguyen Cao Ky	1,638,902	35
Truong Dinh Dzu-Tran Van Chieu	800,285	17
Phan Khac Suu-Phan Quang Dan	502,732	11
Tran Van Huong-Mai Tho Truyen	464,638	10
Ha Thuc Ky-Nguyen Van Dinh	346,573	7
Nguyen Dinh Quat-Tran Cuu Chan	315,329	7
Nguyen Van Hiep-Nguyen The Truyen	158,498	3
Vu Hong Khanh-Duong Trung Dong	148,652	3
Hoang Co Binh-Lieu Quang Khinh	129,429	3
Pham Huy Co-Ly Quoc Sinh	106,388	2
Tran Van Ly-Huynh-Cong Duong	91,887	2
Total	4,703,313	100

WERE THE ELECTIONS FAIR?

The South Vietnamese government invited numerous "observers" to witness the elections and attest to their honesty. Some were individuals; some were representatives of governments. Of some 63 observers, 22 constituted a team sent by President Johnson, headed by former ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. (Lodge had already, during his incumbency in Vietnam, demonstrated his objectivity by calling for the election of the generals.)

The American observers reported to the President that the elections had been "reasonably fair." They pointed to the fact that 83% of the registered voters had actually voted, as compared with 63% in the last Presidential election in this country. One observer said that the absence of fraud had been demonstrated by General Thieu's failure to get more than 34.8% of the vote: fraud, he said, would have produced a much larger total. (Mr. Dzu, who came in second, said that without fraud Thieu would have got only 10%.)

The report of the observers is virtually meaningless. Few, if any of them, spoke Vietnamese, so that they were dependent on government-provided interpreters. Visits anywhere outside the city of Saigon are dependent on the army and government officials, which allows for any necessary advance "arrangements" to be made easily.

Vietnamese opposed to the Ky-Thieu government warned before the elections that observers would not see the frauds, and that the only purpose they would serve would be to validate an invalid election. An election official declared to a reporter from the *National Catholic Reporter*[1] That he expected to cheat, and that "you could send 10,000 observers—they never know . . . In the villages soldiers will fire guns in the air one kilometer away. They will say VC attack. People will not come to vote. The official, he will correct their vote anyway. He will count 1-2-3-4-41-42-43-56 . . ."

He went on to explain that the report of the balloting is written up in the evening by the senior election official (a Ky appointee), and the ballots then destroyed.

But even if the balloting had been scrupulously honest, the fact would be largely irrelevant. So much had been done before the balloting to assure victory for the Thieu-Ky ticket that fraud on election day may not have been needed.

WHO VOTED?

The 83% who reportedly voted were 83% of the *registered* voters, not of the population. Excluded were (1) all those living in "insecure" areas, which means areas controlled by the National Liberation Front (Vietcong), and (2) all voters who were considered "unreliable," *which in South Vietnam means people believed to be supporters of the NLF, or to stand for peace or neutralism, which are considered to be synonymous with communism.* Novak reported that in a random sampling of Saigon students he found that three out of eight families had been disqualified and not allowed to vote. Thus the enormous "peace vote" becomes even more significant, since the government had already tried to exclude those most likely to vote in this manner. By the American government's own figures (W. P. Bundy, *New York Times*, 9/8/67), 70% of South Vietnam's potential electorate were registered, so that approximately 56% voted. But this really means that the *number of ballots reported* amounted to 56% of the number of citizens of voting age. (This must be considered against the pre-election charge—and admission—that many soldiers had been given two voting cards each, that some civilian candidates charged that registration had leaped upward in certain remote regions just before elections, and that Mr. Dzu, who came in second, reported that only 10% of the voters in one district had come to the polls but a 90% vote had been recorded.) Thus, even if the balloting itself was strictly honest, Generals Thieu and Ky were elected by the votes of 34% of 56% of the electorate, or a total of 19% of South Vietnam's citizens of voting age.

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[1] Michael Novak, September 6, 1967.

ELECTED BY PLURALITY

Rules for the elections were set up by the Constituent Assembly, which in turn was elected in September, 1966. That election was so characterized by manipulation and fraud that the Buddhist leadership, whose actions had forced the elections to be held, publicly called for an election boycott. Here, too, public figures known to stand for peace or neutralism, as well as NLF supporters, were barred from becoming candidates, and American reporters noted that campaign speeches made no references to the war and government corruption, the two principal issues in the public mind.

Shortly after that election, a member of the Assembly widely considered to be a possible leader of peace sentiment, Tran Van Van, was assassinated. The government arrested and immediately executed a young man charged with being the assassin, and reported that he had been a Viet Cong terrorist. Shortly after, the government suspended publication of the *Vietnam Guardian*, an influential English-language Saigon newspaper, for reporting the widespread belief that the assassin actually had been a government agent.

The Assembly therefore, despite occasional flashes of independence, has been subservient to the government.

Its first major demonstration of that subservience was the agreement that the Presidential election would be decided by plurality (more votes than any other candidate's) rather than by majority (more than half the votes cast), and that therefore no run-off election need be held.

This decision was followed by a proliferation of civilian candidates, reportedly encouraged by the government and pressure by the military junta on General Ky (then a Presidential candidate) to take the Vice Presidential nomination under Thieu so that there would be only one military ticket to contest the election with a number of civilian tickets.

CANDIDATES OFF THE BALLOT

The second demonstration of subservience came with the Assembly's ruling off the ballot, in late July, the two candidates most likely to give the generals real trouble. These were General Duong Van Minh and Mr. Au Truong Thanh.

General Minh, though living in exile in Thailand, is one of South Vietnam's most popular figures. He announced his candidacy, and in its first vote the Assembly approved it. But General Ky refused to permit Minh to return to Vietnam to campaign, and in its second meeting the Assembly obediently removed him from the ballot.

Au Truong Thanh, a highly respected economist, had served in three South Vietnam cabinets, including General Ky's, from which he had resigned in protest this past spring. He announced his candidacy on a straight peace platform, with a crossed-out bomb as his symbol and "cease-fire" as his slogan. He, too, was first approved and then removed from the ballot by the Assembly, after the Ky police had announced that Thanh was a "Communist".

At the same time, the Assembly meekly revoked a ruling of its own committee denying Thieu and Ky a place on the ballot because they had refused to resign their government positions as required of all candidates by the Constitution, and had even refused to appear before the committee to defend themselves. The Assembly, acutely conscious of the loud and heavily armed presence of national police head General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, voted to put Thieu and Ky on the ballot.

CENSORSHIP

It is a truism that free elections are not possible in the absence of freedom of speech and of the press. In South Vietnam, censorship of the press has been so blatant as to have embarrassed even the U.S. Embassy, which reportedly brought heavy pressure on the Ky government to eliminate at least its most obvious manifestations: large white spaces appearing regularly on the pages of Vietnamese newspapers where the censor had bodily removed whole articles found offensive to the government. Other newspapers were suspended, and General Ky warned that any criticism of his government would be regarded as support for the enemy.

Shortly before the elections, the Thieu-Ky government announced the end of censorship; then, on the day before the election, General Thieu announced the suspension "for an indefinite period" of *Than Chung*, one of Saigon's most widely circulated newspapers and very much pro-peace, and a smaller paper, *Sang*. General Thieu explained that "even in a democracy one has a right to suspend newspapers that support totalitarians"—a charge that the publisher emphatically denied.

Even without the overt censorship, however, the press has literally taken its life in its hands with even the mildest criticism of the government or support of opposition to it. Allocation of newsprint is determined by the government, and newspaper publishers tempted to get "out of line" know how easily their businesses can be closed.

Thus very little appeared in the press about the positions or even identity of opposition candidates, while the papers were constantly filled with the statements and activities of the existing government.

CAMPAIGNING

The "rules" provided that candidates could not begin campaigning before August 1. General Ky, insisting that other candidates adhere rigidly to this rule, himself began campaigning openly and vigorously in June. Civilian candidates complained even after August 1 of continued harassment; most of them were not able even to visit many areas where the generals had organizations operating; Thieu-Ky posters blanketed the villages. Many vietnamese did not even know who was running, much less what they stood for.

THE PEACE ISSUE

I have reported before (Congressional Record of May 4, 1967, p. 11806) that my visits last winter to South Vietnam had convinced me of the truth of the assertions by Thich Nhat Hanh in his book[2] and elsewhere: (1) that the overwhelming desire of the South Vietnamese people is for peace, and (2) that there is a significant and vital peace movement coalesced around the Buddhist LaBoi and Catholic Song Dao movements. Their position is that it is *only* American military and economic pressure that keeps the Ky-Thieu government in power and the war continuing. Left to themselves, they say, they would form a genuinely representative government that would proceed at once to end the bombing, call for a cease-fire and proceed to negotiations for peace with the NLF and the North Vietnamese, and for military withdrawal with the United States.

The elections testify to the reality of this sentiment:

(1) The Thieu-Ky ticket was expected to get at least 40–50% of the vote, and probably more than half. General Thieu himself had said it would be difficult to govern with a vote of less than 40%. He actually received, in spite of all the advantages he had, 34.8%. *Even to get this, Thieu was compelled by the peace statements of other candidates to say, as campaigning was drawing to an end, that if elected he would initiate a bombing pause and negotiations with representatives of the NLF.*

(2) The three candidates next in order (Dzu, Suu and Huong) all had announced for peace. Together they polled 38% of the vote.

(3) Only one of the civilian tickets (Co-Sinh) supported the war and called for invasion of the north. It came in next to last, with a total of only 106,000 out of 4,700,000 votes cast. Thus the total anti-Thieu vote on the peace issue was approximately 2 to 1.

(4) With General Minh and Au Truong Thanh out, the experts had expected Tran Van Huong to run second to the generals, with Phan Khac Suu a possible close third. Both Huong and Suu are fairly well known, both having served as premier since the days of President Diem. Both men came out for peace in their platforms, but without much in the way of specifics.

But actually in second place, with 800,000 votes, was a Saigon lawyer, Truong Dinh Dzu, whose candidacy had been regarded as a joke by the experts. A Saigon lawyer, he had no national reputation except for having been jailed during the Diem regime for allegedly passing a bad check. But Dzu took a flat-footed peace stand not unlike that formerly taken by Au Truong Thanh, and criticized the Thieu-Ky government caustically for its prosecution of the war and for the corruption it had tolerated.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The people of South Vietnam, against immense obstacles, have shown unmistakably that they favor the end of the war through a cease-fire and negotiations with the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam. Even U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker declared: "It represents the desire of the country, of everyone, for peace."

2. If there were provision for a run-off election among the top winners, it is beyond doubt that they would elect a government that would end the war.

3. It is the United States that has maintained and presumably will maintain the Thieu-Ky government in power, and will continue the war.

4. The peace issue has been brought out in the open to such an extent that the Thieu-Ky government, with American support, may be expected to make some "peace moves", possibly including a new bombing "pause". But a "pause" is not the same thing as a "halt." Stop the bombing unconditionally, have said UN Secretary-General U Thant and the heads of the Soviet Union, and peace talks will begin shortly. But a pause, with resumption of the bombing and explicit or implicit threat, becomes an ultimatum, and warring powers do not accept ultimata.

In this and other ways, the "peace moves" of the new government are almost certain to be put in terms that will be unacceptable to the other side.

This will then make it possible for the Thieu-Ky-Johnson axis to announce piously that it has made every effort to end the war, but that the other side is unwilling to cooperate. This, in turn, will become the rationalization for continuation and escalation of the war.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

There is no easy way out of the impasse the United States is in, but more of the same promises only further tragedy. Responsibility of Americans is first to recognize the facts, and second to insist that our government act according to those facts.

Both supporters of American policy and its opponents insist on their desire that the Vietnamese be allowed to determine their own destiny. The elections reveal what that determination would be: peace. Those who are the spokesmen of the peace movement insist that only the total, unqualified support by the United States of the Thieu-Ky government prevents its replacement.

Therefore the United States must say that it stands for the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese, including their right to replace the Thieu-Ky government; that the elections reveal that an overwhelming majority want a different government; and that American military and economic support will be discontinued unless an opportunity is given for the honest and full expression of that will.

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[2] "Vietnam: Lotus In A Sea of Fire", Hill & Wang, 1967. $1.50.

Then let the Vietnamese take it from there.

ADDED NOTE—THE SENATE

The news that the new 60-member Senate will be dominated by 35 Catholic members—though Catholics number only 10% of the population—may seem to cast doubt on the foregoing analysis. It does not in fact. The Senate election was a monstrosity of complexity, that lent itself partly to the "lottery" description given it by Premier Ky, and partly to management by a disciplined minority.

It was the latter that triumphed for the Catholics. With 60 members to elect, each voter was given 48 cards, each with a slate of 10 names on it—a total of 480 candidates, most of them not known, all of them unreadable to the large number of illiterate voters. The Catholic Church, dominated in Saigon by the large northern refugee group, chose six slates; each pastor instructed his congregation which to vote for. Contributing to the effectiveness of this strategy was the fact that the three Senatorial slates supported by the Buddhists had been removed from the ballot, so that there was no coherent counterpressure from the Buddhists, who make up the vast majority of the population.

The danger here is that this domination of the Senate by representatives of the minority Catholics will renew the harsh hostilities between Catholics and Buddhists, which thoughtful leaders on both sides had been patiently reducing during the past two years. The situation is worsened—and made to look more sinister—by the release from prison by the Ky government of most of the imprisoned Diemist leaders just before the election. This action filled the Buddhists with apprehension, which is not likely to be reduced by the presence of some of these men in the Senate.

DOCUMENTATION

Much material is available on the subject of the elections. Most readers will find ample documentation in the following:

The New York Times, news columns, September 1, 1967.

"How to Cheat in an Election," by Michael Novak. *National Catholic Reporter*, September 6, 1967.

"South Vietnam's Captive Vote," by Tran Van Dinh. *The New Republic*, September 2, 1967.

tin tuong, organ of the Overseas Vietnamese Buddhist Association, August, 1967.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON ASKS AMERICA TO SHARE IN PEACEFUL PROGRESS FOR ASIA

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Senate has before it a proposal by President Johnson which is vital to a major aspect of U.S. foreign policy—the promotion of international cooperation.

This proposal asks that the United States contribute a share in free Asia's peaceful growth and development.

The Asian Development Bank was designed to promote regional development on a multilateral basis. Although this purpose is ostensibly economic, inherent in the function of the Bank is the objective of political cooperation.

We witness today, as we have for the past several years, a fierce struggle on the Asian continent—a struggle of both the hearts and minds of the Asian people. One need not be a political scientist to comprehend that the solutions to these problems are as complex as the problems themselves.

Regional economic development demands regional economic cooperation. The example of postwar Europe demonstrates the validity of political cooperation progressing concurrently with economic cooperation. Successful performance under conditions of economic harmony in Europe stimulated the desire for additional regional gain under conditions of wider political harmony.

The $200 million authorization request by the President will enable the Asian nations to cooperate for development in such fields as agriculture, the Mekong River Basin, and regional transportation and communication. These areas of economic development are obviously tremendously important to the peace and stability of Asia. It is in the highest interests of our Nation to promote this development and the underlying efforts for cooperation which it represents.

I wish to go on record, Mr. President, in support of the additional Special Fund authorization for the Asian Development Bank requested today by President Johnson. It is imperative that the United States continue to demonstrate its confidence in the future of the Asian people. And the Asian Development Bank symbolizes a bold and bright future for all the people of free Asia.

THE MOON BASE—ADDRESS BY DR. W. F. LIBBY

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, one of the most interesting speeches that I have seen in recent months is an address by Dr. W. F. Libby, professor of chemistry and director of the Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics at the University of California at Los Angeles. It was on the subject of "The Moon Base" and was delivered on August 14, 1967, to the structural engineering group, Douglas Aircraft Division and Reserve Officers of the U.S. Air Force.

Dr. Libby was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission and is and has been for a long time a very distinguished scientist. He has stated the case for space programs in a very excellent fashion, and I feel his words should be read by people who are interested in space science and also by Members of the Congress who wish testimony by an eminent scientist on what the space program can contribute.

Dr. Libby has argued that the space program has been one of the best bargains the American public has ever had. He points out that the Comsat alone, the international communications capability, is worth all the money we have spent. He adds that the defense uses of the space program as well have alone been worth the whole cost.

I was particularly pleased by his comments on the atomic situation, and his words can and should be heeded not only because of his standing as a scientist but because of his experience on the Atomic Energy Commission. He states that "In order to get man truly off the earth we've got to develop engines which are atomic in nature, which are more powerful even than the Rover/Phoebus/Nerva family now underway."

I recommend very highly that Senators read the message which Dr. Libby has provided. He tells us that it would cost a lot more if we do not establish the program now, and he again suggests that the space program is a very good bargain. I hope that his address will be remembered and his advice taken into consideration. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

THE MOON BASE

(By W. F. Libby, professor of chemistry and director, Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, UCLA, delivered August 14, 1967 to Structural Engineering Group, Douglas Aircraft Division and Reserve Officers of the U.S. Air Force)

I. INTRODUCTION

I want to speak this evening on behalf of a post Apollo objective for the Space Program worthy of this great project—a manned base on the moon. Before going into the argument for this project, I'll sketch a little bit about space science and the recent developments in space science as background for the argument for the moon laboratory. The Space Program has been an engineering miracle and a very substantial scientific effort. Part of the reason that success in science has been measured is that most scientists weren't sold on the Space Program in its beginning. Now I believe the majority of the scientific community is, to say the least, convinced of its value. I think they are being won over now because of the rather dramatic scientific contributions that have come out of it and of the promise it holds for future discovery. The doubts in the beginning were like those of the astronomers. You would have thought astronomers, for instance, would have known that a telescope outside the atmosphere would be a far more effective instrument than one on the ground. Well that wasn't quite the argument. The argument was if we had the same money we had been putting into the Space Program, and every school in the country could have a Mt. Palomar, that's what we prefer to having a telescope in orbit. Well this kind of reasoning was a little impractical so far as that decision ever coming up. And the possibility of cancelling the Space Program and doing anything else for science with that money is very small. Things don't work that way. So scientists have begun to take a look around and to see that there is a great deal in the Space Program from which they can gain. This is so in nearly all of the sciences. The vast amounts of money that have been poured into the Space Program are no longer looked on as being taken away from something else but as being part of the general national effort, rather like the Department of Defense. And this leads to a healthier assessment of values. So I think we'll see the scientific community coming around more and more as the program proceeds.

II. SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

The main achievement in space science so far has been in learning about our environment. I suppose that's to be expected. We've learned mainly about the nature of the interplanetary medium. We've learned that there isn't a perfect vacuum there and that there are strange and wonderful things to be seen in the so-called empty space of our solar system. We know for instance that the sun continuously gives off matter in a highly ionized form which blows off from the sun in a 400 kilometer per second wind, called the

Solar Wind, and this blows at varying strengths depending on the nature of the weather on the sun and delivers to us, or to our vicinity, fair samples, well perhaps not fair samples, but samples of solar matter. It is very tempting and interesting because of course we are very interested in the composition of the sun. The Solar Wind is deflected from the earth because it's ionized matter, that is it's plasma and the earth's magnetic field deflects it and one of the challenging problems of the future in space science is whether this deflection is complete, or whether a part of the Solar Wind gets into the earth. Many of us suspect that a part does get it, and we in fact think that the aurora borealis is Solar Wind. It leads to many interesting speculations as to whether the composition of the earth is entirely primeval in the sense that it dates from five billion years ago or whether it comes—whether it's constantly being made up by matter from the sun.

The Van Allen radiation belts surround the earth. The earth's magnetic field constitutes a kind of railroad track on which ionized particles run and these chase back and forth from the north to south pole and south to north pole and gradually move from east to west or west to east depending on wherever they're charged plus or minus, and so in this strange way constitute a kind of spherical shell shallow at the poles which surrounds them. The radiation intensity in these belts is very high indeed and constitutes a major hazard to space travel. It can be surmounted but it is something that one has to design a spaceship against. We have limited understanding of the origin of the material in the radiation belts but we know that the material that's in the belts is dumped out into the atmosphere at the poles. As the particles ricochet back and forth along the lines of course, they eventually hit the air and are caught so there is a constant drainage. Though we think that the major, probably the major, makeup is the Solar Wind, we really do not know where the material in the Van Allen radiation belts comes from, but we think it comes in part from the Solar Wind and in part from two other sources, and it remains for future research to elucidate this.

However it was from an investigation of our radiation belts that we began to understand the image of the great planet, Jupiter. Jupiter is a very strong and powerful source of microwave and radiowave radiation, and the image of Jupiter in the microwave is many times the size of the planet. So we think that what is happening is that the Van Allen radiation belts from Jupiter are very much more intense and powerful than they are on the earth and that this is the source for the microwave's radiation. We think the records of the microwave from Jupiter show this body in an image which is several times the enormous diameter of that great planet. With little doubt this image is that of the Van Allen radiation belts of Jupiter. On the other hand if we look at Venus or Mars none of this sort of thing is seen. So we are led to suspect that neither Venus nor Mars has a magnetic field. This happens to fit in with our flybys, the Mariners; although we weren't particularly tuned with the most sensitive magnetometers there was essentially no indication of a magnetic field around either of these planets. So the whole thing begins to make some sense. When you have a magnetic field you're going to have radiation belts. Since we know that Jupiter, or rather we think we know that Jupiter has very large magnetic fields, we begin to see a correlation between the magnetic field of a planet and the period of its rotation. The Venus day is nine months long, almost a year, and very little radiation belt, very little magnetic field. The Jupiter day is 10 hours. Now, this is not to say we understand why a planet rotating makes it magnetic, but we do begin to get a little peek into the secrets. We believe that it's possible that the rotation of a planet containing a metallic interior will cause a magnetic field to be generated. At UCLA we have a hydrodynamicist who maintains this to be true although he can't prove it completely. His mathematical arguments and model experiments have come a long way. We have independent reason to believe that the pressures which exist inside of the great planets naturally turn their inner matter into the metallic state. Experiments in the laboratory have shown that pressures of the order of those inside the earth would make a metal out of swiss cheese. The atoms are literally squeezed into a new state and it is probable that this state is metallic without exception. So we believe that the planet Venus is metallic inside and the trouble probably is that she isn't spinning. Well, this is an example of space science. We begin to go down the road and get a picture of things we didn't know about before.

Biology hasn't come into the picture much, but I believe the greatest scientific question of the whole space program is biological, namely, "Is there life on other planets?" So far there aren't many things you can put your finger on and say there have been major, scientific contributions in the biological, medical area. But in the moon trips and the Voyager sampling of Mars, biological science should come to the front. This problem of testing for life in a new planet is an incredibly difficult thing to do but it must be done. The problem of antisepsis, the problem of recognition of forms of life you've never seen before, the problem of the definition of life—I'm afraid we're hurting in this area, but believe we'll make it in time. We're working very hard at UCLA and I think I can say that our biology Space Program is one of the best in the country. We are the principal investigators on the biosatellite and are sending instrumented chimps into orbit and doing experiments which are pretty incisive in importance.

What is the nature of the origin of life? Now I can say that—I'm a physical chemist not a biologist, but I do think that in all honesty that's the real question. I have the firm hunch that there is life on the other planets but it's just a hunch. My reasoning is that the conditions for life probably exist there and that therefore life may exist there. Extensive studies of meteorites have shown that these heavenly stones may be good samples of the beginning of our solar system. The reason we have to believe this is that we find locked-in minerals in them which are so delicate that had they been heated to as little as two or three hundred degrees they would have been destroyed, and yet we know these substances cannot be older than one hundred million years from time zero or rather from the end of the time when the atoms themselves were being produced. Let me tell you a little about this point.

There is a special form of iodine, an iodine isotope which is radioactive with the lifetime of some 25 million years, an iodine isotope of mass 129. Now, when it decays it gives the noble gas xenon isotope of mass 129, and what is found is that certain minerals in these meteorites which are rich in ordinary iodine contain xenon 129 and that these minerals when heated up to 200–300 degrees give out the xenon. Now just think about that for a minute. There is little if any chemical affinity of this particular mineral for xenon. Xenon is a noble gas and the xenon that is contained in these minerals is rich in this isotope while the xenon in the air is poor in this isotope. The one other distinguishing feature of these minerals is that they like iodine. Furthermore, from the amount of xenon and the amount of iodine we can say that when the rock was crystallized the proportion of the radioactive and the stable iodine was not less than one in ten thousand, since this is the ratio of xenon 129 to ordinary iodine (127) atoms that we find today. These facts probably mean that the mineral was crystallized very early, probably not later than 50 or 100 million years of when the atoms themselves were formed.

Well Space Science gets us to looking right down the throat of this thing, where things came from. There is very very little doubt that the meteorites which fall are primeval material.

Meteorites also contain the food stuffs for life. In them are complicated organic substances which appear to be entirely capable of sustaining life. In fact I have a project right now to get some microbiologists to see if they can't train a bacterium to eat the organic matter in these meteorites and make proteins. The oil companies have done just this with crude oil and this meteoritic organic is similar in some ways to crude oil in composition. Thus it becomes more and more likely that the original matter in the beginning had primeval organic materials which could sustain and support the birth of life. This leads us to the thought that possibly all of the planets, including the Earth, Jupiter, Venus, Mars and the Moon were made up with their fair complement of this organic soup.

One of England's most famous scientists last December wrote an article in the magazine Nature (Nat. *212,* 1291-(1966)) saying this. Sir Robert Robinson argued before the Royal Institution on November 11 that part of our petroleum is inorganic in origin. Part of our petroleum is 5 billion years old, as old as the earth and the solar system, he suggests. Well, last week North American Science Center had a press conference. Maybe some of you read about it. They said they had been looking at the Gemini pictures, the pictures the boys had taken with the handheld cameras (put out in a little red book of NASA's, a beautiful coffee-table piece). Then in examining these pictures in detail they claim they found some new fault systems in the continent of Africa. They see things in this way that had never been seen before. And I am told the great middle-eastern oil fields seem to be associated with these great fault systems. So I expect that the moon has organic matter and is full of potential food stuffs.

Possibly there is little to prevent it unless there has been extensive volcanism. And I feel some evidence exists in the Surveyor pictures that volcanism on the moon is limited. In particular I imagine seeing in those Surveyor III pictures where the spacecraft was digging that little trench and the soil was blacker down underneath that this is due to organic matter.

So, I wouldn't be at all surprised if we find life on the moon, a very low form, living off of this stuff. It is going to be a tough, tough thing to recognize it and be certain it wasn't due to contamination because it probably is a pretty good nutrient medium. There are, of course, definite possibilities of making the distinction because the forms of life may be quite different from anything we know. There is the interesting possibility that since terrestrial life is all in the sense of molecular geometry of the same type, in that the mirror images of our molecules do not live here, that one could conclusively prove the extraterrestrial nature of life discovered on the moon by finding the molecules to be the mirror images of ours. I think one would say life in originating on a separate planet would have half a chance of turning out to be of the opposite geometry. Thus if we find that is true on the moon we'll know there is extraterrestrial life.

III. ARGUMENT FOR THE MOON BASE

I hope we undertake to build a base on the moon for several reasons—many of them scientific but many of them not scientific. I think having gone to the effort to go to the moon, we shouldn't just turn around and come home. That's first.

The second point is that the Space Program has been one of the best bargains the American public has ever had. The Comsat alone, the international communications capability, is worth all the money we've spent. The defense uses of the Space Program as well have alone been worth the whole cost. And I just plain hate to see the thing die. I believe that when we get a good group of engineers and scientists working together in something they really believe in, the effort is worth the cost almost whatever they are aiming at. If they are good people who are trying to do things and trying to achieve their set goal the inadvertent benefits or "spin off" as Mr. Webb calls it will more than pay the cost.

We have every reason to suppose that we've only scratched the surface in the results of the Space Program and a base on the moon would give us a chance to keep the momentum we have attained.

It would allow us to do things scientifically unparalleled. An observatory with telescopes there would of course make a new science of astronomy, and there are many other things one could do there, even chemistry. Air is a very very vicious chemical. You like it all right, but it's a very very vicious chemical and there are many things we can't make on earth because of the air. And I as a chemist look forward to the day when we will have a laboratory in orbit or on the moon so we can do some chemical reactions without air. Now this is not a very great aim but it has its merits. I have a couple of students whose degree thesis is to grow a diamond the size of a grapefruit from carbon vapor. We think the only reason this experiment, which incidentally has been tried many times, has failed in the past is air and we are trying very hard to get a vacuum in our labs which will approximate what you have in orbit or on the moon. So it isn't only astronomy which would benefit from the moon base but all the sciences would.

The origin of the solar system would be much clearer if we had a base there, for we probably will not solve that great mystery by analyzing the few bags of material the Apollo astronauts bring back.

If I'm correct about the composition of the moon and it does indeed contain substantial amounts of organic matter, this would go a long way towards telling us the answer to many basic questions like the origin of our atmosphere and possibly the timing of the beginning of life on earth. We then might understand better about Mars and Venus and the other planets.

If we developed the ability to live on the moon we would be far along toward the development of the hardware necessary for the exploration of the rest of the solar system, and conversely if we don't establish a base on the moon man in a very real sense is likely to remain earth bound. It's that serious. In order to establish a base on the moon we would have to develop Space engines which are much more efficient and much more powerful than the engines we now have, and it certainly is true that powerful engines are a principal need in order for us to explore the solar system. In order to get man truly off the earth we've got to develop engines which are atomic in nature, which are more powerful even than the Rover/Phoebus/Nerva family now underway. These engines are powerful enough for the moon base but they are earth bound too in that they have to have their liquid hydrogen replaced periodically. We've got to develop plasma engines with atomic power plants sufficiently powerful to run them. This is one thing which would get us loose. Now it could be if we go to the moon and find lots of organic matter it could be that what I am saying about the need for atomic engines isn't quite so true. We might be able to make hydrogen on the moon if it is full of oils and organic matter. This certainly might not be impossible. And not even too difficult. If we could make hydrogen on the moon to resupply the Nerva engine, we would really have something which although not capable of a two weeks manned trip to Mars would go a long way toward manned exploration of the solar system.

We would say that the moon project probably cannot be brought to full fruition without culminating it with a moon base. I'm very much for post Apollo programs for the reasons I've indicated. This is a great project with a lot of benefits coming out of it and let's keep it going. It's wonderful. We've had serious debate about the Voyager Program (the unmanned mission to Mars) and as you've gathered from my remarks I'd much rather have a moon base be our next objective, but we've got to have some post Apollo objective and the heads of NASA have chosen this unmanned program as their objective for reasons that I can well understand. It's cheaper.

However, to honestly propose a moon base we've got to consider the logistics and I'd like to turn now to consider for a little bit whether a manned base on the moon is nonsense.

What are the problems? Well, I guess the first thing you think about is air. You've got to have air to breath and you can show quickly that if you have to haul it off of the earth you probably can't afford it. So perhaps the first thing you have to do is figure a source of air, or rather a source of oxygen. Now I believe this would be feasible if we could run an atomic reactor, because such an atomic reactor would give electricity with which to melt and electrolyze rock, which would give oxygen. This seems to be entirely feasible although laboratory tests should be run. So the question really is, "Can you run an atomic reactor without cooling water?" Now this turns out to be an old question in the Space Program. When I was on the AEC (1954 to 1959) years ago we already were heading into the matter of cooling a reactor in space. The problem has never really been solved completely but I think on the moon surface we would have a good chance, for it might be possible to use the material on the moon itself for cooling. Anyhow we should do the necessary experiments to see whether it's so. I think it's so and I think it's not even very difficult, but worse come to worse we could deploy radiators and at some cost in weight haul up the necessary liquid metal to transport the heat to the radiators.

With an atomic power plant of several megawatts on the moon we would have a supply of oxygen which would be quite adequate. Now with oxygen, and supposing we are correct about the organic matter being present, we could get carbon dioxide and water and from this we should be able to grow some food. We would have a greenhouse in which carbon dioxide and water is contained. Obviously, there is plenty of sunlight, although there is an interesting point here. The lunar day is two weeks long, two weeks by our time and the night is very cold so it looks like the crops would have to grow to maturity in that one day and be harvested in the lunar evening. I've talked to quite a few botanists about this problem and there aren't too many plants that like this treatment but there are some. This is an area of research which we should push to see if the moon base is a reasonable idea. There is no doubt that we could raise animals if we could get green feed for them. The real central problem of food on the moon probably is the moon garden, although we urgently need a firm answer to the question of whether there is organic matter there because of course you can't raise food on the moon unless there is carbon. We bet that there is, but we should know as soon as the first samples are back.

Professor Thomas Gold of Cornell University maintains that there may be large amounts of water on the moon in the form of subterranean glaciers which have been buried there and retained by a foot or so of loose dust and that this diffusion block has prevented the water from evaporating into space. He maintains that the shape of the maria looks as though they are lying on glaciers, and he makes a very credible story. He gave a lecture at UCLA about two months ago on his arguments for this and it really is a convincing case. Some of these miraculous things we are talking about probably are true and would make a base much more credible. I would say that if we have to haul up our food stuff and everything else we still might be able to get by with a moon base but it would be much more expensive and we need a break or two to make it go—such as water and organic matter. Thus we see that the Apollo samples are very important to the moon base project.

Now the ferrying service which would have to run would be quite expensive and we should work on this very strenuously. We envisage the carriage ship as being a Rover/Phoebus/Nerva atomic ship which is reusable. Now look at that job. When this engine returns from a trip to the moon and goes into orbit around the earth it is in a very, very radioactive state and depleted in its liquid hydrogen supply. It still could run at full power for several more round trips if it were resupplied with the liquid hydrogen it needs to use for propulsion. Therefore the prime job is to reload it with the many tons of liquid hydrogen it needs without getting burned from the radioactive radiation from the reactor. This is an engineering and logistics job with a great payoff, and it appears to me to be no more difficult than several of the great feats our space engineers already have behind them.

Another problem is the design of the telescope for the observatory. This is an interesting challenge too. How would the dome be built? What would the low gravity mean for the bearing design problems? How would large changes in temperature be handled? This instrument undoubtedly can be built but it involves an enormous amount of enterprising, imaginative mechanical engineering, and so on for many other questions such as the nature of the housing. I think it's clear that the housing would have to be underground because of the thermal problem and the difficulty of retainng an atmosphere.

The problem of transport around the surface of the moon are severe and the problems of communication substantial. The moon having no atmosphere isn't able to support an ionosphere and one can't broadcast beyond the horizon which is only some 7 miles away. It has been suggested that we could bounce radio signals off the earth, but this is a little difficult considering the several seconds delay. However, the escape velocity on the moon is low enough so that an ordinary rifle bullet will go into orbit and thus transport of messages is feasible in this way. Also we would be able to put up masts and antenna for radio.

There are ways of getting around most of these obstacles but we need a post Apollo objective like the moon base in order to start the program with these numerous feasibility studies. We need to have it soon I'm afraid in order that we not lose the momentum. What will it cost? I wouldn't have the faintest idea but the funding could be taken in steps, first for the feasibility studies and experiments and later for the full job. I believe this, it will cost a lot more if we don't do it, a lot more. Loss in benefits will be much more than the cost. I don't think we have any trouble right now in saying the Space Program is a very good bargain. I know looking back on the AEC that that was one of the very best bargains this country has ever had and I think the Space Program may come close to being as good a one if we just have the courage and sense to back it. You know the average person has a kind of understanding of things that we specialists perhaps lose. The average person I'm sure responds as I do to the question, "Why go to the moon if we aren't going to make a colony there?" It makes sense. And I believe this kind of good common sense which we have will carry us through in the end. You know NASA wasn't cut too much this year considering all of their sad difficulties. People are behind this thing for one reason or another.

These vast projects which bring our great technological talent together in common purpose give us our main way of reducing scientific results to practice. Let me tell you a secret: nothing is more ineffective than hiring an engineer to go to the library to read and come back and invent something. Nothing is less effective than that. And so it is that our milking of the good things, the benefits from fundamental science come through these big projects. I remember on the AEC several times we had projects which were cancelled. The aircraft nuclear powered airplane was one of them. That thing cost a billion dollars and I'll bet that if you were to go back and do a fair study of it that the people would be seen benefited to a good fraction of that billion dollars. We did such a study on a project which was known as the MTA project which cost some 300 million. It was a project to make plutonium by building an accelerator to use high intensity beams of deuterons to bombard uranium metal. It was supposed to be cheaper than the Hanford and Savannah River methods using reactors. Well we got about 300 million dollars down the road on that when we realized it wasn't going to be cheaper so we cancelled it. But later we went over the whole project about two years afterwards to see what had happened in the way of payback. The device used a vacuum tank about 60 feet in diameter and 300 hundreds feet long and the technology of making that vacuum tank was directly applicable to the space chambers needed later in the Space Program. The radio frequency power tubes which were used to accelerate the enormous many empere deutron beams constitute the base of our present technology of modern powerful radio frequency power stations. The large vacuum pumps with intakes one yard or more in diameter were developed there. These have found wide use since.

I wouldn't go so far as to say that even if the Space Program were truly pointless in main purpose that just so long as the people working on it believed in it it would still be a pretty good idea. But I'm sometimes tempted to put forward the principle that when you've got your technologists and your industry and your scientists, at least a good fraction of them, sold on something go for it. To some extent also the converse is true. There's no use setting a national goal and appropriating money unless the people who have to do the job believe in it. There is no use saying I'm going to cure cancer unless you've got somebody who has an idea and believes in it. I think we've got to speak up because the Congress and the people, with the cost of Viet Nam and so on, are concerned about the very very large expenditures and we could make an extremely grievous error by breaking off this great project for the Viet Nam war cost. We'll fight the Viet Nam war better with this program strong.

NEEDED: WELFARE REFORM, NOT PUNITIVE ACTION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, to my mind, one of the great issues facing the 90th Congress is the need for effective and far-reaching reform of the welfare system. That system is inadequate in scope and often degrading in its operation.

Yet the other body has passed amendments to the Social Security Act which would, in many respects, further degrade both the system and the recipient alike.

Last week I testified before the Committee on Finance in opposition to certain of the provisions of H.R. 12080 and laid before the committee what I think to be constructive proposals for the amendment of the Social Security Act, including its provisions with respect to social security benefits, public assistance, and medicaid.

I ask unanimous consent that my testimony be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEEDED: WELFARE REFORM, NOT PUNITIVE ACTION

I welcome this opportunity to appear before you to testify on H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments as passed by the House of Representatives. This bill is one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the Congress this year because it proposes far-reaching changes in the social security system.

Before discussing those portions of the bill dealing with Old Age, Survivors and Dependents Insurance, I would like to comment on the most far-reaching and controversial changes—those involving public assistance and particularly Aid for Families with Dependent Children—the AFDC program.

To a large extent concerned Congressional reaction can be traced to the staggering increase in cost of the four Federally-assisted welfare programs in recent years: the combined Federal-state-local price tag has risen from $4.2 billion in 1962 to $6.1 billion in fiscal year 1966. And though over 7 million people are now receiving public assistance, this reflects only one-third to one-half of those who are eligible for payments. The growth of the welfare rolls has been particularly dramatic in the big cities. In New York City, for example, the monthly average of recipients has risen from 531,000 in 1965 to 670,000 at present, and it continues to rise at over 12,000 per month.

In view of such staggering costs—costs which are increasing despite the emergence of new antipoverty programs—I can understand that Congress might be impatient even in its compassion. Massive changes in the welfare system are urgently needed. But what strikes one immediately about H.R. 12080 is the philosophy upon which those changes have been based. In its effect, it becomes a punitive and coercive approach which seems founded upon the belief that welfare recipients are universally shiftless and satisfied with being dependent upon a dole. It proceeds from the assumption that the recipient's status is self-imposed and that it is up to the Government to condition its assistance in such a way as to transform the attitudes and motivations of welfare recipients into something comparable with those of middle-class America. In my view, it represents a great leap backward in terms of social legislation and Congressional understanding of the problem.

Since I know that this Committee has already received a great volume of testimony which disects and analyzes that bill, I will deal only briefly with the specific provisions of H.R. 12080. But three of the most troublesome points deserve mention.

First, I must strongly oppose the compulsory work and training aspects of the bill. We have the virtually unanimous testimony of the experts that such coercion has not worked in the past. We have our own common sense to tell us that forced work cannot instill motivation, but instead is likely to increase hostility and resentment. People will learn and earn successfully only if they have some desire to do so, and where they do not have that desire the result will be sporadic attendance and poor performance. Moreover, this coercive work and training approach is based on a false assumption about the characteristics of those who are receiving welfare. In fact, only 1 percent of those on the welfare rolls are potentially employable men, although in some places that figure is slightly higher; for example, in New York City it is 4 percent.

It is true that the public assistance rolls also include many potentially employable mothers who are now engaged in taking care of their children. I am not one of those who thinks that these mothers must invariably be left at home with the family; rather, these mothers on welfare should be given the same opportunity enjoyed by middle and upper income mothers to accept employment. *But the choice should be voluntary*—it should be theirs to make and should not be vested in some supposedly omniscient state or local bureaucracy. I have introduced legislation which seeks to give these welfare mothers such a free choice by providing Federal assistance for day care facilities, and I hope that the Committee will take the structure and philosophy of my bill (S. 1948) into consideration in designing any day care program under this Act.

I fear that the compulsory work and training provisions also dangerously misread the climate in the ghettos and the depressed rural areas of this country. We are in the midst of a "revolution" in which the poor of the nation, so long denied equal opportunity, are awakening to their rights and powers and are gaining in new self-confidence of self assertion. The philosophy of the House bill runs exactly counter to that development and can only serve to exacerbate tensions and to further convince slum dwellers that the "power structure" will never respond to their legitimate needs.

And certainly this bill does not recognize the simple fact that many of the poor do wish to work and need no external coercion: a Department of Labor survey taken in the slums of New York shows that over 75 percent of the unemployed would be willing to take training to get a job, that over 55 percent would return to school if necessary, and that 25 percent would be willing to move to another area to get work. Rather than compelling welfare recipients to enter work or training, the better course would seem to be to greatly expand the opportunities for work and training and the knowledge about such opportunities. We can hardly be justified in moving toward a compulsory system when we have not given voluntarism a chance.

In this connection I would like to commend to the attention of the members of the Committee the Emergency Employment Act of 1967, which has been approved by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and which will be called up on the Senate floor within a very few days. This bill would make some 200,000 job opportunities available for the poor. Job creation activities such as these must be at the heart of any effort to cut down on the size of the welfare rolls.

Second, I would urge the members of the Committee to vest the authority for the establishment and operation of any community work and training program which is enacted in the Department of Labor. Surely it makes no sense to create a separate set of work and training programs for some of the poor under the aegis of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, when the Department of Labor has mounted a great variety of manpower training efforts for persons of exactly the same characteristics. The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which I am the ranking Minority member, has received persuasive testimony on the need to consolidate the many Federal manpower programs under the direction of the Secretary of Labor. I would like to submit for the record a report by Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, entitled "Making Sense of Federal Manpower Policy", which persuasively makes this case. Moreover, not only does the logic of coordination demand this consolidation of manpower programs, but there is every reason to believe that state and local departments of welfare often lack the capacity and expertise to conduct successful training programs. A report prepared by an independent consultant to the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty on the operation by the Welfare Administration of the Work Experience and Training Program under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act makes that lack of expertise clear, and I would like to submit that report for the hearing record. I would urge the members of this Committee to give this matter of administrative coordination and consolidation its urgent attention, taking into consideration the reports and conclusions which have come to us on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which has the primary jurisdiction in these matters.

Third, I would urge the Committee to reject the freeze on Federal AFDC payments which is contained in the House bill. As has been pointed out to you, the effect of such a freeze will either be a passing on to the States and localities of all the costs of additional enrollments, or a lessening of the amount of assistance available to each child in the family. This provision constitutes an outrageous discrimination against states and cities, such as my own, which, by virtue of their relatively high employment opportunities and welfare benefits, are attracting large numbers of migrants. H.R. 12080 would penalize such states and cities by throwing the entire burden of additional welfare costs caused by migration upon their already overburdened fiscal shoulders. This action, in assigning the responsibility for dealing with a national problem to a small number of State and local governments, should be decisively rejected by this Committee.

NEW PROPOSALS

But instead of simply reviewing the pernicious provisions of H.R. 12080, I can spend our time together this morning more profitably by offering for the Committee's consideration several proposals which appear in neither the House bill nor the Administration bill. *I will be offering these proposals as amendments in the days ahead, and I hope that at least some will commend themselves to the Committee for inclusion in a progressive reform of the public assistance law.*

First, we must move to eliminate the so-called man-in-the-house rule. In 1962 the Congress gave the States the option of ignoring the presence of a man in the house in determining eligibility under the AFDC program, but 28 States and the District of Columbia have still not taken advantage of this option. In those jurisdictions, the father who cannot support his family is given a choice between leaving his wife and children or seeing the family go hungry—it's as simple as that. The disruptive effect on family stability of this characteristic of the law has been pointed out by every possible variety of expert, and still the Congress has not moved to correct the situation. A mandatory extension to all States of the 1962 program—the so-called AFDC–UP program—would cost the Federal Government only about $60 million per year and would be well worth it.

Second, the law should be amended to allow for a simple affidavit or declaration of income by the recipient to replace the elaborate system of forms and investigations now used to determine eligibility. A random sample of the affidavits could be investigated, as in the internal revenue system's handling of income tax returns, to provide a check. Such a system is now being tried on an experimental basis in New York City and the first results indicate that there has been no significant falsification by recipients. Through such a simple administrative change, millions of dollars could be saved in reduced paper work, and hard pressed caseworkers would be enabled to apply their professional talents to people instead of to forms and figures.

Third, we should increase the participation of welfare recipients themselves in the conduct of the public assistance program by requiring that State and local departments of welfare create advisory councils of welfare recipients. Opening up channels of communication between program administrators and program clients should go a long way toward alleviating some of the onerous defects in the mechanics of the program.

Fourth, I support the position of the National Association of Social Workers that the earnings exemption for AFDC families be raised to $85 a month, plus one-half of the remainder.

Fifth, in order to provide a constructive incentive to men and women to undertake or remain in employment rather than to take up a life on welfare, the Federal Government should provide assistance to help make up the difference between a person's earnings and what he would receive on welfare if that amount is higher. Such a program is now in effect in New York State and in a few other jurisdictions, but its costs are entirely borne by state and local contributions. Such a supplemental assistance program should be Federally supported and extended on a nation-wide basis, and should be coupled with enactment of the provision in the Administration's bill which requires the States to pay benefits at least equal to their own determinations of minimum need.

Sixth, we should inaugurate a pilot project to begin to collect hard evidence on the desirability of moving toward some kind of automatic, guaranteed income program as a partial replacement for our present panoply of welfare and rehabilitation aids. In my view, *the most attractive of the suggested guaranteed income models is the children's allowance, now being used in over 40 countries.* Under such a scheme, the provision of services is fully separated from income payments—a cherished goal of social welfare professionals—and the stigma of welfare is substantially if not completely eliminated because payments are automatic and because others than those in the low-income category receive the allowances. *I will propose that $10 million be allocated for a comprehensive pilot project to test the efficacy of the children's allowance scheme,* experimenting with different approaches by varying the size of the payments, the eligibility levels in terms of number of children and family income, and the impact on motivation—including the willingness of the parents to undertake needed education, training or employment.

This seven-point package contains hard proposals which I hope can be acted upon this year. I believe that they, more than the provisions of H.R. 12080, will assist in the reduction of the welfare rolls. In any case, Congress must not let its impatience with the cost of the public assistance effort prompt it into harsh and irrational reaction. The need for reforms of the welfare system has been with us for a long time; as Demosthenes put it over 2000 years ago, "Like the diet prescribed by doctors, which neither restores the strength of the patient nor allows him to succumb, so these doles that you are now distributing neither suffice to ensure your safety nor allow you to renounce them and try something else." Let us then react with intelligence and wisdom to the need for reform, and in a manner which will bring crdit to this Congress.

The Congress and the people have already made clear that the riots will not be tolerated but resentment leading to punitive action, against whole communities where the great majority did not riot, will not be tolerated either. We must stick to the merits and redress basic grievances in the slums and that is the true heart of government.

SOCIAL SECURITY

For many elderly and disabled people, social security benefits are the sole means of support. Thus, Social Security is a prime—perhaps the major—weapon in our "war against poverty." It is, of course, essential that we regularly raise benefits to the extent necessary to keep pace with increases in the cost of living.

However, I believe that this bill offers us a unique opportunity to go beyond merely "keeping pace." I believe that it is time we begin moving toward the full promise made to the American people when the Social Security Law was first enacted: that is, that every American could live out his life in dignity and economic security rather than hopelessness and poverty. We should now move toward a social security system in which *every* older person is provided with a basic level of benefits which will lift them above the poverty level. I look forward to the day when public assistance for older and disabled persons will not be necessary, when every person in these categories will automatically receive an adequate level of minimum social security benefits and will not have to endure the humiliating—and economically wasteful—process of establishing "financial need" in order to qualify for public assistance.

If this is our goal then we must recognize that the Social Security Bill approved by the House does not do what it should, even now. The "across-the-board" increase in benefits should be greater than the 12½% which is provided. Perhaps of even greater importance, the benefits at the lower end of the scale—the minimum benefits provisions—should be substantially increased. The $70 minimum benefit called for in the original bill, H.R. 5710, would seem the least we could do. Certainly, the $50-a-month minimum now in the present bill is not adequate.

Within the present system, it would appear that the most equitable manner of financing these needed increases would be to increase the maximum earnings base subject to contributions and creditable benefits. This would recognize the substantial increase in average total earnings over the past several years—as well as the likelihood of further increases. The House bill does provide for an increase in the contribution and benefit base from $6,600 a year to $7,600. I believe the increase in the base can and should be greater.

The original goal of the social security program was that the contribution and benefit base was to be roughly equivalent to the full earnings of the individuals covered. We have drifted far from that. Information from the Social Security Administration indicates that the present base of $6,600 is equal to the total earnings of something less than 50% of the people covered. The $7,600 base provided for in H.R. 12080 would cover the full earnings of no more than 64% of the participants in the social security system. It is estimated that a base of $15,000 in 1968 would be necessary to cover the full earnings of most (95%) social security participants. Between the $7,600 base provided for in the bill before you and $15,000, there is ample room for increase if we are to approach the original intent of the contribution and benefit base—and if we are to acquire the means to finance the necessary increases in benefits.

I would urge that this Committee consider two other changes in this portion of the bill:

First, we should provide for automatic cost-of-living increases in social security benefits. This is really the only effective way that people living on social security benefits can adjust to losses in purchasing power due to rising prices.

Second, the earnings limitation should be, at minimum increased to an extent greater than provided in the bill now before this Committee. H.R. 12080 increases the amount a person may earn and still get all his benefits from $1,500 to $1,680 a year. The amount to which the $1 for $2 reduction would apply would range from $1,680 to $2,880 a year, rather than from $1,500 to $2,700 as current law provides.

To make these changes in OASDI will not destroy the essential wage-related, contributory nature of the social security system. Indeed, it will strengthen the concept, while recognizing, at the same time, that social security's goals and effects are greater than this. Social security has—and must—respond to social needs. There is basis—for example, in the coverage of disabled persons—for giving adequate benefits to the lowest income participants in the social security system and to those who were never able to contribute in full.

I believe that these minimum changes must be made in the social security system if we are to keep fully the promises we first made thirty years ago.

MEDICARE

The Medicare program is a relatively new program—and I am proud of the role I played in the long battle to establish it. Unquestionably, as with any program so large and so revolutionary, two years is not sufficient time to judge its effectiveness or full impact.

I would, however, suggest two changes in the program at this time:

First, the disabled should be extended coverage under the health insurance program in this bill. I am not convinced of the necessity of further study of the feasibility of including the disabled. The factors which motivated the creation of the Medicare program in the first place apply with equally compelling force—if not greater—to the situation of disabled persons.

Second, in 1965 I urged this Committee to include out-of-hospital drug costs under the supplementary medical insurance program. As has been pointed out frequently, the cost of prescription drugs is a significant one for older Americans. This cost can be a fearful—and continuing—drain on the fixed income of retired persons.

MEDICAID

The provision in H.R. 12080 which would limit participation of the Federal government in states' medical assistance programs is grossly unfair and would defeat the very purposes for which this program was enacted.

Under the bill, states would be limited in setting income levels for eligibility to medicaid, for which federal matching funds would be available. The applicable income limitation is the amount equivalent to 133⅓ percent of the highest amount ordinarily paid to a family of the same size under the AFDC program. Such limitation deprives the states of their initiative in determining the applicable income level. States should be permitted to set their own limits.

Under the applicable provision of this bill, some fourteen states would have to cut back the medical assistance programs they established under Title XIX. In particular, I think it fair to say that this limitation would have a particularly adverse effect on my own state of New York, which is now to be punished for the breadth and comprehensiveness of its program.

I strongly urge this Committee to alter substantially this provision limiting federal particiaption in state medicaid program. It is a regressive step—a step which, I do not believe, should be accepted by this Committee.

New York is one of the states which already has established a medicaid program. Accordingly, under this bill, the limitation would be 150% of the amount ordinarily paid to a comparably sized family under AFDC in 1968—dropping to 133⅓% by 1970. While it is difficult to determine exactly the full effect of this limitation upon New York States, it is estimated that 10% of those now participating in the program would be ineligible next year.

The reasoning which applied to the original program is just as persuasive now as it was then: to protect a large proportion of the population from financial ruin and poverty by guaranteeing medical care. I argued in 1965 that the states be given maximum flexibility to experiment with different eligibility formulas. I still believe that to be necessary, and I do not believe it is necessary that the states be inhibited from experimenting with different income levels in order to limit federal participation.

One must realistically accept the likelihood of some ceiling on federal participation. It would appear to me that the Congress of the United States owes a special obligation to New York and other states, which, in good faith, have enacted broad Medicaid programs in complying with the original federal legislation. These states encouraged, enrolled, and offered medical care to their citizens. Now they must ask a large proportion of them to give up the protection just recently extended to them.

As a minimum, I would urge this Committee to amend the limitation on federal participation in state medical assistance programs so that the ceiling shall be 150% of the eligibility level for cash assistance. Such a ceiling would at least recognize the promise made in the original bill and would avoid the danger of a definition of medically indigency too low and overly strict.

In addition, in the last Congress, I offered three amendments to Title 19 designed specifically to reduce the cost of the New York program by removing certain Federal requirements which were not only costly but, in my judgment, unnecessary. I am pleased that the bill, as passed by the House, reflects at least one of these suggestions, by removing the requirement that all medicaid recipients receive identical benefits. It is my understanding that Section 223 makes it possible to provide certain benefits to the elderly indigent without making them available to all age groups.

My remaining suggestions are still valid, and would allow states like New York—with broad eligibility—to reduce the cost of providing essential services. First, we should allow for some flexibility in establishing income eligibility standards. The Federal law now requires that these standards be the same throughout the state. This does not take into account differing average income and health costs in geographic regions of the same state, and I believe the State should be allowed to make such distinctions where necessary and practical.

Second, the Federal law now provides that a deductible feature in any state plan would be acceptable so far as medical bills are concerned, but it could not be required with regard to hospital bills. My proposal would have eliminated this prohibition with reference to hospital bills and would have allowed New York State to revise its plan, for example, to provide that 20% of income over the present eligibility levels ($5300 for hospital bills and $4700 for medical and hospital bills) be used for health expenses before the state would provide supplements.

I urge the Committee to consider carefully these suggestions and reserve my right to offer them as amendments on the floor, if necessary.

SINGAPORE COUNSELS PATIENCE

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, in an interview with Walker Stone, editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, calls the war in his quarter of the world a "test of wills," and offers the opinion that no search for a negotiated settlement is likely to prove productive; that the American people will have to test their patience and resolution against that of the adversary in Asia. It is a sobering thought, Mr. President, but, I suspect, a very realistic one and the answer to whether or not the United States has the patience and resolution will determine whether there are to be future Vietnam-type infiltrations into Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and down the Malay Peninsula to Prime Minister Lee's island republic. I ask unanimous consent that Walker Stone's interview, as reported in the Washington Daily News, September 25 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEES VIETNAM AS TEST OF WILLS—SINGAPORE COUNSELS PATIENCE

(By Walker Stone)

SINGAPORE, September 25.—When Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew visits the U.S. in mid-October he'll be coming primarily not to seek economic or military aid, or even trade and capital investment, but to assess the American people's patience and the American government's resolution in regard to Vietnam.

That patience and resolution, Premier Lee believes, will determine largely the political climate in which his 224-square-mile, city-state will have to survive in the years ahead.

Will the U.S. finish what she has undertaken in Vietnam—to halt communist aggression—or will she settle for something less and give encouragement to future Vietnam-type infiltrations into Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and down the Malay Peninsula to this island republic?

MAIN FEAR

Premier Lee is not worried about overt aggression. He's concerned with encouraged-from-without insurrection that can be made to boil up inside a new entity of people seeking nationhood.

He has had plenty of experience dealing with inside turmoil in the eight years since the British granted independence to the Malaysian Federation. It is two years since the Malays kicked his 80 per cent Chinese city out of the Federation. He has here now a state viable under present conditions.

Commerce is thriving and Singapore's living standards are second only to Japan's in Asia. A new housing unit is built every 45 minutes to accommodate a population that has doubled in the last 10 years. Most of the communists who tried to prevent this boom are now jailed, deported or dead.

Premier Lee's opinion wasn't asked when the Americans decided to make their stand against communist aggression. He thinks we chose soggy ground with slippery footing, but having chosen it we have to live with it just as the nations of Southeast Asia will have to live with whatever is the outcome.

The key, he believes, is American patience. We have the power to destroy the Viet Cong and North Vietnam's infiltrating armies, but they don't have the power to destroy us.

Mr. Lee adds that as long as they think

we are weakening they will hold out to win. He says the U.S. must have "patience to infinity—to eternity."

NEED IRON WILL

The communists had patience and faith in Malaysia, but in the end they had to yield to equal patience and superior power. It is, he believes, a "test of wills" and no search for a negotiated settlement and an acceptable formal for peace is likely to prove productive. The communists are waiting for the Americans to give in. Mr. Lee says, the U.S. must have an iron will.

Mr. Lee will be a different type of visitor to the U.S., one who is bound to attract attention. He is 44 years old, the grandson of a Chinese immigrant to Singapore who was educated at Cambridge University in England, graduating with honors. He runs a government rare in Southeast Asia—intelligent, non-corruptible, devoted to giving the citizens the benefits of socialist welfare without detracting from the incentives which keep a city—state of merchants and traders thriving.

By 1975 the British will have finished their phased pullout here of 75,000 military and civilian personnel. This will mean a loss of 40,000 to 50,000 jobs for Singapore citizens and a large adjustment for this port city's economy, for the British presence accounts for 20 per cent of Singapore's gross national product.

Visiting the U.S., and assessing our patience, will help Mr. Lee determine how much further Singapore has to adjust. He says:

"The lesson Asian nations have to learn is that they have to help themselves. Nobody owes us a living."

THE TICKING CLOCK THAT IS LATIN AMERICA

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, recently an article appeared in a national publication that is still another reminder of how little time we have to come to grips with the Communist guerrilla threat in Latin America.

Communist Cuba is daily sending armed and well-equipped guerrilla fighters to these nations, and sooner or later they are going to have some triumph that goes beyond a successful ambush.

If we do not read the handwriting on the wall, we will pay a heavy price in the future.

I have traveled extensively in Latin America for years. I have represented our Nation at innumerable international gatherings there. Circulating with Latin Americans and communicating with them in their own language, I have seen this storm gathering force. It is made up of the old elements of the evils of that emerging continent. But now it contains a new ingredient—the concept of guerrilla warfare aided and abetted by Communist Cuba.

As I warned in the past, so I warn now, we must turn major attention to Latin America. We are not doing enough. Our effort there is good as far as it goes, but it is not enough.

The salient point I noted in the article is that the American public knows so little about the emerging situation there that it is almost a national shame.

If we do not awaken now, our awakening in the future will be rude indeed. If Cuba, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic did so little for our national knowledge, then perhaps the frightening information contained in the article will. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Do We Face Another Vietnam in Latin America?

(By Andrew St. George)

Is the United States facing a gigantic Vietnam in Latin America?

The urgency of the situation is pointed up this week by the Washington gathering of the foreign ministers from every American country except Cuba. At the invitation of President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, they are meeting to consider a single problem: the growing guerrilla subversion in the Vietnam pattern.

The simple truth is that the American public is no more interested in Latin America than it was in Vietnam in, say, 1960.

Yet there is no doubt that this country is now being drawn into a quagmire on that continent with dangerous parallels to the one in Asia.

Already the first U.S. casualties of fighting in Latin America have been confirmed. Rebel forces in Guatemala identified three American Special Forces troopers killed in action against guerrillas.

The U.S. is known to have Green Berets committed in 16 other Latin countries. This week in Washington, the foreign ministers of several of the embattled countries are expected to ask the U.S. to increase its commitments even further.

In addition, the U.S. is treatybound to come to the defense of any Latin country victimized by external aggression—which could be construed to mean, as in Vietnam, fighting directed by or supported by imported Communists, such as Cubans.

Not enough of this is known to the American public.

Yet the Latin situation potentially has far more explosive consequences for the U.S. than that in Vietnam. It is nearer our own shores; it involves far greater numbers of people—237 million compared with 20 million; it has much closer ties, of business and tradition, with us than does Vietnam. The U.S. is the largest single investor in Latin America, whereas in Vietnam the financial structure is mainly French.

The omnious dimensions of the Latin problem were traced by this reporter on recent visits to Venezuela, Peru, the Dominican Republic and other Latin nations. Parade found that many Latins *already* view the stiuation as another Vietnam.

Premier Fidel Castro is infiltrating guerrilla trainees and supplies to other Latin countries at an increasing tempo, in the pattern of North Vietnam aiding the Viet Cong in the early Vietnam fighting. There is even evidence that North Vietnamese experts are training Latin American guerrillas. "The solution of Vietnam is the solution for us here, too," the mysterious guerrilla commander, Che Guevara, announced recently. Guevara is now reported to have taken charge of Cuba's subversive operations throughout Latin America.

Already more terrain is being fought over in one country—Colombia—than in all of South Vietnam. And in one recent active week there were more men killed in Latin America than Americans in Vietnam.

Front by front, here is a report on the fighting in that week alone:

BOLIVIA

Here where the situation is the most critical, there were two battles between a 70-man guerrilla column (now known as Columna Uno, since a second front has recently been opened by the guerrillas south of Santa Cruz), and the crack 4th Infantry Regiment, supported by the Grupo Bullain, a divisional artillery unit. The guerrillas won both battles, killing 24 and wounding 19 government troops.

COLOMBIA

Two guerrilla columns are operating, the E.L.N. (National Liberation Army) in Santander Province, and the F.A.R.C. (Revolutionary Armed Forces) based in Huila. During that week both were in high gear. An amphibious column of E.L.N. led by Ricardo Lara Parada, a popular soccer star, seized the county seat of Bijagual. They killed eight policemen and 11 assorted "informers and government agents," ambushed the vanguard of the government's relief column, and withdrew coolly on their riverboat flotilla. Total casualty figures: 31 killed, nine wounded. Another E.L.N. team led by a "rebel priest," a former Catholic village chaplain named Francisco Montero, and by Comandante Fabio Vasquez, a former law student, ambushed an oilfield payroll train. The guard detail of eight men was wiped out.

GUATEMALA

There were five encounters between government troops and units of the two guerrilla armies, the F.A.R. and the M.R.-13, operating in the Sierras of Zacapa and Izabal. Killed in action on both sides: 49. In addition, 61 bodies were "found"—assumed to have been killed by one of the two active anti-guerrilla terror organizations, the White Hand or the N.O.A.

VENEZUELA

The governor of Falcón State, Pablo Saher, decided to accompany a counter-guerrilla brigade on a combat sweep through the guerrilla-infested El Bachiller Range. The huge air-supported operation trapped and wiped out an 11-man guerrilla patrol, whose leader was quickly identified: he was the governor's own son.

Guerrilla insurgency has leaped like wildfire from one country to another. Last month, fighting flared up in Nicaragua, with an initial death toll of 25. In Brazil, regimental infantry, cavalry and artillery units were combing the Mato Grosso region for a new guerrilla column. In the Dominican Republic, guerrillas burned down huge stands of hardwood forest.

Yet, U.S. intelligence sources say privately that the most ominous event—in beleaguered Bolivia—occurred without any violence at all. One morning, police received a sudden rash of burglarly reports from watch stores in La Paz. Curiously, the burglars stole only watch repair tools.

THE LESSON OF VIETNAM

"One of the things we have learned in Vietnam," an intelligence source told Parade in Washington recently, "is that when the guerrillas started thinking about delayed-action bombs, they began looking for watchmakers' tools, because that's what it takes to assemble the sort of spring-action devices developed by the Viet Cong for demolition and terror work."

The ideas may be Vietnamese, but there can be little doubt about who's responsible for them. Latin America's militant young Communists look to Havana today rather than to Moscow or Peking.

Castro has been busy capitalizing on this. In Havana a huge organization known as LASO (Latin American Solidarity Organization) employs more than 1000 trained people whose full-time job is the management and promotion of armed insurrection in the hemisphere.

Last month the Castro government gave its new "Vietnamerica" campaign a gala sendoff with the biggest and gaudiest guerrilla rally ever staged. For 11 days over 2000 delegates from around the world listened to speeches (including one from the delegate from the U.S., ex-SNCC leader and Black Power firebrand Stokely Carmichael), smoked Havana cigars with souvenir bands proclaiming "The Year of Heroic Vietnam," sampled

54 flavors of ice cream, watched a Viet Cong marching band, a Peking Opera troupe, and kept their eyes on a giant neon map of Latin America that was erected over the Plaza of the Revolution. The map was electronically wired so that any area from which guerrilla activity was reported could be lit up with flashes and sparks of simulated combat. There were plenty of sparks on the map during those 11 days.

Rivaling Fidel as an inspirational figure to the Latin revolutionaries is his associate Che Guevara, the legendary and elusive guerrilla commander. The U.S. government did its best to foster the belief that Che was dead, because it thought this rumor was causing deep rifts within the radical Left.

Parade's own investigation has come up with these hard facts: Che was not "purged" or "liquidated" in 1965, but went back to active guerrilla leadership. Che spent most of those two years in Cuba at a small, secret camouflaged guerrilla training and communications base cut into a remote jungle spot near the coastal town of Baracoa. During the past year he has been leaving his hideout with increasing frequency to help organize guerrilla columns in Colombia, Guatemala, and, most recently, Bolivia.

In Venezuela there is proof that nearly 100 guerrillas, trained by Che's school and—for the first time—by North Vietnamese instructors, have been smuggled in from Cuba in recent months. Each infiltrator carried an 80-pound pack of weapons, enough to outfit another combatant.

Among the many special warfare exhibits to be shown to the assembled foreign ministers in Washington is a subminiature codebook that can be carried in a toothpaste tube or a shoe heel. It was, until recently, part of the James Bond-style spy gear issued to a Cuban defector, a secret operative of Venezuelan descent, Manuel Marcano.

Assigned to the communications and support echelon of Cuba's guerrilla network, Marcano traveled around the world, carrying false passports and bundles of dollars as casually as a salesman totes his sample case. His detailed narrative throws daylight on a fantastic, worldwide underground organization directed, from Havana, by a red-bearded Cuban spymaster, Manuel Pineiro, an alumnus of Columbia University.

OUR TROOPS IN ACTION

In the face of all this, the United States has not been idle. It has never been officially acknowledged, but it is a known fact of life in the guerrilla jungles that 12-man U.S. Special Forces "A" teams often accompany the Latin units they train and advise on "sweeps" and combat missions. As training cadres these U.S. units have, in the opinion of most experts, proved outstandingly effective. The actual number of Special Force units operating in Latin America is still a closely guarded secret. The government would probably concede a maximum of 400 men. Other sources, considered reliable, would place the figure considerably higher, perhaps around 2000.

Confirmed intelligence information shows that their efforts have largely succeeded in checking or reducing internal welfare in at least five countries—the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Argentina, and Ecuador.

The U.S. Congress is extremely concerned about the situation in Latin America. At least one congressman, Rep. Armistead Selden, Jr. (D., Ala.), chairman of the House Inter-American Affairs subcommittee, feels certain that Congress will approve military involvement if any embattled government requests it.

But the single most important strategic lesson of Vietnam has been that military effort alone, no matter how sophisticated, cannot eliminate widespread rural insurgency in a country where a repressive social structure is coupled with widespread poverty.

Latin American experts in various fields—journalism, business, diplomacy, and Congress—interviewed by PARADE agreed that a new U.S. approach is needed for providing more—and ampler—democratic options to the people of Latin America if the rising level of violence is to be stemmed.

In the opinion of the experts, here are some things the U.S. could do:

1) Work with Latin military leaders to modernize their thinking—and, just as importantly, to keep them out of politics.

"As, bit by bit, more U.S. power is deployed in support of civilian, reform-minded leaders," says a Latin editor, "the guerrillas will, bit by bit, lose one of their best propaganda points."

2) Extend increased support to the new, socially oriented activities of the Catholic Church and the Christian Democrats. When Father Camilo Torres died last year in Colombia—the most famous priest to be killed with a guerrilla unit, but not the only one—Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil spoke for many in the Church in refusing to condemn the guerrilla priest, because "I understand why he did what he felt he had to do." There are many signs that the Church understands more and more of what is to be done to improve economic and social conditions—and is beginning to do it.

3) Maintain "hot-line-prompt" liaison with the Soviet Union on the crisis. Though this will come as a surprise to most Americans, everything indicates the right now Washington's most effective support against guerrilla "adventurism" in Latin America comes from—Moscow.

The Soviets, while their revolutionary goals are the same as Castro's, have opposed overthrow of Latin governments by armed action, campaigning instead for more gradual means.

The problem was discussed intensely at the Glassboro summit meeting between Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin and President Johnson. Afterward, Kosygin—with little effect, it seems—flew to Havana to "talk sense to Castro" as one news agency put it. The common aim of the U.S. and the Soviet was further dramatized by the fact that, at the moment of Kosygin's visit, Sol Linowitz, U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, also just back from a meeting with Johnson, was on the opposite shore of the Caribbean, discussing the guerrilla problem with officials of the Venezuelan government.

Since Kosygin's visit, the Soviet government has been throwing more cold water on Castro's guerrilla fireworks. Lately Moscow has struck a serious note. It has been broadcasting a chill warning to all those who might get "confused" about the disastrous consequences of violent action: a reminder of what happened to Indonesia's Communists when they attempted a coup. In the bloodbath that followed, perhaps a quarter of a million Communists were killed.

Regardless of what steps are taken by the U.S.—or at the conference this week—one fact is plain: the "Vietnamerica" problem is of considerable magnitude and is going to be so for some time to come. Rather than ignore it, rather than commit ourselves piecemeal as in Vietnam, rather than pretend it is less important than it is, the U.S. should own up to the problem and put its best brains to work now forging a workable policy for the future. The American public should demand to know the full facts now and should take a solid interest in the explosive continent on their doorstep.

POST OFFICE ANTIPOLLUTION PROGRAM IS EXAMPLE OF NEEDED FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the effort to combat air and water pollution in our country requires the active cooperation of private citizens, businesses, State and local government, and, of course, the Federal Government.

It has been a matter of concern to me for some time that the Federal Government lead rather than follow in this effort. In other words, Government agencies and installations should do everything possible to abate their contribution to our severe air and water pollution problems.

In this connection, I was glad to see that the fiscal 1968 military construction authorization bill passed yesterday included many projects to combat air and water pollution. One of them was in my State at the Dover Air Force Base.

Also in this connection, I wish to commend Postmaster General O'Brien for the extensive air and water pollution control program which he announced today that will be undertaken in post offices around the country. Our post offices are vital centers of activity in our cities and towns. The efforts made in these individual post offices to clean up sources of air and water pollution will certainly serve as models for others in our communities to take similar steps. I wish the Postmaster General every success in following through with this program.

I ask unanimous consent that a news release outlining this program be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien announced today that a massive air and water pollution control program will be undertaken in post offices across the country.

"In keeping with the President's executive order on pollution prevention and abatement, we will upgrade our pollution control in more than 1,000 post offices," Mr. O'Brien said. "The postal service, like any other business or agency, must control pollution whenever possible. We are pleased to be able to contribute to this important program."

The program will affect leased buildings of more than 3,000 square feet. The entire program is expected to take two years. For the current fiscal year, a total of $535,000 has been budgeted. Another $1.1 million will probably be needed to complete the job.

Under the program, the owners of the buildings will be asked to make the necessary installations and then will be repaid. The Post Office Department has co-ordinated with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in developing the program.

The air pollution control and abatement program will include installation of more efficient heating units in the postal buildings. It will affect mostly buildings constructed prior to 1960.

The water pollution program requires secondary treatment of waste effluent. In some cases, this will mean connecting with a municipal sewage system. However, in other cases, a packaged sanitary unit—sort of a sewage treatment plant in miniature—will be installed. These sanitary units will operate automatically and will aerate liquids, allow settling of solids, and provide chlorination of the discharged water.

RURAL MIGRATION TO URBAN CENTERS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently, the New York Times published an article concerning the migration of the rural poor to major urban population centers. According to the article, the Department of Commerce has studied the migration problem and has concluded that the migration of the rural poor will continue to be a pressing social and economic problem.

In this connection, I am most pleased to be a cosponsor of the Rural Job Development Act, introduced by the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON]. The bill provides tax incentives for job-producing industries to locate in rural areas. Thirty-one million people have moved from rural areas to the cities since 1940. We can no longer afford to pay the price of unlimited migration, which carries with it its own substantial costs.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 13, 1967]

Migration of Poor to City Likely for Decade More

(By Will Lissner)

New studies by several Federal bureaus have indicated that the migration of white and Negro poor from the country's rural areas, mainly in the South, to New York and other cities, will continue into the mid-nineteen-seventies.

Mayor Lindsay has pointed out that New York's soaring expenses for public assistance are "largely the result of the influx of relatively unskilled persons to New York City from Puerto Rico and the American South."

Jonathan Lindley, deputy assistant secretary of the Economic Development Administration, summed up the migration studies in a report now being circulated to development specialists.

BLAME RURAL CONDITIONS

According to the report, "it has been the push of poor rural conditions rather than the pull of urban economic opportunities" that produced the migration of more than 10 million persons from rural to metropolitan areas in the 1950–60 decade.

Mr. Lindley said that it was the rapid growth of productivity in agriculture, mining and other extractive industries, effected through the introduction of labor-saving equipment and techniques, and the depletion of mineral and other resources in many rural areas that produced the migration.

"There is every indication that the growth in productivity in agriculture and extractive industries will continue over the next 10 years," he declared, "and consequently that the migration of people from rural to urban areas will also continue."

Mr. Lindley said that the Economic Development Administration had undertaken projections of where people and jobs would be situated in 1960–1975.

According to some of the preliminary results of this work, he said, a "startling" potential "mismatch of jobs and people" threatens the major urban complexes like New York with a serious problem in the decade ahead.

POOR ILL-TREATED

Also in social terms, Mr. Lindley said, many agricultural communities have ill-treated the poor, especially the Negroes. On the other hand, big cities have traditionally attracted the impoverished and the minority groups, and Negroes have flocked to the large cities because a friendly Negro community exists there.

In this manner, he said, migration to the large cities becomes self-reinforcing, but it does not have the prospect for job growth that earlier waves of migration have had because many of the old urban industries that offered work for the unskilled have moved out of the central city.

One "economic" pull of the large cities is public welfare, necessary for temporary support of a migrant, Mr. Lindley noted. Few such amenities exist in rural towns, he said, and many small rural towns have shown hostility rather than empathy for the disadvantaged.

PRESSURES IN RURAL AREAS

Some economists argue, Mr. Lindley reported, that the recent increase in urbanization has not been in response to attractive economic advantages in the large cities.

Rather, he said, it "is the result of the very severe economic and social pressures in the rural areas." On this account, he held, it is likely that a large flow of migrants "will continue to move from the hinterlands to the urban complexes."

The abject poverty of nonwhites now living in the country's rural areas, and also of whites there, has been measured by the United States Public Health Service's National Center for Health Statistics in reports just published. The service studied a national sample of 259,000 persons from 80,000 households between 1961 and 1963, obtaining estimates from the sample for the population of the entire United States.

The 1962 farm population studied in the health survey totaled 14,367,000, with 12,628,000 whites and 1,739,000 nonwhites. Since then the farm population has declined further. The Current Population Survey in 1965 found the farm population to be 12,633,000, with 11,115,000 whites and 1,518,000 nonwhites.

Records show that the farm population had been cut in half in 20 years. In 1942 the farm population was estimated at 28,914,000.

The health survey found that 34.1 per cent of nonwhites in the 1962 farm population, living in families of 2 to 7 or more persons, had total family incomes of less than $1,000 a year. The corresponding figure for whites was 8.7 per cent. Of nonwhites living alone on farms, 80 per cent had annual incomes of less than $1,000.

Most of the nonwhites in the farm population have family incomes of less than $2,000 a year, the health survey indicated. Of the nonwhites living in families, 69.1 per cent fell into this category. So did a substantial number of whites, 21.4 per cent.

HEADED BY WOMEN

The report showed that 148,000 nonwhites on the farms live in families headed by a woman under 65 years old. Of these, 80.8 per cent were in families with total family incomes of less than $2,000 a year and 54.8 per cent in families with annual incomes less than $1,000.

Another social problem is presented by the fact that about 213,000 nonwhites on the farms live in families of which the head was 65 years and over. Of these 213,000, 74.8 per cent are in families with less than $2,000 annual family income and 35.4 per cent in families with less than $1,000.

The health survey, in relating health measures to family characteristics, including family income, produced as a byproduct new data on the comparative incomes of nonwhites and whites, urban as well as rural.

Thus of the 19,771,000 nonwhites living in families, 48.2 per cent had family incomes under $3,000 a year. Of the corresponding group of 150,161,000 whites, only 15.7 per cent fell in this class.

In the income levels above the poverty line but below the level of affluence—levels between $3,000 and $6,999 in annual family income—there is relatively little difference between whites and nonwhites. Such modest incomes supported 40.9 per cent of nonwhites and 48.2 per cent of whites.

Great disparities mark the distribution of higher incomes.

While 36 per cent of whites had annual family incomes of $7,000 and over, only 11 per cent of nonwhites fell into this group.

Nonwhite families with incomes of $10,000 a year and over include 711,756 persons. They number only 3.6 per cent of all nonwhites living in families. At this income level are 15.3 per cent of whites.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND—SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, recently before the Senate I raised some questions about proposals to create, within the International Monetary Fund, special drawing rights.

Just this morning the Washington Post published a very pertinent editorial on this proposal, pointing out that, while the administration hailed this as an outstanding achievement in international finance, factually it cedes away many of the interests of the United States, acquiring nothing in return.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IMF Crunch at Rio

Enthusiasts view the Rio de Janeiro meeting of the International Monetary Fund as an historic occasion on which a contingency plan for the creation of new monetary reserves is to be ratified. But it may also mark the beginning of a precipitous decline in the influence and power which the United States exerts in international monetary affairs, a decline that can no longer be concealed by inflating small accomplishments and denying the importance of concessions on major issues.

When the ten finance ministers agreed in London on a contingency scheme for "special drawing rights" (SDRs) last month, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, the Secretary of the Treasury, hailed it as "the most ambitious and significant effort in the area of international monetary affairs since Bretton Woods." But this newspaper, skeptical of encomiums that government officials bestow upon their handiwork, took a more somber view. It pointed to the limited scope of the SDR scheme, the minimal protections that it would provide for the dollar as a reserve currency, and it was especially critical of the requirement for an 85 percent cumulative vote of the IMF in activating and operating the scheme.

That voting provision gives the Common Market countries what amounts to a costless veto, and while apologists defended the concession as trivial—in view of the growing influence of the Common Market in world trade—a disquieting legal precedent was nonetheless established.

Had the 85 per cent rule been confined to the SDR scheme, it would be a serious impediment to an expansionist policy. But now the Common Market countries demand that their automatic veto power be extended to apply to increases in IMF quotas and drawings in the so-called "credit tranches"—that is, borrowing by individual countries in excess of their gold deposits. These demands should be adamantly resisted by the United States delegation at Rio, even though their position is somewhat compromised by the London concession on voting for the SDR scheme. Granting the Europeans vetoes over quotas and credit tranches is tantamount to handing them absolute control over the growth of international liquidity. If liquidity—the means by which countries settle official obligations—cannot be expanded through increased quotas and the drawing of credit tranches without meeting insuperable European resistance, the only outlet is the SDR scheme. And that outlet is already bottled up by the veto conceded in London.

The men who created the IMF at Bretton Woods envisioned a liberal institution, one embodying mechanisms that would force both surplus and deficit countries back towards balance-of-payments equilibrium. But over the years, partly because of the shortsightedness of United States policy, the IMF has become a restrictive institution and political power has gravitated toward the surplus countries that take an extremely narrow view of international monetary cooperation. It may be far too late to reverse this baleful trend at Rio, but a strong effort should be made in that direction.

DEATHS ON THE NATION'S HIGHWAYS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an outstanding article concerning the deaths on the Nation's highways. Since its original publication in the Reader's Digest in 1935, this most salient article has become the most widely distributed magazine reprint in history. It was republished in the October 1966 issue of Reader's Digest, and copies of that article were recently sent to Members of Congress in connection with a safety advertising campaign now being conducted through the magazine. Depicting the horrid risks that drivers take daily, the article has been extolled throughout the years as a most worthy contribution to accident prevention. At the conclusion of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "—And Sudden Death" be printed in the RECORD.

Also I invite the attention of the Senate to the series of new advertisements, also published in the Reader's Digest, by the Allstate Insurance Co., which urges that driver education courses be established in all of the Nation's high schools. Currently, only one-half of our young people are getting driver education. I believe this course merits the attention of all who are concerned with the safety of our Nation's highways.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Reader's Digest, October 1966]

—AND SUDDEN DEATH

(By J. C. Furnas)

(SUSAN LANGLAND, a freshman at Tulane University, asking that The Reader's Digest reprint this article, wrote:

("Like most American teen-agers, I have more or less grown up riding in automobiles. Perhaps this is why I often exceeded the speed limit without giving it a second thought. I drive fairly carefully, so the possibility of an accident seemed rather remote. Then I read an article which made the consequences of even the remotest possibility seem too horrible to risk. The article, '—And Sudden Death,' appeared in a 1940 book entitled *The Reader's Digest Reader*."

(The article appeared first in the August 1935 issue of The Reader's Digest. Since that date more than five million reprints have been distributed by judges, safety experts, educators and private citizens who have acclaimed the article as an outstanding contribution to accident prevention.)

("No article has ever made so great an impression on me," Miss Langland continues. "Perhaps it would do the same to someone else—someone who might otherwise have become a freeway casualty. If you reprint this article, it might prevent one death, or many. In any case I want to thank you for possibly saving my life.")

Publicizing the total of motoring injuries never succeeds in jarring the motorist into a realization of the appalling risks of motoring. He does not translate dry statistics into a reality of blood and agony.

Figures[1] exclude the pain and horror of savage mutilation—which means they leave out the point. They need to be brought closer home. A passing look at a bad smash or the news that a fellow you had lunch with last week is in a hospital with a broken back will make any driver but a born fool slow down at least temporarily. But what is needed is a vivid and *sustained* realization that every time you step on the throttle death gets in beside you, waiting for his chance. That horrible accident you may have witnessed is no isolated horror. That sort of thing happens every hour of the day, everywhere in the United States.

A judge now and again sentences reckless drivers to tour the accident end of a city morgue. But even a mangled body on a slab, waxily portraying the consequences of bad motoring judgment, isn't a patch on the scene of the accident itself. No safety-poster artist would dare depict that in full detail.

That picture would have to include motion-picture and sound effects, too—the flopping, pointless efforts of the injured to stand up; the queer, grunting noises; the steady, panting groaning of a human being with pain creeping up on him as the shock wears off. It should portray the slack expression on the face of a man, drugged with shock, staring at the Z-twist in his broken leg, the insane crumpled effect of a child's body after its bones are crushed inward, a realistic portrait of a hysterical woman with her screaming mouth opening a hole in the bloody drip that fills her eyes and runs off her chin. Minor details would include the raw ends of bones protruding through flesh in compound fractures, and the dark-red oozing surfaces where clothes and skin were flayed off at once.

Those are all standard, everyday sequels to the modern passion for going places in a hurry and taking a chance or two by the way. If ghosts could be put to a useful purpose, every bad stretch of road in the United States would greet the oncoming motorist with groans and screams and the educational spectacle of ten or a dozen corpses, all sizes, sexes and ages, lying horribly still on the bloody grass.

Last year a state trooper of my acquaintance stopped a big red car for speeding. Papa was obviously a responsible person, obviously set for a pleasant weekend with his family—so the officer cut into Papa's well-bred expostulations: "I'll let you off this time, but if you keep on this way you won't last long. Get going—but take it easier." Later a passing motorist hailed the trooper and asked if the red car had got a ticket. "No," said the trooper, "I hated to spoil their party." "Too bad you didn't," said the motorist. "I saw you stop them—and then I passed that car again 50 miles up the line. It still makes me feel sick at my stomach. The car was all folded up like a accordion. They were all dead but one of the kids—and he wasn't going to live to the hospital."

Maybe it will make you sick at your stomach, too. But unless you're a heavy-footed incurable, a first hand acquaintance with the results of mixing gasoline with speed and bad judgment ought to be well worth your while. I can't help it if the facts are revolting. If you have the nerve to drive fast and take chances, you ought to have the nerve to take the appropriate cure. You can't ride an ambulance or watch the doctor working on the victim in the hospital, but you can read.

The automobile is treacherous. It is tragically hard to realize that it can become a deadly missile. As enthusiasts tell you, it makes 65 feel like nothing at all. But 65 miles an hour is 100 feet a second, a speed which puts a viciously unjustified responsibility on brakes and human reflexes, and can instantly turn this docile luxury into a mad bull elephant.

Collision, turnover or sideswipe, each type of accident produces either a shattering dead stop or a crashing change of direction, and, since the occupant—meaning you—continues in the old direction at the original speed, every surface and angle of the car's interior immediately becomes a battering, tearing projectile, aimed squarely at you—inescapable. There is no bracing yourself against these imperative laws of momentum.

Anything can happen in the split second of crash, even those lucky escapes you hear about. People have dived through windshields and come out with only superficial scratches. They have run cars together head on, reducing both to twisted junk, and been found unhurt and arguing bitterly two minutes afterward. But death was there just the same—he was only exercising his privilege of being erratic. This spring a wrecking crew pried the door off a car which had been overturned down an embankment, and out stepped the driver with only a scratch on his cheek. But his mother was still inside, a splinter driven four inches into her brain as a result of son's taking a greasy curve a little too fast. No blood—no horribly twisted bones—just a gray-haired corpse still clutching her pocketbook in her lap as she had clutched it when she felt the car leave the road.

On that same curve a month later, a light touring car crashed into a tree. In the middle of the front seat they found a nine-month-old baby surrounded by broken glass and yet absolutely unhurt. A fine practical joke of death—but spoiled by the baby's parents, still sitting on each side of him, instantly killed by shattering their skulls on the dashboard.

If you customarily pass without clear vision a long way ahead, make sure that every member of the party carries identification papers—it's difficult to identify a body with its whole face bashed in or torn off. The driver is death's favorite target. If the steering wheel holds together, it ruptures his liver or spleen so he bleeds to death internally. Or, if the steering wheel breaks off, the matter is settled instantly by the steering column's plunging through his abdomen.

By no means do all head-on collisions occur on curves. The modern death trap is likely to be a straight stretch with three lanes of traffic. This sudden vision of broad, straight road tempts many an ordinarily sensible driver into passing the man ahead. Simultaneously a driver coming the other way swings out at high speed. At the last moment each tries to get into line again, but the gaps are closed. As the cars in line are forced into the ditch to capsize or ram fences, the passers meet, almost head on, in a swirling, grinding smash that sends them caroming obliquely into the others.

A trooper described such an accident—five cars in one mess, seven killed on the spot, two dead on the way to the hospital, two more dead in the long run. He remembered it far more vividly than he wanted to—the quick way the doctor turned away from a dead man to check up on a woman with a broken back; the three bodies out of one car so soaked with oil from the crankcase that they looked like wet brown cigars and not human at all; a man, walking around and babbling to himself, oblivious of the dead and dying, even oblivious of the daggerlike sliver of steel that stuck out of his streaming wrist; a pretty girl with her forehead laid open, trying hopelessly to crawl out of a ditch in spite of her smashed hip. A first-class massacre of that sort is only a question of scale and numbers—seven corpses are no deader than one. Each shattered man, woman or child who went to make up the fatality statistics chalked up last year had to die a personal death.

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[1] In 1965 1,800,000 were injured, 49,000 were killed.

A car careening and rolling down a bank, battering and smashing its occupants every inch of the way, can wrap itself so thoroughly around a tree that front and rear bumpers interlock, requiring an acetylene torch to cut them apart. In a recent case of that sort they found the old lady who had been sitting in back, lying across the lap of her daughter, who was in front, each soaked in her own and the other's blood indistinguishably, each so shattered and broken that there was no point whatever in an autopsy to determine whether it was broken neck or ruptured heart that caused death.

Overturning cars specialize in certain injuries. Cracked pelvis, for instance, guaranteeing agonizing months in bed, motionless, perhaps clippled for life—broken spine resulting from sheer sidewise twist—the minor details of smashed knees and splintered shoulder blades caused by crashing into the side of the car as she goes over with the swirl of an insane roller coaster—and the lethal consequences of broken ribs, which puncture hearts and lungs with their raw ends. The consequent internal hemorrhage is no less dangerous because it is the pleural instead of the abdominal cavity that is filling with blood.

Glass contributes its share to the spectacular side of accidents. Even safety glass may not be wholly safe when the car crashes into something at high speed. You hear picturesque tales of how a flying human body will make a neat hole in the stuff with its head—the shoulders stick—the glass holds—and the raw, keen edge decapitates the body as neatly as a guillotine.

Or, to continue with the decapitation motif, going off the road into a post-and-rail fence can put you beyond worrying about other injuries immediately when a rail pierces the windshield and tears off your head with its splintery end—not as neat a job but just as efficient. Bodies are often found with shoes off and feet broken out of shape. The shoes are on the floor of the car, empty and with laces still neatly tied. That is the kind of impact produced by modern speeds.

But all that is routine in every American community. To be remembered individually by doctors and policemen, you have to do something as grotesque as the lady who burst the windshield with her head, splashing splinters all over the other occupants of the car, and then, as the car rolled over, rolled with it down the edge of the windshield frame and cut her throat from ear to ear. Or park on the pavement too near a curve at night and stand in front of the tail light as you take off the spare tire—which will immortalize you in somebody's memory as the fellow who was mashed three feet broad and two inches thick by the impact of a heavy-duty truck against the rear of his own car. Or be as original as the two youths who were thrown out of an open roadster—thrown clear—but each broke a windshield post with his head in passing and the whole top of each skull, down to the eyebrows, was missing. Or snap off a nine-inch tree and get impaled by a ragged branch.

None of all that is scare-fiction; it is just the horrible raw material of the year's statistics as seen in the ordinary course of duty by policemen and doctors, picked at random.

The surprising thing is there is so little dissimilarity in their stories.

It's hard to find an accident victim who can bear to talk. After you come to, the gnawing, searing pain throughout your body is accounted for by learning that you have both collarbones smashed, both shoulder blades splintered, your right arm broken in three places and three ribs cracked, with every chance of bad internal ruptures. But the pain can't distract you, as the shock begins to wear off, from realizing that you are probably on your way out. You can't forget that, not even when they shift you from the ground to the stretcher and your broken ribs bite into your lungs and the sharp ends of your collarbones slide over to stab deep into each side of your screaming throat. When you've stopped screaming, it all comes back—you're dying and you hate yourself for it.

And every time you pass on a blind curve, every time you hit it up on a slippery road, every time you step on it harder than your reflexes will safely take, every time you drive with your reactions slowed down by a drink or two, every time you follow the man ahead too closely, you're gambling a few seconds against blood and agony and sudden death.

Take a look at yourself as the man in the white jacket shakes his head over you, tells the boys with the stretcher not to bother and turns away to somebody else who isn't quite dead yet. And then take it easy.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL AREAS

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, in speech after speech, I have called attention to the need for the economic development of our rural areas and small towns, creating new private jobs, so that the people will have a chance and a choice to live where they want to live.

I have pointed out that development of the rural areas would help ease the critical urban problems of congestion and inadequate facilities, since it would slow the present migration of rural people to our large cities.

The Rural Job Development of 1967, which I introduced July 20, along with the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], would contribute much toward accomplishing this goal. By providing tax incentives to private industries, it would encourage the location and expansion of industrial plants and other businesses in low-income rural areas and small towns, and, further, give tax incentive for the training and employment of poor people.

It is gratifying to me to see that support for this principle of developing rural areas continues to grow and that the First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, is among those suggesting the need for action. In recent weeks I have called Senators' attention to two thought-provoking editorials on this subject in the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point another excellent editorial, carried in today's Washington Post, which is based on statements made and a question asked by Mrs. Johnson during her recent visit to the rural home of Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. JOHNSON'S QUESTION

"If Americans could find satisfactory jobs, amenities and entertainment in rural America would not some of the traffic to the cities be reversed?"

That is the question that Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson asked on her visit to the rural home of Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey. And it is a question that American policymakers, baffled by the problems of decaying urban centers, must ask themselves with increasing frequency. The answer of course must be: "Yes."

Notwithstanding the fact that more than two-thirds of the people live in cities, opinion surveys indicate that two-thirds of them would prefer rural homes if they could get jobs and enjoy good living conditions in the country.

Before the Nation proceeds blindly to rebuild its urban ghettos in environments essentially unsuited for human habitation, it ought to carefully explore the feasibility of providing jobs and living conditions that will draw some urban populations into the country—or at least arrest the tide of immigration into cities.

UPPER GREAT LAKES REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this morning I was privileged to hear the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] as he testified before the Senate's Special Subcommittee on Economic Development. Senator NELSON's testimony was an eloquent statement of the hopes we all have for the future of the Upper Great Lakes Regional Development Commission, with which he has been deeply involved, both in the creation of the Commission and its development to date.

Mr. President, this statement deserves wide readership, and I request that it be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON BEFORE THE SENATE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify before the Public Works Committee in regard to the Regional Commissions.

As Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Great Lakes Problems, a part of the Great Lakes Conference of Senators, I am extremely anxious to see initiated a bold, action-oriented program for economic development in the northland.

I have had a life-long involvement in northern Wisconsin, leading to a deep interest in finding new ways to speed up the redevelopment of those areas which no longer are in the mainstream of the economy.

The Regional Commissions program promises to become one of the most exciting tools which could be used for the economic betterment of a large percentage of our population. Two years have elapsed since the enactment of the Public Works and Economic Development Act. The commissions are almost fully organized. Co-Chairmen and staffs have been chosen. Congress appears ready to authorize and appropriate enough money to make a start on high priority brick and mortar projects. The area's people are anxious for visible action.

I think it would be useful to review for the record a little of the legislative history of the Commissions.

The idea of an Upper Great Lakes Commission to bring all the resources of our three states—Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota—and the Federal government to bear on the special problems of the north date from the highly successful "Land and People Conference" which was held in Duluth in September, 1963.

After the delegates to the Duluth Conference suggested the concept of a permanent commission, we returned to Washington and prepared the necessary legislation. First, I offered this as an amendment to the Appalachia bill. We finally succeeded in enacting it as part of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

I think it is helpful to restate the lofty goals we had in mind in enacting this legislation.

We wanted to correct the historic economic problems which have plagued our northern areas; to develop the northland as a land of opportunity for those who live there and as a treasured place to visit for millions more; and to enable this section to become a full partner in the economic progress of our states and our nation.

Now the Commission must delineate an action program in precise and bold terms. But it must always keep foremost in mind the principles of wise and orderly development.

A BROAD APPROACH IS NEEDED

1. Define the principal problems which the north faces.

2. Decide the long-range goals necessary to overcome the basic problems.

3. Define the opportunities which exist, unrecognized for the most part, and set up priorities and procedures in making the best of these opportunities.

4. Mobilize all existing local, state and Federal programs and agencies which are available to work on these problems.

5. Recommend new legislation both at the state and Federal level to accomplish what cannot be done under existing law.

Defining the problems is one of the most difficult steps in the planning process. It is my observation that this has not been done as completely as it should have. A statistical profile from available data for the use of the Congress and the Commission should be written to include:

a. population and rate of growth;

b. statistical computation of people leaving the area—who they are, their skills, their backgrounds, their reasons for leaving, the financial cost this "brain drain" enacts on the region;

c. unemployment and underdevelopment data with an analysis of their ages, skills, backgrounds, which seasons and length of time they are unemployed and underemployed;

d. income levels for single persons, for urban and rural residents, and the same data for married people, all designed to indicate economic problems;

e. data on educational levels, health and welfare standards, life span, mortality rates, etc., are all needed.

Other indicators should be used which can be brought to bear quickly so that we all know what the magnitude of the problems is. These facts should be available now. Then the commission can begin to suggest a meaningful investment program which will get the most benefit for each dollar spent. Every dollar has to be carefully directed to insure proper growth in the proper places.

Appropriate and realistic goals for the region must be worked out in cooperation with local, regional, state and Federal interest groups. These goals have got to get at the underlying shortcomings of any underdeveloped area.

a. What educational level are we seeking for the youth in the region?

b. What health standards are desirable?

c. What rate of growth are we attempting to achieve?

d. How much weight in every phase and for each project should be given to curbing the brain and skill drain and what should be the rate of decrease?

Obviously, these and other goals are desirable for maximum attainment, but until we document them, agree upon them and then relate our investments to them, we will drift on aimlessly or at best make unwise expenditures.

Underlying all this are the acute troubles of our cities being compounded by the flight of the rural residents to population centers. Secretary Freeman stated recently that 70 percent of the people live on one percent of the land. It is elementary to labor the point any further; all the reasons in the world make it imperative that we stem this tide.

I am confident that stemming this tide will not only pay handsome personal benefits to thousands of people who want to live in the region, but will pay economic benefits because every new urban dweller imposes additional direct costs on hard pressed city budgets.

These analyses would suggest, I am sure, that a development program would focus in part on encouraging "rural growth centers" in new and rehabilitated rural trading centers. This too demands a plan of priorities. We can't in willy nilly fashion scatter our efforts and dissipate our funds.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR A NEW FUTURE

There are several fairly obvious steps which must be taken to make this region a full partner in our overall economic progress. The hope for the north rests in carefully planned development coupled with action in these areas: *recreation, agriculture,* and *private industry.*

The task of this commission is not only to help organize and promote such development but to make certain that it is *coordinated* so that we do not accomplish one form of development at the expense of the others. No one form of development will accomplish what we hope to accomplish for the north. We need all three, and they must be carefully balanced.

Considering the nationwide economic trend, I think that recreation offers tremendous potential advantages to the north. Tourism and recreation already are big business in Wisconsin. The input in our economy is almost a billion dollars a year.

Under all circumstance, however, the limiting factors which prevent growth should be analyzed and cost-budget analyses applied to each opportunity.

Rather than point toward impossible goals, the commission should make a reasonable beginning and lay the groundwork for larger programs in the years ahead.

PROGRAM BEGINNINGS

There are certain obvious investments which can be made now within a framework of regional economic development.

Recreation and Tourism—We are fortunate to have a number of excellent projects in recreation and tourism designed and ready to go to provide a tremendous assist to our northern recreational economy.

The enactment of the *Apostle Islands National Lakeshore* bill would give northern Wisconsin one truly outstanding, nationally known park which would attract hundreds of thousands of tourists and generate millions of dollars a year in new income. It is strategically located within easy driving distance of our three states. This bill is at the decisive stage. The Upper Great Lakes Commission has endorsed it, and I hope will continue to work for its prompt enactment.

The passage of the *National Wild and Scenic Rivers* bill, which includes the St. Croix, the Namekagon, and the Wolf Rivers, will give northern Wisconsin three more outstanding recreational attractions. These bills could pass yet this year, with the enthusiastic support of the Upper Great Lakes Commission, and I urge the Commission to give these projects your high priority.

Also ready for final action by the Congress this year is the *National Hiking Trail* bill, which includes (for study purposes) a North Country Trail crossing all three of our states. This bill should merit priority action by the commission.

The three individual states should also develop *their own hiking trail systems,* to provide at very low cost the kind of recreational opportunity which is becoming increasingly popular with the American public.

The commission should support additional funding for Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore and early authorizations for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Voyageurs National Park, the proposed Grand Portage Indian Park. When completed, these areas will form a superb system of national attractions which will draw people from all over the country to the region. The economic benefits are obvious.

And, as important, we will have accomplished the great social good of actively preserving the great assets in the region for all Americans.

Small Craft Harbors—The Wisconsin Resource Development Department in 1964 and 1965 prepared comprehensive plans for development of small craft harbors of refuge on Lake Superior, Lake Michigan and Green Bay and the Mississippi River. It was contemplated that Federal funds would pay half the cost, state motor fuel taxes one-fourth, and local government one-fourth. These harbors would provide a great asset in the development of recreational boating in the north; and they would give a number of our communities a facility around which to base expanded tourist development.

A Lakeshore Renewal Program can be started for a modest amount of money. We have 18,000 lakes in the region. They must be protected. A pilot program to prevent deterioration of the beauty and attraction of the shoreline along the lakes, perhaps along the lines of urban renewal, with vigorous zoning programs, is essential.

Fishing offers tremendous potential for expansion in the northern Upper Great Lakes. The return of the lake trout in Lake Superior and the stocking of coho salmon give us an opportunity to stimulate a vigorous fishery effort in Lakes Michigan and Superior. Implicit in this is an understanding of the ecology and control of the *alewives.* Now that we have 20 years of research and experience regarding lake trout and lamprey control, additional investments can be made to aid this effort to restore the lake front fishery at an early date.

Another matter which affects both recreational and industrial development is the matter of *capital and credit.* We need imaginative new sources of financing if we are to carry out the recreational and industrial expansion which is anticipated. Senator Proxmire and I have submitted two bills to provide new sources of long-term Federal loans and loan insurance programs for the resort industry. The commission should review the financial assistance now available from all sources. They should also review proposed legislation at the state and Federal level to see how it meshes with commission goals and then lend full support to those measures.

THE NELSON AMENDMENT

Whenever possible, I think the commission would be wise to take advantage of existing programs which can be expanded or used more effectively to help this area.

For example, the program which is called the *Nelson Amendment* to the Economic Opportunity Act provides Federal funds to hire retired, needy, and chronically unemployed adults for conservation and beautification projects. Last year two projects totaling nearly $1 million were carried out in Wisconsin under this program. Imaginatively used, it offers the prospect of *immediate* employment for needy residents plus valuable work in improving the recreational facilities to attract more tourists.

These workers could carry out some of the programs of *stream improvement,* for example, which have been requested by a number of town boards in the area. This could protect a basic resource, improve fishing and stimulate the tourist industry.

AGRICULTURE

A *plant materials center* can be established quickly and easily. A center can develop plants adaptable to the climatic and soil conditions which can be used for soil stabilization, conservation and agricultural needs.

Coupled with that is the necessity for *soil surveys* where high priority has been demonstrated, for example, on the best agricultural soils and in areas where urban growth is expected.

The possibility of *pasture improvement* in the far north where cropland can be used to grow cash crops for feeder cattle and for pelletized hay offers an exciting new opportunity for the farmer operating on the better agricultural soils in the region. Along with this we should increase our investments in *timber stand improvement, tree planting* and *soil and water conservation*.

Needless to say, we will never win the economic dividends of development if we destroy the water resources on which so much of our tourist industry is based. Therefore, I would hope the Upper Great Lakes Commission would give serious attention to interstate action to meet the *water pollution problem*. Pollution already is a serious threat to our resort industry in the Green Bay area and it is becoming an increasingly serious problem in Lake Superior. I have urged the governors of our three states to take the steps necessary to convene a *State-Federal pollution control conference* to begin the clean up of this widespread, interstate pollution. I hope the commission will consider this proposal at its next regular meeting.

INDUSTRY

Many of the small communities in this region can be properly developed for either recreation or industry, if they install suitable *water and sewer facilities*. Zoning ordinances also are vital. Comprehensive community planning is needed.

At a statewide conference in Ashland, Wisconsin, in June, 1966, it was agreed that such basic planning and community involvement projects must be carefully considered well in advance of any sudden burst of recreational or industrial development. If this is not done, some of our most scenic rural areas and most charming small communities could be spoiled and their potential for further intelligent growth seriously damaged. The Upper Great Lakes Commission can be very helpful in guiding our communities in this kind of planning and can advise them in obtaining the basic facilities needed for a better future.

The potential for developing new pulp and paper mills offers an opportunity for the region. The universities, Federal agencies like the Forest Products Laboratory, and ad hoc groups should be induced to work closely with the commission on this matter.

Congressional hearings will be convened soon in the area to discuss how *trade with foreign nations* can be increased. Ways should be explored to encourage small businessmen to learn to overcome the seeming mysteries of export business. The role of government should be that of devising methods to overcome the barriers easily.

Embark on Long Range Studies in the electrical energy field to determine ways to reduce power costs is important. If taconite mining comes to certain areas we must be assured that new strip mining will leave the landscape in a useful and pleasing condition. We can ill afford to leave scarred lands to compound the problems further for another generation.

Also, I suggest that we take another look at the highway proposals to insure that they lead to economic development possibilities; that they capitalize on the great scenic resources of the area; and that they do not simply provide high speed arteries for tourists to move quickly through the area.

CONCLUSION

Long term enhancement, not short term explorative projects should be our goal. We must upgrade the quality of living without sacrificing the quality of the great resource environment.

The commission would be well advised to set up advisory committees for every important resource development proposal: for example, forest products, agriculture, mink farming, recreation and minerals. Involved with this is direct and close communication with universities, state agencies, Federal agencies, regional development groups, ad hoc groups and other supplementary groups. If the concept of a state-Federal commission is to work, the planning program must be coordinated and cooperative.

And, finally, a system of regional accounts can finally bring order to a chaotic system of evaluating and indexing progress. This should be tied in with all other regions and based on resources, personal data and economic statistics.

We must quickly take the steps necessary to preserve and develop our rural areas as a pleasant and rewarding place to live, to work and to play. These areas represent a great opportunity for the future of our state and nation. It is here logically that growth for the future must occur; not in our overcrowded and hard-pressed cities. We must see to it that growth and development is carefully planned and creatively channeled—for the sake of the people who now live in these areas, for the growing number who will live there in the future and for all the people.

BARNABY KEENEY AND THE HUMANITIES

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the National Observer of September 11, 1967, contained an article entitled "Barnaby Keeney and the Humanities." This piece by Gerald George was a discussion of the Endowment for the Humanities and a warm and touching view of the endowment chairman, Barnaby C. Keeney.

I read the article with interest, both as a sponsor of the bill which established the endowment, and as an admirer of Dr. Keeney and of the fine job he is doing as chairman of the endowment.

I believe that much of what Dr. Keeney has to say will be of interest to this body, especially his comment on the British establishment of an arts council in the midst of the blitz. This action of a nation under fire, which recognized the value of cultural pursuits at the darkest of times, is one which our country could well consider.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BARNABY KEENEY AND THE HUMANITIES: FIGHTING FOR A NATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THOUGHT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—As officials here debate whether domestic programs can be financed and the war too, the little-known administrator of an all-but-unheard-of Government agency is going about suggesting that guns and butter are only two parts of the difficult equation.

The other, he says, is thought.

The man who thinks that investment in thinking is equally important right now is a 52-year-old, balding, baggy-trousered, unpretentious, wryly witty, former Brown University president with the improbable name of Barnaby Conrad Keeney. He is chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, created just two years ago and given financial authorization for three. In spite of war, riots, and tough times for Federal dollar seekers, he wants Congress to make the endowment a permanent Federal fixture and "to anoint it" at least as heavily as before with money.

A PROPITIOUS TIME?

Does he really believe that this is a propitious time to seek more funds for Federal spending on history, literature, languages, and philosophy?

"It would have been hard to pick a worse time," he acknowledges. He grins, and for a moment it appears the grin is the end of his answer. Which is quite possible, given his antipathy to bureaucratic phrase-making.

After a speech at the University of Maryland this summer, Dr. Keeney was asked by a student, who obviously expected a lengthy, involved, defensive, official dodge in reply, whether the war in Vietnam was making it hard to get funds for agencies such as his.

"Sure," he answered. Then he looked about to see if there were any more questions.

He does, however, have a defense to make of continued Government aid to the humanities, a defense disarmingly simple and matter-of-fact. After unbuttoning his collar, scratching his neck, and complaining of laundries that leave laundry tags in the backs of shirts, he observes:

"There are quite a few people in the Administration, and quite a few people in the Congress, who feel very strongly that the substance of the humanities is one of the things that we're at war about—that is, the content of men's minds."

A NATIONAL INSTITUTE

He now is quietly campaigning for the idea that the work of such humanistic scholars as historians and philosophers has general value for the nation's life, and can be applied directly to solving concrete, national problems. He advocates creating a new national institute in Washington where philosophers would meet directly with congressmen, where scholars would trade views with administrators, where historians would counsel with those who make history.

Dr. Keeney believes that the humanities are particularly important in times of difficulty, and the former medieval historian makes his argument with a little lecture from history:

"We forget that the Greeks, who composed the enduring monuments of Athenian thought and art, were throughout their greatest period in long and exhausting wars." And the British "set up the arts council in Great Britain right at the height of the blitz—they did so in part as a means of improving the morale of their citizens.

"If we can force ourselves to take time to think, time stolen from the work and play that so effectively prevent us from thinking, and from the procedures we invent so that thought will be unnecessary, we may well shape a new future." Humanists can do this, he believes, just as dramatically as in recent decades physical scientists have done it.

"The study," he insists, "must inform the forum," and such remarks are aimed at humanists themselves. With the leverage of the new Federal agency he heads, he is trying to redirect the thrust of humanistic research out of the ivory towers, and he has shocked some believers in "pure scholarship" professordom.

A HIGHER LEVEL

"It is often said, and I think truly, that scholarship in the humanities is at a higher level in this country that it has ever been in the past. It is never said, and I think properly so, that this is a great age of humanism. And I think the reason is that our scholarship and our present work are disassociated."

His agency's policy in giving grants, he says, is that "Pedantry will not be grubstaked."

The Washington institute that he hopes his agency someday can establish is at the moment but a gleam in his puckish eye. Right now he has enough to do to keep the endowment's present programs alive and with money.

Congress almost certainly will keep the endowment alive, but probably won't grant Dr. Keeney's request and give the endowment an open-ended authorization; the lawmakers in other words, probably will insist on a ceiling on the amount of money that could be voted for the endowment each year. It's doubtful, too, that Congress will provide the $150,000,000 a year that Dr. Keeney estimates the endowment needs to make a substantial impact. The original legislation authorized $5,000,000 a year, and actual appropriations have enabled the endowment to spend little more than $4,500,000 so far.

In contrast, the National Science Foundation will spend more than $100,000,000 this year alone. In the 12-month period that ended July 31, the Federal expenditures on basic research in the sciences was $2,100,000,000; in the humanities, it was approximately $2,000,000.

A QUESTION OF OVERLAPPING

At recent hearings congressmen asked Dr. Keeney if any of his programs were overlapping those of other Federal agencies. "It is hard to produce a serious overlap with our present appropriations," he declared, and added solemnly that he would indeed guard carefully against it: "If you are a rabbit it is awfully unpleasant to be overlapped by a horse."

Technically and scientifically, he said, Americans have developed the means to end such things as water pollution, overpopulation, perhaps even poverty. Socially and politically, he says, we have not. "We have lost the way to remove the greatest poverty of all—the deprivation that comes from lack of aspiration. The record of human aspiration is the very substance of the humanities."

Federal spending on the humanities endowment has not yet equaled appropriations even for its sister organization, the National Endowment for the Arts (the other half of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities). This is in part because the arts endowment got started earlier. Chairman Roger Stevens received publicity from the start, while some congressmen still don't seem sure even of Dr. Keeney's name—one recently, unintentionally, pronounced it to sound like "Dr. Bikini."

"We're like Gimbels and Macy's," Dr. Keeney observes, though he says the competition between the two endowments is friendly. Indeed, a humanities-endowment secretary sportingly displays an arts-foundation button reading: "Space is a Drag; Support the Arts on Earth."

POKING FUN AT THE ARTS

Dr. Keeney can't resist poking fun at his artistic counterparts, however. On his office wall is a painting in an ostentatiously ornate frame. It shows—or at least he says so—"a poor dog almost catching two rabbits and one pheasant." Underneath, just as at the art museums, is a little panel formally identifying the artist: *B. C. Keeney 1914—Contemporary American.*

Historian Keeney takes heart from the early history of the National Science Foundation. It, too, started small. Not until the Russians frightened Americans with Sputnik did Federal spending on physical science really boom.

"That's what we need—a Sputnik," he says. "Leisure is our Sputnik. Leisure will have a compelling effect. People are getting quite concerned about this.

"The real problem is that the people who have the most leisure have the least equipment to use it. Leisure in the proper sense is not going fishing, which is what I usually do. Reading, thinking, and trying to design ideas; Plato's dialogs—that's the use of leisure."

WHERE THE FUNDS GO

The endowment's projects so far have included not only fellowships for scholars at various levels, and not only individual grants for specific research projects. They also include expenditures aimed at improving public museums, state and local historical societies, and the improvement of humanities education in public schools and in adult-education programs. A major endowment aim is to extend contact with the humanities to the general public outside the universities.

The relevance of endowment grants, of course, has been questioned. Rep. Durward Hall, Missouri Republican, recently seized on one grant to dramatize his campaign against "unnecessary Government expenditures." It was a grant to study Nineteenth Century comic strips. Publicity really boomed when the recipient, Dr. David Kunzle of the University of California, was found to be a British citizen and an outspoken critic of the war in Vietnam.

But Dr. Keeney refuses to make proper political views a condition for receiving grants. As for cartoons, he suspects that their influence on popular culture may be greater than that of certain more serious kinds of communication.

A more significant criticism is this: So far the endowment has made but one grant for a project directly applying the humanities to a current problem (a study of "the applicability of past urban-design theories to contemporary urban development"). And there has been not one grant for a truly original work of philosophy, political theory, or the like.

The endowment hasn't received any "good, practicable proposals" for such work, Dr. Keeney answers. He reports that the only projects proposed for expounding original ideas have been such things as one offering to "prove the existence of the immortal soul of man."

So he will wait until the right idea comes along, and he's counting on his agency staying alive until then.

At an assembly of educators once, a speaker had just declared that certain small colleges ought to shut down rather than go on offering second-class education. Suddenly from the back of the room a deep voice called out: "Have you ever tried to close down a college? Can't be done. Can't be done."

It was Barnaby Keeney. And now he hopes that what he said of colleges may be true for new Government agencies as well.

—Gerald George.

AFTER THE RIOTS: FORCE WON'T SETTLE ANYTHING

Mr. HART. Mr. President, for some 4 years, Detroit has been fortunate enough to have as police commissioner a remarkably perceptive, thoughtful, and effective man, Ray Girardin.

To insight and energy, he adds one other rare attribute: eloquence.

In this week's Saturday Evening Post, Ray Girardin is the author of the "Speaking Out" column—a section that the editors dedicate to dissent from the popular view.

In it, Commissioner Girardin dissents from a view currently popular among police authorities—the view that their work is being hampered or crippled by recent Supreme Court decisions.

Ray Girardin states the case about as well as I have seen it stated anywhere. I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "After the Riots: Force Won't Settle Anything," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

After the Riots: Force Won't Settle Anything

(By Ray Girardin)

During a summer of rioting a great many people became convinced that police should use more force to suppress the mobs. Quite a few even complained that police unwillingness to open fire was actually a cause of the riots. Any softness in the face of lawlessness, these people argue, permits lawlessness to spread. Unfortunately, these complainers seldom know what they're talking about, because they don't really know what role they expect policemen to perform.

The riots of this hot summer have followed the same pattern everywhere. There is an incident involving policemen—in Detroit, it was a raid on a blind pig, an after-hours drinking spot; then a crowd gathers; looters get to work; and then there is arson and, finally, sniping. Let's say—and this is what happened in Detroit—there are a few policemen and hundreds of looters over many square blocks. When should the policeman start shooting, and at whom? If he kills, the riot may get worse, and if he doesn't, it may also get worse.

Does the public expect a policeman to be a public executioner who can inflict capital punishment for misdemeanors? It is one thing to shoot back at snipers, and it is another thing to shoot down a child who is looting a pair of shoes or even a television set. Property can be restored, but not life.

When I first heard that civil disorder was spreading in Detroit last July, I was at home—it was early in the morning—but of course I immediately went to see for myself. Our policemen have been instructed to meet force with force, and also to temper justice with mercy, but plainly there was the danger that many people could be killed, whether from fire or gunfire. This naturally worried me, just as it was a painful decision for the policeman in combat to fire at a fellow citizen.

Of course, any riot can be crushed. But this would be an invitation to revolution. What we learned during Detroit's rioting was that our police were not equipped for it. We had been prepared for any large masses of demonstrators, but not for arsonists, looters and snipers spread over so much of the city. We have not even provided adequate communications facilities so that policemen can work together. Only a few officers have walkie-talkies. For anti-sniper work we had to *borrow* six armored cars. Society looks at policemen and blames them for the unrest. This is unfair. Society has neither dealt with its problems nor equipped policemen to deal with theirs, and it is time to get police work back into focus. In Detroit, for instance, we have 4,500 officers to deal with a population of 1,640,000, but also more than 700,000 civilians, some of them criminals, moving in and out of the city every day. The role of urban police must be redefined, and, obviously, better training and equipment will be needed.

The horror of a riot is easily visible, but the question of what force police should exert applies to a wide variety of situations. On any summer night in a major city like Detroit, the radio in my car may report, within five minutes, that a woman has been knocked down, a suspicious person is roaming an alley, a candy store has been robbed with one person shot, a baby is about to be born in an automobile and a crowd is gathering in a ghetto. In each case a man called Policeman is supposed to solve the problem, just as he was supposed to deal with the rioters.

The trouble is that most authorities, including the police, are not getting to the people. A policeman can no longer be the bully boy, or even the guardian, of a neighborhood. He should be above reproach, liberal, and even be able to serve as something of a clergyman. (Sometimes, even when a suspect is advised of all his constitutional rights and has a lawyer present, he will beckon to an officer, and insist that he wants to get it off his chest: He shot someone). In general, the policeman must help the taxpayer rather than merely police him without mercy. Personally, I believe it important that policemen be trained to get out of their cars and talk with citizens rather than crush citizens because they have a problem. But then the policeman can play whatever role the public wants.

In restoring order in Detroit, officers arrested about 7,000, including two policemen seized on murder charges. (One was released for lack of evidence.) Arresting fellow officers can also be part of a policeman's job, for those of us who are empowered to enforce the law enjoy no special immunity. Obviously, I cannot comment on my opinion as to the arrested officers' guilt or innocence. But I can assure you that they should have and do have all the rights provided by the Constitution and guaranteed by recent Supreme Court decisions. And suspected rioters have, and should have, just as many rights. There seems to be concern that no matter how many rioters we arrested—and no matter how many confessed—we could not get convictions under current court policies. Such waiting of protest is emotional. What is needed before a crime is crime prevention, and after a crime what is needed is not bullying but intelligent investigation.

What the Court has ordered, in fact, is that policemen improve their work, which is obviously far from perfect, and also that the cities provide the tools to make this possible. Consider a typical example of the sort of crisis policemen must confront daily. One winter morning a Detroit hotel was robbed, the night clerk was shot and killed, and 10 hours later detectives arrested a suspect. He was told of his rights, and took advantage of them. Perhaps a confession could have been extracted from him—I don't know. What I do know is that in four days the seven detectives we sent on this case had established that (1) the suspect possessed the exact amount of money taken from the hotel; (2) he had a revolver identical to the one used in the killing; (3) a witness had been asked by the suspect to be a partner in the robbery; (4) four witnesses had seen the suspect in or near the hotel on the night of the crime; (5) two witnesses had seen a diagram of the hotel lobby in the suspect's possession; and (6) the night clerk had written a note saying the suspect was in the hotel lobby on the day of the crime. The suspect had a criminal record, although this, of course, was not brought out at the trial. Nor did it need to be, any more than we needed a confession. The jury took 24 minutes to find the defendant guilty. A confession might very well have *hurt* the case, since the defendant would almost surely have repudiated it and testified that he had been the victim of "brutal" policemen.

Much of the protest against alleged "collapse of the law" has come about because of the Supreme Court decision in the case titled *Ernesto A. Miranda* v. *the State of Arizona*. Ernesto A. Miranda was convicted of rape on the basis of a confession extracted from him when he was without legal representation. The case has become notorious among those who seem to think that criminals are receiving special dispensation—even though Miranda was later retried and convicted. In fact, Miranda got no special treatment at all, only the same breaks which have been available all along to every affluent ganglord and crooked banker and stock manipulator and narcotics operator and successful thief. *They* know that they don't have to talk and they can call a lawyer.

Before *Miranda* and later decisions (and any honest policeman will admit this), we had great latitude for interpretation of the law, as did the prosecutors and the courts. We made law by action. Too often our personal sense of what was right and wrong entered into our decisions, and the end sometimes justified the means so that the innocent as well as the guilty were convicted. The Detroit police began preparing for a vast and dramatic overhaul of police work—even before *Miranda*—at the time the decision in the case of Danny Escobedo was handed down. Danny Escobedo was convicted of murder in Illinois, but his attorney was refused the right to speak with his client, and there was testimony that Escobedo stood for four hours in an interrogation room, and the Supreme Court did not understand this to be what is meant by a free and voluntary confession. The message was clear: Policemen had to be more than cops. In Detroit, once the *Escobedo* decision came down, we worked harder to find that reluctant holdup witness who ordinarily declined to get involved. We tried to persuade the witness that it was his duty as a citizen to tell the story—and the art of persuasion is a little-recognized element of a policeman's work. We depended less and less on the accused and more on the evidence we could produce that could not be tainted by the charge of coercion. The Supreme Court was perhaps more perceptive than it realized: Confessions can damage the image of the policeman since they can reinforce the phony idea that policemen are "cops," and a "cop" is a vicious, vindictive creature.

I remember a Detroit case in which a young factory worker was charged with strangling his girl friend. He confessed, but one item was bothersome. No one could find the girl's purse and the defendant was vague about this . . . but it hardly seemed to matter. After all, he had confessed.

Then the police got a telephone call from a woman who operated a rooming house. She told them she was suspicious of one of her male roomers who was behind in his rent, and she had looked through his dresser drawer and found 12 purses belonging to women. One was the dead girl's. It was not difficult then to establish a clear-cut case of murder against the roomer. But what if the roomer had not been so careless? Or the rooming-house owner so curious? The wrongly accused explained that he had confessed because he was afraid the deputies would have beaten him.

Another case involved a man who drove a laundry truck and lived in the half world of the alcoholic. He was arrested one night for urinating on the street in the neighborhood where a year before a 20-year-old girl had been sexually assaulted and murdered while walking home alone from a movie. A detective obtained so convincing a confession that a first-degree murder warrant was issued.

The alcohol-dulled mind of the truck driver did clear during his long abstinence in jail, and he realized that he had not killed this girl or anyone else. It was touch and go during his trial, but the jury found him innocent, and I asked him why he had confessed. He said, as near as I remember his words, "That cop had me convinced I did it. He kept telling me how I did it, and it all happened so long ago I don't remember where I was. Then he told me that if I didn't admit the truth, he would put me on the lie detector and that would show I was a damned liar, and the judge would give me life in prison. The way he talked, I thought the lie-detector machine would do just what he said, he seemed so sure." Naturally, he didn't know that the so-called lie detector, which doesn't detect lies, had no standing in court, and he had had no chance to collect his terrifying thoughts and recall that at the time of the murder he was miles away with witnesses to prove this.

In both these cases, it should be made clear, the policemen were operating properly under the old rules before *Miranda*—before the Supreme Court demanded that society decide what it expects the policeman to do and give him a chance to meet these expectations. Personally, I have doubts that the officers who are expected to cope with snipers in a riot like the one Detroit had in July should also be expected to deal with such problems as traffic and narcotics. Those are problems for specialists in their own fields, and narcotics seem to me to be a problem for the health authorities. The police should be allowed to become specialists, and professionals, in their own field, which is crime detection, and more important, crime prevention.

Crime, of course, includes riots. The harsh facts that must be faced are that any city is eligible for a riot at any time; that the Supreme Court has demanded excellent police work; and no city, with current tax systems, can afford it. Federal aid will be essential. Detroit's base pay of $8,335 to officers may have been ample in the old days—but today a policeman is required to do more than get confessions. Police work now demands brains rather than brawn, and, moreover, the possibilities of using modern science—in weapons, in communications, in recordkeeping, in investigation—have hardly been tapped. Given the chance, I am convinced we will be able to solve or prevent most crimes with computers 10 years from now. As of now, we have 9,000 local felons computerized in Detroit, and the computer does much legwork that is normally done by police. As an example, a man robbed eight dry-cleaning stores, and on the eighth holdup the clerk noticed that the thief had a chipped tooth. One computer spat out eight suspects with chipped teeth, each with a percentage rating as to whether this was the person we were looking for. Most of those selected were already in the state prison at Jackson. But it was then a simple matter to find the others, and give the store clerks a chance to identify, and convict, the robber.

I must concede, finally, that such decisions as *Miranda* have hurt police morale. But even this is unnecessary, and can change as the quality of policemen and police work are improved and as policemen forget the many reports that these decisions have interfered with their work. What must be kept in mind is that policemen can still arrest anyone, and they were never allowed to knock people around. All the Supreme Court has been trying to do, despite all the criticisms of its verdicts and despite the riots, is make sure that police work is done with all the skill, care and efficiency that we all deserve.

EXPERT ECONOMISTS PROVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WASTES BILLIONS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a basic and sound principle of economics is that when capital is invested a rate of return lower than it might earn elsewhere there is waste involved. The capital is not producing as much as it should. On a national scale, this means that our society is not functioning as well as it might, nor is it growing as rapidly as it could.

Our hearings on programing, planning, and budgeting before the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Economy in Government brought out some very enlightening evidence on the principles that should apply to Federal investment, and there is virtually unanimous agreement among economists on this subject. In calculating costs and benefits of any proposed project, particularly public works, it is agreed among economists that the rate of return should at least equal the average yield on longterm Government securities. The rate is now just a shade under 5 percent.

Beyond that, however, it must be remembered that the rate of return on capital in the private sector is much higher. At present it is at least 10 percent according to economists. Consequently, it is appropriate to consider not only the cost to the Government of funds to be invested in public works and other projects, but the alternative returns that might be realized on this same amount of investment in the private sector. I do not say that we should on all occasions assure ourselves that the Government return be equal to the private rate, but it is certainly a most valid standard of evaluation for the Federal Government to apply. If these standards were applied, the administration would certainly find that a number of existing projects are not paying their way. The administration has said that it will cut expenditures, although none of us in the Congress have seen any package of proposed cuts.

I am offering the administration a rational basis for evaluating programs; namely, the interest rate guidelines. As I pointed out yesterday, application of this rule would reduce inflationary pressures to the extent that they exist and, even more important, it would prevent a miscalculation of resources which would lower our longrun rate of growth. The longrun effects of forcing resources into less-productive areas by Government decision is a most important one and needs further investigation.

Last week my Joint Economic Committee Subcommittee on Economy in Government heard the distinguished Prof. William J. Baumol, of Princeton University, present his paper entitled "On the Appropriate Discount Rate for Evaluation of Public Projects." I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON THE APPROPRIATE DISCOUNT RATE FOR EVALUATION OF PUBLIC PROJECTS

(By William J. Baumol)

1. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISCOUNT RATE

It is generally recognized that the discount rate is a critical datum for the evaluation of any proposed government project. Even where there is little basic disagreement about the investment's prospective costs and benefits the choice of discount rate figure may make the difference between acceptance and rejection. A project which seems to yield substantial net benefits when evaluated at a 3 percent rate may well appear extremely wasteful if the rate is 5 percent.

Yet despite the critical nature of this parameter, in some calculations it is assigned a value almost cavalierly, with little attempt to show that the selected figure is not chosen arbitrarily and capriciously. In part this occurs because the choice of discount rate is a rather technical matter of economic analysis and it is not widely understood among nonspecialists. As a result, custom and convention become substitutes for careful analysis, and one sometimes encounters discount figures in cost-benefit calculations whose sole justification seems to be that similar figures were used in the past. Of course that can never be an acceptable argument, first because the earlier figure may have had as little justification as the one presently employed and, second, because changing circumstances produce modifications in the appropriate value of the discount rate, as will be shown below.

At stake in the choice of an acceptable discount rate is no less than the allocation of resources between the private and the public sectors of the economy. The discount rate, by indicating what government projects should be undertaken, can determine the proportion of the economy's activity that is operated by governmental agencies, and hence, the proportion that remains in the hands of private enterprise. With so much at issue it is well worth the effort to explore in some detail the principles that should be employed in arriving at a discount figure, and the rationale that underlies those principles. This paper undertakes to describe these principles extensively and carefully without heavy reliance on the jargon of technical economics.

2. THE BASIC CRITERION: OPPORTUNITY COST

The role of the discount rate as arbiter of the allocation of resources between private and public enterprise is critical. It serves to explain the grounds for our concern with the subject. This observation also proves to be the key to the principles which underly the choice of an acceptable discount figure. The right discount rate becomes that number which indicates correctly when resources should be transferred from one sector to another.

More specifically, suppose one is considering the construction of a dam which will employ x manhours of labor, y tons of cement and z kilowatt hours of electricity. In an economy in which the level of employment is high, if those resources are made available to the government they must be transferred out of the private sector. Just as in the guns vs. butter case, each item added to the public sector involves some corresponding reduction in the volume of resources in private hands.[1]

We may now establish a rather obvious criterion to test the desirability of the proposed resource transfer. If the resources in question produce a rate of return in the private sector which society evaluates at r percent, then the resources should be transferred to the public project if that project yields a return greater than r percent. They should be left in private hands if their potential earnings in the proposed government investment is less than r percent. The logic of this criterion is self evident. It states no more than the minimal dictate of efficiency: Never take resources out of a use where they bring in (say) 9 percent in order to utilize them in a manner which yields only 6 percent!

The standard that has just been described is the concept economists call *opportunity cost*. (This is the only bit of jargon in which we shall indulge ourselves.) We have stated, in effect, that the proper standard on which to judge the desirability of a governmental project, from the point of view of the general welfare, is the value of the opportunities which the private sector must pass by when the resources are withdrawn from that sector. A government project is desirable if and only if the value of the net benefits which it promises exceeds the cost of the lost productive opportunities which that investment causes.

We are now in a position to define the standards for a correct discount rate figure to be used in evaluating government projects. *The correct discount rate is the percentage rate of return that the resources utilized would otherwise provide in the private sector.* That is, the correct discount rate is the opportunity cost potential rate of return on the resources that would be utilized by the project. An example will readily show why this must be so. Suppose these resources are capable of returning our hypothetical 9 percent in the private sector. Consider three proposed government projects: Project *A* which offers an average rate of return of 12 percent, Project *B* whose expected return is 9 percent and Project *C* whose anticipated yield is 7 percent. It should be obvious that if we discount the returns of Project *C* at the opportunity rate of 9 percent we will end up with a negative net present value figure (i.e., seven percent discounted at 9 percent comes out to less than the principal invested). If we discount Project *B's* expected returns at 9 percent we will obtain a zero figure for the present value of net benefits (the returns will just cover the cost of the investment). Only project *A* when discounted at 9 percent will receive a positive net benefit figure. Thus the discount rate calculated at the opportunity rate works just as it should: it passes projects whose yield is greater than its resources could earn in the private sector and turns down projects whose benefits are not equal to the earnings the resources could provide in private hands.

The same illustration also shows immediately how an incorrect choice of discount figure—one not equal to the opportunity rate—can result in decisions harmful to the general welfare. For example, consider two extreme possibilities in terms of our hypothetical figures—a discount rate that is much too high (say, 15 percent) and one that is much too low (say 5 percent). At the excessive 15 percent figure the usual cost-benefit criterion would reject all three projects, even Project *A*. The government would then fail to undertake an investment that clearly represents an efficient use of society's resources. On the other hand, a 5 percent discount rate would, on a cost-benefit criterion, lead to the construction of all three projects. Thus even investment *C* would be undertaken even though it uses resources that should better be left in private hands. For it takes resources from employments in which they return 9 percent and puts them into an occupation in which they bring in only 7 percent, a palpable two percent net loss to the community.

The upshot is perfectly clear. Any discount rate that is clearly above or clearly below the opportunity cost rate is indefensible because either of these will lead to decisions that reduce the general welfare. We must turn therefore to an investigation of the opportunity cost rate of resources, for once we have determined this we will have the requisite information for the choice of discount rate to be used in the evaluation of government projects.

3. THE OPPORTUNITY COST OF CONSUMER RESOURCES

When a government project withdraws resources from the private sector it must take them either from consumers or from business firms. A bag of cement used in constructing a dam might otherwise have been used to build a factory or in paving Sam Jones' driveway. The two sources need not always incur equal opportunity costs and they will therefore have to be examined separately. It will be seen presently that the opportunity cost of resources withdrawn from industry is relatively easy to explain and so, to get the more difficult matter out of the way first, we begin with the opportunity cost of consumer resources.

Since consumers' goods do not provide a rate of return that is measurable directly it is necessary to find some indirect means by which the opportunity cost can be inferred. Fortunately there is a straightforward way in which this can be done. When a consumer voluntarily purchases a bond which returns, say, 6 percent, he is indicating that this rate of return compensates him for giving up a dollar's worth of present consumption and hence deferring the consumption to the future. Put another way, if this consumption were worth more than 6 percent to him he would not buy the bond, while if the consumption were worth less than 6 percent to him he would purchase more bonds than he does. Thus without any conscious calculation on his part a consumer's security purchases reveal something about the rate of return his present consumption is worth to him—the opportunity cost incurred when a dollar's worth of consumption goods is prevented from going to him and is transferred to a government investment project. We can learn about this opportunity cost by observing the consumer's behavior exactly as in the physical sciences one learns about pressure, temperature, etc., by observation of items which themselves have knowledge of these magnitudes.

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[1] On the other hand, if any resources used by the government project would otherwise be totally unemployed, now and in the future, their use obviously incurs no opportunity cost in the private sector. In an economy such as that of the United States since World War II employment of resources has usually been so high that this consideration is quite irrelevant to the facts of the matter.

What about consumers who do not buy any bonds? It follows from the preceding discussion that their opportunity cost must be at least as high and probably higher than it is for bond purchasers. To a man who chooses *not* to purchase bonds at 6 percent, the consumption for which he uses his money must by definition be worth more than 6 percent. This is no less true for a man who fails to purchase bonds because "he cannot afford them." That phrase merely implies that his consumption dollar means a great deal to him—perhaps even survival itself, and is therefore certainly more valuable than 6 percent.

We may summarize by saying that the opportunity cost of present consumption to non-bondholders must be at least as great as the figure for bondholders and that to bondholders the opportunity cost of consumption is indicated by the rate of return on their bondholdings.

Here we are referring to the net rate of return after making allowance for risk. An 8 percent rate of return on a highly risky bond may be no greater than a 6 percent rate of return on a safe security because the additional two percent on the more speculative bond simply compensates the purchaser for the added risk it requires him to undertake. That two percent "risk premium" is therefore only a payment for the risk involved in holding an unsafe security and has nothing to do with the basic opportunity cost of deferred consumption which is incurred when resources are transferred from the consumer to the government. The criterion of bondholder's opportunity cost therefore is the rate of return on a riskless bond. For all practical purposes a government bond can be considered to be such a riskless security.

Moreover, what is relevant for this purpose is not the rate of return on short-term securities but the yield of long-term bonds. When cement is put into a dam that is expected to last for 50 years, these resources are taken out of the hands of consumers for such a long period, and the opportunity cost is the rate of return consumers expect when they voluntarily give up resources for a similar period, i.e., when they acquire long-term bonds.

We can now readily draw our conclusion about the opportunity cost of resources derived from consumers. Since in recent years government bonds with longer maturities have been returning between 4.75 and 5 percent one can be certain that the opportunity cost rate for consumers is at no lower than the smaller of these figures. For bondholders it may be taken to be somewhere in the 4.75 to 5 percent range while for individuals who do not purchase bonds deprivation of resources will incur an even higher opportunity cost. Hence on resources obtained from consumers there is no reason to utilize any discount rate lower than approximately 4.75 percent.

4. THE DISCOUNT RATE ON RESOURCES FROM THE BUSINESS SECTOR

Next we consider the opportunity cost of resources derived from business firms. Recent hearings on rate of return to various public utilities have suggested clearly that these are expected to provide a rate of return ranging from perhaps 5½ to 8½ percent *after taxes*. That is, the productivity of resources used by such companies is sufficient to return this much to company stockholders. Even those who have argued before the regulatory commissions for relatively low profit ceilings for such companies have not proposed that earnings be driven below this range. But with a corporation tax rate in the vicinity of 50 percent, in order to return say 6 percent to stockholders, the company must produce a product for which consumers are willing to pay approximately 12 percent! That is, on can state with some confidence that the resources used by firms in the private sector characteristically produce returns in terms of value of output ranging from 11 to 17 percent. There is no need to enter here into the discussion of the proportion of this amount that should be ignored because of risk. The indisputable fact is that on any criterion the rate of return on resources transferred from business firms to government projects, i.e., their opportunity cost rate, is well in excess of the 4.75 to 5 percent that constitutes the minimum discount figure applicable to resources transferred from consumers to government projects.[2]

The upshot of the discussion is clear. No absolute and final figure has been suggested for the appropriate discount rate on government projects. However, it has been shown that on any standards, a figure below 4.75 percent is certainly too low and will lead to the wasteful transfer of resources from the private to the public sectors. For we have seen that for some resources (those transferred from consumer bondholders) the opportunity cost rate is at least 4.75 percent, while on resources which are kept from nonbondholding consumers or from business firms the opportunity cost is higher—probably in many cases by a considerable amount.

5. CHANGES IN RATES ON GOVERNMENT BONDS

This completes the basic analysis of the determination of the appropriate rate of discount for use in a cost-benefit evaluation of government projects. However, a number of misconceptions have sometimes arisen in this area and it is therefore desirable to face up to them squarely. The next few sections address themselves to issues of this variety.

Thus, the preceding discussion may give rise to misunderstanding about the consequences of changes in the rates of interest which the federal government chooses to offer on its securities. Suppose the rate of interest on long-term bonds is initially five percent and the government decides to issue some bonds bearing a coupon of 4.5 percent. One may be tempted to question whether this automatically affects the desirability of a proposed government project. The answer is that this change *by itself* will have no such effect. For the real rate of return on government bonds is not necessarily equal to its coupon rate—the nominal percentage payment which the treasury decides to assign to them; rather the real rate of return will be determined by the opportunity cost of money to bond purchasers. Suppose, for example, that the opportunity rate to consumers were 5 percent (and to take a ridiculous example for the sake of ease of arithmetic) the treasury decided to issue (perpetual) bonds offering only 2½ percent. The consequences would follow almost at once. Bonds with a face value of $100 could be sold for a market price of only $50 because no one would be willing to pay more for them.[3] And at that price the investor who put $100 into government bonds would obtain *two* bonds of face value of $100 for his money, bonds that would return to him $2.50 each, so that on his investment he would still obtain 5 percent. Hence the treasury decision to issue 2½ percent bonds would not in the slightest way change the fact that the effective yield on government bonds (and hence the opportunity cost of resources drawn from bondholding consumers) is 5 percent.

While the numbers in the preceding illustration are exaggerated, the situation it describes is very real. The effective yield on government bonds is often quite different from their nominal return. That is precisely what goes on whenever the price of such a security changes—its effective yield is affected by the market and investors' valuation of their money, even though the rate of return promised by the face value of the bond does not change.

It is true that the government can change the real rates of yield on bonds. It does so when it goes from an easy money policy to one involving tight money. But this it must accomplish through the use of much more powerful measures that do influence the opportunity cost of money itself.

Only by influencing GNP, or the supply of money or the supply of bonds, all of which affect the valuation which consumers place on their money, can the government institute a change in the real yields of its securities and really make it stick. Thus, when government policy does succeed in producing a change in the *effective* bond rate, the new bond rate does become a valid indicator of the correct rate of discount on government projects.

6. CALCULATION OF THE RATE OF RETURN ON LONG-TERM BONDS

The discussion of the preceding section has some clear implications about the manner on which the long-run bond rate of return should be calculated if it is to be used for the process of evaluation of the discount rate on government projects. There are two basic rules both fundamental and inviolable:

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[2] A few remarks on the issue of risk may, however, be illuminating. It is true that in many firms new investments are highly risky—we cannot anticipate what future demands for their outputs will be. On the other hand, a government investment is also risky. For example, many abandoned canals were no doubt built in the anticipation that their use would continue much longer than it did in fact. Thus it cannot be argued that, e.g., a 9 percent return on a government project is perhaps the equivalent of a 15 percent return on a corporate investment, because both of them are subject to considerable risk. The treatment of risk has been the subject of considerable discussion by economists. Some highly reputable economists (e.g., Prof. P. A. Samuelson of the Mass. Institute of Technology and Prof. Kenneth Arrow of Stanford University) have argued that because there are so many investment projects undertaken in the economy overall they incur no risk on the same statistical principle (the law of large numbers) which largely eliminates the risk of life insurance companies who do not know when any individual policyholder is going to die. In any event it is quite certain that no economist of any substantial reputation, whatever his views of the risk issue in the calculation of the opportunity of cost of resources transferred from private firms, would argue that this opportunity cost rate is below 4.75 percent.

[3] An obvious exception is represented by the case of "E" and "H" bonds whose prices are fixed and yet continue to be sold when market rates of interest rise. However, the purchasers of these bonds are small investors who are not always fully informed of the alternative investment opportunities available to them and whole bond purchases are in part a response to patriotic appeals. The terms on which these securities are bought are therefore only distantly related in the opportunity cost of consumer resources.

1.) *The rate of discount should utilize in its calculation the market yield on government bonds not their fictitious coupon rate of return.* Consider again our previous example: a bond issue nominally designed to offer a (perpetual) return of 2½ percent (it yields a return of $2.50 and bears a face value of $100). If the market price of that bond falls to $50 the effective market rate will be five and not 2½ percent and it would be absurd to call the rate of interest anything but five percent.[4]

2.) Suppose, for the sake of illustration, it is decided to call bonds "long term" only if the period they involve is in excess of ten years. *Then if a bond was originally issued for twenty years but currently has only one year left before it reaches maturity it must be considered a short-term (one-year) bond and its interest rate must not be used in calculating an average rate of interest on long-term securities.* The reason for this rule should be clear on a moment's reflection. If I hold a bond which matures in one year, it makes no difference to me today whether it was originally issued for one or twenty or one hundred years. What is of importance to me (except as a matter of historical curiosity) is that the bond will return to me its face value in one year and pay me a certain amount in interest in the meantime. For precisely that reason the market prices of new one year bonds and of 20 year bonds with one year to run would behave in precisely the same way provided their terms were the same—they would be priced to produce an identical effective rate of interest rate (yield to maturity), and hence both their interest rates would be *short-term* rates, irrelevant for the calculation of a long-term discount rate.

If it is true then, as I have been informed, that the rate of discount currently utilized in some cost-benefit calculations is obtained by averaging the *coupon rates* on all securities *whose original maturities was in excess of 15 years* one can only comment that the resulting figure has absolutely no relevance for the appropriate discount rate on public projects.

7. SUBSIDY FOR THE FUTURE?

Despite the firm economic grounds for our basic conclusion that there is no justification for a discount rate below the rate of interest on long-term government bonds, there may remain some who are tempted to argue for low rates of discount on what may be described as sentimental grounds. Such a view might rest its case on an appeal to the prospects for the nation's future—the argument that increased investment today is a contribution to the nation's welfare tomorrow. It would appear that this purpose can be served by a lower discount rate which would lead to approval of a larger number of governmental investment projects. The greater the number of investment projects that are put into effect the greater is the contribution to the nation's posterity.

Though such a position is likely to have considerable superficial appeal it can readily be shown to rest on a number of falacies. First of all, there is no basis for the presumption that a transfer of resources from the private to the public sector will necessarily produce a net increase in the amount of investment undertaken by the economy. The increase in the amount of governmental capital construction is very likely to be offset, at least in part, by a decline in private investments in plant and equipment.

Surely, if the nation's investment for the future is considered to be inadequate the appropriate remedy is to institute simultaneous inducements to both private and public capital formation.[5] As we have seen, an arbitrarily low discount rate on public projects certainly is not the instrument for that purpose. While it encourages government projects it discourages private investment by drawing resources away from industry and by providing disparate assistance to the competitors of those private firms who rely on no help from the government sector. Moreover, such arbitrarily low discount rates on public projects introduce serious inefficiencies into the investment process, by causing the withdrawal of resources from areas of use in which their yield is high and leading to their transfer to areas in which their return is low. This is a most peculiar way to encourage more effective investment for the future!

In any event, those who maintain that there is inadequate provision for the future draw incorrect general inferences from irrelevant particular cases. It is difficult to dispute the valid conservationist argument that the destruction of irreplaceable natural resources does indeed impose a heavy cost on our posterity. The destruction of a portion of a canyon, the extinction of a species of wildlife, the erosion of the soil all are matters of serious concern because once done they cannot be undone, and this is precisely the legitimate ground on which conservationists urge increased care in avoiding depletion of our natural resources.

But it is not legitimate to jump from the valid point that one generation has no right to use up wastefully the resources that cannot be replaced by its successors, to the groundless conclusion that each generation is constrained to engage in overall efforts to support its posterity beyond the level that is indicated by the free market. For that is precisely what is involved in a program of low discount rates or any other program of special inducements to investments. Any of these are, effectively, programs of subsidy in which society is committed to provide special assistance to governmental and other investment projects. And it is a commonplace of economic analysis that any act of real investment constitutes the transfer of resources from the present to the future. The construction of a durable dam amounts to the tying up of resources many of whose benefits will only become available to the community many years in the future.

The basic issue, then, is whether it is desirable to subsidize in this way the commitment to the future of resources which could otherwise serve society today. Considerable real investment is provided by the workings of free enterprise together with the program of government projects which can pass the standard cost-benefit test utilizing the discount rate that has already been described. Is there any justification for a program of subsidies designed to produce an even greater overall commitment of resources to the future?

A little thought shows that the grounds for such a program are highly tenuous at best. Our economy is characterized by a long run rate of growth of GNP of the order of 3 to 4 percent per year, compounded, and in recent years the growth rate has been even greater. Per capita income has risen persistently throughout our history and there is every reason to expect the rise to continue. We are therefore wealthier than our predecessors and it can quite safely be predicted that our successors will be richer than we. In effect, then, the artificial subsidization of a program of added investment amounts to an inducement for the transfer of additional resources from the poor to the rich. It would take inputs whose product would be available for consumption today and make them available tomorrow when the supply of consumer goods is likely to be so much more abundant than it is at present.

We see that there is no basis for the inference that because society should avoid the vandalism involved in the spoilation of irreplaceable resources, it should also subsidize the increased provision of resources of all sorts to future generations who are, even without this, so likely to be wealthier than we.

To summarize, there is no basis in terms of the welfare of society for a level of discount rate on government projects below the opportunity cost rate. A decision to utilize a low discount rate will, as we have seen, lead to three unfortunate consequences, all of them inimical to the welfare of the community. First, insofar as it produces a net increase in investment by the economy, it will transfer resources from present consumption to future consumption even though future consumers are likely to be better supplied than those of today. Second, since such a low discount rate provides encouragement only to government investment, it will lead to the transfer of resources from the private to the public sectors of the economy and hence, very likely to a decrease in the level of investment undertaken by private enterprise as a whole. Third, and this is the most immediate issue, a low discount rate on government projects must lead to wasteful employment of these resources—it must induce their transfer from sectors of the economy in which their yield is high to other sectors in which their return is low, for that is precisely what is implied by a discount figure below the opportunity cost rate.

8. CONCLUDING COMMENTS: THE CONSENSUS OF PROFESSIONAL ECONOMISTS

The determination of the rate of discount is too important a matter to be left to casual calculation or the fortuitous practices that have developed over time. The literature of economics agrees both on the importance of a correct choice of discount rate and on the basic criterion which should be used in its determination. The logic of the issue dictates that opportunity cost is the relevant criterion and this conclusion is universally accepted by the profession.

It would, however, be misleading to pretend that economists are in complete agreement as to the precise magnitude this requires for the discount rate. Differences relating to the role of risk, the proportion of the relevant resources derived from consumers and from other business firms and other similar matters have led to divergences in the estimates of the appropriate discount rate figure. Precisely for that reason this paper has made no attempt to provide any single figure which purports to represent a uniquely correct rate of discount for government projects. A public forum has no special interest in the views of any single witness unless they have behind them the full weight of professional judgment and analysis.

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[4] This calculation and that in the previous section are somewhat oversimplified for purposes of exposition. The arithmetic is precisely accurate only for a perpetual bond such as the British consols in which no repayment of the principal is ever contemplated. If a bond matures in, say, 20 years the drop in current price does not affect its redemption value and this complicates the arithmetic slightly. The figure that is required in this case is what is called the yield to maturity which takes into account the present value of the amount the holder will receive when the security matures as well as the interest payments he receives in the interim.

[5] There are of course important cases where it is considered socially desirable to stimulate governmental output of goods and services which cannot be provided effectively by the private sector. Education, elimination of pollution and national defense are all services whose supply, it is generally felt, should not be left exclusively in the hands of the private sector. In such cases government subsidy and, in some cases complete governmental financing, is entirely appropriate. But this does not justify a particularly low *discount rate* on the government projects which would distort the allocation of resources between short and long-term investment. If we need more expenditure on education now—better books and better teachers—a reduction in the discount rate would not provide them. It would only stimulate the construction of durable school buildings, the long-term investment portion of educational expenditure.

But the writings of the leading authorities in the field do confirm the basic contention of this report, that there is no justification for the use in present circumstances of any discount figure significantly lower than 4.75 percent. By and large discussion in the literature centers about the amount by which the correct discount rate *exceeds* this order of magnitude. The reason is straightforward. We have seen that 4.75 percent is the lowest opportunity cost rate for any group from whom resources might be transferred to a government project. All that remains as a matter for further investigation is the proportion of these resources that would be drawn from other groups whose opportunity cost rate is higher. If, for example, the bulk of such resources is normally transferred from the corporate sector where they can earn far more than 4.75 percent it is obvious that a discount rate substantially higher than this figure would be required.

There can also be no doubt that no well-known economist would see any merit in a long-term discount rate on government projects obtained by averaging *coupon rates* on securities having more than 15 years to run *at time of issue*. For it is generally agreed among economists that it is the effective market yield and not the coupon rate that has any relevance for consumer's discount rates, and it is also agreed that a security with six months to run is a short-term security whether it was originally issued for 9 months or 90 years.

Therefore, while there is not complete unanimity among economists on the precise number that should be used in discounting it would be misleading to infer that there is any disagreement on the basic point at issue. The profession speaks with one voice in asserting that a discount figure of 3.5 or 4 percent is too low in present circumstances, and warns us clearly of the misallocation of resources and inefficiencies that are likely to result from the use of such unjustifiable figures.

INDUSTRY AND POLLUTION CONTROL MEASURES

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, pollution control has long been a major concern of many industrial leaders. For years American manufacturers have been seeking effective and economical methods of waste control and have taken steps to help abate pollution of our natural resources.

There can be no doubt that National and State action is needed if our lakes and streams and the air we breathe are to be restored to their former purity, and I have supported measures aimed at accomplishing this goal. But Government cannot do the job alone; without the cooperation and assistance of the private sector, any program to reduce pollution will inevitably encounter difficulties and delays.

Consequently, I was pleased to read a very enlightening article written by Mr. Jack Reich, chairman of the board and president of the Indianapolis Water Co., which stressed the role of industry and its future responsibility in this very important field. Mr. Reich describes the pioneering work accomplished at the first industrial waste conference which was held at Purdue University in 1944 and the assistance which private industry has been to the Indiana Stream Pollution Control Board in developing acceptable water quality criteria. He also points out that the Indiana General Assembly enacted laws in 1965 and 1967 encouraging industry to intensify its efforts against air and water pollution by exempting from personal property tax the value of equipment used for waste removal purposes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article, entitled "Water and Air Pollution—An Industry Responsibility," published in the July 1967 issue of Indiana Business and Industry, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Water and Air Pollution—An Industry Responsibility

(By Jack Reich, chairman of the board and president, Indianapolis Water Co.)

If a person took the headlines at their face value, he might well assume that pollution of air and water, two of our most abundant natural resources, had just arrived, full-blown, on the scene.

The perils of pollution, however, have been with us for a long time, increasing in intensity with population growth and expanded industrial activity.

Suddenly, official federal recognition, including the President himself several months ago, has been taken of the problem and industry is expected to clean its house immediately. This cannot be done overnight. It took a long time getting here, particularly at its present level. It will take time to achieve the maximum possible abatement of pollution—but many hands are at work on the job.

For years abatement of pollution has been the subject of much study and work by industry and oriented associations. Twenty-three years is not a long time—pollution was here several decades prior—but in November of 1944, the first Industrial Waste Utilization Conference was held at Purdue University, the first such meeting in this country.

The preface to the printed proceeding of that meeting states that "On numerous occasions during the past year it had been indicated that the industries of the state were definitely becoming interested in waste disposal. Realizing that in many instances it was also a problem in economics as well as one of disposal, it was decided to hold a Waste Utilization Conference and bring together representatives of industry and the men best known in their particular field of waste product utilization." The attendance at the conference by the various groups interested numbered 203, representing these segments of Indiana and affiliated industry: 20 processors of milk products, 13 metal manufacturers and fabricators, 12 food canners, nine oil refiners, five paper manufacturers, four meat packers, three brewers (distillers, allied industries), one chemical manufacturer, one soap manufacturer, 21 state government officials, 21 representatives from colleges and universities, 18 sewage treatment plant officials, 15 manufacturers' representatives, 15 municipal government officials, 10 water treatment plant officials, nine consulting engineers, eight federal government officials, five magazine and newspaper representatives, three U.S. Army officers and ten miscellaneous.

There were representatives from the State Chamber of Commerce and major Indiana trade associations: Manufacturers, Dairy Products, Canners, Coal Operators, Coal Producers, Truck Mine Operators, Brewers, and Oil and Gas.

The Indiana Section of the American Water Works Association was represented, as was the Indiana Sewage Works Association. State governmental agencies were the Indiana Stream Pollution Control Board, State Board of Health, and the (then) Conservation Department. Credit should be given to the pollution control board which instigated the conference.

Quoting from an editorial in the *Indianapolis Star* on November 26, 1944: ". . . it means that state officials and representatives of business firms are getting together to study just how they can cut further the pollution of Indiana's streams from factory waste materials.

"The reasoning is good. Reductions in pollution bring improved health conditions to affected communities and thus to the entire state. They also bring savings to the businesses involved.

"Many manufacturers have greatly reduced their industrial wastes through careful checking of processing and thereby obtained savings of many thousands of dollars, proving there is an answer to the problem of industrial waste disposal."

Does the foregoing account of another Indiana "first" merit the implications that industry was shirking its duty, as stated in April of this year "that the federal government alone cannot shoulder the entire burden of air pollution control research . . . that coal, oil, power industries would have to do more." I realize that this statement refers to "air pollution", but I know that industry is just as concerned with eliminating that as they were with water pollution 23 years ago.

Indiana industry has worked diligently to help the Indiana Stream Pollution Control Board formulate workable water quality criteria for the state which would comply with the guidelines established by the Federal Water Quality Act of 1965.

An Indiana State Chamber of Commerce committee, chaired by Leo Louis of the Gary-Hobart Water Company, in cooperation with other business groups, studied the problems involved in establishing criteria, caused the creation of river basin committees which developed specific information on their streams and appeared at public hearings to report the findings and feelings of the groups.

The level of air and water pollution today is caused by our developing society. It must be eliminated by all segments of this society working in concert. From the publicity in recent months, it might appear that federal agencies were doing the job all by themselves.

It is quite fitting and proper that our federal government should have a part in developing a program.

"Part" is not total responsibility. The federal government's role should center primarily on research toward the control of pollution and the development of techniques gained through that research, working hand-in-hand with the states. From this research, the states could properly establish criteria and reasonable standards for the quality of air and water, all of which should be technologically possible and economically feasible of attainment.

Since pollution essentially is a local or regional affliction, air more so than water perhaps, it is more fitting and workable that responsibility for these two elements be shared by state and municipal government.

The growing pressure of public concern

has and will continue to make itself heard. Controls and remedial steps already are accepted by many communities and industries as a matter-of-fact responsibility, particularly here in Indiana.

I feel that industry does realize its position of stature in the community, its responsibilities even more. Where water is concerned, an industry may have located its plant in a certain area because of an adequate and suitable supply of water. It certainly does not want to deprive its immediate or more distant neighbors of their right to enjoy and use that water for recreation or other purposes (including their jobs!), nor to endanger their health by permitting wastes from the plants to pollute the air and water.

Industy is a citizen, a corporate citizen which lives in the community as do its employee representatives, and takes an active part in its affairs. It is a good neighbor; it could not afford not to be.

Industry must conform with the established concept that expense of operation may not consistently exceed income, or it will fail. Such a failure would remove the plant from the community.

Avoiding harmful pollution is being accepted as a necessary non-productive business cost made in the public interest. Industry is moving ahead on this crusade to cure pollution, as it has for years, supplementing its preventive equipment installations with improving operating techniques, training of operators, and initiating other procedures to enable present control equipment to do a more efficient job in reducing wastes.

To give government its due, neither federal nor state government is heedless or unaware of the financial burden involved by equipment to stop wastes. Our own state is a good example.

Recognizing the public interests involved, the 1965 General Assembly provided a measure of relief for industry by exempting from personal property taxation all equipment designed for and used solely for the purpose of removing industrial wastes and contaminants to eliminate air pollution for the improvement of the public health and welfare. In 1967, the Assembly provided similar tax relief for that equipment necessary to eliminate stream pollution. The only difference in the laws concerns that for stream pollution, where the installation must be inspected and certified by a state agency before the tax exemption would be final on the local assessor's books.

It is some sort of tribute to the power of publicity that even though water pollution control was talked about and prevention equipment installed beginning at least a quarter-century ago, financial assistance for air pollution, relatively a late-comer, came one Assembly sooner!

The Federal income tax law provides a 7% tax investment credit (3% for regulated utilities) for facilities necessary and used for the prevention of either air or water pollution. That investment is heavy. I know of several large utilities and industries in Indiana which, within the past few months, have announced plans to install dust collection equipment at a cost of over $25 million to reduce air pollution from our plants. Those are but a sprinkling: imagine the total $$ over our nation.

Early in this 20th Century, the usual "come-on" to attract industry to a city was a photo showing the skyline with the tall stacks belching forth clouds of billowing smoke as a symbol of booming business. (In those days, the control agency was for "smoke abatement" only.) When complete pollution prevention is achieved, a similar photograph would show the homes, the trees, and the inspiring business towers as well as the industrial plants.

Technological advances in the use of fuel, increased production capacity, and the business approach by electric and gas utilities have been instrumental in reducing air pollution by lessening the number of individual offenders. Many industries, stores and other business establishments and homes which once maintained their own facilities for production of heat and power, today obtain their "fuel supply" from the central utility. One instead of many.

Municipal operation also contributes to the air pollution load through the burning of communal trash and garbage. Incinerators with proper equipment for complete control are expensive and are being built when funds are made available, but in the meantime many communities can be sighted from afar by the smoke billowing from the pits. One current growing intermedial solution seems to be landfill operations, but here as in other activities and enterprises the question arises: how long will the land hold out? Will we have soil pollution?

An engineer has commented, "As a weed is a flower out of place, so is pollution a resource out of place." Industry must be cost-conscious to survive, and so balances possible assets against expense. In addition to greater efficiency of operation, it is seeking to extract from waste products every usable element. For instance, a valuable sulfate can be removed from the sulfur dioxide in stack gases. When the process has been perfected, the sale of the sulfate would be a subsidy factor to offset the cost of recovery.

In removal of pollution from waste water, industry can recover byproducts of production. To cite a few, they are: sulphite wastes from paper mills to make nutritional yeast; dried grains from distilleries converted into cattle feed and fertilizer; corn product plant waste helps to make penicillin and streptomycin; chrome from a chrome plating plant; oil, from refineries; and lime for use in agriculture or in water softening, this from a water utility softening plant.

Pollution affects persons over a wider area because the stream moves onward, carrying with it the collective wastes from a myriad of industries and the sewage plants of many communities. It can be as devastating to welfare and prosperity as a flood or a water shortage, another topic that has been appearing in the various communications media for several decades.

The water utilities are doing a good conscientious job of making polluted water safe to drink, but ofttimes that water is not the most palatable because of the unpredictability and composition of the waste contaminants. When such wastes are removed before they enter the stream or lake, it will further the utilities' operating efficiency.

Industry has a vital stake in clean water, which it uses in astonishing amounts: as a coolant, an ingredient, for washing, for transporting materials in suspension, for power, for drinking, and for fire protection.

Pollution in water often is not visible to the eye, but its effects are, such as a fishkill, iridescent or color splotches on the surface, or more recently and spectacularly, the huge billowing clouds of foam from detergents. This was particularly difficult for water filtration plants to eliminate, and in a few communities the foam emerged from faucets in the homes! The prompt attention by industry in research and development of a non-foaming detergent resulted in a biodegradable product that erased the problem.

Industry is ever inquiring as to better ways to make its products with less or no polluting waste.

Not all pollution is directly caused by industry or inefficient sewage plants. For example, the use of animal wastes and chemical fertilizers on the land can exert a major deterrent influence on water quality. The runoff from urban and rural areas can cause serious water quality damage and therefore must be considered a source of pollution. Silt washed into the stream by runoff also is considered a pollution. Taste and odor difficulties from water are usually worse during the spring runoff period, and they, as I've mentioned, evoke uncomplimentary comment from water utility customers, even though the water supplied is perfectly safe for drinking and all purposes.

Combating water pollution has been regarded as a prime objective for many years by industry and water utility management. They have received valuable help from scientific, technical and engineering societies in research, and many of the members of those groups are from industry. Our "halls of learning" have contributed their share to the crusade, as evidenced recently in a study conducted by the Purdue Environmental Health Institute which gives promise that treating waste water with gamma radiation from a cobalt source would be more effective than present treatment.

Industry should—must—police itself. If it does not, then the government—federal, state, city, or town—would be compelled to step into the picture and set up laws that need not have been enacted.

SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL ON THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, we have heard the laments of people who say the United States stands alone in the world. These criers of doom would have us believe that most of our ideals and international activities are either ineffective or totally opposite to the beliefs and efforts of all other nations.

They are wrong. And nothing proves their folly more conclusively than the existence of such organizations as the Asian Development Bank. I think the ADB is one of the most outstanding examples of international teamwork now in operation.

Thirty-one countries, most of them Asian, are working together to help the people of the entire Asian world build better lives for themselves.

That is quite an undertaking. But then, the Asian Development Bank is quite a team. Encompassing nations in all stages of economic development, its members include 19 countries from the region and another 12 from Europe and North America.

Many Members of this body, myself included, have often stated that the most effective aid is given multilaterally. President Johnson obviously agrees. That is why I am 100 percent in favor of putting the stamp of approval on the work of the Asian Development Bank and on the proposal to advance it that the President has submitted today.

I believe the 90th Congress will act affirmatively on the President's excellent proposal for continuing the social and economic progress of free Asia.

The Asian Development Bank is one of the most important new instruments for the economic development of Asia.

It is an Asian initiative and its activities will in many ways extend or even be a multiplier of the bilateral assistance programs of free world nations.

The Bank, for instance, can bring together consortiums for lending on projects that are too big for any one donor nation to undertake. It also can improve the effectiveness of the assistance of others by helping to finance enlarged programs of technical assistance.

Subscriptions to the Bank's capital are helping to spread the aid burden by bringing in funds from nations not previously giving aid in Asia and by increasing the assistance that they might otherwise have provided.

Of special importance is the Bank's charter which gives it all necessary powers to stimulate and assist private enterprise development in Asia. This means that the Bank can make loans directly or guarantee loans by others to private enterprises in Asian countries; make loans to development banks in Asian countries which would then relend to small private enterprises; invest in equity capital of private enterprises; facilitate development of local capital markets by underwriting or participating in underwriting of securities issued by private enterprises; draw on funds in private capital markets, through bond sales and sales of portions of loans it has made, for lending in the Asian region.

The Bank is of vital importance to the economic development of Asia but, as we have known from the beginning, its so-called ordinary capital is of limited use in financing programs that are something less than top risks. The continued support of Congress, specifically in authorizing the money for the American subscription to the Bank's special funds operations, is needed if the promising beginning by the Bank is to be sustained.

RETIREMENT OF MAJ. GEN. L. G. MERRITT, U.S. MARINE CORPS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the people of South Carolina have lost the services of a fine gentleman through his well-earned retirement from his position as director of the State legislative council.

I am referring to the recent resignation from that post of Maj. Gen. L. G. Merritt, U.S. Marine Corps, retired. General Merritt has had a distinguished career of public service in both war and peace. His career as a soldier and as a public official is marked by devotion to duty and outstanding performance. In these times when so many of the youth of our country need guidance, I think that a brief résumé of General Merritt's career would serve as an excellent example of patriotism for our young people to emulate.

He was born June 26, 1897, at Ridge Spring, S.C., and was graduated from The Citadel in 1917.

Appointed a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, he served with the 2d Provisional Brigade in Santo Domingo from June 1917 to August 1918. Afterward he joined the AEF in France for a tour of 10 months and later served with the Marine Corps detachment aboard the battleship U.S.S. *New Mexico*.

He became a Marine aviation officer in 1924 and served with distinction in a number of flying assignments. While attached to the office of the Judge Advocate General, Navy Department, in Washington from 1925 to 1928, he enrolled as a law student at George Washington University and earned a bachelor of law degree. He was admitted to the bar of the State of South Carolina while he was on active duty with the Marine Corps.

When World War II began, the general was assigned to the American Embassy in London, and spent a year with the Royal Air Force on observation duty.

In January 1942 General Merritt was aboard a British bomber that was shot down by German antiaircraft fire in North Africa. The plane crash landed near Axis lines, but all aboard were rescued by British armored cars. General Merritt is believed to be the first Marine officer shot down by the Nazis after the United States entered World War II.

During the remainder of the war, he saw service against the Japanese in the Pacific war area, taking part in the action in the Solomon Islands campaign and in other strikes against the enemy.

For his service he earned the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star with combat "V," and a number of other campaign medals.

When he retired from the Marine Corps in 1947 he practiced law as an attorney in West Columbia, S.C. Since 1949 he has served with the State legislative council, where he won the respect and deep appreciation of the State's legislators.

I am proud to be a friend of this distinguished citizen of South Carolina, who was a true patriot, brave soldier, and great American. I join many others in expressing regret that he had decided to retire.

Mr. President, I ask that the testimonial editorial about General Merritt entitled "Service to State," which appeared in the September 9, 1967, issue of the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following these remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SERVICE TO STATE

Resignation of Maj. Gen. L. G. Merritt, USMC (ret.), as director of the State Legislative Council marks the end of another period of outstanding public service by a distinguished South Carolinian.

Before retiring from the U.S. Marine Corps at age 52, Gen. Lewis had a brilliant military career. He was shot down over the Libyan Desert in North Africa and later served as commander of the Marine Fourth Air Wing in the Mashall Islands.

Trained in the law, Gen. Merritt took over the newly created Legislative Council in 1949. The council drafts new legislation, undertakes research work and makes studies for the General Assembly. In his years of service to the Legislature, Gen. Merritt has won the respect and deep appreciation of the state's legislators.

The News and Courier regrets that Gen. Merritt has decided that the time has come for retirement. Gov. Robert E. McNair has named his legal aide, Henry Lake, to succeed Gen. Merritt. We wish Mr. Lake well in his new duties. He has a splendid example of service in the career of his predecessor.

ADVERSE EFFECT OF NATIONAL AIRPORT ON DEVELOPMENT OF POTOMAC RIVER

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on September 19, a distinguished task force of architects, planners, engineers, and geographers, under the direction of the American Institute of Architects, submitted a 2-year study report of the Potomac River Basin to Secretary of the Interior Udall. This report of the Potomac planning task force, called The Potomac, is a comprehensive and stimulating work on the problems of the Potomac River and the critical need for a program under which the resources of the Potomac Basin can be best developed and protected.

While the report relates to many problems confronting the Potomac River such as water pollution and the destructive landscaping of the river's shores, there is one ancillary matter the task force discusses that I want to call particularly to the attention of the Senate. This is National Airport and how it adversely affects the development and use of the Potomac River. The study group poses the problem quite clearly.

> What the Potomac may in the future have to offer as a place of recreation and of escape from urban pressures—

It declares—

> is at stake in the current debate over plans for National Airport, especially as the corridor used by aircraft bound to and from it follows the river.

Indicative of this threat that National presents to our recreational use of the Potomac was the announcement recently by Secretary Udall that he will have to close the Gravelly Point launch ramp because of hazards created by jets at the airport. Potomac River boaters have been harassed by the turbulence from jet exhaust blasts which has caused several capsizings.

Testimony at the Subcommittee on Aviation of the Committee on Commerce several weeks ago persuasively pointed out that there will be a vast increase throughout the Nation in both passenger and cargo traffic service. The continued heavy reliance on Washington National Airport to meet these future air service needs of the Washington area is not realistically feasible. As I stated in testimony on August 3 before the Civil Aeronautics Board hearing on the Washington-Baltimore airport situation, there should be established a ceiling on the amount of air passenger traffic which National Airport can be allowed to handle. Such a ceiling would cause a diversion of air traffic to both Friendship and Dulles, which are now underutilized. Such a diversion of traffic would also help to reduce the destructive impact on the Potomac environment currently caused by the many jet flights into National.

The task force has called upon the Secretary of the Interior to urge a limitation on the use of National. Coupled with a limitation of the use of National, we must realize the need to continue our research and development of high-speed rapid transit systems that will link the ever-increasing number of air passengers to airports outside the core of the city. The task force report cogently states:

> If planes cannot be brought to the center of the city, then high-speed transit to Dulles, to Friendship, and to other airports which may be built in the area must be provided.

The urgent need for this action should be readily apparent and will be intensified, especially with the advent of the 747 jumbo jets and the development of the SST.

Mr. President, I commend the task force for its constructive comments on this subject.

HERBERT LIVINGSTON, NEWCASTLE, WYO., AWARDED GEORGE WASHINGTON MEDAL OF HONOR BY FREEDOMS FOUNDATION

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, there are many, many citizens in this land of the free whose efforts to keep it that way are above and beyond the call of duty.

One such citizen is a man who hails from Newcastle, Wyo. Herbert Livingston is a leader of men, and he has been and is the head of many organizations and groups in Wyoming and the Western States.

He has devoted many years of dedicated and ceaseless effort to promoting and protecting the principles and concepts which made this country great.

In this capacity as president of the Wyoming Farm Bureau, Herbert Livingston writes a monthly column for the organization's newspaper, Wyoming Agriculture. The column he wrote for the January 1966 issue of the newspaper recently caused the Freedoms Foundation, at Valley Forge, Pa., to present Mr. Livingston with its George Washington Medal of Honor.

In his article, entitled "Checks and Balances," he says:

> It was not intended that we should become, nor did we become, a great Nation by taking from those who have and giving to those who have not. We cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

Mr. President, I believe the article contains much food for thought. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHECKS AND BALANCES

(By Herb Livingston)

We, in Farm Bureau, believe in our constitutional form of government and its division of power. Stable and honest government with prescribed and limited powers is essential to freedom and progress.

The Constitution of the United States has been well designed to secure individual liberty by a division of authority among the legislative, executive and judicial branches and the retention by the states and the people of those powers not specifically delegated to the federal government.

The current trend toward centralization of power and responsibility in the government violates constitutional purpose and has reached a point which is dangerous to state sovereignty and individual freedom. This trend should be reversed.

The expansion of the powers of the executive branch which we are witnessing today is dangerous and undesirable. The executive branch should stop seeking broad discretionary power from Congress, avoid pressures on individual Congressmen to obtain enactment of legislation and refrain from interpreting laws beyond the scope as spelled out by Congress. The use of government-financed agencies, organizations or committees to develop policy or promote legislation must be stopped.

The legislative branch, which is Congress, should assume a responsibility to preserve our federal system by reversing the trend toward centralization of authority in the Federal government. We, in Farm Bureau, urge the Congress to safeguard its legislative prerogatives by insisting that federal expenditures be approved by Congress on an annual basis. Avoidance of delegation of broad discriminatory powers to the executive branch and enactment of corrective or conforming legislation would be helpful where the Supreme Court has invaded the legislative area.

Farm Bureau believes in an independent judiciary, impartial administration of laws without special privileges and government by law rather than by man. The judicial functions should be performed by the judiciary, rather than the executive agencies.

We are concerned about the present tendency of the U.S. Supreme Court to invade the legislative area, to expand the federal authority at the expense of state laws, and to affirm executive interpretations of statutes beyond the intent of Congress.

We urge that appointees to the U.S. Supreme Court be selected from those qualified by previous judicial experience. Long established interpretation of the Constitution should be changed only by the adoption of constitutional amendments.

Few people realize how far we have drifted from the constitutional form of government, as intended by those who framed the great document. A situation where power is divided among three branches, each having certain powers and none with the power to rule without cooperation from the other branches, is known as a system of checks and balances.

Today, we might say that instead of having constitutional government, we have a presidential government where the executive branch dictates to the legislative branch. When the executive branch of any government has over $100 billion to spend annually, it is many times not spent wisely. This money can be used to put pressure on individuals of the legislative branch. Some of it can also be used to influence groups of voters. Certainly, we have witnessed a group of Congressmen who seem to be submissive "yes men" to the proposals of the executive branch.

The legislative branch is the part of government that makes the laws. No other branch has this authority. They are also the voice of the people. If we are to continue to have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, then the legislative branch must become a more important, responsible and prominent part of our constitutional form of government.

As we look to the future, we must be more concerned about the invasion of state rights, where state government and the people within the state can protect their rights as spelled out in the constitution. They are not to be invaded to satisfy the political whims of an administration. Reapportionment of state legislatures is not the prerogative of the federal government. Individual rights also are being pre-empted by centralization of power of the federal government. The attempt to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is an example of the loss of rights by individuals.

1966 is an election year. There will be a means by which the people can speak and voice their opinions. Irresponsible promises during a political campaign should be weighed with caution. We must select with great care those whom we elect. It is our responsibility to assist in getting the facts, the truth and recognition of the dangers to the electorate so they will be more willing to help protect, defend, and preserve our constitutional form of government.

We must realize that man has obtained his greatest productive capacity and the highest standard of living under this form of rule. He is able to use his energy to expand and develop as he chooses.

It was not intended that we should, nor did we become, a great nation by taking from those who have and giving to those who have not. We cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

L. T. "TEX" EASLEY RETIRES FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, "Tex" Easley is retiring from his position with the Associated Press to take a position with a House committee. He will be missed, as there are few men of his ability, fairness, and diligence in the press corps here.

As the AP's southwestern expert, I had long experience with "Tex." He is a professional in every sense of the word and is truly a credit to his profession.

I hope and believe that his new career will be as fruitful as the one he now draws to a close.

INCREASE IN SMALL BUSINESS LOANS IN RHODE ISLAND

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in the Providence Journal of September 17, 1967, that the Small Business Administration has approved 81 loans to Rhode Island small businessmen in the first 8 months of this year totaling $4,271,500. This compares with 42 loans amounting to $1,121,900 appropriated in the same period in 1966.

I am happy to note this significant increase and wish to congratulate SBA's new Administrator, Robert C. Moot, and SBA's Providence regional office director, Charles J. Fogarty, for their fine contribution to our small business community.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTEEN FIRMS GET REGULAR SBA LOANS

Loans totaling $953,000 were approved for 15 Rhode Island small business firms in August under the regular lending program of the U.S. Small Business Administration.

In addition, two economic opportunity loans aggregating $16,000 were approved, bringing total August loan approvals to $969,000.

This was announced yesterday by Charles J. Fogarty, Rhode Island regional director of the SBA. He said the regular loan totals for August bring the number of regular loan approvals for the first eight months of this year to 81 for an aggregate of $4,271,500. That compares with 42 loan approvals for a total of $1,121,900 in the same 1966 periods.

In August last year, SBA loans approved under the regular lending program numbered seven for a $222,700 total.

CALORE EXPRESS TOPS LIST

Largest of the August loan approvals was a guaranty loan of $325,000 for the Calore Express Co., Inc., of 200 Whitehall St., Providence, a motor freight carrier employing 130 persons. A guaranty loan is advanced by a private lending source with the SBA guaranteeing up to 90 per cent of the principal.

Other large loans include two $150,000 loans to be made by the SBA in participation with banks. One of the loans was approved for Brosco Motors, Inc., doing business as Executive Auto Leasing and Rental at 34 Kennedy Plaza, Providence, and employing eight persons. The other was approved for Hugo Key & Son, Inc., Coggeshall Ave., Newport, landscape architects employing 39 people.

Other August loan approvals are the following:

Regular loans: Abbott Laces, Inc., Abbott Crossing Rd., Coventry, lace manufacturer employing 32 persons, $50,000 direct loan. Carl-Ed Creations, Inc., 1006 Charles St., North Providence, jewelry maker employing seven persons, $11,000 direct loan. The Danish Silversmith, Inc., 1 Washington Ave., Providence, precious metals casting and designing, employing 16 persons, $25,000 participation loan.

OTHER APPROVALS

Weldon H. Dodge Co.; Chapel St., Block Island, construction firm, employing eight persons, $33,000 direct loan. Gertz, Inc. and D & G Realty Co., Inc., 166 Broadway, Providence, sound equipment sales, employing eight, $70,000 participation loan. Raymond D. Handrigan, Dudley St., Narragansett, wholesale seafood, employing two persons, $15,000 direct loan. George L. Jackvony, doing business as Jackvony Motor Sales, 5 Marywood Lane, Cumberland, retail car sales, employing four, $45,000 participation loan. Kelly Labor of Providence, Inc., 187 Westminster Mall, Providence, temporary industrial labor agency, employing 40 persons, $16,000 participation loan.

Michelangelo Estates, Inc., 371 Putnam Pike, Smithfield, woodworking shop employing three, $40,000 direct loan. Russell N. Perry, Douglas Hook Rd., Chepachet, service station, employing six $8,000 direct loan. The Square Rigger Restaurant, Inc., 2185 Broad St., Cranston, employing three, $7,500 direct loan. Wilanru Displays, Inc., 4 Thomas St., Providence, industrial displays manufacturer, employing four, $7,500 direct loan.

Economic opportunity loans: Joseph F. Burns, doing business as Joseph F. Burns Co., 29 Center Ave., Middletown, antique restorations, $7,500 direct loan. Jose J. Costa, doing business as Costa's Sunoco Service Station, 141 Market St., Warren, service station, employing one, $8,500 direct loan.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING ACT OF 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Tom Wicker's excellent column, published in today's New York Times, be printed in the RECORD.

As Mr. Wicker points out, the purpose of the proposed Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, now pending in Congress, is the production of excellence.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION: THE HIGH COST OF EXCELLENCE

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, September 25.—Both houses of Congress have passed somewhat similar public television bills, but they have by no means settled the most serious public television issues.

There are really two of these. To what extent should the program content of public television be limited and controlled? And how should public television be financed?

The first of these questions will be a major subject of the House-Senate conference to iron out the differing versions of the bill. Among the differences are two amendments passed by the House; the first would prevent public television stations from expressing editorial opinion and the second surely would limit the stations' freedom to present first-quality entertainment.

TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES

The Senate conferees will resist these amendments in the conference, which will begin next week.

The House ban on editorializing grows out of the traditional American aversion to anything that might make a Government propaganda machine possible. That aversion is why the laudable central feature of both House and Senate public TV bills is the establishment of a nonprofit corporation to run the system and to keep it "insulated" from Government control.

THE CRIPPLER

But to ban editorializing follows this fear out the window. It is not that there is all that much need for public television stations to advocate a position on issues; rather, the ban is sure to inhibit their willingness and their ability to make objective, searching presentations on public affairs and on controversial matters.

The maker of a film documentary on, say, a political campaign or on the war in Vietnam is sure to trim his program to his fear of violating the prohibition of editorial views. If he doesn't, the stations may fear to run it. In the long run, public television will be pushed toward blandness and the avoidance of controversy, and the nation can already get that kind of program on the commercial stations—which, paradoxically, can editorialize all they want to.

The question of entertainment is something else. The House bill defines educational television as being "primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes and not primarily for amusement or entertainment proposes." Recognizing that this raises the impossible questions of what entertainment is, and of how it can be distinguished from culture or sometimes even from education, the House committee went so far as to specify in its report that entertainments like Shakespeare, Will Rogers, and Gilbert and Sullivan would be all right on public television.

The meaning of this is that there is going to be a lot of Shakespeare, Gilbert and Sullivan and old Will Rogers movies on public television, plus French language and flower-arranging lessons. In fact, there is just no way to make the distinction the House tried to make, and no need even to try.

Again, the problem is rooted in American attitudes. There are lots of Americans who would not regard a ballet as entertainment and who would insist that it was "culture"; on the other hand, the same people might laugh at, say, W. C. Fields without realizing that Fields was one of the greatest of American artists.

To permit ballet on public television while ruling off W. C. Fields—or almost anything else—simply misses the point that what is needed is not "education" or "culture" or even "entertainment" but excellence in all these areas.

To produce that excellence consistently is probably beyond the ability of the commercial networks, and the Carnegie Foundation has estimated that it will ultimately cost as much as $100 million to $200 million for public television to do the job; and that is the second of the major unresolved issues.

RAISING THE MONEY

Some of the money can be raised privately; some more can be raised through money-making schemes like the Ford Foundation plan to devote to public TV some of the revenues of a domestic communications satellite; but in the long run most of a sum that size will have to come from the Federal Government.

President Johnson has promised to recommend a financing plan to Congress by next year; if it is to realize the limitless potential of public TV, that plan is bound to require Federal support. Ultimately, therefore, the President and Congress and the American people all will have to decide whether they fear the possibility of Government propaganda more than they want first-class television.

SUMMER MUSIC PROGRAM FOR INNER-CITY YOUTH

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, this summer the Peabody Conservatory of Music and the Baltimore City Department of Education utilized title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—Public Law 89-10—to implement an exploratory summer program in music for 48 disadvantaged high school students from inner-city public and parochial schools.

Beginning on June 28, 6 weeks of intensive musical instruction were given to these students, chosen on a basis of interest, aptitude, and low family income. Private lessons in instruments and voice, performance practice with ensembles, and class lessons in musical theory and history were all part of this program of professional-level instruction in music. The instructors, members of the Peabody's regular and preparatory faculty, included musicians from the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the Metropolitan Opera National Company.

At convocations held twice weekly, the students heard lectures and recitals by such notable figures in the musical world as Shinichi Suzuki, Japan's most famous string teacher; the Claremont String Quartet; Mr. A. Verne Wilson of the Portland, Oreg., public schools; and Roman Rudnytsky, member of the Indiana University piano faculty and a participant in last year's Tchaikowsky Competition in Moscow. Lively question-and-answer sessions formed part of each convocation, as the students were given the opportunity to meet the recitalists.

The students formed a chamber orchestra, a wind ensemble, and a choir, all of which gave public performances under experienced teacher-conductors as part of their final convocation, and all of which attained remarkably high performing levels despite their lack of experience. The initial awe, and occasional hostility, at finding themselves in the unfamiliar environment of a world-famous professional school evaporated, and their attitudes and personality underwent a marked change during the 6 weeks, a change noted by their teachers in final evaluation reports. The students' own evaluations, given anonymously, conveyed the same impression. Several have expressed a wish to continue musical instruction with a view to a career, and others as an avocation. One participant in the program has been accepted as a full-time degree student of the conservatory in the fall, and will receive a full scholarship.

The Baltimore City school system is planning a followup program during the coming school year, to ascertain how this experience has affected their work in other academic areas; and, whether their new-found confidence is reflected in their subsequent school careers, as well as to estimate the effect on personality of an intensive, though brief, exposure to the discipline and effort of a professional musical life. The conservatory, and the supervisory personnel from the public schools have, however, no hesitation in pronouncing this experimental program a success, and in hoping that it may be continued and possibly extended in subsequent summers, so that a larger segment of innercity youngsters may be exposed to the advantages offered by a major professional and artistic institution located within the city itself.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MILLER BEFORE MID-AMERICA NURSING HOME CONVENTION

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the keynote speaker for the Sixth Annual Mid-America Nursing Home Convention in Chicago, commencing September 25, was the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller]. I ask unanimous consent that his timely and important speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Senator Looks at Long-Term Care

(By Jack Miller, U.S. Senator from Iowa)

I am pleased and highly honored to have been asked to make the keynote address at this splendid convention.

Long-term care is the fastest-growing service industry in America. According to reliable estimates, there were over twenty-thousand long-term care facilities, with nearly one million beds, at the beginning of this year. Within the last five years there has been an increase of forty-percent in facilities and seventy percent in beds. Six hundred thousand of these one million beds are in licensed nursing homes, and nearly half of these have been provided within the last five years. If trends continue, the number of beds will double by 1975.

Long-term care was a $2 billion business last year—87 percent privately owned and operated.

The needs which have provided the impetus to this fantastic growth will surely continue and expand. Today there are twenty-three million Americans receiving Social Security benefits; of these, eighteen million are over sixty-five years of age. In another fifteen years the number over sixty-five will grow to twenty-five million. Meanwhile, Science will continue to add years to the life expectancy tables. The challenge is to make these longer retirement periods happy, healthful, and meaningful for all these older people. Basic to meeting the challenge is the answer to this question: Will private and non-profit long-term care service continue to meet ninety-five percent of the needs of these older people, or will the federal government try to do it? I say "try," because I seriously doubt that in a capitalistic economic society the federal government is capable of doing it—certainly of doing it as well and efficiently as the private and non-profit sectors.

This question is not purely rhetorical. It is coldly practical for two reasons: First, half the patients in these private and non-profit nursing homes are on some kind of public assistance, and many more are under Medicare. It is understandable that the taxpayers, through their representatives in the Congress and the State legislatures, will demand that long-term care service be both adequate and at a reasonable cost to the government. Second, the failure of Congress and the State legislatures, compounded by shortsightedness of some administrative officials, to make provision for reasonable payments for this service could force the private and non-profit facilities to close their doors to all except those who can make reasonable payments for their service, or force them to go out of business altogether. If this happened, the government would step in. And there are indications that some public officials, whose salaries are being paid from tax money collected from the private sector, actually would like to see this happen!

It is most unfortunate that a majority of the members of Congress, in their mad rush to rubber-stamp the Administration's Medicare bill, failed to see to it that adequate provision was made for reimbursing long-term care facilities for their services. The Congress did, however, during its deliberations on this legislation, make clear its intent that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was not to promulgate regulations setting quality standards for the service to be provided under Medicaid. Nevertheless, the Department—following a one-way street policy—undertook to do so; but at the same time it did not see fit to issue regulations setting standards for adequate reimbursement to be paid by the states for such services to meet the costs of complying with these standards.

Following the testimony last March before the House Ways and Means Committee by your Stephen Morris and Marvin Smith, and by your able General Counsel, Jack Pickens, the Department relaxed these standards a little. But the situation is still far from satisfactory. There is also the need for official recognition of the fact that half of the Title XIX patients residing in nursing homes do not require intensive care, and that a new category of long-term care should be established for people requiring only a minimal level of service.

The shortages of nurses and licensed practical nurses continues to plague your industry—as it does the hospitals. There are large numbers of practical nurses who do not qualify under the Department's regulations because they do not possess the required formal training. Shortages being what they are, it would seem prudent to allow examination and certification of individual practical nurses who, despite a lack of formal training, possess the capability of giving adequate service to nursing home patients. The Secretary of HEW could develop and implement such an examination for certification. I have taken up this matter personally with the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and have urged appropriate action during the Committee's consideration of the House-passed Social Security Amendments bill.

As some of you know, section 126 of the bill proposes to eliminate the requirement of repetitious physician certification in the case of in-patient hospital services. There is no good reason why this should not also be done in the case of nursing home services, and the bill should be amended accordingly.

Under Medicare, a person going into a nursing home has to spend three days in a hospital first. If hospitalization isn't really needed, this is a waste of hospital facilities, which are already overcrowded. The doctor ought to have the power to decide whether the hospital can be by-passed.

My colleague, the junior Senator from New York, has filed an amendment to the Social Security bill, requiring States, which include a nursing home component in their State plans, to provide for a State licensing system of nursing home operators. If these operators were not licensed, then after 1970 the Secretary of HEW would not be able to certify the State plan to qualify for Title XIX assistance. States would be required to establish a board of individuals representative of the professions, occupations, and institutions directly concerned with the care and treatment of the chronically ill or infirm elderly, as well as of the public. This board would develop and enforce standards to be met by the operators themselves—not just the homes—before they could be licensed. The standards would be designed to insure that nursing home operators are individuals well-qualified by experience, training, and character to operate a nursing home. The Senator recently claimed that a poll conducted by the periodical Nursing Home Administrator shows that a majority of those responding to the poll approve of licensing operators. He did not indicate how broad the poll was or how many had responded.

The objectives of this amendment are laudatory enough, and if you could be sure that the American Nursing Home Association and its affiliates had proper representation on a State Board, perhaps some workable standards could be developed. But one wonders why the States cannot be left alone to work out this problem—if it is a problem—for themselves. Why make it mandatory under Title XIX? There is going to be enough trouble getting enough nursing homes wishing to be certified, and getting them certified, without adding another hurdle to get over. I haven't found any groundswell of public opinion in my State indicating that there is a problem over standards for operators, as such to meet. The concern has been over standards for the nursing homes themselves. I am told that our universities are far from agreement over the curricula for students wishing to specialize in nursing home administration, and it would seem a little premature for this legislation—unless, perhaps, it could be amended to take the mandatory requirement out of it. The amendment would establish a modest program of matching federal grants to States for the training of nursing home operators, and this would seem to have merit.

But the problem of reimbursement is still the major problem, and if this isn't worked out satisfactorily, there are going to be a great many elderly people entitled to nursing home care who simply won't be able to get it. The failure of the Medicaid law, compounded by the failure of the Department's regulations, to meet this problem is deeply serious. In my own state, for example, welfare payments average only from $5 to $9 per day for nursing home care; whereas the average daily cost per patient among members of the Iowa Nursing Home Association is $13. With inflation continuing to boost the cost of living, this average daily cost is going up. Nationally, costs for Medicare patients are $15 to $25, but half the states pay less than $7 for similar long-term care service. The law must be changed to put a stop to this inequitable gouge, and we will do what we can about it.

For some strange reason, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has manifested a negative attitude towards reimbursement. I don't need to tell you how shockingly inadequate the original formula was under Medicare for payments over and above recognized out of pocket costs. We sought to change this by providing for an allowance of 7½% of fair market value (based on Federal Housing Administration appraisals pro-rated according to the proportion of Medicare patients, of course); and the Senate adopted such an amendment last fall. But pressure from the Department resulted in changing the formula to 7½% of net equity—not nearly as adequate as the original Senate-approved amendment, but far better than the original formula provision of the regulations.

Next the Department sought to compel funding of depreciation allowances used in computing reimburseable costs. They did this by including a provision in the Administration's Social Security Amendments bill (H.R. 5710) to the effect that depreciation would be includable in the computation of "reasonable cost" for reimbursement, but only if the amount of money received from such depreciation reimbursement was set aside in a fund for eventual capital expenditures in accordance with decisions of state planning agencies. Representing the American Nursing Home Association before the Ways and Means Committee which held hearings on this bill, Mr. Stephen Morris argued quite properly that private and non-profit nursing homes are of a non-governmental character whose existence has not been traceable to the investment of public monies; that it is contrary to both principles of accounting and basic American principles of free enterprise to require such funding of depreciation. In answer to the Department's justification for such a requirement, namely: to prevent unnecessary duplication and inefficient use of health care facilities and equipment, Mr. Morris well pointed out that nursing homes do not use, let alone compete for, costly and highly specialized equipment. Secretary Gardner, himself, testified that "None of us wishes to see these Federal funds utilized in competitive drives to put [in expensive equipment] . . . regardless of practical requirements." But Mr. Morris repeated that 95% of the nursing homes do not receive, much less compete for, Federal funds nor for public monies.

Fortunately, when the Ways and Means Committee came out with its own bill (H.R. 12080), it dropped the provision for funding of depreciation. But this doesn't mean that the Department has given up on the idea.

The new bill makes no change in the present reimbursement formula under Medicare, and it does nothing about the reimbursement under Medicaid either. The Department's position is that it is "too early" to tell what ought to be done about the reimbursement problem, and the House-passed bill provides in Section 402 for experimental programs in a small number of selected nursing homes to devise an improved formula. However, this is not a realistic or fair position—especially when ample evidence is available that there is an urgent need to prevent loss to the industry. If it was some Administrative official's own money that was being lost through an adequate reimbursement, I am sure he wouldn't think it was "too early" to do something about it.

I still believe the amendment we passed in the Senate last fall is the fairest approach. This recognized that the use of capital represents a cost; that the fair market value of the facility (based on a government appraisal) is a sound method for computing capital; and that the rate of return on such capital should take into account the need for replacement of plant and equipment, modernization and growth, and the payment of a return to the investor comparable to that customarily paid investors in public utility securities. Moreover, I fail to see how any provider of long-term service could make very much money out of such a formula—especially when, as I have previously pointed out, the rate of return on the fair market value of the facility is only proportional to the number of Medicare patient days compared to the total number of patient days for which service is provided.

I know there are many who believe that a nursing home operator who has risked much of his own capital in a nursing home should be given a break over an operator who has invested only a little of his own capital and borrowed the rest. The present "net equity" formula does this. The original Senate amendment would not do so directly; but inasmuch as interest on indebtedness is not a reimbursable cost, the payment of 7½% on the fair market value of a facility would mean that the high investment operator would keep most of it; whereas the low investment operator would have to pay out some of it in the form of interest payments on his mortgage.

If the fair market value approach cannot be obtained, the question is what would be obtainable that would be an improvement over what we now have. Some of the hospitals have reacted favorably to the idea of reimbursement on a regular "per diem" basis. This has the great virtue of simplicity, avoiding all manner of bookkeeping and cost accounting needed to comply with the present law. What we have now is, indeed, such a profound system that hardly anyone understands it—and worst of all it is inadequate. To insure that the "per diem" method would not subsidize inefficient operations, it would be necessary to set some kind of standard—such as the "average per diem" costs prevailing in a locality, which has been in widespread use by Blue Cross plans around the country. I recognize that there are always problems in determining prevailing rates in a locality. For example, I am advised that in the Los Angeles area there are two nursing homes located near each other, both qualified as an extended care facility, and the cost in one home is $17 per day and in the other $38 per day. This difference doesn't necessarily reflect difference in efficiency. Permission for supplementation might be an answer. And another answer would be to recognize different classes of care and establish per diems with respect to each class.

In conclusion, I would like to add a word of praise to this Association for its active and continuing interest in making life more meaningful for the elderly—an interest which extends far beyond the arena of self-interest. For example, your President, Ed Walker, saw fit to testify before the Special Subcommittee on Aging of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare only last week. The subject was S. 276, a bill to establish, under the Administration on Aging, an Older Americans Community Service Program. Under this program, many able-bodied older Americans would serve other but incapacitated older Americans—an "elderly-helping-the-elderly" idea. In endorsing the program, President Walker asked that the program be permitted to take place in all long-term care facilities. He well pointed out that the program is directed at the individual patient—not the facility—and that its benefits to patients from personal and personalized services through such a Corps of Senior Citizens would make their lives much more worthwhile.

This testimony of your President in support of the Older Americans Community Service Program was given a week ago today. Two days later, the Washington Evening Star carried a story reporting that the Administration, in what was termed a "complete reversal of policy", had announced that it was going ahead with an Older Americans Community Service Program, which it already had the authority to establish, and so it would be unnecessary for any legislative action. All I can say is that if the President read Ed Walker's statement, I can understand why action was so promptly forthcoming. Now, if only the White House will read what Ed has to say about reimbursement!

It is good to be with you. My best wishes for a successful convention. And be assured of my desire to continue to cooperate to the fullest with the members of an industry, whose national and state associations are matching their opportunity for service with their acceptance of the responsibility to provide the best service possible.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION TAKES THE EKISTICAL APPROACH

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I should like to call attention to a most encouraging article entitled "New Freeway Theory Tested," which appeared in the Washington Post on Sunday, September 24, under the byline of Wolf von Eckardt.

The article describes how the Department of Transportation has taken a revolutionary step in signing a $4.8 million comprehensive planning contract for highway development with the city of Baltimore.

The distinctive feature of this contract is that it provides for broad-gage planning by a "design concept team" which would include architects, city planners, sociologists, and economists, as well as highway engineers. In the words of Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd:

> All of the environmental skills available will be brought to bear on the design of a highway from the very beginning.

The purpose of this comprehensive approach will be to help make freeways adjust to cities, rather than vice versa. So often in the past it has seemed that the approach of the highway builders in cities was to "just go crashing through," as a Transportation Department spokesman is quoted as saying. However, it is becoming patently clear that uncoordinated freeway construction can create more urban problems than they solve, particularly when they displace more people than can be provided for in decent, alternative housing.

Mr. President, I applaud this new approach by the Department of Transportation and I hope it will establish a successful pattern of urban highway development that will be copied many times over in every other major city across the country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the Record at this point the article cited above from the September 24 issue of the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Baltimore Plan Aimed at Saving Cities—New Freeway Theory Tested

(By Wolf Von Eckardt)

The Department of Transportation took a revolutionary first step yesterday to adjust freeways to cities rather than tear up cities to let the freeways through.

Transportation signed a $4.8-million planning contract for Baltimore under which a "design concept team" of architects, city planners, sociologists and economists, in addition to highways engineers, will design the city's Interstate highways.

The team hopes not only to integrate freeway design with over-all city planning but to avoid large-scale displacement of people and the disruption of neighborhoods and destruction of worthy old buildings.

The move may end a ten-year conflict over freeways in Baltimore and promises to resolve similar hassles in major cities.

The team also will seek ways to use freeway construction to create new housing, community centers and parks along the route and to enhance the city in general.

A Transportation Department spokesman added that while the cheapest way to bring a freeway into the city "is just to go crashing through," it is actually more expensive—socially and otherwise in the long run.

Other cities, notably Washington, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans, are sure to press the Department of Transportation for money to finance a similar approach.

Transportation and the Bureau of Public Roads are likely to respond favorably because in these and other cities the 11-year-old, $51-billion Interstate Highway program due to be completed in 1972, is badly stuck.

The Federal Government pays 90 per cent of the cost of interstate highways. As long as 41,000 miles were built out in the open country and highways in the city were routed through deteriorating industrial areas and Negro slums, the program ran relatively smoothly.

But as the freeways were poised at the expensive downtown centers and white residential areas, trouble began to mount. Many mayors and city planners now say that reckless freeway construction contributes to the urban crisis, because freeways often displace more low-income people than urban renewal without paying relocation costs.

For these reasons San Francisco, for instance, shocked by the ugly elevated freeway that cuts off Market Street from the Bay, resisted the 90 per cent Federal carrot and refused to build any more downtown freeways.

DELAY IN WASHINGTON

In Washington, citizen opposition continues to delay construction of the North Central Freeway. A new, comprehensive design approach, such as now approved for Baltimore, planners say, might overcome much opposition by providing low-income "air-rights" housing for displaced people and save such neighborhoods as Brockland and Takoma Park.

Walter Washington, this city's new "mayor," is known to favor such an approach.

The Baltimore design concept was first proposed by architect Archibald C. Rogers and other architects when it was apparent that the freeway program was halted by a bitter controversy.

Maryland State Highway director Jerome B. Wolff responded favorably to the idea. Formation of a design team was delayed because several Baltimore engineering firms objected to placing architects in charge.

OWINGS IN CHARGE

With their objections overcome, architect Nathaniel Owings of San Francisco, who also is redesigning Washington's Mall and Pennsylvania Avenue, has been put in charge.

Under his direction, Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd said yesterday, Baltimore will be the first city where "all of the environmental skills available will be brought to bear on the design of a highway from the very beginning."

"With early planning consideration of the highway's social, economic, historic and functional impact," he added, "this will become not just a road through the city but an integral part of the city."

Boyd predicted it "may well set a pattern for designing urban highways across the Nation."

The Interstate system within Baltimore's city limits consists of 23.9 miles and includes Interstate 83, 95 and 70N.

Owings' team will consider the location as well as the development potential of these highways. It also will study the city's mass transit and commercial transportation problems. The work is expected to take two years.

RESTORATION OF HISTORICAL BUILDINGS IN ST. MARY'S CITY, MD.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, Maryland is a State fortunately endowed with many landmarks of interest to the tourist. Many are important to the history of the State and of the Nation.

One such place is St. Mary's City, the first settlement in the State of Maryland. It was founded in 1634. In 1934, the Maryland Tercentenary Commission undertook an acurate restoration of several of the buildings in St. Mary's City.

In 1966, a permanent commission was created to undertake a larger and more general restoration and preservation project in St. Mary's City. At present, this commission, known as the St. Mary's City Commission, is actively seeking both Federal and State funds for land purchase and other capital improvements. The very able chairman of the commission is Gen. Robert E. Hogaboom, a retired marine.

On Sunday, September 22, 1967, the Baltimore Sun published a feature article by Earl Arnett detailing the activities of the St. Mary's City Commission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. MARYS CITY—ONE OF THOSE QUIET PLACES

(By Earl Arnett)

St. Marys City in southern Maryland is one of those quiet places with loud significance often overlooked in an age where exaggeration and overstatement seem the rule. The first capital of the State, it is one of the first places in the world where religious toleration was a recognized principle backed both by gubernatorial desire, and by legislation.

Even the countryside seems conducive to the peacefulness one associates with tolerance. Its beauty is subdued, a mixture of smooth, silvery-blue water, rolling fields, trees and views across the St. Marys River, where the land on the other side is sometimes hazy and almost mysterious. Because of a benevolent providence the atmosphere has not been tainted with beer cans and honky tonks, but is much the same as when the first Marylanders built there in 1634.

The only tangible evidence of their efforts now are two Seventeenth Century buildings called Clocker's Fancy and Leigh House, and the reconstructed brick State House built by the Maryland Tercentenary Commission of 1934. On the second floor of the latter building are the offices of yet another commission dedicated to the "preservation and development of historic St. Marys City."

TO CELEBRATE HISTORY

This group, called St. Marys City Commission, composed of seven members and a two-man staff, also has a history. It began with the Tercentenary Commission, which was established by the General Assembly and appointed by Governor Albert C. Ritchie to celebrate the 300-year history of Maryland. After the celebration another commission was appointed to supervise the reconstructed State House and its small grounds in St. Marys City.

In its outline plan, the present commission characterizes the period from 1934 to 1965 as follows: "In time this Commission became inactive, and the affairs of the memorial fell into the hands of the caretaker who, with little financial support and a mere retainer fee, faithfully cared for the building and the grounds." The caretaker was John Lancaster, now retired, who was convinced that the city would become "another Williamsburg."

In 1965 another commission, created by the Legislature and headed by Senator Louise Gore, (R., Montgomery county) worked for twelve months "to study the desirability and feasibility of restoring historic St. Marys City." This interim commission recommended the present permanent commission which was created in 1966. Thus the present commission is the fourth since 1934. To date, it has not recommended the establishment of another commission.

BEYOND 1985

Gen. Robert E. Hogaboom, a retired marine, is the chairman of the St. Marys City Commission. He and his group submitted an outline last March which called for a master plan and divided efforts to preserve and restore St. Marys City into phases, projected from the present to 1985 and beyond. This year, according to the general, the commission has asked for about $180,000 for "capital improvements," of which $120,000 is for the acquisition of land.

Most of the land on which the historic city is located is divided among about twenty private owners. The commission wants to buy "about 700 acres immediately," and General Hogaboom estimates that the cost will be well over a million dollars.

The general says that the commission is "actively seeking Federal money, gifts and grants" to help finance development efforts. It is his personal position that the State has "a real obligation" to acquire the land nad that grants should be obtained to finance research and reconstruction.

General Hogaboom foresees that the "gradual development of St. Marys City will extend over a period of 50 years." He estimates that it will take several years for historians, archaeologists and architects to determine exactly where original buildings were located, to reconstruct their plans and to stabilize the foundations. But he says that after preliminaries, "within the next ten years Maryland should have one of the most beautiful historical districts in the country to visit."

ONE SERIOUS MISTAKE

The chairman of the commission speaks with enthusiasm and obvious dedication about excavations, land purchases, research and mistakes in other attempts to restore early American towns. He believes, for example, that Williamsburg made "one very serious mistake" by thinking "only in terms of the historic area to be preserved" and not in adjoining areas where thousands of visitors would have to be accommodated and where "life is going to carry on."

But some members of the commission and others interested in the development of St. Marys county like Arthur, known as Buck, Briscoe, chairman of the county's Economic Development Commission, are concerned about the pace of the commission's efforts. They are not confident that the State will always support such a project and are not sure that St. Marys City should become another Williamsburg.

Such people place particular importance on the establishment of what the commission's outline plan labels "an appropriate shrine commemorative of peace and religious tolerance." Preliminary steps have already been taken toward a design for such a memorial. Its proponents believe that it will emphasize the genuine significance of the city as the first place in the New World where religious tolerance was both practiced and made into law.

ASSURANCE OF TOLERATION

Historical records indicate that many of the colonists who first came to Maryland did so out of a desire to worship in their own manner. In 1678 Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, wrote that if the colonists had not had some assurance that toleration would be established by law, "in all probability this province had never been planted."

Before the first colonists left England in 1634, the second Lord Baltimore instructed his brother, Leonard Calvert, that to preserve harmony among the passengers of the Ark and the Dove, Catholics should worship as privately as possible, should not engage in religious discussions and should treat the Protestants with justice.

Religious toleration was a practice in St. Marys City, but the colony's assembly resolved in 1649 to make the practice law. The result was the Act Concerning Religion, sometimes known as the Toleration Act. Part of that act read as follows:

". . . that noe person or psons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbors, Creekes, or havens thereunto be-

> longing professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercies thereof within this Province or the Islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, soe as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil Government established or to bee established in this Province vnder him or his heires."

SOMETHING EXTRAORDINARY

That act was later to be repealed, to be reenacted and to endure all the vagaries to which such laws are subject. But when one considers the date of the legislation and the general state of religious tolerance in Europe, one begins to recognize that the colonists in little St. Marys City had done something extraordinary.

And yet even now the city has not been declared a national historic site, a fact General Hogaboom labels "beyond my comprehension."

Thus it would appear that, in St. Marys City, Maryland has not only the remains of a Seventeenth Century city, the third oldest continuous settlement in British America, but the significant beginning of something more intangible and perhaps more valuable—freedom of religion. It is not surprising that some declare this city has a legitimate claim to national and international significance.

One would hope that those responsible for the "preservation and development" of the historic city will give due and creative consideration to this achievement of the spirit.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, under the unanimous-consent agreement entered into yesterday, it is my understanding that we are to vote on the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] not later than 2:30.

If there are any Senators who wish to discuss that amendment, I will be happy to yield to them. If not, and I see no one asking for recognition, I wish to yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania, who desires to speak in connection with another aspect of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I thank my senior colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. President, I rise in support of title II of the pending measure, the proposed Emergency Employment Act. Title II would authorize $2.5 billion in financial assistance to public and private agencies, during fiscal years 1968 and 1969, to provide jobs for poor residents of slum ghettos and economically distressed rural areas. Effectively implemented and administered, this program could put a half million people to work within the next 2 years in such fields as health, public safety, education, recreation, streets, parks and municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development and beautification. Most of the people which this emergency program seeks to help are those who, because of inadequate education and work experience, have been unable to obtain work.

There is a demonstrably urgent need for this program. According to a series of intensive surveys made for the Department of Labor in November 1966, nearly 1 year ago, the unemployment rate in slum areas of eight cities, including Philadelphia in my own Commonwealth, was about 10 percent, almost three times the national average. These figures were based on the traditional statistical concept of unemployment utilized by the Department of Labor. Under a more realistic subemployment measure, the rate for the Nation as a whole was 33.9 percent. In more meaningful terms, nearly one out of three slum residents is either out of work entirely, is working seasonally, or only part time, or has a job paying wages below the generally accepted poverty level of $3,000.

The North Philadelphia depressed area has the dubious distinction of having an unemployment rate that exceeds the average of the seven other cities surveyed by the Department of Labor. Using the traditional index, 13.2 percent of the 98,592 residents of North Philadelphia are unemployed. Under the more realistic subemployment index, the rate is 34.2 percent.

Citing these and other statistics in a wire to me on September 21, the very able and compassionate district attorney of Philadelphia, Arlen Specter, termed them "almost overwhelming." In view of Mr. Specter's firsthand and intimate knowledge of Philadelphia's slums, I believe it is appropriate at this point in my remarks to read his telegram in its entirety.

District Attorney Specter says as follows:

> As a fellow Philadelphian I know you share my deep concern for the welfare of our city. Some of the unemployment statistics, however, are almost overwhelming. For example, estimates are that nearly 66,000 Negroes are unemployed and another 200,000 earn less than $60 a week. A report by U.S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz last year put Philadelphia's combined unemployment and subemployment total in the Philadelphia slums at a startling 45 percent. In March of this year another survey by U.S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz estimated unemployment among non-whites in Philadelphia between the ages of 14 and 19 at 36–40 percent.
>
> It is not possible for our urban centers to pull themselves up by their bootstraps without the assistance of the Federal Government. The longer we postpone the prescription the worse the disease and decay will become.
>
> I consider it vital for the health and stability of Philadelphia for the U.S. Senate to approve S. 2388 as reported out of Committee. This bill provides $2.25 billion to continue programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the next two years. It also calls for a special appropriation of $2.5 billion for emergency employment in slum areas in such fields as health, recreation, education and beautification.
>
> This special employment program would make available 200,000 new jobs in 1968 for the unemployed of which Philadelphia's share should be several thousand.
>
> Approval of S. 2388 will provide funds for needed jobs in the slums, expansion of the Day Care Program, a small business and technical assistance program, help for the migrant workers, an expanded VISTA program, and assistance for the rehabilitation of slum areas.
>
> We must have increased Federal assistance if we are to get Philadelphia moving towards a solution of its problems while the innovative proposals and administration of the projects should be left in the hands of local people who have firsthand knowledge of the problems. The funds for these efforts simply must come from the Federal Government. S. 2388 is a strong step towards providing the increased appropriations we need and I hope you will give it your strong support.

Several factors account for these shockingly high rates of unemployment in our big cities and in certain rural areas: inadequate education, lack of job skills, police records, racial discrimination, broken homes, narcotics addiction, and despair. However, as Dr. Harold L. Sheppard pointed out in a study for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, which is chaired by my colleague from Pennsylvania:

> Inadequate and inferior education and training are obviously the deep, underlying elements in this situation.

The evidence is clear, Mr. President. A significant percentage of residents of city slums and rural areas are either out of work or, because of their personal situations, have jobs which pay poverty wages. This is an undeniable fact despite the low nationwide unemployment rate.

Compassion for our fellow citizens impels us, in my opinion, to offer a helping hand. These persons need a chance for meaningful work.

Now, Mr. President, I am fully conscious of the limitations and imperfections of the proposed Emergency Employment Act. But the shocking evidence adduced by recent Labor Department surveys and my recent firsthand look at life in some of the ghettos in my Commonwealth have convinced me of the urgent need for an emergency program along the lines of title II of the pending bill.

While supporting title II, I want to make it unmistakably clear, Mr. President, that I do not regard it as a panacea. Considering the desperate straits of the hard-core unemployed, I realize that this program will not, in many instances, lead to the maximum of self-support and economic independence. But, Mr. President, we have a chance to create 200,000 jobs in the present fiscal year. Compare this figure with the results of all the federally supported manpower programs enacted over the past 6 years. In mid-1967, 290,000 people were enrolled in these several and varied programs. Even this proposed Emergency Employment Act is designed to reach only 500,000 persons in two years, almost one-sixth of the potential clientele for public service employment programs.

Properly conceived and implemented, this program can result in meaningful employment opportunities. This is especially true if private enterprise is permitted significant participation. I would like to see title II clarified in this respect, Mr. President. Accordingly, I am drafting an amendment which I may offer if the appropriate occasion presents itself later this week. One cannot expect private employers to rush forward to offer jobs to people without the requisite skills. The cost of rehabilitating these persons and providing them with needed supportive services prevents private employers from hiring them. I would like to see title II provide appropriate incentives to encourage private employers to hire the hard-core unemployed. I believe that this is one of the implicit intents of title II, but I hope to spell it out in the amendment which I am preparing. The Manpower Development and Training Act and the out-of-school phase of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program serve as precedents for such incentives. By permitting significant private enterprise participation, we can, I believe, avert the possibility that this emergency employment program will consist mostly of make work projects.

It would be unrealistic to expect this emergency program to bring economic independence to every one of its beneficiaries. Not everyone will be hired by private employers for vocational rehabilitation and development. Faced with the alternative of complete deprivation or continued living on the dole, I would prefer to see these disadvantaged people given a chance to perform meaningful and socially useful work commensurate with their ability and skill.

One virtue of the program proposed in title II is its flexibility. It recognizes the heterogeneous character of the people to be helped and their situations. Its application in certain rural areas, particularly in the South, can help to stem the migration to our congested big cities in the North. One hundred thousand technologically displaced Mississippi farmworkers represent a target of opportunity. Teenage high school students participating in the program would have a hopeful alternative to dropping out of school. I cite a revealing study of the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps in Pittsburgh, Pa. During the 1965–66 school year, the dropout rate for students in Pittsburgh's 16 high schools not enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps doubled that of New York City enrollees—8.4 percent for non-New York City enrollees as against 4.24 percent for New York City enrollees. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this study—"Neighborhood Youth Corps: Holding Power Study," performed by the division of occupational, vocational, and technical education of the Pittsburgh public schools, and published in May 1967—be printed at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the import thing to bear in mind here, Mr. President, is that the Emergency Employment Act is a stopgap measure. It is not a substitute for existing manpower programs or for programs contemplating more effective, long-range remedies for the present plight of disadvantaged but employable urban slum and rural residents.

In view of the plight of the hard-core unemployed, I find it difficult to understand the attitude of the Johnson administration. The contrast between promise and performance has been one of the hallmarks of the Great Society, Mr. President, but it was never as evident as it is now.

In his state of the Union message almost 4 years ago, President Johnson declared an all-out war against poverty and followed this up with frequent rhetorical ruffles and flourishes. Advisory exhortations and a raft of legislative proposals bearing the Great Society label encouraged rapidly rising expectations. Yet, Mr. President, the trickle-down effect which is the gap between promise and performance remains wide as far as several million urban and rural slum dwellers are concerned.

Of course, the pastime downtown is to blame this situation on Congress. While we are not blameless, Mr. President, I think it is fair to say the administration has not been utilizing its weapons as effectively as it could, nor has it been willing to consider all the alternatives that have been proposed. One such alternative, the Human Investment Act, of which I am proud to be a sponsor, is languishing in committee because of adamant administration opposition. Here we have a sort of reverse Pavlovian reaction to anything offered from the minority side. This measure could result in the meaningful involvement of private enterprise in the Government's manpower training and development programs.

In the aftermath of the Detroit riots, President Johnson declared: "Our work has just begun."

Instead of accelerating efforts to alleviate the most immediately desperate conditions in our big city slums and other deprived areas, this administration has seen fit to rest on the laurels of the last Congress, oppose constructive alternatives like the Human Investment Act, and try to sabotage the efforts of members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to report to the Senate the Emergency Employment Act.

I indicated earlier that the proposed act has its limitations and imperfections. One reason why this is so, I suspect, is that the administration refused to lend a hand in drafting it.

I hope, Mr. President, that the Senate's debate on this measure will impart to the White House the sense of urgency many of us feel here.

In closing, Mr. President, I am not unmindful of the price tag of the Emergency Employment Act—$1 billion for the current fiscal year in the face of a projected deficit, without a tax increase, of $30 billion. I am supporting this measure in full awareness of my feeling that an earnest effort to reduce or defer unnecessary expenditures must be made if we are to give serious consideration to the President's tax surcharge proposal.

Let me point out, however, that the livelihood and well-being of needy people are at stake here. Are we going to give them a chance to get out of their present plight, Mr. President? Their needs are more urgent than those of a few operators of large farms who receive Federal subsidies or candidates for office who stand to benefit from the proposed campaign subsidy recently reported to the Senate. What we do to alleviate their plight is far more important than the race to the moon. We are talking here about human life which, in the last analysis, is more important than conjured dreams of national prestige.

And so, Mr. President, recognizing the imperfections of title II and its costs, but weighing them against the potential benefits of the program and the dangerous consequence of inaction, I support title II and urge its retention in the pending bill.

Exhibit 1

Neighborhood Youth Corps: Holding Power Study, School Year 1965–66

(By the Division of Occupational, Vocational, and Technical Education, Pittsburgh Public Schools, May 1967)

THE STUDY

The section of the Economic Opportunity Act authorizing the establishment of the Neighborhood Youth Corps states: "The purpose of this part is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed young men and women, through participation in State and Community work-training programs, so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued . . ."

This study was undertaken to determine whether there is any tangible evidence to indicate that the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program as it has been operating in the Pittsburgh Public Schools is making possible the continuation of the education of its enrollees, and thereby fulfilling in part the purpose for which the Corps was established.

The dropout rate for NYC enrollees was compared with the dropout rate for Non-NYC students in each of the sixteen high schools. Junior High School students were not included in this study since only seven were identified. The three vocational-technical high schools were included although their statistics were not entirely compatible with those of the other high schools.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees from the Summer 1965 and In-School 1965–66 programs were included in this study so as to harmonize with the period of time covered by *A Study of School Holding Power, School Year 1965–66*, from which statistics were taken, and with which comparisons were made. All post graduates were eliminated because they could no longer be dropouts. The study was complicated by the mobility of the enrollees; frequently students enrolled in one school worked out of another NYC center. As work was completed, enrollees were shifted to other centers: one enrollee attended a given high school and worked out of four different NYC centers. This was particularly true for the Summer program and necessitated a great deal of cross-checking.

By utilizing the NYC files and *A Study of School Holding Power, School Year 1965–66*, it was possible to conduct this study without imposing on the time of clerks and counselors in the various schools. Clerks and counselors were contacted only when clarification was needed to insure the accuracy of the study.

THE PROBLEM

It must be realized from the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act that every NYC enrollee is a potential dropout. First, the minimum enrollment age (sixteen) is also the legal dropout age for employment in Pennsylvania; second, the low family income required for admission into the NYC makes full time employment with its correspondingly higher income very tempting to the student and to his family; third, the low socio-economic level from which NYC enrollees must of necessity come limits the aspirations and possibilities for college attendance and thereby reduces the desire and need for high school graduation. We might, therefore, anticipate a higher dropout rate for NYC enrollees than for Non-NYC students.

Since enrollees were continually admitted through both the Summer and the In-School programs, even rolls which were alphabetized with the starting group ceased to be such as additional students entered. This required the alphabetizing for each program and then the merging of the rolls for each of the sixteen high schools. Since these rolls indicated only the center out of which the student worked, it was necessary to search the files for each of roughly 2500 enrollees to determine the school which he attended and in order to eliminate all post graduates. Names on the final NYC roll for each school were compared with those sent in by the individual high schools for the holding power study in order to identify NYC enrollees who had dropped out of school.

RESULTS

Contrary to what might have been expected, the dropout rate for Non-NYC students was almost twice as great as for the NYC enrollees. Of a total enrollment of 20,941 for all schools there were 2,077 enrollees on NYC. The dropout rate for Non-NYC students for all schools was 8.43%; the dropout rate for NYC enrollees was 4.24%.

In only two schools was the dropout rate slightly higher for NYC enrollees, Allderdice, 1.32% higher and Connelley, 0.6% higher. In contrast, the dropout rate for Non-NYC students in Fifth was 13.01% higher than for NYC enrollees and for Oliver the Non-NYC dropout rate was 17.05% higher than for NYC enrollees. As indicated by the graph on Page 7, the difference in the dropout rates varies inversely with the holding power of the school as determined in *A Study of School Holding Power, School Year 1965–66*. Allderdice with a holding power of 94.1% has a dropout rate difference of −1.32% while Oliver with a 54.0% holding power has a dropout rate difference of 17.05%, and Fifth which has the lowest holding power, 47.5%, has a dropout rate difference of 13.01%.

This graph also indicates the ratio of NYC enrollees in percentages of the total enrollment for each school. It will be noted that the schools with the greatest holding power have the fewest NYC enrollees giving further evidence of the effects of the socio-economic factor to which previous reference was made. It can be seen that with one exception, the vocational-technical schools, Arsenal, Connelley and Washington, do not conform to the general pattern of the graph. These points are identified on the curve by circled dots.

Individual Dropout Statistics on pages 8, 9, and 10 indicate the school attended, age, grade, number of hours worked and reason for dropping out for each NYC enrollee. Of the 2,077 enrollees in the two programs there were 88 dropouts as against 18,864 Non-NYC students who had a total of 1,590 dropouts.

The Collective NYC Dropout Statistics on page 11 show that well over half of the girls dropped out for marriage and medical excuses with only two dropping out for employment. Even with the high rate of employment, one-half of the dropouts were overage and had no prospects of immediate employment.

The median dropout age fell in the 17–7 to 18–0 range with the median grade level 11th grade. This means that the average dropout was retarded a minimum of one year.

One-eighth of the enrollees who dropped out worked less than 25 hours, one-fourth worked less than 50 hours and almost one-half worked less than 100 hours.

This study has indicated that for the school year 1965–66 the NYC enrollees in the Pittsburgh Public Schools were enabled to continue their education and had a dropout rate about one-half as great as students not on NYC, most of whom, at least economically, were more favorably situated. To this degree the program was successful in fulfilling the purpose for which it was established.

While no effort was made to examine the reason for this retention, it is possible that the close contact between enrollee and NYC counselor has brought a better understanding of the need of continued educational preparation and that the additional income made staying in school a possibility for the enrollee.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS HOLDING POWER STUDY,[1] PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965–66

School	Grades 9, 10, 11, 12 enollment	NYC enrollees [2]	Net enrollment	Percent of students on NYC	Non-NYC dropouts	NYC dropouts	Percent dropouts non-NYC	Percent dropout NYC
Allderdice	2,398	72	2,326	3.01	34	2	1.46	2.78
Allegheny	1,066	184	882	17.26	134	9	15.1	4.89
Arsenal	408	35	373	8.58	33	1	8.85	2.86
Carrick	1,152	79	1,073	6.86	65	2	6.06	2.53
Connelley	626	69	557	11.02	85	11	15.3	15.9
Fifth Avenue	976	177	799	18.14	131	6	16.4	3.39
Gladstone	600	140	460	23.33	57	7	12.4	5.00
Langley	1,404	199	1,285	8.48	75	3	5.84	2.52
Oliver	855	162	693	18.95	131	3	18.9	1.85
Peabody	2,293	132	2,161	5.76	132	6	6.11	4.55
Perry	1,314	126	1,188	9.59	85	5	7.15	3.97
Schenley	1,757	216	1,541	12.29	209	8	13.56	3.70
South	1,427	180	1,247	21.61	134	11	10.68	6.67
South Hills	2,291	141	2,150	6.15	140	8	6.51	5.67
Washington	469	61	408	13.01	25	1	6.13	1.64
Westinghouse	1,905	184	1,721	9.66	120	5	6.97	2.72
Total	20,941	2,077	18,864	9.92	1,590	88	8.43	4.24

[1] School enrollment and dropouts from "A Study of School Holding Power, School Year 1965–66," using grades 9, 10, 11, and 12.

[2] NYC enrollment from NYC files covering summer program, June 28, 1965, to Sept. 3, 1965, and in-school program, Sept. 16, 1965, to June 24, 1966. All postgraduates were eliminated from calculations.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS HOLDING POWER STUDY[1]

[In percent]

School	Holding power	Difference between non-NYC and NYC dropout rates [2]
Allderdice	94.1	−1.32
Washington	86.3	4.49
Carrick	78.9	3.53
Langley	78.2	3.32
South Hills	78.1	.84
Peabody	77.9	1.56
Westinghouse	74.1	4.25
Perry	72.2	3.18
Arsenal	70.8	5.99
Allegheny	65.0	10.21
South	63.6	4.01
Connelley	61.0	−.60
Schenley	59.1	9.86
Gladstone	54.3	7.40
Oliver	54.0	17.05
Fifth	47.5	13.01

[1] Holding power from "A Study of School Holding Power, School Year 1965–66."

[2] The overall dropout rate for non-NYC students is 4.19 percent higher than for NYC students.

Only Allderdice which has the greatest holding power and Connelley have slightly higher dropout rates for NYC. Oliver shows 17.05 percent higher dropout rate for non-NYC enrollees.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS HOLDING POWER STUDY—INDIVIDUAL NYC DROPOUT STATISTICS

School	Enrollee	Age		Sex	Grade	Hours worked in NYC	Reason
		Years	Months				
Allderdice	1	16	5	M	10	66	Employment.
	2	18	0	M	12	57	Do.
Allegheny	1	17	1	M	11	188	Armed Forces.
	2	16	7	F	11	6	Medical excuse.
	3	17	3	F	11	125½	Do.
	4	17	5	F	11	105	Employment.
	5	19	9	M	12	326	Do.
	6	17	0	M	11	30	Armed Forces.
	7	18	1	M	11	264	Overage.
	8	18	3	M	12	221	Employment.
	9	18	2	F	12	121	Overage.
Arsenal	1	17	11	F	12	120	Do.
Carrick	1	17	6	F	12	190	Married.
	2	16	8	F	11	28	Medical excuse.
Connelley	1	18	1	M	12	137	Armed Force.
	2	20	2	M	11	410	Overage.
	3	17	0	M	10	123	Do.
	4	17	11	M	12	225	Do.
	5	17	5	M	11	221	Employment.
	6	17	1	M	10	7	Armed Forces.
	7	17	6	M	10	120	Overage.
	8	18	9	M	12	96	Discipline.
	9	17	0	M	10	290	Overage.
	10	17	5	M	10	365	Do.
	11	17	5	M	10	318	Armed Forces.
Fifth	1	19	6	F	12	346	Overage.
	2	18	6	F	12	151	Medical excuse.
	3	18	4	M	9	361	Employment.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS HOLDING POWER STUDY—INDIVIDUAL NYC DROPOUT STATISTICS—Continued

School	Enrollee	Age		Sex	Grade	Hours worked in NYC	Reason
		Years	Months				
Fifth	4	18	11	F	11	163	Overage.
	5	19	6	M	12	288	Do.
	6	18	4	F	12	124	Do.
Gladstone	1	17	7	M	11	9	Do.
	2	18	1	F	11	145	Employment.
	3	18	9	F	12	130	Married.
	4	16	1	F	10	47	Do.
	5	17	4	M	10	278	Overage.
	6	17	2	M	9	3	Do.
	7	17	1	M	11	118	Do.
Langley	1	16	9	M	9	320	Job Corps.
	2	17	9	F	10	52	Overage.
	3	17	0	M	10	72	Do.
Oliver	1	17	10	M	12	263	Do.
	2	18	6	F	11	56	Do.
	3	17	9	F	10	45	Do.
Peabody	1	17	4	M	10	128½	Do.
	2	17	0	F	12	96	Married.
	3	17	5	M	11	4	Overage.
	4	17	4	F	12	97	Medical excuse.
	5	17	0	M	12	120	Overage.
	6	17	8	M	12	90	Do.
Perry	1	19	5	F	11	230	Medical excuse.
	2	16	6	M	10	31	Employment.
	3	17	8	M	11	269	Overage.
	4	18	2	F	12	29	Married.
	5	17	9	F	10	96	Do.
Schenley	1	17	0	M	11	295	Overage.
	2	18	7	M	(1)	40	Do.
	3	19	0	M	12	30	Do.
Schenley	4	17	0	M	12	120	Overage.
	5	17	0	M	11	168	Do.
	6	17	10	F	12	449	Married.
	7	16	9	M	(1)	248	Employment.
	8	17	7	F	11	199	Overage.
South	1	17	10	M	10	211	Do.
	2	18	9	F	12	14	Medical excuse.
	3	17	9	M	11	9	Overage.
	4	17	10	M	10	88	Employment.
	5	17	0	M	11	39	Armed Forces.
	6	17	9	F	11	94	Overage.
	7	16	9	M	10	21	Employment.
	8	19	6	M	11	283	Armed Forces.
	9	17	5	M	12	297	Overage.
	10	18	4	M	11	5	Employment.
	11	16	8	F	11	56	Medical excuse.
South Hills	1	18	2	M	12	4	Employment.
	2	17	10	M	12	153	Do.
	3	16	10	M	11	15	Overage.
	4	17	7	M	12	26	Do.
	5	18	10	M	11	64	Employment.
	6	17	3	M	11	298	Armed Forces.
	7	17	11	F	12	77	Married.
	8	17	5	M	12	288	Employment.
Washington	1	17	11	M	11	260	Armed Forces.
Westinghouse	1	20	1	M	12	218	Overage.
	2	16	11	F	11	227	Medical excuse.
	3	17	6	M	9	164	Overage.
	4	18	8	M	12	314	Do.
	5	17	10	M	10	81	Do.

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[1] Special.

Collective Neighborhood Youth Corps Dropout Statistics

REASONS FOR DROPOUTS

Male:	
Overage	33
Employment	15
Armed Forces	9
Job Corps	1
Disciplinary	1
Female:	
Overage	10
Medical excuse	9
Married	8
Employed	2

AGE OF DROPOUTS IN YEARS AND MONTHS

16, 1 to 16, 6	3
16, 7 to 17, 0	18
17, 1 to 17, 6	20
17, 7 to 18, 0	20
18, 1 to 18, 6	13
18, 7 to 19, 0	7
19, 1 to 19, 6	4
19, 7 to 20, 0	1
20, 1 to 20, 6	2

GRADE LEVEL OF DROPOUTS

9th	4
10th	19
11th	31
12th	32
Special	2

HOURS WORKED BY DROPOUTS

	Number
0 to 25	11
26 to 50	10
51 to 75	7
76 to 100	9
101 to 150	14
151 to 200	8
200 to 300	20
Over 300	9

One-eighth of the dropouts worked less than 25 hours.

One-fourth worked less than 50 hours.

Almost one-half worked less than 100 hours.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I want to thank my distinguished colleague [Mr. CLARK] for yielding to me at this time, and to express the hope that title II will be observed realistically, in full awareness of the fact that our investment in people is more important to this Nation's security, its well-being and its ongoing progress than any other project or proposal among the many which the Senate considers.

Mr. CLARK. I am happy to have the support of my colleague from Pennsylvania on title II. I am pleased, indeed, that he has taken the position he has.

As he knows, Mayor Tate, of Philadelphia, as the president of the Conference of Mayors has endorsed title II. I am also happy to note that his opponent has also endorsed title II. This gives to Philadelphia the bipartisan support which I am very happy to have in connection with title II of the bill.

Mr. SCOTT. I think this is a matter which goes beyond partisanship.

CONSERVATION BUILDS CHARACTER, TOO

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I want to give my vigorous support to the amendment offered by the chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee [Mr. JACKSON], on which I have the privilege of serving, directing that 40 percent of Job Corps enrollees be assigned to conservation centers.

There is no area of Job Corps activity in which we have been better able to accomplish the dual objectives of the program: both the rebuilding of young lives toward constructive, useful goals and the accomplishment of useful work in the process.

The most deprived and often rejected youths have been assigned to conservation camps. One would think that they have little time to help others than themselves. But quick recognition of the value to others—to society as a whole—of the tasks performed in the conservation work areas has not only convinced the youth of their own potential worth to society, but it has also convinced many who first opposed this program that it has great merit both for its rehabilitation of the enrollees and for the rehabilitation of deteriorated and wasting resources.

The outstanding contribution of our Job Corps enrollees to the Nation's conservation effort does not tell the whole story of the Job Corps youth and the program. The rest of the story is written in many incidents where these young men have voluntarily and unselfishly given aid to communities in emergencies caused by fires, floods, tornadoes, and similar disasters. They were in the fight against floods in Oregon, California, Colorado, and Nebraska; in tornadoes in Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin and, most recently, in the tragic forest fire disaster in the Northwestern States. These contributions were voluntary and without compensation or special inducement.

These disasters have presented the youth with unusual opportunities to serve their fellowmen, and given them the satisfaction that goes with doing so; but other less spectacular types of conservation work have proven to provide the same sort of satisfaction: visible evidence of betterment of our environment and the sort of tangible results that allows a person to go to bed at night with a feeling of having accomplished something of value during the day just closed, and having the opportunity to do more of value during the days that follow.

I am particularly pleased with the Job Corps' performance in my own State of South Dakota. We have had the good fortune of having a Job Corps center at Nemo, and expect we will soon have another at Eagle Butte.

In South Dakota, we are grateful for the splendid conservation work that the boys in the center at Nemo have done, and our citizens hope that the program, making a visible constructive contribution to the conservation of both human and natural resources, will be continued with emphasis on the conservation centers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2:30 o'clock p.m. having arrived, the Senate, pursuant to the unanimous-consent agreement, will proceed to vote on amendment No. 324, offered by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON].

On this question the yeas and nays

have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE] is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE] would vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] is absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 82, nays 5, as follows:

[No. 266 Leg.]

YEAS—82

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—5

Brooke
Case
Javits
Miller
Percy

NOT VOTING—13

Baker
Fulbright
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Kuchel
McIntyre
Pastore
Pearson
Smathers
Symington
Yarborough

So Mr. JACKSON'S amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MORSE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

INTERVENTION OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS IN CLEVELAND LABOR DISPUTE

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on September 13, 1967, I made a statement on this floor asking why the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Mr. Gardner Ackley, did not see fit to enter the management-labor dispute about wages in Cleveland between the building contractors and the building craftsmen's union. From that dispute there resulted a 40-percent wage increase over a 3-year period, constituting a tremendous impetus to the cost of living in the general Cleveland area.

Mr. Gardner Ackley wrote to me on September 18, pointing out in his letter that he did intervene. He stated that industrial and labor leaders were cautioned about the damaging impact that a 40-percent increase over a 3-year period in wages would have on the cost of living.

I ask unanimous consent that his letter be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS,
Washington, D.C., September 18, 1967.

Hon. FRANK J. LAUSCHE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LAUSCHE: I have read with interest your comments in the *Congressional Record* for September 13 about the costs of construction in Clermont County, Ohio. I share your concern—and the concern of your constituent, Reverend Carl R. Steinbicker—that increased construction costs may force postponement of the installation of a sewage system in Mt. Repose. More fundamentally and more generally, increased construction costs are damaging our economic health and well-being in a multitude of ways, and with impacts that will be felt for years and years to come. And, as you indicated, it is clear that excessive increases in wages and fringe benefits have played an important part in increased construction costs.

While I agree with your concern and your diagnosis, I am naturally disturbed by your query as to "why the Federal Government did not intervene through Mr. Ackley while the negotiations were being carried on, and through which the labor unions were granted a 40-percent increase in wages over a period of 3 years . . . ."

Within the proper limits of the role of the Council of Economic Advisers, I believe that all reasonable efforts have been made to influence construction bargaining, not only in Ohio but elsewhere. In our *Annual Report* of January 1966, the Council discussed the construction cost problem at some length. We said "Construction is clearly an industry that raises serious problems for wage-price stability." In our January 1967 *Report,* we singled out construction settlements as having "consistently and significantly exceeded the general guidepost" for wages.

During 1966, I wrote letters urging cost stability to several Ohio contractors who were involved in labor negotiations and to the representatives of their employees. For example, I enclose a copy of my letter dated April 16, 1966, to Mr. Howard L. Knauf of the Associated General Contractors of America Chapter in Cincinnati. As indicated, copies of my letters to employers were also sent to the local and national leaders of the unions involved.

In spite of the lack of success of my efforts to moderate Ohio settlements in 1966, I continued my efforts in 1967. For example, in the statewide dispute involving the Operating Engineers, I made clear to both parties the concern of the President and his Administration for a reasonable settlement. This dispute was particularly important because it helped establish a pattern of excessive construction wage settlements in Ohio. A copy of my correspondence with the parties in this dispute is included—and I hope that you will agree that my views were presented in an unambiguous fashion.

However, as you doubtless know, my letter appears to have had little effect—the Operating Engineers' five-year contract included a wage increase of more than 50 percent. And it was followed by similarly excessive settlements for other Ohio construction trades.

In a sense, my lack of persuasiveness in the Operating Engineers and similar cases is unfortunate—it would be fine if the Government's views had prevailed, and wages and costs in the construction industry were not spiraling. But in another sense, I believe we would both be uneasy if my views could dominate every settlement. If, through ad hoc procedures or through statutory authority, the Executive Branch had or were given the power to dominate wage settlements in any circumstances short of total war, I imagine you would be one of the first to protest vigorously. And I would support your protest, for I am the veteran of more than six years of price control work during two wars, and I know very well the distortions and inequities which are unavoidable under wage and price control.

I must therefore express my sympathy for the problems of your constituents caused by the recent patterns of wages and costs in construction, and my deep concern for their economic impact. Yet I must also express my unwillingness and inability to intervene in such negotiations to a greater extent than I already have. If the parties in collective bargaining abuse their freedom, I believe the Government may appropriately urge them to accept their responsibilities. And public opinion may well condemn their abuse. But it must not usurp their responsibilities.

There may well be more effective ways for us to educate and to persuade, or for public opinion to be focussed on those who use irresponsibly their market power over wages or prices. If you have any thoughts, we would surely want to consider them. But, in the end, the responsibility must rest with the parties, not the Government.

Sincerely,

GARDNER ACKLEY,
Chairman.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY A PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION FROM PAKISTAN

The VICE PRESIDENT. At the order of the Senate, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] has an important announcement.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it is an honor and a privilege for me to present to the Senate eight distinguished visitors from Pakistan. They are in our country upon the invitation of our Government. The visiting delegation is led by the Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, the Honorable Syed Mohammad Zafar. The other members of the delegation are six members of the National Assembly of Pakistan and the Secretary of the National Assembly. The Secretary of the National Assembly is Mr. Muzafar Husain.

Mr. President, Pakistan, a country with a population of some 100 million, has made significant economic progress in recent years. As President Johnson noted in his state of the Union address in February, Pakistan's gross annual production grew at an average annual rate of 5.8 percent from 1960 to 1965, compared to 2.5 percent previously, while agricultural production grew at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent, compared to 1.6 percent previously. The President observed that Pakistan has an outstanding economic record and that "the future is brighter still."

When Pakistan emerged as an independent nation in 1947, its economic prospects seemed grim. But 20 years later, Pakistan can take great pride in its achievements.

In December 1965, I led a delegation of Senators, named by the Vice President, to a number of countries in Asia including Pakistan. In the report issued at the conclusion of the trip, I noted that the delegation had been "much impressed with economic growth in Pakistan" and that the prospects seemed bright for increasing substantially the amount of food produced. The facts have borne out this prediction.

I know that I speak for every Member of the Senate when I say that we welcome this distinguished delegation and, by doing so, pay tribute to the achievements of the people of Pakistan. May the cordial ties between our two countries grow ever stronger.

Mr. President, I send to the desk biographical information on each of our distinguished parliamentary visitors. I extend to them, on behalf of the Senate, its most hearty and cordial welcome and I ask that our visitors rise so that we may have the privilege of welcoming them. [Applause, Senators rising.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the biographical statements will be printed in the RECORD.

The biographical information ordered to be printed in the RECORD is as follows:

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION FROM PAKISTAN

SYED MOHAMMAD ZAFAR, MINISTER OF LAW AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, LEADER OF THE DELEGATION

Mr. Zafar was appointed Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs in March 1965. Prior to his appointment he practiced law in Lahore. Born in 1932 in Burma he graduated from Government College in Lahore in 1949 and received his law degree two years later from the same institution. He has traveled outside Pakistan on a number of occasions; in 1965 he appeared before the United Nations General Assembly, arguing Pakistan's case against India. He is married.

PRINCE MIANGUL AURANGZEB, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE)

Prince Aurangzeb was elected to the National Assembly in 1958, re-elected in 1962 and in 1965. He was a Commissioned Officer in the Pakistan Armed Forces 1950–55 and a member of the West Pakistan Assembly in 1955. Born in Swat in 1928 he received a B.A. from Pakistan Military Academy, Kabul, in 1950. He has traveled widely. He is married and has six children. Address: Saidu Sharif, Swat, Pakistan.

SHAH AZIZUR RAHMAN, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (AWAMI LEAGUE)

Also Member of the Executive Committee of the All Pakistan Bar Association. Previous positions: General Secretary, All Bengal Muslim Students League; General Secretary, East Pakistan Muslim League 1952–58; Member of the Central Muslim League Working Committee for ten years. Born in Kushtia November 23, 1924 he graduated with honors in English Literature and Theological Studies and obtained his law degree from Dacca University in 1951. He is married and has three children. Address: 32 Tope Khana Road, Dacca, East Pakistan.

MIAN SALAHUDDIN, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE)

Elected to the National Assembly in 1962 Mr. Salahuddin was re-elected in 1965. Previous positions: active role in the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the All India Muslim League in 1947; member, Lahore Corporation, 1951. Born in 1920 he is a graduate of Government College, Lahore. Mr. Salahuddin has traveled extensively in Europe and the United States. He is married and has three sons. Address: 42–G, Gulberg, Lahore, West Pakistan.

SARDAR KHIZER HAYAT KHAN, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE)

Also Parliamentary Secretary for Industries and Natural Resources. Mr. Khan was elected to the National Assembly in 1962 and re-elected in 1965. Previous positions: Vice President, Punjab Muslim Students' Federation; practiced law at Chakwal and became Public Prosecutor in 1958; headed a Pakistan Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting at Kuala Lumpur in 1962. Born in 1933 in the District of Jhelum Mr. Khan received his Law Degree from Punjab University in 1955. He visited the United States in 1964 under the AID program. He is married and has two daughters. Address: 223, Sri Krishna Road, Lalkurti, Rawalpindi, West Pakistan.

MOHAMMAD N. A. LASHKAR, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE)

Previous positions: journalist; President, Dacca Motor Vehicles Association; President, East Pakistan Chamber of Builders and Contractors; President, Dacca District Transport Employees Union; President, Pakistan Youth Movement; Member, Export Promotion Council. Born in Assam in 1921 Mr. Lashkar graduated from Islamia College, Calcutta in 1942 and later obtained M.A. and LL.B. Degrees. He has traveled in the Near and Far East. Mr. Lashkar is married and has seven children. Address: 59/2, Purana Paltan, P.O. Ramna, Dacca, East Pakistan.

MR. WAHIDUZZAMAN, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE)

Previous positions: Councillor of the All India Muslim League; member, Bengal Legislative Assembly 1942–47; pioneer of the cooperative movement in Pakistan; Deputy Chairman, Gopalganj Central Cooperative Bank; Secretary, Bengal Cooperative Organization; Chairman, East Pakistan Provincial Cooperative Bank; one of the three elected directors of the State Bank of Pakistan since 1948; Pakistani delegate to the Commonwealth Conference at Oxford in 1964; Minister for Commerce 1962–65. Mr. Zaman was born in 1912 in Gopalganj. He graduated from Calcutta University in 1932 and later obtained an LL.B. Degree. He has traveled widely, is married, and has nine children. Address: 10/1, Toynbee, Circular Road, Dacca, East Pakistan.

MUZAFAR HUSAIN, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ESCORT OFFICER TO THE DELEGATION

Previous positions: District Magistrate of a number of districts, including Karachi; Finance Secretary, Sind; Revenue Officer, Barrages, Sind; financial adviser, Development, West Pakistan; Joint Secretary, President's Secretariat, Establishment Division; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Defense; Secretary, President's Secretariat, Projects Division, and later Planning Division. Mr. Husain was born March 6, 1923.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate take a brief recess, subject to the call of the Chair, while we welcome our distinguished guests.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon, at 2 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m., the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair, during which the distinguished visitors were greeted by Senators.

The Senate reconvened at 2:50 p.m., upon the expiration of the recess, when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair).

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK—AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE AND FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak out of order at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the President of the United States today asked the Congress to sustain this Nation's commitment to peace and security and economic prosperity for the people of Asia.

He has made that request through a special message asking Congress to pledge $200 million to special funds for the Asian Development Bank over the next 4 years.

The Asian Development Bank is not a new institution to the United States.

Two years ago President Johnson was publicly referring to our need to join it.

In 1966, the Congress approved formal American membership with a subscription of $200 million.

Today, the Bank has 31 members and is a going Asian and world concern.

What is the Asian Development Bank that the United States should continue to sustain it? Why is it so important for us?

First, it is a new financial and economic institution for Asia. It is the first time that so many diverse nations have come together to contribute their funds for the development of the Asian area.

Second, the Bank is already proving its practical value. It has commissioned studies of Asian agriculture. The Southeast Asian Ministers of Education are presently planning regional centers to improve Asian education. Just last week, representatives of eight Asian nations met to plan for the transportation and communication needs which would stimulate trade and travel in the area.

Therefore, what President Johnson is asking the Congress to do is to continue our commitment to this functioning institution for Asian development.

The $200 million which the President is asking is a pledge, not a grant. It is a pledge to be fulfilled over the next 4 years, if and only if the other bank members subscribe a majority of funds that are needed. The United States' funds will be a minority share for special projects, and if approved will be used only to purchase American goods and services in Asia.

The basic importance of the Asian Bank's special projects is not merely that it will support the building of schools, and roads and water systems and communications links throughout the emerging areas of Asia. Its importance lies in the reaffirmed public pledge by Asian and non-Asian nations that the world is now ready and willing and able to cooperate in raising the level of human well-being in Asia.

President Johnson has acted consistently on the premises that institutions are built for people; that nations are developed to serve people; and that the wisest investment of money is an investment in human beings.

I urge the Congress to support President Johnson's request for a $200 million pledge to the Asian Development Bank to liberate hundreds of millions of people from fear, hunger, and the slavery of ignorance and poverty.

Mr. COOPER subsequently said: Mr. President, the distinguished majority leader has announced that the President had sent to Congress a message asking that Congress authorize a contribution of $200 million, payable in increments of $50 million over a period of 4 years, to the special fund of the Asian Development Bank. I do not know whether Congress will do so this year or next year. I hope very much that it will make this authorization at the earliest date.

I believe the Asian Bank is one of the most helpful developments in all of Asia. No substantial difficulty was encountered in securing contributions to its capital from the Asian States and substantial contributions from many European countries.

The Bank has capable management, it secures advice always from the Honorable Eugene Black who holds the confidence of the people and the governments of the Asian members as he does of the people of the United States.

I add my voice in support of this constructive message and proposal from the President of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 30 seconds to speak on the same subject?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join with the Senator from Kentucky in his comments on the Asian Development Bank. I have just returned from a meeting of the Bank in Rio. I can state to the Senate the critical importance attached to this initiative.

It is very interesting to note that the Bank has no investment affiliate. I hope that we can help, through the private enterprise system, perhaps through an agency on the model of ADELA which has been so successful in Latin America, which is the involvement of private enterprise in the total effort. But it does remind us that all in Asia is not war, that there is much room for constructive development and much opening for it. I join my colleagues in approving and applauding this message of the President.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. WINN STRICKLAND—A TALENTED AND EFFECTIVE PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there are some who feel that only in the higher echelons of government do we find talented and effective public servants. I know that this is not the case. There are many, many able and dedicated people serving in local governments throughout this country. One such individual is Mrs. Winn Strickland, city clerk of Trussville, Ala.

Mrs. Strickland was reared and educated in the State of Georgia. She was a graduate of the University of Georgia, and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Her public service is in keeping with the traditions of her family. Her father, Richard Winn Peoples, served as mayor of Lawrenceville, Ga. A cousin, Courtland Winn, was at one time the mayor of Atlanta, Ga. Her great uncle, Thomas Elisha Winn, represented the Ninth Congressional District of Georgia in Congress before the turn of the century.

Recently Mrs. Strickland celebrated her 20th anniversary as Trussville city clerk, an event which was the subject of a fine article in the Birmingham News. I ask unanimous consent that this article may be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRUSSVILLE CLERK 20 YEARS AT DESK

(By Walton Lowry)

Mrs. Winn Strickland is celebrating her 20th year as Trussville city clerk, and Trussville is celebrating its 20th year as an incorporated city.

Neither could do without the other.

The three mayors with whom Mrs. Strickland has served call her a "walking encyclopedia." They are Horace Norrell, James Barr and incumbent John Yarbrough.

"If Mrs. Strickland were to announce she was running for mayor I'd take my name out of the pot and start working for her," said Yarbrough. "She is a very, very valuable person."

But even if her lawyer father was mayor of Lawrenceville, Ga., Mrs. Strickland has no intention of trying to follow in his footsteps at Trussville.

"I'd rather be here than there," she said, first indicating her desk and then that of the mayor.

When Mrs. Strickland became Trussville's second city clerk—the first resigned after three weeks—Trussville city business was conducted from a large rented room on Main Street.

The present handsome City Hall was dedicated in 1959.

Mrs. Strickland is the wife of K. P. Strickland, a Birmingham salesman. They have two sons, Stephen Parks Strickland, who is an employe of the American Council on Education in Washington, and Richard Winn Strickland, who is employed by a Philadelphia manufacturing firm.

Mrs. Strickland takes quiet pride in her city.

"The growth of Trussville in 20 years is amazing," she said.

She points out that Trussville has no bonded city indebtedness and no ad valorem tax, though providing the same services as many other cities with these burdens.

PANAMA JURIDICAL STRUCTURE, PART VIII—PANAMA CANAL REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1950 (THOMPSON ACT)

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in part VII of this series of statements to the Senate, I quoted the text of the Panama Canal Act of 1912 under the provisions of which the Panama Canal was operated from 1914 to 1951. This period included three grave crises in canal history—World War I, World War II, and the start of the Korean war. The organization survived the first without change but, as was foreseen by canal officials during World War II, that great struggle attracted the attention of our Government to the organizational operation of the Panama Canal. After a careful congressional investigation, 1949–50, headed by Representative Clark W. Thompson, of Texas, the Congress, on recommendations of President Truman—House Document No. 460, 81st Congress—enacted the Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950—Public Law 841, 81st Congress—the first major reorganization of the Panama Canal since its opening to traffic in 1914.

During the Korean war, the 1962 missile crises in Cuba, and throughout the Vietnam war, the canal has been of the greatest value to our Armed Forces and was operated with complete efficiency by the civil organization without its subordination to the commanding general of the Armed Forces of Isthmus as was done during World Wars I and II. In the message of President Truman dealing with the reorganization—House Document No. 460, 81st Congress, page 12—it was stressed that the "protection" of the canal, vested in the Governor, in the Panama Canal Act of 1912 was the exercise of "normal police authority within the Canal Zone" and that "protection against internal aggression is a function of the military commander."

The wisdom of this clarification was amply justified by the Red-led mob assaults on the Canal Zone in early January 1964, when the commander in chief Caribbean Command, on request of the Governor, assumed control and used the Armed Forces of the United States in defending the lives of our citizens and the canal itself.

Mr. President, I am happy to be able to state that despite that critical situation the Panama Canal kept operating despite simultaneous violence at both ends of Canal Zone and without interruption of transit schedules. This was one of the supreme tests of the efficiency of organization of the Isthmus that reflected great credit on those who operated the canal and those who defended it.

The Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950, in brief, provides for the following:

First. Established the Canal Zone Government as an independent civil agency to be administered under the supervision of the President or such officer of the United States as may be designated by him;

Second. Created a corporate form of organization designated as the Panama Canal Company charged with operating the canal, with the Governor of the

Canal Zone serving as President of the Company;

Third. Placed the Panama Canal enterprises on a self-sustaining basis;

Fourth. Prescribed a formula for the calculation of tolls;

Fifth. Provided that the levy of tolls is subject to provisions of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903 with Panama, and the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914–22 with Colombia.

As the Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950 evolved out of experience and is yet in effect, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record to make it easily accessible to my colleagues in the Senate.

There being no objection, the Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950 was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Public Law 841

An Act to authorize and provide for the maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal by the present corporate adjunct of the Panama Canal, as renamed; to reconstitute the agency charged with the civil government of the Canal Zone, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1122), is amended to read as follows:

"5. Establishment, Administration, and Functions of Canal Zone Government.—The independent agency of the United States heretofore known as the Panama Canal shall hereafter—

"(1) be known as the Canal Zone Government;

"(2) be administered, under the supervision of the President or such officer of the United States as may be designated by him, by a Governor of the Canal Zone; and

"(3) be charged, except as otherwise provided by law, with the performance of the various duties connected with the civil government, including health, sanitation and protection, of the Canal Zone.

"Cross-Reference

"Appointment of other necessary persons, see section 81 of this title, as amended."

Sec. 2. (a) Except as otherwise provided in, or where inconsistent with, the provisions of this Act—

(1) the terms "the Panama Canal", "the Canal", and "the Canal authorities", wherever appearing in the statutes of the United States and having reference, prospectively, to the agency heretofore known by those names, are amended to read "the Canal Zone Government"; and

(2) the term "the Panama Railroad Company", wherever appearing in the statutes of the United States and having reference, prospectively, to the corporation heretofore known by that name, is amended to read "the Panama Canal Company".

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the title "the Governor of the Panama Canal", wherever appearing in the statutes of the United States, is amended to read "the Governor of the Canal Zone".

(c) Sections 982, 987, and 1024 of title 4, and section 833 of title 3, of the Canal Zone Code, are amended by deleting the term "the Panama Canal", appearing in each of said sections, and inserting in lieu thereof the term "the Panama Canal Company".

(d) Section 836 of title 5 of the Canal Zone Code is amended by deleting the term "the Government of the Canal Zone", which appears in paragraph b of said section and inserting in lieu thereof the term "the Panama Canal Company".

(e) The headline and introductory clause of section 7 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code are amended to read as follows:

"7. Control and Jurisdiction of Governor Over Canal Zone.—The Governor of the Canal Zone shall: * * *."

Sec. 3. Section 10 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as amended by section 1 of the Act of June 13, 1940 (ch. 358, 54 Stat. 387), is further amended to read as follows:

"10. Injuries to Vessels, Cargo, Crew, or Passengers, Occasioned by Operation of Canal—(a) Injuries in Locks of Canal.—The Panama Canal Company shall promptly adjust and pay damages for injuries to vessels, or to the cargo, crew, or passengers of vessels, which may arise by reason of the passage of such vessels through the locks of the Panama Canal under the control of officers or employees of the said corporation: *Provided, however,* That no such damages shall be paid in any case where the injury was proximately caused by the negligence or fault of the vessel, master, crew, or passengers: *Provided further,* That in any case wherein the negligence or fault of the vessel, master, crew, or passengers proximately contributed to the injury, the award of damages shall be diminished in proportion to the negligence or fault attributable to the said vessel, master, crew, or passengers: *And provided further,* That damages shall not be allowed and paid for injuries to any protrusion beyond the side of a vessel, whether such protrusion is permanent or temporary in character. A vessel shall be considered to be passing through the locks of the Canal, under the control of officers or employees of the corporation, from the time the first towing line is made fast on board before entrance into the locks and until the towing lines are cast off upon, or immediately prior to, departure from the lock chamber.

"(b) Injuries Other Than in Locks.—The Panama Canal Company shall promptly adjust and pay damages for injuries to vessels, or to the cargo, crew, or passengers of vessels which may arise by reason of the presence of such vessels in the waters of the Canal Zone, other than the locks, when the injury was proximately caused by negligence or fault on the part of any officer or employee of the corporation acting within the scope of his employment and in the line of his duties in connection with the operation of the canal: *Provided, however,* That in any case wherein the negligence or fault of the vessel, master, crew, or passengers proximately contributed to the injury, the award of damages shall be diminished in proportion to the negligence or fault attributable to the said vessel, master, crew, or passengers: *And provided further,* That in the case of any vessel which is required by or pursuant to regulations prescribed under section 9 of this title, as amended, to have a Panama Canal pilot on duty aboard, no damages shall be adjusted and paid for injuries to any vessel, or to the cargo, crew, or passengers of any such vessel, incurred while the vessel was under way and in motion, unless at the time such injuries were incurred the navigation or movement of the vessel was under the control of a Panama Canal pilot.

"(c) Measure of Damages Generally.—In determining the amount of the award of damages for injuries to a vessel for which the Panama Canal Company is found or determined to be liable, there may be included (1) actual or estimated cost of repairs; (2) charter hire actually lost by the owners, or charter hire actually paid, depending upon the terms of the charter party, for the time the vessel is undergoing repairs; (3) maintenance of the vessel and wages of the crew, if such are found to be actual additional expenses or losses incurred outside of the charter hire; (4) other expenses which are definitely and accurately shown to have been incurred necessarily and by reason of the accident or injuries: *Provided, however,* That there shall not be allowed agent's fees or commissions or other incidental expenses of similar character, or any items which are indefinite, indeterminable, speculative, or conjectural. The corporation shall be furnished such vouchers, receipts, or other evidence as may be necessary in support of any item of a claim. If a vessel is not operated under charter by the owner directly, evidence shall be secured if available as to the sum for which vessels of the same size and class can be chartered in the market. If such charter value cannot be determined, the value of the use of such vessel to its owners in the business in which it was engaged at the time of the injuries shall be used as a basis for estimating the damages for the vessel's detention; and the books of the owners showing the vessel's earnings about the time of the accident or injuries shall be considered as evidence of probable earnings during the time of detention. If the books are unavailable, such other evidence shall be furnished as may be necessary.

"(d) Delays for Which No Responsibility Assumed.—The Panama Canal Company shall not be responsible, nor consider any claim, for demurrage or delays occasioned by landslides or other natural causes, by necessary construction or maintenance work on Canal locks, terminals, or equipment, by obstructions arising from accidents, by time necessary for admeasurement, by congestion of traffic, or by any other cause except as specially set forth in this section.

"(e) Settlement of Claims.—The amounts of the respective awards of damages under this section may be adjusted, fixed, and determined by the corporation by mutual agreement, compromise, or otherwise; and acceptance by any claimant of the amount awarded to him shall be deemed to be in full settlement of such claims.

"(f) Actions on Claims.—Any claimant for damages under this section who considers himself aggrieved by the findings, determination, or award of the Panama Canal Company in reference to his claim may bring an action on such claim against the said corporation in the United States District Court for the District of the Canal Zone; and in any such action the provisions of this section relative to the determination, adjustment, and payment of such claims, and the provisions of the regulations established under section 9 of this title, as amended, relative to navigation of Canal Zone waters and to transiting of the Panama Canal, shall be applicable. No action for damages which is cognizable under this section shall lie against the said corporation otherwise, or in any other court, than as provided in this paragraph, or shall lie against any officer or employee of the corporation: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to prevent or prohibit actions against officers or employees of the said corporation for damages for injuries resulting from acts of such officers or employees outside the scope of their employment or not in the line of their duties or from acts of such officers or employees committed or performed with intent to injure the person or property of another. Actions under this paragraph shall be tried by the court without a jury.

"(g) Investigation Before Vessel's Departure.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no claim shall be considered under this section, nor shall any action for damages lie thereon, unless, prior to the departure from Canal Zone waters of the vessel involved, the investigation by the competent authorities of the accident or injury giving rise to such claim shall have been completed, and the basis for the claim shall have been laid before the corporation."

Sec. 4. Section 82 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code is amended to read as follows:

"82. Compensation of Persons in Military, Naval, or Public Health Service.—(a) If any of the persons appointed or employed as provided in section 6, or section 81, as amended, of this title are in the military, naval, or Public Health Service of the United States, the amount of the official salary paid to any such person shall be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation provided by or which shall be fixed under the terms of those sections, but this section shall not be construed as requiring the deduction from the amount of such salary of compensation of—

"(1) the retired pay or allowance of any retired warrant officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard; or

"(2) the training pay, retainer pay or allowances of any warrant officer or enlisted man of the Reserve forces of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard.

"(b) The Canal Zone Government shall annually pay to each of the aforesaid services an amount sufficient to reimburse the said service for the official salary paid to any person in such service for the period of appointment or employment by the Canal Zone Government."

Sec. 5. The headline and first sentence of section 245 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948 (ch. 706, 62 Stat. 1075), are amended to read as follows:

"245. Creation, Purposes, Offices, and Residence of Panama Canal Company.—For the purposes of maintaining and operating the Panama Canal and of conducting business operations incident to such maintenance and operation and incident to the civil government of the Canal Zone, there is hereby created, as an agency and instrumentality of the United States, a body corporate to be known as the Panama Canal Company, hereinafter referred to as the 'corporation'. * * *."

Sec. 6. Paragraph (c) of section 246 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948, is amended to read as follows:

"(c) In order to reimburse the Treasury, as nearly as possible, for the interest cost of the funds or other assets directly invested in the corporation, the corporation shall pay interest to the Treasury on the net direct investment of the Government in the corporation as defined in paragraphs (a) and (b) of this section, and shown by the receipt described therein, at a rate or rates determined by the Secretary of the Treasury as required to reimburse the Treasury for its cost. Payments of such interest charges shall be made annually to the extent earned, and if not earned shall be made from subsequent earnings."

Sec. 7. Section 246 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph lettered (e) and reading as follows:

"(e) The corporation is further obligated to pay into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts amounts sufficient to reimburse the Treasury, as nearly as possible, (1) for the annuity payments under article XIV of the convention of November 18, 1903, between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, as modified by article VII of the treaty of March 2, 1936, between the said Governments, and (2) for the net costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government. The net costs of operation of the Canal Zone Government, which are deemed to form an integral part of the costs of operation of the Panama Canal enterprise as a whole, shall not include interest but shall include depreciation and the reimbursement of other Government agencies for expenditures made on behalf of the Canal Zone Government. The payments into the Treasury, referred to in this paragraph, shall be made annually to the extent earned, and if not earned shall be made from subsequent earnings unless the Congress shall otherwise direct."

Sec. 8. Subparagraph (e) of section 248 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948, is amended by adding at the end thereof a sentence reading as follows: "The provisions of section 82 of this title, as amended, shall apply to the corporation and to its officers and employees."

Sec. 9. Section 249 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948, is amended by relettering subparagraphs (a) to (f) thereof as subparagraphs (b) to (g), respectively, and by inserting after the introductory clause of said section a new subparagraph reading as follows:

"(a) May maintain and operate the Panama Canal."

Sec. 10. Article 3 of Chapter 12 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as added by the Act of June 29, 1948, is amended by renumbering sections 255 and 256 of said title 2 as sections 257 and 258, respectively, and by adding, in said article 3, two new sections numbered 255 and 256 and reading as follows:

"255. Appropriations To Cover Losses.—Appropriations are hereby authorized for payment to the corporation of such amounts as may be shown in the annual budget program of the corporation as necessary to cover losses sustained in the conduct of its activities. Amounts appropriated to the corporation under authority of this section shall not be added to the amount of the receipt referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) of section 246 of this title, and shall not require payment of interest under paragraph (c) of said section 246: *Provided, however,* That repayments by the corporation to the Treasury shall in no case be treated as dividends under sections 246 (d) and 253 of this title until all amounts appropriated to the corporation under authority of this section shall have been repaid to the Treasury."

"256. Authorization for Transfer of Panama Canal to Corporation.—The President is hereby authorized to transfer to the corporation the Panama Canal, together with the facilities and appurtenances related thereto, and any or all of the facilities and appurtenances heretofore maintained and operated by the Panama Canal under authority of section 51 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as amended by section 2 of the Act of August 12, 1949 (ch. 422, 63 Stat. 601), and all or so much as he may determine to be necessary of the personnel, property, records, related assets, contracts, obligations, and liabilities of or appertaining to the said Canal and the aforesaid facilities or appurtenances, and such transfer shall be deemed to have been accepted and assumed by the corporation without the necessity of any act or acts on the part of the corporation except as otherwise stipulated in the provisions of section 246 of this title."

Sec. 11. Section 411 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code as amended to read as follows:

"411. Authority To Prescribe Measurement Rules and Tolls.—The Panama Canal Company is authorized to prescribe and from time to time change (1) the rules for the measurement of vessels for the Panama Canal, and (2), subject to the provisions of the section next following, the tolls that shall be levied for the use of the Panama Canal: *Provided, however,* That the rules of measurement, and the rates of tolls, prevailing on the effective date of this amended section shall continue in effect until changed as provided in this section: *Provided further,* That the said corporation shall give six months' notice, by publication in the Federal Register, of any and all proposed changes in basic rules of measurement and of any and all proposed changes in rates of tolls, during which period a public hearing shall be conducted: *And provided further,* That changes in basic rules of measurement and changes in rates of tolls shall be subject to, and shall take effect upon, the approval of the President of the United States, whose action in such matter shall be final and conclusive."

Sec. 12. Section 412 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as amended by the Act of August 24, 1937 (ch. 752, 50 Stat. 750), is amended to read as follows:

"412. Bases of Tolls.—(a) Tolls on merchant vessels, army and navy transports, colliers, tankers, hospital ships, supply ships, and yachts shall be based on net vessel-tons of one hundred cubic feet each of actual earning capacity determined in accordance with the rules for the measurement of vessels for the Panama Canal, and tolls on other floating craft shall be based on displacement tonnage. The rate of tolls on vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo may be less than the rate of tolls for vesesls with passengers or cargo.

"(b) Tolls shall be prescribed at a rate or rates calculated to cover, as nearly as practicable, all costs of maintaining and operating the Panama Canal, together with the facilities and appurtenances related thereto, including interest and depreciation, and an appropriate share of the net costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government. In the determination of such appropriate share, substantial weight shall be given to the ratio of the estimated gross revenues from tolls to the estimated total gross revenues of the said corporation exclusive of the cost of commodities resold, and exclusive of revenues arising from transactions within the said corporation or from transactions with the Canal Zone Government.

"(c) Vessels operated by the United States, including warships, naval tenders, colliers, tankers, transports, hospital ships, and other vessels owned or chartered by the United States for transporting troops or supplies, may in the discretion of the President of the United States be required to pay tolls. In the event, however, that such vessels are not required to pay tolls, the tolls thereon shall nevertheless be computed and the amounts thereof shall be treated as revenues of the Panama Canal Company for the purpose of prescribing the rates of tolls, and shall be offset against the obligations of the said corporation under paragraphs (c) and (e) of section 246 of this title, as amended.

"(d) The levy of tolls is subject to the provisions of section 1 of article III of the treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain concluded on November 18, 1901, of articles XVIII and XIX of the convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama concluded on November 18, 1903, and of article I of the treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia proclaimed on March 30, 1922.

"(e) Capital investment for interest purposes shall not include any interest during construction."

Sec. 13. The following statutes and parts of statutes are repealed:

(1) Canal Zone Code, title 2, sections 32 and 33;

(2) Canal Zone Code, title 2, sections 51 to 54, as amended by section 2 of the Act of August 12, 1949 (ch. 422, 63 Stat. 601);

(3) Canal Zone Code, title 2, section 414;

(4) The paragraph entitled "Housing of officers serving in the Canal Zone" of the Act of July 9, 1918 (ch. 143, 40 Stat. 855; 10 U.S.C., sec. 721);

(5) Subparagraph (g) of section 2680 of title 28, United States Code;

(6) Section 6 of the Act of August 1, 1914 (ch. 223, 38 Stat. 679; 31 U.S.C., sec. 621);

(7) Section 1 of the Act of June 29, 1948 (ch. 706, 62 Stat. 1075; 48 U.S.C., sec. 1361); and

(8) All statutes and parts of statutes inconsistent with this Act, to the extent of such inconsistency.

Sec. 14. Except for section 256 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as added by section 10 of this Act, this Act shall take effect upon the effective date of the transfer to the corporation, pursuant to the provisions of said section 256, of the Panama Canal together with the facilities and appurtenances related thereto.

Approved September 26, 1950.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY SENATOR MORSE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I rise to a point of personal privilege.

ACTING PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY IN ERROR

Mr. President, this morning I testified before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on S. 2105, a bill that seeks to apply some of the provisions of land-grant college programs to Howard University. In the course of my testimony I said:

> During those difficult years in which many of us attempted to get through the Congress a Public Higher Education bill for the District of Columbia, our Committee received no assistance from any official of Howard University. My Subcommittee, which held hearings on the D.C. higher education bill, extended an invitation to the Acting President of Howard University to testify on the legislation, as the presidents of many of the other private institutions of higher learning did. The Acting President of Howard University declined an invitation to testify before the Senate District Committee on the legislation.

I have been advised that subsequent to my testimony, when the acting president of Howard University testified, he denied that he had ever received an invitation from our committee to testify on the District of Columbia higher education bill.

Mr. President, the acting president of Howard University has suffered a loss of memory, for the record is perfectly clear that he was invited, as was the president of every other college and university in the District.

Those hearings were held on March 14, 15, and 24, 1966.

On March 21, 1966, Dr. Wormley, the acting president of Howard University, apparently asked his secretary—for she advised us she was acting on his instruction—to call the Senate District of Columbia Committee on his behalf, and she gave us this message at 2:05 p.m. on that day:

> He thanks you very much, but he has nothing to add or contribute for hearings.

Mr. President, it is unfortunate that the acting president of Howard University has given the false impression to the Senate committee and to the public that the senior Senator from Oregon, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Education for the District of Columbia, testified erroneously with regard to the matter that fell within its jurisdiction connected with this public higher education problem. I told the truth. The acting president of Howard University just forgot, and I would respectfully advise him that the efficiency of his office, or the inefficiency of his office, is the only excuse I can give for the misinformation that he presented to the Agriculture and Forestry Committee this morning.

I ask unanimous consent that the table of contents of the hearings of the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety of the District of Columbia Committee in connection with the public college bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table of contents was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

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Mr. MORSE. The table of contents will show that the following testified: Dr. Hurst Anderson, president, American University; Paul O. Carr, president of the District of Columbia Teachers College; Dr. Lloyd H. Elliott, president of George Washington University; and Rt.

Rev. Monsignor Joseph A. Gorham, representing the Catholic University of America; Sister Margaret, president of Trinity College, Washington, D.C.; Sister M. Mildred Dolores, president of Dunbarton College.

Mr. President, I stand on the testimony I gave this morning that the acting president of Howard University had received an invitation but did not elect to testify.

I ask unanimous consent that the testimony I gave this morning, calling for modification of S. 2015, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE, DEMOCRAT, OF OREGON, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1967, ON S. 2105, A BILL TO ESTABLISH COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I very much appreciate having the opportunity to discuss with you the provisions of S. 2105 introduced by my distinguished colleague from the State of Minnesota, Mr. Mondale, on his behalf and on behalf of Senators Cooper, Hatfield, Kennedy of New York, McGovern, Montoya and Tydings.

First, let me say that I wholeheartedly support the purposes of the proposed legislation. It is my judgment, that for far too long we have deferred providing the citizens of the District of Columbia the services enjoyed by residents of every State. As a matter of fact, I so thoroughly support the concept that I am the author of a bill, S. 1999, which proposes to accomplish on an even broader scale the objectives of S. 2105. With respect to the language of the legislation and its mechanism for empowering the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education in the District of Columbia, I have only admiration and I would agree that the funds authorized in the legislation are at a level needed, in my opinion, to begin to accomplish the objectives.

With this preamble I would direct the attention of the Committee to some aspects of the bill which I hope the Committee would review with care in light of my arguments. In Sec. 2 of S. 2105 on page 2, line 9, I note that the proponents of the bill have designated Howard University as the institution of higher education to be charged with the responsibility for carrying out the cooperative extension services provided. Further, I note that on line 4 and through line 7 the bill seeks to require that the memorandum of understanding be agreed to by the District of Columbia rather than by the institution of higher education as a primary party.

These two provisions raise reservations in my mind in my capacity as Chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. As you know, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has jurisdiction over the operations of Howard University under the Senate rules. I also raise the question in my capacity as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety of the District of Columbia Committee, since the government of the District of Columbia is empowered by this proposed legislation to enter into a memorandum of understanding with the Secretary of Agriculture. Should these provisions remain in the bill as introduced when the bill is reported to the Senate, as I hope it will be, then I should feel constrained to raise with my chairmen on the Senate Labor Committee and the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, respectively, the concerns that I have voiced with a request that each seek in turn to have the reported bill re-referred to each of the other Senate committees for consideration of the points I would now make.

First, regardless of which institution of higher education within the District of Columbia is ultimately designated to perform the services under the memorandum of understanding, I question the policy of directly involving the government of the District of Columbia in the memorandum of understanding. I would point out to the Committee that we are at present in a transitional period from a form of government in the District of Columbia that has existed since Governor Shepherd's time to a new District Commissioner and Legislative Council. The President has not yet appointed the members of that Council. I suggest to you that the legal authorities of the District of Columbia will be engaged in much work in many areas and I fear that work in the area covered by the bill would not be given the priority of attention that it should have.

Beyond that and more basically, we are dealing with matters of educational philosophy in governmental structure that are of concern to institutions of higher education. First let me cite the principle that many of us who have had the university as a background hold very dear, and that is the necessity in a free society for institutions of higher education to operate with as great a degree of autonomy as can be provided.

The Federal government can, and has entered into direct contractual and grant relations with institutions of higher education under many statutes without the necessity of having interposed a noneducational governmental structure. The University of Oregon, for example, is operating under the Poverty legislation a Job Corps installation in my own State at Tongue Point. I am sure that each of you could cite similar examples in your own States.

I therefore urge strongly that the measure be revised to eliminate from the memorandum of understanding references to the District of Columbia government.

Since the financing of the project must be justified to the Appropriations Subcommittees exercising jurisdiction over the Department of Agriculture, the budget for the program would not, and should not be the concern of the budget divisions of the District of Columbia government. I very much fear that should this not be done you would by implication be giving substance to the interposition by the budgetary authorities of the District of Columbia into matters which are legitimately of concern only to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Bureau of the Budget and the institution of higher education.

Frankly, I would be very disturbed if financing of these programs were to be used by the District budget management officials as an excuse for curtailment of District support of higher educational activities.

This leads me to the corollary points to which I ask that thoughtful consideration be given, and they are (1) which institution in the District of Columbia should be designated to perform the services and (2) at what level of higher education should such an institution be?

In my original proposal, upon which hearings were held on August 25 and 28, 1967, in the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, I had suggested that the Washington Technical Institute, a 2-year institution, could, if designated, open up a channel for services of this type which would be truly innovative.

As you may know, Mr. Chairman, I introduced in the Senate on June 23, 1967, S. 1999, a bill amending Title II of the District of Columbia Public Education Act, approved November 7, 1966, providing that the Washington Technical Institute be considered a land-grant college institution and receive benefits of land-grant college Acts administered by both the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Agriculture.

S. 1999, as originally introduced, entitled the Washington Technical Institute to develop programs of study and research in Agriculture Cooperative Extension Service, experiment stations, agriculture marketing programs and agriculture research facilities in the District. As you can see, S. 1999 is much broader and more comprehensive in scope than S. 2105, introduced by my distinguished colleague.

Under S. 1999, I am advised that funds could be used for facilities, teaching, researching, and out-of-classroom extension work in such areas of service as home economics and 4-H youth development and related services, whereas S. 2105 provides funds for only out-of-classroom extension work in such areas of service as home economics and 4-H youth development. I am advised that funds under S. 2105 could not be used for teaching or classroom construction. Further, S. 2105 has a termination date for 5 years after its enactment, whereas S. 1999 is a permanent program the same as in the 50 States and Puerto Rico.

There has been much talk of the future role of land-grant institutions in an America which is rapidly becoming urbanized. The President of the United States in a California speech called upon our great land-grant institutions of higher education to resurvey their role as they entered the second century of their operations.

President Johnson was so right when he stated in his University of California speech on June 20, 1964, that:

"Just as our colleges and universities changed the future of our farms a century ago, so they can help change the future of our cities. I forsee the day when an urban extension service, operated by universities across the country, will do for urban America what the Agricultural Extension Service has done for rural America. And I am asking the United States Commissioner of Education to meet with the leaders of education—men like your own Clark Kerr—to see how that can come to pass."

In our hearings on educational legislation before the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I have felt, and this feeling I am sure is shared by many of my colleagues on the Subcommittee, that the rapid development in importance of the role being performed by the junior and community college segment of higher education parallels the enlargement of the scope of higher educational services which were brought about by the establishment, through the Morrill Act, of the land-grant system. I therefore sought to join the debate by suggesting, first, the extension to the District of Columbia of the land-grant services through, and this is my second point, a junior and community college mechanism.

Judging from our own hearings before the Senate District of Columbia Committee the nub of the opposition which developed was to the second portion of the proposal. Many in higher education are evidently not yet willing to accept as fully equal in status the junior and community college. This, I feel sure, was part of the reason for the opposition to the proposal.

But in fairness, I am constrained to admit that the hearings developed practical objections on the basis that at least a 4-year institution was necessary to attract and hold the academic personnel needed to perform competently the program desired. This objection carries great weight with me. Therefore, I would urge that your Committee place the responsibility for this program with the public 4-year institution of the District of Columbia, the Federal City College.

Many advantages will flow if you adopt this suggestion. Federal City College is at the threshold of commencing operations. Given this responsibility and the flexibility which is inherent in the beginning of an enterprise, a program such as this can be planned properly and brought into being at the start. Secondly, since Federal City College exists to serve primarily the residents of the District of Columbia whereas Howard University serves a national constituency, it would be my view that Federal City College in administering this program would be able to work more closely with the people of the District of Columbia.

Dr. Paul A. Miller, Assistant Secretary for Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, testified before my Subcommittee:

"I think the great genius of the Morrill Act to begin with . . . was not that they trained students in agriculture and in home economics in the schools, which were the two main subjects, but that they provided technical services in which the people themselves were involved in setting their own programs, working away at matters which they thought to be important, a process which was reinforced at once by the cooperation of local government, largely counties on the rural side, by state governments, by the state land-grant institutions, and by the Federal Government."

Dr. Miller then went on to say:

"I think that the genius of the land-grant rural movement was that the people really involved themselves. They planned the programs."

He concluded by saying:

"I think health issues, educational problems, matters of family services and community services, all of these are amenable to the approach that has been used in another realm over the last 100 years."

There has been a great deal of criticism in the District of Columbia that Howard University has isolated itself from the activities and the life of the community. This criticism comes from the Negro and white communities.

If the Federal Cooperative Extension Service programs are to be effective, it would seem to me that the college or university would have to cooperate completely with the District of Columbia Welfare Department, the Health Department, the Recreation Department, and the District of Columbia School Board for all of these people would have to be brought into the program to pinpoint problem families and coordinate activities.

During those difficult years in which many of us attempted to get through the Congress a Public Higher Education bill for the District of Columbia, our Committee received no assistance from any official of Howard University. My Subcommittee, which held hearings on the D.C. higher education bill, extended an invitation to the Acting President of Howard University to testify on the legislation, as the presidents of many of the other private institutions of higher learning did. The Acting President of Howard University declined an invitation to testify before the Senate District Committee on the legislation.

One advantage that might be cited for Howard University—that of possessing a graduate capability—on closer inspection is rather, in my opinion, somewhat of a liability in that the programs already established at the graduate level were not formed with the end in view of incorporating the type and kind of service envisaged by the bill.

At this point, I suggest to you that the Committee, should it designate Federal City College as the institution of higher education to carry out this program in the District of Columbia, might wish to express its view to the Secretary of Agriculture concerning the desirability of having the Secretary make available for the purposes of carrying out this program not only the assistance of governmental agences involved in the Extension Service program, but in addition thereto, to explore the possibilities of making available for the purpose of this program the capabilities of the Graduate School of the Department of Agriculture. If this were done, surely there could be no question but that the authorities of Federal City College would have available to them an unparalleled resource of expertise in this area.

My last point in support of my proposal to substitute Federal City College for Howard University is a practical one and is based in part upon Senate jurisdictional areas. I greatly fear that were Howard University to be given this authority circumstances would arise in the future which would require collective action on the part of at least 3 legislative committees of the Senate and 3 appropriations subcommittees of the Senate. I hesitate to even touch upon the subcommittee jurisdiction which could become involved in the other body.

We all know that in such a situation, it becomes very difficult for members of any of the committees to exercise properly legislative oversight functions.

With 2 legislative committees involved, the problem, by that degree, would be less severe than would be the case if 3 were concerned. As an aid to the Committee, I have asked the Legislative Counsel to prepare amendments to the pending bill which, if adopted, would meet in large part the objections I have raised. I submit them now to the Committee and I request that they appear in the printed hearings record at this point in my remarks.

Thank you.

AMENDMENTS TO S. 2105

On page 2, line 4, beginning with "government," strike out all through the period on line 7 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Board of Higher Education (established pursuant to title I of the District of Columbia Public Education Act), and shall be covered by a memorandum of understanding agreed to by the aforementioned Board and the Department.".

On page 2, line 9, strike out "Howard University" and insert in lieu thereof "Federal City College (established pursuant to the District of Columbia Public Education Act)".

On page 3, strike out lines 3 and 4.

SENATOR PERCY ADDRESSES BROADCAST PIONEERS

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, last Thursday, our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], made a very significant speech in Chicago in which he questioned the administration policy of bombing near the borders of China. He warned that such a policy might stimulate vastly increased Chinese military assistance to North Vietnam.

Senator PERCY asked the administration to "rethink" its bombing policy and "hopefully to decide that the limited military gain in bombing near China is not worth the risks involved." He expressed deep concern that our men in Vietnam might be exposed to greater dangers than they face today. He argues that it is imprudent to bomb a rail line within 7 miles of the China border when the same military objective can be served by bombing the railroad much farther from China.

While I do not personally agree with the premise of my distinguished colleague, I think we can all recognize that he has made an important contribution to the continuing dialog on U.S. policy in Vietnam.

For this reason, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD pertinent remarks made by Senator PERCY before a meeting of the Broadcast Pioneers in Chicago on September 21, 1967.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR CHARLES H. PERCY TO THE BROADCAST PIONEERS, CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 21, 1967

I would hope that as world events become more complex and relevant to life in this country, Chicago broadcasters—and hopefully all broadcasters—will now take the lead in the area of *interpretive* news. We have learned that no matter how remote a country might be, or how removed the problem might be, the consequences can reach into each of our homes.

Thus, it is increasingly important that broadcasters not only report the news, but analyze and evaluate it as well. At a time when we are immersed in war eleven thousand miles from Chicago, a war which has caused division and dissension throughout the country, we are dramatically reminded that it is not enough simply to accept events as they happen. We are reminded how important it is to interpret events *while* they are happening. It appears that all of us, in public life and in communications, have been too inattentive to events, how else could we find ourselves with over a half million soldiers in Vietnam and still lack a commonly accepted understanding of the extent and purpose of our endeavors.

One of the basic principles of the American system has been that of checks and balances. And one of the most effectively influential of these checks has been the press and the broadcasting industry. Fulfilling this responsibility, the broadcasting industry can help stop excessive and irresponsible actions. Failing this responsibility, the broadcasting industry will be the tacit partner of the government, sharing passively in its successes and acquiescing in its failures.

For example, I would think that broadcasters, just as much as legislators, would now have a responsibility to evaluate the most recent escalation of the war in Vietnam.

While argument continues between honorable men as to whether we can bring the war to negotiation more quickly by ending the bombing or acclerating the bombing; while patriotic men may still argue whether or not we should have become involved in Vietnam in the first place—I think few men would justify the limited military gain in bombing near the Chinese border considering the tremendous risks involved. Chief among these is the danger of stimulating vastly increased Chinese participation in the North Vietnamese war effort. Thus, bombing so near the perimeter of China could well pull the U.S. into a war many times the scope of the present conflict.

How would we react if Chinese planes were bombing Canada, ten miles from Detroit, or Mexico, minutes from San Diego? War cannot be computerized or 100% controlled. Accidents are a part of war. What shall be the consequences if our bombs accidentally fall on China? We were told that safety precautions were such that we could never lose an atomic bomb. Tell this now to the Spaniards.

Until recently, the Administration refused to bomb any closer than 30 miles from the China border, explaining that to do so would risk overflights which might provoke the Chinese to react militarily against our forces.

Then, on August 13, U.S. fighter-bombers struck two targets only ten miles from the Chinese border. The next day Defense Department officials explained that "additional precautions" were in effect to avoid violations of Chinese air space. These precautions were said to include different flying tactics and better navigation and communications techniques. The President, at his press conference on August 19, said that our pilots employed "every human and every technical precaution."

Nevertheless, despite these additional precautions, two U.S. military planes were shot down inside China on August 21.

On September 8, the Secretary of State said that the war was being conducted "with the prudence that would minimize the risks" of Chinese intervention, but that he could offer no "gold-plated" guarantees that China would not intervene as a result of U.S. air attacks.

Now, this week, American aircraft have bombed only seven miles—or less than 60 seconds by jet—from the Chinese border.

Where is the prudence in that?

What did all the precautions prove?

What sense is there in creating a situation in which our men in Vietnam might be faced with an onslaught of hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers?

I thought that lesson was learned in Korea when a million Chinese poured across the border.

Few Americans today realize that tens of thousands of Chinese, in regular units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, are already stationed in North Vietnam. They serve in anti-aircraft battalions. They engage in construction and reconstruction of roads. They repair railroad lines. The State Department says there are about 40,000 Chinese serving in North Vietnam now.

Admiral Sharp, U.S. Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, has been less conservative in his estimate. He has stated that some 50,000 Chinese have been brought into North Vietnam already.

Whether we accept the State Department's figures or Admiral Sharp's, it is clear that the Chinese are already involved, and yet the Administration does not hesitate to escalate the war in Vietnam to the very rim of China.

If the Chinese have been sufficiently concerned about the U.S. presence in Vietnam to have sent 40 to 50 thousand men to Vietnam already, how can any prudent man presume that China will not do more if we continue to attack so close to her territory? And why is it more effective to bomb rail lines seven miles from China than 30 miles from China?

If the Chinese increase their aid to North Vietnam, thus pressuring the Soviet Union to increase *her* aid to North Vietnam, what will our bombing policy have gained?

Do we want our men in Vietnam to meet even heavier resistance than that with which they must cope today? Do we really want to expand this war?

I have long believed that our national policy should be to try to create those circumstances in which de-escalation of the war might be achieved. But now I fear that the Administration is embarked on a course which could greatly expand the war.

Faced with the tremendous military power of China which has two and one-half million men under arms and millions more in the People's Militia, we can invite, by miscalculation, a bloodbath which would vastly multiply our casualties.

The American people do not want such a war and they do not want to take the risk of such a war. I for one don't want American men to be committed to an unlimited and uncontrolled war in Vietnam or to a massive conflict with China. If our half million troops cannot secure South Vietnam today from the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, how many more millions of Americans would we have to send to do battle with the Chinese?

Some say that China is so torn by dissension that they will not intervene regardless of our overflights and our bombings so near their border. But I suggest that it is just as likely that they are so torn by dissension that they may seek to unite their people by waging war against us. The Secretary of State admits he is not sure that China will stay out of Vietnam.

Every one of us wants the best for our men in Vietnam, wants them properly equipped and properly supported. But if the Administration provokes China into escalating its military support of North Vietnam, will it have helped our troops, or will it have committed them to an expanded war for who knows how many years—a war in which more and more Americans will be committed to battle and an increasing number to death?

It is a time for the Administration to rethink its bombing policy, and hopefully to decide that the limited military gain in bombing near China is not worth the risks involved.

It is a time for legislators to speak out and urge a return to prudence and perspective.

It is a time for broadcasters and other public commentators to analyze the situation and to make themselves heard. Should the U.S. become gradually engaged in a war with China, while we keep silent, we will bear part of the responsibility for the human catastrophe which will result.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PROUTY. What is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. S. 2388 is the pending business.

The bill is open to amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 45, between lines 12 and 13, insert the following new section:

"HUMAN INVESTMENT AMENDMENT

"SEC. 104. Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating part E as part F and by inserting immediately after part D the following new part E:

" 'PART E—HUMAN INVESTMENT JOB TRAINING

" 'STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

" 'SEC. 161. The purpose of this part is to provide an incentive to American business to invest in the improvement of the Nation's human resources by hiring, training, and employing presently unemployed workers lacking needed job skills, and by upgrading the job skills of and providing new job opportunities for workers presently employed.

" 'DEFINITIONS

" 'SEC. 162. For purposes of this part—

" '(a) The term "employer" means any private person, corporation, firm, or business concern which employs more than ten individuals in a trade or business, and any public corporation or institution engaged in a trade or business, or providing health or educational services.

" '(b) The term "employee training expenses" means—

" '(1) the wages and salaries of employees who are apprentices in an apprenticeship program registered with a State apprenticeship agency or the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training;

" '(2) the wages and salaries of employees who are enrolled in an on-the-job training program pursuant to section 204 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962;

" '(3) the wages and salaries of employees who are participating in a cooperative education program involving alternate and approximately equal periods of study and employment in cooperation with—

" '(A) a school or college, or department or division of a school or college, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an area vocational education school as defined in section 8(2) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210), or

" '(B) a business or trade school, or technical institution or other technical or vocational school, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an eligible institution as defined in section 17(a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-287);

" '(4) tuition and course fees paid or incurred by the employer to—

" '(A) a school or college, or department or division of a school or college, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an area vocational education school as defined in section 8(2) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210), or

" '(B) a business or trade school, or technical institution or other technical or vocational school, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an eligible institution as defined in section 17(a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-287)

for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the employer or his continued employment with the employer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid or incurred by the employer to any such individual in reimbursement for such tuition and fees paid by such individual;

" '(5) home study course fees paid or incurred by the employer to any home study school accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association listed by the United States Commissioner of Education for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the employer or his continued employment with the employer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid or incurred by the employer to any such individual in reimbursement for such individual;

" '(6) expenses of the employer for organized job training (including classroom instruction) provided by him including (but not limited to) expenses for the purchase or lease of books, testing and training materials, classroom equipment and related items, and instructors' fees and salaries, incurred in training any individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the employer or his continued employment with the employer in a position requiring additional job skills;

" '(7) expenses of the employer for organized job training described in paragraph (6) provided by another employer, but only to the extent the expenses of providing such instruction would, if it were provided by the employer, constitute employee training expenses of the employer under paragraph (6) of this subsection; and

" '(8) expenses of the employer for organized job training described in paragraph (6) provided by a business or trade association, joint labor-management apprenticeship committee, or other similar nonprofit association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution for an employee or prospective employee of any employer member of such association, committee, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by such employer member or his continued employment with such employer member in a position requiring additional job skills.

" '(c) The term "organized job training" means job training according to a plan formulated or approved by the employer which contains—

" '(1) the title and description of the job objectives for which individuals are to be trained;

" '(2) the length of the training period;

" ' (3) a schedule listing various operations for major kinds of work or tasks to be learned and showing for each, job operations or work, tasks to be performed, and the approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task;

" '(4) the wage or salary to be paid at the beginning of the course of training, at each successive step in the course, and at the completion of training;

" '(5) the entrance wage or salary paid to employees already trained in the kind of work for which the individuals are to be trained; and

" '(6) the number of hours of supplemental related instruction required.

" 'GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE JOB TRAINING

" 'SEC. 163. The Secretary of Labor is authorized to make grants to employers, in accordance with the provisions of this part, to pay up to 15 per centum of employee training expenses of such employer.

" 'LIMITATIONS

" 'SEC. 164. (a) No grant may be made under this part except upon an application submitted by an employer at such times, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information, as the Secretary of Labor deems to be reasonably necessary.

" '(b) No grant may be made under this part unless the employee training expenses paid or incurred by the employer for which the grant is to be made is allowable as a deduction under section 162 (relating to trade or business expenses) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. For purposes of applying the preceeding sentence, such expenses which are paid or incurred by the employer with respect to an individual who is not his employee shall be treated as paid or incurred with respect to an individual who is his employee.

" '(c) No grant may be made under this part for any employee training expense paid or incurred in training any individual in—

" '(1) management, supervisory, professional, or human relation skills;

" '(2) scientific or engineering courses creditable to a baccalaureate degree by an institution of higher education (as defined by the first sentence of section 103(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958);

" '(3) courses of a type determined by the Veterans' Administrator to be avocational or recreational in character under the authority of section 1673 of chapter 34 of part III of title 38, United States Code; or

" '(4) subjects not contributing specifically and directly to such individual's employment or prospective employment with employer (or an employer member of an association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution as used in paragraph (8) of section 162(b)).

This subsection shall not apply to—

" '(A) expenses described in paragraphs (4) and (5) of section 162((b) paid or incurred for courses and at institutions certified by a State apprenticeship agency (or where none exists, by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training) as eligible for inclusion in a registered apprenticeship program in an apprenticeable occupation listed by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training;

" '(B) expenses described in paragraphs (4) and (5) of section 162(b) paid or incurred for courses offered in a two-year program in engineering, mathematics, or the physical or biological sciences which is designed to prepare the student to work as a technician and at a semiprofessional level in engineering, scientific, or other technological field which require the understanding and application of basic engineering, scientific, or mathematical principles or knowledge by an institution which is accredited or otherwise certified by the United States Commissioner of Education under paragraph 401(f) (5) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Public Law 88–204); or

" '(C) expenses described in section 162(b) for training which has been approved by the agency of a State that administers its State unemployment compensation law for individuals receiving unemployment compensation.

" '(d) No grant may be made under this part for any employee training expense for which the employer has been reimbursed by any other employer, by any association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution, or by any State, local, or Federal Government program, grant, contract, or agreement.

" '(e) No grant may be made under this part for any employee training expense paid or incurred by the employer for training conducted on the territory of any foreign country.

" '(f) A grant may be made under this part for employee training expenses paid or incurred with respect to any one individual under either paragraph (3) or paragraph (4) of section 162(b), but may not be made for expenses concurrently paid or incurred with respect to such individual under both such paragraphs.

" 'COORDINATION WITH FEDERAL INCOME TAX LAWS

" 'SEC. 165. For purposes of applying chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, any grant received by an employer under this part—

" '(1) shall not be included in the gross income of such employer, and

" '(2) shall not be treated as reimbursement for expenses incurred by such employer in his trade or business.

" 'AUTHORIZATIONS

" 'SEC. 166. For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of this part, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated $200,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968; and for the next succeeding fiscal year, such sums as the Congress shall appropriate.' "

Renumber the succeeding sections in title I accordingly.

On page 119, line 16, strike out "PART E" and insert in lieu thereof "PART F (as redesignated by this Act)".

On page 119, line 17, strike out "161" and insert in lieu thereof "171".

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the pending amendment represents a modification of my amendment No. 340, which has been printed and is on the Senators' desks. I will first enumerate the changes made.

On page 7, line 1, strike out the numeral "10" and insert "15."

On page 10, line 18, strike out "$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969," and insert in lieu thereof, "in the next succeeding fiscal year, such sums as the Congress shall appropriate."

Those are the only two changes made in the original amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so modified.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment is in essence the concept which has been introduced by me in the last two Congresses and which has become known throughout the country as the Human Investment Act.

As early as 1963, in a minority report on full employment promotion hearings which the Employment and Manpower Subcommittee held that year, I had advocated this concept with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN].

In those views, Senator JORDAN and I set forth the idea of using the tax credit principle to encourage private business to cope effectively with the serious problems of structural unemployment then, and now, plaguing the economy. To my knowledge, this was the first time a Member of Congress had advocated the application of a tax credit principle to job training efforts by private business.

Mr. President, this human investment proposal was not the first time that the tax credit idea had been used as an incentive measure for our economic wellbeing. In 1961, President Kennedy asked Congress to enact a tax credit to apply toward the cost of investment in depreciable property. Congress responded by enacting the Revenue Act of 1962, which contained provisions for a 7-percent tax credit toward the cost of private investment in equipment and machinery.

The concept of investment credit was to encourage and stimulate investment by American businessmen beyond what they might otherwise have planned. A further expansion of our economy was the result.

So, also, Mr. President, would the Human Investment Act have stimulated the hiring and training of the unemployed in our Nation. The tax credit approach to the training of the unskilled would have been, and I still think, will eventually be, the road we will take properly to train those who lack it for the skills required in American business today.

Mr. President, the Congress passed the investment credit legislation by the overwhelming vote of 59 to 24 on September 6, 1962.

We know what advantages were brought about for our economy by the investment credit. I am firmly convinced that such an approach to training will be equally effective in helping solve others of our economic problems.

Indeed, Mr. President, if the Congress and business can work so successfully together as they have with investment credit, think what we can do also with a similar investment in human values through training of the unskilled.

We should not do for business and

machines what we will not do for men, for their training, for their economic advancement, and the welfare of their families.

Initially, therefore, this amendment was drafted as separate legislation and was intended to grant a tax credit to employers for the amounts expended in keeping with the established goals of the poverty program; namely, to help train those enrolled to fill those jobs which are vacant in the American labor market.

Mr. President, I have been convinced since the poverty program was initiated, and this year there is an indication that the administration is beginning to agree with those of us who have championed the idea, that for the poverty program to function and meet with success, we must have the private sector of our economy intimately involved.

The amendment seeks to upgrade the skills of the American workingman so that he might take his appropriate place in our evermore technologically complex society.

At the same time, this amendment promotes the advancement of American industry and it permits those jobs to be done which our society finds necessary and desirable.

In 1965, the Wall Street Journal listed several problems confronting the American business world which result from the lack of skills in the unemployed to fill today's jobs. There is little doubt, I think, that these same problems are with us today. That article, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal for October 21, 1965, was entitled "Corporate Manhunt: Manpower Pinch Spurs Pirating, Increases Costs, Hurts Efficiency." Among other things, the article points out a number of deleterious effects of the shortage of skilled labor, among them:

First, scrap and waste in manufacturing have risen because less skilled workers are performing high-skill jobs;

Second, the costs of recruiting skilled workers is rising rapidly;

Third, supervisors are being put on production lines, resulting in less efficient management;

Fourth, some producers are losing business because of the inability to meet product delivery schedules;

Fifth, pirating of skilled workers is ruthlessly practiced in several areas of the economy; and

Sixth, more companies are actually recruiting in Europe to meet their skilled labor needs.

Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz told the Mayor's Conference on Employment in Chicago on November 3, 1965:

> It appears unlikely that unemployment among those groups in which it is most serious . . . especially younger workers and minority groups—will be substantially reduced below present levels by any foreseeable economic expansion. The necessary improvement will have to come from measures aimed directly at these areas of concentrated unemployment, particularly at the increased preparation and training of those who have been left out of the general educational and employment opportunity patterns.

Mr. President, in order that those of us who deeply want something constructive to emerge from the poverty program might make a significant contribution to it, I offer the present amendment. I have had it rewritten so that it no longer provides a tax credit but within reasonable limits it provides for payments to industries and businesses for training and retraining of the disadvantaged poor.

ESSENTIAL PROVISIONS OF THE HUMAN INVESTMENT AMENDMENT

Mr. President, the provisions of this amendment are not really complex. It provides $200 million for fiscal 1968 and such amount as may be necessary for fiscal 1969.

Essentially, the amendment provides for grants by the Secretary of Labor to businesses and industries of up to 15 percent of the costs of conducting a training program either to upgrade the skills of present employees for advancement or to train persons for employment who are presently unemployed.

These grants may be made to employers of 10 or more persons and they may be made for wages and salaries and expenses attendant upon the conduct of such training programs.

The program is, of course, limited to the extent to which authorized sums are appropriated.

Mr. President, the grants may be used to defray such expenses for training as would otherwise be deductible as a business expense, and they would not be includible in gross income nor would they be considered as reimbursement for expenses incurred.

In addition, Mr. President, grants would be approved only for submanagerial jobs, and only for jobs which, in the scientific community would be classed as subprofessional or assistantships.

The amendment also prohibits a grant to be made where the trainee would also be receiving assistance under work-study or vocational training programs.

The amounts for which payments would be made are those which would be directed toward upgrading an individual's employment capability for equipping him to fill a prospective job within the organization providing the training.

Mr. President, much is beginning to be said by the administration and by ardent supporters in the Congress of the poverty program, about the necessity of involving the private sectors in the war on poverty. This amendment, I submit, is a perfect opportunity to do just that.

Mr. President, there continues a problem of increasing private participation in the manpower program. Of course, some businesses are very much in the field, as it were, and have proven successful with training programs. But, much remains to be done. I adhere to the belief that this human investment approach is necessary to obtain maximum private participation.

Mr. President, I understand that the administration is already making gestures in this area of increased private participation. Indeed, the Secretary of Labor, in the hearings on S. 1545 before our subcommittee in July of this year, pointed out that his Department was exploring private employer participation in training and job development.

Further that the Manpower Administration has already contracted with a few private employers for training and job placement programs.

This certainly points out that there is indeed a great potential for participation by the private employers of this Nation. Such indications point more clearly to the necessity of a cooperative effort on the part of the private and public sectors of our economy if we are to realize the possible goals through the means of job training and placement.

I submit, Mr. President, that this human investment approach to the problem can make very significant contributions to the training problems. It cannot continue much longer to be ignored by the Congress and the administration.

This amendment does not permit the luxury of makework programs. It does not put the untrained to work on jobs which are designed to satisfy the need for the moment. Rather, it assures that the untrained shall be trained or retrained to meet today's opportunities and to satisfy the needs both of themselves and the nation for tomorrow.

Mr. President, the authorization which this amendment carries, amounts to $200 million for 1968. This, Mr. President, is less than half the amounts authorized for title II of this bill as it was reported from our committee. I submit, however, that this approach is significantly more appropriate to satisfy the needs of the poor and the necessity of our Government to do something about the sad situation.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator inform me as to whether this would be $200 million in addition to the entire appropriation suggested in the bill, or $200 million being otherwise used at the moment which might be allocated to this worthy cause?

Mr. PROUTY. This would be in addition. But I assure the Senator that if agreed to by the Senate, a similar amount will be deducted from the total authorization.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, numerous articles in trade journals throughout the country have commented on the idea, most of them complimentary. Quite frankly, I have complete faith in the contribution which the Human Investment Idea can make to the war on poverty.

It is at least sufficiently meritorious to be permitted consideration with competing proposals which amount to little more than expensive welfare through makework programs.

I realize, Mr. President, that there are presently training programs now being conducted by industry and commerce in the United States. The literature has extolled the virtues of these programs, and I commend their authors and the companies which have made significant contributions in this field.

This amendment, however, seeks to provide an added incentive to the American business community to make that extra effort to expand their training programs and to extend to even wider groups of the unemployed those opportunities for new skills which they so earnestly desire.

This amendment provides a certain way in which the Government and private enterprise can join forces to produce training programs which will have meaning in our day, and which will prove of value to our time.

In support of this amendment, Mr. President, each Member of the Senate has an opportunity to endorse a program which I am convinced will prove to be of much greater significance in the fulfillment of the promise of the war on poverty than will any amount which can be appropriated simply to put people to work in some kind of job.

Mr. President, I want to reiterate that I am firmly convinced in the worth of this program in what has become our national effort to see that the jobs which our technically advanced society makes available are filled with persons who have been trained in the skills which they require.

The advantages of this human investment approach to training are many and varied. But what is more important it trains two kinds of people. First it will train those persons who have no skills which are usable in today's labor market.

Second, and what is equally important, it will retain those who are currently working but who must acquire new skills in order to cope with the different tasks which automation and advancing technology have thrust upon us.

Mr. President, I cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity of retraining as well as training. I am particularly proud of the human investment approach to training because it recognizes this fact and permits retraining of the American workingman as well as training of the American man who is unfortunate enough not to be working at the present time.

I should like to quote briefly from some statements which have been made in the past. First, a quote from former Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor who said, in an address in Dallas-Fort Worth in March of 1966:

> Shortages of skilled labor are now becoming of growing concern in a number of geographical areas and industries.

He went on to make a plea for a new devotion to job training:

> We can progress no faster than labor is trained to operate our increasingly complex machines. Nowhere is cooperation among government, business, and labor more urgently needed.

Commenting on President Johnson's message to Congress on manpower, the AFL–CIO News stated:

> Johnson paid tribute to the effectiveness of job training and retraining with special emphasis on the value of on-the-job training as a proved technique for making useful and productive citizens from those previously considered beyond help.

Mr. President, I could comment at great length on the views expressed by those experienced in this field but, for the time being, I shall yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. If the Senator from Vermont will yield to me before he yields the floor, I should like to be sure that I understand the Senator's amendment and would like to ask him a few questions.

On page 2, at the top, under the statement of purpose, it is my understanding that the purpose of the amendment is to give a subsidy or a grant to private employers for profit in order to encourage them to hire, train, and employ presently unemployed workers who lack needed job skills and that this, accordingly, would apply whether the unemployed workers were members of the poor.

Mr. PROUTY. Let me say that the details of any grant or contract would have to be worked out between the Secretary of Labor and the employer who sought to engage in some training program. It would be up to the Secretary of Labor and the employer to determine the type and nature of the training. Thus, the Secretary of Labor has a very real voice in the type of training.

Mr. CLARK. As I read the amendment, and the Senator will correct me if I am wrong, those eligible to be employed by the employer who would receive the 15-percent subsidy or 15 percent of the cost of the training expenses from the wages paid to a worker, need not be members of the poor. This is perhaps a ridiculous example, but might it not include a millionaire temporarily out of work?

Mr. PROUTY. I am sure that the Senator knows that would not occur. We all have enough confidence in the Secretary of Labor to know he would make sure that this program will be a highly constructive one, which would enable people who lack skills to gain them. Some of them could be employed at the lower end of the pay scale and could then be trained and be upgraded within the industry, so that there would be more room at the bottom level for other people coming in to receive the additional training. We should have sufficient confidence in the Secretary of Labor to know that any contracts or grants which he approves will be made on a thoroughly reliable basis.

Mr. CLARK. Does not the Senator agree, however, that, as a matter of legal draftsmanship, the amendment is wide open to permit any unemployed person, regardless of his economic status, to come within the purview of the amendment and thus permit the employer to be subsidized?

Mr. PROUTY. I do not read it that way. Certainly, that is not the intent of the amendment. In order to make legislative history, it should be pointed out that that is not the objective or the intent of the amendment. As a matter of fact, the language in the proposed amendment is much more definite than will be found generally in the so-called work-training programs in the poverty law as it exists today. Many of them can mean anything or nothing, and they are often highly nebulous in their language. This amendment, I think, is quite specific in what it proposes to do.

Mr. CLARK. Let us disagree on that, because I would take the position in debate that this amendment would permit an employer to receive 15 percent of the wages he paid to an individual who otherwise qualified under the amendment, whether that individual was a member of the poor or not. Does the Senator categorically disagree with me?

Mr. PROUTY. Will the Senator kindly ask that question again, I am sorry?

Mr. CLARK. I would take the position that the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, as presently drawn, would permit an employer to be recompensed for up to 15 percent of the wages he paid and the expenses incurred by an unemployed individual, whether that unemployed individual was a member of the poor or not—in fact, independent of the economic status of the particular individual who was to come under coverage of the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. That certainly is not the intent of my amendment. I do not think it means that. Let me reiterate that the training which the amendment contemplates certainly comes completely within the purview of the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from Vermont has the floor.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. I think what the Senator from Pennsylvania is worried about is whether or not this language specifically keeps this in the field of the entire attack on poverty.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MURPHY. So it is a matter of specific language. I might suggest that the Senator from Vermont would not object since he agrees that this is the objective.

Mr. PROUTY. I think that would be true, but let me point out the criteria which the Secretary of Labor is using for the employment-training program. I will read those criteria:

> 1. *Educationally deficient*—An unemployed or underemployed person who lacks the fundamental literacy and social skills to enable him to benefit from occupational training, but who has the potential mental and physical capabilities to become employable on a full-time basis.
>
> 2. *Handicapped*—A person with a physical, mental or emotional disability who is unemployed or underemployed, but who has the potential capacity to become employable on a full-time basis.
>
> 3. *Long-term unemployed*—A person who has been involuntarily out of work for 15 or more weeks, and in need of occupational training, basic education, and/or other services in order to become employable on a full-time basis.
>
> 4. *Minority*—A member of a racial, religious, or ethnic group who is unemployed or underemployed, and who because of this background has not had an equal opportunity to prepare for and obtain suitable employment on a full-time basis, or has not been able to advance beyond entry status in an occupation. Examples of minority group members who may have experienced employment discrimination are Negroes, Spanish Americans, Mexican Americans, persons with foreign language backgrounds, religious sect members, and American Indians.
>
> 5. *Older worker*—A person 45 years of age or over, who is unemployed or underemployed, unskilled, or whose skills have become obsolete, and who needs occupational training in order to obtain suitable employment on a full-time basis.
>
> 6. *Poverty level*—Annual net family income level criteria established by the Office of Economic Opportunity for—

Nonfarm:	
1 person	$1,500
2 persons	2,000
2–7 persons	[1] 2,000
Over 7 persons	5,000
Farm:	
1 person	1,090
2 persons	1,400
3 persons	1,750
4 persons	2,000
5 persons	2,400
6 persons	2,800
7 persons	3,150
Over 7 persons	3,500

[1] Plus $500 each.

Important segments of the "poverty-level" group who may not be in the other "Disadvantaged" categories are women head of families, welfare recipients, workers living in rural or isolated geographic areas, and migrant farm workers.

7. *Prison releases*—A person released from prison or eligible for work or training under a released or program, who needs basic education, occupational training and/or other services in order to become employable on a full-time basis.

8. *Disadvantaged youth*—A person between the ages of 16 and 22, who is out of school and out of work, who comes from a severely impoverished environment, and who needs occupational training, basic education, and/or other services in order to become employable on a full-time basis.

9. *Selective Service or Volunteer rejectee*—A male who failed to meet the requirements for the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), who is unemployed or underemployed and needs occupational training, basic education, and/or other services in order to become employable on a full-time basis.

Those are the criteria which the Secretary is presently following, and I assume he might extend or change them to some degree.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield briefly?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. What was the Senator from Vermont reading from?

Mr. PROUTY. U.S. Department of Labor News, for release 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, June 27, 1967.

Mr. CLARK. Which, of course, is not a part of this amendment.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that debate on the pending Prouty amendment and all amendments thereto be limited to 1 hour beginning now, and at the end of that hour that there be a live quorum; that following the establishment of a quorum, there be 20 minutes for additional debate, the time to be equally divided in both instances between the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]; after which the vote be taken.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I have a two-page statement on another matter that I simply must make, in fairness to my own record and in fairness to the President of the United States in reply to some comments that have been made on the floor today. Therefore, I could not enter into that agreement unless it could be understood that I would have not more than 7 minutes to make that statement.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] be recognized now, for not to exceed 7 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] has the floor.

Mr. MORSE. I am sorry.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] has completed his speech, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] be recognized for not to exceed 7 minutes, after which time the time on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto be limited to 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]; that following that 1 hour there be a live quorum, following which there be 20 additional minutes on the amendment and all amendments thereto, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], after which there be a vote taken immediately.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I would suggest to the Senator from West Virginia that the inclusion of "and all amendments thereto" does open the door to all kinds of parliamentary procedures, and I would hope we could protect ourselves from either side coming in with amendments that could be quite irrelevant and change the tone of the whole debate. If the Senator would leave out the words "and all amendments thereto," I would be happy to consent.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. My purpose in including the words "and all amendments thereto" was to preclude other amendments coming in and throwing the time frame out of kilter.

Mr. CLARK. Suppose some misguided Senator came in and moved to recommit the entire bill as an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, or to offer any other amendment in the nature of a substitute, which I am afraid would throw us off? I myself have no amendment to propose.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. I have no objection to the Senator's proposal except I wish to modify my amendment to meet the objections of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I suggest to the Senator that he provide 10 minutes a side in debate on amendments to the amendment. I suggest that that be included in the unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. JAVITS. And that there be 10 minutes on a side for any amendments to the amendment, moved by any Senator other than the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President——

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I repeat my unanimous-consent request as modified by the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Now, Mr. President, further reserving the right to object, there is one other thing I would like to get settled now. I am anxious to get the floor as soon as this amendment is disposed of—which I assume will be tomorrow—for my principal address, which I have not yet made, though I am the ranking member of this committee.

Therefore, I would appreciate it if the Senator from West Virginia would seek unanimous consent, or I will seek it, that I may have 40 minutes, when the pending amendment is disposed of, or whenever we get back on the bill.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, would the Chair put the motion made by the Senator from West Virginia at this point?

Mr. JAVITS. Could I suggest that the Chair restate it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I think the Chair is a little bit confused.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Chair permit the Senator from West Virginia to restate it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would be delighted.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the conclusion of the statement of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] be recognized for not to exceed 7 minutes, following which the debate on the pending amendment be limited to 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]; following which there be a live quorum; following which there be 20 minutes for continued debate on the amendment, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]; and that the time on all amendments thereto, if there be such, be limited to 20 minutes, the time to be equally divided between the mover of the amendment and the opponent of the amendment; and that following such debate there be a vote on the pending amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, further reserving the right to object, with the understanding that amendments to the amendment must be germane. I say that to the Senator because we are not going to open this to a 10-minute debate on a motion to recommit or some other great big thing.

But if the amendment is germane——

Mr. CLARK. To the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. If the amendments are germane to the amendment, then it is 10 minutes on a side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from West Virginia wish to limit the time on motions as well as on amendments? A motion to recommit would not be covered by the unanimous-consent request.

Mr. CLARK. If the Senator will yield, I would suggest that the proposal that all amendments must be germane to this amendment would rule out a motion to recommit.

Mr. JAVITS. In any case, the unanimous consent is not to apply to motions to recommit. If it does, I will object to it.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Then, Mr. President, we will exclude motions to recommit from the unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, when the unfinished business is laid before the Senate, the senior Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] be recognized for not to exceed 40 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 340

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I have at the desk a further modification of the pending amendment, and I ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The modification will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 2, line 6, after the word "unemployed" insert the words "low income".
>
> On page 2, line 8, after the word "for", the same modification.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, much has been said in and out of Congress in recent weeks that seeks to shift from Congress to the President the blame for what has been done in South Vietnam under the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

A presidential candidate attributed his earlier support for the war to "brainwashing." Today the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Case] implied that the President was going beyond the Tonkin Gulf resolution in conducting the war. I respectfully reply to him by saying that, in my judgment, much of what he said was a labored, after-the-fact misinterpretation of the language of the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

In my opinion, there never was anything obscure or misleading about the language of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, or what it authorized. It authorized the President to do whatever he deemed necessary to prevent aggression.

That language reminded me at the time of nothing more than Abraham Lincoln's explanation to his friend of why he voted against a resolution giving similar powers to President Polk to use against Mexico. "See if you can find any limits to it," he said.

That is true, too, of the Tonkin Gulf resolution. It is unlimited. The language in it now is the same as it was in August of 1964, when it was considered and debated on this floor, and in the other body.

For at least 2 days, my colleague from Alaska and I asked Senators, in effect, if they could see any limits to the Tonkin Gulf resolution. We asked what was meant by the word "prevent" aggression; we asked what was mean by the word "aggression" itself; we asked what country or countries were meant whose aggression we would prevent; we asked where and in what period of time the authority it tried to vest in the President could be exercised.

We got few answers. Senators did not like to talk about things like that. They did not seem to want to think about them or consider them.

The debate was even more perfunctory in the House of Representatives. But no limits to the language of the resolution were mentioned over there, either.

I am very much at a loss to understand what reasonable justification there is now for anyone to say he was "brainwashed" about our policy in Vietnam, as one supposed candidate for the nomination for the Presidency has been saying, or for anyone to stand on the floor of the Senate and question the President's sincerity or motivation in regard to the Tonkin Gulf resolution. He has acted in the open, foursquare. He has told us exactly what the resolution meant from the very beginning; and he has told us on other occasions that as long as it is on the books, he intends to follow the decision of Congress in passing the resolution.

Mr. President, the sad truth is that the resolution sought to give congressional sanction in advance to just about anything the President did in Southeast Asia or anywhere else, for congressional support of his measures to "prevent further aggression" does not even say "prevent it in Asia." It does not say the aggression must be against the United States nor against our Armed Forces.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright]—who was referred to by the Senator from New Jersey today, and as to whom I believe that the Senator from New Jersey is mistaken as to what he, the Senator from Arkansas, sought to represent to the Senate—has stated since that he made a mistake in the manner in which he handled that resolution in the Senate. He has not tried to shift blame to others. But among all the other critics who deplore what has been done under it, I have not heard anyone else state that they themselves erred, or were wrong, or failed to give the resolution the attention it deserved.

No; the effort is made every day to blame the President and the executive branch for what has been done under the resolution. My answer to them is: Every Senator who voted for that resolution is just as responsible for what has been done under it as is the President to whom the Congress tried to give its own constitutional powers.

Unless and until Senators vote to rescind the Tonkin Gulf resolution, or pass a new one superseding it, or refuse to vote the supplies to carry out Presidential policies under it, they, too, are responsible for the war in Vietnam and the manner of its execution.

The authors of the Constitution tried to save Congress from the situation in which so many Members now find themselves, of fearing the length of the conflict and where it may lead. They tried to save us from that predicament by giving to us, not to the President, the authority to wage war. They tried again to save us by giving us the exclusive power to raise and maintain armies and to appropriate money.

When Congress has tried to evade those responsibilities, it has regretted it. But I would hope we could have an end to trying to blame the President for our evasion of duty, and an end to charges like "brainwashing" to excuse a failure to exercise an independent judgment.

As one who has criticized the passage of the resolution, and who seriously disagreed with the President for offering the resolution, I wish to say, however, that I think it is unfair to criticize the sincerity, the dedication, and the motivation of the President of the United States in offering the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

If we do not like it we should change it. The President has made clear that as long as it remains on the books, he intends to follow it. And the checking power rests in the Senate.

We can change, rescind, or modify the resolution any time Senators and Congressmen are ready to substitute their votes for their accusations.

SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I was one of the delegates, along with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Hickenlooper] to the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States, held in Washington last week. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. Hickenlooper] and I were delegates on the part of the Senate. Mr. Mailliard and Mr. Selden were delegates on the part of the House.

I extend my high compliments to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and to the American Ambassador to the Organization of American States, Mr. Linowitz, for the diplomatic statesmanship they performed at a historic conference.

I am extremely heartened at the outcome of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the OAS which, as Senators know, ended Sunday in a virtually unanimous condemnation of Castro-inspired subversion in the Americas. The meeting thus successfully achieved the prime objectives that were its aim.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the 2 minutes be equally divided and taken out of the time allowed each side on the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the true nature of the Castro challenge in Venezuela, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries was revealed for what it is: an illegal and desperate effort to undermine free institutions and to foment hatred and terrorism.

And this, in turn, underscored the most basic fact of all—that the most effective answer to the Castro threat is to be found in a common course of action among the republics of this hemisphere.

As I sat with our delegation in the Pan American Union—our "Casa de las Americas"—I therefore felt a sense of deep pride and satisfaction not only because the answer given by the Foreign Ministers was a deeply responsible one but because it demonstrated the unequivocal unity that exists among the representatives of the free American republics.

This answer—a responsible answer—reflected, I believe, both a new spirit of hemispheric solidarity and a rededication to basic American principle.

It represents, too, a strengthening of traditional bonds of mutual assistance, and it underlined our determination to safeguard hard won progress toward universal democracy and major social and economic development.

For let us not be deluded. Our main goal remains—as Secretary Rusk emphasized—the realization of peaceful revolution through the Alliance for Progress.

For we must make no mistake. We face, as the Foreign Ministers emphasized, a serious problem that must be met immediately. But we also face a long-range problem that must be solved in a common effort to strengthen the hemisphere economically and socially. Communism in this hemisphere and elsewhere feeds on poverty, despair, and social inequality.

What gratifies me in particular, as I say, was that underlying the action of the Foreign Ministers was the knowledge that in the long run Latin America's economic and social illnesses must be cured by the Alliance for Progress. When we do, we will rid the hemisphere of those very conditions that now offer fertile ground for ideologies foreign to the traditions, institutions, and character of all the people of the Americas.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield myself 7 minutes in opposition to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 7 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. The amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] duplicates a number of other provisions in the committee bill which are designed to provide incentives for private employers.

First, section 123(a)(8) of the committee bill authorizes an incentive for the hiring by private employers of low-income and unemployed persons and authorizes such payments as: first, reimbursements for expenses and commuter transportation; second, reimbursement for the hire of an employee not fully productive; and third, payment of employer costs of sending recruiters into low-income areas.

This particular provision was also proposed in an amendment by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and accepted by the majority members.

Second, the amendment also duplicates the Manpower Development and Training Act on its various job training programs. Third, the amendment duplicates provisions of the Kennedy-Javits special impact program which is designed to provide economic and community development in ghetto areas employing low-income persons on such projects.

The Senator from Vermont has now remodified his amendment so that, as I was able to listen to his proposed modification—which I have not yet seen in print—it would apply only to individuals who would fall into the category of poorer people. It did not originally have that limitation.

I am glad that the Senator has been willing to modify the amendment.

I should like to take a more careful look at the language to be sure that it is appropriate for that purpose.

Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CLARK. I ask whether section 164(b) does not in effect amend the Internal Revenue Code and is not, therefore, a violation of the Senate rules?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator referring to a section within the amendment?

Mr. CLARK. That is correct. Section 164(b), line 9, on page 7 of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is it the point of the parliamentary inquiry that this would involve raising revenue and, as such, must originate in the House of Representatives?

Mr. CLARK. In effect, it is an amendment of the Internal Revenue Code which, as I understand the rules of the Senate, cannot be brought up by way of amendment unless there is before the Senate an appropriate fiscal measure to amend the Revenue Code, brought out of the Finance Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Vermont wish to be heard?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I point out that this question occurred to me. I discussed it with the draftsman, and he expressed the opinion that it in no way would have anything to do with the Internal Revenue Code insofar as tax legislation is concerned.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that the language of section 164(b) lines 9 through 18 on page 7, and the language on lines 5 through 14 on page 10 of the pending amendment may be the subject of a constitutional point which must be decided by the Senate, if the Senator wishes to raise the constitutional point.

It is not subject to a point of order based on the rules of the Senate, as was originally suggested by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Will the Chair amplify what it means by constitutional point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the Constitution, revenue-raising measures must originate in the House of Representatives.

Under the precedents of the Senate, the Chair has always submitted such a constitutional point to be decided by the Senate itself, rather than the Chair ruling, as the Chair frequently can and does, on a strict point of order.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Chair.

I will make the argument that whether or not this matter is submitted to the Senate as a constitutional matter, it is fairly clear to me that the proposal would amend the Internal Revenue Code without any authority under the Constitution. I shall not press that argument at the moment.

I now yield myself 2 minutes to express to the Senate the opposition of the Department of Labor to the proposed amendment, as I received it a few moments ago.

I should like to point out that the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont was printed on September 25, so that we on this side of the aisle have had no adequate opportunity to inspect it or study it in depth—nor, indeed, has the Department of Labor. Nevertheless, the Department of Labor has this to say, and I quote from a memorandum they furnished me only a few moments ago:

> The incentives offered by this measure would fail to stimulate additional or new manpower development and training efforts in the private sector. It would represent a windfall, particularly in regard to existing apprenticeship programs and MDTA–OJT training programs.

As the Department reads the bill, it would offer the employer 15 percent of training expenses under registered apprenticeship programs, an item for which he is not now reimbursed, plus 15 percent of wages.

I interpolate "15 percent" instead of "10 percent," which is actually in the Department of Labor memorandum, because the Senator from Vermont has increased, within the last few minutes, the 10-percent figure to 15 percent in his memorandum:

> Secondly, it would add a 15% wage cost to the training expenses under MDTA–OJT for which the employer is presently reimbursed.
>
> The statement of purpose in Section 161 is the only reference in the bill to the group at which its measures are aimed. This fails to zero in on the hard core disadvantaged.

Even after the amendment by which the Senator from Vermont recently modified his amendment—

> If we are to move to a wage subsidy concept, even with the restrictions and regulatory approach in this measure, we must be more explicit about the groups who will be included and there is no definition of employee or prospective employee contained in the bill. As a result, an employer could receive a 15% grant to reimburse him for the wages and training costs involved in hiring an individual he was about to hire at the moment the bill was passed (so long as

the individual was unemployed at that time) —

And comes within the other restrictions as Senator Prouty has modified his amendment. And this would be without regard to the length of unemployment or other characteristics of the individual concerned. He might have lost his job last week and be on unemployment compensation, and yet he would be eligible under the proposed amendment:

> If we are to move the hard core into employment with the aid of this type of approach, we must write definite restrictions into the bill specifying who will be eligible and on what terms.
>
> A hasty estimate of the impact of this bill reveals that the entire appropriation for the first year would be expended for reimbursement and grants to employers for wages and training expenses associated with the employment and training of the current total of registered apprentices and MDTA–OJT enrollees. This is based upon 200,000 registered apprentices and an average of $125 a week and 110,000 MDTA–OJT enrollees at an average of $80 a week, exclusively for wage cost.
>
> There would be no increased funds available for training the hard core unemployed.

Finally, Mr. President, the proposed amendment raises havoc with the entire concept of the committee bill. It cuts across title I and title II, and it substitutes a new program for some which are already in the bill.

I ask the Senator from Vermont this question: Where does the Senator propose to get the $200 million? Is this to be in addition to the amount of authorization brought in by the committee?

Mr. PROUTY. I might say that if the amendment should remain without a further amendment, it would be an additional authorization. But I can assure the Senator that the amendment may be further modified to take care of that problem.

While I am on my feet, I should like to refer the Senator to testimony given by the Secretary of Labor, I believe, page 3231, "Examination of the War on Poverty" hearings of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, in which he stated:

> The most underdeveloped aspect of the manpower program (and possibly of the poverty program as well) involves the potential for increased private participation. . . .
>
> At the President's instruction, the Secretary of Commerce and I are undertaking a survey of employer training programs to determine how public programs can be most effectively coordinated with them.

There is much more which I will ask to have printed in the Record later.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator.

I reserve the remainder of my time, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, for Senator Clark, I yield myself 5 minutes.

There is no question about the fact that the proposed amendment puts its finger on one of the most critical aspects of the war on poverty—that is, the effort to bring the private enterprise system effectively into manpower training and job-giving activity.

If the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont stood alone, I would be the first to embrace it. The difficulty is that is does not stand alone, as he has so properly pointed out.

I value the work which was done by Senator Prouty, including the work on this amendment, and his sponsorship, with so many others of us, of the so-called Human Investment Act. That act certainly should be passed, and, as he properly said, the proposed amendment is a variant of that concept. So in discussing this matter—in a sense, in the family, because Senator Prouty is the ranking minority member of the subcommittee which deals with this question, and I am a member of that subcommittee and the ranking minority member of the full committee—we are talking about what is the best way to approach a particular problem.

First, let me identify the problem. The problem is a very real one—to bring the private employer into the matter of training the slum or ghetto worker. With such employees, you may have to start way back in the training and education process, and on a basis which is completely uneconomical so far as the employer is concerned. Nonetheless, it is enormously important to the national interest to bring the employer into the entire concept because of the tremendous range of means and opportunity which private enterprise offers.

Mr. President, in the bill is a provision I had the honor to include which seeks to deal with this problem. It does not deal with the problem exactly the same way that the Senator from Vermont does; but it deals with the problem, and in a very effective way. I should like to go into that matter, because it represents an important point with respect to the question of whether or not we should adopt this new approach.

It will be found at page 32 of the bill and represents one of the provisions for eligible job training activities under the bill.

This authority as contained in the bill is for—and I read from page 32, line 15 through page 33, line 10:

> (8) programs to provide incentives to private employers, other than nonprofit organizations, to train or employ unemployed or low-income persons, including arrangements by direct contract, reimbursements to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive, payment of on-the-job counseling and other supportive services, payment of all or part of employer costs of sending recruiters into urban and rural areas of high concentrations or proportions of unemployed or low-income persons, and payments to permit employers to provide employees resident in such areas with transportation to and from work or to reimburse such employees for such transportation:

Then, there is a proviso relating to minimum wages.

In this way we are seeking to open up the whole job giving-job training private function to private firms under contract with OEO. This would do precisely what the Senator from Vermont seeks also to do, except he provides a specific percentage for the employee training expenses, to wit, up to 15 percent, whereas the bill would cover a variety of expenses which would be negotiated, including transportation. I mention this because we learned in the case of Watts, Calif., that transportation was one of the large and complicated problems. Even in New York I found in my investigation that there are parts of the city where in order to get people to move and go elsewhere for training and the hope for a job, provision has to be made for some of the very rudimentary and elementary costs of transportation of the person from place to place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in some cases it was even lunch money which made all the difference as to whether a poor person would or would not move from that area.

I might point out that the incentives provided in the bill would reimburse employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive. The difference is the difference between the economic wage and the minimum wage, or whatever wage higher than that might be provided by the contract. The amounts which are allowed in respect to this matter are $15 million. The report also provides for appropriate regulations against abuses of these incentive programs, for example, in order to guard against the transfer of an enterprise from one area to another, using the incentive payment as a subsidy for the purpose, or in other ways to subsidize normal operations.

I believe the flexibility given by this provision in the bill is preferable to the more limited approach contained in the amendment which is before the Senate.

Mr. President, I wish to repeat that I am not dug in on the subject. This is definitely an intelligent and extremely useful opening up of the opportunity for training and jobs to dwellers in the slums and ghettos. Naturally, I prefer my approach, but I am not dug in on the subject.

One of the other things that troubles me is that, as the Senator from Vermont said, the $200 million provided for by his amendment would come out of some other part of the bill. I am sure he will disclose to us where it will come from. That approach represents a problem for this reason. This bill is pretty spartan in any case. We all know about the unbelievable demands of the war on poverty, and $200 million is 10 percent, or a very appreciable part thereof.

The provision in the bill which relates to the same matter as the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, has the advantage of not absorbing an important part of the other resources of the bill since special funds are provided to implement it. The amendment before the Senate would deduct $200 million from other aspects of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it would

soak up a substantial sum of money which may prove to be extremely important to the functioning of the entire bill.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I believe the Senator may have to request time on his own behalf.

Mr. PROUTY. I wish to comment on the statement of the Senator about section 123(a)(8) and point out that would be solely within the jurisdiction of the community action agencies. It seems to me that the local community action agencies would have many difficulties administering it. In fact, many people in the agencies are those who need the training themselves. If a community action agency is encouraged to assume the role of training programer, we would run into a great deal of trouble not only in the business community but in the agency itself.

Furthermore, there is no specified amount of money authorized to carry out the provisions of the act. No one knows how much will be allocated to it. Under my proposal a definite amount is set aside for use only to train the unemployed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. One of the problems I have is tying up $200 million. I approve rather than disapprove of the idea of doing in this field only what is realistically possible and allocating only whatever money can be well used rather than to setting aside $200 million to do this. If it is not done within the time allotted to that amount, the money is lost to the program.

I think the idea of not doing that commends the approach in the bill rather against the approach of the amendment.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began. I am not dug in on this matter. The Senator from Vermont has used creativity and thoughtfulness in doing what we both are trying to do effectively. However, since this is a new beginning in this field, I prefer the provisions of the bill to the provisions of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, how much time is remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont has 27 minutes and the Senator from Pennsylvania has 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, it seems to me that those of us who have supported the so-called war on poverty in the past and who continue to support it, are trying to bring about really effective training programs.

I think that no one familiar with the situation can deny that the most effective training programs thus far have been those conducted under the Manpower and Development Training Act, and on-the-job training. Most authorities maintain that these training programs are the only means really to achieve the goals we seek.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like very much to support the amendment and would ask the Senator the following questions: Would he be agreeable—as he has already stated that he was going to do some modifying of the amendment—to doing two things. I should like to support the amendment, as I said, because it is creative, in my judgment, and seeks the same objectives I have sought myself, and the Senator and I have worked so well together I do not want this to mar it—one, if we had some idea as to where the Senator would later propose to cut in order to compensate for the $200 million provided; and, second, if the Senator would be willing to provide in the language, which we can do without too much trouble, that to the extent it is not used the $200 million in authorization shall continue to be available under that part of the bill which the Senator ultimately intends to cut.

Mr. PROUTY. Answering the Senator's first question, I am perfectly willing to point out that it is my present intention—it was not originally—but in order to develop additional support for my proposal—to propose to modify the amendment to reduce by $200 million—assuming that the amendment will be approved—the total authorization for title I.

Regarding the second question, I should like to mull that over in my mind a little bit, because it has not occurred to me. It may create some difficulties. I would hesitate to do that unless I had some assurance from the Secretary of Labor that a maximum effort was going to be made in that direction. I have not discussed it with him. Thus, without some assurance that a substantial portion of this money would be utilized, I would be hesitant to follow the Senator's suggestion.

Mr. JAVITS. May I make this suggestion to the Senator, inasmuch as we shall both be conferees on the bill, whether he would express his intention that, subject to the conviction that there will be every effort made really to do this job, that he does not intend to freeze all the money if it cannot be fully utilized for the purpose. I am sure we will be able to work it out. The intent is very important to me.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is absolutely right about that. I want this money to be used for constructive purposes.

Mr. JAVITS. But if it is not used, it shall not be cut out of the program.

Mr. PROUTY. Oh no.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator from Vermont very much. I hope to be able to support his amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. I appreciate the help of the Senator from New York very much.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time not to be charged to either side, in order to give the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] an opportunity to get back to the Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], I yield back the remainder of the time.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and this is to be the live quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called roll and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 267 Leg.]

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, N.Y.
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. Under the unanimous consent request, the remaining time on the amendment is to be equally divided between the two sides. Who yields time?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I send to the desk an amendment which modifies the pending amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that it be considered at this time, in view of the fact that a part of it refers to another section of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I wonder if the Senator from Vermont would mind waiting until the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] comes to the floor.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I ask unanimous consent that the time for the quorum call be charged against the time of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Vermont has the floor.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Will the Senator repeat his request?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I have sent to the desk a modification of my amendment, and, since a part of it refers to another section of the bill, I ask unanimous consent that it may be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I did not hear what the Senator said.

Mr. PROUTY. I have sent to the desk a modification of my amendment. Since part of it refers to another section of the bill, I have asked unanimous consent to have it considered.

Mr. CLARK. I have no objection. I assume the Senator will either have it read or stated.

Mr. PROUTY. Oh, yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will state the modification.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 10, following line 24, at the end of the amendment, add the following:
>
> On page 2, line 3, strike out "$2,258,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$2,058,000,000."

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, did the clerk say page 10?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will restate the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 10, following line 24, at the end of the amendment, insert the following:
>
> On page 2, line 3, strike out "$2,258,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$2,058,000,000."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CLARK. Is this not an amendment to the amendment which, under the unanimous-consent agreement, results in 10 minutes to a side being given on this amendment to the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In answer to the inquiry of the Senator from Pennsylvania, the Senator from Vermont, by unanimous consent, got a modification that hit another part in the bill.

The Senator from Vermont will proceed.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this is a very simple amendment, but one, I think, that is of great importance to the manpower training program in this country.

The amendment provides an authorization of $200 million which would be made available to the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of making grants to employers of up to 15 percent of the cost of training and retraining programs of the underemployed and the unemployed in an effort to solicit the active participation of private enterprise in this field.

The amendment also would reduce the authorization under title I of the bill by a similar amount, $200 million.

Let me first point out that this is a principle involved in the Human Investment Act which I first introduced in 1965. That was a tax credit.

Such a proposal, if made in the Senate, would be subject to a point of order in the other body which would insist on its prerogative of initiating tax legislation. Therefore, this amendment simply provides that funds will be utilized for grants to help with expenses of training the unemployed and the underemployed when such a program is undertaken by the private enterprise system.

The allowable employee training expenses are as follows:

First. The wages and salaries of employees who are apprentices in an apprenticeship program registered with a State apprenticeship agency or the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

Second. The wages and salaries of employees who are enrolled in an on-the-job training program pursuant to section 204 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Third. The wages and salaries of employees who are participating in a cooperative education program involving alternate periods of academic study and employment in cooperation with a secondary school, college, university, business school, trade school, or vocational school.

Fourth. Tuition and course fees paid by the taxpayer for the instruction of any individual by a college, university, business school, trade school, or vocational school in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

Fifth. Home study course fees paid by the taxpayer for the instruction of any individual by a college, university, or accredited home study school in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

Sixth. Expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training—including classroom instruction—including expenses for the purchase or lease of books, testing and training materials, classroom equipment, and instructors' fees and salaries, incurred in training any individual in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

Seventh. Expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training provided by another taxpayer.

Eighth. Expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training provided by a business or trade association, joint labor-management apprenticeship committee or other similar nonprofit association.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the most effective training programs in the country today have been the on-the-job training programs and those conducted under the Manpower Development Training Act. This is a way to make the war on poverty really work and get these unemployed and underemployed people into jobs with the private sector and reimburse private enterprise to a certain extent for their training costs.

We should not forget that about 85 percent of the costs will still be assumed by industry and not by the Federal Government, as has been the case in most of these other programs.

I think this is a worthwhile approach. I hope very much that the proposal will receive the support of the Senate.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does this amendment of the Senator contemplate adding $200 million to the Clark proposal, or does it contemplate transferring $200 million to another place in the bill?

Mr. PROUTY. It has nothing to do with the Clark proposal; namely, title II of the bill.

This would authorize $200 million for this training program, but it would also reduce the authorization in title I by the same amount, $200 million.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It would not add another $200 million to the $5 billion program.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, how much time does the Senator from Vermont have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair). The Senator from Vermont has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from Vermont had his amendment printed on September 25. We had an opportunity to look at it for the first time this afternoon. It is a 10-page amendment and is extremely complicated.

The Senator from Vermont has modified it three times since he first called it up, and there are no copies of his modification available except to the extent that some of us have been able to ink in the modification changes.

His latest modification calls for striking $200 million out of the present title I of the bill and adding it to a new section or title or new part called the Human Investment Act.

The Senator does not say where that $200 million is to be taken from in title I. Is it to come from the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Headstart, or VISTA?

There is no indication. Really, this amendment creates a chaotic legislative condition and gives nobody any guidance as to what would happen to the $200 million which was set forth in title I of the bill and is now removed without any indication as to where it is removed from.

This amendment overlaps, as I said earlier in the debate, 3 other titles in the committee bill without any indication as to how the duplication is to be resolved by the administrator.

In the very short time which was available to the Department of Labor to look at the proposal since it was filed yesterday, the Department of Labor has sent to me—and I have already read into the RECORD—their strong objections to the Prouty amendment on the ground first that it fails to stimulate additional or new manpower or development training efforts. Second, it offers a windfall to employers. Third, it does not zero in on the hard core disadvantaged. Fourth, the entire appropriation for the current fiscal year would be expended for reimbursements and grants to employers for wages and training expenses associated with the training of the currently registered apprentices in manpower training and on-the-job training enrollees.

There will be no funds remaining from the amount that would be provided in the amendment, the way it is worded, available for training the hard-core unemployed, because the funds would all go to people presently registered who would be eligible for the money.

I hope the amendment is rejected.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on page 13 of the report, there is a chapter entitled "National Emphasis Programs."

Will the $200 million be taken out of one of those seven programs which are labled in the report: One, Headstart; two, Follow Through—what that means, I do not know; three, Legal Services; four, Comprehensive Health Services; five, Upward Bound. So you have three euphonious statements—Headstart, Follow Through, Upward Bound. Will the money be taken from Project Find, another euphonious statement? Out of which program will it be taken?

Mr. CLARK. Nobody knows, because the Senator from Vermont has not told us. Part of it would have to be taken out of those programs. The rest might be taken out of other programs. The Director of OEO is not even authorized to make the decision. The proposed amendment would create a chaotic condition.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In describing these programs as Follow Through, Upward Bound, Project Fine, who chose the terms?

Mr. CLARK. I suppose the OEO. They have been in existence for 3 years.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. President, I thought I was being very helpful and fair to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania by not specifying from which programs under title I of the bill these funds should be taken. I thought it was only fair to leave it up to him and other members of the committee to determine where the cuts should be made. I am proposing that the cut be made from the total authorization contained in the bill at page 2.

The proposed amendment is an attempt to meet the increasingly serious problems of structural unemployment caused by a labor force ill-fitted for existing and developing job opportunities. Unlike programs aimed only at the hard-core unemployed, this approach is designed to help both the hard-core unemployed and workers presently employed who seek to increase their skills to qualify for better jobs. The intent of the amendment is to advance all workers up the skill ladder, thus opening vacancies at the bottom for the presently unskilled and unemployed.

The major premise of this approach is that private business and labor have, over the years, learned how to obtain the most results per training dollar, and should now be encouraged to expand their training programs to meet the growing national need.

There was one mistake in the last statement. The proposed amendment does not involve tax legislation. It does involve an authorization, and I believe that those of us who sincerely want to get this antipoverty program on the road and to get people working and self-supporting should take this approach.

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the best results have been achieved of any of the training programs heretofore. But we find that much of it, in all of the other aspects, is simply make-work. They are not being trained. They are not acquiring skills. They are getting temporary jobs.

Here, industry would participate. Industry would do its part and would assume the major cost of the expense in so doing.

In a recent issue of the Reporter magazine, an article details much of what industry is already doing in this area. The subject is "Private Industry's Factory Classrooms," and it points out what industry today is doing in order to teach the three R's to its own employees and to employees who may be able, with sufficient training and education, to get and hold decent jobs.

The entire purpose of the proposed amendment is to make this training program work—it has not been working in many fields—and I believe it is a constructive, realistic approach. On-the-job training is the best means of solving the problem of unemployment.

I hope the Senate will feel in a mood to agree to the amendment. It is highly important that we take this approach, that we get away from the proposals which were used in the 1930's, and that we come up with legislation and an approach which is adapted to the 1960's.

Mr. President, industry can do more to help train the unemployed. Industry knows the needs of the people it employs in its factories and enterprises. Industry is in a far better position to do this than are some of the Washington bureaucrats.

I hope the amendment will be agreed to, because it would be a great step forward and it would accomplish more than has been done thus far.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. CLARK. I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment will be defeated. It is opposed by the administration, and it is opposed by a majority of the committee who reported the bill.

I am as much in favor of on-the-job training as is any other Member of the Senate. Three titles in the bill provide for on-the-job training. Most of the money called for by the Senator from Vermont would overlap and duplicate that type of training.

The amendment is disapproved by the Department of Labor, which indicates that its administration would create chaos. Perhaps the most difficult feature of it is that the Senator from Vermont takes $200 million out of title I of the bill in order to get the money for his amendment, and does not tell anybody where among the dozens of programs in title I the money is to be obtained. The amendment would create chaos if it is adopted by the Senate.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I had a discussion earlier with the Senator from Vermont about the $200 million, and he stated that his intent is that it shall only be deducted from title I to the extent used; but he was unwilling to specify the conditions at the moment, because he wants to be sure that the Secretary of Labor will do his maximum to use it. But the Senator from Vermont would be willing in conference to see that type of approach worked out.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator from New York, but may I say that is not spelled out in the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. That is true.

Mr. CLARK. And no authority is given to the administrator to determine where the money shall be cut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Did I correctly understand the Senator to say that the committee opposed the pending amendment?

Mr. CLARK. I said "a majority of the committee."

Mr. MURPHY. I did not know that it had been presented to the committee.

Mr. CLARK. I have been in consultation with a majority of the members of the committee.

Mr. MURPHY. Outside of committee meetings, that is?

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. But this matter has never been presented to the committee? This member of the committee has never had a chance——

Mr. CLARK. Would the Senator from Vermont answer the question? Did the Senator from Vermont propose this amendment or anything like it in committee?

Mr. PROUTY. No. In answer to the distinguished Senator, however, I may say that I did not; but many speeches have been made on the floor of the Senate suggesting this general approach, ever since 1965, when I first offered the

Human Investment Act. I believe we had some hearings before one of the labor subcommittees a year or two ago, in which this matter was discussed, but I did not formally offer it in committee.

I point out that the same is true of title II of the bill, which is the Clark amendment. It was offered in committee, but no hearings were held, no witnesses were called, no one had an opportunity even to consider what was in it.

This human investment idea has been considered and discussed for a long time by manpower experts, by industry, and by labor; and in my judgment, I believe that many of the experts in this field—including the Secretary of Labor, if he were perhaps permitted to express off-the-cuff opinions—would agree. The Department of Labor is pursuing this idea to some extent now, and I quoted a statement of the Secretary of Commerce earlier, in which he said that this was a logical approach and that manpower training must be handled to a much larger degree by private industry.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the proposed amendment is a typical example of the folly of trying to legislate on the floor of the Senate when you do not have the amendment until the day before and modify it three times. I hope it will be defeated.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont answer a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] would each vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] is absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 57, as follows:

[No. 268 Leg.]

YEAS—28

Aiken
Allott
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brooke
Carlson
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Hansen
Jordan, Idaho
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Percy
Prouty
Scott
Smith
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—57

Anderson
Bartlett
Bible
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Gore
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—15

Baker
Dodd
Fulbright
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
McIntyre
Pastore
Pearson
Smathers
Symington
Yarborough

So Mr. PROUTY'S amendment was rejected.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MONTOYA obtained the floor.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator form New Mexico yield?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, there will be no more rollcall votes tonight.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 O'CLOCK A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock a.m., tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 344

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated. I offer the amendment on behalf of myself and my colleague from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 46, in line 11, strike out the words "public and" and insert in lieu thereof "Federal, State, and local public resources, as well as all available".

Beginning on page 46, at line 23, strike out everything after the period in that line through the period in line 1 on page 47, and insert in lieu thereof "In order to merit financial assistance under this title, a community action agency shall be responsible for and must be capable of planning, conducting, administering, and evaluating a community action program, and, to the extent permitted by relevant law, be capable of mobilizing all Federal, State, and local public resources, as well as all available private resources.".

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, this amendment, which I believe is needed to strengthen and tighten the community action provisions of the pending bill, is extremely simple. It will affect only minor changes in section 202 of the bill concerning the general objectives of the community action programs.

The amendment is a good measure in the fact that it would specifically emphasize the importance to all community action programs of mobilizing, utilizing, and coordinating all relevant Federal, State, and local public resources as well as all available private resources in shaping comprehensive local efforts.

First, the amendment would make this a specific objective of all community action agencies. Second, it would make it clear that every CAP agency would have to have such a capacity, a small capacity to plan, conduct, administer, and evaluate a community action program in order to merit funding or refunding by OEO.

Mr. President, the amendment puts needed emphasis upon the function of a CAP agency as a mobilizer and coordinator of all available public and private resources.

It makes it clear that a CAP agency lacking such a capability would simply be ineligible for OEO funds. Thus, the increased pressure would be put upon CAP agencies to deal cooperatively and effectively with all levels in government and with all sources of available private support at the local level. The CAA—that is the Community Action Agency, as it is called—or these agencies which are not organized or oriented to such broad cooperating support would have to reform or be passed by.

The OEO would again, under this amendment, have the mandate it needs to assure that all CAA's will have this crucial capacity.

Mr. President, this amendment is both constructive and well-advised. It would strengthen title II of the bill and I urge that it be adopted.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield for a question?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In vesting in the Community Action Committee the authority to spend the funds to be authorized in the Senator's amendment, it will have to coordinate the activities of State and local governments, will it not?

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes. Under the present system of funding the local CAP committees, there seems to be a habit developing that they are to function only within the OEO program, which is a very limited function. It is my contention, and I think it was the objective of Congress when it originally passed the act, that the CAA group should act as a catalyst for economic development action as well, by marshaling all the resources of the community, public, State, and private, and try to get the other Federal agencies to join in a partnership in this concerted effort for economic development. This they have failed to do. My amendment would put the responsibility upon them. It would constitute a mandate by Congress that they should do this and not confine themselves to being the overseers or caretakers of neighborhood youth programs, the Headstart program, and other programs which are not oriented toward community development.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I fully subscribe to the principle that there should be coordination, but I part with the Senator from New Mexico when we declare that a Community Action Agency should be higher in authority that the State agency and the local government agency in coordinating the activities.

Mr. MONTOYA. May I inform my good friend from Ohio that that is not the purpose of the amendment. My amendment would not elevate them to a superior authority so that they could tell the other Federal agencies what to do. They would be coequal in what they contribute to an economic development program. What I am saying, with my amendment, is that the Community Action Agency shall be a catalyst to bring these agencies together, not to tell them what to do.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I subscribe to that, but I merely want to say that I differ with the basic principle of the whole program which assigns to nongovernmental agencies the administration of the taxpayers' funds by individuals who do not have to go before the people and answer for what they have done.

Within what the bill provides, the Senator's amendment is thoroughly sound and I will support it, but my wish would be that we would place any of these moneys within the administration of duly elected public officials who, when they go wrong, can be defeated at the polls, rather than place them in the hands of selected individuals who have no elected responsibility to the people.

I will support the Senator's amendment because I think it is an improvement of the bill, but I would confine that support to the principle I have just enunciated.

Mr. MONTOYA. I thank the Senator from Ohio. May I add that I subscribe to his view also. I understand the committee found acceptable the amendment which I am offering. I wish I could have gone further.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair wishes to ask the Senator whether he desires his two amendments to be considered en bloc.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have discussed the pending amendment with the Senator from New Mexico and I am content to accept it. I guess there are two parts to this first amendment.

Does the Senator want them considered en bloc? Is that the question the Chair asked?

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, they will be considered en bloc.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, have they both been stated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They have been stated.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I think the point can be clarified by pointing out that the pending amendment makes two changes in the existing bill and they should be considered en bloc. It is technical.

I am prepared to accept the amendment on behalf of the Senator from New Mexico because the OEO is administratively doing now exactly what the Senator wants to put in legislative language. I think perhaps it is wise to put that in legislative language in order to give the administrators a little bit more of a standard to guide them than perhaps they are exercising in certain parts of the country.

Mr. President, I am prepared to accept the amendment. I am prepared to accept it on a voice vote tonight, but I understand the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], who is representing the minority, has a few comments.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am sympathetic to this amendment. I have little doubt that it will be accepted, but the minority wishes to have a little better opportunity to examine it overnight. I therefore suggest to the Senator that the matter be dealt with ultimately tomorrow.

I am perfectly willing to amend the unanimous-consent agreement which recognizes me so that I may be recognized after the disposition of these amendments. I think the Senator will find that it will work out satisfactorily, and will accommodate a little sentiment over here, in not having further disposition of the amendments tonight.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, in view of the indication of the Senator from New York, I would like at this time to ask unanimous consent at this stage of the proceedings to offer three additional amendments so that they may be printed and considered tomorrow.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, would the Senator wish to have them considered en bloc?

Mr. MONTOYA. No; they would have to be considered individually.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico has the right to submit his amendments.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I would suggest to the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from New York that perhaps more orderly procedure would be to move to set aside the pending amendment in order that the Senator from New Mexico may present his second amendment, which I am prepared to accept, and then that the Senator from New Mexico ask to have his other amendments printed overnight so they can be considered tomorrow.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings under the pending amendment be postponed until tomorrow, or that I be permitted to withdraw them temporarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has the right to withdraw his amendment. The amendment is withdrawn.

AMENDMENT NO. 343

Mr. MONTOYA. Now I submit another amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 49, between lines 19 and 20, insert the following new subsection:

"(c) The Director shall promulgate such standards or rules relating to the scheduling and notice of meetings, quorums, procedures, establishment of committees and similar matters as he may deem necessary to assure that community action boards provide a continuing and effective mechanism for securing broad, community involvement in programs assisted under this title and that all groups or elements represented on those boards have a full and fair opportunity to participate in decisions affecting those programs."

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, by way of brief explanation of this amendment, it is designed to authorize the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to establish by regulation such standards as will insure majority action on all policy by the community action agencies.

This will insure against a minority in the agency or the lack of a quorum trying to handle important business of the local agency, such as termination of employees or hiring of employees.

Under this amendment there is a mandate to the OEO director that he have such regulations which will insure that the local agency will adhere to a democratic type of proceeding under which the majority and those vested with the majority on the boards shall act, rather than one or two under the pretense that a quorum originally existed at the start of the meeting, and that quorum having been dissipated, two or three or a minority have remained, thus entitling them to action in that organization at such a meeting.

My amendment is designed to require a majority in the particular proceeding which undertakes any kind of policy action.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am prepared to accept this amendment, which I think merely writes into legislative language the rules and standards which the OEO Director is presently requiring with respect to the orderly conduct of meetings.

I may say, in somewhat lighter vein, that the standards suggested by the Senator from New Mexico are somewhat more rigorous than those which apply in the Senate of the United States; but I think that is a good thing.

Therefore, I am willing to accept the amendment, which may be adopted by voice vote, but I understand the Senator from New York has the same suggestion to make with respect to this amendment as he made to the other amendment of the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I do have the same suggestion. I would be prepared, depending on the kind disposition of the Senator from New Mexico, to proceed as follows: The leadership would prefer that I speak for the 40 minutes for which I have unanimous consent when we get to the bill tomorrow, and that immediately following, we proceed to debate the two amendments by the Senator from New Mexico, in the following order: The pending amendment and then the amendments which he temporarily withdrew.

If the Senator, for reasons of his own, desires to precede me, I am sure the leadership would not object.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I have two other amendments which I shall submit for printing and will call them up tomorrow.

Mr. JAVITS. The leadership wishes that the Senator follow my 40-minute speech tomorrow, if the Senator has no objection.

Mr. MONTOYA. I have no objection.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent—having consulted with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] about the matter—that tomorrow, following the morning hour and the 40 minutes already allotted to me, the Senator from New Mexico be recognized to call up his last-stated amendment, and when that is disposed of, to call up immediately thereafter the amendment which he temporarily withdrew.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I submit for printing two additional amendments which I intend to take up tomorrow. I also submit an explanatory statement on each of the two amendments, and I ask unanimous consent that each amendment and the explanatory statement in connection therewith be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments and explanatory statements of Mr. MONTOYA are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 345

On page 48, between lines 14 and 15, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) The Director shall not approve, or continue to fund after June 1, 1968, a community action program, which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a board which does not have at least one-third of the authorized places thereon designated so as to afford an opportunity for membership or representation to the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials or their representatives. Failure of those officials to avail themselves of all or part of the places so designated shall not, however, preclude establishment of an alternate board structure which is broadly representative of the community and otherwise consistent with the requirements of this section. The Director may require, with respect to the places designated for occupancy by public officials, that appropriate representation be provided for State or regional agencies, in situations in which a community action agency serves two or more counties."

On page 48, at the beginning of line 15, strike out "(b)" and insert in lieu thereof "(c)".

On page 48, between lines 24 and 25, insert the following:

"(d) The remainder of the board shall consist of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community."

On page 48, in line 25, strike out the subsection designation "(c)" and insert in lieu thereof "(e)".

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MONTOYA IN SUPPORT OF AMENDMENT NO. 345 TO S. 2388, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

It seems to me that a serious shortcoming in community action programs throughout the country is their failure to extend to elective officials and other leaders of local government sufficient opportunity to participate meaningfully in the direction of these programs.

It is true that OEO's guidelines provide for the inclusion of local officials on the governing bodies of community action agencies. However, this requirement does not have the weight of law, and too often it is difficult to enforce.

The amendment I am proposing would add to the Economic Opportunity Act a specific requirement that at least one-third of the authorized places on the board of directors be designated so as to afford these community leaders the opportunity for membership or representation.

This does not mean, however, that the functions of the agency would be stymied should these community officials refuse to participate or fail to assume the positions made available to them. In that event, an alternate board structure could be established which would be consistent with other requirements regarding the board's constituency and which would be broadly representative of the community.

The amendment also provides that the balance of the board's membership would consist of representatives of private groups and agencies providing assistance to the poor and representatives of business, labor, religious, and other important elements in the community.

I believe that adding these requirements to those already in the bill concerning the representation of the poor on community action boards will go far toward assuring that the governing bodies of community action agencies will include a cross-section of community life and leadership.

It should also enable these programs to gain broader public acceptance and operate more effectively in helping the poor to arise from poverty and to become part of the mainstream of community life.

Mr. President, I urge that this amendment be adopted.

AMENDMENT NO. 346

On page 51, between lines 9 and 10, insert the following new section:

"AUTHORITY OF DIRECTOR TO ASSURE COMPLIANCE WITH OBJECTIVES OF THE ACT

"SEC. 216. (a) All individuals serving in positions of trust as members or officers of governing boards of community action agencies, delegate agencies, or other grantees under this title, as well as all individuals serving as officials or employees of such agencies or grantees, shall be expected to adhere to standards of public and private conduct which are fully consistent with the purposes of the Act and with responsibile service in the public interests. The enforcement of such standards shall be the primary responsibility of such agencies or other grantees. In the event that the Director finds under procedures which he shall develop, that it would be clearly inimical to the fundamental purposes of this title for any such individual to continue to act in any such capacity, or to become associated with a community action program in any such capacity, the Director shall be empowered to instruct such agency or other grantee to immediately discharge such individual from whatever position he held or not to select such individual for whatever position he was chosen to assume. Any individual adversely affected by an action of the Director under this section shall have the right to petition the Director for a hearing in order to reconsider such action. The decision of the Director with respect to such a petition shall be final.

"(b) In the event of the failure of any community action agency, delegate agency, or other grantee to comply with the decision of the Director in any matter arising under this section, the Director shall terminate all assistance provided under this title to such agency or other grantee."

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MONTOYA IN SUPPORT OF AMENDMENT NO. 346 TO S. 2389, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ADMENDMENTS OF 1967

The amendment which I am offering would remove a major source of concern and dissatisfaction with the war on poverty, and would constitute a really significant step forward as far as public approval of the poverty program is concerned. Very briefly, this amendment would, for the first time, give to OEO Director Sargent Shriver the authority he needs to make sure that undesirable persons, including advocates of violence and civil disorder, are not permitted to retain positions with local anti-poverty agencies and programs. Under this amendment, OEO would be empowered to direct the discharge of any individual holding any sort of position with a local community action program, whether of a voluntary or salaried nature, wherever the director finds that "it would be clearly inimical to the fundamental purposes of the act for any such individual to continue to act in any such capacity."

Mr. President, the amendment applies not only to the officials and employees (whether professional or non-professional) of community action agencies, delegate agencies, and other community action grantees, but also to members or officers of the governing boards of such agencies or other grantees, however such board members may be selected. The amendment makes it clear that the primary responsibility for enforcing high standards of conduct among community action board members, officials, and employees lies with the local agencies, but that OEO will be authorized to take appropriate corrective action wherever a local agency fails to meet its responsibility in this regard. As an ultimate sanction to be used in the rare and extreme case where a local agency might defy the director's instruction to discharge an undesirable employee or board member, the director would be obligated, under the amendment, to terminate any and all assistance provided under the Economic Opportunity Act to the agency in question.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that this amendment is seriously needed, to give OEO the authority to exercise some control over situations involving individuals or groups whose conduct or methods constitute a clear threat to the war on poverty as a whole, and whose continued presence in the program cannot on any grounds whatsoever be justified to the American taxpayers, who are, after all, making the war on poverty possible. There is no question of unfairness here: No one can claim any sort of vested "right" to anti-poverty employment of such a nature as to make him immune to disciplinary action for clearly irresponsible behavior or for actions which tend to bring disrepute upon the entire war on poverty. In the case of board members, who all serve without pay, the question of "employment" does not even arise. And the amendment would specifically permit any individual adversely affected by an action of OEO's director under the amendment to petition the director for a reconsideration of his case, and to present evidence in his behalf. The decision of the director with respect to such a petition for reconsideration would be final.

Mr. President, as an example of how this amendment would operate, take the case of Mr. Willie Wright, who is a member of the governing board of the United Community Corporation, the local community action agency for Newark, New Jersey. In the wake of the terrible rioting which struck Newark this past summer, Mr. Wright formed a group called the Community Black Patrol, which roamed the riot area at night. In an interview, Mr. Wright was quoted as saying, "This is what I am advocating around my town: Get yourself a piece of gun and put it in the bottom drawer or something and have it fully loaded and then if some joker breaks into your house like they"—The State Police, he meant—"broke in Plainfield, let them have it." In a subsequent statement, Mr. Wright declared it to be his "Firm conviction that complete chaos will have to prevail in the streets of American cities and blood will have to flow like water before the black man will become an accepted citizen of this society." In response to newspaper accounts of Mr. Wright's activities and statements, OEO sought to have the UCC Board suspend him pending an investigation of these reports, and to have the Board immediately disavow sympathy with his statements, and the UCC President, Mr. Timothy Still, stated in response to a reporter's question that he agreed with Mr. Wright's call for Negroes to arm themselves to "defend their homes" against the police. OEO was powerless to act in this case, Mr. President, so that you had a case in which the Federal war on poverty headquarters was forced to sit by while a prominent member of the governing board of a local agency, which has received millions of anti-poverty dollars, could make the most irresponsible and inflammatory statements with complete impunity, and in total disregard of the effect of such actions upon the thinking of the taxpayers who are annually called upon to make the UCC programs possible.

Mr. President, through no fault of OEO or of Sargent Shriver, who has been extremely diligent in seeing to keep undesirable and irresponsible persons out of the various anti-poverty programs, there have been a certain number of other cases in which local agencies have been unable or unwilling to act decisively against those who would pervert or corrupt the laudatory purposes of the Economic Opportunity legislation. That is why this amendment—or one like it—is needed, and I hope that it will be accepted by the distinguished Manager of the pending bill, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Clark), then by the Senate, without extensive debate or undue delay.

Mr. President, I know I do not have to say that I offer this amendment in an entirely constructive spirit, and as a firm and faithful supporter of OEO and the President's war on poverty.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post contained an interesting and important editorial, very much in point despite its brevity. It is entitled "Mrs. Johnson's Question," and reads as follows:

> "If Americans could find satisfactory jobs, amenities and entertainment in rural America would not some of the traffic to the cities be reversed?"
>
> That is the question that Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson asked on her visit to the rural home of Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey. And it is a question that American policy-makers, baffled by the problems of decaying urban centers, must ask themselves with increasing frequency. The answer of course must be: "Yes."
>
> Notwithstanding the fact that more than two thirds of the people live in cities, opinion surveys indicate that two thirds of them would prefer rural homes if they could get jobs and enjoy good living conditions in the country.
>
> Before the Nation proceeds blindly to rebuild its urban ghettos in environments essentially unsuited for human habitation, it ought to carefully explore the feasibility of providing jobs and living conditions that will draw some urban populations into the country—or at least arrest the tide of immigration into cities.

Mr. President, I have been working for several days on an amendment to the poverty program designed to this end. I am aware of the urgent needs and the vast amounts of money that will be and must be expended under the poverty program in our urban centers to reduce the pain and ferment that goes on in the slum areas. I am also aware that it will be of little use to provide inducements to locate new industries and create new plants, if by doing so we only succeed in enticing people to come to those same urban centers, and thus create new and even more crowded ghettos of those who migrate from the country.

I feel it is time for some effective action, while not ignoring the problems of the big cities and the ghettos—and certainly this bill, which appropriates nearly $3 billion, does not ignore them—to assure that some of that money will be meaningfully spent to provide opportunities, jobs, light industries, training, recreation, and cultural facilities in our rural areas, so that the fine young people who are growing up in our rural areas may have some prospect other than a degrading job and a life in the ferment of crime-ridden slums.

I have been working on this amendment, to try to see if some of the funds so liberally offered to those in the slums—the misfits, the dropouts, and all who need attention—could not be used to do something constructive to help those in the rural areas have an opportunity to make something of their lives, without this inmigration to the great metropolitan centers.

I am proposing an amendment, which I hope can be called up tomorrow or the next day—not increasing in any way the cost of the bill—to transfer $50 million from the Job Corps into a fund that would be used to devise pilot projects and research programs that would be helpful in retaining our rural population in useful occupations in the rural areas.

The working part of the amendment, after it transfers the $50 million from the Job Corps, would read as follows:

> The Director shall conduct, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, research and pilot projects designed to assure a more effective use of human and natural resources of rural America and to slow the migration from rural areas due to lack of economic opportunity, thereby reducing population pressures in urban centers. Such projects may be operated jointly or in cooperation with other Federally assisted programs, particularly programs authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, in the area to be served by the project.

Thus, the amendment would transfer $50 million from a program that is questionable, I believe, in the mind of every Senator as to the value we are receiving—the Job Corps, costing more than $8,000 per man or woman trained—to a program which will develop opportunities in rural areas without forcing new migrations to the already crowded cities.

Mr. President, that would leave almost a quarter of a billion dollars for this program, and I have great question in my mind that we are receiving any significant yield out of that, even for those who are enrolled in the program. They fail to get enough of their enrollees to stay in the course long enough to make meaningful the tremendous investment of more than a quarter of a billion dollars. I think it is time for us to grant to the Director the right to institute rural programs that will provide job opportunities and hope for these young people where they prefer to live.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I regret that there were not more Senators present to hear the proposal made by the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma. It has been my distinct impression also that we are aggravating the problems of metropolitan communities by excessive feeding of money into them, thus encouraging increasing inmigration from rural areas into the cities.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator is exactly correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The city of Cleveland now has a population of 37 percent of the primary minority group. The more money we feed in there, the greater the inmigration will be. A policy should be adopted, and an effort made to put it into effect, that will discourage inmigration and aid the solution of employment problems in the local communities, which differ from those in the metropolitan centers.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator is entirely correct; and the experience of small industries, once they have tried out rural locations, in every case that has come to my attention, has been uniformly successful when measured in terms of the intelligence of the labor, of the dedication and loyalty of the people to the job that they hold, and their willingness to give more work than is actually required of them. They respect the great traditions of America, they observe law and order, and they refrain from adding to the flames that have arisen in the recent past, where overconcentration of people in these giant centers has resulted in discouragement and in disorientation from the real purposes and values of American life.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, if the Federal Government feeds $5 billion into the metropolitan communities for the purpose of aiding the poor, what will that $5 billion do toward inducing excessive inmigration to the big cities? And, if the inmigration is motivated and induced among those that are told that there is $5 billion available there, will that produce increased population and thus aggravate the problems of the big cities?

Mr. MONRONEY. I say to my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Ohio, that I have read many statistics on the cost of the rehabilitation of our cities and the supplying of the necessary housing, schools, neighborhood centers, super highways, and hospitals with which to meet this inmigration.

I have heard some Senators quoted as saying that it will cost $1 trillion. That is an astronomical figure.

I do not think that we are prepared to go on and on building and making more attractive job offers to those who do not now have the opportunity to choose a job suitable to their talents—those who live and who remain in the rural community.

Their only hope is to go into the pressure areas, the ghettos, and slums and the overcrowded industrial centers to take jobs. They lose their identities, their friendships, their school friends, their church connections, and become floating souls without anchors.

I think we must recognize this as a national problem. We must recognize that it will not be solved by dumping more and more billions of dollars into the overcrowded centers to make them attractive to those who cannot find work in the rural parts of America—to induce them to come and take the only jobs available.

For an infinitesimally small fraction of the money that would be required to rehabilitate even a small portion of our slums, hundreds of programs could be established and administered by a wise and able administrator—I think we have one in Sargent Shriver—with an active board cooperating with the present programs of the Government to give meaningful employment to these young people, so that they may live at home, get married, establish a home, and go forward with the adjusted way of life to which they have been accustomed and to which they would indeed like to continue.

By transferring the small amount of $50 million from a program that is already questionable—the Job Corps—and adding it to the $100 million now available at the discretion of the Director of the OEO, he will be able to set up real programs that will be meaningful and create skills in the rural programs.

I have inspected this program myself, and I say that the rural programs in the smaller communities are badly in need of refreshing, adjusting, and taking on a new view to do something for the rural areas.

The programs are set up in counties by men and women administrators with salaries that run as high as 25 percent of the total cost of the programs. They do nothing but attend a few meetings in these areas.

The program has been a practical failure because it has not met the real needs of the rural communities.

For that reason, I think we need to reorient the program and not follow so much the pattern of the metropolitan areas.

The Project Headstart is good. That program could very easily be run by the school system. If the Project Headstart could be run by the school system, we would not need all the expensive community action committees in the rural communities which have generated no such programs.

This would give the Director of the antipoverty program the opportunity to call for assistance from leaders of programs that have been successful elsewhere and give our youth who are underemployed or unemployed in the rural areas a chance to find employment near home in developing industry and new opportunity for jobs.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, there is a natural trend of the people in the rural areas to move into the metropolitan communities. The metropolitan communities have not been able to digest satisfactorily the great inmigration that has occurred.

The error of what we are doing is accentuated by the natural tendency of the rural people to move into the metropolitan areas because billions of dollars have been fed into the metropolitan communities and have enhanced the reason for moving there.

Mr. MONRONEY. That program will be self-defeating because it will naturally pull more people into those areas that are already overcrowded beyond correction.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Cleveland has been labeled as unfair to the primary minority group. The fact is, however, that in the last 3 years 75,000 more members of the primary minority group have moved into the city. They believe it is good for them and that they will find comfort, economic advancement, and salvation there. The fact is, however, that eventually trouble will be experienced.

I subscribe heavily to the proposal of the Senator from Oklahoma. Let us do something to induce industry to establish itself in the rural communities and not in the big communities. If we do, we will, to a substantial degree, solve the problem of the metropolitan area.

Mr. MONRONEY. I appreciate very much my distinguished colleague's comment and his support for the amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the RECORD the rural opportunity amendment I submitted earlier.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 348) is as follows:

On page 2, lines 5 and 6, strike out "$295,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$245,000,000".

On page 2, line 9, strike out "$1,062,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,112,000,000".

On page 68, between lines 12 and 13 insert the following new subsection:

"(d) The Director shall conduct, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, research and pilot projects designed to assure a more effective use of human and natural resources of rural America and to slow the migration from rural areas due to lack of economic opportunity, thereby reducing population pressures in urban centers. Such projects may be operated jointly or in cooperation with other federally assisted programs, particularly programs authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, in the area to be served by the project."

On page 68, line 13, strike out "(d)" and insert in lieu thereof "(e)".

On page 69, line 6, strike out "(e)" and insert in lieu thereof "(f)".

On page 69, line 6, strike out "10 per centum" and insert in lieu thereof "15 per centum".

On page 69, line 8, after the period insert the following new sentence: "Of the sums appropriated pursuant to this title for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $50,000,000 shall be available only for projects authorized under subsection (d) of this section."

AMENDMENT NO. 349

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD another amendment which would provide that all community action agencies shall have a governing board organized to provide for membership of the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials, or their representatives, of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other majority groups and interests in the community.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and printed, and will lie on the table; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (349) is as follows:

On page 48, strike out lines 11 through 14 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 213. (a) A community action agency shall be established in order to assure broad, continuing, and effective community participation in all phases of the community action program for which it is responsible, and to assure that the program as developed and implemented is fully responsive to community needs and conditions. Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board organized to provide for membership of the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials, or their representatives, of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community."

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the amendment would require that locally elected officials be members of the community action agencies to connect up these rambling, floating, indefinite agencies with very little connection and very little experience in the responsibilities of government, so that they can take a good, fair, hard look at the practicalities of whether a program is worthwhile in the first place or worth the cost or is meeting the needs of the people. It is my understanding that this was recommended by the administration but was not accepted by the committee.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am happy to yield.

Mr. CLARK. The amendment which the Senator from Oklahoma is now proposing is not identical with but is very similar to an amendment which the distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA] has sent to the desk to have printed. It would be a great service to the committee and to the floor manager if the Senator from Oklahoma and the Senator from New Mexico would get together on a text on which they could both agree, because their proposals relate to the same subject, although the language is significantly different.

Mr. MONRONEY. I am glad to know that. I was out of the Chamber when the Senator from New Mexico discussed his amendment.

Mr. President, we shall work together and, if possible, centralize on one general set of language.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I wish the Senator from Oklahoma would give some thought to this. I have great sympathy for the first amendment which he discussed. I think that there is, perhaps, a need to beef up the rural programs. But what concerns me is the taking of $50 million out of the Job Corps, which is pretty hard pressed now to continue with the servicing of some 42,000 young men and women in the various men's and women's and demonstration camps.

I wonder if the Senator would be receptive, perhaps, to considering overnight whether either we could not add $50 million to the bill or perhaps give consideration to taking that amount out of title II.

I would be afraid, if we were to take it of the Job Corps, that the administration would be anxious to oppose any cut in the Job Corps authorization.

Mr. MONRONEY. I could not agree to that at all. I think the Job Corps is one of the least effective programs we have. As I recall, the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania said it assisted 42,000 youths. I am talking about millions of rural youths. I am asking for only $50 million out of $295 million. A quarter of a billion dollars is being left in the bill untouched—$245 million is being left in the bill for the 42,000 members of the Job Corps.

I do not believe it is paying its way. I do not believe it has proved to be a success.

I have often heard it mentioned—I do not doubt it—that you can send a boy to Harvard cheaper per year than you can to the Job Corps. For that reason, I visited Job Corps installations in Oklahoma. I have seen the pampering; I have seen the enforced idleness, the lack of dedication, and of morale that goes with it, the desertions, and even the concealment of the number of desertions, which happened in my State.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I do not wish to get into an argument with the Senator at this late hour.

I can only say that the experience of the members of the committee, both the minority and the majority, with respect to the Job Corps is quite different from that of the Senator from Oklahoma; and I suppose we will have to face this issue on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. MONRONEY. I believe we will have to, because I shall be absolutely unwilling to add to the cost of this bill, even though I would like to provide this needed assistance for rural areas.

If you are going to spend $245 million on 42,000 people who have had, we will say, hard luck or have dropped out or whose mentality may be a little lower, we had better be spending $50 million on some of the children who are growing up in the rural areas, who are not problem children but will become problem adults if we force them to live the rest of their lives in the ghetto because there is no economic opportunity under the present farm system, with labor-saving devices and mass production, and no possible job opportunity.

Mr. CLARK. I say again to my friend, the Senator from Oklahoma, that I do not wish to get into an argument with him at 6 o'clock at night. However, the administration will be strongly opposed to the amendment offered by the Senator; and, under the circumstances, I shall have to oppose it, also, although I would like to see this money go for the purposes the Senator suggests.

Mr. MONRONEY. If we cannot find, out of $295 million available to run a program for 42,000 delinquent or disadvantaged children, enough money to encourage economic opportunity in rural America, then I believe we would be missing the targets at which we are aiming.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I should like to read into the RECORD a telegram I received this afternoon from the Honorable James H. Tate, mayor of Philadelphia and president of the U.S. League of Cities:

> I strongly commend you for your leadership as chairman of the Senate's Labor Subcommittee which brought to the floor of the Senate the omnibus anti-poverty legislation Senate Bill 2388. In particular I wish to commend you and heartily support the Emergency Employment Act of 1967 which is incorporated in the anti-poverty legislation. This legislation, which will open up 500,000 new public service jobs among the hard core unemployed, will also provide much needed services in the fields of health, public safety, education, welfare, recreation, neighborhood improvement, reconstruction and beautification programs in our big cities. As you know, when I took forthright action to cut through red tape and put emergency job programs into effect immediately—

That was in Philadelphia, this summer, and probably resulted in preventing rioting in my home city—

> I also pointed out that long range solutions to the problems of the slum areas of our cities were urgently needed, and your legislation fulfills this need. As you are also aware, the Urban Coalition, of which I served as a member of the Steering Committee in my capacity as President of the National League of Cities, strongly endorses the principle that the government should become the employer of last resort in exactly the manner provided by your far reaching legislation.

I interpolate that the urban coalition asked not for 200,000 jobs but for 1 million jobs, which would have quintupled the cost of the Emergency Employment Act, increasing it from $1 billion a year to $5 billion a year, a step which we in the committee were not ready to take because we thought it was too radical under existing political conditions.

Returning to Mayor Tate's telegram:

> I most earnestly hope that the Senate follows your leadership and enacts this program of top priority for our nation's cities which will enable us to carry on to an even greater degree the programs we have instituted in Philadelphia to solve employment, housing, and education problems of our cities.

I point out, for cross-reference purposes, that a similar letter was received from the mayor of Pittsburgh, the Honorable Joseph Barr, who is the president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

So that the heads of both of these very important municipal institutions are strongly supporting the emergency employment portion of this bill.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, when OEO says there is a new Job Corps, they mean neglected youth can now be reached and made into productive citizens largely on their own initiative. All they needed was the opportunity to help themselves. OEO also means that management and other facets of the Job Corps program have been brought in line with the principles of sound business management.

The Job Corps has reduced its man-year cost from $8,470 in fiscal year 1966 to $6,950 in fiscal year 1967—an 18-percent reduction. To some, this $6,950 still seems high, but we must recognize that human renewal today is expensive. The Job Corps is trying to correct the deprivation of the first 15 or more years of a young person's life. The cost amounts to approximately $465 a year for each year of lost life. A 24-hour-a-day, 7-days-a-week vocational training program, with the associated costs of food, clothing, transportation, and medical bills, cannot be achieved inexpensively.

One may ask what are the alternatives? Do nothing? Put these young people on the dole? Pay the social cost in other ways—riots, jails, and reform schools? In the long run, these alternatives would be more expensive, in dollars and in lost human resources.

How many Job Corpsmen have we heard of participating in riots? How many Job Corpsmen have burned their draft cards? How many Job Corpsmen were sniping from rooftops? Keep in mind that Job Corps draws from the same population, the same age group, that were swelling the riots in our cities last summer. Instead of shouting "Burn, baby, burn," Job Corpsmen by the hundreds were fighting forest fires, picking up dead fish from the shores of lake Michigan, and undertaking other constructive projects.

What the Job Corps needs and deserves

is our recognition that it is proving its worth. The Job Corps wants no new centers, no expansion in capacity, no big changes in direction. All the Job Corps wants is to be allowed to continue to show the way to our lost youth. For the Congress to do otherwise would not just be a rejection of an agency—the OEO—but a rejection of young people who already have suffered rejection by too many.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock a.m., tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, September 27, 1967, at 11 a.m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Israel Botwinick, Temple Tel-Or, Havertown, Pa., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Our Heavenly Father, in these soul stirring times, we need Thy guidance and Thy blessings. Serious is the challenge that freedom-loving America faces. We seek peace, but we must safeguard life and liberty from possible onslaughts of godless, ruthless, and unprincipled aggressors. While we must develop superior military might and diplomatic dexterity, we must also be filled with Thy holy spirit.

We seek Thy guidance and inspiration for those within these walls, who are charged with the great responsibility of directing the affairs of our Nation. May Thy spirit dwell richly within them as they manifest abiding courage and sincere faith, in the cherished traditions of our Founding Fathers, to work for freedom, justice, and peace.

We pray Thee, hasten the day when the millennial hope of universal peace will prevail throughout the world with justice and freedom for all mankind. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendment, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

> H.R. 11722. An act to authorize certain construction at military installations and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 11722) entitled "An act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Jackson, Mr. Ervin, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Thurmond, and Mr. Tower to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS—WATERSHED PROTECTION AND FLOOD PREVENTION ACT

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Committee on Public Works, which was read and referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

> Committee on Public Works,
> Congress of the United States,
> House of Representatives,
> *Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967.*
>
> Hon. John W. McCormack,
> *The Speaker, House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> Dear Mr. Speaker: Pursuant to the provisions of section 2 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended, the Committee on Public Works has approved the work plans transmitted to you which were referred to this committee. The work plans involved are the following:
>
> Pennsylvania: Neshaminy Creek, executive communication No. 2839 (1966); committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Indiana: Big Raccoon Creek; executive communication No. 749; committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Mississippi: Five Creeks; executive communication No. 749; committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Mississippi: Big Creek; executive communication No. 749; committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Oregon: Wolf Creek; executive communication No. 749; committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Texas: Bennett Creek; executive communication No. 749; committee approval, September 21, 1967.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> George H. Fallon,
> *Member of Congress, Chairman.*

AUTHORIZING CERTAIN CONSTRUCTION AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Rivers, Philbin, Hébert, Price of Illinois, Hardy, Bates, Arends, Bray, and O'Konski.

PERMISSION FOR SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Special Subcommittee on Labor be allowed to meet during general debate on tomorrow, Wednesday, the 27th of September.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has this been cleared with the minority members on the subcommittee?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes; with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Goodell], the ranking minority member of the subcommittee.

Mr. HALL. Is there any reason why the request could not be made on the day of the sitting, after we have the special program before the House for tomorrow?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The reason for asking for it today, I might say to the gentleman from Missouri, is so that we can get appropriate notices and the necessary staff work done before tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, is this emergency legislation?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. No; this is not emergency legislation, but the full committee is engaged in what is going to be a long period of markup on the poverty legislation, and we want to have other legislation ready to follow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

MRS. JOHNSON APPLAUDED

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to applaud Mrs. Johnson for her perceptive question:

> If Americans could find satisfactory jobs, amenities and entertainment in rural America, would not some of the traffic to the cities be reversed?

As the Washington Post points out, the discerning implications of this observation call into question the various proposals for solution to the internal decay of our cities which have been offered as responses to urban symptoms of maladjustment and unrest.

My district is both rural and urban, embracing one-third of the city of Houston and, in addition, more rural and small town territory than exists in many Eastern and Midwestern congressional districts. Houston does not have multistory ghettos, but it has bungalow slums rather widely disseminated throughout the county.

I envisage the problem as that of bringing jobs and decent living to the people of the entire district. The trend in districts like mine should be movement toward horizontal factories outlying the city, not toward vertical loft-type factories in the city slums impelled by tax writeoffs and similar devices.

Mrs. Johnson should be recognized as having made a great contribution and as having opened for public scrutiny an important and deeply philosophical issue in a discerning way.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON BANK SUPERVISION AND INSURANCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Bank Supervision and Insurance of the Committee on Banking and Currency may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

THE LATE CLARENCE R. ESKILDSEN

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have worked with the food-for-peace program throughout the years were shocked and saddened at the untimely death of Mr. Clarence R. Eskildsen, who was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for International Affairs.

Mr. Eskildsen was born on October 27, 1913, in Radium, Minn.; received his B.A. degree in social science from Moorhead State College in Moorhead, Minn.; he received a M.A. degree in public administration from the University of Minnesota.

In his career with the USDA he served as agricultural attaché at American Embassies in West Germany and India. He also served as head of the Foreign Trade Division of the Foreign Agricultural Service where he was responsible for administering the Department's foreign food program. He had earlier played a key role in administering domestic food program of the Department, including the food stamp program and the school lunch program. In 1966, he won the Department of Agriculture's highest award, the Distinguished Service Award and was named Deputy Assistant Secretary shortly thereafter.

He is survived by his wife, Signe; a daughter, Mrs. Clifford Brody; two sons, Erik and Paul; three brothers, and two sisters.

Much of the success of Public Law 480 is due to the outstanding work of Clarence Eskildsen. Those of us who knew him admired both his intellectual ability and his practical understanding in the vast field of our foreign agricultural operations.

We on the Agriculture Committee will undoubtedly miss him. We have lost a trusted friend indeed. The contributions made by Clarence Eskildsen in the fields of food distribution, the food-for-peace program, and foreign agriculture in general will live for many, many years to come.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the people of this Nation have lost a dedicated public servant, and the Department of Agriculture will feel the loss of Clarence R. Eskildsen, 53, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for International Affairs, who died of pneumonia yesterday at the National Institutes of Health, after a comparatively short hospitalization for the treatment of leukemia.

A former agricultural attaché, Mr. Eskildsen had been in charge of the Department of Agriculture's international food aid and related technical assistance programs. He was a recipient of the Department's Distinguished Service Award earlier this year. Before being named Deputy Assistant Secretary in October 1966, Mr. Eskildsen served for 4 years as the associate administrator of the Agriculture Department's Foreign Agriculture Service.

My first association with Mr. Eskildsen was in the late fifties when he was the U.S. agricultural attaché in India, and I was impressed at that time with his knowledge of world agriculture. I kept in contact with him over the years, and just this last July, just 2 months ago, requested that he be assigned to accompany a small subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture on a trip which we were making to the Middle East, spending most of a week, in Israel. He was most helpful on this trip and contributed much to the success of the study we made.

Clarence Eskildsen portrayed the best in the Government servant, who was willing to dedicate the best and most productive years of his life in serving his Nation in foreign fields. He helped create a favorable image for this Nation. He was competent, he was dedicated, he was willing to devote whatever time was necessary in doing the job to which he was assigned.

While I did not have the opportunity or the pleasure of knowing the members of his family, my deepest sympathy goes out to them in the loss of a husband, father, and brother, and I would want them to know that he will be long remembered by those he served, and with whom he served. He was a Christian gentleman in every sense of the word, and a man that I was proud to call my friend.

ST. LOUIS CARDINALS—1967 NATIONAL LEAGUE CHAMPIONS

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, today I call on my colleagues in the House to join me in honoring "El Birdos," the 1967 National League champions, the St. Louis Cardinals.

They surprised everybody. Picked in the preseason speculating to be a second division ball club, freshman General Manager Stan Musial's boys took right off, and never came down. The pitchers began to pitch, the hitters began hitting, and the fielders refused to make errors. The combination was magnificent—Cepeda on first, Javier on second, Shannon on third, Maxvill at short, Brock, Flood, and Maris in the outfield, Gibson hurling and McCarver behind the plate—they left the National League vanquished.

St. Louis went wild. Everybody became an expert on the infield fly rule, the earned run average, the won-loss column, and the "magic number." They began to take as a matter of course St. Louis Sportcaster Harry Caray's familiar "It might be, it could be, it is!" home run chant, and the standing room only sign was regularly out at the box office as over 2 million fans from all points east and west trekked into the magnificent Busch Memorial Stadium to see the action. St. Louis loved it, the State of Missouri loved it, the Nation loved it, and Mr. Busch sold a lot of beer.

Their feats were many and consistent. On any given day, Manager Red Schoendienst could field anyone on the bench and be confident of a fine performance. He could call on Phil Gagliano, Ed Bressoud, John Romano, Dick Ricketts, and Ed Spezia for the infield, Alex Johnson and Bob Tolan for the outfield, and to pitch, he could rotate Jack Lamabe, Dick Hughes, Steve Carlton, Nelson Briles, Ron Willis, Al Jackson, Larry Jaster, Hoerner, Ray Washburn, and Hal Woodeshick.

The champagne flowed in Philadelphia last week, and they are ready for all comers. Be it Boston, Minnesota, Detroit, or Chicago, we welcome you to St. Louis, home of "El Birdos," 1967 world champions—ole!

REQUEST FOR COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION TO SIT IN EXECUTIVE SESSION THIS AFTERNOON

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on House Administration may sit in executive session this afternoon during general debate for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 11233, and a related bill with the same title and purpose known as the election reform bill, S. 1880.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have a long-standing engagement out of town to speak this afternoon and I will have to leave in mid-afternoon. I have been very interested in the amendments to this bill and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

THE LATE CLARENCE R. ESKILDSEN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, early this week the Members of the Congress, the farmers of America, and millions overseas lost a good and faithful friend.

Mr. Clarence R. Eskildsen, who served with distinction as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for International Affairs, passed from our midst early Monday morning. I know of few civil servants whose loss will be felt as keenly.

"Esky" was the man in the Department of Agriculture members of the House Committee on Agriculture looked to when information or advice on our international food-aid programs was needed. He played an indispensable role in guiding and administering these programs. He was the man who led the team of food-supply experts that went to India early in 1966 to appraise India's emergency need for food aid. He was one of the principal architects that we called on last year when we wanted to make major revisions in our food-aid legislation. Just a few weeks ago I had the privilege of accompanying him on a trip to the Mideast to determine food needs resulting from the Arab-Israel conflict.

"Esky" was a man of great wisdom, good humor, and seemingly boundless energy and tenacity in pursuit of life's important goals. He was both a humanitarian and an intensely practical man. The Department of Agriculture last year conferred upon him its highest honor of Distinguished Service Award, in recognition of his success in harmonizing our objectives of both expanding commercial export sales of farm products and of extending food aid where it is most needed.

I know that all Members of the Congress join in extending sympathy of "Esky's" family, with whom he had a warm and close relationship, and in expressing our deep appreciation for the outstanding contributions made by this dedicated civil servant.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IS URGENT NEED

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Russia has again shown that it not only has absolutely no desire to help end the war in Vietnam as requested by the United States, but that it has not changed its fundamental philosophy of communizing the world one bit.

Just last week in the United Nations we again asked Russia, in good faith, for her help in ending the conflict. But instead of help, we received a slap in the face.

It is regrettable that our weak-kneed State Department can only "regret" the Soviet decision to increase its arms aid to our enemies. Russia's decision to step up this aid makes it clear to all who will see it that Russia continues, without question, to be the world's most dangerous dealer in death and destruction. We should demand that she stop supplying North Vietnam with the means to kill American boys and to prolong this war of aggression.

Continuing to hide our heads in the sand will not alter Russia's goals, although many appear to be still hopeful that it will.

More than ever before we are in urgent need of leadership—leadership that will restore to our people a sense of unity and direction and which will demonstrate to our enemies our solidarity of purpose, thus preventing them from dangerously misunderstanding and miscalculating our intent in foreign affairs.

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE APPROVED BY JUDICIAL CONFERENCE

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, the Judicial Conference announced yesterday that it supports legislation authorizing electronic surveillance in the investigation of organized crime by law enforcement officers acting under a court order.

This public pronouncement by the operative unit of the judicial branch of the Government should dispel any uncertainty about the consequence and effect of the Supreme Court decision in the Berger case. It is clear that legislation which heeds the admonition and abides by the constitutional guidelines of that decision will meet with favor in the courts.

Heretofore, the Association of Federal Investigators has adopted a formal resolution endorsing this legislation. The same is true of the National Association of Attorneys General. The three previous Attorneys General of the United States favored legislation of this nature. A majority of the members of the President's own Commission on Crime did so.

In the face of such support from the chief law enforcement officers of the several States and from the responsible authorities of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Federal Government, it is difficult to understand how Attorney General Ramsey Clark can persist in the posture he has assumed.

It is one thing to be firm and steadfast; it is another thing to be negative and obstinate.

CONCERNING ELECTRONIC EAVESDROPPING

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, crime is the No. 1 domestic issue and the one which requires a major commitment from all levels of government. Much crime is rooted in unhealthy social and economic conditions, and is spawned almost spontaneously in the environment these conditions create. But one branch—organized crime—does not have diffuse origins; it is fostered by a small, readily identifiable and presumably controllable group of hoodlums, most of whose names are as well known as their activities are notorious.

The Federal Government should have a major role in fighting this nationwide network of hoodlums, and the Attorney General should be the leader, marshalling our forces to do battle. But sophisticated and hardened criminals cannot be controlled without sophisticated weapons, and to me it is incredible that our present Attorney General insists on his position that the only effective investigative techniques for this purpose are neither necessary nor effective. He limits the use even of legal electronic eavesdropping and opposes the legislative efforts to assure their legal status under proper safeguards.

As far as I can find out, the Attorney General is alone in his determination to hamstring this important public obligation for the protection of the victims of organized crime. The endorsement of proper legislation by the Judicial Conference of the United States—and this, Mr. Speaker, comprises most of the key judges in our judicial system—underscores anew the Attorney General's strange position. I hope my colleagues will join me in urging him to reconsider and support our legislative efforts to protect the public interest in this area.

TRIP TO GREECE

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the eruption of the Middle East war developments in Greece have received insufficient attention in this country, except for an apparent organized barrage of criticism against the Government of Greece.

Since April 21, Greece has been governed by a military appointed civilian administration that has evidently been welcomed by the Greek public despite doubts that exist abroad.

It is also apparent that the Government of Greece has remained faithful to its NATO obligations and is interested in maintaining peaceful relations and contributing to the easing of world tensions. One major effort made by the Greek Government is to insure discussions with the Turks in an effort to resolve the very complicated Cyprus dispute.

Since the military coup produced a replacement of the previously chaotic government I have been critical of the fence straddling by the State Department, specifically the withholding of military supplies which were to have been delivered in accordance with agreed support of Greece, a key NATO ally. The State Department's indecision and vacillation is still a disturbing thing to me.

To obtain firsthand information on the situation in Greece I am leaving today for Greece in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Fasseas, supreme president of the Order of AHEPA. I have made arrangements to speak to officials in the Greek Government, the U.S. Ambassador, members of the press, former parliamentarians, and individual citizens. It is my hope to thus obtain an accurate insight into conditions in Greece and to evaluate the anticipated return to parliamentary government.

Upon my return I will report my observations to the Members of the House.

I especially want the gentleman from Iowa to know this is a private trip, not at Government expense, but, when I do return, I will be pleased to advise the Secretary of State and Members of the House of my firsthand observations.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman send me a postcard, notifying me of his safe arrival?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes. That also will not be at Government expense.

AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF REPORT TO COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS ENTITLED "APPLIED SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS"

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I call up House Resolution 906 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 906

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Committee on Science and Astronautics one thousand eight hundred additional copies of the report to that committee entitled "Applied Science and Technological Progress".

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 2, strike "eight" and insert "five".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a message from the President of the United States.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in order that the Members may have the advantage of this message, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 275]

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Aspinall
Berry
Blackburn
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
de la Garza
Diggs
Downing
Feighan
Ford, William D.
Fulton, Tenn.
Halpern
Herlong
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Kee
Kuykendall
Landrum
Lukens
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
Ottinger
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Rogers, Fla.
Saylor
Stephens
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Whalley
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 378 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 171)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

This generation of Americans knows the importance of peace in Asia.

Twice since 1950 we have fought for the right of small Asian nations to be free from coercion by their neighbors. In Vietnam this struggle continues. It will continue so long—and only so long—as aggression persists.

Yet lasting peace in Asia requires much more than resistance to armed aggression.

Peace will come to stay when despair gives way to hope—when insurrection gives way to peaceful opportunity—when hunger gives way to harvests.

Peace in Asia will rest on the citizen's trust—in his government, in his nation's economy, and, most of all, in his ability to improve the conditions of his life.

Asians must create this trust. Only they can decide to build the schools, the roads, the dams, and the clinics that provide the foundations of trust. Only they can decide to put aside their ancient differences and join in a common effort to improve the life of all.

There is good reason to believe that Asia has made that choice.

Hope is a living fact in the rugged hills of Korea, in the thriving cities of Thailand, and in the lush rice land of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Free Asia has determined to break the vise of poverty which has killed and maimed many more Asians than all the wars ever fought.

The nations of Asia are working together to provide more food, better housing, and more education for their growing numbers. They have given a clear signal to the world that they are ready to make the sacrifices progress demands.

And they have asked for help.

These are the facts. They are established by the reports of Mr. Eugene Black, my Special Adviser on Asian Development. They are confirmed by the many Senators and Congressmen of both parties who joined in the founding of the Asian Bank.

Mr. Black has traveled widely in Asia in the past 30 months. He has talked with nearly every Asian leader. His careful judgment is that the hopeful signs in Asia are real.

With his help, we have begun the transition from American programs to build Asia to world programs to build Asia.

The Asian Bank was born out of the belief that international cooperation is not only possible and desirable, but absolutely necessary to the growth of freedom and prosperity in Asia. It united 31 nations, and distributed the financial burden of assisting Asia among them.

After consultation with Mr. Black, with senior officials of the U.S. Government and with many Members of the Congress, I propose that we join with other nations to strengthen this international instrument of peace and progress.

I propose that the Congress authorize a U.S. contribution of up to $200 million to new special funds of the Asian Development Bank.

This authorization will not involve any budget expenditures in fiscal 1968.

Our contribution would be made over 4 years, and would constitute a minority share of total contributions to the special funds.

This must not and will not be an American effort alone. The development of the most populous region of the earth affects every nation. It must be supported by all who are able to help.

Several leaders of the Congress and the Nation have urged that we transform the bulk of our foreign assistance from bilateral aid programs to multilateral, cooperative efforts where all the wealthy nations of the world join to help the developing nations through the World Bank, regional development associations, and other multilateral arrangements.

We look to the day when our foreign assistance can be handled under these arrangements.

The proposal I make today is a step in this direction. It is an example of multilateral assistance that we fervently hope will be followed increasingly in the years ahead in Asia and throughout the developing world.

THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IN ASIA

Free Asia has done more in the last 2 years to create a true community of interest among its peoples than in all the long centuries that went before. Here is part of that extraordinary record:

Asian initiative founded the Asian Development Bank with assets of $1 billion, to finance development projects throughout the great arc from Afghanistan to Korea.

Nine nations joined to form the Asian and Pacific Council, the first regular forum for discussion of the full range of Asian problems.

The nations of Southeast Asia and Indonesia formed a subregional association to foster better understanding and economic cooperation.

The Mekong Coordinating Committee and other existing agencies moved with new energy and urgency, producing such important projects as the Nam Ngum Dam in Laos.

Asians are gaining new insights into the needs of their region:

The Asian Development Bank is sponsoring a comprehensive study of Asian agriculture which will identify the specific projects necessary to meet the food crisis of the next decade.

The Southeast Asian Ministers of Education are planning regional centers of academic excellence, to open the way toward improved education, more broadly shared among their peoples.

Led by Malaysia, representatives of eight Asian nations met last week to plan the transportation and communications networks Asia needs to achieve trade, travel, and economic integration.

These are the beginnings of a peaceful revolution in Asia—a constructive revolution which serves not just the interests of the United States, but of all humanity.

It is a revolution which seeks to build, not to destroy; to succor, not to subvert.

But planning is only the first stage. Blueprints must become bricks and mortar.

Most of the money Asia needs must come from the Asians themselves. Some will come from the World Bank, from national aid programs, and from private sources. Some will come from the ordinary capital of the Asian Bank. But there remains a gap, particularly for projects in the most critical areas—agriculture, education, transportation, and development of the Mekong River Basin.

It is that gap that I propose we help close.

THE PROPOSAL

Experience in the World Bank and with regional development banks suggests that development finance requires two different and separate funds:

Ordinary capital, largely to finance the foreign exchange costs of projects which have a relatively rapid and direct return on investment, and

Special funds, for longer term loans at lower interest rates, to finance the foreign exchange costs of projects such as schools and roads which do not yield immediate financial returns, but which add powerfully to economic growth.

This is the investment structure of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The 31 member-nations of the Asian Development Bank have determined that it should also be the structure of their organization.

The Asian Bank now has subscriptions totaling $1 billion in ordinary capital. This appears sufficient for the foreseeable future.

Today's need is for special funds to complement the ordinary capital. Development cannot be limited to projects which can be financed at commercial interest rates. Where there are factories and powerplants there must also be dependable all-weather roads, farm equipment, and clean water supplies. The Bank must be able to lend for these long-term, as well as for short-term necessities.

The Government of Japan has already announced that it will contribute $100 million to these special funds, mainly to support projects in agriculture. The Government of Canada indicated its willingness to contribute at the Asian Bank's inaugural meeting. Other governments have contributions under consideration.

I propose that the United States pledge up to $200 million to be provided over 4 years, on the following conditions:

The U.S. contribution must comprise less than one-half of the special funds. The executive branch would make every effort to assure that our share of total contributions is as modest as possible.

Because of our balance-of-payments problem, our contributions must be available only for the purchase of U.S. goods and services for use in Asia.

The funds will be used only on the firm understanding that they will supplement, not supplant, the efforts of Asian nations to help themselves. Self-help will be the watchword in these programs, just as it is for all our foreign assistance.

This proposal would result in no cash disbursements during this fiscal year. Appropriations would be sought from the Congress as other contributors pledge their share to the special funds.

I believe this proposal represents our fair share.

I believe it protects our vital interests in Asia.

I believe it provides the American taxpayer with the assurance he demands, and deserves, that his money will be put to careful and productive use.

THE ASIAN FUTURE

It is hard for any of us to visualize the face of Asia in the decades ahead. Caught up in the trials and frustrations of the day, many people assume that the poor will always be poor, and that this new wave of Asian determination will falter and dissolve.

But Americans know what can be done with natural resources. We know that a single river can transform the lives of millions. Properly developed, it can provide food, jobs, and transport. It can be an avenue to the bounty of modern life.

What has worked here will work in Asia.

Flowing through Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the Mekong River drains an area 60 percent the size of the Missouri Basin. But only 8½ million people live in the Missouri Basin. Thirty million draw their sustenance from the lands surrounding the Mekong. The Mekong's flow is eight times greater than the Missouri's, and its hydroelectric potential is two to three times as great.

Ten solid years of work have already gone into careful and comprehensive planning for the Mekong area. The Mekong Coordinating Committee, along with 23 donor nations and 18 United Nations agencies, have—

Invested $30 million in the most detailed study of the area;

Invested $70 million in three major projects which set the stage for full development of the region;

Identified 34 potential tributary damsites and completed detailed studies on 11 of them; and

Conducted feasibility studies on three of the 12 potential main stream damsites.

These are examples of the sound ideas and projects which will be financed by the special funds I propose today. They are the Asian equivalents of the Erie Canal, the transcontinental railroad, and the land-grant college system which transformed our own society.

These are the productive works which build nations. They carry with them social progress as well as economic growth. Our decision to support them is a test of faith in our own vision. Meeting that test is as important to us as it is to Asia.

More than 2 years ago, when I first announced our willingness to respond to Asian initiatives, I said:

> I would hope that all other industrialized countries, including the Soviet Union, will join in this effort to replace despair with hope, and terror with progress. The task is nothing less than to enrich the hopes and the existence of more than a hundred million people. And there is much to be done.

Much has been done since then—more than we could reasonably have hoped. Thirty-one nations have joined to build a bank, and the nations of free Asia have joined to strengthen a continent.

The task now is to capitalize on the progress of the past 30 months.

The Congress knows this record of progress. Its Members have been deeply involved in the birth and growth of the Asian Development Bank.

Now the question is whether the United States will join other nations to provide the Bank with a new dimension of productive effort in the basic areas of human need.

The United States knows many needs in this critical hour. Many worthy causes compete for our time, our attention, and our limited resources. In the last analysis, only the people's representatives in Congress can decide where the priorities lie.

I offer this proposal because I believe whatever we do to strengthen Asia, and to enable her people to achieve security and growth in the years ahead, is in our national interest—and thus deserves consideration among our national priorities. In that spirit and with that understanding, I urge its consideration by the Congress.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 26, 1967.*

THE UNITED STATES AND NATION-BUILDING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in March 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law an act of Congress which approved this Nation's full participation in a new regional economic association—the Asian Development Bank. It was an act which the President described as "an economic Magna Carta for the diverse lands of Asia."

Today, just a little over a year later, and with 31 nations now contributing to the Asian Development Bank, the President has again asked the Congress to sustain that Asian economic Magna Carta with a new pledge of $200 million for special funds for the Bank.

These special funds must be matched by other Asian nations. The American contribution would not exceed 50 percent of all contributions, and could be less. The funds would be used for special projects such as schools, roads, clinics, dams, and so forth. Our contribution would be made only if and when the other participating countries fulfilled their pledges. So we are giving nothing, but promising to meet the contributions of others, not to exceed $200 million over a period of 4 years.

It seems like a sizable contribution. And it is. But is it any less than the contribution in blood and materials we are now making in South Vietnam?

We are not alone in making that contribution. Just as other allied nations have sent men to fight in Vietnam, so nations like Japan have already announced a contribution of $100 million to the Bank's special funds, and Canada has also indicated its willingness to contribute.

What is important about the Asian Development Bank is that it is an Asian venture, proposed by Asians, yet supported by free democratic nations throughout the world.

The importance of the Asian Development Bank is that it holds the key to real long-term security in Southeast Asia.

A nation able to build roads and dams and schools and develop industry, will be a nation less susceptible to the threats or the propaganda of communism, which feeds on discontent and poverty.

In short, when we pledge $200 million in special projects for the Asian Development Bank, that is $200 million worth of future security and peace which the United States is trying to sustain.

I believe that the Congress will approve this request. We acted wisely and intelligently when asked to join the World Bank; when asked to fund the Marshall plan; when asked to contribute to the host of regional organizations we now participate in. I believe we will do our duty and fulfill our responsibilities toward the new and struggling nations of Asia.

I applaud President Johnson for always keeping before the Nation's eye the basic problems which must be solved in Southeast Asia. They are at the moment both military and economic. In the long run, peace and security will depend on how well we help Asians engage in the long, hard, and expensive process of nation building.

I am proud that the United States has sought to honor its commitments to Southeast Asian national development with deeds. I am proud of our President who never for one moment forgets a national commitment.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the President's message to Congress calling for a U.S. commitment to the Asian Development Bank deserves our closest attention and our earnest support.

This Nation's commitment to a peaceful Asia will go for naught if the underlying causes of Asian discontent—poverty, illiteracy, economic stagnation—are not attacked. Only when Asians realize their Governments can bring progress through peaceful means will appeals to war and revolution go unheeded.

The Asian Development Bank symbolizes the determination of Free Asia to harness its resources for progress. President Johnson is asking Congress to pledge $200 million over a 4-year period to support the Bank's long term development projects, which are our best hope for Asian stability.

No expenditures will be made in fiscal 1968. No American funds will be provided until other donors—other countries, private sources, and the Asian nations themselves—contribute more than 50 percent of the total funds for the Bank. U.S. contributions will be available only for the purchase of American goods and services.

Asians are building a continent for and by themselves in the midst of turbulence. The American people must help them turn today's dreams and plans into tomorrow's realities. Only then will true peace bless Asia. Only then can we be assured our blood and treasure have not been spilled in vain.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, this country has twice in 17 years answered Asia's call to fight the flames of aggression. President Johnson's Asian Bank message is our response to Asia's plea for aid in attacking the causes of this aggression.

The nations of Asia have pledged themselves to end the poverty and oppression which have caused violence and bloodshed. Their awakened sense of a common destiny is manifest in several new, viable regional organizations, among which is the Asian Development Bank.

The President has asked the Congress to help Asia build its own future by pledging $200 million to the Bank over a 4-year period.

This money will be spent on vital long-term growth projects of the Bank's special funds. It will enable Asian nations to demonstrate the sincerity of their concern for their people. And, it will help achieve regional stability.

Yet, it will require of this nation no expenditures in fiscal 1968. It will require other donors to contribute a majority of the funds before the United States donates any money. It will only supplement, not supplant, Asian self-help.

With so modest an American sacrifice, new hope will be brought to a continent willing to forge its future. Having spilt our blood and treasure to end war in Vietnam, let us now work to assure the peaceful future of free Asia.

I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the President's request for an American commitment to Asia development.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the fact that the proposed special funds authorization—recommended by President Johnson—would help the Asian Development Bank support the development of integrated transportation and communications programs in Southeast Asia.

Such a program would undoubtedly promote greater economic and political cohesion in Southeast Asia and promote rational economic development in the area.

The existence of the Asian Development Bank has already stimulated a new sense of regional cooperation in Asia.

I was impressed by the recent Conference held in Kuala Lumpur earlier this month, attended by representatives from eight countries: Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. There were also representatives from 12 developed countries—including the United States—as well as representatives from five international organizations associated with the United Nations. The objective of the Conference was for the eight regional countries to consider measures for improving cooperation and coordination for transportation-communications in the region; and to identify and prepare regional-type transportation-communications projects suitable for external financing.

The Conference agreed that it would be desirable if special funds could be established under the Asian Development Bank for these purposes.

This is one of the programs President Johnson is now asking us to support, and it is a good program.

In my view, this Conference of Southeast Asian Officials is another concrete step forward giving substance to the pattern of regional cooperation which is evolving in Asia.

The United States should support it through special fund loans for it is in our own interest as well as in the interest of Asians to do so.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection

to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of interest and admiration to the message just received from the President on the Asia Development Bank. This is indeed a statesmanlike message and one which should command our support.

The great virtue of the Asian Development Bank is that it represents an international and multilateral effort, so that the United States is working in partnership with other nations, especially Asian nations. In this way, many, if not most, of the drawbacks of bilateral aid programs can be avoided.

I have noted with particular interest the reference to proposed special funds to complement the Bank's ordinary capital. As the President points out, development needs cannot be met through loans on bank terms alone.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, it will not be said that we cannot afford to carry on such a program such as this so long as we are fighting in Vietnam. To me this is backwards. The fact of the matter is that, if we are ever to bring to an end the kind of conflict which does exist in Vietnam today, we cannot afford not to carry on the kind of constructive programs which are outlined in the President's message.

Attaining effective cooperation among nations for the attainment of any purpose is seldom easy. Nationalism gets in the way. So does lack of knowledge, lack of experience, lack of imagination and lack of confidence. But these obstacles can be overcome, as has already been demonstrated in other parts of the world, and the Asian Development Bank is a promising instrument for overcoming them. It is already helping to create a cooperative economic and political order in Southeast Asia.

Regional cooperation in finding joint solutions to common problems has already created new railroad links in Asia; has set up air navigational systems; has improved regional organization for marketing of farm products; has encouraged the interchange among countries of students and technicians; and has led to the establishment or improvement of educational institutions where Asians can receive training in agriculture, engineering, education and public health. An outstanding example of regional cooperation is the program to develop the Mekong River Basin by harnessing the river for hydroelectric power and irrigation.

These regional programs and projects, which stem from Asian initiative, deserve the support of the United States not only for their inherent value, but also because they strengthen and accelerate a hopeful trend toward regional cooperation in an area long weakened by local misunderstandings and hostilities.

I will gladly support the President on this proposal.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION AND CONTROL ACT OF 1967

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 927 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 927

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. DELANEY] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MARTIN]. I now yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 927 provides an open rule with 2 hours of general debate for consideration of H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967.

H.R. 12120 is designed to carry forward the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency. The bill is designed to encourage the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative and prevention services for delinquent youth and those in danger of becoming delinquent and to encourage communities to develop new methods of care and treatment for such youth.

The legislation will assist the juvenile justice system to more effectively and efficiently fulfill its growing responsibilities of making readily available other community resources and services for youth with whom it must deal. It will, in addition provide urgently needed training programs for personnel serving these youths.

Mr. Speaker, I think one of the important parts of this legislation is that the Congress is directing the Secretary to make a special study of the compulsory school attendance law and of the laws and regulations affecting the employment of minors with a view to determining the effect of such laws on juvenile delinquents and youth offenders.

We all recognize the fact that there are some students who will not go to school and, if they do, will not learn. They are cast out on the streets and are unable to work because of the age limit. They turn to a career of crime. I think this particular section deserves consideration.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation was reported unanimously out of the committee, and I urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELANEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I have read the legislation and the brief report thoroughly, and I find neither a waiver of points of order nor any evidence of a closed rule. Do I understand none has been requested and the Committee on Rules did not in its wisdom order any waiver of points of order on this bill to be considered?

Mr. DELANEY. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. HALL. I want to compliment the Committee on Rules and the parent committee for letting the Legislature work its will.

Mr. DELANEY. Thank you. We accept that.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the able gentleman from New York explained House Resolution 927, which provides for an open rule with 2 hours of debate on H.R. 12120, a bill to attempt to curb juvenile delinquency in this country. The purpose of the bill is to set up three new Federal grant programs to treat the problem of juvenile delinquency and to authorize funding of $25 million for fiscal year 1968.

In 1961 the Congress passed into law Public Law 87–274, the Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. This act established a 3-year program under which grants and contracts were available to State, local, or other public or nonprofit agencies, organizations, or institutions for demonstration and training projects for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and youth offenses. Ten million dollars a year for each of the 3 years was authorized.

Public Law 88–368, enacted July 9, 1964, extended the provisions of the law for 1 year and added a $5 million authorization—a $5 million authorization, Mr. Speaker—for a special project in the Washington metropolitan area to demonstrate to the Nation the effectiveness of a large-scale, well-rounded program for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and youth offenses. Allocations for the 6-year program which expired on June 30 of this year totaled $47 million.

Mr. Speaker, what have been the results of the expenditure of this $47 million in dollars and in the concentrated pilot program involving the expenditure of $5 million here in the Washington, D.C., area?

Mr. Speaker, I refer the Members to the report, page 3, wherein we are told that crime among juveniles—and "juveniles" is classified as those being between the ages of 10 and 17—has increased from 1960 to 1965 by almost 50 percent. Of course, the Members of this House are well aware of the crime situation which exists here in this area and the drastic increase in crime which has been experienced here in the District of Columbia as well as in the adjoining areas.

Percentagewise, Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest increases in crime of any city in the Nation has been here in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. Yet, we have had under way a pilot program here designed to reach the causation of crime, in the amount of $5 million.

Let us take a look at a couple of features of this bill. A part of the money may be used for construction. However, I note from page 7, at the top of that page, the following statement:

> Due consideration shall be given to excellence of architecture and design, and to the inclusion of works of art (not representing more than 1 per centum of the cost of the project).

Mr. Speaker, we have had this "works of art" approach involved in other projects. I realize that. I further believe that there is a great esthetic value in recognizing works of art for our young people and, in fact, for all of our citizens. However, if we expend $10 million of the $25 million proposed to be authorized for construction, 1 percent of that figure, Mr. Speaker, is $100,000 to be applied to the "works of art" for these juvenile delinquents.

I would question whether any good will come from the expenditure of the sum of $100,000 in this area.

Further, Mr. Speaker, over on page 11 of the bill, under title II—Training—I quote very briefly:

> SEC. 201. The Secretary is authorized to make grants or contracts for projects for the training of personnel employed in or preparing for employment in the diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent. Such projects may include, among other things, development of courses of study and of interrelated curricula in schools, colleges, and universities, establishment of short-term institutes for training at such schools, colleges, and universities inservice training, and traineeships with such stipends—

Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] one of the foremost authorities on education and rehabilitation in the House of Representatives, has made a very detailed study of Federal programs now conducted under the Department of Education. The distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon came up with a figure, which figure has been reported to the House, to the effect that we have 77 separate education programs under the Department of Education—Federal programs.

Have we not come up with a typical Federal answer to some of the problems that confront us here in this country: set up another Federal program and spend more money.

We have spent $47 million in this area since 1961, and crime among juveniles has increased. It has been a failure. I believe there is a great deal of responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the fathers and mothers of these young people in our country, and of the churches in our cities, and in the various communities throughout the land. I do not believe it is a project in which the Federal Government should engage, nor do I feel that by spending and authorizing to spend $10 million on further work in juvenile delinquency that we are going to cure this problem.

There is one other point that I wish to make, Mr. Speaker. The Congress and the country currently are greatly concerned with the President's proposals to increase and impose a surtax of 10 percent in view of the fact that the projected deficit for this fiscal year will run somewhere between $25 and $30 billion. The temper of the Members of the House and, according to the press, the temper of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means, is that no tax bill will be enacted by the Congress unless the President shows, and proves conclusively to the Congress, that he is going to make substantial cuts in the nondefense area of spending.

Mr. Speaker, I am not a defender of the President very often, but I feel that the legislative branch of our Government has a certain part of this responsibility to bear. We in the legislative branch of the Government have the power to authorize these programs. We are the ones who vote for these appropriation bills, so I do not believe we can pass the buck completely to the head of the executive branch of our Government at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. I believe part of this responsibility rests on our shoulders, and if we are going to assist the President in attaining more and better fiscal responsibility, it is time that we set our eyes on that goal and began to walk down the road toward fiscal responsibility by not enacting new programs to cost additional sums.

I realize we are talking about a bill of $25 million, and in comparison with a $25 billion to $30 billion deficit projected for this year it is a comparatively small amount. But we can never reach this goal, Mr. Speaker, unless we start down that road.

I believe this is a good afternoon and a good time to start down that road, and not to authorize a $25 million new spending program. Let us help the President out, and assume part of these responsibilities right here in the House where part of it belongs, and if we do I believe we will be taking a great step to control some of the things that are so distressing to all of us.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to quote from a story in the Washington Post of Saturday morning, reporting a speech by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler:

> Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler bluntly warned Congress yesterday that a vote against increasing taxes is "political Russian roulette," and said the alternative to a ten percent tax surcharge is "an economy in shambles."
>
> In the toughest and most political pitch yet to a Congress reluctant to pass the President's tax program, Fowler warned each Member of Congress: "Let him look ahead to next fall. Let him look at what may well turn into a voter backlash with painful consequences if he reads only his current mail and ignores the economic indicators."

Mr. Speaker, the American taxpayers of this country, not only in my district but all over the land, are greatly concerned with this spending and with this deficit, and they hold the Congress, the legislative branch of the Government, responsible just as much as they do the President of the United States.

I hope that the Members of the House will give that some thought in considering this legislation this afternoon.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEVINE. I appreciate the remarks the gentleman has made concerning this legislation, particularly the creation of a yet additional program in view of the fiscal situation of this Nation.

I am concerned, of course, about juvenile delinquency as are all Members of this body. I read this report last night and again this morning in the hope that it would give some solution to a problem that we all know exists.

In studying this report, I see the committee in the report says:

> The legislation will assist the juvenile justice system * * * to more effectively and efficiently fulfill its growing responsibilities—

Which does not say anything—

> and provide urgently needed training programs for personnel serving these youths—

That is, to hire more people, like the poverty program. Then it says further—

> provides assistance to States and communities to enable them to move actively to implement programs to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency—

Again, it does not provide solutions, but talks about the problem. And it says further:

> The bill also makes provision for a limited amount of meaningful action research to improve techniques and practices, technical assistance to States and communities, and collection and dissemination of related information and evaluation.

That, to me, is just a bunch of words that try to justify this legislation. And I say, as a former law enforcement officer and prosecuting attorney, I am vitally concerned with seeking solutions to this problem. But here starting in 1961 there was a 3-year program with $10 million a year. Then it was extended for 1 more year with $5 million. Then they came back again with a special study on compulsory school attendance and things of that nature and we enacted Public Law 89-69 in 1965 extending it another year. I think we spent $47 million, as the gentleman already pointed out, and still we are talking about problems and not about solutions.

Have you in your study of this in the Committee on Rules been able to find out what is going to happen here, other than pointing out the problem?

Mr. MARTIN. No; and the gentleman has had a great deal more experience in this field than I have. It seems to me, as the gentleman has so well pointed out, that all we have here are platitudinous phrases very similar to that included in the 1961 legislation, which admittedly, in a colloquy between the gentleman from New York and one of the witnesses, on this legislation had been a failure.

Mr. DEVINE. If the gentleman will yield further, as I understand this is a $25 million appropriation on a 3-year program for just 1 year at this time; is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. This is a $25 million authorization for this fiscal year alone, for 1968.

Mr. DEVINE. I see here in the middle of page 3 that the cost to the United States of crime by juveniles is estimated to be $4 billion annually. Do you have any idea as a member of the committee or does the committee have any idea how they arrived at this nebulous figure of $4 billion annually?

Mr. MARTIN. No. I believe this is the same figure, however, that was used in legislation that has come from the Committee on the Judiciary in this field. That is the figure that has been used on various pieces of legislation concerning crime.

Mr. DEVINE. It has been used but it is not backed up by any meaningful statistics so far as the gentleman is concerned?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not knowledgeable as to the source of the statistics.

Mr. DEVINE. I see the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Pucinski] on his feet. Perhaps he can answer the question, if the gentleman will yield to him.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The $4 billion figure was compiled on the basis of very extensive and exhaustive studies of local communities by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The figure of $4 billion can be substantially established from the research of this Commission, which also helped in preparing the Safe Streets Act, which the Congress has already approved.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEVINE. By what standards did they arrive at this figure? How did they come to that conclusion? They said that the figure does not count man-hours that may have been lost by those engaged in employment.

Mr. PUCINSKI. For example, we know that last year a half-million automobiles in this country were stolen, and it is not too difficult to put a value on the loss in that particular category of crime. There are various other crimes committed by young people which the President's Commission has taken into consideration in arriving at the figure of $4 billion.

Mr. DEVINE. Do you mean that you are going to charge the value of someone's automobile to the cost of the Nation? How do you charge this as a cost to the Nation when your automobile or mine is stolen?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is confused. When we say that the cost to the Nation is $4 billion, that is the aggregate cost of juvenile crime to the victims of crime in America. This is not a statement that Uncle Sam has to cover this $4 billion. I hope we understand that.

Mr. DEVINE. I understand that, and I am not confused. Nine out of 10 stolen automobiles are recovered, of course. I am still trying to find the basis or standard by which the figure of $4 billion as the cost of the Nation's crime was arrived at.

Mr. PUCINSKI. There were many ways in which the Commission arrived at that figure. For example, we know the high incidence of stolen automobiles registered primarily among young people. We know this has created an increase in insurance rates. This is a cost that is being borne by all Americans, even though their cars are not being stolen. I am not giving the gentleman all the figures, but I am trying to illustrate to him how the President's Commission arrived at the figure of $4 billion.

Mr. DEVINE. I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for yielding. I am seeking information. I am not speaking in opposition to this measure, but I think the House is entitled to know the reasons for legislation of this nature.

Mr. MARTIN. I appreciate the gentleman's comments. Last night I called up a district judge in central Nebraska who has jurisdiction in three counties. I asked him what tangible benefits he had received from the $47 million that we have spent in this area since 1961. He said the only thing he ever got was a bunch of questionnaires to fill out. He did not have time to fill them out and he threw them in the wastebasket.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Apparently they arrived at this figure in the same way they arrived at the figure of 14,000 as being the number of rat bites throughout the Nation in a year. They just pick a figure out of the air based upon what they think the number of rat bites ought to be and multiply it by the number of cities and towns. That produces the round figure of 14,000. I had correspondence with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and I cannot for the life of me get them down to a logical determination of how they arrived at the figure of 14,000.

Apparently it is the same thing here. The gentleman from Illinois does not seem to have the answer.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do have an answer. If the gentleman from Iowa was listening, I think I made it clear that the President's Commission had made an exhaustive study of the cost of juvenile crime to the people of America. I cited one figure. If the gentleman drives a car like the rest of us, he will readily admit that insurance rates on cars have been going up and up and up because of the high rate of car thefts in this country. That is only one example.

But I do wish to point out to the gentleman that the President's Commission was made up of distinguished American citizens from both parties, and I have confidence in the results of the study.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, that is one of the troubles around here. We are surfeited with so-called "blue ribbon" commissions which all too often come up with a bunch of tripe by way of statistics on which we are expected to legislate.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would strongly recommend during the course of this debate that my colleague from Iowa and my colleague from Nebraska take the trouble to read this bill. I agree with much of what the gentleman in the well has said about the results of the previous legislation up to now.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Kyl].

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government today participates in many diverse programs which are aimed directly or indirectly at problems of youth. It is important that these programs do not work at cross purposes. While we talk of this specific proposal, I want to mention the importance of consistency, because I believe some Federal agencies today are making serious mistakes. The gentleman from Nebraska has spoken of the failure of the pilot program in the District of Columbia. I think I can point to some of the reasons for that failure.

As a specific instance, I cite the new philosophy which is prevalent in the Federal departments, which preaches that the best way to reach the problem people in the problem areas of this or any other city is to employ as leaders of the project the people who presently have gained some following or notoriety even though the so-called leaders may be people of very doubtful character. If the sole purpose of these programs were to find a way of spending money, this might be all right. But our children are involved in this matter, and the stakes are much higher than that.

Take the case of the leadership of the Pride program in Washington, D.C. One Rufus Mayfield, better known to some as "Catfish," has been featured as the leader of a program in the District of Columbia. That program did succeed in spending its allotment this summer and probably can list some constructive achievements. But let us today look at the program in terms of juvenile behavior, the subject of discussion on the floor this afternoon.

A few weeks ago, there was a fire in the Woolworth store on Minnesota Avenue. There were some suspicious factors which were reported to the police of the 14th precinct. Please note that I make no allegations concerning anyone's involvement in arson or other crimes of that kind.

This is the entire substance of my comment at this time: During the progress of that fire, a substantial number of citizens, firemen, and police officers saw and heard the aforementioned Pride leader, Rufus Mayfield, in the store, in the entryway and outside, shouting, "Burn, Baby, Burn," and other similar if less reportable comments. The chants were taken up by youngsters who were ostensibly following their leader. Those statements were taken down by the police and are available at police headquarters for anyone who would like to see them.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. I will yield to the gentleman from Ohio for a moment.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman making reference to "Catfish" Mayfield, who has received $300,000 in poverty program funds for one of the poverty programs?

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, the Pride program, I believe, did have $300,000 appropriated to it this summer.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, is that the same man who was reported as saying "Burn, Baby, Burn"; that is, Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, on the occasion of this fire in the District of Columbia?

Mr. KYL. That is the report.

This kind of conduct is not unexpected by anyone who has had a chance to review the record of the individual in question. These records have been available to anyone who wanted to check them. We have had comments about auto theft this afternoon, and this is one of the activities that our Pride leader was engaged in as a juvenile. We do not call it "theft" among juveniles who take an automobile, but we call it "unauthorized use." Further, the same gentleman was a fugitive from the place where he had been held because of his participation in such crimes.

I would say that he was not the only citizen of the District or of the United States who was qualified to lead this project, nor the only one to have a reasonable chance of success as a leader of that program. There would be at least some reason to expect that a 12-year-old boy making $56 a week could give his allegiance to almost any leader who helped provide that kind of income for that kind of work.

I think this kind of selection of leadership in these programs by the Federal agencies is completely misguided and it has to stop. What kind of suggestion is made to youngsters under such leadership? Is it unreasonable to think that some of these youngsters may deduce that the way to become a leader in the Government programs is to get a police record, or to stand in a burning building shouting, "Burn, Baby, Burn"? What kind of goals do we set for these youngsters?

This applies not only to the bill we discussed today. I think our Government should proceed immediately to undo what has been done in this policy, and to stop such procedures in the future, but sadly enough there is very little likelihood that this will be done.

Once characters of this type are put in public programs those same public officials who in a misguided moment put them in leadership in the first place are afraid. They are trapped, fearing an "incident."

This is also an error. When will we awaken to the fact that 97 percent or more of the citizens in these problem areas are good, law-abiding citizens with decent ambitions and worthwhile goals? When do we turn the leadership of the community to these good citizens, and, when do we stop boosting or fearing the tiny minority? When do we stop rewarding mediocrity or downright lawlessness?

We must promote decent ambitions and worthwhile goals. We cannot collect or borrow enough money to right the wrongs if we do not make commonsense. We will reap a sad harvest if we do not take heed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Rostenkowski). The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Cahill].

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I believe every Member of Congress is vitally interested in doing everything that should be done to help the youth of our Nation. I am certain that all of us want to spend whatever funds are necessary to try to develop ways and means of doing that.

In reading the report on this legislation, I find that great reliance was placed by the committee on the report of the President's Commission on Crime, and great reliance was placed upon the fact, as evidenced in that report, that the entire field of crime must be investigated and evaluated in order to determine just how best to combat crime in this country. Therefore, I find it difficult to understand, very frankly, in spite of our sincere and enthusiastic desire to do something, why the House of Representatives does not await the determination in the other body as to what format will be followed in the pending crime bill which was passed in the House of Representatives only a few weeks ago.

If we are going to do anything in the field of juvenile delinquency, it seems to me it should be related to our efforts in the entire field of crime.

The Attorney General has indicated that he is going to recommend the expenditure of many billions of dollars in the effort to combat crime.

The determination will be made in a few short weeks as to whether the crime bill will follow the procedures outlined by the House of Representatives; namely, grants to States, who must, before they get any money, come up with comprehensive State plans. Any such plan certainly would involve the treatment of juveniles.

I do not believe there is any great question as to some causes of juvenile delinquency. We all know that if we have the proper psychiatric help and psychological assistance in the lower level of education we can determine almost immediately the early symptoms which might lead a child into trouble. We can take corrective measures. We can have halfway houses and other associated aids to youth. We can have helpful institutions. We can provide psychiatric care. Emotional problems detected at an early age can be more adequately and successfully treated.

What we really need in this field is planning. We need comprehensive planning. We must spend our money effectively and prudently with emphasis on early treatment of obvious danger signals.

It would seem to me, therefore, that the intelligent approach would be for the House of Representatives to await the decision of the other body. Whichever way we go—whether it be direct grants to local municipalities, as the Attorney General recommends; or whether it be grants to the States, as the House of Representatives recommends—this field of juvenile delinquency can be handled under that legislation.

The moneys which are going to be appropriated to combat crime in this country to a very large extent, I hope, can be utilized in the field of juvenile delinquency. Success here would eliminate much of the crime in our country.

Lacking that, and in the event the House insists upon proceeding, I would certainly hope that the House of Representatives would reaffirm the position which it took on the crime bill and, instead of making grants to local municipalities, where there can be a great deal of duplication of effort, I would hope we would insist upon an amendment, which is going to be offered. This amendment will propose the same procedure for grants we adopted in the House of Representatives in relation to the crime bill.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, you will remember that the gentleman in the well, the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, was the author of what came to be known as the Cahill amendment. That amendment was adopted by an overwhelming vote in the House before we passed what was originally known as the safe streets bill. Indeed, a similar amendment, which is at present in the drafting stage, will be offered to the bill on the floor at the moment. For the same reasons that the Cahill amendment was meritorious the amendment which will be offered to this bill will be meritorious.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 12120, with Mr. Bennett in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Perkins] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 12120 represents a call for action—immediate action to deal with one of this Nation's major problems—juvenile delinquency.

Last year alone there was a 9-percent increase in juvenile arrests.

One out of every nine of our young people is referred to a juvenile court before the age of 18. Tragically, five out of every 10 of these youthful offenders repeat antisocial acts.

Fifty percent of all convictions for burglaries, larcenies, and auto thefts involved youths between the ages of 11 and 17—although this age group comprises only 13 percent of our population.

But even these facts and figures do not tell the full story. They are only a superficial measure of the toll taken each year by juvenile delinquency. They cannot depict the waste and degradation of human beings who possess undeveloped potential for positive contributions to society.

Yet, these are real concerns. They are concerns not only of the present but, perhaps even more importantly, for the future.

The causes of this delinquency vary. So do its forms. But one thing remains consistent—virtually no community is immune from the problem.

Our concern about juvenile delinquency is heightened when we remind ourselves that there are more young people every year and that young people have always had a higher crime rate than adults. The size of the young age group is increasing twice as fast as the older age group. This could mean a significant increase in crime in the years ahead.

But it is a situation that is far from hopeless.

H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1947, provides for a comprehensive national program that will assist States and communities to develop the competence to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency. It will accomplish these objectives through an active, working partnership among the Federal Government, the State and local governments, and the local agencies and institutions—public and private—which serve youth and are concerned with the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent youth.

This much needed legislation will support and encourage new and improved services for helping both delinquent youths and youths who are in danger of becoming delinquent.

A major focus of these federally coordinated services will be on preventive programs, treatment, and rehabilitation—developed and administered in nonjudicial settings within the local communities.

In short, this legislation will provide the vital Federal resources and incentives that community institutions need for dealing with youth in trouble before they reach the point of adjudication. It will provide new resources for helping youth who would otherwise be shunted off into the correction system.

At the same time, this legislation would enable State and local communities to improve their juvenile court systems. It would assist those in the corrections field to develop new programs and techniques for operating their facilities—to help make them truly institutions of rehabilitation. Such a forward-looking program would help to ease the path back into the community for youth returning from a correctional institution.

This comprehensive program envisions the expansion and improvement of such community-based diagnostic services as psychological testing and clinical evaluation; treatment programs such as counseling; guidance and therapy for both youths and their families; and rehabilitative services such as work-study programs, vocational training and job placement, and a variety of services fashioned at the local level to meet the special needs of youth going into trouble or just coming out of it which can have a positive impact on their behavior.

Because of the important relationship between school experiences and delinquency, States and communities under this legislation would be given the opportunity and incentive to develop new ways of "rescuing" truants and other students in trouble by channeling them back into the educational process.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation will assist the States and the local communities to put into effect the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice for the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency.

I have already seen in my own State the kind of impact such community-based programs can have.

For example, a multifaceted demonstration program has shown that many delinquents can be worked with in the community without undue danger to society and that the behavior of delinquent youth can be changed without having to subject either of them or the State to the costly and negative consequences of confinement.

Under the program, 150 boys between the ages of 13½ and 15½—who might otherwise have been sent to a correctional institution—were permitted by the Jefferson County juvenile court to return to school and live at home while a variety of community resources joined in a cooperative program of rehabilitation.

At the same time, the parents of the boys were involved in a series of group therapy sessions of their own, as required by the court.

Each youth in the program participated in remedial educational programs with special attention in subject areas of greatest weakness. Finally, each youth participated in a work program designed to instill good work habits.

The project involved the cooperation of the Kentucky Child Welfare Department, the University of Louisville, a school of social work, the juvenile court, the police department, and the Louisville Board of Education.

A final evaluation of its impact is still to be made—but already it is clear that it has effectively touched the lives of the boys and their families.

In testimony before a House subcommittee last May three mothers told in their own words how they had been helped. Said one:

> This program has taught us what we should do to keep our other children from becoming delinquent.

Said another:

> The program gave me confidence in my children and helped me to feel responsible enough to offer my assistance based on what I have learned from the Center to someone else.

Said a third:

> I thought I knew all about problems of children, but since it was required of me to attend these meetings I soon learned of my need for a better parent-child relationship.

All expressed the hope that such a program would continue. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 12120 represents a new hope for those mothers—and for tens of thousands of others—parents and children. It represents, too, wise investment in our future.

I strongly urge support for its immediate enactment.

USES OF GRANTS UNDER THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967

GRANTS AND CORRECTIONS

Grant funds would also make it possible for courts and correctional agencies to develop alternatives to the traditional practice of probation and parole. Much of the help that probationers and parolees need can come from community institutions—help from schools in gaining the education necessary for employment and help from employment services and vocational training facilities in finding jobs. If probation and parole officers are to mobilize varied community resources to deal more effectively with offenders, they must develop new work styles that reach out to community resources and relate them to the needs of their caseloads. The proposed legislation can make it possible for courts and correctional agencies to recruit and train both professional and nonprofessional workers to carry out these and other new roles in the community.

POLICE AND COURTS

Under this legislation, grants could be made to improve the pre-judicial dispositional handling process. The police and the courts are the two most important agencies that determine whether or not the official stamp of delinquency will be placed on those who come before them, and their actions determine very largely the disposition that follows upon that stamp.

Yet there are few formal guidelines available to the police and courts for the exercise of such discretionary powers. Frequently, those who make such decisions lack the expertise or resources to make them wisely. Discretion is often exercised haphazardly and episodically, without obligation to account and with little information about the juvenile or the availability of alternative dispositions.

The proposed legislation can help to remedy these problems by enabling police and courts to add staff and resources necessary for the development of systematic procedures for pre-judicial dispositions and for the greater use of community programs.

THE FAMILY

The family remains a social institution of undisputed importance in the prevention and control of delinquency. It is in the family that a child develops personality, his attitudes toward authority, and his moral code. Help for delinquents must include help for the family.

Because of the rapid pace of change and the complexities of today's world, many parents feel powerless to control their environment and therefore find it difficult to maintain their parental authority. Children whose parents' authority has broken down, often rebel against the authority of teachers, police, and other adults.

To help parents reestablish their authority role, this legislation will provide support for treatment approaches involving the whole family. This new type of family therapy can assist in restoring the authority role of the parent and in reducing antisocial behavior in the child. Removal of children from their homes can be reduced significantly if such family therapy is made available at the first signs of delinquent behavior in the children. The provisions of this legislation will also make possible expanded services for delinquents and their families in family outpatient clinics and daytime treatment centers and other alternatives to expansive residential institutions.

NEW CAREERS

One promising new approach is the training and employment of delinquent youth for new careers in human services—health, education, recreation, and even in the field of corrections. In California and New York, for example, delinquents and ex-offenders have been employed as probation and parole aides—and with a large measure of success.

Under the legislation State and local communities could develop or expand these new careers programs. The investment can have double payoff—it can reduce the costs of delinquency and youth unemployment—in terms of dollars as well as human resources, and it can, over time, make a substantial dent in the manpower problem which weighs so heavily on the overburdened State agencies.

PREVENTIVE SERVICES

Providing sufficiently specialized services while avoiding destructive labeling and stigma poses one of the central dilemmas in the field of delinquency prevention and treatment. The Crime Commission has outlined some ways of meeting it—by minimizing the separation in special classes of children who need special help in school and by returning them to regular routine as soon as possible; by involving whole groups of young people rather than just the troublemakers, and by deemphasizing adjudication as the primary method of dealing with difficult children. To achieve these goals we will need to have new and different kinds of community services for dealing with delinquents nonjudicially and close to where they live. Such agencies avoid the stigma of being processed by an official agency and labeled as an official delinquent. And the use of locally sponsored organizations can heighten community awareness of youth problems and of the need for expanded and improved resources for youth.

The legislation is designed to help communities establish these new kinds of resources—and to carry out one of the Crime Commission's major recommendations for youth—the establishment of a special youth agency in the community to which other agencies can refer and which families and youth can call upon. Such an agency would be expected to give priority to youth referred by police or courts, but would be a resource for youth with a variety of problems or needs, thus, it would not be set apart and stigmatized as a place for youth in trouble.

It could offer, either directly or through other agencies, a full range of services and opportunities diagnosis, counseling, employment and training, family life education, creative arts, and opportunities for youth to participate in a range of community activities. Members of its staff might be located in schools, recreation centers, and other agencies to keep track of youth having difficulties and to link them with appropriate resources.

A center might include a cadre of outreach workers to make sure that high-risk youth who are not known to any agency or who have fallen between the cracks in the services are linked up with needed community resources.

Under the provisions of the legislation, States, in partnership with local communities, could set up an interlocking network of such youth services agencies. Private agencies such as community centers and settlement houses could play a key role in developing these services.

States and communities which receive funds for the creation of such mechanisms will be encouraged to provide opportunities for youth and their parents to become involved in efforts to help them, for it is in the process of involvement that much desired change comes about. Experience has shown, for example, that youth can participate effectively in efforts to create shifts from delinquent to conventional behavior within a peer group; that they themselves can help to stimulate community changes through their work in neighborhood organization projects; and that they can benefit from serving as helpers.

TREATMENT FACILITIES

If there is a principal need facing probation and corrections, it is for a greater range of treatment facilities.

I am sure that most of us would agree on two major principles. The first is that traditional forms of incarceration in correctional institutions should be avoided insofar as possible. Not only is extended incarceration potentially damaging to individuals, but the cost of traditional correctional institutions is much greater than that associated with most alternatives to incarceration.

The second and related principle is that the alternatives must be broad and diversified enough to encompass the whole range of offenders, both as to type and degree of severity of delinquent behavior. The provisions of this legislation will make it possible for States and local agencies to develop alternatives to full incarceration. Among these are group-treatment programs operating in the community, but with the offender spending part of the day in a treatment center, where, for example, he participates in group sessions based upon the model of guided group interaction. The most important features of these programs is that the youth remain in the community where their problems have arisen. Thus, the artificiality of institutional life is avoided and concentration can be placed upon the issues with which every offender eventually has to deal.

Another way of increasing the range of alternatives available to sanctioning authorities is the development of different types of residential settings with great variations in the length of time persons spend in them. Grant funds could be used to pay up to 50 percent of the cost of developing newer types of residential facilities geared to the requirements of different types of delinquents.

Various programs already in operation can serve as models. The possibilities include family type group homes, peer group residences, work camps, and youth rehabilitation centers.

Each agency seeking support for the development of such rehabilitative facilities would be asked to link its programs closely to the community. Unless the schools, employers, and community institutions make provisions for offenders to try out new and legitimate roles, adjudicated youth will remain locked in a delinquent status over which they have no control. The programs we propose, therefore, will involve employers, school officials, and various other organizational representatives in aiding the reintegration of offenders into normal community life.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ask the chairman of the committee a question pertaining to section 103 on page 3, which reads:

> Grants under this part may be made only upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency—

And so forth. My question is whether or not under this language it could be interpreted that two or more counties might join in a group or association of counties, and qualify for grants-in-aid or would this section have to be amended to permit this?

Mr. PERKINS. In my judgment, an application from a multicounty group, a multicounty application, would be within the intent of the law.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, the reason I asked the gentleman the question is that I have four counties in my district that have joined together and formed an association in order to offer better accommodations for their juvenile offenders. I would not want these counties to be precluded from applying for grants under this section. The section now reads that grants may be made only upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency.

Mr. PERKINS. They would not be prohibited under this section. I believe any court in the country would so construe this section.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I believe the question is a very good question, and as far as I know we would encourage this kind of multicounty cooperation.

Mr. LATTA. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, my thought would be, and I might respectfully say I disagree with the gentleman from Illinois, that unless the statute spells out that combinations of local units may participate, as we did in the crime bill, that we might find the courts interpreting that there would need to be a local, individual group.

Mr. PERKINS. I am sure the gentleman realizes that we have only $25 million involved here, and I not only know it is the intent that multicounty applications be permitted but also it is our hope that such applications be encouraged.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, since we are in agreement that such an arrangement should be included, would there be any objection on the part of the chairman to an amendment to specifically permit such grants to multicounty or multimunicipal groups.

Mr. PERKINS. I would have no objection to an amendment of that type, and I would accept an amendment of that type.

Mr. LATTA. I thank the gentleman for yielding and agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. PERKINS. However, I do not feel that it is necessary.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman has just referred to the $25 million contained in this bill as "chicken feed."

Mr. PERKINS. I said the $25 million in this bill could be well expended on training alone, and can barely touch the surface. This expenditure is contemplated to serve as an incentive to the States so that they will be encouraged to approach this problem from the less expensive route of prevention and rehabilitation rather than the present extremely expensive route of incarceration.

The problem we are really trying to strike at is at the local level in the States where very little has been done in this connection.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] has consumed 11 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] such time as he may require.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, America's best hope for reducing crime is to reduce juvenile delinquency and youth crime. The urgency for a Federal program to help States and communities deal with juvenile delinquency is emphasized by the following facts:

In 1965 the majority of arrests for major crimes against property involved people under 25. A substantial percentage of arrests for major crimes against the person involved youngsters under 21. And, Mr. Chairman, our youth population is growing by leaps and bounds. Experts tell us that by 1970 more than half of our population will be under 25. This means that crime and delinquency will also grow by leaps and bounds unless we provide realistic measures to ease this situation.

I strongly urge support for the Juvenile Delinquency and Prevention and Control Act of 1967. This proposed legislation marks an important new step in the Nation's response to the challenge of juvenile delinquency. It represents a new hope because it holds the promise of curbing delinquency before many youth of the Nation turn into hard-core criminals to be locked up in institutions maintained at the expense of the taxpayers.

Let me tell you exactly why H.R. 12120 provides many answers to our juvenile delinquency control problems. First of all this is a broad-based, long-range program. It will give us an opportunity to reexamine our practices affecting youth—for we have already learned that there are no easy solutions to problems of delinquency.

Under this comprehensive national program we will seek to improve our agencies at all levels of government to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency. It will promote an active working partnership among all youth-serving agencies and institutions—both public and private.

The legislation will provide Federal assistance to community agencies in two major areas: First, to help youth to engage in meaningful roles in our society so that they do not become a burden on society; and second, to insure that youth already in trouble are successfully reintegrated into community life.

Mr. Chairman, the time is now for affirmative action.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, as the members of the committee know, under the leadership of the chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], we have delegated the various powers of the committee through the subcommittees.

The gentleman who has worked so hard and so diligently on our side of the aisle, the ranking member of the subcommittee handling this legislation, is the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK]. He is very familiar with the problems involved here and I yield the balance of the time on our side to be controlled by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK].

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CAHILL. I think the Committee would be interested, as I am, in some information from the gentleman in the well or from any other knowledgeable Member as to what has happened with the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 for which I understand $47 million was actually expended. It was a 5-year program and apparently it has been permitted to expire.

Now with that kind of money and with that length of time, I would think there would be some definite recommendations and some definite conclusions as to how we should spend some money to help the juveniles.

I wonder if the gentlemen in the well could inform me as to what has happened with that Commission?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I certainly could inform the gentleman, or endeavor to inform him, as to precisely what has happened because the bill we have is based on our experience under that program which I am frank to say, as the gentleman from Kentucky did, we are not overly proud.

I think what we gain there, I would say to the gentleman from New Jersey, was an awareness that demonstration projects are not going to work. Planning programs sometimes have far too much money expended on them. That is why we have taken the approach of a community action program as against demonstration projects and planning grants that were the main thrust of the original juvenile delinquency program. I did not support that program for precisely those reasons.

The changes that have been made in this bill for the most part, in my opinion, reflect what the committee has gained in the way of knowledge from the experience of that bill.

Some Members might disagree with me, but at least that is one reason why I support this proposal, and if the gentleman will allow me to proceed, I will tell him why I think this will be a better bill.

Mr. CAHILL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, which I have cosponsored.

Before discussing the merits of the legislation, however, I wish to assure the House that this bill has had ample and detailed consideration in the Education and Labor Committee. As the ranking minority member of the General Subcommittee on Education, which handled the bill, I was pleased by the independent job we did in reworking the original administration proposal. A great deal of credit is due the subcommittee chairman, our colleague ROMAN PUCINSKI, for taking this sort of approach to an important piece of legislation. The result is that the bill now before the House represents the best thinking of all our subcommittee members concerning the most effective way of helping States and communities to deal with the problem of juvenile crime.

This is not a bill sent over from the White House and passed along from our committee without change. Nor is this bill a continuation of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. It charts a new direction.

The 1961 act, which finally expired on June 30 of this year, was, in my opinion, a failure in most respects. Under its provisions, millions of dollars were more or less squandered on "community action" type projects and so-called research or demonstration projects with little tangible results. We were determined to avoid this type of operation in the new legislation. The emphasis of this legislation is therefore on action programs in the fields of prevention and rehabilitation which involve public and private agencies in a coordinated effort.

The bill makes no provision for planning funds, because we feel that too much has been spent on endless planning and too little on practical action, and because we were convinced that planning is a function that can be supported at the local level. The bill would severely limit funds for research projects to a maximum of $2 million, in keeping with this general philosophy. The bill, as explained in the committee report, contemplates that the Secretary will restrict research funds to the most promising proposals in fields in which research is most needed.

H.R. 12120 also departs from administration philosophy by expressly providing that these limited funds shall be used only to the extent that funds are not available from other sources. The subcommittee had no desire to replace public and private funds with Federal funds, or to continue to support activities once local funds have become available.

In short, the thrust of this legislation is to provide aid—to the extent only that it is required—to communities which are prepared to mobilize their resources in a coordinated approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency. The bill also requires that State and local public officials be fully informed of proposed grants and that their evaluation of all such proposals be submitted to the Secretary. This provision is necessary to assure reasonable coordination of efforts on the State level and to prevent conflicts with responsible local officials.

These are the legislative safeguards we have provided against a possible waste of Federal funds and against the sort of community strife and federally funded confusion which has come to characterize the so-called war on poverty.

In order to assure ourselves that these safeguards will work, we have authorized the program for only 1 year, with a new authorization required for funding beyond June 30, 1968. The $25 million authorized for this year is within the President's budget.

Crime is a serious national problem. It is a problem which is increasing many times faster than population growth, and one which has reached ugly and frightening dimensions in many communities. Most disturbing of all the statistics, at least to me, is the steady rise in juvenile offenses. These portend a wave of lawlessness beyond anything we have yet experienced, as this age group is an increasingly large segment of our total population.

Our experience with rehabilitation efforts, moreover, is not encouraging, because the best evidence that a youth will be brought before a juvenile court in the future is that he has been there in the past. With over 600,000 juveniles brought before a court for nontraffic offenses each year, we must find effective ways of reversing the pattern.

Quite aside from successful rehabilitation, however, we must begin to reverse the trend of ever mounting offenses by young people. Even with far more effective rehabilitative programs, an ounce of prevention is well worth a pound of cure. Although I, for one, believe that a part of the problem of crime is related to lax law enforcement mandated in recent years by the courts, themselves, I have not lost sight of the truth that the best law enforcement known is law observance.

This bill provides no panaceas. We are not touting it as the answer to juvenile crime. Those of us who have worked on it and sponsored it do feel, however, that if effective answers are to be found, they must be found at the community level. The purpose of the legislation, therefore, is to encourage communities to develop and coordinate public and private resources for solving these problems, and to relate these to the resources available on a statewide basis. We believe that every community should enlist its police, its courts, its schools, and its many social agencies and religious institutions in joint efforts to eliminate juvenile delinquency. We favor this legislation as a contribution toward that kind of development.

I urge enactment of H.R. 12120.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. COLLIER. Might I ask my friend from Ohio exactly what this language means. It states:

> The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967, to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to increase their capability to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency—

Et cetera, et cetera. Then it goes on to state:

> Following the hearings in which both public and private witnesses were uniform in their insistence that legislation should be enacted and with respect to the urgent need for Federal assistance to the States and local communities—

Up until the time these witnesses were called before the committee, how much record was there that these local agencies and the officials in the various communities charged with this responsibility indicated there was an "urgent need" for Federal assistance in these areas?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say to the gentleman we have been hearing that in increasing voice for the last 7 years which I have served on the committee.

Mr. COLLIER. I know of no local community in my district—maybe it is unique to the other 434—that in recent years has indicated that there was an urgent need on the part of the Federal Government to perform a responsibility that is basic in the communities in local law enforcement agencies. I am not questioning the program. I am merely trying to determine at what point there has been demand for urgent Federal assistance.

Did it develop in these areas prior to the time witnesses were summoned before the committee and so testified?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I would say that the urgent demand probably became evidenced about the same time the Congress also started hearing of the need for the safe streets bill and the general emphasis on crime. I suppose some of it came after the President's Special Report on the Problems of Crime and Delinquency.

Mr. COLLIER. That is my suspicion. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, we have heard substantial evidence, and, speaking for Ohio, I have heard from as many as 20 different communities in Ohio, and we have heard from some in Illinois, I am sure. I think undoubtedly there is a need for this bill.

I would say further, while we had general agreement on the bill, we had two basic areas—and we might as well be honest about it—where there was some difference of opinion. We had some difference of opinion. One was on the whole concept of block grants, which was discussed. It did not meet with what I would call hostility on the part of the subcommittee. There was merely a feeling that this was not a proper approach to the program. There was no feeling block grants would work adversely. The feeling was, because there was only $25 million allotted to the program to be divided up among the 50 States, that it would make an emphasis be placed on planning and administrative costs and bureaucracy—something we were trying to get away from—and probably make it less workable than more workable. That was not an ironclad decision but was one of the reasons it was rejected.

We also got some evidence there were some States without rehabilitative and preventive programs, and that the program would be frustrated in that the programs would have to be submitted. The Secretary, on the other hand, could go to those areas where there are rehabilitative and preventive programs developed and further the program under the bill, rather than use the block grant approach.

So I point this out to tell the Members of this body it was considered. There was no hostility to block grants. It was just the thinking of our committee that this would be better the way it is set up. I have generally supported them and have no strong objection to their inclusion in this bill.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much the comment of the gentleman about the consideration of the subcommittee of the block grant approach. I would like to ask whether there was any consideration also of an equitable distribution arrangement. The reason I ask the question is this: An overwhelming number of Members of this body in the first days of August, in the discussion of another bill, felt it important to provide a formula for equitable distribution. I think it was because of concern that we were placing too much discretion in the hands of a Federal official, and he might be inclined to support one part of the country over another, or give too much to one State. Was there any consideration given to assure a reasonably equitable distribution throughout our 50 States?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I would say to the gentleman from Minnesota that we gave this matter consideration, and the device we decided upon was to endeavor to tie down completely, as on pages 5 and 6, the consideration for determination of allocation of the funds and the uses to which the funds would be put. This was done on the theory that this would mean there would be only good projects, valid projects, and none of the makeshift projects. We went so far as to try to make sure under this program that no fly-by-night outfit could come in. The gentleman will notice in the last section on page 15, we wrote in the stipulation that in the case of private nonprofit agencies, the agency or institution had to be in existence for 2 years.

Through that approach we tried to make sure all money to be allocated under this program would have to go to high priority projects in which a great amount of community effort has been given. They will not be able, in my opinion, to just disburse these funds throughout the Nation.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further for a question on another subject?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Certainly, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I was pleased to hear the gentleman say the subcommittee did not simply take the administration bill.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It was totally rewritten.

Mr. MacGREGOR. I was pleased to hear that this was completely dug into, and it is a subcommittee bill.

However, I find myself troubled by the language on page 3, lines 24 and 25, which include the phrase "is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary," and on page 5, lines 5 and 6 by the phrase, "the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors," and by the phrase on page 8, lines 11 and 12, by the words, "or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary."

And on page 9, lines 5 and 6: "the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors in the State or community."

It seems to me, I say to the gentleman from Ohio, for whom I have the highest regard as a legislator and not as a rubberstamp for anyone, that the language of this bill in the places cited gives a great deal of discretionary authority to appointed officials of the executive branch of the Government without sufficient legislative guidelines.

I should like to have the gentleman's comment.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It was certainly our thinking, in the consideration of what we set out on page 5 and on the use of funds on page 6, that we set down as a matter of congressional intent those guidelines which will be the most relevant. I agree with the gentleman when he refers to "among other relevant factors."

Mr. MacGREGOR. What are the "other relevant factors," since various factors have been enumerated? I congratulate the committee on the specific enumerations on page 9, but what is the necessity for the "other relevant factors"? We do not know what they would be.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would assume that one of the other relevant factors would be the precise thing to which the gentleman referred. If the State of Minnesota had enough programs to justify spending the whole $25 million, I would assume that the Secretary would not grant all of this money to Minnesota, because one of the relevant factors would be that some of it should be spent in the other 49 States.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Then the gentleman is in favor of an equitable distribution formula.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If such can be pinned down, I would be.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. The gentleman says that the bill would authorize merely $25 million for 1968. What did the hearings disclose as to what was envisioned for the future years? I know that it is said, "We will talk about that in the future," but the hearings must have indicated what the administration has in mind in the future. Is the $25 million going to mushroom into a billion dollars?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say to the gentleman from Michigan that the 1-year authorization was a concession from the majority to the minority. I and other members insisted on the 1-year feature. We were not in any way impressed by the 1961 act and the work it accomplished.

We feel this is a necessary program. We feel that the Secretary, 1 year from now, should be able to come in and show that something tangible has been done. In other words, we are saying, "If you do not do a better job this year than in the last 7 years, that might be the end of the program."

I hope to be around next year. I hope the gentleman from Michigan will be. If the program is not an effective one, I would assume that they would get nothing next year.

That was why there was a concession from the majority to the minority, to make it a 1-year program. Quite frankly, they preferred to have a 2- or 3-year program.

We all agreed it would be better, particularly in the light of the lack of any real tangible results in the past 6 years, to compromise that. The feelings varied from my extreme criticism of the 1961 act to the less extreme criticism that would come from the other side.

One year from now we will see, if this bill becomes law, whether or not this program is working. I would assume at that time we could ourselves make an independent judgment.

As for the money, there has been nothing in the way of a tangible figure set out as to what would be the target for 1969 or 1970.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Would the gentleman agree with me that if the $25 million should become greatly enlarged in the future, if a year from now they should come in to show some progress and persuade the committee that instead of having $25 million they should have $500 million, or some such figure, at that time we ought to consider block grants to the States and an apportionment formula?

Mr. ASHBROOK. As I said to the gentleman from Michigan, one of the original reasons the concept of block grants was not seriously considered by either the majority or the minority of our committee was the fact that we were dealing only with $25 million.

I suppose what the gentleman says is correct. If it were a case of $500 million, I would have been more insistent on the concept of block grants.

One can argue, and I would not take issue with it, that there ought to be block grants on anything. To our thinking, $25 million was not such a great amount of Federal expenditure that we ought to tie it down as closely as we did on the safe streets bill.

If we had $500 million, I would probably be a strong proponent of a block-grant program.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I was a member of the subcommittee in 1961, as was the gentleman, when the original bill was passed. My memory is that we completely rewrote the legislation which the administration sent up.

We decided instead of spending the money for planning that it should be spent for demonstration projects. The trouble was that a gentleman by the name of Hackett was in charge of the program and proceeded to spend the money for planning even though that was not what the legislation provided. It got so bad that 2 years later I was one of those who objected when the appropriation was considered on the floor because I thought it was not being spent as required.

As I understand it, to this day they have never made a report on one of those demonstration projects, which was the purpose of the bill. I am impressed with the gentleman's statement here saying that it has been completely rewritten and we now will have some language in this bill which provides guidelines and provides assurances that it will be spent in ways that will not merely supplant some local funds and local effort. If it remains that way maybe we will get something out of this bill.

However, I am concerned with the idea now that there will be an amendment offered that will in effect let each State determine how they are going to spend this money. It seems to me this would gut the bill and we would be right back where we were originally? What assurances would we have that it would be spent under the guidelines which are set up in this legislation if this amendment is adopted?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say that the only assurance we would have, going back to the debate in early August, would be the assurance that a comprehensive program would have to be developed by the States before it is approved by the Secretary. It will possibly eliminate some of the funds concerned, because the Secretary will not necessarily have to give a grant if there was not a comprehensive program. That would certainly give us something.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Would we not be assured of a lot better working program under this rewritten bill than it would be with this amendment?

Mr. ASHBROOK. In my opinion, we would at this particular time. But, of course, we are subject to the will of the House. That is the reason why we rejected it originally. It was not because of hostility to the concept but because under this proposal it would not seem too workable.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. So much for the matter of block grants. I would say a second area where there may be some concern is on page 10, section 131, where it is particularly provided for an evaluation by the Governor rather than a veto. These are the only two areas, in my opinion, where we will have some question raised on our side. I would say on the whole I believe this is a very noteworthy approach to the problem and a very great stride has been taken in trying to deal with 600,000 juveniles who are brought to court each year for nontraffic offenses.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENNEY. I would like to ask one or two questions of the gentleman.

I raised four children and worked with Scouts and have been working with young people all my life. I am concerned about the fact that we are stepping into a field here appropriating $25 million and we are saying that we have some 600,000 juveniles that the parents cannot control. What is the role of the parent in seeing to it that the child of 10 to 17 obeys the laws, and how are we going to take a census and determine which ones are potential juvenile delinquents? This is what bothers me.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Well, I would say to the gentleman that there is nothing in this bill—and I have been a severe critic over the years—for psychological testing. There is no testing.

Mr. Chairman, our testimony clearly shows that there are 600,000 young people who need this type of assistance, whether it comes from State, community, or the Federal Government and that question is really not a matter of great concern to me.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, my question, though, is to this effect: If we authorize the expenditure of $25 million to start a program like this, are the parents of these 25,000 potential juveniles, likely to say that the problem has been taken out of their own hands and that the Federal Government is going to take this over?

It is my opinion that there is a definite responsibility on the part of a parent to see that a child obeys the law and it is my opinion that the mere enactment of this legislation will not relieve those parents of that responsibility.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I want to say to the distinguished gentleman that I do not think there is a great deal of concern with reference to the question of the parents becoming released from their respective responsibilities. I can well recall that when I was a boy there was in existence the juvenile court, but that fact did not relieve my parents of the responsibility of maintaining their guidance over me.

Mr. Chairman, the fact that through the adoption of this legislation we would have another program is not going to relieve the parents of their respective responsibility.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, does not the gentleman think that actually the real thrust in handling the problem of juvenile delinquency is to say that we should amend the child labor laws in order to permit a child to work until he attains his majority, in order to see that he is not out committing crimes toward which this bill is directed?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman raises questions with reference to the administration of justice. Our system of child labor laws are well established. I remember when the Senator from Connecticut, then Secretary of the Department of Education and Labor, appeared before our committee. I shall never forget one of the statements he made, in 1961 when I was a freshman Congressman. He said, among other things, that he did certain work when a boy which would now be outlawed by our labor laws but that in his opinion they did not have a detrimental effect on him. Perhaps this is a part of the problem. But I do not say that is especially to be considered in this bill. We are dealing here with a situation after the fact. One may discuss sociological and psychological factors which may apply to these 600,000 juveniles, but under the provisions of this bill, we are not trying to solve all of the social ills of the juveniles. If the parents and society as well as everyone else will recognize the problem, we will not need this legislation.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, by the taking of a census to see who is a potential juvenile, this is the effect.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. With reference to the question raised as to parents, one of the main purposes of this legislation is to strengthen our juvenile court system in the local communities. Many, many local communities have laws dealing with the delinquency of a youngster. Unfortunately, many communities do not have the facilities with which to enforce its laws. It is my opinion that this legislation will go a long way toward correcting this situation and in dealing with the parent as well as the youngster himself.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI].

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, on August 1, 1967, the General Subcommittee on Education reported unanimously the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, with amendments. In turn, on August 8, the full Committee on Education and Labor passed upon the bill favorably, with amendments, and by unanimous vote ordered it reported to the House.

Here, I would like to advise my colleagues that the committee hearings are available at the committee table, and also say that those who would be interested in sending copies of the hearings to interested parties in their districts, additional copies are available in the subcommittee office—extension 4368.

Mr. Chairman, I believe you will note from the cosponsors of H.R. 12120 that there is broad, nonpartisan support of this legislation in our committee—in fact, our ranking minority member, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK], seconded the motion to report the bill unanimously from our subcommittee.

I know that the demands upon the Congress and our Government to support worthwhile programs in a variety of fields is increasing, and the choices become even more difficult each day. But there are some measures made compelling by their very nature and others made crucial by the times. The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, I am convinced, meets both of these criteria.

The problem of juvenile delinquency continues to stir the conscience of America.

A recent and certainly most comprehensive report on juvenile delinquency—which has been submitted to the President by the Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, and which has also been transmitted to Members of the House of Representatives—gives us cause for alarming concern. In 1966, youths between 11 and 17, comprising 13 percent of the population, were convicted of 50 percent of all burglaries, larcenies and car thefts.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Fifty-five Members are present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 276]

Abbitt
Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Aspinall
Berry
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
de la Garza
Diggs
Feighan
Ford, William D.
Gibbons
Green, Pa.
Halpern
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Kee
Landrum
McDonald, Mich.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
Ottinger
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Roberts
Saylor
Sisk
Stephens
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Whalley
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Young

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having assumed the chair, Mr. BENNETT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H.R. 12120, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called, when 378 Members responded to their names, a quorum, and he submitted herewith the names of the absentees to be spread upon the Journal.

The Committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the quorum call, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] was speaking. He had consumed all but 8 minutes of his time. He has 8 minutes remaining, and the Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

At the time the point of order was made I was advising the House that in 1966 youths between the ages of 11 and 17, comprising only 13 percent of the population, were convicted of 50 percent of all the burglaries, larcenies, and car thefts in the United States.

Of all ages, from cradle to grave, our 15-year-olds are arrested most frequently, and the rate drops at every older year.

The Children's Bureau estimates that one in every nine youngsters in America will be referred to juvenile court in connection with a delinquent act before their 18th birthday.

This statistic becomes even more staggering when we reflect that one in every six boys in this Nation will be referred to juvenile court before he reaches his 18th birthday.

And, we must become even more alarmed about juvenile delinquency when we realize that there are more young people every year and that young people have always had a higher crime rate than adults. The size of the younger age group is increasing twice as fast as the older age group. By 1970, more than half of our population will be under 25 years of age.

A recent report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," indicates that the single, most disturbing aspect of the Nation's crime problem is the deep and growing involvement of young people in crime. The cost to the Nation of such crime is estimated to be $4 billion annually.

In 1960, approximately 440,000 children aged 10 to 17 were referred to the courts. In 1965, court referrals of this age group increased to 601,000 not including traffic violations. This is but one index of the increase in juvenile delinquency throughout the Nation, which has been well documented in the Commission's report, its subsequent "Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency," and other authoritative studies.

In his testimony before the subcommittee, the Attorney General said:

> While arrests of adults declined 1 percent in 1966, arrests of juveniles increased 9 percent. Youths between 11 and 17, comprising 13 percent of the population, were convicted of 50 percent of all burglaries, larcenies, and car thefts. Half of all crime against property was committed by minors.

It is my strong belief that America's best hope for stemming this rising tide of juvenile crime is to increase our investment in the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The riots in America's streets, to a great extent, are the result of our failing to understand what makes youths wayward at an early age. This bill provides funds to help local communities develop diagnostic, rehabilitative, and preventive services to help detect antisocial behavior and to meet the problem while these youngsters are still in their early years.

We cannot afford to wait until delinquent tendencies manifest themselves in serious criminal acts. The cost of juvenile delinquency to the Nation's economy is staggering. As I stated previously, it runs more than $4 billion a year, and the average cost per year of maintaining a youngster in a public training school or correctional institution is over $3,000. This is more than triple the per capita cost for a year at any one of our best schools.

And to the actual cost of arresting, adjudicating and rehabilitating juveniles, you must add the cost to the Nation in terms of wasted resources when young lives become deeply involved in crime. I fully concur with the Crime Commission's statement that:

> It is simply more critical that young people be kept from crime for they are the Nation's future and their conduct will affect society for a long time to come.

I believe that the following excerpt from the President's Crime Commission Report underlines and magnifies the reasons why we must concentrate every possible effort to break the crime cycle at the earliest possible age:

> Youth is responsible for a substantial and disproportionate part of the national crime problem. Arrest statistics can give us only a rough picture—probably somewhat exaggerated since it is likely that juveniles are more easily apprehended than adults. In addition, it may be that juveniles act in groups more often than adults when committing crimes, thus producing numbers of juvenile arrests out of proportion with numbers of crimes committed. But even with these qualifications, the figures are striking. FBI figures reveal that of all persons arrested in 1965 (not counting traffic offenders) about 30 percent were under 21 years of age, and about 20 percent were under 18 years of age. Arrest rates are highest for persons aged 15 through 17, next highest for those aged 18 through 20, dropping off quite directly with increases in age, as table 1 indicates.
>
> The picture looks even worse if attention is directed to certain relatively serious property crimes—burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. The 11- to 17-year-old age group, representing 13.2 percent of the population, was responsible for half of the arrests for these offenses in 1965 (table 2). Table 1 shows that the arrest rates for these offenses are much higher for the 15- to 17-year olds than for any other age group in the population. But not all of the acts included within these categroes are equally serious. Larceny includes thefts of less than $50, and most motor vehicle thefts are for the purpose of securing temporary transportation and do not involve permanent loss of the vehicle. Moreover, although juveniles account for more than their share of arrests for many serious crimes, these arrests are a small part of all juvenile arrests. Juveniles are most frequently arrested or referred to court for petty larceny, fighting, disorderly conduct, liquor-related offenses, and conduct not in violation of the criminal law such as curfew violations, truancy, incorrigibility, or running away from home.
>
> It is an older age group—beyond the jurisdiction of almost all juvenile courts—that has the highest arrest rate for crimes of violence. The 18- to 24-year-old group, which represents only 10.2 percent of the population, accounts for 26.4 percent of the arrests for willful homicide, 44.6 percent of the arrests for rape, 39.5 percent of the arrests for robbery, and 26.5 percent of the arrests for aggravated assault (table 2).

TABLE 1.—ARREST RATES FOR DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS, 1965

[Rates per 100,000 population]

Age groups	Arrest rates for all offenses (excluding traffic)	Arrest rates for willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault	Arrest rates for larceny, burglary, motor vehicle theft
11 to 14	3,064.4	71.0	1,292.3
15 to 17	8,050.0	222.8	2,467.0
18 to 20	7,539.6	299.8	1,452.0
21 to 24	6,547.2	296.6	833.7
25 to 29	5,366.9	233.6	506.7
30 to 34	5,085.8	177.5	354.4
35 to 39	4,987.4	132.5	260.4
40 to 44	4,675.3	94.0	185.4
45 to 49	4,102.0	65.3	131.9
50 and over	1,987.4	24.2	55.2
Overall rate	3,349.9	99.9	461.5

Source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports Section, unpublished data. Estimates for total U.S. population.

TABLE 2.—PERCENT OF ARRESTS ACCOUNTED FOR BY DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS, 1965

[Percent of total]

	Persons 11 to 17	Persons 18 to 24	Persons 25 and over
Population	13.2	10.2	53.5
Willful homicide	8.4	26.4	65.1
Forcible rape	19.8	44.6	35.6
Robbery	28.0	39.5	31.4
Aggravated assault	14.2	26.5	58.7
Burglary	47.7	29.0	19.7
Larceny (includes larceny under $50)	49.2	21.9	24.3
Motor vehicle theft	61.4	26.4	11.9
Willful homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault	18.3	31.7	49.3
Larceny, burglary, motor vehicle theft	50.5	24.7	21.2

Source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports Section, unpublished data. Estimates for total U.S. population.

Let me remind those who might doubt the need for an effective program to curb juvenile delinquency that a survey released earlier this year shows that eight out of every 10 adult criminals are back in prison within 3 years after they are released from prison. This astounding recidivist rate can only be curtailed by keeping a criminal out of crime when he is still young enough to be molded to a more productive future.

The task before us is formidable, but we are not without knowledge and experience.

We have learned from the many programs carried out under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. We have learned from both the successes and failures of the previous program.

We have learned, for example, that school failure is a reliable warning sign, regardless of income level or geography. The crime rate for dropouts in one large area of the city of Chicago, for example, was found to be about three times higher than that for high school graduates.

We have learned that for the large bulk of offenders, particularly the youthful ones, the first or minor offender, institutional commitments can cause more problems than they solve.

Institutions tend to isolate offenders from society, both physically and psychologically, cutting them off from schools, jobs, families, and other supportive influences and increasing the probability that the label of criminal will be indelibly impressed upon them.

It seems to me that the goal of reintegrating these young people into society is likely to be furthered much more readily by working with offenders in the community, dealing with the total problem, than by committing them to institutions. The main thrust of H.R. 12120 is to help States and local communities develop and operate comprehensive rehabilitative and preventive programs which will deter young people from crime and to help keep those already involved with the juvenile justice system from becoming second, third or fourth time repeaters.

I believe that the best way to support correctional activity is to strengthen the capacity of the community and its institutions to learn to recognize the warning signals and work with these youngsters in a coordinated effort, rather than to ignore them until they finally attract official attention.

At the same time, we must increase the capability of the correctional system to reintegrate offenders back into their communities, both during and on completion of the correctional process.

The experience of large-scale, community-based programs set in force by the 1961 act has already had a profound impact on youth and the institutions set up to serve them where such programs have been established.

One of the most successful of these programs is Chicago's Joint Youth Development Committee's corrections program. This program, with the cooperation of a local citizens advisory committee, provides step-by-step help to local troubled youths and families who have become involved in the corrections system.

The project works toward breaking the delinquency cycle. Through agreements worked out with the various correctional agencies, the committee has brought together a team of police probation officers, parole officers, and social workers at a community level for the first time, to deal with the program on a coordinated basis, and the results have proven the effectiveness of such a coordinated effort.

H.R. 12120 is designed to help such community-based efforts become established to carry out similar programs.

The legislation before us today I believe offers an opportunity for a giant step forward toward establishing similar programs throughout the United States—wherever they are needed.

Juvenile delinquency knows no boundaries.

Mr. Chairman, most of us believe that juvenile crime is more frequent in so-called low-cultural, poverty areas. But this is not true. The most staggering increase in juvenile crime, according to testimony before our committee, is occurring in middle and upper income suburbs of America, as well as in rural areas.

So I say to those of my colleagues who do not have poverty areas in their districts that this bill is designed to help all communities of America, because juvenile crime is on the increase in all communities of our Nation.

Mr. Chairman, in 1961 the House reported and the Congress later adopted legislation providing for programs for research and demonstration projects dealing with juvenile delinquency. This bill does not extend or amend that Act, which expired on June 30, 1967. That legislation is now behind us.

What the American people want, in my judgment, is an action program to fight and control juvenile crime, and this bill provides for such a program.

This is a brick and mortar bill, as well as one that will provide skilled personnel to help deal effectively with juvenile crime. The committee rejected suggestions for more planning and placed severe limitations on research. There are no demonstration programs or projects permitted in this bill. We believe that the local communities of America know what their problems are and how to deal with them effectively. What they need is financial help and this legislation provides such help.

Also, this legislation requires close cooperation between local communities and their State authorities, so that there will be no duplication of effort.

It permits upgrading of juvenile courts which, according to the President's Commission's report, emphasizes that:

> 1. The great hope originally held for the juvenile court has not been fulfilled.
>
> 2. Four out of every five juvenile courts have no psychiatrist or psychologist available, and one-third have no probation officer or case worker.
>
> 3. Almost three-quarters of the juvenile judges devote less than one quarter of their time to juvenile and family matters, and judicial hearings often turn out to be little more than attenuated interviews of 10 to 15 minutes duration.
>
> 4. Clinical services to diagnose and to assist in devising treatment plans are the exception, and even where they exist, the waiting lists are so long that their usefulness is more theoretical than real.

Some people have questioned our decision to eliminate planning from this bill. We eliminated planning because it is the opinion of the committee that there are ample other agencies and programs to do that job. We determined that funds which may be used for community plans, to include programs to prevent juvenile delinquency, are available from other programs. So in my judgment this committee has heard the testimony and rewritten this legislation to meet the immediate needs of the communities of America. I share the concern that was voiced here about the act that was passed in 1961.

I think a great deal of those programs were meaningless and did not accomplish their intended purpose. This is why, with the cooperation of the minority we decided that this bill was going to be a specific bill to provide direct help to the community.

Communities can utilize planning money from such programs as:

First. Department of Justice, title I of the Safe Streets Act, authorizes grants for anticrime planning.

Second. Office of Economic Opportunity, community action programs.

Third. Department of Labor, Neighborhood Youth Corps project, 1966 amendments to the MDTA provide authority to conduct training programs in State and local correctional institutions.

Fourth. Department of Housing and Urban Development, model cities program.

Neighborhood facilities grant program authorizes funds to plan multipurpose community centers which could be used to prevent delinquency; and the public housing program authorizes planning funds for overall projects to include some community centers which could be used to prevent crime.

Fifth. HEW, title III, ESEA, authorizes planning grants for supplemental services.

Furthermore, we believe that local communities should come up with their own resources for basic planning.

Even though we all agree that the need for such aid to local communities is monumental—in fact, one of our witnesses estimated that 75,000 beds will be needed in training schools in coming years, and it has also been estimated that $1.1 billion should be spent in the next 9 years for juvenile and adult detention facilities—this committee has stayed within the administration's budget request of $25 million for fiscal year 1968.

Also, I believe my colleagues will be interested in the tentative allocation of the $25 million for fiscal 1968 under the bill:

Juvenile delinquency prevention and control act of 1967—suggested allocation of funds for fiscal year 1968

Rehabilitation:	
Correctional	5.5
Construction	4.5
Preventive services	5.5
Training	4.5
Research	2.0
Technical assistance and information	2.0
Administration	1.0

Obviously, this very limited amount in 1968 will permit local communities to make only a modest and limited start toward fulfilling their needs.

However, Mr. Chairman, it is the hope of this committee that Congress will authorize and appropriate at least $75 million for fiscal 1969; $100 million for fiscal year 1970. We also hope that in 1970 Congress will extend this entire act to provide at least $150 million a year thereafter.

I say this to establish congressional intent so that local communities will know and be able to plan accordingly and to say that hopefully our Vietnam commitments will be behind us and that then this Government will be able to give local communities the massive help they need toward solving the crisis of juvenile crime in America.

Also, I might add, since the question has been raised that there is no doubt that the administration has every intention of requesting and fighting for the full amount—$25 million—authorized by this bill. I call my colleagues attention to two memorandums submitted to the subcommittee by the Bureau of the Budget in response to our inquiry on the subject:

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., July 19, 1967.

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Juvenile delinquency.

In response to your request for information concerning budgetary provision for juvenile delinquency, I call your attention to the paragraph on page 135 of the Budget which states that "Legislation will be proposed to provide for a youth development program to prevent juvenile delinquency and improve the effectiveness of community services provided for youth." An allowance for contingencies of $400 million was provided in the 1968 budget for "unforeseen contingencies and the possible costs of programs on which definite decisions have not yet been made." (Page 19 of the Budget).

This allowance included provision for the Administration recommendations on juvenile delinquency.

MARK W. ALGER,
Acting Chief, Health and Welfare Division.

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., July 28, 1967.

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Priority of juvenile delinquency program.

In response to your further inquiry concerning provision for this program in the 1968 budget, estimates have been included in the allowance for contingencies of up to $25 million for the first year costs of the juvenile delinquency program. This amount is consistent with the authorization sought in the bill. The reason for handling the estimate in this way was that decisions with respect to its details were not firmed up in time to be included in the budget in any other way.

I wish to assure you that the program is of high priority to the Administration and providing for it in this manner is not to be interpreted as indicating a lesser degree of commitment to the legislation than to those items included in detail in the budget.

MARK W. ALGER,
Acting Chief, Health and Welfare Division.

Mr. Chairman, I include the following fact sheet and section-by-section analysis of the bill:

FACT SHEET, THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION AND CONTROL ACT OF 1967 H.R. 12120

The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 would provide assistance to courts, law enforcement and correctional agencies for rehabilitative services for delinquent youths and to public and private non-profit agencies for preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent. It would also support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment and control of juvenile delinquency.

TITLE I

Part A—Rehabilitative services

Grants to any State, country, municipal, local or other public agency—

For the development and improvement of community rehabilitative services for delinquent youths and youths in danger of becoming delinquent;

For assisting law enforcement, courts and correctional agencies to make full use of such services;

For the development in communities of full- or part-time special purpose residential facilities.

The Federal share would be up to 75% for services and up to 50% for meeting the cost of construction.

Part B—Preventive services

Grants to any public or private non-profit agency to promote the use of community-based services and to assist States or communities to establish special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

The Federal share would be up to 75%.

Notification: All applications for project grants must be submitted to the Governor (or his designee) and the governing bodies of the political units principally affected and a reasonable time afforded such bodies to submit their evaluation of the applications to the Secretary.

TITLE II

Training

Grants or contracts for projects for the training of personnel employed or preparing for employment in the juvenile delinquency prevention and control field, in-service training and traineeships, including stipends.

Such grants or contracts may be made to any Federal, State, local or other public agency and any public or nonprofit school, college, university or institution. The Federal share could be up to 100%. The Secretary may require the recipient to contribute money, facilities, or services for carrying out the projects for which the grant or contract is made.

TITLE III

Research and technical assistance and evaluation

Research Projects: Grants to or contracts with public or private agencies or organizations for research into improved techniques and practices. Grants for research may not exceed 10% or $2,000,000, whichever is the lesser, of the annual appropriation.

Technical Assistance: Grants or contracts to cooperate with and render technical assistance to State, local or other public and private nonprofit agencies in matters relating to the prevention, treatment and control of juvenile delinquency; and planning for the provision of such services; and to provide short-term training and instruction of a technical nature.

Information Services: The Secretary is directed to collect, evaluate, publish and disseminate information and material relating to all matters regarding juvenile delinquency.

The Federal share for grants under Title III could be up to 100%.

TITLE IV

General

Appropriations: Authorizes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $25,000,000 and such sums as may be authorized by law for the next two fiscal years.

Definition of Private Agency: Under this Act a private agency is defined as one that has been in existence at least two years before the date of application for a grant.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Short title: The first section provides that the act may be cited as the "Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967."

Findings and purpose: Section 2 contains congressional findings that delinquency among youths constitutes a national problem which can be met by assisting and coordinating public and private agencies engaged in combating the problem and increasing the quantity of services available for preventing and combating juvenile delinquency as well as making such services more extensive. It states the purpose of the act as being to assist States and local communities to strengthen their juvenile justice systems and assist communities to provide diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitative services to youth who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent and to provide assistance in the training of personnel employed or preparing for employment in occupations involving the provision of services to such youth and to provide technical assistance and information services in the field of juvenile delinquency.

TITLE I—REHABILITATIVE AND PREVENTIVE SERVICES

Part A—Rehabilitative services

Statement of purpose: Section 101 provides that the purposes of part A are—

(1) To encourage the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative services for youths, both those who are delinquent and those who are in danger of becoming delinquent;

(2) To encourage the full use of rehabilitative services, by courts by correctional agencies, by law enforcement agencies, and by other agencies having responsibilities with respect to such youths; and

(3) To encourage development in communities of new designs and methods of care and treatment including the operation of either full-time or part-time, community-based, residential facilities where diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation services may be provided.

Authorization of grants: Section 102 authorizes the Secretary to make grants to public agencies to meet (not to exceed 75 percent) the cost of projects or programs for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating delinquent youths and youths in danger of becoming delinquent. Where the grant is to be used to pay a portion of the cost of construction of facilities the Federal share may not exceed 50 percent.

Applications: Section 103 provides that grants may be made upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency which application contains assurances that (1) the applying agency will make reasonable efforts to secure or provide any services which are necessary for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating youths which are not being provided in the community or inadequately provided; (2) that maximum use will be made in the program of other Federal, State, or local resources that might be available for the provision of services; and (3) in the event the funds are to be used for construction, that financing will be available for the non-Federal share of such construction and the continued operation of the facility after it is constructed. In addition, the application may contain such other information deemed necessary by the Secretary to carry out the purposes of the act including (1) description of all the services available in the State or community for delinquent youths or youths in danger of becoming delinquent; (2) information as to the method or methods of linking the agencies and organizations both public and private to provide these services; and (3) information showing that the project or program is not inconsistent with any project or plan that might have been developed under any other act which is applicable.

Considerations for allocations of funds: Section 104 provides that in allocating funds for grants under section 102, the Secretary must consider among other relevant factors in the State or community of the applicant (1) the relative cost and effectiveness of the program or project in carrying out the purposes of part A; (2) the rate of increase in the incidence of juvenile offenses; (3) rates for unemployed among young people; (4) the inadequacy of existing facilities and services for carrying out the purposes of this part; (5) the extent to which proposed projects involve new or innovative techniques; and (6) the extent of the coordination of local and State services and programs.

Uses of funds: Section 105 provides that funds provided an applicant under part A may be used for (1) securing or providing services for diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of delinquent youths or youths in danger of becoming delinquent but only to the extent and for the necessary time for the community to provide such services from other sources; (2) meeting the cost of construction of special purpose types of facilities necessary for carrying out the purposes of part A such as combination detention and diagnostic facilities, halfway houses for youths who, because of special behavioral problems, have a high risk potential of becoming delinquent or for youths who have been determined to be delinquent and are not yet ready for full return to society; small, special purpose, residential, community-based facilities for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youths and training schools for the rehabilitation and education of youths who are in custody. The section also requires that in developing plans for any of the facilities authorized, due consideration shall be given to excellence of architecture and design and to inclusion of works of art (not representing more than 1 percent of the cost of the project).

The section also makes provision for paying all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors and subcontractors on construction projects prevailing wages in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act (40 U.S.C. 276a–5). The section also specifies that the Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to such labor standards the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan No. 14 of 1950 and section 2 of the act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276e).

Part B—Preventive services

Statement of purpose: Section 111 provides that the purpose of part B of title I is to promote the use of community-based services for the prevention of delinquency of youths and to assist States or communities to etsablish special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

Authorization of grants: Section 112 authorizes the Secretary to make grants to any State, community, municipal, or other local public or private nonprofit agencies to meet up to 75 percent of the cost of projects or programs of special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

Applications: Section 113 provides for State or local public or private nonprofit agencies to make application for grants containing assurances (1) that such agency will make reasonable efforts to secure or provide any of the services which are necessary for the youth and which are not otherwise available in the community or where they may not be adequate in the community to meet the needs; (2) that maximum use be made under the project of other available State or local resources in providing youth services; (3) that the applicant will make special effort to assure that the services provided will be available for youths having serious behavioral problems; and (4) that the applicant will provide such other information as the Secretary determines to be necessary to carry out the act.

Considerations for allocation of funds: Section 114 provides that the Secretary in allocating funds shall consider in addition to other relevant factors (1) the relative cost and effectiveness of the project or program in carrying out the purpose of part B; (2) the rate of increase in the incidence of juvenile offenses; (3) rates for unemployment among young people; (4) the inadequacy of existing facilities and services for carrying out the purposes of this part; (5) the extent to which proposed projects involve new or innovative techniques; and (6) the extent of the coordination of local and State services and programs.

Use of funds: Section 115 provides that funds under this part may be used for meeting the cost of securing or providing special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent but only for the period necessary for the community to provide these services from other sources. Special preventive services may be provided by grantees directly or through grants to or contracts with public or private agencies or organizations.

Part C—Miscellaneous

Notification: Section 131 provides that the Secretary shall not approve an application for a grant under part A or part B until the Governor of the State or other designated officer of the State has been provided a copy of the application and has had a reasonable opportunity to prepare and submit to the Secretary his evaluation of the program or project. The section requires that the Governor's evaluation include comments on the relationship of the application to other applications then pending and to existing or proposed plans in the State for the development of new or additional programs for the diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent and preventive services for those in danger of becoming delinquent. The same procedure is required to enable evaluation by the governing bodies of the political units principally affected by the project.

Consultation: Section 132 requires the Secretary to consult with the heads of other Federal agencies concerned with juvenile crime and delinquency, including the Attorney General, in making grants under title I of the bill. In addition, where the project involves construction of facilities, consultation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is required.

TITLE II—TRAINING

Authorizations: Section 201 authorizes the Secretary to make grants or contracts for the training of personnel employed in or preparing for employment in the diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent. Such funds may be employed among other things for the development of courses of study and of interrelated curriculums in schools, colleges, and universities, the establishment of short-term institutes for training at such institutions, in-service training, and traineeships with such stipends and allowances for travel and subsistence as the Secretary deems to be necessary.

Recipients and conditions of grants and contracts: Section 202 provides that such grants may be made to and such contracts may be made with any Federal, State, or local public agency or any public or private, nonprofit college, school, university, or institution, or organization. To the extent the Secretary deems it appropriate, he shall require the recipient of any such grant or contract to contribute money, facilities, or services for carrying out the projects for which the grant or contract is made.

TITLE III—RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Research projects: Section 301 authorizes the Secretary to make grants to or contracts with public or private agencies and organizations for research into improved techniques and practices which the Secretary deems hold promise of making a substantial contribution toward the prevention of delinquency and the treatment of youth who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent or toward improvement of rehabilitative services for delinquent youth, including techniques and practices for the training of personnel. Not more than 10 percent of the funds appropriated for any fiscal year or $2 million, whichever is the lesser, may be used for this purpose.

Technical assistance: Section 302 authorizes the Secretary to render technical assistance to State, local, or other public or private nonprofit agencies and institutions in matters relating to the prevention of delinquency or treatment of delinquent youths or to rehabilitative services for such youths, including the planning for the provision of such services, and to provide short term training and instruction of a technical nature with respect to such matters. Such technical assistance may be rendered, either directly or through grants to or contracts with any public or private nonprofit agency.

Information services: Section 303 directs the Secretary to collect, evaluate, publish, and disseminate information and materials relating to research and programs and projects conducted under the act, and other matters relating to the prevention or treatment of delinquency and the provision of rehabilitative services for delinquent youths, for the benefit of the general public and for agencies, organizations, and personnel engaged in programs concerning youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent.

TITLE IV—GENERAL

Payment procedure: Section 401 provides that payments under any grant or pursuant to any contract may be made (after necessary adjustment on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments) in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement as determined by the Secretary and upon such conditions as are found to be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the grant or contract is made.

Appropriations: Section 402 authorizes, for the purposes of making grants under title I and grants or contracts under titles II and III, the sum of $25 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. The section further provides that for each of the next 2 fiscal years such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

Evaluation: Section 403 provides that up to 1 percent of any appropriation provided pursuant to section 402 shall be available for evaluating, by the Secretary, directly or through grants or contracts, the programs for which such appropriation is made.

Definitions: Section 404 defines the term "Secretary", "construction", "State", "private nonprofit agency", "rehabilitative services", and "preventive services".

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, on page 10, line 13, they say:

> The Secretary shall not approve an application for a grant under part A or B until a copy of the application has been submitted—
>
> (1) to the Governor of the State or an officer designated by him or by State law, and a reasonable opportunity has been afforded the Governor or such officer to prepare and submit to the Secretary his evaluation—

My question is: How long a time could the Governor hold this before he advises the Secretary of his evaluation?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The bill does not specify time, but if my memory serves me right in the Safe Streets Act, I believe we provide 30 days, and 30 days would certainly be in my judgment reasonable for this legislation, if I am correct in that assumption.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, it just boils down to the question of what is reasonable. I would think a period of time of a couple of weeks, or, in no instance longer than 30 days after the Governor receives it.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, I would like to ask one further question.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Suppose the Governor does not act within 2 weeks or 30 days. Would it then be incumbent on the Secretary to say that the Governor has not acted within a reasonable time, and hence is not making this allocation, or would he not have to make that kind of finding?

Mr. PERKINS. The Secretary could go ahead after a reasonable period of time, which I would consider 30 days, where the Governor, by acquiescence, fails to notify the Secretary.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The questions is: Would it be obligatory upon the Secretary to arrive at a decision that the Governor has had a reasonable period of time in which to evaluate, and if he fails so to evaluate then the Secretary says "Hence I am doing thus and so"?

Mr. PERKINS. If a reasonable time has expired, the Secretary has complied with the law.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. But does compliance with the law comtemplate——

Mr. PERKINS. When the Governor fails to approve or disapprove the applications for sufficient time that his silence implies acquiescence, then the Secretary can go ahead and approve or disapprove.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentleman has referred to the fact that under title I, the rehabilitative and preventive services, that grants can be made to public agencies?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. WAGGONNER. And that in the instance of preventive services, part B, grants can be made to public or private nonprofit agencies. Could the gentleman define a public agency for me, inasmuch as section 404 on definitions does not define exactly what a public agency is. Section 404 defines a "private nonprofit agency", but nowhere in this legislation is there a definition of a public agency.

Mr. PUCINSKI. My judgment would be that a public agency is so readily identifiable that we would not need a definition. But I certainly would be willing to accept any amendment if the Members feel we need some additional definition.

A public agency in my judgment is any agency of the government at any level that is elected by the people, or is appointed by an appropriate official who has been elected by the people.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Is the gentleman saying that it is the intent of the committee that a public agency be defined as an agency of a government, or political subdivision, and stop there?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would be inclined to believe that that definition would be sufficient.

Mr. PERKINS. A duly constituted governmental agency.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The point being made here is that by a public agency we mean a governmental agency, one that is managed either by a government official who is elected by the people, or one that is represented directly to the people as contrasted to a private agency, or a nonprofit agency.

Mr. WAGGONNER. All right. Let me see now if I understand what you construe the committee intends a public agency to be. It is my understanding that a public agency is intended to be an arm of an elected political body or political subdivision.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman states the case correctly.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Then may I ask one further question.

Under this definition, no agency or program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to which some refer as a public agency, through the community action programs would qualify for grants under any part of this bill; is that correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would think the gentleman's statement is partially correct. If in a community there is a community action agency which is a duly established public agency of the local government, established by the local government and responsible to the local government, and it performs the functions of the juvenile programs in that community, conceivably it could qualify. But I would think it would be very doubtful that the Secretary would be approving any programs for that sort of subdivision.

Mr. Chairman, I hope I have answered the gentleman's question.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I would like the gentleman to review his last statement. I think the gentleman has confused the issue somewhat because you have said in effect, after having said that a public agency had to be a creation of an elected public body——

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. WAGGONNER. And that it had to be a direct arm of a duly elected political body or political subdivision.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. WAGGONNER. You have said in effect that it was possible for community action programs to qualify as a public agency.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I said that it was possible. I would think it would be possible for a community action agency, if this agency had been created by the local government and is responsible to the local government and is an arm of the local government.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Does the gentleman know of a single instance wherein there is an OEO or a community action program that has been created by a duly elected political body or political subdivision at any level and to which the Office of Economic Opportunity, or more specifically, a community action program, is totally responsible to that political subdivision?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do not think I follow the gentleman's question.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Does the gentleman know of a single instance wherein a community action program has been created and made totally responsible to an elected political body or a political subdivision?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe I would be stating the case correctly when I say that in Chicago, the Chicago community on urban opportunity was created by an act of the City Council of the City of Chicago and is responsible to the city of Chicago.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Then would the community action program in the city of Chicago be eligible as a public agency for grants under the provisions of this legislation?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do not think it would because I do not think it meets the other criteria of this bill.

The gentleman's original question was, What is a public agency? I responded that in my judgment a public agency would be any body of government which has been established by the local government or any other government. But so far as this particular community action agency being eligible under this bill, I do not think it would qualify under some of the other provisions of this legislation.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I think the gentleman can see the futility of attempting to enact legislation like this when we give such broad authority and power to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to do business through the medium of grants with public agencies and a public agency is never defined. We are going to have to arrive at some conclusion about what a public agency is if we are going to establish any definite meaning here.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am sure the Committee will be very happy to entertain any suggestion that the gentleman has to offer to identify a public agency. The law is rather clear.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Let us go back all the way and start over, if the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. I am not sure I have the time. I just want to talk about the bill. Could the gentleman offer his amendment and perhaps we could talk at that time.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. I do not know whether I have to offer the amendment or not if I can get a clarification of this here. I have the same questions about private nonprofit agencies.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. All right. Let us try it again.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Let us start off at the beginning.

Is a public agency a political subdivision—period?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. That is correct. It is.

Mr. **GIAIMO**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. **GIAIMO**. The gentleman states that this bill is different from the original juvenile delinquency bill. It is my impression that, notwithstanding the fact that we have had an increase in juvenile delinquency, as we all concede, approximately $46 million has been spent under this program in the past 6 years. I wonder if the gentleman can tell me what we have gotten out of that legislation in the past, if anything?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. We have had testimony before our committee on some of the knowledge that has been gained from some of the projects. I think all of us on the committee have been reasonably critical of that legislation, and that is why we determined that this bill shall not, must not follow in those footsteps. That is why I said in my statement here that this bill specifically sets up programs, criteria, action programs.

You notice there are no demonstration projects in this bill. Research is limited to $2 million maximum. We feel that the local communities know what they need. You can talk to all the judges who testified before our committee. They know what they need. What they need is funds to do what they have been trying to do for many years to deal effectively with the problem of juvenile crime.

Mr. **GIAIMO**. Let me ask the gentleman one more question: Is this money going to go directly to the cities, to the elected officials, the heads of the cities or other subdivisions, or is it going to go in the way in which it has in the past, to some of the community action programs?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. No; it is not. I wish the gentleman who asked the question earlier were on the floor. Under section A and section B of the program, in the case of public agencies, the money goes to the responsible public agency, and they must match the funds 25 percent. I think one of the mistakes in previous legislation was that there was no matching provision. A great deal of money was spent on research projects. Here even a private agency, should it qualify—and we have put very severe limitations on them—for example, what is a nonprofit agency? But if it should qualify, it, too, must put up 25 percent of the cost of the project.

Mr. **GIAIMO**. Is the gentleman then stating categorically and clearly that the money will not go to community action programs?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. I cannot conceive of any circumstance in which it would go to a community action program.

Mr. **GIAIMO**. One additional question: In the case of a research plant, are they going to be handled in the manner in which the gentleman has just stated, or will they continue to go as in the past to private nonprofit organizations as under community action programs?

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. Research grants could go, within the limitations of the bill, to a private nonprofit organization. But we have defined what it is.

Paragraph (4) of section 404 provides:

> (4) The term "private nonprofit agency" means any accredited institution of higher education, and any other agency or institution which is owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or organizations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual—

We further state that—

> but only if such agency or institution was in existence at least two years before the date of an application under this Act.

As the gentleman from Ohio said, this is designed to prevent the creation of fly-by-night agencies that come in here to get huge sums of money for research.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK].

Mr. **ASHBROOK**. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KYL].

Mr. **KYL**. Mr. Chairman, when legislation similar to the present proposal passed in this House several years ago, I suggested it was doubtful whether it would be very helpful. I would hope that this new effort would be more helpful because at this time the most optimistic thing we could say is that we have tried. We have a long list of projects which have failed. Therefore, we have some direction hopefully for the future.

There are several things wrong with the way in which we approach this problem. The most important probably is that we seek to fight symptoms rather than causes of delinquency.

The thrust of this bill, as it has been explained to the House today, goes to judges and courts and subjects of this kind, which are, again, too late for the prevention of delinquency. The damage has been done by the time we reach the courts.

The second factor of neglect is that we have not directed our attention strictly enough, we have not concentrated enough on the study of families, and particularly of children in fatherless families. If we will check the records of any large city, the delinquency files of any large city, we will find an appalling number of youngsters who either never had a father or whose father is no longer with the family. This leads me to suggest that when we do finally come to the point where we do have a real answer and a suggestion of a solution, we shy away from it. In this District of Columbia, for instance, we know of one man who has never been married, who is the father of 13 children by 13 different women, none of whom has ever been married, and only one of those 13 children is not known to the court. This, I think, suggests a very real problem and a very prevalent problem.

What do we do to solve this kind of situation? Are we going to advocate sterilization, or legalization of abortions, or education toward birth control, or some other methods? We talk about juvenile delinquency as though it were a subject apart. It is a part of life, and we have to be concerned not only with those juveniles who have records and those who are close to having records. We have to be concerned with children yet unborn, because we can see and identify one of the real causes of situations which create delinquency.

Of course, we have to look to our own lives and the lives of our entire society, because we actually have as a nation sophisticated behavior standards out of existence. Discipline as a means of directing human behavior is out of the window, and in this we all share the blame.

We are not going to get anywhere in dealing with this problem of juvenile delinquency until we get people interested in it, and on a person-to-person basis. A great number of the Members of this House have introduced what they call a neighborhood help program, or something of this sort, which would assign an individual with a certain amount of training as a volunteer, without cost to anybody, in a person-to-person program, one adult to work with one child who is approaching the delinquent stage.

In our educational bills we have gone close to the subject of delinquency. I think if citizens in my district were to ask how they should use whatever money they can get under this delinquent action program, I would tell them to put it into elementary school guidance and counseling, because that is closer to the problem than things suggested by today's report.

We have not said much about the basic attitudes of the courts, and we have to change the attitudes of juvenile courts, because today there is no reasonable deterrence to delinquency. We could increase the police departments to 6,000 or 10,000 individuals and increase welfare departments by the same numbers, and we will not get any real answers until we change the attitudes. There is no deterrence. At the same time, as I said a minute ago, there is insufficient recognition or reward for exemplary behavior.

We do not talk very often about basic philosophy in a legislative body, because we cannot legislate human values and morals, and we cannot solve even the most basic, the most simple problems of juvenile delinquency and juvenile behavior until we indulge as individuals, clear across this country, in those necessary considerations. I hope and pray that the oversimplified Government programs dealing with delinquency will not divert attention from the genuinely necessary tasks of individuals, families, and communities.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MEEDS].

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Juvenile Delinquency and Control Act of 1967. I would like to point out that in the short period of experience I have had on this subcommittee, with the number of bills we have considered, I think we have received more bipartisan cooperation and support on this bill than any I have ever seen.

I believe this bodes well both for the Congress and for the Nation.

I should like also to point out, at the outset, I feel it would be a mistake to conclude that this bill is going to solve all our problems in the field of juvenile delinquency. The problem of juvenile delinquency is simply too big to be cured by a $25 million expenditure, or by a $250 million expenditure.

As previous gentlemen have pointed out, there are a lot of problems in this area which are not going to be cured by money at all.

When I speak of the problem being too big, I point out that in 1966, while the arrests for adults declined in this country by 1 percent, the arrests for juveniles increased by 9 percent. The overall ages, from cradle to the grave, show that those persons most frequently arrested are 15 years old.

However, Mr. Chairman, I do not believe it would be a mistake to conclude that this bill will be of significant help in its contribution to the material—that is, the $25 million—and also in the area of the fact that the Federal Government is at last concerning itself with this problem.

It is important to note that this is an action program, as the gentleman from Illinois pointed out. Almost every cent under this bill would be spent by the local communities in local programs involved in the juvenile delinquency field.

As others have pointed out, we spent $47 million researching, planning, and looking into the problem of juvenile delinquency.

I met with a group of people involved in this field in my area before enactment of this bill, and they did not need $47 million to tell me that what they needed was more probation officers, so that each juvenile probation officer would not have 150 people in his caseload. They did not need $47 million to tell me that what they needed was more diagnostic services and information, before judges made decisions as to what was to be done with juveniles. They did not need $47 million to tell me that they needed more halfway houses—that is, halfway up the ladder instead of halfway down—as preventive houses, where the young people could be broken up in group settings and kept away from bad influences of the home, in the community, and treated so that their return to the community would not be abrasive either to the community or to themselves.

Speaking of the $25 million and of the $47 million we have spent so far, I should like to address myself to the question of block grants momentarily. If we went the block-grant route, we could give $500,000 to each State in this Union, and we could say to the States, as we have on so many programs, "Take this money and come back with comprehensive plans as to how you are going to spend it." And they would spend every cent of it to draw up comprehensive plans.

Again I point out, we do not need to plan more for some of the actions needed right now at the local level. In this instance, I feel that turning this into a block grant would be a mistake, because we would merely be spending the money for planning which has already been done, to get answers upon which we already have information.

At this time I believe it is appropriate to ask if we can afford to spend $25 million on the problem of juvenile delinquency. I just did a breakdown on this. Taking what the experts say as the cost of juvenile delinquency in this country in 1966, at $4 billion, I should like to tell the Members that if by spending $25 million under this bill we should reduce juvenile delinquency by seven-tenths of 1 percent, we would save $28 million, or $3 million on our investment, which amounts to 12 percent. A good profit.

Mr. Chairman, the point, I think, is that we cannot afford not to spend this money.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK].

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, last month the House passed by a rather large majority the Law Enforcement and Criminal Assistance Ace of 1967. Of prime importance in this bill, which sought to aid law-enforcement officials in their war against crime, was the provision that was made through the Cahill amendment which provided for meaningful State participation by those States willing to establish and participate in a statewide comprehensive anticrime program. Today we are debating a measure that is designed to deal with another aspect of that program, juvenile delinquency.

As has been stressed throughout this afternoon and by the immediate preceding speaker, the problem of young people running afoul of the law is certainly a most serious and increasingly serious situation. Measures to assist those authorities charged with the responsibility of combating this problem, in my opinion, are certainly commendable. However, in reading the bill as reported to us today, I find that in many ways it is parallel to the so-called Safe Streets Act that we passed several weeks ago, that is, before we amended it on the floor of this House. While it seeks to aid local communities and courts and their agencies in their efforts to combat juvenile delinquency, the bill is totally lacking in its provision to promote any kind of meaningful State participation. I believe in connection with this bill State participation is every bit as essential as it is in other aspects of crime control. Therefore I have prepared an amendment which I believe maintains the intent and design of the bill before us but would also conform the language of this bill to the final product that we passed out of the House several weeks ago in respect to the so-called Safe Streets Act.

Mr. Chairman, recently the National Conference of Governors met in Chicago. It was in April of 1967. At that meeting there were representatives from practically every State in the United States. At that time they agreed upon a recommendation which I think it is most important be placed before the members of this committee. The conference recommended:

> The conference recommends that each State establish necessary machinery to coordinate the planning, leadership, and services of the State agencies which contribute to the prevention, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Responsibility for directing the coordinating machinery should be clearly vested in one official or agency which should have the authority to delegate assignments and responsibilities among the other officials and agencies involved. The State coordinating agency should establish close working relationships with other levels of government, with voluntary groups.

The amendment I intend to offer today has these following features: No. 1, a provision for approval by the Secretary of State plans for juvenile delinquency which shall include the designation of an agency within the State to promote and coordinate statewide efforts to combat juvenile delinquency and to make grants to the public and private agencies eligible for assistance under the act as presently written.

Second, where no such agency is designated or created by the State within 9 months of the enactment of this law or where the Secretary denies approval—and this is probably the most important single feature because it again affirms the fact that where the State is not equipped to do so, but where the State is willing to do so, the Secretary has wholly within his authority the discretion to approve or disapprove. Thus, discretion is given entirely to the Secretary to deny approval. There is a subsequent provision which, if adopted, would provide for a bypass by the local community whereby it could go directly to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare with an application, if the State program is not approved. In other words, under the proposed amendment grants may be made directly by the Secretary to the local units, but with the provision that such grants may not be more than 60 percent of the project or program cost.

Third, continued funding of the State agency would be contingent upon evidence submitted to the Secretary that the provisions of the act were being followed and the Federal funds were being distributed by the State agency in an efficient and economical manner.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Fourth, provision for an allocation formula identical to that of H.R. 5037 as amended which provides basically for 75 percent of the funds distributed on the basis of population and 25 percent at the discretion of the Secretary. It is further provided that 80 percent of moneys to be allocated under titles I and II would be for local public and private agencies.

Fifth, provision for judicial review of actions taken by the Secretary as well as appropriate administrative review for local units who believe they have a grievance with respect to allocation of funds.

In other words, contrary to the remarks of my distinguished friend who preceded me, 80 percent of the funds have to go to the local units of government and only a maximum of 20 percent of the funds could be utilized by the States. Eighty percent has to go to the local agencies.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield to the distinguished chairman of the full committee.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, permit me to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Illinois upon his forthright statement, even though I disagree with the amendment that the gentleman intends to offer.

However, I would like to ask the gentleman if he would be willing to agree to defer the effective date of his proposed amendment until 1970, or to some time in the future when we have funds contained within the framework of this program which would justify the gentleman's amendment or any amendment of this type?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, if I may respond, I would do so by pointing out the fact that under the so-called Safe Streets Act the administration bill, as I recall, relating to the action programs of that bill, there was something less than $10 million involved in that program. Yet we adopted an amendment which is very similar to this particular amendment.

Also, I wish to respond to the gentleman from Kentucky by saying here again that the Secretary has the sole discretion in determining whether any State agency is equipped to handle the funds provided for allocation under the provisions of this bill. In other words, there is a bypass provided under which the local government could apply directly to him.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield further to the chairman of the full committee.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I am sure the gentleman from Illinois listened to the eloquent statement which was delivered by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] and to his explanation as to why this amendment should not be adopted.

Now, if this amendment were adopted, it would appear to me—and I feel it is perfectly obvious based upon a reading of the language of the bill—that its adoption would thwart or throw aside the chief purposes of this act. In other words, we are trying to encourage and get projects started in the areas of the country where there has been no incentive to do something in this area.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has again expired.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. PERKINS. I think it would be a great mistake to restructure or redirect this entire program in that direction at this stage of the game.

Especially with this meager amount of funds involved here.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I appreciate the remarks of the chairman, although I respectfully disagree with his conclusions.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. First of all I want to commend the gentleman for the amendment which he intends to submit to the Committee, and I want to certainly indicate my support of that amendment.

But I would like to point out to the chairman that unless we adopt this amendment that is proposed by the gentleman in the well we may find ourselves in a very unique position, and that is we may be seeking to administer one facet of the overall crime problem in the United States with direct grants to local municipalities, and on the other hand if the Senate concurs in the amendment of the House we may be administering the overall crime bill under a different set of formulas, and under a different set of implementation programs.

Therefore it would seem to me that if we adopt the amendment of the gentleman to this bill we will then have both approaches on the same level. In the event the other body does not adopt the House amendments, or in the event it goes to conference and it is changed, to local implementation, certainly this bill could likewise be changed to conform. But at the present moment it seems to me that the gentleman is seeking to bring this legislation into perspective with the crime bill which the House has already passed.

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is exactly right.

Mr. CAHILL. If the gentleman will yield further?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield further.

Mr. CAHILL. Second, I would point out that, unless we adopt this amendment, we may find that we are going into some States who already have programs in being to combat juvenile delinquency, and therefore we may be placing local units of government in competition with the States, and we may even be finding that these local units are duplicating what the States are already doing.

So, Mr. Chairman, I believe the amendment of the gentleman is an excellent one, and I hope it will be adopted.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Scheuer].

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Ohio yield the gentleman from Illinois an additional 2 minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the Chair has already recognized the gentleman from Kentucky, and the gentleman from Kentucky has yielded to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Scheuer].

Mr. SCHEUER. I thank the chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHEUER. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, in reference to the colloquy that has been going on, I certainly join in commending my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, for his amendment here. I am sure it is a good amendment, and I wish the gentleman would accept the suggestion made by the chairman that we postpone the effective date until fiscal 1970. Most of the State legislatures have concluded their sessions, and there is not much chance of anything occurring in that direction within a reasonable time.

However, I would like to call the attention of the gentleman to page 580 of the printed record of the committee hearings on this matter, and call the attention of the gentleman to the recommendations of the National Governors' Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, which conference was held in Chicago on April 10 through 12.

The entire report of this conference is printed in the committee hearings, and begins on page 580, and goes over to page 581.

I would like to call the attention of the gentleman to the second paragraph on page 581, and this pertains to what we were talking about as to what we ought to do for the States, and I would point out that the Governors of the States, the chief executives, whom we presume are the best qualified in this respect, have not asked for this amendment but, on the contrary, they stated in their report—and I am now quoting from the top of page 581:

> So that states may help to strengthen local juvenile delinquency efforts, appropriate state agencies should be notified about local requests for grants in order to have an opportunity to review and comment on them. The review and comment procedure can provide valuable information to the state and be of assistance to the federal government in relating the grant request to the comprehensive state plan.

So it is rather odd to me that the gentleman is offering the amendment today, when the Governors themselves have not requested it.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHEUER. I yield to the gentleman very briefly.

Mr. RAILSBACK. This will be very brief. We talked with the office, I think it is called the Association of National Governors or the National Governors' Conference, this morning. The executive secretary was willing to send telegrams to the Governors to get their support. I would only suggest to the gentleman, if you want some indication of their support, I have no doubt but what we can get an indication of their support for this amendment.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is why I suggested to the gentleman that we postpone the effective date of this to 1970. No damage would be done. The fact of the matter is in the records before our committee that the statement made by the Governors does not request this kind of an amendment. We would be perfectly willing to go, but when I think and consider this $25 million prorated among the 50 States, we might just as well have no bill at all because it is not going to go very far when you give each State

$500,000. Besides, many States are totally unprepared to use these funds at this time.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHEUER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida very briefly.

Mr. CRAMER. Could I ask the author of the bill what assurance under the legislation as presently drafted can a State have of getting anything? We are in the same position with the anticrime bill. There is no allocation formula to any State under this bill. No State has any assurance of getting anything; is that not correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think if the gentleman will read the bill——

Mr. CRAMER. I have read the bill, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the gentleman will read the bill, he will find out that a State qualifies when it meets the requirements of this act.

Mr. CRAMER. But there is no allocation formula in the bill, is there?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct. The reason that there is no allocation was stated very eloquently by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK].

Mr. CRAMER. Can the gentleman tell me how much money would go under titles I, II, and III under the bill? There is no separation of the $25 million to the respective titles, is there?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, sir; we can give you that information if you wish.

Mr. CRAMER. Is it in the bill?

Mr. PUCINSKI. In the bill? You mean language in the bill?

Mr. CRAMER. It says there is $25 million for all three titles.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. And there is no allocation as between the titles.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I will be very happy to supply the information to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. I think the gentleman's amendment would solve some of these problems; so, therefore, I support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK].

Mr. PUCINSKI. But I do not think it would go very far.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time on the gentleman's side is under control of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS].

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, how much time remaining has the gentleman in the well, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER]?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] has consumed 5 minutes.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER].

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I have consumed already 5 fact-filled minutes so I will not bore you with the statistics—the appalling statistics dramatizing the situation we face today in serious juvenile crime.

Mr. Chairman, there is not a Member of this House who does not have problems of serious juvenile delinquency in his congressional district—whether he represents a low-income district, the classic central urban core with all its problems of slums and deprivation; or whether he represents a rural district; or whether he represents an affluent suburban district.

The statistics concerning his district that are so often mentioned in his local newspaper, along with the frequent expressions of concern by local parent, church, and school groups, all give dramatic emphasis to the horrifying aspects of the problems of serious juvenile crime—not only as of today—but in the awesome extrapolations and the projections of those appalling statistics in the next 5 to 10 years.

Mr. Chairman, the bill we have before us today is an economy measure.

First, because serious juvenile crime, left untreated, exacts an enormous economic toll from our society as the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MEEDS] indicated. We are paying a $4 billion price tag today for serious juvenile crime, largely uncontrolled and untreated.

Second, because the kind of treatment we are providing juvenile offenders is the most expensive kind of treatment that the mind of man can devise—full-time residential institutional incarceration—a revolving door system which takes juvenile offenders and produces hardened adult offenders. If we can identify and reach the prospective serious juvenile offenders when they are 10 or 12 years of age and give them community-based treatment, instead of waiting for 4 or 5 years until they become involved in armed robbery or homicide or rape when nothing is left except expensive full-time, long-term incarceration, we will save these young people for society at a fraction of the cost with which we are currently burdened.

Third, today we are not using the resources available in the local communities of America. We are not relating and integrating the resources of our parent groups, our schools, our churches and our police, in early identification and treatment of prospective, serious offenders.

This law would give us youth service centers where a priest, a rabbi, a school principal, or a police official could go, when they find a young person who is a prospective serious juvenile delinquent, to the end that all the resources of that local community could be harnessed to treat that young person who is headed for a life of criminal activity.

Provision of community-based services as an alternative to the self-defeating route of unconstitutional incarceration, will help us maximize and exploit the tremendous resources, leadership, talent, and concern which abound in our local communities.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I am very much in support of doing something about juvenile delinquency. However, I believe the approach of this legislation proposed has the same weaknesses as did the so-called safe streets bill as reported by the Judiciary Committee.

I am one who believes that if you are going to have a coordinated State program related to fighting crime, of which juvenile delinquency is a part, then the State should get together with the agencies involved within that State—meaning the municipalities, the juvenile officers, and the courts—and come up with a comprehensive State program that carries out the basic purpose. That should then be submitted to whatever the Federal agency is. And it is rather interesting that in this instance, dealing with crime fighting, dealing with juvenile delinquency, and dealing, according to page 2, lines 7 to 10—"to help States and local communities strengthen their juvenile justice systems, including courts, correctional systems, and police agencies"—that this is being turned over to a person who has no expertise in this field whatsoever—the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—and it should be under the guidance and supervision of State agencies that have some knowhow. Therefore, I believe that the Railsback amendment, as was the case with the Cahill amendment in the anticrime bill, is the answer to this problem.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am wholeheartedly in support of what the gentleman is trying to accomplish. I am in support of what the gentleman is trying to do in bringing State law into the matter. We in Illinois have a fine youth commission. I am sure they are qualified. I do not think the gentleman is quite correct in saying the Secretary will make all these decisions.

Mr. CRAMER. I read the section.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The request for these funds and the matching money, the 25 percent, comes from the local community, and I think that the local mayor and the local police chief and the local juvenile judge know a great deal more about what the problems are in that local community than some person in the State capital or the Federal Capital. I think the strongest government in America is the local government.

Mr. CRAMER. If the gentleman agrees with that, the gentleman will accept the Railsback amendment wholeheartedly, because the States and local communities will be working in cooperation to come up with a State plan.

I am amazed, I will say to the gentleman, that he does not support wholeheartedly the Railsback approach to this problem.

When I asked the opinion of the gentleman from Illinois, who introduced the bill, as I understand, whether or not any State could be assured that they were going to get any money out of this bill, we got the same answer that we got on the anti-crime bill and the safe streets bill: No assurance whatsoever. It is up to the Secretary of what? We are dealing with crime. It is up to the Secretary of what? Health, Education, and Welfare, not the Department of Justice. It is up to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine whether a given State or a community within that State is going to get any money. That just does not make any sense to me.

Here is someone who wants to fight juvenile delinquency, but on a State comprehensive plan basis, particularly when it is dealing with the court system. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare does not know a thing about the court system, and it is up to the State and State agencies who know what they are doing to come up with a comprehensive plan in order to accomplish this objective.

I would hope that the Railsback amendment would include—as did the Cahill amendment—an allocation formula to assure the States that if they conform to this proposal, they are going to get some money.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman in the well agree, too, that with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Gault case, in which it was held juveniles have the same constitutional rights as adults, we must have some correlation or we are going to find ourselves depriving juveniles of the very constitutional rights we seek to give them?

Mr. CRAMER. Yes. I will say to the gentleman the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare does not know—and is not supposed to know—anything about that decision, but the State comprehensive planning agency including the courts would know about it.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if the gentleman from Florida has taken into consideration one of the outstanding or chief objectives of this bill, which is dealing with youngsters who have never been branded, who have never been labeled as juvenile delinquents?

Under this section of the bill, we are trying to prevent youngsters from becoming juvenile delinquents. That is the reason that administration for this is in the Children's Bureau of HEW. We are trying to identify the youngsters who, if nothing is done, may become juvenile delinquents. The approach of the gentleman in the well would completely ignore this group.

Mr. CRAMER. No. I will say to the distinguished chairman, for whom I have the highest regard, that this is absolutely wrong. In almost every State a juvenile's identity is protected in the juvenile courts by the juvenile judges, and his rehabilitation, and so forth, is on an anonymous basis.

I will say further to the gentleman that the State planning agency provided for in the Railsback amendment would make sure that is the case. HEW does not know anything about these legal procedures. This does not belong solely under their jurisdiction. If it is for no other reason than that, I support the Railsback amendment.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, in this listing of 15 juvenile delinquency programs, compiled by the Legislative Reference Service, it shows five of them being operated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. If this whole program is now to be turned over to HEW it would be a disgrace, for in the last 6 years that Department had five programs going and in that time there has been an increase of some 600 percent in crime in this country, in which juvenile delinquents played a substantial part. What can we expect to get for this money?

Mr. CRAMER. I would say to the gentleman that I would hope we would get an effective program to fight juvenile delinquency, but I am thoroughly convinced if it is not done through a comprehensive statewide planning program, including the courts and juvenile agencies and rehabilitation agencies, through a statewide plan instead of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare dealing individually with individual local agencies, this program is not going to be met in the future any more than it has been met in the past.

I will say to the gentleman from Chicago, I think he is absolutely wrong in not wholeheartedly embracing—not in 1970, but now—the Railsback amendment and its immediate effect.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman be good enough to explain to the House how much money is any State going to receive in fiscal year 1968 under the formula the gentleman has spelled out on page 4?

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I will yield to the distinguished author of the amendment which I support, which makes it certain every State will get something. I get sick and tired of bringing bills before this House with blanket grants, with no allocation formula for the States, so that the State of Florida and the State of Missouri and the State of Ohio, no matter how hard they work on the problem, are subject to the discretion of the Secretary and do not have any guaranteed cooperation or money from the Federal Government if they come up with a workable program.

It just does not make sense.

Now I yield to the author of the amendment.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

If my mathematics are correct, under the formula in the amendment which we will offer, I believe every State would be entitled to $365,000, not for planning—but for action grants, 80 percent of which would have to go to local communities.

Mr. CRAMER. The local communities would be guaranteed a large proportion of the money.

Mr. RAILSBACK. In addition, the Secretary, in his sole discretion, would have the right to distribute 25 percent.

Mr. CRAMER. That is the same as the anticrime bill.

If the State of Florida, under the bill before us, should come up with a juvenile delinquency program, would it have any assurance that it would get 5 cents, unless the Secretary said so?

Mr. RAILSBACK. There is not any assurance that any State would get any funds, if it went to the local level.

Mr. CRAMER. That is correct. That is the weakness.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEVINE. Why is this under HEW instead of the Department of Justice? Why was the bill referred to the Committee on Education and Labor instead of the Committee on the Judiciary?

Mr. CRAMER. I have no idea why it was, but I will say that unless there is a State comprehensive plan, in my opinion HEW is not competent to handle the question raised of "local communities strengthening their juvenile justice systems, including courts, correctional systems, and police agencies."

Unless there is a State planning agency, including the courts and juvenile agencies that should be involved, HEW has no knowledge or expertise on the subject. I support the Railsback amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has again expired.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to express my unqualified belief that the measure before us, H.R. 12120, is a most urgently needed piece of legislation, and to urge my colleagues to give it their unanimous approval in recognition of the need for a strengthened Federal program for prevention of juvenile delinquency and for the rehabilitation of these youth offenders. I have cosponsored this legislation because of my deep conviction that the Congress must move swiftly and effectively to mount a meaningful counterattack against the social upheavals which have been wracking our country with such disturbing impact.

In recent years, the number of delinquency arrests have increased sharply in the United States. The report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice states that arrests of persons under 18 years of age jumped 52 percent for willful homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft between 1960 and 1965. When one compares this with the 20-percent increase for arrests of persons above 18, it is just cause for alarm. In 1960, 440,000 juveniles were referred to the courts. In 1965, 601,000 court referrals were made, not including traffic violators. If these somewhat cold and impersonal figures do not make an impression, let me add that the Children's Bureau reports that one out of every six male youths will be referred to juvenile court before the age of 18.

Fortunately, most of the young people who have engaged in delinquent acts, are able to make the transition to adulthood without serious damage to themselves or others and go on to lead useful and law-abiding lives. But figures show that one out of six, after excursions into crime in their youth, become perpetual violators of the law and spend the rest of their lives in and out of jail.

Traditionally, most of our efforts have been directed at corrective measures. However, much of the money we have spent for correctional programs seem ineffective. Recidivism among young people who have been institutionalized is 48 percent and large numbers of people placed on probation commit further offenses. Certainly, part of the problem is the lack of an adequate number of well-staffed, properly programed correctional schools. A recent survey of 13 States showed an existing need for 17,500 correctional school beds. In almost every State surveyed, present correctional schools for delinquent children are grossly overcrowded. This unfortunate overcrowding results in premature discharges, which is certainly a central factor in the righ rate of recidivism. The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 will help ameliorate this problem by encouraging the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative and correctional services for delinquent youth.

But we should not be content with symptomatic treatment—for the most promising and, therefore, the most important method of dealing with crime is by preventing it. Clearly, it is with young people that prevention is most critical, for they are the Nation's future, and their conduct will affect society for a long time to come. They are not set in their ways; they are still developing, still subject to the influence of the socializing institutions that structure their environment.

It must be clear to all that once a juvenile has been apprehended by the police and referred to the juvenile court, the community has a more difficult task. Subsequent rehabilitation services have far less potential for success than if they had been applied before the delinquent act. Therefore, the thrust of H.R. 12120 is to promote the use of community-based services for the prevention of delinquency and to assist States and communities to establish special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

This will encourage and provide incentives to the States and communities to make maximal employment of existing programs and services as well as provide services now lacking, especially those of major importance to the potentially less seriously delinquent juvenile. If the problems of these youth can be worked out in the community, rather than injecting them into the spiral of the criminal system, they are saved from the often hardening experience of incarceration and the stigma of a police record.

The bill we are considering today, Mr. Chairman, will authorize for the next fiscal year $25 million for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and for improved rehabilitative services. Of these funds, grants will be made available to States or local agencies for the development and improvement of community rehabilitative services for delinquent youths and those adjudged as potential delinquents; for assisting law enforcement, courts, and correctional agencies to make maximum use of these services; and for the development of special residential facilities within communities. Grants will also be available to public and nonprofit agencies to help in the important work of establishing special preventive services for young people in danger of becoming delinquents.

H.R. 12120 also authorizes grants or contracts for the training of individuals to work in the juvenile delinquency prevention and rehabilitation field; it provides for grants or contracts for research into improved techniques and practices, for technical assistance grants for States and local jurisdictions; and for dissemination of all information and data collected to insure the widest applicability of successful measures in the field of juvenile delinquency.

I urge the passage of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, because it focuses directly on the problems of prevention and rehabilitation. This legislation I view as but a beginning, albeit a vitally necessary beginning, of the urgent task confronting us in America in this decade.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN].

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I join in the general desire that something be done on the subject of juvenile delinquency. I would, however, like to ask a couple of questions of members of the committee.

If I can have the attention of the gentleman from Illinois, first, he stated that community action agencies would not qualify as public agencies. While there seems to be some doubt about this, I wonder if some of these agencies would not qualify as private nonprofit agencies under this bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the gentleman will yield, my statement was that such agencies could participate under part A but not part B of title I of the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Could they not qualify as private agencies under this bill in some instances? They are operated in many instances by church groups.

Mr. PUCINSKI. My answer is that it would be difficult for them to qualify. They would have to satisfy other criteria, including possibly the matching criteria. That would be my judgment. If somebody would like to challenge that, I would like to hear it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. May I ask a second question of the chairman of the committee? If I were the pastor of a Baptist church or the president of a Baptist college and felt concern about the possibility of young people in my community becoming juvenile delinquents, could I apply for a grant under this program to the Secretary for research, training, or to provide preventive services to these young people?

Mr. PERKINS. If the gentleman will yield, under the rehabilitative provisions of this bill, you could not apply. Only a public agency is eligible for grants under this part of the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Could I apply under any of the sections of this bill?

Mr. PERKINS. Under the amended section where the word "nonprofit" is defined. If you are covered by that, this would permit funds in the discretion of the Secretary to go to an organization like the "Big Brothers" to sponsor a community-wide project.

Mr. BUCHANAN. What about a church organization, aside from "Big Brothers"?

Mr. PERKINS. Church organizations would not qualify.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Would not qualify?

Mr. PERKINS. Would not.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is very reassuring from the chairman. I have kept silent all year, but the Constitution is not silent on this question. The prohibition of the First Amendment against legislation respecting an establishment of religion is quite clear. And, under the Office of Economic Opportunity, we are making many grants, either directly or indirectly, to church organizations, and are doing the same thing under the education legislation which has been proposed and which has been brought out of this committee. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to me if this committee would come forth with the suggestion to provide grants to churches for Sunday morning church worship on the basis that such services promote the general welfare of the Nation.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EILBERG].

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 with a deep sense of the need for urgency of such legislation, growing out of my long-term interest in this problem and the problems of mental health, which are so closely related to delinquency and antisocial behavior. Particularly in the urban areas are we looking for new and better ways to solve the many-faceted—but often interrelated—problems which are bringing tragedy into too many homes.

Certainly, juvenile delinquency is one of these problems. I am disturbed by the figures which show that, in 1960, approximately 440,000 children aged 10 to 17, were referred to the courts. By 1965, court referrals of this age group had increased to 601,000, not including traffic violations.

I am disturbed by the Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, which found that more young people today—in cities, in the suburbs, and in rural communities—are becoming involved in crimes more serious than our common definition of delinquency. According to the best evidence obtained by the committee, moreover, the proportion of people in these high crime age groups will continue to increase unless we find better answers, so that, by the end of the next decade, it could assume truly ominous dimensions.

I am disturbed by the testimony of the Attorney General, before the Pucinski subcommittee that:

> While the arrests of adults declined 1 percent in 1966, arrests of juveniles increased 9 percent. Youths between 11 and 17, comprising 13 percent of the population, were convicted of 50 percent of all burglaries, lar-

> cenies, and car thefts. Half of all crime against property was committed by minors. Of all ages from cradle to grave, our 15-year-olds are arrested more frequently, and the rate drops at every older year.

The easy conclusion, Mr. Chairman, is that we can blame the police, or the parent and smugly "pass by on the other side." Or we could wish that our laboratories could come up with an innoculation which, like the Salk vaccine, would wipe out the problem almost overnight. But the truth is that looking for easy and pat solutions, or blaming someone else, is not going to solve the very complex and hardly isolated causes which are putting these statistics on the books.

The bill before us today recognizes this fact. It places emphasis, very appropriately, I think, on the development of rehabilitative and preventive services, looking toward the dedication and ingenuity of the communities in this country to join together in looking for better ways to deal with problem youth in the community.

Part A of title I, for example, would authorize grants to public agencies for up to 75 percent—50 percent in the case of construction—of the costs of projects or programs for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent. It is designed to unite and supplement existing facilities by specifying that maximum use be made of other available resources. Evidence presented to the committee indicated that 80 percent of the country's juvenile courts operating in communities lack diagnostical, clinical, and treatment services. As a result, most judges are required to make their disposition without sufficient information. Funds are provided to strengthen these resources. Equally important, I believe, is the fact that the bill provides funds to assist in the construction of facilities to meet the serious shortage of space and inadequacies in existing detention facilities, as well as to construct such facilities as "half way houses" for youngsters who are between probation and formal commitment. Small, special purpose, residential, community-based facilities could also be constructed for young people who, because of special behavioral problems, have a high risk of becoming delinquent or have been determined to be delinquent and are not yet ready for full return to society. In the words of the committee report:

> These facilities should be designed to help the offender within the community where he must work out his future, and should help such youths to maintain to the maximum extent possible contact with the community and include the use of community resources such as local schools and other facilities, but still furnish continuing and professional supervision.

Part B of title I of the bill authorizes grants up to 75 percent of the cost to States and communities for developing new means and "more systematized machinery to utilize all appropriate resources and programs," for youths determined to be in danger of becoming delinquent. It is designed to promote the full cooperation of all agencies dealing with youth, at the community level, including police, schools, job training and placement agencies, and the development of means to guide young people engaged in antisocial behavior to facilities and programs where they can be helped. Finally—and perhaps most importantly—the bill recognizes the acute need for well-trained probation officers, social workers, psychologists, intake and institutional workers, juvenile court judges, and other supportive personnel by making provision for the training of such personnel.

Recognizing that all of the activities which are needed to help in this problem cannot be provided by a single blueprint, but must be developed on the basis of time and experience, the bill authorizes just $25 million as a starting figure. When we recognize the fact that the cost to the Nation of young people in crime has been estimated at $4 billion annually, this seems a very small amount. But, Mr. Speaker, it is a start. It is an effort to unite the States and communities of this country in a cooperative effort to help our young people, rather than just be content to criticise modern youth. I strongly endorse this measure, and hope it will be passed by this House expeditiously.

Mr. **PERKINS**. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MACHEN].

Mr. **MACHEN**. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, crime in general and the growth of juvenile crime in particular, have become objects of increasing concern in this country. It is not that lawbreakers are a new phenomenon, nor are juvenile offenders appearing for the first time. But if the generally sharp increase in all categories of crime is disturbing, the statistics on juvenile offenses are even more troubling.

The President's Crime Commission reports that one boy in six is referred to the juvenile court. According to the House Judiciary Committee's report on the recently passed Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act, one Crime Commission study indicates that about 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their lives. The time to change this statistic is now, before this generation of the Nation's youth live up to this grave prediction.

We are all familiar with the symptoms of a society in which crime and disrespect for the law are rampant. Nearly one-half the people polled in a Crime Commission study said that they stay off the streets at night because of their fear of crime. Over one-third of the respondents said that they are now afraid of strangers—again because of crime. And over one out of five Americans polled said they wanted to move to another neighborhood because of their fear of crime.

Now many people might think that the complexion of the respondents was white, suburban, and middle class. It was not. It is a sad fact that those who are most concerned with the problem of crime in their daily lives are those who are forced by circumstances to live in deteriorating, lower-class neighborhoods. They are the poor whites, Negroes, and other Americans who bear a great part of the burden of lawlessness. Crime is not a race-oriented issue, and it knows no limits by color.

But what is most shocking is the great proportion of crime committed by young people. According to the United States Children's Bureau and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the growth in the number of juvenile court cases has outpaced the already high increases in adult court cases.

From 1960–65 juvenile arrests rose over five times as fast as general arrests for the same period. Need I remind the distinguished Members of this body that according to the Report of the Committee on Education and Labor on this bill, although the category of youths between 11 and 17 years of age comprise only 13 percent of the national population, they were convicted of half the burglaries, larcenies and car thefts, in fact, half of all crime against property. We are told that 15-year-olds are arrested more frequently than any other age group. This is not a mere statistical aberration, it indicates the main thrust of the challenge.

Congress has not stood mute in the face of it either. In its wisdom, the Congress has seen fit to take a number of steps in response. The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961—Public Law 87–274—established a 3-year program under which grants and contracts were made available to the various levels of State and local government and to private nonprofit agencies for the purposes of controlling and preventing juvenile crime. A number of demonstration and training programs have been established under this law and subsequent extensions of it have strengthened and broadened its support.

Gentlemen, we now have the opportunity to make a substantial gain for juvenile decency based upon the experiences of the 200-plus demonstration and training programs than have been carried out. H.R. 12120 is the logical next step. This bill is designed to foster an improvement in the rehabilitation and prevention services for delinquents and for those who seem likely candidates for crime.

Title I, part A, "Rehabilitative services", will encourage the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative services for either delinquent or potentially delinquent, will encourage the full use of these services by courts, correctional agencies and other responsible groups, and will encourage the development of new designs and methods of care and treatment. In part B of the same title, preventative services will be handled in a similar manner. A total of $25 million will be authorized by this legislation.

The Federal share of funding will be a maximum of 75 percent for the improvement of these services, and grants will be given on a relative cost and effectiveness basis for the recipient projects and programs. Certainly the statistics on juvenile crime would indicate that this is a wise investment.

To those who would be inclined to ask, "is it worth it?" I would ask: What of the cost in dollars, lives and damaged property if youth offenses go unchecked?

What of the cost to the Nation if increasing numbers of its future citizens become, instead, inhabitants of our jails?

Juvenile crime is particularly disturbing because of the age of the offenders, and because it is a shock to our sensibilities. We like to hope that each generation will be a little better than the last. We hope that superior educational opportunities, experience, increased economic security and improved counseling and child psychology will all contribute toward a solution to the problem. But it will not be solved by wishful thinking alone. If we recognize the seriousness of the threat, and the dangers which would result from inaction, then we must see the opportunity offered by this bill.

It has received a favorable report from the committee which considered it. It has the backing of the Departments of Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare. While this legislation will not by any means cure the problem of crime among minors, it is a large, firm step in that direction. Certainly the prevention of crime and the creation of criminals is preferable to the increased human and monetary costs of more enforcement. I intend to support passage of this legislation, as I hope will most of you. For the sake of the country we leave to the next generation we cannot do any less.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN].

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I can offer you no better reason for the passage of the bill before us today, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, than the experience of Mobilization for Youth, one of the programs established under the pilot legislation passed by Congress in 1961. The bill we are currently considering builds on the foundation which the 1961 measure has provided.

Mobilization for Youth on the Lower East Side of New York has been a leader in the field of comprehensive, community-based delinquency programs. I make no claim that Mobilization for Youth has had an existence free of troubles and problems. It has suffered through a multitude of growing pains, while it learned the lessons applicable to the young people it served. But it has, in my view and in the view of most New Yorkers, shown a capacity for directing young people into productive, law-abiding channels. Its experience has proven that the programs for which this legislation provides can be successful in curbing juvenile delinquency.

Let me dwell for a moment on the teenage service center currently being run by Mobilization for Youth. It is here that many teenagers go when they have problems, when they are in trouble or are tempted by trouble. What do they find? They find other teenagers, with similar experiences and similar temptations. With the assistance of a professional staff, these young people talk out their needs, in an atmosphere of sympathetic concern. This atmosphere encourages young people with a range of problems that runs from unemployment to drug addiction to drop in for help. The program is called the young adult action group, one of Mobilization for Youth's most successful. It shows what young people who organize and staff the operation themselves can do by themselves and for one another. I cannot tell you how many teenagers have been kept out of trouble by this program but I am sure that the number is significant and that the program has amply proven its worth to our society.

We do, however, have some statistics on youth crime in the jurisdiction of Mobilization for Youth. These statistics are extremely promising. They show that youth crime in this neighborhood has decreased by some 10 percent, while increasing by 9 percent throughout the rest of New York. Mobilization for Youth, in its brief history, has become an important social institution on the Lower East Side. Nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of its continuing to serve the young people who need it.

I could cite other successful programs in New York City. The United Community Center in Brooklyn has compiled a remarkable record in a few brief years. The Office of Juvenile Delinquency currently funds some 60 demonstration projects of the kind I have described in almost every State in the Union. Through these projects, thousands of youths have, for the first time, had the opportunity to develop their potential as individuals and as members of society. This legislation gives them the opportunity to continue in the pursuit of decent goals, and for many more to benefit from their experience.

I dwell on only one part of this legislation, however, Mr. Chairman. This legislation will also enable law-enforcement agencies, courts, and correctional institutions to improve the services they can render to delinquents, services which hopefully will deter them from an adulthood of crime. I am convinced that the 5-year history of this legislation has shown that we in Congress can do something important to get delinquent youth, or youth living in an atmosphere conducive to delinquency, to lead decent lives. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I am a cosponsor of H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, which I believe to be one of the major programs of the 90th Congress. This legislation is an "immediate action" program which recognizes the dangers of the continuing rise in lawlessness and the need for Federal assistance to permit local communities to move rapidly into situations which lead to crime.

The need for action of this type has been clearly stated by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in this manner:

> The most disturbing single aspect of the Nation's crime problem is the deep and growing involvement of young people in crime . . . America's best hope for reducing crime is to reduce juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

An indication of the seriousness of the problem can be seen from these statistics:

The cost of juvenile delinquency to its victims has been estimated at $4 billion annually.

Of all ages, from cradle to grave, 15-year-olds are arrested most frequently.

Half of all crimes against property are committed by minors.

Between 1960 and 1965, arrests of persons under 18 years of age jumped 52 percent for willful homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Arrests of minors increased 9 percent in 1966.

Youths between 11 and 17, comprising 13 percent of the population, were convicted of 50 percent of all burglaries, larcenies, and car thefts.

This legislation is unique in that it extends assistance to communities to recognize children who are in danger of becoming delinquent. Educators and social workers have cited ample evidence that young people can be "rescued" from a path of lawlessness if a helping hand is extended at the right moment. School personnel, police officers, and the families of these young people who detect "antisocial" behavior can help them by requesting assistance. This legislation will permit local communities to map a coordinated program of delinquency prevention.

Grant funds issued under the legislation may be used by the communities to place guidance counselors, social workers or psychologists in the local police departments or probation officers. The funds may be used for activity programs to be conducted by the schools or recreation departments. Community groups such as Boy Scouts and Big Brothers, to name just a few, are eligible to share in Federal funds for their highly successful character-building programs.

It is interesting to note that Secretary Gardner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which will administer this program, has cited the results of one in-depth study as evidence of the need for a preventive program. This study, conducted by Harvard University, found:

> The mere referral of a youngster to a juvenile court or probation department can stigmatize him for many years.

By encouraging community action to redirect the energies of young people from a course of antisocial behavior to one of meaningful conduct will be a major accomplishment. This legislation offers the assistance of the Federal Government to these efforts.

Grants to local communities for the rehabilitation of young people who have come into conflict with the law is an equally important aspect of this legislation.

As the juvenile courts represent the hopes of both the communities and the young people to understand and correct behavior which has led to crime, it is important to review another finding of the President's Crime Commission. It is:

> The great hope originally held for the juvenile court has not been fulfilled. Four out of every five juvenile courts have no psychiatrist or psychologist available, and one-third have no probation officer or case worker.

Moreover, the evidence disclosed that among the 400,000 youths ordered by the juvenile court to be institutionalized, there were 100,000 last year who were imprisoned with hardened criminals.

Grants to assist local communities to secure the trained personnel to work with the juvenile courts would be one of the first improvements expected from this legislation.

Persons associated with the rehabilitation of juveniles believe that incarceration alone cannot start the individual along the path of respect for the law. They believe that interviews and counseling are equally important.

To prevent repeated lawlessness by youngsters, Secretary Gardner believes that—

> Excellent results have been obtained in reducing court referrals where a community team is set up to assist the police in securing needed help from community agencies in working with troubled youth. In one case, where students had become unmanageable in the classroom, a special program involving tutoring, employment in community service projects and parental group counseling was conducted and enabled almost all the participants to return to school within six months.

Another successful project which is available to communities involves the rescue of underachievers, delinquents and even dropouts by employing them as instructors for younger children.

These and other experiences have shown that many delinquents can be worked with in the community without danger to society and that the behavior of a large number of delinquent youths can be changed without having to subject either them or the State to the costly and negative consequences of confinement.

That the cost of detention is a consideration can be seen from the $144 million spent by States and local communities to confine 48,500 teenagers in 1965, and an additional $75 million spent to supervise 224,000 youths on probation during that year.

This legislation provides for some construction of detention homes, but it also will extend Federal aid to communities for the construction of diagnostic facilities and "halfway" houses, all designed to ease the youthful returnee to a rightful place in society.

Mr. Chairman, I enthusiastically support H.R. 12120, and urge my colleagues to give it favorable consideration

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency and youth crime have long perplexed society. While a certain amount of deviancy from socially acceptable behavior has always been typical of youth in any time, on any soil, the current high incidence and rapidly increasing rate of youth crime calls for strong action to eliminate its causes and limit its growth.

The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 provides support for efforts to deal with these serious problems. Specifically, it will offer incentives to community institutions ordinarily concerned with youth to give special attention to problems as they are forming, before they develop into matters of police or court concern. This could help schools, for example, devote extra time and attention to young people who are experiencing difficulties in getting along in school or who are heading in the direction of the school failure which often precedes delinquent behavior. The most common recourse schools now have for troublesome students is suspension or expulsion—which helps the school keep order but does little to prevent delinquent behavior in society. Many schools have not had funds for such activity in the past; under this program, money could be used for the purpose of helping such youth adjust to and succeed in school.

The legislation will enable police, courts, and correctional authorities to cooperate with other community services to assure that youth in actual or potential trouble receive the attention they need. Most such agencies, agencies that cannot pass on a delinquent youth for someone else to handle, are seriously hampered both by lack of resources to give youth services and the reluctance of community services to accept known troublemakers. They are hindered in doing the best job because of lack of the most modern and effective facilities for helping youth to return to society as law-abiding, productive citizens. The legislation would support police, court and correctional systems' efforts to give better facilities for delinquent and predelinquent youth.

These two provisions should help relieve drawbacks under which schools and police, training programs and courts, social service agencies and correctional institutions labor in their attempts to serve youth.

The bill would also support continued research into the causes of delinquency and the different forms it takes. We have learned how complex the reasons are that lead youth into destructive activity—whether it be self-destruction through dangerous drugs or threats to the sanctity of life and property. That complexity still needs unraveling. This legislation would support a continued search for new methods.

I believe that this legislation deserves our full support, in the interest of ridding this society of the hazards of youth crime and of building better opportunities for the youth who now engage in harmful activity.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, as a cosponsor of H.R. 12120, I am proud to rise in support of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 and I would like to commend the very able gentleman from Illinois, my good friend, Chairman PUCINSKI, of the General Subcommittee on Education.

Mr. Chairman, the problem of juvenile delinquency is not a sectional or a regional problem. Neither is it one which is symptomatic of one racial or economic group. As one who came to this House directly from the bench of the State of New Jersey and as a member of the bar of that State I know full well the need for action to halt the ever-increasing incidence of criminal activity among our young people.

Very briefly, Mr. Chairman, this bill provides under title I both rehabilitative and preventive services. Grants are provided to local governments for the development and improvement of community rehabilitative services for delinquent youths and those who have exhibited those symptoms which indicate a pattern of delinquency. In addition, under this title grants are to be made to law-enforcement agencies, courts, correctional agencies. These grants, which would provide Federal financing of up to 75 percent for service and up to 50 percent for construction could also be utilized under this title for the development of full or part-time residential facilities in our communities.

Under title II, grants of up to 100 percent would be provided for special training for personnel to deal with the problems of juvenile delinquency.

Title III of this bill would permit grants of up to 100 percent for research projects, technical assistance, and information services.

This bill deals with a demonstrated need. For example, if I may offer some statistics from my own State of New Jersey, in 1965, the last year for which reasonably complete figures are available, the children's bureau reports that 13 juvenile courts responding to their inquiry handled 18,220 cases judicially and 1,079 cases nonjudicially. It is clear from these partial figures that juvenile delinquency in New Jersey, as in all the 50 States, is a serious problem. As I said a moment ago, it is a national problem and one which demands a national solution. I think this bill demonstrates the desire of Congress to assist our agencies of local government without in any way preempting the field. This is the kind of bill which indicates how the Federal Government can work hand in hand with local government toward the solution of a problem which is both local and national in its scope.

Mr. Chairman, I urge all my colleagues to join with me in support of this vitally needed piece of legislation. I commend Chairman PUCINSKI and the distinguished members of the General Education Subcommittee. They deserve the thanks of every American father and mother.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope the House will swiftly and overwhelmingly appprove this bill before us, H.R. 12120, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967.

The recent report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice indicates that the single, most disturbing aspect of our national crime problem is the unfortunately increasing involvement of young people in crime. The cost to the country, of such crime, is authoritatively estimated to be some $4 billion annually. This is a critical situation that continues to require and demand the best efforts of the Congress and the country for adequate solution.

This further measure to control juvenile delinquency, presented to us this afternoon, very wisely seeks to enable States and communities to profitably utilize the experiences and lessons derived from the successes and deficiencies in more than 200 demonstration and training programs carried out under the provisions of previous legislation.

This current bill is fundamentally designed to encourage the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative and prevention services for delinquent youth and those in danger of becoming delinquent and to stimulate communities in the development of new methods of care and treatment for such youth.

In a commendably realistic approach, the esteemed chairman and distinguished members of the House Education and Labor Committee recommend, in this measure, that concentrated resources and energies should be mainly directed toward strengthening the existing courts, agencies, and institutions within our juvenile justice system; providing urgently needed training programs for personnel attached to, and associated with, these courts, agencies, and institutions; and initiating some limited practical research action to improve the techniques and practices of assembling, evaluating, and distributing, to the appropriate units and officials in our various States and communities, pertinent advice and information on the control and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Mr. Chairman, in deep concern for the serious financial adjustments facing the country, the limited authorization of $25 million for 1 year, contained in this bill must, I think, under any yardstick, be deemed frugal, indeed, and, in the light of the objective, an unquestionably wise investment that would be nationally dangerous to delay.

This country is unfortunately plagued today, by many critical and complex problems, solutions to which seem to remain tragically unclear. However, Mr. Speaker, there is one thing of which we may be certain. The youth of this Nation is our greatest asset for the future. This measure represents a sound step forward in furtherance of our obligation to help today's troubled youth to be numbered among tomorrow's stable, responsible citizens. Therefore, I again urge my colleagues to resoundingly approve this bill in the great national interest.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967".

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress finds that delinquency among youths constitutes a national problem which can be met by assisting and coordinating the efforts of public and private agencies engaged in combating the problem and increasing the number and extent of the services available for preventing and combating juvenile delinquency. It is, therefore, the purpose of this Act to help States and local communities strengthen their juvenile justice systems, including courts, correctional systems, and police agencies which deal with juveniles and to assist communities in providing diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitative services to youths who are delinquent or in danger of being delinquent, to provide assistance in the training of personnel employed or preparing for employment in occupations involving the provision of such services, and to provide technical assistance and information services in the field of juvenile delinquency.

TITLE I—REHABILITATIVE AND PREVENTIVE SERVICES

PART A—REHABILITATIVE SERVICES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 101. The purposes of this part are—

(1) to encourage the development and improvement of State and community rehabilitative services for delinquent youths and youths in danger of becoming delinquent;

(2) to encourage the full use of such rehabilitative services (A) by courts which have assumed responsibility for such youths, and by correctional agencies which have been vested with legal custody of such youths, and (B) by law enforcement and other agencies having responsibilities with respect to such youths which are similar to those of such courts and correctional agencies;

(3) to encourage the development in communities of new designs and new methods of care and treatment, including the operation of full-time or part-time community-based residential facilities for youths requiring residential care, diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation.

AUTHORIZATION OF GRANTS

SEC. 102. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any public agency to meet not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of projects or programs for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating youths referred to in section 101, except that the percentage with respect to so much of such cost as is for construction shall not exceed 50 per centum.

APPLICATIONS

SEC. 103. (a) Grants under this part may be made only upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary—

(1) that such agency will make reasonable efforts to secure or provide any services which are necessary for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating youths referred to in section 101 and which are not otherwise being provided in the community, or if being provided are not adequate to meet its needs;

(2) that maximum use will be made under the program or project of other Federal, State, or local resources available for provision of such services; and

(3) in the case of grants for construction, that financial resources will be available for the non-Federal share of such construction and for continued operation of the facility constructed.

(b) Such application shall contain such other information as the Secretary shall determine to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, including—

(1) a description of the services for youths referred to in section 101 which are available in the State or community;

(2) a statement of the method or methods of linking the agencies and organizations, public and private, providing these and other services; and

(3) a showing that the project or program is not inconsistent with any comprehensive plan developed under any other Act which is applicable to the purposes of this Act.

CONSIDERATION FOR ALLOCATION OF FUNDS

SEC. 104. In allocating funds for grants under section 102, the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors in the State or community of the applicant—

(1) the relative costs and effectiveness of the project or program in effectuating the purposes of this part;

(2) the rate of increase in the incidence of juvenile offenses;

(3) youth unemployment rates;

(4) the inadequacy of existing facilities and services for carrying out the purpose of this part;

(5) the extent to which proposed programs or projects incorporate new or innovative techniques within the State or community to carry out the purposes of this part; and

(6) the extent to which proposed programs and projects provided for in the application will be carried on in coordination with other activities carried on in the State or community which relate to the diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youth who are delinquent and preventive services for those in danger of becoming delinquent.

USE OF FUNDS

SEC. 105. Funds paid to an applicant under this part may be used for—

(1) meeting the cost of securing or providing services for diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths referred to in section 101 but only to the extent and for the period necessary for the community to provide such services from other sources, and

(2) meeting the cost of construction of special purpose types of facilities which, in the judgment of the Secretary, are necessary for carrying out the purposes of section 101, such as (A) combination detention and diagnostic facilities; (B) halfway houses for youths who because of special behavioral problems have a high risk of becoming delinquent or who have been determined to be delinquent and are not yet ready for full return to society; (C) small, special-purpose, residential, community-based facilities for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youths; (D) training schools for the rehabilitation and education of youths who are in custody of any public agency charged with the care of delinquent youths; but, in developing plans for such facilities, due consideration shall be given to excellence of architecture and design, and to the inclusion of works of art (not representing more than 1 per centum of the cost of the project).

It shall be a condition of any grant under this part which is wholly or partially for construction that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on such construction shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to these labor standards the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176, 64 Stat. 1267) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276e).

PART B—PREVENTIVE SERVICES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

SEC. 111. The purpose of this part is to promote the use of community-based services for the prevention of delinquency of youths; and to assist States or communities to establish special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

AUTHORIZATION OF GRANTS

SEC. 112. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, community, municipal, or other local public or private nonprofit agency to meet not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of projects or programs for securing or provision of special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

APPLICATIONS

SEC. 113. Grants under section 112 may be made only upon application by a State or local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary—

(1) that such agency will make reasonable efforts to secure or provide any of such services which are necessary for such youth and which are not otherwise being provided in the community, or if being provided are not adequate to meet its needs;

(2) that maximum use will be made under the program or project of other Federal,

State, or local resources available for provision of such services;

(3) will make special efforts to assure that the services provided by the program or project will be available for youths with serious behavorial problems; and

(4) will provide such other information as the Secretary shall determine to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

CONSIDERATION FOR ALLOCATION OF FUNDS

SEC. 114. In allocating funds for grants under section 112, the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors in the State or community of the applicant—

(1) the relative costs and effectiveness of the project or program in effectuating the purposes of this part;

(2) the rate of increase in the incidence of juvenile offenses;

(3) youth unemployment rates;

(4) the inadequacy of facilities and services for carrying out the purpose of this part;

(5) to the extent to which proposed programs or projects incorporate new or innovative techniques within the State or community to carry out the purposes of this part; and

(6) the extent to which proposed programs and projects provided for in the application will be carried on in coordination with other activities carried on in the State or community which relate to the diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent and preventive services for those in danger of becoming delinquent.

USE OF FUNDS

SEC. 115. Funds paid to an agency under section 112 may be used for meeting the cost of securing or providing special preventive services for youths in danger of becoming delinquent and which cannot otherwise be made available, but only for the period necessary for the community to provide these services from other sources. Services under this part may be provided by the grantee directly or through grants to or contracts with public or private agencies or organizations.

PART C—MISCELLANEOUS

NOTIFICATION

SEC. 131. The Secretary shall not approve an application for a grant under part A or B until a copy of the application has been submitted—

(1) to the Governor of the State or an officer designated by him or by State law, and a reasonable opportunity has been afforded the Governor or such officer to prepare and submit to the Secretary his evaluation of the program or project, which shall include comments on the relationship of the application to other applications then pending, and to existing or proposed plans in the State for the development of new or additional programs for the diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent and preventive services for those in danger of becoming delinquent; and

(2) to the governing bodies of the political units principally affected, and a reasonable opportunity afforded such governing bodies, acting through such officers as they may designate, to prepare and submit to the Secretary an evaluation of the program or project.

CONSULTATION

SEC. 132. In making grants under this title, the Secretary shall consult with the heads of other Federal agencies concerned with juvenile crime and delinquency, including the Attorney General, and, with respect to construction, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. PERKINS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that title I of the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to title I of the bill?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RAILSBACK

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RAILSBACK: On page 3, line 16, strike out "any public agency" and insert in lieu thereof "States".

On page 3, strike out lines 22 through 25 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 103. (a) From funds received under section 102 a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a county, municipality, or other public agency, which contains or is accompanied by assurances—".

On page 4, line 15, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 5, line 5, strike out "102, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "103, the State agency".

On page 5, line 6, strike out "State or".

On page 6, line 4, strike out "an applicant" and insert in lieu thereof "a State".

On page 6, line 13, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 8, strike out lines 3 and 4, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to States to meet not to exceed 75 per".

On page 8, strike out lines 9 through 12, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 113. From funds received under section 112, a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances—".

On page 9, line 5, strike out "112, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "113, the State agency".

On page 10, line 2, strike out "an agency" and insert in lieu thereof "a State".

On page 10, strike out line 11 and all that follows down through and including line 13 on page 11.

On page 11, line 17, strike out "or contracts" and insert in lieu thereof "to States for grants or contracts".

On page 12, line 2, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 12, strike out lines 5 through 9 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 202. Such grants and contracts may be made by the State agency and may be made to and with any local public agency or any public or private nonprofit college, school, university or institution, or organization; and to the extent the State agency deems it appropriate, the State agency shall require the recipient—".

On page 14, line 11, insert "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 402." and after line 17, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) Funds appropriated to make grants under titles I and II for a fiscal year shall be allocated by the Secretary among the States for use therein by the State agency. In allocating funds appropriated for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1968, June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, the Secretary shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 3 per centum of the amount being allocated, as he may determine and shall allocate such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, according to their respective needs. Of the remaining funds, 75 per centum shall be allocated among the fifty States and the District of Columbia according to their respective populations and 25 per centum thereof shall be allocated as the Secretary shall determine."

On page 14, after line 23, insert the following new sections:

"STATE PLAN REQUIREMENTS

"SEC. 404. Any State which desires to receive a grant under title I or II of this Act shall submit to the Secretary a comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan (in such detail as the Secretary determines necessary). Such plan shall designate a State agency which shall have the duty of coordinating efforts within the State to combat juvenile delinquency, carrying out State programs to combat juvenile delinquency, and making grants under titles I and II of this Act. Such State plan shall provide for appropriate review procedures of actions taken by the State agency disapproving an application for a grant under any such title or terminating or refusing to continue any such grant. The Secretary may disapprove a State plan only if he determines that the program or projects described in such plan cannot be fulfilled in an economic and efficient manner. Continuing eligibility by a State for grants under title I and II of this Act shall be contingent upon the filing with the Secretary of evidence that the provisions of such titles are being met in the making of grants and the carrying out of programs by the State agency designated in the State plan.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 405. In the case of action taken by the Secretary terminating or refusing to continue financial assistance to a grantee, such grantee may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5 of the United States Code.

"DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

"SEC. 406. A State receiving grants under titles I and II of this Act shall distribute through its State agency at least 80 per centum in the form of grants within the State for the purposes described in those titles. The remainder may be used by the State agency to carry out its own programs and projects.

"DIRECT GRANTS

"SEC. 407. When a State fails to apply for a grant under title I or II of this Act, or the Secretary does not approve such State's comprehensive and juvenile delinquency plan, within nine months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary may make such grants directly to public or private agencies in accordance with the provisions of those titles. To be eligible for a direct grant from the Secretary, an agency must certify that it has submitted a copy of its application to the chief executive of the State (or an officer designated by him or by State law) in which such agency is located. Such officer shall be given not more than 60 days from the date of receipt of the application to submit to the Secretary in writing an evaluation of the project set forth in the application. Such evaluation shall include comments on the relationship of the application to other applications then pending and to existing or proposed plans in the State for the development of new approaches to and improvements in efforts to combat juvenile delinquency. No grant under this section shall be for an amount in excess of 60 per centum of the cost of the project or program with respect to which it is made.

"COORDINATION

"SEC. 408. To avoid duplication of efforts, it shall be the responsibility of the Secretary to consult and coordinate with the Attorney General and such other Federal officers as are charged with responsibilities in the area of combating juvenile delinquency or crime in general."

On page 15, line 2, strike out "404" and insert in lieu thereof "409".

On page 16, after line 6, insert the following new paragraph:

"(7) The term 'State agency' means the State agency designated in a State's comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan."

Mr. RAILSBACK (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, I have already tried to explain the purpose of this amendment, but I will try to cover the main provisions again, and to answer any questions, if there are any, after making this statement.

The bill that we are considering today provides that local units of government, local agencies, may submit applications directly to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, for grants that I would term "action grants" involved in the rehabilitation and preventive measures in respect to juvenile delinquency problems.

The amendment I am offering tries to accomplish this purpose: No. 1, it would provide that where a State provides a comprehensive program to combat juvenile delinquency and submits an application which is approved by the Secretary, that in such an event the funds that are to be allocated would be allocated to the State agency designated by the Governor, or newly created, if the case be, which would then have the right to allocate the funds to the various local agencies.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at that point?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I would ask the gentleman who pays for preparing this comprehensive plan?

Mr. RAILSBACK. The State, in order to qualify, has to come forward with a comprehensive plan.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the State has no funds allocated for such a preparation of plan, and the legislature is not going to come back until 1969, what happens then?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Forty-two States that attended the National Governors' Conference have already begun formulating, and some already, like the State of Illinois, have State agencies.

One of the conditions for a State organization to participate is for the agency to come forward with a plan, which it is prepared to carry out, otherwise the bypass provisions of this bill would be operative. In other words, then there could be a bypass from the local units and a direct application to the Federal Government.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The original bill sent to our subcommittee had a provision to make up to 90 percent grants to the States for planning. The committee unanimously rejected it, on both sides of the aisle, simply because they did not want to spend a great deal of money on planning and comprehensive plans; we wanted to get this money into brick and mortar as quickly as possible.

Mr. RAILSBACK. We are not spending any more money on comprehensive plans than you are under your bill. I have no money provided for comprehensive plans.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The problem of the State developing its own plan without the use of Federal money should be no different than it was in the Higher Education Facilities Act, where the State had to develop a plan and appoint a commission. These programs were put into operation before the legislatures met. It is true it was funded after the legislatures met, but the Governors put it into operation immediately.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Will the gentleman yield again at this point?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I will not yield at this point.

I thank the gentleman, and I want to point out that under the bill we have before us, if we do not adopt this amendment, in my own State I can think of a tremendous number of agencies. Also we passed the Illinois Juvenile Court Act that provides the courts with powers. We have an Illinois Youth Commission. We have a department of children and family services. All of these various commissions are interested in this problem. The problem that I see with the bill before us without an amendment, who is going to screen all the applications? Who is going to be able to coordinate them? Who is better able to see to it that they do have an agency than the Governor?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I am sure the gentleman realizes that a majority of the State legislatures met this last year, and will not reconvene until 1969. I believe that we are really going to throw a monkey wrench into the operation of this program, and pare down the effectiveness of it if the amendment of the gentleman is carried in its present form without postponing the effective date until 1970.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, my amendment does not require legislative action. It would be just as in the Safe Streets Act we recently passed, it would be the executive who would select the agency.

Mr. PERKINS. How would they match it, then? The legislatures in many States would have to meet and handle it.

Mr. CRAMER. The amendment is very clear. Legislative action is not necessary. The Governor could appoint a State agency to coordinate the juvenile delinquency programing in a State without legislative authority and submit a plan to the Secretary. It is the same as the anticrime legislation, precisely. I ask the gentleman if that is not correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct and I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Would the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] remain in the well, because I think there are some other questions that ought to be answered, and I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] for the purpose of propounding a question.

Mr. QUIE. I would just say that the argument that the State legislatures have to meet in order to implement the program is a fallacious argument because there are many programs where the States are involved and the legislatures did not have to meet to implement them.

Also, the bill already provides that there is only local matching and that has not been changed by the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct.

Mr. QUIE. The State legislatures do not have to meet in order to secure the matching local funds.

Mr. RAILSBACK. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. POFF. Supplementing what the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota just said, I quote in part from the committee report on page 7 which calls attention to the fact that the bill makes no provision for planning funds.

> Planning funds are available from other sources including legislation dealing specifically with the problem of crime, and other Federal programs which include provision for planning in the antijuvenile delinquency field.

I suggest that if the Railsback amendment is adopted, it will be possible to acquire those funds and move immediately into the field of action.

Mr. CRAMER. Is that not correct, I ask the gentleman who offered the amendment?

Would the gentleman answer the question?

Also under the bill before us, there is no assurance under any allocation formula of any kind that any State will get any money even if they come up with a plan that the Secretary does not like; is that not correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct.

Despite the fact that the testimony we heard with respect to the so-called Safe Streets Act even the Attorney General said that what we are trying to do here is to get the States moving.

Mr. CRAMER. How are the States going to move if they do not have some assurance that if they do move in, they can be assured that they are going to get some money out of whatever money is appropriated and authorized. Your amendment assures every State that does come up with a plan as acceptable some money; is that not correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. At least a minimum amount.

Mr. CRAMER. Further, is it not true that the present bill before us does not set any standards basically for determination by the Secretary as to when he shall deny a grant and under what standards to make a grant?

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. But your amendment does so provide?

Mr. RAILSBACK. The gentleman is correct. Nor does the bill before us contain any provisions for a judicial review.

Mr. CRAMER. That is correct and your amendment proposes in section 405, page 6, for a proper judicial review so that any State that comes up with what they believe to be a proper comprehensive plan cannot be automatically cut off by the Secretary because in his discretion he does not like it; is that correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PERKINS. I will concede that the Governors of the various States might have emergency funds that may be utilized for planning. But the question remains that we have to have enabling legislation in many of the States—maybe not all the States—to make available the 25-percent matching funds, or 50 percent under the construction funds. There would have to be enabling legislation in many of the States.

Mr. CRAMER. I disagree with the gentleman. Would he show us where in the legislation what provision there is for money for planning? What is the difference between the amendment and the bill now before us? There is not any money; is that not correct?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. All that the gentleman is saying, and the reason the chairman of the committee criticized the amendment is that it has the same weakness that is contained in the bill before us.

Mr. PERKINS. The gentleman is misinformed.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield.

Mr. PERKINS. The gentleman misses the point again.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to finish my comment. The amendment before us would permit the Chief Executive, if there is legislative authority in existence, through that authority to go ahead and set up a comprehensive planning agency for juvenile delinquency. Is that correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. There is no planning money in the bill before us for that purpose anyway. So the gentleman's amendment would provide a way out of an impasse that exists or would exist if the amendment were not adopted. Is that correct?

Mr. RAILSBACK. If the gentleman will yield, he is correct. Furthermore, there is no requirement that the matching funds they are talking about should come from the States.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. This I think we should make clear when the chairman raises the question of matching money: The bill provides that funds for any project must be matched 25 percent by the local community, if they have a project, or by a State, if it is a State project.

Also if there is any construction, in the same way the Federal share is 50 percent of the money.

What we are asking under the Railsback amendment is for the State to do the planning, to receive the money, and to distribute it among the communities of the State. For that they need only to devise a State plan under which the Governor can go ahead. There is no necessity for the legislature to meet.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, we have had juvenile delinquency legislation before us for quite a while, beginning in 1961. At that time I recall the arguments that we ought to try it, that we ought to make the expenditure of money because juvenile delinquency was certainly a problem in the country, and any child that could be saved was a saving of money for the taxpayers.

The Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961 was passed and later extended. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare administered the program. It surely cannot be called a thumping success. No one can stand up and point to anything that was learned about juvenile delinquency, nothing that was new, and nobody saved any juvenile delinquent with the old act.

Also in the past this money was used to employ individuals to sit at a big desk, draw huge salaries pushing a pencil, when they should have been out working with the kids.

So I commend the chairman of the subcommittee for devising an action bill. This is an improvement over the previous legislation. I commend not only the chairman, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], but also the Democratic members of the subcommittee, who met in a closed session and devised this plan. They did as good a job as if they had permitted the Republicans to meet with them. I appreciate that.

The only thing wrong with the bill is the States are not involved sufficiently. This is what the Railsback amendment would do, involve the States. Someone needs the sensitivity and the knowledge of the communities of the State to decide where the money should go. The Railsback amendment provides each State shall devise an adequate plan to enable it to receive and disperse money fairly and efficiently. The Commissioner can retain a portion of the money until he can learn a little bit more about the State. A State that has a plan and a more severe problem, can go ahead faster.

There is also a bypass in case a State cannot devise a plan in sufficient time for the Secretary to approve it. But this amendment will let the people who have the problem of delinquency make the decision which under the bill the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would make. We have had the experience of 6 years without success by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Now let us permit State people have the money who can devise a plan and get it into the community where it can actually correct some of the juvenile problems that we have in the States.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. All of this was discussed carefully in the committee. The gentleman was there. He voted for the bill along with the other members of the committee. At that time we pointed out in the original bill there was a whole title dealing with planning. We said, "The local communities know what they need. They have plans coming out of their ears. What they need is some money."

Will you gentlemen be good enough to explain to me this question: In the Railsback amendment, page 4, section (B), it states:

> The remaining funds, 75 percent, shall be allocated among the 50 States and the District of Columbia according to their respective populations.

The gentleman from Florida a little while ago said that each State under the Railsback amendment will get $385,000 in the first go-around. Which is correct? Each of the 50 States will not get $385,000 in the first go-around if the formula is based upon their respective populations.

What are we voting on? What is being presented to the House?

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman can read what we are voting on. I do not know where the $385,000 comes from, but as I read the amendment—and I know that is correct—there will be an allocation of 75 percent of the money according to the population of each State, and the other 25 percent is reserved for the Secretary to distribute to the States as he sees their need.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It will come out to $95,000 for every million people in the State. How much will the smaller States get?

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, the amendment speaks for itself, and I did not quote any figure.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman said $385,000.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear the gentleman from Florida quote any figure. I did not know where it came from. It seems to me the amendment is as simple a formula as we could devise.

Mr. CRAMER. It is the same formula as was used in the anticrime bill. It says that 3 percent of the amount allocated would go to Puerto Rico, and so on, and the remaining 75 percent should be allocated among the District of Columbia and the States, according to respective populations, and 25 percent to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is the same formula as was in the anticrime bill.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LATTA TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RAILSBACK

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. LATTA to the amendment offered by Mr. RAILSBACK: On page 3, line 24, after the word "agency" insert: ", or a combination of States, counties, municipalities, or public agencies,".

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment merely to protect the understanding we had earlier that this amendment could be inserted and was agreeable to both sides. It would amend the language appearing on page 3, line 24, after the word "agency," and would assure that a combination of counties or municipalities or public agencies could qualify for grant aid under this section. Since the Railsback amendment is amending this section, in order to protect our agreement in case it is adopted, I offer my amendment at this point. I understand it is acceptable on both sides of the aisle. Is this correct?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, the suggestion is offered to take care of the multicounty applications.

Mr. LATTA. That is correct.

Mr. PERKINS. There is no objection.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, that amendment to my amendment is acceptable to me also.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have said earlier there is much to be said for the Railsback amendment. As a matter of fact, I really have no objection to this amendment being added to this bill if we could agree on postponing the effective date. I object to it in its present form. We said earlier on both sides of the aisle that we are talking about a $25 million authorization. We hope the Appropriations Committee will appropriate $25 million. We are not sure of that.

Under the formula offered by the gentleman from Illinois, if we have no more than $25 million to work with, certainly what we are going to be really doing is passing legislation here which is for the most part—at least until such time as the Congress appropriates more money—meaningless. The smaller States, with the formula as the gentleman has proposed, come out roughtly—if my figures are correct—to about $95,000 for every million people in the State.

We really are kidding the people and kidding ourselves. We had advised the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] and the minority member on our subcommittee, the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] the minority leader, that we are perfectly willing to accept the Railsback amendment. There is a great deal to be said for it.

I think the section about judicial review has merit.

We say, "Why not try to be reasonable and logical here?"

I hope the Vietnam war will be over, certainly by 1970. I hope we will be in a position then to authorize and to appropriate a good deal more money to deal with this very serious problem. It seems to me, in all fairness, we ought to agree on postponing the effective date.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I simply want to point out to the gentleman that I believe one of the most important provisions in our proposed amendment is that the Secretary, in his sole discretion, will have a right to determine if a State is ready to start coordinating and allocating the funds. If a particular State does not have the machinery, then the Secretary, in his sole discretion, will be able to say, "This program will not be administered efficiently, and therefore I will not approve of this comprehensive plan."

Mr. PUCINSKI. Let me ask a question. Under the formula, we would have $25 million. Let us assume that 10 States are ready to move, and 40 are not. Is the gentleman suggesting that the Secretary may, in his discretion, use the $25 million in the 10 States which are ready?

Mr. RAILSBACK. No. The way this would work, in the hypothetical case stated, in the 10 States which are ready to move the agency would be recognized to administer, coordinate, and allocate the funds. In those States where the States themselves were not sufficiently equipped, if there were cities and agencies ready to go, they in turn would be able to apply directly.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have said repeatedly, there is much to be said for the amendment. We have testimony, which is on the desks, from localities in this country that have programs ready to roll right now, and have serious problems. They are ready to apply for these funds the moment the President puts his signature on the bill and the money is appropriated.

It seems to me that if we are reasonable people we will let the States prepare the machinery, which is perfectly logical, in the next 2 years, in fiscal years 1968 and 1969, and be ready by fiscal year 1970. Then we can let the amendment go into effect in 1970. In the meantime, we should let the communities which have been knocking on our doors for the past 4 or 5 months get going on this program immediately.

I do not see any inequity. I do not see any violence to justice. I believe it is a perfectly logical suggestion to give these States some 24 months to prepare for this concept and this approach, and in the meantime take care of those ready to roll right now.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. PUCINSKI was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to reiterate that this is exactly the situation right now. If a State is not prepared, the Secretary will simply refuse approval, and then the State had better prepare if it wants to participate in the coordination and allocation of the funds.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If a State with 2 million people is ready to roll right now, the most the State could get, under the formula in its present form, would be $180,000. Would the gentleman be good enough to tell this House how far anybody could go with that amount of money, considering the magnitude of this problem?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I would say the gentleman is incorrect in his figure.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is the gentleman challenging the fact that it comes out to about $95,000 for a million people?

Mr. RAILSBACK. The Secretary will have 25 percent of the total $25 million as he sees fit. In other words, he could give more to a State ready to go. He could give more than the minimum amount.

Under my plan everybody would be entitled to something. We should get every State into planning.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman would give everybody something, but really give everybody nothing, because what is to be given to them is not enough even to get off the ground.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in May of this year the question of block grants came up in our Committee on Education and Labor. I compliment the gentleman from Illinois for coming forth with his amendment at this time.

During the hearings on this matter I asked a number of questions of Secretary Gardner and Mr. Carter, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. My questions and their answers are as follows:

Mr. Scherle?

Mr. SCHERLE. I would like to compliment my colleague, Mr. Carey, on a very fine job of summary and also the chairman for a fine presentation. Listening to the testimony this morning, I visualized about 30 different programs that I feel this bill overlaps and in some instances even usurps.

I think, as time goes on, we would be asked to subscribe to a dropout program for the Job Corps, for those who drop out of the Job Corps. I do not think the time has come for us to set up an FBI for juvenile delinquents in the individual States. It appears to me that this is exactly what we are subscribing to, a Federal Bureau of Investigation for juvenile delinquents in our 50 States.

My question is, Mr. Secretary or Mr. Carter, How many various programs do we now have that this program will infringe upon, take over, or become involved in, either on the local, State, or Federal level?

Secretary GARDNER. I would like to ask Mr. Carter to answer specifically. I would like to make one general statement first.

I hope eventually that every community institution dealing with youth will be doing something about youth on the edge of trouble. That means every community institution which is receiving Federal funds ought to be doing something in this. If it overlaps, fine. The more people involved in worrying about youth at this stage when they are about to get into trouble, the better.

The programs which specifically relate to juvenile delinquency which zero in on the juvenile delinquent or youngsters who are about to become delinquent—Lisle, would you describe them?

Mr. CARTER. I think we can say that as far as infringement or usurpation, the answer is "None." As far as involvement, this program is an attempt to link, as the Secretary has indicated, all the major institutions that have something to do with youth with the troubled youth, with the youth in trouble or the youth on the edge of trouble.

Mr. SCHERLE. What are the law enforcement agencies on the local level doing? Aren't they much more familiar with the problem or the correction than you are here in a cubicle in Washington?

Secretary Gardner. We are going to help them. This is the purpose of the bill, to assist those persons who best know what to do.

Mr. Carter. This is a support program, sir. We are not running anything here except what we run in the Federal institutions.

Mr. Scherle. It is a support program based on the old-fashioned carrot that you dangle in front of the local agencies for participation because of Federal funds.

Mr. Carter. I think the best answer that can be given to that is by the people who will come here as witnesses, who will be people from the local communities. I would assume they would have some judgment about the extent to which we are proposing here would be felt to be an infringement on what is being done at the State and local level.

Everything I have heard, and I have talked to representatives of Governors in a conference recently—I have talked to them recently—I have not found any feeling that anything proposed here will infringe.

Mr. Scherle. Why Washington? Why set up another bureaucracy in an already existing facility that completely overlaps into the local and State levels?

Mr. Carter. I can only say that I respectfully disagree with that characterization.

Mr. Scherle. Let us go to another one. I have heard this word "innovative" kicked around in I don't know how many different fields since I have been on this committee. Just what do you mean by innovative programs or measures that you feel you are in a position to initiate but the people on the local level can't or won't?

Secretary Gardner. May I answer that?

I feel both this question and your previous question reflect a misunderstanding of what we are trying to do. We are setting this up in such a way that the local people can do the things that they want to do. If you will talk to local law enforcement people, or agencies that have concerned themselves with delinquency, this is the direction they want to move. The word "innovative" simply refers to the fact that the old ways of doing it aren't working. Anybody with half an eye can see that.

Some new way of doing it has to be developed or devised.

Mr. Scherle. Do you mean the people on the State level aren't knowledgeable enough to handle their affairs without coming to Washington to find out what you have available here?

Secretary Gardner. The people on the State and the local level are the first to say that the old ways are not working. They are the ones that will tell you we need something innovative.

Mr. Scherle. Why can't they be just as modern and just as current as you are here, particularly when their field is law enforcement and juvenile delinquency and yours is becoming so broad and so thin that I am beginning to wonder whether all these new advisory boards and different programs under your Department actually puts you in a position to supplement the responsibility that you seek to undertake.

Secretary Gardner. I think your comments suggest that we are in conflict with them. This is not true.

Mr. Scherle. You say you are complementing them?

Secretary Gardner. We have worked with them in the past. We will continue to work with them. We have very good working relationships with State and local agencies. They know what we are doing and we know what they are doing. They are keenly interested in moving on.

Mr. Scherle. I believe my 5 minutes has expired.

Maurice A. Harmon, the Commissioner of the Department of Child Welfare of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, wrote me on May 15, 1967, the following letter:

Commonwealth of Kentucky,
Department of Child Welfare,
Frankfort, Ky., May 15, 1967.

Hon. William J. Scherle,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Scherle: This is to acknowledge your letter of May 11, 1967, regarding my testimony before the General Education Subcommittee concerning the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967 (H.R. 7642). Your question relates specifically to my following reservation to the bill in its present form:

"Establishment of yet another source for grants in aid without setting requirements for coordination and clearance at the state level might well result in duplication of effort and overlapping of programs."

In this regard, I am pleased to enclose for your information a copy of the recommendations of the recently called National Governors' Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, conducted in Chicago, April 10–12, 1967. I have encircled two paragraphs which relate to the Conference's recommendations relative to the responsibility for state leadership in regard to the prevention, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency. My testimony follows this philosophy. The explanation of this lies in the fact that within any given state there should be a central point wherein a statewide coordinated effort relative to juvenile delinquency should be handled. This would lend toward a consistent approach and would help to eliminate diversity of planning that might well lead to overlapping, confusion, and even possibly plans which would run counter to other planning. State leadership and coordination would also lend itself well to a careful review of local grant requests that may well be infeasible.

I am also taking the liberty of sending you a copy of my May 10, 1967, letter to Congressman Pucinski. He had requested that I submit to him a draft that might be considered for inclusion in the bill relative to the above purpose.

If you desire further information in this regard, please do not hesitate to so advise.

Sincerely yours,
Maurice A. Harmon,
Commissioner.

The pertinent recommendations of the National Governors' Conference on Juvenile Delinquency mentioned are as follows:

Fixing responsibility: The Conference recommends that each state establish necessary machinery to coordinate the planning, leadership, and services of the state agencies which contribute to the prevention, control and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Responsibility for directing the coordinating machinery should be clearly vested in one official or agency, which should have the authority to delegate assignments and responsibilities among the other officials and agencies involved. The state coordinating agency should establish close working relationships with other levels of government and with voluntary groups.

* * * * *

State and local planning should be coordinated so that the needs of each community are considered as part of the total needs of the state. Federal grants for delinquency and crime control should be made only for programs consistent with comprehensive plans adopted by states and their local communities.

Commonwealth of Kentucky,
Department of Child Welfare,
Frankfort, Ky., May 10, 1967.

Hon. Roman C. Pucinski,
Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives, Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Pucinski: At the completion of my testimony before your Subcommittee on Education on May 4, 1967, regarding H.R. 7642, you graciously thanked me for my testimony, accenting several points, but placing particular emphasis on my remarks regarding the need for a delegated and authorized state agency to coordinate, correlate, and administer grant applications and grants in line with the objectives of H.R. 7642. Further, you requested that I send you a suggested draft for inclusion in H.R. 7642 that would accomplish this particular point in my testimony. It is my pleasure to submit the following for the Committee's consideration relative to inclusion in the bill:

"In order to be eligible for any grant provided in this Act, the state must submit an application therefor which designates or establishes a single state agency as the sole agency for administering the purposes of this Act."

If I can be of further help in any way to you or the Committee, I will, of course, be pleased to do so.

Yours most cordially,
Maurice A. Harmon,
Commissioner.

Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Harmon, representing the State of Kentucky, made an excellent suggestion and recommendation.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to include a list of Federal programs relating to juvenile delinquency.

[From the Legislative Reference Service, Education and Public Welfare Division]

FEDERAL PROGRAMS RELATING TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

(Department (unless otherwise noted), administering office, and program or act administered)

A. President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (the Committee consists of the Attorney General (Chairman) and the Secretaries of H.E.W. and Labor): Stimulates coordination among the Federal agencies engaged in promoting the welfare of the younger citizens of the United States and promotes measures for the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

B. Executive Office of the President, Office of Economic Oppotunity: Community action programs, Job Corps.

C. Judicial Branch, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Division of Probation: U.S. probation programs providing specialized care and treatment for juvenile and youth offenders.

D. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau, Division of Juvenile Delinquency Services: Develops standards and guides; makes surveys of services and facilities; cooperates with States and localities; and collaborates with voluntary organizations on the development of programs and the training of personnel for services for juvenile delinquents.

E. H.E.W., Welfare Administration, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 (Public Law 87–274).

F. H.E.W., Public Health Service, National Institute of Mental Health: National Institute of Mental Health Grants Related to Crime and Delinquency.

Department (unless otherwise noted); Administering Office; Program or act administered:

G. H.E.W. (Office of Education, Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education [funds administered by individual States]; also Bureau of Research): Vocational Education Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-210).

H. H.E.W. (Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Rehabilitation Services): Provides training; technical assistance and consultation on vocational rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents with physical or mental disabilities; and Research and Demonstration project grant funds. (Vocational Rehab. Act; Sections 2, 3, 4a(1)(2), 7, 12, 16, 29 U.S.C. Chapter 4).

I. Department of the Interior (Bureau of Indian Affairs): Juvenile officers provide assistance to the local Indian courts through guidance and counseling of delinquent and predelinquent Indian children.

J. Department of Justice (Bureau of prisons): Provides institutional treatment and training programs for juvenile and youthful offenders committed to the custody of the Attorney General under provisions of the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1938 and the Youth Corrections Act of 1950.

K. Justice (Office of Law Enforcement Assistance): Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-197).

L. Department of Labor (Manpower Administration, U.S. Employment Service, Bureau of Employment Security, Office of Manpower Training Operations): Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (P.L. 87-415), and amending legislation.

M. Labor (Manpower Administration, U.S. Employment Service): Youth Opportunity Centers.

N. Labor (Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, Research Section): Manpower Research Projects.

O. Labor (Manpower Administration, Bureau of Works): Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Mr. Chairman, I certainly hope that the House in its wisdom will adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I am rather ambivalent about the Railsback amendment. My principles may be in conflict with my self-interest. I believe that my own State, being one of the more populous States, would probably do better under the Railsback amendment than it does under the provisions of the bill as it is before us. So it would not ruin my day if the amendment is adopted, but I felt that I ought at least to pay lipservice to my principles.

I assume that the gentleman has offered this amendment not only because he thinks it would make the bill work better but also because of his feeling that we ought to involve the States more in these programs. I have no strong feeling about that. We should be interested in stimulating greater involvement to responsibility of State government in the problems of the day.

But this amendment, if adopted, would not promote State responsibility. There is a maxim that "he who dances must pay the piper." But the amendment offered by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] proposes to let the States dance without paying the piper.

Mr. Chairman, this is a matching program. It is to be supported by Federal and local funds and is to operate with the cooperation of Federal and local governments. Each community must put some of its own resources into this program. They would then realize that they have a major stake in the success of the program and that the national interest is ancillary to their own local effort.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois does not propose to change that approach. The gentleman does not propose that the States be required to put 5 cents into this program. If the gentleman had proposed that, much of the enthusiasm for his amendment would dissipate. It is my opinion that it would be a mistake to involve the States in this program, which deals with problems which have traditionally been matters of local concern by local municipal units of government. It would certainly be a mistake to involve the States in this process without at the same time requiring them to put forth some effort on their own.

So, Mr. Chairman, although I think my own State might be better treated under this amendment than it is under the pending bill and although I too believe that the States ought to be more involved in problems of this sort, it is my opinion that when we do that, we should do it in a manner which promotes State responsibility rather than State irresponsibility. The "free ride" for the States that has been proposed fails to meet that test.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment is defeated.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], since we have had considerable debate on this amendment, as to whether or not there might be considerable interest on his side of the aisle directed toward arriving at some fair and equitable time limitation for the purpose of debating this amendment?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Let us permit the debate to run on for 5 or 10 minutes more and then we shall see at what decision we can arrive.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out one thing that obviously has been overlooked during the course of this debate.

We keep hearing from the other side of the aisle that the States would be able to proceed immediately, those States that are ready to proceed immediately would be able to do so. That is true. But the States that are not ready to proceed immediately, in those States the communities would be deprived for the period of 9 months, under this amendment, if adopted, of anything effective at all, because the Governor of the State has 9 months in which to promulgate a State plan to submit to the Secretary.

So, Mr. Chairman, I do not think that the communities would be able to proceed immediately, it seems to me, only in such cases where they have plans ready to go right now. I suggest to the committee that those States are very few, and my State is not one of them.

Mr. Chairman, I am concerned about the talk over what happens to these funds. Under the bill, we are proposing that 100 percent of these funds will be placed in the various communities of this Nation. However, under the Railsback proposal—and I have just had an opportunity to look at it in a cursory manner—it seems to me that 25 percent of the funds involved could be reserved by the Secretary. A further 20 percent could be reserved by the States, which means again that the local community is only to be able to receive a substantially less sum, a substantially smaller share under the Railsback proposal, than it could under the regular committee proposal.

Mr. Chairman, another thing that strikes me as being something we are overlooking here in our haste is what happens to the money which will not be allocated to the States when they do not come up with a planned time and programing?

Is this money to be reallocated to other States where they have come up with a plan, or is this money to be reserved by the Secretary, or is it to go back in the Treasury? What happens to it?

Under the committee bill we have $25 million ready to rifle into the problem of juvenile delinquency. I do not believe we are doing that under the proposal by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK]. I feel as the gentleman from Michigan feels, if the States were ready to come up with plans, and if they were contributing to this, we have no objection to letting the States formulate comprehensive plans for juvenile delinquency, but the fact is the States have not done this in a large majority of the cases.

Why not, as the chairman of the subcommittee has suggested, delay the effective date of this until such a time as the States have an opportunity to come up with a comprehensive plan, and in the meantime let us put this $25 million to work at the local level where it belongs.

My people want this money now. They want to attack juvenile delinquency now, not tomorrow, or 6 or 9 months from now.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEDS. Yes, I will yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Chairman, I would ask the gentleman is it correct that under the present wording of the act, if a State has a comprehensive plan they can submit that plan as a public agency to the Secretary for his approval?

Mr. MEEDS. They could; yes.

Mr. TIERNAN. So that actually what we are doing is superimposing a further restriction on these local municipalities that are already prepared to go forward?

Mr. MEEDS. Absolutely.

Mr. TIERNAN. Yet, if a State does have a comprehensive plan in existence now, or in preparation, they can come forward and ask the Secretary for approval?

Mr. MEEDS. Not only that; the State would have a chance to proceed when those applications by the local communities are submitted to them, would have a chance to approve it at that time and send it up to the Secretary. The States will not be cut out. There is a separate requirement that they consult with the States, and they coordinate with the States and other local agencies of government which will be affected. It seems to me this is the direct plan; it will be offered at the local level where it should be to help solve juvenile delinquency now, and not 6 or 9 months from now.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment will be defeated.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question of the gentleman who introduced this amendment.

Presently there are in existence numerous programs that have proven successful. This is not a new program. This law has been in existence for perhaps 6 years. During that time there were numerous programs tried and tested under the preventive features of this law.

Now, what will happen to these programs that are presently in existence that have been tried, that have been tested, that have been proven successful—do they go out of business?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I believe the ranking minority member of the subcommittee has something to say on that.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I yield.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say in answer to the gentleman that, in the first place, this program has not been in existence for 6 years as he stated. The bill we are talking about today represents a totally new program. So I do not believe the question propounded by the gentleman is germane.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Except, I will say to the gentleman, that the original juvenile delinquency program was passed 6 years ago, and under it there were various programs set up, some of which are presently in existence, which have proven very successful in preventing juvenile delinquency.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I would tell the gentleman that when these programs were set up 6 years ago, there were a number of pilot programs devised around the country. Most of those, when the Antipoverty Act was passed, were channeled into the Antipoverty Act program. Those same programs are in existence in the community action agencies, there are just a very few pilot projects that are still in existence. This is a new program to go into an action program.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I can give the gentleman the names of programs and agencies that are presently in existence that have been exceedingly successful over a period of years since the passage of the original juvenile delinquency program.

Now what will happen to those programs that are presently in existence? Do they go out of existence altogether?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. They do? Is that fair?

Mr. QUIE. That was the intention. They were pilot projects. Under the rehabilitative and preventive services programs proposed in this bill, we have knocked out the planning pilot programs because nobody on the committee, Republican or Democratic, wanted to continue that failure that has been operating for the last 6 years.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I will give you programs that have not proven to be failures, but have proven to be very successful over the last several years.

Mr. QUIE. Nobody appeared before our committee giving us any evidence of any successful pilot programs but if the State thought they were, they could be continued.

Mr. RAILSBACK. If I understand the gentleman's question, section 113 is amended by the paragraph we are considering which says this:

> SEC. 113. Grants under section 112 may be made only upon application by a State or local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary—

I believe it is still possible for a private nonprofit agency to apply to the State, if the State agency has been approved and receive appropriate consideration.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. As a matter of fact, today before any private agency can secure a grant for funds, they must first under this law apply to the State and/or local agency and after the State and/or local agency passes upon it, it is then submitted to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. If he finds in his opinion that it is a valid request and he then will make his grant. Wherein do you change this law by the amendment? Wherein do you make any change that will in any way aid this situation?

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RAILSBACK. The idea is that what we are trying to encourage by this amendment is a comprehensive program where the State may coordinate so that you do not have one juvenile court doing one thing and one private nonprofit agency doing another.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. They have to go to the State today to make application and then they can get a grant. All you are doing is adding problem on top of problem on top of problem for no reason whatsoever.

Mr. RAILSBACK. We are not adding any problems in that respect. We require the nonprofit agency to do the same thing that the local government must do.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. What happens to those programs that are presently in existence and which are proven successful? So far as the juvenile delinquency program is concerned, will that have to be cut out altogether? The impression I get is the answer is "Yes." Is this something you actually want to do? Because this is the effect of your amendment. I think it is going to do a good deal of harm to the situation where we are presently trying to prevent juvenile delinquency in those areas of the country that are slum areas.

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PERKINS

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment postponing the effective date of the pending amendment until 1970.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PERKINS as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. RAILSBACK: On page 3, line 16, strike out "any public agency" and insert in lieu thereof "States," except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "States" shall be deemed to read "any public agency."

On page 3, strike out lines 22 through 25 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 103. (a) From funds received under section 102 a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a county, municipality, or other public agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances, except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the foregoing provision of this subsection shall read:

" 'SEC. 103. (a) Grants under this part may be made only upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary—' "

On page 4, line 15, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency" except that for the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "State agency" shall be deemed to read "Secretary".

On page 5, line 5, strike out "102, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "103, the State agency" except that for the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "State agency" shall be deemed to read "Secretary".

On page 5, line 6, strike out "State or" except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "State or" shall not be deemed to apply.

On page 6, line 4, strike out "an applicant" and insert in lieu thereof "a State" except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "a State" shall be deemed to be "an applicant".

On page 6, line 13, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency" except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the words "State agency" shall be deemed to read "Secretary".

On page 8, strike out lines 3 and 4, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to States to meet not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of, except that for the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the Secretary shall be authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or other local public or private nonprofit agencies to meet not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of,".

On page 8, strike out lines 9 through 12, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 113. From funds received under section 112, a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances—except that for the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 the foregoing provisions of this subsection shall be deemed to read as follows:

" 'SEC. 113. Grants under section 112 may be made only upon application by a State or local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary—' ".

On page 9, line 5, strike out "112, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "113, the State agency, except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the term 'State agency' shall be deemed to read 'Secretary' ".

On page 10, line 2, strike out "an agency" and insert in lieu thereof "a State, except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the term 'State' shall be deemed to read 'agency' ".

On page 11, line 17, strike out "or contracts" and insert in lieu thereof "to States for grants or contracts, except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the words 'to States for grants or contracts' shall be deemed to be 'or contracts' ".

On page 12, line 2, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency" except that for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the words "State agency" shall be deemed to read "Secretary".

On page 14, line 11, insert "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 402," and after line 17, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) Funds appropriated to make grants under titles I and II for fiscal year 1970 and thereafter shall be allocated by the Secretary among the States for use therein by the State agency. In allocating funds appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, the Secretary shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 3 per centum of the amount being allocated, as he may determine and shall allocate such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, according to their respective needs. Of the remaining funds, 75 per centum shall be allocated among the fifty States and the District of Columbia according to their respective populations and 25 per centum thereof shall be allocated as the Secretary shall determine."

On page 14, after line 23, insert the following new sections:

"STATE PLAN REQUIREMENTS

"Sec. 404. Effective with fiscal year 1970, any State which desires to receive a grant under title I or II of this Act shall submit to the Secretary a comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan (in such detail as the Secretary determines necessary). Such plan shall designate a State agency which shall have the duty of coordinating efforts within the State to combat juvenile delinquency, carrying out State programs to combat juvenile delinquency, and making grants under titles I and II of this Act. Such State plan shall provide for appropriate review procedures of actions taken by the State agency disapproving an application for a grant under any such title or terminating or refusing to continue any such grant. The Secretary may disapprove a State plan only if he determines that the program or projects described in such plan cannot be fulfilled in an economic and efficient manner. Continuing eligibility by a State for grants under title I and II of this Act shall be contingent upon the filing with the Secretary of evidence that the provisions of such titles are being met in the making of grants and the carrying out of programs by the State agency designated in the State plan.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"Sec. 405. In the case of action taken by the Secretary terminating or refusing to continue financial assistance to a grantee, such grantee may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5 of the United States Code.

"DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

"Sec. 406. For the fiscal year 1970 a State receiving grants under titles I and II of this Act shall distribute through its State agency at least 80 per centum in the form of grants within the State for the purposes described in those titles. The remainder may be used by the State agency to carry out its own programs and projects.

"DIRECT GRANTS

"Sec. 407. For the fiscal year 1970, when a State fails to apply for a grant under title I or II of this Act, or the Secretary does not approve such State's comprehensive and juvenile delinquency plan, within nine months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary may make such grants directly to public or private agencies in accordance with the provisions of those titles. To be eligible for a direct grant from the Secretary, an agency must certify that it has submitted a copy of its application to the chief executive of the State (or an officer designated by him or by State law) in which such agency is located. Such officer shall be given not more than 60 days from the date of receipt of the application to submit to the Secretary in writing an evaluation of the project set forth in the application. Such evaluation shall include comments on the relationship of the application to other applications then pending and to existing or proposed plans in the State for the development of new approaches to and improvements in efforts to combat juvenile delinquency. No grant under this section shall be for an amount in excess of 60 per centum of the cost of the project or program with respect to which it is made.

"COORDINATION

"Sec. 408. To avoid duplication of efforts, it shall be the responsibility of the Secretary to consult and coordinate with the Attorney General and such other Federal officers as are charged with responsibilities in the area of combating juvenile delinquency or crime in general."

On page 15, line 2, strike out "404" and insert in lieu thereof "409".

On page 16, after line 6, insert the following new paragraph:

"(7) The term 'State agency' means the State agency designated in a State's comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan."

Mr. PERKINS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the substitute amendment be considered as read.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. CRAMER. Reserving the right to object, as I understand it, no one on this side has seen the amendment. It has not been submitted; and I think, under those circumstances, the amendment ought to be read.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say that the gentleman is correct. It is a difficult amendment to draw up and the sole purpose is as follows——

Mr. CRAMER. Then I object, Mr. Chairman.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Objection is heard.

The Clerk will continue the reading of the amendment.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CRAMER. Is the amendment an amendment to the Railsback amendment or to the bill before us?

The **CHAIRMAN**. It is a substitute for the Railsback amendment.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It is my understanding that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta] offered an amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois. That amendment was accepted on both sides but was not voted upon. Is that correct?

The **CHAIRMAN**. That is correct. There was an amendment to the amendment, and there is now a substitute for the amendment.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent, subject to a question of the distinguished chairman, that the substitute amendment be considered as read.

The question is, the substitute amendment is the same as the Railsback amendment, is it not, except that it would become effective January 1, 1970?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. Or for fiscal year 1970?

Mr. PERKINS. Fiscal year 1970.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object——

The **CHAIRMAN**. The request is made by the gentleman from Florida. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. LATTA. Reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire of the chairman whether or not his amendment contains the amendment that I offered.

Mr. PERKINS. It does. That was the intent.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, comprehensive plans for a State are desirable. We are here quarreling only about $18 million. In my judgment, many of the State comprehensive plans that will eventually be submitted will be comulative of the programs that already exist in the various States at the present time.

The purpose of my substitute to the amendment is to postpone the effective date until 1970. There will be many States, many communities in the States that will not have the authority to provide the 25-percent matching funds unless the legislative authority is given. The majority of legislatures do not meet until 1969. Enabling legislation will be necessitated in many of the States, notwithstanding what has been stated here.

Again I repeat, enabling legislation will be necessary in many of the States.

We are really overlooking the problem that we are trying to do something about here with $18 million. Do we have confidence in the Secretary to disburse $18 million on plans that are pending or soon will be pending? Do we intend to throw away all of the know-how that we have already gained from administration projects on which we have spent $47 million? That is what we are doing here. We are telling these communities throughout the Nation, "We know you have a problem, but we are not going to do anything about it, until your State adopts the machinery to administer the program." Mr. Chairman, there is a good deal of merit to this approach, but I think that we will do irreparable damage to local programs and efforts if we do not provide sufficient leadtime for the 50 States to prepare for the effective administration of the program.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield briefly?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. I want to put the same question to you that I put to the gentleman who offered the amendment: What happens to those programs that are presently in existence and have been proven worthwhile? Will the State compete with new programs for the $18 million or the $25 million that is going to be appropriated for this business?

Mr. PERKINS. Those programs would go out of existence unless the comprehensive plan protected them when the comprehensive plan was approved, which in most instances would be 2 years hence. We cannot afford to delay that long. These communities, when we consider that over 700 counties in America today do not have a probation officer, do not have a social service worker, are we going to say to those areas, "We know your needs. We know the type of action you need, but we are going to deprive you of what you need"?

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman says that all we have at stake here is $18 million. How does the gentleman arrive at that figure?

Mr. PERKINS. Under the amendment 25 percent would be left in the discretion of the Secretary, which would leave between $18 and $19 million to distribute among the States according to population.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman realize the discretion to the Secretary is the distribution among the States, and not the distribution within the State, and therefore at stake is $25 million on which the State will set priorities and develop programs?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct. As I understand the amendment of the gentleman, the State would set priorities, but the States have failed to set priorities. This is not going to give us any assurance that in these communities that do not have these services, they will receive the services in the future. This bill is directed to preventing juvenile delinquency, as much as to rehabilitating of juveniles. To take this and throw away—which is just what we are doing—$47 million that has already been expended, and say we are going to make a 180-degree turn and change our course completely and let the States have it, will not do anything for these communities that already have plans made. For these meager funds we certainly should let the Secretary approve the plans in these communities where the money will be well and wisely expended, and we should go ahead and get this program off the ground.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the substitute amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the proposal for State plans and State participation, in the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback], is evidently accepted on the majority side and accepted to go into effect in 1970. Therefore, we have proof that the amendment is good.

Why should it not go into effect immediately on a new program? This is not an amendment to the existing act. This is a new program. We had a new program in the anticrime bill the other day, and the State participation will go into effect immediately. We have had a number of other pieces of Federal legislation in which the States will participate in the same way. For instance, in title I of the Higher Education Act of the last Congress, the States participated in the same way. In title III of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, the States devised a State plan immediately. In the Higher Education Facilities Act, it operated in the same way.

In any of the programs presently in operation, where the State felt it was wise, they could quickly devise a State plan to include on ongoing successful local program, and then devise a long-range plan later. This was done in title I of the Higher Education Act, and some States got their community services programs going quickly by approving one or two, and then they went ahead and devised a long-range plan. This could be done with the bill amended by the Railsback amendment.

I believe it would be extremely unwise to wait until 1970, and have the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare deal with communities, and then have to change to a State plan. The time to inaugurate such a program is at the inception of it. This is the time, with the adoption of this bill.

Therefore, I urge voting down the substitute and voting for the Railsback amendment.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, the question has been raised about State participation. Is it not true that, under the Railsback amendment, the State would be required to provide funds for planning? The argument has been made the State would have no participation in the program. Under the bill before us, the State does not have such participation spelled out, but under the Railsback amendment, it would have planning requirements. Lack of State participation in the balance of the program would be the same beyond that.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman makes an excellent case. If one would study it, one would find the administrative costs are extremely high where the States are bypassed, as compared to the programs where they deal through State agencies, where the State acts as a partner. One only has to compare the costs of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and see the administrative costs are extremely low for State participation, and higher otherwise like in title III.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, the ongoing programs would become part of the State plans, and, if they are good, the States will accept them, but they will be subject to the State planning program.

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, as to the point raised about ongoing programs that were available under the original Delinquency Control Act, is it not true that this legislation does not extend or amend the original 1961 act?

So, regardless of whether the Railsback amendment is adopted or the bill in its original form is adopted, any demonstration projects would have no guarantee one way or the other.

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Suppose there is a program which has been in existence for several years, and suppose the program has proved successful, and the Governor or the mayor or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare finds that the program is a worthy one which should be continued. Unless there is agreement that a program of that type is under the discretion either of the Governor or of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, when there has been no comprehensive program—unless it is agreed it should be continued; unless somebody agrees and does what the gentleman from Florida says—that it will continue that program would die. It seems to me that would be a pity. If they are successful programs, they would die, and it would be necessary to start all over again with new applications after losing the benefit of an ongoing project.

Mr. QUIE. They would not die under the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback], any more than they would under the bill we have before us. Under the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois the Governor would have to say, "this is a good one," and it would continue. Under the original bill the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would say so. In either case they would have to get approval from that authority, and then they would continue.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the substitute amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it has always been my firm conviction that reasonable men can arrive at reasonable solutions.

We came before the House today in good faith, with a bill we have carefully worked out in the subcommittee on a bipartisan basis. The bill came out of our subcommittee by a unanimous vote. We appreciate the help we got from the minority side.

A discussion developed earlier today about the fact that some of my colleagues would prefer to have Governors have control over these programs. Very early in the debate, we told the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback] and we told the minority leader, and we told the gentleman from Ohio, we would be perfectly willing to accept this amendment. We think there is much to be said for this amendment. We like the judicial review.

But we said, "Why not postpone its effectiveness until 1970?"

We have been debating here for most of the afternoon. For those Members who may wonder what this means, if the Railsback amendment is accepted now and made effective immediately, each of the States will get roughly $95,000 for every 1 million people in the State.

All the Members know, as I know, that nobody is going very far with that amount of money.

There are many programs, the testimony before our committee clearly indicates, ready to go right now.

I would say, as reasonable people, let us give the States 24 months to crank up. Let us give the Secretary an opportunity to post rules and regulations.

While I am on that subject, I should like the Members to listen carefully. I have been one of the strongest critics of the growing tendency toward guidelines. We have the Administrative Procedure Act, in which is spelled out clearly the procedures the agencies will use to post rules and regulations for the implementation of the legislation we enact.

I asked Mr. Lisle Carter, Assistant Secretary, as to how they were going to set up the rules and regulations for this program. I should like the Record to show here the reply I received, dated August 4 of this year:

> Dear Mr. Chairman: This will confirm our telephone conversation of last night with respect to how this Department would propose to administer the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967, if it is enacted.
>
> As I indicated to you, the Department would be prepared to issue regulations with respect to procedures and criteria for carrying out the provisions of the Act after due opportunity for interested parties to comment. These regulations would be approved by the Secretary.

Here we have the assurance that the guidelines are not going to be applied to this legislation but, rather, will follow the procedures of the Administrative Procedures Act. There will be suggested regulations and regulations posted and published in the Federal Register. All interested parties will have the opportunity to comment on them, and we will have a back and forth exchange of ideas. We will all have regulations to live with.

Mr. Chairman, I say the substitute amendment offered by the distinguished chairman of this committee [Mr. Perkins] brings together the merits of the suggestions made by the gentleman from Illinois and at the same time gives us 24 months to crank up for them. Equity, justice, good sense, and logic will be served if we rally together. I do not think juvenile crime is a partisan issue. I believe there is not a Member of this House on either side of the aisle who is not deeply and sincerely interested in doing something about the problem. I say let us get together. Let us get behind the chairman and guarantee that by fiscal year 1970 the States will control the program, as I believe they should. In the meantime, we will be moving immediately with the communities ready to move now without waiting for State approval.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback] admitted that 9 months of delay could be cranked into this. For that reason I rise in support and hope we will rally behind this. We have come a long way this afternoon in hammering out a program that everyone of us can proudly support and say when we get back home that we made a significant contribution in the war against juvenile crime. I say let us get behind the chairman and get the substitute amendment approved and move on with the bill.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I do this for the purpose of directing a single question to the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, who said that we must hurry with the program because there are 700 counties in the United States that did not have probation officers and needed them. Is it the purpose of this bill to have the Federal Government hire 700 county probation officers and pay their salaries in perpetuity?

Mr. PERKINS. Not by any means. Every approval must come from the local level. The plan would be submitted and then approved by the Secretary. If it provided for probation officers and counsellors, OK. If it provided for something else, OK.

Mr. KYL. I thank the gentleman and yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question occurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta], to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback].

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now occurs on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Perkins] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback], as amended.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Perkins) there were—ayes 49, noes 99.

So the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback] as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. HATHAWAY

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer three amendments, and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendments offered by Mr. Hathaway: on page 5, line 18, strike out "and"
>
> On page 6, line 2, strike out the period and insert "; and".
>
> On page 6, after line 2, insert the following:
>
> "(7) the extent to which the proposed programs or projects incorporate programs for the parents of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent, as well as programs for other adults who offer guidance or supervision to such youths."
>
> On page 9, line 17, strike out "and".
>
> On page 9, line 24, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof "; and".
>
> On page 9, after line 24, insert the following:
>
> "(7) the extent to which the proposed programs or projects incorporate programs for the parents of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent, as well as programs for other adults who offer guidance or supervision to such youths."
>
> On page 11, line 20, before the period insert the following: ", or for the counseling or instruction of parents in the improving of parental instruction and supervision of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent".

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Chairman, the family is the most vital and important institution in our society. A child's future is largely determined by the environment created by his family. It is in the family that the child develops his personality, his moral code, and his attitude to social institutions.

Our modern industrial society, however, severely strains the fabric of family unity. Our great mobility frequently separates the child not only from the familiar surroundings but from the supervision and care of grandparents and other relatives. The father of this greatly stripped down family is caught in the economic demands of our society. He is forced to be absent most of the time from the home.

Our increasing allocation of education, recreation, and work to separate institutions destroys the former unity and cohesion of the family. Rather than a functioning unit, the family has become a divergent collection of autonomous beings. Also our technological achievements like the automobile increases the independence of the adolescent from parental observation. It is a condition of modern man to be divorced from his children.

This weakness of adult control is most obvious under pathological circumstances such as slum neighborhoods or broken homes. For the father in the slums, any lasting help can be achieved only by the elimination of poverty and the securing of meaningful employment. In our society a father who is frequently unemployed lacks authority and unfortunately respect.

My proposal, therefore, will not solve basic problems. For an effective reduction of delinquency there must be a combined effort to create broad changes in the structure of community life and programs beamed more specifically at the immediate causes of delinquency. The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act is a carefully drafted bill to deal with the immediate causes of delinquency and I believe that my amendments are consistent with the purposes of this bill.

The whole thrust of this bill is to prevent trouble before it starts, to assist youths in avoiding delinquency. Specifically, my amendments provide that in the allocation of funds for grants under part A, rehabilitative services, section 102, and under part B, preventive services, section 112, the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors, "the extent to which the proposed programs or projects incorporate programs for the parents of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent, as well as programs for other adults who offer guidance or supervision to such youths." The amendments provide not only for the possible participation of parents but for other adults who offer guidance to such youths. Frequently a youth's problem is that either one or the other parent is missing and this amendment attempts to incorporate into programs authorized by the bill the active participation of adults who can guide the youth. By these amendments, I hope to incorporate one of the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. In the task force report "Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime," on page 47, the Commission recommends "efforts both private and public, should be intensified to develop activities that involve the whole family together."

My other amendment provides for, under title II, "the counseling or instruction of parents in the improving of parental instruction and supervision of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent." Parents of delinquents generally need help in reestablishing their authority. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I hope the House will adopt these amendments.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HATHAWAY. Yes, I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, we have had an opportunity to discuss these amendments with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY]. We feel that his amendments are well taken and are good amendments and, therefore, accept them.

Mr. HATHAWAY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, and if there are no questions on the amendments, Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY].

The amendments were agreed to.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. WHITENER

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I offer a series of amendments, and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina that the amendments be considered en bloc?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. WHITENER: On page 8, lines 3 and 4, strike out "or private nonprofit"

On page 8, lines 10 and 11, strike out "or private nonprofit"

On page 10, line 9, strike out "or private"

On page 12, line 8, strike out "or institution, or organization"

On page 12, line 17, strike out "or private"

On page 13, line 8, strike out "or private nonprofit"

On page 15, strike out all of subsection (4) beginning at line 14 and continuing through line 21, and renumber the succeeding subsections.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, the amendments which I have offered, seven in number, are not complicated. I can state the purpose of the amendments very briefly.

In the provision of authorizations for grants on page 8, under the section titled "Applications"; on page 10, under the title "Use of Funds"; on page 12 the section entitled "Recipients and Conditions of Grants and Contracts"; on page 12 under the section titled "Research Projects" under title III of the bill; and on page 13 under the heading "Technical Assistance," we find the use of the words "private nonprofit agencies," or similar words. This language indicates that under this bill the same error might be made which was made under the original poverty bill, or antipoverty bill. I can say that the provisions in that bill for the funneling of funds to drumhead organizations and new organizations which were created for the purpose of getting their hands into the Treasury of the Federal Government have brought about practically all of the trouble that we have had with that program.

These amendments would merely strike out any grants for research or other purposes to these organizations.

Another amendment would strike out on page 15 all of the language in subsection 4, which defines a private nonprofit agency.

I believe all of us are properly concerned about the problem of juvenile delinquency. All of us should be interested in doing something about it. However, this is an area in which Government agencies in my judgment should be concerned, and not newly formed organizations. The only limitation in the present bill on this type of activity is in the definition of a private nonprofit agency, which appears on page 15. There it merely says the agency must have been in existence at least 2 years before filing the application.

I rather suspect that there is a purpose in using that language. I do not want to be unkind to anybody, but most of these so-called poverty agencies have been in existence just about the right amount of time to file an application for money that can go on top of a lot of other money that they are wasting all over this country.

I believe every Member of this House who has had one of these programs in his district, has had a great deal of the trouble and concern, because the people in his district were blaming him for things that he has no control over because of the activities of these private organizations.

I am perfectly willing for the Governor of my State or the local governments or the people who have the statutory responsibility for handling public funds to be entrusted with this effort to improve the situation in dealing with youth. But I cannot for the life of me see why you want to bring in these private organizations and set them up here as you have seen it done under the poverty program.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The concern that the gentleman has expressed is obviously shared by the committee.

Mr. WHITENER. Not to the same extent. I am sorry I cannot agree with the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is why we totally excluded the private and not for profit agencies under section (a) of the rehabilitative services and we included them with those severe limitations in section (b).

But I think perhaps the gentleman would want to address himself to this question which comes up in line with his amendment.

We have now adopted an amendment here that would give these programs to the Governors of the States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] has expired.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The question I have here is that you have already adopted an amendment here that gives control of these entire programs to your State executive. I am afraid if the gentleman's amendment is adopted, you might be eliminating from the war on juvenile crime such organizations as the Boy Scouts of America and Big Brothers.

Mr. WHITENER. Is the gentleman suggesting that the Boy Scouts of America should get money under this program or that the Girl Scouts or any other organization like that should get money under this program?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I can conceive where the YMCA and the various Big Brother organizations and other organizations conceivably could get funds under this program.

Mr. WHITENER. If the gentleman is recommending that this Congress should get the Federal Government into subsidizing the YMCA, then I have been misled as to the purpose of this legislation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The YMCA has camps all over the country to aid children who have serious problems. What I am trying to say is that with this amendment of the gentleman, he might be eliminating some of the very worthwhile private not-for-profit agencies. This is why the committee imposed very severe limitations, saying that they must have been in existence at least 2 years to do exactly what the gentleman has properly pointed out with reference to these fly-by-night agencies that spring up and organizations that spring up and come running down here to Washington to get a big contract for we do not know what.

So I think the committee recognized that problem and wrote in the 2-year caveat.

Mr. WHITENER. Is the gentleman saying, and he is the author of the bill as I understand it, that the purpose of this legislation is to get the YMCA and other religious organizations into the Federal grant business? If that be true, I have misapprehended the entire purpose of the bill and would have to vote against the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, in response to what my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina, has said, I would say exactly the opposite happens to be the case.

This committee took the approach that governmental agencies will not under every circumstances have all the answers and all of the solutions and all of the programs and all of the projects that will be most workable. We accepted the idea and embodied it in this law that private agencies on many occasions will have programs that are workable and will hold out in some cases even more opportunity to improve the situation of juvenile delinquency than those imagined by these so-called Government agencies.

So I would hate to see us take the position that only governmental agencies will be included in this legislation. We are taking the position that the attack on juvenile delinquency is one that requires all levels of government and all levels of private community action. So I think it would be a bad mistake, by amendment, to take out of our bill the ability to cooperate with local community agencies that operate on a nonprofit basis. I would agree with the gentleman from Illinois. I think we have done a very good job in delineating those agencies which would be appropriately aided by this bill.

In answer to the gentleman from North Carolina, I think these agencies have been considered and should be part of the overall picture.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman has had enough experience around here, I am sure, to know that if we are going to erect a nice big Christmas tree and old Santa Claus, in the form of the Federal Government, is going to come around with at least $25 million a year—that these privately supported organizations will not continue operating as they are today. They will be on the roster to get some of the Federal pap that is being passed out.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say to the gentleman from Iowa I would hope that that would not happen. I think probably it is a valid point to make. But I still maintain that private agencies, private boys' clubs, private halfway houses, community action programs of this type should be assisted wherever they hold out a program that meets the overall purposes of the bill.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. COLLIER. It would seem to me that if there were community action organizations, such as the YMCA and many others, it would be a foregone conclusion that they are already working with local authorities where there are juvenile delinquency problems. I would certainly hate to feel that they are not already doing so. I would say that in almost any community in which organizations are already working, if they have any thoughts or ideas that would deal with the problem of delinquency control, it seems to me that they presently have a responsibility, and if they have neglected this responsibility, then I wonder if this is not the problem.

But I do not think they have neglected their responsibility. For example, I think the YMCA has been dedicated to the question of dealing with juvenile delinquency problems in every one of their activities. To say that you are going to embrace them rather than have them contribute in the local community with the local authorities who are charged with this responsibility it seems to me is getting "all over the lot." It seems to me in many of these areas you will merely duplicate programs that, it is my understanding, are already embraced in the fundamental purpose of the poverty program. I think it is a case of, believe me, more duplication. It is a total indirection, because no one even knows what agency will be getting this money.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say in the first instance the poverty program as such does not necessarily direct itself to the problem of juvenile delinquency. As a specific example, if the YMCA of Cook County had a summer program for boys where you could have in some degree prevention of juvenile delinquency advocated by wholesome activities, would the gentleman from Illinois take the position that we should not be able to send perhaps 100 boys to this camp, and therefore cooperate with the private agency?

Mr. COLLIER. Not at all. But I would certainly say in the same breath if such a camp is in operation, and those who attend the camp are in an economic position to afford the cost of such a camp, indeed that cost should not be paid by Federal funds. If it is a poverty case, yes, it should.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. ASHBROOK was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would merely say, not with the idea of arguing, but with some attempt to answer the question, I have been active in community action programs. I have been active in the United Appeal. If what the gentleman from Illinois said were absolutely true, and if those agencies were doing all they could, we would probably not have a juvenile delinquency problem and a need for any of these programs at this time.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I take it from the gentleman's argument he would feel then that a Sunday school or church would be eligible for a grant, if it is a regular Sunday school with lessons, if it is dispensing a doctrine which would be against juvenile delinquency?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would say to the gentleman it would have to be a comprehensive program.

Mr. WHITENER. We have a comprehensive program in every church I know of.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I am talking about the comprehensive program that the State must submit. I would doubt that would qualify.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendments. We all know the issue we are voting on. I will not take the 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I was on my feet previously.

I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words. I do so for the purpose of clarifying the question of just where these funds are going to be directed and what limitation there is to be on them. Earlier today I listened to the debate and although I had some reservations, I was in favor of this bill. Now, I have new reservations. I now question whether there is going to be any control over the distribution of these funds. I question whether this is merely going to be a means by which money can be funneled whimsically into areas in such a way that Congress will not be able to make any determination as to what is being achieved. This has basically been the prime fault with many of the Federal programs, and I do not want to be a party to compounding this wrong in this program.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLIER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman raised some good questions. I suggest the gentleman look over part B of this act, because the discussion has been on private agencies. This section is with respect to services, and it spells out criteria for carrying out these programs; the conditions under which they can be carried out, and the priorities for them.

The gentleman raised another question as to who evaluates these programs. This bill does have an evaluation section.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I know perfectly well the provisions of this bill. I have been around here long enough to understand what the provisions of other bills stated in vague language and what happened ultimately in the administration of the programs created by the legislation. I am merely saying, in connection with the amendment prohibiting funds from going to nonprofit organizations, that there must be some clarification if I am going to support this bill in good conscience.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I suggest the gentleman look at part B, page 8, of the bill, line 9. It spells out in simple language exactly what these public and private agencies must accomplish before they can qualify for any Federal assistance. I must say this section would be strengthened by the amendment, if adopted, which was offered by the gentleman from Illinois. So the use of public and private nonprofit agencies in this war against crime is very severely controlled.

I think the final point is the evaluation section, on page 14, line 19, under section 403, which provides for continual evaluation of the program, so that we will not be asked again, as we were this afternoon, about what has this program accomplished during the past 6 years? We will have the information in this Congress about what is being done.

All in all, I would hope the gentleman would support the legislation.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his answer, although it leaves me with some serious reservations as to where there will be any degree of effective control in distribution of these funds.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the necessary number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I call the attention of the Chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Perkins], or the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Pucinski] to the report, page 6, under the heading of "Training," wherein reference is made to juvenile court judges. Is it proposed to use any part of the $25 million contained in this bill to train juvenile court judges, and, if so, where are they to be trained?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is not proposed to go out to train them. The testimony from juvenile court judges all over the country before the committee pointed up the crying need for training people in this field.

I said in my remarks, when the gentleman was on the floor, that four out of every five juvenile courts have no psychiatrists.

Mr. GROSS. Let us get down to the specifics of why juvenile court judges are listed under the training provision.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Because we hope to provide some training for their departments.

Mr. GROSS. Then it is proposed to train juvenile court judges?

Mr. PUCINSKI. We do not propose to do anything.

Mr. GROSS. Are they to be trained in a university or college?

Mr. PUCINSKI. We do not propose to do anything. This bill will permit the local communities to make their requests. They will draw up the programs. They will advise the Federal Government how they believe the community can best approach the problem of juvenile crime. All we do is provide the wherewithal.

Mr. GROSS. Is the committee saying that the juvenile court judges of this country today are incompetent to handle juvenile cases?

Mr. PUCINSKI. No.

The President's Commission did conduct a very exhaustive study and said that the great hope for the accomplishment by juvenile courts had not been fulfilled, and that almost three-fourths of the juvenile court judges were able to devote less than one-quarter of their time to juvenile and family matters, and also that in many cases it turned out they were able to devote no more than 10 or 15 minutes to an interview.

Mr. GROSS. I am convinced that money can and will be used, if this bill is passed, to train juvenile court judges.

On page 14 of the bill it is provided there will be a $25 million appropriation for the fiscal year 1968. The fiscal year 1968 is now one-fourth gone. Will there be a reduction in the $25 million?

Mr. PUCINSKI. No, because the needs are so monumental that $25 million will just scratch the surface.

Mr. GROSS. Congress has already spent $47 million since 1961 for this purpose. I assume that the other 15 juvenile delinquency programs under various agencies and departments of Government costing additional millions, were funded separately. Am I correct in that assumption?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Many of those programs were.

Mr. GROSS. Under the forerunner of this bill $47 million has been spent.

What do we have to show for that?

Mr. PUCINSKI. There is an extensive file of reports, findings, studies, and research prepared by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency.

Mr. GROSS. Yes, but the better answer is that juvenile delinquency and crimes perpetrated by juveniles have increased astoundingly since 1961; is that not the case?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is the case. This is exactly why the committee, on a bipartisan basis, with the full support of the entire subcommittee, came in with an action program instead of more studies and surveys and planning. The testimony before the committee shows that local officials know what they need, and what they need is money.

Mr. GROSS. So in this department we have been led down the primrose path to the tune of $47 million in 6 years.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do not think that is a fair statement.

Mr. GROSS. We have no more reason, so far as I know, to expect anything else to happen under the term of this bill, but more juvenile delinquency and more juvenile crime.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is one of the most avid readers in this Chamber, and I sincerely recommend to him a reading of all those reports piled up over there, and the findings for the past 6 years, from which local communities are now developing modern and effective programs to combat juvenile delinquency.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman does not deny that there has been a 30-percent increase in robberies in which juveniles were heavily involved in the first 6 months of this year, and a 20-percent increase in purse snatching, in which juveniles were heavily involved, in the first 6 months of this year.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is entirely possible that those percentages would be much higher if we had not started on this program 6 years ago.

Mr. GROSS. And this is after $47 million has been kicked down the drain.

Show us results for some of this Great Society legislation, that is costing hundreds of millions, yes billions, and then some of us may be able to seriously consider legislation you bring to the House floor.

It is tragic for the taxpayers when $47 million of their money, allegedly spent on juvenile delinquency, produces not a shred of evidence that it has accomplished anything except provide jobs for bureaucrats.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered en bloc by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Whitener].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Whitener) there were—ayes 57, noes 47.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Whitener and Mr. Perkins.

The committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 96, noes 108.

So the amendments were rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further amendments to be proposed to title I of the bill, the Clerk will read.

The clerk read as follows:

TITLE II—TRAINING

AUTHORIZATION

Sec. 201. The Secretary is authorized to make grants or contracts for projects for the training of personnel employed in or preparing for employment in the diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent. Such projects may include, among other things development of courses of study and of interrelated curricula in schools, colleges, and universities, establishment of short-term institutes for training at such schools, colleges, and universities inservice training, and traineeships with such stipends, including allowances for travel and subsistence expense, as the Secretary may determine to be necessary.

RECIPIENTS AND CONDITIONS OF GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

Sec. 202. Such grants may be made to, and such contracts may be made with, any Federal, State, or local public agency, or any public or private nonprofit college, school, university or institution, or organization; and, to the extent he deems it appropriate, the Secretary shall require the recipient of any such grant or contract to contribute money, facilities, or services for carrying out the projects for which the grant or contract is made.

TITLE III—RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Sec. 301. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to or contracts with public or private agencies and organizations for research into improved techniques and practices which, in his judgment, hold promise of making a substantial contribution toward prevention of delinquency and treatment of youth who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent or toward improvement of rehabilitative services for delinquent youth, including techniques and practices for the training of personnel.

(b) For any fiscal year, not more than 10 per centum of the funds appropriated for such year under section 402 may be used to carry out this section.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Sec. 302. The Secretary is authorized to cooperate with and, either directly or through grants to or contracts with any public or private nonprofit agency, to render technical assistance to State, local, or other public or private nonprofit agencies and institutions in matters relating to the prevention of delinquency or treatment of delinquent youths or to rehabilitative services for such youths, including that for planning for the provision of such services, and to provide short-term training and instruction of a technical nature with respect to such matters.

INFORMATION SERVICES

SEC. 303. The Secretary is directed to collect, evaluate, publish, and disseminate information and materials relating to research and programs and projects conducted under this Act, and other matters relating to the prevention or treatment of delinquency and provision of rehabilitative services for delinquent youths, such information and materials to be used for the general public and for agencies, organizations, and personnel engaged in programs concerning youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent.

TITLE IV—GENERAL

PAYMENT PROCEDURE

SEC. 401. Payments of any grant or under any contract under this Act may be made (after necessary adjustment on account of previously made overpayments, or underpayments) in installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be determined by the Secretary, and shall be made on such conditions as he finds necessary to carry out the purposes for which the grant or contract is made.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 402. There are authorized to be appropriated for grants under title I and grants or contracts under titles II and III, to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and such sums as may be necessary for the next two fiscal years.

EVALUATION

SEC. 403. Such portion of any appropriation under section 402 as the Secretary may determine, but not in excess of 1 per centum thereof, shall be available for evaluation (by the Secretary directly or by grants or contracts) of the programs for which such appropriation is made.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 404. For purposes of this Act—

(1) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(2) The term "construction" means construction of new buildings and acquisition, expansion, remodeling, or alteration of existing buildings, including equipment of any such buildings and architects' fees, but not including the cost of acquisition of land or offsite improvements.

(3) The term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(4) The term "private nonprofit agency" means any accredited institution of higher education, and any other agency or institution which is owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or organizations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, but only if such agency or institution was in existence at least two years before the date of an application under this Act.

(5) The term "rehabilitative services" means services and special treatment directed toward youths who are under the supervision and control of some segment of the juvenile prevention system.

(6) The term "preventive services" means special preventive programs and services which are designed to help communities assist youths to avoid becoming delinquent.

Mr. PERKINS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. WAGGONNER

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer two amendments, and I ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. WAGGONNER: After the words "under this Act" on line 21 of page 15 add the following:

"The term 'private nonprofit agency' shall not be construed to include the Office of Economic Opportunity or any community action agency, other agency or program created by, administered by, or in any part funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity in accomplishing the purposes of this act. Participation by the Office of Economic Opportunity or any of the aforementioned is expressly prohibited in administering this act."

After line 6 on page 16 add a new subsection numbered (7):

"(7) The term 'public agency' means a duly elected political body of a subdivision thereof and shall not be construed to include the Office of Economic Opportunity or any community action agency, other agency or program created by, administered by, or in any part funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity."

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, these two amendments——

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

I hate to raise the question, but I do make the point of order that the amendments are not germane.

My point of order being that we are now by these amendments trying to reach other acts and exclude.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman's point of order comes too late.

The gentleman from Louisiana had started his discussion of the amendment, and there was no previous point of order made prior to the discussion.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I was on my feet seeking recognition at the time the gentleman commenced to address the Chair.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Was the gentleman from Kentucky on his feet seeking recognition?

Mr. PERKINS. I was, Mr. Chairman.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair then overrules the point of order made by the gentleman from Michigan, and the Chair will hear the gentleman from Kentucky on his point of order.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, how far in the discussion of a man who offers an amendment can such a point of order be made, then?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Kentucky was on his feet seeking recognition, and so stated. Therefore, the gentleman from Kentucky will be recognized to make his point of order.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane because the gentleman, by his amendment, is seeking to exclude some other agency created by the Economic Opportunities Act from participation. Therefore, I feel the point of order should be sustained.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Does the gentleman from Louisiana desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The point of order is totally without merit. Section 404 of this proposal, H.R. 12120, is entitled "Definitions." The first amendment is a further extension of the definition of what a private nonprofit agency actually is. The second amendment, as we consider them en bloc, adds an additional definition not included in section 404, which defines a public agency.

Reference is continually made to private nonprofit agencies and public agencies on page after page of this bill. If we are to say that an amendment is not germane which defines a public agency, when a definition does not exist—and as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] said earlier today that we should have one—if we are to preclude the possibility of clarifying a definition of a private nonprofit agency, then what is germane?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard briefly on the point of order?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I would call attention of the Chair to the fact that the title of the bill states, "To assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies." The gentleman's amendment goes to community agencies.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair is prepared to rule on the point of order.

The Chair will state that this section of the bill relates to definitions of these various terms—public agency and private nonprofit agencies or groups—and goes into a particularization of each; therefore, the Chair thinks the amendments are germane and overrules the point of order.

The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendments.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I will not use the 5 minutes you have allocated to me here to speak for these two amendments.

The amendments speak for themselves. Those of you who were here earlier listened to the colloquy between the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] and myself as we attempted to define a public agency. It was his interpretation that authority was not granted in this bill to make grants available to the Office of Economic Opportunity or any part thereof to administer or to pursue the purposes of this act or be funded by grants for participation.

If that is the case, then there certainly can be no objection to writing a specific prohibition into the legislation.

There is a partial definition of what a private nonprofit agency is. Part of the first amendment read simply gives further definition of what a private nonprofit agency is and says that the Office of Economic Opportunity and all of its agencies or contractors with the Office of Economic Opportunity shall not be eligible to participate in the grants made available under this act.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the situation is simply this: We have a poverty program. We should not start another. We are trying to accomplish something else with this act. Let us not put all this money for this particular legislation into the same hands for the same use that the Office of Economic Opportunity spends their money for.

I ask you to support these two amendments to clarify the purposes of this legislation and to help us to achieve its purpose.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection to the amendments on this side.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Louisiana has correctly stated the situation when he said that I would have no objection to including a definition of a public agency in this bill.

But this amendment places a limitation on the meaning of a public agency. This amendment does not go to establishing a definition of a public agency, but rather it says that a public agency means a duly elected political body or subdivision thereof and shall not be construed to include the Office of Economic Opportunity or any community action agency or program created by, administered by, or in any part funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Now I know the popular Chamber game around here is to kick the OEO in many quarters. But let us not lose our heads, gentlemen.

You have adopted an amendment here that gives Governors of the respective States the authority to come up with comprehensive plans. But, you say they may only deal with certain agencies, and under no circumstances may they deal with, or include in a comprehensive plan any program or project that has any connection with OEO. I cannot think of anything more tragic. You have a poverty program that deals for the most part with young people who, in many instances, have very serious problems and you have the Job Corps in which we have enrolled youngsters with criminal records to try to straighten them out. It would seem to me you would really be saying to the Governors, you can go ahead and put up a program in your State and wage a war against juvenile crime, but do not let that program in any way touch any program or agency that is directly or indirectly working with a community action agency.

It would seem to me that you would be putting your Governors in an impossible position. I can see perhaps some merit for this approach if we did not have the limitation that we placed in this legislation by the Railsback amendment. It seems to me totally illogical at this time to say to your Governors that you do not trust their judgment; that you do not trust whatever comprehensive plans that they may come up with, and that you are going to say even further—"Go ahead and wage war against juvenile crime in every sector except that sector that in some way is touched directly or indirectly by the poverty program."

My colleagues, I hope that you are going to consider this thing very carefully and reject this amendment.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Did not the gentleman express his personal opinion earlier in a colloquy here with me this afternoon that there was no authority, in his opinion, for a grant to be made to any part of the OEO or any community action program?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I said it would seem to me that it could qualify if it was a public agency, and I identified the type of public agencies I was talking about at that time and the gentleman will remember and the record will speak for itself. But if a community wishes to, and if there is no private agency doing the job, the Governor may very well want to use the resources of this particular agency.

I think the Railsback amendment has certainly changed a good part of this act in that direction. All the safeguards you indicated were essential were covered by that amendment. For that reason I would hope that we would reject this present amendment as being totally restrictive in the war on juvenile crime.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. In general debate we tried to clarify whether or not these funds would go to public agencies, people who govern the cities and who are elected to office, or whether they would go to some private agencies, which could in some cases include community action programs. We have not been able to get a very clear answer, in my opinion, although the indications seemed to be, on the part of the subcommitte chairman, that it is intended that they should go to public agencies.

I would like to see it made crystal clear that they go to public agencies and not to the community action programs.

I am familiar with this bill because 6 years ago I helped write the original bill. At the time we wrote this bill many of us on the subcommittee had misgivings, and at that time we pointed out the weaknesses in the bill and the fact that the bill was not accomplishing anything. Our suggestions and our words of caution were ignored.

Now, 6 years later, and $46 million poorer, it is admitted by practically everyone—and it is certainly admitted by inference by the committee, which has rewritten this legislation—that the original act has been a dismal failure. In fact, this bill is perhaps one of the greatest failures I have seen since I have been in Congress.

I wish to see this new legislation enacted because it makes substantial changes in the old bill. I want to make certain that it is different. I want to make certain that this money does not go to the same people; these private, semiprivate or quasi-private organizations which are known in some places as community action programs, that it does not go to the same people who have literally squandered $46 million of the taxpayers' money. As a safeguard I suggest that we get on with this business of juvenile delinquency, that we give this money to the public people who have offices of responsibility, our elected officials, our mayors, or our Governors, as the case may be, but that we do not give it to these people who have wasted our money.

To assure this I suggest that we vote favorably upon this amendment. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I was hoping that we would not have to debate the poverty bill when we were considering the juvenile delinquency bill. Here under the rehabilitative provisions of this bill we make it perfectly clear that grants are going only to the public agencies, whether it be a municipality, a State agency, or a local county government. But in the preventive section it is spelled out that nonprofit private agencies may receive a grant for a community program designed to prevent juvenile delinquency. In the proposed amendment we say now, because of any assistance extended by the Economic Opportunities Act, because of the community action section, we are going to deny to any local community in this country the right to submit a plan, whether it be sponsored by the Big Brothers, the YMCA, or any other patriotic group in a community, the right to submit and sponsor a program for the youngsters who may have been identified as being dropouts from school, and in all probability may become juvenile delinquents. We are, by this amendment, denying the participation of such agencies even though the program has unanimous local endorsement and holds real promise of effectively attacking the problem of delinquent youth.

We are going to deny to those local communities the right, because they may have some connection with a community action agency, to have a program. That is all it amounts to. Under the "preventive part" there may be only a few instances where it will be desirable to fund a program through the community action programs, but all community actions per se should not be ruled out.

I feel we should certainly respect the

wishes of the local community when it submits a plan, and not get bogged down here and ostracize a community agency merely because they may have some connection with the OEO community action effort. I repeat again, this is extraneous, and this amendment certainly should be voted down.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, it is not a fact, under this amendment, if a community established a diagnostic center and a youngster in a Job Corps camp was arrested by the police, he could not be taken to this diagnostic center because he is part of—read the language—a program funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity?

Mr. PERKINS. If there is any funding by the Office of Economic Opportunity, I would say "Yes." That is the danger here. We are going to eliminate hundreds of programs that we do not intend to eliminate.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will not the chairman of the full committee readily admit that these amendments specifically prohibit the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from funding the Office of Economic Opportunity specifically to do these things, to participate and to effect programs, to initiate programs?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, as I construe them, as I have indicated that if a YMCA is utilizing grants under the Economic Opportunities Act it could not be the recipient of funds for a special program under the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, is it not true, under the language of this amendment, if the local juvenile court decided to put their people in a local NYC program, a good program in which they wanted to put their people on the way to rehabilitation, they could not contract with that agency to do so?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered en bloc by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER].

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I demand a division.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. WAGGONNER and Mr. PERKINS.

The Committee divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 129, noes 85.

So the amendments were agreed to.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 13, at the end of line 1, insert: ", or $2,000,000, whichever is the lesser,".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 14, beginning in line 15, strike out "as may be necessary for the next two fiscal years" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "may be appropriated for the next two fiscal years as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GIAIMO

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GIAIMO: On page 12, line 12, after the words "is made" strike out all of title III, beginning on page 12, line 13, through page 13, line 25, and renumber the remaining title and sections of the Act accordingly.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, at the beginning of the debate it was made very clear by the chairman of the subcommittee that the committee had rewritten the bill to try to put the juvenile delinquency program on the track. It has been off the track, in my opinion, for 6 years, that is, since its inception. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] told us that this is a bricks-and-mortar bill; it is designed to get to the very heart of the juvenile delinquency problem; it is designed to get into action programs and eliminate demonstration programs or continuous studies.

During the debate on one of the prior amendments when the question of research came up it was stated that there were reams of research available to the program as to whether or not it had accomplished anything in the field of juvenile delinquency. In my opinion, they have not accomplished anything in 6 years. But be that as it may, of one thing I am certain, namely, they have literally studied this problem to death. They have had all kinds of studies going on. They have had studies going on ad infinitum for 6 years now. The committee itself, in my opinion, recognized this fact, and it has only given them a token amount of $2 million, which, I believe, is still more than a token. It is $2 million too much to give to the same people who have been studying this problem for 6 years and accomplished nothing.

If we want to have a bricks-and-mortar program, let us have one, but let us stop the wasteful research going on under this bill and tell them to stop the waste. Let us not give them money for it. This also includes the technical assistance features of the title. Also included is the information service, which has been worked to death, in my opinion. Let us cut out the parts of this bill which will accomplish nothing but carry on and continue the same lack of accomplishment which we have had for 6 years in this field.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIAIMO. I yield to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. May I say that I rise in support of the amendment just offered by the gentleman from Connecticut. I would congratulate the gentleman from Illinois and his subcommittee for making major changes in the legislation, and say that of all the legislation I have worked on during the 12 years I have been in Congress, I share the views of the gentleman from Connecticut in that I can think of no single piece of legislation that has been so disappointing in results. This held great promise, but the way it was administered during the last 6 years it has been a disappointment to all of us who were on the original committee. We were persuaded 3 years ago to extend the program because we were promised there would be a new Direction in the programs. During this 6-year period they have literally dozens of telephone-directory-size reports as a result of the millions of dollars spent on studies and comprehensive planning. I suggest most of these studies are now gathering dust on some shelves in some libraries and never put to use.

Finally, I would like to say that if I had this legislation to vote on all over again and could relive the day in 1961 when it first came before the House, I would have spent those $47 million on swimming pools in the District of Columbia and have kept them open all year around where kids could keep cool, keep clean and busy. I would be willing to wager anybody money that had we done that—we would have been more successful in reducing juvenile delinquency and preventing it here in the District—than in the way they have spent the $47 million in research and comprehensive planning.

So, Mr. Chairman, I hope that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Connecticut will be approved and that we will cut out this research and get down to the job of spending money on kids and not spending it on reports that are filed away and never read.

Mr. GIAIMO. I agree completely with the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], and I urge support of my amendment.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIAIMO. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I support wholeheartedly the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GIAIMO].

Mr. Chairman, in the Occupational Education Bulletin, published on June 1, 1967, of this year, there is the following item:

POLICE SCIENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS CONTINUE TO GROW

Cochise College, Douglas, Arizona, a two-year community college completing its third year this June, now has a program in law enforcement. At the end of two years the graduate will receive an associate in arts degree, the advantage of preemployment, on-the-job experience, or the option to transfer to a four-year institution.

> There are 132 colleges in the United States offering associate degree programs in police science—sixty-one colleges in California alone. The total number of universities offering bachelor degree programs is thirty. The August 1967 issue of *The Police Chief* magazine will reveal that by September only ten states will remain which do not offer degree programs in law enforcement.

Educational institutions throughout the Nation have been involved in research programs dealing in law enforcement and another appropriation, with Federal guidelines, would only add to the duplication that already exists in so many governmental programs.

I hope that the amendment offered by the distinguished gentlemen from Connecticut will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I know it is late and the Members are tired. I know they want to get a vote on this pending legislation.

Mr. Chairman, whether we keep this proposed language in the bill or not, is not going to be disastrous to the bill. Basically, we have a good bill here.

I did not write the act of 1961. As a matter of fact, in 1961 I was only a low-ranking member on the committee, and in no position to make any significant changes even though I fought hard against many provisions of that bill.

Be that as it may, I recently visited with a gentleman who is considered an expert in treating juvenile crime. He exhibited to me a little plaque which hung on his wall, upon which there was an inscription removed from an old Egyptian tomb 2,000 years ago which said, in effect, that young people are disrespectful of their parents, disrespectful of the law, and are wayward in their conduct, and so on.

This man said that they had problems with youths 2,000 years ago and we still have that problem today so we should not be too worried. I said that it represented a rather poor reflection upon mankind; we have been able to make progress in every one of our social and human endeavors, except one, and that is in this field of juvenile crime. We still do not know what causes young people to become delinquents.

Right now, Mr. Chairman, if there are 300 Members of the House in this Chamber at the present time, there are 300 different ideas as to what is the best manner to fight juvenile delinquency. Each of us has his own idea.

So, Mr. Chairman, I say to the members of the committee that we have made some major changes in this bill which are good. The fact of the matter is if you adopt this amendment, you will negate many of the good things which you have previously adopted here today.

Mr. Chairman, in reading this record and in studying the testimony of the people who testified and who are familiar with the problem, they have said that what we need in many of these communities is added technical assistance to be brought to bear upon this problem.

Mr. Chairman, one of the bad things about legislation which we pass in this Chamber is that we have failed to go out to the hustings, to go out to the 4,000-odd communities in America who are trying to grope with this problem and tell them of our legislation. This is when we have this information section. I will permit these communities to determine and to know where the problem exists and how they can help themselves in the solution thereof.

I say to the Members of the House, you have the votes, and if you want to go ahead and support this amendment, go ahead and do it. You are not going to kill the bill by supporting this amendment, but if you honestly want to do something about juvenile crime—and this committee has done an honest job, we have cleaned this bill up—you will defeat his amendment. I will stand behind this bill any day as a good piece of legislation. I say to the Members that we worked hard on this legislation. We heard testimony. I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I believe we are making a grievous error if we strike out this little pittance for research. I stand here today to bear testimony as to the usefulness of this research. Down in the lower East Side of New York—which is part of the area I represent—there are storefronts that have been created as a result of moneys appropriated for research. What do these storefronts do? They invite kids who have problems to come in. They invite kids who have gotten into difficulty, kids who use drugs. They invite them in to discuss their problems with them. They have psychiatrists, they have professional people who can discuss their problems with them to try and show them the right from wrong.

These storefronts and numerous other programs that have been created as a result of the research moneys will be entirely destroyed and vitiated. I do not believe that the juvenile delinquency program should be deprived of this sum of $2 million in order to discourage the program. After all, the past years have made evident the fact that we have not been able to cure this evil, and if we are going to deprive this program of the right to evolve, if we deny the right of experimentations and research in different programs, we are going to deprive these children, these young people who are unable to learn the difference between right and wrong, of the ability to correct their difficulties.

So I suggest to the Members that they will be doing something very evil by striking out this item.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a vote on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GIAIMO].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DINGELL

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DINGELL: On page 7, line 2, after the word "design", strike out the comma and all that follows down to the end of line 4 on page 7, and insert a period in lieu thereof.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. DINGELL. I will be very pleased to yield to my good friend, the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the bill and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I support this legislation. I believe it is good. I believe it is desirable. I believe the Federal Government should assist the communities and the States in combating juvenile delinquency. I applaud section 105. I believe it is highly desirable legislation, but I do not believe that at this time and under the circumstances in which we find ourselves we can justify making Federal grants, even to the very limited extent that we see here on page 7, line 2.

Because under the language that this amendment strikes, Federal money would be available for inclusion of works of art in such buildings as combination detention and diagnostic facilities and halfway houses for youths with special behavioral problems; and for small special purpose residential community based facilities for diagnosis treatment and rehabilitation of youths and for training schools for the rehabilitation and education of youths who are in custody of any public agency.

I happen to think that this would be desirable. I do applaud the idea that the legislation provides for the consideration of excellence of architecture and design. I believe this kind of institution should be attractive. I believe it should be light and airy. I believe it should be esthetically appealing. But I found myself hard put when we are faced with a substantial increase in the budget to go for even so modest a sum as 1 percent of the cost of the project being devoted to works of art.

I applaud the efforts of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] for whom I have boundless regard both as to his ability and integrity and also as to his dedication to the public interest. It is well known by me and by my colleagues in the House that one of the gentleman's great contributions to the deliberations of this body has been to try to make Federal grant programs more esthetically pleasing. I support that at least insofar as supporting his attempt to see to it that due consideration is given to excellence of architecture and design.

The only thing that amendment does is to strike out the inclusion of works of art even to the modest amount that my good friend, the gentleman from New York, limited it to, that is 1 percent.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SCHEUER. I do not think that my colleague and I are very far apart in philosophy. We both want these facilities to be attractive. We both want to give these kids in the halfway houses and in community-based facilities for rehabilitation and training, some sense and feeling that society values them. We both want to give these kids a vastly enhanced self-image. After all, what this bill is all about is improving the self-image, the self-esteem, the sense of worth of these kids, giving them the feeling that society values them and has a role for them to play.

Mr. DINGELL. I say to my good friend that that is the reason that my amendment leaves in the excellence of architecture and design. I think it is desirable.

Mr. SCHEUER. So if we agree that the design of the building is to be attractive, what is wrong with having a colorful mosaic tile mural showing the figure of the Lady Justice by the entrance to the building.

Mr. DINGELL. I am not so sure that some of the young people are going to look with kindness on the figure of Justice.

Mr. SCHEUER. I believe these kids are reaching for justice, fair play, understanding and compassion—a feeling that someone cares. If my colleague agrees that the building should be attractive and that there should be excellence in design, let us do it right and let us do it now and include a ceramic tile mural of the figure of Lady Justice, or perhaps a mural on the trials and tribulations of youth in what they view as a stern harsh grey adult world.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PERKINS), there were—ayes 106, noes 43.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BENNETT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 927, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on the so-called Railsback amendment as finally adopted.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on the so-called Waggonner amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the so-called Railsback amendment, on which a separate vote has been demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 3, line 16, strike out "any public agency" and insert in lieu thereof "States".

On page 3, strike out lines 22 through 25 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 103. (a) From funds received under section 102 a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a county, municipality, or other public agency or a combination of States, counties, municipalities, or public agencies, which contains or is accompanied by assurances—".

One page 4, line 15, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 5, line 5, strike out "102, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "103, the State agency".

On page 5, line 6, strike out "State or".

On page 6, line 4, strike out "an applicant" and insert in lieu thereof "a State".

On page 6, line 13, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 8, strike out lines 3 and 4, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to States to meet not to exceed 75 per".

On page 8, strike out lines 9 through 12, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 113. From funds received under section 112, a State agency may make grants but only upon application to it by a local public or private nonprofit agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances—".

On page 9, line 5, strike out "112, the Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "113, the State agency".

On page 10, line 2, strike out "an agency" and insert in lieu thereof "a State".

On page 10, strike out line 11 and all that follows down through and including line 13 on page 11.

On page 11, line 17, strike out "or contracts" and insert in lieu thereof "to States for grants or contracts".

On page 12, line 2, strike out "Secretary" and insert in lieu thereof "State agency".

On page 12, strike out lines 5 through 9 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 202. Such grants and contracts may be made by the State agency and may be made to and with any local public agency or any public or private nonprofit college, school, university or institution, or organization; and to the extent the State agency deems it appropriate, the State agency shall require the recipient".

On page 14, line 11, insert "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 402." and after line 17, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) Funds appropriated to make grants under titles I and II for a fiscal year shall be allocated by the Secretary among the States for use therein by the State agency. In allocating funds appropriated for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1968, June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, the Secretary shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 3 per centum of the amount being allocated, as he may determine and shall allocate such amount among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, according to their respective needs. Of the remaining funds, 75 per centum shall be allocated among the fifty States and the District of Columbia according to their respective populations and 25 per centum thereof shall be allocated as the Secretary shall determine."

On page 14, after line 23, insert the following new sections:

"STATE PLAN REQUIREMENTS

"SEC. 404. Any State which desires to receive a grant under title I or II of this Act shall submit to the Secretary a comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan (in such detail as the Secretary determines necessary). Such plan shall designate a State agency which shall have the duty of coordinating efforts within the State to combat juvenile delinquency, carrying out State programs to combat juvenile delinquency, and making grants under titles I and II of this Act. Such State plan shall provide for appropriate review procedures of actions taken by the State agency disapproving an application for a grant under any such title or terminating or refusing to continue any such grant. The Secretary may disapprove a State plan only if he determines that the program or projects described in such plan cannot be fulfilled in an economic and efficient manner. Continuing eligibility by a State for grants under title I and II of this Act shall be contingent upon the filing with the Secretary of evidence that the provisions of such titles are being met in the making of grants and the carrying out of programs by the State agency designated in the State plan.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 405. In the case of action taken by the Secretary terminating or refusing to continue financial assistance to a grantee, such grantee may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5 of the United States Code.

"DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

"SEC. 406. A State receiving grants under titles I and II of this Act shall distribute through its State agency at least 80 per centum in the form of grants within the State for the purposes described in those titles. The remainder may be used by the State agency to carry out its own programs and projects.

"DIRECT GRANTS

"SEC. 407. When a State fails to apply for a grant under title I or II of this Act, or the Secretary does not approve such State's comprehensive and juvenile delinquency plan, within nine months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary may make such grants directly to public or private agencies in accordance with the provisions of those titles. To be eligible for a direct grant from the Secretary, an agency must certify that it has submitted a copy of its application to the chief executive of the State (or an officer designated by him or by State law) in which such agency is located. Such officer shall be given not more than sixty days from the date of receipt of the application to submit to the Secretary in writing an evaluation of the project set forth in the application. Such evaluation shall include comments on the relationship of the application to other applications then pending and to existing or proposed plans in the State for the development of new approaches to and improvements in efforts to combat juvenile delinquency. No grant under this section shall be for an amount in excess of 60 per centum of the cost of the project or program with respect to which it is made.

"COORDINATION

"SEC. 408. To avoid duplication of efforts, it shall be the responsibility of the Secretary to consult and coordinate with the Attorney General and such other Federal officers as are charged with responsibilities in the area of combating juvenile delinquency or crime in general."

On page 15, line 2, strike out "404" and insert in lieu thereof "409".

On page 16, after line 6, insert the following new paragraph:

"(7) The term 'State agency' means the State agency designated in a State's comprehensive juvenile delinquency plan."

Mr. ASHBROOK (interrupting the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. **PERKINS**. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 234, nays 139, not voting 59, as follows:

[Roll No. 277]

YEAS—234

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Gettys
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Horton
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McMillan
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Montgomery
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pickle
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Ullman
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—139

Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brasco
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Ichord
Irwin
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kelly
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Steed
Sullivan
Tenzer
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles H.
Yates
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—59

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Berry
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Clausen, Don H.
de la Garza
Derwinski
Erlenborn
Feighan
Halpern
Hays
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Kee
King, Calif.
Landrum
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
O'Konski
Purcell
Rarick
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Roberts
Rogers, Fla.
Saylor
Staggers
Stratton
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Whalley
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Rarick for, with Mr. Adams against.

Mr. Erlenborn for, with Mr. Jacobs against.

Mr. Anderson of Illinois for, with Mr. Wolff against.

Mr. Roberts for, with Mr. Brademas against.

Mr. Andrews of North Dakota for, with Mr. Ashley against.

Mr. Berry for, with Mr. Aspinall against.

Mr. Derwinski for, with Mr. Murphy of New York against.

Mr. Widnall for, with Mr. Thompson of New Jersey against.

Mr. Utt for, with Mr. King of California against.

Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin for, with Mr. Moorhead against.

Mr. Myers for, with Mr. Kee against.

Mr. Minshall for, with Mr. Resnick against.

Mr. McEwen for, with Mr. Staggers against.

Mr. McDonald of Michigan for, with Mr. Stratton against.

Mr. Hosmer for, with Mr. Feighan against.

Mr. Brock for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. Broomfield for, with Mr. Morgan against.

Mr. Don H. Clausen for, with Mr. Moss against.

Mr. Willis for, with Mr. Rees against.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi for, with Mr. Reuss against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Purcell with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Young with Mr. Reid of New York.

Mr. Wright with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Saylor.

Mr. Hays with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. de la Garza.

Mr. Rogers of Florida with Mr. Teague of Texas.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The **SPEAKER**. The Clerk will report the so-called Waggonner amendments, on which a separate vote has been demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the words "under this Act" on line 21 of page 15, add the following: "the term 'private nonprofit agency' shall not be construed to include the Office of Economic Opportunity or any Community Action Agency, other agency or program created by, administered by, or in any part funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity in accomplishing the purposes of this Act. Participation by the Office of Economic Opportunity for any of the aforementioned is expressly prohibited in administering this Act."

After line 6 on page 16 add a new subsection numbered (7):

"(7) The term 'public agency' means a duly elected political body or a subdivision thereof and shall not be construed to include the Office of Economic Opportunity or any Community Action Agency, other agency or program created by, administered by, or in any part funded by or contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity."

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD** (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendments be dispensed with, and that the amendments be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendments.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, will this vote be a vote on both amendments which were considered en bloc in Committee of the Whole?

The **SPEAKER**. In reply to the parliamentary inquiry, the Chair will state that both amendments were reported to the House as one amendment and therefore the vote will be on both amendments.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 242, nays 132, not voting 58, as follows:

[Roll No. 278]

YEAS—242

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Cederberg

Chamberlain
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Goodell
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Horton
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McMillan
MacGregor
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Montgomery
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Ullman
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—132

Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brasco
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Irwin
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kelly
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Sullivan
Tenzer
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles H.
Yates
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—58

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Berry
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Clausen, Don H.
de la Garza
Derwinski
Erlenborn
Feighan
Halpern
Hays
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Kee
King, Calif.
Landrum
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
O'Konski
Purcell
Rarick
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Roberts
Saylor
Staggers
Stratton
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Whalley
Widnall
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young

So the amendments were agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Rarick for, with Mr. Adams against.

Mr. Erlenborn for, with Mr. Jacobs against.

Mr. Anderson of Illinois for, with Mr. Wolff against.

Mr. Roberts for, with Mr. Brademas against.

Mr. Andrews of North Dakota for, with Mr. Ashley against.

Mr. Berry for, with Mr. Aspinall against.

Mr. Derwinski for, with Mr. Murphy of New York against.

Mr. Widnall for, with Mr. King of California against.

Mr. Utt for, with Mr. Thompson of New Jersey against.

Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin for, with Mr. Moorhead against.

Mr. Myers of Indiana for, with Mr. Kee against.

Mr. Minshall for, with Mr. Resnick against.

Mr. McEwen for, with Mr. Staggers against.

Mr. McDonald of Michigan for, with Mr. Stratton against.

Mr. Hosmer for, with Mr. Feighan against.

Mr. Brock for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. Willis for, with Mr. Morgan against.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi for, with Mr. Moss against.

Mr. Herlong for, with Mr. Reuss against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Hays with Mr. Whalley.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Arends.

Mr. Kazen with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Broomfield.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.

Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Wright with Mr. Reid of New York.

Mr. Young with Mr. Saylor.

Mr. de la Garza with Mr. Don H. Clausen.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill H.R. 12120, just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GONZALEZ). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. HOWARD (on behalf of Mr. FALLON) filed a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD CITY

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include a speech by former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon recently spoke before the National Convocation on World Hunger, conducted by the National Industrial Conference Board on September 11, 12, and 13, in New York City. Because his address is so thoughtful and timely, I am pleased to include it herewith:

AMERICA IN THE WORLD CITY

(An address by Richard M. Nixon, before the National Convocation on "World Hunger" conducted by the National Industrial Conference Board, September 11, 12, 13, 1967)

We meet here tonight at a time of turning—at the start of the final third of the 20th Century—a period in which the emerging patterns of growth and change may well set the course of civilization for ages to come.

Anyone who travels extensively abroad comes back with one indelible impression: Whether peace and freedom survive during this period will depend upon the leadership of the United States. Let us take an inventory tonight of America's strengths and weaknesses as it attempts to meet this challenge.

Never has a nation had greater assets for leadership than those of the United States today. Our military power is awesome, our economic superiority unquestioned. Wherever we go, whether in Asia, Europe, Africa or Latin America, we find signs of the American presence and evidence of American influence. We have military bases around the world, fleets in every ocean; in every country there are sales offices and subsidiaries of American companies, and the movie house down the street is likely to be playing Hollywood's latest.

And yet, increasingly, we find signs of a paradox of American power: never has a nation possessed such power as the United States now commands, and never has a nation sought to use its power to nobler purpose—but seldom has a nation been so mistrusted in its purposes or so frustrated in its efforts.

The gap is widening between what our spokesmen say and what others believe.

The deficit in our balance of payments is matched by a mounting deficit in our balance of influence. Ideas should be our greatest export—and yet in the market-place of ideas, people of other nations are simply not buying American.

In our posture abroad, in our approach to the conduct of foreign relations, in our structure of alliances, in the terms in which we try to sell our ideas and our policies, America is succumbing to a creeping obsolescence.

Our example has lost its fire. Our leadership has lost its drive. Increasingly, we are seen as an old nation in a new world.

We are neither understood abroad, nor trusted. If we are to regain our lost leadership, there are three things we must do.

We must see the world as it is, not as it was or as we might wish it were.

We must face the facts with a new realism.

We must speak with a new candor.

Let us take a look at what these three things mean.

First, the world as it is.

The most striking impression from months of travel is that we live in a new world. Never in human history have so many changes taken place in the space of one generation. Never has the pace of change been accelerating so rapidly.

It is a world of new nations—it is a world of new people. Half the world's nations have been born since World War II—and half the people now living have been born since World War II. And to a remarkable extent this new generation has, as one Asian Prime Minister put it, "neither the old guilts nor the old fears" of the generation seared by war.

It is a world of new ideas. The old isms—communism, socialism, anti-colonialism—that summoned men to revolution after World War II, have lost their magic.

Communism is losing the ideological battle with freedom in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as in Europe. In Africa, native tribalism and rebellious individualism are simply incompatible with the rigid discipline a communist system imposes.

In Latin America, even while guerrilla activity is increasing, the utter failure of Communism in Cuba has drastically weakened the appeal of Communist ideology in the rest of the hemisphere.

In Asia, the remarkable success of private enterprise oriented economies in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Thailand, as contrasted to the failure of Communism in China and the failure of socialism in Burma and Indonesia, makes it possible to state unequivocally that the only way for the Communists to win in Vietnam, or anywhere else in Asia, is by force and terror; they will never win by persuasion.

All over the world, whether from East Germany to West, from Communist China to free China, from Communist Cuba to the free American republics, the traffic is all one way—from Communism to freedom.

But while the new generation is no longer prisoner of the old isms, neither is it bowled over by American power or mesmerized by the American example. The young see the face of want and the face of hunger and the face of opportunity and, above all, they want change—change which will bring progress in solving these problems. Too often America appears to be the champion of the status quo rather than what we are—the boldest architects of change and progress civilization has ever known.

If they are to be won to our concept of what the world should be, they have got to be won by arguments they can understand, in terms they can believe, and for reasons that suit their own interests.

Here in the United States, we have to recognize the fact of a growing isolationism. To get a better understanding of its roots, let us look back over the years since World War II—a span that now embraces a whole generation.

These years have been a time of painful disillusion.

In 1945 America was weary with war but alive with hope. There was a feeling abroad in the land that finally, out of the terrible catharsis of the most costly war in history, and faced with the frightening dawn of the atomic age, mankind was finally ready to forge a peace that would make the world safe for idealism.

Yet in the years since, we have seen the raising of successive waves of extravagant hope, only to be dashed on the hard rocks of reality.

There was the UN. It was born in a glow of euphoria. The UN lasted, but the euphoria didn't.

There was the Soviet Union. Many expected that out of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in war would come cooperation in peace. We got an Iron Curtain, a cold war and nuclear blackmail.

There was Mao Tse-tung. Many thought his "agrarian reform" would bring the dawn of a new freedom in Asia. China got a new despotism. Asia got a new imperialism.

There was the wave of decolonization. Many thought that with the bonds of empire loosened, the people of the new nations would spring to a new prosperity and be inspired by a new morality. We got the crisis of want and hunger, and we got Sukarno and Nasser and Nkrumah and the Congo and Suez and Kashmir.

And there were other disappointments. There was the Spirit of Geneva, and the Spirit of Camp David, and lately, for a flickering moment, the Spirit of Holly Bush. There was Castro, "liberating" Cuba from Batista's dictatorship. There was the Alliance for Progress, born in a great fanfare of words and a chorus of good intentions.

Somehow, underlying all this, there was an only vaguely articulated sense that the world had entered a new era, one in which international relations would be governed by a high code of moral precept rather than by the old rules of national self-interest.

But what has happened? What has happened, basically, is that people have been acting like people and nations have been acting like nations.

The United States has tried. We have tried to do what we thought was right. We have tried to exercise responsibly the role of leadership that our power inevitably thrusts upon us. We have tried to preserve the peace. We have tried to maintain conditions of freedom and justice in the world.

We have tried to help the poor onto their feet. We have tried to dampen the flames of war in those scattered corners where they have flared. We have tried to make the UN a forum for reason and a force for stability.

But the new morality we thought we discerned in the world was in large measure an extension of our own hopes. We thought that by wishing hard enough we could make our wish reality. We couldn't.

The result has been frustration, often angry and bitter and spiteful frustration.

Thus frustrated, it's a natural tendency of many to turn inward—to say that if the world is no better than it is, it hardly deserves our efforts or our sacrifices.

But if we yield to this temptation, we will have answered "no" to the great question that confronts us on this, the threshhold of the final Third of the 20th Century: whether America has the staying power, whether it has the will, the vision, the sense of its own destiny and of the place this generation of Americans is called on to play in history, to meet the challenge of leadership in a world that has no other place we can safely let it look for that leadership.

If our leadership is to be effective, we have to be believed.

And in Europe, in Africa, in Latin America, in many parts of Asia, we simply are not believed.

Nor will we be believed as long as we engage in sanctimonious sermonizing that irritates our friends, bores our enemies and leaves the cynical unconvinced.

Take Vietnam.

It's not enough to moralize about our being there to defend democracy or guarantee freedom of choice, or to fall back on frail legalisms about the SEATO treaty or the meaning of the Tonkin Resolution.

The plain fact of the matter is that we are fighting in Vietnam for the same reason we fought in World War I and World War II and Korea: because our vital national interest is at stake.

Or take foreign aid.

In the 20 years since the Marshall Plan was launched the United States has spent nearly $117 billion on its aid programs overseas.

Why have we given this aid?

Because we are humanitarians, we like to say.

Well, we are. But this isn't *enough* of a reason. And the world doesn't believe it.

Our aid programs are distrusted abroad for the same reason they're in trouble at home: because we have not frankly stressed the simple fact that by helping others we help ourselves.

If Americans are going to be taxed in order that the peasants of India can eat or the lands of the Middle East be irrigated or fertilizer plants built in Africa, the American has got to be told why this is in America's interest.

If people abroad are going to believe us when we say that our development aid is not the opening wedge of a new imperialism, they have got to be shown why their prosperity is in America's own interest.

And why is it in our interest?

Indeed, a lot of Americans are asking the same question—demanding bluntly to know why we should be spending money on poverty abroad when our own cities are exploding with poverty at home.

One answer is, of course, that it's simply good business. Poor countries are poor markets for American exports, and rich countries are good markets. World trade is a little bit like a poker game: everybody has to have some chips in order to play.

But there is a larger and more urgent answer.

Marshall McLuhan says modern communications have turned the world into a "global village." I would go beyond that. The world is becoming one great city—with all the strains and all the tensions and all the explosive potential that implies. Distances are shrinking, time-spans are shortening, civilizations centuries apart in development are suddenly side-by-side—and in full view of one another. And as the rich and the poor are brought closer together, the gap between them becomes sharper.

The problems of the American city today will be the problems of the world city tomorrow. And in that world city, there is no retreat to the suburbs. It is a city in a deadly race with time, and a city more filled with tinder for The Fire Next Time than Newark or Detroit—for its armaments are not rocks and molotov cocktails, but the ultimate weapons of annihilation.

The violence in our own cities has brought sharply into focus two things:

First, that a civilization can endure only if order can be maintained and the safety of its people secured; but

Second, that the terrible anger and the anguish of those left out by society, is, in the long run, something which society can ignore only at peril both to its conscience and to its existence.

Neither abroad nor at home can we expect our civilization to be secure in a sea of angry exiles. In the world city as well as in our own, we can preserve our hard-won abundance only by bringing the have-nots within the affluent society.

There is understandable tendency to blame Communism as the source of our difficulties at home and abroad. Certainly the Communists delight in the agony of our cities and in our casualties abroad.

But if there were no Communism, we would still have the crisis of our cities.

If Castro were to disappear, Latin America—on a treadmill in a race between population and production—would still be a tinderbox for revolution.

If Peking and Moscow were to abandon their expansionist policies, the poverty of Asia, Africa and the Mid-East today would still provide a happy hunting ground for the Nassers, the Nkrumahs and Sukarnos of tomorrow.

America's basic self-interest in world development stems from the brutal fact that there can be no sanctuary for the rich in a world of the starving.

Just as the map of the world has so often been altered by the march of armies across the borders of nations, so now it is being altered no less dramatically by armies of the newborn.

If present trends continue, the world's population will have been doubled by the year 2000—and seven-eighths of this increase will have been in the poor nations. The frightening fact is that the poor are multiplying twice as fast as the rich. The greatest increases are among those who can least afford it.

Population control is a vitally important part of the answer, but even a successful effort can hardly do more than reduce somewhat the size of a gigantic problem of producing enough food in the decades ahead.

And even now, two-thirds of the world's people are undernourished or malnourished; 12,000 people a day are dying for lack of food. In the time a thousand of us will spend at this dinner, a thousand others will die of hunger.

Winning the race with hunger is too serious a problem to be left to philanthropy: too big to be left to government; too complicated to be handled by one nation alone and too explosive to be controlled by haphazard sentimentality.

However, much it engages our compassion, the problem of hunger has to be met as a matter for the head, not just the heart.

In the poor countries, the race with hunger is part of the larger problem of economic development. It's not enough to grow food. It has to be transported, stored, processed, marketed. Farmers have to be able to get—and pay for—the fertilizers and pesticides and equipment that can multiply their output. In short, these nations need an economic infrastructure, and they need a market economy. They need entrepreneurs, managers, salesmen.

In the United States, agriculture is our greatest success, but in terms of our aid programs, it is our greatest failure.

If our aid programs are to play the role that they must play, then they must be drastically overhauled.

We have wasted too much of our aid on showcase projects that didn't really get at the root needs of the countries involved. A country that can't feed its people needs fertilizer mills before steel mills.

We've let ourselves get too paralyzed by the old cliche that foreign aid should have no strings—"no conditions"—itself a product of the notion that aid was something we as a rich nation had a duty to give out of pure humanitarianism. Political strings are one thing but it's something else again to talk about those economic conditions which are necessary if the seeds of aid are going to fall on fertile ground.

If we are convinced that another country's policies are leading it on the road to economic stagnation, then for us to subsidize those policies is an act of irresponsibility. It is worse than useless. As one of the ablest of Latin America's finance ministers put it to me: "The United States does us no favor when you aid an unsound economic and social institution. All you do is help perpetuate a system which should be changed."

We ought to turn our aid programs more in the direction of stimulating private enterprise, less in the direction of financing government enterprise.

It's not just seeds and fertilizers the hungry countries need. It's the system—a system of incentives and rewards, of prices and markets.

Some see government-to-government aid as the only humanitarian form of aid, and still tend to look on the entry into foreign markets by private business as a form of exploitation.

This misses the whole point of the dynamics of economic development.

The economic history of the poorer countries since World War II points to one clear fact: that the successful countries have been ones that have adopted an incentive economy, while those that have followed the socialist road have failed. Where private development and government enterprise have been matched against one another, it has been private that has gotten the results.

The developing nations need American products. In order to modernize their agriculture, they need American fertilizer and American equipment, American tools and technology.

But along with our products, we have to export ideas. The usefulness of the products is going to depend on the success with which we persuade the new nations that a developing economy needs the lubricant of a free market, the fuel of profits, the security of a system in which investment is safe.

Thus to the question: "Economic development: whose responsibility?" I would answer that it is a shared responsibility, shared between rich and poor, and between government and private business. Prvate business shares in the responsibility for two reasons: first, because it shares in the stakes—both in the dangers of failure and in the opportunities of success. And second, because it's business that has what the developing nations need most: not only the capital, but the knowledge of the techniques of development and the understanding of the system of incentive.

America's share of the responsibility is one we can shirk only at our peril.

Our responsibility is a function of our world leadership. But our continued world leadership depends on the way we fulfill that responsibility. And to complete the circle, we can fufill it successfully only if we can make our leadership effective.

When Malthus made his dire prediction of inevitable famine, man had not yet harnessed the marvels of modern technology to the soil; his gloom reflected a failure to predict the nature of 20th century agriculture as great as Marx's failure to predict the nature of 20th century industry. His was a predicition made at a time when there was little ground for hope. Now we have the hope; we have the means. The question is whether we can get those means in use before the production and population curves explosively intersect.

The race against hunger is part of the overriding race of this last third of the Twentieth Century: the race between man and change, the race to see whether man controls change or change controls man.

The race to control change is a race with revolution.

If our society is to survive—if our ideals are to survive—they have to be made meaningful to a new generation in a new world.

We can realize the promise of the new world only by enlisting the resources of the old. But unless those resources are directed to the realities of a new world—unless we "see it like it is," and "tell it like it is," unless we strip away the wrappings of hypocrisy and speak with a new realism and a new candor, we may wake up to find that time and change have passed us by.

So let's stop apologizing for the success of free enterprise, and instead work at spreading and sharing those successes.

Let's stop apologizing for America's wealth and power. Instead let's use it aggressively to attack those problems that threaten to explode the world.

We *can* win the race with change. We *can* preserve our leadership. But to do so we have to recapture the faith and trust of a world in ferment. We have to revitalize the American dream, and cast it in terms that the new people of a new world can understand and appreciate and aspire to.

Whether they can be brought within it—whether their energies can be marshaled, their despair overcome, their hopes kindled, will largely determine whether the American dream can survive through the rest of this century, and thus whether the 21st will be one alien to our ideals and unsafe for our children—or whether that, finally, will be the century in which cynicism gives way to belief and the American dream becomes a world reality.

COMPLIANCE MORATORIUM OF BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

Mr. **TAFT**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. **TAFT**. Mr. Speaker, lack of job training of unemployed Negro youth stands out as one of the prime causes of both inequality of opportunity and urban unrest in the Nation today. It deserves immediate and continued attention.

For that reason, I was shocked to learn recently of action by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor directing its field staff not to take any further action to require compliance with nondiscrimination directives in its sponsored apprenticeship programs. The regulations involved, CFR 29, part 30, have been in effect since January 17, 1964. This instruction of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor, dated April 20, 1967, was revealed on September 16, by Mr. Herbert Hill, labor secretary of NAACP, the proof being release of a memorandum of that April 20 date from the Director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, Mr. Hugh C. Murphy, directing his regional directors to take no further action against program sponsors on compliance. I wrote Mr. Murphy requesting a full explanation on September 19, over a week ago. Up to this morning I had received no reply or explanation. This morning I received a reply, a letter which I considered not to be a satisfactory explanation of the matter. I am attaching with this statement a complete exchange of my correspondence with Mr. Murphy. I expect to ask for a further explanation.

The material referred to follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR MEMORANDUM,
APRIL 20, 1967

To: All regional directors.
From: Hugh C. Murphy
Subject: Title 29—Compliance actions.

This will reconfirm our telephone instructions to you of April 12 and 13 in which we requested that you and your field staff do not take any further action against program sponsors in the BAT states relative to the letters sent them on compliance.

Negotiations are now being conducted at the national level which we hope will clarify our procedures regarding this matter.

I repeat, do nothing in the field on compliance follow-up until you are given further instructions from the Administrator's Office.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1967.

Mr. HUGH C. MURPHY,
Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship & Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MURPHY: As you probably know, Mr. Herbert Hill, the National NAACP Labor Director, spoke in Cincinnati on September 16 where I was present. At that time, he made certain statements regarding the practices of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training on which I would like your comments and confirming documentation. Mr. Hill stated that regulations, issued by the Secretary of Labor under Title 29, Part 30, dated January 17, had never been enforced and that after de-certifications were instituted dated March 10, 1967 and March 28, 1967, on certain programs, a confidential memorandum dated April 20 was published by you instructing all Regional Directors not to take any further action against program sponsors, despite the prior threatened decertifications.

Mr. Hill also went on to comment that no program has ever been de-certified by the Bureau because of discriminatory practices in the programs.

Specifically, in addition to your comments, I would appreciate having replies to the following questions:

1. Has any program ever been de-certified by the Bureau because of discrimination and are any such proceedings pending?

2. What were the circumstances under which the April 20 memorandum to Regional Directors was issued?

3. What public or confidential instructions regarding de-certification because of discrimination were issued by you or your office to Regional Directors after the April 20, 1967, memorandum?

I would also appreciate copies of any instructions referred to in reply to my third question as stated above.

Respectfully yours,
ROBERT TAFT, Jr.,

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP
AND TRAINING,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT TAFT, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TAFT: Thank you for your letter of September 18, 1967, calling my attention to a speech made in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 16, 1967, by Mr. Herbert Hill, National Labor Director, NAACP. In my opinion, Mr. Hill's remarks did not give a completely accurate account of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training's efforts to enforce provisions of the Department's Regulations, "Title 29 CFR Part 30, Nondiscrimination in Apprenticeship and Training."

The reason for the program being instituted on March 10, 1967, was to bring the joint labor-management apprenticeship programs into compliance with these Regulations. As of that date, only 636 program sponsors out of approximately 2000 apprenticeship programs had not adopted these equal employment opportunity standards. After a month of this campaign to seek voluntary compliance from these program sponsors, only 104 programs remained without compliance.

These apprenticeship programs contain five or more apprentices and are operated jointly by both management and labor and registered with our Bureau. In the 30 states having their own state apprenticeship agency, this registration is made with the state. The State of Ohio has its own state agency and any registration in Ohio is made with this agency.

Of the 104 non-complying apprenticeship programs remaining, 68 were with the local joint apprenticeship committees, representing contractors and members of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry in United States and Canada. Other building and construction trades joint apprenticeship committees were also involved to a lesser degree.

In view of this concentration in the building trades, top Department officials arranged a meeting with the five General Presidents and the head of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO. The purpose of this meeting was to work out an agreement on the controversial parts of the Regulations, primarily the method for selecting apprentices. This meeting was held June 19, 1967, and in the meanwhile because of the delay in the meeting, it was decided to send letters to the 104 remaining program sponsors informing them of the delay and indicate no further action would be taken pending resolution of these problems by the group. Enclosed are five types of these letters sent to the sponsors.

The June 19, 1967, meeting of this group did not result in any firm decisions but was sufficiently productive to warrant further meetings. The next meeting was held August 28, 1967. Discussions had narrowed down some proposals to the point where subgroups from the Bureau and the Plumbers and Pipefitters International Union were instructed to meet and refine a proposal that would be acted on at the next meeting of the top group set for October 10, 1967.

This was the precise reason for delaying further actions against program sponsors who were still not technically in compliance with the Regulations. This, too, was the reason for my memorandum to the Regional Directors (copy enclosed) requesting they take no further action on any de-registrations pending the outcome of these meetings. You will readily ascertain that there is nothing confidential about this memorandum and in addition, the second and third paragraphs clearly indicate the reason for the delay in the lengthy deregistration process. Since the national apprenticeship program is voluntary on the part of management and labor and without direct Federal financial assistance, the threat of de-registration is not really an effective weapon against discrimination in apprenticeship. It really affects the employed apprentice who no longer receives the benefit of training under a formal plan.

This problem of compliance with Title 29 CFR Part 30 (copy enclosed) by apprenticeship program sponsors with old programs registered prior to January 17, 1964. From this date to March 10, 1967, the Bureau registered 6,782 new apprenticeship programs which were required to be in compliance under Section 30.8 of the Regulations. In addition, another 4,800 old programs were reviewed and brought into technical compliance. I am sure that you will agree we are trying to enforce these Regulations through voluntary corrective action despite Mr. Hill's statements.

In regard to the specific questions enumerated in your letter, I offer the following:

1. No program has been de-registered to date, principally because the Regulations provide extensive use of the means of voluntary corrective action to be taken by program sponsors. Also, the seeking of voluntary corrective action by the international unions and national management organizations has delayed the de-registration program.

2. The circumstances under which the April 20 memorandum to Regional Directors of BAT was issued is explained above.

3. No further public or confidential instructions regarding de-certifications or de-registrations because of discriminations were issued to the Regional Directors after the memorandum of April 20, 1967, other than the five types of letters to be dispatched to program sponsors as indicated (copies enclosed). Each Regional Director, where involved, was given instructions in the return of compliance folders to our field staff. He was instructed to withhold further de-registration action against the sponsors until specifically directed by the National Office of the Bureau. A copy is enclosed.

I hope I have not been too lengthy in my response to your letter, but I did want to set the record straight. If any further information is needed, please call me.

Sincerely yours,
HUGH C. MURPHY,
Administrator.

"STRIKE THREE" ON PEACENIK WOMEN'S GROUP

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, when a left-wing organization goes so far to the left that even the left-wing Washington Post washes their hands of them, we have, indeed, come to the Millennium, Mr. Speaker. That is the state of affairs vis-a-vis "Women Strike for Peace."

Last week when this rag-tag group picketed the White House and avowed a desire to shoot down American servicemen in Vietnam, the Post unctuously took them to task and declared in an editorial that this was strike three for them as far as the Post was concerned.

This belated disavowal must have come hard to the Post because they have wept many a barrel of crocodile tears in favor of this melange in the past, at the time I and others were calling attention to the obvious Communist leanings of its leaders and many of its hierarchy. One thing the Post did not note in their editorial was that the women did not picket the Russian Embassy on the day the Soviet Union announced its most recent pact with North Vietnam. "Women Strike for Peace" obviously has no desire for peace; only Communist appeasement.

Even at this late date, we should welcome the Post aboard the American bandwagon. Who knows, if they keep this up, they may even become pro-American in time.

At least, we can hope. The editorial follows:

STRIKE THREE

The "Women Strike for Peace" movement has every legal right to act upon the recommendation of counsel and challenge the constitutionality of the Interior Department rule limiting White House picketing to 100 persons. That is the proper way to settle a dispute over issues of free speech. They were extremely unwise, and open to the most serious reproach, for trying to overcome the police barricade by force. Neither their sex nor their cause should shield them from censure for reckless and irresponsible behavior.

Such conduct diminishes any influence the group might have. The same can be said for one remark attributed to Dagmar Wilson. She is credited with saying that when you hear American planes in North Vietnam, "you want to get up and shoot them down yourself." To be against war is one thing; to be against your countrymen is another. It is understandable when people shrink and recoil from the idea of having their country take the lives of other people. But no moral or religious scruples can be invoked to justify an individual's wish that she might take American lives.

Perhaps this quoted remark made in the midst of emotional excitement does not reflect the thoughtful opinion of Dagmar Wilson. Let us hope not. Opinion in this country tolerates, as it should, the views of convinced pacifists against all military action. It tolerates the views of those who would like to run our foreign policy and fight another war than the one in which we are engaged. But the country cannot be expected to be very patient with or tolerant of the views of those who would like to fire upon American forces. For most citizens, the "Women Strike for Peace," at this point, has had its third strike.

A LETTER FROM "MR. AND MRS. TAXPAYER"

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, like many of our colleagues, I spent a large portion of the Labor Day recess listening to my constituents complain about the various activities of their Uncle Sam. In the Seventh District of Ohio, many feel that Uncle Sam has let them down.

They are afraid of facing drastic financial problems as taxes and the cost of living continue to skyrocket. My constituents are worried. They are expressing themselves in strong terms. They ask very pointed questions and direct them at Uncle Sam.

One of the many letters I have received represents, I am sure, the feelings and fears of thousands, perhaps millions, of us Americans. I include this letter in the Congressional Record for the reference and edification of any who have any doubts about the attitude of many Americans:

Dear Congressman Brown: We are an average couple in our twenties. We have a four year old daughter. We just bought a $12,900 home. We owe on our 1966 car and a new dining room suit. We need, among other things, a new refrigerator, a new stove and a new couch. Our daughter, like most youngsters in the three month to ten year group, outgrows her clothes almost too quickly for us to keep up with her. Every change of season means an almost complete new wardrobe for her. My husband and I need new clothes occasionally, and shoes and so on.

My husband is an electronics technician, employed by a firm that does research work for the government. His annual salary is $6,531.20. By the time everything is taken out of his pay, he actually gets $5,333.64 a year. We have been struggling but we have managed to get along on this amount.

Suddenly we are faced with the prospect of paying approximately $64.22 more in federal income tax, approximately $65.31 in city income tax (both effective October 1, 1967 presumably), an as yet undetermined increase in social security tax, *plus* increases in state sales tax, cigarette tax, automobile license and many, many other things too numerous to remember. With all of these tax increases piled on us, it seems the only thing that hasn't increased is our yearly salary. In fact, our net salary will actually be quite a bit less than it is now.

We are on a very tight budget at the present time. We manage to pay our bills when they come due and have enough to eat. We pass up the things that are not absolutely necessary, such as a vacation this year. We are fairly certain that although money will be a bit tighter next year, we will still be able to manage. We just won't be able to buy our daughter new shoes when she needs them and she will have to wear clothes that are too little for her. We won't be able to afford that new refrigerator (we'll just have to keep our fingers crossed that our second-hand 1950 model holds up for a few more years) or any of the other things we need.

We are good, loyal Americans. We *know* that we must send money to underpriviledged countries of the world. We must fight an expensive war to free a country whose people don't care if they are "free" or not. We must spend billions of dollars to fight poverty in the United States (so what if the people who benefit most from the "war on poverty" are the government employed personnel who run the program?). And although we quite often wonder how long it will be before we are standing in those poverty lines, we will manage somehow.

Congressman Brown, we appeal to you to do everything you can to defeat the proposed 10 percent surcharge on federal income tax. You cannot begin to imagine how depressing it is to watch money you work hard for being confiscated and thrown away, wasted, by something calling itself government. We are being taxed to the brink of bankruptcy. You are the only means we have to appeal our fate. For us and thousands of average Americans like us, please refuse to let our government destroy us this way.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer.

U.S. DELEGATIONS TO U.N.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 19, 1967, the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was convened. In 1965 the gentleman from New Jersey, the Honorable Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, and I had the honor to represent the Congress. This year the two congressional delegates are colleagues from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, L. H. Fountain and the Honorable William S. Broomfield.

Following is a list of the delegates and alternates of the United States to all the U.N. General Assemblies from the first to, and including, the 22d:

U.S. Representatives to the U.N. General Assemblies

FIRST SESSION, FIRST PART, JANUARY 10 TO FEBRUARY 14, 1946, LONDON

Representatives

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes.
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Senator Tom Connally.
Senator Arthur Vandenberg.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Alternates

Sol Bloom, Member of Congress.
Charles A. Eaton, Member of Congress.
Frank Walker.
John G. Townsend, Jr.
John Foster Dulles.

FIRST SESSION, SECOND PART, OCTOBER 23 TO DECEMBER 15, 1946, NEW YORK

Representatives

Warren R. Austin.
Senator Tom Connally.
Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Sol Bloom, Member of Congress.

Alternates

Charles A. Eaton, Member of Congress.
Helen Gahagan Douglas, Member of Congress.
John Foster Dulles.
Adlai E. Stevenson.

SECOND SESSION, SEPTEMBER 16, 1947

Representatives

Secretary of State George C. Marshall.
Warren R. Austin.
Herschel V. Johnson.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
John Foster Dulles.

Alternates

Charles Fahy.
Williard L. Thorp.
Rev. Francis B. Sayre.
Adlai E. Stevenson.
Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring, U.S. Army, retired.

THIRD SESSION, SEPTEMBER 21, 1948, PARIS

Representatives

Secretary of State George C. Marshall.
Warren R. Austin.
John Foster Dulles.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Philip C. Jessup.
Benjamin V. Cohen.

Alternates

Ray Atherton.
Willard L. Thorp.
Ernest A. Gross.
Francis B. Sayre.
Dean Rusk.

FOURTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 20, 1949, NEW YORK

Representatives

Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson.
Warren R. Austin.
Philip C. Jessup.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
John Sherman Cooper.

Alternates

Benjamin V. Cohen.
Charles Fahy.
Wilson M. Compton.
John D. Hickerson.
Ruth Bryan Rohde.
John C. Ross.

FIFTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 13, 1950, NEW YORK

Representatives

Secretary of State Dean Acheson.
Warren R. Austin.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Senator John J. Sparkman.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
John Foster Dulles.

Alternates

Benjamin V. Cohen.
JOHN S. COOPER.
Ernest A. Gross.
Edith S. Sampson.
John C. Ross.

SIXTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 6, 1951, PARIS

Representatives

Secretary of State Dean Acheson.
Warren R. Austin.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD, Member of Congress.
John M. Vorys, Member of Congress.
Philip C. Jessup.

Alternates

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER.
Ernest A. Gross.
Benjamin V. Cohen.
Annan Lord Strauss.
Channing H. Tobias.

SEVENTH SESSION, OCTOBER 14, 1952 NEW YORK

Representatives

Secretary of State Dean Acheson.
Warren R. Austin.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Senator Theodore Francis Green.
Senator Alexander Wiley.
Ernest A. Gross.

Alternates

Philip C. Jessup.
Benjamin V. Cohen.
Charles H. Sprague.
Edith Sampson.
Isador Lubin.

EIGHTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 14, 1953

Representatives

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
James F. Byrnes.
Mrs. FRANCIS P. BOLTON, Member of Congress.
James R. Richard, Member of Congress.

Alternates

Archibald Carey, Jr.
James D. Zellerbach.
Henry Ford II.
Dr. Charles W. Mayo.
Oswald B. Lord.

NINTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 21, 1954

Representatives

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Senator H. Alexander Smith.
Senator JAMES W. FULBRIGHT.
C. D. Jackson.
Charles H. Mahoney.

Alternates

James J. Wadsworth.
Oswald B. Lord.
A. M. Ade Johnson.
James P. Nash.
Roger W. Straus.

TENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 20, 1955

Representatives

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Brooks Hays, Member of Congress.
Chester E. Merrow, Member of Congress.
Senator JOHN O. PASTORE.
Colgate White Darden, Jr.

Alternates

Robert Lee Brokenburr.
Laird Bell.
Jacob Blaustein.
James J. Wadsworth.
Oswald B. Lord.

ELEVENTH SESSION, NOVEMBER 12 TO DECEMBER 21, 1956; JANUARY 2 TO MARCH 8, 1957

Representatives

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Senator William F. Knowland.
Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.
Paul G. Hoffman.
Ellsworth Bunker.

Alternates

James J. Wadsworth.
Richard Lee Jones.
Frank C. Nash.
Edward S. Greenbaum.
Mary P. Lord (Mrs. Oswald B.).

TWELFTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1957

Representatives

Henry Cabot Lodge.
A. S. J. Carnahan, Member of Congress.
Walter H. Judd, Member of Congress.
George Meany.
Herman B. Wells.

Alternates

James W. Wadsworth.
Irene Dunne.
Philip Klutznik.
Mary P. Lord.
Genoa S. Washington.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 16, 1958

Representatives

Henry Cabot Lodge.
Senator MICHAEL MANSFIELD.
Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER.
Herman Phleger.
George McGregor Harrison.

Alternates

James J. Wadsworth.
Marian Anderson.
Watson W. Wise.
Mary P. Lord.
Irving Salomon.

FOURTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 15, 1959

Representatives

Christian A. Herter.
Henry Cabot Lodge.
James J. Wadsworth.
JAMES G. FULTON, Member of Congress.
CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, Member of Congress.
George Meany.
Walter S. Robertson.

Alternates

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Erle Cocke, Jr.
Virgil M. Hancher.
Mary P. Lord.
Harold Riegelman.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 20, 1960

Representatives

James J. Wadsworth.
Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN.
Senator WAYNE MORSE.
Francis O. Wilcox.
Mary P. Lord.

Alternates

Zelma Watson George (Mrs. Claiborne).
Arthur F. Lamey.
Frederick Blake Payne.
Charles Rosenbaum.
Frances E. Willis.

FIFTEENTH SESSION (RESUMED), MARCH 7, 1961, TO APRIL 2, 1961

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.
Charles W. Yost.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Philip M. Klutznick.

Alternates

Jonathan Brewster Bingham.
John H. Morrow.
Charles P. Noyes.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 19, 1961

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson.
OMAR BURLESON, Member of Congress.
Mrs. Marguerite Stitt Church, Member of Congress.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.
Arthur H. Dean.

Alternates

Charles W. Yost.
Clifton R. Wharton.
Philip M. Klutznick.
Jonathan Brewster Bingham.
Gladys Avery Tillett (Mrs. Charles).

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 18, 1962

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson.
Senator ALBERT GORE.
Senator GORDON ALLOTT.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.
Arthur H. Dean.

Alternates

Charles W. Yost.
Philip M. Klutznick.
Jonathan Brewster Bingham.
Carl T. Rowan.
Marietta P. Tree (Mrs. Ronald).

EIGHTEENTH SESSION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1963

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson.
Mrs. EDNA F. KELLY, Member of Congress.
WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, Member of Congress.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.
Charles W. Yost.

Alternates

Mercer Cook.
Charles C. Steele.
Jonathan Brewster Bingham.
Sidney R. Yates.
Jane Warner Dick (Mrs. Edison).

NINETEENTH SESSION, DECEMBER 1, 1964 TO FEBRUARY 18, 1965

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson.
Senator RUSSELL B. LONG.
Senator FRANK CARLSON.
William C. Foster.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.

Alternates

Charles W. Yost.
Franklin H. Williams.
Gladys Avery Tillett (Mrs. Charles).
Richard N. Gardner.
Charles P. Noyes.

TWENTIETH SESSION, COMMENCING SEPTEMBER 21, 1965

Representatives

Arthur J. Goldberg.
Charles W. Yost.
BARRATT O'HARA, Member of Congress.
PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN, Member of Congress.
William C. Foster.

Alternates

James M. Nabrit, Jr.
James Roosevelt.
Eugenia Anderson.
William P. Rogers.
Frances E. Willis.

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, COMMENCING SEPTEMBER 20, 1966

Representatives

Arthur J. Goldberg.
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Senator FRANK CHURCH.
Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE.
William C. Foster.

Alternates

James Roosevelt.
Eugenia Anderson.
Patricia Roberts Harris.
George L. Killion.
Harding F. Bancroft.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, COMMENCING SEPTEMBER 19, 1967

Representatives

Arthur J. Goldberg.
William B. Buffum.
L. H. FOUNTAIN, Member of Congress.
WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, Member of Congress.
Adrian S. Fisher.

Alternates

I. W. Abel.
Robert S. Benjamin.
Hector P. Garcia.
Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris.
Herbert R. O'Conor, Jr.

THE POLITICS OF STABILITY

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a most thoughtful speech by the Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Mr. Moynihan's speech was delivered before the national board meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action last Saturday, September 23.

Mr. Moynihan is now director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University Graduate School of Education, and senior member of the Institute of Politics of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In his speech Mr. Moynihan called on his fellow liberals to abandon their clichés and to look at the hard facts of reality.

Among other things he pointed out that:

> Liberals must divest themselves of the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington.

His remarks are entitled "The Politics of Stability," and one of his main hypotheses is that liberals must "see more clearly that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order, and that given the present threats to that stability, it is necessary to seek out and make much more effective alliances with political conservatives who share that concern, and who recognize that unyielding rigidity is just as much a threat to the continuity of things as is an anarchic desire for change."

While I disagree with Mr. Moynihan's projection on the outcome of the 1968 elections, I find myself in agreement with much of what is contained in this very interesting speech. Mr. Moynihan, in this speech and in earlier correspondence with me, demonstrates a refreshing willingness to dispense with the rhetoric of debate and deal with the issues. Mr. Moynihan chides his liberal colleagues for having been "too long prisoners of the rhetoric that Republicans don't know anything about the social problems of the Nation, or in any event don't really care."

I hope we can finally dispense with this myth and resume a healthy dialog on what are the best means of attacking the problems of our Nation. If so, Mr. Moynihan and those like him whose prime interest is problem solving, will have performed a real public service.

I include Mr. Moynihan's remarks at this point in the RECORD:

THE POLITICS OF STABILITY

(Remarks of Daniel P. Moynihan, national board meeting, Americans for Democratic Action, Sept. 23, 1967)

President Johnson is said to be fond of relating the experience of an out-of-work school teacher who applied for a position in a small town on the Texas plains at the very depths of the depression. After a series of questions one puckered old rancher on the school board looked at him and asked, did he teach that the world was round or that the world was flat. Finding no clues in the faces of the other members of the board, the teacher swallowed hard and allowed he could teach it either way.

That is the position of just about anyone who would assay the state of the American republic at this moment from that middling sort of vantage point known generally as liberalism. Two views are possible. On the one hand it may be argued that the nation is entering a period of political instability from which it will not emerge intact. The opposite view is that we are entering—have entered—a time of troubles which however we will not only survive, but from which we will emerge not only having learned something from it all, but having demonstrated anew the deep sources of stability in American life.

I cannot imagine what would constitute evidence as to the correctness of either view, and assume that persons will adopt one or the other (assuming that the subject even interests them) according to matters of personal taste and condition. The apocalyptic view has, of course, many supporters, most notably those of the newly emergent left who foresee a period of right wing oppression and excess, followed by the triumph of a new ideology. This of course will seem absurd to anyone who has never visited East Berlin. The more sanguine view will commend itself to those who would like to think it so, and this, as I say, is largely a matter of taste and condition. Such would include, almost without exception, the condition of anyone who in this day is a member of Americans for Democratic Action. If there are exceptions, I do not know of them: to be a member of ADA is to be a person who has shared considerably in the "rewards" of American life, and who can look forward to continued sharing and, if anything, on more favorable terms. There are doubtless those among us so ungrateful, or so idealistic, as to wish or to be willing to give it all up in favor of a regime yet more generous in its distribution of worldy and psychic goods, but there is none of us, I repeat, who would not in fact have something considerable of both to lose in the exchange.

The alternatives, then, are to conclude that it's all over, really, that Andrew Kopkind is right, that this summer the war abroad and the revolution at home contrived to "murder liberalism in its official robes" (and that there were few mourners), or on the other hand that we are in a lot of trouble, but that we can think and work (and, of course, pray) our way out of it. It is worth stressing that no one whose views we have learned to trust over the years would offer us any more pleasant option than the latter, and that very much includes the proposition that if we don't think well enough, or work hard enough, or if our prayers ARE not answered, that we can in fact bring this republic to ruin. Certainly things have not turned out as we had every reason to think they would. Walter Lippmann, with merciless clarity, has argued that the unexampled mandate of the 1964 election was "to be quiet and uninvolved abroad and to repair, reform and reconstruct at home." Fate took another direction, and has exacted a double price: not only troubles abroad, but disasters at home because of—or seemingly because of—the troubles abroad. Tom Wicker has stated the matter plainly, as is his failing. "The war," he wrote at the end of August, "has blunted and all but destroyed the hopeful beginnings of the Great Society. It has produced the gravest American political disunity in a century, and it has aggravated the profound discontent with America of the postwar generations."

The violence abroad and the violence at home: all agree that these are the problems, that they are somehow interconnected, and that in combination they have the potential for polarizing then fracturing American society. These would be acknowledged as problems by any group, regardless of its political views or its power to further them. But it is an especial problem of American liberals because more than anyone else it is they who have been in office, in power at the time of, and in large measure presided over the onset both of the war in Viet Nam and the violence in American cities. These things may not be our fault, but in a world not overmuch given to nice distinctions in such matters, they most surely must be judged our doing.

The war in Viet Nam was thought up and is being managed by the men John F. Kennedy brought to Washington to conduct American foreign and defense policy. Most of us in this room know some at least of these men. Many here know them all. And we know them to be persons of immutable conviction on almost all matters we would regard as central to liberal belief, and further to be men of personal honor and the highest intellectual attainment. Knowing that, there are not a few of us present who did not contribute something considerable to persuade the American public that we were entirely right to be setting out on that course that has led us to the present point of being waist deep in the big muddy. It is this knowledge this complicity if you will, that requires of many of us a restraint in a situation that gives to others the utmost play to the powers of invective and contempt, the plain fact being that if these men got us into the present situation, who are *we* to say we would have done better?

This is even more the case with respect to the violence at home. The summer of 1967 came in the aftermath of one of the most extraordinary periods of liberal legislation, liberal electoral victories, and the liberal dominance of the media of public opinion that we have ever experienced. This was moreover accompanied by the greatest economic expansion in human history. And to top it all, some of the worst violence of all occurred in Detroit, a city with one of the most liberal and successful administrations in the nation; a city further, in which it might generally be agreed that the social and economic position of the Negro was far and away the best in the nation. Who are we, then, to be pointing fingers.

This is a question addressed as much to the future as to the past, inasmuch as all the probabilities are that the present situation will persist for some time, and will continue to demand of us responses which obviously, however, must be somewhat different from those of the immediate past. By this I mean that President Johnson will almost certainly be re-elected in 1968 and that with some modifications, the national government will remain in the hands of persons we would readily identify as the same kind of liberal who has been much in evidence for the past seven years. Moreover the war in Asia is likely to go on many more years, although possibly in different forms. And most importantly, the violence in our cities, tensions between racial and ethnic groups, is just as likely to go on, and if anything get worse. (As indeed the war could get worse.) What, as someone once said, is to be done?

I repeat, it must be something sufficiently different to suggest that we are aware of some of our apparent shortcomings, and that the conditions in which these shortcomings first became painfully evident will persist, despite the fact that they are an embarrassment to us. I offer then, three propositions.

First, that liberals see more clearly that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order, and that given the present threats to that stability, it is necessary to seek out and make much more effective alliances with political conservatives who share that concern, and who recognize that unyielding rigidity is just as much a threat to the continuity of things as is an arachic desire for change.

Second, liberals must divest themselves of the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington.

Third, liberals must somehow overcome the curious condescension which takes the form of sticking up for and explaining away anything, howsoever outrageous, which Negroes, individually or collectively might do.

With respect to the first point, we have been too long prisoners of the rhetoric that Republicans don't know anything about the social problems of the nation, or in any event don't really care. This is not only a falsehood, but as any New York Democrat can testify, it is seen by the electorate to be a falsehood. In New York City two years ago, Mayor Lindsay was elected because he was the most liberal of the three candidates. Last year, Governor Rockefeller was re-elected for precisely the same reason. The rhetoric of hooting at the callous indifference of Republicans towards human needs recently reached considerable levels in the rumpus over the rat bill. I don't doubt that they deserved what they got in that uproar, but the argument can nonetheless be made that we would have more to show for it all if somewhere along the line the Democrats had taken at face value Melvin R. Laird's statement that he was in favor of "massive" Federal aid to city governments, but not through the techniques of proliferating grant-in-aid programs which he and many like him thought to be an ineffective form of government administration. It is interesting that in the area of foreign affairs, the idea that Republican congressmen and senators are sources of essentially support for moderate courses is much more readily accepted. It is time the idea become more familiar in domestic matters. It is pleasant to hear the New Left declare that the white liberal is the true enemy because it is he who keeps the present systems going by limiting its excesses, but it is more the informed conservatives who perform that function—the Robert Tafts of the nation—and at the present juncture they are needed.

Potomac fever became a liberal disease under the New Deal, of course, and it has turned out not only to be catching, but to be congenital, having somehow worked into the gene structure itself. The syndrome derives from one fact and two theories. I shall argue that the fact is correct but irrelevant, and that the theories are wrong.

It is indeed a fact that it is so much more pleasant to be able to stroll across Lafayette Park to endorse or to veto a public works program than it is to have to go through the misery of persuading fifty state legislatures. But that has to do with the personal comfort of middle-aged liberals, not with the quality of the government action that results, and in a time of some trouble, comfort cannot be the sole consideration.

The first theory involved is that the national government and national politics is the primary source of liberal social innovation, especially with respect to problems of urbanization and industrialization. I do not believe history will support this notion. The fact of the matter is that it has been from the cities and to a lesser extent the State governments that something like a preponderance of social programs have come in the twentieth century, for the most part, of course, cities and states of the North. There are many reasons for this, of which probably the most important is that until recently these have been the areas where such problems first appeared, and where the wealth and intellect—and political will—existed to experiment with solutions. There is another reason which we tend to be reluctant to talk about, but whose discussion is perhaps admissible in a time of trouble. In the spectrum of regional politics, the South has for a century been for the most socially and politically conservative part of the nation. In the spectrum of American religious groups, American Protestants have more or less consistently been more conservative than American Catholics, and Catholics in turn more so than American Jews. It happens that Washington is, for practical purposes, a Southern protestant city, and in that respect combines conservative tendencies of a pervasive nature, or at least has done so. Vide Congressman Broyhill, the Federal civil servant's concept of a forward looking legislator. In an odd combination of historical events, the cities of the North have been dominated by Catholic votes and Jewish intellect, and the result very simply has been a much greater level of liberal political innovation. If this potential has not been much in evidence of late, it is mostly, I believe, because we have allowed State and local government to get into such fiscal straits that they have no resources for innovation left to them. But the impulse and potential remains, and it is to be found there rather than in Washington.

The second theory that I have labelled false is that you *can* run the nation from Washington. I believe that you cannot, at least with respect to the kind of social change liberals would generally seek to bring about. In the field of legislating social attitudes and practices, it is pretty clear that the old time Tories had something when they said, you can't change human nature, at least not with a bill signing ceremony in the Rose Garden. Neither very much for good or ill. I would point out that twenty years ago the Taft-Hartley Act outlawed the closed shop, and that twenty years later the closed shop is probably more completely in effect in our building trade unions that ever in history. In the area of introducing social change by public programs of various sorts, the record is equally unreassuring. This largely is because the American system of public administration has turned out not to be very good at that sort of thing. Richard Rovere recently noted that "the new federal agencies set up to deal with the distress of the cities—the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Department of Transportation—have turned in generally disappointing performances." But this has not been because of their leadership which has often been brilliant, but because of the resources available, and most especially the bureaucracy available. Rovere continues:

"In the new agencies, for example, almost everyone feels that there is no greater hindrance to the war on poverty and no greater force for the perpetuation of slums than the public-welfare system administered by, and providing a raison d'etre for, a huge, entrenched, and complacent sub-bureaucracy in H.E.W."

Think of the dreams that had to die before that sentence could be written! But it happens to be true. "How one wishes," Nathan Glazer writes in a forthcoming article, "for the open field of the New Deal, which was not littered with the carcasses of half successful and hardly successful programs, each in the hands of a hardening bureaucracy." But the pattern persists: the bright new idea, the new agency, the White House swearing in of the first agency head followed by a shaky beginning, the departure eighteen months later of the first head to be replaced by his deputy, the gradual slipping out of sight, a Budget Bureau reorganization, name change, a new head, this time from the civil service, and slowly obscurity covers all. Who among us today could state with certainty just what did become of the Area Redevelopment Administration, that early, shining creation of the New Frontier?

But the biggest problem of running the nation from Washington is that the real business of Washington in our age is pretty much to run the world. That is a thought that may give none of us any great pleasure, but my impression is that it is a fact and we had as well learn to live with it. Martin Luther King, Jr., and any other liberals, are no doubt correct in holding that the war in Viet Nam has brought stalemate to government efforts on behalf of Negroes at home, but they are wrong, I would think, in their proposed solution, which is for the government to get out of Viet Nam. As far as I can see, an American national government in this age will always give priority to foreign affairs. A system has to be developed, therefore, under which domestic programs go forward regardless of what international crisis is preoccupying Washington at the moment. This in effect means decentralizing the initiative and the resources for such programs.

This relates to the third of the propositions I have offered, namely liberal attitudes with respect to Negro issues, which are of course far the most pressing of our domestic political problems. Over the course of the summer it became clear that there were two sets of problems here, although both related. On the one hand the problems of the conditions of life and social behavior of the vast Negro underclass that has somehow grown up in our Northern cities; a disorganized, angry, hurt, group of persons easily given to self-destructive violence. And along with them, another group of radical, nihilist youth, not themselves members of this underclass, but identifying with it, able to communicate with it, and determined to use it as an instrument of a violent, apocalyptic confrontation with a white society they have determined to be irredeemably militaristic and racist. I do not believe we have yet realized the depth and intensity of the feelings of this second group, nor of the extent to which they have succeeded in politicizing the always existing torment of the urban masses, and in persuading them both of the inevitably and the desirability of a nihilistic solution. All the signs, such as they are, declare that the violence is not ended. What is more, a new set of signs tells us something that is painful, even hateful to have to hear, namely that we must prepare for the onset of terrorism. Indeed, it may already have begun. How widespread and how successful remains to be seen, but the probability is so great that it would be an act of irresponsibility or of cowardice not to face it.

For liberals this poses a special problem, that derives in a sense from our own decencies. Trying to be kind, trying to be helpful we somehow have got into the habit of denying the reality of the life circumstances of the lower class which has curiously paralyzed our ability to do anything to change these realities. Typically we have blamed ourselves for the shortcomings of the poor—and left it at that. A terrifying example has been the response in ultra-liberal quarters to the findings of James S. Coleman in his massive report on *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Coleman, a distinguished social scientist, concluded that the disastrously low level of educational achievement on the part of most Negro youth was the result not nearly so much of the quality of their schools, as of their own family background and that of the children they went to school with. Coleman, with the hand of the Federal bureaucracy barely concealed, was labeled a racist and those who did so went on their way deploring conditions in slum schools, blaming Lyndon Johnson, or John Lindsay, undisturbed by the thought they might be wrong, or that the politics of stability might involve something more hard-headed than the untroubled indulgence of sado-masochistic fantasy.

The point is a simple one: there is nothing whatever to be done to change the minds of the Negro nihilists, nor their white associates, that have been so much in evidence of late. Their course is set. The only option for the nation is to deprive them of the Negro underclass which is the source of their present strength. This means facing up to some of the realities of life in that class that liberals have been notoriously unwilling to acknowledge, so much so that I should not be surprised if this fact itself had become an element in the rage that roared through the streets of America this past summer. The situation of the Negro masses today is startlingly like that of Yank, the quintessential, apolitical proletarian stoker in one of Eugene O'Neill's plays. Determined to make the world of the first class passengers acknowledge his existence, he makes his way to Fifth Avenue and the Fifties and begins jostling top-hatted gentlemen and insulting bejeweled, befurred ladies, but can elicit nothing but politeness, which is in truth a refusal to acknowledge that he is what he knows himself to be. He is driven mad by "I beg your pardon," turns finally violent, and in the end is destroyed.

The time for the confrontation of the realities of black and white has come in America. It will not be pretty. More is the reason that liberals, rather than avoiding that reality, or explaining it away, should be the ones to lead in the effort and work hardest at moving the nation in sane directions as we do. Such words come easy; the effort itself will go against most of our tendencies, but we would do well to remember similar times of crisis in the past when our failure to lead gave the direction of events to others whose purpose was more to destroy than to build.

If the politics of stability are to come to anything, they must be translated into programs.

In foreign affairs, surely, this involves the recognition that getting out of Viet Nam is a matter not just of summoning the will, but also of finding a way. It is time to acknowledge that the prestige and the credibility of the Armed Forces is involved, and is entitled to consideration, much as is the self-regard of the millions of American youths who perform honorably and well in those jungles because they were asked or told to do so by their government. The task of liberals is to make it politically worthwhile and possible for the administration to disengage. Clearly this requires that we continue to work within the party system, and to make clear that we do in fact love peace more than we love the Viet Cong. It also requires us to be unrelenting in our exposure of what the war really is doing to the Viet Namese people, and of the future obligations which we incur with every day of its prolongation. In this respect, it seems to me that Senator Edward Kennedy's enquiry into civilian casualties is a model of informed and effective liberal action.

In domestic affairs, we have got to become a great deal more rigorous in the assessment not only of the reality of problems, but the nature of proposed solutions. We have to pay attention to what it is we are good at, and to work from strength. In particular, we must attend to what it is the Federal Government is good at. On examination, this becomes fairly clear. The Federal government is good at collecting revenues, and rather bad at disbursing services. Therefore, we use the Federal fiscal system as an instrument for redistributing income as between different levels of government, different regions, and different classes. If state and local government is to assume an effective role as an innovative and creative agent, it simply must begin to receive a share of Federal revenues on a permanent, ongoing basis. Let us be frank: the original, determining opposition to this proposition has come from liberals, not conservatives in Washington, and we should be ashamed of ourselves. It is not just the viability of municipal governments that is at stake, it is also the sense of urban populations controlling their own destinies that is involved. Fifty years of social reform has pretty well destroyed the bases of working class politics in this country, and it is not at all funny to note that having broken the power of the bosses and destroyed their control over city jobs and cleaned up the police force to boot, we find the Federal government pouring millions into what Bayard Rustin has termed a "bedlam" of community action programs to overcome the sense of powerlessness among the urban poor, while private donations are sought to enable mayors to be able to hire proletarians who could never pass civil service examinations, and the Justice Department laments the fact that organized crime rather than the police seems to control the streets. The next irony in the history of the Negro in America will be that having acquired a majority of the votes in a number of major American cities, he will find direction of city affairs has been transferred to Washington. Unless we start now to reverse that trend.

Finally, it is also reasonably clear that we must begin getting private business involved in domestic programs in a much more systematic, purposeful manner. Making money is one thing Americans are good at, and the corporation is their favorite device for doing so. What aero-space corporations have done for getting us to the moon, urban housing corporations can do for the slums. All that is necessary, one fears, is to enable enough men to make enough money out of doing so. It is encouraging to note how much ferment there seems to be in this direction at this time, and hopefully possible to expect that the liberal community will support the effort rather than to oppose it.

It would be normal, perhaps, in concluding, to suggest at some length what are the dire alternatives. No one here needs be told. That is why we *are* here. The politics of stability are not at first exciting. It is only when we come to see how very probably our national life is at stake that the game acquires a sudden interest.

WYATT NEWSLETTER SHOWS DANGER TO BOTTOM FISH

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, it has been my policy for some months now to send a newsletter to residents in Oregon's First Congressional District. This month's letter is not only of interest to the First District, however, but concerns matters which affect many people from many congressional districts throughout the Nation.

The dangers to our bottom fish industry cannot be underestimated. I would like to bring this matter to the fullest attention of the Congress by presenting my September newsletter herewith:

TEXT OF WYATT NEWSLETTER

OREGON BOTTOM FISH INDUSTRY IN DANGER OF EXTINCTION

Bottom fishing is an industry of great importance to the State of Oregon. Since 1951 this industry has been subjected to terrific increasing and unrelenting pressures from foreign bottom fish imports.

In Astoria, alone, for example, there were 23 boats engaged in the bottom fish trade last year. This year the number has been cut to just 13 boats. At this rate, Astoria's bottom fish fleet will be completely gone within two years or less. The story throughout the nation is the same.

Low or non-existent tariffs have turned 80% of the domestic bottom fish market over to America's foreign competitors. In fifteen years consumption of bottom fish in this nation has doubled, yet the amount provided by American fishermen has been cut in half.

WYATT BILL TO SAVE BOTTOM FISHERY SUPPORTED BY OTHERS

I have just introduced a bill in the House of Representatives that would establish a quota on the amount of bottom fish that would be allowed in this country in any one year. Though foreign fishers would still control the market, it would allow the U.S. fishermen to produce almost twice as much of the trade as they now have. This would allow our bottom fish industry a breathing spell for revitalization.

The need for this remedial legislation is urgent. I have been joined in this bi-partisan action by Oregon's Second District Congressman Al Ullman and Massachusetts Representative Hastings Keith. Several other Congressmen have followed by introducing similar bills, and even more may do so.

This bill has also been introduced in the Senate by both Senators Hatfield and Morse. With the growing support for the measure, there is a good chance it may receive favorable action in Congress, and thereby save an important Oregon industry. I will keep you informed of progress on this bill.

WYATT CONTINUES DESALINATION RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION

During the Labor Day recess, and prior to that time, I spent a good deal of time doing some in depth research on the possibilities of desalination as a means of inexpensive water production. There is a growing feeling that unless an alternative can be found, diversion of the Columbia River to the arid Southwest will be an inescapable eventuality.

So far desalting of the sea and brackish water appears the most acceptable alternative to this diversion. I have read scores of books on this matter, and hope to be fully informed on progress in the field.

Many foreign nations are now using desalting plants for production of water for industry and consumption.

A CRIME WAVE IN AMERICA—YES OR NO?

Almost everyone agrees that crime has become one of the most pressing problems facing this nation today. Both organized crime and what are termed crimes of violence have taken a tremendous upswing in the last few years. This summer rioting in the streets was just one more manifestation of this growing trend toward lawlessness and disorder.

Almost everyone realizes there is this problem . . . that is almost everyone except the U.S. Attorney General, who recently stated, "There is no crime wave in this country." This same Attorney General, who is responsible to the people as their chief law enforcement officer in the nation, has also stated "organized crime is just a tiny part of the entire crime picture." Apparently his perspective is somewhat limited.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE "FREEZE" LOOKS LIKE EARLY THAW

In December 1965 the Administration promised a cutback in the number of civilian employees on the government payroll. At that time a reduction of 25,000 and a commensurate savings of well over $100,000,000 was announced.

Between that December and July of 1966 the actual count shows 190,000 individuals were *added* to the government payrolls. Then last September, once again, the Administration announced it was placing a "freeze" on the hiring of new employees.

And, once again, in the year that has followed *that* statement the Federal payroll has been increased by 108,910 employees. This is a total of 334,711 new civilian Federal employees added since the original cutback was announced. It is no wonder the term "credibility gap" is in common use.

QUESTIONNAIRE TABULATION COMPLETE, RESULTS HIGHEST EVER

The long and tedious task of compiling and tabulating the results of my annual questionnaire is now finished. The final statistics are revealing and of great use to me.

I received a total of 20,378 returns, as of August 31. Since then a few more have trickled into the office. This is far and away the largest return I have ever had on my questionnaire. Since there were spaces on this year's poll for both man and wife to enter their views, there were actually over 35,000 sets of answers to total up. This means nearly one out of every 10 people in the First District replied.

The results give me a good cross section of views of the people of Oregon's First Congressional District. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those of you who took part in the survey.

The results of the questionnaire have been sent to most families in the First District. However, if you did not receive a copy of the results and are interested in receiving one, I would be happy to forward a tabulation to you if you would write and request one.

YOUTH MONTH

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Schadeberg] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday in Racine, Wis., the William F. Ehrlich Post 1391, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, hosted a "Youth Night" which was a part of a kickoff for the national celebration of "Youth Month."

Youth Chairman John Batikis should be commended for his diligence in putting the program together in conjunction with other veterans organizations in the Racine area. Those other adults who worked hard to make the evening a success are also entitled to praise. However, the young people themselves are the ones who are most worthy of the praise and tribute. They have earned it. They are eager to assume the leadership of this Nation in the fields of education, business, finance, and government, and how they can smile and move forward to meet the challenge is a marvelous thing.

We all know, Mr. Speaker, that these United States which we offer to the upcoming generation are in a sad disheveled condition. We are in debt up to our ears; our finances are a mess; we are in another war which is costing American lives daily; and our cities are awash with rioters, looters, plunderers, and in many cases scoundrels. It is very apparent that the dreams we had as young men and women have not come true. Yet our young people are eager to assume the roles of leadership and to see if they can succeed where we have failed.

It is a privilege to salute "Youth Night" in Racine, and to wish the young people of the United States "Godspeed" in their attempt to solve the problems of these trying times.

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER AND THE POVERTY PROGRAM

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Button] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, in the past months I have frequently emphasized to my colleagues how crucial to the present and to the future of America I believe the national war on poverty to be. I have said that the Office of Economic Opportunity has, inevitably with such a new and bold program, made its mistakes and had its problems. But I have stressed that the concepts of self-help, local initiative, and total community involvement are not only well-founded but vital. We may be sometimes disappointed in the mileage we have clocked, but we are going in the right direction.

I have also, Mr. Speaker, urged upon my colleagues that in this crucial national task we simply cannot let our sights be diverted by partisanship. The national need is too great and the national crisis too real to make our attack on America's most crippling affliction a matter of Republican versus Democrat. It will be tragic, Mr. Speaker, if partisanship should become the overriding concern and, as a result the war on poverty, or for that matter other programs designed to meet the crisis of our urban areas, should be broken asunder and scattered to the bureaucratic winds, however piously the obsequies are phrased. We have the tools; together we must get on with the job.

Last Sunday, Mr. Speaker, the brilliant Governor of my State, Nelson A. Rockefeller, appeared along with Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, on ABC's "Issues and Answers." Because the issues discussed with such insight by both Governor Rockefeller and Mr. Young are so paramount in our current deliberations, I should like to insert them in the Record so that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will have the chance to give them careful study.

I would like to point out that Governor Rockefeller, who in my opinion has done a tremendous job in New York in understanding and meeting the problems of our people, feels that none of us is doing enough. I think he eloquently stressed that all our resources, private enterprise, State and local government, as well as our Federal system, have a fiscal commitment to play a larger role in improving conditions in the city, that the idea of local self-help and initiative is truly necessary if we are to get to the root causes of strife and despair that sap our potential.

I would also like to lay particular emphasis on Governor Rockefeller's comment that OEO's antipoverty program "will go down in history as having been one of the real significant" steps in attempting to deal with urban racial strife.

This is a bipartisan answer, Mr. Speaker. It is an answer from a man who knows extensively and intensively how massive the problems of poverty are. In matters this grave, Governor Rockefeller will not let himself be swayed by partisan expediency. I am proud to stand alongside him.

The transcript follows:

Issues and Answers

(Sunday, September 24, 1967)

Guests: Nelson A. Rockefeller, (R. NY) Governor of the State of New York; Whitney Young, executive director, National Urban League.

Interrogated by: Jim Burns and Layhmond Robinson, ABC New York correspondents.

Mr. Burns. Gentlemen, on September 12th Mayor Henry Meier of Milwaukee described his city as "being on the verge of a civil war."

I just left Milwaukee yesterday and was told by the only Negro councilwoman there, Val Phillips that she thought Milwaukee might some day become what she called the "cradle of the real American revolution in the United States," meaning by that an armed revolt against the white people of that city.

Now, have we reached the point in your view where the black minority or a considerable portion of it is at the stage where they might begin guerrilla warfare against the whites, Mr. Young?

Mr. Young. No, and I think Milwaukee is a good example of where not black versus white, but decent people against those who are still living in the dark ages. Father Groppi, who is a symbol of that struggle in Milwaukee, has indicated that the real issue—and I agree with him—is open occupancy. It is freedom of choice for the Negro citizen.

I don't believe that we are struggling now with a race issue as much as we are the issue of whether Americans, particularly Negroes, who have for 350 years given their blood, sweat and tears to this country, whether they now are going to enjoy its benefits as well as its sacrifices as they are doing now in Vietnam.

Mr. Burns. But Mrs. Phillips' contention, and Father Groppi's has been if this open housing ordinance isn't passed, the stage is then set in Milwaukee for the kind of armed clash which could start to tear this country apart.

Mr. Young. Well, I do believe that there continues to be a resistance to the justfication complaints that Negro citizens have about their exclusion from housing and from jobs. Enough of them are now reading Patrick Henry and the whole history of the American Revolution that they are approaching the point that it is either "Liberate me or exterminate me" but I don't think it is going to be black versus white. I think there are enough white people in this country who also believe that the Negro cause is right, so again I think it is going to be the Birch or Klan mentality of white person against the Rockefeller type of thinking of white person, and the decent people in this country who are going to say the Negro is right and he deserves to have the same freedom as all other Americans.

Mr. Burns. Governor, would you care to comment?

Governor Rockefeller. Yes. I follow very clearly what Whitney has just said. I think that one has to go back to some of the basic facts that exist in order to understand the problem. I don't think we can take just the surface evidences, tragic as they are, and disturbing as they are, and facts which one could make a thesis on, that if these basic problems are not settled that it could lead to a civil war in this country which, of course, could be a great tragedy, but to my way of thinking it is completely unnecessary and that we can deal with this effectively.

Now, if you take, for instance, the fact that 42 per cent of the Negro population in this country live at an income level which qualifies as "poor" and 12 per cent of the white population as poor, then if you take the fact that in the northern cities, where most of this trouble has come, fifty per cent of the Negroes living there were born in the south and have come up to the north, so that you have got a displaced person problem in a sense. You have people coming from rural areas where the culture and the training and the education is at a much lower level of opportunity and they come and they are thrown into these huge cities, which is a very difficult problem. There are a whole series of factors. Unemployment, for instance. The unemployment average today for the white person is around four per cent and unemployment among Negroes about eight per cent. Or you take the income level, if you want to put it that way, for the whole group; it averages about 56 per cent of the white average.

Now, there are good factors in this though, very important factors. Unemployment for both whites and Negroes is way down in the last ten years, so that the situation for both is better. Incomes are up. The incomes of both in the past ten years are almost up a hundred per cent. So there are good factors, but I think they are understandable.

Now, if you take the 42 per cent who are in trouble economically, some of these people live in conditions of degradation which are unbelievable. The extraordinary thing to me is that there has been as much patience with people living under these conditions as there has been.

Then you have a very small minority of people who are firebrands or whatever you want to call it. They would normally be having a street corner rally of maybe one hundred people, but the mass media picked them up, put them on national television or in the press, and they have got an audience of fifty million people.

Mr. Burns. Governor, did we understand you to say in the beginning that if these problems of housing and unemployment are not solved we could well have a racial civil war?

Governor Rockefeller. I maintain that if we do not deal effectively—which we can in my opinion, and I think the first way to deal with the problem is to understand it and then see how you can deal with it—in my opinion we can deal with it; we must deal with these problems. We will come to the question, I am sure, in this discussion of how. But if we don't, then I think there is the danger that this could break out in areas next year, the year after, on the basis of actual struggle between Negroes and whites. This is a very disturbing, dangerous situation about which we must be realistic.

Now, effective police action is essential to preserve order under law, but that is only the surface of it. The root cause is what we must strike at.

Mr. Robinson. Do you think the Federal Government is doing enough to cure these conditions, to correct these conditions?

Governor Rockefeller. Well, I don't think any of us are doing enough. Whether it is state government, federal government or local government. That is obvious because the conditions still exist.

Now, if the relative capacity of various levels of government—the federal government has some fiscal commitments today that are tremendous. Therefore, I would assume realistically that they will not be able to move at a level of financial support which is going to do this job to help the local communities. The local communities don't have the money. My personal feeling is that the states have got to play, as we are trying here in New York, a very much larger role.

Mr. Burns. Your Republican Coordinating Committee said back in July that the nation is rapidly approaching a state of anarchy and the President has totally failed to recognize the problem.

Now, do you, Governor, and do you, Mr. Young, believe that President Johnson doesn't really recognize what is going on in his own country and is not—

Governor Rockefeller. Excuse me. That was not the Governor's Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Burns. I said a Republican Coordinating Committee.

Governor Rockefeller. The Governors met and took a really different—excuse me. I thought you said—

Mr. Burns. No.

Mr. Young. Well, the thing that really annoyed me about that statement was some of the same men who were making that statement were the ones who had killed the Rent Supplement bill, who had voted to cut down the Model Cities appropriation, who had opposed all of the measures to increase the Poverty Program, who had rather, with what I would call a distasteful humor, defeated the Rat Control Program, and to me it was so obviously political that these men who had really worked against what I would call a very minimum program that the President had proposed would be the ones to then point out that he would be responsible for chaotic conditions.

Governor Rockefeller. I would like to say to Whitney, if you will let me interrupt, that the entire Republican leadership of the State of New York sent wires to each one of our congressional delegation urging them to support this program; right across the board.

I agree there are many who feel very strongly that the federal government—and that program is about 6.7 billion—that the federal government must do everything it can. My only position is, even if it does that, it is not going to be enough and that the states have got to play a much more aggressive, active role.

Mr. Young. Well, it is clear in my own mind that this is not a Republican-Democrat—neither of these parties have a monopoly on vice or virtue. I think the best test of this was not only Senator Morton's attack on the Republican Coordinating Committees' statement, but the conference which you yourself hosted here of Republican Governors who, I thought, took a positive position and indicated a responsible response to the riots this summer, by proposing we have got to get at the root causes.

Governor Rockefeller. The sixty specific actions and the Governors' Conference as a whole has this on the agenda now for the October meeting.

Mr. Burns. Well, you still didn't answer my question. In your view has the President of the United States, in the words of the Republican Coordinating Committee, totally failed to recognize the racial problem in our cities today, and is he not effectively dealing with them?

Governor Rockefeller. Well, I wish you'd phrase the question without the quote, but never mind. I personally think he as much as anyone anticipated this situation and that his poverty program will go down in history as having been one of the really significant programs, and that he has come up ahead of the group as a whole in anticipating it.

Now, sure he has got problems, as Whitney says, in getting the money. Part of those are problems growing out of events, part of them are political and other reasons. I think there are additional things that need to be done, and I think that one might say that the President should have done more in the way of creating a national awareness of this, giving the leadership to develop a national consensus of thought that we must take whatever steps are necessary on whatever scale is necessary, and that failing that, he hasn't got the support at the grass roots to get the votes in Congress for the things that are needed. That would be my summary.

Mr. Robinson. Do you think the United States government is overcommitted on Vietnam, for example, financially, and undercommitted on its attack in the cities?

Governor Rockefeller. I wouldn't put it the way you put it. I am not the one to judge what is essential in Vietnam from a military point of view. I do know a good bit about what is needed on the domestic front. There is no question the need on the domestic front is tremendous and far greater than what is being done. Take housing. Substandard housing in Manhattan alone, to rebuild what is needed, about 158,000 units; a billion dollars in this city, just in the Borough of Manhattan. Five or six billion dollars for the state in substandard housing. $56 billion for the nation; one area: just substandard housing.

Now, this doesn't cover the new housing needed for the growing population.

We are talking about figures here of a dimension which even the federal government can't meet alone. Therefore, one of the big questions is, how do we attract private capital? What kind of a framework of laws, what kind of incentives, back into this field.

The houses we are talking about were, most of them, built by private capital. They weren't build by government. Now, we have gotten around to thinking everything has got to be done by government.

I think we have got to channel, like an irrigation system, private capital in tremendous volume back into these areas and this we are working on in New York state.

Mr. Burns. Doesn't it disturb a great many Negroes, however, Mr. Young, to know that we are spending $17 million a day in Vietnam and we can't, for example, afford $15 million for the Youth in Action Program out in Bedford Stuyvesant? They told George Romney when he was here, "We asked for $15 million. Give us $15 million and we can do a job in this ghetto."

They got $6 million and yet this is for a year's program in one of the worst ghettoes in this country. And yet we can afford $17 million a day in Vietnam. Now, I would think this would greatly disturb the people in the ghettoes. Does it?

Mr. Young. I would say that we are probably more disturbed about some of the other expenditures like the amount of money we spend for supersonic planes or for the space program, putting a man on the moon, or for even the recently announced missile defense program.

There are many places that we are spending money in this country that we feel have a lower priority than the problems of poverty in the cities.

I think there has been an awful lot of naive rhetoric about if we stop the war in Vietnam tomorrow, then we would have that $30 billion a year to spend for poverty in the cities.

The truth of the thing is that unless there is a national commitment to attack the War on Poverty in this country, as there is to permit ourselves to be taxed for a war in Vietnam, then the $30 billion is not there. Unless we are willing to spend the money for tractors instead of tanks, the money won't be there, the $30 billion. So we have got to work at this moment in time to let Americans know that they have got a very serious self-interest in the preservation of the cities, in the elimination of strife and of tension between the races, and of helping to lift Americans up.

I have taken generally the position that we did not have to make a choice between our international commitments and domestic chaos. I personally feel we should be spending—if we weren't spending in Vietnam—we ought to be spending money for social and economic programs in South America, in Africa and in some of the other places. So I don't want to put the War on Poverty and the programs that are needed in our cities today solely on the basis that we either have to do domestic or international. There is enough money available to do this job.

Governor Rockefeller. I want to second that statement. I agree with Mr. Young very strongly on that.

Mr. Robinson. Do you gentlemen agree if we don't solve the problems of the cities, we may not have a country left?

Mr. Young. If I were pushed into the corner and had to make a choice between domestic and international, I would have to say Domestic. I don't think we have to make it.

Governor Rockefeller. That is right.

Mr. Young. The reason I say this is that I don't think we will ever have credibility as a freedom-loving, democratic leader around the world until we resolve this worldwide publicized problem here at home, and I suppose the thing that distresses me so very much when I hear people say we aren't going to rebuild Detroit—those little areas that were burned out—is that I know this country about rebuilding West Germany. Now Germany didn't set out to just destroy a few city blocks in our country. They set out to destroy all of America and they ended up by not doing that but by killing hundreds of thousands of American boys. Yet Americans didn't raise a whimper about proceeding to rebuild West Germany so that today West Germany looks a whole lot better than most of American cities, and nobody is unemployed.

Governor Rockefeller. Very well said.

Mr. Robinson. What priority would you give to our reconstruction of cities, one, two or what?

Mr. Young. Well, obviously I would say the first thing is jobs. I don't think we ought to quibble about skills, I think we ought to respond today like we did in 1932 when white people were all out of work and then we had overnight WPA, CCC, NYA, and nobody asked them whether they were computer operators or whether they had in fact certain skills. They put them to work. I think we need to put people to work. Meanwhile we need subsequent programs of retraining and on-the-job training. We need to disperse housing and get the government to stop making segregation worse by building all the public housing in the Negro section. We need to disperse the population so that we can somehow get these white, bland, antiseptic suburban communities—we can somehow help them to enrichen their lives by having some difference in there. I shudder for the colorful deprivation of these white kids growing up in these kinds of suburbs.

Governor Rockefeller. I would like to go back to what was said about this business of priorities. I agree with you. I don't see why you have to set—you are trying to oversimplify the world. The world isn't this way. You can't set priorities. You have got to have them in one way. But we are talking about things that must be done, and it isn't just one, two or three. I would go with Whitney and broaden that by saying civil rights legislation obviously is essential. The framework of law. We have got to rebuild these areas. They were built once. They could be rebuilt.

Mr. Robinson. You tell me this, though, sir, we didn't have the money. Where are you going to get the money?

Governor Rockefeller. I didn't say we didn't have the money. Excuse me. I said the federal government didn't have the money to do the whole job.

Mr. Robinson. Well, who does have it?

Governor Rockefeller. The states and private enterprise and local communities.

Mr. Burns. The states are always running to the federal government for more money.

Mr. Robinson. So are the cities.

Governor Rockefeller. May I give you an illustration. We had a meeting, a federal hearing, right here in New York two days ago, on water pollution of the Hudson River. They had had one two years before. They came up to see where things were. Every pollutant in the Hudson River all the way to Albany, which is the main part of the river, has already been brought before a state board. All of the orders are issued. The time schedule is set. By 1972, the entire river will be cleaned up at a cost of $1 billion, of which the federal government will put up $17 million in cash, the state $600 million, local government $400 million. Now there is a perfect case where the state is not running to the federal government, we are doing it ourselves.

Mr. Burns. Yes, but now Whitney talked a moment ago about——

Governor Rockefeller. We can do the same thing——

Mr. Burns (continuing). In a sense, WPA and the great, massive work movements and so on. You are not going to tell me that the states are going to inaugurate this kind of program, are you?

Governor Rockefeller. Do you want to know how much the State of New York is spending in urban areas? 80 percent of our budget. $3,300,000,000 for education, for welfare, for all of the programs, for kindergarten—prekindergarten day care centers, employment training programs.

What I am saying is, we don't have to look just to the federal government.

Mr. Young. The Governor is talking about a proper and appropriate mix.

Governor Rockefeller. That is right.

Mr. Young. It is not a case of either/or. And I had great encouragement not so long ago at the Urban Coalition. You really brought together there city officials, the business community, 300 of the top corporations were represented by their executives. You had labor, you had religious leadership and civil rights groups. I am convinced that American business has the creativity and imagination to do training and to build houses and everything else.

Mr. Burns. Does it have the will and the desire?

Governor Rockefeller. Let me answer that.

Mr. Young. It needs the incentives.

Governor Rockefeller. Rochester, where we had our first riot. A model city in this state. Nobody can understand how three years ago we had a riot in Rochester. The reason was because the population of the Negro community had gone from 3500 and all of a sudden it was 40,000. This year the business community two weeks ago announced that they would employ all unemployables, which are estimated to be 2,000, in the Negro community. They would employ them and train them.

Mr. Burns. Was that the place where the Kodak people had——

Governor Rockefeller. That is correct. That is an example of the business community assuming the entire responsibility for training and employment.

Mr. Young. I think something dramatic has really happened this summer in the business community.

Governor Rockefeller. So do I.

Mr. Young. Of all of the groups in America who had to respond to the riots, this was one of the few groups that didn't respond punitively.

Governor Rockefeller. Exactly.

Mr. Young. And with retaliation, but who I think responded positively and I think these men are sincere. Now, they do need the incentives. They do need the assurances against certain risks.

Governor Rockefeller. That is right.

Mr. Young. And I think this is in the offing, but the business community, more than any other community, has said, "Look, we've got to get busy and do something." You have a more enlightened business leadership today; it is a more intelligent business leadership and I am confident that, given the proper assurances and tax credits and incentives like other countries give to business, that they can really move on this problem.

Governor Rockefeller. You are right.

Mr. Burns. I would like to switch fields here for a minute. We have a quote from Richard Scannon in Time this week where he says that the No. 1 political issue next year in the presidential race will not be Vietnam but will be race and he says that popular feeling against Negroes is very bitter and very deep and the depth of that feeling can't be underestimated.

Now, in your view, Governor, will race be the major political issue next year, sir?

Governor Rockefeller. Not if we handle—those of us who are in positions of responsibility and leadership, in the civic organizations, in the business organizations, political organizations—if we can talk dispassionately and objectively about this problem, if we can analyze it and then come up with the specific steps which are legion in number, that need to be taken, I think this can be reduced from what it is—which is a very basic human problem which should be met.

Mr. Robinson. Can you do all of that in the next few months, because our summers are becoming more violent, Governor.

Governor Rockefeller. They have, but in New York State we had a riot three years ago, the first one, and then last year there were more. This year, with a few minor exceptions, things are much more calm because I think the people in the areas where the problems are recognize that government and private groups are working together with the local community to meet these problems. We can do it but we have got to really go to town.

Mr. Young. I would like to respond to this. I think nothing more tragic can happen to this country than if the race issue became a major issue in a presidential campaign because this issue is so serious and so important to the credibility of our whole society that if we—we can't afford that luxury. Now, I think whether it becomes a presidential issue will be dependent upon who the parties nominate. Now, I know who the Democrats are going to nominate. I don't know who the Republicans are going to nominate.

Mr. Burns. If you saw that a man was going to be nominated who you felt would be racist or would be so conservative minded as to undermine the good that has been done, might you change your own political thinking and run as a candidate if you felt it necessary?

Mr. Young. I might oppose the other person. You don't have to run yourself.

But I agree very strongly on this again with Whitney, on this thing. I don't think that this—we can't allow this to happen in the interests of—regardless of the spectrum of thought of the individual, we can't allow this to happen. There is no reason for it to happen.

Mr. Burns. Governor, I am sorry I will have to interrupt you. Thank you very much for being with us on "Issues and Answers."

WHO IS PLAYING POLITICS REGARDING THE TAX INCREASE?

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that

the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the public, and I daresay also the Congress, has been fundamentally mislead by the administration regarding its proposal for a tax increase. Administration spokesmen, such as Treasury Secretary Fowler, have increased the volume of their rhetoric, but have left unanalyzed the merits of their arguments. Indeed, the administration's reasoning has been so shallow, and their propaganda so shrill, that both of these factors coupled together, lead me to wonder whether the administration actually wants its proposal enacted; or, in light of the almost inevitable economic crisis coming in 1968, would it prefer to be able to say to the voters that Congress played politics with the President's request for increased Federal income tax rates.

Mr. Speaker, undoubtably this is a serious charge for the administration to make, and also for the Congress to rebut. Last Thursday, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, at President Johnson's behest, lectured the Congress to "not play politics" by refusing to grant the President's request. Yesterday, September 25, I had the honor of addressing the midyear board meeting of the Associated General Contractors of America in St. Louis, and took the opportunity to discuss the administration's reasoning and the serious economic issues we face. I am inserting in the Record at this point my remarks on that occasion:

Current Economic Trends in America

(Address by Hon. Thomas B. Curtis, Republican, Second District of Missouri, at the midyear board meeting, the Associated General Contractors of America, Chase Park-Plaza Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., Monday, September 25, 1967)

I am pleased to see The Associated General Contractors hold its Board of Directors meeting here in St. Louis, to reaffirm the welcome extended to you, and to have the opportunity to discuss some of the issues currently before the Congress.

Although there is important specific legislation before the Federal Congress which vitally affects your industry, such as H.R. 100, the perennial Common Situs Picketing Bill, and H.R. 2567, to give the Labor Secretary authority to establish and enforce mandatory safety requirements on all federally assisted construction projects that exceed $20,000, I would like to discuss more basic matters which are so critical at this time that they affect all industry, all labor, all consumers, in the present and for sometime in the foreseeable future. In making these remarks, I do not wish to minimize the importance of the specific legislation to which I have referred and the need for your industry to continually be on the alert to keep the flexibility necessary so that you can continue to respond in the great fashion you have responded in meeting the physical needs of our society for what used to be called "bricks and mortar," but perhaps today is more appropriately symbolized as "glass, steel and concrete." Certainly your industry must continue to see that common situs picketing is not misused to bring about legalized secondary boycotts which, at times, seem more the intention of its promoters than to solve the difficult problems involved in how does labor fairly picket the management with which it has a dispute in the construction industry. Certainly your industry must see that "safety" is not misused as a label to undermine the flexibility your industry has to promote safety. In fighting these battles for your industry, you are assisting the entire society in maintaining the proper relations between government and the private sector, as well as proper relationships within the private sector itself.

The issues which I wish to discuss are those which relate to the blood system of our complex economic and social body. The issues which affect money, the basic economic measuring stick to evaluate labor, savings, services and goods and their interchange.

It is perfectly true that the amount of the supply of money and credit circulating within the economy can affect the economic health . . . and so the total health of the society. And sometimes it is true that where anemia exists a transfusion of extra amounts can help. But, more often than not, the imbalances in the supply and circulation within an economy are symptoms of the unhealth of other important collateral systems or components in the body economic, rather than any ill in the money system. To treat these maladies as diseases of money when they truly are diseases of another part of the anatomy is to compound the trouble. We aggravate the money system, we fail to treat the real malady, and we lose precious time.

Last year the construction industry . . . particularly the home building segment of the construction industry . . . experienced the results of treating what some might identify as a pulmonary malady as if it were a circulatory malady, simply because the pulmonary system created symptoms that showed up in taking the blood pressure.

The Administration treated the problem of its inability to get enough air . . . revenues from taxes, selling off capital assets, and marketing more Federal debt securities . . . to maintain its high level of exertion . . . expenditures . . . as if it were a blood or circulatory problem and left to monetary authority the problem of trying to cut down on the high blood pressure. The result was that certain important components of the body economic experienced a cut-off, notably the home building industry. Gangrene might well have set in if something drastic were not done. Instead of solving problems, we created new ones and serious ones, and we lost precious time. Now the real problems are acting up in a worse fashion.

I think it is very important that we do a thorough economic diagnosis of our ills and get to the proper treatment as rapidly as possible.

The symptoms clearly show that we have a serious economic malady. The Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of over 6% in the first two months of this Fiscal Year 1968. This is after a serious inflation in 1966 (calendar year) of 3.2%. To understand the seriousness of this symptom, let's relate it to the healthier average rate of increase of 1.5% in the CPI which prevailed from 1957 through 1965. It is true that the inflation we are presently experiencing is of the cost push variety . . . to a large degree the result of the false panaceas taken in 1966 . . . but with the revised deficit in the 1967 administrative budget coming out at the unpredicted high figure of $9.9 Billion and the deficit for 1968 now being revised from a false and deceitful $8.1 estimate made by the Administration in January, 1967 to a nightmarish but real $30 Billion figure and the budget deficit for Fiscal 1969 less than a year away, probably exceeding even this $30 Billion figure . . . a demand pull inflationary wave will roll over on top of what we have.

This will bring an inflationary inundation. It is pertinent to observe that inflation has an important psychological element to it. If inflation is anticipated, economic judgments are made to cope with it. Actions based on these judgments feed and accelerate inflationary forces. Once inflation comes, it is difficult to stop. The Eisenhower Administration did not receive the credit it deserved for dampening and almost eliminating the psychology of Post World War II inflation. But clearly it was the fiscal actions of the Administration in the later 1950s which finally stemmed the inflationary psychology set loose in our society as the result of the heavy deficit financing utilized and, probably unavoidably, to finance World War Two. The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, coming to power in 1961, received the economic benefits of these efforts but, instead of recognizing the causes and effects at play, gave credit for the results to unrelated and, I would argue, questionable economic policies of their own. Now, pursuing these questionable economic policies to their ultimate conclusion, they have brought the inflationary forces again into play . . . and we have to embark upon the long, hard road of again eliminating the damaging results inherent in the psychology of inflation.

Of course, to eliminate the psychology of inflation, we must first eliminate the causes of inflation. This the Johnson Administration seems unwilling to do. But more of that later.

Another symptom which indicates that we have a serious economic malady is the high interest rates we are experiencing. These rates have now climbed back to 1966 levels and threaten to exceed them. In 1966, we saw the highest interest rates since the years immediately following World War One. We saw this occur in an Administration which maintains that low interest rates are needed to be fair to the consumer and the little entrepreneur and to insure sustained economic growth and low unemployment. It is certainly true that low interest rates are a test of how fair the economic system is to the lower income groups and the smaller economic units but, regrettably, you cannot move the elevator by moving the floor indicator. It is even possible to conceal real interest rates, to some degree, but eventually the truth will out. And the truth is out. The Johnson Administration will go down in history as a high interest rate administration. The Administration will has pursued the foolish course of concealment by refusing to remove the 4¼% interest ceiling on long term (over 5 year maturity) government bonds. All this did, of course, was to raise interest rates of short term issues. The Administration has also tried to jawbone the Federal Reserve Board into increasing money and credit beyond the amount proper for the growth of the economy and, at times, to buy up government securities at below market yields with some degree of success. During 1966 and the first six months of 1967, we have seen considerable expansion of money and credit. In spite of easy money, interest rates are soaring. The Administration also sold government assets . . . participation certificates . . . with the United States Treasury making up the difference in the below market interest rates the securities bore to bring in yields of almost 6%.

Unemployment may be below 4% today, but I would point out that the Armed Services have increased in size from 2.8 million in 1962 to 3.5 million in August, 1967, and other Federal Government employment directly related to the war in Vietnam has increased an equal amount. Take this 1.4 million manpower and add it in the unemployment figure of 2.9 million persons, and we see a not very pleasant 5.3% unemployment figure. And this calculation takes no account of the increased employment in the munitions industries to supply the war in Vietnam.

Certainly current plant utilization of about 83% is hardly a figure to boast about in an economy heated up as ours is with money and credit and war.

A third symptom which indicates we are suffering from a serious economic malady is the increasing deficit in our international balance of payments; this increase is on top of a continuous deficit occurring over many years which has already resulted in the loss of what free gold we had, a cutback in the legal amount of precious metals backing our currency so we could free up more gold, and even this now has almost gone, and a holding of United States dollars by foreign governments and foreigners in excess of what total gold we have left to back our currency.

On the liquidity basis, our international deficit is running at over $2 billion for the first two quarters of 1967, and on the official reserve transactions basis over $3 billion.

A further symptom is the increasing negative ratio of Federal debt to federal physical assets. It is perfectly true that the Administration economists have little or no interest in wealth statistics and seek to direct exclusive attention to Gross National Product statistics, but it still remains important to know what the results of economic activity . . . which is all GNP really measures . . . are. Has the economic activity increased wealth and productive capacity in the society, or has it been used to live it up, as it were . . . or understandably used to defend the wealth we already have through heavy defense expenditures? War increases economic activity and shows up very well in GNP statistics, but I think few would argue that it creates wealth. Indeed, it eats up wealth. And it behooves us to get back to increasing wealth as soon as our defense needs will permit it.

These are the symptoms. What then is the cause of the malady? The Administration, as far as I can tell, alleges that there is no malady. That all that needs to be done is "to finely tune the economy." Yet the President, in his message of August 2 to the Congress, asks that the Congress increase tax rates still beyond the point of diminishing returns in spite of the rate cuts of 1948, 1954 and 1964, by a ten percent surcharge on corporate and individual income taxes. In this message he points to the serious consequences of failing to take this remedy. I cannot improve upon the President's rhetoric in this message in describing the evil consequences of runaway inflation. I think I can improve a bit on his rhetoric in describing the consequences of high interest rates . . . which, incidentally, accompany runaway inflation. I am certain I can improve upon his rhetoric in describing the dire consequences of the continued deficits in our balance of international payments and the flow of gold from our society . . . which will eventually lead to the devaluation of the dollar and remove the United States from the enviable and profitable position of being the world's banker.

On the subject of the excess Federal debt over Federal assets, the President has no rhetoric and his economists still view deficits and Federal governmental debt as having little or no economic consequences. Here is the core of the economic malady that besets us. So it is incumbent upon all of us to point out in proper rhetoric, what happens when an institution, governmental or private, continues to spend for non wealth producing activities more than it takes in over a period of time. It is the same thing that happens to an individual. He reaches the bankrupt and then the beggar status. A nation goes into the grave yard of history.

Obviously, even if the Administration is only willing to admit to unwanted symptoms but is unwilling to admit to a serious economic malady. It will do nothing to cure the disease. The Administration says—increase taxes. This will rid us of the unwanted symptoms. Does the Administration say to the Congress, increase taxes and the malady will go away? Oh no. It merely says, if you don't increase taxes great damage will occur. Will it occur if we do increase taxes and fail to treat the disease? The answer is . . . yes. The Administration witnesses themselves, appearing before the Ways and Means Committee, as well as the witnesses half quoted by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, in his Thursday, September 21, speech before the Washington Press Club say, yes, damage will still occur. The most they say is that the damage will be less if taxes are increased.

All the expert witnesses save one said that two pills must be taken. First . . . not second, they said that expenditures must be cut. The Federal Government must cut down on its exertions because its pulmonary system cannot pump that much air into its lungs to continue at the rapid pace it is pursuing. Its heart and circulatory system won't take it. First cut down on the exertion. Then, second, when the level of exertion is tempered, we might be able to get more air into the lungs and we might be able to lower the blood pressure.

But the Administration says, no. Give us more air in our lungs and then we will cut down on our exertion . . . trust us. It is questionable whether we can give them more air, even if Congress wished to do so. Increase tax rates and we may get less revenue, not more. Three years ago we *reduced* tax rates to get more revenue through the ensuing expansion this brought to the tax base. We may well get higher blood pressure which may burst our heart or give us a stroke or a serious lung hemorrhage.

So, on Thursday, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, at President Johnson's behest, lectured the Congress to "not play politics" by refusing to grant the Administration's request for increased Federal Income Tax rates. This is a sordid level to place the national dialogue on such a serious issue as this.

On what basis does either Secretary Fowler or President Johnson make these serious charges which, in essence, say that the Congress and the Congressmen are so devoid of patriotism and/or so seriously lacking in knowledge and intelligence that they would sacrifice their own and their fellow citizens interest? Certainly not on a partisan basis because Democrat leaders, as well as Republicans, in the Congress have been saying "no" to the President. Certainly not on the basis of the evidence and arguments adduced at the public hearings before the Ways and Means Committee.

Surely the basis is not merely because there is an honest disagreement between the economic theories of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the members of the Congress? An honest difference of opinion is no basis for making serious charges that are tantamount to charges of irresponsibility, if not treason. Unless some other reasonable explanation is forthcoming, the charges are descriptive of those leveling them.

A week ago Wednesday, in an address before the State Chambers of Commerce in New York City, I observed that the failure of President Johnson to lay the groundwork to move his tax measure through the Congress, President Johnson being astute in the way of moving things through the Congress, indicated to me that he was not truly interested in getting a tax bill through, but rather, in building up a whipping boy to use next October at election time to blame for the serious economic conditions the Country would then be experiencing.

Certainly Secretary Fowler's address lays the groundwork for employing such tactics, namely making the Congress a whipping boy for President Johnson's election campaign next year. Or perhaps, more charitably, the President is threatening the Congress with making it the whipping boy as a method of getting his tax increase bill enacted without first cutting expenditures, as the Congressional leaders have told him he must do.

Whatever the Administration's strategy is, it is ill-timed, unnecessary and ill conceived in a Republic like America. Take the Congress and the people into your confidence, Mr. President. If we face serious troubles, lay them out and the people will respond, but they do not well respond when they are not confided in. When they feel they are not being dealt with forthrightly, how indeed can they respond?

A BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF PATRICK J. GILLIGAN

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill for the relief of Patrick J. Gilligan, who was born in Ireland in 1927 and entered the United States on a permanent resident's visa on October 9, 1950, coming to St. Louis where he has since resided. In 1954 he married an American citizen and has eight children. Five months after entering the United States he received notice from his draft board to report and, on May 2, 1951, he filled out form SSS 130 at the local draft board claiming exemption from military service. He had not been advised of the possible effect this might have on his desire to obtain citizenship. He was thereafter deferred until May 1953, at which time he was classified 1-A, eligible for service. Upon being notified of his new classification he revisited his draft board where he was told that he could obtain an alien exemption by executing a new application for exemption from military service. However, only at this time was he advised that if he did execute this application for exemption he would then be permanently barred from citizenship. Upon being advised of this, Mr. Gilligan refused to make application for an exemption and left his classification at 1-A. He remained 1-A status until June 1953 at which time he was classified 5-A, which is the classification given to those above draft age.

On April 11, 1968, the U.S. District Court denied his application for naturalization pursuant to the technicalities of section 315-A of the Immigration and Nationality Act because of his initial signing of form SSS 130. This judgment was affirmed on appeal.

Mr. Gilligan has obviously adopted the United States as his country and his home, yet he cannot become an American citizen without the assistance of special legislation in his behalf because of this technical application of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. The lack of U.S. citizenship among other things deprives him of the opportunity to take the Missouri CPA examination for which he is otherwise qualified.

STRIKES AFFECTING THE NATIONAL INTEREST—QUO VADIS?

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Grover] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. **GROVER**. Mr. Speaker, the problem of major strikes which now occur each year with frustrating frequency, and which cause substantial public inconvenience, will be highlighted in the Senate in the near future.

On October 10 a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee will begin hearings on a proposal (S. 176) to set up a labor-management court.

The great majority of Congressmen, I believe, legislated on the several special strike bills in the past several years with great reluctance. This reluctance is not due to a commitment to labor or management but rather to a feeling that compulsory arbitration is not good for anyone—labor, management or the United States of America.

But the problem grows, and there is no place to hide. I don't know if a labor-management court is the answer—but there are compelling arguments which must be heard.

I submit, for the interest of my colleagues, an essay by Capt. Harry F. Guggenheim, publisher of Newsday, which sets forth these arguments:

How Long Will the Public Be Damned?

(By Harry F. Guggenheim)

In this century, two major wars and the development of nuclear energy and jet propulsion have caused vast changes in our physical world. At the same time, our political and economic world has been, and still is, in a state of revolution.

Our nation has enjoyed unparalleled progress and prosperity. The strength of our economy flows from our system of free and competitive enterprise, a system derived from the "laissez faire" theory of John Stuart Mill. In accordance with his doctrine, prices regulate themselves by the free forces of supply and demand. But when these forces have ceased to be free, because monopolies have arisen to stifle competition, the federal government has acted to protect both consumers and labor.

The original anti-monopoly laws, the so-called antitrust laws, were designed to prevent industry from creating monopolies to the detriment of the public. Other laws were enacted which made it possible for labor to bargain collectively with sufficient power to deny big industry the ability to fix low wages.

CONCENTRATIONS OF POWER

With the passage of time, however, monopoly of industry and monopoly of labor have created new perils to a free economy. Concentrations of power now found in many labor and product markets make it unrealistic to assume that "free enterprise" and "free collective bargaining" are able to operate freely. These concentrations have led, rather, to conditions in which wages and prices are pushed to artificially high levels, and they have led to national emergency shutdowns. In almost all of our major industries, for example, there is but one monopoly price which the consumer must accept, a situation which prevails despite competition from other products and other countries. Laws designed to protect the employe from monopoly industry have created monopoly labor unions. Laws designed to insure fair practices in collective bargaining have made a mockery of collective bargaining.

We must devise checks and control on the new forms of monopolies that have developed. Governmental interference is denounced as stifling to the economy and to progress. But this is not necessarily so. It is essential to correct abuses harmful to society as a whole. Old industries that have grown to monopoly proportion will not be stifled by controls. New non-monopoly industries need not be subject to controls.

The powers of monopoly industry, on the one hand, and of monopoly labor unions, on the other hand, have resulted in strikes and lockouts detrimental to the public interest. In too many cases the bargaining between these great monopolies has been in bad faith. They have ended in major concessions to the unions, the cost of which has been passed on, with a little extra for good measure, to the unrepresented and helpless public.

As a result of what, in effect, has been in many cases an unholy alliance between Big Industry and Big Labor in monopoly industries, these companies and unions are getting too big a slice of our economic pie, to the detriment of the small businessman, the professional man, the farmer, the non-union worker and the fixed-income pensioner.

The general public frequently has been vexed by the irresponsible actions of the leaders of these powerful economic forces. At times, the public has not only been humiliated but has also been caused irreparable harm. Yet, our legislators are loath to take action because of the difficulty of finding workable and fair solutions to the problem and because of the political pressures of the two forces. Neither Big Business nor Big Labor wants to be controlled by government.

The leaders of the labor unions are unwilling to abandon any of their unilateral powers. In fact, they urge an increase in the powers of the unions. At long last they have reached the driver's seat and they don't propose to reduce their forward speed. The industrial leaders demand that the labor unions be curbed by the same antitrust laws that, to a degree, control industrial monopoly.

The government, in recent years, has attempted to put pressure on both sides to settle disputes by precribing voluntary guidelines for wages and prices and demanding that they be honored. This attempted solution has been anything but a success. It has led to charges of politics, has had little influence on wage and price settlements and has brought illegal pressures by government.

SETTING WAGES AND PRICES

In labor disputes *affecting the basic interests of the people*, the disputants' interests should be subjugated to those of the community. In such cases, wages and prices should be prescribed by impartial and fully competent tribunals. Writing in Newsday recently, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a former New York Supreme Court judge and special counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, urged the creation of a system of labor courts and judges to settle—by compulsory decision—wage disputes. Compulsory methods are bitterly opposed by industrial and labor leaders and Judge Rosenman's proposal has been roundly denounced. In spite of the present inconvenience and financial loss incurred in strikes and lockouts, they prefer the present conflicts to the searching light and the rulings of public tribunals.

The labor unionist holds that the right to strike has been won and is inalienable. This "right" has been supported by laws designed to protect him from abuse by big industry. But now, new laws are needed to protect the public from abuse by big unions, which have won the battles for equity, and now must consider not only the cause of their members but the public cause as well.

The labor unionist quite correctly states that no man can be forced to work in a free state if he refuses to do so. But, by our present laws, it is almost impossible to replace him when on strike during such periods when he refuses to work.

The industrialist holds that the strength of our free economy depends on his ability to determine the price of his product without regulation by government. But our economy is not free where there is monopoly in industry. Governmental regulation and control are abhorrent to the industrialists, many of whom believe that the economy will be destroyed by it.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC

Governmental control has become necessary because of industry's and labor's abuse of the free enterprise system. We need Judge Rosenman's labor courts to resolve wage disputes but we also need Economic Boards to control monopoly prices on the basis of fairness and the national benefit. The purpose of the boards would be to deal with prices in industries which are competitive in appearance only, and which affect the vital welfare of the American people. As Judge Rosenman would do in the case of wages, so should we limit the board's jurisdiction to "certain well-defined industries," especially those which are not fully responsive to the market place, those truly "administered" by monopolistic managers. Whether it is steel or metropolitan transportation, this agency would weigh the issues, reveal the facts to the public and judge what prices are fair and deserved. The courts and boards thus would provide decent wages for the employes, a realistic profit for the industry and protection for the public against unfair price increases and disruptions in vital industries.

The executive and legislative branches of government have delayed action far too long in protecting the public from the indifference of Big Labor and Big Business to the wider public concern. They should not wait until some new national catastrophe, with its strife and bitterness, has been brought about by the forces of industry and labor. They should act now. Statesmen must do the job that politicians have feared to undertake.

THE POST OFFICE AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Mrs. **HECKLER** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. **LANGEN**. Mr. Speaker, I find a great need for legislation which I have introduced today to strengthen the merit selection procedure in the postal field service by prohibiting political influence and considerations in the appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations of post masters and rural carriers.

Innumerable complaints have reached my office with regard to the inadequate postal service provided by the Postal Department under the present selection system. While there are many factors that have contributed adversely to postal service, it occurs to me that some improvement would be achieved by a more responsive system of selecting post masters and rural carriers.

Postal employee organizations have expressed concern over the failure of the Post Office Department to recognize and to promote able and experienced career postal employees. The elimination of political influence in this area would surely serve to improve postal service to patrons throughout the country.

The President of the National Civil Service League has stated:

> One serious deterrent to the Post Office's drive for quality is the archaic, inefficient system of appointing post masters and rural mail carriers through the old-fashioned patronage system.

This system has kept the postal field service in political chains for over a hundred years. This is evidenced by the fact that a very low percentage of post master and rural carrier appointments have been from the ranks of career employees in the postal service. This can only imply that the Department has not been able to take full advantage of the many qualified employees in the postal service in selecting post masters and rural carriers.

It would, therefore, seem most advisable and desirable that we eliminate political influence in connection with appointments, promotions, assignments, and designations in the postal field service.

I sincerely request that the House and respective committees grant early favor and recognition toward the passage of this bill.

The language and provisions of the bill follow:

H.R. 13125

A bill to strengthen the merit selection procedure in the postal field service by prohibiting political influence and considerations in the appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

SECTION 1. Section 3311 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§3311. Method of appointment

"(a) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term by one of the two following methods:

"(1) by selection, from within the postal field service, on the basis of noncompetitive examinations in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service, of qualified employees serving under career appointments in the postal service or from substitute rural carriers;

"(2) by competitive examination in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service.

"(b) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class without term."

APPOINTMENT OF RURAL CARRIERS

SEC. 2. (a) Chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3336 thereof the following new section:

"§3336A. Appointment of rural carriers

"(a) The Postmaster General shall appoint rural carriers in the competitive civil service by one of the two following methods:

"(1) by selection of qualified employees serving under career appointment in the postal field service or from substitute rural carriers; or

"(2) by competitive examination in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service.".

(b) The table of contents of chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"§3336A. Appointment of rural carriers."
immediately below—

"3336. Detail to stations of Armed Forces.".

ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN CONNECTION WITH APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, ASSIGNMENTS, TRANSFERS, AND DESIGNATIONS IN THE POSTAL FIELD SERVICE

SEC. 3. (a) Chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§3340. Elimination of political influence in postal field service employment

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, each appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation, interim or otherwise, of an officer or employee with respect to a postmaster, rural carrier, or any other office or position in the postal field service shall be made without regard to any recommendation or statement, oral, or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation made by—

"(1) any Member of the Senate or House of Representatives (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico); or

"(2) any official of a National, State, or county, municipal, or other local, political party.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section is hereby prohibited from making or transmitting to the Postmaster General, or to any other officer or employee of the Federal Government, any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation. The Postmaster General and any other officer or employee of the Federal Government—

"(1) shall not solicit, request, consider, or accept any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section; and

"(2) shall return any such recommendation or statement, if written, received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same.

"(c) A person who requests, or is under, consideration for any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation is hereby prohibited from requesting or soliciting any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section. Any such person making such solicitation or request, knowing the same to be in violation of this subsection, is disqualified for the appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation concerned.

"(d) Each employment form of the Federal Government used in connection with any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation shall contain appropriate language in boldface type informing all persons concerned of the provisions of this section. During the time any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation is under consideration, appropriate notice of the provisions of this section printed in boldface type shall be posted in the post office concerned.

"(e) Each employee of the Federal Government (other than an officer described in subsection (f) or (g) of this section) who, knowingly and willfully—

"(1) appoints, promotes, assigns, transfers, or designates any officer or employee with respect to a position in the postal field service in violation of subsection (a) of this section, or

"(2) solicits, requests, considers, or accepts any recommendation or statement referred to in such subsection (a) from any person described in subparagraph (1) or (2) or such subsection (a), or

"(3) fails to return any such recommendation or statement received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same,

shall be—

"(A) removed from his employment with the Federal Government, and

"(B) upon conviction thereof, fined not more than $500.

"(f) Each officer of the Federal Government (other than an employee described in subsection (e) of this section and an officer described in paragraph (1) of subsection (a) of this section) who, knowingly and willfully, violates the provisions of subparagraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (e) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $1,000.

"(g) Each person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section who, knowingly and willfully, makes or transmits any recommendation or statement in violation of subsection (b) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $1,000.

"(h) Each person within the purview of subparagraph (2) of subsection (a) of this section who, knowingly and willfully, solicits or requests of any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) of such subsection (a) any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation with respect to an office or position in the postal field service shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $1,000.

"(i) Any person who requests, or is under, consideration for any appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation referred to in subsection (a) of this section and who requests or solicits any recommendation or statement, oral or written, in violation of subsection (c) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $500.".

(b) The table of contents of chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"3340. Elimination of political influence in postal field service employment."
immediately below—

"3339. Consolidation of rural routes.".

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS FOR POSTMASTERS

SEC. 4. Section 3312 of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out, in subsection (a), "city or town" and inserting in lieu thereof "county, city, or town";

(2) by inserting "or county" immediately after "delivery zone" in subsection (b); and

(3) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:

"(c) Every postmaster shall reside within the delivery of the post office to which he is appointed, or within the county, city, or town where the post office is situated, or in the area adjacent to or surrounding the delivery zone or county of the post office in which he lived at the time of appointment.".

SAVING PROVISIONS

SEC. 5. (a) The amendments made by this Act shall not affect the status or tenure, on the date of enactment of this Act, of—

(1) postmasters in office on such date;

(2) persons appointed, promoted, assigned, transferred, or designated with respect to an office or position in the postal field service on or prior to such date; and

(3) persons holding positions of rural carrier on such date.

(b) The amendments made by this Act shall not apply to nominations pending before the Senate on the date of enactment of this Act.

STATES' RESPONSES TO LOCAL NEEDS

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the ever increasing urbanization of our Nation, and the constant demand for more and better governmental services have placed new and heavy burdens on all governments, but especially on local governments. Some States have responded to this crisis in public finance and public services by increasing financial and technical aid to their beleaguered municipalities.

A major recent development in a number of States has been the establishment of special agencies for local affairs, to assist in coordinating and providing services to localities. Such an agency serves as a specific focal point at the State level to which local governments can turn both for the direct provision of technical services and for information regarding the availability of services from other agencies. It acts as a clearinghouse for information regarding relevant Federal and State assistance programs to meet local needs, and can perform an invaluable service in bringing the problems faced by local governments to the Governor's attention, so that existing State programs and activities can be marshalled in a coordinated way.

I am proud to say that my State has assumed a broad responsibility for this kind of assistance to our localities. The New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, established in 1966 as a part of the executive branch, has actual operating responsibility for the urban renewal, war on poverty, housing and area redevelopment programs in New Jersey counties and municipalities. In addition it renders financial aid to the localities and supervises municipal and county budgets, accounting systems and departmental policy. The department is preparing a statewide development plan in conjunction with other departments of the State government, and assists counties and municipalities in their own local planning for renewal and public works.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations—of which I have the honor to be a member—has developed a table listing the functions of the local affairs offices now existing in 16 States. My colleagues will note that activities undertaken by these offices vary from a simple information function in one or two cases, to the kind of wide-ranging responsibility assumed by New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. It should also be noted that 10 of these offices have been established during the past year and a half. The table follows:

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION ON EXISTING STATE OFFICES OF LOCAL AFFAIRS

	New York	Alaska	Rhode Island	Tennessee	California
Name of agency	Office for Local Government.	Local Affairs Agency	Division of Local and Metropolitan Government.	Office of Local Government.	Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth.[1]
Year established	1959	1959	1961	1963	1963.
Location	Within the executive department.	Office of the Governor	Department of administration.	Office of the Comptroller of Treasury.	Office of Governor.
FUNCTIONS					
Advisory, coordinating and technical assistance:					
Fiscal advice	X	X	X		
Municipal management	X	X	X		
Eng. and public works	X	X			
Leg. aspects of intrastate government relations	X	X			
Research, statistics and information collection	X	X	X	X	X.
Personnel training	X	X	X		
Boundary and fringe problems		X			
Assist Governor in coordinating State activities affecting locals.	X	X	X	X	X.
Recommend programs and legislation	X	X			X.
Interlocal cooperation	X	X	X	X	X.
Financial assistance					
Supervise local finances			X		
Planning functions:					
Statewide planning					
Local planning assistance		X			
Coordinate with regional planning	X	X			
Coordinate with statewide planning					X.
Program responsibility:					
Urban renewal and redevelopment					
Poverty					
Housing					
Area redevelopment		X[2]			
Statutory citations	N.Y. Consolidated Laws, ch. 335.	A. S. 44.19. 180 et seq.; sec. 14, art. X, of constitution.	Public Law 1961, ch. 93.	Laws, 1963, ch. 205	Ch. 1809, 1963, Stats.; ch. 823, 1965 Stats.

	Pennsylvania	Colorado	Illinois	New Jersey	Washington
Name of agency	Department of Community Affairs.	Division of Local Government.	Office of Local Government.	Department of Community Affairs.	Planning and Community Affairs Agency.
Year established	1966	1966	1966	1966	1967.
Location	Independent Administrative Department.	Executive Department	Office of Governor	Department in the executive branch.	Office of the Governor.
FUNCTIONS					
Advisory, coordinating, and technical assistance:					
Fiscal advice	X	X			
Municipal management	X			X	
Engineering and public works				X	X.
Legislative aspects of intrastate government relations		X		X	
Research, statistics and information collection	X	X	X	X	X.
Personnel training	X	X		X	
Boundary and fringe problems					X.
Assist Governor in coordinating State activities affecting locals.	X	X	X	X	X.
Recommend programs and legislation	X	X	X	X	X.
Interlocal cooperation	X	X		X	X.
Financial assistance	X			X	X.[3]
Supervise local finances	X			X	
Planning functions:					
Statewide planning				X	X.
Local planning assistance	X			X	X.
Coordinate with regional planning	X			X	X.
Coordinate with statewide planning	X			X	X.

See footnotes at end of table.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION ON EXISTING STATE OFFICES OF LOCAL AFFAIRS—Continued

	Pennsylvania	Colorado	Illinois	New Jersey	Washington
FUNCTIONS—Continued					
Program responsibility:					
Urban renewal and redevelopment	X			X	
Poverty	X			X	
Housing	X			X	
Area redevelopment	X			X	
Statutory citations	Reorganization Plan No. 2, Act No. 582, 1965, regular session (approved February 1, 1966).	S.B. 23, 1966	H.B. 2194, 1965 (Appropriation Act).	Assembly bill 861, 1966.	H.B. 78, 1967.

	Missouri	Ohio	Wisconsin	Connecticut	Minnesota	Vermont
Name of agency	Department of Community Affairs.[4]	Department of Urban Affairs.	Department of Local Affairs and Development.	Department of Community Affairs.	Office of Local and Urban Affairs.	Office of Local Affairs.[5]
Year established	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967.
Location	Independent Administrative Department.	Independent Administrative Department.	Independent Executive Department.	Independent Administrative Department.	Office in State planning agency.	Office of the Governor.
FUNCTIONS						
Advisory, coordinating, and technical assistance:						
Fiscal advice	X	X	X			X.
Municipal management	X	X	X	X	X	X.
Engineering and public works	X			X		X.
Legislative aspects of intrastate government relations	X		X[6]			
Research, statistics and information collection	X	X	X[6]	X	X	X.
Personnel training	X					
Boundary and fringe problems						
Assist Governor in coordinating State activities affecting local's.	X	X	X[6]	X	X	X.
Recommend programs and legislation	X	X	X[6]	X		X.
Interlocal cooperation	X	X	X[6]			
Financial assistance			X[6]	X[3]		
Supervise local finances						
Planning functions:						
Statewide planning	X			X		X.
Local planning assistance	X	X[7]	X[6]	X		X.
Coordinate with regional planning	X	X	X	X	X	X.
Coordinate with statewide planning	X		X[6]	X		X.
Program responsibility:						
Urban renewal and redevelopment	X					
Poverty		X				
Housing						X.
Area redevelopment	X	X[7]				X.
Statutory citations	H.B. 129, 1967	Substitute H.B. 495, 1967.	Reorg. bill, ch. 75, 1967.	P.A. 522, 1967	Secs. 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, 4.16, 1965; ch. 898, 1967.	Executive authority, 1967[6] appropriation act.

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[1] Department and commission of housing and community development administers other programs, notably those of direct administration (poverty program, housing, etc.) rather than those of supervision and assistance. It renders advice on fiscal problems related to its programs, collects statistics, and recommends legislation.

[2] Refers to administration of the rural redevelopment fund.

[3] All State financial aid to localities for urban renewal, poverty programs, mass transit, etc., is channeled at the discretion of the director (or commissioner) of the agency (or department).

[4] Effective Oct. 15, 1967.

[5] The Vermont office was set up by executive authority only, and is awaiting statutory authority to undertake the functions proposed.

[6] Additional function proposed under pending legislation (S.B. 15, 1967).

[7] Refers solely to the functions of the Ohio Office of Appalachia within the Department of Urban Affairs.

HOW LONG WILL THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED?

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States recently passed a law requested by the President which imposed, in effect, compulsory arbitration on railroad workers. During the debate on this bill, and up to the time it was signed into law by the President, no one doubted that the workers would obey the legislation, respect the law, and not indulge in a strike. I, for one, however, thought it quite possible that the workers might ignore the legislative actions of the Congress and strike in any event. Certainly recent events on the labor scene around our Nation have indicated that even police and firemen will strike. In New York City, the teachers have struck in spite of laws which make such strikes unlawful. There is a growing possibility that one or more groups of workers will strike in spite of a law passed by the Congress of the United States. It is clear we need a straightforward new look at the entire problem of labor-management relations along with a new look at the problems being caused by strikes of public employees. The Nation is clearly in need of new solutions to this old problem.

The first step on the road to new solutions is new ideas. Recently, Harry F. Guggenheim, the president and editor in chief of Newsday, came forth with such a new idea. He called for immediate action by the Federal Government to protect the public against unfair price increases caused by "an unholy alliance between big industry and big labor in the monopoly industries."

In a full-page signed editorial entitled "How Long Will the Public Be Damned?" published in Newsday, Mr. Guggenheim proposed establishment of economic boards to control prices in monopoly industries vital to the public welfare, as the counterpart of the labor courts to settle wage disputes by compulsory decisions suggested in a recent Newsday article by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a former New York Supreme Court justice and special counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

The thrust of the editorial was:

> Governmental control has become necessary because of industry and labor's abuse of the free enterprise system.

Mr. Guggenheim pointed out:

> We need Judge Rosenman's labor courts to resolve wage disputes, but we also need economic boards to control prices on the basis of fairness and the national benefit. The purpose of these boards would be to deal with prices in industries which are competitive in appearance only, and which affect the vital welfare of the American people.

Mr. Guggenheim concluded:

> The executive and legislative branches of government have delayed action far too long in protecting the public from the indifference of Big Labor and Big Business to the wider public concern. They should not wait until some new national catastrophe, with its strife and bitterness, has been brought about by the forces of industry and labor. They should act now. Statesmen must do the job that politicians have feared to undertake.

The following is the full text of Mr. Guggenheim's editorial, "How Long Will the Public Be Damned?":

HOW LONG WILL THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED?

In this century, two major wars and the development of nuclear energy and jet propulsion have caused vast changes in our physical world. At the same time, our political and economic world has been, and still is, in a state of revolution.

Our nation has enjoyed unparalleled progress and prosperity. The strength of our economy flows from our system of free and competitive enterprise, a system derived from the "laissez faire" theory of John Stuart Mill. In accordance with his doctrine, prices regulate themselves by the free forces of supply and demand. But when these forces have ceased to be free, because monopolies have arisen to stifle competition, the federal government has acted to protect both consumers and labor.

The original anti-monopoly laws, the so-called antitrust laws, were designed to prevent industry from creating monopolies to the detriment of the public. Other laws were enacted which made it possible for labor to bargain collectively with sufficient power to deny big industry the ability to fix low wages.

CONCENTRATIONS OF POWER

With the passage of time, however, monopoly of industry and monopoly of labor have created new perils to a free economy. Concentrations of power now found in many labor and product markets make it unrealistic to assume that "free enterprise" and "free collective bargaining" are able to operate freely. These concentrations have led, rather, to conditions in which wages and prices are pushed to artificially high levels, and they have led to national emergency shutdowns. In almost all of our major industries, for example, there is but one monopoly price which the consumer must accept, a situation which prevails despite competition from other products and other countries. Laws designed to protect the employe from monopoly industry have created monopoly labor unions. Laws designed to insure fair practices in collective bargaining have made a mockery of collective bargaining.

We must devise checks and controls on the new forms of monopolies that have developed. Governmental interference is denounced as stifling to the economy and to progress. But this is not necessarily so. It is essential to correct abuses harmful to society as a whole. Old industries that have grown to monopoly proportions will not be stifled by controls. New non-monopoly industries need not be subject to controls.

The powers of monopoly industry, on the one hand, and of monopoly labor unions, on the other hand, have resulted in strikes and lockouts detrimental to the public interest. In too many cases the bargaining between these great monopolies has been in bad faith. They have ended in major concessions to the unions, the cost of which has been passed on, with a little extra for good measure, to the unrepresented and helpless public.

As a result of what, in effect, has been in many cases an unholy alliance between Big Industry and Big Labor in monopoly industries, these companies and unions are getting too big a slice of our economic pie, to the detriment of the small businessman, the professional man, the farmer, the nonunion worker and the fixed-income pensioner.

The general public frequently has been vexed by the irresponsible actions of the leaders of these powerful economic forces. At times, the public has not only been humiliated but has also been caused irreparable harm. Yet, our legislators are loath to take action because of the difficulty of finding workable and fair solutions to the problem and because of the political pressures of the two forces. Neither Big Business nor Big Labor wants to be controlled by government.

The leaders of the labor unions are unwilling to abandon any of their unilateral powers. In fact, they urge an increase in the powers of the unions. At long last they have reached the driver's seat and they don't propose to reduce their forward speed. The industrial leaders demand that the labor unions be curbed by the same antitrust laws that, to a degree, control industrial monopoly.

The government, in recent years, has attempted to put pressure on both sides to settle disputes by prescribing voluntary guidelines for wages and prices and demanding that they be honored. This attempted solution has been anything but a success. It has led to charges of politics, has had little influence on wage and price settlements and has brought illegal pressures by government.

SETTING WAGES AND PRICES

In labor disputes *affecting the basic interests of the people*, the disputants' interests should be subjugated to those of the community. In such cases, wages and prices should be prescribed by impartial and fully competent tribunals. Writing in Newsday recently, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a former New York Supreme Court judge and special counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, urged the creation of a system of labor courts and judges to settle—by compulsory decision—wage disputes. Compulsory methods are bitterly opposed by industrial and labor leaders and Judge Rosenman's proposal has been roundly denounced. In spite of the present inconvenience and financial loss incurred in strikes and lockouts, they prefer the present conflicts to the searching light and the rulings of public tribunals.

The labor unionist holds that the right to strike has been won and is inalienable. This "right" has been supported by laws designed to protect him from abuse by big industry. But now, new laws are needed to protect the public from abuse by big unions, which have won the battles for equity, and now must consider not only the cause of their members but the public cause as well.

The labor unionist quite correctly states that no man can be forced to work in a free state if he refuses to do so. But, by our present laws, it is almost impossible to replace him when on strike during such periods when he refuses to work.

The industrialist holds that the strength of our free economy depends on his ability to determine the price of his product without regulation by government. But our economy is not free where there is monopoly in industry. Governmental regulation and control are abhorrent to the industrialists, many of whom believe that the economy will be destroyed by it.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC

Governmental control has become necessary because of industry's and labor's abuse of the free enterprise system. We need Judge Rosenman's labor courts to resolve wage disputes but we also need Economic Boards to control monopoly prices on the basis of fairness and the national benefit. The purpose of the boards would be to deal with prices in industries which are competitive in appearance only, and which affect the vital welfare of the American people. As Judge Rosenman would do in the case of wages, so should we limit the board's jurisdiction to "certain well-defined industries," especially those which are not fully responsive to the market place, those truly "administered" by monopolistic managers. Whether it is steel or metropolitan transportation, this agency would weigh the issues, reveal the facts to the public and judge what prices are fair and deserved. The courts and boards thus would provide decent wages for the employes, a realistic profit for the industry and protection for the public against unfair price increases and disruptions in vital industries.

The executive and legislative branches of government have delayed action far too long in protecting the public from the indifference of Big Labor and Big Business to the wider public concern. They should not wait until some new national catastrophe, with its strife and bitterness, has been brought about by the forces of industry and labor. They should act now. Statesmen must do the job that politicians have feared to undertake.

HARRY F. GUGGENHEIM.

RESULT OF A POLL

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, because of his deep interest in the well-being of our Nation, one of my distinguished constituents, Mr. W. Hanes Lancaster, of Johnson City, Tenn., has recently conducted an independent survey on several timely issues at his own expense.

Mr. Lancaster came to Johnson City many years ago and established WJHL radio station. He later received a permit for one of east Tennessee's first television stations—WJHL-TV—which he built into one of the leading network stations. Now retired, he recently divested himself of his radio and television interests and is a roving ambassador for the good of his country.

Mr. Lancaster has been gracious enough to allow me the results of his poll, and I believe they will be of interest to my colleagues.

Under unanimous consent I insert the results of Mr. Lancaster's questionnaire at this point in the RECORD:

Please answer the following questions by checking yes or no.

1. Are you in favor of all out war in Vietnam?

Yes	381
No	328

2. Are you in favor of withdrawing from Vietnam?

Yes	304
No	394

3. Are you in favor of continuing the war as is in Vietnam?

Yes	62
No	642

4. Are you in favor of aid to foreign countries as is being administered now?

Yes	49
No	695

5. Are you in favor of the present poverty program?

Yes	88
No	646

DR. RAYMOND J. SAULNIER'S POSITION ON THE PROPOSED SURCHARGE

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WHALEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection

to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, a critical question that may come before this body in the near future is the surcharge proposal advanced by the administration which the Ways and Means Committee is now discussing.

Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, professor of economics at Barnard College, Columbia Univerity, and former Economic Council Chairman under President Eisenhower, recently appeared before the committee and outlined his views.

Professor Saulnier's position was that—

> Capital market considerations, and the threat of even more inflation than we now have, clearly require strict limits on federal spending, and, unhappily, also an increase in taxes.

Mr. Speaker, there are many Members of this House who have been following the progress of the committee's activities on this question. Many, like myself, remain unconvinced of the need for the surtax as proposed but review with interest the development of the dialog surrounding it.

For this reason and because of the high regard in which Dr. Saulnier is held, I think his testimony should be of interest to my colleagues and herewith insert it in the RECORD:

TESTIMONY BY DR. RAYMOND J. SAULNIER, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, BEFORE THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE PRESIDENT'S 1967 TAX PROPOSALS, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 12, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, first, let me express my appreciation for this opportunity to appear again before the Ways and Means Committee. It is a great privilege.

I will summarize my conclusions on the question, should taxes be increased, by first giving you my judgment concerning the economic outlook and then my reasons for believing that in the present and prospective economic context capital market considerations, and the threat of even more inflation than we now have, clearly require strict limits on federal spending and, unhappily, also an increase in taxes.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

A judgment on the question before the Committee must be based, of course, on an opinion concerning the economic outlook. On this, the evidence is quite clear. What the indicators tell us is that the economy has been in a recovery phase for four to five months. I wouldn't put much weight on the fact that it has been a lacklustre performance to date, though that is a fair description of it. Nor would I attach much significance to the fact that July was a poor month for the "leading" indicators, as it was. The leaders have a poor month every now and then, even in the best of recoveries. What is more important is that the "coincident" indicators, which measure broad movements of production, employment, income and sales, improved measurably. And I expect August and September to show up well in all the series, leading and coincident, when the figures are in. In short, we can be pretty confident that the economy is on a recovery road.

Moreover, this forecast is indicated despite the strike recently called against the Ford Company. An interruption of this magnitude is bound to have damaging effects on the economy, but it is clear from studies of past experience that strikes have rarely if ever altered the underlying trend of the economy. They have usually occurred during periods of recovery and expansion, and when they were over the economy came back to about where it was when the strike began and continued, thereafter, on about the same path that would have been expected in the absence of a strike. The 1959 steel strike may be an exception to this rule, but it lasted four months and closed down the entire steel industry. I cannot believe that the present case will be a parallel. Therefore, although it is unfortunate to have a strike at all, I doubt that it will change the underlying trend of the economy, which points to recovery and expansion.

The question that remains is how strong the recovery will be. The Administration favors a forecast of rapid expansion in 1968. They also continue to expect a rapid upturn in the second half of this year, though we are fast running out of time for that forecast to be validated. What seems to me more likely is that the advance will be a relatively slow one, not only over the rest of this year but in 1968, too. Moreover, until we make some meaningful headway in solving problems that currently are obstacles to vigorous, sustainable and inflation-free growth, I expect the economy to proceed in a rather bumpy fashion. But these differences in estimates of the economic outlook, and they are real differences, should not affect one's conclusion as to the need for fiscal restraint. You will see why I say this as I develop my reasons for advocating fiscal action.

THE CAPITAL MARKET PROBLEM

As I see it, the crucial and decisive reason for advocating restrictive fiscal measures derives directly from present and prospective conditions in the markets for capital and credit and indirectly from the threatened impact of these conditions on the economy and on the outlook for further inflation.

Let me put the case this way: considering—

(1) the private financial requirements implied by a general recovery of the economy, whether strong or only relatively modest and, in particular, by a recovery of the housing industry and by a return to inventory accumulation;

(2) the federal financial requirements that result from a huge budget deficit; and

(3) the amount of savings likely to be available to satisfy these financial requirements; it follows

(4) that total requirements for capital and credit in the fiscal year 1968, and quite possibly for a considerably longer time in the future, can be met only by a money supply expansion that has strong inflationary implications.

This conclusion is based on a projection of sources and uses of funds for the U.S. economy which is appended to this statement along with a description of the assumptions that underly it. It is designed along the lines of the table on financial flows regularly prepared by the staff of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, but I wish to make it clear that the fiscal 1968 projections are mine and that I take full responsibility for them.

I would describe the assumptions on which I have projected financial flows as relatively conservative. Of course, both financial requirements and the funds to meet them would be greater if we were to assume a rapid recovery. But this would only fortify my conclusion, since to balance sources and uses of funds in a rapid recovery would almost certainly require a still larger monetary expansion than my table contemplates. Moreover, my table assumes—

(1) that the deficit in the administrative budget will be $14 billion, as Secretary Fowler in testifying before your Committee said he thought it would be;

(2) that the tax package which the President asked for will be enacted as he asked for it, time schedule and all; and

(3) that the $4 billion increase in defense spending to which the President alluded in a press conference not so long ago can, for present purposes, be ignored.

Official hopes on all these so-called contingencies seem to me dangerously sanguine, but if bolder assumptions are preferred the result only makes the financial picture all the more ominous. And it is ominous enough for my taste as it stands. Moreover, I think it is ominous enough as it stands to decide the question before the Committee. What it says is that in the present and prospective economic context, and so long as the federal budget deficit remains at or close to its present size, money supply must continue to expand roughly as it has been expanding so far in 1967. And so far in 1967 money supply, narrowly defined, has been rising at just over 9 percent, annualized; broadly defined, it has been rising at an annual rate of just over 13 percent.

It seems to me the point that should be decisive in your Committee's deliberations is that the indicated monetary expansion is an inflationary monetary expansion. Whether it is inflationary today or will be inflationary only tomorrow makes no difference, though I think it is both. We have reached a point where it is vitally necessary to think of tomorrow as well as today. And whether the current rate of money supply expansion is inflationary in the sense of actually initiating price increases or only in the sense of permitting price increases to take place that were initiated by increases in costs is neither here nor there. What is important is that both cost and price inflation are afoot today, and must be brought under control. Your Committee will recall that it was stated officially by the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers during these hearings that average hourly labor compensation costs in the private economy rose in the first six months of this year at an annual rate in excess of six percent. This is twice the rate at which productivity is typically improved. It is no surprise, therefore, that in the past twelve months unit production costs have gone up by more than 4 percent.

As for price inflation, which for present purposes we can measure by the GNP deflator, my guess is that it will come to about 2.5 percent this year and to 3.0 percent next year, even with a tax increase. It would be more without a tax increase, and it will be more if the economy recovers more rapidly than I am expecting it to recover. For example, I have concluded from GNP models I put together as part of my preparation for this testimony but with which I will not burden the Committee that, if GNP were to increase as fast as I gather the Administration believes it will increase, the accompanying price inflation would be between 3.5 and 4.0 percent.

It seems clear to me that these are conditions to which federal economic policy must respond in an explicit and positive way. And all the more so considering that the balance of payments deficit seems to be getting larger. The only question that remains is what the response should be.

In some situations it might be from monetary policy, but you will see from what I have said of conditions in the capital markets, present and prospective, that an adequate monetary policy response is not possible. The fact is that the only policy options open at this late stage of the game are fiscal options. As I see it, monetary policy is committed by circumstances to continued ease. Free reserves can be expected to move up or down from week to week, but as long as the budget deficit stays at or near its present size the monetary authorities, in my judgment, will have no alternative but to continue to expand the money supply at what amounts to a distinctly inflationary rate.

Contemplate for a moment what would be involved if money policy were to take a turn toward tightness. It is not necessary to think of a turn as abrupt as that taken in 1966, when money supply stopped increasing altogether and created a near-crisis in financial markets; all one needs to posit is a significant reduction in the rate at which money supply is increasing. The result would be to escalate interest rates to levels well above even the record heights at which they are currently perched; to stir the money markets into the turbulence nowadays called "disintermediation;" to reverse the revival of the housing industry; and to bring the recovery, so far only a timorous one, to a halt.

Circumstances such as these are part of what is meant when we say that "deficits do matter." One way deficits matter is that when they get big, and certainly when they get as huge as they are now, they compromise monetary policy. The way to cure this condition is perfectly clear: the way to do it is to take steps to move the federal budget toward balance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Let me conclude by giving you my recommendations as to how we should proceed to accomplish this:

(1) Although I don't like the idea of raising taxes any more than anyone else, and probably a good deal less than many, I am persuaded that in the circumstances a tax increase is needed. But I want to make it clear that if all a tax increase does is to invite another spurt of federal spending it will accomplish nothing except raise further the already high, and as I see it excessive, proportion of the nation's income currently absorbed by taxation. That proportion now stands at close to 30 percent.

Thus, there is no escaping the conclusion that expenditure control is an absolute necessity in the present situation. I know it is not easy to set expenditure priorities when we are surrounded by pressing needs, local as well as national, and all the more so when the nation is engaged in a war halfway around the world with half a million men in the field, but spending priorities must be set. And they must be followed. Basically, the problem that brings your Committee here today is that our country is overcommitted financially. This condition must be corrected. It will suffice to say that I hope your Committee will use its influence to see that the need to fit spending ambitions to revenue capabilities is not only recognized, but is respected.

(2) I strongly urge that whatever tax measures your Committee recommends to the House be so designed as to be neutral with respect to the distribution of the tax burden, which involves the timing as well as the nature of the tax increase. This should not be an occasion for restructuring the tax system.

(3) Since I am here to speak to you of the economic, not the political, features of the proposals before you, let me say that there are respects in which they fail to go to the real problem. The problem is principally a shortage of capital or savings; alternatively, it is an excess of financing requirements. Yet there are features of the tax proposals which would either reduce the flow of savings or merely substitute one financing requirement for another. Thus, higher taxes on business, to the extent they are not passed on in higher prices, will reduce the flow of cash available to finance business investment and, in an atmosphere of rising investment expenditures, will result in heavier borrowing by business. Such taxes reduce the Treasury's financing requirements only to increase the financing requirements of business. And there are features of the individual income tax proposal subject to the same criticism.

The Committee should revise the proposals so they will be pointed more fully to restraining consumption and will serve better to meet the real problem we face, which is a problem of capital shortage.

FINANCIAL FLOWS[1]

[In billions of dollars]

	3d quarter 1966	4th quarter 1966	1st quarter 1967	2d quarter 1967	Fiscal year 1967	Projected, fiscal year 1968
Net funds raised by nonfinancial sectors, total	63.5	53.7	75.8	48.0	60.3	87.1
U.S. Government (direct securities, nonguaranteed issues and PC's)	7.0	2.2	10.8	−21.7	−.4	16.0
Foreign borrowers	.1	.9	5.5	4.3	2.7	3.0
Consumer credit	6.9	4.6	4.3	4.4	5.1	5.1
Bank (not elsewhere classified) and other loans	13.3	17.4	15.0	16.0	15.4	14.0
State and local obligations	4.8	6.2	9.8	11.7	8.1	12.0
Corporate securities	11.7	6.9	14.0	14.9	11.9	11.0
Mortgages	19.7	15.5	16.3	18.4	17.5	26.0
Net sources of credit, total	63.5	53.7	75.8	48.0	60.3	87.1
U.S. Government (lending and change in cash balance)	4.8	−2.1	2.6	−12.9	−1.9	5.0
Foreign funds	−4.0	−1.8	2.7	9.6	1.6	5.0
Private insurance and pension reserves	13.5	13.4	14.7	12.4	13.5	14.0
Sources (n.e.c.)	13.2	3.9	.6	−1.0	4.2	4.2
Demand deposits and currency	−2.5	7.5	9.7	9.6	6.1	31.5
Time and savings deposits, commercial banks	10.6	4.6	33.9	22.3	17.9	
Savings deposits and accounts, thrift institutions	5.3	9.4	16.4	20.9	13.0	15.0
Private credit market instruments	20.1	8.8	8.4	1.5	9.7	9.7
U.S. Government securities	5.6	7.5	−15.2	−14.2	−4.1	3.0
Less security debt	2.9	−2.3	−2.1	.2	−.3	−.3

[1] Data for 3d quarter 1966 through 2d quarter 1967 are from the Aug. 8, 1967 Federal Reserve release, Flow of Funds, Seasonally Adjusted 1st Half 1967: fiscal year 1968 projection by R.J.S.

PRINCIPAL ASSUMPTIONS IN THE PROJECTIONS OF FINANCIAL FLOWS

U.S. Government requirements assume an $11 billion administrative budget deficit, $5 billion participation certificate sales, and no net issuance of nonguaranteed issues. Partly offsetting these requirements are federal trust fund and investment account purchases of $3 billion, included among sources.

Borrowings in U.S. markets by foreigners has been reduced below IH67 levels to reflect economic slowdown in Western Europe and the fact that interest rates have been rising here and falling there. Similarly, inflow of funds from abroad as a source is put at a higher figure than in FY67.

Consumer credit is the same as in FY67 but higher than IH67, reflecting a recovery in purchases of cars and other consumer durables. The projection is consistent with 1968 auto sales (including imports) in the range of 8.6 to 8.7 million.

Mortgage credit increase is consistent with housing starts rising close to 1.5 million by IVQ68.

Corporate securities issues are cut back substantially from IH67 levels in the belief that there was anticipatory borrowing in that period and that liquidity has been to a significant extent repleted.

Business borrowing, short and intermediate term—the major component of "bank (n.e.c.) and other loans—has been reduced from the IIQ67 rate and below FY67, having in mind that the increase in bank loans to business in the first seven months of calendar 1967 was much less rapid than in the comparable 1966 period.

CARDINAL O'BOYLE

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McDADE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on Friday of last week, the Reverend Aloysius C. Galvin, S.J., president of the University of Scranton, in Scranton, Pa., conferred an honorary degree of doctor of laws upon Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, the cardinal archbishop of the Diocese of Washington, D.C.

It was indeed a moving moment.

For all of us who work here, in the Congress, there was a profound joy in seeing the first Roman Catholic cardinal of the Nation's Capital being honored by one of the fine universities in this Nation. But for those of us who live in Scranton, it was an even more memorable thing to see Cardinal O'Boyle coming home to the city in which he was born, grew up, went to school, and which saw him take the first steps in the vocation which led to his being appointed a prince of the church.

Cardinal O'Boyle was no stranger to the campus of the University of Scranton. He had attended the same school many years ago when it was directed by the second largest teaching order of the Catholic Church, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and was named St. Thomas College. Today, the school is known as the University of Scranton, and is directed by the largest teaching order of the Catholic Church, the Society of Jesus.

Time has seen the young man who attended St. Thomas College grow into one of the great prelates of this Nation. Time has also seen the small college grow into one of our most distinguished universities. Under its present president, Father Galvin, it has taken new steps in its physical and intellectual growth.

And so, Mr. Speaker, there was a double distinction in the ceremony of honoring Cardinal O'Boyle. Our learned prelate was honored in receiving the degree of doctor of laws. The university was honored by the presence of Scranton's most distinguished clerical son.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I append here an article concerning the ceremony from the Scranton Tribune:

Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle Addresses Students: Negro Equality Urged at University of Scranton Convocation

Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle urged Scranton area residents to ". . . help the Negro achieve complete equality in our society . . ." at University of Scranton Convocation exercises on Friday.

In an address to some 3,000 university students, administrators, faculty and guests, the Scranton-born Prince of the Roman Catholic Church called on regional people to fight for the rights of the American Negro ". . . as the John Mitchells and the Father Currans of an earlier generation helped your own people to find their place in the sun."

Cardinal O'Boyle was principal speaker at the U of S Honors Convocation. At the ceremony, the honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by the Very Rev. Aloysius C. Galvin, SJ., University of Scranton president.

Another high point of the convocation ceremony was the presentation of awards to university students for academic excellence during the last year. Forty-three students were presented with excellence awards by Father Galvin. Dean of the university College of Arts and Sciences, the Rev. Eugene P. McCreesh, SJ, presented the student award-winners to the president.

The convocation officially began the 1967–68 academic year at the university. The daylong affair began with a 9:30 a.m. mass at the Church of the Nativity.

At Nativity, formal academic procession of administrators, faculty, guests and students marched into the church. Grand marshal for the march was Dr. Joseph A. Barrett, assistant professor of counselor education. The bearer of the University Mace was student body president, Edward Mitchell, of White Haven.

Following the mass, the group moved to the university campus for the convocation.

Cardinal O'Boyle addressed the educators and students at the Convocation site.

He said:

To those of us who were born and raised in this region I need not say any more about the heritage of deeply religious faith which was handed down to all of us by our rugged forebears from Ireland and Poland and Italy and other eastern European countries. This is a precious legacy for which we should give sincere thanks to Almighty God every day of our lives. It remains for us to keep the tradition alive in the rapidly changing post-Hiroshima, post-Conciliar world in which we find ourselves today.

Rapid change, as I have already indicated, is perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of modern society, not only here in the United States, but in every other part of the world as well.

"The changeless realities which become known to us, however dimly, only through the priceless gift of Faith—were dearer than life itself to the God-fearing men and women of this region who have gone before us to their eternal reward. Only to the extent that we remain faithful to their legacy will we be able to match their contribution and do our part in helping to find the solution to the outstanding problems of our own generation.

"In facing up to our responsibilities in the field of social justice at this critical turning point in the history of the United States, we can learn much from the example of those who have gone before us in this particular section of the country. Their problems were not the same as those which confront us at the moment, but they were just as serious, in their own way, and just as difficult to resolve.

"Our forebears were faced with the problem of labor relations in its most elementary terms—the problem of gaining recognition of labor's right to organize and to engage in collective bargaining. They eventually achieved this goal, but only after a prolonged and very costly struggle. And, in doing so, they won for this region the enviable reputation of being, in effect, the birthplace of the American labor movement as we know it today.

"There is no need, on this occasion, to retell the story of the anthracite miners' heroic and eventually successful struggle for recognition. The story is known to all of you, at least in its general outlines.

"Permit me, however, to say a few words about two men in particular—one a layman and the other a priest—who played a crucially significant role in the history of organized labor in the anthracite region. I refer to John Mitchell of the Mine Workers and the beloved Father John Joseph Curran of Wilkes-Barre. To those of you who belong to my own generation the names of these two men, who worked so closely together at the turn of the century to advance the cause of organized labor, will undoubtedly bring back many happy memories, mixed with a sense of sadness at the recollection of how miserable was the lot of the miners to whose welfare they devoted their extraordinary talents. The anthracite fields of 1900 were described by Governor Pinchot in later years as 'a swamp of misery.' Working conditions in the mines were intolerably bad. The miners were compelled to live in company houses and to make their purchases at company stores at exorbitantly high prices. Wages were pitifully low. In 1901 the average annual income of the anthracite miner was $360—some $200 less than the absolute, bed-rock minimum at that time for a living wage. To eke out a living for a family, it was necessary for very young children to enter the mines as slate pickers, and for this extremely unhealthful work they were paid 39 cents a day.

"Little wonder, then, that John Mitchell and the United Mine Workers of America called a major strike in 1902—a strike which Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, later referred to as the most important single incident in the history of the labor movement in the United States up to that time. Incidentally, I still have a very vivid personal memory of hearing John Mitchell addressing a mammoth labor rally in downtown Scranton when I was a lad of eight or nine years of age. Mitchell was our hero—so it was only natural that I should play hooky the day he came to Scranton to speak to the miners. Like everyone else in the region, I was most anxious to see him in person and to listen to his eloquent address. I must say that the good Sisters of our parochial school—who, I assume, also regarded Mr. Mitchell as their hero—reacted with great understanding and admirable restraint to this flagrant breach of discipline on my part. I also recall that when Mitchell died, years later, I came back to Scranton, as a priest, to pay my respects to him in the Cathedral where he was laid out in state. Shortly afterwards, a statue was erected in his honor at Court House Square and still stands there today as a fitting memorial to a great Christian layman and a great champion of social justice.

I can't claim to have known Father Curran intimately, but I met him more than once over the course of the years and admired him very much. He was a great parish priest, one of the first in the United States to associate himself openly with the cause of organized labor in its struggle for recognition. Father Curran tried very hard to avert the 1902 miners' strike. He thought that it was poorly timed and was bound to fail. But when the strike was called, he supported it enthusiastically and did what he could to help the miners. His precise role in ending the strike is not clear, but it is known that he was instrumental in obtaining a settlement—one that was considered a great victory for the workers. His most important contribution was his successful appeal to Theodore Roosevelt for presidential intervention in the strike. This was the first time a President of the United States had intervened in a strike, not to break it, but to help to settle it.

The Anthracite Coal Commission established by President Roosevelt at the request of Father Curran met for a period of four months in Wilkes Barre and then granted the miners a ten per cent increase as well as a slight reduction in hours. The miners believed that they had won a significant victory, and Father Curran and John Mitchell were the heroes of the hour. Some years later, Theodore Roosevelt had this to say about Father Curran in a personal letter to the famous priest-scientist, Father John A. Zahm, of Notre Dame University:

"Do you know Father Curran of Wilkes-Barre? He is not a man . . . I should ask to discuss Waldseemuler's world map of 1587 or the Florentine faction allusion in Dante or the strange fish of the Orinoco; but he is a first-class type of priest, the kind of priest needed in a democracy."

The warmth of President Roosevelt's tribute to Father Curran is matched by that of Dr. C. A. Cline, a Bryn Mawr historian who has written a carefully documented study of his life. "It is difficult to write of Father Curran without sentimentality," Dr. Cline remarks. "There is the picture of an eight-year-old child, his dinner pail trailing on the ground, forced to enter the mines to help support his younger brothers and sisters. There is the boy studying hard at night school in the best Alger tradition. There is the young priest working to give beauty and meaning to the dreary lives of the miners. Throughout his career there is the benevolent father of his people, unsparing in his efforts to better their unfortunate lot. It must be admitted that here was a life so completely dedicated to duty and humanity as to be embarrassing to twentieth-century cynicism. On this level Father Curran's significance is clear. His is the story of the humanitarian of any age—a man who simply could not rest while there was misery around him."

". . . a man who simply could not rest while there was misery around him." This is the kind of priest—and the kind of laymen—which we need in ever increasing numbers at the present time, when there is misery, in great abundance, all around us. If the John Mitchells and the Father Currans of this region could accomplish so much at the turn of the century, against such tremendous odds, how much more we of this generation, with all of the advantages we have enjoyed, can be expected to do in solving the social and economic problems which currently confront this nation and the world at large. What a proud boast it will be for the anthracite region—and, in your particular case, for the University of Scranton—if the anthracite region once again comes to be known, as it was known in the early days of the American labor movement, as one of the nation's principal sources of dedicated champions of social and economic justice. More specifically, I would hope that the young men and women of this region, whose immigrant forebears felt the sting of religious and ethnic prejudice in their own day, will take second place to none in the current struggle to eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination and racial injustice directed against the American Negro. You owe it to your forebears—and you owe it to yourselves—to help the Negro achieve complete equality in our society as the John Mitchells and the Father Currans of an earlier generation helped your own people to find their place in the sun.

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY, OF BROOKLYN, N.Y., COMMEMORATES MARYLAND'S GALLANT FOUR HUNDRED

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Gonzalez). Under previous order of the

House, the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague and my dear friend, JOHN J. ROONEY, was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in the very congressional district he has for many years had the honor of representing. JOHN is well known not only in his local community, but throughout the world. He has achieved stature by his dedication to public service and by seeking to secure for all persons their inherent rights.

JOHN J. ROONEY, a ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee and chairman of the Subcommittee on the Appropriations for State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary and related agencies has been criticized as being a "penny-pincher" however, this is one of his outstanding attributes. Over the years JOHN ROONEY's "penny pinching" has assured our taxpayers that their money is being well spent in the best interests of our country. His hard hitting honest qualities have made him one of the most able and effective legislators in the Congress.

I have worked with JOHN J. ROONEY in the House of Representatives for many years, I was proud and fortunate to have been a participant with him on Sunday, September 24, in the annual observance, at the Maryland Monument honoring Maryland's "Four Hundred." This annual memorial was sponsored by the Kings County Chapter and Ladies Auxiliary of the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America.

JOHN J. ROONEY delivered an address to those assembled. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point the program commemorating the observance honoring the Maryland's Four Hundred, and the address of the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY.

MARYLAND MONUMENT OBSERVANCE HONORING MARYLAND'S FOUR HUNDRED

(By Kings County Chapter and Ladies Auxiliary Catholic War Veterans of the U.S.A., 1967, Maryland Monument, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y.)

GREETINGS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Catholic War Veterans of Kings County express grateful appreciation and acknowledgment to the following for the courtesy and cooperation extended for the success of this Program.

Commander Edward T. Rothaug.

Vy. Rev. Msgr. William M. Casey, Pastor, Church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Hon. Abe Stark, President, Borough of Brooklyn.

Hon. August Heckscher, Commissioner, Parks Department, City of N.Y.

Madison Club, Hon. Stanley Steingut, Hon. Helen M. Ryan, Executive Members.

Hon. Howard R. Leary, Commissioner, Police Department, City of New York.

Ancient Fife & Drum Corps, Plainview, L.I., Charles J. Riley, Bandmaster.

Blessed Sacrament Blue Knights Drum Corps, Ralph Ambrosio, Bandmaster.

Martin G. Riley, National Commander Catholic War Veterans of the U.S.A.

Alexander Zebrowski, State Commander Department of N.Y. C.W.V.

Anne R. Carr, National President, Ladies Aux. C.W.V. of U.S.A.

Mary Coleman, Department of N.Y., State President, Ladies Aux. C.W.V. of U.S.A.

Representatives of the Press.

L. I. General Assembly, 4th Degree Color Corps, Knights of Columbus, Matthew F. Kennedy, Master.

Participating Veterans Patriotic, Civic and Youth Groups.

United Spanish War Veterans, Henry C. Slicer, County Commander.

Veterans of Foreign Wars, Brooklyn Council, Anthony R. Landi County Comdr.

American Legion, Kings County, S. Michael Oliva, County Commander.

Disabled American Veterans.

Jewish War Veterans, Kings County Council, Joseph W. Flatow, County Commander.

Military Order of the Purple Heart, S. Gary Schiller, Past County Commander.

Army-Navy Union, Col. Milton S. Skelly, County Commander.

Kings County American Legion Auxiliary, Gloria M. Billington, County Chairman.

Kings Council Jewish War Veterans Auxiliary, Betty Diamond, President.

Kings County Council Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary, Adeline Scabbetto, President.

Program Cover, David Augustine.

Mobile Sound Truck, Ken Auletta.

And to all who have rendered services to make this observance a worthy tribute to Maryland's Gallant 400.

PROGRAM

Memorial Mass: R. C. Church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Very Rev. Msgr. William M. Casey, Pastor.

Parade to Maryland Monument

Invocation: Rev. James J. Dargan, Chaplain, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

National Anthem: Ancient Fife and Drum Corps, Plainview, L.I.

Welcome: Edward T. Rothaug, Commander, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Greetings: James M. Gay, Jr., Commander, Department of Maryland, C.W.V.

Introduction of guests: James J. Sorrelli, P.C.C., Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Remarks: Martin G. Riley, National Commander of the Catholic War Veterans, U.S.A.

Pledge of Allegiance: Alexander Zebrowski, State Commander, Dept. of N.Y., C.W.V.

Selection: Blessed Sacrament Blue Knights Drum Corps.

Address: Hon. John J. Rooney, Member of Congress, 14th C.D.

Presentation to Flatbush Post No. 35, C.W.V.: Edward T. Rothaug, County Commander, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Placing of wreath

Salvo: Firing Squad, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Taps: Bugler, Blessed Sacrament Blue Knights Drum Corps.

C.W.V. Memorial Verse: Rev. James J. Dargan, Chaplain, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Benediction: Rev. Francis B. O'Donnel, National Chaplain, C.W.V.

Recessional: Ancient Fife and Drum Corps, Plainview, L.I.

James M. Gay, Commander, Department of Maryland, C.W.V.

Jean Jarosinski, Auxiliary President, Department of Maryland, C.W.V.

Edward T. Rothaug, Commander, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Marie Creighton, Auxiliary President, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

MARYLAND HEROES

Annually the Catholic War Veterans have been memorializing the first veterans of the United States, the Gallant Four Hundred of Maryland, a majority of whom were Catholics.

The British Army was advancing across Brooklyn hemming in the Continental Army in a pocket, bounded by water along a stretch of the Brooklyn waterfront from Red Hook to Fort Hamilton. The British Fleet began to advance in a move to take up a position between the Brooklyn shore and Manhattan and New Jersey to preclude any possible retreat by water. The Americans entrenched at Fort Defiance in Red Hook opened fire on Admiral Lord Howe's forces and caused their withdrawal.

General Washington commissioned the immortal Marylanders to engage in a delaying action with the British Army so as to permit retreat of the main body of the Continental Army across the upper part of the bay in New York.

When the smoke of battle cleared two hundred and fifty-six brave Marylanders lay dead, but not in vain. The retreat of the Continental Army had been effectuated, and has been declared by historians to be a major turning point in our War for Independence.

As dusk settled on that 27th day of August 1776, the father of our country, George Washington, uttered those immortal words, "Good God, what brave men I must this day lose."

A plaque on the side of a building at Third Avenue near Eighth Street marks the burial place of these 256 Marylanders. The Maryland Monument in Prospect Park was erected in recognition of these American Heroes during the Battle of Brooklyn. The Catholic War Veterans, determined that the memory of these heroic dead shall never die, conduct these Memorial Services each year in tribute to "Maryland's Gallant 400."

Anthony Walsh, County First Vice Commander, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

Francis X. Connor, Maryland Committee Chairman, Department of Maryland, C.W.V.

Mary Coleman, County First Vice President, Kings County Chapter, C.W.V.

James J. Sorrelli, P.C.C., General Chairman.

Committee

Hon. Thomas J. Cuite, P.N.C.; Anthony Walsh, William Hentschel, Francis X. McBarron, P.D.C.; John McKenna, Gerard McGrade, Gerard DeCola, Emerson Borden.

Joseph Moylan, Michael J. Tuohy, Allen McBarron, Neil G. Knowles, Ignatius Paolilla, Rosa Gillen, Marie Creighton, Aux. Pres.; Edward T. Rothaug, County Comdr.; Rev. James J. Dargan, Chaplain.

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. ROONEY AT MARYLAND MONUMENT OBSERVANCE HONORING MARYLAND'S FOUR HUNDRED BY THE KINGS COUNTY CHAPTER AND LADIES AUXILIARY OF THE CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A. AT THE MARYLAND MONUMENT IN PROSPECT PARK, BROOKLYN, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 24, 1967

Mr. Chairman, your National Chaplain Father O'Donnell, your County Chaplain, Father Dargan, my distinguished and gracious colleague in the House of Representatives, Congresswoman Edna F. Kelly, my distinguished colleagues, Congressmen Abraham J. Multer and Hugh L. Carey, the Borough President of the Borough of Brooklyn, Honorable Abe Stark, State Senator William J. Ferrall, Assemblyman William J. Giordano, City Councilman Thomas J. Cuite, whom I have known since he was a youngster, and his colleague, Councilman Angelo Arculeo, Judge John J. Ryan, the Commander of the Catholic War Veterans Department of Maryland, Mr. James M. Gay, Jr., and the members of his party who came here today from the Free State of Maryland, the County Commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, Henry C. Slicer, the County Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Anthony R. Landi, the County Commander of the American Legion, S. Michael Oliva, the County Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Joseph W. Flatow, the past County Commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart, S. Gary Schiller, the County Commander of the Army-Navy Union, Colonel Milton S. Skelly, Justin Mahoney of the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, officers and members of the Catholic War Veterans and Ladies Auxiliary, ladies and gentlemen, I count it a signal honor to be once again invited to participate in this meaningful celebration. I am gratified that my friends in the Kings County Chapter of the Catholic War Veterans of the U.S.A. and Ladies' Auxiliary extended to me the privilege of addressing you today. I am even more gratified that I can join all of you in paying tribute to the "Gallant 400" of Maryland who 191 years ago recorded such a noble service to their fledgling country.

I commend the Catholic War Veterans and their Ladies Auxiliary for their increasing determination to keep alive in the minds and hearts of Americans everywhere the valiant fight these heroic colonial soldiers made in defense of their government. The splendid deeds of this small but immortal band of Maryland volunteers should be told and retold to every living American and to future generations yet unborn. Who would be more competent to assume this important task than you who have borne arms in your country's defense—you who have shared a soldier's life and can appreciate what these colonial soldiers did.

The father of our country, General George Washington was experiencing one discouraging situation after another. The trend of the war gave little hope of success to the libertyloving people of this land. Washington and his continental army were caught in a squeeze play by the Redcoats who were advancing across Brooklyn. The British fleet was maneuvering into position to cut off any possible retreat by water in the direction of Manhattan and New Jersey. To even the lowest, rear rank private in that rugged colonial army it was apparent that the situation was indeed grave. But Washington, a master strategist and a man who never lost faith in his men, called upon the Maryland contingent to engage in a delaying action. The action was successful and the bulk of the army made a strategic retreat across the upper bay. The "Gallant 400" had indeed saved the day—and the army. But 256 of the Maryland volunteers would not answer the next day's rollcall. They had paid the full price, losing their lives in bitter hand-to-hand fighting with British and Hessian troops under General Sir Henry Clinton.

Every American should be grateful to your organization for calling attention to this superb illustration of American loyalty and patriotic devotion to ideals and institutions—even in the face of practically certain death.

I wish that every draft card-burner and flag desecrator among the mis-guided and ill-informed segment of our youth could be made aware of this meaningful and treasured item of history. I wish they could understand, or be made to understand, the pride and love these Marylanders, and for that matter the rest of the Continental Army, had for their country. The draft card-burners say "make love, not war." What can they possibly know of love? What can a love be that is only self serving? When did a phony, hypocritical "love" become a substitute for a sense of belief and obligation?

They tell us that there is a "generation gap" between us and our young people—that we don't understand them and they don't trust us. Perhaps, but the real "generation gap" exists in their own generation. It is the difference between a young man who accepts his responsibility and, when called upon to serve his country, does so. Compare him to the young man, who when called, refuses to go, spouts a doctrine of phony objection and very willingly lets someone else carry the burden that is his, shouting all the while that he didn't start the war so why should he fight it? If this were history, if this were the determination of who served and who didn't there would be damned few veterans and less veterans' organizations in this country—and, very likely, no country.

My friends, I suggest that this and similar occasions which direct our thoughts to the gallantry and sacrifices made by Americans who dot the pages of history should furnish the incentive for us to rededicate ourselves to the safeguarding of our cherished American ideals.

I suggest, too, that an occasion such as this should rekindle our loyalty to our men in the field and above all to our Commander-in-Chief. United, determined we can win this bloody and ruthless war. Divided by intrigues, political ambition and plain ordinary cowardice we can do nought but suffer an ignominious defeat and be a handmaiden to the slaughter of millions of innocents we are pledged to protect.

The loyalty that should stir in our hearts should be as deep and as trusting as that given to their Commander-in-Chief by the gallant Marylanders whose actions we mark here today. They died for a country that was then only a scant two years old. It was still virtually an idea—an ideal, if you will. And now, once again, tragically, American fighting men are dying for that same ideal.

These are grave days calling for even graver decisions to be made by our President. I am sure that Lyndon B. Johnson feels only too often the sadness and heartache felt by George Washington when he spoke those tragic and eternal words in reference to Maryland's gallant 400: "Good God, what brave men I must this day lose."

Today, with the future of the free world at stake, America has been called upon to assume the leadership in the battle for men's lives and minds.

An alien army marching across Brooklyn or a great naval fleet deploying its ships in our bay present an immediate danger which can be readily understood by all. But today, a far greater and infinitely more ruthless army is deployed against us. Largely through the efforts of this country and her fighting men, this force has temporarily been held in check. For make no mistake about it, this is not a fight that will be won in one battle or even one war.

Because the fighting is on the other side of the globe and under circumstances completely foreign to most of us and because many of the issues are both complex and in some cases cleverly obscured by those who would see us lose the fight, too many Americans today fail to appreciate the extent of our danger or the power of the enemy who would destroy not only free Southeast Asia but us and our heritage.

One hundred and ninety one years ago Americans stood and many died for the right to be free men. Americans today are doing the same thing. To be sure, they come now by helicopter instead of horse and they carry rapid fire weapons of every description instead of muskets. But while the arms may have changed, the men and their ideals have not.

Let us today and in the long days to come, by our deeds and by our words, extend a vote of confidence to our men in the field and to our leaders who devote themselves energetically and unselfishly to the goal of world peace—a peace for all mankind wherein he may enjoy the precious freedoms for which the "gallant 400" gave their lives. Such an act on our part would provide a fitting tribute indeed to those whom we came here to honor today.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY] for calling the attention of this House to last Sunday's observance of the contribution to the birth of our country by the gallant Four Hundred of Maryland.

This annual observance, under the auspices of the Catholic War Veterans, has become a Brooklyn tradition which must be perpetuated.

The principal address on that occasion was delivered by our able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY]. His address was one of the finest I have ever heard at any time or place. It was moving and inspirational. It is worthy of the widest possible distribution. If I had my way I would make it "must" reading in every schoolroom in the country. The mass media of the country would do itself proud if it featured his address as a principal editorial. We need more men like JOHN ROONEY with the courage to speak so forthrightly.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have permission to extend their remarks during my special order of today, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

A TALK WITH THE FIRST LADY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in a foreword to "The Living White House," Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson tells how she stood outside the iron gates of the White House many years ago and snapped a photograph of the stately old building gleaming through green shrubbery. As the wife of a new Texas Congressman, she never imagined that some day she would live "on the other side of the fence."

Mrs. Johnson's life on that other side of the fence has brought her the admiration not only of this Nation but of the world. She has been an outstanding First Lady.

To those of us who have known Mrs. Johnson through the years, this comes as no surprise. We have watched her grow in public service as she has stood by her husband's side as he assumed more and more responsibilities. Through it all, she has retained the friendliness, the deep interest in people, the charm, the dignity, the grace and the down-to-earth good judgment which made her a favorite among congressional wives.

This Nation has been blessed with many fine First Ladies since Abigail Adams first moved to the White House in 1800. Many are remembered for particular qualities. In Mrs. Johnson, we find a combination of these qualities. An interview with Mrs. Johnson by Henry Brandon, the Washington correspondent and an associate editor of the Sunday Times of London, appeared in the September 10, 1967, issue of the New York Times magazine. Through her response to Mr. Brandon's questions, Mrs. Johnson reveals her depth of character, her love of nature and beauty, her complete loyalty and sincerity, her intelligence and her devotion to duty.

I commend this article entitled "A

Talk With the First Lady," to the attention of my colleagues:

A TALK WITH THE FIRST LADY

(NOTE.—Mrs. Johnson is interviewed at the White House by Henry Brandon, the Washington correspondent and an associate editor of The Sunday Times of London)

Now you grew up in Texas, and I'm sure that the scenery and the people have had a great influence on you. Would you tell me a little about what it means to grow up in Texas?

For me it meant growing up in what's affectionately called Deep East Texas, which is the economy and the culture and the landscape of the South. It was in Harrison County, close to the Louisiana line. My father was a landowner and merchant. The economy is cotton—at that time, I mean, it was—almost entirely a one-crop way of living. And we lived in a big, old, red-brick house with white columns which, in terms of our country, was an old house. It was built before the Civil War and the bricks were right on the place, and it's still a quite noble-looking old house.

My mother died when I was 5 which was, I'm sure, quite a radical change in my life, although at 5 one is anesthetized and one doesn't know it, you know, and I didn't. My greatest delight as a very small child was to have her read to me. My two brothers, Tony and Tommy, were gone most of my childhood years off to school in New York and various places.

What difference did it make being brought up by your father, without a mother?

When my mother died, my daddy necessarily had to take over. He had quite a good deal of land and was always buying more from those people who moved to town, even in those days. He had a large country store and cotton gin, and he took me with him a lot. It made me very aware of him and very admiring of him, which one necessarily would have been because he was a commanding figure. In his small world he was a man of size and authority and presence.

The size was physical as well as in character. He was about 6 foot 3 and very broad-shouldered and a rather handsome man and, like all the men in his family, had a name that's dear to me—Thomas Jefferson Taylor. No kin to their famous namesake whatsoever except the kin of loving admiration.

But, you know, some people say that you're a very good businesswoman, too. Has this something to do with watching your father at work?

It taught me the importance of a solid economic base. On the other hand, no, Mr. Brandon, I think my business acumen is much exaggerated. I simply hope I have a sense of judgment about people. I've tried to select good people who have helped run the business interests I have and make it worth their while to stay with us through the years, establishing strong cords of friendship and interest with them. Then, as it so happens, I landed in a growing industry in a growing community and 20 or 25 years passed. That's just the story of the economic progress of our country really—no credit to me.

What was your life like as a child?

People always look back at it now and assume it was lonely. To me it definitely was not. I lived in a country of farm lands and pine forests and little country lanes. In spring there were wild cherokee roses along the fence rows, and in the woods there were violets. In the fall the roads are real bright with the sweet gum and hickory trees and all the fall foliage. I spent a lot of time just walking and fishing and swimming.

When I was 5, after my mother's death, my Aunt Effie from Alabama, my mother's sister, came to live with me. She was a very gentle and rare person. I cannot say that any of her gifts to me in raising me were on the material or practical side, but she certainly did instill in me more valuable ones like a love of nature and an enjoyment of the world around me.

What kind of education did you have?

The first years were at a little one-room school right up this hill from home called Fern School. We were about eight children, and all the grades were taught in the same room. And then high school in Jefferson and in Marshall, where I drove myself back and forth the 15 miles to school for two years, and St. Mary's School for Girls in Dallas. And on I went to the University of Texas, and that was a very great step because I—well, I had the feeling that all the doors of the world swung open.

Wasn't it something unusual for a girl to go to the university then?

Oh, no, not at all. Of the 6,000 student body at that time, I don't know how many girls there were, but I would say at least a third and maybe more.

You said you were driving yourself to school—was it unusual for a girl to have a car?

Yes, but it was simply the fact that living 15 miles out in the country, it was an awful chore for my daddy to have to delegate some person from his business to take me in and out.

So in a way there was a certain independence already developing in you?

Quite.

When did you meet the President?

I suppose it was because I went to the university, because there I made quite a few friends. Among them, Gene Boehringer, who was secretary to a member of the Texas Railroad Commission and had many friends in the political world. She was a friend of Lyndon's father, who had been a member of the Texas Legislature off and on for 20 years. And she was also a friend of Lyndon's and probably had a number of dates, although they were just friends, they both assured me. And it was through her that I met him—in her boss's office, in fact. Neither of us quite remembers the exact date . . . maybe the very first day of September of 1934.

Was it a long courtship?

No. From approximately the first of September until we married on Nov. 17.

So he's really a very fast worker?

Yes. When I met him, he asked me for a date at breakfast the next morning—and breakfast turned out to be also about a four-hour drive out into the country in which we discussed everything about each other.

Was it love at first sight?

Not on my part. It was keen interest and excitement. When I say we discussed everything, I mean he told me a great deal about his job—he was at that time secretary to Congressman [Richard M.] Kleberg from Corpus Christi—and about his interests and his family. Then he asked me if I would drive with him to meet his mother and father.

On the first date?

Yes. I think it was probably—I'm trying to remember—I think it was the next day we went to see his mother and father, and I did not know what sort of young man I had met, I just knew that he was different from anybody I'd ever met before—more intense and driving and, somehow or other, more alive.

In talking about his job, it must have already been clear that he was an ambitious person?

Yes. I would say certainly ambitious, but more a person who was immersed, enthralled in doing his job, and because it was important to him he wanted to talk about it to someone that he felt he was beginning to like.

Did he ever as a young man like to say to you, "I'd like to become President"?

No, never, never (*laughs*). And then I remember so distinctly meeting his mother and father and just seeing how much they loved him and how much their lives centered around him, and also a certain question in their eyes about "Who are you?" and "What part do you play?" Then he asked me to go down to meet his boss, Congressman Kleberg [a grandson of Richard King, founder of the 1,125,000-acre King Ranch], which was quite an experience, because the King Ranch was a fabulous place then, as now, and presided over at that time by a woman of great authority—sort of a head of the clan—Grandmother Kleberg, for whom my husband had a great admiration, and I think she liked him, too.

Now, in Texas terms you really lived in much more sumptuous surroundings than, I presume, the Johnson family did. How did this strike you at first?

Well, Mr. Brandon, there was nothing in my background that would have taught me to seek the same kind of economic level I had. One rather turned one's back on aiming toward that, because there was always the thought that with hard work and ability you could arrive at just about anywhere you wanted to. Heaven knows, my father had come up from no economic background to a very solid one, and as for my husband's family, his father had been a rancher, farmer and legislator—the latter is a very sappling job as regards making money—you don't make any—and yet he loved public service and he put an awful lot of time in on it. And his fortunes had risen and fallen with the depressions and with the slope of the years, and at the time I met Lyndon they were of quite modest means. That to me was obvious and no barrier.

When did he propose to you finally?

He and I are really not quite sure, but I think it was perhaps the second day—of course, I didn't believe it. I just thought—well, nobody in quite such clear terms had made such a proposal on the second day, but I just couldn't believe that he would be willing to take such a chance any more than I would at that time.

How old were you then?

I was 21.

And he was?

Twenty-six.

Did you decide to wait?

The decision on my part was, "We'll wait," and on his part, "We'll go ahead pretty soon."

And then you got married, and how soon did he try to get into politics after that?

Well, I would say that he was in politics, actually, when I met him, because being secretary to a Congressman you learn all about the job, and his boss was an open and generous man who made it possible for him to exercise some amount of initiative and judgment.

At any rate, we came to Washington, we lived here from right after the honeymoon in early December of 1934 until the following July—at which time he was offered by President Roosevelt, the job of State Director of the National Youth Administration for Texas, one of those many efforts of the early Depression years to help young folks of high-school and college age get skills and education. It was just tailored to his loves, and so he accepted the job. We came back to Texas in August of '35.

The period of N.Y.A. was one of the richest and happiest and most productive of our lives. It's remembered with great warmth and spice and satisfaction. Lyndon was in that until suddenly, in February of '37, the Congressman from Tenth District (James P. Buchanan)—his district—died. Overnight he was confronted with, "Shall I run for this unexpired term? Do I take the plunge? Do I dare?"

Then he took the first plunge into politics. How clear were his ambitions then—I mean—

To go to Congress from the Tenth District, and that—oh, that, Mr. Brandon, was and is a very wonderful thing. He was pretty daring to assume he could because he was still a very young man and from a county which was the smallest of the 10 counties of the district, with the least population, and he was on a field of 10 candidates. He left the house terrribly early in the morning, and I didn't see him until long after midnight—we were living in a little rented apartment—and he worked awfully hard across those 10 counties, and my contribution was simply to talk to the grocery man and the laundry man and to my own friends.

You didn't actually campaign?

No, I didn't. I would have loved to begin even then, but I was pretty shy and, well, I just didn't. I did help, though, because we couldn't really have taken this plunge if it hadn't been for the fact that my daddy was still handling my inheritance from my mother, and so I just called him up and said, "Can I have a part of it?" And he said (it was on Sunday when I called him), "Well, honey, I can't get it to you before tomorrow morning at 9 when the bank opens." That was the financial basis, and the campaign ended on April 10, and he was elected. And though it took him several years, he insisted on paying this back.

So you really encouraged him to go into politics?

Yes, I was committed and interested, because after all, by that time I'd had a 2½ years' indoctrination. The very first thing after we married, Lyndon asked me to learn the names of the county seats of those counties that his boss represented and, say, three or four of the outstanding men who were able to get things done in each county and the basis of his district's economy and working.

So already you were in favor of women in politics? This was in your blood.

No, I wouldn't say that. I was in favor of everyone knowing about their part of the country and having their say about it. And I was very much in favor of my husband making the try, although I recognized what a slim chance he had.

Were you ever tempted to go into politics yourself?

Good heavens, no! Not then, now or ever.

You went on your own whistlestop campaign tour much later, which I thought was very courageous and very enterprising. Yet I had certain reservations about it at the time, because people were not voting for you but for your husband, therefore you were using your charm and personality to help your husband. How do you feel about this?

Mr. Brandon, I think in this country there is still the legend, the deep strain of feeling, that people want to *know* the man that they're entrusting so much of their own power to, and not even the rising prevalence of radio and television has taken away that personal bond of "campaigning on the courthouse square," meeting everybody and shaking hands, and knowing what that man is like. Well, the man can't be everywhere and meet everybody. An interpreter—somebody close to him, his wife or members of his family—can do something to explain him, his aims, his character, his hopes for the folks, and I was simply an extension, an interpreter.

Do you think that the news media like radio and television project the President as you see him? You know, some people's personality comes over on television very accurately, others don't.

I do think that he is at his best in a small group of people where he simply talks straight from the heart. There's a pungency and a color and a humor and a force in meetings of that sort, and it may be equally as good in a face-to-face confrontation with a larger group. It is somewhat diluted and restricted when it gets to the mechanics of TV and the great invisible audience. I do not think it is quite as good as face to face. I think it's perhaps because he's used to and likes that bond of looking at people and feeling their response. Nevertheless, I have seen him lots of times on TV when I thought, "That is the real flavor of the man coming through."

Why at times doesn't that flavor come through?

I simply think that the sheer mechanics and the absence of the audience make it somewhat more difficult for some people. He's a human man and not a machine man.

Do you think he is somewhat afraid of these machines?

No, not at all. He just is not responsive to them. He responds to humans.

Is he ever afraid?

Yes, of course. He would be less than intelligent if he weren't afraid sometimes. Sometimes you have to be afraid, evaluate the alternatives, choose the one that you think holds the least fear, holds the least dynamite and obstacles, and go ahead. I don't think any really wise, aware person could say that he wasn't ever afraid.

Do you remember when the President discussed with you such alternatives that involve—more or less— fear?

Those several times when there have been those dead-of-the-night calls that some violence has erupted in some part of the world, and when there are minutes only to evaluate action—because one thing you don't have is the luxury of inaction, and you try to balance alternatives based on judgment of the best people you know and pick whichever path offers the most hope and the least dynamite. And in a democracy you must weigh always what path you can get your Congress and your allies to follow you on.

How much can you give him in this sort of situation?

I can give none, really, except a peaceful setting right here in the house. The best thing I can do for him is to try to create a pleasant little island where he can work—where you like the food and where you are not constantly bothered with questions about household and family and where you know you're coming back to somebody who, even if they don't always agree with what you're doing, are not going to—

Are you not being too modest? Because you are a very alert, very intelligent woman, and you will understand the President's dilemmas and, after all, you are his best friend, and it's very difficult these days to have somebody one can trust 100 per cent.

Perhaps there is this—I'm terribly average—something like litmus paper—and I think maybe my reaction would be the reaction of millions of people across the country. On, for example, a big controversial question with innumerable ramifications, if I have a straight-from-the-heart reaction, it may have some value in that respect. Certainly I can give him a very honest criticism. In this job—his job—you are surrounded by two things—adulation and "yes," "yes," "yes," and on the other hand the acid bath of biting criticism. Maybe somewhere in between there is a firmer ground for reaction to a state of affairs and saying what you think about it.

Does he take criticism from you easily?

Yes, I think so. I'm not thinking of it so much in terms of criticism as of saying, "This is what I think about it, and why." And it is sometimes different from his own view—but, goodness knows, he asks all sorts of people that he trusts for their reaction.

Now, I presume that you really know something about Washington politics or national politics. Is this where the President takes your advice most?

Mr. Brandon, I think perhaps you think I've entered into it more substantively than I have. I have feelings about people and programs, but I think mostly it's been from the standpoint of the citizen that's going to be affected by those things, and then the wife of the man. No, sir, I don't think of myself as deeply versed—I don't know the first thing about parliamentary procedures.

You mentioned that you are interested in programs. What programs, and how did you come to select them?

After Lyndon was elected in '64, and when we got back and settled here early in January of '65, I began to think of what I could do to be of help to him and his aims. What had the greatest appeal to me (and I think in order to work on something it has to be something that you love and know a little bit about) was the whole field of conservation and beautification. And if you'll come up with a better word for it than that last, I will thank you kindly.

Why did I choose it? I think because what has given me the most joy, what surfaces when I think back over the last 50 years, are things like walking through the piney woods of East Texas listening to the wind sighing, or along the banks of Caddo Lake with gnarled cypress trees heavy with moss, and, well, the whole beautiful picture of our diverse country . . . and the little towns with the squares that have the elm trees all around the courthouse, and the long shaded residential streets, and I want that to be just as good for our grandchildren's children as it was for me. So beautification became one of the primary things I interested myself in.

The other was Headstart, one of the many educational programs—and that's my husband's most loved field. It attempts to help youngsters of 4 and 5 who have lived in deprived circumstances—to give them an opportunity to play with other youngsters, to have medical examinations which will reveal anything like bad eyesight, bad hearing, the sort of thing that would burden their start in school—to give them something of the same vocabulary and ability to cope that other youngsters have when they hit first grade, so they'll get there with hope and interest rather than be burdened with that feeling of failure already at the age of 6.

Now, the beautification program has very wide ramifications, hasn't it?

Yes, Mr. Brandon, it began, of course, as everything should begin, right at home. I mean, for me it began with setting up the Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, which operates here in Washington. But as the months went by, I found that it has so many ramifications—right down to the level of getting people not to chuck that bottle or that piece of paper out the car window as they drive along, because the sheer amount of litter in this country, now that we're really a "packaged society"—everything comes all wrapped up so fancy, you know—is tremendous. The cost of it has actually gotten to be 32 cents per article picked up off the highway.

And speaking of highways, you know the highways of the U.S.A. are the biggest public-works program in the history of mankind—bigger than the pyramids of Egypt, the temples of Greece or Rome—they cost more money, take up more land and they can be beautiful as well as being functional and safe. I think we're just now beginning to apply some sort of esthetic barometer to them. Of course, Mr. Brandon, I sort of stepped on to a moving train in all this.

Part of the beautification program is city planning, and the great problem of the cities today is that the center becomes all-Negro and the whites are moving out into the suburbs. That is now creating some sort of social confrontation. Is there any way by which, through city planning, this problem can be solved?

It's a subject of very agonizing and urgent thinking and effort. It's obvious what it does to the tax base, and it's true the center of many cities and towns is decaying. The problem is becoming clear and is of tremendous importance. The answer I do not know, except that I think our country has had the vitality to solve most of the problems it's had to face, and I believe we will solve this one.

What did you see when you visited Hartford, Conn.?

That was about two years ago. It was an extraordinary example of handling the downtown traffic problem. Great new shops were grouped around a raised plaza, which was beautifully planted. The garage was down below ground, and automobiles, moving or parked, didn't dominate the landscape. I thought it was a very impressive, clean, fresh approach to downtown.

Would you have had any inkling that Negroes in Hartford were bubbling with discontent and that there would be such outbreaks as happened recently?

I was there for one day. You don't learn a city in depth and all its problems in a time like that. No, it wasn't apparent to me.

The President in his program is trying to do so much to advance the lot of the Negro, and he can be proud of what he's done—and yet these things happen. What is the explanation?

That's a long deep question. I suppose the problem has been accumulating for—what?—175 or more years?—and I earnestly believe more has been done in the last 10 years and, very especially, I think, in the last three years, to solve it than in many, many decades before. Obviously it has not been solved and won't be in just a few years. I think, Mr. Brandon, the only solution is education and training and time, and I realize to an impatient people that is a hard answer.

Has the President discussed with you bills in advance of their being drafted—bills about schools or beautification?

Oh, the rush is so fast you don't get a chance to discuss nearly everything you want to—but, yes, we do talk about them and the people who will implement them.

How much do you see of him during the day?

Oddly enough, more, now, than when he was in the Senate, for the very simple reason that his office is within about a block of our bedroom, and he comes home for lunch every day. His hours are extremely unusual. He eats and sleeps when his work is in shape, when he can stop it, so—if he does not have guests—he may have lunch as late as 4 in the afternoon and dinner as late as 11 at night. Weekends—Sundays especially—are our safety valve, our cushion. That's our time to sleep late and talk a lot and, after church, to look at the TV programs and, in the evening, just to get up a quick casual party of good friends and perhaps go out on the boat—or just come in and have dinner here and sit out on the balcony and watch the twilight.

Does he easily relax?

Oh, yes. That he can't relax is purely an incorrect impression.

What do you think is his favorite relaxation?

I think his favorite is to be at home at the ranch, and to drive around, especially in the late afternoon, looking at the cattle and the deer and just talk. We both have a feeling of closeness to the land.

He also relaxes in telling stories, doesn't he?

Yes, I think he's quite a humorous raconteur.

I mean some people relax by sinking into silence—

No, I'd say that's not his habit.

What do you do with your own free time?

Oh, it's just like a jewel to be sought and preserved. I get my daughter Lynda to go with me, and we whisk away quickly and maybe go down to the National Theater or the Arena Theater and see a play. Then I remember one golden October day when Lynda Bird and I flew out to a rocky canyon in West Texas with an archaeologist friend and the rancher who owned the place, and climbed upon the cliffs and ledges and looked at early Indian pictographs; and then I enjoy walking along the river which flows in front of our house, the little Pedernales River; along stretches of anywhere from three miles to 10 miles—there's no way to learn the country like walking on it. Riding will never do it. You come within feet of an arched-backed black and white skunk, or an armadillo that looks like it was left over from dinosaur times or—if it's April and there's rain—a pasture that's yellow—and—red with gaillardias or blue as the sea with bluebonnets.

You like walking?

It depends on how interesting it is. I'm sure I wouldn't like to walk very far just along cement streets. I think the longest river walk we had—this was quite by chance and not planning—was 10 miles. It's simply we couldn't find a place to get out. You see, there were steep cliffs on both sides.

What do you read?

Right now I'm reading three books. I frequently read several at a time, according to what mood I am in. Thomas Wolfe's "Of Time and the River." Just a torrent, a tide, a flood of language, and some of it's quite magnificent, I think, but undisciplined. And then I'm reading Thornton Wilder's "The Eighth Day." It's good writing all the way through. I just finished "Travels with Charlie" by John Steinbeck, who's one of my real favorites. It's a delicious, humorous book.

I enjoyed reading it, although I think it's probably one of his weaker ones, isn't it?

I thought it was totally fun. I can't say that it carries the wallop of "Grapes of Wrath" or—what's the one about the whaling village?—"The Winter of Our Discontent." That, too, is one of my favorites.

The relationship with the dog is quite unusual, isn't it?

Not for us. We're a dog-loving family. Dogs get to be people. We ascribe to them all sorts of personal characteristics and we spend a lot of time talking to each other about our dogs and with them. They're understanding friends.

But the President spends enormous time reading?

Yes, the tyrant of his life—the compelling master is that big stack of night reading that comes in folders from the different Cabinet members or agency heads or his own executive assistants. The tough things—well, there they are at night on his bed. Sometimes it takes him until 2 A.M.—I wish we could change the way and do it in the morning, but that's the routine.

Is it that he doesn't easily fall asleep?

Oh, no. The Lord has blessed him with many things—a very, very rugged constitution and remarkable resiliency and the ability to sleep when the job permits and—most of all—a deep well-spring of faith—confidence—in the ability of mankind to solve man's problems.

He has an enormous amount of energy and dynamism although he's had this heart attack. Do you try to slow him down sometimes? Or—

I did, yes, for a while, for—perhaps two years. He was very good about his diet and reasonably good—never quite as good—about hours spent. But, you know, as danger recedes, discipline relaxes. It's not that you forget it—I'm sure that it's back there in the back of his mind, but today's needs are the ones that are pressing.

What do you do when he reads till 2 A.M.?

I, too, read, but not serious things like his are. And, then, I'm likely to go to sleep earlier.

Does he sometimes hand over a piece of paper and ask you to read it?

Yes—yes, quite often.

What does he think would interest you among state papers?

I think, mostly, the things about education and conservation are the ones he's more likely to talk over with me.

He talks to you at 2 A.M. about those?

(Mrs. Johnson laughs.)

It's sometimes been suggested that he doesn't feel altogether at ease in the company of non-Americans.

I simply don't think it's true. Of course, I think he prefers to be able to talk to people and be understood in the same language, but, no, I think that is fiction.

Have you traveled abroad?

Yes, I have.

Where have you been?

I went with my husband to Senegal, Africa, in the early spring of '61, and later in the year to six southeast Asian countries. The following year we went around the world again, and then in the early fall to the Scandinavian and Benelux countries. And of course, I've been to Mexico many times.

Have you spent much time in England?

Alas, no. The meager sum of 24 hours. And, oh, I do envy my daughter so! She's having the most marvelous time in England right now. Old books are one of her passions, and she has some friends over there who know a lot about them and have taken her to places to look for them. Sotheby's I think, was one. And she spent the weekend at a lovely old house that was built in Tudor times. And then she went to see Mr. [Ernest] Shepard, a very elderly man who did the drawings for the Winnie the Pooh books—you know, A. A. Milne's. She was raised on those. The characters in them are part of our lives. We are always comparing each other or somebody to Eeyore or Piglet or some other character. So she loved seeing Mr. Shepard.

What do you think, as a mother, of the American youth today?

My experience, Mr. Brandon, has been pretty much limited to my two children and their numerous friends. And I hardly recognize what I see in this great spate of writing as being related to those I know. I just think they're pretty marvelous young folk. And I'm not afraid of the future in their hands.

Yet the American youth today is much less conformist than it used to be even 10 years ago. It is less interested in money and in security.

Perhaps because so many of them have always had it. They never have had to struggle for a living. Maybe when they have to get out and make a living, it might change them somewhat.

And then they are critical of the misuse of American affluence.

I don't know. I see with admiration the reaching of a lot of them for personal contribution such as they manifest in the Peace Corps and VISTA.

You think that what we read about so much relates to a small minority that gets a lot of publicity?

Mr. Brandon, how can I talk about something I don't know anything about or haven't experienced? I read about marijuana and LSD and I don't know anybody that uses it. I don't have my head in the sand—don't deny the problem exists in many countries—I simply have not had any close observation of it that qualifies me as an authority. What I see are Lynda and Luci and their friends, and I feel good about them.

The most fun I've had in years, if I may inject this here, were the 11 days I spent with Luci about the time that the baby was going to be born. It was my good fortune that the baby was several days late. I finished a trip to New England and left immediately afterward to go down to be with Luci and had just the most wonderful time—just talking, talking, talking with her. Having dinner around the kitchen table. Sometimes she would cook it, and a very good cook she is.

And sometimes she and Patrick and I and some of their friends would go out in town for dinner. And I got acquainted once more with my own very lovely home town of Austin. And it was just the happy, slow-pace domestic life that I had missed and yearned for and didn't know it, really. I'm glad I got it. And then it was climaxed in the happiest of ways when the baby was born, well and strong, and Luci acted like this was what she'd been waiting for all her life, and she knew just exactly how to cope with it.

Has it changed you, being a grandmother?

Someone asked me how I liked it, and I said I liked the condition but not the name (*laughs*).

I'd like to go back for a moment to the President. His first year after he was elected was enormously successful, and more bills were passed, perhaps, than ever in American history. Since then the situation has changed, and now he must feel much more frustrated.

Mr. Brandon, he's been in this so long, you know—30 years. And I think he knew in the beginning that you strike while the iron is hot, and you get what you're able to get, and you settle down knowing that the pace will be slower and more restricted. No, I do not look upon him as being frustrated. I don't think he ever thought that it would be an unbroken stretch of Congressional successes.

Do you think he is concealing his frustration with you?

(*Laughs*) No.

Does the war in Vietnam weigh him down?

Yes. Terribly.

In what way?

That every one of those soldiers out there is a valuable life to himself and to his family and friends and country. Of course it weighs.

He must also feel that the war is interfering with many of his plans for the Great Society program?

Don't let that idea cloud the fact that all of those programs are going ahead. For instance, in the last three years we're spending vastly more on education and on medical care than ever before. In fact, since 1963 the Government has tripled its investment in education and medical care—and those two things are the hinge points, I think, of Lyndon's whole philosophy of government.

But don't you think that without the war he would be able to do more than he is already doing?

Yes, of course. But neither must we let the war overshadow the fact that much is being done.

Do you discuss the war with him, and do you have a personal view about it?

Mr. Brandon, I just have to trust and believe in people whose good minds and good hearts are dedicated to finding the way to deal with it.

Are you aware of having changed since you've come into the White House? What it has done to your life and personality?

I think in a way it has stretched and expanded me. You see your country in greater depth—I have traveled a lot, learned a lot. More is demanded of you, and you try to respond, you know. In a lighter vein, for instance, one thing I've tried to learn, oh, quite simply, is how to dress better. How to look better. That pleases my husband. And what pleases him pleases me.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I compliment and thank the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], for his remarks about our First Lady.

I have been privileged to work for and with Mrs. Johnson for more than 28 years and I know her to be a most natural, gracious, and forceful First Lady.

By any yardstick, her charm, her warmth and her genuine concern for people would command an "A-plus" rating from any American regardless of party affiliation.

She has borne the responsibility of being the Nation's First Lady with dignity, and her efforts in a myriad of activities has been marked with vitality and dedication.

I was privileged in early 1942 to assist Mrs. Johnson with the responsibilities of the President's congressional office when he was in the Pacific during World War II, and I recall that she assumed the responsibilities of the office in the fullest sense of the word. It was almost as though she had been born to the job and her efforts were loved and respected by her coworkers and the Members of Congress.

She has sparked interest in many areas, and through her intense direction she has promoted a deep appreciation of our national and traditional heritage.

It has also been my privilege to visit the Johnson's home in Austin and the President's ranch over the past quarter century and to be associated in every political venture.

In every association during these years, I can say—almost with amazement when I consider the crises in her husband's life—that everyone has always spoken highly of her. In fact, I cannot recall that anyone has ever spoken a single harsh or unkind word about her—even as bitter political battles swirl.

As a student; as companion and counselor to her husband as Congressman, as Senator, as Vice President, and President; as mother to two lovely and charming daughters, who incidentally have conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner and have been such a source of pride to the President and Mrs. Johnson, as well as to our Nation; as advocator and civic leader in her own right—and most of all, as the perfect complement for our dynamic President, Mrs. Johnson has earned the love and respect of all Americans.

This affection was never better demonstrated to me than when Mrs. Johnson made a visit in the 10th District of Texas to several historical sites this summer.

At every stop, people greeted her with affection and pride; by the hundreds at every place, they wanted to shake hands with her, to embrace her, to receive autographs, and exchange greetings.

Not once did she disappoint them. In every instance, she was the First Lady: kind, serene, lovely, interested, and accommodating.

Thus, she has become a symbol of goodness, and a future that will be a bit brighter than the past.

Mr. Speaker, I again thank the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma for his remarks about our First Lady, and to them I add my 100-percent endorsement.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN W. BYRNES, OF WISCONSIN, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL BANK DIVISION, AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, one of the most notable speeches of this session of Congress was delivered yesterday by my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] before the American Bankers Association in New York.

His topic was the President's proposed tax increase that is being considered before the Ways and Means Committee and what he appropriately described as the "dangerous fiscal mess" that faces this country.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Wisconsin very straightforwardly outlined the grave situation that faces our country and proposed what I think a great many Members of Congress will consider an appropriate method of breaking the stalemate that exists between the executive and legislative branches over fiscal policy.

The gentleman from Wisconsin declared that the "stalemate must be broken," and he is certainly right.

He suggested that the Congress, "in the absence of executive leadership, act to break it."

To continue quoting from Mr. BYRNES, he said:

> Congress should pass a tax increase. In the absence of credible action by the President to cut spending and establish new priorities, the tax increase should be coupled with enactment of an expenditure ceiling on nondefense spending to which the President must conform.

Mr. Speaker, I would stress the fact that the gentleman from Wisconsin stipulated that the President must conform to the expenditure ceiling provision.

The gentleman goes on to stipulate that—

> The tax increase and the reduction in spending should be of a size which would assure that the deficit for fiscal 1968 would be cut in half.

Mr. Speaker, the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin, the senior minority member on the Ways and Means Committee, should be read and pondered and digested by every Member of this body.

It is an extremely significant speech, one that we on this side of the aisle will keep constantly before us as we consider the President's tax increase proposal.

I, for one, Mr. Speaker, if we must have a tax increase, would strongly support this approach as a viable, practical, and meaningful way of breaking the stalemate and moving toward some semblance of fiscal order in the coming months.

For my part, the Byrnes formula—distasteful though a tax increase is—provides a partial way out of our fiscal dilemma and can lead to passage of a tax package that makes sense.

Without the Byrnes formula, I would be very surprised to see this Congress accept the President's proposal or anything approximating it in the foreseeable future.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin, to every Member of this body and ask unanimous consent that the full text of his remarks be included in the RECORD at this point.

The address referred to above follows:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN W. BYRNES BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING OF NATIONAL BANK DIVISION, AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

Let me be very blunt.

We face some ugly facts. Nothing is to be gained by glossing over them. It is time all of us faced up to them.

The country is in a dangerous fiscal mess. The party in power—the Johnson Administration and the Democratic Congress—put us there, and it is going to require drastic action to get us out.

It will require leadership from the Administration. I urge the President to take that leadership. It will require cooperation from the Congress. As one Republican member, I pledge my cooperation.

When I speak of a fiscal mess, I do not believe I need to elaborate in great detail.

The Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee have, in recent weeks, been listening to a veritable parade of witnesses—economists, bankers, monetary experts, business leaders—all expressing grave concern.

Parenthetically, one question, I must admit, keeps bothering me a bit.

Where were those experts in 1965 and 1966 when the ground work was being laid for our present problems?

That we are now facing a deficit approaching $30 billion and the consequent problems of inflation, high interest, and a worsening balance of payments should come as no surprise.

Some of us were expressing concern back in 1965 as the Executive and the Congress went wild enacting some 300 new and expanded programs for federal services and federal aids.

While that Congress, the 89th, was being hailed by many as one of the greatest and most forward looking in history, even some of the majority were expressing fears.

Sen. Mansfield, as majority leader of the Senate, sounded a warning in late '65, "We have passed a lot of major bills . . . some of them very hastily (that) stand in extreme need of going over . . . particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost."

Was there a reassessment? There was not. The costs were increased as Congress last year busied itself with funding the new programs created in 1965. The result is that the cash outlay for fiscal year 1968 is up by as much as $60 billion, or almost 50%, from fiscal 1965. Almost half of this increase is in the non-defense area.

I wish I had time to cite chapter and verse of the warning signals that were raised. But, for reference, I particularly refer you to public reports filed by the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee in June, 1966; September, 1966; February, 1967; and June 2, 1967; and again on June 16, 1967.

In almost identical language we warned repeatedly that "the Administration and the Congress should 'stop, review and revise' our whole fiscal policy. The impact (without a change in policy) could be disastrous."

I'm not here to say to anyone, "We told you so." The point I make—the question I raise—is: why do not the experts in fiscal and monetary affairs—those who are now advising us in this time of fiscal emergency—assist in the mobilization of public opinion so we can try to avoid these emergencies?

Their influence is important and far-reaching. The Administration is quoting them extensively in support of the increase. With their help in 1965 and 1966, we might have avoided the dire predicament in which we now find ourselves.

Let us hope that a lesson is being learned. The help of the experts is needed, not just to help us extricate ourselves, but to keep us from getting into these difficulties.

I don't want to belabor the past.

What is important is: What do we do now? The economic welfare of the nation is at stake. Time, moreover, is running out.

It is already too late to avoid many of the consequences of the fiscal policies of the last few years.

At this late date, one quarter of fiscal '68 is history, yet nothing has happened to change the expectation of a $29 billion deficit for the year.

That deficit cannot be eliminated. At best it can only be moderated.

At this late date, we can no longer avoid substantial inflation, higher interest, and a worsening balance of payments.

Prices are rising from a cost-push inflation that threatens to push even harder. The stage is set for the addition of demand-pull inflation. We already have high interest rates, and further monetary pressures are just down the block.

In the inflation ahead, people are going to get hurt, some of them badly.

There can be no doubt that we are going to pay a price for the consequence of the high-living policy of "guns, butter and jam."

We must, however, keep the price as low as possible. This country simply cannot afford, in the midst of a long and bitter war—no matter how unpopular that war may be—an inflationary bubble that bursts into severe economic dislocation.

The immediate task of our national government—the action it must take—is the moderation—the reduction—of the projected fiscal 1968 budget deficit.

The expenditure explosion set off by the Administration and its Congress in 1965 and 1966, and continued in this year, 1967, must be brought under control.

While the immediate task is to moderate the 1968 deficit, we must also act to avoid an even larger one in 1969 and later years.

What must be done?

The first thing that must happen is beyond the control of Congress. It must take place in the White House.

There must be a basic attitude change in the President and his advisors. Our fiscal mess is the result of a basic attitude mess—the attitude that we can fight a costly war and, at the same time, satisfy every whim for new and expanded programs on the homefront.

The President must square with the American people. He must stop the confusion of misleading budget estimates. Never have we had such a confusing variety of projections, or such drastic revisions as in the last 20 months.

In January, 1966, we were presented with a budget for fiscal 1967 in which we were told expenditures would be $112.8 billion and revenues, $111 billion, leaving a deficit of $1.8 billion. In September, 1966, even though actual expenditures were running at a monthly rate of between $1 billion and $1½ billion in excess of prior estimates, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the President, steadfastly refused to change their estimates. To make matters worse, they gave the people assurance that expenditures would be cut back by at least $3 billion.

It wasn't until January of this year, with the November election behind him, that the President told us expenditures would not be the $112.8 billion insisted on 4 months earlier, but would be $126.7 billion, an increase of almost $14 billion.

And, in January we were also told expenditures for Fiscal 1968, would be $135 billion with a deficit of $8 billion. In May, we were told the deficit would be $11 billion, and then in August, we were told that it would be $23.6 billion. Each estimate assumed a 6% tax increase.

On a cash basis, the Administration's deficit estimates have ranged from $4.3 billion in January to $26 billion in August.

The public is understandably confused.

That is why I say the President must square with the American people.

He must also begin to lead. He must tell the American people we can no longer afford "guns and butter." He must recognize that a $29 billion deficit requires different spending policies than the $8 billion deficit he announced in January.

Above all, the President must act. Priorities of national need must be established. There must be prompt, credible action to insure a substantial reduction in spending immediately.

In addition to spending cuts of substantial proportions, we cannot avoid, in my judgment, the need for a tax increase.

A meaningful moderation of the deficit requires action on both spending and taxes.

We will not get a tax increase from Congress, however, until a reduction in spending is assured.

For over a month now—ever since the Presidential tax message, Democratic and Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee have daily been sending the message to the White House: "Demonstrate your determination to reduce domestic spending to the essentials or there will be no tax increase."

Last week the Ways and Means Committee met for three days in executive session with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Did we talk about the technical aspects of the tax bill that was before us? We did not. We talked about expenditures.

We wanted to know what the Administration was going to do about federal spending, about establishing new priorities, about postponing or stretching out various programs, about abandoning—at least for the time being—some of the pet projects of the Administration.

We wanted to know why the Administration was putting all the emphasis on a tax increase; why, if our fiscal plight is as serious as the Secretary of the Treasury says it is, the Administration has all of its lobbyists swarming Capitol Hill pressuring for every program and every dollar they requested last January.

We wanted to know why they were continuing to pressure for a 400% increase in the so-called highway beautification program. Couldn't the planting of trees and flowers wait a few years?

What about the 30 high school teachers that are to be sent on a month's trip to India to attend some kind of seminar?

What about the billions that will be expended on foreign aid and space?

What about the $16 billion in research that will be spent this year by the federal government? Can't some of it be postponed or stretched out?

Why, at the very moment we were asking these questions, every effort was being made in the Senate to restore the cuts made by the House of Representatives in the Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Bill, and when the cuts were restored, it was hailed as a great administration victory.

All we could learn in our sessions with the administration officials was that it was very difficult to reduce the planned programs, that they wanted favorable action by the Congress on these matters and they would examine the programs later with a view toward making reductions, and that they would try to cut about $2 billion but they couldn't tell us where until Congress finished the appropriation bills.

Let me repeat. Until this attitude is changed, the Ways and Means Committee will not act to increase taxes, and no amount of political lecturing by the Secretary of the Treasury—such as took place last Thursday before the Washington Press Club, is going to move the committee.

This might be a good time to send a message to Dr. Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, who wrote last week in the National City Bank of Minneapolis letter, "One wonders why Congress which had the gumption to enact some $15 billion of tax increases in 1950–1951 to finance the Korean conflict, should now balk at a much more modest increase."

The simple answer is that in 1950–1951, the people were convinced the money was needed and would be used to prosecute the war rather than for expanding domestic programs. If Dr. Heller will refresh his memory, he will remember we not only cut back on domestic spending, then, but we inaugurated a program of austerity and financed only the most essential programs. The people were convinced. Today the people are not convinced.

The committee's "show-me" attitude, therefore, does not stem from stubbornness. It knows that spending reductions are plainly called for if we are to move toward sound fiscal policy. It knows that no tax increase can be enacted without the support of the American people, and the American people cannot believe a President who talks about the need for a tax increase, on the one hand, and, on the other, almost daily whets the public appetite and pressures Congress for more and larger spending programs. This credibility gap must be removed.

But the White House remains adamant—to the point where many congressmen now question whether the Administration is really serious in its tax increase request, or whether it is only trying to make Congress the whipping boy for the inflation and monetary problems its policies are causing.

If I understand the feelings of the Ways and Means Committee, they will remain just as adamant until the credibility gap is closed.

Where does this leave us?

Lacking leadership and action from the White House, we are in a dangerous stalemate. The deficit grows and the threat to economic stability mounts.

The stalemate must be broken.

I suggest that the Congress, in the absence of executive leadership, act to break it.

Congress should pass a tax increase. In the absence of credible action by the President to cut spending and establish new priorities, the tax increase should be coupled with enactment of an expenditure ceiling on non-defense spending to which the President must conform. The tax increase and the reduction in spending should be of a size which would assure that the deficit for fiscal 1968 would be cut in half.

What I am suggesting is, of course, a crude device. Its virtue rests in the fact that it can break the stalemate. It can give us a response to the fiscal mess we face in fiscal 1968.

It is practical under the circumstances. Even though Congress authorizes the government programs and provides the President with authority to obligate funds, it is the President who controls the level of spending at any given time.

Remember it was the President who last fall talked about making a $3 billion cut, and it is the President who now says he will cut $2 billion but only after Congress has acted on appropriations.

In addition to the crudeness of the device, I certainly recognize too, that it does not meet long-range needs. It does not address itself to the fiscal problems of 1969 and subsequent years.

For the long range, we must thoroughly explore ways and means to establish priorities and achieve expenditure control.

The aggregate of government programs which in themselves have merit will always be too large. We cannot generate enough revenue to meet every need or do everything that someone might think deserving at any particular time. The existence of a government program does not necessarily justify the continuance of the program.

I would be hopeful that the blue ribbon commission recommended by the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee would be established. This Commission would evaluate federal programs and activities, and their projected expansion, in the light of effectiveness in relation to cost, determine whether the activity should be continued and at what level, and recommend the relative priority in the allocation of federal funds.

In conclusion I would like to call to your attention the commencement address of Dr. Kirk, President of Columbia University, in which he urged the academic world to bring about an awareness of the limitation on our resources. He said, "The academic community should remind the American people that there are, in fact, limits to our national competence to achieve so many goals at the same time. There are and there must be priorities among all these demands upon our fiscal resources. Someone must ask the awkward questions."

I would remind you that the banking community has a similar role to play. Your influence is needed to encourage a new attitude of prudence in the management of the federal government's fiscal affairs.

You, too, can remind the American people that there are limits to our national competence.

It is time we all took a lesson from Batman. Even Batman doesn't try to rescue more than one maiden at a time.

PROPOSED LIMITATION OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **BOW**. Mr. Speaker, the hour is late and I dislike to take the time of the House but I should like to advise the House that on tomorrow the Committee on Appropriations is meeting for the purpose of voting out a continuing resolution to continue agencies for which appropriations have not yet been made.

It is my intention at that time to call up a resolution which I have introduced for continuing these agencies and also to have in that continuing resolution an expenditure limitation limiting the expenditures for the fiscal year 1968 to $131 billion. This would return to the Treasury about $5 billion that could not be spent.

Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned, as I am sure many other Members of the Congress are concerned, with the present fiscal situation of our Nation. I am concerned not as a Republican, and I am sure there are some on the other side of the aisle who are concerned, and not as Democrats, but I am concerned as an American. I do not believe we can stand $30 billion deficits in this great country of ours. I think we are going down the road of fiscal irresponsibility and I think the Members of the House should have an opportunity to vote on this very important question of spending. This is one way in which we can save $5 billion and place a limitation upon the amount to be spent.

Now some people will say to me, "Well, you are permitting the President to make the cuts." No—we are making the cuts. We are cutting the spending to $131 billion with a saving of $5 billion.

The President always has had the authority not to spend—and he could tell you where they do not spend. So we are not abrogating our authority or giving any additional authority to the President. We are simply saying to them, "You must make these cuts within the $131 billion limitation."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to serve notice and I have tried to make this a bipartisan approach. But late this afternoon it has become to a certain extent a partisan approach.

But I think we will find out tomorrow who is for economy and who is not for economy. We can find out tomorrow whether we mean what we say when we try to stop inflation—the great curse that is upon the people of this country today and particularly on those who can least afford it.

I believe we have a responsibility as legislators to consider our country and again I say I do not do this in a partisan way. I do it because I sincerely believe we are down the road right now of irresponsibility. I would suggest that if through a maneuvering in the Committee on Appropriations tomorrow this limitation is not accepted and it comes to this floor without the limitation on it, then we should vote down the continuing resolution. If we vote it down, they will have to bring a continuing resolution back in with the limitation in it.

Mr. Speaker, if we are responsible and if we do what we think is right for the Nation, this is what we should do.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **BOW**. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. The gentleman is making an extremely important statement.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 5 additional minutes so that he may be able to answer some questions.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. I have the highest respect for the gentleman as a member of the Appropriations Committee. I just wonder if we can get together on some figures and see where we are going and what we are doing. It is my understanding that the defense budget for this year, including $29 billion for Vietnam, will total $73 billion. Is that reasonably correct?

Mr. **BOW**. It is $72 billion and some-odd million, yes.

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. It is my understanding that our commitment to our veterans, including our VA hospitals, veterans' compensation, pensions, and various other veteran commitments, a debt of honor, total some $10 billion for fiscal 1968. Is that reasonably correct?

Mr. **BOW**. That is reasonably correct. May I say to the gentleman that under this limitation you do not affect those items, which by law must be paid as they would be paid. We are not affecting the veterans, welfare, or social security.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am very pleased to hear that. As I understand, the interest on the national debt is $14 billion. Is that correct?

Mr. BOW. It will be about $14 billion, but it will be less than that if we put a spending limitation on and if we continue to spend as we are now, that interest on the national debt is going to continue to rise. This is one of the reasons why we should have a limitation on spending so that we begin to cut down on interest. As everyone who has to borrow money knows, you get nothing for interest. That is money which has gone. The gentleman is correct. About $14 billion.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is my understanding that the cost of the rest of the Government, including all agencies, including a $13.5 billion commitment for Federal aid to education, the space program, the FBI, and all other programs, will run approximately $37 billion for fiscal 1968. Is that reasonably correct?

Mr. BOW. I am afraid that you will probably find that it is considerably more than that. Take the authorizations we have been approving here. Just this week we have increased them considerably. If the gentleman will yield, he has asked me a question and I will try to respond. There will be greater amounts than that that would come up, of course, in supplementals. That is the reason we have to put a limitation on spending, so we do not continue to escalate these expenses.

Mr. PUCINSKI. It is my understanding that the four items I have mentioned here, assuming we stay within the $37 billion for this discussion, comes to about $134 billion for fiscal 1968.

Now, the anticipated revenue for that year is somewhere in the vicinity of $104 billion, leaving a deficit of some $30 billion. Is that a reasonably correct statement?

Mr. BOW. I am just not sure about that $30 billion deficit. I would assume it might be that much if we continue on the path we are going along. I think actually that under the present projection it is somewhat lower than that. I do not agree completely with the $30 billion. It will be somewhere around that if we continue on the road on which we are now traveling.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The President has ordered all agencies of Government up and down the line to reappraise their needs and I am sure he would hope to trim $7.5 billion out of that $37 billion cost of the General Government.

Mr. BOW. May I have that statement again? I would like to make sure I understand it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The President has ordered all of his agencies, department heads, to review all spending and I am sure he would hope to trim $7.5 billion out of Government expenditures. If its at all humanly possible, I am sure the President would hope to cut costs by the same amount he hopes to get from a tax increase.

Mr. BOW. If the gentleman has any such knowledge as that, I am delighted to hear it. But I have serious doubts about it. If the President can cut $7.5 billion, I should think the House would welcome the opportunity of cutting $5 billion and let him find the other $2.5 billion some place.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I did not say he will be able to cut $7.5 billion. But I am sure the gentleman will agree that is a most noble goal for the President.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LAIRD. I have heard the announcement of the acting majority leader. It is a rather electrifying announcement. I went over closely the testimony of the Ways and Means Committee. The figure that the Secretary of the Treasury was using was a figure much less than this, and the White House this weekend denied the statement made by the Secretary of the Treasury before the Ways and Means Committee. But the acting majority leader here has made a very electrifying announcement on the floor of the House, and I assume he is speaking for the President.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am not speaking for the President, obviously. I am speaking only for myself, but I know how determined the President is to cut spending to the bone before he asked for a tax increase.

Mr. LAIRD. Are you speaking for the White House?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am obviously not speaking for the White House. The President speaks for the White House.

Mr. BOW. I have not yet yielded the floor.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BOW. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois. You intrigue me.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Let me see if I can intrigue you further. I know of no one in this Government who wants to reduce Government spending more than President Johnson. He has asked Congress to raise $7.5 billion in additional taxes. Knowing Mr. Johnson's great respect for farmers, it is not unreasonable to believe he would want to reduce Government spending by a like amount or $7.5 billion. That is what I base my conclusions on. I do not have any more information than any other Member on what the President ultimately will do or whether we actually can reduce spending that much. But I know from Mr. Johnson's past performance that he will not ask the taxpayers to share the increase in taxes without making an all-out effort to cut spending by a similar amount if it is humanly possible.

Mr. BOW. Can the gentleman tell me where the President is going to cut the $7.5 billion?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I have no knowledge that he will, but I am certain the President will make every effort to reduce spending as much as humanly possible.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(On request of Mr. PUCINSKI, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Bow was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to stay here all evening to save $7.5 billion.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are faced with the prospect of an estimated $30 billion deficit, if nothing is done.

Mr. BOW. I have not agreed with that. It is a very high figure.

Mr. PUCINSKI. For the sake of conversation.

Mr. BOW. All right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would think the President deserves a great deal of credit, and, more important, support in his efforts not to have this country faced with a $30 billion deficit. It is my hope some way can be found to trim $7.5 billion out of Government spending and raise an additional $7.5 billion out of the President's proposal for a temporary surtax to meet the exigencies of the Vietnam war. We would then be faced with a $15 billion deficit instead of a $30 billion deficit. Is that a reasonable statement?

Mr. BOW. The gentleman's figures of $7.5 billion and $7.5 billion add up to $15 billion, and $15 billion from $30 billion is $15 billion, so it is reasonable mathematics, but it is not reasonable to me that at this late date, after all his statements which the President made, he is about to cut $7.5 billion. And if the President knows how he can cut $7.5 billion, it seems to me it is his responsibility not only to cut, but to advise the Congress where this $7.5 billion can be cut, and to advise the Appropriations Committee, which still has most of the appropriations bills to go through, and we can put the cuts in here.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Does the gentleman believe, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, that we could cut $7.5 billion out of the budget.

Mr. BOW. I would say this to the gentleman, that yes, I think we could probably cut more.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How much more?

Mr. BOW. I cannot give the gentleman an off-the-cuff figure, but I would say if he would do a really good job, if he would cut $7.5 billion, then the President would be doing a good job.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is saying that if this administration can, through instructions to the department heads and to all the agencies, reduce this anticipated deficit by approximately $7.5 billion, the gentleman will agree that the President has done an outstanding job?

Mr. BOW. Let me say this to the gentleman, I will not just agree to his verdict. If the President can—well, I do not want to say yes, I think he has done a good job if he can. It is, if he will.

Mr. PUCINSKI. All right.

Mr. BOW. If the President will do it. But he has shown no indications of doing it.

I have yielded to the gentleman, and I must yield now to the ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the President can cut $7.5 billion, and if that is his suggestion, and there is apparently no question in the mind of the gentleman from Illinois that he can do that, and the President has said he can do that—if that is the case, then why not have Congress give the American people the assurance by setting it, by saying that at least $5 billion will be cut? I cannot see why anybody under that set of facts and those circumstances would object to the legislation the gentleman is proposing, of at least giving some guarantee, some assurance to the American people that at least the $5 billion cut would be made. I should think it would have the support of the gentleman from Illinois and all Members of this Congress, who are certainly all concerned about the deficit that faces us, and the consequent inflation, and the money crunches, and all the rest of the problem.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as I have already stated, there is no question in my mind that no one in this country is more concerned and more desirous of cutting our defense spending than President Johnson so that we do not have to wind up with a $30 billion deficit and finance the Vietnam war with borrowed money. I am certain of that. Will the gentleman in the well be good enough, when he presents his proposal tomorrow, to outline some suggested areas where the cuts he proposes can be made?

It is easy enough to suggest reductions, but I believe Congress would be substantially more responsive to the resolution, if the gentleman would give us, line by line, the places where he believes we should cut.

We may have some of our own ideas, but I wonder if the gentleman has his ideas.

Mr. BOW. I should say that there are many places we could talk about.

I am interested now in this electrifying statement of the gentleman that the President is prepared to cut $7½ billion. It seems to me we ought to get the figures from the President as to where he is going to cut $7½ billion. I am anticipating listening to this word going out all over the country, made by the acting majority leader, that the President is now going to cut $7½ billion.

Again I say, if he does it I shall say amen to him and I shall help him try to do it.

As the gentleman from Wisconsin said, this does not interfere at all. We give him a leeway. We simply say, "this is $5 billion." He can do exactly what the gentleman says he is going to do.

He is going to make cuts on this spending restriction. He still can make the cuts where he wants to. If he knows where he is going to cut $7½ billion, this $5 billion should not hurt at all.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BOW. I yield.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am sure the gentleman knows, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, even more so than I do, because I do not have the privilege of sitting on that very distinguished committee, that the whole spending program, including our defense expenditures, is now undergoing a very thorough and serious review.

I believe, and I sincerely believe, that the President will try to squeeze every dollar he can out of that budget, because I say that no one in this country is more deeply concerned about the cost of the Vietnam war and the fact that we may have to go to the market with Government securities than the President of the United States.

I was saying here that perhaps the gentleman might want to suggest at this time where he should cut this money. He is going to propose a limitation.

Mr. BOW. I shall be glad if the President is interested in my views as to where the cuts can be made. I shall be glad to sit down with him and tell him where I believe the cuts can be made and to have a mutual understanding that he will tell me where he believes cuts can be made.

The ones who should have the knowledge are with the President. He sends the budget up here, and he says, "Get all those appropriation bills out so that I can get them down here to cut them."

He has asked for this money. It seems to me he should send the word to us where $7½ billion can be cut, after he has asked for all these funds. This is a responsibility I believe he owes to us.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. There are still a good many hours between 8 o'clock tonight and noon tomorrow for the President to get in some first-class arm twisting in behalf of the gentleman's amendment tomorrow, if he is permitted to offer it to the continuing resolution.

If the President is so concerned, he can give a real good demonstration tomorrow of his concern.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would not attempt, and I made it very clear not long ago I would not attempt, to speak for anyone else. I speak for no one but myself.

Mr. BOW. That is a real letdown to me, because the gentleman made the statement that the President would cut $7½ billion.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Just a second.

Mr. BOW. The gentleman must have had some information from someone before making a very electrifying statement of that kind.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am confident—and I am sure of the degree of confidence I have in my President—that with all of these spending programs having undergone the searching scrutiny which is now underway, the President will try to cut a great deal of spending. I am confident every human effort will be made to cut expenses by a sum as close as possible to the amount to be raised by additional taxes.

The question is, Will the Congress then support the President on the rest of his program to keep this country from going too far in debt?

Mr. BOW. Let me say first to the gentleman, it seems to me it would have been well for the President to make this searching inquiry before he sent all these appropriation bills up to us.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. I should like to commend the gentleman from Ohio, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, for smoking out this possible $7½ billion cut in spending. I believe it is a very valuable service.

These few moments spent in the well of the House this evening certainly have been well worthwhile.

Mr. BOW. If we can save $7½ billion, perhaps even my friends in back of me here are pleased to remain.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am sure the gentleman in the well will agree with me that if the President should accomplish this Herculean task—it is a tough task; there is no question about it—but if Mr. Johnson succeeds, will the gentleman agree that the initiative came from the President and not from the fact that the gentleman in the well is making an ultimatum on his motion to reduce spending.

Mr. BOW. Let me say this to the gentleman. The gentleman says if he makes these cuts, will the Congress back him up? One way to show the President we will back him up is to pass this limitation tomorrow. We will back him up to the extent of $5 billion tomorrow. If he brings up the others, we will back him up on those. One way we can prove to the President that we will back him up is by the acceptance of a spending limitation. We will find out tomorrow who is going to support the President in his efforts to reduce the budget and on which side of the aisle that support will come from and whether the people will stand up and be counted. If he can cut $7.5 billion and wants the support of the Congress of the United States in that, then let us find out tomorrow where he is going to get it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Bow, at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI, was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Will the gentleman answer just one question?

Mr. BOW. Yes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I agree with him that one way to meet part of this crisis on the cost of the war in Vietnam is to cut spending, but will the gentleman also be willing to admit another way is for him and his colleagues to support the President's very responsible request for a temporary surtax to meet another part of the increased cost of the war in Vietnam?

Mr. BOW. I cannot speak for all of the Members around here.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Speak for yourself. What about yourself?

Mr. BOW. Just 1 minute. I will say to the gentleman that in appropriations I want this limitation. I cannot speak for the Committee on Ways and Means or for the other Members of my party. I can only speak for FRANK BOW. I will say to you that I will be responsible on the question of fiscal responsibility if you give us a reduction in spending. Then I will be responsible the rest of the way.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman for his courtesy in yielding his time.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would not want the incorrect impression to be made here in the House today. There is no evidence in the hands of any member of the House Committee on Ways and Means that a $7.5 billion cut in expenditures is going to be made. I know the President is making every effort to cut the budget in every way he can, but at the present time there is no evidence before the Members on my side of the aisle or the other side of the aisle that a $7.5 billion cut can be made. I know my good friend from Illinois would like to see such a cut. Many of us would if it were possible, but I do not see how it is possible.

I am going to oppose the motion made by the gentleman from Ohio tomorrow, because I do not know where he wants to make these cuts. I am willing to vote for cuts if they are line items and specified items, but I think it would be unfair and put this administration and this Government in a financial straitjacket if we were to adopt and act favorably on his motion tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this: I commend the gentleman from Ohio, because he is one of the hardest working Members of the House and a great member of the Committee on Appropriations. I know he is sincere in trying to make this cut, but I think the big problem that the House Committee on Ways and Means is confronted with at the present time is that every witness who appeared before our committee, all of the economists, all of the business people, all of those from the banking fraternity, from the Federal Reserve, and from the administration—not one person has given one bit of evidence as to where any specific cuts could be made. This is a problem we are confronted with. I am hoping we can make some cuts and I am hoping that the administration can make some cuts, but at the present time I believe that the highest figures I have been able to receive are a possible $2 billion cut in appropriations.

The **SPEAKER**. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired.

DETROIT'S NEGRO WOMEN SPEAK

Mr. **PUCINSKI**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mrs. **GRIFFITHS**. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to place in the RECORD the first of two articles, titled "The Unheard Voice of the Negro Woman," which appeared in the Detroit News Sunday Magazine on September 24.

Written by Jane Schermerhorn, this article is a record of the hopes, angers, and dreams of Detroit's Negro women, voiced by the women themselves:

THE UNHEARD VOICE OF THE NEGRO WOMAN

(NOTE.—In the racial unrest sweeping this country, the Negro male dominates newspaper headlines, newscasts and forums. Everyone knows what he wants, what he thinks. But what of the Negro woman? Little is heard of her hopes and dreams, her frustrations and angers, her humiliations and prides. Here, then, in a two-part series, are the words and thoughts of social leaders, professional women, senior citizens, ministers' wives, teen-agers, teachers, ADC mothers and even prostitutes—all of whom have their counterparts in the white community. They are voices that are audible in the drawing rooms of magnificent homes as well as in the windowless rooms of the city's most shameful ghettos. Sometimes the voices are hostile, cold, bitter. Negro youth scoffs at the pacifists: "None of that Aunt Jemima business and go around to the back door for us!" they bristle. Sometimes the voices are warm, hopeful and friendly. Almost always there is graciousness. Together they evince both harmony and dissonance, and an insight into the mystique of the Negro woman.)

(By Jane Schermerhorn)

Historically cast as the ruling force in her home and family, the Negro woman seems almost nonexistent in the civil rights battle her men are waging. To begin, listen to the "looter." Call her Mary because she asked that her real name be withheld. Maybe you've wondered what kind of woman follows rioters into a burning store, picks up a cheap bauble, gets caught and lands in jail.

Mary is 48, twice married and separated. She came to Detroit in 1948 from Sumter, S.C., because "my auntie lived here" and worked as a domestic until she became ill three years ago.

Her only child, a son, is 19 and Mary no longer qualifies for Aid to Dependent Children funds but she does get a disability allowance because of heart trouble.

We met her just after she was released on bond to await her trial for looting.

"I only went up Twelfth to see the damages the day after the riots began," she explained. "I didn't mean no harm. Everyone was picking up stuff out of the rubble and it looked like no one cared . . ."

Her brow puckered with trouble.

"I've been in jail before, twice," she offered candidly.

"First time was about a pistol. A woman threatened me and I was going to shoot her. It was over a boy friend but he was too old for me and I didn't like him anyhow. They gave me probation.

"Then—that next time—it was whisky. For selling it in my home. I paid a fine."

Mary spent six days in jail after her recent arrest.

"I was locked up with about 50 women. There was one white girl and all the rest were colored. I felt bad about something that happened. The teen-age colored girls were picking on the white girl, making her say 'yes, ma'm' and 'no, ma'm' to them because they said that's what the white folks always made them do.

"So when the policewoman came to take a couple of us to another cell, I told her she'd better help the white girl. I didn't want to tell the others not to pick on her 'cause I was afraid they'd get on me. But I don't think it was fair because it wasn't the white girl's fault we were in there. She was in there, too.

"I didn't see any reason for misusing her and, besides, I have a kid and if he was the only colored with a lot of whites, I'd want someone to help him."

Mary says her life has been hard but she doesn't hate white people. "I have a Christian heart," is the way she explains it, "and I don't hate anyone."

She added that in her present dilemma there was slight trouble with the police who arrested her.

"They called me a nigger and stuff like that but I told them I wasn't a nigger, I was an Ethiopian.

"They asked me, 'Who told you that—Martin Luther King?' and I told them no, I read it in the Bible. They didn't give me no trouble after they found out I wasn't a nigger."

She said she was satisfied with life and "if there are folks who don't want me around, I just won't be around.

"I'm not jealous because someone's got more'n me," she said. "I don't worry about race, creed or color and I don't believe in calling names. After all we're all alike, we all came from a woman's womb."

We'd been told before we met her at lunch how beautiful Mrs. Ann Merritt was. She even exceeded her advance notices because she's a girl with inner beauty and serenity, too.

Mrs. Merritt was the first Negro woman in the United States to become a federal probation officer and has held her post here five years. Before that she was a probation officer with Recorder's Court.

She was born in Montgomery, Ala., the daughter of a successful businessman and a mother, a former newspaperwoman, who taught her "respect for all kinds of people."

Besides Ann there were five boys in the family. All but one, who chose to enlist in the army, graduated from college.

Today those brothers include: an attorney and New York state senator; a Westinghouse experimental lab technician turned realtor; a Pepsi-Cola distributor owner in Buffalo; a Benedictine priest in Indianapolis and a teacher in Panama.

"We had all the strikes against us growing up in the South," Ann laughed softly. "Not only were we Negroes but we were Catholic and attended parochial school. Besides this I was fair-skinned and when I walked home from school with my brothers there were always fights with the white children who, for some delightful reason, called us Jews and wanted to know what the boys were doing with that 'white Jew.' "

Ann knows how it felt to be put off public buses in Montgomery to make room for white passengers but she also grew up realizing the respect the white community had for her parents.

One day a wise mother decided her daughter needed "a wider world" and Ann was enrolled at St. Francis de Sales boarding school on the James River in Virginia.

Her first two years of college were spent at Xavier in New Orleans and then she transferred to the University of Toledo where she earned her bachelor's degree. She has her master's degree in social service from the University of Michigan.

Arriving in Toledo, she went to the YWCA for a room and innocently became the first Negro girl permitted to live there.

Again she smiled. "The Y thought the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had sent me as a 'test case' and didn't want difficulty so they immediately gave me a room. I didn't know that for long after."

But in Toledo, as a college student—or rather as a young Negro girl—she had her food oversalted in restaurants, soups watered and many times was refused service.

In cooperation with the city's Human Relations Council, Ann reported such grievances and offenders were taken to court. Gradually Toledo became an "open town."

"I like to think we helped," she remarks.

She is a volunteer worker planning programs and recreation for the 1,000 students enrolled at Moore School for Boys. Located in old Eastern High the school opens its doors to youths, aged 12 to 16, with behavioral problems.

"They're the boys who ordinarily drop out of school long before graduating. They come from homes where often there are too many children and an overtired mother has succumbed to the 'what does it matter' philosophy.

"They're the boys whose sights are set no higher than The Man in the silk suit on Twelfth street but if you can reach them there's a chance. Because someone has really taken an interest in this problem boy, has found something to save, the mother begins to look at him with new interest and soon there is better rapport all around," Ann mentioned.

Riots and civil upheavals disturb her. She thinks of the communistic strategy of divide and destroy and she fears it could happen in America.

"The people who are leading the riots and protests—they are being used because the money that supports them comes from people who have a totally different ideology and totally different reasons for helping them. These outsiders want dissension and they don't care what any Negro group wants.

"For instance, it's been suggested that Snick is getting its money from Cuba and Castro. Now they don't care what Snick wants as long as they create enough problems here so that Communists can infiltrate college groups and the whole United States.

"I think the same is happening with the Black Nationalists.

"Just by virtue of our magnitude we in America are going to have to conceive of group ways of handling our problems at home. I still feel all problems are fundamentally a person-to-person kind of thing, but unless we start reaching people by groups it isn't going to happen fast enough to be beneficial because time is of essence now. Not only in the civil rights movement but in the whole world movement.

"We are rapidly finding ourselves a democratic country as opposed to both Red China and Russia. Who could we turn to if anything happened here? We are supposedly the strongest power in the world but if they elected to create a war where would our help come from?"

The mother of two daughters—Alma and Stephanie—had a final word:

"Our greatest hope is to recognize that it is going to be to every individual's advantage to do our best for one another. That way America will survive."

But the militant Black Nationalists expound the battle cries pleasing to another Negro woman—a housewife, Mrs. Helen Kelly, mother of seven children aged from 23 to 8 years.

Mrs. Kelly is disillusioned with white people. She feels she was gypped by the white man who sold her her home. She finds much wrong with the Detroit Board of Education and the school's treatment of her children.

She's disgusted that school counselors are quick to advise Negro girls who are all-A students to seek employment as domestic or retail clerks.

She is angry that she is being charged for a full eight-week summer school term for her 13-year-old son, Skyler, this year although he lost a whole week because the schools were closed during the riots.

"I want that week's money back out of what I paid—the teachers got paid and I want to know why we're being cheated out of our money," she complains.

The few white neighbors living on Mrs. Kelly's street have told her all Negroes should go back to Africa and have called her unpleasant names, she says.

Returning to her dissatisfactions with the Detroit Board of Education she said it was only when the family had a spelling bee at home one night that she discovered Skyler, when he was in the fifth grade, couldn't spell rat.

She went to his teachers and urged them to put him back to the third grade because:

"If you don't get the basics in each grade you're not going anywhere in a higher grade."

Mrs. Kelly is proud that she and her husband, Sam, have paid for the births of all their children and never have "had one cent of welfare money."

They are buying their own home.

Mrs. Kelly, who was born in Homer, La., remembers how her father and mother gave fish fries to raise money that built the one-room school for Negro children in their small town.

"When I was coming up if you got to the eighth grade you'd had it, so I answered an ad in the New Orleans paper. A Detroit woman wanted a young girl to take care of her children and offered to pay the fare up here. I got the job.

"I was happy with that family—the Campbells—and I named my first child for their little girl, Sharon, because I dearly loved Sharon."

Next Mrs. Kelly worked for an undertaker and then built bulkheads for B-29s during the war. Her husband served with the U.S. Army in the South Pacific.

While Mrs. Kelly does not belong to any formal civil rights group she says she's a Black Nationalist if it takes Black Nationalists to get what she wants for her children.

And then the question was, "Mrs. Kelly, would you burn or kill as some Negro leaders advise?"

Her answer was thoughtful:

"I don't know. I haven't got to that yet. But if it takes burning to get out of the situation I'm in, I'm quite sure I'll do it. And if it means to save my family or something I guess I'd do it.

"For all I know I may throw a Molotov cocktail or TNT to get what I want—I don't know what I'm going to do. I've never wanted to kill anybody but if I'm pushed into a corner to fight for my rights I'll have to do something.

"I hate some white people because they hate me and I can't have love for someone who feels that way. The trouble with the white race is they put all Negroes in the same category and it's the same thing with teachers telling the Negro child he cannot learn."

Mrs. Kelly said, "Just don't push me. If I walk up to you and say, 'Can you help me do such and such a thing?' because you have the authority don't try to play me down or make me look small. If you do I'm going to hit you, so help me. I'm going to treat you as a woman and you do the same thing to me."

She believes she is gouged by white merchants in her neighborhood and advocates Negro co-ops where prices could be kept down by buying in carload lots.

Among her many interests Mrs. Kelly includes the Murray Wright and Wilbur Wright School's Parents Group, which she founded; the Elks; Peck Elementary School PTA. She's president of the women's auxiliary of Teamsters Union, Local 458.

Recently she presided at the auxiliary's convention in Washington and sought, unsuccessfully, to see Michigan's U.S. Senator Robert Griffin.

The auxiliary wanted to know the senator's stand on four specific bills: the right to privacy, anti-strike legislation, common sites picketing and social security amendments.

Gathering daughters Neriessa, 10, ("She's going to be my great educator") and Wendy, 7, in her arms, Mrs. Kelly said she also is active in her church—the Central United Church of Christ—of which the Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr. is pastor.

In the basement of Plymouth Congregational Church, the Rev. Roger Miller sat with the Senior Fellowship group of teen-agers, boys and girls, in their regular Sunday evening discussion hour.

And, as is customary, there was dancing and refreshments afterwards. Finally there would be worship in the church proper. While the record player was being set up, the girls joined us to explain what the Negro teen-ager and college student are thinking these days.

Malcolm X emerged as their hero during the talks.

"He's the real father of this present revolution," Kathi Johnson, 20, believes. "He started at a low level. He was a pimp and a thief and then he adopted the Muslim religion and won the respect of people everywhere.

"He was big enough to admit he was wrong in at first wanting complete segregation for the Negro and later espoused true brotherhood. But he knew violence was also the only way to solve his people's problems."

Pat Carey, 16, likes Stokely Carmichael because "he's arrogant" and writer Claude Brown because, "he rose from the Harlem slums where he took dope and yet really made something of himself."

Other girls nodded their heads in agreement when 15-year-old Cynthia Stephens, a senior at Cass Tech, spoke out:

"I've never said 'yes, sir' or 'yes, ma'm' to a Caucasian because it sickens me.

"Sure it was the Negro woman who adjusted after 1619 (when the first slaves arrived in Virginia) and she was subservient because she wanted to survive. It was the Negro woman who kept her people docile during the Revolution. But we have a constitution that gives us equal rights and status as Americans and there'll be no shuffling act for me."

Cynthia said she resents anyone who keeps her from achieving what she wants in life.

"Some of my best friends are white," she smiled, playfully. She spoke of having been called "nigger" by jeering white youngsters but she had a question:

"Have you ever heard of a white nigger? That isn't an underprivileged Caucasian—it's a Negro who doesn't want to be colored and he's as much a threat to full citizenship for Negroes as the segregationist whites are."

There were less heated views from another pair of teen-agers, Fay Kirk, 14, whose parents are Tennessee State graduates, and Iris Bracy, 15, whose parents married while they were students at Benedict College in Columbia, S.C. Her father, head athletic coach at Benedict, who also taught history, died five years ago.

Both spoke affectionately of white school friends, told of meeting at one another's homes.

Fay said her parents had many white friends and that she has no prejudices. "As long as they don't abuse me I put them in my own category and I like them," she said in a little-girl way.

Fay thinks sometimes it might be fun to be white. So does Iris but, rubbing her slender arms, she said she really liked her color and even wished her skin were darker.

"I don't like prejudiced white people," declared Iris, "but neither do I like prejudiced Negroes. And I guess the white man has a lot going for him—he's still the domineering factor in the world. He seems so full of ambition and he provides well for his family."

Fay hopes to go to college and eventually have a career "helping people." Iris wants to be a teacher, "like my mother, or a social worker, like my grandmother, who's at Juvenile Court."

The Senior Fellowship girls deplore the way the Negro is treated in school textbooks, that distinguished leaders of their race have been almost ignored.

Proudly they name their heroes. George Washington Carver, the scientist; Frederick Douglass, who escaped from slavery and with earnings from books he wrote was able to purchase his freedom.

Even H. Rap Brown got three cheers because, "He has the courage to speak out and people are listening."

The door of the Alfred E. Thomas, Jr. residence is opened by a smiling, uniformed maid, who leads the way into a drawing room of soft creamy beige tones, traditional decor and Florentine mirrors, a breathtaking painting of Mrs. Thomas dominating one wall.

In real life the subject is equally breathtaking as she enters the room in a crisp lemon linen frock. When admiration for her portrait is expressed she instantly and modestly turns attention to the young Negro artist, Detroiter Leroy Foster, who painted it, and praises his talents.

Head of this home is Dr. Thomas, featured in a national magazine a few years back as one of America's wealthiest and most successful Negroes, whose next medical compound will occupy four acres of land in Detroit's new Medical Center.

His father founded the Edith K. Thomas Hospital in Detroit. Dr. Thomas owns several hospitals as well as nursing homes outside the city.

Mrs. Thomas, born in Philadelphia, also comes from a long line of eminent physicians and surgeons. Her father, who died in 1958, lived a lifetime of "firsts." Besides his own practice he was surgeon for the Philadelphia Police Department. He was the first Negro member of the city's Board of Education.

Just this week Mrs. Thomas received word that a Philadelphia school is being named in his memory.

Educated at the Philadelphia High School for Girls, Mrs. Thomas received a bachelor of science degree in education from the University of Pennsylvania.

She was 20 years old and that June was filled with commencements for she also received her bachelor of music from the Philadelphia Academy of Music. She studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, made her musical debut and was a concert pianist before her marriage.

That busy June often has proved a fine talking point as the Thomas daughters were growing up and always had "too much to do."

Daughter Rikki (Frederika), who graduated from Sarah Lawrence College, is now Mrs. William Dulany Hill, of Washington, D.C. Her husband is a pedodontist, a graduate of the University of Richmond.

Daughter Patsy, who graduated from Vassar, is married to Harold Fleming, of New Haven, Conn. He is in marketing research.

The family's all-American teen-ager is Linda, 16, who will go on to Sarah Lawrence after this, her final year at Oakwood, the Quaker school in Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Linda dropped in during the interview just long enough to say she wants to be a theater major in college and her favorites are Julie Harris, Katharine Hepburn, Anne Bancroft and the late Vivien Leigh.

All their lives the Thomases and their daughters have had white friendships yet nowhere in Detroit is there a family prouder of its Negro heritage.

They yearn for better opportunities for all Negroes. They have established scholarships to help children get an adequate education.

"It is less than a human world," says Mrs. Thomas, "if any child is denied that job for which he's well prepared just because he is a Negro.

"Education — education — education — that is the way to achieve the dream."

Yet even for the Thomases there are some unhappy moments . . . "I guess I automatically worry just a little the first time I go someplace I've never been before," said this unusual woman.

For the past few months her mother has been in a nursing home here and her visits have been almost daily. Another hospital visitor, a woman, made a point of being friendly.

Then one day the woman asked. "What nationality are you, Mrs. Thomas?"

"I just automatically said, 'American,' probably because I didn't dream what she really wanted to know.

"Then several days later my little grandson, Douglas, came on from Washington to stay with us and I took him with me to the nursing home to see his grandmother. My friend dogged our footsteps.

"She looked at me and she looked at Douglas, who is kind of brown, and said, 'Who is he?' and I told her this was my grandson and he had just arrived from Washington. She looked at me again and said, "Are you a social worker?"

"Well, I was beginning to get puzzled. I told her no, I was just a housewife. She persisted.

"Until she asked if I had Indian blood it didn't dawn on me that she must have thought I was white and here I was with a Negro child . . .

"Well, I immediately told her I was a Negro and that I had Indian blood and French blood and, you name it . . . I added that, 'After all, you must remember you are the ones who say it takes only one drop to make you a Negro.' "

Some years ago Mrs. Thomas conceived the idea of a club for mothers to plan worthwhile activities and programs for their children. She organized the Jack and Jill Club with some of her friends and today there are 25 branches across the country.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Thomas enjoy entertaining; she preferring the small dinner parties at home, the doctor leaning more toward the larger gathering. But when their children are involved they give their most memorable parties.

When Rikki and Patsy were married—both had formal weddings at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul—the Thomases gave identical receptions for 1,400 guests.

There were turquoise and white striped marquees set up over the grounds, champagne stations placed at every thirsty spot and a complement of musicians from the Detroit Symphony Orchestra as well as a jazz combo providing the musical background.

The receptions took place on the family's eight-acre island in Canada where they have their summer home.

Bittersweet views of life as a Negro woman were expressed by senior citizen, Mrs. Yvonne Taylor who has never known the friendship of a white person.

Born in Port au Prince, Haiti—where her doctor father was U.S. Consul—Mrs. Taylor, now 80, returned to New York with her family when she was only three.

Her parents separated and she moved to New Haven, Conn., with her mother. She remembers she fought her way to school every day when white children taunted her brother with names "because he was browner than I am." One particular enemy was a white dwarf with whom Mrs. Taylor had almost daily fisticuffs.

Her own marriage ended after five years and she was left to support and raise her three children. She worked as a waitress for white employers. "They said they could hire a better class Negro girl than white girls for waitresses," she remembers.

She is proud of her children: a son, Reid, died in 1939, six years after he graduated from the University of Michigan, and daughter, Edverta (Mrs. William Greene), with whom she makes her home.

"My grandchildren are my great joy," she emphasized. "Skipper graduated from Denby High School a year ago June, enlisted in the Air Force and left in July for Texas. Did his training there. He's in Pakistan now and he's organized a little band of musicians; one of the white soldiers is in it and the colonel's daughter, a white girl, is their singer.

"My oldest grandson is well educated. He went to Wayne State University, the University of Michigan and Iowa City University. He's an ophthalmologist and opened his own office in Iowa City in July."

Mrs. Taylor, who has pep aged 16, keeps happy with her church work (Plymouth Congregational). She is head of the Leisure Group for senior citizens and their chief project is making cancer pads. Every Thursday, for the past nine years, they've spent at their good work, winning praise from the Michigan Cancer Foundation.

Then she's a life member of the women Elks—went to the Cleveland Convention last month—a past matron and past commander of the Eastern Star Women's Auxiliary.

"Sure, I've been called 'coon' by white folks here but I don't hate them anymore. You know, children are born without prejudice—it's the adults who teach them to look down on people who are of different color or religion than they are. All I ever asked is decent treatment and opportunity for my children and grandchildren to do the work they are qualified to do."

It was in Mrs. Taylor's home that we heard the words:

"Don't give me your love, don't live next door to me, don't invite me into your home, just give me respect."

It was noon and a trim woman in a smart tailored summer suit descended the broad stairs of Recorder's Court.

She was Mrs. Louise Cobb, head of the women's probation department of Recorder's. Her parents, the late Dr. and Mrs. Herbert E. Simms, her mother also was a college graduate, were people of vision and ambition.

When Louise was seven they moved to Detroit from Chattanooga, Tenn., because they felt there were better educational opportunities here for their daughter.

One of the family's earliest friends here was the scholarly John Dancy, who for so many years headed the Detroit Urban League and who has devoted his life working for a better world for the Negro.

After the loss of her parents, Louise continued to have Dancy's wise counsel, resulting in an extremely successful professional career.

Through him she went to work as a Works Progress Administration's supervisor conducting a survey of skilled white and Negro workers (there were no teaching jobs for a Negro girl at that time).

At his instigation she became girls' work secretary for the Toledo Urban League and after six months Dancy notified her there was an opening in the women's division of the Detroit Police Department.

She was a policewoman for 10 years, leaving in 1948 to join the women's probation department of Recorder's finally becoming its chief.

"Although I had the seniority I somehow felt that being a Negro I might be bypassed for the job. I was surprised, and gratified, when that did not prove to be the case," she says today.

She heads a staff of 19 women, all of whom are hired through the court. There are 13 officers, 12 are white, and five Negro secretaries. She's doing a great and a dedicated job, her superiors say.

After attending Detroit public schools including Northwestern High School where she was the first girl of her race, along with one other, to be on the basketball and track teams, Louise graduated from the University of Michigan, majoring in French and minoring in sociology.

There were only eight Negro girls on the Michigan campus when she was enrolled and she was pledged to the national Negro sorority, Delta Sigma Theta, which is still an interest. She spent her junior year at Fiske University in Chattanooga.

All her life she has enjoyed friendships with white classmates and fellow workers but her socializing is among Negro friends.

A widow and the mother of two grown children, Mrs. Cobb notices a sharp contrast between the thinking of the younger generation and attitudes when she was their age.

"Today's youth—and I'm speaking of those who have good homes and advantages of education—is not willing to accept what their parents have endured because of being Negro.

"I hope their world will treat them with understanding and give them the chance to use their talents and be rewarded."

Workmen were hammering and sawing, making repairs at the book store on Dexter jointly owned by Mrs. Polly L. Rawls, 47, and her nephew, Ed Vaughn, 33.

The store was burned and then damaged by water during the riots.

But sometimes Mrs. Rawls' voice rose in anger even above the hammering as she reflected on injustices Negroes have suffered at the hands of white people.

She was born in Piper, Ala., graduated from Grady Memorial School as a nurse and, at 25, married her husband who also was a native of Piper.

Both served in the army during the Korean War, she as a nurse.

They came to Detroit when conditions in Alabama became "intolerable" and they found life here "a little easier in terms of opportunity."

Mrs. Rawls worked at Receiving Hospital nine years, the same length of time at Lafayette Clinic and also at Detroit Psychiatric Institute before the bookstore venture.

Today she's a Black Nationalist with little use for black persons who "spend their time trying to act white or trying to impress white people.

"I am impatient when I see black women wearing red or yellow wigs to hide their kinky hair. I'm proud of my kinky hair," she said.

The reasons she became interested in the bookshop was the fact that it would offer material and works on Afro-American history.

"The black man has accepted the inequities heaped upon him largely because he is unaware of the things he is capable of doing and of what his race has done in the past."

Mrs. Rawls denies any hatred for white people, even those who have humiliated her, but she also remembers the double-standard treatment she received as a black army nurse.

She recalled that during a period of severe typhoons in Okinawa, nurses were moved from tents to an area where there were houses with roofs, occupied by officers.

"The officers were noticeably courteous in giving up their quarters to white nurses but none offered to give them up to the black nurses.

"And then, returning to this country, our boat was met by white Red Cross ladies who passed out milk and doughnuts. They hardly looked at we black nurses. How different their pleasant and congenial manners with the white nurses."

She can no longer be hurt by the term "nigger." She laughed at the question of why Negroes often call each other "nigger."

"Oh, that's a term of endearment between the brothers and sisters," she explained.

Give her young activist leaders such as Brown and Carmichael "especially at this time."

For although she has not taken part in riots, burning and looting, she says she understands the reasons behind them.

"When people feel hopeless they do a lot of things that are self-defeating."

The black man needs leaders, not more laws. "The necessary laws are all on the books but they're not enforced," is her contention.

She advocates government loans to the black man for establishing businesses; more scholarship funds; job opportunities of sufficient importance to enable young Negroes to look up to their adults.

In her own crusade she first belonged to the NAACP. She joined Dr. King on the early Freedom Marches. She became a member of the Urban League and continues to retain that affiliation.

She is a member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and as a member of the Medical Commission for Human Rights has worked among underprivileged in the South.

She declares the present racial dilemma must be solved by both blacks and whites and she sorrowfully adds, "The black man has been made to take so much abuse he has almost abdicated his role as a man. He must regain his pride to gain his freedom."

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON RUNAWAY PLANTS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the AFL-CIO executive council called attention in its recent meeting to a new development, the movement of large numbers of U.S. manufacturing plants from this country to Mexico. The AFL-CIO, in a statement unanimously adopted, asked the U.S. Government to provide publicly available information about this trend and declared that U.S. labor standards should apply in such plants.

I include the council statement and its accompanying background document at this point in the RECORD:

RUNAWAY PLANTS

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, New York, N.Y., September 12, 1967)

The AFL-CIO has consistently supported efforts to improve economic, social and political relations between the United States and Mexico. The AFL-CIO will continue policies based on mutual benefit to workers in both countries.

At no time, however has the AFL-CIO approved programs designed to encourage runaway plants, undercut U.S. labor standards or to subsidize unregulated imports based only on low-wage competition from other countries.

A new dimension has been added to this problem, with U.S. companies establishing plants on the Mexican side of the border, using low-wage labor to assemble U.S. semi-finished goods for the American market.

Under the Mexican government's PRONAF program, factories may be set up along the border with the exclusive objective of producing goods for export. As part of the arrangement, such plants may import machinery, raw materials and semi-finished goods into Mexico duty-free—with no payment of Mexican tariffs. And the plants can export the products freely.

Moreover, when these products are shipped into the U.S., Section 807 of the U.S. Tariff Code provides a special, very low tariff—not on the value of the products, but on the cost of the value added in the Mexican plant, which is essentially the low wages of the Mexican-border workers.

While the total volume of operations of these U.S.-owned PRONAF plants is not yet great, it is expanding sharply. The number of these plants is mushrooming and their shipments are growing at a tremendous rate.

The loss of jobs to U.S. workers and gain of extra profits to U.S. companies are clear. In addition, it is doubtful that this arrangement results in long-run benefits to the Mexican economy.

President Johnson's appointment of a Commission to work with a similarly appointed Mexican Commission to develop economic and social improvements in the border region is a worthwhile step.

Meanwhile, however, the continued move of U.S. plants to the Mexican border area receives assistance from the U.S. Tariff Code and encouraging advice from government officials.

U.S. corporations continue to locate in the border area for private gain, with the aid of both governments, but without assurances of effective overall economic and social development for the border area.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to repeal Section 807 of the Tariff Code, which provides extra advantages to U.S.-owned PRONAF plants.

We urge the border commissions of both the U.S. and Mexico to give major consideration to the interests of workers and to formally consult with the organized labor movements of both countries.

We call on the government to establish a general policy in opposition to this type of unregulated low-wage operations and to refuse assistance and advice to the foreign-movement of plants that result in the loss of American jobs.

The AFL-CIO requests the U.S. government to provide publicly available information about companies locating in the PRONAF area.

Since U.S.-owned PRONAF plants are, in effect, operating within the U.S. economy, it is our conviction that U.S. labor standards should prevail in such plants.

BACKGROUND ON RUNAWAY PLANTS TO MEXICAN BORDER AREA

The Mexican National Frontier Program—called PRONAF, the initials of the Spanish equivalent of the U.S. words—has been in existence since 1961. The stated purpose of the program is to develop the border area (a strip 12½ miles wide plus the state of Baja California on the Mexico side).

The Mexican government openly proposes the program to attract U.S. capital and technology in exchange for Mexican low-cost labor. The program provides freight rebates, sales tax refunds for companies locating in the border area which abide by certain rules—such as a minimum wage set by the Mexican government which is higher than in other Mexican areas, expansion of current Mexican production, use of Mexican labor exclusively except for professional and technical and some administrative personnel, and export of all the production.

The attraction to U.S. companies is extra profits from cheap labor. Sixteen hundred miles of border are affected, from Texas through New Mexico and Arizona to Southern California. Unemployment is high along the border, particularly in Mexico, though certainly in Texas also.

On the Mexican side of the border, wages are high by Mexican standards but considerably below U.S. wages. This is true even though wages in the Southwest are low by U.S. standards. The highest new minimum wage in Mexico for any region is $4 a day, for special skilled workers in Baja California Norte. Since the border program provides that wages in industries under the program must be 50 percent higher than the regional minimum wage, under the Mexican Border Program, the Baja California rate is $6 a day for special-skilled workers in firms producing for export. In the Mexican border area as a whole, the minimum wage for PRONAF companies ranges from $3.09 to $4.28 a day for non-skilled and $4.33 to $6.00 a day for special-skilled.

Under the PRONAF arrangement, semi-finished products can be shipped duty-free from the U.S. plant to the U.S.-owned plant on the Mexican side of the border—no tariff payment—so long as the company is committed to export all of the production out of and Florentine mirrors, a breathtaking painting of Mrs. Thomas dominating one wall.

In real life the subject is equally breathtaking as she enters the room in a crisp lemon linen frock. When admiration for her portrait is expressed she instantly and modestly turns attention to the young Negro artist, Detroiter Leroy Foster, who painted it, and praises his talents.

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She was 20 years old and that June was filled with commencements for she also received her bachelor of music from the Philadelphia Academy of Music. She studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, made her musical debut and was a concert pianist before her marriage.

That busy June often has proved a fine talking point as the Thomas daughters were growing up and always had "too much to do."

Daughter Rikki (Frederika), who graduated from Sarah Lawrence College, is now Mrs. William Dulany Hill, of Washington, D.C. Her husband is a pedodontist, a graduate of the University of Richmond.

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Yet even for the Thomases there are some unhappy moments , . . "I guess I automatically worry just a little the first time I go someplace I've never been before," said this unusual woman.

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Then one day the woman asked. "What nationality are you, Mrs. Thomas?"

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"She looked at me and she looked at Douglas, who is kind of brown, and said, 'Who is he?' and I told her this was my grandson and he had just arrived from Washington. She looked at me again and said, "Are you a social worker?"

"Well, I was beginning to get puzzled. I told her no, I was just a housewife. She persisted.

"Until she asked if I had Indian blood it didn't dawn on me that she must have thought I was white and here I was with a Negro child . . .

"Well, I immediately told her I was a Negro and that I had Indian blood and French blood and, you name it . . . I added that, 'After all, you must remember you are the ones who say it takes only one drop to make you a Negro.' "

Some years ago Mrs. Thomas conceived the idea of a club for mothers to plan worthwhile activities and programs for their children. She organized the Jack and Jill Club with some of her friends and today there are 25 branches across the country.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Thomas enjoy entertaining; she preferring the small dinner parties at home, the doctor leaning more toward the larger gathering. But when their children are involved they give their most memorable parties.

When Rikki and Patsy were married—both had formal weddings at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul—the Tnomases gave identical receptions for 1,400 guests.

There were turquoise and white striped marquees set up over the grounds, champagne stations placed at every thirsty spot and a complement of musicians from the Detroit Symphony Orchestra as well as a jazz combo providing the musical background.

The receptions took place on the family's eight-acre island in Canada where they have their summer home.

Bittersweet views of life as a Negro woman were expressed by senior citizen, Mrs. Yvonne Taylor who has never known the friendship of a white person.

Born in Port au Prince, Haiti—where her doctor father was U.S. Consul—Mrs. Taylor, now 80, returned to New York with her family when she was only three.

Her parents separated and she moved to New Haven, Conn., with her mother. She remembers she fought her way to school every day when white children taunted her brother with names "because he was browner than I am." One particular enemy was a white dwarf with whom Mrs. Taylor had almost daily fisticuffs.

Her own marriage ended after five years and she was left to support and raise her three children. She worked as a waitress for white employers. "They said they could hire a better class Negro girl than white girls for waitresses," she remembers.

She is proud of her children: a son, Reid, died in 1939, six years after he graduated from the University of Michigan, and daughter, Edverta (Mrs. William Greene), with whom she makes her home.

"My grandchildren are my great joy," she emphasized. "Skipper graduated from Denby High School a year ago June, enlisted in the Air Force and left in July for Texas. Did his training there. He's in Pakistan now and he's organized a little band of musicians; one of the white soldiers is in it and the colonel's daughter, a white girl, is their singer.

"My oldest grandson is well educated. He went to Wayne State University, the University of Michigan and Iowa City University. He's an ophthalmologist and opened his own office in Iowa City in July."

Mrs. Taylor, who has pep aged 16, keeps happy with her church work (Plymouth Congregational). She is head of the Leisure Group for senior citizens and their chief project is making cancer pads. Every Thursday, for the past nine years, they've spent at their good work, winning praise from the Michigan Cancer Foundation.

Then she's a life member of the women Elks—went to the Cleveland Convention last month—a past matron and past commander of the Eastern Star Women's Auxiliary.

"Sure, I've been called 'coon' by white folks here but I don't hate them anymore. You know, children are born without prejudice—it's the adults who teach them to look down on people who are of different color or religion than they are. All I ever asked is decent treatment and opportunity for my children and grandchildren to do the work they are qualified to do."

It was in Mrs. Taylor's home that we heard the words:

"Don't give me your love, don't live next door to me, don't invite me into your home, just give me respect."

It was noon and a trim woman in a smart tailored summer suit descended the broad stairs of Recorder's Court.

She was Mrs. Louise Cobb, head of the women's probation department of Recorder's. Her parents, the late Dr. and Mrs. Herbert E. Simms, her mother also was a college graduate, were people of vision and ambition.

When Louise was seven they moved to Detroit from Chattanooga, Tenn., because they felt there were better educational opportunities here for their daughter.

One of the family's earlist friends here was the scholarly John Dancy, who for so many years headed the Detroit Urban League and who has devoted his life working for a better world for the Negro.

After the loss of her parents, Louise continued to have Dancy's wise counsel, resulting in an extremely successful professional career.

Through him she went to work as a Works Progress Administration's supervisor conducting a survey of skilled white and Negro workers (there were no teaching jobs for a Negro girl at that time).

At his instigation she became girls' work secretary for the Toledo Urban League and after six months Dancy notified her there was an opening in the women's division of the Detroit Police Department.

She was a policewoman for 10 years, leaving in 1948 to join the women's probation department of Recorder's finally becoming its chief.

"Although I had the seniority I somehow felt that being a Negro I might be bypassed for the job. I was surprised, and gratified, when that did not prove to be the case," she says today.

She heads a staff of 19 women, all of whom are hired through the court. There are 13 officers, 12 are white, and five Negro secretaries. She's doing a great and a dedicated job, her superiors say.

After attending Detroit public schools including Northwestern High School where she was the first girl of her race, along with one other, to be on the basketball and track teams, Louise graduated from the University of Michigan, majoring in French and minoring in sociology.

There were only eight Negro girls on the Michigan campus when she was enrolled and she was pledged to the national Negro sorority, Delta Sigma Theta, which is still an interest. She spent her junior year at Fiske University in Chattanooga.

All her life she has enjoyed friendships with white classmates and fellow workers but her socializing is among Negro friends.

A widow and the mother of two grown children, Mrs. Cobb notices a sharp contrast between the thinking of the younger generation and attitudes when she was their age.

"Today's youth—and I'm speaking of those who have good homes and advantages of education—is not willing to accept what their parents have endured because of being Negro.

"I hope their world will treat them with understanding and give them the chance to use their talents and be rewarded."

Workmen were hammering and sawing, making repairs at the book store on Dexter jointly owned by Mrs. Polly L. Rawls, 47, and her nephew, Ed Vaughn, 33.

The store was burned and then damaged by water during the riots.

But sometimes Mrs. Rawls' voice rose in anger even above the hammering as she reflected on injustices Negroes have suffered at the hands of white people.

She was born in Piper, Ala., graduated from Grady Memorial School as a nurse and, at 25, married her husband who also was a native of Piper.

Both served in the army during the Korean War, she as a nurse.

They came to Detroit when conditions in Alabama became "intolerable" and they found life here "a little easier in terms of opportunity."

Mrs. Rawls worked at Receiving Hospital nine years, the same length of time at Lafayette Clinic and also at Detroit Psychiatric Institute before the bookstore venture.

Today she's a Black Nationalist with little use for black persons who "spend their time trying to act white or trying to impress white people.

"I am impatient when I see black women wearing red or yellow wigs to hide their kinky hair. I'm proud of my kinky hair," she said.

The reasons she became interested in the bookshop was the fact that it would offer material and works on Afro-American history.

"The black man has accepted the inequities heaped upon him largely because he is unaware of the things he is capable of doing and of what his race has done in the past."

Mrs. Rawls denies any hatred for white people, even those who have humiliated her, but she also remembers the double-standard treatment she received as a black army nurse.

She recalled that during a period of severe typhoons in Okinawa, nurses were moved from tents to an area where there were houses with roofs, occupied by officers.

"The officers were noticeably courteous in giving up their quarters to white nurses but none offered to give them up to the black nurses.

"And then, returning to this country, our boat was met by white Red Cross ladies who passed out milk and doughnuts. They hardly looked at we black nurses. How different their pleasant and congenial manners with the white nurses."

She can no longer be hurt by the term "nigger." She laughed at the question of why Negroes often call each other "nigger."

"Oh, that's a term of endearment between the brothers and sisters," she explained.

Give her young activist leaders such as Brown and Carmichael "especially at this time."

For although she has not taken part in riots, burning and looting, she says she understands the reasons behind them.

"When people feel hopeless they do a lot of things that are self-defeating."

The black man needs leaders, not more laws. "The necessary laws are all on the books but they're not enforced," is her contention.

She advocates government loans to the black man for establishing businesses; more scholarship funds; job opportunities of sufficient importance to enable young Negroes to look up to their adults.

In her own crusade she first belonged to the NAACP. She joined Dr. King on the early Freedom Marches. She became a member of the Urban League and continues to retain that affiliation.

She is a member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and as a member of the Medical Commission for Human Rights has worked among underprivileged in the South.

She declares the present racial dilemma must be solved by both blacks and whites and she sorrowfully adds, "The black man has been made to take so much abuse he has almost abdicated his role as a man. He must regain his pride to gain his freedom."

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON RUNAWAY PLANTS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the AFL-CIO executive council called attention in its recent meeting to a new development, the movement of large numbers of U.S. manufacturing plants from this country to Mexico. The AFL-CIO, in a statement unanimously adopted, asked the U.S. Government to provide publicly available information about this trend and declared that U.S. labor standards should apply in such plants.

I include the council statement and its accompanying background document at this point in the Record:

Runaway Plants

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, New York, N.Y., September 12, 1967)

The AFL-CIO has consistently supported efforts to improve economic, social and political relations between the United States and Mexico. The AFL-CIO will continue policies based on mutual benefit to workers in both countries.

At no time, however has the AFL-CIO approved programs designed to encourage runaway plants, undercut U.S. labor standards or to subsidize unregulated imports based only on low-wage competition from other countries.

A new dimension has been added to this problem, with U.S. companies establishing plants on the Mexican side of the border, using low-wage labor to assemble U.S. semifinished goods for the American market.

Under the Mexican government's PRONAF program, factories may be set up along the border with the exclusive objective of producing goods for export. As part of the arrangement, such plants may import machinery, raw materials and semi-finished goods into Mexico duty-free—with no payment of Mexican tariffs. And the plants can export the products freely.

Moreover, when these products are shipped into the U.S., Section 807 of the U.S. Tariff Code provides a special, very low tariff—not on the value of the products, but on the cost of the value added in the Mexican plant, which is essentially the low wages of the Mexican-border workers.

While the total volume of operations of these U.S.-owned PRONAF plants is not yet great, it is expanding sharply. The number of these plants is mushrooming and their shipments are growing at a tremendous rate.

The loss of jobs to U.S. workers and gain of extra profits to U.S. companies are clear. In addition, it is doubtful that this arrangement results in long-run benefits to the Mexican economy.

President Johnson's appointment of a Commission to work with a similarly appointed Mexican Commission to develop economic and social improvements in the border region is a worthwhile step.

Meanwhile, however, the continued move of U.S. plants to the Mexican border area receives assistance from the U.S. Tariff Code and encouraging advice from government officials.

U.S. corporations continue to locate in the border area for private gain, with the aid of both governments, but without assurances of effective overall economic and social development for the border area.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to repeal Section 807 of the Tariff Code, which provides extra advantages to U.S.-owned PRONAF plants.

We urge the border commissions of both the U.S. and Mexico to give major consideration to the interests of workers and to formally consult with the organized labor movements of both countries.

We call on the government to establish a general policy in opposition to this type of unregulated low-wage operations and to refuse assistance and advice to the foreign-movement of plants that result in the loss of American jobs.

The AFL-CIO requests the U.S. government to provide publicly available information about companies locating in the PRONAF area.

Since U.S.-owned PRONAF plants are, in effect, operating within the U.S. economy, it is our conviction that U.S. labor standards should prevail in such plants.

Background on Runaway Plants to Mexican Border Area

The Mexican National Frontier Program—called PRONAF, the initials of the Spanish equivalent of the U.S. words—has been in existence since 1961. The stated purpose of the program is to develop the border area (a strip 12½ miles wide plus the state of Baja California on the Mexico side).

The Mexican government openly proposes the program to attract U.S. capital and technology in exchange for Mexican low-cost labor. The program provides freight rebates, sales tax refunds for companies locating in the border area which abide by certain rules—such as a minimum wage set by the Mexican government which is higher than in other Mexican areas, expansion of current Mexican production, use of Mexican labor exclusively except for professional and technical and some administrative personnel, and export of all the production.

The attraction to U.S. companies is extra profits from cheap labor. Sixteen hundred miles of border are affected, from Texas through New Mexico and Arizona to Southern California. Unemployment is high along the border, particularly in Mexico, though certainly in Texas also.

On the Mexican side of the border, wages are high by Mexican standards but considerably below U.S. wages. This is true even though wages in the Southwest are low by U.S. standards. The highest new minimum wage in Mexico for any region is $4 a day, for special skilled workers in Baja California Norte. Since the border program provides that wages in industries under the program must be 50 percent higher than the regional minimum wage, under the Mexican Border Program, the Baja California rate is $6 a day for special-skilled workers in firms producing for export. In the Mexican border area as a whole, the minimum wage for PRONAF companies ranges from $3.09 to $4.28 a day for non-skilled and $4.33 to $6.00 a day for special-skilled.

Under the PRONAF arrangement, semifinished products can be shipped duty-free from the U.S. plant to the U.S.-owned plant on the Mexican side of the border—no tariff payment—so long as the company is committed to export all of the production out of

Mexico. The plant on the Mexican side of the border processes the product—the labor-intensive part of producing the goods. These products are then shipped into the U.S., at a special very low tariff, so long as the basic character of the product has not been changed in the Mexican-border plant.

Under Section 807 of the U.S. tariff code, the tariff on such goods is not on the value of the products, but on the costs of the value added in the Mexican-border plant—essentially the very low wage cost of production in the plant in Mexico.

This procedure, therefore, involves plants in the Mexican border area and plants in the U.S., with the shipment of goods between them. Not all products can gain full advantage of both the Mexican and U.S. government regulations. But companies with products, that use a lot of unskilled and semi-skilled labor in the finishing processes, can possibly obtain considerable extra profits from the arrangement.

A new geographical area and a new procedure has therefore been added to the already serious problem of low-wage runaway plants that could affect many industries.

Very little information is available about the companies locating there—only what the Mexican government decides is issue. Electronics, apparel, wood and furniture seem to be the principal industries now affected by the program, without about 33 companies known to be located in the area and 60 more rumored to be locating there. There are reports that this arrangement is mushrooming.

The overall trade impact is not yet large. The U.S. has an overall favorable balance of trade with Mexico in every category except food, beverages and crude materials. The U.S. imported $705 million from Mexico in 1966 and exported $1.1 billion, for a favorable balance of trade of $426 million. U.S. exports to Mexico account for 64 percent of Mexican imports from all countries. Mexican tariffs are very high, except on machinery.

However, such items as telecommunications equipment which were previously of no importance as U.S. imports from Mexico amounted to $16,000 in 1965 and rose to $1.1 million in 1966 with higher levels in early 1967, for telecommunications equipment. Insulated wire and cable imports rose from $7,000 in 1965 to $2.5 million in 1966. Such sudden sharp rises could be extended to many other products.

Mexico is not a member of the GATT, but gains from any benefits granted to other nations under the most-favored-nation principle followed in U.S. trade policy.

Mexico has an agreement with the U.S. under the Long-Term Cotton Textile Arrangement. The U.S. can negotiate with Mexico any regulated amount of imports it chooses. This would be wise in some products. The Mexican trade policy is to allow U.S. goods in (under license), unless the Mexican economy is self-sufficient in the production of those items. Thus the long-run problem of trade with Mexico can become serious in many products.

The U.S. government has no official policy on the PRONAF arrangement. However, Section 807 of the tariff code encourages it and the government provides advice and assistance to U.S. firms locating on the Mexican side of the border.

The U.S. government has set up a U.S. Mexican Border Commission and there is a Mexican counterpart Commission. Organized labor is not represented on the Commission, but the Department of Labor is represented on it through Assistant Secretary Stanley Ruttenberg.

The Commission has recently asked for bids to do feasibility studies of bi-national industrial parks on both sides of the border.

The U.S. and Mexican border commissions will meet jointly in September 1967.

FISCAL MEASURES SEEN AS MOST DESIRABLE WAY TO FINANCE VIETNAM EFFORT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, there has been much gnashing of teeth and tearing of hair about the administration's proposal for a slight tax increase, commonly known as the "surcharge."

Like all other Members of the House, I have followed the developments with a great deal of interest and must admit that, initially, I was very hesitant in supporting this proposal. However, after much soul-searching and deliberation, I have concluded that my vote will depend upon the answer to a very simple question: Who should bear the burden of our effort to defend freedom in South Vietnam?

The options open to us are several, as demand threatens to outstrip the supply of goods and services which our economy is capable of producing. We could do nothing at all and merely let prices rise; or, we could leave it to the Federal Reserve System to tighten money and raise interest rates as happened in 1966; or, we can increase tax revenues and siphon off excessive purchasing power.

An economic analysis of these options is contained in a recent issue of the Emory magazine, published by Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., written by a young professor of economics, Dr. William O. Shropshire. The author concludes that the use of taxes to distribute the burden of our great endeavor in Southeast Asia "seems to be the best of the hard choices available."

Mr. Speaker, I commend this intelligent and sound analysis to all Members of the House and request unanimous consent that it be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

Members should be particularly concerned that leaving the problem to be handled by the Federal Reserve System to prevent inflationary pressures would have most undesirable results, particularly upon small businessmen, consumers generally, and the building industry most of all.

Dr. Shropshire's article follows:

[From the Emory magazine, July-August 1967]

THE WAR: WHO PAYS FOR IT?

(By William O. Shropshire)

It doesn't take a wrenching stretch of the imagination to agree that governmental spending for certain public services will improve the economic well-being of the nation. The administration of Justice and the provision of national defense are examples cited by Adam Smith. Less clear but valid for reasons given in the *Wealth of Nations* is the case for public expenditures on education. Because an individual of even a state cannot capture all of the returns from better education, there tends to be too little investment in education. For example, when confronted by the "brain-drain" problem, the State of Georgia may not push outlays on education far enough. If this is true of Georgia and other states, it may be necessary for the federal government to correct this misallocation of resources by providing aid to education.

These time-honored arguments for public spending are sensible enough, but economists have been known to build a case for government expenditure on quite different grounds. For the past 30 years, they have been confounding men of practical affairs by promoting the heresy that any spending, wise or foolish, is the key to economic well-being. To the head of a household trying to provide for his old age and the education of his offspring, or to the businessmen contemplating an addition to his productive capacity, such encouragements to profligacy from economists (who, of all people, should know better) are exasperating, if not downright subversive.

Having urged increased private and government spending while cavalierly disregarding increased public indebtedness, economists have been dismissed by businessmen as incompetents or castigated as deliberate purveyors of falsehood.

Actually, they are neither. The apparent nonsense spouted by economists arises from the context of mass unemployment and underutilization of resources—a situation characteristic of the 1930s and other such periods in the economic history of the United States. In such context, the notion of competing uses of scarce resources, dear to the hearts of businessmen and economists alike, is rendered irrelevant.

To an individual choosing between alternatives, scarcity is an ever-present fact: more current consumption means less accumulation of wealth for future needs. To a father with two sons, sending one to an expensive private school rather than to the state university may mean that the other might not have the opportunity to go to college at all. From the point of the economy as a whole, however, the existence of unemployed resources implies that society does not have to make such difficult choices between competing uses of resources. It also implies that it is possible to have simultaneously more current consumption and greater accumulation of wealth.

THE PLACE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE ECONOMY

Some of the misunderstanding of what economists are saying stems from confusion about the place of government in the economy. Despite some similarities, the government is not a business that must make profit or, at least, break even. On the contrary, the task of the federal government is to spend more than its income (either through increased outlays or reduced taxes) during periods of unemployment. Under such circumstances, any deficit spending will increase the income of those selling goods and services to the government and, through the mysterious "multiplier" process described below, lead to greater output and employment. Part of this increased output may be for more buildings and machinery if businesses add to their productive capacity to meet rising consumer demand. Thus, even foolish spending can have happy results at a time of unemployment.

The difference of opinion between men of practical affairs and economists arises from the attempt to apply the tenets of prudent individual behavior to problems of public household management. Having limited resources—invariably the situation with individuals—imposes the necessity of making choices between the present and the future and between one or another kind of current consumption. But this necessity does not confront the economy as a whole so long as capacity is underutilized.

But what happens when resources are fully used? This is the situation when full employment is reached. When this goal is attained, the law of scarcity again holds sway and the principles of public and private household management are brought into accord.

Today, with full employment having been reached in 1966, the nation finds itself in the position of the harried breadwinner trying to make ends meet; it must choose between competing uses of resources. Similarly, it is time for the economist to resume his traditional role: that of preaching scarcity and outlining the costs and benefits of various alternatives.

At the present juncture, the choice is a singularly unhappy one. Instead of the usual task of choosing between refrigerators, schools and homes, the nation must resolve the problem of distributing the deadweight loss of the war in Viet Nam among its citizens. The costs of the war are expected to rise about $6 billion in the next year; in our full-employment context, there is no budgetary magic that can avoid the uncomfortable fact that someone's plowshare must be beaten into a sword. The only question is whether the cost will be borne primarily in the present or in the future, by the rich or the poor, by the young or the old.

The answer to this question hinges in part upon Congressional action on the President's 1968 budget, in part upon decisions made by the Federal Reserve System, and in part on uncontrollable factors. Those determinants of the eventual burden of the war that are most directly subject to political action are the expenditure and taxation proposals contained in the budget submitted to Congress by the President in January, 1967. The budget calls for a $16 billion increase in federal government expenditures, $14 billion of which is accounted for by national defense ($6 billion) and what the President terms Great Society programs ($8 billion). It appears, therefore, that President Johnson does not intend to pay for the war by reducing benefits to recipients of Great Society programs. It does not seem, moreover, that federal aid to higher education will be reduced.

If increased national defense costs are not to be offset by reduction elsewhere can the resources necessary for the war effort be obtained?

Fortunately, during the same year in which federal expenditures will increase by $16 billion, potential output of the nation is expected to increase by about $30 billion. These increases will be realized by increases in the labor force, additions to the stock of productive equipment, and improvements in technology. This means that the private sector can still enjoy a $14 billion increase in goods and services while national defense and other expenditures increase by the planned $16 billion. Thus, the cost borne by the private sector will be in terms of foregone increases in well-being, rather than in terms of absolute reductions. (This prodigious capacity of the United States to wage war without suffering a decline in living standards is doubtless a source of some edginess among other nations.)

MEETING MATERIAL REQUIREMENTS OF WAR

Even though the material requirements of the war can be met with those new resources becoming available within the next year, the problem of sharing the burden of the war remains. Depending on how the new resources are obtained by the government, the costs (in terms of foregone increases in real income) will be distributed more or less equally among all citizens.

If the projected $30 billion increase in available resources is realized, and assuming that the $6 billion increase in defense costs is not reduced, a balance must be maintained between the $10 billion increase in other federal programs (including those aiding the Great Society), the expected increase in private demands and the available supply of resources. In other words, the government must see to it that the private sector does not use up more than $14 billion of the new resources if it expects to keep the $10 billion increase in government programs.

Leaving aside such non-market factors as legal restraints on buying, private demands on resources can be held to this level by one of three means—increased taxes, increased interest rates and increased prices. Which means is adopted will depend on the actions of the Federal Reserve and Congress.

Right here is where we get down to some of the economics of resource allocation. We've seen that the total amount of resources is expected to rise by about $30 billion during the next year. How will the increase be utilized? Assuming the Congress approves the increase in the national budget, $16 billion is taken care of right away. But those selling goods and services to the government and those receiving Social Security benefits will increase their consumption. This higher consumption will mean higher incomes for those who sell to non-government consumers. This will, in turn, increase their consumption. Through such successive respending, total consumer demand will rise about $10 billion—all because the government spent $16 billion. (This guess is based upon an econometric model compiled at the University of Michigan in 1962 and may be off the mark by a billion or so.)

Let's go to another step. So far, we've used up $26 billion of our expected increase in resources—all without any increase in spending by business and state and local governments. But these sectors will probably increase spending as well. Since expenditures by businesses and state and local governments have the same "multiplier" effect that was described above in the case of federal spending, a $2-$3 billion increase here would fully exhaust all available resources.

Economic forecasting is an uncertain business. People earn tidy salaries (and quite a few grey hairs) making such predictions, but since business and state and local government spending rose $17 billion in 1966 it is probably a safe bet that their expenditures will indeed increase by $2-$3 billion. This means that the planned increases in purchases of goods and services will exceed the total increase of $30 billion that can be generated at full employment.

This, obviously, does not come out even. What's to be done? One method of holding private demand in check is to raise taxes. With higher tax rates, the increase of household income realized by the $16 billion increase in federal spending will be reduced and consumer demand will be reduced. The tax increase has to be just right: too little and the job is not done; too much and the economy will not realize its full potential.

In that his budget provides for a six percent surcharge on personal income and corporate profit taxes, this method seems to be favored by the President.

BEARING THE COST

This begins to answer some of the questions we asked earlier about who is to bear the cost of the war. If Congress approves the tax revision, the cost will be borne in part by taxpaying households that will have a smaller capacity to expand their consumer demand. Businesses, faced with higher taxes, may decide not to reduce dividends to stockholders and instead revise downward some of the expenditures they expected to finance out of retained earnings. If this results in a decline in the rate of accumulation of productive equipment, part of the costs will be borne by future generations. Productive capacity will be smaller in years to come. Therefore, even though current resources are sacrificed, it is future rather than present consumption that must be foregone.

If Congress fails to approve the tax increase, there is still another method by which demand can be curtailed. Part of the anticipated demand will come from state and local governments and from businesses—all seeking to spend more than their income by borrowing. The Federal Reserve can insure that no new money is created by the commercial banking system, and force borrowers to bid against each other for the existing supply of money. This of course means that interest rates rise, discouraging at least a part of the expenditures plans. In this way, resources that would have been used to build schools, highways, factories, and residences can be appropriated for the war effort and for federal civilian projects.

WHAT IS FEASIBLE?

This method has distinct disadvantages. Slowing total demand with an increase in interest rates would shift a large part of the cost of the war to future generations—a larger part than an increase in taxes would. Since a major portion of debt-financed expenditures are for durable structures, interest increases would mean that the future would inherit a smaller stock of capital.

It is somewhat doubtful that the Federal Reserve would have the resolve necessary to allow interest rates to increase to the point of balancing demand and productive capacity. The residential construction industry is only now recovering from the siege of rising interest rates in 1966, and a dose of the same medicine in 1967-68 probably would not be politically sound.

If neither higher taxes nor higher interest rates are feasible, then the only alternative is a rise in prices. Rising prices reduce the purchasing power of checking deposits, bonds, and savings and loan shares, and holders of these assets, feeling less wealthy, reduce their consumption. With the pressure of private demand relieved, federal spending plans can be realized.

The money income of some citizens rises with prices and that of others does not, so we know that price increases result in a redistribution of income. Exactly how income is redistributed, however, is less sure. Some who have fixed incomes are elderly rich people holding tax-free municipal bonds; others are poor old people on fixed pensions. Still others are young, both rich and poor, who earn wages that lag behind price increases. Where the burden of the war falls in this case is, therefore, unpredictable. This is the chief argument against relying on price increases to do the job.

Who bears the cost of the war? And how?

It depends on which alternatives we choose—tax increase, interest rate increase or price increase. It is generally agreed that the poorest alternative is a price increase. The proper or just distribution of the costs of war is at best a difficult problem, but it is too important to abandon to the vicissitudes of a price index. If some rational influence over the ultimate sharing of the burden of war is to be exerted, politically painful increases in either taxes or interest rates must be the method used.

Of these alternatives, an increase in tax rates would seem preferable on two counts. First, without new taxes it is doubtful, as indicated above, that the Federal Reserve would apply sufficient restraint to present excessive advances in aggregate demand. If not, prices will rise and we will have chosen this method of allocating resources to the war by default. Second, even if restrictive monetary policy did prevent price increases, it would do so by reducing the rate of accumulation of productive capacity. The capital stock passed on would be smaller, and as a result, potential output in the future would be smaller than otherwise. Part of the cost of war is thereby shifted to later generations. Although this ethical question is certainly subject to debate, the weight of public opinion seems to be against shifting burdens into the future. This opinion probably reflects the fact that decisions are likely to be more rational, if those who make them also have to bear the consequences. At best, therefore, reliance upon Federal Reserve restriction would yield results that are probably at variance with ethical opinion; at worst, it would mean accepting price increases. Thus, use of taxes to distribute the burden seems to be the best of the hard choices available.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO CORRECTS ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION ABOUT PROPOSED STUDY TO HELP SMALL BUSINESSMEN IN AMERICA

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Thursday's Washington Daily News carried an article by Don Maclean concerning legislation that I introduced to provide $300,000 for a study by the Small Business Administration of ways in which small business concerns may best protect themselves against robbery, burglary, shoplifting, vandalism, and other criminal acts.

I want to correct an erroneous impression. Prior to the Detroit and the Newark riots and all the other riots which have occurred in 12 cities across America, I introduced on February 16, 1967, legislation to authorize the Small Business Administration to conduct this study, not to help the victims of riots, but to help the small businessman who has been victimized by burglars and young punk hoodlums.

Representative William B. Widnall, ranking Republican member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and both the Republican and the Democratic members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, supported this bill. This bill was made a part of H.R. 10409. I appeared personally before the Rules Committee and the Rules Committee granted a rule with my bill intact.

It is a disgrace that in a country which is spending billions of dollars that we try to make political gain out of a measly $300,000 authorization. As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, which has jurisdiction over small business legislation, it is my intention to follow closely the development of this study by the Small Business Administration under the authorization given to it by the Congress so that the result will be a constructive program to help and to protect small businessmen.

The time has come when we must call on the best brains in our country, the best criminologists, the best sociologists, the best business leaders, so that the small businessman can be protected from punks and hoodlums who prey upon him. If the small businessmen are not protected, the inner core of our cities will begin to look like ghost towns. In many, many of our cities, stores are boarded up with plywood because small businessmen cannot compete with crime. The cities are losing revenue, the States are losing revenue, the Federal Government is losing revenue, because these small businessmen are closing their stores and going out of business.

Three hundred thousand dollars is a small amount and represents a capital investment in the future of America.

Chainstore operators and big businessmen are able to protect themselves against criminals. They take advantage of all the latest equipment, such as burglar alarms, closed-circuit television, and other similar devices. The small businessman cannot afford to utilize such devices and therefore does not have the means to protect himself.

H.R. 10409 became S. 1862 when the bill was passed by the House. The bill has now been approved by conference committee and on Wednesday of this week it will be back before the House for final approval.

I do not plan to offer a motion to recommit the bill to conference committee for I do not want to take any action that would delay this study in any manner. But I do hope that if the Small Business Administration finds that it needs additional funds to continue this study that Members of Congress will be sympathetic to SBA's request. These funds would not primarily be used to reimburse other Government agencies, as has been suggested on this floor. The funds would be used to obtain the best experts possible and for such must items as computer rental time.

I would like to inform those who feel that $300,000 is too great a sum to spend that the fate of the small businessman in America is at stake. There is no partisan politics involved in this issue. Three-hundred thousand dollars is an infinitesimal amount of money and it should not stop us.

I have received many, many letters from all parts of the country endorsing the proposal I have made and urging speedy congressional action so that the small businessman can receive the help he needs without further delay. I have selected several of these letters from Illinois, Texas, Florida, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., for insertion into the Congressional Record. The letters follow:

Convenient Food Mart, Inc.,
Chicago, Ill., March 9, 1967.

Congressman Frank Annunzio,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Congressman Annunzio: We are pleased to note your introduction of the House of Representatives Bill #5584 to authorize a special study by the Small Business Administration of ways and means that small business concerns may best protect themselves against robbery, burglary, shoplifting, vandalism, and other criminal acts, and that Congress further study the feasibility of the Federal Government working out a lower cost insurance to aid and assist small business in the protection of their means of livelihood.

As a spokesman, and the operating head of a group of independently owned small food stores, we, of course, are constantly plagued by this problem, and what you say in your bill is so true, and we so badly need the assistance of Congress that we, with pride, "applaud" your endeavors.

May we have the good fortune for the powers that be in Congress see the logic and the practical need for the introduction and the use of a bill of your type.

Many thanks for your sincere efforts.

Respectfully yours,
Bert Osney,
Executive Vice President.

Jiffy Foodstores, Inc.,
Wichita Falls, Tex., March 6, 1967.

Hon. Frank Annunzio,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Annunzio: Though you do not represent my particular district, it is my understanding that you have introduced Bill H. R. 5584, a bill to authorize the study by the SBA of ways in which small business concerns may best protect themselves against robbery, burglary, shoplifting, vandalism, and other criminal acts.

Representative Annunzio, I want to personally thank you for introducing this bill because it is one which is certainly needed. Ours is a convenience store, bantam type, food store chain operating in North Texas and Southern Oklahoma and having 35 units—you may be assured that our chain, as well as approximately 200 other drive-in chains, representing approximately 7,000 stores throughout the United States have a similar problem.

Not only are we bothered with robbery or burglary, we certainly have the same problem involved with shoplifting, plus the added factor of employee theft—our firm has made an intensive study of this so that we might set up proper controls, but these have only served as stop gap measures.

I certainly pledge my support to this bill and again thank you for introducing it.

Sincerely yours,
Fred H. Lowder,
Executive Vice President.

South Shore Chamber of Commerce,
Chicago, Ill., March 24, 1967.

Hon. Frank Annunzio,
Longworth Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: At a general meeting of the South Shore Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday, March 22, 1967, a motion was made and carried by the membership to support the House Resolution #5584 unanimously.

The members are available to further support Hon. Annunzio in efforts to help the small businessmen.

Sincerely,
Donald J. Rollheiser,
President.

General/Boushelle Corp.,
Chicago, Ill., February 27, 1967.

Congressman Frank Annunzio,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I understand you have introduced legislation increasing protection for merchants in urban areas against loss by reason of theft and vandalism. I believe this legislation is urgently needed to help offset the growing problem.

In the last year, three of our store outlets have experienced losses due to break-ins. Our store located at 3537 S. State St. was broken into about one year ago. Cash loss was $1200.00, loss of customers' property was valued at $3000.00 and property damage amounted to $500.00. Our store at 2200 E. 71st St. was broken into two weeks ago, resulting in a cash loss of $75.00 and our cash register valued at $250.00 was stolen. The third store, located at 8159 Cottage Grove Ave. suffered only minor property damage last week when an attempt was made to gain entrance.

While our company's problems may seem minor, they, multiplied by the thousands of similar experiences suffered by other firms constitutes a major concern of the entire business community. We are solidly behind your efforts to legislate aid.

Yours truly,
Jack Schuster,
General Manager,
Services Division.

U-toTe'm of Virginia, Inc.,
Richmond, Va., April 17, 1967.
Representative Frank Annunzio,
Longworth Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Thank God, someone has finally started to do something about the robbery, burglary, vandalism, and shop lifting of small businesses. I refer to your Bill H.R. 5584.

We operate twelve small convenience stores on a seven day week from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M., such as the "7-11 Stores" in the Washington area with which I am sure you are aware.

We were held up four times in one weekend. We have actually lost some of our better men because they are afraid to stay in a store by themselves. We have had one woman knocked in the head with a crow bar. We've had another man pistol whipped right in his store while on duty. We have had two men knocked in the head as they locked their store at night. And not once has anyone been convicted, although several of the guilty have been arrested.

Even court appointed lawyers seem to be against us! They keep having the cases postponed until interest dies, or they find some loophole where the authorities have violated their clients rights. It is incredibly absurd and frustrating.

Thank you for what you are trying to do.

Sincerely,
Harry H. Brown, Jr.

Bryn Mawr Jeweler,
Chicago, Ill., February 28, 1967.
Hon. Frank Annunzio,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Hon. Sir: We like to let you know about the trouble we have on 71st street, since last year.

Our window was broken last November during the night. We have for many years A. D. T. alarm.

When we had to renew our insurance, we had to put an Ultra sonic alarm in also in order to keep our insurance. Installment alone was $950. Our monthly dues are now instead of $42.50, $59.50. Our material loss was minimal $55.

During the storm January 26 to January 27 in the morning at 4 o'clock our window was broken again and this time they had plenty of time, as it was hard to get here for police. Beside the breakage of the glass they took merchandise of $183. Now we had to install gates. The cost of these was $198.

For a small neighborhood store, this is quite a big overhead, besides we have to be continuous two people in the store now to feel safe and to be certain if anything happens to be reimbursed by our insurance. We also had to install a police callbox for the daytime.

For anything you can do in the way of laws, we shall be grateful.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. M. Blumenthal.

Jackson's Minit Markets,
Jacksonville, Fla., March 6, 1967.
Hon. Frank Annunzio,
Congressman, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Annunzio: I want to congratulate you on the Bill that you introduced in the Congress, Bill Number H.R. 5584.

We operate a chain of small convenience stores where there is only one operator on duty at a time and we have had at least one or sometimes four and five robberies each night in the State of Florida alone in our stores.

The criminals are very rarely apprehended and they go and rob someone else the same night or the next night. We have had two of our store managers killed in the last three years. We have had four others shot and many beaten up by these bandits and it gets worse instead of better.

I certainly hope this Bill passes and they can get some action at once, because the small store operators certainly needs some protection. If there is anything that I can do to help, please let me know.

Best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely,
Julian E. Jackson.

National Association of NACS,
Washington, D.C., April 11, 1967.
Representative Frank Annunzio,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Annunzio: Please find the enclosed editorial from the Dallas Morning News dated Tuesday, March 21, 1967. We thought that you might wish to have this for your file concerning your proposed Bill H.R. 5584.

We also will be happy to assist you in any way possible in furthering this bill in Congress.

Respectfully yours,
Harry C. Hunter,
Executive Director.

Saper's Store for Men,
Chicago, Ill., February 20, 1967.
Representative Frank Annunzio,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Annunzio: We were very heartened to note in yesterday's Chicago Tribune that you have introduced legislation to offer relief to the violence-ridden small retailer.

The extent of this problem is truly alarming. We would like to offer the history of this firm as a case in point.

We are established in the South Shore area of Chicago for almost 50 years, and conduct a highly regarded, ethical business. Our gross annual payroll generated into the community is in excess of fifty thousand dollars and our taxes of all kinds paid last year in excess of thirty thousand dollars.

We have ninety feet of display windows on a busy thorofare which is reasonably well lit and heavily travelled by public and private transportation. In the last two years vandals have broken these windows no less than ten times, presumably from pure viciousness because very little if any merchandise has been taken. The total cost of these depredations exceeds fifteen hundred dollars, partially covered by insurance. We have invested an additional one thousand dollars in improved protection equipment (alarm, gates, etc.). Our plate glass insurance has been cancelled once. We have secured additional coverage, but fear that one additional loss will result in permanent loss of protection.

Police cooperation has been fairly good after each loss, but much pleading has resulted in no increase in patrol force.

So you can see why we are heartily in favor of your bill. We are writing today to commend it to the attention of our representative, Mr. B. O'Hara, and to our two senators. Please advise if we can do more.

C. M. Saper.

Connors Book and Card Store,
Chicago, Ill., February 25, 1967.

Dear Mr. Frank Annunzio: On January 28, 1967 at approximately 1:00 a.m. our store was vandalized as were many others recently.

Our large plate glass window was broken and many of our goods were stolen or destroyed. Also a number of my personal belongings were taken.

As owner of this shop, and as a resident of this area I urge you to take any steps within your power to help us alleviate these problems and prevent future ones. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Lloyd Kraus.

Menswear Retailers of America,
Washington, D.C., February 27, 1967.
Hon. Frank Annunzio,
Longworth Office Building, Washington, D.C.

My Dear Congressman Annunzio: Our very good member, Mr. Alvin M. Saper, of Chicago, Illinois, who is a constituent of yours, has written us about the tremendously difficult problem of lawlessness that has resulted in severe losses by many men's wear merchants.

We are most anxious to confer with you and your associates on this problem to see where we, as the National Trade Association representing 3,300 independent men's wear merchants, may be of constructive assistance. My associate, Mr. Don DeBolt, or myself will be calling you next week in the hope of setting up a mutually convenient time so that we may become better acquainted with your efforts.

Very cordially,
Louis Rothschild,
Executive Director.

P.S.

MRA has also conferred with Congressman Annunzio (d. Ill.) who has introduced legislation in the House of Representatives which would establish a Small Business Administration study of one year's duration which would attempt to recommend ways smaller business firms can protect themselves against loss. This legislation also proposes Federal insurance as a possible answer.

P.S.

MRA members can help by urging hearings on the Annunzio Bill (H.R. 5584) by writing Representative Wright Patman who is Chairman of the House Banking Committee. Send a carbon of your letter to MRA.

Shore Furs,
Chicago, Ill., February 28, 1967.
Hon. Frank Annunzio,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Congressman Annunzio: The purpose of this letter is to cite another example of why the 71st Street Merchants need more police protection.

On Sunday, January 29, at 3:00 A.M. my window was broken and a lighted match was thrown in which started a fire on a carpet. Fortunately a man passed by shortly after and threw snow on the fire and put it out. I had to be in the store 19 hours until I could get someone to board up the window. Total cost was in excess of $275.00.

Anything you can do to help this situation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,
Jack Kolinsky.

Meadowmoor Dairy,
Chicago, Ill., March 14, 1967.
Congressman Frank Annunzio,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Congressman Annunzio: We are pleased to note the contents of House Bill #5584, introduced by you, and we at Meadowmoor Dairy and Scot Lad Foods feel that such a Bill is greatly needed.

Many thanks for your sincere efforts in helping not only the good people of our district, but the people of our entire country.

Frank, hope to see you soon, regards from all.

Sincerely,
Athony J. Conti.

Mr. Speaker, I want to assure these people, and these organizations, which have written to me, that as long as I am a member of the House Banking and

Currency Committee, I will fight regardless of how long it may take, so that they may be given adequate protection against criminals who are driving them out of business.

I admire the dedication and devotion which my distinguished colleague from Iowa [Mr. Gross] has for his congressional duties, and I likewise deeply admire and respect the dedication and devotion which my distinguished colleague from Missouri [Mr. Hall] has for his congressional duties. They have both been watchdogs of the Treasury and I hope when they read this Record they will join me in helping to fight lawlessness on the streets of our cities and in helping to save small businessmen across the Nation.

HOW COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM WORKS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing recently in the Beaver County Times does a very creditable job of explaining the operations and the importance of the community action program in Beaver County. The Community Action Committee for Beaver County is making real progress against poverty despite very substantial obstacles—such as the shortage of Federal funds for vitally needed projects—and I think the Times article, which was written by Nadine Holovach, merits the attention of my distinguished colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, with permission I therefore insert the article at this point in the Record:

[From the Beaver County (Pa.) Times,
Sept. 13, 1967]

How Community Action Program Works

(By Nadine Holovach)

Those who live in Beaver County's poverty regions are surrounded by unemployment or poor housing or need for medical attention or social service. Often they need all of these.

Efforts to mobilize the people and agencies who can help the poor, and to stir the underprivileged to help themselves are being made through the Beaver County community action program.

Neighborhood centers were opened around June 1 in communities where there is greatest concentration of low-income and social distress—Aliquippa, Ambridge, Beaver Falls and Midland.

Run by local committees of the poor's representatives of the community at large, the centers are delegates of the Community Action Committee for Beaver County (CACBC). The CACBC is the central agency for programs under the anti-poverty program.

The centers are staffed by people picked from the low income group of the target communities. Center workers are non-professionals trained in community action by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) specialists.

Long-range efforts of the community action program are to win over the target communities to gain a greater concern for the often-voiceless poor. Day-to-day goals are helping people who come to the centers with problems that seem insoluble. Neighborhood aids and managers usually refer the inquirer to agencies within the county.

But the fact that the center workers are there to guide the people with problems is significant; it's the first step toward getting the problems solved.

The four centers handled a total of 249 formal referrals in their first three-month period.

Their referrals sent people to such places as Bureau of Employment Security, Housing Authority of Beaver County and Department of Public Assistance—the big three; in addition, the Mental Hygiene Clinic of Beaver County, Lintz Sheltered Workshop, Salvation Army, Domestic Relations and Community College of Beaver County, to the maker of artificial limbs, family counseling agencies, unions and doctors.

The Ambridge center has sent 27 who need jobs to the Bureau of Employment Security, and 20 others to the housing authority.

"This doesn't represent a lot of the referrals, there are ones we don't write up," explained Mrs. Carol Fecik, the Ambridge manager. "We get them, for example, when we walk down the street, and they see us, and say 'My grandmother is blind . . .' or I'm talking with my friends, and they bring up a problem, and we tell them who can help—just like that."

"They just walk in off the street, and there's your problem—like yesterday. We had a family come in here—a baby, about five months, a child about three, and the parents. They came here, from I don't know where, and had no place to stay. The hotel where they were staying evicted them, and they were walking around town with about $15 in the wallet . . . I located night lodging at another hotel for free rent, and called the Bureau of Employment Security, so the man is supposed to come up today. What are you going to do? These things just happen."

Mrs. Feci, a slight young blonde, becomes indignant when she talks about her major concern—housing problems.

With public housing facilities usually filled, and considerable rundown privately-owned dwellings in the borough, the Ambridge Action Committee has formed three sub-committees to deal with the housing problems. But no solution is likely soon. She and her committee hope that rent withholding, a recourse for tenants in bad housing in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, can be brought to Beaver County.

"It's shocking, what they have to live in!" the center manager explained. "They live in places with no toilets, bad lighting, you name it."

"There are our people! In our community! and we don't like to see these things happen to them everyday. We can't do anything for them—we try to relocate them, but they have too many kids, or the rent is too high, and they're stuck there. We get upset because we want to cure the problem overnight, and we can't. Our biggest problem? Yes, it's housing.

"Oh, some don't want to change, some don't realize there's anything better. We try to educate them, tell them they can get something better."

The Ambridge housing problem will be somewhat relieved by the pending construction of 75 apartments for the elderly by the Housing Authority, and Borough Council is showing more aggressiveness in tackling the concern.

The neighborhood committee in Ambridge has other plans for community action. It is working with Schools Superintendent Paul Vochko on a pre-school program, making arrangements for two county agencies to have workers visit the center weekly, and planning a remedial reading program in cooperation with the public library.

Midland Area Committee has solved one neighborhood problem. It succeeded in having school buses stop in Midcrest Homes to pick up school children. Until now, children had to walk a considerable distance on unpaved sidewalks, through miserable weather to the stop because school bus drivers had difficulty making safe turns in the project. A parents' council met with school officials to work out a satisfactory arrangement to get the buses in Midcrest Homes.

The center is working to get a self-operating day care center for mothers who work, and a supervised playground in the public housing area. Center activities range from maintaining a library of books loaned from the public library, to needlework classes, to spaghetti dinners for funds, to Bell Telephone Co. movies with instructions in using the telephone properly.

Aliquippa's Friendly House has representatives assigned to community organizations working for interfaith and inter-racial relatons. The neighborhood center staff was instrumental in getting a playground located in the Plan 11 extension area, and in organizing a Linmar housing project neighborhood council.

The council has won its resident's fight, for a recreation area has been promised.

Other efforts include help in forming a Boys Club, a Linmar Senior Citizens group, recruitment for the Neighborhood Youth Corps or Job Corps. The center played a key role in formation of a recreation board which has representatives of the whole community's power structure.

Aliquippa's deficit in recreational facilities was pinpointed during a survey of the poverty neighborhoods: 623 families listed recreation as the second greatest need of the community.

Mrs. Hattie Jones manages the Midland Center; Mrs. Mary Blaney Nadzam, the Friendly House, and Mrs. Margaret Moss, the Beaver Falls United Action Center.

Mrs. Moss is moved by the reception and acceptance from both the people her group hopes to reach and the city power structure.

"People are beginning to accept us slowly," she said. "These are the people who are afraid to bother . . . they've had promises from agencies before, and there has been no follow through on their problems."

The United Actioneers convinced city council of the need for street improvements and better lighting in the Mt. Washington public housing project early this summer.

At a recent neighborhood meeting, residents of one 10th Avenue block uttered their third grievance about the need for stop signs, need for more lights and about storm water draining into their cellars. This time, however, the complaints were made during a meeting attended by the street commissioner and city engineers. The corrections were made within days, Mrs. Moss reported.

"We always invite the city officials to our meetings," she said.

She plans to introduce arts and crafts, cooking, health and hygiene for teen girls, budgeting and homemaking for women.

"We have a lot of public assistance recipients—some are making more than we are, but they don't know how to spend it," said Mrs. Moss.

With no federal funds available for formal programs, she has located qualified volunteers for most of these. She also is interested in a library and a nursery class for preschool children.

Getting people to use these resources and developing confidence in the center has meant work on the one-to-one basis. Her aides, Mrs. Julia Washington and Mrs. Freddie M. Singleton, have contacted over 1,200 people since the center opening June 4. Some of their work hasn't involved contacts for services: they lined up blood donors in the meetings, and urged those who hadn't, to register to vote.

"Anything that's community service, we get into, because community action is community action," said Mrs. Moss.

She is grateful for the reception given her committee and center by the non-poor of the community: Chamber of Commerce, City Council, School Board, civic clubs as the Kiwanis.

Her main grievance: "We need eight more hours and 20 more people: time for follow-through on problems we find (mostly requests for job information)."

Mrs. Moss, and probably her three counterparts, spends two or three hours working at home an evening, planning for the next day.

"I love it—but I need more time," she sighed.

Her center is located now in Mount Washington, but she sees a need for one in Morado Dwellings or in some non-public housing areas.

But up to 90 per cent of the money for running the centers and the whole community action program comes from OEO grants.

Whether this year's $104,000 program is renewed or expanded depends largely on the performance this first year.

"We're trying—oh, we're trying," one manager whispered determinedly.

COMPRESSED GAS CYLINDER SAFETY

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rooney] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to report to the House on a meeting I held recently with representatives of the new Department of Transportation. I am pleased to be able to report that I was most surprised and gratified to discover that this newest of executive branch agencies, headed by Alan S. Boyd, has managed to recruit bright and intelligent young men to direct its heavy program responsibility.

Normally when one thinks of the Department of Transportation, an image of highways, airplanes, trains, and ships comes to mind. However, the subject of my meeting with representatives of Secretary Boyd's Department did not directly bear on any of the specific modes of transportation. It had to do with my concern over the safety of our citizens who daily use and work with compressed gas cylinders, such as welding and medical oxygen, to name two examples.

The transport safety of these potentially dangerous items is now vested in the Department of Transportation by virtue of the transfer to the Department of certain safety functions formerly in the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Within the new Department, Secretary Boyd has established an Office of Hazardous Materials under the Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology. This position is currently held by Mr. James E. Densmore on an acting basis. Assistant Secretary Densmore is a 41-year-old engineer and scientist who is putting in his first stint as a public servant having left the Lear Siegler Co. in California last Apirl to assume his new responsibilities with the Department of Transportation.

I met with Mr. Densmore and members of his staff recently to inquire about U.S. regulations governing the movement and transportation of compressed gas cylinders in the United States.

These regulations require that safety tests be performed in the United States on all cylinders used in the United States.

I had heard that the Department of Transportation, at the urging of the Department of State and the International Standards Organization, was considering a relaxation of these regulations.

The safety of a large sector of America's traveling public would be endangered if we allowed inadequately tested and foreign cylinders to be used in this country. This, in my opinion, would be a mistake.

It seems that the International Standards Organization, a body of scientific representatives from the participating nations, has for sometime been advocating the establishment of new international standards. Each nation is attempting to mold the ISO specifications so that gas cylinders can be made in their country with their present facilities and so that the cylinders which they make will comply with these specifications. Since our gas industry is the largest and possibly the safest in the world, it would seem reasonable to assume that we have given considerable attention and care to the construction of cylinders in the past. Therefore, our system of inspection and regulation should not be compromised or amended without sufficient reason just to accommodate possible lesser construction standards of foreign manufacturers.

Mr. Densmore at the meeting indicated his complete knowledge and awareness of these considerations and assured me that before anything was done administratively within the Department of Transportation to alter the current regulatory procedures, his office would have to be satisfied that the high U.S. standard of safety inspection would be maintained. He also stated that these considerations are being thoroughly discussed with the affected industries and interested groups.

In summary, Mr. Densmore was able to allay my fears and ventilate the rumors that had been circulated that our Government was about to relax its safety surveillance techniques for cylinders. We now have the assurance that the Department of Transportation will thoroughly study the issues and problems in this situation before any governmental action is taken.

VIETNAM AND RHODESIA

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Rarick] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: TIMIDITY AND UNREALISM RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT TRAGIC PLIGHT

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, 1951, Senator Richard B. Russell, who acted as chairman of joint meetings of the Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations when General MacArthur testified, made the following statement when the testimony was completed:

> General MacArthur, I wish to state to you that the three days that you have been here with us are without parallel in my legislative experience.
>
> I have never seen a man subjected to such a barrage of questions in so many fields and on so many varied subjects.
>
> I marvel at your physical endurance. More than that, I have been profoundly impressed by the vastness of your patience and the thoroughness and the frankness with which you have answered all of the questions that have been propounded.

A reading of General MacArthur's 3 days of testimony will disclose that he realized the Communist threat as a global one, that he emphasized if a decisive victory over Red power was not won in Korea the struggle would not end, and that it would break out in other locations.

The program for meeting the threat as recommended by him was presented publicly in his immortal address on April 19, 1951, before a joint meeting of the Congress. This address was quoted by me in a statement to the House on June 14, 1967, in "Crisis in World Strategy: What Would MacArthur Do?"

Were General MacArthur here today, he would have the sterile satisfaction of seeing his worst fears come to pass. The war in Korea, as he foresaw, if not won with a decisive victory, has been extended to other strategic areas in what amounts to world war III.

In the Suez Canal-Red Sea area, the closure of that vital transportation route since the 1967 Israel-Arab war has placed Europe in the position it was in 1453 when the Turks captured Constantinople, again forcing European shipping to sail around the Cape of Good Hope.

As to southern Africa controlling the sea lanes between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, forces hostile to Western civilization have applied economic sanctions against Rhodesia and psychologic warfare against the Republic of South Africa.

In connection with the latter country, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has even gone so far in its propaganda for hostilities against South Africa as to formulate and publish a general staff type of war plan against that country—in which a faculty member of West Point was a contributor.

In Southeast Asia—in the struggle to protect that productive area and the strategic Malay barrier separating the Indian and Pacific Oceans—the United States is engaged in a bloody no-win war in South Vietnam. No end is in sight.

The growing casualty lists demand certain questions and answers. Why do we permit passage of Red shipping through waters controlled by our fleet to North Vietnam ports, with massive tonnages of heavy munitions used to slaughter our troops in South Vietnam? Why does our Government cater to the

Kremlin masters when the latter recently announced their intent to support North Vietnam with $1,000,000,000 worth of additional weaponry—to be used solely against all the forces fighting for South Vietnam's freedom?

Why do we not blockade North Vietnam and close its ports by mining? Is it because of the obsessive fear on the part of our leaders of the U.S.S.R.? This fear is as unjustifiable as it is disastrous to our Nation. It is beneficial to the Soviets and nations supposedly friendly to the United States as these outlaws provide the shipping for trade with the common enemy.

In response to the timid suggestion by our Government that we cannot fight a war to win because of fear that such action would escalate the war, the answer is that the war is already escalated as evidenced by the fact that the Soviet is supplying practically all the munitions now being used by North Vietnam.

At Panama, through a pusillanimous policy of surrender of our rights, power, and authority over the Canal Zone territory—acquired constitutionally under law and treaty—elements in our Government have played into the hands of world revolutionary power and endangered U.S. ownership and control of the strategic Panama Canal, thereby jeopardizing the security of the entire Western Hemisphere.

The current situation in the Near East with the Suez Canal closed by anti-Western forces and the resultant enormous losses thereby sustained in Europe is well known.

The crisis at Panama, largely ignored by the mass news media, has been covered brilliantly in the addresses in the House by Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, on "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions"—House Document No. 474, 89th Congress—and in the Senate by Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, in a series of notable and scholarly statements; also by other Members of the House.

To the distant fronts already mentioned, there is now another one—the home front—in which the cities of our country are being destroyed in what is organized revolutionary warfare, aided and abetted by alien and communistic forces and timed for maximum effect in weakening the limited status at a period of grave crisis.

A recent paper by Eric D. Butler, of Australia, on Vietnam and Rhodesia in the Canadian Intelligence Service shows the importance of the Southeast Asian and Southern African fronts in meeting the Red global threat, and is commended for study by all concerned with the formulation of plans and policy.

Mr. Speaker, in addition I would urge that all patriotic Americans read and ponder the testimony of General MacArthur of May 3–5, 1951, on the conduct of the Korean war before joint hearings of the Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations, which has recently been reprinted in one volume by the Hour Glass Publishers, Post Office Box 443, River Station, Paterson, N.J. 97524. The statements made by General MacArthur in that testimony apply with even greater force today than when given.

The indicated article by Eric D. Butler follows:

[From the Canadian Intelligence Service, June 1967]

VIETNAM AND RHODESIA: "FREE WORLD'S FRONTLINES AGAINST COMMUNISM'S GLOBAL STRATEGY"

(By Eric D. Butler)

(NOTE.—During his 1967 visit to North America, Mr. Eric D. Butler, the Australian authority on International Communism, gave a large number of addresses to American and Canadian audiences, showing the real significance of Vietnam and Rhodesia against the background of Communism's global strategy for world conquest.

(With the aid of a world map, Mr. Butler vividly demonstrated that Vietnam and Rhodesia are but different parts of the one international battle line, and that their future may well determine the future of the whole world. Mr. Butler's presentation made such a dramatic impact on his audiences that there have been many requests that his lecture be made available in printed form. The following condensed notes contain the major portions of his address.)

No intelligent or realistic discussion of the Vietnam and Rhodesia issues is possible without reference to International Communism's global strategy for world conquest. Vietnam and Rhodesia are not separate and disconnected problems, but are merely different aspects of the same basic problem.

Vietnam is in South-East Asia while Rhodesia is in Central Southern Africa. But as the Communist strategists have openly said, Asia and Africa are both major targets for their revolutionary war. To the Communist global strategists, the world is like a giant chess-board upon which every move made is carefully co-ordinated to advance towards their ultimate objective. And, like a chess player, the Red strategists are prepared to sacrifice their pawns or other pieces from time to time, so long as this will assist them to make an overall advance.

The roots of the Vietnamese and Rhodesian crises go back deep into the history of our times. That history must be understood if we are to understand these crises. Those who neglect a study of history may have no future.

It is impossible to discuss Vietnam realistically without showing that it stemmed from the failure to defeat the Communists in Korea, that Korea in turn stemmed from the Communist conquest of China, and that the conquest of China was accomplished by the Communist as part of a well-defined global strategy.

It is impossible to understand why the Rhodesians made their historic decision in favour of complete independence on November 11, 1965, without reference to the appalling results of the European retreat in Africa, which started in earnest following the Suez disaster of 1956, with the subsequent establishment of Nasser as an instrument of Soviet revolutionary policy in the Middle East and Northern Africa. It is only when Communist strategy and tactics for Africa are understood, that it is clear why it is solemnly proclaimed that just over 200,000 Europeans, upholding a rule of law which protects both European and African, constitute such a "threat to world peace" that the United Nations took the unprecedented step in December, 1966, of calling for international economic war against Rhodesia.

This economic war is failing to defeat the Rhodesians, with the result that only an enlightened and effective public opinion in the non-Communist nations can now halt the cry for another UN "peace" operation similar to the one which smashed anti-Communist and stable Katanga in the Congo. There could be another Vietnam—in Southern Africa!

Nothing so graphically demonstrates the desperate plight of the world as the spectacle of some of the non-Communist nations fighting a limited military war against Communist aggression in Vietnam, while these and other nations seek to build what are termed "bridges of understanding" to the Communist nations by liberal credit terms for increasing exports to these Red nations. At the same time, the non-Communist nations join with the Communists in an economic war against Rhodesia, which offers no external threat to anyone!

The Free World's policy of providing economic aid to those pledged to destroy it, while at the same time joining with the Communists in economic war on a Free World ally, is not merely a manifestation of double standards; it is a frightening example of how the Free World is losing a war, the nature of which it does not understand. And understanding is only possible with some grasp of the background of the present world situation, and how it has been produced.

RETREAT OF THE FREE WORLD

The present critical plight of the world can be assessed by a brief examination of what has happened in the 22 years since the end of World War II. As this war came to an end, both in Europe and the Pacific, the nations of the British Commonwealth together with the USA had created the greatest military force in the history of man. The English-speaking nations possessed vast mechanized armies; their navies swept the seas of the whole world completely dominant; while their great air armadas darkened the skies. This tremendous military force was based upon an industrial base far greater than that of the rest of the nations of the world put together. And on top of all this, the English-speaking nations at that time had a complete monopoly of the new dreaded military weapon, the atomic bomb. In 1945 the English-speaking nations were in the position to win the peace, to dictate to the whole world. No nation, not even the Soviet Union which was still obtaining economic aid from the English-speaking nations, or combination of nations, could have obstructed any policy decided upon by the English-speaking nations at that time.

In 1945 the English-speaking nations had both the economic and military strength to insist upon policies which would have enabled the peoples of the world to work out their own destinies without infringing on the legitimate rights of others. The world could have entered a new era under the guidance and protection of those nations which, with all their faults, had upheld and developed all that was best in Western Civilization. But while these nations had the military and economic strength to win the peace, they lacked the political cohesion, strength and will to achieve this objective.

Superior military and economic strength is of little avail if there is not sufficient political strength to use it to that maximum. This is a fundamental truth which must be grasped in studying Vietnam. Because they lacked the political will and understanding in 1945 and the years which followed, the English-speaking nations progressively retreated in the face of the expansion of a new type of Empire: that of International Communism.

Before the final phase of the war against Hitler's Germany, the Communist Government of Russia still only held the same territory it controlled before the Second World War started. But five years later, in 1950, Communist control of the whole of Eastern Europe from the Baltic States in the North to the Balkans in the South had been consolidated.

In 1948 Czecho-Slovakia surrendered to Communism without even firing a shot.

The Communist expansion in Asia started almost before the smoke had cleared from the atomic bombs dropped on Japan. The islands north of Japan went under the Red tide, also Outer Mongolia, Manchuria and North Korea. 1949 saw a major shift in the balance of world power as China, with the biggest population in the world, went under Communism. And in 1954 half of Vietnam was under the Red regime of Ho Chi Minh.

December, 1958, saw the Communist conspiracy establish its first firm geographical base in the Western Hemisphere with the Castro victory in Cuba, only 90 miles from the shores of the USA.

The most recent acquisition by the Communist Empire is the most important strategic State of Kerala in South-West India, which passed to Communist control during the last Indian Congressional election.

One thousand million people, approximately one-third of the total population of the world, are now captives of the Communist Empire. This mass enslavement is without parallel in the recorded history of man, particularly as the enslavement has been accomplished by a new concept of war in which military force is now but part of a complex of tactics which include propaganda, subversion, perversion, infiltration, brainwashing, trade, "cultural" exchanges, and many others. It is no longer possible to talk about the fronts of a war in the old traditional sense. In this type of war, the front is everywhere and transcends geographical boundaries. It exists *inside* every community. Those who understand the nature of this war can see it in the schools, the universities, the churches, the news media, and political organizations.

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SATELLITES

While the conquest of one thousand million people—most of them in the short space of 22 years—is a staggering achievement, it is only *part* of the total global situation. There are many countries which, while they do not have Communist governments, are little better than economic and military satellites of the Communist Empire.

For example, Nasser's Egypt, astride the Suez Canal, and of vital strategic importance in relationship to developments in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, and on the African Continent, provides the Soviet Union with its most developed military base outside the Communist bloc. To protect this base, the Soviet has now established an air-defense system comparable to the one operating in North Vietnam. Egypt's closest ally, Syria, is also dominated militarily and economically by the Soviet, and has agreed to allow the Soviet Union to install a submarine base.

Next door to Syria, Iraq is also becoming increasingly tied militarily and economically to the Soviet Union. Even Iran has deserted the West in order to obtain its military supplies from the Soviet.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, in Algeria, there has been a progressive increase in the flow of Soviet military equipment, some of it never previously seen outside the Soviet bloc. Soviet pressure and influence are growing in all parts of the Middle East. The Soviet backs Nasser in Yemen as it waits for the withdrawal of the British naval base at Aden.

To the south of the entrance to the Red Sea, the Soviet is arming and training a growing force of Somalis. Soviet "fishing" fleets provide a cover for feverish Communist activities which are clearly designed to make the Red Sea really red.

Off the East Coast of Africa, the Island of Zanzibar is a Red Chinese base—the Cuba of Africa—from which, through Tanzania, the Red Chinese thrust into Africa is gaining momentum. And Guinea has become a Red Chinese base on the West Coast of Africa.

In the Far East, only a miracle saved the rich prize of Indonesia, with its population of 105 million, from passing completely into the Communist Empire in October, 1965. But Red influence is still great in Indonesia, while the Soviet Union skillfully moves to replace the influence of Red China.

THE SITUATION TODAY

If Red is used on a map to show those areas and populations of the world under direct Communist control, and those areas and populations which are virtual Communist satellites through large-scale military and economic links, or are neutral, as in the case of Socialist India which draws economic and military support from both the Communist and non-Communist nations, are shaded, it can be seen that only about one-third of the total population of the world lives in what might be described as the non-Communist world.

But even inside the non-Communist world, Communism has established footholds, not so much in terms of large numbers but in terms of influence, which is important because it is part of an international movement whose tactics are co-ordinated to a general strategy. However, in countries like France and Italy there are powerful open Communist movements.

By the skillful use of trade, as in the case of large wheat exports from Canada and Australia to Red China, and growing exports from the USA and Western European nations to the Soviet Union, the Communists are exerting subtle pressures to advance political objectives, one of which is to erode the will in non-Communist nations to take a strong stand against Communist strategy.

And it cannot be denied that inside the non-Communist nations a comparatively small number of dedicated Communists have been able to encourage a large amount of confusion through propaganda and psychological warfare.

The total picture of the world today is one which shows that compared with the position in 1945, the balance of global power has progressively tipped against the non-Communist world, particularly the backbone of that world, the English-speaking nations in which are included Rhodesia and South Africa. In the short time that it takes a babe to grow to young manhood, the English-speaking nations have retreated from their moment of invincible strength to the point where they are on the defensive everywhere and on the offensive nowhere.

The fact that the general climate of opinion in the non-Communist world opposes any suggestion of an *offensive*, even if only diplomatic, against the steady pressure of International Communism, is striking evidence of the deadly effect of *psychological* warfare. And perhaps the most destructive weapon in this type of warfare has been the promotion of "peaceful co-existence." A large number of authoritative statements could be quoted to show that from the time of the first great Communist strategist, Lenin, until the present day, "peaceful co-existence" has always been regarded by the Communists as an instrument of war, but the following extract from an address by Khrushchev in 1963 puts the matter particularly clearly:

"The essence of the policy of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems lies precisely in *compelling* the big Western powers to renounce war as an instrument of their policy and to adhere to peaceful, not military, methods of settling international problems *through the superiority of the peace-loving nations over the forces of militarism and aggression*." (Message to the 9th International Conference in Hiroshima for the Banning of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons, August 19, 1963. Emphasis added.)

It is important to note that Khrushchev stressed that "peaceful co-existence" "compels" the non-Communist nations to submit to the policies of the "superior" forces of the Communists. He states what every Communist knows: that they are engaged in purely political war, and that any agreements they make are not to maintain the *status quo* between Communists and non-Communists, but to enable them to further their general advance.

CHANCE OR CONSPIRACY?

How has the present critical plight of the world come about? The future of the peoples of the non-Communist world depends upon how they answer this basic question. There are only two answers: Either the dramatic advance of International Communism is the result of developments over which individuals can exert little or no control, or there is an international conspiracy directed by conspirators.

The first view is expressed by the statement that the present plight of the world has "just happened," or that it is the result of bad luck or "inevitable trends." This general view results in a feeling that the *individual* can do nothing to halt what has been taking place. And it is akin to the Communist teaching concerning what is termed *historical materialism:* that the tremendous Communist advance has been the result of the "will of history" pushing a dying Civilization aside for the emergence of a new and more *advanced* type of Socialist Civilization.

If the advance of International Communism is the result of "inevitable trends" and the "will of history," then clearly the plight of the non-Communist world is hopeless. The *individual* can do nothing—except, of course, co-operate with the inevitable! And a continuation of the same type of "inevitable trends" which have been taking place over the past 22 years must result in the surrender of what remains of the non-Communist world within the comparatively near future. It is certain that the non-Communist world cannot survive an expansion of International Communism over the next 22 years at the rate of expansion of the past 22 years.

But is the situation hopeless? Only if the general inevitable theory is correct. Fortunately, it is not correct.

The present plight of the world has not "just happened"; it has been *made* to happen. The world has been convulsed by a conspiracy which makes many people shudder when they have it presented for the first time. But this explanation of the situation is the only one which makes common sense and offers any hope. If it is the result of conscious conspiracy, then the promoters of the conspiracy can be exposed and their various policies opposed. The individual is not helpless. But before he can act realistically, and help his fellows to do likewise, he must understand at least the broad outline of the global strategy which the conspirators have been relentlessly pursuing ever since they established their first geographical base in Russia in 1917.

THE LENIN ROAD THROUGH ASIA

Vladimir I. Lenin, architect of the Communists' basic revolutionary strategy for world conquest, stressed that "He who controls China, controls the world." Lenin originally thought that his programme for world revolution, following the establishment of the Communist base in Russia, would be initiated through revolution in Germany. He was at this time still wedded to Marx's teaching that historically revolutionary conditions must first develop in the more highly advanced industrial nations. But when Lenin realized in 1920 that he had misjudged the situation in Germany, he demonstrated that remarkable flexibility which characterized all his teaching and activities by urging that the Communists concentrate upon Asia and the Western European nations' colonies. Lenin's strategy was crystallized in his famous observation that the shortest route to London and Paris was through Peking. Unless the Communist advance along the Lenin road in Asia can be halted, then the position of Western

Europe, and ultimately of North America, becomes increasingly perilous.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International held in July, 1920, Lenin's strategy of the indirect assault upon the Western European nations through Asia, was formally adopted. Shortly afterwards, in September of the same year, a Congress of Eastern Peoples was held in Baku, on the Caspian Sea. This Congress was one of the great landmarks in Communist global strategy.

The Communist leaders were delighted with the results of the Baku conference, which was attended by 1900 delegates. Lenin predicted: "The East will one day put an end to the West." Zinoviev was frank when he told the Congress: "Russia holds out her hand to Asia, not to make Asia a partner in her own ideal, nor because Asia pays homage to Russia's ideas, but because she needs 800 million Asiatics to smash the imperialism and capitalism of Europe."

The Communists made the most thorough preparations for their assault on Asia. The University of the Peoples of the East was established in 1921. Also created was a Scientific Group for the Study of the Orient. Every aspect of Asian life and history was closely studied. Increasing numbers of experts on Asian countries were produced. It is interesting to note that the University of the Peoples of the East came into existence several years before the creation of the famous Lenin Institute for the training of Western Communists.

The most important part of Asia was China, and it was not long before large numbers of skilled Soviet agents started to move into China. Top Soviet specialist was Mikhail M. Borodin. Progress was rapid and in 1921 the Chinese Communist Party was formally established.

BETRAYAL OF CHINA

The Communists' tactic in attempting to take over China was to establish themselves *inside* the Kuomintang movement of the famous Chinese Nationalist leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, where they preached "peaceful coexistence." At the time of the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the Communists were well on their way to taking their first major step on the Lenin road in China. But they were foiled by a young Chinese General who, in 1927, purged the Kuomintang of all Communist influence and set back the Communists' strategy in Asia for over 20 years. The young Chinese General was Chiang Kai-shek.

However, 22 years later the Communists had their revenge on Chiang Kai-shek. A study of how China passed under Communism is a study of the very essence of the revolutionary and conspiratorial strategy which has so dramatically expanded the Communist Empire. Propagandists, masquerading as historians, teach that China fell to Communism primarily because of the oppressive regime of the "corrupt" Chiang Kai-shek; that the Chinese rose up and welcomed the Communists in. The truth is rather different, and may today be studied in a large number of authoritative works,* which show that just as the whole of Eastern Europe was lost to the Communist advance at the infamous Yalta Conference in the Crimea, early in 1945, so was Manchuria, which provided the base from which the Red leader Mao Tse-tung was sustained when he returned to war against Chiang Kai-shek after the defeat of the Japanese.

At the Yalta Conference the sick and dying President Roosevelt joined with Stalin, over some protestations from Winston Churchill, to give the Communists everything they wanted in both Eastern Europe and Asia. Roosevelt was advised at Yalta by a young official named Alger Hiss. Hiss was one of the principal architects of the United Nations Organization. He was the Acting Secretary-General at the founding conference in San Francisco. This brilliant man may well have eventually finished in the White House if it had not been for an interruption to his career. This was when he was found, technically, guilty of perjury in the case involving former top Communist agent, Whittaker Chambers, who really proved that Hiss was a secret Communist exercising enormous power at the very heart of the U.S. Government.

Subsequent revelations showed that there were other Alger Hisses, the names of most being comparatively unknown. And yet it is these comparatively few conspirators in key positions in the non-Communist world who have played a more decisive role in advancing Communism than have all the divisions of the Red Army, or the card-carrying members of the Communist Parties.

As Mao Tse-tung, backed militarily and economically by the Soviet Union, intensified his attacks from Northern China upon Chiang Kai-shek, the power of propaganda in the revolutionary war was demonstrated in America, and elsewhere, as Mao Tse-tung, a long-time Communist, was presented as a mere "agrarian reformer," a man who was not a real Communist at all, a man who simply sought justice for the peasantry. And while Mao Tse-tung was being presented as an "agrarian reformer" Chiang Kai-shek was being smeared as "corrupt" and unwilling to enter into a coalition government with Mao Tse-tung to provide China with effective government. Chiang knew what happens under *coalition* governments with Communists. He refused to commit suicide.

At this point, the Alger Hisses back in Washington said that it was impossible to work with Chiang Kai-shek, and his military aid was cut off completely. In the words of U.S. Secretary of Defense, Gen. George Marshall, "with one stroke of my pen I disarmed 39 Chinese Nationalist divisions." This was the death-blow for Chiang Kai-shek on the Chinese mainland. China was lost to Communism, not in China, but in America.

KOREAN "NO-WIN" FIASCO

Soon after the Communist conquest of China, came Korea. Many people believe today that the non-Communists had a great victory in Korea. If this is true, then we cannot survive too many more such victories! After over three years of bitter and bloody fighting, apparently the best that the Americans and their allies from all parts of the non-Communist world could accomplish, was to go to the conference table to engage in truce talks. In the little village of Panmunjom on the 39th parallel in Korea, the truce teams still meet!

Mao Tse-tung scored a tremendous psychological victory throughout Asia as a result of the Korean affair. He was able to convince millions of Asians that if, after America and her allies had thrown their full might against the Communists in Korea, they then had to settle for truce talks, America was truly a "paper tiger."

The most remarkable feature of the Korean War was that the commander of the anti-Communist forces, General Douglas MacArthur, was fired because he insisted that in war "there is no substitute for victory," and that he should take the necessary military steps to achieve this, including the bombing of the enemy's industrial bases in Manchuria and the cutting of his supply lines across the Yalu River. Giving evidence before the American Senate Internal Security Subcommittee later, America's senior military commanders in Korea claimed that "victory in Korea was possible and desirable," but that "political considerations were permitted to overcome military necessities."

The Americans and their allies had the military capacity to win decisively in Korea. They still had a monopoly on the nuclear bomb. But they lacked the political will to use their military superiority. They were defeated by the tactics of revolutionary war, including subversion and propaganda. Which brings us to a brief consideration of the concept of war outlined by Lenin and developed by his successors.

To the Communists, the military front is but *one* front in a war. More important than the military front is the civilian front, or major base, without which the military front cannot be sustained. Communist revolutionary war, therefore, seeks to co-ordinate its tactics so that if a quick military victory is not possible, guerrilla-type tactics are used for a long military struggle while a major effort is made to erode the civilian base. The tactics used are not designed to convert people to Communism, but seek by a variety of means to confuse and to create fear. Innocent usefuls are carefully exploited. Various types of "peace" fronts are brought into existence. Skillful propaganda is used.

All these and other tactics were used during the Korean War. General MacArthur was a victim of these tactics. His military arm was partially paralyzed because it was suggested that if he were permitted to hit the enemy in his bases and cut his supply lines, this would escalate the conflict. This could bring the Soviet Union directly into the conflict. There would be a Third World War. All the while the lure of truce talks was held out to the Americans. Eventually, this type of revolutionary war forced the Americans to start truce talks, and to settle for a compromise "peace" which enabled the Communists to open up more fronts elsewhere. It might be observed that Americans suffered more casualties *after* the truce talks first started than in all the fighting before.

VIETNAM

General MacArthur predicted that if the Americans did not win decisively in Korea, then they would fight Korea all over again in some other part of Asia. This is what the Americans are now doing in Vietnam, the only Europeans standing with them being the Australians and New Zealanders.

Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia is the only European leader in the whole world who has offered military support in Vietnam in response to President Johnson's appeal for more assistance from nations of the non-Communist world!

Ian Smith would appear to understand that Communism must be fought globally—that the threat is world-wide.

Deprived of the prospects of a quick military victory as the major American military build-up started early in 1965, the Communists have intensified the type of revolutionary tactics so successful in Korea. Vietnam is, to the present time, Korea all over again. While the Communists force the Americans into fighting militarily under the worst possible conditions, all around the world they intensify their various forms of psychological war designed to force the Americans to the conference table for more truce talks.

The Western nations are badly divided on Vietnam. The American military leaders know how to win quickly against North Viet-

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* Some of the more valuable works on this subject, available from this Service, include:

While You Slept (John T. Flynn)	$1.00
Shanghai Conspiracy, the story of the Sorge Spy Ring, by Gen. Charles Willoughby, MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence, 1941–1951	$1.00
America's Retreat from Victory (Sen. McCarthy) Well documented, with valuable index	$1.00
Red Pattern of World Conquest (Eric D. Butler) An excellent short history of our times	$1.00
The China Story (Freda Utley)	$2.50
No Wonder We Are Losing (Robert Morris, former Counsel for the US Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee) Indexed	$2.50

nam. They could deal the Viet Cong a devastating blow by choking their main supply line through the port of Haiphong. It is through this port that the Soviet Union supplies most of the oil and sophisticated military equipment for their Communist allies. But any suggestion of the appropriate military methods to defeat North Vietnam quickly, is met with the same cry which ended General MacArthur's military career. "Such action would be too dangerous. It could lead to direct Chinese intervention. There could be a Third World War." And so the Soviet Union and Red China dictate the conditions under which the conflict is being fought in Vietnam, preserving their own bases secure while, with psychological war, they erode the political bases of the non-Communist nations.

If America and her allies are forced to a Korean-like "peace" in Vietnam, there will be a tremendous sagging of morale amongst tens of millions throughout Asia. There will be a growing desire to compromise with the Red Chinese. The Communist revolutionaries understand this clearly. They believe that they can win ultimately in Vietnam by the success of their divisive and confusing political and psychological war inside the non-Communist nations.

The Communist strategic thrust into Asia can only be defeated when military and economic strength is backed by a political will which is strongly united on the principle of refusing to make any further compromises. But the same political will must also back the Rhodesians to sustain the front they are holding in Africa. The Communist strategists have made it clear that this front is also of vital importance to them.

RED "ANTICOLONIALISM"

In 1960, eighty-one Communist Parties met in Moscow. The Peking branch of the Communist Conspiracy was also present. It was agreed that the most helpful development since the Second World War had been the retreat from colonialism. The Communists were referring, of course, to the Western European form of colonialism. This type, with all its faults, brought the benefits of civilization to primitive, disease-ridden people who were killing themselves in tribal conflicts and living in terror of the witch-doctor.

The Communists do not refer to the type of colonialism they have imposed upon the civilized, Christian peoples of Eastern Europe. Nor to the type of colonialism the Red Chinese imposed upon the simple, religious people of Tibet. If this type of colonialism is referred to, it is described as "national liberation"!

It was Lenin's successor, Stalin, who grasped the full significance and importance of attacking the Western European powers, particularly Britain, through their colonies, depriving them of the source of vital raw materials and important strategic bases. He said, in 1921, that "the abolition of national oppression in Europe is inconceivable without the emancipation of the colonial people of Asia and Africa from the oppression of imperialism . . . the former is organically bound up with the latter."

The Lenin-Stalin global strategy has been brought up to date. A brilliant and authoritative exposition of current Communist strategy was provided by Mao Tse-tung's Minister of National Defense, Lin Piao, in an article in the *Peking Review* of September 3, 1965, and subsequently republished in booklet form. After outlining Mao Tse-tung's theory of "the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside," Lin Piao went on to observe: "Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the "cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the "rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, *the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. . . .*" (Emphasis added)

RHODESIA

The Smith Government in Rhodesia challenges this revolutionary strategy as applied in Africa. It is therefore providing a major barrier to the Communists' international programme.

In spite of the much-publicized "split" between Moscow and Peking, which one Communist authority described as merely "a debate concerning capitalism's funeral arrangements," the Lin Piao strategy is endorsed in Moscow. His booklet can be bought in Communist bookshops following the Moscow line.

Practical steps to advance Communist global strategy, as outlined by Lin Piao, were taken at one of the most important international Communist conferences ever held—the Tri-Continental Conference in Cuba, during January of 1966. Teams of top experts were present from both Moscow and Peking, as well as from other Communist centers. Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov, who is an alternative member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, declared: "The Soviet people support people's wars, and the armed struggle of oppressed peoples for freedom and independence."

Wu Hsueh-chien, leader of the Peking delegation, agreed: "The most effective weapon to defeat U.S.A. imperialism and all reactionaries is to use revolutionary violence . . . and wage people's wars . . ."

Since the Tri-Continental Conference, there has been intensified Communist and Communist-inspired revolutionary activities in the three "rural areas of the world"—Asia, Latin America and Africa—while inside the "cities of the world" psychological war is used to confuse, to neutralize and to weaken the political will to resist the global pressure of the Communists' international revolutionary strategy.

The Communist strategists believe that the "global city" of Western Europe can be encircled and defeated first, leaving the North American "global city" completely isolated, to be defeated last. A look at the map of the world (see page 12) showing Communist areas of control and influence, reveals that the Western European nations hold but a small part of the Eurasian land mass.

The map also reveals the tremendous strategic importance of Africa, not only to Western Europe, but to the whole of the non-Communist world. The complete loss of the whole of Africa would tip the balance of world power so far against the non-Communist world, that only the most desperate effort would then have any chance of averting complete disaster.

Africa is not only a source of essential raw materials for the industries of the non-Communist world, such as minerals like copper and chrome, but as was shown in World War II it provides a vital hinterland and base from which to help defend Europe. The African Continent divides Western Europe from Asia. The main line of communication from Western Europe to "East of Suez" used to be through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. That line of communication is now lost in an emergency, with increasing Soviet domination of the Suez and Red Sea area. The British retreat from the great base of Aden is a manifestation of the reality of the situation.

The second, though longer line of communication between Western Europe and Asia, is around the Cape of Good Hope. The sea route from Western Europe around the Cape of Good Hope to Asia, Australia and New Zealand, is one of the world's most important strategic waterways. It is essential that it remains open to the Free World. But this requires that Southern Africa remains friends, under the control of civilized, anti-Communist Governments. If Southern Africa were lost to the Communists, then the entrance to both the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans would be controlled by the Communists. Southern Africa is one of the most important strategic areas in the whole world today, and yet non-Communist governments have aided and abetted the Communist strategists in their drive to first have civilized government destroyed in Southern Africa, as a necessary preliminary to obtaining either direct or indirect control.

The results of the retreat by the European colonial powers in Africa are now clear. A large number of so-called new nations have been permitted to become members of the United Nations, where their votes are equal to the votes of the nations like the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Britain. Since being "liberated," most of these so-called nations have quickly demonstrated that the basic reality of Africa is still tribalism, not nationalism. Dreadful massacres have taken place, and still continue. There is no protest at the U.N. or elsewhere against the retreat to barbarism. Men who have come to power by murdering their opponents are accepted at the U.N., where they can talk and vote against civilized governments in Rhodesia and South Africa.

It is not surprising that the Communist strategists have been delighted with the results of the retreat from colonialism in Africa, which has produced more votes at the U.N. for them to manipulate, and a Continent being progressively neutralized and prepared for Communist penetration. Neither is it surprising how they have used their international conspiratorial apparatus to help promote an incredible campaign which brands little Rhodesia as a major threat to world peace.

The blatant lies told about Rhodesia are only matched by the blatant lies told about Vietnam. The power of the international conspiracy against civilization is such that in spite of what the U.N. Charter clearly says, Rhodesia was not permitted to appear before the U.N. Security Council last December, to answer the vicious nonsense talked there. Eminent constitutional authorities have pointed out that even the U.N. decision to declare international war on Rhodesia violated the clear wording of the Charter. Faced with these allegations, Mr. Arthur Goldberg (U.S. delegate at the U.N.) replied that the critics were taking the Charter too literally; that they had not grasped the new "dynamic interpretation" of law! Clearly, George Orwell's 1984 is here with double-talk and double-standards.

If Rhodesia is collapsed, then the way is cleared for the collapse of the Portuguese territories, and then South Africa. The non-Communists join with the Communists in economic and psychological war against their own front-line in Africa, while in Vietnam they refuse to use these weapons against their deadly enemies! It is this type of madness which aids the Communist strategists in their drive for complete world power.

Vietnam and Rhodesia are the issues which may decide whether the non-Communist peoples can at long last develop the necessary political will and moral strength to take the offensive against the global strategy of International Communism.

The Rhodesians can be relied upon to stand firm, and the anti-Communist military forces in Vietnam will stand firm. The question is: Will the peoples of the non-Communist nations stand firm, and ensure that their two main front-lines do not collapse because of their disintegration under the pressure of psychological war?

REHABILITATION PLEDGE

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has performed a great service to this Nation in encouraging the insurance industry to invest $1 billion in urban slum real estate. In the words of the Providence Journal, it "has the earmarks of a major breakthrough in the use of private resources to solve this country's major urban problems."

The benefits which will accrue to the country are manifold. The rent supplement program to provide decent housing for our urban underprivileged will be stimulated. Other private concerns may realize that an investment in urban excellence is in their self-interest, as well as in the interests of the economy and the Nation. And our slum areas will greatly benefit from a major infusion of private capital to compliment existing Government programs.

I commend the President and the participating insurance companies for helping to find ways to improve the quality of life in the cities.

Under unanimous consent I include the Providence Journal editorial in the Record:

Rehabilitation Pledge

The life insurance industry's pledge to invest a billion dollars in slum rehabilitation projects has the earmarks of a major breakthrough in the use of private resources to solve this country's major urban problems.

The industry deserves commendation despite the dollar profits to be gained and the lack of risk involved. The action it has taken goes well beyond the verbal commitment made by some for whom public opinon is the foremost, if not the sole, consideration. It has "put its money where its mouth is" in an area where most conservative investors fear to tread. It has contributed considerable time and effort since last May to solicit interest and cooperation among nearly 350 life insurance companies, and it has set an example for American business that in the long run could prove far more valuable to society than the dollar amount diverted from other, perhaps more lucrative, ventures.

While the industry has seen fit not to make this an open-ended commitment—it is for one year only—the possibility of a renewed pledge has been kept alive. Gilbert Fitzhugh, chairman of the Life Insurance Committee on Urban Problems, said, "We know it's going to work" but he preferred to take it "one billion at a time . . . We'd like to see what happens."

An important byproduct to the insurance industry pledge is the added impetus it should give to the administration's rent supplement program. Mr. Fitzhugh emphasized this point, expressing hope that the added mortgage funds made available will encourage non-profit groups to undertake construction and rehabilitation of housing under the rent supplement program.

"This initiative is more than a vote of confidence in the rent supplement program," said President Johnson. "It is a major investment in improving American life."

Industry in this country must ask itself whether it is fulfilling its obligations to society by seeking profit alone, whether creating jobs and selling products and services is a sufficient contribution to the betterment of urban life, or must it do more in an era of social upheaval with the haves and have-nots on the brink of civil strife?

Under the free enterprise system, there is more business than industry can do, as the life insurance firms have shown. It remains now for other groups to follow the lead. Government cannot do the job alone.

COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENTS LAUDED BY SECRETARY FREEMAN

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us here are aware of the immense importance of the county agricultural agent in representing the Federal Government's farm programs "on the ground" and his work on behalf of American agriculture. Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman brought this home recently in an address before the Association of County Agricultural Agents in Omaha.

The Secretary also discussed another point that we should be considering in these domestically troubled times—the urban-agrarian population balance. We are all aware of the problems which result from cramming too many people into too small an area. All too often, those young persons who leave the smaller cities and farms of the Nation find their reception in the larger cities cold indeed. Confusion and discouragement change sometimes to desperation and destructive tendencies which may find their outlet in crime and rioting.

In the spirit of reminding my colleagues of this ever-mounting problem, I insert at this point in the Record the remarks of the Secretary of Agriculture in Omaha on September 18:

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, Before National Association of County Agricultural Agents in Omaha, Nebr., September 18, 1967

It is my opinion that Main Street and the farm—I call it town and country—hold the key to the destiny of this nation. Today this is what I want to review with you.

I want to discuss a worsening situation that threatens the very foundation of American life and institutions. I refer to the suicide road we have been traveling for the last 20 years as we have dumped 20 million Americans into the great cities from the countryside.

If we permit this trend to continue, if we fail to use space in the countryside to make a place for the 100 million more people, at a minimum, who will inhabit this nation by the year 2000, we will be committing national suicide.

This may well be in the long run our greatest national challenge, and our greatest national threat. You have been working to meet this threat for a long time, applying progressively increasing funds and personnel to community resource development, and I want to talk with you about that, and about what I believe we all must do to provide, as your convention theme says, "Opportunities for the Future."

But first I want to compliment you on the truly magnificent job you have done on the farms of America.

The Land Grant system—research, education and extension—has brought our agriculture to a production pinnacle unsurpassed in all history. You have helped the American farmer meet the challenge of feeding his countrymen in war and in peace, and of feeding the hungry in more than 100 nations throughout the world.

The story of American agriculture can be summarized quite simply: In 1920 one farmer produced enough to feed eight people, today he produces enough to feed 39.

You showed him how to do it.

But, I am sorry to say, we have never been very successful in managing this abundance for the farmer. Too often his productive genius has meant depressed prices for him. But we are learning.

Last year was a record income year. This year, bumper crops worldwide are depressing prices at market time. Now we can see how valuable our farm programs are. If grain farmers will hold their production and market prudently, prices will firm up. There is no world surplus. World demand is strong, and it will grow.

So I urge you, not to tell farmers when to sell, but to caution them not to engage in panic marketing, to take advantage of the farm programs, the money they are getting in production payments and the loans, which give them more holding power than they have ever had before.

There is a lot of downward pressure on prices this year, but we are already using the New Era farm programs to improve matters for next year.

Wheat acreage already has been adjusted down. It is too early to make an announcement yet, but it seems likely that adjustments will be made in feed grains and soybean acreage, too, for next year.

In addition, we have taken what other action we can to shore up prices—CCC grain and soybean stocks are off the market, except for a very limited volume of lower qualities that must be moved for prudent inventory management, and a limited amount of wheat moved to encourage expansion of our Asian market. And we are moving large amounts of wheat in the Food for Freedom program.

We have tried to add to storage facilities by renting or selling surplus CCC bins to farmers and by moving bins to the South and East to relieve storage distress.

However, there are strict limits to what any government program can do. In the last analysis, sharp changes in the weather in any one year—in the United States and around the world—will alter supply more than any government program can hope to adjust it.

So we are bound to have sharp shifts in the volume of supply from time to time, such as this year.

We also should remember that only about 40 percent of what we produce on the farm comes under our farm programs. Sixty percent of farm production moves directly into the so-called free market.

I don't advocate any government program for this 60 percent, but I *do* advocate that farmers everywhere take a hard look at collective bargaining.

I have been saying since before I came into this office that the farmer must get out of the situation in which he sells in a buyer's market and buys in a seller's market. He must get his own muscle in the marketplace. By some means or other, farmers must develop a free bargaining system that will give them a strong voice in how much they get for what they have to sell.

To me this offers the best, and perhaps the only, approach to full farmer prosperity with the widest measure of freedom.

Perhaps farmer bargaining power is an idea whose time has come. I think so! More and more farm groups have shown an interest; the President has endorsed the principle. And I hope that, after you get home, you will stimulate farm bargaining discussions every chance you get. We need to carefully and thoroughly explore every possibility, commodity by commodity.

I could usefully spend all my time with you discussing commercial American agriculture. But I came here today specifically to challenge you—to ask your help on this national problem of people-land imbalance—because I know that you have not been working with the farmer these many years only to increase production for production's sake. Rather, you have been working to help each farmer to make a better living—a better life—for himself and his family, and for what I like to call Countryside U.S.A.

And your country needs your help more than ever before to solve this rural-urban balance problem before it destroys us as a free nation.

The skill in community development, the confidence of town and country that you have earned—these are needed as we grope our way toward a solution of this problem, a solution which can mean, by proper use of the abundant space that we enjoy in this country, what I like to call gracious living for *every* American. It can truly mean a Great Society.

Let's take a quick look at where we are now.

Today, 70 percent of our people live on one percent of the land, the majority of them piled into congested cities and sprawling suburbs, and the pile-up continues.

We are expecting a population increase at least 100 million by the year 2000—300 million Americans. And that is the question, the great challenge that we face today: Where should these new Americans go? Where *can* they go to find jobs and a chance for decent lives in a place they want to live?

Today, in the year 1967, few could go to rural America, to a countryside that since 1950—in less than two decades—has lost 20 million persons to the big cities, and that is still losing them at the rate of 500 to 600 thousand a year.

This exodus, triggered by the technological revolution in agriculture, has produced economic and social decay in the small towns and the small cities.

Many of you have seen the results as you travel around your counties—the weathered, abandoned farm house, a curtain flapping through a broken window; the soaped-up plate glass of the store front—the "Closed" sign taped to the door; the weeds standing tall around the vacant service station, and the growing ratio of older people on Main Street.

This is what the departure of its residents is doing to the countryside.

What has it done to the big cities?

It has compounded existing conditions of congestion, pollution, tension, unemployment and despair, and added to the problems of already problem-ridden urban officials.

And you need to look no farther than your television screen or your newspaper to see what this incredible pile-up of people means . . . riots, fires, killing, looting—the instruments of desperate people, crowded, with no hope, into the ghettos of many of our cities.

So *that* today is what we have to offer the 100 million new Americans of the year 2000: A decaying countryside or an exploding city.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are sitting on a time bomb of imbalance.

When we talk about 100 million new Americans, we are not talking about statistics. We are talking about your sons and your daughters, and their sons and daughters, and their cousins—we are talking about human beings of all races, all colors . . . human beings who deserve the same chance for a choice that you and I had.

And right here I would like to commend the Extension Service for the way you have tried to run your programs in a manner consistent with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It has, in some cases, taken special courage and special determination, I know, but most of you are doing your part to insure that the opportunities of which we talk for the year 2000 are opportunities for *all*. And I'm confident you will press even harder for real equal opportunity in the days ahead.

The year 2000 is not far off. Time is running out; we must act now while there is still time to act.

The challenge is for nothing less than a total national commitment to rural-urban balance, to the purposeful, proper use of space, space that stretches down a tree-shaded road to the lake for some, and across 10 feet of littered sidewalk to the curbside trash can for too many others.

No one knows better than you that today there is action along this line in rural America—in both town and country. There is motion: important beginnings are taking place. You have been the prime movers in many of these beginnings.

By Executive Order, the President has charged me with the coordination of Federal programs in all departments operating in rural America. Since then I have toured all over the country so I know that scores of small towns and cities and dozens of counties are using every resource they can find—public and private—to spark a rural renaissance in their particular corner of America.

About 200 of the 500 Federal programs providing State and local assistance can directly aid rural development, and more and more local people are using our Technical Action Panels to explore these programs to find the ones that will best help them to help themselves.

These panels, set up as you know to facilitate private and State and local efforts to speed and broaden rural area development, are now operating in 2,997 counties. We have TAP committees in all 50 States.

Your participation in these panels has been important. If there was ever a place where we need your talents for educational and organizational leadership, it is here, in this effort to rebuild and revitalize rural America.

Many of you know what can be done and is being done to transform the countryside into a place of opportunity again because you have had a role in the transformation.

I am thinking, for instance, of the sorghum syrup cooperative in Prentiss County, Mississippi. Extension organized the co-op, and designed the plant, which was built with a Farmers Home Administration loan. Then Extension helped operate the plant while training local people to take over the job.

This, to me, is a fine example of teamwork between two Department of Agriculture agencies to help low-income people help themselves.

And less than two weeks ago, I spoke at an Apple Festival in Westminster, South Carolina, center of a thriving apple industry, developed under Extension leadership to replace income lost by the decline of King Cotton in this farming area.

You have been doing this in many places around the country. There is the okra and vegetable processing plant in a low-income area in Arkansas, the switch from cotton to soybeans, the increasing diversification of agriculture in areas that were chained to a one-crop economy.

But let me be specific. I want to cite one example of what one county agent has done and is doing in the remaking of his community.

In 1963, Livingston Parish in Louisiana was on the decline—mechanization was forcing people from farm jobs; many were moving away, income was down, 20 percent of the labor force was unemployed.

County Agent R. H. D'Armond called a meeting of county leaders and representatives of Louisiana State University to discuss how the people could take advantage of the old Area Redevelopment Administration program.

The meeting might be called a forerunner of the Technical Action Panel. It resulted in the formation of the Livingston Redevelopment Association, Inc., that triggered an overall economic development plan in which Mr. D'Armond has been a prime mover. This is what has happened in Livingston Parish since:

Unemployment has dropped from 20 to 8.5 percent.

A 55-bed hospital has been constructed.

Three municipal gas systems have been expanded to serve rural residents.

A $4 million capital improvement program has been started.

Bonds of $800,000 for a new courthouse have been approved.

A 7-mill school maintenance tax and a $1½ million school construction program have been approved.

Several small industrial plants have opened, providing direct employment for more than 560 persons, persons who would have been prime candidates for the march to the cities.

These are some of the tangible, visible accomplishments in which you have played major roles. But even more important, in my opinion, has been your contribution to community and area planning and development.

There is Tenco, in southern Iowa, where 10 counties have combined forces under Extension planning and organizational leadership and have made impressive gains in improving the economy of all 10 counties by wise use of regional resources, including human resources, and of government assistance.

This pioneering venture in planning, achieved not without opposition, could well set the pattern for our national effort as we strive for rural-urban balance, for a more meaningful use of our land.

You, of all people, know that multi-county planning provides the resources, the expert advice, the professional approach that must be brought to bear.

And you know the value of a broad approach to broad problems. I am impressed with Extension efforts that have been brought to my attention to organize programs, and planning, on a multi-county basis in parts of Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, Colorado and other States.

If the area planning and development legislation—Section 701—now before the Congress is passed, you will be called on for leadership in the planning, educational and organizational work that will be required.

We need more regional approaches to the problems of the countryside, and we need your help, not only in the planning but in the day-to-day effort to revive rural America as we plan for the year 2000.

We can have the kind of America we want, but it will take brainpower, willpower, imagination—and hard work—on the part of us all.

We are traveling uncharted waters in determining a national policy on rural-urban balance, and we are learning as we travel.

As you probably know, five other Cabinet officers and myself are sponsoring a national symposium on this subject in Washington December 11 and 12.

We hope, with the help of some of the best minds in the world, to find some answers—or at least to find the questions for which to seek the answers—that will enable us to rig the proper sail as we set out.

We need all the ideas we can get, and we must work together, learning as we work. There is more than enough to do; there is no room for bickering between government bodies, agencies or departments or between Chambers of Commerce.

You men, with your years of experience, with the Extension tradition of reaching out to rural Americans to teach them how to help themselves, are crucial to our success in meeting this challenge.

And the springboard for this broad assault on this massive problem of our time is the Technical Action Panel. These panels are a sincere effort on the part of the United States Department of Agriculture to support local citizens and community leaders by mobilizing every possible arm of Federal, State and local government to the task of putting new life, new vigor—new horizons—into the countryside.

No one knows rural America as you men do. You work with its sons and daughters, its mothers and fathers, and with grandpa and grandma. You know the whole family.

We need your wholehearted effort on these panels. Rural America needs it—and urban America needs it. We are all in this together—city slicker and country boy alike—200 million of us trying to prepare for 100 million more.

The Marine in me cries out to order you into this battle. But I would not do that, even if I could. For you know and I know that a man responds fully only to a call from within himself.

You answered that call when you became county agents. If you can answer this new call—this call from the glutted cities and the troubled towns—as you answered the call from the farms, I have no fears for the year 2000.

I see this call as your opportunity to become as well known in the next 50 years as builders of the American Communities of Tomorrow as you have become well known in the past 50 years as builders of American agriculture.

Many of you—most of you—have answered, and you are sacrificing extra hours, extra effort, extra energy to help make this a land that we will be proud to hand to those 100 million new Americans.

But nothing less than a total effort on the part of us all will meet this challenge. So to those of you who have not "joined up" in this fight for a better America, I say only this: "We need you."

And, given the Extension Service tradition, I know that this is enough.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity today to cosponsor with the Honorable AUGUSTUS HAWKINS and others the Bilingual Education Act. This bill, H.R. 13123, is identical to H.R. 13103 introduced yesterday by a distinguished group of cosponsors.

I believe that this legislation is a significant adjunct to congressional efforts to improve the responsiveness and quality of public education in the United States. It is designed to assist any youngster whose educational opportunity is impaired because the language he speaks at home is not English. It attacks the language difficulties of the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest and New York, the French-speaking in Louisiana and the far Northeast, the Portuguese-speaking of Massachusetts, the Lumbee-speaking American Indians of the Carolinas, to mention several.

It is indicative of the wisdom of this legislation that it also seeks "to preserve and enhance the foreign language background and culture" of non-English-speaking children. It is indeed destructive to these children to be force-fed English, for to deny the value of a person's language is to attack his family, his heritage, and his very identity.

On May 31, I submitted testimony to the Special Senate Subcommittee on Bilingual Education which was holding hearings in San Antonio. I raised certain objections to the much-publicized versions then under consideration. I predicted that certain provisions would prevent bilingual education legislation from gaining serious consideration. I am pleased to say that those shortcomings have been rectified: this bill does not limit aid to schoolchildren of one foreign language background or national origin; it contains a balanced attack including pilot programs and experimentation; and it provides most aid to the States in proportion to their non-English-speaking children.

This legislation has developed from the hearings and deliberations of the Special Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, ably chaired by the Honorable ROMAN PUCINSKI. I was privileged to appear before that subcommittee on June 29. Mr. Speaker, I include at this point a copy of my testimony to the subcommittee, and a copy of the editorial from the Washington Post mentioning my remarks:

STATEMENT OF HENRY B. GONZALEZ, REGARDING BILINGUAL EDUCATION; HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, JUNE 29, 1967

Mr. Chairman: It is always an honor and privilege to appear before this distinguished and able committee. You have in your hands much of the responsibility for making certain that the most important of all governmental enterprise, education, is properly carried out. After all, if civilization is to survive and advance, it will do so only if we make the most of our opportunities to learn. So you are charged with a special and crucial task, and I earnestly hope that I will be able to contribute something to your consideration of these bills on bilingual education.

All of us are of course either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Possibly some members of the committee know, or have even experienced, the problems that arise because some of our citizens do not speak English, or speak it as a second language, or speak some variety of English that is not accepted. There are probably several million people in this country who cannot communicate adequately in the legally accepted and socially accepted mode, which of course is English. These people find themselves unable to work at jobs which require oral or written skill in communication, and in some cases cannot find work at all. Their children come to schools speaking a different language, and the schools by and large are unprepared and often quite unable, even if willing, to deal with their special problems. I need not repeat the result of this situation, except to say that a great many of our citizens are unable to make their full contribution to our society, and find the American dream inaccessible; and their children find themselves unable to grasp the opportunities of education, which in turn are the key to later success.

It is not a simple thing to deal with the language barrier. In the first place, there is the temptation to try and do away with foreign languages. This is at once impossible and undesirable. Language resources are of great value in our little world, and ought to be preserved. Moreover, society is enriched by the admixture of cultures that we have, and I think that it would be our loss if we attempted to make our society a completely homogeneous one. The strength of America has always been found in diversity; it is this seeming anomaly that has confounded and confused our enemies. We should always remember this, and keep it in mind when we speak of the language barrier and how to reduce its impact.

All of this notwithstanding, we know that bilingual education should be pursued. We must adopt some special kind of effort that will enable us to realize the potentials and strengths of those who are hindered by a lack of ability to communicate in English. We must refine and shape the special skills which the non-English speaker has, so that he can perform at his best, and so that he can indeed reduce the distance between him and his hopes for tomorrow.

I have given much time and thought to the bills before you. Each one of these bills has its own merit, and each one of them has much to commend it. I will not endorse any particular bill, although I will say that H.R. 8000 and others closely similar to it, appear to be better in many respects than others. The Committee has a good foundation of ideas upon which to build. Rather than my telling you what bill I favor, and rather than introducing legislation of my own, I will make a few observations about how I think a bilingual program should be drawn up, since I believe that this will be more constructive than anything else I could do.

I think in the first place, we have to recognize that a bilingual education bill is not going to solve all of the educational problems and ills of the many Americans of bilingual or non-English speaking background. This legislation will be a help, but it will still be only a part of the solution, at the very best. Unfortunately, there is a great deal of talk around the country today that all of the educational ills of, say, the Spanish surnamed, could be solved by a bilingual education bill. It is simply untrue that dropouts would cease tomorrow if there were a suddenly created new bilingual education program. As the annual report of the Educational Testing Service observes, there simply "are no instant panaceas in automated gadgets, federal funds, or fragmented research and development activities." Programs of bilingual education will help, and they represent an avenue of hope, but they will not solve all of the problems of the non-English speaking in this country.

In fact, the primary problem in achieving equal educational opportunity may not really be facilities at all. The Educational Testing Service has made, for the Office of Economic Opportunity, a vast survey of schools in this country to determine why some students get better education than others. The broad findings say this:

"The survey data seem to indicate that minority-group children are not as disadvantaged as we might have thought in terms of school characteristics and facilities often assumed to contribute to effective education. So what does account for less-than-satisfactory educational achievement among minority-group children?

"Three types of factors do appear . . . to relate to achievement. They are, in descending strength of relationship, characteristics of the student's own home background; community cultural level as reflected in the backgrounds of the student's classmates; and the quality of the school's teaching staff."[1]

According to the Educational Testing Service, the school environment is much more important to the success of a student from a minority group than it is to one from the majority: "For Puerto Rican, Mexican and Negro Americans, the relationship is much stronger. In other words, youngsters from minority backgrounds appear to do better academically if they attend a quality school with good teachers and able classmates."[2]

What is suggested here is that we are just beginning to understand what the educational problem of the minority group is, and how to deal with it. And one thing is clear: "Opportunity in a thoroughly unfavorable environment is no opportunity at all."[3] If we are going to solve, for once and all, the problem of educating children to the limits of their capacities, then we are going to have to deal with the total problem: getting not just good schools and good teachers, but both of these in a good environment. A task like this is one of great magnitude, but I have no doubt that this is what must one day be done in order to achieve real equality of educational opportunity in this country. I endorse the idea of bilingual education programs, and federal assistance for them, but believe that everyone should be aware that such programs are not the ultimate solution to the problems of the non-English speaking, but only a part of the solution.

With that qualifying statement, I would like now to outline certain principles that I believe any bilingual education bill should include.

First, any bilingual education law should include all persons who speak no English, or who speak English as a second language, as eligible for assistance. Some bills, notably in the other body, have been written to exclude all but a given ethnic group, say the Spanish surnamed, and limits assistance even then to immigrant children or children of immigrants from certain countries. Such an approach is far too exclusive to achieve what needs to be done. After all, there are people throughout the United States who have a language problem. For example, just the other day the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Keith, introduced a bilingual education bill because he has large numbers of Portuguese persons living in his district who need special language training. There are people in other sections of the country, whose families have lived in the United States for generations, but who speak English as a second language. It would be unfair to deprive these persons of the assistance that federal programs might provide. Therefore I believe that eligibility should extend not merely to immigrants, not merely to special ethnic groups, but to all persons in this country who have a generally recognized language handicap.

If I might digress, I would like to add that language handicaps extend even to persons who already speak English, and perhaps this is a matter that should be included in the bilingual education bill. For example, there are various subcultures in this country where a variety of English is spoken that is not generally recognized by the majority, and the result is a very real handicap. People from remote rural areas like far East Texas, or mountain areas, or from city slum areas, often need special training in English, even though it is their nominal language. There are already a few NDEA institutes devoted to work of this sort, but it is worth mentioning that here indeed is a language problem that deserves probably more attention, and the present legislation may offer a good vehicle for expanding the teaching of acceptable speech patterns to persons with special problems.

As a second principle, I believe that we ought to have a bill that insures assistance for areas where it is needed most. I have seen bills that provide for bloc grants to various states, but leave little or no provisions to see that the funds are distributed in counties where the need lies. Under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, of course, we have a formula that makes sure the money is available to every county that needs it. Something similar should be done in any bilingual education bill, so as to be sure that school districts with little skill in grantsmanship will have a chance to get help, rather than being run over by bigger, more sophisticated schools.

Thirdly, I believe that the Committee should consider the need for some method or means to ensure that the programs generated by federal bilingual assistance money are good programs. It would be tragic to assume that money alone will do the job, or hardware alone will do it. I think that there might be a system of priorities to guarantee more effective programs. For example, there might be a requirement that teachers be qualified through special training, which would be provided for through the law in order for a school to qualify for program money. The heart and life of any bilingual program will depend, in very great degree, upon the quality of teachers available. I feel that any federal law school should guarantee that teachers will be available to provide sound bilingual training, since it is clear that bad teaching is worse than none at all. I think, too, that the Committee should satisfy itself that schools do not spend their money for new gadgets or hardware alone, but should concentrate on such essentials as good material for students. Again, this might be provided in an order of priorities established by law, or by regulation. Whatever is done, I hope that you will enact legislation which will have positive guidelines to assure that programs undertaken are sound, effective ones, worthy of the hopes that are held for them.

I thank you for your time, and for the courtesy of considering my statement. I commend you for the attention you are giving to this matter, and thank you for the outstanding work you have done in the past. I am confident that this committee will continue to compile a record of which we can all be proud.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 9, 1967]

BARRIERS FOR CHILDREN

Three million American children will not be in school this fall because they do not understand English. Representative Pucinski points out that nearly two million children of Spanish-speaking families, nearly 80,000 American Indians and a million or more youngsters of school age from 30 other ethnic backgrounds have a serious language handicap. Last year, the U.S. Office of Education spent about $7 million on bilingual training programs, but the effort reached only 142,000 children.

The ray of hope in all this is that Congress has before it at least two bills (out of some 30 introduced) which could begin an attack on the problem. One, sponsored by Representative Scheuer, would provide substantial sums of money, primarily to urban areas having high concentrations of children from non-English-speaking families. Another by Representative Roybal would insure a more equitable distribution of funds to urban and rural areas according to need, but calls for far less money than will be needed if the bilingual programs are to be of any success.

When the Congress gets down to fashioning a bill, probably in August, it would do well to heed the suggestion of Representative Gonzalez that a bilingual education law be made flexible enough to provide special speech training for the additional millions of children in rural areas and city slums whose nominal language is English, but who, because they speak a dialect not easily understood by the majority, suffer just as profound a handicap.

It is sad that a Nation which has gained so much from its rich composition of foreign peoples and cultures should work so slowly to remove the language barriers that still divide communities and impede understanding and growth. But Congress now has an opportunity to do something about it.

ADDRESS BY VICENTE T. XIMENES

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to know Vicente Ximenes, who has enjoyed a long and distinguished public life. His family is well known in my part of the country, and his brother, who is among my constituents, has just been named a member of the board of regents of the University of Texas. Vicente Ximenes is living proof of the contribution that a man can make to his country, given an opportunity. It is fitting that he is now in the business of helping make opportunity available, as a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Commissioner Ximenes last week told a gathering of Post Office Department representatives how equal opportunity can be achieved, and why it must be. I think that his words will interest my colleagues, and I include them in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS BY VICENTE T. XIMENES, COMMISSIONER OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE ON MEXICAN AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AT THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT'S NATIONAL EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 22, 1967

Equal employment opportunity is undoubtedly an important area of human effort in our nation. I began this kind of effort only about 20 years ago when as a student at a university I discovered that the announcements of opportunity for employment did not include Mexican Americans. I discovered that the persons that wrote and spoke about employment and accepted employment applications didn't have the Mexican American in mind at all. I remember quite vividly my first feeble attempts at helping another person to get a job that he claimed was not given to him because he was a Mexican American. I called the manager of the plant and said I understand you won't give Mr. Martinez a job because he is a Mexican American. He said no, that is not what I said; I said I wouldn't give him a job because he is Mexican and furthermore don't bother me. The fact is that at that time there wasn't anything anyone could do.

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[1] Educational Testing Service Annual Report, 1965–1966, p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] Ibid, p. 17.

We've come a long way since that time and now I find it a most satisfying and distinct pleasure to be here in the very capital of our country before Post Office Department employees that will further the goal of equal employment opportunity. I am interested because I am Equal Employment Opportunity Commissioner as well as Chairman of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. The other members appointed by President Johnson are Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz; the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John Gardner; the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman; the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert Weaver; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Sargent Shriver.

At the swearing-in ceremonies, the President asked that this Cabinet-level Committee offer not just reports, but solutions. He said, and I quote: "I may get too many of the former, but never too many of the latter." (unquote) And in concluding he added, "We today affirm this truth: that what we do for any minority, we do as well for the majority. After all, we do all of this for America." This was of course a memorable occasion for the leaders of minority groups that have long fought for individual rights. It was also a big step forward for the Mexican Americans who have longed for more participation in the affairs of Government.

Let me say, however, that President Johnson's efforts to help minority groups did not begin with the creation of this Committee. He has, throughout his many years of service in the Government, made efforts to help the poor and the underprivileged. As Vice-President of the United States, he was the Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, from which the present Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was born.

Since President Johnson's initiative on behalf of Mexican Americans on June 9 of this year, we have:

1. Formed task forces in all agencies to assist in new directions and help for Mexican Americans.

2. Formed a committee of the agencies top personnel officers for recruitment programs for Mexican Americans.

3. Alviso, a small Mexican American town south of San Francisco, bearing all the signs of rural poverty, was given a round-the-clock medical clinic through a $450,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

4. More than 2,500 Mexican Americans will receive skills training, supplemented in many cases by language instruction, through a series of on-the-job training contracts issued through Mexican American Organizations in California.

5. Another 750 Mexican Americans, now living in South Texas, will be taken from the migrant stream, given basic and skills education, and then transported to new jobs—and a new future, as factory workers near Dallas at higher wages than they had ever known before.

6. The Post Office Department carried out a unique employment program in California for Mexican Americans. They assisted 800 applicants prepare for tests and 640 persons passed the exam.

7. The Department of Agriculture, through a program started by the Secretary, hired 325 Mexican Americans in the period July through August of this year.

I mention the above merely to indicate that a positive program made the U.S. Government and the Mexican Americans partners in a noble cause. It indicates that a conscious effort on the part of sincere people can and does produce meaningful results.

The principle of equality underlies the structure of and is stated in our Federal Constitution. Unfortunately, for the most part of our historical development, this principle has not been fully implemented for some American minority groups. It was not until the beginning of World War II that the Government really began to realize the need for the full utilization of manpower that the first corrective steps against job discrimination were introduced.

Since then, much progress has been made. In 1964 the Congress of the United States became cognizant of a further need for protection against discrimination in employment and adopted the Civil Rights Act, which most of you are very familiar with.

Since then some states have enacted Fair Employment Practices Laws in an effort to curb discrimination in employment. We know that the tendency toward racial discrimination has long been embedded in our culture, and so therefore much work towards a positive action role is required on the part of government, private industry and labor. The idea is to make changes which will effect the discriminatory patterns. It is not sufficient to state that equal employment opportunities must be made available to all. Nor is it sufficient to hire a person or two to indicate compliance. The equal employment effort must be complete in terms of hiring, firing, layoff, promotions, salaries, and benefits. It is necessary to engage in these affirmative action programs because people who have been deprived of opportunities in the past should be given special opportunities and training. Minority groups tend to expect to be discriminated against. Communication with minority groups is generally bad and needs to be improved. Employment agencies have for too long not given attention to minority group referrals. Equal opportunity means not just the lack of discrimination, but positive, creative programs to assure employment, education, training, and other opportunities for all Americans, whether they be Mexican, Negro, Puerto Rican, Indian, or Oriental Americans.

Those of us in Federal government must be particularly resourceful in our equal employment programs, for our programs serve as examples to State and local governments and to private enterprise. As leaders in this effort, we should have the foresight to formulate the type of program that will affect generations to come. The immediate problems seem of most urgency now and should be treated as such, but long range programs must necessarily be part of our agenda also.

I do not suggest that employment practices of the Post Office Department, or the entire Federal government, can make up for the generations of povery, poor education and discrimination which have been the fate of minorities. I do suggest, however, that we can now help alleviate the problems in most of these areas. We need to strengthen our positive action programs. We must reach out more effectively to our impoverished and poorly trained citizens, and we must reach out to the professional minority group members so that they may also participate in government. Some steps necessary to achieve these goals are:

1. We must look into pre-employment examinations. The outdated forms and questionnaires for job applications must be reviewed and revised. We must insure that tests are job-related. We must develop tests that will measure inherent capabilities.

2. We should give credit where possible for knowledge of a second language, particularly in jobs which require working directly with non-English speaking populations. Obvious examples of offices which should be utilizing bilingual employees are the post offices, social security, welfare, and employment offices.

3. Federal, State and local governments should be involved in post-employment training programs which have been widely and successfully used in the poverty program. Training programs, however, should not be limited to the entry levels of government, but should be available at all levels. Too many minority group members and others are stifled in their opportunity to move up through the ranks of government because of their lack of formal education. Professional training programs should be widespread.

4. In the area of recruitment, the Federal agencies must be particularly resourceful. People who have known discrimination will not actively seek out the government. The government must actively seek them. This is not an easy job, as many of you already know. The techniques for recruiting Negro Americans, for example, do not necessarily apply for recruiting Mexican Americans. The Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs has been assisting Federal agencies in their recruitment of Mexican Americans and we will continue to do so. I invite you to take advantage of our experience in this area.

5. We must encourage our young people from minority groups to become involved in the government. Special scholarships or internships should be extended to them, perhaps not on the basis of tests but on the basis of past college performance and interest.

6. We should be actively recruiting college students for summer programs to expose them to government work and to the Nation's Capital. These opportunities are now open only to those who can afford a trip to Washington.

I suggest these points for your consideration. Today we know that much can be accomplished which in past years was thought impossible, or more accurately what in past years was not thought of at all. You in the Post Office Department have shown that we can indeed reach the minorities.

I commend you for your participation in this conference and wish you well in your deliberations.

SUPPORT GROWING FOR APOSTLE ISLANDS NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Kastenmeier] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, today, I am pleased to announce that 15 of my distinguished colleagues, Mr. O'Konski, Mr. Anderson of Illinois, Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Dingell, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Fraser, Mrs. Griffiths, Mr. Karth, Mr. Laird, Mr. McClory, Mr. Quie, Mr. Reuss, Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin, and Mr. Zablocki, have joined with me in cosponsoring legislation to establish an Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.

The designation of the Apostle Islands area as a national lakeshore would be a farsighted step toward not only preserving a rare and priceless resource of natural beauty, but also, toward providing for a magnificent outdoor recreation area which our citizens can enjoy.

With our population rapidly increasing and with a continually shrinking allotment of space per person, our Nation is confronted with a new race, the race to preserve inner space. We must learn how to stretch our remaining natural resources and safeguard the quality of our environment. But, "if we do not act soon," Sir Julian Huxley warned, "man will become the cancer of the planet, destroying its resources and eventually his own future self." Man, through the years, has ripped, torn, gouged, and slashed what he needed from a seemingly endless supply of forests, minerals, and water. With his powerful tools, he is now accelerating the headlong course of sprawl, pollution, and blight, causing a growing drain upon outdoor recreation facilities, nonrenewable resources and living space. On the other hand, "nature never makes haste," Thoreau observed. "Her systems evolve at an even pace."

Our population, however, needs to have access to clean, pleasant surroundings with touches of beauty, and an opportunity for occasional solitude away from congestion, excessive noise and pollution. The Apostle Islands National Lakeshore will be such a place. It will provide its visitors with a complete variety of recreational opportunities, such as hunting, fishing, boating, camping, hiking and nature study. Howard Mead, publisher and editor of Wisconsin Tales and Trails, describes the solitude of the Apostle Islands and the Lake Superior surroundings in the following passage:

> To know the tranquillity these islands offer, you must walk their beaches on a golden midsummer's day and feel the lake's cool breath as it swishes, bubbling and flowing in a rhythm that you feel as much as hear. To understand the awesome power and fickleness of the great lake you must sit on the ancient scarred rocks and watch the wind-driven waves shatter into thunderous fountains of spray. Each island is its own world. And every man who has learned to love them accepts these islands, and the surrounding blue expanse of lake, on their terms, not his.

Mr. Speaker, the establishment of an Apostle Islands National Lakeshore is in the best interests, not only for our present population, but also, for generations yet to come.

VISTA VOLUNTEERS LEARN TO HELP THE POOR HELP THEMSELVES

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Fulton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguishing characteristics of American civilization has been our people's willingness to help others in times of need. The Office of Economic Opportunity's VISTA program has successfully organized several thousand Americans, young and old, as volunteers in our Nation's struggle against poverty. I was greatly pleased to read about VISTA's excellent work in the Sunday Nashville-Tennessean of September 10. I would like at this time, Mr. Speaker, to include in the Record this fine article about VISTA which was written by Mr. Rob Elder of the Tennessean staff.

VISTA Volunteers Learn To Help the Poor Help Themselves

(By Rob Elder)

When you go through basic training to fight the war on poverty, life becomes a learning experience.

You lie on a dirty bed, a flour sack for a pillowcase, and watch the moonlight and the mosquitoes pour through the window from the West Tennessee fields outside.

You hear a car coming in the night. It stops, and you hear voices out behind the house, where the hogs are rooting in the darkness, but you can't make out the words.

You lie still, sharing the wordless questions of the Negro family which lives in the house, and you learn something about fear.

LEFT EIGHT CHILDREN

Or, like Mildred Hoyt, a widowed 71-year-old great-grandmother from New Hampshire, you learn what happens when you stay with the family of a tenant farmer who has run away and left his eight children with no food in the house.

"You just waited," Mildred Hoyt says, "until somebody in the field was going to the store, and you went along and bought enough for the next meal, and you came home and cooked it and ate it."

Or, like Marlene Moses, 20, a brown-haired former coed from West Virginia University, you learn what it's like to go into the fields of Lauderdale County, Tennessee, and chop cotton with a group of Chocktaw Indian girls.

"After three hours," Marlene recalls, "I got very tired and stopped. But they told me they usually go into the fields at seven and come back at six."

Maybe you learn, as did Alma Baughman, 19, of Minerva, Ohio, that a family can live in a tenant house near Gold Dust, Tenn., and laugh at life although they have little.

Alma Baughman moved in with Glenn and Norma Jean Bishop and their children, and they took her a mile down the road and showed her the Mississippi River with all the pride of someone who owned it.

Or, like Paul Maginn, a 24-year-old former seminary student from Omaha, you may learn a lesson in despair by working and talking with a "representative of the poor" from Nashville's Metropolitan Action Commission.

"She said something that I think sums up the poor people's attitude," Paul says. "She said, 'You know, hope is an awful thing. You can build up so much around it, and then it can be pulled right out from under your feet. I just wish there was nothing like hope'."

You learn a lot, and you learn fast, because after six weeks, you're on your own.

GRADUATION DAY

That six weeks ends tomorrow for 30 people who will walk through a graduation ceremony in the basement of Capers Memorial Methodist Church.

After that they will be VISTAs—Volunteers In Service to America.

VISTA is the domestic Peace Corps; its members spend a year fighting poverty in the United States. First, they receive six weeks of training from private agencies operating under government contracts.

Westinghouse Learning Corp., a new subsidiary of Westinghouse Electric, chose Nashville as its site for training two groups of VISTAs this summer. The first group of 42 graduated July 28. The second group leaves Tuesday to work in Bristol, Tenn., Cabbage Town, Ga., Rockhill, S.C., and other communities throughout the Southeast.

Eleven VISTAs are already assigned to Nashville, where they work with the Metro Action Commission. During the next year, still more volunteers for the Southeast will come from a permanent training center Westinghouse is now establishing in Atlanta.

STARTED AUGUST 1

For those who graduate here tomorrow, the training began Aug. 1, when they arrived in Nashville.

Each came for his own reason.

A retired schoolteacher, when asked why she wanted to join VISTA, replied simply, "I wasn't ready to rock."

"I have been given a very great deal," she added, "and it sounds kind of corny, but at this particular time I felt I could give back."

Several of the younger trainees talked in terms of building a better world rather than accepting the one they inherited from their parents.

"It seemed better than chasing the golden dollar," said one. To another, it was a way of avoiding "the upper middle class stereotype."

LITTLE GREEN HOUSE

They reported to a little green house at 314 15th Ave., N., where each was given a 10-minute briefing, a city map, and instructions to go find the poor family with whom he or she would eat and sleep.

Later they moved to rural West Tennessee, again to live in the homes of the poor. There and in Nashville, they worked—in jobs they found for themselves—with agencies which serve the poor.

Little of their learning has come from lectures; a lot has come from direct exposure to what it means to live in poverty.

Anthony Potter, 65, who signed up for VISTA with his wife after they retired and moved to Florida, puts it this way:

"A man with a full stomach doesn't know what it means to be hungry. A man with a beautiful home to live in doesn't know what it means to have leaks in his roof."

Potter, a muscular, friendly-faced man who speaks with a Greek accent, shakes his head when he remembers the restaurants he ran before he retired.

"Every day," he recalls, "we threw away enough food to feed a hundred people."

But, as his wife, Lorrene, points out, the VISTA trainees have discovered more than what it means to be hungry.

"The physical deprivations we found—I knew about them," she says. What she did not know, she says, is "what it would be like to be afraid—afraid within your own home. Afraid that if you talked to somebody that the power structure regarded as troublemaking, you might not have a home tomorrow.

"That kind of thing I didn't know," Mrs. Potter says.

"I still can't inside of me feel what it must be like to live that way—and not be able to see to the point where I wouldn't be living that way."

Through group dynamics, or "T-sessions," as they call them, the trainees have examined their reactions to their experiences, to each other, and to themselves.

Such sessions have been spaced throughout their training; one took place on the grass in front of a school in Fayette County. The trainees sat on the ground in a circle with George Anderson, a burly, cigar-smoking Negro trainer from Washington, D.C.

Anderson began by telling them that the year ahead would be tough.

"It's no merry-go-round out there," he declared in a low, almost guttural voice. "The people you'll be working with—they've heard it all before. If you're going to get through to them, you've got to come across as a person."

And this was their chance, he explained, for them to give each other "feed-back" on how they came across to each other.

Slowly, under Anderson's prodding, the trainees began to open up. Any member of the group who asked for it received from the others a straightforward statement of how they reacted to him or her:

"We've talked a lot, but I think you've been really honest only once."

"You don't seem at all aware of how you make other people feel."

"You always make people come to you, rather than offer anything of yourself to them."

In some cases the criticism drew angry reactions, and there were tears on both ends of several exchanges. But whenever anyone attempted to retreat from blunt honesty to tactful hedging, Anderson interrupted.

"Sock it to 'em," he insisted. "If you tell someone how he really makes you feel, you're doing him a favor."

"Gosh, that hurt," one member of the group said later, "But it felt good to go on and get it all out in the open."

Other trainees agree that the "T-sessions" not only drew them closer as a group, but also increased their understanding of themselves as individuals.

BUILDING A BRIDGE

To their trainers, this is a key point.

"Understanding themselves is a bridge to other people," explains Mary Killeen, a blonde, 25-year-old member of the training staff who served in the Peace Corps in Chile. The emphasis on self-acceptance is based on a conviction that the war on poverty must be waged on a person-to-person level.

Mildred Hoyt, the great-grandmother from New Hampshire, put the point to work for her in West Tennessee, where several of the trainees were moved out of the homes of Negro sharecroppers by white landowners.

The white farmer who owned the house where Mrs. Hoyt was living confronted her with his suspicion that she was a civil rights worker. She explained that she was training to become a VISTA, she says, "but to him that was just another government handout."

YOU AND I

"He began talking about welfare, and how awful it was for people not to do anything but live on food stamps, and he said, 'You know who pays for that?'

"I said, 'Yes, you and I pay for it.'

"He said, 'You?'

"I said, 'Yes, I'm a landowner too. I have a little farm you could tuck in one corner of your 80-acre hayfield, but I pay my share of taxes too.'

"You could almost see a wall come down." Mrs. Hoyt recalls, "because I put myself in his position."

But to put themselves in the position of the poor, the trainees have found, is not so simple. Most admit they now consider their task far more difficult than they imagined when they began.

"We all came here expecting to find the answer," says 21-year-old Niki Rowe of Hidden Hills, Calif. "Instead, we found the problem."

Marlene Moses found "the problem" when she moved in with a motherless family of 13 children and immediately went to work in the kitchen. Later, after watching their reaction, she decided this had been "a great blunder."

"I realized after I did it I was just going in and taking over," she says. "I should have let the kids do it themselves."

Now, the trainees are convinced that their mission as VISTAs is not simply to "help the poor," but rather the much more difficult task of "helping people learn how to help themselves."

They are not sure how—or even whether—they will succeed. But they are determined to try.

It is perhaps Anthony Potter, in his Greek accent, who expresses their attitude best:

"As an American in my adopted country," he says, "I'm ashamed of the poverty I have seen. I wish I could do more than I'm able to do, which is very little.

"But maybe it is like laying a foundation. Maybe I can put on just one block. Someone else will put on another—and a block here, a block there, you start to build."

MAJ. GEN. DONALD W. McGOWAN

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Gallagher] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, this Nation lost one of its most distinguished soldiers yesterday. Maj. Gen. Donald W. McGowan, World War II commander of New Jersey's famed Essex Troop and former Chief of the National Guard Bureau, died at his home in New Jersey on Sunday after a long illness.

General McGowan dedicated his life to the Army and to the service of his country. After enlisting at the age of 16, he served with the New Jersey National Guard 5th Infantry Division during the Mexican border campaign. During World War I, General McGowan fought in France with the 29th Division. With the outbreak of World War II, he took command of the 102d Cavalry, the Essex Troop, and led them throughout the European theater. After the war, General McGowan returned to his home State of New Jersey to command the 50th Armored Division.

In 1959, 4 years after becoming head of the Army section of the National Guard Bureau, General McGowan was named to the post of Chief of the National Guard Bureau. He led the National Guard through the extensive reorganization of 1961.

Mr. Speaker, General McGowan had a deep and thorough understanding of both the military and human needs of the modern Armed Forces, and he always tried to instill that same understanding in all those who were privileged to serve with him. I extend to his wife and fine family our deepest sympathy.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PROGRAM TO REBUILD THE CITIES RECEIVES DRAMATIC PUBLIC SUPPORT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. McCarthy] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, with the announcement that America's leading insurance companies are ready to invest $1 billion in housing and jobs for the cities, President Johnson's efforts for America's cities received a major show of support from private enterprise.

This was not an isolated effort by the Johnson administration, nor was it the first effort by the business community in support of the President's plans for urban America.

A few weeks ago the President proposed to move ahead swiftly with the development of a new community in Washington, D.C., on land owned by the Federal Government. The emphasis in this model community will be on achieving a balanced mixture of low- and moderate-income housing, complete with necessary community features.

It is the administration's intention to bring public and private resources together, fully involve the private housing industry in public housing, and further attract private investment to the new town or model city concept.

Leaders throughout the country and the Washington area responded with enthusiasm to the President's District of Columbia new-city proposal, just as major insurance companies announced their billion dollar support of rent supplements and other opportunity programs.

What does this mean?

It means that supposedly controversial urban Federal programs like model cities, the war against poverty, rat extermination, are receiving strong public and private support. In my home city of Buffalo, leaders of both the public and private sector are supporting the administrations' housing, job creation, model cities, rat extermination, and other urban programs.

It means that the urban restoration program proposed by President Johnson is now being accepted as a logical and necessary national policy.

It means that private enterprise sees a critical responsibility for businessmen to aid the cities.

In short, it means that America is finally accepting the challenge of urban America.

President Johnson's housing and urban programs certainly deserve our continued support.

I insert at this point in the Record a series of telegrams sent to the President by nationally known organizations and individuals in support of his new city concept for the District of Columbia:

The President,
The White House:

Your proposal to build a new city on the site of the National Training School is a masterstroke. I am delighted you are following up by having public lands outside of other cities surveyed to see if similar projects are feasible.

This is the most creative proposal that has been made and I think the promises are great.

Paul H. Douglas.

The President,
The White House:

The Mayors Conference very much interested in details with respect to your announcement today of the task force to reexamine possible surplus federal lands which might be made available to cities to meet critical urban land shortages. Would appreciate receiving further details so that we might inform mayors of cities of 30,000 and over. Very respectfully yours

Terry D. Schrunk,
Mayor of Portland, Oreg.,
Vice President, U.S. Conference of Mayors.

The President,
The White House:

Your announcement of plans for the expedited development of the National Training School site comes as a responsible and welcome step toward relief of our city's housing crisis. Housing Development Corporation stands ready to assist in any way possible to accomplish your aims.

Channing E. Phillips,
President, Housing Development Corp.

The President,
The White House:

Delighted with announcement of new-town, in-town project for National Training School in Washington. Urgent need for low and moderate income housing in central city. We support fully use of surplus Federal property to meet these critical needs. Washington project offers opportunity to make our cities better places to live.

IRVING HAND,
President, American Institute of Planners, Washington, D.C.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The American Institute of Architects commends your concept for a new community to be built at the National Training School site in Northeast Washington.

We believe that this project will be an important precedent and urge its development as a truly balanced urban community.

The opportunity that you have created can, and should be a model of urban planning. We offer our professional assistance in any meaningful way to assure the success of this project.

ROBERT L. DURHAM,
FAIA, president the American Institute of Architects.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Your designation of the National Training School site for development to meet the housing and other needs of low and moderate income families is both the answer to the prayer of thousands of devotees in our city and a sterling example of the fine example of leadership that government must give when dealing with the crisis in our cities.

I pray that your example will be duplicated by state and local officials across the country and that these officials will be joined by the private sectors in making available to low and moderate income people in our nation. The land we so desperately need for housing, schools, and recreation. The model inter city community organization, which I head, pledges, that it will work vigorously for the fulfillment of the purposes you have set for the National School Training site.

REV. WALTER E. FAUNTROY,
President, Model Inter-City Community, Inc.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

The National Recreation and Park Association commends you for advancing the far reaching proposal to develop the site of the D.C. National Training School for Boys as a "model city within a city." You have shown great foresight in appointing a cabinet level task force to study the possibilities of utilizing other surplus federal lands to extend this concept across the nation. The National Recreation and Park Association as the national representative of the park and recreation movement offers you and the task force group its full cooperation and willingness to help in any way it can. Your program makes possible new exciting vistas and opportunities to plan adequate park and recreation facilities and services vital to the health and welfare of the American people.

SAL J. PREZIOSO,
Executive Vice President,
CONRAD L. WIRTH,
Chairman, administrative board.

WHO SERVES?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from one of my constituents who would like to know whether the Nation's lawmakers are making sacrifices equal to her own, in respect to the war in Vietnam. I do not, of course, have the answer to her question, but would be pleased to forward any information to her that my colleagues would care to send me.

Her letter to me is as follows:

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: I am from the 29th District. I have a son, who is a Marine, and has received his orders to go to Vietnam.

I believe I have the *right* to know how our lawmakers, from the President *on down*, have contributed to the war (only in respect to human life). What I really want to know is: Who has a son, a son-in-law, or a grandson who has served in Vietnam? I am only interested in Vietnam. Disregard other locations of service.

I have written to the President, Vice President, Rusk, McNamara, and on down, and none had either the courtesy (or maybe guts) to answer me.

If this war is important enough for them to take my son and send him to Vietnam I want to know why they don't take their sons. I would appreciate an answer.

A GIGANTIC CONFIDENCE GAME

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, for some time now, I have been conducting an investigation into the vast commercial activities of the tax-exempt American Farm Bureau Federation. My current inquiry has revealed that the Farm Bureau is deeply engaged in what must certainly rank as one of the most gigantic and successful confidence games ever perpetrated upon an unsuspecting public.

I have discovered that there is now in existence between $4 and $6 billion in worthless certificates which have been issued in lieu of cash by the Nation's cooperatives to their patrons, most of whom are farmers.

These certificates represent the customers' share of the co-ops profits. Very simply, what happens is that the co-op keeps the cash, the customer keeps the certificates, and the co-op then refuses to redeem it, making these certificates literally worthless. To make this situation worse, the customer must treat worthless certificates as if they were cash and they must pay personal income taxes, and in some States personal property taxes, on the full amount while the co-op deducts these so-called securities from its taxable income, and, as a result, pays practically no taxes.

Let me give you an example of how this system, which defrauds both the U.S. Treasury and the American farmer, works. Let us assume that a co-op has net earnings of $1 million. According to the law, if it distributes this $1 million to its customers, it is not liable for any taxes. The law specifically states that it only has to distribute 20 percent of its earnings in cash and may distribute the rest in common stock, revolving fund certificates, or simple book allocations.

Most Farm Bureau cooperatives distribute the 20 percent in cash and the balance in what I call "funny money." They then report to the Internal Revenue Service that they have no taxable income for the year and, in turn, the co-ops tell their customers that the certificates or stock that the customers own are unredeemable and pay no interest or dividends. They cannot be cashed, or be used in payment for merchandise purchased. In actual fact, they are worthless.

Meanwhile, the co-op is left with $800,000 in cash which it then uses to go out and purchase taxpaying businesses and which it then converts into tax-exempt cooperatives. Thus, the Government is a double loser.

If this situation were not bad enough, it is made even worse by the fact that this is perfectly permissible under present tax law. Cooperatives have been avoiding the payment of taxes in this manner for approximately 40 years. Some co-ops admit to not redeeming their paper for 30 years.

In 1959 a Federal judge finally ruled that the farmer did not have to declare these patronage refunds as income because they were worthless. In spite of this, the Treasury Department continued to permit the co-ops to continue to distribute their profits in the form of these worthless certificates, thereby avoiding the payment of taxes.

Finally, in 1962 the law was changed, but instead of assisting the farmer, the law came to the rescue of the co-ops. According to the 1962 law, the co-ops had to pay 20 percent in cash. They were still permitted to issue valueless certificates to their customers, but written in microscopic print on the certificates was an agreement by the customer that he had also consented to pay income tax on them.

Nothing was done to create a legitimate value by making them redeemable within a fixed period of time.

Mr. Speaker, today there is absolutely no U.S. Government control over any aspect of the activities of cooperatives. I have been unable to find anyone in the Government who can tell me how many cooperatives there are, what their sales value is, and exactly how much in worthless certificates there is in circulation.

The Federal Government does not even have a statutory definition of what a cooperative is, and it has no regulatory statutes governing their activities—even though the Government is still, and has for the last 40 years, been picking up the bill.

Cooperatives are virtually exempt from antitrust laws under the Capper-Volstead Act. They are also free from scrutiny by the SEC. They operate in the manner of the robber barons of the 1800's. They do not have to disclose their officers' salaries; when, if ever, they plan to return the patron's money to him; or any other pertinent information, for that matter.

The original co-ops were based on a one-man, one-vote principle, so that the farmer would actually have control over the policies of the co-ops.

Today, a man owning a share of stock in General Motors has more influence in determining management policy than a man owning a share of stock in a co-op. In Farm Bureau cooperatives the controlling stock does not belong to the local members of the co-op. It belongs to the county or State farm bureau organization, a completely separate corporate entity composed largely of nonfarmers.

Because these co-ops operate free from antitrust laws, they are able to commit an additional abuse. They are able to force the farmer to pay dues to the Farm Bureau as a precondition for dealing with the co-op.

If there is any question about how loose and ineffective the laws concerning co-ops are, let us examine the National Cooperative Refinery Association of McPherson, Kans. This association is in the oil business: it operats oil wells, pipelines, and refineries in this county and it is engaged in oil exploration in Canada. It has even done business in Libya. On sales of $58 millon in 1966 it enjoyed a profit of $8.2 million. This was after the standard deduction for depreciation and oil depletion allowance.

Since this association has declared itself a cooperative, instead of paying taxes and dividends, it simply makes patronage refunds available to its owners and avoids the payment of taxes altogether. However, the recipients of these dividends do not pay any taxes either, because the National Cooperative Refinery Association is, in turn, owned by six other cooperatives whose annual sales are over $1 billion. This organization is not unique. There are many other such setups in the cooperative movement.

In conclusion, I believe that there is something obviously wrong when a group of businessmen can exploit our tax laws by organizing a profitmaking business in such a manner that they can compete with taxpaying businesses, engage in unrestrained and unregulated growth, and avoid payment of taxes to the U.S. Treasury and dividends and interest to their stockholders.

Mr. Speaker, legislation must be enacted in order to curb these excesses while at the same time protecting the legitimate farmer co-ops. I think it is time for the Treasury Department and the Department of Agriculture to recommend legislation that will enable them to exercise the same control over co-ops that the Government exercises over all private industry. This is another example of how much a realistic and meaningful tax reform measure is needed.

THE PLACE OF LAW IN OUR WAY OF LIFE

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Kornegay] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday afternoon, September 18, the Daily Times-News of Burlington, N.C., carried a major portion of an address made by Resident Superior Court Judge Leo Carr, of Burlington, on "The Place of Law in Our Way of Life."

Mr. Howard White, the able editor of this paper, made the following prefatory statement to Judge Carr's remarks, reproduced in the paper:

> Note: Resident Superior Court Judge Leo Carr of Burlington has expressed himself on several occasions in recent months on law and the public's responsibility to it. Following is a major portion of his address on the subject, with his views recommended highly to readers because of the threat to law that is facing the nation today.

I should like to add, Mr. Speaker, that Senator B. Everett Jordan, in whose home county Judge Carr resides, and I, who am proud to represent this county in the House, are in agreement with the timely, thoughtful, and opportune observations made by Judge Carr.

Judge Carr is the dean of the North Carolina Delegation of Superior Court Judges. He is one of our State's most able and outstanding jurists, who has dedicated his time and his talent and his life to the administration of justice.

His remarks follow:

The Place of Law in Our Way of Life

(By Judge Leo Carr)

We are a government of law and not of men, and perhaps it would be desirable for us to stop for a moment and see if we can define what we mean by a government of men. We know pretty well what we mean by government of law, because that is the type of government that we enjoy. Sometimes, however, we may not very clearly understand what we mean by government of men. That fact was brought very forcefully to my attention in 1961 when the chief justice of Cuba resigned his office and came to Florida to spend some time. He gave an interview that year to a representative of the United States News and World Report. In that interview he stated that Cuba had a Constitution that was adopted by its people in 1940, and that they lived under that Constitution and abided by the laws that were enacted pursuant thereto until Batista came into power. Batista varied some from that Constitution, and it was thought that when Castro came to power in Cuba the pepole's rights under the 1940 Constitution would be more secure.

However, by 1961 this chief justice stated that he found he had nothing to do as chief justice. The Supreme Court had nothing to do, and the judges on the lower levels in Cuba had nothing to do; the people were no longer being governed by the 1940 Constitution, and the laws written pursuant thereto, but by edict of the Executive Department of the government. Instead of the courts being used for trial of criminal cases, the violations on the criminal side of the docket were heard by a committee, all of whom were in military uniform, and the grievances of the citizens in respect to their civil matters were heard by agencies of the government—of the Executive Department of the government. The courts had run out of anything to do in Cuba because there was no law to interpret, and so the chief justice resigned and came to Florida.

I think that interview pretty well depicts what type of government we call a government of men, and it emphasizes the idea that when our courts are busy we can be pretty well convinced that we are living under a government of law. When the courts cease to function and have little to do, we may be concerned about that because this would be a strong indication that we are drifting toward a government of men rather than a government of law.

ALERTNESS IN IMPROVING LAW

I think that it is important and desirable to realize that we live in a changing world and that our laws from time to time may have to suffer some change, and we should ever be alert to find those areas in our law that need improvement. I am going to make a few observations on this program in respect to those phases of our law and those areas in the law that need some improvement. The first comment I wish to make has to do with our structural law, that is, our basic law or our Constitution; and while there are numbers of changes that probably are needed, time would not permit my referring to but one, and that is a matter that has given me much concern for quite some time.

We, in this country in the last few years, are having a great many Constitutional questions raised that have to be decided by the courts. They are decided quite often by a divided court. The Supreme Court of the United States decides them by a five-four vote, five justices voting one way and four voting another, on a Constitutional question or on many other questions.

I desire to call your attention to the procedure by which the Constitution is amended. The Constitution of the United States is amended by requiring that a bill be introduced in Congress and be passed by a two-thirds vote of the members of both houses of Congress. Then that amendment is submitted to state legislatures for their approval, and the Constitution requires that three-fourths of the state legislatures must ratify that amendment to the Constitution before it becomes an amendment. Yet, after all that has been done—after we require a two-thirds vote of the members in Congress to submit the amendment, and after we require three-fourths of the general assemblies or the legislatures of the state to ratify the amendment, under our present system we will permit one man on the Supreme Court to say what that amendment means. That, I think, is a weakness in our government, in our Constitution. When we go to such pains to get more than a majority of Congress to submit the amendment, and a three-fourths majority of the state legislatures to ratify it, then it seems to me illogical and inconsistent to let the interpretation of that amendment and its meaning be decided by only one man.

I submit that the experts should get busy and find out how we can change our plan of operation and require that in the interpretation of the Constitution—that is to say when an act of the legislative body is bought under consideration by the court and its constitutionality is questioned, or when the conduct of some court is brought under question and one's Constitutional rights are alleged to have been violated—the Supreme Court cannot decide that question without at least a two-thirds vote of the justices on the court. I think that is a needed reform in our structural law, and I suggest that our people should give serious consideration to that change in our basic structural law.

COURTESY IN DEALING WITH PUBLIC

There are some other observations that I would make in respect to the improvement of our law. The first one I would call to your attention is the need for every person who is connected with law in any manner in an official way, either in the enacting of the law or in the interpretation of it, or in the enforcement of it, to be diligent in his duty and remember that he is employed by the public and that the public interest should always be foremost in his thinking.

Another thing I would call attention to is the need for courtesy and consideration of the other fellow by those of us in authority. It was Confucius, the Chinese leader of another era, who stated that "Most of the bitterness and the animosities that exist between individuals is due to man's stupid inability to put himself in the position of the other fellow." I think we, in positions of authority, need to keep that in mind and to try to put ourselves in the position of the fellow whom we are dealing within an official way, and to do it courteously.

We had a sheriff in our county once who was firm and efficient, but he was the essence of courtesy when he was dealing with people. It was said of him, and rightly so, that he could make a man happy even while he was taking him to jail. That perhaps is an exaggerated statement, but it gives us some idea of what is needed in the enforcement of law and in the administration of law. We need to keep in mind the other fellow's position and to be as courteous and considerate of him as the circumstances will permit.

Judge Frank Daniels, a judge of another generation, expressed that idea, I thought, very clearly once when he said that all of us who are involved in the work of the law, in any field of law, should strive to perform our duties in such a manner as to generate in the minds of our people a deep reverence for the law and an affectionate obedience to its command. If we keep that in mind, those of us who are in official positions, I think we will make the law more effective.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENS

I want to also make this observation in respect to the responsibility of the average citizen of the state and of the nation toward law. I feel that there is a lack of interest on the part of the average citizen. He needs to develop more interest in the law, and more affection for the law. I am reminded in that connection of the little girl who received a pin cushion from her grandmother as a Christmas gift, and her mother insisted that she write her grandmother a note of thanks. She was a little hesitant to do it, but upon the insistence of her mother she did write a note of thanks, and this is how she began it: "Dear Grandmother: I received the pin cushion you sent me for Christmas. I like pin cushions, but not very much."

I feel that sometimes the attitude of the little girl with respect to the pin cushion can be used in connection with the average citizen's interest in and appreciation of law. The lack of interest I think can be explained in the first instance by the fact that we just do not take time—the average citizen just does not take time—to evaluate the contribution that law makes to his happiness and to his security and to the well-being of all. If he does that, then I think he will understand that he should manifest more interest in the law.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW

Then I think there are citizens who are hostile toward the law because there are certain laws that they don't like. Some laws seem to trespass upon their rights, and so they form a sort of hostility toward the law because of their dislike of certain laws. Some of that hostility rubs off on the laws that don't hurt them, and you hear that type of citizen sometimes saying that there are too many laws, that we ought to repeal most of them—about 90 per cent of them ought to be repealed. Well, I take that to mean that that kind of person finds about 10 per cent of the law favorable to him and the other 90 per cent either unfavorable or does nothing for his welfare, and, therefore, he wants about 90 per cent of them repealed.

I think we have to take this into consideration when we show hostility toward the law because of the fact that it may rub us wrong and infringe upon our rights, that quite often many people have to yield to a law enacted in the interest of the greater number of people.

I can illustrate it, I believe, by calling your attention to the fact that we have on the highways "yield" signs in which the person on the highway that doesn't have much traffic on it has to yield under the law to the traffic on the well-traveled highway, and while that law may be of some inconvenience to the person traveling on the lesser traveled highway, yet it is essential, and it is the law that has to be enacted in the interest of the greater number of people. That illustration has an application in the enactment of most laws. In other words, many of the laws that we as individuals may dislike because they are inconvenient to us and may trespass somewhat upon our rights are laws that are essential because there are so many more people that are benefited thereby. If we come to a proper appreciation of the law, I think we shall have to recognize that law requires us, in many instances, to yield to the law that benefits the greater number of people, when we are among a very limited number adversely affected by a law which we dislike.

I said a moment ago that it was the duty of those in official position to perform their duties courteously and considerately so as to generate reverence for the law and an affection for the law; but there is the duty of the citizen to respect the law and to respect those who are in official positions under the law. They sometimes criticize rather viciously, and that, I don't think, is the proper course to follow in a government of law. Criticize, yes, but do it in a manner that shows respect for the law and for those in authority. Vituperation and offensive language in our criticism has no place in a government of law.

Then, it is the duty of the average citizen to obey the law. I know that there are those who advocate disobedience of the law sometimes in order to show disapproval of the law. I recently read a remark that I could not quite understand, some gentleman speaking at a meeting and indicating that we are living in an era in which demonstrations and mild riots are necessary.

I recognize that under the law people have a right to peaceable assembly, and to certain lawful demonstrations to show their disapproval of the law, but I can't go along with that gentleman's idea that the time has come when we should recognize in a government of law, mild forms of violence and mild rioting. In my opinion mild rioting or any kind of rioting is associated wth mob violence, and mob violence and rioting have no place in a government of law.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

There are those who believe in civil disobedience, that whenever they disapprove of a law they should be premitted to disobey it and take the penalty. I subscribe to this concept and this philosophy—that in respect to my obligations to my government I should not engage in any course of conduct which I would not be willing for each citizen of the United States to engage in at the same time I do. I think that is a sound approach to this problem of civil disobedience. If one violates any law because he disapproves of that law, then he should be willing to let each citizen of the United States at the same moment violate any law that he doesn't approve of and you can see what that would lead to. It would be chaos immediately, and that, I think, is an answer to those who recommend the use of civil disobedience in order to show disapproval of certain laws. Civil disobedience has no place in a government of law.

I want to refer to one further fact that is extremely important at this time. Although we have succeeded in our government, it being a government of law, and we have made progress in this state in recent times in the administration of justice, nevertheless in recent years the law has not for some reason succeeded as well as it should in controlling crime. Crime is on the increase and a commission was appointed by the President several months ago to make a study of the administration of justice and the enforcement of law in this country.

THINK ON THE SUBJECT OF CRIME

I commend that report to all of you. I sincerely hope that everyone within the sound of my voice will think seriously on the subject of crime and will as a citizen strive to make some contribution in that connection to help this government, under law, get control of the criminal element so that we may have more security in our homes and more security on our streets. We need a deep study of that subject, and each citizen of this land owes it to his government to make every contribution he can towards bringing the criminal element under control in this country.

I want to make this final observation. Three presidents have issued proclamations in regard to Law Day, starting with President Eisenhower. I wish to lift from President Kennedy's Proclamation in 1963, the year of his assassination, some words with which I close:

"The story of man's advance from savagery to civilization is the story of reason and morality displacing brutal force. While law is reason systematized, it is more than reason alone. A great justice of our Supreme Court said long ago, 'The law is the witness and external deposit of our moral life. Its history is the history of the moral development of the race.'

"In a time when all men are properly concerned lest nations forgetting law, reason, and moral existence, turn to mutual destruction, we have all the more need to work for a day when law may govern nations as it does men within nations, when systematized reason may bring us a confident future, when the moral development of the human race may assure us a peaceful and a law abiding world."

ETHNIC JOKES ARE IN BAD TASTE

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, professional sports have taught us a lesson in tolerance that all other aspects of American life might well emulate. Ever since Jackie Robinson came into the major leagues in 1947 as a young rookie fresh from the Brooklyn Dodgers' Montreal affiliate in the International League, and the racial walls came tumbling down, professional baseball has earned an enviable reputation as an equal-opportunity employer. Thus, it came as a great shock to me last night to read in the Washington Evening Star a very gratuitous attack, in the form of a feeble attempt at humor, upon both Carl Yastrzemski, of the Boston Red Sox, and several million Americans of Polish extraction.

In his nightly column, entitled "Siegel at Large," Sports Columnist Morris Siegel discusses the chances of the Boston Red Sox getting into the world series. Mr. Siegel offers an opinion made by Mr. Yastrzemski with which Mr. Siegel differs. If I may quote from the column:

> Yaz hadn't taken that into consideration, but he is blameless. Poles are notoriously bad at arithmetic.

Conceding the point that this is meant to be funny, it nonetheless is a belittling attack upon a young man who, by the way, is a graduate of a very fine college in Massachusetts. This intelligent athlete finished his undergraduate work in the off baseball season, having attended Notre Dame University prior to signing a contract with the Red Sox.

In my opinion, ethnic jokes are all in bad taste and I think that Mr. Siegel owes an apology both to the Red Sox' gifted left fielder and to all Americans who share Mr. Yastrzemski's ethnic background. We have come a long way in eliminating racial stereotypes, and, as I see it, the Star should be in the foreground of this campaign.

Mr. Speaker, because many Members of this House may not have seen this offensive piece of writing, I include this part of Mr. Siegel's column at this point in the Record:

> Boston's best bet against the Twins, it appears, is to work out a scheme to get a relief pitcher, notably John Wyatt, into the game.
>
> Of their five victories over the league leaders, Wyatt has won one and saved three others. Former Twin Lee Stange, who mysteriously hasn't gotten a call from Williams for the last four games is the only Red Sox pitcher to start, finish and beat 'em.
>
> Williams and a number of his minions feel reasonably certain Boston will win. Carl Yastrzemski is more cautions.
>
> "We've got to pray for the White Sox to lose a game and then we've got to split with the Twins to take it," Yaz has figured out.
>
> If the status remains quo between now and Sunday, a split with Minnesota would be disastrous for the Red Sox. Yaz hadn't taken that into consideration, but he is blameless. Poles are notoriously bad at arithmetic.

MICRONESIA: THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Zablocki] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a House joint resolution which will create a commission to study the political status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, more commonly called Micronesia.

As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, I have long been deeply interested in the administration and development of these islands which equal only two-thirds of the land area of Rhode Island, yet are scattered over an expanse of ocean comparable to the contiguous United States.

In 1959, as a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, it was my privilege to serve on the Fourth Committee, or Trusteeship Committee, of the United Nations. At that time the Committee was engaged in deliberations on a number of non-self-governing territories, including the Pacific islands.

Part of the U.N. mandate to the United States on these islands requires that their people be assisted to forms of self-government or independence, as they may wish. Consistent with our traditional policy of self-determination of peoples, we have assisted the Micronesians toward building political institutions.

Now the Congress of Micronesia has asked the President to establish a commission to study and analyze political alternatives open to that region.

Responding to that initiative, President Johnson in a message to Congress last month urged congressional action on a proposal to provide for such a commission.

Because of my own belief that the time has come for action on the status of the trust territories, I am today introducing a House joint resolution on the subject which has been recommended by the administration.

It is my hope that our colleagues on the House Interior Committee, having jurisdiction over Micronesian affairs, will give this and similar resolutions on this subject speedy and favorable consideration.

The text of the resolution follows:

H.J. Res. 848

Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

> Whereas the United States is the administering authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, pursuant to the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States of America and the Security Council of the United Nations; and
>
> Whereas the United States, in the Trusteeship Agreement, undertook a solemn obligation to "foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the trust territory" and to "promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned"; and
>
> Whereas the United States, in the Trusteeship Agreement, further undertook a solemn obligation to promote the economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory; and
>
> Whereas the United States is dedicated to the principle of government by consent of the governed; and
>
> Whereas the Congress of Micronesia has petitioned the President to "establish a commission to consult the people of Micronesia to ascertain their wishes and views, and to study and critically assess the political alternatives open to Micronesia; and
>
> Whereas the President has proposed to establish a commission in response to such petition and has invited congressional participation; and
>
> Whereas the Congress by enacting Public Law 90–16 has evidenced its support for an intensive program to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the Trust Territory: Now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That it is the sense of Congress that whatever steps may be necessary shall be taken to provide for such a degree of self-government as will permit the people of the Trust Territory freely to express their wishes as soon as possible, and not later than June 30, 1972, on the future status of the Trust Territory.
>
> Sec. 2. In addition to eight members of the Commission to be appointed by the President, the appointment of eight members of Congress to serve on the President's Commission on the Status of the Trust Territory is hereby authorized. Four of such members shall be appointed by the President of the Senate, and four shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. An additional member shall be appointed by the President, and shall serve as Chairman.
>
> Sec. 3. The Commission shall study and assess all factors bearing upon the future of the Trust Territory and shall consult as appropriate with representatives of the people of Micronesia. The Commission shall, no later than eight months after funds for the Commission are appropriated and made available to the Commission, submit recommendations to the President and to the Congress of the United States concerning the best means to obtain the objective set forth in section 1.
>
> Sec. 4. The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions. Employees of the executive branch may be detailed to assist in the work of the Commission, with or without reimbursement. Any member of the Commission who may be appointed by the President from among the public shall be compensated $100 per diem for his services when engaged on commission business, and all members shall be entitled to reimbursement for actual travel and per diem in lieu of subsistence when engaged on Commission business, as authorized by law for persons employed intermittently. The Commission is authorized to procure services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109.
>
> Sec. 5. There is authorized to be appropriated out of moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated such funds as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, but not to exceed $200,000, to be available until expended.

SCIENCE "WARNING SYSTEM"

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Patten] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, as a former member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics I remain much interested in the work of this group. I have been particularly impressed with its recent efforts to develop mechanisms for permitting Congress to make better informed judgments on matters of technological significance.

I am submitting an editorial from the September issue of Industrial Research entitled "Science 'Warning System'."

This editorial describes the various proposals thus far made with regard to the above matter, with especial attention to the proposal of the House Science Committee as made by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Daddario]. It follows:

Science "Warning System"

> Five proposals have been made in recent months to assess the impact of science and technology and to counter act the undesirable byproducts and side effects of research and development advances.
>
> The proposals reflect growing concern over the harmful consequences of nuclear testing, agricultural chemicals, whether modification, outer space experiments, exotic pharmaceuticals, widespread automation, electronic "bugging," and other such problem areas (pointed out in an *Industrial Research* editorial in June 1965).

Although their objectives are similar, the five suggested approaches to the problem are quite different:

A five-member, non-regulatory "Technology Assessment Board—responsible mainly to Congress—would be created under a bill introduced by Rep. Emilio Q. Daddario (D–Conn.), chairman, House Subcommittee on Science, Research, & Development. The board would identify and promote promising new R&D areas and would point out and seek to eliminate or minimize unwanted byproducts and side effects.

A "Select Committee on Technology & the Human Environment" would be established under a plan backed by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) and 20 other senators. The special committee, with a limited life span, would study and report on the problems of "advancing technology."

A "Joint Committee on Science & Technology" would be appointed under a bill introduced by Sen. Gordon L. Allott (R-Colo.). The Congressional committee would seek to make certain the benefits of science and technology are used most effectively in the interests of national security and the general welfare.

A "Council on Environmental Quality" would be organized under a bill proposed by Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.). The plan calls for an independent council to oversee scientific and industrial activities affecting the environment.

An "Institute for Scientific Judgment" would be formed under a proposal by Dr. Arthur Kantrowitz, director, Avco Everett Research Laboratory. The institute would monitor the scientific scene and appoint specialists to argue technical issues as a means of separating "the scientific from the political and moral components of a mixed decision."

All five proposals have merit. But the editors of *Industrial Research* believe the Daddario plan comes closest to a technological "warning system" that could alert the public and the government to undesirable consequences in time to take appropriate corrective action. At the same time, the Technology Assessment Board could be helpful in accelerating the transfer of scientific and technological advances into practical use.

The Daddario proposal is a conscientious, novel, and daring attempt to come to grips with an elusive problem. The fact that Daddario's subcommittee is launching a long-range study of the technology assessment concept before proceeding with the plan (reported in this issue on page 17) is indicative of the thoroughness of the approach.

The potential harm of some byproducts and side effects of science and technology is so great that some formalized effort must be made to foresee undesirable outcomes while corrective measures still can be taken. We believe it should be possible to devise an early warning mechanism that will not curtail scientific freedom or technological progress.

SOUTHWESTERN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT ACT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. TUNNEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in order to establish a southwestern human development program.

The director of the program would be authorized to enter into agreements with any Federal, State, or local government agency or any other public agency or private organization to establish education, training, health, citizenship, or any similar programs to assist the Mexican-American community.

This legislation is designed to assist the Mexican-American in his efforts to eliminate poverty from his midst and to achieve individual economic independence through the development of employment opportunities and improved motivation and productivity.

Funds would be allotted to each Southwestern State based upon the number of persons with Spanish surnames in each State and the per capita income of the State. These funds would be used for programs of education, job training, health care, and community leadership. This will enable Mexican-Americans to overcome, through self-help, the barriers to economic opportunity, self-reliance and independence.

I believe that it is important for all citizens to identify with the values of their society. The enactment of this legislation will help to create conditions under which useful employment opportunities can be afforded to all those able and willing to succeed.

FIRE RESEARCH AND SAFETY AMENDMENTS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. TUNNEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, the focusing of scientific interest on the problem of fire in American cities that will be accomplished by passage of the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967 will help to meet a long-standing need to improve firefighting technology. This legislation will authorize a fire research and safety program and establish a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control. As a southern Californian, I have watched appalled as fires such as the ones at Bel Air and Malibu have destroyed the homes and the savings of hundreds, despite the best efforts of the most modern fire departments in the world. Surely a concentrated attack on this problem will result in tremendous savings in life, property, and human suffering.

Fortunately, there is precedent for my belief that scientific research can reduce the damage from unwanted fires. Southern California is a land of chaparral forest as well as cities, and these forests have been subject to great fires since the earliest days of the Spanish explorers. In 1963, the Forest Service dedicated a Forest Fire Laboratory at Riverside, Calif., in an attempt to bring the same scientific advances to forest fire control that the Fire Research and Safety Act will bring to the city fireman. The results, in 4 short years have been truly impressive.

This modern laboratory, housing 35 scientists, has undertaken a full range of research, from the most basic studies of combustion chemistry through expert consulting service to the fire chief at the scene of the fire. Although the facility is federally owned and operated, it has a fully cooperative program. Both the State of California and the Los Angeles fire agencies contribute to the research program and share equally the results. The Department of Defense has commissioned the Riverside Fire Laboratory to conduct an intensive study on the fire effects of nuclear explosions. Since nuclear fires may strike city or forest alike, the results will be applicable throughout the United States.

Findings of forest research have been applied on privately owned forest and watershed lands in southern California and the rest of the country through the cooperative forest fire program, authorized by the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924. This program is an outstanding example of the effectiveness of Federal-State and private cooperation. Fire problems are still serious in the urban-wildland complex of southern California, but progress has been made there as elsewhere in the Nation. The area currently being burned in the 50 States is now 4 million acres compared to over 22 million acres in the 1920's when the cooperative program was established.

The legislation we are considering will do much to fill the knowledge gap in the total national fire program and I support its passage. Of equal importance is an operational program to bring better fire protection to rural areas and small communities. This is provided in legislation introduced by a number of my distinguished colleagues, specifically H.R. 11400, 11467, and 12102.

The Forest Service has already shown that sound scientific research, coupled with a strong development and extension program can result in marked improvements in firefighting efficiency. The system of aerial firefighting with chemicals, to quote just one example, was developed through research. This one development alone has already prevented enough forest fire damage to have paid the costs of the entire Forest Service research program 16 times over.

When the Department of Commerce initiates its urban fire research program, it should be closely coordinated with the existing program in the Department of Agriculture. Fires in buildings pose special problems, and the Commerce Department should take all possible measures to meet their challenge. But we must not forget that fires in rural and suburban areas involve a mixture of forest and city conditions, and that the ultimate solution to fire disasters like Bel Air will involve the strongest kind of cooperation between Federal, State, and local research and action agencies. The Forest Service is the natural and recognized leader for programs dealing with the fire problems in forest, brush, and rural areas. This agency is performing both its research and its cooperative fire control programs with the States in an outstanding manner.

In future national fire programs, the Forest Service leadership should continue in these cooperative efforts. Moreover, the Forest Service program should be substantially strengthened. Passage of the Fire Research and Safety Act will add a new member to the firefighting team. Each agency participating in the national fire program has its role. The combined effect will mean better fire protection for both urban and rural America.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. MORGAN (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for the week of September 25, on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. FINO, for 15 minutes, on Wednesday, September 27.

Mrs. KELLY, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ALBERT, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include an article entitled "A Talk With the First Lady," from a recent edition of the Sunday magazine of the New York Times.

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts) to revise and extend their remarks and clude extraneous matter.

Mr. TALCOTT, for 10 minutes, September 28.

Mr. LAIRD, for 10 minutes today.

Mr. BOW, for 10 minutes today.

Mr. KUPFERMAN, for 30 minutes, on September 27.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. ALBERT to extend his remarks following the message of the President today, and that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks following the message.

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama.

Mr. ARENDS.

Mr. MATHIAS of California.

Mr. CONTE.

Mr. ERLENBORN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. NIX.

Mr. CELLER.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 472. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase certain land from Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Tex.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, September 27, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

1106. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the report with respect to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, for the year ending May 31, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PRICE of Illinois: Committee on Armed Services. S. 223. An act to authorize the disposal of the Government-owned long-lines communication facilities in the State of Alaska, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 662). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 906. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the report to the Committee on Science and Astronautics entitled "Applied Science and Technological Progress"; with amendment (Rept. No. 663). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 13026. A bill to change the period during which an individual is permitted to enroll under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 705). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FALLON: Committee of conference. S. 602. An act to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (Rept. No. 706). Ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 43. An act for the relief of Mi Soon Oh (Rept. No. 664). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 62. An act for the relief of Dr. Pablo E. Tablo (Rept. No. 665). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 63. An act for the relief of Dr. Enrique Alberto Rojas-Vila (Rept. No. 666). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 64. An act for the relief of Dr. Luis Osvaldo Martinez-Farinas (Rept. No. 667). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 221. An act for the relief of Dr. Armando Perez Simon (Rept. No. 668). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 440. An act for the relief of Dr. Julio Alejandro Solano (Rept. No. 669). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 445. An act for the relief of Rosemarie Gauch Neth; with amendment (Rept. No. 670). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 503. An act for the relief of Dr. Angel Reaud, also known as Angel Reaud Ramos Izquierdo (Rept. No. 671). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 733. An act for the relief of Sabiene Elizabeth DeVore (Rept. No. 672). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 741. An act for the relief of Rumiko Samanski (Rept. No. 673). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 808. An act for the relief of Dr. Menelio Segundo Diaz Padron (Rept. No. 674). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2275. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ricardo Vallejo Samala (Rept. No. 675). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 4386. A bill for the relief of Visitacion Enriquez Maypa; with amendment (Rept. No. 676). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MOORE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 4985. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Antonia Subias Val; with amendment (Rept. No. 677). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MACGREGOR: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 5575. A bill for the relief of Panagiotis Basil Paulus; with amendment (Rept. No. 678). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 6326. A bill for the relief of Chrisanthe Savas Karatapanis (Rept. No. 679). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 811. An act for the relief of Valentina Sidorova Parkevich (Rept. No. 680). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 821. An act for the relief of Dr. Julio Domingo Hernandez (Rept. No. 681). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 863. An act for the relief of Dr. Cesar Abad Lugones (Rept. No. 682). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 975. An act for the relief of Mitsuo Blomstrom (Rept. No. 683). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1021. An act for the relief of Antonio Luis Navarro (Rept. No. 684). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1105. An act for the relief of Dr. G. F. Valdes-Faull (Rept. No. 685). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1106. An act for the relief of Dr. David Castaneda (Rept. No. 686). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1108. An act for the relief of Dr. Felix C. Caballol and wife, Lucia J. Caballol, with amendment (Rept. No. 687). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1109. An act for the relief of Dr. Ramon E. Oyarzun (Rept. No. 688). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1110. An act for the relief of Dr. Manuel Alpendre Seisdedos (Rept. No. 689). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1197. An act for the relief of Dr. Lucio Arsenio Travieso y Perez (Rept. No. 690). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1269. An act for the relief of Dr. Gonzalo G. Rodriguez (Rept. No. 691). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1279. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco Montes (Rept. No. 692). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1280. An act for the relief of Dr. Alfredo Pereira (Rept. No. 693). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1458. An act for the relief of Lee Duk Hee (Rept. No. 694). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1471. An act for the relief of Dr. Hugo Gonzalez (Rept. No. 695). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1482. An act for the relief of Dr. Ernesto Nester Prieto (Rept. No. 696). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1525. An act for the relief of Dr. Mario R. Garcini (Rept. No. 697). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1557. An act for the relief of Dr. Carlos E. Garciga (Rept. No. 698). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1647. An act for the relief of Dr. Maria del Carmen Trabadelo de Arias (Rept. No. 699). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1709. An act for the relief of Dr. Antonio Martin Ruiz del Castillo (Rept. No. 700). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1748. An act for the relief of Dr. Ramiro de la Riva Dominguez (Rept. No. 701). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1938. An act for the relief of Dr. Orlando Hipolito Maytin (Rept. No. 702). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 1678. An act for the relief of American Petrofina Co. of Texas, a Delaware corporation, and James W. Harris (Rept. No. 703). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 7325. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain Federal lands for certain lands owned by Mr. Robert S. Latham, Albany, Oreg.; with amendment (Rept. No. 704). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself, Mr. Multer, Mr. Moorhead, Mr. St Germain, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Fino, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Gonzalez, and Mr. Bingham):

H.R. 13118. A bill to authorize the establishment and to provide for the regulation of Federal savings institutions; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 13119. A bill to prohibit the further use of silver for coinage; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 13120. A bill to remove the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to prohibit, curtail, or regulate the melting or treating of coins of the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DELLENBACK:

H.R. 13121. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 13122. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAWKINS (for himself, Mr. Holland, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Brown of California, Mr. Cohelan, Mr. Corman, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. Farbstein, Mr. Gonzalez, Mr. Horton, Mr. Leggett, Mr. Morris, Mr. Moss, Mr. Multer, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts, Mr. Reid of New York, Mr. Resnick, Mr. Rogers of Colorado, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Teague of California, Mr. Tunney, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Charles H. Wilson):

H.R. 13123. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual educational programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. KASTENMEIER (for himself, Mr. O'Konski, Mr. Anderson of Illinois, Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Dingell, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Fraser, Mrs. Griffiths, Mr. Karth, Mr. Laird, Mr. McClory, Mr. Reuss, Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin, and Mr. Zablocki):

H.R. 13124. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 13125. A bill to strengthen the merit selection procedure in the postal field service by prohibiting political influence and considerations in the appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Serivce.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 13126. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code so as to provide that the Chief of the Medical Service Corps of the Navy shall be a rear admiral; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. LIPSCOMB:

H.R. 13127. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Federal Taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MEEDS:

H.R. 13128. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 13129. A bill to amend title 14, United States Code, to authorize the Coast Guard to provide protection and assistance to U.S. vessels engaged in commercial fishing of the high seas; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 13130. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 13131. A bill to amend section 2204 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a method for the discharge of fiduciaries from personal liability for the estate tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 13132. A bill to direct the Federal Communications Commission to establish regulations prohibiting certain broadcasting of advertising of cigarettes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 13133. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to tax cigarettes on the basis of their tar and nicotine content; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KORNEGAY:

H.R. 13134. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to liberalize the provisions relating to payment of pension, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 13135. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 13136. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 13137. A bill to amend title VI of the Public Health Service Act to improve the existing program for assistance for construction and modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities and to provide for the making of loans for such modernization; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 13138. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 13139. A bill to require candidates for the House of Representatives to be afforded, in certain cases, an opportunity for a recount of votes cast in the election; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ROTH:

H.R. 13140. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 13141. A bill to extend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VIGORITO:

H.R. 13142. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 13143. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 13144. A bill to provide for the District of Columbia an elected mayor, city council, board of education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mrs. GREEN of Oregon (for herself, Mr. Ullman, Mr. Wyatt, and Mr. Dellenback):

H.R. 13145. A bill to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT:

H.R. 13146. A bill to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 13147. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in February 1968, to commemorate American Heart Month and the national fight against the cardiovascular diseases; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 13148. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 13149. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to provide that the amount of groundfish imported into the United States shall not exceed the average annual amount thereof imported during 1963 and 1964; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 13150. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the most feasible and desirable means of establishing certain portions of the tidelands, Outer Continental Shelf, seaward areas, and Great Lakes of the United States as marine sanctuaries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 13151. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in order to establish a southwestern human development program; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 13152. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for expenses incurred by a taxpayer in making repairs and improvements to his residence, and to allow the owner of rental housing to amortize at an accelerated rate the cost of rehabilitating or restoring such housing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.J. Res. 845. Joint resolution designating the Sunday nearest to the 17th day in January in each year as National Firemen's Day, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOW:

H.J. Res. 846. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.J. Res. 847. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting representation in the Congress to the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZABLOCKI:

H.J. Res. 848. Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H. Con. Res. 511. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H. Con. Res. 512. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 13153. A bill for the relief of Corazon F. Tan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H.R. 13154. A bill for the relief of Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 13155. A bill for the relief of Patrick J. Gilligan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 13156. A bill for the relief of Vincent A. Lupardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 13157. A bill for the relief of Santolo Beneduce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 13158. A bill for the relief of Kong Wan Nor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 13159. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jorge Manach-Banos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCOTT:

H.R. 13160. A bill for the relief of William W. Hiebert; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Informative Letter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DICKINSON], has recently written a letter to his constituents which I feel is very informative and will be of interest to all Members. Mr. DICKINSON's letter follows:

DEAR FOLKS: During a recent visit to the Second District I had the opportunity to discuss with many of you the critical issues facing our troubled nation today. I found upon my return to Washington that most of my colleagues also had been home talking to the people they represent. Like most Alabamians, the rest of the country is deeply concerned about our national and international problems. In some very serious discussions with other members of Congress, here is the clear-cut consensus that came into focus:

Vietnam—Americans are frustrated with the Johnson Administration's limited, "no win" policy. There is a growing feeling that we should win in Vietnam, or get out. These have been my feelings since I was sent to Congress by you. We cannot continue to sacrifice our boys in a war the Administration has no intention of winning. *In fact, the Johnson Administration and Secretary McNamara are holding the military back.*

Taxes—Citizens across the country are strongly opposed to the President's so-called "war tax." I am talking, of course, about his proposed 10 percent surtax. If the Administration would cut back on non-essential domestic spending we would not have to raise taxes to get the extra money we need to finance the war. I will not vote for a tax increase until the Administration cuts back domestic and foreign aid spending.

Crime—Criminal activity, both organized (Mafia-type) and acts of violence in the streets, is on the increase. Violence and rioting this summer have understandably aroused resentment from law-abiding citizens. The Johnson Administration pays lip service to the need to curtail this lawlessness, but has been slow to initiate action. I am happy to report that the House, however, has taken steps to help even the odds in favor of our overworked law enforcement agencies.

Earlier this month the House approved what believe to be two sound law enforcement bills. One allows the District Attorney to appeal the decision of a federal judge who orders seized property to be returned or that certain evidence may not be used when that property or evidence makes up the bulk of the D.A.'s case. The present law reads that such seized property must be returned if the judge so orders and there is no appeal from the decision. This means that in many cases the charges must be dropped. This bill was approved 311 to 1. It should help make it more difficult for the guilty to go unpunished because of legal technicalities.

The other bill, approved unanimously, provides additional benefits to state or local law enforcement officers or their survivors if they are disabled or killed while attempting to apprehend federal law violators. These officers would get the same benefits already authorized for federal employees, less any benefits provided by the state or local government. This would cover city, county and state law enforcement officers. It is hoped that this legislation will help police departments keep their veteran officers and aid recruitment of new officers.

Veterans' affairs—I appeared before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs recently in support of legislation which has been introduced to provide for an increase in the income limits for veterans and widows of veterans receiving pensions. Although prices on all goods and services have been rising steadily for the past few years, the outside income limit on veterans' pensions is the same as it was in 1960. Increased Social Security benefits will, in many instances, result in the reduction or extinction of pensions. I favor legislation which will raise income limits of pensioned veterans to a realistic level.

Defense appropriation trimmed—Congress approved a $69.9 billion defense appropriation this month, but not before we cut $1.6 billion from the President's request. I feel that this reduction is justified, even in an appropriation as important as defense. Unnecessary spending in every department of the government should be stopped. *For instance, the President asked for $287 million for the Navy version of the controversial TFX aircraft, now known as the F-111B.* Congress cut this nearly in half, providing $148 million for eight F-111B planes and continued development of the craft.

You will recall that this is the plane Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara overruled three independent boards and the military to build—at a higher cost than other bids, because he claimed it would be a savings in the long run as both the Navy and the Air Force could use the same plane. The

Air Force is trying to get the "bugs" out of its model (the F–111A), and the Navy says its version (the F–111B) is not acceptable and probably never will be because of its weight. In fact, the Navy is suing the builder, General Dynamics, to recover part of the money it spent trying to correct defects.

If the Navy cannot use this plane, then the whole purpose of selecting this particular design has no justification, and Mr. McNamara has indeed done what Senator John McClellan of Arkansas charged—that McNamara committed a "billion dollar blunder." The F–111A is being tested at Nellis AFB, Nevada. I intend to make a personal inspection of the aircraft and I will report my findings to you next month.

Committee action—Our work on the Armed Services Committee has covered a number of important issues this session, most of which I told you about in the last newsletter. A bill we now have under study would increase compensation for military personnel. There are four specific changes in the existing law recommended by this legislation: 1) It increases the basic monthly pay by 5.6 percent effective Oct. 1, 1967; 2) It increases the allowances provided under the Dependents' Assistance Act of enlisted personnel in the lowest pay grades (E–1 to E–4) with less than four years of military service, effective July 1, 1967; 3) It provides authority to the Department to pay basic allowance for quarters and the dislocation allowance to certain bachelor personnel in conjunction with a permanent change of station, effective July 1, 1967; and 4) It provides a special higher basic pay rate for the senior non-commissioned officer position in each of the military services, effective Oct. 1, 1967. We should complete work on this bill in the near future and make our recommendations.

Visitors—With the peak visitors season just behind us, I thought I'd take the opportunity to say how much I've enjoyed having Second District visitors come by to see me. It's always a pleasure to have you come by, and my office is open to everyone. When you're in Washintgon, I hope you will make it a point to drop in to say hello. Also, I'm always happy to assist in any way possible to make your visit a pleasant one. Listed below are some of you who visited with me this summer: Mr. and Mrs. Roy Stansell and Susan, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. L.T. Chestnut, Mty; Mrs. Sidney Shinbaum, Mty; Curtis Springer, Jr., Drucilla and John, Mty; West Point Cadets Bill Wallis of Florida and John Bryant, Childersburg; Dr. and Mrs. A. J. Bearman, Linda and Mark, B'ham; Mrs. N. Sol Bearman, B'ham; Mr. and Mrs. Ben T. Williams, Taylor and David, Andalusia; Ann Riall, Mobile; Chris Warner, Mty; Mr. James E. Howard, Mty; Kenneth Blaylock, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Gid Cottle, Andalusia; Mrs. John A. Fuller, Selma; Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Warren, Mty; Mr. L. C. Stabler and Family, Troy; Mr. Melvin Carter and Family, Ft. Deposit; Danny Reid, Mty; Lt. Col. Wm. Bacon and Family, Maxwell AFB; Mr. Wm. H. Rodimon, Marion; Kemper Waters, Mty; Kathryn Waller, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Norman Rice, Childersburg; Mr. and Mrs. Dade Lancaster, Debbie and Kaye, Andalusia; Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Rowe, Kevin and Glenn, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Winfred Davis and Russ, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Mallory, Keith and Tobey, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. McGehee and Martha, Greenville; Mrs. Omer Cox, Roger and Debbie, formerly from Maxwell AFB, now stationed at Andrews AFB, Md.; Doctors Otto Burton and A. E. Thomas, Mty. Co. Health Dept.; Bobby McSwean, Abbeville; Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Cornwell and Family, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hurley, Virgil and Pam, Mty; Mr. J. C. Oliver, Mty; Chris Mooney, Mty; Ken and Jackie McLeod, Gulf Shores; Mrs. Frank Arnold, Forrest, Amy and Sid, Luverne; Mr. Kirby Smith, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Lawrence, Mty; Jerry Bailey, Dothan; David Ward, Mty; Richard Medley, Mty; Curtis Liles, Sylacauga; Mrs. J. B. Brannan, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Kenny Kaiser, Elberta; Mrs. E. N. Wright, Mathews; Gerhardt Engel, Summerdale; Miss Martha McInnis, Mty; Mr. Joe Hall, Mty; Lt. Col Paul Pharis and Capt. George Cox, Ala. Nat'l. Guard, Mty; John F. Hooper, Mty; Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Puckett, Mty.

CRLA Misuse of OEO Grant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I issued a press statement in which I called for an investigation of the OEO-financed California Rural Legal Assistance—CRLA—and its connection with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee—UFWOC. I feel that the time has long since passed that the CRLA's activities and use of taxpayers' money be brought to the attention of the public.

It is my opinion that the CRLA has been misusing a $2 million OEO grant by associating itself with and aiding unionization efforts of the United Farm Workers. My colleagues will be interested in knowing that the UFWOC is presently being investigated by the California State Senate Un-American Activities Committee for "subversive involvement" in recent farm labor strikes in the 18th District, which I represent in the Congress. I have further been informed by the president pro tempore of the California State Senate, who serves as the chairman of the committee, that "the report will indicate that Communist functionaries were at the scene" and that "we must conclude that they were involved."

The California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., was organized pursuant to the general nonprofit corporation law of the State of California on March 3, 1966. Some of the early directors of the CRLA included leaders of the United Farm Workers, including the organization's director, Cesar Chavez.

In September of 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity attached certain special conditions to the activities of the corporation prior to the issuance of funds. Among the conditions was one which stated:

> The Rural Legal Assistance program may not act as legal counsel for, nor supply any legal representation to any labor union or political organization.

The California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., has almost completely ignored the stated purposes for which it was formed and the special conditions imposed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The list of questionable activities, and violations by the CRLA is long indeed. I stated in a letter to the General Accounting Office that I am willing to furnish the evidence, including photographs, a police report and signed statements, to aid in their investigation. There is no question in my mind that this information clearly points out the CRLA's participation in farm labor strikes organized by the United Farm Workers throughout the State of California.

I think it is time for the OEO, Sargent Shriver and the CRLA to set the record straight in this matter by making a full and complete disclosure of their activities and the use of taxpayers' money in unionizing activities for the UFWOC. What it should amount to is a top-to-bottom house cleaning.

I will be the first to admit that the legal services program of the OEO, in itself, has merit, but when the taxpayers are footing the bill for legal services for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee then it is time to call a halt, and I hope that others will join me in calling upon the Office of Economic Opportunity to take immediate steps to sever the ties between the CRLA and the UFWOC.

Is Acoustical Pollution Next?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, northern Illinois has been visited, once again, by American aircraft which fly faster than sound and which, in attaining these great speeds, create a sonic boom.

Our Air Force is the culprit here, and it tries to be fair and candid with the victims of these manmade thunderclaps. As an aside, I may point out that the supersonic transport plane, on which our Government will spend too many millions of dollars, will make these sonic booms an everyday occurrence in many parts of our country. At this moment, the SST project has few friends in northern Illinois.

The Air Force has told people to report any damage resulting from these sonic booms—but pity the poor, misguided propertyowner who complies.

I have gotten the evidence from Mr. Theodore O. Elsner, of Addison, Ill., as to what happens. On July 26, a vase in the Elsner home was cracked by a sonic boom. This was not the greatest vase in the world. It was not a priceless family heirloom. Rather, it cost $5.95, a fact which was included in Mr. Elsner's report to the Air Force.

It would have been enough if the Air Force had sent him an apology, and he would have been happy if they had sent him the $5.95, although he did not really expect that.

What did he get?

Let me list the items:

First. A letter of explanation running three pages, which proved conclusively that the sonic boom could not have caused the vase to crack.

Second. A two-page form entitled "Instructions for Submission of Claim."

Third. A one-page "Certificate of Ownership."

Fourth. A one-page "Claim for Sonic Boom Damage" form, in triplicate.

Fifth. A form entitled "Statement of Claimant in Support of Claim for Damage or Injury," which is four pages long.

Sixth. Two copies of a two-page form entitled "Statement of Witness."

Seventh. A form entitled "Statement Concerning Insurance."

In all, Mr. Elsner received 18 pages of forms to be filled out—all because he did what the Air Force had asked him to do by way of newspaper stories.

I can only suggest that this bureaucratic overkill startled and saddened Mr. Elsner. He is less concerned about the loss of his vase than about his loss of respect for a government which gives this thousand-dollar treatment to a $5.95 urn for flowers.

He and his neighbors are no doubt concerned about another thought. What kind of claims will be faced by the Government and the aircraft industry when the supersonic transport makes these sonic booms an everyday occurrence all over the country?

We Americans now are troubled by water pollution and air pollution. Is acoustical pollution next?

The Riots Must Cease

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, today, in September 1967, the United States stands uniquely challenged by circumstance and the force of history. We are confronted by a crisis through which we must, if we are to survive, be guided by firmness of purpose, clarity of vision, and staunchness of spirit. We must, as a people, devote ourselves unreservedly to the principles of social justice and individual concern espoused by the Founding Fathers. It is within the power of the present age to vindicate the historic promise of freedom and equality symbolized in the name of America; it is equally possible for us to show the world that the nation from which history has expected so much is in reality no more than a vicious fraud: that our unprecedented experiment in democracy is in truth a sordid sham, a sorry compromise with the forces of selfish intolerance—characterized by neither sincerity nor honest intent.

Today we are engaged, with renewed intensity, in the ancient struggles which have always been uniquely human: the struggles for mastery over the elements and for victory over the forces of darkness in the human soul. In the first of these struggles, we are achieving a modicum of success—though it is a success which at every turn is qualified by the same technology that has fed it.

Let me explain what I mean:

The extirpation of polio and measles, for example, leaves only more obvious, and intolerable, the menace of cancer, mental illness, or heart disease. Having vanquished the now quaintly historical threat of smallpox and plague, we stand helpless before a compulsive national urge to misuse new discoveries—to foul our lungs with cigarette smoke or to defile our minds and chromosomes with hallucinogenic drugs.

Consider the task of education, which grows increasingly difficult as the fund of human knowledge grows proportionately larger. Consider the tendency toward specialization, occasioned by our vast increase in knowledge, which threatens to reduce us all to computerized, dehumanized automatons.

Or consider the problems created by our highly complex, urbanized society problems requiring solutions which only constant scientific research and technological invention can provide.

It is a challenging age in which we live; and discovery is often balanced by discouragement. But make no mistake: wherever science and technology lead, we do make progress, however small. If the elimination of one barrier reveals two greater obstacles, we know, nonetheless, that the first one has been removed: polio is, in fact, obsolete, if cancer is not; and though our store of knowledge is doubling every decade, we have the computer, which helps us to cope with that increase.

The tragic irony is that for all the scientific and technological advancement to our credit, we have failed utterly to improve our understanding of the nature and the spiritual needs of man. It is as Toynbee has written:

> There has always been an extraordinary contrast between our amazing success in dealing with non-human nature, and by comparison, our amazing ill success in dealing with ourselves.

As if to make Toynbee a prophet, we are vindicating his words at this moment: the word crisis is written large across the face of America; and a curious and debilitating anxiety has clouded our future with fear and uncertainty. We, who should know so well, with such confidence, our destiny and purpose in the world, stand terrified before the specter of our own inadequacy, our own tormented soul.

Despite our wealth and our power, our numbers and our general enlightenment, we are a nation divided from within, and we are suffering the consequences of our dishonesty with ourselves. Our national conscience is playing the devil with our spiritual well-being, and the symptoms of the malaise will no longer lie dormant.

In short, America is the scene of a dangerous conflict between its vested white interests and its Negro minority—a conflict whose origins are synonymous with American history itself. The significance which this conflict holds for all Americans is simply that the Negroes—and particularly those who dwell in the urban ghettos—refuse any longer to accept the hypocrisy of white America which they find about them today. If the American Negro has seen the advent of legislated justice before the law, he has not yet witnessed the reality of education and economic equality. The seriousness of the situation cannot be overemphasized. The savage frustration felt by a large segment of the American population has found, in the summer just past, a tragic, yet all too predictable, outlet. Nor can the senseless and destructive riots which occurred from coast to coast last summer be dismissed merely as a temporary aberration. They are a natural eruption of a grave disorder in our social system, and they will not cease as long as the wound is not cleansed.

I wish to make my position clear: these anomalous abrogations of the social order must cease; they must not be allowed to reoccur. We must seek to harmonize the interests and expectations of all segments of the population if we are to prosper in our common and historic pursuit of justice and equality before the law.

It is, however, not only irrelevant, but also unwise, to call merely for antiriot legislation and a toughening of police security. To be sure, the latter is a measure vital and necessary to the immediate restoration of order and sanity. But stronger police and court action are treatments only of the symptoms, not of the causes, of the illnesses which attend us. In order to make clear the gravity of the problem, and the deep-seated causes which underlie it, let me explore with you the disheartening and disillusioning truth of our national state of affairs. It is, summarily, as Ernest Dunbar wrote recently in Look magazine:

> If there has to be a year, it will probably be 1967. In this year, a significant number of black Americans have given up hope in the "American Dream." It was never more than a nightmare for them, but they clung to the notion that it would somehow be different for their sons and daughters—as their parents had earlier hoped it would be different for them. Now, the message has been received from Oakland to Englewood: It isn't.

It is, indeed, no different:

Equal opportunity notices do not prevent the rejection of black applicants. Labor unions still find ways of preventing black apprentices from joining training programs.

Black tenement dwellers watch while bulldozers level their rat-infested abodes, only to see erected new structures priced out of their reach.

In schools throughout the land, 13 years after the Supreme Court desegregation ruling, millions of black pupils are segregated in schools manned by teachers convinced of their inability to learn and resigned to producing yet another generation of domestic servants and pullman car porters.

In 1967, black youth, precluded from college deferment by second-rate education, are dying in numbers far out of proportion to black representation in the U.S. population.

And thus the story unfolds.

It is, of course, fatuous to expect an immediate rectification of the accumulated injustices of 200 years. It is unrealistic to expect the magic and immediate transformation of ignorance and disadvantage into skilled knowledge and privilege. But it is as W. B. Bentham has aptly observed:

By losing present time, we lose all time.

And for the moment, it would seem, we are making ill use of the time at hand.

What, then, should we, can we, do?

I would propose three definite objectives, to the end that another year of lawless violence and anarchy be obviated, now and forever.

First, we should implement the legislation we now have on the books, that we may treat effectively and preventively the causes of potential violence which breed in the ghettos and slums.

Of the many grievances calling for proper redress, the general areas of employment, education, and housing are the most sensitive and require the most urgent treatment. Until the Negro can increase his earning power, and therefore improve his physical environment, until educational opportunity becomes a reality for urban slum dwellers, as well as for the suburban middle class, we can expect no real improvement in the present mood of tension and mutual distrust.

Let us first consider Federal job training programs and their relevance to the problem at hand. The Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the manpower development training program all are the progeny of legislative action designed to better equip disadvantaged segments of the population to compete successfully in obtaining and holding occupational positions essential to economic advancement.

Improvement in occupational opportunity must be accompanied by an improvement in living conditions, however. The possession of a better job does little to augment a person's concept of his own worth if he must all the while live in filth and squalor. Federal financial assistance to public housing is available under the provisions of existing statutes. Let us make use of it.

Finally, and perhaps most vital, Federal assistance to education is of unprecedented scope and quantity. The broad provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act offer hope for preschool and remedial problems requiring, in addition, only the thoughtful and innovative direction of local school authorities. Furthermore, the services of the National Teacher Corps may be used to mitigate the woeful inadequacy of ghetto instruction.

We must, in short, marshal our total national resolve toward a conscientious and determined effort by which we can take advantage of the practical opportunities made available by Federal statutes already in existence.

In order to make existing legislation genuinely effective, however, we must first create among the populace an awareness of the immediacy of the problem, so that the people will support the measures provided by law. For even as we must protect the sanctity of law against criminal violence, so must we remember that every law should be for the purpose of the common good. Thus, we can best ensure proper obedience to the law by the wise implementation of edicts designed to further the public welfare.

Finally, we must renew our national determination to deal with this problem now. We can no longer afford to postpone action. Twenty million Americans can no longer be denied the amenities enjoyed by 180 million Americans. Nor can we tolerate the inevitable consequences of such continued denial. It is time for us to demonstrate to the Negro that we intend for him more than equivocal and pious cant; it is time for us to prove, in the words of Locke, that—

> The actions of men are the best interpreters of their thoughts.

The conversion of thought to deed, intention to action, will inevitably create a degree of unrest and upheaval. The times immediately before us will be difficult:

> Nothing is so unstable as a bad situation that is beginning to improve—

Wrote William V. Shannon recently in the New York Times. Psychologists would confirm that statement. For despair is greatest when a long-wished-for goal first glimmers on the horizon. The end is at that moment for the first time conceivable, but yet so far away as to seem unattainable. But it has been glimpsed. And that one vision is sufficient to release all of the heretofore pent-up frustrations that were previously repressed and held in abeyance by the absence of all hope—by dull insensate, adject despair.

But our cause is not without hope. It must not be. Our national purpose has been threatened before and it has prevailed. One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln declared that a nation could not endure half slave and half free. It cannot today. It must continue to endure now, as it did then. Twice in this century we have defended the gates of the city from the barbarian without. Today we must confront the barbarian within ourselves. We must treat the sickness of the body politic and make it whole.

We must face the future with confidence. We must not allow pessimism to replace our traditional faith in the American way. However serious the situation may be, we must remember that it is not the worst we have faced. And today we have the wealth and human resources which a century ago, two decades ago, we did not have. Tempered by fire, we must make perfect our will, remembering, perhaps, the cogent warning of T. S. Eliot:

> The last temptation is the greatest treason
> To do the right deed for the wrong reason.

Let us prove that our victory over ourselves is every bit as convincing as our victory over the elements. Let us prove the admonition of Toynbee to be a judgment of the past, not of the future.

Let us devote our every effort to nurturing the small seed of hope which has been planted once again in the heart of the black America. I call on all Americans to attend the growth of that promise, that it flourish in the bright light of reason and compassion, that it may not once again be stunted and warped by the deadly gaze of prejudice and discrimination. Let black and white Americans work together, in the perilous times ahead, that the day may come when the Negro will use his boundless energy, not in a negative capacity, toward the destruction of an imperfect order, but in the positive creation of a viable and healthy society of which he is an indissoluble part.

In appraising the future of a united America—black and white—the noted columnist Max Lerner has perceptively defined the role which the Negro must play. I leave you with his hopeful words, secure in the certain conviction that America will not betray her heritage and her trust:

> Black power is quite simply the power that Negroes have now and can have in the future—in their work, their professions, their business, their voting, their thinking and writing and singing, their office-holding and governing. Every ethnic group in American life has had to struggle for this, but not by the route of "getting its opponents," not by looting and sniping, but by functioning.
>
> The Negro badge of color makes it all the harder, but there are no short cuts to this arduous task of learning one's identity and becoming part of the power and community structure.
>
> If the Negroes feel that they must somehow lose the awe in which they have held whites in the past, then surely that has now happened. They have effectively shown that they hold neither whites nor police nor national guardsmen in awe. What remains is to go from there to rebuild some trust between the races, and between man and man, in a common effort at shared power and shared community.

Midwestern Regional Republican Women's Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday it was my privilege to serve as moderator of a panel of Republican Members of Congress in a discussion of some of our major national problems. It was a part of the Midwestern Regional Republican Women's Conference held at the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago.

Each member of the panel was selected to discuss a subject on which he is recognized to be especially knowledgeable. After a short presentation of his individual views, the panel member was subjected to the most searching questions by the audience.

Congressman TOM KLEPPE, of North Dakota, served on that panel with agriculture as his assignment. He has come to be recognized as something of an authority in that field. He is a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. While a junior in service on that committee, he is a senior in his knowledge of his subject. This he has demonstrated in his work in Congress and this he proved in his discussion of agriculture at the meeting last Saturday.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his opening statement. I wish I had available to me the audience questions asked of him following his statement and the forthright, factual answers he so ably made to each and every question.

Congressman **Kleppe**'s remarks follow:

A few days ago, I visited with a Western North Dakota rancher who was berating the U.S. Department of Agriculture for its monumental "goof" in vastly underestimating the number of cattle in the country. You may recall that last January the Department suddenly discovered its previous estimates were wrong—that there were actually some 4 million more cattle than USDA had been reporting. This had a disastrous effect on cattle prices which were already low. It cost cattlemen million of dollars.

"One thing for sure," said this rancher, "if Orville Freeman can't count sheep better than cattle, he must have a tough time getting to sleep."

Well, you can bet your last copper quarter that the Secretary of Agriculture is doing his share of tossing and turning these nights, what with farm prices banging on the floor and farm costs punching through the ceiling. Sleep probably doesn't come too easily, either, to Democrat farm state office-holders who, in 1968, must face the hopping maddest bunch of farmers this country has ever seen.

Back in Washington, the chief occupant of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue can draw little satisfaction from polls which show him less popular with farmers than with any other large economic group in America. As of today, I am convinced that any of the Republicans who are being mentioned as 1968 Presidential candidates could snow LBJ under in virtually every rural precinct in the country. Right now, I can't see him carrying a single farm state in the Midwest or the West.

A few months ago, Senator Milton R. Young and I ran separate polls in North Dakota on the Johnson rating. They showed not only that several different Republicans could defeat the President handily but that Bobby Kennedy is also more popular with voters than LBJ.

In the poll, I asked several thousand farmers to rate the kind of a job Orville Freeman is doing as Secretary of Agriculture. Seven per cent said "good"; 27 per cent said "fair"; and a whopping 66 per cent said "poor".

You don't have to search far for the causes of farm discontent—only to your own books, if you happen to be a farmer, or to a few cold statistics if you are not. What used to be called the farm cost-price squeeze isn't a squeeze anymore—it's a crunch.

Farm production expenses climb to new, all-time highs month after month, while farm prices decline or, at best, hold about steady. Moreover, prices paid by farmers for the goods and services they must purchase will predictably continue to rise so long as this Nation remains on its Johnson-generated inflationary binge. All of the evidence points toward a widening disparity between prices paid by farmers and those they receive.

Today average prices for farm products are running about 4 per cent below those of a year ago, while prices paid by farmers are up 3 per cent. This widening imbalance is reflected in the parity ratio—the yardstick designed to measure farm prosperity—which currently stands at 75, compared with 81 a year earlier. In other words, farmers are receiving just three-fourths of what the government says is a fair return for their production. Moreover, with record-breaking crops of wheat, feed grains and soybeans now moving to market, prices may decline even further. The only certainty in the parity equation is that farm costs will continue to mount as to taxes go higher, as the price of machinery moves upward and as the latest round of wage increases cranks new inflationary pressures into the economy.

Consider for a moment these facts:

(1) Prices received by farmers in 1966 were 2 per cent lower than the 1947–49 average. But retail prices paid by consumers for food increased 40 per cent from the 1947–49 base period, reflecting sharply increased marketing and processing costs. Nevertheless, because of constantly increasing efficiency on American farms and a large increase in nonfarm wages and salaries, the average family spent only 18.1 per cent of its income, after taxes, for food in 1966—the lowest ever.

(2) During the last 20 years, hourly earnings of industrial workers increased by 123 per cent, while corporate dividends rose by 232 per cent. Over the same period, from 1947 to April 1967, average farm prices fell 11 per cent. This dropped the April parity ratio to 72, lowest in 33 years.

(3) The blended price for wheat, including the $1.36 certificates, is now around $1.80 per bushel in western North Dakota. By way of contrast, the national average price received for wheat by farmers in 1947 was $2.29 per bushel. This does not tell the full story, however. Since 1947 the value or purchasing power of a dollar has shrunk by one-third. This would make the 1947 wheat price $3.05 per bushel, in terms of 1967 dollars.

(4) Net farm income for 1967 is estimated at $14.6 billion, compared with $17.1 billion in 1947. But here again we are talking in terms of vastly different dollars. The $14.6 billion figure becomes only $9.8 billion when you translate it into 1947 dollars. To put it another way, net farm income in 1967 will be about 42 per cent lower than it was in 1947, in terms of constant dollars. Has any other economic group taken a 42 per cent pay cut over the last 20 years?

This is the price American farmers are paying for inflation. They, along with retired people and others living on fixed incomes, are the principal victims of soaring costs which are pushed ever higher by the Federal Government's own fiscal policies. Many farmers have told me that they could survive on today's agricultural prices, depressed as they are, if production costs were at the levels of 15 or 20 years ago. But they cannot make it in an economy where the price of virtually everything they sell goes down, while their production costs move higher and higher, with no end in sight.

The inevitable result of all of this has been a continuing migration of farmers from the land. Approximately 100,000 farm units are liquidated each year. Some 600,000 farm people move to the towns and cities each year. Since 1950, the U.S. farm population has declined from 23 million to less than 12 million—a drop of about 50 per cent. In 1950, more than 15 per cent of the Nation's total population lived on farms. Today it is less than 6 per cent.

To me it seems deplorable that this trend should continue. But it is continuing. A recently published study by President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber indicates that the 3.2 million farm units in the United States today will shrink to about 2 million by 1980. This is a more optimistic estimate than some of the President's advisers came forward with 2 years ago when they foresaw a need for only 1 million farms in the future.

Republican candidates for public office in farm states and districts will not lack for issues. But it seems to me that we must offer more than just criticism of Administration farm programs and their disastrous consequences. We must also offer constructive alternatives. Here are five proposals which I believe would strengthen farm prices immediately—and they could all be accomplished without new legislation:

1. A freeze on stocks of government-owned wheat, feed grains and other storable commodities. These holdings could be insulated from the market as a strategic reserve not to be offered for sale at less than 100 per cent of parity.

2. A stepped up Food for Peace program. It seems to me that we should be placing more emphasis on supplying food, rather than military hardware, to hungry people in the non-Communist world.

3. An increased government loan rate of 12½ per cent on storable farm commodities which would be in line with the inflation "catch-up" raise for Social Security recipients.

4. An improved livestock and crop reporting system. As I indicated earlier, farmers are often the victims of price declines brought on by inaccurate government estimates.

5. Tighter controls over imports of farm commodities already in surplus within the United States. Dairy farmers and cattlemen, for example, have seen their prices sharply depressed in recent years by competitive importations.

Some of these steps are stopgap measures but they would reverse the disastrous drop in farm prices overnight. It seems to me this must be done first, as a necessary preliminary to the development of an improved, long-range program for American agriculture.

It is quite possible that time and the population explosion at home and abroad will eventually take care of America's farm price and surplus problems. But for 1968, I believe we Republicans must offer American farmers immediate hope. If we do this, we will hold the farm vote which now seems so securely Republican.

The Effect of the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to include a statement I made before the Antitrust and Trade Regulation Committee of the National Chamber of Commerce at its luncheon, Tuesday, September 26, 1967, in Washington, D.C. My speech follows:

ENFORCEMENT OF THE CELLER-KEFAUVER ANTIMERGER ACT

(By Representative Emanuel Celler, chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, before the Antitrust and Trade Regulation Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Sept. 26, 1967)

On December 29, 1950, President Truman signed the Celler-Kefauver amendment to Section 7 of the Clayton Act. This was the capstone to my years of hard labor to close the "assets" loophole that had rendered old Section 7 completely ineffective. Some of you will recall that the Federal Trade Commission in 1939 had reported to the Temporary National Economic Committee that ". . . the effectiveness of this section has been completely emasculated as a result of court decisions." Because the anti-merger provisions of the Clayton Act applied only to stock acquisitions of direct competitors, original Section 7 had no appreciable impact on the merger movement that swept many industries in the late 1920's.

Over the last seventeen years, enforcement of Celler-Kefauver has shown its vast potential. Supreme Court decisions have made the anti-merger section a veritable revolution in anti-trust enforcement. Between January, 1951 and June 30, 1967, the Government instituted a total of 205 anti-merger actions. Eleven cases have reached the Supreme Court, and the Government has had exemplary success. The Supreme Court has supported Government enforcement to a degree beyond my greatest expectations, and has made Celler-Kefauver a powerful instrument of public policy. It is good public policy, everyone benefits.

The Government's attack on corporate mergers since 1951 has challenged assets acquisitions amounting to more than $8.34 billion. Three-fourth (153) of the complaints challenged acquisitions by manufacturing and mining corporations, and involved a total of $6.8 billion. Eighteen complaints were filed against banking and financial institutions, nineteen cases involved companies in wholesale and retail trade, and five challenged joint ventures.

The Government has had an exemplary court record in enforcement of this Act. What, however, has been the economic consequence? Here, as you may suspect, there is considerable disagreement among the authorities. John Kenneth Galbraith has made a strident attack on contemporary anti-trust policy. He dismisses anti-trust, and the anti-merger act, as being largely irrelevant to today's industrial organization. Anti-trust, he says, is a "charade" designed "not to prevent exploitation of the public" but "to persuade people in general, and British socialists and American liberals in particular, that the market is still extant."

On the other hand, other critics find that the Celler-Kefauver Act has resulted in an attack on bigness and made it virtually impossible for big companies to grow by merger. *Fortune* Magazine, for example, has informed the business community that "recent Supreme Court decisions go so far in prohibiting specific mergers that any potential merger of two substantial, healthy companies is logically subject to challenge under the new precedents."[1] Clearly, both Professor Galbraith and *Fortune* cannot be right.

When Congress passed the Celler-Kefauver Act, we were concerned with industrial concentration: both high *market concentration,* when a few top companies dominate a particular market; and *aggregate concentration,* which measures the share of all manufacturing held by the top 100 or 200 concerns. Study after study at that time showed that in many of the vital industries of the United States, the top four concerns controlled 70% to 80% of the market. When Celler-Kefauver was passed, aggregate concentration was experiencing a rapid increase. Between 1947 and 1950, the 113 largest manufacturing corporations' share of all manufacturing assets rose from 40.0% to 43.5%. Between 1947 and 1954 the top 200 companies' share of value added in all manufacturing corporations rose from 30% to 37%.

We in Congress assumed that increases in concentration could be prevented by prohibiting horizontal, vertical, and conglomerate mergers which showed a reasonable probability of substantially lessening competition or of tending to create a monopoly. In other words, Congress, in the Celler-Kefauver amendment, attacked the problem of increasing concentration by seeking to prevent those mergers which had an adverse effect on competition.

Dr. Willard F. Mueller, Director, Bureau of Economics of the Federal Trade Commission, recently has prepared an analysis of the economic consequences that have been achieved by enforcement of the Celler-Kefauver Act. His analysis finds that ". . . the merger enforcement program since 1950 represents a unique event in American anti-trust history. And when measured by its effects, it has had a fundamental and widespread pro-competitive impact on the organization and performance of our economy."[2]

I have long thought that the most effective aspect of anti-trust, and the chief impact of enforcement policy, is the deterrent effect produced by threatened prosecutions. Dr. Mueller produces some interesting figures on deterrent effects that the legal rules against horizontal mergers produced. He states:

"In the first four years, 1951–1954, following passage of the Celler-Kefauver Act, horizontal mergers comprised about 37% of the number and 40% of the assets of all 'large' acquisitions in manufacturing and mining. [Large mergers are defined as those where the acquired company had assets of $10 million or more.] During the next four-year period, 1955–1958, the proportion of horizontals declined somewhat. But during the next four years, 1959–1962, horizontal mergers dropped off sharply, comprising only about about 17% of the number and 19% of the assets of large acquisitions. And during the last four years, 1963–1966, horizontals accounted for about 14% of the number and only 12% of the assets of all large mergers. In the last year, 1966, horizontal mergers represented only 8% of the assets of all large acquisitions.

"Not only has the relative volume of horizontal mergers declined, but the *absolute* volume has declined as well. The peak of horizontal merger activity was reached in 1956 when there were twenty-one large horizontal mergers with combined assets of $1.4 billion. Although there were 60% more large mergers in 1966 than in 1956, by 1966 the number of large horizontal mergers had fallen to twelve and involved combined acquired assets of only $311 million.[3]

The steel industry is a good example of Celler-Kefauver's effect on concentration. A landmark case under Celler-Kefauver was the attack on the proposed merger in 1956 of Bethlehem Steel Corporation and Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. This merger involved a combination of $2.9 billion in assets. Bethlehem was the country's second largest steel company, with 16.3% of the ingot capacity, while Youngstown was the sixth largest steel company, with 4.6% of the ingot capacity. The top four companies' share of ingot capacity would have increased from 59% to 64%.

The objective of Bethlehem-Youngstown was to permit Bethlehem to enter steel production in the Chicago area. Celler-Kefauver prevented Bethlehem from entering this market by the merger route. Since the court's decision, notwithstanding the many arguments by the companies at the trial about the necessity to merge in order to penetrate the Chicago markets and successfully compete there with U.S. Steel, Bethlehem has entered this market by internal growth, not by merger. Internal growth is far healthier for the economy. Its plant at Burns Harbor, Indiana, thirty miles east of Chicago, was started in 1962 and was producing steel plates by 1964. Subsequent internal expansion includes production of hot and cold rolled sheets. Since the case, both Bethlehem and Youngstown have expanded significantly and independently by internal growth.

The effect on concentration of the Celler-Kefauver Act in this case has been described as follows:

"The blocking of the Bethlehem-Youngstown merger had a clear effect on the structure of the steel industry. Between 1954 and 1963, concentration of shipments among the top steel companies actually declined. Whereas in 1954, the top four companies accounted for 55% of the value added by 'blast furnaces and steel mills', their share had dropped to 50% by 1963. This is almost identical to the market share of Youngstown. Consequently, had the merger been permitted, concentration almost certainly would not have declined. In fact, had this decision laid down a rule of law in permitting a horizontal merger of this magnitude, it is highly probable that Judge Weinfeld's 'chain reaction' theory would have become a reality, which would have greatly increased concentration."[4]

The effect on aggregate concentration resulting from Celler-Kefauver enforcement is not as susceptible to measurement. The level of aggregate concentration in the United States economy has risen steadily during the past century, and significantly since World War II. Between 1947 and 1963, the top 200 manufacturing firms expanded their share of the value added by all manufacturers from 30% to 41%, or over one-third. Between 1950 and 1965, the share of total manufacturing assets held by the top 100 companies rose from 38.8% to 45.4%, and the share of the top 200 rose from 46.9% to 55.4%.

There can be no doubt that mergers played an important role in this increase in aggregate concentration. Between 1948 and 1965 the largest industrial corporations of 1965 made at least 2,692 acquisitions with combined assets of $21.5 billion. Dr. Mueller believes that analysis will support the hypothesis that aggregate concentration actually would have declined after 1954 had it not been for the continuing mergers by the top 200 companies.

What would have happened if Section 7 had not been amended in 1950 and there had been no significant constraints on mergers? Certainly the 205 anti-merger cases would not have been brought by the Government. The more significant impact, however, I would imagine, has been the abandonment of many contemplated mergers because of the fear that the Government might act. It is not possible to estimate the volume of such abandoned mergers, but from the statements of businessmen and private anti-trust counsel, the number of potential mergers must be enormous. Dr. Mueller believes that an expanded effort against conglomerate mergers will be beneficial in this regard. He says:

"It is still too early to predict the ultimate impact on aggregate concentration of an expanded policy toward conglomerate mergers. Chances seem good that such an expanded policy although directed solely at anti-competitive conglomerate mergers, will prevent further increases in the share of all manufacturing assets held by the top 100 or 200 industrial corporations. Indeed, it may well result in an erosion of their position."[5]

I want to say a few words about the Government's enforcement efforts with respect to conglomerate mergers. Section 7 of the Clayton Act, as amended by Celler-Kefauver, was intended to arrest anti-competitive effects of market power in their incipiency. The core question is whether a merger may substantially lessen competition, and this necessarily requires a prediction of the merger's impact on competition, present and future. The Supreme Court, in *FTC* vs. *Procter and Gamble,* has made it clear that "All mergers are within the reach of Section 7, and all must be tested by the same standard, whether they are classified as horizontal, vertical, conglomerate, or other."

The Supreme Court's definition of a conglomerate merger is ". . . one in which there are no economic relationships between the acquiring and the acquired firm." Procter and Gamble's acquisition of Clorox was not a true conglomerate. It was, rather, a "product extension" merger. The products of Clorox complemented the soap business of Procter and Gamble. They could be produced with similar facilities, marketed through the same channels, and advertised in the same media.

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[1] Max Ways, *Fortune,* March 1966, p. 222.

[2] Mueller, "The Celler-Kefauver Act: Sixteen Years of Enforcement", p. 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–26.

[4] Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[5] Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Although there are other factors, one of the most significant tests in weighing anticompetitive effects is to measure the *potential* competition in the industry that is eliminated by the acquisition. In the Procter and Gamble case, the findings clearly showed that Procter, the acquiring firm, was the most likely entrant. Further, this acquisition tended to raise barriers to new entry by other companies. The major competitive weapon in the successful marketing of bleach is advertising. A new competitor could have found it within his means to compete against Clorox, whose advertising expenditures were relatively small. But a newcomer, however, would be much more reluctant to face the giant advertising expenditures that Procter could devote to bleach.

In my view, as I have said before, it is much better, from a competitive standpoint, for these large companies to grow from within, rather than to grow by acquisition. In 1964, in commenting upon the Federal Trade Commission's decision on the *Clorox* merger, I stated:

"To few people realize that this utilization of corporate funds (for mergers and acquisitions) frustrates government efforts to stimulate investment activity and economic growth in two ways. First, it diverts corporate resources into mergers instead of the building of new plants and the development of new technical resources. Secondly, through the merger movement, economic concentration and oligopoly are increased, making our economic system less competitive and flexible. Indeed, the more monopoly or quasi-monopoly there is in America, the more rigid are prices and the less incentive there is for business to reduce prices to stimulate consumer demand and business activity."[6]

Consequently, from the point of view of maintaining competition, I think we should take a hard look at any merger involving the takeover of a dominant or leading firm in one industry by a dominant or leading firm in another industry, whether the two industries are functionally related or not. In the long run, the best protection for the consumer is *to hold the avenues open for potential entrants* who by coming into or even threatening to come into the market with new capacity would hold prices near competitive levels and prevent the garnering of undue profits or restricted productivity in oligopoly industries.

Although the Supreme Court has given us a few guidelines for consideration of conglomerate mergers, much more needs to be done. Elucidation of reasonable and realistic standards for testing conglomerate mergers is still an important item of unfinished business. It has been suggested that some monetary limit should be placed upon future conglomerate mergers that may not fit into the Celler-Kefauver Anti-Merger mold. The limit beyond which the conglomerate could not go by merger would be say, $100,000,000 of assets. Special treatment might be given all existing conglomerates. At this stage of the development of policy toward conglomerate mergers, cases should be litigated. Comprehensive trial records should be established in the FTC and in the courts. Consent statements by the Commission or by the Department of Justice at this state of enforcement experience can only result in decrees whose remedies are based on vague, obscure, and idiosyncratic foundations.

In closing, I want to thank you for this opportunity to meet with you and to discuss anti-merger problems.

Are there any questions?

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[6] Hon. Emanuel Celler, "Federal Trade Commission Decision on Procter & Gamble-Clorox Merger Is a Major Breakthrough in the Application of the Celler-Kefauver Act", daily Congressional Record, March 23, 1964, p. A1493.

It Is Time To Begin To End the War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as one who has spoken out in favor of the "barrier-zone" concept as a method to apply in order to contain and quiet down the war in Vietnam, I am pleased to note corresponding support for the same idea—despite its controversial nature—from my colleague, the Honorable Howard W. Robison, of New York.

Mr. Robison recently delivered an address on this subject, and on the problems posed by the Vietnamese conflict generally, at a meeting of the Legion of Honor of Kalurah Temple of the Shrine, at Binghamton, N.Y., at which time he was also made an honorary member of that organization. I believe Mr. Robison's remarks are well worth consideration by all of us, and, under leave granted so to do, the same are hereinafter set forth:

IT IS TIME TO BEGIN TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

It is indeed privilege and honor enough for me to have been invited to address you tonight—but you have gone further and paid me what I must believe to be a wholly undeserved tribute.

Needless to say, however, I am deeply grateful—and will long remember this occasion. Thank you—so very, very much.

Now, speaking as I do to men who have previously worn our Nation's uniform—to men who have known the horrors of war and who have borne the burden of their Nation's trust with the same honor and valor now being exhibited by those of your sons or grandsons now on duty in Vietnam—it seemed to me appropriate that I should ask you to think with me, tonight, about the problems we face in that far off war which seems to be getting more and more close to home; that tragic war in Vietnam.

Perhaps I speak of this war too often—and surely it is never far from my thoughts—but if I do speak of it often it is because I recognize that this war, and its termination, is *the* one matter that is of the deepest concern to the American people at this moment in time.

To say this, is not to deny the fact that we face, as a nation, many other problems—many other challenges—some, if not most, of which are of the utmost urgency.

However, our preoccupation with our dilemma in Vietnam—our continuing uncertainty about our purposes there—the doubts so many of us are experiencing over whether or not we can bring it to some sort of satisfactory conclusion—all these things plus the very large financial cost of the war, itself (now running at somewhere in excess of $2 billion a month), tend beyond any question to inhibit both our thinking and our ability, as a nation, to concentrate upon those other problems and to devise workable solutions for them.

So this is why—in the nature of things—the finding of a solution to our problem in Vietnam just simply has to come first; and the possibility that, in the search for such a solution we may well also find some answers to the larger question of peace-in-our-time, should add urgency to our task.

We Americans are an impatient people—and unaccustomed to failure.

We like to get things over and done with—and then move on to the next challenge, and heretofore we have been confident we could meet it, whatever its nature.

That sense of confidence, however, has been badly shaken in Vietnam—where things do not go well with us.

It is no more easy for us to accept than it is for the President to explain the fact that—somehow—we have become bogged down, at the end of the world's longest supply line, in a costly and seemingly endless ground war in Asia of the kind which, because of the supply and terrain problems, we vowed we'd seek to avoid; fighting to help a people whose desire to help themselves is, at best, suspect; seeking to build for them at the same time a form of government based on democratic principles of which they have, again at best, but the dimmest of understandings; and discovering to our frustration that, no matter how much more we pour of American lives and treasure into this effort, nothing ever really seems to be gained.

Truly, we seem to have stepped into a bottomless pit of quicksand, wherein the more we flail about the deeper we become mired.

It is no wonder, then, that more and more of our citizens are becoming subject to a growing sense of uselessness about whatever it is we have been trying to do.

It is no wonder that the nation, itself, is uncertain, ill at ease—exhibiting signs of edginess and depression.

And it is no wonder that more and more of our people are rather desperately looking for some way "out".

Surely, things have not worked out as we were once led to expect them to in Vietnam where, in the beginning, we were told that America would play only a limited role—a role limited to "helping" the South Vietnamese protect and preserve their right to self-determination.

We were to provide advice, logistical support and training assistance, but we were assured by the Secretary of Defense (on January 27, 1964) that: "This is a Vietnamese war, and in the final analysis it must be fought and won by the Vietnamese."

President Johnson followed through with similar statements—all on the same theme—of which the following are samples: ". . . we don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys"; "We don't want to get tied down to a land war in Asia"; "We are going to try to get them to save their own freedom with their own men, with our leadership, and our officer direction, and such equipment as we can furnish them," (but) ". . . we are not about to send American boys 9 or 10,000 miles from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves."

All of these words, of course, were spoken in 1964—but somewhere around the beginning of 1965, the picture began to change and it kept on changing until now we have what is almost totally an American war, in which the South Vietnamese are playing the supporting role but not even doing that very well.

How did this come about?

Well, I suspect that not even future historians, who will be able to examine this episode in our history with far more objectivity than we, will be able to point to the exact moment in time when this war became an American war—nor to the specific Presidential decision, if there ever was one, that made it such.

That is because this change in emphasis—this change in the nature of our commitment and consequent involvement—came about with such gradualism, with such tiny steps of escalation of effort and of manpower and of newly accepted responsibilities, all taken with their seeming logic at the moment, that practically no one outside of the President and his advisers realized what was happening until it was too late to do much if anything about it.

Certainly, Congress—which, as I said last week, has a far more positive role to play in the making of foreign policy than this—seemed unaware of it for, following its hasty adoption on August 7, 1964 of the now-celebrated "Tonkin Gulf Resolution" which gave the President exceedingly broad authority to take such steps as *he* deemed necessary to prevent "further aggression" in Southeast Asia, and is undoubtedly sufficient authority under our system of government for such action as he has so far taken in Vietnam, there was little if any Congressional discussion, and no focused debate, over what was happening in Vietnam, or over the wisdom of the new course the President had begun to follow.

For what it is worth, I was concerned about what was happening during this time and, during 1965, repeatedly urged in Congress that hearings be held concerning the Vietnam question. I did this for reasons best explained, perhaps, by this excerpt from my May, 1965, newsletter:

"The increase in US ground strength in Vietnam implies a redefinition of US policy there—and the time for the Administration to explain this policy is *now,* not later when public doubts and uncertainties (which are likely to be misread in Peking and Moscow), have spread and taken hold! Red China's leaders have long predicted that the American people would, in time, grow weary of the burden we have been carrying virtually alone in Southeast Asia. In the next several months—which will be *crucial* ones—this may well become the President's most serious problem."

The concern I expressed was, I believe, well taken—though the timing of my prediction was off. For the President's problems with the American people are only now really becoming "crucial".

No such Congressional hearings, of course, were held—as you know; unless one considers the earlier "Fulbright Hearings" as being of that nature. But even those came too late for any real consideration of the wisdom of the course on which we had been set for, by then, the die had been cast and *"there we were"* in Vietnam, even as we are today.

And, of course, one cannot say—for one does not know—whether or not, if the reasoning behind the President' decision to so change the nature of our effort in Vietnam had, through a focused Congressional debate, been placed on what might be called the "great anvil of democracy" where, traditionally, our major policy decisions are hammered out, the result might have been any different. It is altogether possible, if a full-scale hearing *had* been held, that the Congress would have found enough validity in the Presidential reasoning, wrapped up somehow in the need to now contain the thrust of Red China as we had formerly and successfully contained that of Russia, to agree that an Americanization of the war in Vietnam was now necessary to save South Vietnam and that the saving of South Vietnam, difficult and costly though that might be, was now vital in terms of our *own* security.

On the other hand, I believe one *can* say that this is a point that the President has not yet been able to drive home to the American people!

And therein lies the source of much of his—and our—present difficulty.

For there can be no doubt that many Americans have come to question whether or not what we are trying to do in Vietnam is, after all, both necessary and worthwhile.

Some of this mood probably ebbs and flows with the tide of battle—which right now is not going especially well. Our military people—and the President—tell us, now, that they can "see light finally at the end of the tunnel", but they do not and cannot tell us how long is the tunnel.

But beyond this—as Vermont Royster pointed out in a recent column in "The Wall Street Journal":

"People have an instinctive feeling, the correctness of which is hard to deny, that even worthwhile objectives have a price beyond which it is foolhardy to pay. In battle, not every hill is of equal value in lives, and in a long struggle not every battlefield is worth the same cost to a nation's resources."

Perhaps this question has been bothering you; if so, you are not alone, for its answer, insofar as it pertains to Vietnam, is of tremendous concern to all of us.

And our common failure to find that answer—either through our President or on our own—must be of equal concern to all of us for, as James Reston wrote in a recent column of his, this time in "The New York Times":

"A nation is in trouble when its people feel helpless to deal with their major problems and do not know what to trust. . . . This is our present dilemma: The people cannot very well develop a strategy for the rebellion at home or the war abroad. Everybody can have an opinion but nobody can prove beyond reasonable doubt that he has the answer. Therefore, there must be *faith,* and this, for the present, is what we do not have—neither faith in our common purposes, nor in our old religious and philosophical institutions, nor in our present policies, nor in the men who are making and administering them."

That's quite an indictment, isn't it—but far too much of it rings true to me as I read my constituent mail these days and talk with the people I endeavor, to the best of my ability, to represent.

Are we *right* to be in Vietnam?

I do not know, but I have always said that I believed what we started *out* to do there was both right and proper.

In any event, can we now bring our effort in Vietnam to some *worthwhile* conclusion?

Again, I do not know, but I think we have to *believe* that we can.

For this nation to restore its faith in its own capabilities in this respect will not be easy, but it is of singular importance that we try, for a nation unsure of itself is ill-prepared for *any* of the challenges it must face, let alone the vicissitudes of battle.

Our seeming impotence, so far, in Vietnam has burned rather deeply into our national hide—and an awful lot of Americans would now like, somehow, to "turn off" Vietnam. The two most common expressions of opinion we used to hear as to how this could be accomplished were the polarized viewpoints of the all-out "hawks", to the effect that we ought to get *in* and "win" some sort of conventional military victory, and the all-out "doves", many of whom have always opposed any intervention on our part and have urged, simply, that we ought to just get *out.*

And, as whatever consensus the President used to have began to evaporate, more and more people began to move to one or the other of these extremes. But now we are beginning to hear from those—and this is a growing group—who *combine* both such extremes and demand that we ought to "either get in and win *or* get out"!

Though I can well understand this attitude—especially in view of the apparent absence of any clear cut plan or policy on the part of the President to end this conflict—it seems to me that it is a compulsive over-reaction, however tempting, to the present stalemate. Nevertheless, it is clearly time to *begin to bring this war to an end!* And I believe that, with patience and courage, we can do so!

This is what the American people demand—and it is also demanded by all logic—and I believe it can be accomplished if only we can break out of that *mental* stalemate which seems to exist in Washington, particularly in the White House, concerning the war, which I think is just as bad if not worse than the *military* stalemate that exists, no matter what the generals say, in Vietnam!

What *should* we do?

Well, let me say at the start that I, personally, *reject* the extremes of (1) "stone-age" bombing as the route to instant military "victory" simply because I do not believe it will work in this instance, or of (2) unilateral withdrawal—and this latter because we could not so retreat from Vietnam without betraying all those who have fought and died there on what we considered to be the side of "freedom."

However—while knowing that I, like you, can only have an opinion and no sure answer—I last week offered a four-point program of what I though we ought to now do in an effort to bring this war to an honorable conclusion, and I would like to repeat those points to you, now:

(*1*) I said that it was important for us to maintain the possible momentum towards peace-talks that has been provided by the recently concluded South Vietnamese elections.

During the course of his successful campaign for the Presidency of his nation, the new head of the Saigon government—General Thieu—said that if he were elected he would ". . . ask Hanoi if it were interested in peace talks," and that if it would help to get such talks started he would ask us for a pause in the bombing of the North and, finally, he even said that he would be willing to meet, apparently during the course of such talks, with ". . . any who are representatives of the National Liberation Front" (political arm of the Viet Cong).

As one who has come more and more around to the view that the earliest path to negotiations of any sort would be that one laid out by the *Vietnamese,* themselves—North and South—I thereupon urged the President to encourage, if not insist, that Gen. Thieu follow through on these commitments. Perhaps they were merely "campaign promises" (of the sort we know all about in this country), and not "commitments"—who knows? But, the point is, there would be *no* new Saigon government—and no President Thieu—without our help, and important as it is to follow up every possible avenue towards peace I believe we ought to *insist* that he make this effort even though nothing may come of it.

Of *course,* Hanoi has already said it is not interested in whatever Gen. Thieu may offer—and is insisting that the NLF is still the only "legitimate" voice of the people in the South, but what else did we expect? And it will be increasingly difficult, I believe, for Hanoi to make its charge of "foul" and "fraud" concerning the South Vietnamese elections stick in that court of world opinion for, while far from perfect, such elections *were* a high-water-mark in experiments at democratic processes in that part of the world, and one might well ask when the last elections were held in *North* Vietnam!

(*2*) Concurrently with this effort in Vietnam, by the Vietnamese, I urged that our government take the initiative needed to get that dusty resolution calling for consideration by the United Nations of the Vietnam question *off* the desk of the Security Council's President where it has lain these many months.

Again, I noted that nothing may come of this, the UN being what it is—and the Russians being the way *they* are. On the other hand, the UN—which we have nurtured with our support, financially at least, all these years, is the proper forum for not only the prevention of these kinds of conflict but for their termination once started. It is, pretty much, the only "court" to which we can take our case, and we ought to do so unless we have no faith in it whatsoever. For, even if we should lose, at least the world would know at whose feet and on whose shoulders should rest the blame for the continuation of the conflict and the resulting loss of lives.

(*3*) For my third point, I turned to that "other"—or political—side of the war in Vietnam; the side that gets obscured by the fighting but is of no less importance, and in my book is possibly of even *more* importance in the long run. Here I said that we must insist of the new government in Saigon—that of Gen. Thieu—that it commit itself, firmly and clearly, as soon as it is functioning enough to do so, to a program of far-reaching (for an Asian country) social and economic reforms of the sort without which I do not believe it can ever hope to become a viable and responsible alternative to the continuing blandishments and harassments of the Viet Cong, especially in South Vietnam's rural areas.

As I said, this program should include not only evidence of determination on Thieu's part to clean out that mountain of graft and corruption in and around Saigon that has always been a deadweight on both the allied effort and the growth of local democracy, but evidence of his dedication to a reinvigorated pacification program and, finally, evidence that *this* time it will not be "business as usual" with this new government but, instead, a determination to get cracking with a program of *land-reform,* including land distribution to the poor tenant farmers of South Vietnam who up to now have seen little to choose between Saigon and the Viet Cong and will *never* do so until they are given a part of South Vietnam to have and to hold as their own, and thus given a *stake* in the struggle.

I believe, as I said last week, that the President should insist on these actions, now, in Saigon, and should make it clear that if there is not evidence that these things *will* be done then, indeed, American would have to reconsider the nature of its commitment to the South Vietnamese people for, if they are not *truly* willing to help themselves, we could no longer hope to help them!

(*4*) Finally, as point four, I turned to the military side of the conflict which—absent our withdrawal—will have to go on since none of my suggestions, even if adopted, nor anything else I could see on the horizon holds forth the promise of an early termination of our adopted task.

So, then I said—as I have been saying for over a year (and here I believe I was the first Member of Congress to call for consideration of such an idea)—that I again endorsed the idea of a *"barrier-zone"* to be built across Vietnam, South of the so-called "demilitarized zone", and I expressed my pleasure in learning—that same day—that Secretary McNamara had just announced that this was, indeed, what we were going to try.

Now, I know full well that this is a controversial proposal. In fact, when I first suggested it to a group of colleagues, one of them called it an "asinine" idea!

Generally speaking, most military people have had the same initial reaction, based on the assumption that this would be another supposedly impregnable "Maginot Line"—and we all remember what happened to that!—costly to build and requiring many troops to man. Actually, however, the kind of "barrier" now contemplated would be more like the so-called "Morice Line" that the French successfully used in the late 1950's to cut off nationalist guerrillas in Algeria from outside supplies and reinforcements.

Using a wide array of new, electronic detection devices as well as conventional mines and physical barriers plus aerial surveillance, such a "free-fire-zone" would need only to be lightly fortified and, at least in my opinion, manned by flying brigades of allied emergency forces. If it developed that more static ground forces *were* needed, why could not these be provided by South Vietnam whose army is not being very effectively used anyway and, according to some critics, insists on fighting on sort of a 5½ day basis a week?

In any event, I would agree with the critics of this idea on *one* point—which is that, unless such a barrier is carried on beyond the westerly border of South Vietnam and probably all the way through Laos to the Thai border, it would be less than effective since the Viet Cong would simply by-pass it, using the Ho Chi Minh Trail as they now do where it bends west of the present demilitarized zone and through Laos.

Of course, to do this presents us with some diplomatic problems but, in view of the large amounts of economic assistance we continue to give the Laotian government, these—if approached vigorously by the Administration—would not seem to be insurmountable.

Now, what could such a barrier-zone, if so constructed, *accomplish?*

It would probably not stop all infiltration of men and supplies from the North to the Viet Cong but, again in my opinion, it would make that process far more difficult than our extensive bombings of North Vietnam—on which we have already dropped more tons of explosives than were dropped by the allies on all of Germany during World War II—has accomplished.

Would it permit us to *stop* such bombing?

Probably not, but it would make us less dependent than now on this tactic, which has always been an international irritant of sorts, and would certainly reduce the hazards presently inherent in any bombing "pause" of the type necessary—according to so many domestic and foreign critics of our present policy—if negotiations are ever to get started.

Finally, would it help us to *"win"* this war?

Well, the answer to that depends, of course, on exactly what it is we are trying to "win," on which point there is bound to be disagreement.

We have been repeatedly told by such as Secretary McNamara, for instance, that ". . . we plan to win by proving to the enemy that *he* can't win."

And, in a nutshell, this is a pretty good definition of a "limited war"—a kind of warfare that most Americans neither understand nor like but, in a nuclear age, if we are to have wars at all, the kind of warfare we are probably going to have to learn to live with—if we hope to live at all!

Now, surely one can say in retrospect that, in the future, we ought to be more careful about picking our spots for fighting limited wars than we were in Vietnam, where the elements that have so hampered us there should have been predictable.

But, in order to now "win" that war in Vietnam into which we have stumbled, should we not now adopt a military strategy more in line than we so far have with our announced objectives? Or, to put that another way, have we not so far been playing into the hands of the enemy in Vietnam by fighting the kind of a war on the ground against an elusive and largely unseen enemy which, even with massive applications of largely ineffective air power, is slowly *bleeding us to death*—to the probable satisfaction of the Red Chinese, if not the Russians as well?

Our ground forces have been largely occupied by those costly and seemingly endless "search and destroy" missions—though military history teaches us that no government has sucessfully yet defeated a guerrilla movement that maintained access—safe haven—to an adjacent friendly nation. As I view it, a barrier-zone would not only help halt infiltration—it would also make it far more difficult for the Viet Cong to hit and then retreat to that kind of haven, to be re-supplied, to regroup and to hit again.

A barrier-zone would, it is true, return us to a defensive posture—but, by so doing, it would have the important political and psychological advantage of permitting us to highlight the essentially defensive nature of our objective—the holding nature of that objective—and at the same time to highlight North Vietnam's continued attempts at aggression.

Finally, such a zone in my opinion would permit us to stabilize this war—to contain it—to quiet it down—to move ahead faster and with more lasting results with that all-important pacification program in the South that is also so badly bogged down, and will remain so until some sort of a front is stabilized.

But, will it permit us to *"win"?*

Probably not by itself—but, if adopted in lieu of our present strategy that has produced nearly 100,000 U.S. casualties, and in conjunction with the kind of self-help program on the part of the new South Vietnamese government that I have indicated is absolutely essential, I believe—and again this is only an opinion—that it holds forth a better and an earlier promise of convincing the enemy that *he* can't win than does a constant escalation of the punishment we can inflict from the air on North Vietnam and its people.

Undoubtedly, that kind of aerial punishment could have been made more effective than it so far has long before this—and perhaps we should have tried before now to seal off the Port of Haiphong, for instance.

But, apparently, North Vietnam is prepared to accept—and finds acceptable—the cost of the limited bombing pressure we can only apply unless, that is, we are prepared, as I believe we are not, to begin to hit civilian centers.

In summary, no one can be sure what a winning strategy should really encompass—but, as I have said, we must *believe* we can come up with one—and with one that will permit us to bring this war to an honorable and worthwhile conclusion at a far earlier date than some gloomy prophets are now predicting it will take.

I do not know that any of the suggestions I have made will be useful in that respect—but I simply refuse to believe that our common intelligence and our capabilities, including the ability to perservere, are so limited as not to permit us to find a way out of our dilemma.

That way *must* be found.

With courage and patience—and liberal doses of common sense—it can be found; but it is time to get on with the task of doing so.

It is time to *get off dead-center!*

It is time to *begin to end this war!*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Psalm 62: 8: *Trust in Him at all times ye people; pour out your heart before Him; God is a refuge for us.*

O God, who art the creator and preserver of all mankind, without whose blessing all our labor is in vain, we pray that our lives may be built not upon the sands which shift with the tide but upon the rock of eternal truth and love. As we worship Thee reveal to us Thy presence; give us wisdom; awaken within us a greater desire for goodness and truth and love. To Thee we bring our affections to be purified, our ambitions to be refined, our minds to be cleansed, and our hearts to be responsive to Thy spirit.

We ask Thy blessing upon our President, our Speaker, and all Members of this body. May the fires of Thy spirit burn brightly within them. May they ever be friendly in spirit, clear in purpose, strong in integrity—men and women of high principles, great faith, and never failing good will. Protect them from all evil and may public office be to them a public trust which will issue in a public service unexcelled in the history of our beloved land. In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1160) entitled "An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. PEARSON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS TO FILE REPORT ON S. 1467, HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Works have until midnight tonight to file a report on S. 1467, as amended, to provide authorization to continue the highway beautification program.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE ON H.R. 9960

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EVINS] intends to ask to go to conference on H.R. 9960, the independent offices appropriation bill.

When this bill was before the House on May 17, the House dealt a devastating blow to the administration's housing program for low-income families by striking the appropriation for rent supplements which was only $10 million—the administration having requested $40 million.

On September 21, the Senate restored the $40 million requested for the rent supplement program. This action is an important step in facing the urgent crisis of our cities, and I certainly urge the House conferees to agree to the Senate figure.

However, I want to call to the attention of the House conferees an unfortunate recommendation by the Senate Appropriations Committee which, if permitted to stand, will jeopardize the program.

In its report the Senate Appropriations Committee said that nonprofit sponsors of rent supplement projects should provide 5-percent equity if assistance is sought under the special assistance program of FNMA. The effect of this requirement will be to make it impossible for labor, educational, religious, fraternal, and civic organizations, which do not have the necessary capital, to sponsor rent supplement housing. These are the very groups which should be encouraged to build in the slums. Despite the talk about making it profitable for private enterprise to invest in the reconstruction of the ghetto, public housing and nonprofit sponsored rent supplement housing are essential. Nonprofit sponsors are currently responsible for feasibility studies, architects' fees, and so on. They undertake these risks with no guarantees. A 5-percent equity requirement would dissuade the vast majority of nonprofit sponsors. Five-percent equity on a $2 million project means $100,000 cash tied up for up to 40 years.

Mr. Speaker, if the long, tortuous fight to save the rent supplement appropriation does succeed, the program must not be crippled by this requirement. I hope the conferees will reject any backdoor sabotage of the program through the imposition of impossible conditions.

I urge the conferees to write into the conference report language modifying the Senate recommendation, which was not the position of the House Appropriations Committee, so that nonprofit sponsors will be able to participate in the program.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD a statement issued on September 1 by James P. Twomey, director, Nonprofit Housing Center, Urban America, Inc., which outlines the effect of a 5-percent equity requirement on nonprofit sponsors:

URBAN AMERICA, INC.,
Washington, D.C., September 1, 1967.

SPECIAL NOTICE

DEAR FRIENDS: I have just read the Senate Committee on Appropriations Report No. 548 concerning Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Bill 1968. The Committee Report recommends the full restoration of $40 million for rent supplement annual contracts in 1968. The Report, however, contains language which is of critical importance to not-for-profit sponsors of low-income housing. The language appears on Page 18 of the Report and reads as follows:

"The committee agrees with the House committee that the Congress intended market rate mortgages in the rent supplement program to be financed in the private market in the usual conventional way, and expects the Secretary to be guided accordingly. In those cases where this is not possible, in every rent supplement project the sponsor shall be required to provide at least a 10% equity investment, except for nonprofit organizations' 5% if assistance is sought under the special assistance program of FNMA."

The language of the paragraph is deceptive. For-profit investors have always been required to have a 10% equity investment in both the below market 221(d)(3) program, as well as the rent supplement program and the language of the paragraph, while suggesting an original requirement, is nothing new. These investors account for their 10% equity investment usually in the form of a waiver of the 10% builder and sponsor's profit and risk allowance. Since nonprofit sponsors do not earn fees, their 5% equity investment will have to be in the form of *cash*. The practical effect of this requirement is that a mortgage based on 100% of estimated replacement costs will no longer be available for not-for-profit sponsors of rent supplement projects.

To require nonprofit organizations to have a cash equity investment, will effectively eliminate such nonprofit groups from participation in the rent supplement program. This 5% cash equity requirement pertains to the use of Federal National Mortgage Association special assistance funds and does not apply when private mortgage financing is made available. Since the rent supplement program is a new program and since other investment opportunities are available, it is highly unlikely that many mortgage investors will be attracted to the rent supplement program, particularly when such projects may be located in communities such as Harlem, Roxbury, Hough, Lawndale, or Watts. In all likelihood, both for-profit and nonprofit sponsors of rent supplement housing will turn to FNMA special assistance program for funding. Under the present language of the Appropriations Committee Report, nonprofit groups thus will only be eligible for a 95% of replacement costs mortgage.

Consider the economic consequences of a 5% cash "investment" in a nonprofit project with a forty-year mortgage, on a $2 million project. The cash equity "investment" of a nonprofit sponsor will be $100,000. If this money were deposited in a savings account for forty years, the return on interest alone would be a minimum of $200,000. Of course, the $100,000 of principal will be available at any time. If the $100,000 were invested in real estate with a 10% return on equity, this would mean a return of $400,000 in interest over a forty-year period.

The rationale behind this language appears to be the desire by some Senators and others on the Hill to insure a long-term interest and involvement in lower-income housing projects by nonprofit groups as a result of having a cash investment in the project. The language, however, would now require a 5% *donation* rather than a 5% *investment*.

Nonprofit groups now risk seed money and architect fees, option costs, attorney fees, etc., to plan a development and bring it to the stage of permanent financing. They risk their prestige, expend considerable staff time, the cost of which far exceeds the amount recoverable, and tax their patience with the delays inherent in all Federal housing programs.

Nonprofit groups have made a significant contribution to the housing needs of low-income families in this country and are prepared to continue to provide housing for low-income families through the rent supplement program, as indicated by the Congressional Record of May 16, 1967. It is unlikely, however, that nonprofit groups will wish to play this role if after having been encouraged to make use of these Federally insured programs, they are now required to make a 5% cash donation.

A nonprofit sponsor is not concerned with the ownership of real estate but rather is motivated by a special social concern for the individual and for the community they serve. When the housing is built the nonprofit incorporates within the overall scope of project management a decisive plan of counsel and development services for the individuals and families who occupy the project. This is another kind of investment in low-income housing which many consider more significant and vital than a cash investment.

Sincerely yours,

James P. Twomey,
Director, Nonprofit Housing Center.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 9960) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Evins of Tennessee, Boland, Giaimo, Shipley, Marsh, Pryor, Mahon, Jonas, Minshall, Wyman, Talcott, and Bow.

PROPOSED NATURAL DISASTER INSURANCE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, many of the people of the State of Texas today are suffering from a flood disaster caused by the Hurricane Beulah which struck the Rio Grande area of Texas some days ago.

I read this morning in the local press that most of the people affected as the result of the floodwaters have no insurance coverage.

First, I want to express my sympathy to the people of Texas. We had a similar experience in Louisiana just 2 years ago when Hurricane Betsy caused about a billion dollars of damage. Florida as well as Mississippi and other areas were affected.

Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Banking and Currency under the direction of the able gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman] and the subcommittee headed by the able gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Barrett] is now conducting hearings on flood insurance. This most recent disaster in Texas again points up the necessity for having a comprehensive program of flood insurance administered jointly by the Government and by the insurance industry to protect people in disaster areas.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CASEY. I am well aware of the bill that the gentleman introduced and I am pleased to join in the introduction of a similar bill. The gentleman introduced this bill several months back and I am pleased to know that the committee is holding hearings.

This tragic disaster that has hit my home State brings home the need for just what the gentleman is advocating.

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman.

EXCESSIVE PROFITS MADE BY LITTON INDUSTRIES, INC.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most phenomenally successful aircraft production programs in America has been the Lockheed F-104 aircraft, which has not only been procured in quantity by the U.S. Air Force, but under both military assistance and licensing programs by Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Canada, Norway, Greece, and Japan.

The total value of these contracts has exceeded $3 billion. One not so small component of the later models of the aircraft is the LN-3 navigation system, made by the Guidance and Control Systems Division of Litton Systems, Inc., a subsidiary of Litton Industries, Inc.

I believe that Litton has made very substantial excess profits on this system, and approximately a month ago I asked the General Accounting Office to check into all of the contracts paid for by the American taxpayers for this system, and to determine the profits made under this procurement. Yesterday the General Accounting Office advised me that Litton had declined to provide them with certain essential data as to their profits on these multi-million-dollar procurements. At a time when 12,000 Americans have died in Vietnam and additional hundreds are dying every week, I do not think this Congress should hold still for any defense contractor anywhere telling the Federal Government that it is none of their business what sort of profits they are making on defense contracts at the expense of the American taxpayer.

CICERO WROTE 2,000 YEARS AGO:

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to place in the Congressional Record a part of a speech made some 2,000 years ago by Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman statesman, orator, and writer.

What Cicero has written about nations spending their substance in extravagance and in attempts to help those both at home and abroad is as true today as it was 2,000 years ago.

Some people ask if ever we will learn a lesson. As Cicero has said, our Treasury is becoming bare. People have not understood that we are weakening our Nation by spending our substance in such a reckless manner. I hope my colleagues will give thought to these immortal words of Cicero.

Cicero Wrote 2,000 Years Ago:

"We are taxed in our bread and our wine, in our income and investments, on our land and our property not only for base creatures who do not deserve the name of men, but for foreign nations, for complaisant nations who will bow to us and accept our largesse and promise to assist us in the keeping of the peace—these mendicant nations who will destroy us when we show a moment of weakness or our treasury is bare, and surely it is becoming bare. They take our very flesh, and they hate and despise us. But when a government becomes powerful it is destructive, extravagant; it is a usurer which takes bread from innocent mouths and deprives honorable men of their substance, for votes with which to perpetuate itself."

SUGGESTION FOR MAYOR SHELLEY

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, KPIX, a local television station in San Francisco, through their vice president, Mr. Louis S. Simon, recently editorialized on the desirability of a suggestion by a former colleague of ours, the present mayor of San Francisco, Jack Shelley. Mayor Shelley suggests that a portion of our foreign aid expenditures might be feasibly diverted to meeting an equally pressing, if not more serious, domestic problem, the providing of work opportunities for our citizens in the deprived areas of our major cities. His suggestion is a good one, and I call it to your attention by including the KPIX editorial in the Record.

The editorial is as follows:

Washington is only about five hours flying time from San Francisco. But to many it might as well be on another planet—when it comes to the federal government considering local suggestions. We don't buy that. Politicians everywhere live and die politically by public opinion. So—Washington should hear this:

Mayor Shelley recently suggested some of this nation's multibillion dollar foreign aid money should be spent on critical needs in this country. The Mayor contends the national antipoverty program will not succeed until it is tied in with a public works program similar to the Works Project Administration—WPA—during the Depression.

We realize—of course—this nation has foreign aid commitments of vital diplomatic significance. But as Mayor Shelley said, unless we spend some of the foreign aid money on critical needs in this country, we're not going to have a base from which to extend further foreign aid.

So—*why* not divert some foreign aid to

finance a modern WPA? But, you ask, who in Washington will listen to such a simple suggestion from the Mayor of San Francisco? *Many* top Washington people *will* both listen and *consider* the suggestion if Mayor Shelley triggers nationwide demand for consideration of the idea.

There are influential organizations of Governors, Mayors and local officials. We urge Mayor Shelley to seek *their* support for his proposal that Washington transfer some foreign aid money to a Domestic Aid Program to meet this nation's critical needs.

WELCOME TO VISITORS FROM RYUKYU ISLANDS

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the United States is now being visited by a most important and distinguished group of legislators representing the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

For the past several days this delegation, headed by Mr. Yasukuni Yamakawa, Speaker of the Legislature of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, has been touring Washington. Other members of the legislature are Mr. Choko Iraha and Mr. Eishin Yoshimoto. Mr. Kei Shimura, Director of General Affairs of the Ryukyuan Government is also with the group. They are all being escorted by Mr. Thomas N. Tanimoto, International Relations Officer of the Liaison Department of the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure I speak not only for myself, but for all Members of this House in extending a cordial welcome to Speaker Yamakawa and his delegation.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Hawaii for the words of welcome to our distinguished visitors, and I join him in welcoming them to the Capitol.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I thank the distinguished majority leader for expressing the sentiments of this House.

Mr. Speaker, the visit of Speaker Yamakawa and his delegation will no doubt serve to enhance the wonderful working relationship now enjoyed between the Ryukyuans and the people of the United States. As we all know, the Ryukyu Islands play a very important role today in our fight in Vietnam for the free world. I am sure these distinguished visitors share with us the hope that an early settlement will be accomplished in Vietnam and they will take back with them the hope of the people of the United States for a world of peace and brotherhood among all men.

RECEPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT OF NIGER

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Diori Hamani, the President of Niger, in Africa, is visiting in Washington and last evening he and his charming wife were honored by President and Mrs. Johnson with a state dinner at the White House.

President Diori Hamani is President not only of Niger but also of two important groupings of moderate, French-speaking African states: the 14-member Afro-Malagasy Common Organization—OCAM—and the five-nation west African Council of the Entente.

His trip to the United States follows by 2 weeks the meeting of the chiefs of state of the Organization for African Unity—OAU—in Kinshasa, where, as leader of the OCAM group, President Diori played a leading and constructive role.

This is President Diori's first visit to the United States. In addition to visiting Washington and holding discussions with President Johnson and other U.S. Government officials, he will be touring the United States. As part of this tour he will spend 2 days looking at agricultural and animal husbandry developments around Tucson, Ariz., an area of the United States which closely resembles the arable regions of Niger. He will visit an open-pit mine near Albuquerque, N. Mex., where uranium is being mined from deposits geologically similar to those recently discovered in his own country. During his tour he will also have the opportunity to meet with business and students groups.

The Peace Corps program in Niger has been one of the most successful in the world. President Diori has taken great personal interest in the program and during his U.S. tour will spend a day visiting a Peace Corps training camp in the Virgin Islands in the company of several former Niger Peace Corps volunteers.

President Diori has been head of Government in Niger since 1958 and President of the country since its independence in 1960. Under his leadership, the country has achieved political stability and made steady, if unspectacular, economic progress by following sound policies of financial management. Niger retains close ties with the former administering power, France, and has pursued a Western-oriented foreign policy.

This afternoon, beginning at 4:30, a reception is to be tendered the President of Niger in the rooms of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Rayburn Building. For Chairman MORGAN of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and for the Subcommittee on Africa I extend a cordial invitation to all Members of the House to join in this reception of good will to the President of Niger, an African leader of outstanding ability, of lofty dedication and a real friend of our country. I trust that the business on the floor of the House at that hour will permit the attendance of many Members.

PHILADELPHIA MOURNS LOSS OF JULES COHEN, JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS EXECUTIVE

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish community of the Greater Philadelphia area has been stunned by the loss of one of its most able and dedicated leaders, Mr. Jules Cohen. Mr. Cohen, who passed away Monday, was executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia.

Mr. Cohen's passing, Mr. Speaker, is a deep personal loss to me. Mr. Cohen was my constituent whose friendship I valued and whose advice on community matters has been extremely important to me for several years. Mr. Cohen's contribution to intergroup relations in Philadelphia and his tireless work for Jewish causes and the State of Israel will long be appreciated by his neighbors and his countless friends.

Mr. Cohen, a lawyer by training, entered the community relations field in 1943. At his death he was a trustee of Goddard College, in Plainfield, Vt.; past president of the Philadelphia Association of Jewish Agency Executives; vice chairman of the Philadelphia Council of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and a board member of the men's club of his temple, Beth Sholom Congregation in Elkins Park, Pa.

On the national level, Mr. Cohen served as president of the Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers. On the statewide level, Mr. Cohen was past secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania Jewish Community Relations Conference and was a member of the State advisory committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

These titles reflect a long, busy career of service. Behind the titles there was a man of great personal warmth and devotion to community causes. Mr. Speaker, the example set by Jules Cohen during his lifetime is one that all of us in the House of Representatives would do well to follow. I know that I speak for the entire House in expressing my sympathies to his widow, Mrs. Rose Cohen, his daughter Lynn, and his son Joshua at this time of sorrow.

AIR RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. GUDE. Mr. SPEAKER, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the most constructive approach to the area's transportation problems and the related issues of the quality of urban life must consist not of blocking highway construction but of seeking the maximum benefits and minimum disruption from them. I wish to commend to my colleagues H.R. 9072, which the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] has introduced, and also H.R. 12507, introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY]. I also am a cosponsor of this legislation. This legislation will authorize the leasing of both public and private developments in the air space over highways in the District of Columbia. Air rights construction can do much to make freeways compatible with a healthy inter city environment, restore land to the tax rolls, and provide relocation housing and other needed facilities.

The four Washington area Congressmen have held a series of conferences with officials of metropolitan area transportation agencies to consider some of these problems, and the need for air rights legislation was emphasized by District of Columbia Commissioner, Gen. Robert Mathe as a top priority need.

An air rights housing experiment is now planned for a redevelopment area here. I hope it can go forward. We need more of it, plus an ample supply of planned parking.

SPRINGING THE RUSSIAN BEAR TRAP

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the agreement between Russia and North Vietnam by which Russia agrees to supply all weapons and armaments and North Vietnam furnishes the manpower clearly reveals the trap into which the United States has fallen.

Russia conserves her manpower, while the United States continues to lose the finest sons of our common people and to wildly dissipate our wealth.

Mr. Speaker, are we blind to the weakening effect of this unfortunate war upon our manpower and our wealth? Are we blind to our entrapment? Will we continue blindly on until our forces are decimated, our wealth gone and our Nation completely exsanguinated?

Let us free ourselves from this trap while we are yet strong. Preserve the lives of the brave sons of our poor and invest our wealth in building a stronger, more progressive America.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 279]

Abbitt
Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Aspinall
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill, Va.
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Downing
Eckhardt
Feighan
Fountain
Gardner
Hagan
Halpern
Hathaway
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jones, Ala.
Kee
Long, Md.
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Miller, Calif.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
O'Konski
Passman
Quie
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Roberts
Satterfield
Teague, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Utt
Watson
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 377 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday last, I call up the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 849) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

H.J. RES. 849

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of August 29, 1967 (Public Law 90-75), is hereby amended by striking out "September 30, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 31, 1967".

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, my inquiry is, When will it be in order during the consideration of the joint resolution to offer amendments?

The SPEAKER. It will be in order under the 5-minute rule.

Mr. BOW. Are we now under the 5-minute rule?

The SPEAKER. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. BOW. And amendments can be offered at any time during consideration under the 5-minute rule?

The SPEAKER. The answer to that inquiry is "Yes."

Mr. BOW. I thank the Chair.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, this is the third continuing resolution of this session. It covers the month of October. The present resolution expires this coming Saturday.

The necessity for the resolution grows out of the fact that many of the appropriation bills have not been enacted into law.

Three of the bills have not been enacted into law, have not, in fact, been introduced, as a result of lack of authorizing legislation; they are the bill for military construction, the bill for foreign aid, and the final supplemental.

We have passed all the other appropriation bills in the House of Representatives.

Only four of the fiscal year 1968 regular annual appropriation bills have actually been cleared and sent to the White House. The last one was the Defense Department bill, passed some time ago, which I believe has not yet been signed.

A number of the bills are in conference. Apparently the other body is now beginning to move more rapidly in considering the appropriation bills.

We have no alternative other than to offer a continuing resolution, because much of the Government, fiscally speaking, would be out of business next Monday without the proposed continuing resolution or a similar resolution providing for a continuation of the various Government programs.

This is just the standard resolution which has been offered.

I believe it would be appropriate to take a minute to state what has been done thus far with the appropriation bills, so far as the House is concerned. The House has reduced appropriations, in bills for the current fiscal year, as of this date, by $3.8 billion. It is the estimate of the Appropriations Committee that an additional billion dollars can be carved out of the remaining estimates for the foreign aid program, the military construction program, and the final supplemental requests.

It is the estimate of the Appropriations Committee, generally, that we will reduce appropriations at this session in the House, below the budget estimates—that does not mean all will be approved by the other body—by $5 billion or more.

While some would like the reduction to be less and others would like it to be more, $5 billion is a very substantial sum.

I hope that the continuing resolution will be approved.

There is a proposal to affix to this resolution a limitation on the President's spending authority.

I would say that this resolution is not the vehicle, in my judgment, for that approach. This resolution urgently needs to be enacted into law by the House and the Senate and sent to the President and approved by him by the end of this week.

Furthermore, with respect to rescissions and limitations on expenditures, it would seem to me we ought to do our work on appropriations. We should not undertake to dodge our responsibilities by saying that we are incompetent to decide what funds should be spent and, therefore, we ask the President not to spend all of the funds which we have appropriated.

To me this is an abdication by Congress, a downgrading of our responsibility, and the wrong approach. For us to give the Executive the full authority to make reductions of several billions of dollars in a wide variety of bills without giving him any guidance as to where the reduction should be made seems to me to be completely contrary to the time-honored claim that the Congress has control of the purse.

This matter, no doubt, will be discussed by others as the debate proceeds under the 5-minute rule. I would urge Members of the House to approve the continuing resolution in order that we may send it to the other body and as quickly as possible send it to the President.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the able chairman of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. Briefly, for a simple question.

The gentleman stated, if I understood him correctly, that you had reduced or would reduce appropriations by $5 billion.

Mr. MAHON. Probably.

Mr. COLMER. My question is, reduced from what?

Mr. MAHON. From the President's budget requests for appropriations.

Mr. COLMER. From the President's budget?

Mr. MAHON. From the President's budget requests for appropriations. In fairness, we must say this would not mean a reduction in expenditures during the current fiscal year of $5 billion, but it would mean, if these reductions are sustained, a reduction in expenditures by $5 billion eventually, this year or next year or in the following year. It would save the taxpayers $5 billion.

Mr. COLMER. And it would reduce the anticipated deficit of some $29 billion to $30 billion by $5 billion?

Mr. MAHON. No, it would not reduce the anticipated fiscal 1968 deficit by $5 billion. The best rough estimate is that if we cut appropriations $5 billion, while it will save $5 billion eventually, for the current fiscal year only about half of that, or $2.5 billion roughly, would be saved from the standpoint of expenditures in fiscal year 1968, because the rest of it would be expended in later years. But it is, nonetheless, a saving. A single fiscal year is but a brief span of time in the longest continuing business on earth.

Further on this matter of appropriations versus expenditures, I am inserting an excerpt from the report of the committee on the pending continuing resolution:

> *Expenditure impact.*—Of course, not all of the $3,816,000,000 House reduction to date against fiscal 1968 budget *appropriation* requests will translate into an *equal* reduction from the budget estimate of *expenditures* (disbursements) *during* the same fiscal year 1968, for the simple reason that, like the normal pattern of events, it was not expected, and thus not estimated that anywhere near the full amounts requested for appropriation for fiscal 1968 would actually also be paid out within the same (fiscal 1968) year. Carryover unexpended balances for expenditure in subsequent years are a normal thing. But a reduction in appropriation is nonetheless a reduction in proposed spending—in either the same year, the year following, or beyond.

Mr. COLMER. One final question. In view of that statement, what would be the total expenditures? Does the gentleman understand what I mean by that?

Mr. MAHON. Total expenditures estimated in the January budget were $135 billion. That is what the President stated as his administrative expenditure budget.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. But the President has stated by way of an informal revision of the budget that known changes in spending would increase the budget by $1.5 billion. That would bring it to $136.5 billion for the current fiscal year.

He has stated that if we do not let the administration sell $5 billion in participation certificates, then the expenditures—based on House actions in denying some of the requested authority—may rise by $2 billion.

He has also stated that if we exceed the President's proposal on pay increases, that might mean an additional $1 billion. So these factors are a part of the entire picture. There are of course other contingencies and uncertainties.

Mr. COLMER. In other words, these new programs that the Congress is now authorizing would have an effect upon the reduction you hope to make in the President's budget and also upon expenditures, would it not?

Mr. MAHON. Generally, it would if these programs were not budgeted. I would say to the gentleman that as we in the House met last week, we approved additional authorizations right and left. We approved an additional authorization yesterday. New authorizations come to the floor quite frequently, and most of them are adopted. They inevitably add to the spending pressures all along the line.

Yet, we have the audacity to talk about cuts, cuts, cuts, and saving money while we go on authorizing additional expenditures. Such action tends to fly in the face of our protestations for economy.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman's Committee on Rules has the responsibility of giving serious consideration to approving rules providing for the consideration of bills that call for additional spending. We, the Members of the House, in our votes on these bills, should vote down a lot of these bills, as good as they may appear to be, unless favorable action is urgently required.

Further, Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that if we are to convince the country that we do want to reduce expenditures, we should proceed with great care in considering bills for additional authorizations.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, of course the gentleman is not suggesting that the chairman of the Committee on Rules has been the aggressor in bringing about these new programs and these new expenditures?

I am in thorough accord with the gentleman's statement, and that was one of the purposes in my rising to ask these questions.

Mr. MAHON. I fully agree that the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] has sought to hold the line on spending and has sought to take a position toward reducing expenditures. His work has been of great value. The efforts of the gentleman from Mississippi, along with the efforts of many others, however, have not been sufficiently successful. But except for those efforts, our expenditures would have been much greater than they are at the present time.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BOW

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Bow: On line 5 strike out the period, insert a semicolon and the following: "and that the joint resolution of June 30, 1967 (Public Law 90–38) as amended by Public Law 90–75 and as amended herein, is further amended by adding the following:
>
> "SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, net aggregate administrative budget expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, shall not exceed $132,000,000,000, except by those Department of Defense expenditures beyond $72,300,000,000 for military purposes that the President may determine are necessary.
>
> "SEC. 106. Not later than ten days after the last day of the first session of the 90th Congress, appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall be reduced through the apportionment process, by $4,500,000,000 (the difference between currently anticipated administrative budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 of $136,500,000,000 and $132,000,000,000) which sum shall be covered into the Treasury."

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which has been read, unfortunately, is not the amendment which was intended to be offered. The wrong amendment was sent to the Clerk's desk. This is the amendment that I desire to have considered.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the amendment which has just been read and submit in lieu thereof the new copy of the amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I do not wish to foreclose my opportunity to reserve a point of order against the amendment and to make such point of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will protect the gentleman.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Bow: On line 5 strike out the period, insert a semicolon and the following: "and that the joint resolution of June 30, 1967 (Public Law 90–38) as amended by Public Law 90–75 and as amended herein, is further amended by adding the following:
>
> " 'SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other pro-

vision of law, net aggregate administrative budget expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall not exceed $131,500,000,000; except by those Department of Defense expenditures beyond $72,300,000,000 for military purposes that the President may determine are necessary.

"'SEC. 106. Not later than ten days after the last day of the first session of the 90th Congress, estimated administrative budget expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall be reduced, through the apportionment process, by $5,000,000,000 (the difference between currently anticipated administrative budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 of $136,500,000,000 and $131,500,000,000). Obligational authority in an amount equal to the $5,000,000,000 reduction in expenditures shall no longer remain available and such sums shall be covered into the Treasury.'"

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas reserves a point of order.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 280]

Abbitt
Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Aspinall
Bolling
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill, Va.
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
Cowger
de la Garza
Dellenback
Derwinski
Diggs
Downing
Feighan
Fountain
Grover
Hagan
Halpern
Hardy
Hathaway
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Joelson
Jones, Ala.
Kee
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mailliard
Miller, Calif.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Mosher
Moss
O'Konski
Passman
Quie
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Roberts
Satterfield
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Utt
Vander Jagt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 369 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] is recognized.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have offered this amendment because I believe that the fiscal situation in our country is so serious that something must be done. I would hope that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations would withdraw his reservation and permit this amendment to go to a vote so that the Members of the House, not just the Committee on Appropriations, would have a chance to represent their people, and so that all of the Members would have a chance in their representative capacity to speak for the people. The people want some economy in our Government. Unfortunately, the gentleman has now taken the parliamentary move of trying to prevent the representatives of the people from voting on the question of whether or not we should put a limitation on spending. It is well to say that we are going to try to cut appropriations by $4 billion, but that does not affect the spending or affect the $30 billion deficit. The people should know that there is a difference between appropriations and expenditures, and the $4 billion referred to does not reduce expenditures one dime. It does in the future, perhaps; but the appropriation does not cut our expenditures.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I would be delighted to yield to the gentleman. He seems a little upset about what I just said, and I am quite a bit upset about the fact that he made this parliamentary move.

Mr. MAHON. I understood the gentleman to say that a cut in appropriations would not affect spending one dime, whereas, as a general rule of thumb, 70 percent of the funds appropriated for a given year are spent that year. Thirty percent are carried over to the next year. The estimated budget is that on all cuts of about $5 billion, if we make it, about half would be reflected in savings in the fiscal year 1968 and the rest thereafter.

Mr. BOW. I accept the gentleman's amendment to what I said, but I think the important thing, Mr. Speaker, is the fact that people think when you cut the budget by $4.5 billion you have saved $4.5 billion. That just is not right.

Mr. MAHON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. Yes.

Mr. MAHON. You have saved $4 billion if the cuts are granted, but you do not save them the first fiscal year. You save them ultimately.

Mr. BOW. May I say that if you cut it $4.5 billion in appropriations, it will not affect the $30 billion deficit anticipated by more than $2.5 billion.

Mr. MAHON. That is correct. It is possibly so.

Mr. BOW. So we still have a deficit of something over $28 billion even though you have cut it that amount. I am concerned about what we are spending. Expenditures are the thing we are trying to stop here by putting a ceiling of $131 billion on the amount that the President can spend this fiscal year. This is not an earth-shaking amount. For last year's budget—and the Government got along pretty well last year and we did a lot of things last year—last year's budget was $125 billion. So the limitation that I put on here is actually $6 billion over what they requested last year.

Now, why can we not go back to last year? We know there has been inflation and there is more inflation to come. Unless we do something about it here in the House of Representatives, inflation will continue. Another $200 million authorization bill came up from the White House this week. Another $200 million for authorization for Asian foreign aid. It is time that we put a ceiling on expenditures so that we can reduce these deficits which are so dangerous to our country.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. No, I do not yield to the gentleman at this time. If I conclude and still have time, I will be delighted to yield to the gentleman. I do not know how much he can add to this question of spending for the RECORD, but I will be glad to yield to him later.

Mr. Speaker, it is time that we do something for America. And, Mr. Speaker, I am not making this statement as a partisan issue. I heard on the radio, or television today, or some place, that it has been said this does not represent the proper approach. I heard further that the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives said that the "Bow" approach is the wrong approach to cut spending.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone in leadership on either side of the aisle, if any Member of this House knows a better way, I am willing to go along with it. All I want is a reduction of spending; all I want is fiscal responsibility. And, if there is a better way, I would like to know about it.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. But I will say this, Mr. Speaker. I decline to yield to the gentleman from New York until I have completed my statement.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Bow was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. BOW. As I say, Mr. Speaker, the estimate of expenditures last year was $125 billion. Why cannot we go with $131 billion? Under my resolution or amendment thereto or under my bill, we return to the Treasury money in the bank—$5 billion. Why, we have all of these carryovers and unexpended funds. But I suggest to you it is time we began to put money in the bank in the good days in order to start to build up the bank for the bad days. I do not believe the bad days are too far off.

Mr. Speaker, if we continue down this road we are going now, I do not think it is a question—and I know, Mr. Speaker, that there is just as much concern to my right in some areas on my right as there is in some areas on my left, and that is the reason why I hope the gentleman from Texas would not block the opportunity for representatives of the people to vote on this amendment and give the people the chance to speak.

Mr. Speaker, I say this because I am convinced, as I believe everyone else is convinced, if you travel the country over, the American people are concerned about this matter of Federal expenditure. This is one way we can meet that concern.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I am going to offer a motion to recommit and that I shall ask for a rollcall on the motion to recommit. The motion to recommit will be a straight motion to recommit the resolution back to the committee. And, if that motion to recommit is adopted, I would hope then that the Committee on Appropriations would report out forthwith my Joint Resolution 846 which was introduced yesterday and which has as its purpose the same identical language of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] as contained in this amendment. This would be the manner in which we could bring it out. So, there will be offered a motion to recommit.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] for a question but not for a speech, if the gentleman has a question.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] is so serious about reducing spending, why does he exempt from his amendment expenditures for military purposes? He leaves the Treasury door wide open for the military-industrial complex. The military appropriations are now $72.3 billion.

Mr. BOW. Because I am concerned about the men in Vietnam. I am concerned about our troops. I am concerned that there may be a situation arise wherein it is necessary, for the defense of my country, that there be some spending in Vietnam. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I do not join with the gentleman's position on Vietnam. I think we must always be prepared. If the gentleman has read or will read the amendment which I have offered, the gentleman will note that this does not say "defense." It says for the military. I am willing to vote for, to support and to put in the money necessary for the military for the defense of your country and mine, just the same as I am concerned about my country and its fiscal situation.

I do not yield any further to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. Of course I yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Is it not true that if the resolution is recommitted to the Committee on Appropriations that the committee will have ample opportunity to report back another resolution including a spending limitation?

Mr. BOW. That is right, that is correct.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman for the fundamental point he is making. I believe it is absolutely clear that there can be major cuts in nonessential spending, but I have one question that I would ask the gentleman:

Is it not true, I would ask the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations, that there are $50 billion—$50 billion—of unobligated funds that the President could trim or cut, defer or not use? Has there been any effort to make any substantial cuts, or requests or notifications to the Congress to cut those unobligated funds, and is this not a very significant and major amount?

Mr. BOW. I will say yes, that it is, to the gentleman from New York. Significant expenditure reductions could be made in certain of these unobligated funds; other expenditures could be deferred. Clear cuts in nonessential spending could be made.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

As I understand the gentleman's amendment, if we are allowed to vote on it, it will place an overall ceiling on spending of $131.5 billion?

Mr. BOW. That is correct.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I understand further that the President will be required, 10 days after the end of the first session of the 90th Congress, to reduce expenditures by the apportionment process by $5 billion?

Mr. BOW. By $5 billion, and this to be covered into the Treasury.

Mr. WAGGONNER. My question is this: As far as I understand, there is an overall Federal level of spending required here, but we do not have an agency-by-agency level?

Mr. BOW. That is correct.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Is it possible the President in his discretion, and he is denied any discretion to exceed the overall limit, but in his discretion can he fund programs that he finds to his liking and decimate programs for which he has no real concern?

Mr. BOW. The President could take it all out of foreign aid if he wanted to, and I would hope he would make a deep cut there. But may I say to my friend from Louisiana the President already has this authority. And the President has asked the leadership to hurry these money bills down to him, to pass all the appropriation bills and "get them down to me so I can look them over and decide where I can cut them." So the President is going to do it anyway, he is going to freeze it. He did it last year after we adjourned. He has the authority to do it, and he is going to do it. So this does not take away from Congress and give to the President anything he does not already have.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, would it be appropriate for me to rise in opposition to the amendment, take 5 minutes, and then insist on my point of order?

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 281]

Abbitt
Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashbrook
Ashley
Aspinall
Belcher
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill, Va.
Carey
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
de la Garza
Dellenback
Derwinski
Diggs
Downing
Feighan
Fisher
Fountain
Green, Pa.
Hagan
Halpern
Hathaway
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kee
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
O'Konski
Pool
Purcell
Quie
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Satterfield
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Udall
Utt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Young

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 374 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas insist on his point of order?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I insist on my point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, on September 21 I asked unanimous consent that it be in order on Wednesday, September 27, or any day thereafter for the House to consider a joint resolution making continuing appropriations.

That is the purpose of the resolution—to make continuing appropriations. The amendment by the gentleman from Ohio goes in the opposite direction. It deals not so much with appropriations as with the right of the President to expend appropriations which have previously been made by the Congress. The amendment of the gentleman from Ohio seems clearly not to be in order because it is not germane. It limits the expenditure of money not in the bill and not covered in the resolution and it rescinds money not in the resolution and not contained in the pending measure. So I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] desire to be heard?

Mr. BOW. No, Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to be heard.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is prepared to rule. The Chair was aware that an amendment would be offered by the gentleman from Ohio and therefore had an opportunity of studying the same with relation to the rules and the precedents.

The joint resolution before the House extends the provisions of Public Law 90-38, which currently expires on September 30, 1967, through October 31, 1967.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] proposes to further amend Public Law 90-38 by adding two new sections to the law—the first placing a limitation on net aggregate administrative budget expenditures during fiscal 1968, the second requiring a $5 billion reduction, through the apportionment process, in administrative budget expenditures.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] has made a point of order against this amendment, urging that it is not germane to the matter now before the House.

Public Law 90-38 provides "continuing appropriations" for certain departments and agencies of the Government. Its provisions cease to be effective when regular appropriation bills become law. Since several appropriation acts have been signed by the President, the provisions of Public Law 90–38 do not apply to all fiscal 1968 funds.

The amendment, on the other hand, goes to the total administrative budget. Its application goes beyond the scope of Public Law 90–38.

In his examination of the precedents, the Chair has read several decisions handed down in the 79th Congress. There the Committee of the Whole had under consideration a bill extending the Emergency Price Control Act. When amendments were offered to the bill which proposed further modification of the Price Control Act, but which went beyond the scope of the pending bill, Chairman Cooper, of Tennessee, held that the amendments were not germane. The Chair's ruling was based on the fact that the application of the amendment would go to agencies of Government not covered by the law which was being extended—79th Congress, second session, April 17, 1946, RECORD pages 3885, 3931.

The Chair has also examined certain decisions in the 89th Congress which stand for the general proposition that to a bill limited in its application to certain departments and agencies of Government, an amendment applicable to all departments and agencies is not germane—89th Congress, second session, October 18, 1966.

The present occupant of the chair, following these precedents, holds that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] is not germane and sustains the point of order.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make reference to a few matters which have been discussed in the debate thus far.

It has been stated that savings could be made as a result of the fact that there were unobligated sums to the extent of about $50 billion available to the executive branch at the beginning of the current fiscal year. These funds generally speaking are available for commitment, obligation, and expenditure for long leadtime items. By and large they are earmarked for certain purposes. Generally speaking, they cannot be diverted for other purposes. The largest portions of that sum would be in Defense and foreign aid where the pipeline represents a rather considerable sum and where commitments might exist but obligations have not been made. Other large balances are in the Housing and Urban Development Department—funds under urban renewal, for example. The entire amount totals up to about $50 billion as shown at page 51 of the President's budget.

Mr. Speaker, these funds are not available for other purposes of the Government. They are only available for the purposes for which they were appropriated.

RIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT TO WITHHOLD APPROPRIATED FUNDS FROM EXPENDITURE

A further matter which may be troublesome and which should be considered is that of the right of the President to withhold the spending of funds which have been made available by the Congress.

As a general proposition, there has been and there is in my opinion the attitude on the part of the Members of Congress, on both sides of the aisle, that when Congress appropriates money for Federal programs of one kind or another, it is the responsibility and duty of the Executive, generally speaking, to carry out the will of the Congress and proceed with the programs and expenditures which have been approved by the Congress.

However, the gentleman from Ohio has stated that the President has complete authority to withhold funds which are appropriated and made available to the various agencies of the Government.

And he cites the fact that the President has in many instances—and all Presidents have in some instances—failed to expend, for the programs appropriated for, funds made available by the Congress.

Now, wherein does the President have the authority not to expend funds for the programs which Congress authorizes and appropriates for? I would like to turn to an act which was approved by the Congress in 1950. It is the antideficiency law, and it gives the President some authority to withhold expenditures, but it does not give the President the item veto. We have always taken the position that no President has the right to exercise the item veto, this would give the President authority over the Congress which would be intolerable, and utterly unacceptable. So what did the Congress do under the leadership of the late John Taber, former chairman of the committee, and others? The committee and the Congress improved the antideficiency bill by tightening it up; by putting some teeth in it; by generally improving it. I will read from the antideficiency law the following—31 U.S.C. 665:

> In apportioning any appropriations, reserves may be established to provide for contingencies, or to effect savings whenever savings are made possible by or through changes in requirements—

In other words, the law says that the President can withhold expenditures and effect savings—and we certainly do not oppose savings—whenever savings are made possible by or through changes in requirements. And there are at times changes in requirements—

> greater efficiency of operation,

If he can make savings by a greater efficiency of operations—

> or other developments subsequent to the date on which such appropriation was made available.

Now, that is the law, but that does not give the President item veto or indiscriminate authority to withhold the expenditure of funds for programs which have been authorized and funded by the Congress.

The trouble with the so-called Bow amendment which was offered earlier is that it provides complete and total authority for the President to eliminate any and all programs regardless of the provision in the antideficiency law which I just read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MAHON was allowed to proceed for 4 additional minutes.)

Mr. MAHON. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that this is a proposal that should be approached with the greatest of care by the House and by the Congress.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, would the chairman yield?

Mr. MAHON. No, I cannot yield at this moment.

To me it is utterly unthinkable that we would tell the President, as we would in the Bow amendment which has been held subject to a point of order, that through the broad spectrum of all the agencies of the Government, he could proceed to defeat the will of Congress by withholding funds without any guidelines or qualifications. Congress would be saying, "Mr. President, you can go into any agency you want to and rip out five billion dollars. You can take it all out of one department, for example, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, if you want to, or you can take it out of the Veterans' Administration, if you want to, or you can take it out of the Department of Agriculture."

It would be, it seems to me, an unthinkable abdication by the Congress, and a confession by the Congress to the American people of our incompetence or our inability to discharge our responsibilities over matters involving the handling of the fiscal affairs of the Government. It would be giving the President a blank check.

I am not saying that the President would not do the best possible job that he could do, with the limitation, if we should adopt it. I think he would act in all sincerity and do the best job he could with it. But I am not willing to give any President, and I do not believe the majority of the Members of this House would be willing to give any President such a blank check. This action would make it appear that Congress is hopelessly incompetent. We just cannot afford to cast ourselves in that role.

Think of the tremendous additional power we would give to the Executive. There are people in all our districts who say, and I think possibly some of the spokesmen for the Republican Party have said, that there is too much power concentrated in the Executive. Yet here we propose to consider offering to concentrate such terrific, unheard of, and unbelievable power in the hands of the executive branch. It shocks me that it should be necessary for me to say the things which I have said.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to my able friend, the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. I am rather amazed, although I think that much of what the gentleman has said is correct, to hear that we have failed in our responsibility. What the gentleman is saying, if I interpret him correctly, is that when we appropriate the funds the President should spend the funds?

Mr. MAHON. Except for the provisions of the antideficiency law when it is justified as a result of changed or changing conditions.

Mr. BOW. And the gentleman is saying then to the House today that when we are through with appropriations, and I think his estimate is about $144 billion, that we are going to say to the President, spend the $144 billion.

But what I am trying to say is that we have not reduced the budget and we are not reducing the appropriations—by not putting the limitation on.

Are we going to say to the President, "you spend the $144 billion because we are appropriating it." If so, then we will fail miserably, Mr. Speaker, in our responsibility to the people of this country.

Mr. MAHON. What I am saying is that we fail ourselves and we fail the people of the country if we do not discharge our responsibility as the master of the power of the purse.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is their objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. And if we turn it over to the Executive, shall we yield our authority under the Constitution to the President just because we have not, in the minds of some, done a satisfactory job?

We need to rededicate ourselves to our responsibility and make whatever reductions we deem to be in the public interest.

How foolish can we be, authorizing all these programs and appropriating for all these programs and then saying, "Mr. President, we are so weak and unwieldy and incompetent that we cannot do anything about spending. We want to effect cuts in spending but we cannot do it, so please do it, Mr. President." I do not propose that the House should accept such an absurd position or attitude.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. Will the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations tell the House now what he will do when the President reduces this year's spending program as he is alleged to be promising to do by from $5 to $7.5 billion?

Mr. MAHON. The President has said that he can reduce spending in view of changing conditions, and he would have the authority under those circumstances. He could reduce spending by about $2 billion, it has been reported.

By our actions in the Congress, or at least in the House of Representatives, we have cut spending well over a billion dollars already and we will, I believe, vote for decreased appropriations which would result in cutting spending by roughly $2½ billion. So we have already voted to cut spending by that sum or will in time, if the House has its way with appropriations.

Mr. JONAS. If the spending program is cut voluntarily, and the acting majority leader last night on this floor said he was going to try to cut it by $7.5 billion; if he does that, what is the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations going to do about it—allow him to cut funds Congress has deliberately appropriated? That would be a repudiation of Congress. I think it would uphold Congress' prerogative to grant him that authority by law rather than have him do it on his own responsibility.

Mr. MAHON. The issue involved is a constitutional question which has not, insofar as I know been determined by the courts of the land or otherwise. But the majority leader [Mr. ALBERT] made no such statement as the gentleman from North Carolina has recited.

Mr. JONAS. I said the acting majority leader last night.

Mr. MAHON. And I know of no one authorized to act as the majority leader who made such a statement and the President has made no such statement, nor has the Secretary of the Treasury nor the Director of the Bureau of the Budget made a statement to the effect that spending would be cut by $7 billion.

Mr. JONAS. You say he is going to cut it by some billion dollars—$3 billion, or $4 billion, or $5 billion—and the point I am making is, following the logic of the argument of the distinguished chairman of the committee, that this would be in direct derogation of our rights. Would it not be better for us to tell him to cut it?

Mr. MAHON. No. Let us rescind in Congress the appropriations if we do not want the money to be spent. I have requested the subcommittee chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, whenever reasonably possible, to give consideration to such rescissions that might be made.

This morning a statement of policy was made in the Appropriations Committee against which there was a solid minority vote in opposition. I will read that statement:

> The committee—

Meaning the Committee on Appropriations—

> will carefully review the appropriation actions of the session and determine whether or not it may, prior to adjournment, recommend rescissions of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time.

That rescission effort was opposed and voted against by all minority members, insofar as I know. So it would seem obvious that minority members want to place the responsibility on the President.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman from Texas, my dear friend and chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations, said a minute ago in effect that he was for rescission, and yet not more than 10 or 15 minutes ago he made a point of order against a proposal which would give the House an opportunity today to vote to rescind. I do not understand.

Mr. MAHON. You can quickly understand, because if you would read the proposal, it would rescind out of $136.5 billion, the sum of $5 billion. It does not say where the cuts would be made. It would be up to the President to cut where he saw fit. We would have no authority to determine what would be rescinded. That is my point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MAHON was allowed to proceed for 4 additional minutes.)

Mr. MAHON. What I am proposing is that the Congress, through its appropriate committee, sit down and consider whether or not there are places where rescissions can be made. If there are places where rescissions can be made, and we believe there are, we propose to try to bring them to the House for consideration. The other approach would be completely a blanket approach in the hands of the Executive with no line item rescissions by Congress. The Congress would have nothing whatever to do with the selection of where the rescissions should be made.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I think it is worthy to point out that, in the official statement which the Appropriations Committee approved this morning by the majority side, the chairman pointed out that we had made $4 billion in cuts in appropriations up to the Labor Day recess.

In the three remaining bills we propose to make an additional $1 billion cut. This will mean a $5 billion cut made by the House in the present budget.

Moreover, as the chairman pointed out in paragraph 4 of the resolution, he could call for the further rescission of appropriations previously made by the House. He has the authority to rescind appropriations previously made. The minority voted against that resolution which included the proposition to rescind appropriations.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CEDERBERG. There is obviously a lack of liaison between committees of the House. We are conducting this debate on the question whether or not this resolution, which has been ruled out of order, should have been adopted. The distinguished chairman of the committee has said that we should not allow the President this authority to reduce, although he qualifies that statement to the effect that under the Antideficiency Act he has the right to reduce expenditures.

Mr. MAHON. Under certain circumstances.

Mr. CEDERBERG. But if I read the newspapers correctly, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the tax-writing committee, is already calling on the President to do exactly what this resolution was designed to do, and that is to reduce spending or to hold spending at certain limits before his committee will take action on taxes. I think it is rather inconsistent to have the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means to do just exactly the opposite of what the chairman of the Appropriations Committee states ought to be done in this situation.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond to the gentleman's suggestion. I see nothing inconsistent with the position of Mr. Mills that he wants the President—and Mr. Mills has outlined this very carefully—in view of changing conditions in the fiscal picture to withhold expenditures heretofore made available to the President. I would say the chairman of the Appropriations Committee also wants the President to do this wherever he is able to do it on the basis of existing law.

What I was saying is that I do not want to go beyond the law and give the President the mandate to cut $5 billion out of the bills passed by Congress and not tell us where he will cut it. I do not want by our legislative action to sanction the item veto and abdicate the power of Congress over the purse. Reductions made by the President upon his own responsibility and his own interpretation of his power is one thing. It is another thing for Congress to officially abdicate its power to the executive branch.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, first I want to clarify the constitutional situation. The gentleman said that under the Constitution it is our responsibility to make these reductions. Just what does the Constitution provide? For one thing, it provides:

> No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; . . .

There is nothing there that says the President must spend all the money we give him. It simply says he cannot spend it unless we authorize him. This amendment I have suggested simply puts a limit on what he can spend.

I want to correct the statement made a minute ago by the gentleman from Tennesseee [Mr. Evins]. It was very plain in the committee this morning that the minority favored section 4 of the statement. It was voted against because of the rest of the statement, which we thought was misleading the American people. I made the reservation, and Mr. Laird made the reservation, and several others spoke at that time, that we agreed with section 4 of the revision, but we did not agree with the rest of the statement.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record at this point the entire statement which we have been discussing here. The statement points out, in paragraph 1, that the House has made reductions thus far this session of about $4 billion. In paragraph 2, it is stated that the Appropriations Committee will continue to try to make reductions in the remaining bills and hopes to recommend reductions to the House of Representatives in the total of approximately $5 billion in all appropriations bills for fiscal year 1968. In paragraph 3, it is pointed out that the other body has increased appropriations thus far by $2.8 billion; and paragraph 4 points out that the Appropriations Committee will consider the possibility of making rescissions, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook, and so forth.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Texas yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is my recollection that this morning at the meeting of the full Committee on Appropriations, when this statement was presented for consideration, there was not a single vote from the minority side in favor of it, nor was there any amendment offered by the minority to clarify or change a single word in it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The House will be in order. There is pending the unanimous-consent request of the gentleman from Texas. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object so that I may make this statement, though it is perfectly clear, it is perfectly obvious that there is an attempt now to say that the minority do not favor rescission under this resolution. Let us understand this resolution. This resolution was presented to the minority when we went to the committee today. Neither the ranking minority member nor anyone else had a chance to see this resolution until it was presented as a resolution to the committee. This has not been the policy of the minority in the past. The minority always submits to the majority the amendments which will be offered and statements which are going to be made, so there is an understanding.

When this was first read in the committee, it was obvious that it was misleading. I think the gentleman from Wisconsin will explain this in more detail in a few minutes. But it was not an accurate statement, or at least it would be misinterpreted by the American people, because the actual reduction will not amount to $4 billion when we get all the supplementals in here. So when the vote was taken, it was understood at the time from statements made that the minority was satisfied with the section 4 of the revision, but we were not able at that time to agree to the other three. There was a solid minority vote against it. There is no question about that. The gentleman from New York is right.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this morning at the full committee meeting when the minority voted en masse against every single line and paragraph of this statement which is being inserted in the Record by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon], there was not a single amendment offered by the minority to clarify or change a single word in this statement.

The difference between two situations is this: Under the proposal of the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] he would give the executive branch of the Government the right to pick just where the cuts would be made by way of rescissions, whereas in this statement being inserted in the Record by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the House of Representatives and the Congress would determine just where the cuts and rescissions would be made and in what amounts.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, now that I have some time.

Mr. BOW. The gentleman says no amendments were offered. The gentleman knows there were.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No amendment was offered by the minority.

Mr. BOW. No. There was an amendment offered and adopted in the committee, on the question of your own bill, which is higher than the Senate bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from Mississippi did offer an amendment, to change one word, but no amendment was offered by the minority. Evidently the gentleman does not want to see that point.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. BOW. I was not quite through.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, it seems to me that the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, wants to turn over the authority, the full authority without any implementation by law, to the President to make reductions.

That is exactly what he wants to do. The gentleman from Texas, by resisting the Bow amendment, is in effect telling the President, "You go ahead and make the reductions in expenditures without an implementation of law."

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I will yield in just a minute.

Under the Bow amendment or the Bow substitute, we are going to tell the President to make the reductions at the demand of the Congress. This is what we should do as a legislative body.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Michigan now yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. As we would say in Brooklyn, it seems that the distinguished minority leader, my friend and colleague for many years on the House Committee on Appropriations, has got the situation so and so backwards.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If the gentleman from Texas would let the House vote on whether or not we should have a limitation, then the House would have an opportunity to impose a limitation and the President would not have the full authority or direction without any implementation by a law. A spending limitation would be a specific directive to the President under law.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MAHON was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to renew my request that the statement approved by the Committee on Appropriations this morning be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The statement is as follows:

By formal action of the Committee, following adoption of the Continuing Resolution, the Chairman was authorized to release the following statement:

"STATEMENT BY GEORGE MAHON, CHAIRMAN, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

"1. The House, thus far in the 14 bills considered in this session, has reduced budget requests for appropriations by about $4 billion, $3.8 billion of which relate to bills for the current fiscal year 1968 which is already three months old. Virtually every amount in these bills was the result of Appropriations Committee recommendation after weighing each of the hundreds of programs and proposals for which funds were requested in the 1968 budget.

"2. The Committee will continue its efforts to recommend further reductions in the 3 remaining bills and opportunities exist for further significant reductions that will very probably bring the total reductions for fiscal 1968 to $5 billion or more. These 3 bills, namely, Foreign Assistance; Military Construction; and the closing supplemental bill *presently* involve about $9 billion of appropriation requests.

"3. The Senate has passed 9 appropriation bills this session, 7 of which pertain to fiscal 1968. Senate amounts in the 7 bills for 1968 aggregate nearly $2.8 billion above the House amounts in those bills. Every reasonable effort will be made in the conferences between the two Houses to hold at or below the House amounts.

"4. The Committee will carefully review the appropriation actions of the session and determine whether or not it may, prior to adjournment, recommend rescissions of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time."

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent, especially in view of the statement by the minority leader, that the so-called Bow resolution, House Joint Resolution 846, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The joint resolution is as follows:

H.J. RES. 846

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of August 29, 1967 (Public Law 90–75), is hereby amended by striking out "September 30, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 31, 1967"; and the joint resolution of June 30, 1967 (Public Law 90–38), as amended by Public Law 90–75, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, net aggregate administrative budget expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, shall not exceed $131,500,000,000; except by those Department of Defense expenditures beyond $72,300,000,000 for military purposes that the President may determine are necessary.

"SEC. 106. Not later than ten days after the last day of the first session of the Ninetieth Congress, estimated administrative budget expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall be reduced, through the apportionment process, by $5,000,000,000 (the difference between currently anticipated administrative budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 of $136,500,000,000 and $131,500,000,000). Obligational authority in an amount equal to the $5,000,000,000 reduction in expenditures shall no longer remain available, and such sum shall be covered into the Treasury."

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would call attention to the fact that under the Bow amendment, the President himself would determine where the cuts would be made. My position is that the House should determine where cuts should be made, while not denying to the President the opportunity to make reductions, postponements, and delays in expenditures in cases where circumstances have changed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is best for us to get back to our discussion of the fiscal mess which this country faces this year.

We realize that the fight in committee today to include the Bow amendment was decisive, that the amendment could not be offered on the floor unless it had been adopted in committee and made a part of the committee resolution. Those of us supporting the Bow amendment in committee were defeated by a vote of 28 to 21.

The only thing that we can do today is to convince this House that this resolution should be recommitted so that we will have an opportunity to offer an expenditure limitation in the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is well known to Members on both sides of the aisle that we are talking about expenditures here and not appropriations. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has talked about appropriations in every remark that he has made thus far today—new obligational authority or appropriations. I think all of us realize that there is some $50 billion in obligational authority or appropriations carried over to this fiscal year plus the $144 billion in appropriations or new obligational authority which is requested by the President this year, making a total available to the President of the United States of $194 billion in obligational authority or appropriations in fiscal year 1968.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think it is well known to every Member of Congress that the control of appropriations, of this $194 billion of new obligational authority which is outstanding, has no effect on the expenditure levels of Government during fiscal year 1968. The effect that this has is so minimal that it is not significant enough to bring it into this discussion today.

Now, what has happened? The President last November announced that he was going to freeze selective items in the amount of some $3 billion in the 1967 budget. There was great publicity all over the United States about that. He did not freeze any obligational authority and he did not freeze any appropriations. He froze the expenditure level in the amount of $3 billion in certain programs through the Government.

We have heard the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury and we have read his testimony before the Ways and Means Committee in the last week or 10 days in which the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget have said that they believe there is a possibility of freezing the expenditure levels—not appropriations and not obligational authority, but the expenditure levels—so that a reduction in expenditures can be brought about in the amount of some $2.5 billion. These expenditure level freezes are selected by the Executive, as they were last year, on the basis of the Budget Accounting Act, because of the changing circumstances that face our Government and our country this year. These expenditure limitations—and that is what they are—are selected by the Executive.

Last year, Mr. Speaker, there was a lot of publicity on this $3 billion. Let me tell you what happened. Do you know that of the freezes that were put out in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare only $19 million out of more than $300 million that was frozen in that area was all that reverted to the Treasury of the United States? $19 million was the only saving made out of the announcment of more than $300 million as far as reverting to the Treasury at the close of fiscal year 1967 was concerned. We saw that that expenditure freeze received a great deal of attention, but as far as action is concerned there was no action as far as reverting to the Treasury in dollars and cents is concerned. In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare it amounted only to this $19 million.

The only way that the Congress can control this $194 billion of obligational authority that is available to the executive branch of the Government is to establish some type of expenditure ceiling.

The remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] on Monday before the American Bankers Association outlined very well the reasons why Congress must impose an expenditure ceiling to which the executive branch must adhere. His remarks appear on page 26911 of Tuesday's RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LAIRD

was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that in the first Hoover Commission report and in the second Hoover Commission report this point was made. It is very clear in those reports of the Hoover Commission that if the Congress were going to reassert itself and to reestablish any control over the expenditure level of the Government, it must reassert itself with some sort of expenditure control in the various appropriation acts.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. I shall yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee as soon as I finish my statement.

Mr. Speaker, if we look over these expenditure figures, I think there is much for us to ponder. For example, in the last 24 months the executive branch of our Government underestimated the expenditures in the Department of Defense by the sum of $14.8 billion. It underestimated the expenditure level insofar as the nondefense, domestic programs of our Government are concerned within the period of the last 24 months—within the period of the last two budgets—by the sum of $8.7 billion. All told, in that 2-year period cash budget expenditure estimates were low by $23.5 billion. Bear these figures in mind—defense, over $14 billion; nondefense expenditures underestimated by some $9 billion. And, why was this "up and down" record possible with regard to expenditure levels? Precisely because of the unique policy we have followed with reference to the obligational picture that involves the question of carryovers from year to year and the fact that obligational authority is the only way in which we here in Congress deal with these matters in appropriation bills.

Mr. Speaker, if we are going to be in a position where we control expenditures in 1968 so as to insure a meaningful reduction in the governmental deficit, the only way in which this Congress can play a role in the reduction of that deficit picture is to control all expenditures—to impose expenditure limitations—or to increase the revenue account of those funds coming into the Treasury of the United States of America by imposition of a tax increase.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Now, Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. These are the only two alternatives available to us at this time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to complete my statement before yielding to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like for the gentleman to yield to me at this particular point.

Mr. LAIRD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Permit me to make one statement, and one statement only.

The distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] is concerned about economy in Government. All of us are concerned about economy in Government. However, the question is whether the President shall make the cuts or whether the Congress of the United States should make the cuts.

Mr. LAIRD. I do not believe that this question is so serious—and I am not going to quibble over the question as to whether the Congress or the President should make these reductions. Certainly the record of the last 24 months indicates that the Executive cannot or will not make these reductions without assistance from the Congress. I believe these reductions must be made. It is my further opinion that this country cannot stand a $30 billion budget deficit in fiscal 1968. It is my further opinion that we have reached a crisis situation in the United States of America. I do not wish to argue that question on the floor of the House of Representatives today, because that question is too serious. I believe that we should have joint action on the part of the Executive and on the part of the legislative branches of the Government in an effort to control expenditures. The record speaks for itself with regard to this being accomplished by unilateral action on the part of the executive branch.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to refer to the statement which was inserted in the RECORD by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], and to state why it is necessary for me—although I support the fourth paragraph of that statement—why it is necessary for me as one member of the Committee on Appropriations to object to that statement. I do so because I do have very serious questions as to the fiscal program of the United States of America and because it raises certain questions about the credibility of the Committee on Appropriations as we discussed the fiscal year 1968 budget.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. Permit me to complete my general statement and then I shall yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to take the figure of $4 billion which is used in the first paragraph of the gentleman's statement. We pat ourselves on the back, we the members of the Committee on Appropriations, in that specific paragraph. We say that this committee has performed a splendid job in reducing these appropriation bills to the extent of $4 billion in obligational authority, not in expenditure levels.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. Of course, Mr. Speaker, I must yield to my distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, may I suggest that the statement refers to what the House of Representatives has done as well as what the Committee on Appropriations has done.

Mr. LAIRD. Well, we have patted the House Committee on Appropriations on the back, "We reduced this by $4 billion."

I concur. I like to be patted on the back, and I concur in the statement, but I raise a serious question as to what that statement meant. Talking about that $4 billion represents patting ourselves on the back for reducing obligational authority, not for reducing expenditures. Now, I am not saying we have not done the best job we could within the limitations of dealing with obligational authority, but I would point out that this does not go to the question of expenditures. It has to do with new obligations, $4 billion worth. But, even in that figure, we are talking about a cut of $1.6 billion in the Department of Defense.

As a member of the Committee on Defense Appropriations I can assure every Member of this House, Mr. Speaker, that that money will be restored. It will be restored many times over before this fiscal year is concluded. In fiscal 1966, a defense supplemental was passed containing more than $12 billion; in fiscal 1967, the pattern was repeated; 1968 will be no different.

Let me tell the Members a little bit about this budget for the Department of Defense——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LAIRD was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the administration has consistently misrepresented the cost of the Department of Defense in each of the last 2 fiscal years. They have been misrepresented through a policy of fighting now and paying later through a deficiency appropriation bill, and we are doing the same thing in this fiscal year that we have done in the last 2 fiscal years. We are in the position where the original budget says that as far as Southeast Asia is concerned, and without using any classified figures, the budget document itself says that the cost of the war in Southeast Asia will be $21.9 billion.

I want my friends in the House, Mr. Speaker, to know that the costs of the war in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia are underfunded again in this budget, and that the figure of $29 billion would be a lot closer to the cost, the actual expenditure rate in fiscal 1968 than the figure used in this budget document. And I can assure my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, Mr. Speaker, that a supplemental request will be in here to restore funds to the Department of Defense, and to appropriate and give new obligational authority to that Department.

Let me take just a few items. This budget for 1968 that we are considering in the Committee on Defense Appropriations, and which we shall consider in the Congress, and in which now we claim a reduction of $1.6 billion, was funded on the basis of *x* number of troops in South Vietnam.

I want the Members to know that we have many thousands more programed for Vietnam than are budgeted for in this budget document. And without bringing any classified figures on the floor of the House of Representatives, I want the Members of this House to know full well that the budget document as far as personnel is concerned is underfunded, and it does not represent full funding of the troops that are programed for fiscal year 1968 in Vietnam.

In addition to that, take in the area of transportation, in the area of transportation there is already a deficit in fiscal year 1968 in the Defense Department of over $300 million, in this one item alone.

And so, when the statement goes out—and I am just giving a few examples here—when the statement goes out from the Congress of the United States that we have cut $4 billion, and we include in that the figure of $1.6 billion from the Department of Defense, I am compelled to raise serious questions.

And since I sit on that committee, I know full well that that is not a creditable statement. Additional funds will be needed to fund this program.

We can fuzz this matter up all we want and talk about appropriations and try to get appropriation levels confused with expenditure levels. But we are not serving a very good purpose if this Congress wants just to confuse the issue, and not recognize the fact and lay it before the American people that we are staring in the face a total budget deficit of over $29 billion for fiscal year 1968.

Mr. Speaker, we are truly in a fiscal mess.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would ask the gentleman if there is anything in that statement that is not factual?

Mr. LAIRD. The gentleman from Tennessee asks a question. I will be glad to respond, and I yield to the gentleman time in order to respond to the gentleman.

The gentleman knows full well that in my statement in the committee I said that as far as being a factual report is concerned, it was certainly that. But it was a factual report which, taken on face value with no distinctions made and no explanations given, could only confuse and muddy what are already some very murky waters.

It is true that obligational authority—that is obligational authority, not expenditures, but obligational authority was reduced by $4 billion. That is a true statement.

But I believe it is less than frank with the American people not to explain that in the figure you are using there, you are using a defense cut of $1.6 billion and that anyone with any degree of knowledge about what the situation is would have to admit that we will face a supplemental for the Department of Defense that will more than wipe that out. We did not reduce expenditures by the obligational reduction which was made in the $4 billion figure that is in this statement.

This is the only quarrel I have—and I made that very clear as the gentleman from Tennessee knows full well, as I discussed this statement on the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, this is a serious matter and it seems to me that the Congress should reassert its role in trying to do something to reduce this budget deficit in the fiscal year 1968. Whether we give the President another tool or not makes little difference to me because under the Budget and Accounting Act, I feel he has every bit of authority that is in the Bow resolution. But I would hope that we could recommit this resolution so that the committee could add the Bow amendment in the committee and so that we could have a vote on whether expenditures would be reduced and we would quit confusing the American public on this "expenditure versus appropriation" argument.

We in the Congress have concentrated on controlling appropriations. It is time for us to move into the expenditure control field as well, especially after our experience of the last 24 hours.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] made a similar speech this morning before the full committee. I guess that between this morning's and this afternoon's speeches he has said probably 19 or 21 times that the only way to control appropriations is through the expenditures.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I decline to yield right now. Just let me make my point and I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Well, now, it so happens that between this morning's full committee meeting and this afternoon the committee staff has had an opportunity to do some research. We find that the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] made a speech here in the well of the House on March 6, 1958. It is to be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 104, part 3, page 3614, 85th Congress, second session. And what do you think he had to say on this very subject?

Mr. LAIRD. I would be delighted to have my memory refreshed.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. He said:

> As a member of the Appropriations Committee I know something about our budgetary procedures.

Well, that certainly would be expected. He then said:

> I also know that to save money and be truly an advocate of economy one must be willing to vote against higher appropriations.

Is that not a brilliant conclusion?

The gentleman then said further:

> The most effective control of Federal spending will not come from control of expenditure rates.

Did the gentleman from Wisconsin say that on March 6, 1958?

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? I wish the gentleman would read the rest of the statement.

Mr. Speaker will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I did not hear the gentleman. Surely, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LAIRD. I would be happy to answer the gentleman. The gentleman is asking me a question and I am delighted that he has yielded to me to answer the question.

In 1958 we were concerned with the problem of the Congress increasing the appropriations and we were in an entirely different situation in 1958.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Then that was doubletalk in 1958?

Mr. LAIRD. In 1958 the Congress was increasing the appropriation level and we were in an entirely different situation. I know the gentleman knows full well that in that discussion where the Congress was increasing the appropriation level, it was an entirely different situation in the Congress in 1958 as compared to 1967.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Then I shall have to read the rest of the gentleman's sentence to see if that was doubletalk in 1958.

He said, and I quote:

> The most effective control of Federal spending will not come from control of expenditure rates. It is too late then. The time and place to control spending is when the appropriation authority is requested.

Mr. LAIRD. I agree completely with that statement.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That was the amazing statement of the gentleman from Wisconsin. He may have this book if he cares to read his statement.

Mr. LAIRD. No. I agree with that statement. But I would just like to say to the gentleman that in the year 1958 we were increasing appropriations.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I do not yield further to the gentleman. Could it be that in 1958 we had a Republican President, and that that might have made the difference?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I hope that there is one point on which we could find agreement on both sides of the aisle, and that is that we face a potential—and this figure is given to us by the administration—deficit in this fiscal year 1968 approaching $29 billion. That appears in the statements of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the President himself.

I am not going to quarrel with that figure. Why does it occur? It occurs because of expenditures, because of levels of spending as projected by the President in his budget of expenditures. The man who determines the level of spending at any particular moment in any particular year is the President of the United States. The Congress does not determine the timing. That level is some $29 billion above the potential level of revenue that present taxes will produce.

We talk about controlling the purse strings. There is one aspect we do not control, and which it is proposed in the dire circumstance we presently face that we do control. That is control over the purse strings of expenditures, a matter

that has been up to now, I agree, exclusively a Presidential prerogative.

The fact that he could cut $3 billion last year, although most of it went up in thin air after a few months, at least he announced he cut $[illegible] billion and that, I would say to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, is evidence of the control the President has over expenditures. We give him obligational authority. He can spend it all, he can spend some, or he can spend now, under present law. The only way we can control the overall amount of spending is to establish a ceiling on expenditures. That is the only way you can do it. There is no law as to how much the President can spend overall, and that is what is proposed by the Bow amendment.

One of the ways that we can control, or at least somewhat moderately, this deficit, is by exerting some control over how much is actually going to be spent. It is the amount spent that determines how much the deficit will be. Today the Appropriations Committee—and I must say that I was disappointed at the partisan nature of that vote—turned down one of the few opportunities that we have, if not the only opportunity we have, to control the purse strings and control that expenditure—yes, and to assure some moderation on the budget deficit itself.

Let me call your attention to the fact that last Thursday the Secretary of the Treasury made a speech before the Press Club here in Washington. I do not think he was talking to the press as much as he was talking to the individual Members of Congress.

I hope all the Members will get a copy of that speech, because it is a very interesting one. He was lecturing us as recalcitrant schoolboys, saying we apparently were not concerned enough about the potential $29 billion deficit. The Secretary at that time was talking about the consequences of not voting a tax increase as a means of moderating this deficit. Let me use the words of the Secretary of the Treasury, but in terms of a vote against reducing expenditures, and see where we come out, because there are only two ways to reduce the deficit. One is to cut expenditures and the other is to increase revenue. So they are interchangeable in terms of the effect and consequences of not taking one or the other action in reducing this deficit.

Let me quote and paraphrase, where the Secretary of the Treasury says here, "A vote against the tax increase proposals," let me say it as "A vote against restraining spending." The Bow proposal is to reduce the budget expenditures by $5 billion. Let me give you the words of the Secretary of the Treasury converted into a matter of not voting to restrain spending.

"A vote" against the Bow amendment "is a vote to continue the biggest budget deficit for any fiscal year since World War II."

Yes, that vote in the Appropriations Committee against imposing a ceiling was, "a vote to keep the heaviest foot since World War II on the Nation's economic accelerator at a time when it has already rebounded to a safe cruising speed."

Let me also quote, "A vote against" restraining spending "is a vote for resumption of the old boom and bust cycle that every American over 21 can remember with sadness, bitterness, and apprehension."

And again I quote: "A vote against" restraining spending "is particularly a vote to levy that cruel and unjust depreciation of income on those who are elderly and retired and must live on a fixed income with the prospect of increased earnings no longer a compensating factor."

"A vote against" restraining spending "is a vote for sky-high interest rates and tight money for all borrowers that will be the consequence of the overcrowding of already crowded credit markets by Government borrowing to meet the deficit."

He gave us a real lecture, but the members of his own party, the Democratic Party, certainly did not follow it this morning as they sat in the Appropriations Committee and voted not to take the action they could have taken to at least let the House vote on setting some kind of restraint and making some kind of cut in the deficit that is projected.

Let me also quote what the Secretary said in that same speech: "There are various provisions in law that could be devised to protect the position of the House in any final insistence its Members may require on expenditure policy."

That is what the Bow amendment is—a device to restrain expenditures. This morning we had in our committee the Under Secretary of the Treasury—in the absence of the Secretary of the Treasury—and I asked him what those words meant. What were the provisions of law that could be devised to protect the position of the House in any final insistence its Members may require on expenditure policy? I think the Members of the House, Republicans and Democrats alike, want to exert some restraint and insist on some change in expenditure policy. But why they throw an opportunity to do so out the window, I cannot explain. However, I asked the Under Secretary, "What do you envision here? What were the kinds of things under law that you said could be done?"

He said "You can put a ceiling on expenditures." That is what he told us.

That is what the Secretary of the Treasury told us in a lecture that he delivered to us via the Press Club last Thursday.

The Bow amendment, taking the signal from the Secretary of the Treasury as to what was possible if we wanted to have expenditure restraint, is a direct response to the Secretary. We Republicans offered it to you. But you of the Democratic majority turned it down.

Let me suggest the responsibility is now on your shoulders, on you Democrats who are the majority party, who have control of this Congress and every committee and have control of the executive branch. You turn it down.

We tried to be helpful in avoiding these consequences which the Secretary of the Treasury pointed out would be the consequences of a $29 billion deficit. We tried to help. I have been trying to help. But you reject it. You have put on your own backs and conscience the heavy responsibility of turning down the one and first and real opportunity you have to make some headway in the moderation of this outlandish deficit, which, I would point out to you, is also, as the majority party, your own creature.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. WHITTEN was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I find myself in general agreement with the various statements that have been made as to the seriousness of the situation. My record for voting against programs and policies which has brought our situation about will compare favorably with anyone in Congress.

The question before us is, What shall we do about it?

As I understand the situation, there is pending a continuing resolution to let the Government operate until all appropriation bills are passed and signed. I know we must, in view of the situation, reduce these appropriations in an orderly, judicious, and effective manner.

We all agree that the situation is serious, perhaps as much as my friends on the left have said, and certainly as much as my friends on the right have said. But let us review briefly the fact that we all know we have the separation of powers provided by the Constitution.

Among the tragic things I have seen in recent years, first, is that the Supreme Court has taken unto itself, apparently in many instances, the right to be the supreme department—or so the members act.

Another thing I have seen that I deplore is the fact that the Congress has, in my opinion, abdicated to the executive department more and more power. We give them the right to take actions unless we veto them.

I want to say that this morning the Appropriations Committee took an unprecedented action, to my knowledge for the only time in history. This morning not only did the committee do as said here, but more.

Let us see what my friends on the Republican side asked, and particularly my friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin, JOHN BYRNES, not withstanding the fact that we know in times past the executive department froze money for veterans' hospitals and recommended drastic cuts in school lunch and school milk programs, which the Congress had to restore.

The gentleman quotes the Secretary of the Treasury as desiring the right to give this power to the executive department, to tell the Congress where programs will be reduced or eliminated, instead of Congress meeting its responsibility of making such cuts and eliminations.

Yes, the amendment offered by my friend from Ohio would place a ceiling on expenditures and leave it up to the executive department to apply the entire reduction to the school milk and school lunch programs, to veterans' hospitals, or veterans' benefits, if he saw fit to do so.

I trust he would not do that, but I do know in times past his Bureau of the Budget has recommended drastic cuts in many of these areas.

Not only that, but the gentleman from Ohio excepts all expenditures of the Defense Department, or up to the amount of $72.3 billion.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield briefly to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. Just a word. I do not except the funds of the Defense Department, I except the funds of the military. There is a difference.

Mr. WHITTEN. For military purposes. The language speaks for itself, and I appreciate the gentleman's calling my attention to it. Certainly I want to be fair. There is no finer man in Congress than FRANK BOW.

But the amendment does except an area where there are many things identified as military which certainly have no connection with our present war in Southeast Asia.

There are many, many things in the name of defense, Mr. Speaker—and I serve on that subcommittee—that should certainly be reviewed. In fact, I think you could cut $5 billion without stopping the flow of a single weapon of war or affecting the war. I speak for myself only on that. But here is what I come to. The measure before us is the adoption of this resolution permitting the running of the Government for 30 days as presently operating. Prior to its adoption, as I understand it, the gentleman from Ohio or someone will offer a motion to recommit the resolution to the committee.

The committee took another action this morning, and that is what I want to talk to you about briefly. You heard the discussions of the first part of this action taken by the committee, as I say, for the first time since 1943, since I have been on the committee, and I think for the first time in history, the committee, by a rollcall vote, provided as follows:

> The committee will carefully review the appropriation action of the session and determine whether or not, prior to adjournment, to recommend recisions of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time.

What it means is that the committee has gone on record as going over these items, item by item, as determined by the Congress, and to tell the Congress what to do in the exercise of its responsibility and in the discharge or the carrying out of its jurisdiction. I have been assured that reductions will be made.

I say to you a motion to recommit, if carried, would undo this specific action that your committee has had the nerve to do by a united vote on my side of the aisle, that is, commit itself to action.

Do not be caught sending it back there. You are undoing that resolution adopted by a rollcall vote.

The other side of the matter is, if you accept the motion to recommit, you are doing so at the instance of Members who voted against that commitment. You are doing so at the instance of Members who said, "Let us turn over to President Johnson the right to withhold funds from any program that he may see fit," instead of the Congress reducing funds.

Now, I have nothing to say to make the problems any heavier on any President, but it is a responsibility that few Presidents would want even though the Secretary or the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury seems to have advocated it, according to Mr. BYRNES. I say to you politically you can understand that some of our friends might like a President of the opposite party to have to lay his finger as to where the cuts would be. That is understandable. I would welcome such recommendations to the Congress, but I cannot understand a Congress abdicating to the President the right to cut where he wanted to. I tell you that in recent years when the executive department and the judiciary have been usurping the rights of the Congress and when on occasion my own committee, may I say, in my judgment, has not always lived up as much as I thought they should to their responsibility, I felt perhaps such action should be taken, but here, where we have taken action and acted in good faith and have ourselves adopted a resolution and announced to the world that we are going to meet and consider these items with the intention to make cuts as the Congress determines as provided by the Constitution, I say do not send this resolution back and undo the most forward step that has been taken by the Committee on Appropriations since I have been in Congress.

I agree with how serious the matter is. We have taken a step toward correcting it in the proper way. Let us hold onto it. I assure you that whether you let conditions continue for the 30-day period as provided by the committee resolution or send it back to the committee, I expect within the committee to move that the House reduce appropriations in line with the fiscal situation with which we are faced.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for an observation?

Mr. MICHEL. I am happy to yield to the ranking minority member.

Mr. BOW. I should like to refer to the RECORD of March 12, 1957, when there was a question about whether we should let the President tell us what to do. It was in the debate of that day. Mr. WHITTEN said:

> Mr. Speaker, it is mighty easy to say that such a resolution as this is political, but that is something the American people will decide.

This is the occasion of a request of the President to tell us whether or not to make a cut and where to make the cuts.

> I think there is a real sound reason for the Congress showing the courtesy to the President in view of what has transpired of asking him to point his finger at those places where he thinks the budget can best be cut. If you recall, about the time the budget was submitted, the Secretary of the Treasury wrote an article in the U.S. News & World Report in which he indicated that this budget ought to be cut somewhere between two and two and a half billions of dollars.
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> The minority leader, Mr. MARTIN, has said it ought to be cut over $3 billion. Now, that is the Republican leadership in the House and in the executive department. They have said this Democratic-controlled Congress should reduce the budget. They in the press, and even the President, has indicated that the budget should be cut. Now, this Democratic Congress having had this request on the part of the leadership on the Republican side both in the Cabinet and out have expressed themselves and I think it is but common courtesy to ask their assistance in trying to reach those places where the budget can best be cut.

This is the position of the President supported by my friends on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Illinois yield to me in order to reply to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. MICHEL. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, may I say to the gentleman from Ohio, my good friend, he recalls to mind how long both of us have been in this Congress. However, may I say that if the gentleman thinks that both of the points which he has read, he is saying that we owe it to the present President of the United States prior to taking the action to which we have committed ourselves this year, to ask the President to make these reductions.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that we owe to the President the courtesy to request his advice and that we would be indicating to him to exercise this privilege.

So, I would repeat, may I say to my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL], since there has been reference made to the courtesies owed to a Republican President, the same degree of courtesy is owed to the present occupancy of the Presidency of the United States. But I repeat that the language which we adopted this morning retains the right of the Congress to itself under which to discharge its responsibilities.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the preceding colloquy, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, before making the point I had originally intended to make, may I respond to one of the statements which was made by the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] with respect to certain phony budget figures which came up here several years ago involving such popular programs as the school lunch program, the school milk program, conservation, as well as other popular ongoing programs. The figures submitted to the Congress were ridiculously low and the President knew it. But he also knew our attitude and that we would raise the figures to current levels on the sensitive programs. He could then put the blame on the Congress for raising his budget. In other words, he could bask in the sunshine of economy and put the onus on the Congress as the "budget busters." However, Mr. Speaker, the situation is different today. We have considered these bills. We have enacted them. And, I cannot conceive a President like Lyndon Johnson, politically and personally sensitive as he is, taking the kind of heat that would be generated for impounding funds for such programs as school lunch, school milk, and so forth. Under present circumstances, he would be the last one responsible for making the decision. He could not evade it. The decision, one way or the other, would be his.

Mr. Speaker, the good chairman of our committee, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], made much of the fact of the 14 bills which have been passed by the House of Representatives total cuts to date in appropriations are $4 billion.

Mr. Speaker, under the most ideal of conditions, if the position of the House is sustained on all these bills, the most that could be realized in expenditure reduction, and I reemphasize expenditure reduction, this year would be $900 million, give or take a few millions of dollars by the chairman's own statement in the RECORD.

He also goes on and says that the other body has passed only seven bills. In other words, they have 10 bills to go. And, further, what does the statement show? They are $2.8 billion above the House on the seven bills upon which the other body has acted.

Mr. Speaker, let us be practical about this thing. We have our work cut out for us in settling our differences. The other body, when we go to conference, just does not capitulate to our House figures.

Mr. Speaker, it is my recollection that it was 2 months ago that I was appointed as a conferee on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill. The Senate figure is $1.6 billion above our House figure and we have not had one meeting of the conferees yet. Furthermore, as a House conferee on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare bill, I can say the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], our subcommittee chairman, is doing a yeoman job standing up to the other body in a valiant struggle, but I predict that we will eventually come back with a larger figure than the House figure. The independent offices appropriation bill will surely come back here above the House figure after conference.

Now, those of us who have been around here a long time know that in the other body, with its present composition, the sky is the limit. The President knows this. He was once a member of the club. Those of you who have served as conferees know what I am talking about, what an exclusive club it can be when you are dealing with the other body on the north side of the Capitol. And the President knows this.

Now the President, we hear, wants us to pass these remaining appropriation bills and he will come up with some cuts totaling some constantly changing figure. Why does he take this back? Well, I will tell you. Because he knows the Senate figures are going to be way above what he really needs. It is old hat to him. And when the conference reports come back to us, when we are rushing to get out of here by Christmas or New Year's, we will be forced to swallow the conference reports with figures far above those carefully considered, debated, and voted upon in the House.

The President will then take center stage and have no problem picking and choosing cuts that will total $2 or $3 billion.

He can then bask in the sunshine, as the great economizer and take credit for cutting what the Congress gave him too much of. Well, I for one do not intend to be snookered on this one and some of you traditional economizers of the President's party ought not to be taken in, either. Otherwise, we look like a bunch of monkeys down here taking the heat and trying to economize and save, and the President takes all the credit. We can really run up the warning flag by recommitting this resolution, and I have a hunch we can win if a sufficient number of you on my right join with what I expect to be a unanimous vote on our Republican side when the roll is called.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BOGGS was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 7 minutes.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, we have had a very interesting debate, and a very heated debate. There have been some words used here that, to say the least, are somewhat interesting.

The distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin referred to the procedure of who would do the job, whether it would be Congress or whether it would be the executive, as "nitpicking."

Also, the word "responsibility" has been used, and I believe very appropriately.

I would suggest that this is a most responsible debate, and one that involves a very fundamental issue affecting the separation of powers; and if I may say so, the responsibility of us as Members of Congress and of the House of Representatives of the Congress.

Under the Constitution we have, as best I can ascertain, only one constitutional function in the House of Representatives, and that is the power to levy taxes, which is spelled out in section 7 of article I in the Constitution. We have always, however, as far as I can find out, proceeded on the theory that the power to levy taxes also carries with it the power to initiate appropriations. And we have, as far as I know, always insisted upon those two prerogatives in the House of Representatives.

As a matter of fact, as some of you may recall, being as we are reminiscing here a little bit this afternoon, that it was in 1962, if my memory serves me correctly, that it was almost impossible to adjourn that session of the Congress because an argument developed with the late distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Cannon, God rest his soul, who insisted that all conferences be held on the House side, and that a House Member preside at all conferences between the Committees on Appropriations of the House and the Senate. This became a major issue, and finally we had to pick a neutral corner in the center of the Capitol in order to get the bills passed and adjourn the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the point I am making is that this is indeed a fundamental prerogative of Congress that we are dealing with.

Now, I believe that the gentleman from Ohio—and I admire and respect him greatly, and have served with him here a great many years, and he is one of the distinguished Members of this body—would be the first on his feet objecting if perchance we had an overall resolution here today similar to his amendment, increasing expenditures by 5 percent across the board.

I would suggest, however, that if we have the power to limit by $5 billion, or whatever the figure is in his amendment, we also have the power to increase, without any specific designation of the appropriations.

I am sure that some of you will recall and the gentleman from Wisconsin, the able ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, knows this better than anyone else, that there have been suggestions made, in academic circles at least, that the power of taxation be made flexible and that, rather than the Congress, that the President be given the power to increase taxes or to decrease taxes dependent upon the state of the economy at any given time.

All of us who have served in the Congress and particularly those of us who have had the privilege of being on the Committee on Ways and Means, and I have had that privilege for many years, reject that suggestion offhand as being unthinkable, to take this power away from the representatives of the people.

Yet, the way I read this amendment and the only way I can interpret it, is that in effect it does just that.

Now you talk about responsibility. There is a division of responsibility in government. We have the responsibility to raise revenues. We have the responsibility of appropriating those revenues. It may be helpful on some occasions to delegate that responsibility and to give it to somebody else. But in doing so we are derogating the responsibilities that we have as Members of this representative body.

I accept fully the statement that the gentleman from Wisconsin made when he turned and looked at my side of the aisle and said, "It is your responsibility"—and he said it with great fervor.

Well, it is our responsibility. There is no doubt about it. It is our responsibility as Members of the House of Representatives and it is our responsibility as responsible citizens of a great country. So I take no exception to what the gentleman says.

But I say to you that for us to try to fool someone, and to say that we could delegate this power across-the-board as the gentleman from Ohio proposes in an unprecedented fashion, that has never even been suggested before so far as I know in the history of Congress, on the basis that somehow we will be acting with fiscal responsibility is indeed the height of irresponsibility.

So I commend the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations, and the members of that committee who vary in economic philosophy from one end of the spectrum to the other, who with only two exceptions voted in committee today to sustain the position of the chairman, because that in my judgment represents responsible government—and that is what the people expect.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] may be granted 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BOW. I want to say that the gentleman is correct—if there was an effort here to increase the limitation on spending, I would not be on my feet today.

Mr. BOGGS. The gentleman will admit that if it can be done in one way, it can be done in another way; will he not?

Mr. BOW. I think the gentleman is correct. I would be fighting just as hard to stop it as I am now trying to limit it.

But may I ask the gentleman this question. The gentleman is a part of the leadership of the House of Representatives and, of course, he would be one who would know whether this report is right or wrong. It was reported the other day that in a leadership meeting with the President, that the President requested that we finish up all these money bills up here and get them down to his desk so that he could decide where he could make cuts.

I wonder whether the gentleman would confirm or deny that the President has asked us to get our appropriation bills down to him so that he could make cuts in them?

Mr. BOGGS. The gentleman, I think, is not talking about the same thing I am talking about.

Under the language quoted——

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. Wait a minute now. Let me try to answer the gentleman.

Mr. BOW. I certainly will, if the gentleman will answer rather than going around in a circle.

Mr. BOGGS. I will be very happy to answer the question by saying I think that the President made this statement publicly and not only in a leadership meeting, and I find no inconsistency whatsoever in that position, because then he is acting under authority of appropriations voted by the House of Representatives under the law quoted by the gentleman from Texas just a moment ago.

Now what the gentleman proposes, under the gentleman's own statement this morning, is that we have a complete blanket situation. The gentleman said, "Why, he could take it all out of one appropriation." The gentleman even mentioned one specific program that he would like to see it taken out of.

Mr. BOW. Exactly. What the President has said to you is that if we get the money bills out, he will take a look at them and decide where the cuts will be made. I wonder if the gentleman then raised the constitutional question that only Congress should make these cuts, not the President.

Mr. BOGGS. In that instance the President is acting completely within his constitutional authority, within his statutory authority as cited by the gentleman from Texas a moment ago, and in that case we have not abrogated our power and our authority to act on individual appropriation bills.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last three words.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, on one thing we can all agree, and that is that the President has announced through various spokesmen that he is going to make some cuts in the spending program outlined in the budget. The question is therefore, whether Congress will exercise any direction over the amount of these cuts or have anything to say about them, or whether the Congress will completely abdicate to the President the right to make a unilateral decision as to the amount of the cuts.

Last night on this floor the acting majority leader made the statement that the President has ordered all agencies of Government up and down the line to reappraise their needs, and stated that he was sure the President was going to make cuts.

Yet there has been a great deal of screaming on the floor today when we propose to have something to say about the extent of the cuts instead of leaving it entirely up to the President to make that decision without even consulting Congress.

He did that last year. He announced that he was going to reduce spending by about $3 billion. I did not hear any screams of anguish from this floor about how the President was repudiating the actions taken by the committees of Congress and by Congress itself in appropriating those funds. What control are you going to have over where the cuts will be made by the President if he acts unilaterally?

All we are seeking to do in the Bow amendment is to make it crystal clear that Congress retains some right to say how much of a spending limitation there will be.

So far as I know, Congress has never heretofore undertaken to assert its prerogative to control the purse strings by imposing a spending limitation. I will admit that this is unprecedented, but I think it is long overdue. I think if Congress ever intends to exercise any control over spending, it must do it with a spending limitation. We cannot control the amount of spending on appropriation bills this year, because the spending program for the current budget year calls for using $39.3 billion of funds appropriated in previous years and for carrying forward into future years $48.3 billion of the funds that will be appropriated this year. It is therefore clear that we cannot control the level of 1968 spending by current appropriation bills. The only way Congress can exercise any control over spending in any given year is by imposing a spending limitation and that is what we are trying to do.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. I wonder if the gentleman would clarify something that is most important: Does the Bow amendment preclude the Appropriations Committee from moving ahead on rescission bills? They go together, am I not correct?

Mr. JONAS. Absolutely. The amendment would not preclude them, but it amounts to a rescission itself. We did not need a resolution this morning for the Appropriations Committee to go ahead with rescission bills if there is any disposition on the part of the committee to follow that procedure.

The chairman will not have any difficulty getting many of us to go along with rescissions. I am ready to start having meetings tonight for that purpose. But does the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations expect that we, during the remaining weeks of this session, will review what it has taken us 9 months to do? It is utterly impractical to expect that the Committee on Appropriations will review all of the work it has done on all the appropriation bills we have been working on since last January. I am willing to start. I am willing to work early and late, and to support every effort to rescind appropriations, and the chairman can count on my cooperation in that respect; but I respectfully submit that it is impracticable to expect that this review will be made since any rescissions would have to clear the other body as well as this one. The time limit simply cannot be ignored.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that it would be unfair to promise the House that huge rescissions will be recommended by the Appropriations Committee. We do not know what will develop as a result of our hearing. We cannot tell in advance what rescissions a majority of the committee will agree to, nor what actions the House will take on rescissions.

Mr. JONAS. We were criticized today for voting against the resolution, and it was argued by the gentleman from Mississippi that a vote to return this resolution to the committee on the recommittal motion would be a vote to undo the action of the committee this morning, promising revision considerations.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I think my statement—and the RECORD will bear me out—will speak for itself. It was that it would be taken that way because proponents of this motion to recommit voted against this revision this morning in committee, I do think it would be taken that way. Personally we must cut appropriations. This resolution will continue "as is" for 31 days and give the Appropriations Committee time to do the cutting Congress should do.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from Mississippi that I do not take it that way, and he can count on my full cooperation. I voted against that resolution, not because I am opposed to rescission of appropriations, but for entirely different reasons.

Mr. WHITTEN. May I say to my friend from North Carolina that I felt he was in sympathy with the revision. But it was announced on that side that was the way his side voted or I would not have mentioned it.

Mr. JONAS. If the gentleman will carefully read the resolution, he will find words and the statements in it that can be misleading. I think it was perfectly all right for the chairman of the committee to issue that statement on his own responsibility, but we were not given an opportunity to consider this resolution except for the last few minutes before the House convened.

Mr. WHITTEN. If the gentleman will recall, I asked that it be read to the full membership in committee.

Mr. JONAS. Yes, it was read but it should have been available for study and possible amendment much longer than was available this morning. I want it made crystal clear that I am in favor of reviewing all bills passed so far this year and rescinding a substantial sum—much more than the $5 billion contemplated in the Bow amendment.

Mr. WHITTEN. May I say I saw the statement only a few minutes before the meeting myself. I had prepared two proposals which I meant to offer, one to cut percentagewise, the other by a flat amount. I accepted the chairman's statement at face value; "that the committee means to cut."

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I can fully understand why anyone who really believes in rescissions could not possibly vote for the language in this committee language as it was drafted. Let me read paragraph 4. Of all the Caspar Milquetoast, ineffective, diluted language, this is it:

> The committee will carefully review the appropriation actions of the session and determine whether or not it may—

That is a strong word—

> prior to adjournment, recommend rescissions of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time.

If I ever read a mild, pie-in-the-sky document, that is it. I can understand why anybody who believes in rescissions would be opposed to it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

(On request of Mr. MAHON, and by unanimous consent, Mr. JONAS was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say with respect to paragraph 4 of the statement, the committee was seeking to be utterly forthright and not mislead anybody. I have strong feelings that it is going to be difficult to get approval, through the Appropriations Committee of this House, and through Congress of major rescissions. I think if the gentleman from Michigan, as a spokesman for the minority, would give the Committee on Appropriations a consensus from the minority side as to specific rescissions he would like to make, and place those in the RECORD, and submit them to the Appropriations Committee, we could move along more rapidly. Some are against aid to agriculture, some are against aid to cities, and so on, but if the gentleman would get us a consensus of the minority side and present us with that kind of information, it would be most helpful in considering these matters. It is not so much a matter of cuts which individual members of the minority would support but cuts which the minority as such would support.

Could the gentleman do that?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, may I ask my friend the minority leader, who is going to take some time, if he will not continue this colloquy on his own time. I have two or three things I should like to say.

The reason I asked for time was to engage in a colloquy with the gentleman from Ohio, to make it clear what the purpose of the motion to recommit is.

The motion to recommit will be a straight motion without instructions. If we could have inserted instructions we would have done so and would have included the Bow amendment. But the rules of the House clearly provide that a motion to recommit will not lie if it is accompanied by instructions to include a provision which would have been subject to a point of order. Since the point of order has already been made and has been sustained, it would be foolish and ridiculous for us to incorporate those instructions in the motion to recommit.

I would say that those in the Chamber and among the membership who are willing to vote to impose a spending limitation now find the only opportunity they will have to do that is to vote for the motion to recommit and to hope that the Appropriations Committee will have a change of heart and understand that the vote to recommit is in effect instructions for the committee to report back a resolution with some spending limitation.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. As the Members of the House know, I have been here for many years. I want to disabuse from the Members' minds any indication that this is not a serious proposal. I want to assure the Members of this body, as a member of the Appropriations Committee I expect to offer and I shall offer a motion to cut the total appropriations by a certain percentage, or by an amount of not less than an amount equal at least to the amount in the Bow amendment, I am serious about this.

Mr. JONAS. I am serious, too, and will support this effort.

I would say to the membership, in conclusion, you can talk all around this subject if you want to. You can debate constitution prerogatives and responsibilities all day. But the only issue here is whether Congress is going to try to restrain spending during the current fiscal year.

If you want to have anything to say, if you want to exercise any control whatsoever over the amount of spending that the executive branch will spend in fiscal year 1968 then you ought to vote for this proposal. This is our last opportunity to impose any spending limitation whatsoever on the executive agencies of the Government this year.

If you do not do it, the President will have carte blanche authority. The door will be wide open. The President will decide how much to spend and Congress will have nothing to do with that decision.

He did that last year. He did it through the Secretary of Defense the year before, when he cut out $600 million we had appropriated, after we had been told that was necessary for military construction.

We had a former President who froze the funds Congress appropriated for a 70-wing Air Force, and he never did spend those funds.

The only way Congress can control what the President will spend in fiscal year 1968 is through this proposal or one similar to it. It is just that simple. If you want to have anything to say about the spending level during the remainder of this year you should vote for the motion to recommit and for a spending limitation which surely would be recommended by the committee in the face of an affirmative vote on the recommittal motion.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I will compare my voting record for economy with that of any Member of the House on either side of the aisle. I have cast very few "yea" votes within the past few years except for a motion to adjourn this House sine die.

It looks here this afternoon like everybody is trying to put the monkey on somebody else's back.

The chickens are coming home to roost. You are confronted today with having to pay bills incurred by all of these authorization measures that many of you voted for. That made it necessary to do. I mean foreign aid, rent subsidies, public works, housing, space. You name it. You voted for it. Some of you did. And today you find it necessary to pick up the check to do what Mr. Cannon used to say "spend money we do not have for things we do not need."

Now, if you are really interested in economy in Government, vote "No" some of the time when the Clerk calls the roll and stop authorizing these tremendous expenditures.

Frankly, this is one of the hardest votes that I have been called on to cast since I have been in the House, but the prestige of my chairman and my committee are on the line, and I am going to stick by my chairman.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. YATES. Many of the gentlemen who have spoken in the House today have emphasized the difficulties of persuading the Senate to accept House figures in the conferences on appropriations bills now taking place. The Senate figures are roughly $2.8 billion above those that the House has already approved.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. It has always been the higher Chamber of the Congress.

Mr. YATES. It is true that it usually raises House-approved appropriations. What assurance is there that the Senate will accept the Bow resolution in the event that the House approves it? I would think in view of the recalcitrance of the Senate to make any kind of reduction on appropriations bills already approved that is unlikely. Moreover, apart from the question of the amount of appropriations or expenditures, on the question of surrendering its prerogatives to the executive branch. Can you envision any Member of the Senate of the United States giving up any of his rights or responsibilities to the President of the United States?

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I do not think it has ever been done.

Mr. YATES. Of course it has never been done, nor is it likely to be done in this instance. Nor should we do it in the House as the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio requires us to do. His amendment invites us to surrender our rights, to throw up our hands and say to the President of the United States, "Mr. President, we just do not know how to cut these bills any more. We just cannot do it. Will you please help us out and cut this by an additional $5 billion?" This would be an abdication of our rights and responsibilities as Members of the House of Representatives, and it would be a distinct slap at the Committee on Appropriations which has primary responsibility to review and recommend funds for expenditure.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman.

I would like to say in conclusion that I am one of those few who really believe that we have a real serious war on our hands—one of the worst wars in the history of this country. I am one who does not advocate guns and butter when we are fighting a war. I want to get rid of the butter and stick to the guns.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the zealousness of those who have expressed their regard for the prerogatives of this House and of the Committee on Appropriations. I along with them, have shared concern at what appears to be an alarming trend of a willingness to concede great power to the executive branch of the Government and thereby correspondingly to weaken the Congress, the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Appropriations. If it were true that this attempt to control expenditures were in any way a weakening of our position, I would be among the first to oppose it, but I think if we will recognize what the control of expenditures means, we will recognize, too, that this is a strengthening of the position of this House and a strengthening of the exercise of the prerogatives of the Committee on Appropriations rather than anything to the contrary.

And this is because, not this 90th Congress and this first session that met here in 1967, but because a series of previous Congresses, have turned over to the executive branch of this Government $130 billion not now pending before this Congress, money over which we have relinquished control. This is the money about which we are principally and primarily talking. We are talking about the doling out of money to the agencies in the departments of the Government by the President and his financial arm, the Bureau of the Budget. Yes, $125 billion to $130 billion, appropriated in previous years, not within the appropriations considered this year.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, the potential expenditures of the Government in this fiscal year would be a combination of the two, involving the $125 to $130 billion heretofore appropriated, but unexpended, and the total of $140 to $145 billion that is pending before us for appropriations at this session of the Congress. We cannot say that we have fully exercised our responsibility by somewhat reducing the appropriations for the current fiscal year.

Mr. Speaker, the total amount of $130 billion appropriated by prior Congresses, and the $140 to $145 billion which this session of the Congress has been called upon to appropriate, represents the total potential expenditures. I know that in two diverse criticisms of this effort to control expenditures, there are those over here who say that the President is going to do what he says he is going to do.

Mr. Speaker, it is one of the open secrets of the Nation's Capital that certain commitments were made in meetings downtown to reduce the expenditure of this year's budget by $7 billion and, even, the figure of $7.5 billion was used here on the floor of the House yesterday. I think, if we recall what happened to those solemn pledges of reductions in expenditures last year, in the amount of $3 billion, we will recognize that if this job of expenditure control is going to be done, it is going to have to be done right here on the floor of the Congress of the United States. I say this, because if there was any faith to be placed in the statement with respect to the reduction of expenditures or freezing funds to the tune of $3 billion, that the freezing suddenly thawed out for various reasons, political or otherwise, during the course of the last fiscal year.

And, Mr. Speaker, I suspect that there is probably no more than 10 or 12 percent of that $3 billion that is unexpended at the present time.

Mr. Speaker, we simply cannot tolerate a $29 billion deficit. Everyone concedes that we find ourselves confronted with dual necessities for taking action in this Congress to do something about it. One of those necessities is an increase in taxes. The other is to reduce the expenditures of this Government. The reducing of appropriations will not necessarily reduce those expenditures meaningfully because of the vast backlog of prior appropriations that are reposed in the hands of those in the executive department today.

So, Mr. Speaker, we have a great responsibility. We have the responsibility to curb the expenditures of this Government. We have a responsibility to increase the revenues of this Government in order to bring our fiscal situation into some semblance of responsible control.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is about time that we exercise every restraint that is within our authority to exercise, and that we cease trying to find excuses for failing to exercise that responsibility which we have the authority to perform.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, during every session of every Congress since my first election, we have been called upon at least once each year to adopt a resolution identical, or almost identical, to the resolution which was today brought to the House of Representatives by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. On each of those occasions the adoption of that resolution has for all practical purposes been a routine matter. The resolution has been adopted almost as if it were a pro forma resolution without bringing about or causing any great amount of interest or debate when such a resolution was considered.

Today that situation does not obtain. Quite the contrary is true.

Upon the calling up of the resolution by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations following his opening remarks in support of the resolution brought out by the Committee on Appropriations the ranking Member of the minority side offered an amendment in the nature of a substitute resolution to which a point of order was made, which point of order was sustained by the Speaker.

The debate which has taken place today in my judgment has been healthy, and it has been responsible. Mr. Speaker, I would say that if there had been a modicum of the interest generated when appropriations bills have come before us that there has been here today, that we might not today find our country in this very serious fiscal crisis. If the membership of this House had taken the time during the consideration of each of the regular appropriation bills, as we have today, we might have avoided the present crisis.

There has been a great deal said condemning the content and perhaps, yes, condemning part of the objective of both the committee resolution and the substitute resolution.

Mr. Speaker, if we would take a look at each, at the committee resolution and at the resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio, and also at the language of the four paragraph statement of the chairman of the committee, made in the name of the House Committee on Appropriations, we would find a great deal of good in each.

I am sure that the majority of the House, including a majority on both sides of the aisle, find no fault with the objectives of the statement by the chairman of the committee, and find no fault with the objectives of the substitute resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

However, I believe that we should go back to the substitute resolution and look at it in perspective for one brief moment. The objective might be to reduce expenditures, the objective might be to reduce appropriations and appropriated funds, but the practical effect of the substitute resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio would be to write into law, authority for an item veto. Every President of the United States who has served in that office during the time that I have been a Member of the House has sought the right to an item veto of appropriation bills.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has in its wisdom and in the exercise of good judgment refused to grant to any Chief Executive the right of an item veto. Yet, Mr. Speaker, that is precisely the effect that would be accomplished if either the substitute resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio had been adopted or if any of the various so-called 5-percent motions to recommit had been adpoted.

The responsibility for making appropriations, just as the responsibility for levying taxes, is not vested in the executive branch of the Government. It is vested in the branch of the Government in which we serve, the legislative branch of the U.S. Government. It is our responsibility when these issues come before us in the form of appropriation bills to put first things first and then to establish priorities for lesser things.

Mr. Speaker, oftentimes when we are in the process of general debate on an appropriation bill there are less than a score of Members in this Chamber, where we are here today assembled in a substantially larger number. I remember earlier this year when a $70 billion defense appropriation bill was being considered that at one time there were only 19 Members of the House of Representatives on the floor of the House. Simple arithmetic would show that that amounts to about $4 billion per Member present.

I certainly support the statement issued by the committee. I particularly support the fourth paragraph of it. While I certainly cannot commit the committee, and I cannot commit any other Member except myself, I will say I will do everything I can to carry out the announced purpose and intention of paragraph 4 of the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I hope it will be done. I hope that there will be some recisions made if those recisions can be made without impairing essential functions of the Government.

But, Mr. Speaker, I hope that those recisions and withholding of funds will be made by the Congress of the United States and not by the Chief Executive, regardless of the party to which that President may belong.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, one thing that all of the economists who have appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means within the past couple of weeks on the tax increase bill agreed on was that this country faces very serious economic consequences. The testimony throughout the year before the Joint Economic Committee demonstrates this likewise.

Let me assure my colleagues here that there is enough blame to be shared by the Congress and the Executive for this serious situation. I do not think it behooves us to spend so much time trying to figure out whom to blame as it behooves us to figure out how we assume our mutual responsibilities.

I do not find the Bow amendment in conflict with the arguments for the House and the Congress moving forward on recision bills. I think the Executive needs to act and I think the Congress needs to act.

Let me say to those who have pointed out that the Bow amendment or any ceiling amounts to an item veto that it does. This is the argument that was used against my proposal of the debt ceiling. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills], chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, said that this amounts to an item veto. I said as one who is opposed and who has fought the concept of an item veto for years and still does, I recognized this to be so.

But the situation we are in is so acute that we must move forward on this front as well as on the front of the Congress coming in and assuming its responsibility by doing the job in the area of recision.

The Joint Economic Committee earlier this year, after the President submitted his budget and economic report, unanimously recommended that the projected expenditure level for the fiscal year 1968 be cut by $5 billion in nondefense areas—from a $135 billion level to $130 billion.

What happened, as revealed in the testimony in August before the Ways and Means Committee when the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget testified? They said, "We will cut $2 billion."

I said, "You mean it is now $133 billion?"

No, the figure is $144.2 billion. This figure has been detailed. This is the current expenditure figure, for fiscal 1968.

So, instead of cutting $2 billion, the administration has increased expenditure levels by $9 billion. By the way, note the flexibility on the part of the Executive to move up expenditure levels, without any reference to the Congress, from the $135 billion level to the $144.2 billion level. This is where we are now. Instead of a $8 billion deficit set forth by the President in his January budget message, we now face a deficit of around $30 billion.

The chairman of the Appropriations Committee cites the Budget and Accounting Act and says the President is restricted unless new circumstances come up. What more circumstances can anyone expect or want than a deficit that was $8 billion under the administration's figures, which the administration now, 8 months later, recognizes to be $29 billion, with an economy that has moved sidewise, not forward? We face dire consequences.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank the gentleman for yielding and commend him on his statement. This afternoon we heard a great deal about the resolution that was offered in the committee. We have heard a great deal about "who struck John," and blame being placed on one side or the other, and even promises of future courses of action by individual Members. I am afraid that the debate has fuzzed up the picture, because the cold, hard facts are these, and they are simple. They are not as complicated as they are being painted here.

The President has asked for too much. The Congress has authorized too much. The Congress has appropriated too much. The Federal Government is spending far too much. As a result, we face a $29 billion deficit.

This afternoon we have a chance to do something about that, to correct the situation, to prevent this country from having serious fiscal problems.

Now, I am not one who thinks the people of the United States are going to be confused by this debate this afternoon, by the fancy footwork, or by all the discussion that has taken place, because the facts are as I have stated them, and either we as individual Members recommit this resolution so that we can place a limitation on Federal spending, or we do ourselves and our country a great disservice.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the gentleman. This is exactly what this House should do—recommit this measure. I hope we will then come forward with the Bow amendment and then, Mr. Speaker, move rapidly on recision bills.

I argued early in January and each time the debt ceiling was up, three times this year, that we had to move forward in the recision area, not merely to reduce appropriations. We have a $125 billion carryover power to spend, which the President was adding to the $144 billion of new appropriation requests, to give him a total power of spending of $269 billion. This total expenditure power is what we had to move on. Both the Bow amendment and a comprehensive recision bill are the tools available to accomplish these results.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Curtis

was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I wish to ask if the gentleman would comment on what concerns us all, and that is the concern of the people about a $1 billion cut in expenditures as compared to a $1 billion tax increase. I think we had better get that straight in our minds.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Eckstein, former member of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, said in his statement before the Ways and Means Committee on the tax increase request that "everyone agrees a cut in expenditures is preferable to a tax increase."

I said, "Is that an economic statement? He said, "Yes."

I polled the panel, and seven out of eight economists present agreed. One of them went into some detail as why a $1 billion cut in expenditures has more impact on dampening inflationary forces than a $1 billion increase in taxes.

I do not want to confuse anyone. The economists said that even after some real expenditure cuts which were absolutely necessary, they felt that tax increases were still needed. I happen to share that belief. But it does no economic good, believe me, in the context of such a large deficit, to simply do nothing about expenditures and then increase taxes. This aggravates the problem. And we are not just talking about the deficit of fiscal year 1968. If we do nothing on expenditures and appropriations now, the deficit for fiscal 1969 will be as bad if not worse than the projected $29 billion deficit we have been talking about. This is the problem that faces us here today. We must move on both fronts—executive and legislative—to issue a warning; not a warning but a firm statement to the Executive by imposing a ceiling on spending and the Appropriations Committee must move as rapidly as they can in the rescission area.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ANDREWS] so aptly said that chickens were coming home to roost, and that both sides supported appropriations and authorizations, there was some hooting from the Republican side. I would like to review the record.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I was one of those who did.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I did not yield to the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to review the record. First of all the public works appropriation, for $4.6 billion—a handful of Republican votes against it. Then, the Space appropriation for $5 billion—a handful of votes against it. I think that the last time the pay raise bill was before us, they overwhelmingly, and perhaps unanimously, supported it.

Now, let me talk about the Defense appropriation of $72 billion. The Bow proposal says to the President, "Cut $5 billion, but leave that $72 billion alone." I will concede the statement of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] that Vietnam may cost us this year $29 billion or $30 billion, but that leaves over $40 billion that the Bow proposal will not allow anybody to touch. Some talk about the welfare state, when, in fact, they are producing and protecting the fortress state.

In effect, the Republican proposal is simply: "Let the President do it." I never thought I would see 1968 approaching, and the Republican Party going forth to the political wars with the strange slogan, "Let Lyndon do it." For awhile I thought the slogan was going to be, "Let George do it," but it is now evidently "Let Lyndon do it."

I am a Member of Congress. I have a responsibility to vote on appropriations. I remember when Harry Truman said, "If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen." If we are not willing to face up to our responsibility, we do not belong in the Halls of Congress.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey recalls that in the 80th Congress, these same folks said, "Let Harry do it." And look what happened to them in November 1948.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I do not think they will say, "Let George do it," because he cannot remember what he did yesterday or what he wants to do tomorrow.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANGEN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I understood that the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] will speak, and if there are no further speakers, I wish to say to the Members that I shall then move the previous question.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it was not my intention to get into the matter being discussed here this afternoon, but having listened diligently during the course of this debate, two things occur to me. First of all, there are two separate questions that seem to have been the main points of our discussion. One is that the House is abdicating a part of its authority by virtue of the amendment that was presented by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW], and the second is that we do have a resolution before the House which does authorize the respective departments to continue their spending because the House or the Congress has failed to come through with the appropriation bills.

I think both of these are most pertinent. With respect to the matter of abdicating the authority of the Congress, let us not forget the extent to which we lose that authority by continuing resolutions in the first instance. The resolution authorizes the various departments. to go on spending at the rate of last year or the amount of money recommended in the budget, whichever is the lowest. Consequently, they are operating without any direction from Congress whatsoever. If we are talking about giving up the authority of this House and of the Congress, this is the best way to do it that I know of, by a continuing resolution.

A big part of the problem we face today of a $29 billion deficit has come about because of having done this too often in the past.

As an example, let me point to some of the programs which have been enacted, rather late in the year, for which an amount of money has been included. The poverty program is an example. When this program first started, we appropriated some $900 million. The money did not become available until December. The effort then was to spend it in the 7 months remaining of the fiscal year.

They then establish a spending program at a rate not intended by the Congress in the first instance. That is a loss of authority, if I ever heard of one.

Consequently, as we consider this matter today we ought to give consideration to the full consequences of what we are doing. If we are going to let these Departments run on and expend monies without direction from Congress perhaps we ought to have an amendment such as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] offered, which would let them know that the Congress feels the expenditure rate has been too high, in view of the deficit. Now is the time, to do that.

We must remember that some of these programs have not been authorized at this point, yet we let them spend on the basis of the budget or last year's recommendations, without having been reauthorized by the Congress. The poverty program is one of these. It could be that the Congress would decide not to continue the program at all or at a greatly reduced rate of expenditure.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANGEN. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. The gentleman need not go so far back as he did in his example. Only yesterday, I submit, so far as credibility is concerned and so far as responsibility of the separate powers of our Government is concerned, we received a Presidential message asking for $200 million additional for the Southeast Asian Development Bank. This is not budgeted. It is over and above the call of any prior request for obligational authority or spending authority.

I thank the gentleman for making such an excellent statement.

Mr. LANGEN. The gentleman has made an excellent point, and I thank him for it.

I should like to conclude by adding a further thought to the consideration this afternoon. If the Congress is going to continue in session, as it seems it is, we may well have one more continuing resolution before this is over, and it seems to me it is time we let the respective departments know that the attitude of Congress is that we have been spending too much. This is what has created the great deficit of $29 billion, and I have not heard anyone here deny this afternoon that it is too big. If we have any intention of reducing it, we had better start now, before half of the fiscal year is gone and it is too late even to make a beginning at reducing expenditures. A recommendation such as the proposed amendment would be in order at this time, and so the House should recommit the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, it is not only the various departments that find themselves directionless. Millions of our citizens across the Nation are directly affected by congressional failure to complete the appropriations process by the end of the fiscal year. One example is our schools. They must operate on vague assumptions and promises that certain aids will be forthcoming. But they can be half way through the school year before finding out if they will actually get the money they have been led to expect.

Mr. Speaker, the leadership must devise some method to force itself into needed action on the authorizing legislation still pending before this Congress. Then the Appropriations Committees should get busy and decide once and for all how much money will be passed out this year. If we cannot, by default or design, move these appropriations bills out for action before the end of the fiscal year, then we had better change the system entirely. The American public is the real loser under the present circumstances that allows the Federal Government to race along without a rudder.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I do not rise with any thought that I can make any contribution to this dilemma in which we find ourselves. Rather, I rise as one Member of this House who is very much troubled about the problem which is now presented to us.

I am not interested in any partisan approach or in any results to be gained by either party as a result of the solution of this matter. Frankly, I am just disturbed.

Neither am I going to stress here at any length that repeatedly I have arisen in the well of this House and pointed out to the Members that this hour of decision was going to arrive; and that we should economize and retrench rather than continue authorizing new and often unnecessary programs.

Who is responsible for this? It is not the President of the United States. Yes, he made his recommendations, most of which I have opposed. But this House and the other body are responsible for the position and the quandary we find ourselves in here now. For I remind you again that the President cannot spend a dollar that the Congress does not authorize and appropriate.

You are the people, we are the people, who have brought this about. And we are continuing to do it. Why, here a few weeks ago this Banking and Currency Committee brought up a rat extermination program. They were going to establish a new rat eradication program costing $40 million. And this House overwhelmingly turned it down. But when the press and the do-gooders and the bureaucrats got on you, what did you do? You turned tail and retreated and authorized this program.

Yesterday, notwithstanding all of the programs that you have for juvenile delinquency, you authorized another $25 million, and if time permitted I could recite many other similar instances. Yes, and many of those who have spoken here today with concern have voted for these bills. You are going to have another very expensive bill here next week to increase the Federal employees' salaries. And the heat is already on you for its passage. I must confess that it is not totally without merit if this deficit and inflationary spending is to continue.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if I vote against this resolution, then I am put in the position of saying that I am against cutting expenditures. If I vote for it, then I am put in the position of saying to the President of the United States, who already has too much power—we have continuously been delegating it to him—"I am going to put this in your lap, this thing that I have joined you in bringing about."

Now, if I understand the situation—and Congressman Bow, my colleague, pardon me for getting personal, but you offered this resolution, and I know of no man in this House, sir, for whom I have greater admiration and respect than I do for you—if I understand you correctly, you are going to have a simple motion to recommit this resolution, to send it back to the committee, and then, what is coming of it? I wish I knew. If you are going to say to the President, "You cut $5 billion or $10 billion," what will come of it? $5 billion in my book is certainly a minimum.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. Mahon) Mr. Colmer was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I will, but just let me finish, if I may. I have said what I thought the Bow resolution would do. Now I want to yield to my gracious friend who got me this additional time, and for whom I also have great respect and affection, to tell me and the House and the country that if we do not vote the Bow resolution, then what is the Committee on Appropriations going to do? I read your statement that you adopted, but that is not satisfactory to me, if I may with all deference say so. Now tell me what you propose to do.

Mr. MAHON. This is simply a resolution to permit the Government to proceed for 31 days—for the month of October.

Mr. COLMER. I understand.

Mr. MAHON. There will be another resolution in late October, of course, designed to do the same thing for November, unless things begin to correct themselves.

Mr. COLMER. I am apprehensive that that will be true.

Mr. MAHON. However, if this simple resolution is recommitted, the Committee on Appropriations will have to meet again, and I do not know whether or not what we would be doing would be any different in finding ways and means to meet the problem. We would need to hold hearings and to make decisions. We are now doing everything we can in the committee to hold the line on the figure of $5 billion reduction in appropriations.

It seems to me that the committee is utterly sincere in wanting to do the proper thing rather than turn over its authority and jurisdiction to the President of the United States. The pending amendment would permit the Executive to indiscriminately cut the budget in such places as he chooses to do so. I do not think we ought to be doing that.

Mr. COLMER. Very well.

However, Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Texas undertake to spell out where you are going to cut this money and in what amount?

I do not want the President of the United States to have this authority, although it is argued that the President already has it. I do not want the President to say that he is going to cut some of these worthwhile programs—old and established programs—and then permit some of these new and less desirable programs go unscathed.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. COLMER. Yes; I yield further to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. We cannot, of course, do that between now and tomorrow night. This study as to how we can make specific reductions in certain programs, this decision would take a considerable amount of time. Of course, we cannot do it now without due deliberation. Therefore, certainly, we are up against a very definite deadline. It is an impractical approach to take, unless one wishes to cripple the operations of the Government, including our operations in Vietnam, we need to take action this week. We do not have much time.

Mr. COLMER. Well, I will say to my distinguished friend and colleague and to my good neighbor, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon], would the gentleman give me his reaction to something along this line: I would be willing to vote for a resolution and support it, or any bill, that would say we would cut, across the board, say, 5 percent, including the salaries of all Federal employees and including the salaries of Members of Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

(On request of Mr. Whitten, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Colmer was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. Of course I yield to my able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. I wish to say to my friend and colleague the gentleman from Mississippi, the distinguished gentleman

[Mr. COLMER], that no one, of course, can speak for the Committee on Appropriations except through its full voice. I happen to be the third-ranking member out of 51 in seniority on the Committee on Appropriations.

I have here now two motions that I prepared and was ready to offer in committee which, if adopted, the first would have cut a percentage of all items contained in the appropriation acts, except those having to do with Southeast Asia and the interest of the national debt. I am talking about reductions within the Committee on Appropriations.

The other motion would have provided that our committee recommend to the Congress that it provide that the amount of money carried in the various appropriations would be reduced by a certain amount of money to be recommended to the Congress by the Committee on Appropriations, making of course an exception for payment of interest on the national debt, our operations in Southeast Asia, and to provide for a further escape clause, which would permit an exception to be made where it was determined that the security and national defense of this country required it.

However, Mr. Speaker, I wish to assure my friend and colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], that I did not press those two motions which I had prepared upon yesterday, and which I had ready this morning, because I accepted section 4 presented by my chairman and friend, GEORGE MAHON, in good faith.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I wish to assure my colleagues at this time, as I expressed during the consideration of this matter in the committee that I shall press for a cut by percentage, spelling out the amounts or for an amount of cut in the committee, whether this resolution letting the country continue "as is" for 30 days or whether this resolution is sent back to the committee.

Mr. COLMER. I am glad that my colleague has a solution to this perplexing problem and is satisfied in his own mind about it. However, I am very, very much disturbed about it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the discussion this afternoon certainly discloses where the various Members of the Congress stand with reference to the proposed cuts to be made this year.

However, I wish to ask the chairman, or the proponent of the motion to recommit this resolution the following question:

As I understand the motion to recommit, if it were to pass, would it not for all practical purposes bring everything to a stop or to a halt?

The gentleman from South Dakota, the previous speaker, said that if we let these departments run on and on and on and so forth such and such would transpire.

Now, that department head would be rather foolish to spend any money once this motion to recommit is passed, and that means that the college loan program, the school aid programs, and the various other on-going programs would come to a halt until the Committee on Appropriations and the Congress decided what to do with the gentleman's motion after it had been recommitted.

And I would like to have an answer from either the author of the motion to recommit, or the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations as to whether or not that conclusion is correct.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. If I have the time, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the gentleman's question, I will say "No"—the conclusion is not correct. If the motion to recommit is successful the Committee on Appropriations can go into session tonight and come up with a resolution along my line. This does not mean——

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BOW. Just a moment. The gentleman has asked a question, and I am going to try to answer his question.

If the motion to recommit prevails, this does not shut down the Government. The Government would be shut down the last day of September. So it will continue until that period of time, and certainly we, in the Committee on Appropriations, could work long and hard.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in 3 days the whole Government would come to a grinding halt if this Committee on Appropriations did not report back.

So for whatever reasons, those who do vote to recommit I suggest they will be responsible for the Government coming to a halt, and they will suffer the consequences of a complete shutdown of the Government.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if we really know what the effect of the Bow amendment would be.

First, we know that there are some things neither we nor the President can cut this year without changing basic law. Examples include veterans compensations and pensions, public assistance grants, the Government's matching share of medicare payments for the aged, and interest on the public debt. In the budget, these payments were estimated to amount to about $30 billion, and our Appropriations Committee staff tells me that that is about the right figure.

Second, we cannot cut the $15 billion of expenditures that are being paid out this year—and the year started 3 months ago—to meet contracts and commitments made in prior years with funds we voted for that purpose.

Third, we are more apt to experience an increase in defense spending than to realize a decrease. So we cannot count on anything there.

What does all this leave? What can be cut? Actually there is left about $20 billion, out of which the proposed amendment would tell the executive branch to cut $5 billion. To cut $5 billion in expenditures by next June 30, with the year already 25 percent gone, we will undoubtedly have to have program cuts of somewhere in the neighborhood of $10 billion.

That, I say to my colleagues, is a lot of money and, if the amendment is approved, it means a lot of Government programs are going to be cut back or eliminated, a lot of people providing important public services will be thrown out of jobs. A lot of our constituents will be subjected not only to inconveniences, but also to grave risks and dangers. You and I and our constituents may like the sound of a $5 billion expenditure cut—but we will surely deplore its consequences.

We complain when our mail is a little late. It will not be just a little late, it will be days late. We say our cities need help to rid themselves of crime and to provide incentives to rebuild the ghettoes. We will help them by not spending money for job training, low-cost housing, self-help programs, elementary and secondary education, hospitals, and the like. Aviation safety has lately been in our minds, but we can keep our fingers crossed instead of relying on Government traffic controllers to assure us safe takeoffs and landings. So what, we will find something more pleasant to think about.

If the Congress adopts this amendment let us at least resolve not to find fault with the President's judgment as to where the cuts will be made. We cannot, in good conscience, challenge his judgment, for by adopting this amendment we are saying that we, the Congress, the people's representatives, cannot or will not do our job ourselves.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely distressed and disappointed that the Democratic leadership will not allow the Bow amendment to come before the House of Representatives this afternoon.

It is the height of irresponsibility for the administration to continue to talk reductions without taking action. The President has yet to give any real indication that he is willing to cut back on Government spending, and it is apparent that his Democratic majority in the House is also unwilling to face this issue foursquare.

While the administration continues to put pressure on to raise taxes, we in the Congress must reciprocate by putting pressure on the administration to cut back nonessential spending and establish priorities. It is apparent, by the action today, that the majority party in the House is unwilling to act.

The administration is trying to raise the smokescreen that the Republican proposal is irresponsible. But surely it is responsible to set priorities for needed domestic programs in a time of war. It is responsible to admit that only through effective Government control of spending will we control inflation. It is responsible to reaffirm that Congress has the authority to limit spending and it is responsible for the facts to be brought into focus for the American people and the Congress so that appropriate action can be taken.

The administration and the Democratic majority is trying to brainwash the American people on this issue too.

Mr. Speaker, had this motion come before the House of Representatives today, I would have given it my wholehearted support. I hope that action will be forthcoming from the administration and the Democratic leadership here in the House to take a definite stand against continued high and irresponsible Government spending.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is facing a fiscal crisis. If Congress does not act responsibly to meet this crisis, we are inviting a damaging inflation spiral and a credit crunch that will further escalate interest rates, already too high. There is no question that one of the most important steps that must be taken to avoid a chaotic economic situation is a substantial reduction in Federal spending.

Virtually every expert witness appearing in the recent Ways and Means Committee hearings on the proposed tax increase has urged a combination of expenditure reductions and tax increases. Many of the Nation's leading academic and business economists, a cross section of business and industrial leaders, and spokesmen for the Nation's financial community all agree that spending cuts are an essential element of the policies we must follow to keep our economy in balance.

I agree with this conclusion and have been urging the President to exert leadership in reassessing the administration's programs to advise where cuts can and will be made.

The recommittal motion without instructions which we are now considering, however, would be a meaningless gesture. It does absolutely nothing to reduce Federal appropriations or the authority of the President to expend funds already appropriated for fiscal year 1968. Passage of the resolution for continuing appropriations is essential, and every Member of the House knows it. It is not the appropriate vehicle for the job that needs to be done. We cannot escape difficult decisions by making futile gestures.

Mr. Speaker, although I am completely committed to reductions of $5 billion in spending for the current fiscal year, I am voting against the recommittal motion and am again calling on the President to suggest new priorities and guidelines for possible reductions that will be meaningful and helpful to Congress in taking the several actions necessary to avoid a fiscal deficit of damaging proportions. I believe the President has a responsibility to do this and that the consequences for not doing it could be grave.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi and the gentleman from Illinois, I believe, have raised several points that ought to be carefully—and I believe objectively—answered.

The motion to recommit will be a straight motion to recommit, but the effect of that motion will be as follows:

Those who vote for it—those who vote to send this resolution back to the committee—will in effect be voting to reduce expenditures in fiscal year 1968 by $5 billion.

Those who vote against the motion to recommit will be voting to authorize an expenditure in fiscal 1968 of $141 billion.

The question should be asked: "How do I come to that conclusion?" It is very simple:

If we do send this resolution back to the committee there will be a meeting of the Committee on Appropriations. The gentleman from Texas is a very responsible member of this committee. He is not going to let the lack of a committee hearing precipitate a crisis in the Government of the United States, so there will be a committee meeting held. The committee may have the same vote on the Bow resolution the next time as it did this time which, as I understand, was 28 votes on the part of the majority against, and 21 votes on the part of the minority, plus two members of the majority in favor of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, if that is the result in the next meeting in this hypothetical situation, then the chairman of that committee, the gentleman from Texas, will have to go to the Committee on Rules to secure a rule, because there will not be unanimous consent given the next time for consideration of the resolution as was done on this occasion on Thursday, September 21.

Now, when the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations goes to the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Ohio will ask the Committee on Rules to grant a rule authorizing or making germane the Bow amendment, and the Committee on Rules can act in its wisdom, but if they decide against such a rule authorizing the consideration of the Bow amendment, then we will have a vote on the floor of the House whether we should have in effect a closed rule, or whether we should have a rule that will open the resolution to the Bow amendment.

Under the current procedure we are hamstrung. But I believe if we send this bill back to the committee with a straight motion to recommit, we can go through a more orderly procedure where there will be an opportunity given for the Committee on Rules, to consider and the House again to consider this precise point.

Now, I do not think that we ought to consider this serious—and I say terribly serious situation in a partisan vein. In the main, I think the debate has been on an objective, dispassionate, nonpartisan vein.

The consequences of our current fiscal crisis are deadly serious. We are going to have, and it is conceded by everybody, a deficit of $25 billion to $30 billion. In my judgment, it will probably be more than $30 billion, come June 30 when the figures are all in.

We are going to have continued inflation, and everybody concedes that, of at least 3 percent in this calendar year and at least 3 percent more in the next calendar year.

Interest rates are still high. I think most people will concede that they will probably go higher.

Money is not as tight today as it was a year ago, but it could get very much tighter in the months ahead.

One way for us to do something affirmatively about all four of these crises is to make a reduction in Federal expenditures.

One way for us to tackle, I think, affirmatively all four of these problems is to vote for the motion to recommit so that we can have an opportunity to vote on a spending limitation.

Last December my dear friend, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and I along with leaders of both the majority party and the minority party were the guests of the President down at the ranch. I am sure my friend, the gentleman from Texas, recalls the delightful day that we spent on the lawn at the ranch where the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, as I remember, and Secretary Weaver and those of us from the Congress met with the President. The President pointed out to us on that occasion that he wanted our concurrence in a suggestion he was making to reduce expenditures in the remainder of the fiscal year 1967, a little over $3 billion; and he also indicated that he wanted our concurrence in a reduction in programs of over $5 billion.

It is my best recollection that all of us there, including the gentleman from Texas and I, agreed. I must say to my friend, the gentleman from Texas, that when we agreed on those reductions in expenditures and in programs which the President proposed, that is $3 billion in expenditures and $5 billion on programs, you and I were turning over to the President a blank check.

I do not regret my approval of what I understood the President was going to do. My only regret is the promises we got were not carried out. Instead of a $3 billion reduction in expenditures in the fiscal year 1967, my best information is that before the conclusion of the fiscal year we ended up with only a cutback of $200 million plus in expenditures.

Now I do not doubt that the President will probably come up in the next couple of weeks, and I hope he does, with some firm promise to reduce expenditures in 1968.

I have reason to believe he will. Reliable people have told me he will. I hope he does.

But does that obviate the need or the desirability for us to give some added direction to that? I do not want to strip the President of the right to make reductions. I merely wish to help him, and I think we have the right to do it by a spending limitation.

In conclusion I say to my friend from Texas that he applauded what the President did in December of last year. I should think he would applaud a reduction made by the President in spending in fiscal 1968. If he is so applauding and does intend to applaud, I cannot understand why he objects to the Congress giving some direction and authority to additional reductions in expenditures.

That means that we, those of us in the Congress, are acting within our responsibility to reduce expenditures. This resolution, if we ever get a chance to vote on it, will be our expression of congressional authority to cut back expenditures.

In conclusion I say when the time comes to vote for the motion to recommit, the net result will be that if you vote "yea," you will vote to cut expenditures in fiscal 1968, $5 billion, and if you vote "nay," on the motion to recommit, you will authorize an expenditure in fiscal 1968 of $141 billion.

I think it is our responsibility to vote "yea" in this crisis.

(On request of Mr. MAHON, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GERALD R. FORD was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I would like to point out that actually what we are about to vote on is a simple motion to recommit. That it the Bow amendment will not be in the recommital motion.

The bill pending is the regular continuing resolution for the month of October. We are not to vote on whether or not we want to cut, or how much we want to cut. We are not voting on the Bow resolution. The Bow resolution was before the Committee on Appropriations today and was voted down.

What the Bow resolution does is instruct the President to cut $5 billion out of the $136.5 billion anticipated to be expended in fiscal 1968 wherever he wants to do it. It proposes complete abdication by the Congress.

Now, with respect to the meeting at the ranch last year, it was at a time when Congress was not in session. The President called some of us down to the ranch and said in effect: "Economic and fiscal conditions are such that we need to withhold, delay, or stretch out some expenditures." He showed us where he thought this should be done. Congress was not in session. We could not take official action. We told the President we thought the decisions he had made were rather good. The gentleman indicates that probably the President will ask us to take action on certain reductions now. I believe it might be desirable for the President to request us to take action in making reductions. We could evaluate his proposals and take action thereon.

This is really the issue before us now. Shall we undertake in this resolution the long, complicated business of reducing expenditures? Such action would have to be concurred in by both the House and the Senate. Or, shall we pass this continuing resolution and consider expenditure limitations at a later time when more thorough consideration can be given? It seems to me that unless the wheels of government are to come to a halt, we must pass this continuing resolution.

I do not believe that the Members of the House on either side will want to abdicate their authority while we are in session and charged with the responsibility. I would say that if the minority leader would present to the Appropriations Committee a consensus of where the Members on his side of the aisle thinks cuts could be made—not merely one man's views—but the consensus on that side, we will begin hearings next week to consider achieving those reductions.

It seems to me that would be responsible action.

I urge the Members of the House to vote against the motion to recommit and to vote for the continuing resolution in order that we may conduct our business in an orderly way.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman asked unanimous consent that I might have 3 additional minutes, and I have not had any time to speak.

(On request of Mr. MAHON, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GERALD R. FORD was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend.

I want to make a few comments on the most recent observations of the gentleman from Texas. I noted two things, and they are rather amazing. The distinguished chairman of this great committee—and I served with him and under him for 14 years—said that he was not going to do anything until the President sent a request up for a reduction in expenditures. That amazes me.

Mr. MAHON. Who says this?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman just said it in his most recent observations.

Mr. MAHON. No, no. We have been saying over and over again today that we want Congress to pinpoint the places where we could make rescissions. I said it is all right for the President to make recommendations to us, in the budget or otherwise, as to cuts to be made. Certainly, we should not depend on the President to do our work.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman just hit the nail right on the head. The gentleman tells us he wants to let the President have this authority to make those reductions as he sees fit without any overall direction from the Congress. What we want to do is set a ceiling under which he must operate. That is what we are trying to do with the Bow amendment.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. BOW. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Bow moves to recommit House Joint Resolution 849 to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 202, nays 182, not voting 48, as follows:

[Roll No. 282]

YEAS—202

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dowdy
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Ford, Gerald R.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Horton
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Montgomery
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Tex.
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stuckey
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—182

Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Barrett
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brasco
Brinkley
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Casey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Garmatz

Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Irwin
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Morris, N. Mex.
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Resnick
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Watts
White
Whitten
Wilson, Charles H.
Yates
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—48

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Aspinall
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill, Va.
Button
Carey
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
Corman
de la Garza
Derwinski
Feighan
Fountain
Green, Pa.
Hagan
Halpern
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kee
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
O'Konski
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Rivers
Roberts
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff
Wright
Wydler
Young

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Fountain for, with Mr. Hébert against.

Mr. Broyhill of Virginia for, with Mr. Adams against.

Mr. Utt for, with Mr. Wolff against.

Mr. Collier for, with Mr. Morgan against.

Mr. Rarick for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. Anderson of Illinois for, with Mr. Hagan against.

Mr. Brock for, with Mr. Green of Pennsylvania against.

Mr. Derwinski for, with Mr. Feighan against.

Mr. Minshall for, with Mr. Reuss against.

Mr. McEwen for, with Mr. Jacobs against.

Mr. Broomfield for, with Mr. Aspinall against.

Mr. Hosmer for, with Mr. Brademas against.

Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin for, with Mr. Ashley against.

Mr. Wydler for, with Mr. Carey against.

Mr. Don H. Clausen for, with Mr. Corman against.

Mr. Halpern for, with Mr. Rees against.

Mr. O'Konski for, with Mr. Moorhead against.

Mr. McDonald of Michigan for, with Mr. Moss against.

Mr. Button for, with Mr. Kee against.

Mr. Mize for, with Mr. Roberts against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Young.

Mr. Wright with Mr. Herlong.

Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Willis.

Mr. STAFFORD changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the joint resolution just voted on, and to include relevant extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

MEETING OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, if I may have the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, I should like to address a question to him for the benefit of the members of the Appropriations Committee. Can the gentleman tell us when the committee will meet again?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Of course, we are confronted with a need for quick action. We will meet as soon as we can. I assume it will be tomorrow.

Mr. BOW. Would the gentleman suggest that we might meet tonight? I am talking about the Appropriations Committee, not the House.

Mr. MAHON. I think we have to have some time to consider the matter.

Mr. BOW. I thank the gentleman. I thought we might expedite it.

Mr. MAHON. I think we can meet tomorrow. Let me say to the gentleman from Ohio that I will confer with him with respect to an appropriate time to meet. I am unable to make a determination at the moment, but I will confer with him.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

S. 1862, TO AMEND THE AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report. The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk proceeded to read the statement.

Mr. PATMAN (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, the statement of the managers on the part of the House and the conference report are in the RECORD, on the first page, on Monday. In view of the fact that the Members have had 2 days in which to examine this, I ask unanimous consent that it be considered as read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 660)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

TITLE I

SEC. 101. This title may be cited as the "Small Business Act Amendments of 1967".

SEC. 102. Paragraph (4) of section 4(c) of the Small Business Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "$1,400,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$1,900,000,000";

(2) by striking out "$400,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$450,000,000";

(3) by striking out "$200,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$300,000,000"; and

(4) by striking out "$100,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$200,000,000".

SEC. 103. Paragraph (4) of section 7(a) is amended by striking out "except that a loan made for the purpose of constructing facilities may have a maturity of ten years" and inserting in lieu thereof "except that such portion of a loan made for the purpose of constructing facilities may have a maturity of fifteen years".

SEC. 104. The subsection added to section 7 of the Small Business Act by the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 (Public Law 89–769), and designated thereby as subsection (e), is redesignated as subsection (f).

SEC. 105. Subparagraph (B) of paragraph (1) of section 8(b) of the Small Business Act is amended to read as follows:

"(B) in the case of any individual or group of persons cooperating with it in furtherance of the purposes of subparagraph (A), (i) to allow such an individual or group such use of the Administration's office facilities and related materials and services as the Administration deems appropriate; and (ii) to pay the transportation expenses and a per diem allowance in accordance with section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, to any such individual for travel and subsistence expenses incurred at the request of the Administration in connection with travel to a point more than fifty miles distant from the home of that individual in providing gratuitous services to small businessmen in furtherance of the purposes of subparagraph (A) or in connection with attendance at meetings sponsored by the Administration;".

SEC. 106. Paragraph (13) of section 8(b) of the Small Business Act is amended to read as follows:

"(13) to establish such advisory boards and committees as may be necessary to achieve the purposes of this Act and of the

Small Business Investment Act of 1958; to call meetings of such boards and committees from time to time; to pay the transportation expenses and a per diem allowance in accordance with section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, to the members of such boards and committees for travel and subsistence expenses incurred at the request of the Administration in connection with travel to points more than fifty miles distant from the homes of such members in attending the meetings of such boards and committees; and to rent temporarily, within the District of Columbia or elsewhere, such hotel or other accommodations as are needed to facilitate the conduct of such meetings; and".

SEC. 107. Section 8(b) of the Small Business Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (13);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (14), by inserting "; and" in lieu thereof, and by adding the following new paragraph:

"(15) to disseminate, without regard to the provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code, data and information, in such form as it shall deem appropriate, to public agencies, private organizations, and the general public."

SEC. 108. The subsection added to section 402 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 by section 405 of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966 (Public Law 89-794), and designated thereby as subsection (b), is redesignated as subsection (c).

TITLE II

SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the "Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1967".

SEC. 202. Section 301(c) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) The articles of incorporation and amendments thereto shall be forwarded to the Administration for consideration and approval or disapproval. In determining whether to approve such a company's articles of incorporation and permit it to operate under the provisions of this Act, the Administration shall give due regard, among other things, to the need and availability for the financing of small business concerns in the geographic area in which the proposed company is to commence business, the general business reputation and character of the proposed owners and management of the company, and the probability of successful operations of such company including adequate profitability and financial soundness. After consideration of all relevant factors, if it approves the company's articles of incorporation, the Administration may in its discretion approve the company to operate under the provisions of this Act and issue the company a license for such operation."

SEC. 203. (a) Section 302(a) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 302. (a) Each company authorized to operate under this Act shall have a combined private paid-in capital and paid-in surplus in an amount (1) not less than $150,000, and (2) adequate to assure a reasonable prospect that the company will be operated soundly and profitably, and managed actively and prudently in accordance with its articles of incorporation."

(b) The heading of section 302 of such Act is amended to read as follows: "Capital Requirements".

(c) The description of section 302 in the table of contents of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 302. Capital requirements."

SEC. 302. Section 302(b) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended by striking "except that in no event shall any such bank hold shares in small business investment companies in an amount aggregating more than 2 percent of its capital and surplus." and inserting "except that in no event may any such bank acquire shares in any small business investment company if, upon the making of that acquisition,

"(1) the aggregate amount of shares in small business investment companies then held by the bank would exceed 5 percent of its capital and surplus, or

"(2) the bank would hold 50 percent or more of any class of equity securities issued by that investment company and having actual or potential voting rights."

SEC. 205. Section 303(b) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) To encourage the formation and growth of small business investment companies the Administration is authorized (but only to the extent that the necessary funds are not available to the company involved from private sources on reasonable terms) to purchase, either directly or in cooperation with banks or other lending institutions through agreements to participate on an immediate basis, the debentures of any such company. Debentures purchased by the Administration under this subsection shall be subordinate to any other debenture bonds, promissory notes, or other debts and obligations of such companies, unless the Administration in its exercise of reasonable investment prudence and in considering the financial soundness of such company determines otherwise. Such debentures may be issued for a term of not to exceed fifteen years and shall bear interest at a rate not less than a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the average maturities on such debentures, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, plus such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Administration may determine to be consistent with its purposes. The debentures shall also contain such other terms as the Administration may fix, and shall be subject to the following restrictions and limitations:

"(1) The total amount of debentures purchased and outstanding at any one time from a company which does not qualify under the terms of paragraph (2) of this subsection, shall not exceed 200 percent of the combined paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of such company. In no event shall the debentures of any such company purchased and outstanding under this paragraph exceed $7,500,000.

"(2) The total amount of debentures which may be purchased and outstanding at any one time from a company which (A) has a combined paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of $1,000,000 or more and (B) has investments or legally binding commitments of 65 percent or more of its total funds available for investment in small business concerns invested or committed in venture capital, shall not exceed $2,000,000 plus 300 percent of that portion of the company's paid-in capital and paid-in surplus which exceeds $1,000,000. In no event shall the debentures of any such company purchased and outstanding under this paragraph exceed $10,000,000. Such additional purchases which the Administration makes under this paragraph shall contain conditions to insure appropriate maintenance by the company receiving such assistance of the described ratio during the period in which debentures under this paragraph are outstanding.

"(3) Outstanding amounts of financial assistance provided to a company by the Administration prior to the effective date of the Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1967 shall be deducted from the maximum amount of debentures which the Administration would otherwise be authorized to purchase under this subsection. For purposes of this subsection, the term 'venture capital' includes such common stock, preferred stock, or other financing with subordination or nonamortization characteristics as the Administration determines to be substantially similar to equity financing."

SMALL BUSINESS ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

SEC. 206. Section 304(c) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is repealed.

SEC. 207. Section 306 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 306. (a) Without the approval of the Administration, the aggregate amount of obligations and securities acquired and for which commitments may be issued by any small business investment company under the provisions of this Act for any single enterprise shall not exceed 20 percent of the combined paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of such company.

"(b) For the purpose of this section, the combined paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of any company licensed prior to January 1, 1968, shall consist of (1) the paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of such company and (2) the following portions of the funds outstanding from the Administration through the issuance of subordinated debentures as of the effective date of the Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1967, or on January 1 of each of the following calendar years, whichever is less: (A) 100 percent, during 1968; (B) 75 percent, during 1969; (C) 50 percent, during 1970; (D) 25 percent, during 1971; and (E) zero, during 1972 and thereafter.

"(c) With respect to obligations or securities acquired prior to the effective date of the Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1967, and with respect to legally binding commitments issued prior to such date, the provisions of this section as in effect immediately prior to such effective date shall continue to apply."

SEC. 208. Section 310(b) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended by adding after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "Each such company shall be examined at least once each year, except that the Administrator may waive examination in the case of a company whose operations have been suspended by reason of the fact that the company is involved in litigation or is in receivership."

SEC. 209. The first sentence of section 401(a) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended by striking out "that are (1) eligible for loans under section 7(b)(3) of the Small Business Act, or (2) eligible for loans under title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,".

SEC. 210. Section 308(g) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended (1) by inserting the paragraph designation "(1)" after "(g)"; and (2) by adding the following new subparagraph:

"(2) In its annual report for the year ending December 31, 1967, and in each succeeding annual report made pursuant to section 10(a) of the Small Business Act, the Administration shall include full and detailed accounts relative to the following matters:

"(A) The Administration's recommendations with respect to the feasibility and organization of a small business capital bank to encourage private financing of small business investment companies to replace Government financing of such companies.

"(B) The Administration's plans to insure the provision of small business investment company financing to all areas of the country and to all eligible small business concerns including steps taken to accomplish same.

"(C) Steps taken by the Administration to maximize recoupment of Government funds incident to the inauguration and administration of the small business investment company program and to insure compliance with statutory and regulatory standards relating thereto.

"(D) An accounting by the Bureau of the Budget with respect to Federal expenditures to business by executive agencies, specifying the proportion of said expenditures going to business concerns falling above and below small business size standards applicable to small business investment companies.

"(E) An accounting by the Treasury Department with respect to tax revenues accruing to the Government from business concerns, incorporated and unincorporated, specifying the source of such revenues by concerns falling above and below the small business size standards applicable to small business investment companies.

"(F) An accounting by the Treaury Department with respect to both tax losses and increased tax revenues related to small business investment company financing of both individual and corporate business taxpayers.

"(G) Recommendations of the Treasury Department with respect to additional tax incentives to improve and facilitate the operations of small business investment companies and to encourage the use of their financing facilities by eligible small business concerns.

"(H) A report from the Securities and Exchange Commission enumerating actions undertaken by that agency to simplify and minimize the regulatory requirements governing small business investment companies under the Federal securities laws and to eliminate overlapping regulation and jurisdiction as between the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Administration, and other agencies of the executive branch.

"(I) A report from the Securities and Exchange Commission with respect to actions taken to facilitate and stabilize the access of small business concerns to the securities markets.

"(J) Actions undertaken by the Securities and Exchange Commission to simplify compliance by small business investment companies with the requirements of the Investment Company Act of 1940 and to facilitate the election to be taxed as regulated investment companies pursuant to section 851 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954."

SEC. 211. The effective date of this title shall be ninety days after enactment, except that with respect to section 207, it shall be January 1, 1968.

TITLE III

SEC. 301. This title may be cited as the "Small Business Protection Act of 1967".

SEC. 302. The Administrator of the Small Business Administration shall conduct a special study of the impact on small business concerns of robbery, burglary, shoplifting, vandalism, and other criminal activities, with a view to determining ways in which such concerns may best protect themselves against such activities.

SEC. 303. The Administrator shall report to the President and to the Congress the results of the study conducted pursuant to this title, including such recommendations as he may deem appropriate for administrative and legislative action, within one year after the date of enactment of this title.

And the House agree to the same.

WRIGHT PATMAN,
ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
WILLIAM A. BARRETT,
LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
HENRY S. REUSS,
THOMAS L. ASHLEY,
WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
BILL BROCK,
GARRY BROWN,
Managers on the Part of the House.
JOHN SPARKMAN,
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE,
WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
CHARLES H. PERCY,
JOHN G. TOWER,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House struck out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute amendment. The committee of conference has agreed to a substitute for both the House amendment and the Senate bill. Except for technical, clarifying, and conforming changes, the following statement explains the differences between the House amendment and the substitute agreed to in conference.

TITLE I

Section 106

The House amendment omitted a provision of the Senate bill which provided for payment of travel and per diem expenses to members of boards and committees established by the Small Business Administration. The conference substitute restored this provision with an amendment limiting such payments to those in connection with travel to a point more than 50 miles from the home of the board or committee member.

Section 107

This section of the Senate bill granted authority to the Small Business Administration to use the mails to distribute information regarding its programs without regard to the provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code. It was omitted from the House amendment, and was restored in the conference substitute only by reason of the clear understanding of the conferees that the Small Business Administration will use this authority to promote its programs through the mail with discretion and that such mailings will be limited to information concerning title IV loans of the Economic Opportunity Act, displaced business loans, management conference announcements and other programs of the agency which are not publicized through the normal media channels.

TITLE II

Section 202

Section 202 of the House amendment would have added a new section to the Small Business Investment Act to prohibit the Administration from restricting real estate oriented small business investment companies in the pursuit of investment policies approved by the Administration prior to October 1, 1966. This provision was omitted from the conference substitute, but the conferees agreed that the Committees on Banking and Currency of both the House and the Senate would hold hearings on the question of real estate investment prior to June 30, 1968, to determine the scope of the real estate problem and to see if an adequate solution can be obtained. During this period, it is expected that the Small Business Administration will carefully study the real estate problem and will not arbitrarily withhold benefits from the program from a real estate oriented Small Business Investment Company solely because of its investment policies.

The Senate bill provided for a graduated increase in minimum capital requirements, rising to $1,000,000 for all companies (regardless of whether old or new) by February 28, 1975. The House amendment omitted all reference to capital requirements, except that in its amendment to Section 301(c) of the act, it requires the Administration to give due regard, in licensing new companies, to various factors "including adequate profitability and financial soundness."

The conference substitute follows the House amendment in not changing the minimum capitalization dollar amounts in existing law, but adds the requirement that the Administration, in the case of each application for approval to operate under the act, determine that the applicant's capitalization is "adequate to assure a reasonable prospect that the company will be operating soundly and profitably and managed actively and prudently in accordance with its articles of incorporation." If the administrator does not feel that these criteria would be satisfied with the private capitalization of $150,000, he may require the licensee to increase that amount. Thus, while the $150,000 figure remains as a minimum requirement, the conference substitute gives the Administration more clearly defined but broadened discretionary authority to increase the minimum if certain statutory conditions are met.

It is the intention of the conferees that the capitalization requirement for a small business investment company licensee shall be effective only at the time that the license is issued. An increase in the minimum dollar amount for initial capitalization was omitted from the conference substitute with the expectation and intention that the Small Business Administration will take no action to discriminate in any manner against companies with minimum capitalization, such as refusing to purchase debentures of these companies or not allowing them to sell or merge their operations if such a determination is based solely on their capital structure. In addition, the managers on the part of the House expect that the Small Business Administration will in no way discourage the chartering of smaller sized companies in areas where they are needed and can be expected to operate on a sound basis.

The omission from the conference substitute of the provisions which would have raised the minimum dollar amount of required capitalization is also intended to preclude the Administration from requiring companies already in operation to increase their capital. However, should an operating SBIC be sold or its license transferred, the Administration would be empowered to require an increase in capitalization where necessary to meet requirements as to soundness and profitability referred to in the conference substitute.

It is also expected that each licensee shall be operated in a businesslike manner and that access to its offices shall be available to the public. The conferees are also concerned about the number of small business investment companies that are in an inactive status including those that have no Government funds. It is expected that the Small Business Administration will take all necessary action to correct this situation as quickly as possible.

Section 204

Section 205 of the House amendment would have prohibited any bank from acquiring stock of a small business investment company where the result of the acquisition would be that the bank would have invested more than 5 percent of its capital and surplus, or more than $1,000,000, or would hold 50 percent or more of the voting securities of the small business investment company. Under the conference substitute, the $1,000,000 limitation is eliminated, but the other two are retained. It is the expectation of the conferees that the Federal Reserve Board will issue regulations requiring bank holding companies to conform to the new restrictions imposed by section 205, and that the Board, in writing its regulations, will make certain that bank holding company-owned banks or affiliates, or bank holding companies themselves cannot gain benefits under this legislation that would not accrue to non-holding-company banks. It is expected further that the Federal Reserve Board's regulations will apply the restrictions contained in the legislation to multiple holdings in small business investment companies by bank holding companies, their bank affiliates and other permitted bank holding company affiliates.

Section 205

Section 204 of the House amendment would have increased from $700,000 to $4,000,000 the amount of capital which the Administration could furnish a small business investment company under section 302(a) of the act, and section 206 of the House amendment would have increased from $4,000,000 to $6,000,000 the amount which could be furnished under section 303(b)(1) of the act. Both section 204 and section 206 of the House amendment were omitted from the conference substitute.

In their place, there is included, as section 205 of the substitute, an amendment to section 303(b) of the act. The amendment permits the Administration to purchase an amount, not to exceed 200 percent of the combined paid-in capital and paid-in surplus of a small business investment company, up to $7,500,000. In addition, for any company which has a paid-in capital and surplus of $1 million or more and has 65 percent of its portfolio in venture capital investments, the Small Business Administration may purchase additional debentures not to exceed $2 million plus 300 percent of that portion of the companies paid-in capital and surplus which exceeds $1 million. In no event may the total debentures of any such company held by the Small Business Administration exceed $10 million. These debentures shall be subordinated, "unless the Administration in its exercise of reasonable investment prudence and in considering the financial soundness of such company determines otherwise."

Section 207 of the House amendment contained a definition of "venture capital." Section 205 of the conference substitute adopts the term "venture capital," but defines it as including "such common stock, preferred stock, or other financing with subordination or nonamortization characteristics as the Administration shall determine to be substantially similar to equity financing." Since the term is used only in section 303(b) of the act (as amended by section 205 of the conference substitute), the definition is made part of that section.

Section 206

Section 206 of the conference substitute repeals section 304(c) of the act. This provision of the act gives an option to companies receiving financing from small business investment company to purchase stock in the small business investment company up to 5 percent of the amount of the financing. There was no repeal of this provision in the House amendment.

Section 207

Section 207 of the conference substitute limits a small business investment company's investment in any one enterprise to 20 percent of its private capital, or half of what is permitted under existing law for a small business investment company whose private capital is matched dollar-for-dollar with funds furnished by the Administration. For small business investment companies already in operation, this change goes into effect on a sliding scale that delays full effectiveness until 1972.

In the House amendment, there was no counterpart to section 208 of the conference substitute.

Section 208

The House amendment would have required examination by the Administration of each small business investment company each year without exception. The Senate bill would have permitted the Administration to waive such examination "for good cause." The conference substitute permits waiver only "in the case of a company whose operations have been suspended by reason of the fact that the company is involved in litigation or is in receivership."

Section 210

Section 210 of the House amendment requires certain material, some of which is to be furnished by other agencies, to be included in the annual reports of the Administration. The conference substitute adopts this section without change. Full cooperation from the other agencies is expected, but it is not intended that the Small Business Administration be held responsible for gathering data which is required to be furnished by other agencies.

Wright Patman,
Abraham J. Multer,
William A. Barrett,
Leonor K. Sullivan,
Henry S. Reuss,
Thomas L. Ashley,
William B. Widnall,
Bill Brock,
Garry Brown,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the conference report on S. 1862 before this body today represents legislation that should go a long way toward increasing the effectiveness of the small business investment company program.

The reported substitute makes it clear that the Small Business Administration shall not discriminate against minimum size small business investment companies solely because of their capital structure. But at the same time, it has been made clear that those small business investment companies who do not wish to operate within the letter and spirit of the law will not be allowed to continue their operations in this manner, regardless of their size.

I feel that the House version of S. 1862 faired extremely well in the conference report. We gained much more than we lost and although a provision providing certain exemptions for real estate-oriented small business investment companies was contained in the House bill, it was not part of the reported substitute. However, the conferees agreed, and the statement of the managers on the part of the House reflects this agreement, that both the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees will hold hearings on the real estate question prior to June 30, 1968.

I would briefly, at this point, like to summarize the differences between the House reported bill and the conference adopted substitute.

In title I of the legislation, the reported substitute would allow SBA to pay travel and per diem expenses to members of advisory boards and committees of the Small Business Administration provided that such travel is more than 50 miles from the home of the committee or board member. The House bill would not provide payment for these committee members.

The House conferees also accepted the Senate version of a provision that would allow the Small Business Administration to use the mails to distribute information regarding its programs without regard to provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code. Under the present law, SBA cannot make the public generally aware of its programs unless it receives a specific inquiry for information. The conference substitute would allow the agency to use the mails to promote information concerning displaced business loans, economic opportunity loans, and management conferences conducted by the agency as well as other programs which are not generally publicized through normal media channels. The House conferees feel that these restrictions will make certain that SBA does not flood the mail with advertising promotions.

Title II of the conference substitute deals solely with the small business investment company program. As stated earlier, the Senate conferees did not accept the House version dealing with real estate small business investment companies, but did agree to a provision requiring the House and Senate Banking Committees to hold hearings on the real estate question prior to June 30, 1968. Perhaps the biggest victory for the House was in the area of minimum small business investment company capitalization. Under the Senate version, all small business investment companies with less than $1 million in capitalization would have had to increase their private capital to the $1 million figure by 1975 or leave the program. The House conferees prevailed in this area and the Senate language was struck in favor of a substitute that requires each company to have a minimum private paid-in capital and surplus of $150,000 or an amount that is "adequate to assure a reasonable prospect that the company will be operating soundly and profitably and managed actively and prudently in accordance with its articles of incorporation."

In short, this provision would allow SBA to license new companies with a capitalization of $150,000, unless the agency determines that a higher private capitalization is needed in order to assure financial soundness in the company's operation.

The Senate conferees also went along with one exception, with the House provision that controls bank participation in small business investment companies. Under the House bill, banks would be precluded from purchasing stock in a SBIC in an amount greater than 5 percent of the bank's capital and surplus or $1 million, whichever is lesser. In addition, banks would be precluded from owning more than 49 percent of the stock of a single small business investment company. The conference substitute retained the 5 percent maximum and the 49 percent ownership ceiling but removed the third ceiling, the $1 million limitation. Thus, under the conference substitute, banks could invest up to 5 percent of their capital and surplus in small business investment companies, but would be precluded from obtaining more than 49 percent of the stock of any single SBIC.

This provision allows existing bank-SBIC relations to continue at present levels. However, if banks have already reached the ceilings contained in the substitute language, then they would be precluded from making additional investments.

The House conferees adopted the Senate's leverage section but were able to obtain approval for an important amendment to this section. The conference substitute allows small business investment companies to obtain up to $10 million in Government funds providing that certain conditions are met. The House version would also have allowed small business investment companies to borrow $10 million but would have required that a large portion of the funds not be subordinated to other debt.

The reported bill while allowing subordination, gives the Small Business Administration the power to make the Government funds senior to other debt if such a requirement is necessary. This will enable small business investment companies to attract other non-Government funds but at the same time give Small Business Administration an effective tool to protect Government money.

The House conferees also agreed to a Senate provision that would decrease the amount of money that a small business investment company could lend to a single small business concern. Under present law, a small business investment company may lend 20 percent of its statutory—Government and private—funds to a single small business concern. However, the conference substitute removed statutory capital so it was necessary to change the lending limit for small business investment companies.

Under the conference substitute, small business investment companies may lend 20 percent of their private capital to a single small business concern. In order to facilitate an orderly transition to the new lending limit, a sliding scale of reduction in lending limit was agreed to by the conferees that would not make the new lending limit totally effective until 1972.

The House conferees were successful in obtaining Senate concurrence, with a minor amendment, to a provision requiring annual examination of every small business investment company. The provision does the Small Business Administration Administrator to waive such an examination "in the case a company whose operations have been suspended by reason of the fact that the company is involved in litigation or is in receivership."

There were a few minor technical amendments that I have not discussed, but none of these would have a substantive effect on the law. In addition, I have not taken the time of this body to go into detail on the provisions of the House bill that were adopted without change by the Senate. Also, I should like to point out that the Senate adopted, without change, title III of the House version calling for a study of the best ways that small businessmen can protect themselves against criminal actions. In order to resolve any doubts that Members may have, there is no provision in this legislation for any appropriation or authorization for funds for this study.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the conference report just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman a question about the report? The report says:

> The conferees agreed that the Committees on Banking and Currency of both the House and the Senate would hold hearings on the question of real estate investment prior to June 30, 1968, to determine the scope of the real estate problem and to see if an adequate solution can be obtained.

Mr. PATMAN. That is correct. It is in the report and it is also in the statement of the managers.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, and I do not intend to object, but I want to go one step further, the conference report says further:

> During this period, it is expected that the Small Business Administration will carefully study the real estate problem and will not arbitrarily withhold benefits from the program from a real estate-oriented small business investment company solely because of its investment policies.

If I interpret the language of the report correctly then Small Business Administration is directed to consider each small business investment corporation real estate oriented company on its own merits as to whether or not they can borrow, merge, sell, or receive any other benefits of the program. Thus a real estate oriented small business investment corporation seeking funds from Small Business Administration could not be denied these funds solely because its loan portfolio was predominately in the real estate field.

That is the way I take it.

Mr. PATMAN. The committee will have hearings. Both committees are obligated in both the House and Senate, on that question, to hold hearings before June 30, 1968.

Mr. STEPHENS. Then that interpretation is correct?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know about the gentleman's interpretation, but we will have full and complete hearings on it.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the House adoption of the conference report on H.R. 10409.

However, I would feel that I was doing less than my duty to the small businessmen of America if I did not comment on the action of this body in refusing to authorize $300,000 for a study contained in H.R. 10409 that would help small businessmen protect themselves against robberies, burglaries, and other criminal activities.

Certain Members of this body expressed a fear that the money would be used in less than an appropriate manner in this study. I hold no such fears nor do I believe, as has been suggested on this floor during the debate on H.R. 10409, that this study would be used to delve into the sociological reasons behind the recent riots in some of our major cities.

It must be noted that this legislation was introduced on February 16, 1967, months before riots hit the headlines of our Nation's papers.

This legislation is not designed to look into the sociological reasons behind riots nor is it designed to find out if small businessmen are the victims of criminal attacks. We know what the problem is but, unfortunately, we do not know the answer to the problem and I pray to God that there is an answer to this serious situation. Unfortunately, the problem grows worse and unless something is done immediately, the future of small businesses in our metropolitan areas is in jeopardy.

Yesterday, I placed in the RECORD a number of letters from small businessmen and their trade association groups supporting my legislation. Because of the urgency of this matter, I would like to read just one of those letters. It is from Mr. Julian E. Jackson of Jackson's Minit Markets, Jacksonville, Fla. In part, it reads:

> We operate a chain of small convenience stores where there is only one operator on duty at a time and we have had at least one or sometimes four and five robberies each night in the State of Florida alone in our stores.
>
> The criminals are very rarely apprehended and they go and rob someone else the same night or the next night. We have had two of our store managers killed in the last three years, we have had four others shot and many beaten up by these bandits and it gets worse instead of better.
>
> I certainly hope this Bill passes and they can get some action at once, because the small store operators certainly need some protection.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed unfortunate that the U.S. House of Representatives has to tell small businessmen, such as Mr. Jackson, that it is not willing to spend $300,000 so that his store employees can go to work without fear that they may lose their lives.

I have, today, written to Mr. Robert Moot, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, asking that I be kept fully abreast of the progress of the study. I have also asked him to inform me immediately if he finds that the study is being hampered because of a shortage of funds. If such is the case, I will introduce legislation immediately asking for the necessary appropriation authorization.

If such legislation is necessary, I sincerely hope that Members of this House will not again turn their backs on the future of our Nation's small businessmen.

The following is an editorial from the Evening Star of September 21:

INSURANCE BY FIAT

A Presidential panel headed by Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey has been looking into the problem of insuring commercial and residential property in riot-affected areas. And one "solution" being

bandied about so far provides a rather alarming example of Big Brotherism.

The panel, according to news reports, thinks insurance companies ought to be prevented from denying coverage to prospective customers. And while the study group admits it does not have power itself to impose such a fiat on the industry, it says most state insurance commissions do.

Well, we are quite ready to agree that insurance for business and homeowners in the ghetto is badly needed, as we have stated before in these columns. But forcing insurance companies to underwrite everybody is hardly the right approach.

Insurance is a competitive business, with complex and highly sensitive mechanisms developed over the decades for evaluating risks. The very life of the industry depends upon its managers' ability to appraise the hazards of a situation and refuse business considered too perilous. And this kind of judgment is not something that can be tinkered with by passing a law.

Furthermore, the panel seems bent on oversimplifying matters. It favors a plan permitting companies to refuse insurance only if property had flaws such as faulty wiring or other building code violations, which hardly comes to grips with the riot problem. And the panel fails to tackle the subject of premiums, which can be priced so high that a company could obey the law while evading its spirit.

Much more positive approaches are now being pushed in Congress. One is a House-passed bill by Representative Annunzio of Illinois providing for a study of ways to protect downtown business from hoodlumism, including government-backed insurance. Another measure by Senator Smathers of Florida, on which hearings were recently held, would establish a government corporation to provide crime insurance to those unable to obtain it and would encourage private companies to share such risks.

The problem of ghetto insurance cannot be solved by force. It may very well yield, however, to a government-industry spirit of cooperation.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

MEDICAL ENROLLMENT ACT OF 1967

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill—H.R. 13026—to change the period during which an individual is permitted to enroll under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act—relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged—and for other purposes, which bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—would the gentleman take a brief amount of time to explain exactly what this is to the Members?

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for the bill is because of the fact that the Senate has not completed action on the original social security bill which we passed.

This bill has a very limited purpose. It is a temporary measure and makes no permanent change in the medicare law. There is no controversy connected with the bill, which was reported unanimously out of the Committee on Ways and Means.

The sole purpose of the bill is to defer the date by which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is required to promulgate the revised rate of the monthly premiums paid by subscribers to the supplementary medical insurance program under part B of the medicare law.

The bill also makes several related temporary changes in the law in order to preserve the existing right of present subscribers to the supplementary medical insurance program to drop out of the program during the period of October, November, and December of this year and to afford an opportunity to present subscribers to await the announcement of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare concerning the new premium rate before they decide whether or not they wish to drop out of or remain in the program.

Similarly, the bill will afford the same opportunity of awaiting the announcement of the new premium rate to persons age 65 and over who are eligible for part B coverage but who did not elect coverage under the program within the period provided in the law at the time they first became eligible; they also would be allowed to subscribe under the part B program during the first 3 months of 1968.

Now, why is this legislation needed at this time?

The reason is this. It is quite apparent that the pending social security legislation—H.R. 12080, which was passed by the House on August 17—will not be enacted by October 1, 1967. This means that the enrollment period, which under present law will begin on October 1, 1967, and end on December 31, 1967, will start before action on that legislation is completed. The premium rate which is to be announced by October 1 will have to be based on present law, even though H.R. 12080 as passed by the House would increase the protection provided by supplementary medical insurance, thereby increasing the cost of the supplementary medical insurance program, and make numerous procedural and other changes in the program. All these changes should be considered by beneficiaries in connection with the open enrollment period soon to begin. The final provisions of H.R. 12080 cannot be predicted with certainty at this time. It is quite possible, however, that enactment of that legislation will require a different premium than would be required under the present law. A change in law is needed to permit information to be provided to potential enrollees on what effect the new law will have on the supplementary medical insurance program and to reflect in the premium to be paid over the next 2 years the costs of the benefit provisions under that law.

The required change in the enrollment period could be made either in the course of or after enactment of H.R. 12080 but it seems far better to act now and forestall the commencement of an enrollment process based upon provisions of present law. Without the enactment of this bill, people would be required to make their decisions before January 1, so that they would have to decide about enrollment before information on the new premium rate and benefit protection is available. They may then not make a properly informed decision on whether to enroll or terminate their enrollment. During the October-December period it is to be expected that a change in law would have to be made, including provisions permitting the announcement of a new premium rate, and people would have to be reinstructed about the change in their rights and obligations. Many persons are likely to be greatly confused by such a change in instructions.

Under this bill, the new premium rate would be announced prior to January 1, 1968, and would go into effect on April 1, 1968, rather than on January 1, 1968, as presently scheduled; persons would have until the end of March of next year to decide about enrollment or termination of enrollment; and the full informational task could begin at the close of this year when all the needed information would be available.

Another advantage to be gained by the enactment of this bill is that at this time substantial additional actuarial experience is being tabulated relating to the accrued cost of the program. Delaying the date of announcement of the change in premium rate will permit a better estimate of the required premium rate.

I would emphasize again that this bill is a temporary measure. It is intended to avoid problems which could occur if the new premium rate were promulgated before the pending Social Security Amendments of 1967 are enacted into law.

When this bill was introduced, it contained several permanent amendments to the medicare law. All of these permanent provisions were omitted from the bill reported by the committee. The committee felt that these permanent amendments should be studied more thoroughly than was possible in connection with this temporary legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

This was unanimously approved on our side of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13026

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 1837(e) of the Social Security Act is amended to read as follows:

"(e) There shall be a general enrollment period, after the period described in subsection (c), during the period beginning on January 1 and ending on March 31 of each year beginning with 1968."

(b) Section 1838(b) of such Act is amended by striking out "December 31" and inserting in lieu thereof "March 31".

SEC. 2. (a)(1) Section 1839(a) of the Social Security Act is amended by striking out "1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "April 1968".

(2) Section 1839(b)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "March 1968".

(b) Section 1839(b)(2) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The Secretary shall, during December of 1967 and of each year thereafter, determine and promulgate the dollar amount which shall be applicable for premiums for months in the 12 month period beginning with the succeeding April 1. Such dollar amount shall be such amount as the Secretary estimates to be necessary so that the aggregate premiums for such 12 month period will equal one-half of the total of the benefits and administrative costs which he estimates will be payable from the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund for such 12-month period. In estimating the aggregate benefits payable for any period, the Secretary shall include an appropriate amount for a contingency margin; and such amount may take into consideration any unfunded accrued benefit liability or contingency reserve balance estimated to exist in the Trust Fund on the last day of the calendar year preceding such period. The unfunded accrued benefit liability at any time is the excess (if any) or (A) the aggregate benefits that are estimated to be payable in the future with respect to services rendered up to that time over (B) the estimated balance in the Trust Fund at such time. The contingency reserve balance at any time is the excess (if any) of (C) the estimated balance in the Trust Fund at such time over (D) the aggregate benefits that are estimated to be payable in the future with respect to services rendered up to that time."

(c) Section 1839(d) of such Act is repealed.

SEC. 3. (a) The general enrollment period under section 1837(e) of the Social Security Act (as amended by the first section of this Act) beginning January 1, 1968, and ending March 31, 1968, shall, for purposes of enrolling in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of such Act and of terminating such enrollment as provided in section 1838(b)(1) of such Act, instead begin on October 1, 1967.

(b) In the case of any individual who, pursuant to section 1838(b)(1) of the Social Security Act, terminates his enrollment in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of such Act, his coverage period (as defined in section 1838(a) of such Act)—

(1) shall terminate at the close of December 31, 1967, if he filed his notice of termination prior to January 1, 1968, or

(2) shall terminate at the close of March 31, 1968, if he filed his notice of termination after December 31, 1967, and prior to April 1, 1968.

An individual whose coverage period terminated pursuant to paragraph (1) at the close of December 31, 1967, may, notwithstanding section 1837(b)(2) of such Act, enroll in such program prior to April 1, 1968, and for purposes of sections 1838(a)(2)(E) and 1837(b)(2) of such Act such enrollment shall be deemed an enrollment under section 1837(e) of such Act and a second enrollment under such part.

(c) In the case of any individual who did not enroll in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act in his initial enrollment period, but does so enroll prior to April 1, 1968, the enrollment period in which he so enrolled shall, for purposes of section 1839(c) of such Act, be deemed to have closed on December 31, 1967.

SEC. 4. This Act may be cited as the "Medical Enrollment Act of 1967."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That the general enrollment period under section 1837(e) of the Social Security Act beginning October 1, 1967, and ending December 31, 1967, shall, for purposes of enrolling in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of such Act and of terminating such enrollment as provided in section 1838(b)(1) of such Act, be extended through March 31, 1968.

"SEC. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 1839(a) and (b) of the Social Security Act—

"(1) the dollar amount applicable for premiums under part B of title XVIII of such Act for each month before April 1968 shall be $3, and

"(2) the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may determine and promulgate such dollar amount for months after March 1968 and before January 1970 at any time on or before December 31, 1967.

"SEC. 3 (a) In the case of any individual who, pursuant to section 1838(b)(1) of the Social Security Act, terminates his enrollment in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of such Act, his coverage period (as defined in section 1838(a) of such Act)—

"(1) shall terminate at the close of December 31, 1967, if he filed his notice of termination before January 1, 1968, or

"(2) shall terminate at the close of March 31, 1968, if he filed his notice of termination after December 31, 1967, and before April 1, 1968.

An individual whose coverage period terminated pursuant to paragraph (1) at the close of December 31, 1967, may, notwithstanding section 1837(b)(2) of such Act, enroll in such program before April 1, 1968, and for purposes of sections 1838(a)(2)(E) and 1837(b)(2) of such Act such enrollment shall be deemed an enrollment under section 1837(e) of such Act and a second enrollment under such part.

"(b) In the case of any individual who did not enroll in the insurance program established under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act in his initial enrollment period, but does so enroll before April 1, 1968, the enrollment period in which he so enrolls shall, for purposes of section 1839(c) of such Act, be deemed to have closed on December 31, 1967."

Mr. WATTS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ACQUISITION OF CAREER STATUS BY TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HENDERSON submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

INABILITY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY TO COMPETE WITH FOREIGN TRADE—IMPACT OF MINIMUM WAGE LAW

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow we are going to consider, or at least there is scheduled for consideration tomorrow, the bill, H.R. 478, which deals with the minimum wage law and the impact it has or does not have on the ability of American industry to compete in foreign trade.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a wealth of misinformation being peddled around through various sources through letters and so forth and from various departments and through some periodicals on this subject.

In order to have a clear-cut picture before the Congress of the United States as to exactly what the bill does; exactly what the functions of the Secretary of Labor are; and exactly what rights and powers we are giving to the President of the United States; and exactly what background and effect there is to this legislation. I am at the end of my remarks inserting into the RECORD as an extension of my remarks a complete analysis of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I pray that the Members of the House will take advantage and spend a little time tomorrow morning to read this material so when they come to the floor of the House tomorrow they will know the facts—and not the fiction.

Mr. Speaker, the House tomorrow considers H.R. 478, an essential act of justice toward the working men and women of our Nation. We will be asked to consider an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act which will complete the basic design for this the most important of the Federal bulwarks to the standard of living of our people. On the obligation and ability of the employers of America's working men and women to pay a rising minimum wage and overtime pay for hours worked in excess of the statutory maximum depends the welfare not only of our working men and women in establishments engaged in interstate commerce, but of the other Americans in service or governmental employment whose livelihood is indirectly dependent upon the payrolls of our goods producing, wealth creating enterprises.

When the Congress enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 it recognized that the existence of substandard labor conditions in the industries engaged in commerce in this Nation would be detrimental to the maintenance of a minimal acceptable standard of living required for the health, efficiency, and general well being of American workers. In that act, the Congress prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of goods produced in establishments whose rates of pay or hours of work failed to meet the standards specified in the act. The Congress made it a crime for such goods to be even introduced into interstate commerce.

In the 1938 act, the Congress faced the fact that a Gresham's law of labor conditions and of workers' living standards, applied to interstate commerce. The poor labor conditions would drive out the good. Goods produced below normal cost because made with underpaid, overworked labor would undersell goods produced at or above normal cost because of the cost-price advantage of the former in competing with the latter. Without a nationwide floor under wages and a ceiling over hours, the force of competition in the market place would bring all labor standards to the same low level, and dry up good paying, high standard of living jobs.

For this reason, the Congress in its statement of policy in the 1938 act declared it to be its purpose through the exercise of the power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations to eliminate such conditions. Congress alone has the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce under our Constitution. Congress alone could take the initiative to protect the standard of living of American workers through the regulation of commerce in such a way as to safeguard wages, hours, and jobs.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as enacted in 1938, had, however, a serious loophole which in time would permit such a rising tide of goods produced under substandard conditions to move in interstate commerce that the purposes and benefits of the act for American workingmen could be destroyed. That loophole concerned imports. Though the Congress made it a crime for domestic producers to produce and introduce goods into interstate commerce in violation of the labor standards expressed in the act, it failed to provide machinery to prevent the very same evil from occurring from a foreign source. Though indeed the act refers to the exercise of Congress of its power to regulate foreign commerce as part of the means to be used to correct and eliminate the threat to American living standards for our working men and women, the specific prohibitions in the act, and the machinery for enforcement of the act failed to include imported goods, made abroad under labor conditions which failed to meet the minimum requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The logic of the act is blind to the origin of the goods. The evil which the act seeks to eliminate is the impact on wages, hours, and employment itself when goods produced under fair standards for labor must compete in our markets with goods produced at lower cost because labor is paid less than a minimum wage, or forced to work in excess of our maximum hours without the payment of overtime. This detrimental impact occurs without regard to the origin of the goods which are produced by underpaid, overworked labor. If it is necessary or appropriate to outlaw as contraband goods produced in this country under substandard labor conditions, it is equally necessary or appropriate to outlaw as contraband goods produced in foreign nations under labor conditions which fall below our federally imposed standards which are sought to be imported into the United States.

It is drastic to speak of outlawing the importation of foreign produced goods which violate our minimum labor standards. We shrink from imposing penalties on foreigners as absolute as the strictures we lay on our own citizens who engage in this country in the production of goods. We need not embargo the foreign goods as we do embargo the domestic goods produced under substandard labor conditions. We can protect the standard of living of our working men and women, and thus be faithful to the national policy and purpose expressed in the Fair Labor Standards Act if we eliminate at the border the price advantage of foreign produced goods which results from the payment by foreign producers of wages below our statutory minimum and from the failure of the foreign producer to pay at minimum wage rates overtime at our time and a half standard for hours worked in excess of 40 per week. Members of this body know that typically American industries pay average rates of wage earnings to their workers which exceed our statutory minimum. We need not eliminate the entire difference between average hourly earnings of American working men and women and those of foreign workers. We can close the loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act if we provide machinery for closing the gap, as reflected in the landed costs of imported goods, between foreign wages and our statutory minimum wage and maximum hours.

It is not necessary that we create machinery for the automatic adjustment of landed costs of all imported goods to eliminate the competitive advantage resting with such goods as a result of the substandard labor costs incurred in their production. It will be sufficient if we proceed selectively with regard to those particular imported goods which our capable and well-informed Labor Department finds on the basis of an investigation to be causing or substantially contributing to impairment or threat of impairment to the standard of living, or health, efficiency, or general well-being of any group of workers in the United States or the welfare of the community in which they live or are employed.

Thus under such a minimal, moderate approach to completing the plan of regulation of the movement of goods in commerce which has been implied in the Fair Labor Standards Act from the start, we will be doing justice—long-delayed—to American working men and women, without requiring foreign producers to accept anything like the categorical burdens which we impose on American producers-employers.

The bill which we are considering today represents just such a moderate step in closing the loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act which is being exploited so vigorously by low-wage foreign producers. Indeed, I regret to remind the Members of this body, this loophole is being exploited by U.S. business corporations which have created productive facilities at an increasing pace in low-wage foreign countries in order to remain competitive with goods produced for the Amercan market in such countries by foreign business firms. Gresham's law of the poor currency driving at the good never found a more striking parallel than the impact of substandard labor conditions reflected in low-wage cost foreign goods on the welfare of American working men and women through the exportation of their jobs to foreign shores. It is common knowledge, and the exhaustive hearings conducted by the General Subcommittee on Labor have confirmed, that America's basic industries, including our most technologically advanced industries, have directed an increasing proportion of their new capital investment in the creation of facilities abroad rather than in the United States. Chemicals, electronics, machinery, metals, shoes, textiles. Call the roll of American industry, and you will find the largest firms have already taken the step of investing abroad in order to secure for themselves the labor advantages which they have been unable to compete against in the United States because of this serious loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In a moment I shall review some of the facts which demonstrate the need for this bill. First, let us discuss what the bill actually provides, and how the machinery it creates would be intended to operate.

The bill consists of a statement of policy, a procedure for applying that policy to specific cases, and a delegation of authority to the President to take appropriate action to deal with each specific case found to meet the criteria for action set forth in the bill.

First, as to the policy. The bill would amend the statement of policy section of the Fair Labor Standards Act in two respects. These do not change the policy stated in the act; they merely complete or round out the present implied, but not clearly stated, policy of the act in regard to imports. The bill states that "the unregulated importation of goods produced by industries in foreign nations" under labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of American workers causes or contributes to the evils of spreading substandard labor conditions, burdening commerce, fostering unfair competition, leading to labor disputes, and interfering with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce which the Fair Labor Standards Act seeks to correct and eliminate.

After amending the general finding set forth in the act as I have just described, the bill would add to the act a further declaration of policy that the Congress, through its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, seeks to provide for the regulation of imports in such manner as will correct, and as rapidly as possible, eliminate any actual or threatened impairment of the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States and the welfare of their communities in which increased imports are a substantial contributing factor. In other words, it is our policy to accomplish through the selective regulation of imports found to be impairing the standard of living of American workers, the same objectives which we now seek to accomplish by the outright embargo which the Fair Labor Standards Act imposes on domestically produced goods which have a comparable effect on workers' living standards. This further statement of policy necessarily incorporates the enumeration of evils now set out in the act which the Congress finds to be a consequence of the movement of goods in commerce which were produced under substandard labor conditions.

Let me recap and simplify somewhat the elements of this policy statement. Since these elements become the criteria for action by the Secretary of Labor and the President, it is important that we understand just how they are intended to be a series of alternative tests for determining when the Secretary and the President are expected to act. These criteria are the primary standard and intelligible principle which the Congress would lay down as a rule for the use of the delegated authority for Presidential action.

First. There must be increased imports. This obviously requires a comparison of the level of imports in a recent period with the level in an earlier, representative period.

Second. The increased imports must be a substantially contributing factor to a serious impairment or threat of impairment to the standard of living of a group of workers, or to the community in which they are employed. The words "substantially contributing factor" are intended to avoid the heavy burden of proof which has been required by the Tariff Commission under the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

"Subtantially contributing factor" therefore means that imports have had some influence in contributing to the economic distress or hardship affecting a group of workers or their community, but the imports need not be the major factor in causing such distress or hardship.

Third. A serious impairment or threat of impairment of the standard of living of a group of workers or of the economic welfare of their community must be found. This impairment or threat of impairment may be shown either directly or indirectly. As far as the workers are concerned, the impairment is shown directly when there is evidence of a loss of employment, of a failure of the work force to grow as where imports capture all or virtually all of the growth in the domestic market, a loss of earnings as where workers must forgo wage increases because of the economic distress of the domestic industry to which import pressures contribute, or where workers lose overtime or premium pay because of a slackness of demand for domestically produced products to which the increased supply from foreign sources has contributed.

As far as the community is concerned, economic impairment is shown by the loss of purchasing power represented by either an absolute reduction in the workforce, a curtailment of the workweek of the workers, or a failure of the payrolls in the community to grow in pace with other sectors of community economic activity because of the pressures exerted by rising import competition on the ability of the producers concerned to increase wage payments at a comparable rate, or because future growth in output is transferred by the producers concerned to foreign soil.

As far as both the workers and the community are concerned, impairment or threat of impairment of their welfare is shown indirectly under the congressional finding where as a result of the rising volume of low-cost foreign produced goods, there is market disruption. The sale in the United States of goods produced abroad under labor conditions below our minimum wage or at hours exceeding our maximum, necessarily constitutes an unfair method of competition if that failure to conform to our labor standards results in lower costs and lower prices that domestic producers cannot compete with and still recover their full production costs and a reasonable profit. Furthermore, the sale of imported goods under such circumstances necessarily results in disruption of our markets, thus preventing the orderly and fair marketing of domestic and foreign goods in commerce.

The workers and the community are also harmed when an increasing volume of imported goods produced at low cost by workers whose wages are below our minimum, and who are compelled to work in excess of our maximum hours without the payment of overtime, or of overtime equal to our statutory time-and-a-half formula, influences domestic producers to transfer some of their productive capacity abroad. This is shown by investment in productive facilities overseas, or by contractual arrangements to bring foreign goods into the United States under the domestic producer's brand names. In this type of situation, which is becoming all too common, the imports are a contributing factor to the spread of the foreign substandard labor conditions among the workers engaged in producing such goods in the United States. This results from the loss of jobs, or the retarding of future growth in jobs with the related loss of opportunity for advancement which growth always brings, and the curtailment of growth always retards, or from the diminishment of wage rate elasticity and the bitter labor disputes which inevitably result when management feels itself under constraints in wage negotiations which impede the establishment of wage rates which are objectively fair and comparable to wages paid similar skill levels in unaffected industries.

A community suffers impairment of its economic welfare when increasing imports contribute to the reduction of production, the transfer of jobs to other localities, the closing down of production facilities, and the retraining and relocation of workers. When the industry leaves town, if the workers remain it often occurs that they are unable to find employment at rates of pay commensurate with their former occupation. Their loss of earning power injures the community through diminished circulation of money through the service establishments of the community, through the erosion of the tax base which support local governmental services, and through the inability of the workers to contribute to economic growth of the community.

When the workers leave town, perhaps assisted in doing so by the retraining allowances and relocation allowances which we have provided under so-called adjustment assistance programs, the community suffers an absolute loss of payroll inputs to the circulation of money so vital to the welfare of service industries. Schools, churches, and other cultural resources of the community feel the impact of these developments. The tax base is eroded, real estate values decline, and the difficulty which communities now experience in raising essential operating revenues is increased. The credit rating of communities is impaired by this type of occurrence, and they have correspondingly greater difficulty in financing capital improvements to provide essential services, be they hospital, school, fire, police, or welfare.

If the displaced workers chose to remain in the community left behind by a runaway industry, or made an industrial ghost town as so many small communities in this Nation have become when the local manufacturing plant, food processing center, or mining facility is closed down, the community's obligations increase, as welfare payments and the ultimate cost burden of coping with increasing numbers of poor, culturally deprived citizens is enlarged.

Next, let us consider how the machinery which would be created by the bill is intended to operate.

1. A union, a firm, an industry association, or a town, city, county, or other community organization would file a written request with the Secretary of Labor asking him to investigate to determine whether a product or group of products is being imported in increasing quantities under such circumstances as to contribute substantially to actual or threatened impairment of the standard of living of the workers producing the product or group of products in the United States, or to the economic welfare of their community or communities.

2. The Secretary would publish a notice of the request and of his investigation into the matter in the Federal Register. His notice would inform interested par-

ties of the date or dates on which he or his delegate would hold public hearings on the matter, and of the right of interested parties to be present at the hearings, to produce evidence and to be heard. It is intended that these hearings be promptly scheduled in view of the overall limit of 4 months imposed on the Secretary's investigation.

3. In his investigation, the Secretary shall determine—

(a) if imports of the product or group of products have increased by a significant amount in comparison with a representative period;

(b) if the increase in imports originated in a country or countries whose producers of the product or group of products in question pay wages below the U.S. minimum wage, or require their workers to work more than our weekly maximum of 40 hours without being paid time and a half for overtime;

(c) if the product or products in question of foreign origin are exported to the United States at a landed cost, duty paid, U.S. port, which is significantly below the price at which the like or competitive domestic product is normally sold in comparable wholesale quantities;

(d) if the difference between the landed cost of the imported products or product and the normal wholesale price of like or competitive domestic goods reflects substantially the disparity between the average wage payment in the foreign industry and the U.S. minimum wage;

(e) if the workers producing the domestic goods like or competitive with the imported product or group of products which is the subject of the investigation have suffered or are threatened with impairment of their standard of living, as shown by the existence of any one of the following conditions:

(i) a decline in employment;

(ii) failure of employment in the sector of production affected to grow at a comparable rate to the growth of domestic consumption of the product or products in question;

(iii) a decline in earnings;

(iv) failure of earnings to grow at a rate comparable to the growth experience by comparably skilled workers in related but unaffected lines of commerce;

(v) a transfer of any significant amount of productive capacity from the United States to foreign soil by U.S. producers, whether through direct investment in foreign facilities, or through contractual arrangements for the production abroad and importation into the United States of the product or group of products in question under U.S. producer brand names, or for distribution by U.S. producers; or

(f) if the community or communities in which the affected group of workers is employed or in which they reside have suffered or are threatened with impairment of economic welfare, as shown by the existence of any one of the following conditions:

(i) a decline in wage payments to any significant number of workers employed or residing in the community;

(ii) an absolute loss of employment at establishments located within or near the community which provide employment normally for residents of the community;

(iii) a static level of wage payments, or of employment in comparison with trends in related but unaffected lines of commerce;

(iv) the closing of productive establishments located within or near the community which normally provided employment for residents of the community; or

(v) the transfer of productive operations in any significant degree from the community by business firms having an establishment in the community to foreign soil through the acquisition of facilities, investment in facilities, or contractual arrangements for the production of goods abroad for distribution by the U.S. firm in the United States which were formerly supplied by production from an establishment in or near the community; and

(g) if increased imports of the product or group of products are a substantially contributing factor to the conditions established by an affirmative finding under the questions presented at (a) through (e), or (a) through (d) and (f).

4. If the Secretary's findings under questions 3 (a) through (g) are in the affirmative, he is required to promptly report a finding to the President that the imported product or group of products are a substantially contributing factor to a serious impairment or threat of impairement to the health, efficiency, and general well-being of the affected group of workers and to the economic welfare of their community or communities. He shall make public his findings and report to the President and publish a summary of them in the Federal Register.

5. Upon receipt of the Secretary's report containing the above-described finding, the President is cloaked with authority to take action to remove the impairment or threatened impairment. The action contemplated is intended to consist exclusively of customs action, either the imposition of quantitative limitations, an increase in the applicable tariffs, or the use of a tariff quota to subject further increases in imports to higher duties. The amount of duty increase or the quantity of imports to be permitted under quota are intended to be sufficient to remove the actual or threatened impairment by bringing the rate of increase of imports into line with a fair share of future growth in the market in the United States. On occasion it will also be appropriate by quota to roll imports back to a level which restores the standard of living of the affected group of workers and the economic welfare of their communities which had been impaired by excessive and rapidly increasing imports. Such a rollback could be accomplished by an absolute quota, or in appropriate cases, by a tariff quota in which increased duties would be keyed to a trigger point designed to restore imports and domestic products to the relationship in the U.S. market which existed prior to the onset of the increased import volumes which contributed to the impairment of the welfare of the workers and their communities.

It has become customary when any legislation is considered in the trade area offering a possibility for tariff increases or the imposition of quotas for the State Department or its spokesmen in the Congress, to raise an objection on the ground that the exercise by the Congress of its constitutional duty to regulate foreign commerce will violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It would not be surprising if someone raised such an objection to this bill. Let me, therefore, treat briefly, but adequately I believe, the GATT question.

Members of this body understand, I am sure, that the constitutional prerogatives of the Congress cannot be foreshortened by an Executive agreement. So any commitment in GATT which might stand in the way of this legislation is of no moment as a barrier to the Congress working its will on this legislation.

Further, the Congress has repeatedly specifically refrained from expressing any approval of the GATT. It stands today as it did in 1947, as merely an Executive agreement which has never been ratified by legislation nor as a treaty.

But there is no need to return to these basic considerations to deal with the State Department's favorite gambit in these matters. The fact of the matter is that the enactment by the Congress of H.R. 478 will not in and of itself raise any duty, withdraw any tariff concession, or impose any quota. These events surely would become possibilities if H.R. 478 is enacted, but they would occur only when, in the future, some labor organization or other interested party invoked the remedy provided by this bill, and secured a favorable finding of the Secretary of Labor and action by the President.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade itself contains several provisions under which actions taken under the provisions of H.R. 478 would be consistent with, and not in violation of GATT.

First, and foremost, article 28 of GATT provides two independent bases for the withdrawal of a tariff concession by the United States, and other member nations too, for that matter. It provides, first, that at 3-year intervals, just prior to the anniversary date of tariff concessions, any member country has an absolute right to withdraw completely or modify any concession which it has granted in GATT tariff negotiations. Other nations have invoked this provision; the United States has yet to do so.

Second, article 28 of GATT provides that any nation may withdraw or modify a tariff concession at any time because of special circumstances. A number of U.S. industries have petitioned the executive branch to modify U.S. tariff concessions on selected products under this provision of GATT, but thus far these requests have been denied. In explanation of this refusal to exercise an unqualified right under GATT, the executive branch has stated that it is the administration's policy to do so only under extraordinary circumstances. One such circumstance, according to the executive branch, is to deal with the situation created by judicial decision or by legislation. Thus, the executive branch acknowledges that it has a means within GATT, and consistent with our undertakings under GATT, to increase tariffs selectively by modifying or withdrawing tariff concessions for special circumstances such as compliance with legislation. Should the President determine to increase the tariff on a product or group of products which are the subject of a favorable finding by the Secretary of Labor on an application filed under the pending legislation, article 28 of GATT is available to enable the President to proceed without violating our GATT commitments.

Of course, if this legislation is enacted, it is possible that in the course of time the President may determine to modify or withdraw concessions at times which coincide with the unqualified right of the United States to do so at the 3-year intervals which mark the assured life of tariff concessions under GATT. These concessions are not permanent you know, they have an assured life of 3 years, and are extended automatically for a new 3-year period unless just prior to the termination of the 3-year period a nation exercises its unqualified right to modify or withdraw particular concessions.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade also contains at article 19 an escape clause providing in substance that a member nation may modify or withdraw a concession when it is found that increased imports have resulted in actual or threatened injury to a domestic industry. One species of serious injury is a loss of employment, or of earnings of workers, either absolute or relative, much as the criteria of impairment of the standard of living of workers in the pending legislation contemplate. Accordingly, the United States could, if it wished, proceed under the GATT escape clause to modify or withdraw tariff concessions determined by the President to be necessary to remove the impairment of workers' standard of living or of the economic welfare of their communities under the procedure of the pending legislation.

The President would also be empowered under this legislation to select bilateral or multilateral trade agreement negotiations with affected supplying countries as the "action he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment." If the nations whose exports to the United States are impairing the standard of living of U.S. workers agree to restrain their exports in a manner likely to remove the impairment, the fact of agreement between the United States and the affected nations would prevent a violation of GATT from occurring.

The significance of the pending legislation, therefore, is that it gives the President special authority to deal with situations which his most knowledgeable Cabinet officer with responsibility for labor standards and the welfare of American working men and women advises him require his action, if the public policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act is to be achieved. Once the President decides to act under this legislation, the procedures exist under which he can do so with due regard to U.S. rights and obligations under GATT.

Mr. Speaker, I have presented the above outline to fully express our intent with regard to this legislation. Although the Secretary of Labor will, quite appropriately, establish additional procedures and regulations in accordance with proper and effective administration of the bill's provisions, we would not want the heretofore stated basic tenets violated in any fashion.

WE NEED MORE THAN RESOLUTIONS AGAINST CUBA

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, needed action by the Organization of American States in adopting resolutions against Castro's government in Cuba focuses attention again upon the presence of a Communist outpost in the Western Hemisphere. Castro has succeeded in regimenting his people into line. Amply bolstered by bayonets, his regime appears to be in no danger of collapsing. It is estimated that it is costing Russia $1 million a day to support Castro's government. For propaganda purposes, it is probably worth even more to them. Castro's feeling of security at home is evidenced by growing activity of revolutionary and guerrilla movements inspired by Cuba in other Latin American countries. These movements now constitute a threat to the security of a number of South American governments. This contribution to turmoil has alerted our neighbors in the hemisphere to the constant danger from communism which exists throughout the world. The Communists never quit. Their tenacity and determination is an amazing thing, and it would not hurt us to learn from this trait.

An example of Castro's troublemaking is in Panama where the Communists constantly are stirring up trouble over the Panama Canal treaty. Even though the proposed canal treaty is surrender of much of the control of the canal to the Panamanians, the Communists are still at work creating new tensions on the subject. If the canal treaty is approved by the U.S. Senate, we can then look for demands that the United States get out of its naval base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Yielding to Communists anywhere only serves to invite demands for additional concessions.

The continuing and growing activity on the part of the Communists in Latin America is reason enough to step up our own efforts against Castro's government. We have generally looked the other way in recent years because of our preoccupation with Vietnam. Heaven knows we have enough there to occupy us, but it is time for work to be done in our own hemisphere and there are steps which can be taken to weaken Castro's position and his security. We cannot afford to continue to disregard these things. Sooner or later we must come to grips with the fact that there is 90 miles off our coast, a Communist bastion, whose rulers are working 24 hours a day against the United States and the free world.

At the very least, we should be making a constant effort to encourage coordinated steps by hemisphere republics against communism. This should be a continuing activity, rather than sporadic efforts such as the recent meeting of OAS.

HUMANE TREATMENT FOR ANIMALS

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, for many years now it has been evident that there is a great need for legislation which would provide humane treatment for animals. Last year we took the first step to insure this goal and passed Public Law 89-544 to regulate dealers, prohibit the kidnaping of animals, and safeguard animals in transport.

Mr. Speaker, I endorsed that bill last year and am in favor of all its provisions today.

Unfortunately, however, it is not enough. There are still many gaps left by Public Law 89-544 which must be covered to completely guarantee humane treatment of animals.

For that reason, I am introducing a bill today which is an extension of Public Law 89-544 and which I feel will close those gaps.

I am indeed pleased to announce that 20 of my colleagues in the House have joined with me in sponsoring this bill. Cosponsors are Congressmen PEPPER, FASCELL, HALEY, BARRETT, WATSON, Congresswoman HANSEN of Washington, Congressmen KING of New York, HATHAWAY, MOORHEAD, CRAMER, RODINO, HELSTOSKI, BROWN of California, MATSUNAGA, KYROS, GURNEY, Congresswoman DWYER, Congressmen WYMAN, SANDMAN, and DANIELS.

An identical bill is being introduced in the Senate.

I would like briefly to explain the provisions of the bill. Thousands of animals used in laboratories and research facilities which should have the benefit of humane treatment, but are now not covered by the law. Before I go further, I would like to quote from Public Law 89-544 which points to the need for legislation to close these gaps.

> SEC. 18. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the Secretary to promulgate rules, regulations or orders for the handling, care, treatment, or inspection of animals during actual research or experimentation, by a research facility as determined by such research facility.

This means that if a research facility deems an animal is in the experimental or research process as soon as it comes through the door, then the existing law will not cover that animal.

I feel that those animals should be given the benefit of all humane treatment possible without restraining research. Under my bill, those animals would receive such guarantees.

It is also important to note that under my bill, all warmblooded animals will be covered instead of just the six species presently covered.

Furthermore, my bill requires the use of anesthesia and pain-relieving drugs when this would not defeat the purpose of the experiment. This has been taken lightly, but there presently are thousands of operations which would not be affected in the least by granting the animal the use of a pain reliever, but instead, has been neglected. I do not take this provision lightly. Presently, there is no such provision.

Under the provisions of my bill, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would establish standards and regulations, taking into consideration those promulgated by Public Law 89-544. This is to insure a uniformity and encourage cooperation between the two departments.

Inspections will be made to see that the regulations and standards set forth by the Secretary are being adhered to. The bill provides for a committee within the facility to keep records and see that the regulations are being adhered to, but this is only in addition to the regular inspection and does not take the place of it.

For a research facility to become accredited, it must pass inspection and maintain those standards, to keep its accreditation.

The basic aim of my bill is to insure the humane treatment of animals in research without interferring with the research. The fact that the Nation's two largest humane societies have given their full support to this bill indicates that it accomplishes the purpose of extending humane treatment into the laboratory. And the fact that the Nation's largest State medical research society as well as the public affairs committee of the American Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics have endorsed it indicates that it is a reasonable bill which will not impede medical research.

Men dealing in research realize and agree that healthy animals, handled in a humane manner, are vital to their purpose.

Results gained from using unhealthy animals will not yield truly conclusive or bona fide results.

A few years ago the humane groups and medical research groups presented diametrically opposed points of view on this highly emotional issue. The fact that they are together on this indicates these differences have been resolved.

I have taken suggestions from many humane groups from all over the Nation, and from medical associations. I feel this bill is an effective and workable piece of legislation and hope my colleagues will agree by giving their support to it.

At this time I would like to include letters of endorsement from the Humane Society of the United States and the American Humane Association and also from the New York State Society for Medical Research, Inc.:

THE HUMANE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., August 4, 1967.

Hon. PAUL G. ROGERS,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROGERS: It was a great pleasure to receive your letter of July 14 enclosing a draft copy of proposed new laboratory animal protective legislation. In our opinion, the need for such legislation remains critical, and we are deeply appreciative of your continuing interest and efforts.

The provisions relating to laboratory animals in P.L. 89-544 are minimal. At most, they cover only a fraction of the animals in 20% of the laboratories and, then, only for the period prior to research. Furthermore, we are advised on good authority that many laboratories consider the research process to extend throughout the duration of the animal's stay in the laboratory. Thus, the present law hardly touches the problem of regulatory legislation for the use of animals in laboratories.

Accordingly, we would welcome the introduction of effective legislation. We endorse all of the basic principles contained in your draft proposal and want to assure you of our cooperation in working out the best bill possible.

Your efforts are deeply appreciated and merit the sincerest gratitude of all true humanitarians.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVER EVANS,
President.

NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY
FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH, INC.,
New York, N.Y., September 15, 1967.

Hon. PAUL G. ROGERS,
Representative in Congress,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ROGERS: It is my pleasure to advise you that the Executive Committee of the New York State Society for Medical Research, Inc. voted to endorse the bill you intend to introduce to Congress for regulating the use of animals in laboratories. A majority of the Committee was present at the meeting and the vote was unanimous. Of those absent only one had objections to the bill. The text approved was that submitted to me on September 8, 1967 by your office via Messrs. Evans and Herrick. We are prepared to testify at the hearings.

I have been authorized to send a copy of this letter of support to the Deans of the Medical, Veterinary and Dental Schools in the State of New York, to the National Society for Medical Research, to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and to the Humane Society of the United States.

Our executive secretary informs me that you intend to introduce the bill about September 22 in conjunction with Senator Javits. I also understand that news releases will be made to the N.Y. Times and N.Y. Post at that time.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH SEIFTER, M.D.,
President.

THE AMERICAN HUMANE ASSOCIATION,
Denver, Colo.

The following is a certified copy of the action taken at the Annual Convention of The American Humane Association on August 31, 1967:

"RESOLUTION

"Whereas, Federal legislation is essential to assure that pain and discomfort of laboratory animals is kept to a minimum and that they are cared for, treated and handled humanely,

"And whereas, the draft bill prepared by Congressman Paul G. Rogers of Florida would appear to be the most practical and effective method of achieving this aim, and would moreover result in attaining this end without interfering with legitimate medical research,

"And whereas, Congressman Rogers is now inviting his colleagues to co-sponsor the proposed legislation, now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that The American Humane Association endorses the proposed Rogers Laboratory Animal Bill and urges all humanitarians to immediately contact their Congressman and Senators to suggest to them that they co-sponsor the proposed bill."

RUTHERFORD T. PHILLIPS,
Secretary.

Dated this 31st day of August 1967.

HUMANE TREATMENT FOR ANIMALS

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I cosponsor the bill just introduced by my worthy colleague from Florida. In fact, it is with considerable pride that I again identify myself with laboratory animal welfare legislation. For a long time I have felt that this kind of legislation is absolutely essential and I have, in fact, introduced various bills, starting in early 1963.

To many of you the issue of laboratory animal humane treatment does not have a personal urgency. It has been pointed out in hearings that one-third of our laboratories are substandard. I cannot help but feel that if each of you would tour two or three of these substandard laboratories you would experience a great sense of urgency and legislation would be forthcoming at once. Removed from their natural environment, confined in small cages, and seeming to represent hardly more than a statistic in a research program, these helpless animals once seen can never be forgotten.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that my colleagues and I who are sponsoring this bill have no quarrel with the loyalty of scientists to the principle of saving human life and the promotion of human health. All we are saying is "don't use the laboratory animal when it is not needed and don't inflict upon it unnecessary pain, and don't show toward it lack of consideration that the the most basic instinct of kindness would require one to give to any living being."

Albert Schweitzer founded a philosophy based upon the dignity of all living things—all life. Perhaps you may not extend it to all creatures, but certainly helpless, unoffending creatures that are serving human ends by being the victims of experimentation should not unnecessarily be made to suffer from the contribution they, too, are making toward the protection of life and health.

For several years bitter controversy has raged around the issue of Federal legislation requiring the humane treatment of laboratory animals. Bitter criticism and invective were commonplace. Now I am happy to say that my colleague from Florida has succeeded in the almost impossible task of drafting a bill which will offer real protection from unnecessary suffering by laboratory animals and that has the support of important scientific and humane groups. I congratulate him upon this outstanding achievement. Besides the support of the large national societies, the Humane Society of the United States, and the American Humane Association, I want to put into the Record the unanimous support of the directors of the Florida Federation of Humane Societies. Of equal importance is the support of the New York State Society for Medical Research.

By its very nature a bill calling for such radical departures from past practices cannot spell out in detail all the rules, regulations, and standards which will eventually be necessary. General principles are clearly drawn, but their application will depend to a great extent upon the spirit in which the Administrator, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, approaches his task. I have every hope that he will recognize two basic principles—first, that these hapless animals whose lives and comfort are sacrificed for our welfare are entitled upon every moral ground to the best treatment we can give them. And, second, that well-treated, healthy animals in the best condition possible will produce the most reliable research results. Research itself will be benefited by humane treatment. This is just another way of saying that the public at large as well as those who produce the tax dollar, will receive more benefits from medical research and receive them for a minimum investment of funds if research animals are held under optimum environmental conditions and treated with kindness and consideration.

It has come to my attention that some of my colleagues have received letters from certain dissident humane organizations alleging various faults and weaknesses in the bill. I can assure you that these allegations are groundless and should be discounted entirely. The bill has been prepared with great care. The basic legitimate goals desired by humanitarians will be achieved.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, last week in Washington, a most notable occasion took place. An occasion in which I had the great pleasure to participate in. An occasion which was a first by any Government agency.

That occasion was the Equal Employment Opportunity Conference held by the Post Office Department under the leadership of Postmaster-General Larry O'Brien.

The purpose of this conference was to bring together high ranking women and minority group members to discuss and evaluate the Equal Opportunity Program in the Department.

The slogan of the conference which was in plain view everywhere was EEO in the POD.

I commend the Post Office Department for pioneering this further step in the field of equal employment opportunity and should like to take this opportunity to submit for the Record the context of my remarks before that assembled group as well as the remarks of Postmaster-General O'Brien.

I believe the combined statements will give an insight into one of the more progressive programs in this field being carried on anywhere—in or out of Government:

Remarks of Representative Robert N. C. Nix, Chairman, House Post Office Operations Subcommittee, Before the Equal Employment Opportunity Conference, Post Office Department, Thursday, September 21, 1967

Representative Nix. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Thank you, Mr. LaPenta, Postmaster, Dick Murphy, my good friend, other distinguished guests at the head table, and delegates.

First of all I want to express my deep appreciation to you for inviting me here today. I think it is a very fine courtesy that you have shown me. And I want to apologize for the fact that it will be necessary for me to leave as soon as I finish. That, of course, as you know, is because the House is in session and I would like to be there. In fact, I must be there. If I am not there someone in my district might well say that he missed this or missed that vote. We can't have that happen.

Now, there is a piece of information perhaps that has not come to your attention. I don't think that you are particularly interested in it. But on the off-chance that you might be interested in it, I want to tell you that this morning the full committee voted out the bill, the pay bill. (Applause.)

I don't know whether I can read without glasses, but I want you to know that this gathering here today represents for me a beginning in one of the greatest causes that you could be engaged in. This is something that never happened before. This is something that represents progress, solid progress, where people of all nationalities, particularly the five minorities, come together and discuss the problems that they have been having over the years and seek solutions with management for there is an answer to those problems. I think it is a notable occasion and I believe you share my views.

Now I make no attempt to conceal my enthusiasm for this conference. It brings with it all of the excitement of an original discovery. After this morning, which I am sure has been one of stimulation and intellectual exchange, I feel certain that you must be as impressed as I am with the historic nature that this conference holds for everyone. Never before has any large government agency called its high-ranking women and minority group employees together and asked them to evaluate equal opportunity.

Knowing Postmaster General O'Brien as I do—and I must say to you that I met him for the first time in 1960 during the Presidential Campaign, and have had occasion to talk to him on many occasions since that time. And I have formed the unalterable opinion that of all of the men in public office that I have met, that he is more conscious of the problems in his department and more determined to reach a solution of them than any public official it has been my pleasure to meet. (Applause.)

So, therefore, I am not surprised that it is the Post Office Department which is establishing this precedent. And I assure you it is a precedent.

As a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I have closely observed the activities of the Postal Service for nearly a decade. And I want to say to you that you have one of the most outstanding men—you have some of the most outstanding men surrounding the Postmaster General of the United States, aiding him in the work that he has undertaken.

I want to say also I talked to the Chairman of the full Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and advised him that I intended to come here today. I also talked to Congressman Olsen who is Chairman of the subcommitee out of which the pay bill came. And they asked me to extend to you their very best wishes and express to you their determination to continue to render service in your interest.

As Postmaster General and as a leader in the field of equal employment opportunity, I want to repeat that Larry O'Brien is second to none. I am impressed I think not so much by what he has done in the past few years—and it has been considerable—but in the Postmaster General's awareness of what remains to be done. And that, too, is considerable.

I accept this conference with the spirit of renewal and rededication and recommitment. And if you face a formidable challenge I have no doubt that you will accept the challenge with fortitude and a determination to succeed.

Let me illustrate with my own home City of Philadelphia. The Post Office there, under the very able leadership of Postmaster Lambert, is the city's leading employer of Negroes. Nearly 5,000 or 44 per cent of the work force in Philadelphia Post Office are Negroes. Yet numbers are not enough. Equally important is the task of equal opportunity for advancement.

Few enough of you come from the Philadelphia Region which encompasses the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. And, by the way, I might say that I regret that so few of you come from Philadelphia. I might very well at this moment be here to advise you that in the not too distant future it is going to be necessary for me to appear before the electorate and seek—(Applause).

Now we need more work in the Philadelphia region. And I, of course, am deeply interested in getting all of the work in that region that is humanly possible to get. And I shall not relent in my efforts to do just that. Now you might think that is selfish. It might be. (Laughter.)

I do not mean to take away from the work that has been done throughout the Postal Service in promoting Negroes. Their accomplishments have been significant. And I recognize them and I know that you do.

Earlier this year we held hearings on promotions. And your very able Assistant Postmaster General for Personnel, Mr. Richard Murphy, who has immediate responsibility for the department's equal opportunity program, described the very extensive efforts to eliminate discrimination in the promotion process. That was something that the persons who attended those hearings did not know. It was something that some of the participants in the hearings did not know. It was indeed encouraging to me to know that the Post Office Department had actually put in operation this very necessary and vital step.

I know that the tests for first level supervisory positions has been rewritten and that

Negroes participated in that rewriting. That, too, is unprecedented.

Also they took an active share in considering which questions should be asked and how they should be phrased. This was the most determined effort to eliminate any built-in bias against Negro postal employees.

Now in that regard let me say this: It has long been one of my considerations to inquire into the examinations in federal installations as well as in the Post Office. And in looking into it I came to the conclusion that instead of directing the questions to a given applicant's ability to perform the service in the job which he seeks, many examinations had to do with his general capabilities and his knowledge about other things disconnected with the job that he sought.

In my view such an examination is unfair and it is not pertinent to the issue to be involved in this man's work. (Applause.)

In 1961 less than 10 per cent of the first-line supervisors were non-white. Today more than 18 percent of employees in these jobs are from minority groups.

Now if a man had been away and knew nothing about the Post Office and its progress and you told him that, he wouldn't believe you. He would say, "I don't see how that could be possible because when I left this locality, when I disassociated myself with the Post Office, the temper of management certainly was not geared in that direction." But it is geared in that direction and there has been a dramatic change in this regard. Non-white employees have been making rapid progress into the higher ranks in the past two years.

Postmaster General O'Brien has personally appointed the department's highest ranking Negro, Mr. Ronald B. Lee, Director of the Office of Planning and Systems Analysis. He has approved the appointment or promotion of fully one-fourth of some of you here to your present high positions, including ten of you who earn $15,000 or more, and five who are above the $20,000 level.

You know, sometimes it occurs to me that perhaps I am in the wrong business. (Laughter.)

But nobody wants to raise the salary of the Congressmen. Every time somebody—— (Laughter.)

Every time it is mentioned some newspaper or another in every section of the United States says, "No, the bums have no right to have it." (Laughter.)

I can assure you that if they are bums, they are the hardest working bums I've ever encountered.

I am particularly pleased with the Post Office Department's effort to hire the hard-core unemployed. Those persons whose educational and employment background make it difficult for them to qualify for postal jobs under Civil Service regulations. In a number of areas the Post Office is cooperating with local, civic and ethnic groups which conduct courses to prepare interested people for Civil Service examinations. That, in my view, is another long step ahead, because let us say here is a man who has been out of school for some time. He has no idea of how to approach preparation for an examination and this is a necessary step, to aid people who are honestly seeking employment.

In Pittsburgh, for example, a group of twenty local and national organizations is sponsoring such a program. In Mississippi projects are under way in ten cities. And they are being developed in ten more. The NAACP has been especially active in cooperating with the Post Office in the South. And the Urban League is participating in a program that is nationwide in scope.

These things I mention to you because you do not live in a world without hope nor do you live in a world where your prospects of advancement, in achievement is limited to time. By that I mean this: The Post Office Department, in my view, has embraced the thought that the time is now, and that should be the theme of this conference that you're holding here. (Applause.)

On the West Coast, the Mexican-American Political Association is helping to sponsor pre-examination orientation for postal job candidates. Another program in Los Angeles helped 49 persons qualify for jobs which they very likely could not have achieved otherwise. The project was sponsored by the Board of Education. 110 persons attended the courses, and 68 later took the Civil Service examinations, and 49 were successful.

I think an important element in the Post Office Equal Oppportunity Program is its attention to women. And I might assure you, if you have overlooked this fact, that we must always look after the women because if there were no women we certainly wouldn't be here. (Laughter.)

With 107,000 now on the rolls, the Post Office Department is certainly a major employer of females. And I just said to Mr. Murphy a few moments ago that I don't know what I am going to do with my own Postmaster, but I'm going to do something with him because he is very short on his desire to hire women. That has to change. (Applause.)

More and more of you are advancing to responsible positions. But, of course, the numbers in the higher policy-making levels do not nearly match the proportion of women in the work force, so we need more women in the higher levels, and that we shall accomplish. (Applause.)

Women must have a greater voice in the management of the vast postal complex. The number of women employees has increased by 134 per cent in the past two years. And the very high percentage of our women are Negroes. In the past three years the number of women holding jobs in pay level 12—that is the $10,000 bracket—and higher has increased by 132 per cent.

About 40 per cent of the Nation's 31,000 postmasters are women. And, by the way, I didn't know that. And I should have known that. I should have assumed that since women are smarter than men—and there is no question about that—(Laughter.)

Now, as a member—now don't think that I am making a political speech. That isn't—(Laughter.)

As a member of Congress, I am of course concerned with equal opportunity throughout the Nation and not alone in the Postal Service. However, here again in the form of the contract compliance program, the Post Office Department is a leader. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the postal policy has had a strong influence on the transportation industry. And the Post Office Department was the first federal agency to refuse a construction contract because the contractor did not have an equal opportunity policy.

A most significant aspect in the work of the Post Office Department is bringing about changes in such bellwether industries as construction and transportation.

I think it is also important to note the work of the department in eliminating such outmoded institutions as segregated facilities in the South. I don't suppose you have them here, although I read something Washington having some some place. But I think they changed that now.

Before 1961 too many Post Offices had segregated lunch rooms and other facilities simply because it used to be that way and it hung on. And I am happy to know that that indignity has been removed and removed by the leadership in your Post Office.

The department bans segregation in any form, whether it occurred in recreation associations, post office, work units, or locals of employee unions. That is one of the most remarkable things to me, that in the Post Office Department unions were segregated. That is an amazing thing. Another fact that is amazing to me, and it is the absence of Negroes in positions of leadership in the unions, in the postal unions. Something has to be done about it. (Applause.)

And, incidentally, that is your job. You must take vigorous action in that regard because if you are not in a position where you are with the leadership in your postal union how can you possibly direct the course of that union? So I urge you—now I wouldn't do this if I were speaking to women alone—I urge the men to get up and get busy. Such practices have been replaced with equal employment advisory committees in all major post offices.

Postmasters programs for progress have been initiated in the big cities throughout the country. In place of prejudice I believe that we have progress. And I think that you will agree with me in that statement.

It is already common knowledge that Negroes head the Nation's largest Post Offices. And, I think that it is becoming as well known that persons of Oriental extraction head large offices in San Francisco, Honolulu, and Spanish-speaking Americans are postmasters in such large offices as Albuquerque, Tampa, Florida, Santa Ana, California, and Tucson, Arizona.

Now, again I said to you several years ago, if you said that would come about since 1961, you would have had no takers. But it has come about. It has come about through the enlightened leadership of the Postmaster General of the United States. It has come about also because we are living in a turbulent world where the have-nots are demanding at the doorsteps of the haves their share of the advancement and the achievement in this society in which we live. I say that it is right to demand. I say that your demand does not ask something that is unreasonable. It does not ask something that is the position of others. Your demand is inclusive of your quest for justice and equality and continue your demands. (Applause.)

And all of the advancements that I have spoken of are now history. We must now concern ourselves with the future. In other words, for the postal—for the equal employment program to work, it has to be brought close to the postal worker in the field. The previous staff of five men located in Washington had to attempt to cover the entire United States. They were put in the position of putting out fires without any water.

As in any program, equal employment opportunity is a building process. And the fire department approach will not get the job done. In order to remedy this situation, the Postmaster General on June 16, 1967, expanded the equal employment opportunity staffing in national headquarters and the regional offices. Separate offices have been set up in Atlanta, St. Louis, Denver, Minneapolis, and New York.

That, of course, is not enough. The Postmaster General asked for 15 and got 5. Now that, of course, is because of a stingy appropriation setup. I think it will be remedied. I think it will be extended. I think the money will be forthcoming and it should be forthcoming for this great venture.

Let me say, I am inclined to keep on talking but once I was talking to Congressman Celler. He has been down here forty years. And he told me a story that happened to him when he first started to speak in audiences just as this. He got up and he was very much interested in the subject of his discourse and he just kept on talking. Somebody in the back got up and walked out and somebody walked out over here. And he kept on because he had to get this message over.

And finally when he finished there was only one person there. And he went over and thanked this man for the great courtesy that he had shown in waiting there. The man says, "What in hell are you talking about? I'm the next speaker." (Laughter, applause.)

So I have no intention of doing that. And I now say to you as I leave: I am deeply grateful for the invitation to come. I am honored by your attention. And I, your humble servant, will continue to exert every effort in your behalf.

Thank you. (Applause.)

Address by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, at the Post Office Department Equal Employment Opportunity Conference, Departmental Auditorium, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967, 3:30 p.m.

I am delighted to be here with you at this first national Equal Employment Opportunity Conference to share with you what I fully expect will be many significant accomplishments.

Before I came here today, President Johnson asked me to give you his greetings and to bring you this message:

"On August 30, the Senate of the United States confirmed my choice of a new Associate Justice of the Supreme Court," the President said. "I believe history will record this action as a monument to opportunity in America, a day on which we became more of what we hope to be, more American than we have been before. Before taking this position of great influence and honor, this giant of the legal profession had represented the people of the United States in cases before the Supreme Court, and before that his eloquence in behalf of equal opportunity helped produce one of the great moments in the development of our free society—the case of *Brown versus Board of Education*, which struck a blow at the very foundation of inequality and discrimination.

"Thurgood Marshall, the first American Negro to join the Supreme Court of our land, is both a symbol of what can be achieved in a land of opportunity and of what new opportunities are being created by and for all our citizens."

And then the President added: "None of us is born equal. Every man is different in some degree. All have something to offer to the society in which they live. Too often that potential has been distorted or denied by artificial restraints and barricades. Once the barricade of discrimination is fully destroyed, once the restraints that have denied equal opportunity are fully cut away, then can all men show their true powers and abilities, then can men of every race and creed and color and national origin rise as far as their abilities will take them. Then will our nation have tapped new sources of leadership and creative energy—and we will all be richer and more important, better *and* more American."

That's the President's message for those of us here today. Ladies and gentlemen, equal opportunity in this day and age is no longer something desirable; it is an absolute basic necessity.

The whole history of this nation, if it tells us anything, tells that we are a people marching along a road—the road toward social justice and human dignity. There have been many landmarks on that road, and the road itself has twisted and turned, has detoured, and has been full of potholes and ruts. But the course of that road has always been upward. First, we had to achieve our own national independence, our own dignity, and identity as a people. Then, the ranks of those who participated in running their government had to be extended, sometimes only after a long struggle. In my own State of Massachusetts, I saw how the sons of Ireland, and Italy, and Poland had to fight for their right to equality and opportunity.

Of course, it would be foolish to say that the goal of political equality has been fully achieved. Even today there is a long way to go. But no one, I think, can deny that the pace has quickened. In the last 11 years 5 important Civil Rights laws have broken down barriers that nave blocked the road since the dawn of our nation.

But political equality, though basic, is simply not enough. There must also be social justice, there must be economic justice. And, in my view, this conference marks another forward step in the achievement of economic and social justice.

Some years ago, I heard a story that illuminates the reason why we here in America have been able to move upward along the road of political, economic, and social justice.

It is a story told by the historian Max Lerner. Professor Lerner was speaking before a hostile audience in a Communist country.

"Mr. Lerner," he was asked, "can you sum up in one word the meaning of America?"

Lerner had just completed a massive, two-volume study of American Civilization.

He replied, "I have written several hundreds of thousands of words on this very subject—and you want it all summed up in one word?'

"Yes," the speaker demanded. "One word."

Professor Lerner thought for a moment and said, "The meaning of America is *access*."

The Communist audience was stunned. "We have heard of American *success*, but never of American *access*," one of them said.

Then Lerner explained. "The meaning of America is that every man, if he works, if he tries and tries again, then has, through his own effort, seized the key to a door. And that door opens onto access to wealth, and success, and power, and knowledge."

That is why this conference is so important—it is a celebration of access already achieved. It is reaffirmation of our commitment to achieve full access for every postal employee and potential postal employee.

Let us hold that concept of access in mind for a moment as we think of a slogan we hear quite often nowadays.

I refer, of course, to the slogan "Black Power."

If by black power we mean a drive among American Negroes for a new sense of dignity, and purpose, and identity, we can all agree that is our goal.

And, I think that *is* what black power must mean, and should mean.

May I say that in this sense of increasing self-respect, and the ability to participate in self-government which can only rest in self-respect, I am also in favor of white power, and Irish power, and Polish power, and Spanish-American power, and Indian power, and, of course, it goes without saying, of woman power.

Being for woman power is just prudence. I remember working with an ardent lady Democrat years ago on a rough, tough political campaign.

"Aren't you afraid to stand on a street corner and work for Roosevelt?" I asked.

She looked me right in the eye and replied. "I have no fear. I put my trust in the Lord. She will protect me."

This is a country big enough for all kinds of power. Everytime a new group breaks through, gets access to power, it makes our America a better place, and a more dynamic land. It does more, too. It makes us come closer to the ideals we all profess, and sometimes even try to live up to.

There is more wasted energy of mind and body and spirit locked up in America's minorities than in our whole arsenal of atomic weapons.

Let's unlock that energy. Let's harness it for the general good, the good of Americans of all races and colors. Let a new sense of dignity help encourage all our citizens to open the door of access.

Let a new sense of dignity help all of us see that whether we live on a farm or in the heart of the city, we are part of one nation, indivisible, and there is no future for the nation, no future for any of us, unless there is a future for every citizen.

We are doing everything possible to provide a decent future for all our employees. We have opened the door to access wider than it has been opened since the days of Benjamin Franklin.

My friends, access to opportunity is no less than the key to achievement of the American dream.

President Johnson is pledged to solve the problems that beset this nation in the American way, not by the repressive tactics being suggested by some men of little vision, but by clearing out every last barrier to equal opportunity.

Our nation still has blemishes. How could it be any different? For we are a living experiment. We are at the very frontier of every advance in science, in human relations, in social life. If a new problem comes to the attention of the world, such as the urban crisis, nine times out of ten we can say, "It started here first." Leadership and comfort are often strangers in a time of revolutionary change, when today's truth may be tomorrow's error, when the jest—"if it works it's obsolete"—is just too true to be good.

We are still the world's greatest melting pot.

We are a nation of many races, creeds, and national origins.

We span a continent. We spill out into the Pacific. We have a partnership with the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the Atlantic.

We did not ask to be the guardians at the gate, but no other nation of the Free World has the power to stop the spread of terror and violence abroad.

And, here at home, we see that problems, too long neglected, conditions too long overlooked, tensions too long festering, have exploded into violence that benefits no one, Negro or white, violence that merely strengthens the hand of extremists of both races.

I want to take a few moments to remind you of the efforts that have been made in the past few years, in the Postal Service, and in the nation at large, to provide greater opportunities for all our citizens, opportunities to learn, opportunities to live in a decent environment, opportunities to express grievances in the American way through the ballot box rather than with the fire bomb.

I'm proud of how we have followed the lead of President Kennedy and President Johnson in the Post Office Department.

The Post Office Department recognizes one standard and one standard alone in hiring, in promotion—and that is the American Standard of ability.

On the basis of advice from our employee organizations and other concerned leaders, President Johnson and I have taken a number of steps to assure that this American Standard of equal opportunity will exist not alone in Washington, not alone in our 15 Regional Offices, not alone in our largest cities, but in every one of our 33,000 post offices and in every postal installation in the country.

For the first time, we have upgraded our Office of Equal Employment Opportunities to a separate division in the Bureau of Personnel. We have named five field coordinators to strengthen this program throughout our postal regions.

And, to assure that no area is overlooked, we are holding this Equal Employment Opportunities Conference.

Ladies and gentlemen, every one of us can take pride in the fact that our postal service is a leader among all Federal agencies in equal employment. We now employ 130,000 members of minority groups, a figure that constitutes almost 20% of our total employment.

The best possible proof of our progress toward achieving maximum access to opportunity is the fact that in the ten largest cities of the United States the percentage of non-white postal employees exceeds, and often exceeds by a considerable percentage, the percentage of the total non-white population.

Though we have come far in recent years, you know that we are not sitting still.

We are not getting our exercise by resting on our laurels or patting ourselves on the back.

Rather, we intend to build on the momentum we have gained. We intend to assure that every post office in the land meets the American Standard. We intend to run a postal service that not only serves a democratic people but that serves them in a truly democratic way. We intend to insure that the vast reservoir of postal employment opportunity is made accessible to those disadvantaged Americans willing and able to join with us in providing this nation with a superlative postal service. And, finally, we intend to call upon the tremendous respect and influence commanded by our nation's postal officials to provide leadership in equal opportunity efforts within their communities.

There is no doubt that we have come far in extending equal opportunity in the postal service.

But we are all Americans as well as postal employees.

Greater opportunities in the postal service can only exist in the context of a nation that extends greater opportunity in every area of life.

And I think we must recognize how President Kennedy and President Johnson have succeeded in opening up new opportunities for all our people.

In the basic area of education, we have seen created, in a four year period, more legislation for our schools—24 separate measures—than in the previous 178 years of our national history. These education programs run from funds to improve primary education to scholarships that enable students to enter college. The door to opportunity through education is wider than ever before. And I can assure you that the President is going to fight every effort to close that door.

President Johnson is pledged to a program to give every American the opportunity to live in a healthful, decent environment, where the streets will be safe, the air clean, the transportation swift, the homes a source of satisfaction, the way to the ballot box open to all. That is why he has mounted the greatest attack on air pollution in our history; that is why he proposed the most massive Federal anti-crime program in our history; that is why he has undertaken the greatest rapid mass transportation program in our history; that is why he broke new ground in rebuilding our cities. His Model Cities and Rent Supplements programs are bold new ideas to combat the decay that has turned far too many of our cities into drab deserts.

America has problems. Plenty of them. But we also have a priceless resource: a vigorous, striving, imaginative people—the same kind of people that built a civilization from a wilderness, won the battle against the most evil tyrannies since Attila, restored shattered nations overseas, solved the mystery of the atom, and is now reaching out into space.

We have solved our problems in the past and, in fact, translated difficulties into opportunities.

And President Johnson has said concerning equal opportunity in the Federal Government:

"As long as any American is denied the chance to fully develop and use his talents, to become all that he can, then every American is less than he should be. If race, skin color, religious beliefs, sex, or national origin prevent anyone from reaching the heights, then we have all wasted a human being. We have failed that person, and, finally, we have failed our country."

My friends, none of can afford to fail our country.

If we reject the advice of frightened men, men of little faith in the American system, if we push on to new solutions, then the days of frustration, of antagonism, of violence through which we now pass will be seen for what they are: the alarm, waking us up to do what *needs* to be done, what *should* be done, and, given vision, leadership, and ability, what *will* be done. *We shall not fail!*

U.S. POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely disturbed by the turn that the U.S. policy toward Israel has appeared to take in recent days. The standard objective of the United States is to seek peace and stability in the Middle East. But our acts and statements in the last few days have given comfort to the forces determined on instability in that region and have encouraged them in their irresponsible ways.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that the Government of Jordan has contributed both morally and materially to the appalling rise of terrorism against Israel in past weeks. All evidence indicates that Arab saboteurs are being armed in Jordan. The Jordanian radio continues to incite the Arab people to rise up against Israel, although the Israel Government is doing everything possible to provide decent conditions of life for peaceful Arabs under its jurisdiction.

Yet, what has been the response of the United States to this gross irresponsibility on Jordan's part? Our Government resumes economic assistance to the Jordanian Government. Presumably, we will go back to giving Jordan, as we have in the past, the substantial sum of $27 million a year. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, if this decision by the United States must not be interpreted as an acquiescence in Jordan's aggressive conduct, its agitation, its determination that there shall be no peace in the Middle East. I deplore the restoration of aid to Jordan and I deeply protest it.

Now I note, Mr. Speaker, that our Government has taken another step to give comfort to the troublemakers in the Middle East. Yesterday, at the U.N., Ambassador Goldberg sternly chided Israel for establishing settlements in territory taken from the Arabs in the June war.

I remind our Government, Mr. Speaker, that Israel did not ask for that war. It certainly did not ask for the territories lost by the Arab armies in that war. It does not now ask to keep them. Israel has asked only that the Arabs sit down at the peace table and discuss a settlement of the recent conflict including the disposition of all the territories—except east Jerusalem—that changed hands during the conflict. Israel has asked only peace and security.

But the Arabs have shown greater interest in maintaining the state of war than in reclaiming their losses.

What does our Government expect Israel to do, Mr. Speaker? Are those territories to lie fallow indefinitely, to indulge Arab whimsies? I submit that the premise of Ambassador Goldberg's presumptuous criticism is absurd. If the territory is there, it must be used. Hopefully, Israel's using it will help to bring some sense to an otherwise senseless situation. All that Ambassador Goldberg does by his recent statements is to comfort the Arabs for not negotiating peace. I find the Ambassador's statements unwise and unjustified, and I deeply protest them.

Mr. Speaker, I detect the seeds of a policy seriously prejudicial to Israel in the action of the past few days. I suggest that our Government put a stop to this tendency at once. I do not think the American people will stand for it and, furthermore, I regard it as foolish and dangerous.

DALLAS TIMES HERALD COMPLIMENTS PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues a recent editorial in the Dallas Times Herald complimenting President Johnson on his speech to the International Conference of Police Chiefs in Kansas City.

The President recognized that political and legal responsibilities must be accepted along with the extension of social rights.

Riots in the street serve only to tear down rather than restructure the fabric of society. As the Times Herald notes with approval, quoting the President, riots damage "the respect and accommodation among men on which a civilized society ultimately depends, and without which there can be no progress toward social justice."

Riots bring dissension not constructive decision. They produce agony not mutual agreement.

I include the Dallas Times Herald editorial lauding the President's strong stand against civil disorders in the RECORD:

PRIME PROVOCATION

There was no doubt as to the object of President Johnson's wrath during his recent speech to police chiefs convening in Kansas City. He did not have to name Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown for them to be recognizable as the "wretched, vulgar men" . . . the "poisonous propagandists" who "posed as spokesmen for the underprivileged and capitalized on the real grievances of the suffering people."

The President's denunciation, the stoutest he has uttered during a season of mounting urban violence, accurately blames the demagogic proponents of Black Power for igniting much of this summer's flaming disorder. The Chief Executive's tone, evident to those who heard broadcasts of his speech, properly reflected the growing national anger over the factious rantings of Carmichael, Brown and company.

"The violence of this summer," Johnson

told the police officials (many of whom scarcely needed to be reminded), "raised up a new threat to local law enforcement. It spawned a group of men whose interests lay in provoking others to destruction while they fled its consequences."

The riots did more than material damage, the President said. "They damaged the respect and accommodation among men on which a civilized society ultimately depends, and without which there can be no progress toward social justice." This country cannot tolerate "behavior that destroys what generations of men and women have built here in America—no matter what stimulates their behavior, no matter what is offered to justify it."

PROPOSED INCREASE IN RETIREMENT INCOME CREDIT

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced H.R. 13161, to amend section 37 of the Internal Revenue Code with relation to an increase in retirement income credit.

Section 37 was newly enacted as part of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. At that time, symmetrical with the then effective social security, a credit was provided on $1,200 of income and the earnings cutback began—dollar for dollar at $900. When the social security benefits were increased in 1962, the section was amended to retain this symmetry to the present $1,524 coverage and the present earnings cutback which is as follows: 0 to $1,200, no cutback; $1,200 to $1,500, 50 cents cutback for each dollar; over $1,700, dollar-for-dollar cutback.

The section was not amended the last time social security benefits were increased in 1965 and is therefore not symmetrical with the present social security law. At the present time, the maximum annual primary benefit is approximately $1,704 a year. The cutback in benefits receivable is 50 cents for each dollar between $1,500 and $2,700 and dollar for dollar over $2,700.

The amendments required to make the credit symmetrical with the social security increase proposed by the bill passed by the House—and now pending in the Senate—are compared with existing law, as follows:

Item	Existing Law	Amendment Required
A. Maximum amount of retirement income for which credit is allowed.	$1,524 which is less than the primary social security benefits now available.	Increase should be to $1,917.60 (12 times $159.80). This will be the amount of the basic primary benefit when the bill becomes effective.
B. Earnings limitation.	Reduction of 50 cents per dollar from $1,200 to $1,700, dollar for dollar reduction over $1,700. This is harsher than the earnings limitation now applicable to social security benefits.	Reduction of 50 cents per dollar from $1,680 to $2,880, dollar for dollar reduction over $2,880.
C. Rule for husband and wife, both over 65, only one of whom has the required work history.	Coverage under present law applies to the first $2,286 of retirement income (that is, once and a half times $1,524).	The amount should be increased to $2,876.40 which will be the amount of the new benefits for a husband and wife both over 65 where the husband has full social security coverage.

NEW YORK TIMES ASKED TO CORRECT ERRORS

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 25 an editorial from the September 23 issue of the New York Times entitled "A Slur on Inter-American Bank." The New York Times editorial was obviously based on two articles that appeared in the Times, one on September 21 and the other on September 22. Since both of the articles contained errors, I wrote yesterday to the editor of the Times in an effort to correct the errors and to clarify the issues involved.

A copy of my letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 26, 1967.

Mr. JOHN B. OAKES,
Editorial Page Editor,
The New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: I have read with interest the two reports by your Washington correspondent (September 21 and September 22), as well as your editorial (September 23), with respect to an amendment I offered to the bill providing additional funds to the Inter-American Development Bank. Unfortunately, both articles contained errors and your editorial obviously was based on those reports.

For your information I enclose a copy of the amendment, which was accepted unanimously by the House of Representatives and finally approved by both Houses of Congress. You will note that it is a directive to the Secretary of the Treasury to instruct the U.S. executive director of the Inter-American Development Bank to propose to the Board of the IDB (which includes representatives of all the member nations) the establishment of an independent, continuing, comprehensive audit, in accordance with such terms of reference as the Board of Executive Directors itself may prescribe.

You will note, in addition, that the amendment specifically states that the audit reports will be submitted to the Board of Executive Directors and the Board of Governors of the IDB.

In short, the purpose of the amendment is to provide the representatives of all the member nations with an unbiased appraisal of the effectiveness of the implementation and administration of the loans made by the Bank.

In the interest of correcting several obvious errors and clarifying the issues raised by your articles and editorial, I would like to point out:

(1) The amendment does *not*, as the first article states, call for an audit of the Inter-American Bank's operations by the General Accounting Office, an agency of the U.S. Government. The proposed audit will be an independent comprehensive audit provided by the Bank itself to its members;

(2) The amendment does *not*, as the first article states, condition Congressional approval of a $150 million increase in funds for the IDB on a comprehensive audit of the Bank's operations by the General Accounting Office, or indeed upon an audit of *any* kind;

(3) The Senate did *not*, as the first article states, reject a similar proposal. In fact, the amendment was discussed only favorably on the Senate floor but withdrawn before a vote was taken on it. The explanation given for this procedure was that the amendment had not been considered by the responsible Senate committee, and it was believed desirable to leave the matter open in the event any "cogent reason" in opposition developed prior to the conference. (Please see the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 23884, August 24, 1967);

(4) The Senate did not, as the second article states, adopt a "milder version of one originally proposed by Representative Armistead I. Selden, Democrat of Alabama, that would have subjected the bank's operations to audit by the General Accounting Office". The amendment adopted is identical to the one I originally introduced.

The Inter-American Bank does, as your editorial indicates, undergo an independent audit. But Price Waterhouse, the reputable firm which audits the IDB every year, performs a normal functionary audit that is generally associated with what is referred to as a test function, that is, they express an opinion on the accuracy of the financial statement. This type of audit, which shows loans and repayments, sheds no light on whether the loans accomplish the purposes for which they were intended, why some projects may have faltered, why others succeeded.

The Inter-American Development Bank is in the business of prodding economic and social development. This is a very different operation from a commercial bank whose major concern is with profit. The IDB must be concerned with more than its own solvency; it must be concerned with what the borrowers accomplish with the credits provided by the Bank. As a key instrument within the Alliance for Progress for stimulating Latin American growth, the IDB should utilize its own experiences—failures as well as accomplishments—to provide important insights into future operations. The audit called for by the Selden Amendment can furnish the IDB with a wealth of information with which to strengthen its operations.

To regard a comprehensive audit of this

type as a slur on the Bank's management indicates a gross misconception of its purpose. Such an audit is not punitive, but rather will provide a management technique used extensively in developed countries as well as by our own government for accessing the weaknesses and strengths of programs. Surely the management of any responsible institution could not object to furnishing an independent comprehensive audit of its operations to all who contribute to its support.

I have supported the IDB since its inception and continue to do so. I find regrettable the misreading of the intent and purposes of the amendment which I proposed by a newspaper that is read so widely, both nationally and internationally. This misrepresentation by your report and editorial of what my amendment calls for could create a dangerous misunderstanding of Congressional intent in Latin America and elsewhere. I trust you will make every effort to rectify this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, Jr.

LONGER BURNING LIGHT BULBS

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, a flick of the switch, followed by a brief flash of light, or maybe no light at all, can bring a strong sense of annoyance and often suspicion. Another electric light bulb has burned out and the American consumer may well have an even firmer suspicion that bulb manufacturers design the bulbs to burn out too quickly.

With the interest of the American consumer in mind—and this includes the Federal Government, which purchases more than $4 million in light bulbs each year—the Government Activities Subcommittee, in 1964, set out to investigate and evaluate bulb design standards to determine whether the American people could be given the benefit of bulbs which burn longer. Underlying these efforts was recognition that more than simple annoyance was involved. Burned-out bulbs in ceiling fixtures, in stairwells, basements, as well as many other places in the home can also be a hazard to the housewife and the family as a whole.

The purpose of the subcommittee was to determine in authoritative terms the factors affecting light bulb design and to make appropriate recommendations based upon these determinations. In June 1964, a preliminary report was issued demonstrating that the standard series of household variety light bulbs did burn out far too quickly. This preliminary study suggested that the lives of the bulbs could be doubled or at least substantially increased to the economic benefit and convenience of the consumer.

Copies of this report were then submitted to the major bulb manufacturers in the United States who were given ample opportunity to advise the subcommittee of their comments and criticisms in detail. Last October, the subcommittee issued a report containing a full discussion of the manufacturers' comments. This report explained why opposition to increased bulb life, as contained in these manufacturer comments, was unfounded.

Knowing of widespread interest in consumer problems, a copy of this subcommittee report, entitled "The Short Life of the Electric Light Bulb," was sent to each Member of Congress. Following issuance of the report, principal bulb manufacturers were given another opportunity to study the bulb design question and determine what improvements could be made in the interest of the consumer.

Last week, I announced that a leading American bulb manufacturer would soon market longer life standard light bulbs throughout the Nation. I characterized this action as a breakthrough that will bring more efficient lighting to the average American home—and lessen the annoyance and the danger of the burned-out bulb and help stamp out "bulb snatching." Furthermore, it is expected that other bulb manufacturers will react competitively to this new challenge. For competitive reasons within the industry, I did not identify the manufacturer, nor the precise nature of the new bulbs to be marketed. I predicted that a company announcement would be forthcoming soon.

Yesterday, in Cleveland, Ohio, the General Electric Co. announced that it is shipping to its distributors redesigned versions of its 15-, 25-, and 40-watt standard electric light bulbs.

The life of the 15-watt bulb has been raised from 1,200 to 2,500 hours; the 25-watt bulb from 1,100 to 2,500 hours; and the 40-watt bulb from 1,000 to 1,500 hours. These new bulbs will replace the old standard bulbs of the same size in the GE line.

In addition, GE will begin to market, around the first of the year, a separate line of 60-, 100-, and 150-watt bulbs in addition to the present standard bulbs now available to consumers. The 60-watt bulb has been increased in life from 1,000 to 1,500 hours. The lives of the 100- and 150-watt bulbs have been doubled, that is, raised from 750 to 1,500 hours.

As explained in the subcommittee report of October 1966, increased bulb life can be brought about either through a relatively small reduction in light output or through increased electric power consumption. General Electric has elected to add life to the bulbs through a reduction in light output ranging from 6 to 10 percent, depending upon bulb size. In the case of many household and business usages, a reduction in light output of this amount will not be noticeable to most consumers. Furthermore, with the exception of the 150-watt bulb, which will sell for around 43 cents, the other bulbs will be priced at a level only a few cents above that of the present standard bulb. There will be no increase in the price of the 15-, 25-, or 40-watt bulbs.

This one action by this one company, as important as it might be, is not a full implementation of our recommendations Nor is GE's approach to achieving longer life the only alternative available.

For a minor additional cost in power consumption, longer life could have been achieved without diminishment in light output. Or longer life could be obtained by a combination of increased power consumption, accompanied by an even smaller reduction in light output. In any event, when one considers that bulb life is shorter today than in 1912 and that there has been no increase in bulb life for more than a half century, despite fantastic increases in bulb efficiency and accompanying reductions in electric power costs, the significance of this breakthrough comes into perspective.

It is gratifying that our light bulb study received the consideration of at least one member of the American bulb manufacturing industry. Bulb design standards were reviewed. The impact of increased bulb efficiency and reduced power costs were considered and in the case of this one company, affirmative action was taken. The subcommittee believes that other companies will react competitively. In our October 1966 report, for example, we commented favorably on the action Westinghouse is taking to place detailed information on bulb packages to guide consumers to better bulb selection.

As a result of subcommittee investigations into bulb design, the Federal Government is saving an estimated $2 million annually in lighting costs. Through the use of these new bulbs with longer life, consumer bulb replacement expenditures will be cut sharply.

Bulbs will continue to burn out. They remain a fragile item subject to undue vibration, power surges, and, on occasion, minor defects in the extremely small tungsten filament that emits light when heated to high temperature. But, I believe that the progressive steps I have cited in light bulb improvement are most significant, particularly to the average consumer, and I am pleased that our legislative branch is being instrumental in making them a beneficial reality.

HOW SECURE IS YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, the Senate is considering the House passed social security bill amendments, and there are indications that efforts will be made to sharply escalate the benefits approved by the House.

I hope that before the Senate acts on this subject, Members of that body will take the time to read an article entitled "How Secure Is Your Social Security?" published in the October issue of Reader's Digest. The author has, for perhaps the first time, given the American people a clear understanding of how the system operates, and the dangers that threaten its fiscal solvency; if politicians try to outbid each other.

I commend the article to my colleagues' attention and insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

How Secure Is Your Social Security?

(Note.—Recent disclosures are raising grave doubts as to how much—if anything—today's young taxpayer will get back when his time for retirement comes.)

(By Charles Stevenson)

Our Social Security insurance is in trouble. Ever since 1937 Americans have been willingly kicking back an ever-increasing portion of their paychecks to the government, confident that these Social Security taxes, along with matching payments by their employers, were buying them insurance guaranteed to provide a floor of security in old age. Nevertheless, now, even as President Johnson pressures Congress to increase benefits still more, the curtain of government-controlled publicity which has shielded the program is coming apart and letting some grim facts show through.

"Social Security is facing a crisis; it is at the crossroads," warns Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

"It has been seriously compromised," says a staff study of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

"The time has come for every American to ask, 'How secure is my Social Security?' and demand the truth," adds Rep. Tom Curtis (R., Mo.), one of the country's most astute students of the subject. "If we don't do something fundamental to reform the system, I'm afraid it's going to hit the rocks in another ten years."

Such alarming statements must seem preposterous to Americans whose knowledge of Social Security comes from government publicity. The official booklet, "Your Social Security," declares that all Social Security taxes *"go into special funds"*; that when earnings stop or are reduced because the worker retires, dies or becomes disabled, *"monthly cash benefits are paid from the funds"*; that nine out of ten working people *"are now building protection for themselves and their families under the Social Security program"*; that *"the amount will depend on your average earnings."* The Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, an early architect of Social Security, additionally stresses that "individual rights to benefits are enforceable in the courts" and that "payment through a separate trust fund is essential to giving people a sense of security about the receipt of their benefits."

Such talk implies a genuine insurance setup with guaranteed payment—but there isn't any. "The Cost and Financing of Social Security," published by the scholarly Brookings Institution, refers to the "adoption of the term 'insurance' by the proponents of Social Security," as "a stroke of promotional genius which has capitalized on the good will of private insurance and, through the establishment of a reserve fund, has clothed itself with an aura of financial soundness."

By the record, the Social Security taxes which *you* pay for *your* protection go into the Treasury's general fund, and are used at once to pay *current* Social Security benefits and administrative expenses. The small percentage left over goes to finance foreign aid, the moon race or any other government activity, and the sum shows up in the so-called Social Security trust funds as government I.O.U.s which can be liquidated only by further government borrowing or another hike in taxation. If thus transformed into cash, these I.O.U.s—accumulated since 1937—would now total around $23 billion, theoretically enough to continue paying benefits for 14 months.

Actually, the Social Security Administration's cash income is so close to outgo, and what's left over so quicky converted into government I.O.U.s that the system is dependent on further government borrowing to provide cash. Indeed, Secretary of Treasury Henry H. Fowler testified last January that unless Congress at once raised the national-debt limit by $7 billion, the government could cover only half of the Social Security checks it was obligated to send out in early March—a month in which it needed $2 billion for 22,930,000 beneficiaries.

"Considered as an actuarial account, the Social Security Administration is bankrupt," declared Prof. James M. Buchanan, director of the Thomas Jefferson Center at the University of Virginia, and Dartmouth economics Prof. Colin D. Campbell in a recent *Wall Street Journal* article.

The Nestor Case. There is no room for even official denial. Despite all the reassuring statements which the government puts out for public consumption, here is its unpublicized policy as it was successfully argued before the Supreme Court in 1960 in the case of Ephram Nestor, an alien deported in 1956 whom the government didn't want to compensate.

"A belief has developed," went the argument, "that Title II benefits are paid as the result of a contractual obligation on the part of the U.S. government. This belief has been fostered to a considerable extent by statements of responsible officials of the Social Security Administration, [but] there is no contract. Heretofore these facts and their implications have not, for some reason, been conveyed to the public."

Consider that a moment. Then this too:

"The Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is in no sense a federally administered 'insurance programs' under which each worker pays 'premiums' over the years and acquires at retirement an indefeasible right to receive for life a fixed monthly benefit. Social Security must be viewed as a welfare instrument to which legal concepts of 'insurance,' 'property,' 'vested rights,' 'annuities,' etc., can be applied only at the risk of serious distortion of language. We are dealing with a social instrument by which public action, involving compulsion [taxation], is invoked to deal with a social problem—the lack of basic economic security of large segments of our society . . ."

And this:

"The Social Security concept is of a program under which those with jobs are taxed chiefly to provide the funds for current benefits to aged beneficiaries and other eligible survivors. No beneficiary or prospective beneficiary acquires any interest in the fund itself—monthly benefit payments are voluntary payments to the recipient, property acquired by gift. There is no correlation between the taxes paid and the amount of benefits which may become payable. The benefits conferred may be redistributed or withdrawn at any time in the discretion of Congress." [1]

That doesn't jibe with the government's assurances that people who invest in Social Security are "building protection for themselves." It did start out to be such security insurance back in 1935, and it made sense to most Americans. The myth that this still is the system is officially perpetuated for one reason alone. Under the cover of the mythology, the government has been able to shift the skyrocketing expense of increasingly unpopular relief expenditures to the popular Social Security system—in a way not known or understood by the country's workers, and in a way that doesn't show up noticeably in the Administration's budget.

Squeeze on the Young. In addition, the government has blanketed literally millions of additional persons into the system—millions who by no stretch of the imagination have paid enough into it to compensate for their benefits. Some have paid nothing at all. These beneficiaries include everybody 72 or older who doesn't get a check from another government source; contributing wage earners and their wives who elect to retire at 62; the younger disabled, along with their families; entitled divorced wives; 60–61-year-old widows; beneficiaries' children up to age 22 if still in school. These people may be either rich or eligible for relief. Nevertheless, most of their monthly Social Security benefits come out of the special tax that Americans have been led to believe is buying insurance just for themselves.[2]

As a result, the top $189 annual Social Security tax which was paid in to the government in behalf of a "covered" worker ten years ago has soared to $580.80 this year; and that tax is officially scheduled to climb to $745.80 in another 20 years. This last figure represents 11.3 percent of the first $6,600 in wages that a man takes in!

Already there are young people protesting the squeeze. "With inflation and income taxes taking everything else, our family can't meet our mortgage payments if our Social Security contributions go any higher," a young man writes his Congressman. "All that makes them bearable now is knowing the government is saving our money for us."

Innocent young man! If his own government had been honest with him he would know that:

Current Social Security recipients have paid in an average of only one-tenth the value of their annuities; the remaining 90 percent of their benefits is paid by the taxes levied on the payrolls of the younger workers.

Because of this extra bill, Robert J. Myers, chief actuary of the Social Security Administration, explains, "The benefits that a new entrant gets are not equal in value, over the long run, to the contributions that he and his employer pay." Social Security Commissioner Robert M. Ball similarly admits that "young employes do not, in those terms, get their money's worth."

Thus the maximum tax put into the Treasury in behalf of a now 25-year-old worker (under current law) *for annuity payments alone* will total $19,392 during his working years, and for this—if Congress doesn't change its mind—the Social Security Administration says that he will be entitled to a "gratuity" of $168 a month at age 65 if single and $252 if married, with his elderly widow to get $138.60 if he dies first.

According to calculations worked up for the National Association of Life Underwriters, the same contributions schedule could buy the same worker a private insurance policy designed to pay $312 a month if he remained single and $263 if he married, with either survivor to continue receiving $175.83 a month until death. Or if the young worker banked the amount of the $19,392 tax payments at four percent compound interest over his working years, he would end up with $47,074 at age 65—minus income taxes, of course—to spend as he saw fit, or collect interest on. And he could will the principal to his heirs.

Nevertheless, whether Social Security can pay our friend back *anything at all* for what he put into it will depend entirely on the mood of the taxpayers of that later day. The unfunded outstanding obligations of the Social Security system—that is, the amount by which its promised benefits exceed what the "insured" persons are supposed to eventually pay toward meeting these costs—are $350 billion. That is a sum which exceeds the current national debt.

Can the government collect enough Social Security taxes to keep the program going indefinitely? Officially it anticipates taking in up to $37 billion in 1980, even if the law isn't changed. With anticipated changes in the law, collections may soar as high as $58 billion.

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[1] *Flemming (U.S.) v. Nestor,* 363 U.S. 603.

[2] The only exceptions are the special payments to persons 72 or older not otherwise receiving a government check. These are subsidized out of general taxes.

Today President Johnson is trying to force through Congress a scheme to bend what's left of legitimate Social Security purposes into a vast relief giveaway which would complicate the already excruciating problem of poverty among persons over 65. Even now these people are discouraged from augmenting their incomes. If they earn small sums at odd jobs, they must continue to pay Social Security taxes with no comparable increase in benefits. And if they contribute enough to the economy through their labor to take in more than $1500 a year, the Social Security Administration penalizes them; it withholds benefits to which they're otherwise entitled. The Administration's cure is to let those who insist on working earn a bare $180 more a year than the present law allows. Yet simultaneously it would increase Social Security benefits to both workers and *nonworkers* from 15 to 59 percent!

The Johnson program proposes to "take 1.4 million Americans out of poverty this year" partly by raising the federal income taxes of another 1,400,000 persons over 65 who have been able to save enough, somehow, so that with Social Security they have incomes of $6000 or more, and by shifting the expense of caring for some hundreds of thousands now on the relief rolls to Social Security. Then the country's wage earners will pay these people through their still higher Social Security taxes, and the Administration will be able to boast that prosperity is saving the cash that formerly went into state and federally financed public-assistance payments.

To finance this, the President would raise your Social Security taxes yet again—to an eventual $125.80 squeeze on a single job. And this would be just the beginning. Chief actuary Myers estimates the unfunded "accrued liability" of the system would soar again, too—this time to $417 billion. "It staggers my imagination," declared House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur D. Mills when the payments pattern was unfolded by Under Secretary Cohen.

Time to Take Stock. No matter what temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program, now or later, the basic question still remains: Just how much more can the economy afford? Will the young people now keeping the system afloat be willing to pay ever more out of their paychecks when they learn that they're scheduled to get back less than they contribute? If they are pinched now, how can they continue to take on an ever more expensive burden of the elderly? Won't they insist on caring for their children first?

Already, the Social Security take is beginning to encroach on funds needed to keep private pension plans afloat—plans which through invested reserves create new wealth rather than devour it. Already the Social Security taxes are so high that a Treasury memorandum warns "it is doubtful" that many professional people earning even $10,000 a year "can afford to devote appreciably more to their retirement." So how high can these taxes go without seriously undermining the economy?

What if the government *can't* squeeze out the still higher taxes it needs from tomorrow's payrolls? Well, then, as the government told the Supreme Court, "If a statutory program offers more now than the economy can afford to furnish later, Congress has only to revise the statutory program."

As a matter of fiscal sanity, now would seem the time to take stock and find out if we can make Social Security function as it was originally intended. Some students in and out of government are suggesting putting all welfare back where it belongs—in the regular welfare budget, supported by general revenues, which everybody can see. Through such appropriations we can and must find ways to assist, with dignity, the disabled and the elderly who have no way to provide for themselves.

As for the rest, a blue-ribbon commission could explore the possibility of requiring workers to buy annuity insurance from government-regulated private insurance-investment funds just as some states require motorists to buy liability insurance. Whatever the means, Social Security must be restored to its legitimate purposes before it is too late.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION MOVES TO PROTECT CONSUMERS

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Their was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, shortly after assuming the Presidency, Lyndon Johnson established the President's Committee on Consumer Interests and the Consumer Advisory Council and named the first White House Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs.

The President took this action because he believed, in his words:

> The Federal Government, serving all the people, has a special obligation to be alert to consumer needs and to advance the interests of consumers.

Already such measures as truth-in-packaging, Traffic and Highway Safety Act, and the Child Protection Act, have benefited millions of consumers. Congress is now considering other vital proposals—from truth-in-lending to the Wholesale Meat Act—which, if passed, will provide added protection to the American consumer.

The consumer has no greater champion than the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, Betty Furness. I wish to call my colleagues' attention to a Denver Post editorial praising her address on the dangers of the new avalanche of credit cards.

Miss Furness voiced the complaint that too many credit cards are sent at random to persons not requesting them. She requested retailers to exercise prudence in issuing credit cards and in establishing sensible debt limitations for their customers. Otherwise, as the Denver Post noted:

> Persons may be encouraged through indiscriminate credit, to overextend themselves financially.

Her interest in this problem reflects the administration's deep concern for consumer protection.

I insert the Denver Post's editorial commenting on Miss Furness' address at this point in the Record:

Score One for Betty

We don't know what the personal reaction of the bankers was to Betty Furness's speech to them Monday in Colorado Springs on the subject of consumer credit. But we think the President's recently-appointed special assistant for consumer affairs expressed well the concern many of us have about the new avalanche of credit cards.

These cards are proliferating at such a rapid pace that it's difficult to keep track of them—particularly so now that the banks and other business establishments have joined department stores in making them available for patrons and prospective patrons.

The chief complaint voiced by Miss Furness about credit cards—and we agree with her—is that too many of them are being sent at random to persons not requesting them.

While it is true that liberalized credit has helped fuel prosperity in this nation, there is always the danger that gullible persons may be encouraged, through indiscriminate credit, to overextend themselves financially.

It is to this danger, in particular, that Miss Furness addressed herself in her speech before the Consumer Bankers Association. In a very real sense, she implied, the consumer has to be protected from himself when it comes to wise use of credit.

While we don't expect human nature to change, we do feel that establishments issuing credit cards have an obligation to be prudent in issuing these cards and in setting sensible debt limitations for their customers.

This is really nothing more than good business practice and is certainly to be preferred to legislation setting compulsory standards.

JUDICIAL CONFERENCE APPROVES WIRETAPPING

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is their objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, it becomes increasingly clear that the Attorney General's position with respect to wiretapping and electronic surveillance is, at best, ill-considered. Despite widespread and knowledgeable criticism, the Attorney General has continued to maintain that wiretaps and electronic eavesdropping are neither effective nor desirable in the fight against organized crime.

The public statements of responsible law-enforcement officials throughout the Nation, and the formal resolutions of such organizations as the Association of Federal Investigators and the National Association of Attorneys General, should convincingly demonstrate that electronic surveillance is an effective weapon against criminal syndicates.

However, whether, in the light of constitutional protections for the privacy of individuals, employment of these techniques is desirable has been the subject of more philosophic debate. Opponents of legislation which would permit wiretapping and electronic surveillance to be utilized against organized crime have argued that decisions of the Supreme Court have drawn standards of probable cause so stringent that it will be impossible to meet them.

On Monday of this week, the Judicial Conference announced that it supports legislation authorizing electronic and wiretap surveillance in the investigation of organized crime by law-enforcement officers acting pursuant to a court order. This position by an organization representative of our Nation's most distinguished jurists clearly indicates that constitutional rights of privacy and the urgent need of law-enforcement officials to employ advanced technology in combating organized crime are not mutually inconsistent. In effect, contrary to the Attorney General, the Judicial Conference believes that wiretapping and electronic surveillance is both effective and desirable where syndicated crime is investigated.

The following article which appeared in the Evening Star on Tuesday, September 26, 1967, presents the views of the Judicial Conference:

U.S. JUDGES UNIT BACKS LIMITED WIRETAPPING BILL

A group of top federal judges has given conditional backing to proposed legislation which would permit police to tap telephones under court order.

At their regular closed-door meeting here last week, members of the Judicial Conference voted to endorse the "purposes" of wire tap legislation introduced by Sen. John L. McClellan, D-Ark.

The conference's action, however, said McClellan's bill should be amended to conform to standards set out by the Supreme Court in June in a New York electronic eavesdropping case.

The form of the conference's action indicated that the federal judges were concerned about the method in which investigators would secure court approval for wiretaps, especially how much can be done, without notice to the person whose telephone is to be tapped.

BLOW TO ADMINISTRATION

The conference's position is expected to strengthen the stand of wiretap legislation supporters and was interpreted as a blow to Johnson administration efforts to have Congress outlaw all official wiretapping and bugging except in national security cases.

The conference, which is headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, includes the chief judges of all federal circuits and a number of leading judges from district courts within these circuits.

While the Senate is moving gradually forward with McClellan's bill, which would permit wiretaps in many types of cases, House Republicans have been working on their own bill to accomplish similar ends within the framework of the Supreme Court's June decision.

In that ruling, the justices, 6 to 3, struck down a New York eavesdropping law on the ground that its broad language violated constitutional guarantees against unreasonable searches and seizures.

STANDARDS ARE TIGHT

The decision left the door open for adoption of properly limited eavesdropping statutes. Critics of the decision, however, believe the court drew standards for acceptable legislation so tightly that it will be practically impossible to meet them.

In its new term starting in a week, the high court faces the question of whether investigators can place electronic devices on top of public telephone booths to overhear what is said there without actually tapping telephone lines.

The Justice Department, in a brief filed several days ago, supported such eavesdropping on the ground that the right of privacy is less in such places than in a man's home or office.

The judicial conference, in another action at last week's meeting, supported swift passage by Congress of administration-backed jury reform proposals and urged federal judges to broaden the economic base for selecting prospective jurors without waiting for Congress to act.

FRUITFUL SUMMIT MEETING OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include resolutions passed by the Organizations of African States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for myself and for the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I congratulate the 38 member states of the Organization of African Unity for the extremely successful Council of Ministers and Assembly of Heads of State and Government meetings held in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo, September 4–14, 1967.

Despite speculation preceding the OAU's summit meeting that unstable conditions in the Congo would prevent a meeting taking place, it is to the credit of President Mobutu and the other African leaders that the recent summit not only was held on schedule but may well have been the OAU's most successful. In fact, the 18 chiefs of state who attended the Kinshasa deliberations outnumbered those present at last year's summit meeting.

It was most fitting that Secretary General U Thant traveled to Kinshasa to represent the United Nations at the OAU's fourth summit meeting. In the 7 years since the Congo's independence, the United Nations has been closely associated with it in providing assistance to protect the country's territorial integrity and to strengthen its institutions.

The meeting considered and enacted resolutions on many difficult problems in Africa including refugees, apartheid, the Portuguese territories, Southern Rhodesia, and the future of South-West Africa. In the vitally important field of increasing African cooperative efforts, the summit: resolved to cosponsor with the U.N.'s Economic Commission for Africa and UNESCO, a seminar on African education; urged the establishment of regional grain storage centers; outlined a coordinated approach to the continent's health problems and cultural activities; and forecast OAU cooperative agreements with several international specialized agencies.

It was particularly heartening to hear that the African states are making greater use of the OAU for the settlement of African disputes. At the Kinshasa summit the heads of state considered how the OAU could assist in the settlement of Africa's present and future disputes. With respect to Nigeria, the Assembly condemned secession and decided to send a consultative mission of six heads of state to Lagos. The Assembly called on the mercenaries to leave the eastern Congo immediately; it endorsed the talks between the Kenyan Vice President and Somali Prime Minister which aimed at improving bilateral relations between their two countries. For the longer terms, the Assembly emphasized the activation of an organ of the OAU which can have great importance in the peaceful settlement of disputes in Africa, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.

Once again, may I congratulate President Mobutu and his OAU colleagues. The results of the meeting are most gratifying. They amply fulfill what President Johnson stated in his message to the OAU heads of state:

> I know that your gathering will strengthen the spirit of peaceful cooperation in Africa which is so important to the future of all mankind. We in the United States share your interest in progress for all the peoples of Africa. Acting together in such bodies as the OAU, there is no worthy goal beyond your grasp.

Mr. Speaker, I esteem the resolution passed at Kinshasa of such general interest to all the many well-wishers of Africa in this body, and in the United States generally, that by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include them in full, as follows:

NIGERIA

Resolution on Nigeria passed by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, September 14, 1967. (Unofficial translation.)

Solemnly reaffirming adherence of the Assembly to the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states as outlined in Article III of the OAU Charter;

Condemning every act of secession in every member state;

Bearing in mind the serious and tragic situation prevailing in Nigeria;

Recognizing that this concerns an internal affair, solution of which reverts above all to Nigerians themselves;

Renewing its faith and confidence in the Federal Government of Nigeria;

Desirous to express the possibility of putting the services of the Assembly at the disposition of the Federal Government of Nigeria;

Has decided to send a mission of consultation, composed of six Chiefs of State, to the President of the Federal Government of Nigeria in order to assure him of the desire of the Assembly to safeguard territorial integrity, unity and peace in Nigeria.

CONGO MERCENARIES

Resolution on mercenaries in the Congo passed by OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, September 13, 1967. (Unofficial translation.)

Conscious of the danger that the presence of mercenaries would eventually arouse strong and destructive feelings and put in jeopardy the lives of foreigners on the Continent;

Recognizing their sacred and solemn responsibility to spare present and future generations the scourge of racial hatred and conflict;

Considering the existence of mercenaries constitutes a serious threat to security of OAU member states;

Determined to safeguard the sovereignty and integrity of member states:

(1) Strongly condemns the aggression of mercenaries against the Democratic Republic of the Congo;

(2) Demands the mercenaries now in eastern Congo (Bukavu) leave immediately the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo eventually with the help of competent international bodies;

(3) Calls on all member states that in case this generous offer not accepted to lend their wholehearted support and every assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in its efforts to put an end to the criminal acts perpetrated by these mercenaries;

(4) Calls on the United Nations to deplore and take immediate action to eradicate such illegal and immoral practices;

(5) Appeals urgently to all states of the world to enact laws declaring recruitment and training of mercenaries in their territories a punishable crime, deterring their citizens from enlisting as mercenaries.

KENYA-SOMALIA RELATIONS

Declaration on Kenya-Somalia relations issued by OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, meeting in Kinshasa, Congo, September 13, 1967. (Unofficial text.)

Desirous of consolidating the fraternal links that unite us;

Recalling further the attempts that have been made by the Governments of Kenya and Somalia at Arusha in December, 1965, through the good offices of His Excellency Julius K. Nyerere of the Republic of Tanzania;

Mindful of the new and welcome initiative taken by His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia in Kinshasa during the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments;

Notes with pleasure the joint declaration mutually and amicably reached between the Governments of Kenya and Somalia, as represented by the Vice President Daniel Arap Moi and the Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, respectively, through the good offices of the President of Zambia, which reads as follows:

(1) Both Governments have expressed their desire to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity in the spirit of Paragraph 3 of Article III of the OAU Charter;

(2) The two Governments have further undertaken to resolve any outstanding differences between them in the spirit of Paragraph 4 of Article III of the OAU Charter;

(3) The two Governments have pledged to ensure maintenance of peace and security on both sides of the border by preventing destruction of human life and property;

(4) Furthermore, the two Governments have agreed to refrain from conducting hostile propaganda through mass media such as radio and the press against each other;

(5) The two Governments have accepted the kind invitation of President Kaunda of Zambia to meet in Lusaka, during the latter part of October 1967, in order to improve, intensify and consolidate all forms of cooperation.

Resolves to express its sincere gratitude and congratulations to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia as well as the Governments of Kenya and Somalia for their positive efforts to overcome differences in a fraternal manner;

Requests the Governments of Kenya and Somalia, as parties to the Declaration, and the Government of the Republic of Zambia, as host and convenor, to submit a progress report on the proposed meeting in Lusaka to the Secretary-General of the OAU.

WAR ON HUNGER

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Food Stamp Act of 1967, just signed into law by President Johnson, will continue to extend America's abundance to undernourished families.

The Johnson administration has launched this comprehensive assault on hunger and malnutrition out of the conviction that there is no room in our society for even one hungry family. The broadened school lunch program, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, the Department of Agriculture's commodity donation program, and now the 1967 Food Stamp Act, are all vital weapons in this assault.

While signing the food stamp legislation, the President added another tool to the arsenal by directing the Secretary of Agriculture to begin commodity distribution programs for low-income families living in the 300 poorest counties that have no food assistance.

The minds of our poor cannot be trained nor their spirits endowed with self-respect while their bodies go hungry. As President Johnson noted, "Poverty's cruelest wound is hunger."

I salute the President's continued fight to uproot the islands of hunger in our midst. We cannot be satisfied until this fight is won.

TARIFF COMMISSION SUPPORT BELEAGUERED INDUSTRY

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, we who represent industrial areas and who consequently must remain alert to the threat to jobs and economic activity posed by the increasing volume of low-wage imports, will be pleased and encouraged by yesterday's Tariff Commission finding which recommended a continuation of the quota on stainless steel flatware. This is an unusual experience, since the tendency of recent rulings has been to benefit the importers over the domestic producer. We should, therefore, express our gratification that the Tariff Commission has carefully examined the record and has realized the immediacy of the danger of increased imports which could rise to 55 percent of the domestic market in the next 6 years.

For some time we whose districts are affected by the problem have been working to extend the present quota on the importation of stainless steel flatware.

I was therefore extremely pleased that the Tariff Commission made recommendations to the President which support the position we have taken on this matter.

Tariff Commissioners Thunberg and Clubb, in their majority opinion, found that if the present restrictions were terminated, imports of stainless steel flatware from abroad would rise sharply, and increased competition would force many smaller producers out of business.

I have today asked the President to accept the recommendation of the Tariff Commission to extend the present quota—which would expire October 10, 1967—and to remove the threat of dissolution from an important segment of American industry.

I wish to express my thanks to the many Members of the House who have supported me in my efforts to achieve this extension, and I hope that the Congress will approve the bill that I have sponsored for this purpose.

In my judgment, Congress will have to keep a watchful eye on developments in the field of trade in the months ahead. It will be necessary to appraise the results of the Kennedy round and also to resist a purely doctrinaire advancement of the free trade idea. I have always supported the expansion of trade, but the degree of increase in the volume of the trade is an important consideration that has often been missed by those advocating liberalization. It is impossible to justify the elimination of jobs and business enterprises here at home through an unreasonable expansion of imports produced in low-wage countries. One again, too, I must point out that the economic climate in Connecticut which now cushions the impact of import competition is substantially and artificially inflated through huge infusions of defense appropriations. Any reasonable judgment on imports and trade must consider their impact on the industrial and employment situation which will exist after the present war has terminated and we return to a peacetime economy.

MAN SAYS NICE THINGS ABOUT CONGRESS

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Congress and Congressmen have been so battered by critics in recent years that it is a unique experience to find a newspaper article which treats us in a sympathetic and friendly manner and gives us credit for industry, high motives and other laudable qualities.

Such an article is the one which follows these remarks. It was written by Wesley G. Pippert of UPI after his year on Capitol Hill as a Congressional Fellow.

Thank you, Mr. Pippert, for your understanding and for an informative sketch of congressional life and problems.

[From the Waterbury Sunday Republican, Sept. 24, 1967]

CONGRESSMEN HUMAN WITH FEW SURPRISES

(Editor's Note.—The writer of the following dispatch is a veteran of 12 years with United Press International. He has just been assigned to UPI's Washington bureau after spending the past year working on Capitol Hill under a congressional fellowship. He previously was based in Chicago.)

(By Wesley G. Pippert)

Washington.—The surprising thing about the year I spent inside Congress was that there were no surprises.

I found no conspiracies, no secrets being hidden from the American people.

Congressmen and senators are people, even as you and I. Only they generally work a good deal harder than most of us.

As a congressional fellow of the American Political Science Association, I spent four months in the office of Rep. Morris K. Udall, D–Ariz., and four months in the office of Sen. Charles H. Percy, R–Ill.

Interspersed were countless seminars with lobbyists, political science professors, newsmen and columnists, second level administration officials, and other faces.

Nothing they said startled me. It wasn't that they lacked insight or information; rather, there isn't much startling to say about Congress.

Congress is more a creation than a creator of American life, more a mirror than a torch. The American people demand more of their congressmen and senators these days. These demands have made Congress the overtaxed, overburdened institution it has become.

Example: Every congressman has at least one "caseworker." Most senators have a casework staff. These staff members do nothing but handle—"babysit," if you will—problems sent in by the folks back home.

A lonely wife asks her congressman's help in getting her husband home from Vietnam (the congressman is always careful to insure the serviceman himself has made the same request. Sometimes the serviceman is quite content where he is). An aged couple writes because they have not been receiving their Social Security check.

A man wants passes for a VIP White House tour for him and his family (then neglects to inform the congressman when he cancels the trip to Washington). Countless people want the latest edition of the Department of Agriculture Yearbook on consumer problems.

All this takes staff. And time.

Casework is not to be downgraded or minimized. Sometimes frustrated citizens whose bread basket is at stake run into the morass of the bureaucracy. They have no place to turn but to their congressman. He becomes their "court of last resort."

The letters a congressman gets are a major problem.

After an appearance on national television during which he was supposed to discuss housing, Percy was questioned at length about Vietnam. The result was up to 2,500 letters a day, it takes quite a secretarial staff merely to open and sort this much mail. Then, every letter must be answered and filed, complete with a carbon copy of the reply.

After reading a few thousand constituent letters, I am not cynical about such letter writing. But I am suspicious.

For instance, Percy and Udall get the same kind of mail. Udall, a liberal Democrat, is from a district (Tucson) with many conservative Republicans. Percy, a Republican, defeated Sen. Paul Douglas, a patron saint of liberal Democrats. But Percy has voted for several causes dear to the liberals since coming to Washington.

Both Udall and Percy get letters of the most vitriolic, abusive, caustic sort from extremists who resort to accusations, impunging of motives, and name-calling ("traitor," "stupid," "sell-out to the Communists," etc.).

After Percy voted for the Consular Treaty resolution, he made the mistake of saying publicly that he got 6,000 or 7,000 letters opposing the resolution and only 40 in favor. Then he got another 6,000 or 7,000 letters demanding why he did not vote "the dictates of the people."

It was true Percy had said this. His office had to explain this did not mean necessarily that a majority of all people opposed the resolution, but only that a majority of those people who took the trouble to write opposed the resolution.

The crackpots, unfortunately, spoil things for the average person who sits down and writes a thoughtful, conscientious letter to his congressman.

Good replies—that is, letters of substance—take time to research, dictate, type, mail and file. The time whicn goes into all this often must be substracted from the time spent researching and examining legislation.

Most congressmen and senators work hard. For four months I went to Udall's office each morning between 8:30 and 9 and stayed until 5:30 or 6. Inevitably Udall had been there an hour or two before me, and only once did he leave the office before I did—and that was a day after he had been up the whole night traveling. Udall never eats lunch.

Percy made long trips every week end—speaking in Hartford, Conn.; Berkeley, Calif.; Dallas, Tex.; and Cleveland, Ohio; New York, almost on successive week ends. He frequently sandwiched in trips to Chicago during the week.

One Monday morning at 2 a.m., I bumped into the senator and his wife in the baggage room at National Airport after a week end trip to Nebraska for a speech. At 8 o'clock the same morning Percy was on hand for his weekly staff meeting. He could not have had more than four or five hours sleep.

Why would anyone want to go through the rat race of being a congressman?

The pay isn't that good, the hours are horrible, there are few days off, and the work load is staggering. Congressmen are permitted no secrets, private or public. Most congressmen have files easily accessible to any intern or volunteer as well as any staff member.

One answer is the satisfaction and dedication many find in public service. And even the most humble and sensitive person responds to the sort of deferential treatment congressmen are accorded almost everywhere they go. They get to like the prestige that goes with the job. I would, too.

INTRODUCTION OF THE OIL POLLUTION AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rumsfeld] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in the belief that the Oil Pollution Act, 1924 needs updating and strengthening in order to meet the ever-increasing pollution menace in our navigable waters, I am today introducing the Oil Pollution Amendments of 1967.

These amendments, sponsored by Illinois Senators Dirksen and Percy in the other body, are designed to put muscle into the seldom enforced act of 1924 so that the Secretary of the Interior and the appropriate Federal prosecuting bodies may proceed with force and vigor in the task of ridding our national waters of massive oil pollutants which render our waters unfit to drink and our shorelines unfit for recreation, as well as destroy fish and waterfowl.

The accidental, negligent or willful dumping of oil into our national water bodies has serious consequences for all citizens, and as recent examples indicate, just one huge oil dump can adversely affect wide areas. An oil slick 75 miles long in Lake Michigan presently threatens dense areas of population, including Chicago and its northern suburbs. The ship or ships responsible for this dumping have not been located.

The Chicago Daily News offered this commentary on the kind of attitude which allows such oil dumping to go on unchecked:

> The wanton dumping of the black, gummy oil that smears a substantial part of Chicago's beaches is symptomatic of an attitude that has prevailed for many years. It is an attitude that regards the lake, not as a public treasure, but as a private cesspool dug on one's own property.

And, Chicago's American supplied the following editorial description of the type of pollution problem with which we are faced:

> The huge oil slick which has fouled an area 75 miles long in Lake Michigan is a very unpleasant reminder that the water pollution problem can get worse before it gets better. The gummy mess floating in windrows off Chicago was described by Vinton Bacon, general superintendent of the sanitary district, as the "worst case of lake pollution I've seen in Lake Michigan."

Mr. Speaker, the oil pollution amendments which I offer today include the following punitive provisions, according to the degree of responsibility of the offender:

First. Accidental—Punishable by a fine not exceeding $250 or by imprisonment not exceeding 30 days or by both such fine and imprisonment for each such offense.

Second. Negligence—Punishable by a fine not exceeding $2,500 or by imprisonment for not more than 1 year, or by both such fine and imprisonment for each offense.

Third. Willful and gross negligence—Punishable by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 3 years, or by both fine and imprisonment for each offense.

In addition, the operator and owner of the vessel responsible for the dumping would assume a liability penalty of not more than $1,000 in case of accident, $10,000 in case of negligence, and $50,000 in case of willful and gross negligence.

The penalties provided for under these amendments are severe, but certainly less severe than the consequences to our citizens of such pollution. Pollution is a problem which the Nation can no longer tolerate, and, hopefully, these amendments, if adopted, would provide the mechanism to begin the long and difficult task of again making our waters pure.

I insert at this point in the Record the complete texts of the two editorials quoted in the body of my remarks: "Our Fouled-Up Lake" by the Chicago Daily News and "Deadline On Pollution" by Chicago's American. The editorials follow:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Sept. 21, 1967]

Our Fouled-Up Lake

The wanton dumping of the black, gummy oil that smears a substantial part of Chicago's beaches is symptomatic of an attitude that has prevailed for years. It is an attitude that regards the lake, not as a public treasure, but as a private convenience, like a cesspool dug on one's own property.

Laws have been written: This particular bit of effrontery is punishable by three years in jail and $2,500 under a federal law prohibiting discharge of pollutants from ships (or a year and $500 in the unlikely event the oil came from elsewhere than a ship).

But enforcement has been lax because of public complacency; and even the laws have been haphazard and tolerant of other kinds of rank pollution.

In this particular case the public—always the damaged party in such matters—can hope that the Coast Guard will be able to discover the offender and bring him to justice. A lesson that invoked the law to the limit might serve as a reminder to other carefree skippers. And anyone with evidence of who did it would perform a public service by phoning Capt. John Netwig of the Coast Guard.

Meanwhile, federal and local authorities have joined hands to enforce the Dec. 31, 1968, deadline for big steel companies to stop polluting the lake with their waste. The city owes thanks to Mayor Daley for opposing any extension of the deadline, and to Interior Sec. Udall for a telegram that said: "I contemplate no extension of the 1968 federal enforcement deadline."

United States Steel Corp., whose South Works dumps 440,000,000 gallons of waste water into Lake Michigan every day, had asked that the deadline be extended to June 30, 1970. A company statement yesterday said that it is proceeding with extensive installations aimed at bringing its discharge to prescribed standards of purity, and that much of the work will be completed by the deadline. It also said than an engineering study looking toward refining the treatment of oil-containing wastes from the north mill area will not be completed until next August, and added: "We propose immediate construction of corrective facilities to be completed by June, 1970." The statement described this schedule as "the most expeditious timing possible to properly engineer and construct complicated pollution abatement facilities required to meet standards finally published only recently."

It is true that corrective facilities are expensive. But the end-of-1968 deadline was set in 1965, allowing more than three years for compliance. The other major steel companies involved in waste-dumping have agreed to meet the 1968 deadline. The federal government should insist that U.S. Steel either meet the 1968 deadline or prove that it is doing everything in its power to comply completely at the earliest possible moment. Weeks, days, even hours are vitally important to rescuing Lake Michigan and restoring it to the public.

[From the Chicago American, Sept. 21, 1967]

Deadline on Pollution

The huge oil slick which has fouled an area 75 miles long in Lake Michigan is a very unpleasant reminder that the water pollution problem can get worse before it gets better. The gummy mess floating in windrows off Chicago was described by Vinton Bacon, general superintendent of the sanitary district, as "the worst case of lake pollution I've seen in Lake Michigan."

Dumping a vast amount of molasses-like heavy bunker oil into the lake is either a grave error in judgment or an act of colossal irresponsibility. The person responsible must be tracked down and prosecuted. Meanwhile, this incident gives an ironic emphasis to the announcement by Stewart Udall, secretary of the interior, that he would refuse to extend the 1968 federal deadline for enforcement of industrial anti-pollution measures for Lake Michigan.

Udall's decision to stick to the original deadline, which applies to all industries at the south end of Lake Michigan, may mark a significant change in the approach toward saving the lake. The secretary has refused to remove federal pressure simply because a few large companies find it inconvenient to abide by the agreement which they made at the 1965 federal pollution conference.

With refreshing directness, Udall pointed out his decision to hold to the 1968 deadline was based on total agreement with Mayor Daley that "there should be no slowdown in efforts to save Lake Michigan." He noted that he had taken into consideration the recommendation for a 1970 deadline made by Blucher W. Poole, technical secretary of the Indiana stream pollution control board, and a number of steel companies with plants adjacent to the lake.

Unfortunately Udall's backing of the federal deadline does not insure a crackdown on lake pollution; it only establishes the date after which the sanitary district can enforce federal water purity standards. Much still must be done on the federal level including the establishment of water criteria for the entire lake.

Altho progress against lake pollution seems to be gaining some headway on the local and federal level, it seems noticeably lacking at the state level mainly because of Gov. Kerner's hands-off attitude. He said Tuesday that "Illinois is not polluting Lake Michigan" and that keeping the lake clean is not the direct responsibility of the state.

At this stage of the battle to save the lake, we would expect the governor to seek out ways of helping local and federal authorities rather than retreat behind what he considers the state's limited responsibility.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, during the period September 11 through September 18, 1967, while I was on official leave participating in the Japanese-American Assembly sponsored by Columbia University and held in Japan, 11 rollcall votes developed, on which, had I been present, I would have voted as follows:

On rollcall No. 240—"yea."
On rollcall No. 241—"yea."
On rollcall No. 242—"nay."
On rollcall No. 244—"yea."
On rollcall No. 245—"yea."
On rollcall No. 253—"yea."
On rollcall No. 254—"yea."
On rollcall No. 255—"nay."
On rollcall No. 257—"nay."
On rollcall No. 258—"nay."
On rollcall No. 259—"nay."

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE GET RESULTS IN WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. KUYKENDALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Memphis Press Scimitar of September 23 which illustrates what great results may be accomplished when individual initiative of people who want to help themselves is coupled with support from private enterprise.

The success of this project shows what can be accomplished in the American way, using the American principles of helping one another to make progress for all. This is the way our Nation grew to its present greatness. These are the methods by which we have developed a system which offers the greatest opportunity to more people. This is the way we can win the war on poverty in America and establish a better life for all the people without sacrificing our basic freedoms or squander billions of dollars on experimental social theories.

The editorial follows:

Antipoverty Gumbo

Okra is easy to grow, easy to ship, easy to cook, and easy to eat.

You can fry it or you can stew it. As gumbo, okra becomes the principal ingredient in some venerable Southern recipes.

Okra is also an ingredient in an exciting anti-poverty project now going on in the Missouri Bootheel, south of Caruthersville.

Exciting because it is succeeding, according to all reports, and because it is strictly home-grown and home-managed, with no federal aid involved.

The project is known as B.A.S.I.C., an apt name which means Bootheel Agricultural Service Incorporated Co-op.

Involved are about thirty farm families—mostly Negro—who might otherwise be on relief. They are producing a crop of okra on 187 acres, and for it they are now receiving some green stuff called money.

It is an outstanding example of what can be done when people get together and decide to do something on their own about their problems.

But okra is not the only ingredient. There is spiritual impetus provided by the church, in the person of the Rev. William Chapman, Episcopalian, of St. Louis. There is the know-how, provided by John M. Craddock, assistant to the president of Winter Garden Freezer Co., of Bells, Tenn. There is the financing, provided by Monsanto Chemical Co. And finally, there is the industry and will to succeed, provided by the people themselves. Put them all together, stir vigorously, and you have inspiring proof of the claim that there is still a good life on the farm.

John M. Craddock, a man of wide experience in Mid-South farming, sees no reason why the project would not provide annual incomes for participating families of up to $6,000.

"To give a man dignity, give him a chance to earn a decent living for himself and his family. When a man has dignity, he is a good citizen, and a good citizen respects the law and causes no trouble," Craddock says.

Next year, B.A.S.I.C. hopes to expand by enrolling additional families and including other crops—tomatoes, squash, peppers, cantaloupes.

The Press-Scimitar congratulates these good people and their leaders. They deserve to succeed.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM: ACTION NOW

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I am authorized by the House Republican Committee on Planning and Research to announce a change in the name of the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing, which I have the honor to serve as chairman, to the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Staffing.

The corrected name more accurately reflects our awareness that while minority staffing remains a problem on some committees—and will engage our undiminished attention as long as it does—the overwhelming need in the House is for improvements in professional staffing across the board.

Let me reemphasize my support of the minority staffing provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. On May 24, 1965, I testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress as follows:

> It may be perfectly true that a purely professional staff will serve members of each party with equal fidelity, but it is equally true in committees that are establishing vital policy (that) the public will benefit if the competitive forces are set to work early in the game while legislation is being first considered.[1]

It is not a question of numbers, Mr. Speaker, but of principle—

> The right to counsel and the right to be judged on the facts pertaining to the issue are rights that are stamped indelibly on the minds and hearts of the American people. Through the adversary system we get more information on which to base our judgments. Under ideal conditions, each side has complete freedom to develop relevant information and present its arguments. The end result is the production of the greatest possible amount of information, and, therefore, the greatest possible understanding for those who must render decisions. . . . This tradition is as applicable to a legislative body as it is to a court of law.[2]

MINIMUM GUARANTEE NECESSARY

We have found it necessary to provide a minimum guarantee of minority staffing in House rules. This recommendation of the joint committee was bipartisan and unanimous, and it is included in the bill passed by an overwhelming vote of the Senate. I restate my support of the committee's recommendation and the Senate-passed bill.

But I hope that the corrected name for our task force will reflect as well our concern with staffing problems of the individual offices of Members, where the workload seems to outdistance us in spite of temporary solutions, and the staffing problems of the Library of Congress, as well as a concern for efficient administration of affairs of the House in general.

In connection with staffing problems of the Library, I would like to call particular attention to the critical need of the Legislative Reference Service for application of automatic data processing methods to many of its functions. Some people seem to have the idea that LRS is a sort of magic fountain into which one may toss a request and the fountain will gush forth with instant knowledge in the form most suitable to the user's immediate purpose.

OVERWORKED SERVICE

Unhappily, the service is sadly overworked, and I think most of the criticism directed toward Legislative Reference Service—its personnel, methods, and products—reflects a serious lack of understanding and appreciation of its problems. One of the most salutary provisions of the reorganization bill is the provision designed to get Congress off the dime with respect to modern information handling methods for the Library of Congress, and here again the question becomes not one of specific manpower/machine requirements but whether we are going to do anything at all in this area.

Incidentally, some of my colleagues might be interested to know that in establishing itself as the first branch of the new Government, the first step the new Congress took was to authorize and direct some of its work to be done by committee; the second step it took was to establish the Library of Congress.

FOR EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE

Mr. Speaker, each one of us naturally has his personal ideas about what ought to be done and what ought not to be done to improve the operation of the Congress. In this connection, I would like to recall a portion of my testimony before the Joint Organization Committee on that spring day more than 2 years ago:

> The real issue facing us is whether Congress can be reorganized or reformed—call it what you will—so that it can effectively perform its independent role as one of the separate coequal branches of American democracy. . . .
>
> It is my hope that your committee—and I might add that I have the same hope for my task force—will not become bogged down in divisive discussions of the almost innumerable specific proposals that have been and will be made to you. It is my hope that you will not forget the monumental importance of your underlying mission to which I have referred.

It is now approaching 7 months since the Senate passed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967, a bill embodying the modest proposals of a bipartisan, joint committee whose recommendations were unanimous, stemming from a 2-year study in which more than 2,000 pages of hearings were amassed, more than 200 witnesses heard from, and countless suggestions received and debated. How can we fail to carry through on a program so obviously needed, so thoroughly documented and so long awaited?

For the record, the other members of the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Staffing are: Joel T. Broyhill, Laurence J. Burton, James R. Grover, Jr., Durwood G. Hall, Donald E. Lukens, Robert McClory, Robert C. McEwen, Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Robert H. Michel, F. Bradford Morse, Ogden R. Reid, Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Donald Rumsfeld, Fred Schwengel, William L. Springer, Lawrence G Williams, and John W. Wydler. Ex officio members are: Gerald R. Ford, John J. Rhodes, Melvin R. Laird, Charles E. Goodell, and Bob Wilson. Thomas B. Curtis serves as liaison officer between both the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, of which he is the senior House Republican Member, and the House Republican Planning and Research Committee, of which he is a member.

DANGEROUS GROUND FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial, entitled "Dangerous Ground for Social Security," which appeared in the August 26 edition of Business Week magazine is worthy of the attention of the Members of this body. The danger which Business Week sees is that the social security program "has moved further and further away from the insurance principle that was intended to guide its expansion. Increasingly it has become a vehicle for the expansion of welfare."

The drawback to using the social security program to combat poverty is that its use to help the poor and near poor means "massive growth of the system whether or not higher benefits are the best way to provide for the broad middle of society." And indeed, social security may not be the best means to provide full retirement benefits for the broad middle of our society. The editorial cites studies done by Prof. Colin D. Campbell, professor of economics at Dartmouth College, which show that social security may no longer be a good buy for today's typical worker. The studies point out that if a worker used his social security tax to purchase private annuities and insurance, he would be able to obtain a far higher level of protection than the social security system provides.

These were among the points I made in my supplemental views to the Ways and Means Committee report on H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967. In those views, I challenged the statement in the committee report which states that:

> Studies of the Social Security Administration find that because social security benefits are the sole reliance of about half of the beneficiaries and the major reliance for almost all beneficiaries the level at which social security benefits are set determines in large measure the basic economic well being of the majority of the Nation's older people.

I stated that I had seen no studies by the Social Security Administration or others which substantiates this statement.

Social security is certainly an important part of the retirement plans of most Americans. But it is only a part, and when it was initiated, it was never proposed as the sole source of retirement income for our people. The discussion today, as the editorial suggests, should be around how much of a part it should be. I argued in my supplementary views that there are three basic reasons why increases in the retirement benefits for our people should come through an increasing reliance on funded retirement programs rather than pay as you go retirement systems such as social security. I hope my colleagues will reexamine these arguments in the light of this editorial and other information.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the Record, the Business Week editorial and the pertinent portions of my supplementary views on H.R. 12080:

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[1] Hearings, Part 3.

[2] "We Propose: A Modern Congress," James C. Cleveland et al, McGraw-Hill, 1966, page 13.

[From Business Week, Aug. 26, 1967]

DANGEROUS GROUND FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

The Social Security System is in danger of becoming a prime example of what can go wrong when a successful government program is pushed beyond its purposes.

The original principles on which the Social Security System is based are still sound. But in recent years, Congress has been getting farther and farther from these principles. There are solid reasons to believe that the headlong expansion of benefits provided in the bill just passed by the House of Representatives would end up by weakening the system rather than strengthening it. What Social Security needs at this stage of its development is not vote-getting benefit increases but a strong dose of discipline.

The basic question is one of priorities in the use of public funds—which are scarce even in an affluent society where government spending takes more than 25% of gross national product. The bill passed by the House did scale down the President's requested increase in average benefits from 15% to 12½%. But if enacted into law, it still will mean an increase in average benefits of about 30% in the years since 1960, a period during which the cost of living has increased by about 11%.

There is some element of catch-up to the cost of living increases during World War II and the Korean war here. But if the 12½% increase goes through, spending by the Social Security trust fund for basic benefits will come to $25.5-billion in calendar 1968, more than double the 1960 figure. And next year, Social Security checks will account for almost 30% of total federal civilian spending. The figure was 4% in 1950 and 24% in 1960.

Social Security has been growing far faster than any other kind of government spending. And the U.S. clearly has come to a point where the system is exerting real pressure on the federal budget. More Social Security means less of something else—education, health, funds for the cities. A lower level of over-all taxation should also be listed among the alternatives.

What is particularly disturbing about the growth of the Social Security System in recent years, however, is that its internal priorities have become warped. The system has moved farther and farther away from the insurance principle that was intended to guide its expansion. Increasingly it has become a vehicle for the expansion of welfare. Recent legislation has added to the welfare component of Social Security—the amount paid out over and above the actuarial value of the typical worker's contributions. Right now, the welfare component in the system accounts for about 40% of all spending for basic benefits. The new bill would increase this proportion.

Higher Social Security benefits are a tempting weapon to use in the war on poverty. But they are an expensive weapon. Because benefits continue to be wage-related, it costs about $3 in higher benefits for each extra $1 that goes to the poor or near-poor. So the use of Social Security to help the poor means massive growth for the system whether or not higher benefits are the best way to provide protection for the broad middle of society.

Already, it can be argued that Social Security has become a bad buy for the typical worker. Recent calculations by Dartmouth College economist Colin D. Campbell show that if a typical worker used his Social Security tax to purchase private annuities and insurance, he would be able to obtain a far higher level of protection than the system provides. There are questions about some of the assumptions on which Campbell's calculations are based, but they are plausible enough to be disturbing.

Higher Social Security benefits may also be a bad buy in the war on poverty. If the new bill becomes law, more than $8-billion will go to the poor and near-poor in Old-Age & Survivors Insurance checks. The aged, widowed, orphaned, and disabled poor unquestionably have a strong claim on the resources of a rich society. Yet society is entitled to ask whether sums of this kind are being spent in the way that does the most good. And so far there has been no serious study weighing the effectiveness of Social Security as against other methods of aiding the poor.

ANOTHER LOOK AT WELFARE

There is a strong argument, in fact, for calling a halt to the growth of the welfare component in Social Security. The time for subterfuge in the war on poverty surely has ended. The problem of poverty should be attacked directly, not in the guise of retirement insurance, agricultural subsidies, or other multi-purpose programs that fail to achieve any of their purposes efficiently.

The fact that Social Security is supported by its own tax base re-enforces the argument for discipline. Under the new bill, the combined employer-employee tax rate will go up to 11.3% by 1973. With the tax rate approaching a practical limit, it becomes essential for Congress to begin to look at the costs of the system as well as its benefit levels. Once it does, the U.S. may recognize that it is time to stop confusing public welfare with private thrift.

[From the Supplementary Views]

H.R. 12080 fails to correlate retirement benefits from social security with retirement benefits that most Americans derive from personal savings and private pension plans.

Americans in contrast to people in other developed countries have a broadly based tripartite system for their retirement. Government social security is one part. The primary and historical part consists of the person's own savings, annuities, insurance, homeownership, etc. The third part consists of the funded employment pension plans which meet the standards set by the Congress in the Internal Revenue Code.

The committee report states that studies of the Social Security Administration find that "Because social security benefits are virtually the sole reliance of about half the beneficiaries and the major reliance for almost all beneficiaries the level at which social security benefits are set determines in large measure the basic economic well-being of the majority of the Nation's older people." I challenge this statement. I have seen no studies by the Social Security Administration or by others which substantiates it. The wealth and investment resources of the aged as well as their income sources need objective study. Indeed, if this statement were true, what are we to believe happened to old people in America before 1936? They were cared for and compassionately, nor were the bulk of them cared for through welfare programs. Our objective should be to improve our systems, not denigrate them. This can only be done through objective studies.

Today social security is certainly an important part of the retirement plans of most Americans. But it is only a part and when it was initiated, it was never proposed as the sole source of retirement income for our people. The discussion today should be around how much of a part it should be.

Now that over 90 percent of all Americans are covered by social security as their standard of living increases with additional discretionary income available to them should they and their employers put that money into increasing social security benefits or increasing the benefits they might obtain through private savings plans and the employer-employee pension system?

I argue that there are three basic reasons today that the increase of retirement benefits for our people should come from further emphasis on funded retirement programs rather than pay-as-you-go retirement systems such as governmental social security.

1. Funded retirement programs can pay larger benefits than a pay-as-you-go system, because over 50 percent of the benefits paid out to the retiree come from the earnings on the investment of the fund. Our private pension plans today have over $90 billion in their funds. The annual earnings run over $4.5 billion. These funded plans are being extended to cover more and more people. About 25 million workers are presently covered in a program which was effectively started almost 10 years after social security. It wasn't until last year that the Congress effectively extended the tax treatment for corporate pension plans to self-employed and their employees. In a few years 50 million or 75 percent of the workers should be covered and the funds should be well over $200 billion.

The social security system, on the other hand, is a pay-as-you-go system which does not contemplate paying benefits out of the earnings of the trust fund. The social security trusts consist of only $22 billion and is called a contingent fund—to protect the system against unanticipated contingencies such as serious recession. It barely equals the benefits paid out in 1 year, yet it covers over 65 million workers. If the social security system were funded in the same sense that corporate and other private pension plans are required to be funded by our tax and insurance laws, the fund would have to have $350 billion in it.

If instead of increasing the payroll tax by say $200 a year—$100 from the employee and $100 from the employer $200 a year were paid into a funded pension plan, the benefits could be increased two to three times.

The second reason which requires us to be cautious about increasing the social security system by having it compete for the same funds which finance private retirement plans is the economic limitations of the payroll tax, which is the method of financing not only social security but unemployment insurance and, in reality, workmen's compensation. Many economists have argued that getting the social security tax above 10 percent of the payroll endangers the basic system. It is certainly true that all taxes have a point of diminishing returns. Without the increases in this bill, the payroll tax is already scheduled to go up to 11.3 percent of payroll.

The third reason for increasing the retirement benefits for our people through funded systems rather than through pay-as-you-go systems lies in the need of any society for capital to finance its economic growth and increased standard of living. The Western European countries, particularly the ones that have been acclaimed for paying higher social security benefits than does the U.S. social security system, look with envious eyes to the great U.S. capital market. They do not have the capital to finance their growth. Americans through their tripartite retirement systems have much greater retirements benefits per person than these same countries because Americans do rely heavily on funded retirement systems in addition to social security. In the process, Americans have created great savings through the savings and loan institutions ($150 billion), through the pension plans ($90 billion), through the insurance companies ($200 billion) and savings in banks ($100 billion) to finance the expansion of industry and their own living standards. If a society does not finance a large part of the retirement of its people through savings, it creates serious difficulties for itself.

So when we cut in on the funded systems by increasing the pay-as-you-go system as is done to some degree in H.R. 12080, we cut back on the amount of benefits that otherwise might be paid to our retirees as well as cut back on the capital that would be available to finance the Nation's growth which provides the jobs and living standards for our people.

I think it is important that we understand our great society so that in our endeavor to improve it, we do not unwittingly damage it.

THE 1964 ARGUMENTS FOR THE POVERTY PROGRAM REVISITED

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon begin consideration of the poverty program. After 3 years of operation of the program I thought it might be helpful to my colleagues in this evaluation process to reexamine some of the arguments used in 1964 by its promoters. Of particular interest are those set forth on page 40 of the 88th Congress, second session, committee print of the war on poverty, prepared for the Select Subcommittee on Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, advising of the plausibility of a reduction of $1 billion in the costs of police, fire, and public health departments "which function so busily among the poor."

After 3 years of the war on poverty, it is apparent that far from a billion dollar reduction in these costs, reflecting the riots which have occurred in many of our cities, have increased in an alarming manner.

An excerpt from page 40 follows:

> If the governmental public assistance commitments could be cut by one-fourth, it could reduce the tax burden by $1 billion. And as the community of the poor diminishes, there is accordingly less need for the expansion of police, fire, and public health departments which function so busily among the poor. These services cost the Nation $8 billion annually. A 10 percent reduction in this cost, or almost $1 billion a year, is a plausible estimate of the savings that could be effected by the elimination of poverty communities.
>
> Even apart from the moral obligation to help the poor, there is this clear dollars and cents justification for a revitalized and redirected attack on poverty. Moreover, if we raise the poor above the poverty line, all of us will benefit from their new capacity to integrate themselves into the constructive purpose of the Nation.

CONTRIBUTION TO ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS OUTLANDISH

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Harsha] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's request yesterday for an additional $200,000,000 contribution by this country to the Asian Development Bank is outlandish. It is particularly appalling in view of the fiscal situation of this Nation.

There is a limit to the amount of deficit spending this Nation can afford. We have long since passed that limit. Until matters are settled in Vietnam and in our own Nation, we have no business increasing an already intolerable burden. It is ridiculous to even consider spending this sum of money to eradicate poverty in Asian countries at a time when America is in the throes of economic chaos. Unfortunately, there is not enough money in the United States to eradicate poverty in our own Nation—let alone endeavor to eliminate it worldwide.

It is such requests as these by President Johnson that makes many of us in Washington believe there will be no effort made to cut back spending, even if the administration is granted a tax increase. Valid as the needs for other nations may be, we face crises at home and in connection with the war in Vietnam. Until these problems are resolved, we must learn to say no to such requests. The best thing we can do for free-world nations is to balance our own budget and stabilize our jittery economy already threatened with runaway inflation. The administration's wild uncontrolled spending must be halted.

A BILL TO PLACE A YEARLY QUOTA ON MINK IMPORTS

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Kleppe] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to place a yearly quota on mink imports that are in competition with domestic production. The price that American mink farmers receive for their product has been driven down drastically by the ever-increasing amount of mink imports. The total amount of foreign mink imports now approaches 50 percent of the American market. These price-depressing imports must be curbed immediately. I see no reason to allow our domestic mink ranchers to be forced out of production by this tide of mink pelts entering the country. Under the bill I have introduced, a quota, based on domestic consumption, would be placed on imports of whole skins, whether or not dressed. The bill would also establish a 50-percent ad valorem duty on imports in excess of the quota allotment. We owe this domestic industry this protection.

NEW ROLE FOR DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION?

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I feel I must question whether the U.S. Department of Transportation is to be used as a partisan vehicle to transport campaign funds into the Democratic campaign chests.

My concern is prompted by an article appearing in the September 24 issue of the Minneapolis Tribune written by John Herbers of the New York Times Service. The article reports a recent Washington cocktail reception to which various Government-regulated transportation industry representatives were invited by the Democratic National Committee. Ostensibly, the gathering was held to honor U.S. Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd and hear him "discuss matters of interest" to railroads, airlines and other transport industries regulated by the Government. After Mr. Boyd's departure, however, the guests were asked to buy $1,000 a couple tickets to an administration fundraising dinner dance in Washington on October 7.

Mr. Speaker, this political funds shakedown attempt is still another example of the leadership breakdown in this country. How can we expect the people to respect our Government's laws when basic government integrity is itself compromised?

I have high respect for Mr. Boyd. But I regret he has been used by his party in this questionable manner. I can well imagine how all the transportation people must have felt to be asked to contribute to a $1,000 ticket political dinner at a party honoring a key man who sits in judgment over their businesses. I am sure they would feel compelled to comply.

Such devious use of the Federal Government and its top officials must be seriously challenged. The U.S. Government exists to serve all the people of the Nation fairly and impartially. We cannot tolerate the improper use of the Government apparatus for the selfish partisan advantage of the political party which happens to control the administration. To do so would leave the door wide open to political blackmail.

I include the Minneapolis Tribune article at this point in my remarks:

TRANSPORT LOBBYISTS URGED TO BACK L. B. J.

(By John Herbers)

Washington, D.C.—A number of lobbyists for government-regulated transportation industries were invited by the Democratic National Committee to attend an informal reception for the secretary of transportation, Alan S. Boyd, last Monday night in a private club in Georgetown.

Boyd urged them to support President Johnson for another term in office. Then, after the secretary left, they were asked by a committee official to buy $1,000-a-couple tickets to a party fund-raising dinner and dance here on Oct. 7.

The dinner, to be held in the Washington Hilton Hotel, has been billed as a president's ball in honor of Mr. Johnson and his wife. It is to be attended by contributors to the Democratic party from throughout the country.

Invitations to the Georgetown reception were sent out under the signature of John Criswell, acting treasurer of the committee. They said: "Secretary Boyd will discuss matters of interest to you and to this administration at this small, informal gathering."

The reception was made known by someone in attendance who asked that his name be withheld. He said it was his belief that the party improperly used the office of the transportation secretary to seek political support for the President from a government-regulated industry.

The source said the list of guests included representatives of shippers, truckers and airlines, most of whom lobby for their interests in Congress.

Boyd and Criswell said in interviews that there was nothing improper in the reception. Criswell said the reception was not arranged for representatives of the transportation industry but for a "cross section" of people who had contributed to the party in the past, both Democrats and Republicans.

The source declined to provide a list of those attending, saying he did not want to embarrass them.

According to the source, about 40 persons attended. Invitations were checked at the door. Boyd, who arrived after a cocktail party was under way, had one drink and chatted.

He then gave a brief talk, describing how well off the country was under Mr. Johnson and saying that the country needed the President four years more. The source said his understanding of the speech was that it was framed for transportation industry.

Boyd left immediately after the talk, almost abruptly, the source thought.

Criswell spoke next, reciting the party's past financial troubles. He said the financial picture was looking up, but he was concerned that contributors might get the idea that there were no money problems remaining.

He then suggested that those present buy tickets to the dinner. The President would not only be at the dinner, the audience was told, but would stay and dance.

No attempt was made to sell tickets at the meeting. The informant said most of those attending could not afford to buy tickets themselves and presumably were expected to pass word to their corporate officers.

Under the Corrupt Practices Act, corporations are forbidden to make political contributions, but it is a common practice for businesses to do so through individuals.

When Boyd learned that word of his appearance at the Georgetown reception was to be published, he invited a reporter to his office and said he would be glad to answer any questions.

"I am glad to do anything I can honestly and ethically to help Lyndon Johnson," he said. "I knew this speech was endorsed and encouraged by the Democratic National Committee. I was asked to talk about our programs and urge support for the President."

He said he had been a Democrat all his life, but never in his government career had he given anyone an advantage because of political affiliation or activity.

He stressed that no plea for funds was made in his presence and that he expected never to know who at the meeting made a party contribution and who did not.

Had the White House suggested that he make such appearances?

"Absolutely not," Boyd replied. "I bet Lyndon Johnson never had any idea that the meeting was being held."

THE PHONY WAR ON POVERTY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Pucinski). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fino] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, we have been deluged by propaganda from the Office of Economic Opportunity advertising the accomplishments of the phony war on poverty, but I believe that most of the Members of this House have not been fooled. The plain truth is that the so-called war against poverty is a well-heeled gravy train for agitators, black power advocates, and Communists Many Members have already given this House examples of how the antipoverty program has been a gold mine for radicals and black power revolutionaries, so that today I would like to present an example of Communist infiltration of the war against poverty—specifically in New York City.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, one of the major components of New York City's antipoverty program—the work experience program of the Neighborhood Youth Corps—is headed by a man named Robert Schrank, who in 1962 was cited as a card-carrying Communist by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. It is not hard to understand why the Communists are interested in the work experience program. Mr. Schrank has bragged that it is the "fifth biggest employer in the city" because it has employed 40,000 young New Yorkers at $1.50 an hour. Extremist groups, whether they be Fascist, Communist, or otherwise, have always shown a great preoccupation with gaining control over the thought processes of young people. No doubt the Communists are happy to have one of their men in charge of New York City's neighborhood youth program.

Let me briefly describe Mr. Schrank's record of subversion. During the late 1940's, he was an official of the International Association of Machinists, but he was expelled from the union in 1948 for parroting the Communist line. The Machinists, like most American labor unions, have an excellent record of cleaning out subversives the moment they show themselves. I wish we could say the same for the antipoverty program, where coddling of leftwingers has been made into an ideology.

In 1952, according to the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Mr. Schrank was the chairman of a conference held in New York City to repeal the Smith Act. He was then employed as an international representative of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, which had been expelled by the AFL–CIO in 1950 as a Communist-dominated front. By this time, it was apparent that Mr. Schrank was a hardcore Communist sympathizer—and presumably a card-carrying Communist. He stayed with the International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers until 1955, at which time House Un-American Activities Committee records lose track of him.

Later in 1962, Mr. Schrank was listed among those former officials of the International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union who were shown to have been members of the Communist Party. He was so cited by the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board in 1962. The case in question is *Kennedy* v. *International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers*, May 4, 1962, Docket No. 116–56.

In July 1966 Mr. Schrank was hired as director of work experience for the New York City Neighborhood Youth Corps. He has received several salary hikes, and is now a full-fledged overpaid poverty commissar to the tune of $20,500 a year.

I find it incredible that a Communist could have been picked to run New York City's youth program. After all, Mr. Schrank's record is public knowledge, and Mayor Lindsay certainly should have looked into Mr. Schrank's background before giving him charge of the 40,000 young New Yorkers. I regret to say that the mayor is guilty of rather woeful negligence or a great error of judgment. Maybe the mayor thinks that extremism is a virtue. It was only a few months ago that he went for a plane ride with a Black Muslim group called the "Five-Percenteers" who think that the other 95 percent of Negroes have sold out to whitey. Maybe it is all part of "fun city."

But if the mayor thinks it is a joke to hire a Communist to run the city's youth program, I think that the people and parents of New York will be somewhat less amused.

Right now, $14.5 million worth of Federal funds are flowing into New York City's Neighborhood Youth Corps. Another $1.3 million is coming from the city. This certainly is not a program which should be supported by Federal funds so long as planning and programing are in the hands of a Communist.

Therefore, I hope that Sargent Shriver will take steps to cut off all Federal funds to the New York City Neighborhood Youth program until Mayor Lindsay eliminates all Communists who may presently be in leadership positions.

I agree with the basic program concept of providing employment to poor New York City teenagers, and I do not have and desire to terminate this program, but I do feel very strongly that it should not be a payroll for radicals and Communists. Until a thorough cleanup is made, I will do my best to cut off Federal funds. It is one thing to provide Federal funds to help young people. It is another to provide Federal funds to help Communists poison the minds of young people.

CREATION OF A COUNCIL OF ECOLOGICAL ADVISERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Pucinski). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. Tunney] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, America has been blessed with abundant resources. Together, all of our resources comprise the basis of the environment of the wealthiest nation on earth. Until this century, our Nation was primarily occupied with the development of most of those resources—with the mining and processing of mineral deposits; the planting and harvesting of the land; the cutting and milling of timber; the transport and industrial uses of water, and the mining, drilling, processing, and combustion of fossil fuels. In the early part of the 20th century, conservation of some of the overexploited resources of our country became a national interest. The Government began to take steps against the misuse of our most precious national wealth next to our people, the natural resources of America. Characteristically, conservation was first concerned with the most obvious blemishes resulting from earlier misuse—denuded timberland, eroded farmland, very inefficient and wasteful mining and processing operations, and eventually, polluted and poisoned waterways.

Mr. Speaker, in the past two decades the concern over the resources of our environment has grown immensely. Not only are we concerned with the use and misuse of our resources, we are now concerned with the impact and effect of that use and misuse throughout our environment. Man and nature have altered our environment, and in doing so, have altered the ecology of our Nation—the interrelationship and interaction of all parts of our environment. We are no longer concerned just with the misuse of mineral deposits and its impact on the land; we are also concerned with the poisoned waters resulting from poor mine drainage. We are no longer concerned just with the agricultural problems which result from the misuse that created the great midwestern dust bowl; we are also concerned with the effects of the dust in the atmosphere and the air breathed by millions of people in those agricultural States. We are no longer concerned just with the inefficiency and waste of poor smelting and metal processing; we are concerned with the impact of poisonous air emissions on the lungs and lives of millions of urban and rural dwellers.

We have not yet dealt with these problems effectively. We have not even considered all of the problems besetting our environment and their effect on our ecology. We have a tendency, Mr. Speaker, to deal with problems in a piecemeal manner. We do not anticipate a problem in a so-called preventive fashion. Rather, we let problems reach a point where we must try to cope with them in order to keep them from getting even more out of hand. This certainly has been the case in the area of environmental quality control.

The Congress, State and local governments, and industries have only recently begun to show their concern and awareness of the problems of air and water pollution in the face of the ever-increasing outcry of public dissatisfaction. We have, however, continued to act in our manner of responding to problems once they have become large enough to attract national attention. We have been caught ill prepared to deal with these problems, and the indecisiveness of our legislation is indicative of our lack of foresight. While we are presently looking at the two giants in the area of environmental quality control, air and water pollution, we are not viewing them in a sophisticated enough manner, nor are we paying enough attention to their impact on each other and on the entire environment. We are not giving enough consideration to other problems which will increase with our national growth if they continue to go on unchecked.

We have a need to look after the entire environment and the ecology of that environment. We must know the relationship of air to water pollution, and of each to solid waste matter, and of all to each other. We must understand the effects of radiation on all forms of pollution, the effects of pollution on the weather, the relationship of topography to pollution, and the beneficial combinations of urban planning to topography and the relationship of that combination to pollution abatement. We must understand the impact of environmental change on human beings, and how the changes in the quality of the atmosphere and the appearance of the environment affect man both physiologically and psychologically.

Mr. Speaker, we have a need to understand our physical surroundings and the ecology of that environment better, so that we may direct our efforts at beneficially altering our environment, and so that we may be able to foresee future problems that could be averted at an early stage. We must have an overview of our surroundings so that we can understand our strengths, weaknesses, and needs, and act accordingly.

At present we are dealing with many of the problems of our environment in many areas of the Government. I do not question that each of these areas has a special and particular interest in its area of authority. The Public Health Service, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, certainly has appropriate interest in air pollution, for air pollution has direct effects on our health. However, the Department of Transportation also has an interest in air pollution as it relates to automobiles and their ability to create air pollution, and as it relates to decreased atmospheric visibility which affects air transportation. Commerce has obvious interests when one of the great sources of air pollution is industry, and Agriculture is keenly interested in the impact of polluted air on crops and vegetation. I do not deny that each of these departments has a specialized and necessary interest in air pollution.

The Department of Interior has an important concern with water pollution, for it has jurisdiction over the billions of gallons of water which come from areas of Interior's jurisdiction. The Department of Housing and Urban Development also has an intense interest in water use, for it must concern itself with the water needs, and water and sewage systems of the great cities. Agricultural use of high quality water is a need that speaks for itself. Industrial use of water again involves Commerce, and there are obvious health needs in water purification systems. Again, I maintain that these areas all have individual legitimate and necessary authority in these realms.

The Atomic Energy Commission has obvious authority in the area of radioactive materials. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has interests in the health aspects of these potentially harmful materials. The Department of Defense has needs for nuclear fuels, and every Department involved with water which is interested in desalinization as a source of additional fresh water has considered atomic facilities for such processes. These interests each have certain special concerns, and I feel that they are rightfully exercising authority in their own particular areas.

I could go on and on, but certainly it is not necessary. There is nothing wrong with this departmental specialization in related fields; it is advantageous for the Government to look at problems from a variety of specialized points of view. There are, however, some major needs which are not being met.

First and foremost is the need to view the entire environment and its total ecological interaction. It is essential to relate all of these areas of interest to each other. The environment is certainly composed of many more elements than have been mentioned here, and the ecology of the environment—the interaction of all of those elements—is something that I could not entirely explain here for we do not yet entirely understand it. That is my point. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we hope to successfully deal with the many problems of our environment. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we hope to create programs that will alleviate our environmental problems, both now and in the future. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we are to make the various individual programs in our Government relate effectively to one another, and to advance our activities in the realm of improving the entire environment. An effective overall view of the environment and its ecology will enable us to evaluate the effectiveness of our present efforts throughout the Government.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I intend to introduce the Ecological Advisers Act of 1967. This bill proposes the creation of a Council of Ecological Advisers in the Executive Office of the President.

The purposes of this Council are manyfold. Primarily this branch of the Executive Office is to provide an overview of the problems of the ecology of the national environment, and to recommend and develop ideas and concepts for the implementation of programs designed to improve, protect, reclaim, restore and conserve the various aspects of our environment. The Council is to establish devices for reviewing the effectiveness of, and the need for, programs throughout the Federal Government, or sponsored or supported by the Federal Government, in related areas of environmental or ecological quality.

The most important of the Council's tasks will be the relating of the various areas of environmental interest to each other, and the development of creative concepts and plans for the continual improvement of the ecological and environmental conditions of the Nation.

The Council is also to direct the coordination of the efforts throughout the Government by its appraisal of programs. Through its staff and research facilities, it is to streamline and coordinate the research activities of the various areas of Federal interest and involvement in ecological questions. The Council will also advise the President on the allocation of funds for the various Federal areas involved with environmental questions.

The overview of the Council will be directed at the entire ecology of the environment—from the point of view of man and his needs. Ecology itself is not a concept which directs itself toward the effect of the interaction of the elements of the environment on one individual organism or element. However, in the case of the Council, we are interested in the environment and its ecology as it relates to man. The Council should not occupy itself with the narrow definition of each constituent element of the environment, but rather with the overall interaction of the constituent elements as they relate to man through their interaction with each other and with man. The Council, in short, must take a larger and not a smaller view of the picture of the environment. It must take a creative and comprehensive look at the ecology of our environment, concerning itself not only with the physical implications of the environment, but with the psychological and sociological implications of the conditions and interactions of the ecology of the environment on man. This will certainly include both the man-made as well as the natural elements of the environment.

The need for such a Council is clear. I have been in contact with representatives from industry, Federal departments, the executive offices, and scientific specialists, and they all express the idea that, in one form or another, some type of overseeing body is necessary to deal with the ever-increasing and continually proliferating questions and areas of authority concerned with our environment. They all affirm that an ecological view is necessary. There is a need to develop a long-range view of the problem, and corresponding long-range plans. There is a need to see that those areas of the Government dealing with various environmental problems are able to bring all resources to bear on those problems, are using all of the material available to the Federal Government, are not duplicating other efforts and programs, and are far reaching and creative in their efforts—with an understanding of the relationship of their projects and work to other related undertakings other places in the public and private realms.

Mr. Speaker, it is only fair to ask questions concerning the placement of such a council at the level of the Executive Office of the President. Once the need for such a body was determined, careful consideration was given for the placement of such an overseeing policy body. During the course of deliberations, the places considered for such a governmental function varied from a new Cabinet-level Department to an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It has become increasingly clear that a body created to deal with the entire environmental ecology must be in a commanding place in the Government if it is to be in any position to get an effective overview of national efforts and is to be a far-reaching policy determiner. If it is to be such an overseeing body, it cannot be placed in the structure of any one department involved in any one area of ecological or environmental quality control. It could never oversee nor direct the efforts of activities in other departments equal in stature to the department in which it was a subdivision. Therefore, creating an Assistant Secretary, or some such similar position in an existing agency would essentially be impractical and make such a body or position impotent.

On the other hand, there is no desire to create a superdepartment—a department to collect all of the various environmental quality research and control functions rooted throughout the various agencies and departments. As stated earlier, there are certain specific areas which are best kept where they now are, and such a massive reorganization would only postpone further the needed advances in this field.

The logical place for this Council, therefore, is at the level of the Executive. There, as a result of its position and its composition, and through its contact with the President, it is in a position to direct and enhance the activities in the Federal interests in environmental quality control, and to exercise independent and creative judgment in a previously much neglected field.

The power of this Council is derived from a number of areas. First and foremost is the position of the Council in the Executive Offices of the President. The ecological advisers should be the executive equivalent of the Council of Economic Advisers, and through their function of reporting directly to the Executive on a regular and frequent basis, and recommending policy, programs and allocations, the advisers maintain a prominent and powerful position in the Government.

The composition of the body also lends itself to authority both within and outside of the Federal structure. The prestige value of a membership composed of experts and outstanding figures from a number of areas of private service should enable the Council to wield a great deal of influence in areas of environmental concern. The arrangement within the Council which enables the advisers to serve on the Council without leaving their important positions in public and private life, enables each individual member of the Council to maintain and enhance his own individual position of status in his area of specialty and influence.

The composition of the Council should be designed to include representatives of science, industry, and areas that are major concerns of environmental quality. The advisers themselves should be individuals who are capable of taking an effective overview of the situation, and not becoming involved with the particulars of the various programs which come under the purview of the authority of the Council. For this reason I feel that the larger part of the Council membership be composed of social scientists, social and community planners, and public administrators. The great volume of the needed scientific expertise should come from the staff of the Council which will serve on a full-time basis. As previously mentioned, the Council members will retain their positions in public or private organizations in order to maintain positions of authority, and to help the member to maintain his specialized expertise and thus contribute more to the Council.

There is one additional underlying question which must be answered. This question deals with the concept of creating a new structure within the Government each time a problem is recognized. Should we create some new bureaucracy every time we discover or redefine a problem? Of course we should not in every case, or even in most cases, for we surely have the facilities within our gigantic Federal structure to handle most problems. This question can honestly be asked of any new proposal, and it certainly must be asked of a proposal of such far-reaching proportions as the one I am discussing today.

In the case of this plan I have proposed, I believe wholeheartedly that the need for its creation is clear. Our environment is our most immediate need; it affects us every minute of every day, and the ecology of that environment can alter our lives. This is not a simple problem, and therefore cannot be met by a simple solution. This is a problem that has roots throughout our country, and is dealt with in almost every area of the Federal Government. It is an area which includes environmental elements which must be actively related to each other if any valuable headway is to be made in the field of environmental quality control.

The possibilities of such a plan are very encouraging. The purview of the Council will deal not only with the interrelationship of the elements of the environment, but with the effects of those interrelationships on man himself. Only a Council in such a commanding position could be capable of collecting related information, coordinating efforts and projects, streamlining Federal activities in this rapidly growing field of interest, and developing the long-range and creative plans involving all areas of the Government which are necessarily involved in this realm.

Only a council such as the one proposed could have the latitude to develop such new concepts as the psychological implications of life in an urban area in terms of total ecology, and only such a council could be in a position to promote now unknown projects and concepts which are certain to develop in areas of urban and rural social ecology, and total concepts of waste disposal and related pollution abatement projects.

The need for such action is obvious. The problems of this country are increasing daily in this field, and we must stop dealing with them only as they appear as blemishes on the national countenance. We must be far reaching in our own efforts to establish a body with needed authority to view an immense problem from a comprehensive position and to develop effective solutions to complex and important problems.

Mr. Speaker, it is for these reasons that I will submit this bill, and I commend it to the careful consideration of the Congress.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES JOINS THE FIGHT AGAINST NOISE POLLUTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PUCINSKI). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as noise remains unconfined, I know my colleagues will be interested in the fact that on Tuesday, September 12, at a luncheon meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel here in Washington, there was a symposium on the "noise pollution problem" under the auspices of the chamber's National Resources Committee.

Reference to this meeting has heretofore been made in my address to the House on the subject of "Noise Pollution Revisited," on August 31, 1967, at pages 24844 to 24865.

The meeting was covered, among others, by the Environmental Health Letter through its publisher Gershon W. Fishbein, and in its issue of September 15, reported as follows:

NOISE CONTROL WON'T HARM INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

It is possible to have noise control and industrial development without penalty to each other, Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman (R-N.Y.) told a luncheon sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

"The idea that noise is a necessary price of industrial and economic progress is as antiquated as is the belief that contaminated waters and a polluted atmosphere must also accompany civilization's material advances. Noise pollution, however, unlike water and air pollution, is only now beginning to receive a proper share of public attention.

"Even in New York City, where Mayor John V. Lindsay has set up a Task Force on the problem of noise under the chairmanship of Neil H. Anderson, Executive Vice President of the New York Board of Trade, we are still waiting for a new building code to include problems of noise. Although there has been a code project, prepared at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, we are still awaiting for the New York City Council to take action with respect thereto, and to let the public be heard on the need for it."

Rep. Kupferman, who succeeded to Congress from the district formerly represented by now Mayor John V. Lindsay, has introduced legislation to create a special section on noise control within the Office of the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service. The legislation hasn't gone anywhere and isn't likely to in the absence of any high level support within PHS—but Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, did at least credit Kupferman with "alerting the attention of the Congress to the problems of noise abatement and control."

Speakers from NASA and Department of Transportation followed Kupferman and outlined the programs and plans of their respective agencies in noise research and control. A. J. Evans of NASA said that fan compressor noise remained the most serious source of objection from the public as the jets take off and land. The noise from jet exhaust can be silenced somewhat, and he indicated that NASA is considering increasing the slide slope to the airport from the present three degrees to six degrees as a means of lengthening the approaches and thus reduce the noise by distributing it over a longer period of time. He explained this in terms of PNDB—perceived noise decibel—indicating frequency of noise rather than merely intensity of noise.

Elwood Driver of DOT, formerly of North American Aviation, expressed his agency's concern with noise emissions emanating from motor vehicles and traffic patterns. He said his unit was also studying the effects of noise on driving safety, both among suburban commuters and the long-distance driver on the highways.

Mr. Speaker, some comments on the symposium follow:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C. September 15, 1967.
Hon. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KUPFERMAN: Thank you for taking the time from your busy schedule to speak before our luncheon group on Tuesday. Your comments were most informative and alerted some of our corporate and association members to a problem that deserves more attention than it has been getting in the past years.

I compliment you on a fine presentation that won you many friends.

Sincerely,
JAMES G. WATT,
Secretary, Natural Resources Committee.

UNITED AIR LINES,
Washington, D.C., September 18, 1967.
Hon. THEODORE KUPFERMAN,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KUPFERMAN: I was delighted to meet you the other day at the Chamber luncheon and to have the opportunity to hear you discuss the legislation which you have proposed.

I would certainly be derelict if I did not comment on the manner in which you presented your thinking. I attend many Washington luncheons and it is the rare occasion when one hears someone like yourself get up and speak in such a refreshing and informative manner.

Cordially,
HAYES DEVER,
Special Assistant to the President.

Mr. Speaker, my cospeakers on the subject were Albert J. Evans, Director, Aeronautical Vehicles of NASA, and Elwood T. Driver, head, Controls Bureau, National Highway Safety Bureau, Federal Highway Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation.

Mr. Evans' letter to me of September 14 follows, as well as the material which constituted the substance of his talk:

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND
SPACE ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., September 14, 1967.
Hon. THEODORE KUPFERMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KUPFERMAN: This is in response to your request following our talks at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce luncheon on September 12. Attached is a description of the NASA's Aircraft Noise Alleviation Research Program. My remarks at the luncheon were an attempt to outline the program described in more detail in the attachment.

In his transportation message of March 2, 1966, the President directed that a concerted effort be undertaken by the Federal Government to combat the growing problem of jet aircraft noise in the vicinity of airports. Responsive to this directive, the Office of Science and Technology (OST), in cooperation with the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and the Departments of Commerce (DOC) and Housing and Urban Development (HUD), initiated a ten point aircraft noise alleviation program. The program was based largely on implementing specific study recommendations contained in the March 1966 OST report "Alleviation of Jet Aircraft Noise Near Airports" (copy attached) which were the result of a one day seminar of government and industry aviation and noise experts held during October 1965.

In keeping with its statutory responsibilities the NASA has assumed the responsibility for the development of the technology and research information necessary for the design and development of quieter aircraft engines (Recommendation 5 on page 8 of the attached OST report).

The program outlined in the OST report is being pursued in the several agencies involved.

I enjoyed your luncheon address very much both in the content of your message and in the highly enjoyable manner in which you delivered it. I agree wholeheartedly that those responsible for technological advancement must take into consideration the impact of such advancements on our social structure.

I am sure you will be interested in the attached information and I hope it will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,
ALBERT J. EVANS,
Director, Aeronautical Vehicles.

NASA AIRCRAFT NOISE ALLEVIATION RESEARCH

NASA aircraft noise alleviation research is a continuing but greatly expanded program (beginning in Fiscal Year 1967), which is directed primarily at means of minimizing engine noise at its source. Since the noise levels to which an observer on the ground is exposed are a function of the distance between the observer and the noise source, there is also considerable research activity directed toward exploring problems associated with operating aircraft along flight paths which minimize the noise levels as observed on the ground. To accomplish these two objectives, that of minimizing the noise produced at the aircraft and providing safe means of increasing the distance of the aircraft from the ground during the landing approach, the NASA research program is organized with the following major elements:

1. A basic research program;
2. A fan-compressor noise suppression program;
3. A project to study the development of a new quieter aircraft engine; and
4. A project to study the new means of positive aircraft control (Direct Lift Control) necessary for steeper landing approaches.

SUMMARY OF PAST NASA RESEARCH

For a better understanding of past NASA research programs and our current efforts, it is useful to review briefly the major sources of aircraft engine noise. The main sources of noise radiation for the turbojet engine are the compressor and the jet exhaust. With the introduction of the higher efficiency turbofan engines, with which most commercial jet airplanes are now equipped, an additional noise source was added, the fan discharge noise. However, the air which is bypassed through these fan discharge ducts results in an additional mixing of air at the boundary of the jet exhaust and has alleviated the exhaust noise radiation to the extent that it is now less of a problem, and the aircraft so equipped are potentially less disturbing on take-off where the main component of noise is from the exhaust. An adverse effect has been created by an increase in noise radiated from the compressor through the inlet and fan-discharge ducts, and it is these noise sources which create the community reaction against noise during landing approaches. There are other noise sources such as those associated with the rotating machinery and the burning of fuel but these are quite secondary at present.

The results of past NASA programs which have guided the planning of the current efforts will now be described briefly under the heading of jet exhaust noise, fan-compressor noise, nacelle design and steep landing approach studies.

Jet exhaust noise: One of the main objectives of research on exhaust noise reduction is to find acceptable methods of producing less noise per unit engine thrust. The turbofan engine offers these possibilities through lower average exhaust velocities and hence lower noise. Current turbofan engines which have a bypass ratio (the ratio of the cold air discharged from the fan duct to the hot air discharged from the engine exhaust) of around 1 provide from 3 to 7 decibels reduction in comparison with turbojet engines of the same thrust. NASA laboratory studies at small scale indicated the large gains which could be expected by substantial increases in bypass ratio. An extrapolation of the small-scale data to engine in the 21,000 pound thrust range, shows that at bypass ratios near 6 as much as 20 decibels reduction in exhaust noise level can be expected as compared to current turbofan engines with bypass ratios near 1. Studies similar to these are some of the basic ingredients in the development of the quiet engine research program.

Fan-Compressor noise: Considerable laboratory effort has been directed toward the study of noise generation in compressors and fans. One of the more obvious ways in which such noise may be reduced at the source is by including the proper spacing between stationary and rotating components of the fan or compressor. There is a velocity deficiency in the wake of the stationary vanes of a compressor which varies with distance; as the rotating vanes pass through this varying wake, noise is created. By increasing the distance a more uniform stator wake seems to be created for the rotors to pass through and noise is minimized. A comparison of sound levels in a 90° arc ahead of a compressor inlet indicates a substantial decrease in noise level for the tests conducted with the stationary vane moved ahead of its normal position. It has been found that maximum noise level reductions of 12 decibels are achieved by forward movement of the inlet guide vane, of 14 decibels by removal of the inlet guide vane and 16 decibels by removal of both inlet guide vane and stator. Principles such as these will also be applied in the development of the quiet engine research program.

Nacelle design: One obvious approach to reducing the noise during landing approach is to add acoustical treatment to absorb the noise before it can radiate into free space. During the landing approach of turbofan aircraft two noise peaks are evident, and these are associated with the fan-compressor noise radiated from the inlet and the fan discharge ducts. The noise-level reductions that might be obtained during landing approach by treating various portions of the engine nacelle were estimated during studies made for NASA by the Douglas Aircraft Company under a research contract. Acoustic treatment of the inlets only would probably not reduce the maximum noise level appreciably but would essentially eliminate the first peak of the noise time history. Likewise, if the fan discharge duct alone were treated, there would be a modest noise level reduction, and the second peak would be eliminated. If, however, both the inlet and fan discharge ducts were treated, a substantial noise reduction of the order of 15 PNdB might be achieved.

Again with regard to the inlet problem, another approach which laboratory scale studies indicated as having enough potential to carry to full-scale hardware is that of producing a sonic block in the inlet ahead of the rotating engine components. A sonic block or choked flow results in the containment of compressor noise within the inlet but requires careful and major design changes for the proper inlet-engine match. While the noise levels for choked flow are higher at frequencies below 3,000 cycles per second, they are considerably lower at the higher frequencies. This leads us a small way toward the concept of perceived noise level (PNdB) which is an equivalent noise level based upon the annoyance created by sounds and includes the effects of frequency content. As a matter of fact, the choked inlet effects would be less annoying because of the suppression of the higher frequencies which are a prime ingredient (turbine whine) in observers' reactions to noise exposures. While the remainder of this discussion will for simplicity relate to noise levels in decibels, it should be remembered that the best measure of annoyance is stated in terms of PNdB.

Both acoustic treatment research and choked inlet research have led to the development of the current fan-compressor noise minimization program to be described later.

Steep landing approach studies: Studies of steep approach paths were initiated some four years ago in the interest of potential gains in airspace and noise reduction. The primary efforts were aimed at the operating problems of accomplishing steep approach paths safely within the constraints imposed by the airplane, noise limitations and navigational equipment. The increased emphasis on noise abatement in the terminal area intensified NASA efforts in regard to approach path operations, and at the present time the current criterion is whether the steepened approach path technique will reduce approach noise.

The studies were closely coordinated with the Federal Aviation Administration efforts, and much of the present work would not have been accomplished without material assistance in the form of test aircraft and crews. The approach was that NASA efforts were in the area of defining problems and potential solutions with the the advice of FAA and industry and that the FAA would develop and qualify the equipment, techniques and training procedures indicated by the research. If one considers the many ramifications involved in changing operating procedures, it is obvious that the final solution must involve the best ideas and views of many interested groups.

The effectiveness of the use of steeper approach paths for portions of the landing approach glide path as determined from tests made by NASA is illustrated by the 8 decibels reduction in noise measured at the five mile point when a 6° approach was used until the normal glide slope was intersected about 2.5 miles from the end of the runway.

Aside from considerations of guidance systems which are not now available to permit high angle approaches to flare and touchdown in commercial operations, tests on all aircraft (DC-8, Boeing 720, Boeing 707, 320, Convair 990 and a variety of smaller aircraft) indicated problems in pilot workload, instrumentation and airplane response close to the ground during constant 6° approach angles to touchdown. It was determined that more positive means of flight path control were needed, and this led into the development of the current direct lift control program.

CURRENT PROGRAMS

Basic Research: A continuing basic research program directed toward a better understanding of the fundamentals of inlet, compressor, and exhaust noise generation is carried out through analytical studies and small scale laboratory tests. This research is carried out principally at the Langley and Lewis Research Centers and under contract with qualified investigators in universities and industry. Funding for the contract work and for support of the in-house program is approximately $850,000 per year.

The research program at Lewis in turbomachinery noise is focused about a turbofan engine research facility. This facility is essentially a 4,000 pound thrust turbofan engine (modified T55 turboshaft engine) having a bypass ratio of 6:1. In the initial experiments, engine noise levels will be determined as a function of basic engine parameters. The contribution made by the engine components (compressor, combuster, turbine and nozzle) to the total engine noise will also be determined. In subsequent experiments the effect on noise of inlet guide vanes, rotor-stator spacing, rotor-stator blade numbers, bypass ratio, fan blade loading, and fan tip speed will be determined.

The turbomachinery noise program will lean heavily on the extensive research conducted in the advanced engine component technology programs, particularly the effort related to advanced fans and compressors. In the Advanced Technology Program, various fan/compressor concepts such as slotted compressor blades, blades incorporating boundary layer suction and blowing techniques, transonic blade contouring, and variable camber blades are being examined both from the performance (blade loading, efficiency, and distortion tolerance) and from the noise viewpoints. The overall objective is to combine high performance with low noise generation capability.

Prior to the engine tests, small scale experiments of promising fan/compressor blading will be conducted in a 6-inch 100 horsepower air turbine drive rig. Detailed near field and far field noise measurements will be taken. In-duct noise measurements of the larger scale fan/compressor blade rotors studied under the advanced technology program will be attempted. These rotors will be tested with a 2,000 horsepower turbine drive unit at the outdoor noise measurement station where detailed noise measurements will be made.

In the V/STOL area, propulsion concepts developed for V/STOL applications, such as fan-in-wing and composite blading, will emphasize noise suppression potential. An 800–1000 horsepower turbine drive unit is being designed to enable outdoor noise tests similar to those described previously.

In addition to the continuous analytical work examining the processes involved in inlet noise generation, propagation and suppression, jet exhaust noise, which had received a great deal of attention by NASA, will be receiving increasingly more attention. Various internal and external mixing devices will be examined initially in a cold-air jet-noise rig.

A J65 turbojet engine test rig has been modified for use in conducting research in the area of acoustic treatment of inlet ducts.

The basic research program at Langley consists of both in-house and contract efforts as described in the following. (A bibliography on some NASA papers relating to aircraft noise reduction follows this article.)

1. Study of Noise Effects of Varying Design and Operational Characteristics of Jet Aircraft and Their Powerplants—This is being done under a research contract with Conesco, Division of Flow Corporation. The objective of this study is the development of engineering methods for including aircraft design and operational characteristics as well as noise source characteristics in the acoustical evaluation of aircraft. A parametric study is being performed and charts will be developed to guide users in the calculation of noise exposures resulting from various engine/airplane system design selections. Such parameters as aircraft gross weight, thrust to weight ratio, wing loading, induced drag, airspeed, engine thrust, weight flow, bypass ratio, exhaust temperature, and compressor-fan configuration are included in the study.

The above studies will form the basis of a project to develop methods for predicting the noise footprint from an operational aircraft based on only a few measurements, from an airplane after modifications have been made to its propulsion system, or from a proposed airplane in the design stage.

2. Compressor Noise Reduction—The present studies under contract to Wyle Laboratories include both experimental and theoretical work on defining the mechanisms of compressor noise generation and on applying acoustically absorbent material to the leading and trailing edges of the compressor blades to reduce the fluctuating forces on the blades and hence reduce the radiated noise. A general theory of sound radiation by sources in motion has been developed and will be applied to the case of the compressor in order to allow its sound output to be predicted directly from a knowledge of its operating conditions.

The above work is supplemented by inhouse experimental work involving the use of a research compressor for which the effects of variables such as number of stages, tip speed, tip clearance, stage clearance, stage loading, relative section speed, blade number combination, and inlet duct treatments can be studied. Analytical work is also projected relating to the propagation of noise in and from finite ducts.

3. Evaluation of Karlson Jet Nozzle for Noise Reduction—Acoustic evaluations will be performed on a family of nozzles designed particularly to eliminate the longitudinal organ pipe modes. These models have been supplied under contract by the inventor who claims that the particular geometrical features which have certain advantages for loudspeaker design may also result in substantial jet noise reductions.

4. Meteorological Effects During Airport Ground Run-Up on Noise Propagation—An experimental study has recently been performed to investigate the sound propagation losses associated with aircraft ground operations. The results show a pronounced increase in low frequency attenuation, reaching a maximum in the frequency range of 125 to 250 Hz. They indicate also that the "standard" values of atmospheric absorption are too large above 2,000 Hz. A simple engineering procedure for estimating downwind propagation is given. This study was supported under NASA contract with Bolt Beranek and Newman, Inc. and the results are presented in NASA CR-767.

Some recent ground motion measurements made under contract to the Teledyne Company in the Edwards Air Force Base, California, area have shown that ground runups of jet aircraft on the ground are detectable at distances of the order of two miles and that the preferred frequencies of ground motion are in the range of maximum air attenuation. Further studies of ground motions due to aircraft noise are projected.

5. High By-Pass Ration Low-Velocity Jet Noise—This study was recently completed by Bolt Beranek and Newman, Inc. and the results are reported in NASA CR-679. The study relates particularly to the noise generated by the flow over the appendages inside the engine. The results of this study show that the resulting noise can be correlated with the associated pressure drop. Further work related to the mechanism of noise generation is projected and this will include the effects of up-stream turbulences.

6. Helicopter Rotor Noise—This work is currently underway under a grant with the University of Southampton, England. The objective of the research grant study is to obtain a full understanding of the mechanisms of helicopter noise production particularly of the higher harmonics which occur at frequencies significant for speech interference and annoyance. The program will consist of theoretical studies of noise from helicopters configurations in steady and unsteady flow conditions, measurements and analyses of the noise of model rotors subjected to disturbed flows, and measurements and analyses of noise from operational helicopters.

Projected research to enhance the prediction of broad-band noise generation by helicopter rotors is projected for the future and all of the analytical work will be supplemented by in-house measurement programs on various operational helicopters.

7. Refraction of Sound by Jet Flow or Jet Temperature. This study was recently completed under a NASA grant to the University of Toronto and the results are published in NASA CR–494. This investigation suggests that the deep cleft which appears in the heart shaped pattern of subsonic jet noise can be attributed mainly to refraction of the sound out of the jet by the velocity and temperature fields. The depth of the refraction valley increases with jet velocity, jet temperature, and sound frequency.

8. Investigation of the Properties of Fiber Metal Acoustical Materials—Work is being supported under contract with the Huyck Metals Company to evaluate such properties of fiber material as strength, damping, resistance to sonic fatigue, freeze-thaw cycling, thermal expansion, air erosion, salt-spray corrosion, and cleanability, etc.

This work is supplemented by in-house studies of static and dynamic responses of fiber metal test specimens. The above work is of interest because of the possible application of fiber materials as acoustic duct liners in engine nacelles.

Fan-Compressor Noise Suppression: In the mid-calendar year 1966, NASA began planning an expanded aircraft noise alleviation research and development program to carry the promising approaches developed during laboratory studies to full-scale development and testing. One of these major program elements relates to fan-compressor noise suppression.

A Request for Proposal entitled "The Study and Development of Turbofan Nacelle Modifications to Minimize Fan-Compressor Noise Radiation" was issued by NASA-Langley on August 30, 1966, and responses were received by September 30, 1966. One of the requirements of the study covered the modification of an operational 4-engine jet transport to explore performance penalties and noise reduction by flight tests of flight rated hardware. The Request for Proposal was sent to Boeing, Douglas, Lockheed and General Dynamics-Convair. The guidelines were:

(1) Achieve a reduction in flyover noise level on the ground track in the order of 15 PNdB during landing approach,

(2) Modifications should not compromise safety of flight nor result in undue workload on the crew, and

(3) Although some increase in operating costs may result, the modified operational transport should still be economically viable.

The program will include analysis, wind tunnel tests, nacelle redesign as necessary, ground run-up tests, performance calculations, flight tests, and economic studies for the trade-offs involved between costs and possible noise reductions assessed in terms of PNdB. Preliminary results will be available from ground tests within two years, but the flight tests which are necessary to establish the operational characteristics and effects of noise suppression on aircraft performance will require another year for completion.

Both Boeing and Douglas have been selected to carry out parallel development programs. Boeing began work on May 1, 1967, and Douglas began on May 3, 1967. One of the major features of both of these contracts is that all aircraft noise alleviation data generated prior to and through the completion of the contracts will be made available to the Government to use and disclose in any manner whatsoever.

Quiet Engine Research and Development: A considerable amount of completed basic research has shown that each of the elements of a jet engine can be designed to permit substantial noise reduction. However, information on the successful operation of such a propulsion system is unavailable. Therefore, a project is being initiated by Lewis that will combine all of the known noise control techniques into an engine of about 22,000 pounds of thrust, designed to operate at high subsonic flight speeds.

The fan, compressor, burners, turbines, and exhaust nozzles will be designed for minimum performance penalty. For example, compressor blade-vane spacing and numbers, tailored nozzles, and techniques of achieving high blade loading at low tip speeds will receive consideration in the design of this engine. Acoustic treatment of the inlet and discharge ducts will also be included in the design.

The definition phase of this project, which will include the preliminary design of the engine and an integration study of the engine with existing aircraft has been initiated.

A second phase of the project (design and component phase) will follow the initial definition phase. The phase for which $2,000,000 is planned for in FY 1968 will include detailed design work on the engine and nacelle, initiation of engine component fabrication and research and the definition of the full scale engine demonstration phase of the project. Prior to the implementation of the demonstration phase a decision to proceed with the actual fabrication of a research engine will have to be made. The demonstration phase would include finalized engine component research and development, and fabrication assembly and test of the full scale engine. The demonstration engine would be man-rated, but no attempt will be made to determine initial engine life expectancy. However, it is anticipated that an engine development program, consistent with a 50-hour engine life (FTS) as a goal can be completed by FY 1972.

Direct Lift Control: The intent of this study is to extend the research to large jet airplanes relative to the application of direct lift control for noise abatement during steep and segmented approaches. A large jet transport with a direct lift control device will be utilized to study large airplanes operating in adverse landing conditions (Category II minimums). The contractor (Boeing) will be required to study, through the use of ground-based simulators, various methods of direct lift control, control gearing, and longitudinal augmentation schemes and their effectiveness. From the results of the simulator studies, several configurations of direct lift control and longitudinal augmentation will be selected for programing of a variable stability aircraft, and a flight program will be conducted. The contractor will use the results of flight testing to design, fabricate, and install a boundary layer control flap system on the test specimen research airplane. This modification to the airplane will be designed to provide the aircraft with the capability to make steep, low-speed landing approaches with low engine power for noise abatement studies.

A flight test program using the modified research airplane will be conducted. The flight testing program will be designed to enable evaluation of noise abatement approach schemes and the weather minimums for landing advanced jet transport configurations. This program is expected to be completed by late 1969.

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Mr. Driver's letter to me of September 21 and his subject and talk follow:

U.S. Department of
Transportation,
Federal Highway Administration,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967.
Hon. Theodore R. Kupferman,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kupferman: It was a pleasure to be in such distinguished company Tuesday when I sat with you on the Noise Abatement Panel arranged by the Chamber of Commerce. If my comments were of sufficient interest to be included in the *Congressional Record,* I shall be all the more honored. A copy of my remarks is enclosed as you requested.

It was thoughtful of you to send me copies of H.R. 12718 and of your August 30 speech. Both are of considerable interest to me and to the rest of the Bureau staff.

It will be my pleasure to follow through on the invitation to write you further about highway driver safety and noise abatement problems.

Sincerely,

ELWOOD T. DRIVER,
Head, Controls Branch.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY SAFETY BUREAU ON NOISE POLLUTION

(By Elwood T. Driver, at a luncheon by U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Sheraton Carlton Hotel, 12:45, September 12, 1967)

I am honored to share the platform with Congressman Kupferman and Mr. A. J. Evans, to discuss one of today's most pressing problems—Noise. The magnitude of the problem is clearly evidenced by the public, and now official, concern with noise as a pollutant. It is a problem which if not corrected will become larger as man's technology increases the output of items which contribute to the noise background.

The government agencies which Congressman Kupferman and Mr. Evans (NASA) represent are very well known to all of you. The National Highway Safety Bureau, an agency within the newly formed Department of Transportation, is probably not as well known because of its recent origin. For this reason I will take a few moments to identify the Bureau, its objectives, and its relationship to the problem of noise pollution.

The National Highway Safety Bureau is a direct product of the increasing concern with the highway accident toll. Congress passed overwhelmingly the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the National Highway Safety Act of 1966. The acts were signed by President Johnson on September 9, 1966. Shortly thereafter, Dr. William Haddon, Jr., well known and highly respected in the accident prevention field, became Director of the new traffic safety agency now known as the National Highway Safety Bureau. This Bureau, along with the Bureau of Public Roads and the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety, reports to the Federal Highway Administration under Mr. Lowell K. Bridwell. The FHWA along with the Federal Aviation Administration, Coast Guard, Federal Railroad Administration, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation reports to the Secretary, Department of Transportation, Mr. Alan Boyd.

As evidenced by the concern reflected in the subject matter for today's discussion, another by-product of man's technological advance has now taken its place with air and water pollution as a matter of public safety. I refer to noise, commonly identified as unwanted or undesired sound. H.R. 2819 and 2820, as proposed by Congressman Kupferman, will provide for the establishment of an agency to formulate a concerted control, prevention and abatement program against noise. Section 101 of H.R. 2819 provides for the interchange between Federal agencies of all data relating to noise, its control, prevention and abatement.

At this point I will describe how the National Highway Safety Bureau plans to handle the problem. The prime effort of the Bureau is the control, prevention and abatement of fatalities, injuries and property damages occurring during motor vehicle operations.

Within the National Highway Safety Bureau is a unit whose responsibility is the determination of methods for reducing the incidence of motor vehicle accidents. Very aptly the name of that unit is the "Office of Standards of Accident Avoidance. (It is coincidental that I am assigned to the Vehicle *Driver* Performance and Interaction Division. It is sometimes embarrassing when I am unable to live up to my name (Woody Driver) on the golf course).

Responsibilities of the Office of Standards on Accident Avoidance include the development of safety standards for motor vehicle parts and subsystems and the determination of those man-motor vehicle-highway-environment interrelationships which affect the efficiency and safety of the driver. The role that the Bureau can play in the area of safety standards for noise producing and suppressing systems such as engine exhaust and audible warning systems is readily evident. In addition during the course of the research, development and engineering studies which will be taken to identify causative factors for highway accidents, noise as well as vibration, glare, fatigue, air pollution and other environmental factors will be fully considered. Results of those studies will of course be available as data for the proposed Office of Noise Control in accordance with Section 101 of H.R. 2819.

As of this date there are no research or investigative studies underway or planned in the near future which are directed specifically toward the abatement or control of vehicle and highway noise. Because of its recent origin, the primary goal of the National Highway Safety Bureau has been the developing and issuing the initial motor vehicle safety standards. None of these initial standards address themselves specifically to the matter of noise generation by motor vehicles but, as study and research indicate that safety standards are need for mufflers, tail pipes, and other noise producing motor vehicle subsystems, then data pertaining to noise control and abatement as well as noise level and measurement data will be natural by-products of that effort.

The same type of fall-out data will also result during the National Highway Safety Bureau's efforts and assistance in the development and improvement of safety on the nation's highway systems.

I wish to emphasize at this point that the measurement and evaluation of noise and the translation of that data into standards for motor vehicles will require considerable engineering effort. The extent of current research in the area of standards for noise emission by motor vehicles is minimal. For example, the Society of Automotive Engineers has three standards in existence which pertain to this subject. Two of these, SAE J672, "Measurement of Truck and Bus Noise," and SAE J919, "Measurement of sound level at operator station" pertain to the manner in which the noise should be measured and not how much is permitted. The third standard, SAE J952, "Maximum Sound Levels for Engine Powered Equipment," establishes maximum sound levels for engine powered equipment but does not include machinery designed for operation on highways or within factory and building areas. I do understand, however, that there is under consideration SAE J986 covering maximum sound levels for passenger cars and light weight trucks. This standard should prove beneficial to the National Highway Safety Bureau and other agencies in the development of standards for the control and abatement of motor vehicle noise emission.

I have briefly summarized the current position of the National Highway Safety Bureau in the area of research and development for noise abatement and control. Primary efforts of the Bureau in this area will be in terms of the effects of noise on the safety and efficiency of the vehicle driver in order to reduce the highway accident toll and in developing safety standards for motor vehicle systems and subsystems. Data pertaining to noise suppression as a result of research and development will be available in accordance with existing policies and procedures. I wish to point out that Engineering standards and new developments as well as regulatory measures will be needed to control the undesired contribution of motor vehicles to the total noise spectra. To those of you who have lived near high density motor vehicle areas the contribution of motor vehicle noises to the ambient noise spectra is obvious. To those of us who have heard the discordant cacaphony of poorly muffled motorcycles and automobiles, it is all to apparent.

In closing may I quote from an article by Mr. Ralph Eshelman titled "The Auto Safety Furor: Its meaning to Engineering." This excerpt lucidly states the role that engineering and its tool of research, study and experimentation must play in noise control:

"Not only must problems of public safety, air and water pollution, and noise be of greater ethical concern to engineers in the future, but it is apparent from recent court decisions that legal questions of product reliability and quality will force them to become so. It is evident now that engineers in virtually all fields, not only automotive, will be compelled to concern themselves with the effects of their company products on the environment."

Mr. Speaker, Mr. James G. Watt, and also Mr. Thomas W. O'Neil, of the news department of the chamber of commerce are to be commended on their initiative in preparing for, and presenting this informative program.

The chamber of commerce is to be congratulated on its progressive stance as presented in its booklet "The Need: To Manage Our Environment for the Greatest Net Benefits to Man and His Total Community."

Among those attending the chamber of commerce luncheon was Harold D. Watkins, associate transport editor of Aviation Week & Space Technology, a McGraw-Hill publication. He has brought to my attention an article in the August 21 issue of this publication, beginning at page 38, entitled "NASA Begins Major Engine Noise Project," by Michael L. Yaffee. I am pleased to bring this to the attention of my colleagues:

NASA BEGINS MAJOR ENGINE NOISE PROJECT

(By Michael L. Yaffee)

CLEVELAND.—Quiet Engine program at National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Lewis Research Center here is expected to lead to a significant reduction in jet-engine noise generation and reverse the rising over-all noise levels which have reached the problem stage at major airports.

The program, expected to cost $50 million (AW&ST June 26, p. 23), is aimed at the development of a new, turbofan demonstrator engine that will show a reduction of 15 pndb. (perceived noise level) on takeoff and 20 pndb. on landing, compared to current transport engines such as the JT3D manufactured by Pratt & Whitney.

Other parameters established by Lewis for the Quiet Engine, designed for potential applications in present generation commercial transports, include:

Sea level thrust: 20,000–25,000 lb. Lewis wants contractors to calculate noise levels on a 20,000-lb. thrust engine and on a 25,000-lb. thrust engine "utilized on a long-range, four-engine transport of 325,000-lb. gross takeoff weight which cruises at 0.82 Mach number at 35,000 ft. (an approximation of the Boeing 707 and Douglas DC–8 aircraft)."

Bypass ratio: 3–8. Five probably will be the bypass ratio selected for the actual demonstrator engine, according to the NASA research center's James J. Kramer.

Maximum engine diameter: approximately 70 in.

Compressor pressure ratio: 15–30.

Fan pressure ratio: 1.3–1.7.

Turbine inlet temperature at takeoff: 1,600–2,300F.

Turbine inlet temperature at cruise (Mach 0.82, 35,000 ft.): 1,600–2,100F.

Unlike other government aircraft noise abatement projects (see box, p. 39), the Lewis program involves development of a completely new engine. The Quiet Engine program also is expected to achieve the greatest amount of noise reduction and could prove the single-most expensive of all the projects.

The Lewis program will take advantage of noise abatement techniques and technologies generated in other programs when feasible, or be combined with them to give the Federal Aviation Administration a yardstick it can use in establishing noise certification standards for future aircraft.

Ideally, the government would like to reduce the composite noise rating of future airport operating environments to approximately 100 pndb., now considered to be the point at which perceived noise starts to become a problem, and hold it at this level despite the anticipated increase in the number of daily aircraft operations and in the size and power of future aircraft. This can be achieved, government experts believe, by reducing individual aircraft noise generation—in a series of steps—possibly by as much as 28 pndb. from current noise levels.

These steps include:

An 8-pndb. reduction in noise heard on the ground through flight path control. Both NASA and FAA are working on improved flight path control concepts that will enable pilots and aircraft to make steeper descents than now practiced. The objectives of this work are to keep approaching aircraft as high as possible as long as possible in order to reduce the noise level perceived on the ground.

NASA's part of this program, managed by Langley Research Center with technical support from Ames Research Center, is concerned with the design, development and flight testing of improved direct lift control devices. FAA is working on new navigational equipment that will help the pilot execute the required approach. NASA and FAA are also evaluating a new noise abatement climb profile.

A 14-pndb. noise reduction obtained by combining the 8-pndb. reduction potential from flight path changes with a 6-pndb. reduction expected from NASA's "short-range" nacelle modification program. Earlier this year, Langley awarded Douglas Aircraft a $3.5-million, 32-month contract for the acoustical treatment of the fan inlet and exhaust ducts of current, commercial turbofan engines. This program entails no modification of the engine nacelles other than the installation of sound absorption liners.

A 23-pndb. noise reduction comprised of 8 pndb. from flight path modification and 15 pndb. from NASA's "long-range" nacelle modification program. In addition to the Douglas contract, Langley awarded Boeing a $7-million-plus, 36-month contract for a possible 15-pndb. reduction through nacelle modification of present transport turbofan engines. In addition to acoustical treatment of the fan inlet and exhaust ducts, the Boeing program will entail installation of inlet choke to prevent fan and compressor noise from propagating forward out of the engine and possibly lengthening of the fan exhaust duct.

A 28-pndb. reduction consisting of the 8-pndb. reduction from flight path modification and the anticipated 20 pndb. reduction from the development of Lewis' Quiet Engine. Primarily, this program seeks to reduce engine noise through development of a high bypass ratio turbofan engine which will have a lower exhaust noise than straight turbojet and low bypass ratio turbofan engines owing to the lower average exhaust velocity and to additional mixing of the primary and secondary exhaust streams.

Because this high bypass ratio engine is expected to generate greater fan noise, which becomes a major factor during landing, the Lewis program will try to minimize this and other engine noise sources through new research and development work and by incorporating, whenever feasible, advanced engine technology generated by other government and industry groups, such as acoustical treatment of fan ducts, inlet choking, elimination of inlet guide vanes and the adjustment of spacing between rotors and stators.

Definition phase work on the quiet engine began last month under a nine-month, $458,000 contract Lewis Research Center awarded to Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Div. of United Aircraft. The rest of the $750,000 in Fiscal 1967 funds allotted to this program is being used by Lewis to purchase supporting services and hardware. (Salaries for the 25–30 Lewis researchers doing in-house work on the program come out of a different administrative pocket.)

Under its Quiet Engine contract from Lewis, P&W will perform four basic tasks:

Make engineering calculations on engine thermodynamics and cycles, exhaust and fan noise generation and propagation, and on performance over the range of engine parameters specified by Lewis (bypass ratio of 3–8, compressor pressure ratio of 15–30, etc.). Specifically, P&W will calculate thrust per unit airflow at takeoff and cruise; specific fuel consumption at takeoff and cruise, noise levels during takeoff and landing, and engine length, diameter and weight as a function of thrust. P&W is expected to report the results of this task to Lewis next month.

Select three Quiet Engine cycles from among the specified parameter ranges for further work. From September through December, P&W will select three sets of engine characteristics based on the results of Task 1 and carry out complete preliminary design layouts on each of the three engine cycles and preliminary design analyses of the components. In addition, P&W will calculate uninstalled engine thrust and fuel consumption at altitudes from sea level to 45,000 ft. and at Mach numbers from 0 to 0.9.

Recommend one of the three cycles for further design work, identify noise sources and means for minimizing them, and refine engine performance calculations and tabulations. At the end of this task, which is expected to last for three months, P&W will provide Lewis with a complete detail design for this engine sufficiently refined to serve as engineering drawings but not for fabrication drawings.

Prepare a plan for a follow-on program of component research and development and engine demonstration. In this program plan, P&W is asked to provide details on the work tasks, time schedules and costs. Lewis expects P&W to complete this task and its contract in April, 1968.

For fiscal 1968, Lewis Research Center has requested $2 million to continue work on the Quiet Engine. This will include, in addition to any necessary supporting services and hardware, initiation of the second phase of the program on component research and development and engine demonstration. It will also include contracts, now under negotiation, with two airframe companies for work on the integration of the Quiet Engine with subsonic transport aircraft. Lewis may also use fiscal 1968 funds to bring a second engine contractor into the program. The center will not commit itself on this possibility except to say that the available money would be adequate to cover a second engine contract.

Lewis is negotiating contracts with Boeing Co. and with McDonnell Douglas Corp. for work on integrating the Quiet Engine with Boeing 707 aircraft and with Douglas DC–8 aircraft and scaled down versions of the engine with Boeing 727–737 aircraft and Douglas DC–9 aircraft.

For the 707 and DC–8, Boeing and Douglas will be asked to do the preliminary design work on new nacelle-pylon structures that can be used to mount Quiet Engines on their respective aircraft. Each nacelle project would include two different designs for fan inlet and exhaust duct noise suppressors.

After completing the designs and engineering evaluations of the designs, each contractor will be asked to recommend the better system. After review and approval by the NASA project manager, the contractors will carry out wind-tunnel tests with models of their candidate systems. Based on test results, the contractors will calculate the installed performance of their respective systems as well as the range and/or payload improvements and the direct operating costs of 707 and DC–8 aircraft retrofitted with the candidate engine system. They also will change their preliminary designs to include any modifications to the nacelle-pylon-suppressor structures that are indicated by the wind-tunnel tests.

The final task of these contracts, as now planned, calls for the contractors to determine the feasibility and characteristics of Douglas DC–9 and Boeing 727 and 737 aircraft "retrofitted with appropriate scale models" of the candidate Quiet Engine systems with noise suppressors.

NASA wants the contractors in this phase to carry their preliminary designs to the point where the problems unique to these aircraft are identified and to provide results similar to those generated in the Task 1 studies of the DC–8 and 707. However, there will not be any wind-tunnel aerodynamic model tests of the systems for the smaller aircraft.

In-house research at Lewis on the Quiet Engine program is generally more basic than the outside contract work and, initially at least, is being focused on noise generated in the fan section of the engine. The dominant sources of noise in a turbofan engine, Kramer points out, are the front compressor stages—primarily the fan—and the core engine exhaust.

There is some indication that the turbine stages can contribute significantly to engine noise. But this is the same type of noise generation process as in the fan, he adds, and the techniques developed for reducing fan noise can probably be applied to reducing turbine noise.

The exhaust noise problem is a tough one, Kramer says. It was the subject of intensive and extensive government and industry study when turbojet engines were first being introduced several years ago. Some minor gains have been made. But any substantial reductions (10 db. or so) in jet exhaust noise, Kramer adds, entailed unacceptable losses in performance. Thus, the approach in the Lewis Quiet Engine program is to go to a high bypass ratio turbofan, thereby reducing the average velocity and noise of the jet exhaust, and to concentrate on the problem of reducing fan noise.

At the same time, however, Lewis recently reinstituted a program on jet exhaust noise—apart from the Quiet Engine program—for the turbojet-powered supersonic transport and other supersonic aircraft which cannot solve the problem by going to a high bypass ratio turbofan engine due to the high drag penalty associated with a large diameter fan.

The problem of fan noise generation, Kramer says, offers a fairly fertile field for research with many areas yet to be probed and understood. The relationship between fan noise generation and blade loading, for example, is still a mystery except for the fact that the two seem to rise together. Also, aerodynamicists feel intuitively that the noise level potential of a row of fan blades is a function of the blades' sensitivity to variations in the angles of incoming flow. And, says Kramer, this also appears to rise with blade loading.

Accordingly, a principal pursuit of Lewis researchers working on the Quiet Engine program is to try to link fan noise generation with compressor aerodynamic design variables such as blade design and incidence, stage loading, fan pressure ratio, spacing between rotors and stators and the use of inlet guide vanes. The hoped-for result, Kramer says, will be an engine that combines acceptable aerodynamic performance with low noise output.

U.S. SHAPES BROAD AIRCRAFT NOISE PROGRAM

Federal government, through various military and civilian agencies, is undertaking a major coordinated attack on the aircraft noise problem in an effort to find solutions.

The problem, as the government views it, is divided into two major components: sonic boom, for which no one yet has an answer, and the noise caused by aircraft operations, for which various agencies envision solutions.

To attack these problems, the government has established two inter-agency groups, both under the direction of Dr. Donald F. Hornig, head of the Office of Science and Technology. The OST coordinating committee on sonic boom studies includes NASA, FAA, USAF and the office of the Secretary of Defense, with participation of members from the National Academy of Sciences' committee on sonic booms.

The second group, concerned with reducing the current aircraft noise level, consists of FAA, NASA, Dept. of Commerce and Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Work of this group is evaluated by a program evaluation and development committee, which also includes representatives from the Air Force, airport management, local governments and air transportation industry associations.

This group already has published one report on the "Status of the Federal Aircraft Noise Abatement Program" and very shortly expects to release a second report on "Recommendations for Updating and Improving the Federal Aircraft Noise Alleviation Program."

The work of the inter-agency group concerned with the alleviation of the current aircraft noise problem, funded by the individual member agencies, is quite diverse. It includes everything from the collection and analyses of noise data to the development and fabrication of hardware and, eventually, to the establishment of noise standards to be used in the future certification of aircraft. It was the formation of this group in 1966 that provided the impetus for the significant expansion in NASA's work on engine noise suppression, which will culminate in Fiscal 1972 in the development and fabrication of a man-rated, demonstrator Quiet Engine for subsonic transports (see story).

The various projects involved in the federal aircraft noise alleviation program are funded by and contracted for by the individual agencies. Excluding the cost of in-house work, total expenditures planned for the program are estimated at $6.9 million for Fiscal 1967 and $8.5 million for Fiscal 1968.

Of the Fiscal 1967 total, NASA allocated $5.85 million; FAA, $939,400, and HUD, $152,700 ($110,000 of this was transferred to HUD from FAA funds). For Fiscal 1968, NASA plans to allocate $6.80 million; FAA, $750,000, and HUD, $1 million (including $110,000 from FAA funds).

Mr. Speaker, developments in the noise field grow apace.

The Sierra Club has announced its opposition to sonic boom operations. Their communication follows:

SIERRA CLUB,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
September 12, 1967.

Mr. WILLIAM A. SHURCLIFF,
Director, Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom, Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR MR. SHURCLIFF: You will be pleased to know that at a meeting of our Board of Directors on September 9th the following resolution was adopted:

"The Sierra Club is opposed to the operation of civil aircraft under conditions that produce sonic booms audible on the surface of the earth."

I know you will be pleased that our organization, representing 55,000 conservationists across the country, has joined in the protest which you are leading. It would help us implement this resolution if we could procure some of the technical studies which have been conducted on the effects of sonic booms. We understand that one has been done for the Federal Aviation Agency and that more recently one has been done for the White House. Have you been able to procure copies of these studies? If they are available, we would be most interested in being able to study them. We understand that both showed that sonic booms are seriously damaging.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL MCCLOSKEY,
Conservation Director.

Mr. Speaker, as reported in the New York Times of Sunday, September 24, the city council of Santa Barbara, Calif., has started legislative approval on an ordinance to ban sonic boom. The article follows:

BAN IN COAST CITY ON SONIC BOOM GAINS

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., September 23.—Residents of this affluent coastal city of 61,000 have had more sonic booms lately than they can stand.

As a result, the City Council unanimously passed an ordinance on first reading this week prohibiting operation of military and civilian aircraft over the city in such a manner as to cause the jolting shocks that have recently resulted in injuries, property damage and fears of another major earthquake.

The ordinance, slated for final adoption next week by the seven-member council, is the first of its kind in the country, so far as is known here.

As introduced, it decrees that flights causing sonic booms over the city constitute a public nuisance. This is a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum of a $500 fine and 60 days in the county jail.

In recent months sonic booms have occurred almost daily at the noon hour. Residents have complained that walls of homes have been cracked, windows broken and dishes knocked off shelves.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star, in its issue of September 1, reported on a Fairfax County criminal court case on a violation of an antinoise ordinance. Mr. Robert A. Barr of Springfield, Va., has kept me advised on the progress of this litigation.

The article follows:

FINE SUSPENDED: ROCK 'N' ROLL AT POOL TURNED OFF BY JUDGE

(By Stephen Green)

Whether the music is rock 'n' roll or written by Tchaikovsky, it's against the law if it annoys the neighbors, a Fairfax County Court judge ruled yesterday.

Fining a Springfield swimming pool association $300 for violating the county's noise ordinance, Judge Robert M. Hirst admitted that he found the whole business rather "confusing" because different people have different tastes in music.

Although some residents living near Parliament Pool in the King's Park subdivision said they don't mind the amplified rock 'n' roll music played during teen dances at the pool, two pool neighbors who signed the warrant of complaint do.

BOOM, BOOM—HEADACHE

"It's just a boom, boom, thump, thump to me," testified one of the signers, Mrs. Gerald D. Worth of 8513 Parliament Drive, across the street from the pool.

"After two hours of it, I have a migraine headache and have to take tranquilizers, even with the air conditioning on and the windows closed," she said.

Charles Major, attorney for the pool association, claimed unsuccessfully that the noise ordinance forbidding "excessive and objectionable" sounds is unconstitutional because it can only be enforced with "subjective" standards.

"Some may consider Tchaikovsky's '1812 Overture' excessive," he said.

"I've never heard the '1812 Overture' played for two hours," said Judge Hirst. He later suspended the fine on condition the pool association is not again found guilty of violating the noise ordinance.

Sporting long hair and a full beard, Marlow Mays, leader of the five-piece Marlow Mays Blues Band which plays at pool teen dances, said he turned down his amplifier at the request of Alfred Evans, a pool director.

However, Mrs. Carolyn Harrell, who lives across the street from the pool at 8511 Parliament Drive, and who also signed the complaint warrant, testified that her 11-month-old child began screaming about 8 p.m. and didn't stop until 11:30 p.m. the night of the dance.

Six other neighbors of the pool agreed the music did not annoy them.

"I love it," said Mrs. James C. Fowler of 5233 Southampton Drive. "My husband even sleeps right through it on an outside porch," she explained.

FOR PROTECTION

"Although 200 people might be in favor of the sound and only two against it, the law is for the protection of those who find it objectionable," said Judge Hirst.

An amendment to the noise ordinance under consideration by the county supervisors would require four complaining witnesses instead of two.

"You have to have the wisdom of Solomon to strike a balance between the needs of teen-agers and other members of the community," said Michael Horan, assistant commonwealth's attorney.

Mr. Speaker, the best film on the problem of noise is being distributed by National Educational Television. I have previously arranged for a showing to my colleagues and will be pleased to do so again.

Descriptive material on the film follows:

SPECTRUM NO. 49—NOISE: THE NEW POLLUTANT

Content: Man has polluted his environment, not only with noxious gases and deadly chemicals, but also with dangerous sounds. This program focuses on scientific experimentation into the effects of sound on man, ranging from sonic boom tests in California to an expedition investigating the hearing processes of natives in a remote corner of Africa. Dr. Samuel Rosen, otiologist and surgeon at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital, found that the elders of the Mabaan tribe, who live in near silence in the Sudan, hear almost as well as their grandchildren whereas studies have shown that Americans tend to suffer definite hearing losses as they grow older. His research suggests that our hearing may well be affected by the rising noise levels of the twentieth century. In scenes at Washington University in St. Louis, the viewer sees the physiological damage caused to the hearing mechanism by prolonged exposure to high intensity sound. The Stanford Research Institute, in a massive test conducted for the National Sonic Boom Evaluation Committee, is probing the effects of noise on our feelings as well as our physiological conditions. The Stanford scientists are also probing the effects of noise on our subconscious through tests on sleeping subjects. The film also examines methods currently in use for controlling unwanted noise and Dr. Vern O. Knudsen, UCLA chancellor-emeritus, tells why he wears ear-defenders (plugs)—a practice many of us may soon find ourselves adopting.

Producer: Eliot Tozer.

Director: Bert Shapiro.

Film Editor: Jules Krater.

Narrator: Charles Mountain.

Consultant: Dr. Leo P. Del Sasso.

Produced with the assistance of: The Deafness Research Foundation (John A. Hartford Foundation), U.S. Air Force, Trans World Airlines, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Executive Producer: David Prowitt.

"Spectrum—Noise: The New Pollutant," is a 1967 production of National Educational Television. This program was made possible through a grant from the Acoustical Materials Association.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues will be interested to know that Johnny Carson is also antinoise. His letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1967.

Hon. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KUPFERMAN: Thanks so much for your note and for sending along the material on noise abatement.

Being a New Yorker for the last dozen or so years, I am well aware of the problem and the need for legislation to control it.

It was good to hear from you, and thanks again.

Sincerely,

JOHNNY CARSON.

HOW SCORE GIVES A NEW BOUNCE TO BUSINESSMEN

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Administration's SCORE—Service Corps of Retired Executives—program demonstrates an outstanding example of a field program carried out at practically no cost to the taxpayers but one which has a dramatic effect on the country.

Established 2½ years ago by SBA, this organization has already enrolled more than 3,200 business and professional leaders in some 800 communities to provide advice and guidance to small businesses. Each SCORE member donates his services.

The Johnson administration and the Small Business Administration take great pride in the fact that thousands of American small enterprises have been assisted by this program.

I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the National Observer's news story of Monday, September 11, entitled "How SCORE Gives a New Bounce to Businessmen," and insert the story at this point in the RECORD:

HOW SCORE GIVES A NEW BOUNCE TO BUSINESSMEN

(By Pete Roalman)

CHICAGO.—"Can you send someone to show me how to make money?"

Scrawled on a Government form by a struggling businessman, this plaintive request arrived recently at the Chicago office of the Small Business Administration (SBA), a division of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Three weeks later, 20 successful retired businessmen met at the SBA to consider the request. For all its lack of finesse, the appeal for help didn't seem unusual to these seasoned executives. Indeed, one retired executive even journeyed out—free of charge—to show the small, struggling entrepreneur how to run his business.

The incident is by no means unusual any more. The 20 men, all members of an organization called the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE), have been heeding hundreds of such calls for help since 1964. Dozens more SCORE members in 180 chapters across the nation have heard thousands of similar pleas.

MANY ARE VOLUNTEERS

Almost all of the calls for help are answered. This SCORE assistance, sponsored by the Small Business Administration, has one added bonus: It rarely costs anyone involved much, if any, money. Most of the work is performed by volunteers.

SCORE started three years ago in 68 cities after a three-month test in Boston and Washington, D.C. Its purpose is to save small businesses, especially those with fewer than 25 employes. The man most widely credited with getting SCORE started, Eugene P. Foley, a former administrator of the SBA, says SCORE is the outgrowth of two problems.

The first problem is the high rate of small-business failures. Last year 13,000 businesses, many of them small, went bankrupt. The second problem is the seemingly large-scale waste of talented executives, who increasingly are being forced to retire at age 65. There are roughly 200,000 of these restless, retired executives in the United States today, and the knowledge and skills of most of them remain untapped during retirement.

Mr. Foley concluded that the problems would help solve each other if a corps of volunteer retired executives—SCORE—were formed to lend struggling businessmen a hand. Says Mr. Foley: "We knew that the lack of management skills was the principal cause of small-business failures. At the same time, out of the corner of our eye, we were wary of the growing trend to early retirement."

THE GROWING PROGRAM

Within six months after the program began in October 1964, more than 1,000 retired executives had volunteered and more than 5,000 small businesses had asked for aid. Today the corps has swollen to 3,300 volunteers, who have given free advice to some 22,000 small companies. SBA projects 5,000 volunteers by the end of 1968.

Typical of the volunteers working on the SCORE program is William A. Cassin, who retired in 1963 from the presidency of Central Grocers Co-operative, Inc., a Chicago-area operation owned jointly by 465 grocers. Mr. Cassin is the retired executive who answered the "show-me-how-to-make-money" request that arrived in the SBA's Chicago office recently.

The businessman who scrawled that note for help owns a small grocery store in a mostly Negro section of Chicago. "When I first met him," recalls Mr. Cassin, "he was sitting in the back room of his store counting the day's money. He had a revolver on his desk. He operated a somewhat basic business. He was about 60 years old."

After introductions, Mr. Cassin asked for the grocer's last financial statement. The grocer startled Mr. Cassin with a question SCORE members have learned to expect: "What's a financial statement?"

"There are an amazing number of small businessmen who don't keep good financial records," says Mr. Cassin. "That's one of the first and most common things they do—or don't do—that can lead to their destruction." As often happens in dealing with small businessmen, Mr. Cassin says, he had to gain the grocer's trust and then slowly extract some meaningful financial facts. The figures came from the grocer's head. Nothing was on paper.

PROUD OF A DIPLOMA

After more digging and prying, Mr. Cassin discovered that the building in which the store was located was owned mortgage-free by the grocer. "I assumed then that he must be doing all right if he could pay for the building from profits," mused Mr. Cassin. "But the question was: How 'all right' was he doing?"

In the report he filed with SCORE after the call, Mr. Cassin noted his recommendation to the grocer that he enroll in a basic bookkeeping course offered by SBA. "I also said in my report that I doubted that he would enroll," Mr. Cassin recalls.

But six months later, Mr. Cassin happened to be in the neighborhood near the grocery store. He stopped by and, recognized immediately by the grocer, was invited into the back room for a chat. "I have something to show you," beamed the grocer. Proudly he displayed the SBA diploma he had won for graduating from the bookkeeping class. Raved the grocer: "I enjoyed it so much I've enrolled in another one."

Not all SCORE advice is taken. For instance, the owner of a Chicago frozen-food locker once asked for help. A SCORE volunteer advised him to add a line of groceries that might attract more customers and also to provide pickup and delivery service to keep the ones he had. But several months after the SCORE representative called on him, the locker owner was still ignoring the suggestions.

Nor does the advice offered by SCORE volunteers always succeed. In response to a plea from an Indiana book store, a retired executive from SCORE investigated and found that there were not enough regular book purchasers in the small town to keep the business alive. He counseled the store owners to add a rental library, a line of stationery, and some greeting-card racks. Business increased slightly after the SCORE ideas were adopted, but the store finally failed anyway.

ADVISED TO QUIT

SCORE often recommends going out of business. This is exactly what happened when a SCORE counsel in St. Louis visited a manufacturer of steel pails and drums who had asked for aid. The SCORE man studied the fabricator's competitive position and advised him to quit. He did.

High-powered aid for the small businessman is still somewhat unusual on the American business scene. Before SCORE, though, it would have been almost unheard of to find an international banker advising a small clothing-store owner or, say, a bank vice president sitting down with a plumber to discuss such things as gross sales, profit margins, and long-term financing. Notes Arthur J. Howard, a 52-year-old owner of a successful publishing company in Gurnee, Ill.: "The SCORE program is sometimes like shooting sparrows with a 12-gauge shotgun."

SCORE aides normally receive no more than a smile and a thank you for their efforts. SCORE bylaws allow them to take up to $5 for their out-of-pocket expenses, but usually they advise their beneficiaries to forget such payments.

After the first 90 days of free advice, the small businessman and the retired volunteer may work out an agreement for a counseling relationship for a fee. However, John Jones, an SBA official here in Chicago, says that 97 per cent of all SCORE cases end up without any money changing hands.

SCORE requires that each volunteer attend a half-day SBA meeting each month in addition to the day or two of counseling that each case requires. Often the demand on the SCORE volunteer's time goes well beyond that.

But that's where the fun seems to begin. "It makes me feel 20 years younger," says Raymond Leeth, a retired Chicago retailer who has been working for SCORE. "You have no idea what satisfaction there is in helping a small businessman prosper."

THE RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] may extend his remarks at his potint in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the word "education" does not appear anywhere in our Constitution and as provided by that historic, time-honored document, this function—education—is expressly reserved to the States. And this is the system under which public education functioned effectively for more than 150 years.

However, directives and dictates by Commissar Harold Howe and his HEW "wrecking crew" have disrupted an orderly, efficient process of education for the masses.

Today these intellectual heretics have brought into existence guinea pig experiments of racial integration along so-called percentage lines and have, in some areas, ordered busing of children away from their neighborhood schools into strange places. All this has been done without a genuine sincere interest in the well-being of the school child, or in the improvement of the educational system.

Little noticed by the major news media has been the rise of the independent school movement throughout many areas of the Nation.

Exercising the principle of freedom of choice—as guaranteed by our Constitution—thousands and thousands of concerned American parents have helped build and then enroll their children in these private independent schools.

Parents are concerned in Louisiana, as well as other areas of our great Nation, at the present-day trends in the public school system of their States.

Time was when the local autonomous school boards operated the local public schools but, unfortunately and tragically, that is no longer the case. The local boards are allowed to function, but only as long as they follow strict rules and regulations dictated to them by Federal authorities under the direction of the infamous Commissar Howe of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In my State, and several others in the same geographical region, the recent Fifth Circuit Court decision in the Jefferson case has removed completely—and without leaving any room for doubt—the constitutional authority for local school boards to operate institutions under their jurisdiction. They must now subscribe to the harsh dictates of an unjust and unconscionable court decree.

Independent schools were born several years ago in a farsighted effort to maintain some vestige of local control. Today there are many hundreds of these schools operating successfully and providing good, sound education for their pupils.

They have progressed a great distance since their founding, despite facing untold odds and hardships. The educators, parents, and friends who have labored so hard—and effectively—are to be commended for their efforts. They are modern-day pioneers in the truest sense of the word.

However, there are now concerted attempts being made to destroy Louisiana's—and America's—independent schools.

Those directing this attack have already captured the local public school system. It will undoubtedly be only a matter of time until a massive "book-burning" takes place.

And when this time arrives, the public schools will be ordered to use textbooks that are chosen by Federal bureaucrats and cleverly written by socialistic theorists to brainwash strange and alien ideologies into the minds of schoolchildren. Parents who object will be ostracized.

But, as long as the independent schools exist, there will be an alternative. Through devious and sinister schemes, these schools may have their accreditation taken from them by the State. At that point it will be a choice for the parents—a choice of whether to have their child brainwashed in an accredited school, or educated in an independent school.

Mr. Speaker, an interesting column on independent schools was recently penned by the noted columnist John J. Synon. I include this column following my remarks:

THE RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

(By John J. Synon)

As with all basic changes within a nation, the Civil Rights revolution has its spin-offs, unlooked for developments that, in themselves and in the long run, may prove more significant than the parent that gave them birth.

Such a development is the burgeoning independent school movement now sweeping the country.

It isn't easy to get definitive figures on the growth of these schools. They are multiplying too fast for that; growing like Topsy, if you will forgive the phrase. Moreover, the national news media—with the public-school hierarchy in mind—is not prone to publicize their shining advent. Yet, there they are, independent schools are popping up everywhere.

The reason is apparent: White parents throughout the nation do not want their children to attend checkerboard schools. It makes no difference whether they are resident of New York, Alabama, or Kalamazoo, when classroom integration passes a given point—15 per cent or less—White children begin their silent exodus.

The development is welcome for had the Johnson-Humphrey administration not fostered the lawlessness of civil disobedience, the public-school systems would have rocked us right into casebook socialism. The schooling of our children, until Civil Rights came along, had been made both free and easy to the point that most parents sent their youngsters to public schools gratefully and, one must add, thoughtlessly. They simply assumed their young ones were being educated and let it go at that. It was this, the permissive, assumptive attitude on the part of parents that opened the way for the hierarchy to demote the learning process to a secondary position and to make their ideology—the preachment of "brotherhood", the canard that all-men-are-equal—the first order of business.

And it is understandable, how they got away with it. So long as there was no competitive force—nothing against which to measure the effectiveness of the public schools—parents, by and large, had no way of realizing precisely what was going on.

But when the system evolved, as it inevitably had to evolve, into a system based upon the lowest common denominator, and when that denominator became identified by the emotional flag of race, parents who cared about their children's education awoke with a start and began doing something about the situation.

Thus the rise of the independent schools.

It may not be fair to cite one organization above others as being principally responsible for the care and feeding of this healthy woods colt but, even so, one organization above others stands out.

I write of the Citizens Councils.

The Citizens Councils, without a lot of bombast and foofooraw, have been at work, principally in the South, East and West, advising distraught parents how to go about establishing a local independent school. Their success, as I imply, has been startling. Take their work, for instance, in Jackson, Mississippi. In Jackson, the first of the Council's independent schools was opened three years ago, in the fall of 1964. On opening day, it had but 22 pupils in six elementary grades established in a private home. The next year, in 1965, it had 110 pupils in 12 grades, and a graduating class of four—one of whom was a National Merit Scholarship Finalist. This summer, the independent schools of Jackson enrolled in their summer program 11 per cent of all summer-school pupils. That is Jackson. As to the State, the State of Mississippi has more than 70 such schools—thanks to the Citizens Councils.

These independent schools are opening in every section of the nation, without geographical limits. They open in direct proportion to the press of racial integration and everywhere they open, they flourish. South Carolina has between 45 and 50. So it goes. And the movement is about to drive the public-school hierarchy out of its equalitarian mind. They had the world by the tail, these equalitarians, and along came Civil Rights. Now the people are awakening.

Both systems cannot continue, not indefinitely. One must go. And as more and more parents come to realize that two thirds of all State tax money goes to support a system dedicated not to learning but to ideology, it seems apparent which will be the loser. David and Goliath are met again; people, particularly parents, are getting progressively tired of being duped, put upon, not getting their money's worth.

Every father and every mother owes a debt of gratitude to the likes of the Citizens Councils and to the thousands of other individuals and organizations all across the nation that are leading the way back to learning. No doubt of it, and if you will permit a soupcon of cynicism, a debt is owed to the Civil-Rights movement as well. In total, they are giving us again a system whereby our children are being taught their ABCs.

Viva learning! Viva independent schools.

THAT WEDDING: AN AFFAIR OF STATE

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appearing in the Richmond News Leader of Friday, September 22, 1967, regarding the marriage of a high-ranking Cabinet officer's daughter and a member of the Negroid race has been called to my attention.

I insert this editorial, and an article pertaining to this wedding from the Washington Daily News of September 21, 1967, following my remarks:

[From the Richmond News Leader, Sept. 22, 1967]

AN AFFAIR OF STATE

The whole world will fix attention upon the marriage of the daughter of the American secretary of state. As a private affair, it is also an affair of state.

Dean Rusk was born of poor folks in 1909 in Cherokee County, Ga. From Davidson College, he went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. His subsequent academic connections were multifarious, leading him in time to the State Department and advancement to secretary in the Kennedy Administration.

Mr. Rusk has a record of personal opposition to segregation. For example, as an army officer in World War II, he sought to force acceptance of a Negro officer in an officers' club. He once remarked to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, with evident emotion, that his Georgia nativity did not check his belief in race mingling. His conviction has thus been self-conscious, but it has now stood the supreme test: Giving his daughter's hand to a Negro.

The 18-year-old bride and her 22-year-old husband were called upon early in life to make their greatest decision. The minister duly counseled them concerning the obvious difficulties. Only recently did the Supreme Court invalidate a miscegenation law. No matter what the other conditions, a mixed marriage such as this is, and will always be in the nature of things, an eccentric marriage. The bride and groom accepted that reality, but made their bet that other considerations put the balance in favor of union.

The marriage, however, transcends personal considerations. As secretary of state, Dean Rusk is the ranking member of the cabinet. His probity and repute are enmeshed with the welfare of the United States. At some point, we may be certain, the time came for the secretary of state to inform the President of the impending marriage. Having made a personal decision in favor of his daughter's choice, he then had to find whether the President considered the marriage in harmony with or contrary to the interests of the administration.

A very large element of Americans, white and colored, disapprove or abhor mixed marriages. In the coming campaign, Secretary Rusk presumably will be a prime figure in the defense of the Vietnam War. Anything that diminishes his personal acceptability is an affair of state. One speculates that Secretary Rusk may have offered his resignation. In any event, President Johnson, seeing that the event will bear this way or that upon his re-election, gave assent.

For Secretary Rusk, this must have been a personal decision as prickly as a cabinet officer ever had to make. What will perhaps be generally overlooked is that the parents of the groom also had much to consider.

In all, it is a stunning event; it is consequential; it will reverberate.

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 21, 1967]

DEAN RUSK'S DAUGHTER WEDS CALIFORNIA NEGRO

SAN FRANCISCO, September 21.—Secretary of State Dean Rusk's daughter Margaret, 18, and Guy Smith, 22, who is a Negro, were married today at Stanford Memorial Chapel.

Only the couple's family and close friends attended the services in the interdenominational chapel at Stanford University.

Miss Rusk is a student at the university and scheduled to begin classes next week as a sophomore. Mr. Smith expects to enter the Army soon for training as a helicopter pilot.

A license was issued to the couple Wednesday in the suburb of Redwood City.

State Department security agents and campus police barred newsmen from entering the chapel, which has a large mosaic on the front depicting Jesus Christ with arms outstretched encouraging peoples of all races to come to him.

A statement issued by the university said Mr. Rusk escorted his daughter for the ceremony performed by the Rev. Dr. B. David Napier.

She wore an empire gown of white pau de soie with bodice and elbow-length sleeves of chantilly lace and a short tulle veil. She carried a bouquet of roses and white daisies.

The maid of honor was Anne Kogler of Santa Ana, Calif. Mr. Smith's best man was Thomas Tilton, of Los Altos, Calif. Mrs. Rusk wore a pale blue silk dress and matching coat and accessories. Mrs. Smith wore a champagne colored suit with black accessories.

His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence L. Smith, live in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Smith, of East Palo Alto, is a data processor. East Palo Alto is a community populated largely by Negroes near the Stanford campus.

Secretary Rusk arrived by plane at the Moffet Naval Air Station near San Francisco yesterday for what was described as a visit with relatives. The wedding license application listed the bridegroom's parents as Clarence and Artemis Smith.

Asst. County Clerk Alfred Davancens of San Mateo County said the license was issued without having the couple come to the courthouse, at the request of State Department security officers. Mr. Smith is employed by Massey Temporary Services and has been doing work on the space science program.

A relative, who declined to be identified, said Mr. Smith had been accepted for Army training as a helicopter pilot. He said no date was set for Mr. Smith to start service but he expected to see duty in Vietnam.

FIREARMS CONTROL

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1967, I introduced H.R. 10086, a bill identical to the Johnson administration's position on the control of firearms. I did so because I believe strongly that the existing legislation on the Federal level does not reflect an antidote to current conditions and because the laws on the State level are not sufficiently effective. New Jersey has a very stiff code on the sale and purchase of firearms, but testimony taken after the recent Newark disturbance has shown that guns purchased out of State played an important part in that frightful holocaust.

Therefore, I am pleased that the President has again urged the Congress to enact firearms legislation.

For years now the Congress has been conducting hearings on legislation to strengthen the Federal controls over the interstate and foreign traffic in firearms.

It has been established beyond doubt that the existing Federal controls over such traffic do not adequately enable the States to control the firearms traffic within their own borders.

The States cannot cope with the interstate mail-order gun traffic. Only through adequate Federal control can this grave problem be properly dealt with and effective State and local regulation of the firearms traffic be made possible.

The ease with which any person can acquire firearms—including criminals, juveniles without the knowledge or consent of their parents or guardians, narcotic addicts, mental defectives, and armed groups who would supplant the functions of duly constituted public authorities—is a significant factor in the prevalence of lawlessness and violent crime in the United States.

The police chiefs of our major cities have testified in favor of effective Federal gun control laws.

The American Bar Association has urged the enactment of legislation.

The principal newspapers of the Nation have recognized the crying need for action.

The National Crime Commission called attention to the gravity of the problem.

We have extremists of every hue roaming the country and urging their followers to arm themselves.

Snipers are shooting at police and firemen striving to protect life and property.

In view of the overwhelming support for President Johnson's position and the clear danger that inadequately controlled traffic in guns poses for each American, we must enact effective firearms control legislation now.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a number of Pennsylvania newspapers have reacted to President Johnson's letter to Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd, ordering a broad plan for improving our air traffic control system.

In my own congressional district, the press has applauded this move toward a higher level of air safety. The President's order moves the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport in my district a big step closer to its goal of achieving better safety control through an airport radar system.

In nearby Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Inquirer points out that citizens of Pennsylvania's largest city have a particular interest in the plan.

I include four editorials on this subject of air traffic control in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Evening Chronicle, Sept. 21, 1967]

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE

The mushrooming traffic at Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport is indicative of the problems the Federal Aviation Agency and President Johnson have in mind as they put forth programs to improve and expand the control system in the interests of safety.

The first eight months of 1967 produced a traffic flow of 90,000 arriving and departing commercial passengers and 80,700 landings and takeoffs by commercial, military and private aircraft at A-B-E, an increase of almost 50 per cent in operations.

This pattern is repeating itself across the country in varying degrees at large and small airports. And the numbers of passengers and planes arriving and departing can only increase as the jet age takes a deeper hold on the nation's travelers and new commercial routes are opened.

Of immediate concern is the $811 million sought by FAA to finance its operations in this fiscal year, including a supplemental appropriation of $100 million requested to provide more personnel and equipment for air traffic control operations.

Of long range concern is the call by President Johnson for development of a comprehensive plan to expand and improve the traffic control system with an estimated price tag of $5 billion for new facilities, equipment and personnel. The President proposes that the aviation industry, the traveling public and the communities served pay for it.

While financing of current FAA operations and the ambitious expansion sought by the President is a vital issue, the major concern is that something must be done, and quickly, to cope with the increasing air traffic congestion. This creates additional hazards as controllers and other personnel attempt to keep planes out of each other's way, a challenging assignment at any airport, including A-B-E where the busiest August day brought takeoffs and landings at an average of one every 2.8 minutes. The spacing was even closer during peak daylight hours.

[From the Bethlehem (Pa.) Globe-Times, Sept. 23, 1967]

GAP IN AIR TRAVEL SAFETY

At long last, the President has ordered a long-range, multi-billion-dollar program to make air travel safe. Costs will be divided between the government, the aviation industry and the flying public. This is fine, except that our recent reading has led us to believe that the risks of the traveling public are not so much those of falling out of the sky as of burning to a crisp on land.

In a notable book by a veteran airline pilot, we were told that, no matter what the trouble, most qualified pilots of passenger planes can bring their craft down. The trouble—as is borne out by statistics—comes after the plane has landed and burst into flames.

So greedy are the operators to crowd in passengers that there is too little space for emergency exit. There is no particular provision for getting passengers out of a burning plane. So thousands die—on land—in airplane accidents because safety precautions are inadequate. This is not only silly but callously irresponsible.

It is all well and good to expect the public to pay its share of the load, if the situation is to be corrected. But it should be remembered that flying is government-subsidized to begin with, and that the airlines are so prone to crowd passengers into their planes that safety is overlooked, and it should be expected that due regard for human life is a prerequisite.

If, instead of charging everyone along the line for air safety, one could impress the airlines with the need—indeed their responsibility—for their passengers, perhaps all that would be necessary would be room enough to maneuver. Removal of one or two seats in the plane might make all the difference between ready egress and doomed immobility.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Sept. 25, 1967]

POSTPONING SAFETY

The White House order directing development of a long-range multibillion-dollar air traffic control plan is a poor excuse for rejecting the immediate safety expansion program proposed by the Federal Aviation Administration in its urgent request for a $100-million supplement to its $811-million budget.

In brushing this request aside, the President in effect said the additional safeguards to airport approaches the FAA insists are needed now will have to wait until they can be conveniently fitted into his budget. Since Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd was given no timetable for the long-range plans, there have been no projections of how soon that might be.

Although the President obviously intended his directive to make it appear he was actively promoting safety for air travelers, it promises little and does even less. All he offers for the moment is a suggestion that the FAA use $7 million it planned spending for new equipment like the radar surveillance unit long proposed for the A-B-E Airport, to hire 800 of the 1,500 additional controllers it says are needed.

Last year some 2,300 airliners and 100,000 private planes carried 110 million passengers in and out of the nation's airports. The load is expected to triple over the next eight years. Already FAA records show 82 "near-collisions" in the approaches to New York City airports alone.

While the President was turning thumbs down on $100 million for safer air traffic controls, the FAA issued sweeping new orders to reduce the risk of fire and speed the evacuation of airliners when they crash on the ground. The construction changes will cost the industry an estimated $2 billion over the next few years.

These alterations are a marked step forward in passenger safety and are very properly a responsibility of the airlines. They will do nothing, however, to reduce the chances of midair collisions in which the loss of life so often is the heaviest.

Safety on air routes and over airports is a responsibility of the government through the Federal Aviation Administration. A long-range study does nothing to help it do the job that needs to be done now.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Sept. 21, 1967]

STRONG MOVES FOR AIR SAFETY

Everyone who uses the commercial airlines, or expects to use them, has a personal stake in the move by the Federal Aviation Administration to stiffen air safety rules aimed at reducing fire dangers and to speed up escape from planes forced to make crash landings.

The new regulations, scheduled to take effect between next October 24 and October 1, 1969, seem to be soundly calculated to save lives and reduce injuries, if not entirely eliminate them in many accidents. Clifford W. Walker, FAA's deputy associate administrator, sums up a great deal in pointing out that after years of development, airliners are being built that "will take a real battering" without serious harm to passengers.

Under such circumstances, it is a life-and-death matter to get passengers out of the aircraft "before fire, fumes or something else gets them." A major requirement is that new planes must have enough exits for a full load of passengers to get out in 90 seconds using exits on only one side. Furthermore, it is to be up to the manufacturers rather than the airline to demonstrate this capability. Present regulations put responsibility on the airline, and allow 120 seconds. Other rule changes facilitate this aim.

All of these requirements seem to make sense. They nicely complement President Johnson's call for a new program of air safety and aviation control in keeping with the increases in aviation activity which, this year alone, have been double the anticipated rate. The more stringent requirements will mean little, however, unless matched by adequate air traffic controls, airport safety equipment and safety personnel in the field.

THE REPEAT OFFENDER—THE MAJOR SOURCE OF CRIME

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CASEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, for many years, I have pointed out to my colleagues the major source of crime in our Nation is the repeat criminal offender—turned loose through lax courts or weak prosecution to continue preying on our citizens.

On September 22, the Philadelphia Inquirer, in a page 1 story, set forth startling statistics on that city's crime problem. The story quoted Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo as stating that 70 percent of those arrested for violent crimes during the first 6 months of 1965 were repeat offenders.

Commissioner Rizzo urged that punishment for crimes be "swift, sure, and fitting"—and that the only effective action "is to remove the criminal from society."

Mr. Speaker, in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee and the House Judiciary Committee on firearms control legislation, and in repeated statements before this House, I have cited fact after fact after fact showing that the career criminal is the source of our major domestic problem.

I have long advocated and have authored legislation which would remove from society for extended periods those who use firearms in the commission of major crimes of violence. My bills, H.R. 360 before the Ways and Means Committee, and H.R. 6137 before the Judiciary Committee, would set a 10-year mandatory Federal penal sentence on those who use or possess firearms during commission of the crimes of robbery, rape, murder, kidnapping, aggravated assault, manslaughter on first offense, and a mandatory 25-year prison sentence for any subsequent offense.

Our people are demanding protection, Mr. Speaker. They are demanding protection from the criminal—and from the courts, the prosecutors, and the parole boards who show greater concern for the rights of the criminal than for the rights of society.

As I have said many times, if we need more jails to house those who make a career of crime, let us build them. If we need more courts to try these cases, let us create them. And if we need men of courage and conviction to prosecute, judge, and mete out swift, sure, and fitting punishment to the criminal—then let us find them.

All of us recognize the need for tighter control on the mail order and over-the-counter sale of handguns and the need to tightly control the sale of heavy surplus military weapons. This is but part of the problem and the legislation so ardently advocated by those favoring restrictive firearms legislation fails entirely to strike at the criminal use of firearms which is the major cause.

I urge my colleagues to read carefully the story on Philadelphia's crime problem, for it is the same for big cities across the country and our Nation as a whole. It is time we act to strike hard at the criminal, and I urge you to join with me in the fight to protect our decent law-abiding citizens from those who prey upon them.

The article referred to follows:

"Repeaters" Mock Law, Rizzo Says—Swift Punishment Demanded for Chronic Offenders

(By Saul Kohler)

Harrisburg, September 21.—Philadelphia Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo, charging that repeaters are responsible for much of the crime in the city, urged Thursday that "swift, sure and fitting" punishment be applied to offenders and declared the only effective action is "to remove the criminal from society."

Rizzo testified as a consultant to the police task force of the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, and startled his listeners with a set of statistics based on arrests for crimes of violence in Philadelphia during the first six months of 1965.

SEVENTY PERCENT REPEATERS

"Seventy percent were repeaters; of these, 35 percent had been previously released on bail, probation or parole for another offense," he declared. "One in every four arrested was then out on bail from a prior offense.

"Of those previously arrested, 40 percent had been arrested at least once before for the same type of crime. These are startling statistics. These statistics show that current practices of sentencing and parole must be improved."

President Judge Joseph Sloane of Common Pleas Court 7, a member of the commission, told Rizzo he considered those statistics "shocking," and demanded that the judges be given control over release on bail after the first arrest.

SWIFT PUNISHMENT

"The repeater is our problem," the Police Commissioner declared. "I firmly believe that the immediate answer to today's crime problem is punishment for the criminal—punishment that is swift and sure and fits the crime committed.

"The potential criminal must come to know that if he violates our laws, molests our citizens or defies authority, he faces quick arrest, prosecution and imprisonment."

Rizzo told the Crime Commission that to deal with civil disturbances, "police must respond in sufficient force and with the proper equipment to protect our communities from total destruction."

The absence of major rioting in Philadelphia this summer, credited by many to the precautions taken by Rizzo, were explained by the commissioner. He said that on any given night, he could rush 2000 riot-trained police into any "hot" section of the city, and that 700 such officers could be mobilized during daytime hours—within a matter of minutes.

NECESSARY FORCE

"How much force must the police use in quelling a riot?" he asked and then answered, "Police should use the amount of force necessary to stop the riot.

"In other words, the police must use all the force necessary to subdue the rioters. Is not the man who throws the Molotov cocktail committing arson? Are not looters committing burglary? Isn't the man who throws a brick or a bottle at a police officer guilty of assault with intent to kill?"

Rizzo said that "sadly," the groups advocating "soft" justice and the handcuffing of police—and he singled out the American Civil Liberties Union as an example—speak the loudest in a community.

PROTECTING PUBLIC

"But remember that we are not protecting the police," he declared. "We are protecting the public."

The questioning was led by David F. Maxwell, former president of the American Bar Association and of the Philadelphia Crime Commission, who drew these points from Rizzo:

The Philadelphia police department, which now consists of 7000 men and women, needs 1000 more officers.

A "model city" has been set up at the Police Academy, where cadets are taught riot control before they set foot on the streets in uniform.

Police officers should have—and in Philadelphia to exercise—the right to "stop and frisk" as a means of determining which possible offenders were in any given neighborhood, even before a crime is committed.

He is "absolutely opposed" to a Police Advisory Board because he doesn't feel that police should be singled out for "second-guessing" and "quarterbacking by nonprofessionals." Rizzo said the majority of law-abiding citizens agree with him.

He feels there should be a firearms control law similar to the Philadelphia ordinance which prevents "mental patients, at the very least," from obtaining guns.

He would like to have the right to tap telephones under court order.

Rizzo said gambling should be legalized, or else the present laws should be enforced.

"Give a man a year for this offense, and when he talks, let him out," the commissioner said. "Now they fine him $25 or $50, and what gambler can't afford that."

Maxwell questioned Rizzo on alleged brutality by Philadelphia police.

MAGAZINE CITES DANGER OF UNRESTRICTED LOG EXPORTING

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Meeds] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, there is growing concern throughout the Pacific Northwest that our policy of allowing unrestricted log exporting will eventually sound the death knell for many jobs and profits in the timber industry. Crow's magazine, a trade publication, has drawn attention to this phenomenon in a recent editorial, which I include in the Record at this point:

The Growing Menace of Log Exports

The sharp rise in lumber and plywood prices over the past month, keyed to a mild recovery in housing starts and a rather severe shortage of logs in the Pacific Northwest, has left many in the industry dismayed. The month-to-month gain in housing starts has not been spectacular. And the long period of dry weather in this area should not have created, by itself, the great crisis that is at hand.

Log exports have clearly made a dramatic difference. From a piddling 100 million board feet prior to 1960, log exports from Oregon and Washington surpassed the one billion board foot mark in 1966. And the 415 million foot exportation in the second quarter of this year suggests that the annual rate is now over a billion and a half with no end to the increase in sight.

The volume alone is staggering, but this is only half the problem. The Japanese paid an average price of $85.25 per thousand board feet in the second quarter. For ordinary #2 and #3 Hemlock sawlogs, prices from $75 to $85 are not uncommon. To compete with Japanese buyers or their agents, domestic sawmills have had to meet these prices or do without the timber. And this is becoming just as true in the Cascades as well as in the coastal timber near the export centers.

When housing starts in the United States took a dramatic dip a year ago, domestic prices reached such low levels that it would have been financial suicide to pay these prices for logs and sell lumber in the U.S. market. As a result, more and more mill operators and loggers entered the Japanese export market. Now, many of these same operators have insufficient logs to run their own plants, even when prices in the U.S. market would permit them to do so.

Looking into the future a few years, one must ask the question: If log prices continue to spiral upwards, and log sales to Japan continue to increase, who *will* be able to produce lumber and plywood for the domestic market? At the present time a producer with dry kilns, a chipper and the facilities to manufacture the specialty items may eke out a profit. But, obviously, many cannot operate, and the long list of closures over the past year is mute evidence to this effect.

It is difficult to take a flat-out stand in opposition to log exports. For one thing, many of these logs come from privately owned timberlands, and the owners certainly should have the right to sell their products where they please. For another it is difficult to discourage trade with a nation which plays an important role in the commerce of the Pacific states.

It becomes obvious, however, that if we are going to continue to supply the lumber and plywood for a growing population in this country, something will have to be done, and soon. When housing starts *do* reach the 2 million rate—and this is not many years away—it will take all of our own resources, plus some sizeable imports, to supply this demand. If log exports continue unchecked, it is not difficult to foresee a situation where relatively few domestic producers exist, and these few will literally be selling on a quota basis to a selected list of customers. When and if this happens, many of the present markets for wood products will have been replaced by substitute materials.

There is a need for a trade agreement, a quota system perhaps, which would place some control on log exports from public timber, and many in the industry have been working long and hard to bring this about. It has not been easy. For one thing, the firms who *do* export logs and the labor organizations who benefit from log exports, have a great deal of influence in Congress, and obviously they influence the trade associations to which they belong. For another, the State Department, where the action is required, is just now waking up to the fact that a problem exists.

The lumber manufacturers who have been hurt the most have already appealed to their congressmen for help. And, legislators like Senators Magnuson and Jackson of Washington and Hatfield of Oregon have taken up the fight. So have House members Meeds and Foley of Washington and Wyatt and Ullman in Oregon.

It would help considerably if *all* lumbermen who stand to suffer from this great loss of raw material from a basic industry would lend a hand. If you are a distributor, for example, take a look at the list of those who supply your basic needs, and mentally compare the list with that of about five years ago. Then give some honest thought as to who will be around to serve you five and ten years from now. It may be later than you think.

HUMANE LABORATORY ANIMAL TREATMENT ACT OF 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy and proud to join with my very good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Florida, Congressman PAUL G. ROGERS, in cosponsoring the Humane Laboratory Animal Treatment Act of 1967.

I would like the very able gentleman from Florida to know that his name is a household word in the 14th District of New Jersey among those members of my constituency who share his deep sense of concern about cruelty to animals used in research. Congressman ROGERS' untiring efforts in fighting cruelty to members of the animal kingdom are worthy of the approbation of every Member of this House. I am proud to join with him in support of this badly needed piece of legislation.

I have read a great deal during the last few years of cruelty to animals and I am very much alarmed that animals used for research are forced to suffer cruel treatment entirely unrelated to the advancement of science.

Mr. Speaker, to be against cruelty does not mean that one must be against research. The two are not mutually exclusive. I think that this bill will permit research to go forward while bringing to a halt the torture of innocent animals at the hand of so-called higher primates.

I urge all Members to join with us in enacting this needed legislation.

THE BATTLE FOR A LIVABLE ENVIRONMENT: CAB VERSUS THE PEOPLE

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, we are at a very important crossroads in the effort to preserve a livable environment.

The very technological and economic progress that make possible our high standard of living and general state of well being, bring with them serious threats to our environment, threats that could well wipe away our progress and perhaps jeopardize our very survival.

Congress has recognized this problem and taken the first tentative steps toward dealing with it in enacting measures to combat air and water pollution and to help deal with the mounting burden of refuse that is the greatest single product of the affluent society.

Many of our Federal agencies, however, are still trying to live in the Halycon days when it seemed as though we had enough fresh air and water, enough land and natural resources, enough space and beauty to last through eternity. These agencies have been too slow to see the challenge and even slower to adjust to meet it.

Federal agencies such as the FPC, the Bureau of Public Roads, the AEC, the Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of Reclamation have acted as though their only concern was to see that we live in a well-developed world. They have failed to see that it will be a pyrrhic victory if the environment of that world is not also livable.

Fortunately, for future generations, concerned citizens across the country are recognizing the challenge where these agencies fail, and are accepting the responsibility to fight.

In New York, a determined group of independent citizens battled for 4 years to force the FPC to weigh the effect of environmental factors in determining whether the gigantic hydroelectric project proposed for Storm King Mountain, on the threshold of the Nation's greatest city, would serve the full public convenience and necessity. Alone and unaided, even by the supposed protector of our natural resources, the Interior Department, these private citizens won an epic victory when the Second Circuit Court of Appeals laid down the principle in the Storm King Mountain case that the FPC must not act as an umpire, "blandly calling balls and strikes," but must exercise the affirmative responsibility to protect our environment as well as to develop power resources.

This basic principle has since been supported and extended by Justice Douglas' superb opinion in the High Mountain Sheep case.

Now, a new battle has been joined here in the Nation's Capital. A group of public-spirited citizens are fighting to force the CAB to weigh the effects of nerve-shattering aircraft din on urban residents when deciding whether to approve airline routes.

No one seriously disputes that the noise of low-flying aircraft has a devastating impact upon the urban environment. The sole issue is whether the urban public is included in the public whose convenience and necessity the CAB must serve.

The parallel with the Storm King case is clear. In a split decision the CAB has arbitrarily chosen to exclude the larger public and restrict its concern only to the airlines and the traveling public, saying:

> We need not consider, and much less resolve, the overall question of the circumstances and extent to which the matters urged by petitioners may constitute appropriate or required factors for decision in new route proceedings. Rather, our consideration of this question is restricted only to such of its aspects as have bearing on the issue of whether the applicants should be allowed to take part in the hearings as intervenors under Rule 15(b), as they request, or as participants under Rule 14(b), as the examiner ordered. On that issue, we agree with the examiner, and hence will deny leave for the applicants to intervene.
>
> In so agreeing, we initially note that the Federal Aviation Act does not in terms confer any right of intervention upon members of the public who may be interested in or affected by new air operations, but rather only authorizes such persons to "file with the Board a protest or memorandum in opposition to or in support of the issuance of a certificate" (section 401(c), see, also, rule 14(b)). Formal participation in hearing cases is governed by our Rules 14 and 15 (CFR 302.14 and .15). Rule 14(b) permits any person to appear at any new route hearing to present any evidence relevant to the issues, and, with the permission of the examiner, to cross-examine witnesses. Such person may also present to the examiner a written statement on the issues involved in the proceeding. Rule 15 permits formal intervention in such cases in accordance with the criteria specified in Rule 15(b). Our assessment of these criteria convince us that petitioners' interest are not so substantial as to require or warrant intervention by them, and that Rule 14(b) participation will be adequate.
>
> The applicants' assertions of environmental impact upon them are highly generalized, and the effect upon their individual interests of any certification herein is both remote and speculative. The applicants do not allege any unique injury which will not be shared equally by all similarly situated property owners. Furthermore, there is no showing that the environmental impact of helicopter operations may be expected to differ from that inflicted by any other aircraft which may pass at low altitudes over residential areas, or that this proceeding is essentially different in this respect from any other new route case.

The Board will do well to note how the Court of Appeals dispatched a parallel argument in the Storm King case:

> The Commission takes a narrow view of the meaning of aggrieved party . . . the Supreme Court has not made economic injury a prerequisite where the plaintiffs have shown a direct personal interest.

Just as the FPC tried to fob off its responsibility for environmental factors in the Storm King case, so the CAB has attempted to shove responsibility into the lap of local authorities, although it clearly has the authority to decide whether aviation impacts should be approved. Finally, the Board tries to delegate responsibility for protecting the public interest to the Department of Transportation, just as the FPC tried to do with the Department of Interior.

The Board might find reason to reconsider this position in the stinging rebuke administered to FPC by the court of appeals when it said:

> In this case as in many others the Commission has claimed to be representatives of the public interest. This role does not permit it to act as an umpire blandly calling balls and strikes for adversaries; the right of the public must receive active and affirmation protection at the hands of the Commission.

Relying upon its archaic and limited view of its responsibility to protect a vital aspect of our environment, the CAB has set the stage for another precedent-setting battle; a battle which it will find joined by angry citizens from all over the country.

Undoubtedly, it will be a tough battle for the protesting citizens, but the cards will not be stacked against them as they were in the Storm King case.

Two of the five CAB members have parted from the majority saying:

> In our view, these petitioners comprise a class of persons not otherwise represented who may be substantially affected by any authorization which may issue herein. In these circumstances, we believe that they are entitled to intervene and participate on all relevant issues at least through a single spokesman, and this irrespective of whether "environmental impact" is such an issue in the circumstances of this case. Rule 14 does not permit participation in Board proceedings as a full party, and participation under Rule 14 is not an acceptable substitute for intervention in this case.

Furthermore, where the citizens in the Storm King case found their trust betrayed by the vacillation and timidity of the Interior Department, the residents of Washington have a forceful and decisive champion in the Department of Transportation. Indeed, the brief filed by the Department of Transportation presents such an excellent statement of the issues, I believe that it deserves the widest consideration and I therefore include it in the Record at this point:

[Before the Civil Aeronautics Board, Washington, D.C.]

Answer of the Department of Transportation to Petitions for Review of Staff Action Filed by the Committee Against National Concerned Citizens, the Palisades Citizens Association

(Washington-Baltimore Helicopter Service Investigation—Docket 17665)

Pursuant to section 385.51(e) of the Board's Economic Regulations, and in connection with the petitions for Board Review of Staff Action filed by the Committee against the National, the Palisades Citizens Association and the Concerned Citizens, the Department of Transportation respectfully submits that to the extent the petitions to intervene in this proceeding were denied on the grounds that the issues which these parties intended to raise were not germane, the Examiner's decision should be reconsidered by the Board.

At issue in this proceeding is whether the "public convenience and necessity" require the authorization of scheduled helicopter service on a subsidy-ineligible basis between the downtown city centers of Washington and Baltimore, on the one hand, and Washington National Airport, Dulles International Airport and Friendship Airport, on the other hand, as well as between each of the three designated airports. Under the Federal Aviation Act, the concept of "public convenience and necessity" is not limited to a concern for air transportation users only; it may encompass as well concern for others who may be affected by air transportation, be it a surface carrier threatened by potential loss of traffic, a community believing that its economic interests are involved, or as in this case, a civic group which considers itself to be adversely affected by noise, air pollution or alleged safety considerations. We submit that "public convenience and necessity" as used in the Federal Aviation Act embraces the entire public and that Board determinations should consider those who assert they would be inconvenienced or adversely affected as well as those who allege that they will be benefited by the proposed new service. In this connection we note that section 102 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 requires only that the Board consider the six enumerated categories *"among other things,"* and does not limit the Board's duty to consider other public interest factors.

It is the Department's position that a consideration of the environmental impact of common carrier operations is a relevant and important factor to be weighed in determining whether in a particular proceeding the public convenience and necessity require authorization of the proposed service. We note in this connection that Congress itself in the Department of Transportation Act urged that attention be given to environmental factors, including aircraft noise (see sections 2(b)(2), 4(a) and 4(f), DOT Act, 80 Stat. 931, *et seq.*).

The Department does not suggest that the issue which we understand the three civic groups intended to raise is one which would in this case operate against granting the requested certificate. Nor does the Department presume to pass upon the question of whether these groups are the best equipped to present these issues for the Board's consideration. The Department does submit, however, that if the grounds for denial of the petitions for intervention were that the issues intended to be presented were not relevant to the proceeding or could not be properly considered by the Board, that such grounds are not a proper basis for denial of the petitioners' request.

The Department recognizes the interest of the Board in conducting efficient and expeditious hearings. In this respect the hearing examiner is given broad latitude in making any rulings designed to limit the extent of evidence presented and cross-examination, and to require, where appropriate, consolidation of evidentiary presentation in order to avoid duplication and unnecessary extension of the hearings.

In summary, we ask that the Board consider carefully the grounds upon which petitions of the three civic groups were denied by its staff and that its actions on the petitions for Board review take into account the matters presented above.

Respectfully submitted,
John E. Robson,
General Counsel.
James Lawrence Smith,
Attorney.

It is regrettable that Federal agencies should force private citizens to incur the tremendous financial burden of fighting these issues of public policy, but I am pleased that there are people who are willing to make the sacrifices involved. The defense of our threatened environment is well worth it.

U.S. MARITIME SUPREMACY

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Gettys] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, Rear Adm. John Harllee, the distinguished Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, recently made a significant address in Charleston, S.C., relating to the continuing need for U.S. maritime supremacy on the oceans of the world. I believe Chairman Harllee's remarks are worthy of the attention of all Members of Congress and I submit his fine address for insertion in the Record:

Address of Rear Adm. John Harllee, U.S. Navy (Retired), Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission, at the Dinner Sponsored by the Propeller Club, Port of Charleston, S.C., on Tuesday, September 19, 1967

President Benjamin Horne Jr., of the Propeller Club, Port of Charleston, Captain Capers Barr, my good friend, former shipmate and General Manager of the States Port Authority, distinguished guests, and members of the Propeller Club.

It is wonderful to be able to return to Charleston where my family has so many connections. I was indeed fortunate to have been here in July to attend the ceremonies of the dedication of the Hunley Museum. It was here in Charleston that my father, Brigadier General William C. Harllee, U.S. Marine Corps, (Retired), attended the Citadel, from 1891 to 1893, and it was a real pleasure and honor for me to have seen the President-Emeritus of the Citadel, that great American General Mark Clark during my visit to Charleston. It was in this area that my father established a rifle range at Mt. Pleasant after he had served as Captain of the Marine Corps Rifle Team. Most of my father's family were from South Carolina and the City of Florence was named after a relative of mine, thus, I have many fond memories of this city and state.

Your ports are showing phenomenal growth—and as you know you can credit Congressman Mendel Rivers with a great deal of your successes. They were created by his ability and his dedication not only to Charleston and South Carolina as well as to the Armed Forces, but to the maritime destiny of this great nation. The U.S. Department of Commerce recently released figures showing that the Port of Charleston moved up two places in rank in foreign commerce in 1966, advancing from 15th place to 13th place in all United States seaports.

Since World War II, South Carolina has shown the greatest percentage increase in U.S. foreign trade of any state in the nation and Charleston has advanced from 56th in the nation to 13th in foreign trade increase.

The U.S. Department of Commerce shows a record growth in dollar value of exports and imports for the South Carolina Customs District. Total dollar value of exports and imports for calendar 1966 was $474.3 million, higher than any previous year in the Authority's history. The 1966 record exceeded 1965, also a record year, by $118.1 million, an increase of 33%.

Exports for 1966 totaled $162.4 million, an increase of $33.5 million over the 1965 figures of $128.9 million. This represents a percentage increase of 26% during 1966.

Imports for 1966 totaled $311.9 million, an increase of $84.6 million over the 1965 figures of $227.3 million. This represents an increase of 37% during 1966.

The South Carolina Customs District has shown the fastest growth of any district in the nation in percentage value of foreign trade since World War II. During the past twenty years, value of foreign trade has risen from $49.5 million in 1947 to $474.3 million in 1966, an increase of approximately $425 million.

Increasing industrialization and increasing port facilities are expected to reap even greater profits for South Carolina in the field of foreign trade.

And now the South Carolina State Ports Authority is winding up another record breaking year in tonnage.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, state port facilities moved even closer to your historic goal of shipping 2,000,000 tons of cargo annually.

And based on growth in recent years, South Carolina's ports may reach this landmark in less than a year.

The marketing and transportation needs of new industry in the Palmetto State, plus your recent fastpaced industrial growth, is expected to push tonnage through the ports ever higher.

Preliminary tonnage reports, for example, in late June indicated state facilities would handle about 300,000 tons higher than last year's record of 1,647,150 tons, thus establishing a new high of about 1,950,000 tons.

During the first 11 months of the fiscal year, the Ports Authority easily smashed last year's 12-month record—handling 1,793,661 tons.

The phenomenal growth of state port facilities and their activity can readily be seen if current tonnage is compared with tonnage recorded in 1958, when only about one-third as much was handled.

Yes, Charleston is truly a great port and it will definitely play a major role in the fantastic revolution of containerization. I foresee a dramatic increase in the operation of containerships—ships hauling cargo in containers swung aboard from truck chassis and rail cars and back onto wheels at the port of discharge.

Sea-Land already is established here and appears to be doing a successful job of selling the service at inland points.

The Port of Charleston is in excellent shape. You are progressing tremendously. A few years ago the Federal Maritime Commission helped out South Carolina when the F.M.C. discovered that the North Atlantic ports might be taking business from South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia by unfair rate practices. Other than that there have been very few problems here and those have been minor. Captain Capers Barr and Chairman Mendel Rivers are to be congratulated.

At this point I would like to go into some detail about the Federal Maritime Commission and what we should try to do to help you in our responsibilities to serve the public interest.

First, let me say that basically the United States has two maritime interests. The first relates to the American flag merchant marine which is necessary for national defense purposes and for trade purposes. The second has to do with exporters, importers, and consumers and their interest in our trade and commerce, most of which is carried in foreign flag ships.

With regard to the first of these fields, the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce handles the direct promotion of the American merchant marine with:

(1) Operating differential subsidy,

(2) Construction differential subsidy,

(3) Care of reserve fleet,

(4) A research and development program,

(5) Title XI low interest mortgages, which assists operators in making ship purchases and a number of other promotional aids,

(6) Training of officers for the merchant marine, and

(7) Miscellaneous other items such as administration of cargo preference.

The Federal Maritime Commission, of which I am Chairman, handles the other interest of the United States in maritime matters, the one which has to do with the welfare of exporters, importers, and consumers, in other words, the general public. The Federal Maritime Commission is an independent quasi-judicial agency completely separate from the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce. Its five Commissioners are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and its Chairman is designated by the President. It is certainly in the interest of the public of this nation to have a strong merchant marine and I will develop later how I believe we help in that connection.

The interest of the United States Government in exporters, importers, and consumers may seem to be the same as its interest relating to the American flag merchant marine. However, it is not exactly the same, because, in the first place, foreign ships carry most of our commercial cargo and in the second place, even in cases of American flag ships a high freight rate (and most American flag liners are in conferences and charge the same freight rates as the foreign ships) may be good for the American merchant marine but it is not necessarily good for exporters, importers and consumers. Of course the freight rates should be high enough to make possible a healthy merchant marine.

The importance of the interest of the United States Government in world trade is underlined by the increasing emphasis which must be placed on export expansion. Our country spends billions of dollars on foreign aid and military exports overseas and on foreign travel by American citizens. In order to maintain the necessary favorable balance of payments situation it is essential that the United States have a favorable balance of trade, i.e., higher total exports than imports. Of course, imports are also important because they, in many instances supply the raw material for exports and in other cases supply needed products to consumers. Furthermore, foreign countries cannot pay for our exports unless we import from them.

Export expansion also makes a significant contribution towards solving the recurring unemployment problem in our economy.

Another aspect of the concern of our Government in maritime affairs is the welfare of the public of our offshore states and territories such as Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands and Samoa. Ocean transportation to these areas is conducted by American flag lines, but, again, a balance must be struck between the welfare of the steamship lines for which high freight rates might be good and the welfare of the millions of people in those states and territories for whom high freight rates are not necessarily good. Here as in so many other ways we act as the referee or umpire.

Another way of summing up the function of the Federal Maritime Commission is to say that its concern is with our oceanborne trade and commerce. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that the Commission does help the American merchant marine because we believe that by removing artificial impediments to trade and commerce and by ensuring fair competition that trade is stimulated and more cargo becomes available. We believe that if cargo is available that the American merchant marine can do well under conditions of fair competition.

I must admit that Americans in general and American businessmen in particular do not like government regulation and that it is an extremely difficult job, to which we are dedicating ourselves, to convince them by actions more than by words, that fair regulation is helpful and not harmful and that the umpire has an important role to play.

In order to accomplish the purposes of the regulation which I have described, we at the Commission must concern ourselves with carriers, terminals, freight forwarders, shippers and to a lesser extent travel agents.

With regard to the carriers, the steamship lines in international trades started way back in the 1870's to group themselves into what are known as conferences. These conferences fix freight rates and establish conditions of carriage by agreement among competing carriers. This is not compatible with the Sherman Antitrust Act and the Clayton Amendment and does violence to the basic American philosophy of competition and free enterprise, which most of us believe made this nation so strong economically. However, after an investigation which lasted from 1912 to 1916, and after two other investigations which were conducted simultaneously from 1958 to 1961, the Congress decided that the history of the international steamship industry was such that without agreement on rates there would be cut-throat competition and chaotic conditions, which would result in instability and in damage to exporters and importers, as well as to steamship lines. This situation was caused in large part by the widely varying costs of operating ships under different flags. The difference in the standards of living and, therefore in wages, as well as in almost all other costs (including the cost of ships) between the different nations of the world, are too well known to require any amplification.

The basic concept the Congress held in enacting the Shipping Act, 1916, and amending it in 1961 was that steamship conferences were beneficial to both shippers and carriers and, therefore to the general public, but that they should not be allowed to utilize such predatory tactics as to drive all the independents or nonconference lines out of trades. The Congress and the laws it enacted envision competition, or the possibility of competition, by one or more nonconference lines on each trade route acting as a natural inhibitor on excessively high freight rates and on poor services. The utilization of rate disapproval by the Federal Maritime Commission was envisioned only as an extreme measure to be used in the rarest of cases.

The regulation of conferences is an extremely delicate task, because of the great difficulty of maintaining a balance between strong, healthy conferences and some independent competition or, at least, the possibility of it. Most highly experienced steamship men probably think that it is impossible to maintain such a balance but I sincerely believe that it has been maintained in the past few years, generally speaking.

We regulate conferences by insuring that they carry out such functions as the following:

(1) Self-policing. Rebates and other malpractices resulting in unfair competition occur more abroad than in the United States. Some foreign nations take a different view of these practices than we do, but the major maritime nations are gradually beginning to share our views as to the desirability of fair competition. These malpractices can be much more effectively dealt with by self-policing bodies than by a Government body alone, although we do the best we can in this regard. The self-policing agencies are required by our law, but the details of the form and operation of them are decided upon by the steamship lines in each conference in their own mutual self-interest.

(2) Just and reasonable procedures for handling shippers requests and complaints.

(3) Fair and reasonable rules concerning admission, expulsion and withdrawal from conference membership. There was a time when the American flag steamship lines and some others had difficulties getting into some conferences. In many trades conferences had a grip on the trade, and this meant that carriers which could not get into the conferences could not get into the trades. Even recently we have had to be of assistance to American flag lines in this respect.

(4) The right of independent action in agreements between conferences. The Con-

gress felt it important that shippers not be faced with one huge conference covering all trades everywhere which would have power which would be excessively great.

(5) Dual rate contracts. The conferences, in order to be able to give adequate service on a trade route have for many years utilized dual rate contracts which permit shippers who agree to ship exclusively on conference vessels in a particular trade to receive lower freight rates, usually about 15% lower, than other shippers. However, one of these dual rate contracts had what the Supreme Court of the United States judged to be too predatory an effect, and it was ruled illegal in 1958 by the Supreme Court in the famous Isbrandtsen Case. Since that time, the dual rate contracts were legalized by Congress from year to year and in 1961 were made permanently lawful by statute, but only on condition that they included eight specific safeguards and one general safeguard for shippers, the details of which were to be (and have been) drawn up by the Federal Maritime Commission. These provisions of the law not only protect the shippers themselves, but also provide for the possibility of nonconference lines entering trades in which adequate service is not rendered by the conferences.

(6) Publication of tariffs (lists of freight rates). Both conferences and nonconference lines are required to make their tariffs public to give 30 days advance notice of increases in rates, although reductions are effective when filed.

The above measures were added to the Shipping Act 1916 by the Bonner Act, Public Law 87-346 in 1961. They are not all of the methods of regulation of conferences used by the Federal Maritime Commission. They do, however, constitute a fair sampling of the regulation we are required by the shipping statutes to exercise.

Our type of regulation, or for that matter any governmental activity whatsoever in connection with the international shipping conferences is considered by the great maritime nations of Western Europe and Japan, who are in most respect our best allies in the world today, to constitute totally unwarranted and highly objectionable unilateral Governmental interference in international business. On the other hand, we believe that our laws are simply designed to see that the ofttimes great power of the steamship conferences is not used in a manner discriminatory *against* American steamship lines, seaports, or exporters or are detrimental to the commerce of the United States or contrary to its public interest. It must be emphasized that the laws do not provide that the conferences must act in a manner favoring the United States; only that they must not act in a manner detrimental to the United States. It is our view that those who come to the shores of the United States and engage in our commerce should observe our laws, particularly in view of the fact that these laws provide for fair competition and justice for all. We believe Americans are entitled to fair competition and can do well if they get it.

Lengthy negotiations with the maritime nations of Western Euprope and Japan have, in my opinion, resulted in much progress in reaching pragmatic understandings and mutually acceptable solutions to our problems despite our differences in philosophy.

The Federal Maritime Commission performs another type of carrier regulations; namely, that of the domestic offshore carriers which operate between the continental United States and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Samoa. Although people generally travel to those places by air, practically all of the goods consumed in those areas are transported by ships, as are the goods produced in those areas. The Commission has a more direct rate making power on these trade routes than in the foreign trades; specifically it has the power to set maximum and minimum rates—a public-utility type of rate regulatory power. It is easy to see the importance of our operations both to the carriers and to the public of the areas concerned.

We also regulate ocean freight forwarders, who constitute a vital American industry concerned with getting cargo from place to place as travel agents get people from place to place. We have recently published our final freight forwarder rules after many revisions to improve them in the light of the industry experience and we have completed a licensing program. These rules and the licensing program were called for by Public Law 87-254, enacted late in 1961.

I have been informed that the freight forwarders of Charleston are satisfied with the rules, as is the National Association of Custom House Brokers and Freight Forwarders. If any of you here are not happy with them I will be glad to discuss them with you.

In addition, we regulate approximately 400 ocean terminals. In this area of our regulation, we come in contact with the South Carolina State Ports Authority as well as other South Atlantic ports authorities and terminal operators. We have always been welcomed by these marine terminal interests, and have always been received with famed southern hospitality. The South Carolina State Ports Authority has continually kept pace with the ever increasing export and import trades. This, combined with the industrial boom of the southeastern area of the United States, speaks highly of the officials responsible for the port progress in South Carolina. Charleston can boast having modern day terminal facilities and steamship services. The inauguration of Sea-Land's modern containerized service in March of 1966 is just one example of the modern outlook of the steamship and port terminal interests in South Carolina. In order to keep one step ahead, the South Carolina State Ports Authority has developed the ports of Georgetown and Port Royal with foresight for the ever-increasing demands of foreign commerce.

Recently, the Federal Maritime Commission implemented its General Order 15 which requires that all marine terminal operators file their tariffs with the Commission, keep such tariffs available at their places of business and adopt uniform definitions as set forth in our rule. Because many ports felt that imposition of absolutely uniform definitions created a hardship for them and disturbed historical practices, we now permit use of other definitions if they are correlated appropriately. I would like to say that the South Carolina State Ports Authority, even before our tariff rules became effective, had adopted completely the definitions contained in our rule. It is this type of cooperation which makes our job in Washington easier.

In order to assist shippers in their efforts to obtain favorable rates from conferences and steamship lines in our foreign trade, the Federal Maritime Commission, in coordination with the Department of Commerce has published a pamphlet entitled "Ocean Freight Rate Guidelines for Shippers." This booklet sets forth the Commission's regulatory authority and discusses the ways in which shippers can obtain necessary adjustments in ocean freight rates and services. Copies of this booklet are available to anyone who desires it. I will be glad to discuss in further detail with any shippers present how the steamship lines and the Commission can help them.

Now let me get back to the American merchant marine. There are five ways in which I believe we help it and you who are representing American flag carriers here. They are:

(1) *There has been a tremendous increase in cargo carried by the American merchant marine* since the activity of the Federal Maritime Commission which was revitalized in 1961 for regulatory purposes and separated from the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce with its promotional functions. We certainly do not claim credit for all or even most of this increase, but I do believe that removal of monopolistic perversions and artificial impediments to trade by the Commission and its assistance to exporters and importers has played some helpful role in this increase in trade.

(2) *Protection of the American merchant marine from discrimination by foreign governments* in accordance with Section 19 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920. The Commission and its predecessors have moved effectively in this direction in the past. Consequently, during the past year or two there has been very little occasion to use the statutory powers the Commission has to prevent discrimination against the American merchant marine.

(3) *Fair treatment of American flag steamship lines by conferences.* This subject has already been discussed.

(4) *Relationships between freight forwarders and the steamship lines.* In certain cases some freight forwarders have control over vast amounts of cargo and in other cases steamship lines may exercise a degree of control over freight forwarders. It is in the interest of both, and in the public interest, that there be fair play between them. I believe that this is, by large, being accomplished by the licensing program and by our implementation of the freight forwarder legislation with the rules mentioned above.

(5) *Relationships between carriers and terminals.* The Commission desires to minimize regulation here, as everywhere else, to what is necessary in the public interest. This is evidenced by the fact that the Commission has not requested power to set maximum and minimum rates for terminals, although some have advocated this. Nevertheless, as in the case of the freight forwarders, a referee is often necessary and the Commission acts as that referee.

I am convinced that the Shipping Act, 1916, as amended in 1961, and the other statutes which we administer are good laws. As soon as we at the Commission become convinced that these statutes should be changed in any way, we will certainly take action to recommend changes and I believe that the Congress will, in the future, as it has in the past, listen very carefully to changes which we might request.

It is perhaps well, in considering our laws and the implementation of these laws by the Commission, to look at the overall results in terms of the legality of our action, which is sometimes questioned by foreigners as well as by Americans; the growth or decrease of our oceanborne trade and commerce; and the welfare of the industries we regulate.

We have, of course, sustained some court defeats, but our victories in the Federal courts outnumber those defeats ten to one.

Our oceanborne trade and commerce increased from some 25 billion dollars in 1960 (before the revitalization of regulation and the formation of the present Commission) to about 32 billion dollars in 1965.

Insofar as we can determine, the profits of the steamship lines we regulate have increased to all-time peace-time highs during the past few years. This is not to say that they are making as much money as many other industries or that they do not have a problem about replacing their ships. Nevertheless, we cannot detect signs of regulation hurting their overall income.

Charleston is a great city, South Carolina a great state. And again, you are fortunate to be represented in Washington by Congressman Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the powerful House of Representative's Armed Services Committee and to have the services of Captain Capers Barr.

Before closing my remarks, I have a special favor I would ask you friends. I have mentioned Congressman Mendel Rivers several times in the course of my talk. I realize the Chairman needs no build-up here, nor in any other part of our Country. His contribution to the maritime strength of the nation has been both substantive and significant. I suggest that we citizens of Charleston, as a long-term tribute to the Chairman, pave the way for the establishment of a L. Mendel Rivers Center of Maritime Studies at the University of South Carolina in recognition of his dedicated maritime services to the nation. I ask this not alone to honor Mendel Rivers but to insure U.S. supremacy on the oceans of the world.

It was an honor and pleasure to be here today.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL'S MOST EXCITING NEW PLAYER

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure for all of us to come face to face with a new incident which proves the realization of the great American dream. This past week thousands upon thousands of Americans read with avid interest the story of Richie Szaro which appeared in the September 24 issue in This Week.

I am proud to have such a fine young man in my congressional district achieve so much success. He rightly deserves to join the ranks of the other famed men and women who were reared in Brooklyn.

My faith in the future of my country and in my fellow man is renewed when I see how rapidly an immigrant youngster can reach a pinnacle of success in our American way of life.

Young Richie Szaro, born in the little village of Strzyzow, near Warsaw, came to this country just 5 years ago at the age of 15. Arriving in Brooklyn, unable to speak English, he was one of the loneliest, most frustrated and homesick youngsters one could imagine. But Richie fortunately possessed unusual athletic ability to such a degree that 75 colleges later sought him for enrollment. Even more fortunately, he fell into the hands of a warm and sympathetic man like Coach Vincent O'Conner of St. Vincent's Preparatory School in Brooklyn who recognized his athletic prowess.

Richie's achievements in track, soccer, football and even the strange game of baseball were so brilliant he could weigh scholarship and other advantages offered him by the cream of American colleges. The students and alumni of Harvard can rejoice that Richie made it his choice. Americans everywhere will be proud of this young man's future achievements.

Mr. Speaker, because Richie Szaro's success story in This Week is so typically American, under the permission granted me by unanimous consent of the House I include it with these remarks:

COLLEGE FOOTBALL'S MOST EXCITING NEW PLAYER

(By Leslie Lieber)

Harvard's most famous freshman used to live on one of those lacklustre little streets in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn—North Seventh—that cab drivers from Manhattan never seem able to find. It has an old world atmosphere about it—rows of two-story houses in need of repair but boasting window boxes of flowers, quaint little bakeries and cafes and swarms of children, many of whom speak to their parents in Polish and their playmates in English.

A few blocks away is Metropolitan Avenue, where Richie Szaro recently moved. And a few blocks away, too, is McCarren Park, a few acres where the grass has given up the fight. The park has little to recommend it, save that it figures prominently in the story of the best high-school football player in the country last year.

AN IMMIGRANT FIGHTING BACK THE TEARS

Remember that name, Szaro. You'll be reading it a lot in years to come, or Harvard, Bobby Kennedy and a lot of sports writers will miss their guess.

"That park!" Richie says. "When I first came here from Poland five years ago—15 years old and unable to speak English—I used to go there after school and sit for hours, so lonely I could have cried."

It was on one of these feel-sorry-for-himself days that he got to watching a group of boys from St. Francis Prep throwing a javelin for distance. It landed near Richie on one errant heave and the boys shouted to him to toss it back. Richie did—some 160 feet right over their startled heads.

A POTENTIAL STAR IN THREE SPORTS

The Catholic brother who was coaching them ambled over and said something like, "You throw that thing a mile, son. What's your name?" Richie told him—not just his name, but the frustration of being unable to speak English, unable to make friends and unable to find his niche here in America. He added that in addition to throwing the javelin he was a pretty good soccer player and a swimmer.

A few weeks later Richie Szaro transferred from public school to St. Francis Prep. The following year, as a sophomore, he not only shattered the Catholic metropolitan high-school record by tossing the javelin 192'3¾'' (he has since thrown it 198 feet for a state prep-school mark), but became the Pete Gogolak of the football team—punting and place-kicking soccer-style and left-footed.

St. Francis football coach Vincent O'Connor recognized Richie—5'11'' and 195 pounds—as a natural athlete. He decided to see if Richie could run as well as he could kick.

He discovered, to his delight, that Richie could. In 1965, his junior year, the youngster was the star of the team. He scored 77 points, averaged 6.3 yards every time he carried the ball and 45 yards each time he punted. He was named an all-City Catholic High School back—and all the while he was learning to play tennis, a game he'd never tried before.

"The next year was the big one for me," he says. It's a year that won't soon be forgotten. Richie ran and kicked for 164 points, shattered the 22-year-old metropolitan high-school record by 20 points, led the Terriers to an unbeaten season, whiled away his idle hours by starring in track, tennis, soccer and swimming, and piled up an 85 average in class.

The headlines tell the story:

"Terriers Unbelievable" (*Long Island Press*), "Seventy-five Schools Bidding for Szaro" (*World Journal Tribune*), "Szaro Headed for Notre Dame" (*World Journal Tribune*), "Harvard Has the Last Laugh" (*NEA*).

The phone had been ringing—ever since the football season was barely three weeks old—in the neat little ground-floor apartment where Richie lives with his parents and his kid brother, Zennon, 11. His father, Walter, is a porter for the Equitable Life Assurance Society and his mother, Rose, is a scrubwoman.

"We had to have their phone disconnected," recalls Coach O'Connor. "The scouts were driving his parents crazy with calls day and night. Neither of them speak English—they didn't understand about scholarships."

During that period, when most of the Ivy League colleges—plus over 70 other major colleges and universities, including Notre Dame—were bidding for Richie, Coach O'Connor acted as switchboard for the Szaros and advisor to Richie.

"I wanted the decision as to where he went to college to be his," says O'Connor, "but I felt he should first narrow it down to 20 and then to five schools, before finally choosing."

And, oddly, it may have been an incident in McCarren Park one afternoon last fall which put the immigrant boy on the road to Harvard.

SENATOR KENNEDY DROPS IN ON PRACTICE

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, out campaigning in Brooklyn for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Frank O'Connor, was en route to a speaking engagement when he noticed the St. Francis team running through a practice drill in the park. Kennedy, who used to play for Harvard, stopped the car and sent an aide for tea while he watched the scrimmage.

"We recognized him right away, with that shock of hair," says Richie. "He said a few words to us; we ran a few plays for him. He's a real football fan—yelling encouragement and getting all excited.

"But that's the only time I ever saw him, so the newspapers that say he persuaded me to go to Harvard are mistaken. That was my decision."

Coach O'Connor, however, recalls pointing Richie out to the Senator as the star of the team and telling him of Richie's background and how he had the grades to be eligible for the Ivy League.

"Harvard spoke to us about him," O'Conner told Kennedy.

"Really? Who spoke to you?"

O'Connor supplied the name.

"I think that's terrific," the Senator said. "Here only five years from Poland and look at the way he can play and what he has ahead of him!"

By season's end Richie had narrowed the choice of schools to three—Notre Dame, Columbia and Harvard. He finally decided against Notre Dame, although his teammate, star tackle Larry DiNardo, opted for the Irish.

"All of the other schools were primarily interested in me simply because I can play football," Richie says realistically, the faint trace of an accent in his soft voice. "I liked Columbia and Harvard because they seemed interested in what I might accomplish *off* the field. After all, football isn't a lifetime job. I finally decided Harvard is the place for me—the atmosphere, the people and all it has to offer."

AMERICA IS NOT WHAT HE EXPECTED

Richie Szaro, now Harvard '71, is a young man the stars seem to favor. Born in the little village of Strzyzow, near Warsaw, there seemed little likelihood he would ever get to Warsaw, let alone New York. But because his mother had been born in the U.S. and had been taken back to Poland by her parents when she was six months old, there was a chance the family could come to the States.

Richie's father came first, found a job and the tiny apartment in Brooklyn, and then sent back to Poland for his family to come over.

"I certainly was disappointed," Richie recalls. "It wasn't quite what I had seen in movies—big cars, beautiful people, fine restaurants and towering apartment buildings. I wondered why anyone who could live in Strzyzow would want to live in Brooklyn.

"I saw teen-agers walking along the street, hand-in-hand, and kissing right in public, and girls inviting boys to their homes to meet their families! That wouldn't happen at home unless they were getting married."

The musical tastes of teen-agers, their dances, fads and hobbies, leave Richie cold, too. "I don't understand that rock and roll business or the crazy dances. I like classical music—good records—and I collect stamps and read a lot when I'm not practicing some sport. Girls? I'm only 19—I have plenty of time for them."

Richie has already been approached by the Olympic Team about trying out for soccer and the N.Y. Skliners have spoken to him about a professional career in that sport, but at the moment he has his mind only on Harvard, where he'll study languages, international relations, football and track—in that order.

"He's going to be a great football player," says St. Francis Coach O'Connor. "He only got 65 or 70 per cent of his potential as a player because the game was new to him. He's the best high-school back I've ever coached and he can kick fantastically, run with deceptive speed and play defense as well. If he ever learns to pass accurately, look out!"

Richie says that when he first arrived in the U.S. he didn't even like to watch football on TV, but he now considers it the best of all spectator sports. From a player's standpoint he enjoys soccer most and he finds baseball boring. Yet, of all of the 25 trophies and 30 medals Richie has won in six sports, the medal in the living room he is proudest of is the first one his brother Zennon won—for the most American of all sports, baseball.

BUSINESSMEN FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, when dissent prospers, it becomes respectable. There are encouraging signs that those who dissent from our present downward spiral in Vietnam are becoming so numerous that they will no longer be dismissed as a vocal minority.

A sign of this broadening doubt was the sponsorship and participation by businessmen today in a Washington meeting of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace. Men and women from all parts of the country came for this 1 day meeting. Several of my colleagues from both the House and Senate were there also.

The cochairman of the organization, Harold Willens of Los Angeles, was one of several perceptive speakers. Below is his excellent statement on "Vietnam and the American Businessman":

VIETNAM AND THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN

It has become fashionable to poke fun at Secretary McNamara for his involvement with the Edsel fiasco. The fun-pokers miss the real point.

Once it was clear the highly-paid experts who designed the Edsel had erred (as all humans can), McNamara and his associates faced reality, reversed their course, took the financial loss, then led the company on to better and bigger things. If they had stubbornly refused to believe they could be wrong, the mistake would have been compounded from a loss of money to the death of a great corporation.

Among the top decision-makers responsible for Vietnam policy, McNamara is the only man with a business background, to my knowledge. That probably explains his being the only one with the guts to admit that a policy for which he was partly responsible, hasn't worked. He did exactly that, of course, when recently telling the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that Hanoi could not be bombed to the negotiating table, even though that objective was a primary reason justifying the decision to bomb North Vietnam.

I do not imply that men from the business world are blessed with superior wisdom or capability. But they have one thing going for them which political and military people seem to lack, and right now it is badly needed to get us out of a dilemma which is tearing our nation apart, and which could result in senseless world conflagration.

What businessmen have going for them, as indicated by Ford's decision to chuck the Edsel and McNamara's candor regarding the foolish dream that we can bomb our way out of the Vietnam Morass—is self-honesty. Businessmen cannot afford the luxury of self-deception, because they are put to the daily competitive test of the market place, or its equivalent. If they kid themselves about the wisdom of a decision, objective reality will quickly jar them out of their self-delusion. The business man who can't say "I may have been wrong," who lacks pragmatic flexibility, either fails to make it or gets dragged out of his office as was (literally) Montgomery Ward's Sewell Avery.

What does all this have to do with Vietnam? Everything, I believe.

The stated objective is negotiated settlement. The policy has been escalation. The bombing of the North began 31 months ago. Here's where we stand today:

(1) The North to South troop and material flow (the second objective of the bombing) has not been significantly curtailed.

(2) American casualties now exceed those of the South Vietnamese and the gap is growing.

(3) In the last 8½ months our casualties were greater than those of the past six years combined.

Despite these astonishing facts, political and military leaders blindly clutch at the hope that more of the same will somehow achieve the negotiated settlement we want. Businessmen wouldn't, couldn't do that. Their orientation is such that when one policy has been tried and hasn't done the job, another replaces it. In this case, de-escalation is the obvious alternative. There is much to be said for trying it without having to guarantee success. Even a reasonable chance of success makes more sense than the mindless paralysis of clinging to that which has clearly failed.

As important stockholders in the great American dream, businessmen owe it to themselves and the nation which gives them so much, to speak forth at this critical crossroad in our history. They know, and all Americans know, that the fundamental principles of business decision-making have contributed much to the progress and enrichment of our history. Why, then, should these same useful principles not be made part of the policy decisions relating to the costly and dangerous Vietnam problem.

If business executives become actively involved and make their voices heard, they will be engaging in the highest form of patriotism, as well as admirable self-interest. If, on the other hand they cop out when their fellow citizens most need their leadership, American businessmen will have fully deserved the probably dire consequences of their failure to act when there was still time to do so.

LABORATORY ANIMAL LEGISLATION

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the last session of Congress took a mighty step forward in passing legislation which would regulate the sale, handling, and transportation of animals to be used in laboratory experimentation. This legislation is known as Public Law 89–544.

It is altogether fitting and proper that this legislation be further expanded to provide for the control of animals which are already used in laboratory experimentation. Such a measure would fill the gap in the process of using animals for experiments in developing certain processes or medication to combat human ailments.

We cannot permit the inhuman treatment that many of these animals must undergo during these experiments. We are well aware of the fact that not all of the laboratories resort to cruel and inhumane treatment of the animals in their care. Yet those that do pursue such a policy of inhumane treatment cast a dark shadow over the rest of the field involved in such experimentation.

During the last session of Congress, I introduced legislation which would provide adequate controls over the sale, handling, and transportation of such animals. This legislation, because of its widespread interest, had generated more mail to congressional offices than any other single piece of legislation. When the Congress adopted this legislation it permitted us to correct some of the then present abuses. Now we are trying to correct abuses which follow the animal into the laboratory itself.

Mr. Speaker, legislation was introduced today which would be an extension of Public Law 89–544. The present law does not cover the animal once it enters the research phase, which in everyone's mind means the entire laboratory or research facility.

I am pleased to join with the other Members of Congress in introducing this legislation, which establishes standards and regulations for care, treatment, and handling of animals, using the provisions of Public Law 89–544 as a base, and for inspection of laboratories and research facilities.

While in the last Congress there was some opposition to any animal legislation, there seems to be a change in attitude on this bill. It has the support of the Nation's two largest humane organizations and of the Nation's largest State medical society.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is a sound and workable bill. It will advance the cause of humane treatment for animals, and at the same time will not interfere with the use of such animals in research.

When we speak of animals to be used in research, Mr. Speaker, one thinks of the dog first, although other animals are used rather extensively in laboratory research. Thus it is a coincidence that this legislation should be introduced during the observance of National Dog Week.

In enacting this legislation the Congress will speak for the animals who cannot speak for themselves on the manner of their treatment.

LET'S NOT BLAME THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR ALL OUR LOCAL HOMEGROWN ILLS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been a great deal of fulminating about riots in our cities, with the implication, and sometimes the explicit statement, that riots are the President's sole responsibility, and he is the only one who can do something about them.

As a distinguished Southern columnist, Ralph McGill, points out in one of his recent columns:

> For local political figures, or local committees, to denounce the President for not stopping the riots is surely one of the most irrational and childish actions of our time.

McGill explained: The President is not responsible for lack of good housing in towns and cities throughout the country.

The President is not responsible for the rent and credit gouging of the urban poor.

The President is not to blame for the conditions which set off the riots.

In fact, what President Johnson has done—and is getting almost no credit for—is to work to abolish all those horrible conditions which might cause riots.

There is a strange dichotomy in the Nation's thinking about our President.

The people believe that a President is all-powerful in every respect down to the city level, and that he can cure all ills with a magic wave of the Presidential pen.

Well, it just is not so. Riot conditions existed long before Lyndon Johnson entered the White House. But he has done his utmost to help make sure riots will not happen again.

I only hope that the people, local political leaders, and those who form American opinion in the press would for once give Lyndon Johnson the credit he deserves for being a dedicated, effective, and concerned urban President.

I wish for once we would applaud President Johnson for the urban record he has compiled, instead of reviling him as the man who should be able to stop riots by fiat.

I wish that we would sit down in a cool hour and total up just what Lyndon Johnson has done for people in the last 4 years, and, then, I think we would change our tune quite a bit.

The basic answer to riots—aside from the question of outside agitators—is to make our good society a Great Society.

I ask consent to insert in the RECORD an excellent article by Ralph McGill published in the Albany, N.Y., Times-Union of September 18, which deals with the critical question of local responsibility.

STOPPING RIOTS IS LOCAL AFFAIR

(By Ralph McGill)

"We want a man in Washington who will stop the rioting and looting in the streets. We've had enough of lawlessness. Let the President act and bring it to an end . . ."

The bombastic paragraph is from a Southern politician, a member of his state legislature. It is, however, just one of a chorus that grows in intensity as the political ovens grow warmer and as the need—the inescapable need—for cities and towns to commit themselves to long-overdue social reforms comes closer and closer.

Stopping riots in cities and towns is a local affair. Unless the federal authority is defied, or unless the government of a state declares a condition of anarchy to exist, the President cannot send in armed forces.

For local political figures, or local committees, to denounce the President for not stopping the riots is surely one of the more irrational and childish actions of our time.

Riots have never occurred without a reason. That reason is a local failure or neglect. The provocation usually is comparable to the story of the straw that breaks the camel's back.

Careful investigation by law enforcement agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, does not find outside agitators or Communists to have been controlling factors.

There are agitators to be sure, some of them very shrewd, dangerous and unconscionable. But they cannot agitate unless there is, first of all, some local discontent and some local issues that are grist in an agitator's mill. The agitator usually departs before the action gets rough.

We need to avoid blaming everyone else but ourselves. The President of the United States is not responsible for the agitation and demonstration against lack of housing.

The President is not responsible for grossly inadequate and miserable housing for which high rents are charged in the poorer districts.

The President is not responsible for the "nothing-down" sales rackets in the poorer districts, the exorbitant charges, the garnishments, and the evictions that bring about discontent, demonstration and, sometimes, riots.

The President is not to blame if the very poor, sitting in a tavern bar or at home watching a "nothing-down" TV set, see the majority of Americans at work or on vacations and the luxuries of their homes and clothing and, consequently, develop the human reactions of envy, anger, and the wish to have something of so much lavishness.

Why, then, since the answer lies within us, is there so much anger toward Washington because there has been too much neglect and irresponsibility in some of our cities and towns?

The remedy basically is a home remedy. It is one of prevention. This federal government can help—so far Congress has refused.

HOW SECURE IS YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY?

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the Reader's Digest has published an article by Mr. Charles Stevenson in its October issue which casts doubts on the financial soundness of the social security program. I have read the article very carefully and find that it contains a number of half-truths that lead to misleading conclusions.

The Committee on Ways and Means has recently completed a most exhaustive reexamination of the contributory wage-related social security program. The program is actuarially and financially sound. Moreover, the revisions incorporated in the House-passed bill not only increase the present benefits for both older retired persons and the future benefits of younger persons now contributing to the program but it strengthens both the wage-related and contributory features of the program.

Because of the importance in rebutting the erroneous implications contained in the Stevenson article I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement by the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, replying to this article and a reprint of the article itself.

[From the Reader's Digest, October 1967]

HOW SECURE IS YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY?

(By Charles Stevenson)

Our Social Security insurance is in trouble. Ever since 1937 Americans have been willingly kicking back, an ever-increasing portion of their paychecks to the government, confident that these Social Security taxes, along with matching payments by their employers, were buying them insurance guaranteed to provide a floor of security in old age. Nevertheless, now, even as President Johnson pressures Congress to increase benefits still more, the curtain of government-controlled publicity which has shielded the program is coming apart and letting some grim facts show through.

"Social Security is facing a crisis; it is at the crossroads," warns Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

"It has been seriously compromised," says a staff study of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

"The time has come for every American to ask, 'How secure is my Social Security?' and demand the truth," adds Rep. Tom Curtis (R., Mo.), one of the country's most astute students of the subject. "If we don't do something fundamental to reform the system, I'm afraid it's going to hit the rocks in another ten years."

Such alarming statements must seem preposterous to Americans whose knowledge of Social Security comes from government publicity. The official booklet, "Your Social Security," declares that all Social Security taxes *"go into special funds";* that when earnings stop or are reduced because the worker retires, dies or becomes disabled, *"monthly cash benefits are paid from the funds"*; that nine out of ten working people *"are now building protection for themselves and their families under the Social Security program"*; that *"the amount will depend on your average earnings."* The Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, an early architect of Social Security, additionally stresses that "individual rights to benefits are enforceable in the courts" and that "payment through a separate trust fund is essential to giving people a sense of security about the receipt of their benefits."

Such talk implies a genuine insurance setup with guaranteed payment—but there isn't any. "The Cost and Financing of Social Security," published by the scholarly Brookings Institution, refers to the "adoption of term 'insurance' by the proponents of Social Security," as "a stroke of promotional genius which has capitalized on the good will of private insurance and, through the establishment of a reserve fund, has clothed itself with an aura of financial soundness."

By the record, the Social Security taxes which *you* pay for *your* protection go into the Treasury's general fund, and are used at once to pay *current* Social Security benefits and administrative expenses. The small percentage left over goes to finance foreign aid, the moon race or any other government activity, and the sum shows up in the so-called Social Security trust funds as government I.O.U.s which can be liquidated only by further government borrowing or another hike in taxation. If thus transformed into cash, these I.O.U.s—accumulated since 1937—would now total around $23 billion, theoretically enough to continue paying benefits for 14 months.

Actually, the Social Security Administration's cash income is so close to outgo, and what's left over so quickly converted into government I.O.U.s that the system is dependent on further government borrowing to provide cash. Indeed, Secretary of Treasury Henry H. Fowler testified last January that unless Congress at once raised the national-debt limit by $7 billion, the government could cover only half of the Social Security checks it was obligated to send out in early March—a month in which it needed $2 billion for 22,930,000 beneficiaries.

"Considered as an actuarial account, the Social Security Administration is bankrupt," declared Prof. James M. Buchanan, director of the Thomas Jefferson Center at the University of Virginia, and Dartmouth economics Prof. Colin D. Campbell in a recent *Wall Street Journal* article.

THE NESTOR CASE

There is no room for even official denial. Despite all the reassuring statements which the government puts out for public consumption, here is its unpublicized policy as it was successfully argued before the Supreme Court in 1960 in the case of Ephram Nestor, an alien deported in 1956 whom the government didn't want to compensate.

"A belief has developed," went the argument, "that Title II benefits are paid as the result of a contractual obligation on the part of the U.S. government. This belief has been fostered to a considerable extent by statements of responsible officials of the Social Security Administration, [but] there is no contract. Heretofore these facts and their implications have not, for some reason, been conveyed to the public."

Consider that a moment. Then this too:

"The Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is in no sense a federally administered 'insurance program' under which each worker pays 'premiums' over the years and acquires at retirement an indefeasible right to receive for life a fixed monthly benefit. Social Security must be viewed as a welfare instrument to which legal concepts of 'insurance,' 'property,' 'vested rights,' 'annuities,' etc., can be applied only at the risk of serious distortion of language. We are dealing with a social instrument by which public action, involving compulsion [taxation], is invoked to deal with a social problem—the lack of basic economic security of large segments of our society . . ."

And this:

"The Social Security concept is of a program under which those with jobs are taxed chiefly to provide the funds for current benefits to aged beneficiaries and other eligible survivors. No beneficiary or prospective beneficiary acquires any interest in the fund itself—monthly benefit payments are voluntary payments to the recipient, property acquired by gift. There is no correlation between the taxes paid and the amount of benefits which may become payable. The benefits conferred may be redistributed or withdrawn at any time in the discretion of Congress."[1]

That doesn't jibe with the government's assurances that people who invest in Social Security are "building protection for themselves." It *did* start out to be such security insurance back in 1935, and it made sense to most Americans. The myth that this still is the system is officially perpetuated for one reason alone. Under the cover of the mythology, the government has been able to shift the skyrocketing expense of increasingly unpopular relief expenditures to the popular Social Security system—in a way not known or understood by the country's workers, and in a way that doesn't show up noticeably in the Administration's budget.

SQUEEZE ON THE YOUNG

In addition, the government has blanketed literally millions of additional persons into the system—millions who by no stretch of the imagination have paid enough into it to compensate for their benefits. Some have paid nothing at all. These beneficiaries include everybody 72 or older who doesn't get a check from another government source; contributing wage earners and their wives who elect to retire at 62; the younger disabled, along with their families; entitled divorced wives; 60-61-year-old widows; beneficiaries' children up to age 22 if still in school. These people may be either rich or eligible for relief. Nevertheless, most of their monthy Social Security benefits come out of the special tax that Americans have been led to believe is buying insurance just for themselves.[2]

As a result, the top $189 annual Social Security tax which was paid in to the government in behalf of a "covered" worker ten years ago has soared to $580.80 this year; and that tax is officially scheduled to climb to $745.80 in another 20 years. This last figure represents 11.3 percent of the first $6600 in wages that a man takes in!

Already there are young people protesting the squeeze. "With inflation and income taxes taking everything else, our family can't meet our mortgage payments if our Social Security contributions go any higher, a young man writes his Congressman. "All that makes them bearable now is knowing the government is saving our money for us."

Innocent young man! If his own government had been honest with him he would know that:

Current Social Security recipients have paid in an average of only one-tenth the value of their annuities; the remaining 90 percent of their benefits is paid by the taxes levied on the payrolls of the younger workers.

Because of this extra bill, Robert J. Myers, chief actuary of the Social Security Administration, explains, "The benefits that a new entrant gets are not equal in value, over the long run, to the contributions that he and his employer pay." Social Security Commissioner Robert M. Ball similarly admits that "young employes do not, in those terms, get their money's worth."

Thus the maximum tax put into the Treasury in behalf of a now 25-year-old worker (under current law) *for annuity payments alone* will total $19,392 during his working years, and for this—if Congress doesn't change its mind—the Social Security Administration says that he will be entitled to a "gratuity" of $168 a month at age 65 if single and $252 if married, with his elderly widow to get $138.60 if he dies first.

According to calculations worked up for the National Association of Life Underwriters, the same contributions schedule could buy the same worker a private insurance policy designed to pay $312 a month if he remained single and $263 if he married, with either survivor to continue receiving $175.83 a month until death. Or if the young worker banked the amount of the $19,392 tax payments at four percent compound interest over his working years, he would end up with $47,074 at age 65—minus income taxes, of course—to spend as he saw fit, or collect interest on. And he could will the principal to his heirs.

Nevertheless, whether Social Security can pay our friend back *anything at all* for what he puts into it will depend entirely on the mood of the taxpayers of that later day. The unfunded outstanding obligations of the Social Security system—that is, the amount by which its promised benefits exceed what the "insured" persons are supposed to eventually pay toward meeting these costs—are $350 billion. That is a sum which exceeds the current national debt.

Can the government collect enough Social Security taxes to keep the program going indefinitely? Officially it anticipates taking in up to $37 billion in 1980, even if the law isn't changed. With anticipated changes in the law, collections may soar as high as $58 billion.

Today President Johnson is trying to force through Congress a scheme to bend what's left of legitimate Social Security purposes into a vast relief giveaway which would complicate the already excruciating problem of poverty among persons over 65. Even now these people are discouraged from augmenting their incomes. If they earn small sums at odd jobs, they must continue to pay Social Security taxes with no comparable increase in benefits. And if they contribute enough to the economy through their labor to take in more than $1500 a year, the Social Security Administration penalizes them; it withholds benefits to which they're otherwise entitled. The Administration's cure is to let those who insist on working earn a bare $180 more a year than the present law allows. Yet simultaneously it would increase Social Security benefits to both workers and *nonworkers* from 15 to 59 percent!

The Johnson program proposes to "take 1.4 million Americans out of poverty this year" partly by raising the federal income taxes of another 1,400,000 persons over 65 who have been able to save enough, somehow, so that with Social Security they have incomes of $6000 or more, and by shifting the expense of caring for some hundreds of thousands now on the relief rolls to Social Security. Then the country's wage earners will pay these people through their still higher Social Security taxes, and the Administration will be able to boast that prosperity is saving the cash that formerly went into state and federally financed public-assistance payments.

To finance this, the President would raise your Social Security taxes yet again—to an eventual $1252.80 squeeze on a single job. And this would be just the beginning. Chief actuary Myers estimates the unfunded "accrued liability" of the system would soar again, too—this time to $417 billion. "It staggers my imagination," declared House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur D. Mills when the payments pattern was unfolded by Under Secretary Cohen.

TIME TO TAKE STOCK

No matter what temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program, now or later, the basic question still remains: Just how much more can the economy afford? Will the young people now keeping the system afloat be willing to pay ever more out of their paychecks when they learn that they're scheduled to get back less than they contribute? If they are pinched now, how can they continue to take on an ever more expensive burden of the elderly? Won't they insist on caring for their children first?

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[1] *Flemming (U.S.) v. Nester,* 363 U.S. 603.

[2] The only exceptions are the special payments to persons 72 or older not otherwise receiving a government check. These are subsidized out of general taxes.

Already, the Social Security take is beginning to encroach on funds needed to keep private pension plans afloat—plans which through invested reserves create new wealth rather than devour it. Already the Social Security taxes are so high that a Treasury memorandum warns "it is doubtful" that many professional people earning even $10,000 a year "can afford to devote appreciably more to their retirement." So how high can these taxes go without seriously undermining the economy?

What if the government *can't* squeeze out the still higher taxes it needs from tomorrow's payrolls? Well, then, as the government told the Supreme Court, "If a statutory program offers more now than the economy can afford to furnish later, Congress has only to revise the statutory program."

As a matter of fiscal sanity, now would seem the time to take stock and find out if we can make Social Security function as it was originally intended. Some students in and out of government are suggesting putting all welfare back where it belongs—in the regular welfare budget, supported by general revenues, which everybody can see. Through such appropriations we can and must find ways to assist, with dignity, the disabled and the elderly who have no way to provide for themselves.

As for the rest, a blue-ribbon commission could explore the possibility of requiring workers to buy annuity insurance from government-regulated private insurance-investment funds just as some states require motorists to buy liability insurance. Whatever the means, Social Security must be restored to its legitimate purposes before it is too late.

STATEMENT BY WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Charles Stevenson's article on "How Secure is Your Social Security?" in the October issue of the *Reader's Digest* is misleading, and, in my opinion, creates anxiety and fear about the financing of our social security system that are groundless.

I state categorically that:

The social security system is soundly financed.

Present and potential future beneficiaries of social security will get the benefits provided by the social security law.

I

Mr. Stevenson begins his article by saying our "social security insurance is in trouble." This is not so.

The subtitle of Mr. Stevenson's article says that "Recent disclosures are raising grave doubts as to how much—if anything—today's taxpayer will get back when his time for retirement comes." Use of the words "disclosures," "grave doubts" and "if anything" can only result in worry to millions of people who are now drawing social security benefits or expect to draw them in the future. This worry is wholly without factual basis.

The article seeks to depict Chairman Wilbur D. Mills and the ranking minority member, Representative John W. Byrnes, of the House Committee on Ways and Means as profoundly alarmed about the basic design and fiscal integrity of the social security program and about the course that the program is taking. The facts, however, are that as recently as 5 weeks ago these men jointly supported legislation in the House of Representatives, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080), which builds upon the present social security program and, with careful attention to actuarial soundness, makes needed improvements in the benefits of the program.

The implication that Representative Byrnes, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, agrees with the charges made by Mr. Stevenson flies in the face of the fact that Mr. Byrnes was a co-sponsor of the social security bill now before Congress and is contradicted by his remarks on the floor of the House of Representatives during the debate on the bill. At that time he stated:

"I personally do not feel that the burdens imposed by this bill are greater than the taxpayers will be willing to pay. After all, today's taxpayer is tomorrow's beneficiary. I was very glad to join the chairman of our committee in sponsoring the social security bill—a bill which gives due consideration to the needs of our elderly citizens as well as those who are called upon to pay the taxes."

Representative Byrnes went on to say that: "Everyone paying taxes today can do so with the knowledge that he is participating in a sound program of social insurance which will provide commensurate benefits in the event of his death or disability."

The House Committee report on H.R. 12080, which was signed by 24 out of 25 members of the Committee on Ways and Means, bears ample witness to the care and thoroughness which the Committee has devoted to assuring the continued soundness of the social security program.

The proposals contained in H.R. 12080 were considered during 18 days of public hearings over a period of 6 weeks, and during 64 executive sessions over a period of 16 weeks. Following debate, the House approved the bill by the overwhelming non-partisan vote of 415 to 3. The bill reaffirms the soundness of the contributory, wage-related social security program.

The soundness of the social security system has been examined a number of times by groups of independent, nongovernmental representatives of business, insurance, labor, and the public.

In 1957, under the Eisenhower Administration, an Advisory Council on Social Security Financing was appointed by Secretary Flemming. It reported as follows:

"The Council finds that the present method of financing the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program is sound, practical, and appropriate for this program. It is our judgment, based on the best available cost estimates, that the contribution schedule enacted into law in the last session of Congress makes adequate provision for financing the program on a sound actuarial basis."

Among the members of the Council who made this statement were the President of a Federal Reserve bank, two actuaries—one from a private insurance company and one from a university—and representatives of business, labor and professional groups.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security, again made up of outstanding experts in the field, examined thoroughly all of the issues connected with the "security" of social security. Like the preceding council they concluded, in their report of January 1965, that the social security program is soundly financed and that its income—out into the long range future—will be sufficient to meet its obligations.

Both Advisory Councils took note of such charges as those made in the article to the effect that social security taxes are used for purposes other than social security, that the trust funds contain only IOU's, and that the system is "in the red" by hundreds of billions of dollars. Both Councils found these charges to be without foundation.

II

The article says that the social security program puts a "squeeze on the young." This is not so. The fact is that even without taking into account that social security benefits have been and will continue to be increased from time to time as changes occur in wage levels and cost of living, young workers as a worth 20 to 25 percent more than they will group will get social security protection pay in social security contributions. This is the case under present law and would be the case under the House-passed bill and under the Administration's proposal.

Young workers could not buy comparable insurance protection from private insurance companies at anywhere near the amount they pay for their social security protection.

The article takes no account of the fact that the benefits provided by the present social security law are very much lower than the benefits that will actually be paid when today's young workers reach retirement age. As wages rise—as they have throughout the history of the country—benefits can be increased *without increasing the contribution rates.* This is because the contributions are a percentage of covered payroll and because, as wages go up, income to the system increases more than the corresponding liabilities.

As a matter of fact, if benefits were not increased as wage levels rise over the years, the contribution rates scheduled in present law would be too high, and they could be reduced. Whether benefits are increased or contribution rates are reduced the result would be the same, namely, more protection in relation to contributions than is shown by analyses that assume no change in wage levels and in benefits.

The calculations referred to in the article assume that the covered employee would have within his control an amount of contributions paid by his employers equal to the amount of his own social security contribution. This assumption rests on a misconception of the nature of the social insurance program and indeed the nature of private group insurance. If such an assumption were used, the whole fabric of private group life insurance, annuity insurance, and other forms of group insurance in this country would have to be regarded as inequitable.

As a general rule, under private group insurance plans the employer contribution is not allocated to each employee in an amount related to the employee's own contribution. On the contrary the employer contribution, as in the case of social security, is what makes it possible to pay larger benefits to workers and their survivors who are in the upper age brackets when the group insurance plan goes into effect than could be paid only on the basis of the worker's own contributions.

I believe it bears repeating that even without taking into account the fact that benefits will be increased in future years, even young workers covered under social security will get insurance protection worth 20 to 25 percent more than the value of their contributions, and moreover, they will actually do much better than that when account is taken of the fact that social security benefits can and will be increased as wage levels go up without any need to increase the contribution rate.

In deciding whether young people get their money's worth it must be kept in mind that social security provides not only retirement protection but also survivors and disability insurance protection. While Mr. Stevenson's figures do take into consideration the fact that social security provides protection against loss of income due to death and disability and also provides hospital insurance protection at age 65, most of his discussion ignores the importance of these parts of the program. That importance may be illustrated by an example: The value of the social security survivors insurance protection provided under the House-passed bill in the case of the worker whose earnings are about the median earnings of regularly employed men ($550 per month) who dies at age 35 leaving a wife aged 32 and two small children is about $56,000. Were this worker to become disabled at age 35, the value of the disability insurance protection to him and his family would be about $59,000.

Social security is a sound and equitable program for the young and the old.

III

Mr. Stevenson's article contains nearly two columns on the so-called *Nestor case*, decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1960 (pp. 76–77). Mr. Stevenson distorts the legal issues. He has several quotes which to a lawyer and a general reader would appear to be from the Court's decision. But they are *not*. He not only does not quote from the Court's decision but fails to mention that the Court decision reversed the contention of the Justice Department brief (prepared in the Eisenhower Administration) that the program is not an insurance program. What the U. S. Supreme Court actually said was:

"The Social Security system may be accurately described as a form of social insurance, enacted pursuant to Congress' power to 'spend money in aid of the general welfare,' whereby persons gainfully employed, and those who employ them, are taxed to permit the payment of benefits to the retired and disabled, and their dependents."

The fact is that the Supreme Court decision rejected many of the contentions made in the brief and stated that: "The interest of a covered employee under the [Social Security] Act is of sufficient substance to fall within the protection from arbitrary governmental action afforded by the due process clause."

Thus, as the Supreme Court stated, although the Congress can modify rights granted under the statute, it cannot do so in an arbitrary way. The right to benefits under social security, as the Court has said, is protected under the due process clause of the United States Constitution against denial or diminution by arbitrary Government action.

IV

The article attempts to show that social security is unsound by referring to "unfunded outstanding obligations" of $350 billion and stating that under the Administration bill this amount will rise to $417 billion (pp. 79–80). The $350 billion referred to is the amount that would be needed—if social security were a private, voluntary insurance program—to pay off all obligations on the assumption that there would be no new entrants into the system. The idea of there being a huge unfunded liability in the social security system is wholly meaningless and irrelevant for any practical purposes. There is no need in a Government program such as social security for funding on the basis referred to in the article. It would not only be unnecessary but also unwise to build up such a huge accumulation of social security funds. No life insurance expert nor social security expert, nor business nor labor organization, and no Advisory Council or Committee of the Congress has ever recommended such funding.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security—an independent group of experts in the field which reviewed all aspects of the social security program over a period of 18 months—stated in its 1965 report:

"The Council is in agreement with the previous groups that have studied the financing of the program that it is unnecessary and would be unwise to keep on hand a huge accumulation of funds sufficient, without regard to income from new entrants, to pay all future benefits to past and present contributors. A compulsory social insurance program is correctly considered soundly financed if, on the basis of actuarial estimates, current assets plus future income are expected to be sufficient to cover all the obligations of the program; the present system meets this test. The claim sometimes made that the system is financially unsound, with an unfunded liability of some $300 billion, grows out of a false analogy with private insurance, which because of its voluntary character cannot count on income from new entrants to meet a part of future obligations for the present covered group."

V

The article is in error in saying that the social security changes recommended by President Johnson would take persons out of poverty "partly by raising the Federal income taxes" of other people over 65. (p. 79). Under the President's proposal, over 2 million persons would be removed from poverty (1.6 million aged 65 and over and 0.5 million under age 65) by the increase in the amount of the social security benefits—especially the increase in the minimum benefit from the present $44 a month to $70. There is no truth in the statement in the article that the method of removing these people from poverty would be through raising income taxes.

The article speaks disparagingly of the improvement of social security benefits for the purpose of reducing the number of persons on assistance or relief. But this has been the objective of the social security program since it was enacted in 1935! This was the original congressional intent. In fact, the carrying out of this intent has been one of social security's great achievements. The proportion of the aged on welfare has decreased from about 22 percent in 1950 to about 10 percent today. We hope to decrease the proportion to 5 percent. Increasing the level of social security benefits will aid in this objective.

VI

One more of the many inaccuracies contained in the article is the allegation in the article that social security contributions are put into the "Treasury's general fund." (p. 76). The fact is that the contributions are automatically appropriated by law to the social security trust funds, which are kept separate from one another and from the general funds of the Treasury and can be used only for the payment of the benefits and administrative expenses under the social security program.

VII

Mr. Stevenson says that the Government is discouraging beneficiaries from augmenting their incomes by collecting social security contributions with no comparable increase in benefits and by withholding benefits from those beneficiaries who earn over $1500 a year. (p. 79).

The purpose of the social security program as determined by the Congress is to pay benefits when there is a loss of earnings because of death, disability, or retirement. The law prescribes a test—generally referred to as the retirement test—for determining whether such loss of earnings has occurred. The amount of the retirement test and whether there should be any retirement test is certainly a question which warrants discussion.

What Mr. Stevenson didn't say in his article is that eliminating the retirement test would increase the cost of the program by $2 billion a year. The additional cost would be incurred to pay benefits to about 2 million people, many of whom are fully employed and earning as much as they ever did. The vast majority of social security beneficiaries—some 20 million other persons—either are unable to work or cannot find a job and therefore would not be helped one iota by the elimination of the retirement test. Would this be an intelligent and equitable way to spend $2 billion a year additional?

The author's statement that beneficiaries who work and pay social security contributions get "no comparable increase" in benefits may give the impression that this work cannot increase their benefits or that, if it can, the benefit increases are insignificant. The fact is that the beneficiary who works can get a benefit increase if he has even just a single year in which his earnings are more than his earnings in any one of the past years that were used in computing his benefits.

In short, Mr. Stevenson didn't tell a full or fair story on the retirement test.

VIII

The article concludes that further study of and basic changes in social security are called for. Some of the concluding remarks are repetitions of misleading assertions made earlier and some go further.

The article raises a number of questions about what will happen to the social security program in the future after whatever "temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program"—as if the House and Senate are not comprised of the elected representatives of the American people and as if the President is not responsible to the American people. It is through such processes as the article calls congressional deliberation and debates—that this Nation builds its public programs, orders its economy, and carries on the affairs of Government, and this will doubtless be true in the future.

The article goes on to suggest, on the basis of the increases in social security contribution rates that have been enacted over the years, that private pensions may not be able to remain "afloat." Such scaremongering ignores the fact that social security has not prevented the rapid growth of private pensions. Private pensions have made tremendous strides since the 1930's, when social security began. There were only about 400 private pension plans in 1935 when social security was enacted. Today there are over 60,000!

With regard to Mr. Stevenson's proposal to establish a "blue ribbon commission," over the years since the Committee on Economic Security submitted its report to President Roosevelt and the original Social Security Act was enacted in 1935, there have been numerous independent studies of social security by advisory councils composed of highly respected and knowledgeable citizens. For instance there was an Advisory Council Report in 1939, 1948, 1959, and 1965. Since 1956, studies by advisory councils have been provided for in the social security law itself, and there have been periodic studies by these councils. Through the councils, consisting of representatives of employees, employers, the self-employed, and the general public, the social security program has had the benefit of a great deal of intelligent and thoughtful examination. Under the law, the next advisory council, scheduled to be appointed in 1968 (under the bill recently passed by the House, it would be appointed in 1969), will review all aspects of the social security program, including the status of the social security trust funds in relation to the long-range commitments of the program and will make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Board of Trustees of each of the social security trust funds and to the Congress.

IX

Mr. Stevenson has not clarified any fundamental issues. He has not pointed out the great unmet social needs. What he has done has been a great disservice to the millions of social security beneficiaries and the millions who are counting on social security benefits in the future. He has obfuscated and confused the major policy issues in social security. A critical and constructive review of social security would be welcome. A glib and superficial attack on a program so important to millions of Americans is not a contribution to the American people.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Fountain (at the request of Mr. McCormack), for an indefinite period, on account of attendance at the 22d General Assembly of the U.N. as an official member of the U.S. delegation.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to Mr. Murphy of New York (at the request of Mr. Edmondson), for 60 minutes, on October 4; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. Steiger of Arizona) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Rumsfeld.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Edmondson) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Kee.

Mr. Tenzer.

Mrs. Sullivan in two instances.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 59 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 28, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1107. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report on records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 63 Stat. 377; to the Committee on House Administration.

1108. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a report on a certain case involving suspension of deportation, pursuant to the provisions of section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. FISHER: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 4772. A bill to authorize the Secretaries concerned to direct the initiation of allotments of the pay and allowances of certain members of the Armed Forces for the purpose of making deposits under section 1035 of title 10, United States Code, with amendment (Rept. No. 707). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MAHON: Committee on Appropriations. H.J. Res. 849. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 708). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 11767. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands comprising the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif. (Rept. No. 709). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 12910. A bill to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 710). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BOB WILSON: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 5943. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps (Rept. No. 711). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. RIVERS: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 9796. A bill to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 712). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI: Committee on Public Works. S. 1467. An act to provide authorizations to carry out the beautification program under title 23, United States Code; with amendment (Rept. No. 713). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FALLON: Committee on Public Works. H.R. 11627. A bill to amend the act of June 16, 1948, to authorize the State of Maryland, by and through its State roads commission or the successors of said commission, to construct, maintain, and operate certain additional bridges and tunnels in the State of Maryland (Rept. No. 714). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. S. 1564. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended (Rept. No. 715). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 10442. A bill to facilitate exchanges of land under the act of March 20, 1922 (42 Stat. 465), for use for public schools, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 716). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 11527. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in a deed conveying certain lands to the University of Maine and to provide for conveyance of certain interests in such lands so as to permit such university, subject to certain conditions, to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such lands; with amendment (Rept. No. 717). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HENDERSON: Committee of conference. S. 1320. An act to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 718). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DELANEY: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 931. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 159, a bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 719). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 932. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 1411, a bill to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to use of the mails to obtain money or property under false representations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 720). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MATSUNAGA: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 933. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 676, a bill to amend chapter 73, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States (Rept. No. 721). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LANDRUM:

H.R. 13161. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the credit against tax for retirement income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. AYRES:

H.R. 13162. A bill to amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to provide for a more effective and economical utilization of the Nation's vocational training resources through arrangements with private vocational training institutions; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BROWN of Michigan:

H.R. 13163. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to further limit political activity on the part of workers in poverty programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CEDERBERG:

H.R. 13164. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, with respect to the development of cargo container vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 13165. A bill to extend the period during which Secret Service protection may be furnished to a widow and minor children of a former President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13166. A bill to provide a deduction for income tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation to and from work, and to provide an additional exemption for income tax purposes for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 13167. A bill to provide more effectively for the regulation of the use of, and for the preservation of safety and order within, the U.S. Capitol buildings and the U.S. Capitol Grounds; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida (for himself, Messrs. Pepper, Fascell, Haley, Barrett and Watson, Mrs. Hansen of Washington, Messrs. King of New York, Hathaway, Moorhead, Cramer, Rodino, Helstoski, Brown of California, Matsunaga, Kyros, and Gurney, Mrs. Dwyer, and Messrs. Wyman, Sandman, and Daniels):

H.R. 13168. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide special assistance for the improvement of laboratory animal research facilities, to establish standards for the humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals in departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States, and by recipients of grants, awards, and contracts from the United States, to encourage the study and improvement of the care, handling, and treatment and the development of methods for minimizing pain and discomfort of laboratory animals used in biomedical activities, and to otherwise assure humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RUMSFELD:

H.R. 13169. A bill to expand and improve the provisions of the Oil Pollution Act, 1924; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 13170. A bill to study the advisability of establishing an International Development Corps; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 13171. A bill to permit the mailing by nonprofit organizations under the third-class bulk and mail provisions of title 39, United States Code, of circulars and pamphlets constituting notice of bingo and similar contests held by such organizations in States where such contests are lawful, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAFFORD:

H.R. 13172. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.R. 13173. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 13174. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 13175. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. BOLTON (for herself, Mr. KIRWAN, Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. AYRES, Mr. BETTS, Mr. BOW, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. CLANCY, Mr. DEVINE, Mr. HARSHA, Mr. LATTA, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. MCCULLOCH, Mr. MILLER of Ohio, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. MOSHER, Mr. STANTON, Mr. TAFT, Mr. VANIK, Mr. WHALEN, and Mr. WYLIE):

H.R. 13176. A bill to amend the acts of February 1, 1826, and February 20, 1833, to authorize the State of Ohio to use the proceeds from the sale of certain lands for educational purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 13177. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FALLON (for himself, Mr. CRAMER, and Mr. BOGGS):

H.R. 13178. A bill to provide more effectively for the regulation of the use of, and for the preservation of safety and order within, the U.S. Capitol buildings and the U.S. Capitol Grounds, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 13179. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide food and medical services on an emergency basis to prevent human suffering or loss of life; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 13180. A bill to limit the quantity of baseball and softball gloves and mitts which may be imported into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KLEPPE:

H.R. 13181. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 13182. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a 20-percent, across-the-board benefit increase (with a minimum retirement annuity of $70 a month) and subsequent increases based on rises in the cost of living, and to finance the cost of these changes out of the general revenues; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 13183. A bill to provide criminal penalties for certain travel under a U.S. passport in violation of certain passport restrictions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin:

H.R. 13184. A bill to assure the purity and quality of all imported dairy products for the purpose of promoting the dairy industry and protecting the public health; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 13185. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MAHON:

H.J. Res. 849. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.J. Res. 850. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WIGGINS:

H.J. Res. 851. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.J. Res. 852. Joint resolution to call upon the President of the United States to promote voluntary neighborhood action crusades by communities to rally law-abiding urban dwellers in preventing riots; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H. Con. Res. 513. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 13186. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Pacino Biancorosso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Gracious God, our Father, whose still, small voice invites us to turn aside from the feverish ways of the world and whose tender love bids us find our strength in Thee: We are conscious as we bow at this altar of Thy grace that if we live a life of prayer Thou are present everywhere. Amid the draining duties of these demanding days, by the spiritual resources that are found in Thee alone, may our jaded spirits be refreshed and our souls restored.

Endow and enrich Thy servants in this National Body with wisdom and purity of motive in the ministry of public affairs. Make them worthy of the Nation's trust in these days so fraught with destiny.

We pledge our hopes, our faith, our lives,
That freedom shall not die;
We pray Thy guidance, strength, and grace;
Almighty God on high.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, September 26, 1967, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations on the calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

NOMINATIONS

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGovern in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE OF MAJOR AIRLINE DECLARES WHOLE INDUSTRY WILL HAVE TO SUPPORT NEW SHORT-HAUL CONCEPT—STOL CRAFT WOULD OBVIATE USE OF LONG-HAUL JETS IN SHORT-HAUL PATTERNS AND MISSIONS—SENATOR RANDOLPH OPTIMISTIC THAT AIRPORT CRISIS RETHINKING WILL BRING RESTRUCTURING OF SOLUTIONS AT LESS COST

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, when a top airline executive declares that it is time for the industry to begin using new short-haul transportation aircraft because rising ground costs are making conventional means uneconomic, perhaps our country is on the verge of a breakthrough and possibly has at least a partial solution for the airport crisis.

Arthur D. Lewis, senior vice president and general manager of Eastern Airlines—one of the major trunkline carriers—is reported to have said in a speech in New York City last week that the airline industry will have to get behind new short-haul concepts. He forthrightly asserted that the industry of which his company is a significant part "must move aggressively to develop STOL—short takeoff and landing—aircraft and STOL landing strips" to offset costs which he sees continuing upward. In fact, Mr. Lewis said:

> Ultimately, Eastern's shuttle and other similar short-haul operations must be performed by efficient STOL airplanes.

He declared, however, that before this can happen, the airline industry as a whole "is going to have to place STOL high on its list of priorities and aggressively push it."

Mr. President, I believe it is incumbent on the airline industry to place a high priority on the STOL's—and on the aerospace equipment manufacturers to respond—because domestic aviation in this country has reached a new crossroad.

Despite the efficiency of jet aircraft, substantial percentages of the savings that had been expected by converting from propeller craft to jets are being dissipated by other factors. In fact, it was Eastern Airlines' vice president and general manager—Lewis—who said that flight costs are declining as the efficient jets go into service, but these savings are being offset by the costs of delays due to congestion, landing fees, and ground servicing. According to one account I read, Mr. Lewis noted that placing a jet on Eastern's afternoon flight from Boston to Philadelphia had reduced the line's haul cost by 34 percent, but ground-handling expenses, airport congestion, and uneconomic operations below cruising altitude were up 27 percent, and the result has been that the jet cost per passenger for the trip is only 5 percent less than the propeller cost 2 years ago.

A Federal Aviation Administration spokesman, George P. Bates, Director of the FAA Aircraft Development Activities, was quoted by William Reddig, Jr., Washington Star business writer, in last Sunday's issue as having said that V/STOL's are both technically and ecomonically practicable—V/STOL's which become airborne in less than 1,500 feet of runway, compared to more than 5,000 feet needed by the big jets. That interview produced the further significant information that design concepts also call for the V/STOL planes to carry up to 120 passengers, cruise at 500 miles an hour, and land at speeds as slow as 60 miles an hour.

Mr. President, I consider these developments and these data to be significant because studies are said to show that V/STOL airplanes could be operated in landing patterns separate from the high-speed jets, with both coming down at the same time. And, perhaps, it could mean utilization of the high-speed, long-haul jets almost exclusively between the major gateways and use of the V/STOL craft in the short-haul patterns that feed into the major gateways. It even is indicated to mean the use of V/STOL craft for the short hauls between the more closely spaced major gateways such as those along the eastern seaboard—Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark-New York, and Boston. And it could mean, indeed, that some existing airports in short-haul market areas, such as in my home State of West Virginia, are being placed prematurely in the obsolete category. Indeed, this could be a truly important development in domestic aviation.

These are signs, too, that the heartland communities of America, as well as the closely spaced major gateways, will be served in the future with fast—500 miles per hour—convenient—through use of existing or even less costly to build small and medium size airports—and economically feasible—up to 120-passenger capacity planes—scheduled airline service.

And this is an indication that the progressive trunkline carriers are not going to seek to abandon service or seek to vacate their certificates of convenience and necessity to the small and medium size airports they now serve.

Mr. President, I feel that the airlines recognize their responsibilities to halt the proliferation of obsolescence of airports growing out of the expansion of their stretched jet fleets. This forced obsolescence is economic foolishness. And the funds are not available in sufficient amounts to make huge investments in facilities that might, in the final analysis, be airports which might be oversize to the needs of the communities and oversize for the types of equipment which would use them 90 percent or more of the time.

A number of authorities have been subscribing to the opinion that $6 billion will be required by 1975 to keep our country's airports ahead of future traffic demands. I hope such a huge estimated requirement can be shrunk substantially to a more realistic requirement in fact. And I believe airline utilization of V/STOL equipment in the short-haul pattern will significantly reduce airport construction needs and costs and thus free more funds for air traffic safety and other types of equipment and facilities at airports to mitigate against the "airport glut" which we all know exists—including passenger, baggage, freight, and ground vehicular traffic congestion at the airport terminals.

In earlier communications and remarks in this forum, I have urged that our Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation and our Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Aviation ascertain what is delaying progress in the development, production, and commercial utilization in this country of the short-field-runway jet aircraft so vitally needed. I believe this continues to be a pressure point of inquiry because it is my judgment that the advent of STOL, aircraft as short-haul equipment to augment the airlines' present fleets dominated by the long-haul stretched jets will be helpful in the search for solutions to the so-called airport crisis. And, as I have pointed out, one of the high-ranking airline executives has declared within the past week that the STOL equipment will be necessary within the industry "because rising ground costs are making conventional means uneconomic."

I have talked and communicated with the able chairman of our Subcommittee on Aviation, the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney], and with the diligent chairman of our Committee on Commerce, the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], concerning these subjects and I feel reassured. I have a letter from the Aviation Subcommittee chairman in which he informed me that he "heartily agrees" with my belief that we should not lose sight of the needs of smaller airports in our great desire to fund the supersonic transport—SST. And I endorse as correct his cogent observation in his letter that—

> The burgeoning traffic in the large metropolitan hub airports would rapidly wither away if the small airports which feed the traffic into them are not properly equipped.

Mr. President, I am optimistic that there is emerging a rethinking of the problems and the elements of the airport crisis in America—and it is conceivable that there is in the making a complete restructuring of the solutions to the airport crisis as more and more it will be realized that long-haul stretched jets are not the true answers to the short-haul patterns of air traffic—of which there are many in this country. I agree with and commend the declaration by senior vice president, and general manager, Lewis, of Eastern Airlines, that "the airline industry will have to get behind new short-haul concepts," and I believe it is encouraging that he declared:

> Ultimately, Eastern's shuttle and other similar short-haul operations must be performed by efficient STOL airplanes.

This is especially significant because, if accepted and repeated by other major domestic trunkline carriers, it can mean much to the smaller and medium-size airports and the communities served by them throughout the United States. I believe it can, indeed, do much to take the crisis element out of the so-called airport crisis.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 26, 1967, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 636) for the relief of Mrs. Chin Shee Shiu.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGovern in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 12120) to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Suspension of Deportation of Aliens—Withdrawal of Name

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, withdrawing the name of Hyun Sohn Nak from a report relating to aliens whose deportation has been suspended, transmitted to the Senate on October 1, 1966 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Disposition of Executive Papers

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed Mr. Monroney and Mr. Carlson members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred or ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

By Mr. YOUNG of Ohio (for himself and Mr. Lausche):

S. 2471. A bill to amend the acts of February 1, 1826, and February 20, 1833, to authorize the State of Ohio to use the proceeds from the sale of certain lands for educational purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. CASE:

S. 2472. A bill for the relief of Mr. Corrado De Musso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 2473. A bill for the relief of Tung Kwai Lam, Chun Yi Tong, and Tik Shun Cheng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2474. A bill relating to the prohibition of riots and incitement to riot in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. Bible when he introduced the last above-mentioned bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

S. 2475. A bill to provide for State regulatory jurisdiction over natural resources and services, produced, transported and consumed solely within a single State or off the shore of a single State; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Long of Louisiana when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mrs. SMITH (for herself, Mr. Aiken, Mr. Allott, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Bible, Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Ervin, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Hartke, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. Hollings, Mr. Hruska, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Jordan of North Carolina, Mr. Lausche, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Mundt, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Prouty, Mr. Symington, Mr. Thurmond, and Mr. Young of North Dakota):

S. 2476. A bill to amend title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to establish more effective criteria for a finding of serious injury to domestic industry as a result of concessions granted under trade agreements, to make mandatory the findings of the Tariff Commission with respect to the necessity for tariff adjustment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mrs. Smith when she introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota:

S. 2477. A bill for the relief of Dr. Fang Luke Chiu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELL:

S. 2478. A bill to incorporate the Junior Naval Cadets of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Pell when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SPARKMAN (by request):

S. 2479. A bill to authorize the appropriation of $200 million for a U.S. contribution to Multilateral Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Sparkman when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CHURCH:

S. 2480. A bill to amend the act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1026), providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Michaud Flats irrigation project; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Church when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Kennedy of New York, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Smathers, and Mr. Ribicoff):

S. 2481. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide special assistance for the improvement of laboratory animal research facilities; to establish standards for the humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals in departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States and by recipients of grants, awards, and contracts from the United States; to encourage the study and improvement of the care, handling, and treatment and the development of methods for minimizing pain and discomfort of laboratory animals used in biomedical activities; and to otherwise assure humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals, and for other purposes; ordered to lie on the table.

(See the remarks of Mr. Javits when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

TO PRINT ADDITIONAL COPIES OF CERTAIN HEARINGS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 46); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed for the use of the Senate Special Committee on Aging five thousand five hundred additional copies each of parts one and two of its hearings of the Ninetieth Congress, first session, entitled "Retirement and the Individual".

RESOLUTION

TO REQUEST THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO UNDERTAKE A STUDY OF WAGE AREAS

Mr. PELL submitted a resolution (S. Res. 171) to request the Department of Defense to undertake a study of wage areas used to determine wage rates of its employees engaged in recognized trades and crafts, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. Pell, which appears under a separate heading.)

ANTIRIOT BILL FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for the punishment of individuals who riot or incite others to riot in the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, every Member of the Senate is acutely aware of the crisis of lawlessness that faces our Nation. Rioting, burning, looting, and killing have struck our major cities from coast to coast. Fortunately, so far, the Nation's Capital has been spared any major incidents. But we would be shortsighted to the point of foolhardiness not to recognize the danger of inaction.

The control of crime and lawlessness is primarily the responsibility of State and local governments. Only when these problems reach tragic proportions can the Federal Government, with the consent of local authorities, take a hand.

This is not the case in the District of Columbia, a Federal City. Federal jurisdiction exists and, under present governmental organization, the Congress has a direct responsibility in public safety under law and order.

There are many things that must be done to put an end to riots and their causes. Meanwhile, however, our Nation must meet the crisis of lawlessness head on by supporting and enforcing strict laws and stern punishment in the area of lawlessness.

As I have stated repeatedly in recent public statements:

We cannot tolerate lawlessness.

We cannot be permissive about violence.

We cannot accept excuses for looting and killing.

Mr. President, there are no excuses, no justifications, no provocations to explain away rioting and burning, and looting and killing. These criminal actions are an outrage against civilized life, an affront to democracy, an insult to law and order. They are born of contempt for law and thrive on chaos.

No nation, no matter how enlightened, can endure criminal violence. If we cannot control it we are admitting to the world and to ourselves that our laws are no more than a facade that crumbles when the winds of crisis rise.

It is imperative that we turn full attention to the problems of ignorance, poverty and social injustice that have nurtured violence. And I should note what is often forgotten—that the past two Congresses have made great strides toward correcting these problems. But we cannot work on these problems intelligently under the threat of more violence. We cannot consider the causes if we fail to control the unlawful effects.

There are those who deride sterner laws and increased police protection. They say these measures are not the answer, that we must turn first to eradicating the conditions that cause the violence.

I say in return that there cannot be any answers if we do not first control lawlessness. We are a nation of laws. Without them we are nothing more here than philosophical debaters. Our decisions would have no force.

I will be happy to debate the philosophy of lawlessness after we once again have law.

The bill I introduce today has the recommendation of the administration behind it. It is designed to fill a critical gap in District of Columbia law by specifically outlawing riots and the incitement to riot and by imposing fines and imprisonment for violators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2474) relating to the prohibition of riots and incitement to riot in the District of Columbia, introduced by Mr. BIBLE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRESERVATION OF STATE JURISDICTION OVER NATURAL RESOURCES PRODUCED AND CONSUMED WITHIN ONE STATE OR ADJACENT WATERS

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for State regulatory jurisdiction over natural resources and services produced, transported, and consumed solely within a single State or off the shore of a single State. I ask unanimous consent that a statement stating the purpose of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2475) to provide for State regulatory jurisdiction over natural resources and services, produced, transported and consumed solely within a single State or off the shore of a single State, introduced by Mr. LONG of Louisiana, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The statement presented by Mr. LONG of Louisiana is as follows:

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO PRESERVE STATE JURISDICTION OVER NATURAL RESOURCES PRODUCED AND CONSUMED WITHIN ONE STATE OR ADJACENT WATERS

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to preserve state regulatory jurisdiction over natural resources and services produced, transported and consumed solely within a single state or in the waters bordering a single state. Some federal regulatory agencies have asserted jurisdiction over transactions that, by any common sense test, are solely intrastate. Attempts have been made to justify the asserted federal jurisdiction under the color of artificial legal theories and mechanical engineering tests under which any minuscule relation of intrastate activities to interstate commerce is argued to confer federal jurisdiction. The proposed legislation would exempt from federal regulation certain of these activities that do not have a substantial nexus to the citizens of more than one state, if the activities are subject to state regulation and state regulation is being exercised.

The proposed legislation is needed to prevent unnecessary and wasteful duplication by federal and state regulators. Moreover, certain Supreme Court cases have held that the power of states to provide for the conservation and taxation of natural resources diminishes in direct relation to the increase of federal regulatory jurisdiction over such natural resources.[1] Thus, the proposed legislation would increase also the ability of states to conserve natural resources and to prevent the dilution of the state tax base.

A precedent for the proposed legislation is the Hinshaw amendment to the Natural Gas Act,[2] which exempted from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction persons receiving natural gas in or at the boundary of a state for consumption within the state. Since that amendment exempted federal regulation with respect to a commodity which had been transported through other states and thus, by any practical test, was clearly in interstate commerce, it did not present as strong a case for exemption as does the proposed legislation.

It should be emphasized that the proposed legislation will neither necessarily raise nor lower prices charged for regulated commodities. This is well illustrated by one recent case in which jurisdiction by the Louisiana Public Service Commission was denied, and FPC jurisdiction upheld, over sales of gas produced in Louisiana and bordering waters for consumption in the Florida Parish area of Louisiana, even though the price permitted by Louisiana would have been lower than the price prescribed by the Federal Power Commission.[3] It should also be emphasized that the proposed legislation would apply to a broad range of commodities and services, and that it would apply to interior and shoreline states alike.

In transactions directly and substantially affecting Louisiana citizens alone, surely the citizens of Louisiana are better served by Louisiana regulators than by federal regulators living a thousand miles from Louisiana, unfamiliar with her problems and out of touch with her needs and aspirations. Of course, the same principle applies to the citizens of California or Iowa or Maine. The preservation of a meaningful federal system is dependent upon the enactment of legislation such as that proposed.

AMENDMENT OF TITLE III OF THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1962

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise for the purpose of introducing a bill on behalf of myself, the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the junior

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[1] *Michigan-Wisconsin Pipe Line Co.* v. *Calvert et al.*, 347 U.S. 157, 74 S. Ct. 396 (1964); *Natural Gas Pipeline Company of America* v. *Panoma Corporation*, 349 U.S. 44, 7 S. Ct. 576. See also, *Deep South Oil Company of Texas* v. *FPC*, 247 F.2d 882 (5th Cir., 1957) at 892, 899 (dissenting opinion).

[2] Adding section 1(c) to the Act; 15 U.S.C.A. 717(c).

[3] *Louisiana Public Service Commission* v. *FPC*, 359 F. 2d 525 (5th Cir., 1966), affirming FPC Opinions 401 and 401A, CP 62-161. FPC Opinion 401, p. 8, fn. 9, states that the rates prescribed by Louisiana would have been 9¢ per Mcf lower than FPC rates.

Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the junior Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McINTYRE], the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG].

This bill is actually a revision of S. 1891, which I and others introduced earlier this year, because the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 have not provided any means or procedure for significant relief or protection of domestic industry—being so weak and meaningless that such industries as the shoe industry, the textile industry, and other industries have not even troubled to apply for the invoking of such weak and meaningless provisions.

Subsequent to the introduction of S. 1891, representatives of some industries suggested specific revisions of S. 1891. Their principal suggestion was that such protective legislation should be aimed at more than the measurement of a stabilized annual output but instead related to protection of domestic industry from losing a substantial portion of their growth to increased imports from abroad.

Consequently, they proposed that S. 1891 be revised to:

First, require the Tariff Commission to find serious injury or threat thereof to the domestic industry seeking escape clause relief, or a firm seeking adjustment assistance, when the Commission determines that the ratio of imports to domestic production exceeded 10 per centum during the calendar year immediately preceding the initiation of the Tariff Commission investigation; and

Second, require the Tariff Commission to find unemployment or underemployment or threat thereof with respect to workers seeking adjustment assistance when the Tariff Commission determines that increased imports have contributed, or are contributing, in any substantial degree to a decline amounting to 5 per centum or more in man hours or wages paid to direct labor employed by such firm or subdivision.

These proposals are very meritorious and so they have been incorporated in this proposed legislation.

I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD at this point a detailed explanation of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the explanation of the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2476) to amend title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to establish more effective criteria for a finding of serious injury to domestic industry as a result of concessions granted under trade agreements, to make mandatory the findings of the Tariff Commission with respect to the necessity for tariff adjustment, and for other purposes, introduced by Mrs. SMITH (for herself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The explanation presented by Mrs. SMITH is as follows:

EXPLANATION OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION

This is an explanation of the changes which would be made in existing law (the Trade Expansion Act of 1962) by the bill.

I. THE BILL

The bill is not special legislation for any one or more domestic industries but rather for all domestic industries desperately needing help.

The bill would protect domestic industries which, though able to increase their annual output, are nevertheless losing most of their growth to increased cheap-labor imports from abroad.

The bill recognizes that conditions which deny adequate growth can destroy an industry as surely, if not as quickly, as conditions which cause a static or declining level of volume.

The bill amends clauses 301(b)(3) and (c)(3) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to require a finding of serious injury or threat thereof to a domestic industry whenever the Tariff Commission determines that imports exceeded 10 percent of domestic production during the calendar year immediately preceding the initiation of the Tariff Commission's investigation.

Clause (c)(3) would also be amended to require a finding of unemployment or underemployment or threat thereof whenever the Tariff Commission determines that increased imports have contributed, or are contributing in any substantial degree, to a decline, amounting to 5 percent or more in man hours or wages paid, of the direct labor employed by firms concerned.

Tariff adjustment mandatory, not discretionary

Under the bill, if the Tariff Commission makes the necessary finding of serious injury or threat thereof, it is mandatory upon the President to provide tariff adjustment for the affected domestic industry and to authorize firms in such industry and groups of workers in such industry to apply for adjustment assistance under chapters 2 and 3 of title III.

In addition, the bill makes the Tariff Commission's finding as to the amount of increase, in, or imposition, of, any duty or other import restriction which is necessary to prevent or remedy the serious injury or threat thereof to the domestic industry binding upon the President. That is, the President would have to provide the tariff adjustment which the Tariff Commission finds necessary to prevent or remedy the serious injury or threat thereof.

Under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, a domestic article is considered "directly competitive with" an imported article at an earlier or later stage of processing, if the importation of the imported article has an economic effect on producers of the domestic article comparable to the effect of importation of articles in the same stage of processing as the domestic article. For this purpose, an unprocessed article is considered to be at an earlier stage of processing.

Unprocessed article

The bill adds a provision to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to provide that, in determining whether an unprocessed article (i.e., a raw material) is directly competitive with an imported article at a later stage of processing (i.e., a finished or semi-finished imported article), the Tariff Commission shall weigh carefully, among other factors, the relationship of the unprocessed article and the imported article, the number of processes involved, and the number and volume of secondary materials required.

II. EXISTING LAW

Title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 contains the procedures whereby domestic industries may seek relief from injury caused by tariff concessions granted under trade agreements entered into by the United States. The procedure contained in title III applies whether the tariff concessions were granted under authority of the 1962 Act or of prior law.

Finding of injury

The granting of tariff adjustment as provided in title III requires a finding by the United States Tariff Commission that "as a result in major part of concessions granted under trade agreements, an article is being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to cause, or threaten to cause, serious injury to the domestic industry producing an article which is like or directly competitive with the imported article."

A similar finding by the Tariff Commission is required for a firm to seek adjustment assistance under chapter 2 of title III or for a group of workers to seek adjustment assistance under chapter 3 of title III.

Presidential action discretionary, not mandatory

Under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, if the Tariff Commission makes the necessary finding of serious injury or threat thereof, the President may provide tariff adjustment for the affected domestic industry, and may authorize firms in such industry and groups of workers in such industry to apply for adjustment assistance under chapters 2 and 3 of title III, respectively. It is discretionary with the President as to whether he takes any or all of the action permissible.

If the Tariff Commission makes the necessary findings of serious injury or threat thereof, it is required by the 1962 Act also to find and report to the President the amount of the increase in, or imposition of, any duty or other import restriction which is necessary to prevent or remedy the serious injury or threat to the domestic industry.

In addition to having discretion as to whether or not to provide any tariff adjustment, the President also has discretion under the 1962 Act as to whether to provide the tariff adjustment found necessary by the Tariff Commission or to provide some other tariff adjustment.

Presidential report to Congress

The Act does provide, however, that the President must report to the Congress if he does not provide the tariff adjustment found necessary by the Tariff Commission, and the Act also provides a procedure whereby the two Houses of the Congress may, by concurrent resolution, require the imposition of the tariff adjustment found necessary by the Tariff Commission.

INCORPORATION OF THE JUNIOR NAVAL CADETS OF AMERICA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill authorizing the incorporation of the Junior Naval Cadets of America. I introduce this legislation at the request of a distinguished constituent, Mr. Mario R. aRussillo of Johnston, R.I., who holds the rank of captain in the Junior Naval Cadets of America, and who is the commandant of the Rhode Island State Command, JNCA.

The purpose of this excellent organization is to drill and instruct young people between the ages of 12 and 18 in the tradition and science of the naval service. My own State, with its long and honorable nautical heritage, has had a great interest in the Junior Naval Cadets from the beginning. From their origin in nearby Connecticut with only a few hundred members, the Junior Naval Cadets now claim several thousand members in a dozen States across the Nation.

Because of their growth to national status and because of the consequent need to centralize and consolidate their legal status, the Junior Naval Cadets have decided to seek a congressional charter through the legislation which I introduce today. I do hope that the excellent Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations, which is headed by the distinguished minority leader, may see fit to consider this bill favorably. I also ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2478) to incorporate the Junior Naval Cadets of America, introduced by Mr. PELL, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2478

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Rear Admiral John McCaffery, Post Office Box 725, Groton, Connecticut; Lieutenant Commander Harvey R. Berger, 31 Tudor Street, Lynn, Massachusetts; Commander Paul Palmer, Post Office Box 1594. Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Captain Mario R. aRussillo, 17 Harrington Drive, Johnston, Rhode Island; Lieutenant Charles H. Holsopple, Post Office Box 207, Broomall, Pennsylvania; Lieutenant Rose Barrett, 1222 Belflower Avenue, SW., Canton, Ohio; Lieutenant Commander Frank Jones, in care of Post Office Box 1594, Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Lieutenant Alfred Howland, Alewine Road, Kennebunk, Maine; Commander William Golding, 20711 Van Owen Street, Conaga Park, California; Lieutenant Edmund G. Brown, 114 East 188th Street, Bronx, New York; Lieutenant Commander Ernest A. Morin, Peru, Vermont; Lieutenant Marcellino Ozuna, Junior, 5530 Gypsy Avenue, Las Vegas, Nevada; and their successors, are hereby created and declared to be a body corporate by the name of the Junior Naval Cadets of America (hereinafter referred to as the "corporation") and by such name shall be known and have perpetual succession, and the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

COMPLETION OF ORGANIZATION

SEC. 2. The persons named in the first section of this Act shall be the incorporators of the corporation and a majority of such persons are authorized to complete the organization of the corporation by the selection of officers and employees, the adoption of a constitution and bylaws, not inconsistent with this Act, and the doing of such other acts as may be necessary for such purpose.

OBJECTS AND PURPOSES

SEC. 3. The objects and purposes of the corporation shall be—

(1) to provide an organization to encourage and aid American citizens in the contribution of their efforts, services and resources in the development of our youth and in the maintenance of American superiority; and to encourage and develop, by example, the voluntary contribution of private citizens to the public welfare;

(2) to drill and instruct cadets in naval and military education, procedure and discipline; to promote the social, moral, mental and physical welfare of these cadets;

(3) to plan, carry out and maintain a schedule of youth activities including the formation of subsidiary groups or societies;

(4) to safeguard and transmit to posterity the purity and righteousness of individual freedom, to preserve our American heritage and to foster such teachings of good citizenship;

(5) to assist in charitable work of any nature deemed beneficial and to the best interests of our organization and to society and the communty, as a whole, and to raise funds for carrying the same into effect by any manner allowed by the constitution and bylaws of the corporation and permitted under the laws of the respective States and under the laws and Constitution of the United States of America;

(6) to uphold and maintain the Constitution of the United States of America and all subdivisions thereunder; and

(7) to assist in maintaining law and order under the supervision and direction of existing municipal authority.

POWERS

SEC. 4. The corporation shall have power—

(1) to sue and be sued, complain and defend in any court of competent jurisdiction;

(2) to adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal;

(3) to appoint and fix the compensation of such officers, employees, managers, and agents, as its business may require, and define their authority and duties;

(4) to adopt, amend, and alter bylaws and regulations not inconsistent with the laws of the United States or any State, or the District of Columbia, in which such corporation is to operate, for the management of its property and the regulation of its affairs;

(5) to make and carry out contracts;

(6) to charge and collect membership dues, subscription fees, and receive contributions or grants of money to be devoted to the carrying out of its purposes;

(7) to take and hold by lease, gift, purchase, grant, devise, or bequest any property, real, personal, or mixed, necessary for attaining the objects and carrying into effect the purposes of the corporation, subject, however, to applicable provisions of law of any State or the District of Columbia (A) governing the amount or kind of real and personal property which may be held by or (B) otherwise limiting or controlling the ownership of real and personal property by, a corporation operating in such State, or the District of Columbia;

(8) to transfer, convey, lease, sublease, mortgage, encumber, and otherwise alienate real, personal, or mixed property;

(9) to borrow money for the purposes of the corporation, issue bonds or other evidences of indebtedness therefor, and secure the same by mortgage, deed of trust, pledge, or otherwise, subject in every case to all applicable provisions of the Federal and State laws or of the laws of the District of Columbia; and

(10) to do any and all lawful acts and things necessary and proper to carry out the objects and purposes of the corporation.

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 5. Eligibility for membership in the corporation and the rights and privileges of members shall, except as provided in this Act, be determined as the constitution and bylaws of the corporation may provide.

NATIONAL BOARD OF STAFF OFFICERS

SEC. 6. (a) Upon enactment of this Act, the membership of the initial national board of staff officers of the corporation shall consist of the persons named in the first section of this Act.

(b) Except as provided in the preceding subsection, the national board of staff officers shall consist of such number, shall be selected in such manner (including the filling of vacancies), shall hold such meetings, and shall serve for such term as may be prescribed in the constitution and the bylaws of the corporation.

(c) The national board of staff officers shall be the governing board of the corporation and shall have such powers, duties, and responsibilities as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws of the corporation.

(d) The national board of staff officers may establish an executive board and committees to exercise such powers as may be prescribed in the bylaws.

OFFICERS

SEC. 7. The officers of the corporation shall be those provided in the bylaws. Such officers shall be elected in such manner, for such term, and with such duties, as may be prescribed in the bylaws of the corporation.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE; SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AGENT

SEC. 8. (a) The principal office of the corporation shall be located in Groton, Connecticut, or in such other place as may later be determined by the national board of staff officers, but the activities of the corporation shall not be confined to that place but may be conducted throughout the United States and each territory, possession, and dependency of the United States.

(b) The corporation shall maintain at all times in the District of Columbia a designated agent authorized to accept service of process for the corporation, and notice to or service upon such agent, or mailed to the business address of such agent, shall be deemed notice to, or service upon, the corporation.

USE OF INCOME; LIMITATION ON MAKING LOANS

SEC. 9. (a) No part of the income or assets of the corporation shall inure to any member, officer, employee or member of the national board of staff officers, executive board, or committees, or be distributable to any such person during the life of the corporation or upon its dissolution or final liquidation. Nothing in this subsection, however, shall be construed to prevent the payment of reasonable compensation to officers of the corporation or reimbursement for actual expenses in amounts approved by the corporation's national board of staff officers.

(b) The corporation shall not make loans to its members, officers, employees, or members of the national board of staff officers, executive board, or committees. Any member of the national board of staff officers who votes for or assents to the making of such loan, and any officer who participates in the making of such a loan, shall be jointly and severally liable to the corporation for the amount of such a loan until the repayment thereof.

LIABILITY FOR ACTS OF OFFICERS AND AGENTS

SEC. 10. The corporation shall be liable for the acts of its officers, agents, managers, and employees when acting within the scope of their authority or employment.

NONPOLITICAL NATURE OF CORPORATION

SEC. 11. The corporation and its officers and members of the national board of staff officers as such, shall not contribute to or otherwise support or assist any political party or candidate for office.

PROHIBITION AGAINST ISSUANCE OF STOCK OR PAYMENT OF DIVIDENDS

SEC. 12. The corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock nor to declare or pay any dividends.

BOOKS AND RECORDS; INSPECTION

SEC. 13. The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account. It shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its members and national board of staff officers, and executive board and committees authorized by the national board of staff officers. The corporation shall keep at its principal office a record of the names and addresses of its members entitled to vote. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member, or his agent or attorney, for any proper purpose, at any reasonable time.

AUDIT OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

SEC. 14. (a) The accounts of the corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants, certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision thereof. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the corporation and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

(b) A report of such audit shall be made by the corporation to the President of the United States and to the Congress not later than six months following the close of the fiscal year for which the audit is made. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements as are necessary to present fairly the corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the corporation's income and expenses during the year, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements. The report shall not be printed as a public document.

USE OF ASSETS ON DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

SEC. 15. Upon dissolution or final liquidation of the corporation, after discharge or satisfaction of all outstanding obligations and liabilities, the remaining assets of the corporation may be distributed in accordance with the determination of the national board or staff officers of the corporation and in compliance with this Act the bylaws of the corporation, and all other Federal and State laws and laws of the District of Columbia applicable thereto.

EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO NAME, INSIGNIA, EMBLEMS, SEALS, AND BADGES

SEC. 16. The corporation shall have the sole and exclusive right to use and allow or refuse to others the use of the name "Junior National Cadets of America", and to have and to use such distinctive insignia, emblems, seals, and badges, descriptive or designating marks, and words or phrases, as may be required to carry out the purposes of the corporation. No powers or privileges hereby granted shall, however, interfere or conflict with established or vested rights.

RESERVATION OF RIGHT TO AMEND OR REPEAL CHARTER

SEC. 17. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is hereby expressly reserved to the Congress.

AUTHORIZATION OF AN APPROPRIATION FOR A U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO MULTILATERAL SPECIAL FUNDS OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, as acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I introduce, by request, a bill to authorize the appropriation of $200 million for a U.S. contribution to Multilateral Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank.

The proposed legislation has been requested by the Department of the Treasury.

I am introducing it in order that there may be a specific bill to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comment.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this bill, as well as any suggested amendments to it, when it is considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the proposed bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2479) to authorize the appropriation of $200 million for a U.S. contribution to Multilateral Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank, introduced by Mr. SPARKMAN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2479

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of the Congres that —

(a) The United States national interests would be served by an expanded cooperation in a multilateral effort for the acceleration of economic and social progress of the developing nations of Asia and that this is important to the achievement of peace and stability in that region;

(b) Such progress can best be advanced by the continued cooperation of regional and other interested countries;

(c) The Asian Development Bank, established as a result of Asian initiative, is well designed to formulate and execute cooperative programs that will promote regional development;

(d) The United States should participate with other interested contributing countries in financing, through Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank, regional programs in areas such as agriculture, transportation, Mekong development and other priority areas, on terms which are not appropriate to the Bank's ordinary lending activities;

(e) In participating in such activities of the Bank, the President should ensure that the contribution of the United States represents a minority of the total contributions of all contributing countries, that it is used in a manner designed to safeguard the balance of payments of the United States, and that it is devoted to meeting the priority needs of the countries of the area.

SEC. 2. In order that the United States may respond to Asian initiatives and join in a multilateral effort to provide assistance to the developing nations of Asia consistent with the provisions of section 1, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President without fiscal year limitation $200 million which shall remain available until expended for United States participation in Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank.

PROTECTING INDIAN RIGHTS AT MICHAUD FLATS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the act of August 31, 1954, providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Michaud Flats irrigation project, in Idaho.

The bill is introduced at the request of the Department of the Interior. It is identical with a bill which passed the Senate in the 88th Congress, but received no House action.

This is a very simple measure, Mr. President, and its purpose is to add a new subsection to the authorization act which will facilitate the execution of contracts for the delivery of water to individual Indian allotments.

Much of this project is on Indian land. Contracts have been signed by non-Indian landowners, but difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the signatures of all landowners of Indian allotments. This is due mostly to the fractionated heirship status of the land and the difficulty of procuring the addresses of minority interest landowners. Many of these heirs are scattered throughout the United States.

The amendment would authorize the Secretary of Interior to execute a contract on behalf of any Indian holding an individual interest in trust or restricted land where the contract has been signed by or on behalf of a majority of the interests in the land. The Secretary may also execute the contract on behalf of any Indian who is a minor, who has been adjudicated non compos mentos, whose ownership interest in a decedent's estate has not been determined, or who cannot be located.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of transmittal from the Department of the Interior and the text of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and letter of transmittal will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2480) to amend the act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1026), providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Michaud Flats irrigation project, introduced by Mr. CHURCH, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2480

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 of the Act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1026), for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Michaud Flats irrigation project in the State of Idaho, is amended by adding thereto a new subsection (c) as follows:

"(c) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to execute a contract required by subsection (b) of this section on behalf of any Indian who owns an undivided trust or restricted interest in a tract of land when (1) the contract has been signed by or on behalf of the holders of a majority interest in the land, or (2) the Indian is a minor, or (3) the Indian has been adjudicated non compos mentis, or (4) the Indian's ownership interest in a decedent's estate has not been determined, or (5) the Indian cannot be located by the Secretary after a reasonable and diligent search and the giving of notice by publication."

The letter presented by Mr. CHURCH is as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., August 22, 1967.
Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There is enclosed a draft of a proposed bill "To amend the Act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1026), providing for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the Michaud Flats Irrigation project."

We recommend that the bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration, and we recommend that it be enacted.

The Act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1026), provides for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Michaud Flats Project under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Reclamation and reauthorizes the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Michaud Division of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Construction on the Indian reservation was originally authorized by the Act of February 4, 1931 (46 Stat. 1061).

Section 3 of the 1954 Act provides as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) To aid in the development of not more than twenty-one thousand acres of irrigable land in the Michaud division of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, as heretofore authorized by the Act of February 4, 1931 (46 Stat. 1061), and hereby reauthorized for construction, operation, and maintenance without regard to the provisions of said Act, the Secretary is authorized—

"(1) to reserve for the benefit of those lands when needed, but without prejudice to the interim use thereof for other purposes proper under reclamation laws, eighty-three thousand and nine hundred acre-feet of storage capacity in Palisades Reservoir and forty-seven thousand and seven hundred acre-feet of that portion of the storage capacity in American Falls Reservoir which was set aside for lands in the Michaud area generally by section 3 of the Act of September 30, 1950 (64 Stat. 1083); and

"(2) to account for the return of so much of the cost of said development (including the cost of the aforesaid storage space in Palisades and American Falls Reservoirs) as the Secretary finds cannot be repaid by the water users on terms substantially similar to those provided in section 2 of this Act, except for the application of the provisions of the Act of July 1, 1932 (47 Stat. 564), and the Act of March 1, 1907 (34 Stat. 1015, 1024), which are specifically made applicable to the project authorized by this section and Indian lands susceptible of irrigation under said project, by application of net power revenues of the Palisades project and any developments combined therewith for payout purposes under the provisions of the second sentence of section 2 of the Act of September 30, 1950, after payout thereof is accomplished pursuant to law.

"(b) Construction of works to serve the Michaud division lands shall be undertaken only if, in consideration thereof and of the additional benefits authorized in the preceding sentence of this section, such *appropriate arrangements as may be required in the circumstances are first made, by contract or otherwise, with respect to a water supply for said lands which, among other things*— (italic supplied)

"(1) limit that supply to the yield of the space in Palisades and American Falls Reservoirs as hereinbefore set forth and to that obtained by the pumping of ground water in an average annual amount of not more than twenty-two thousand and four hundred acre-feet; and

"(2) consent to a priority in time and right in such beneficial consumptive uses of the waters of the Snake River, and its tributaries, as are established under the laws of the State of Idaho prior to the date of this Act as against any use of the waters arising on or flowing through the Fort Hall Bottoms within the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, including, but not limited to, the intercepted flow of Ross Fork Creek, the Portneuf River below Pocatello, Big Jimmy Creek, Big Spring Creek, and Clear Creek, for the irrigation of the lands of the Michaud division of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation."

It will be noted from the italic lines of the Act that prior to the undertaking of construction a contract or other arrangement must be made with respect to a water supply for the Michaud Division lands. The contract or other arrangement must be appropriate under the circumstances, and must limit the water supply for such lands and consent to certain priorities in time and use.

The requirement with respect to tribal lands has been satisfied by tribal resolution and ordinance. With respect to allotted lands, both the consent requirement and the limitation of water supply requirement call for a contractual agreement of the landowners. Contract forms have been prepared and executed by most of the landowners. In some instances, however, difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the necessary signatures of all the Indians involved in the land. The failure to obtain signatures of some of the minority interest owners in the land is preventing those Indians holding a majority interest in the land, and who have executed the contracts, from sharing in the benefits that can be derived from irrigation.

The proposed bill authorized the Secretary to execute contracts on behalf of any Indian who holds an individual interest in trust or restricted land where the contract has been signed by or on behalf of holders of a majority interest in the land. It also permits the Secretary to execute contracts on behalf of those Indians who are minors, who have been adjudicated non compos mentis, whose ownership interest has not been determined, or who cannot be located. The authority is necessary to enable all of the Indian lands in the Michaud Division at the Fort Hall Indian Reservation to participate in the benefits of the irrigation project.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of the proposed legislation from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY R. ANDERSON,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

REGULATION OF CARE AND HANDLING OF LABORATORY ANIMALS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, on behalf of myself and Senators BROOKE, COTTON, KENNEDY of Massachusetts, KENNEDY of New York, MCINTYRE, RANDOLPH, RIBICOFF, and SMATHERS, a bill to provide for the regulation of the care and handling of laboratory animals. The bill was prepared in collaboration with the Humane Society of the United States, the American Humane Society, and the New York State Medical Society.

A similar bill is being introduced in the other body by Representative PAUL ROGERS of Florida and 21 Members of that body.

The purpose of the bill is to regulate the care of animals used in medical experiments and would follow in logical sequence the law of last year which covered laboratory animals but specifically excludes those used in research.

Mr. President, I wish to make one additional comment. I understand that considerable opposition is being directed with respect to this matter on the ground that in some way it preempts the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture. I have just heard about this recently and rather than hold up the introduction of the bill I wish to assure everyone who has that interest, that in the consideration of the bill, which will be very soon, I hope we will consider this matter carefully.

Mr. President, I assure anyone interested that the matter will have the most considered attention along that line.

REQUEST FOR A BILL TO LIE ON THE TABLE

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Senator from New York has introduced S. 2481, the Humane Laboratory Animal Treatment Act of 1967. I ask unanimous consent that it lie on the table for an indefinite period of time, until we can discuss the matter with the Senator from New York. This request is not made for the purpose of cosponsorship. It involves jurisdiction of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Washington? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 2481) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide special assistance for the improvement of laboratory animal research facilities; to establish standards for the humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals in departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States and by recipients of grants, awards, and contracts from the United States; to encourage the study and improvement of the care, handling, and treatment and the development of methods for minimizing pain and discomfort of laboratory animals used in biomedical activities; and to otherwise assure humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JAVITS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and by unanimous consent, was ordered to lie on the table.

AREA WAGE SURVEY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, a proposed Senate resolution which would direct the Department of Defense to take immediate action so as to insure an equitable rate of pay for certain of its civilian employees. I do so, for it appears that only Senate action will move the Department to treat its blue-collar employees in a fair manner.

The genesis of this resolution is a situation in the State of Rhode Island which, I fear, may also be prevalent in the other 49 States of the Union, whose citizens are employed by the Department of Defense and specifically by the Department of the Navy.

While other workers have certain basic collective bargaining rights, those who are employed by the Government have wages and hours set by laws and regulation. The individual's ability to affect his wages and working conditions is

sorely limited. What I am specifically concerned with today is demonstrated by the experience of the Rhode Island blue-collar worker, who I believe is not receiving equitable treatment from his employer, the Department of the Navy.

If, let us say, a man works as a machinist for the Navy, he is paid what is termed a comparable rate of pay; that is, one which he would receive if he did the same job for a private firm in the adjacent geographic area. This I believe is logical and fair to both the employer and employee. The question then arises, how is the comparable rate determined? Now we get to the nub of the problem.

The Department of the Navy conducts what are termed areas wage surveys. This means that nearby businesses doing the same type of work as the naval installation are canvassed to find out what the prevailing wage is. It is clear that the area to be surveyed is a determining factor, for it is within this area that the comparable wages are to be found. One would assume that in fairness to its employees the Navy would attempt to make the area to be surveyed one which is truly representative of the work force at its installations. How else could there be a true wage picture obtained? However, when investigation was made of the area to be surveyed, to determine wages for Rhode Island employees of the Department of the Navy, it was found that the area had been so gerrymandered that Navy employees will be paid the lowest wages possible.

I queried the Navy department on this matter and found that the basic survey area had been established 24 years ago, in 1943, but I was assured that it had been updated and improved in 1956. Investigation established that the new areas added in 1956 are low wage areas, not contiguous to the Rhode Island wage market. The Navy, however, somehow feels that this addition does more truly represent the Rhode Island work force. The fact that no other government body has agreed with its determination of the Rhode Island work force has no bearing on the Navy's determination. Such agencies as the Census Bureau, ARA, EOA, who truly know the Rhode Island picture, are given little credence by bureaucrats in the Pentagon.

What is clear, Mr. President, is the fact that the Navy has established as a labor-market survey area for Rhode Island a chimerical geographic limitation which purposely excludes the second largest employer of Rhode Island citizens, the General Dynamics Co., of Groton, Conn. I submit that a survey of Rhode Island wage earners cannot truly give a picture of the wage potential unless that employer to which 5,000 Rhode Islanders commute daily is included in the survey area.

I was given many, many reasons for the exclusion of the Groton, Conn., area from the Narragansett area wage survey, none of them, to my mind, particularly valid. To be sure, the only complaints about the area wage survey are from the employees of the Navy. But, what private employer would complain; for if the largest boss in Rhode Island, the Navy, holds down wages, why should a normal, profit-minded employer complain?

The Senate should be fully aware of this determiniation of the Department of the Navy. These arbitrary actions cause employees to be paid less than they should be receiving. Such actions depress the wages in my State. If the Navy were truly interested in the morale of its workers, it would try to get the most representative area to survey, not one representative of the lowest wages available.

Mr. President, the experience of the Rhode Island Defense Department employee should not be allowed to be repeated in other States. Adoption of my resolution would direct the Department of Defense to restudy its area determinations and thereafter resurvey the areas. Only by doing so will our Federal blue-collar employees receive fair and equitable treatment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 171) was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, as follows:

S. RES. 171

Whereas the wages of civilian employees of the Department of Defense, including the military departments, who are engaged in recognized trades and crafts and related occupations, are required to be fixed at rates corresponding with those payable to nongovernmental employees in similar occupations; and

Whereas the rates of wages payable to nongovernmental employees are ascertained for that purpose through surveys conducted within geographical wage areas established throughout the United States; and

Whereas, unless properly established, such areas inaccurately reflect the prevailing wage rates paid to nongovernmental employees, thereby resulting in erroneous determinations of rates to be paid to such Department of Defense employees: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Department of Defense is requested to undertake immediately a study of wage areas established for its employees, including employees of the military departments, whose wage rates are determined under section 5341 of title 5, United States Code, in order to determine if such areas accurately reflect the present demographic and industrial profile of the adjacent area and accurately reflect the prevailing wage rates of employees privately employed in the locality in which such employees of the Department of Defense are employed.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 351 THROUGH 356

Mr. PROUTY submitted six amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 357 THROUGH 360

Mr. COOPER submitted four amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 2388, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], who is officially absent, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the bill (S. 1484) to establish a Small Business Crime Protection Insurance Corporation, and for other purposes, the name of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished senior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1796) to impose quotas on the importation of certain textile articles.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the two Senators from the State of Washington [Mr. JACKSON and Mr. MAGNUSON] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1856) to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the bill (S. 2061) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of Senate Joint Resolution 101 to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to guarantee certain loans made to the National Maritime Historical Society for the purpose of restoring and returning to the United States the last surviving American square-rigged merchant ship, the *Kaiulani*, the names of the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] be added as cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of Senate Joint Resolution 111, introduced by me, expressing opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations at this time, the names of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] be added as cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, last May 10, I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a report dealing with problems of unemployment in a free society. One of the most pertinent findings contained in that report was that total unemployment in this country would have increased during the period, June 1960 to February 1967, except for the large gain in employment by the Federal Government.

I now call attention to a recent article appearing in the September issue of Monthly Labor Review, written by Richard P. Oliver of the Division of Economic Growth, Bureau of Labor Statistics, entitled, "The Employment Effect of Defense Expenditures." On September 14, 1967, the Wall Street Journal quoted extracts from this article under the headline, "Vietnam Buildup Boosted U.S. Employment by One Million Jobs Since 1965, Agency Says."

In his article, among other things, Mr. Oliver estimates that of the 3 million jobs in the private sector, generated by military expenditures during fiscal year 1967, about 1 million may be attributed to Vietnam.

In my mind, Mr. President, these two articles emphasize the importance of planning now for the eventual termination of the Vietnam conflict in terms of a national transition from wartime to peacetime employment. We must not falsely assume that the present high degree of employment will or can continue in a peacetime economy. I hope that my colleagues in the Senate as well as the leaders of all segments of our society read these two articles and consider the lessons they have to offer.

They may provide the impetus for foresight and intelligent planning needed to alleviate the frustrations and insecurity which could result, not only from the search for civilian employment by returning veterans, but from civilian job layoffs of thousands of employed people following the Vietnam war. We must not allow ourselves to falsely anticipate a healthy peacetime employment by ignoring the impact of Federal Government job increases and also the employment effect of current wartime expenditures.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EMPLOYMENT EFFECT OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

(By Richard P. Oliver, Division of Economic Growth, Bureau of Labor Statistics)

In mid-1965 defense expenditures began to increase to meet our expanding commitments in Vietnam. In the next 2 years military expenditures rose from a monthly low of $3.3 billion at the beginning of fiscal year 1965 to a high of $6.7 billion in March 1967, as our troop strength in Vietnam rose from about 25,000 to about 500,000. Defense expenditures in fiscal 1965 amounted to $47.4 billion, while in fiscal 1967 they were about $68.4 billion, an increase of $21.0 billion in current dollars. Expenditures of this magnitude, of course, have a major effect on employment and produce varying results in different industries.

This article presents estimates of the employment generated in each industry by Department of Defense (DOD) military expenditures in fiscal years 1965 and 1967, and that portion of employment in fiscal year 1967 that might be attributed to the Vietnam buildup. These estimates were derived by using an interindustry model and techniques developed as part of the Interagency Growth Project.[1] Detailed estimates of military purchases of final goods and services were processed through the model to obtain the total of direct and indirect output necessary to produce these purchases. Estimates of defense-generated employment were obtained by converting industry outputs to employment using productivity factors for 1965 and 1967.

EMPLOYMENT EFFECTS, 1965–67

The total employment generated by these expenditures, including military personnel and DOD civilian employees, is estimated at about 5.7 million persons in fiscal year 1965 and 7.4 million in fiscal year 1967. Military personnel, the largest single component of this total, increased to 3.4 million from 2.7 during this period. Government and private defense-related civilian employment rose from about 3.0 to 4.1 million, an increase of 1,045,000. This increase amounted to about 23 percent of the total increase in civilian employment during the period. DOD civilian employment in the United States for military functions increased from slightly more than 900,000 to nearly 1.1 million. Estimated employment of wage and salary workers in the private sector attributable[2] to military expenditures rose from about 2.1 million in fiscal year 1965 to 3.0 million in fiscal year 1967. This increase raised the proportion of private employment generated by military expenditures from 3.9 percent of the total in fiscal year 1965 to 5.2 percent in fiscal year 1967.

Each billion dollars of defense purchases from the private sector was estimated to create 82,000 jobs in fiscal year 1965 and 73,000 jobs in fiscal year 1967 with the decline due to higher prices and productivity increases. Holding prices constant, the aggregate productivity per worker, associated with all DOD purchases of final goods and services from the private sector, increased from fiscal year 1965 to fiscal year 1967 by 5.8 percent—about average for the private nonfarm economy in this period.

The proportion of employment attributable to military expenditures varied considerably from industry to industry. However, the employment estimates shown in table 1 indicate that only three of the aggregate industry sectors were heavily dependent on military purchases in both 1965 and 1967.

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[1] *See Projections 1970; Interindustry Relationships, Potential Demand, Employment* (BLS Bulletin 1536, 1967. See also "Interindustry Employment Requirements," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1965, pp. 841–850, for a description of methods of deriving employment estimates.

[2] Employment attributable to military expenditures includes both the direct employment necessary to produce the final goods and services purchased and the indirect employment required in all levels of supporting industries which provide materials, components, transportation, and distribution services ultimately embodied in the final purchase. The indirect employment estimates do not include the income multiplier or accelerator effects which induce further consumption and investment purchases.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT ATTRIBUTABLE TO DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES,[1] FISCAL YEARS 1965 AND 1967, AND THAT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE VIETNAM BUILDUP IN 1967 [2]

Industry No.	Industry	Fiscal year 1965: Total employment	Fiscal year 1965: DOD-generated employment: Number	Fiscal year 1965: DOD-generated employment: As percent of total	Fiscal year 1965: DOD-generated employment: Percent distribution	Fiscal year 1967: Total employment	Fiscal year 1967: DOD-generated employment: Number	Fiscal year 1967: DOD-generated employment: As percent of total	Fiscal year 1967: DOD-generated employment: Percent distribution	Employment attributable to buildup: Number	Employment attributable to buildup: As percent of DOD-generated employment	Employment attributable to buildup: As percent of total industry employment	Employment attributable to buildup: Percent distribution
	Federal Government	5,067	3,635.4	72.0	------	6,016	4,438.5	73.8	------	798.8	18.0	13.3	---------
	Military	2,716	2,716.0	100.0	------	3,350	3,350.0	100.0	------	634.0	18.9	18.9	---------
	Civilian	[3] 2,351	[4] 919.4	39.1	------	2,666	1,087.5	40.8	------	164.8	15.2	6.2	---------
	State and local government	[3] 7,462	12.6	.2	------	8,569	19.3	.2	------	6.0	31.1	.1	---------
	Total, civilian public and private	64,296	3,033.2	4.7	------	68,905	4,078.3	5.9	------	1,179.6	28.9	1.7	---------
	Total, public and private	67,012	5,749.2	8.6	------	72,255	7,428.3	10.3	------	1,813.6	24.4	2.5	---------
	Total, private	54,483	2,101.2	3.9	100.0	57,670	2,971.5	5.2	100.0	1,008.8	33.9	1.7	100.0
	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	5,034	48.5	1.0	2.3	4,075	75.0	1.8	2.5	32.8	43.7	.8	3.2
1	Livestock and livestock products	4,848	45.9	.9	2.2	3,869	69.9	1.8	2.4	30.4	43.5	.8	3.0
2	Other agricultural products												
3	Forestry and fishery products	62	1.1	1.8	.1	69	2.4	3.5	.1	1.3	54.2	1.9	.1
4	Agricultural, forestry, and fishery services	124	1.5	1.2	.1	137	2.7	2.0	.1	1.1	40.7	.8	.1
	Mining	634	29.9	4.7	1.4	620	40.0	6.5	1.3	13.1	32.8	2.1	1.3
5	Iron and ferroalloy ores mining	28	1.6	5.7	.1	29	2.2	7.6	.1	.8	36.4	2.8	.1
6	Nonferrous metal ores mining	53	3.8	7.2	.2	56	5.6	10.0	.2	2.0	35.7	3.6	.2
7	Coal mining	145	4.5	3.1	.2	140	6.2	4.4	.2	2.1	33.9	1.5	.2
8	Crude petroleum and natural gas	291	16.4	5.6	.8	276	20.9	7.6	.7	6.4	30.6	2.3	.6
9	Stone and clay mining and quarrying	117	3.6	3.1	.2	119	5.1	4.3	.2	1.8	35.3	1.5	.2
10	Chemical and fertilizer mineral mining												
	Construction:												
11	New construction	3,119	60.0	1.9	2.8	3,277	67.9	2.1	2.3	5.0	7.4	.2	.5
12	Maintenance and repair construction												
	Manufacturing	17,604	1,390.2	7.9	66.2	19,318	2,021.6	10.5	68.0	737.7	36.5	3.8	73.1

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT ATTRIBUTABLE TO DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES,[1] FISCAL YEARS 1965 AND 1967, AND THAT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE VIETNAM BUILDUP IN 1967 [2]—Continued

Industry No.	Industry	Fiscal year 1965				Fiscal year 1967				Employment attributable to buildup			
		Total employment	DOD-generated employment			Total employment	DOD-generated employment			Number	As percent of DOD-generated employment	As percent of total industry employment	Percent distribution
			Number	As percent of total	Percent distribution		Number	As percent of total	Percent distribution				
	Manufacturing—Continued												
13	Ordnance and accessories	227	106.1	46.7	5.0	284	183.9	64.8	6.2	92.9	50.5	36.6	9.2
14	Food and kindred products	1,752	20.3	1.2	1.0	1,767	31.7	1.8	1.1	12.6	39.7	.7	1.2
15	Tobacco manufactures	90	.4	.4	------	83	.7	.8	------	.3	42.8	.4	--------
16	Broad and narrow fabrics, yarn and thread mills	574	14.8	2.6	.7	599	41.6	6.9	1.4	27.6	66.3	4.6	2.7
17	Miscellaneous textile goods and floor coverings	110	2.2	2.0	.1	117	4.3	3.7	.1	2.2	51.2	1.9	.2
18	Apparel	1,395	16.1	1.2	.8	1,457	46.5	3.2	1.6	30.8	66.2	2.1	3.1
19	Miscellaneous fabricated textile products	158	4.4	2.8	.2	168	10.2	6.1	.3	6.1	59.8	3.6	.6
20	Lumber and wood products, except containers	571	12.5	2.2	.6	572	26.3	4.6	.9	14.1	53.6	2.5	1.4
21	Wooden containers	34	1.3	3.8	.1	36	7.0	19.4	.2	5.8	82.9	16.1	.6
22	Household furniture	302	7.7	2.5	.4	330	9.5	2.9	.3	2.1	22.1	.6	.2
23	Other furniture and fixtures	117	2.5	2.1	.1	131	3.9	3.0	.1	1.5	38.5	1.1	.1
24	Paper and allied products, except containers	435	13.2	3.0	.6	468	19.3	4.1	.6	6.7	34.7	1.4	.7
25	Paperboard containers and boxes	196	6.6	3.4	.3	215	12.4	5.8	.4	6.1	49.2	2.8	.6
26	Printing and publishing	965	29.2	3.0	1.4	1,051	39.5	3.8	1.3	12.5	31.6	1.2	1.2
27	Chemicals and selected chemical products	420	19.3	4.6	.9	459	38.7	8.4	1.3	21.7	56.1	4.7	2.2
28	Plastics and synthetic materials	187	7.4	4.0	.4	210	12.9	6.1	.4	6.3	48.8	3.0	.6
29	Drugs, cleaning and toilet preparations	218	3.2	1.5	.2	241	10.2	4.2	.3	7.4	72.5	3.1	.7
30	Paints and allied products	65	3.1	4.8	.1	67	4.0	6.0	.1	1.2	30.0	1.8	.1
31	Petroleum refining and related industries	182	10.9	6.0	.5	182	14.5	8.0	.5	4.4	30.3	2.4	.4
32	Rubber and miscellaneous plastic products	454	19.0	4.2	.9	527	32.5	6.2	1.1	14.5	44.6	2.8	1.4
33	Leather tanning and industrial leather products	35	.6	1.7	------	34	1.4	4.1	------	.8	57.1	2.4	.1
34	Footwear and other leather products	315	4.1	1.3	.2	318	11.3	3.6	.4	7.4	65.5	2.3	.7
35	Glass and glass products	166	6.9	4.2	.3	182	9.9	5.4	.3	3.4	34.3	1.9	.3
36	Stone and clay products	454	16.2	3.6	.8	454	21.9	4.8	.7	7.1	32.4	1.6	.7
37	Primary iron and steel manufacturing	934	55.2	5.9	2.6	943	82.8	8.8	2.8	30.3	36.6	3.2	3.0
38	Primary nonferrous metals manufacturing	343	34.3	10.0	1.6	382	52.0	13.6	1.7	19.2	36.9	5.0	1.9
39	Metal containers	72	1.4	1.9	.1	72	3.2	4.4	.1	1.8	56.2	2.5	.2
40	Heating, plumbing, and structural metal products	443	14.6	3.3	.7	481	18.6	3.9	.6	4.9	26.3	1.0	.5
41	Stampings, screw machine products and bolts	302	25.2	8.3	1.2	352	35.8	10.2	1.2	11.2	31.3	3.2	1.1
42	Other fabricated metal products	408	20.4	5.0	1.0	458	29.5	6.4	1.0	10.3	34.9	2.2	1.0
43	Engines and turbines	88	7.7	8.8	.4	98	11.3	11.5	.4	4.3	38.1	4.4	.4
44	Farm machinery and equipment	130	1.7	1.3	.1	150	3.3	2.2	.1	1.7	51.5	1.1	.2
45	Construction, mining and oil field machinery	172	3.5	2.0	.2	192	11.0	5.7	.4	7.5	68.2	3.9	.7
46	Materials handling machinery and equipment	75	3.3	4.4	.2	86	6.6	7.7	.2	3.5	53.0	4.1	.3
47	Metalworking machinery and equipment	293	24.0	8.2	1.1	342	38.3	11.2	1.3	16.5	43.1	4.8	1.6
48	Special industry machinery and equipment	186	3.3	1.8	.2	204	4.9	2.4	.2	2.0	40.8	1.0	.2
49	General industrial machinery and equipment	251	13.8	5.5	.7	282	21.7	7.7	.7	9.2	42.1	3.3	.9
50	Machine shop products	180	28.4	15.8	1.3	221	51.4	23.3	1.7	23.3	45.3	10.5	2.3
51	Office, computing, and accounting machines	179	15.4	8.6	.7	227	21.9	9.6	.7	8.0	36.5	3.5	.8
52	Service industry machines	111	3.1	2.8	.1	118	4.5	3.8	.2	1.9	42.2	1.6	.2
53	Electric industrial equipment and apparatus	349	33.0	9.5	1.6	418	47.1	11.3	1.6	18.1	38.4	4.3	1.8
54	Household appliances	164	2.3	1.4	.1	182	3.4	1.9	.1	1.1	32.4	.6	.1
55	Electric lighting and wiring equipment	165	9.8	5.9	.5	192	15.3	8.0	.5	6.1	39.9	3.2	.6
56	Radio, television, and communication equipment	533	182.0	34.1	8.7	666	221.7	33.3	7.5	49.3	22.2	7.4	4.9
57	Electronic components and accessories	280	71.5	25.5	3.4	379	99.0	26.1	3.3	31.1	31.4	8.2	3.1
58	Miscellaneous electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies	95	6.6	6.9	.3	109	9.0	8.3	.3	3.3	36.7	3.0	.3
59	Motor vehicles and equipment	787	14.4	1.8	0.7	841	29.4	3.5	1.0	14.4	49.0	1.7	1.4
60	Aircraft and parts	602	365.9	60.8	17.4	[5] 803	474.2	59.1	16.0	141.6	29.9	17.6	14.0
61	Other transportation equipment	260	69.8	26.8	3.3	[6] 285	64.2	22.5	2.2	--------	--------	--------	--------
62	Scientific and controlling instruments	252	31.6	12.5	1.5	292	41.6	14.2	1.4	13.8	33.2	4.7	1.4
63	Optical, ophthalmic, and photographic equipment	124	12.7	10.2	.6	152	15.6	10.3	.5	4.2	26.9	2.8	.4
64	Miscellaneous manufacturing	404	7.3	1.8	.3	439	10.2	2.3	.3	3.6	35.3	.8	.4
	Services	28,092	572.6	2.0	27.3	30,380	767.0	2.5	25.8	220.2	28.7	.7	21.8
65	Transportation and warehousing	2,504	144.3	5.8	6.9	259.3	204.9	7.9	6.9	74.9	36.6	2.9	7.4
66	Communications, excluding radio and TV broadcasting	759	24.6	3.2	1.2	834	31.7	3.8	1.1	10.2	32.1	1.2	1.0
67	Radio and TV broadcasting	105	3.9	3.7	.2	114	5.9	5.2	.2	1.8	30.5	1.6	.2
68	Electric, gas, water, and sanitary services	619	19.5	3.2	.9	639	24.2	3.8	.8	6.7	27.7	1.0	.7
69	Wholesale and retail trade	12,414	121.0	1.0	5.8	13,423	166.3	1.2	5.6	50.2	30.2	.4	5.0
70	Finance and insurance	2,424	32.4	1.3	1.5	2,570	52.2	2.0	1.8	20.1	38.5	.8	2.0
71	Real estate and rental	563	5.8	1.0	.3	567	7.6	1.3	.3	2.3	30.3	.4	.2
72	Hotels; personal and repair services, excluding auto	1,787	25.4	1.4	1.2	1,980	37.1	1.9	1.2	12.4	33.4	.6	1.2
73 74	Business services Research and development	1,778	92.1	5.2	4.4	1,970	126.5	6.4	4.3	35.7	28.2	1.8	3.5
75	Automobile repair and service	329	4.0	1.2	.2	365	5.9	1.6	.2	2.0	33.9	.5	.2
76	Amusements	578	7.1	1.2	.3	640	9.0	1.4	.3	2.2	24.4	.3	.2
77	Medical, educational services and nonprofit organizations	4,232	92.5	2.2	4.4	4,685	95.6	2.0	3.2	1.7	1.8	--------	.2

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[1] Employment estimates cover wage and salary employees in the United States attributable to Department of Defense military functions. They do not include the self-employed, domestic workers, or U.S. citizens employed abroad other than military personnel. However, farm employment does include self-employed and unpaid family workers.

[2] Total employment estimates for fiscal year 1967 are based on first 9 months results.

[3] Includes Government enterprises.

[4] Includes domestic civilian employment of the Department of Defense (military functions) and some small employment effect on Government enterprises.

[5] The impact of Department of Defense expenditures on the aircraft industry reflects a cutback in missile engine work in 1967, resulting in an understatement of the Vietnam employment increase.

[6] Expenditures in constant dollars declined slightly between 1965 and 1967.

DOD purchases of completed missiles, produced in the ordnance industry, declined somewhat from 1965 to 1967 reducing the effect of the increase in conventional ordnance on total sector employment. A decline during fiscal year 1967 of purchases of completed space vehicles by the National Space and Aeronautics Administration contributed to the increase in the proportion of industry employment generated by DOD spending. In the communications equipment industry, though the number of jobs rose during the period, there was a slight decline in the ratio of employment attributable to defense spending due to the sharp increase in civilian demand for radio and television.

Regarding other industries, new construction and shipbuilding were the only ones to show a decline in estimated employment generated by defense expenditures. While military construction expenditures increased from 1965 to 1967, this increase was due to construction abroad, principally in Vietnam, and not domestic military construction which declined slightly. However, total domestic construction employment generated by the Department of Defense increased somewhat due to a rise in maintenance construction. Defense-generated employment in the "other transportation equipment" sector, which includes shipbuilding, declined from about 70,000 jobs or 27 percent in 1965 to about 54,000 in 1967, as expenditures were shifted from shipbuilding to higher priority Vietnam functions. Most of the defense purchases from this sector were for shipbuilding with much smaller expenditures on railroad equipment, motorcycles, and other transportation items. A direct comparison of defense-generated employment from shipbuilding expenditures with employment in the shipbuilding industry would show a much higher, although still declining, relationship.[3]

The total employment generated by defense purchases in the private sector was fairly broadly distributed by industry in both fiscal years. The few industries with 5 percent or more of defense-generated employment accounted for only about 40 percent of the total in both years.

Percent of total defense-generated private employment

Industries with 5 percent or more of defense-generated private employment:

	1965	*1967*
Aircraft	17	16
Ordnance	5	6
Communications equipment	9	8
Transportation	7	7
Wholesale and retail trade	6	6

EFFECTS OF VIETNAM BUILDUP

The amount of defense-generated employment in the private sector in fiscal year 1967 which was estimated to be due to Vietnam military expenditures is shown in table 1. These estimates indicate that of the 3 million jobs generated by military expenditures, about 1 million may be attributed to Vietnam. This should not be interpreted to mean that 1 million jobs would be lost if the conflict in Vietnam were to end. Declines in this employment would be affected by a number of elements including the nature and timing of the reduction in military expenditures and the size of the Armed Forces, the fiscal and manpower policies developed to cushion the transition, the shifting of personnel in defense work to civilian production, and reduction in overtime hours of work.

The estimates of the private employment generated by the buildup were derived by assuming that the increase in military expenditures in constant prices from fiscal year 1965 to fiscal year 1967 represented an approximate measure of the size and composition of expenditures related to Vietnam. This is approximate because some of the 1965 base expenditures have probably been shifted from lower priority items to meet more urgent Vietnam needs, and some of the increase in 1967 may have been for items not directly related to Vietnam. The increment in purchases was assumed to be the amount of expenditures in each industry in fiscal year 1967 which were due to Vietnam. Employment requirements were then generated separately for these incremental purchases using current input-output and productivity factors.

It should be noted that the employment due to the Vietnam buildup was not estimated by simply taking the difference between defense-generated employment in fiscal years 1965 and 1967. That increase in employment would reflect two components which are partially offsetting: the increase in employment due to the defense buildup and the reduction in employment due to the increased productivity in defense industries and their suppliers. The net effect of these two factors would show an increase of less than 900,000 in defense-generated private employment, rather than about 1 million.

In a number of industries, the increase in defense-related employment due to the buildup was more substantial, but this increment remained a small proportion of total employment in the industry. About 66 percent of the total defense-generated employment in the apparel industry in fiscal year 1967 was attributable to the buildup, but this buildup employment was only 2 percent of total employment in the industry. Similarly, over 70 percent of the defense-generated employment in the drug industry in fiscal year 1967 was estimated to be due to the buildup, but this was only 3 percent of total industry employment.

The industry distribution of the Vietnam-generated employment generally followed the total defense employment patterns of fiscal years 1965 and 1967. The employment effects of Vietnam were spread over a wide range of industries with few industries accounting for more than 5 percent of the total.

Percent of Vietnam-generated private employment

Industries with 5 percent or more of Vietnam-generated employment:

Aircraft	14
Ordnance	9
Communications equipment	5
Transportation	7
Wholesale and retail trade	5

NOTE ON PROCEDURE

The estimates of employment attributable to military expenditures were derived in three stages: (a) DOD military expenditures were examined in considerable detail to identify goods and services actually purchased, (b) these purchases were processed through an interindustry model to determine total generated production in each industry, and (c) the industry production levels were converted to employment estimates.

Basically, an interindustry model provides a means of calculating the production requirements levied on all supplying industries throughout the economy by a purchase of final products. Purchase of aircraft, for example, implies a demand for engines, airframes, electronics, and other components. The production of each of these components generates requirements for their inputs, each of which, in turn, generates further chains of input requirements back through the more basic stages of production, distribution, and transportation.

The basis and classification of the interindustry model used were consistent with the Office of Business Economics 1958 interindustry study. However, coefficients were revised by the Interagency Growth Project to account for changes from 1958. Estimated DOD expenditures for the most part corresponded to national income definitions and procedures, except that food and clothing provided in kind were not treated as compensation, but rather as purchases from the food and clothing industries. In addition, the estimates differ from national income treatment of military expenditures in that they account for expenditures or payments when made, rather than when the end items are delivered. Also, construction differs from the input-output convention by being limited to contract construction, excluding force account or DOD construction labor which here appears in Government employment. The output of Government-owned and operated shipyards and arsenals were not considered as purchases from the shipbuilding and ordinance industries, but were treated as Government purchases of materials and services consumed and as Government employee compensation.

DERIVATION OF DOD EXPENDITURES

Defense expenditures were considered as covering only the military expenditures of the Department of the Defense and the Military Assistance Program, excluding DOD civilian functions and Atomic Energy Commission purchases. Expenditures were developed separately for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Defense Agencies and the Civil Defense and Military Assistance Program. Expenditures of each of the military departments and defense agencies were distributed by the functional titles or budget sectors of Military Personnel, Operations and Maintenance, Procurement, Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, and Construction, Civil Defense, Family Housing, Military Assistance, and Revolving and Management Fund purchases were treated separately. DOD expenditures estimates were available for these sectors by military department for both years. DOD accounts for each budget sector were then analysed to distribute each of these totals with the greatest possible degree of detail. While considerable expenditure detail was available for fiscal year 1965, for fiscal year 1967, obligations, with some timing adjustments, were used to estimate more detailed expenditures for each sector. Expenditures were then coded at a 4-digit Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) level, based on product identification and combined by the same SIC for each budget sector.

Various adjustments were required to bring DOD stated expenditures closer to actual purchases. These included adjustment of some procurement expenditures for Government-furnished equipment (GFE) or component items purchased directly by DOD and provided to a contractor for assembly. In the case of aircraft, missiles, ships, and vehicles, DOD generally contracts directly for major components and has them assembled by a prime contractor who otherwise would have purchased them under subcontracts. Since DOD accounts show only expenditures for the completed weapon, it was necessary to subtract the amount of components purchased under GFE and assign them to the actual component SIC. Also, purchases from Industrial Fund activities, such as shipyards, arsenals, transportation, and overhaul functions, had to be subtracted from the product or service provided and distributed to the actual purchases of labor and materials.

The revised list of expenditures was then converted to a national income basis by eliminating certain expenditures which do not represent current production, such as retired pay and purchases of land and other existing assets. However, not all national income adjustments were made. Timing adjustments required to put expenditures on a delivery basis, principally affecting long leadtime items such as shipbuilding, were ignored since current payments provide a better basis for estimating employment. Similarly, receipts were not subtracted from expenditures since this would have had the effect of reducing the actual amount of employment required. DOD expenditure estimates for 1965 were checked, where possible, against the Bureau of the Census Survey, MA-175, "Shipments of Defense-Oriented Industries, 1965," which provides information on sales to the Department of Defense by 4-digit SIC. Individual industry price deflators were then applied to convert expenditures to 1958 dollars, the basis required by the interindustry model.

Table 2 presents the estimated military purchases of final goods and services for fiscal years 1965 and 1967. These estimated expenditures are in 1958 dollars and have been converted from purchasers' to producers' prices.[4] National income and input-output conventions have been followed, with the exceptions noted earlier. However, this list differs from the 1958 input-output approach in the way research expenditures were treated. Research and development (R&D) performed in manufacturing establishments was left in the originating sector's sales to the DOD. In the 1958 study, this type of R&D was considered an intermediate or secondary product of the producing industry and was transferred to the R&D sector. Residual R&D, therefore, represents purchases from commercial R&D establishments.

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[3] In interpreting table 1, it should be noted that the estimates of defense-generated employment as a percent of industry employment are affected in varying degrees by the particular classification system used. The interindustry sectors are usually an aggregate representing several related industries, while DOD purchases may have been predominantly from just one, resulting in misleading comparisons. For example, shipbuilding is part of a sector called "other transportation equipment," (railroad equipment, motor cycles, etc.), with the result that the high proportion of shipbuilding employment attributable to defense expenditures is included with other activities which have only negligible sales to DOD. This particular sector is probably affected more than any other by the consolidation of industries with wide variation in defense sales.

[4] Producers' prices exclude the distribution costs of transportation and trade. The sum of trade and transportation costs associated with each purchase appear as aggregate purchases from the trade and transportation sectors.

These expenditures were processed through the interindustry model to generate total direct and indirect production requirements. Production levels attributable to defense were checked against total production in each industry for reasonableness. Production levels were then transformed into industry employment requirements. Productivity factors used to convert output to employment reflect the unit employment requirements for each industry in fiscal year 1965 and fiscal year 1967. Employment estimates were derived for wage and salary employees, excluding the self-employed, except for farm workers. However, the number of self-employed persons in industries selling to DOD is believed to be insignificant. The employment estimates obtained were checked for reasonableness against industry employment figures obtained in a DOD survey of major defense contractors. Employment estimates provided in this article do not include the income multiplier or accelerator effects which induce further consumption and investment purchases, nor employment outside of the United States generated by offshore procurement or direct hire of civilians.

"Effect of Defense Program on Private Manufacturing Employment," *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1942:

"Defense expenditures have stimulated all lines of trade and industry, but the chief burden of producing war materiel has fallen on manufacturers normally engaged in the production of heavy durable goods. This is indicated by the fact that, although total factory employment increased by 2,500,000 wage earners from June 1940 to October 1941, 1,700,000 of these wage earners entered the durable-goods industries as compared to 800,000 entering the nondurable-goods industries. In October 1941, durable-goods employment reached a total of 5,500,000 wage earners, while employment in nondurable-goods manufacturing amounted to 5,100,000. This is a reversal of the relative positions of the two branches of industry, for even at the peak of the 1929 boom, when the per capita consumption of durable consumer goods was at a high level, nondurable-goods employment was greater than that in the durable-goods industries. As the defense program develops, a further expansion in durable-goods employment is to be expected. Furthermore, within the framework of the durable-goods industries the rate of conversion from production of consumer goods to that of war materiel will be accelerated. The problem of raw-material supply itself will make this conversion imperative."

TABLE 2.—ESTIMATED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, FISCAL YEARS 1965 AND 1967

[Millions of 1958 dollars, producers' prices] [1]

Industry No.	Industry	1965		1967		Percent change, 1965–67
		Defense purchases	Percent distribution	Defense purchases	Percent distribution	
	Total	$40,017.5	100.0	$54,372.9	100.0	35.9
	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	2.6	......	3.1	......	19.2
1	Livestock and livestock products	.2	......	.3	......	50.0
2	Other agricultural products	1.2	......	1.2	......	......
3	Forestry and fishery products	......	......	......	......	......
4	Agricultural, forestry, and fishery services	1.2	......	1.6	......	33.3
	Mining	16.6	......	21.6	......	30.1
5	Iron and ferroalloy ores mining	......	......	......	......	......
6	Nonferrous metal ores mining	......	......	......	......	......
7	Coal mining	.3	......	.3	......	......
8	Crude petroleum and natural gas	......	......	......	......	......
9	Stone and clay mining and quarrying	16.2	......	21.3	......	31.5
10	Chemical and fertilizer mineral mining	.1	......	......	......	−100.0
	Construction	248.2	.6	275.2	.5	10.9
11	New construction	......	......	......	......	......
12	Maintenance and repair construction	248.2	.6	275.2	.5	10.9
	Manufacturing	18,840.7	47.1	29,265.6	53.8	55.3
13	Ordnance and accessories	2,052.7	5.1	4,200.4	7.7	104.6
14	Food and kindred products	520.6	1.3	877.2	1.6	68.5
15	Tobacco manufactures	18.0	......	35.0	.1	94.4
16	Broad and narrow fabrics, yarn and thread mills	94.3	.2	370.5	.7	292.9
17	Miscellaneous textile goods and floor coverings	3.7	......	18.6	......	402.7
18	Apparel	149.9	.4	488.7	.9	226.0
19	Miscellaneous fabricated textile products	61.2	.2	165.3	.3	170.1
20	Lumber and wood products except containers	26.2	.1	113.9	.2	334.7
21	Wooden containers	8.7	......	107.1	.2	1,131.0
22	Household furniture	7.2	......	10.2	......	41.7
23	Other furniture and fixtures	28.2	.1	52.6	.1	186.5
24	Paper and allied products, except containers	19.3	......	22.9	......	18.7
25	Paperboard containers and boxes	3.1	......	20.1	......	548.3
26	Printing and publishing	73.7	.2	105.8	.2	43.6
27	Chemicals and selected chemical products	203.9	.5	670.2	1.2	228.7
28	Plastics and synthetic materials	13.7	......	16.0	......	16.8
29	Drugs, cleaning, and toilet preparations	61.0	.2	368.2	.7	503.6
30	Paints and allied products	28.9	.1	30.9	.1	6.9
31	Petroleum refining and related industries	954.7	2.4	1,306.4	2.4	36.8
32	Rubber and miscellaneous plastic products	82.4	.2	186.5	.3	126.3
33	Leather tanning and industrial leather products	.4	......	1.6	......	300.0
34	Footwear and other leather products	34.5	.1	105.0	.2	204.3
35	Glass and glass products	5.9	......	12.5	......	111.9
36	Stone and clay products	111.2	.3	150.8	.3	35.6
37	Primary iron and steel manufacturing	84.7	.2	99.0	.2	16.9
38	Primary nonferrous metals manufacturing	87.7	.2	124.6	.2	42.1
	Manufacturing—Continued					
39	Metal containers	$6.6	......	$42.6	.1	545.5
40	Heating, plumbing, and structural metal products	160.5	.4	259.7	.5	61.8
41	Stampings, screw machine products, and bolts	17.6	......	39.9	.1	126.7
42	Other fabricated metal products	30.6	.1	54.2	.1	77.1
43	Engines and turbines	148.8	.4	249.7	.5	67.8
44	Farm machinery and equipment	15.7	......	43.2	.1	175.2
45	Construction, mining, and oil field machinery	57.1	0.1	215.3	0.4	277.1
46	Materials handling machinery and equipment	48.6	.1	116.0	.2	138.7
47	Metalworking machinery and equipment	87.5	.2	226.7	.4	159.1
48	Special industry machinery and equipment	26.1	.1	39.0	.1	49.4
49	General industrial machinery and equipment	80.8	......	160.4	.3	98.5
50	Machine shop products	35.7	.1	50.6	.1	41.7
51	Office, computing, and accounting machines	310.7	.8	457.5	.8	47.2
52	Service industry machine	57.7	.1	97.5	.2	69.0
53	Electric industrial equipment and apparatus	314.7	.8	562.7	1.0	78.8
54	Household appliances	14.1	......	26.4	......	87.2
55	Electric lighting and wiring equipment	37.5	.1	84.9	.2	126.4
56	Radio, television, and communication equipment	3,449.3	8.6	4,257.8	7.8	23.4
57	Electronic components and accessories	218.6	.5	236.6	.4	8.2
58	Miscellaneous electrical machinery equipment and supplies	69.3	.2	112.8	.2	62.8
59	Motor vehicles and equipment	401.0	1.0	867.9	1.6	116.4
60	Aircraft and parts	6,945.5	17.4	9,655.7	17.8	39.0
61	Other transportation equipment	969.8	2.4	906.0	1.7	−6.6
62	Scientific and controlling instruments	354.2	.9	523.5	1.0	47.8
63	Optical ophthalmic, and photographic equipment	230.1	.6	296.0	.5	28.6
64	Miscellaneous manufacturing	16.8	......	23.0	......	36.9
	Services	4,287.4	10.7	5,643.0	10.4	31.6
65	Transportation and warehousing	1,499.2	3.7	2,371.2	4.4	58.2
66	Communications, except radio and TV broadcasting	216.6	.5	306.2	.6	41.4
67	Radio and TV broadcasting	......	......	......	......	......
68	Electric, gas, water, and sanitary services	313.3	.8	362.0	.7	15.5
69	Wholesale and retail trade	676.5	1.7	812.2	1.5	20.1
70	Finance and insurance	7.8	......	38.9	.1	398.7
71	Real estate and rental	118.6	.3	126.7	.2	6.8
72	Hotels; personal and repair services, except auto	103.2	.3	153.1	.3	48.4
73	Business services	427.1	1.1	533.8	1.0	25.0
74	Research and development	322.4	.8	350.0	.6	8.6
75	Automobile repair and service	11.7	......	13.7	......	17.1
76	Amusements	30.0	.1	35.0	.1	16.7
77	Medical, educational services and nonprofit organization	561.0	1.4	540.2	1.0	−3.7

See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 2.—ESTIMATED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, FISCAL YEARS 1965 AND 1967—Continued

[Millions of 1958 dollars, producers' prices] [1]

Industry No.	Industry	1965		1967		Percent change, 1965-67
		Defense purchases	Percent distribution	Defense purchases	Percent distribution	
	Government enterprises	$0.2	------	$0.2	------	-------
78	Federal Government enterprises	---------	------	---------	------	-------
79	State and local government enterprises	.2	------	.2	------	-------
	mports:					
80	Imports	1,494.0	3.7	2,019.2	3.7	35.2
80A	Directly allocated imports	---------	------	---------	------	-------
80B	Transferred imports	---------	------	---------	------	-------
	Dummy industries	$20.9	0.1	$24.2	0.1	15.8
81	Business travel, entertainment, and gifts	4.0	------	3.0	------	−25.0
82	Office supplies	16.9	------	21.2	.1	25.4
83	Scrap, used and secondhand goods	---------	------	---------	------	-------
84	Special industries: Government industry	15,106.9	37.8	17,120.8	31.5	13.3

[1] Figures are on a national income basis with the exceptions of subsistence and clothing provided in kind and timing and receipts adjustments, as noted in text.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 14, 1967]

VIETNAM BUILDUP BOOSTED U.S. EMPLOYMENT BY 1 MILLION JOBS SINCE 1965, AGENCY SAYS

WASHINGTON.—The escalation of the Vietnam war created more than one million U.S. jobs in the past two years, the Labor Department said in the first such comprehensive report since the war began.

The sharp rise in employment stemming from the military buildup amounted to some 23% of the total U.S. increase of more than four million jobs since 1965, the report said.

A further expansion of war work could create skilled-worker shortages of "considerable magnitude," said a companion report. Defense work currently accounts for 5.2% of the nation's total civilian employment, up from 3.9% two years ago. But "this shouldn't be interpreted to mean that one million jobs would be lost if the conflict in Vietnam were to end," said Richard P. Oliver of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

A switch of workers to production of civilian goods, the timing of cuts in military expenditures and Federal manpower policies would cushion a drop in war work if the conflict ended, Mr. Oliver said in the report published in the Monthly Labor Review.

The report said civilian jobs in defense work rose from about 3 million to 4.1 million in the past two years, with sharpest increases in the weapons, aircraft and communications equipment industries. During the same period, Mr. Oliver said, the number of military personnel rose from 2.7 million to 3.4 million. Thus, the total of civilians and military personnel whose jobs stem from the Vietnam war and other defense commitments totals about 7.5 million Americans—nearly 10% of the total labor force.

In a companion report, the bureau's mobilization expert, Max A. Rutzick, said about 18% of the nation's engineers are in defense work and some 22% of electrical and electronic technicians. War work also takes up 14% of all draftsmen, he said.

Mr. Oliver said the two-year Vietnam buildup didn't create any general labor shortages, "although temporary problems did exist in some cases." Mr. Rutzick said defense workers are more skilled than U.S. workers as a whole and "a continued climb in demand could create shortages of considerable magnitude among those workers who require both special aptitudes and lengthy training."

Total employment in the manufacture of weapons and ammunition for the war increased nearly 100,000, or 50%, in the past two years, Mr. Oliver's report said. He also attributed a rise of more than 141,000 jobs in the manufacture of aircraft and parts to the Vietnam buildup, and another 10,000 jobs in the manufacture of communications equipment for the war. The Vietnam buildup since 1965 also created some 74,000 jobs in transportation and warehousing, 30,000 in the clothing industry, 30,000 in iron and steel manufacturing and 12,000 in the food industry, Mr. Oliver said.

Noting that defense spending rose from some $48 billion in 1965 to about $70 billion this year, Mr. Oliver said "expenditures of this magnitude, of course, have a major effect on employment."

The report said war work increased jobs in almost all U.S. industries. "New construction and shipbuilding were the only ones to show a decline in estimated employment generated by defense expenditures," Mr. Oliver said.

In some areas, he said, the rise in production and jobs may be greater than shown by the study because the Defense Department does some of its own work. "The actual increase in conventional ordnance (weapons and ammunition) was somewhat greater" than shown in the Labor Department study of civilian production, he said. "Part of this increased output was provided by Government-owned and operated arsenals which aren't included in this (civilian) sector," he said.

The report said every $1 billion in defense purchases in the private economy creates more than 70,000 jobs.

The companion study by Mr. Rutzick showed that more than one-fourth of the nation's aeronautical engineers, aircraft mechanics and physicists were involved in war work.

Mr. Oliver's study said the Vietnam buildup created more than 16,000 jobs in metal working machinery and equipment industries, 23,000 in machine shops, 18,000 in electric industrial equipment and 31,000 in the manufacture of electronic components and accessories. War needs also created 14,000 in the manufacture of motor vehicles and equipment, 13,000 in scientific and related instruments and more than 35,000 in research and development, Mr. Oliver said.

LOW DISCOUNT RATE CAUSES BILLIONS IN GOVERNMENT WASTE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, much interest focuses on economy in Government, because prospects of huge Federal deficits are at hand. But economy in Government becomes a vast sham if we are to accept certain administration policies. For, on one hand, while we hear echoing predictions of doom if a tax increase is not passed, on the other hand, the administration continues wasting valuable resources in utilizing grossly unrealistic means in planning many costly projects.

Last week the inquiry of the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee into planning-programing-budgeting—PPB—heard testimony from experts who agreed that the present practice of using a discount rate based on the average interest rate payable by the Treasury on interest-bearing marketable securities to compute project cost was economically absurd.

I might add that these expert economists agreed. There is not a single competent economist who does not agree with this position.

Instead of using this rate, which was 3⅛ percent for several years and now is approaching 5 percent, the Government should use the average rate of return obtained by industry—a rate at a minimum of at least 10 percent and probably nearer to 15 percent.

At 10 percent, projects involving billions of dollars in public works would show costs exceeding benefits. We would not fund them. By not funding these vast programs we would save billions of dollars and at the same time increase economic growth, because investment would be made in the private economy where returns are much higher.

A rationale for hiding behind a low rate is simple to explain. If planners use the low discount rate figure, project evaluations utilizing that rate in benefit-cost calculations do not need very high rates of return in order to make the project show benefits exceeding costs. The higher the discount rate in the analysis, the higher are the opportunity costs foregone—the alternative uses for the same resources—and the greater will be the benefits needed from the project.

In simple terms, as long as the administration sticks to the lower discount, taxpayers' funds are being mismanaged. As Government expenditures have been rising steadily, the more important is the need for proper spending guidelines. The PPB budgeting method explores alternative uses of funds in order to maximize the present values of total benefits less total costs—in other words, to get the highest return.

But, Mr. President, we cannot achieve such economic allocations if the administration insists on unrealistically low discount rates. The answer is not passage of a tax increase; the problem is not in the private sector. Instead, the administration must undertake to plan its expenditures on a more realistic basis. Using the proper discount rate is an imperative.

Mr. President, the proper rate leads to true investment decisions. At the same time, many currently planned and outright wasteful projects could be cut back. It just is not possible to stem inflationary pressures without such reductions.

The Congress must face up to its responsibilities and take a hard look at the cost estimates of programs. As John Haldi, former chief of the program evaluation staff at the Bureau of the Budget, told the committee—

> Because bureaus are so frequently dominated by a single profession, there is a tendency for what might be called *professional biases* to be reflected in the criteria which a bureau generates to help govern its various expenditures . . . As one might expect, the economic impact of this frequently is to spend money on projects which are not necessary and which yield predictably few benefits.

And he also pointed out that the same bias may be behind congressional resistance to realistic cost estimates.

> Sometimes they [criticisms] simply reflect chagrin that particular pet projects do not show up well under the light of cost-effectiveness analysis, then you are left with "effectiveness at any price whatsoever." And this is scarcely an acceptable approach to decision-making.

The use of an unrealistic discount rate in calculating the costs of public works and water resource projects has led to gross overinvestment in these areas. And because so many of these projects are politically dear to Congressmen and Senators, it is terribly difficult to get the Congress to insist on a more realistic costing of the projects. With the current heavy budgetary pressures, it is high time that we faced up to this necessity.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS ARE NOT A PANACEA—BUT A REAL STEP FORWARD TO UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS—CXLV

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Humans Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery are not, in and of themselves, a panacea for all the ills besetting our world.

But I believe that the human rights conventions constitute a meaningful step toward the establishment of universal human rights.

The human rights conventions indicate an awareness by many people that human rights for all is not only desirable, but—even more pragmatically—are a major prerequisite for true peace.

Twice since 1914, this Nation has been forced into world wars. Twice we watched helplessly while unchecked domestic oppression grew into unprovoked foreign aggression.

Since the end of World War II, international aggression has been the almost exclusive practice of those regimes which first deprived their own citizens of the basic human freedoms.

I believe that the lesson is inescapable. Human rights and peace are intimately related and historically interdependent. Where human rights are secure, peace is attendant. Where the human rights of any people are threatened, peace itself is threatened.

Peace and freedom continue as the fundamental objectives of this Nation's foreign policy. These human rights conventions are a realistic attempt to establish universal standards of human dignity. The establishment of universal standards of human rights is a direct route to world peace.

Everyone, I am sure, desires the granting of human rights to himself and his fellow man.

The question comes in translating this altruistic wish into concrete reality.

For those who espouse human rights, but oppose these conventions, I would recall the words of the late John Foster Dulles before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950—

> There are many people who do not want to have international conventions which will effectively regulate human conduct in relation to human rights . . . but to abandon this goal would involve substituting pious words for an effective result.

I could not agree more with these words of Secretary Dulles. Let the Senate translate our lofty rhetoric about the dignity of man into legal reality by ratifying the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

WE MUST WIN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY

(At this point, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, our late great President John F. Kennedy once said:

> Those who make peaceful evolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable.

It is the responsibility of Congress to make peaceful evolution not only possible but an actual fact and to do this within the framework of law and order. It is legislative weakness to fail to provide adequate programs to attack the cause of poverty, slum housing—the crowding of people into filthy, broken-down tenements and then denying to youngsters born in such surroundings any opportunity or possibility for a decent education and for gainful employment.

Only Federal action on a large scale can strike to the heart of the grave problems facing our urban areas. Heavy additional investments must be made and on an enormous scale in order to overcome the handicaps caused by the deprivations suffered by millions of Americans and to give them opportunities equal to what others have.

Mr. President, our involvement in an ugly civil war in Vietnam, a little country of no strategic importance whatever to the defense of the United States, 10,000 miles from our shores, goes on month after month. Billions of dollars of taxpayers' money has gone up and is going up in smoke. The time is long past due when we must spend huge sums of money to take care of our own.

There are those who say that we cannot afford both guns and butter. I assert that the problems today facing us here at home are of such magnitude that the terms "guns and butter" is no longer even applicable. What we are talking about in the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 and the Emergency Employment Act are efforts to solve the serious problem of want amidst plenty which strikes at the very heart of our society. The question no longer is can we afford to solve these problems but rather how soon can we solve them. It is no longer a matter of guns and butter but rather of guns and water, for what the proposed legislation would accomplish is necessary for the very substance of our society.

These programs are not frills and giveaways. They are a serious first step toward bringing millions of ill-housed, ill-fed, poorly clothed, and undereducated Americans into the mainstream of American life.

Mr. President, even the proposals in the pending legislation are only a beginning. Once we extricate ourselves from the miserable civil war in Vietnam, which is draining our national resources, we can get on with the important work of really trying to solve our domestic problems.

The housing program that we have at present is utterly inadequate. The poverty program is too small. The program for schools to replace inferior slum schools is too frequently nonexistent. It is not the riots in the slums, but these lame and inadequate programs that are the real disgrace of the richest nation on earth.

We in Congress must provide hope of employment to young men and women. We must try to give them adequate job training. We must improve the schools. We must improve housing conditions. We must act with determination in providing the money and the planning to rub out conditions in slum neighborhoods which give rise to the ugly rioting which afflicted our cities over the summer and last year. We must be determined in this task.

Mr. President, the pending legislation auhorizes the expenditure of three billion five hundred million dollars by the Office of Economic Opportunity and other Federal agencies involved in the war on poverty. This legislative proposal if enacted into law will help create an estimated 200,000 additional jobs during 1968 and 250,000 during 1969. It is designed to help those who need help—Americans with incomes near or below the poverty level who are not able to find jobs in regular competitive employment, and those young men and women with little or no work experience or with a low level of education or with no occupational skills. Let us face it, this is just the beginning—a mere down payment—of what must eventually be invested in programs to restore our cities and to enable all Americans to live in dignity. The longer we delay, the more we procrastinate, the higher the eventual total cost will be.

Mr. President, in the past I have been critical of the administration of some of the programs in the war on poverty, particularly the Job Corps. However, it is encouraging that the committee has included in the proposed bill provisions for closer supervision of the administration of these programs and for greater coordination between the various agencies administering them. This bill is very definitely a needed improvement over previous legislation in this area.

Mr. President, no individual—not a Rap Brown nor a Stokely Carmichael—

no one—could cause what happened in Detroit and Newark this year or in Watts 2 years ago, just as no one individual could have stopped what occurred in the 13 colonies in 1776. Those very foolish short-sighted persons who say that the rioting resulted from the war on poverty are 100 percent wrong. Poverty, not the war on poverty, was the basic cause of this rioting.

Some 2,300 years ago the great philosopher Plato termed poverty as the parent of meanness and viciousness and urged that rulers do away with it. He wrote:

> It would be strange indeed in any state even tolerably ordered if the poor were to be utterly neglected and allowed to fall into utter destruction.

In attacking the roots of poverty there must be adequate provisions for antipoverty programs, rent supplements, better housing, a model cities program, a Teacher Corps and for training such as the civilian conservation corps of more than 34 years ago. It is a legislative failure and madness not to enact such measures particularly when we are spending more than two billion five hundred million dollars each month to fight in an ugly civil war in Vietnam.

POCAHONTAS' REVENGE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, any American who has traveled to Central or South America and eaten or drunk tap water there knows what is meant by Montezuma's revenge. This does not compare with what might be called Pocahontas' revenge, for it was the American Indians who introduced tobacco to the settlers from the Old World. Pure nicotine is one of the most potent natural poisons; it is rapidly absorbed through the skin, on which a few drops may be fatal. It is used as an insecticide, and before World War II, more tobacco was consumed in the manufacture of nicotine insecticides than for smoking. Now the situation is reversed. We use other poisons for the insects and reserve the tobacco for ourselves. It is estimated that each year 40,000 Americans die from lung cancer traceable to cigarette smoking. This, in addition to those deaths from heart disease caused or aggravated by smoking.

More stringent Federal regulation of cigarette advertising and sales is necessary to protect millions of young Americans who have not yet caught the smoking habit. I support proposed legislation which would limit cigarette advertising on television and radio to late hours to avoid young audiences, require a stronger warning on cigarette packs, and impose a higher tax on those cigarettes containing high tar and nicotine content.

Mr. President, were tobacco to be introduced today as a new drug, it would be considered poisonous, and its distribution would most certainly be greatly regulated by officials of the Food and Drug Administration.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TERRIFIED VIETNAMESE CHILD

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in recent weeks two Cleveland radio and television stations, WKYC, which is an NBC station, and WJW, a CBS station, have been taking polls of their viewers and listeners on the question, "Do you believe that the U.S. military forces should be withdrawn from Vietnam now?" Station WJW received more than 14,000 telephone calls and announced that 59.5 percent voted for withdrawal of our Armed Forces from Vietnam with 40.5 percent voting against. Then, shortly after this poll had been taken over WJW's Channel 8, WKYC, the NBC station, asked this same question of its viewers and listeners. Officials of television station WKYC reported that 72 percent of those telephoning or writing the station announced themselves in favor of withdrawal of our Armed Forces from Vietnam and only 28 percent were opposed.

Just recently, on Walter Cronkite's television broadcast, David Schumacher quoted a colonel of the U.S. Marines in combat in the northerly part of South Vietnam. The Marine colonel said:

> The people around here all hate us and you can hardly blame them. We burn down their huts, run our half-tracks over their rice fields to destroy their crops, then send them to refugee camps in some other part of their country.

There was also recently published in our newspapers a picture of a marine in combat directly south of the demilitarized zone separating North and South Vietnam. He was tying a blindfold over the eyes of a Vietnamese boy of 10 years of age who had just been captured by our Marines. One hundred and fifty dollars in money was found on the little boy. It was charged that the little fellow was either a terrorist or a VC and the money found was proof of that. The boy explained that his father had just sold his entire rice crop and had given the youngster the money to keep, believing that our soldiers would not search such a small youngster. The terrified boy was searched, blindfolded, and his hands tied behind him. Yes, it is said that the boy's father has fled from the area of the demilitarized zone and has joined the VC. or forces of the National Liberation Front.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION PRAISED

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I was happy indeed to note in the Anchorage, Alaska, Daily Times September 22 a lead editorial entitled "Courageous Agency," paying tribute to the remarkable work which has been done in Alaska by the Small Business Administration. I ask unanimous consent that that editorial be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, it is not only that the Small Business Administration has come to the assistance of Alaska in two notable disasters, the earthquake of 1964 and the flood which inundated Fairbanks and Nenana and Minto just a few weeks ago, but additionally and very importantly, the SBA has been a steady supplier of capital for Alaska's economic growth. It is my personal opinion that Alaska is particularly fortunate to have as its regional administrator, Robert E. Butler. It is my opinion, come by after close observation over a considerable period of time, that Mr. Butler is one of the most efficient administrators I have ever known in the Federal Government.

After the earthquake, Eugene P. Foley, then Administrator of the Small Business Administration, took an active personal interest in the recovery of Alaska and he was there on many occasions. In the latest disaster, Robert C. Moot, now Administrator, and Clarence Cowles, Director of the Office of Disaster Loans, have performed noteworthy and notable and helpful service. We in Alaska are grateful to the SBA.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily Times, Sept. 22, 1967]

COURAGEOUS AGENCY

There ought to be an outstanding award for the Small Business Administration in Alaska. It should be presented, with fanfare and ceremony for all to see, by the entire state and more especially the citizens of Anchorage and Fairbanks.

This agency is the hero in the "rescue" operations that revived the state's two largest cities after disasters, Anchorage after the earthquake in 1964 and Fairbanks after the flood of last month.

Many federal, state, and local government agencies and private organizations came to the aid of the stricken cities and many rendered memorable service. But most of them were doing the job for which they were created.

The Small Business Administration did more than that. Rule books and established procedures were inadequate in these two disasters. So the books were thrown out and procedures were dumped. The leaders made innovations in policies and shortcuts in procedures to meet the need.

This required vision, courage and confidence. People in government service rarely enhance their careers by throwing out rule books, innovating or taking shortcuts.

Residents of these two cities will be grateful forever for the vim, vigor and verve of the Small Business Administration.

In Anchorage, the agency liberalized its policies and rules for making loans to repair the homes and buildings damaged in the earthquake. Within a year the agency had approved 628 home loans totalling $12.2 million and 642 loans to commercial enterprises totalling $51 million, and had actually disbursed $52.2 million.

This was the credit that enabled families to continue to live here. It was the credit that enabled business places to re-establish their operations and provide the goods and services the people required.

In Fairbanks the agency responded to the pressing needs for haste because of the approach of winter and the different conditions resulting from a flood.

Shortly after the flood waters had receded, the Small Business Administration was in full operation with a program that the city needed and could get nowhere else. The agency offered unsecured loans up to $3,000 to anyone who had flood damage and announced that additional credit would be available for those who required it.

This enabled the residents to act immediately to clean up and fix up their properties before the cold of winter moved in and made repairs impossible. The decision to increase the amount of the unsecured loans upset the normal ceiling of $1,000 and exceeded the expectations of the people of Fairbanks. The agency had been asked to grant $2,500 loans and, via telephone from Washington, the ceiling was set at $3,000 the same day the request was made.

Who could ask for more cooperation or faster action?

Even without the distinction earned in the two disasters the Small Business Administration is worthy of special recognition. The agency is a source of credit and, like every frontier, this frontierland needs credit on liberal terms. Small business loans have enabled many new enterprises to come into being to provide goods, services and employment in places where all three have been sorely lacking.

Credit has always been hard to find in Alaska. For 90 years as a territory, this area had virtually none. Nobody would loan to a peculiar place that was run by a czar called the Secretary of the Interior.

Since statehood, capital has been interested in a limited sort of way. Things are better and the future looks still better.

But all would be different had the Small Business Administration not made it possible for Anchorage and Fairbanks to come back from their disasters. Deterioration in their economies would have led to a shrivelling of the transportation systems and all the commercial establishments that supported them. Population would be less. Demands would be less. Life would be a step or two back toward the isolation and hardships of a generation ago.

A major part of the success in overcoming the two disasters must be attributed to the vision, courage, and efficiency of the Small Business Administration.

THE PEACE CORPS IN KOREA

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, earlier this year, while in Korea as a representative of the United States at the inauguration of President Park, I met and visited with a number of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers serving in that country. As in other countries I have visited, I found these Americans, headed by their outstanding Director, Kevin O'Donnell, doing very necessary, dedicated, and much-appreciated work.

Peace Corps in Korea is now 1 year old. Recently, Mr. O'Donnell wrote me, setting forth future plans and enclosing articles from Korean English-language newspapers on the occasion of Peace Corps' first anniversary in Korea. I believe that Senators will want to read the letter and the articles and will do so with pride. I therefore ask unanimous consent they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 18, 1967.

Hon. FRED R. HARRIS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRED: As Peace Corps completed its first year in Korea, the English Language newspapers noted our anniversary. Having visited us in Korea during this first year, we thought you might be interested in reading these news stories, so we would like to share them with you.

The next four months will see PC/K expand greatly. In October about 90 more Volunteers will arrive to teach English in the Middle Schools (Junior High). In December, 100 Volunteers are due. This will be the first group of Rural Health Auxiliaries who will assist the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs in opening and staffing Health Sub Centers at the Myon (county) level. The MHSA has a five year program of taking Health Services out into the rural areas.

In January, 1968, forty more Volunteer English teachers will arrive to take up teaching assignments in Middle Schools, also in January, fifty additional Health Volunteers are expected.

At the start of 1968, PC/K will number about 400 PCV's. To support these PCV's, we are regionalizing our organization. Regional Directors will be assigned to Taegu, Taejon, Chun Chon and Kwang Ju. We are assigning physicians to Taegu and Kwang Ju to care for the PCV's personal health needs, and have added one Doctor to our Seoul Staff.

The continuing warm and enthusiastic cooperation and assistance extended PC/K by the Koreans is a testimony to the first group's performance. They have demonstrated that young Americans, living under hardship conditions in a strange land, and facing difficult language barriers, can nevertheless be of meaningful assistance to the host country and truly promote understanding between people.

Thanking you for your interest in Peace Corps, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

KEVIN O'DONNELL,
Director.

[From the Korea Herald, Sept. 16, 1967]

NOT LUSTY, BUT SOUND—PEACE CORPS HERE 1 YEAR

(By Ho-Chol Shin)

Just one year ago, 100 U.S. Peace Corps volunteers came to Korea for 20 months of field service. The Peace Corps Korea 1, as the project is called, is to observe the first anniversary of its arrival today.

The Peace Corps Korea 1, now just one year old, is still not exactly a lusty infant but its cradle rocks more energetically now and, it is growing fast and sound.

In retrospect, the Peace Corps in Korea changed considerably during the past year in terms of quantity and quality.

Despite the energetic and vigorous leadership of Director Kevin O'Donnell and Deputy Director Loren Cox, 13 volunteers dropped out of the 100-member first group. But with 26 volunteers added in July, the Peace Corps family swelled to 113.

O'Donnell said the 13 volunteers resigned, mainly because of health problems and the difficulties found in the course of adjusting themselves to the Korean life.

By now, however, the volunteers feel no "culture shock" in Korea as they were warned about, he said.

The past year was a period of hardship for many volunteers, but at the same time, it was a period of harvest for three couples who were married in the countryside. A volunteer in Pusan became engaged to a Korean girl last June.

Looking back on the past year as a leader of the volunteers, Kevin O'Donnell said, "We all have learned much about Korea and its people, and we have been much impressed by the warm and enthusiastic cooperation we have received from the people."

He added, "Additional requests for more volunteers by the Korean government leads us to believe that the U.S. Peace Corps is able to assist Korea."

Deputy director Loren Cox recalls, "We had a lot of problems and difficulties at the beginning of the program, but we solved them in cooperation with the Korean authorities and the people."

The unstinted efforts and good leadership shown by the staff members of the Peace Corps have been commendable, indeed.

Staff members toured thousands of miles across the country to encourage the volunteers and to see how they were working with their assigned jobs.

When one enters the office of the Peace Corps housed at the Sports Center, the first thing facing him will be a huge photograph of President Chung Hee Park, not U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson.

This well indicates how they are thinking and what they want to do here in Korea, halfway around the world from their own country.

"In a word," O'Donnell said. "We have come here to serve the Korean people, not to lead them."

It was in a hotel suite that three staff members opened a Peace Corps office in August last year. It was one month before the first group of 100 members arrived in Seoul.

The office moved to a foreigner's home and later to a suite of rooms provided by the Education Ministry in the Sports Center. Here the staff members worked for three months without telephone service.

But now, a staff of 23 works hard with typewriter keys to care for 113 volunteers serving as teachers at 113 colleges, high schools and middle schools throughout the country.

The Peace Corps recently established regional branches in Taejon, Kwangju, Chunchon and Taegu to expedite communications between the volunteers teaching in their respective areas of responsibility.

[From the Korea Times, Sept. 16, 1967]

ONE-YEAR-OLD PEACE CORPS—"SINCERITY TO LEARN"

(By Park Nyon-su)

The sight of young Americans mingling with Koreans in makkolli houses or on the streets and talking with them in Korean has not been an unfamiliar one these days. These young Americans are Peace Corps volunteers.

The first group of 100 Peace Corps volunteers arrived in Korea a year ago today and the second group of 26 last month at the request of Korean government. The volunteers have served in 43 towns as teachers of English, science, and physical education, 11 of them in colleges.

The 116 Peace Corps volunteers residing throughout Korea live with Korean families, eat Korean food, teach Korean students, and try to do everything the way Koreans do "in an effort to know Korea and its people better," according to Kevin O'Donnell, director of the Peace Corps in Korea.

"We have gained a greater understanding of the Korean people and the problems Korea is facing, and we expect our mutual understanding will help tighten the friendship between the two countries," said O'Donnell.

The Peace Corps director in Korea said that he is happy to see the volunteers are doing well in spite of many difficulties they face here.

Of the 126 volunteers who came to Korea, six were sent home because of health problems and another six left because of adaptation problems such as the language barrier and differences in food and customs.

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Baker are one of 11 married couples among the Peace Corps volunteers, and they live with a Korean family in Chegi-dong, Seoul. He teaches English at the College of Education, Seoul National University, and she at the Attached High School, SNU.

Baker said that he volunteered for the Peace Corps to see foreign countries and their peoples. But the Bakers found they could not travel widely because they had neither enough time nor money to do so.

But the Bakers said they enjoyed life in Korea where the people are hospitable, the landscape is beautiful, and the customs are interesting.

Peace Corps volunteers coming to Korea suffer many difficulties, the Bakers said.

The first difficulty is being conspicuous, the husband said. A volunteer cannot go anywhere without being watched by staring eyes.

Second difficulty is the sense of separation resulting from the language barrier, Mrs. Baker said. "Sometimes I felt like a complete stranger even in my classrooms. The students often do not show any response to my lecture, and at those moments I wonder if they understand me," she said.

The third difficulty comes from Korean foods. The Bakers do not like hot food. When they really hanker for American food, they go out to restaurants even though they know that even there they will not be able to eat "real" American food.

The popularity of the American teachers among Korean students is rising with the time, said a fellow teacher of Mrs. Baker.

"At first, the students seemed reluctant to approach the American teacher, apparently in shame over their poor English. When they saw the American teacher speak in Korean instead of English, they seemed pleased and began to approach her," said the teacher.

Kim Hak-jun, vice principal of Kyonggi Middle School, said of John Middleton, a Peace Corps volunteer teaching English at the school, that he is as helpful to other English teachers as to the students.

Kang Kyong-gu, chief of the international education division of the Ministry of Education, said that the volunteers have done better in Korea than were expected "through their sincerity to learn and understand Korea and its people and through the desire to readjust themselves to the new environment."

He regretted, however, that more than 10 percent of the volunteers returned home early "apparently due to insufficient training before coming to Korea."

THE CRIME GAME

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, on Thrusday, September 21, 1967, the Washington Post published an excellent editorial entitled "The Crime Game." The last paragraph of this editorial reads:

> In the final analysis, the kind of crime that now most worries the American people, the kind of crime that makes them fearful of walking at night in the streets of their cities, is not organized crime at all but random, violent, individual street crime—robbery, rape, assault, wanton homicide, offenses to which electronic eavesdropping is totally irrelevant. Congress can do something about this kind of crime—not by sniping at an Attorney General who has demonstrated extraordinary sensitivity to the problem but by enacting the Safe Streets bill which the President has submitted to it. The responsibility now rests on the Hill.

As the whole editorial is so provacative, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Sept. 21, 1967]

THE CRIME GAME

Make a silly accusation and you're pretty likely to get a silly response. Recently a Republican Task Force pointed a blunderbuss at the Department of Justice and let fly with a load of political birdshot to the effect that the Department has been indifferent to organized crime in the United States. The Attorney General, as well aware as any Republican that there is going to be a national election next year, fired back the other day with a couple of barrels of statistics indicating that racketeers are being prosecuted and convicted far faster than they can fleece the public.

The Republican rhetoric charged the Attorney General with "an incredible retreat in the war on criminal activity" because of "hamstringing of Federal agents" by his order forbidding the use of electronic eavesdropping devices. The Attorney General's modest retort to this was that "the Department of Justice is mounting an attack on organized crime which is unequalled in its dimensions and unparalleled in its results." And he added what seems to us somewhat dubious, that "in the final analysis for law enforcement, it is convictions that count."

Convictions are a help, of course. But in the final analysis, they are an acknowledgment of law enforcement failure. In the final analysis, it is prevention of crime that counts. And a diminishing rate of prosecution and conviction could be the healthiest of indices.

The attack and the answer represent, in some degree, a playing of "the crime game" on either side. Statistics in this area are notoriously unreliable and can be cited to prove almost any point. Besides, they tell only a fraction of the story. As the President's Crime Commission pointed out, "Offense and arrest figures do not aid very much in analyzing the scope of professional crime. . . . Although the police statistics indicate a lot of crime today, they do not begin to indicate the full amount. . . . The actual amount of crime in the United States today is several times that reported in the Uniform Crime Reports."

Moreover, the Republican Task Force attacks the Attorney General for what is precisely the most praiseworthy part of his performance. He has insisted, as no other Attorney General from Tom Clark to Ramsey Clark has insisted, that the investigating agencies of the Federal Government observe the law in enforcing the law. He has accorded respect to the right of privacy fundamental to all freedom by forbidding Federal agents to employ taps and bugs in violation of Federal and local laws. The attack on crime is in no way weakened by this signal commitment to human decency and constitutional command.

In the final analysis, the kind of crime that now most worries the American people, the kind of crime that makes them fearful of walking at night in the streets of their cities, is not organized crime at all but random, violent, individual street crime—robbery, rape, assault, wanton homicide, offenses to which electronic eavesdropping is totally irrelevant. Congress can do something about this kind of crime—not by sniping at an Attorney General who has demonstrated extraordinary sensitivity to the problem but by enacting the Safe Streets bill which the President has submitted to it. The responsibility now rests on the Hill.

LAKE COUNTY QUARTERLY COURT ENDORSES REVENUE SHARING

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I am much pleased to report that the Lake County Quarterly Court has unanimously endorsed S. 1236, the Federal revenue-sharing proposal which I introduced on March 9.

It is important to have the support of local governmental officials for this effort to rebuild and revitalize State and local governments.

Because I think it is important that the continuing development of local government interest in revenue sharing be noticed by this body, I ask unanimous consent to place the court's resolution in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 2

(Resolution of Senate bill 1236)

Whereas, Senator Howard Baker has requested the Court to recommend that his Senate Bill #1236 proposing to return part of the federal revenue to the State and local governments for their use without strings attached.

Now, therefore be it resolved, that the Lake County Quarterly Court go on record as being in favor of Senate Bill #1236 by Senator Baker.

Motion by Mr. E. A. Peacock, Jr., seconded by Mr. Fred A. Wortman that said resolution be adopted.

ROLLCALL

For: Floyd Flowers, James Hearn, Robert Henley, Ira Holloway, Woodrow Leggett, J. W. Lovings, Joe K. Miller, Jimm Moore, E. A. Peacock Jr., Frank Provow, Cornell Rhodes, Maynard Scott, Fred A. Wortman.

Against: None.

Yes, 13.

No, 0.

Resolution adopted.

State of Tennessee, Lake County: I, J. G. Shull, Clerk of the County Court of Lake County, Tennessee do hereby certify the above Resolution to be a true copy of Resolution # 2 adopted by the Lake County Quarterly Court at a Special Session on Sept. 18, 1967, said resolution is recorded in Quarterly Court Minute Book "3", page "125", in the office of County Court Clerk.

Witness my seal and signature of office this the 18th day of September, 1967.

[SEAL] J. G. SHULL,
County Court Clerk.

LAW STUDENT FROM PENNSYLVANIA WRITES LETTER ON SEPARATION OF POWERS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on September 15, 1967, the Washington Evening Star published a lengthy and erudite letter on "The Separation of Powers," written by one of our bright young men from Pennsylvania who have come to Washington to continue their graduate and professional studies. The author of this letter, Mr. Bernard Yanavich, Jr., is a native of Luzerne County, Pa., and is a law student at the Catholic University of America.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Yanavich's letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

SIR: The Fulbright Resolution on Foreign Relations introduced in the Senate has sown the seed of controversy. But the resulting tree branches out far beyond the field of foreign relations. Its roots go far beyond the peripheral eroded present and seek the refreshing reservoirs and good soil of the sound constitutional doctrines of the past. I am talking about the separation of powers.

When we deal with the Constitution, we are dealing with a highly academic subject. This is not a case of departmental jealousy, this is a case of re-examining the Constitution of the United States, of determining what the supreme law of the land says, and then of obeying that law. I like the sound thinking of Senator Wayne Morse, a former law professor and dean of a law school, when he pleaded that "we return to the real meaning of the Constitution."

As the controversy began with foreign policy, consider first that part of the Constitution which concerns relations and agreements with other countries:

Article II Section 2 says:

"The President . . . shall have power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors . . ."

SENATE PLAYS LARGE ROLE

At once it is evident that the Senate is to play a large role in foreign policy. It not only must ratify all treaties, but it must also confirm the appointments of those who are to work in foreign relations. The division and limitation, the separation of powers is the very base of the constitutional system for foreign policy.

What is the meaning of "treaty"? I refer again to the thinking of the distinguished senior senator from Oregon. While testifying before the special Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers, Senator Morse answered in the affirmative to this question by Senator Sam Ervin: "As I interpret you, it is your conviction that the treaty-making provisions of the Constitution require the submission to the Senate in the form of a treaty of any agreement negotiated by the executive branch of the government which requires either an appropriation or legislation by Congress for its implementation?"

A two-thirds vote of the Senate and not a joint resolution of Congress is what is required by the Constitution.

The Senate as representatives of the people must share with the executive the constitutional responsibility for the making of American foreign policy. Speaking in defense of the Constitutional system, Senator Morse defines what the other much-used device, the executive agreement, should mean: "The power of the President to make independent executive agreements is power merely to carry out and implement the policy of the nation which has been adopted in a proper fashion; that is by concurrence of the President and the Senate."

RETURN TO SPIRIT

From my reading of the Constitution I conclude that Senator Fulbright's resolution advocates not a modification of the Constitution, as a noted columnist insisted, but a return to the spirit and letter of the supreme law of the land.

Now to the greater problem, the gradual erosion of the protecting shield of the Constitution. The Congress and not the Executive Branch has the power under Article I, Section 8 "to declare War," "to raise and support Armies," "to provide and maintain a Navy," and "to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions."

The Congress has the supposed power of the purse. Yet time and again Congress has yielded its many powers to the Executive Branch under the pressures of "prior commitments." At the present time no one seriously doubts that the Executive alone can involve us in war, but the power to declare war is in the Congress. No one doubts that the Executive can get a tax hike, a foreign aid appropriation, an appropriation for a greater army, etc., with little or no difficulty, though these are powers vested in the Congress. No longer is it a question of what the Congress considers priorities, but what the Executive considers emergencies.

"USURPATION"

Advocates of the Executive department's "usurpation" (I prefer Senator Morse's term over Senator Church's "circumvention") of powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution use as a precedent the dangerous but necessary tendency toward practically unlimited power to meet the dire national emergencies of hellzapoppin yesterdays. These precedents were upheld by the Supreme Court in language which indicates the temporary-only character of the powers.

Different thinking by the court in 1952 produced the Youngstown case in which Mr. Justice Black stated: "The founders of this nation entrusted the lawmaking power to the Congress alone in both good and bad times."

Mr. Justice Frankfurter gave this interpretation to the same case: "A scheme of government like ours no doubt at times feels the lack of power to act with complete, all-embracing, swiftly-moving authority. No doubt a government with distributed authority . . . labors under restrictions from which other governments are free. In any event our government was designed to have such restrictions. The price was deemed not too high in view of the safeguards which these restrictions afford."

The safeguards, as every schoolboy is taught, are the separation of powers, the checks and balances, the delegations of duties carefully written into the Constitution. It goes without saying that these safeguards must be acknowledged unless the Constitution is amended. Senator Morse summed it up in the best statement I have heard:

"It is about time that we return to the Constitution and make clear that boys are not going to be sent to die on battlefields anywhere in the world unless our Presidents follow Constitutional processes."

BERNARD A. YANAVICH, Jr.

THE NEED TO UPDATE THE U.S. FISHING FLEET

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I wish to make additional remarks in support of Senate Joint Resolution 104, which I introduced along with several other Senators on August 14.

Along with the sad plight of our merchant marine in cargo-carrying capability, the long-ignored fishing fleet should be included in efforts to update our seagoing vessels. Where once the United States led the world in fishing, it now ranks fifth. The fishing industry is a vast one, ranging from Maine to the gulf and all along the Pacific coast. Our waters contain vast amounts of almost every kind of fish that we use. However, we now import more than 60 percent of the fisheries products. This figure is certainly noteworthy. The existing conditions among the fishing fleets do not allow us to take full advantage of one of the richest sources of food that the Nation possesses.

The fact is that the United States should lead the world in commercial fishing; but without more adequate fishing vessels, this simply cannot be done. Fishing fleets are also valuable auxiliaries to the merchant marine as has been proven many times in the past. It would certainly be in the best interest of the Nation to set a policy of development for its fishing industry.

I firmly believe that such a proposal should rightly be included in the study called for in Senate Joint Resolution 104. With sound proposals from these parties with a vital interest in all phases of the merchant marine, I hope that we can develop a viable system in this area. It is essential that we do.

IMPORTATION OF TEXTILES

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, on September 26, the Charleston News and Courier published an editorial concerning the most serious economic problem facing my State today—the excessive importation of foreign textiles. The editorial was entitled, appropriately, "Two-Faced on Textiles," and in the short space of some 300 words cogently expressed the dismay of South Carolinians over the ambiguous policy of the administration with regard to textiles.

The statement made by the Vice President recently in Greenville, S.C., reaffirming the administration's supposed support of this essential industry and pledging to "take whatever steps are necessary to save the industry and to make it expand," borders on the incredible when coupled with assurances made to the Japanese 1 week earlier that the administration opposed quota limitations on foreign textiles.

I congratulate the News and Courier on this perceptive editorial, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO-FACED ON TEXTILES

In dealing with problems of the textile industry, the Johnson administration presents two faces. One can be seen in a recent statement by Vice President Hubert Humphrey. The other is discerned in the administration's private assurances to Japanese officials.

During his recent visit to South Carolina's textile-manufacturing center, Mr. Humphrey declared:

"This administration will not allow the textile industry to be weakened or depressed. We will take whatever steps are necessary to save the industry and to make it expand."

This statement has a hollow note in view of Sen. Ernest F. Hollings' report Sept. 15 that the U.S. State Department has assured Japanese officials that the administration opposes the textile import quota bills pending in Congress.

For years, the State Department has regarded the textile industry as expendable in negotiations with the Japanese. The Johnson administration apparently still hews to this line, no matter what Mr. Humphrey says on a political expedition to textile country.

If the interests of the textile companies and their employes are to be protected, Congress will have to provide the protection. Indeed protection of an industry is the business of the Congress, for the Constitution gives the legislative branch the power to regulate commerce.

It is encouraging that Sen. Hollings now has 65 co-sponsors for his textile import quota proposal. We hope the Democratic leadership of the Senate will cooperate in obtaining passage. The textile industry—South Carolina's principal industry—deserves a measure of protection against foreign imports produced with cheap labor. The industry is not asking for a shut-off of all foreign textiles, simply a checking of the flood into U.S. markets. If the flood is not checked, an important American industry will suffer.

As for the Johnson administration, it is bound to suffer loss of public confidence if it persists in a two-faced policy. The public is not likely to be fooled by the present devious approach.

AMERICAN BUSINESS NEEDS TO HELP EASE POVERTY CRISIS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the mounting problems of urban America—poor education, poverty, illnesses, and lack of job opportunities—will not be solved by governmental action alone, whether that action occurs at the Federal, State, or local level. The private sector must seek to play a role in meeting this crisis.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, American businessmen are anxious to assume their rightful role in the alleviation and elimination of urban America's plight.

Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc., delivered an excellent address in New York City on September 19 outlining the steps which some businessmen might take. While the precise steps to which Mr. Heiskell refers might not be appropriate for all corporations, I think the emphasis is correct; namely, that large private corporations and enterprises should exercise increasing interest and concern in the significant difficulties and problems of our cities.

I commend Mr. Heiskell for his remarks and I commend his address to others.

I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the New York Times of September 20, 1967, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Heiskell Urges U.S. Companies To Relax Hiring Rules for Poor

(By Henry Raymont)

Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Times Inc., called on the nation's corporations yesterday to lower employment standards, if necessary, to provide thousands of more jobs of people living in urban slums.

"I urgently suggest that every corporation should consider hiring, for every 100 men in its force, one man who doesn't meet their normal standards," Mr. Heiskell told a hushed audience at the annual luncheon of the Magazine Publisher Association.

He predicted the plan would be "a practical way" of closing a "credibility gap" that he said existed in the slums. The slums, he explained, doubt that private industry is interested in helping to improve economic and social conditions in American cities.

SEEKING NEW SOLUTIONS

Mr. Heiskell was speaking as the co-chairman of the Urban Coalition, an organization of representatives of industry, business, labor and civil-rights groups, and of local governments. The coalition was formed in Washington July 31 to find new solutions for the multiplying problems of the cities.

"They, the underprivileged, don't believe we are serious in our promises to help relieve the problems of the urban ghettoes," he said. "It is perfectly clear that the first priority is jobs, and jobs which most of us are not necessarily in a position to offer.

"So we ought to break down some of the existing standards and rules so that we can hire those people who are in the greatest need and then train them while they work."

The speech drew only brief applause from the audience of about 600 magazine and advertising executives who attended the luncheon on the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

After the luncheon, however, several editors went up to Mr. Heiskell to offer their cooperation and ask for details about the Urban Coalition. One of them was Mortimer Berkowitz, Jr., the burly publisher of Fowler Grower magazine, who had a bandage on his forehead.

ATTACK NEAR GRACIE MANSION

Explaining that he had been attacked by two youth Saturday while walking with a friend near Gracie Mansion, Mr. Berkowitz said: "I got it firsthand, I got very close to getting killed. You let me know what we can do to help, and I promise you we'll do it."

In his speech, Mr. Heiskell made an urgent plea for "all levels of society" to work together in solving the problems of the ghetto.

"Our society will not take more than three or five years of rioting every summer without the machine of government beginning to erode," he said. "If we do not solve this together there will start a waive of repression that all of us here will live to regret."

In commenting on conditions in the slums, Mr. Heiskell aligned himself with the view of Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, saying that "without justice we neither will have nor do we deserve order."

In his address, Mr. Heiskell also urged that labor unions move more rapidly to "open their ranks" to Negroes and Puerto Ricans and that private foundations set aside a third of their funds over the next three years for training programs in the slums.

Charles L. Gleason, personnel director of Time Inc., said last night that "the Heiskell hiring plan is now before the board, and we are actively discussing just how to implement it." The company has 2,500 employes in the city.

EXCELLENT RECORD OF THE MARYLAND DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the Baltimore Sun drew my attention to a publication of the Maryland Department of Employment Security, entitled "Advance Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1967."

The report reveals an impressive array of statistics and shows that, among other things, unemployment in Maryland dropped by 4,500 in fiscal year 1967. Nonagricultural and salaried workers averaged 1,166,300—up 69,400 over the 1966 total.

There is plenty of other good news in the report. I agree with the Sun that the department of unemployment security is to be commended for making these encouraging figures available to the public as early as possible.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Baltimore Sun editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

An Excellent Record

The Maryland Department of Employment Security has issued a pamphlet entitled: "Advance Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1967." The regular reports are never issued until January or February—more than six months after the close of the year covered. No more than a glance through the advance pamphlet should be enough to explain why the department should have wanted to rush into print with the year-end facts as quickly as possible—the facts could be no better.

Through the 12-month period non-agricultural wage and salaried workers averaged 1,166,300—up 69,400 over the 1966 total. The unemployment total dropped by 4,500. The increase in the one area and the contraction in the other resulted in a reduction of $605,000 in the amount distributed in benefits to unemployed persons who lost their jobs through no fault of their own.

From the viewpoint of the employers who finance the full burden of unemployment compensation there are these facts: In fiscal 1967 the tax rate schedule applied against employers on the basis of their respective employment records was the lowest in the State's history of the program. The outlook for a continuation of that schedule is excellent; at the end of the year the trust fund behind the program was at its highest figure.

The array of facts in the report, and this without exception, provides good news for those in the labor markets, employers and the public generally. The advance report is welcome not only because it contains good news but it displays a desire on the part of a State agency to report quickly to the public—a desire that is rare if not unique among State departments.

INTERNATIONAL ESPIONAGE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Monday's edition of the State, of Columbia, S.C., contains an extremely interesting column by Henry J. Taylor. Mr. Taylor is a former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland, and in that position he was able to see the complicated role which international espionage plays in modern history. The unique situation in Switzerland as a model country made it a particularly valuable vantage point for Mr. Taylor's observations.

In his column published in the State, Mr. Taylor draws upon his own observations and upon recent writings by Svetlana Alliluyeva to show the importance which the Soviets place upon espionage activity. I quote the last two paragraphs from Mr. Taylor's excellent article:

> Former Central Intelligence Agency chief Allen W. Dulles has stated that "the Soviet had over 40 high-level agents in various Washington departments and agencies during World War II. At least this many were uncovered; we don't know how many remained undetected."
>
> It would be inconceivable to any experienced intelligence manager that there are any fewer in decision-making places in Washington today.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Columnists Recall Soviet Intrigues: Espionage Is Tricky Business

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Svetlana Alliluyeva's widely syndicated "Twenty Letters to a Friend" pictures her father's Kremlin from the inside. Another book, "A Man Called Lucy," by Pierre Accoce and Pierre Quet, along with my own findings in Switzerland, (while U.S. Ambassador there) shows Stalin's treasure-trove of espionage in that neutral territory with equally stark revelation.

During the wartime period Svetlana writes about, the Soviet did not have diplomatic relations with Switzerland. But a blond, anti-Nazi giant named Hans Bernd Gisevius who was a vice-consul at the German legation in Bern under the direction of Hitler's secret service, became a pipe line to us. So did another sympathetic anti-Nazi, an assistant to German Ambassador Kocher. This was an "unvetted source," a man who remains as mysterious and unidentified to his employers (our country) as to the enemy against whom he works.

The cafe Grief in Zurich was a center for interenemy agents and transient refugees, and courageous U.S. Army Colonel Barnwell R. Legge, our military attache at Bern, practically controlled this center.

The Swiss Army's Brigadier-Colonel Roger Masson, in turn, chief of Swiss counterintelligence, was in contact with German S. S. Brigadafuhrer Walter Schellenberg who ultimately emerged a hero of the German anti-Hitler movement.

We passed their information on to Stalin.

What we never knew was that Stalin had his own immensely successful espionage apparatus in Lausanne, the information output of which was astounding and would have saved countless American lives. Stalin couldn't have helped us less if he had been Hitler himself. The Soviet simply stood by, took everything and gave nothing.

German Communists call an agent "kaltegestallt" in the technical jargon of Soviet espionage if the man is "on ice" between missions. German Communists had penetrated the highest levels of the German army, navy and air force general staffs and even Hitler's personal entourage. Moreover, the German Communists had about 20 German resident directors trained at the Soviet spy school at Sekhjodnya and operating espionage centers throughout wartime Germany. They controlled some 300 German Communist agents. But they faced the problem of communicating with the Kremlin.

A remarkably able Red agent named Rudolph Roessler was "kaletgestallt" in Berlin and the German Communist party faithful sent him under cover to Lausanne. Red agents often confirm their contacts by producing currency notes that bear consecutive serial numbers. Roessler provided this identification to comrade "Leon," the head of the Communist party in Switzerland, Leon set up Roessler and a Moscow-beamed radio in Lausanne and supplied him a group of helpers based in Geneva.

Relaying the top-level information received from the Communists inside Germany, the Lausanne nest established what was designated as the "Viking Line"—direct to Stalin.

Stalin was called Koba by his few intimates. It was the code name he supplied Lausanne. The Red nest reported to him in advance, sometimes months in advance such vital secrets as Germany's seizure of Austria. It also rushed him the first hint of Hitler's decision to stage the horrible pogroms against the Jews. The Lausanne nest found this did not ruffle Stalin. He had an intense hatred of Jews and purged them on a scale proportionate to Nazi Germany, a fact implied even by Svetlana in her "Twenty Letters."

Hitler invaded Poland, the attack which precipitated World War II, on a slim pretext forged by his own secret service. The Lausanne nest forecast his move. It foretold to Stalin the invasion of Holland, Belgium, northeast France, Luxembourg, Denmark and Norway, each in advance, and sent him the first mention of V–1 and V–2 rockets that were to come, about which we knew nothing and which fell chiefly on us of the West.

The Communists burrow everywhere. And there are always Red agents and provocateurs masquerading as supporters of men in power. The prize—and priceless—information needed by these burrowers is: What will the men in power do next.

Former Central Intelligence Agency chief Allen W. Dulles has stated that "the Soviet had over 40-high-level agents in various Washington departments and agencies during World War II. At least this many were uncovered; we don't know how many remained undetected."

It would be inconceivable to any experienced intelligence manager that there are any fewer in decision-making places in Washington today.

THE SECRET OF HAWAII

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, many visitors to Hawaii often wonder how our residents can bear to be confined to the island chain for a lifetime. Perhaps two writers from the Hartford Courant, Shirley and Bob Sloane, have discovered the answer.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hartford Courant]

THE WAIKIKI TOURISTS SEE

(NOTE.—Two views of Hawaii, one by Shirley and Bob Sloane of the Hartford Courant and one by a writer for The Economist, help to explain the upsurge in travel to the Islands this year. See editorial.)

Hawaii may be the only place in the Western world where hotel men don't complain about the help situation.

In Europe the hand drain has become as serious as the brain drain. And if the cooks and waiters are migrating to the United States, it seems they work in tourist-type trades just long enough to learn English and then go on to bigger and better things.

Hawaii's secret is that Hawaiians simply don't leave Hawaii. Did you ever meet a Hawaiian living on the mainland? They may leave the sugar fields; who wouldn't? But it's not just because catering to tourists is easier work. It's also because they have that natural outgoing warmth travelers read about in the tourist folders of every country but rarely find. Hawaiians love people, they love life, and above all they love Hawaii.

They enjoy it so much that tourists often feel they're missing most of the fun. Oh, visitors may don muumuus and put flowers in their hair and take the daily free hula lesson on the hotel patio. But it isn't the same, and they often go back to the mainland with a defeated look about them, wondering why they don't feel like smiling, singing and dancing all the time the way the Hawaiians do.

The reasons for this attitude about Hawaii are best summed up as "What's Not to Like?"

The sun shines most of the time, and if you're a Hawaiian of Polynesian or Oriental extraction, as most are, you have enough pigment in your skin not to worry about sunburn like the mailihinis do.

The surf is almost always up somewhere, and if you're Hawaiian you know how to surf. The fish are jumping, from the mahimahi off Oahu to the monster marlin on the Kona coast. And if all else fails to keep up your spirits, you turn on the radio and hula, because there's always twangy Hawaiian music playing, and if you're Hawaiian you know how to hula. You'd better—your parents probably started giving you lessons at the age of four, even if they had to go without television to pay for them.

You never, ever, dress up. The shapeless, colorful muumuu covers everything and touches nothing, so ladies happily eat and get fat. We've been asked whether it's true people wear hats and gloves in New York and Chicago. There is only one restaurant in all the islands that requires men to wear coats and ties, the Monarch Room of the venerable Royal Hawaiian Hotel. But the performers are barefooted and aloha-shirted. No wonder they think mainlanders are nuts.

The well known racial mixture of Hawaii—Polynesian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Filipino, with dashes of Portuguese, Spanish and Anglo-Saxon—makes for one of the most exotically beautiful people in the world. It also turns racial prejudice into a futile exercise for even the most dedicated bigot. Who exactly is superior to whom, and what percentage of him?

The relaxed atmosphere makes it feasible for Hawaiians to goodnaturedly poke fun at each other's racial characteristics. Local entertainment is often studded with a kind of Polynesian calypso that takes off on the ways and manners of Japanese grocers or Chinese launderers, to the utter delight of the locals and utter confusion of mainlanders, to whom it would be unthinkably bad taste on the mainland.

Enough Americana has been injected into Hawaii so that it is not, as might be expected, lazy-poor. Most Hawaiians happily hold down two jobs, maybe a policeman by day and an ukulele player by night. And Honolulu has been booming so that it is almost unrecognizable even if you saw it only a year ago.

Only 20 years ago there was just a handful of hotels spread across Waikiki Beach. Now new ones, as well as giant high rise condominiums, have sprung up like concrete mushrooms all over the area.

The huge Ilikai apartment-hotel complex dwarfs everything around it. The facade of the new Bank of Hawaii building is honeycombed with interlacing concrete arches. Ten minutes drive from Waikiki, the plush new Kahala Hilton surprised everyone but canny Conrad Hilton by being as successful as any Waikiki hotel ever was. And all over the volcanic mountains ringing the city, luxury housing developments climb even higher.

Because Hawaii has no clearly definable tourist seasons the way most resorts do, it is surprisingly reasonable, and prices are the same all year. Rooms in every luxury hotels cost hardly more than half what is charged in comparable Florida or Caribbean resorts, and comfortable modest apartment hotels off the beach, often with cooking facilities, offer accommodation for as little as $8 and $10 a room.

Food tastes have been standardized to either Oriental or simple American-modern, with the result that even a full course steak dinner in a top restaurant should cost no more than about $7. And there are many cheaper.

Hawaiians don't want to milk the tourists and get rich. They get their milk from coconuts and were born rich. What's not to like?

THE AMERICAN LEGION BOYS NATION

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, President Johnson recently welcomed the 100 delegates to the 1967 Boys Nation to Washington and to the White House with the following greeting:

> I'm glad to welcome you to this capital and to this house. The American Legion is to be commended for giving young Americans like you a chance to learn first-hand about their government.

Fifty years ago, in Paris, after the close of World War I, approximately 1,000 officers and enlisted men of the AEF organized what was to become the American Legion; today the largest veterans organization in the United States, 2½ million members strong. In those early days, they associated themselves together "for God and country"; nearly 50 years and three wars later, they remain associated "for God and country."

One of the principal objectives of the American Legion has been "to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy." To the men and women of the Legion and its auxiliary, there seemed no better way to do this than through the youth of America. For this purpose, in 1935, Illinois held the first boys state. This is a program designed to teach the young men of our Nation the principles of democracy and to show them the processes by which their State governments operate. By 1946, this program had spread to every State in the Nation and in that year, the first Boys Nation was held in Washington, D.C.

The American Legion has just concluded its 22d annual Boys Nation. One hundred young men from 49 States and the District of Columbia gathered together to learn about the workings of their Government. Twenty-five dedicated legionnaires, who give their time and energies and devotion to this program year after year, were on hand to guide them. The Boys Nation delegates formed themselves into two political parties, each with its own platform and candidates for president and vice president. They held an election, and this year's young president happens also to be the winner of the Legion's 1967 national oratorical contest; more than that, he is the first Negro to attain the highest position in either program.

The Boys Nation delegates are here for just 1 week, but the effects of their experiences are far more lasting.

The American Legion will in 1969 celebrate its 50th year as an organization dedicated to the service of "community, State, and Nation." It is my understanding that the Legion will petition the Postmaster General for the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp.

I urge the Postmaster General and his advisers to give every consideration to this request. I feel certain they will find the American Legion richly deserves this signal honor.

U.S. FOREIGN TRADE POLICY—RESOLUTIONS OF SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, at the 33d annual meeting of the Southern Governors' Conference held this month in Asheville, N.C., two very important resolutions relating to U.S. foreign trade policy were adopted.

The first resolution requests the Congress to enact pending textile legislation and urges the administration to fully implement its textile program and establish arrangements to fairly control access to the U.S. market by foreign supplies.

The policy of controlling excessive imports which seriously affect domestic industry was initiated three decades ago at the recommendation of a special Presidential study committee. Since then it has been continued and reinforced by both Democratic and Republican administrations alike. Under President Johnson, this policy has been extended until September 1970.

But such trade policy as it applies to textiles has been only partially implemented by the imposition of import quotas on raw and processed cotton fiber and by domestic subsidies for wool production. Effective steps have not yet been taken to properly control access to the U.S. market by foreign suppliers of manmade fiber, woolen, and silk textile products. Congress, however, has before it proposed legislation, of which I am proud to be a cosponsor, which would establish such controls. It is this legislation, cosponsored by 60 Members of the Senate and 135 Members of the House, that the Governors of 13 Southern States have unanimously recommended be enacted.

The second resolution opposes implementation of the agreement relating principally to chemicals supplementary to the Geneva—1967—protocol to the GATT. This agreement, commonly known as the "separate package" agreement, would repeal the American selling price method of customs valuation and still further lower U.S. tariffs on benzenoid chemicals in excess of the 50-percent reduction authorized under the Trade Expansion Act.

In these negotiations, the U.S. negotiators agreed to reduce tariffs on all chemicals by approximately 50 percent in return for a 20-percent reduction by the European Economic Community and United Kingdom. Under the "separate package" they would equal our 50-percent cut—but only if Congress first agrees to eliminate the American selling price system and still further lower chemical tariffs. The United States is, in effect, asked to pay for the same horse twice. The Governors' conference, by their resolution, urges Congress to reject this supplemental agreement on the grounds that it is clearly unreciprocal and would endanger the jobs of thousands of benzenoid chemical workers located in 450 benzenoid chemical plants throughout the South.

Mr. President, I should like to stress that both of these resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Governors. The textile and chemical industries form the backbone of our southern economy and are continuously expanding to provide more jobs and a better way of life for our people. To export these jobs and our standard of living to foreign producers who compete not on the basis of efficiency, but on substantially lower wage costs would be pure folly. I ask unanimous consent that both resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the 33d annual Southern Governors' Conference, be printed in the RECORD. I hope that Congress will take careful note of the sentiments expressed by our Governors.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHEMICALS

Whereas, the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations will seriously and adversely affect the domestic chemical industry, which includes many firms with plants and offices in States which are members of this Conference; and

Whereas, the implementation of the Agreement Relating Principally to Chemicals, Supplementary to the Geneva (1967) Protocol, including the repeal of the American Selling Price method of customs valuation, would have additional serious and adverse effect on the domestic chemical industry and on its operations in said States and the workers and communities in which they are located; and

Whereas, the proposed foreign tariff reduction which would be gained as a result of implementation of said Supplementary Agreement will not offer any significant opportunity to increase chemical export sales:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Southern Governors' Conference that the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, including the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and each member of the Congress, be advised that the Southern Governors' Conference:

(1) firmly opposes implementation, by legislation or otherwise, of said Supplementary Agreement including the repeal of the American Selling Price method of customs valuation, and

(2) urges that the Congress of the United States conduct a thorough study to determine the effects of the multilateral tariff reductions in the Kennedy Round upon the worldwide competitive position of the domestic chemical industry and the U.S. balance of payments before any further trade negotiations are undertaken by the U.S. government; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the members of Congress, and to William M. Roth, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

TEXTILES

Whereas, thirty-two years ago the President of the United States recognized the adverse effect upon the domestic textile industry of excessive textile imports into the United States and directed that a study be made of the situation by a committee and that recommendations should be made to him as to how the matter should be handled; and

Whereas, the finding of this committee was that a voluntary agreement should be entered into between the principal exporter, Japan, and the United States; and

Whereas, it is particularly significant that the author of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement concept, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, was a member of the committee making this recommendation to the President in 1935, and so it may be accurately stated that concurrent with the inception of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement policy of our Government was the recognition that it is both desirable and necessary to control excessive textile imports when they are seriously affecting the domestic industry; and

Whereas, this established principle of the foreign trade policy of the United States was given further recognition and implementation in 1956 when President Eisenhower directed that steps be taken to limit Japanese cotton textile exports to the United States, and a voluntary arrangement with Japan was entered into for a period of five years, 1957–1961; and

Whereas, continuity of this principle was recognized when, upon the expiration of this five-year arrangement in 1961, a one-year extension was negotiated; and

Whereas, there was a full awareness of these historical facts when President Kennedy inaugurated his seven-point program on May 2, 1961, under which program there was negotiated a one-year short-term cotton textile arrangement by the United States and 18 other signatory nations, and in 1962, there was negotiated a five-year long-term cotton textile arrangement (LTA) among 29 nations and the United States, running from October 1, 1962, to September 30, 1967, that this further established said principle as an ingrained part of the foreign trade policy of the United States, which has this year been projected into the future by the extension of the LTA for a period of three years to September 30, 1970; and

Whereas, on June 30, 1961, at the time the one-year short-term cotton textile arrangement was being negotiated, President Kennedy stated:

"It should be borne in mind that the contemplated negotiations are designed as one of a series of efforts to assist the textile industry. Our objective is to assist the industry to overcome all of the handicaps which it faces. The State Department is being instructed to get the best possible relief, not only for cotton, but for other fibers."

Whereas, on October 26, 1964, President Johnson when speaking of the Administration's textile program stated:

"When this Administration took office serious difficulties confronted this industry. . . . It was determined to find answers. . . . We know the job can be done. We must now focus on the remaining weak spots and implement the rest of our program.

"I am convinced that our program for textiles is in the best interests of all America. I intend to pursue it to a successful conclusion."

Whereas, the nation's textile trade policy necessarily embraces both the textile fibers and the products made therefrom, and this policy has been partially implemented by the imposition of import quotas on raw and processed cotton fiber, and by domestic subsidies for wool production; and

Whereas, the Congress has under consideration legislation designed to establish an equitable quantity of imports of man-made fibers and man-made fiber, woolen and silk textile products cosponsored by 62 Senators and 139 Representatives; and

Whereas, to date effective steps have not been accomplished by our Government to equitably control access to the United States market by foreign suppliers of textile fibers and products made therefrom and the need to do so is all the more apparent in light of the conclusion of the Kennedy Round tariff cutting negotiations and their impact in particular upon the textile areas in the Appalachian region, which is the object of special attention by the Federal Government as well as the respective state governments:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Southern Governors' Conference requests the Congress to enact the pending textile legislation, and the Administration to fully implement its textile program by establishing arrangements to equitably control access to the United States market by foreign suppliers of man-made fibers and textile products made of wool, silk, and man-made fibers and to administer those existing arrangements covering cotton textile products so that the best interests of our national economy and security, and the welfare of labor and management and the consuming public may best be served; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, his Cabinet, the members of Congress, and to William M. Roth, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, today I incorporate in the Record two editorials commenting upon the campaign financing bill recently approved by the Committee on Finance by a vote of 10 to 7.

One editorial, appearing in the Los Angeles Times, properly characterizes this bill as "irresponsible." The second, published in the Baltimore Sun, refers to the staggering costs of this proposal to finance political campaigns from the public Treasury, especially at a time when the budget deficit is already of enormous proportions.

I ask unanimous consent that these two editorials, published in the September 20 issue of the Los Angeles Times and the September 17 issue of the Baltimore Sun, respectively entitled "Campaign Finance Bill Irresponsible" and "Campaign Funds," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Sept. 20, 1967]

Campaign Finance Bill Irresponsible

The campaign finance bill approved by the Senate Finance Committee is an improvement over the slapdash measure enacted by the 89th Congress—but not much.

Under its terms $14 million would be made available to teach major party presidential nominee in the 1968 campaign, and $26.4 million would be apportioned among the contenders for 34 senatorial seats. It can be assumed that if the bill ever reaches the House financing for that body will be included.

Additionally the bill would allow a 50% tax credit, to a maximum of $25, for individual campaign donations as a spur to small contributors. Both presidential and congressional contenders would be required to choose between accepting the government largesse or funding their campaigns by private contributions.

The earlier bill, lacking any such restriction, proposed to raise $30 million for each presidential nominee by permitting a $1 checkoff on income tax returns.

Underlying motivation of both bills is that federal funding would take campaign finance out of the hands of special interest contributors who might exert undue influence on office holders.

It has been estimated that the new bill would cost the federal treasury in excess of $100 million next year—and that is the crux of the situation at a time when the federal deficit is approaching $30 billion.

Sen. Herman Talmadge (D–Ga.) rightly insists that "it is the height of irresponsibility for the Congress to be considering financing political campaigns when we can't balance our budget."

Surely there are many pressing problems to which the $100 million could be devoted at this time with more profit to the people of this nation.

But there are also nagging questions in the longer range:

Is it possible to devise a system of federal financing which would not be susceptible of manipulation? How would the funds be administered and utilized. Could safeguards be drawn to prevent some politicians from getting around the dual-funding prohibition? Could the party in power during any given election resist the temptation to rejigger the ground rules to its advantage?

The motivation for the bill may be of the highest, but there are still too many inherent dangers to warrant its passage.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Sept. 17, 1967]

Campaign Funds

In a dispatch from our Washington bureau Joseph R. L. Sterne reported that the campaign financing bill which has been approved by the Senate Finance Committee could cost the Treasury—hence the taxpayers—as much as $74 million during a presidential election, if all the major-party candidates for the presidency, the Senate and the House of Representatives availed themselves of its terms. It should be noted that the Senate committee's bill applies only to presidential and senatorial elections, but the assumption of its sponsors appears to be that if and when the measure goes to the House of Representatives, members of that body will insert provisions for their own elections. Another section of the Senate bill would allow a tax credit of up to $25 on private contributions to candidates, and this could increase the total cost to above $100 million.

Several things are wrong about this. The possible cost to the Treasury is staggering, especially so at a time when the budget deficit already is enormous and when the requirements of the war in Vietnam and the problems of the cities are urgent. The bill purports to encourage "honest elections" by relieving candidates of the need to solicit private contributions, yet it would permit candidates to solicit and receive such contributions if they did not choose to apply for Federal money. Such an optional arrangement is questionable; a uniform system would be better.

Moreover, the Senate bill bears a Democratic party label. It was opposed by all the Republican members of the Finance Committee, and will be resisted by the Senate Republican leadership when it comes up for debate. Legislation proposing major changes in our political system will be more effective if it has substantial support from both parties. The Senate bill conceivably could lead to a campaign in which all the Democratic candidates received their campaign money from the Treasury and all the Republicans received theirs from private contributors.

Earlier in the week the Senate passed a limited but sound bill to improve and standardize the reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures. It should be kept separate from the new bill for Federal payments, which should be examined carefully and at length.

LANGUAGE BARRIER IN EDUCATION GROWS IN NATION'S CAPITOL, WASHINGTON POST TAKES NOTE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Sunday Washington Post, of September 24, 1967, contained an article on education in Washington, D.C., a subject of great interest to those of us in Congress who have been working on a bill to provide for the setting up of systems of bilingual education. The article, "Latin Pupils Pose Problem," by Susan Jacoby, deals with that barrier to education which has only lately begun to receive the attention and concern which it should have.

A simple language barrier has been hampering the education of our large Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest for as long as this country has been in existence, and its solution has been found in that method which Miss Jacoby, writing for the Post, describes, that—

> The students need to be taught English as a foreign language.

For only lately has the situation become a matter of vital concern, as the importance of education has become realized in the programs of combating poverty in the United States. At the same time it has been noted with concern by educators and legislators alike, that our school systems at present have few special measures for these students, simply putting them into an English-speaking system, to learn both language and subject matter as best they can.

As Miss Jacoby also points out, though, there is a certain difficulty encountered in the effective education of foreign-language students, and that is the need for funds. The hiring of qualified teachers is essential, and involves necessarily the training of those teachers. The system requires special attention and special equipment, and special administration. It certainly will require special funding. But it is, too, especially needed if the great and growing Spanish-descended population of this country is to be adequately equipped to participate in our English-speaking society. For this reason, I have introduced S. 428, the bilingual American education bill, to provide for these special funds under the Elementary-Secondary Education Act.

I commend the Washington Post and writer Susan Jacoby on this concern over a problem whose dimensions are increasing in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country—the problem of the non-English-speaking student in our society and in our schools. More and more, we in America are becoming aware of the need for our society to insure the opportunity of advancement to all its members—for our Nation cannot progress unless all of its members progress. Attention to the barriers of language in education is a necessary step toward this opportunity, and this national progress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Latin Pupils Pose Problem," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LATIN PUPILS POSE PROBLEM

(By Susan Jacoby)

Washington's public and parochial schools have a growing enrollment of Spanish-speaking students who do not understand English well enough to learn in their classes.

"In some cases, the children know so little English that they just can't get anything at all out of what is taught," says Sister Richardine, principal of Sacred Heart School at 1625 Park rd. nw.

Much of Washington's Spanish-speaking population is concentrated in the Upper Cardozo and Mount Pleasant areas. As many as 1000 students from Spanish-speaking homes may be enrolled in parochial and public schools that serve the area.

Some of the children cannot speak or understand any English beyond a simple "yes" or "no." Others have some command of conversational English but cannot read or write. Nearly all of the students need to be taught English as a foreign language by a Spanish-speaking teacher.

The schools are not providing any special help for Spanish-speaking children because they lack money to hire and train the language teachers they need. The money would have to come either from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which serves both public and parochial schools, or from the regular budgets of the public and parochial school systems.

"Proposals to meet the needs of our children are being developed," says Winston E. Turner, principal of H. D. Cooke Elementary School. "But if you asked me what's being done for Spanish-speaking students now—outside of the regular program—I'd have to say nothing."

Cooke, 17th and Euclid Streets nw., has at least 125 students from Spanish-speaking homes. The Board of Education has approved a pilot project in which English will be taught as a foreign language to 80 children at the school.

"We hope to do this with teachers who are trained in methods appropriate to children," says Nadine Dutcher, a community coordinator for the Cardozo Area Model School Division. "Eventually we would like to train teachers in other schools in the area."

But the Board has not promised to finance the program out of school funds and the Model Schools may have to search for a private foundation grant.

Meanwhile, some public schools simply place Spanish-speaking children in classes with much younger students, hoping that they will be able to understand something of what is being taught. Others place the children in "slow-moving" classes, but school officials admit that neither method helps break down the language barrier.

The parochial schools do not put Spanish-speaking students in classes with younger children because many parents object. A majority of the Spanish-speaking families, who come from predominantly Roman Catholic countries in South and Central America, enroll their children in parochial schools.

"We're working with the public schools in attempting to develop programs for these students," says Sister Richardine. "But really, we can't do anything without language teachers. We were refused Title I funds when we asked for them to hire a teacher this year."

Most school officials also feel that English classes for the children must be accompanied by instruction for their parents. The Board was asked at its Wednesday meeting to provide English classes for up to 1000 Spanish-speaking adults.

Carlos Rosario, chairman of a group called the Spanish-Speaking Committee, says that Washington has 50,000 Spanish-speaking residents. D. C. government agencies have no estimate.

The Americanization School, which provides English classes for all foreign-born residents over age 12, has been the only attempt by the D. C. government to cope with the problem. The school, located in Georgetown, has room for only about 650 students.

FUNDRAISING DINNER

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, recent press reports have recounted the activities of several Cabinet officers working to assure the success of a fundraising dinner being planned with the help of the Democratic National Committee to raise funds for Democratic Party activities and for the upcoming 1968 election campaign.

These reports, by inference and intimation, unfairly leave an impression that these activities might perhaps be improper, illicit, or otherwise malfeasant. To set the record straight I want to set forward the facts in the case and to place in proper prospective these vague charges that would make an act of dedication and citizenship by these public officials appear to be wrongdoing.

There is—and was—nothing wrong in the appearance of these officials at these preliminary events for the salute to the President scheduled for October 7 this year. The purpose of these small gatherings was to call together individuals with a known record of support for the President and his administration, to tell them about present programs and hopes for the future, and to call their attention to the gala dinner intended as a major fundraiser for the President's party.

The people invited to these small preliminary gatherings were selected from the many individuals known to the Democratic National Committee and to the cosponsors of the event: the President's Clubs around the country and the Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey organizations in every State of our land.

From among the many thousands of Americans whose demonstrated support is known to the officials of the Democratic Party, these individuals were selected because of the established fact that their past records of support might permit them to contribute to the $1,000-per-couple salute to the President.

One national committee official explained that the invitees to these events may have been doctors and lawyers, professional and management people, newspapermen, or even lobbyists. But all had records of past support for the administration.

Invitations to these early events were sent out before any speaker was located, again underscoring that special pressure was not the intent of the meeting. Once a luncheon was "booked" with a sufficient number of participants, top-ranking official spokesmen were located. Where more than one Cabinet officer was available, more than one came. Their appearance was a matter of their discretion, based on their calendar and their daily schedule.

There were three of these presalute cocktail parties. All were designed to achieve the same thing: to impress on a number of individuals capable of participating in the salute that their attendance would aid the party supporting the President in his programs.

At the first event Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd appeared to speak with eloquence and directness about the work of his new Department and its bright promise for the future. If skeptical businessmen and cynical executives can be inspired, that was the point of Secretary Boyd's appearance. And for anyone to impute baser motives to Mr. Boyd, whose whole career serves to deny such a charge, is itself an act of base inspiration.

The second luncheon enjoyed the participation of Secretary of Commerce Alexander Trowbridge and Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall. Able and attractive spokesmen for the President, they spoke forcefully of their programs, problems, and hopes. Again, the purpose of this second luncheon was to get across to the audience the dynamic and progressive outlook of this administration. There is not and cannot be anything clandestine or demeaning about the appearance of these administration officials for this purpose.

The third luncheon, still to take place, should find Secretary Udall and Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman teaming up to present their case for the administration. Both are loyal, ardent public servants who have suffered the barbs of critics who seek every opportunity to belittle their efforts and demean their dedication. If anything, that constant carping serves to motivate these two great public officials to rise to defend the administration's program whenever they can. They will do this at their presalute luncheon, and those privileged to hear them will surely respond in their own way with similar zeal.

What can be gained by attacking public servants for such activities? It is quite clear to me that the only gainers are those in the opposition party who would tie their hands and hamstring the programs of the Democratic Party.

We must all remember that the Democratic Party has always been the party of less wealth, fewer millionaires and countless more wage earners, fewer large contributors and many more small givers. This continues to be the case and we are proud of that fact. The opposition party continues to outspend us approximately 4 to 1, and they would like to keep it that way.

We, for our part, will continue to encourage all those who agree with us to help us in our efforts.

And we will do that by providing inspiration for tomorrow rather than taking the course of the opposition party which is to rail at yesterday, attack today, and disparage tomorrow.

WHO KILLED MY SON?

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the war seems distant until it touches us personally. I can think of no more poignant expression of how the war touches a man personally than to read how a father feels on the death of his son in Vietnam. The insertion I make today is just that, a very touching letter by a man who lost his son in a distant war. But this letter is more than just touching. It says what it says with clarity and with dignity. The author, it might be noted, is a theological seminary professor, and his letter first appeared in the Christian Century.

I say no more, Mr. President, for the letter reprinted in the September 13 edition of the Salem, Ind., Leader and Salem Democrat, says it far more eloquently.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOME FROM VIETNAM: JUNE 14, 1967

(By M. Edward Clark, professor of religious education at Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Kans.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—It is common knowledge that the war in Viet Nam has aroused many dissenting viewpoints among the citizenry. While perhaps many, if not most, of our people lament the war—its horrible cost in men and money and its ambiguous purposes—the mood of frustration and despair grows. These radically different, and sometimes diametrically opposite viewpoints, about what should be done, seem powerless to change the course of events. Cutting through all this is the reaction of a parent to the death of a son. Readers will react differently to this father's statement and analysis, but his anguished cry, perhaps shared by thousands and even millions of our people, deserves attention—few will be untouched by it.)

On the night of June 14, 1967, I sat on the running board of a United Air Lines jeep waiting for the flight from San Francisco to come in. The arrival, scheduled for 11:13 p.m., was already a half-hour late.

As I waited I thought about my son, Tim. He was returning home from Vietnam on that flight. Little more than a month before, on May 2, I had waited at that same airport after Tim had said good-by and boarded a T.W.A. jet for San Francisco. That evening, at sundown, my wife and I, my daughter, my grandson, and Tim's girl of a few short days stood on the observation deck while his plane was delayed, first for late passengers and then for the landing of an incoming plane. Then the jet pushed its nose into the sky and dipped away toward the west, finally becoming a dark speck against the pale glow of the evening sky.

I

Now my son was coming home. The minutes dragged on. At last, shortly after midnight, a string of baggage carts came into sight and I knew that Tim had arrived. The jeep pulling the wagon train came to a stop at the freight office of United and a young man in uniform stepped out and shook hands first with the undertaker and then with me. "I am Lieutenant Campbell," he said. "I have been assigned as an escort for your son. May I extend my sympathy."

My son was in an oblong gray plywood box with two bronze handles on either side. Stenciled across one end of the box were the words Pfc. Timothy R. Clark US55881629. On the top of the box at one end was the word head, and on the upper corner of one side were the words Flag Inside.

So now my son was home. Home from the scraggy brush-covered hill where, the Thursday before, he had written us a letter, his last letter. He had said that in his idle moments of waiting he let his mind roam the streets of Kansas City, visualizing each corner, each building, the lights at night; the memory took away some of the loneliness of Vietnam. The next day at 2300 hours (11:00 p.m.) Tim took the brunt of a hand grenade thrown by a "hostile" soldier. Up to the time he wrote his last letter, Tim had not seen a hostile soldier, neither a Vietcong or a North Vietnamese. But he had seen some of the results of their activity. A couple of weeks before, while his battalion was out on perimeter defense, the bunker that was serving as their headquarters had been mortared and machine gunned, and six of his buddies had been killed and eight wounded. Later, he heard, one of the wounded had died.

The probability is that Tim never did see a Vietcong or a North Vietnamese soldier. If so, at least one of his wishes was fulfilled, for in several of his letters he expressed the hope that he would never see any of the "enemy."

So now his last flight had touched down, and he was home never to fly again, never to sing or sigh again, never to wish or hope again; his only task now to wait out the long slow hours of eternity, where the hatreds of men cannot enter.

The freight clerk opened the freighthouse door and the baggage cart was backed up to the waiting hearse. The four of us—the escort, the undertaker, the freight man and I—shoved the gray box from the cart into the hearse. This done the escort said: "Mr. Clark, the army has declared your son to be nonviewable. If you would like we, the undertaker and I, can open the casket in the morning and see if he can be made viewable, but we don't know." I answered that the viewability of the body was not important, and that we did not plan on an open casket during the funeral ceremonies.

With that the three of us got into the hearse and began the drive to the funeral home. On the way to the airfield I had expressed to the funeral director the wish that after we had picked up the body we might take a sentimental journey and drive down the streets Tim had seen in his mind's eye so shortly before the grenade found him.

So as we crossed the Broadway bridge the undertaker steered the car south into Main street, past the theaters, the bars, the stores, down to Fourteenth street, where we turned left to Grand, then north on Grand past the Midland Camera store where Tim had bought some of his camera equipment, past the bus station where, just a year ago, he had arrived one midnight from Fort Leonard Wood on his first weekend pass. Then across the viaduct and on to the intercity expressway to Kansas City, Kansas, and the funeral home.

All that was four days ago. The last of the ceremonies is over. Relatives who arrived before the body of my son will leave in the morning. Only a small plot of broken sod and a few wilted flowers mark the spot where one who once dreamed dreams great and small, one who dared to walk the earth as a friend to all men, who scorned the ordinary and fought desperately within himself to be what every man ought to be: a unique human being—only the broken sod and the fading flowers mark the spot where one, once so full of hope, now lies distorted and nonviewable.

II

Who killed my son?

The telegram sent by the army said he was killed by a detonated grenade thrown by hostile forces—by the communists or the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong. There is at least a half-truth here, but, alas, only a half-truth. A hostile force was, to be sure, the immediate cause of his death. But that fact is really but the final detail. The ultimate cause of the death of Timothy R. Clark, of the other 175 who were killed that week, of the more than 11,000 Americans who thus far have lost their lives in Vietnam and of the many who are yet to die—the cause of all these tragic deaths ultimately can be traced to three things: Pride, Greed and Indifference.

Why do the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese fight so stubbornly against the most powerful nation in the world? Because to admit defeat would be to surrender all pride, pride which long ago the French took from them and which they finally retrieved by defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu.

Why does the American high command sacrifice life after life when admittedly the land it holds is beside the point? Again the answer is pride—the pride of a proud man who has the support not only of other proud men but of greedy men as well. For is it not true that there is much more room for promotion and advancement when a war is on than when peace prevails? Perhaps they are not conscious pride and greed; they can always be rationalized as patriotism. But they are pride and greed nonetheless. And will anyone pretend that there is no greed in the companies that fight for the war contracts?

What of indifference? Since World War II conscription—something many of our ancestors came to America to escape—has become the accepted thing. So indifferent are we that hardly a murmur is raised when the Congress proposes a law that will draft 19-year-olds as first choice; for 19-year-olds make better soldiers! Do they indeed? Or is it rather that 19-year-olds can more easily be led to believe what the army wants them to believe? Is it that they will go simply because they are told to go? Escort Campbell told me that the only reasons he had for being in Vietnam was "orders."

III

The fact is, as a recent editorial in the *Boston Globe* indicates, that the industrial-military-scientific-political complex finds this war a convenient way of satisfying its selfish purposes. The casualty lists are getting a bit longer now, but they have not yet reached the danger point. A few more waves of the flag will keep the war going at least for a while yet.

Besides, most of the casualties are high school or college dropouts and their parents aren't apt to be in positions of power. The wealthy and the prestigious can keep their sons in school (the proposed new law makes it even easier) until the danger of the draft is over. Hopefully there will be plenty of 19-year-olds so that those who are older will not be called. Indifference and the cultic religion of Americanism will take care of most of the problems.

Who then killed my son? The Vietcong? The North Vietnamese? No, not they alone. I killed him. You killed him. False and greedy patriots killed him. Prideful and ambitious politicians killed him. The armed forces of his own nation killed him. The guilt of his death is upon us all. His blood and the blood of 11,000 is on our heads. Each new day brings more oblong gray boxes to rest on our doorstep.

But the madness continues. Last week 176

Americans were killed, and who knows how many Vietnamese, South and North, soldier or civilian. This week there will be more. And each week the slaughter continues, pride and greed increase and we edge nearer to the point of no return, a nuclear holocaust that will devastate the earth and make us all nonviewable.

Madness, madness, madness!

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS IS STILL FLAGRANT IN SAIGON: IS IT FOR THIS AMERICAN BOYS ARE DYING?

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, despite the provisions of the new South Vietnamese Constitution supposedly guaranteeing a free press, the military junta in charge of the South Vietnamese Government continues to disregard those provisions and to suspend newspapers writing in opposition to its policies.

This morning's New York Times reports the suspension of the newspaper Thoi Dai in Saigon merely because it published a report that one of the committees of the Constituent Assembly was about to recommend the invalidation of the September 3 election.

By coincidence, that newspaper is reported to have "followed a generally anti-Government line."

By another coincidence, the newspaper also supported Tran Van Huong, a peace candidate in the September 3 election who finished fourth.

Nothing has changed in South Vietnam since the elections. The repression of civil liberties continues.

I ask unanimous consent that a news item from Saigon published in the New York Times this morning be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Saigon Government Suspends a Paper

Saigon, South Vietnam, September 26.—The Government suspended indefinitely today the newspaper Thoi Dai. It was the fourth Vietnamese language newspaper suspended this month although the new constitution forbids all forms of press censorship.

The proximate cause of Thoi Dai's suspension, informed sources said, was an article it published yesterday. The article reported that a special committee of the Constituent Assembly studying the national elections on Sept. 3 had decided to recommend the invalidation of the balloting.

Nguyen Thanh Vinh, the committee chairman, denied today that any such decision had been reached. He said the committee's report would be turned in according to schedule on Thursday. He added that no vote had yet been taken. The Assembly must decide by Monday whether to validate or reject the election results. It is expected to approve them.

Thoi Dai has followed a generally anti-Government line. It supported Tran Van Huong, who finished fourth in the presidential race.

JUST SHIFTING THE DEFICIT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the imposition of a surtax now would be a mere shifting of a part of the budget deficit from the public to the private sector. I maintain that the private sector should not be asked to shoulder this greater tax burden.

Mr. George Pulay, city editor of the London Times, has written an incisive article concerning the 10-percent surtax proposal. Mr. Pulay points out that Mr. Pierre Rinfret, the noted business economist, is one of those who have grave misgivings about the tax increase and notes that President Johnson's primary expert authority for the successful tax cut of 1964 was Pierre Rinfret. He was a prophet then, and it is my belief that he is still a farsighted economic analyst. I am sure that in time those other economists who also view the administration's tax message as both ill conceived and ill timed will prove more prophetic than those granting unqualified support to this fiscal proposal of very dubious wisdom.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Pulay's article of August 8 be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Trouble Facing U.S. Tax Levy

(By George Pulay)

The Congressional battle over President Johnson's proposed 10 per cent tax surcharge is likely to be a bitter affair. Although the proposal was received initially with surprising calm, opposition to it is mounting steadily, not least because it is felt that some of the statistical evidence produced in support of the tax increase is suspect.

Contrary to some recent public statements, the effective personal tax rate in the United States is today higher than at any time since the last world war. The 1964 income tax cut has been wiped out by the increase in the tax rate as a result of progressive taxes and by substantial rises in social security taxes. In fact personal contributions for social insurance have just about doubled in the past five years to more than $20,000m.

But concern over the tax increase goes much further. Some people see in it a threat to the economy in a year in which many indicators are at best uncertain and in which growth will be limited to around 2 per cent.

One business economist holding strong views on this question is Pierre Rinfret, whose Rinfret-Boston Associates have among their clients General Electric, R.C.A., White Weld, and Chemical Bank. He disagrees strongly with the current tax theory which is basically that the $20,000m. federal cash deficit is excessive and that its refinancing will be highly inflationary. And that raising taxes at the personal and corporate levels will take money from the private sector and lower the federal deficit.

Rinfret feels that as the private sector is also running a deficit—of the order of $26,000m. in the past two years—a rise in corporate tax rates simply shifts the deficit from the Government to private industry. It neither increases nor decreases the deficit so far as Government and business are concerned. With companies unlikely to be willing to cut back on either plant and equipment or on inventories, they would have to satisfy their demand for funds in the open market.

This would lead to a rise in corporate issues and would mean a shift in demand for funds from a borrower who pays lower interest rates, that is the Government, to borrowers paying higher interest rates, that is private industry. Thus a rise in corporate taxes would either depress the corporate demand, which would lead to federal revenues being less than estimated, or it would result in increased monetary pressures.

On the consumer side, a strong case against the tax increase can also be made. United States industry is now working at just below 85 per cent capacity (as in 1962) with steel and car production pointing down. The proposed tax surcharge applies to incomes of above $5,000 only, leaving out about 35 per cent of all taxpayers.

Taking the average United States credit indebtedness of $1,800, repayment over three years represents about 16 per cent of average income of $6,000. The higher tax could cut severely the individual ability to repay loans.

If there are inflationary threats, the anti-surcharge lobby argues, they are in the service sector, not in manufacturing. United States growth in volume this year is put at 2 per cent. and in value at 2½ per cent. For 1968 the estimates are 4 per cent growth in volume and 6½ per cent in value. Of America's 70 million labour force working an average of just over 40 hours a week, some 24 million are working more than 60 hours.

In political terms, the raising of taxes just before election year is a brave step. But it is very doubtful whether the President will get his 10 per cent surcharge. A compromise looks likely. He may also be forced to postpone its introduction until January 1 and this would need even greater political courage.

"VIETNAM: ITS EFFECT ON THE NATION"—AN OUTSTANDING BANKER'S VIEW ON OUR VIETNAM FOLLY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, some 400 executives taking part in a movement called Business Executives' Movement for Vietnam Peace met today in Washington and listened to a memorable address by Marriner S. Eccles entitled "Vietnam—Its Effect on the Nation."

It is scarcely necessary to identify this outstanding American, director of many important business enterprises, president and owner of banks in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, former Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and a preeminent national figure in the world of finance.

This is an address that should be widely circulated. It is not difficult for me to approve much of what Mr. Eccles said because I have been saying some of these things about our Vietnam involvement for the last 3½ years. Mr. Eccles summed up, what he amplified at length, that:

> The most important issue before the country today is our involvement in Vietnam. It affects every facet of our lives and our relationship to the rest of the world. Are the sacrifices imposed justified by the stakes of war?

He answers that question by saying that those sacrifices are not justified. He calls for, as I have, a confession of error for getting in, and urges that we get out.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The visit to this country of Soviet Premier Kosygin has given us all cause to think seriously about the Soviet Union, our relationship to it, and the relationship of both of us to the greater and more compelling world problems. Upon the solution of these problems hangs the survival of both the United States and Russia, and perhaps the world. As Senator Fulbright so aptly stated: "America is showing signs of that arrogance of power which has afflicted, weakened, and in some cases destroyed great nations in the past." Never before has there been such valid reason for the fears that best us. Never before has there been reason to feel that the human race was speeding along the road to possible oblivion.

The most important issue before the country today is our involvement in Vietnam. It affects every facet of our lives and our relationship to the rest of the world. Are the sacrifices imposed justified by the stakes of war? What are the reasons and justification, if any, for our involvement in Vietnam?

For the past twenty years our government has believed that communism intends to conquer the world—by force, if persuasion does not succeed—and that it is the duty of the United States to save the world from that fate. The American picture of aggressive communism is unreal.

The President believes that aggressive, monolithic groups are making war in South Vietnam. Under the Truman Doctrine of containment, communism has continued to spread. It has advanced through revolutions rather than by military aggression. But while communism has been advancing, the power of Russia over the communist world has been waning. It is evident that communism is not a monolithic world power. Russia has its differences with the Yugoslavs. The Chinese and Russians have conflicts of national interest which override communism. The threat of a united communist world does not exist. National rivalries divide the communist states as well as democracies.

It is apparent that communist countries are as intensely nationalist as others. They crave independence and resent interference. They will fight against domination by foreigners—whether they be capitalist or communist.

The Johnson Administration believes that the war in Vietnam is being made solely by communist intervention from without. This does not explain the tenacity of the Viet Cong. They are not Russians, Chinese or North Vietnamese communists; they are South Vietnamese. They are fighting for national liberation and the unity of South Vietnam, the causes for which others, including Americans, have fought.

The Administration sees every rebellion as the result of a deep plot out of Moscow or Peking, when it usually is the result of crushing poverty, hunger and intolerable living conditions. The aim of revolution, no matter what its ideology, is to achieve self-determination, economic security, racial equality and freedom. Let us not forget that while our road was not via communism, we did, as a nation, emerge from revolution.

We might as well face it: there may be more communist countries in the world. But we need not panic at this. Communist nations vary widely; each has a different version of communist theory to fit its own problems. The more of these countries there are, the greater their diversity.

Communism is only part of a broad movement: the rising of desperate people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We crush insurrection in one place, only to find a revolution—whether communist, socialist or nationalist—springing up somewhere else. With military bases around the world and ships in every ocean, a revolution takes place in Cuba, 90 miles off our shore.

How can we reconcile what we are doing to the South Vietnamese under the guise of saving them from communism? We have destroyed vast areas of their country. We have killed, wounded or burned hundreds of thousands of children, as well as countless parents, brothers, husbands and sons. The family has been smashed. We can only guess at the terrible long-range social effects that will result from our actions. No wonder the great majority of the people do not consider us their savior, but hate us and want us to get out of their country.

Despite this, the United States military has increasingly taken over the war. In 1965 one American was killed for eight South Vietnamese; in 1966, one for two; and to date in 1967, one for one. U.S. casualties through 1966 were over 6,000 killed and almost 38,000 wounded. Projected for 1967 alone, based on actual figures for the first six months: 11,190 killed; 64,264 wounded, making a projected total to the end of this year of 19,344 killed and 102,002 wounded. We have lost 832 planes as well as hundreds of helicopters.

Based on the following reports by Secretary of Defense McNamara, it is apparent that we are making little progress after three years of fighting and cannot win a decisive victory:

In 1964, "McNamara told Congress that the U.S. hopes to withdraw most of its troops from Vietnam before the end of 1965."

In 1965, he said, "It will be a long war."

In October, 1966, he said, "I see no reason to expect any significant increase in the level of the tempo of operations in South Vietnam."

Communist strength in South Vietnam has increased from 120,000 in January 1965, to an estimated 298,000 at present. However, North Vietnam has committed only one-fifth of its regular army. Based on the estimate that guerrillas must be outnumbered four to one, the communists have more than matched the American buildup to 476,000 now. It is no wonder that General Westmoreland claims he needs five additional U.S. divisions: more than 200,000 men.

General Thieu recently said: "We have not enough Allied soldiers which we need to win the war. We need a big amount of troops to be everywhere, to do many jobs at the same time." At this time the President might reconsider his September 1964, statement: "We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved . . . and get tied down in a land war in Asia."

During the past two years Russia has added to the enemy arsenal in South Vietnam rockets, artillery, heavy mortars, automatic infantry weapons and flame throwers, while in North Vietnam it has supplied fighter planes and anti-aircraft guns. The Russians are reported to be supplying 75 per cent of all military supplies and have said they will continue to furnish all military aid necessary. The Chinese are furnishing part of the small arms, clothing and food, and have said they will assist North Vietnam with troops whenever requested to do so. Both countries have indicated they would enter the war, if necessary, to keep the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong from being defeated. It is quite apparent that neither Russia or China are willing for the United States to achieve a victory over the communists and to establish a powerful military base on the mainland of Asia.

If Russia were conducting daily bombing raids against an American ally, as we are doing against a Russian ally, it is inconceivable that we would limit ourselves to providing only military equipment, as they are doing.

What is the effect of our policy on the nation? The Vietnam War is responsible for the most serious economic, financial and political problems in this country. It is responsible for the huge federal deficit which, without a tax increase, could run to more than $25 billion. In order to curb the resulting inflationary pressures the government has proposed a 10 per cent surtax on individuals and corporations, which, if enacted, would reduce the deficit, on an annual basis, between $9 and $10 billion.

The war is directly causing a substantial increase in the deficiency in our international balance of payments, which is already serious, as we are by far the world's largest short-term debtor, now owing nearly $26 billion. It is reducing our free gold to meet these obligations to less than $2 billion.

Also, the war is creating inflationary pressures in nearly every field—increased costs of living, going up at about 3 per cent per year—a great shortage of skilled workers—increasing strikes and exorbitant demands by union labor—and higher interest rates, in all categories, due to the heavy demand for credit.

The costs of war do not end with the cessation of hostilities. Excluding the Vietnam War, at the end of 1965 we had approximately 20,600,000 veterans. Total veterans' benefits paid to the end of 1965 were $134 billion; by the end of this year it is estimated they will be $147 billion. In 1966 we were spending in excess of $6 billion per year for veterans' benefits, and the Korean War alone is costing more than $700 million a year. The annual operating expense of the Veterans' Administration hospitals has now passed the billion dollar mark. In addition, during 1965 the land and construction costs of medical facilities was $1.4 billion. Veterans costs will grow rapidly as long as the war lasts, and will continue for decades. The ultimate astronomical expense is difficult to conceive. In the financial sense, a war is never over.

But the real tragedy is not financial; it is the useless suffering of the millions of our people whose sons, husbands and brothers are drawn into this useless conflict unwillingly and are killed and maimed for life—*not* in defense of their country—but because of our incompetent and ill-advised leadership.

I believe Russia is glad to see us bogged down in Vietnam, diverting multi-billions of our resources and millions of our manpower, while it is rapidly gaining in the nuclear arms race. While the U.S. lags in its nuclear defense, the Soviet Union is rushing ahead. There are some who believe today's nuclear balance has already shifted to Russia.

At a time when defense against missile attack is still in the talking stage in this country, the Soviet Union is racing ahead with unprecedented speed.

Of even greater concern to us at this time is China's rapid growth in the development of nuclear weapons. It is now estimated that between 1972 and 1975 China will be a first-class nuclear power with a full arsenal of H-bombs. The Chinese ICBM will be in production, with an intercontinental range of 6,000 miles. This would make it possible for the Chinese to hit most of the world; the northern stretches of the U.S., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and Detroit would be particularly vulnerable. Meanwhile, we are spending over $2 billion a month on Vietnam instead of preparing to deter the rapidly atomic strength of Russia and China.

Our foreign aid since World War II has totaled $128 billion—$91 billion in economic aid and $37 billion in military aid—with dubious results in many instances. The United States is pledged to defend 43 countries under specific treaties and agreements. In addition, a commitment to stop aggression covers all the countries in the Middle East, and any country where the U.S. has a military base is promised support.

While we've been spending tens of billions abroad, our cities are exploding in violent protest as a result of our injustice, neglect, and failure to meet the promises of the "Great Society." Our total estimated Vietnam and foreign aid budget this year is $30 billion; whereas, the Great Society budget is approximately 40 per cent of that amount—$12.5 billion—which is half of what we spent in Vietnam alone.

Senator Charles Percy says: "If we continue to spend $66 million a day trying to save the 16 million people of South Vietnam while leaving the plight of 20 million urban poor in our own country unresolved—then I think we have our priorities terribly confused."

Public and Congressional reaction to our world-wide involvement, especially in Vietnam, is forcing the Administration to reconsider its role as world policeman.

The Vietnam debacle, tragic as it is, may yet be a blessing in disguise if it forces us to recognize our staggering failures at home. Runaway crime, delinquency, riots in our cities, loss of respect for law and order, and the rebellion of frustrated youth—all spring in part from this. No wonder Russia had this to say about the U.S.: "Only in mockery can the word 'free' be applied to a society which cannot provide tolerable living conditions and democratic rights to a considerable part of its population."

It is pathetic that the most powerful country in the world, with 6 per cent of its population and producing 40 per cent of its wealth, should have lost the respect of most of the world. The world, with few exceptions, would like us to leave Vietnam. The continued confidence of Japan, our greatest asset in Asia, is dependent upon our getting out of Vietnam. The same is true with all Western European governments and our friends in Latin America. We cannot survive, no matter how powerful we are, in a world without friends.

With the war having these disastrous effects on the nation, it is madness to continue our ruthless pursuit in Vietnam. To withdraw is sanity. The consequences of withdrawal cannot possibly be as disastrous for this nation as pursuing our present course. The greatest service we could render the Vietnamese is to withdraw from their country, leaving them to negotiate a conclusion to the war, which is their right.

There is something intrinsically wrong with the idea that the United States should participate in negotiations to decide the future of Vietnam. We are an outside power, which is true also of China and the Soviet Union. To have the future of Vietnam decided by outside powers is a violation of self-determination. Whatever negotiations go on should be among the Vietnamese themselves—each group negotiating from its own position of strength, uninfluenced by outside powers.

If the U.S. insists on negotiating, it should be with Russia and China, as the sinews of war are being furnished by these countries. Without these supplies the war would collapse. In any case, the United States cannot through negotiations create strength for any segment of a future government in South Vietnam. The presence of the United States can only distort the true balance of forces, and only a settlement representing this balance can bring about a stable government.

No one seems to be able to show in what way a communist Vietnam would be bad. Under Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam would be quite as likely to maintain its independence as has Tito in Yugoslavia. Ho Chi Minh is unquestionably the choice of the Vietnamese people, both North and South. Both Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower have stated that Ho Chi Minh was so popular he would win an election in Vietnam. While Ho is a communist, he is not Russian, he is not Chinese, he is Vietnamese—and Russian, Chinese and Vietnamese communism may differ widely. It is even possible that our best interests would be served by having Ho Chi Minh's communist regime as a buffer against the Chinese communists.

History does not show that a nation that liquidates a bad venture suffers from loss of prestige. Proud, powerful England surrendered to the thirteen American colonies and did not suffer for it. More recently, France moved out voluntarily from Algeria and Indochina. Today France has more world prestige than ever before. Russia pulled its missiles out of Cuba; its prestige has not suffered.

Hans Morgenthau has written: "Is it really a boon to the prestige of the most powerful nation on earth to be bogged down in a war which it is neither able to win nor can afford to lose? This is the real issue which is presented by the argument of prestige." We should be less interested in saving face and more interested in saving lives. It is not easy for a proud nation to admit it has blundered, but throughout history great men and nations have gained stature by so doing.

Getting out of Vietnam will enable us to re-establish a friendly relationship with Russia and thereby bring about a balance of power in the world, which would tend to deter any aggressive policy on the part of China. So long as we are in Vietnam, Russia and China consider us their enemy. Kosygin made this crystal clear in his statement before the United Nations and in his conference with Johnson at Glassboro.

We should also recognize China diplomatically, open our doors to Chinese trade and travel, and help bring China into the United Nations. We should no longer ignore one-fourth of the world's population as though it did not exist.

In conclusion: What can we expect from the stricken Vietnamese nation but hatred, deep and abiding? Their farms and villages have been laid waste, their families scattered to the winds. Their husbands and sons are dead, maimed or missing. And children, orphaned and grotesquely burned, have been seen running through the rubble in packs.

We can never blot out the deed which stands as a testimony of man's inhumanity to man. Nor can we really make amends for the enormity of our crime against these people, who know us not, but whom we have chosen to save from communism.

But we can try. We can make a beginning. And, in conscience, how can that beginning be less than immediate withdrawal of our evil presence, because that is what it has proved to be in the lives of the Vietnamese. And we can humbly, with vigor, and never ceasing, do everything in the power of a rich and repentant nation to heal, and rebuild, and reassure.

The Vietnamese will never forget us, and it is to be hoped that we will never forget the Vietnamese. Because it is this Vietnam tragedy which has shown us ourselves as others see us: a nation to be feared instead of loved, flushed with pride and sure of omnipotence. An arrogant nation, not qualified to handle power wisely.

While the hour is late, it is not yet impossible to turn the page. Men and nations have made new beginnings before. And out of defeat, there has often come victory—and what a victory it could be for this nation, so bountifully endowed—to reverse its image, make itself loved and admired and revered, so that it could stand forth before the emerging peoples around the globe, as an example of what they might wish to become.

But the road is long—and we must win much forgiveness. So let us begin.

A MORALLY UNTENABLE COURSE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the debate about American involvement in Vietnam is escalating. It appears to me that even though there is much more being said in the debate, the conclusions being offered are fewer.

In fact, the conclusions are being narrowed to these: "If the administration refuses to win the war, it's time to get out." This plainly put "either-or" is the conclusion of an editorial published in the News-Sentinel, a daily newspaper in Fort Wayne, Ind. It is important to note that the argument used for this conclusion is that America's present course is morally untenable.

Because the editorial states what I believe many Americans are thinking and saying, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Morally Untenable Course

"It was the best of times. It was the worst of times."

This Dickensian opening to "A Tale of Two Cities" set the scene for his powerful novel involving the French Revolution. Its sentiments are particularly apt for us today.

For the United States this is, indeed, the best of times and the worst of times. Never have so many had it so good. Statistically, we have record income, record employment, record production, materially, we seemingly have it made.

But there is a deep, underlying disquiet in the United States today. We are a nation divided on our course in Vietnam. We are a nation aghast at the civil turmoil in the streets of many of our major cities. We are a nation unsettled by our seeming inability to come to grips with the problems of our Negro minority.

And there is a growing inclination among thoughtful men to tie Vietnam abroad and civil unrest at home together. While we are not at all sure they should be, we can understand the feeling that our domestic problems far overshadow our commitments to the government of South Vietnam.

Our own editorial stand on the Vietnam War can be summed up simply:

The News-Sentinel opposed our involvement in Vietnam to begin with. We contended that a handful of "observers" would soon be parlayed into a full force. We agreed with the late General Douglas MacArthur that American involvement in an Asiatic land war would be suicidal.

As the war was escalated, and "observers" became American soldiers locked in what Secretary of State Dean Rusk called a "dirty, untidy disagreeable war," The News-Sentinel urged that we either win the war or get out. We insisted the apparent lack of a viable plan to prosecute the war by the Johnson Administration was turning Vietnam into a massive meatgrinder, with attrition of American manpower and dollars the only prognosis. But we were hopeful that the Administration could shape up some sort of a viable, peaceful solution to the "dirty" business.

We have now lost that hope.

A few days ago, The News-Sentinel carried a story reflecting the latest casualty figures in Vietnam. Last week, 108 U.S. servicemen were killed in Vietnam. Another 883 were wounded. It was about an average week.

The casualties brought the total of U.S. dead in Vietnam to 12,605. In addition, a total of 77,153 servicemen have been wounded; 708 are missing. Total casualties in the Vietnam War to date now stand at 90,826 American servicemen.

The Johnson Administration apparently is content to continue the war at the cost of about 100 American lives a week and some 800 other servicemen being wounded. The Johnson Administration is apparently willing to spend more than $20 billion annually to prosecute a war in which our fortunes are worse today than they were several years ago.

There is a disposition on the part of the Administration to ignore the advice of many recognized experts on the kind of warfare being fought in Vietnam. It refuses to establish blockades on land and sea aimed at cutting off supplies to the enemy—much of it carried in the vessels of our so-called allies. As a result, the prospect of the contending forces sitting down at a peace table over Vietnam seems more remote than ever.

The News-Sentinel feels the Johnson Administration's present conduct of the war is morally untenable and fiscally suicidal.

If the Administration refuses to win the war, it's time to get out!

FOUR-HUNDRED-MILE HIKE TO ENLIST IN U.S. MARINES

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in today's press there was published a picture of a young West Virginia who has just completed a 400-

mile hike to Camp Lejeune, at Jacksonville, N.C.

The young man, Julius C. Foster, 28, of Welch, made the hike to demonstrate that not all Americans are draft card burners or the like.

On his arrival at camp, Foster, a Marine Corps reservist who recently graduated from West Virginia University, asked to enlist and was immediately sworn in.

While I do not advocate that every young American male walk 400 miles to report for enlistment, I do believe that Foster's gesture is symbolic of the patriotism of this Nation. It speaks for the overwhelming majority of decent, law-abiding, industrious Americans who realize that laws are not made to be mocked and that civic and patriotic duty is not a thing of the past.

I commend this young man for his gesture and wish him well during his tour of duty with the Marines.

IMPROVING WATER AND RAIL TRANSPORT COORDINATION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the leadership of the University of Indiana in developing forward thinking on the problems of the economy is well illustrated again by a study session on transportation held September 6 at Bloomington under the direction of Dr. L. L. Waters, professor of transportation. Some fresh and original ideas on how substantial savings in transportation costs may be achieved through better coordination between railroad and water services were advanced by W. J. Barta, president of the Mississippi Valley Barge Line Co. Our universities are increasingly becoming seedbeds for new ideas for industry and agriculture and it is gratifying that the University of Indiana is in the forefront of this trend which is so vital to the development of our economy. I wish to share Mr. Barta's remarks with the Senate; therefore I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Is Better Water-Rail Coordination Possible?—A Pragmatic New Look at Water-Rail Coordination Problems

(Remarks of W. J. Barta, president, Mississippi Valley Barge Line Co., American Society of Traffic and Transportation, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind., Sept. 6, 1967)

My topic today is the somewhat ponderous one of "Fitting Water Transport into Sophisticated Distribution Systems." The title suggests something very complicated and difficult. In actual fact, my subject is a simple one.

In a rapidly expanding economy, the demand for freight transportation services is expected to double by 1980. Responding to this expanding demand will require heavy new investment from the privately owned transportation companies of all modes. Some estimates put the amount to be spent on new and improved transportation equipment in the next five years alone at $27 billion dollars.

The magnitude of the investment outlays needed and the rapidly expanding demand dictate the need for a new examination of the old question: Are the nation's transport resources being used with optimum efficiency? The answer is almost certainly: no. Students of the subject believe that a major breakdown in efficiency results from the failure of the different modes to fit their services together as a single system in which the traffic is permitted to move by the most efficient routing, cost and service factors considered.

For as long as I can remember, the transportation experts have been dissatisfied with the ability of the transportation industry to fit together the cost and service advantages of the different modes. Imagine a computer equipped with critical information as to the service characteristics and true comparative efficiency of the different modes and capable of making impartial recommendations as to the routing of traffic. It is the opinion of the experts that if routing decisions were made objectively, the traffic pattern would be very different and the nation's freight bill much less. They have been particularly concerned that the potential economies of water and rail coordination have been under-utilized.

The nation's rivers are strategically located to supplement the rail networks on major movements of coal, grain, fertilizers, steel, chemicals, metallic and non-metallic ores, petroleum products and a long list of other basic commodities which move in quantities of millions of tons. The east-west main line of the Ohio River system connects with the main north-south line of the Mississippi River. Including the Missouri River, the low cost water highway extends almost from the Canadian border to the Gulf and from the Appalachian mountains to the Rockies to provide an economical adjunct to rail service for the mid-America region. Great Lakes, coastwise and intercoastal services and other river and canal systems provide equally strategically located supplements to the efficient overland rail network.

In an economy in which rising costs of materials and wages are becoming a matter of increasing concern, intensive utilization of low cost water transportation provides a major opportunity to achieve substantial savings in production and distribution costs for both industry and agriculture.

The simple fact is that freight can be transported by water at a fifth to a half of the cost of transporting it overland. Fitting this capability into the distribution pattern is an important objective of any cost-conscious traffic manager.

The opening up of new water-rail routes could save the economy millions of dollars in transport costs. This in turn would benefit consumers through lower prices, contribute to slowing inflation and improve the nation's ability to compete in foreign markets.

Apart from these considerations, there is a growing concern with the continued effectiveness of healthy competition in stimulating new investment in improved transport services. As the super-railroads are formed from the mergers, shippers are increasingly finding competition diminished. A water-rail route equal to or greater in efficiency than the all-rail route can often supply that practical competitive alternative so necessary to healthy progress.

Much more intensive use of ocean, Great Lakes and river highways for domestic commerce in combination with rail is, I believe, an idea whose time has come.

I do not mention water-truck coordination simply because this is now so good that there is little room for improvement. Wherever water service requires the supplement of truck service, the connection is readily available. The truck lines and the water carriers work in friendly harmony in developing new traffic and improving the service.

But rail-water coordination is dominated by out-moded tradition, unfriendliness in business relationships and a vast ignorance of capabilities of combined rail and water service.

The barriers standing in the way of opening up new water-rail routings seem to most observers to be largely artificial. William H. Tucker, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, said last month: "I suggest that each of the various carrier modes suffers from a severe case of channel-mindedness, continually fortifying their modal fences, boundaries and prerogatives." As you know, the Commission is proposing new legislation for through route and joint rate authority. But Mr. Tucker recognizes that—and I quote again—"the real impetus for this change should have come from the transportation industry itself."

It is never too late to try the voluntary route. We can perhaps take heart from the fact that in the early days of regulation, the same channel-mindedness dominated relations between railroads. The railroads were once just as hostile to each other as they have recently been to the water carriers. The most difficult single problem seemed to have been the lack of friendly businesslike relationships.

Two paragraphs from the ICC's Annual Report for 1888 tell the story. They could have been written to describe the intermodal climate in 1967.

"An impartial observer is compelled to say that the methods so frequently resorted to for the remedy of supposed grievances or for the punishment of supposed wrongs are methods which do not belong to the present age . . . To make the adversary feel and fear the power to inflict injury is often the first and principal thought, and a rate is cut when in a ruder age it would have been a throat."

And again:

"But the evils arising from the want of a friendly business relationship between the railroads fall largely upon the public also . . . The difference between performing the legal duty grudgingly, though to the letter of the bond, or on the other hand performing it in an accommodating spirit and with the purpose to make the service as valuable as possible, may in some cases be the difference between a general annoyance and a great public convenience. A short road may sometimes make itself little better than a public nuisance by simply abstaining from all accommodation that could not by law be forced from it."

A recent Department of Commerce study of intermodal coordination directed by Professor Merrill J. Roberts of the University of Pittsburgh suggests that some railroads today may well be making a "public nuisance" of themselves in this context. The study notes, and I quote: "Railroads have been markedly reluctant to cooperate with barge lines in establishing coordinated services."

But as well as stating the problem, the study may also have provided the clue to the answer. Elsewhere the study notes this important fact: "The railroads' traditional orientation has been to output and sales. Recently, however, they have been forced in the direction of profit orientation by competitive pressures."

Perhaps the brightest prospect for better coordination may well be the old and reliable profit motive. It has been traditional thinking among railroads that a rail-water connection is somehow bad for the railroad. On significant movements of coal, fertilizers, grain and phosphates, some movements have recently been developed which yield particular railroads new and profitable traffic. Under such circumstances, there is an opportunity to overcome traditional reluctance. The water carrier, however, often has difficulty getting a hearing in the first place.

An effective barrier to a more efficient rail-water movement which results in substantial savings to the customer is sometimes the regional rate bureau. A proposed rate, profitable to the proposing railroad, may be seen by another member of the rate bureau as a threat to a "rate structure." The affected railroad will make sure the rate proposal is voted down in the bureau meeting.

I know of a number of such instances. Last year a major railroad proposed a rate reduction on bauxite ore between St. Louis and Mexico, Mo., to connect with a barge movement from the Gulf. The Western Trunk Line Committee turned the proposing railroad down because it believed the new rate would seriously affect the all-rail movement from Mobile and possibly other sources.

That a barge-rail movement which is demonstrably economic and efficient for shippers and carriers alike, and needed and wanted by both, can be frustrated under these conditions suggests the need for reform of the system.

Competition based on superior efficiency is in the public interest, but competition which succeeds simply because a rate bureau has the naked power, as the ICC in 1888 suggested, of a "ruder age" is something else again. Blocking a more efficient route would seem to me to be an abuse of a rate bureau's function.

Recently, the Milwaukee railroad attempted to make itself competitive on the large volumes of corn and soybeans gathered into upper Missouri and upper Mississippi River crossings by truck. It proposed substantial reductions between points on its line to encourage rail-barge movements via river ports including Davenport and Sabula, Iowa on the Mississippi River and Council Bluffs on the Missouri. The rate bureau knocked out the proposal. Again a more efficient route was blocked despite the public benefits to the farmers and shippers of the water-rail coordination.

Veterans of the water-rail coordination battle know that the railroads sometimes use other sanctions. If a shipper gets too interested in a more efficient water-rail routing, mention is made of the difficulties he may have getting supplies of freight cars. Similarly, if a railroad gets too interested in promoting a profitable rail-water movement, someone politely mentions that connecting railroads may retaliate by re-routing important traffic over other rail lines. These are tactics of a "ruder age." One has to assume, however, that there is *no* nationwide conspiracy of the railroad industry to block water-rail movements and that efficient utilization of the nation's transport resources is a goal to which the railroad industry subscribes. The basic assumption must be that self-interest of individual railroads, shipper requirements for more economical movements, and the obligation and desire to provide the public with efficient services are forces which can be relied upon just as much in this segment of the economy as they can be relied upon in every other segment of the economy.

It is customary in these forums to talk theory and generality. I am departing from that tradition in citing these specific examples where rail and barge lines jointly wanted to improve water-rail coordination and are frustrated by the rate bureau. There are many other specific cases where a water-rail service would result in substantial savings to shippers and consumers. I suggest that intensive new studies be instituted on potential water-rail movements to uncover possible new examples.

Such movements should meet these criteria.

a. A reduction in the overall rate for the shipper or receiver.

b. An equally efficient water-rail service having the advantage of providing shipper and receiver with a competitive routing.

c. At least the same revenue for the railroad as received from the all-rail connection.

d. Expense of transfer at the intermediate water-rail connection to be counted as part of the water-rail rate.

Among the most fruitful fields of enquiry could certainly be the movements of manufactured iron and steel products. Oil field pipe is a good example. Water service from the Pittsburgh area to Kansas City or Memphis combined with rail service at a rate equivalent to the rail revenue from the all-rail route would provide savings of about $3 a ton to receivers in Oklahoma and Texas. Many such instances might even permit a larger revenue for the connecting railroad and still provide the shipper with a very substantial reduction. Similar savings can be shown on water-rail movements of other steel products out of Pittsburgh to the West.

A study of the grain gathering rates would probably show the potential for large savings over present exempt truck charges. A gathering rate which attempts to block access to the river crossings simply encourages alternative means of reaching the rivers. Low cost water service is too valuable to be destroyed by such tactics. Such studies should determine whether barge lines, grain terminals, or shippers or a cooperative combination of all three, would do well to think in terms of "renting a train," as recently proposed by the Illinois Central, to perform shuttle gathering services for river crossing elevators.

Why should the railroads cooperate? First, encouragement of the most efficient routing means more business for everyone. As a matter of enlightened self-interest, cooperation may well be the best road to maximizing profits. Second, in the long run, shippers won't pay the higher rates. The interior industries will simply move to the waterways. Third, failure to develop a reasonable connecting service between rail and water common carriers simply encourages further shipper investment in private carriage.

We could be here until Chirstmas listing all the reasons the railroads may never cooperate in developing efficient water-rail services. But one objection of the railroads is worth a comment. They complain vigorously of the present law which specifically forbids them to own a water carrier, the so-called Panama Canal Act. The law was passed because so many water carriers on the Great Lakes and in the coastwise and intercoastal trades seemed to disappear shortly after having been acquired by railroads. Since then, though railroads have attempted at various times to acquire water carriers, they have never been able to persuade anyone that rail ownership would not mean sudden death for the water carrier industry.

A major factor, I suggest, in the present impasse on the ownership question is ignorance of the water carrier business on the part of the railroads. If they knew more about the economic potential of water transportation, and had a record of cooperation with water carriers in opening water-rail routes where such routes provide more efficient or equally efficient transportation services as the all-rail routes, the water carriers, the shippers and the Congress might feel differently about railroad ownership.

Perhaps, if railroads and barge lines were free to invest in each other's businesses, considerably short of control, but sufficient to serve as an incentive for understanding each other's problems, potentials and mutual interests, more progress could be made. There might even be an exchange of directorships, between a barge line and a railroad.

This might require Commission approval, but an experiment designed to promote better coordination of service through this sort of mutual educational exchange might be cordially received by the Commission and the Congress if both railroad and barge line asked for it. The question of control could then be taken up after a five year experimental period and progress in opening rail-water routes reviewed.

The long dispute over common ownership has tired everyone. The public is interested in concrete results demonstrating more economical use of transportation resources. I have proposed the opening up of new water-rail routes. I have proposed an exchange of directorships for educational purposes.

While anyone in transportation is, by definition, an optimist, or he would not be in the business, I know that change comes slowly and in small steps and that in transportation, as in any business, tradition counts for more than new thinking. A. N. Whitehead, the philosopher, put it well when he said: "We cannot think first and act afterwards. From the moment of birth we are immersed in action, and can only fitfully guide it by taking thought."

Perhaps we can fitfully guide a move in the direction of opening up more efficient use of transportation resources by sensible water-rail combinations. I'm certainly willing to try. After all, the old hostilities are both artificial and unbusinesslike.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will resume the consideration of the bill.

Under the previous order, the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is recognized for 40 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have requested this time today in order to marshal the arguments for what I consider to be the essential elements of the pending bill.

Certainly, one of the major issues before us is the question of money. The pending bill would add $198 million to the antipoverty program for fiscal 1968, with most of that going to special private enterprise projects, which are my special care and concern, and for which I shall urge support in these remarks to the Senate. It would also add, over a 2-year period, $2,800 million for the new Clark-Javits emergency jobs amendment.

The first question that arises is national priorities then, why should we appropriate this amount of money—well in excess of $2 billion under title I, and a 2-year program amounting to $2,800 million under title II—at a time when we are being pressed for economy, and when we have problems financing the war in Vietnam?

My answer to that question, Mr. President, is that a proper view of our national priorities requires it. We are giving first national priority to the war in Vietnam. I say that is proper. It is a war, and whatever may be my views on it—and it is not appropriate to discuss them at this moment—we must pay for it, and it is entitled to the first priority if for no other reason than because it involves the lives of our servicemen overseas. Its cost is $2 billion a month, roughly speaking—which is, in round figures, something like 20 percent of the Federal budget.

But when we get beyond that, then what, Mr. President? It is at that point that I feel we have a right to argue as to what we feel the order of national priorities should be.

In my judgment, the next national priority immediately after the Vietnam war is the crisis in the cities. Let us economize at the expense of other programs which do not bear on this crisis in the cities; but let us not undercut the programs which are our best assets in that struggle.

In the antipoverty and emergency employment legislation the Senate has before it the most critically important bill of the year to avert a winter of discontent and another summer of violence.

Mr. President, notwithstanding this fact, the administration, in my judgement, has been remiss in its estimate of the national priorities. The President took a very strong stand when it came to a $20 million rat control bill, but we find now, however, that the White House is on the other side when we propose a job program of a size calculated to have some real impact on the problem. And that statement goes for the provisions of the antipoverty title itself, title I, and the $198 million which I have described, as well as for the provisions of the emergency employment bill, title II.

In both cases, it is by now no secret that the administration has been neutral or against the expanded effort rather than in favor of it.

It seems to me that this represents a downgrading of the priority to which the cities are entitled by virtue of their crushing problems.

NEW PRIVATE ENTERPRISE PROGRAMS

Mr. President, I should like to analyze and urge the Senate to approve this $198 million in authorization which has been added in title I.

The bulk of this new money, $118 million, is earmarked for three new program innovations sponsored by me which relate directly to private sector participation in the war on poverty. And this is money that should have an important multiplier effect in terms of stimulating added private investment in the antipoverty programs.

It would be a mistake to suppose that there is slack in the President's request of $2.06 billion to permit these programs to be carried out even if the committee's request is cut back to the budget figure. By and large, the budget figure involves no money for the expansion of programs—for example, Headstart will receive the same amount it got last year, and the Job Corps will get less than it actually expended last year. If we want to get private enterprise into the war on poverty, it is going to take this new money.

The first of these new programs is in many ways the most exciting. Section 123(a)(8) of the bill, added at my initiative, establishes a new program of incentives to private industry to hire and train the hard-core poor. We have received numerous reports in the committee that the present incentives are not sufficient to encourage private firms to hire these workers, who generally require substantially more education and training before they become productive. Typically, under the on-the-job training program within the Manpower Development and Training Act or the Neighborhood Youth Corps, only a maximum of $25 a week is allowed to the employer to cover extra training expenses. Not only is this amount often inadequate to cover the costs of training, but it in no way reimburses the employer for the lower productivity of the new worker. Nevertheless, the Department of Labor reports that on-the-job training is particularly effective where employers are willing to join the program, since, first, it results in almost certain placement, second, insures that the worker is being trained in a skill which is related to his later employment and is being trained according to the employers' own preferred techniques; and third, is directed toward placing workers in careers in the private sector rather than in Government work.

The measure which I have suggested therefore builds directly upon the concept of on-the-job training and makes it practical in industrial terms for business to take on more on-the-job trainees.

There have been other suggestions offered in recent years to encourage private industry to take on more of the manpower training effort. The Human Investment Act, of which I am a cosponsor, seeks to do this by providing a tax credit for a certain percentage of training costs. The Labor Department has constantly opposed this approach, however, on the ground that it would get the Internal Revenue Service into the business of overseeing training programs and would be too inflexible in its operation.

I believe this new approach overcomes those objections. First, the operation of the program will be lodged in the Labor Department, under a delegation agreement from the OEO. Second, it allows maximum flexibility so that the Secretary can tailor the inducements on a case-by-case or industry-by-industry basis, providing no more than is necessary to do the job. One of the difficulties with a tax approach is that it establishes a fixed subsidy not variable according to specific situations—a subsidy which may later prove to be too big or too small in actual operation.

Under this new section in the bill, the Secretary would provide reimbursements to establishments for the added costs attributable to hiring these workers, including such costs as those of on-the-job counseling and training, company transportation to and from ghetto areas, and the costs of sending recruiters into slum or depressed rural areas.

It also allows the Secretary of Labor to reimburse employers for limited periods of time when an employee might not be fully productive. Under this rubric, costs such as those of spoilage of work or of down-time on machines could be reimbursed. This is not a subsidy of normal operating costs, but rather a reimbursement of abnormal costs incurred by hiring the untrained and badly educated. The Secretary would also have authority to provide further financial incentives if the reimbursement of added costs alone were not enough; for example, he might negotiate contracts on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis for the training and employment of persons specified by him.

The program is established on an experimental basis for the first year—$10 million in new funds was added specifically for this purpose, though the committee report makes clear that the Department is expected to allocate at least $15 million during fiscal year 1968 for these activities. I am hopeful that as this approach is worked out, we can slowly replace many of the classroom training programs now in use by the Government at great per capita cost.

One of the objections the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] made to this provision of the bill when he spoke on his amendment yesterday was that this would have to be a community action program effort and would have to have a community action agency to carry it out.

I wish the RECORD to show that that statement is not accurate since two provisions of the law state that the Director of OEO may handle programs of this nature directly if he finds that it is ineffective to do it through a community action program—and those are sections 122(b) and 123(c) of the bill which is before the Senate.

(At this point, Mr. HART assumed the chair.)

Mr. JAVITS. The second program in the private enterprise category, for which some $83 million was added to the budget request of $22 million, is the so-called Kennedy-Javits special impacts program found in title I–D of the act. Many of the changes in this program have come about by virtue of a bill which I introduced entitled "The Business and Industrial Development Act," S. 2203, on August 2, 1967.

The economic development aspects of that bill were separated in committee from the small business provisions, and Senator Kennedy and I jointly worked the economic development aspects of my bill into the special impacts program. Many of these changes were, in fact, within the intent of the special impacts program as enacted last year, but were not implemented by the Department of Labor. Thus, we have now specified that incentives may be provided to business to locate in or near eligible slum and depressed rural areas in order to provide jobs for persons in those areas.

Unlike the program now in the act, the new version of the special impact program recognizes that rural areas must also be covered, since outmigration from these areas is one of the key causes of urban poverty, and that all installations need not be located in the areas themselves, so long as they provide employment for area residents. Thus, it may be preferable, from the point of view of land availability and relocation costs, to place an industrial plant outside the slum and then reimburse a company for providing transportation for its workers.

Other new provisions added to the special impacts program are a requirement that emphasis be placed on developing ownership and managerial skills among the poor themselves, and an application of other Federal resources under urban renewal and the Economic Development Act to the special impacts package. We contemplate that the economic and small business development aspects of the new program will be delegated to the Department of Commerce.

The third of the new programs encompasses $25 million for small business counseling and technical assistance, to be administered by the Department of Commerce. Under this program, special effort is to be devoted to urban ghetto areas and to using the full resources of the private sector to provide business counseling and training. Thus, the bill looks toward the development of an on-the-job-training program for new entrepreneurs in existing businesses, and provides incentives to business to award subcontracts to enterprises in slums and ghettos and to aid in the upgrading of these potential subcontractors.

EMERGENCY JOBS BILL

The next major section of the bill which warrants our attention is the Emergency Employment Act, or the Clark-Javits bill as it is called. I might point out that my name being on the bill is fortuitous, as the bill originally was Senator CLARK's creation. My contribution was in fashioning it to give the maximum encouragement to private enterprise, and to provide for authorization to use the funds for supportive education and training.

The Emergency Employment Act provides the most direct approach to the problem of poverty and the crisis of the cities. Unlike education or housing programs, or the model cities approach, job creation and employment activity have an immediate impact in alleviating poverty. They provide money in the pocket and self-respect, and have a multiplier effect as the new money buys products and services for the employees.

Everywhere our subcommittee went we heard the same judgment—"Jobs are first," "What we need are jobs." And by providing jobs we can affect the climate in the cities before next summer, before the frustrations of poverty again break out. This is not legislating at the point of a gun; rather, it is doing what is morally right and what is pragmatically needed by this country. Let us not ignore frustration and degradation simply because it has become so acute that it has pushed a small minority into violence. What irony that would be—for Congress to refuse to do more because the situation is getting worse. In this bill, the Senate has major opportunity to do something constructive to avert a replay of this summer's outbreaks. Let us recognize the crucial nature of this bill—this is our major opportunity and perhaps our last chance to do something in time.

Some oppose this bill because they think it will simply be makework. I reject that argument. Public service jobs need not be makework; the report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress estimated that there were over 5 million public service jobs which could be usefully created. Governmental and public service jobs are the fastest growing employment category in this country. There is a very great need for new subprofessional supportive personnel in the hospitals, schools, police stations, and community service centers of the country. Tens of thousands could be employed in physical rehabilitation of our slums. Our city and national parks are being inundated under the pressure of a burgeoning and travel-conscious population—conservation and beautification personnel are in tremendous demand.

So the need is there—there is no necessity to create worthless jobs. And we have now several programs in operation which provide models for the implementation of this new effort, programs from which many lessons in job creation have been learned and from which most of the bugs have been shaken out. For example, the Nelson amendment program has been in existence for 2 years as a job creation effort in conservation work, largely for the elderly, the new careers program under the poverty act has been creating new job opportunities for the poor as aides in the public service professions, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps has served millions of youths by creating jobs in both public and private employment.

Moreover, Mr. President, this bill is not restricted to public service jobs—though the opportunities in that respect are very great—because it also allows the payment of training and employment incentives to private firms for the creation of job opportunities in other fields. This is what I spoke of when I referred to my own contributions to this emergency legislation.

Others oppose this emergency employment title because hearings were not specifically held on it. But, Mr. President, we held months of hearings on the causes of poverty and the solutions to the problems of the slums and ghettos. No more witnesses are needed to prove that jobs are the number one priority. The figures literally cry out for relief on that score. I should like to cite a few figures.

For example, a survey by the Department of Labor in November of 1966, based on 10 slum areas, showed the unemployment rate in these areas was about 10 percent, or three times the average for the rest of the country; one of every five of those slum residents working full time was earning an income below the poverty line; at least a fifth of the adult men could not even be found in the surveys, and their employment status was unknown; "subemployment" in these areas, measuring joblessness, nonparticipation in the labor force, and earnings below the poverty line, averaged 34 percent, varying from 24 percent to 47 percent; the most serious single problem was perhaps that of unemployment among nonwhite teenagers—now averaging 30 percent; and the employment gap between white and nonwhite teenagers is increasing, though the gap for adult males is narrowing.

It is for that reason I say that no more witnesses are needed to prove that jobs are the No. 1 priority. Three Presidential commissions have asserted the need for a Government job-creating program of massive dimensions. I submit that hearings are just as effective to support a bill even if not held with reference to a specific bill number where those hearings cover the subject matter fully.

Perhaps the Emergency Employment Act could be more refined and more detail added, but legislative perfections should give way to the necessity of doing something before next summer. And it takes a while for any such program to get geared up. The Department of Labor has models—as I have pointed out—under which to work. The Congress could refine the program next year, but we should not deprive ourselves of the urgent need for this tool because of a fictitious belief that hearings have not been held. They have been held on the problem.

THE NEED FOR AN OEO

Mr. President, I shall conclude with a word about the vital issue before us—that of the future of the Office of Economic Opportunity itself. As my colleagues know, the agency is the target of a bill offered in the House of Representatives which would dismember it and parcel out its functions to other departments. In this body, we will be presented with a number of amendments to transfer at least some of its programs. The question is whether we are best advised to continue OEO, or by depriving it of essential parts of its activity to gradually dismantle it or make it into a staff agency at the White House level or otherwise.

I think ultimately it is right and proper that the Office of Economic Opportunity should be a staff agency, perhaps like the Office of Mobilization in the executive branch, riding herd for the President on the war on poverty activities in various traditional operating departments.

However, the time is not now and if we tried to rush the process we would do two things: First, we would dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity; and, second, we would end up by destroying the impact of programs which have been carried on under the heading of war on poverty.

The essential argument in the minds of many who would urge us to do that is the primitive proposition that we have gotten along without a war on poverty so long, why can we not get along without it now and instead merely beef up education, child care, juvenile delinquency programs, and a few other things. This argument, Mr. President, assumes that life stands still and that there could never be a time when this great and influential society would at long last endeavor to perform the miracle which has not been performed in any other society in recorded history of setting its hand to the elimination of poverty.

There had to come a historic moment, within a nation which has mustered the resources which we have to undertake to eliminate poverty for those who do not wish to live under it if given half a chance and half a choice. That is what it comes down to, given half a chance and half a choice.

Do they desire to live under those conditions? We believe they do not, but they have not had the opportunity or choice, and that is what the war on poverty tries to give them. This is as noble an effort as the war on smallpox or the war on yellow fever. All of this marked the onward march of society.

The war on poverty is in that noble tradition. We should be proud that at long last history has permitted us to undertake to lend a hand, because there were days when not much could be done and persons had to suffer under the weight of a curse of the ages because it was written in the heavens that there had to be poverty and there had to be poor.

Mr. President, that is the real philosophical question. If we could once free our minds in that respect, and recognize that this is a war which fully rates with any other war on the physical scourges of mankind, like disease, then we would be halfway home rather than being bogged down in doubts of doing anything about it at all.

(At this point, Mr. GORE assumed the chair.)

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from New York for his attention to one program particularly which he is introducing. I refer to the $25 million for small business counseling, management, and training focused on the ghetto areas.

It has always seemed to me that one of the great problems we have had in this country with migration is that we had migration from Europe where Italians came here and established themselves in business—and they developed the biggest bank in the world, the Bank of America—Scandinavians came to this country and they developed all kinds of businesses in contracting, construction, and architectural firms; the Chinese came to this country and established small businesses, retail stores, laundries, restaurants, and so forth; and yet, we have had a migration of people, accelerated in the last decade, from the South to the North. The great difficulty is that these people, the Negro population, many times do not feel they are a part of the community in which they reside. There is no way in which they could translate themselves into ownership in this country. They do not own housing. Essentially they rent either from a slum landlord or from public housing. For the most part they are sold to by outside people, even in retail establishments in the community.

After the war we spent billions of dollars providing technical assistance to our enemy to rebuild and billions of dollars to our allies to rebuild, and since then to developing nations to develop business so that they could establish an economic foundation.

Yet we have not provided the kind of technical and managerial assistance to our own people—22 million people at the bottom of the economic ladder.

Mr. President, a year and a half ago, a group of us in the city of Chicago got together under the name of the New Illinois Committee, which I have been honored to chair, to see whether we could not get businessmen in Chicago to provide technical assistance to its own city residents. A group of 40 to 50 aggressive, young, able executives, sales managers, industrial engineers, accountants, and lawyers are ready to go to work to assist any small business in the minority element in the ghetto areas of the city to keep their businesses going, which are now struggling to survive, or in providing counsel and advice to help a business get underway.

I think that this constructive approach being taken by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is in an area of urgent need. It will solve or help to solve many of the problems we see ahead. It is certainly the right kind of thing to do in the right way, to make taxpayers out of citizens who feel a sense of exploitation, and to make them entrepreneurs and owners of businesses in this country, just as many of us are working to have them become owners of their own housing.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not know of a Member of the Senate whose approval upon this particular question would be more apposite, not only gratifying to me as a Senator and friend, but also apposite to the issue. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] is in his own right a very distinguished and highly successful business leader. He understands a thing or two about business success, its consequences to the person who succeeds, and its importance to the community.

As he only intimated, he is himself the author of a very distinguished plan, in which so many of us have joined him, to encourage homeownership. The direct complement of homeownership is business ownership. This is not beyond the ken of the poor, any more than learning a skill, getting a job, or raising a family.

Therefore, I welcome very much the comradeship and the assistance of the Senator from Illinois in this matter. It is a very strong confirmation of the soundness of the lines we want to pursue.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I am happy to yield to my good friend from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the eloquent statement of the Senator from New York on the purposes and need of the poverty program. I have always supported this program.

I have, though, been very desirous that the most effective program would be developed in the committees of the Congress, and I have taken comfort from the fact that the Senator from New York is a member of the committee which develops and presents this program to the Senate.

However, I have been discouraged, because after 3 years, it seems to me that the program is not as effective as it could be.

I believe that the program, to be successful, must have the full cooperation and support of the States and local governments, in terms of resources, participation, and in terms of the involvement of the people of the community and in the State.

I note that in the case of committees established to initiate and administer community action programs—it was recommended by the administration that State and local officials, or the appropriate officials of the community must be included in the membership of the governing local committee. But the Senate committee did not accept the recommendations of the administration to mandatorily include such officials.

It seems to me that from the standpoint of securing the resources and the cooperation of the government of the area, it would be important and necessary to include the appropriate officials of the community on such a committee; also, to assure the local responsibility needed it seems to me that local officials ought to be included. I ask the Senator, why did the Senate committee take the position that the inclusion of local officials be not required?

Mr. JAVITS. The danger, Mr. President, is in domination. It was felt that if we were to encourage participation by the poor themselves in the Community Action boards and agencies that these were people who might be dominated—overwhelmed as it were—by the presence of important civic figures.

One cannot in any case keep a major from exerting an important, perhaps preponderant influence on these matters—no one really expects that we can. We only add to the possibility of undercutting real participation by the poor themselves if we insist that important public officials actually sit on such a board.

I do not feel that strongly about it myself. I feel that such officials could be part of a board, provided they do not dominate the board. I would be willing to run that risk, in order to give maximum flexibility and support in organizing those boards and agencies.

I think that we will find in the amendment process, in the course of the next few days, that that will be taken care of.

Mr. COOPER. I recognize the problem that the Senator has stated. I am sure that one of the considerations the committee has taken to mind is the possibility that in certain areas of the county—and I say this without any derogation—in the South and elsewhere, because of the problems of integration, it might not be possible to secure an effective organization.

The Senator has stated another problem, that the poor might believe they were being dominated by a local official. That is counseling fear too much, when we consider the necessity of reaching the leadership and resources of local governments.

If this poverty program is to succeed, if we want it to succeed—and the Senator is doing everything he can to make it succeed, as I want it to succeed—I believe it would be a mistake not to include these officials.

The OEO Director has procedural power to guarantee, as I see it, the initiation of programs and even though there is local opposition.

I do not see any danger from that score. I have witnessed in life and in experience the advancement of the great majority of the people of the country in income, in opportunities for educational, cultural, and recreational opportunities for which we are thankful. But all around live other groups of people who have gone backwards, relatively and absolutely. Does not the Senator agree?

Mr. JAVITS. I do. I think that the gap widens rather than narrows.

Mr. COOPER. Yes. We are in danger, in some places in this country, of having a class system, which would be contrary to the promises held out by our country to all our citizens. I believe this program is necessary, but I must say I cannot see how the problems will ever be met and how these people will be given the opportunity to lift themselves up unless the full resources of our country—Federal, State, local, and private—are united.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. COOPER. This is the chief reason I argue that the participation of local government officials is required.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for another 5 minutes, to conclude my speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], may I direct his attention and that of other Senators to page 49 of the report, which contemplates inclusion on such boards of the chief elected official or his representative; but it is not elevated to the status of legislation.

I personally would not have any major objections to the inclusion in the bill itself of provision for such officials, though we did contemplate it in the report.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. I think the distinguished Senator from New Mexico has an amendment—No. 345—which does precisely what the distinguished Senator from Kentucky has in mind.

Mr. JAVITS. That was one of the amendments that went over.

Mr. President, to conclude my statement, perhaps the most critical question facing the Congress this year concerning the war on poverty is the future of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Our subcommittee heard testimony in over a dozen cities. We received reports from seven independent consulting firms analyzing community action programs throughout the country. We have had dozens of reports from our own special study staff.

In my judgment, a review of this record results in only one conclusion that can be drawn—that it is crucial to the war on poverty and to the climate of opinion in the slums that the Office of Economic Opportunity be preserved.

I said before that it could be slowly phased out—I believe it should be—but I do not think we should dismember it. I think we ought to phase it out gradually, particular activity by particular activity. Some of OEO programs have already gone to other Government departments, and more will. But the point is that the war on poverty attempts to construct an all-points attack, recognizing that the problem, in addition to lack of education, job training, or decent housing, is the problem of personal dignity and the whole spectrum of needs. All this dictates the continuance of the agency.

Moreover, I would doubt that we would have many of the antipoverty programs we now have if we had had to rely upon innovations from established agencies. Would the Office of Education in HEW have produced Headstart? Would the Justice Department have evolved the legal-services-for-the-poor concept? Would the Department of HUD have evolved the community action program? OEO has been and continues to be innovative. To deprive it of the bulk of its operating programs would drastically reduce its ability to induce institutional change in other Federal departments and in local agencies.

In addition, the existence of an OEO with substantial operating funds provides the communities with a kind of local initiative which is not possible under other programs. Community action is basically a block grant, a concept so dear to my colleagues on the Republican side, and one which I believe to be proper as the next step in a proper reshaping of our federal system.

Under community action, a locality is given a pot of money with which it can do almost as it wishes, within certain very broad program limits and procedural requirements such as participation of the poor. If it feels that it particularly needs funds for remedial education, it can spend its money for that purpose; if it wants job training, that is possible. In this manner, communities can fill the shortcomings and interstices left by other Federal programs and can that way tailor the whole package more closely to local conditions.

Finally, OEO is important for another equally important set of reasons—its psychological importance. It is perfectly clear to me, and I know it to be the case in New York City, that the agency is more than a set of programs—it is a symbol of Government concern for the poor. To the slum dweller and the resident of a depressed rural area, the existence of the OEO means that the Federal Government recognizes the problem of poverty—its budget is, to him, the measure of governmental concern. More than that, the OEO programs at the local level are community programs—they are not handed down from above but are locally selected and, at least to some extent, are governed by community people. That approach is unique among Federal programs. That poor people think this to be a program for them and by them—this to me accounts for the positive record of OEO during this summer's riots. Of over 30,000 community action employees, only 16 were arrested, and of these only 6 were full-time workers. None have been convicted. And of 244 buildings which the poverty program has in the heart of the riot areas, none were burned or destroyed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, for all those reasons, and with special reference to permitting the encouragement of private enterprise activity in this field, I think in essence the bill is right, though I do not foreclose myself from supporting an amendment or two. In essence, the bill is right. The war on poverty is an OEO activity and it should continue to head it. I am against dismembering OEO. If we did, we would definitely end the hope for winning the war on poverty, and this would be a disastrous blow to the aspirations, destiny, and hopes of our Nation.

I yield the floor, and I am grateful to the Senator from New Mexico for indulging me a few extra minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Moss in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 343.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is pending. Does the Senator wish to have it read again at this time?

Mr. MONTOYA. No. I should like to give a little more explanation of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator may proceed.

Mr. MONTOYA. The amendment is designed to cure what I consider is a grave deficiency in the Economic Opportunity Act. The original Economic Opportunity Act, while it was designed to help poor people throughout the country to organize community effort, which was sanctioned by its provisions, had no requirement that the governing board of such community effort should have representation by the poor people.

A subsequent amendment, of 1966, incorporated such a provision so as to insure that in a community one-third of the membership of a governing board should be representative of those people. This provision has now been in effect for a year, and there is continuing concern as to whether such a group in a community is clearly and effectively represented on community action boards.

My amendment is designed to insure that the entire spectrum of a community be represented on the boards. I have tried through the amendment to cure this deficiency.

This particular amendment, No. 343, prescribes that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall prescribe and promulgate nationally such regulations as will insure a democratic process and procedure in the deliberations of the boards. It has been my observation of many community action groups that a quorum, which is required under the articles of incorporation or under other systems of operation, usually assembles and convenes the meetings.

Then, after prolonged deliberation or consideration, members of the board will walk out, and, with the record and the minutes of the hearing showing a quorum present, the remaining members—

who might be a minority of the board at that stage of the proceedings—conduct business and pass on important policy matters; and thereafter, the community complains that the action taken is inimical to the objectives as outlined in other meetings previously held, and great dissension occurs.

Under my amendment, the obligation devolves upon the OEO director to promulgate uniform rules and regulations so as to insure majority participation at important stages of deliberation by the community action boards throughout the country. At present we have a lack of uniformity in this respect, because there are no rules issued from Washington to govern the action of the local community boards. The conduct of the proceedings, up to now, has been dependent upon local whims, local innovations, or locally prescribed methods of procedure.

So, with the lack of national uniformity, we may have uniformity proliferating within a State or within a municipality, which may come to govern the proceedings of its community action boards. Thus the Washington office, in evaluating whether the democratic process actually was observed, is hampered, because the office here in Washington, in trying to evaluate whether or not there was propriety in the proceedings, has to go back to the local board and analyze its customs and the procedures to which it has adhered in other deliberations.

My amendment would seek to bring about the kind of uniformity that would tell these local action boards "You will adhere to these rules of procedure, print them and provide them to all those who are interested in your deliberations, especially to members of your governing board and to the neighborhood associations, so that they, in turn, will inform the people as to what can be done under what circumstances, what procedure has to be adhered to, and what notices of public meetings must be posted, and in what manner." All these things will have to be prescribed by the OEO Director.

I cite an example of what I believe is a very flagrant violation of the purposes Congress had in mind when we enacted the antipoverty legislation: In one community in New Mexico, when it was sought to organize a community action committee, the original notices which went out provided for an election to be held at 2 o'clock on a weekday afternoon. This is a mining community. On a weekday at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, none of the workers in the region were able to be present or represented in the election process. Nevertheless, the election was held; and so many of their leaders were not represented on the board because they could not attend the election.

I took the matter up with the OEO Director, and asked him if he could have another election in that community, which could be held in the evening, so that the people themselves would have a voice in the selection of the board.

I have not received an answer yet as to what the OEO Director can do. However, I do know that there is no Federal regulation or provision in the Federal law to prevent this kind of thing happening.

I know of another instance in my State where they had an annual election as prescribed by the articles of organization of the community action group, and the people ousted the in-group and elected a new group.

The old group which had been ousted refused to turn over the records. Then the State Office of Economic Opportunity, under the Governor's office, sent a letter to the new group asking them to hold a new election and saying that the election which had been held was not properly held.

The new group consulted me on this matter, and this was my advice to the duly elected new group: That the State Office of Economic Opportunity had no right to interfere and to say whether an election held was duly held, that that was a matter for the OEO in Washington to determine whether the election had been properly held, and that in the absence of such a finding by Washington or by the regional office of the OEO, they should consider themselves duly elected if they had adhered to all of the procedures in their articles of incorporation.

Mr. President, these things are happening all over the country. And I think it is about time that we develop a kind of uniformity of procedure by which everyone will be conscious of the steps that have to be taken to insure the carrying out of the democratic process which is encompassed in the spirit and the law of the Economic Opportunity Act as originally passed and as it has been amended and as we will amend it this week through the enactment of the pending bill.

I fully appreciate the great effort that has been put forth by the committee in trying to bring before the Senate a very good bill.

Our distinguished colleague, the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], has performed an enormous job in going all over the country, as have members of his subcommittee, and trying to find out what people need, want, and require so that we might put a better sense of direction into the economic opportunity program.

The members of the committee deserve the commendation of not only Congress, but also the country. The volumes of hearings on the desks of every Senator testify to the great task which has been performed by the committee members.

My purpose in offering amendments today is to try to perfect a modus operandi to try to take care of those very things which militate against the efficient operation of this vital program.

The pending amendment, amendment No. 343, imposes upon the National Director the duty of promulgating such standards and rules relating to the scheduling and notice of meetings, quorums, procedures, establishment of committees and similar matters as he may deem necessary to assure the democratic process.

The pending amendment is vitally needed to delineate, to specify, and to bring about a more definitive approach to take care of this problem about which I have spoken here today.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have given a good deal of thought to the pending amendment. I have discussed the amendment with the Senator from New Mexico and with his staff.

To me, the amendment is entirely appropriate and I would be glad to accept it. I do not know how my colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], feels about it. However, for myself I see nothing wrong with the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the ranking minority member of the committee, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], will wish to be heard, albeit briefly, in a very few minutes.

Speaking for myself, I do think, as someone said here yesterday, and not facetiously, that these are better rules than the Senate operates by.

The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] has always made a valiant fight to change the rules of the Senate.

I believe that the rules encompassed in amendment No. 343 with relation to the conduct of the community action program would constitute a very desirable change. I shall support it.

I do have a certain reservation with respect to amendment No. 345 which is in the group of amendments presented here. I have no objection, however, to amendment No. 343.

In order to preserve the right of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to address himself to all of these amendments, I should like to have the Senator from New Mexico bear with me momentarily so that we might discuss amendment No. 345, as that is an amendment he will offer shortly, an amendment which the Senator from Pennsylvania will undoubtedly address himself to in the same manner. As far as the Senator from Pennsylvania is concerned, that amendment will also be satisfactory.

What disquiets me about amendment No. 345 is not the substance of it. I think the substance is entirely sound—that is, that there should be an opportunity for representation upon these boards and agencies of the chief elected official and other appropriate elected officials. In that, I should say I agree with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], who spoke earlier today.

What does bother me is the stratifying of it in the context of a one-third requirement. What troubles me about that, frankly, is that there are persons in communities in this country—and we all recognize the fact—who, if a mandatory requirement is made for one-third of the public officials, will take all the places themselves and will comprise such a powerhouse in terms of the establishment that they really will dominate any such committee or agency.

It seems to me that such a proposal as is now presented would play directly into the hands of interests which might be hostile to conducting the war on poverty and which could immobilize it in many ways, especially by the impact of their own authority and their own personalities in terms of having so large a number of places absolutely guaranteed to them.

I might point out that this approach

was originally used by the administration though without the one-third requirement. However, the committee did not go along with it, although the administration had proposed it. The administration proposal is contained in an amendment submitted by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], amendment No. 349, which, it seems to me, quite adequately guarantees representation of exactly the kind which amendment No. 345 calls for, but does not stratify it in such a way as to endanger the integrity, in my judgment, of particular local boards.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MONTOYA. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] has requested that I join his name as a cosponsor of this particular amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] be added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 345.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. May I ask the Senator this question: So long as he and Senator MONRONEY are joining, which I think is splendid, what would the Senator think of going one step further and adopting the language of his amendment to the language of the Monroney amendment, thereby relieving people such as myself of the element of concern that there are areas in the country—unfortunately, not a few areas but more than a few—where, if you build in this one-third requirement, you will be running afoul of the danger of a board which really would be overwhelmed or really would be dominated? Would the Senator consider conforming his amendment, so long as he has joined with Senator MONRONEY, to the original administration language? It is not my language; it is the administration language.

Mr. MONTOYA. What is the original administration language?

Mr. JAVITS. The original language is essentially contained in amendment No. 349 of Senator MONRONEY:

> SEC. 213. (a) A community action agency shall be established in order to assure broad, continuing, and effective community participation in all phases of the community action program for which it is responsible, and to assure that the program as developed and implemented is fully responsive to community needs and conditions. Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board organized to provide for membership of the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials, or their representatives, of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community.

In short, it just does not lock in the one-third requirement, but it does everything that the Senator from New Mexico desires be done.

Mr. MONTOYA. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MONTOYA. Would this language reassure the Senator from New York, with respect to provision (d) on page 2 of my amendment:

> The remainder of the board shall consist of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, and other major groups and interests in the community.

Mr. JAVITS. I have pointed out that that is exactly what Senator MONRONEY's amendment provides for, but it leaves out the mandatory requirement for one-third of the places. It leaves it flexible and open to the local situation, and there may be cases in a locality where one-third would be fine, perhaps even more. But there are localities in the country where, if you write in a one-third requirement, you will guarantee a dominated board or agency because of a local situation. That is why I suggested to the Senator from New Mexico the elimination of the mandatory one-third—just leaving it open.

Mr. MONTOYA. Would the Senator agree to a compromise of this nature: Instead of saying "which does not have at least one-third," using the words "which does not have close to one-third"?

Mr. JAVITS. I would not, because I believe the Senator is defeating his own purpose. If the Senator just said that they are to afford an opportunity for membership or representation, that is if the Senator just said "which is conducted, administered or coordinated by a board which affords an opportunity for membership," and so forth, I could support it.

Just leave out the freezing in of an absolute one-third requirement, and that would leave the program free and in the position of being able to adapt to local situations where one-third could result in a dominated board. That is the only point I press.

Mr. MONTOYA. Would this language be acceptable to the Senator from New York:

> The director shall not approve, or continue to fund after June 1, 1968, a community action program, which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a board which affords an opportunity for membership or representation to the chief elected officials.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator would have to use the words "which does not afford."

Mr. MONTOYA. "Which does not afford."

Mr. JAVITS. That is the way the grammar is constructed.

Mr. MONTOYA. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. That wording would be acceptable to me, and I would thank the Senator if he would conform it accordingly. The amendment is not up for consideration as yet.

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes. I will certainly offer that as a modification.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, as I understand it, the effect of the amendment proposed by the distinguished junior Senator from New Mexico would be to make it mandatory for the Director of OEO to promulgate rules for local community action agencies relating to the scheduling and notice of meetings, forms, procedures, establishment of committees, and so forth.

I regretfully find it necessary to oppose the adoption of this amendment, because, as I have suggested, it would write into the law specific mandates for the Director of OEO to regulate every community action agency throughout the Government from Washington.

As I pointed out in my remarks on the floor of the Senate on Monday, I believe that the concept of community neighborhood corporations and local community action agencies can do much for relieving the isolation and alienation expressed by the disadvantaged living in our large cities.

However, once the Director of OEO is put in a position of having to establish elaborate regulations governing every procedure by a local community action agency, we deprive that local agency of necessary autonomy to work out its own problems.

I am sure that every Member of the Senate recognizes that an organization can grow in self-confidence and responsibility, and finally can assume additional authority by having some freedom in working out procedures and regulations which are most applicable to its local area. If we become obsessed with dotting every "i" and establishing every format and every procedure which guides the local agency, we will be taking away its power to grow in strength and to accommodate itself to local conditions.

I found it most interesting to read accounts of Daniel Moynihan's speech before the Americans for Democratic Action. In that speech he pointed out:

> Liberals should divest themselves of the notion that the Nation can be run from agencies in Washington and should work toward a decentralization of government powers.

While the proposed amendment, on its face, would do little more than put into the legislation a practice already being followed by OEO, it could be argued that there is no justifiable reason for opposing it. However, we have reached the point where we either have faith in the community action concept or we do not. I, for one, believe that the local community action agencies need some autonomy, and we at the Federal level should not write into the law language which is contrary to the principle of decentralization and local autonomy.

Mr. President, I shall not ask for the yeas and nays. I yield the floor.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I disagree with the interpretation of this amendment by my good friend, the distinguished Senator from Vermont. This is not a centralization amendment. This is an amendment which would insure for the people at the community level the type of democratic process that was envisioned by Congress in enacting the original law.

This is in furtherance of the democratic concept that people should have a majority voice in the deliberations of the community action committees which are organized pursuant to the authorization of this law. I see nothing akin to what the Senator from Vermont has related, and which draws an interpretation of centralization of power here in Washington. It merely provides for promulgation of definite and uniform rules of procedure so as to assure to the majority that their voice will carry in deliberations and insure to the minority that they will be heard at the local level in the deliberations that might transpire within the purview of the act.

Mr. President, that is all the amendment does. I am sorry I do not have the support of my good friend from Vermont. I had no intention of bringing about the result he has given in his interpretation of this bill. Therefore, I do not think I have anything further to say other than to reiterate that I am motivated by a desire to insure more democracy to people at the local level in exercising or using their voice within the purview of this legislation.

Mr. President, I ask for a vote on the amendment if no one else does.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Is there a division?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment. All those in favor say "aye."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, a point of order. The vote was already in progress. The Chair had already called for the question.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I withdraw my suggestion of the absence of a quorum. The vote has not been completed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, would a point of order be in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to request a division.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I request a division. Before that, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MONTOYA. Will the Senator withhold the request for a quorum temporarily? Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, can a division be requested after the vote is started?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The result had not been announced.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, can a division be requested after the vote is started, but before the result is announced?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It must be requested before the result is announced.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for a division vote on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the pending amendment. A division has been requested. [Putting the question.]

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 344

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 344.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to state the amendment.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

On page 46, in line 11, strike out the words "public and" and insert in lieu thereof "Federal, State, and local public resources, as well as all available".

Beginning on page 46, at line 23, strike out everything after the period in that line through the period in line 1 on page 47, and insert in lieu thereof "In order to merit financial assistance under this title, a community action agency shall be responsible for and must be capable of plannnig, conducting, administering, and evaluating a community action program, and, to the extent permitted by relevant law, be capable of mobilizing all Federal, State, and local public resources, as well as all available private resources.".

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, on yesterday I explained what this amendment is designed to do. I do not desire to take too much time today except to say by way of preface that the present Economic Opportunity Act does not concisely and precisely state what the duties of the community action committees or boards might be.

There is a misconception, in many parts of the country, on the part of those who are on these committees, that their duties are confined to those operations which come strictly and only within the purview of the OEO Act, such as projects like Headstart, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Legal Aid, and other related activities which are provided for in the OEO Act.

But there is a stated purpose which was delineated in the committee report by Congress when it enacted the legislation that the community action group or agencies should serve as catalysts for community action and community approach with respect to poverty and economic development.

My amendment tends to create more definitively these duties for the community action groups. It says specifically that they are to marshal the resources of a community from the local governmental unit, the Federal agencies and the private sources, and to blueprint a plan of action. They are to serve as catalysts in such a movement. That is what Congress had in mind. But they have more or less refused to shoulder this responsibility in many areas of the country.

That is why we have such criticism of the OEO programs because they have not expanded their sphere of activities to try to bring about a more comprehensive approach to the economic problems which these communities face.

My amendment puts a responsibility on the CAP agency to plan, to conduct, to administer, and to evaluate the community action program and, to the extent permitted by relevant law, to provide the capability to mobilize all Federal, State, and local public resources, as well as all available private resources.

This is not designed to impose a superstructure known as community action agency upon all the other departments of the Federal or local governments. This is merely something that will sanction and direct the community action agency to go to all these public agencies and try to tell them, "This is what we can do. This is where you can help. Together, acting in concert, we can help this community through the different Federal programs under the different Federal agencies."

They cannot superimpose their will upon these Federal agencies. This directs them to consult with them so that some kind of formidable plan and formidable approach can evolve through the collective efforts on the part of Federal agencies and the CAP agency.

Mr. President, this is a very simple amendment. I do not think there is any controversy to it. I think it will do worlds of good. It will stimulate action among the community action agencies throughout the country, once they know what Congress expects them to do.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I see nothing objectionable about this amendment. For myself, I would be happy to accept it.

All it does is to put into legislative language what is being done, anyway, administratively by OEO. The amendment has some merit in making it specific and putting it in the bill.

However, I do not know what my friends on the other side of the aisle think. Accordingly, I yield to the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY].

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am opposed to this amendment. First of all, as the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] has just pointed out, OEO is now doing administratively exactly what the distinguished Senator from New Mexico seeks to achieve with this additional language. If that is the case, it seems to me that adoption of this amendment would be superfluous.

If that were the only fault, Mr. President, I would not object to its adoption. However, I believe that specifying coordination of Federal, State, and local activities in the law raises several serious objections.

First, Sargent Shriver has pointed out that community action agencies perform the best services in those areas where they receive cooperation from local government. Now, if we specifically point out in the law that a community action agency is in effect short-circuiting State and local governments, I believe that many local governments will resent this intrusion and will be less cooperative in our all-out efforts to combat poverty.

Second, Mr. President, I believe that we have seen that there are at least several States which are doing a better job of coordination than any community action agency could ever hope to attain. I am thinking specifically, Mr. President, of the State of New Jersey, where Paul Ylulsaker, formerly with the Ford Foundation, became statewide director of community affairs. In the State of New Jersey, I believe we are seeing an excellent use of State government to achieve coordination. If we become too specific in granting the local community action agency this broad authority for coordination, we may well undermine the coordination efforts by many of our States and local communities.

Therefore, Mr. President, I urge that this amendment, which everyone seems to admit is not really necessary, be rejected.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am interested in what the Senator from Vermont just said. However, we have conferred with Mr. Shriver's office; and the OEO people, it is my understanding, have no objection to the amendment. In fact, they helped to draft it. Thus, I think we can legitimately say that this amendment is not opposed by the OEO. That is one reason why I was prepared to take it, let me say to my good friend from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. The mere fact that OEO does not oppose the amendment does not necessarily make it a good amendment, in my view.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 345

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 345 and ask that it be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 48, between lines 14 and 15, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) The Director shall not approve, or continue to fund after June 1, 1968, a community action program, which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a board which does not have at least one-third of the authorized places thereon designated so as to afford an opportunity for membership or representation to the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials or their representatives. Failure of those officials to avail themselves of all or part of the places so designated shall not, however, preclude establishment of an alternate board structure which is broadly representative of the community and otherwise consistent with the requirements of this section. The Director may require, with respect to the places designated for occupancy by public officials, that appropriate representation be provided for State or regional agencies, in situations in which a community action agency serves two or more counties."

On page 48, at the beginning of line 15, strike out "(b)" and insert in lieu thereof "(c)".

On page 48, between lines 24 and 25, insert the following:

"(d) The remainder of the board shall consist of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community."

On page 48, in line 25, strike out the subsection designation "(c)" and insert in lieu thereof "(e)".

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I submit a modified amendment, in lieu of the pending amendment, which is in line with the colloquy the Senator from New York and I had.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment as modified will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 48, between lines 14 and 15, insert the following new subsection:

"(b) The Director shall not approve, or continue to fund after June 1, 1968, a community action program, which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a board which does not afford an opportunity for membership or representation to the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials or their representatives. Failure of those officials to avail themselves of all or part of the places so designated shall not, however, preclude establishment of an alternate board structure which is broadly representative of the community and otherwise consistent with the requirements of this section. The Director may require, with respect to the places designated for occupancy by public officials, that appropriate representation be provided for State or regional agencies, in situations in which a community action agency serves two or more counties.

"(d) The remainder of the board shall consist of officials or representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico desire that the amendments be considered en bloc?

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes, Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, as I stated before in my colloquy with the Senator from New York and as I stated yesterday, originally the Economic Opportunity Act did not have a specific provision providing for one-third participation on the part of the poor in the composition of community action boards.

Then, in 1966, by virtue of an amendment, the Congress put in a provision insuring this participation, although the instructions from OEO throughout the country initially had been to give the poor representation on these boards. This was followed generally throughout the country. Then the mandate of the Congress last year insured this participation.

There was no provision in the law, there was no history in the legislation, and there was no encouragement, perhaps, from OEO that the local officials or the local business communities should participate, although they did participate, in the composition of the boards in most instances.

I feel that it is vitally necessary for the local officials, be they county or municipal officials, to participate in the planning and deliberations of community action agencies, because, in many instances, coordinating with the local governmental set-up is most essential to insure the success of the local programs.

While this has been a matter of practice, it is not in the law as a matter of mandate; and my amendment is designed to accomplish this purpose.

In addition, the second part of my amendment carries another provision which encourages within the composition of these boards the participation of business, labor, religious groups, and other major groups and interests in the community. This is the first time that this section will appear in the Economic Opportunity Act. It will insure a general-spectrum representation in the community action agency.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes; I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Reading the Senator's amendment, it states, on line 8, at page 1, "Chief elected official or officials of the community." Would the Senator spell out for me what he means by "officials of the community?"

Mr. MONTOYA. Perhaps the mayor.

Mr. MURPHY. Who would be the "chief?"

Mr. MONTOYA. Perhaps the members of the city council.

Mr. MURPHY. I see.

Mr. MONTOYA. County officials.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. My understanding is that there are a number of rural community action agencies which serve a number of counties and many of these communities have three or more supervisors or officials as the chief elected officials. Sometimes there are two from one party and one from the other. To have each of them on a local board might result in an overlarge governing board. I would assume the Senator from New Mexico would accept a reasonable interpretation so that if perhaps there were officials from several local governments, representation could be amicably worked out so that, for example, one from a community could be the representative if there were three. The question is, How big is the community? Where the community is co-terminous with the city, it is simple. Where it goes out and takes in surrounding counties, it is more difficult administratively.

Mr. MONTOYA. I may say to the Senator from California, and in answer to the query of the Senator from Pennsylvania, that originally, in the amendment which I first proposed, I had a requirement that one-third of the board be comprised of elected officials. I gave serious thought to the very question the Senator from California has raised, and concluded that such representation might not become possible where there were more than two counties, where there was a group of communities, and so forth. So that was the purpose of my modification. So the provision for a minimum one-third was taken out of the amendment and there was merely a statement of the purpose that some of the elected officials should be given participation in these boards.

Mr. MURPHY. That was the purpose of my question. I thank the Senator for explaining it.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. I think the modified language represents language which is much superior and preferable to that which is in the bill, and I am happy to support it.

Mr. MONTOYA. I thank the Senator.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MONTOYA. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I have just entered the Chamber; is it correct that the Senator's amendment would provide that the appropriate local officials must be members of local governing agencies or boards?

Mr. MONTOYA. It is not a mandatory requirement; it is merely an encouragement that there be participation in the membership of the board on the part of local or county officials, or if there is more than one county, there is provision for regional membership within that stated group.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me briefly, I think I can satisfy the Senator from Kentucky, who said he just came into the Chamber. If he will look at lines 7, 8, and 9 of the first page of the Senator's amendment, he will see that an opportunity for membership or representation to the chief elected official or officials of the community and other appropriate public officials or their representatives is to be given. Then if they do not want to go on, they do not have to.

Mr. COOPER. An opportunity. I noted that the bill sent up by the administration provided that appropriate local officials should be members of the governing board supervising the community action programs. Is that correct?

Mr. MONTOYA. I had that provision in my original amendment. Now it is permissive.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct. The committee gave that matter a great deal of consideration. We found in our inquiries that a good many local officials do not want to go on the boards and prefer to have the community action boards function without their participation. Accordingly, we thought that to force them to go on the boards when they did not want to was unwise, and we changed the administration's position.

Mr. COOPER. The original language provided that the chief official or a representative of the local government should be a member. Did it not require that the chief local officials should be members?

Mr. CLARK. It was a mandatory provision of the administration bill. I asked my friend from Vermont whether or not he agreed with that provision, and I think he felt that it was better to leave it permissible, and not make it mandatory.

Mr. COOPER. I propose to offer an amendment which would make it mandatory, but I shall not stand in the way of the amendment which has been offered by the Senator from New Mexico, because I think it is an improvement.

At the proper time I shall offer an amendment, and call it up, to make it mandatory that the chief official, or at least delegated officials of the local government, shall be members of these boards. I shall not take the time of the Senate now to give my reasons, but I intend to do so at an appropriate time.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have no objection to the proposal of the Senator from New Mexico. It is my understanding that the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from California, both members of the committee, are in accord, so I am prepared to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico, as modified.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is contemplated that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] will now call up his amendment, which would transfer the Headstart program to the Office of Education. I would anticipate that he and I, with the cooperation of the leadership, could agree on a limit of time for debate on that amendment. However, I see that the Senator is not in the Chamber at the moment.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I should like to work out a unanimous-consent agreement with the Senator. However, the acting majority leader, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] suggests that the Senator from Colorado talk on his amendment for a while first.

Mr. DOMINICK. That will be satisfactory.

AMENDMENT NO. 342

Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 342.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to state the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

On page 74, between lines 18 and 19, insert the following new paragraph:

"(7) Beginning after June 30, 1968, no financial assistance shall be extended under this title to provide comprehensive educational programs and services for young children who have not reached the age of compulsory school attendance or such programs and services designed to benefit children in kindergarten or elementary school."

On page 126, after line 11, add the following new title:

"TITLE III—AMENDMENT TO THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 RELATING TO PRESCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

"PRESCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

"SEC. 301. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by redesignating title VII as title VIII, by redesignating sections 701 through 706 and references thereto as section 801 through 806, respectively, and by adding after title VI the following new title:

" 'TITLE VII—PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

" 'ALLOTMENT TO STATES

" 'SEC. 701. From the sums appropriated to make basic grants under this title for any fiscal year, the Commissioner shall allot not more than 2 per centum among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands, according to their respective needs. He shall also reserve not more than 10 per centum of those sums for allotment in accordance with such criteria and procedures as he may prescribe. The remainder shall be allotted among the States, in accordance with the latest available data, so that equal proportions are distributed on the basis of (1) the relative number of public assistance recipients in each State as compared to all States, (2) the average number of unemployed persons in each State as compared to all States, and (3) the relative number of related children living with families with incomes of less than $1,000 in each State as compared to all States. For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. That part of any State allotment which the Commissioner determines will not be needed may be reallotted, on such dates during the fiscal year as the Commissioner may fix, to other States, in proportion to their original allotments, but with appropriate adjustments to assure that any amount so made available to any State in excess of its needs is similarly reallotted among the other States.

" 'STATE PLANS

" 'SEC. 702. (a) Any State which desires to receive grants under this title shall submit to the Commissioner, through its State educational agency, a State plan, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary, which—

" '(1) provides that the State educational agency will be the sole State agency for the administration of the State plan;

" '(2) sets forth a program under which funds paid to the State from its allotment under section 701 will be used solely to make grants to community action boards (established pursuant to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964), or in any community where there is no qualified community action board, to local educational agencies to assist them in carrying on preschool programs which, under subsection (b), are eligible for assistance under this title;

" '(3) provides that effective procedures will be adopted for acquiring and disseminating to teachers and administrators significant information derived from educational research, demonstration, and similar projects, and for adopting, where appropriate, promising educational practices developed through such projects;

" '(4) provides for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the State (including any funds paid by the State to any other agency) under this title;

" '(5) provides for making such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

"'(6) provides a balanced program to meet the educational, nutritional, health, clothing, and other unique needs of children from impoverished backgrounds in order for them to function at optimum levels in relationship to other children; and

"'(7) provides a standard of poverty for individuals and families in the State that takes into account the number of children, dependents, and other special circumstances substantially affecting the ability of individuals and families to be self-sustaining.

"'(b) A preschool program shall be eligible for assistance under this title if (1) it is designed to prepare educationally deprived children, aged three through seven, in areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families to successfully undertake the regular elementary school program, (2) it is carried on by, or under contracts or arrangements with, a community action board, or, if carried on in an area in which there is no community action board, is carried on by a local educational agency, and (3) it is limited to participation by children from families meeting the poverty standards established under section 702(a)(7).

"'(c) The Commissioner shall approve any State plan and any modification thereof which meets the requirements of subsection (a).

"'PAYMENTS TO STATES

"'SEC. 703. (a) From the amounts allotted to each State under section 701, the Commissioner shall pay to each State an amount equal to the Federal share of the expenditures made by such State in carrying out its State plan. Such payments may be made in installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments and underpayments.

"'(b) For purposes of subsection (a), the Federal share for each State shall be 90 per centum for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970.

"'ADMINISTRATION OF STATE PLANS

"'SEC. 704. (a) The Commissioner shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this title, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State educational agency administering the plan reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

"'(b) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to such agency, finds—

"'(1) that the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 702(a), or

"'(2) that in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision,

the Commissioner shall notify such State agency that the State will not be regarded as eligible to participate in the program under this title until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply.

"'(c) In the event a State shall, within a reasonable time, fail to submit a State plan, or shall fail to submit an acceptable State plan under circumstances that the Commissioner believes indicate a desire on the part of State officials to prevent operation of any acceptable program under this title within the State, the Commissioner is authorized to contract directly with qualified community action boards, or in any community where there is no qualified community action boards, directly with educational agencies to implement programs under this title within such State.

"'JUDICIAL REVIEW

"'SEC. 705. (a) If any State is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of its State plan submitted under section 702(a) or with his final action under section 704(b), such State may within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

"'(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall certify to the court the record of further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

"'(c) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

"'AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"'SEC. 706. (a) The Commissioner shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and the succeeding fiscal year. There is authorized to be appropriated $375,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $400,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, to make grants to States for preschool programs under this title.'"

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, this is a fairly long amendment which is why I asked that the clerk not read it. I do not intend to take up very much time. I understand that the distinguished floor manager of the bill does not intend to take up too much time on the pending amendment.

I think the pending amendment is very important. Yesterday, when I was discussing the amendment with a few people, I was told that this is perhaps as important an amendment as we will face, on this bill because it is a matter of principle as to which direction, the Office of Economic Opportunity, is going to go.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I agree completely with what the Senator from Colorado says. However, I suggest that this is a very important amendment and that we allow 1 hour on each side. That will bring a vote on at about 4 o'clock. I should think that the Senator would agree that if any amendments are to be presented to the amendment, these should be germane, and that an amendment to the amendment perhaps should receive 10 minutes to each side.

Mr. DOMINICK. I hope that we can get through even sooner than that. I do not know of any amendments to the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Neither do I. However, with 100 prima donnas, one never knows what will happen in that regard.

My view would be that we could yield back at the end of the debate the time that had not been consumed. However, I should like to have an hour in the event that I might need it.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I would make one request in connection with that, and that is that we could have a live quorum approximately 20 minutes before the vote so that each of us could have 10 minutes to explain the amendment to the Senators when they arrive here.

It does get a little exasperating to talk on a subject when not very many Senators are present in the Chamber.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it appears that it is impossible to arrive at a unanimous-consent agreement. I suggest that the Senator from Colorado proceed with the debate on his amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 342

Mr. DOMINICK. It is my guess that we might get through with the debate on the pending amendment sooner if we could go along in the normal course of events than if we thought we had to consume a certain amount of time. So I will proceed with the debate on the pending amendment.

The purpose of the amendment is to take the Headstart program, which is presently being operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and transfer it, not this year, but in the next fiscal year, to the Office of Education.

I use the phraseology "the next fiscal year" on purpose.

As of a couple of years ago, many of our colleagues said that all the education programs should be transferred into the Office of Education, regardless of what agency was running the program. As a part of that policy, in 1966 we transferred the work study program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education, along with the adult education.

I offered an amendment at that time to accomplish the same thing with Headstart. Almost all of the witnesses that came before the Education Subcommittee agreed that this was a good thought, but they also said that from the administration point of view, they were not sure the time was right and that we ought to wait a year.

Later is now, and a year later from then is now. Therefore, on the basis of the testimony in 1966, we could probably legitimately make a case for transferring Headstart immediately. However, I have had some people talk to me about this problem, both fellow Senators and people from the Office of Education. They felt that in some areas of the country, at least, perhaps the school systems were not equipped to be able to carry out this provision immediately and that therefore an immediate transfer would not be as orderly as we would like.

As a result, I took that into consideration and modified my original amendment and prepared the pending amendment, No. 342, which provides that this transfer will become effective in the fiscal year 1969, and not in the fiscal year 1968.

That would give us time to coordinate a program. It would give us time to determine how we will continue.

Perhaps some details in connection

with this would be helpful, at least for the record. Under the present setup of the poverty program that is presently being considered, Headstart is lumped, along with other community action programs, into an overall authorization in title II.

This was true in fiscal year 1966. In fiscal year 1967, the committee specifically earmarked Headstart so that it could not be cut out by the community action planners and so that it could not be cut out in favor of other programs because it was the feeling of the committee that this is an excellent program, a program that deserves support.

This year the earmarking of funds was eliminated and Headstart was once again lumped in with the other community action programs to compete for funds at the will of the bureaucrats.

I have no concern that Headstart will be thoroughly abandoned, I want to say, but I do think we ought to be able to know what amount of money will be used for it, so that those involved can make plans based on the funds authorized.

We do not have any such provision in the pending bill. My amendment, to the contrary, would provide that if we transferred Headstart over to the Office of Education, we would have in the first fiscal year that this would be authorized—namely, in fiscal year 1969—$375 million available for Headstart.

We have authorized a 2-year program. For the fiscal year 1970, we have requested an authorization of $400 million.

I think these are reasonable projections. They are authorizations only. They are not appropriations. However, they do give some idea of the scope and extent to which I, at least, believe that the Headstart program should go.

It is interesting to note in this connection that although title I of the present bill provides for authorizations for the respective titles in it for fiscal year 1968, and although this also covers fiscal year 1969, the 1969 authorization is completely open-ended in the present bill. This is so despite my objection, because over and over again I have taken the position, before every committee on which I have served, that if we are to have authorizations, we must have an amount in the bill, and not just back door, open-Treasury spending simply because nobody wants to go to the bother of determining how much money they will have in a particular bill.

I wish to re-emphasize, Mr. President, that this amendment, if adopted, is designed simply to transfer from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education the specific program known as Headstart. It will take with it the people, the facilities, the ideas, the entire program that is now being operated by a sort of two-headed monster, into one organization where you can get administrative leadership and where you can put it together with the needed coordination so that it will fit into the educational system of our country.

I believe most of us would agree that Headstart, by and large, has been a pretty successful program. The interesting fact is that—if you look through the records and if you talk with the people who have been connected with it—when it has been most successful, it has been operated within the structure of the public school system. This is where it has been most successful. The objections that have come and the faults that have been evidenced in the Headstart program have been in the process of coordination between the Headstart program and the elementary schools. It is this lack of coordination which, in fact, has led to the committee adding to the present bill a new project which is designed to go into the school systems and assist children who have been in Headstart. The new project is called Follow-Through.

In my judgment, the public as a whole has a very high regard for the Headstart program. As I have said, the one major criticism has been the lack of coordination. This has been on the minds of both the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Education; and during the past summer, the two departments got together and jointly announced grants totaling approximately $2.5 million to 30 school districts, in order to follow through on the gains which have already been made in the Headstart program.

So, once again, here you are with a sort of two-headed monster, trying to administer one type of program and interjecting itself further and further into our school system.

I, for one, am convinced that one of the problems that we have in the bill now before the Senate is the interjection of the poverty people into the school system. It seems perfectly apparent to me, from reading the bill—I believe anyone who analyzes it carefully will come to the same conclusion—that with the Headstart program and then with the Followthrough program, what you are doing is taking the poverty people, who are operating at that level, and interjecting them directly into the public school systems.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. I wonder if the Senator knows that at the outset of this program, in the State of California—this I consider one of the original causes of the problems for the entire program—the representatives who visited California went to the State superintendent of education and very carefully but forcefully explained that this program and any other programs funded with Federal moneys were to be handled by the representative of the OEO, and that the State superintendent of education would have no concern and have nothing to do with the use of these Federal funds, thereby creating an almost unworkable situation at the very outset.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am appreciative of the Senator's contribution. This is the problem that I believe is evident when we speak at the local level of the problems that Headstart and the school system are having with the poverty people. I believe the Senator's example is a graphic one.

I could go on and on with respect to this subject. However, instead of continuing at length, I shall just comment briefly with respect to the manner in which the program would be administered and the people who are supporting the idea.

First of all, the money involved in the Headstart program, if transferred to the Office of Education, would be programed through the State school agencies. It is not so programed at this time. This, therefore, would put it right into the State agencies, who would determine which programs were going to continue, to what extent they were going to continue, and where the actual needs are. The people most intimately connected with the school system, the educational process of our young people, would therefore, State by State, be in charge of this program.

Second, the division of money among the States would be handled with exactly the same formula as it is handled now, with one exception. At the present time, the Director of the Poverty War has the right to allocate 20 percent of the total funds in any direction he wishes. I have cut the 20 percent down to 10 percent, recognizing that in some States or in particular areas of some States there may be a need for a little more money. It does not seem to me, however, that the Director of the poverty program or the Commissioner of Education should have unlimited discretion as to what to do with 20 percent of the total funds that are to be authorized and finally appropriated.

So I have cut that amount to 10 percent. Even this sum, it seems to me, would give them a substantial amount of flexibility. This in fact amounts, on the projection, to $37.5 million, which is a large amount of money to put into the hands of one man to spend wherever he feels it is advisable; and in 1970, it would be some $40 million.

I believe this is important. In other words, it would redirect the effort, through the Commissioner of Education, into the State agencies, which can then work with the people in the programs to maintain those programs that are operating, and to initiate them in conjunction with our school efforts and our educational efforts.

The next matter I wish to point out for the purpose of the record is the groups which have endorsed this idea.

We have had rather extensive hearings on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Subcommittee on Education, of which I am a member and of which the distinguished Senator from Vermont is the ranking minority member.

The groups which testified on their bill were asked by me or others on the committee whether they endorsed this type of transfer from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education. Those who endorsed the proposal were: Council of Chief State School Officers. These persons are chiefs of the educational processes in the States. They said yes, this should be done. The next organization was Great Cities for School Improvement.

The next organization is the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The PTA is probably as well known in this country as any organization that I can think of. The next organization is the

National Association of State Boards of Education. They said they were delighted. They said, "Yes; this is what we would like; that is where it should be. We do not know why it has not been done up to this time."

The next organization was the National Association of State School Boards. The State school boards said, "We are involved in this matter day in and day out in district after district all over the country and the problem we run into is lack of cooperation between the poverty worker and the school system. If we can get the matter under the Office of Education we will have solved that problem."

We have gotten in touch with the National Education Association. They have expressed support for the amendment.

Mr. President, all organizations intimately connected with this matter are in favor of my amendment. I shall repeat the organizations. The list includes: the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Great Cities for School Improvement, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National Association of State Boards of Education, the National Association of State School Boards. In addition, the National Education Association has also expressed support.

Mr. President, I wish to make the RECORD crystal clear on this matter. I would not want it said that I am trying to mislead anyone. No organization has actually reviewed this particular amendment, but they have endorsed the concept of the transfer.

I cannot see anything in the amendment which would jeopardize the program. I would simply move the program and give it more money and give the States more control over the program.

For those reasons it seems to me that the amendment is well worthwhile.

Mr. President, I shall reserve the remainder of my remarks for a later time when I shall request a live quorum before the vote is taken on this proposal.

(At this point, Mr. HOLLINGS assumed the chair.)

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I wish to join the Senator from Colorado as a cosponsor of this amendment. I congratulate the Senator upon his presentation and on the thorough and most convincing explanation he has made. I believe nothing would be left in doubt as to whether the adoption of the amendment is for the overall general good of the entire program.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator. I appreciate his support of the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I wish to commend the Senator from Colorado for a most constructive and objective approach to this question. I think it is a long step in the right direction. I am glad that so far as Headstart is concerned he has delayed action for a year to make it possible for the school systems to be fully prepared to undertake this responsibility.

I might say that I have some reservations with respect to some of the provisions in the amendment. However, I think these are not too serious and if my fears are justified this matter can be worked out in conference.

I assure the Senator of my support.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I appreciate the support of the Senator from Vermont, who is the ranking minority Member on the Subcommittee on Education. His support is important to the amendment.

I was delighted to be able to discuss with the Senator from Vermont and with the staff some of the original problems we had to work out in connection with this matter. The Senator from Vermont has been most helpful in the presentation and development of the program.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me so that I may deliver a few brief remarks on this matter which I have prepared?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, as a coauthor of this amendment, I strongly urge its adoption. Headstart is one program to which we can all point with pride. I have received letters and heard testimony from educators, interested citizens and parents, all attesting to the importance and the success of Headstart. Yet, even Headstart has not been without problems. Most of these problems in my judgment, can be traced to the administration of the Headstart program. And, Mr. President, this year, as the Members well know, the Office of Economic Opportunity is proposing a pilot Follow Through program. Follow Through is based on studies which seem to indicate that the "gains" made by the Headstart graduate may be "lost" unless some of the attributes of the Headstart program are continued in the early elementary school years. This raises a very serious question. Administration on the Follow Through program by the Office of Economic Opportunity may result in OEO forcing itself into the school systems across the country.

Almost every educational and manpower expert in the country has called attention to the duplication, confusion and conflict that presently exists in Federal manpower and education programs. Yet for the most part we, the Congress, and the executive branch have done nothing to unscramble the mess, to put together the pieces of the puzzle in a manner that will assure maximum coordination and program effectiveness and efficiency.

Headstart is an education program. Presently Headstart is funded both under the poverty program and under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. With both the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity administering Headstart programs, needless duplication, double paperwork, and conflicting regulations must result. This cannot be permitted to continue.

Oh, Mr. President, I have listened to the arguments made by the Office of Economic Opportunity against the transfer of the Headstart program to the Office of Education. Stripping away the typical OEO rhetoric, their opposition boils down to the reluctancy on the part of one bureaucracy to lose a program and particularly the funds to another bureaucracy. The Office of Economic Opportunity contends that the transfer of Headstart to the Office of Education would result in "more of the same." The implication is that the Office of Education would not be able to administer the program as effectively as the Office of Economic Opportunity. Well, Mr. President, I have listened since 1965 to the Office of Economic Opportunity's presentation to the Poverty Subcommittee, and I submit the record fails to disclose that the Office of Economic Opportunity possesses administrative ability superior to any other agency. Program administration has not been one of the shining attributes of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In examining the record of the Office of Economic Opportunity, one finds a record replete with administrative difficulties. The record shows that some of the most elementary administrative changes have come along only as a result of congressional prodding.

Mr. President, the Congress of the United States has given the Office of Education the responsibility of administering education programs. The Office of Education administers title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which provides Federal assistance aimed at improving the education of various poor and disadvantaged youngsters. If we cannot trust the Office of Education to administer education programs, such as Headstart, if to transfer the Headstart program to the Office of Education will produce "more of the same," then I submit we had better do something about the Office of Education. When we have a Federal agency assigned the responsibility of education, then those programs involving education should be administered by that agency. If the agency fails to carry out its responsibility, then the agency should be required to "shape up." If it fails to shape up, then its head should be removed, or maybe the entire agency should be replaced. Certainly, however, the answer is not to create another agency to carry out the same responsibilities and to duplicate its functions. Layer after layer, whether horizontal or vertical, of Federal bureaucracies is not conducive to efficiency and to effective programs.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I am very much impressed with the astute observations now being made by the distinguished Senator from California, and with the remarks earlier of the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK].

During the years I was Governor of Wyoming, I had occasion to visit the Headstart operations in my State. I subscribe to the idea that is behind Headstart. I am aware, of course, of the accomplishments being made by that program.

I am in complete support of the amendment. I think there are a number of good reasons which have already been touched upon, and I only wish now to reemphasize them.

First, I think that, as is true with so many Federal programs, there has been a proliferation of activities among the various agencies so as to bring about a serious overlapping of management, direction, and administration—all of which add to the cost of the programs.

The facilities used in most Headstart programs in my State are those under the administration and supervision of the various school districts which, I think, adds to the reason for placing this program under the Office of Education.

The efficacy of the Headstart programs will be increased as the program starts out with youngsters of preschool age. It seems reasonable to me that greater progress will be made as these youngsters start their kindergarten and go into the first grade.

I believe also that the continuity of instruction that would result from this change would be all to the good.

It is a good program. I think it can be a far better program if we do away with the duplication of expense that currently characterizes it, if we provide the continuity of direction and interest which will be afforded the program if transferred to the Office of Education, and if we see that the teachers can solve the problems of these youngsters before they ever set foot in a public school as members of the kindergarten or first-grade classes.

For these reasons, I commend the distinguished Senator from California and the distinguished Senator from Colorado for sponsoring this amendment.

It will improve what has proven to be one of the best parts of the poverty program. If we are going to reach these people, to help those youngsters who come from homes where parents have not been able to afford them the same opportunities as the children in homes having a normal income, then I say we must continue the program.

We certainly will strengthen it, in my opinion, if we place it where it should be; namely, in the Office of Education.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank my colleague from Wyoming.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I am happy to yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I, too, wish to commend the distinguished Senator from California for his very able analysis of this problem and for the position which he takes, as well as the position taken by the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

I had the privilege of voting for the first authorization and the first appropriation for the Headstart program.

I believed, and believe now, that it is one of the finest programs which has been presented. I supported it wholeheartedly when it was first presented and have been unfaltering in my support of the program.

I think that the approach of the amendment and the suggestions made by the Senators from California and Colorado are absolutely sound. The fact is, I find that in my State, many of the sessions of the Headstart program are held during the summer and other vacation periods, when the teachers can readily be taken from the public school system. This has worked out very well although, perhaps, it is not the entire solution to the problem.

Certainly, in my opinion, the Senator is on the right track. He has very ably expressed the sentiments of many of us, and I again commend him and support his amendment.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire for his kind comments.

Mr. President, I, too, have the privilege of serving on both committees with my esteemed colleague from Colorado who, I assure you, Mr. President, deserves most of the credit for whatever we are about to accomplish here today. He has given a most complete delineation of the hearings and recitation of the evidence.

The Senate will recall that last year the Education Subcommittee recommended a transfer of the Headstart program to the Office of Education. We have heard witness after witness testify to the fact that they feel that the educators cannot only handle this program but can do it better than it is being done now. Typical of these statements was that of Superintendent Neil Sullivan of Berkeley, Calif. He endorsed the transfer in this manner:

> Now I would strongly recommend that this committee consider taking the Head Start program and other educational programs out of the Office of Economic Opportunity and moving them over to the U.S. Office of Education, an Office equipped to handle the problems of education and not reestablishing a second organization in Washington and throughout the country that is not equipped to handle these problems.

This transfer was not done last year although we, the Congress, did transfer from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education the adult education program. Since that transfer, I have heard no statements suggesting that the Office of Education has not been able to administer the adult education program. I have heard, however, that there has been a better administration of the adult basic education program. I think it is safe to assume, then, that the Office of Education can do a better job. I am old fashioned, Mr. President. I think if your tooth aches, you should go to a dentist. If your car breaks down, you go to a mechanic. And if your pipes leak, you get a plumber.

Mr. President, since we are dealing with taxpayers' dollars and have the responsibility to make certain that these hard-earned dollars are used and spent properly, it becomes necessary for us to bring about an end to the confusion and needless duplication; we must see to it that States be required to deal with only one agency on one particular program. In the area of education, that agency is the Office of Education and it should be assigned the job of administering the Headstart program.

The time for the transfer is now. We cannot afford to delay any longer having a program administered by the second-best agency. We, therefore, should transfer the Headstart program to the Office of Education. This transfer will not only assure the successful continuance of the Headstart program, but it will be more likely to bring about a better followthrough in the elementary and secondary grades.

Mr. President, I know that OEO will contend that there has been the greatest of cooperation between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Education. Unfortunately, I have not found this to be the case. Cooperation has given way to competition. Competition has resulted in needless delays, conflicting regulations and confusion among applicants for Headstart grants. A famous American once said:

> The interest of childhood and youth are the interest of mankind.

I believe it is unfortunate when the interests of a bureaucracy prevent the Headstart program from being handled by the best qualified agency. It would be my purpose and desire to see that the interests of the children are served rather than the competition between two agencies.

Another reason for the transfer is to guarantee that Headstart program will be researched and its shortcomings altered. Anyone who has listened to the "snow job" that is annually given to the poverty committee by the Office of Economic Opportunity is greatly aware of the deficiencies in the Office of Economic Opportunity's evaluation system.

True, the Office of Economic Opportunity always says that by next year the data requested will be supplied; by next year the program will be better; and by next year all the wrongs will be righted. I, however, reply only that we have an old Mexican expression for that. They call it "manana." I think we have listened to "manana" long enough. I believe it is imperative that we conduct long term research on Project Headstart, that education programs be coordinated, and I am convinced that the Office of Education is the agency which is best equipped to administer the Headstart program.

I believe it is imperative that we continue this most successful program, Headstart, and that as it continues, we conduct long term research on the project to make certain that all possible improvements are being made. And I am further convinced, Mr. President, that the Office of Education is the proper agency which is best equipped and is properly constituted to administer the Headstart program and follow through with these youngsters in the elementary and secondary schools. In this way, we will be certain that we are initiating education in the proper manner and that the same agency will be charged with properly following through with these same youngsters.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I wish to express my appreciation for the excellent statement which the Senator from California has just made. I think he highlights the problem with which we are faced—that is, competition between two agencies in Washington and the interjection of a really new agency into the school system, and the educational process.

The question is whether we are to continue that educational program in the wrong agency simply because we do not want to hurt anybody's feelings.

It is for these reasons that the Senator from Arizona, the Senator from California, and I have coordinated our efforts.

I think the Senator has done an excellent job in highlighting the issues. I appreciate his support.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, it is a great honor to be a cosponsor of the amendment of the Senator from Colorado. I think the suspicion of this necessity has existed in both committees. I think as the Senator and I heard both sides of the question and heard the witnesses, we were possibly more conscious of it and more sensitive than perhaps the general membership of this distinguished body. An indication that the change was suggested earlier is proof enough that now is the time that it be done, because I absolutely and truly believe that it would be of greater benefit to the children served by these several programs.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I hope this amendment to transfer Headstart to the Office of Education will not be adopted by the Senate, even though the Senator from Colorado has postponed the effective date of the transfer until 1969.

I hope the amendment will not be adopted. It may well be, in due course, that Headstart could be transferred to the Office of Education, but I say again, as I said last year, the time has not yet come. I want to buttress that statement. In the first place, Headstart is not primarily an educational program. It is a comprehensive child development program, which includes, in addition to the educational component, medical and dental services, nutritional services, social services, and parental involvement.

It may be argued—in fact, it was argued—by the Senator from Colorado that the ordinary school system can furnish adequate medical and dental services, such as the school lunch program, in many schools, and I guess most schools. There are guiding and counseling facilities in most schools today, and there are PTA's, as the Senator has said. But I believe anyone who has made a study in depth of how Headstart operates would be inclined to agree that the Office of Economic Opportunity has brought into being a new and imaginative institution which goes far beyond the kind of care these little children would receive if they were forced into the average public school system.

I have seen these programs, particularly in the South, where the racial problem is still quite acute in the educational field. I can assure my colleagues that it would be a disaster to turn the Headstart program over to what is in fact, if not in name, in many school districts in the South, a thoroughly segregated educational system. The school boards are not ready for it. They do not want it. The teachers would resent the imposition of the load. And I would predict that to transfer this program to the Office of Education, and through it to the average school board in the South, would come pretty close to wrecking the program if it were done now, or even in 1969.

I see the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] in the Chamber. I noted that in Boston yesterday a lady—no doubt an estimable lady—got more votes than anybody else for mayor of Boston in the nonpartisan primary. She ran on a program that she did not want to see any Negro children bused into white schools, which would create an integrated situation. I am concerned about the Headstart program if that lady is elected mayor of Boston, as I understand she is very likely to be. I think we would throw into a northern city, where there is de facto segregation because of the housing pattern, another explosive situation where the Headstart program and the little children in it would be the innocent victims of an administrative shift, which, to my way of thinking, is very hard to justify, in the immediate future.

I know in my own cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and in other cities in the Commonwealth also, we have that same segregated pattern of housing. I deplore it. My former comrade in arms, Mr. Dilworth, who is now chairman of the Philadelphia School Board, says his most serious problem is to make some progress in raising the level of the educational effort in the largely Negro and Puerto Rican schools of the Philadelphia ghetto.

They are having trouble getting teachers; they are having trouble building enough schools; they are having all kinds of trouble with programs. They are having trouble with parents and with the PTA. I would hate to throw on that already overburdened school system the additional burden of the Headstart program.

I would point out, with all the emphasis I can command, that I do not believe that school systems in the North or in the South, in many instances, are presently capable of taking on a Headstart program, running it successfully, and preventing this really meaningful and successful experiment from being killed in the process.

As my second point, I think it is also clear that Headstart is a community action activity, and relies heavily on the services provided by other parts of the total community action program. That is spelled out in some detail on pages 2833 to 2844 of part 9 of the hearings.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that those pages of the hearings be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the hearings was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator CLARK. Well, I think that pretty well covers our overview of the community action programs. Now I believe we can get down to the specific programs. Mr. Shriver, I understand that you would like to deal with Headstart for a while which, at least where I sit, is probably the most congressionally successful program. I don't think you need to spend too much time on it but we ought to make a record concerning Headstart. I think you should follow through in something which needs more treatment than Headstart, but you do it your own way.

Mr. SHRIVER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Next to me is Jule Sugarman, who is the Associate Director of Headstart and has been since the start of the program. One of the reasons that I feel that it would be worthwhile to spend some time on Headstart as distinguished from Followthrough is because of the opinion of some legislators that Headstart would be just as effective within the Office of Education, let's say, as it is within community action. We have been attempting to explain our philosophy on this, at any rate, as to why Headstart is a great asset of community action and in fact is a community action program rather than a specific educational or health or other type program.

So in point of view of the record, anyway, we would like to have these aspects of Headstart emphasized.

Senator CLARK. That is right.

I would like to note for the record in the State of Mississippi you could not have any Headstart today. I think that is one specific instance where it is a good thing that Headstart is under OEO and certainly not under the local boards of education.

Mr. SHRIVER. I agree with that. It is not even limited to a special situation like that. Headstart has been very helpful to us at any rate, as a community action program in getting community action started, in getting people working together. Outside of the South there are people working together who never worked together before, were brought together because of their mutual interest in these children. From that has emanated a great many things to benefit community action.

Senator CLARK. See if I understand it. Your view is Headstart is not only an educational program for the young preschool children but it is also an educational program for the family involving health facilities and educational facilities for founding a good deal of other areas where in order to turn out a whole child you have to do something with the disadvantaged family. This is one reason why you don't believe that the Office of Education is as well qualified to deal with it as the Office of Economic Opportunity?

Mr. SCHRIVER. As CAP. For example, one could suggest that the whole CAP operation just be taken out of OEO. What I am suggesting is that it be left in CAP because it has extremely fruitful connections in CAP. That is what I frankly would like to have Mr. Sugarman talk about. That is the reason we felt it is worth your attention.

Senator CLARK. I think you have a good point there. Let us know if you can develop this, to what extent Headstart programs are being operated across the country by local boards of education of a delegated basis.

STATEMENT OF JULE SUGARMAN, DIRECTOR, HEADSTART, OEO

Mr. SUGARMAN. I would be happy to do that, Senator. I might say we have Dr. Nolan Estes of the Office of Education with us and you may wish to ask him questions as well.

Mr. SHRIVER. This is Dr. Estes.

Senator CLARK. Happy to have you with us.

Mr. SUGARMAN. In response to your specific question, Mr. Clark, the proportion of programs varies between summer and full year. The summer programs now serve about 500,000 children. There are roughly two-thirds operated by public schools, 10 percent by private schools, and the remainder by private nonprofit agencies.

The full year programs are increasingly more popular and there is a growing interest in them on the part of the communities. There are now some 200,000 children enrolled. Less than one-third of the programs are operated by public school systems, about 10 percent by private school systems and the remainder by private nonprofit agencies, about 29 percent of them by community action agencies directly and about 26 percent by other private and nonprofit agencies.

Senator CLARK. Is that because the 4-year Headstart program can not find space in the public schools?

Mr. SUGARMAN. I think it is a little broader than space. I think they have space problems but I think the schools face numerous challenges and many of them feel they are not ready to take on this kind of program at this time. There are parts of the country in which the interest does not really exist among educators for preschool programs and other parts of the community have sprung forth to take their place.

Senator CLARK. Do you have any criteria by which you could objectively measure the success to date of the Headstart program?

Mr. SUGARMAN. Yes, I think we do have a good deal of data, Senator, that is beginning to accumulate.

Let me just try to lay out for the committee a sort of consensus picture of what this data shows. There are wide ranges in what it shows with some internal contradictory evidence. However, in general, the research says the child who comes into Headstart is substantially below the advantaged child in his development. If you use a scale of 100, he is down somewhere around 80 or 85. After he has been in Headstart he is up to the 90-to-95 range. He is below the average child but still significantly better than when he came into the program.

Senator CLARK. Are you talking nationally?

Mr. SUGARMAN. Yes.

Senator CLARK. It must be a wide geographical variation.

Mr. SUGARMAN. Tremendous. You may find one child that tests at 150 and another tests at 60, but if you put all the figures together and try to extract a synthesis from them that is what you get.

It is particularly true that the child who was the worst off when he started is one who gains the most in the program and that is, interestingly enough, particularly true for boys. Boys seem to gain much more from Headstart than do girls.

After the child has been out of Headstart for a few months or a year he tends to lose some of the gains which he has achieved during the Headstart program, a fact which we attribute largely to the kind of program into which he goes in the school system, whether it be kindergarten or first grade. He does not slip back to his original level but he does not maintain the level of gain that he first achieved in the program.

Senator CLARK. Let me interrupt. I neglected to ask that the chart "Headstart Community Action Program" should be printed in the program beginning with your remarks.

Mr. SUGARMAN. Fine.

The material subsequently supplied follows:

"HEADSTART—A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

"Volunteers.

"New careers/teacher aides.

"Parent involvement—100,000 as workers or volunteers.

"Support of Community Action Agencies.

"Tied to other CAP Family Programs.

"Health, nutrition, psychological services, education, etc.

"In FY 1968:

"Children Served:

Summer	520,000
Full Year	213,000
Follow-Through	190,000
Volunteers	125,000

"Programs established in 2,150 communities."

Mr. SUGARMAN. Beyond that the research shows that there are very substantial health problems among children in Headstart. In the dental care area there is an appalling degree of neglect and we have spent a good deal of effort and money in trying to correct some of our dental deficiencies.

Senator CLARK. If the program has received it from the Office of Education, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, it would not be possible to continue those dental services that are being proposed under OEO?

Dr. ESTES. It is possible. We do have some programs that provide these services; however, we would find it extremely difficult because of our emphasis on the educational component. If you look at the total amount spent in title I, we spent only 2.3 percent on health services, about 2.3 percent as compared to much larger amounts in Headstart, which shows the difference in the thrust between Headstart and title I.

Senator CLARK. But you are closer to the Office of Health than OEO is in the Offices of President. Why wouldn't you find it just as easy to walk across the aisle to talk to your health people?

Dr. ESTES. There are 44 agencies.

Mr. SHRIVER. Here is our favorite dentist.

Dr. ESTES. There are 44 agencies in Government.

Senator CLARK. Most of the dentists are over in the Department of Defense, aren't they?

Mr. SHRIVER. We have the best dentist.

Dr. ESTES. In the area of education, I would say we had a closer working relationship with OEO than we do with any of the agencies which are within our own department or in the other departments of Government.

Senator CLARK. It does not make sense administratively, does it? I mean it really does not. There is Secretary Gardner sitting up over HEW and you tell me you have closer relationships with OEO than you have with Health?

Dr. ESTES. I beg your pardon, sir. I didn't mean it that way. I said we had as good or better relationships with OEO as with other branches of Government.

Senator CLARK. Now let's get back to you, sir.

Mr. SUGARMAN. I was saying that the general health picture is one of having a large number of children with problems who in the course of an ordinary family will get attended to but in the history of these children have not been attended to. The rates of incidence of health problems are not terribly higher than in an advantaged home except in certain specific areas like anemia and parasitic infections and things of that sort. But on the other hand, if these problems continue to be neglected they become serious problems.

The other thing that I think we have been most encouraged about in our research and evaluation to date is the very substantial interest that parents are showing in the program and the fact that are beginning to participate not only in Headstart but as their children go on into the school system. We think this is terribly important for the whole effort that we are making here.

I might say that evaluation is a very difficult job from the technical point of view and we have spun a lot of wheels trying to find the best way to do this. We have now put the major thrust of our effort in 13 regional research and evaluation centers which are all university based which will give us an on-going capacity to try to search out answers to our problems and ways that we can move in the future.

I might refer to the chart on the wall here which has been inserted in the record, the chart headed "Headstart and Community Action Program," and talk about what Mr. Shriver had to say. I have a fondness for saying that Headstart is community action from the ground up, community action in the sense that when a Headstart program operates well it does all the things on a small scale that the community action agencies ought to do on a large scale. It involves the parents in decisionmaking. It relates professionals to parents in constructive ways and gives both a sense of really working together. It provides very substantial career opportunities for persons from the target areas.

Incidentally, I think we are making great progress in employing nonprofessionals and that again is having an impact on the school systems. For example, in the city of Cincinnati there have been nonprofessional aids in the schools system in Cincinnati for a number of years. But traditionally they have been relegated to relatively minor roles, putting away papers and hanging up wraps and things of that sort. When the nonprofessionals were introduced into the Headstart program and the school system, which was running the Headstart program, say what could be done with them, they began to change their whole approach to the nonprofessionals in the school system.

We have had just a fantastic amount of volunteer effort in support of the Headstart program and it is our belief that for every hour of paid employment that OEO has financed in the Headstart program there has been an equivalent time of volunteer time given by people in the local communities. I had really expected there would be some fall off in the amount of volunteer effort as the program grew older but that does not seem to be the case thus far and most communities report they have all the volunteers that want to help in the program.

Headstart is, of course, a comprehensive program in the kinds of services that it offers to the child and his family. I think one of the things we are learning a great deal about in this program which has relevance to the Follow Through program as well is how the educators and the social workers and the doctors and the nurses and the nutritionists and the psychologists can all work as a team together with the parent, the director, and the nonprofessionals.

Senator CLARK. I think you make a good case for the kind of program that Headstart is or that you hope it will become, but I am going to have to meet it on the floor of the Senate for the argument.

That is all very well but why can't that be done just as well under the supervision in the Office of Education? Why can't it?

Mr. SUGARMAN. Well, I think that the answer really is one that Mr. Shriver has suggested. It is not which agency runs the program but its integral relationship to other parts of the community action effort.

As Mr. Shriver has suggested, there are literally hundreds of communities which have Headstart as the primary program for their community action agency. If they were excluded from the operation of the Headstart program, then it is very likely that they could go out of existence or lose the forward thrust that they have thus far.

Second, OEO has a tradition and experience of dealing a little bit differently with communities than does the Office of Education.

As you know, we do not channel programs through State education agencies, for example, or through any other State departments, but rather work directly with local agencies. We do have the experience and the policy of setting certain kinds of quality standards and of imposing upon communities certain requirements in order for programs to be funded. This tends to be less true in the Office of Education.

But basically it is this continuing dialog which ought to exist between the community action agency and the Headstart program that we see as fundamental to the maintenance in OEO.

Senator CLARK. Is that about all you need to say about Headstart?

Mr. SUGARMAN. I think so, unless you would like to proceed to Followthrough.

Senator CLARK. It seems to me, Mr. Shriver, this is as good a time as any to get you on the record on what is one of the knottiest problems which confronts us, which is whether it would not be better to have OEO shed all of its operating responsibilities and become a planning organization with real coordinative authority. What I mean by real coordinative authority, have the OEO given the same status as the President himself delegating to you as the head of OEO the job of coordinating the activities for all the other departments in the name of the President.

Many of the professional administrators

tell us if you cannot have satisfaction on the line service that you will be better off if you were doing the overall planning and also the direction of priorities and the setting of standards as opposed to the action of the operation of these various programs. I think we ought to have on the record a response from you to that suggestion because we are certain to have to meet on the floor.

Mr. SHRIVER. I think that the answer lies more in the factual situation than it does in political theory. I think that the personalities involved, the length of time during which an agency has been in existence, what the President wants, since he is the Chief Executive, are considerations more important than the theory. Theoretically one could say that the observations you have just made coincide with the public administration policy. My own impression, however, is that Presidents don't always necessarily follow exactly what Woodrow Wilson's school thinks best. Consequently, I don't think that it is very helpful in a practical situation to discuss what the theoretically most desirable solution is from a practical point of view.

Senator CLARK. I am not at all sure I could sell this present setup on the theory that that is what the President wants. It may be all right for me, it is certainly all right for you, but I am not sure that is going to go down with the Congress.

Mr. SHRIVER. I am not sure it is, either. All I am trying to say is that his title is Chief Executive, among other titles, and that it is his decision as to how the thing should be established, which means, in the final analysis, the executive branch decides the issue.

Now, as a matter of fact, these alternative ways of organizing or separating these functions have been considered at great length over a period of at least 3 years by the President and the current configuration is the one he likes, I am not saying necessarily it is worthy of a Ph. D.; on the other hand, it is what he prefers. I don't think pragmatically it has failed to work. I think it has worked for the most part except that I do agree with some people who have said that its coordinating authority should be increased. We have attempted to do this, at least to a modest extent, in the current bill that we have presented to the Congress.

Senator CLARK. But you don't really change that situation. You are the coordinator of the whole war on poverty under the old law and proposal No. 2 but you still don't have any authority to tell Cabinet officers what to do. Unless and until you get that authority I don't think the coordinating is apt to be terribly effective, do you?

Mr. SHRIVER. But there is only one person in the Government who has the authority to tell his own Cabinet what to do.

Senator CLARK. That is why I was making the suggestion that you be given the right to speak in the name of the President, which you don't presently have.

Mr. SHRIVER. All the people who have special authority to be of assistance to these people normally have the right to speak in the name of the President, but it is obvious to some individuals that some people seem to have more authority for the President to speak than others in an adjoining office. So it is not a question of a title and it is not a question of a legal thing because I believe that no law could be drawn which would automatically force the President to delegate a particular part of his power to somebody regardless of who it is. It is not a question, therefore, of the title; it is a question of the actual operations.

Senator CLARK. One of our staff studies recommends that the President should be the Chairman of the Economic Opportunity Council and as Chairman would have the right to delegate anybody he wanted to—the Vice President, you, anybody else—the power to speak in his name and that in this way you could get authority to coordinate as opposed to merely permissive coordination as at present. What do you think of that?

Mr. SHRIVER. I think it would be safe for anybody to think that the President has considered that and for reasons best known to himself perhaps he has up until now decided against that.

Senator CLARK. But one of the problems is that maybe that Congress makes this decision.

Mr. SHRIVER. I am not saying that it is a wrong decision or that Congress cannot make it. All I was trying to observe was that the President has had that thought go through his mind, I think.

Senator CLARK. But I want you to tell us why you don't think it would be wise for the Congress to do it.

Mr. SHRIVER. I think in the final analysis the President is either going to make it work or not and we have had experience, I think, in this country of Congress actually setting up a power and then the Chief Executive or other branches of the executive not using the power. This is not because it is unlawful but because it is the way a particular man in that office there wants to operate. So we have come forward, Mr. Chairman, with at least one modest improvement in the coordinating authority involved which is merely to establish a permanent staff for the Economic Opportunity Council whose singular purpose would be to operate to bring problems up to the level of the Council in a manner where they could be resolved there, and if they are not resolved there then they could be moved higher.

Up until now our agency itself has had to supply the staff for the Economic Opportunity Council and they have had six or seven additional jobs. The result is that the staff work for the Economic Opportunity Council has not been as good as it should have been. Issues do not get crystalized and brought to the Economic Opportunity Council in an actionable form.

I personally believe it would be a substantial step in the direction Congress appears to want to go. At least this line of questions appears that you might want to go in that direction if we——

Senator CLARK. No. I think we ought to make a record.

Mr. SHRIVER. I hope I am making a helpful record. Dr. Levine just sent me a note with the observation on it that the power of agencies, like the Bureau of the Budget itself and of the National Security Council itself, varies greatly between different Presidential administrations. Sometimes the Bureau of the Budget has a great deal of power, sometimes it does not; sometimes the National Security Council does and sometimes it does not, even though the law is not changed in the process.

Senator CLARK. I think this is true. One of the things that disturbs me is that at the moment the Bureau of the Budget through its fiscal powers and budgetary powers is able to exercise power direction over the poverty programs, which I don't believe they should. If you had this opportunity council with a little bit of power then I would think you might have a countermand of power of the Bureau of the Budget which would be very useful.

Mr. SHRIVER. Well, it has been suggested in hearings before this committee previously that the device be adopted, such as a national antipoverty budget, which you might call a subsidiary part of the regular budget and which would give this agency a great deal more control over the poverty program than now exists.

The fact is that as it now operates it is very much like, if not identical to, other aspects of the budget; namely, that the President in the final analysis is the budget officer who makes the allocation.

Senator CLARK. This is true, but the budget deals primarily with dollars and you deal primarily with people. My objection is that here is an agency which deals almost entirely with dollars, balancing one, balancing the budget, and they should not be making these decisions, it does not seem to me, except to the extent that the President pulls the string on them and says so much money and no more.

Mr. SHRIVER. Let me say for the record, since I am looking at the picture as a whole, that the Bureau of the Budget works very closely in cooperation with us and has not restricted itself or shouldn't, in my judgment, merely to balancing the budget by working around with figures. They have an extremely able staff, a staff which has been very helpful to us, and which addresses itself to substantive matters in addition to money matters. It certainly has been a constructive force rather than an opposition force with respect to OEO.

Senator CLARK. Now let's get back to this staff you are recommending. What would be the size of the staff and what would be the appropriation you think they would need for salaries and other expenses to operate?

Mr. SHRIVER. The actual size of staff has not been worked out in final detail but our thoughts were somewhat along this line; that the senior staff person would be at the highest career civil service level, which is SG–3. That would be deputy GS–16 and perhaps as many as three or four additional officers plus the clerical assistants and stenographic assistants to make them effective. So we would be talking about a total officer complement, to use that phrase, of maybe eight people supplemented with appropriate space and clerical assistance.

Senator CLARK. You have them physically located in your building as opposed to in the White House?

Mr. SHRIVER. Frankly, we have not come to that issue. It is not so much a question, I believe, of where they are physically located, such as space problems in the executive branch, but more a question of their relationship to the White House rather than where they are physically located.

Mr. LEVINE. Mr. Chairman, could I add something? As I understand, your original question, it was substitution of such a staff for an independently funded OEO. I would like to add something on the other part of the question, on the need for independent funding of OEO's own program. I think the EOC staff we are requesting is an excellent idea if added to the independent funding of OEO programs.

In looking at this I think it depends on what kind of theory you take. If you take bureaucratic theory you look for a nice organization chart. If you look at the theory of bargaining, however, I think the answer to why OEO comes out fairly clearly, you need an independent national agency, and particularly independent local agencies like community action authorities, under the supervision of this independent national agency as bargainers with and for the poor, that this works only with some independent programs.

Coordination of Cabinet officers is a nice idea, but unless you can do the kinds of things we have been doing like innovating, coordination at the local level, I am talking primarily at the local level, and occasionally, say in places like Mississippi, offering some rivalry to existing organizations, I think the whole poverty effort becomes much less effective politically than the existing bureaucracies of various sorts. It is very important to have an independent agency and I think it is important to have a director of this agency reporting to the President.

Senator CLARK. What you are saying, in effect, is that the administrative or political science theory, if you can't be both staff and line, is just not right that you can plan and operate, too. That is what you are saying, isn't it?

Mr. LEVINE. Yes, sir. I think that is right.

Mr. SHRIVER. Could I add a point there?

Senator CLARK. Surely.

Mr. SHRIVER. The Federal Information Service that we have is an extremely helpful tool both to the agency and to OEO's coordinating role. In other words, under that authority to gather information we have, in a sense, the intelligence arm of this war and until we get more intelligence we are not going to be able to prosecute the total war in the future as ably as we can. That is an extremely important aspect of our total job. It gets very little attention over here and I wanted to mention it for the record because it is very important.

Senator CLARK. You certainly could still keep your intelligence services, every staff agency has its own intelligence service serving its commanders.

Mr. SHRIVER. Excuse me. What I was talking about was the Federal Information Service which covers the whole domestic budget. I think it is now about $60 billion worth of expenditures by the Federal Government on the domestic side, which are now being processed through the Federal Information Service. That is the first comprehensive view of the totality of the Federal Government's action domestically in the United States, leaving out the Department of Defense. Everything else is there.

Senator CLARK. Well, to whom does the Federal Information Service report?

Mr. SHRIVER. To us.

Senator CLARK. OEO?

Mr. SHRIVER. That is right. It effectively helps us to look for gaps and the necessity of or lack of necessity for new programs, but it is also very helpful to this economic program. In fact, it was because of the Federal Information Service or system that we were able to collect for the first time exactly what was going on or not going on in a State like Mississippi, so that 18 months ago in January 1966 we inaugurated a program of special concentration on Mississippi. That was made possible because we gathered together everything that we were doing and what we were not doing and then took some specific steps.

Senator CLARK. Now that you brought that up, I think we ought to have a little more in the record about it. How many people are employed by the Federal Information Service and what is its budget? If you have not got it, could you furnish it for the record?

Mr. SHRIVER. I should have. Just a minute. Could you get it for the record?

Bob Cassidy is the Assistant of OEO for Management.

Mr. CASSIDY. I don't have it.

Mr. SHRIVER. I just goofed.

Senator CLARK. Let me call your attention to your own congressional presentation which has one——

Mr. SHRIVER. Thank you.

Senator CLARK. It looks like a two-page summary called "The Federal Information System," which I would like to have printed in the recrod at this point.

The document referred to follows:

"THE FEDERAL INFORMATION SYSTEM

"The vast resources of the Federal Government are administered through a variety of programs managed by all Federal departments and agencies and operated in the states, counties and communities. Until recently, it was not possible to ascertain which of these programs was available for use in an area of interest, nor in fact was the amount of funds at work known even to those most closely associated with the area. Indeed, because of the complexities of Government it was not possible for even the granting agencies to determine the extent to which other Federal programs might be influencing the economy or satisfying the need of an area of interest.

"With full recognition of the implication of this committee, OEO undertook the compilation and production of a Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement, a document which accomplished for the first time a merger under one cover of information on more than 260 programs funded by Federal Departments and Agencies. The universal acceptance and value of this document is attested by the large and continuing demand for it. More than 250,000 copies have now been printed and distribution is continuing at a steady pace. In the 1966 Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act the Congress directed that OEO update and republish this document, incorporating the newer programs born of later legislation.

"Under the direction of the Economic Opportunity Council and with the aid of the Bureau of the Budget, the OEO Information Center set out early in 1966 to design and to develop a system which would collect operating program information covering the programs contained in the Catalog; process this information in a compatible format; and display it in a manner which would make it more generally useful. The results of this effort have been most rewarding and have led to the development of the Federal Information Exchange System.

"The Federal Information Exchange System, as the title implies, collects information from all Federal Departments and Agencies and develops a central data bank for use by all Federal, state, and local agencies as well as the private sector. At present over 160 programs, representing 16 agencies, are included in the system, and as the effort continues the data base is expanding. Information is currently available on programs funded at the county level, although in some instances the departments are having to revise their systems to report at the county level. Not all programs are reported at present in the depth of detail necessary for the ideal system. Publication of the first official reports from the system has evoked a sizeable amount of appreciation from the recipients and has in effect amplified the true nature of this effort—the concept of Information Exchange. The system is now capable of responding to requests for feedback of the information in many forms, and it is already being used for planning purposes.

"Already it is obvious that much more needs to be done to make this system even more useful and meaningful. A further development has been the compilation, production and publication of a complete set of socio-economic profiles covering every county in the United States. These profiles describe the social and economic characteristics of each county with appropriate indicators of the strengths and weaknesses and with numerous comparisons to national and state experience. Thus, it is now possible to identify the problems in each community.

"The next step, to be accomplished during FY 1968, is to blend these problem definitions with the previously published program information to determine shortfalls and overages. With this information, planners and budgeters can begin to redirect their programs to better satisfy the need and to produce greater return in the relief of suffering, misery and want.

"Another major effort now being undertaken will have major importance on the Federal Information Exchange System. This effort involves working closely with the State Governments to develop a system for making optimum use of the data available (or which could be available) within the State Departments. In some instances this may involve the design of entire collection and processing systems; in others only a redirection of present efforts may be needed to permit the States to make better use of their information.

"OEO is spearheading this effort in the belief that if the states have better information they can then do a better job of planning and budgeting. At the same time, information thus collected by the states can be shared or exchanged with the Federal Government and, to the extent appropriate, with other states. Present plans call for the involvement of six states on a pilot test basis, with intent to assist the states in the installation of operational systems. Information which can be added to the federal data bank as a result of this effort will fill a major void. The extension of this plan to other states will greatly improve the responsiveness of the system and will enhance the Federal Government's information posture, providing in one place information hitherto unavailable from any source."

Senator CLARK. That does not give us either the staff or the dollar amount. If you could furnish that at a later date we would be grateful to you.

Mr. SHRIVER. I can make a guess. There are somewhere around 30 people there, at a cost of about $2.7 million a year.

Senator CLARK. Well, if that turns out to be inaccurate, please correct the record.

Mr. SHRIVER. Yes; we will get it accurate. I just wanted to give an approximate idea what it was.

Senator CLARK. Now if we are going to follow out this staffing of the committee I was speaking about, the coordinating committee you were speaking about a few moments ago, we are going to have to get you some more supergrades, aren't we?

Mr. SHRIVER. Yes, sir; or they have to be assigned to somebody else and delegated to us.

Senator CLARK. Of course you know this is one of problems with the other body.

Mr. SHRIVER. What?

Senator CLARK. With the House. You know that horrible row we had last year about the supergrades.

Mr. SHRIVER. Excuse me. I was really wrong. They have 89 people there now. That shows you how things can grow.

Senator CLARK. Our books show 98.

Mr. SHRIVER. That is what is authorized, but they don't have them.

Senator CLARK. I see.

Mr. SHRIVER. Eighty-nine is what they have.

How much money?

Ninety people. They hired somebody yesterday, I guess.

Mr. LEVINE. Three and a half million dollars.

Mr. SHRIVER. Well, a little closer to that, $3.5 million.

Senator CLARK. Mr. Patricelli, do you have a question?

Mr. PATRICELLI. Mr. Shriver, I understand this staff would report to you as Chairman of the Economic Opportunity Council. Is that correct?

Mr. SHRIVER. Yes, or to Congress. Whoever the Chairman would be.

Mr. PATRICELLI. Do you think it would be possible for a staff which is appointed by you and reports to you to develop alternatives on a Government-wide basis, alternatives that might delegate OEO programs to other departments and agencies? Could this staff function effectively in presenting options in the same way, for example, that the Bundy staff supposedly acted in presenting foreign policy options to the President?

Mr. SHRIVER. Theoretically, I think you are right. On the face of it it looks like a conflict of interest. In fact, however, it is true that our own staff, letting that theoretical staff alone for a minute, has developed proposals to us for spinoffs and delegations and we have done it without any pressure from anybody. I mean a letter of actual history that is actually what is happening. I am not saying that the conflict is not latent there; all I am trying to say is up to now it has not reared its ugly head.

Mr. PATRICELLI. Would you agree that the staff might be freer to present options and alternatives if it did not report to you as Director of OEO but to a higher level?

Mr. SHRIVER. Surely.

Senator CLARK. Mr. Shriver, the staff has prepared a memorandum with additional questions on Headstart which I will not take time to have asked right now because I do want to move ahead. Our staff will furnish your people with these questions and perhaps you can provide answers.

Mr. SHRIVER. Be happy to.

Mr. CLARK. My third point is that the Headstart program is being operated in many of the schools at present. There is a wide area of flexibility given to the Office of Economic Opportunity, and, in point of fact, one-third of the full-year Headstart programs and two-thirds of the summer programs are presently being run by public school systems. This is being done on a delegation basis. The Office of Economic Opportunity can and often has delegated to school systems which it believes are competent and capable of handling the Headstart program the actual running of these programs for little children of 3, 4, and sometimes 5 years of age.

So the present flexible basis, I suggest, is far preferable to putting Headstart in a straitjacket and requiring it to be transferred to school systems, which, I say again, in many instances are not prepared to accept the responsibility with any reasonable hope of success.

My fourth point is that the Headstart programs are operated primarily by community action agencies directly, or their delegates, and should be. This is, as I said earlier, a typical community action activity which should be run at the grassroots level, by individuals primarily interested in the poverty program and not in the education of middle class and upper class youth—or even lower middle class youth, coming from families who could not conceivably be considered a part of the poverty population.

When you throw Headstart into the school systems, I suggest, too, you take all the emphasis on a successful attack on poverty out of the program, and you put it into the hands of individual administrators—principals, school teachers, doctors and dentists, if you like—whose concept of their obligation is to serve the children of the entire community, without regard to whether they are poor or not.

I think there is a need for advocacy for the children of the poor, which is the great contribution which OEO is able to make.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thought perhaps that rather than wait until the Senator is through, and then make a talk of my own, I could engage in a little colloquy with him at this point.

Mr. CLARK. I would be happy to.

Mr. DOMINICK. As to some points the Senator has raised which I think are of interest:

First of all, I would point out to the Senator that on page 4 of my amendment, we specifically provide, under section 6, that the State program, which would have to be approved by the Commissioner of Education, must provide "a balanced program to meet the educational, nutritional, health, clothing, and other unique needs of children from impoverished backgrounds in order for them to function at optimum levels in relationship to other children."

That is the exact wording, actually, in the poverty bill itself. What I am saying is that this is not educationally oriented; we are trying to approach the problem in the same way that they have already successfully done.

Mr. CLARK. I am aware of that, and I think if the Senator's amendment were to be adopted—which I hope it will not—that that is a useful provision.

I note, however, that the Senator from Colorado does not include any reference to the parents in that part of his amendment. I do not know whether he does anywhere else or not.

One of the major problems in connection with Headstart is to get the parents of these poor children to cooperate. As I said the other day, in many of their homes there has never been a book. In many of the homes, the knowledge of public health and sanitation is pretty rudimentary. Working with the parents is one of the major purposes in the Headstart program. It has been extraordinarily successful in most jurisdictions.

I do not think formal school systems could be expected to give that degree of concentrated attention to the parental needs of these children, if the program were incorporated into the average school system.

Mr. DOMINICK. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. On page 7 of the amendment, under subsection (c), where we are talking about the question of where most of the plans are set up, I think we have taken care of most of the problems the Senator from Pennsylvania has brought up as to the question of whether or not the program could go forward in public school systems, because that subsection provides that if no satisfactory plan is submitted, or no acceptable plan, or no plan at all, then the Commissioner is authorized to go directly to the qualified community action board, or, in any community where there is no board, directly to the educational agencies.

That would permit the Commissioner to have considerable flexibility in those areas where there might otherwise be some problems. That is the purpose for including subsection (c). I was not sure whether the Senator from Pennsylvania had had an opportunity to analyze that subsection.

Mr. CLARK. Actually, I was aware of its existence, but I am happy to have the explanation of the Senator from Colorado.

I suppose this is as good a place as any to say that I am really most skeptical about this administrative scheme of State planning. I would suggest, without attempting to be invidious or to name States where I believe this to be true, that there will be a number of States where State Boards of Education not only would not supplement, with an adequate State plan, a Headstart program, but probably are adverse to the whole Headstart concept for, quite frankly, racial reasons.

When I was in Mississippi this spring, I discovered that there had been one white mother in Jackson—a liberal woman—who had been willing to enroll her child in a Headstart program in that part of Jackson, Miss.

She was threatened and they attempted to ostracize her. She had a great deal of courage. She kept the child in the program. However, to have one child out of approximately 30 engaged in a program in that manner is pretty unsatisfactory.

This happened because the community consensus in that area was such that we could not do much about getting the Headstart program rolling if it were going to be under the jurisdiction of a local school board.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, to complete my fourth point——

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I join the chairman of the subcommittee, the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, in opposing the amendment.

I should like to engage in a colloquy with the Senator for a few minutes.

Mr. CLARK. I should be delighted to do so.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Is it not a fact that there is greater interest in this program in Congress and among the people of the United States than in any other aspect of the poverty program?

Mr. CLARK. I think that is true. I am glad the Senator raised that point. I believe that the Senator from Colorado will agree with that, although he believes in his point that the program would do even better under the Office of Education. I disagree with that point of view.

I think that things are going good.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. It seems to me that the program is a great success. Everybody recognizes it as being a great success. The investigations made by every committee of Congress concerned with the matter have established that the program is a great success.

When we consider all of the criticism that has been leveled at the OEO and the poverty program, we realize there has generally been less criticism directed at this program than at any other.

The program has been administered well. It has been directed properly. It has accomplished a great deal of good. It seems to me to be very strange, when this program has been an effective program, has been administered properly, and has accomplished a great deal, and everybody recognizes that those who have administered it have shown a great deal of attention and compassion and understanding for the problem, to then say: "It has been such a success that we will take it out of the area where it is being properly administered and where it is doing well, and put it under the Commissioner in the Office of Education who has said, 'We are not tooled up to handle this program.'"

In an exchange between the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner, when asked if the Office of Education could handle Headstart, said specifically that he did not think they could, that they were not prepared to do so.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I would like to read into the RECORD that part of the discussion had in the hearings on July 25, 1967, before the Senate Education Subcommittee on the 1967 amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Senator DOMINICK addressed a question to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, who would have supervision of this program if the amendment were agreed to. The question related to transferring this program. Mr. Howe replied:

> I think that actually the operation of Headstart under OEO, under the present arrangement, makes a great deal of sense; that we are not geared up for it; that the flexibility that OEO has in dealing with the whole variety of community agencies that are offering Headstart programs is a well-established flexibility that would be more difficult for us to establish. And it seems to me that our cooperation with them in joint arrangements in which we offer title I preschool programs is working well.
>
> *So that I do not believe that the idea of making a transfer of Headstart to the Office of Education is one that ought to be pursued, for reasons of administrative efficiency, or for the operation of that program.*
>
> I think that these programs can go along as they are, and that there is good cooperation between these two major agencies.

That is a quotation from Mr. Harold Howe. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] pursued a similar line with Mr. Howe later in the course of the hearings and asked:

> Is there any reason why the Office of Education could not operate the Headstart program on a grant basis similar for example, to title I—and thereby avoid the church-State conflict?

Mr. Howe replied:

> I think our arrangements for handling private school pupils and handling the facilities to provide Headstart activities for pupils are somewhat less flexible under title I legislation than is the case with OEO legislation, and therefore, I think there might be a problem connected to private school pupils, but I would assume that with new legislation that could be worked out.

I would assume that, with new legislation, that could be worked out.

I thank the Senator very much for calling that to my attention.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I should like to point out a couple of other points that I believe are important.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may temporarily yield the floor to the distinguished junior Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, first, we would be taking the program out of an agency in which it has been very successful and effective and placing it under a department that says it is not prepared to handle it.

Second, evidence compiled by the Office of Education concerning the experience with this kind of a problem in school systems all over the country makes it apparent on the face of it that they are not equipped to handle the problem.

The great cities of our Nation have known of the problem for decades. We have seen the results of their work. By the time a child in a slum school in the city of New York, or any of the other cities which has a large number of poor reaches the third grade, he is 1 year behind. By the time he reaches the sixth grade he is 2 years behind.

Between the fifth and eighth grades, under our present educational system, the average child in a ghetto school loses 10 points in his IQ.

I would say that we should not be overwhelmed with the success and effectiveness of the educational system existing in our country as it pertains to the very poor.

Only three out of 10 children in poverty areas graduate from high school, and yet even those three who graduate from high school have only a 50–50 chance of having the equivalent of an eighth-grade education.

It seems to me that Headstart has been successful where it is. The Commissioner of Education says that it makes no sense to switch the Headstart program to the Office of Education because his agency is not equipped to deal with it.

If we look at the educational systems around our country, we have to recognize, as Commissioner Howe recognizes, that in other localities in the country and in the smaller cities of the country they have no programs which have been imaginative or very effective in dealing with this kind of problem.

Moreover, there are some areas of the country where the present approach to Headstart is especially important, areas where there is a conflict between those who are running the Headstart program and the State authorities.

When we were in Mississippi, as the Senator from Pennsylvania knows, we examined a very good program—the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

If this group, the Child Development Group of Mississippi, and certain other efforts in that State and in other States were changed over and put under the office of education of the particular State involved, there is no question that it would destroy the effectiveness of the program.

Anybody who looks at the Headstart program under the direction of CDGM is impressed by the program and what they have done. Anyone examining the program will notice how the program has touched the lives of these children. If that program is changed or transferred over to the control of the State department of education, it would be destroyed. We have to recognize and face up to that fact.

Furthermore, the Headstart program is more than just an educational program. It has an effect on the parents. It brings in the parents. It has an effect on the community. That has not been done at the present time in the regular school systems, at least not in the major cities of the United States. The child and the parent are remote from the direction of the regular educational system.

That is one of the advantages of the Headstart program. If we change the Headstart program and transfer it over to a Department of Education, we will lose all of that. We will lose the participation of parents, the idea that it will be a year-round program, and the idea that this is really a program which is supposed to be controlled by the people in the local community.

It is not directed by somebody from Washington or from the State capital or from the mayor's office. I believe that is extremely important, and that is one of the reasons why this program has been so effective.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Do I correctly understand the Senator to mean that, as has been explained by the Senator from Colorado when I believe the Senator from New York was absent from the Chamber, there would be no change except an immediate change in the top of the administration?

The program as it is presently set up is working so well that no one, least of all the Senator from California, would suggest change in this program. The heads of the departments of education would have the good sense and judgment not to destroy this program, which is so important.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I have several points I should like to make in connection with that matter.

The Office of Education says it is unequipped to deal with it. There is no question that in many of the cities we have toured, the local departments of education or boards of education would be unequipped to deal with this matter.

Furthermore, under the amendment—I have read the minority views——

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. May I just finish my points?

Mr. MURPHY. I do not want to lose the point the Senator from New York just made.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I do not want the Senator to lose it, either. The Senator may proceed.

Mr. MURPHY. I have the good fortune to serve on both committees, and the evidence that we have had from the educators, the heads of departments of education indicate that they are equipped, that they are quite ready, and that they are capable and could do it. They believe, as I believe, that they could do it just as well and possibly lead into the followup programs with less dislocation and less friction for the children.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I am not familiar with that. I am familiar with the testimony of the Commissioner of Education in which he said specifically that they were not prepared.

Mr. MURPHY. He is on the same team. I am on the side of the taxpayer and the people. Actually, the Commissioner of Education must protect his brothers in bureaucracy. Otherwise, his pencils would be dull.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. The Senator from California went to Mississippi with us and recalls the organization, the

Child Development Group of Mississippi.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I believe at that time he said some words in praise of that organization and the effectiveness of some of their programs, particularly the Headstart program.

As the Senator knows, and as he pointed out when we were in Mississippi, they have operated independently of the State, and that is one of the reasons why they have been effective. Under the proposed amendment, that would no longer be possible.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. May I finish?

Mr. DOMINICK. I just want the Senator from New York to know that what he said is not true. I suggest that he read the amendment again.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. May I finish?

Mr. DOMINICK. Do not come in and say that you could not continue it, because that is not the fact.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I should like to point out the section of the amendment which I believe raises the problem about the CDGM. It is section 702 on page 3, and it says the State plan is to be one which "sets forth a program under which funds paid to the State from its allotment under section 701 will be used solely to make grants to community action boards."

In the first place, CDGM is not a community action board or a delegate agency of a community action board. So it could not be funded under that provision.

Section 702 goes on, on page 4, and says "or in any community where there is no qualified community action board," the funds are to go "to local educational agencies to assist them in carrying on preschool programs which, under subsection (b), are eligible for assistance under this title."

Therefore, Headstart funds would have to go through the State department of education, which in this case would be the State of Mississippi, which is opposed to CDGM, and on to the local schools, which are also opposed to CDGM.

Mr. DOMINICK. Will the Senator refer to the page from which he is reading?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I have read from the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. On what page?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. On what page?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Page 3, section 702(a)(2).

Mr. MURPHY. While the Senator from Colorado is looking for the place, will the Senator from New York permit me to say that I do not actually recall having enough knowledge of the activities of this group in Mississippi. I only recall the experience in Mississippi in which we discovered, jointly, that people there were starving. And I am ashamed to say that, so far as I can learn, I do not believe that problem has been rectified.

With all due respect to the Senator, I am quite certain that I did not make extensive remarks with respect to the other item, because I would have no knowledge. Under the proposal I coauthored, there would be no change in the operation. There would be merely change in the top responsibility, and it would be passed from OEO to the Department of Education.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I say to the Senator that I do not believe all of us can remember every witness or everything is said at a hearing; but it is a fact that while the Senator from California was present, representatives of this organization, CDGM, did testify. I believe we can obtain the testimony. I believe we all were impressed with what they were doing. The Senator might not have attended it. I do not question that. But the fact is that it does change—I just use this as an example, and I am sure there are other examples—it does change the possibility of an organization such as this operating effectively or successfully in the State.

Mr. MURPHY. I should like to say once more that we are writing of legislation to affect the 50 States. I understand that in certain States, certain areas, there will be problems. But in the writing of legislation for 50 States, I must be guided by the testimony I have heard, as a member of the Subcommittee on Education, which convinced me that the educators, the educational groups around the country, are ready and believe they are capable of doing the job.

I thank the Senator from New York.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I thank the Senator from California. I am on that committee as well, and I know how conscientious the Senator from California has been about these matters.

Mr. DOMINICK. In answer to the point about which we were speaking earlier, I cite subsection (b), on page 5, which states that a preschool program shall be eligible for assistance if it is carried on by, or under contract arrangements with, a community action board.

This would take care of the system in existence in Mississippi. If that would not take care of it, we reserve 10 percent to the Commissioner of Education, which he could distribute in any way he wished. He could do it directly from the Commissioner of Education to the child development and growth group about which the Senator is speaking.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I said that it really does not deal with this problem, because there are other organizations such as this around the country which are not delegate agencies, and do not operate by contract with community action boards. They, like CDGM, are funded directly. Nor is it at all clear to me from the language of the amendment that it does give the Commission the authority to fund a group like CDGM directly.

The Senator from Colorado and I might disagree in this respect, but we cannot disagree with respect to the fact that if the amendment of the Senator from Colorado is adopted, many changes will be made in the manner in which the program is operated.

Mr. DOMINICK. I hope changes will be made, because they should be made.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield.

Mr. BROOKE. The Senator has well pointed out that the Headstart program has been rated a success by almost all those who testified. In addition to the assistance that is given to the child who participates in the Headstart program, as the Senator has also pointed out, the parents are directly affected. They are given an opportunity, under this program, to participate, and, in the nonprofessional jobs to become directly involved in the work of the Headstart program.

In addition, many other nonprofessionals from the community are hired to work in the program, and many volunteers from outside the community come in to help.

It seems to me that here we have a program which admittedly is successful and is working. To disrupt the program at this time would be a source of great discouragement not only to the parents of the children in Headstart but also to the country as a whole. We have had unfortunate experiences with some of the so-called poverty programs. But here we have a program which is working well, and to attempt to disrupt it in any way might be very injurious not only to Headstart but to the whole concept of a concerted effort to eradicate poverty in America.

Mr. President, I have great respect for the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has the floor.

Mr. BROOKE. I have great respect for both of them and certainly, under normal circumstances, I would agree with them that the Office of Education would be the proper place for a program such as Headstart. This would be true under normal circumstances and in the best of all possible worlds. But let us face it. We do not have the best of all possible worlds. We know there will be serious problems if Headstart is taken out of the Office of Economic Opportunity and placed under the Office of Education before they are ready to assume responsibility for it.

I wonder what provisions, if any, the Senator from Colorado would have in his amendment to protect the Headstart program from school systems that admittedly do not want to participate in such a program?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may answer the question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has the floor.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Massachusetts, if this dislocation were a fact, why it would be fair to assume that the Office of Education would create a dislocation? Why assume this to be so and that it cannot be administered by someone other than OEO? I think sometimes an assumption of this type may be very good, but for all practical purposes, I do not think we should rush at it too quickly and assume it to be a fait accompli.

This program might be improved, and some of the problems about which the distinguished Senator is concerned, as I am, might be improved by the changes. I am not certain of this. I cannot assume that it would or would not. However, that would be my hope. I would hope from all of the evidence on both sides that it might work better.

Mr. BROOKE. I do not assume that the transfer from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education would necessarily result in dislocation. I cannot make that assumption and I think the Senator from California is quite correct.

However, we do know that the Director of the Office of Education has said before the committee that his office is not in a position to accept the program at the present time.

We know from the record, and from the problems which many States have had with their own school systems, that they are not in a position to accept a Headstart program. We know the school systems in the country, generally speaking, are not able to bring in nonprofessional personnel to work in the community with the Headstart program. And they have had nothing in their programs to date to indicate they could be effective in the social and psychological fields, because they are almost entirely geared to the field of formal education.

If we admit that Headstart is more than an educational program, I think the assumption would be valid that there would be dislocation if we place it in the Office of Education rather than in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

My main point, however, is that Headstart is working under the Office of Economic Opportunity. It has been called a magnificent success. Why stop a success. We need more of it.

I say at this time that since the Office of Education is not able to take it, why not leave it there.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point to permit me to answer some of these points?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Colorado and he, then, can yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I wish to point out two things. First, one-third of all the full year Headstart programs are being operated by school systems now, and two-thirds of those are in the summertime. I cite as authority for this statement the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] who so stated on September 22, 1967, in a colloquy with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD]. There is already some experience in this field by our schools.

Second, this particular amendment would reserve 10 percent to the Commissioner of Education wherever he thinks and under such criteria as he thinks there should be, which gives flexibility to take care of specific problems.

Third, subsection (6) on page 4 of the proposal provides that the State plan must provide a balanced program to meet the "educational, nutritional, health, clothing, and other unique needs of children from impoverished backgrounds in order for them to function at optimum levels in relationship to other children."

Fourth, it provides, under section (5), that the program can be operated by or under contracts with the Community Action Board.

These safeguards are in here.

Finally, I would conclude by pointing out that in August 1966, Mr. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in his testimony before the Committee on Government Operations said, with respect to the Headstart program:

> However, we are doing the same thing under title I and I think we in our Department believe that eventually all of these preschool efforts will have to find their home in our Department.

We transferred the work study program and the adult education program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education, and they are working fine.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I would be happy to yield if I have the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado has the floor.

Mr. BROOKE. Would parochial schools and settlement houses be able to operate schools under the amendment?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes, by contract; under the State plan by contract with the Community Action Board.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts said that in Los Angeles the Headstart program is funded under ESCA. They are doing the work, they are getting along fine, and may be considered one of the best examples. I think the Senator's fears may be unfounded. There is great overlap already.

Mr. DOMINICK. If Senators will note the summary which is on the desk of each Senator, they will see that this matter has been endorsed by the Council of Chief State School Officers, Great Cities for School Improvement, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Association of State Boards of Education, National Association of State School Boards, and the National Education Association.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I do not think that all of those organizations are in favor of segregation or anything of that kind.

Mr. BROOKE. Did representatives of these agencies appear before the committee when the committee held hearings?

Mr. DOMINICK. No; but they appeared before the Subcommittee on Education. This is part of the problem. At that time I asked them these questions in the process of those hearings. I do not want to give the impression that they have analyzed my amendment which is now pending. They are in favor of the concept.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have to take issue with the statement of the Senator from Colorado. On September 25, 1967, I inserted in the RECORD a telegram sent to me on September 22 of this year signed by John M. Lumley, the director of the National Education Association, Division of Federal Regulations, in which he said:

> NEA DIVISION OF
> FEDERAL REGULATIONS,
> *Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967.*
>
> Hon. JOSEPH CLARK,
> *U.S. Senate,*
> *Washington, D.C.:*
>
> The National Education Association urges passage of S. 2388 as approved by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, to continue operation of economic opportunity programs and to establish the Emergency Employment Act.
>
> JOHN M. LUMLEY,
> *Director.*

I take that as an endorsement by the qualified officer of the National Education Association of the provision in the pending bill which would leave Headstart in the Office of Economic Opportunity as it is at the present time.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on September 22, 1967, the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] said:

> This is the strong lobbying position of the National Education Association and the teacher unions. There is an enormous vested interest in this country trying to get the Headstart program away from the OEO and to have it placed in the school boards. I have great respect for the National Education Association. I have quite a lot of respect for the various teacher unions. But we must recognize it for what it is; namely, a lobbying effort.

Mr. CLARK. I made that statement on the floor and then, when I went back to my office, I found that I was wrong because there was this telegram from Mr. Lumley.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield for a final question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. BROOKE. Is not the Office of Education obliged by law to deal only with State educational agencies and public school systems?

Mr. DOMINICK. It depends upon what authority is given to the Office of Education. In this particular amendment, we ask them to approve the State plans as formulated by the State boards and then we give them discretion of 10 percent of the amount of funding, and to take such action as they deem necessary wherever it may be, and whatever the criteria may be.

Mr. BROOKE. Then is only 10 percent to be used for agencies outside the State educational systems and the public school systems?

Mr. DOMINICK. No; to use the total amount for the next fiscal year—$350 million. No, sir; that is not correct.

Mr. BROOKE. Would the Senator clarify it?

Mr. DOMINICK. I would be happy to do so. The amount of money authorized for 1969 and 1970 is $350 million in 1 year and $400 million the next year, allocated to the States under the formula now in the poverty program. We reserve a certain amount of that total of 10 percent for the Commissioner of Education to use in any way he deems necessary. The State plans can provide not only for Headstart programs operating under the public school system but also for community action boards and, by contracts, through community action boards, so that there will be tremendous flexibility. The only thing we are asking is that the plan as such in each State be approved by the State board. If it is not approved, then the Commissioner must go out on his own.

Mr. BROOKE. I thank the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I want to complete my argument in opposition to the amendment.

The able junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] has made so effective an argument in opposition to the amendment that it will not be necessary, for me to do more than summarize quickly the reasons why, as Senator in charge of the bill, I hope the amendment will be defeated.

I had given three major reasons when I was interrupted by, I think, the useful colloquy with the Senator from Colorado and others.

My fourth reason is that the Headstart programs are presently operated primarily by the community action agencies directly, or their delegates.

It is difficult to compare Headstart programs run by CAA's with those operated by schools but OEO's experience has found that school systems have had difficulties in meeting Headstart's requirements that: parents be involved; comprehensive services be provided outside the classroom; and the program be focused on disadvantaged children.

I think that this is an excellent reason for leaving well enough alone.

My fifth reason is—as I have already stated—the Office of Education does not want it. At this time, it should not be asked to administer a Headstart program. I am pretty skeptical, frankly, about turning a program over to Harold Howe of the Office of Education, for whom I personally have great respect but who, let us face it, is a pretty controversial figure in many parts of the country at this time.

My sixth reason is that although both the EOA and the ESEA authorize preschool programs, these programs differ in several important respects: title I—ESEA—programs are generally less comprehensive than Headstart; considerably fewer children have been served annually under title I than under Headstart; most title I preschool programs have been operated during the summer whereas Headstart operates both summer and full-year programs; and title I programs serve a substantially greater proportion of children from families whose income is above the OEO eligibility levels. Headstart and title I programs are, however, coordinated through a required checkpoint procedure authorized under the ESEA.

I think perhaps the best argument which has been made in opposition to the amendment was that made by the Senator from Massachusetts when he said, "Why do we want to change a program that is working well? Why change it?"

I have listened with great interest to the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from California. I have heard no sound reason why we want to complicate and confuse an administrative situation which is working well now, and to transfer a program to an agency that does not want it. We know from the hearings of the subcommittee that it will cause infinite difficulties in a number of States and, if we throw it into the educational system, it will destroy Headstart's flexibility.

Mr. President, I am now prepared to yield the floor and vote, if my friend from Colorado is about ready.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am prepared to yield, in about 3 minutes. I want to make a summary. Since I am the proposer of the amendment, I presume I should get an opportunity to say the last word on a couple of points.

The fact that we have problems with coordination between the school system and Headstart is very apparent. Strong evidence is the fact that in the new poverty bill we have had to put in a Follow Through program, which is represented as a means to bridge the gap. The so-called Follow Through program provides $120 million and may well interject the poverty program into our school systems. It is my hope that by transferring Headstart over to the Office of Education we will eliminate this need, as of next year, when the proposal would start. Thus, we would be able to see if we have corrected the problems by moving the program. It strikes me that with the groups we have supporting this transfer in principle, at least, we should use this opportunity to take the program and put it into an office which has jurisdiction and expertise on the subject. We would then be able to move forward with a coordinated program which will cut down the overall expense and increase the opportunity and the scope of a very useful program.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, as a cosponsor I want to add my support to amendment No. 342 which would transfer the Headstart program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the fiscal year 1969. The amendment is supported by educational leaders throughout Arizona and the Nation.

There can be little question that the Headstart program has been a successful innovation in education. It has given countless thousands of children the opportunity for a preschool educational experience which, in many cases, compensates for deficiencies which would affect their ability to learn, not only in the first grade but throughout their entire school experience. I am confident, however, that the Headstart program can be made even more successful if we make this administrative change. It seems to me, as it does to most educational leaders with whom I have spoken, to make good sense to coordinate all educational programs into the one agency of Government Congress established for that purpose.

While I have no quarrel with the OEO officials who have operated Headstart, and for the most part they have done an able job, it seems to me that they have enough to do in other poverty programs to keep them amply busy.

There is little doubt in my mind that the Headstart program will be greatly expanded in years to come. Therefore, now is an opportune time to transfer the administrative duties to the Office of Education, which is staffed with the professional educators who can best guide the program's operation.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, each year almost 1 million children of poverty enter school for the first time. These children usually bring with them, not a new dress or shirt pocket full of crayons, but a lack of self-confidence, a built-in mistrust of adults—in short, a fear of the whole experience.

In order to combat this deprivation, the Office of Economic Opportunity instituted what we now know as the Headstart program, designed to be the first vital step toward breaking the cycle of poverty.

In his message on America's children and youth, delivered on February 8 of this year, the President said of the program:

> Headstart has passed its first trials with flying colors. Tested in practice the past two years, it has proven worthy of its promise.

Now, there now are those, Mr. President, who advocate transferring the Headstart program from OEO to the Office of Education. Their primary argument has been that the local program should be run exclusively by the local school systems.

This reasoning is both impractical and illogical. Many school systems are unwilling or unable to run Headstart programs. For the program is not solely concerned with education: There are medical, dental, and nutritional aspects—to name but a few—which school systems simply are not prepared to handle. This past year, a full 60 percent of the year-long programs were run by organizations other than school systems.

Also, parents play a vital role in developing local Headstart policies and programs. The result is that parents begin to take a more active role in the educational development of their children. As the National Education Association has testified, many school systems are simply not ready to work with parents on anything resembling this basis.

In addition, some school systems cannot by law, and others will not, establish early childhood development programs. Thus a transfer of Headstart to the Office of Education could well mean the end of many local preschool programs.

Finally, Mr. President, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable John W. Gardner, has said that his office is not prepared at this time to assume the functions of the Headstart program.

Because it is vital that the program be continued and expanded; because the progress that has been made these past 2 years must not now be jeopardized;

and because the Office of Economic Opportunity which initiated Headstart is best qualified to continue its direction, we must not disrupt the program by pointlessly transferring it to the Office of Education.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 54, as follows:

[No. 269 Leg.]

YEAS—35

Allott
Baker
Bennett
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Hansen
Hartke
Holland
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
Miller
Monroney
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Prouty
Scott
Smith
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—54

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bayh
Bible
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Cannon
Case
Church
Clark
Dodd
Eastland
Gore
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hatfield
Hayden
Hill
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—11

Fulbright
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Kuchel
Lausche
Morse
Pastore
Pearson
Russell
Smathers
Symington

So Mr. DOMINICK's amendments were rejected.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9960) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. GIAIMO, Mr. SHIPLEY, Mr. MARSH, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. MAHON, Mr. JONAS, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. WYMAN, Mr. TALCOTT, and Mr. BOW were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Delaware withhold his request for a quorum call?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as far as the floor manager of the bill is concerned, he is ready for a third reading.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 347

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 347 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read, as follows:

> On page 7 strike all after the period in line 20 and all of lines 21 through 25, of lines 1 and 2 on page 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "In the case of an individual with a history of serious and violent behavior, or a history of repetitive or serious law violation or delinquent acts, such determination must be supported by a signed statement from the individual's local Federal or State district attorney, sheriff, or chief of police certifying that the individual, if selected, is likely to participate successfully in the program and is unlikely to engage in activities or behavior that would impede other enrollees from receiving the benefit of the program or be incompatible with the maintenance of sound discipline and satisfactory relationships between any center to which he might be assigned and surrounding communities."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I note that the manager of the bill is temporarily absent from the floor. In deference to him, I think I should save the discussion of my amendment until he returns.

Mr. President, I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, in the course of this year, the Senator from Pennsylvania has performed a task seldom undertaken in connection with congressional consideration of legislation to renew a Federal program. With his constructive energy and flair, his usual creativity and deep commitment, Senator CLARK has conducted an examination of the war on poverty that was both just and judicious, exhaustive and, I might say, a bit exhausting. In the course of the last 8 months, the Senator has crisscrossed the country, hearing hundreds of witnesses, seeing and talking with thousands of the poor, and examining dozens of local programs.

As a member of the subcommittee, it was my privilege to join Senator CLARK on a number of his field trips—to Mississippi, to California, to Chicago, to Boston, to New York City, and to homes and programs just a few blocks from where we stand. What struck me as we visited around the country was that if other Senators—whatever their committee assignment, whatever their party, whatever section of the country they are from—had a chance to make the same kind of exhaustive investigation that Senator CLARK has chaired, there would be no opposition to the continuation of the Economic Opportunity Act and, though there might be differences of opinion on the way in which the program should be administered, there would be no disagreement that the present level of funding, and even that proposed by the committee, is grossly inadequate.

For, as one travels around the country to examine conditions of poverty and to investigate our efforts to deal with it, a national picture comes into focus, a picture which transcends one's view of poverty in his own State. We all know there is no area of our country which is totally affluent, which does not contain poverty. But I am convinced that only the exhaustive national survey which the subcommittee undertook gives one a deep, intuitive sense of the extent of the problem and the need to act. From Negro cotton choppers in Mississippi to jobless

Negro teenagers in Hough, from people of Spanish surnames in isolated northern New Mexico to Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, from former coal miners in West Virginia to Appalachian whites who have migrated to Chicago, from Sioux Indians on their reservations in South Dakota to the Indian community in Minneapolis, from Eskimos in Alaska to Puerto Ricans in East Harlem—all over the Nation there are people in extreme poverty—men and women and children without jobs and without hope, without decent housing and without enough to eat.

I believe the experience of an investigation such as we made gives one a special sense of the magnitude of the problem and the urgency of action.

But, everywhere we went we also saw the impact of the war on poverty—Headstart programs, opening new worlds to small children and their parents, Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps programs giving new hope to young men and young women, neighborhood legal services and neighborhood health centers, providing legal protection and medical care to people for the first time.

Our study gave us a firsthand sense of what the war on poverty is, of what its possibilities are, of what it is accomplishing, of what it could accomplish if we were to give it the funds and the resources to fulfill its potential. For if there were desperate, frustrated poor people in every community we visited, there were hopeful, helpful programs as well.

In Mississippi we saw pathetically hungry children and families which had literally no cash income because the revolution in farm technology had deprived them of what little work they had. But we also saw children in Headstart centers, grown men learning to read for the first time, young men and women learning job skills, families receiving Federal food aid.

In California we saw migrant workers living in upturned cars on riverbanks, but we also saw migrant housing and education program which bring more promise to those workers than they have ever had before.

Here in Washington we saw housing within sight of the Nation's Capitol that strained belief. But we also heard what the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps have done for some of the young men and women who live here in the District.

Whatever the program—Headstart, Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, neighborhood health centers, and so on—the picture is really the same: These programs have made a great difference in the lives of thousands, but there are hundreds of thousands more who have not been reached.

The amount of money authorized in the committee bill is really a bare minimum—a grossly inadequate figure when compared to the scope of the problem. For as the Department of Labor stated flatly in its 1967 manpower report:

> Economic and social conditions are getting worse, not better in slum areas.

So we must act. For if we do not, the violence and destruction, the fear and fury which blazed in our cities this summer will continue. But more than that, we must act not just because failure to act will bring further violence, but because we must give some encouragement to those who still believe that progress is possible within our established institutions. We cannot denounce extremists who reject our social system if we do not prove that that system is capable of helping people lead a better life.

The riots which have taken place—and which may all too easily take place in the future—are, of course, an intolerable threat to the essential interests of all of us. A violent few cannot be permitted to threaten the well-being of the many and the hopes of their fellows for progress. Those who lead others to burn and loot must feel the full force of the law.

That, however, is just the beginning, and we should not delude ourselves. The riots are not crises which can be resolved as suddenly as they arose. They are the result of a condition which has been with us for 300 years and will be with us for many years more. We can deal with the crises without dealing with the underlying problem—just as we can give novocaine to a man with a broken arm, without setting that arm in a splint; but the end result will only be more pain, pain beyond temporary relief, and permanent crippling of our society.

And until we deal with the underlying conditions, we are in grave danger: the danger of a deepening division between white and black America, that fear will breed resentment, and resentment hostility, and increasing hostility again feed mounting fear.

This division represents not a failure of compassion, or of the American sense of justice; rather it is a failure of understanding and communication. We live in different worlds and gaze out over a different landscape. Through the eyes of the white majority, the man of decent impulse and moral purpose, the Negro world is one of steady and continuous progress. In a few years, he has seen the entire structure of discriminatory legislation torn down. He has heard Presidents become spokesmen for racial justice, while Negro Americans enter the Cabinet and the Supreme Court. The white American has paid taxes for poverty and education programs, and watched his children risk their lives to register voters in Alabama. Seeing this, he asks, what cause can there be for violent insurrection, or dissatisfaction with present progress?

But if we try to look through the eyes of the young slum dweller—the Negro, and the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican American—the world is a dark and hopeless place indeed.

The chances are that this young man was born into a family without a father—often as a result of welfare laws which require a broken home as a condition of help. His chance of dying in the first year of life is twice that of children born outside the slum, and inadequate prenatal care also assures that if he survives, his chances of being mentally retarded are seven times the community average.

He begins to grow, often crowded with adults into one or two rooms, without adequate plumbing or heat, each night trying to defend himself against marauding rats.

He goes to a school which teaches little that helps him in an alien world. The chances are 7 out of 10 that he will not graduate from high school—and even when he does, he has only a 50–50 chance of acquiring the equivalent of an eighth-grade education. At one high school which I have visited a number of times and which is not atypical—located in the wealthiest city, in the wealthiest State, in the wealthiest Nation in the world—25 percent of the freshmen read at fourth-grade level or below; half cannot read above sixth-grade level.

For the rest of his life also there are statistics: prices for the most basic commodities are far higher than in the rest of the city; 43 percent of ghetto housing is substandard and overcrowded; tens of thousands of children are treated for rat bites each year; and of a quarter of a million Puerto Rican schoolchildren in New York City, only 37 went on to college last year.

Worst of all, the people of the ghetto and the barrio live today with an unemployment rate far worse than the rest of the Nation knew during the depth of the great depression. If the unemployment of the depression was a national emergency—and it was—our cities today therefore envelop dozens of even greater emergencies. Unemployment in the poverty districts—among Negroes in Hough, Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, Appalachian whites in Chicago, Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, Indians on reservations—in short, among groups of Americans of every race and background—is at least three times the national rate and is rising.

But even this does not measure the full extent of the problem. The Labor Department recently did a special subemployment survey which included people not in the labor force at all, people working only part time and people working but not earning a substantial wage, which showed that 28.6 percent of the working-age population in Harlem and 33.6 percent in East Harlem fall into these categories.

In other cities the subemployment rate is even worse—as high as 45.3 percent in the slums of New Orleans and 47.4 percent in the barrio of San Antonio.

The Department of Labor's 1967 Manpower Report says flatly:

> Slum residents have been bypassed by the national rise in real family income. In South Los Angeles—a predominantly Negro poverty area—median family income rose by only 4 percent between 1959 and 1965 and in East Los Angeles—a heavily Mexican-American low-income area—by only 0.2 percent, despite an average rise of 8 percent in consumer prices for urban families.

In other words, real family income in these two areas of Los Angeles dropped by 4 and 8 percent, respectively—while real family income nationwide was rising by 14 percent. From June 1965 to June 1966, 950,000 new jobs were created for young men, but only 33,000, about 3.7 percent, went to Negroes. A Labor Department spokesman explained that Negro youths "just don't have the connections."

Nor is the problem confined to urban areas. Just in the Mississippi Delta, which I visited last April with the subcommittee, there are even now 40,000 to 60,000 people who literally have no cash income. And migrant farmworkers have also been left totally out of the the economic mainstream, earning an average of $1,200 a year from farmwork and $600 from odd jobs. The conditions under which they live and work, which I have seen as I have visited them around the country, are shocking in the last third of the 20th century. Finally, the poverty on Indian reservations is severe, with unemployment ranging up to 80 percent and men dying at 42 years of age, on the average, which is 25 years below the average for the white man.

Mr. President, I might say that although poverty conditions are as bad as I have described them in this part of the United States, the conditions for the Indians, and Eskimos in Alaska are probably the worst conditions of any group.

These, then, are the problems. They will not be banished with force; and they will not just go away. Thirty million poor people all over our Nation are a reality. The slums are a reality, as are idleness and poverty, lack of education and dilapidated housing. Frustrated expectations and disappointed hopes are realities. Above all, the awareness of injustice and the passion to end it are inescapable realities. No force in the world can wish these facts out of existence. Thus we have only one choice. We can face our difficulties and strive to overcome them, with imagination and dedication and wisdom and love. Or we can turn away—bringing repression, steadily increasing human pain and civil strife, and leaving a problem of far more terrible and threatening proportions to our children.

For history has placed us all, black and white, within a common border and under a common law. All of us, from the wealthiest and most powerful of men to the weakest and hungriest of children, share one precious possession: the name "American." It is not easy to know what that means. But in part to be an American means to have been an outcast and a stranger, to have come to the exiles' country, and to know that he who denies the outcast and stranger among us, at that moment also denies America.

We have begun to meet our responsibilities. The Office of Economic Opportunity has been an innovative and creative agency. It has stimulated a new partnership with private industry in the Job Corps, in other job training, and in the development of quasi-public housing corporations to use the skill of private industry in slum rehabilitation. OEO's neighborhood health centers are an experiment in new ways of delivering health services which could revolutionize health services not just for the poor but for all of us. The New York Times described Headstart as "the most significant educational advance in the past decade."

But the point about all of this is that it is only a beginning. If 700,000 children participated in Headstart this past year, there are hundreds of thousands more who need its special help. If more than 300,000 people were served by OEO legal services this past year, there are hundreds of thousands more who need legal help. If the neighborhood health centers funded this past year will ultimately serve 675,000 poor people, there are hundreds of thousands more who need decent health care. For there are still over 30 million poor people in our Nation, still over 30 million men, women, and children who have been left behind as our country has reached new plateau after new plateau of affluence.

Mr. President, the bill before the Senate today is the result of an unusually careful study by the members of the subcommittee and their staffs. I think the subcommittee staff is especially to be commended. The bill makes a number of important changes in the structure and administration of OEO. It provides a panoply of new means to assure a coordination of Office of Economic Opportunity programs with other Federal programs which have an impact on the poor. The Senator from Pennsylvania explained these new means of coordination in articulate detail the other day. It provides a new coordination role for the States, which is based on the observations we made around the country. And it provides for greater local initiative in choosing the particular OEO-financed programs which will be developed and applied in each community. For we heard again and again that the programs which worked best were the ones which people in the community themselves chose and developed themselves, and in which, therefore, they had the greatest stake.

I would mention only four major points regarding the bill today: First, that the level of funding authorized in title I of the bill—that is, in the economic opportunity amendments—not be cut; second, that proposals to spin off component programs not be heeded; third, that the 2-year authorization for OEO which was adopted by the committee not be rejected; fourth, that title II of the bill—the Emergency Employment Act, not be rejected.

First, the committee did increase the authorized funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity from $2.06 billion to $2.258 billion. I believe it would be unfortunate if those additional funds were eliminated. They were added to allow funding for a number of items that the committee felt especially important. One of our major findings as we went across the country was that individual programs have too often been cut back by Washington as more applicants appeared to claim a slice of a pie that has not grown fast enough to accommodate them all. These cutbacks at the local level have been extremely damaging. They cause great bitterness and great frustration. The $198 million which the committee added would alleviate this problem somewhat, and to cut it would, correspondingly, have a most damaging effect throughout the country. I urge the Senate to reject any such proposal.

I might give an example of the kind of cutback which the committee's action might alleviate, although it will not deal with it completely. This summer we had a job program in the city of New York, and there were comparable ones across the country, encompassing a total of 40,000 jobs. After September there was a cutback to 7,000 jobs, so that all of those who held jobs were turned into the street with no place to go. It is that kind of practice, it seems to me, which stimulates violence and lawlessness, and the dissatisfaction which many people feel about our Government and society.

We have all talked about the hot summers and we are all concerned about what is going to happen next summer. It seems to me that these problems are not going to be confined to the summers. We are going to have the same kind of difficulty 12 months a year if we continue directing these programs in the way we have been over a period of several years. That is the responsibility we must accept in Congress, as well as in the executive branch of Government, and, I might add, at the local community level as well. I do not think by any means this is the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. But one way in which we in Congress can exercise our share of the responsibility is to reject any effort to cut back the $198 million which the committee added.

Second, there is talk that various programs—whether Headstart or Upward Bound or Neighborhood Youth Corps—should be removed entirely from the administration and control of the Office of Economic Opportunity and given to other agencies. Our hearings do not support the spin-off idea. Of over 400 witnesses before the committee, only two advocated the abolition of OEO and the transfer of its functions to other agencies. And the record is replete with the testimony of administration officials—OEO, HEW, Labor, and others—that the present distribution of programs is best and should not be disturbed.

Headstart, for example, is not just an education program. As I said earlier, it seeks to develop the child in relation to his family and the world around him, and a critical part of this is parental involvement. I think transfer to the Office of Education, with the implied presumption that this would involve about running all Headstart programs through local school systems, could cause the unique flavor of Headstart to be lost.

Similarly, there are proposals to transfer some aspects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps to Labor and others to HEW. This double transfer idea raises obvious coordination problems that do not exist now, and the very fact that two agencies are suggested as transferee implies that neither proposal is really better than the present situation.

Third, I believe the 2-year authorization for the program which the committee adopted is wise. The poverty program has proven itself sufficiently now so that annual re-examination is not required. The consequences of annual re-examination, with all the uncertainty that that causes around the country, are damaging. Competent personnel often cannot be attracted to work in a program which has promise of lasting for only a few months. Participation by the community is carried on in an atmosphere of doubt and mistrust. And the burden on Congress is great as well. We will do both the poor and ourselves a great service if we begin now to give the program the extra year of breathing space which the committee bill provides.

Fourth, and critically important, is title II, the Emergency Employment Act. We have always known, or at least we have said to one another, that employment—useful, productive work—is the most fundamental avenue to solving poverty. Yet our actions have not lived up to our observations, as the figures which I quoted at length earlier indicate.

And the crisis in unemployment is the most critical of our failures—for it is significant far beyond its economic effects. It is both measure and cause of the extent to which the poor man is alienated from the general community. More than segregation in housing and schools, more than differences in attitude of life style, it is unemployment that sets the poor man apart. Unemployment is having nothing to do—which means having nothing to do with the rest of us.

We earn our livings, support our families, purchase the comforts and ease of life with work. More important, to be without it is to be less than a man. To be without use to one's fellow citizens is to be in truth the "invisible man" of whom Ralph Ellison wrote so eloquently.

Unemployment is truly our gravest problem. This judgment has been confirmed by every board and commission, expert and amateur, official and layman, that has examined the problem. The McCone Commission looked at Los Angeles and said that the most serious problem in Watts is unemployment. Kenneth Clark's pioneering study looked at Harlem and said that Harlem's key problem is unemployment. The Urban Coalition looked to all the cities and said that the first problem is unemployment.

Title II of S. 2388 is in direct response to the problem. With the Emergency Employment Act, the Senator from Pennsylvania has come up with a program that deals directly with the difficulty, a program which will work, a program which will provide 200,000 jobs in very short order.

Providing jobs is the one step that is in everyone's interest, no matter what his political philosophy. Placing people in the position where they can obtain productive employment is the one approach that in the end will produce higher revenues and lower welfare costs; and it means lessened costs of crime and crime prevention as well. It means the use of unused resources and greater prosperity for all.

The provision of jobs will have a direct impact on the cost of welfare. A recent analysis of Federal welfare programs showed that of 7.3 million people receiving federally supported welfare assistance, only 50,000 could work. The analysis was intended to show only that the welfare rolls are not filled with deliberate idlers. Many, however, have taken it as proof that job programs cannot reduce the welfare budgets. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Of the 7.3 million welfare recipients, 850,000 were female heads of families, and 2.6 million were minor children from these same female-headed families. Thus, over 50 percent of the Federal welfare rolls are made up of families whose husbands and fathers have left the house. Every study of poverty and its pathology shows that the vast majority of these husbands and fathers are absent precisely because they are unemployed and unable to support their families, and because leaving their wives and children was the only way to qualify for welfare.

Thus, it is the welfare system itself, in combination with the lack of decent job opportunities, that produces the welfare families who are asserted to be permanent dependents of the Government. But providing real job opportunities—for the absent fathers and husbands, and for the fathers and husbands of the future—will enable many of these families to reunite, and others to remain together, and thus help to reduce welfare and dependency—and their costs both financial and personal.

As I have said before, I think some of the provisions of the present welfare system are very worthwhile, but there are also other provisions and a philosophy which can be catastrophic for the country. In the city of New York, welfare costs $700 million a year. In the State it costs over $1 billion a year. And the cost is growing by leaps and bounds. The only way to get away from the costs of welfare is not to punish those on welfare, but to provide jobs so husbands and fathers can stay with their wives and children, pay taxes, and be contributing members of society, and not welfare recipients. But the only way to do that is to provide jobs. Title II, as well as the rest of the poverty program, it seems to me, is an important step in that direction.

And employment is the only true long-run solution; only if the poor achieve productive employment will they be able to support themselves and their families, become active contributing citizens, and not passive objects of action, recipients of our charity. This does not mean that education, for example, is not critical to future employment and self-sufficiency. Of course it is. But unless we achieve employment, we will never solve the problem. People with economic security can buy or rent their own housing; people with adequate incomes can see that their children are educated; people with jobs can mark out their own relationships with their fellows of whatever color. But without employment, without basic economic security and self-sufficiency, any other help we provide will be only temporary in effect.

Title II is a sensible and practical way to begin to meet our responsibilities. Had we enacted it last year or the year before and thereby perhaps headed off the wave of fire and fury which struck this summer, it would already have saved us far more than its cost. But, tragically, all too clearly, it can still save us more than it will cost. And, if we do not enact it, the cost will be more than what we save.

Let me make clear that the kind of stimulus to employment which is contained in title II is not permanent. It is an emergency program growing out of an emergency situation. It may, and hopefully will, lead to new kinds of public service careers, for, as commission after commission, study after study has shown, there is a vast potential for new public service in a wide variety of fields. In the end, the overall employment problem will only be solved by harnessing the great engine of private enterprise to the problem. But at the same time, there are thousands of needed tasks and works in the public sector as well.

For example, there is a growing shortage of skilled and professional help in all of our social service agencies.

In health services, for example, the National League of Nursing estimates a deficit of 344,000 registered nurses by 1970. Current deficit, 125,000. For that same year mental health services predict a deficit of 200,000 employees for State and county hospitals.

In social work, some 15,000 persons are needed yearly to replace those leaving the field and to staff new services. The total number of graduates from schools of social work throughout the Nation is only 3,500 yearly. The HEW Task Force on Social Welfare, Education, and Manpower predicts a need for 100,000 social workers plus 50,000 additional workers for HEW agencies alone by 1970.

In education, the U.S. Department of Labor forsees a deficit of 500,000 elementary and secondary schoolteachers by 1970.

Title II could and would function simultaneously to fill these shortages in the human service fields and to provide on-the-job education and training to the unskilled for effective functioning at entry-level positions and for upward mobility within the agencies hiring them.

And let me make clear that there is ample experience already with the kind of employment that is contemplated by title II.

There are now, for example, 116,000 teachers aides in the United States, most hired with funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The National Education Association has allocated funds to establish a national organization of teacher aides affiliated to the NEA, and plans a national teacher aides conference for the next school year.

The Bank Street College of Education recently made a nationwide study of teacher aides, teacher assistants, family workers and other auxiliary educational personnel employed from California to Puerto Rico. It found "great possibilities in the professional-nonprofessional team in enabling the teacher "to meet individual needs of pupils." The multilevel approach was found to provide "an escape from rigid structuring in the classroom with more small groupings and independent activities possible." The report says that any classroom can benefit from "effective utilization of auxiliaries, regardless of the composition of the school population or the socio-economic background of the auxiliaries."

Oakland, Calif. has created a "ladder of skills" for its teacher aides, in line with the "job first, diplomas later" concept of new careers. A person who first goes to work as a teacher aide can rise through an apprenticeship program to assistant teacher, then to associate teacher—with an Associate of Arts degree, combining work experience with college courses—and finally to certified teacher.

Last June the Women's Talent Corps completed its first training program. A group of women, 23 to 54 years of age, many of whom had previously been on relief, were graduated "from hard-core poverty into expanding futures," according to the New York Times. They will fill subprofessional positions as teacher assistants and guidance assistants.

In the health and welfare fields there is also useful experience to draw upon.

For example, at the Lincoln Neighborhood Service Center Project of New York, six subprofessional mental health aides served more than 25,000 people. The total salary for the six aides was $25,000. Cost of training, operation of the storefront center was an additional $25,000. Thus, the center was able to provide vital service to 25,000 persons by spending only $2 for each individual receiving aid. This is for a 1-year period.

Besides providing direct services for the clients of the center, the aides also organized a number of neighborhood meetings, committees, parties, and special programs. In this way another 20 to 25 percent of the neighborhood, beyond those who received direct service, were benefited by these other types of activities.

And there has been other interesting experience in working with unemployed youth.

Dramatic success was achieved by the Howard University community apprentice program when it motivated and trained a group of "hard-core" disadvantaged young men to become research, preschool, and recreation aides. They all bore the scars of poverty: delinquency records, functional illiteracy, broken homes, fragmented schooling, low measured IQs. As they learned and worked, they were oriented toward further attainment. They obtained more advanced jobs, returned to school, ceased delinquent behavior, went on to college, and have had significant jumps in their measured IQs.

The homework helpers program started by Mobilization for Youth produced striking benefits for both the teenage tutors and their pupils. The youths hired by the agency to tutor slow-reader grade school students significantly raised the reading levels of their pupils but also vastly improved their own abilities, picking up an average of 3½ years in reading skill.

Finally, the Community Action programs already employ 130,000 nonprofessionals. Research by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., on a sample of 5,000 of these workers in nine cities indicated that these workers have been doing a very effective job, and that they display high morale and considerable involvement in their work, and have been well accepted by professionals.

The Emergency Employment Act is therefore, a well-conceived and practical program. There is ample evidence that there is a potential of far more than 200,000 useful, productive jobs which could be created now in the fields of health, education, police work, recreation, and welfare casework. And there is ample evidence from experience that we already have in employing sub-professional personnel under existing Federal legislation that such a program is practicable and workable. It will help in rural as well as urban areas, and will help create jobs in private enterprise as well as public service.

In summary, then, I urge the Senate to enact S. 2388 as reported. For being killed is more than dying physically. Millions of Americans are dying the slow death of despair and hopelessness. With a gross national product of over $750 billion, we can surely afford this legislation, which would cost as much as a few weeks of effort in Vietnam. Just this week we voted—by 74 to 3—a military construction bill authorizing over $2 billion in new barracks and other building. If we can vote $2 billion for such a purpose without any question, we can surely enact this legislation as the committee reported it.

We cannot just pay lip service to our ideals. We must enact S. 2388 in its entirety now.

Mr. President, I think this is desperately needed legislation. I do not think it is perfect, but I think it will be important in giving to those who desperately need help a feeling that there is still hope in our society and Government and give them a sign that we do care, that there is an interest in them.

I think when we vote $70 billion for the military budget, when we vote $2.3 billion for military construction, and when he spend days debating this program, and then propose amendments, and even pass them, involving cuts of up to $2 billion, it is going to be a sign to the poor in our urban or our rural areas, whether they be Indians, or Mexican Americans, or Appalachia whites, or Negroes, that the Establishment does not care; that we are interested only in our own feelings, in our own protection, that which causes us and our children protection and comfort; but, as far as those who are deprived and their children are concerned, who will carry this scar and burden for the rest of their lives, and who cannot recover unless we give them that opportunity, it will be a sign that we may make public speeches, but when it comes to taking the kind of steps that will have meaning and make a change in their lives, they must look elsewhere.

I do not see how, Mr. President, we can, then, be so concerned, upset, and disturbed when we see those who are poor become disenchanted with our society. It is hard for me to believe that we need another study, another committee or commission, or whatever it might be, to investigate what the problems are. We know that the problems exist. We know that people do not have jobs; and when they do not have jobs, they are upset, just as would be all of us in the U.S. Senate were we suddenly to find ourselves unemployed.

Without employment, one cannot support his family. If you had to leave your wife and children because you could not find a job in your neighborhood, particularly if you were unskilled and untrained because of faults in our educational system, you, too, would be upset.

The poor, through no fault of their own, are unskilled and uneducated. Through no fault of their own, there are absolutely no jobs for them. Through no fault of their own, they are forced to bring their children up in houses and tenements filled with rats. Through no fault of their own, they have little hope for the future.

What have we done for them, Mr. President, here in the U.S. Senate? We talk about the war, and about the protection of our own security. That is all worthwhile enough. We talk about the fact that we need an antiballistic missile screen. Such concerns are understandable. To want to save the physical lives of the population of this country is, of course, an important objective.

But as I have pointed out, death can be more than physical destruction; and therein, too, we have a responsibility. For if a person is so lacking in education and so lacking in training that he cannnot even hold a job or there are no jobs available for him, his situation is not far from living death.

Here we have a chance, it seems to me, to deal with the problem of poverty, not in a major way, but at least to do something about it in a minor way. If we fail to meet that challenge, it seems to me we are not meeting our responsibility to this body, to our constituents, nor to our country.

Mr. President, we are responsible for handing over to the next generation of Americans, with all that that implies, their country. Will it be a country filled with difficulties, problems, and bitter hopelessness? I hope not.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I thank the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] not only for his support of the committee bill, S. 2388, but particularly for his kind comments about me and about the study which the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty has been undertaking these past 6 months.

As much as any Member of the Senate, but with a particularly keen sense of awareness and compassion, Senator KENNEDY recognizes the serious problems which confront our Nation when tens of millions of our citizens are living in poverty.

I am especially grateful for the fact that the junior Senator from New York participated with me in most of the field hearings and field inspection trips in 13 communities around the country.

Following our field hearings and our hearings here in Washington the junior Senator from New York was extremely helpful in the drafting of the legislation which is now pending before the Senate. Many of the changes which the committee has made in existing law which resulted from our study and field inspections were proposed by the Senator from New York. For example, in order to make more specific the provisions of S. 2388 requiring evaluation of programs, Senator KENNEDY suggested and the bill contains a provision to assure that the opinions of program participants are considered as part of the evaluation.

At Senator KENNEDY's suggestion the

concept that financial assistance be channeled through a local community prime sponsor was made more flexible so as to encourage OEO to fund neighborhood-based groups directly when such funding would better serve the purposes of the program. Provisions were also adopted at Senator KENNEDY's suggestion to encourage the prime sponsor to delegate the operation of program components to neighborhood based groups.

Changes were made at the Senator's request, in the language authorizing the legal services program, to assure greater flexibility in providing constructive legal assistance to the poor.

The special impact program authority which Senators KENNEDY and JAVITS coauthored last year was, at the initiative of Senator KENNEDY, revised to assure that the programs funded would be large enough and involve the kinds of activities so as to be capable of having a special impact on communities where they are adopted.

It was also Senator KENNEDY's proposal which resulted in the revision of the welfare assistance provisions of the act in order to achieve more equitable arrangements for welfare recipients and to enable poverty program participants to retain a more realistic portion of their public assistance.

Senator KENNEDY was the author of S. 1789, which authorizes VISTA and the Teacher Corps to work with prisoners and parolees in offering them greater educational opportunity. That legislation was closely related to the bill now before the Senate, and language was adopted to incorporate the substance of that bill in S. 2388.

Finally, and most important, the junior Senator from New York is in fact the coauthor of title II of S. 2388, the Emergency Employment Act. His assistance in working out the provisions of the emergency employment program was of great value to me and to the other cosponsors of this program.

Again I thank the junior Senator from New York for all his help and support in connection with this legislation.

PROPOSED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH, OF RHODESIA, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Washington Post reported today that Prime Minister Ian Smith, of Rhodesia, would need a British passport in order to secure a U.S. visa so that he could fulfill a speaking engagement at the University of Virginia. It is the facts behind this report that I shall speak about today.

Mr. Rosewell Page, Jr., president of the University of Virginia legal forum, invited Ian Smith to address his group because Prime Minister Smith had not been afforded a forum in this country.

Has the time arrived in this country when we are afraid to permit people to speak, even in an academic forum, if we know they have opinions differing from those of our Government? That time must never come. The very essence of the first amendment to the Constitution is that Americans have the right to hear conflicting opinions. Nothing shall interfere with wide open debate on public affairs and international affairs. The one thing, above all others, that has set us up as a country to be emulated is the fact that an individual or group can speak out strongly in opposition to a policy of our Government.

Prime Minister Ian Smith is singularly qualified to speak on the complex question of Rhodesian independence and no redtape or semantic gimmicks set up by the State Department should be permitted to confuse the basic issue.

The United States has declared economic sanctions against Rhodesia, a nation at peace; its crime, if it be a crime, is that it seeks independence from Great Britain—just as did the United States 191 years ago.

Rhodesia is not at war with the United States, such as is North Vietnam—against which country we have not sought economic sanctions.

Should Prime Minister Ian Smith have an opportunity to present Rhodesia's case to the American people?

I feel, Mr. President, that Prime Minister Ian Smith should be heard.

If our Government's reasons for its present policy toward Rhodesia are sound, then the American people will know both sides and will be in a better position to support their government. Many Americans are not now convinced that our Government's attitude toward Rhodesia is either wise or sound.

Let me say, in closing, that I do not know of a more appropriate forum for Prime Minister Ian Smith to discuss the independence of his country from Great Britain than at the University of Virginia, which was founded by Thomas Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Again, I express my appreciation to the Senator from New York for permitting me to make these remarks at this time.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, may I make a comment on the remarks just made by the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I would be very happy to hear the Senator's comments.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I would hope, also, that Prime Minister Ian Smith would be permitted to come to the United States, and I hope that arrangements for him to do so will be worked out.

I understand that the problem concerns a British passport but I would hope that, somehow, it would be arranged so that Prime Minister Ian Smith will be able to come to this country and go to the University of Virginia to speak.

As I am sure the Senator from Virginia knows, I went to law school there. We listened to representatives who had different points of view. They spoke both at the law school and at the college.

I think it is extremely important in all universities and colleges in this country that the students hear different points of view, whether they agree or disagree with them.

While I disagree with the Senator from Virginia, I happen to support our Government's policy so far as Rhodesia is concerned. I also happen to feel that Prime Minister Ian Smith has performed a disservice for the people of Rhodesia. However, I think it is elementary in this country that those who have a different point of view from ours, as well as those who have a point of view which might be more in accordance with our own, should be permitted to speak, and that debate and discussion should take place.

As the Senator from Virginia has stated, there is no place more appropriate than a university campus and no university more appropriate than the University of Virgina to invite Prime Minister Ian Smith to speak to them.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I am delighted that the Senator from New York, who disagrees with me on the matter of Rhodesia, does agree thoroughly that the Prime Minister should have the opportunity to present his point of view. It is appropriate that he should come to the University of Virginia.

It is well to point out that the Senator from New York is one of the most distinguished of all the very distinguished men and women who have graduated from the University of Virginia Law School.

I am very happy that he joins me—even though we are in disagreement on the general issue here—in expressing the hope that our Government will find appropriate means to permit Prime Minister Ian Smith to come to the United States to explain to the American people his position, although it is a position contrary to that taken by our Government.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE ANTIDUMPING CODE—AN EXAMPLE OF EXECUTIVE "REPEAL" OF STANDING LAW

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on July 25, 1967, I sent my congressional colleagues a letter detailing my concern with the Antidumping Code signed in Geneva on June 30, 1967. This code clearly is an attempt to amend and emasculate an act of Congress by Executive fiat.

The senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] responded to my letter on the Senate floor on August 23. At that time, I promised a detailed reply to his remarks. The senior Senator from New York expressed his view as to the reasonableness and fairness of the legal standards adopted by the Antidumping Code. But the first issue to be dealt with—an issue of fundamental importance—is not what the legal standards should be, but rather who, under our constitutional form of government, is responsible for determining that standard. In enacting a given standard of the Antidumping Act of 1921 into law, Congress has spoken. At the very least, Congress should have a say in any substantive amendment of that act. No employee in the executive department can be permitted to alter the will of Congress expressed in law. No single Senator's view as to the reasonableness of a particular amendment can purify and make legal an illegal effort to achieve such an amendment of a congressional statute by executive "legislation."

Mr. President, the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] concedes that there is basis for a "very serious difference of view on this important matter." But he would have Congress defer to the courts for its resolution. The senior Senator from Indiana respectfully suggests to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] that there is no provision for an appeal to the courts by a domestic industry on this issue. There is no provision in the present Antidumping Act that permits a domestic industry or complainant to appeal to the U.S. Court of Customs the crucial issues involved here—injury and industry determinations under the act. This is a defect in the present act, I might add, which my own antidumping bill, S. 1726, would remedy. Furthermore, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia recently held in *Northern American Cement Corp.* v. *Anderson*, 284 F. 2d 591 (D.C. Cir. 1960), that the Court of Customs has exclusive jurisdiction over all antidumping matters. Surely the importer who benefits by the emasculation of the 1921 act—who, indeed, is invited by the code to dump his goods in the United States with complete license—cannot be relied upon to test the validity of his new advantage. A court test is impossible.

There is a more basic reason, however, why the Senator's suggestion is inadequate. We in Congress have an affirmative responsibility to uphold the separation of powers spelled out in the Constitution. We cannot and must not idly suffer the usurpation of congressional power by the executive branch. The principle is crucial. If we tolerate this abuse, what law can be safe from executive repeal?

The senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] stated that he would share my concern if he thought the code were mandatory. He is under the impression, however, that the code is merely "interpretive." Before discussing this matter I should like to clear up one matter.

The antidumping law is a regulation of the unfair trade practice of dumping. A foreign producer need merely lower his price in his home market to escape its sanctions completely. Surely Senator JAVITS' implicit characterization of this law as a protectionist trade barrier cannot stand examination. There is no conflict between the Antidumping Act and the liberal trade policy of the United States. Commissioner Clubb, of the U.S. Tariff Commission, articulated this point in a decision handed down this month:

> It might be noted in conclusion that the imposition of dumping duties here as provided in the Antidumping Act is consistent with the liberal trade policy of the United States. When the sales at less than fair value have stopped, the dumping finding can be revoked. Thus, the domestic industry is not being protected against the ingenuity or the natural advantages of the foreign producer. Rather, it is being protected from the effects of a trade practice which Congress has found to be unfair and injurious. Cast Iron Soil Pipe from Poland, No. AA1921–50, p. 20.

Legislative history makes it quite clear that Congress focused on the problem of domestic economic regulation of unfair competition rather than on any kind of foreign trade issue when it considered antidumping legislation for the first time in 1921.

The legislative history said:

> The purpose of the proposed bill (forerunner of the Antidumping Act) is to prevent the stifling of domestic industries by the dumping of foreign merchandise. . . . Over 20 years ago, by the enactment of the Sherman Antitrust Law, Congress recognized the necessity of legislation to prevent unfair methods of competition and monopoly within the United States but effective legislation to prevent discriminations and unfair practices from abroad, to [sic] destroy [sic] competition and control [sic] prices, has not been enacted. H.R. Rep. No. 479, 66th Con., 1st Sess., 1 (1919).

A man who seeks the protection of the law to secure his wife and child at home from the violence of an unlawful intruder is a "protectionist" I suppose. In that sense—and in that sense only—can those who insist on fair competition be classed as "protectionists." But the senior Senator from Indiana cannot believe this is the connotation the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] intended to ascribe.

Mr. President, let me address myself now to the crux of the issue—the substantiality of the inconsistencies between the 1921 act and the code our executive so far has failed to submit to Congress.

Section 201(a) of the act vests the Tariff Commission with authority to determine whether "an industry in the United States is being or is likely to be injured by reason of the importation of dumped merchandise." Article 3 of the code would replace this simple notion of causality with the more difficult, if not impossible, requirement that "dumped imports are demonstrably the principal cause of material injury." Additional language in the code suggests that "principal cause" means that which outweighs the combined importance of all other causes.

Ambassador William Roth, himself, implicitly conceded the substantiality of this change in his statement before the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee on July 1 of this year. In discussing the need for modifying the impossible-to-meet "major cause" standard in the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act, Ambassador Roth makes the point, as strongly and ably as anyone could, as to the devastating impact of the almost identically impossible "principal cause" standard in the Antidumping Code. I quote from his statement as printed in the State Department Bulletin of August 7, 1967 at page 174:

> Unfortunately, however, the adjustment assistance provisions have not had the expected beneficial effect, because in practice the present test of eligibility to apply for the assistance has proved too strict. In fact, in no case brought under the act have any firms or workers been able to prove eligibility.
>
> The present test of eligibility requires (1) that tariff concessions be shown to be *the major cause* of increased imports and (2) that such increased imports be shown to be *the major cause* of injury to the petitioner.
>
> In the complex environment of our modern economy, a great variety of factors affect the productive capacity and competitiveness of American producers, making it virtually impossible to single out increased imports as *the major cause* of injury. In fact, it has usually been impossible to prove that tariff concessions were *the major cause* of increased imports.

The "principal cause" test used by the code is certainly no less strict than the "major cause" test used in the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act. Surely, in the "complex environment of our modern economy," it is equally impossible to determine that dumping is "demonstrably the principal cause of material injury." Thus, by his own statements in discussing the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act, Ambassador Roth necessarily admits that it would be virtually impossible to find injury under article 3 of the code.

Under the causality standard contained in the act the Tariff Commission has determined on numerous occasions that injury to a domestic industry has resulted from dumping. Many such decisions would not have been possible under the code. The most recent example is cast iron soil pipe from Poland where Commissioner Clubb applied a test of causality that required merely that price fluctuations were "at least in part" due to dumping—AA1921–AA1950, page 19. In this same case Commissioner Sutton also found causality applying a far less strict standard than that found in the code. He did not insist that dumping be demonstrably the principal cause of material injury and outweigh the combined importance of all other causes—AA1921–AA1950, page 5. Domestic industry which had some assurance as to the enforcement of fair trade practices under the act would see that assurance vanish under the code for all practical purposes. If this is not amendatory, what is?

The senior Senator from New York believes that this emasculation of the act is reasonable and merely interpretive. Does this mean that the Tariff Commission has acted unreasonably in all of its past determinations of injury? Certainly, such a conclusion could be the only one which one could draw from the statement made by the distinguished senior Senator from New York.

Who is it that has been enthroned to repeal an act of Congress? It is preposterous to assume that Ambassador Roth could knowingly hold to the position that the code does not amend the act when he clearly demonstrated his understanding that a standard of causality such as that contained in the code would render the act virtually inoperable. To be sure, it would appear that the Ambassador may have been remiss in his responsibilities for staff oversight, but I simply cannot ascribe such inconsistency to a man of his repute; I cannot believe that Ambassador Roth is fully aware of the contents of the code. It is more likely that some assistant took it upon himself to vitiate the express will of Congress. But if such were the case it is insufferable. It is outrageous that a mere employee of the executive—who has never come before this Senate for confirmation—would have the audacity to attempt to repeal a law of Congress.

I should like to proceed to discuss some of the other substantive changes made by the code.

The code weakens the act further by adding the qualification of materiality to the statutory requirement of mere injury. The House Ways and Means Committee was sufficiently concerned to strike the same qualifying language from a 1951 administration sponsored bill. An illuminating commentary on this can be found in the recent cast iron soil pipe from Poland case:

> In 1951 the Administration sponsored a bill (H.R. 5505) which, if enacted, would have required a finding that a domestic industry was being "materially injured," rather than merely "injured." This provision was stricken by the House Ways and Means Committee which noted in its report that "The Antidumping Act now provides for imposition of antidumping duties when American industries are being 'injured' by certain imports, section 2 as introduced in H.R. 1535 [H.R. 5505 was introduced as a clean bill] would have changed 'injured' to 'materially injured.' The Committee decided not to include this change in the pending bill in order to avoid the possibility that the addition of the word 'materially' might be interpreted to require proof of a greater degree of injury than is required under existing law for imposition of antidumping duties. The Committee decision is not intended to require imposition of antidumping duties upon a showing of frivolous, inconsequential, or immaterial injury. [H.R. Rep. No. 1089, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess. 7 (1951)] The refusal to legislate in 1951 left intact the original injury standard developed thirty years earlier—frivolous, inconsequential, or immaterial injury would not call for application of dumping duties, but anything greater would."

The Tariff Commission in the recent cast iron soil pipe from Poland case applied this standard—it held that injury is anything more than de minimis or a mere trifle.

Now the executive, through the code, is attempting to achieve by fiat exactly that which Congress denied as a statutory amendment—a more rigid standard of injury. If this is not amendatory, what is?

The senior Senator from New York refers to article VI of GATT which does contain the standard of "material injury," but the GATT protocol specifically provides that any inconsistent pre-existing national laws continue in force. Thus, the 1921 Antidumping Act was exempt from the GATT requirements to the extent it was inconsistent.

One of the most clear-cut inconsistencies between the Antidumping Act and the code concerns the imposition and collection of antidumping duties under article 8(e).

I am convinced that this subsection of the code would make it possible for a violating dumper to escape antidumping duties altogether even after there has been both a determination of dumping and a determination of injury to a domestic industry, if the exporter gives adequate assurances that he will cease dumping in the future. Such an escape for a guilty party is not available under the act—the special dumping duty is automatically imposed. This change by the code is certainly amendatory, not merely interpretative.

As to the code's new definition of "industry," what the senior Senator from New York views as a perfectly consistent and fair interpretation of the act would require completely contrary results in numerous Tariff Commission determinations, under the act, or of injury to a domestic industry. One case should suffice to illustrate the inconsistency. In Portland cement from Sweden, the Commission found injury to a regional market and industry where the limited number of producers selling in the designated regional market sold only between 6.1 and 27.2 percent of their total domestic production there. These producers were clearly fewer than the code requirement of "domestic producers as a whole of the like products." They sold in the designated regional market far less than the code standard of "all or almost all of their production." And the percentage of apparent consumption in the defined market area accounted for by the dumped Swedish imports ranged only between 2.7 and 5.9 percent—clearly injury to far less than the code standard of "all or almost all of the total production of the product in the market as defined." Thus, none of the industry standards set forth in the code were met and therefore there is no conceivable way in which the result in this case could have been the same under the code as it was under the act. The change in a legal standard that is so substantive as to require predictably and absolutely contrary results in identical cases is amendatory. The Swedish case is not unique; there are eight to 10 other cases which would expose this identical basic inconsistency.

The senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] agrees that any code provisions that would bring about simultaneous investigations into dumping and injury clearly would be inconsistent with the act which specifies that the Tariff Commission shall make a determination of injury only after being advised by Treasury that a dumping price has been found by that agency.

The senior Senator from New York is willing to excuse the obvious inconsistency between the code and the act on this point in two ways, neither of which is very satisfying. He suggests that articles 5 (a) and (b) of the Code merely permit Treasury to revert to a practice of prior years in their simultaneous investigation into "evidence both of dumping and injury." But it was precisely because Congress was dissatisfied with Treasury's prior practice that the act was amended in 1954 so as to transfer the injury determination entirely over to the Tariff Commission.

The second justification of the senior Senator from New York for the inconsistency raises more problems than it resolves. He asserts that since the language in article 5(b), prescribing simultaneous investigation of both dumping and injury, is purely hortatory, there is no binding obligation on the Treasury to so proceed.

The senior Senator from Indiana must admit that the language and drafting of this section of the code as well as of many others is not as precise as it could be, but what implications flow from a purely hortatory international agreement? If there is no binding obligation on us, obviously there can be no binding obligation on any other signatory nation. If all nations were to ignore this provision, it would be no more tragic than a waste of time and effort. But unfortunately the danger is more serious. It is quite clear that our Treasury, contrary to statutory law, is planning to abide by this code, hortatory or not. After stripping the statutory security of enforced standards of fair competition from our own domestic industry, we have achieved nothing in return.

We are bringing procedural due process to England. Imagine that. That country which fathered our own legal system has brought only one antidumping action in recent years. The Canadians may impose an injury requirement. And, then again, they may not since Parliamentary action is required before their laws can be amended. Of course, as to the simultaneity of dumping and injury determinations, there is no binding obligation on Canada, England, or any other nation.

Mr. President, the executive has adopted a code which repeals an act of Congress and by the admission of Ambassador Roth, himself renders it "virtually impossible" to ever impose antidumping duties. We are assured of nothing in return. The bargain is a poor one; the attempt to bypass the proper role of Congress is an outrage and an affront to every Member of this body.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on August 23 I made an extensive statement in support of the International Antidumping Code.

I had not realized that today Senator HARTKE would make a further statement on the Antidumping Code. Otherwise, I would have been prepared to make a fairly full reply to his remarks. However, preliminarily I wish to make some brief comments on the points which I would like to elaborate at a later time. A reading of Senator HARTKE's comments suggests that he is making perhaps five or six major points.

First, he states rather categorically that there is no basis for an appeal to the courts by a domestic industry on the question of the consistency of the Antidumping Code with the Antidumping Act. In fact, to my knowledge there has never been a court decision on this question. Moreover, I see no reason why section 516(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930 would not provide a basis for appeal by domestic industry in a case where, in its judgment, compliance with the code had erroneously lead to the nonimposition of dumping duties.

Second, Senator HARTKE quarrels with my statement concerning protectionism in relation to the Antidumping Act. My basic point has and continues to be that the Antidumping Act like any other piece of legislation in the trade field is susceptible to being applied in a manner contrary to a liberal trade policy. Indeed, the main value of the code lies in the fact that, consistent with the act, the United States and the other major trading countries of the world have agreed to impose antidumping duties consistent with a liberal trade policy.

Third, Senator HARTKE comes to the conclusion that the phrase "the major cause" in the Trade Expansion Act is synonymous with the term "the principal cause" in the Antidumping Code. In fact, the Tariff Commission decisions, as well as the term itself, establish the notion of the cause greater than all other causes. I see no reason why the "principal cause" cannot be that cause greater than any other significant cause. There is a very considerable difference between the two.

Fourth, Senator HARTKE challenges the notion of "material injury" in the code and goes into the legislative history of the Antidumping Act. He fails to note that the Ways and Means Committee was explicitly told that the notion of "material injury" would continue to be used by the Tariff Commission. Senator HARTKE also failed to mention that the Tariff Commission has indeed consistently used the concept "material injury." And moreover, it has done so with explicit reference to article 6 of the GATT.

Fifth, with respect to the concept of industry, Senator HARTKE points to several Tariff Commission decisions which he says are inconsistent with the code. I submit that the question is not the consistency of the code with prior Tariff Commission decisions but with the act itself. Indeed, the Tariff Commission decisions themselves do not have that degree of consistency which would suggest a series of decisions having the force of law. Granted that the code does delimit the discretion of the Tariff Commission, my point is that the standards that the code establishes are both reasonable and consistent with the act.

Sixth, with respect to the question of simultaneity, Senator HARTKE says that it is quite clear that the Treasury Department, contrary to statutory law, is planning to abide by this code, hortatory or not. Senator HARTKE provides no evidence for this rather startling point—a point which I believe is inconsistent with the position, publicly and consistently taken by Secretary Fowler.

REPORT OF AN INSPECTION TRIP TO TEXAS IN THE WAKE OF HURRICANE BEULAH

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Sunday, September 24, I went to Texas with the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Public Works for an inspection of Hurricane Beulah damage in Texas. This House delegation was composed of Representative ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama, chairman; Representative JIM WRIGHT, of Texas; Representative RAY ROBERTS, of Texas; Representative JAMES KEE, of West Virginia; Representative DON H. CLAUSEN, of California; Representative ROBERT C. MCEWEN, of New York; and Representative JACK H. MCDONALD, of Michigan. We were joined in Texas by Representative JOHN YOUNG, of Texas, and Representative ABRAHAM KAZEN, of Texas, and on Monday, the 25th, by Representative ELIGIO DE LA GARZA, of Texas.

We were accompanied by staff members and by agency representatives of various agencies of the U.S. Government, whose names I will ask be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

This congressional group landed at the Naval air station at Corpus Christi, Tex., on the 24th, and on Monday, September 25, we divided into groups, two helicopter-borne parties inspecting and surveying damage between Corpus Christi and San Antonio, and the other three helicopter groups of us inspecting and surveying damage in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

On Monday, September 25, in company with other officials, I surveyed damage from a low-flying, circling Army helicopter in the area of North Padre Island, South Padre Island, Raymondville, Los Fresnos, Weslaco, Mission, San Benito, Pharr, and Donna, and numerous smaller towns. And in addition, we landed by helicopter in Port Isabel, where 85 percent of all the buildings had been damaged, and many so destroyed that we could see only the foundations. Port Isabel bore the brunt of the fury of the hurricane when it first entered Texas. At that time, the winds had reached a velocity of 140 to 150 miles an hour.

We also landed at Brownsville, where the waters of the Rio Grande were still rising, and where I conferred with people, of whom Judge Oscar Dancy, county judge, was the leader. And at Rio Grande City, Starr County, we were on the ground. The people with whom I conferred were led by County Judge M. J. Rodriguez and Arnulfo S. Martinez, county school superintendent. At McAllen, Hidalgo County, where the helicopter landed, I conferred with County Judge M. D. Richardson and Paul G. Veale, mayor of McAllen, as leaders of the group.

We were twice in Harlingen on Monday, September 25, inspecting the growing damage and rising waters of Arroyo Colorado from circling, low-flying helicopters, and were on the ground at the sandbag barrier, and surveyed the increasing damage to homes and property at Harlingen.

On Tuesday morning, the 26th, yesterday morning, I inspected damage from a low-flying, circling Army helicopter at North Beach, Corpus Christi, at Fulton, Tex., where a tornado had leveled a path through the town. In numerous places in Fulton, no upright stick of a house was left standing—only the outlines of where it had been, with debris scattered for a long distance away from them. We also inspected from the air Port Aransas, Rockport, Sinton, and landed in the one helicopter in which we were traveling, on a bridge at the city of Three Rivers, which stood above the floodwaters of the Nueces River. The floodwaters completely surrounded the city of Three Rivers, and were up in all the streets and buildings. In Sinton, Tex., a thousand homes are seriously damaged, the thousand being over 50 percent of the homes in the city.

Mr. President, Hurricane Beulah is rated as one of the three most destructive hurricanes in American history. The hurricane had a threefold damaging effect. First, the hurricane itself, with its high winds and torrential wind-driven rain; second, the tornados spun off from the periphery or outer perimeter of the hurricane, which struck towns and cities and farm areas far away from the center of the hurricane with the winds of greatest velocity; and, third, the water damage caused by rising waters from the torrential rains, rainfall in volume without precedent in that land, in some cases up to 30 inches of rainfall, a total of 20 inches being not uncommon.

Ninety-five tornados were spun off from Hurricane Beulah, a record number, approximately four times as many tornados as have been recorded to have been spun off from the periphery of any hurricane in the past.

It was the damage from these peripheral tornados which destroyed homes in Fulton, Tex., destroyed 85 homes in Sweet Home, Tex., destroyed buildings and killed people in Palacios, Tex.

Hurricane Beulah after a course through the West Indies and across the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico and then across the Gulf of Mexico, struck the coast of Mexico slightly south of the Rio Grande River on September 19. It crossed shortly into Texas from Mexico near the mouth of the Rio Grande, slightly west of Port Isabel, swept up the Texas coast, bearing to the northwest, a few miles east of San Benito, Harlingen, Sebastian, Lyford, and Raymondville, Tex., and on a northwest track to slightly north of Jim Wells County, slightly north of Alice, Tex., nearly 200 miles northwest of the point of entry over the mainland.

Mr. President, that is approximately 200 miles from where the hurricane entered the State. Unlike the course of most hurricanes, this hurricane turned south and went into Mexico where it blew itself out against the mountains in Mexico, pouring water into the rivers which feed into the Rio Grande.

Hurricane Beulah came over the mainland and over the mouth of the Rio Grande with winds of a velocity of 140 to 150 miles an hour, and was north of Raymondville by 3 p.m. Wednesday, the 20th of September, when the winds had decreased to a velocity of 100 miles an hour. The hurricane was northwest of Alice, Tex., at 5 a.m. on Thursday, the 21st of September, with winds of 65 miles an hour. The hurricane then veered sharply southwestward across Texas on Thursday, the 21st of September, crossing the Rio Grande between Falcon Lake and Laredo, Tex., on the evening of September 21, and entered Mexico, where it dumped vast quantities of water, swelling the streams in Mexico, tributaries to the Rio Grande, and adding to the flood damage in the Rio Grande Valley from Rio Grande City, Star County, to the Gulf of Mexico and through the Arroyo Colorado at Harlingen and other points.

It is estimated that the hurricane has cost over $1 billion in Texas. One million people live in the area of damage and loss, which extended as far north as the east boundary line of Matagorda County, more than 200 miles from Brownsville, Tex.

Tens of thousands of people are homeless, crops are destroyed, over half to three-fourths of the citrus crop of the Lower Rio Grande Valley is gone, dairy cattle are lost, range cattle are drowned, homes are destroyed, cars have washed away, lives have been lost.

Mr. President, that is a disaster for those people and a loss to everyone in the United States. Inevitably people will have to pay more for citrus fruit, orange juice and grapefruit juice. With respect to the dairy industry, they indicate that in some cases 90 percent of the herds will have to be destroyed because of infection that may arise from the flood. It has been impossible to round up the range cattle to determine how many are stranded and how many have drowned, but we do know that many have been drowned. Crops have washed away and land has been destroyed, and lives have been lost.

The great miracle is that so few lives were lost. I believe 11 lives were lost in Texas. Much of the credit, for the small loss of human life goes to the fine Weather Bureau in Texas which warned the people of the location where the hurricane would strike within 10 miles of where the hurricane did strike. It indicated the velocity of the wind, plotted the course, and warned the people of the course that it would take.

The Coast Guard brought in helicopters from as far away as Florida. The Coast Guard put vessels on the outer periphery of the hurricane to measure the aftereffect.

Mr. President, all of these services, the Weather Bureau, the Coast Guard, the Air Force which brought in supplies, the Army with its helicopters, and the Navy with its service, rendered a great service without which hundreds of lives would have been lost, instead of only 11.

In 1900, without the modern weather warning and safety devices, 6,000 lives were lost in a hurricane in Galveston, Tex., in one night. Here, with Hurricane Beulah, with the fine services that have been rendered, only 11 lives have been lost in Texas.

In Port Isabel, of the 5,000 population, all but six people were evacuated, which resulted in saving of many lives. The six who remained rode out the storm.

This is the highest water ever seen at Harlingen, Tex., and many other points we inspected on the ground, at Harlingen in Cameron County, and far north at Three Rivers in Live Oak County. In city after city which we inspected, this was the highest water they had ever experienced. Homes, furnishings, and the total possessions of people except the clothing they could run away with were often lost. The hopes of a lifetime in terms of property, the comforts around people, were shattered. This is a disaster of major proportions.

Mr. President, we saw many fine homes in Harlingen, Tex., ruined by high water. They kept their cars until the last moment in order to save their clothing and then their engines drowned out, some lost their cars as well as their homes and possessions.

Mr. President, last Thursday, September 21, this Senate by unanimous action added to H.R. 9960, by my amendment, $10 million to the President's disaster relief fund, raising the appropriation from $15 to $25 million for fiscal year 1968, because of the report on the floor of the Senate of damage done in Texas by Hurricane Beulah.

On Friday, September 22, Mr. President, I sent President Lyndon B. Johnson the following telegram:

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

Reports from Texas indicate vast, incalculable, and growing damage from Hurricane Beulah, with succeeding torrential rains of more than thirty inches in some areas of South Texas and the early estimates of five hundred million dollars of damage in South Texas growing hourly, with vast areas of land under water.

I recommend the immediate declaration of South Texas, southeast of San Antonio, including an area as far north as Victoria, as a major disaster area.

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senator, Texas.

On Monday, September 25, this week, I received an acknowledgement of that telegram from the White House as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 22, 1967.

Hon. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your telegram of September 22 to the President urging that he declare the occurrence of a natural disaster in south Texas.

As yet, the President has not received a request from the Governor for a disaster declaration. Representatives of the Office of Emergency Planning are maintaining close and constant contact with the Governor, and I have asked that you be kept fully informed of all developments.

Sincerely,

MIKE MANATOS,
Administrative Assistant to the President.

(At this point, Mr. HARTKE took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, that was Friday the 22d, but there was no request from the Governor of Texas that Texas be declared a disaster area. Senators are familiar with the law which declares that the President technically cannot declare a disaster until the Governor of the State requests it.

As the scope of the disaster widened, I received appeals from public officials in Texas to assist in obtaining the designation of a disaster area.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD telegrams from the following officials: William A. Schmidt, county judge, San Patricio County, Tex.; J. D. Wendell, county judge, Aransas County, Tex.; M. J. Rodriguez, county judge, Starr County, Tex.

The telegrams are dated September 24, 25, and 22, respectively.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAFT, TEX.,
September 24, 1967.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senator,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

San Patricio County, Tex., needs help. Two thousand homes damaged by Hurricane Beulah flood waters. Please advise.

Regards,

WILLIAM A. SCHMIDT,
County Judge,
San Patricio County, Tex.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX.,
September 25, 1967.

Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH,
Washington, D.C.:

L. J. Wood, M.D., county health officer, Aransas County, has advised me that a residential area in Rockport, Tex., and Fulton area has been inundated by wave and rain, action of Hurricane Beulah. This area is not draining and constitutes a real health hazard and an extremely large breeding ground for various pests. This area has roads, yards, and so forth, under 6 to 8 inches of water. Immediate assistance requested.

JOHN D. WENDELL,
County Judge,
Aransas County, Tex.

EDINBURG, TEX.,
September 22, 1967.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senator, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Kindly designate Starr County as an emergency disastrous area. Your assistance in expediting all available help State and Federal will be greatly appreciated.

M. J. RODRIGUEZ,
County Judge,
Starr County,
Rio Grande City.

(Relayed per sheriff's office, Edinburg, Tex.)

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, despite these telegrams, and despite numerous requests, the Governor of Texas failed and refused to ask for the declaration of a disaster area. In my lifetime I have never seen, and have never before experienced, a situation where, with a disaster of major proportions raging all around, caused by one of the three most terrible hurricanes in the history of this country, with a billion dollars damage and 1 million people suffering, that a Governor refused to ask for the declaration of a disaster area.

Instead, he traveled around holding hearings to determine the question of when or whether he would ask the President, although 1 million people in south Texas knew there was a disaster. If the Governor did not know it, then he was the only man in the United States who did not know it. He continued to dilly-dally, refusing to heed the appeals.

I received a telephone call from Judge Richardson of Hidalgo County, and numerous other telephone calls, asking for help to get a disaster area declared.

Today, Wednesday, September 27, after returning just last evening from Texas, to take part in proceedings in the Senate today, I received a telephone call from a medical officer, C. H. Spence, medical doctor of Raymondville, the county seat of Willacy County, Tex., which we viewed from the air and which was entirely surrounded by water, with water up in all of the streets and buildings. He telephoned me to say that he was very much concerned about the need to spray the area to kill swarms of mosquitos and flies which he says will soon be developing. He said that unless controlled, there is danger that they will bring in encephalitis and diarrhea to children in shelters there. People had been evacuated by the thousands from the lowlands into churches, schools and public buildings.

Dr. C. H. Spence advised me that he had contacted the Army and requested that they do this spraying, but the officer of the Army advised Dr. C. H. Spence that they could not do so until the area had been declared a disaster area. Dr. Spence phoned me to ask help to get the sprays going. If the spraying is too long delayed, it might be ineffective in preventing epidemics.

Mr. President, I have issued public appeals in Texas to the Governor of Texas, day after day, to request the President of the United States to declare this south Texas area, the place of residence of 1 million people, a disaster area.

I have been advised that it is on the ticker today that the Governor will ask the President to declare south Texas a disaster area.

To me, the Governor's delay in requesting the President for a declaration of disaster has been inexcusable. We know the numerous laws that are called into play for the relief of the people once an area is declared a disaster area—from the Office of Disaster Loans in the Small Business Administration, the Farmers Home Administration under the Department of Agriculture, with certain loans under the Department of Housing and Urban Development, with public roads-rebuilding powers, and many other branches and offices of Government which can help if a disaster is declared. The local authorities are virtually bankrupt in some of these cities now, with all their facilities destroyed. There are many other branches in Government which can help when a disaster occurs, but not unless the area is first declared to be a disaster area.

By contrast, Mr. President, I point to what happened 2 years ago when Hurricane Betsy struck the States of Florida and Louisiana. The Governors of those States immediately asked that the President declare a disaster area. The President not only declared them so, but flew down there and inspected the damage while the hurricane was still going on.

But this time, with the damage mounting daily, the waters rising, and the constant appeals to the President, no request has yet been made by the Governor for a disaster declaration.

I hope that the rumor that the Governor is sending a disaster request to the President is true. I hope that, after so long a dalliance with this terrible disaster, with the Governor going around and making speeches in the counties in the disaster area, getting information on which, he said, to base an appeal to the President in order to declare a disaster area, that the Governor will finally ask the President to declare one so that we can bring relief to those suffering people, and prevent epidemics for the future.

This is the worst playing politics with a disaster that I can remember in my lifetime. I do not believe that in the past two generations, any American Governor has ever played politics with a disaster and the suffering of his people to the extent that we have witnessed in the past week.

We hope that most of the damage is in the past and that less damage will occur in the future. But the constantly rising waters in the Brownsville and Harlingen areas of Cameron County, from the angry floods of the Rio Grande and the Arroyo Colorado warn us that more losses are still to come.

This is a low, flat, coastal plain. The land is waterlogged. The waters are receding very slowly, even where they are falling, and every day adds to the loss in Three Rivers, in Raymondville, in Harlingen, and in numerous smaller towns.

Mr. President, when I was on the ground at Three Rivers early yesterday morning, the waters had been very high. A helicopter went over the area and landed us on a bridge immediately over the water. A sheriff showed us a benchmark where the water had fallen only 8 inches in 24 hours.

Everyone knows what muddy floodwaters can do to a house. Plywood furniture, whether cheap or expensive, comes apart. Sofas are ruined. Walls fall in. Bedding becomes waterlogged, and smells, and is ruined and cannot be rebuilt. This disaster was not something that happened quickly. It continued day after day. People were calling for relief. Yet no action was taken by the Governor to ask for a disaster declaration.

I know of no modern instance where the Governor of an American State, in the face of a natural disaster so overwhelming, has so long failed his people, and failed to ask for a declaration of a disaster area. It is tragic for the 1 million people of southeast Texas that this declaration has not been asked for, officials and county judges.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a list of the surveying party which went to Texas on Sunday, when the House Subcommittee on Flood Control of the Committee on Public Works, when they and I and others, surveyed the damage. Some of the most knowledgeable men in American Government who had worked with these problems for some 10 to 30 years were along on that trip, and it enabled us to make a thorough examination of the area.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLOOD CONTROL SUBCOMMITTEE, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, INSPECTION OF HURRICANE DAMAGE, TEXAS, SEPTEMBER 24 TO 27, 1967

Washington party

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Congressman Robert E. Jones, of Alabama, Chairman.

Congressman Jim Wright, of Texas.

Congressman Ray Roberts, of Texas.

Congressman James Kee, of West Virginia.

Congressman Don H. Clausen, of California.

Congressman Robert C. McEwen, of New York.

Congressman Jack H. McDonald, of Michigan.

Special Guest: Senator Ralph Yarborough, of Texas.

Robert F. Spence, Professional Staff Member, Committee on Public Works (Majority).

Paul R. S. Yates, Professional Staff Member, Committee on Public Works (Minority).

Marshall L. Lynam, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Jim Wright.

Ronald Clower, Legislative Aide to Senator Ralph Yarborough.

Bill Hamilton, Press Aide to Senator Ralph Yarborough.

AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES

Ambassador Raymond Telles, Chairman, U.S. Section, United States-Mexican Border Development Commission.

Melbourne L. Spector, Executive Director, United States-Mexican Border Development Commission.

Lt. Col. William R. Needham, Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army.

Major Raleigh N. Williams, Jr.

Robert Y. Phillips, Director, Emergency Operations Office, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President.

Stephen Tripp, Disaster Relief Coordinator, Department of State/AID.

Franklin P. Hall, special assistant to Dwight Ink.

George Walter, Deputy Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Dr. (Adm.) John Walsh, U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dwight Ink, Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Harry A. L. Lindberg, Chief of Construction and Maintenance Division, Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Transportation.

Francis Turner, Director, Bureau Public Roads.

Clarence "Bud" Cowles, Director, Office of Disaster Loans, Small Business Administration.

E. V. Bighinatti, Assistant National Director, Disaster Services, American Red Cross.

To join group in Texas

Congressman Kika de la Garza, of Texas.

Congressman Abraham Kazen, of Texas.

Congressman John Young, of Texas.

George Hastings, Regional Director, Office of Emergency Planning.

Edward J. Gulley, Deputy National Director, Disaster Services, American Red Cross.

Hon. Joseph F. Friedkin, U.S. Commissioner, United States-Mexican International Boundary and Water Commission.

RED CROSS WORKS HARD TO AID FLOOD AND HURRICANE VICTIMS IN SOUTH TEXAS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a preliminary report from the American Red Cross, which has been notable among those doing a magnificent job in relieving the suffering of the citizens of Texas from the effects of a greater disaster. This is in the form of a letter to me, dated September 25, from Gen. James F. Collins, U.S. Army, retired.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS,
Washington, D.C., September 25, 1967.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: Since Hurricane Beulah first threatened the Texas Gulf Coast, hundreds of trained local Red Cross volunteers assisted by disaster staff from many parts of the country have been hard at work meeting emergency needs and preparing for the long-term job of helping Texas hurricane and flood victims recover from the disaster. The American Red Cross Hurricane Action plan was put into effect on September 17th, as soon as the Weather Bureau indicated the threat to the Texas coast. Red Cross operational headquarters were activated in Houston and the nine operational districts responsible for the coastal area were staffed. Eighty-five Red Cross disaster specialists went to assist over 4,600 Red Cross chapter volunteers and staff in the threatened area. They were supported by thirty-six mobile disaster units and 5,000 cots and 10,000 blankets borrowed from the United States Public Health Service.

Beginning on Tuesday, September 19th, Red Cross shelters in an area from Brownsville north to Houston, west to Austin and south to Laredo began housing evacuees.

This grew to a peak of 295 shelters housing over 114,000 evacuees and nearly a quarter of a million rescue workers and victims were fed by Red Cross. The torrential rains that accompanied the hurricane caused considerable additional damage and prevented people returning to coastal areas. As of September 23rd, there were 110,800 people in 223 Red Cross shelters; over the weekend, the total dropped to slightly over 50,000 still in 133 shelters in 38 locations. The Red Cross was still feeding approximately 100,000 people over the weekend. When the flood gate opened at Mercedes, an additional five shelters were opened at Harlingen to care for about 600 additional evacuees.

As of this writing, there is still the possibility of additional flooding for new rains which have occurred. A total of 110 disaster staff are now on the job, along with 5,000 volunteers. They are working closely with local, state and federal officials to see that all needed emergency help is given to flood evacuees from Texas communities and those Mexican evacuees who have crossed the border to safety.

The Red Cross will remain on the job to help bridge the gap between what these families can do for themselves and the essential help they need over and beyond their own resources as they strive to return to normal living once the waters have receded.

In order to help you answer any questions which may come to you from residents of your state, I am enclosing a pamphlet, "In the Wake of Disaster", which outlines the Red Cross program now in effect in Texas. I will keep you informed of the progress of our relief efforts, and will, of course, be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

JAMES F. COLLINS,
General, U.S. Army, Retired.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I want to pay personal tribute to the Red Cross and to the Salvation Army. They put plans into effect before the hurricane got there. They were ready with food and clothing. As mass evacuations were undertaken relief agencies moved in with giant soup kitchens. They fed tens of thousands of people, when we add up all the places where food was served.

I want to pay tribute to the 4th Army and General Stilwell of the 1st Army Division at Fort Hood, who offered important helicopter help. When I saw the skill of those pilots in maneuvering and the places at which they landed and how close they came to the rooftops, I said to the general, "These are the most skilled helicopter pilots I have ever seen. I have been in helicopters in Korea and other places." I said, "They must have been in combat." He said, "Everyone who flies one of these helicopters has been engaged in Vietnam except those who have just graduated from school." He said, "Many of them have served two or three tours of duty." They are actually in combat 10 months and come back home. Several of them had served several tours of duty in Vietnam.

We all appreciate the service rendered us by them, and by the other military services, and by the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. I hope the wire reports are correct that the President will make an aerial inspection. I hope it proves to him that it is a disaster and that it will be declared a disaster area and that the million people suffering from this giant disaster will receive much needed assistance.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I share, of course, the concern of my distinguished colleague for what has happened in Texas and for the people in Texas who have suffered from that disaster. Although there is not much I can add to or improve on what he has said, because he has given a comprehensive report on it, I would like to add a few remarks of my own.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. My colleague the junior Senator from Texas was in Texas when I offered the amendment last Wednesday. The junior Senator from Texas telephoned the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], who brought his message in, asking that my amendment adding $10 million be adopted, and he pleaded that his colleagues on that side of the aisle join in support of the amendment. It was carried unanimously in the Senate on Thursday the 21st. I want to thank the Senator for enlisting the support of his party in support of that motion.

Mr. TOWER. I thank the Senator and wish to express my personal appreciation for his taking the initiative in offering the amendment, which was constructive and helpful. It was a good morale factor at a time when the people there were feeling pretty low. I imagine they are feeling even lower now.

I note by the news ticker that the President plans to make an aerial inspection of the flood and hurricane damage in Texas and Mexico tomorrow afternoon. I hope that will result in helping him to decide to declare it a disaster area.

Mr. President, in terms of dollar damage, Hurricane Beulah is probably the worst natural disaster ever to hit Texas. Floods that have resulted from the backlash of the hurricane have, of course, done more damage than the hurricane itself.

As far as damage in dollars is concerned, it has been called Billion-Dollar Beulah. It will take a while to get cleaned up enough to accurately assess the ultimate cost. The Office of Emergency Planning, vested with the power to conduct and marshal Federal aid to an area declared officially a national disaster one, can now move ahead officially with its effort. Governor Connally has just requested the President to declare our hardest hit South Texas counties as disaster areas.

I have talked this afternoon with Governor Connally, and I fully support his request to the President. I have placed my Senate office at the Governor's disposal and will cooperate with him and every other Texas official in every possible way in efforts to ameliorate the damage and suffering.

I was pleased to have the Governor's report that his detailed, but still preliminary, surveys of the situation lead him to hope that initial estimates of damage to public facilities may not be as substantial as originally feared.

I am pleased to report that as of today three Air Force aircraft have been dispatched from Langley Field in Virginia to the Naval Air Station at Corpus Christi for the purpose of necessary, massive aerial spraying operations, as clouds and clouds of mosquitoes have been reported. The craft will load insecticides at Corpus Christi and at Randolph Field in San Antonio and hope to cover a million acres tomorrow.

One of the problems is that no useful spraying can be done in areas where the high waters are still running. In those areas the spray is simply washed away before it can be very effective. However, by tomorrow it will be possible to spray effectively in Aransas, Willacy, and Hidalgo Counties. And, hopefully by another day Cameron, Starr, Wilson, Nueces, San Patrico, Goliad, Jim Wells, Victoria, Live Oak, and Atascosa Counties can be covered.

Certainly our civil defense personnel have done an excellent job in assisting in the affected areas. Individual and group efforts have been outstanding. For example, hundreds of volunteers in McAllen, Tex., have manned the sandbag line. Community spirit and community initiative, despite the gravity of the situation, is exceedingly high. The enterprising McAllen residents are utilizing portions of their freeway system as a bulwark against high water.

Several Federal agencies have already been of assistance. The Small Business Administration is doing its usual excellent job. The cities of Victoria and Port Lavaca will receive housing and urban development water and sewer grants totaling some $1,900,500 to assist in building needed facilities and to help the speedy recovery from the damage done by the hurricane. A $1,500,000 grant to Victoria will be used to help in construction of a water system and improve the existing sewer system. A grant of $400,500 to Port Lavaca will be used to extend water and sewer services to low-income residential neighborhoods.

A new Port Isabel post office, on which construction was not scheduled until February 1 of next year, will be started, instead, just as soon as possible. Such assistance, while certainly minor compared to the overall picture, is most helpful to these respective communities involved.

Mr. President, as I have noted earlier, one of the most beneficial pieces of legislation to come before the Senate this year was the recently passed National Flood Insurance Act of 1967. The bill's main thrust will be to assist victims of flood and hurricane damage where their homes and businesses and other properties have been destroyed, as well as helping to alleviate the future risk of flood and hurricane losses in situations where the risk of loss exceeds the prospect of gain from use of the site.

In 1965 alone, an estimated loss of over $700 million resulted from damage by inland floods. Since the beginning of the 20th century, flood damage has increased about 5 percent per year. The population of our country, however, has risen only 2 percent per year.

We in Texas have experienced some tragic natural disasters. Six years ago, Texas experienced widespread devastation resulting from the onslaught of Hurricane Carla. This rampaging hurricane left an estimated $225 million worth of damage; 34 people died; 465 persons were injured, and an estimated 250,000 citizens were evacuated from their homes to escape the destruction of the hurricane.

Then this year there was Hurricane Beulah. Obviously, no statistics can fully register the economic loss and disruption resulting from such flood and hurricane damage. When rivers or coastal waters are rampaging, nearby urban areas, such as Galveston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, Brownsville, Corpus Christi, and others, suffer tremendously. Industries are halted in production. Transportation and communication facilities are damaged or become inoperative. And most of all, the lives and money of thousands of people are endangered.

The first national flood protection policy was inaugurated over 30 years ago. Since then the Federal investment in flood protection and prevention has amounted to more than $7 billion. Much of this work has been accomplished by the Corps of Engineers and the Soil Conservation Service. The current rate for such expenditures is around $500 million a year.

As is the case in many other areas, Federal Government programs have not provided the ultimate and total cure of the problem. There are limitations under the special Federal assistance programs on the amount of money available at any one time to meet such natural emergencies. The most important type of assistance to disaster victims are loans from the Small Business Administration. But often these loans leave the victims with considerable mortgage obligations.

Unfortunately, flood insurance is not usually available from private insurance companies. The reason is that private insurers have not been able to write flood insurance policies on an economically feasible basis.

This new Senate bill combines the talents and resources of the Federal Government with the initiative and aid of private enterprise in the insurance industry.

With a helping hand from the Government, private insurance companies could either assume a portion of the risk in carrying out the program or could participate on a nonrisk basis. Insurance companies would commit risk capital to an industry pool of companies which would absorb a share of the losses and expenses of the program.

The Federal Government would make premium equalization payments to the pool to cover losses and would also provide insurance coverage to the pool to counteract any excessively high losses.

This legislation also encourages State and local governments to adopt and enforce appropriate land use provisions. Such provisions would discourage the future development of land which is exposed to flood hazard. A long range effect of this bill encourages a study to determine the extent to which insurance protection may be available for certain other types of natural disasters, such as earthquakes.

Thus the Flood Insurance Act of 1967 is an important step in the right direction: the bill fosters a partnership of local, State, and Federal resources. These combined efforts will work to help solve a natural problem common to every State and region in our America and of particular importance to Texans.

Mr. President, I would like to review just briefly the Senate's previous action in disastrous situations, in the absence of an acceptable approach to a Government-assisted flood insurance program.

Additional efforts were made by the Federal Government in 1965 to help the victims of such disasters as that which has devastated this large portion of Texas in the last several days.

As ranking minority member of the Small Business Subcommittee at that time, I gave my complete support to whatever help was legislatively available under the Small Business Act.

Our committee effort made it possible for the SBA Administrator, under such disaster conditions, to extend the maturity of existing small business loans in the ravaged areas and to suspend the payment of interest and principal for as long as 5 years.

In addition, we extended to 30 years the maturity for loans to homeowners for the repair or replacement of homes and to business owners to repair or replace damaged or destroyed plants and equipment.

In that same action, we made certain that disaster victims who would qualify for such SBA assistance would never be left stranded due to the lack of SBA funds for such purposes. We removed the ceiling from disaster funds because we had learned from Hurricane Betsy that disasters could not be realistically anticipated.

Mr. President, I have myself been in the disaster area. I was there when the full force of the hurricane hit. I sat at a ranch in the southern part of Texas and saw hackberry trees blow across the fields like cornstalks.

I assured those many fine citizens I came in contact with, that the Nation was concerned about our area, and, that I was certain my colleagues would be of assistance in extending any further needed aid.

I commend both the Governor of Texas and my senior colleague who, I understand, has just recently been in the area himself, for their individual efforts to give the utmost assistance to the people of Texas. I will, of course, cooperate with both our Governor and my senior colleague in the best interests of my State and its people.

Beulah is a disaster of massive proportions. Not since the Alaskan earthquake has any of our States been so greviously injured. It is a time when all Texans must unite behind the determined goal of assistance to our stricken southern counties. It is a time when Texans must ask their neighboring States and, indeed, the entire United States, to come to our assistance with compassion.

We need help. We need food, clothing, medicine, and construction materials for homes, businesses, highways, and public services.

We extend our thanks to all Americans who have in the past generously supported the Red Cross; we ask that this support be increased and continued so that the Red Cross can redouble its fine assistance to Texans and our Mexican neighbors. We extend our thanks to Congress which has helped provide our State with many flood-control projects; and we ask that this help be further extended in this time of need to include emergency funds for reconstruction loans and for rebuilding grants.

Texas is a proud State. Almost everyone thinks of us as the Lone Star State. But we are not alone in this time of trouble. We already are being helped by thousands of volunteers from all over the United States.

We appreciate that. We could not do without it. We humbly ask for more such help. And whenever other States suffer natural disasters, they can count on Texans to reciprocate the goodwill we receive today.

For the long term, it appears obvious that we are going to have to considerably improve and strengthen our flood-control program for the Rio Grande Valley. Present systems were prepared to take care of the largest floods envisioned—but we were wrong in estimating the flooding potential of storms such as Beulah. The Arroyo Colorado system will have to be rebuilt and further flood-control projects and dams will have to be built anew if we are to control future flood threats and prevent the millions of dollars of damage we have suffered this time.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 41 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 28, 1967, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate, September 27, 1967:

IN THE NAVY

The following-named officers of the U.S. Navy for temporary promotion to the grade of captain in the line, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Adams, Frank M.
Adelman, Joseph L.
Aicklen, William J., Jr.
Aiken, Robert A.
Akins, Joseph W., Jr.
Alberta, Edward T.
Alexander, Charles S., Jr.
Alford, Zeb D.
Ames, Lionel E., Jr.
Amme, Richard D.
Anderson, Charles R.
Anderson, James L.
Ansel, David D.
Appert, Edward P.
Atkins, Waldo A.
Atkinson, Roy C.
Ayres, James E.

Babineau, Francis E.
Bach, Nicholas R.
Bacon, Francis W., Jr.
Bade, Robert B.
Bagwell, Wallace B.
Bailey, Daniel L.
Bailey, Emera S.
Banks, Daniel L., Jr.
Barber, Albertus V., Jr.
Barksdale, David A.
Barnes, Alan F.
Barondes, Earl D.
Barr, Robert M., Jr.
Barry, James H.
Baughman, Fred H.
Baxter, James A.
Beck, Lester H.
Beck, William, Jr.
Becker, Karl E.
Becker, Terrill F.
Bell, John H.
Benson, Harry L.
Bernstein, Fred J.
Bihr, Richard A.
Bivin, Homer R.
Black, Charles H.
Blair, Richard E.
Blixt, Melvin D.
Boushee, Frank L.
Bouwman, Fredric G.
Bowen, James W.
Brabant, Robert J.
Bradley, Claiborne S.
Bradshaw, Ray H.
Brand, Richard G.
Brenner, Thomas B.
Briggs, Winston D.
Brittain, Thomas B., Jr.
Bromley, Frederick B.
Brooke, Rupert
Broughton, Walter T., II
Brown, Bryan B., Jr.
Brown, Floyd H.
Brubaker, Donald E.
Brumbaugh, Dale C.
Bryant, Bobby D.
Buck, Edward G.
Bulmer, Robert W.
Burkart, John C.
Burke, Edwin J.
Caine, Arthur D.
Callaway, John D., Jr.
Campell, Richard D.
Carlquist, Roger
Carman, Warren E.
Carment, Frederick, Jr.
Carpenter, Harold L.
Carr, Herbert W.
Carr, Kenneth M.
Carroll, Kent J.
Carter, Jack L.
Casserly, Christopher J.
Chamberlain, Raymond E., Jr.
Chapman, James H.
Chattleton, William D
Chelgren, John L.
Chrisler, Robert P.
Christoph, Karl J., Jr.
Clark, Carroll D.
Clark, William E.
Clay, Harold S.
Clement, Robert R.
Clemente, Angelo E.
Clifford, William F., Jr
Cocke, Edgar M.
Cole, Kenneth J.
Coleman, Robert G., Jr.
Comet, Robert E.
Conn, Robert H.
Constantine, James R.
Coppedge, John O.
Corley, Frank W., Jr.
Corrigan, Paul T.
Cort, Walter W., Jr.
Counts, Stanley T.
Crane, John W., Jr.
Craven, Phillip R.
Creasman, Jesse C.
Crispin, Robert E.
Crockett, Charles B., Jr.
Cross, William E.
Crowe, William J., Jr.
Cummings, Charles W
Cummings, Edward M., Jr.
Cummins, Peter P.
Curtin, Lawrence J.
Dallmann, Paul H.
Darcy, Robert T.
Davies, James W.
Davis, Cabell S., Jr.
Davis, Ray E.
Davis, Theodore F.
Debaets, Donald J.
Deffenbaugh, Robert M.
Deganahl, James A.
Demayo, John J., Jr.
Denkler, John M.
Denton, Jeremiah A., Jr.
Deveas, Thomas E.
Dewenter, John R., Jr.
Dibble, Henry M.
Dickieson, Robert W.
Diffendorfer, Jarl J.
Donaldson, Charles E., III
Donovan, James A.
Douglass, Robert M.
Douglass, Walter M.
Drake, John F.
Durkin, Michael F.
Early, Paul J.
Ebel, Stanley T.
Edwards, George D., Jr.
Elkas, Claude P., Jr.
Ekelund, Kenneth O., Jr.
Eldridge, Richard A.
Elefante, Frank L.
Ellis, Samuel S.
Elmer, Joseph S.
Enright, Robert E.
Evans, Jack E.
Evans, Joseph D.
Fargo, Robert R.
Farley, Russell J.
Farris, George W.
Farshing, Donald D., Jr.
Fay, Lawrence J.
Fenn, Richard W.
Fenwick, Joseph E.
Fine, Stanley S.
Finneran, John G.
Fischer, David W.
Fisher, James R. M., II
Fisher, John H.
Fiske, Clarence O.
Fogarty, Francis C.
Fortson, Thomas E.
Foster, William L.
Foust, James W.
Foxgrover, James H.
Franz, Donald A.
Fraser, Walter R.
Freeland, Harold H.
Fritz, Charles W.
Fritz, Ernest S.
Frost, Richard A.
Fuller, Jack D.
Gallagher, Joseph
Gammon, James M.
Gardiner, Richard S.
Garlinghouse, Bruce B
Gary, Stanley P.
Gauthier, Gene F.
Gay, William W.
Geary, John T.
Geary, Joseph R.
Geiger, Robert K.
George, Robert McL.
Gideon, Robert A., Jr.
Ginn, Benjamin F.
Gokey, Noah W., III
Goldman, Peter J.
Gormley, Robert H.
Grantham, Delbert D.
Gravely, Samuel L., Jr.
Green, Norman K.
Greene, Wallace A.
Grove, George S.
Groves, Thomas E.
Guertin, Louis H.
Gygax, Rex
Haizlip, John W., Jr.
Hallam, Orval K.
Hallett, Oliver S.
Hancock, David L.
Hankins, Wallace W., Jr.
Harkins, William D.
Harper, John R.
Harris, William H.
Hart, Harry S.
Harvey, Donald P.
Hathaway, Charles E.
Hattersley, Julian
Haupt, Richard W.
Haynes, Kenneth G.
Henderson, James R.
Herrick, Carl H.
Herzog, James H.
Hilton, Robert P.
Hinden, Harry J.
Hinds, Charles D.
Hinkle, William L.
Hodder, Arthur J., Jr.
Hoffman, Richard A.
Hoffmann, Henry A.
Hoffmann, Roy F.
Holden, William P.
Holland, John P.
Holm, Kenneth C.
Holshouser, Jesse A., Jr.
Holton, Wallace C.
Hoover, Lloyd N.
Houck, Donald F.
Howard, Donnell
Howard, John N.
Hudner, Thomas J., Jr.
Hume, David M.
Hunter, "H" Reid
Hunter, Perry F., III
Irwin, Charles M., Jr.
Jackson, Thomas E.
Jacobs, Richard B.
Jefferson, Harry P.
Jennings, Verne H., Jr.
Jensen, William G.
Jessen, George E.
Jex, Donald R.
Johnson, Francis A.
Johnson, John R.
Johnson, John D., Jr.
Johnson, Theodore R. Jr.
Johnston, John W.
Jones, Allen, Jr.
Karlowicz, Mitchell J.
Karnagel, Donald T.
Keenan, Paul C., Jr.
Keener, Bruce, III
Keller, William F., Jr.
Kelly, Eugene F.
Kelly, Merrill E., Jr.
Kern, John S.
Kinnear, George E. R., II
Kirk, George G. E.
Kiser, Charles A.
Kleczewski, Marion J.
Klein, Melvin E.
Knueven, William H.
Knutson, Albert E.
Koehler, Robert H.
Kojm, Leonard R.
Korb, Frank J.
Kosnik, Joseph T.
Krejcarek, Donald J.
Lakey, Keith G.
Lansden, Humphrey B.
Larcombe, Howard N. Jr.
Larsen, Norman E.
Lasseter, Joe F., Jr.
Lee, Harry B.
Lee, Robert E.
Lemeshewsky, Andrew A.
Lewis, Chantee
Lewis, John C.
Lewis, William S.
Lindgren, George B.
Loranger, Donold
Lowans, Warren H.
Lyon, Henry J.
Macomber, Mark M.
Macon, Benjamin H.
Magee, William C.
Manganaro, Francis F.
Maragos, George
March, George P.
Martin, Barney
Marvin, Stephen D.
Maurer, Richard C., Jr
Mawhiney, William T.
Maxwell, Robert A.
Maynard, Allison L.
McClinton, Robert B.
McConnell, John H., Jr.
McCook, John A.
McCracken, William H.
McCrary, Robert D.
McDaniel, William O.
McDonald, Carlton A. K.
McDonald, Nathan F.
McDonald, William M.
McDonald, Wesley L.
McGill, John C., Jr.
McGonagle, William L
McKenzie, William W., Jr.
McLaughlin, Norman H.
McMahon, James P.
McNamara, Thomas W.
Miko, Charles R.
Miller, William O.
Milligan, Donald F.
Mitchell, Eugene B.
Mitchell, Frank A.
Mitchell, John E.
Monger, Albert J.
Morgan, Clifford L.
Morgan, Newton H.
Morgiewicz, Daniel J.
Morris, Max K.
Moss, James L.
Muncie, Maurice O.
Munnikhuysen, Henry F.
Murray, James D., Jr.
Murrill, Robert L.
Mussetto, Bruno
Myers, William A., III
Navarrette, Claude, Jr.
Nealon, William G.
Negele, John H., Jr.
Nelson, Clifford
Nelson, Perry W.
Netherland, Roger M.
Newcomb, Robert C.
Newsome, William R.
Nivison, William
Nordberg, Delbert W.
Nuss, Jerry J.
O'Callaghan, Edmund W.
Olivari, Louis
O'Neill, Thomas H. R.
Orton, Robert D.
Osborn, Neri, III
Osmer, James W., Jr.
Pace, Robert D., Jr.
Packer, Duncan
Paddock, Richard A.
Palmer, Frederick F.
Parish, George R., Jr.
Pavelle, John J., Jr.
Payne, William E., Jr.
Pehrsson, Pehr H.
Peoples, George F.
Perry, Dale S.
Perszyk, Joseph S., Jr.
Peters, Bernard
Pfeiffer, Willard D.
Phelps, Henry E.
Phillips, Kenneth E.
Pickert, Aloysius J., Jr.
Pittman, Shelly B.
Pomeroy, Leslie K., Jr.
Powell, Robert A.
Prassinos, George
Prichard, Reuben P., Jr.
Purcell, Stephen E., Jr.
Rae, William C., Jr.
Rank, Cyrus A.
Rasmussen, John E.
Rauch, Charles F., Jr.
Rawlins, Robert D.
Readdy, Francis J.
Rectanus, Earl F.
Reese, Walter H.
Regan, William F.
Reichwein, Fremont E.
Reilly, Jeremiah D., Jr.
Rex, James F.
Reynolds, Milton L.
Rich, Harold G.
Riehl, Julian W., Jr.
Rigot, William L.
Riley, Daniel P.
Riley, Edward E.
Roberts, Liona R., Jr.
Robertson, William D., Jr.
Robinson, Winthrop P.
Roche, Robert F.
Rockcastle, Charles H.
Rodgers, Hollis T.
Rogers, Harry M.
Ross, Royal R., Jr.
Ross, Seymour N.
Russell, Wallace L.
Russell, William M.
Ruxton, Robert T., Jr.
Ryder, Donald F.
Sabin, Nelson
Sanders, James E.
Sante, Robert D.
Sapp, Earle W.
Schaefer, William M.
Schniedwind, Robert F.
Scoggins, Marvin C., Jr.
Scott, Benedict J.
Scott, Robert L.
Searl, Floyd C.
Shaver, William M.
Shelton, John P.
Short, Edward A.
Shugart, Kenneth L., Jr.
Simons, Joseph T.
Sisson, Luther B.
Slater, Robert W.
Slonim, Charles E.
Small, William N.
Smith, Deming W.
Smith, Donald A.
Smith, George E.
Smith, John C.
Smith, John A.
Smith, Ralph F.
Smith, Robert S.
Smith, Robert, H., Jr.
Smith, Robert P.
Soderholm, Carlton E.
Soper, Malvern E.
Spangenberg, Walter, Jr.
Spann, Willis L.
Spoon, Donald D.
Spry, Warren L.
Stanfield, Henry L.
Stanley, Hilton L.
Stensrud, John D.
Stevens, Jack M.
Stilwell, Edward P.
Stockdale, James B.
Stone, Robert S.
Stone, Troy E.
Strayve, Jerome R.
Strong, James T.
Swainson, Gustav F., Jr.
Tarpey, John F.
Tate, Hugh J.
Taylor, David J.
Taylor, Dean, Jr.
Teasley, William A., Jr.
Tedholm, Charles E.
Terrass, Milford S.
Terry, Harold L.
Thede, William L.
Thomas Edward W.
Thummel, Gerald F.
Thurtell, Frank A.
Timidaiski, James T.
Toohill, Donald L.
Train, Harry D., II
Trott, Robert J. Jr.
Trout, Roscoe L.
Tucker, Ralph M.
Ulbricht, Frederick W.
Underwood, John L., Jr.
Urban, Henry, Junior
Urbanczyk, Louis T., Jr.
Vail, Malcom E.
Vansickle, John R.
Vantuyl, Andrew J.,
Vermilya, Robert S.
Volk, Ralph L., Jr.
Vollertsen, Russell A.
Vollmer, Cecil R.
Vonschrader, Chandler L.
Wadsworth, Dwight
Waits, Jack E.
Walker, Grant J.
Walker, Grover C., Jr.
Waller, Edward C., III
Walsh, Francis R., Jr.
Ward, "J" "D"
Warriner, Victor G.
Watkins, James D.
Watkins, Robert W.
Weidman, Robert M., Jr.
Welch, Edward F., Jr.
Wellons, Alfred G., Jr.
Wells, Donald M.
Wells, John T.
Wells, John W.
Wells, John T.
Wenger, Donald B.
Westmoreland, Arthur E.
Whaley, Lucien O. G.
Wicks, William F.
Williams, Bernard P., Jr.
Williams, John G., Jr.
Wilson, James G.
Wineman Gordon L.
Winkler Cornelis, Jr.
Woods, William L., Jr.
Wyand, Donald M.
Yates, Andrew J.
Yates, William K.
Young, Austin V.
Young, Grant C.
Youngblade, Charles J.
Zebrowski, Walter T.
Zenni, Martin "M"

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, September 27, 1967:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

John F. Kincaid, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Paul Rand Dixon, of Tennessee, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1967.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Carl E. Bagge, of Illinois, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 22, 1972.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

G. Joseph Minetti, of New York, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the term of 6 years expiring December 31, 1973.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The Kee Report: Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is the Peace Corps and the accomplishments being made by this organization.

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee report.

Nearly 15,000 young Americans are working abroad this summer to give a helping hand to the world's most destitute people. These are the volunteers serving in the Peace Corps, an agency sponsored six years ago by the late President Kennedy.

When this novel organization first started, it was viewed with toleration and skepticism. Everyone wished it well but there was a widespread feeling that youngsters just off the college campus were hardly equipped to help the millions of ill-clad, ill-housed and ill-fed natives of the earth's backward areas. There was a companion feeling that eager volunteers might give offense by mixing too freely in local affairs.

Five years of successful operation have convinced the doubters. But, while just about everyone has a kindly feeling for the Peace Corps, the public is still pretty much in the dark about its actual operations. So let us take a look at what these youngsters are doing in far-off places.

Slightly more than half are engaged in teaching. There is a widespread need for English teachers in the fifty-three countries served by the Corps. Many volunteers teach other foreign languages. In countries where illiteracy is common, the Peace Corps is reaching an estimated half a million adults and children through educational television beamed into schools and community centers.

Nearly one-third are working in rural and urban community projects. This means they are helping to develop those health and food-growing projects which are so desperately needed where the most of the people live in poverty.

It may seem puzzling that volunteers with only two or three months training are competent to act in those fields where specialized training is usually necessary. But the fact is that these eager-beaver youngsters have done amazingly well at mastering the practical jobs which comprise most of their work.

Experience has shown that the expert is too often frustrated in primitive surroundings. To explain this, it may be pointed out that ten of the world's greatest surgeons would be of less help in a native village than ten young ladies properly trained in first-aid relief work. The main job is to heal the cuts and bruises of every-day life and to teach the basic facts of sanitation.

The Peace Corps is looked upon as primarily an organization of young people, which it is. But older volunteers are given a hearty welcome when they have skills which are urgently needed in the field. This is especially true in agriculture and allied pursuits because increasing the food yield is so important in backward areas.

India, where the food shortage is reaching crisis proportions, is a Peace Corps priority. One project designed to increase the poultry yield has worked out better than expected and similar projects are now getting underway.

The volunteers are taught to live simply so as not to offend the poor people among whom they work. This means a standard of living below what they were accustomed to in our country.

The Peace Corps may be described as an experiment in the idealism of American youth. I am happy to report that so far it has worked out very well.

Thank you for listening.

President Johnson's Remarks in Signing Food Stamp Bill Into Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the bright sun which shone on the rose garden at the White House at noon today signaled a bright new prospect for health and well-being for an estimated 1,200,000 additional Americans who should be able to share in the advantages of the food stamp program as a result of the President's signing today of Public Law 90–91. The new law authorizes appropriations of up to $200,000,000 for the 1968 fiscal year, and up to $225,000,000 for the 1969 fiscal year, to continue the food stamp program initiated on a very small pilot basis in eight areas of the country 6 years ago.

The program is now operating on an annual rate basis of $160,000,000, with nearly 2 million participants, so that the new authorization, if followed by appropriation of the funds budgeted for the current fiscal year, will make possible an expansion of about 600,000 persons this year. A similar expansion of 600,000 could take place in the following year if the authorized funds are appropriated. Boston, New York, and some of the other cities not yet in the program should be able to come in during the present year or soon thereafter. I certainly hope they do enter this successful program. I hope the plan can also be put into effect in other areas of Missouri than just St. Louis.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks made by President Johnson this noon in signing Public Law 90–91, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT UPON SIGNING THE FOOD STAMP ACT, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

Good morning ladies and gentlemen, Senator Aiken, Senator Byrd, Senator Ellender, Senator Boggs, Chairman Poage, Congresswoman Sullivan, Congressman Purcell, and the other members of the House and Senate who I did not get recorded here:

I welcome one and all of you for the good work that you have done. I think we all share the common view that we want no American in this country to ever go hungry. We believe that we have the knowledge, the compassion, and the resources to banish hunger and to do away with malnutrition, if we will only apply those resources and those energies.

The bill that I have asked you to be here with me when I sign puts some of that abundance into the reach of the people of America.

Under the Food Stamp Program a low-income family can take what little money it has for food and purchase food stamps. At the neighborhood grocery these are worth more than they cost. The difference is made up by the Federal Government.

Food stamps are not the only weapon in the assault on hunger. The Food Stamp Act was passed three years ago. In that time, the program has expanded from 43 pilot areas in 23 States to 838 areas in 41 States. Today it is helping to feed nearly 2 million needy Americans. This extension will enable us to do still more.

We have nearly 20 million school children—more than ever before—receiving low cost or free meals under the School Lunch Program. That program today is in its 21st year.

More than 100,000 children have a better chance to learn because they began their day with a decent breakfast because of the Child Nutrition Act that we passed in 1966.

Three-million needy Americans in family units are receiving better diets in the Commodity Donation Program of the Department of Agriculture.

As I sign this Act, I am asking the Secretary to help America's 300 poorest counties which do not now have food assistance to start a Community Distribution Program to be available for the low-income families.

We are all mindful that the poor need more than food. The causes of poverty are complex. The answers to poverty are very difficult. The escape from poverty is not going to come soon, but we must all continue to try the best way that we can to give all that we can to banish poverty from our land.

Poverty's cruelest wound is hunger. The Act that we will sign today, I think, will do some little something to relieve some of that hunger.

To those men and women in the House and Senate who have had the vision to help us prepare this bill by the long drawn out hearings and the days in conference, and the debates on the floor, we owe them all a debt of gratitude which I want to acknowledge on behalf of the American people.

This will help our poor. This will help our farmers. And even though this is a bipartisan group, I hope it will help our Congress.

National Standards for Rat Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, 1967, I had the privilege of addressing the Urban Renewal Directors Association of Long Island. At that meeting I proposed local action to combat the spread of rats from increased demolition activities.

We are tearing down more buildings than ever before in the United States for urban renewal and for other purposes, but as we do, we are contributing to the proliferation of the rat problem. Rats tend to flock to and breed in rotting buildings, and once demolition activities begin, they are dispersed to other surrounding structures.

To coordinate and strengthen our efforts to control the rat problem, I am suggesting a new approach calling for both national and local action.

At the national level, I am suggesting the issuance of regulations on all new and pending urban renewal projects and other Federal programs involving demolition of buildings, requiring a certificate from an exterminator before Federal funds for demolition of structures are released.

This requirement could be embodied in Federal regulations, as a provision in urban renewal contracts and as a condition to the certification of workable programs for local governmental units.

At the local level, I am suggesting that in every incorporated village, town, city, or county having jurisdiction for the issuance of certificates to demolish structures, a new ordinance be adopted requiring a certification that an exterminator has visited the property before demolition takes place.

These suggestions are not in conflict with local, State, or Federal programs to fight the war against rats. They represent an effort to strengthen all of our allies in the war against rats and to fortify our laws so as to prevent a spreading of the rat problem.

Recently the village of Bellmore, in my district, experienced a rat problem which proved to the people of that village that rats were not a big city problem alone.

If we adopt national standards requiring that an exterminator be called in prior to the release of Federal funds in urban renewal demolition work, a significant contribution can be made in coordinating the battle against rats. I am today making such a proposal to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert Weaver, in an effort to have such a requirement included in national guidelines issued by that agency.

At the same time, I will urge local officials in my congressional district to enact local ordinances requiring an exterminator's certificate prior to the issuance of any permit for demolition. I urge my colleagues to contact their State legislators and local governments to recommend similar action by every local governmental unit in the United States.

On July 20, 1967, the House of Representatives refused to consider the proposed Federal rat control bill by a vote of 207 to 176. I voted with the minority because I supported Federal assistance to local governments in the fight against rats.

At that time there were many who laughed and joked about the proposed assistance for rat control but it soon became quite clear that the House of Representatives had made a mistake. That error was corrected on September 20, 1967, when the House, by a vote of 227 to 173, attached to the partnership for health bill an amendment adding $40 million for rat control projects. The funds will be made available under this amendment to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for grants to public and private agencies for special projects.

I was on leave of absence because of illness when this vote was taken, but all who know me know exactly where I stand on this legislation. I would have voted "aye."

Mr. Speaker, it is not enough to appropriate funds for grants to aid local governments control of rats—we must do more. Administrative steps at the Federal and local level are needed to prevent the spread of rats, and it is for that reason that I propose national standards for federally financed housing projects and local ordinances to protect the public against rat proliferation in connection with demolition work.

I urge my colleagues to support these steps, and urge the same procedures in their respective districts, to assure a coordinated and effective effort in the fight to control rats.

President Johnson's Leadership in Consumer Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, last week, during ceremonies at the White House, President Johnson reaffirmed his administration's commitment to meet the needs of the American consumer. In remarks made in the Rose Garden to a group of presidents or other top officials of many of our national voluntary civic, community, church, labor, and public service organizations, the President reiterated his position that the slogan "let the buyer beware" has no place in our society.

It was my privilege to be present in the Rose Garden when President Johnson met with consumer leaders to outline his continued support for the legislation he has recommended to the Congress for the protection of the American public from unsafe or deceptive products and from predatory selling or credit practices which keep the poor in a perpetual bondage of debt and despair, and which cheat even the sophisticated purchaser.

The group of national leaders gathered in the Rose Garden to hear the President had been summoned to the White House by Betty Furness, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs. I was glad to hear the President stress the importance of Federal, State, and local efforts, including the full participation of voluntary organizations, to "improve the quality of consumer education in this country."

I was particularly pleased that the President used this occasion to express once again his strong support, and that of his administration, for effective truth-in-lending legislation "to assure that a consumer, shopping for credit, knows exactly what he is paying in interest costs."

He stated:

> These credit costs should be expressed at an annual percentage rate.

This, of course, is the toughest nut to crack in the truth-in-lending legislation as it affects open-end credit usually referred to as revolving credit.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S UNPRECEDENTED RECORD ON CONSUMER LEGISLATION

As Vice President, Lyndon Johnson worked diligently to help enact consumer legislation recommended by President John F. Kennedy in his consumer message of March 1962, which was the first message of its type ever sent to Congress. After he became Chief Executive, President Johnson recommended additional far-reaching consumer legislation to Congress and succeeded, during the 89th Congress, in achieving enactment of an unprecedented body of consumer law. The legislation is now helping to set new standards of consumer protection. As the President stated last Friday:

> We are creating a consumer ethic that is fair both to the seller as to the buyer. We are going to be unrelenting in our efforts. We are going to stay on the job. We are going to pursue it every day. We are going to win.

In his remarks, the President not only listed the achievements of the past several years in consumer legislation but called for renewed effort to enact those consumer bills still awaiting passage. Under unanimous consent, I am privileged to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD President Johnson's remarks of September 22 before the heads of national voluntary organizations participating in the consumer conference called by the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE CONSUMER GROUPS, THE ROSE GARDEN, SEPTEMBER 22, 1967

Miss Furness, Congresswoman Sullivan, ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry I am late. I am very happy that Mrs. Sullivan, who is a champion of our cause, could be here with you this morning.

The people that all of you represent—the American consumers—are very much in our mind and we are concerned with many good things about them, and some problems they also have.

We are happy that we believe in this country our American consumers enjoy the highest standard of living of any people in the world.

We are very happy that that standard has constantly risen during the last four years.

There are more than 7 million more people working today, contributing to that economy instead of draining from it.

In the last three months, we have put more than 1.5 million people on new jobs.

Real income has risen about 17 percent for the average American.

The net financial wealth of the American families has risen $150 billion.

These statistics are important only because of the thing I want to say now.

Prosperity and progress are good, but they are not all good. They bring problems with them. As new materials are created, as new inventions come on the market, as new methods of financing are devised, as new sales pitches are made, we must be constantly on the lookout for the dangers that accompany them.

That is Betty's job and that is your job. That is Mrs. Sullivan's job. That is a matter of great moment and concern to me.

We feel the consumer should have the satisfaction and the security of knowing that he is not being taken unfair advantage of. The slogan "let the buyer beware" has no place in our society.

Our consumers, we think, here at the White House, have the right to expect safety in the products that are sold to them.

They have the right to choose between a variety of products and to exercise a choice.

They have a right to be fully informed about the products they buy—and this covers everything from telling them the honest weight of a food product to spelling out precisely how much money they will be paying at an annual percentage rate on a loan.

We feel they have the right to have their views of matters of national importance represented in the highest councils of their country and their government.

We have tried, since the days I was Vice President, in this Administration and the preceding one. We have made a great and constant effort to try to assure these rights. We have tried to secure for the consumer his rightful place in our economy.

It has not been easy—special interests have usually fought us every step of the way—but I believe we have come a very long way in this consumer field, relatively speaking.

The 89th Congress, which some rightly called the consumers' Congress, saw its responsibilities to the consumers of America—meaning all Americans—and they did the following things about them:

The Truth in Packaging Act—which assured the buyer will know what he is purchasing, how much it weighs, and who made it.

The Traffic and Highway Safety Acts—which have begun our all-out attack on the mounting toll of death and destruction on our highways.

The Child Protection Act—which will safeguard our children from hazardous toys.

And bills providing for increased insurance protection for people who place their savings on deposit.

That is past. We don't want to live in the past. We don't want to spend our time talking about the past, except to provide an example that we can learn from and emulate.

Because of that progress, we have felt encouraged. If we could do this in the 89th Congress, what should we try in the 90th?

We have 12 actions that we have urged the Congress to take in behalf of the consumer.

They include the Truth in Lending Bill, which Mrs. Sullivan has done such yeoman service upon. I want to publicly acknowledge and congratulate her.

That is legislation to assure that a consumer, shopping for credit, knows exactly what he is paying in interest costs.

We have many others. I will just name a few.

One includes the amendments to the Flammable Fabrics Act. That is legislation to prevent accidents, to make clothing and household items much safer for all of us.

Betty Furness has worked on that legislation, was before the Congress for all of us on it.

I can say that our legislative package covers everything from making meat more wholesome to the safe movement of natural gas by pipeline.

We are trying to do everything we can to see that the consumer is protected. We will not achieve that this year. We didn't in the 89th Congress; we won't in the 90th Congress. We will be working on it when they have the 100th Congress. But we are breaking down old barriers.

We are setting new standards. We are creating a consumer ethic that is fair both to the seller as well as to the buyer. We are going to be unrelenting in our efforts. We are going to stay on the job. We are going to pursue it every day. We are going to win.

Betty is our leader in this field. I look to her and her office as my eyes and my ears in the consuming area. What she knows I can have a part of. What reaches her usually reaches me.

I want to ask each of you to talk to her about the information that you think you would like for me to know. I am sure she will relay it to me.

She had barely settled down in this job before she started planning this get-together here today.

I want to express the hope that you will work closely with her and with the Consumer Advisory Council. I believe this lady is bright, dedicated and determined. I believe she is going to make it possible for the consumer's voice to be heard loudly, clearly and effectively, if you give her support and if I give her support.

We have the President's Committee on Consumer Interest. That is a Cabinet level committee. It is sorely concerned with the consumers.

I would like you, with Betty, to try to work out ways for us to improve the quality of consumer education in this country. I know this is something that you have been devoting a lot of time to, but we must move on from just getting the catalog, looking at it, and seeing the rating. There are a lot of other jobs to be done.

If we are going to continue to make progress, we are going to have to have more than just one person working at it.

You, through your groups and the people you speak for, can actively support us and be the difference between success and failure.

What grievances you have we want to know. Your consumers can tell you, and you can tell Betty. She will tell me and I will try to tell your Congressman.

That is a part of this job.

Your organizations cover almost every conceivable area of American life. You are in touch with millions of people. That is your job, to work with those specific groups that add up to millions in the long run.

Our job is to adequately protect and properly serve all of those millions.

We don't always live up to their expectations. We don't always discharge our responsibilities as they think we should. But we are aware of them. We want so much to be equal to them.

I do feel that the country has moved forward in the last few years in consumer education and in consumer legislation. It hasn't gone as far as it needs to go. How far it will go is going to be determined somewhat by the way I do my job and Betty does her job. And it will be determined a lot by how well you do your job, taking the grievances, formulating them into reasonable, marketable suggestions, making them appealing, and bringing them in.

Let's try to effect and devise solutions to them.

This is not something we are going to settle this afternoon. It is something we are going to have to work at 30 days a month for 365 days a year.

There will be great rewards and great satisfaction that wil come to us if we can take these protective measures and move forward in an enlightened way to not only serve the buyer well in this country, but to be just, reasonable and helpful to the seller.

We just might as well face up to it. The good old days, where a person could make the best mouse trap, have his own way about what it did and the dangers associated with it, all of the prices he charged, the way it was sold, the interest that was requested—those days are gone and forgotten.

The bridge of the railroad now crosses the spot. We have turned the horses and the carriages out. We are going to try to make this Congress and the next Congress an improvement on the 89th, which I think history will show was more aware of and more concerned with the 200 million consumers of this nation than any Congress in all of our history.

If we can do that, I think the time you spend here this afternoon will be well worthwhile. It will be a great day for every American consumer.

Thank you very much.

Problems of Federal Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, inflation, Federal debt, priorities in spending, taxes, balance of payments, interest rates, and deficit financing are all subjects of major importance in the Congress and the Nation.

Significant contributions to this important economic dialog are made by two recently published articles: "Problems of Federal Debt Management" by our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri, Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, and "The Inexcusable Inflation" by the Wall Street Journal.

Representative CURTIS, writing in a pamphlet published by National Associated Businessmen, Inc., exposes what he terms the fallacies of the new economics. The Wall Street Journal editorial argues that a "tax increase is a gratuitous insult to the public."

Both articles deserve thoughtful attention. I insert them at this point in the RECORD:

PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL DEBT MANAGEMENT

(By THOMAS B. CURTIS)

(FOREWORD.—The following article was prepared for National Associated Businessmen, Inc. by Congressman Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.). It brings to our members and others who read it a fresh and wholesome insight into the vital problems of Federal fiscal policy, particularly those arising from large continuing deficits and a huge and rapidly increasing Federal debt. We believe that this analysis of the "Problems of Federal Debt Management" is one of the best that has been made. It is easily read because of its clarity, non-technical language, and forthright conclusions. It should appeal not only to businessmen but to all others who watch with grave concern the continual decline in the purchasing power of the dollar and the growing threat to the Nation's solvency.

(Congressman Curtis has served in the U.S. House of Representatives continuously since 1951. He is a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the Joint Economic Committee, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. Although a lawyer by profession, Congressman Curtis is also an able economist. Among his colleagues and his constituents he is known as a man who does his "homework," one sample of which is the article that follows.)

One of the most disturbing aspects of the New Economics (the economic gospel of the present Administration) is its lack of concern for the problems of debt and debt management and its concomitant lack of concern about increasing the wealth of the society. It is both unwise and unrealistic to attempt any analysis of the Nation's economic health without considering its wealth and discussing such issues as the proper size of the Federal debt and the probable economic results of additions to the debt at any given time, including the present time.

Anyone who raises questions about the economic soundness of debt financing is likely to face the accusation that he thinks that debt is inherently evil. This accusation is just a straw man, however, designed to disguise the real issues and harsh economic realities which confront us. No one really thinks that debt is evil *per se*. But debt is an economic tool, like fire, which can be very beneficial if properly used and very destructive if misused. Every businessman knows that debt can be wealth-creating, neutral, or wealth-destroying, depending on how the funds acquired by debt are spent. If spent to acquire productive assets and enhance the business' productive capacity, they produce wealth and increase purchasing power. If used to fight a war (protect the wealth we already have) they can eat up our wealth. It is senseless to talk about the merits of debt in the abstract without any consideration of the spending to be made through debt financing. The real question for government is—are the funds borrowed from the public going to be used for permanent additions to the nation's wealth or for temporary income-stimulation schemes (which can eat up wealth)? Wealth in this context means both the nation's stock of physical capital (machinery, buildings, *etc.*) and its equally important stock of human capital (the knowledge within the society and the range of skills in the labor force).

In deciding whether or not to use the tool of debt financing, we must also consider the level of the Federal debt. If the debt is already too high in relation to the economic activity and wealth of the society, we should then be very reluctant to use debt other than to finance emergencies and avoid other projects no matter how worthwhile. Even financing an emergency, such as war (which eats up wealth), requires that the proper debt ratio be sought as soon as possible after the emergency is over.

What should be the proper size of the Federal debt? This question cannot be answered in a vacuum, but must be related to the amount of wealth and economic activity in the society. Common business sense tells us that a corporation with sales of $100 million can support a greater debt burden than a corporation with sales of $1 million, and this is equally true of the Federal government. The economic activity of the society (GNP) through the Federal income tax system constitutes the basis for servicing and financing the Federal debt, and must be related to the amount of debt that can be economically utilized.

Instead of using the debt-GNP ratio as a point of discussion, the New Economists seek to avoid the very issue they raise by citing the fact that the Federal debt was 124% of GNP in 1946 and was only 45% of GNP in 1966, and then concluding we are in a healthy fiscal situation. They imply that the economy can support a much higher debt at the present time, due to the increase in GNP since 1946. The fallacy in the theory of the New Economists lies in the selection of the year 1946 as a benchmark. Is 1946 the year from which our progress (if any) in debt reduction is to be measured? The United States of necessity financed World War II heavily by debt unparalleled in our nation's history. The question is not what the ratio was in 1946, but what it should be. From 1870 to 1940 the ratio of debt to GNP in peacetime never rose above 20%.

There is little reason for rejoicing at a reduction of this ratio (which took over 20 years) from its swollen post-war peak to a level more than double that which historically prevailed in the periods when the United States was growing most rapidly. The present level of the Federal debt gives little flexibility to cope with possible future wars or economic crises which could require extensive deficit financing.

In addition, two-thirds of the decrease in the burden of the debt (as measured by the debt-GNP ratio) is due to the serious depreciation of the dollar's value since 1946. This is one way to reduce the burden of the debt, because, through inflation, the government can pay off its fixed obligations with dollars that are now worth less. It is, however, a very economically costly and socially inequitable way to reduce the burden of government debt. Inflation, it must be noted, is a consumer tax which hits the low income groups in our society the hardest. We can take little pride in reducing the World War II debt burden in this fashion.

Relating the size of the debt to the level of economic activity in the society is one way to make a judgment on the proper size of the Federal debt. Another way is to relate it to the physical wealth of the Federal government which backs up the debt, just as a bank would look at a business' assets or a small loan company at a family's assets in deciding whether or not to make a loan. We can get some real insights into this ratio by comparing the Federal government's net worth with the net worth of state and local governments and of the private sector (both corporate and household sectors). In an article appearing in the *Morgan Guaranty Survey* (August, 1966), Dr. John W. Kendrick pointed out that in 1900 the Federal government's assets equalled its obligations. By 1958, the Federal government's debt had grown to be 8% greater than its assets.

A favorite contention of the New Economists is that the level of the Federal debt is not too high because the Federal debt has grown much more slowly since 1946 than the debt of state and local governments and the private sector. The statistical part of the argument is accurate. From 1946 to 1966 state and local debt went up by 743% from $13.6 billion to $101.1 billion. During this same period corporate debt increased by 536% while consumer credit rose by 1,131%. These facts are indisputable, but they tell only part of the story. By choosing 1946 as a base year, the New Economists have once again prejudged the argument in their favor. During World War II, while Federal debt was burgeoning, state and local governments actually reduced their debt because shortages of labor and materials made new building impossible for the duration. Similarly, private debt grew only slightly because of these same shortages. A large part of the percentage increase in state and local debt and private debt since 1946 must be attributed to the backlog of demand for construction projects and consumer goods which could not be obtained during the war. Actually what was happening to a large degree was that the ratio between Federal debt and state, local government and private debt was reverting to pre-World War II normalcy.

The argument is also fallacious because it leaves out any mention of the net worth of the various economic sectors. The Federal debt did grow more slowly, but its growth exceeded the growth in Federal assets, causing a decline in the net worth of the Federal government. From 1900 to 1958, the same period studied by Dr. Kendrick, however, the net worth of state and local governments (assets over their obligations) increased from 3% to 6% of the obligations. The surplus of asset holdings over debt obligations for state and local governments increased not only absolutely but as a percentage of total obligations.

A more striking picture holds true in the private sector. A basic reason corporate and consumer debt grew so rapidly in the postwar period was that it was being used to acquire productive assets. Despite rapid debt increases, the share of the nation's wealth owned by non-financial corporations actually increased from 20% in 1929 to 23% in 1958; the share of the nation's wealth owned by non-farm households also went up slightly. For the consumer sector as a whole in 1966 assets of $2.176 trillion balanced against liabilities of $.306 trillion given an astounding net worth figure of $1.870 trillion. These figures leave no doubt that the private sector has learned how to use debt as a tool to increase wealth and the Federal government has not.

It is fair to say that the level of the Federal debt is excessive. The Joint Economic Committee of the Congress recognized this in March in its annual report on the President's Economic Report when all 20 committee members, Democrats and Republicans alike, urged a reduction in Federal non-defense spending to minimize the deficit financing projected in the President's budget for fiscal 1968. The Administration has chosen to disregard this request and refused to consider any reduction in domestic spending. In fact, it has twice deliberately understated spending in order to avoid public demand for cutbacks in the Administration's appropriation requests of the Congress. A recent forecast of the probable deficit for fiscal 1968 was $13.5 billion, but this also contains juggled estimates and is far too low. An indication of how large the deficit might be can be found in the Administration's strenuous fight for an increase in the debt ceiling which gives it the power to run a $29 billion deficit in fiscal 1968. The Administration seeks to blame the war in Vietnam for these deficits.

However, two-thirds of the $28.3 billion increase in Federal expenditures from calendar 1963 through 1966—as measured in the national income accounts—is accounted for by non-defense spending. More recent figures show that over half of the proposed $37 billion increase in spending from fiscal 1966 through fiscal 1968 will be in non-defense programs. The picture should be clear—additions are being made to the Federal debt (which is already too high) either because of a belief in the erroneous theories of the New Economists or because of a lack of the political courage necessary to cut back or defer nonessential domestic programs in the light of increased defense spending.

What difference does it make how large the 1968 deficit is? If the administration relies entirely on debt to finance a deficit of the size presently contemplated ($30 billion), one of the results sure to follow is high interest rates and further inflation. The cost of living increased by 3.7% during 1966, and the increase during 1967 is likely to be at least this large. There is also a danger of having inflation contemporaneous with a serious slump in those sectors of the economy that are most sensitive to interest rate increases, which would decrease the Federal tax revenues. There is no question that marketing $30 billion worth of government securities at a time when private demand for savings is growing will drive interest rates up throughout the economy. Interest rates are now back up to the peak levels achieved last summer, and the homebuilding industry, as well as others, are again starting to feel the pinch. The Federal Reserve Board will have to tighten credit to keep inflation under some control when the Treasury itself is adding to the inflationary forces in the economy by refinancing its old deficits and financing the new one.

Upward pressure on interest rates coupled with a statutory interest rate ceiling of 4¼% on long-term Treasury obligations raises severe problems of debt management for the Treasury. When the market rate of interest is higher than the 4¼% ceiling, the Treasury must move into the short-term capital market for funds. All borrowing has to be in issues of less than 7 years maturity (defined by law as short-term). As a result, the average length of the marketable interest-bearing public debt has declined from 5 years, 4 months in 1965 to 4 years, 5 months in April 1967, with further decline likely. In April 1967, almost 50 percent ($99.7 billion) of the marketable, interest-bearing public debt was due in one year or less, up from $75.3 billion in December, 1960. Last year, the Treasury had to move completely into the short-term money market to refinance the $175 billion of the debt that became due. Increases in this class of Federal obligation (which approaches the liquidity of money) are highly dangerous in a time of inflationary pressure.

The inflation likely to be caused by these deficits would mean a further deterioration in our balance of payments position and an increased gold outflow. Inflation raises the prices which foreigners must pay for U.S. goods, while making foreign goods more competitive and attractive to U.S. customers. Partially as a result of our inflation, the surplus of exports over imports of goods and services declined from $8.5 billion in 1964 to an estimated annual rate of $4.5 billion in the last quarter of 1966. We were barely able to halt a worsening of our overall balance of payments in 1966 by two economically-costly policies: (1) restrictions on U.S. private investment in other countries (which will cut down on our future earnings from foreign investment, a major credit item in our balance of payments): and (2) high interest rates (which encourage a temporary inflow of short-term capital). The balance of payments deficit on the official settlements basis of $7.328 billion in the first quarter of 1967 shows how temporary this inflow was. Even with these damaging policies, the gold stock still declined by $571 million in 1966.

The reason why businessmen should be concerned about Federal deficits is more than the economic ills they cause (which are serious enough). The real danger lies in the remedies proposed by the Administration to cure the economic ills fostered by its own expenditure policy. Invariably, the Administration attempts to restrict or control the private sector through devices like the recently discarded guidelines on wages and prices, the guidelines on private foreign investment, and the Interest Equalization Tax. An Administration which refuses to face up to the economic damage its spending policies are causing is unlikely to avoid stronger, stricter controls on private economic activity if its existing controls prove unsuccessful. This is the danger to businessmen (and indeed to our whole society) posed by unrestricted deficit financing—the danger of increasing governmental control over private economic decisions of all kinds.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 12, 1967]

THE INEXCUSABLE INFLATION

Several things need to be said about the current, rapidly developing price inflation—which comes on top of considerable inflation in the past couple of years and a great deal of it over the past generation.

First and foremost, it is wholly unnecessary and inexcusable, being manufactured out of indiscipline in Washington. Gardner Ackley, the President's chief economic adviser, may find certain steel price rises distressing; he ought also to admit the Johnson Administration's heavy culpability in creating the conditions that make those and hundreds of other increases inevitable.

Unquestionably the Vietnam war has added a lot to Federal spending and hence to the enormous prospective deficits. The deep intervention in that war may have been the Johnson Administration's paramount mistake, but whether it was or wasn't, financial responsibility plainly required offsetting reductions in other spending. Instead the Administration recklessly increases spending on a host of domestic welfare programs.

To add to the taxpayer's bitterness, the programs are largely wasteful and ineffective; the problems they are aimed at grow worse, not better. Even so extreme a liberal as Senator Robert Kennedy perceives as much. Suddenly he and other liberals are talking of the need to involve private enterprise in the attack on poverty on a much bigger scale than at present, because the Government manifestly is unequal to the task.

Not all liberals, however. Vice President Humphrey, lambasting the "tired people" who oppose "Great Society" programs, insists that the Government can and must carry on the Vietnam war and all the welfare projects. This refusal to face the fact of failure, this determination to perpetuate error, ill become the holder of such high office.

Secondly, inflation is not necessarily proof of a boom. The Government economic planners doggedly maintain that a new boom is under way after a mostly stagnant year, and they could be correct. Yet a number of other economists don't see the evidence for their optimism. In any case, inflation itself can easily become a depressant; consumers bombarded by price boosts on all sides may stop buying on the grand scale to which they have become accustomed.

Finally, the proposed tax increase is no answer to inflation, given the Administration's adamant resistance to any kind of restraint at all. Congress may end up enacting it, simply out of fear of the vast deficits in prospect, but to do so is to skip the relevant questions.

There is every reason to believe that if the Administration gets its tax "surcharge" it will boost its outlays that much more than it would otherwise have done. In that event the impact on the deficits will be minimal. Is Congress going to see to it that the surcharge is accompanied by substantial cuts in spending? Not likely.

And what about monetary policy? The Federal Reserve Board, presently an amiable handmaiden at the White House, has been inflating the money supply like crazy. This even more than the deficits (which to a degree can be financed in noninflationary ways) is generating the scourge of price rises. If Congress hikes taxes, is it also going to demand a cessation of that policy? Not likely. If not, the inflation will roll right along.

In the circumstances a tax increase is a gratuitous insult to the public. The Government waters your money by decreasing your purchasing power via inflation and then it confiscates more by the direct route of taxation. We hate to talk about morality in connection with supposedly hard, practical economic matters, but a Government so delinquent in its most fundamental obligations to the people is bound to raise questions of that nature.

The dismaying thing is that so far there is no really loud outcry; hardly anybody utters an audible Stop thief! Even sophisticated bankers and businessmen seem to throw up their hands and figure that that's the way it is—nothing is going to change the Government's wild habits no matter what anybody says.

Perhaps so. But to the extent we the people are silent we too are guilty, guilty of conniving in the undermining of the very financial foundations on which all else is built.

SENATE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

Rev. Charles P. Robertson, associate minister, Washington Street Methodist Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

God our Father: We pray that You will prevent this prayer from being just a superficial form to which we ascribe a cool respectability that we believe is proper.

We offer to You thanks for the love ethic You have given us and especially for all signs of its effect upon people and governments in areas of tension in our land. May Your love neutralize all evidences of hatred and injustice.

We ask Your judgment upon all that is immoral in our laws and our system of government. Purge from areas of responsibility those who would pervert the law to serve their own unjust ends.

We ask for Your mercy. Unite the men and women of this Congress to a cause greater than political affiliation; set before them the common goal of justice and peace. Grant to them Your guidance, as they have within their hands the ability to accomplish good and alter history.

We ask for Your peace in the midst of the struggle in which we are engaged on earth for the freedom and dignity of man. In Jesus' name. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate I appoint Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 27, 1967, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 477. An act for the relief of the widow of Albert M. Pepoon;

S. 953. An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964;

S. 1165. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe of Indians on behalf of the Mississippi Bands and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians;

S. 1465. An act to provide for holding terms of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern Division of the Northern District of Mississippi in Ackerman, Miss.; and

S. 1972. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Emigrant New York Indians in Indian Claims Commission Docket No. 75, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 13026) to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, September 27, 1967, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Price Daniel, of Texas, to be Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORTS OF ORGANIZATIONS OWNING PROPERTY EXEMPT UNDER DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA LAWS

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, two reports on organizations owning property exempt from the District of Columbia laws, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AND FINANCIAL POLICIES

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, Acting Chairman, and members of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies, transmitting, a special report of the Council on U.S. participation in proposed special funds of the Asian Development Bank (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF CLAIMS PAID UNDER MILITARY PERSONNEL AND CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES' CLAIMS ACT OF 1964

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report listing claims settled in fiscal year 1967, setting forth the name of each claimant, the amount claimed, and the amount paid (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF ALIENS—WITHDRAWAL OF NAME

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, withdrawing the name of Ryzard Wolfart aka Richard Zukowski from a report relating to aliens whose deportation has been suspended, transmitted to the Senate on February 1, 1967 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. STENNIS, from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 11456. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 572).

By Mr. ELLENDER from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 11641. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 574).

SECURITY OF CAPITOL BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 573)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], from the Committee on Public Works, I report favorably with amendments, the bill (S. 2310) to provide more effectively for the regulation of the use of, and for the preservation of safety and order within, the U.S. Capitol buildings and the U.S. Capitol Grounds. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed together with the separate views of Senators GRUENING, YOUNG of Ohio, and COOPER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed together with the separate views, as requested by the Senator from West Virginia.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. NELSON (for himself and Mr. MONDALE):

S. 2482. A bill to provide for an annual conference between representatives of the dairy industry, the Secretary of Agriculture, and representatives of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government to consider problems relating to the import and export of dairy products to and from the United States, to interstate commerce in dairy products within the United States and related problems in international trade and interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. NELSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BARTLETT (for himself and Mr. GRUENING):

S. 2483. A bill to vacate and relinquish the reservation of rights-of-way for certain purposes made pursuant to section 321(d) of title 48, United States Code; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. BARTLETT when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina (for himself and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S. 2484. A bill to authorize the extension of the additional Senate Office Building site; to the Committee on Public Works.

ANNUAL MEETING PROPOSED TO EXPAND INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC DAIRY MARKETS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, in recent years, foreign dairy imports have become a sharp thorn in the side of the American dairy industry.

They have arrived at our ports in unprecedented numbers to depress and undermine the markets of our own dairymen, driving thousands of American farmers out of dairying. Many imported dairy products have been so unsanitary that they have been immediately refused entry to the country.

The great flood of foreign dairy products began in 1965, when 900 million pounds were imported to the United States. Last year, the amount shot up to 2 billion 700 million pounds. Now, it is estimated that some 4 billion pounds will arrive in our country before this year is up.

However, the drastic decline in the volume of dairy exports over the past 2 years has been as damaging to our dairy farmers as the explosive increase in foreign dairy imports.

Total exports of American dairy products fell from 7.4 billion pounds in 1964 to less than one billion pounds last year. Commercial exports tumbled from 4.1 billion pounds to 776 million while donation shipments dropped from 3.3 billion pounds to 194 million pounds.

This constitutes a loss in sales of more than $150 million in 2 short years for our dairy industry.

In the August 1967, edition of the Foreign Agriculture Circular, published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, American dairy exports are listed, product by product, for the years 1964–66. I ask unanimous consent that that table be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAIRY PRODUCTS—U.S. EXPORTS BY CATEGORY, QUANTITY, AND VALUE, 1964–66

	Quantity			Value [1]		
	1964 Thousands of pounds	1965 Thousands of pounds	1966 [2] Thousands of pounds	1964 Thousands of dollars	1965 Thousands of dollars	1966 [2] Thousands of dollars
Milk and cream, fresh	10,159	9,021	9,847	1,404	1,429	1,764
Butter [3]	297,283	65,754	13,693	[4] 116,191	29,691	7,894
Cheese, all types	9,086	6,831	6,002	4,043	3,399	3,649
Milk, processed:						
Condensed sweetened	62,837	65,252	92,885	15,247	15,619	22,767
Evaporated	37,713	25,248	39,779	5,636	4,164	5,865
Dried whole milk	13,898	18,497	15,584	5,532	8,123	4,869
Nonfat dried milk	1,311,622	863,074	387,683	112,678	117,697	63,272
Milk products, processed:						
Infants' and dietetics, chiefly milk base	18,552	16,002	17,014	10,808	11,124	11,292
Malted milk compounds and mixtures	2,551	2,675	2,471	1,313	1,428	1,081
Dry cream	(5)	1,209	933	(5)	500	----------
Ice cream powder mixes	497	(6)	(6)	270	(6)	(6)
Casein (inedible)	270	(7)	(7)	138	(7)	(7)
Dairy products, n.e.c.	27,658	(6)	(6)	2,828	(6)	(6)
Total value	----------	----------	----------	276,088	193,174	122,453
	Millions of pounds	Millions of pounds	Millions of pounds			
Whole milk equivalent of total exports	[8] 7,409	2,149	970	----------	----------	----------

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[1] Based on unit values reported by Bureau of Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

[2] Preliminary.

[3] Includes butter equivalent of anhydrous milk fat, butter oil, and ghee.

[4] Includes $52,500,000 estimated export value of approximately 135,000,000 pounds of butter products shipped for relief and charity not reported by Commerce.

[5] Not reported separately prior to 1965.

[6] As of Jan. 1, 1965, is not listed separately in Bureau of Census Trade Statistics; now included with other food preparations, not specified.

[7] As of Jan. 1, 1965, includes albumens, peptones, and dextrins.

[8] Adjusted to represent whole milk equivalent averaging 3.7 percent fat content. Formerly reported on a 4 percent fat content basis.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I believe that we should take some bold, new steps to reverse this alarming decline in export trade for the American dairy industry.

Today, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] and I are introducing legislation to establish an annual Dairy Industry Trade and Marketing Conference. Under the provisions of this bill, Government trade specialists would meet with dairy industry representatives to explore ways to expand international dairy trade as well as to increase the marketing of dairy products domestically.

Participating in this annual conference will be delegates from the dairy industry and officials from the Department of Agriculture, the Department of State, the office of the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, the Department of Commerce, the Export-Import Bank, the Federal Trade Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, the Public Health Service, the Tariff Commission, and other Government agencies.

The conference will be open for the discussion of problems relating to market survey information, market development, differences in preferences and standards of other nations, political barriers, veterinary and sanitary regulations, domestic regulations and barriers, transportation costs and methods, unfamiliarity with foreign markets, and structural problems of the dairy industry in the United States.

As I noted, the increase in foreign dairy imports has caused great concern recently, and rightly so as long as foreign countries continue to flood American markets with their surpluses without allowing us comparable access to their markets.

If we can gain some assurances that foreign markets will be opened to our dairy products, then we can consider liberalizing our own import restrictions.

Expansion of export markets will mean far more money in the pockets of our family farmers than restrictions on incoming imports.

This dairy trade conference will seek new ways to increase international trade in dairy products by finding new foreign markets and expanding business in existing ones.

The potential for opening new overseas markets for American dairy products has never been brighter. But, it is up to us to take advantage of it. We must start to make international dairy trade a full-time, not a part-time, concern.

Prof. Truman Graf, the highly respected agricultural economist from the University of Wisconsin, has offered the following observation on foreign dairy trade:

> The dairy export market looks very bright and dairy product exports promise to become very increasingly important for Wisconsin dairymen in the future. The population of Western Europe is expected to increase by about 150 million people in the next 20 years. Western Europe may not be able to supply enough milk for its people. This will help U.S. commercial export markets there.
>
> The world commercial demand for nonfat dry milk is expected to continue to expand. The growth of the animal feed milk replacer market in Western Europe is a good example of large new uses. Japan's sharp increase in the purchases of non-fat dry milk and other dairy products is another example of increased demand for dairy products which can occur. The world is experiencing a growing appetite for animal products such as meat, eggs and dairy products.
>
> Although we frequently complain about the unfavorable impact of both dairy and total agricultural imports on our agricultural and dairy industry, we gain far more from exports than we lose from imports. From an economic standpoint, we are far better off working on programs to expand exports than on programs to restrict imports.
>
> The future international dairy trade situation has important implications to the Wisconsin dairy industry. Greater effort in analyzing and disseminating information on import and export regulations in potential markets throughout the world will be needed, so as to encourage the greatest possible sales abroad. U.S. rules and regulations governing imports and exports should also be constantly scrutinized and analyzed to assure the most favorable export situation.
>
> The criticism now being voiced about the short term nature of U.S. dairy export subsidy rates has considerable merit. Longer term information on the dairy trades competitive position on the world market would encourage more private effort in attempting to increase dairy export sales.
>
> More work also needs to be done in the development of foreign markets. This can involve merchandising, advertising, promotional, and feasibility studies. Research study and dissemination of information on technical processing and packaging requirement for exports is also needed. This should involve going to the countries and finding out what makes them tick, and how to develop marketing programs there. Markets cannot be developed by merely looking at reports, but instead, research, and marketing programs in the countries are important.

On the domestic scene, many barriers still exist to disrupt the interstate marketing of dairy products right here in the United States. These barriers are one of the reasons why imitation products, including filled milk made with vegetable fat—not butterfat—are getting such a strong foothold in the Southwest and Far West. Reports indicated that artificial milk has already captured a share of the regular milk market in several States.

With the public and private expertise available at these dairy trade conferences, our American dairy industry should be able to resolve some of the difficulties presently disrupting the international and domestic marketing of American dairy products.

At this time, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill establishing an annual Dairy Industry Trade and Marketing Conference be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2482) to provide for an annual conference between representatives of the dairy industry, the Secretary of Agriculture, and representatives of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government to consider problems relating to the import and export of dairy products to and from the United States, to interstate commerce in dairy products within the United States and related problems in international trade and interstate commerce, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. NELSON (for himself and Mr. MONDALE), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2482

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Dairy Industry Trade and Marketing Conference Act".

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby declares that the production of dairy products is of vital importance to the economy of the Nation and that the Secretary of Agriculture and other officials of the Government concerned with international trade and interstate commerce in dairy products should exercise the authority vested in them by law to encourage development of overseas and domestic markets for these commodities by groups and individual United States businessmen interested in such markets (without regard to their size or previous experience in international trade); and in order that the Secretary of Agriculture and other appropriate Federal officials and the business community may be kept currently informed of conditions in world and domestic markets and of the specific kinds of assistance which may be needed by the industry of this country, the Secretary of Agriculture should sponsor an annual conference, to be attended by representatives of the dairy industry and all departments and agencies of the Federal Government concerned with the exports and imports of and interstate commerce in dairy products, to consider such conditions and to attempt to find practical solutions to the problems that are involved.

ANNUAL DAIRY INDUSTRY TRADE AND MARKETING CONFERENCE

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized and directed to call a dairy industry trade and marketing conference each year. Each such conference shall be composed of representatives from the Department of Agriculture, designated by the Secretary, and delegates from the dairy industry, selected in such manner as may be approved by the industry. There shall also be in attendance at each such conference representatives from the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, the office of the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, the Department of Commerce, the Export-Import Bank, Federal Trade Commission, Food and Drug Administration, Public Health Service, and the Tariff Commission, and other pertinent Government agencies to be designated by the chief executive officers thereof.

(b) The Secretary and a person selected by the dairy industry shall serve as cochairmen of conferences held pursuant to this section; and such conferences shall be planned, organized, and conducted in accordance with rules of procedure mutually agreed upon by the cochairmen. The conference shall be held each year at a time and place convenient to delegates of the dairy industry and the Secretary.

(c) Delegates to any conference held pursuant to this section shall receive no compensation for their services, but while attending meetings of the annual conference at places away from their homes or regular places of business they shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem allowance in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons in the government service intermittently.

(d) Except as otherwise provided in this section, the Secretary shall be responsible for the conduct of each annual dairy industry trade and marketing conference held pursuant to this section.

(e) It shall be the function of each annual conference to review, discuss, analyze, and recommend solutions to problems of the dairy industry relating to exports, imports, trade, and marketing of dairy products. Each such conference shall specifically consider, but shall not be limited to, problems relating to—

(A) trade and market survey information;

(B) organizational and structural problems of the dairy industry in the United States;

(C) market development;

(D) background information on differences in preferences and standards of other nations;

(E) economic and political barriers;

(F) necessary veterinary and sanitary regulations;

(G) national and state regulations and barriers;

(H) educating foreign and domestic consumers;

(I) transportation costs and methods; and

(J) types of products with export potential.

(f) In carrying out the provisions of this section, the Secretary shall—

(1) request the cooperation and assistance of other Federal departments and agencies concerned with the export sand imports of dairy products;

(2) compile, prepare, and make available for the use of the delegates to each conference such background information and material as he may deem necessary or appropriate.

(g) Any conference held pursuant to this section is authorized to secure information directly from any department, agency, or establishment of the executive branch of the Government with the consent of the head thereof, and each such department, agency, or establishment to the greatest practical extent shall furnish such information upon request of either cochairman of the conference. Such personnel of such departments, agencies, or establishments as may be required to assist any conference held pursuant to this section in carrying out its functions may be utilized upon request of the Secretary. Any such department, agency, or establishment furnishing the services of personnel shall be entitled to reimbursement therefor out of any funds appropriated under subsection (i) of this section.

(h) The Secretary shall maintain a record of the proceedings of each such conference and shall submit a written report to the Congress with respect to any problem presented for consideration at any such conference, within thirty days after the end of such conference, whenever the same or substantially the same problem was presented for consideration at the previous annual conference. He shall set forth the problem so presented and specify what action has been taken by the appropriate department or agency to alleviate it. Whenever any problem being reported upon is outside the competence or jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, representatives of the department or agency concerned shall cooperate with an assist the Secretary in the preparation of the report regarding such problem. Such report shall also contain such recommendations as may be necessary or appropriate to correct such problem.

(i) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

PROTECTION FOR ALASKA HOMESTEADERS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in 1947 Congress enacted a law—48, United States Code, 321d—which reserved an undefined highway right-of-way in all patents for Federal public lands in Alaska. This law, commonly referred as the 1947 act, has become notorious in Alaska. While seemingly innocuous, the 1947 act has worked inequities beyond belief as homesteads and other patented lands fall in the paths of urban development and highway improvement projects.

Although the 1947 act was repealed in 1959, all of those persons who received patent to Federal lands between 1947 and 1959 still live under the threat that a portion of their land might be taken for highway right-of-way purposes at any time without compensation. As a matter of fact, a substantial number of rights-of-way have already been acquired under the 1947 act without compensation to the landowners and many rights-of-way over such lands will undoubtedly be acquired in the foreseeable future.

The State of Alaska has found a way to compensate patentees for takings under the right-of-way provision but the Federal highway administration refuses on legal grounds to pay the Federal share of such compensation.

Mr. President, it is my firm belief that no one could have foreseen the inequities inherent in passage of the 1947 act. It is also my belief that corrective action is overdue. Therefore, I introduce today for appropriate reference a bill which would vacate and relinquish the reservation of rights-of-way authorized by the 1947 act—61 Stat. 418, 48 United States Code, 321(d).

Mr. President, in conclusion, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2483) to vacate and relinquish the reservation of rights-of-way for certain purposes made pursuant to section 321(d) of title 48, United States Code, introduced by Mr. BARTLETT (for himself and Mr. GRUENING), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2483

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any right-of-way for roads, roadways, highways, tramways, trails, bridges, and appurtenant structures reserved by section 321(d) of title 48, United States Code (61 Stat. 418, 1947), not utilized by the United States or by the State or territory of Alaska prior to the date of enactment hereof, shall be and hereby is vacated and relinquished by the United States to the end and intent that such reservation shall merge with the fee and be forever extinguished.

AMENDMENT TO FIREARMS BILL

AMENDMENT NO. 361

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I take the floor today for the purpose of submitting an amendment to amendment No. 90 to S. 1, the firearms bill that I introduced earlier this year.

We all know of the violence that has ripped many of our major cities this summer.

We know of the deadly sniper fire that took the lives of innocent victims and frustrated the efforts of law enforcement officers in combating what amounted to guerrilla warfare on the streets of our great cities.

We know that the rifle and shotgun are the tools of the sniper and that these weapons were misused during the height of the fury in the riot torn areas.

Yet there are those who doggedly maintain, with a total disregard for the facts, that the rifle and shotgun are strictly the instruments of sportsmen and hunters, and that such weapons are not abused by our criminal elements.

It is becoming increasingly clear that their view is shortsighted based on what is currently happening in this country.

It has been apparent for some time, however, that the inclusion of rifles and shotguns in the legislation that I have proposed has been the major stumbling block to its enactment.

Today, I offer an amendment to S. 1, amendment No. 90, which should remove the opposition of the sportsmen of our less populated Midwestern States.

The amendment is brief. It is not complex. It is predicated on the major criticism that has been leveled against the bill.

It incorporates the basic philosophy of the bill that it will amend.

S. 1, amendment No. 90, was designed to aid the States by regulating the interstate commerce in firearms so that they may implement and enforce their own laws. This amendment maintains this principle.

Briefly, it would allow a State legislature to enact a statute to relieve its citizens from the outright prohibition on mail order acquisitions of rifles and shotguns, as proscribed by S. 1, amendment No. 90.

If applied to amendment No. 90, States could let their citizens purchase rifles and shotguns by mail order.

This amendment permits a State legislature to decree that its citizens may have the right to purchase a mail order rifle or shotgun without any restriction.

The amendment, in adhering to the principle of assistance to the States, would not, in my opinion, greatly reduce the overall effectiveness of this legislation. It would be applicable only in those States which feel that they do not need the help of the Federal Government in enforcing their own laws.

There is no constitutional bar to this legislative approach. There is ample precedent in principle for its adoption.

I urge that this amendment be given favorable consideration by the Judiciary Committee and the Senate.

I offer it in an effort to loosen the logjam that has impeded the progress of firearms legislation in this Senate over the years.

I am hopeful that it will meet the objections that have been raised by our citizens in the rural and Western States.

The record that the subcommittee compiled this year demonstrates that some of our States do not want and do not feel the need for Federal assistance in controlling the acquisition of firearms.

Witnesses from these States have indicated that a mail order ban or stringent controls on mail order rifles and shotguns would effect a hardship on sportsmen, ranchers and farmers whose primary access to sporting rifles and shotguns is through the mail order route.

Senator FRANK CHURCH, for example presented to the subcommittee a petition of some 44,000 signators from the State of Idaho who categorically oppose any Federal firearms legislation.

Eight of our western States have memorialized the Congress to oppose this gun bill mainly because of the inclusion of long arms.

I believe that this amendment will dissipate such opposition. If the bill does not apply to these States, they should have no objection to it.

As a result of the objections voiced at the hearings by many Senators and witnesses from States whose citizens objected to S. 1, amendment No. 90, on August 30, 1967, I wrote to members of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee asking that they consider the amendment I introduce today as a possible solution to such objections. I have attached a copy of this letter to my statement today.

In urging adoption of this amendment and the enactment of S. 1, amendment No. 90, I am also aware of those responsible State and local officials who have pleaded with the Congress to act affirmatively and to enact meaningful Federal gun control legislation.

Their plea should not go unheeded. I, for one, do not intend to ignore them. I hope my colleagues who object to this legislation because of opposition by their constituents will not ignore them either.

The record that this subcommittee has compiled over the last 6 years conclusive demonstrates the existence of a serious firearms problem in the United States. Long arms, rifles, and shotguns, contribute significantly to this problem. And, their contribution to lawlessness and loss of life is increasing every year.

The annual FBI report released just this August, shows that in 1966, 60 percent of our murders were committed by persons armed with firearms. Not only did the gun prove again to be increasingly the favorite weapon of the killer, but the total number of gun deaths was 16 percent higher than in 1965. The toll of human life mounts with each passing day.

The report also shows that robberies and aggravated assaults by gun increased dramatically in 1966. Armed robbery was up 14 percent. Aggravated assault was up 25 percent.

I feel confident in predicting that the riots of 1967 will make this year the highest ever in firearms crimes, and unless this Congress moves swiftly, these crimes will continue to mount in the years to come.

In the face of this rampaging criminal behavior, the gunrunners still argue their same feeble arguments.

Our critics still claim that criminals, persons bent on murder, assassination, or starting a riot, do not buy firearms with which to commit their disastrous acts.

The gunrunners still insist that the criminals steal their guns for such illicit purposes. Yet, the record compiled by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee conclusively disproved this in 1965.

Our recent hearings in July and August proved our earlier findings beyond a doubt.

The gunrunners insist that firearms laws are ineffective and that they do not prevent gun crimes. Yet, our record conclusively contradicts this charge.

We are told that the rifles and shotguns are strictly sportsmen's weapons. Yet, in 1966, 1,747 persons were murdered with rifles and shotguns, not to mention the major role long arms played in our summer riots.

Much of what I have just said has been said before. Only the dates and numbers have changed. And the countless names of the tragically dead and wounded. The arguments on both sides have been exhaustive and almost interminable.

Perhaps this is what prompted FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to say in the September 1967 Law Enforcement Bulletin:

> We have reached the point where the time for debate is past; the time for action is here.
>
> I think mail-order firearm purchases should be banned, interstate transportation of firearms controlled, and local registration of weapons required and enforced.

Mr. President, Mr. Hoover's sentiments on this issue could not be more clear and certainly should not go unheard by the Congress. The gun control issue has been before the Senate for 5 years. The problem of firearms misuse has increased substantially in each of those 6 years. We simply cannot afford to delay any longer.

We must enact legislation this year that will do the job of allowing the States to control the firearms traffic across their borders.

We have such legislation in S. 1, amendment No. 90, and with the amendment to it that I offer today, I believe that we can get on with the task of affording protection to our highly populated States from the virtually uncontrolled interstate commerce in illicit firearms that today threatens our great cities with vast destruction.

I commend the adoption of this amendment to my colleagues and urge that we act on this legislation without further delay.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of the letter which I sent to various members of the Judiciary Committee on August 30, 1967.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 30, 1967.

DEAR SENATOR: I understand and sympathize with the problem you have in your state concerning legislation to control the interstate sale of rifles and shotguns.

For this reason, I would be very much interested in your reaction to the amendment I have enclosed, one copy drafted to fit into S. 1 and the other to fit into the Administration gun bill.

As you know, the Administration bill prohibits all interstate sales of rifles and shotguns except among licensed manufacturers, distributors and dealers.

My amendment would permit an individual state legislature to exempt its residents from this prohibition, to the extent that they would be able to order and receive rifles or shotguns through the interstate mails.

Under S. 1, which requires an affidavit for the purchase of a rifle or shotgun through the interstate mails, the residents of an exempting state would be able to order such a weapon without filling out the affidavit.

Simply stated, this amendment would allow the states themselves to decide whether or not they want the assistance of the Federal government in curbing the purchase of rifles and shotguns through the interstate mails.

Though states would be allowed to exempt residents who wish to purchase a long arm through the interstate mails, the legislatures would not be permitted to exempt dealers.

The only way a dealer would be exempted would be indirectly, in filling a mail order for a rifle or shotgun from a resident of a state that chooses this course of action. In the case of a mail order from a state that has not chosen to exempt its residents, the dealer would have to comply with the Federal statute, whether it be the Administration bill or S. 1.

This amendment will, I feel, go a long way toward meeting the objections made by hunters and other sportsmen, without seriously detracting from the effectiveness of the law for states that want help.

I would like to talk to you about this legislation in a few days. If you find this new suggestion helpful, perhaps I will take the steps to include it in the pending legislation.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. DODD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 361) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT TO DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATION BILL

AMENDMENT NO. 362

Mr. **STENNIS** submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 11456) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely, on page 9, after line 22, insert the following:

"SEC. 303. Funds heretofore appropriated to the Department of the Army for the Libby Dam and Reservoir Project in Montana may be used in an amount not to exceed $140,000 in participation with local interests and the Federal Aviation Administration for the construction of an airport facility at Kelley Flats, Montana, in a manner deemed appropriate by the Chief of Engineers."

Mr. **STENNIS** also submitted an amendment (No. 362) intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 11456, making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

NOTICES OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC WORKS AND ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION APPROPRIATION BILL

AMENDMENT NO. 363

Mr. **HAYDEN** submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 11641) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 33, after line 12, insert:

"TITLE VI—CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

"SEC. 601. This title may be cited as the 'Central Arizona Project Act'.

"SEC. 602. (a) For the purposes of furnishing irrigation water and municipal water supplies to the water-deficient areas of Arizona and western New Mexico through direct diversion or exchange of water, generation of electric power and energy, control of floods, conservation and development of fish and wildlife resources, enhancement of recreation opportunities, and for other purposes, the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the 'Secretary') shall construct, operate, and maintain the Central Arizona Project, consisting of the following principal works: (1) a system of main conduits and canals, including a main canal and pumping plants (Granite Reef aqueduct and pumping plants), for diverting and carrying water from Lake Havasu to Orme Dam or suitable alternative, which system shall have a capacity of not less than three thousand cubic feet per second; (2) Orme Dam and Reservoir and power-pumping plant or suitable alternative; (3) Buttes Dam and Reservoir, which shall be so operated as to not prejudice the rights of any user in and to the waters of the Gila River as those rights are set forth in the decree entered by the United States District Court for the District of Arizona on June 29, 1935, in United States against Gila Valley Irrigation District and others (Globe Equity Numbered 59); (4) Hooker Dam and Reservoir, which shall be constructed in such a manner as to give effect to the provisions of subsections (f), (g), and (h) of this section; (5) Charleston Dam and Reservoir; (6) Tucson aqueducts and pumping plants; (7) Salt-Gila aqueduct; (8) canals, regulating facilities, hydroelectric powerplants, and electrical transmission facilities; (9) related water distribution and drainage works; and (10) appurtenant works: *Provided*, That for a period of 27 years from the effective date of this Act, in any year in which, as determined by the Secretary, there will be insufficient main stream Colorado River water to satisfy the consumptive uses of two million eight hundred thousand, four million four hundred thousand, and three hundred thousand acre-feet in Arizona, California, and Nevada, respectively, diversions for the said purposes of the Central Arizona Project shall be so limited as to assure the availability of water in quantities sufficient to provide for the aggregate annual consumptive use of four million four hundred thousand acre-feet in the State of California. Except as to the terms and provisions of this priority, the rights of Arizona under the decision in Arizona against California (373 U.S. 546) are not affected, abridged, or impaired. The terms "consumptive use" and "main stream" as used in this Act shall have the meanings assigned to those terms in the decree in Arizona against California, dated March 9, 1964 (376 U.S. 340).

"(b) (1) The Secretary may enter into an agreement with non-Federal interests proposing to construct a thermal generating powerplant whereby the United States shall acquire the right to such portion of the capacity of such plant, including delivery of power and energy over appurtenant transmission facilities to mutually agreed upon delivery points, as he determines is required in connection with the Central Arizona Project. Power and energy acquired thereunder may be disposed of intermittently by the Secretary when not required in connection with the Central Arizona Project. The agreement shall provide, among other things, that—

"(i) The United States shall pay not more than that portion of the total construction cost, exclusive of interest during construction, of the powerplant, and of any switchyards and transmission facilities serving the United States, as is represented by the ratios of the respective capacities to be provided for the United States therein to the total capacities of such facilities. The Secretary shall make the Federal portion of such costs available to the non-Federal interests during the construction period, including the period of preparation of designs and specifications, in such installments as will facilitate a timely construction schedule, but no funds other than for preconstruction activities shall be made available by the Secretary until he determines that adequate contractual arrangements are in effect covering water and fuel supplies for the thermal generating powerplant;

"(ii) Annual operation and maintenance costs, including provisions for depreciation (except as to depreciation on the pro rata share of construction cost borne by the United States in accordance with the foregoing subdivision (i)) shall be apportioned between the United States and the non-Federal interests on an equitable basis taking into account the ratios determined in accordance with the foregoing subdivision (i);

"(iii) The United States shall be given appropriate credit for any interests in Federal lands administered by the Department of the Interior that are made available for the powerplant and appurtenances;

"(iv) Costs to be borne by the United States under subdivisions (i) and (ii) shall not include (a) interest and interest during construction, (b) financing charges, (c) franchise fees, and (d) such other costs as shall be specified in the agreement.

"(2) The thermal generating plant referred to in subparagraph (1) of this subsection shall be located in Arizona, and if it is served by water diverted from the drainage area of the Colorado River system above Lee Ferry, consumptive use of water in connection therewith shall be charged against the apportionment to Arizona made by article III(a) of the Upper Colorado River Basin Compact (63 Stat. 31) and such use shall not increase Arizona's entitlement to consumptive use under said compact.

"(c) Unless and until otherwise provided by Congress, water from the Central Arizona Project shall not be made available directly or indirectly for the irrigation of lands not having a recent irrigation history as determined by the Secretary, except in the case of Indian lands, national wildlife refuges, and, with the approval of the Secretary, State-administered wildlife management areas.

"(d)(1) Irrigation and municipal and industrial water supply under the Central Arizona Project within the Senate of Arizona may, in the event the Secretary determines that it is necessary to effect repayment, be pursuant to master contracts with organizations which have power to levy assessments against all taxable real property within their boundaries. The terms and conditions of contracts or other arrangements whereby each such organization makes water from the Central Arizona Project available to users within its boundaries shall be subject to the Secretary's approval and the United States shall, if the Secretary determines such action is desirable to facilitate carrying out the provisions of this Act, have the right to require that it be a party to such contracts or that contracts subsidiary to the master contracts be entered into between the United States and any user. The provisions of this subparagraph (1) shall not apply to the supplying of water to an Indian tribe for use within the boundaries of an Indian reservation.

"(2) Any obligation assumed pursuant to section 9(d) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (43 U.S.C. 485h(d)) with respect to any project contract unit or irrigation block shall be repaid over a basic period of not more than fifty years; any water service provided pursuant to section 9(e) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (43 U.S.C. 485h(e)) may be on the basis of delivery of water for a period of fifty years and for the delivery of such water at an identical price per acre-foot for water of the same class at the several points of delivery from the main canals and conduits and from such other points of delivery as the Secretary may designate; and long-term contracts relating to irrigation water supply shall provide that water made available thereunder may be made available by the Secretary for municipal or industrial purposes if and to the extent that such water is not required by the contractor for irrigation purposes.

"(3) Contracts relating to municipal and industrial water supply under the Central Arizona Project may be made without regard to the limitations of the last sentence of section 9(c) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (43 U.S.C. 485h(c)); may provide for the delivery of such water at an identical price per acre-foot for water of the same class at the several points of delivery from the main canals and conduits; and may provide for repayment over a period of fifty years if made pursuant to clause (1) of said section and for the delivery of water over a period of fifty years if made pursuant to clause (2) thereof.

"(e) Each contract under which water is provided under the Central Arizona Project shall require that (1) there be in effect measures, adequate in the judgment of the Secretary, to control expansion of irrigation from aquifiers affected by irrigation in the contract service area; (2) the canals and distribution systems through which water is conveyed after its delivery by the United States to the contractors shall be provided and maintained with linings, adequate in his judgment to prevent excessive conveyance losses; and (3) neither the contractor nor the Secretary shall pump or permit others to pump ground water from within the exterior boundaries of the service area of a contractor receiving water from the Central Arizona Project for any use outside said contractor's service area unless the Secretary and such contractor shall agree, or shall have previously agreed, that a surplus of ground water exists and that drainage is or was required. Such contracts shall be subordinate at all times to the satisfaction of all existing contracts between the Secretary and users in Arizona heretofore made pursuant to the Boulder Canyon Project Act (45 Stat. 1057).

"(f) The Secretary may require in any contract under which water is provided from the Central Arizona Project that the contractor agree to accept main stream water in exchange for or in replacement of existing supplies from sources other than the main stream. The Secretary shall so require in the case of users in Arizona who also use water from the Gila River system, to the extent necessary to make available to users of water from the Gila River system in New Mexico additional quantities of water as provided in and under the conditions specified in subsection (h) of this section: *Provided*, That such exchanges and replacements shall be accomplished without economic injury or cost to such Arizona contractors.

"(g) In times of shortage or reduction of main stream Colorado River water for the Central Arizona Project, as determined by the Secretary, users which have yielded water from other sources in exchange for main stream water supplied by that project shall have a first priority to receive main stream water, as against other users supplied by that project which have not so yielded water from other sources, but only in quantities adequate to replace the water so yielded.

"(h) In the operation of the Central Arizona Project, the Secretary shall offer to contract with water users in New Mexico for water from the Gila River, its tributaries and underground water sources, in amounts that will permit consumptive use of water in New Mexico not to exceed an annual average in any period of ten consecutive years of eighteen thousand acre-feet, including reservoir evaporation, over and above the consumptive uses provided for by article IV of the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in Arizona against California (376 U.S. 340). Such increased consumptive uses shall not begin until and shall continue only so long as delivery of Colorado River water to downstream Gila River users in Arizona is being accomplished in accordance with this Act, in quantities sufficient to replace any diminution of their supply resulting from such diversions from the Gila River, its tributaries and underground water sources. In determining the amount required for this purpose full consideration shall be given to any differences in the quality of the waters involved. All additional consumptive uses provided for in this subsection shall be subject to all rights in New Mexico and Arizona as established by the decree entered by the United States District Court for the District of Arizona on June 29, 1935, in United States against Gila Valley Irrigation District and others (Globe Equity Numbered 59) and to all other rights existing on the effective date of this Act in New Mexico and Arizona to water from the Gila River, its tributaries and underground water sources, and shall be junior thereto and shall be made only to the extent possible without economic injury or cost to the holders of such rights.

"(i) For a period of ten years from the date of enactment of this Act, no water from the projects authorized by this Act shall be delivered to any water user for the production on newly irrigated lands of any basic agricultural commodity, as defined in the Agricultural Act of 1949, or any amendment thereof, if the total supply of such commodity for the marketing year in which the bulk of the crop would normally be marketed is in excess of the normal supply as defined in section 301(b)(10 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, unless the Secretary of Agriculture calls for an increase in production of such commodity in the interest of national security.

"(j) The Secretary shall integrate the Dixie project, heretofore authorized, into the repayment arrangement and participation in the Development Fund established by section 605 of this Act consistent with the provisions of this Act.

"SEC. 603. The conservation and development of the fish and wildlife resources and the enhancement of recreation opportunities in connection with the Central Arizona Project works authorized pursuant to this Act shall be in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Water Project Recreation Act (79 Stat. 213).

"SEC. 604. The Secretary shall determine the repayment capability of Indian lands within, under, or served by the Central Arizona Project. Construction costs allocated to irrigation of Indian lands (including provision of water for incidental domestic and stock water uses) and within the repayment capability of such lands shall be subject to the Act of July 1, 1932 (47 Stat. 464), and such costs as are beyond repayment capability of such lands shall be nonreimbursable.

"SEC. 605. (a) There is hereby established a separate fund in the Treasury of the United States, to be known as the Lower Colorado River Basin Development Fund (hereafter called the "Development Fund"), which shall remain available until expended as hereafter provided, for carrying out the provisions of section 602 of this Act, and to be expended or applied in connection with water conservation and development for the Lower Colorado River Basin as may hereafter be prescribed by the Congress.

"(b) All appropriations made for the purpose of carrying out the aforesaid provisions of section 602, and such projects as are hereafter authorized by the Congress for water conservation and development for the Lower Colorado River Basin, shall be credited to the Development Fund as advances from the general fund of the Treasury and shall be available for such purposes.

"(c) There shall also be credited to the Development Fund—

"(1) All revenues collected in connection with the operation of the works and facilities authorized pursuant to section 602 and hereafter authorized in furtherance of the purposes of this Act (except entrance, admission, and other recreation fees or charges and proceeds received from recreation concessionaires); and

"(2) All Federal revenues from the Boulder Canyon and Parker-Davis projects which, after completion of repayment requirements of the said Boulder Canyon and Parker-Davis projects, are surplus, as determined by the Secretary, to the operation, maintenance, and replacement requirements of those projects: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary is authorized and directed to continue the in-lieu-of-taxes payments to the States of Arizona and Nevada provided for in section 2(c) of the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act so long as revenues accrue from the operation of the Boulder Canyon Project.

"(3) All Federal revenues from the portion of the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie, located in the States of Nevada and Arizona which, after completion of repayment requirements of the said part of the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie located in the States of Nevada and Arizona, are surplus, as determined by the Secretary, to the operation, maintenance, and replacement requirements of said portion of the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie and related facilities.

"(d) All revenues collected and credited to the development fund pursuant to this Act shall be available, without further appropriation, for—

"(1) defraying the costs of operation, maintenance, and replacements of, and emergency expenditures for, all facilities of the project within such separate limitations as may be included in annual appropriation Acts;

"(2) payments, if any, as required by section 608 of this Act;

"(3) payments as required by subsection (f) of this section; and

"(4) payments to reimburse water users in the State of Arizona for losses sustained as a result of diminution of the production of hydroelectric power at Coolidge Dam, Arizona, resulting from exchanges of water between users in the States of Arizona and New Mexico as set forth in section 602 of this Act.

"(e) Revenues credited to the Development Fund shall not be available for construction of the works authorized pursuant to section 602 of this Act except on appropriation by the Congress.

"(f) Revenues in the Development Fund in excess of the amount necessary to meet the requirements of clauses (1), (2), and (4) of section (d) of this section shall be paid annually to the general fund of the Treasury to return—

"(1) the costs of the project or separable feature thereof, authorized pursuant to section 602 of this Act which are allocated to irrigation, commercial power, or municipal and industrial water supply, pursuant to this Act, within a period not exceeding fifty years from the date of completion of each such unit or separable feature, exclusive of any development period authorized by law; and

"(2) interest (including interest during construction) on the unamortized balance of the investment in the commercial power and municipal and industrial water supply features of the project at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with the provisions of subsection (g) of this section, and interest due shall be a first charge.

"(g) The interest rate applicable to those portions of the reimbursable costs of the Central Arizona Project which are properly allocated to commercial power development and municipal and industrial water supply shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, as of the beginning of the fiscal year in which the first advance is made for initiating construction of such project, on the basis of the computed average interest rate payable by the Treasury upon its outstanding marketable public obligations which are neither due nor callable for redemption for fifteen years from the date of issue.

"(h) Business-type budgets shall be submitted to the Congress annually for all operations financed by the development fund.

"Sec. 606. The Secretary may undertake programs for water salvage along and adjacent to the main stream of the Colorado River and for ground water recovery. Such programs shall be consistent with maintenance of a reasonable degree of undisturbed habitat for fish and wildlife in the area, as determined by the Secretary.

"Sec. 607. (a) In order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Animas-La Plata Federal reclamation project, Colorado-New Mexico; the Dolores, Dallas Creek, West Divide, and San Miguel Federal reclamation projects, Colorado, as participating projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act (70 Stat. 105; 43 U.S.C. 620), and to provide for the completion of planning reports on other participating projects, subsection (2) of section 1 of said Act is hereby further amended by deleting the words 'Pine River extension', and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'Animas-La Plata, Dolores, Dallas Creek, West Divide, San Miguel'. Section 2 of said Act is hereby further amended by deleting the words 'Parshall, Troublesome, Rabbit Ear, San Miguel, West Divide, Tomichi Creek, East River, Ohio Creek, Dallas Creek, Dolores, Fruit Growers extension, Animas-La Plata', and inserting after the words 'Yellow Jacket' the words 'Basalt, Middle Park (including the Troublesome, Rabbit Ear, and Azure units), Upper Gunnison (including the East River, Ohio Creek, and Tomichi Creek units), Lower Yampa (including the Juniper and Great Northern units), Upper Yampa (including the Hayden Mesa, Wessels, and Toponas units)', and by inserting after the word 'Sublette' the words '(including the Kendall Reservoir on Green River and a diversion of water from the Green River to the North Platte River Basin in Wyoming), Uintah unit and Ute Indian unit of the central Utah, San Juan County (Utah), Price River, Grand County (Utah), Ute Indian unit extension of the central Utah, Gray Canyon, and Juniper (Utah)'. The amount which section 12 of said Act authorizes to be appropriated is hereby further increased by the sum of $360,000,000 plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be required, by reason of changes in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the type of construction involved. This additional sum shall be available solely for the construction of the projects herein authorized.

"(b) The Animas-La Plata Federal reclamation project shall be constructed and operated in substantial accordance with the engineering plans set out in the report of the Secretary transmitted to the Congress on May 4, 1966, and printed as House Document 436, Eighty-nine Congress: *Provided*, That the project construction of the Animas-La Plata Federal reclamation project shall not be undertaken until and unless the States of Colorado and New Mexico shall have ratified the following compact to which the consent of Congress is hereby given:

" 'ANIMAS-LA PLATA PROJECT COMPACT

" 'The State of Colorado and the State of New Mexico, in order to implement the operation of the Animas-La Plata Federal Reclamation Project, Colorado-New Mexico, a proposed participating project under the Colorado River Storage Project Act (70 Stat. 105), and being moved by consideration of interstate comity, have resolved to conclude a compact for these purposes and have agreed upon the following articles:

" 'ARTICLE I

" 'A. The right to store and divert water in Colorado and New Mexico from the La Plata and Animas River systems; including return flow to the La Plata River from Animas River diversions, for uses in New Mexico under the Animas-La Plata Federal Reclamation Project shall be valid and of equal priorty with those rights granted by decree of the Colorado State courts for the uses of water in Colorado for that project, providing such uses in New Mexico are within the allocation of water made to that State by article III and XIV of the Upper Colorado River Basin Compact (63 Stat. 31).

" 'B. The restrictions of the last sentence of Section (a) of Article IX of the Upper Colorado River Basin Compact shall not be construed to vitiate paragraph A of this article.

" 'ARTICLE II

" 'This Compact shall become binding and obligatory when it shall have been ratified by the legislatures of each of the signatory States.'

"(c) The Secretary shall, for the Animas-La Plata, Dolores, Dallas Creek, San Miguel, West Divide, and Seedskadee participating projects of the Colorado River storage project, establish the nonexcess irrigable acreage for which any single ownership may receive project water at one hundred and sixty acres of class 1 land or the equivalent thereof, as determined by the Secretary, in other land classes.

"(d) The words 'any western slope appropriations' contained in paragraph (i) of that section of Senate Document Numbered 80, Seventy-fifth Congress, first session, entitled 'Manner of Operation of Project Facilities and Auxiliary Features,' shall mean and refer to the appropriation heretofore made for the storage of water in Green Mountain Reservoir, a unit of the Colorado-Big Thompson Federal reclamation project, Colorado; and the Secretary is directed to act in accordance with such meaning and reference. It is the sense of Congress that this directive defines and observes the purpose of said paragraph (i), and does not in any way affect or alter any rights or obligations arising under said Senate Document Numbered 80 or under the laws of the State of Colorado.

"Sec. 608. The Upper Colorado River Basin fund established under section 5 of the Act of April 11, 1956 (70 Stat. 107), shall be reimbursed from the Colorado River development fund established by section 2 of the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act (54 Stat. 774), for all expenditures heretofore or hereafter made from the Upper Colorado River Basin fund to meet deficiencies in generation at Hoover Dam during the filling period of reservoirs of storage units of the Colorado River storage project pursuant to the criteria for the filling of Glen Canyon Reservoir (27 Fed. Reg. 6851, July 19, 1962). For this purpose $500,000 for each year of operation of Hoover Dam and powerplant, commencing with the enactment of this Act, shall be transferred from the Colorado River development fund to the Upper Colorado River Basin fund, in lieu of application of said amounts to the purposes stated in section 2(d) of the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act, until such reimbursement is accomplished. To the extent that any deficiency in such reimbursement remains as of June 1, 1987, the amount of the remaining deficiency shall then be transferred to the Upper Colorado River Basin fund from net revenues derived from the sale of electric energy generated at Hoover Dam.

"Sec. 609. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to alter, amend, repeal, modify, or be in conflict with the provisions of the Colorado River compact (45 Stat. 1057), the Upper Colorado River Basin compact (63 Stat. 31), the water treaty of 1944 with the United Mexican States (Treaty Series 994), the decree entered by the Supreme Court of the United States in Arizona against California and others (376 U.S. 340), or, except as otherwise provided herein, the Boulder Canyon Project Act (45 Stat. 1057), the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act (54 Stat. 774), or the Colorado River Storage Project Act (70 Stat. 105).

"Sec. 610. The Secretary is directed to—

"(a) make reports as to the annual consumptive uses and losses of water from the Colorado River system after each successive five-year period, beginning with the five-year period starting on October 1, 1965. Such reports shall include a detailed breakdown of the beneficial consumptive use of water on a State-by-State basis. Specific figures on quantities consumptively used from the major tributary streams flowing into the Colorado River shall also be included on a State-by-State basis. Such reports shall be prepared in consultation with the States of the lower basin individually and with the Upper Colorado River Commission, and shall be transmitted to the President, the Congress, and to the Governors of each State signatory to the Colorado River compact;

"(b) condition all contracts for the delivery of water originating in the drainage basin of the Colorado River system upon the availability of water under the Colorado River compact.

"SEC. 611. (a) The Secretary shall propose criteria for the coordinated long-range operation of the reservoirs constructed and operated under the authority of the Colorado River Storage Project Act and the Boulder Canyon Project Act, consistent with the provisions of those statutes, the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act, the Colorado River compact, the Upper Colorado River compact and the Mexican Water Treaty. To effect in part the purposes expressed in this paragraph, the criteria shall make provision for the storage of water in storage units of the Colorado River storage project and releases of water from Lake Powell in the following listed order of priority:

"(1) Releases to supply one-half the deficiency described in article III(c) of the Colorado River compact, if any such deficiency exists and is chargeable to the States of the upper division.

"(2) Releases to comply with article III(d) of the Colorado River compact.

"(3) Storage of water not required for the releases specified in clauses (1) and (2) of this subsection to the extent that the Secretary, after consultation with the Upper Colorado River Commission and representatives of the three lower division States and taking into consideration all relevant factors (including, but not limited to, historic streamflows, the most critical period of record, and probabilities of water supply), shall find to be reasonably necessary to assure deliveries under clauses (1) and (2) without impairment of annual consumptive uses in the upper basin pursuant to the Colorado River compact: *Provided*, That water not so required to be stored shall be released from Lake Powell: (i) to the extent it can be reasonably applied in the States of the lower division to the uses specified in article III(e) of the Colorado River compact, but no such releases shall be made when the active storage in Lake Powell is less than the active storage in Lake Mead, (ii) to maintain, as nearly as practicable, active storage in Lake Mead equal to the active storage in Lake Powell, and (iii) to avoid anticipated spills from Lake Powell.

"(b) Not later than July 1, 1968, the criteria proposed in accordance with the foregoing subsection (a) of this section shall be submitted to the Governors of the seven Colorado River Basin States and to such other parties and agencies as the Secretary may deem appropriate for their review and comment. After receipt of comments on the proposed criteria, but not later than January 1, 1969, the Secretary shall adopt appropriate criteria in accordance with this section and publish the same in the Federal Register. Beginning January 1, 1970, and yearly thereafter, the Secretary shall transmit to the Congress and to the Governors of the Colorado River Basin States a report describing the actual operation under the adopted criteria for the preceding compact water year and the projected operation for the current year. As a result of actual operating experience or unforeseen circumstances, the Secretary may thereafter modify the criteria to better achieve the purposes specified in subsection (a) of this section, but only after correspondence with the Governors of the seven Colorado River Basin States and appropriate consultation with such State representatives as each Governor may designate.

"(c) Section 7 of the Colorado River Storage Project Act shall be administered in accordance with the foregoing criteria.

"SEC. 612. (a) Rights of the upper basin to the consumptive use of water apportioned to that basin from the Colorado River system by the Colorado River compact shall not be reduced or prejudiced by any use of such water in the lower basin.

"(b) Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to impair, conflict with, or otherwise change the duties and powers of the Upper Colorado River Commission.

"SEC. 613. Part I of the Federal Power Act (41 Stat. 1063; 16 U.S.C. 791a–823) shall not be applicable to the reach of the Colorado River between Lake Mead and the present western boundary of the Grand Canyon National Park until and unless otherwise provided by Congress.

"SEC. 614. Except as otherwise provided in this Act in constructing, operating, and maintaining the Central Arizona Project, the Secretary shall be governed by the Federal reclamation laws (Act of June 17, 1902; 32 Stat. 388 and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto) to which laws this Act shall be deemed a supplement: *Provided*, That the sale or disposition of power or energy acquired pursuant to seciton 602 of this Act and surplus to the requirements of the Central Arizona Project shall be in accordance with the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 4, 1939 (63 Stat. 1193), as amended.

"SEC. 615. (a) All terms used in this Act which are defined in the Colorado River compact shall have the meanings there defined.

"(b) 'Main stream' means the main stream of the Colorado River downstream from Lee Ferry within the United States, including the reservoirs thereon.

"(c) 'User' or 'water user' in relation to main stream water in the lower basin means the United States, or any person or legal entity, entitled under the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in Arizona against California, and others (376 U.S. 340), to use main stream water when available thereunder.

"(d) 'Active storage' means that amount of water in reservoir storage, exclusive of bank storage, which can be released through the existing reservoir outlet works.

"(e) 'Colorado River Basin States' means the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.

"SEC. 616. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for construction of the Central Arizona Project, including prepayment for power generation and transmission facilities, but exclusive of distribution and drainage facilities for non-Indian lands, $768,000,000 (October 1963 price) plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the types of construction involved herein, and not to exceed $100,000,000 for construction of distribution and drainage facilities for non-Indian lands and, in addition thereto, such sums as may be required for operation and maintenance of the project."

Mr. HAYDEN also submitted an amendment (No. 363), intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 11641, making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

AMENDMENT NO. 364

Mr. ELLENDER submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 11641) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 4, before the colon on line 22, insert ": *Provided further*, That in connection with the rehabilitation of the Snake Creek Embankment of the Garrison Dam and Reservoir Project, North Dakota, the Corps of Engineers is authorized to participate with the State of North Dakota to the extent of one-half the cost of widening the present embankment to provide a four-lane right-of-way for U.S. Highway 83 in lieu of the present two-lane highway"

Mr. ELLENDER also submitted an amendment (No. 364), intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 11641, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 365

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] be added as cosponsor of the bill (S. 213) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore to individuals who have attained the age of 65 the right to deduct all expenses for their medical care, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], which was omitted inadvertently from the bill (S. 2476) to amend title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to establish more effective criteria for a finding of serious injury to domestic industry as a result of concessions granted under trade agreements, to make mandatory the findings of the Tariff Commission with respect to the necessity for tariff adjustment, and for other purposes, I introduced yesterday, be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON S. 886

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, on October 17, 18, and 19, the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations will hold hearings on S. 886, a bill to redesignate the Department of the Interior as the Department of Natural Resources and to transfer certain agencies to and from such a Department. The hearings will be held in room 3302 each day at 10 a.m. Testimony will be given by sponsors of the legislation and the Government agencies that would be affected. Private witnesses will be heard from at a later date.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, as acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nomination:

Walter N. Tobriner, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Jamaica, vice Wilson T. M. Beale, Jr.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, pending in the Senate is a bill which would require the taxpayers to subsidize the political campaigns of candidates running for President and the U.S. Senate.

This proposal, to me, is the height of irresponsibility. I shall oppose it vigorously. I cannot conceive that the Members of Congress could go home and tell the taxpayers in their States, already burdened with high taxes and a staggering Federal deficit, that from now on they are going to be forced to shoulder the cost of senatorial and presidential campaigns.

As a member of the Senate Finance Committee, I voted against the bill in committee. It was reported by a vote of 10 to 7, and I regret to state it has administration support.

Taxes are already too high. The Federal Government has a debt of $335 billion and is going further in debt by more than $2 billion per month.

The President has recommended a 10-percent surtax on personal and corporate taxes. Many citizens—and I join them—are urging a cutback in spending so as to eliminate the need for new taxes.

It is estimated that this fantastic scheme of financing the political campaigns of the presidential candidates and Members of the Senate would cost the taxpayers about $100 million in the 1968 campaign.

The presidential candidates for the two major parties would receive $14 million each. The candidates for the U.S. Senate would receive a total of about $26 million.

If this bill were approved, the candidates for the U.S. Senate in Kansas could receive $268,000 each. This is absurd. If Congress should vote to provide this kind of money, I would not accept it. I do not see how any Senator could vote for this bill.

The excessive spending of money in political campaigns has—in many instances—destroyed decent and honest elections. I believe this proposal to provide all this money would only serve to increase corruption in political campaigns.

In addition to direct contributions from the U.S. Treasury to the candidates, this bill would permit a taxpayer to take a tax credit up to $25 from his income tax. It is estimated that this would cost the Treasury another $50 to $60 million. This would permit a candidate to use both Federal and private funds. The availability of the commingling of public and private funds would be almost unlimited and would prevent the accurate accounting and reporting as required by law.

Our taxpayers are in no mood for this unwarranted expenditure of tax moneys. It is my hope that Congress will reject this ill-advised bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CARLSON. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Kansas may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I concur in the remarks of the Senator from Kansas, that this proposal to finance political campaigns out of the Federal Treasury is certainly ill-advised under any circumstances but particularly so at a time when we are operating at a deficit of approximately $2 billion per month.

I cannot conceive that Congress would have the gall to vote for such a proposal.

In this connection, if the Senator would permit, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a breakdown of the allowances that would be paid out of the Federal Treasury to the respective senatorial candidates in each of the 50 States should this bill be enacted.

I point out that these payments which range from $100,000 in small States to more than $1.5 million in the larger States, are payments which would be made to each of the senatorial candidates of both major parties. It would mean that from $200,000 to $3 million would be made available out of the Federal Treasury just to senatorial candidates in the respective States.

I ask unanimous consent that this chart be printed in the RECORD, followed by an editorial entitled "A Plan To Subsidize Politicians," Chicago Tribune of September 16, 1967.

There being no objection, the chart and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Application of payment formula for each major party senatorial candidates based on votes cast in a preceding election

State:	*Amount of maximum Federal payment*
Alabama	[1] $251,000
Alaska	[1] 100,000
Arizona	[1] 186,000
Arkansas	[1] 202,000
California	[1] 1,500,000
Colorado	[1] 245,000
Connecticut	[1] 334,000
Delaware	100,000
Florida	[1] 461,000
Georgia	[1] 318,000
Hawaii	[1] 103,000
Idaho	[1] 132,000
Illinois	[1] 1,031,000
Indiana	[1] 508,000
Iowa	[1] 327,000
Kansas	[1] 262,000
Kentucky	[1] 299,000
Louisiana	[1] 269,000
Maine	163,000
Maryland	[1] 313,000
Massachusetts	559,000
Michigan	731,000
Minnesota	401,000
Mississippi	172,000
Missouri	[1] 454,000
Montana	128,000
Nebraska	207,000
Nevada	[1] 100,000
New Hampshire	[1] 130,000
New Jersey	659,000
New Mexico	145,000
New York	[1] 1,523,000
North Carolina	[1] 375,000
North Dakota	[1] 121,000
Ohio	[1] 884,000
Oklahoma	[1] 276,000
Oregon	[1] 247,000
Pennsylvania	[1] 1,054,000
Rhode Island	167,000
South Carolina	[1] 195,000
South Dakota	[1] 133,000
Tennessee	319,000
Texas	615,000
Utah	[1] 170,000
Vermont	[1] 100,000
Virginia	298,000
Washington	[1] 342,000
West Virginia	248,000
Wisconsin	[1] 428,000
Wyoming	100,000

[1] Denotes State in which there will be a senatorial election in 1968.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 16, 1967]

A PLAN TO SUBSIDIZE POLITICIANS

A new plan to nick the taxpayers for election campaign expenses has been approved by the Democratic majority of the Senate finance committee. The cost for the 1968 election would be at least 54 million dollars, taken out of tax money.

The bill would make available 14 million dollars in federal tax funds to each of the two major party candidates for President and 26 million dollars to the candidates in 34 Senate races. The subsidy costs would be higher if House candidates also got on the gravy train.

There are several objections to this scheme. One of them was stated by Sen. John J. Williams [R., Del.], who was one of the leaders in a fight to repeal an earlier measure to provide a government-financed political slush fund. He said:

"At a time when the federal deficit is 25 to 30 billion dollars and we're talking about increasing taxes, it's unbelievable that Congress and the administration would ask their grandchildren to finance the 1968 election. The money isn't in the treasury."

Another objection to the plan is that it would not do much to reduce over-all expenditures in Presidential campaigns or to eliminate the advantage which rich candidates now have. Much of the spending is on the campaigns for the nomination. The finance committee's bill would apply only to the two months before election day. During that period the candidates would have a choice: either continue spending privately collected funds for the remainder of the campaign or stop spending such money and use the federal tax funds.

The committee's proposal is a variant of a scheme sponsored by Sen. Russell B. Long of Louisiana, the finance committee chairman, which was slipped thru Congress at the close of the 1966 session. Under the Long plan each federal income tax payer could mark a box on his return authorizing the use of $1 of his taxes for election expenses. This proposal aroused much opposition and Congress voted to suspend its operation.

The finance committee's latest plan includes a variant of the Long check-off. The bill would permit income tax payers to subtract up to $25 from their annual tax bill for contributions to political candidates at any level.

Encouraging small contributions to political campaigns is a good idea. The high proportion of small gifts made to the Republican party in 1964 was a feature of that campaign. The party received 651,000 individual contributions of $100 or less. The treasury department estimates that the proposed income tax credits would amount to 50 million dollars or more in 1968. The total cost of the proposed subsidy therefore would be more than 100 million dollars. As Sen. Williams says, "The money isn't in the treasury."

The subsidy bill is designed to be a companion to another measure before the Senate which tightens the rules for reporting of campaign expenditures. The present laws set limits on the spending of candidates for federal offices but the laws are evaded by setting up committees supporting the candidates.

The reform bill would require reporting from all political committees and the committees would have to report the full names and addresses of contributors. Contributors would have to report not only gifts of money but loans and other things of value.

Democrats on the Senate finance committee want to consolidate this desirable bill with the new plan for campaign subsidies. The result is likely to be no bill at all.

Campaign funds are at the center of the ethics problem now disturbing both houses of Congress. The best hope of making campaigns more honest is a strict law requiring disclosure of contributors. Such a law deserves to be considered on its merits, not as part of an unwise scheme for campaign fund subsidies.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Delaware. We have been together in committee on this matter, and I share the Senator's views.

I hope the Senate will give serious consideration to this matter before we vote on the bill.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL CALLS UPON CONGRESS TO CLOSE THE BIGGEST TAX LOOPHOLE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the oil depletion allowance is the biggest and the most indefensible of the loopholes in the Federal tax laws. The Milwaukee Journal, in a recent editorial which inveighed against this anachronism, said:

> The truth is that oil and gas have made more millionaires more quickly than any other enterprise—and it is because of the terrific tax advantages our inequitable laws grant.

As the Milwaukee Journal editorial points out:

> Every American taxpayer suffers when others get unfair tax advantages.

These unfair advantages should be eliminated before we consider adding a tax increase to the already onerous tax burden of the average American. The Government would reap enormous additional revenue if the loopholes were closed or even reduced in size. For example, a proposal by Representative HENRY REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, to reduce depletion allowances on oil and gas and minerals to 15 percent from the present 27½ percent, in the case of oil and gas, would bring in an estimated $600 million in additional revenue.

I commend the Milwaukee Journal editorial to the attention of other Senators, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIGGEST TAX LOOPHOLE; OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCE

The Democratic platform of 1960 promised to "close the loopholes" in federal tax laws. A year later President Kennedy made some reform proposals but omitted the most flagrant loophole of all, the oil depletion allowance. For years congress has refused, although by slightly smaller margins each time, to cut the allowance. The senate rejected a proposal to do it by 71 to 9 in 1951. By 1958 the vote was 58 to 31.

The depletion allowance works this way: For tax purposes oil and gas producers may deduct 27½% of their gross income to an amount not exceeding 50% of their net income before depletion and pay no tax on it. Besides that they can claim the normal depreciation that most businesses can and deduction of the "intangible costs of drilling and developing" that no others may claim.

The allowance was written into the first income tax law in 1913 on the ground that it was necessary to compensate for reduction of a national resource. By 1954 a depletion allowance was allowed for most minerals—from 5% for brick and tile clay to 23½% for uranium.

In 1962 when the senate defeated an effort to cut the oil and gas depletion allowance Sen. Tower (R-Tex.) lamented that "it is hard for an oil man to keep his head above water economically."

But listen to Grant E. Judge, partner of Arthur Anderson & Co. of Houston, Tex., an authority on oil and gas taxation. He said that "oil and gas are among the few opportunities by which a person can acquire a substantial fortune." Individuals in the 90% tax bracket, he said, "can consider Uncle Sam as partner in up to 90% of all losses in exploring for oil and gas." And because of the 27% depletion allowance "Uncle Sam takes a relatively moderate share of the income of successful ventures."

The truth is that oil and gas have made more millionaires more quickly than any other enterprise—and it is because of the terrific tax advantages our inequitable laws grant.

There are new moves in congress to close tax loopholes. A major plan is that of Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.). He would reduce depletion allowances on oil and gas and minerals to 15%. It needs support.

Former Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) often cited the case of a large oil company which, because of tax advantages, had a net income in 1951 of $4.5 million and paid a federal tax of $404—less than that paid by a couple with two children and an income of $4,911!

Every American taxpayer suffers when others get unfair tax advantages. It is past time to close the loopholes for gas and oil.

ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY SUPPORTS RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—CXLVI

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in May of 1966, speaking to a representative group of ambassadors from African countries at the White House, President Johnson made an eloquent statement on the subject of human rights. The President said:

> The foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country. And we will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law.
>
> We will not live by a double standard—professing abroad what we do not practice at home, or venerating at home what we ignore abroad.

This statement of the President very aptly indeed defines what the human rights conventions are all about. I believe firmly that the foreign policy of the United States should be and generally has been rooted in our domestic life. Certainly, U.S. domestic policy is not mute on the vital questions of forced labor, slavery, and the political rights of women. Our foreign policy should obviously reflect the same humanitarian concern which our domestic policy does. This is one more strong argument for the Senate giving its advice and consent to all the human rights conventions before us.

This administration is committed to U.S. ratification of these conventions. At the hearings this year on the Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery—so ably chaired by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]—the administration was well represented.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg was the leadoff witness and made a tremendously convincing presentation. Accompanying Ambassador Goldberg before the Dodd subcommittee were Richard D. Kearney, the deputy legal adviser of the State Department; Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization, Joseph J. Sisco; Robert Starr, attorney, Office of the Legal Adviser; and Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor Standards, Esther Peterson.

The presence and endorsement of these distinguished representatives are conclusive proof of this administration's commitment to the ratification of the Human Rights Conventions as being in the best interests of the United States.

I once again urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to the Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

LONG-GORE BILL WOULD REDUCE MOST CORRUPTING FORCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, there have been some heated and intemperate attacks on the Gore-Long bill that would follow President Theodore Roosevelt's prescription for taking the corruption out of senatorial and presidential campaigns.

I might say that I am not referring to the remarks which were made this morning. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson] is never intemperate.

Of course, the bill can be improved on the floor, and in the House. Obviously, it is not perfect. But it does have the advantage of providing an alternative to the present vicious practice—by far the most corrupting element in American public life—and that is: candidates for the highest offices in this country going hat in hand on bended knee for political contributions from these fat cats—who have an ax to grind—the lobbyists, the big money boys who want to buy political advantage.

In this day of campaigns costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, money does make the difference in many campaigns for high office and every Senator must know this is true.

This difference does work to the advantage of those Senators who have big money on their side. It works to the advantage of those Senators who win without any significant opposition and without much money being spent in their campaign when the big money operators discourage effective opposition.

The present system undoubtedly tends to corrupt members of this body. It undoubtedly gives direct advantage to those forces that can shell out big political money and are willing to do so.

In my view, no force today does more to frustrate the public interest than the power of organized money to buy political influence through campaign contributions.

Furthermore, I am sure it would save far more than it would cost in keeping special vested interests from getting the political handouts and giveaways they now get under the present system.

The Long-Gore bill would go far to end this situation. I hope that Senators will not be intimidated by the intemperate and often self-serving criticisms that have been made against the bill. I accept the remarks made this morning by my two distinguished and revered colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a fine article written by Charles Bartlett, analyzing the rationale behind the opposition to the bill.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Election Subsidy Opposition

(By Charles Bartlett)

The Republicans and Southern Democrats lining up against the Gore-Long bill to finance elections to federal offices with federal funds are being less than candid in the tenor of their attacks.

The Republicans unanimously oppose the legislation because their money-raising techniques are working far better at the moment than the Democrats'. They did well after they spent more in the 1966 elections and they expect to do the same in 1968.

President Johnson has not found a treasurer who can raise money as efficiently as Gen. Lucius Clay is raising it for the Republicans. As a consequence he is relying heavily upon Congress' passage of the Gore-Long measure to furnish the funds that he will need. In contrast the Republicans believe they can raise and spend more than the $14 million that the bill would yield them for the presidential race.

Southern Democrats and other established members with safe seats dislike the bill for the practical reason that it will incite opposition against them. A man will shrink from a hopeless race if it's going to cost him money, but he has little to lose if the expenses are paid by the Treasury. He needs only to climb into the ring and swing and hope.

In the hardheaded world of politics, these seem to some to be unanswerable arguments for resisting the effort by Senators Albert Gore and Russell Long to clean out the Augean Stable of campaign financing. But the difficulty is that these arguments don't have an enlightened, unselfish, or statesmanlike ring when they are publicly reiterated.

Accordingly many Republicans and Southern Democrats are adopting a tactic of condemning the Gore-Long bill as a new extravagance that is being foisted upon the taxpayers, a "raid upon the Treasury" as Senator John Williams of Delaware put it. This is a line of argument which smacks of demagoguery.

It is true that the cost of the campaign subsidies, if utilized in 1968 by two candidates for President and all candidates for the Senate and if the candidates for House seats are allotted an average of $50,000 each, would total slightly more than $100 million.

This is slightly less than $1 for every eligible voter. It is 4 percent of the annual cost to the Treasury of the gas and oil depletion allowances, a tax preference that would be certain to dwindle in scope if Congress becomes less beholden to oilmen. It is a tiny fraction of the cost of all the tax loopholes that would become vulnerable if the members ceased to worry about campaign funds.

The cost of the subsidy would be an infinitesimal slice of the $45 billion in defense contracts awarded annually to companies whose executives feel an intangible and unhealthy sense of compulsion to join President's Clubs and ante up for party dinners. No matter how purely the contracts may be administered by the Pentagon, this interplay of political fund-raising becomes a corrosive force.

The subsidy would accomplish one critical economy in yielding members of Congress more control of their time. Now stretched so thin that they tend to be superficial in most areas in which they deal, the members lose time in their necessity to court their contributors with such gestures of deference as accepting invitations to make speeches or attend long, dull banquets.

Theodore Roosevelt was the first major sponsor of the subsidy idea. He spoke out for it in 1907 and Republicans who oppose it today ignore the opportunity it provides to launch the party in every district of the South and shake off the big business label which has hobbled the GOP, in some elections unfairly, for over 30 years. This is a Republican chance to become the party of the middle class.

The Gore-Long bill is not a final answer to all the problems of election costs. It does not deal with the pre-convention costs of presidential candidates or with primary costs in races for the House and Senate.

But it leaves a candidate free to accept or turn his back on the subsidy. This is a far more honorable alternative than many that arise to confront men seeking federal office in races in which the need for funds usually exceeds their availability.

GENERALS WHO SOUND OFF TRYING TO DIRECT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR NATION DESERVE REBUKE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it has become nauseating in the extreme to continue to read of members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff sounding off publicly as to what should be the proper foreign policy of our country. This week, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when asked about a policy to limit the air bombing to that portion of Vietnam south of the demilitarized zone, stated:

> In my judgment, this proposal is dead. It sort of burgeoned for a while; it died off and except for an occasional piece in the paper, I have seen no reference to it recently. Certainly, in the circles that I have access to, there is no discussion of this concept any more.

Here is an example of what former President Eisenhower in his farewell statement to the American people at the end of his final Presidential term denounced as the evil and danger to our country of the military-industrial complex seeking to chart the course of our country and to take control. General Wheeler's tirade also once again proves the wisdom of the statement of the great World War I French Premier Clemenceau that:

> War is too serious a matter to be entrusted to generals.

General Wheeler would be well advised to stop regarding himself as a statesman and attend to his military duties.

It really would be a fitting and needed rebuke if Secretary of Defense McNamara were to state bluntly to General Wheeler and to Adm. U. S. Grant Sharp, the Pacific Fleet commander who also periodically attempts to influence foreign policy, to cease and desist and inform them that the men who wrote the Constitution of our country 178 years ago were wise men. They were indeed great patriots. They had helped our colonial forebears win independence from England and they provided in no uncertain terms in the Constitution of the United States that civilian authority must always be supreme over military authority.

General Wheeler deserves a rebuke for his effrontery in trying to direct the foreign policy of our Government. He has declared that we Americans must, through bombing, close north Vietnam's major port of Haiphong; that the bombing of North Vietnam should continue without interruption; and that restrictions on what targets will be hit which have been imposed by President Johnson should be lifted. He and Admiral Sharp have proposed as a policy of our Government to revoke the restrictions placed by President Johnson and his Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, and proceed to mine the harbor of Haiphong and bomb the docks. What care they if some Russian freighters entering the port or at the docks are damaged or blown up and some members of the crew killed and wounded?

They have both testified as favoring closing the port of Haiphong and thereby shutting off North Vietnam's supplies coming in ships from the Soviet Union and Communist China and also those many ships laden with war supplies and food from Hong Kong to Haiphong bearing the Union Jack of Great Britain. They opposed "gradualism," as they call it, in waging the war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, President Johnson and the Nation would be much better served if these warhawk generals and admirals refrained from attempting to influence our Nation's foreign policy and restricted themselves to their job of soldiering. If the President and his advisers and the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee seek the advice of military leaders, then it should be balanced advice. There are other extremely knowledgeable and qualified generals who have expressed views directly contrary to those of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I refer, as three of many, to Lt. Gen. James Gavin, former Chief of U.S. Army Plans and Operations, a famed combat paratrooper, and former Ambassador to France; to Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, former Army Chief of Staff and commander of our forces in the Korean war; and to Gen. David M. Shoup, former Commandant of the Marine Corps, who publicly stated:

> I don't think the whole of South East Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of the people of this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American.

These are just a few of the proven and outstanding military leaders of our Nation who oppose the reckless and foolhardy course on which we have embarked in Vietnam.

Another notable military leader, retired Army Gen. Hugh B. Hester, has also spoken out opposing our involvement in the civil war in Vietnam. General Hester served in the U.S. Army for 34 consecutive years and holds the Silver Star and Distinguished Service Medal. On September 18, 1967, there appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal, one of the country's great newspapers, a letter to the editor from General Hester. In his letter he clearly and concisely refutes the arguments of the warhawk for escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam, a course of action most recently urged by General Wheeler. General Hester wrote:

> Few will challenge the view that the full use of U.S. military might could destroy the Vietnamese people, even return them to the Stone Age, as General LeMay put it. Most of our intellectual and spiritual leaders and millions of just ordinary plain people however, challenge the wisdom of doing so. . . .
>
> The present pace of the war, if maintained by Mr. Johnson, is certain to bring China actively into the war eventually, along with the support, logistically at least, of her socialist allies. . . .
>
> The question then immediately arises: Could the United States conquer China by conventional bombing? The answer is obviously NO. The U.S. could no doubt destroy China with the use of nuclear, bacteriological, chemical and radiological weapons, but the U.S. still could not conquer China.
>
> In the process, however, of destroying China, the fallout would also destroy America along with most of the rest of the world.
>
> The next question is, could the war be limited to China, even using conventional weapons? The answer again is NO. War has its own logic, absurd as it may seem.
>
> World tensions are much higher today than they were at the beginning of both World Wars. . . .
>
> My own belief is that the flames of war would spread to all of Africa, Asia, Latin America and and even Europe within a matter of weeks, once the 700 million Chinese became directly involved in the Vietnamese war. The revanchist West German Nazi would not be likely to pass up this opportunity to recover the German losses of World Wars I and II. . . .
>
> Any escalation . . . can only hasten this disaster. . . .

Earlier this year General Hester publicly stated:

> I oppose the Vietnamese War now, not only because it is being waged in violation of the U.S. Constitution and U.S. treaty obligations under the U.N. Charter, but also because it is in violation of the basic interests of the American people. The Vietnam war is not a war of self-defense or even of general self-interest. It is a war in the profit interests of only a very few . . . This is an illegal, immoral and wholly unnecessary war.

Mr. President, in the September 18 edition of the Akron Beacon Journal there also appeared an excellent editorial entitled "Worth the Risk," calling for an unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam as a step toward bringing the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong to the negotiating table where a cease-fire and an armistice might be arranged, thereby ending our involvement in that civil war. I commend this editorial to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Akron Beacon Journal, Sept. 18, 1967]

WORTH THE RISK

> Although U.N. Secretary General U Thant reports that there are no new peace gestures from North Vietnam, he told a press conference Saturday that he believes it would be worth the risk for the U.S. to stop bombing North Vietnam for three or four weeks.
>
> "I am convinced," U Thant said, "there will be meaningful talks within three or four weeks if the bombing is halted."
>
> He also believes that, as long as the bombing continues, there will be no chance of getting Hanoi to peace talks. North Vietnam, he says, will not commit itself to go to the peace table in advance of a cessation of the bombing, but he relies on information from governments close to Hanoi that, if the bombing is halted, the chances for talking peace will be vastly improved.
>
> Isn't it worth risk?
>
> Perhaps, if North Vietnam is spared bomb attacks for three or four weeks, it could amass new military strength and repair its damages.
>
> But the alternative is a chance to end this futile and costly war, to stop the slaughter that has cost 13,129 American lives in combat and has left 81,669 Americans wounded.
>
> It is unlikely that even greater bombing will force North Vietnam to capitulate. On the contrary, the bombing carries the risk of involving Red China or the Soviet Union—or both—on the side of the Communists.
>
> If U.S. does not stop the bombing for three or four weeks, we'll never know whether U Thant's sources were reliable. If the Secretary General is correct in his appraisal of the situation and the Washington "hawks" are wrong, we risk sacrificing thousands more men in an even greater war.
>
> The answer to U Thant is clear. Stop the bombing.
>
> If no peace talks are forthcoming within a stated period, the raids can be resumed and intensified.
>
> Whatever the risk involved, it's worth taking, to stop this war.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, every effort must be made to counteract the pressures of the generals and admirals who strive to override the decisions of their civilian superiors. Let us hope that President Johnson will soon announce an unconditional cessation of our bombing of North Vietnam and take meaningful steps toward obtaining a cease fire and an armistice. Whatever risk is involved, it is worth taking in order to bring an end to this unconscionable war.

PRESENTATION OF MEDAL OF HONOR TO SGT. DAVID DOLBY, U.S. ARMY, WHO COMES FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, this morning, at a most impressive ceremony at the White House, the President of the United States conferred the Congressional Medal of Honor upon Sgt. David C. Dolby, U.S. Army.

The ceremony was attended by Sergeant Dolby's mother and father, and younger brother.

The Dolby family comes from the beautiful Perkiomen Valley, near the post office of Oaks, in Montgomery County, Pa.

This young man is an authentic American hero.

I wish to read into the RECORD the brief but impressive citation which was read by the Secretary of the Army at the ceremony this morning:

> The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor, to Sergeant David C. Dolby, United States Army for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:
>
> On 21 May 1966, Sergeant Dolby, then Specialist Four, was serving as a machine gunner of Company B, 1st Battalion (Airborne), 8th Cavalry in the Republic of Vietnam, when his platoon, while advancing tactically, suddenly came under intense fire from the enemy located on a ridge immediately to the front. Six members of the platoon were killed instantly and a number were wounded, including the platoon leader. Specialist Dolby's every move brought fire from the enemy. However, aware that the platoon leader was critically wounded, and that the platoon was in a precarious situation, Specialist Dolby moved the wounded men to safety and deployed the remainder of the platoon to engage the enemy. Subsequently, his dying platoon leader ordered Specialist Dolby to withdraw the forward elements to rejoin the platoon. Despite the continuous intense enemy fire and with utter disregard for his own safety, Specialist Dolby positioned able-bodied men to cover the withdrawal of the forward elements, assisted the wounded to the new position, and he, alone, attacked enemy positions until his ammunition was expended. Replenishing his ammunition, he returned to the area of most intense action, single-handedly killed three enemy machine gunners and neutralized the enemy fire, thus enabling friendly elements on the flank to advance on the enemy redoubt. He defied the enemy fire to personally carry a seriously wounded soldier to safety, where he could be treated and, returning to the forward area,

he crawled through withering fire to within fifty meters of the enemy bunkers and threw smoke grenades to mark them for air strikes. Although repeatedly under fire at close range from enemy snipers and automatic weapons, Specialist Dolby directed artillery fire on the enemy and succeeded in silencing several enemy weapons. He remained in his exposed location until his comrades had displaced to more secure positions. His actions of unsurpassed valor during four hours of intense combat were a source of inspiration to his entire company, contributed significantly to the success of the overall assault on the enemy position, and were directly responsible for saving the lives of a number of his fellow soldiers. Specialist Dolby's heroism was in the highest tradition of the United States Army.

Mr. President, all of us in Pennsylvania are very proud of this brave young man.

UNNECESSARY COSTS IN PROCUREMENT OF RADAR SETS

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on September 19, I delivered a speech concerning two different Army procurements, one of which involved the AN/PRC–25 and AN/PRC–77 radio sets awarded to Radio Corporation of America in a multiyear procurement which the Army attempted to justify on the basis of lack of manufacturing drawings and also because of a supposed urgency for delivery. This award was made to RCA in spite of the fact that a small business firm had on file a bid which was lower by almost $1 million for this identical equipment.

The claim by the Army regarding the lack of manufacturing drawings appears as specious as the urgency of delivery claim is fallacious. I have been reliably informed that the drawings do exist and that delivery of these radio sets 2 years from now is not urgent.

Mr. President, on September 21, 1967, I received a letter from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army signed by the Honorable Robert A. Brooks, which actually states that drawings are not available and, I quote:

> RCA was awarded a contract in June 1966 to produce the initial production quantities while further design changes and improvements were being affected.

Mr. Brooks goes on to state that:

> As a matter of fact, due to design changes resulting from concurrent field tests, the final procurement package will not be available until early December, 1967.

In other words, Mr. President, what Mr. Brooks is saying is that the Army is engaged in a development program running parallel with two production contracts which exceed $20 million for portable walkie-talkie radio sets.

This is the exact same practice that has been investigated by the General Accounting Office on radar set AN/PPS–4 and radiacmeter IM–108/PPD involving millions upon millions of dollars wasted by the Army in producing electronic equipment in quantity before the design was frozen.

In the case of the IM–108/PD radiacmeter, five separate and distinct contracts were awarded for 59,776 units, resulting in a waste of the taxpayers funds of a total of $2.9 million for defective equipment. Moreover, in its decision rendered on this case, the General Accounting Office recommended that the engineers in charge of that fiasco be fired, and they were in fact removed from the Government payroll only long enough for the national press to give its attention to more important matters. Whereupon, the Army quietly reinstated these same men, using as an excuse the fact that they had admitted they were wrong and promised not to do it again. This is incredible, but true.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reports from the Comptroller General Nos. B–146834 and B–146906 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the reports were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNNECESSARY COSTS INCURRED IN SOLE-SOURCE PROCUREMENT OF PORTABLE RADAR SETS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

(Report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General of the United States, October 1964)

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate:

Our review of sole-source procurements by the Department of the Army disclosed that the Government had incurred unnecessary costs of more than $2.2 million in the sole-source procurement of 502 AN/PPS–4 portable radar sets. These unnecessary costs were incurred because agency officials procured the radar sets without waiting until known deficiencies in the sets had been corrected and technical data suitable for use in competitive procurement had become available. The deficiencies known prior to procurement were that the radar sets were not consistently accurate in determining the range of a target, were unable to detect a target satisfactorily, and were cumbersome to operate. After the contract for the sole-source procurement was awarded, it was necessary to stop production for 15 months while modifications were being made to correct these deficiencies. This delay unnecessarily increased the cost of the corrected units by $356,220. In addition, we estimated that, on the basis of competitive prices obtained in a subsequent procurement, unnecessary costs of about $1.86 million had been incurred because these sets had been procured without competition. In fact the successful bidder's price under the competitive procurement was more than 55 percent below the price paid to the sole-source producer.

The Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) agreed with the facts presented in the report and advised us that the report would be brought to the attention of procuring commands. He also indicated that, subsequent to the procurement in question, more extensive controls were instituted regarding procurement of new equipment that included the requirement that a summary of all objections to a proposed procurement be submitted to higher authority. This summary is to include engineer- and service-test results.

The Acting Assistant Secretary also stated that disciplinary action was not believed to be warranted because the decisions with respect to this procurement were made in accordance with the then accepted policy and that, when considered in light of the then prevailing policy, the facts presented were considered proper justification for these decisions. Officials in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) subsequently advised us that, at the time of this procurement, there was an absence of guidance and control over the procurement of new equipment, generally, but that the Army's policy was that development and production of an item could be effectively accomplished simultaneously. Procuring officials in this instance, however, had been aware of the user and engineer objections prior to awarding this contract but had requested approval from higher authority for the award without disclosing this information. We believe, therefore, that these actions should be noted in the personnel records of responsible officials, for consideration in the future promotions, reassignments, and other personal actions.

The management weaknesses disclosed in this report have occurred in the past and have been identified in other General Accounting Office reports. We reported on the Department of the Army's procurement of defective radiation-measuring instruments (B–146834, dated December 17, 1963). Under 5 contracts for this equipment the Army spent $3.8 million even though it knew prior to each contract that the equipment was defective. We recently reported also on the noncompetitive procurement of military ¾-ton trucks (B–146921, dated August 12, 1964). By procuring these vehicles without competition, the Army incurred unnecessary costs estimated at $12.1 million even though it could have obtained the information sufficient for competitive procurement purposes. As stated in this report and in previous reports, action has been taken by the Department of the Army to promulgate policies and regulations controlling the procurement of new equipment and to intensify its efforts to promptly obtain technical data for competitive procurement purposes. We will evaluate the effectiveness of these actions in future reviews.

Copies of this report are being sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of the Army.

JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

INTRODUCTION

The General Accounting Office has made a review of the procurement of AN/PPS–4 portable radar sets by the Department of the Army. The purpose of our review was to inquire into the reasonableness of the award of a contract for these sets to Sperry Gyroscope Company (Sperry), Great Neck, Long Island, New York, on a sole-source basis. This review was initiated in connection with a request dated May 13, 1963, from Congressman George H. Mahon on behalf of the Subcommittee on Defense, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, that the General Accounting Office make a review of electronics equipment with particular emphasis on sole-source procurements. This review was made pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U.S.C. 67). The scope of our review is shown on page 15 of this report.

BACKGROUND

The general policy of the Department of Defense, as set forth in the Armed Services Procurement Regulation (ASPR), section 1–300.1, provides that all procurements, whether by formal advertising or by negotiation, shall be made on a competitive basis to the maximum practicable extent. The responsibility for implementing these provisions is assigned to each military department. The Department of the Army has assigned this responsibility to each major subcommand of the United States Army Materiel Command (AMC).

The United States Army Electronics Command, a major subcommand of AMC, was established in August 1962 and assumed most of the logistic functions previously performed by the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, United States Army. This command has the responsibility for the research, design, development, testing, and supply management of electronic equipment.

In a recent reorganization of the major agencies within the Electronics Command, the United States Army Electronics Materiel

Agency (referred to in this report as the Materiel Agency) and the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency (referred to in this report as the Support Agency) have been replaced by various directorates. The responsibility for the procurements discussed in this report now rests with the Philadelphia Division of the Procurement and Production Directorate, United States Army Electronics Command.

The duties formerly performed by the Materiel and Support Agencies and presently being performed by the newly established directorates include computation of requirements, control of inventories, award and administration of contracts, provision of engineering specifications for procurement of electronic equipment, performance or monitoring of preproduction testing and qualification, and approval of equipment.

In order to determine whether newly developed equipment is acceptable for Army use, the Department of Defense procedures require the cognizant military department to test such equipment prior to authorizing a contractor to commence production. These tests are generally referred to as service tests. The purpose of the tests is to determine the physical and operational characteristics, organizational maintenance requirements, and whether the equipment will be accurate, durable, and reliable when subjected to use by troops in the field.

The AN/PPS–4, developed by Sperry, is a silent, lightweight, portable, forward-area, combat-surveillance radar set used by infantry troops. This set is capable of detecting and locating moving targets and certain fixed targets under conditions of poor visibility. The Army procured 10 radar sets in June 1955 for experimental tests and evaluations. In August 1956 the Army procured eight additional sets with various modifications for further testing. The service tests of the developmental and preproduction models were conducted for the Electronics Command by the United States Continental Army Command (USCONARC) under actual field conditions. Subsequent to the Army reorganization in August 1962, the United States Army Test and Evaluation Command was given the responsibility for performing service tests on newly developed equipment.

Since June 1958, a total of 1,437 radar sets and related items have been procured by the Materiel Agency for about $10.9 million.

A list of principal management officials of the Department of Defense and the Department of the Army responsible for the administration of activities discussed in this report is shown as appendix I.

FINDING AND CONCLUSIONS

Unnecessary costs incurred in the sole-source procurement of portable radar sets

The Government has incurred unnecessary costs of more than $2.2 million in the sole-source procurement of 502 AN/PPS–4 portable radar sets by the Department of the Army. These unnecessary costs were incurred because agency officials procured the radar sets without waiting until known deficiencies in the sets had been corrected and technical data suitable for use in competitive procurement had become available. The deficiencies known prior to procurement were that the radar sets were not consistently accurate in determining the range of a target, were unable to detect a target satisfactorily, and were cumbersome to operate. After the contract for the sole-source procurement was awarded, it was necessary to stop production for 15 months while modifications were being made to correct these deficiencies. This delay unnecessarily increased the cost of the corrected units by $356,220. In addition, we estimated that, on the basis of competitive prices obtained in a subsequent procurement, unnecessary costs of about $1.86 million had been incurred because these sets had been procured without competition. In fact the successful bidder's price under the competitive procurement was more than 55 percent below the price paid to the sole-source producer.

Initial award and service-test results

In June 1958 fixed-price redeterminable contract DA–36–039–SC–76361 was awarded by the Materiel Agency to Sperry Gyroscope Company on a sole-source basis at a cost to the Government of $3,474,962, for the production of 462 vacuum-tube radar sets. The vacuum-tube model, suitable for Army use only as interim equipment, did not satisfactorily meet the Army's need because of its excessive weight and noise. This interim equipment was procured to furnish field units with combat-surveillance capabilities at a time when field units had no other equipment that could perform its function. This contract was awarded without the benefit of competition, and the Army justified the sole-source procurement on the basis that the Government did not have procurement data that were suitable for use in soliciting competitive bids. We did not ascertain the validity of the Army's justification at that time. The contract required that an updated set of drawings suitable for use in competitive procurement be delivered 30 days after the initial production equipment was submitted for acceptance.

In January 1959, about 7 months after the award of the contract for 462 vacuum-tube radar sets, the Electronics Command accepted a plan, submitted by Sperry to partially transistorize the radar sets. This plan was approved, and the partial transistorization was expected to result in the silent operation of the radar sets because a battery, rather than a gasoline-engine generator would be the primary source of power. The Materiel Agency reduced the quantity of radar sets on order from 462 to 402 by a contract modification, thus making $440,000 available toward offsetting the increased costs of $526,000 for the partial transistorization of the radar sets. The final contract price for 402 sets, including partial transistorization and other changes, was $3,704,108.

In March 1960, USCONARC completed service tests of two preproduction models of the partially transistorized radar sets and concluded that (1) 3 of the deficiencies found in the service tests of the vacuum-tube-type developmental models had been carried over into the partially transistorized version without correction and (2) 20 of 29 new deficiencies found, when considered collectively, were so serious that corrective action was deemed mandatory prior to acceptance and issuance of these sets to troops. Among the major deficiencies noted and their effects on performance of the radar set were (1) erroneous range calibration, which resulted in loss of acceptable range accuracy, (2) transmission failure, which resulted in unsatisfactory detection of a target, and (3) faulty tripod design, which contributed to the cumbersome operation of the radar set and required, in many instances, time-consuming operations to realign the tripod legs. The Support Agency issued technical-action requests to the contractor in April and May 1960 that included actions to correct the above-cited deficiencies prior to production.

Additional procurement

Review and approval of proposed procurements of certain items at the Materiel Agency is performed by the Procurement Planning Committee. This committee consists of three officials of the Materiel Agency, the Chief Engineer of the Support Agency, and a secretary appointed by the chairman of the committee. On May 10, 1960, the Support Agency's Chief Engineer recommended that the committee require that all improvements to the radar sets recommended by USCONARC be incorporated in the 502 additional radar sets to be procured under a modification to contract -76361. He further recommended that the contract modification negotiated should provide that the improvements be made when the sets were produced, which would preclude the necessity for engineering changes for that purpose subsequent to award of the contract modification. At that time the Procurement Planning Committee consisted of:

Col. J. G. Bent, Jr., Deputy for Procurement, Materiel Agency (chairman).

S. Rabinowitz, Assistant Deputy for Procurement, Materiel Agency (alternate chairman).

J. W. Weseloh, Chief Engineer, Support Agency.

Lt. Col. P. F. Balas, Assistant Deputy for Stock Control, Materiel Agency.

L. A. Kapust, Assistant Deputy for Industrial Preparedness, Materiel Agency.

J. H. Schroeter, Secretary, Procurement Planning Committee, Materiel Agency.

On May 13, 1960, the Committee agreed that the proposed procurement should be made in accordance with the recommendations of the Support Agency's Chief Engineer. On June 15, 1960, however, in a request to the Chief Signal Officers for approval of the modification to contract –76361, the Deputy for Procurement of the Materiel Agency failed to disclose that negotiations had already been held with Sperry on June 2 and June 6, 1960, on the basis that the improvements would not be required to be made in the sets to be procured under the contract modification. Further, on June 17, 1960, the Assistant Deputy for Procurement approved the Committee's request that the USCONARC-recommended improvements not be required in these sets. We were informed that this decision was made because previous negotiations with Sperry had been on that basis and that apparently this decision overrode the objections of the Support Agency's Chief Engineer. We could find no evidence that the Chief Signal Officer was subsequently informed of the decision not to make the improvements—considered mandatory by user and engineer organizations—to the 502 radar sets subsequently ordered.

On June 30, 1960, the Materiel Agency procured an additional 502 partially transistorized radar sets from Sperry, at a cost to the Government of $3,267,016, under a modification to contract –76361. Subsequent modifications increased the cost to $3,358,270, or a unit price of $6,690. The records show that the sole-source *procurement of this additional quantity was justified by the Army on the basis that adequate procurement data were not available for use in soliciting competitive bids.* The contracting officer did not state that urgency was a factor in the decision to procure on a sole-source basis.

Stop-work order

On August 29, 1960, 2 months after the award for the 502 radar sets, the Materiel Agency issued an order to Sperry to stop all production. This stop-work order was issued so that improvements, modifications, and engineering changes could be incorporated into the 402 radar sets being produced under the basic contract. These changes were necessary to correct serious deficiencies identified by USCONARC in March 1960 in its service tests of the developmental and preproduction models. These are the same changes which, prior to procurement under the contract modification, the Support Agency's Chief Engineer had recommended be required to be incorporated in the 502 radar sets proposed for procurement.

The stop-work order, which was in effect for 15 months, was canceled, and authority to proceed with production was issued by the contracting officer on November 29, 1961. This work stoppage resulted in unnecessary costs of $356,220, which were attributable to increased labor costs and to a loss in efficiency resulting from the 15-month gap in production. This amount increased the total price to the Government for the 502 sets to $3,714,490, the amount agreed upon with Sperry in a price redetermination made in March 1962.

In October 1961 the Army completed service tests at the Tobyhanna Army Depot of the partially transistorized radar sets. The sets tested included the improvements that had been recommended by USCONARC and required improvements identified in subsequent tests. The Army then concluded, on the basis of these tests, that the partially transistorized radar sets would be accepted as suitable to the user and that the same improvements should be incorporated into all the 904 sets then being procured under the contract –76361. These partially transistorized radar sets were subsequently shipped to Army units for use.

Savings resulting from competition

On March 23, 1962, the Materiel Agency received procurement data, in the form of Government specifications and a model from the Support Agency, that were determined to be suitable for use in soliciting competitive bids. On April 16, 1962, the Procurement Planning Committee approved the plan to procure about 436 portable radar sets by formal advertising.

On April 26, 1962, the Materiel Agency issued an invitation for bids for various quantities of the radar sets. Twenty bids were received, 10 of which were lower than the bid of $4,489 a set submitted by the sole-source producer, Sperry. The unit prices in these 10 bids ranged from $2,978 to $4,280. The lowest acceptable bid by quantity and unit price was submitted by Aeronca Manufacturing Corporation for 454 radar sets at $2,978 each. The Materiel Agency awarded contract DA–36–039–AMC–01087(E) to Aeronca on August 24, 1962, for the 454 radar sets at a price of $1,372,873.

The lowest acceptable bid price of $2,978 a unit was a reduction of $3,712, or 55.5 percent, from the unit price of $6,690 previously paid the sole-source producer under the modification to contract –76361, or a total reduction of about $1.86 million. Further, personnel of the Materiel Agency advised us that Aeronca's performance under the contract was satisfactory and records indicate that, during December 1963 and January 1964, 73 radar sets were accepted by the Army, 45 of which were shipped overseas for use in the field.

Agency comments and our evaluation

On April 30, 1964, we brought these findings to the attention of the Department of Defense and proposed that the Commanding General, United States Army Materiel Command, bring this report to the attention of procuring commands, to emphasize the need to (1) develop equipment, prior to procurement, to a point where major modifications would not be required and (2) accumulate the procurement data necessary to permit timely solicitation of bids for competitive procurement. We proposed further that the procuring agencies be required to bring to the attention of higher authority all objections to planned procurements raised by interested parties, including the using and engineering organizations, so that the approving officials would be in a position to consider these objections in their evaluation of the proposed contract. *We proposed also that the Secretary of the Army take disciplinary action in this matter against those individuals who did not properly perform their duties and exercise prudent judgment in expending significant amounts of Government funds.*

By letter dated June 26, 1964 (see appendix II), the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) commented on our findings and proposals. He agreed with the facts presented in this report and advised us that a digest of this report would be brought to the attention of procuring commands. He agreed also that all objections in connection with a proposed procurement which might be raised by interested parties should be included in the facts presented to approving officials for their consideration, and he indicated that, subsequent to the procurement in question, more extensive controls were instituted regarding procurement of new equipment that included the requirement that a summary of such information be submitted to higher authority. This summary is to include engineer- and service-test results. His additional comments are summarized as follows:

1. Army studies and reports on combat-surveillance and target-acquisition equipment covering the period fiscal years 1958–63 reflected continual emphasis upon the urgent need for this type of equipment. There was a concerted effort on the part of the Army to acquire a combat-surveillance capability as quickly as possible during that period of time. Under the Army reorganization, more extensive controls come into play in the event that urgency justifies procurement for troop issue before completion of the development and adoption as a standard item. The Combat Development Command is responsible for making recommendations to the Department of the Army on the urgency of a requirement of this nature. Further, the provisions of AR 700–20, dated July 25, 1963, require the satisfaction of 25 criteria before initiating production in a situation of this type.

Although there was a need for equipment of this type, the fact remains that the using forces did not want the particular equipment then being considered for procurement until major deficiencies in the equipment had been corrected. On the basis of the previous negotiations with Sperry, the contract modification—contrary to the Procurement Planning Committee's initial agreement—did not provide that corrections be made when the sets were produced. Further, the basis for the Army's justification for the sole-source procurement was not urgency but inadequate procurement data for use in soliciting competitive bids.

2. The recommended disciplinary action was not believed to be warranted. The decisions with respect to the award in question were made in accordance with what was then accepted policy. The facts as presented, when considered in the light of the prevailing policy, were considered proper justification for the decisions.

Officials in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics), in response to our request for clarification of the above comment, stated that, at the time of this procurement, there was an absence of guidance and control over the procurement of new equipment generally but that the Army's policy was that development and production of an item could be effectively accomplished simultaneously. Procuring officials in this instance, however, had been aware of the user and engineer objections prior to awarding this contract but had requested approval from higher authority for the award without disclosing this information.

Conclusions

We believe that, generally, production contracts for new equipment should not be awarded when the results of service tests performed by the user on developmental or preproduction models had disclosed deficiencies that rendered the item unsuitable for field use. We believe also that efficiency and economy are obtained for the Government by the maximum practical use of competition in procurement programs.

As disclosed in this report, deficiencies had been identified in the developmental and preproduction models of the partially transistorized radar sets that rendered them unsuitable for Army use. Notwithstanding the serious deficiencies found by USCONARC, a decision was made by the Materiel Agency to procure an additional quantity of 502 radar sets on a sole-source basis. Further, the Materiel Agency's stated reason for procuring radar sets on a sole-source basis was that it lacked the procurement data necessary to solicit competitive bids. If the Materiel Agency had waited until an acceptable radar set was designed and procurement data suitable for solicitation of competitive bids became available, as provided for under the initial contract, the Agency could have procured the 502 radar sets at a savings of 55.5 percent, or about $1.86 million. Also, the Army could have avoided costs of $356,220 paid for the work stoppage under the contract modification for the 502 sets while the deficiencies identified in the developmental and preproduction models under previous awards were being corrected.

The Army advised us of the corrective actions taken to preclude recurrence of situations such as this, and we will evaluate them in future reviews. In view of the fact that responsible officials (1) were aware of the deficiencies in the equipment and objections of the using forces to buying this equipment prior to the correction of these deficiencies and (2) requested approval for the award without disclosing the user and engineer objections, however, we believe that these actions should be noted in their personnel records, for consideration in future promotions, reassignments, and other personnel actions.

The management weaknesses disclosed in this report have occurred in the past and have been identified in other General Accounting Office reports. We reported on the Department of the Army's procurement of defective radiation-measuring instruments (B–146834, dated December 17, 1963). Under five contracts for this equipment the Army spent $3.8 million even though it knew prior to each contract that the equipment was defective. We recently reported also on the noncompetitive procurement of military ¾-ton trucks (B–146921, dated August 12, 1964). By procuring these vehicles without competition, the Army incurred unnecessary costs estimated at $12.1 million even though it could have obtained the information sufficient for the competitive procurement purposes. As stated in this report and in previous reports, action has been taken by the Department of the Army to promulgate policies and regulations controlling the procurement of new equipment and to intensify its efforts to promptly obtain technical data for competitive procurement purposes. We will evaluate the effectiveness of these actions in future reviews.

SCOPE OF REVIEW

Our review included an examination of the records and reports relative to the development, testing, sole-source procurement, modification, and use of the AN/PPS–4 radar set within the Department of the Army for the period April 1955 to January 1964. Our review was made at the United States Army Electronics Materiel Agency, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and at the United States Army Electronic Materiel Support Agency and the United States Army Electronics Research and Development Laboratory, both of which are located at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey.

PRINCIPAL MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED IN THIS REPORT

	Tenure of office	
	From—	To—
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE		
Secretary of Defense:		
Robert S. McNamara	January 1961	Present.
Thomas S. Gates Jr.	December 1959	January 1961.
Neil H. McElroy	October 1967	December 1959.
Charles E. Wilson	January 1953	October 1957.
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics):		
Thomas D. Morris	January 1961	Present.
Perkins McGuire	January 1957	January 1961.

PRINCIPAL MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED IN THIS REPORT—Continued

	Tenure of office	
	From—	To—
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY		
Secretary of the Army:		
Stephen Ailes	January 1964	Present.
Cyrus R. Vance	July 1962	January 1964.
Elvis J. Stahr, Jr.	January 1961	June 1962.
Wilber M. Brucker	July 1955	January 1961.
Robert T. Stevens	February 1953	July 1955.
Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics):		
Daniel M. Luevano	July 1964	Present.
A. Tyler Port (acting)	March 1964	July 1964.
Paul R. Ignatius	May 1961	February 1964.
Unfilled	January 1961	May 1961.
Courtney Johnson	April 1959	January 1961.
Frank Higgins	August 1954	April 1959.
Chief of Staff, U.S. Army:		
Gen. Harold K. Johnson.	July 1964	Present.
Gen. Earle G. Wheeler	October 1962	June 1964.
Gen. George H. Decker.	September 1960	September 1962.
Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer.	July 1959	September 1960.
Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor.	June 1955	June 1959.
Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway.	July 1953	June 1955.
Deputy Chief of Staff (Logistics):		
Lt. Gen. Lawrence J. Lincoln.	August 1964	Present.
Lt. Gen. R. W. Colglazier, Jr.	July 1959	July 1964.
Lt. Gen. Carter B. Magruder.	May 1955	June 1959.
Lt. Gen. Williston B. Palmer.	October 1952	April 1955.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Materiel Command: Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr.	July 1962	Present.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Electronics Command:		
Maj. Gen. Frank W. Moorman.	August 1963	Do.
Maj. Gen. Stuart S. Hoff.	August 1962	August 1963.
Chief signal officer (position abolished Mar. 1, 1964):		
Maj. Gen. E. F. Cook	do	March 1964.
Maj. Gen. Ralph T. Nelson.	May 1959	August 1962.
Maj. Gen. John D. O'Connell.	May 1955	April 1959.
Maj. Gen. George I. Back.	May 1951	May 1955.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Electronics Materiel Agency (position abolished May 1964):		
Brig. Gen. Wesley C. Franklin.	September 1963	May 1964.
Brig. Gen. Allen T. Stanwix-Hay.	August 1962	September 1963.
Col. Douglas O. Toft	June 1962	August 1962.
Brig. Gen. Charles S. Hays.	November 1960	May 1962.
Brig. Gen. Elmer L. Littel.	June 1957	November 1960.
Brig. Gen. William D. Hamlin.	August 1956	June 1957.
Brig. Gen. William L. Bayer.	October 1954	July 1956.

APPENDIX II

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., June 26, 1964.

Mr. R. W. GUTMANN,
Associate Director, Defense Accounting and Auditing Division, U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GUTMANN: The following comments are provided on behalf of the Secretary of Defense in reply to your draft report of April 1964 concerning "Unnecessary Costs Incurred in the Sole-Source Procurement of Portable Radar Sets" (OSD Case No. 2004).

The facts presented in the GAO report are agreed with. Classified Army studies and reports on combat surveillance and target acquisition equipment covering the period FY 1958 to FY 1963 reflected continual emphasis upon the urgent need for this type of equipment. There was a concerted effort on the part of the Army to acquire a combat surveillance capability as quickly as possible during that period of time.

A review of the circumstances as they existed at the time cannot establish that the procuring agency was in haste to obligate these procurement funds before Army obligational authority lapsed. A required delivery schedule for this radar set commencing in April 1961 had been established. This factor coupled with an estimated minimum production lead time for the contractor of 9 months and a minimum administrative lead time of 2 months to negotiate an award, indicated a requirement for an award in May 1960. However, subsequent refinements in the plan, negotiations with the contractor, and approval cycles extended the actual award date to 30 June.

It is agreed that all objections in connection with a proposed procurement which may be raised by interested parties, such as using organizations and engineering agencies, should be included in the facts presented to approving officials for this consideration.

Under the Army reorganization, more extensive controls come into play in the event that urgency justifies procurement for troop issue before completion of development and adoption as a standard item. The major commands, particularly those overseas, make recommendations relative to the need for new equipment. The Combat Development Command is responsible for making recommendation to the Department of the Army on the urgency of a requirement of this nature. Further, the provisions of AR 700–20, 25 July 1963 require the satisfaction of 25 criteria before initiating production in a situation of this type.

The disciplinary action recommended by your office is not believed to be warranted. The decisions with respect to the award in question were made in accordance with what was then accepted policy. The facts as presented, when considered in the light of the prevailing policy, are considered proper justification for the decisions.

You recommend that this report be brought to the attention of procuring commands. Present procedures within the Department of the Army provide for distribution of a digest of all GAO reports of this type to procuring commands; a digest of this report will be included in this distribution.

Sincerely yours,

A. TYLER PORT,
Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics).

PROCUREMENT OF INACCURATE RADIATION MEASURING INSTRUMENTS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

(Report to the Congress of the United States, by the Comptroller General of the United States, December 1963)

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.

[B–146834]

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate:

Enclosed is our report on the procurement of inaccurate radiation measuring instruments by the Department of the Army.

Our view disclosed that the Army awarded five contracts for a total of 59,776 radiacmeters at a cost of about $2.9 million even though it was aware, prior to the first production contract and each succeeding contract, that the radiacmeters were not suitable for Army use. In addition, over $663,000 has been expended to modify the radiacmeters produced under the second and third contracts, and additional costs estimated at about $200,000 will be incurred to reimburse the contractors under the fourth and fifth contracts for a temporary work stoppage until the Army investigates technical difficulties and decides whether the radiacmeters will be acceptable to using organizations. The 10,800 radiacmeters produced under the first contract have already been scrapped, and the acceptability of any of the remaining instruments is still questionable.

These unnecessary costs have been incurred because responsible Army officials (1) were overly optimistic that deficiencies identified in tests of experimental model radiacmeters could be corrected in production despite a recommendation by the using organization not to enter into volume production until deficiencies were corrected, (2) accepted preproduction and initial production models and approved volume production without adequate and timely coordination of test data between the using organization and the engineering and procurement agencies, (3) awarded additional production contracts even though previously identified deficiencies had not been corrected, and (4) generally did not exercise their personal responsibilities to assure that Government funds were expended properly.

The Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army, replying on behalf of the Secretary of Defense, concurred with our findings. He stated that the Department of the Army is investigating further the causes for the conditions cited in the report. He stated also that further production of the equipment will not be accomplished until existing technical problems have been solved and the field user's accuracy requirements are met.

The Deputy Assistant Secretary stated further that, on the basis of results of tests, it was concluded that the design of the radiacmeter was sound but that further investigation of the specific causes for the inaccuracies would be made. However, our review disclosed that responsible engineering personnel at the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, agreed that the contractors met all specifications but that there was a defect in the design of the radiacmeter. In view of the position taken by the Deputy Assistant Secretary, it is evident that a conflict of opinions exists within the Army as to the soundness of the design of the radiacmeter. We did not attempt to determine whether the deficiencies in the radiacmeters resulted from the contractors' production practices or from the Government's design specifications.

We are recommending to the Secretary of the Army that (1) those cases where supply management officials, because of the urgency of requirements for equipment, elect to overrule the recommendations of the using forces with respect to performance of the equipment and elect to enter into production before all known deficiencies are corrected be referred to the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) for his approval, (2) in the investigation of the specific causes for the deficiencies in the radiacmeters that are the subject of this report, the Department of the Army determine, and advise us, whether the deficiencies resulted from the contractors' production practices or from the Government's design specifications, and (3) consideration be given to taking disciplinary measures against management officials whose actions in this matter were not prudent. We are recommending also that the Secretary of Defense bring this report to the attention of management officials within the military departments and emphasize their responsibilities for determining the adequate performance of equipment before recommending or approving items for volume production.

Copies of this report are being sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of the Army.

JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

INTRODUCTION

The General Accounting Office has made a review of procurement of the radiacmeters IM-108/PD by the Department of the Army. This review was made pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U.S.C. 67).

The scope of our review is shown on page 16 of this report.

BACKGROUND

The Department of Defense has issued engineering policies and procedures to assure that military weapons, equipment, and systems are suitable for design, production, and use by the military services. Each military service is required by the Department of Defense to establish programs to implement these policies and procedures. The Department of the Army has assigned this responsibility to each major subcommand of the Army Materiel Command.

Under the reorganization of the Department of the Army, the United States Army Electronics Command, a major subcommand, was established in August 1962 and assumed most of the logistics functions previously performed by the Office of the Chief Signal Officer. This Command has the responsibility for the research, design, development, testing, and supply management of electronic equipment. Its mission is performed by three major agencies as follows:

1. The United States Army Electronics Research and Development Agency, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, conducts continuing research for the development and design of new techniques and equipment relative to communication, radar, and electronic devices.

2. The United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, provides engineering specifications for procurement of electronic equipment, performs or monitors preproduction testing and qualification, and approves equipment.

3. The United States Army Electronics Materiel Agency, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is the national inventory control point and, as such, computes requirements, controls assets on hand, and awards and administers contracts for procurement.

In order to determine whether newly developed equipment is acceptable for Army use, the Department of Defense procedures require the cognizant military department to test such equipment. These tests are generally referred to as "service tests." The purpose of the tests is to determine the physical and operational characteristics, organizational maintenance requirements, and whether the equipment will be accurate, durable, and reliable when subjected to use by the troops in the field. In addition to these service tests, and prior to commencing production, the contractor is generally required to test a preproduction sample to determine whether the performance measurements and capability of the equipment meet the environmental and other field conditions. The contractor is required to furnish a tested preproduction sample to the Army for evaluation and approval. Such evaluation includes an examination and testing by a Government field engineer, or by the contractor under the supervision of the field engineer, to determine whether the tested preproduction sample was manufactured in accordance with contract specifications.

The radiacmeter IM-108/PD is a tactical survey instrument used for detecting and measuring gamma radiation resulting from nuclear explosions and is considered vital for the safety of troops in the field. It is important that the individual using the radiacmeter obtain readings which are accurate and reliable to avoid being exposed to excessive radiation dosages. The service tests of the experimental models was conducted for the Electronics Command by the United States Continental Army Command under actual field conditions. The evaluation of the preproduction models of the radiacmeter was performed at the contractor's plant by personnel of the Field Engineering Division of the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency.

During the period from March 1958 to January 1962, five formally advertised production contracts were awarded by the United States Army Electronics Materiel Agency. The award dates, quantities, and costs of the production contracts follow:

Date of award	Contractor	Contract	
		Number of units	Cost
Mar. 29, 1958	Landsverk Electrometer Co., Glendale, Calif	10,800	$605,858
June 29, 1959	Jordan Electronics Division of Victoreen Instrument Co., Alhambra, Calif	12,817	[1] 638,098
Oct. 9, 1959	do	12,017	[1] 615,150
June 7, 1961	Landers, Frary & Clark, New Britain, Conn	11,417	[2] 543,169
Jan. 10, 1962	Victory Electronics & Research Corp., Chicago Ill	12,725	[2] 526,163
Total		59,776	2,928,438

[1] In addition $663,000 was expended by Army depots to modify radiacmeters produced under these 2 contracts.

[2] In addition, $200,000 will be incurred under these contracts because the Government will have to reimburse the contractors for a temporary work stoppage.

A list of the principal Department of Defense officials responsible for administration of activities discussed in this report is appended.

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Unnecessary costs incurred in the procurement of inaccurate radiacmeters

The Army awarded five contracts for a total of 59,776 radiacmeter at a cost of about $2.9 million even though it was aware, prior to the first production contract and each succeeding contract, that the radiacmeters were not suitable for Army use. In addition, over $663,000 has been expended to modify the radiacmeters produced under the second and third contracts, and additional costs estimated at about $200,000 will be incurred to reimburse the contractors under the fourth and fifth contracts for a temporary work stoppage until the Army investigates technical difficulties and decides whether the radiacmeters will be acceptable to using organizations. The 10,800 radiacmeters produced under the first contract have already been scrapped, and the acceptability of any of the remaining instruments is still questionable.

These unnecessary costs have been incurred because responsible Army officials (1) were overly optimistic that deficiencies identified in tests of experimental model radiacmeters could be corrected in production despite a recommendation by the using organization not to enter into volume production until deficiencies were corrected, (2) accepted preproduction and initial production models and approved volume production without adequate and timely coordination of test data between the using organization and the engineering and procurement agencies, (3) awarded additional production contracts even though previously identified deficiencies had not been corrected, and (4) generally did not exercise their personal responsibilities to assure that Government funds were expended properly.

Disregard of user's recommendations

In 1954 a contract was awarded to El-Tronics Incorporated for the development of two experimental model radiacmeters, 50 of each, at a total cost of $43,800. During 1956 and 1957 the United States Continental Army Command (USCONARC) performed a service test on some of the experimental model radiacmeters to determine their suitability for Army use. In May 1957, USCONARC reported to the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency that several deficiencies were found in both models tested which made the radiacmeters unsuitable for use. The accuracy tests, included in the service tests, were performed by USCONARC after the radiacmeters were subjected to actual field use for several months. A serious deficiency noted during these tests was that the readings of the radiacmeters were not within the plus or minus 10 percent accuracy required by the technical military requirements. Inaccurate readings up to minus 78 percent were recorded during this test.

USCONARC recommended to the Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army, that a limited procurement of 1,100 radiacmeters be made to satisfy an immediate operational requirement, provided that the deficiencies noted in their tests were corrected in production. They recommended also that some production models be sent to them for testing. The records show that the Chief Signal Officer reported that all deficiencies initially identified in the experimental models could be corrected in production and therefore USCONARC's recommendation of limited procurement rather than volume production was disapproved by the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Department of the Army.

The first production contract was awarded in March 1958 for 7,200 radiacmeters IM-108/PD. The quantity was subsequently increased to 10,800. This contract provided that preproduction models be submitted to the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency (USAEMSA) for evaluation and testing to determine conformance with applicable specifications. In the testing of the preproduction models during September 1958, USAEMSA identified several deficiencies in performance and notified the contractor that some of the radiacmeters failed to meet shock, immersion, sensitivity, and calibration specification requirements. However, USAEMSA permitted the contractor to commence production provided that the deficiencies were investigated and corrected, subject to further tests during the initial production run.

In November 1958, USAEMSA approved the radiacmeters on the basis of tests from the initial production run. As a result of these tests USAEMSA engineers recommended, however, that the calibration accuracy measurement be revised to plus or minus 15 percent rather than to plus or minus 10 percent required by the military specification, but no changes were made to the specifications at this time.

Further, USAEMSA accepted the preproduction and the initial production run models without submitting the test results to the using organization or subjecting the units to actual field-use conditions, although USCONARC had previously advised USAEMSA that actual field use increased the inaccuracies of the radiacmeters.

Subsequent contracts awarded before original deficiencies corrected

In February 1959, or at least 3 months after production had started, USCONARC obtained some radiacmeters produced under the first contract for further testing. One year later, in February 1960, USCONARC reported that its tests showed that they were still unsuitable for Army use. Inaccurate readings as much as plus 67 percent were recorded during these tests. These were the same type of deficiencies as those reported in the May 1957 tests of the experimental models. In its report of February 1960, in which it stated that no priority had been assigned to this project, USCONARC recommended that production of the radiacmeters be halted until the deficiencies could be corrected. However, prior to receiving this report, the Army accepted all the 10,800 radiacmeters under the first contract and, in the meantime, awarded two additional production contracts for 24,834 radiacmeters IM–108/PD and accepted 7,155 radiacmeters under the second contract.

Notwithstanding the length of time it took USCONARC to test the radiacmeters, USAEMSA should have been aware that the radiacmeters being produced were not acceptable for Army use. The records show that, in August 1959, an electronic engineer for USAEMSA visited the contractor's plant to investigate deficiencies noted in unsatisfactory equipment reports received from field personnel. During his visit the engineer simulated a limited field test by attaching several radiacmeters to his station wagon. During this test, among other deficiencies, the instruments deteriorated in calibration accuracy and did not come within the plus or minus 10 percent accuracy required in the military specifications. The calibration inaccuracy was attributable to the type of electrometer tube being used in the instrument. The test disclosed that when the tube was jarred its filament was adversely affected. The electronic engineer stated that this defect was a serious problem to which there seemed to be no immediate solution. However, no action was taken at this time to halt production until the defect had been corrected.

About May 15, 1960, the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency began an investigation to determine the cause of the radiacmeter deficiencies noted in the USCONARC test report. They found that the batteries used in the radiacmeters had an unusual drop in the voltage level after limited usage which caused the inaccurate readings. At this time the contractor was advised to withhold production until further notice, and USAEMSA determined that a modification was required to provide greater stability of the voltage level of the batteries. This modification was made, and on May 25, 1960, five modified radiacmeters were delivered to USCONARC for retest.

USCONARC retested the modified radiacmeters simultaneously with some unmodified radiacmeters produced under the second contract. All those tested were again found to be unsuitable for Army use, due principally to inaccurate readings. In July 1960, USCONARC concluded that the modified radiacmeters may be suitable for use if the discrepancies were corrected. USCONARC again recommended to the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency (USAEMSA) that, after deficiencies in the radiacmeters were corrected, they be submitted for retesting.

In August 1960, because the idle production lien costs were increasing under the second production contract, USCONARC agreed to the resumption of production, based on the contractor's description of how the deficiencies could be corrected in production. Records at the Electronics Materiel Agency show that, after production was resumed, the remaining 5,662 units under the second production contract and 1,300 units under the third production contract were accepted by the Electronics Command before any modified radiacmeters were submitted to USCONARC for retesting in March 1961. Before the USCONARC test results were received by the Electronics Command in July 1961, an additional 10,717 radiacmeters, or the remaining portion of the third production contract, were accepted, and in June 1961 a fourth production contract for 11,417 radiacmeters was awarded.

Radiacmeters scrapped because of potential casualties and fatalities to users

In December 1961, personnel of the Electronics Command determined that all 35,634 radiacmeters procured under the first three production contracts had major deficiencies. Although a more stable radiacmeter was produced as a result of the May 1960 modification, tests showed that the radiacmeters were still subject to large errors in reading if one or more battery cells failed. The users would not be aware of this error during actual field use and their remaining in an area with excessive radiation could result in casualties and fatalities. Therefore, instructions were issued in May 1962 by the Commanding General of the United States Army Electronics Materiel Agency (USAEMA) to all commands that the initial production of 10,800 radiacmeters costing $606,000 should be disposed of.

Acceptability of radiacmeters still questionable even after modifications

The Electronics Command determined that it would be economically practicable to rework the radiacmeters produced under the second and third contracts, which were also subject to similar deficiencies in calibration accuracy. The costs incurred at Lexington and Sacramento Army Depots to modify these radiacmeters, which have not yet been field tested by the Army, have amounted to $663,611.

In January 1962, a fifth production contract was awarded for an additional 8,400 radiacmeters. The quantity was subsequently increased to 12,725. USAEMSA determined that it was also necessary to change the specifications applicable to the fourth and fifth contracts in order to produce a more satisfactory radiacmeter. This change in specifications required certain modifications which were approved by the Electronics Command. All radiacmeters were then required to meet the plus or minue 10 percent calibration accuracy as provided by the original technical military requirements and would be redesignated radiacmeter IM–174/PD.

Results of tests performed on initial production models from the fourth and fifth contracts by USAEMSA engineers and the Lexington Army Depot in May 1963 showed, however, that various engineering deficiencies in the modified IM–174/PD radiacmeters posed a question as to whether the radiacmeters would be acceptable in meeting the requirements of the using organizations. One of the limitations identified by these tests was that, after being used, the equipment could not be used again for a period of 72 hours. The reason for this limitation is due to the type of tube contained in the modified radiacmeters. This was the same deficient tube identified by the USAEMSA engineer in August 1959.

On July 25, 1963, the Commanding General, United States Army Electronics Command, advised USAEMA that no further contracts for the production of the IM–174/PD radiacmeters were to be made either on the basis of the add-on quantities or new contracts. Subsequently on August 22, 1963, the Commanding General, United States Army Electronics Command, requested USAEMA to enter into supplemental agreements with the contractors under the fourth and fifth contracts to provide for temporary work stoppages of 120 days. This temporary delay in work under these contracts will result in additional costs to the Government of about $200,000. During this period a technical investigation of the deficiencies in the IM/174–PD radiacmeters will be performed. Extensive tests of a total of 128 radiacmeters, comprising 64 produced under the fourth contract and 64 from the fifth contract, will be made by the Lexington Army Depot. Subsequent to a review of the results of these tests, the Army will make a decision whether to resume production on this item or terminate the fourth and fifth contracts.

Agency comments

On April 11, 1963, we brought our findings to the attention of the Department of the Army and proposed that it institute effective controls and place responsibility within the Army Materiel Command to assure that either (1) volume production of new equipment is not undertaken when the results of tests of experimental models disclose that the item is unsuitable for field use or (2) when equipment with known deficiencies is authorized for production with the understanding that the deficiencies will be corrected, appropriate testing techniques are applied in a timely manner to determine that the items being procured will meet the requirements of the user in order to minimize the number of defective items produced.

By letter dated June 18, 1963, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) stated that the Department of the Army concurred with our findings. He stated that the Army had a standing policy that volume production of new equipment is not undertaken if the results of tests of experimental models disclose that the item is unsuitable for use. He advised also that normal procedures require that appropriate and timely testing techniques be applied to assure that new items meet the user's requirements. He stated that the Department of the Army is investigating further the causes for the conditions cited in this report and that further production of the equipment will not be accomplished until existing technical problems have been solved and the field user's accuracy requirements are met.

The Deputy Assistant Secretary stated further that, on the basis of results of tests, it was concluded that the design of the IM–108/PD radiacmeter was sound but that further investigation of the specific causes for the inaccuracies would be made. However our review disclosed that responsible engineering personnel at the USAEMSA, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, agreed that the contractors met all specifications but that there was a defect in the design of the radiacmeter. In view of the position taken by the Deputy Assistant Secretary, it is evident that a conflict of opinions exists within the Army as to the soundness of the design of the IM–108/PD, later designated the IM–174/PD radiacmeter. We did not attempt to determine whether the deficiencies in the radiacmeter resulted from the contractors' production practices or from the Government's design specifications.

Conclusions

Volume production of new equipment, generally, should not be undertaken when the results of tests performed by the user on experimental models disclose deficiencies that render the item unsuitable for field use. Further, when equipment with known deficiencies is authorized for volume production, with the understanding that these deficiencies will be corrected in the production model, it is of the utmost importance to determine, by appropriate testing techniques at the earliest possible time, that the deficiencies have been corrected and that the item is suitable for field use. These actions require timely and effective coordination between the responsible testing and procurement organizations.

Notwithstanding the Army's policy that volume production of new equipment is not undertaken if the results of tests in experimental models disclose that the item is unsuitable for use, our review disclosed that deficiencies had been identified in the radiacmeters IM–108/PD experimental models that rendered the item unsuitable for use, but a decision was made to enter into volume production and a contract was awarded. Furthermore, four additional contracts for the production of these radiacmeters were awarded even though previously identified deficiencies had not been corrected. As a result, 10,800 radiacmeters that were procured at a cost of $606,000 are now being eliminated from the Army's supply system, 24,834 other radiacmeters costing over $1.2 million have been modified at a cost of over $663,000, and additional costs estimated at about $200,000 will be incurred because of a temporary work stoppage under the fourth and fifth contracts. As of September 18, 1963, the acceptability of any of the radiacmeters for Army use is still questionable pending the results of tests of the modified instruments.

Recommendations

We recommend to the Secretary of the Army that (1) those cases where supply management officials, because of the urgency of requirements for equipment, elect to overrule the recommendations of the using forces with respect to performance of the equipment and elect to enter into production before all known deficiencies are corrected be referred to the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics) for his approval, (2) in the investigation of the specific causes for the deficiencies in the radiacmeters that are the subject of this report, the Department of the Army determine, and advise us, whether the deficiencies resulted from the contractors' production practices or from the Government's design specifications, and (3) consideration be given to taking disciplinary measures against management officials whose actions in this matter were not prudent. We recommend also that the Secretary of Defense bring this report to the attention of management officials within the military departments and emphasize their responsibilities for determining the adequate performance of equipment before recommending or approving items for volume production.

SCOPE OF REVIEW

Our review included an examination of the records and reports relative to the testing, procurement, use, modification, and disposition of this equipment within the Department of the Army for the period from April 1954 to September 1963. Our review was made at the United States Army Electronics Materiel Agency, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the United States Army Electronics Materiel Support Agency, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey.

PRINCIPAL MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY RESPONSIBLE FOR ADMINISTRATION OF ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED IN THIS REPORT

	Tenure	
	From—	To—
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE		
Secretary of Defense:		
Robert S. McNamara	January 1961	Present.
Thomas S. Gates, Jr.	December 1959	January 1961.
Neil H. McElroy	October 1957	December 1959.
Charles E. Wilson	January 1953	October 1957.
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics):		
Thomas D. Morris	January 1961	Present.
Perkins McGuire	January 1957	January 1961.
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY		
Secretary of the Army:		
Cyrus R. Vance	July 1962	Present.
Elvis J. Stahr, Jr.	January 1961	June 1962.
Wilber M. Brucker	July 1955	January 1961.
Robert T. Stevens	February 1953	July 1955.
Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics):		
Paul R. Ignatius	May 1961	Present.
Unfilled	January 1961	May 1961.
Courtney Johnson	April 1959	January 1961.
Frank Higgins	August 1954	April 1959.

PRINCIPAL MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED IN THIS REPORT—Continued

	Tenure	
	From—	To—
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY—Con.		
hief of Staff, U.S. Army:		
Gen. Earle G. Wheeler	October 1962	Present.
Gen. George H. Decker	October 1960	September 1962.
Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer.	July 1959	October 1960.
Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor.	June 1955	June 1959.
Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway.	July 1953	June 1955.
Deputy Chief of Staff (Logistics):		
Lt. Gen. R. W. Colglazier, Jr.	July 1959	Present.
Lt. Gen. Carter B. Magruder.	May 1955	June 1959.
Lt. Gen. Williston B. Palmer.	October 1952	April 1955.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Materiel Command: Lt. Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr.	July 1962	Present.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Electronics Command:		
Maj. Gen. Frank W. Moorman.	August 1963	Do.
Maj. Gen. Stuart S. Hoff.	August 1962	August 1963.
Chief signal officer:		
Maj. Gen. E. F. Cook	do	Present.
Maj. Gen. Ralph T. Nelson.	May 1959	August 1962.
Maj. Gen. John D. O'Connell.	May 1955	April 1959.
Maj. Gen. George I. Back.	May 1951	May 1955.
Commanding general, U.S. Army Electronics Materiel Agency (formerly U.S. Army Signal Supply Agency):		
Brig. Gen. Wesley C. Franklin.	September 1963	Present.
Brig. Gen Allen T. Stanwix-Hay.	August 1962	September 1963.
Col. Douglas O. Toft	June 1962	August 1962.
Brig. Gen. Charles S. Hays.	November 1960	May 1962.
Brig. Gen. Elmer L. Littel.	June 1957	November 1960.
Brig. Gen. William D. Hamlin.	August 1956	June 1957.
Brig. Gen. William L. Bayer.	October 1954	July 1956.
Brig. Gen. James S. Willis.	May 1953	September 1954.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, information which reached me yesterday is very disturbing. I am informed that the radio set AN/PRC–77 is, today, being manufactured by a company other than RCA, in a foreign country, by a company which is not American owned, and is being manufactured in accordance with the very drawings that Mr. Brooks has alleged to me do not exist. A representative of the foreign company has acknowledged publicly that the foreign company is, in fact, manufacturing this walkie-talkie radio set. In view of the foregoing, I believe that the public and the Congress is entitled to the real truth in this matter. I have, therefore, requested the Federal Bureau of Investigation to come into this case and learn how these manufacturing drawings came into foreign hands while the Army officials themselves claim that a data package on this radio equipment does not exist.

Mr. President, in addition, I intend to insert for the RECORD a copy of the letter which I have directed to the Comptroller General of the United States concerning this matter. Among other things, I have requested that an audit be conducted of the earlier $20 million RCA contract for radio sets the Army procured at $2,156.91 each. Two million two hundred thousand dollars had already been paid RCA for development of this radio, after which RCA subsequently quoted a price of $843.37 per unit for the identical equipment, in open competitive bidding. The purpose of this audit, of course, is to identify and recapture any excess profits which had to be generated in such an enormous contract for such a little radio.

Mr. President, I am more fully convinced than ever that in view of the questionable transactions which are coming to light an in-depth investigation into our military procurement practices should be initiated by Congress without further delay.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very interesting article by Mr. Willard Edwards which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on September 23, 1967, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITOL VIEWS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, September 22.—The panic button was pressed in the Pentagon this week when Sen. Peter H. Dominick [R., Colo.] arose on the Senate floor and asked a quiet question. Forces were thereby initiated that could mushroom into a scandal of government-shaking proportions.

Was it not time, Dominick inquired, to determine whether outright dishonesty, and not just bureaucratic fumbling and inefficiency, was responsible for the accumulating evidence of monumental waste in military procurement practices? Specifically, was someone in the defense department getting rich thru the allotment of huge contracts to large corporations despite lower bids by competitors? With more than 18 billion dollars allotted this year for military purchases, the temptation was great.

It was a question that has been begging for utterance in recent months. Dominick, a member of the Senate armed services committee, backed it up by citing two recent cases he had uncovered which suggested corruption instead of the inefficiency often accepted as normal to war time spending. He asked the government operations committee to determine whether the facts warranted a full-scale investigation and public hearings.

Scores of members have received complaints of cases similarly indicating fraud. Small business firms thruout the nation have reported numerous instances in which they were frozen out of defense contracts by bigger corporations with influential contacts in Washington. In all cases, the defense department paid more for supplies than was necessary.

DOMINICK SECRETLY APPLAUDED FOR CANDOR

Dominick brought into the open a situation which many had been loath to discuss and they secretly applauded his candor. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was alerted to the danger. President Johnson was advised that a political volcano was rumbling and might erupt in an election year. An emergency meeting of defense department officials was called to debate the threat.

McNamara has weathered many storms by putting up a barrage of angry denials and counter-charges. But he will proceed cautiously in this crisis, having been burned badly in his first encounter with congressional criticism of military procurement. He was forced to beat a quick retreat after his first savage and sarcastic reaction to revelations by Rep. Otis G. Pike [D., N.Y.] of inexcusable defense buying.

Pike made public a series of military purchases which defied reasonable explanation. He told of small items of hardware, such as washers and nuts and bolts, for which the military paid $1.55 each when they were available in any hardware store for 6 cents apiece.

The amounts were small but, as Pike remarked, the principle was not. McNamara, accustomed to dealing in billions of dollars, ridiculed Pike as a nitpicker. The New York congressman struck back by displaying a generator knob, available to any citizen for $1.62, for which the army had paid $312.50. Next day, a red-faced military canceled the contract.

DOMINICK'S CASES DEAL WITH BIG AMOUNTS

Pike referred to the purchases as "stupid" and "wasteful," not ascribing more sinister motives. The cases revealed by Dominick, however, not only dealt in big amounts but could not be excused as due to ignorance or inefficiency.

A small firm in Aurora, Colo., Dominick said, developed a lightweight flame thrower, submitted the low bid in it, and then found itself losing the contract to a bigger company which had bid more than double the amount. In the second case, a small business concern in Philadelphia lost out on a 10 million dollar contract for a portable radio altho its bid was $884,856 lower than the successful bidder, the giant Radio Corporation of America.

Both cases were marked by such glaring inequities, Dominick said, that he felt impelled to ask "whether any specific benefits have been derived by anyone in the army or elsewhere as a consequence of this peculiar procedure."

In other words, did someone get a rakeoff? There are more than 100 similar cases of exorbitant costs and indefensible buying methods awaiting the congressional probe, On Capitol hill, the odds are considered more than even that the investigation could develop into an expose of deals dwarfing the "5 percent" operations of influence peddlers in the Truman era.

Mr. DOMINICK. I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Army dated September 21, 1967, to me and my letter to the Comptroller General dated September 28, 1967, be included at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Department of the Army,
Office of the Assistant Secretary,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967.
Hon. Peter H. Dominick,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Senator Dominick: I have read your remarks of 19 September relating to two Army procurement transactions and feel it might be helpful to clarify a few of the points you raised. As you may know the Comptroller General has performed complete and impartial reviews of these procurements.

The Research and Development contract for a multi-shot portable flame weapon was protested by Custom Packaging Company to the General Accounting Office. The Assistant Comptroller General, in a report of 29 June 1967, copy attached, states, "A study of the record on this procurement as supplemented by presentations on behalf of Custom leads to the conclusion that the award as made represented a proper discharge of procurement responsibility and discretion as to which we find no legal basis to question." Therefore, the protest was denied.

I can find nothing to support the inference that any technical innovations by Custom Packaging were revealed to any other contractor. None of the requirements contained in the Request for Proposals disclose any design features submitted by Custom Packaging. The requirements listed were in sufficient detail to permit potential contractors to offer proposed designs, and were developed independently of Custom Packaging.

This procurement followed the normal Research and Development procedure to obtain formal proposals from interested and qualified Companies setting forth their technical approach to provide the required weapon. In such a case we are not seeking the lowest price proposal, but rather the technical approach which would be most likely to provide the best weapon to meet the requirements of our Armed Forces. All proposed contractors were informed of this intention and of the fact that it was anticipated to award a cost reimbursement-type contract. The proposals submitted by Custom and several others, including Nortronics, were carefully evaluated by the Government, and Nortronics was selected since it offered the technical approach most likely to result in the best weapon. As noted by the General Accounting Office, "The Proposal of Custom was rated lowest and the proposal of Nortronics . . . received the highest rating." The General Accounting Office further noted, "Although Custom demonstrated its portable flame weapon system for Edgewood Arsenal, the record shows that such demonstration was not successful and that, in the considered judgment of technical personnel, such weapon did not meet the needs of the Government. We find nothing in the record which would lead to the conclusion that Custom had a valid basis for assuming that the Government would award it a contract for such weapon."

With regard to the procurement of PRC-25/77 Radios, the two-year contract awarded to RCA in April 1967 which you cited was also the subject of a protest to the General Accounting Office and in his letter of 1 June 1967, copy attached, the Assistant Comptroller General concludes, "Therefore, no legal basis exists to object to the subject procurements." I further note that Decitron has protested the 16 August 1967 award of the second increment of the April 1967 contract to RCA to the General Accounting Office. Acting on a request from that office, the Army is currently preparing an administrative report in response to this protest and we will be guided by the Comptroller General findings.

The successor radio to the PRC–25, the PRC–77, which was developed under a product improvement program by RCA provides substantially better communication capabilities, a means of secure voice transmission, increased range, lighter weight and less battery drain. Because of these advantages the improved radio was urgently needed in Southeast Asia and RCA was awarded a contract in June 1966 to produce initial production quantities while further design changes and improvements were being effected. In order to provide for competition in future procurements, this contract included a requirement for the delivery of a procurement data package. Due to design changes resulting from concurrent field testing, it was determined that competitive procurement of this radio could not be achieved prior to 1 January 1968. Therefore, the follow-on two-year contract was awarded to RCA to meet the priority requirements for Southeast Asia.

With regard to the unsolicited proposal by Decitron a competitive data package was not available in April 1967. As a matter of fact, due to design changes resulting from concurrent field tests, the final procurement package will not be available until early December 1967. Even if the data package had been delivered by 31 March 1967, it could not have been available for competitive procurement for some months due to the necessity of Government review and verification. RCA was the only producer capable of manufacturing the radio to meet the required delivery schedule. It is presently anticipated that competitive procurement of the PRC–77 Radio will be accomplished in early 1968.

I trust this information will be of value to you in your further evaluation of these procurements.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Brooks,
Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics).

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Armed Services,
Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.
Hon. Elmer B. Staats,
Comptroller General of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Comptroller General: On September 19, 1967, I delivered a speech in the Senate which concerned two Army procurements, one of which involved the AN/PRC–25 and the AN/PRC–77 Radio Set which I understand is now pending under a protest No. B–161031. For your ready reference, a copy of my remarks is attached. In addition, I have attached a copy of a letter dated 21 September 1967, which I received from the Assistant Secretary of the Army Installations and Logistics, dealing with this very matter.

From the Army letter of 21 September, it appears that the Signal Corps is running a development program parallel to a production program for the same equipment. I am aware of the GAO Reports on the IN–108 Radiacmeter and the AN/PPS–4 Radar procurement wherein the Army previously did exactly the same thing in continuing development with parallel production which resulted in the waste of millions of tax dollars. (Comp. Gen. B–146834 and B–146906.)

It is for these very reasons that I hereby request the GAO to identify for me by name, rank and grade, title of all civilian and military personnel who are involved in the AN/PRS–25 and AN/PRC–77 development and production including engineering, logistic and contracting officials with particular emphasis on those names of Army employees common to AN/PPS–4 and IM–108 Radiacmeter procurements.

In addition, I request that the GAO audit RCA Contract 89511 in an effort to recapture possible excess profits which must have been realized under a $20.5 Million award for radio sets at a unit price of $2,156.91 (after $2.2 Million had already been paid RCA for development) in a non-competitive procurement for that equipment which RCA subsequently quoted at $843.37 per unit the very instant the force of competition was introduced into the procurement for the same radio.

And finally, it is requested that I be supplied a summary of DD–250 Documents which cover shipments made by RCA under contracts 01292 initiated March 21, 1965, and 10410, showing line for line, item for item, shipping dates.

When the audit is complete under Contract 89511, please arrange to supply me with a completely priced bill of materials for the radio set supplied by RCA under that contract, showing item for item prices and sources, which I want to use for comparison with other information from other manufacturers covering this same equipment.

Very truly yours,

Peter H. Dominick,
U.S. Senator.

SEVERANCE PAY FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, on Tuesday, September 26, there appeared on the front page of the Washington

Daily News an article by John Cramer, a very distinguished columnist of that paper, entitled "20 U.S. Workers in Line for Astonishing Windfall."

This article was in the form of an open letter to the Speaker of the House, Mr. John McCormack, to the majority leader of the Senate, Senator Mike Mansfield, to the chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, Mr. Dulski, and to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Senator Monroney.

In the article it was stated that possibly $85,000 in severance pay might be paid to 20 employees whose employment was being terminated by one agency, but who were immediately being transferred to another agency.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

IMPLAUSIBLE PLUM: TWENTY U.S. WORKERS IN LINE FOR ASTONISHING WINDFALL

(By John Cramer)

(Note.—In an attempt to save a mere $85,000 in taxpayer dough, I presume to send an open letter to four eminent Members of Congress.

To House Speaker John McCormack (D., Mass.) . . . Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) . . . Chairman Thaddeus Dulski (D., N.Y.), of the House Civil Service Committee . . . and Chairman Mike Monroney (D., Okla.), of the Senate Committee—John Cramer.)

Gentlemen: It's only $85,000, but unless your interest in Government economy prompts you to produce a real fast law, that sum will be paid out needlessly, erroneously, and wastefully to some 20 employes of the National Capital Transportation Agency.

It has to be a "quickie" law, which (I think) has to take effect no later than Friday.

The $85,000—an average of more than $4000 each—is what the 20 employes will get in "severance pay" when NCTA, now a Federal agency, becomes the Washington Area Transit Authority, a non-Federal, interstate agency, next Monday.

I'm not happy to be a party to depriving the NCTA people of their windfall.

But I'm completely certain situations such as theirs were not what Congress had in mind when it wrote generous severance pay provisions into the 1965 Federal Pay Act.

The severance pay law was designed to protect people who LOST their Federal jobs thru no fault of their own.

It was not designed for those who merely transfer—without loss of pay or income.

I address you Sen. Mansfield, and you Rep. McCormack, because of your recognized talent for making the legislative wheels grind . . . and you Sen. Monroney and you Rep. Dulski because your Committees handled the original severance pay bill.

Here's how this odd-ball thing, this $85,000 give-away, came about:

When the new Metropolitan Authority was created by compact among the jurisdictions involved, the enacted legislation transferred duties, functions and funds of the NCTA to the Authority.

But for some reason—was it oversight or design?—no provision was made for the automatic transfer of personnel.

However, the Board of Directors of the Authority took care of that. It agreed to offer jobs to all NCTA employes—at no loss in pay.

So, as of Saturday, the employes will be separated from the Federal payroll, thereby becoming eligible for severance pay.

As of next Monday, the 20 who have elected to transfer will go to work for the Authority . . . some with pay increases . . . none losing a single day's work.

Total cost to the Government in severance pay is estimated at about $85,000.

One principal beneficiary, it's said, will be NCTA Deputy Administrator Warren D. Quenstedt, a Presidential appointee, who reportedly will collect more than $11,000 in severance, plus some $3000 in terminal annual leave—no complaint about the latter.

In the new Authority, his salary will be almost $27,000.

Creation of the Authority required action by Congress, plus the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia.

But a quickie change in the Federal severance pay law, to prevent the unjustified windfalls, needs only Congress.

Meaning you, Messrs. McCormack, Mansfield, Monroney and Dulski. I realize you customarily deal in millions, billions. I know this is only a mere $85,000.

Perhaps, however, you can find a way to pass a quickie bill, or amend some current bill, to forestall the unhappy give-away.

Sincerely,

John Cramer,
Government Columnist,
The Washington Daily News.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I can assure you that this article caused great concern among Members of the Senate, particularly the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service [Mr. Monroney], of which committee I am the ranking minority member, and other Senators, including the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams].

We immediately contacted Mr. John Macy, who is the distinguished Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. He immediately replied in the form of a letter dated September 26. I shall not read the entire letter, but I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Civil Service Commission,
Washington, D.C., September 26, 1967.

Hon. Frank Carlson,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Carlson: Since there have been a number of inquiries on the matter, I feel that you will want to know that the Civil Service Commission has the authority under Public Law 89–301 (by delegation of the President by EO 11257) to deny to employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who take employment with the Metropolitan Transit Authority as of October 1, 1967, severance pay under that act. The Commission has exercised this authority in other situations. The authority is set forth in the law in these words:

"(b) This section does not apply to—

(8) such other officers and employees as may be excluded by rules and regulations of the President or of such officer or agency as he may designate."

The Commission is presently securing all the facts surrounding this problem and will make a determination on the issue within the next few days. At that time I will write you further.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr.,
Chairman.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the concluding paragraph reads:

The Commission is presently securing all the facts surrounding this problem and will make a determination on the issue within the next few days. At that time I will write you further.

The distinguished Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, in his usual efficient and cooperative manner, did immediately go into this problem; and, having had several discussions with several Members of the Senate, including the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams], and myself, has this morning, September 28, written to each of us a letter in regard to this particular transaction. I shall read it for the Record. The same letter also went to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service [Mr. Monroney] and the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams]. It reads as follows:

On September 25, 1967, I wrote to you concerning payment of severance pay to employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who transfer to the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority on October 1, 1967.

The Commission has found that National Capital Transportation employees who accept positions with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority will not lose employment and other benefits, conditions for which severance pay was designed. Accordingly, the Commission has excluded from severance pay benefits employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who are offered comparable employment, or who accept any employment before December 30, 1967, with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

Attached is a copy of the Commission's press release on this action.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr.,
Chairman.

I ask unanimous consent that the press release also be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Civil Service Commission today ruled that employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who have been offered comparable employment in the new Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority are not entitled to benefits of the severance pay provisions enacted as part of the Federal Employee Pay Act of 1965.

Prior to reaching its decision, the Commission met with the Administrator and Deputy Administrator of NCTA to hear their views concerning this matter.

"It is clear that it was not the intent of the Administration in proposing or of the Congress in enacting the severance pay legislation to cover situations of this kind in which employees of a Federal agency are offered continuing and substantially comparable employment in a public non-Federal agency which in effect takes over a function or mission of the Federal agency being liquidated," the Commission said.

"Recognizing that situations such as this would arise, Congress included in the law regulatory authority to exclude employees from entitlement to severance pay. This authority has been delegated to the Commission."

"Therefore, we have exercised this authority to exclude those employees of the NCTA who have been offered comparable continuing employment in the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority."

The Commission's attention was called to the situation by recent newspaper reports that some 20 employees of the NCTA, which expires on September 30, would be entitled to severance pay benefits totaling about $85,000 even though all have been offered employment by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

The Commission said that while it recognized and regretted that certain employees of NCTA may have been given reason to expect the benefit from the legislation, the clear intent of the law must prevail.

In 1965, in advancing its Severance Pay proposal the Commission stated:

"The need for severance pay has recently been emphasized by the plight of many long-service employees who are losing their jobs in shutdowns of military establishments. For many of them, no similar jobs are available in the commuting area which would utilize their special skills."

In announcing today's decision the Commission emphasized that the law was not intended to provide a windfall, but to cushion the blow of job loss and the likelihood of difficulty in gaining reemployment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CARLSON. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I concur in the remarks of the Senator from Kansas and join in complimenting Mr. Macy for his prompt answer to the question which was raised both by the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], as well as by myself concerning the possible abuse in severance payments.

This same problem arose several years ago when it was discovered that there was an abuse of such payments. In fact, on February 4, 1953, I called specific attention to a glaring abuse in which many of these payments in the form of severance pay had been made to employees who, in turn, never lost a single day's work with the Government but merely had their classification changed.

I submitted the question at that time to the Comptroller General, who took the position that the payments were not in accordance with the law and issued a ruling, under date of March 4, 1953, which stated that this type of payment would not be permissible as he then interpreted the law.

Subsequent to that date the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, of which the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] was a member, wrote the substance of this ruling into law to make sure it could not happen again.

For the record I ask unanimous consent that my statement of February 4, 1953, showing how the abuse worked, along with a copy of the March 9, 1953, letter of the Comptroller General to me, wherein he refers to his new ruling of March 4, 1953, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. WILLIAMS IN THE U.S. SENATE, FEBRUARY 4, 1953

Mr. President, my attention has been called to a highly questionable procedure which apparently has been followed in the past by some of the agencies of this Government whereby annual leave payments involving hundreds of thousands, if not millions of dollars have been paid to Government employees without such leave being taken and while these employees were actually drawing their regular salaries.

The manner in which this indirect raid on the Federal Treasury operates is that the agency will give the employee a 30-day notice that he is to be separated from the service. Immediately upon the date of separation the employee is paid in lump sum for all accumulated annual leave up to 90 days. The following day the same employee is rehired for the same job and placed back on the regular payroll where he worked for 30 days as a temporary employee. At the end of the 30-day period he is reinstated as a permanent employee and automatically again begins accumulating annual leave.

This has the net effect during the period involved of these employees not only being paid double for the work but also accumulating annual leave for the next year.

The officials of the Rent Stabilization Bureau have confirmed that this procedure was followed in that agency, and as a specific example of how the program operates, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a breakdown of the lump sum payments to 49 employees of that agency totaling $86,266.88. In this instance these employees were given a reduction in force notice on May 26, 1950, effective at the close of June 25, 1950. On that date they were separated from the service and they received lump sum payments as indicated. The following day all 49 employees were rehired for the same positions at the same salary, only they were $86,266 richer.

OFFICE OF RENT STABILIZATION

EMPLOYEES REDUCED IN FORCE, EFFECTIVE SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1950, RECEIVING TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS MONDAY JUNE 26, 1950—EMPLOYEES AS OF JUNE 25, 1950, RECEIVING LUMP-SUM PAYMENT WASHINGTON, D.C., UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

Name	Title	Grade	Salary	Lump-sum payments, annual leave
Bloomberg, Florence	Secretary (steno)	GS-5	$3,725	$538.15
Borjes, Harry A	Voucher examiner	GS-5	3,850	1,312.92
Boucher, Mae D	Placement officer	GS-11	5,400	1,307.38
Campbell, Kenneth A	Assoc. reg. hsg. exp	GS-15	[1] 10,750	2,932.96
Crilley, Raymond E	Asst. Dep. Hsg. Exp. (RT. Op)	GS-14	9,000	3,059.16
Clarke, Clarke W	Field representative	GS-13	7,600	1,700.37
Comfort, William G	Dir. Bud. Plan'g and Fin. Br	GS-14	9,000	1,829.75
Comrey, Halley S	Secretary (steno)	GS-6	3,700	429.26
Davis, Milton B	Comm. Ind. Econ. (Hsg. Sup)	GS-14	9,600	2,650.65
Diggle, Burnham	Dep. Hsg. Exp. (Rt. Oper.)	GS-15	10,750	3,501.53
Donine, Sophie	Time and payroll (supervisor)	GS-8	4,700	401.75
Dupree, Edwin D., Jr	General Counsel (sup. atty AD)	GS-15	10,750	3,654.75
Edwards, Adolph M., Jr	Trial attorney (gen. sup.)	GS-14	9,200	3,156.50
Engel, Anna M	Employees relations assistant	GS-9	4,850	1,331.10
Fishbein, David M	Business economist	GS-9	5,350	1,306.07
Green, Edna S	Time, leave, and payroll sup	GS-7	3,825	917.48
Hale, Golda M	Administrative assistant	GS-9	5,350	1,837.95
Hanback, Hazel S	Archivist	GS-12	6,600	2,093.45
Happ, Howell C	Trial attorney (gen. sup)	GS-13	8,600	2,936.92
Hardiman, Raymond M	Chief, audit section	GS-9	4,975	1,638.94
Hoffman, Charles N	Attorney-Adviser	GS-13	7,600	2,275.83
Hoffman, Laura E	Purchase clerk (typing)	GS-4	3,355	737.62
Hurley, James W	Spec. rent review examiner	GS-11	5,600	1,353.14
Kennedy, Dorothy W	Administrative officer	GS-12	[2] 6,800	1,666.25
McCarthy, John T	National board coordinator	GS-15	10,750	3,681.71
McLeod, John A., Jr	Attorney-adviser	GS-13	7,800	1,842.04
Madigan, John J	Dep. Hsg. Exp. (Admin.)	GS-15	10,750	3,624.58
Matteo, Linda A	Director, Personnel Branch	GS-14	8,800	1,644.37
Milam, Luther M	Field representative	GS-13	7,800	2,625.45
Mills, Juanita N	Placement assistant	GS-9	4,725	478.76
Mills, Lorise W	Administrative officer	GS-12	[1] 7,400	2,505.13
Moore, J. Roy	Board coordinator	GS-13	[2] 8,400	2,089.74
Morell, R. Coy	Field representative	GS-13	7,600	2,559.65
Ninde, Virginia L	Voucher examiner	GS-4	3,355	933.32
Plummer, Charles O	Placement assistant	GS-7	3,825	869.00
Pohling, Joseph A	Chf. Reprod. Plan'g Section	GS-11	5,400	1,146.05
Propps, Arch L	Field representative	GS-13	8,200	2,214.44
Recknow, Myra I	Time, leave, and payroll cerk	GS-4	3,115	330.40
Reimers, Leora	Secretary (steno)	GS-6	4,200	1,441.97
Siegel, Nathan	Trial attorney (gen'l. sup)	GS-14	8,800	2,248.41
Sparks, Donna	Clerk-stenographer	GS-4	[2] 3,355	810.15
Taylor, Jessie K	Time, leave, and payroll clerk	GS-4	3,195	784.27
Tompkins, Evelyn D	Voucher examiner (sup)	GS-7	4,575	805.21
Watts, Alexander H	Field representative	GS-13	7,800	2,130.17
Weed, Katherine L	Secretary (dict. mach. trans.)	GS-7	3,950	772.84
Weed, William H	Director Adm. Services Br	GS-13	7,600	2,489.90
Weissenberger, Mary L	Asst. to nat'l bd. coord	GS-11	5,600	1,542.92
Wolcott, Wilma O	Secretary (steno)	GS-5	3,475	826.00
Workmaster, William E	Personnel Procedures Br	GS-11	7,800	1,294.52
Total				86,260.88

[1] Atlanta, Ga.

[2] San Francisco, Calif.

Immediately following this I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the body of the RECORD my letter of January 28, 1953, addressed to Mr. James McInnes Henderson, Director of the Office of Rent Stabilization, along with the reply thereto, signed by William G. Barr, Acting Director, under date of February 3, explaining their position.

U.S. SENATE,
January 28, 1953.

MR. JAMES MCINNES HENDERSON,
Director, Office of Rent Stabilization,
Washington 25, D.C.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON: As I recall, the Congress appropriated for the fiscal year 1951, to the office of Housing Expediter, some two million dollars which were marked for the payment of accumulative annual leave to those resigning from the agency during the fiscal year.

It has come to my attention that since only a small portion of this appropriation would be expended by reason of resignation, your office executed a plan whereby many of the permanent officials and employees who had accumulated 90 days' annual leave became aware of your proposed reduction in accumulated annual leave by the Congress. These persons were given the opportunity to resign and were paid in lump sum cash for the 90 days' accumulated leave, totaling anywhere from $300,000 to $500,000, and on the following work day all these permanent status officials and employees were placed on temporary status for the period of the accumulated leave, and at the expiration of such period were again restored to permanent status.

It is the purpose of this letter to request a list of all such officials and employees, together with their Civil Service designation and salaries at the earliest possible moment.

Awaiting a full report from you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN J. WILLIAMS.

OFFICE OF RENT STABILIZATION,
Washington, D.C., February 3, 1953.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: This is in response to your letter of January 28 addressed to Mr. Henderson and your telephone conversations with Mr. Madigan on February 2 concerning activities of the Office of Housing Expediter during the fiscal year 1951.

In that fiscal year the appropriation was made available through a series of actions as follows:

	For operating expenses	For terminal leave
Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951 (Public Law 843, 81st Cong., approved Sept. 27, 1950)	$8,615,500	$2,000,000
Reappropriated from 1950	1,600,000	
Total	10,215,500	2,000,000
Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951 (Public Law 911, 81st Cong. approved Jan. 6, 1951)	1,200,000	
Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951 (Public Law 45, 82d Cong., approved June 2, 1951)	250,000	−250,000
Fourth Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951 (Public Law 43, 82d Cong., approved May 31, 1951)	750,000	−750,000
Total	12,415,500	1,000,000

The OHE was not covered by the General Appropriations Act, 1951, P.L. 579, 81st Congress, approved September 6, 1950, which included the "use it or lose it" leave provision. There were no mass resignations during that year. The amount expended for lump sum payments (Terminal Leave) resulting from normal turnover, including reduction-in-force, was $392,789.

However, it seems to us that your inquiry may be directed to activities in the fiscal year 1950. In that year funds also were made available in other than a single appropriation, as follow:

	For operating expenses	For terminal leave
Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1950 (Public Law 266, 81st Cong., approved Aug. 24, 1949)	$17,500,000	
Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1950 (Public Law 468, 81st Cong., approved Mar. 27, 1950)	1,400,000	$2,600,000
Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1950 (Public Law 583, 81st Cong., approved June 29, 1950)	600,000	
Total	19,500,000	2,600,000

The $2,600,000 made available by the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1950, contemplated the termination of rent control on June 30, 1950, although legislation was pending to extend it through June 30, 1951. In view of this and to work out necessary adjustments in the personnel of the organization, Reduction-in-Force Notices were issued to all employees under date of May 26, 1950, with active duty through June 6, 1950, followed by annual leave or leave-without-pay through June 30, 1950 (unless prior to that date separation was requested, transfer to another agency made, or recalled to active duty). Subsequently, many Notices were amended to show last day of active duty as June 30, 1950. A number of employees let their Reduction-in-Force become effective at the close of June 25, 1950 and were paid in lump sum for the accumulated leave to their credit at that time. Thereafter these employees were given Temporary appointments for stated periods under authority of the then Civil Service Commission Regulation 2.114 (b)(3) and 6.101(d). At various dates the reinstatement eligibles received "Conversion to Reinstatement" appointments.

As requested in your letter, a list of these employees is attached.

As of possible interest, of the $2,600,000 available only for Terminal Leave in the fiscal year 1950, only $1,061,494 was expended for that item, some $827,806 having previously been expended for lump sum payments from the regular appropriation. As indicated above, $1,600,000 of the funds appropriated for 1950, chiefly the balance in the Terminal Leave item, was reappropriated as part of our original 1951 appropriation.

All employees of the agency participated in mass voluntary leave-without-pay for a week during June of 1950 in order to assist in financing our operations. This included those who had accepted Temporary appointments.

The total of the lump sum payments to the 49 employees included in the attached list amounted to $86,260.88.

If further information is desired, it will be made available to you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM G. BARR,
Acting Director of Rent Stabilization.

In the fiscal year 1950, $1,061,494 was expended by this one agency alone on annual leave with some $827,806 having been expended for lump sum payments from the regular appropriations.

I have been advised that this device has been used by practically all the agencies of the Government, and if so it means that millions of dollars are involved in the controversy.

Mr. President, I recommend that the Appropriations Committee and the Committee on Government Operations examine the extent to which this questionable procedure has been followed and if laws have been violated, appropriate steps taken. If this represents a loophole in the law, then it should be immediately corrected and the appropriations for these agencies reduced accordingly.

To say the least it is an unjustifiable raid on the Federal Treasury, and the heads of every agency in the Government who have condoned this practice should be called to task.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1953.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: Under date of February 20, 1953, there was forwarded for your information a report concerning lump-sum annual leave payments made to 52 employees of the Office of Rent Stabilization in 1950 and to one employee early in 1951.

In memorandum of the Acting Comptroller General of February 20, it was stated on page 7 that there was presently under consideration a review of decision of the Comptroller General dated December 14, 1951, 31 Comp. Gen. 215. By decision of March 4, 1953, the ruling of December 14, 1951, was modified. The March 4 decision holds that under the 1951 Annual and Sick Leave Act an employee who leaves a permanent position and receives a lump-sum leave payment for accrued annual leave must upon reemployment in a temporary position make refund of the leave payment even though there is a break in service between the permanent appointment and the temporary appointment, and notwithstanding under the present law an employee is not entitled to be credited with annual leave until 90 days of service.

In my opinion, the decision of March 4, 1953, and the provisions of the 1951 Leave Act preclude any possibility of recurrence of a situation such as happened in the Office of Rent Stabilization.

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General
of the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I next ask unanimous consent that a copy of the letter dated September 16, 1967, signed by Mr. Macy and confirming his authority under the existing law to deny the payments, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., September 26, 1967.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: In response to your question, I wish to assure you that the Civil Service Commission has the authority under Public Law 89–301 (by delegation of the President by EO 11257) to deny to employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who take employment with the Metropolitan Transit Authority as of October 1, 1967, severance pay under that act. The Commission has exercised this authority in other situations. The authority is set forth in the law in these words:

"(b) This section does not apply to—

"(8) such other officers and employees as may be excluded by rules and regulations of the President or of such officer or agency as he may designate."

The Commission is presently securing all the facts surrounding this problem and will make a determination on the issue within the next few days. At that time I will write you further.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
Chairman.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I think the outline of how this matter developed over the years should be made a part of the RECORD, first so we can understand how this abuse took place, and, second, the steps that have been taken to correct it.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to say that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] and I, who are familiar with severance pay legislation affecting Federal employees, certainly did not intend that it be used as a windfall. There are instances in every agency of the Government where severance pay is justified and should be paid, but I would hope that at least the intent of the law not be violated.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I want to join with my colleagues in expressing our great concern about certain pay severance pay benefits which were to be paid to some 20 employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency, a Federal agency which is expiring this Friday and the duties and functions of which are being vested in a non-Federal, tri-State compact agency called the Washington Metropolitan Area Transportation Agency.

In Monday's Washington Daily News, John Cramer, a distinguished newspaperman, whose column is widely read and respected, revealed that these 20 employees were entitled to get $85,000 in severance pay because the expiration of their agency is an involuntary separation from the Federal service. One employee would receive $11,000.

Obviously, Congress did not intend this windfall when we passed the Severance Pay Act in 1965. The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service developed that legislation to rescue Federal employees from economic hardship largely because of the Department of Defense base-closing program then in effect.

The Severance Pay Act was a landmark piece of legislation and it has benefited a great many employees who otherwise would suffer great financial hardship because of the abolition of their jobs, the closing of a military base, or the closing of a shipyard.

But we did not intend that in some cases an employee might go directly from a Federal agency into a non-Federal agency—supported in part by Federal funds—and never lose a day's work or a day's pay to be the beneficiary of such severance pay. Paying anyone severance pay under such circumstances is unjust enrichment.

It will not occur. I have been in close touch with Chairman John Macy, who has legal authority to issue regulations for the administration of the severance pay program, and Chairman Macy has assured me that payment will not be made in this case. The Commission has issued regulations this day which apply to cases of this specific sort and payment will not be made.

This is done under the provision of Public Law 89-301, which provides, in subsection (b), that the section does not apply to "such other officers and employees as may be excluded by rules and regulations of the President or of such officer or agency as he may designate."

This was written into the law to take care of such borderline cases as this, which would have resulted in unjust enrichment. I hope, Mr. President, that from this example and this precedent, we will be able to move forward, so that we will not have a further example of such cases.

I have also been in close touch with the Comptroller General and have received a report from him on this case concerning the legal aspects involved. Our concern that $85,000 of the taxpayers' money would be spent may be laid to rest.

But further, I must say that it is very unfortunate that cases of this sort require such quick action. Policy decisions made on the spur of the moment, beginning with a newspaper article on Monday and ending with an agency's expiration on Friday cannot possibly take all factors into account.

Mr. President, our concern is just as great to be sure that Federal employees are not badly damaged by the abolition of the agency for which they are working, or its merger with another agency, as it is to prevent unjust enrichment. We want to be certain that we give our Federal employees fair treatment. I intend for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to evaluate the Severance Pay Act and determine what legislative changes, if any, should be made. When the committee has an opportunity to examine all the factors involved, to hold public hearings, and to recommend legislation after thoughtful consideration, our judgment will be based on better footing than it possibly could be now.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the official notice from the Civil Service Commission, signed by Mr. Macy, with reference to their determination on this Capital Transit case.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.

Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On September 25, 1967, I wrote to you concerning payment of severance pay to employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who transfer to the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority on October 1, 1967.

The Commission has found that National Capital Transportation Agency employees who accept positions with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority will not lose employment and other benefits, conditions for which severance pay was designed. Accordingly, the Commission has excluded from severance pay benefits employees of the National Capital Transportation Agency who are offered comparable employment, or who accept any employment before December 30, 1967, with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

Attached is a copy of the Commission's press release on this action.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
Chairman.

THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, it was 60 years ago this month, September 1907, that the cornerstone of the Washington Cathedral was laid by President Theodore Roosevelt.

In recognition of this anniversary, President Johnson has issued a Presidential citation. In it, he attests to the witness the Washington Cathedral has demonstrated all through these six decades to the reality of the fellowship that exists among all men of faith by its cardinal precept that the cathedral is and always shall be a house of prayer for all people.

Mr. President, I join President Johnsin in felicitating the Washington Cathedral upon this anniversary, and ask that his Presidential citation be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the Presidential citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 23, 1967.

Six decades ago, when President Theodore Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of the Washington Cathedral, he expressed his implicit faith in the good that would be done by and through this House of God. He based that faith on the conduct of those who would worship there—and on the truth of the text that "they shall be judged by their fruits."

For more than a half century, the great Gothic gates of this Cathedral have stood open for all God-serving men. They have served as doorways to a Christian fellowship that speaks of human dignity and charity to all. And from them have come forth men refreshed by the enriching spirit that resides within, and resolved to live—and to help others live—for God and for this land we love.

It remains—and will always remain—a touchstone of inspiration for us all.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

EXTENSION OF MEDICARE ENROLLMENT PERIOD

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of H.R. 13026, a bill just messaged over from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 13026) to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was read twice by its title.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, this is a matter which must be signed into law before October 1, during the next 2 days. Under present law, persons who are eligible to enroll in part B of medicare, but who did not enroll at the time of initial eligibility are given an opportunity to secure this supplemental medical insurance during an open enrollment period held every 2 years. That open period is scheduled to be held from October 1, 1967—2 days from now—through December 31, 1967. Coverage of those enrolling during that period would become effective July 1, 1968. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is also required to announce any changes in the part B premium rate prior to October 1. That rate is now $3 per month to the beneficiary—with an equal amount paid by the Federal Government.

H.R. 13026 makes the following changes in the enrollment procedure effective for this first open enrollment period only. They would not apply to subsequent open enrollment periods:

First, the open enrollment period is extended for an additional period of 3 months. Thus, it will run from October 1, 1967, through March 31, 1968. Coverage of those enrolling during those 6 months would still become effective as of July 1, 1968.

Second, the changes in the part B premium rate, if any, would not have to be announced by the Secretary until December 31, 1967. The new rate would be effective for the period beginning April 1, through December 1969.

These amendments are nothing more

than a "stopgap" measure. They are necessary because H.R. 12080, the social security bill, contemplates changes in the benefits under part B which will effect the premium cost.

Obviously, the Congress will not have completed action on the social security amendments by October 1, when HEW, under present law, is required to act. This is simply a means of giving HEW breathing room while the Congress decides what it wants to do about part B of medicare.

If the Secretary is required to announce that rate on October 1, as would otherwise be the case, whatever he announced is likely to be incorrect, and will simply confuse 17 million old people, because we have a social security bill upon which the committee has just concluded hearings, that if passed will undoubtedly change whatever rate the Secretary would announce.

Rather than confuse the elderly people of this Nation with regard to a decision that may have to be changed, it would be best, it was felt, simply to give the Secretary more time to decide that matter.

The ranking minority member of the Committee on Finance [Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware] has quite properly inquired in depth about this situation, and I believe that he has certain information which further expands the record on that subject. As always, he has been diligent in seeking to determine just exactly what the whole problem is. While I regard it as somewhat technical, I think it is very well that the Senator has obtained the information that he has sought on this matter, to find out what the rate would have to be if the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare acted right now, when, in all probability, he will declare a different rate after we have passed a social security bill which I am confident we will pass, if not this year, in the early months of next year.

I urge the Senator from Delaware, therefore, to address himself to that subject.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, as the Senator from Louisiana points out, under existing law not later than October 1 of each uneven year the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must announce the rates of the medicare insurance program as they would apply for the ensuing 2 years.

That would mean that not later than October 1 of this year he would announce the effective rate for the 2 years 1968 and 1969.

As the Senator from Louisiana has pointed out, in view of the fact that Congress is considering a revision of the Social Security Act the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has requested an opportunity to withhold its decision until January 1, 1968, or until it sees exactly what Congress will do in connection with the 1967 Social Security Act, H.R. 12080.

During the hearings, I propounded several questions. I asked first the question, What would the rate for medicare have been for the next 2 years if Congress were taking no steps whatever to amend the law? In other words, what would the rate be under the existing law if no revision were to be made at this session of Congress?

My second question was, What would the rate be if the Senate should accept the bill—H.R. 12080—as it has been passed by the House of Representatives with no major changes?

The third question was, What would the rate be if the Senate adopted the recommendations of the administration for changes in connection with this title of H.R. 12080?

I felt that this information should be available to Congress when we acted and that at the same time the information should be available to the 17 million participants in this program and to those who may be signing up under the medicare plan in the next few months.

We have a letter addressed to the chairman and delivered today, which I shall ask to have printed in the Record. I shall, however, read just two paragraphs in which this information is contained.

The letter begins:

> I am writing in response to the request made by Senate Finance Committee members at the hearings yesterday on the Social Security Amendments of 1967, H.R. 12080. The Committee asked for our best estimate on the cost of the Supplementary Medical Insurance plan to date and our best estimates concerning a proper rate for the program for 1968 and 1969.

I am skipping some of it. The entire letter will be printed in the Record:

> Members of the Senate Finance Committee have asked, nevertheless, what rate I would promulgate if it were necessary to proceed by October 1 as required by present law. My answer is that I would promulgate a rate of $3.80 for the two-year period of 1968 and 1969, 25 cents of the increase being based upon our evaluation, as yet incomplete, of the extent to which we believe the premium rate was below the actual cost for 1966–67 and 55 cents being the estimated additional cost to be expected in 1968–69 arising from an estimated increase in utilization and in physicians' fees and an allowance for a contingency margin.

Continuing, he said:

> As you know, we estimate that the additional benefits included in H.R. 12080 as it passed the House would call for a premium rate increase of about 20 cents per month.

In the letter he states that adding the recommendations of the administration to the House-passed bill in this section would make but a minimal change in this rate.

So, therefore, we have information—all of which is detailed in this letter and is to be printed in the Record—which states that under existing law the administration was going to announce the new rate of $3.80 and the proposals before the Congress would, if adopted, increase that rate further by 20 cents, to a total $4 monthly rate.

It should be noted as these increases are mentioned, that they are monthly charges equally applicable not only to the participants but also to the Federal participation matching.

In summary the costs of the administration's medicare plan is costing about 30 percent more than originally planned, or as had been sold to the participants when enacted.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, September 27, 1967.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing in response to the request made by Senate Finance Committee members at the hearings yesterday on the Social Security Amendments of 1967, H.R. 12080. The Committee asked for our best estimate on the cost of the Supplementary Medical Insurance plan to date and our best estimates concerning a proper rate for the program for 1968 and 1969.

As I indicated at the hearings, because of the time lag in the submission and processing of bills in this program, we do not yet have complete figures for the 6 months of 1966 and have only very incomplete data for the first 8 months of 1967.

We do, of course, have up-to-date figures of cash expenditures under the program, but these figures taken alone would be misleading because they do not take into account liabilities of the program arising from the natural delay in benefit payments until well after the date that services were received. Such delay is due to the tendency of enrollees to accumulate a number of bills before submitting a claim, the inherent delays by physicians and enrollees in completing the claim forms, and the time required by the carriers to adjudicate and pay claims. There was a balance of $426 million in the Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund at the end of July but there are also many outstanding liabilities. On the basis of claims paid (a cash basis), the average monthly per capita expenditures of the program, including administrative costs, for the six months of 1966 were $1.93 and in 1967, for the seven months through July, $5.71. As indicated, however, these figures need to be adjusted for the estimated increase in liability that took place during the period.

Figures on an accrual basis (the proper basis for rate determination) for the six months of 1966 are, of course, much more complete than for 1967. On the basis of the 1966 accrual figures we now estimate that the $3 premium rate for that period was about 15 cents too low. It is the best estimate of our experts that the liability of the system for the entire year and a half period of 1966 and 1967 will be about 8% higher than is provided for by the $3 premium plus the matching government contribution. In other words, we expect that the $3 premium for the entire 1966–67 period will be low by about 25 cents. About 15 cents is accounted for by the fact that physicians' fees have been rising at a faster rate during this period than was assumed in setting the premium; about 10 cents arises from the fact that there has apparently been a somewhat greater utilization of services under the program than had been anticipated. These estimates are based upon incomplete data for past periods and upon projection for the period September through December and may be somewhat more or less when the final accounts are in.

In estimating the cost of the program for 1968 and 1969, we cannot, of course, project the same per capita costs as for the past period. To be reasonably certain that the rate is properly set it is necessary to assume further increases in physicians' fees and in utilization.

Based upon our estimates of the cost for the present program over the two years of 1968 and 1969, we now anticipate the need for an increase of about 50 cents in the premium rate in addition to what we estimate was needed for 1966 and 1967. The 50 cents would be matched, of course, by an equal amount from the government. This figure allows for approximately a 3% annual increase in utilization and a 5% annual increase in physicians' fees in each of the years 1968 and 1969.

As you know, H.R. 13026 as reported out by the House Ways and Means Committee yesterday would make it unnecessary for us to proceed with the announcement of a rate for 1968 and 1969 based upon present law, but rather would postpone a setting of the premium rate until the end of December. The Committee believed it would be best to postpone the setting of the rate until a time when our information would be more complete and when the changes in the program now under consideration by Congress could also be taken into account.

Members of the Senate Finance Committee have asked, nevertheless, what rate I would promulgate if it were necessary to proceed by October 1 as required by present law. My answer is that I would promulgate a rate of $3.80 for the two-year period of 1968 and 1969, 25 cents of the increase being based upon our evaluation, as yet incomplete, of the extent to which we believe the premium rate was below the actual cost for 1966–67 and 55 cents being the estimated additional cost to be expected in 1968–69 arising from an estimated increase in utilization and in physicians' fees and an allowance for a contingency margin.

Under H.R. 13026 it would not be necessary to promulgate a premium rate until the end of December, at which time we would have better information concerning the liabilities of the program for the 1966–1967 period and, therefore, a better basis for estimating 1968 and 1969 costs. Thus, any rate promulgated at that time may or may not be entirely consistent with the figures supplied in this letter. Moreover, of course, the rate promulgated in December would cover any additional benefits included in social security legislation as finally enacted. As you know, we estimate that the additional benefits included in H.R. 12080 as it passed the House would call for a premium rate increase of about 20 cents per month.

I would also like to make clear in response to a further request for information at the hearing yesterday that the Administration does not propose any changes in the provisions of H.R. 12080 which would change the cost of the Supplementary Medical Insurance program.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. GARDNER,
Secretary.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I compliment the distinguished Senator from Delaware for his thoroughness in this matter, which is typical of him. It is most appropriate that the legislative record reflect the facts on which the Senator from Delaware has insisted. The letter, while it was directed to the chairman of the committee as a matter of protocol, could probably more properly have been addressed to the Senator from Delaware, who, with his usual diligence, insisted on obtaining the information, to which the Senate certainly is entitled.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to concur in the record of what has been accomplished as of this moment. I think it is essential that we do this.

On the other hand, I cannot stress too much the importance of obtaining this information. This is information that we must have before we conclude final executive action on the proposed changes in the Social Security Act for 1967 so that the changes may become effective.

I hope therefore that the action we take will be taken promptly. I hope that we get the information in time so that the changes can be made in the act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 13026) was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENT OF AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of September 27, 1967, pp. 26978–26981, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the House and Senate conferees completed work on S. 1862, a bill to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes, after a very thorough discussion of the differences in the Senate and House versions of the bill.

These differences and the action taken by the conference committee are as follows:

The Senate version would permit SBA to pay the travel and per diem allowance to the Service Corps of Retired Executives—SCORE—who provide free management counseling to small business.

The House version provided that per diem and travel should be allowed in connection with travel to a point more than 50 miles distant from the home of the SCORE volunteer.

The conference committee accepted the House version.

The Senate version would permit SBA to reimburse members of SBA advisory boards and committees for travel and other expenses incurred in attending meetings of such boards and committees.

The House version had no provision for such payment.

The conference committee agreed to permit SBA to pay travel and other expenses, but the payment would be made in connection with travel to points more than 50 miles distance from the homes of such members.

The Senate version granted discretionary authority to SBA to use the mails to disseminate information regarding its programs to persons who have not requested it.

The House version did not contain this provision.

The conference committee accepted the Senate version, with the understanding that the new authority would be limited in use to certain programs.

The House version of S. 1862 amended section 301(c) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 to revise the criteria to be followed by SBA in granting SBIC licenses. It requires the consideration by SBA of the probability of successful operations of the SBIC including adequate profitability and financial soundness.

The Senate version did not contain this amendment.

The conference committee accepted the House version.

The Senate version of S. 1862 contained an amendment to section 302(a) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 requiring that each SBIC receiving a license after the enactment of the act to have private capitalization of at least $1 million. In addition, all SBIC's presently in the program would be required to reach $1 million in private capital by February 1, 1975. The Senate version would allow SBA to exempt groups or categories of SBIC's from the new capitalization requirement or to extend the time period in reaching the new capital requirement. It also provided for the extension of the time period to individual SBIC's under certain circumstances.

The House version contained an amendment to section 302(a) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 to increase from $700,000 to $4,000,000 the amount of subordinated debentures which SBA could purchase from an SBIC on a matching basis.

The conference committee adopted new language for section 302(a) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958. This provision requires each SBIC operating under the act to have not less than $150,000 in private capital and capital in an amount adequate to assure reasonable prospect that the company will be operated soundly and profitably, and managed actively and prudently in accordance with its articles of incorporation.

This question caused the conferees great concern, and I want to be very careful in setting out the Senate conferees' understanding of the matter. In the first place, it is clear that section 302(a) of the act applies to existing as well as new SBIC's. I think it is also clear, since the conference specifically rejected the Senate provision which required an upgrading of all existing SBIC's to $1 million capitalization, that this new provision cannot be used by SBA to require a blanket upgrading of capital of the smaller SBIC's.

However, it is reasonable to conclude from the language of the amendment that SBA may require increases in capital requirements of an SBIC if the operations of the SBIC shows that it cannot operate profitably or with financial soundness or cannot afford adequate management. This would have to be done on a case-by-case basis. The conference provision also recognizes the need for SBA to insure that both new and existing SBIC's have adequate management resources for active and prudent operations befitting financial institutions.

The Senate version contained an amendment to section 303(b) of the act which establishes a new form of financing of SBIC's by SBA. It provides for a single new instrument—rather than the two presently used—with a 15-year maturity. This provision provides for the purchase by SBA of the subordinated debentures of an SBIC on a 2-to-1 basis to the private capital invested but in no event shall SBA's purchase exceed $7,500,000.

It also provided extra leverage to an SBIC with $1 million or more in private capital which invests 65 percent or more of its portfolio in equity investments. Under this provision SBA's purchase of subordinated debentures shall not exceed $2 million plus 300 percent of that portion of the SBIC's capital and surplus which exceeds $1 million. In no event shall the entire amount of the debentures of a single SBIC purchased by SBA exceed $10 million.

The House version amended section 303(b) of the act by increasing from $4 to $6 million the limit in the amount of loans which SBA can make to an SBIC under this section.

The conference committee accepted the Senate version with the provision that all debentures purchased under this section shall be subordinated unless the SBA Administrator shall determine otherwise.

The Senate version of S. 1862 leaves to the determination of the SBA Administrator the definition of "equity capital" as it would be used in section 303(b) of the act.

The House version defines "venture capital" without granting any discretion to the SBA Administrator.

The conference committee accepted the Senate provision to permit the final definition to be left to the SBA Administrator but changed "equity capital" under this section to read "venture capital." This will permit SBA to accept as eligible securities a variety of debt instruments which do not meet the technical qualifications of equity but which are substantially similar to equity financing.

The Senate version amends section 306 of the act to change the amount of funds which an SBIC can invest in a single small business firm from 20 percent of statutory capital—Government and private funds—to 20 percent of private funds. It establishes a reduction schedule by which those SBIC's which have sold subordinated debentures to SBA will have time to adjust to the new legal limit. This section will not go into full effect until January 1, 1972.

The House version does not contain this provision.

The conference committee accepted the Senate version.

The House version of S. 1862 contained a provision which provides that SBA cannot by regulation limit the amount of real estate investments by an SBIC if those investments are within the limits set out in the original SBIC licensing agreement.

The Senate version did not contain this provision.

The conference committee rejected the House provision, but the conferees agreed that the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committee should hold hearings on the subject before June 30, 1968.

The Senate version of S. 1862 provided that the amount which a bank could invest in an SBIC should be increased from 2 percent of the bank's capital and surplus to 5 percent.

The House version increased the amount from 2 to 5 percent also but provided that the amount which a bank invested should not exceed $1 million and that in no event should a bank acquire 50 percent or more of the stock of an SBIC.

The conference committee agreed to the 2 to 5 percent increase and the provision that the bank should not be permitted to acquire 50 percent or more of the stock of an SBIC. It rejected the $1 million limitation.

Some of the most effective SBICs in providing assistance to small businesses are bank affiliated. This was pointed out most clearly in SBA testimony before the committee. The conference report includes provisions which will make it possible for banks to play an even greater role in making SBIC financing available to small concerns. This desirable result is reached by virtue of the agreement of both Houses to increase from 2 to 5 percent the proportion of a bank's capital and surplus which it can invest in an SBIC, and by virtue of the conference committee's decision to remove the House proposal to impose a $1 million limit on the amount of a bank's investment in an SBIC.

At the same time, I regret that the Senate's position to remove the 50 percent limitation did not prevail as well. After the effective date of the act—90 days from date of enactment—banks will not be able to acquire 50 percent or more of the stock of an SBIC.

On balance, then, it seems to me that the legislation should serve to encourage banks which are interested in the sound development of the SBIC program—both those which are already in the SBIC program and those which are considering entering the program in the days ahead.

The Senate version of S. 1862 provided that banks be permitted to make loans within limits to its affiliated SBIC's without regard to the strict collateral requirement of section 23A of the Federal Reserve Act.

The House version had no similar provision.

The conference committee rejected the Senate provision.

The Senate version of S. 1862 contained a provision which repealed section 204(c) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, which grants an option to small concerns to purchase stock of an SBIC up to 5 percent of the amount of the equity financing obtained from the SBIC.

The House version did not contain this provision.

The conference committee accepted the Senate provision.

The Senate version of S. 1862 provided that SBA shall examine each SBIC at least once a year "unless waived by the Administrator for good cause."

The House version requires examination of every SBIC each year and did not permit a waiver by SBA.

The conference committee requires an examination each year but permits the SBA Administrator to waive examination of the SBIC which is involved in litigation or is in receivership.

The House version of S. 1862 contained a provision which requires as part of SBA's annual report additional information regarding the actions of SBA, Treasury, Bureau of the Budget, and SEC on matters affecting SBICs.

The Senate version did not contain this requirement.

The conference committee accepted the House provision with the understanding that Congress would not hold SBA responsible for the failure of the other agencies involved to supply SBA with the needed information.

The Senate version provided that the effective date of this bill shall be 90 days after its enactment except for the January 1, 1968, effective date of the section dealing with the legal loan limits of an SBIC.

The House version provided for an effective date of 90 days after enactment.

The conference committee accepted the Senate version.

The House version of S. 1862 contained a provision which authorizes SBA to conduct a study to determine the best ways for small business to protect itself from criminal acts.

The Senate version did not contain this provision.

The conference committee accepted the House version.

Mr. President, I think that we have come up, as a result of this conference, with an unusually strong bill. I believe that it will go far to meet the pressing need of many SBIC's for additional financing.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I believe that the action of the conferees demonstrates the concern which Congress has for strengthening the small business investment company industry to make it a stronger and more effective means of supplying needed capital to small businesses.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], who is necessarily absent.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR TOWER

Mr. TOWER. I am happy to have the opportunity of supporting the conference report on S. 1862.

The Senate and House conferees, in my judgment, have agreed to a bill which contains some of the incentives to increase business velocity which Congress intended for Small Business Investment Companies, both large and small. Congress passed a bill last

> session which was designed to correct certain operations by restrictive legislation.
>
> I also believe a good job was done in avoiding size discrimination in development of the incentives. It is the type of legislative oversight that is expected of the Congress in its effort to make good programs work.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

THE FARM LABOR SITUATION

Mr. **MURPHY**. Mr. President, once again a growing crisis on California farms as the peak harvest approaches compels me to speak out against the irresponsible actions of members of the national administration—actions which are resulting in an inexcusable waste of crops—in grievous losses to farm producers, in a consequent loss of jobs to workers in agriculture and allied industries, and which will inevitably cost our Nation's housewives higher prices at the marketplace.

This long dreary story began with the expiration of Public Law 78 on December 31, 1964, when Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz announced that he would replace the necessary supplemental foreign harvest laborers who had historically helped out on our farms during the harvest season from some mysterious reservoir of unemployed domestic workers. He did not seem to realize that this idea was not a new one—that our farmers had tried unsuccessfully for many, many years to get along only with domestic workers—and by law, always had to employ domestics before any foreign workers could be hired. I pointed out then, and have continually since, that neither the farmers nor I nor anyone else wants to displace one single, willing and able American worker with a foreign worker, but that the facts are clear that an adequate domestic work force just is not available for the short peak harvest periods.

I also have pointed out, and I do again today most emphatically, that our Nation's crops must be harvested. It is unconscionable that the product of a farmer's year's work should be lost, and badly-needed food destroyed, by a stubborn and foredoomed effort to prove the impractical social theories of the Secretary of Labor and his allied experimenters.

Since January 1, 1965, the Secretary of Labor has imposed an unbelievable and ever-changing variety of conditions and bureaucratic regulations on my State's farmers as a prerequisite to their being eligible to employ foreign harvest labor. There is no time today to tell again the entire story, but I repeat that the Secretary has failed utterly in his effort to bring domestic workers onto our farms to replace those foreign workers who formerly helped us out at harvest time. Today this fact is even more easily proved than it has been before.

For years I have been pointing out to Secretary Wirtz that since he restricted the use of supplemental foreign workers the harvests on California farms have been handled not by the unemployed domestics he promised to bring to our farms, who never materialized, but by Mexican nationals who came in as green card workers and, unfortunately, by thousands of illegal entrant wetbacks. Mr. Wirtz has met these statements time and again with silence, possibly embarrassed to admit that his experiment in sociology just did not work.

Last Friday, September 22, the Secretary, in a different context admitted the truth of my previous statements when he told the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization that tens of thousands of Mexican green card workers are employed on our farms.

The Secretary made this statement in an effort to restrict the entry of these green card workers. I would point out that in all the statistics made available by the Labor Department during the last 2 years dealing with farm labor these same green card workers were referred to as domestics and the impression was generally given that actually the work was being done by American citizens which was not the case.

At that same hearing, Secretary Wirtz chose to congratulate the California Rural Legal Assistance Organization for its work in the farm labor area. The California rural assistance program was originated in August 1966, for a very definite and worthy purpose and there was great and justifiable support for its objectives. It was designed to provide legal assistance to poor individuals who could not afford a lawyer. But now it appears that the CRLA like so many other programs of OEO has begun to busy itself in areas for which it was not originally designed. These new activities of CRLA have attracted the attention of and were dissected in an editorial in the Los Angeles Times on September 26, entitled "OEO Law Program Raises Questions."

I would like at this point to read that editorial:

> OEO LAW PROGRAM RAISES QUESTIONS
>
> At its inception last year the California Rural Legal Assistance Program had a laudable objective.
>
> Armed with a $1,276,000 grant—largest of its kind ever made by the Office of Economic Opportunity—the CRLA proposed to give legal defense for persons in farming areas earning less than $200 a month. Specifically, its organizers pointed toward assistance in juvenile proceedings, mental commitments, administrative hearings in unemployment compensation and bankruptcy.
>
> The budget has now grown to almost $1,546,000, the staff numbers more than 125 lawyers, investigators and secretaries—and serious questions are being raised as to the operation itself.
>
> Singled out for particular criticism was the fact that this federally funded program financed a legal battle against another federal agency.
>
> Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz certified to the need for 8,100 braceros to aid in the harvest of tomatoes and other California crops, but CRLA attorneys promptly filed suit to block the importation. The suit was dropped after the U. S. Department of Labor, which should have exclusive jurisdiction in the matter, agreed to give CRLA a voice in determining the need for foreign workers.
>
> In effect a private organization backed by federal money challenged a decision made by a member of the President's Cabinet in conformance to federal law.
>
> Without regard to the pros-and-cons of the current bracero controversy, there appears to have been a misuse of funds by the CRLA. It is the latest in a series of OEO allocations which are open to question.
>
> Too often, it seems, federal money is being diverted to activities not envisioned when the program grant was made.
>
> Obviously there is need for a tightening up of the administration of OEO if other worthy programs of that agency are not to be jeopardized.

So serious is the problem raised by CRLA's injection into this matter that I believe it deserved some discussion. When the program was originated in August 1966 there was great and justifiable support for its objective of assisting the poor in obtaining legal aid for their personal legal problems. The first suspicious note arose, however, when the organization's board of trustees was announced and was seen to include Mr. Cesar Chavez and others allied with him in past efforts to unionize farm labor. At that time the status of Mr. Chavez as a labor leader was questionable, and he had no official connection with any recognized union, his affiliation with Walter Reuther and the AFL–CIO coming much later. His affiliation with CRLA, and subsequent actions by him and lawyers under the CRLA program, caused much concern in legal circles from the outset as to whether the program was being diverted from its original objective to political and union organizing purposes.

That concern has been justified by recent developments. Here is one example: In the past 2 years, the Secretary of Labor has been among many encouraging the use of high school teenagers to harvest our crops. This year as a result of the desperate need of the farmer the State school system had proposed that the opening of the schools be delayed 1 week so that the high school teenagers might provide desperately needed help with the harvest in that area. One might expect that the Secretary of Labor would understand this situation and be disposed to applaud the emergency action suggested by the schools. What actually happened was that the CRLA went to court in Madera, Calif., in order to prevent the schools from making this sensible contribution and so it seems strange to me that the Secretary of Labor should now take advantage of his testimony to congratulate the CRLA.

I charge specifically that CRLA has no business in our farm affairs, that it possibly does not know enough about the subject to be involved there, and that by becoming involved it is departing radically from the purposes for which the poverty program has been designed by this Congress.

The citizens of California have been horrified by the spectacle of CRLA lawyers, paid by their tax dollars, going to court against the Secretary of Labor and his Justice Department attorneys, also paid by the taxpayers, in an action which will inevitably result in losses to farmers and higher food prices to American consumers. Poor old John Q. Public is paying the bill three times for this absurd three-ring circus.

There are other instances of meddling by the CRLA in political and social affairs which deserve separate attention. Let me just say here that for the good of the poverty program, and if CRLA as an institution is to survive, I would suggest that Mr. Shriver immediately replace its Director, James Lorenz, and its executive director, Mr. Gary Bellow, who must accept responsibility for the organization's improper and irresponsible actions. I call on Mr. Shriver to correct this situation, and get CRLA back on the track, or, as a member of the Senate subcommittee responsible for the poverty program, I will do all I can to submit legislation to restrict the CRLA by law to its proper and intended activities. If that cannot be accomplished, I will oppose further funding of the program. It seems a shame that such a good and worthy proposal intended to help the poor has once more been turned into what seems to be an extension of the extremely long organizing arm of Mr. Reuther and his allies in the farm unionization cause.

Following CRLA's intervention in court to get an injunction to stop the importation of 8,100 Mexican nationals so badly needed on our farms, attorneys from the Justice Department and the Labor Department met with representatives of CRLA 2 nights before the scheduled court hearing and worked out an agreement in which the Secretary of Labor in effect delegated part of his authority over the admission of foreign labor to CRLA. This is very disturbing to say the least. Subsequently I received a surprising report which indicated that members of the Labor Department had indicated that they could have won this case had it come to court but they were unwilling to and chose to make an out of court settlement because they felt it would be embarrassing for members of the Department to appear in court in defense of an action which might be misconstrued as being helpful to the farmers and growers.

I have always thought that our Government is supposed to represent all of the people. Following that incident, the Secretary has refused to certify any further badly needed supplemental harvest workers for California's fields.

As a result of the meddling of Secretary Wirtz and CRLA, California agriculture is today in a desperate state. I am advised that our farmers as of now need at least 3,760 pickers for tomatoes and grapes, and that this number will increase by at least 1,500 within a week. Grapes are rotting on the vines today because the Secretery last week refused to permit additional harvest labor.

Tomato farmers have told me that 20 percent of the crop in the Salinas area is presently being lost and that future prospects are bleak, simply because of inadequate labor supply.

I talked to one farmer yesterday who will lose 500 acres of strawberries rather than go through an impractical, ineffective, and exorbitantly expensive labor-seeking program instituted by the Secretary of Labor plus incurring the added risk of legal harassment from CRLA which would result from a request for foreign labor. In those fields alone this farmer will lose $200,000 investment and the American housewife once again will lose because strawberry prices will inevitably rise. Statistics released by the Labor Department yesterday held sad news for America's consumer. Living costs climbed three-tenths of 1 percent during August and the price rise was led by food costs which increased five-tenths of 1 percent. In view of the fact that food prices usually go down in August it is indeed startling to realize that actions by the Secretary of Labor and other Federal Government agencies are unnecessarily contributing to higher food prices.

This situation is almost unbelievable and reasonable people can justly ask why the responsible Government officials would permit it to happen. It is not part of an effort to get unemployed domestic workers from the cities to the farms, because this has been tried and proved a costly failure. It is not an effort to raise wages and working conditions of farmworkers because California farmworkers already enjoy the best of these of any State in the country and still our growers are discriminated against by the national administration. The Secretary and CRLA's recent actions with respect to braceros and green card workers and the proposed use of schoolchildren on the farms make it even more evident to me than before that their real objective is to see that none of our farm produce is harvested unless it is done by a member of the AFL–CIO. In other words, I must assume that this is being used as part of a further effort to force the organization of all farmworkers in the Nation and I submit that in my judgment this is not the proper function of either the Department of Labor or the Office of Economic Opportunity, and I speak with the experience of 40 years as a union member. The fact of the matter is, and has been known for many years in California, that the unions wherever they have signed contracts in the farm labor areas, have been unable to supply the needed workers.

It seems impossible that the President of the United States could be aware of this tragic situation on California farms. He has based his request for a tax rise on the allegation that we have an expanding economy. I would like to point out that with continued actions by members of his Cabinet such as I have described, the economy of my State will be diminishing rather than expanding, and I might respectfully suggest that he should send his Secretary of Agriculture to study the situation and speak up for our farmers in this situation—why does not Mr. Freeman come to California. I invite him to spend a day or two with farmers and I am sure that he will quickly realize the truth of the situation.

The President has spent a great deal of effort in attempting to improve our international balance-of-payments situation. Agriculture has always provided one of our best sources of income from foreign lands, our agricultural balance of payments having shown a $2.3 billion surplus in fiscal year 1967. This situation is possible only because of the efficiency and imagination and hard work of our farmers and allied industries. The harassment and ever-changing conditions being imposed upon California farmers now do not make for efficiency and will certainly result in serious losses of foreign markets.

And last of all, the President has professed much interest in the problems of American consumers. The high cost of living is on our front pages today and every day. How ridiculous it is that actions of members of this administration are contributing directly and unnecessarily to higher food costs.

The people of California, regardless of political party, are disgusted by this performance and they are rapidly coming to the conclusion that a complete change in our national governmental approach must take place or our State's largest industry—agriculture—will be destroyed.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, in connection with the remarks of the Senator from California, I want to stress the importance of continuing a most worthy and important migrant program by the Office of Economic Opportunty: the Self-Help Housing projects.

Over the last 2½ years I have visited migrant labor camps from my own State of New York to California. The conditions I have seen were often indescribable—families crowded into shacks without the barest minimum of decent sanitary or health facilities, often without protection from the elements. Many of these units have been condemned as unfit for human habitation. Yet they still stand; they still house many of the men and women and children who gather the food for America.

The self-help housing program, run by OEO, offers the prospect for change. Built with simple, inexpensive material, they are constructed in large part by the migrants themselves whose labor helps to pay for the houses they own. The projects I saw in Visalia, Calif., and elsewhere, were well kept and attractive and the pride of ownership was evident in the faces of the workers and their families.

This is the kind of program that can begin to provide a measure of decent living for our migrant workers. And it is a program which I urge the Senate to support.

SENATOR THRUSTON MORTON'S CHANGE OF POSITION ON VIETNAM—AN EXAMPLE OF COURAGE, WISDOM, AND GREATNESS

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, in a masterful speech yesterday before the National Committee of Business Executives for Peace in Vietnam, Senator THRUSTON MORTON, of Kentucky, reversed his previous position with respect to U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. He said in part, before setting forth a six-point program for U.S. military deescalation, that:

> If the President of the United States has been mistaken, so have I. In early 1965 when the President began to escalate the war, I supported the increased American military involvement. I was wrong.

This confession of error evidences great moral and political courage for which I sincerely commend the Senator from Kentucky.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] is particularly well qualified to speak on this subject. As Assistant Secretary of State he was, in 1954, involved in sounding out the reaction of the Congress to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's proposal to send U.S. troops to Vietnam. The reaction of the Congress at that time was strongly opposed to such military involvement. The distinguished Senator from Kentucky has served his State ably and conscientiously first in the House of Representatives and, since 1957, in the Senate, and has served his party as chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1959 to 1961.

For over 3½ years I have spoken out against the tragic military involvement of the United States in Vietnam. I have repeatedly urged President Johnson to follow the course of action so courageously taken now by Senator MORTON and confess that the United States has made a great mistake in Vietnam and withdraw. This would be in keeping with President Johnson's magnificent record on the domestic scene where he has succeeded in putting on the statute books a blueprint for achieving a truly Great Society. That blueprint cannot be carried out with the needless military involvement of the United States in Vietnam draining America's energies and wealth.

If the President could but heed the example of the able and distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] and confess error and take the necessary steps for an immediate military disengagement in Vietnam, the people of the United States would applaud his courageous action and his image as a man of peace—as a man of inspiring leadership—would be restored.

I ask unanimous consent that the forthright, thoughtful, and courageous speech of Senator MORTON before the National Committee of Business Executives for Peace in Vietnam be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR THRUSTON B. MORTON, REPUBLICAN OF KENTUCKY, BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

The last three years have witnessed a disastrous decline in the effectiveness of American foreign policy. The root cause of the trouble is the bankruptcy of our position in Vietnam.

The ramifications of the tragic decision to commit United States forces in strength to an Asian ground war are everywhere evident. A crisis of confidence and credibility threatens to undermine the nation's hopes for economic and social progress here at home. Around the world, American principles and programs are suspect, by friend and foe alike.

The Americanization of the conflict in Vietnam has created a kind of myopia that prevents the Administration from effectively coping with major problems elsewhere. The number one priority of United States foreign policy must be to reach an accord with the Soviet Union.

The world's two mightiest powers have no alternative to developing a set of ground rules that will prevent holocaust, and permit peaceful progress, however bitterly competitive. Vietnam stands in the way!

In Europe, a revolution of independence challenges American initiative, but Vietnam stands in the way. In Latin America a revolution of rising populations and rising expectations threatens the future of our own continent. More imagination and energy must be devoted to these areas—*vital to our national interest*—but Vietnam stands in the way.

On the domestic front, apprehension and misunderstanding of our involvement in Southeast Asia are contributing to a dangerous political polarization. Extremists of the left and right are poised to destroy our basic social fabric, while men of reason are reduced to answering "after Vietnam!"

How did we reach this impasse? And where do we go from here?

President Eisenhower warned in his "Farewell Address" of the dangers of too much power and too much influence in the hands of a "military-industrial complex." I believe that President Johnson was brainwashed by this power center as early as 1961 when, as Vice President, he ventured to Saigon on a fact-finding mission. I believe he has been mistakenly committed to a military solution in Vietnam for the past five years—with only a brief pause during the election campaign of 1964 to brainwash the American people with "the war in Vietnam ought to be fought by Asian boys."

If the President of the United States has been mistaken, so have I. In early 1965 when the President began to escalate the war, I supported the increased American military involvement. I was wrong!

While I believed then that we should not telegraph our punches, as the President's program of gradual or phased step-up clearly did, I have grave doubts today that any military action, then or now, would have decisively influenced the conflict.

The basic mistake of the Administration has been its failure to give proper emphasis to the political nature of the war in Vietnam. And the basic but overwhelming reality in Vietnam today is that a political victory may well be out of reach.

I am convinced that further military escalation and an additional United States military commitment will not obtain our objectives of peace in Vietnam. I am convinced that unless we gradually and, if necessary, unilaterally reduce the scope of our military involvement we may well destroy the very society we sought to save.

The President has said the war "is worth the price." There is absolutely no indication that the Vietnamese agree. They want peace, period!

We face a clear dilemma. Can we accomplish in Vietnam the limited objective we want and, at the same time, provide the Vietnamese with the security they want? The simple, brutal truth is: No!

Therefore, we must decide—without delay—on a course of political and diplomatic action that offers some hope of settlement. We must make it crystal clear to the American people that there is no military solution in Vietnam. We must put an immediate ceiling on further U.S. military action and open up every possible avenue toward negotiations.

None of our options will be painless, but who would claim that present policies have been without pain.

None of our options will be cheap, but who would claim that present policies have not been costly.

There have been alternatives offered before that have been rejected out of hand as too painful and too dear. But in retrospect, these lost opportunities have looked like bargains once the chances to take advantage of them have passed us by.

I believe it would be a national, and indeed an international, tragedy if the Administration permits any further suggestions for an end to the war to pass by unexamined and unexplored.

With absolutely no claims to expertise or originality, I believe the United States should consider the following:

1. *An immediate cessation of all bombing of North Vietnam*. I do not share, at this time, the concern of many that missions close to the border of China present a grave risk of intervention. I do not question the effectiveness of the bombing of the North upon the war in the South. I believe that an indefinite bombing halt just might encourage Hanoi to talk, and I believe we must give it a try.

2. *An end to all search and destroy missions*. The price has not been worth the accomplishments. And the price everyday goes up. Furthermore, the cost in civilian casualties and disruptions only adds to the growing disaffection of the Vietnamese population toward their American "saviors."

3. *A gradual concentration of effort to secure the coastal and population centers* of South Vietnam where a vast majority of the people live. This can and must be accomplished with a substantial reduction in American troop strength. The "over-presence" of our forces has contributed to a mounting tide of anti-Americanism among the Vietnamese populace.

4. *Increased pressure upon the Saigon government to negotiate and to institute widespread reform*. The only hope for any form of representative government or any kind of civil order lies basically with the Vietnamese and their leaders—the present regime and the NLF. We can encourage reform, but we cannot impose a military occupation or a colonial government.

5. *An internal and regional settlement*. The thrust toward negotiations, toward a ceasefire, and toward a long range solution to the conflict that has torn the entire Indochinese peninsula asunder for a generation has to be initiated locally. A climate for talks: between North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese, between North and South, between Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam and Thailand, between the free, neutral and Communist nations of Asia, must be developed by Asians themselves. We must do more to encourage them.

I devoutly wish that the United Nations had the will and the wherewithall to accomplish this task, but such is unfortunately not the case. It is apparent that a return to Geneva is probably out of the question. Perhaps there is still hope that a regional or All-Asian peace conference, without outside involvement, could set the stage for meaningful local initiative toward peace and progress.

6. *The Administration should precisely state to Hanoi and the world that our unilateral disengagement seeks an appropriate response*. Let there be no doubt, in any quarter, that while we will take the first steps down the long and tortuous road toward peace in Vietnam, we pray for an equally peaceful response. Let there be no doubt upon whose shoulders will lie the responsibility for continued chaos and devastation, should our efforts fail.

SENATOR RUSSELL HONORED BY GEORGIA STATE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Saturday, September 16, the Georgia State Society of Washington sponsored a luncheon in honor of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia, RICHARD B. RUSSELL, in recognition of his long and outstanding record of service to his State and Nation.

This was indeed a memorable occasion, and I was privileged to be one of those in attendance and to deliver some remarks paying tribute to my beloved colleague. The Sunday edition of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution contained an article about this luncheon which I think appropriately reflected the solemnity of the occasion.

I invite the attention of the Senate to the article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGIANS HONOR RUSSELL IN CAPITAL

(By Art Pine)

WASHINGTON.—A nostalgic Sen. Richard B. Russell told an audience of well-wishers here Saturday he has never regretted being a Georgian, even though it twice cost him a chance at the presidency.

"I wouldn't exchange my heritage for any honor they can give me on this green earth," Sen. Russell asserted at a testimonial luncheon in his honor at Washington's famous old Willard Hotel.

The 69-year-old senator made his remarks in response to a series of tributes paid him by guest speakers at the banquet, several of whom alluded to the presidential nomination Sen. Russell missed as a southerner.

"He should be President of the United States today," said Rep. G. Elliott Hagan of Sylvania, who offered a brief tribute to the senior senator, along with colleague Sen. Herman E. Talmadge.

Sen. Russell also received praise from two other now-famous Georgians: Acting U.S. Tariff Commission Chairman Glenn W. Sutton, once a University of Georgia professor, and Interstate Commerce Commission Deputy General Counsel I. K. Hay, who served as executive secretary to Sen. Russell when he was governor of Georgia in 1932.

More than 250 persons filled the Willard's crystal-chandeliered coral-and-blue ballroom for the occasion which was sponsored by the Georgia State Society, an organization of Washingtonians from Georgia.

Sen. Russell, clad in a dark blue suit and conservative striped tie, sat through a steak-and-potatoes luncheon and then listened smilingly as guest speakers recalled his early days as a senator.

Georgia-born Dean Rusk, the secretary of state, was scheduled to take part in the testimonial banquet, but was unable to attend because of State Department business.

Society President Carl Hancock read letters of tribute from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., Rep. Robert F. Sikes, D-Fla., Adm. David L. McDonald, and others.

Recalling the first time he met the senator, Rep. Hagan told the audience how Sen. Russell had sufficient political skill in his early race for governor to appeal straight to the young people of the day.

"I was a fuzzy-faced high school boy back then," Rep. Hagan said of the 1931 campaign, "but the senator knew what we all cared about. He told us they wouldn't let him have his father over to the governor's mansion because he chewed tobacco. Now we all chewed tobacco then, and we gave him a big round of applause."

The audience Saturday gave Sen. Russell a standing ovation, which the senator acknowledged with a broad smile and wave of the hand.

The society gave him a plaque embellished with the seals of the U.S. and the state, and dubbed him its honorary president "in perpetuity."

THE PRESIDENT'S URBAN PROGRAMS NEED PROMPT ACTION BY CONGRESS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, 3 years ago, President Johnson told the Nation:

> It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today. The catalogue of ills is long . . . Our society will never be great until our cities are great.

These are the words of a President who has sent to Congress twice as many legislative proposals to help the cities as was submitted in total by his three predecessors.

All told, some 30 legislative proposals for the urban poor have been enacted by Congress over the past 3½ years. At this very moment, Congress has under consideration 14 additional pieces of major legislation to help our cities.

These proposals were submitted by the President long before the summer riots. The need for them is compelling.

Yet there are those in Congress who criticize President Johnson for not doing enough for the cities.

The question, of course, is how much is enough? An accurate estimate is impossible, but a great deal more is needed.

We in Congress cannot abandon programs that have just begun; and we cannot ignore our responsibilities to help the urban poor.

Congress has not acted on a large array of urban programs that, with legislation already passed, comprises an unprecedented program of urban aid.

We have on hand a sound and effective blueprint to bring progress to our cities.

We have approved almost the total request the administration asked for the model cities program this year.

We have approved $40 million request for the rent supplement program.

We have approved the $20 million request for rat control.

We have requests for the poverty bill, the Teacher Corps, the crime control bill, the social security bill, and an $80 million request for housing for the elderly.

Taken together, these programs provide the base for a minimum beginning. They focus on the problems of urban blight and social inequities that cause unrest and despair in cities from coast to coast.

We have a major problem to deal with. The basic tools for remedial action can be used only after Congress acts.

This Congress need only to vote these proposals into law in order to take a major step forward in the rebuilding of the American city.

WATER QUALITY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR McGEE

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, city and rural turmoil are largely cut from the same cloth, and the conditions which have spawned them must be attacked simultaneously by this Nation. The urban upheaval which has gained such wide notoriety in recent years coincides with and, in fact, largely follows the rural upheaval which has been going on for years and which is still continuing, the problems causing it being yet unsolved.

Since 1950, as a result, the rural areas of the United States have fed 15 million more people into the great urban centers. Their loss to small towns and farm communities has resulted in one set of problems, while their presence in the cities has but added to the problems faced there by the massive growth of demands for services, for jobs, for housing.

The mass migration to the cities has resulted in overtaxed resources. It has resulted in overtaxed public agencies. And it has resulted, according to some, in overtaxed citizens as well. Now the eruption of the big city ghettos has focused sharp attention on the urban problems we face. But the urban problems are to a very real degree a reflection of the serious decay of the economic and social condition in which rural America finds itself, and in which smaller cities and towns also are entrapped. Happily, I think, there is a growing realization in the Government that the problems in the cities cannot be solved in the cities alone if people are continually migrating into the urban centers demanding new housing, schools, jobs, and other facilities.

Mr. President, last month I had occasion to address myself to one important facet of this vast urban-rural problem in a speech before the International Water Quality Symposium in Chicago. I ask unanimous consent that the text of that speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR GALE McGEE BEFORE THE THIRD ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL WATER QUALITY SYMPOSIUM, CHICAGO, AUGUST 29, 1967

At the outset of these remarks, I would like to compliment all of you in attendance for organizing and participating in this symposium, for it gives me a great deal of satisfaction to see that heed is being paid to the storm signals that have been sounded so ominously in the past few years and, in my own case, most particularly since 1959—the year I first served in the U.S. Senate.

It was in that year that some of my colleagues and I were successful in obtaining passage of Senate Resolution 48 which created the Select Committee on National Water Resources—a committee on which I was privliged to serve.

During the active life of that Committee, we held hearings all across this nation; we heard from hundreds of experts; we compiled technical and scientific data, and we arrived at some rather startling conclusions. Most of those are known to those of you here today.

Those conclusions, though they were based on future consumptive needs, irrigable land needs, power needs, industrial needs, really boiled down to one obvious and overwhelming necessity. That, of course, was the need to arouse and awaken a lethargic and unconcerned nation.

It became patently clear to those of us who served on the Committee that this was the most demanding task to be achieved in the wake of our findings. And, I am glad to note that on the legislative level we have had some success. Largely as the result of the Committee's work, we were later able to see the passage of the Water Resources Planning Act. It already has resulted in hundreds of scientists and engineers working actively on water problems in every state of the Union. The passage by the Congress this year of legislation establishing the National Water Commission will be another outgrowth of the spade work done by the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources.

There have been other marks of progress, of course. It is good to see the increased attention and emphasis which has been placed on desalinization research and development. And, of special interest here, we can point to the passage of the Water Pollution Control Act of 1965 and to the increased number of organizations composed of professional and lay members who are actively concerned with water quality and other water problems.

Unfortunately, gentlemen, this is not enough. Not nearly enough. And I would suggest, even, that there is a correlation between our present day domestic troubles, particularly those of our crowded cities, and our handling of, of all things, water resources.

The town where I spend a good bit of my time—Washington, D.C.—is an example. Washington, our Nation's Capital, is, in fact, an example of many things and not all of them good. Water, though, is one area of concern in Washington, as elsewhere. This year, good runoff and relatively plentiful precipitation has alleviated the drought conditions which had for several years plagued the Potomac Basin and other Eastern Seaboard areas. The fact that nature has, at least temporarily, solved this problem for us should not permit us to gloss it over, however. Dry years lie ahead as well as behind us. And, unfortunately, an even greater population buildup also lies ahead along the East Coast, as well as in other regions of the United States.

This population increase will greatly increase the demand for water, all the while adding to the problem of keeping ahead of pollution.

This, however, is an age-old problem. Historians, of which I am one, have long pointed to the importance of water availability in the formation of civilizations. Nor have they been alone. Engineers, sociologists, anthropologists, economists and other social scientists, including today's urbanologists, all recognize the importance of water resources to man's well-being. It is, of course, basic because of biology.

From almost the beginning of civilization, man has employed every shred of his inventiveness to overcome the lack of water. Aqueducts from the days of the Roman empire are still in use today in some areas, and we, of course, have highly developed systems for transporting water over long distances, including even across the Continental Divide in my part of the country, as well as systems to purify water so that it can be used again and again as it follows its inexorable path to the sea.

Much of this is eminently reasonable. The basic reason why man has spent this incredible amount of time, energy and money to secure water is simply because without it he would perish. But there are other reasons, not so compelling. Indeed, some, if we viewed them from the perspective of our total civilization, might even be classified as mischievous. And these are the point of my remarks to you today.

We can dispense with serious questioning of efforts to provide adequate supplies of potable water for existing population concentrations. Obviously, that need must be met. We cannot seriously doubt, I think, the necessity for continued advancement in the field of irrigation for agricultural purposes, for the world food crisis is upon us and destined to grow worse.

Today, however, we undertake more and more costly long-distance projects to move water from one region to another only to feed the insatiable thirst of burgeoning cities—the megalopoli that are continually spreading their tentacles over selected portions of our countryside.

This is foolish. In fact, it is dangerous.

Staff writer Orr Kelly of the *Washington Evening Star*, in a special report on the nation's water crisis at the height of the Eastern drought two years ago, made the point that one section of the country—Southern California—has used up all of its water resources and is importing water from hundreds of miles away. By 1980, he wrote, "four major sections of the country will have used up their water resources—and their growth will come to a stop if they can't find more somewhere."

Let their growth come to a stop. It should.

That is my firm belief, reinforced by the feeling I believe we all have deep down within us that much of our nation's current troubles—including the turbulent condition of our cities, ranging from the riots of recent weeks to the continuing abandonment of the cities by the so-called middle-class—derives from our insane propensity to nest together in gigantic rat burrows, too often with the rats in our very midst.

Somehow, water has to be shown to be, at the least, a powerful lever to be used in rectifying the problems of our society. It is, I think, a central consideration in the attack we should be launching to solve our problems, including those of our cities.

Earlier, I referred to Washington. I do not mean to say that it, or this city, Chicago, or even Los Angeles, is obsolete in its entirety. But I do think we have more than reached the saturation point in many areas of our country. Certainly, this is true when one metropolitan area overreaches the natural capacity of the available land and water to become, for all intents and purposes, a parasite upon adjacent or even distant areas, draining off their resources and thereby inhibiting their development.

What I am saying, in short, is that a city, when it has reached its optimum size, should stop growing.

What, then, of the people? Where will they go?

Hopefully, they would go to new cities, to new towns—or at least to rejuvenated cities and towns that dot our landscape—where the natural resources needed to support them and the industries to employ them are available. Most Americans do, in fact, reside outside the great cities as it is. Why encourage their continued migration into our present day pockets of crowded overpopulation? Instead, why not disperse our Nation over the vast space it contains, utilizing our land and water more sanely, less expensively, and, at the same time reducing the frustrations and tensions that seem part and parcel of megapolitan living, or of commuting?

Since the availability of adequate and pure water is central to the growth of cities, it is the judicious allocation of water which can play just as central a role in the future development of our Nation as a whole. Certainly, this is no new discovery. Six years ago, the Select Committee on National Water Resources observed: "Today the United States is shockingly in arrears in water resource management. We face a water crisis that threatens to limit economic growth, undermine living standards, endanger health, and jeopardize national security. We live on the edge of water bankruptcy."

Despite the very real advances that have been made, we have, in fact, barely scratched the surface. This is a fact which cuts through the entire fabric of our society, however, and in attacking our water problems we must not overlook the others as well.

I began these remarks by recalling the work of the Select Committee on National Water Resources and my own abrupt realization of the scope of our National water problem after taking office in 1959. In the intervening years, in fact, we have seen, in the field of reclamation, a total of 600 bills introduced and 179 enacted. Appropriations for reclamation have risen from the area of $250 million in 1959 to $325 million for the past fiscal year.

Our expenditures for saline water research and development, too, have risen, from scarcely more than $1 million in 1959 to more than $27 million last year. In this field three specific pieces of legislation have been enacted, out of 56 introduced in the Congress.

We've done, perhaps, better in the field of water pollution control. Appropriations for the Water Pollution Control Administration in the present fiscal year total $293,800,000, bringing the total outlay for this vastly important endeavor to more than $1 billion in this decade of the sixties alone. It isn't enough, perhaps, but let us recall that there had been no serious activity in the field of water pollution control at the National level prior to 1960.

This, then, isn't a bad record which has been written in the past seven or eight years, when one compares it with the more distant past. But it is not enough, either. It is just a beginning.

A GENERATION OF DESPAIR

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the July 30 issue of the highly regarded Sunday Times of London published an article which Senators and other concerned Americans might well ponder. The article reviews the historical background to our present time of troubles in human relations and offers persuasive evidence to support the grievances of many of our fellow citizens concerning the gap between promise and performance of "the American dream." While I do not agree with all of its points. I feel that the article merits thoughtful attention. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GENERATION OF DESPAIR—INSIGHT ON THE DEADLY ECONOMICS OF SEGREGATION: THE TIME-BOMB IN THE CORE OF THE AMERICAN CITY

To get an idea of the despair behind America's race riots requires a considerable effort of belief from most of us in Britain.

We are not used to thinking of America in images of poverty: and even if we were, the poverty which afflicts the Negro sections of a city like Detroit is of a kind so bizarre as to make any European experience irrelevant.

The whole story takes a lot of telling. But there are some facts which can be briefly and bluntly stated in advance, to give some idea of the scope and subtlety of the corruption which has taken over the American cities, at a moment when America's power and prosperity stand higher than ever before.

One in three of the Negroes in most Northern cities are unemployed, or as good as unemployed (according to the latest Department of Labour survey);

Thirteen years after the Supreme Court outlawed it, there is more segregation in the schools than ever before;

In a period of unparalleled boom, after six years on steady economic expansion, median incomes in the urban ghettoes (where most Negroes live) have decreased during the 1960s.

This is also after several years of unparalleled promises to the Negroes, hardly one of which has come true. A tragic, automatic mechanism has been exposed in American society, through which nearly every attempt to help the poor—and the poor are, basically, the Negroes—has been transmuted into a device for making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The kind of irony confronting America is that the Federal money for the urban renewal programmes—running this year at £200 million—is being diverted into replacing slum dwellings with middle-class housing, which the slum-dwellers cannot afford.

The situation is one in which a city like Detroit can be seriously regarded as "liberal"—although no public housing programme has been completed there since the early fifties. Against this background Stokely Carmichael, the apostle of Black Power, calls for guerrilla war against the whites. It is an immoderate and violent demand. But the current predicament of the Negro is as immoderate. The violence is part of a context in which thirty-six murders in the South, of Civil Rights workers, have produced only three convictions, and no sentence of more than ten years.

And even moderate Negro leaders freely admit their sympathy with Carmichael's bitter denunciation. Bayard Rustin, leader of the great 1963 Negro march on Congress: "What Stokely is saying is that if things have got worse after all we've been through, there's something —— wrong with the leaders, the liberals, the Jews, the unions—the whole alliance which has not produced victories. He's lost such faith in the ability of this society to move that he's addressing only the Negroes."

According to Walter Lippmann, America's most respected commentator: "The race problem as we know it is really the by-product of our planless, disordered, bedraggled, drifting democracy.

"Until we have learned to house everybody, employ everybody at decent wages in a self-respecting status, guarantee his civil liberties, and bring education and play to him, the bulk of our talk about 'the race problem' will remain a sinister mythology. In a dirty civilization the relation between black men and white will be a dirty one. In a clean civilization the two races can conduct their business together cleanly, and not until then."

The sluggishness of America's response to this indictment is indicated by its date. Lippmann was writing in 1919.

That was the "Red Summer," the first of the long hot ones. More than twenty race battles flared in the streets that summer, seven of them exploding into major riots. In the bloodiest, erupting in Chicago in July, twenty-three Negroes and fifteen whites were killed.

Two myths pervade the subject. The first is that America has been grappling with the problem since the civil war a century ago. (This is commonly advanced in Britain to demonstrate that "you cannot legislate the hearts of men.") The second myth is that the upsurge of violence in the Negro ghettoes of American cities over the last four years is a new phenomenon.

The central truth is that, right until the end of the second world war, American Government was, at least tacitly and usually explicitly, segregationist. President Woodrow Wilson—the man proudly bringing freedom to Europe at the close of the first world war—actually imposed segregation in all federal services. In the same period, only the intervention of the Supreme Court prevented the imposition of formal *apartheid* through racial zoning legislation.

Even Roosevelt's New Deal was segregationist. In the rural areas the Agricultural Adjustment Administration adjusted thousands of Negro sharecroppers off the land. When these destitute refugees swelled the urban ghettoes, the New Deal housing agencies turned out to have policies rooted in the old deal. One agency, the Federal Housing Administration, blocked mortgages on homes that Negroes wanted to buy in white suburbs. The other, the United States Housing Authority, financed separate housing projects for black and white. Inevitably, the black developments became merely extensions of the old ghettoes.

Effectively, the New Deal was the final tightening of the noose around the Negro's neck. The depression was probably the last occasion on which America confronted the shortcomings of her economic system with sufficient starkness to have come to terms with the basic, economic nature of the Negro plight—if anyone had wanted to look that hard. But the Negro emerged from the New Deal if anything worse than he had entered it: a depressed segregated urban sub-class.

But in a back-handed way the New Deal did bring about the alliance on which the Negroes pinned their faith for the next generation: the common front of the Negro organizations and the white labour unions. That alliance is arguably the single most important reason why American cities enjoyed almost complete racial peace for twenty-one years up to 1964. As long as the grouping held the Negroes had at least some powerful allies—notably Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers—in the jobs market.

From the unions' point of view there was never much altruism involved. They were simply shrewd enough to see in the 1930s that, with millions unemployed, the Negroes would make excellent strikebreakers unless corralled.

It was in Detroit, home of the United Auto Workers, that the alliance between Negroes and the unions finally sundered in 1960, when the white craft unions and industrial unions rejoined forces, and all the craft unions old distrust of Negroes came to the fore. It was an ominous but inevitable parting. As automation ate up the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the Negroes were once again competitors of the white workers on the lowest rungs of the ladder.

In the Negroes' post-war struggle for equality, the Supreme Court judgment of 1954 against segregation in schools is often seen as a landmark.

But in fact the willingness of the Court to temper the Constitution to the times emasculated the victory. A constitutional right, the Court had always maintained was "personal and present"; it could not be suspended for a single day. Until 1954, when the Court handed down the unprecedented decision that desegregation of schools was to proceed, not at once, but merely "with all deliberate speed." As the Negroes have learned with growing bitterness, the court could not have handed the southern states a more perfectly fashioned weapon for delay. Ten years later, surveying the rubble of the desegregation programme, a Supreme Court justice was moved to remarks: "There has been entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed. . . ."

Nor has the Government demonstrated any more alacrity to enforce the 1954 decision. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was clear: no more federal funds to segregated schools. That should have cut off about 1,900 of the South's 2,200 school districts right away. But Congress and the U.S. Office of Education decided to be lenient; it was ten years since the Supreme Court decision, but the schools could have even more time to case themselves into segregation.

The result goes far to explain the growing Negro disdain of Government or Supreme Court promises of action. In 1963 1.8 per cent of Negro pupils in the South went to integrated schools; by 1965, 5.8 per cent; today only 13 per cent—almost 14 years since the highest court in the land ruled it was every child's right.

At the time the Supreme Court's cautious 1954 decision was handed down, the processes which tore Detroit apart this month had been on the move a long time. (And Detroit *was*, in a sense, a liberal city; the Negro Handbook, published by Ebony magazine, lists it as one of the ten best cities for Negro employment.)

Building the ghetto began a long way from Detroit, in the Deep South. Ever since the turn of the century there has been a movement of Negroes from the southern farmlands to the urban north; impelled most vigorously by the decline of employment in the cotton-fields. Four million have moved north since 1940—a million of them in the last ten years. Two-thirds of all adult Negroes in the northern cities were born in the south.

Mechanization of the farms, and the use of chemicals, are making the share-croppers obsolete. The pattern is continuing, and 60,000 Negroes are expected to be out of work in the Mississippi delta this autumn. Landowners, consolidating and mechanising their plantations are glad to see the Negroes go; their attitudes are not unlike those seen in Britain during the Enclosures movement of the eighteenth century. Some of them have placed advertisements offering to pay the bus-fares of any Negroes who want to go north. Some rural counties are starving-out their superfluous black tenants by refusing to take part in Federal food-distribution programmes.

Willing or unwilling, scores of Negroes pack their cardboard boxes every day and board the buses for Harlem, Watts and Detroit. Their life has not usually helped them towards handling the urban experience; naturally most of them are trained only to chop, are illiterate.

In the northern city centres, they find accommodation in buildings vacated by whites—who are making for the suburbs in the classic pattern of white, middle-class America. The result is the estimate of the Congressional Quarterly that by 1970 at least fourteen core-cities will have populations more than 40 per cent, black. Three have passed that point already: Washington, Baltimore and Detroit.

In Detroit, the rotting of the core can be followed closely by the differences between the 1950 and the 1960 census. In those ten years, as manufacturing industry moved out into the suburbs, the core-city suffered a staggering loss in manufacturing employment of 34.4 per cent (a trend which appears to have continued).

Thus "blue-collar" job opportunities for the lower-class Negro moved out along the freeway, out of range of the skeletal public transport system. Since the qualification for people moving to the suburbs was wealth—and probably whiteness—the frequently unemployed Negro increasingly shared the Detroit core with the aged and the impoverished whites. Between 1950 and 1960 the core-city suffered a loss of 22.4 per cent of white citizens in the twenty-sixty-four age group—which is the one that pays taxes and gets involved in civic affairs. There was a 50 per cent increase in people sixty-five and over.

During the same time, the core gained 183,000 "non-whites" (almost all Negroes), making a 60.4 per cent increase in non-whites. The decline of wealth was shown in the fact that the core-city's share of retail sales in the Detroit metropolitan area fell from 60.5 per cent to 51.1 per cent. And as industries, trade and prosperous residents left, taxable property valuations fell. This is a crucial point: property tax is usually the sole source of local revenue for the educational and social facilities now needed in greater quantity than ever.

A great deal was said in Detroit about the need for an "urban renewal" programme to attract at least some whites back to the depressed core. But the city leadership's policy merely made things worse in some ways. A conservative mayor was elected in 1949 who cancelled plans for eight public housing projects. During the 1950s two public housing projects, planned since 1940, were completed. Since that time, no public housing has been completed in Detroit.

Rather than public housing, the limited equivalent of British council housing, Detroit relied on devices like the Gratiot Project to deal with its slums. This seems to have been a not untypical urban renewal programme, in which after slum property had been acquired and cleared with Federal financial aid, the area was turned over to private enterprise developers, on the philosophy, frequently held by city officials, that only the market can plan development properly.

Under the Gratiot Project 129 acres of slum were cleared, and 1,950 Negro families were ejected. Although 76 per cent of these families earned less than $3,500 a year (i.e., were near or below the Federal "poverty line"), less than half were relocated in public housing.

Gratiot was supposed to provide "low-income" housing, but in the event the simple economics of capitalist housing produced an area that was integrated and middle-cost by U.S. standards—but way out of the reach of the displaced poor.

More than 1,000 Negro families were thus left homeless. They merely moved into the neighbouring slums, increasing the overcrowding which had already been aggravated by Gratiot's clipping-away of land. It was an example of the process by which over the last decade the Negro has been forced further back into ever more crowded slums, while on its borders, public money aids the building of accommodation for the largely white middle-class.

Social conditions in a decaying centre like Detroit's would obviously be bad. But not until this spring, when the U S Department of Labour submitted an unusual new report to the President did anyone know just how frightening the unemployment situation could become. The report, entitled "A Sharper Look at Unemployment in U S Cities and Slums," did not create a national sensation—but it described conditions in which this summer's riots are only a surprise because they have come so late.

The Labour study showed that the ten-year census, through a flaw, had missed one in six Negro men aged 20 to 30: which meant at once that all previous non-white unemployment figures were gross understatements. The study showed unemployment in city slums to be so much worse than in the country as a whole as to make the normally-accepted measurements of unemployment *irrelevant*.

Thinking in terms of the national average unemployment of 3.7 per cent to 4 per cent, is hardly realistic when looking at the 36 per cent, unemployment rate among young Negroes in Philadelphia.

The essential fact discovered by the Department's men was that more than one-third of the dwellers in urban slums—predominantly Negroes—were not earning a basic living. They also found that there were 10 to 20 per cent, who could work, but had given up looking.

The slum unemployment, the researchers found, was not mainly due to the economic situation. It was chiefly a product of lack of education and training. "No conceivable increase in gross national product would stir these backwaters," said the report.

The problem was new to the U.S.—at least on the kind of scale the Department encountered it. So they broke away from the traditional American statistical concept of unemployment, which counts the part-time worker as employed (even if he is looking for full work), gives no consideration to earnings, and omits those not actively looking for work.

The Department worked out a new formula to include the regular jobless, the jobless who have stopped looking for work, those with low-paying part-time jobs and those known to be living in ghettoes without showing up in normal employment or unemployment figures. They called this the "subemployment index." It produced alarming results.

For instance, New York's East Harlem district had a serious enough figure for normally-computed unemployment, at 9 per cent. But on the subemployment index it showed 33.1 per cent. Several other northern cities showed disturbing subemployment figures, but the southern city, San Antonio (regular unemployment 8.1) produced the most remarkable index: 47.4 per cent. (see chart).

The report exposed for the first time just how inadequate were the incomes of the Negro city-dwellers. And this situation is worsened by the fact that the food prices in the ghetto (as in Watts) may actually be *higher* than in better-off suburbs, although quality is lower. One reason for this is said to be that Negroes, trapped in the ghetto by lack of transport, are unable to move around and enjoy "comparison shopping."

Certainly the financial troubles of the ghetto Negroes are made even worse by the prevalence of extortionate high-purchase arrangements. Senate hearings on a proposed Truth in Lending Bill (designed to stop dishonest H P ads.) have revealed interest rates of 289 per cent, and higher for cars, and up to 285 per cent, on television sets. Some of the smashing and looting of shops is said to be a product of bitterness against the (mostly white) shopkeepers known as "honkies."

Such economic deprivation would surely be enough to spark riots on its own. But for good measure, the Negroes have been given sharp—and increasingly frequent—doses of political frustration over the last decade since the Civil Rights Act was passed.

The period has been marked by "signs of progress" apparent to the middle-class, but not so apparent to the ghetto-dwellers who are mostly Negroes. Since 1957 eighteen States and many cities have passed laws to protect Negroes from discrimination when they buy a house. But as the majority of Negroes are too poor to buy, the benefits are largely symbolic—and naturally, one State or city *rejecting* a fair-housing law causes enough affront to cancel out much symbolic good.

In 1960 John Kennedy won the Presidential campaign on a strong civil rights promise which gained him crucial Negro support. Kennedy claimed that Eisenhower could wipe out all housing discrimination with "a stroke of the pen"—which was true, because the Federal government is the ultimate guarantor of all mortgages. But in office, he was a slow man with a pen: he did not issue an executive order until 1962. And then it only affected housing directly-backed by Federal money and sold by developers; it did not touch housing directly backed by schemes, or even owner-occupier houses within the Federal scheme. Nor did it apply to deals in the pipeline and so it was 12 months coming into effect.

The year 1964 saw the passing of the much-acclaimed Civil Rights Law: a fine enough thing, but much of it did only repeat the Civil Rights Law of 1875 which had been largely voided by the Supreme Court in 1883. And in the same year several cities, seemingly in response to a national campaign by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, adopted ordinances forbidding the council to pass fair-housing laws. The year saw riots in Harlem, Rochester (with 1,000 National Guards out), Jersey City, Philadelphia and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Hope revived somewhat when President Johnson swept into office with strong civil-rights programme (adopting as a campaign theme the civil-rights song We Shall Overcome). But when the Congressional elections of 1966 swept away the Democratic majorities, the Administration swiftly dismantled its educational civil-rights programme.

Mr. Johnson devoted just 45 words to civil-rights in his Message to Congress in January 1967: but lingered sternly on ways to fight "crime in the streets"—the accepted Goldwaterism for rebellious Negroes.

The President's barometric reaction to the 1966 elections marked the real beginning of the end of hope among the Negro leaders. By summer 1967 the posters of the Black Panther party ("Move on over—or we'll move on over you") were proliferating on the ghetto walls.

Intractable, perhaps—but so was Congress. Last year 14,000 children were killed or maimed by rats in the U.S.: on July 20 Congress killed a rat-control bill with laughter about "rat patronage" and proposals for a "bug corps."

It was only one of many cuts made at social expenditure. Mr. Johnson requested $662 million for a "model cities" programme, which was cut by one-third. He asked for $40 million for rent subsidies, but got nothing. He asked for $230 million for public transport programmes but this was cut by a quarter. Congress has weakened the authority of the Federal education office and strengthened the states: and is stalling on Johnson's proposals for open housing, tighter penalties for denying civil rights, and tighter fair-employment laws.

The Administration's civil-rights programme is solidly bogged-down, and the civil rights movement that was intended to create the "beloved society" has been a "certified corpse" since 1966.

Yet the little progress that has been made is itself a danger; a study of the terrible Watts riots of 1965 says that "resentment is just as, or more likely to find expression in riot participation by those who are better off than by those who are disadvantaged."

Alexis de Tocquville said of the French Revolution that "only consummate statecraft can enable a king to save his throne when after a long spell of oppressive rule he sets to improving the lot of his subjects. Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds.

There are few signs of "consummate statecraft." President Johnson's remedy of discipline through better police work sounds hollow even to an American audience unwilling to contemplate what does need to be done.

But the question which emerges in the end is whether white America realises the catastrophe in its midst, or perhaps whether white America even cares? In the Watts district of Los Angeles, where the riots of August, 1965, killed 34 people and caused over £14 million-worth of damage, the Government has since spent about £1.5 million in federal aid. But 51 percent, of that has gone simply on administration: the rest, for all the change social workers can detect, might have run into the sand.

Across the bay from San Francisco, another poverty programme in the city of Oakland has consumed almost £10 million in the last five years. By June of last year the local unemployment among Negro youths of eighteen-nineteen years was a record 32 percent. And the aid programme was creating scarcely any new jobs. There is a lot of work available, on the subway system being built in the area as part of San Francisco's new public transport network. But the craft unions on the subway jobs are so segregationalist that they have insisted that white labour be imported.

That degree of intransigence has much in common with the House of Representatives' attitude to the rats. Ultimately, what is terrifying about the figure of 14,000 children killed or maimed by rats is that America is a society sophisticated enough to produce that kind of statistic but now apparently too irresponsible to do anything about it.

LOW YIELDS ON PUBLIC PROJECTS CALL FOR SPENDING CUTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a recent newsletter by a leading financial concern offers some penetrating analysis of our current economic debate over the administration's proposed surtax. Gabriel T. Kerekes, in "Trends in Capital Markets," which is published by Goodbody & Co., of New York, notes that—

> The current debate as to the relative desirability of a tax increase vs borrowing is filled with agitated and persuasive arguments on both sides. Opponents of the surtax, of course, point out its inhibitive effects. They claim that more often than not the

yields obtained through raising taxes remain far below expectations. Those who wish to see the surtax enacted contend that the prime necessity is for the transfer of real resources from the private sector to the public sector to permit the Federal Government to carry out the hugh international and domestic responsibilities it has assumed. They emphasize that the availability of these resources would be jeopardized if consumers and business should be left with too much purchasing power to bid for them.

Mr. President, no justification exists for such a resource transfer as envisioned by proponents of the surtax if the return obtained from the funds in the public sector are unrealistically below the returns possible in the private sector. Yet, this is exactly the result that follows administration utilization of drastically low discount rates for many projects.

The Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee has just completed a series of hearings into the planning-programing-budgeting system—PPB. During those hearings a panel of top economists unanimously agreed that administration policy employing the average interest rate payable by the Treasury on interest-bearing marketable securities is very wrong.

The rate the administration has been using is generally around 3 percent; for a long period it was 3⅛ percent, and more recently it moved up to 3¼ percent; nevertheless, it is a low rate. Pinning down a specific private sector rate is hard to do, but the panel testifying agreed that such a rate would be at a minimum of at least 10 percent, and possibly as high as 15 percent. As long as such a diversity between the public and private rates is allowed to continue, resource transfers to the government sector will lead to increasing inflationary pressures. It will also lead to diminished economic growth because the private sector with an average return of better than 10 percent literally three times as high a return as the public section.

Mr. President, it is time for the administration to begin utilizing real discount rates in planning its expenditure programs. Despite the hurt cries coming from the administration when we suggest that spending programs be cut back, I have no doubt that vast savings could be accomplished to establish more realistically the total economic costs of continuing projects set up under the "wrong" discount rate.

THE VALUABLE HELP RENDERED THE FAIRBANKS FLOOD VICTIMS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, what can be done when floodwaters damage every home in an area only 6 weeks before the freezing season sets in?

This problem faced the residents of the Fairbanks, Alaska, area last month after the Chena River inundated their homes and businesses.

Because it was essential that these homes and other buildings be dried before cold weather arrived, I asked for technical assistance from the building and construction experts of the National Bureau of Standards in the Department of Commerce.

The response was quick and direct. Within 24 hours, two National Bureau of Standards engineers, William C. Cullen and Clinton W. Phillips were assigned to the task. They flew to the Fairbanks area with me and members of the staff of the Senate Public Works Committee.

After a field survey and discussions with Federal and State officials, the National Bureau of Standards engineers developed recommendations for the drying of buildings. The recommendations were made known to the people of Fairbanks through radio, television, leaflets, newspaper stories, and meetings with flood victims.

The assistance and cooperation of the National Bureau of Standards engineers is a bright landmark in Government-people relations. The story of their work appears in the September 1967 issue of the Bureau's employee newspaper, the NBS Standard. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFTER FAIRBANKS FLOOD: NBS ANSWERS ALASKA'S CALL FOR HELP

In the aftermath of the Great Fairbanks Flood, Alaskans called out for help—to rehabilitate their homes and businesses, to "dry out" before the winter freeze comes—and the National Bureau of Standards answered that call. At the request of Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, a member of the Senate Public Works Committee, a team from the Building Research Division, William C. Cullen and Clinton W. Phillips, traveled to the flood-ravaged area to make recommendations on drying out the water-soaked buildings.

The Senator's office called the Bureau for help on the afternoon of August 21. By the next afternoon, Cullen and Phillips had been assigned the task and were flying north with Senator Gruening and two mmbeers of the Public Works Committee staff, Joseph Van Vladricken and Harold Symes.

The arriving delegation found that, although flood waters had subsided, the problems were not over. The recalcitrant Chena River had left an inch or so of odorous brown mud on all level surfaces. Not *one* home in Fairbanks had escaped flood damage. Senator Gruening noted that this disaster is even worse "than the Alaska earthquake of 1964" because "no one who has a house or a business in the Fairbanks area escaped damage. It is universal, and in most cases very substantial."

At the Army Corps of Engineers' headquarters, Mr. Cullen and Mr. Phillips were brought up-to-date on the damage, the actions that had been taken, and those that were going on to restore utilities and to get residents back in their homes. The two men then explained that they were there representing the Building Research Division, to provide technical assistance, and to suggest procedures for the rapid drying out of homes without damaging or disturbing building components that were still structually sound. They offered the support of NBS in other areas where its competence lies, should Fairbanks need it.

The most important fact—the one that shaped all rehabilitation efforts—was the rapid approach of Alaska's freezing season, only a month to six weeks away. Because of this, homes had to be dried and dehumidified as quickly as possible.

To get a first-hand look at the damage, Mr. Cullen and Mr. Phillips toured the area, along with Senator Gruening, Mr. Symes and Mr. Van Vladricken; Creath Tooley, Regional Director of the Office of Emergency Planning; Elmer Gagon, Director of the Federal Housing Administration for Alaska; Joseph Hong of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; Alaska's Secretary of State Keith Miller; and William J. Niemi, Regional Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration. The residential streets of Fairbanks looked as if a giant rummage sale were underway. Chairs, tables, lamps—all kinds of household possessions—were strewn over the lawns and roofs to dry; clothing and linens festooned the trees. Some belongings, beyond repair, waited to be hauled away to the trash pile. The damage was extensive. The majority of homes had been flooded to a maximum of 36 inches above the living room floor level. In most cases, the heating systems were housed in the basement, and were therefore—because of the flooding—no longer operable. Small portable heaters had to be used to begin the drying out process. The preliminary estimate of damage to private and public buildings was somewhere in the neighborhood of $150 million, not including personal property losses, such as furniture and clothing. Ninety eight percent of the losses suffered were categorized uninsurable in relation to flood damage.

Based on briefings, their observations and professional knowledge, critical examinations of the damage, and discussions with local engineers and flood victims, Mr. Cullen and Mr. Phillips made the following recommendations to the citizens of Fairbanks:

1. Remove standing water from the buildings by pumping, bailing, etc.
2. Repair the heating system as soon as possible.
3. Operate the heating system at a higher than normal thermostatic setting (80 to 90° F.). Leave windows and doors open until the interior of the structure has dried out.
4. After the interior has been reasonably dried, continue to operate the heating system at a higher than normal temperature, with doors and windows only partially opened to drive out the water from the insulation, sheathing, to the exterior walls.
5. Do not remove interior walls or the vapor barriers located directly beneath the wall unless it is absolutely necessary for their replacement due to physical damage. If damage to the vapor barrier is apparent, it should be repaired immediately.
6. Do not remove or open exterior walls unless absolutely necessary. Drying of insulation and sheathing in the walls will be hastened if the top and bottom of the exterior walls can be opened by some means at each stud space to provide for increased ventilation of the stud spaces. This procedure should be followed only if it can be accomplished easily and repaired easily. It is important that all buildings which have been flooded be heated during the winter to avoid further and serious damage by freezing of water in walls, foundations, and surrounding earth.

The recommendations were sent out to the people through radio messages, leaflets, newspaper articles, and through meetings with the Citizens Coordinating Committee, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the American Red Cross, as well as direct communications with the residents of the homes visited. At one point, the two NBS representatives appeared on the local radio station with Senator Gruening to air and further stress these recommendations.

So, as the winter freeze approaches, the people of Fairbanks will be able once again to occupy their homes with confidence, thanks to two "rescuers" from the Building Research Division.

THE FOOTBALL COACHING STAFFS OF GEORGIA TECH AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, one of my warm friends and constituents has brought to my attention an excellent article published in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution magazine of September 17 about the football coaching staff of the Georgia Institute of Technology, better known as Georgia Tech.

Georgia Tech is one of the most outstanding engineering schools in the Nation. Moreover, over the years it has compiled a remarkable record on the gridiron, and the Georgia Tech Yellowjackets are nationally known as a hard-playing, effective foe on the football field. Even more remarkable, as the magazine article points out, in the 64-year history of the Georgia Tech athletic program, Tech has had only four football coaches, the last being the well-known and respected Bobby Dodd, before his retirement this year to turn this position over to Bud Carson.

From any standpoint, the fact that there have been only four coaches at Georgia Tech in well over a half century is indeed extraordinary. Moreover, the athletic program at Georgia Tech has been a great force in molding the character and the bodies of some of Georgia's finest young men.

As an alumnus of the University of Georgia, which will meet Georgia Tech on the gridiron on December 2, I can commend Georgia Tech for its outstanding athletic program, but I cannot in good conscience wish Tech success on that day. My best wishes must go to Georgia Bulldogs' coach Vince Dooley, who has been coach at the University of Georgia for 3 years, and in those 3 years has put teams on the field that have emerged victorious over Georgia Tech. And in order to underscore my allegiance to my alma mater, I also am compelled to comment on a splendid article in the same magazine, September 24, about Coach Dooley.

I invite these articles to the attention of Senate and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, these articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TECH'S FOUR COACHES IN 64 YEARS

(By Furman Bisher)

Football was a relatively inconsequential aspect of the tribal routine at Georgia Tech until one day in October 1903. On that day, Oct. 17, Georgia Tech played a team from Clemson College on a field wet and slow and not given to high scoring, and Georgia Tech was annihilated, 73–0.

In the stunned aftermath of that dreadful moment, some of the Georgia Tech people, led by an alumnus ('99) named Frank Turner, decided that the school must achieve respectability on the athletic field, and that to do so, what was needed was a coach like this remarkable fellow, Heisman, who coached at Clemson.

In fact, why not Heisman?

And so in time, for an increase in salary amounting to $50 a month, John W. Heisman was hired as Georgia Tech's first full-time, card-carrying football coach in 1904. As a kind of justification of the gesture, Georgia Tech narrowed its margin with Clemson by exactly 73 points in Heisman's first season. The two teams tied, 11–11.

Football was so nebulous in nature at Tech prior to Heisman that even today the most resourceful of historians cannot determine the name of the party he succeeded. Student-athletes, interested professors and one year a young lieutenant from Ft. McPherson—his name was Leonard Wood, who later had an Army post named for him—had coached the Tech football team since the first one was formed in 1892. It was hardly a team, more a "club." Anybody who walked in off the street, had two arms, two legs and wasn't blind, could play, but obviously ineffectually. Before Heisman, Tech had won only eight games, and only two of those in 1903, and so the name of that unfortunate mentor is just as well lost in the ravel of time.

But the others, those who were paid and professional at their work, belong to a peculiar kind of clique all their own. Peculiar One (1) because of the exclusiveness of their group, Peculiar Two (2) because neither of them was ever forcibly disengaged.

In other words, Georgia Tech is believed to be the only major academic institution which has had only three head coaches and which has never fired one.

This year the club has added a fourth. His name is Leon Halden (Bud) Carson. Only a fool would walk onto such a stage without some trace of fear and trembling when following such an act as John W. Heisman, William A. Alexander and Robert L. Dodd, all three big winners in the profession of their choice and all three permanently memorialized in the National Football Hall of Fame.

One night last summer, long after the sun had set even by the Eastern Daylight standard, and all other true-blue businessmen were safely home with their families, Bud Carson was discovered in his office at Georgia Tech.

"What are you doing here at this hour?" I asked.

"Panicking," he said. "I want to be in good practice to handle it when it really comes during the season."

You might consider it unusual that the first and the latest of Georgia Tech's head football coaches are native Pennsylvanians, and western Pennsylvania at that. Heisman came from Titusville, famed for its history in oil and petroleum, and Carson came from Freeport, famous for next to nothing.

You might consider it unusual, too, that both came into their positions "foreign" to the campus, while Bill Alexander and Bobby Dodd both spent years of apprenticeship in the shadow of the bell tower. Heisman, of course, was a transient mercenary. He had already coached at . . . well, better yet, let's take a good, long, uncluttered look at all four, man by man, and see what sort of people have created this dynasty which has defied the erosion of time and the capricious disposition of alumni:

HEISMAN (1904–19)

He had already coached at four colleges before he reached Georgia Tech, beginning at Oberlin in 1892, then to Akron University, then to Auburn, then to Clemson. After Georgia Tech, he moved successively to Pennsylvania, Washington & Jefferson and Rice, but never again found the touch that created his remarkable record at Georgia Tech. Here, his teams won 120 games, lost only 29 and tied 6.

After retirement at Rice, Heisman became athletic director of the Downtown Athletic Club in New York City, and it was here that his immortality was assured. After his death in 1936, the Downtown Athletic Club created the Heisman Award in his memory, and the winner of the Heisman Award is generally acknowledged as the outstanding college football player of each year, beginning with Jay Berwanger of Chicago down through Steve Spurrier of Florida.

Heisman was a complex personality who operated as if he were a world to himself. He regarded his opinions as unchallengeable. He had a brilliant football mind and wasn't at all unwilling to make an opinion official by his own proclamation. He was an arrogant man and his football players, so the historians say, lived and played in fear of him.

However, a contemporary sports writer, Fuzzy Woodruff, who was with The Atlanta Constitution at that time, tempers the views of Heisman detractors in a series of books he wrote called "History of Southern Football."

"I knew him, I guess," Woodruff wrote, "as intimately as anybody ever knew Heisman, for the great coach was never a man to encourage intimacies. He had received his football training at Brown and at the University of Pennsylvania and he had not stopped at being a great football player. He was a great football student. . . .

"This is written years after old 'Heis' had disappeared from Southern Conference football, after he has given up the game for good, I understand. It is written to curry favor with no man. I know there are men who will take exceptions to these paragraphs, but they are written in hope that future football generations may have a correct idea of a gentleman much abused."

Something in support of Woodruff's portrait of the man is found in the manner in which Heisman left Georgia Tech. When he arrived, he was indeed supreme among Southern coaches, but simultaneous with that arrival, Dan McGugin came to Vanderbilt and Mike Donahue came to Auburn. These two young bucks swept to instant glory, Heisman was shot down, and he had to claw his way back to dominance. But he did, and was in full flight again, three national championships and a covey of All-Americans behind him when, shortly after the 1919 season, he called Chip Robert, of the athletic board, and gave him some stunning news.

"Mrs. Heisman and I have agreed to a divorce. There are no hard feelings. However, we have agreed that we must not live in the same town. Wherever Mrs. Heisman chooses to live, I will live elsewhere."

Mrs. Heisman chose Atlanta. Coach Heisman then resigned and left to accept his new position at Pennsylvania, which had been trying to pipe him back to his old campus.

ALEXANDER (1920–44)

A peculiar thing about him, he lived a good part of his boyhood in Athens, in sight of the Georgia campus, but he was determined to go to college at Georgia Tech. Perhaps it was the attractiveness of Heisman, who reached Atlanta about this time. And then, too, he was not a born-and-bred, dyed-in-the-wool Athenian.

He was born in Mud River, Ky. His father died when he was six and his mother supported her two children as a schoolteacher and moved from Kentucky to Tennessee to Georgia.

As a student and an athlete, Alexander apparently left a good deal to be desired, but not as a man. He used up six years to complete a four-year course at Georgia Tech, though it should be said in his behalf that he was a self-help student. He was never more than a "scrub"—they call it "bench" these days—as a player. After graduation, however, he was invited to remain on the campus, first as a mathematics instructor, and then as an assistant to Heisman. Football soon became the consuming influence.

When Heisman departed some members of the Tech administrative staff began casting about for a "name," such as Gil Dobie, then celebrated in the East. Chip Robert stumped for Alexander and it was Alexander who got the job.

When he retired after the 1944 season, his teams had won 134 games, lost 95 and tied 15.

Many men have written many sentences about Alexander the Man. Generally, they all add up to the same conclusion.

"Under him," Ralph McGill has written, "character-building was a part of football, not a cynical phrase as it is today. . . . Not many persons really knew him. He was shy. He wore severeness like a cloak. His tongue could rasp like a file. But this was merely a defense of a man who was, in truth, the gentlest of men, the softest touch, the kindest and most compassionate friend a man could have."

No one knew Alexander quite as well as Bobby Dodd, the man "Coach Alex"—that was Dodd's title for him—chose to succeed him.

Dodd has often described him in this manner: "The Old Man had the football know-how of Knute Rockne, the sense of humor and the story-telling ability of Mark Twain, the storehouse of miscellaneous information of John Kieran, and the sympathetic understanding of Dorothy Dix."

Alexander's retirement and Dodd's succession as head coach leaked out prematurely through the old football announcer, Harry Wismer. In the long run, though, it came off in the orderly manner in which Georgia Tech has handled its football affairs, and once again it was that man Chip Robert who was behind the scene directing the traffic.

DODD (1945–66)

This man sort of defies description as a football coach when you consider the mold of such men. He was nothing that either Heisman or Alexander was, except coach, neither the driver that Heisman was, nor the precisionist that Alexander was, but one who, as long as time and trends would allow it, kept some fun in the game.

He had a glorious collection of assets unrelated to coaching. He believed that good fortune follows those who "think lucky." He had an enormously well-developed sense of public relations. His greatest assets of all, though, including his ability as a coach and his knowledge of football, was his personal charm.

Dodd was one of those rare combinations of men-athletes, able to play as an All-American and later able to coach successfully. Not many All-Americans have ever become great coaches.

His record at Georgia Tech was 165 games won, 64 lost and 8 tied. As a bowl coach, he was superb. His teams won 9 and lost 4, but at one time they had a streak of six straight.

No college coach has ever made himself more accessible and been more friendly to newspapermen than Dodd. Therefore, his image nationally is one that glows. He has never practiced medicine-show tactics or demagoguery. Dodd is the same here as he is there, and now as he will be then. He has tripped once in a while and he'll probably trip again, but not over a phoneyism.

"We're not miracle-workers," he once said, "but you send us a good boy to Georgia Tech and we'll send you a good boy home."

When the end come for him, it was by personal choice. Mental and physical fatigue began flailing at him. A lot of the fun had gone out of coaching. He wanted to move out while everybody was in a good humor.

Last Feb. 6, Dodd announced his retirement. I had the honor of breaking the story. Three days later Georgia Tech announced his successor.

CARSON (1967–?)

Once again Georgia Tech reached out for an assistant, though Carson had been on the campus only a year. He had impressed the people with his knowledge and preachments of defense. His contributions to Dodd's final season, one of mellow success, had not gone overlooked.

Here, too, is another man of personality and charm. He is articulate among audiences of varying tastes. He is devoted to his labor, has confidence, drives hard and expects nothing less than success as a result.

Carson played football at North Carolina at 160 pounds. He was a safetyman in the first hot run of platoon football. One reason he wasn't a tailback, his chosen trade, was that Charlie Justice was there ahead of him at Chapel Hill.

Carson spent two years in the Marine Corps, two years as a high school coach, one as a college freshman coach and later six years as a varsity assistant at North Carolina, and one year as an assistant at South Carolina before reaching Georgia Tech.

He faced the first season at Georgia Tech with the cold, clear-eyed, level-headed attitude of a man who knows why he is here. "Anything less than 7–3 is not a good season," he said. And then he said,"You beat Georgia, you're in business. You don't beat Georgia, you're out of business."

It is oddly coincidental that all three former Georgia Tech football coaches, Heisman, Alexander and Dodd, all lost the last games they coached at the school. Heisman lost to Auburn. Alexander and Dodd lost in bowl games, Alexander to Tulsa in the Sugar Bowl and Dodd to Florida in the Orange Bowl. Yet, defeat and dissatisfaction among alumni played no part in their departure.

Thus, Bud Carson moves into a coaching situation unique in this country. Usually, a new football coach has two or three years of immunity to the displeasure of his constituents. This is because he is following a failure, a loser who moved on under duress. The new coach is endowed with the image of a saviour. Whatever he does is super, if only on the basis of relativity.

Carson has no such conditions in his favor. He is not succeeding a failure. He is succeeding success. After Dodd, what can you do for an encore?

VINCE DOOLEY'S SUCCESS STORY

(By Jesse Outlar)

From his office in the $4 million coliseum Vince Dooley had gone to Sanford Stadium, recently enlarged to 58,773 seats at a cost of $3 million, and now the Georgia head football coach was dining in new $1 million McWhorter Hall, the plush new home of university athletes.

Dooley was discussing his defending SEC and Cotton Bowl champs, who finished fourth last season in the AP and UPI national football polls. Pre-season publications have made the Bulldogs a consensus choice for fifth in the current national standings.

Plainly, athletic prosperity has reached an all-time pinnacle at Georgia. During Joel Eaves' ultra successful regime Georgia has added Vince Dooley and $8 million in athletic facilities.

A dozen days after Dr. O. C. Aderhold, then university president, announced on Nov. 22, 1963, that Joel Eaves, Auburn basketball coach, was the new Georgia athletic director, there was a vital investment of less than $5 for a phone call.

Athletic Director Eaves called Dooley and invited him to become the new Georgia head football coach. Dooley, then the Auburn freshman coach and varsity scout, was on a recruiting mission in Memphis. By dark on that date, Dec. 4, 1963, 31-year-old Vince Dooley had been signed as the 21st head football coach at Georgia.

When Dooley arrived in Athens to be interviewed by the athletic board, Eaves was the only man in the room he knew personally.

It is now a matter of sensational record that the athletic board unanimously and wisely approved Eaves' recommendation. But why would Eaves gamble his future on an unproven freshman coach, particularly since Georgia had won 10 games in three seasons under former freshman coach Johnny Griffith?

Georgia alumni wanted the Bulldogs to enjoy again the prestige known in the days when Wallace Butts' teams won four SEC titles and visited eight bowls.

What Eaves said to the press on the afternoon of Dec. 4, 1963, has been repeated many times by jubilant Georgia old grads, but Eaves said it before Dooley won a single game. He said, "For a long time I have thought that Dooley was an excellent prospect as a head coach. You get to know a man when you coach him and scout with him. I'll tell you why I picked Dooley. He has intelligence, poise, confidence; he won't panic. He's an organizer. He has character, dignity; he can be tough and he is a competitor."

Those traits outlined so vividly by Eaves have been the traits so evident during Dooley's surge near the top of the coaching profession.

Now, on the eve of his fourth season in Athens, Dooley sat in McWhorter Hall, named after Georgia's first All-American, the late Bob McWhorter, and recalled the first game.

Auburn-grad Dooley, who had three Auburn alumni on his Georgia staff, had drawn Alabama for an opener in Coach Bear Bryant's own backyard in Tuscaloosa.

"We had worked so hard, the players and coaches, getting ready for that game, for it obviously meant so much to us," Dooley recalled. "Well, Alabama clobbered us 31–3. It was a night game. We went back to Athens and in the wee hours when I got home my wife, Barbara, was still sleeping. I walked in numb from fatigue and the game. I'll never forget. She raised up in bed and said, 'How've you been?'

"You know how you are when you're exhausted and in a state of shock. I started laughing. How had I been? Right then I resolved that we'd start over, and we did. When we studied movies that Sunday, strangely enough, despite the score, we discovered that our men had played fine football. We had done a lousy job of coaching. We had hit with Alabama, but poor coaching, mostly by me, beat us."

Adversity frequently is an excellent teacher, and the Bulldogs haven't been routed since that night in Tuscaloosa. In the vital weeks that followed Dooley rallied players and coaches and laid the platform of pride and desire which is the trademark of his Georgia teams. Georgia finished the surprise team of the SEC with a 6–3–1 record, beating Georgia Tech in the final game and Texas Tech in the Sun Bowl.

The second season in Athens produced high and low points of the Dooley career.

"The opening game with Alabama would have to be the most exciting," observed Dooley, who rarely gets excited. "Coming from behind to beat Alabama 18–17 on TV would have to be the high point. And the way we won, on a 73-yard pass play from Kirby Moore to Pat Hodgson, who lateraled to Bob Taylor; and then going for two and making it. Two weeks later we upset Michigan, and we beat Georgia Tech in the last game.

"But the lowest point came in between. After losing to Florida State and Kentucky we still had a chance to win the title, and the players played well enough to win, but we lost to Florida and Auburn on two plays. That was the lowest I've been after a game—after we lost to Auburn."

Georgia bounced back and beat Tech, but alumni didn't have long to celebrate, for they almost lost Dooley to Oklahoma during a frantic week in December.

Oklahoma antied up much more than Dooley was making at Georgia, not to mention fringe benefits which eventually would have made him a wealthy coach. Georgia made counter offers, and the alumni flooded the Dooley residence with phone calls, telegrams, poems and songs.

Dooley says his decision was easy after Georgia made a salary adjustment.

"Seriously, money wasn't the only thing, or I would have gone," said Dooley. "I realized what I owed Coach Eaves and Georgia people and the players and the high school boys we'd recruited. Only two years previously Coach Eaves and Georgia had given me a chance to become a head coach.

"Until Coach Eaves called me that day in Memphis I honestly hadn't thought he'd offer me the Georgia job. I figured he would get a big name coach, and I was planning to join Frank Broyles as an assistant at Arkansas.

"I was confident that sooner or later I'd get a chance to become a head coach. That's what I had in mind when I asked Coach Jordan to let me coach the Auburn freshmen."

Dooley reiterated that he had considered a military career while serving two years in the Marine Corps following his playing career at Auburn. If Coach Jordan hadn't had a job available in 1956, Capt. Dooley might have become a career officer.

Still later, if Dooley hadn't become a head coach he'd probably have become a history professor. While serving as an assistant at Auburn he took more than 80 hours of history and earned a masters in 1963. He is the only coach in history to write a thesis on "The United States Senator James Thomas Heflin and the Democratic Party Split in Alabama."

The intellectual coach still finds time to browse around the university library, but since coming to Georgia he's getting behind in his history. His wife Barbara, a beauty with brains and two degrees, is now working on her doctorate in guidance and counseling. She also teaches a speech class at the university.

Coach Dooley is not egotistical by nature and he doesn't have to guard against becoming overawed by his coaching awards.

"There's always one less great coach than you think," says Barbara Dooley when Georgia success is discussed by her husband.

When Dooley was elected king by an Atlanta club, coronation ceremonies were delayed because the crown was too small. "It will fit just as soon as he loses two or three games," advised Mrs. Dooley.

The Dooleys first met when Barbara Meshad of Birmingham was a coed at Auburn. She became interested in football after she became interested in Vince.

The Dooleys have three children: Deanna, 6; Danny, 4; and Denise, 3.

Deanna obviously takes after her father. After losing a toy travel game to her father, she frowned at him and said, "I just can't stand to lose. I can't stand it."

Neither can Vince Dooley, whose teams for three years have composed a rebuilding record of 23–8–1, a fantastic mark when you ponder that Georgia had logged only two winning campaigns in nine previous seasons.

Success and Dooley have run as an entry since prep days at McGill High in Mobile, where he earned all-star credentials in football and basketball. Along the way Dooley hasn't met anyone whom he holds in higher esteem than his high school coach, Ray Dicharry, who now coaches in Tampa.

"He did a great deal to turn me in the right direction off the field," says Dooley. "He had great influence on me."

Dooley also has enormous respect for his college coach and former boss, Ralph Jordan. Jordan called Dooley a "coach on the field" when Vince was quarterbacking the Plainsmen. Vince lists Bobby Dodd of Georgia Tech, Bud Wilkinson of Oklahoma, Wallace Butts of Georgia, Bear Bryant of Alabama and Frank Broyles of Arkansas as college coaches he observed attentively.

Dicharry, still close to Dooley today, recalls his prize pupil. "I always knew that Vince was an unusual person," says Dicharry, "and he has a lot of good qualities that make a coach successful. He was always a good student of the game, but most of all he could come through under pressure. He could handle any situation.

"The one thing that I think means most to a person in coaching is being calm and unemotional the way Vincent is. He never gets excited and this means a lot to the players."

Dooley seems to be the calmest guy in the stadium, but he gets his players excited, and the alumni have been excited since his second game at Georgia. As Dooley noted, the opener against Alabama was unexciting from a Georgia viewpoint.

Perhaps he summed up the Dooley philosophy on football most vividly when he told the Georgia Athletic Coaches Association in Atlanta, "I believe in playing players according to their performance and not according to their potential. Don't wait for the guy who could be the greatest you ever saw to do it. He may never. Play the boy who will do it now.

"In discipline, I believe in being fair but firm. I also believe in giving a boy a second chance. If he lets you down again, that's it. I also believe that a coach should preserve the dignity of any boy who plays for him at all times.

"If you have loyalty, if you have morale, if you do a teaching job, if you recruit the right kind of boy, your system will be a good one."

Plainly Dooley has passed his own test. Georgia alumni, hoping for a break-even season only four years ago, are beefing now because the Bulldogs are picked no higher nationally than fifth. So what does Dooley do for an encore?

"The honeymoon is over, I suppose," says Dooley. "We'll just do the best we can."

University of Georgia boosters hope the marriage lasts a long, long time.

OBSERVATIONS ON ELECTIONS IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, one of the Americans who went to Vietnam to observe the recent elections has made some most interesting observations on that troubled country.

David Sullivan, president of the Building Service Employes International Union and a vice president of the AFL–CIO, believes that the new Government will be judged by what it does to improve the living standards of workers and farmers.

So that we all may have the opportunity to know about Mr. Sullivan's observations, I ask unanimous consent that an article about his comments, published in a recent issue of the AFL–CIO News, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Sullivan Sees Progress of Workers Critical to New Viet Government

The newly elected government in South Viet Nam will be judged by what it does "to improve the living standards of workers and farmers," AFL–CIO Vice Pres. David Sullivan, an American observer to the Viet Nam election, declared.

And a growing Vietnamese labor movement, which played an important role in the election, has vowed to continue its "political action" and have an important voice in the nation's future, he added.

Sullivan recalled in an interview nine "packed" days in Viet Nam—traveling by plane, helicopter, jeep and car to visit union meeting halls and military units and to observe political campaigning and voting places.

He said the observers not only were briefed by generals from all the battle areas but also were given an opportunity to talk freely with soldiers in both the U.S. and Vietnamese armies.

Besides visiting polling places and watching the balloting, they also talked with candidates, campaigners, "poll watchers" for various parties and voters, he reported.

"I think we got close enough to actual happenings to make valid judgments," Sullivan said. These were some of the judgments he brought home with him:

A "very good impression" of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT), numbering more than 300,000 members and "actively organizing" to add strength. "I believe it is moving in the right direction and helping the people," Sullivan said.

A conviction that the election—similar to a U.S. election in some respects, different in others—"was conducted in an honest and fair manner."

Belief that "we are winning the war, militarily," that the morale of our fighting men is "very high," that an effort to help South Viet Nam improve living standards "still has a long way to go."

CVT was a strong force in supporting the election and in countering Viet Cong efforts to upset it, Sullivan said. He told how it worked actively to encourage citizens to cast ballots in the election, which produced an 83 percent turnout of registered voters.

Although CVT did not back any of the presidential tickets, it was the key organization behind a "peasant-workers-farmers" slate for senate seats, Sullivan pointed out.

That slate, he noted, carried 23 of 50 provinces and autonomous cities in the election and outpolled by more than 400,000 votes the closest rival party.

In talks with CVT Pres. Tran Quoc Buu, other labor leaders and union members, Sullivan was briefed on labor's collective bargaining contracts and its further efforts to organize in the nation's rural and industrial areas.

"I found that the union members in Viet Nam are looking for better wages, improved working conditions and a greater degree of recognition—much the same goals being sought by workers everywhere," he emphasized.

He was particularly enthused about a CVT program that is "reaching directly into the heart of some of the poorest areas of the country."

The labor organization has converted 22 meeting halls into combined welfare-education centers. They distribute free drugs to all citizens; they provide facilities for children's classes in the daytime and adult education at night.

HELP FROM OTHERS

Much of the cost of the centers' operations is borne by contributions that come from the U.S. and other nations, Sullivan pointed out. He visited one of the centers at a time when it was serving as a school for 75 children.

Sullivan observed the balloting as it occurred in Can-Tho, a city in Phong-Dinh province. He said the voting was "very heavy" despite the fact that only a week earlier the Viet Cong had attacked a hospital there, killing some 15 people.

The way the people of South Viet Nam streamed to the polls after the Viet Cong "did everything it possibly could to disrupt the election" was "simply amazing," he concluded.

Sullivan described many "unforgettable" experiences in Viet Nam—the impact of Saigon's "fantastic" traffic of pedestrians, bicycles, automobiles and military vehicles; the complexity of military operations; and visits with our soldiers as they maintained posts "in the very middle of rice paddies."

"I came away with the feeling that our young men serving in Viet Nam must surely be as competent as any that have ever served in the history of our nation," he declared.

He told of being billeted with the Seventh Air Force just outside Saigon, of eating with troops in a mess hall, and of traveling with two "highly competent aides:" Maj. Benjamin Ulcak of San Antonio, Tex. and Robert Senser, labor attache to the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

"It's a country with a great potential and its wonderful people are its greatest asset." They are devoted to self-government and "determined to be free," Sullivan concluded.

EVERYBODY'S GOT A GUN NOW

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, D. J. R. Bruckner, of the Los Angeles Times, has written a highly enlightening article on crime in the Midwest which appeared in this morning's newspapers.

Mr. Bruckner vividly describes the fear that is gripping the urban centers of the Midwest. The public's worry stems not just from the rising crime rate but more from "the notion that crime is breaking out of its older patterns and becoming much more general and much more violent."

There can be little question that underlying this upsurge of violence is the tragic fact that our country more than any other one in the world is a country of guns.

The appalling increase in armed robberies all over our country cries out for the enactment of a tough gun control bill this session. The first 6 months of 1967 have witnessed a staggering increase of 37 percent in the use of guns in robberies.

Referring to this development, Mr. Bruckner quotes the police chief of Kansas City as saying:

> It is increasing enormously. Mostly it's robbery of small stores, laundries, and the like. Everybody's got a gun now.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that D. J. R. Bruckner's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAW ENFORCEMENT WORRIES CITIES

(By D. J. R. Bruckner)

CHICAGO.—In most major Midwestern cities there is a growing fear, official and among the citizens, that law enforcement is degenerating into street warfare.

What worries the public is not just the rise in the crime rate but the notion that crime is breaking out of its older patterns and becoming much more general and much more violent. The public reaction in Detroit was strong enough in the spring to spark a citywide petition for a recall vote against Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh.

Ilus W. Davis, Mayor of Kansas City, Mo., says, "I do not think there is any doubt about it; crime and fear of crime have reached terrible proportions. You have to understand that something like this can destroy a government completely."

An interviewer quickly finds that in the minds of the people there are five major areas of concern—armed robbery, assaults, youthful disorders or gang fights, riots and operations or organized crime syndicates.

The concern over guns is general, but in most cities it is based on the problem of armed robberies. All major Midwestern cities report a sharp increase in this type of crime.

In Kansas City, Police Chief Clarence M. Kelley says, "It is increasing enormously. Mostly it's robbery of small stores, laundries and the like. Everybody's got a gun now."

The most spectacular outbreaks of armed robbery and reaction occurred in Detroit before the devastating riot last July. Last winter in one five-week period, Detroit grocers killed five armed robbers, and robbers murdered four people in or around shops. Robberies in the city increased 65 per cent in a 12-month period and are still rising.

Last spring, the local grocers association sponsored a marksmanship course for members. In suburban Highland Park the Police Department gave gun training to merchants.

Detroit police tried to discourage the arming of merchants for some months, but after the July riot the police themselves were caught up in the arms race. The department says hundreds of its officers have joined the National Rifle Association to get discounts on private rifles and shotguns.

Police said gun registrations have risen more than 10,000 in a year, and they believe there are thousands of unregistered guns loose in Detroit.

Months before the riot, there was a measurable exodus of shopkeepers from some Detroit neighborhoods to other towns or even to Canada. Citizens associations have been formed to organize public help in the crime war. Negro pastors have organized a citizen drive, pointing out that Negroes were 75 per cent of rape victims and 55 per cent of robbery victims in one winter month.

Detroit is only an extreme example. The same kind of problem is now plaguing Cleveland, where shop robberies and killings have risen sharply and the populace has begun to arm itself. Chicago and Cincinnati also have reported sharp rises in armed robbery.

In Detroit the parking lot and sidewalk area around the juvenile courthouse has become a permanent fear zone. During a three-week period last winter three women were robbed in daylight hours on the parking lot.

There are large sections of Chicago's South Side where for many years no one has used the parks in the evening for fear of assault. There are large sections of the city—north, south and west—where people simply refuse to ride public transit in the evenings.

In all cities public schools are from time to time thrown into chaos by youthful terrorism.

In some Chicago neighborhoods parents have joined with police to escort their children to and from school. They fear youth extortion and assault rings. The children being protected are usually 6 to 13 years old.

Organized gang activity is found in many of the cities. In Chicago, the big youth gangs may have 1500 to 3000 members tightly organized and indulging in robbery, burglary, extortion, assaults and a good deal of liquor and narcotics traffic.

Detroit and Cleveland have been plagued by motorcycle bands, some of which grow violent from time to time.

Riot is a major concern, and most people in the cities tend to refer to rioting simply as crime. Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis and Milwaukee have all had small or large disturbances, mostly in ghetto areas, in the past year.

People in some cities are worried about organized crime and racketeering. This interest varies from total apathy in Cleveland, which has a powerful syndicate, to public uproar in Detroit.

In the St. Louis area, the syndicate operators in two states have been trying to seize control of the coin-operated machine industry. In the Illinois and Indiana suburbs of Chicago, the syndicate chiefs have moved in on gambling, prostitution and even government in some places to such an extent that there are campaigns to demand State and Federal cleanups.

A MOVING AND HISTORIC CEREMONY AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, in a moving ceremony before a crowd that filled every inch of the East Room in the White House, President Johnson today swore in Walter Washington, Commissioner; and Thomas Fletcher, Deputy Commissioner, of the District of Columbia. I consider myself fortunate to have been invited to attend this historic and memorable ceremony. In the President's words—and I have never heard him more eloquent—the occasion celebrated "a new era for the Capital City." The President also announced the names of the nine members of the City Council, which he will shortly submit to the Senate for confirmation. They are all excellent choices.

As one who has long felt that the city of Washington should have home rule, that it would have representation in the Congress, I welcome the new form of government that is an important step in the direction of complete self-government. It is only a short step but I am hopeful and confident that it is just a beginning. In keeping our Capital City as it has been under the rule of Congress, whatever may be the historic justifications, we are in violation of one of the most basic principles of our American faith. "Government by consent of the governed" is basic to our way of life. We should long since have applied it in the Nation's Capital. I shall continue to work for fullest achievement. To Walter Washington and Thomas Fletcher, both so well qualified by experience and character, as well as to the nine members of the Council, I tender my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for their success.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's remarks at this swearing-in ceremony be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT SWEARING IN OF WALTER WASHINGTON, COMMISSIONER, AND THOMAS FLETCHER, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Justice Fortas, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Washington and family, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Fletcher and family, distinguished Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, Members of the Court, Ladies and Gentlemen:

More than ceremony summons us here to the East Room this morning.

We celebrate a new era for the Capital City as we meet here to swear in Walter Washington as Washington's first Mayor, and Thomas Fletcher as his deputy.

The citizens of the District have waited almost a century for this day to come, and all that it symbolizes.

This is the day—and this is the year—that the District emerges into the world of the 20th Century government.

With the recent reorganization plan, the Nation's Capital was liberated from the outworn practices of past years. That reorganization plan equips the city with new machinery to let its government serve the needs of its people.

But the best machinery can function effectively only in the hands of the best men.

I looked across America to try to find these men. And I think we found them—men with the strength and the character and the vision to deal with tough problems. Now, this morning, we commit those problems to their capable hands.

No one here, for a moment, minimizes these problems.

The District's new day comes at a time of real crisis for every American city. And Washington, D.C., the Capital City, represents the American city.

It is alive with promise. And more than any other, it houses the heritage of our history.

But beyond the monuments, urban erosion eats at a city's heart and at a city's hope.

The needs are clear to all of us: Safety on the streets and in our homes; driving crime from our midst; health and education for our children; a decent roof over every family; a good job for every person who is willing to take it. Then every resident can share the pride that stirs every visitor to our Capital.

The leaders who will help to solve those problems know the challenge. They are uniquely qualified to act because their careers have been spent in action, in meeting the needs of cities and the needs of their people.

Together, this team has the energy and the experience to deal responsibly with the great urban and human problems of our time. Together, they will focus those talents on our national capital city.

Mr. Fletcher wrote an outstanding and distinguished record as City Manager of San Diego, California. He brings to his task a deep knowledge of how modern city administration and fiscal planning can work to the benefit of the people.

Mr. Washington brings unsurpassed skills as a city executive. He is taking a very large reduction in salary and making sacrifices to come here to accept this draft from his President. He is an authentic leader and he has devoted a lifetime of effective and inspired work in the cause of good housing, one of our most critical urban needs—to say nothing about what he has done for beautification in the District of Columbia. He has lived and worked on the streets of his home city. And he has said that he is going to travel those streets again, in pursuit of the progress that the people want and the people need and the people desire and expect.

Mr. Mayor, your walk will be long and arduous, but I believe it will be rewarding.

You will walk with the eyes of the Nation on you.

Everything you do will be known. You will live in a goldfish bowl as most of us public servants do. But, Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Deputy Mayor, we wish you well—and bid you godspeed.

Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Fletcher, you won't be walking alone. I am sending to the Senate my recommendations for the District of Columbia City Council.

In filling this Council, it was our goal to to find among the 800,000 residents of the District of Columbia nine exceptional men and women to work with you, to work on the team, to assist you in leading the government of the Nation's Capital, to represent the people at all times in this new venture in government that we are undertaking.

We have spent weeks in considering recommendations made to us by organizations, in searching and consulting with the best authorities that we could talk to. We have reviewed hundreds of records and files. We have sought and obtained not only your recommendations, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Fletcher, but those of civic, labor, religious and other leading non-political groups.

Today I am happy to announce the names of those that I recommend to serve on the Council. And if the Senate is willing, they will serve on the Council.

As Chairman, a distinguished Washington attorney, a political scientist, a teacher, a wise counsellor, a leader in bringing educational television and modern transportation to the Nation's Capital, Council Chairman Mr. Max Kampelman.

As Vice Chairman, a crusader for effective government, for broader opportunities, for better housing for all the people, the Pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church—the Reverend Walter Fauntroy.

Very deeply involved in the life of the city, honored as an outstanding citizen, an innovator in the field of programs for the young people of the District and Director of one of Washington's most successful youth projects, the Roving Leaders—Mr. Stanley Anderson.

A leader in church activities, a fighter against discrimination, an eminent attorney, Mrs. Margaret A. Haywood.

A second-generation Washingtonian, a leader in the District's Head Start Program, a worker for better housing, Mr. John Nevius.

President of the Washington Urban League, a respected member of the community, an outstanding lawyer, a past President of the National Bar Association, Mr. William Thompson.

A labor leader who knows the problems of the workingman, who fought for the minimum wage, who has spent a lifetime of service in the cause of labor, a man who has made many contributions to helping his fellowman and to improving his city, Mr. J. C. Turner.

One of 13 children, a lifelong resident of the District, and at present an executive at IBM, he finds the time to teach high school dropouts at night, Mr. Joseph Yeldell.

A long-time Washington resident, an editor, a civic leader, active in the District's family and child welfare programs, Mrs. Polly Shackleton. Mrs. Shackleton this morning is observing conditions in Montreal as a background for what she is going to be called on to do here and cannot be present.

These nine citizens, we believe, will be a genuine voice for the people of Washington. We think they represent this city. We believe they know and understand and will certainly learn all about its urgent problems.

I hope the Senate will act promptly so that the new city government can move rapidly from promise to performance.

With them, Mayor Washington, you and your Deputy Mayor Fletcher can now show America what concerned and aroused municipal leaders can do. You can improve the lives of your fellow citizens. You can transform this city into a proud home for all the people.

Some of the most enlightened Members of the Congress, who at great sacrifice to themselves, have fought for years for a better government for the District of Columbia, are here this morning. We are grateful to all of you for having come.

Now, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Deputy Mayor and City Councilmen, it is up to you to get with it. And you had better learn these Congressmen and Senators.

THE OTTO OTEPKA CASE—A BLACK MARK

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, this week another page in the history of Otto Otepka will be written as briefs are filed in the appeal from his discharge as a State Department security officer. Perhaps now, after almost four and a half years, Otto Otepka will be exonerated.

Unfortunately, the outcome of this hearing makes no material difference to Mr. Otepka because his career already has been ruined. Perhaps, more important, it makes little difference to the security of the United States. The damage has been done; in large measure it cannot be repaired.

It will do the administration little good to try to sweep the Otepka case under the rug or to wish it into oblivion. Many of us in Government and many private citizens will recall often the shameful treatment accorded Mr. Otepka by the State Department. The indefensible way the Department tried to eliminate a conscientious security officer who disagreed with his superiors has been etched indelibly in our minds.

Otto Otepka's fate also has been etched into the minds of State Department security officers and those who will follow them. How many will be guided by loyalty to their country, and how many will be guided by the heavy-handed whims of their department superiors? It will take exceptional courage for these security experts to oppose their superiors, even in cases of clear danger to the Nation. It is here that America will pay most heavily for what has happened to Otto Otepka.

Mr. President, an excellent summary and appraisal of this entire episode appeared in an editorial published in the Omaha World-Herald of September 24, 1967. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BLACK MARK

The Otto Otepka case is surfacing again in Washington. Lawyers' briefs in the appeal of the fired State Department security officer will be filed September 29. Thereafter a hearing officer will recommend to Secretary of State Rusk either that Mr. Otepka be reinstated or that his dismissal be upheld.

Because it has dragged on for so long, and because of what it reveals about the hidden inner workings of the State Department, the Otepka case deserves recapitulation.

It probably began in 1955, when Mr. Otepka, then chief of the Evaluations Division of the State Department's Security Branch, was asked to evaluate the record of a prominent figure—as yet unidentified—who was being considered for appointment to a sensitive post in the Government.

Mr. Otepka produced evidence from secret CIA files showing that the man in question had been denied a position on a Cold War strategy board because of "reservations" about him as a "security liability."

The man was passed over for the appointment.

Twice more in five years the same name came up, and both times Mr. Otepka produced the same evaluation.

In 1961, under a new Administration, Mr. Otepka's reservations about this person were overruled. Observers who have followed the case closely believe that Mr. Otepka's decline began then.

In 1963, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee was investigating allegations of lax security procedures in the State Department.

The subcommittee counsel called on Mr. Otepka, who produced records of his findings and recommendations in several cases, including one in which he had balked at granting "emergency" clearances for 10 persons recommended for appointment to a State Department advisory committee.

Shortly thereafter, on June 27, 1963, Mr. Otepka was removed from his job and put to shuffling papers in another assignment.

A campaign of harassment began, accompanied by State Department charges that Mr. Otepka had acted improperly by providing the Senate subcommittee with classified information.

Mr. Otepka's telephone was bugged. His safe was cracked by State Department officials. Four security officials who supported him were transferred to meaningless jobs, and two of these later were fired. (The two appealed, were reinstated, and promptly resigned.) Two officials perjured themselves in an attempt to cover up evidence about the telephone tapping.

Mr. Otepka was suspended formally in September, 1963, and was fired in November. He immediately appealed, but hearings on the appeal were postponed six times. The hearing finally was held last spring—four years to the month from the time he was first removed from active service as a security officer.

The Internal Security subcommittee hearings, which produced a transcript of 1,500,-

000 words, revealed indications of a systematic State Department purge of "hard" anti-Communist employees, of whom Otto Otepka was one of the most prominent.

The hearings revealed indications of Executive pressure to provide security clearances for some questionable risks, including William Wieland of Castro fame.

They also revealed a picture of Otto Otepka as a stubborn, conscientious civil servant who insisted on doing his job in the face of subtle pressures designed to lower the security bars to sensitive, high-level positions. (It was revealed after Mr. Otepka was fired that 63 State Department employees, including three senior officers in the Foreign Service, had resigned in 1963 after being confronted with evidence showing they were security liabilities.)

The irony of the case is that the State Department persecutors of Otto Otepka will have won, no matter how it comes out. Even if Mr. Otepka is reinstated, which doesn't appear likely, his career is ruined. Any successor in his office will remember vividly how conscientious work is rewarded, and can be expected to trim his sails accordingly.

The affair will leave a black mark forever on the record of the State Department. In the minds of many Americans, it will cast doubt as to whether the conduct of their country's foreign affairs is in completely trustworthy hands.

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER SUPPORTS THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to the news today that Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato has supported the conditions set by the Johnson administration for ending the bombing of North Vietnam.

The Prime Minister said:

> In any suspension of the bombing of North Vietnam there should be a firm assurance that it will lead to a suspension of hostilities in the South.

And the Prime Minister also noted that it is not enough for the United States to want peace in Vietnam. The Communists must also share this desire.

Mr. President, these remarks by the Japanese Prime Minister are very significant. Mr. Sato is one of the most influential and respected statesman in Asia. He represents a nation which has known the ravages of war. Yet he supports our position in Vietnam as one that is both reasonable, sincere, and necessary.

This is not a solitary statement of support from just one Asian leader.

There have been other statements of support for American efforts in Vietnam from numerous Asian leaders in the past, and I have referred to them on this floor before.

Some months ago the Prime Minister of Singapore said that if the Americans leave Vietnam "we're finished."

The Prime Minister of Malaysia said that the American presence has made the difference between "Asian stability and Asian chaos."

The President of the Philippines, the Prime Minister of Australia, the leaders of Cambodia and Thailand have all echoed similar sentiments.

Asians support our efforts with more than words.

There are 45,000 South Koreans fighting for freedom in Vietnam. They know what Communist expansionism means.

Just days ago, Thailand sent 2,000 of its crack military men to South Vietnam to help fulfill their commitment to freedom.

And, of course, the valiant South Vietnamese have almost three-quarters of a million men under arms.

The United States is not alone in Vietnam.

Asian leaders and Asian people want us there to help them resist what is, in reality, aggression against an entire area of the world.

The statement yesterday by the Prime Minister of Japan, supporting our position on the bombing of North Vietnam, is another drastic illustration of the fact that this is a struggle for all free and independent people. The Asians, above all, know it and want us to persevere.

Those who say this is an American war ought to realize that the people and leaders of Asia emphatically do not accept that description.

This is not an American war. This is freedom's war against tyranny, whatever name it goes by, and whatever flag it flies under.

Let us all remember that in the dark days of the American Revolution when this new Nation could have gone down to defeat, men came from all over the world—from France, Germany, Poland, the Caribbean—to fight for the cause of America.

So, today in Vietnam, to use Tom Paine's words:

> The cause of America is the cause of all mankind.

SNOOPING AND THE JUDICIAL CONFERENCE

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, last week, the Judicial Conference of the United States voted to endorse legislation which would permit law enforcement officers and investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court order. The Judicial Conference cautioned, however, that such legislation must conform to the Supreme Court's most recent pronouncement on the subject, which was handed down in the Berger case in June of this year.

This morning's Washington Post carries an editorial opposing the views of the Judicial Conference. According to the Post:

> The social costs of such intrusion into privacy would, in our judgment, heavily outweigh the gains to law enforcement.

Earlier, on September 21, the Washington Post published an editorial which, in effect, stated that wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping legislation would not solve the problem which most seriously alarms the American people; namely, crime on the streets. I believe these two editorials from the Washington Post should be read together. I ask unanimous consent that these be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 28, 1967]

SNOOPING

The Judicial Conference of the United States has voted to endorse legislation that would permit Federal and state investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court order. With the highest respect for the authority of the Conference, we offer an opposition to its view. The social costs of such intrusion into privacy would, in our judgment, heavily outweigh the gains to law enforcement.

The Conference gave its approval to pending eavesdropping legislation with the proviso that it be amended to meet the restrictions laid down in last June's Supreme Court decision in the *Berger* case. In that case, the Court struck down as constitutionally invalid a New York statute authorizing eavesdropping under court order because it failed to meet the Fourth Amendment requirement of a reasonable search—that is, that it particularly describe "the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

The truth is, we think, that this requirement cannot be met by any court order authorizing eavesdropping. As Mr. Justice Black observed in a dissenting opinion in the *Berger* case, the Court's decision "makes constitutional eavesdropping improbable."

It is a fallacy to suppose that a court order can circumscribe or control eavesdropping in the way that a warrant can limit an ordinary search. When a telephone is tapped or a room is bugged, the privacy of everyone using the telephone or the room is invaded, whether or not he is under suspicion of criminal conduct. The conversation of anyone calling the telephone or entering the room is recorded, whether or not it is related to a crime under investigation. Intimacies of every sort—social, business, conjugal—may thus be divulged to the eavesdroppers.

More serious, perhaps, than the eavesdropping itself is the pall which fear of it may put upon normal conversation. The most law-abiding men and women have things to say to each other which they want to say in confidence. Any official intrusion into such privacy is, as Lord Camden put it two centuries ago, "subversive of all the comforts of society." People who fear that government agents may be covertly listening to all that they say are not free people. They speak under constraint. And where this fear is endemic, freedom of communication is a casualty.

The community must choose, as is so often the case, between the claims of freedom and the claims of safety. Acknowledging that bugging and tapping may give the police some assistance in combatting organized crime—or may at any rate make it necessary for criminals to be extremely circumspect in communicating with each other—the question is whether the inhibition on lawful conversation is worth the cost. The choice is between facilitating the work of the police and facilitating free communication. Men cannot be free if they live in fear of official surveillance. "It is more than desirable, it is necessary, that criminals be detected and prosecuted as vigorously as possible. It is more necessary," as President Roosevelt put it, "that citizens of a democracy be protected in their rights of privacy from unwarranted snooping."

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 21, 1967]

THE CRIME GAME

Make a silly accusation and you're pretty likely to get a silly response. Recently a Republican Task Force pointed a blunderbuss at the Department of Justice and let fly with a load of political birdshot to the effect that the Department has been indifferent to organized crime in the United States. The Attorney General, as well aware as any Republican that there is going to be a national election next year, fired back the other day with a couple of barrels of statistics indicating that racketeers are being prosecuted and convicted far faster than they can fleece the public.

The Republican rhetoric charged the Attorney General with "an incredible retreat in the war on criminal activity" because of "hamstringing of Federal agents" by his order forbidding the use of electronic eavesdropping devices. The Attorney General's modest retort to this was that "the Department of Justice is mounting an attack on organized crime which is unequalled in its dimensions and unparalleled in its results." And he added what seems to us somewhat dubious, that "in the final analysis for law enforcement, it is convictions that count."

Convictions are a help, of course. But in the final analysis, they are an acknowledgment of law enforcement failure. In the final analysis, it is prevention of crime that counts. And a diminishing rate of prosecution and conviction could be the healthiest of indices.

The attack and the answer represent, in some degree, a playing of "the crime game" on either side. Statistics in this area are notoriously unreliable and can be cited to prove almost any point. Besides, they tell only a fraction of the story. As the President's Crime Commission pointed out, "Offense and arrest figures do not aid very much in analyzing the scope of professional crime . . . Although the police statistics indicate a lot of crime today, they do not begin to indicate the full amount . . . The actual amount of crime in the United States today is several times that reported in the Uniform Crime Reports."

Moreover, the Republican Task Force attacks the Attorney General for what is precisely the most praiseworthy part of his performance. He has insisted, as no other Attorney General from Tom Clark to Ramsey Clark has insisted, that the investigating agencies of the Federal Government observe the law in enforcing the law. He has accorded respect to the right of privacy fundamental to all freedom by forbidding Federal agents to employ taps and bugs in violation of Federal and local laws. The attack on crime is in no way weakened by this signal commitment to human decency and constitutional command.

In the final analysis, the kind of crime that now most worries the American people, the kind of crime that makes them fearful of walking at night in the streets of their cities, is not organized crime at all but random, violent, individual street crime—robbery, rape, assault, wanton homicide, offenses to which electronic eavesdropping is totally irrelevant. Congress can do something about this kind of crime—not by sniping at an Attorney General who has demonstrated extraordinary sensivity to the problem but by enacting the Safe Streets bill which the President has submitted to it. The responsibility now rests on the Hill.

STARVATION IN THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the October issue of the very fine magazine, the Progressive, published in Madison, Wis., contains an article written by the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania, JOSEPH S. CLARK.

The Senator from Pennsylvania describes vividly the situation which the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty witnessed when it made an inspection tour of some of the poverty regions of the country.

Senator CLARK expresses the sense of his article in quoting the philosopher Seneca:

> A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, nor is bent by prayers.

Mr. Morris Rubin, the renowned editor, is to be congratulated for another fine issue of the Progressive.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator CLARK's article, entitled "Starvation in the Affluent Society," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STARVATION IN THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

(By Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK)[1]

Gloria Palmer, a round-eyed, solemn-faced little girl of ten, stood shyly outside her slum home in Washington, D.C. and shifted her six-months-old baby brother from one arm to another, while two other tots leaned against her and stared up at the two United States Senators. Curiosity and childish bafflement were written across their faces. They did not know what Senators were or why they should be asking questions, nor did they recognize Senator Robert Kennedy or me. As we talked in front of the dilapidated and condemned tenements on Defrees Street, five blocks away could be seen the gleaming white dome of the Capitol.

I asked Gloria—one of eleven children of Wilhelmina Palmer—what she had eaten for lunch. "We didn't have any lunch," said Gloria quietly, and added, "But we have black-eyed peas for supper a lot." I asked her little brother, George, aged seven, "What did you have for lunch yesterday?" George replied, "Soup." "And what did you have for breakfast?" "Soup," George said.

A community action worker who accompanied Senator Kennedy and me on this personal inspection of slums in the shadow of the Capitol, commented: "There are hundreds of others in this neighborhood who are hungry, kids and adults who get up in the morning hungry and who go to bed at night hungry. It's been that way ever since I've been here, years and years."

When Senator Kennedy remarked that Gloria should have been in school during this neighborhood visit of our Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, my thoughts suddenly whirled back two weeks to another group of youngsters who were also hungry and also not in school.

This time the Subcommittee, which I serve as chairman, was walking along the dusty, sun-seared country roads of the Mississippi Delta. Here in ramshackle homes of one or two rooms holding families of eight and ten, we encountered children who were not sent to school by their mothers because they had no shoes. Later on, doctors suggested to us a more shocking reason: "bloated stomachs, chronic sores of the upper lip, and extreme lethargy—all tragic evidence of serious malnutrition."

In Belzoni, heart of the Delta, a mother of four told me that she and her brood had bologna sandwiches for breakfast and this would be the big meal of their day. Other times they have rice or grits, she told me in an infinitely tired voice, "but we never have any milk or fruit or fresh meat." Over and over again I was told that the staple diet for Belzoni's poor was beans, rice, margarine, lard, meal, peanut butter, raisins, powdered milk, and one can of meat for each person in the family per month. The can lasts, at the most, a week and a half.

The children we saw were visibly underweight, their bodies spotted with sores and untreated lesions.

Mrs. Ollie May Chapman and her nine children live in a tar-paper shack in Belzoni. On the day she was interviewed the family had gone without breakfast; for lunch they had soup made from a meat bone and cornmeal bread. For supper they would have beans—and a rare treat, a can of peaches.

We found a mother of fifteen children nursing a three-day-old child which she had delivered herself. There was no food in the house, she said, and no money. She didn't know what she would do.

Near Greenville, Mississippi, I came across a tumbledown collection of shacks ironically called Freedom City, housing the families of displaced plantation workers. Surviving, somehow, in this appalling squalor were forty-eight children who subsisted entirely on grits, rice, soybeans, and "whatever is donated," plus the customary one can of meat per month. Eggs, milk, and fruit juice, the mothers told me, were unknown.

There is no way in which you can prepare yourself for the overpowering effect of hunger and starvation seen close up. No matter how familiar you may be with the facts and figures of malnutrition, nothing can avert the feeling of stunned, disbelieving horror at the sight of little children with swollen bellies, shriveled limbs, and open sores that disfigure the small, bewildered faces and weakened bodies.

One reaches desperately for comparisons to give some semblance of reality to an experience that is essentially unreal and irrational. The mind rejects the evidence that innocent children *can and do* starve in this most abundant and fruitful of all nations, or go hungry in the Delta which contains 6,000,000 acres of the richest land on the continent. The visitor reaches for analogies. Senator Kennedy remarked that what he saw on our visit to the Mississippi Delta was as bad as anything he encountered in Latin America. A former British Army doctor with extensive experience in Africa told us that what he saw in Mississippi was comparable only to what he had observed in primitive parts of Kenya. Another doctor who worked for the World Health Organization in Asia told me, "I've been in India and I've seen famine and starvation. What we have seen in Mississippi and places in the north is slow starvation."

Yes, the North, too, allows its citizens, including its children, to waste away with hunger and to starve. Hunger, we discovered, is no respecter of area or region. No state is free of hunger any more than any state is free of poverty and deprivation. There is hunger, for example, in prosperous Illinois, which admits that 1,281,100 people, or twelve per cent of the state's population, have incomes below the poverty line.

The Subcommittee recently reported that in a small Appalachian town, near the border between Virginia and Tennessee, five small children tore apart and devoured a chicken before it could be cooked. It was the first meat the family had eaten in three months.

"In the San Joaquin Valley of California," our report continued, "fifty yards off a seldom-traveled road, a migrant family of seven, the youngest child not yet two, were living in a pick-up truck abandoned by a small stream. They had had no breakfast and did not know where they would find food for lunch. In other years they could have fished, but the stream had dried up."

As such specific cases as these came increasingly to the attention of the Subcommittee, we were struck by the discovery that these instances could not be projected against an overall picture of malnutrition and hunger in the United States. The fact is we simply do not know the extent of severity of malnutrition in this country today. Newspapermen were shocked when the U.S. Surgeon General told the Subcommittee that we know more about malnutrition in Pakistan and other poor countries than in the United States. He said such studies have not been made in this country and, if they were to be made, he was not sure which agency should make them.

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[1] JOSEPH S. CLARK is the senior U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania and one of the Senate's foremost spokesmen for progressive legislation. He is the author of two books, "The Senate Establishment" and "Congress: The Sapless Branch."

How vague our information is can be judged by the fact that the Subcommittee was forced to report, after soliciting the best opinion available, that "estimates of the number of American citizens in serious need of food vary from as few as 400,000 to more than 4,000,000." Twelve years ago a Federal study estimated that twenty-three per cent of America's poor—those with incomes under $3,000—had "poor diets." In 1955 that meant 7,500,000 Americans had insufficiently nutritious diets.

Nor do we know with any degree of accuracy the minimum cost of an adequate diet. An Office of Economic Opportunity official told me a tentative conclusion had been reached that an average of $16 a month or $192 a year would provide one person with a "minimum low standard diet—enough to hold body and soul together."

On the basis of other figures compiled by the Department of Agriculture, it seemed more realistic to assume an annual minimum food cost per individual of $225, about twenty-one cents a meal.

Manifestly what is needed before the Government can deal decisively with hunger and malnutrition is a comprehensive and incisive study of the problem. We must know the number of Americans who suffer from malnutrition and, next, what can be done to correct their inadequate diets.

Let us return to Mississippi because here surveys and studies have been made, and possibly they may provide clues to the nationwide dimensions of the hunger problem.

A study this year by the Department of Agriculture covered 509 poor families in two wealthy Delta counties. At least sixty per cent of these families had diets providing less than two-thirds of the *minimum* dietary requirements recommended by the National Research Council. Moreover, these family diets were seriously deficient in milk, vegetables, and fresh fruits. The value of all the meals consumed by the average individual in the study was a miserable four dollars a week, or fifty-seven cents a day, including the foods distributed free by the Federal Government.

A spot-check study in seven Delta counties was made by the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and reported to us by its Executive Director, Kenneth L. Dean. Here are brief excerpts from the report:

"Using an economic standard, Mississippi is the poorest state in the republic. The fact that we receive more Office of Economic Opportunity poverty program funds per capita than any other state, and that during the month of March, 1967, 405,000 people received food assistance, indicate that there is a widespread problem of poverty that could, at any given moment, turn into acute hunger or a slow starvation if Federal programs are not upgraded in keeping with population trends . . .

"The most acute problem of hunger, and the most common situation, is the middle-aged mother, without a husband, in a small two-room shack, caring for somewhere between four and fifteen children. Most of the children will be of school age but many will not be attending school. . .

"The diet of such a family usually consists of a breakfast of grits, molasses, and biscuit. For lunch the adults will eat nothing, and the children who are at home will be given a piece of bread and a drink of Kool-aid or water. The evening meal usually consists of boiled beans and corn bread. Sometimes boiled rice, dry peanut butter, or a canned meat substitute from the commodity program will supplement the evening meal.

"These people, while not starving in the extreme sense of the word, are suffering from acute hunger. This hunger could be called starvation in that people's bodies actually are being denied proper sustenance, which causes the mortality rate of the [Negro] children to be much higher than that of whites, and which also shortens the life span of adults considerably. Medical doctors who work among these people say they never know the depth of their hunger for, from the time of birth on, they never have enough to eat."

Any consideration of hunger, in Mississippi or elsewhere, must take cognizance, as does the Council's report, of the distribution of surplus foods. One-fifth of Mississippi's entire population is now being fed through the Federal food distribution programs. But the too-seldom recognized fact is that surplus foods were never intended to comprise full meals or adequate diets. Nevertheless, they have become almost the only source of food for hundreds of thousands of Americans. The meaning of this for nutrition and health can be perceived in the fact that the total value of the commodities distributed amounts to about five dollars per person per month. They consist chiefly of flour, cornmeal, dry milk, and shortening. Only recently was the one can of meat per person per month added to the diet.

Appalling as this situation was it became worse when a shift from surplus commodities to food stamps in just eight Mississippi counties in one year's time deprived 36,000 poor residents of their commodity allotments. The result simply had to be more hunger and more malnutrition since these people could not afford to buy food stamps to exchange for groceries.

By far the most impressive testimony on hunger was given to the Senate Subcommittee by a group of six doctors who made a first-hand investigation of malnutrition and starvation in the Delta. Sponsored by the Field Foundation, the doctors comprised a distinguished panel of medical experts: Dr. Joseph Brenner, Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard University Health Service; Dr. Alan Mermann, Department of Pediatrics, Yale University; Dr. Milton J. E. Senn, Sterling Professor of Pediatrics, Yale University; Dr. Cyril Walwyn, Medical Adviser to Friends of the Children of Mississippi and a private practitioner in Mississippi; and Dr. Raymond Wheeler, a private practitioner of Charlotte, North Carolina.

Their report emerged as a unique document, unique in its fusion of professional and humanitarian shock and profound concern. Here is part of their findings on hunger among the Delta's children:

"We saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking—even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering. In child after child we saw evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases; also unattended bone diseases; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic diseases as well as severe anemia with resulting loss of energy and ability to lead a normal active life; diseases of the heart and lung—requiring surgery—which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; severe kidney ailments that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and finally, in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues—its muscles, bones, and skin as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness, and exhaustion.

"We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day—and that one inadequate so far as vitamins, minerals, or protein are concerned. We saw children who don't get to drink milk, don't get to eat fruit, green vegetables, or meat. They live on starches—grits, bread, Kool-aid. They are living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining American children in the Twentieth Century.

"In some we saw children who are hungry and who are sick—children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. *We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition' is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry—weak, in pain, sick, their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, and their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them—which is exactly what 'starvation' means."*

The charge of starvation was supported by all six of these eminent doctors.

In their individual testimony before the Senate Subcommittee, the doctors presented other observations and conclusions, some of them almost heartbreaking.

Dr. Wheeler: "Only one of the [Delta] families I visited ever had milk at all and this was reserved for 'the sickliest' ones. One mother summed up the question of diet in a single, poignant sentence: 'These children go to bed hungry and get up hungry and don't ever know nothing else in between.' Thin arms, sunken eyes, lethargic behavior, and swollen bellies were everywhere to be seen."

Dr. Wheeler: "Only one of the [Delta] Negro children so vulnerable to diseases that ordinarily are no longer considered killers in the United States? These children are vulnerable because their bodily resistance is so low they don't have ability to cope with infections the way healthy children have. The main cause of lack of resistance is malnutrition. The food available to them lacks the vital components that are necessary to build healthy bodies that can develop resistance against disease . . . I would estimate that among the many families that I saw and I visited, with 150 or 160 children, at least three-quarters of them get less than the vital amount of animal protein per day—at least three-quarters, and I think I am being very conservative. Increasing evidence has come from different countries to suggest that infants both before birth and after birth, deprived of the kinds of foods which are necessary for normal bodily growth, suffer not only visible damage to their bodies but also to the central nervous system, to the brain."

Dr. Coles: "I would like to speak briefly about the psychiatric aspect of my work . . . I am describing in detail what it means for a child and his or her parents to be sick, more or less all the time, and hungry, more or less regularly. From all that one can learn, the aches and sores of the body become, for a child of four or five, more than a concrete physical factor of life; they bring in the child's mind a reflection of his worth and a judgment upon him and his family by the outside world. They ask themselves and others what they have done to be kept from the food they want or what they have done to deserve the pain they feel.

"In my experience with families in the Delta, their kind of life can produce a form of withdrawn, sullen behavior. I have seen some of the families I knew in the South go North and carry with them that state of mind and I am now working with them in Boston. They have more food, more welfare money, and, in the public hospitals of the Northern city, certain medical services. But one sees how persistently sickness and hunger in children live on into adults who doubt any offer, mistrust any goodness or favorable turn of events.

"I fear that we have among us now in this country hundreds of thousands of people who have literally grown up to be and learned to be tired, fearful, anxious, and suspicious. . . . The children need food, the kind of food that will enable their bones to grow, their blood to function as it should, their vital organs to remain healthy, and their minds to stay alert. It is inconceivable to us that children at this stage of American history, and in the context of American wealth, continue to live like this in Mississippi, in Alabama, in Kentucky, in West Virginia, in the Southwest, and, indeed carry this condition of life to all of our Northern cities."

Later I asked Dr. Coles a vital young psychiatrist who has not become insensitized by repeated trips into the most poverty-stricken areas of the Deep South and Appalachia, how many children suffering from malnutrition live in the Delta region today.

"There is no way, at present, of knowing for certain," he replied. "There are thousands and thousands of children in the Delta we didn't see, out of sight, out of reach, out of mind, out of access to white doctors and Negro doctors. There must be between 50,000 and 100,000 children suffering from malnutrition in the Delta."

Dr. Coles agreed on the use of the word "starvation" rather than "malnutrition." "The kind of starvation we observed," he said, "is the kind of starvation in which the body is slowly consuming itself. The body is victimized by diseases which definitely can shorten life. We saw severe malnutrition, hunger, and starvation in the sense that the body is irretrievably going downhill."

I am convinced from what I saw that among the great number of Negroes who have moved from the Deep South to Northern ghettos are some who knew starvation in the South as children, and that this bitter experience makes some of them potential recruits for the riots in cities.

I wish to reemphasize, as would the doctors, that hunger, malnutrition, and slow starvation are not confined to the Deep South nor to any other part of the country. There is, certainly, widespread hunger and malnutrition in all the Negro ghettos, north and south.

Washington, D.C., for example, is no better nor any worse than any other American city, although undoubtedly, as the center of Federal Government, it should be better. One-third of the population of the nation's capital exists at little more than subsistence level.

Under the District of Columbia's Headstart program, for example, 4,200 children recently received physical examinations. Between forty and fifty per cent of these youngsters were found to have low hemoglobin counts, a condition (when not caused by infection) reflecting a food deficiency which produces nutritional anemia.

Deficient diets among Washington children are also indicated in the School Free Lunch Program which provides free lunches in elementary and secondary schools *only on application by the family, certifying need*. Nationally, a total of eleven per cent of all school children receive free school lunches, but in Washington they are provided to fifty-one per cent of all school youngsters.

Another index of deficient diets in the nation's capital is found in Public Assistance payments which provide a maximum of $417-a-month for a family of thirteen, including $228 for food, which comes to nineteen cents-a-meal for each member of the family.

The Subcommittee's disclosures—preliminary as they are—of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of hungry Americans have had two early results. The first was an unexpected public response; the second was the Subcommittee's success in effecting a quick change in the Department of Agriculture's food stamp policies and in moving emergency legislation through the Senate.

Perhaps we should have anticipated the public's warm, sympathetic response to the revelations of hunger, but actually members of the Subcommittee were surprised by the letters and telephone calls they received from concerned citizens. Some of the letters contained checks; mostly the writers inquired (as did the callers) where money and collections of food and clothing could be sent. Frequently the letters combined expressions of heartfelt solicitude with indignant comments on the affluent society that allowed penury and hunger to persist.

The way in which the food stamp program operated, particularly the cash payments required of poor families, was seen by the Subcommittee as a major obstacle to alleviating hunger. Time and again, in Mississippi and in Washington, the Subcommittee was told that many families could not afford the two dollars per person a month that would buy them desperately needed food stamps worth much more when exchanged for commodities. A family of six, for example, would have to pay twelve dollars a month for coupons exchangeable for $72 worth of food. Many families, we were told, went "months on end without seeing twelve dollars all together."

Finally, after an impatient exchange of letters between the Subcommittee and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, and appeals to the White House, the Department of Agriculture was induced to cut the cost of food stamps from two dollars to fifty cents. This meant that the family of six that previously paid twelve dollars for $72 worth of food would now pay three dollars. With other members of the Subcommittee, I hope that even the fifty cents charge can be eliminated and stamps be made available to the needy free of cost.

In addition, the Subcommittee persuaded Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity to institute an emergency $1,000,000 four-month Food Stamp Loan Program in twenty counties in seven Southern states. This provides the needy with cash loans ranging from two dollars to twelve dollars a month, depending on the size of the family. It now makes possible the purchase of food stamps by thousands of families that previously could not afford them. By the end of the year it is expected that 30,000 families (with an average of four to a family) will have obtained OEO loans for food stamps in these Deep South counties.

Emergency legislation was the next step, and for once the normally laggard machinery of the U.S. Senate moved with dispatch. On Friday, July 21, Senator John Stennis, Mississippi Democrat, introduced a bill proposing a $10,000,000 appropriation to provide, on an emergency basis, "food and medical services to any individual in any state whenever such action is required to prevent the loss of such individual's life or to avoid suffering caused by lack of food or medical attention." By late afternoon, seven other Senators and I, all members of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, had joined as co-sponsors of the bill and had pledged the speediest possible action on the proposal.

On the following Tuesday the bill was unanimously approved by the full Committee but not before the $10,000,000 appropriation was increased to $25,000,000 for the first year and $50,000,000 for the second, and an amendment added to initiate the first comprehensive study in the nation's history "of the incidence and location of serious hunger and malnutrition and health problems incident thereto. . ." The bill sailed through the Senate the next day without a single dissenting vote.

I am hopeful that the new war on poverty legislation—which includes additional funds of $2.8 billion approved by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for a series of improving amendments to the existing Economic Opportunity Act—will make a major contribution toward the abolition of poverty and hunger. By strengthening the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, adult work-training, aid to small business, community action programs, assistance to migrant workers, rural loans, Headstart, and VISTA—by making these programs more effective, I believe we can do much to raise American living standards and begin the long-overdue eradication of poverty, hunger and malnutrition.

As the long hot summer of 1967, with its unprecedented civil disorders, bloodshed, and looting, recedes into history, the nation and its leaders find themselves reassessing their goals and priorities. Remembering the devastated neighborhoods, the burned-out homes and shops, in nearly thirty cities across the country, I found the words of the philosopher Seneca, 2,000 years ago, echoing meaningfully down to our day: "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, nor is bent by any prayers."

Now, as never before, reason and justice dictate that we devote our purpose and our nation's resources to the goal that there shall no longer be hungry people in an America of overflowing abundance.

OMAHA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE STUDY TOUR

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the mayor of Omaha, Nebr., Hon. A. V. Sorensen, has arranged a study tour in Washington, D.C., for members of the Omaha Chamber of Commerce. Included in the group are members of the Omaha City Council, members of the Douglas County Board of Commissioners, the Honorable Kenneth G. Jensen, mayor of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and members of the Council Bluffs City Council.

These gentlemen and ladies are here for 3 days to receive, firsthand, information as to the type, number, and characteristics of Federal programs available to local government. The group is also privileged to listen to Senator PROUTY, Congressman GERALD R. FORD, and a representative of Senator PERCY, concerning legislative proposals in the area of housing, poverty, and taxation.

Mr. President, these men and women are to be commended for taking part of their valuable time to become better acquainted with possible solutions to problems facing local government. I ask unanimous consent that the names of these civic, business, educational, and political leaders be listed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mrs. Douglas Abbott, Mr. C. D. Anderson, Mr. Fred G. Arkoosh, Mr. Alden Aust.

Mr Robert O. Beno, Mr. Douglas Bereuter, Director, Mr. Donald F. Bock, Mr. Paul Bolton, Mr. Arthur D. Bradley, Mr. Don Burden, Mr. C. Howard Burnett.

Mr. C. B. Calandra, Mr. Hubert C. Carden, Mr. S. L. Cate, Mr Harold Cherniack, Mr. Warren D. Chiles, Mr. Charles M. Christiansen, Mr. Robert F. Coats.

Mr. Robert Cunningham, Mr. Irving R. Dana, Mr. Coyle A. Davis, Mrs. Joann Dickey, Mr. J. D. Diesing, Mr. Howard B. Dooley.

Mr. Charles W. Durham, Mr. Jack R. Eakin, Mr. Erhart D. Edquist, Mr. Travis Evans, Mr. Jack H. Fernley, Mr. Don W. Franksen.

Mr. Herman Coldstein, Mr. D. K. Gordon, Mr. Dan Gordman, Mr. Charles Graham, W. R. Hathaway, M.D., Mr. William Heavey.

Mr. Richard H. Hiller, Mr. Robert L. Ingles, Mr. Gene Jacobson, Mrs. Madeline Jacobson, The Honorable Kenneth G. Jensen.

Mr. Richard W. Johnson, Mr. Ronald Kiger, Mr. O. A. Kinney, Jr., Mr. William E. Korbitz, Mr. Norman Korney, Mr. Gary Kotyza.

Mr. Donald G. Lamp, Mr. Clarence L. Landen, Jr., Mr. David A. Lemen, Mr. Robert G. Lueder, Mr. Daniel C. Lynch, Mr. J. Allan Mactier.

Dr. C. C. Madsen, Mr. John Markel, Mr. Ephriam L. Marks, Col. Anson D. Marston, Mr. John S. Marshall, Mr. Francis P. Matthews.

Mr. Fred J. Matthies, Mr. John E. McCann, Mr. Ray B. McMartin, Mr. Stanley A. Michael, Mr. Kirk P. Miller.

Mr. Morris F. Miller, Mr. George C. Mittauer, Mr. William T. Monahan, Mr. J. Robert Mullen, Mr. James W. Murphy, Dr. Kirk Naylor.

Mr. Floyd F. Nebergall, Mr. John W. Neuberger, Mr. Julius I. Novak, Mr. Robert O'Keefe, Mr. John A. O'Malley, Dr. A. B. Pittman.

Mr. Wayne E. Putnam, Mr. William C. Ramsey, Mr. Willis Regier, Mr. W. A. Richardson, Mr. James D. Richter, Mr. R. E. Runice.

Mr. H. L. Sampson, Mr. Kenneth Shearer, Mr. Robert C. Schropp, Mr. Marvin G. Schmid, Mr. E. E. Schwalm, Mr. Everett Shockey, The Honorable A. V. Sorensen.

Mr. Harry W. Springer, Mr. Ray E. Stanley, Mr. Warren Swigart, Mr. Kenneth Syas, Mr. Dale Te Kolste, Mr. D. D. Ulfers.

Mr. Sam Vacanti, Mr. M. J. Warren, Mr. S. M. Watson, Mr. Alex Weinstein, Mr. J. Leroy Welsh, Mr. Joe Williams.

Mr. O. E. Willmann, Mr. Charles A. Wilscam, Jr., Dr. Cecil L. Wittson, Mr. Robert R. Baxter, Mr. L. W. Gregg, Mr. Ralph O. Heffinger.

ALASKA AND HAWAII—SISTER STATES SHOULD BE PARTNERS IN TRADE

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, last Friday I introduced a bill (S. 2454), cosponsored by the distinguished Senators from Hawaii [Mr. Fong and Mr. Inouye], to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 to permit a very desirable development of trade relationships between the 49th and 50th States—Alaska and Hawaii. The same bill has been introduced by all members of the Alaska and Hawaii delegations in the House of Representatives. The benefit of mutual trade for both States is now, unhappily, hindered by the existence of unnecessarily high water transportation costs resulting from necessary dependence on American-built ships. The advantages to both States available from utilization of foreign carriers plying the Pacific with cargo exchanged between the United States and countries of the Far East are so great we must act to remove barriers to this now existing.

As I mentioned in my remarks at the time I introduced S. 2454, a forceful argument for allowance of the use of foreign carriers in trade between Alaska and Hawaii has developed with the plans, now in process of execution, for construction in Alaska, on the Kenai Peninsula, of a large plant for the production of liquefied natural gas which will be shipped to Japan in tankers built in Sweden. The use of low-cost carriers makes this an economic trade relationship between the United States and Japan, bringing benefits to both countries. It could provide similar benefits to the States of Alaska and Hawaii—allowing fuel-short Hawaii to enjoy the benefits of low-cost natural gas produced in Alaska.

I am informed by a communication from Honolulu that it is anticipated that the volume of gas which could be used in Hawaii is estimated to amount to a quantity measured in value in the magnitude of $2.5 to $3 million annually, escalating annually at an estimated rate of 10 and 20 percent. This would be an extremely important contribution to the economy of Alaska while, at the same time, providing the people of Hawaii with supplies of fuel at a lower cost than others now available. In addition, the development in Alaska of another new plant, now well under construction, to produce chemical products, including urea and anhydrous ammonia for fertilizer, could also be the source of reciprocal benefits for Alaska and Hawaii. Hawaii's agricultural economy needs these products and could buy them at less cost than is now possible—again if we change the cabotage laws to allow use of low-cost shipping.

Alaskans and Hawaiians have long been aware of the interests they share in common and the potential benefits that can be gained from close cooperation with each other. Throughout the long years of the battles for statehood for Alaska and for Hawaii we enjoyed the constant support and valuable help of our Hawaiian friends in working for a common purpose. Now that we have achieved that objective and the beneficial results of the status of statehood are becoming clear to all, Alaskans and Hawaiians hope to consolidate our gains by finding more and more ways in which reciprocal assistance will lead to joint benefits.

In addition to improving feasibility of ocean transportation between Alaska and Hawaii by the use of foreign-built carriers, direct airline connections between the States are being actively sought. Now before the Civil Aeronautics Board, in connection with the giant Transpacific Route Case, are applications from two carriers to provide direct service between Alaska and Hawaii. Approval of this could bring increased tourist activity for both States with the use of such a route by European vacationers to enjoy a combination sea—in Hawaii—and ski—in Alaska—holiday. The beautiful fruits and flowers of Hawaii could be flown to Alaska in the winter when such exotic treats can make a welcome contribution to the quality of life of Alaskans.

These are but some of the changes in transportation patterns between Alaska and Hawaii that will surely come and will surely enrich the lives of both States. Together we will achieve our mutual objectives.

As an indication of the earnestness with which the two States are pursuing them, an Alaska trade delegation, headed by Governor Walter Hickel, visited Hawaii on the return trip from a trade mission to Japan earlier this month. Common interests and common problems were discussed with Hawaiian leaders and now we are pursuing the course indicated to solve those problems.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record the text of newspaper articles from Hawaiian newspapers commenting on the legislation introduced last week to amend the Jones Act and on the recent Alaska trade mission to Hawaii.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, Sept. 26, 1967]

Hawaii, Alaska Seek Shipping Exemption

Washington.—Reps. Spark M. Matsunaga and Patsy T. Mink yesterday joined Alaska Republican Howard W. Pollock in offering a bill aimed at lowering costs of materials needed in Hawaii.

The bill proposed by the two Hawaii Democrats and the Alaskan is similar to a measure sent to the Senate by Hiram L. Fong and Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii and Ernest Gruening of Alaska on Friday.

The measure would exempt Alaska and Hawaii from the 1920 Merchant Marine Act provisions prohibiting shipments of merchandise between domestic ports in vessels under foreign registry.

"Hawaii needs the mineral, timber and fuel resources abundant in Alaska and lacking in Hawaii while Alaska could be the beneficiary of fruits, vegetables and other products of Hawaii," Gruening told the Senate last week.

"How ironical that oriental country can receive an American product at a far lower price than an American area, especially one which lies nearer the source of supply than are the Asian countries," Gruening said.

"The same factor of exorbitant shipping costs via American-constructed vessels also prohibits shipment to Hawaii of Alaska's other resources, especially our badly needed forest products," Gruening said.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 25, 1967]

Hawaii, Alaska Urge Lower Freight Cost

Hawaii and Alaska lawmakers joined today to introduce a bill aimed at lowering costs of some building materials and fuels in Hawaii.

The bill is a suggested amendment to the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, popularly known as the Jones Act. This law's provisions prohibit shipments of material between domestic ports in ships under foreign registry.

Sen. Ernest W. Gruening, D-Alaska, who introduced the bill in the Senate Friday, said the purpose was "to remove—in part at least—the Jones Act shackles which now prevent a promising, thriving, industrial traffic between two states who need each other."

A similar bill was introduced today in the House by Reps. Spark M. Matsunaga and Patsy T. Mink of Hawaii and Alaska Republican Howard W. Pollock.

The Senate bill was cosponsored by Hawaii's Sens. Hiram L. Fong and Daniel K. Inouye.

No regularly scheduled direct freighter service—foreign or domestic—exists between Hawaii and Alaska.

"Hawaii needs the mineral, timber and fuel resources abundant in Alaska and lacking in Hawaii while Alaska could be the beneficiary of fruits, vegetable and other products of Hawaii," Gruening told the Senate last week.

As an example of possible saving for consumers, Gruening said it was planned to ship 139 million cubic feet of Alaskan gas per day to Japan, but unless the Jones Act is changed, Hawaii couldn't get any of this low cost fuel because the tankers are scheduled to be constructed in Sweden.

"How ironical that Oriental countries can receive an American product at a far lower price than in American areas, especially one which lies nearer the source of supply than are the Asian countries," Gruening said.

It is most likely that an American shipping firm would build ships specifically to carry liquefied gas from Alaska to Hawaii, he said.

"It is my reasoned judgment and hope that the opposition which has manifested itself in the past to changes in the Jones Act whenever Alaska sought them should not and need not be mobilized against this legislation," he added.

"The same factor of exorbitant shipping costs via American-constructed vessels also prohibits shipment to Hawaii of Alaska's other resources, especially our badly needed forest products," the Senator said.

Hawaii Lt. Gov. Thomas P. Gill, who headed the Governor's Committee on Food Prices and who is often quoted on consumer matters, said a change in the maritime law could be a great advantage in fuel distribution to Hawaii.

"But I wouldn't want to bet to much on fruit and vegetables; they could be handled better by air freight," Gill said.

"There's certainly a tremendous need for some interchanges of fresh fruits and vegetable from Hawaii in exchange for fresh seafood from Alaska. However, Alaska's biggest market is Anchorage and that's not to big.

"Building materials might be cheaper here if the law were changed, but Alaska itself seems to get a lot of wood from Canada and the other 48 states," Gill said. He was a recent Alaska visitor.

[From the Pacific Business News, Sept. 18, 1967]

Hawaii and Alaska: Anything in Common?—Plenty!

(By Jim Weatherly)

Hawaii and Alaska are as different from each other as their symbols, the palm tree and the iceberg. But as a discussion between business and government officials from the two states wore on at the Chamber of Commerce of Hawaii last Tuesday, it became apparent they have more in common than meets the eye.

The Alaska Trade Mission to Japan headed by Governor Walter J. Hickel took a long route home through Hawaii to discuss mutual interests, and the men were reminded that:

Both States are miles away from the continental U.S. (Hawaii beats Alaska on this score.)

Both are dependent to a great extent on air and sea transportation. (Hawaii, of course, is totally dependent on these two modes of travel.)

Both have their own brand of romance that's appealing to tourists.

And both have more than casual ties with Japan. The Japanese have made a greater capital investment in Alaska than all the other 49 states put together.

These common interests, plus the potential of trade between the 49th and 50th states, could drive their business and government leaders together into a body with some muscle.

The feeling among the men in attendance at the discussion was that together the nation's newest states could make aloud enough voice to be heard all the way to Washington, D.C. And that's where most of the answers to their mutual problems seem to lie.

Topping the list of gripes is the inequity of the Jones Act as it pertains to the two states.

With both so far away from the Mainland, the added convenience of being able to use foreign ships under certain circumstances to handle cargo between two U.S. points is obvious.

But the law, written to protect American shipping companies on both coasts, prohibits any such move.

By deliberately defying the law, Alaska has won some exemptions. But it wants more.

Hawaii has more than once been inconvenienced by the Act, but it's never made any concentrated effort to find an exemption.

An air link between Anchorage and Honolulu appears no less important than doing something about the Jones Act.

Both states have favored taking the proposed route out of the complicated transpacific route investigation now before the Civil Aeronautics Board for more immediate action, but the CAB won't budge.

Governor Hickel is particularly enthusiastic about the route.

He sees the unique features of Alaska and Hawaii being sold in a tour package to Western Europeans.

With five international airlines now jetting over the North Pole from Europe to Anchorage on their way to Tokyo, the air link to Hawaii would provide an alternate direct route to the South Pacific.

European visitors to Hawaii and points south are now slowed down by longer routes through Los Angeles, San Francisco or Seattle.

The new air route would, of course, provide a fast way to move cargo between Alaska and Hawaii as well.

The conference attendants were very optimistic about the potential for trade between Hawaii and Alaska, providing there are more direct transportation links.

It's obvious, though, that the trade would be anything but balanced. The simple facts are, Alaska is rich with natural resources. Hawaii has practically none.

The few flowers and tropical fruits we could return for things like liquefied natural gas, lumber and seafood are a pittance.

The most sought after Alaskan resource for Hawaii at the present time is liquefied natural gas.

Japan will be the major market for the gas. The nation is now building two specially built tankers in Sweden to haul the energy source.

Honolulu Gas Co. is very interested in the Alaskan product, but again, the problem is transportation.

The Japanese vessels will be the only ones capable of handling the gas, and they're prohibited from calling at Honolulu from Alaska because of the Jones Act.

Alaska's lumber resources have a potential market for Hawaii, too.

Hawaii lumber experts say the present indirect transportation from Alaska would up the cost compared to the lumber Hawaii now gets from California, Oregon and Washington.

Also, the public here would have to be educated on timber that's different from what they've been buying, though not inferior.

One Hawaii seafood wholesaler is already getting 1,000 pounds of live Alaskan crabs each week via Seattle.

With the influx of Hawaii's visitors demanding all the delicacies they're used to back home, the demand for prime Alaskan seafood will increase.

At present because of the time between flights at Seattle, the mortality rate for crabs has been rather high.

Their chance for survival would be made more possible with direct flights to Hawaii from Anchorage.

With all the potential, trade between Alaska and Hawaii won't be ignored.

A possible joint venture between the gas and lumber interests to build barges for direct service between the two points was suggested at the conference.

A more immediate get together possibility is an Hawaiian delegation to Alaska for further talks.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 13, 1967]

Isle, Alaska Trade Leaders Thinking Big

King crabs and clams, flown live to Honolulu from Alaska, are already being served in restaurants here.

But this is only a small part of the huge trade between the 49th and 50th States now being planned.

Here are some of the possibilities if moves discussed yesterday by Hawaii and Alaska business leaders come to fruition:

Fresh Hawaiian pineapple and papaya would brighten tables throughout Alaska, while fresh-cut flowers from the Islands would be available every day.

Using techniques and equipment developed in Hawaii, underwater miners would reap a harvest of gold from the sea floor, washed there over centuries from Alaskan gold fields.

Honolulu housewives would turn on their gas stoves to cook with natural gas shipped here from Alaska in liquid form and distributed by Honolulu Gas Co.

Hawaii's growing wood-working industry would use Alaskan timber.

Members of a trade mission from Alaska raised these suggestions when they met Honolulu businessmen at the Chamber of Commerce of Hawaii.

Led by the governor of Alaska, Walter J. Hickel, the group spent two days here before heading home after a visit to Japan.

The Alaskan delegation impressed on the local representatives of business and government the need for concerted action to gain loopholes in federal shipping regulations, if a number of these trade opportunities are to materialize.

Gov. Hickel, who said Alaska had to deliberately break federal law to bring its plight to the notice of the authorities, said equally strong action is going to be required from Hawaii.

The problem is presented in the Jones Act, which prohibits the movement of U.S. cargo between U.S. ports in foreign ships.

Hickel said the liquefied natural gas, for example, can only be moved in tankers now being built in Sweden.

These foreign carriers will not be able to service Hawaii as the law stands now.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, Sept. 13, 1967]

Isle-Alaska Links Urged

Hawaii and Alaska should join forces immediately to press for an amendment to Federal law to permit transport of their products between the two in foreign ships.

They also should coordinate their efforts to obtain immediate consideration of a direct Hawaii-Alaska air link.

This was the consensus developed here yesterday during a discussion between members of an Alaska trade mission and a dozen leading Hawaii business and government officials.

"If you are going to get the cost of living down and you are going to compete (in trade), you have to get the Jones Act amended," the Hawaii group was told by Gov. Walter J. Hickel of Alaska. "This is a case where you really have to push."

The Jones Act prohibits the transport of goods and materials between any two states in a foreign ship.

To get some relief, Alaska has challenged the Federal law with two deliberate violations of the act.

"I don't think Hawaii is fully aware of what Alaska has done about the Jones Act," commented Paul Joy of Honolulu Gas Co. He suggested that perhaps Hawaii "has been asleep and not taken the necessary action" to obtain the amendments she needs.

Honolulu Gas has been working in recent years to find a way to obtain liquefied natural gas from Alaska at a cost that would be competitive.

It has been pointed out that without a change in the law an American natural resource will provide a great benefit to a foreign country—Japan—while the same benefits are denied an American state which could use them.

Hickel said liquefied natural gas production at a multimillion-dollar plant is expected to start in 1969. It will be carried to

Japan in two tankers of 79,000 tons each now under construction in Sweden.

It has been suggested that one of these ships could call in Hawaii at regular intervals—if it weren't for the Jones Act.

Besides the natural gas potential for Hawaii, the State might be able to obtain less expensive supplies of lumber and fertilizer.

While most of the discussion on the transportation problem centered around an amendment to the law, it was suggested by James Read, manager of Ultramar Chemical Co., that the two states should take a look at a possibility of transporting their own materials, possibly via barge:

"I don't think Hawaii is ever going to have any relief from the Jones Act," Read said.

The situation regarding direct air routes is considerably different than shipments by sea.

Both states were rebuffed by the Civil Aeronautics Board in efforts to get the Hawaii-Alaska route decision removed from consideration with the complicated Transpacific Route Case.

We have probably moved without collective effort," said Hickel. "We should go to the CAB and ask them to show justification for not doing it. We should get on this right away, go right to the CAB and proceed to a decision."

Don Dickey, general manager of the Alaska Chamber of Commerce, emphasized that the CAB "won't come calling" to the two states involved. "It will take some head knocking," he said.

Al Harris of the Chamber of Commerce of Hawaii staff noted that the proposed Hawaii-Alaska air route "has great potential for growth."

"The potential," said Hickel, "is in what is not happening now. With a little romance, we could sell sea and ski vacations to Europeans and save them at least three hours' flying time to Hawaii."

He said that about 100,000 Europeans are flying across the North Pole via Anchorage, through which five foreign airlines operate. To reach the south Pacific areas, they must continue either to the U.S. Mainland or to Japan.

In some instances, Hickel pointed out, an extra 14 hours of flying time is required to get to Hawaii from Anchorage. As an example he cited Air France, which carries its passengers to Los Angeles before they make the Pacific flight.

Anchorage is a few miles closer to Hawaii than Seattle, but today it is necessary to at least go via that Washington city while traveling between the two Pacific states.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 12, 1967]

RISE IN ISLE-ALASKA TRADE FORECAST

The governor of the State of Alaska, Walter J. Hickel, predicted in Honolulu yesterday that big business will develop between the 49th and 50th states.

A major trade boost will come from sales of Alaska produced liquefied natural gas to Hawaii, he said.

And an Alaska-Hawaii air route would be a logical extension of over-the-pole flights from Europe, creating a "whole new marketing area" for the airlines.

Hickel is in Honolulu as the head of an Alaskan trade mission, now on its way home after a visit to Japan.

The Honolulu Gas Co. has already indicated interest in the possibility of tapping Mainland natural gas resources by shipping the gas here in liquefied form.

LARGEST PLANT

Hickel said Alaska will soon have the largest plant in the world to do the liquefying.

It would take three years to convert the gas facilities here to handle it, but Hickel said the Alaska plant will not be in operation until 1969.

At that time Alaska will begin supplying the gas "in big quantities" to Japan.

A major obstacle in supplying Hawaii is the Jones Act, drawn up to protect U.S. shipping, which prevents foreign carriers from moving cargo between American ports.

He said:

"It will be necessary to get a waiver from the law so that the foreign carriers taking the gas to Japan will be able to service Hawaii, too.

"The Jones Act should not apply to Hawaii and Alaska."

AIR LINK

Hickel described proposals for a direct air link between Alaska and Hawaii as "excellent."

He said:

"Flights land every day at Anchorage after an over-the-pole hop from Europe.

"They should be allowed to fly on to the South Pacific through Hawaii.

"The travel industry would then be able to offer complete sea and ski packages, using Alaskan snows and Hawaiian surf and sunshine."

OPPORTUNITIES

He said the Alaskan group found huge opportunities for trade between Alaska and Japan.

He said:

"Japan has a tremendous interest in the vast natural resources of Alaska.

"There is already more Japanese capital invested in our state than in all the others put together, and we expect this to double within a few years.

"The natural resources of Alaska and the commercial resources of Japan naturally complement each other."

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 548, S. 2388, the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON FOR HIS APPOINTMENTS TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CITY COUNCIL

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this morning at the White House swearing in ceremony of Walter E. Washington as mayor, and Thomas W. Fletcher as deputy mayor of the District of Columbia, President Johnson announced the names of the new nominees for the District of Columbia City Council. These nominees will serve the District of Columbia City Council subject to their confirmation by the Senate.

These outstanding individuals will bring to our city government the kind of wisdom, leadership, and understanding that will provide a meaningful voice for all citizens in the Nation's Capital.

Mr. President, I highly commend President Johnson for the choices he has made.

I have worked on the Senate District of Columbia Committee for a great many years. I have come to know each one of these nominees. And I stand before the Senate today to vouch for them as dedicated citizens of the Nation's Capital.

This is a great day for our new mayor and for all those who have worked long to create a truly modern and efficient government.

The following nominations have been made by the President: Max Kampelman, Chairman; Mr. Fauntroy, Vice Chairman; Stanley Anderson, Mrs. Margaret Heywood, John Nevius, William Thompson, J. C. Turner, Polly Shackleton, Joseph Yeldell.

Mr. President, my boss really, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, is present in the Chamber. I am sure I bespeak our mutual views when I say that these nominees, once they are confirmed, and the mayor and the deputy mayor, will receive from the Senate District of Columbia Committee its enthusiastic help and support as the city council takes up the very great responsibility that the President has imposed upon it.

The outstanding qualifications of each one of the persons whom the President has nominated for the city council are shown by biographical data which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the President of the United States delivered an elegant statement this morning when he presented Mr. Walter Washington and Mr. Thomas Fletcher to take their oath of office in their capacity as mayor and deputy mayor, respectively, of the District of Columbia, under the new Reorganization Act.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's remarks on that occasion be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT SWEARING IN OF WALTER WASHINGTON, COMMISSIONER, AND THOMAS FLETCHER, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, EAST ROOM, SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

Mr. Justice Fortas, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Washington and family, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Fletcher and family, distinguished Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, Members of the Court, Ladies and Gentlemen:

More than ceremony summons us here to the East Room this morning.

We celebrate a new era for the Capital City as we meet here to swear in Walter Washington as Washington's first Mayor, and Thomas Fletcher as his deputy.

The citizens of the District have waited almost a century for this day to come, and all that it symbolizes.

This is the day—and this is the year—that the District emerges into the world of the 20th Century government.

With the recent reorganization plan, the Nation's Capital was liberated from the outworn practices of past years. That reorganization plan equips the city with new machinery to let its government serve the needs of its people.

But the best machinery can function effectively only in the hands of the best men.

I looked across America to try to find these men. And I think we found them—men with the strength and the character and the vision to deal with tough problems. Now, this morning, we commit those problems to their capable hands.

No one here, for a moment, minimizes these problems.

The District's new day comes at a time of real crisis for every American city. And Washington, D.C., the Capital City, represents the American city.

It is alive with promise. And more than any other, it houses the heritage of our history.

But beyond the monuments, urban erosion eats at a city's heart and at a city's hope.

The needs are clear to all of us: Safety on the streets and in our homes; driving crime from our midst; health and education for our children; a decent roof over every family; a good job for every person who is willing to take it. Then every resident can share the pride that stirs every visitor to our Capital.

The leaders who will help to solve those problems know the challenge. They are uniquely qualified to act because their careers have been spent in action, in meeting the needs of cities and the needs of their people.

Together, this team has the energy and the experience to deal responsibly with the great urban and human problems of our time. Together, they will focus those talents on our national capital city.

Mr. Fletcher wrote an outstanding and distinguished record as City Manager of San Diego, California. He brings to his task a deep knowledge of how modern city administration and fiscal planning can work to the benefit of the people.

Mr. Washington brings unsurpassed skills as a city executive. He is taking a very large reduction in salary and making sacrifices to come here to accept this draft from his President. He is an authentic leader and he has devoted a lifetime of effective and inspired work in the cause of good housing, one of our most critical urban needs—to say nothing about what he has done for beautification in the District of Columbia. He has lived and worked on the streets of his home city. And he has said that he is going to travel those streets again, in pursuit of the progress that the people want and the people need and the people desire and expect.

Mr. Mayor, your walk will be long and arduous, but I believe it will be rewarding.

You will walk with the eyes of the Nation on you.

Everything you do will be known. You will live in a goldfish bowl as most of us public servants do. But, Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Deputy Mayor, we wish you well—and bid you godspeed.

Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Fletcher, you won't be walking alone. I am sending to the Senate my recommendations for the District of Columbia City Council.

In filling this Council, it was our goal to find among the 800,000 residents of the District of Columbia nine exceptional men and women to work with you, to work on the team, to assist you in leading the government of the Nation's Capital, to represent the people at all times in this new venture in government that we are undertaking.

We have spent weeks in considering recommendations made to us by organizations, in searching and consulting with the best authorities that we could talk to. We have reviewed hundreds of records and files. We have sought and obtained not only your recommendations, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Fletcher, but those of civic, labor, religious and other leading non-political groups.

Today I am happy to announce the names of those that I recommend to serve on the Council. And if the Senate is willing, they will serve on the Council.

As Chairman, a distinguished Washington attorney, a political scientist, a teacher, a wise counsellor, a leader in bringing educational television and modern transportation to the Nation's Capital, Council Chairman Mr. Max Kampelman.

As Vice Chairman, a crusader for effective government, for broader opportunities, for better housing for all the people, the Pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church—the Reverend Walter Fauntroy.

Very deeply involved in the life of the city, honored as an outstanding citizen, an innovator in the field of programs for the young people of the District and Director of one of Washington's most successful youth projects, the Roving Leaders—Mr. Stanley Anderson.

A leader in church activities, a fighter against discrimination, an eminent attorney, Mrs. Margaret A. Haywood.

A second-generation Washingtonian, a leader in the District's Head Start Program, a worker for better housing, Mr. John Nevius.

President of the Washington Urban League, a respected member of the community, an outstanding lawyer, a past President of the National Bar Association, Mr. William Thompson.

A labor leader who knows the problems of the workingman, who fought for the minimum wage, who has spent a lifetime of service in the cause of labor, a man who has made many contributions to helping his fellowman and to improving his city, Mr. J. C. Turner.

One of 13 children, a lifelong resident of the District, and at present an executive at IBM, he finds the time to teach high school dropouts at night, Mr. Joseph Yeldell.

A long-time Washington resident, an editor, a civic leader, active in the District's family and child welfare programs, Mrs. Polly Shackleton. Mrs. Shackleton this morning is observing conditions in Montreal as a background for what she is going to be called on to do here and cannot be present.

These nine citizens, we believe, will be a genuine voice for the people of Washington. We think they represent this city. We believe they know and understand and will certainly learn all about its urgent problems.

I hope the Senate will act promptly so that the new city government can move rapidly from promise to performance.

With them, Mayor Washington, you and your Deputy Mayor Fletcher can now show America what concerned and aroused municipal leaders can do. You can improve the lives of your fellow citizens. You can transform this city into a proud home for all the people.

Some of the most enlightened Members of the Congress, who at great sacrifice to themselves, have fought for years for a better government for the District of Columbia, are here this morning. We are grateful to all of you for having come.

Now, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Deputy Mayor and City Councilmen, it is up to you to get with it. And you had better learn these Congressmen and Senators.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, following the swearing in ceremony that inaugurated into office Mr. Washington and Mr. Fletcher, the President then announced the appointment of his nominees for the Washington, D.C., City Council. It, too, in my judgment, was a very brilliant speech and a symbolic speech, from the standpoint of the future of the government processes in the District of Columbia.

I ask unanimous consent that this speech of the President be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech and biographic material was ordered be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Fletcher—you won't be walking alone.

I am sending to the Senate my recommendations for the D.C. City Council.

In filling this Council, our goal was to find—among the 800,000 residents of the District—nine exceptional men and women to assist you; to represent Washington's people in this new venture in government.

We have spent weeks in searching and consulting. We have reviewed hundreds of records and files. We have sought and obtained not only your recommendations, but those of civic, labor, religious and other leading groups.

Today, I am happy to announce the names of those we recommend to serve on the Council:

As Chairman, a distinguished Washington attorney, a teacher, and wise counsellor, a leader in bringing educational television and modern transportation to the Nation's Capital—Mr. Max Kampelman.

As Vice Chairman, a crusader for effective government, broader opportunities and better housing for all people, pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church—Reverend Walter Fauntroy.

Deeply involved in the life of the city, honored as an outstanding citizen, an innovator in the field of programs for the young people of the District and director of one of Washington's most successful youth projects, the Roving Leaders—Mr. Stanley Anderson.

A leader in church activities, a fighter against discrimination and an eminent attorney—Mrs. Margaret A. Haywood.

A second generation Washingtonian, a leader in the District's Head Start Program, a top lawyer, and a worker for better housing—Mr. John Nevius.

President of the Washington Urban League, a respected member of the community, an outstanding lawyer, and past President of the National Bar Association—Mr. William Thompson.

A labor leader who knows the problems of the working man, who fought for the minimum wage, and who has spent a lifetime of service in the cause of labor, a man who has made many contributions to improving this city—Mr. J. C. Turner.

A long time Washington resident, an editor, a civic leader active in the District's family and child welfare programs—Mrs. Polly Shackleton.

One of thirteen children, a life long resident of the District and an executive at IBM, he finds the time to teach high school dropouts at night—Mr. Joseph Yeldell.

These nine citizens, I believe, will be a genuine voice for the people of Washington. They truly represent this city. They know its urgent problems.

I hope the Senate will act promptly so the new city government can move rapidly from promise to performance.

With this team, Mayor Washington, you and Deputy Mayor Fletcher can show America what concerned and aroused municipal leaders can do. You can improve the lives of your fellow citizens and transform this city into a proud home for all the people.

EXHIBIT 1

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Kampelman, Max M.: Age 47 (born November 7, 1920, New York, New York). Home: 3154 Highland Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Attorney with the firm of Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank and Kampelman.

Education: Ph.D., Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1951.

M.A., University of Minnesota, 1946.

LL.B., New York University, 1945.

A.B., New York University, 1945.

Previous experience:

Associated with the law firm of Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin & Krim, 1941–43.

Civilian Public Service, American Friends Service Committee, 1943–46.

Vice Chairman—Mayor's Committee on Charter Reform, Minneapolis, 1947–48.

Instructor in Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1944–48.

Industrial Relations Lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Summer, 1956–58.

Professor of Political Economy, Bennington College, Vermont, 1948–50.

Visiting Professional Lecturer, Department of Government, Howard, 1954–56.

Also:

Member, Advisory Committee on Finance, National Capital Transportation Agency, Vice Chairman, Greater Washington Educational Television Association, Chairman of the Executive Committee and member of the Board of Directors, D.C. National Bank; American Bar Association, Federal and District Bar Associations, American Judicature Society, American Political Science Association.

Publications, Decision-Making in Defense.

Family data: Married; four children.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR WALTER E. FAUNTROY

Present Position: Pastor, New Bethel Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.

Education:

A.B., Virginia Union University, cum laude, 1955.

B.D., Yale University, 1958.

Graduate School, Catholic University, 1958–59.

Catholic University, Sociology, 1959–60.

Previous experience:

D.C. Coordinator for August 28, 1963, March on Washington, 1963.

Director, Washington Bureau, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1964.

Also:

Member, Council of Churches of Greater Washington, Washington Action for Youth, Junior Citizens Corps, Washington Urban League Project, Citizens Committee on Homes and Highways, Howard University Service Project, Inter-religious Committee on Race Relations, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Trustee Boards, United Planning Organization Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies.

Family data: Married, one child.

Born: February 6, 1933, Washington, D.C.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR STANLEY J. ANDERSON

Anderson, Stanley J., Age 40 (born September 24, 1927, Washington, D.C. (Anacostia). Home: 2604 Stanton Road, S.E., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Deputy Director, Neighboring Centers Division, Department of Recreation.

Education:

Armstrong High School, Washington, D.C.; B.S. Howard University.

Graduate Studies: Howard University School of Social Work, Catholic University School of Social Work, Hull House Training Center course in Delinquency Control, Michigan State University course in Police and Community Relations 1965.

Previous experience:

Director, Roving Leaders, D.C. Department of Recreation 7 yrs.

Director of Recreation Program in S.E. Washington

Administrator of Trail Blazers Project

Also:

Newspaper Columnist: Afro-American 1947–56.

Washington Post Sports Column 1949–54 on High School and College athletics.

Past President of District Chapter American Recreation Society.

Vice Chairman, Greater Anacostia Peoples Corporation—Association to work on community problems.

Chairman of Youth Problems Committee of the American Recreation Society 1964–65.

Member, Administrative Council American Recreation Society.

Former Chairman, President Citizens Advisory Committee.

Former member Southeast Settlement House Board of Directors.

Vice Chairman of the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum Advisory Committee.

National Director of Athletics for the Elks.

Awards:

1962 received Melvin C. Hazen Award for outstanding young man in District Government.

1965 received John F. Kennedy Memorial Award presented by the Catholic Youth Organization of D.C. for outstanding service.

1966 received a National Pacemaker Award from Parade Magazine and NEA for outstanding creative programs in the field of recreation.

1963 received Howard University Alumni Award for outstanding service in the field of recreation.

1965 received a Fellowship Award from the American Recreation Society for outstanding service in recreation.

Family data: Married; 2 children (one boy Stanley, Jr. 9 and one girl Stanice 17).

BIOGRAPHIC FOR MARGARET A. HAYWOOD

Haywood, Margaret A. Age 55 (born October 8, 1912, Knoxville, Tennessee). Home: 4424 Hunt Place, NE., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Engaged in the private practice of law in the District of Columbia since April 1942.

Education: Robert H. Terrell Law School, Washington, D.C., 1940.

Previous experience: Office secretary, Washington Urban League, Inc., 1939–1942.

Taught law at Robert H. Terrell Law School, 1943–1949.

Also:

Chairman, Commission on Community Life, Washington Federation of Churches.

Second Vice President, Board of Directors, Washington Urban League.

Member, Freedmans Hospital Nursing School Council.

Member, Executive Board, National Council of Negro Women.

Member of the legal committee of the D.C. branch of the NAACP.

Attorney for coordinating committee for the enforcement of the D.C. anti-discrimination laws.

Member of the Washington Bar Association, American Bar Association and admitted to practice before the Supreme Court in 1945.

Member, Board of Trustees of Peoples Congressional Church and past President of Woman's Fellowship of the Church.

Past National Grand Basileus, Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority, Inc.

Awards:

NAACP trophy from Federation of Civic Associations for outstanding individual civic activity, 1950.

Cited by Sigma Delta Tau legal fraternity for outstanding legal service, 1961.

Elected to Afro-American Honor Roll and awarded plaque, 1954.

Family Data: Widowed; one daughter and one granddaughter.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN A. NEVIUS

Address: 1639 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Born: 1920, Washington, D.C.

Career: Practiced law in Washington since 1950; Clark and Nevius, since 1961; General Counsel, Federal Services Finance Corporation 1955 to 1961; General Counsel, National Independent Automobile Dealers Association 1963 to present.

Community activities:

Chairman, Woodrow Wilson House Council, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Program chairman and former finance chairman, Committee for Forward-looking Republicans.

Director, Republicans for Progress.

Vice chairman and director, Washington Home Rule Committee.

Vice chairman and director, Community Organization for Improvement of Neighborhoods.

Director, Capital Head Start, Inc.

Chairman, Legislative Committee, D.C. Health and Welfare Committee.

Member, D.C. Republican Committee.

Director, YMCA of Metropolitan Washington.

Citizens Committee for Minimum Wages for D.C.

Membership also in American and District Bar Associations, Chevy Chase and Metropolitan Clubs, St. Patricks Episcopal Church (former vestryman), Princeton Club of Washington (former president), Northwest Washington Fair Housing Association, Episcopal Housing Corporation Committee, Potomac School Fathers Association, Washington Urban League.

Education: Princeton University, 1942; Georgetown University, law degree 1950.

Military Service: U.S. Naval Reserve 1943–46.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR WILLIAM S. THOMPSON

Thompson, William S. Age 56 (born November 21, 1911, Mebane, North Carolina). Home: 4343 Blagden Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Partner, law firm of Thompson, Evans and Dolphin.

Education:

B.S., Howard University, 1934.

LL.B., Terrell College, 1939.

Previous experience: Attorney with various law firms in the Washington area, 1954–64.

Military data: Served in U.S. Army; was discharged as a Corporal, 1932–44.

Also: Past President, National Bar Association; Past President, Local Bar Association.

Member: American Bar Association, Bar Association of Kenutcky and local, Secretary-Treasurer, World Peace through Law Center—Geneva, Secretary, Draft Board #10, Metropolitan Police Department, Community Board, Board of Directors, D. C. Bar Association, Board of Directors, National Bar Association, President, Washington Urban League.

Family data: Married January 4, 1947; one son.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR J. C. TURNER

Turner, J. C., age 51 (born November 4, 1916, Beaumont, Texas). Home: 6961 32nd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Business Manager, Operating Engineers, Local 77, Washington, D.C.

Education: Graduate of Catholic University; attended American University.

Previous experience: 1934—now the Operating Engineers, Local 77, now Business Manager.

Also member:

National Vice-President, International Union of Operating Engineers.

President, Greater Washington Central Labor Council, AFL–CIO.

D. C. Unemployment Compensation Board.

2nd Vice-President, Maryland State, D. C., AFL–CIO.

Board Member and former officer of Washington Housing Assn.

Board Member and former officer of Washington Criminal Justice Assn.

Board of Trustees, D. C. Public Library.

Treasurer, National Capital Area Chapter, American Assn. for the United Nations.

Washington Urban League.

Member, Board of Directors, Boys Club, Metropolitan D. C. Police.

D. C. Citizens for Better Housing.

1st Vice-President, D. C. Metropolitan Area Highway Users Conference.

Advisory Council, D. C. Manpower Training and Development.

Board of Trustees, United Planning Organization.

Executive Committee, D. C. Citizens for Better Public Education.

Advisory Committee, D. C. Board of Education Model School System.

Labor Member, D. C. Minimum Wage & Industrial Safety Board, 1944–48.

Labor Counselor to International Labor Organization, 1950–51.

Member of Commissioners' Citizens Advisory Council, 1952–57.

Family data: Married; five children.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR POLLY SHACKLETON

Shackleton, Polly, Age 57 (Born June 19, 1910). Home: 3232 Reservoir Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Editor, bi-weekly Newsletter, public relations activities as member headquarters staff, American Institute of Architects.

Education: Student Simmons School of Social Work, Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, New School for Social Research.

Previous experience:

Editor, reference books, American Federation of Arts, Who's Who in American Art, American Art Annual, 1939–41.

Information Specialist, picture editor O.W.I., Department of State, Department of the Army, 1942–48.

Also Member: President's Georgetown Neighborhood House; Public relations advisory committee, Health and Welfare Council; Family and Child Services of Washington; Advisory Committee for D.C. Home Rule Committee; Washington Housing Association; National Committeewoman.

Delegate, Democratic National Convention, 1956.

Delegate, Democratic National Convention, 1960.

Member, D.C. Democratic Central Committee; Women's National Democratic Club.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FOR JOSEPH P. YELDELL

Yeldell, Joseph P., 35 yrs. (born September 9, 1932, Washington, D.C.). Home: 1727 S Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.

Present position: Marketing Representative with IBM Corporation.

Education: B.S., D.C. Teachers College; M.E., University of Pittsburgh, 1961.

Previous experience:

Teacher, Pittsburgh Public School System, John Conroy Jr. High, 1958.

Teacher of Mathematics at Calvin Coolidge High School, 1961–62.

Mathematical Statistician, Division of Data Systems Research and Development, U.S. Department of Labor, 1962–64.

Sales Trainee, IBM Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1964–65.

Marketing Representative with IBM Corporation, 1965–now.

Military data: Airman First Class, with the U.S. Air Force, 1954–58.

Also Member: National Education Association, Pennsylvania State Education Association, Mathematics Council of Western Pennsylvania, D.C. Education Association, University of Pittsburgh Alumni Association, D.C. Teachers College Alumni Association, NAACP, YMCA, Urban League; Entrepreneur, Incorporated.

Family data: Married; two daughters.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CITY COUNCIL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to the announcement by the President today appointing a City Council for the District of Columbia, and the appointment of Max M. Kampelman, as a New Yorker, at least of New York origin, who will be the chairman of this new city council.

I wish to call attention to the distinction of this relatively young lawyer who has, for some years, been a teacher and instructor in various colleges and universities. He got his education at the bar in New York City.

I would say that we are very proud the President has chosen so outstanding a man of New York origin for this new post, which will be of such interest to the whole country.

The appointment of the vice chairman is also of interest to me. The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy is well known to me, and to many other Senators, as a leader in the struggle to gain recognition for the Negro people, and equal opportunity under the law and under the Constitution. He is a man of distinction, high quality, and great patriotism. He is a distinct credit to this country, as he will be to the District of Columbia.

The President tried to make these appointments bipartisan in nature. I wish to commend him on his choice of those from the Republican side; namely, John A. Nevius, who is not only a member of my party but also one of those identified within my party who believes in the progressive concepts with which I have been associated all my life.

I take great pleasure, too, in commending the appointment of Margaret A. Haywood and William S. Thompson, the other nominees from my party.

I think these appointments are most auspicious and are of a quality with that of Walter E. Washington, who is now the Commissioner, or "Mayor" of the District of Columbia. He is also a New Yorker.

We have every reason for great satisfaction in the announcements made by the President today. This is long overdue recognition of some element of self-government—at least, autonomous local government for the District of Columbia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOLLINGS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I have an amendment pending at the desk. I have modified the amendment, and I should like to have the amendment read, as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment as modified.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 7 strike all after the period in line 20 and all of lines 21 through 25, of lines 1 and 2 on page 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

> In the case of an individual with a history of serious and violent behavior, or a history of repetitive or serious law violation or delinquent acts, such determination must be supported by a signed statement from an official of the individual's community, such as the appropriate prosecuting attorney or his deputy, sheriff or his deputy, chief of police or his deputy, parole or probation officer, or chief executive officer, certifying that the individual, if selected, is likely to participate successfully in the program and is unlikely to engage in activities or behavior that would impede other enrollees from receiving the benefit of the program or be incompatible with the maintenance of sound discipline and satisfactory relationships between any center to which he might be assigned and surrounding communities.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, there has been widespread concern and criticism over the inadequate screening of prospective enrollees in the Job Corps. The majority leader of the Senate well expressed the problem on April 28 last year when he said:

> It was not my intention to support the establishment of three reformatories in my State.

He went on to describe the criminal activities of a Job Corps enrollee in his State and concluded by saying:

> I cannot stress too strongly the need for a more careful selection of Job Corps men.

In the April 18 issue of the Oakland Tribune, an article on the Camp Parks Job Corps states that of the 7,591 young men enrolled since April 26, 1965, only 2,000 completed one or more of the courses; and of these, 1,567 have gone to work, back to school, or into the military service. Only 1,026 actually graduated from the Job Corps. The article reports:

> There is violence on the base—knifings, beatings, extortion, frequent thefts, vandalism, drugs, fear, and repeated muggings. . . . The climate of terror that exists has been confirmed during many interviews with Corpsmen, counselors, teachers and even administrators for the Job Corps. . . . the director of community affairs for Camp Parks concedes that girls have been smuggled into some of the dormitories as well as liquor and marijuana.

On March 12 of this year, the Job Corps Director, William P. Kelly, reported that one in 10 of the men enrolled in the Job Corps had been convicted of some serious crime; and 37 percent had some record of misbehavior. It is this group which, in my judgment, has not been properly screened.

There has been recognition of this screening problem; and, in all fairness, I want to say that it has been my observation that under Director Kelly there has been some tightening up. The bill pending before the Senate, particularly the section to which my amendment is offered, attempts to cope with this problem.

Let just a few of these bad apples in, and they will disrupt the entire program and discourage many other enrollees from staying in the program. My best information is that a good many of the dropouts—and the dropout problem has been serious—have been the result of violence and other activities of some of the improperly admitted Job Corps enrollees.

Nearly half the Job Corps enrollees, nationwide, have left or been discharged before completing their course, and most of these left within 3 months after enrollment. The dropout rate in some Job Corps centers has been much higher. Certainly, a better job of screening would have prevented this.

I think it should be understood that these Job Corps centers are operated by private industry under contract with the Federal Government. Naturally, profit is involved, and there should be. But the desire to make a profit should not be such as to cause lax screening of prospective Job Corps enrollees.

Administration would naturally play an important part in discipline at a center. But there is a limit to what sound, tough discipline can do. It can only work with the people screened through to the center, and if screening is lax, discipline will break down.

Another aspect of this problem, quite apart from the Job Corps center and the other Job Corps enrollees is the local community.

An article in the August 10 issue of the Wall Street Journal points out that hostility in communities near Job Corps centers toward these centers has been widespread. Referring to the center at Camp Atterbury, the article points out that troublemakers at the camp had driven out boys who wanted to learn. A new director kicked out 250 of the offenders. This is all to the good, but the question is, Why did not screening keep most of these 250 out in the first place?

All of us have seen articles reporting on problems at Job Corps centers for girls, involving allegations of prostitution, drunkenness, fights, theft, and truancy. Individuals involved in such activities need help—but that help should not be provided by Job Corps centers. Where it has been tried, it has spoiled the program for most of the other enrollees and made for bad relations with local communities.

In todays' edition of the New York Times is an article entitled "Antipoverty Office Suspends Coast Project for Rehabilitation of Gang Youths." The article describes a quarter million dollar grant for a demonstration project in California's San Fernando Valley which was announced last August 10, although the money has not yet been released for the project. The idea of the project is to channel gang energies into social services, led by one of the gang's idols. But the proposal has stirred up great controversy in the community and the refusal of police to support it. Apparently the idol who had been selected to lead the gang members in these social services was arrested on a charge of holding up a liquor store, and had a record of 14 previous arrests. War on poverty officials say that the project is not "dead," but merely "suspended."

I recognize that there is a problem with gangs, but it seems to me that in trying to cope with the problem, we must bear in mind two things: First, we should not discourage young people who abide by the law by giving leadership recognition to people who are law violators; and second, we must take into consideration the need to maintain good relations with the local communities where war on poverty projects are located.

As I have said, the pending bill has sought to do something in the case of the potential troublemaker. The amendment I offer seeks to go a little further. I believe that if the types of officials who are listed in my amendment have to certify, as provided in the amendment, the prospective Job Corps enrollee will probably make a go of it, will probably not cause disciplinary problems or problems in connection with relationships with the local community, and the program will be benefited. If they are not able to certify, if they are not willing to certify, then probably the individual involved should not go to the Job Corps.

It may be that at the particular time an official would not be willing to certify. He might say, "Let's wait a little while and see how this individual gets along for the next 3, 4, or 5 months; and if he performs all right, then I'll certify."

However, as it is now, I do not believe that the pending bill provides an adequate certification. Who is a "professionally qualified person" can mean many things to many people. Moreover, a professionally qualified person in a community may have absolutely no responsibility to the community. An official such as a local prosecuting attorney or his deputy, or the local chief of police or his deputy, or the mayor, or somebody comparable, in an official capacity, has a responsibility to the community. I believe that certification from such an official would be more meaningful.

I wish to make clear that I recognize the problems of obtaining such a certification in certain cases. For example, in a large metropolitan area, such as Chicago, Los Angeles, or New York City, it is pretty difficult for a prospective Job Corps enrollee to obtain a certification from the chief of police or the deputy chief of police. That is the reason why the amendment was worded to point out the types of officials from whom we would require the certification, rather than to make it all-inclusive. That is the reason for the phrase "such as."

I believe that flexible and prudent administration would permit obtaining certification from some other type of official of a relatively high standing in the community, without forcing all applicants possessing a questionable record to obtain a certification from one of the particular officials listed in the amendment.

I wish to make that very clear.

There is another matter that should be made clear and that is that the Job Corps Director would still retain discretion in accepting an applicant. There may be a Job Corps applicant who has obtained such a certification from the local mayor, but that would not tie the hands of the Director. The Director would not have to admit the applicant.

Mr. President, I have discussed this matter with the junior Senator from New York and I believe this amendment will be acceptable to him. I have also discussed this matter with other Senators, including members of the committee from my side of the aisle. We have spent quite a bit of time trying to refine the amendment. I hope the Senator will accept the amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from Iowa that I think the modification of the amendment, as we have worked it out, is acceptable to us and will be accepted by the committee. Prior to that, I might point out that this was a matter that was taken up within our committee, as the Senator knows. We went into the matter in considerable detail. My colleague from New York, who is now in the Chamber, participated in trying to write some language to protect the Job Corps, but also the individual. We wrote in the language:

> Before selecting an individual who has a history of serious and violent behavior against persons or property, repetitive delinquent acts, narcotics addiction or other major behavioral aberrations, the Director shall obtain a finding from a professionally qualified person who knows his individual situation that there is reasonable expectation that the opportunity provided by the Job Corps will help him to overcome his problem.

We felt that dealt with the matter. The Senator from Iowa refined that language to put in:

> In the case of an individual with a history of serious and violent behavior, or a history of repetitive or serious law violation or delinquent acts, such determination must be supported by a signed statement from—

Would the Senator clarify what that statement would be in accordance with his modification?

Mr. MILLER. The statement would be a signed certification from an official from the local community. Then, as I pointed out, I used the phrase "such as" to indicate that the intention is not to limit the officials by the language in the bill, but that the language would be broad enough to meet problems that might arise in a large city, such as the city of New York, where it would be difficult to obtain a certification from the chief of police.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I appreciate the fact that the Senator recognizes that individual difficulties might arise in particular communities in this matter. It is possible under certain circumstances that if the Director of the poverty program made a determination that none of the individuals so listed would be appropriate, that in unusual circumstances and special circumstances he might go to some other official; such as the superintendent of education, or an official of the schools.

Mr. MILLER. That is correct. I would add a footnote to what the Senator said. I do not wish to depreciate the effort made by the committee to improve this matter by urging the use of a professionally qualified person, but it would seem to me that prudence would dictate that one of these local officials could contact someone who knows the applicants' individual situation, if he were in doubt. I think prudence would dictate that he contact a professionally qualified person, possibly a local school principal, to find out something about the individual before deciding to certify or not certify.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I might say to the Senator that it is the intent of the Senator from Iowa and the floor manager of the bill that that be done before the certificate is forwarded to the Director of the Job Corps; that the individual is making a study or the finding that other individuals within the community are being contacted who know more about the boy or girl.

Mr. MILLER. I am sure that is our mutual intention in that respect.

I wish to emphasize that we are not talking about the typical Job Corps enrollee, although we are talking about a good segment of the Job Corps enrollees.

The statistics show that in one Job Corps center 37 percent of the enrollees had records of a previous law violation; one out of 10 had a record of a serious law violation. We are talking about this area and probably not all of that 37 percent would be regarded as having repetitive law violations. We are talking about the tough cases. We have to be concerned about the tough cases. If they can make it in a Job Corps center this is all to the good; but if they are going to serve as troublemakers to make it difficult for others to make a go of it we should take precautions to have them screened properly so they do not get in.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I agree with the Senator on that point. I believe the Senator made the point that the director of the Job Corps must first make the determination himself that the individual boy or girl falls in this category and thereafter has to make this request from the official in the community.

Mr. MILLER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Then, the second point the Senator made is that even then, if the certificate is given to him, he does not have to accept it. He can accept or reject the boy or girl.

Mr. MILLER. The Senator is correct, but I would suggest this:

While, as the Senator points out, the law leaves the matter up to the discretion of the director as to whether or not an individual falls in the category of violent behavior, repetitive law violation and the like—although this is up to his discretion to make that determination in the first instance, I think it only prudent that he would bend over backwards to be on the safe side, because he should not wish troublemakers getting into the Job Corps who are going to deprive others of the opportunity that the Job Corps offers them.

I can understand that in certain situations discretion might be necessary in order to avoid local discrimination. However, here again, this is a matter of prudence, and we can be confident that the director will prudently exercise that discretion.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I wish to say, in closing, that the Senator has properly pointed out the high percentage of those who do not finish in the Job Corps. I think that all of us might be concerned about that. We must also remember that a high percentage of these same boys and girls are boys and girls who come from these groups that never finish school. Three out of 10 go through high school and 40 percent drop out. In some areas the percentage is up to 80 percent of the students wo get to the eighth grade.

We are dealing with a group which has already had a difficult time. If we are going to condemn the Job Corps—and I am not saying that the Senator meant to condemn the Job Corps; I think they have done a remarkable job under the circumstances—and if we are critical of them we should put it in the context of realizing that we would be critical of the educational system as a whole and the fact that these boys and girls did not finish school and did not remain in school in order to graduate from school, and because of their background or outlook, they have special problems with which the Job Corps can deal, in many areas, very effectively.

Mr. MILLER. I do not particularly wish to discuss this aspect of the matter because the Senator knows there has been much criticism of the dropout rate. I have been critical of it also. I felt for a long time that this situation could be improved with certain action.

The point I wanted to make in bringing out the statistics is that these are rather serious statistics and that the problem has at least been aggravated and, I think, in substantial part caused by, the troublemakers who have been admitted into the Job Corps centers, and who made it so tough on the other Job Corps trainees that they dropped out. If we can prevent that, we would have a better program; and we can do so by better screening.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 357

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 357, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 110, line 7, before the period, insert the following:

> The assignment of such volunteers in any State shall be terminated by the Director when so requested by the Governor of such State not later than thirty days after such request has been made by the Governor to the Director.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the amendment I have offered refers to a situation with respect to the assignment of VISTA volunteers and volunteers selected by organizations which are funded by OEO. This matter has been brought to my attention by a situation which has arisen in my own State.

May I have the attention of the manager of the bill?

May I ask who is managing the bill at this time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I beg the Senator's pardon. Some of our colleagues have been engaging my attention.

Mr. COOPER. I understand.

Amendment No. 357 is fairly simple in its purpose. I believe I can explain it in a few minutes, and I hope the Senator will accept it.

As the Senator knows, the act provides that when volunteers who are selected directly by VISTA—the Director—and assigned to a State, or are proposed to be assigned to a State, they will not be so assigned unless the Governor of the State assents.

That is also the situation, I am informed, with respect to volunteers who have been selected by an organization which is funded by OEO; and in such a situation, if the Governor does not consent, they will not be assigned to the State.

Recently, a problem arose in Kentucky, which I will not discuss in all its aspects, but solely as it relates to this question. There are VISTA volunteers assigned to Kentucky who have been selected by the Director. In addition, there are also volunteers working in Kentucky who were selected by an organization known as the Appalachian Volunteers, which is funded by OEO. Some difficulties arose in Kentucky, and the Governor of the

State asked that no additional volunteers, either those selected directly by the director or those selected by the sponsor, Appalachian Volunteers, be assigned to Kentucky.

Because I had received a number of inquiries from my State as to the response of the Director, I requested a meeting with representatives of OEO who were in charge of the VISTA program. They informed me that VISTA would not assign volunteers to a State without the consent of the Governor. Furthermore, they stated that it was their view that the law was not clear as to whether VISTA is required to recall previously assigned volunteers to a State when the Governor requested that they be removed.

It seems to me that the intent is not to assign volunteers to a State unless the Governor agrees. Should a situation arise where their work in the State—at least, in the opinion of the Governor and the people—is found not compatible with the best interests of OEO, then the volunteers should be withdrawn at the Governor's request.

I wish to be factual in what I have to say. I have spoken with officials of OEO about this question and I called a meeting of representatives of VISTA. They manifested no deep opposition to my proposal. They were of the opinion that the present law is not clear. I believe it should be made clear in the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it seems to me that one thing the Senator would not wish to do himself—and the manager of the bill will inform the Senator as to whether it is acceptable, and I shall not speak until then on the subject—would be to tie it down to not later than 30 days in statutory language.

I would suggest that the Senator have it read: "thirty days or at a time thereafter agreed upon by the Governor and Director." Because a situation may arise in which they may not wish to be bound by the 30 days themselves.

Mr. COOPER. I believe that is a good suggestion. I shall be glad to accept it.

Mr. CLARK. Does the Senator modify his amendment to that extent?

Mr. COOPER. I do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Mr. CLARK. If I may have the attention of the Senator from Kentucky for a moment, I believe there is a technical defect in his amendment on line 1, where I believe the phrase should be "after the period" and not "before the period".

Mr. COOPER. The Senator is correct. I modify my amendment by striking the word "before" in line 1 and substituting for it the word "after".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have discussed this amendment with the Senator from New York, the ranking minority member of the committee, and it seems to me that it is not objectionable, and I am prepared to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 113, between lines 19 and 20, insert the following new subsection:
>
> "(c) Persons serving as volunteers under this section or under section 821 shall provide such information concerning their qualifications as the Director shall prescribe and shall be subject to the same procedures, to the extent practicable, for selection and approval as the Director requires under Part A of this title. The Director may fix such procedures for the selection and approval of persons who are low income residents of the area to be served by the project and who wish to become volunteers as he determines will contribute to carrying out the purposes of this title."
>
> On page 113, line 20, strike out "(c)" and insert in lieu thereof "(d)".

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, this amendment has not been printed but it has been stated. I shall explain the amendment briefly.

I have offered this amendment because of a situation which arose in Kentucky regarding the selection of volunteers by the sponsoring organization, Appalachian Volunteers, which is funded by OEO.

I have discussed this matter with representatives of VISTA and I requested an explanation of their procedures in selecting and approving volunteers for VISTA.

I was informed that the procedures followed were substantially the same as those procedures followed by the Civil Service. When reviewing the submitted application forms, which forms are substantially identical to those used by the Civil Service, and where the application reveals circumstances indicating criminal activity, subversive activity, or other forms of misconduct, VISTA then refers the matter to the FBI, for further investigation as is the case of applicants for positions in the Federal Government.

However, with respect to volunteers who are selected by other agencies funded by OEO, there are no similar procedures or requirements. The Appalachian Volunteers have received several million dollars from OEO, but as far as OEO is aware the Appalachian Volunteers has no procedures to screen and select their applications, and the Director of OEO has no control over their selection or appproval.

Mr. President, my amendment would provide that the director shall require the same procedures and information of all volunteer applicants as is required of those who are selected to represent VISTA. The same procedures made applicable to all categories of volunteers would assure the selection of persons with proper qualifications and proper character.

I would make one exception. My amendment would exempt volunteers who are selected from low-income residents of the area to be served who do not have the educational qualifications similar to college men and women who apply for VISTA. The Director is authorized to prescribe whatever qualifications he thought appropriate.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. If I understand the Senator correctly, the Senator wishes to make certain that the general character of the volunteer is known and recorded, and that the individual has been screened before he is taken into the program as a volunteer.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator is correct. I take this position for two reasons. We want the VISTA programs to be successful. If those volunteers who are selected do not have the necesary qualifications or the necesary background I think that this lack weakens the entire program and invites criticism of the program by the people of the State, and if that happens there is lacking the needed community cooperation to make these programs work.

I shall relate certain events that recently took place in Kentucky. There has been a good deal of news coverage given to the situation.

At one time a man named McSurley and his wife were employed by VISTA or OEO in Washington and were let out. They immediately attached themselves to the Appalachian Volunteers, which has headquarters in Bristol, Tenn. For a time they were in the Appalachian Volunteers organization.

After a while, word was received—I suppose from VISTA—that they had been let out in Washington. The charge was made in Kentucky that they had been disseminating literature throughout eastern Kentucky in which they called for, in substance, the overthrow of the Government, the local government, the State government, and the Federal Government. As a result, they were arrested and tried, and under the holdings of our courts they were released.

I do not particularly wish to address myself to these particular individuals or what took place there. I believe my amendment would assure that qualified people are appointed and would insure that the situation which has taken place, bringing widespread criticism on OEO, VISTA, and the volunteers, would not arise again.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Would the Senator agree with the Senator from California that it might be a good idea if in the rules and regulations selecting these people from now on the OEO and the other Government agencies might be restricted from employing people who are calling for the overthrow of this Government and who expect the taxpayers of this country to pay for their own destruction at the same time? Would the Senator think this might be a good regulation for the Director to promulgate in running the Office of Economic Opportunity?

Mr. COOPER. I agree. In my discussions with OEO they said it was already their practice. They did not want to employ anyone who advocated the overthrow of the Government. This amendment would give us a test of the applicant's qualifications. It would not prevent anyone from being employed because he had expressed his views on a subject. It would provide for necessary screening procedures. I think the amendment should be adopted.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. What is the number of the amendment the Senator has called up?

Mr. COOPER. I had stated that the amendment was not printed, but that I have given the Senator from Pennsylvania a copy of it.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have had an opportunity to consider the amendment and to discuss it with the Senator from Kentucky. I think it is unobjectionable. I am confident that it would meet with the approval of the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], who is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Therefore, I am prepared to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 359.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with but that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Amendment No. 359 is as follows:

> On page 48, beginning with line 11, strike out all through line 4, page 49, and insert in lieu thereof the following new section:
>
> "SEC. 213. (a) Each community action agency shall be established and maintained so as to assure broad, continuing, and effective community participation in all phases of the community action program for which it is responsible, and to assure that the program, as developed and implemented, is fully responsive to community needs and conditions. Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board whose members shall include the chief elected official or officials of the community, or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person designated by such official and other appropriate public officials or their representatives, and representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community.
>
> "(b) At least one-third of the membership of the board shall be persons who are selected by residents of the areas and members of the groups served. Each community action agency shall establish procedures by which appropriate representation is provided (1) to poor persons living in neighborhoods where poverty is concentrated, and (2) to other poor persons including the elderly and rural residents living outside these neighborhoods. All members of the governing board selected to represent specific geographic areas must reside in the area they represent.
>
> "(c) The Director shall require community action agencies to establish procedures under which community agencies and representative groups of the poor which feel themselves inadequately represented on the governing board may petition for adequate representation."

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I think I can explain the amendment briefly to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the chairman of the subcommittee and manager of the bill. We had a debate about it on the floor of the Senate yesterday. I had a colloquy with the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and a short colloquy with the manager of the bill, the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, at the time of the adoption of the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA].

My amendment would restore to the bill the language which was recommended by the administration. That language, essentially, is on page 2 of the bill. It would require the governing board of the community action program to include among its members the chief elected official or officials of the community.

I gave my reasons yesterday why I believe this should be the rule and should be mandatory. I believe that if community action programs are to be successful the support of all the community is necessary, not only its private citizens and organizations, but the governing officials of the community, as well. Further, it is necessary to mobilize local resources, including funds, and, we would hope, the abilities and capacities of the community's officials. Those persons have been elected by the people. They enjoy, at least for as long as they are in office, the support of the people. I think it is necessary that the local governments be involved in these community programs. The job of striving for the elimination of poverty will require much more than the resources of the Federal Government. It will require the help of State and local governments as well as the great body of private citizens.

The administration in its recommendations, itself recognizes the need for the mandatory inclusion of local officials. I think their inclusion should be mandatory.

Yesterday, the Senator from New York stated that he felt that if elected officials were on the board their presence might cause some members of the board to be less diligent in presenting their views.

I do not think so, because they present their views very strongly and firmly to elected officials.

Second, it may be thought that in smaller States where there are other problems, such as integration, the addition of a local official might not be helpful. But, as the Senator knows, another section of the bill provides procedures which will enable the director, even though a project has been vetoed, upon review, if he thinks the veto should be overruled, to initiate and support the program.

That expresses my viewpoint, Mr. President, and I hope that the Senator from Pennsylvania will accept the amendment and take it to conference so that there can be further discussion of this problem.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have no objection to the first sentence in subparagraph (a) of the pending amendment; nor do I have any objection to subsection (b) or subsection (c).

However, I regret that I cannot accept the second sentence in subsection (a) which reads as follows:

> Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board whose members shall include the chief elected official or officials of the community, or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person designated by such official and other appropriate public officials or their representatives, and representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community.

The principal difficulty I have is with the use of the word "shall" on line 1 on page 2 of the amendment. The committee gave this matter very careful consideration. It thought the administration was wrong in requiring that elected public officials must serve on community action boards. This is largely because of such a wide variety of local experience which has been built up over the 2½ years since the Act came into being. A majority of the committee thought—as a matter of fact, this included most of the minority members—that it was a mistake to put these boards in a straitjacket and require that the chief elected official must serve.

I say to my good friend from Kentucky that if we could get around that point—and I will explain at greater length why I feel that way—then the remainder of that sentence to which I take exception, I think, might be worked out.

In other words:

> Representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community.

That is all right. That is fine. That is unobjectionable. So is the first sentence in subsection (a):

> Each community action agency shall be established and maintained so as to assure broad, continuing, and effective community participation in all phases of the community action program for which it is responsible, and to assure that the program, as developed and implemented, is fully responsive to community needs and conditions.

That is fine, too. But let me say to my good friend from Kentucky that the mayor of Philadelphia will not serve on the Community Action Board, and I believe he has a right not to serve on it.

The mayor of Philadelphia is strongly opposed to being a member of the Community Action Board. Also, the mayor of New York refuses to serve on it. I do not think we should put them in a straightjacket and make them do it.

The mayor of Philadelphia does not wish to participate, and neither does the mayor of New York, by sending a designee to the Board, because they believe—in their cities where they know more about local conditions that do the Senator and I—that it should not be required.

We have accepted the amendment offered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA] earlier. That, I think, goes about as far as is desirable to go. I would therefore hope that the Senator from Kentucky would not press his amendment to a rollcall vote because the difference between us is so small and the committee has given it very careful attention.

I have mentioned the mayors of Philadelphia and New York, but minority staff counsel has assured me that there are scores and scores of cities all over the country where the mayors do not want to designate anyone to these community action boards.

I can tell the Senator from Kentucky that when I was in Johnstown, Pa., which has a Republican mayor, in a city which has steadily been Democratic—and he is a competent and very decent fellow—he told me that he would not serve on that board for all the tea in China, because they are doing a good job and he did not want to mess it up with politics.

Thus, I would hope that the Senator from Kentucky would not press his amendment.

Mr. COOPER. I note that there are sections of my amendment, with the exception of the first section of (a), already in the bill. They were put in because of the Montoya amendment in order to make this a proper amendment.

I thought that I had taken care of a situation in which an official said he would not serve by the following language: "or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person designated by such official."

The Senator says that the official might not want to designate a representative.

Mr. CLARK. That is right. He may not want to take responsibility for the community action agency, and I do not think we should make him.

Mr. COOPER. As I said, my amendment is in line with the administration proposal. My thought in proposing the amendment is based on two grounds: first, that the local officials ought to take some responsibility in this field. If they would not themselves serve, then they should appoint delegates.

There is a growing kind of friction, we have to admit, in some communities in some areas of our country, between the elected or appointed officials of the community and the governing boards of the community action programs. I thought it would be much better if the official's delegate served on the board, so that this kind of trend would be stopped.

I have voted for these programs. I want them to succeed. But I do not think they will succeed unless the Federal Government is able to bring to its assistance—to the fullest extent—our local governments.

We have, in effect, created a third kind of government. We have the Federal Government, the State governments, and the local governments, which are instrumentalities of State governments. In addition we have the governing boards of these community action programs which, in effect, have established themselves as a form of third government. I do not believe that this trend is beneficial to a community.

I believe that, by not requiring the official to serve, but providing that he may appoint a delegate if he will not serve, that we will eliminate the problem the Senator has raised.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I wish I could agree with the Senator.

I wonder if the Senator will follow me as I suggest some language which might meet my objection. If the Senator will go to line 1, page 2, I would suggest inserting, after the word "shall" the words "if he so desires."

Then, in line 3, after the world "person," the words "may be."

So that the sentence, if it were amended as I suggest, would read, beginning at the end of line 6 on page 1:

> Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board whose members shall, if he so desires, include the chief elected official or officials of the community, or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person may be designated by such official * * *

And so on with the language the Senator from Kentucky used.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I will accept that language.

Mr. CLARK. Will the Senator ask to modify his amendment?

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Perhaps I had better do it.

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am informed by the Parliamentarian that the Senator from Kentucky would have to do it.

Mr. COOPER. Very well.

Mr. President, as suggested by the Senator from Pennsylvania—and I think it is a good suggestion—I modify the language of my amendment. I will read it as it would be modified.

Mr. CLARK. The second sentence.

Mr. COOPER. The wording on page 1, at the end of line 6, would read:

> Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board whose members shall—

And this is the new language—

> if he so desires include the chief elected official or officials of the community——

Mr. CLARK. If the Senator will stop there, I guess we ought to say "he or they."

Mr. COOPER. Yes. It would read—

> whose members shall if he or they so desire the chief elected official or officials of the community, or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person—

And I add the words:

> may be designated—

Mr. CLARK. "Or persons."

Mr. COOPER—

> a person or persons may be designated by such official—

Mr. CLARK. Then continue with the amendment as presently worded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

The amendment, No. 359, as modified, is as follows:

> On page 48, beginning with line 11, strike out all through line 4, page 49, and insert in lieu thereof the following new section:
>
> "SEC. 213. (a) Each community action agency shall be established and maintained so as to assure broad, continuing, and effective community participation in all phases of the community action program for which it is responsible, and to assure that the program, as developed and implemented, is fully responsive to community needs and conditions. Each such agency shall have, for this purpose, a governing board whose members shall if he or they so desire include the chief elected official or officials of the community, or on the failure of any such official to serve, a person or persons may be designated by such official and other appropriate public officials or their representatives and representatives of private groups and agencies engaged in providing assistance to the poor, and of appropriate representatives of business, labor, religious, or other major groups and interests in the community.
>
> "(b) At least one-third of the membership of the board shall be persons who are selected by residents of the areas and members of the groups served. Each community action agency shall establish procedures by which appropriate representation is provided (1) to poor persons living in neighborhoods where poverty is concentrated, and (2) to other poor persons including the elderly and rural residents living outside these neighborhoods. All members of the governing board selected to represent specific geographic areas must reside in the area they represent.
>
> "(c) The Director shall require community action agencies to establish procedures under which community agencies and representative groups of the poor which feel themselves inadequately represented on the governing board may petition for adequate representation."

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, under the circumstances, I accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 360.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 360) is as follows:

> On page 56, beginning with "The" in line 6, strike out all through line 11, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "The Director shall make arrangements under which the State bar association and the local bar association in the community to be served by any proposed project authorized by this paragraph shall be consulted and afforded an adequate opportunity to submit, to the Di-

rector, comments and recommendations on the proposed project before such project is approved or funded, and to submit, to the Director, comments and recommendations on the operations of such project, if approved and funded."

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, this amendment will amend the bill at page 56, beginning with the word "The" on line 6. It would strike out the language beginning with the word "The" on line 6 and through line 11.

I must say it is not a tremendously significant amendment, but it relates to another problem which has been raised by my friends in Kentucky. The present language of the bill provides that in assisting in the provision of legal services to the poor, the director shall make arrangements with the principal bar associations in the area. My amendment provides that, in addition, they shall seek the advice and comments of the State bar association. I believe that State bar associations are more broadly based, and they usually have a staff which is better able to provide helpful assistance.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I think bringing the State bar associations into the picture is a useful amendment, and I am prepared to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on adoption of the amendment.

The amendment (No. 360) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

URBAN ACTION PLAN OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in our debate on the pending war on poverty amendments it was most important to have before us the most authoritative and informed program prepared under the chairmanship of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York, by the policy committee of the Republican Governors' Association and issued in Albany, N.Y., on August 14, 1967.

I ask unanimous consent that the nine-point action plan and the lists of the Governors participating and endorsing it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the plan and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTION PLAN TO INAUGURATE A NEW ERA OF CREATIVE STATE LEADERSHIP TO MEET THE NATIONAL CRISIS OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND LAWLESSNESS

(Recommended by: the Republican Governors Association Policy Committee, Aug. 10, 1967)

STATE OF NEW YORK,
Albany, August 14, 1967.

Hon. JOHN A. LOVE,
Chairman, Republican Governors Association,
State Capitol, Denver, Colo.

DEAR GOVERNOR LOVE: This letter is to formally transmit to you the final document of the Nine-Point Action Plan entitled, "a new era of creative state leadership to meet the national crisis of social injustice and lawlessness" recommended at the meeting of the Policy Committee of the Republican Governors Association on August tenth.

Those participating in the development and endorsement of this Policy Committee program were:

Governor Spiro T. Agnew.
Governor Nils A. Boe.
Governor David F. Cargo.
Governor John H. Chafee.
Governor Daniel J. Evans.
Governor John A. Love.
Governor Tom McCall.
Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller.
Governor George W. Romney.
Governor Raymond P. Shafer.
Governor John A. Volpe.

We are proceeding with the organization of the non-partisan States' Urban Action Center, as called for in the report, to service the governors of all fifty states in developing their respective programs to deal with these critical problems.

Thanks for your untiring efforts in connection with the drafting of this action plan.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,
NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER,
Chairman, Policy Committee.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The tragic epidemic of riots convulsing the core areas of so many American cities underscores the basic responsibilities of state governments.

We are totally concerned about every aspect of this tragic problem. First, obviously, is maintenance of order under law. On it rests not only any viable society but also all other affirmative programs. We must assure the protection of persons and property in the peaceful and lawful pursuits of life. But relying only on better organized force, as some are advocating, forecasts the unacceptable ultimate result of a society based on repression. If our belief in an open society of freedom under the law is to survive, it must be based on a basic agreement among the people and a dedication to the goal that all shall have a stake in the potential and promise of America.

The time for effective action to meet this crisis of urban chaos is now.

We cannot afford delay.

The states can and must play a leading role both in preserving order under the law and in dealing with the root causes of civil disorder.

The Policy Committee of the Republican Governors Association has met, therefore, to determine a positive course of state action commensurate with the staggering dimensions of the problem.

The times demand a firm national commitment to resolve this leading domestic issue. Each of us must work in our respective states to develop solutions to these problems.

PROBLEMS

The recent outbreaks of lawlessness have placed new demands on state governments to stop civil strife and to maintain law and order. The increasing incidence of crime in the streets plaguing so many cities, aggravated by the riots, has made it clear that many localities cannot combat crime effectively alone.

Many of the urban problems of today, which result in human degradation, transcend the boundaries of local political jurisdictions. Individual cities lack the financial resources necessary to meet these problems. The Federal Government, while it has enacted many imaginative programs, is not providing the financial resources on a scale commensurate with the dimensions of the problem and, in many cases, the effectiveness of federal programs is inhibited by unnecessary inflexibility in their administration.

The states must do their part in providing the creative leadership to achieve the solution to today's urban crisis. This solution must be based on a new kind and degree of cooperative action between the various levels of government and the private sector of the society.

For we are confronted by a problem so pervasive that its solution is not one that can be resolved by governments alone.

We recognize that merely pouring more money into outmoded programs will not do the job. We seek new ways to tap the creative and constructive forces in society. Government can and must provide incentives, tools, and funds; but, the disadvantaged must be given an opportunity to achieve a stake in our society through the investment of their own aspirations and energy.

AGREEMENT FOR ACTION

We agree that the crisis is not just a city problem but is the inevitable result of indifference throughout our society. We must therefore mobilize public and private sectors in our states on a scale large enough to assure action on a scale necessary to meet the problem.

We recommend the following action plan of state leadership. We recognize that specific elements of this plan will have greater applicability in some states than in others, and that each state must determine the programs and priorities best suited to its situation and its capacities.

The following action plan includes specific measures regarding state action to:

I. Maintain Order Under Law.
II. Transform the Physical Environment of Slums and all Neglected Areas into Decent Communities.
III. Increase Job Opportunities.
IV. Improve Educational Opportunities.
V. Improve Public Services to Individuals.
VI. Expand Cultural and Recreational Opportunities in Neglected Areas.
VII. Encourage Individual Citizen and Private Institutional Participation.
VIII. Assure State Government's Capacity to Meet Urban Problems.
IX. Encourage Flexibility, Speed and Adequate Funding of Federal Programs.

I. STATE ACTION TO MAINTAIN ORDER UNDER LAW AND CONTROL CRIME

The long standing failure of our society to fully enforce laws relating to housing codes, health and santitary conditions, gambling, narcotics and other social conditions has discouraged confidence and encouraged a disrespect for the law as an instrument for correcting social injustice. Effective law enforcement depends on a just, a firm and an even application of all our laws including those correcting basic social ills as well as those designed to preserve law and order.

When, however, for whatever cause, lawlessness and violence do occur, prompt, firm law enforcement on a sufficient scale is absolutely necessary to prevent isolated incidents from erupting into full scale riots.

We must never lose sight of the fact, when civil disorder threatens, that among those who most need protection of law and order are the resident in the threatened areas, the overwhelming majority of whom are law-abiding, responsible citizens.

Civil disorders

A. *Local Police:* Develop a state program and support legislation providing for interlocking agreements between local law enforcement agencies to permit "pooling" of officers and equipment. In addition, make certain that local officials clearly understand the procedures for utilizing state law enforcement resources.

B. *Local Fire Fighting:* Develop a state program and support for interlocking agreements among local fire departments to permit "pooling" manpower and fire fighting equipment.

C. *State Police:* Strengthen law enforcement capacity at the state level for the purpose of assisting in emergencies.

D. *National Guard:* Request the Federal Government in determining policies for the National Guard, to emphasize now the Guard's responsibility to serve as a tactical force for maintaining order within the states as well as its responsibility in national defense.

Specifically:

1. Urge the Federal Government to provide adequate and more modern and mobile

equipment for all Guard forces to enable them to deal with civil disturbances.

2. Request the Federal Government to review the planned reorganization of the Guard in relation to its tactical role in maintaining civil order, giving particular attention to the number of men available for duty and the availability of high level command forces in each state.

3. Endorse the recent action taken by the President to improve and increase riot control training for all Guard units and urge its immediate implementation.

E. *Federal Troops:* Review federal and state law and procedures pertaining to the timely commitment of federal troops.

F. *Review State Constitutional and Statutory Provisions* to assure adequate authority for the Governor to meet emergency situations. Such a review would consider the powers of the Governor in an emergency situation with respect to various levels of law enforcement agencies, setting of curfews, restricting the sale of guns and ammunition, restricting the sale of liquor, closing streets and other public access routes, and the taking of other emergency steps.

Crime prevention and control

G. *Comprehensive State Crime Control Programs and Plan:* Establish a Governor's Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice, including officials responsible for crime prevention and enforcement as well as individual rehabilitation, to develop a comprehensive, statewide plan to strengthen crime prevention and juvenile delinquency controls, and generally upgrade criminal justice. Provide financial assistance to local governments to implement the plan, subject to evaluation and coordination by the Governor's Committee.

H. *Support those portions of the "Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967"* which would provide for state agency approval.

I. *Training of Police:* State legislation to mandate minimum training requirements for local police and supervisory personnel with appropriate state financial support.

J. *Police Compensation:* Assure just compensation for state and local police, such compensation to be related to the responsibilities which these officials bear.

K. *Encourage community relations programs* to recognize the effective work of the vast majority of dedicated law enforcement officers. Take prompt action against the relative few who derogate law enforcement in the public eye by abuse of authority or by use of excessive force.

II. STATE ACTION TO TRANSFORM THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF SLUM AREAS AND ALL NEGLECTED AREAS

A. Mobilize all public and private resources by state action to bring about a complete and basic transformation, rather than piecemeal projects, of slum areas. Comprehensive, well-designed developments, including housing, commercial, industrial, recreational, and community facilities are essential if individuals are to have decent housing and job opportunities.

State action would include the provision of necessary constitutional and statutory authority, and the development of mechanisms to:

1. Finance the development costs and sponsor comprehensive developments in conjunction with private resources.

2. Provide investment capital for projects including housing, commercial and industrial facilities.

3. Pre-finance federal urban development programs.

B. Provide state financial assistance for the development and enforcement of adequate building and housing codes.

C. Encourage home improvements in deteriorating and sub-standard housing by providing tax incentives for such improvements.

D. Propose and implement state legislation regarding prosecution of slum landlords including authorization of "receivers" to collect rents and make repairs.

E. Provide state financial and technical assistance to localities for rat extermination programs.

F. Provide state financial and technical assistance to improve collections and methods of disposal for garbage and other solid waste.

G. Develop a program of state financial assistance to help assure adequate mass transportation throughout urban areas to facilitate ready access to jobs.

H. Support state open housing legislation and its effective implementation so that all citizens may live where their hearts desire and their means permit.

I. State action to encourage zoning policies which overcome social, economic or racial segregation.

J. State action to require that real estate agents make available lists of all openings for rentals and properties for sale to every client.

III. STATE ACTION TO INCREASE JOB OPPORTUNITIES

A. Call State Conferences (1) with industries to increase job opportunities, including across-the-board hiring of the disadvantaged and genuine merit promotions; and (2) with unions to secure removal of discriminatory hiring policies and other restrictive measures prohibiting true equality in job opportunities.

B. Provide a state manpower training program to supplement federal programs and meet particular needs of each state.

C. Support state legislation to grant tax incentives to business to locate in slum areas and train workers.

D. Provide state technical assistance to small businesses in urban areas.

E. Expand apprenticeship training programs in cooperation with unions.

F. Promote apprenticeship training in small establishments.

G. Provide state subsistence allowances for job trainees.

H. Inaugurate state programs for recruiting, training and hiring slum area residents for public employment.

I. Establish a State Manpower Training Academy for training of staff needed in job counseling programs.

J. Develop special summer employment programs including a state beautification program employing youths in the community.

K. Provide state financial assistance to local child day-care services to help parents who want to have gainful employment.

L. State action to provide incentive for welfare recipients to undertake training and gainful employment by permitting income plus welfare benefits to total more than the amount they could receive under welfare benefits alone.

M. Action by state government to promote and enforce equal employment practices in both public and private employment. Contract Compliance Programs should be vigorously implemented.

IV. STATE ACTION TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

A. Provide state assistance for pre-kindergarten programs.

B. To promote excellence in education, assure that state aid to eductaion formulas recognize special problems of slum area schools including the need for smaller classes.

C. Establish a "community school program" to make the local school a year-round focal point for programs for all residents of slum areas and to encourage the interest of parents of school children in their children's education, health and recreation. The "community school program" would also provide ample social and health services for the children.

D. Establish a statewide Teachers Reserve to encourage trained but inactive teachers to return to teaching on either a full or part-time basis.

E. Establish a vocational education system which would have no entrance requirements and would provide work-study programs so that students could study and earn money at the same time.

F. Assure that vocational education courses reflect current labor market conditions.

G. Provide state financial assistance for Urban College Centers in slum areas to make available special academic and vocational training.

H. Provide adequate state scholarship and student loan programs to assure that no youth is denied the opportunity for a college education because of the lack of financial resources.

I. Develop special state programs to identify talented youngsters who need special help to meet college entrance requirements.

V. STATE ACTION TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS

A. Develop an Interstate Cooperative Training and Orientation Program which would be available to those who have moved or are planning to move from a rural area in one state to an urban area of another state.

B. Establish a State Urban Extension Program to utilize successful agricultural extension techniques and to apply research conducted in universities to the solution of urban problems.

C. Support state legislation to assure adequate consumer protection and education programs.

D. Provide state financial assistance to meet the unique health and mental health needs of slum dwellers.

E. Develop a state program for comprehensive one-stop government service centers to provide convenient and coordinated services.

F. Provide state support for local human rights commissions so that effective human relations programs, and civil rights enforcement can be implemented so far as possible at the local level.

VI. STATE ACTION TO EXPAND CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN ALL NEGLECTED AREAS

A. Develop a state program of financial and technical assistance for the development of recreational and cultural facilities.

B. Expand programs of State Arts Councils to bring exhibitions and performances to slum areas.

C. Utilize governmental facilities in and near slum areas to provide artistic and historical exhibitions.

D. Provide technical assistance to community and civic groups who wish to sponsor cultural events.

E. Encouragement by states of the use of private resources to develop neighborhood centers for civic and recreational programs.

VII. ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

A. State leadership to encourage participation by leaders of private organizations, churches, service clubs and civic groups in shaping creative and cooperative new programs in dealing with urban problems.

B. State action to establish an effective link on a continuing basis between the people of disadvantaged areas and government.

C. Organize and promote programs which bring together volunteers who want to help, with people who need help.

D. Organize programs using college and high school students as volunteer tutors for children who need special educational assistance.

E. State action to assure an effective

dialogue, at the community level, between people of different races.

F. Work with private transportation and recreation enterprises to make their facilities more available to disadvantaged groups.

G. Work out cooperative arrangements between the state and news media to publicize job opportunities.

H. Provide incentives and facilitate the investment of private capital into urban development on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the problem in order to accelerate necessary action to accomplish the objective as quickly as possible.

VIII. STATE ACTION TO ASSURE STATE GOVERNMENT'S CAPACITY TO MEET URBAN PROBLEMS

A. Strengthen the role of the Governor and provide him with adequate staff including appropriate central staff agencies such as planning and budgeting offices so that the Governor can effectively plan, mobilize and coordinate the use of federal, state, local and private resources to meet today's urban problems.

B. Develop a comprehensive environmental plan under the direction of the Governor for the social, economic and physical development of each state and its urban areas.

C. Provide state financial and technical assistance to local governments for planning.

IX. STATE ACTION TO ENCOURAGE FLEXIBILITY, SPEED AND REALISM IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS

A. Urge federal legislation authorizing states to pre-finance federal programs.

B. Support action by the Federal Government authorizing block grants and revenue sharing to help assure a comprehensive, flexible approach to problems and make the most effective use of separate but related federal, state and local programs.

C. Encourage realistic assessment by the Federal Government of available financial resources to fund federal programs in order to avoid the turning of hopes into frustrations.

* * * * *

This then is the Action Plan recommended by the Policy Committee of the Republican Governors Association for confronting the crisis in our cities. The steps necessary to implement elements of this program will vary from state to state depending on existing administrative, fiscal and statutory authority. Some steps will require enabling state legislation and special sessions of state legislatures may be required in some states.

The adoption of this program by Republican Governors represents a powerful commitment by leaders of state government to meet this towering domestic challenge of our time through creative state leadership.

Accordingly, we have agreed to establish a States' Urban Action Center to serve all Governors to:

Provide a team of experts in the various program areas to help tailor specific programs to the needs of individual states.

Receive and disseminate information on actions taken by the states to implement this Nine-Point Action Plan so that all states will have the benefit of the experience in each state.

Applications have already been made to foundations to finance the State's Urban Action Center.

The objectives of this program are nonpolitical. It is a program to provide opportunity. The true national interest can only be served through complete cooperation at all levels of government on a bi-partisan basis with the full support of private citizens.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. I ask that the Senator from California be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

TEMPORARY HOUSING

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I should like to invite, if I may, a colloquy on a phase of the subject under discussion before the Senate. I refer to temporary housing, which has been part of the overall plan to help migrant workers, under the FHA part of the plan that has been taken over by OEO. As the chairman will recall, I offered an amendment which the committee accepted adding "temporary housing" as one of the authorized III (B) programs.

One of the great examples of OEO's sometimes unfortunate administration and complete disregard for the wishes of the local and State people has to do with the temporary housing program in the State of California.

Members of the Poverty Subcommittee who were able to attend the California hearings and field trips saw the State's temporary housing program. The committee viewed, I believe, as I did a housing project at Harney Lane, which is in the Stockton area in California's famous San Joaquin Valley.

This delightful development surprised most of the members of the subcommittee and made a very favorable impression on all Senators present. These same Senators have endorsed the temporary housing program and have expressed their displeasure and opposition to the Office of Economic Opportunity's termination of this worthwhile project. This project, part of the overall California migrant master plan, is one poverty program which is demonstrating visible, practical, and successful accomplishments.

It has obviously accomplished one of the main purposes which we desired and which, at the outset, was one of the established priorities of the entire OEO program. It created an attitude of pride among the migrants themselves, and all with whom it was discussed, and all spoke very enthusiastically about the successful project. It should also be pointed out, Mr. President, that the project at Harney Lane, in addition to providing adequate housing, offers programs in health, in education, in day care, and in sanitation. All in all, it is a first-class practical application of what I believe we in Congress have been trying to do. I was most pleased to be a member of the committee of the host State when the Senators had a chance to view this program.

I was particularly impressed with one of the school programs which I had the good fortune to observe. Since some of the youngsters spoke English and others Spanish, a real challenge was presented. This apparent language barrier was overcome by teaching the English-speaking youngsters Spanish and the Spanish-speaking youngsters English.

We found the English-speaking youngsters had as much interest and enthusiasm for the chance to learn to speak Spanish as did the Spanish-speaking youngsters to learn English. In other words, what was at first viewed as a handicap turned out to be a real resource. Equal interest and enthusiasm was evidenced on both sides, and the language barrier, was successfully overcome.

Mr. President, this temporary housing program has the strong support of everyone that I know of who is knowledgeable in the area of migrants and their problems. Yet, this successful program does not qualify for OEO's priority list. Perhaps it is too successful. It may be that the problem has disappeared, and therefore no help is needed—though I do not think that is the case. Sometimes one is given the impression that OEO's priority list encompasses only those activities which have not been tried, or have been tried and have not proved successful or possible. For these there seems to be unlimited funds and unlimited resources.

Dr. Paul F. O'Rourke, former State poverty director under Governor Brown, characterized OEO's actions in refusing to fund temporary housing programs in the following manner:

> One of the decisions which recently has distressed me is an OEO decision not to permit the State of California to continue its temporary housing program and support for the families you saw today . . . it just got rolling in California. This is an example where the central authority does something inimical to what we have been trying to accomplish in the state.

Mr. President, I believe bureaucrats in Washington should not be permitted to do that which is contrary to the interests of the local people and certainly to the interests of the migrants. I offered, in committee, an amendment which includes the temporary housing as part of the programs that can be funded under title III (B). I want to make the legislative record absolutely clear that within the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare there is now the strongest support for the continuation of this temporary housing program which the committee had a chance to view and examine while they were in California. I want to make the record as clear as possible, Mr. President, that it is the intent of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare that the temporary housing program in California will be continued, that its continuation will be made possible, and that its priority will be reestablished high on the list of the programs of the OEO.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I am happy to yield.

Mr. CLARK. I commend the Senator for the statement he has just made. He and I and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] went through the San Joaquin Valley, I believe it was last spring——

Mr. MURPHY. Last spring.

Mr. CLARK. At the time the cherry crop was almost ready to be picked, and we saw the temporary migrant housing which had been built to take care of the workers who followed the fruit crops from south to north during the course of the year.

Like the Senator from California, I was very much impressed with these temporary housing programs. We found in one camp—which actually was a camp for single men, a sort of bachelors' and widowers' camp—an extremely competent cook from Pittsburgh, who was giving these migrant workers—some of whom were younger fellows but most of them veterans of the fruit and vegetable picking—two good meals a day; and they had a chance to get a cold lunch.

The barracks, as one might call them, or dormitories, were clean and neat, and gave adequate protection from the weather, and I was very much impressed with them. Where that sort of facility does not exist, the migrant people often live in squalor.

We went from there to another area where they had temporary housing for families. And they practically had a Headstart program going among the kids there in a sort of classroom which had been set aside for that purpose.

The mothers were doing a lot of the teaching, and a number of volunteer girls had come in from the neighboring town of Stockton to help give these kids the normal educational processes.

These children were, to be sure, in the kindergarten and the earlier grades. And the houses, although temporary, were neat and clean, and they were well kept up by the migrant families. I was very much impressed.

Then, we went out, I suppose not more than 10 miles away, and saw a family of five or six living in an automobile under a bridge over a dry ditch. There was another family—my recollection may be inadequate, but I think there were six or seven in that family—living in a sort of pup tent with a kerosene stove. The conditions were really deplorable. The reason was that there was not enough temporary housing.

I was depressed when we heard testimony from the OEO officials to the effect that they were planning to phase out this temporary housing for migrants. Their reason was that they felt in due time all migrant labor was going to be phased out and disappear, that the picking would be taken over to a certain extent by new agricultural equipment, and that local labor would pick the rest. They did not want to encourage the continuation of migrant labor by giving them adequate housing.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. This is another phase of the long, continuing discussion that we have had in this Chamber. It is further proof that sometimes the people 3,000 miles away do not understand the actual condition.

I know of the program designed to phase out the use of migrant labor. I think it would be a wonderful thing if this could be brought about, but I do not really see any progress, or very little progress, if any, at the present time.

In my remarks this morning I pointed out that the Secretary of Labor himself had made the statement last week that there were 40,000 to 50,000 green card workers in the State of California at the present time.

My information from the Bureau of Immigration would lead me to believe that since Public Law 78 went out of existence, there have been thousands of illegal wetbacks in California.

It is my hope that as soon as this condition is corrected, the people who are actually necessary as agricultural workers in California will be quickly provided under the law and properly brought in and properly examined and, may I say, properly housed under conditions such as the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania and I saw in the particular instance to which we referred.

I was very pleased that the old housing project that used to be displayed in California was not displayed any longer and that there was public housing for the migrant worker that we could be proud of. That housing was comfortable, clean, adequate, and perfectly acceptable.

That is why I made my remarks today, in the hope that the members of the committee who were present with me would urge the Senate to restore the funds with which to keep the project going until these workers would no longer be needed.

This type of housing is very badly needed today.

I thank my esteemed friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania, the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, for his concurrence in the remarks I have made in regard to this matter.

Mr. CLARK. I think the Senator will recall that when the adverse position on temporary housing was brought up in the hearings before the subcommittee, several of us indicated our disapproval of cutting back these programs.

There is in the report a recommendation from the committee to continue and, indeed, to expand temporary housing. And we have $3 million extra in there for that purpose.

I find myself completely in accord with the Senator from California. I am glad that he made the comments he did on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] offers an amendment, as follows:

Strike out all of Title II, beginning on page 120, line 1, down through and including line 11, page 126, as follows:

"TITLE II—EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the 'Emergency Employment Act of 1967'.

"FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 202. (a) The Congress finds that certain communities and areas in the Nation are presently burdened by severe unemployment and underemployment. Such areas contain large concentrations or proportions of persons who are unable to obtain jobs in regular competitive employment because of lack of education, occupational skill, or work experience and because of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement. This situation is aggravated by migration of unskilled rural residents to urban areas. Many of the affected areas are doubly handicapped by the lack of sufficient jobs for all the potential labor force. This condition is destructive of human dignity and results in a loss of national productivity. In many localities the problem has reached crisis proportion by contributing to social unrest and civil disorder.

"(b) At the same time there is a huge backlog of need for additional public services and public facilities in such fields as those which (1) contribute to the development of human potential, (2) better the conditions under which people live, learn, and work, and (3) aid in the development and conservation of natural resources.

"(c) Therefore, it is the purpose of this title to provide meaningful employment opportunities in public service and other activities which will relieve severe unemployment in urban and rural areas and contribute to the national interest by fulfilling unmet needs.

"ELIGIBLE AREAS

"SEC. 203. The Secretary of Labor (hereafter referred to as the 'Secretary') shall designate urban and rural areas to be eligible for assistance under this title. Such areas shall contain a high concentration or proportion of low-income families and individuals and shall have severe problems of unemployment and underemployment. They may be defined without regard to political boundaries.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 204. (a) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to public agencies and private organizations for part or all of the costs of programs which create meaningful public service and other employment opportunities. He shall adopt procedures to assure (1) that there is maximum emphasis on local initiative and responsibility with full participation of and maximum cooperation among local public officials, residents of eligible areas, and representatives of private organizations in the establishment of programs under this title, including, without limitation, the determination of areas and participants eligible for assistance and the selection of projects under subsection (b) of this section, and (2) that such assistance is fully coordinated with programs operated under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and other relevant Federal Acts.

"(b) Jobs created or made available under this title may include services and supporting facilities in such fields as health, public safety, education, recreation, streets, parks and municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement. Such jobs shall include (1) those which can be made available immediately to persons who are otherwise unable to obtain employment, (2) those which provide placement resources for persons completing training under titles I and V of the Economic Opportunity Act and other relevant manpower training programs, and (3) those which use the skills of unemployed persons in areas with a chronic labor surplus. Priority shall be given to projects which are labor intensive in character.

"(c) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to assure that (1) persons employed in jobs created by this title are provided opportunity for further education, training, and necessary supportive services, including those provided by other relevant Acts, so that they may be prepared to obtain regular competitive employment in the future; and (2) that maximum effort is made to encourage private employers to adopt innovative approaches which create additional jobs and new types of careers for low-income and disadvantaged persons.

"LOANS

"SEC. 205. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make loans to public and private agencies for the purchase of supplies and equipment which support and supplement projects carried out by participants under section 204.

"(b) Loans authorized under this section may be made without interest and under such other terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe.

"ELIGIBLE PARTICIPANTS

"SEC. 206. Participants in programs under this title must be unemployed or low-income persons who reside in eligible areas and who meet other criteria prescribed by the Secretary. Low income shall be defined in terms of section 125 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

"SPECIAL CONDITIONS

"SEC. 207. (a) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this title unless he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

"(1) no participant will be employed on projects involving political parties, or the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

"(2) the program will not result in displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services, or result in the substitution of Federal for other funds in connection with work that would otherwise be performed:

"(3) wages paid a participant shall not be lower than, whichever is the highest of (A) the minimum wage which would be applicable to the employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 if section 6 of such Act applied to the participant and he was not exempt under section 13 thereof, (B) the State or local minimum wage for the most nearly comparable covered employment, or (C) the prevailing rate of wages in the area for similar work.

"(4) the program will, to the extent appropriate, contribute to the occupational development or upward mobility of individual participants.

"(b) For programs related to physical improvements preference shall be given to those improvements which will be substantially used by low-income persons and families in urban neighborhoods or rural areas having concentrations or proportions of low-income persons and families.

"(c) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs under this title have adequate internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, evaluation procedures, and other policies as may be necessary to promote the effective use of funds.

"(d) Programs approved under this title shall, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the elimination of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement, including civil service requirements which restrict employment opportunities for the disadvantaged.

"REPORTS

"SEC. 208. The Secretary shall submit to the Congress a report on the progress made in implementing this title and suggestions for improvements on or before May 15, 1968, November 15, 1968, and on or before May 15 and November 15 of each year thereafter.

"AUTHORIZATIONS

"SEC. 209. (a) For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of this title, except the provisions of section 205, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968; and $1,500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

"(b) For the purpose of making loans under section 205, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated $300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

"(c) Appropriations authorized by this section shall remain available until expended."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, who has the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon has the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield to the majority leader.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on the pending amendment the vote occur at 3 o'clock Monday next.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I was detained by a colloquy with other Senators and did not hear the reading of the amendment.

Do I correctly understand that the pending amendment would, if agreed to, strike title II?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am not making this statement to object, but to be constructive. A Senator sometimes will withdraw a request when I ask him to yield. I do not want him to do that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will not.

Mr. JAVITS. There are perhaps other amendments which Senators may like to have considered which could come between now and Monday. And Senators, for strategic reasons, may choose to have votes contiguous to and immediately preceding the 3 o'clock time. So that we may understand the situation, there may be other votes in addition to the vote set at 3 o'clock on Monday next.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator has an excellent idea. The distinguished Senator from West Virginia did raise that question and did ask me to consider the possibility of laying aside his amendment from time to time to take up other amendments.

I think it would be agreeable and would fit in with the suggestion of the senior Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Senators might decide that they would like a vote at the same time for strategic reasons.

Mr. MANSFIELD. We can accommodate them.

Mr. CLARK. Do I correctly understand that we can set the pending amendment aside almost immediately to take up the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma, or perhaps other amendments and try to dispose of them before Monday?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, if a motion to recommit were in order, perhaps that would have to fit into this picture. If a motion to recommit with instructions were made on Monday, that naturally in the course of parliamentary procedure would take priority over other votes.

There would be authority for such motion to be made if it were to come up?

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is my understanding that it would be taken care of. It is privileged.

If my recollection of parliamentary procedure is correct, one can offer an amendment to recommit after third reading.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct. Or, even after having consented to vote at 3 o'clock on Monday, as I understand it, a motion to recommit, if made, would become the immediate business and would be voted on even prior to the vote on the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the request of the Senator include not only the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia but also all other amendments thereto?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Not exactly. The request is that the pending amendment be laid aside temporarily for the purpose of taking up other amendments if they become available.

Could the Chair rule on the question raised by the distinguished Senator from Delaware? I think he stated it correctly, but I would like a confirmation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The question raised was that assuming on Monday we are proceeding toward a unanimous-consent time to vote, and a motion to recommit with instructions were made, which automatically would take priority over any other vote, would such a motion be in order at any time if it were offered during the course of the debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Not unless it is excepted now; because if there were a motion to recommit and it were agreed to, there would be nothing to vote on at 3 o'clock.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I temporarily withhold my unanimous-consent request.

Mr. JAVITS. May I make a suggestion to the majority leader to accommodate this situation? It is just a suggestion, and Senator CLARK may not consent to it.

Could it also be part of the unanimous-consent request that if any motion to recommit is made in the interim, it will be voted prior to the vote on the Byrd amendment on Monday at 3 o'clock?

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, so that we may discuss this matter without it being in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Oregon yield for that purpose?

Mr. MORSE. I do not yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill

(S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation on the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia).

THE PROPOSED 10-PERCENT SURTAX

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, unless the majority leader has objection, I shall proceed with a short speech I wish to make, a copy of which I have already sent to the Press Gallery. This is a speech in which, for the first time on the floor of the Senate, I announce my present position on the proposed 10-percent surtax. My final vote will depend on whether or not a course of action is followed by the administration along the lines that I outline in the speech.

Mr. President, as the war in Vietnam continues without sign of ending, and as its cost continues to burden the national budget at the rate of some $29 billion a year, Congress and the taxpaying public are being compelled to come to grips with the fact that there is no such thing as a cheap war. The list of American casualties has reached the 100,000 mark, over 13,000 of them dead. The human price is unmeasured. The sacrifice these men have made can never be calculated; it can never be repaid.

What Congress does have to deal with is the financial cost. The Defense Department spending will total around $75 billion. On top of that, I understand that sometime early next year, Congress will be asked for an additional, supplemental appropriation to take care of Vietnam war costs that were not covered in the earlier budget estimate.

That is why some members of the Military Affairs Committees in Congress believe the cost of the war will be around $35 billion in the current fiscal year.

This is the first war in history that we have tried to wage without any wartime financial measures on the home front. There has been no tax increase; there have been no wage and price controls; there has been no allocation of scarce materials to keep prices down. We have done it all by borrowing. The result of this has been a sharp rise in interest rates and a considerable rise in the general price level.

The administration is increasing the pressure on Congress for a 10-percent surtax on personal and corporation income taxes to raise $7½ billion toward the cost of the war. The administration estimates that it can cut another $7½ billion out of nondefense spending. By these means, it hopes to reduce the deficit to $14 billion.

We know that the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives is now engaged in a kind of test of nerves with the administration; it wants to see the budget cuts before it acts on the surtax. The administration wants Congress to pass all the appropriation bills first, and says that then it will decide where to impound money.

The heart of the issue is this: If all the cuts are to come in nondefense spending, where are they to be made? The interest on the debt amounts to over $14 billion, and that cannot be cut. Veterans' benefits are statutory and amount to some $7 billion. They cannot be cut. That leaves such expenditures as highway construction, space exploration, the poverty program, education, agricultural programs, public works by the Corps of Engineers, conservation, water pollution control, and health resources among which to make these cuts. And these are only some of the domestic programs. Many people think the war on poverty should be cut back. But it could be eliminated altogether and we would save less than one-third of the target, because the war on poverty is budgeted at less than $2 billion.

It is the opinion of the senior Senator from Oregon that if a cut is made in the poverty program, we will spend many times the amount of money cut in meeting the crises that will develop in the metropolitan areas of the country, where tens of thousands of fellow Americans are below the poverty line. We can have all the law enforcement available—and I am for law enforcement—but no amount of law enforcement will stop the direct action protests of Americans who see their children suffering from malnutrition, recognizing the want and the degradation that the present occupant of the chair and I and 180 million people like us are imposing upon fellow Americans who are suffering the pangs of poverty and hunger and deprivation in the Republic.

Therefore, to talk about cutting any of these needed domestic programs, in my judgment, does not make sense and cannot be reconciled with congressional duties to our country.

That is why I shall make a suggestion before I finish this speech as to where, in my judgment, the cuts must be made.

Moreover, most of these programs were already reduced below authorized amounts in the January budget. Another cut would reduce to impotence such activities as water pollution control and many of our education programs, at a time when the problems in both are growing. Many public works projects urgently needed in Oregon—and in all States, for that matter—have already been omitted from the current budget; more of them stand to be cut under this procedure. The same is true of many agricultural development programs.

I cannot accept the idea that this $7½ billion should all come out of nondefense spending. It could come out of non-Vietnam spending. That is where it should come from. Let the senior Senator from Oregon make that statement again. The $7.5 billion cut should not be made in the domestic programs so badly needed in this country in order to provide for the necessary welfare of the people who are entitled to those programs. The $7.5 billion cut should be made in non-Vietnam defense spending. It should come out of the defense budget of $75 billion, which apparently has become sacrosanct in the Republic. Apparently, we have already marched so far down the road to military domination of the budget of the Republic that any suggestion to cut $7.5 billion out of a $75 billion defense budget is not acceptable to many.

But I shall warn the Senate this afternoon where it is acceptable. It is acceptable to the American taxpayers. I warn the Senate this afternoon, before it is too late, that $7.5 billion out of needed domestic programs may get by Congress, but it will not get by the country. We shall be held to an accounting, and we should be held to an accounting at the polls next November, because the taxpayers will not, in my judgment, accept those reductions in the domestic programs; they will consider it a betrayal of the public interest.

But the Defense Department continues to spend billions of dollars in places like Europe, which have no connection with the war in Vietnam. We continue to spend billions of the taxpayers' dollars in connection with non-Vietnam defense items all around the world.

I propose this afternoon that the $7.5 billion be cut out of the $75 billion defense budget for those expenditures that have to be postponed until we get out of the mess in South Vietnam and until we meet the dire needs of millions of our people who are entitled to have their needs met under a domestic appropriation bill.

I, therefore, cannot support a budget program that sacrifices the development of our country's human and natural resources in order to maintain 350,000 American soldiers in Germany, among other countries, when Germany herself will not fulfill her military manpower commitment to NATO; when Great Britain will not fulfill her military manpower commitment to NATO, but instead is talking about reducing her already undercommited ratio to NATO. There is not a single member of NATO, except the United States, that has ever fulfilled its military manpower commitment to NATO.

There are those who would have us believe that the military budget is sacrosanct. We know if we do finally get into that war with Communist Russia—and God forbid—it will not be fought with conventional weapons; it will be a nuclear war, and that will be the end of both countries and many countries in between.

If ever there was a time for us to come to our senses in regard to the fiscal policies of this Republic, it is now. Of course, we will have to spend whatever amount of money is necessary to honorably disengage ourselves from the war in Southeast Asia. And we all know the turn that is taking in public opinion. There is not a Member of this body who does not know that public opinion is turning against the war because they recognize that we cannot set ourselves up as the policeman of Asia. The rest of the world has made clear we will have to go it alone, and I speak of the major countries of the world.

Mr. President, you could not get the President of Italy, when he was in this country, to give us encouragement or support for our position in Vietnam; you could not get the Chancellor of Germany, who was in this body not so many days ago, who appeared before the Committee on Foreign Relations, who spoke before the Washington Press Club, and conferred with the President, to say words in support of our program in South Vietnam.

The sad fact is that month by month we are standing more isolated in the world because all the world recognizes we cannot justify the military course we are following in South Vietnam.

Mr. President, it is obvious from what has been said on this floor this week by other Senators, by Members of Congress of both political parties, that they are growing restive as these hard financial choices have to be made.

More of them are going to have to face up to the fact that it is the Vietnam war itself that is responsible for these hard choices. I think we are going to hear even more about the war in days ahead in terms of stopping it, or reducing its scope rather than continuing to escalate the manpower, the casualties, the deaths, and the cost.

For a long time, a majority in Congress went along with the idea that we could have both guns and butter. Now, they are finding out that we cannot. For myself, I shall not support a tax increase that seeks to maintain every military program everywhere in the world, while cutting back only on domestic programs. Nor shall I support a tax increase that perpetuates loopholes for the oil industry, whereby everyone else pays for the war but that one big business, or that permits escapees to avoid taxes that are clearly their patriotic duty to pay on the basis of equality of tax liability and obligation.

I am not going to vote for an increase in taxes until this Congress is first willing to plug the tax loopholes, and every Senator knows where they are. There are so many that they make our tax structure look like a Swiss cheese.

A surtax raises taxes only for those already paying taxes. If we are to have a war tax, it should be levied on everyone, and if we are to have budget cuts because of the war, they should be imposed upon every governmental activity—including defense—that is not related directly to the war itself.

A large proportion of the $7½ billion spending cut should come out of the Defense Department. It has far and away the most non-Vietnam expenditures of any department or activity of Government. Let the budget cuts start there.

A serious issue is developing in the domestic field of taxes to pay for the war. The House Ways and Means Committee has responded to the President's request for a 10-percent surtax by asking to see the budget cuts first.

But in a budget where defense spending of $75 billion is considered untouchable, and interest on the debt and veterans' benefits are also untouchable, only some $20 billion in funds for public works, education, urban development, space exploration, the war on poverty, highway construction, and agricultural programs is cuttable. How $7.5 billion can be taken out of $20 billion in domestic programs is the financial question Congress wants answered before it imposes a tax increase.

But the administration sets aside drastic cuts in the defense budget, and tries to mislead the American people into believing that when the senior Senator from Oregon and other Senators who have been urging cuts in the defense budget do so, we are somehow, in some way, weakening our stance in Vietnam. This is a non sequitur. The cuts we are talking about in the defense budget have nothing to do with Vietnam. The figures given us show that out of that $75 billion in the defense budget, only $22 billion is related to Vietnam.

CONGRESS MUST DECIDE BUDGET PRIORITIES

Mr. President, we have to make a reply to the President in regard to the matter of taxes and budget cuts. The President wants to get the appropriations and then he wants to decide where the appropriations will be spent, which again gives to him the discretion that I think we cannot afford to give to the President—and I am not talking about a President as Mr. Johnson. I am talking about the Office of the Presidency of the United States. But it does not make any difference to me who occupies that Office with respect to this particular issue at this time.

We are close to being told that if Congress designates *x* billion dollars for highway construction, and the President signs the measure into law, his Budget Bureau may still take it upon itself to decide that the money shall not be spent. It is one thing to give the President statutory discretion in how much he may spend upon a given program; but it is quite another to make the specific appropriation and then have it impounded.

Here is an area where Congress will indeed have lost one of its great checks upon arbitrary executive action if it permits its power over the purse strings to be overridden by the Budget Bureau.

That is why I have been urging, in connection with foreign policy matters, that we exercise the check of the purse strings, and that we insist the money be administered in accordance with the exercise of the purse strings, and not permit a President of the United States to exercise an arbitrary discretion in regard to the expenditure of the money.

So, too, do I hope that Congress will continue to reject all recommendations that the President be authorized to fix tax rates. If the time ever comes when we delegate the tax power to the executive branch, the precious system of check and balance whereby our Constitution sought to protect our liberty will indeed be destroyed.

There is nothing in anything I have said that is directed at the President, or his Budget Director, or his Treasury Secretary, or his Defense Secretary, as individuals. We are confronted with the culmination of a long trend that has continued since World War II. It has seen Republican Congresses and Democratic Congresses delegate one function after another to the President and his Cabinet officers, and they, too, have been Democrats and Republicans.

I take some pride in the fact that I am the only Member of Congress who has voted against every undated war power delegated to the President since 1954. That period has encompassed the terms of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. I also take pride in a comment made by one of my friends from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] who has had a great deal to do also with these issues. On August 22, during a discussion of Vietnam policy in the Senate, I was interrupted by Senator FULBRIGHT, who said:

> The Senator referred to his having voted against every step of our involvement there. I pay the Senator tribute. I had occasion within the last few days to reread the debate on the Tonkin Gulf Joint Resolution that took place in August 1964. I pay tribute to the Senator for his part in the debate on that measure. The time that has elapsed since then has proven him to be practically the only one who was correct in the position he took with regard to that resolution in August 1964. And, in spite of the sadness and tragedy that has afflicted the country, as a Member of the Senate he ought to be very proud of his foresight at that time.

My colleague gave me undue credit, for it was not my foresight upon which my decision rested, but upon the foresight of the authors of the Constitution. They knew that unless each department of the Federal Government were given specific powers in foreign affairs, to be exercised by that department exclusively, our Government would be no different from all previous governments which have foundered along with the freedom of their people upon the shoal of unchecked executive authority.

Mr. President, I have pled time and time again, and plead again this afternoon, that the Senate stop delegating legislative prerogatives and responsibilities to the executive branch of the Government.

I am pleading again that the Senate return to the checks-and-balances system of the Constitution and exercise the check of the purse strings. The issue which is being raised over the tax issue and budget cuts, and over the choice between non-Vietnam defense spending and necessary domestic spending, goes right back to the basic constitutional concept as to whether we are going to carry out the trust of our oath that we would uphold the Constitution.

The Constitution puts in the hand of Congress, not the Executive, the authority to spend money.

Nor have we in Congress been "brainwashed." We have none to blame but ourselves. Too often we have found it easier to accept at face value what we are told, without asking questions, without finding out the whole picture for ourselves, without accepting our constitutional responsibility to make the decision of war, of spending, of foreign commitments.

The way in which our Constitution was written was designed to guard us, and the American people, from such errors.

There is some belated evidence now that Congress, at long last, is beginning to awaken and to recognize that it cannot slough off its duties in one area without jeopardizing its own freedom of action in other areas. That reawakening should continue. It should not move into reverse by delegating away the authority to appropriate or the authority to tax.

That is why I hope the Senate will soon take up the resolution now before the Foreign Relations Committee which has been offered by the great chairman of that committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]. In it, he seeks to get the Senate to restate, for its own thinking, may I say—and it is needed—that Congress will insist upon taking back the reins which our constitutional fathers put into our hands to check an administration when it seeks to follow a course of action that cannot be reconciled with the responsibilities of Congress in the field of foreign policy.

Mr. President, it does not make me happy to make the remarks I have made this afternoon—because, of course, I would much prefer to find myself in agreement with my administration on matters of such vital concern as the tax bill or a budget cut. But, Mr. President, I cannot join the administration in its proposal for a tax increase or upon its recommendations as to where the budget cuts shall be made, because I think that Congress owes it to the American taxpayers to take all, or most all, of that $7.5 billion cut out of the defense spending elsewhere than Vietnam.

Therefore, unless evidence can be presented to me that has not been presented to me by the administration to date, that justifies, on the merits, not on the politics, but on the merits, the type of cut that spokesmen for the administration are urging upon Senators these days, I shall vote against their recommendations.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to recommit S. 2388, with instructions to report forthwith with title II, beginning on page 120, line 1, down through page 126, line 11, stricken out.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, is that motion debatable?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Certainly.

Mr. JAVITS. Is that motion amendable in this way: Can the instructions to the committee to report back be amended?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say that all instructions are amendable.

Mr. JAVITS. May those instructions include instructions with respect to changes to be made in the very item of the bill which would be stricken by the motion to recommit?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such amendments would be in order as long as they relate to the bill itself, and are instructions to the committee.

Mr. JAVITS. As the bill stands now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has called up a motion which has not been printed, but which I hold in my hand, he having had the courtesy to hand it to me. It reads:

> I move to recommit S. 2388, with instructions to report forthwith with title II—

I think we are in trouble. I am going to ask the Senator to read it.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I move to recommit S. 2388, with instructions to report forthwith with title II, beginning on page 120, line 1, down through page 126, line 11, stricken out.

Mr. CLARK. It is clear enough.

Mr. President, is that the pending motion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be the pending motion as soon as it has been stated by the clerk.

Mr. CLARK. It is my understanding it is debatable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is debatable.

Mr. CLARK. Since I have to leave pretty soon, I hope we can agree there will be no unanimous-consent agreement with respect to limitation of debate on this motion until we can confer tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be none.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it proper for the Senator from California to ask that the call for the yeas and nays be included in the unanimous-consent request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no unanimous-consent request before the Senate. There is a motion before the Senate.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, once the Senator gets the yeas and nays, the motion cannot be amended by any other Senator.

I am told that is not correct.

What is the rule which says once the yeas and nays have been ordered, a Senator cannot modify his motion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A Senator loses his right to modify the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. But any other Senator can modify it or amend it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He could amend it.

Mr. MURPHY. And the Senator may not modify it, but may withdraw?

Mr. MANSFIELD. He may not withdraw it once he gets the yeas and nays.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask that the clerk state the motion.

Mr. MURPHY. I have asked that the yeas and nays be ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, is that a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MURPHY. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion will be stated by the clerk. Then the Senate will act on the request for the yeas and nays.

The legislative clerk read the motion of Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, as follows:

> I move to recommit S. 2388, with instructions to report forthwith with title II, beginning on page 120, line 1, down through page 126, line 11, stricken out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second for the yeas and nays?

There is a sufficient number, and the yeas and nays are ordered.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, another parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. Where an effort is made to amend the instructions which are contained in the motion to recommit, in accordance with the previous rulings of the Chair, does the vote on each such amendment occur before the vote on the motion to recommit?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Chair.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President. I did so only to request that the floor be cleared and that only those who are supposed to be on the floor remain on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair instructs the Sergeant at Arms that all unauthorized persons be cleared from the floor. The Chair would remind the attachés that this is the third time that we have had to do this this afternoon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may I say, in extenuation of my suggestion, that I am finding it extremely difficult to differentiate between Senators and the staff.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournmment until 12 noon tomorrow.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask that the pending business be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will state the pending business.

The **ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK**. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] moves to recommit S. 2388, with instructions to report forthwith which title II, beginning on page 120, line 1, down through page 126, line 11, stricken out.

PROGRAM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I believe the majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] feels there will not be a vote on the pending motion before Monday next. The Senate will meet tomorrow at noon, and it is hoped that action can be taken to dispose of several amendments on tomorrow. There may be rollcall votes; I cannot be sure.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 13026) to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 29, 1967, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 28, 1967:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Walter N. Tobriner, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Jamaica, vice Wilson T. M. Beale, Jr.

OFFICE OF EMERGENCY PLANNING

Price Daniel, of Texas, to be Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, vice Farris Bryant.

IN THE AIR FORCE

William B. Duty, FR5739, for reappointment to the active list of the Regular Air Force, in the grade of lieutenant colonel, from the temporary disability retired list, under the provisions of sections 1210 and 1211, tilte 10, United States Code.

The following persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, and with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

To be captains (Medical)

Birkemeyer, Eugene J., FV3199286.
Myers, John E., FV3125076.

To be first lieutenant (Medical)

Munn, William C., II, FV3166228.

To be captains (Dental)

Barton, Ralph T., FV3195971.
Kincaid Louis C., FV3166077.
Winkley, Donald F., FV2234116.

To be first lieutenants (Dental)

Logan, John L., FV3195972.
Smith, Robert N., FV3142771.

To be first lieutenants (Judge Advocate)

Gooding, Theodore J., FR3132116.
Pribula, Stephen J., FR3183023.

The following Air Force officers for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

To be captains

Abel, Franklin G., FV3104409.
Adams, Richard R., FV3102543.
Adams, Robert R., FV3103860.
Adelman, Philip J., FV3110026.
Albrecht, Peter H., FV3103348.
Allen, Archie G., FV3103349.
Alspaugh, James D., FV3103438.
Amrhein, Robert L., FV3102448.
Anderson, Harold W., FV3050363.
Anderson, Jackie L., FV3110168.
Ashley, Edward L., FV3110046.
Axakowsky, Harry I., FV3103084.
Bacheller, Burton P. C., II, FV3103391.
Baggette, Harold D., FV3104181.
Bailey, Glenn B., FV3039629.
Bailey, James E., FV3073975.
Bailey, William G., FV3103616.
Baker, Kenneth N., FV3101634.
Barr, Charles R., FV3102608.
Barrett, Thomas A., Jr., FV3102933.
Bartlett, Robert R., FV3103944.
Batton, James L., FV3102662.
Beasley, James R., FV3021306.
Beekman, Ralph E., FV3103617.
Benfield, Garland W., FV3109893.
Bennett, Russell H., FV3102546.
Berg, John O., FV3102671.
Bessette, Duane G., FV3110054.
Bester, Joseph D., FV3102690.
Bielstein, Lawrence E., FV3081242.
Billingsley, James T., FV3102988.
Bizily, Russell J., FV3104933.
Black, Maurice, FV3110057.
Blake, Douglas L., FV3103396.
Bogard, Clarence R., FV3102865.
Bomis, Andrejs, FV3097013.
Booth, John F., FV3102508.
Booton, Harley D., FV3110018.
Borchardt, Curtis W., FV3102826.
Borg, Brewster E., FV3101349.
Bowen, Danny M., FV3103728.
Bozarth, Gerald W., Jr., FV3103085.
Bradshaw, John A., FV3027417.
Brandt, William H., FV3103148.
Brawley, Horace M., FV3103626.
Brinegar, Don E., FV2224995.
Brock, Floyd J., Jr., FV3040669.
Broome, Donald W., FV3098845.
Brown, Franklin W., FV3080611.
Brown, Larry K., FV3097295.
Brown, Marvin R., FV3096525.
Brumble, Buck R., FV3104290.
Brummund, Dale R., FV3103101.
Brunner, Richard A., FV3103086.
Buckenmyer, David W., FV3103078.
Budge, Ronald J., FV3104185.
Bukovec, Donald J., FV3103450.
Burkhart, Frederic A., FV3095857.
Butler, Tommy D., Jr., FV3103366.
Butt, David W., FV3103225.
Callahan, James E., FV3103367.
Campbell, John F., FV3103102.
Caponecchi, August J., FV3097710.
Carpenter, Robert A., FV3104362.
Carpentier, Robert A.,FV3103400.
Carson, George A., FV3102696.
Carter, Grey L., FV3103264.
Cassidy, Charles P., FV3102658.
Cauthorn, Frank E., FV1877182.
Chadd, Billy R., FV2211740.
Chandler, Robert G., FV3103369.
Clark, Rufus M., FV3037291.
Clausen, Lee R., FV3085459.
Cleland, Fred D., FV3110028.
Clifford, James E., FV3102698.
Cloyd, John L., FV3101467.
Coble, Walter M., FV3101716.
Cocke, Robert B., Jr., FV3102814.
Coffin, Bruce R., FV3010403.
Cohen, Howard, FV3071894.
Conder, Jimmie L., FV3103387.
Conley, Robert J., FV3097763.
Connolly, Alle B., II, FV2204658.
Conway, Bernard M., FV3104098.
Corbett, John G., FV2228165.
Coughlin, Joseph A., Jr., FV3103867.
Courtney, Daniel H., FV3106338.
Crane, Robert M., FV3103370.
Crews, Charles P., FV3094822.
Crews, Gordon W., FV3101948.
Crocker, Billy H., FV3035097.
Crown, Jerry E., FV3102551.
Curran, Robert B., FV3103868.
Curtis, Jack M., FV2248712.
Cyganek, Roger L., FV3104188.
Dahle, Larry F., FV3021982.
Darrow, William K., FV3102261.
Davidson, Nora A., FV3115456.
Davis, James R., FV3103603.
Decarlo, Louis N., FV3104826.
Deming, William J., FV3102511.
Denison, Robert D., FV3101383.
Dennis, Clyde T., FV3101549.
Despiegler, Gale A., FV3110032.
Dickens, Paul M., FV3005092.
Dillon, James S., FV3103371.
Donaldson, Jack L., FV3102359.
Donley, David L., FV3086721.
Donnelson, Kirk D., FV3021774.
Dorgan, Charles E., FV3096493.
Dorn, Stuart R., FV3103676.
Dumont, Douglas G., FV3038988.
Dunn, Billy C., FV3103236.
Dykes, Conley H., FV3102939.
Eady, Malcolm J., FV3110085.
Earll, David J., FV3103273.
Eckert, Clifford C., FV3102335.
Eckhoff, Herbert F. O., FV3110147.
Edney, Robert A., FV3102512.
Edwards, Reginald N., FV3062085.
Elliott, Lawrence K., Jr., FV3102264.

Elsasser, Robert L., FV3097339.
Engren, Douglas G., FV3102524.
Erler, William F., FV3102764.
Esparza, Enrique, FV3104140.
Fahey, Omer D., FV3025364.
Farren, Michael F., FV3096736.
Fedor, William P., FV3102611.
Fegley, Ronald A., FV3104192.
Fey, Gerald P., FV3103955.
Fialko, Leonard D., FV3097650.
Finamore, Ronald P., FV3103740.
Flandreau, Donald H., FV3104088.
Fogg, Jerome D., FV3109652.
Fontaine, Philip C., FV3104141.
Ford, Charles C., FV3098321.
Ford, David W., FV3102414.
Forinash, Carlen W., FV3110150.
Forsgren, Bruce R., FV2208193.
Fowler, Edward E., FV3109999.
Fox, Dell H., FV3104193.
Frady, William D., FV3102299.
Freeman, David L., FV3052228.
Frisbee, Donald A., FV2229274.
Fruehauf, David E., FV3081647.
Fry, Chester G., Jr., FV3101763.
Fulkerson, Clarence L., Jr., FV2259615.
Gagnon, George A., FV3102708.
Galante, Leonard T., FV3104142.
Gamble, Gary L., FV3103083.
Garver, Richard B., FV3068982.
Gasper, Jay E., FV3102771.
Gentry, Billy C., FV3102773.
Gerac, Louis P., FV3096708.
Geron, Billy M., FV3057480.
Geron, John D., FV3022394.
Giampietro, Ronald L., FV3106324.
Gilbert, Donald E., FV3102616.
Glen, Steven V., FV3104198.
Godin, Raymond E., FV3101815.
Goins, Richard T., FV3103410.
Goodell, Frank S., FV3049170.
Gordon, Sidney H., FV3086654.
Grable, Robert T., FV3102709.
Gray, Jack E., FV3103089.
Greenway, George R., FV3115469.
Greenwood, Frederick R., FV3103291.
Gregory, Hugh R., FV3104427.
Gresco, Alfred J., FV3102947.
Griffin, Richard L., FV3070605.
Grittner, Robert L., FV3103001.
Grossman, James H., FV3103794.
Groves, Lynn W., FV3052456.
Gundrum, Edward H., FV3102618.
Gunther, Caroll D., FV3103104.
Gyauch, Charles P., FV3087114.
Hackett, Robert D., Jr., FV3097632.
Haggerty, James A., FV3057328.
Hall, Mortimer J., FV3103002.
Hancock, Thomas P., FV3098496.
Hanna, Dennis W., FV3102460.
Hanna, Sidney T., Jr., FV3103886.
Hanratty, John F., FV3109661.
Hansen, Richard C., FV3103833.
Hansen, Wynn S., FV3053852.
Harder, John D., FV3109662.
Harris, Donald G., FV3103505.
Harris, Ronald G., FV3110160.
Harris, William B., FV3102302.
Harrison, Robert H., FV3104144.
Hart, Herbert W., FV2205861.
Hartman, Alfonse A., FV3110161.
Hartsock, David C., FV3103560.
Harvey, James B., FV3104145.
Hays, Gary R., FV3103005.
Heal, Earl H., FV3050815.
Heath, Terry E., FV3103006.
Heinrich, David F., FV3052659.
Heiss, Frederick C., FV3054801.
Hembree, James M., FV3103466.
Henderson, Kenneth P., FV3102269.
Henry, David C., FV3110010.
Henry, Jerry L., FV3102928.
Hill, Delbert M., Jr., FV3109666.
Hill, Lincoln, Jr., FV3103180.
Hill, William H., Jr., FV3099244.
Hinchberger, Lawrence J., FV3103469.
Hinrichs, Hayes T., FV3098250.
Hodnik, Richard J., FV3103877.
Hoffman, Kenneth O., FV3103642.
Hollabaugh, Raymond, FV3101835.
Holmes, Durwood P., FV3103796.
Holmes, James L., FV3103243.
Hols, Wilbert G., FV3039392.
Hoover, Dale A., FV3102367.
Hoppe, Lawrence G., FV3102620.
Horsfield, William C., III, FV3097415.
Hothem, Bernard L., FV3103913.
Hotter, Frank D., FV3101994.
Hubacher, Philip, III, FV2205477.
Hudson, James L., Jr., FV3087446.
Hudson, Royce L., FV3102271.
Hughes, Robert D., FV3092379.
Hunzeker, William A., FV3095488.
Hyde, Fritz C., III, FV3104432.
Iwersen, Alfred, Jr., FV3103508.
Jackson, James R., FV3102463.
Jacoby, Gary M., F3102368.
Jaeckel, Robert J., FV3068067.
Janosky, Henry, FV3109668.
Jones, Lowrey G., FV3040465.
Karins, Joseph J., Jr., FV3102272.
Kashiwabara, Merrill K., FV3110134.
Kashouty, Anthony W., FV3102713.
Keller, Marvin R., FV3102917.
Kenfield, Jack L., F3102275.
Kenney, Merle D., FV3102464.
Keskinen, Kenneth B., F3102918.
Kinch, William V. K., FV3110137.
King, Richard E., FV3109979.
Klix, Richard T., FV3103880.
Kodlick, John, FV3103970.
Korte, Mike A., FV3081335.
Korus, Charles J., F3103515.
Kosko, Walter, FV3103359.
Krieg, Oscar P., FV3110141.
Kronbergs, Paul O., FV3102781.
Kyle, Franklin L., FV2211759.
Labosky, Andrew, Jr., FV3102425.
Lafollette, John P., FV3102006.
Lagergren, Frederick G., FV2225097.
Lane, Edward S., Jr., FV3103971.
Lane, W. J. Jr., FV3103202.
Lanigan, Morris J., FFV3034532.
Larsen, Donald K., FV3051480.
Leazer, Donald W., FV3103376.
Lee, William C., FV3099488.
Liehs, Donald L., FV3102426.
Lighty, Larry G., FV3102625.
Looff, Donald L., FV3003687.
Loving, Den A., FV3054598.
Ludwig, Francis J., FV3098392.
Lund, Richard R., FV3046519.
Mack, Richard T., FV3066183.
Maddock, Joseph, FV3104310.
Maiorka, Philip S., FV3103479.
Maloney, Donald E., FV3109955.
Maness, Stony F., FV3103414.
Manning, Robert L., FV3103247.
Marchand, Maurice R., FV3102953.
Marcus, Sidney M., FV2205486.
Markow, Nicholas M., FV3110110.
Martin, Edward W., FV3101719.
Martin, Gary D., FV3103011.
Mattasolio, Donald J., FV3103281.
Maurer, Lewis R., FV3102278.
Mazzei, Alfred A., FV3103977.
McDonald, Travis E., FV3109993.
McDowell, Jerry W., FV3103313.
McGlohon, Robert A., FV3103837.
McGuinness, Michael T., FV3101531.
McGuire, Thomas F., FV3103805.
McLelland, Philip R., FV3102376.
McMahon, John E., FV3102533.
McReynolds, James S., FV3109689.
Meerdink, Warren L., FV3101897.
Mentler, John S., FV3074212.
Meyers, Ronald C., FV3105433.
Miller, Darold D., FV3103250.
Miller, Robert C., FV3102664.
Miner, Robert R., FV3096935.
Mockler, David F., FV3102308.
Molly, Kenneth R., FV3103178.
Moon, Henry C., FV3100254.
Moore, James W., FV3098564.
Moore, Richard W., FV3103046.
Moores, Lee S., FV3095592.
Moran, Keith R., FV3109964.
Moran, Robert C., FV3101877.
Morgan, Robert G., FV3102844.
Morrison, Reginal C., Jr., FV3069946.
Morrow, Richard F., FV3033949.
Mulligan, Thomas C., FV3109816.
Mundie, Bruce F., FV3102310.
Murrell, Kenneth W., FV3110113.
Murtha, James R., FV3106758.
Mushkin, Nathan, FV3007563.
Myers, Ronald R., FV3101878.
Myers, Thomas O., FV3109817.
Nance, Francis L., FV3101879.
Neal, James T., FV3072525.
Neff, William T., FV3097199.
Neilson, Neil R., FV3003238.
Nelson, James L., FV3102230.
Nielsen, Charles N., FV3102471.
Nielsen, William D., FV3103048.
O'Dell, William R., FV3103014.
O'Leary, Daniel L., III, FV3103049.
Olsen, Gerald E., FV3110118.
Olson, John D., FV3065381.
O'Morrow, John H., FV3103015.
Orr, Thomas B., Jr., FV3103481.
Orsulak, Joseph P., FV3103991.
Owens, John E., FV3038727.
Page, Albert L., Jr., FV3059157.
Parimore, Roy L., FV3103657.
Parsons, Wallace E., FV3106574.
Pattillo, John T., FV3109701.
Paulsen, Jay G., Jr., FV3109703.
Pennington, James C., FV3027520.
Peterson, Gordon E., FV3050653.
Peterson, Larry E., FV3102433.
Phillips, Ronald G., FV3102503.
Pischke, Norman A., FV2206114.
Place, Hubert C., FV3102629.
Planck, Sanford R., FV3072067.
Plucker, Herbert A., FV3081166.
Pollard, Richard M., FV3036137.
Porter, Samuel K., FV3110079.
Powers, Frank L., FV3032844.
Priest, Edward C., FV3074311.
Pritchard, Robert L., FV3102848.
Proudfit, Campbell E., FV3022298
Provart, Robert W., FV3099611.
Purviance, Charles S., FV3098172.
Pyle, Thomas S., II, FV3103812.
Quimby, Richard F., Jr., FV3109829.
Ramsey, Milton H., FV3096560.
Randrup, Ronald E., FV3102520.
Ratner, Solomon, FV3103533.
Reich, James L., FV3035190.
Reid, Richard W., FV3098093.
Reinke, Earl R., Jr., FV2228197.
Reiter, Robert E., Jr., FV3104164.
Renick, Larry L., FV3105839.
Richard, Harry J., FV3102285.
Rickard, David T., FV2222857.
Ricks, Keith H., FV3103362.
Riley, Michael R., FV3102478.
Rivera, Danny, FV2224827.
Roberson, John H., FV2228521.
Robertson, Edward G., III, FV3109608.
Robertson, Marion D., Jr., FV3103838.
Robins, Raymond C., FV3099170.
Roell, Joseph C., FV3102479.
Rogers, Cletius G., FV3103999.
Roger, James H., FV3030197.
Rogers, Mark W., FV3103154.
Rogers, Robert J., FV3102435.
Roof, Robert L., FV209850.
Rose, Donald E., FV3101894.
Rose, John H., FV3102436.
Ross, Curtis A., FV3102922.
Ross, Eugene E., FV3098569.
Rouse, John P., FV3102437.
Rousey, James E., FV3103172.
Rowland, Drexel O., FV2224828.
Roylance, Jerry W., FV3109832.
Russell, Harvey L., FV3103612.
Saggio, Joseph C., FV3071866.
Sands, David M., FV2205134.
Schaefer, Joseph D., FV3093706.
Schaertl, Ronald, FV2259773.
Schekirke, Daniel S., FV3034556.
Schierman, Wesley D., FV3058242.
Schoonover, Roland P., FV3106929.
Schramme, David C., FV3098264.
Schruefer, Robert J., FV3064421.
Schuler, Ernest F., III, FV3096651.
Schultz, Robert F., FV3102923.
Schuneman, Lloyd T., FV3065599.
Schwartz, Elias E. Jr., FV3110089.
Schwartz, Robert V., FV3109640.
Scott, James W., FV3104455.

Seal, William R., FV3057145.
Senft, Charles T., FV3103538.
Shappell, Dwight M., FV3010871.
Sheehan, Brian T., FV3066875.
Shelley, Zack H. Jr., FV3094414.
Sherman, Wiley, Jr., FV3104326.
Sherouse, Lewis E., FV3085345.
Shields, Roger D., FV3101133.
Shiers, Clifford F., FV3102583.
Shirley, Hubert C., FV3057815.
Shock, John H., FV3096776.
Sipes, James L., FV3102882.
Skinner, Robert W., FV3103539.
Slader, Eric L., FV3103489.
Sloan, Charles P. Jr., FV3102584.
Smith, Allan T., FV3102801.
Smith, Elworth E., Jr., FV3097950.
Smith, Robert D., FV5210277.
Smith, Wayne H., FV3104395.
Sodoma, Wilford C., FV3097490.
Spaulding, Mark B., FV3103157.
Spear, John W., FV3109724.
Spey, John R., FV3103858.
Spinney, Allan R., FV3064412.
Stadler, John T., FV3102389.
Stallings, Donald F., FV3049056.
Stallings, Malcolm O., Jr., FV3109725.
Staples, Robert M., FV3102636.
Starr, Jack E., FV3097149.
Steele, Richard R., FV3103712.
Stephans, Victor G., FV3070626.
Stevenson, Bonnie G., Jr., FV3102485.
Stewart, Rex. M., FV3103492.
Stipe, Alfred C., FV3066519.
Stocks, Johnnie C., Jr., FV3011016.
Stransky, Charles J., FV3102668.
Streitmatter, Larry A., FV3102804.
Strickland, Wilton W., FV3109727.
Sturek, Donald L., FV3101851.
Sukey, Richard D., FV3102863.
Sutter, Franklin G., Jr., FV3102444.
Svoboda, Robert J., FV3103126.
Swann, John K., FV3098966.
Sweeney, William L., FV3065710.
Taylor, Richard F., FV3103023.
Teborek, Joseph A., FV3029254.
Tennery, Michael C., FV3096361.
Thedford, Thomas M., FV3110061.
Thomas, Daniel E., FV3109916.
Thompson, Merlin H., FV3102807.
Thompson, Robert E., FV3101768.
Thorne, Carlton E., FV3101914.
Tilton, Norman D., FV3103592.
Timberman, Donald E., FV3109902.
Tindle, Dannie J., FV3101866.
Tucker, Henry L., Jr., FV3097922.
Tussing, Frank R., FV3103179.
Underwood, Keith T., FV3102488.
Utley, Roger R., FV2211977.
Valadez, Ernesto E., FV3102589.
Vancamp, Ronald D., FV3104007.
Vanstockum, WI F., Jr., FV3102393.
Vatcher, Frederic M., FV3103266.
Velle, Robert N., FV3099327.
Venes, Robert O., FV3102394.
Voge, Dale W., FV3103548.
Vonurff, Noel H., FV3103665.
Voyles, Robert J., FV2221643.
Wagner, James E., FV3037222.
Wagner, Larry L., FV3103822.
Walker, Alan E., FV3106867.
Wallace, Richard P., FV3103497.
Wallace, Robert E., FV3101167.
Walls, W. L., FV3102593.
Walters, Donald R., FV3102859.
Warnick, Loyd J., FV3036533.
Warren, Arthur L., FV3103127.
Waterson, William, FV3103938.
Webber, Dale T., FV3030942.
Werley, Harley D., FV3103721.
West, Eugene R., FV3025727.
Wham, Thomas J., FV3103194.
White, Clarence L., FV3023906.
Whitner, Flippen W., Jr., FV3101784.
Whitten, William C., FV3101925.
Whittenberg, Jean R., FV3141564.
Wilkinson, Donald L., FV3109927.
Williams, John J., FV3033007.
Williams, John V., Jr., FV3103824.
Willis, Myron E., FV3103498.
Wilson, James K., A., FV3104239.
Wood, Evan E. Jr., FV3102637.
Woods, David M., FV3099576.
Wright, Richard F., FV3101934.
Yarc, David E., FV3103177.
Yargo, Ralph J., FV3103216.
Yates, Thomas H., FV3104074.
Young, Edward F., FV3097746.
Young, William E., FV3106770.
Zierdt, Jerald F., FV3101539.

To be first lieutenants

Alexander, Robb R., FV3109880.
Allan, Ronald J., FV3081816.
Allen, John C., FV3115966.
Alvarez, Humberto H., FV3117665.
Anderson, Paul C., FV3115394.
Anderson, Raymond E., FV3119429.
Andreasen, Clell, FV3116391.
Armenta, Gilbert, FV3118000.
Arner, Lorenz D., FV3115295.
Arneson, Dwynne C., FV3116517.
Artley, Dike D., FV3117189.
Ashman, Jerome P., FV3098580.
Bailey, Gordon D., FV3117448.
Bailey, Richard, FV3116028.
Bajuk, Terence G., FV3103725.
Bale, Don E., FV3099686.
Banks, Ronald W., FV3117139.
Barrett, Melvin R., FV3118004.
Batte, George A., FV3117236.
Beaulieu, Leo J., FV3100916.
Benedict, Carl J., FV3109639.
Benten, William A., FV3104412.
Berkshire, John H., FV3115755.
Bernard, Albert R., Jr., FV3104536.
Bernard, John F., Jr., FV3117519.
Bevans, Peter C., FV3116398.
Beverly, Edward J., Jr., FV3116399.
Bigelow, James N., FV3118045.
Bigham, Eugene F., FV3115418.
Birnbaum, Moe, FV3109696.
Bittenbender, David F., FV3117143.
Bloom, Philip J., FV3116049.
Blum, Franklin E., FV3117241.
Blythe, Herman E., FV3116400.
Bode, Richard D., FV3117242.
Boecking, William D. G., FV3117145.
Boettger, Albert J., Jr., FV3117642.
Boone, Donald, FV3116254.
Boone, Leo D., FV3104539.
Boone, Thomas S., FV3106552.
Boyd, Lawrence E., FV3115303.
Boyd, Raymond G. Jr., FV3116204.
Boyle, John J., FV3115981.
Brakeley, Peter W., FV3116257.
Breen, Paul F., FV3115919.
Brown, Leland D. Jr., FV3116209.
Brown, William A. Jr., FV3117149.
Brownfield, Orlen L., FV3109675.
Bruce, Daniel R., FV3116210.
Brzozowski, Thomas S., FV3104525.
Buick, John R., FV3117526.
Burnett, Donovan O., FV3115923.
Burns, John L., FV3117870.
Burrow, Jessie H., FV3109758.
Burrows, Bruce T., FV3109788.
Byrne, Richard L., FV3117757.
Calhoun, Joseph S., FV3117151.
Carey, John J., FV3117648.
Chambers, John A., FV3109949.
Choronenko, Iwan, FV5009301.
Christensen, Carl A., Jr., FV3117153.
Clemons, Gerald L., FV3115816.
Coats, James A., FV3115817.
Coble, John E., FV3117248.
Cody, John C., FV3106914.
Collman, Ronald G., FV3118226.
Conner, William B., FV3103316.
Correll, Monte R., FV3118228.
Cotarobles, Amado L., FV3118022.
Coulter, Arthur C., FV3115818.
Cox, Wesley A., FV3106942.
Crofoot, William R., FV3116058.
Cruger, Kenneth J., FV3021311.
Curtis, Arthur W., FV3115820.
Davis, Clifford D., FV3116267.
Davis, Glenn L., FV3118230.
Davis, Ralph L., Jr., FV3115822.
Davis, Robert E., FV3115471.
Deeter, Stanley B., FV3115324.
Dibbens, Marvin F., FV3116061.
Dixon, Dale B., FV3117102.
Dodge, Harvey L., FV3118137.
Domuret, Allan J., FV3118139.
Donahoe, James B., FV3117159.
Driscoll, Dennis R., FV3116062.
Dubose, Wesley G., FV3115502.
Dukes, Douglas W., FV3100208.
Dunkelberger, Robert J., FV3117978.
Edge, Thomas H., FV3115503.
Edwards, Melvin P., FV3105540.
Edwards, Ronald G., FV3115990.
Erickson, Stephen C., FV3099962.
Ermi, Keith, FV3117258.
Ernest, Kenneth E., FV3117481.
Evans, Robert G., FV3118232.
Evans, Yarnell C., Jr., FV3104549.
Fagley, Richard D., FV3117885.
Faison, Lawrence E., FV3082195.
Farman, Michael S., FV3115825.
Farmer, Robert A., FV3117660.
Farris, James S., FV3115523.
Fiddler, John F., FV3106775.
Fink, Raymond O., FV3115932.
Fischer, Frank C., FV3115328.
Fisher, Neil, FV3115329.
Flinn, Lawrence E., FV3103678.
Floyd, Johnny B., FV3118031.
Folks, Richard L., FV3117544.
Foreman, William L., FV3117770.
Frederick, John P., FV3117545.
French, Teddy B., FV3118032.
Frick, Roland D., FV3117265.
Friedler, Paul S., FV3116217.
Frigyes, Lewis, FV3117666.
Gambrell, Charles E., FV3117668.
Gannon, James P., FV3117892.
Garcia, Robert, Jr., FV3117486.
Gastner, Robert R., FV3117546.
Geubtner, John J., FV3104550.
Goodin, Donald D., FV3104497.
Gowell, Wyrewood A., FV3117168.
Graczyk, Donald L., FV3104300.
Graver, Charles D., FV3110140.
Gray, Gary W., FV3117551.
Greene, Richard S., FV3117780.
Greer, George R., FV3117894.
Hall, Lawrence A., FV3115996.
Hamilton, Grifford E., FV3116422.
Hannan, Ronald D., FV3105099.
Hanson, Leroy J., FV3118236.
Hanson, Merrill K., FV3117172.
Hardacker, Ralph J., FV3117674.
Hargrove, Wilbur H., FV3117269.
Harrington, Paul E., Jr., FV3115839.
Hauschka, Kurt C., FV3116277.
Hawn, James H., FV3104554.
Hayes, Frank M., FV3116042.
Haynes, Emerson L., Jr., FV3117271.
Heberlein, Louis H., Jr., FV3104950.
Hickman, Raymond L., FV3118240.
Hitchings, Owen L., FV3109822.
Hoberman, Errol S., FV3103745.
Hogan, James J., Jr., FV3117274.
Hollingsworth, Charles V., FV3115999.
Howard, James D., FV3116280.
Huestis, James A., FV3117277.
Huffman, Dale B., FV3116178.
Hunter, Gerald D., FV3117900.
Hurst, Claude J., FV3115350.
Irons, Otis E., FV3118152.
Jacobs, Harvey A., FV3118044.
Jingling, Robert G., FV3047447.
Johnson, Albert L., FV3066136.
Johnson, Jimmy L., FV3117791.
Jones, Tommy B., Jr., FV3117795.
Kahler, Lamonte M., FV3100317.
Kavanaugh, Michael J., FV3115330.
Keefe, Francis D., FV3104882.
Kelly, James J., FV3117796.
Kenworthy, Kay H., FV3104303.
Kidby, William M., FV3117286.
Kimball, Frank T., FV3103513.
Kingston, George, FV3117797.
Kirschner, Duane W., FV3103969.
Klamt, Darold A., FV3104559.
Kleinrock, Bernard J., FV3115854.
Knutson, Donald O., FV3064972.
Kobelt, Richard W., FV3115361.
Kohnke, Walter R., FV3116436.
Konopka, Robert C., FV3117799.

Kopka, John S., III, FV3097368.
Koverman, William M., FV3116437.
Kramer, Bruce M., FV3118159.
Kramer, Lloyd R., FV3117288.
Krauss, Doyle W., FV3106436.
Krouse, Kieth E., FV3116439.
Kuczaj, Charles S., FV3117260.
Kusumoto, Mikio R., FV3117800.
Lancaster, James F., FV3109740.
Larochelle, Donald Z., FV3115365.
Larsen, Roy M., FV3115858.
Laughton, Roy L., FV3104277.
Lawler, Harold K., FV3108003.
Lecleir, James J., FV3117572.
Lecroy, Roy C., FV3099717.
Leiker, Anthony D., FV3104308.
Light, Roger B., FV3106676.
Lincoln, Robert F., FV3102783.
Lindley, Thompson, FV3117913.
Lomas, Thomas R., FV3117806.
Long, Leslie C., FV3104079.
Lopez, Juan F., FV3116074.
Lundgard, Jack P., FV3100431.
Macumber, Lorn J., FV3115874.
Malberg, Carl H., FV3115877.
Mannex, Henry R., FV3050559.
Martin, David W., FV3117191.
May, Harold D., FV3106203.
Mayfield, Earl B., FV3116444.
McDonald, Bruce A., FV3115543.
McDonnell, Paul J., FV3117575.
McElroy, Daniel R., FV3118299.
McElwain, Stuart, FV3100513.
McIntyre, Sidney G., FV3117918.
McLaughlin, Howard A., FV3115561.
McNeff, Charles P., FV3118055.
McNulty, Richard C., FV3118300.
McWilliams, Robert R., FV3116289.
Meaux, Chester L., FV3115376.
Meese, Edward T., Jr., FV3116234.
Meyer, Charles M., FV3116076.
Mills, Wesley A., FV3116467.
Mollicone, James V., FV3104444.
Moore, David E., FV3081657.
Morris, Phillip M., FV3117301.
Mosson, Francis, FV3116294.
Moulton, David W., FV3117704.
Mundy, Charles J., FV3116471.
Nash, Marshall B., FV3115631.
Neale, Carter C., Jr., FV3118059.
Nelson, Gordon F., FV3080458.
Nutt, Donald G., FV3104571.
Ohr, Kenneth J., FV3115955.
Orozco, Raymond R., FV3117201.
Ostergaard, Ray D., FV3117590.
Palmer, Gerald F., FV3100662.
Pembleton, Willis E., FV3103420.
Perrey, Richard A., FV3117594.
Perry, Ben F., FV3115634.
Peterka, James A., FV3118067.
Peterson, Franklyn J., FV3116016.
Philibert, Aaron O., Jr., FV3115385.
Phillips, Charles L., FV3117313.
Pinson, Jim G., FV3104512.
Plecenik, Michael M., Jr., FV3081865.
Powell, Robert W., FV3117206.
Prah, James R., FV3116382.
Preciado, Willie M., FV3116306.
Pruss, Theodore, FV3118175.
Pugh, James O., FV3116018.
Raphael, Joseph, FV3080221.
Rhoads, Howard H., FV3104576.
Rhodes, Charles E., FV3099694.
Richards, James A., FV3064884.
Richardson, Robert R., FV3118070.
Roberts, John K., FV3117322.
Robinson, Michael N., FV3117605.
Robinson, Thomas J., FV3115392.
Robison, Jimmie J., FV3115639.
Roeder, David S., FV3105253.
Rogers, Charles E., FV3115640.
Rogers, Harry C. III, FV3118072.
Roney, Frederick D., FV3117608.
Roodzant, Leslie H., FV3117323.
Rosenhoover, Donald E., FV3117324.
Ruskiewicz, Daniel F., FV3105117.
Russin, Robert E., FV3116486.
Sasser, George F., FV3117067.
Schaub, George A., FV3103707.
Scheibe, Richard C., FV3116310.
Schneiker, David, F., FV3117725.
Schwartz, Steven G., FV3104392.
Schwecke, Alfred M., FV3104231.
Sears, Hayden F., Jr., FV3117072.
Semonsky, Leo, FV3117330.
Sheppard, William D., FV3116490.
Sherlock, Harry A., FV3105566.
Shields, Francis S., FV3117615.
Shilling, Franklin L., FV3116491.
Sidletsky, James J., FV3115891.
Simpson, William A., FV3104515.
Sissell, Alton H., FV3117728.
Skaret, Garry J., FV3081843.
Slaven, Onva R., FV3117619.
Small, John D., FV3118182.
Smith, Dennis E., FV3116084.
Smith, Francis J., Jr., FV3117620.
Smith, Lawrence E., FV3104171.
Somma, Michael T., FV3117214.
Sproston, Marvin R., FV3116494.
Sproul, Lawrence G., FV3117078.
Steele, Russell W., FV3117731.
Stelmar, Thomas E., FV3116327.
Stephens, Carroll J., FV3118184.
Stith, Donald D., FV3116030.
Stoll, Harold W., FV3115649.
Strine, Richard L., FV3117219.
Stryker, Blair C., FV3117335.
Sundstrom, Bryce M., FV3115407.
Talcott, Arnold R., FV3115650.
Tatum, Paul V., FV3115651.
Taylor, Leroy C., FV3116197.
Teitler, Barry M., FV3116087.
Thatcher, Chester H., Jr., FV3116031.
Thomas, Lowell R., FV3104005.
Thornton, Attwood F., FV3101659.
Tiffin, Rainford, FV3117459.
Tingle, Roy L., FV3117221.
Tobin, Louis J., FV3117996.
Toney, William E., FV3117738.
Traister, Martin S., FV3115410.
Tribula, Edward M., FV3117739.
Trolenberg, Paul E., FV3115412.
Truman, James G., FV3116502.
Tuck, Joseph E., FV3082453.
Urbano, Carl B., FV3117937.
Vanore, Armand R., FV3118190.
Vanvoorhis, Harry J., FV3117849.
Vaughn, Elmer D., FV3104401.
Vettel, John W., Jr., FV3116249.
Vickrey, Porter E., FV3115971.
Volpicelli, Louis R., FV3118191.
Wakefield, Frank E., FV3116944.
Walker, Ronald L., FV3116251.
Walker, Ronald M., FV3117851.
Wallett, William F., Jr., FV3117743.
Walters, Gary E., FV3118306.
Walton, Dale O., FV3115656.
Ward, Omer L., Jr., FV3116507.
Warner, Gerald A., FV3116508.
Weber, Wolfdieter P., FV3117943.
Webster, James K., FV3117343.
Weidinger, Lawrence J., FV3116089.
Weiss, Jerold L., FV3118192.
Welborn, Danny J., FV3118094.
Wells, Courtney W., FV3117345.
Wesche, Thomas L., FV3118193.
White, Farris N., FV3104405.
White, Florin W., Jr., FV3117945.
White, James M., FV3117346.
Whorton, William M., FV3115975.
Williams, Charles F., Jr., FV3115660.
Williams, Kenneth L , FV3115417.
Wilson, Thomas W., Jr., FV3115663.
Wilson, William P., FV3117750.
Wojnar, Peter J., Jr., FV3117349.
Wright, Susan M., FV3116686.
Wuehler, James G., FV3117635.
Yarber, Nathan L., FV3118279.
Yarrigle, Robert C., FV3117636.
Zabel, Albert R., FV3098314.
Zanca, Robert F., FV3103827.
Zimmerman, George V., Jr., FV3106086.
Zingg, John A., FV3117951.

The following distinguished graduates of the Air Force officer training school for appointment in the regular Air Force in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

Alderfer, Elmer L., FV3204309.
Anderson, Monnie F., FV3208644.
Anno, Stephen E., FV3208400.
Ansell, Julian R., FV3208726.
Arner, Eugene O., FV3206726.
Arnold, John E., FV3207768.
Bailey, Ronald G., FV3208807.
Basinger, Jimmy R., FV3204220.
Bast, Paul G., FV3208333.
Behrendt, John M., FV3208437.
Bell, Donald R., FV3208290.
Biele, Thomas M., FV3205763.
Blaum, Raymond J., Jr., FV3204222.
Bouchard, Peter A., FV3204224.
Boyer, John P., Jr., FV3207988.
Brand, Merle A., Jr., FV3206790.
Brandt, William R., FV3204226.
Bravinder, Richard W., FV3204227.
Brown, Francis L., FV3220162.
Buchert, William J., FV3204229.
Buck, Richard J., FV3204230.
Burghoffer, Leo L., FV3207715.
Busico, Roger P., FV3205900.
Carroll, Patrick H., Jr., FV3204232.
Carter, Don R., FV3208891.
Castagno, James R., FV3207792.
Chapelle, Conrad A., FV3204235.
Cikoski, Thomas R., FV3208896.
Clark, Samuel L., II, FV3206668.
Coleman, Ronald D., FV3204238.
Collins, Kenneth F., FV3204239.
Cook, Robert, FV3204311.
Converse, Lowell A., FV3204241.
Cornish, Jeffrey M., FV3207802.
Crafton, Walter D., FV3204312.
Delay, Richard D., FV3204313.
Delisle, Henry, FV3208180.
Dempsey, Dennis T., FV3204243.
Domzalski, David W., FV3208647.
Elston, Ernest W., Jr., FV3207814.
Fahlberg, Keith F., FV3204246.
Farrow, James G., FV3209274.
Fletcher, John C., FV3204248.
Francis, William D., FV3208505.
Frindt, Ronald J., FV3209118.
Froehlich, John M., FV3206196.
Garza, Orlando T., FV3209298.
Gibson, Stanley P., FV3207832.
Gober, Marcus P., FV3207094.
Goldsmith, Maurice L., FV3208654.
Graham, Stuart R. G., FV3204252.
Greenhaw, Richard C., FV3206873.
Griest, Sidney H., FV3208515.
Gudebski, John J., FV3207438.
Gumble, Bruce L., FV3204254.
Hall, Jesse S., FV3204255.
Halseth, Michael J., FV3206831.
Hamilton, David J., FV3204256.
Hardenburg, Charles T., Jr., FV3208656.
Harris, James E., FV3204258.
Higgins, Michael J., Jr., FV3207555.
Howing, Frederick C., FV3208624.
Hubbard, John G., FV3209289.
Hutchings, Robert L., FV3207635.
Johnson, Albert C., FV3206563.
Jorgensen, Jon M., FV3204265.
Kennedy, Ralph L., FV3208296.
Kenner, Ronald P., FV3208007.
King, Lawrence A., FV3208244.
Lavery, Thomas F., FV3207912.
Leaseburg, Floyd E., II, FV3208408.
Lentz, Richard A., FV3207057.
Lloyd, David E., FV3209045.
Longstaff, Thomas W., FV3204308.
Luce, James G., FV3206551.
Mackin, James A., Jr., FV3204270.
Macknik, Louis S., FV3204271.
Masterson, Mark W., FV3209047.
Mathis, Ronald E., FV3204321.
McCallie, Marshall F., FV3209336.
Milburn, Michael P., FV3208566.
Miller, Larry G., FV3208136.
Miller, Theodore W., Jr., FV3208138.
Moore, Terry L., FV3207970.
Murray, Paul T., FV3208037.
Nagurski, Jan S., FV3208755.
Ogburn, Calvin M., FV3208356.
Olson, Duane L., FV3208693.
Parmley, Robert F., FV3208762.
Payne, Timothy J., FV3208157.

Peterson, Owen K., FV3207663.
Popp, Robert A., FV3208770.
Porter, Charles D., FV3220148.
Prophitt, Gary L., FV3208406.
Przybelski, Richard T., FV3207217.
Puck, Kenneth A., FV3207670.
Rademacher, Richard D., FV3206990.
Rhine, Kimzey W., FV3208812.
Rohlof, Kent J., FV3204288.
Ross, Barry J., FV3207852.
Ross, Robert A., FV3208818.
Rowell, Robert W., FV3204289.
Rugh, Jack S., FV3207918.
Schumann, George M., FV3204290.
Schwanbeck, Richard L., FV3207422.
Scott, Francis G., FV3207574.
Scott, James D., Jr., FV3208773.
Semegran, Michael D., FV3204292.
Sheehan, Gerald W., FV3207088.
Siders, Stephen R., FV3207423.
Slossberg, Barry S., FV3208274.
Smith, Richard E., Jr., FV3209355.
Souk, James E., FV3207234.
Spivey, Robert P., FV3208321.
Stevens, William F., FV3220150.
Stevenson, Jesse R., FV3206499.
Stromm, Lawrence D., FV3207872.
Stump, Francis B., FV3204295.
Tantillo, Donald A., FV3204296.
Tempel, William P., FV3208784.
Thaten, Peter R., FV3207678.
Thompson, Lance L., FV3208837.
Torrey, Paul F., FV3209207.
Townsley, Emory, Jr., FV3204298.
Turner, Ronald G., FV3208348.
Wadsworth, Richard A., FV3207174.
Walters, John C., FV3208850.
Washburn, Carlos D., FV3204300.
Weaver, Peter C., FV3207974.
Wiley, James B., FV3208765.
Winnik, Laurence N., FV3207683.
Witt, Edwin D., Jr., FV3208285.
Yeager, James G., FV3206657.
Younger, John R., FV3204304.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve.—Matthew 4: 10.

Eternal God, our Father, from whom our spirits come, with whom they live and unto whom they go when life on earth is over—in the quiet of this moment we humbly lift our hearts unto Thee in prayer. We believe in Thee with all our minds—do Thou make Thyself real to us in all our hearts. Grant unto us a song on our lips in the morning, strength for the day, good will for one another, a steadfast loyalty to our country, courage to maintain high ideals in our national life, and a faith in Thee that gives us confidence and helps us overcome the evil in the world.

Give to us an inner spirit of hospitality to that which is high in life and send us forth masters of ourselves because we are mastered by Thee. By Thy spirit of truth alive within us may we be among that company of Thy children who lift the world and do not lean upon it, and who leave it a better place in which to live. In the Redeemer's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Health of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

INFORMATION CENTERS ON HOW TO AVOID THE DRAFT

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the remarks of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of Congress are entitled to know of the latest activities by those who would sabotage our war effort and do what they can to prevent us from defeating the Communists in Vietnam. Throughout the United States, on campuses and in cities, the Students for Democratic Society, a radical leftwing anti-Vietnam war group, are setting up draft information centers to advise the young men of America how to avoid the draft.

Competent sources tell me the people who are mixed up in this conspiracy to help our enemies are the same ones who have long been recognized as leaders in the Black Nationalist movement, the W. E. B. Dubois Clubs, the Progressive Labor Movement, and a variety of Communist front organizations. A draft information center has been established in Dallas across the street from the Texas State Fair, and one on the Southern Methodist University campus. Another draft information center is being set up in downtown Dallas.

The culmination of the Students for Democratic Society efforts to undermine our draft laws will be focused during the week of October 16. At the end of this week of planned demonstrations, on October 21, they hope to shut down the Pentagon.

I have asked the House Committee on Un-American Activities to send investigators to Dallas and other cities. I also am asking for a full-scale investigation by this committee.

TO AUTHORIZE PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF REPORT TO ACCOMPANY H.R. 7977, POSTAL REVENUE AND FEDERAL SALARY ACT OF 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 934) and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 934

Resolved, That there shall be printed concurrently with the original press run, three thousand five hundred additional copies of the report to accompany H.R. 7977, the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967, for use by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 283]

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Aspinall
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Button
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
Corman
Dawson
de la Garza
Derwinski
Feighan
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Halpern
Hanna
Holland
Hosmer
Jarman
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
McEwen
Mayne
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Selden
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 387 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 478, ESTABLISHING PROCEDURES TO RELIEVE DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS INJURED BY INCREASED IMPORTS FROM LOW-WAGE AREAS

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, and on behalf of the able gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN], I call up House Resolution 925 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 925

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 478) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the able gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MARTIN], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this rule is an open rule providing 2 hours of general debate for the consideration of H.R. 478. That bill, which will be presented by the able gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], is for the purpose of authorizing and requiring in certain cases the Secretary of Labor to investigate whether particular products or groups of products are being brought into this country from countries where the labor conditions are such as to be contrary to the public policy of this country, the country where the market is, as defined by the Minimum Fair Labor Standards Act, which is a part of the law of our land.

The change that this bill would make from the present law authorizing the Secretary of Labor to make such investigation, is that such an investigation is compulsory on the part of the Secretary of Labor where either House of Congress resolves that such an investigation shall be made, or any employee organization requests such an investigation, or upon the application of any interested party, including any community organization such as a town, township, city or county. Of course, the Secretary of Labor may make such an investigation upon his own initiative. After the investigation is made, then the Secretary shall report to the President what his findings are under the investigation made. Then the President is authorized to take such action to remove such unsatisfactory conditions as are found, including the exercise of authority with respect to imposition of customs, or even to the imposition of quotas against a product or related group of products that might be found to be coming into this country under conditions from the country where they emanate, that are contrary to the public policy of this country as set out in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, what effect would this bill, if enacted into law, have on the textile situation, where employees overseas in certain countries are paid 13 cents an hour or 15 cents an hour, and the imports come into the United States and are offered in competition to products made by our domestic mills that pay $2 an hour for labor?

Mr. PEPPER. To meet a condition like that, I say to the able gentleman from Alabama, is the obvious purpose of this legislation. Heretofore, it has been upon the initiative of the Secretary of Labor that an investigation into conditions such as that might be made.

This bill would make it compulsory upon the Secretary to make those investigations if either House of Congress, or any labor organization, or any township or county or group, or others who had a legitimate interest in the matter called upon the Secretary to make such an investigation.

When the Secretary makes his report, if he should disclose to the President in his report such conditions as the able gentleman indicated, then the President would be empowered to—and I quote from the bill—"take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law."

The able gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], who presented this matter to the Rules Committee, said that authority would also include the power on the part of the President to impose a quota if he chose to do so against those products coming to this country emanating from such conditions in the exporting country.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. In other words, if the bill should become law there would be some hope of help for the domestic textile workers?

Mr. PEPPER. It would give broad authority to the President if an unfavorable report relative to those conditions were made to the President, to protect the industries of this country.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank my able friend from Alabama.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 925 provides for an open rule with 2 hours of debate on H.R. 478, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

This legislation is harmless legislation. It is worthless legislation. I am sorry that it is programed for today, because it will not accomplish one single thing, and I believe it is a waste of time for the House even to be considering this legislation.

It is not supported by the administration, nor by any department of the administration.

My guess is that it will not get anywhere, that it will not be enacted into law, because the other body will take no action on a bill that accomplishes absolutely nothing.

This bill provides for amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. Let me read the present law, which is currently in effect, in regard to this section of the bill where imports from foreign countries adversely affect American industries. Let me read the current law already in effect:

> Whenever the Secretary has reason to believe that in any industry under this Act the competition of foreign producers in United States markets or in markets abroad, or both, has resulted, or is likely to result, in increased unemployment in the United States, he *shall* undertake an investigation to gain full information with respect to the matter. If he determines such increased unemployment has in fact resulted, or is in fact likely to result, from such competition, he shall make a full and complete report of his findings and determinations to the President and to the Congress.

That is practically the same as is provided for in this bill, except that H.R. 478, in section 3 on page 3, goes a little farther, which could create some problems for the Secretary. Let me quote from the proposed legislation:

> Upon the request of the President, or upon resolution of either House of Congress, or upon application of the representative of any employee organization in a domestic industry, or upon application of *any interested party*, or upon his own motion, the Secretary of Labor shall promptly make an investigation and make a report thereon—

And so forth. In other words, this opens it up to any individual in the United States that he can request the Secretary to check into imports coming into this country which he feels are adversely affecting American industry and request a report. The Secretary under the terms of this legislation is required to proceed with making such a report.

Mr. Speaker, this is opening up a Pandora's box when any individual in the United States can come in and make such a request.

Let us see what the bill provides after the report is made by the Secretary. He sends it to the President. Again I quote from the bill:

> Upon receipt of the report of the Secretary containing a finding that an imported product is or likely will be sold in competition with like or competitive goods produced in the United States under such circumstances, the President may take such action as he deems appropriate—

The President "may." What are the two alternatives open to him? First of all to set up a quota on how much of these imports we have from this particular area coming into the United States so as to reduce them or, second, to increase the tariff on these products coming into the United States. You know that is not going to happen. That is why I reiterate that this is completely a worthless bill. It does not have the support of the administration or the departments downtown. It is not going to get any place. I am sorry that the House has to waste time this afternoon on legislation which is so inconsequential.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

In looking through the report before us I am unable to find a statement from any department of the administration. Will the gentleman tell us what reports were made, from what departments, and what the departments recommended?

Mr. MARTIN. The Secretary of Labor was the only one from the administration who testified. This was last fall when I was still a member of the subcommittee. As I recall the testimony, he did not oppose the bill nor did he endorse it.

Mr. KYL. Is there any departmental report available?

Mr. MARTIN. There does not seem to be any in the report. The report contains many, many pages of excerpts or reprints of testimony given by those who appeared before the subcommittee.

Mr. KYL. Can the gentleman tell us if the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Commerce did offer either favorable or unfavorable reports to the committee?

Mr. MARTIN. So far as I know, they did not testify or furnish any reports.

Mr. KYL. Is the gentleman then saying that no reports were given to the committee from the administrative branches?

Mr. MARTIN. Outside of the Department of Labor, I do not know of any. I do not have any firsthand knowledge in that area, so you might more properly direct that question to some of the members of the subcommittee.

Mr. KYL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, today we have fresh evidence of the results that are flowing from the infamous action of President Johnson last January in committing this country to join the British in the attempted strangulation of little Rhodesia, whose crime against humanity is a desire for independence from British rule; a desire, if history is to be believed, that the Founding Fathers of this Nation had in their minds.

One of the consequences of this disgraceful so-called foreign policy, is that President Johnson and his State Department lackeys have placed us increasingly at the mercy of the Russian Government for vital supplies of chrome ore—ore that we previously purchased from the friendly Government of Rhodesia.

For the first 6 months of this year we have already paid the Russian Communists nearly as much for chrome ore as we paid to the Rhodesians during all of last year and because of our blind-leading-the-blind policy—shoved down our throats illegally by a President who chooses more and more to ignore the Congress of the United States—we are going to buy more and more chrome ore from the Russians, and at a sharply increased price.

This increase in price for Russian ore went into effect only last month—$6 to $7 a ton—because the rulers in the Kremlin quite naturally took advantage of the beautiful situation handed to them by the President of the United States when he cut us off from the high-grade Rhodesian ore we had been buying for years.

I hope that Members of the House are aware of the next step the Kremlin can take. The U.S.S.R. can simply refuse to sell us chrome ore—as they did during the Korean war—if the Communists decide to put the squeeze on us in Vietnam.

What I would like to have administration spokesmen tell all of us is why we get into these situations? Why we wind up trading with the most powerful Communist nation on earth at the expense of a friendly anti-Communist country like Rhodesia?

Even more galling is the fact that President Johnson took this action to appease the British, who have blithely continued to supply the North Vietnamese Communist government with a substantial amount of supplies to continue killing Americans.

Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has caused U.S. business to pay out millions of dollars to the Kremlin for chrome ore since the State Department, a year before the illegal sanctions went into effect last January, set about, Texas style, to "persuade" U.S. businessmen to stop buying from Rhodesia.

It is abundantly clear that the President has played us all into the hands of the Russians on this one and, at the same time, persecuted a friendly country whose greatest sin is a longing for independence from the leeching British—a longing many of us have been naive enough to believe was what this country is all about.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Watson].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to direct one or two questions to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper], who is handling this rule. It is my opinion that, perhaps, the gentleman from Florida could more appropriately answer these questions as a member of the majority party.

At this time I am disturbed, as is the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Martin], that this bill will not accomplish the desired results. Nevertheless, I am going to support it, because it is my opinion that the gravity of the situation, especially as it relates to textiles, warrants some positive action in this field.

However, Mr. Speaker, in all candor, I am apprehensive that this bill may be a matter of window dressing. This, of course, I hope is not true. However, I do not want to hold out any false hope to the workers and domestic industrialists that this bill will restore jobs and solve the serious problem of foreign imports. We must, in my judgment, take some action on the bills relating to quantitative limits which some 160 Members of the House have introduced.

So this gives rise to this question: Is it anticipated by the gentleman and by others that, should the Secretary of Labor make a determination that these imports are having a serious adverse effect upon a particular industry, that upon his report being given to the President, the President will take positive action in trying to correct the situation?

Mr. PEPPER. The able gentleman from South Carolina knows, of course, that no one can speak for the President. Indeed, no one knows who will be the President from time to time, as these disclosures may be made. But what the Congress would do in this measure is to authorize the President to exercise very broad authority. The bill authorizes the President, as I stated a moment ago, and I quote from the bill, to "take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law."

The able gentleman from Pennsylvania, in presenting this matter to the Committee on Rules, interpreted that language to mean, for example, that the President could impose a quota upon quantities of those products that might be permitted to come into the country. So the Congress certainly would be vesting very broad authority in the President to act if the facts are properly disclosed to him by the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. WATSON. I thank the gentleman for his statement, and I want to commend my friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent], the chairman of the subcommittee, for his efforts and those of the subcommittee, but I still have serious misgivings about this question because, as a practical matter, the President has authority now to do the very same thing and yet has not acted.

Does the President not have that authority?

Mr. PEPPER. Might we yield to the able gentleman from Pennsylvania to answer that question?

Mr. WATSON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I respect the opinion of the gentleman from South Carolina, and I want to say to him that we studied every possible avenue to get, as you might say, positive action on the part of the President, but in order to do that you would have to know the case that is going to come up before the President. You would have to predetermine the action he would take. Because, under this particular bill he has the same rights and prerogatives that he has now under the general tariff law, the only difference being that he must await the determination by the Tariff Commission, and he has sort of a restricted area in which he can operate, whereas under this particular bill we do not go beyond saying that he may use any of the avenues open to him under the customs law of the country. He can raise tariffs, or he can increase quotas. He can place, as he now can under the tariff law, embargoes. But which of these avenues the President would use would have to be determined by the President.

Mr. WATSON. The President may take action, or he can do nothing, as has been the case, and I am apprehensive that that will be the case in the future.

Again, let me underscore the fact that I want to do something about this serious problem, and I support this particular measure. But, let me ask this: The Secretary of Labor presently has the duty to make studies of particular commodities that might be adversely affected by foreign imports, but has the Secretary ever made such a study and reported it to the Congress?

Mr. DENT. I made an investigation of this, and as I understand he has made one study, and that was in connection with the jewelry industry.

Mr. WATSON. Was any relief granted?

Mr. DENT. No, because there could be no relief granted, because he was not compelled to. All he could do was make a report without a recommendation.

Mr. WATSON. According to the language of section 4(e) of the Fair Labor Standards Act, it states that the Secretary shall make a full and complete report, but the President does not have to act.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. I believe that is mandatory. The thing is the President was not obligated at that time to take action, and under the provisions of the bill we are now considering the President will still not be obligated to take action. In my belief we have done too much talking about this problem with little or no action. That's what we need today.

The **SPEAKER**. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. **PEPPER**. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. **HALL**. Mr Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. **BOLLING**. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 284]

Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Aspinall
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Button
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
Corman
Dawson
de la Garza
Derwinski
Feighan
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Green, Pa.
Halpern
Heckler, Mass.
Holland
Hosmer
Howard
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Madden
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Vander Jagt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff

The **SPEAKER**. On this rollcall 385 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Mr. **MAHON**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. **BOW**. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object and in order that the membership may know the facts pertaining to this request, this proposed resolution is a continuing resolution, continuing until October 10, 1967, the same language as the resolution which we had under consideration upon yesterday.

Mr. Speaker, if we should be able to obtain a rule on this resolution today, and if the rule provides that it would be in order to offer any amendment ruling that it would be in order that such amendment could be offered, the joint resolution could be brought on the floor today from the Committee on Rules.

But I do object, Mr. Speaker, to the consideration of the bill in its present form today. Unless we can bring it in today so that it will make in order the ceiling on expenditures, I object.

The **SPEAKER**. Objection is heard.

CONCERNING CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the action taken by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow], but I do want to add to and supplement what he has said.

As I understand it, the Committee on Appropriations this morning reaffirmed the action which was taken previously by the Committee on Appropriations except, instead of making the date October 31, it provides that it should be October 10. As I understand it, it was a strictly partisan vote.

Now, this resolution from the Committee on Appropriations could and should go before the Committee on Rules today. I understand that members of the Committee on Rules are available for such a meeting. If the Committee on Rules would act this afternoon, the matter could come to the floor of the House today. We on our side would be very glad to cooperate providing that in the rule it was provided that the so-called Bow spending limitation would be germane. It is my understanding that the Bow substitute was voted down in the Committee on Appropriations this morning, or at least it was prevented from being considered in the Committee on Appropriations.

In light of the action taken yesterday by the House as a whole we feel very strongly that the House should have an opportunity itself to vote on a specific spending limitation, and as soon as possible.

Now, even if the rule was granted this afternoon, but was not brought up today, it could be laid over and brought up tomorrow in the regular course of events.

Mr. **ALBERT**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. I would be very glad to yield to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. **ALBERT**. Mr. Speaker, if the rule is brought up today it would require a two-thirds vote. Now, of course, if the gentleman from Texas and the Members on this side should agree to bring it up on terms laid down by my distinguished friend from Ohio, it would amount to a capitulation of the leadership on the part of the Democratic Party, which is responsible for the legislative program.

In the second place, I cannot understand, frankly, why my friends on the Republican side cannot give the Committee on Appropriations a few days, 10 days, in which to look over this entire operation and discuss it with the gentleman on the other side of the aisle. As I understand it, the Bow resolution arbitrarily picks the figure of $5 billion out of the air and says, "You take it or you leave it on this basis," without having a critical analysis of the various programs involved.

Mr Speaker, it seems to me that our friends would be contributing to good government if they should decide now to take a few days to let the committee take a look at this matter. Perhaps $5 billion would be the figure or, if not, some other figure, based upon at least a summary survey which the committee might make between now and that time, might be agreed upon.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe the majority party leadership would be capitulating to the other side of the House, the Republican side. I believe the majority party leadership would be carrying out the mandate of the vote that was taken yesterday whereby a majority of the Members of the House of Representatives, by a vote of 202 to 181, rather clearly expressed themselves for a spending limitation.

I think that we as a body should be guided by that majority vote.

Mr. **ALBERT**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. **ALBERT**. The gentleman is really not dealing with the issue now before the House.

The issue yesterday was a straight motion to recommit a 30-day extension resolution. The issue now is a 10-day extension. The only reason for the 10-day extension is to try to give the Committee on Appropriations an opportunity to take a look and see how much they can do in a more realistic and specific fashion. I think the gentleman realizes and will admit that the circumstances are a little bit different. Yesterday there was only the straight motion to recommit and at issue now, as I see it, is the Bow resolution.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. I think the issue yesterday, despite the fact that it was a straight motion, was a clearcut issue. The House itself was voting on whether or not there should be a spending limitation and it was a clear directive to the Committee on Appropriations.

I am amazed that the Committee on Appropriations would not respond favorably to an expression of the will of the House. It is rather amazing to me that at least a majority of the Committee on Appropriations would not be responsive to the rather substantial majority of the House taking the action they did on yesterday.

Mr. **MAHON**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Of course, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. **MAHON**. The vote yesterday was on whether or not the House would pass the joint resolution continuing appropriations for 31 days. The House determined that it did not want to take that action so the Committee on Appropriations, trying to accommodate itself to the will of the House, has reported out a resolution calling for 10 days, in which to give the committee an opportunity to examine further the situation in order that we may come forward with the best recommendations that may be possible. We expect to make some rescissions and to take other actions.

But what the gentleman had proposed in the Bow amendment is not, of course, germane to the extension—to the continuing resolution. The amendment of the gentleman from Ohio simply says that the Congress demands that the President, from funds which we have appropriated, rescind $5 billion and that the President would decide where the money would come from and we would be completely out of the picture. We would have abdicated to him the decision as to the $5 billion cut.

The attitude of the majority of the Committee on Appropriations is that if we want to make this cut of $5 billion, we should have the courage and the forthrightness to tell the President the particulars of where the $5 billion should be applied. This is the issue.

The other issue is 10 days versus the 3-day question. So it does seem that the leadership on the minority side would give us 10 days in which to consider the whole problem and determine what recommendations should then be made to the House. That does not seem to be unreasonable to me.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The point I would make is that a majority of the Members of the House worked its will yesterday. The Committee on Appropriations, or a majority of that committee, did not respond to the expressed views of the majority of the House as indicated by the vote. The committee on appropriations has now come back with another alternative. It seems to me that this ought to be brought to the floor of the House as quickly as possible. The gentleman from Texas has asked unanimous consent—but that is an abnormal procedure as the gentleman well knows. The matter should go to the Committee on Rules. A rule could be granted today with floor action tomorrow.

I would like to ask my friend, the gentleman from Texas. Has he asked the Committee on Rules for a rule?

Mr. MAHON. I have not asked the Committee on Rules for a rule. I think, insofar as I can remember during my service here, we have never had a rule on a continuing resolution; we have, I believe, always been able to proceed under unanimous consent. So that is the way we proceeded yesterday—under unanimous consent that was secured last week. So what we did today was to ask to follow the same technique that the House followed yesterday. The gentleman seems to be pleased with the results of yesterday so why would he not be pleased to follow the same procedure that was followed yesterday and bring this up under unanimous consent, which is the way that it was brought up on yesterday? What could be fairer than that?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Of course, I am disappointed the chairman of the committee has not asked the chairman of the Rules Committee for a hearing. The circumstances are different today than they have been at any time in my history here, almost 19 years. We are faced with a $25 or $30 billion deficit in this fiscal year. Therefore we ought to move or act differently than we have heretofore.

I urge very strongly that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations immediately, this afternoon, ask for a hearing before the Rules Committee so that that committee can perform its function. I could assure the gentleman from Texas and the majority party members on the Rules Committee that our five members out of the 15 will be there this afternoon. I think that is the proper and orderly way to proceed. I urge my friend from Texas to follow that procedure.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I have no recourse now, but it was considered that we should follow the traditional pattern and ask unanimous consent first, as we did before. But now that that is not satisfactory to the minority, and we are being blocked in doing the traditional and customary thing in settling these matters, I shall, of course, appeal to the Rules Committee for a rule.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the gentleman from Texas ask for a hearing this afternoon?

Mr. MAHON. I will ask for a hearing as soon as the Rules Committee is ready to hear us, yes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, the chairman of the Rules Committee is on the floor. I think it could be worked out right now so the Committee on Rules could meet this afternoon and we could get out a rule today. It could be brought up tomorrow. The House ought to work its will tomorrow as we did yesterday. I think we must meet and consider the matter tomorrow, and if we get a rule today, we can do so.

Mr. MAHON. My information is that Members on both sides of the aisle have made long-range plans on important commitments, official and otherwise, for tomorrow and it will be difficult to have the membership present, perhaps. I do not know what the facts are. That is a matter for the leadership to determine.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I fully concede that Members may have made commitments for tomorrow, but the circumstances are so unusual and so urgent that it seems to me that, despite any commitments, we ought to follow the procedure that I have outlined. The Rules Committee ought to meet today at the request of the gentleman from Texas, the committee should act affirmatively, and then the matter be brought up on the floor of the House tomorrow so the majority of the Members of the House tomorrow can make a decision. This is something we all ought to decide and we ought to do it tomorrow under the procedures that are established.

Mr. Speaker, may I make one further observation. Some people may have the feeling, some may have an apprehension that if we do not act before the end of the week which is the end of the month, all kinds of dire things are going to take place in the Federal Government. I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations how many appropriation bills have been enacted into law.

Mr. MAHON. We have enacted into law six appropriation bills at this session—four relating to fiscal 1968. We have passed 14 through the House—12 relating to 1968. But the remaining bills are either in conference or are still in the other body. Of course, three bills are still in our committee, awaiting legislative authorizations.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Could you tell me the ones for the fiscal year 1968 that are enacted into law?

Mr. MAHON. Yes. The legislative appropriation bill, the Interior appropriation bill, and the Post Office-Treasury appropriation bill. Of course, there was the big Defense bill of about $70 billion.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. It is my understanding that although legislative action on the Department of Defense appropriation bill has been completed, the President has not yet signed it. Is that correct?

Mr. MAHON. He had not signed it last Saturday. He may have signed it by this time. I do not have that information.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. So out of 14 regular appropriation bills, four have been enacted into law, one of which legislative action has been completed, and which the President will sign in the next day or two. Is that correct?

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is correct. Also independent offices and Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare have passed the other body, and Agriculture has passed the other body.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, am I further correct that on any appropriation bills that are enacted into law, the continuing resolution has no impact?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, the continuing resolution has no impact, but the Bow amendment would have an impact, because it would give the President the liberty to make reductions in any bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. That is, on those five appropriation bills, including the Defense appropriation bill, if there is no continuing resolution before the end of this calendar month, those departments affected by those appropriation bills will continue on in their ordinary way without any handicap whatsoever. Is that correct?

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Am I further correct that none of the trust funds, such as social security, are affected by the lack of a continuing resolution? That is my understanding, but I would like to hear it confirmed by the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I am not quite clear there; I don't have every detail at my fingertips, but I am advised that social security checks would not be affected. I think that there may have been one or two instances in the past when we have not passed a continuing resolution until the time had run for a day or two. I do not think it would be fatal to the operation of the Government if there should be some delay of a day or so; but, of course, it would be far preferable if we could take action today, but of course there has been an objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. As I understood the gentleman from Texas, he said on two occasions in the past the Congress has not acted on a continuing resolution until after the previous continuing resolution had expired?

Mr. MAHON. I believe that is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If I can remember his words correctly, the gentleman said there had been a failure of the Congress to act twice in the past on continuing resolutions which indicates that there is no serious consequence that will result from a lack of such action before September 30th. Did the gentleman say it would not be fatal? Is that what the gentleman said?

Mr. MAHON. I did not say it in exactly those words.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. But that is what the gentleman intended?

Mr. MAHON. I do think it would be preferable to pass the continuing resolution, but we have got into this legislative snarl, and under the circumstances it may be we will have to go over until Monday or Tuesday of next week.

CONGRESS SHOULD NOT SURRENDER ITS PREROGATIVES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to realize just exactly where we are and what we have done here. As I understand the position of the distinguished gentleman from Ohio and the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, they are trying just as fast as they can to surrender to the President of the United States the right to make a $5 billion budget cut—and in turn to take that prerogative away from the Congress.

I think that is the clear implication of what they have undertaken to do. I personally think the country would think it wise for the House and the Committee on Appropriations to take 10 days to look over this matter, and to give some Republican Members of the House, who are so much in favor of this proposition, the opportunity of appearing and telling the committee just how and where these cuts should be made. When these cuts are made, the people who suffer from them deserve to know the source of their suffering.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman from Oklahoma tell us what we can expect as to the schedule, now that apparently the decision has been made not to go to the Rules Committee today to get a rule for floor action tomorrow?

Mr. ALBERT. I am not sure the decision has been made, I will respond to the gentleman. I am not in a position to say that decision has been made. We do have other legislative business which will undoubtedly occupy us today and a part of tomorrow.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I read in the paper the other day that one of the political candidates called the President "a political ham." I do not know if he is as political as I am or not, but if he is, he must be able to get a copy of yesterday's Record. Certainly I would be able to read through the vote for this, and I would know where to make these cuts if I were the President.

RULES COMMITTEE PROCEDURES

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time merely because the distinguished minority leader made reference to me personally in my capacity as chairman of the Rules Committee. I wish to advise the gentleman and the House that under the procedure which has been followed traditionally—at least for the 20-odd years I have been on that committee—the committee does not meet to consider rules until the chairman, and usually the ranking minority member, requests such a rule.

So it is not a matter at this time for the Rules Committee.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I should like to say that insofar as I am aware the gentleman is entirely correct as to procedure—certainly as to the practice for the last several years, to my knowledge.

A letter was prepared for my signature, requesting a rule, but I declined to sign the letter until I had made an effort to bring this up under unanimous consent, which is the customary way of handling the matter. I have had the letter brought to the floor of the House, and since the gentleman has been on his feet I have signed it, now that we have failed to get unanimous consent to take up the resolution in the usual way.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. In just a moment.

It is also traditionally the custom of the committee to suit the convenience of those seeking the rule, so when the gentleman advises the committee he wants to be heard on this matter I am sure the committee will give it proper consideration.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Mississippi yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to my friend, if I have any time remaining.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

CONTEMPLATED PLANS FOR HOUSE PROGRAM

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the majority leader if under the contemplated plans, with the rule being requested and the rule probably or possibly being granted, since it would simply be the Mahon resolution, is it contemplated there will be action on this tomorrow, or does the gentleman think there is a possibility it might go over until next week?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. I am not able to answer that question and will not be able to answer it until the Rules Committee has acted after the request has been made.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. I want to thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding.

A moment ago it was suggested by a Member of this House that no doubt the President read the Congressional Record of yesterday, and if he were President, he knows what he would do, in effect, as a reprisal against those who voted to recommit the continuing resolution on yesterday. For fear of any misunderstanding, let me state for the Record that in the event the President did not read the Congressional Record of yesterday, I hope he reads the Congressional Record of today.

I voted to recommit the bill yesterday, and I have no apologies to offer for my action. I sincerely believe we should make some reductions in the ever-increasing, unnecessary expenditures. However, at this time I believe it would be in order to grant a continuing resolution for a period of 10 days in order to give the subcommittee chairmen on appropriations and the chairman of the full Committee on Appropriations an opportunity to find places where specific reductions can be made, not only in new authorizations but also to rescind a reasonable amount of funds appropriated in prior years.

May I repeat, I have no apologies to offer to anyone for my vote to recommit the continuing appropriation bill on yesterday.

May I thank the distinguished gentleman again for yielding so that I could indicate that I think for myself. If the time should ever come that the people downtown have to do my thinking, then I will get out of the Congress.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi, the chairman of the Rules Committee, has said it was the usual practice for the chairman of a committee and the ranking minority member to request a hearing. The chairman of the committee did not give me an opportunity to join with him, but at this time I should like to say I request a hearing from the Rules Committee today, so that we may proceed.

PROCEDURE RELATING TO CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, in view of the situation confronting the House and the extreme gravity that would be involved if we were to surrender to the President the power of the purse by mandating him to reduce or rescind appropriations in the amount of $5 billion, thus relinquishing all control over such action by the House of Representatives, I shall ask the Committee on Rules to give the Committee on Appropriations an opportunity to appear on Monday next, at a suitable time, and request a rule so that the continuing resolution can be brought before the House next Tuesday. I think this would be fair to all Members concerned in view of the facts involved.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I will be glad to yield to the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. This is the time schedule that he, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, is recommending to the House as a whole?

Mr. MAHON. I am taking full responsibility for the course of action, having been forced to do so because of my inability to get unanimous consent.

ACQUISITION OF CAREER STATUS BY TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 718)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

That (a) subchapter I of chapter 33 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3304 the following new section:

"§ 3304a. Competitive service; career appointment after 3 years' temporary service

"(a) An individual serving in a position in the competitive service under an indefinite appointment or a temporary appointment pending establishment of a register (other than an individual serving under an overseas limited appointment, in the postal field service, or in GS–16, GS–17, or GS–18) acquires competitive status and is entitled to have his appointment converted to a career appointment, without condition, when—

"(1) he completes, without break in service of more than 30 days, a total of at least 3 years of service in such a position;

"(2) he passes a suitable noncompetitive examination;

"(3) the appointing authority (A) recommends to the Civil Service Commission that the appointment of the individual be converted to a career appointment and (B) certifies to the Commission that the work performance of the individual for the past 12 months has been satisfactory; and

"(4) he meets Commission qualification requirements for the position and is otherwise eligible for career appointment.

"(b) The employing agency shall terminate the appointment of an individual serving in a position in the competitive service under an indefinite or temporary appointment described in subsection (a) of this section, not later than 90 days after he has completed the three-year period referred to in subsection (a)(1) of this section, if, prior to the close of such 90-day period, such individual has not met the requirements and conditions of subparagraphs (2) to (4), inclusive, of subsection (a) of this section.

"(c) In computing years of service under subsection (a)(1) of this section for an individual who leaves a position in the competitive service to enter the armed forces and is reemployed in such a position within 120 days after separation under honorable conditions, the period from the date he leaves his position to the date he is reemployed is included.

"(d) The Civil Service Commission may prescribe regulations necessary for the administration of this section."

(b) The analysis of subchapter I of chapter 33 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new item immediately below item 3304:

"3304a. Competitive service; career appointment after 3 years' temporary service"

Sec. 2. (a) Chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3302 the following new section:

"§ 3303. Career appointment after 3 years' temporary service

"(a) Subject to section 3302 of this title, an employee serving in a position in the competitive service in the postal field service under a temporary appointment without a definite time limitation (other than an employee serving in a position of postmaster or rural carrier) acquires competitive status and is entitled to have his appointment converted to a career appointment by the Postmaster General when—

"(1) he completes at least three years of service in such a position during each of which he has been paid for at least 700 hours of work;

"(2) he passes a suitable noncompetitive examination;

"(3) the appointing authority (A) recommends to the Civil Service Commission that the appointment be converted to a career appointment and (B) certifies to the Commission that the work performance of the employee for the past twelve months has been satisfactory; and

"(4) he meets Commission qualification requirements for the position and is otherwise eligible for career appointment.

"(b) In computing years of service under subsection (a)(1) of this section for an individual who leaves a position in the competitive service in the postal field service to enter the armed forces and is reemployed in such a position within 120 days after separation under honorable conditions, the period from the date he leaves his position to the date he is reemployed is included.

"(c) The Civil Service Commission may prescribe regulations necessary for the administration of this section.".

(b) The analysis of chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding immediately below item 3302 the following new item:

"3303. Career appointment after 3 years' temporary service."

Sec. 3. The first sentence of section 1310(a) of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended (68 Stat. 1115), is amended to read as follows:

"The Civil Service Commission and the heads of the executive departments, agencies, and corporations shall make full use of their authority to require that initial appointments to positions in and outside the competitive service shall be made on other than a permanent basis in order to limit the number of permanent employees to that required for the efficiency of the Federal civil service: *Provided*, That any position vacated by a permanent employee called to military service or transferred to a national defense agency shall not be filled except on a temporary or indefinite basis."

Sec. 4. (a) This section and section 3 of this Act shall become effective on the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) Subject to subsection (c) of this section, the first section and section 2 of this Act shall become effective on the one hundred and twentieth day following the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) For the purposes of the application of section 3304a(b) of title 5, United States Code, as enacted by this Act, in the case of an individual who, prior to the effective date prescribed by subsection (b) of this section, shall have completed the three-year period referred to in such section 3304a(b), such individual shall be deemed to have completed such three-year period on such effective date.

And the House agree to the same.

David N. Henderson,
Chas. H. Wilson,
Richard White,
H. R. Gross,
Edward J. Derwinski,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mike Monroney,
Ralph Yarborough,
Jennings Randolph,
Frank Carlson,
Hiram Fong,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House amendment struck out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text. The committee of conference recommends that the Senate recede from its disagreement to the House amendment with an amendment which is a substitute for both the text of the Senate bill and the text of the House amendment and that the House agree to the same.

Both the Senate bill and the House amendment provided, in basically the same manner and in substantially similar language, for the acquisition of career status by certain employees in the competitive civil service, including postal field service employees, serving under indefinite appointments and temporary appointments pending establishment of registers and, in addition, amended existing law pertaining to the making of initial appointments, within and outside the competitive civil service, on other than a permanent basis. Except for technical and minor drafting changes not involving differences in policy, the differences between the House amendment and the proposed conference substitute are discussed below.

ACQUISITION OF CAREER STATUS BY TEMPORARY AND INDEFINITE EMPLOYEES (OTHER THAN POSTAL FIELD SERVICE EMPLOYEES) IN THE COMPETITIVE CIVIL SERVICE

The House amendment provided for the acquisition of competitive status by employees in the competitive civil service outside the postal field service, serving under indefinite appointments and temporary appointments pending establishment of registers, and for the conversion of their appointments to career appointments (except employees serving in GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 of the General Schedule in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code). This benefit is conferred, under the House amendment, when—

(1) the employee completes, without break in service of more than 30 days, a total of at least 3 years of service in his position;

(2) he passes a suitable unassembled, noncompetitive examination;

(3) the appointing authority recommends to the United States Civil Service Commission that the appointment be converted to a career appointment and certifies to the Commission that the work performance of the employee for the past 12 months has been satisfactory; and

(4) the employee meets current qualification requirements of the Commission and is otherwise eligible for career appointment.

The conference substitute is similar to the House amendment with respect to the acquisition of competitive status and conversion to career appointment of employees in the competitive civil service (other than postal field service employees) except for the following changes which are contained in the bill passed by the Senate.

First, the conference substitute adds the additional specific exclusion contained in the Senate version of employees serving under overseas limited appointments.

Second, the conference substitute changes the requirement of the House amendment that the employee pass a suitable "unassembled", noncompetitive examination to a requirement that the employee pass a suitable noncompetitive examination, thus eliminating the requirement of the House amendment that the examination in every case be "unassembled" while permitting the use of the unassembled type of examination in cases deemed appropriate (as permitted by the Senate version).

Third, the conference substitute eliminates the provision of the House amendment to the effect that the qualification requirements of the Civil Service Commission which the employee must meet shall in every case be "current", and, in lieu thereof, incorporates the parallel provision of the Senate version to the effect that the employee must meet qualification requirements of the Commission which are deemed appropriate (whether or not technically "current" in every case).

ACQUISITION OF CAREER STATUS BY POSTAL FIELD SERVICE EMPLOYEES UNDER TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS WITHOUT DEFINITE TIME LIMITATIONS IN THE COMPETITIVE CIVIL SERVICE

The House amendment also provided for the acquisition of competitive status by postal field service employees in the competitive civil service, serving under temporary appointments without definite time limitations, and for the conversion of their appointments to career appointments (except employees serving in the positions of postmaster and rural carrier). This benefit is conferred, under the House amendment, when—

(1) The employee completes, without break in the service of more than 30 days, at least 3 years of service in this position during each of which he has been paid for at least 700 hours of work;

(2) He passes a suitable unassembled, noncompetitive examination;

(3) The appointing authority recommends to the United States Civil Service Commission that the appointment be converted to a career appointment and certifies to the Commission that the work performance of the employee for the past 12 months has been satisfactory and that straight time hours as determined by the past 12 months' experience of career substitutes on the rolls on the date of the certification will not be reduced solely because of the conversion; and

(4) The employee meets current qualification requirements of the Commission and is otherwise eligible for career appointment.

In addition, the House amendment provided, in effect, that section 3302 of title 39, United States Code, which established the rule that not more than one career substitute employee may be appointed for each five regular employees (or fraction thereof) in certain categories of postal field service positions, would not apply with respect to the operation of the House amendment if the straight time hours of work of career substitute employees on the rolls on the date of certification of any conversion to career status would not be reduced solely because of the conversion.

The conference substitute is similar to the House amendment with respect to the acquisition of competitive status and conversion to career appointment of postal field service employees in the competitive civil service, except for the following changes.

First, the conference substitute eliminates the requirement in the House amendment that the required 3 years of service of postal field service employees be without break in service of more than 30 days as inconsistent with the objectives of this legislation insofar as it pertains to the postal field service, thus adopting the policy of the Senate bill in this respect.

Second, the conference substitute changes the requirement of the House amendment that the postal employee pass a suitable "unassembled", noncompetitive examination to a requirement that the postal employee pass a suitable non-competitive examination, thus eliminating the requirement of the House amendment that the examination in every case be "unassembled" while permitting the use of the unassembled type of examination in cases deemed appropriate (as permitted by the Senate version).

Third, the conference substitute eliminates the provisions of the House amendment which make the above-discussed 5 to 1 ratio of regular employees to career substitute employees in the postal field service inapplicable with respect to the conversion of all postal field service employees to career status and inserts, in lieu of such provisions, the language of the Senate version which makes all such conversions of postal field service employees subject to the 5 to 1 ratio provided by section 3302 of title 39, United States Code. Under the conference substitute, as in the Senate version, a conversion of a postal field service employee to career status would not be made if the 5 to 1 ratio would be violated by the conversion but would be held in abeyance or "stockpiled" until such time as the 5 to 1 ratio would not be violated by the conversion. In this connection, the conference substitute eliminates, as unnecessary and inappropriate in view of the retention of the applicability of the 5 to 1 ratio, the requirement of the House amendment that the appointing authority certify to the Civil Service Commission that straight time hours of career substitutes will not be reduced by any conversions of postal field service employees to career status.

Fourth, the conference substitute eliminates the provision of the House amendment to the effect that the qualification requirements of the Civil Service Commission which the postal field service employee must meet shall in every case be "current", and, in lieu thereof, incorporates the parallel provision of the Senate version to the effect that the employee must meet qualification requirements of the Commission which are deemed appropriate (whether or not technically "current" in every case).

In addition, the conference substitute contains a provision similar to a provision of the Senate version which vests specifically in the Postmaster General the authority to convert the appointment of the postal field service employee to a career appointment.

REVISION OF EXISTING LAW PERTAINING TO THE MAKING OF INITIAL APPOINTMENTS WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE COMPETITIVE CIVIL SERVICE ON OTHER THAN A PERMANENT BASIS

The first sentence of section 1310(a) of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952, as amended (68 Stat. 1115; Note to section 3101 of title 5, United States Code, 1964 edition, supplement II) places a statutory ceiling on the number of permanent Federal employees in the competitive civil service which is now set at 110 percent of the total number of permanent employees in the competitive and excepted service on September 1, 1950, not including the postal field service.

Both the Senate bill and the House amendment eliminate this obsolete 110-percent ceiling. The House amendment provided that the United States Civil Service Commission and the respective executive authorities shall make full use of their authority to require that initial appointments to positions in and outside the competitive civil service shall be made on other than a permanent basis. The Senate version contained similar language, except that, in addition, the Senate version explicitly stated that the purpose of this requirement was "to limit the number of permanent employees to that required for the efficiency of the Federal civil service". The conference substitute adopts these provisions of the Senate version, which are identical in purpose and effect to the parallel provisions of the House amendment, as an explicit statement of the purpose and effect of the Senate version, the House amendment, and the conference substitute with respect to the removal of the obsolete 110 percent ceiling and to avoid any implication that initial appointments on a permanent basis cannot be made at all under the conference substitute.

DAVID N. HENDERSON,
CHAS. H. WILSON,
RICHARD WHITE,
H. R. GROSS,
EDWARD J. DERWINSKI,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. **HENDERSON** (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers be dispensed with.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HENDERSON**. Mr. Speaker, the need for this legislation was developed through an investigation made by the Manpower and Civil Service Subcommittee of our Post Office and Civil Service Committee, with the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission. The investigation disclosed that some 19,000 Federal employees have been working in permanent Government positions but have been denied career status through no fault of their own.

S. 1320, with Post Office and Civil Service Committee amendments, passed the House July 11, 1967, by voice vote.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses worked out a compromise of the comparatively minor differences and the conference agreement represents legislation that will carry out the intention of the House to correct the situation disclosed by our subcommittee investigation.

The Senate version excluded "overseas limited appointments" from coverage of the bill—a provision not in the House version—and the conferees agreed on this exclusion, which is reasonable and consistent with the overall purposes of the legislation.

The conferees agreed on the House provision to grant properly qualified employees career status after 3 years of satisfactory service, in lieu of the Senate's requirement for 4 years of service plus certification that the individual's work is "equivalent" to work of employees appointed through the regular competitive procedure.

Both Senate and House versions required the employees to take "suitable noncompetitive examinations" to qualify for career status, but the House further defined this as an unassembled noncompetitive examination. The conferees agreed to remove the "unassembled" definition, in order that the noncompetitive examinations which are given may be properly adapted to suit all of the individual positions concerned.

With respect to the postal employees who otherwise qualify, the Senate bill made appropriate provision by amendment to title 39, United States Code, commonly referred to as the postal code, whereas the House bill coupled both postal and other employees together to accomplish the same objective in title 5, United States Code. The conference agreement makes the appropriate changes in title 39 for postal employees.

It is to be noted that the conference agreement maintains in effect the historic ratio of regular postal employees to substitute postal employees at 5 to 1.

Since one result of this legislation will be that employees holding temporary appointments in permanent positions who do not qualify for conversion to career appointments will be separated, the conference agreement adopts the Senate provision for a 240-day grace period before any such nonqualifying employee is automatically separated.

Both the House and the Senate bill proposed revisions of existing law pertaining to the making of initial appointments within and outside the competitive civil service on other than a permanent basis. The existing law is contained in the first sentence of section 1310(a) of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952—annotated to section 3101 of title 5, United States Code. That sentence places a statutory ceiling on the number of permanent employees in the competitive civil service, now set at 110 percent of the total number of permanent employees on September 1, 1950, excluding the Postal Field Service.

The Senate bill, in addition to the language of the House bill which eliminates the obsolete 110-percent ceiling, explicitly states that the purpose of that ceiling was "to limit the number of permanent employees to that required for the efficiency of the Federal civil service." The conference agreement adopts these additional Senate provisions, which are deemed to be desirable explanatory material with respect to the identical purposes and effects of both the House and the Senate revisions of the existing law.

Mr. Speaker, the conference agreement represents an excellent and long-needed measure. It is in the best interests of the Government, in accord with long-standing congressional policy that permanent career positions in the Government should be filled by qualified career appointees, and fair to the employees who have earned and deserve career appointments in recognition of their substantial terms of Government service.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. **HENDERSON**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. **FALLON**. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (REPT. NO. 706)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

TITLE I—APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

SEC. 101. This title may be cited as the "Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967".

SEC. 102. Section 102 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 (hereinafter in this title referred to as "the Act") is amended (1) by inserting "and" at the end of clause (7); (2) by striking out the semicolon and the word "and" at the end of clause (8) and inserting in lieu thereof a period; and (3) by striking out clause (9).

SEC. 103. Section 105 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 105. (a) For the period ending on June 30, 1967, the administrative expenses of the Commission shall be paid by the Federal Government. Thereafter, such expenses shall be paid 50 per centum by the Federal Government and 50 per centum by the States in the region, except that the expenses of the Federal Cochairman, his alternate, and his staff shall be paid solely by the Federal Government. The share to be paid by each State shall be determined by the Commission. The Federal Cochairman shall not participate or vote in such determination. No assistance authorized by this Act shall be furnished to any State or to any political subdivision or any resident of any State, nor shall the State member of the Commission participate or vote in any determination by the Commission while such State is delinquent in payment of its share of such expenses.

"(b) To carry out this section, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, to be available until expended, not to exceed $1,700,000 for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969. Not to exceed $400,000 of such authorization shall be available for the expenses of the Federal Cochairman, his alternate, and his staff. Unexpended balances of appropriations under the authorization in this section prior to amendment by the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967 shall remain available for the purposes of this section, as amended, until expended."

SEC. 104. Clause (7) of section 106 of the Act, entitled "ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS OF THE COMMISSION", is amended to read as follows:

"(7) enter into and perform such contracts, leases (including, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the lease of office space for any term expiring no later than June 30, 1971), cooperative agreements, or other transactions as may be necessary in carrying out its functions and on such terms as it may deem appropriate, with any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States (which is hereby so authorized to the extent not otherwise prohibited by law) or with any State, or any political subdivision, agency, or instrumentality thereof, or with any person, firm, association, or corporation."

SEC. 105. Title I of the Act is amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"COMMISSION EMPLOYEE PROTECTIONS

"SEC. 109. Section 5334(a) of title 5, United State Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'For the purpose of this subsection, an individual employed by the Appalachian Regional Commission under section 106(a) of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, or by a regional commission established pursuant to section 502 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, under section 506(2) of such Act, who was a Federal employee immediately prior to such employment by a commission and within six months after separation from such employment is employed in a position to which this subchapter applies, shall be treated as if transferred from a position in the executive branch to which this subchapter does not apply.'."

SEC. 106. Section 201 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT HIGHWAY SYSTEM

"SEC. 201. (a) In order to provide a highway system which, in conjunction with the Interstate System and other Federal-aid highways in the Appalachian region, will open up an area or areas with a developmental potential where commerce and communication have been inhibited by lack of adequate access, the Secretary of Transportation (hereafter in this section referred to as the 'Secretary') is authorized to assist in the construction of an Appalachian development highway system and local access roads serving the Appalachian region. The provisions of title 23, United States Code, that are applicable to the construction and maintenance of Federal-aid primary and secondary highways, and which the Secretary determines are not inconsistent with this Act, shall apply, respectively, to the development highway system and the local access roads. Construction on the development highway system shall not exceed two thousand seven hundred miles. Construction of local access roads shall not exceed one thousand six hundred miles that will serve specific recreational, residential, educational, commercial, industrial, or other like facilities or will facilitate a school consolidation program.

"(b) The Commission shall transmit to the Secretary its designations of (1) the general corridor location and termini of the development highways, (2) local access roads to be constructed, (3) priorities for the construction of segments of the development highways, and (4) other criteria for the program authorized by this section. Before any State member participates in or votes on such designations, he shall have obtained the recommendations of the State highway department of the State which he represents.

"(c) In no event shall the Secretary assist in any construction (including right-of-way acquisition) which would require for its completion the expenditure of Federal funds (other than funds available under title 23, United States Code) in excess of the appropriations authorization in subsection (g). On its completion each development highway not already on the Federal-aid primary system shall be added to such system and each development highway and local access road shall be required to be maintained by the State as provided for Federal-aid highways in title 23, United States Code.

"(d) In the construction of highways and roads authorized under this section, the States may give special preference to the use of materials and products indigenous to the Appalachian region.

"(e) For the purposes of research and development in the use of coal and coal products in highway construction and maintenance, the Secretary is authorized to require each participating State, to the maximum extent possible, to use coal derivatives in the construction of not to exceed 10 per centum of the roads authorized under this Act.

"(f) Federal assistance to any construction project under this section shall not exceed 50 per centum of the costs of such project, unless the Commission determines that assistance in excess of such percentage is required in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, but in no event shall such Federal assistance exceed 70 per centum of such costs.

"(g) To carry out this section, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President, to be available until expended, $715,000,000 for the four-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971.

"(h)(1) When a participating State proceeds to construct a segment of a development highway without the aid of Federal funds, in accordance with all procedures and requirements applicable to the construction of segments of Appalachian development highways with such funds, except insofar as such procedures and requirements limit a State to the construction of projects for which Federal funds have previously been appropriated, the Secretary, upon application by the State and with the approval of the Commission, is authorized to pay to the State the Federal share not to exceed 70 per centum of the costs of the construction of such segment, from any sums appropriated and allocated to such State to carry out this section.

"(2) This subsection shall not be construed as a commitment or obligation on the part of the United States to provide funds for segments of development highways constructed under this subsection, and shall not increase the limitation on construction in subsection (c)."

SEC. 107. Section 202 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"DEMONSTRATION HEALTH PROJECTS

"SEC. 202. (a) In order to demonstrate the value of adequate health facilities and services to the economic development of the region, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is authorized to make grants for the planning, construction, equipment, and operation of multicounty demonstration health projects, including hospitals, regional health diagnostic and treatment centers, and other facilities and services necessary to health. Grants for such construction (including the acquisition of privately owned facilities not operated for profit and initial equipment) shall be made in accordance with the applicable provisions of title VI of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 291–291o), the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (77 Stat. 282), and other laws authorizing grants for the construction of health-related facilities, without regard to any provisions therein relating to appropriation authorization ceilings or to allotments among the States. Grants under this section shall be made solely out of funds specifically appropriated for the purpose of carrying out this Act and shall not be taken into account in the computation of the allotments among the States made pursuant to any other provision of law.

"(b) No grant for the construction or equipment of any component of a demonstration health project shall exceed 80 per centum of such costs. The Federal contribution may be provided entirely from funds authorized under this section or in combination with funds provided under other Federal grant-in-aid programs for the construction or equipment of health-related facilities. Notwithstanding any provision of law limiting the Federal share in such other programs, funds authorized under this section may be used to increase Federal grants for component facilities of a demonstration health project to a maximum of 80 per centum of the costs of such facilities.

"(c) Grants under this section for operation (including initial operating funds and operating deficits comprising among other items the costs of attracting, training, and retaining qualified personnel) of a demonstration health project, whether or not constructed with funds authorized by this section, may be made for up to 100 per centum of the costs thereof for the two-year period beginning, for each component facility or service assisted under any such operating grant, on the first day that such facility or service is in operation as a part of the project. For the next three years of operations such grants shall not exceed 50 per centum of such costs. No grant for operation of a demonstration health project shall be made unless the facility is publicly owned, or owned by a public or private nonprofit organization, and is not operated for profit. No grants for operation of a demonstration health project shall be made after five years following the commencement of the initial grant for operation of the project. No such grants shall be made unless the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is satisfied that the operation of the project will be conducted under efficient management practices designed to obviate operating deficits. Notwithstanding section 104 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 554), a health-related facility constructed under title I of that Act may be a component of a demonstration health project eligible for operating grant assistance under this section.

"(d) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to provide funds to the Commission for the support of its Health Advisory Committee and to make grants for expenses of planning necessary for the development and operation of demonstration health projects for the region. The amount of any such grant shall not exceed 75 per centum of such expenses.

"(e) Not to exceed $50,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 108. Subsection (1) of section 203 of the Act, entitled "Land Stabilization, Conservation, and Erosion Control", is amended to read as follows:

"(1) Not to exceed $19,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 109. Section 204 of the Act is amended by striking out subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new subsections (b) and (c):

"(b) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to provide technical assistance, make grants, enter into contracts, or otherwise provide funds, first to colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education (with priority to land grant schools), and thereafter to forest products research institutions in the region and other appropriate public and private organizations, which schools, institutions, and organizations have the demonstrated capability to perform such research, for Appalachian hardwood products research, including investigations, studies, and demonstrations, which will further the purposes of this Act. Funds shall be provided only for programs and projects which will contribute significantly to the development of (1) Appalachian hardwood technology, (2) new or improved uses of Appalachian hardwood resources, (3) new or improved processes or methods for producing hardwood products, or (4) new or improved markets for such products. Funds under this section shall be provided solely out of sums specifically appropriated for the purpose of carrying out this Act, and shall not be taken into account in the allocation or distribution of funds pursuant to any other provision of law.

"(c) Not to exceed $2,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out the purposes of subsection (b) of this section."

SEC. 110. (a) Clause (1) of subsection (a) of section 205 of the Act, entitled "Mining Area Restoration", is amended to read as follows:

"(1) make financial contributions to States in the region to seal and fill voids in abandoned coal mines and abandoned oil and gas wells, and to reclaim and rehabilitate lands affected by the strip and surface mining and processing of coal and other minerals, including lands affected by waste piles, in accordance with provisions of the Act of July 15, 1955 (30 U.S.C. 571 et seq.), to the extent applicable, without regard to section 2(b) thereof (30 U.S.C. 572(b)) or to any provisions therein limiting assistance to anthracite coal formation, or to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Grants under this paragraph shall be made wholly out of funds specifically appropriated for the purposes of carrying out this Act."

(b) Strike out clause (3) of subsection (a) of section 205 of the Act.

(c) Subsection (b) of section 205 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) For the fiscal years 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Federal share of mining area restoration projects, including reasonable planning and engineering costs, carried out under subsection (a) of this section and conducted on lands other than federally owned lands shall not exceed 75 per centum of the total cost thereof. The non-Federal share of the total cost of any project carried out under subsection (a) of this section may include reasonable land acquisition costs incurred in acquiring land necessary for the purposes of implementing such project, if such land is acquired after the date of enactment of the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967."

(d) The first sentence of subsection (d) of section 205 of the Act is amended to read as follows: "Not to exceed $30,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 111. Subsection (g) of section 206 of the Act, entitled "WATER RESOURCE SURVEY", is amended to read as follows:

"(g) Not to exceed $2,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 112. Part A of title II of the Act is amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"ASSISTANCE FOR PLANNING AND OTHER PRELIMINARY EXPENSES OF PROPOSED HOUSING PROJECTS UNDER SECTION 221 OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

"SEC. 207. (a) In order to encourage and facilitate the construction or rehabilitation of housing to meet the needs of low- and moderate-income families and individuals, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (hereafter in this section referred to as the 'Secretary') is authorized to make grants and loans from the Appalachian Housing Fund established by this section, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, to nonprofit, limited dividend, or cooperative organizations, or to public bodies, for expenses of planning and of obtaining an insured mortgage for a housing construction or rehabilitation project, under section 221 of the National Housing Act (hereafter in this section referred to as 'section 221'), in any area of the Appalachian region determined by the Commission to have significant potential for future growth.

"(b) No grant under this section shall exceed 80 per centum of those administrative expenses, incident to planning a project and obtaining an insured mortgage under section 221, which the Secretary considers not to be recoverable from the proceeds of a mortgage insured under such section: *Provided*, That no grant shall be made to an organization established for profit.

"(c) No loan under this section shall exceed 80 per centum of the cost of planning a project and obtaining an insured mortgage under section 221, including, but not limited to, preliminary surveys and analyses of market needs, preliminary site engineering and architectural fees, site options, Federal Housing Administration and Federal National Mortgage Association fees, and construction loan fees and discounts. Loans may be made without interest, or at any market or below market interest rate authorized for a mortgage insured under section 221: *Provided*, That any loan made to an organization established for profit shall bear interest at the prevailing market rate authorized for a mortgage insured under such section. The Secretary may, except in the case of a loan to an organization established for profit, waive the repayment of all or any part of a loan made under this section, including interest, which he finds the borrower is unable to recover from the proceeds of a mortgage insured under section 221.

"(d) All funds allocated to the Secretary for the purposes of this section shall be deposited in a fund which shall be known as the Appalachian Housing Fund and shall be used as a revolving fund by the Secretary for carrying out such purposes. General expenses of administration of this section may be charged to the fund. Moneys in the fund not needed for current operation may be invested in bonds or other obligations guaranteed as to principal and interest by the United States.

"(e) Not to exceed $5,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 113. (a) Subsection (a) of section 211 of the Act, entitled "VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FACILITIES", is amended by inserting before the word "needed" in the first sentence, the following: "and for the equipment of such facilities and other school facilities".

(b) Subsection (b) of section 211 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Not to exceed $26,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 114. Subsection (b) of section 212 of the Act, entitled "SEWAGE TREATMENT WORKS", is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Not to exceed $6,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 115. (a) Section 701(a) of the Housing Act of 1954 (40 U.S.C. 461(a)) is amended by striking out "and" at the end of clause (8) and all of clause (9) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(9) the Appalachian Regional Commission, for comprehensive planning for the Appalachian region as defined by section 403 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965; and

"(10) local development districts, certified under section 301 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, for comprehensive planning for their entire areas, or for metropolitan planning, urban planning, county planning, or small municipality planning within such areas in the Appalachian region, and for planning for Appalachian regional programs."

(b) The proviso of the first sentence of section 701(b) of the Housing Act of 1954 is amended by inserting after "States" the words "and local development districts".

SEC. 116. Section 214 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"SUPPLEMENTS TO FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

"SEC. 214. (a) In order to enable the people, States, and local communities of the region, including local development districts, to take maximum advantage of Federal grant-in-aid programs (as hereinafter defined) for which they are eligible but for which, because of their economic situation, they cannot supply the required matching share, the President is authorized to provide funds to the Federal Cochairman to be used for the sole purpose of increasing the Federal contribution to projects under Federal grant-in-aid programs, as hereafter defined, above the fixed maximum portion of the cost of such projects otherwise authorized by the applicable law. Funds shall be so provided for Federal grant-in-aid programs for which funds are available under the Acts authorizing such programs and shall be available without regard to any appropriation authorization ceilings in such Acts. Any finding, report, certification, or documentation required to be submitted to the head of the department, agency, or instrumentality of the Federal Government responsible for the administration of any Federal grant-in-aid program shall be accepted by the Federal Cochairman with respect to a supplemental grant for any project under such program.

"(b) The Federal portion of such costs shall not be increased in excess of the percentages established by the Commission, and shall in no event exceed 80 per centum thereof.

"(c) The term 'Federal grant-in-aid programs' as used in this section means those Federal grant-in-aid programs authorized by this Act for the construction or equipment of facilities, and all other Federal grant-in-aid programs authorized on or before December 31, 1967, by Acts other than this Act for the acquisition of land or the construction or equipment of facilities, including but not limited to grant-in-aid programs authorized by the following Acts: Federal Water Pollution Control Act; Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act; title VI of the Public Health Service Act; Vocational Education Act of 1963; Library Services Act; Federal Airport Act; part IV of title III of the Communications Act of 1934; Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963; Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; National Defense Education Act of 1958. The term shall not include (A) the program for the construction of the development highway system authorized by section 201 of this Act or any other program relating to highway or road construction, or (B) any other program for which loans or other Federal financial assistance, except a grant-in-aid program, is authorized by this or any other Act.

"(d) Not to exceed $97,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section."

SEC. 117. (a) The first sentence of section 221 of the Act, entitled "MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT", is amended by striking out "exclusive of Federal funds," and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "exclusive of expenditures for participation in the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, and exclusive of local funds and Federal funds,".

(b) The second sentence of such section is amended by inserting after "Highways" the following: "and expenditures of local funds and Federal funds".

SEC. 118. Section 223 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

"SEC. 223. No program or project authorized under any section of this title shall be implemented until (1) applications and plans relating to the program or project have been determined by the responsible Federal official to be compatible with the provisions and objectives of Federal laws which he administers that are not inconsistent with this Act, and (2) the Commission has approved such program or project and has determined that it meets the applicable criteria under section 224 and will contribute to the development of the region, which determination shall be controlling."

SEC. 119. (a) Subsection (a) of section 224 of the Act, entitled "PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT CRITERIA", is amended (1) by striking out "In developing recommendations on the" and inserting in lieu thereof: "In considering"; and (2) by striking out "within those recommendations".

(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by striking out clause (1) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(1) to assist establishments relocating from one area to another;".

SEC. 120. Section 302 of the Act, entitled "GRANTS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS AND FOR RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS", is amended by (1) striking out subsections (a) through (c); (2) redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e); and (3) inserting the following new subsections (a) through (d):

"(a) The President is authorized—

"(1) to make grants to the Commission for administrative expenses, including technical services, of local development districts, but (A) the amount of any such grant shall not exceed 75 per centum of such expenses, (B) no grants for administrative expenses shall be made for a local development district for a period in excess of three years beginning on the date the initial grant is made for such development district, and (C) the local development district contributions for administrative expenses may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to space, equipment, and services; and

"(2) to make grants to the Commission for investigation, research, studies, technical assistance, and demonstration projects, and for training programs, but not for construction purposes, which will further the purposes of this Act.

"(b) The Commission is authorized to make a survey and study of acid pollution in the region resulting from mining activities and the effects of such pollution, in full cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior and other appropriate Federal, State, and local departments and agencies, with the objective of developing a comprehensive action program for the appropriate control, reduction, or elimination of such pollution in the region or the effects of such pollution. The Commission shall submit to the President a report, including specific recommendations for such program and for the policies under which it should be conducted, and the President shall submit the report to the Congress, together with his recommendations, not later than March 31, 1969. The study shall, among other matters—

"(1) Identify sources of acid mine pollution in the region and their type, area, ownership, and other characteristics; the relative contribution of each source; and the impact of each source on water quality in the streams affected.

"(2) Identify present and potential water-using and other activities which are affected by acid mine pollution in the region, or originating in the region, and the economic and social costs and effects attributable to such pollution.

"(3) Identify known methods and costs for the control and abatement of acid mine pollution.

"(4) Estimate economic and social benefits, public and private, that are likely to result from reducing to various levels acid mine pollution in the streams of the region and identify the types of beneficiaries and the relative distribution of the benefits to such beneficiaries.

"(5) Consider the appropriate roles of Federal, State, and private interests in programs for the control, reduction, or elimination of acid mine pollution in the region and the relative costs which each should bear, including specifically (A) the extent, if any, to which private interests can bear the cost of such programs within the economics of mining activity, (B) the effectiveness of past action by Federal, State, and local units of government in remedying or controlling the adverse effects of acid mine pollution, (C) relationships which might be established among Federal, State, and local units of government, and with private interests, or implementing and funding such programs, and (D) the need for appropriate Federal and State legislation, including adequate enforcement provisions, for such programs.

"(6) Formulate a program for the appropriate control, reduction, or elimination of acid mine pollution in the region, including the identification of specific objectives and costs, with due consideration to: (A) the developmental effects of the program, (B) the economic benefits of the program in relation to costs, (C) the social effects of the program, (D) the avoidance of unwarranted financial gain to private interests, and (E) the types and sources of aid required to accomplish the program.

"(c)(1) The Commission shall, as required by the President, maintain accurate and complete records of transactions and activities financed with Federal funds and report thereon to the President. The records of the Commission shall be available for audit with respect to such grants by the President and the Comptroller General or their duly authorized representatives.

"(2) Recipients of Federal assistance under the provisions of this section shall, as required by the Commission, maintain accurate and complete records of transactions and activities financed with Federal funds and report thereon to the Commission. Such records shall be available for audit by the President, the Comptroller General, and the Commission or their duly authorized representatives.

"(d) Not to exceed $11,000,000 of the funds authorized in section 401 of this Act for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, shall be available to carry out this section. Not to exceed $3,000,000 of such authorization shall be available for the purposes of subsection (b)."

SEC. 121. Section 303 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"PROJECT APPROVAL

"SEC. 303. An application for a grant or for any other assistance for a program or project under this Act shall be made through the State member of the Commission representing such applicant, and such State member shall evaluate the application for approval. Only applications for programs and projects which are approved by a State member as meeting the requirements for assistance under the Act shall be approved for assistance. No project shall be approved by the Commission unless the Commission is satisfied that the project will be properly administered, operated, and maintained."

SEC. 122. Section 401 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 401. In addition to the appropriations authorized in section 105 and in section 201 for the Appalachian development highway system and local access roads, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President, to be available until expended, not to exceed $170,000,000 for the two-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, to carry out this Act."

SEC. 123. (a) Section 403 of the Act, entitled "DEFINITION OF APPALACHIAN REGION", is amended—

(1) by inserting in the clause relating to the counties in Alabama after "Jefferson," the following: "Lamar," and after "Morgan," the following: "Pickens,";

(2) by inserting after the clause relating to the counties in Maryland the following:

"In Mississippi, the counties of Alcorn, Benton, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Clay, Itawamba, Kemper, Lee, Lowndes, Marshall, Monroe, Noxubee, Oktibbeha, Pontotoc, Prentiss, Tippah, Tishomingo, Union, Webster, and Winston;

"In New York, the counties of Allegany, Broome, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Chemung, Chenango, Cortland, Delaware, Otsego, Schoharie, Schuyler, Steuben, Tioga, and Tompkins;"; and

(3) by inserting in the clause relating to the counties in Tennessee after "Campbell" the following: "Cannon,".

(b) Such section is further amended by striking out the colon following "West Virginia" and inserting in lieu thereof a period, and by striking out all of the remainder of such section and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"No recommendation for any change in the definition of the Appalachian region as set forth in this section shall be proposed or considered by the Commission without a prior resolution by the Committee on Public Works of the Senate or of the House of Representatives, directing a study of such change."

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

SEC. 201. Subsection (a) of section 503 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is amended by striking the semicolon after clause (2), inserting a comma, and the following: "including the development of a comprehensive long-range economic plan approved by the Secretary;".

SEC. 202. Subsection (c) of section 505 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Not to exceed $2,500,000 of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this subsection for each fiscal year shall be allocated by the Secretary to each regional commission to carry out the purposes of this section."

SEC. 203. Section 509 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is amended by redesignating such section as section 510 and by inserting after section 508 the following new section 509:

"SUPPLEMENTS TO FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

"SEC. 509. (a) In order to enable the States and other entities within economic development regions established under this Act to take maximum advantage of Federal grant-in-aid programs (as hereinafter defined) for which they are eligible but for which, because of their economic situation, they cannot supply the required matching share, the Secretary shall, once a comprehensive long-range economic plan established pursuant to clause (2) of section 503(a) is in effect, provide funds pursuant to specific recommendations, to each of the Federal Cochairmen of the regional commissions heretofore or hereafter established under this title, to be used for the sole purpose of increasing the Federal contribution to projects under such programs above the fixed maximum portion of the cost of such projects otherwise authorized by the applicable law. No program or project authorized under this section shall be implemented until (1) applications and plans relating to the program or project have been determined by the responsible Federal official to be compatible with the provisions and objectives of Federal laws which he administers that are not inconsistent with this Act, and (2) the Regional Commission involved has approved such program or project and has determined that it meets the applicable criteria under section 504 and will contribute to the development of the region, which determination shall be controlling. Funds may be provided only for Federal grant-in-aid programs for which funds are available under the Act authorizing such programs. Funds so provided shall be available without regard to any appropriation authorization ceilings in such Act.

"(b) The Federal portion of such costs shall not be increased in excess of the percentages established by each commission, and shall in no event exceed 80 per centum thereof.

"(c) The term 'Federal grant-in-aid programs' as used in this section means all Federal grant-in-aid programs in existence on or before December 31, 1967, assisting in the acquisition of land or the construction or equipment of facilities, including but not limited to grant-in-aid programs authorized by title I of this Act and by the following Acts: Federal Water Pollution Control Act; Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act; title VI of the Public Health Service Act; Vocational Education Act of 1963; Library Services Act; Federal Airport Act; part IV of title III of the Communications Act of 1934; Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963; Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; and National Defense Education Act of 1958. The term shall not include any program in which loans or other Federal financial assistance, except a grant-in-aid program, is authorized by this or any other Act. Grants under this section shall be made solely out of funds specifically appropriated for the purpose of carrying out this section, and shall not be taken into account in the computation of allocations among the States made pursuant to any other provision of law.

"(d) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary for each of the regional commissions for the purposes of this section the sum of $5,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1968, and the sum of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

"(e) An application for a grant under this section shall be made through the State member of the Commission representing such applicant, and such State member shall evaluate the application for approval. Only applications for programs and projects which are approved by a State member as meeting the requirements for assistance under this section shall be approved for assistance."

SEC. 204. The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end of title VI thereof the following new section:

"ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND MAINTENANCE

"SEC. 604. No Federal assistance shall be approved under this Act unless the Secretary is satisfied that the project for which Federal assistance is granted will be properly and efficiently administered, operated, and maintained."

And the House agree to the same.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the title of the bill and agree to the same.

GEORGE H. FALLON,
ROBERT E. JONES,
JIM WRIGHT,
ED EDMONDSON,
WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
FRED SCHWENGEL,
JAMES CLEVELAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.

JENNINGS RANDOLPH,
EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
JOSEPH DAVIES TYDINGS,
W. B. SPONG,
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER,
LEN B. JORDAN,
HOWARD H. BAKER, Jr.,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House amendment to the text of the bill strikes out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause and inserts a substitute. The Senate recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the Senate bill and the House amendment. The differences between the House amendment and the substitute agreed to in conference are noted in the following outline, except for incidental changes made necessary by reason of agreements reached by the conferees and minor and clarifying changes.

TITLE I—AMENDMENT TO APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

References to "Act" and "section" in the portion of this statement which relates to title I of the bill are references to the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and to sections of that Act.

Section 201. Appalachian highway program

The Senate bill amended section 201 of the Act to increase the maximum authorized mileage for the local access roads program from 1,000 to 2,000 miles. The House amendment reduced this to 1,200 miles. The conference substitute authorizes 1,600 miles for access roads.

Section 202. Demonstration health program

Sections 202(c) and 202(d) of the Act, as they appear in the Senate bill, prescribe certain limitations on grants for operating demonstration health projects, authorize planning grants, and provide for funds to support the Commission's Health Advisory Committee. The House amendment did not contain these subsections. The conference substitute contains these subsections as they appear in the Senate bill but with two modifications: First, operating grants may be made only to facilities which are publicly owned, or owned by a public or private nonprofit organization, which are not operated for profit. Second, operating grants may not be made unless the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is satisfied that the operation of the project will be conducted under efficient management practices designed to obviate operating deficits.

Section 204. Timber development organizations

The Senate bill authorized $4 million for a new program of hardwood research, and eliminated the specific authorization of funds in existing law for the timber development organization program.

The House amendment authorized $1 million to continue the timber development organization program, and eliminated the proposed new research program.

The conference substitute adopts the provisions of the Senate bill with three changes: First, the Secretary of Agriculture in making grants or contracts to carry out the research program must provide funds first to colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education (with priority to land grant schools), and thereafter to forest products research institutions in the region and other appropriate public and private organizations. Second, such schools, institutions, and organizations must have the demonstrated capability to perform the research. Third, the authorization is reduced to $2 million.

Section 214. Supplements to Federal grant-in-aid programs

(1) Under existing law, supplemental grants may be made only for appropriate grant-in-aid programs enacted prior to March 9, 1965, the date of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. The Senate bill broadened section 214(a) to permit supplemental grants for grant-in-aid programs enacted subsequent to that date, including programs to be enacted in the future. The House amendment permitted supplemental grants only for grant-in-aid programs enacted on or before August 1, 1967.

The conference substitute permits supplemental grants for grant-in-aid programs enacted on or before December 31, 1967.

(2) The Senate bill authorized $97 million for the two-fiscal-year period ending in 1969 to carry out this section. The House amendment reduced this authorization to $71 million.

The conference substitute is the same as the Senate bill in this regard.

Section 302. Research and local development district administrative expenses

The Senate bill authorized for the two-fiscal-year period ending in 1969 $13 million to carry out section 302. The House amendment reduced this authorization to $10 million.

The conference substitute sets this authorization at $11 million.

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

Supplemental grants under title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

(1) The Senate bill amended title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 to require, in the case of regional commissions established under such title, that the Secretary of Commerce shall provide funds for supplemental grants, pursuant to specific recommendations, for each such regional commission, once a long range economic plan for the region has been established.

The House amendment authorized the Secretary to provide supplemental grants, pursuant to specific recommendations of each regional commission, once such an economic plan has been established, by allocating funds to the heads of Federal departments and agencies for that purpose.

The conference substitute adopts the provisions of the Senate bill with a technical amendment making it clear that the Federal Cochairman of each regional commission will receive the funds provided for his commission.

(2) The Senate bill authorized supplemental grants under title V for appropriate basic grant-in-aid programs now existing or to be enacted in the future. The House amendment limited supplemental grants to grant-in-aid programs enacted as of August 1, 1967. The conference substitute permits supplemental grants for programs enacted as of December 31, 1967.

Project administration under Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

The House amendment added a new section 604 to title VI of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 which provided that no assistance shall be approved under that Act unless the responsible Federal official is satisfied that the project will be properly and efficiently administered, operated, and maintained.

The conference substitute is the same as the House amendment except that it requires the Secretary of Commerce to determine the efficiency of the project.

GEORGE H. FALLON,
ROBERT E. JONES,
JIM WRIGHT,
ED EDMONDSON,
WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
FRED SCHWENGEL,
JAMES CLEVELAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. FALLON (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the conferees on this bill met for 2 days and the differences have been resolved in what I think is a fair, modest, reasonable bill.

I should point out at the outset that the mood of the House to cut spending has been preserved by the conferees. The overall authorization as provided by the Senate in this bill—section 401—was cut in the House committee by $53 million and on the House floor by an additional $50 million. The Senate receded to agree with the House cuts which provide an overall authorization for this program for the next 2 years of $170 million.

Within the $170 million total authorization ceiling, funds for the supplemental grant-in-aid section were restored to the Senate figure of $97 million. The Senate wanted this figure restored because the supplemental assistance programs under this section have been one of the most effective weapons in the attack on Appalachian problems. There is evidence that the full amount can be utilized, and the conferees agreed to the restoration.

Section 202, subsections (c) and (d) of the demonstration health program section as they appear in the Senate bill, which prescribe certain limitations on grants for operating demonstration health projects, authorize planning grants and provide funds to support the Appalachian Commission's Health Advisory Committee, which were not contained in the House amendment, were adopted by the House conferees. The conference substitute contains these subsections with two modifications:

First. Operating grants may be made only to facilities which are specifically owned or operated by a public or private nonprofit organization and which are not operated for profit.

Second. Operating grants may not be made unless the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is satisfied that the operation of the project will be conducted under efficient management practices designed to obviate operating deficits.

The remaining changes are relatively minor.

The Senate language was restored in section 204 which provides a program for research on Appalachia hardwood products. An authorization of $2 million for this section was agreed to. Priority must be given to grants to colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education with demonstrated capability in the field.

The access road mileage under section 201 in the Senate bill provided a maximum mileage of 2,000 miles. The House cut this figure to 1,200 miles. The conferees agreed to the maximum mileage limit of 1,600 miles.

The authorization for administrative expenses of local development districts and for research under section 302 was compromised at $11 million.

Title II of the bill which deals with the other regional commissions authorized under title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 was agreed on in essentially the same form approved by the House.

Senate language was inserted simply for clarification. There was no substantive change in the authorization of funds for the regional commissions.

With these few exceptions, the House bill was accepted. Virtually all House committee amendments were accepted and the key $50 million cut voted by the full House stands in the conference report.

I urge the adoption of the conference report on S. 602.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. Cramer] such time as he may consume.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the conferees did maintain the $50 million reduction in authorizations for nonhighway programs in accordance with the decisive action which was taken on the floor of the House on September 14, as explained in the conference report, some $220 million, as contained in the committee-reported bill, which bill itself had been cut to the extent over $50 million from the Senate-passed amount by the House subcommittee, being subsequently reduced by the floor vote to $170 million. Thus, the $50 million cut in authorization for nonhighway Appalachian programs was retained in conference.

Mr. Speaker, the other amendment that was adopted on the floor of the House was the Waggonner amendment relating to the operation of demonstration health facilities which amendment, in effect, struck out subsection (c) of section 202 of the bill. This is explained on page 14 of the report.

Mr. Speaker, the bill now before us and the conference report speaks for themselves.

Mr. Speaker, the conferees were able to retain certain language that limits expenditures. I refer also to page 14 of the report which relates to matching grants being made only to facilities which are publicly owned and are operated by a public or private nonprofit organization, an organization not operated for a profit; and this also applies only when they are operated under efficient management procedures.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, the managers on the part of the House maintained practically all of its positions and the actions which were adopted by the House during its consideration of this matter in the Committee of the Whole to the Senate bill, as compared with that of the other body.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that all in all the conferees did a very fine job on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, there were some sums which were increased in certain programs. However, they were all limited by this ceiling figure of $170 million.

Mr. Speaker, the increases in a specific program such as loan grants, the conferees felt that greater emphasis should be placed upon that particular program, as compared, for instance, to the other programs under the amendment of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Fallon] for yielding.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for his contribution.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FALLON. Of course I am delighted to yield to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Dorn].

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Fallon] for his untiring efforts and great leadership in behalf of this legislation, as well as the other members of the Committee on Public Works for bringing this conference report to the floor of the House for consideration of the membership today. I wholeheartedly support this legislation and hope and urge that this conference report be unanimously adopted today.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my great honor and privilege to serve as a member of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Appalachia of the Public Works Committee, chaired by the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, the Honorable Robert E. Jones. I want to especially commend the gentleman from Alabama for his untiring efforts and for his great leadership in the committee and here in this House in behalf of this important legislation. Mr. Jones is keenly aware of the needs of Appalachia and it is largely through his leadership that this program has become truly a model in Federal-State programs.

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry is the largest single employer of persons in Appalachia. The manmade-fiber industry is a most important part of that industry employing many thousands of persons in Appalachia. I placed in the committee report supplemental views detailing the importance of this great industry to this region of our country. Those supplemental views follow:

Additional Views of Hon. William Jennings Bryan Dorn

I wholeheartedly support S. 602 as reported by the Committee on Public Works. The Appalachian program conceived in 1965 over the last 2 years has proved to be a needed and necessary one for the region and one which will, I believe over the next few years, enhance greatly the entire economic development of the region. I would commend particularly those who administer the program including the former Federal Cochairman John L. Sweeney, the present Federal Cochairman Joe W. Fleming and his alternate, Fred B. Burke.

One of the most important industries in the entire Appalachian region and one whose growth I have consistently supported and encouraged is the textile industry. During the hearings before the committee testimony was presented which underlines a problem which threatens to affect adversely the maintenance and expansion of manufacturing employment in the Appalachian region. On behalf of the textile industries, testimony and data were presented indicating that to an impressive degree manufacturing employment in Appalachia is concentrated in the man-made fiber producing industry and the textile and apparel industries utilizing cotton, wool, and man-made fibers. A large and rapidly rising volume of imports of man-made staple fiber, filaments, and filament yarn and textile and apparel articles of cotton, wool, and man-made fiber are threatening to impair the maintenance of employment in these industries. The textile industry spokesman called attention to the following facts:

(1) The total number of jobs in the textile industry, as defined above, in the Appalachian region is about 453,000.

(2) In a significant number of counties in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, 75 percent or more of all manufacturing jobs are directly in this textile industry. In an even greater number of counties in these States and in West Virginia, from 50 to 75 percent of all manufacturing jobs are directly in the textile industry. In the remaining counties of the Appalachian region, the textile industry provides not less than from 12 to 50 percent of all manufacturing jobs.

(3) In the Nation as a whole, the textile industry accounts for 13 percent of all manufacturing jobs, but in the Appalachian region this industry supplies 26 percent of all manufacturing jobs. If the counties in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are excluded, the textile industry supplies 41 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the Appalachian region.

(4) Within the Appalachian region and the area within 50 miles beyond its borders, the textile industry accounts for a total of 1,022,000 manufacturing jobs. This is nearly one-half of the employment in the textile industry in the Nation, and 24 percent of total manufacturing employment in that enlarged area.

(5) While the Federal Government and the governments of the States included in the Appalachian region are cooperating through the programs developed by the Commission in an increase in the pace of economic activity within the region, including the creation of additional jobs in the manufacturing sector, imports of man-made fibers and textile products of cotton, wool, and man-made fibers, including apparel, are increasing at an alarming rate. Between the year ended June 30, 1961, and the calendar year 1966, imports of cotton textiles increased by 72 percent, wool textiles by 34 percent, and man-made fiber textiles by 146 percent.

While imports of cotton textiles are subject to regulation for the next 3 years under the terms of the extended long-term cotton textile arrangement, there is no system of providing for quantitative limitation on imports of man-made fibers, and textile products including apparel of man-made fiber and of wool. The textile industry warned the committee that the impact of these mounting imports of man-made fibers and textile and apparel products of all fibers in the U.S. market will be heavily centered on employment in the Appalachian region as a result of the concentration of the industry's employment in the region. Failure on the part of the U.S. Government to achieve some reasonable control over these textile imports could neutralize the benefits for the Appalachian region and employment within the region which the Federal programs authorized by the proposed amendments to the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 are intended to secure.

I realize that the Committee on Public Works does not have jurisdiction over the regulation of foreign trade, and is therefore powerless to initiate remedial action on this textile import problem. I therefore take this opportunity to present this information to the chairman and members of the Committee on Ways and Means with a request that that committee give the matter the earliest practicable consideration.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, approval of this conference report represents a great and historic milestone in the Ozarka Region of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas.

The $20,000,000 authorized for this fiscal year and next year will break the ground, with administrative funds and supplement grants-in-aid, for major new programs in vocational education, conservation, and development in our region of the country.

Of this sum, $5,000,000 is authorized for administration, technical assistance, and research by the Ozarka Regional Commission, under the able leadership of Federal Cochairman William McCandless.

The balance of the sum, if we are successful in securing appropriations, will be the grant-in-aid supplements for projects of regional significance in the area, contributing directly to economic development of the area.

Next to the Arkansas River development program, this is the brightest star in the sky today to lead our way to economic development in eastern Oklahoma. I deeply appreciate the support which this program has received from my colleagues from the House Committee on Public Works. I am also extremely grateful for the leadership which has been demonstrated in the other body by U.S. Senator FRED R. HARRIS, who has been an outstanding spokesman for regional development and the Ozarka program. With the able assistance of our senior Senator, Hon. MIKE MONRONEY, Senator HARRIS has played a key role in the advancement of the Ozarka program in this Congress.

Let us now go forward together to secure the funds which are authorized by this bill to advance the program.

Mr. WHITENER. I will be very happy to see the House agree to the conference report on the Appalachian Regional Act Amendments of 1967. One of the outstanding features of the Appalachian regional program is the demonstration health projects. During my service in the Congress, I have been a strong supporter of health legislation.

The demonstration health projects included within the Appalachian Regional Commission Act has been one of the most significant steps taken in recent years toward the promotion of better health in the Appalachian region.

Under the conference report the demonstration health projects program should move forward. A health project has been approved for Burke County, N.C., one of the great counties I am privileged to represent in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that final action on the legislation will be expedited and that we shall have the President's approval within the next several days.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

ESTABLISHING PROCEDURES TO RELIEVE DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES AND WORKERS INJURED BY INCREASED IMPORTS FROM LOW-WAGE AREAS

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 478) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Kentucky.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration on the bill, H.R. 478, with Mr. BROOKS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] will be recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, this is a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas. Insofar as I know, all the American industries are supporting this legislation.

This legislation which, in my judgment, should be much stronger, is long overdue. The coal fields of eastern Kentucky in the early 1950's lost their market for coal on the eastern seaboard because of competition from residual fuel oil, largely produced by slave labor in Venezuela. And that situation prevails throughout the whole Appalachian area.

Mr. Chairman, this bill is not going to solve all the problems; it is not going to upset or affect any existing trade agreements in effect at the present time, but it will have an impact on all American industry.

I personally believe it will help protect the textile people and the steel people from undue competition based wholly upon cheap labor. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] perhaps is the foremost authority on this subject in this Chamber. I make that statement because the gentleman has studied the impact of imports on American employment more so than any other Member of this body. He has not only studied it since he became a Member of Congress for the last 10 years, but he studied it when he was in the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Since Mr. DENT came to the Congress he has carried on a continuous study, official or otherwise.

I think enough of us here remember when the gentleman from Pennsylvania first took an official look into the impact of imports on American employment, back in 1961 and 1962. At that time, he chaired an ad hoc subcommittee established for that purpose. The work of that subcommittee was enormous, and it worked tirelessly under the leadership of the gentleman.

From that time we heard JOHN DENT speak out on trade. He started alone, and many were quick to dismiss his admonitions. What happened in the intervening years is not germane to this discussion. But it is important to note, however, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania convened his labor subcommittee on August 29, 1966, to begin a new round of hearings on the legislation before us. That was more than 1 year ago. Since then, his subcommittee actually heard testimony for over 6 months. Several undertook an onsite investigation of foreign producers whose production is exported in large part to the United States and sold in competition with domestically produced goods. The point of all this, Mr. Chairman, is that H.R. 478 received more consideration than any other bill I am aware of. It was debated within the Committee on Education and Labor until finally reported on September 13.

Mr. Chairman, we are today considering a bill conceived and authored by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but deserving the support of this entire body. Although the gentleman carried on the struggle for this legislation almost singlehandedly for so long, we now recognize his efforts as being in all our interests—and especially for the workers, firms, and communities we represent, who find themselves at the economic mercy of low-wage-produced foreign imports.

Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in this bill inconsistent with our desire for understanding and exchange through trade. There is nothing here that violates our basic policy of fair trade. There is, however, a new avenue of approach to the problem we incur by unfair and disproportionate competition. That avenue is a recognition and consideration of the worker and his community. For too long we have measured our international trade in dollars and cents. We are only asking that it also be measured in terms of jobs.

I might also say, Mr. Chairman, that we all realize a fair basis as the ideal condition for exchange of goods. Many of our sister nations have wage rates which are in no way comparable to even our minimum wage. Hopefully, the Dent bill will give added incentive and encouragement to those nations and their industries to raise wage levels. Participation in the American marketplace is a very inviting goal, and I believe this could be an effective device to elevate living conditions throughout the world. When all countries apply basic labor standards, then all countries will be able to participate in the wealth of nations.

Mr. Chairman, before concluding I would again like to congratulate the gentleman from Pennsylvania and his subcommittee. The gentleman is an expert in this area and it was only through his persistence and diligence that this bill is before us today. His subcommittee has achieved a record of legislative excellence, and this bill is totally consistent with that record. He and his subcommittee deserve our appreciation for their devotion and application to the finest legislative principles.

Mr. Chairman, I now yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] who will be in charge of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478.

Interest in the impact of foreign imports on the economic well-being of our Nation is not limited to one or another segment of our structure.

It concerns all of us.

Recognizing problems inherent in foreign trade policies, the Congress several years ago enacted legislation to open a channel for industry to present grievances to the President.

Labor, however, was not granted access to this channel.

During hearings on H.R. 478, it became clear that labor—as well as management—and individual communities—as well as the Nation as a whole—have a legitimate interest in the effects of foreign imports on the domestic economy.

Testimony repeatedly illustrated certain disadvantages faced by American labor when placed in competition with foreign labor's lower wage scales and lower standards of living.

Ironically, it is the very factors which have so significantly contributed to the material well-being of our labor force that may now be having the reverse effect.

The dilemma is caused by the fact that American wage-and-hour protections obviously do not affect the policies of other governments.

Existing law has provided no relief to domestic workers and offers no recourse to communities.

For example, my own State of California has 14 tanning factories whose products must compete with Japanese imports.

The United States has become the major supplier of hides to Japan which has in turn become the major producer of finished leather goods imported by the United States.

But Japan has a total embargo on leather imports from the United States, while we have no such restriction.

The result of Japan's protectionist attitude is that our own processors are being forced out of business.

An example of a larger nature is the U.S. steel industry.

It has been estimated that the total employment displaced by 1966 steel imports would approximate 83 thousand people.

One witness stated it most succinctly: Steel imports mean job exports.

H.R. 478 will not offer the complete solution to such grievances.

It will not automatically raise any barriers to foreign imports.

But it will recognize the legitimate concern of labor with respect to those imports.

And it will grant to labor and to individual communities a vehicle by which their complaints can be fairly evaluated.

Previous speakers have indicated that this bill does not do very much.

If it does nothing else, it will alert the Secretary of Labor and the American public to the needs and the problems in connection with imports. It is important for our Nation to be alerted to these problems and to begin thinking about some of the solutions that we will have to undergo to make our whole system of imports more reasonable, fair, and effective.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. Perhaps the gentleman in the well would prefer that the author of the bill, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, respond to this question.

In the hearings and in the report accompanying the bill we find no statement either in favor of or in opposition to this bill from any of the departments of the administration. Can the gentleman from California or the gentleman from Pennsylvania respond to the reasons why we have no such reports?

Mr. BELL. I do not know of any opposition, that is official opposition, from any of the departments of Government. Perhaps if the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the subcommittee and author of the bill, should answer this question.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. The committee asked many departments for their views, and also invited the departments to present their views at the hearings. The department most vitally interested was the only department to reply. Mr. Charles Donahue, speaking for the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wirtz, came before the committee. The summary of his position might well be read into the RECORD at this point in order to clarify this situation in the minds of the Members who felt, I believe erroneously, awhile ago that the Secretary of Labor had said nothing during our committee's deliberations.

With your permission, I will read it. It may answer the question. I quote from his statement:

> Upon those grounds, Mr. Chairman, we feel that this amendment here would make no real substantial difference in the section under consideration before this committee today. It would make no change in the policy of the Department of Labor. We would carry out exactly what clause (2) on page 2 of your bill says with or without its being placed in the statute. For that reason, while we believe that this bill would be most appropriate legislation, nevertheless it would be a directive to us telling us to do what we would do normally under this particular section of the present law.

If you cut through all of that, you come up with the simple answer that the law now provides that we have the right to investigate, but also provides that if within his judgment he has reason to believe that the complaint is valid, then he would hold the hearings. We would remove that provision. We would say that he must hold the hearings when a complaint is placed before him by a proper plaintiff.

Therefore, as to the objection that he made, if he made it—and there is no direct objection—that we would be imposing upon him the mandatory requirement that we hold hearings, I point out he did not oppose the legislation and he said it would be appropriate, and in our opinion his statement was in favor of the bill.

Mr. **KYL**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. **BELL**. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. **KYL**. I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania as to whether the other departments in the administrative branch were asked to submit reports or to testify during these hearings.

Mr. **DENT**. Each and every department of the Government was asked to testify.

Mr. **KYL**. Did they testify?

Mr. **DENT**. The only other official spokesman for the administration was Secretary Rauh, the official Ambassador to the Geneva Talks, who came in after the Kennedy round had been completed. He asked to come before the committee. His testimony is in the RECORD. I will refer to it later.

Mr. **KYL**. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. **STEIGER** of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **BELL**. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. **STEIGER** of Wisconsin. I appreciate the distinguished gentleman in the well yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending bill, H.R. 478. The voluminous testimony before our committee conclusively demonstrates to me that imports to the United States produced by low-wage foreign labor are having a seriously adverse effect on employment and working conditions among our workers in a good many industries in various areas of the country, including my own.

Procedures under existing law designed to provide some protection for the American economy against unfair competition from abroad are quite inadequate as our hearings have clearly shown. They suffer from several defects:

First, complaints to the Tariff Commission asking for relief must allege and show that the particular industry, as a whole, is sustaining economic hardship. The distress of particular enterprises within the complaining industry is not a sufficient basis for granting relief.

Second, neither loss of employment by particular segments of the American labor force, nor the virtual disaster which often descends on local communities that are economically dependent on particular enterprises adversely affected by imports, is a factor on which a petition for relief to the Tariff Commission can primarily be based.

Third, again, the extremely low wages paid foreign workers who produce commodities directly competitive with and able to undersell American products is not a primary factor for a grant of relief by the Tariff Commission. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the overwhelming technical superiority which the United States once enjoyed no longer exists with respect to many other industries in countries abroad. Today, the latest technological developments become matters of worldwide adoption in a very short time, and our high-wage American labor is thereby rendered defenseless against low-wage foreign competition in many segments of our economy.

Fourth, this technological equalization coupled with unfair competitive methods such as import quotas, subsidies, and tax rebates to foreign exporters, misleading labeling of foreign products, and other devices too numerous to mention are becoming increasingly widespread and create growing difficulties for many American employers and their employees.

Mr. Chairman, the pending bill does not substantively change our existing foreign trade policies. It does, however, provide both an additional channel and an additional basis for seeking and securing relief where it is most needed.

American industry and workers will, under this bill, have an opportunity they do not now possess—to bring to the attention of the President the hardships caused by the competition of low-wage labor abroad. The medium for presenting their complaints will be the Secretary of Labor, the Cabinet official charged by statute with a concern for the interests of the American worker. Thus, the pending bill will establish a procedure parallel to the existing machinery available to those seeking relief through the Tariff Commission.

The shoe and leather and textiles industries are in a particularly critical situation in Wisconsin without reasonable procedures for a proper investigation of hardships.

I have received urgent letters and telegrams outlining firsthand the difficulties these important industries are facing. They have come from Mr. Bert Allen, of the Allen Edmonds Shoe Corp., in Belgium, Wis.; Mr. Erhard Buettner, of the Pfister & Vogel Tanning Co., in Milwaukee, Wis.; Mr. Lamont E. Fonteine, of Oconomowoc, Wis.; Mr. Theodore Hasse, of the Oshkosh Tanning Co., Oshkosh, Wis.; Mr. Henry Jung, of the Jung Shoe Manufacturing Co., Sheboygan, Wis.; Mr. E. A. Kalfahs, of the Jersild Knitting Co., Neenah, Wis.; Mr. Robert H. Leverenz, of the Leverenz Shoe Co., Sheboygan, Wis.; Mr. Robert Oeflein, of the Mondl Manufacturing Corp., Oshkosh, Wis.; Mr. Dirk S. Van Pelt, of the Fred Rueping Leather Co., Fond du Lac, Wis.; Mr. G. Hipple, of the Milwaukee Shoe Co., Sturgeon Bay, Wis.; Mr. Arthur A. Gebhardt, Jr., of the A. L. Gebhardt Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Mr. William H. Deiderich, of Shorewood, Wis.; and Mr. William B. Albrecht, Mr. Carl W. Kimes, Mr. John T. Miller, Mr. John R. Olson, and Mr. Daniel F. Simonson, all of Milwaukee, Wis.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, enactment of H.R. 478 is, in my judgment, desirable as a means of effectively dealing with a serious economic and human problem. It provides a means whereby an industry and its employees can move to focus on their problems and, if the complaints are valid, action can be forthcoming within the framework of the law.

Mr. **SCHADEBERG**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **BELL**. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. **SCHADEBERG**. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman's remarks.

It is with real pleasure that I support H.R. 478, a bill to establish procedures for the relief of industries adversely affected by imports. The whole area of our trade policy has been of great concern to me for a number of years. I believe the bill is a step forward toward simplifying import relief measures, something that is badly needed.

The bill is the result of a tremendous amount of work and study in the area of international trade. Months of hearings, as well as overseas field investigations, have gone into the search for means to aid our industries which must contend with imports from low-wage, labor-intensive industries. I would like to commend my colleague from Pennsylvania on his bill and his tireless efforts on behalf of the American worker.

Many of us have been disturbed by the current trade policies. They are not what was visualized a few years ago. To me, the trade concessions are a form of back-door foreign aid. We are raising the standard of living of foreigners, which is laudable, but at the expense of Americans who have lost a portion of the American market.

Our present lax trade policies are in direct conflict with the goals of providing more employment for the people with few or no skills. The testimony of Mr. Eugene Stewart, general counsel, of the Trade Relations Council, shows that imports have affected American labor-intensive industries. A number of the industries with special job potential for the Nation's unemployed poor were studied. Using the average of the period 1958–60, the council found that these industries in 1964 had increased employment 11 percent, and the value of shipments 15 percent, but that foreign competitive products importation increased 74 percent and the exports increased only 10 percent. The foreign trade of the industries studied resulted in a $1 billion trade deficit in 1964. As the report on H.R. 478, House Report No. 638, stated on page 10:

> At the average output per worker in these industries, the deterioration in the foreign trade position was equivalent to the loss of 42,000 jobs.

Of course, other industries are bettering their trade positions and creating new jobs. Yet, the net employment in labor-intensive industries is not being offset by increases in employment in capital-intensive industries where the United States has a competitive advantage. So, the bright dollar picture of our trade does not fully represent the seriousness of the employment situation.

Those Members who have attempted some protection of the dairymen and mink ranchers are only too aware of the inadequacies of the present means of import redress. The many letters that I am certain every Member receives indicate the desire of various economic groups in America to have a simpler, more effective means of revising the import situation. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962's adjustment assistance section has not provided the needed corrective process.

H.R. 478 came to the floor today because of much thoughtful work and deep concern. As such, it deserves the support of every Member whose district has suffered from low-wage imports. I am delighted that such a bill is before us and that I have the opportunity to support it. However, we must all realize that this bill is not a complete solution to the serious problem of imports. The bill addresses itself under present law to the relief of those who are being victimized by present trade policies. It is my hope that there can be the badly needed revision of our trade policy, so that we will prevent the initial injury to our industries, and the need for relief will not arise.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KING] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Chairman, I would like to wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support H.R. 478, presented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

I have been a cosponsor of similar legislation, and I believe this type of legislation is sorely needed at a time when our industry and labor are being effected dramatically by imports from abroad. Coming from an area as I do; that is, the glove and leather goods capital of the world, it has been vividly brought home to me the detrimental effects of many foreign products upon American industry and labor. I want to compliment Mr. DENT and the members of his committee for bringing out this legislation, and I hope that it meets with the approval of the House.

It will give our industry and any injured party an opportunity to present to the Secretary of Labor an application for the injury he has suffered by imports. The Secretary will then make a prompt investigation and report within 4 months after the application has been submitted to determine whether or not this product is in fact injuring American industry. It will then go to the President, and he can take such action as he deems necessary to remove such impairment or threat by giving the industry needed relief by way of tariff changes or by the imposition of quotas. We have no quarrel with products competing with ours when that competition is on an equal footing. But we have recognized and legislated against unfair competition within our country, and I believe we should do so against unfair competition from abroad.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to the distinguished chairman of the committee that I congratulate him and, of course, I support his proposal, because this is one of the most sensible means of protecting against the attack on our corporate investments and the interests of our labor. The cheap competition from abroad threatens the very fabric of our free enterprise system. The gentleman and his committee are to be congratulated for their efforts in protecting this great investment in the American system of free enterprise.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

I might say to the Members of the House, I wish they would join with me today in wishing the gentleman a happy birthday. I have just learned it is his birthday.

Mr. Chairman, this is an historic moment. The House considers today an essential act of justice toward the working men and women of our Nation. We are asked to consider an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act which will complete the basic design for this, the most important of the Federal bulwarks to the standard of living of our people. On the obligation and ability of the employers of America's working men and women to pay a rising minimum wage and overtime pay for hours worked in excess of the statutory maximum depends the welfare not only of our working men and women in establishments engaged in interstate commerce, but of the other Americans in service or governmental employment whose livelihood is indirectly dependent upon the payrolls of our goods-producing, wealth-creating enterprises.

When the Congress enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 it recognized that the existence of substandard labor conditions in the industries engaged in commerce in this Nation would be detrimental to the maintenance of a minimal acceptable standard of living required for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of American workers. In that act, the Congress prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of goods produced in establishments whose rates of pay or hours of work failed to meet the standards specified in the act. The Congress made it a crime for such goods to be even introduced into interstate commerce.

In the 1938 act, the Congress faced the fact that a Gresham's law of labor conditions and of workers' living standards, applied to interstate commerce. The poor labor conditions would drive out the good. Goods produced below normal cost because made with underpaid, overworked labor would undersell goods produced at or above normal cost because of the cost-price advantage of the former in competing with the latter. Without a nationwide floor under wages and a ceiling over hours, the force of competition in the marketplace would bring all labor standards to the same low level, and dry up good-paying, high-standard-of-living jobs.

For this reason, the Congress in its statement of policy in the 1938 act declared it to be its purpose through the exercise of the power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations to eliminate such conditions. Congress alone has the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce under our Constitution. Congress alone could take the initiative to protect the standard of living of American workers through the regulation of commerce in such a way as to safeguard wages, hours, and jobs.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as enacted in 1938, had, however, a serious loophole which in time would permit such a rising tide of goods produced under substandard conditions to move in interstate commerce that the purposes and benefits of the act for American working men could be destroyed. That loophole concerned imports. Though the Congress made it a crime for domestic producers to produce and introduce goods into interstate commerce in violation of the labor standards expressed in the act, it failed to provide machinery to prevent the very same evil from occurring from a foreign source. Though indeed the act refers to the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate foreign commerce as part of the means to be used to correct and eliminate the threat to American living standards for our working men and women, the specific prohibitions in the act, and the machinery for enforcement of the act failed to include imported goods, made abroad under labor conditions which failed to meet the minimum requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The logic of the act is blind to the origin of the goods. The evil which the act seeks to eliminate is the impact on wages, hours, and employment itself when goods produced under fair standards for labor must compete in our markets with goods produced at lower cost because labor is paid less than a minimum wage, or forced to work in excess of our maximum hours without the payment of overtime. This detrimental impact occurs without regard to the origin of the goods which are produced by underpaid, overworked labor. If it is necessary or appropriate to outlaw as contraband goods produced in this country under substandard labor conditions, it is equally necessary or appropriate to outlaw as contraband goods produced in foreign nations under labor conditions which fall below our federally imposed standard which are sought to be imported into the United States.

It is drastic to speak of outlawing the importation of foreign produced goods which violate our minimum labor standards. We shrink from imposing penalties on foreigners as absolute as the strictures we lay on our own citizens who engage in this country in the production of goods. We need not embargo the foreign goods as we do embargo the domestic goods produced under substandard labor conditions. We can protect the standard of living of our working men and women, and thus be faithful to the national policy and purpose expressed in the Fair Labor Standards Act if we eliminate at the border the price advantage of foreign produced goods which results from the payment by foreign producers of wages below our statutory minimum and from the failure of the foreign producer to pay at minimum wage rates overtime at our time and a half standard for hours worked in excess of 40 per week. Members of this body know that typically American industries pay average rates of wage earnings to their workers which exceed our statutory minimum. We need not eliminate the entire difference between average hourly earnings of American working men and women and those of foreign workers. We can close the loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act if we provide machinery for closing the gap, as reflected in the landed costs of imported goods, between foreign wages and our statutory minimum wage and maximum hours.

It is not necessary that we create machinery for the automatic adjustment of landed costs of all imported goods to eliminate the competitive advantage resting with such goods as a result of the substandard labor costs incurred in their production. It will be sufficient if we proceed selectively with regard to those particular imported goods which our capable and well-informed Labor Department finds on the basis of an investigation to be causing or substantially contributing to impairment or threat of impairment to the standard of living, or health, efficiency, or general well-being of any group of workers in the United States or the welfare of the community in which they live or are employed.

Thus under such a minimal, moderate approach to completing the plan of regulation of the movement of goods in commerce which has been implied in the Fair Labor Standards Act from the start, we will be doing justice—long delayed—to American working men and women, without requiring foreign producers to accept anything like the categorical burdens which we impose on American producers-employers.

The bill which we are considering today represents just such a moderate step in closing the loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act which is being exploited so vigorously by low-wage foreign producers. Indeed, I regret to remind the Members of this body, this loophole is being exploited by U.S. business corporations which have created productive facilities at an increasing pace in low-wage foreign countries in order to remain competitive with goods produced for the American market in such countries by foreign business firms. Gresham's Law of the poor currency driving out the good never found a more striking parallel than the impact of substandard labor conditions reflected in low-wage cost foreign goods on the welfare of American working men and women through the exportation of their jobs to foreign shores.

It is common knowledge, and the exhaustive hearings conducted by the general Subcommittee on Labor have confirmed, that America's basic industries, including our most technologically advanced industries, have directed an increasing proportion of their new capital investment in the creation of facilities abroad rather than in the United States. Chemicals, electronics, machinery, metals, shoes, textiles—call the roll of American industry, and you will find the largest firms have already taken the step of investing abroad in order to secure for themselves the labor cost advantage which they have been unable to compete against in the United States because of this serious loophole in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In a moment I shall review some of the facts which demonstrate the need for this bill. First, let us discuss what the bill actually provides, and how the machinery it creates would be intended to operate.

The bill consists of a statement of policy, a procedure for applying that policy to specific cases, and a delegation of authority to the President to take appropriate action to deal with each specific case found to meet the criteria for action set forth in the bill.

First, as to the policy. The bill would amend the statement of policy section of the Fair Labor Standards Act in two respects. These do not change the policy stated in the act; they merely complete or round out the present implied, but not clearly stated, policy of the act in regard to imports. The bill states that "the unregulated importation of goods produced by industries in foreign nations" under labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of American workers causes or contributes to the evils of spreading substandard labor conditions, burdening commerce, fostering unfair competition, leading to labor disputes, and interfering with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce which the Fair Labor Standards Act seeks to correct and eliminate.

After amending the general finding set forth in the act as I have just described, the bill would add to the act a further declaration of policy that the Congress, through its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, seeks to provide for the regulation of imports in such manner as will correct, and as rapidly as possible, eliminate any actual or threatened impairment of the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States and the welfare of their communities in which increased imports are a substantial contributing factor. In other words, it is our policy to accomplish through the selective regulation of imports found to be impairing the standard of living of American workers, the same objectives which we now seek to accomplish by the outright embargo which the Fair Labor Standards Act imposes on domestically produced goods which have a comparable effect on workers' living standards. This further statement of policy necessarily incorporates the enumeration of evils now set out in the act which the Congress finds to be a consequence of the movement of goods in commerce which were produced under substandard labor conditions.

Let me recap and simplify somewhat the elements of this policy statement. Since these elements become the criteria for action by the Secretary of Labor and the President, it is important that we understand just how they are intended to be a series of alternative tests for determining when the Secretary and the President are expected to act. These criteria are the primary standard and intelligible principle which the Congress would lay down as a rule for the use of the delegated authority for Presidential action.

First. There must be increased imports. This obviously requires a comparison of the level of imports in a recent period with the level in an earlier, representative period.

Second. The increased imports must be a substantially contributing factor to a serious impairment or threat of impairment to the standard of living of a group of workers, or to the community in which they are employed. The words "substantially contributing factor" are intended to avoid the heavy burden of proof which has been required by the Tariff Commission under the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

"Substantially contributing factor" therefore means that imports have had some influence in contributing to the economic distress or hardship affecting a group of workers or their community, but the imports need not be the major factor in causing such distress or hardship.

Third. A serious impairment or threat of impairment of the standard of living of a group of workers or of the economic welfare of their community must be found. This impairment or threat of impairment may be shown either directly or indirectly. As far as the workers are concerned, the impairment is shown directly when there is evidence of a loss of employment, of a failure of the work force to grow as where imports capture all or virtually all of the growth in the domestic market, a loss of earnings as where workers must forgo wage increases because of the economic distress of the domestic industry to which import pressures contribute, or where workers lose overtime or premium pay because of a slackness of demand for domestically produced products to which the increased supply from foreign sources has contributed.

As far as the community is concerned, economic impairment is shown by the loss of purchasing power represented by either an absolute reduction in the work force, a curtailment of the workweek of the workers, or a failure of the payrolls in the community to grow in pace with other sectors of community economic activity because of the pressures exerted by rising import competition on the ability of the producers concerned to increase wage payments at a comparable rate, or because future growth in output is transferred by the producers concerned to foreign soil.

As far as both the workers and the community are concerned, impairment or threat of impairment of their welfare is shown indirectly under the congressional finding where as a result of the rising volume of low-cost foreign produced goods, there is market disruption. The sale in the United States of goods produced abroad under labor conditions below our minimum wage or at hours exceeding our maximum necessarily constitutes an unfair method of competition if that failure to conform to our labor standards results in lower costs and lower prices that domestic producers cannot compete with and still recover their full production costs and a reasonable profit. Furthermore, the sale of imported goods under such circumstances necessarily results in disruption of our markets, thus preventing the orderly and fair marketing of domestic and foreign goods in commerce.

The workers and the community are also harmed when an increasing volume of imported goods produced at low cost by workers whose wages are below our minimum, and who are compelled to work in excess of our maximum hours without the payment of overtime, or of overtime equal to our statutory time-and-a-half formula, influences domestic producers to transfer some of their productive capacity abroad. This is shown by investment in productive facilities overseas, or by contractual arrangements to bring foreign goods into the United States under the domestic producer's brand names. In this type of situation, which is becoming all too common, the imports are a contributing factor to the spread of the foreign substandard labor conditions among the workers engaged in producing such goods in the United States. This results from the loss of jobs, or the retarding of future growth in jobs with the related loss of opportunity for advancement which growth always brings, and the curtailment of growth always retards, or from the diminishment of wage rate elasticity and the bitter labor disputes which inevitably result when management feels itself under constraints in wage negotiations which impede the establishment of wage rates which are objectively fair and comparable to wages paid similar skill levels in unaffected industries.

A community suffers impairment of its economic welfare when increasing imports contribute to the reduction of production, the transfer of jobs to other localities, the closing down of production facilities, and the retraining and relocation of workers. When the industry leaves town, if the workers remain it often occurs that they are unable to find employment at rates of pay commensurate with their former occupation. Their loss of earning power injures the community through diminished circulation of money through the service establishments of the community, through the erosion of the tax base which support local governmental services, and through the inability of the workers to contribute to economic growth of the community.

When the workers leave town, perhaps assisted in doing so by the retraining allowances and relocation allowances which we have provided under so-called adjustment assistance programs, the community suffers an absolute loss of payroll inputs to the circulation of money so vital to the welfare of service industries. Schools, churches, and other cultural resources of the community feel the impact of these developments. The tax base is eroded, real estate values decline, and the difficulty which communities now experience in raising essential operating revenues is increased. The credit rating of communities is impaired by this type of occurrence, and they have correspondingly greater difficulty in financing capital improvements to provide essential services, be they hospital, school, fire, police, or welfare.

If the displaced workers chose to remain in the community left behind by a runaway industry, or made an industrial ghost town as so many small communities in this Nation have become when the local manufacturing plant, food processing center, or mining facility is closed down, the community's obligations increase, as welfare payments and the ultimate cost burden of coping with increasing numbers of poor, culturally deprived citizens is enlarged.

Next let us consider how the machinery which would be created by the bill is intended to operate.

1. A union, a firm, an industry association, or a town, city, county or other community organization would file a written request with the Secretary of Labor asking him to investigate to determine whether a product or group of products is being imported in increasing quantities under such circumstances as to contribute substantially to actual or threatened impairment of the standard of living of the workers producing the product or group of products in the United States, or to the economic welfare of their community or communities.

2. The Secretary would publish a notice of the request and of his investigation into the matter in the Federal Register. His notice would inform interested parties of the date or dates on which he or his delegate would hold public hearings on the matter, and of the right of interested parties to be present at the hearings, to produce evidence and to be heard. It is intended that these hearings be promptly scheduled in view of the overall limit of 4 months imposed on the Secretary's investigation.

3. In his investigation, the Secretary shall determine—

(a) If imports of the product or group of products have increased by a significant amount in comparison with a representative period;

(b) If the increase in imports originated in a country or countries whose producers of the product or group of products in question pay wages below the United States minimum wage, or require their workers to work more than our weekly maximum of 40 hours without being paid time and a half for overtime;

(c) If the product or products in question of foreign origin are exported to the United States at a landed cost, duty paid, U.S. port, which is significantly below the price at which the like or competitive domestic product is normally sold in comparable wholesale quantities;

(d) If the difference between the landed cost of the imported products or product and the normal wholesale price of like or competitive domestic goods reflects substantially the disparity between the average wage payment in the foreign industry and the U.S. minimum wage;

(e) If the workers producing the domestic goods like or competitive with the imported product or group of products which is the subject of the investigation have suffered or are threatened with impairment of their standard of living, as shown by the existence of any one of the following conditions:

(i) A decline in employment;

(ii) Failure of employment in the sector of production affected to grow at a comparable rate to the growth of domestic consumption of the product or products in question;

(iii) A decline in earnings;

(iv) Failure of earnings to grow at a rate comparable to the growth experience by comparably skilled workers in related by unaffected lines of commerce;

(v) A transfer of any significant amount of productive capacity from the United States to foreign soil by U.S. producers, whether through direct investment in foreign facilities, or through contractual arrangements for the production abroad and importation into the United States of the product or group of products in question under U.S. producer brand names, or for distribution by U.S. producers; or

(f) If the community or communities in which the affected group of workers is employed or in which they reside have suffered or are threatened with impairment of economic welfare, as shown by the existence of any one of the following conditions;

(i) A decline in wage payments to any significant number of workers employed or residing in the community;

(ii) An absolute loss of employment at establishments located within or near the community which provide employment normally for residents of the community;

(iii) A static level of wage payments, or of employment in comparison with trends in related but unaffected lines of commerce;

(iv) The closing of productive establishments located within or near the community which normally provided employment for residents of the community; or

(v) The transfer of productive operations in any significant degree from the community by business firms having an establishment in the community to foreign soil through the acquisition of facilities, investment in facilities, or contractual arrangements for the production of goods abroad for distribution by the U.S. firm in the United States which were formerly supplied by production from an establishment in or near the community; and

(g) If increased imports of the product or group of products are a substantially contributing factor to the conditions established by an affirmative finding under the questions presented at (a) through (e), or (a) through (d) and (f).

4. If the Secretary's findings under questions 3 (a) through (g) are in the affirmative, he is required to promptly report a finding to the President that the imported product or group of products are a substantially contributing factor to a serious impairment or threat of impairment to the health, efficiency, and general well-being of the affected group of workers and to the economic welfare of their community or communities. He

shall make public his findings and report to the President and publish a summary of them in the Federal Register.

5. Upon receipt of the Secretary's report containing the above-described finding, the President is cloaked with authority to take action to remove the impairment or threatened impairment. The action contemplated is intended to consist exclusively of customs action, either the imposition of quantitative limitations, an increase in the applicable tariffs, or the use of a tariff quota to subject further increases in imports to higher duties. The amount of duty increase or the quantity of imports to be permitted under quota are intended to be sufficient to remove the actual or threatened impairment by bringing the rate of increase of imports into line with a fair share of future growth in the market in the United States. On occasion it will also be appropriate by quota to roll imports back to a level which restores the standard of living of the affected group of workers and the economic welfare of their communities which had been impaired by excessive and rapidly increasing imports. Such a rollback could be accomplished by an absolute quota, or in appropriate cases, by a tariff quota in which increased duties would be keyed to a trigger point designed to restore imports and domestic products to the relationship in the U.S. market which existed prior to the onset of the increased import volumes which contributed to the impairment of the welfare of the workers and their communities.

It has become customary when any legislation is considered in the trade area offering a possibility for tariff increases or the imposition of quotas for the State Department or its spokesmen in the Congress, to raise an objection on the ground that the exercise by the Congress of its constitutional duty to regulate foreign commerce will violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It would not be surprising if someone raised such an objection to this bill. Let me, therefore, treat briefly, but adequately I believe, the GATT question.

Members of this body understand, I am sure, that the constitutional prerogatives of the Congress cannot be foreshortened by an executive agreement. So any commitment in GATT which might stand in the way of this legislation is of no moment as a barrier to the Congress working its will on this legislation.

Further, the Congress has repeatedly specifically refrained from expressing any approval of the GATT. It stands today as it did in 1947 as merely an executive agreement which has never been ratified by legislation nor as a treaty.

But there is no need to return to these basic considerations to deal with the State Department's favorite gambit in these matters. The fact of the matter is that the enactment by the Congress of H.R. 478 will not in and of itself raise any duty, withdraw any tariff concession, or impose any quota. These events surely would become possibilities if H.R. 478 is enacted, but they would occur only when, in the future, some labor organization or other interested party invoked the remedy provided by this bill, and secured a favorable finding of the Secretary of Labor and action by the President.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade itself contains several provisions under which actions taken under the provisions of H.R. 478 would be consistent with, and not in violation of GATT.

First, and foremost, article 28 of GATT provides two independent bases for the withdrawal of a tariff concession by the United States, and other member nations too, for that matter. It provides, first, that at 3-year intervals, just prior to the anniversary date of tariff concessions, any member country has an absolute right to withdraw completely or modify any concession which it has granted in GATT tariff negotiations. Other nations have invoked this provision; the United States has yet to do so.

Second, article 28 of GATT provides that any nation may withdraw or modify a tariff concession at any time because of special circumstances. A number of U.S. industries have petitioned the executive branch to modify U.S. tariff concessions on selected products under this provision of GATT, but thus far these requests have been denied. In explanation of this refusal to exercise an unqualified right under GATT, the executive branch has stated that it is the administration's policy to do so only under extraordinary circumstances. One such circumstance, according to the executive branch, is to deal with the situation created by judicial decision or by legislation. Thus, the executive branch acknowledges that it has a means within GATT, and consistent with our undertakings under GATT, to increase tariffs selectively by modifying or withdrawing tariff concessions for special circumstances such as compliance with legislation. Should the President determine to increase the tariff on a product or group of products which are the subject of a favorable finding by the Secretary of Labor on an application filed under the pending legislation, article 28 of GATT is available to enable the President to proceed without violating our GATT commitments.

Of course, if this legislation is enacted, it is possible that in the course of time the President may determine to modify or withdraw concessions at times which coincide with the unqualified right of the United States to do so at the 3-year intervals which mark the assured life of tariff concessions under GATT. These concessions are not permanent, you know, they have an assured life of 3 years, and are extended automatically for a new 3-year period unless just prior to the termination of the 3-year period a nation exercises its unqualified right to modify or withdraw particular concessions.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade also contains at article 19 an escape clause providing in substance that a member nation may modify or withdraw a concession when it is found that increased imports have resulted in actual or threatened injury to a domestic industry. One species of serious injury is a loss of employment, or of earnings of workers, either absolute or relative, much as the criteria of impairment of the standard of living of workers in the pending legislation contemplate. Accordingly, the United States could, if it wished, proceed under the GATT escape clause to modify or withdraw tariff concessions determined by the President to be necessary to remove the impairment of workers' standard of living or of the economic welfare of their communities under the procedure of the pending legislation.

The President would also be empowered under this legislation to select bilateral or multilateral trade agreement negotiations with affected supplying countries as the "action he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment." If the nations whose exports to the United States are impairing the standard of living of U.S. workers agree to restrain their exports to a manner likely to remove the impairment, the fact of agreement between the United States and the affected nations would prevent a violation of GATT from occurring.

The significance of the pending legislation, therefore, is that it gives the President special authority to deal with situations which his most knowledgeable Cabinet officer with responsibility for labor standards and the welfare of American working men and women advises him require his action, if the public policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act is to be achieved. Once the President decides to act under this legislation, the procedures exist under which he can do so with due regard to U.S. rights and obligations under GATT.

Mr. Chairman, I have presented the above outline to fully express our intent with regard to this legislation. Although the Secretary of Labor will, quite appropriately, establish additional procedures and regulations in accordance with proper and effective administration of the bill's provisions, we would not want the heretofore stated basic tenets violated in any fashion.

Mr. Chairman, the committee report goes into extensive detail regarding the consideration given this bill, and the need and precedent for it. I would only touch briefly on these points now.

It has been stated by my able chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], that this bill was considered since hearings began on it August 29, 1966. This is fact. We heard witnesses from industry, labor, and Government. Our hearings were open to all, and we heard from every individual or group who had something they wanted to say that was germane to the question before us.

The need for the legislation, Mr. Chairman, is amply spelled out by the reams of testimony recorded in the hearings and, to some extent, reproduced in the committee report. I might add that I have witnessed few bills with less opposition than this one. Support for it was enormous, and was reflected in the overwhelming and bipartisan approval granted it by the Committee on Education and Labor on August 15, 1967.

As for the propriety of the bill, Mr. Chairman, may I refer to the "background" portion of the committee report. One can easily see that we are invoking a procedure implied in the substance of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and stated in the legislative history of the act. We are fulfilling the act's basic declaration, and following the actions of so many who first considered the act. We are also consistent with similar provisions found in the National Industrial Recovery Act. Finally, we are amplifying an existing provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act. In all respects, our action today is only a belated recognition of something intended so long ago.

Mr. Chairman, my association in this area goes back many years. I will not belabor or bore this body with that recital. I will only say that H.R. 478 is an act of justice to our workers and those who depend upon them, our firms and industries, and our communities. I suggest that is the substance of this Nation, and a substance we should be ever mindful of. We can, under no circumstances, permit an erosion of any one of these bases. To do so, would be a tragic disservice to the Nation for which we stand.

I include a list of unions and industries which support H.R. 478:

UNIONS WHICH SUPPORT H.R. 478

1. United Textile Workers.
2. National Federation of Independent Unions.
3. Leather Goods, Plastics & Novelty Workers Union.
4. District 50, United Mine Workers.
5. United Brick & Clay Workers.
6. United Glass & Ceramic Workers.
7. International Molders & Allied Workers.
8. United Cement, Line & Gypsum Workers.
9. Distillery, Rectifying, Wine & Allied Workers.
10. International Woodworkers Union.
11. Upholsterers' International Union.
12. International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.
13. International Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
14. Chemical & Atomic Workers Union.
15. International Association of Machinists & Aero Space Workers.
16. Glass Workers Protective Leagues of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

INDUSTRIES WHICH SUPPORT H.R. 478

1. Luggage and leather goods.
2. Millinery.
3. Handbags.
4. Footwear.
5. Marble.
6. Dairy products.
7. Fruit and vegetable growers.
8. Beef cattle producers.
9. Automobile tire accessories.
10. Tanning.
11. Fishing.
12. Steel.
13. Bicycles.
14. Sporting arms and ammunition.
15. Watches.
16. Clinical thermometers.
17. Glass.
18. Electronics.
19. Athletic equipment.
20. Forestry.
21. Plumbing-heating—cooling materials.
22. China.
23. Residual fuel oil and natural gas.
24. Pig iron.
25. Bourbon.
26. Wire.
27. Cast iron soil pipe.
28. Bicycle brakes and parts.
29. Lead-zinc.
30. Shears, scissors, and manicure implements.
31. Macaroni.
32. Candles.
33. Shipbuilding.
34. Jute, flax, and hemp producers.
35. Furniture and furniture parts.
36. Wooden clothespins.
37. Chemicals.
38. Plastics.
39. Industrial fasteners.
40. Dye and dye intermediates.
41. Safety pins.
42. Textiles: Knitted outerwear, corset and brassiere manufacturers, lace and embroidery, cotton and manmade fiber apparels.
43. Work gloves.

Mr. Chairman, ever since the beginning of time and manmade products, when man reached the point where he made more products than he could use, he sought a market for such products. It was this seeking of markets that caused the movements of peoples and the creation of different empires and republics all over the world. As man has progressed, the problems have become more confusing, because all men today in every nation can produce goods. There is no hidden secret held by a few in any particular nation in the production of goods.

With the advancement in technology and the increased knowledge of man, as it is demonstrated by the great advancements in transportation and communication and in the production of goods—to the point of a surplus that becomes a menace to the welfare of the people—we have moved forward to the point where we now must recognize, as we should have done a long time ago, that the movement of goods is the most important matter before the people of all nations.

Nations first strive to become self-sufficient, and this Nation to its credit has spent more money and more effort than any nation since time began to help make other nations self-sufficient. But the greed of man must always be recognized and acknowledged, because apparently after self-sufficiency comes the demand and the desire for gains from the production of goods beyond the needs of the people. It is this production of surplus that causes the troubles we now are in. We are a nation of self-sufficiency, and have been before any other nation reached that stage, in most of the products required by your people—certainly in the necessities and in many of the nonessentials.

However, in our desire to help other peoples we have become a little overenthusiastic, forgetting our obligations to our own people. There has grown up a theory in this country that all the evils of the world will be cured so long as we operate on a basis of giving of ourselves at all times without demanding something back. So some nations have become producers of goods solely for the purpose of selling in the American market.

The American market cannot sustain the onslaught of the productivity of the rest of the world. We can almost with immunity to our own welfare accept approximately 5 percent of all market consumption of any goods from outside the country. But when we get to the magic figure of 5 percent, we reach a stage where the growth of that particular industry stops. This has been proven by a computerized study by one of the great organizations that has been looking into this matter for many years, the Trade Relations Council. They found that 5 percent seems to be the magic figure at which point this Nation must stop, look, and listen.

Every increase in percentage of imports into the market beyond 5 percent not only stops the growth but also takes the new growth from the increased population.

The best illustration is on a very simple item. We are used to talking, in trade, of the great and basic industries of steel, textiles, glass and coal, but we seem to forget that the greater portion of employment in this Nation is in secondary manufacturing, in processing, in providing raw materials.

We have neglected to give consideration to the fact that when we fail to protect to the best of our ability the manufacturer of, let us say, buttons, this has a serious effect.

Do the Members know there is only one button manufacturer left in the United States? That is no great catastrophe, it is said, because button making is an unsophisticated industry.

In my book, there are no unsophisticated industries. There are no dispensable industries. Every industry and every productivity is indispensable to an economic complex. For the man who works in a so-called dispensable or unsophisticated industry his job is just as important as the job of a man who works in the so-called basic or required industries of the Nation. The investor who puts his money into that little enterprise needs and deserves the same protection as the investor who puts his money into a large enterprise.

This results in the death of the so-called small communities, where small enterprises once existed, and still do in some cases. That has brought us to this point today, where we, for the first time, recognize that the major point to be considered, and the criterion that lends itself most to making a determination on the basis of the impact of imports, is the wage paid in the respective countries which are trade partners.

We in this particular legislation are not moving away from the original concept of those who first passed the fair labor standards legislation. Lo and behold, in studying the records of the past I came up with some astounding information. I found, for instance, that when the President of the United States at the time, Franklin D. Roosevelt, sent a message to the Congress, in the 75th Congress, on the minimum wage and maximum hours, he made a statement that the legislation was aimed at creating a condition which would benefit the working people, protect their health and their welfare and well-being. He went on to say that any goods produced in any State or in any area not covered by the minimum wage and maximum hours law ought to be considered as contraband and ought not to be allowed to pollute the channels of interstate commerce.

The U.S. Senate, taking heed from his words and his message, passed the very first bill on minimum wage and included therein the very mandate we are putting into this bill today. But they did it in a more forceful manner. They considered that goods produced domestically and foreign should not be moved in the channels of interstate commerce in the United States unless they were produced under the standards set by the Congress of the United States.

So in this legislation we do not go to the base of the average wage. We do not go to the high wage. We go directly to that wage which we negotiate.

We, the Members of Congress, are the ones who negotiate and mandate the minimum wage in this country. We have reached a minimum wage that now raises a serious situation when you are dealing with many small industries in this country which operate near the minimum wage level as their standard wage. We find now on February 1 that the minimum wage goes to $1.60 an hour. If you want to realize what that means, let me just give you a little illustration of the most serious condition we have existing in the country today. This is the problem of textiles. There are those who ask the question as to whether if this legislation is passed it would in any way impede the progress of the Mills bill which has been cosponsored by many Members of Congress, dealing with the problem of textiles. I say it will not. I say it will complement that bill, because the most important major industry today in the United States affected by imports, the one which is in the most serious condition regardless of the stock market fluctuations in the stock of the companies that produce textiles is the textile industry. That is in the most serious condition of any major activity in production in the United States at this very moment.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to join the gentleman in supporting his bill and commend him for the attitude which he has taken today as he has consistently done in the past toward all American industry but particularly the textile industry. I am particularly delighted that the gentleman is suggesting to the House that there is nothing in this bill that would in any way cause him to lose his ardor for the bill which the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] and several others of us have introduced relating to textiles. This bill I think should be passed as complementary to the presently pending legislation, which, in my judgment, is one of the most forward moving steps we have taken in many a day here in the House. I hope all of our colleagues will join the gentleman from Pennsylvania in approval of this legislation and in the further step which will be taken later in other legislation.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will be delighted to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Chairman, I wish to join with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] in those remarks concerning the textile industry. As the gentleman from North Carolina pointed out, there are several Members who have introduced bills on the matter of textiles. My bill, which I believe is identical to several other bills introduced, H.R. 12045, on the first page of that bill, points out that these imports contribute to reduced employment opportunities for U.S. workers in the U.S. textile industry, which is exactly what the gentleman in the well just got through saying. I want to join with him and congratulate both Mr. DENT and the ranking minority member for the work that they have done on this bill.

Mr. DENT. I thank you very kindly.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to join my colleagues in commending the gentleman in the well, the chairman of the General Subcommittee on Labor, for the wonderful job he has done in connection with referring this bill for action on the House floor today.

I serve as a member of this subcommittee. I have served on it for the past two Congresses. I am fully familiar with all of the good work and energy and time that has been put into this subject matter by the gentleman in the well. I do not think there is any Member of this House who is as knowledgeable as the gentleman from Pennsylvania when it comes to the question of imports and exports. I think the chairman is an expert on this subject, and I want to congratulate him for his efforts and the hard work that he has put into bringing this piece of legislation before the House. I hope every Member of this House will join with him in supporting it.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

Mr. Chairman, as a member of the General Labor Subcommittee, a subcommittee headed by my good friend, the able gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], I have listened to almost every minute of the testimony and for this reason I am unequivocally in favor of the pending measure.

I urge all Members of this House to read carefully the committee report as I think it spells out the need, in no uncertain terms, for this bill. But as one who heard almost all of the testimony, I can tell you that only rarely in my service have I heard a more eloquent plea for action than from the parade of witnesses who appeared before the subcommittee.

To a man, those who appeared before us told of the ruinous effect of foreign competition upon their industry. I might point out that our foreign competitors have one advantage, lower wages. They explored with us the various avenues they had vainly explored in seeking redress.

Their pleas, Mr. Chairman, were not those of industries asking governmental protection so that they might glean the last few dollars out of an inefficient operation. They were not those of workers who lost their jobs and were told the reason was foreign competition. And they were not those of community representatives in Washington for Federal aid.

Their pleas, Mr. Chairman, were those of labor and industry, community representatives, and other parties who have been and continue to be significantly and adversely affected by low-cost foreign competition.

Their voices found reception during the hearings and they told the tragic story of our production facilities, the workers who man them and the communities who depend upon them, and how those facilities are being continuously and persistently eroded by unfair competition from abroad.

Mr. Chairman, among those who testified were my good friends and constituents Ernest Mosmann and Charles Cole, who represented the Schiffli lace and embroidery industry, a major employer in northern New Jersey. They told of the decrease in employment in the domestic industry, the tremendous disparity between domestic wages in the industry and wages paid workers of foreign competitors, and the similarity of the industry's technology here and abroad. The problem they discussed was like the others—cheap foreign goods competing with like domestic goods in the U.S. marketplace, underselling our goods, and thereby creating reductions in the domestic industry and its work force.

Mr. Chairman, I support trade among nations and recognize it as being beneficial to our mutual understandings, in addition to often allowing us access to goods we do not produce. I even favor a sharing of the vast American market with our sister nations.

I do not, however, favor turning over our production facilities, workers, and communities to foreign nations. H.R. 478 establishes procedures which insure the fair consideration of these components to our economy and society in our trade relationships with other nations. In that respect, Mr. Chairman, I most enthusiastically support the bill and urge my colleagues to do likewise.

Mr. DENT. I thank the gentleman very much for that statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania. I know that all of the Members of the House are well aware of the fact that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is the expert of the House in the field of imports. He has worked indefatigably the past several years to make known to the Nation the effect of excessive imports on American industry.

I would like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] if the gentleman still professes to be a "free trader"; that is, does the gentleman still support the basic premise that if this country, for example, can make automobiles more efficiently and more economically than can country X, and country X can better produce bicycles, then this Nation should manufacture automobiles and sell them to country X, while country X should make bicycles and sell them to the United States.

Does the gentleman in the well still adhere to the concept of free trade?

Mr. DENT. In the words of our good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Friedel], I am glad that the gentleman from Missouri has asked that question, because the philosophy behind it bears very heavily upon the opportunity of the trading of goods between nations when such goods are required by the various nations doing the trading, or when such goods are of benefit to the consumers within that nation.

However, "free trade," in the concept of Adam Smith and Henry George is as dead in my opinion as that concept of the old days of trying to carry on the transportation of this country upon the back of a horse or in a horse and buggy.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman from Pennsylvania is saying that the concept of free trade is one that grew up in an era in which we had the laissez-faire system and is not always applicable today. Is that what the gentleman is saying?

Mr. DENT. That is exactly what I am saying. As the best illustration of that fact, permit me to state to the gentleman that we have always said that we must have our borders open to those products which we do not produce in an honest area of operation where the motivating factor was not the promotion of trade as such, that would be a concept that could be carried even further than just the necessity of the philosophy of either "you have" or "you do not," and which does not take into consideration the fact that particular is a nation that is growing and is a nation which needs to sell its products in order that it may expand its trade and make itself sufficient. These are only concepts. However, that is not the manner in which we act.

For example, Mr. Chairman, just yesterday we read in the papers—and all of us remember years ago when we were in school we read about the Caribbean and the islands of Central America as well as the northern part of South America, as being the "banana country," as the "banana areas," because basically, they had bananas to sell.

Now, at the moment and in the normal procedure we talk about free trade and let bananas flow into the countries of free trade. However, De Gaulle has, perhaps, placed a different connotation upon the expression of "banana trade." He has gone down to Guadalupe and Martinique and has closed the doors and has declared that the bananas from Martinique and Guadalupe be declared to be French and are therefore superior in quality and that the bananas coming from all other republics are inferior and that therefore, one should not buy them.

But I say for the Record that he is going to squeeze the same concept into the structure of the Common Market.

I suggest that this is something upon which a definite line of demarcation cannot be drawn. I feel that it is a problem with which we must deal, and is a concept of free trade with which we must deal.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, of course the gentleman in the well [Mr. Dent] voted for the minimum wage law, and I might say that I joined the gentleman in the well since I have been in Congress, during which period we have increased the minimum wage law twice, and I voted both times for those increases.

But I did not hear any discussion about imports at the time we were considering the minimum wage law, although we know that when we raise the minimum wage laws there is danger that some of our manufacturing businesses, particularly those in which labor costs are a substantial part of the finished products, will be in a serious situation insofar as competition with cheaper foreign labor is concerned. I would point out to the House that in many instances our cost of labor is three or four times the cost of labor of our foreign competitors. This is often true in the case of our Japanese friends.

Mr. DENT. Might I say in answer to the gentleman that in the discussion on the floor the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Martin] I believe, asked me what I was going to do about the dangerous situation of raising the minimum wage in this country when I had been talking about the dangerous level of imports. And as I remember my answer—and I probably do not remember it verbatim, it is a little cloudy after so many months—but I remember saying to him that I would make a promise to this House and to the gentleman from Nebraska that immediately upon the passage of the minimum wage bill I would, as chairman of that committee, start to hold hearings on the basis of the minimum wage and the impact on imports when the minimum wage was applied to American working standards, and I have done that.

I want to say that the reason I did that was because every industry that appeared before our committee to protest the increase in the minimum wage played back upon the fact that they had to compete with foreign imports. At that time we promised every industry—and if you will recall, when the bill for the minimum wage came before this House that many of the industries who were historically in opposition to a minimum wage increase did not fight that legislation because they had the word of our committee that we would come before the House with this legislation, and we are here now before the House to keep our word.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I have had the opportunity of listening to the gentleman talk many times on this subject. The gentleman has spent a good many years studying this subject. I would like to ask the gentleman a few questions.

First of all, does not the thrust of this legislation now before us from this committee, Mr. Chairman, make a distinction between an American industry that locates outside of the United States for the purpose of manufacturing products to be resold back into the United States, as distinguished from an American company that locates in a foreign country for the purpose of supplying the foreign market?

Mr. DENT. That is precisely why I said to the gentleman from Indiana a minute ago that we could no longer talk about international trade in the same vein as it was talked about years ago, because new and different problems have presented themselves, and the one that the gentleman has just put his finger on is one of the most serious; that is, that industries within the coverage of the minimum and maximum hour law in the United States are now able—under this new concept of trade—to move lock, stock, and barrel to an area outside the umbrella of the minimum wage law, and produce goods to send back to the United States market, which goods flow with interstate trade along with and commingled with goods that were produced under the standards of the minimum wage law.

It was this problem that started me on the search to find out how can we answer that; what can we do?

We are not only being polluted, as Franklin D. Roosevelt said, with goods produced in low-wage countries, we are being polluted—and in the textile industry also, mind you—with goods produced by American industries overseas which are sent back here to our markets in the United States in competition with our industries who have to pay the minimum wage.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. I would suggest to the gentleman that a perfect example of this is what is happening in the automobile industry which is of great interest to those of us not only from the State of Michigan but almost every State in this country. This is what is happening in the automobile industry.

I have just had occasion to see a Senate report showing the awful impact of the Canadian auto parts agreement that this Congress passed 2 years ago over the vigorous objection of some of us.

That report indicates that the flow of trucks for example across the border between Canada and the United States has been reversed and that now we are importing five times more trucks from Canada than before the agreement.

If in the spirit of free trade we were helping some Canadian nationals in some way other than those employed in factories, it might be a true free trade situation.

But this report also indicates that 99 percent of automotive production in all of Canada is by three wholly owned subsidiaries of the American Big Three, Ford, General Motors, and the Chrysler Corp. So there is in fact no truly Canadian automobile industry to be benefited.

Neither the chairman nor I can go across the river and buy a car and bring it in duty free because only a bona fide automobile company located in this country that produces a minimum of 20 fully equipped, ready-to-drive automobiles in the preceding year is eligible to bring in automobile parts and components on a duty-free basis.

So Ford can buy from Ford of Canada, its wholly owned subsidiary, automobile parts manufactured at an average labor cost considerably cheaper than in the United States, with 10 percent Federal excise tax attached to it, and no tariff when it comes across the border.

In my district people are losing jobs as a result of this situation. As a matter of fact, the Senate report shows that pursuant to the law that we passed in connection with the Canadian-American auto agreement which provides compensation for people who lose jobs as the result of a job being exported through these means, 1,100 people have already been declared to be unemployed as a result of this agreement and they are now receiving Federal funds.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

I want the gentleman to listen to these figures. It may interest him a little to know, while we have been looking overseas, and most of us are from the eastern and central part of the United States, usually when we see a foreign car, we see a Volkswagen or a Fiat or a Renault or one of the so-called European area cars. But an astounding figure was put out the other day by the U.S. News & World Report, and if nothing else that I say today impresses you, this ought to impress you.

It points out that the Japanese are the second largest producers of automobiles in the world. There were produced last year a little over 10 million automobiles. The United States and Canada combined produced less than 50 percent—and the other 52 percent were produced in other countries—with Japan leading the pack.

This is a most serious thing and I want to read it so that no one can question my authority for saying this.

I would like to read it at this time because it is something that has just shocked me. Of course, I do not want to shock you, but it is so serious that we ought to give it a lot more consideration than what we have been giving it in the past.

Japanese automobile production was 1,453,000 cars in the first 6 months of 1967 with 25 percent of those cars, plus all the trucks which are not counted in the 1,453,000, being shipped to the United States of America.

And Volkswagen, which has lost 15 percent of its 1966 worldwide business all over the world, picked up a percentage in the United States where they sold in America more units—a total of 42,000 units in August.

We cannot provide the market for the world. I do not care how hard we try, but we cannot provide the market for the whole world.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SIKES. First, let me applaud most warmly my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, for his stand and for his contributions in this very important field. He is one of the most knowledgeable men in the House of Representatives and one who has worked very hard to try to correct these problems that now beset us in this field.

It is most commendable that the distinguished gentleman and his committee have brought this bill to the floor of the House. This is an important step and it is a very badly needed step. I think, however, we must accept the fact that it is a small step. There is much more that is needed. I sincerely hope we will be able to follow on from this first step. This is a beginning which shows what can be done and particularly in the field of textiles where we do have problems and the gentleman is familiar with them. I know he is sympathetic and I know he has the same interest in these problems that many more of us have.

Let me say that this is a needed and an important measure. I hope that it will pass unanimously, and that it will be speedily followed with other measures which are so vitally needed to correct deficiencies in this area.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Nebraska. I see many of my friends seeking recognition, and I do not want to lose any.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I wish to commend and congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania. This is good legislation and it is long overdue. I have been speaking out on this subject for a long time, as the gentleman has. He has been very active in it. He has brought this legislation here. I am concerned with all the imports that are coming in. I have a little selfish interest also in that I represent a city that is the largest meatpacking and livestock center in the world. It is great cattle country. We are concerned about the imports of foreign beef in this country. I wish the bill had a little more to say on that subject. I am content with what is in the bill at the present time, however, and I hope we can expand on it. My main purpose in rising is to give my full support to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and to commend him for all the work he has done. I hope that this measure will be voted overwhelmingly into approval and sent over to the other body. I have not followed what they have done in this field. In any event, I should like to see this issue resolved and sent down to the White House. Then we will be able to get rid of this problem that concerns not only my own State of Nebraska but almost every other Member's State.

I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from California, the ranking member of my committee.

Mr. BELL. I would like to add my word of commendation for the very excellent job which the chairman of the subcommittee has done, particularly on this subject. I have had an opportunity for many years to work with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and I have found him to be most effective in very thoroughly studying any problem he takes up. That applies particularly to the present subject before the House.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say to the House that without the very kind and often courageous assistance given me by the gentleman from California, as the ranking member, it would not have been possible to overcome the fears of many of the members of our subcommittee and full committee. There apparently appears to be some kind of dread feeling on the part of many Americans, and particularly those in public life, that something terrible is going to happen to the people of this country if we do not stand up for the rights of our people in the area of trade. That was the fear which the gentleman from California, the ranking Republican member on my committee, helped me to dispel. Without his help, I say to the House as honestly and as sincerely as I know how, without the help of the gentleman from California, Congressman BELL, I doubt that we would have had the privilege of being here today in a bipartisan effort to do something for this country.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. BERRY. I wish to join with the very many who have commended the gentleman from Pennsylvania, not only on bringing this legislation to the floor, but on his years of work in this regard. In my judgment this bill is the culmination of a good many years of work and study on his part. I have been interested in the comments of those particularly interested in textiles. Of course, textiles are severely hurt. But all you have to do is to take a list of industries, including steel, textiles, steel products, lumber, lumber products, minerals, mineral products, and automobiles to mention only a few. All of these industries are being hurt and will be hurt until something is done. This is, after all, a kind of foreign aid program. It is a sort of bigheartedness on the part of Americans to let this stuff all come in.

But, as the gentleman from Nebraska just said, it is not only industry that is hurt. Agriculture has been suffering for a long time and imports are putting 4 or 5 percent of the farmers off the farm every year, because they cannot compete with this cheap foreign production.

I call your attention to imports from Japan, I would remind the gentleman from Pennsylvania, it is not just the minimum wage that causes this trouble. When the constitution of Japan was written, after the war, we made certain there was written into that constitution the provision that they never could defend themselves again and could not build up a defense system, so they have no tax for defense. We have a tax, and 50 percent of our tax is for defense—not only the defense of the United States, but the defense of Japan. This has to be added onto the price of the product we produce in this country, but it does not have to be added onto the price of the product produced in Japan. This is another thing that the President and the Secretary should take into consideration when they are considering what a reasonable tariff rate should be.

Mr. Chairman, because of my long concern over the ruinous effects of imports on our economy, I am glad to support this legislation which is designed to relieve domestic industry and labor injured by increased imports. To me, this bill indicates that Congress is slowly realizing the disastrous impact of foreign made goods and might possibly authorize some kind of protection for the American farmer.

When so many industries are damaged—the wool industry, the mink industry, the steel industry, the textile industry—it begins to look like there may be support for protecting agriculture, too. Since the economy of my district is chiefly agricultural, I would like to point out some facts which clearly show the harmful effects of agricultural imports upon South Dakota's economy.

While industry has suffered at the hands of the importers, it has usually been the agricultural producer in America who has been used as the pawn in international trade and who consequently has often borne the brunt of the impact.

When the Kennedy round of negotiations began in Geneva in 1963, and most tariffs were cut by around 50 percent, a simultaneous blow was dealt the American agricultural producer. During 1963, nearly 4 billion pounds of beef and veal were imported into the United States, driving the domestic market to new lows.

Despite a 1964 law by Congress to establish a quota formula, beef and veal imports are rising once again, up 23 percent in the first 3 months of this year over the same period in 1966.

In order to give you some idea of how this policy has affected the economy of the State, I have converted the 1963 level of imports into their "liveweight" equivalent to compare imports with domestic production. Thus, the 1963 imports required the retirement of 82 million acres from production.

But not only did imports represent 11 percent of the beef consumed domestically, the imports exceeded the production of North and South Dakota, Wyoming and Colorado for the same year—and these are all great beef-producting States.

In all, the high cost of our import policy is more than $2.2 billion to the American agricultural producer alone each year. This figure represents the amount of competitive imported agricultural goods which are a loss to the American producer because they were not produced in the United States.

We must not, however, in light of these evidences of strong threats to the American farmer and rancher allow jobs to be lost, markets to be flooded and the economy to be jeopardized in the name of "free trade" which is actually a one-way street to the United States.

I would therefore urge passage of H.R. 478 hoping that it will prompt some action to benefit the farmer.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton].

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I compliment the gentleman on this excellent bill, to help give legitimate protection to U.S. industry and our U.S. workers against unfair competition. As the House knows, I represent one of the large international trade cities of the world—Pittsburgh, Pa. As such representative, I have not favored high tariffs nor high tariff walls that are trade barriers. This is not a high tariff bill. This is a bill that really is based on reciprocal trade policies, but it has a good Yankee bargaining premise to it. Likewise there is the purpose of preventing dumping and unfair competition from abroad by low wage and foreign government subsidized products that hurt our U.S. industries, and hurt seriously in many instances, which this administration ignores.

We have heard of a necessary and practical limitation of 5 percent on imported products in any U.S. industry or manufacture, trade, or agriculture field when imports in any segment of the U.S. economy get above 5 percent of total U.S. production, that amount really hurts the industry seriously and impairs the efficiency of U.S. production in that area. As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics—and I am the ranking minority member of that committee—I would like to add this. Imports of products over 5 percent of U.S. production in any field of activity, not only hurt that particular industry—but they likewise prevent future progress. There is no room in that kind of foreign overwhelming competition for U.S. science and scientific development and technological progress. So the American people, U.S. business and agriculture, the U.S. workingman and farmer are hurt doubly, not only now, but for the future.

The bill is a good step forward in placing responsibility for injurious policies, and to require the Secretary of Labor to make studies of industries on which complaints of serious injury through foreign imports, are filed. This bill requires action and also public information at the time the Secretary reports to the President. This bill does not eliminate the need for other legislation, particularly to prevent dumping from abroad, which legislation I have cosponsored.

I do like the approach that under this legislation a community that is seriously injured by industries closing or by layoffs and reductions of employees, can now have standing at law to make complaint and be heard. This is good.

Mr. Chairman, I recommend that the bill passes. I compliment the subcommittee, Mr. Dent of Pennsylvania, chairman, and Mr. Bell of California, ranking minority member, for bringing it up at this time.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has been indefatigable in protecting the interests of the workingman and the welfare of the Nation. I congratulate him for bringing out H.R. 478. I was particularly pleased to hear the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania in support of the Mills bill on textile imports. I support the Mills bill, since the textile industry—seriously threatened by foreign imports, is very important in my congressional district. As one of the several Members who introduced that bill, I am pleased that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has stated that H.R. 478 and the Mills bill are complementary to each other.

I would like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania for his comment on anything additional that this bill will do for the protection of industries such as the coal industry and the steel industry, and chemicals and dairy products. Will this bill have any great effect on these areas also?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, this legislation is not what might be called a closed-door isolationist policy, because it does not automatically close the door on any product, but if in any of the products or the production units the gentleman mentioned we find that the application of the mandated standards—labor standards mandated by the Congress—makes it difficult or impossible for them to compete in the area of production of products they are in, this legislation gives the avenue to the wailing wall, as it were, to the Secretary of Labor, so that hearings may be held, and after that the President of the United States, if it is found that such imports are injurious to the particular industry or to any product, may issue the kind of orders and give the kind of relief that will save the industry.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. The provisions of this bill would certainly apply to glass also, would they not, I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. DENT. Glass above all. As the gentleman knows, right now the President has ordered the removal of the last part of the Kennedy increased tariff which saved the glass industry in 1962. In October, as I understand it, that will be removed.

I have in my files letters from American St. Gobain, which refer to their 3,300 workers. Incidentally, they have factories in my district, and they have them in the territory of the distinguished majority leader. They say that in 5 years, if the President proceeds and reduces the tariff to the level it was prior to 1962 and the Kennedy round that was in effect, there will not be any glass industry supported by American St. Gobain.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. I commend the gentleman, and I hope that the bill will be passed by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. DENT. I thank the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, I should

like also to join my many colleagues in complimenting the very distinguished and able gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the subcommittee.

Perhaps as much so as any other Member of this body I am aware of the long hours and the exhaustive and patient study the gentleman has made of this subject. His subcommittee meets across the hall from my office. I know there has been no greater or more exhaustive study made by a subcommittee on any subject than has been made by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

I might say the same also of the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL], and the other members, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS], the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI]. I compliment and thank all of them.

I am deeply grateful to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania for his assurance here on the floor that he will help us in regard to the textile bill, which he so graciously cosponsored. As of the last count, a few moments ago, I believe some 167 Members of this body have introduced or cosponsored the bill.

I assure the gentleman—on behalf of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM], who is chairman of our textile group in the House, and myself and our group—we support him and we are grateful to him for his support of our industry and its more than 2,000,000 employees, so essential to defense.

I understand that the distinguished Governor from Michigan is down in South Carolina today, and was there yesterday. I might say to him, if I could, that the textile industry, which is trying to keep its head above water, is doing more to employ Negro people and to afford them an opportunity for equality and justice and job opportunity in the Southland than any other industry I know of.

Again I compliment and thank my great friend from Pennsylvania. I hope the bill, H.R. 478, will receive a unanimous vote.

Mr. DENT. I want to thank the gentleman for his very kind words, undeserved as they are.

There are 2 million employees in the textile industry, but if we take last year's textile imports and textile exports and strike a balance, we find that if there were not the bad balance in the textile trade instead of 2 million workers there would be 2,265,000 workers in that industry.

All the money Congress has spent since I have been a Member to create jobs has not even created a small portion of the 265,000 jobs lost in the one industry alone.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I rise in support of the bill.

I have a question. As the bill is written I understand it will be broad enough to include agricultural imports as well as industrial imports. Would the gentleman agree?

Mr. DENT. Agricultural imports were one of the most serious problems which came before our committee. For the first time, under my sponsorship—at times I worried about it very much, and still do—we imposed a wage not even up to the minimum we have for the other industries of the country.

Upon the imposition of that wage we lost the largest strawberry farm in the world out of Texas, because it just moved across to Mexico. We have already lost canteloup production to Mexico and watermelon production. We lost a tomato canning operation in Florida. They say that these are not important.

This is an astounding thing—50 percent of the men in this room today, 50 percent of the Members of Congress, 50 percent of the men in this Chamber today, are wearing suits, clothes, made from imported woolen textiles and worsteds. The same thing happened in the agricultural field in certain foodstuffs.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman has consumed 46 minutes.

Mr. DENT. I only have about 10 minutes left. I must yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON], a member of the subcommittee.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Chairman, I would like to join with those who have commended the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the highly respected chairman of our subcommittee, for his interest and efforts in this field.

I have a few questions that I would like to pose to the gentleman. The first of them is: Is it the gentleman's intention to give any of us on our side, who oppose this legislation, any time? As I understood the chairman, there would be at least 5 of the 60 minutes reserved for those of us on our side who have some reservations about this legislation.

Mr. DENT. I am sorry. I did not take all of the time. I took a great deal of it, but a great deal was taken by gentlemen who stood on the floor and asked me to yield to them. I did not know before they rose whether they would be for or against this. It is unfortunate that those who were against it were not here to take their share of the time. I understand that my time, except for about 7 or 8 minutes, is all gone.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. DENT. So at this time I would yield to the gentleman. I think if the gentleman takes a position in opposition to the bill that he must have time.

Mr. BURTON of California. I just have this one final question.

Mr. DENT. How much time is the gentleman asking?

Mr. BURTON of California. Five minutes.

Mr. DENT. That takes 5 of the 9, and I see a great number of our colleagues from the committee who are here.

Mr. BURTON of California. I have one final question. I listened to the general discussion on imports with interest and now would like to discuss the bill with the gentleman if I may. Am I correct in assuming that an interested party who applies to the Secretary of Labor can just not be any individual crank in the country but must represent an interest of some substance in terms of the interests involved directly in the industry and represent a substantial element in terms of the employee side of the industry?

Mr. DENT. The report clearly states that by interested parties we mean as follows:

> In this regard, the committee intends that an "interested party" reflect some substantial public interest. For example, an employer may properly request an investigation if he represents a significant proportion of the output of his sector of manufacturing, agriculture, or other productive activity. A community may do so by resolution of council, action of head of government, or authorized action of the governing body or head of any community organization which broadly reflects the interests of citizens in the community. Of course, the representative of any employee organization may also properly request an investigation.

We are allowing the broadest interpretation, and it is still not broad enough.

Mr. BURTON of California. It is not the intention of the managers of the bill to permit applications from those who represent nonsubstantial interests in the industry directly involved nor to permit the kind of applications to be submitted which would make it impossible for the Secretary of Labor to comply with a 4-month limitation on the hearings, investigation, and recommendation and findings?

Mr. DENT. Naturally not. As you will find in operation this legislation will give an opportunity to those who have a just grievance.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I support the enactment of H.R. 478. I express my appreciation to the distinguished chairman of the General Labor Subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], for their courage and determination in bringing to the floor of the House a bill which seeks to do justice to the long-neglected American workingman and woman employed by firms and industries whose products must compete in an import-ridden domestic market.

For many years members of this body whose constituents have been cruelly disturbed by low-wage, low-cost, unfair foreign competition have introduced bills and pleaded with the committees and the leadership of Congress for an opportunity to vote for a measure of general scope which would afford a chance for relief from the injurious effect of excessive imports. These efforts have been in vain. Under the closed rule procedure which has protected free trade legislation in this body many of us have been denied our constitutional prerogative to vote for measures designed to protect the interests of our constituents.

Now the tireless and courageous gentleman from Pennsylvania, after months of exhaustive hearings, has won the nearly unanimous approval of the Committee on Education and Labor, and an open rule from the hard-working Committee on Rules for the consideration of the measure which is before us for action today. The pending bill takes one small step forward to provide a forum for justice to the American workingman and woman whose jobs, income, prospects for the future, and country have been threatened with the disruptive effects of constantly mounting volumes of imports which afflict countless lines of commerce in this Nation.

Very simply, the measure requires the Secretary of Labor to study the adverse effects on American labor of imports produced under substandard conditions by foreign labor. This is little enough to ask. Nevertheless, we can anticipate strong and even violent opposition from the advocates of free trade. It is very disappointing to me that our own Department of State is so strongly enamored with the policy of free trade that we cannot even anticipate the support of that agency in our efforts to give some measure of needed protection to American workmen.

I cannot believe that those who seek free trade are completely blind to the facts. Let us say that they simply have failed to grasp what is happening to American industry because of the zeal with which they have pushed the cause of free trade. It is time for Congress to reclaim its responsibilities for the regulation of foreign commerce. For too long we have surrendered these responsibilities to the administration. It is also time for the President, acting upon congressional directive, to determine whether it is now necessary to take steps for the protection of the standards of living of American working men and women. I think those steps are necessary—even past due.

Mr. Chairman, let me in a few moments sketch the interest of my State and district in this problem. Florida is one of the principal producers of fruits and vegetables in the Nation. Our crop has a market value of about $750 million annually. In the first 6 months of 1967, imports of fruits and vegetables totaled $303 million, on an f.o.b. port of origin basis. On an annual basis, landed cost duty paid, these imports will exceed Florida's entire fruit vegetable crop. These imports are increasing each year and are a definite threat to the 120,000 Floridians who earn their livelihood on Florida's farms.

There are eight counties in my congressional district. There are 320 manufacturing establishments located in these counties. They employ nearly 20,000 of my constituents. Taking into account the average number of persons in each wage earner's family, these manufacturing plants directly support nearly 100,000 persons. Their payrolls and materials purchases circulate in the counties in my district and contribute to the livelihood of nearly 200,000 additional people. These manufacturing plants obviously support the standard of living of the majority of my constituents.

There are no less than 68 manufacturing industries, defined at the four-digit level of the "Standard Industrial Classification," represented in the 320 manufacturing establishments in my district. Statewide, these industries supply about 120,000 jobs for Floridians.

Because of the different classification systems that are used for compiling Government statistics on domestic employment and output in contrast to imports and exports, it is not possible to compare import and export trends with domestic activity for all industries. There are, however, 35 manufacturing industries with plants in my district for which import and export data can be correlated with domestic market data. Eighteen, or more than half of these industries, are experiencing a rate of growth of imports which exceeds that of their exports. Fourteen of these industries in my district have an absolute deficit in their balance of trade. The imports of these industries totaled $3.4 billion in 1966. Their exports totaled only seven-tenths of a billion dollars. The foreign trade deficit of these industries nationally was $2.7 billion. Using the administration's ratio of 100,000 jobs for every $1 billion of trade, this deficit represents a loss of 270,000 jobs in these industries on a national basis.

Let me give you a few examples of the disproportionate growth of imports in the manufacturing sectors of importance to my district and my State.

In meatpacking, imports in 1966 of $808 million, c.i.f. basis, were many times Florida's total output of meatpacking plants, which was of the order of less than $200 million. Nationally, the value of imports on a duty-paid, landed-cost basis exceeded 5 percent of apparent U.S. consumption. Furthermore, imports increased by 70 percent in 1966 compared with the average of 1958–60, while the domestic market grew by only 16 percent.

In canned and cured seafoods, imports of $117 million in 1966 were about 40 times the value of shipments of this industry in Florida. Nationally, imports were equal to about 26 percent of the U.S. market.

In the product categories of the output of sawmills and planing mills, imports in 1966 of $484 million were at least 15 times the total output in Florida. Imports were equal to 12 percent of the total U.S. market. Furthermore, imports rose by 27 percent but the domestic market by only 11 percent in 1966 compared with the average of 1958–60.

In veneer and plywood plants, imports in 1966 of $102 million were about 15 times Florida's output. While recently there has been some decline in these imports, veneer and plywood product imports still amounted to more than 6 percent of the total U.S. market in 1966.

In papermill products, imports in 1966 of $1 billion were enormously greater than the output of Florida's papermills, which was less than $100 million. Nationally imports accounted for 20 percent of the U.S. market. Further, imports rose by 36 percent in 1966 compared with the average of 1958–60, while the domestic market grew only 20 percent.

In manmade fibers, imports of $90 million in 1966 were equal to about one-third of Florida's output. We have two manmade fiber plants in my district, one being the largest nylon plant in the world. Nationally imports of manmade fiber in 1966 in all textile forms on a pound equivalent basis were equal to nearly 9 percent of domestic consumption. Imports rose by 141 percent, nearly double the rate of growth of the domestic market in 1966 compared with the average of 1958–60.

A great many bills have been introduced into the Congress for the imposition of import quotas on textile articles including manmade fibers and textile products of manmade fibers. The enactment of these bills is a necessity. My support of the pending bill should not be interpreted as any indication that the particular remedy set forth in H.R. 11578, H.R. 11582, and H.R. 11723 is not required. I do wish to make it clear, however, that on behalf of the workingmen and women in my district and State generally, I strongly favor the pending bill, H.R. 478, as an important step forward.

There is a primary nonferrous metal-mill in Santa Rosa County in my district. Imports of the products competitive with the output of this mill in 1966 totaled $522 million, up by 89 percent compared with the average of 1958–60. Nationally imports in 1966 accounted for 74 percent of the domestic market.

There is a paper industries machinery plant in Escambia County in my district. Imports of this machinery in 1966 totaled $33 million, up by a whopping 619 percent over the average of 1958–60, 12 times the rate of growth of the domestic market. Nationally imports of this machinery accounted for 8 percent of the domestic market in 1966.

Motors and generators are made in my district. In 1966, imports totaled $42 million, up 201 percent from the average of 1958–60, compared with the domestic market growth of only 37 percent.

Mr. Chairman, I have given these examples to illustrate the broad scale impact of the current sharply rising adverse import trends on my district and State. The job equivalent of the balance-of-trade deficit in the products of the industries represented by establishments in my district for which data are available is four times greater than total employment in the State of Florida in these industries.

The more rapid growth of imports than exports in many of these industries and the comparatively high and growing market penetration are danger signals for the stability of employment of the workingmen and women in my district and State.

Testimony presented to the General Labor Subcommittee, backed up by an impressive computer analysis of domestic employment, output, and foreign trade data of U.S. manufacturing industries, shows that when U.S. market penetration by imports exceeds 5 percent, the industry suffers a decline in its rate of growth in employment. The experience of the textile industry confirms the validity of this 5 percent benchmark.

Many of the industries in my district

are now subject to import penetration of the domestic market far exceeding this danger point. It is time for us to establish machinery to evaluate the impact of these import trends on the welfare of our citizens who are employed in manufacturing industries subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which puts a floor not only under wages, but under the operating expenses of manufacturing establishments also.

The pending bill would provide such machinery and give to the President power and discretion to take action carefully tailored to the needs of each situation so as to protect the standard of living of the workers from the harmful effects of excessive imports of goods made abroad under substandard labor conditions.

Mr. Chairman, I conclude my remarks by quoting from the testimony set forth in the committee's report at page 11:

> Under a system of just laws, how can we explain the freedom of persons who are not even citizens or residents of this country to ship goods into our markets with impunity when goods, produced here at home under identical conditions would, if shipped, subject the U.S. producer to criminal penalties?

Members of this body have long waited for its committee to face up to the problem of runaway import competition and its effects on jobs, earnings, and the standard of living of American workers. Now the General Labor Subcommittee and the full House Education and Labor Committee have had the initiative and wisdom to bring us the opportunity to support a modest step forward in dealing with these problems in the context of a sensible amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. I applaud the committee for its action and support the committee bill.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentlemen from California [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Chairman, it is always a pleasure to serve with our wonderful and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

However, it is obvious that within the short span of 3 minutes it is difficult to adequately express one's reservations about legislation that takes on the posture of the trade policies of our country.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation, as I understand it, if adopted, would impose entirely upon the Secretary of the Department of Labor burdens that are not now placed and should not be exclusively within his province. It ignores the real world, in my view, of a free trade policy, a policy that I support. The legislation is not at all clear in the regard that it delegates to the Chief Executive some additional authority, authority of unknown dimensions to do and perform certain unstated tasks with reference to any problem that may be brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Department of Labor.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the members of the Committee the fact that some of the provisions of this bill, in fact, may be impossible to administer. I would like to point out the fact that the underlying philosophy of the legislation appears to this one Member as a retreat from the free trade policies of our country. Mr. Chairman, I wonder to what extent, if this legislation is adopted, we have gone in extending an additional blank check to the executive department to implement whatever the findings may be of the Secretary of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentleman from California for yielding to me this additional time.

Mr. Chairman, this area is one that has properly concerned the American people, those interested in the welfare of all people and those interested in our economy.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that the chairman of this distinguished subcommittee, the manager of the bill, as well as the members thereof ought to be commended for the efforts that they have put forth to date. Time has been spent in studying this matter. I would submit that more time would be better spent and perhaps a wiser solution would be found if such time were spent directed toward a real solution of this problem.

Mr. Chairman, there are those who say that we have labored mightily and produced nothing. There are those who say we have labored mightily and have produced an ambiguous product.

I, for one, do not know the full meaning and intent of this legislation, and I say, rooted in my uncertainty, and despite my great affection for the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the subcommittee—I must urge the rejection of this proposal.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of California. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON] says he does not know the purpose of this bill. It is a very simple bill. It merely means that any aggrieved party in this country who realizes that foreign imports are cutting up his industry and are causing the unemployment of his people, can go to the Secretary of the Department of Labor and obtain a report from the Secretary as to the merits of his claim.

And if, indeed, the Secretary finds that their is a serious impact on the American industry it can recommend to the President, who then may take a series of steps for immediate relief.

Mr. Chairman, I believe this is historical legislation. There is nothing complicated about it. There are no gimmicks in this legislation, but it is going to give American industries an opportunity to voice their grievances at a place other than the Tariff Commission.

Mr. BURTON of California. I might say I do not agree with the understanding of the gentleman from Illinois as to who qualifies as an "interested party." It is my understanding after listening to the chairman of the subcommittee that his view and the gentleman from Illinois' view, as expressed by the gentleman, do not square.

I received the following letter from the Committee for a National Trade Policy, just today. The full text of the letter follows:

> COMMITTEE FOR A NATIONAL TRADE POLICY, INC.,
> *Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.*
>
> Hon. PHILLIP BURTON,
> *U.S. House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR CONGRESSMAN BURTON: We applaud your opposition to H.R. 478, the so-called "Dent bill" that would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act in such a way as to mislead and misguide the Congress, American labor, and all the American people as to how the United States should respond to the challenge of foreign competition.
>
> We regard the bill as irresponsible, and indeed an insult to the intelligence of the House of Representatives, the Congress and the American people. We do not employ this language lightly. We mean every word of it. We hope that you will take a forceful position against this bill when it reaches the House floor, and we hope that the House will recognize this bill for what it truly is—a measure that would turn back the clock, leading the American economy back beyond a point of no return we correctly decided to pass more than three decades ago when our current liberal trade policy was launched.
>
> The bill is bad economics and bad politics.
>
> It is bad economics because it sees in the wage gap between American standards and foreign standards a threat to the American competitive position. Every responsible, objective, truly professional assessment of this issue should have taught the Education and Labor Committee that the gap between American labor standards and foreign labor standards is a natural and logical expression of the differences that will always exist in a dynamic, expanding world economy between the American economy and the economies of foreign countries.
>
> The bill is bad politics because (a) it tends to give American labor and the American people the erroneous impression that the Congress, in enacting such a bill, would be giving enlightened, constructive attention to the problems that beset American industry and labor in a rapidly changing world; (b) it would clearly indicate to the rest of the world that the Congress of the United States still does not understand the fundamentals of international economics and international cooperation, and that therefore every country should take with a few grains of salt American declarations of dedication to freer trade and closer international cooperation; and (c) it would place an unreasonable burden on the Department of Labor for purposes that are clearly unsound in principle.
>
> The time has long since past for the Congress and each of its committees—indeed for every member of the House and the Senate—to face up constructively to whatever problems confront their constituents, including problems of foreign competition, and to assert enlightened leadership in finding enduring solutions to those problems in the interest of their constituents and of the nation as a whole.
>
> Please feel free to use this letter in any way you think appropriate in connection with Congressional attention to H.R. 478 or any other bill involving international trade.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> JOHN W. HIGHT,
> *Executive Director.*

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David J. Steinberg, Secretary & Chief Economist.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHERLE].

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this time to compliment the chairman of our committee, who has completed a very tedious and industrious job. The House should be deeply grateful for the amount of background and work he has contributed to this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478, amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 in order to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

As a member of the Subcommittee on General Labor, I have had the opportunity to participate in 3 months of hearings conducted during the 90th Congress. As as result of these hearings, I am convinced some new tool is needed to protect domestic industries from the harmful effects of foreign imports.

In the case of H.R. 478, we propose to do this by protecting workers and the wage earners from injury by imports produced under substandard working conditions.

One need not be an isolationist to support this bill. One need only to realize the preservation of the American standard of living insists that our agriculture, industry, and labor have adequate insurance against unfair foreign competition.

The Fair Labor Standards Act as it now stands contains severe restrictions, and is left almost entirely in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor. This law needs to be changed if the protection it is designed to give is to extend to these workers producing products which are subjected to serious competition from foreign imports.

Mr. Chairman, in support of H.R. 478 this afternoon I am going to restrict myself to the area of agricultural imports, but that is only one of the many areas covered by the testimony, which also covered such things as textiles, steel, glass, hardwoods, and many other items.

But, as a midwestern farmer, this is the area I know best. The United States is the second largest importer of agricultural commodities, and about one-half of these imports come in duty free. The position of the agricultural segment of our economy was not enhanced by the recent "sell out" at Geneva in the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations.

Not only are we heavy importers of agricultural commodities, but also our tax money is spent to improve the ability of foreign countries to export to the United States. Consider, for example, the situation in Mexico, which has large volumes of exports to the United States, including cotton, live cattle, beef, veal, pork, lamb, mutton, strawberries, and vegetables. Mexico has received agricultural assistance from AID, the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank.

In addition to volume, the timing on these imports is important. The committee received testimony to the effect that imports of agricultural products frequently arrive before the U.S. crops are ready for the market. This timing usually takes the bloom off the market. This same witness stated that high wages had increased costs above the competing price of Mexican produce, and that he was forced to consider a move either to Mexico or another industry. I think you will all agree that $1.54 is pretty cheap labor for an 8-hour day. But that is just what the going rate is in Mexico.

It seems appropriate to me that it should be the policy of our Government, except in those situations where we simply cannot efficiently produce a given product, to do whatever possible to encourage our domestic producers. But the attitude of at least some top Government officials is to the contrary.

For example, in industry—an American manufacturer, attempting to obtain assistance from the State Department, was given the following advice, and I quote from his statement:

> When I was in Washington last October, an official of the Agency for International Development, whom I had seen in order to try and find out what monies were given to my foreign competition, said he was sorry about my problem, and asked, "Would you be interested in locating a plant in an underdeveloped country in order to get cheaper labor? If so, the American Government would finance you." This was *his* answer to *my* problem.

Now that does not make too much sense does it?

We have an abundance of skilled American labor and yet our State Department has offered this manufacturer the opportunity to be financed by the taxpayer and move to a foreign country.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman and I can agree that this legislation is designed to bring relief to the very people the gentleman has so well described here.

There is no question but that the author of this bill should have inscribed as an epitaph, "He saved America from the tyranny of the U.S. Tariff Office," because there is no question but that the Tariff Commission carries two hats. On the one hand, they set the tariffs and then under title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 when there is machinery to bring relief to the very people that the gentleman is talking about, the Tariff Commission refuses to give this relief because the moment they do that they would admit that they were wrong in setting the quotas and the tariffs.

So this act does give that aggrieved party that the gentleman has so eloquently described another place to go to get relief.

Mr. SCHERLE. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman has brought up an excellent point.

Mr. SCHERLE. I appreciate the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois.

This same manufacturer was informed by State Department officials that diplomacy and relations with foreign countries are more important than a small industry as a whole, and naturally even more so than one small company.

This does not make much sense does it?

In agriculture, dairy imports are taking over our domestic markets in rapidly increasing volume. The effect of this is to take away the outlets for substantial volumes of domestically produced butterfat and to keep domestic farm prices from rising above the price support floor. This is forcing our dairy farmers to leave their farms and seek employment in the cities, thus adding to the labor force.

Dairy imports also are displacing dairy products which otherwise would be manufactured in the United States with the result that employment in our domestic dairy plants is adversely affected. This reduced domestic production of milk caused by imports results in reduced purchases by farmers of farm machinery and equipment. Reduced prices paid farmers for milk brought about by imports results in less purchasing power to this all important segment of our economy. Both of these factors, in turn, mean that dairy farmers will be unable to buy the volume of goods, produced by American labor which they otherwise would require.

The problem which confronts us with respect to imports is, of course, the very substantial differences that exist between world prices and our domestic prices.

This cannot be shrugged off by saying that our domestic prices should be lower. Dairy prices are under a Government program designed to prevent disastrously low levels to American producers. Even at the current support level, dairy prices are substantially below the level needed to provide a fair return to dairy farmers as measured in terms of parity.

The recent sharp decline in milk production should be ample proof that domestic prices cannot be lowered to compete with imports if adequate supplies are to be produced in this country. Domestic prices cannot be reduced to world price levels if the dairy industry in the United States is to survive. Domestic production of adequate supplies of milk and dairy products is necessary to the national security, because we simply do not dare to rely on overseas sources of supplies for these essential foods in times of emergency. Furthermore, the dairy industry is much too important a segment of our total economy to be sacrificed without serious adverse effects on the whole economic welfare of the Nation.

Consider also the meat import situation. While the Meat Import Act of 1964 puts a ceiling on imports, these limits were a result of compromise which has considerably limited its effectiveness.

Importers argue that were it not for imports of beef, veal and mutton, sausage manufacturers and others engaged in the processing field would not be able to keep their labor force busy. These claims simply do not square with the facts.

The aspect of meat imports that is most often ignored is that when a product such as lean boneless beef from Australia, comes into the United States and is consumed here, it already has labor built into it. A 60-pound frozen block of meat arrives, ready to be put in a grinding machine. Thus, those who are employed in slaughtering plants and boning operations do not get the benefit of such original labor.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, it takes 4 man-hours to produce 100 pounds of live beef animal on the farm or ranch. In 1963 alone, 7½ million man-hours of U.S. labor were lost due to imports in beef cattle production alone.

According to information from those close to the meatpacking business, it takes one man approximately 1 hour to dress out one animal. Again looking at 1963, these imports represented a loss of about 3½ million man-hours in the slaughtering process. Thus, we have a loss of 10½ million man-hours in production and processing alone. These figures do not take into account the number of allied businesses involved in the raising, marketing, and transportation field, where additional millions of working man-hours are involved.

Excessive imports reduce the economic incentive in beef production. Both the working force and the consumer suffer.

Gentlemen, the farmer is in a deadly cost-price squeeze. There is no question but that part of this problem results from unfair foreign competition.

From 1 year ago, hog prices are down from 25 to 30 percent, beef cattle down 10½ percent, lambs down 20 percent, and chickens down 18 percent. The parity ratic hovers between 72 and 74 percent, and can be expected to drop even lower as production costs continue to rise. Farm debt increased 4.2 billion in 1966. Total beef and veal imports were up 27 percent in 1966 over the previous year; meat under the Meat Import Act—Public Law 88-482—was up 34 percent; pork imports were up 14 percent; lamb imports up 19 percent; mutton imports up 102 percent.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I bear glad witness of knowledge of the subject of agriculture presented by the gentleman from Iowa. I come from Minnesota, from an agriculture area. There is a crisis in rural America today, part of it causing the crisis in the metropolitan areas. In Minnesota today, in my district, thousands of dairy farm factories have been closed because of imports. The same thing is happening to our livestock and the beef industry.

My district is one of the main mink farming areas in America. They are under a severe handicap. They are being driven out of business by mink imports.

It is also a honey-producing area, and while this may not be a major product, yet in America it is important, and honey imports are ruining our American producers.

I am convinced in my time here that we have people in the administration, especially in the Office of the Secretary of State, who are much more concerned with the development of other areas of the world than they are concerned with our own people in America.

I have introduced, Mr. Chairman, a textile bill. I am very concerned about that. I am concerned about steel, also. But I am basically concerned about agriculture. One of the major problems on the farm is the tremendous import of agricultural products, and try as we might—and we have—we have been unable to move at all in Washington in this area.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his fine contribution.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota for his contribution. Mr. Zwach is one of the finest, most knowledgeable, and learned men in the House.

It was reported to our committee that the ingredients of ice cream sold in this country are being imported from countries such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, and Denmark, and that the volume is on the increase. There are strong indications that sugar and butterfat contained in the imported ice cream mixes may come, in a large part, from Cuba and countries behind the Iron Curtain. There they are produced by the equivalent of slave labor. The cheap slave labor that goes into preparing these products is in direct competition with our farmers and process plant workers in this country.

Free trade advocates generally support the legislative enactments which have brought American wages to their high and vulnerable level. Now they blame industry for its inability to carry this handicap in competition with foreign countries where the same wage and hour legislation does not apply and to which it does not extend.

It appears to me that high Government officials would seem willing to wreck industry after industry and then have the Government pick up the pieces through some form of adjustment assistance. This attitude was very well expressed by one of our witnesses when he said:

> If an American industry is efficient, it has nothing to worry about from imports. If imports do cause trouble, the domestic industry must be inefficient and deserves the trouble it is in. In other words, the domestic industry is damned either way. On the other hand, if a foreign industry is inefficient, it needs a greater outlet in this country to help it move ahead.

The legislation here proposed would aid in giving much-needed relief where substandard wages and working conditions places a competing import in a position to impair seriously the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States.

We need this legislation, and I urge its adoption.

We have played "Mother Hen" to the nations of the world, Mr. Chairman, since World War II. We have implemented the Marshall plan, we have implemented the program of lend-lease, and we have taught these nations of the world to be self-sufficient and self-sustaining. I think this is excellent. It served its purpose. However, because of the technological advances that have taken place in these countries to the extent that many have become "export nations" it is the responsibility and the obligation of this country to make sure that our industries and the economy of this country are protected.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Missiouri.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, as was brought out earlier in my colloquy with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania there are few Members of Congress who do not support the basic position that free trade is the best policy for our Nation. The elementary principle, that if the United States can best manufacture automobiles and country X can more efficiently and economically produce bicycles, the United States should manufacture and sell country X automobiles while country X manufactures and sells bicycles to the United States cannot seriously be disputed. Both countries will benefit by such intercourse. Unfortunately, however, free trade too often has been interpreted by many nations with whom we do business as a one-way street. Our markets have been relatively free while theirs have been restricted.

The report of the Committee on Education and Labor points up a very alarming trend that has developed in recent years. Our exports have been increasing but simultaneously imports have been increasing at a much higher rate. Today, if foreign aid shipments were deducted from our exports and imports were valued at a price including freight, shipping charges and marine insurance, it would appear that the United States has a deficit trade balance. American producers are finding it exceedingly difficult to compete with importations produced at substantially lower costs due to wage differentials. Our productivity is usually higher but our higher wage rate, often exceeding the wages paid by their foreign competitors as much as three or four times, result in a higher unit cost. In those industries where labor is a substantial part of the cost of the finished product, our producers find it almost impossible to compete. The wage differential is too great. Our foreign competitors are now in possession of modern, efficient, and productive plants and this factor coupled with lower wage rates has resulted in a serious impairment of many American producers.

My own district is a major producer of plate glass, float glass, and shoes. The importation of plate and float glass increased several million dollars in 1966 over 1965 and is now being imported in 1967 at a rate 40 percent higher than 1966.

Many of the small towns in my district depend upon shoe manufacturing as a major source of income. The shoe industry has been seriously damaged by imports which grow larger and larger each year. Imports are underselling domestically produced shoes because of the low-priced labor with which the goods are produced. The American worker engaged in leather footwear manufacturing receives a wage of about $2.33 an hour including his fringe benefits. This is in contrast to the Japanese worker who makes about 65 cents an hour and the Italian wage earner who receives 85 cents an hour. Both wage rates would be illegal in the United States under our minimum wage laws.

Imports have soared dramatically during the past decade. In 1955 only 8 million pairs of shoes were imported. Last year there were 132 million pairs of shoes imported into the United States, a 1,500-percent increase in 11 years and the end of the increase does not appear to be in sight. For the first 5 months of this year, imports were running at a rate of about one-fourth of domestic production.

Mr. Chairman, I must confess that I have serious reservations concerning the effectiveness of H.R. 478 but the least we can do is to make public the unfair competition due to outrageously low wages paid by certain foreign competitors. The publicity alone should operate to cause the executive to take the appropriate and necessary action.

Most of the Members of this body voted for our mimimum wage standards which have been increased twice in recent years, but how many workers will there be to receive these wages if we continue to sacrifice many of our older industries because of the high proportion of labor cost involved in the finished product. The shoe industry is certain to disappear as a major American industry if the present trend continues.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Chairman, one of the most important, but perhaps most unheralded pieces of legislation that will come before us in this session is the bill currently under discussion, H.R. 478, establishing procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas. This bill will, if passed by both Houses, have as important an effect on our future trade relations as any trade act or trade agreement presently in existence. In fact, I view this bill as a radical but necessary departure from our trade philosophy so fervently espoused by our current administration.

Up to now we have taken giant steps in reducing tariffs and other trade barriers that might inhibit other nations from exporting to us. In the light of what we did in cutting our tariffs under the latest Kennedy round of negotiations at Geneva, it is evident that we have been somewhat naive in our expectations that other nations will give us reciprocal concessions comparable to our relaxation of trade barriers.

For the last 33 years we have followed an unswerving policy of repeatedly cutting our tariffs to such an extent that by now we are not far from being on a free trade basis. By the Trade Agreement Act of 1934, by its subsequent renewals with additional cuts, and by the Trade Extension Act of 1962, and now in the Kennedy round, we have literally cut the fat out of our tariffs. In fact, the barest minimum of customs duties that exist on practically all strategic imports do not deter our trading partners and our competitors from pushing their goods on our market shelves.

For a decade after the last war, we were the reservoir for merchandise for the free world; our industries supplied the backed-up needs of our friends; our foreign aid programs rehabilitated their ravaged lands and encouraged the rebuilding of their industries. As these nations began to prosper, our slogan became "Trade, Not Aid." However, as foreign nations achieved viable economies, we began to feel a growing hindrance against our hoped-for freer interchange of goods. Most of our friends have raised visible and invisible barriers against our competitive products. From country to country these newer barriers vary from import taxes, to turnover taxes, to use taxes, to exchange levies, to horsepower duties, to crop years, to mixing regulations, to workers' fringe benefits, to percentages of home markets, to—you name it—and some country has that type of duty, tax, or barrier. From a seemingly insatiable demand for our goods, we have arrived at a position where we have to fight to get a fair share of world markets, often at the expense of giving excessive concessions.

What has happened here at home in the meantime? We here in Congress have consistently felt that the American laboring man is the backbone of our economic life, hence, beginning with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and its subsequent amendments, we have instituted safeguards which will insure a prosperous way of life for him and his family. We have instituted minimum standards as to his weekly hours of labor, his compensation, his overtime wages, his fringe benefits and his labor contracts. We instituted penalties under that act by which we controlled the commerce between our States and the conditions of fair competition. Nowhere in these United States do we allow sweatshop procedures, low wages or unfair hours to give a competitor an unfair advantage over another.

We went even further. We protected certain basic agricultural products with subsidy programs and refused to allow like foreign products to compete on an injurious basis by setting up quotas on their imports. We also have an antidumping law, a Buy-American Act, and a specific "adjustment assistance" program to help industries and workers hurt by excessive imports if injury is caused by a tariff concession.

One would think that these safeguards would be sufficient. Regrettably, they have proved not to be sufficient.

I noted the trade barriers raised by other countries. I noted our successive cuts in tariffs. I noted our so-called safeguards for some industries and products. What I did not note was the fact that no matter how many injury complaints were made by industries or labor groups to the Tariff Commission, not one instance since 1962 can be mentioned where adjustment assistance has been rendered an industry as a whole or where workers have been protected against injury caused by excessive imports.

That is why I think the time is ripe for Congress to do something tangible for the American working man—particularly those whose livelihood is being threatened by excessive imports. And here is the crux of the matter. The imports that are hurting our laboring man the most are those imports which are produced in foreign countries under conditions we have eliminated here at home under our Fair Labor Standards Act. We do not tolerate them here at home and have invoked penalties on those who break the rules. Yet we allow our markets to be swamped by goods produced under conditions intolerable here at home. In many countries, wages are less than one-tenth of those we pay our working men, yet we allow such items, produced in low-wage countries, to displace competitive items here at home. This is particularly true of those commodities whose cost depends on a high percentage of labor.

H.R. 478, introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], places the responsibility on our Secretary of Labor to safeguard the welfare of our workingman. If he finds that imported commodities threaten the jobs or job security of Americans, because of foreign low-wage costs, then he has to recommend to the President an equalizing factor. This factor may be increased duties or quotas. In the interest of our working men, I support this new safeguard enunciated in H.R. 478 and will vote for passage of this bill.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill. I commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from Iowa, and all those on the committee who have worked so long and hard on this bill, and say I feel this is probably one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the House, at this session of the Congress.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding and urge all of my colleagues to support and vote for this highly important measure.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR].

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, for years American industry and labor have made a gallant try at holding onto domestic consumers and remaining competitive in world markets. Both supported American policy of assisting in the rebuilding of plants in Europe and Japan. Both acceded to the experimentations of trade policies that were envisioned as a mutually advantageous avenue of exchange between the United States and foreign countries.

Now our industries are running into trouble. Not only are the Nation's producers rapidly losing markets abroad, but serious inroads are being made by alien shippers on our domestic markets. While insisting that our doors be opened wide to the production of manufacturers and processors the world over, the State Department has failed to demand equitable treatment for American exporters, who find opportunities for overseas sales closed by such devices as border taxes, surcharges, import licenses, and so-called equalization taxes.

In the last Congress, I presented a documented study on the restrictions imposed by other countries on equipment and supplies to be used for public works projects. Many industries, such as steel, glass, leather goods, machine tools, and coal, are faced with the same roadblocks regardless of whether the material is for public or private use.

In consequence of this condition, plus the fact that employees elsewhere receive only a small fraction of wages and benefits enjoyed here, imports into this country have risen by 1,000 percent while our exports have suffered a 65-percent decline. Whether or not the State Department can recognize this reversal as a danger to basic American industries is questionable, so Congress must resolve to take the firm stand from which it never should have receded when the program to open our markets to the rest of the world without reasonable compensatory considerations was conceived and put into practice.

Otherwise a substantial part of the Nation's economic structure stands in danger of a violent setback as a consequence of the State Department's unrealistic trade program.

Preemption of our markets by foreign producers poses the most serious economic threat yet advanced by the trade program. Unless Congress acts to provide protection against increasing shipments from abroad, any serious drop in the current high rate of demand will continue to cause job losses throughout our communities. The impact will be felt in other areas whose industries are allied with those I mention.

Perhaps it would be wise for Congress to establish an "American" desk in the State Department to look out for the best interests of this country.

I support H.R. 478 in its entirety.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding.

I rise in support of this legislation, but, as we pointed out when we were discussing the rule on this bill, I think we would be less than fair if we tried to project the impression here that this is an adequate solution to the problem of imports. I see the able chairman of the subcommittee, and I daresay without fear of contradiction that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is more knowledgeable in this particular field than any Member on this floor. I would go so far as to say he is probably more knowledgeable than anyone in the administration, and perhaps if they had a degree of his knowledge on this problem, we would not be wrestling with it at this time on the floor of the House. Something would have already been done to protect our domestic industries.

I noticed a moment ago the gentleman was nodding his head in agreement that passage of this bill would not be the answer to the foreign import problem.

I am an eternal optimist. I believe firmly after the passage of this bill there will be immediate hearings conducted by the Secretary of Labor. Of course, we all know that under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, I believe section 4(e), there are the same provisions for hearings to be held by the Secretary of Labor. As best we can ascertain, there have never been such hearings, or perhaps only one, but there was never further action with reference to that particular matter. I am sure we will have hearings.

The thing which really disturbs me is what will happen after that. I am sure the Secretary of Labor will be able to find conclusively that foreign imports are having an adverse effect and serious economic impact upon local communities and many industries, particularly textiles, but I wonder what will happen next. The legislation provides that the President "may" take action following the recommendation of the Secretary of Labor. I wish the presidential action were mandatory.

I hope that the President will get the message here today as we will pass this bill overwhelmingly, without even a dissenting vote. Perhaps I am too much of an optimist in saying that. I hope the President and the administration and the State Department will get the message that we as representatives of the people are concerned about domestic industries.

We have spent thousands and thousands of American lives trying to help other countries. We have spent $130 billion plus trying to help other countries, since the advent of the Marshall plan. Is it not about time to do a little something to help local domestic industries?

We down home feel the impact primarily in textiles, but I can assure the Members that just as strongly as I support textiles and will try to protect them against cheap foreign imports, I shall fight for my friend from Iowa and for the other Members, in the protection of agricultural products, lumber, and the other industries adversely affected. Frankly, I believe that all our industries are being hurt by cheap imports.

It is a serious problem down home. We have had 20 percent of our textile employees lose their jobs. It is pretty tough to have a textile worker come to you to say, "Why not do something about it? Here I have lost my job because of foreign imports primarily from Japan. I cannot understand it. Just a few years ago I was over there fighting the Japanese, and now I have lost my job because of cheap Japanese imports."

It is hard to give an intelligent or at least an acceptable answer.

I commend the chairman and the members of the subcommittee for moving in the right direction. It is not a solution, frankly, but it is a step toward a solution or at least public airing of the problem. That is why I am happy to see the chairman of the subcommittee and other members, including myself—I believe the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] said 167—have already introduced bills with reference to quantitative controls on textiles.

I hope we will broaden that to include other industries particularly affected by foreign imports. We have to put some teeth in this proposition. It is too permissive.

Others say, "I hope you have got meat in this particular bill." I am sure that meat and every other commodity is covered but unfortunately it has little backbone. At the same time, I fear that unless the President will take positive action—and hope springs eternal in that respect—we will have to be back on this floor wrestling with this matter seeking a solution.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WATSON. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is absolutely right. This is not a panacea for all of our problems, but it is a giant step forward, because it will give us an opportunity to air our problems before another agency other than the Tariff Commission.

We can all agree that the Tariff Commission has been totally and completely oblivious to the problems of American industry and agriculture in the field of foreign imports.

As the second ranking member of the subcommittee which has written this legislation and as a cosponsor of this bill, I have heard witness after witness testify how foreign imports are hurting our economy.

In Chicago alone, we have seen our electronic industry, steel, leather goods, the meat industry, and many others seriously affected by foreign competition made possible by cheap labor in other countries. These fine Chicago companies have been seriously hurt by foreign competition. This legislation will make it possible for these companies to bring out into the open the extent of their damage.

It is my hope that Congress will approve my bill to provide judicial review for decisions of the Tariff Commission. But until that is done, this bill will go a long way toward helping American industry.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. WATSON. I thank the gentleman. I yield once again to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. There is no question. We have a crisis. If Members will look at the record of testimony before our subcommittee they will see there is a crisis in this country because of foreign imports right across the board in practically every single industry.

The other day in the Chicago Tribune there was a long article about how American industry is today complaining as to what is happening because of foreign imports. What this legislation will do is give us an opportunity through the Office of the Secretary of Labor to bring out into the open the facts that the Tariff Commission refuses to face up to.

Once we get those facts out before an official body, of course, then the pressures will have to come from the President and all other interested parties finally to do something about it. However, I say to the gentleman that the ultimate answer is a revision of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to give aggrieved parties judicial review over the arbitrary decisions of the Tariff Commission.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY].

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, before saying anything further today, I want to pay my respects to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT]. To me his convictions as to proper trade policies are about the closest to wisdom that I have found in this House. He, like many of us, I think, appreciates fully that exchange of surplus goods between nations is common gain, but he, like many of us, recognizes that you do not build up our neighbors abroad by breaking down our own industries here in America.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 478 which would establish a procedure whereby the Secretary of Labor would investigate to determine if a particular product or related group of products are being imported into the United States under such circumstances as to undermine domestic industries by impairing the general well-being of any group of workers in the United States or the economic welfare of the community.

My deepest concern in this matter, Mr. Chairman, is over increasing imports of fish products. The State Legislatures of Washington, Oregon, California, and Rhode Island have memorialized the Congress to do something about the deplorable situation of the steady increase in the importation of bottom fish, which has caused a marked depression in the ground fishing industry of the United States.

The President has the power under section 351 of the Trade Expansion Act to raise tariffs, but unfortunately the voice of the fishermen is not listened to in the White House; and, likewise, I call attention to the fact that since the passage of the Trade Expansion Act and the lowering of tariffs, as the report on H.R. 478 shows, 18 pleas for relief have been made to the Tariff Commission, but all have been denied. So, the existing procedure to protect the American high standard of living does not work.

Mr. Chairman, about 15 years ago the bottom fishermen were supplying 62.9 percent of the U.S. bottom fish, such as halibut, consumed in this country; last year that percentage dropped to only 19.2 percent, while consumption rose.

This is what lowering and eliminating tariffs has done to our fishermen.

If this bill does no more, Mr. Chairman, it would provide the mechanism by which citizens who believe they have been injured by imports can have their grievances analyzed, and, if valid, acted upon.

In that event, the President would be empowered to take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, but more than that, since the President already has that power, it would give the public the facts. Thereby the President would be encouraged to take some action in the interest of American workers. Furthermore, in the past industry has been able to seek relief. This bill would give labor the same right.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN].

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. Having introduced companion legislation and having testified before the committee on behalf of this pending bill, and upon several occasions having joined in efforts on the floor of the House directed toward the ultimate passage of legislation similar to this, I wish to congratulate the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], as well as the members of the subcommittee and the full committee for bringing this bill to the floor and urge passage.

Mr. Chairman, in recent years the rapid increase in foreign imports which have flooded the American market with products at prices which cannot be met by our domestic industries has reached the point where it threatens important segments of our national economy and the welfare of American workers in such industries.

We in the United States take just pride in our economic growth, in the productive capacity of our industries, and in the high living standards of our American workers. The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed to establish minimum wages and maximum hours in domestic industry. But no safeguards were included to protect our domestic industry and American workers from foreign products imported at low cost because of a foreign cost advantage of vastly lower wages and longer working periods without the necessity for payments of overtime compensation.

H.R. 478 provides a specific procedure for investigation to identify sectors of employment and communities whose welfare and standards of living are being impaired or threatened with impairment by excessive imports of goods produced abroad under substandard labor conditions. It empowers the President to remove by import regulation the detriment found by the Secretary of Labor to be a cause or threat to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of the affected workers.

Foreign imports are today a real and serious threat to the continued economic stability of a number of our major industries—and to the employment security of those employed by these industries.

The steel industry, with allied industries producing steel products, and the textile industry are two of the many major American industries contributing to our national economy which are feeling the effects of a flood of imported items in the domestic market which can be sold at a lower price than American-made products because of lower manufacturing costs abroad.

The city of Birmingham, Ala., which I have the privilege to represent in the Congress, is one of the large steel-producing centers of the Nation.

Also, my State of Alabama is one in which textile employment constitutes about 29 percent of the total manufacturing employment.

The record of imports and their effect in these two industries is worthy of review, in this consideration of the effect of imports on American employment.

Foreign steel production began its upward surge following the end of World War II. During the 4 years of war, American steelmaking facilities had been operating on an around-the-clock basis. Following the war, the American steel industry cooperated fully with the U.S. Government in the task of rebuilding overseas. Millions of tons of steel products were shipped overseas, including structural steel and machinery and other equipment necessary to build modern steelmaking plants.

Thus, while the American steel industry was still in the process of recovering from the drain upon its resources resulting from World War II and the reconstruction abroad, there were fully modern steelmaking plants being constructed overseas, in great part financed by the United States and built with the output of American mills.

In a special report on steel in Business Week of June 1966, it was pointed out that since 1947 the United States had shifted from a net exporter, with an annual export surplus in steel mill products of 6 million tons, to a net importer.

While the United States had net steel exports of about 4 million tons in 1957, by 1965 this had been replaced by net steel imports of 8 million tons. On balance, the total loss to foreign steel amounted to 12 million tons.

Today, U.S. output is 26 percent of world output compared to 57 percent in 1947.

At the same time, I should add, the 1965 record production of 131 million tons was nearly equal to total world production in 1947.

The following figures have been quoted to illustrate the dramatic rise in steel importation: In 1955, imports of foreign-made steel into the U.S. market were 1.2 percent; in 1958, 2.9 percent; 1959, 6.1 percent; 1963, 6.9 percent; in 1964, 7.3 percent; and in 1965, it reached 10.3 percent of the market.

Figures obtained from the U.S. Department of Commerce by the American Iron & Steel Institute afford a further example, that of pig iron importations.

Pig iron imported in 1965, 882,000 tons plus; in 1966, 1,183,656 tons. Exported in 1965 were 28,225 tons; exported in 1966 only 12,122 tons.

Thus, the value imported in 1965 was $38,437,579; in 1966, $45,903,000, as compared to export figures of only $1,665,418 in 1965 and $731,000 in 1966.

This shows a total dollar drain in the United States of $81,944,161 in the 2 years 1965 and 1966 on pig iron alone, which represents a small segment of our economy. It also shows a 22.8-percent increase in this dollar drain in 1966 over 1965 for pig iron. For both iron and steel products, the difference in the value of imports over exports in 1966 as reported, was $758,154,000 versus $591,760,611 in 1965, or an increase in the dollar drain of $1,166,393,389.

This cost to the United States represents a further deterioration in the merchant iron industry in this country with its consequent effect on the job security of its employees.

Also, as a matter worth noting, 33 percent of the total pig iron imported in 1966 came from behind the Iron Curtain.

In the textile industry, the increase in imports has had an adverse effect. It is reported that textile imports in 1966 reached the level of 2.8 billion equivalent square yards. This level of imports amounts to some 10 percent of the total U.S. textile market and is displacing the equivalent of some 198,681 potential American textile jobs with an annual payroll of $949,099,137.

In Jefferson County, Ala., there are some 1,500 people employed by the textile and apparel industries. These two industries account for 82,200 employees throughout Alabama.

In recent testimony before the Special Labor Subcommittee, textile industry spokesmen said that 2.8 billion square yards of textile imports in 1966 displaced the equivalent of 200,000 jobs in the textile and apparel industries. Alabama accounts for some 3.5 percent of the national employment in these two industries, which means that the 1966 level of imports is displacing the equivalent of 7,000 textile and apparel jobs in Alabama. This means, in effect, that more than $30 million is being taken out of the economy of Alabama by textile imports. According to normal spending patterns such workers would spend, in Alabama $7.7 million for food, $9.2 million for housing, $2.9 million for clothing, $3.8 million for transportation, $1.7 million for medical care and drugs, $1.6 million for recreation, more than $1 million for personal care and miscellaneous expenses, and $2.5 million in local, State, and Federal taxes.

In reviewing the employment impact which imports could have on the steel industry, it has been estimated that had the 10½ million tons of finished steel mill products shipped into the United States from abroad—about one-ninth of the total domestic market—been made in the United States, it could have meant over 70,000 additional jobs in the steel industry. And if the employment impact in steel supporting industries such as mining, manufacturers supplying the steel industry, transportation, and so forth, were considered, the job total could amount to over 130,000.

The American steel and textile workers, along with all Americans, have with the taxes they have paid to their Government helped to subsidize their foreign competition through our foreign aid program. That competition is now thriving, is using in many instances—by our standards—substandard, low-cost labor, and is competing with our workers who ought to continue to receive wages that are commensurate with what people working in the most prosperous great nation in the world has yet known should receive. This consequently constitutes both strong and unfair foreign competition.

Certainly, at the very least the American worker is entitled to some protection from the consequences of our Government's use of his own tax dollars.

American exports face protectionist levies in the foreign market. As an example, in spite of the imbalance in steel exports and imports, a net ton of standard two-inch butt-welded steel pipe shipped from the United States to France, in addition to French duties, accumulates stamp taxes and transactions taxes, all of which amount to $101.97, while a similar shipment from France to the United States is assessed only $6—the U.S. duty. That is $6 against $101.97.

As another example of how foreign countries have protected their home markets by erecting nontariff barriers that do not exist in the United States—and again taking steel as an example—a ton of common specification, commercial quality, cold rolled, autobody sheets when imported into the United States from Germany pays a duty of $10.59.

But an identical shipment of these sheets, going from the United States to Germany would be subject to levies and taxes amounting to $33.73—going in the other direction from the United States to Germany.

At the same time, low wage rates further hamper the efforts of American industry to compete with foreign imports on the domestic market.

Using the textile industry as an example, the average hourly earnings compare in the textile industries of the world, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, as follows:

Country:	*Hourly rate*
United States	$2.02
West Germany	.96
Belgium	.80
France	.63
Italy	.55
Spain	.44
Portugal	.19
Netherlands	.75
Colombia	.21
Mexico (weavers)	.55
Japan	.39
Hong Kong (weavers)	.29
Singapore (weavers)	.17
Taiwan (weavers)	.14

Last December, the Department of Commerce reported that imports had reached 3.6 percent of our country's gross national product, as compared to about 3 percent a year ago, and were likely to total $25.5 billion by year's end, up nearly one-fifth from 1965.

If the rise in imports continues, American industry will lose its opportunity for expansion because of foreign competition, not only in the world markets, but on the domestic market as well. This can only result in a continued decline in employment in American industries, and the loss of jobs of American workers, working in American factories, unless protection is provided.

H.R. 478 is a legislative step forward toward import regulation for the protection of American workers whose economic welfare may be threatened by the flood of foreign products, and I urge its passage today.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Whalen].

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Chairman, at the very outset, I would like to commend the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent] for this study. I have read with a great deal of interest the 122 pages contained in the committee report. Certainly, this report evidences a considerable effort upon the part of the gentleman from Pennsylvania as well by the members of the subcommittee chaired by the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, it is therefore with a great deal of regret that I rise in opposition to H.R. 478.

Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania has pointed out, this bill is not, per se, a tariff bill. In other words, the passage of this measure would not automatically impose a tariff. However, I believe the objective of H.R. 478 is very clearly stated on page 2 of the committee report which points out that it is the purpose of the bill to regulate the importation of goods into this country.

Now, certainly, I believe this is a regression from the philosophy expressed by this body in 1962. It is my further belief, as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Pucinski] has pointed out, while this bill is directed toward those industries which may be unfavorably affected by imports, we must recognize that there is another side of the coin.

Mr. Chairman, I am concerned here

today about those industries in our country that are engaged in the exportation of goods.

Mr. Chairman, we must recognize the fact that through the first quarter of this year, 1967, exportation of merchandise—nonmilitary items—amounted to an annual rate of $30.7 billion; whereas, imports were $27.7 billion.

Therefore, it is evident during the first quarter of this year that we have an export balance.

The Members of this body recall what happened in 1962 when our Government increased the tariff on carpets and glass, and when the Common Market responded with an increase on tariffs on plastics and chemicals.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, it is evident that if the provisions of the bill are carried out and if tariffs are imposed and imports are regulated, certainly other countries which will be affected will respond in kind. In other words, Mr. Chairman, a tariff or import regulation begets a tariff or import regulation.

Such action would, of course, reflect unfavorably upon those American industries which are presently exporting. Obviously, the workers employed by these industries and those who have invested in these industries are going to be most adversely affected.

So, Mr. Chairman, there are two sides involved in the consideration of this question. I only hope that in casting our vote we will keep in mind the potential damage to our export industries which would result from passage of H.R. 478.

Mr. Chairman, it is for this reason that I oppose the bill.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I wonder if the gentleman and I can reach some agreement on the statement he made with reference to import-exports. There is no question we have in terms of dollar volume a favorable balance of trade, but when you reduce this to man-hours displaced—because we export raw materials, we export a great deal, for instance, of junk steel and various other things, huge machinery, big machinery, but we import finished products such as radios and various other products—and Mr. Gross of the Admiral Radio Corp. recently made a study to see how many man-hours foreign electronic imports have displaced in America and how many jobs they have eliminated, and the figure was staggering. I do not remember the figure exactly right now, but I can get it.

It seems to me the time has come, therefore, for us to look at this balance of trade in the terms of man-hours instead of dollar volume, because I believe dollar volume is misleading.

Would the gentleman care to comment on that?

Mr. WHALEN. Let me comment on that. I believe this gets into the broad area of international trade, and we have to recognize that in the United States we are a capital-intensive country, and in those areas certainly we enjoy an advantage in trade.

On the other hand, where we are labor-intensive, admittedly due to our high wage rates, we here in the United States do have a disadvantage, but I believe we have to recognize that you cannot have both.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHALEN. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman for his statement. I believe this is unwise and unsound legislation, and the results of it, if it is enacted into law, will be a step backward in protectionism and will rise to haunt us.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the gentleman for what he said, and to join with him in his remarks.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROBISON].

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include tables.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that I believe the gentleman who was just in the well is concerned about the adverse effect that this change might have on the export business of the United States. I would say that in the areas where labor might be adversely affected by a reduction in American exports the affected parties will have the opportunity to come before the Secretary of Labor and present their side.

So, Mr. Chairman, I fail to see the real valid argument in his opposition to the bill.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the comments of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON].

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation—H.R. 478—even though I am not sure what relief, or even what kind of relief, it might bring to domestic industries and workers severely injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

I support this bill, too, even as one who voted for the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, and one who believes in the ultimate benefits of free trade.

But there is another side to that coin, too, and let me give you some specifics about one instance illustrating that other side.

In my area of New York, as you know, domestic industry has achieved one of the highest wage levels in this country. One of those industries—important to me—is the Elmira, N.Y., division of Bendix Corp., one of the largest employers in Elmira.

One of the principal products of this division has been bicycle brakes—not a very important sounding item in terms of our overall economy, to be sure, but a tremendously important item to those workers—American workers—whose jobs depend on a market for that product.

Some years back, as most of you know who have bought bikes for your children in recent times, the major imports of bicycles and bicycle parts came from such countries as Great Britain, West Germany, and so on. This was keen competition, too keen for many U.S. manufacturers in this line of endeavor, and many of these gradually dropped out. Today, Bendix is the only surviving manufacturer of bicycle brakes in the United States.

How have they survived?

By ingenuity, by applying good old American "know-how"—and by determination. The story of this company's fight to stay in this business is well worth reading—a successful fight up to now in which both labor and management joined hands—and you will find that story described in last year's hearings on this problem.

By automation, by cutting cost corners, by lowering prices, and by upping volume, Bendix was winning that fight, tough as it was, with such as the Common Market countries.

But, of late, something new has been taking place. Now bicycle brakes are beginning to come in in ever-increasing numbers from such low-wage countries—I almost said "slave-wage" countries—as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and even East Germany.

When we go back in session as the House, I will ask unanimous consent to include, as a part of these remarks, a table dramatically showing what has been happening in this connection during the past 4 years.

The table follows:

BICYCLE BRAKE IMPORTS

Country of origin	1964	1965	1966	[1] 1967	1967 versus 1964
United Kingdom	65,348				
West Germany	1,001,426	754,310	742,150	1,327,892	
Percent change		−24.6	−1.6	+78.9	
Japan	199,975	152,550	130,900	300,050	
Percent change		−23.7	−14.1	+129	
Czechoslovakia	269,600	569,200	518,000	600,500	
Percent change		+111	−8.9	+15.9	
Yugoslavia		15,500	50,000	130,690	
Percent change			+222	+161	
Poland	6,800	8,058	14,500	22,460	
Percent change		+18.5	+80.5	+54.9	
East Germany	89,940	45,000	140,490	44,180	
Percent change		−49.9	+212	−68.5	
Hungary		90,000	101,100	92,000	
Percent change			+10.8	−9.0	
U.S.S.R.			2,100		
Netherlands		15,639			
Total	1,633,089	1,650,257	1,699,240	[1] 2,517,772	
Percent change		+1.1	+2.9	+48.1	+54

[1] 6-month figures extended to full year.

Japan, too, is a major source of such imports which will exceed 2½ million brakes in 1967, and it is interesting to note that even Great Britain has now dropped out of the running.

But Bendix is still trying—redesigning its brake, retooling and wringing every penny of cost it can out of its product—so that, in the face of constantly rising costs of production it has managed to lower its price 27 percent in the last 13 years, and stay in business.

But, what of the future?

With the Kennedy round concessions knocking 4 cents per brake off the present import duty and with Bendix' costs, mostly for labor, going up an estimated 8 cents per brake in 1968, how can it stay in business against competition coming from countries with wage rates somewhere around one-sixth of those paid here?

The unhappy answer is: It probably cannot. And some 300 jobs—American jobs—jobs important to the Elmira community hang in the balance.

We can stand for free trade or reciprocal trade, but the competition thereby engendered ought to be fair competition.

When it is not—if you will pardon the pun—it is time to begin to put the brakes on, and that is why I hope this bill will pass.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am somewhat in doubt as to how far this bill goes in creating new restrictions upon imports.

I see on page 4, lines 16 through 18, the bill reads as follows:

> The President may take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law.

I would like to ask: Does this give the President any additional authority to deal with imports, to impose restrictions?

Mr. DENT. It gives this much additional authority over what authority there is presently in the tariff or trade law, in that we say he is not held to the levels that are now in the law. In other words, once we pass a trade bill and it sets the levels of the tariff, which we agree to and conform to, he can only stay within those particular figures other than those given to him by the Tariff Commission. So we give him the right, if he decides—let us say the tariff is 40 percent—we give him the right to go to 60 percent or we give him the right to go to a complete embargo—or to 100 percent.

In other words, we give him the right to go above the stated law as it is now in the tariffs.

Mr. FINDLEY. So he can do that on his own initiative without going through the Tariff Commission?

Mr. DENT. That is exactly right.

Mr. FINDLEY. Then this does not constitute actually an amendment of the basic tariff law?

Mr. DENT. It would not in any manner, shape, or form, because all he is doing is the same as a doctor does in administering to a patient when the patient is turned over to him. He is writing the prescription as to what he thinks the patient needs at the moment. If they increase the quota or decrease the quota, whatever is needed, either in his opinion or based on the advice of his counselors—he will do what is needed at the moment.

If we hold him to the restrictions as they are passed or set by the Tariff Commission which is the law at the time, then there is no need to have any legislation, because he has no remedy that is not already given by the Tariff Commission.

Mr. FINDLEY. That is what I am getting at. I am trying to find out what additional remedy, if any, is provided by this legislation.

Mr. DENT. That is all there is.

Mr. FINDLEY. Does this remedy that you have just described apply only for quotas that are authorized?

Some commodities are not encumbered by quotas at all. They are on a tariff basis.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. FINDLEY. As to that merchandise that has free access to this country, provided the tariff is paid, I assume that this legislation would not and could not possibly apply; is that correct?

Mr. DENT. Yes, it could. He could establish a quota for that import if it is needed to help that particular industry.

Mr. FINDLEY. He could establish a quota on an item even though under the authority of the trade expansion act and the GATT agreements we have lowered the tariff on that item, or have even eliminated the tariff? Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. DENT. He can do it and still be consistent with that because the GATT agreement is not an international trade agreement and it is not an international treaty. It is an agreement under the Executive and the Executive exercises his authority.

No agreement under them is longer than a 3-year period, and if at any time during the 3-year period any country which is signatory to the GATT agreement is threatened to the point where its existence is endangered in the opinion of the country, that nation can set aside any quota or any tariff that has been agreed to by GATT signatories. That is what we are saying in this legislation.

Mr. FINDLEY. This bill would give the President the authority to supersede any agreement now included or tentatively accepted as a result of the GATT agreements?

Mr. DENT. If it is an emergency such as we have described in the act.

Mr. FINDLEY. I still question whether this bill conveys any additional authority over imports. Would it also convey to him the authority to cancel the drawback privilege that importers have on raw materials, and under that privilege if they re-export the material after it has been processed, they can recover 99 percent of the import duty they have paid?

Mr. DENT. Any remedy that he sees fit that is consistent with the tariff laws of this country, not exclusively maintaining the rates, because even a drawback has a rate of tariff.

Mr. FINDLEY. It has a rate.

Mr. DENT. That is correct. That is the problem today which is complained about in a resolution passed by the AFL-CIO this last Sunday. It was put in the RECORD the day before yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. WYMAN].

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. I would like also to join with the many Members who have today extended compliments to the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee and the other members of the committee who are responsible for this legislation.

But I think we would be less than candid if we did not also point out that we should not expect too much from this legislation because, as it is read, we see that once again the Secretary of Labor, upon complaint, is to make an investigation and report within 4 months and then proceed only to make available his findings to the President.

The good thing about this, it seems to me, is that when he makes his findings, the President, although he is left to take such action in the terms of the bill's own language only as he deems appropriate, the Secretary shall make public his findings.

This is about the only mandatory provision in this bill, and it is to be hoped, fervently hoped, that if the conditions which are incorporated in the Secretary's findings and are made public are paramount, that we may then, at long last, have that degree of compulsion upon the Chief Executive to take action for the relief of the domestic industries that the State Department has so long opposed.

I think that it is also worthy of note at this time to mention the great dilemma that has resulted—and I have reference now to the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WHALEN]—from our having participated in the Marshall plan over the earlier years in the reconstruction of Europe, building up the foreign economic capacity of those countries, in country after country, to a point at which it was perfectly obvious to the architects of the plan at that time that those countries, with a cost of labor that was much less than ours, would, unless we had some protection for the industries in our country, flood our markets with goods that were almost as good, or in some instances even better, at prices that were much lower than ours. Of course, this is exactly what happened when we look back upon the reciprocal trade program. We have had less and less protective barriers.

The cost of labor and the cost of living in the United States and the standard of living in the United States is higher than that in almost every other country in the world. While this is something to be grateful for it nevertheless is a tremendous handicap for the workers of this country to face competitively unless the Congress is willing to give them some protection.

I want to make it crystal clear that, along the lines of what the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WHALEN] said, while I want healthy trade too, and I want favorable trade balances I also want to see—and I know in this the people who have spoken here today and the Members of this body will join—a fair share of the American market assured to the American worker. It is in this sense I support this legislation. I only regret, Mr. Chairman, that it does not go further. I would support much stronger legislation than this, should the opportunity present itself, because I think the American worker is entitled to this protection.

Mr. Chairman, every Member of this body, I am sure, is well aware of the problems being faced by certain segments of our business community who are saddled with the challenge of competing with cheaply made foreign imports for their fair share of the domestic market. On numerous occasions in the past, with many other Members I have addressed this House on this same problem and have made well known our concern for some corrective action to be taken in this field.

Of particular interest and concern to me, to the people of New Hampshire and to the people of the district I am privileged to represent, are the shoe manufacturing industry and the textile manufacturing industry. These two industries are having very real and serious troubles in meeting this competition to the point that many are facing the prospect of having to close their doors permanently. Similar difficulties, although perhaps not as serious, are being faced by our producers of dairy products.

I support the bill which we are now considering, but I do so with some reservations because I do not believe that this is the best solution to the problem at hand. A more realistic approach, I believe, would be to place limitations on the quantity of imports. At least by our action here today we will, hopefully, be taking a step in the right direction which may eventually lead to a workable answer.

At a time when we are trying to fight poverty and are spending large amounts of money to do it, it is wrong to be creating poverty in vast areas of our country by the destruction of productive jobs in textile plants, in shoemaking plants, and in other types of business hurt by this import problem.

There are those who think we should be taking care, gratis, of every underdeveloped country in the world. They would have us increase our imports, displace our own workers, increase our poverty, make our deficit in trade worse—all this so that allegedly underdeveloped countries can do better with these businesses and export to us.

Even these citizens of international inclination are being misled. The fact of the matter is that a great portion of our imports is coming from already industrialized countries.

Mr. Chairman, on previous occasions I have spoken at some length on the problem of textile imports, and I do not want to repeat myself at this time. However, I would like to stress the situation which exists for the shoe industry.

Within a few years shoe imports have grown from practically nothing to more than 20 percent of our domestic production. Imports of the basic shoes made in my State of New Hampshire have increased from 19 percent for the year 1966 to 24 percent in the past few months. Last year, shoe imports amounted to approximately 17 percent of the output of this country. And the increase continues—in the first quarter of 1967 shoe imports were 22 percent higher than a year ago.

Manufacturers in the United States are compelled by this Government to maintain a minimum scale of wages. There is no such obligation on manufacturers abroad. Labor costs in the United States are anywhere from three to 10 times higher than labor costs abroad. On the one hand this Government wants us to maintain a high-cost structure and on the other hand it has done little or nothing to protect us against the competition of products made abroad by low-cost labor.

I suspect that if this legislation now before us is passed and signed into law, the Secretary of Labor is going to be a busy man. Perhaps then this administration will begin to realize the extent of the problem that exists in this area of unfair competition from cheaply made imports and will take additional steps to alleviate an intolerable situation. The President has this authority right now and without this bill, yet he refuses to act. He has refused ever since he became President. This is an injustice to American workers in these industries. Some industries need help. The President should act.

Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 478 and do so with the hope that it is but the first step down the long road to eventual solution of these pressing problems.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BROYHILL].

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478.

This legislation establishes a procedure for official investigations by the Secretary of Labor to determine if the importation of foreign-made products is impairing or threatening the welfare of American industry, the workers of such industry, or the economic welfare of the community where such industry or workers are employed. The Secretary would undertake his investigation upon the request of the President, upon resolution of either House of Congress, or upon application of the representative of any employee organization in a domestic industry, or upon application of any interested party, including any community organization such as a town, city, or county. The Secretary would determine whether the impairment or threat of impairment exists, and shall report his findings to the President, and also make his findings public.

The President, under the bill, would be empowered to "take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment."

This, in my opinion, is the weakness in this legislation. There is no requirement that the President take any action. The value in the legislation is that the many problems confronting various American industries arising from soaring imports will be heard and explored. Through this legislative vehicle, all groups faced with the staggering blow of massive imports will be able to spread on the record their plight. Is it not unfortunate that this could not be done administratively rather than through legislative action?

I have been critical of administration inaction in dealing with the import problem, but that is another story. Let me just say this: My district in North Carolina is in the Appalachia area. In recent days, legislation to aid much of this area was passed by the Congress. I wonder if Members know that there are about a million textile and apparel workers within a 50-mile radius of the center of the Appalachia area?

These workers make up a big percentage of the total manufacturing employment in the area.

Congress has authorized the expenditure of large sums of money to train and retrain the unemployed in Appalachia.

Here we see the Federal Government spending millions of dollars to alleviate unemployment, and yet doing nothing to slow down the tide of imported goods. That is only irritating and making worse the economic situation of the area. I think this could rightly be called a case of the right hand not knowing—or perhaps caring—what the left hand is doing.

There are those who talk of retraining. But how many workers can be retrained? What type of work can they be trained to do? How many textile workers are too old to go out and get a job somewhere else? And where are the jobs for which they can be retrained?

We need more than this legislation. I have joined others in introducing H.R. 11604 to write legislative authority to stem the tide of imports. This legislation is commendable, but the need is for more action. Let us pass this bill, and then get behind legislation pending before the Ways and Means Committee that will give the textile industry some much-needed help.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation and compliment the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

I associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] and I urge the passage of this legislation.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, the bill we have before us today is an example of a good idea gone wrong. Certainly no one can object to the protection of American workers from the loss of jobs through the competition of cheap foreign labor. This Nation has taken the position that working people deserve a living wage, and protecting this standard of living requires some attention to the importation of goods produced under less salutary labor policies. But the question is: Should this Nation adopt a piecemeal trade policy based on protecting workers in an infinite number of large and small industries, or should it continue to strive for broad trade objectives reflecting the interests of the Nation as a whole?

In my own district there are examples of economic groups that have felt, or thought they felt, the impact of excessive imports. In some cases their complaints are valid; in others, less so. But I know the problems that arise in a given industry as foreign imports increase in number. I also know that this Nation would have no trade policy at all if it adopted import restrictions or raised tariffs every time a given industry group complained.

What we must keep in mind, Mr. Chairman, is that the United States is a surplus nation. We have prospered, not because we have kept foreign goods out, but because we have developed greater efficiency and higher productivity, making our goods cheaper and better than those of other countries. In the years of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations we have given tax incentives to business to modernize even more, to increase productivity to the highest possible level. I am pleased that so many industries have taken advantage of this opportunity.

When I hear that high wages paid in this country render certain of our products less competitive than those of other countries, I often wonder what has become of the highly vaunted American initiative in industry. Historically, we did not achieve our greatness because we paid low wages; we achieved it through imagination and innovation. Why, then, should the issue of wages make so much difference today?

It is important, I believe, to recognize that there are more considerations involved in our trade policy than the relative wages paid workers in a particular industry here and abroad. To turn over our trade policy to the Department of Labor and a myriad of industry lobbying groups would be a serious mistake. That labor questions should be considered I do not deny. That they should be the ruling consideration I regard as utterly wrong. I might say that the Fair Labor Standards Act, as it stands today, gives the question of foreign labor impact proper attention and provides the Secretary with all the authority he needs to initiate investigations and make recommendations to the President.

Going beyond this to hand equal authority to any interested party in the United States seems to give excessive weight to the interests of every special-interest group in the country. And I say this knowing that a few of these special-interest groups operate in my own district and State.

Parochialism, Mr. Chairman, can be the death of any rational trade policy and the undoing of a great and booming economy. The United States cannot continue to be an exporting nation if its trade policy is hampered by every tiny economic segment wanting a buffer from foreign competition. And the United States cannot continue to grow and prosper without foreign markets. Trade, Mr. Chairman, is a two-way street.

Surely at this late hour in our history it should not be necessary to point out that this country has led most of the rest of the world in economic development. As Walt Rostow pointed out, back in the days when he was known principally as an economist, the United States was one of the first nations to enter that phase known as the "economic takeoff." Our economic growth advanced from arithmetic to geometric progression, and we are still seeing that process today. But insofar as the United States has advanced it has created a gap between its standard of living and that of most of the rest of the world. Therefore, it is hardly reasonable to expect that other countries must match our standard of living if they are going to trade with us. If that were truly the requirement, just who would we trade with?

Mr. Chairman, I have said that there are other factors that must be considered in determining our trade policy—other factors than the comparative wages paid in this country and a given exporting country. I would include among these factors broad national objectives in foreign policy, the encouragement of democratic societies, and the use of trade as a device for building our alliances and weakening those of competing systems. And I would add another factor—the maintenance of friendly relations with our neighbors.

Mr. Chairman, bordering my district is the State of Sonora in Mexico. Through the Port of Nogales every year flows some $70 million worth of produce—tomatoes, chili peppers, and other products of Mexican farms. This business is important to my State, and it is important to American consumers. To shut it off or curtail it because of parochial business interests in another State would hurt Arizona, raise the prices paid by America's housewives, and impair our relations with a friendly neighbor. Passage of H.R. 478 could well lead to these unhappy results.

I would like to make a point here which relates to all these attempts to restrict the importation of foreign goods. It is true that labor in Mexico is paid considerably less than labor in this country. But with tariffs and transportation charges the delivered price of Mexican produce is virtually the same as that of produce grown in Florida. And I might say that it is only in Florida that this produce finds any competition during the winter months when it is put on the market.

Why, then, should there be any objection to the importation of this produce? The answer lies, not in the cheap foreign labor, but in the additional competition provided by abundance. If the housewives of America had fewer tomatoes and chili peppers to choose from—if they had to go without these items when the domestic production declined—they would be willing to pay more for them. But we have never had a commodity control program in tomatoes and chili peppers, and I sincerely hope we never get into that sticky business. I also hope and trust we will not attempt to reduce production through the arbitrary cutting off of Mexican produce—particularly through a wholly false appeal to the impact of "cheap foreign labor" on our domestic economy.

I might mention, Mr. Chairman, that while Mexicans pick this produce in Sonora and Culiacan, American workers are provided jobs through the sale of farm equipment, fertilizer, insecticides, pesticides, seed, and other American products used in growing this produce. And other Americans are employed shipping it and handling it on its way to the tables of America. In my judgment the effect of the bill we are considering today would be to carve up U.S. trade policy into many little parts, losing sight of the relative advantages enjoyed by the jobs we gain in turn.

I have no doubt that there will be many times in the future when the welfare of this country will require some limitation on the importation of certain goods. We all know it is vital to keep certain defense-related industries strong so they will be there when we need them But this argument hardly applies to tomatoes or bicycles or ping-pong sets. When adjustments are needed—and existing law provides ample authority for them—they should be made, not in answer merely to the needs of a given segment of our economy but to the needs of our economy as a whole.

In recent years we have seen a great boom in Japanese cameras and transistor radios. Undoubtedly this competition has affected our domestic camera and radio industries somewhat. Yet no other country has a Polaroid Land camera or a Kodak Instamatic system; these are products of American inventiveness and productivity. And no other country has produced the color television sets we can buy today from RCA or Zenith at a price we used to pay for black and white sets. I believe the American people can and should have a choice of Japanese or American cameras and Japanese or American electronic products. Narrow parochialism in trade policy would deny them that choice.

Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote "no" on H.R. 478, and for the reasons I have cited I hope my colleagues will join me in rejecting this unneeded and unwise legislation.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

I, too, have been disturbed by the recent tariff cuts agreed to by this administration and I strongly support the purpose of this legislation which make certain that none of these changes penalize American workers.

I am very much in favor of the mechanism set up by H.R. 478. On his own or other initiatives, the Secreary of Labor is to investigate any imports from low-wage areas which might threaten a U.S. industry and group of workers employed therein. If the Secretary finds that such unfair competition is hurting American industry and jeopardizing American employment, he so reports to the President. Final action is thus left up to the President, so that in the end, any action taken under this bill will be coordinated with the State Department and other Government agencies.

I think that this is a good bill and an important bill. I hope that it will be passed forthwith. There are many industries in this country threatened by increasing competition from foreign low-wage areas. If these industries should go under, many of our cities would be faced by rising unemployment at a time when they can least afford it due to the influx of poor rural unskilled workers.

This bill gives the President a tool with which to alleviate any dangerous conditions which might result from the increased access of cheap foreign goods to the U.S. market.

I urge this House to give H.R. 478 a resounding vote of confidence.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478 to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

This problem is particularly acute in Florida where the balance of fair competition has been offset by the cheap labor market of Mexico. The tomato and watermelon industries of Florida suffer greatly because they must compete in Eastern markets with Mexican produce that is harvested at a fraction of the cost to Florida growers.

This is the unequal factor which is threatening Florida's fruit and vegetable growers and those other farmers who are dependent on a large labor force. The wage differential between Mexico and the United States has caused a huge imbalance in favor of the Mexican produce, especially tomatoes in the Eastern markets.

This is not healthy competition. Not only is there the problem of the wage difference, but Florida producers and shippers are subjected to workman's compensation, social security, and other prevailing benefits for laborers which are costly and frequently are nonexistent in Mexico and other foreign countries.

The Florida grower who is able to stay relatively close to the import's cost finds that his margin of profit is so low that farming becomes economically unsound.

For Florida fruit and vegetable growers, labor is the largest single cost item involved in producing and marketing their crops, and obtaining an adequate supply of capable harvest labor has become the number one problem to most producers.

It does not appear to me to be reasonable to have imposed on the domestic producer fixed and escalating labor costs created mainly by governmental authority without the benefit of some protection against foreign imports.

Failure to provide this protection afforded in the bill before us will perpetuate this inconsistent policy to the detriment of individual farmers, businessmen, workers, and to the public at large.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 478, which would institute new procedures, under the Fair Labor Standards Act, to give some measure of relief to domestic industries and workers injured by rising imports from low-wage areas.

There are many aspects of this legislation which I find most distressing. First and foremost, the language of the bill, read in conjunction with the language of the committee report, seems to indicate that the President is to be given sweeping new powers to set quantitative limitations on imports and to increase duties. If this is the proper construction—and the very vagueness of the bill's language is one of its defects—then we are making the serious mistake of drastically reversing our free-trade policies.

In effect, this legislation seems to enable the President, after receiving affirmative findings from the Secretary of Labor that imports from low-wage areas are adversely affecting the working conditions and standard of living of domestic workers and industries, to take any such actions he deems appropriate to remedy the situation including the setting of product quotas and tariff increases.

Such power, if exercised, would, according to William Roth, our special representative for trade negotiations, bring retaliatory restrictions from other nations, would cause a retraction in world trade and a reduction in our own exports. Needless to say, many other domestic jobs would then be jeopardized and our balance of payments would suffer. In short, this would be a regressive and shortsighted move which would cause grave harm to other sectors of our economy and the principles of international free trade. The damage might be catastrophic if the power were in the hands of a protectionist President some time in the future.

What we are really doing here is granting the President a sweeping authority to set tariff and customs rates—and that is properly a matter to be first considered by the Ways and Means Committee. I believe that in as complex and controversial a field as this, we should be doubly careful to insure that the most careful and informed study is given by that committee with the greatest experience.

Finally, I would merely like to mention the truly intolerable administrative burden this bill could create in the Labor Department. Virtually anyone, according to the wording of the bill, could ask the Secretary of Labor to conduct a study to determine whether the importing of certain products was impairing the general well-being of any group of workers in the United States.

The Secretary is obligated to submit his findings and conclusions within 4 months. It seems to me that such an inundation of work in an unfamiliar area would produce either worthless reports or administrative chaos.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the passage of this particular bill. Let there be no mistake about my intentions however. I am just as concerned as any Member of Congress about the welfare of the citizens of our Nation—employees, employers, retired, children, disabled, everyone. I am also concerned about imports. I have fought for proper regulation of meat imports. I am concerned about imports of fruits, vegetables, and other agricultural commodities produced with cheap labor. As a matter of fact, I introduced a bill in the 89th Congress on this very subject, H.R. 10179. It would have authorized the Secretary of Labor to conduct investigations into labor conditions in those countries exporting agricultural commodities to the United States. It would have followed almost the same procedure for the initiation of the investigation as today's bill.

However, I do not believe in giving the President the discretion and authority which is contained in the bill before us. My bill would have had the report of the Secretary of Labor submitted to Congress so that the Congress, the constitutionally designated authority for setting tariffs would be responsible for correcting the situation or not correcting it.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that the approach in my bill should have been expanded to cover additional products where it can be shown that imports produced by labor working under conditions detrimental to the maintenance of minimum living standards are impairing the high standards of living achieved in this country for labor covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

I ask that my bill be printed at this point in the Record so that all interested parties can see the manner in which I believe this problem should be solved.

Mr. Talcott's bill is as follows:

H.R. 10179

A bill to encourage an increase in the standard of living, level of wages, and an improvement of the working conditions in foreign countries which export agricultural commodities into the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "International Farm Labor and Working Conditions Act."

FINDINGS AND POLICY

Sec. 2. The Congress finds that the importation into the United States of agricultural commodities produced in foreign countries where wages and working conditions are substantially below those prevailing in the United States in the production of comparable agricultural commodities results in employment of the facilities and channels of trade of the United States for the purpose of maintaining substandard wages and working conditions to the detriment of workers in the exporting countries and in the United States.

It is declared to be the policy of the Congress, acting under its power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, to correct the aforementioned conditions by providing for the imposition of an import duty, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law, as may be determined to be appropriate under the procedures prescribed in this Act, on agricultural commodities imported into the United States when such foreign agricultural commodities are produced by labor which is paid substandard wages or required to work under substandard conditions to the detriment of the agricultural workers employed in the exporting countries.

Sec. 3. (a) Upon request of the President, or upon resolution of either House of Congress, or upon application of the representative of any domestic agricultural industry or employee organization in a domestic agricultural industry, or upon application of any interested agricultural party, or upon his own motion, the Secretary of Labor shall promptly make an investigation to determine whether any agricultural commodity is being imported into the United States which is produced in the country of origin under labor conditions substantially below those prevailing in the domestic agricultural industry producing comparable commodities.

(b) In the course of any such investigation the Secretary of Labor shall hold hearings, giving reasonable public notice thereof, and shall afford reasonable opportunity for interested parties to be present, to produce evidence, and to be heard at such hearings.

(c) The Secretary of Labor shall submit a report of its findings to the Congress not later than one hundred and twenty days after the date of the institution of the investigation. Should the Secretary of Labor find, as a result of the investigation and hearings, that an agricultural commodity is being imported into the United States, which is produced with labor paid wages substantially below those paid employees in similar positions in the United States and under working conditions substantially below those of employees in similar positions in the United States, the Secretary of Labor shall determine the duty that would be necessary, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law, to equalize the cost advantage to producers in the exporting nation due to those labor conditions.

(d) In arriving at a determination in the foregoing procedure, the Secretary of Labor shall take into consideration:

(1) the prevailing wages and hours in effect in the foreign agricultural industry producing the imported agricultural commodity under investigation and the prevailing wages and hours in the domestic agricultural industry producing the comparable commodity (for the purpose of comparing the foreign and prevailing domestic wages referred to in this provision, the Secretary of Labor shall convert the foreign wages into currency of the United States, in accordance with section 372 of title 31, United States Code);

(2) the approximate labor cost incurred in the production of such agricultural item based upon United States standards;

(3) the difference in the average invoice prices (converted into currency of the United States in accordance with the provisions of section 372 of title 31, United States Code) at which the foreign agricultural article was sold for export to the United States, and the average prices at which the comparable domestic agricultural article was sold at wholesale in the principal markets of the United States.

(e) In the course of any such investigation, the Secretary of Labor or his delegate may seek information and advice with respect to any of the factors he is required to consider in making his determination from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior, the Tariff Commission, and such other sources as the Secretary of Labor or his delegate may deem appropriate.

SEC. 4. The term agricultural commodity means any agricultural product imported in any form.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 5. This Act shall take effect ninety days after the date of enactment.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478. Action by the House to deal with the problems of increased imports, particularly from low-wage areas, is overdue. I support the objectives of this legislation but have reservations as to just how effective it will be, if acted on favorably by the Senate.

I am concerned that passage of this act may prove misleading. For my part I feel that the best approach to the import problem is by negotiated quotas. As I stated in the RECORD on October 3, 1964:

> FOREIGN TRADE—GOOD OR BAD?
>
> Closely related to our conduct of foreign affairs is the matter of foreign trade. Generally speaking, I am in favor of a national policy which will foster and increase healthy and fairly competitive foreign trade. If this is properly done, it will strengthen our economy, strengthen our foreign policy, and further reduce world tension. This laudable objective, however, cannot be accomplished at breakneck speed or by sacrificing entire domestic industries on such an altar.
>
> As I have stated many times on the floor of this House, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect wage differentials between the various foreign nations with whom we compete and trade. If this is not done, it will serve only to place our own industry at an unfair disadvantage and it will retard the advance of wages in countries with whom we trade. Also, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect and take into account, subsidies—direct or indirect—given by foreign governments to their industries who export to the United States.
>
> My experience with the problem of foreign imports has also led me to believe that the Department of State is not adequately situated or equipped to deal with this problem, and that primary responsibility for it might well be placed in the Department of Commerce or another Government agency.

More recently on Tuesday, September 12, 1967, I stated in the RECORD:

> I have long advocated agreed-on quotas to provide for the orderly expansion of international trade, and give domestic industries a chance to meet foreign competition over a reasonable period of time, with some protection against low wages and subsidy by foreign government.

This last statement was made in commenting on the results of my annual questionnaire. I asked my constituents if in general and on balance they favored negotiated quotas to limit imports. They replied as follows:

Negotiated quotas to limit imports?

Yes	2,765
No	1,134
Not sure	757
Blank	213

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I want to reemphasize my sentiments of appreciation for the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] which I undertook to express in a previous colloquy with him. His tireless efforts in behalf of the American worker and industries which give employment to the worker is bearing fruit today.

It takes no prophetic power to predict that the House will overwhelmingly approve H.R. 478. The tenure of the debate indicates that this legislation meets the approval of the overwhelming majority of our colleagues.

American industry and labor are entitled to a better deal than they have had at the hands of our trade negotiators. While this bill does not give direct relief, it does offer a vehicle which will lead to proper relief. Other legislation now pending in the House of Representatives will go an additional step if and when enacted by the Congress.

The importance of the American textile industry to the economy of the Nation has already been mentioned in debate. The more than 2 million persons employed in our domestic textile industry have been concerned for many years about the attitudes in many Government circles toward the preservation of their jobs and the industries which provide those jobs. The action which we are about to take here today should be reassuring to all of them and carry the message that the House of Representatives will respond to their appeals for assistance.

I wholeheartedly support this legislation. I wish that it were possible to go even further in requiring protection for American workers than is permissible under this legislation. Practical considerations, however, must not be overlooked. The present bill is as far as we could reasonably expect the Congress to go at this time. If the relief procedures embraced in this bill do not bring the desired result, I am confident that a future Congress will take a bolder step in recapturing jurisdiction over foreign trade policies.

I again commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania and assure him that it has been a pleasure for me to work with him during the past 2 years in this important effort. His kindness to several of my constituents when they came before his committee to testify will always be appreciated by them and by me. His courtesy in keeping us informed as to developments from time to time has been very helpful and greatly appreciated.

The ultimate enactment of H.R. 478 should be the goal of all of those who believe that American industry and jobs should be preserved.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope that the House, after due deliberation, will resoundingly approve the principles and substance of this bill before us, H.R. 478, which proposes to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas.

Strengthening amendments, which I understand will be offered, for more precise definition of certain terms and directing the study and establishment of a coordinated responsibility of certain other affected Federal departments with the Labor Department, ought, I think, to be granted the approving consideration of the House.

Mr. Chairman, the accelerated concern, over these past several years, of the Congress reflecting the increasing widespread concern of ever-multiplying numbers of American manufacturers and employees throughout the country, is clearly manifested by the hundreds of varied bills introduced by so many different Members in the Congress in responsive effort to develop reasonable and equitable relief from the extreme economic hardships resulting from the excessive imports of ungoverned and unfair foreign competition. I have personally introduced several such bills and have three measures now pending before committees in this Congress that are similar and complementary to the measure under discussion here now.

Despite some contrary publicity, as has been pointed out here, I think it should be stressed the record shows that the vast majority, by far, of the American manufacturers and workers affected are not seeking complete protection from all foreign competition; they are simply asking for an equal chance under mutually fair competitive conditions in an open market. I think, in all the legislation of the Congress in this area, that is the basic principle and policy the Congress intended to project.

Mr. Chairman, few, if any of us, are diametrically opposed to the basic objectives underlying the accepted long-range purposes of our overall trade expansion program.

However, in fulfilling our responsibility and obligation within this program to our American people, I think it is incumbent upon us to insist that the sentiment expressed by President Eisenhower back in 1953 and the warning presented in the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy should be carefully observed and reasonably carried out. President Eisenhower, in a statement on trade policy contained in his first state of the Union message declared:

> This (trade expansion) objective must not ignore legitimate safeguarding of industries, agriculture, and labor standards.

The report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy contains this admonition:

> American labor should not be subjected to unfair competition as a part of any program to expand our foreign trade.

Mr. Chairman, because this sentiment and admonition has been so widely and consistently ignored, increasingly great economic hardship have been and are being inevitably visited upon great numbers of American workers and industries throughout the country and particularly in my own home area where the textile machine tool, shoe and leather and so many other businesses are suffering from an accelerating avalanche of low-cost imports produced under foreign economic conditions that our domestic industries and workers cannot possibly meet without violating our own laws and sabotaging our acclaimed civilized and economic progress.

Mr. Chairman, the original legislative proposal to greatly expand trade agreements contained pledges to guard against the disintegration of American industries from accelerated and excessive foreign competition which could not possibly and immediately be met by any reasonable and practicable means; avenues of appeal to presidential relief authority, under these circumstances, were established. Unfortunately, they have mostly proved to be little more than expensive but idle gestures contrary to the general understanding of the intent of the Congress.

Considering the cost, thus far, of progress of the European Common Market, the vital need of creating continuing employment opportunities for American citizens, the rather unfortunate tendencies of some of our friends abroad to take the fullest trade advantage of us, the dubious wisdom of the apparent overzealousness of some of our own representatives to too generously tender these foreign competitors even more advantages before appropriate adjustments can be made at home, it is little wonder that more and more Members of Congress are introducing more and more separate pieces of legislation to relieve particular situations and more and more responsible business leaders are becoming increasingly concerned over this complex problem.

As I have said before, it is truly not a simple or easy problem to solve but it is just as truly our representative responsibility to try to insure the projection of a fair trade program that will be fair to Americans as well as our foreign friends, and some others not so friendly.

On this score, it is my earnest hope that the legislative wisdom of the Congress, the Presidential prudence, the understanding cooperation of our real friends abroad, and the alert attitudes of business and labor will all combine to sensibly project our international trade agreements while patriotically preventing the visitation of extreme hardships upon many of our regional industries and workers and preserving essential defense resources that we can ill afford to dissipate in the face of continuing Communist challenge.

Mr. Chairman, it is with this hope and in this spirit that I urge the House to approve this bill as evidence of our earnest intention of fulfilling our rightful responsibility to try to find an equitable solution to a very serious problem affecting the continuing economic welfare of increasingly larger segments of American industry and their employees.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 478 which has as its purpose, the establishment of certain procedures which could afford some relief to American industries which have been adversely affected from imports from low wage areas.

After the findings of the Secretary of Labor have been submitted to the President, this bill gives discretionary powers to the President to take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law.

It is evident that the foreign wage levels prohibit fair competitive trade for many domestic producers. Low labor rates which have permitted large imports of items which are also manufactured in my district—especially in relation to fish, hats, shoes, leather, and textiles—have greatly affected the pursuit of competitive trade.

There are few sections of the country which, during my 18 years of Congress, have felt so heavily the impact of foreign imports as has my own. For instance, J. B. Stevens has notified me recently that—

> It becomes more and more difficult to compete against foreign wage levels and so-called loopholes in the Tariffs.

Mr. Hans Rie, president of Merrimac Hat Co., of Amesbury, Mass., who manufactures fur felt bodies—hats—stated on March 2, 1967, at the General Subcommittee on Labor that "imports of foreign products have soared." He states that—

> In 1966, imports even surpassed domestic production, and amounted to 56% of domestic consumption. This means that imports today are supplying over 50%, or more, of the domestic consumption in Ladies Fur Felt Bodies.

The New England fish industry to a large degree has been destroyed due to foreign imports and U.S. tariff regulations. The groundfish industry has been stifled with the frozen fish imports, and has repeatedly asked the U.S. Tariff Commission for relief. Not once, but twice, they proved their case to the satisfaction of the Commission. Twice the Commission's decisions were vetoed at the Presidential level. Last week, I received a letter from Mr. Lawrence Hart, secretary of Gloucester Fisheries Association, concerning the proposed U.S. Tariff regulations. He states:

> Local firms engaged in fish cooking processes are very much concerned over the impact that may result from lowering the ad valorem rates on frozen breaded, cooked and uncooked fish sticks and fish portions which will become effective January 1, 1968. The accumulation effect certainly will be felt by all similar processing firms over the country—and there are some 50 or more.

The United States has spent over $100 million in foreign aid and approximately $200 million in counterpart funds to aid foreign fishing. It seems difficult to believe that at the same time the request for relief of our domestic industry was denied.

Irving R. Glass, executive vice president of the Tanners Council, speaking before the Western States Meat Packers Association in San Francisco stated that—

> Leather imports in 1966 continued at an astronomical growth and conversely it was impossible for U.S. leather to be sold in Japan.

Glass stated—

> That the same story of inequity could be repeated again and again, in country after country.

The National Footwear Manufacturers Association has advised me that—

> There has been a drastic increase in the imports of all footwear which now represent 24.5% of domestic production. Imports which only a few years ago were negligible amounted to over 93 million pairs in the first half of 1967.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation is another step in the hope that the injustices of the past can be rectified. I do not expect this bill to be a panacea but, if it is enacted and properly implemented, it could be helpful to many distressed industries.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support to H.R. 478 and to urge its favorable consideration by this House. For a long time past those of us who serve in the House of Representatives from States that economically feel the pressure which is exerted by the manner in which the trade policies of our country have been handled, believe this to be a necessary step.

Mr. Chairman, during the debate on the Trade Act of the late 1950's, the administration was successful in having the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act renewed only after the votes of some of the Representatives in this body were literally purchased by the action of the executive branch of Government in granting to certain geographical areas which were selected by the President, relief from our trade policies in order to get their votes. Again in 1960 and 1962 the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act was predicated upon the ability of the

President of the United States to purchase votes of Representatives in this body by promising them relief for the products of the areas which they represented.

Mr. Chairman, I stood firm against any endeavor to convince this Member that a renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was in the best interest of the country at that time and I would take that same position today.

While it has been suggested that H.R. 478 incorporates within itself certain provisions which are already in the law, I believe its approval is necessary. The difficulty of the disadvantaged areas of our Nation have in most trade matters is getting an understanding ear, and I happen to believe H.R. 478 will set in motion a series of events which will permit the question to be heard.

In the past, regardless of how long and hard we have voiced our objections, the Tariff Commission has been totally devoted to the cause of the imported goods, ware, and merchandise.

Believing that the President of the United States, together with the Secretary of Labor should be better prepared to evaluate the damage which is done to the economic welfare of any community in America or to any group of employees by reason of increased imports from low wage adds to the importance of our favorable consideration of this legislation.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I will wholeheartedly support H.R. 478 and urge its adoption without amendment.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I support and will vote for the passage of H.R. 478, the Fair Labor Standards Foreign Trade Act, as reported favorably by an overwhelming majority of our Committee on Education and Labor on August 15, 1967, and now before us for discussion.

I support this bill because, at long last, we have before us procedures by which relief can be given to those domestic industries, workers, and communities which are injured by excessive imports from low-wage areas. This legislation will set up the exact methods by which we in Congress can delegate to the Government official most responsible for the welfare of our American workingman, his working conditions, his wages, and his weekly hours of labor—a method by which he, our Secretary of Labor, can safeguard the high standard of living of America's real source of strength—the workingman.

I support this bill because under it we will ask the Secretary of Labor to do something which his Department is best equipped to do; namely, to check conditions or factors which might affect the well-being of our workingman. His experience with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and its amendments makes him well equipped to assume this responsibility. For 30 years the Labor Department has applied the criteria set up by that act in such a manner that today the American laboring man has the highest living wage in history and in the whole world. And it is this standard of living which I wish to see safeguarded in all aspects.

This bill, introduced by our colleague, Congressman DENT, of Pennsylvania, on January 10, 1967, will provide extra safeguards against factors which are adversely affecting the well-being of our workers; namely, the widening volume of imports from low-wage countries. After all, if like or competitive items, similar to those manufactured here in the United States, can be sold here in increasing quantities, it is evident that the first one to suffer will be the American working man or woman manufacturing the domestic item.

Often the disparity in prices between similar foreign and local items is not so much that the components are cheaper, but because the labor involved is paid so much less overseas than here. In other words, any item where the labor content is high and is imported from overseas where labor is cheap, will automatically have an advantage over the domestically produced product.

In addition to this advantage, our tariffs are now so low that foreign goods can be placed on our markets at a price little higher than the cost of production overseas. This is the problem. If we continue to allow unlimited importation of such goods, we will be faced with the prospect of the American workingman being forced out of his livelihood.

It is often claimed that our machines are so much more efficient, that our workers outproduce foreign workers, that regardless of our low tariffs we can still compete successfully. But these contentions do not take into consideration the fact that often foreign areas now have machines as modern as ours, that raw components often cost less and, above all, that labor and its fringe benefits costs far less than ours. This is true in many industries whose products are everyday necessities, like textiles, chemicals, glass, lumber, footwear, rubber products, leather items, and electronic equipment.

Hitherto, if any industry felt that excessive imports of competitive items tended to cause injury, an appeal to the Tariff Commission could result in an investigation of the alleged injury. However, it is a fact that the Tariff Commission will only consider it an injury if excessive imports are due to a tariff concession and is caused because too large a percentage of the domestic market has been taken over by imports.

It is also a fact that not once in the last 5 years has a single industry received any help whatsoever from the Tariff Commission against injurious imports. The answer always has been that an industry should be considered on a national scale—for example, even if the cotton textile or footwear industry in the East of the Nation is hampered by excessive imports, the industry as a whole throughout the Nation cannot claim the same injury. The inescapable conclusion has been that the remedy of "adjustment assistance" under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is for all purposes completely inadequate. The total industry must be flat on its back before help can even be considered. And such help means reeducation of workers for other work or relocation in other areas. Such a solution has proved to be completely unacceptable.

This bill gives a much more positive hope to our industries suffering from excessive imports.

The Secretary of Labor will investigate upon complaint whether the standard of living of our workingman is affected by imports. If such imports come from areas where foreign workers are paid substantially less than ours, then a remedy is outlined by which the competitive advantage is reduced—by increasing tariffs, or imposing quotas, or other customs procedures. The President will have to initiate the final action.

Thus, in the interest of all those Americans whose livelihood is threatened by excessive imports from low-wage areas of the world, I would urge prompt passage of this bill.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 478. I was reluctant to take the time of the Committee under the 5-minute rule because everyone seemed to favor the enactment of this bill, to relieve our industries and workers, injured by imports from low-wage areas.

Our own bill, H.R. 12798, introduced earlier this month, was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and was primarily concerned with damage to our textile workers. Our office introduced earlier legislation to help prevent injury and damage to our steel mill and its workers, located in the Big Blue Valley in the form of antidumping bills covering wire, nails, and other steel products.

As I listened to the debate, I was impressed by the varying expressions of optimism and pessimism as to how effective this bill would be to help our industries and workers that suffer from imports coming from countries where foreign goods are produced under conditions altogether dissimilar from the high standard of living enjoyed by our people.

For one, I prefer to be optimistic in the hope this bill will be of material assistance. It is quite frankly admitted this is not a tariff bill and not an amendment to the basic tariff law. The approach is quite different from other approaches which have been attempted in the past.

On the other hand, the measure is quite clear in providing that the Secretary of Labor shall promptly make an investigation at such time as a resolution of either House of Congress, or an employee organization, or even upon the application of any interested party, or upon his own motion.

It further provides:

> The Secretary of Labor shall promptly report no later than four months later whether any product is being imported into the United States that is produced under such conditions as to be a serious impairment or threat of impairment to any group of workers in the United States or to the economic welfare of the community in which such workers are employed.

During the debate, it was mentioned the only mandatory provision in the entire bill is that the Secretary of Labor shall or must make his report public. All of us would prefer that the action specified to be taken by the chief executive should also be made mandatory rather than permissive. For that reason we cannot labor under any illusions that this bill will invalidate any existing agreement, but as emphasized during the debate, everyone must learn to crawl before they can walk. By this last figure of speech, I am sure it was meant that to go further than the permissive provisions at this time would result in the possible failure of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, before I neglect to do so, I want to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], the chairman of the subcommittee and the author of H.R. 478, as well as the members of his committee. He has long been in the forefront of this battle to help the American worker escape injury by imports from low-wage areas. He deserves commendation from every one of us that believe our workers should be protected.

Returning to a consideration of the need for a stronger bill, I think we must recognize this measure opens the door, and while action by the President is only permissive, I do not believe any President can long withstand the strong pressure of public opinion. If it is shown our workers are being hurt, he would be almost compelled to take some action.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that this bill will provide another or an additional vehicle to work out the problem of relief for our workers. It is quite possible this bill will make the tariff commission more active. If this measure can become law, the tariff commission will know in the future that there is another agency looking over its shoulders, or to put it differently, keeping an eye on their action or inaction as the case may be.

H.R. 478 may not contain everything that many of us would prefer, but it is certainly a step in the right direction and I am optimistic that if it is enacted it will prove beneficial in the protection of our American industry and its workers.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Foreign Trade Act".

CONGRESSIONAL FINDING AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) Subsection (a) of section 2 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. sec. 202), is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Congress finds that the existence in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers and the unregulated importation of goods produced by industries in foreign nations under such conditions (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several States; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce."

(b) Section 2 of such Act is further amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(c) It is further declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, to provide for the regulation of imports of goods in such manner as will correct and as rapidly as possible eliminate any serious impairment or threat of impairment to the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States and the economic welfare of the communities in which they are employed from conditions above referred to in the industries providing them employment in which increased imports are a substantially contributing factor."

SEC. 3. Subsection (e) of section 4 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(e)(1) Upon the request of the President, or upon resolution of either House of Congress, or upon application of the representative of any employee organization in a domestic industry, or upon application of any interested party, or upon his own motion, the Secretary of Labor shall promptly make an investigation and make a report thereon not later than four months after the application is made to determine whether any product is being imported into the United States under such circumstances, due in whole or in part to the fact that such foreign goods were produced under conditions such as those referred to in subsection (a) of section 2 of this Act which are causing or substantially contributing to serious impairment or threat of impairment to the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States or to the economic welfare of the community in which any such group of workers are employed.

"(2) In the course of any such investigation the Secretary or his delegate shall hold hearings, giving reasonable public notice thereof, and shall afford reasonable opportunity for interested parties to be present, to produce evidence, and to be heard at such hearings.

"(3) Should the Secretary find, as a result of the investigation and hearings, that an imported product is or likely will be sold in competition with like or competitive goods produced in the United States under such circumstances, he shall promptly report his finding to that effect to the President. The Secretary shall immediately make public his findings and report to the President, and shall cause a summary thereof to be published in the Federal Register.

"(4) Upon receipt of the report of the Secretary containing a finding that an imported product is or likely will be sold in competition with like or competitive goods produced in the United States under such circumstances, the President may take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law."

SEC. 4. This Act shall take effect not later than one hundred and eighty days after the date of enactment.

Mr. DENT (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I suspect I will vote for this bill, but I am laboring under no illusions about what it will not do. The House has heard a great deal in the last 2 days on the subject of delegation of power to the President, the fact that Congress has spinelessly delegated power to the President. Then, one of the first bills we get, after all this, is another delegation of power to the President.

Why did the bill not make it mandatory upon the President, in the event a finding is made that labor is being injured by foreign imports, that the imports be excluded?

So I labor under no illusions about what will be accomplished under this bill. I would only support it because of the possibility that some good may be accomplished.

What we ought to do in this Congress; what we ought to have done a long time ago—and I am not any Johnny-come-lately to this business—is to throw out the Trade Agreements Act. I have never voted for it in 19 years. I fought it under the Eisenhower administration. I am still opposed to it. What we must have is a tariff representing the differential in the cost of production as between any domestic product in adequate or surplus supply in this country, and any product that is brought in from a foreign country. We will not cure anything until we adopt this kind of policy as a matter of law dealing with foreign trade.

We can pass this kind of legislation from now until doomsday, and we will not cure the situation. It will be cured when the Trade Agreements Act comes up for extension and we either throw it out bodily or put provisions in it to protect American agriculture, industry, and labor. That is the only way we are going to do it.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I know the feeling of the gentleman in this matter, and, of course, he knows how I feel and have felt for years. However, when I was a small boy, I learned a lesson that I later took into the legislature with me, some 25 years ago. I learned to crawl before I walked, so as not to fall and hurt myself.

We have had a difficult time for 33 years in this particular interest we have on the floor today. To go further than what we are going now would spell absolute defeat for the legislation. This is an important step. We are for the first time using as a criteria the one ingredient in trade that has been ignored: The question of cost of production based on a mandated wage.

This opens the door to further discussion as we go along. We make public the findings of the Secretary. We make it mandatory that he must make a report on the subject. It will become public at the time it goes to the President.

Presidents, like legislators, move on the will of the people. If it is as serious as we believe it to be, action will be taken by the President. If we are fooled and it is not serious, then action will not be taken. But no President will be able to withstand public opinion if an industry is going to shut down in any town and a recommendation is made that he do something about it.

I agree with the gentleman on a compensatory system. I believe the world someday, when it becomes industrialized, will have to have it—but not today.

Mr. GROSS. Let me stop the gentleman there. I do not support compensatory payments out of the U.S. Treasury.

Mr. DENT. I do not either.

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to have that statement from the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The gentleman spoke of crawling.

The Congress crawled to Harry Truman on this issue.

The Congress crawled to Eisenhower on this issue.

The Congress crawled to Kennedy on this issue.

Now we are showing signs of crawling to the present President of the United States on this issue of tariffs and the protection of industry, agriculture, and labor in this country. I want to see it stopped.

Mr. DENT. I must say to the gentleman, we are not exactily crawling. We are up off our knees. We may not be walking fast, but slowly we are getting to where we will stand straight up.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I should like to make inquiry of the subcommittee chairman about lines 16, 17, and 18 on page 4 of the bill, where it says:

> The President may take such action as he deems appropriate to remove such impairment or threat of impairment, in addition to any other customs treatment provided by law.

I wonder if the chairman would give us an illustration or two of the type of action the President might take if he is inclined to afford protection, as contemplated under the bill if the actual situation exists.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WYMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. The entire answer—and I believe the gentleman should have it all—is on page 2 of the report. If the gentleman insists, I will be glad to read it. I believe the gentleman should read it.

Mr. WYMAN. Would the gentleman just give me a summary of it, not from the report; just an indication in brief as to what the President can do?

Mr. DENT. If the damage has been proved in a certain industry, with a tariff rate of 7 percent, and it is proved the damage being done would require 15- or 20-percent increase in the tariff to meet the cost of production of this particular industry, he could raise that tariff. If a quota is allowed, and the quota percentage is taking such a bite out of the market as to require it, regardless of the cost of production, greater than the industry can stand, he could increase the quota.

Mr. WYMAN. But this bill would not give him that power.

Mr. DENT. He has the power now. The only real difference between this legislation and the law today is that we are to force the Secretary of Labor to make the study. So far as the power of the President to give relief is concerned, he has that now under the Trade Act. We are starting from a different base to show the damage.

Mr. WYMAN. Is it not a fact that the conditions to which this bill refers also exist today in many industries?

Mr. DENT. They certainly do, in my humble opinion, judging from testimony of witnesses who have appeared before our committee. But they have no way of making this damage known, because under the present Trade Act and Tariff Commission Act they can only take an entire industry into consideration in assessing damage, whereas this would give an opportunity to a segment of an industry, to a community that is hurt, or to labor in the industry to make complaint.

Mr. WYMAN. But if they can make it known through their Representatives in Congress, by having it printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and by direct appeal, and if the Chief Executive has the authority now, why is it action is not taken to protect industries and workers in such situations?

Mr. DENT. Because he has to have his recommendation from the Tariff Commission under present law.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WYMAN. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania just now clarified the issue and made it crystal clear, as I understood it all the while, that this legislation only changes existing law giving responsibility to the Secretary of Labor to conduct hearings and make findings and that in doing so he is not required, as the Tariff Commission is required under existing law, to consider an entire industry. In other words, he can consider segments of an industry.

If the gentleman will yield further, while I am supporting this bill, I would much prefer to support the Mills bill. I hope to be able to have it on the floor so I can vote for it before this session is over.

Mr. DENT. So do I.

Mr. JONAS. I had intended to participate in this debate, but I have been tied up all day in the Committee on Appropriations. We have been in almost continuous session since the action of the House last night. I have not been able to attend the discussion today on this measure, but I appreciate the indulgence of the gentleman from New Hampshire in permitting me to say here that I am supporting this bill and hope it passes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WYMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. What this bill does—the gentleman was not quite correct when he said he believes it should be spread on the record—what this bill does is it gives the aggrieved parties a broader vehicle in which to spell out grievances and call them to the attention of the President. What this bill will do is put a counterbalance in to the Tariff Commission which has been oblivious to these problems in the past.

Mr. WYMAN. If it is spread on the public record is it the position of the gentleman that it will help to obtain the relief which is needed and desirable.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think that the Tariff Commission will start to become more responsive to the problems than they have because they know that there is another agency looking over their shoulders. That is the value of this legislation, in my judgment.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WYMAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I want to take this opportunity to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania and all of the other members of this committee who are supporting this bill and hope that we can accept the terms of this bill, because it will be one of the most important pieces of legislation we have enacted in this session.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, during the short colloquy between the Members of the House a moment ago the Tariff Commission was mentioned as to the part this department will play in this bill. I have before me a list of 21 investigations that have been requested by various industries throughout the United States. My point is that two agricultural bills could work very well in conjunction with H.R. 478, which I hope we will adopt this afternoon; namely, the dairy import bill and the meat import bill. If I am not mistaken, there have been 262 Members of this Congress who have introduced the Dairy Import Act of 1967, and 114 Members who have introduced meat import legislation. It is surprising to me that under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which is a piece of legislation that Secretary Freeman has at his disposal, he cannot see the problem as it exists today. I certainly hope that the Secretary of Agriculture will read this RECORD and see exactly what we have in mind. It is surprising to me that under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which is a piece of legislation that Secretary Freeman has at his disposal, he cannot see the problem as it exists today. I certainly hope that the Secretary of Agriculture does read this RECORD and see exactly what we have in mind.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MYERS. In the committee report it is suggested that certain agricultural products would be included, and in the colloquy this afternoon the gentleman from South Carolina suggested that meat products would be included. My question is will raw meat imported into this country be included in the restrictions of this proposed legislation? Will the import of raw meat other than canned meat be included? I am talking about raw meat now.

Mr. DENT. Yes. Absolutely. In fact, it might interest you to know that perhaps we will even have a crack at imported kangaroo meat.

Mr. MYERS. I do not want to import any kangaroo meat.

Mr. DENT. They are importing it. That is the trouble.

Mr. MYERS. They do not come under the provisions of this proposed legislation, then, do they?

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, at page 4, starting with line 4, the language states:

> Should the Secretary find, as a result of the investigation and hearings, that an imported product is or likely will be sold in competition with like or competitive goods produced in the United States under such circumstances, he shall promptly report his finding to that effect to the President.

I am sure that this takes in all products, beef products as well as other products.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Findley: On page 4, immediately after line 18, insert the following:
>
> "Sec. 4. (a) Section 313(h) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1313(h)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: ', except that, if the imported merchandise is imported directly or indirectly from a country or area which is dominated or controlled by Communism, no drawback shall be allowed under subsection (a) or (b).'
>
> "(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to merchandise imported into the customs territory of the United States on or after the 30th day after the enactment of this Act."
>
> And renumber the following section accordingly.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I dislike to do this, but I must make a point of order against the amendment.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The gentleman from Pennsylvania will state his point of order.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, the amendment is an amendment to the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended.

This legislation represents an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. The amendment, in my opinion, is not germane, since the provisions of the Tariff Act come under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means and not under the jurisdiction of the committee or the subcommittee which it is my honor to chair.

However, Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Does the gentleman from Illinois desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, during the debate, my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent], indicated that this bill would convey considerable authority to the President to deal with imports. Therefore, it is my opinion that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent], having in mind the philosophy of this proposed legislation, would be glad to see it improved through the adoption of this amendment.

The **CHAIRMAN** (Mr. Brooks). The Chair is prepared to rule.

The bill before the committee amends two sections of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The amendment to section 2 adds further policy declarations to that act. The amendment to section 4 modifies the provision in current law which provides for investigations by the Secretary of Labor to determine the effect of imports in the domestic labor market.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois goes to another law—the Tariff Act of 1930—a matter not touched on in the bill now under consideration. The Chair has examined a ruling made by Chairman Smith of Virginia, in the 81st Congress, where a similar situation was presented. There the committee had under consideration a bill amending the Defense Production Act of 1950, establishing a system of priorities and allocations for materials and facilities. An amendment proposing to amend the Housing and Rent Act of 1947, relating to rent controls, was ruled out as not germane—81st Congress, second session, August 3, 1950, Record, page 11751.

The Chair holds that the amendment is on a subject not before the Committee at this time and sustains the point of order that the amendment is not germane.

Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Brooks, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 478) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas, pursuant to House Resolution 925, he reported the bill back to the House.

The **SPEAKER.** Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER.** Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 340, nays 29, not voting 63, as follows:

[Roll No. 285]

YEAS—340

Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolton
Bow
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Delaney
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Roybal
Ruppe
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taft
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tuck
Tunney
Ullman
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman

Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—29

Bingham
Bolling
Burton, Calif.
Cohelan
Dellenback
Eckhardt
Findley
Foley
Fraser
Gonzalez
Griffiths
Holifield
Irwin
King, Calif.
Leggett
Long, Md.
Mailliard
Miller, Calif.
Quie
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Rosenthal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
Scheuer
Talcott
Udall
Van Deerlin
Whalen

NOT VOTING—63

Abbitt
Adams
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, Ala.
Arends
Aspinall
Ashley
Brock
Brademas
Broomfield
Brown, Ohio
Button
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Collier
Colmer
Corman
Curtis
Dawson
de la Garza
Derwinski
Edwards, La.
Everett
Fascell
Feighan
Fino
Fountain
Fulton, Tenn.
Gilbert
Green, Pa.
Halpern
Hanna
Holland
Hosmer
Hungate
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Kazen
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Landrum
Macdonald, Mass.
Madden
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Roudebush
Sullivan
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Vander Jagt
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wolff

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Arends.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Kornegay with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Morgan with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Feighan with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Michel.
Mr. Moss with Mr. Curtis.
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Halpern.
Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. Derwinski.
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Adams with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Hosmer.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin.
Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Collier.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Fountain with Mr. Brown of Ohio.
Mr. Madden with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Button.
Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Abbitt.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Rarick.
Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Hanna.
Mr. Fascell with Mr. Jacobs.
Mr. Colmer with Mr. Hungate.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Reuss with Mr. Casey.
Mr. Rees with Mr. Willis.
Mr. Holland with Mr. Everett.

Mr. COHELAN changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. ESCH changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 13026. An act to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1862) entitled "An act to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 33D SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE RELATING TO TEXTILES AND BENZENOID CHEMICALS

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, the Governors of 13 Southern States have unanimously resolved that legislation pending before the Congress for the purpose of controlling imports of manmade fibers and textile products made of wool, silk, and manmade fibers be forthwith enacted, and that the supplemental agreement on chemicals to repeal the American selling price method of valuation, entered into by our negotiators during the Kennedy round, be roundly defeated when it comes before the Congress for implementing legislation.

The first resolution points out that such legislation is in keeping with our longstanding trade policy of controlling excessive imports which seriously affect domestic industry and employment. This policy has its genesis in the reciprocal trade agreement concept and its author in former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who, serving as a member of a special Presidential study group, made this recommendation in 1935. Since that time it has continued to form the cornerstone of U.S. trade policy, advanced and defended by every President and administration since its inception.

Unless we are guided by the Governors' resolution and act with dispatch on this legislation, which incidentally is cosponsored by 62 Members in the Senate and 139 Members of this body, we shall witness a substantial loss of investment and jobs throughout the textile-producing States with repercussions to the entire national economy.

Mr. Speaker, the second resolution is no less important to the economy of the South, and indeed, of the entire country. The American selling price system protects the jobs and livelihood of 116,000 benzenoid chemical workers throughout the United States.

In the Kennedy round, our negotiators agreed to reduce tariffs on chemicals by approximately 50 percent in return for a mere 20-percent reduction by the Common Market countries and the United Kingdom. In the so-called separate package agreement, the United States agrees to eliminate the ASP valuation system and further reduce its chemical duties in return for an additional 30-percent cut by the Common Market and the United Kingdom for which we already bought and paid for in the Kennedy round. It is this blatant lack of reciprocity that the Governors were compelled to unanimously oppose in the resolution.

By unanimous consent, I include both resolutions in the RECORD at this point:

TEXTILES

Whereas, thirty-two years ago the President of the United States recognized the adverse effect upon the domestic textile industry of excessive textile imports into the United States and directed that a study be made of the situation by a committee and that recommendations should be made to him as to how the matter should be handled; and

Whereas, the finding of this committee was that a voluntary agreement should be entered into between the principal exporter, Japan, and the United States; and

Whereas, it is particularly significant that the author of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement concept, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, was a member of the committee making this recommendation to the President in 1935, and so it may be accurately stated that concurrent with the inception of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement policy of our Government was the recognition that it is both desirable and necessary to control excessive textile imports when they are seriously affecting the domestic industry; and

Whereas, this established principle of the foreign trade policy of the United States was given further recognition and implementation in 1956 when President Eisenhower directed that steps be taken to limit Japanese cotton textile exports to the United States, and a voluntary arrangement with Japan was entered into for a period of five years, 1957–1961; and

Whereas, continuity of this principle was recognized when, upon the expiration of this five-year arrangement in 1961, a one-year extension was negotiated; and

Whereas, there was a full awareness of these historical facts when President Kennedy inaugurated his seven-point program on May 2, 1961, under which program there was negotiated a one-year short-term cotton textile arrangement by the United States and 18 other signatory nations, and in 1962, there was negotiated a five-year long-term cotton textile arrangement (LTA) among 29 nations and the United States, running from October 1, 1962, to September 30, 1967, that this further established said principle as an ingrained part of the foreign trade policy of the United States, which has this year been projected into the future by the extension of the LTA for a period of three years to September 30, 1970; and

Whereas, on June 30, 1961, at the time the one-year short-term cotton textile arrangement was being negotiated, President Kennedy stated: "It should be borne in mind that the contemplated negotiations are designed as one of a series of efforts to assist the textile industry. Our objective is to assist the industry to overcome all of the handicaps which it faces. The State Department is being instructed to get the best possible relief, not only for cotton, but for other fibers"; and

Whereas, on October 26, 1964, President Johnson when speaking of the Administration's textile program stated:

"When this Administration took office serious difficulties confronted this industry . . . It was determined to find answers . . . We know the job can be done. We must now focus on the remaining weak spots and implement the rest of our program . . .

"I am convinced that our program for textiles is in the best interests of all America. I intend to pursue it to a successful conclusion."

Whereas, the nation's textile trade policy necessarily embraces both the textile fibers and the products made therefrom, and this policy has been partially implemented by the imposition of import quotas on raw and processed cotton fiber, and by domestic subsidies for wool production; and

Whereas, the Congress has under consideration legislation designed to establish an equitable quantity of imports of man-made fibers and man-made fiber, woolen and silk textile products cosponsored by 62 Senators and 139 Representatives; and

Whereas, to date effective steps have not been accomplished by our Government to equitably control access to the United States market by foreign suppliers of textile fibers and products made therefrom and the need to do so is all the more apparent in light of the conclusion of the Kennedy Round tariff cutting negotiations and their impact in particular upon the textile areas in the Appalachian region, which is the object of special attention by the Federal Government as well as the respective state governments:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Southern Governors' Conference requests the Congress to enact the pending textile legislation, and the Administration to fully implement its textile program by establishing arrangements to equitably control access to the United States market by foreign suppliers of man-made fibers and textile products made of wool, silk, and man-made fibers and to administer those existing arrangements covering cotton textile products so that the best interests of our national economy and security, and the welfare of labor and management and the consuming public may best be served; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, his Cabinet, the members of Congress, and to William M. Roth, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

CHEMICALS

Whereas, the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations will seriously and adversely affect the domestic chemical industry, which includes many firms with plants and offices in States which are members of this Conference; and

Whereas, the implementation of the Agreement Relating Principally to Chemicals, Supplementary to the Geneva (1967) Protocol, including the repeal of the American Selling Price method of customs valuation, would have additional serious and adverse effect on the domestic chemical industry and on its operations in said States and the workers and communities in which they are located; and

Whereas, the proposed foreign tariff reduction which would be gained as a result of implementation of said Supplementary Agreement will not offer any significant opportunity to increase chemical export sales:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Southern Governors' Conference that the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, including the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and each member of the Congress, be advised that the Southern Governors' Conference:

(1) firmly opposes implementation, by legislation or otherwise, of said Supplementary Agreement including the repeal of the American Selling Price method of customs valuation, and

(2) urges that the Congress of the United States conduct a thorough study to determine the effects of the multilateral tariff reductions in the Kennedy Round upon the worldwide competitive position of the domestic chemical industry and the U.S. balance of payments before any further trade negotiations are undertaken by the U.S. government; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the members of Congress, and to William M. Roth, the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

LET UNCLE SAM DO IT

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include a newspaper editorial.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to see that among all the journalistic bleeding hearts in this country, who wept so effusively over the recent rat race in this Chamber, one newspaper, the Waterloo, Iowa, Daily Courier, had the discernment to put the issue in its proper perspective. I commend the Courier's excellent editorial to the attention of House Members—and particularly those who have, once more, rushed to the wailing wall to throw away another $40 million of the taxpayers' money:

BOTHERED BY RATS? CALL IN UNCLE SAM

The U.S. House has reversed itself and voted a two-year appropriation of $40 million which may be used for the control of rats in some of the big cities.

Opponents of the bill during the early rejection of the program had been crucified in a most vicious manner. They had been pictured in some cartoons in eastern publication as standing by joking while rats gnawed on little babies.

The real issue, of course, was whether another categorical appropriation establishing a new federal rat control bureaucracy was necessary and desirable. Opponents took the logical position that if people could be trained to put their garbage in a closed container and if poison could be put in crevices out of the reach of children and pets, any city in the country could operate its own rat control program.

Iowa, because of the storage of grain, undoubtedly has far more rats than any metropolitan city. But Iowa farmers consider rats their own problem and they do not think a new federal bureaucracy should be created to kill rats for them.

The rat control bill is an excellent example of the way the politician is unable to withstand pressures for additional spending. Fortunately, however, the new measure which passed the House is not a categorical grant program but an addition to an appropriation for general health programs. Thus, if officials discover that all of the $40 million is not needed to kill rats, it can be used for some other worthwhile health purpose.

But the public has no just cause to complain about this type of nonsensical federal spending. Very few voters write to their congressman because they don't want something. They write in vast numbers only when they want some additional benefit from the federal government under the illusion that it is free. This is what happened on rats.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS ASKED ME TO FIGHT ON FOR A STRONG TRUTH-IN-LENDING BILL, INCLUDING FULL COVERAGE OF REVOLVING CREDIT

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of what happened yesterday morning in the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Banking and Currency Committee when we began consideration of H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, I want to advise the House of the fundamental issue in controversy on this legislation.

It is the question of whether the department stores, the big chainstores, and others using the device of revolving credit should be required, along with every other vendor of credit—I repeat, along with every other business which extends consumer credit—to express the costs of their credit on an annual percentage rate. In the case of the department stores and others using revolving credit, this percentage rate would usually have to be expressed as 18 percent—a figure so high, and one which would come as such a shock to customers unaware that 1½ percent a month is 18 percent a year, that the firms using revolving credit know very well the rate would make them look very bad.

That is the issue on which my subcommittee is now divided 6 to 6. There are other issues on which we are similarly divided in this bill, but the revolving credit issue is undoubtedly the one which prompted the opponents of H.R. 11601 to take advantage of the absence of one Member yesterday to force adjournment of our executive session.

Mr. Speaker, I want the Members of the House to know that the President of the United States told me—not once, but at least three times—last Friday, when I was at the White House for a consumer conference, that he wanted me to fight on for a strong bill, including provisions for requiring all consumer credit to be expressed on an annual percentage rate basis. This includes revolving charge.

Many stories have come back to me implying that the administration is not really very concerned about the revolving charge issue and would be quite willing to settle for the Senate-passed bill on truth in lending, which exempts revolving charge from an annual percentage rate requirement. These stories do not square with what the President told me, what Betty Furness told me, what Under Secretary of the Treasury Barr told me, and what everyone else in the administration who has any responsibility for administration activity on behalf of the legislation has told me. So I am going to fight on for inclusion of revolving charge—I am going to keep up this fight.

It is good to know that in this effort I also have the expressed and, I believe, sincere support of the bankers, the furniture, appliance, hardware, and other stores not using revolving charge, the automobile dealers, the credit unions, and all of those firms and organizations engaged in consumer credit transactions other than revolving charge who have advised my subcommittee that the exemption for revolving charge in S. 5 as it passed the Senate constitutes a bitterly unfair discrimination against them when they compete with the department stores or big mail order chains on credit transactions.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON ASKS THE CONGRESS TO JOIN THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA IN A NEW ERA OF DEVELOPMENT

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the United States of America, once a nation isolated from others by two great oceans, is today a nation deeply involved in the peace of the world.

Where the first half of the 20th century witnessed our commitments to the nations of Europe, to help preserve Western civilization, culture, and enterprise, in the 1950's and 1960's we have become a nation deeply interested in the future, development, and security of the new and old countries of Asia.

Therefore, the important message which President Johnson sent to the Congress Tuesday on the future of the Asian Development Bank, is a strong commitment to intelligent economic and social progress for the nations of Southeast Asia.

The President has asked the Congress to make a pledge—a pledge of $200 million for special projects sponsored by the Bank over the next 4 years.

Our pledge will be a minority pledge, and will only be honored when the other members of the Asian Development Bank subscribe their contributions. No funds will be needed out of this year's budget. In addition, whatever our contribution, it will be available only for the purchase of U.S. goods and services for use in Asia.

This Nation has always believed in self-help by other nations. We have always been willing to make substantial contributions to international funds if there was agreement from friends and allies to equal or go beyond the American contribution. We have always stressed the need for the development of a sound internal structure in Asian nations—schools, highways, a balanced economy with jobs, industrial development, and so forth. Now we have an opportunity to make a solid contribution to Asian development through a regional organization which is basically an Asian innovation.

I congratulate President Johnson for never losing sight of basic social and economic development for Asia, even while American troops are giving their lives to maintain security and independence for one small Asian nation.

Make no mistake about it. The peoples of Southeast Asia know that the war in Vietnam is not just a war for the freedom of one small, struggling country. It is a war for the freedom and independence of all Southeast Asian countries.

The people of Southeast Asia welcome the American commitment to the Asian Development Bank.

The Congress of the United States, will, in my opinion, keep faith with those millions of struggling people by approving President Johnson's request for a new pledge of $200 million in special funds for the Asian Development Bank.

Today's Washington Post carried a very sensible editorial concerning this proposal, which I insert at this point in the Record:

A Chance To Recoup

With dismal inconsistency, the Congress this year has gone down the line for whatever is needed in Vietnam while taking every opportunity to scuttle a foreign aid program which is intended, in no small part, to forestall future "Vietnams" in Asia and elsewhere in the world. It is probably too late now to repair the damage done to foreign aid this year. But there is still an opportunity for Congress to restore some degree of elementary logic in its approach to the underdeveloped world. It can do so by giving early and favorable consideration to yesterday's welcome proposal by President Johnson for a $200 million United States contribution to new Special Funds planned for the Asian Development Bank.

The ADB, to begin with, is a sensible institution, established at our urging, but with genuine Asian effort and initiative. Our share of the capital is a modest 20 per cent, the same as Japan's. Management is in Asian hands, where it belongs. The ADB is also a sound institution. Like the venerable and respected World Bank, its standards for projects promise to be high; its insistence on responsible self-help by recipients promises to be strict; its terms for loans from its regular $1 billion capital promise to be business-like.

But also like the World Bank, which has a more lenient-lending offshoot called the International Development Association, the ADB needs money for longer-term loans at lower interest rates to cover the needs of its members for projects such as roads and schools which do not yield a rapid return on investment. These are the needs which the Special Funds are designed to meet and the American contribution of $200 million, to be spread over four years, is a minority share of the total to be raised, as well as a relatively modest sum.

Senator Fulbright has promised early Senate hearings and passage this year is in order on several counts. For one, the ADB reflects not only a praiseworthy Asian initiative but an encouraging trend towards an Asian sense of regional responsibility, measurable in a wide range of mutual "self-help" measures taken recently by various groups of Asian nations in the fields of education, health, transportation, and economic development. Progress in harnessing Southeast Asia's Mekong River basin is a striking example.

The ADB and its Special Funds also mark a useful step towards "multilateralization" of foreign aid, which puts a premium on collective, cooperative undertakings rather than strictly bilateral assistance with all the political complications it entails. Significantly, in his message to Congress yesterday, the President cited the ADB Special Funds as "an example of multilateral assistance that we fervently hope will be followed increasingly in the years ahead in Asia and throughout the developing world."

Finally, as the President also observed: "Lasting peace in Asia requires much more than resistance to armed aggression. Peace will come to stay when despair gives way to hope, when insurrection gives way to peaceful opportunity . . ."

There is little logic in a policy of resisting aggression in one small Asian land at whatever cost while denying what is urgently needed to counter the despair and hunger and poverty which feed the fires of insurrection in nearly all the rest of Asia and in a very significant part of the rest of the world.

DEFENSIVE DRIVING IS A FULL-TIME JOB

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, you all know of my longstanding interest in traffic safety and my efforts to find ways to reduce the slaughter on our Nation's streets and highways. This interest goes back 12 years when I sponsored a resolution to establish a Special Committee on Traffic Safety.

Just last year, as a result of extensive hearings my committee reported, and the Congress passed, the Motor Vehicle Safety Standards Act of 1966. The hearings underscored what we already knew—mechanical failure contribute to only a small percentage of traffic accidents; it is still the "nut behind the wheel" who is the chief offender.

Much has been said and written about driver attitudes and the need for increased driver education programs. I would like to share with my colleagues an article which appeared in the September Message Register, a newspaper for telephone employees in the State of Maryland. The article, written by Col. Robert J. Lally, the superintendent of the Maryland State Police, is entitled "Defensive Driving is a Full-Time Job".

He emphasizes the need for the "selfish approach" when a driver gets into an automobile, "selfish from the standpoint that each driver sets up an effective defense" against all the hazards of modern driving.

Chief Lally's words are particularly important because of his 30 years' experience in law enforcement, first with the FBI and then as chief of the Baltimore County Police Bureau.

Under unanimous consent I place the text of the article in the Record at this point:

Defensive Driving Is a Full-Time Job

(By Col. Robert J. Lally)

In 1899 the first motor vehicle death was recorded when Mr. H. H. Bliss, upon stepping from a trolley car in New York City, turned to assist a woman alighting from the same car and was struck and killed by an electric cab.

Thus, unwittingly, man had unleashed a massive and progressive means of human extermination and destruction of property perhaps second in potential only to the atom bomb.

During its relatively short existence, the automobile has taken the lives of over one and one-half million people. This figure becomes all the more shocking when one considers that all armed conflicts from the Revolutionary War to the present Vietnam action have claimed the lives of 604,000 Americans, certainly a small figure in comparison. Some 49,000 people met death on our highways in 1965, and last year, of the 107,000 people killed in all types of accidents, 44 per cent died as a result of injuries inflicted on our streets and highways.

Besides the human cost of death, suffering and grief, there is yet another cost to society embodied in traffic accident statistics. I refer to the economic cost for which, in 1965, the automobile was assessed a sum of $5.8 billion in wage losses, medical expenses and overhead cost of insurance. Officials of the State of North Carolina have concluded that "the estimable direct loss from traffic accidents every year almost equals the state's annual investment in the public school system for one million students."

DEATH DRIVERS

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover calls one segment of today's 98 million licensed operators "death drivers." Hoover states that "in terms of the terrible toll he exacts, the death driver—with reason and conscience blinded by intoxicants, lust for speed or utter disdain for traffic laws—can indeed be classed as today's Public Enemy Number One."

But there is still another type of driver who probably poses a far greater threat to public safety with an equally devastating effect. I refer to the average motorist whose intention is not to deliberately violate the law, but because of preoccupation, mild indifference to laws and safe driving practices, or an "it-can't-happen-to-me" attitude risks leaving for an appointment 10 or 15 minutes late, drives while fatigued, or permits some pressing problem to divert his full attention from the immediate task at hand—controlling the automobile.

This individual obviously has not learned about what I consider to be one of the most interesting, sound and clear-cut approaches a person can employ to minimize his chances of being involved in an accident. One might say it is a selfish approach—selfish from the standpoint that each driver sets up an effective defense against various hazards of modern driving—natural, man-made and human error hazards.

I'm sure you all know this approach. It's called "Defensive Driving." It means that you get into your automobile in the right frame of mind, plan your route, and then embark with a determination that you will reach your destination safely.

To accomplish this you must remain alert and compensate for physical conditions and most of all for other drivers who, through ignorance, neglect, arrogance or forgetfulness, fail to comply with the traffic laws. You must be willing to accept the seat belt as a time-tested device in minimizing injuries, and you must accept traffic laws and enforcement efforts as a means of controlling mass behavior on highways.

A FULL-TIME JOB

Defensive Driving is "getting the big picture." This means being alert to what is taking place immediately in front of you, to the left and right, and up ahead at the next intersection. You must anticipate the movement of other vehicles and pedestrians.

Defensive Driving is a full-time job. You can't afford to let your mind wander. To do so could be fatal. I recall a survey made in one city by a company which was puzzled by a rising fleet accident rate. Through the survey the company found that the most energetic salesmen had contributed to a disproportionate share of the company's accident rate. Why? It's not hard to understand. Because of their lust for sales, these go-getters were planning their sales approach while enroute to their next place of business. Their minds were on their customers and not on the road.

We all have a substantial stake in the safe movement of traffic on our highways. To date, Governor Agnew has made considerable progress with the Legislature in bringing our laws in closer conformity to the National Highway Safety Act of 1966. He will continue to submit, among others, proposals for a system of periodic motor vehicle inspection, an implied consent law, and re-examination of drivers 65 years of age and older.

States and local sub-divisions can provide the best calibre of men in law enforcement and place at their disposal the latest in equipment. But in the end, the success of any traffic program—state or nationwide—is dependent upon the attitude of you the driver.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, the C. & P. Telephone Co. is to be commended for its program to encourage safe driving. In this connection, I would like to insert another article from the same newspaper which lists those employees of the company in Maryland who have received safe driving awards:

Safe Driving Awards Given

As it is to all Bell System employees, "Safety" is more than just a word to the men and women of the C. & P. Telephone Company of Maryland. It is the objective of the System to motivate employees to take stock of their attitudes toward driving and traffic safety—to help them become defensive drivers.

In recognition of outstanding driving records, the Maryland Company presents employees with Safe Driving Awards, citing their defensive driving skills.

In Baltimore, awards have been presented by Jack Dubarr and Bill Smith to coin box employees James Berry, Frank Davis, Arkley Johnson, Bernie Lewis, Jim Murray, Jim Perry, Ken Roberts, Bob Schnell, Henry Shenton, and Jerome Strube, who has a 30-year safe driving record.

WESTERN MARYLAND WINNERS

William Barnes, Carlyle Dickens, Frank Eberly, Holmes Haller, Don Hamburg, Jack Harshman, Ray Hoffman, Roger Houpt, Frank Jones, Harry Keadle, Dave Martin, David A. Maugans, Don Ridenour, Melvin Ritz, Harry Rogers, Larry Shifflett and Joe Weaver of the Western Maryland Division also received awards for their safe driving skills.

In the Annapolis District, plant manager Robert Mattei presented awards to Claude Guy, Benjamin Swann, John Mattingly and Arthur Goode for their outstanding records.

WOMEN DRIVERS

Seventeen ladies were recognized for their outstanding safe driving records. The records of Helen Bopp, Ruth Hockett and Doris Parsons, commercial; Rosemarie Brandt, comptrollers department; Mary K. Ripple, executive; Mildred Baxter, marketing; Emilia Robbins and Frances Vickers, plant; and Margaret Collison, Mary Doermer, Martha Hedges, Virginia Morton, Adele Rider, Ethel Riess, Thelma Smith, Bernice Staley and Barbara Williams, traffic, represent 150 years of safe driving.

A JOB CORPSMAN WRITES

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it has become the popular thing in some quarters to attack the war on poverty and the Office of Economic Opportunity at every turn. The result is often criticism that is both completely undeserved and patently fabricated, presenting a totally distorted picture of the fight against poverty.

Columnist Lou Panos, who writes for the Baltimore Sun recently printed a letter from a young Job Corps graduate that I think deserves the attention of my colleagues. It gives a true picture of what OEO is doing to help Americans not so fortunate as we.

The young man, 19-year-old James Fleming, received training in welding under the Job Corps. He learned a trade, gained motivation and self-confidence, and is now earning more than $3 an hour at his welding job. Under unanimous consent I place his letter, as it appeared in Panos' column, Inside Baltimore, in the RECORD.

The article follows:

A Job Corpsman Writes

The folks who run the Job Corps and other anti-poverty groups come in for at least their share of raps, including an occasionally bad one.

So it seems only fitting to toss them a bouquet when they obviously rate one, like this.

It's in a letter from 19-year-old James Fleming, formerly of 2401 Dorton court in Westport.

He writes from the Gary Training Center of the corps, in San Marcos, Texas:

". . . I will like to extend my gratitude to all the staff members that helped along in my trade, because I must admit that at first it seemed like an impossible task for me.

"But, however, with your help I finally overcome it and now I'm a welder at Avondale Shipyard in New Orleans, La.

"My starting salary there was $3.02 an hour. So, you see, I'm not doing too bad, and I owe it all to the founder of Job Corps and also the people like you that make it possible for me and other corpsmen.

"Well, I'm enclosing this letter . . . in order that you might put it in the daily newspaper because there're so many of my friends backs home that don't know the real meaning of Job Corps or how it ticks, but if they could see me now I believe that they will also see the many opportunity that lie ahead for them if only they would make the first step up the ladder. . . ."

There's a post-script asking that the cost of publishing the letter be billed to its writer.

No charge, Mr. Fleming.

Due to this tendency to criticize the OEO, many of the excellent antipoverty projects in Baltimore, as in other cities across the Nation, face extinction or an uncertain future.

For the first time in the history of our Nation, we have offered opportunity and hope to the poor. But what we give with one hand, we cannot take away with the other. The moneys expended so far by OEO have barely scratched the surface—Detroit receives only 14 percent of its expressed need, Hartford only 6 percent, New York 10 percent, Atlanta 21 percent, and Baltimore 10 percent.

I am opposed to the violence and lawlessness which have erupted in cities across the land but I am equally opposed to conditions in America which produce the violence, such as joblessness, indecent housing, raw differences between justice, health and convenience for the poor and the rest of America. These are the ingredients of a riot to which I am unalterably opposed.

The program has been successful; of this there is no doubt. Many articles have appeared in the press, as I mentioned before, regarding the imperfections of the OEO program but very few have appeared to show the good that is being accomplished.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD at this point an article which appeared on September 14 in the Baltimore Sun indicating the need to continue these very worthwhile projects. My office was directly involved in re-funding efforts for Operation Reason in Baltimore last January and more recently with trying to find the funds to continue Operation Champ for the next 9 months.

The article follows:

Finance Plagues Poverty Plans—Services Center Is Latest To Go Broke as Success

(By Stephen J. Lynton)

Neither local governments nor the Federal anti-poverty administration has offered a satisfactory means of providing long-term financing for successful anti-poverty pilot projects, Baltimore's anti-poverty director said yesterday.

"It's a chronic problem, and of course it provides all kinds of administrative headaches and morale problems," Parren J. Mitchell, the Community Action Agency director, noted.

Mr. Mitchell made the statement after an announcement Tuesday night that one more experimental anti-poverty project—the Emergency Services Center—would soon run out of money and had no immediate source of renewed financing.

At least three other anti-poverty projects have faced similar financial crises this year—one of them twice. Another project may be in difficulties next summer.

And at least two other projects which help the poor but which are not governed by the city anti-poverty agency have complained of financial dilemmas this year.

Mr. Mitchell has made a number of suggestions of ways to avoid these financial difficulties—including one he made at a meeting last week with Senator Tydings (D., Md.), Mayor McKeldin, Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, the City Council president, and a representative of Governor Agnew—to the effect that interested Government officials or private business men form boards to oversee the economics of anti-poverty projects.

TWO-YEAR FINANCING PROPOSED

Mr. Mitchell wrote in June to the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity and to the national Conference of Mayors to recommend that anti-poverty projects be financed on a two-year rather than a one-year basis. "We did not get any response or reaction from the OEO to this," he noted.

Mr. Mitchell also suggested that, in many instances, local government agencies ought to assume the financial burdens for successful anti-poverty projects which fall within their general purview.

The announcement of the financial dilemma confronted by the Emergency Services Center was typical of problems faced by other anti-poverty pilot projects.

SHELTER AND FOOD

The center, which provides emergency shelter and food to destitute families, will run out of money November 30.

The State Welfare Department is expected to include the center in its budget for the year beginning July 1, 1968. But no money is now available to operate the program from December 1 to next June 30.

Similarly, Government officials are now seeking funds to operate the Operation Champ recreation program during the winter months. A meeting on the question with Governor Agnew has been called for 1:45 P.M. today. Operation Champ was in similar financial distress last spring.

OPERATION REASON RALLIED

Operation Reason, a program of services to the elderly, battled last spring to gain a renewal of its budget. Its clients—some in wheel chairs and on crutches—conducted a rally in Baltimore and a demonstration in Washington.

The Small Business Development Center, which provides low-interest long-term loans to low-income entrepreneurs, carried on long negotiations last spring with the OEO, which finally made a national exception of the program and renewed its budget.

The Street Club Workers Project, a recreation program, may face an emergency when its funds end next July 1. The city anti-poverty commission is studying the problem. Mr. Mitchell suggests that the city Bureau of Recreation may adopt the project.

HOMES FOR ADOLESCENT GIRLS

The Group Homes for Adolescent Girls—a program for maladjusted girls which is not specifically an anti-poverty project—ran out of funds this summer. It was permitted to continue after June 30 on a much-reduced budget provided by the State Department of Mental Hygiene and the Welfare Department.

The city's bail bond project, which is now operated by Volunteers in Service to America, has similarly been searching for a new source of funds. VISTA wants to stop operating the project. The city anti-poverty agency would like to adopt it under separate OEO funds.

A TRIBUTE TO TWO LEADERS

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Frank Boykin has been away from our midst for a number of years. However, the memory of Frank Boykin lives strong in the minds and hearts of those who were privileged to serve with him. He was a great Congressman, who ably represented Alabama and the Nation. He and his sweet and lovely wife, Ocllo, are indeed among the very finest of people. Frank is a big man physically and a big man mentally, but his heart is the biggest thing about him. Recently he sent to me an article about Ed Ball, outstanding Florida industrialist, and Frank's good friend of many years. It was Frank's thought that this article, which reveals an important side of Ed Ball, should be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Ed Ball's achievements are indeed monumental and these things should be better known. It occurs to me that Frank Boykin's letter, which is so typical of the man, would also make fascinating reading. Accordingly, I submit both:

TENSAW LAND & TIMBER CO., INC.,
Mobile, Ala., September 22, 1967.

Hon. BOB SIKES,
The Sam Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR BOB: Referring to our conversation over the telephone Wednesday about our beloved friend, Ed Ball, I think this is a great article, but not good enough, and as I suggested to you, I think it should go in the Congressional Record, so a lot of people could know about what this great American has done, for the things he has done have helped and are helping all mankind.

So many people are always asking me to ask Ed Ball to give something for some cause. I have never asked him yet, and never intend to, because I know what he has to go through down there, and a man has to give at home, like you do down in Crestview and I do here. I was with Ed Ball in Jacksonville several years ago when somebody was asking him for some money, and he gave them one hundred thousand dollars for a school in Tallahassee. I remember what Ed said. He said: "If you publicize this or tell anybody that I made a donation to this school, I will countermand the order."

Anyway, when an article came out that your friend and my friend was giving away ten thousand dollars a day, it just thrilled me and thrilled me, and I wanted everybody to know about it, especially the people in Washington, and I am going to ask you to put this article in the Congressional Record, so it will go to every library in America. Then I want copies to send them to two of Ed Ball's secretaries, who have been with him a lifetime and they are wonderful women. They, like Ed, just work day and night. They are always on the job and so loyal to him. Of course, in my book loyalty is one of the greatest things on earth.

Ed and I are about the same age. I think I am two years older than Ed—and how good the Lord has been to us! Just to think of it—we can still shoot and shoot good and both of us shoot without glasses. I must tell you of an instance that happened last year. Ed and I were sitting in a blind up at McIntosh, Alabama, on the Tombigbee River. We were waiting for the turkeys to come up. We had Bee Watson with us. Bee Watson, as you know, has been with us always, and on the 10th of July he had been there with us 58 years taking care of the hunting lodge and taking care of the wonderful hounds that we have there. At one time we had 94 hounds. Also, he looks after the game every day. We grow feed for our game every day of the year. Of course, we feed them more in the wintertime when the frost has killed the natural food than we do at other times.

Well, Ed and I were sitting there waiting, and I thought we had waited long enough; so I said: "Ed, let's go. If the game won't come to us, we will try to go to them." He said: "No, let's give them fifteen more minutes, and we did. In about five minutes here they came. I think there were about fifty gobblers in the drove, and the deer were already there right in front of us, but we weren't shooting deer; we wanted the gobblers—not little ones either, but the big ones, like you always kill. Well, Ed whispered to me and said: "Frank, you take the left and I'll take the right; count three and then we will shoot." Well, we waited until they got within about 40 or 50 yards of us, and one of us counted three and down they went. Then, as they flew over, Ed Ball shot another one, but at that first shot he killed a deer and a turkey, too. I killed one gobbler. Our two turkeys weighed over 20 pounds each. So, Bee said when he heard us shooting and came down to pick us up—"Captain Frank, Mr. Ed has done killed more turkeys than he can tote." Well, he did; he had a buck and two gobblers, and I had one gobbler that was a beauty. I never saw such a beard in my life. Well, of course, we were very, very happy.

I'll tell you—when Ed Ball went down with his brother-in-law, Alfred I. duPont, who married Ed's marvelous, beautiful sister, Jessie Ball duPont, it was a great thing for Florida. Ed made the State double and triple its progress and it is still going that way. He took railroads that were broke and made them blossom like a rose and pay the first dividend they have paid since you and I can remember. He has two railroads; he has all sorts of buildings and investments, hotels and motels; he has one million acres of the finest land in Florida, including all kinds of land, with waterfrontage in every county of the great State of Florida. He has the finest papermill business in the world, that reaches from one end of this nation to the other, then clear on over to Ireland, where he and a few more of us own a very beautiful castle together.

Well, everybody that knows Ed Ball like you and I do appreciates him, and more of them will know him after this. People have been told that Ed Ball wouldn't give anybody the sweat off of his brow, but this article tells the true story. I know of no other man on earth who gives away ten thousand dollars every day. I don't know who wrote this article, but it is wonderful and it will mean much to our friends, and I think the people should know, who did not know before, what Ed Ball has done and is doing for wonderful people in many, many places all over this land. He not only helps people in Florida, but he helps people just everywhere he goes.

Just think—he has 34 banks and has had to fight his Government and the labor unions, too. He is about the only man on earth, I think, that could do it. I think it would take the Good Lord Himself to do what our beloved friend, Ed Ball, has done and is doing. Aren't we proud of him, and won't we celebrate this fall when we meet at the hunting lodge at McIntosh, where "Everything is made for love", and where we will all get together and get the big bucks.

Ed Ball is a man who works while so many other men play. Ed Ball is a man who can laugh at problems which would make so many other men cry. Everybody thinks he is hard-boiled. He has to make out like he is to keep people from taking everything on earth he has, but Ed Ball has a heart of gold and silver, too. I have visited the Ball home in Virginia. It is a wonderful old heavenly place—almost within sight of the great home of Mary Ball, the mother of our own George Washington. The Balls lived only a short distance from the home of the Washingtons.

Ed Ball, in my judgment, has fought for what is right. He has fought for what is right just like George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Stonewall Jackson and our own Robert E. Lee. He has dedicated his very life to the development of his State—and not only to the great development of the State of Florida, but all over this nation—even in his beloved Ireland, where he has a great development that means much to those people there. I mentioned that he and a few more of us have a very beautiful old castle in Ireland. There has been a castle on this spot for a thousand years, and Ed Ball has built himself a little cottage off to one side. He hasn't had time to spend more than a dozen days at this wonderful spot that he made blossom like a rose. My wife, our daughter, Frances, our son, Jack, and my cousin, Charlotte Boykin Carlson, and I flew over to Ireland and spent the day at the castle. What a wonderful, peaceful day it was, and they say it has the finest fishing in the world. If we could get Ed to take just a little rest, I believe it would make him live years longer, and he could stay here on earth where he is really and truly in partnerships with the Good Lord in doing things that make people happy—men, women and little children.

Mrs. Jessie Ball duPont, who is a saint, lives in Wilmington, Delaware, where she has a tremendous home that she has turned over to crippled children. The last time I talked to Ed about this, she had nearly two thousand crippled children there. She gives all of her wonderful time to this. She, like her famous brother, has a brilliant brain and a world of energy, and she gives all to these crippled children. Think of what a great thing it is to help crippled children.

There is hardly anything worthwhile that Ed Ball has not done. He has not only developed wonderful farms, but shipyards, sawmills, dry kilns, planing mills, and papermills. Of course, the papermill is such a wonderful thing, and they just take care of the timber that we used to throw away in the old days, where we only saved the first cut off the log. We got what we called the "butt-log" and let the rest go to waste. Now they are taking all of the log. They take off the first cut for logs that they saw into lumber, or for piling, then what is left for paper. They even use the limbs, and if they don't watch out, Ed Ball will find a way to use the straw on these beautiful pines. He has hotels—some of the finest in the country. I believe he sold the Edgewater Gulf Hotel at Gulfport and Biloxi, Mississippi. What a wonderful place it was. It was in bad shape, but he got it going right, and then turned it over to somebody else. Then, he had another hotel, where I have stayed many times, at Gulfport. Also, golf courses and motels. But think of it—34 banks—and these banks are in places where they could help the farmers, the sawmill people and just everybody.

Nobody will ever know how much he has helped the citrus industry in Florida, and he loves it. He loves anything that produces and will help the people in this weary old world, and I know of nothing that he is not in. Here in Alabama he has one of the finest box factories in the country. He has them in Dallas, Texas; he has them in Kansas; he has them in many, many states—I think, in practically every state in the union; from the capital of Florida to Dublin, Ireland, Ed Ball has a complex of papermills and box mills.

He has a beautiful cattle business. One of his offices is out in the country; out from Tallahassee, where he has hundreds and hundreds of the most beautiful cattle I have ever seen in my life; and he has good men helping him. On what he calls his farm there he has eighteen lakes—not man-made lakes—the Lord made these; and I believe he has more wild geese there than any other place on earth. He has been protecting the geese there—fencing the place to prevent the people from killing them—and feeding them for about 25 years. After the geese found that they were protected there, they must have brought all of their kinfolks. I think they had something like 25,000 there last year. He has never allowed a human to kill one of his geese, and when the crippled ones make it in there and drop down in his lake, he has his people to pick them up and take care of them until they get well. Many of the geese like it so well that they don't return to the cold climates, but just stay down in wonderful Florida with Ed Ball and his people.

Again I would like to say that my beloved friend and associate, Ed Ball, does *more good things well* than any human being I have ever known or expect to know until we all go to Heaven. Maybe there will be another Ed Ball Up There, but not here on earth. I wish we had a thousand of them, for this would be a better old world.

During the panic I was visiting in Florida, where we had some land, and I talked to a banker. This man told me that during the terrible panic—"We couldn't have made it without Mr. Ball's bank; he just helped us through; he made us give him good security, but he carried us along until the bad times blew over; now we have paid him all up and all of us are doing business with his banks that have done so much for everybody.

The Good Lord has been good to the people in giving us Mrs. Jessie Ball duPont and her famous, fabulous brother, Edward Ball of Virginia, but now of Florida, and all of our beloved Southland and nearly every other part of this great nation. I wish the Lord could give us a few more Ed Balls and Mrs. Jessie Ball duPonts. The world would be a much better place than it is.

Anyway, our great Ed Ball has done as much on earth as any man I know, and you, he and I and all of our friends here will stay here just as long as the Lord wants us to, and then we will just all go to Heaven, where they really and truly have the great Happy Hunting Grounds.

Give Inez our best love, and we are looking forward to seeing you both at a very early date. May God bless you and Inez and all of your loved ones and give you strength to carry on the great work you are doing there in the nation's capital, and with love from all the Boykins to you and yours, I am

Devotedly, your old colleague and friend,

FRANK W. BOYKIN.

"PHILANTHROPIST" ED BALL DONATES CHARITY $3 MILLION

JACKSONVILLE.—Edward Ball, probably Florida's biggest financier and sometimes called the toughest with a dollar, may also be the State's No. 1 philanthropist.

A new report of the Alfred I. duPont estate, under Ball's strong guiding hand, reveals gifts to charities in Florida last year totalled $3,720,167.

Ball withheld details of the gifts to 559 different Florida-based charities, not even the amount to the Nemours Foundation, by far the biggest.

But he said the total was the largest of any year since duPont, his brother-in-law, died in 1935 and set up in his will a testamentary trust to operate the timberlands, paper mills, banks and railroads in the estate.

Ball Thursday won permission from the Brevard County Commission to fill in a $1 million strip of Indian River bottom land two miles long, 750 feet wide on both sides of the main entrance to the Kennedy Space Center.

Ball owns, in the name of the duPont Florida National Bank in Jacksonville, about 1,500 acres in the area.

Since its initial charitable contributions in 1936, the estate and its principal annuitant, Jessie Ball duPont, have contributed $34.4 million to Florida-based charities and $55 million to all charities.

DuPont provided that a large share of the profits from the estate be used to set up and operate the Nemours Foundation to aid crippled children.

Aside from this requirement, there is no pet and all-inclusive charity.

BALL BUYS PIANOS, AIDS COLLEGES

Ball may buy a piano for a church, establish a medical school grant, support a church festival or supply money to fight a disease, probably cancer. The estate's 1966 contributions in Florida went to 49 churches, 16 hospitals, 16 colleges and universities and 26 medical research projects.

DuPont's widow, Ball's sister, has emphasized education in her gifts.

"We have no set formula," Ball said. "We base it on what we can give away out of what we get and still operate. The amount is not based on the value of the estate but on the income of the corporations in the estate and the principal stockholders."

While giving away millions, Ball has shrewdly built the estate from a value of $27 million in 1936 to a book value of more than $100 million and market value estimated between $700 million and $1 billion.

Another reason for increases in the charitable contributions is that more than half the people duPont willed lifetime annuities have since died.

Upon the death of Mrs. duPont, now 83, about 99 per cent of the estate's income will go to charities. It will be 100 per cent when all annuitants are dead.

FOUNDATION GETS LION'S SHARE

Most of the money is earmarked for the Nemours Foundation, charted in Florida but principally operating the Alfred I. duPont Institute at Wilmington, Del.

The institute, with a highly rated medical staff, has cured or helped more than 20,000 crippled children since it opened in 1940. DuPont restricted the benefits to omit incurables.

"The treatment is free to every patient, the children of millionaires or the poor," Ball said.

Other Nemours Foundation funds help

crippled children near their homes in 16 other states.

With this program and advances in the field of health, there no longer is a waiting list at the Delaware hospital.

Now the foundation is moving into the field of helping old people—as duPont specified it should. Judging from the past pattern, a rapid advance is likely in this field.

McNAMARA ON WAY OUT?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include an article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the only regret I have concerning the article by Holmes Alexander carried in the September 26 issue of the Joplin, Mo., Globe, and which, under unanimous consent, I insert at this point in the Record, is that it ends with a question mark instead of an exclamation point:

McNamara on Way Out?

(By Holmes Alexander)

Washington.—Speak well of the dead. So far as his position as Secretary of Defense goes, Bob McNamara is finished. May he live long and prosper in some private capacity, or even in another public post. The body is quick, but the spirit he brought to the Pentagon in the bright, cold dawn of the New Frontier has taken flight—whipped out of authority, out of dignity, out of plausibility even.

The sooner President Johnson makes the departure official, the better for the common weal.

Shall we list the successors? The de facto Defense Secretary is Senator John Stennis, chairman of the Preparedness Subcommittee. Slow of anger and loath to strike, Stennis has reluctantly but dutifully built the case that leaves McNamara a war-minister in name only.

Revealed by Stennis staff-studies a few years ago was the ammunition shortage in Vietnam—denied and covered up by McNamara. Revealed just recently, again via Stennis, is the military pilot shortage—neglected and belittled by McNamara.

BOMBING POLICY

Then there's the policy of too-selective bombing in North Vietnam, defended by McNamara, but revised by the White House after hearings conducted by Stennis.

The senator from Mississippi, in effect, has taken over, not because he desires to do so, and much less desires to destroy a Cabinet officer, but because necessity has ordained it. Stennis, not McNamara, is the heeded presidential advisor on military affairs, and that is the job-description of the Defense secretaryship.

What other successors? Not so much Stennis, but the military assembly of Capitol Hill, has displaced McNamara as a decision-maker in the momentous question of erecting an anti-missile system. It is to be done, as we know now, at enormous but unavoidable expense, despite McNamara.

For lack of a proper noun, "military assembly" will have to make-do as a designation of powerful factors within the Senate and House Armed Services committees, the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. Allied to these committeemen are a host of concerned civilians from the academic and industrial sectors, plus many military writers, plus a strong stir of public opinion. It is this assembly that has taken the anti-missile decision away from McNamara, rendering him a superfluous person.

MILITARY ASSEMBLY

Derogatory criticism will continue to fall upon what I have called the military assembly. You will read that "committee rule" isn't the way to run a country at war. You will see and hear scathing denunciation of the "industrial-military complex." Already there have been personality assaults upon anti-McNamara congressmen.

But all these strictures and smears are off the mark. This country is a republic, with separation of political powers, and Capitol Hill committees should never permit an administration to go it alone, and go it wrong. This country is capitalistic and only private industry can arm us. This country is democratic, and its elected officials, emplaced by popular mandate, should not kowtow to appointive individuals.

Another successor? He is Senator John McClellan, chairman of Government Operations, the best all-around investigator we've got. McClellan is gradually wresting from McNamara the long-fought decision over the TFX aircraft. No Defense Secretary can survive proved failure and scandal in a matter of such magnitude. It now appears that McClellan will get the last word, completing the de-creditation of the boss of the Pentagon.

Of the departed—in this instance, the departing—speak only good. McNamara often had the right idea, but the placing and the timing have been off. Stern economy, civilian leadership over the military, limitation of bombing, nuclear offensive weapons as the best defense, an all-service aircraft—you can't fault any of these ideas.

But, alas, McNamara has mishandled them all. When will the President make the departure official? The mind of LBJ is beyond prediction. In every sense that counts, McNamara has already been removed, his decisions reversed, his place filled. Congress has beaten the President to the punch.

THE CENSUS: COMPULSORY VERSUS VOLUNTARY APPROACHES

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the 1970 decennial census of population and housing is now in its planning stages. The chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Congressman Green of Pennsylvania, has indicated this subcommittee will meet later this year to examine the proposed questions to be asked the American people on that census. In anticipation of this review of the census questionnaires, justification for including many subjects and the mandatory nature of this inquiry, I have investigated many facets of data gathering operations of the Bureau of the Census.

As I see it, there are four principal areas of concern which confront the Congress as the 1970 census approaches. First is the concept and use of mandatory features of this census; second deals with nonessential questions included in recent censuses and proposed for continued use; third relates to the rights of privacy infringed upon by this extensive public interrogation by the census; and fourth is the matter of competition with private market research firms or nonprofit institutions in the conduct of many census projects.

For the purposes of this discussion, let me initially consider the matter of compulsion which is sometimes said to be the vital and prime source of providing complete and accurate decennial census statistics. The latter three areas of concern which I mentioned will be presented in succeeding reports.

Section 221, title 13, United States Code, provides penalties—$100 fine and up to 60 days in jail—for noncompliance with various censuses—including the decennial Census of Population and Housing—conducted by the Bureau of the Census. An examination of the theory behind this mandatory provision, the number of violators prosecuted in recent years, and the deterrent affect it is contended to have on compliance, would be useful at this point.

Statements and correspondence I have received from Dr. A. Ross Eckler, Director of the Bureau of the Census indicate that in his opinion the penalty provision and official nature of the census forms lend significantly to maximum compliance by the general public. The mandatory provision prompts greater cooperation with enumerators and would similarly result in better response when the mail-out/mail-back method of conducting future censuses is employed, Dr. Eckler contends. The mandatory rule also is said to discourage organized local opposition to the census.

In order to receive an overall view of this provision, I asked the Attorney General and Director of the Census their policy toward enforcement of this penalty section:

> What has been the policy or attitude of the Department of Justice (Bureau of the Census) toward the enforceability of this statute and what steps have been taken to provide procedures for the Bureau of the Census and its enumerators to apprehend violators? How many incidents or cases of violations of Section 221 were reported to the Department of Justice in conjunction with the 1960 census and how many individuals were actually prosecuted under this provision?

Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General advised me on September 8, 1967, that:

> Whenever the Department of Commerce feels that the facts surrounding a refusal to furnish desired census information justify prosecution, the file in each case will be forwarded by the department to the appropriate United States Attorney. In all instances of refusal to answer Census questionnaires affecting companies, businesses and other organizations, the United States Attorney should make certain that efforts have been made to persuade the delinquent to comply with the Census Bureau's report. Prosecution should be instituted under 13 U.S.C. 224 if the delinquent persists in refusal to supply the required census data.

The Justice Department has no record of how many prosecutions were requested in conjunction with the 1960 census, but at least two convictions were reported, Mr. Vinson indicated.

It appears from the response I received from Acting Director, Bureau of the Census, Robert F. Drury, that no figures are available on the number of persons refusing to give information to an enumerator, or the number of cases involved in informal counseling with local U.S. attorneys. I can only conclude that the need to pursue the enforcement provision is minimal, reflecting well on the attitude of the American public on filling out census questionnaires. This is not to say the American people like these requests but nevertheless they patriotically have complied with them.

The Bureau of the Census has focused its fears frequently on the "vulnerability of the decennial census to organized local groups" who would thwart its completeness and/or accuracy. Dr. Eckler on August 2 wrote me:

> A major concern with your proposal (H.R. 10952) for eliminating the mandatory reporting requirement for certain of the questions asked in the decennial census lies in possibility that organized local or national campaigns urging citizens not to answer particular census questions, which certainly are in prospect if the law is so changed, undoubtedly would make part of the census results unusable.

Shortly thereafter, I asked Dr. Eckler to document the basis upon which he made that assertion:

> You referred to the vulnerability of the decennial census to local efforts to discourage public cooperation and that the penalty provision for compliance was vital to maintain a high level of participation. *Would you give me whatever experience you have had with efforts to thwart full participation with the Bureau in decennial censuses?* How extensive have these revolts been and what effect have they had on a local or regional collection of statistics? (Emphasis added.)

Dr. Eckler's reply of August 9 gave not one instance where any groups of citizens had organized on a local or national level or been in collusion to sabotage a decennial census or a portion thereof. In his letter Dr. Eckler referred to scattered resistance by businesses to form requirements and one instance of city government officials opposing a certain questionnaire, but completely failed to show that his charge of organized local efforts working against a census has any validity.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this contention, that people will not cooperate if a portion of the decennial census is voluntary is a smokescreen for complete unwillingness to allow the principle of volunteerism in the gathering of data by the Federal Government. I asked Dr. Eckler to test this principle, to conduct a pilot project to determine the variance in response between a survey where the respondents believe or are told their participation is required under penalty of law from a survey where compliance is clearly stated as being voluntary. I suggested that perhaps such a test case could be conducted in one of your periodic mail surveys which would not require a great deal of additional effort or expense. The answer I received was less than enthusiastic. Dr. Eckler wrote:

> To carry out a pilot project of the type you suggest in your letter of July 19 poses some operational problems which are not readily dealt with.

Even if testing the principle of volunteerism with a special pilot project is ruled out by Dr. Eckler, the Bureau of the Census already admits that wholly satisfactory results are possible with this approach.

Let us look at results from sample surveys and quote the Bureau of the Census:

> In addition to the decennial censuses, the Census Bureau regularly conducts many household surveys, covering a variety of subjects. Among the most important is the Current Population Survey, which has been conducted monthly for over 20 years and serves as the source of the official government statistics on total employment and unemployment. A sample of approximately 52,000 households throughout the Nation is visited each month in connection with the survey, and the results are published by the U.S. Department of Labor. Households are selected for the survey by address only, using scientific sampling methods. Each household is visited once a month for four consecutive months one year, and again for the same time period a year later. This technique permits us to obtain the needed information while minimizing the inconvenience to any one household.
>
> Participation in the Current Population Survey is voluntary. However, we have had cooperation over the years from the vast majority of the people contacted. Fewer than 2 percent, on the average, refuse to participate in the survey. In some other surveys the refusal rates have been higher, depending in part on the nature of the survey.

Now these results may not bear on a 100-percent census, but I believe they would prove feasible for a 20-percent, 15-percent, or a 5-percent sampling undertaken to secure data in a decennial census. In almost every communication I have received from the Census Bureau, officials praise "the demonstrated cooperation by the American public."

The American people, if I am any judge of their character, are more than willing to cooperate with the Federal Government to provide the basic, essential information to meet constitutional requirements on population and other facts about themselves. There is little disagreement that questions seeking this information should, if necessary, carry penalties for noncompliance. Our citizens do object, however, to harassment, invasion of privacy or questioning which has no public purpose. That is why I wish to limit the number of mandatory questions and require a separate, voluntary form for any extraneous inquiries the Census Bureau wishes to pose. I believe this plan would work.

In reviewing the Census Bureau's reasons and justifications for mandatory provisions covering any and all questions they care to ask, I find their rationale faulty both in theory and practice. To provide documentation to this position, in addition to the logic the facts themselves reveal, let me turn to two other major statistic gathering sources in the United States. I refer to the 50 State governments and the large number of private market research firms in this country.

STATE CENSUSES VOLUNTARY

Many State agencies conduct censuses and surveys to obtain vital information for the operations of State government. In order to learn the extent of such State statistic gathering activities, the U.S. Bureau of the Census itself in 1965 submitted a questionnaire to numerous agencies in each State to determine the scope and type of work they have undertaken. The principal emphasis of this census questionnaire was on population and housing information of the same type that appears on the decennial Federal census. Here is a summary of the reports the Bureau of the Census received:

> In all but one State, North Dakota, some State agency reported making population estimates for counties or other local areas. In a number of instances, census counts rather than estimates are available. Thus, the State of Kansas takes a State census every year as of March 1. Massachusetts takes one in years ending in 5; the results of the last one, taken as of January 1, 1965, have recently become available. The Washington State Census Board counts the population in selected places and supplements these counts with estimates of the population of other cities and towns. In all other instances, the data reported here represent population estimates derived by various methods.
>
> As in earlier surveys, the State departments of health lead other types of Statewide agencies in the preparation of local population estimates. Out of a total of 66 different State agencies making such estimates, 27 were departments of health. This is approximately the same number of State departments of health reported as preparing estimates in our earlier surveys. State universities are the second most important source of such estimates; 21 such agencies reported making population estimates. Ten of these were Bureaus of Business Research at State universities and the remainder were represented by Departments of Sociology and newly established Population Study Centers. Other types of agencies preparing estimates were: economic development commissions (6), employment security commissions (4), State planning commissions (3), and other agencies. These agencies include the State Census Boards in Oregon and Washington. In the State of California, population estimation is the responsibility of the Population Research Unit in the Department of Finance. In Utah, an interagency committee has the responsibility for such estimates.
>
> Table A below summarizes the sources of population estimates by type of agency preparing such estimates. The results from the earlier surveys are also shown for comparative purposes. In general, the changes reported over time are true representations of shifts in responsibility of preparing such estimates. It is quite possible, however, that the increase in the total number of agencies reporting work in this area since 1960 reflects the more extensive coverage of the 1965 survey.

TABLE A.—STATE AGENCIES [1] MAKING POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR LOCAL AREAS, PERIODIC SURVEYS, 1955-65

Agency	1965	1960	1957-58	1955
Total	66	57	62	46
Department of health	27	27	30	31
State university	21	16	19	9
Bureau of business research	10	10	15	7
Other department	11	6	4	2
Planning commission or economic development agency	9	5	3	1
Employment security office	4	2	4	
Other	[1]5	7	6	3

[1] Includes California State Department of Finance, Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Utah Population Committee, Washington State Census Board, and the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (census every 10 years).

This is an impressive report of what our States are doing themselves in the field of data gathering. However, it was not revealed in this Census Bureau report whether such State agencies have been given mandatory powers to secure such data from citizens and businesses. So, I wrote to the attorneys general of the 50 States to ask that question. The replies are significant. I received 45 responses and only in Massachusetts and Missouri did the attorney general indicate statutes existed requiring public compliance with agencies seeking general population and housing information. My two questions to the attorneys general and their responses are presented in the following table:

SURVEY OF STATE STATUTES AFFECTING CITIZEN COMPLIANCE WITH INFORMATION-GATHERING AGENCIES

State	Question 1—Is there a statute in your State which requires compliance (under penalty of fine or imprisonment) on the part of individual citizens or businesses to provide information sought through surveys and censuses by State information-gathering agencies?			Question 2—Does your State have any statutes restricting the information-gathering or investigatory authority of State agencies (other than police) which might be considered as recognizing certain personal or corporate rights of privacy?		
	Yes	No	Statute	Yes	No	Statute
Alabama		X			X	
Alaska		X			X	
Arizona		X			X	
Arkansas		X			X	
California		X			X	
Colorado	X		School census, board of education		X	
Connecticut		X			X	
Delaware		X			X	
Florida		X			X	
Georgia	X		School census only		X	
Hawaii		X			X	
Idaho		X			X	
Illinois	X		Agriculture statistics		X	
Indiana		X			X	
Iowa [1]						
Kansas		X			X	
Kentucky		X			X	
Louisiana		X			X	
Maine		X			X	
Maryland		X			X	
Massachusetts	X		Population		X	
Michigan		X			X	
Minnesota [1]						
Mississippi		X			X	
Missouri	X		Population		X	
Montana		X			X	
Nebraska [1]						
Nevada		X			X	
New Hampshire		X			X	
New Jersey		X		X		May not ask creed, religion, or politics.
New Mexico		X			X	
New York	X		School census, board of education	X		Civil rights law, protecting personal confidence and privacy.
North Carolina	X		do		X	
North Dakota		X			X	
Ohio	X		Military census		X	
Oklahoma	X		Title 2 (sec. 35); title 2 (sec. 11-8)		X	
Oregon		X			X	
Pennsylvania		X			X	
Rhode Island	X		Labor and education census		X	
South Carolina		X			X	
South Dakota	X		Venereal disease census		X	
Tennessee		X			X	
Texas	X		School census		X	
Utah [1]		X				
Vermont		X			X	
Virginia		X			X	
Washington		X			X	
West Virginia		X		X		Individual agency controls.
Wisconsin		X			X	
Wyoming		X			X	

[1] No response.

Mr. Speaker, except for two States and a few others requiring data on school-age children, our State governments can operate extensive statistical gathering programs without the "benefit" of mandatory compliance. This speaks well for our States and reflects clearly against the U.S. Bureau of the Census arguments that it cannot assure census accuracy without threats of prison or a fine to the respondent for noncompliance. The States do have similar "officiality" that is deemed important and succeed with public cooperation, not fear of punishment. There are several hundred companies operating with neither the force of law nor color of officiality. They must rely solely on public good will to succeed. Let us look at their views on the question of compliance.

PRIVATE RESEARCH FIRMS SUCCEED WITH VOLUNTARY SURVEYS

Required to conduct their total operations without Government prestige or compulsion, market research firms should be in a good position to evaluate the necessity and desirability of forced participation in the census. I wrote to nearly 200 firms across the country to learn their thinking on the subject. This question was presented to the president of each company:

> In the surveys and polls you undertake, both through interviews and by mail, do you receive a high response yielding meaningful results based on the willingness of respondents to cooperate? I wish to contrast your dependence on voluntary response with mandatory compliance utilized in many Census Bureau surveys.

The responses I have received, now numbering more than 100, are most useful and enlightening.

The overwhelming answer to my question was to affirm the principle of volunteerism as a desirable and effective method of surveying, in some cases it is considered more accurate than results of mandatory questioning. A few company presidents accepted the present status of the law but by a 5-to-1 ratio the expression of preference for the voluntary approach was endorsed. Several different reasons were given for this viewpoint. I would like to provide actual statements quoted verbatim from the letters I received to describe the thinking of private market research organizations toward voluntary data gathering.

The overall conclusion by these specialists in market research and statistics was that total reliance on public cooperation for the accuracy and success of their canvassing provides no disadvantage and is no impediment to successful operations. I think the following excerpts from letters will illustrate this point:

HUNTINGTON WOODS, MICH.,
August 15, 1967.

Hon. JACKSON E. BETTS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We have virtually no trouble with respondent cooperation in undertaking the many studies with which we are involved every year.

MILTON I. BRAND,
President, Brand, Gruber & Co.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 31, 1967.

Hon. JACKSON E. BETTS,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.:

With respect to our own work, as you correctly point out, there is no obligation for anyone to respond to any questions asked by us, nor do we seldom offer payment or other incentive to do so. Nevertheless, we find a high level of cooperation among both business organizations and private individuals. As you may know, most of our studies contain some kinds of information that might well be considered difficult to obtain—income or sales volume, for example. Although the rate of refusal on these questions may be slightly higher than on less confidential data, it is rarely in excess of 8 percent of those interviewed.

Arthur B. Dougall,
Chairman of the Board, Stewart, Dougall & Associates.

Princeton, N.J.,
August 29, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We do not feel that the questions that you have raised regarding confidentiality or respondent's freedom to refuse an interview are important differences between Census work and the work of our own organization. We feel that given the type of studies that we do, these are not important limitations to our work.

Joseph C. Bevis,
Chairman of the Board, Opinion Research Corp.

New Orleans, La.,
August 22, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

In reply to your request for direct comment on two specific subjects, I have found the willingness to cooperate almost universal. We obtain no more than an average of 1% (in some rare exceptions no higher than 2%) of the persons we interview uncooperative. We have never considered refusal to cooperate a factor of significant degree in any of the surveys we have conducted.

Irving A. Fosberg, Ph. D.,
President, The Psychological Service Center of New Orleans, Inc.

South Windham, Maine,
September 6, 1967.

Mr. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We depend entirely on voluntary response, and would have it no other way.

Mrs. Ruth W. Maloney,
Northeast Market Research.

Cincinnati, Ohio,
September 5, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

I certainly do not understand why mandatory response under law is necessary for Census Bureau surveys. It has been our experience that we may expect a 95% voluntary cooperation whether our interviews are made over the telephone or person-to-person.

James C. Moler,
Executive Vice President,
Burgoyne Index, Inc.

Chicago, Ill.,
September 14, 1967.

Mr. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

No, we do not suffer from not having this "advantage." (mandatory compliance) In fact, our rate of refusal for personal contacts with the public is so very low that we do not consider it a handicap of any significance. If we were retained to conduct an investigation or a census of the population for the United States Government, we could simply state that the information was required by law, and I am certain that we would get just as much cooperation (and maybe more) than numerators hired directly by the Department of Commerce.

Robert E. Elrick,
Chairman, Elrick & Lavidge, Inc.

Dallas, Tex.,
August 14, 1967.

Mr. Betts,
Washington, D.C.:

In twenty-six years of research work, we have never found that our clients suffer from our inability to employ the Government's powers to demand answers.

Joe Belden,
President, Belden Associates.

Dallas, Tex.,
August 15, 1967.

Mr. Jackson E. Betts,
8th District, Ohio, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

In answer to your letter of August 9th, we of course receive high response and meaningful results from the surveys we make on a voluntary basis. If we didn't we would be out of business.

Cecil B. Phillips,
President, MARC, Inc.

San Francisco, Calif.,
August 16, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.:

I have been in the marketing research business for over eleven years and, contrary to some opinions, I have found that the general public welcomes the opportunity to answer questions and express opinions *if* approached with courtesy and dignity.

Clifford V. Levy,
President, Far West Surveys.

West Hartford, Conn.,
August 16, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

In our experience, we have found that there is a high degree of cooperation on the part of respondents; providing, of course, that they have the time and the ability to answer questions. Our work covers a broad area of subject matter but even in the case of very personal questions, we find respondents cooperative. The refusal rate is less than one half of one percent. It should be pointed out, however, that we are careful to tell the respondent all we can about the purpose of the study, the need for their opinion and the fact that their name will not be used in any way. Our opening remarks always include that "we are not selling anything."

A. C. Bourget,
President, The Marketing Service Co., Inc.

Minneapolis, Minn.,
August 22, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We certainly do receive a high response yielding meaningful results in the surveys and polls we conduct, by mail, by telephone, and by personal interview.

There are always a few who refuse to reveal such data as the family income, but almost invariably, these are less than five percent of the total people interviewed. We have always been able to analyze the results and interpret the meaning of the survey, in spite of this small refusal.

Bert Russick,
President, Mid-Continent Surveys.

Minneapolis, Minn.
August 22, 1967.

Congressman Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Your first outline to me about willingness of respondents to cooperate does not bother me at all. I believe that people, by in large, are willing to be interviewed as long as we treat them in a businesslike manner. We are making a tally now of these 3,300 questionnaires to see really how many people did refuse to do the job. I would expect my trained interviewers to be able to complete any study for the Census Bureau with respondent's willingness and cooperation every bit as high as and probably more so than if these people were being called on by a person only hired for that one study. I can't imagine it posing any problem at all to me.

In this last year I have operated in every state in the Union. I have done thousands of questionnaires in Canada, Mexico, Hawaii; and now, we are getting ready to work in the United Kingdom, Belgium and France.

Mrs. Marian S. McCullough,
President, Winona Interviewing Service, Inc.

Chicago, Ill.,
August 11, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

As far as secrecy is concerned, this should be the least of your worries because a reputable private agency cannot do work for all the large food companies, as we do, and have a large mouth. We are constantly working on new products, product concepts, and the like, and what we do is always confidential and secrecy is about as natural as getting up in the morning. So, in short, we do have the strictest degree of confidentiality even though there is no law that says we have to keep our findings secret.

Albert W. Hachmeister,
Vice President,
Jackson Bee Angell & Associates, Inc.

New York, *N.Y.*
August 17, 1967.

Jackson E. Betts,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

The non-response on personal interviews and telephone interviews, when contact with a respondent is made, is relatively minute.

Certain questions relative to income have a higher non-response than less personal questions, but even this non-response is not of a significant nature.

Mail surveys have various percentages of returns depending on the interest of the subject matter, and the amount of inertia (on the part of the respondents) in taking the physical time to answer the questions and mailing the questionnaires. However, of those questionnaires returned, the non-response is negligible.

George Fine,
Market Research Service.

Several company presidents thought the mandatory features of census questionnaires unnecessary because the official Government format and documentation are adequate to gain the cooperation of any reluctant respondents. Two examples of these replies follow:

Cherry Hill, N.J.,
August 29, 1967.

Congressman Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

It is believed that the Census Bureau would, through personal interviews, receive a high level of response and meaningful results on a voluntary basis from both individuals and business. This has been our experience in both consumer and industrial/commercial surveys. Generally, people will cooperate as long as their doing so is not detrimental to them. An invaluable advantage in the case of the Census Bureau's survey work, is that the "official" stamp of the Federal Government is present.

Hugh F. Breslin,
Director, Arthur S. Kranzley & Co.

New York, N.Y.,
August 14, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

In reply to your letter of August 9, I would like to say that our refusal rate from the general public of answers to our questions has been very small . . . less than 5% on the average. I feel sure that if a census enumerator were to ask any sort of question of the general public, an answer would be given without the threat of punishment. The mere fact that the enumerator was representing the government would be sufficient to give even greater attention to the questions than if she were coming from a private research company. I doubt whether many people now realize that they would be penalized for failure to answer the questions.

Lee Andrews,
President, Andrews Research, Inc.

A third view expressed by these market research experts was that the mandatory nature of decennial census questions may even distort the accuracy of such reports. I agree with this thesis. To demand compliance from a citizen is meaningless if the information given is not accurate or complete.

West End, N.J.,
August 15, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Mandatory compliance in Census Bureau surveys may yield responses that are neither reliable nor honest. Private market research organizations, if they are any good at all, will be able to do two things that would help the Census Bureau: (1) Use qualified people who will be able to secure cooperation from respondents; (2) validate the results obtained, so that it will be really useful.

Motivation Analysis, Inc.
Mrs. Miriam Eisenberg.

Chicago, Ill.,
August 8, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

The point was raised in your letter about whether government identification helps survey responses. Let me say emphatically, *"no"*. We find that our refusal rate as a private survey company generally runs well below 7 percent. Equally important, we think government identification on many surveys produces a strong bias which may produce seriously misleading data.

David K. Hardin,
President, Market Facts, Inc.

St. Louis, Mo.,
August 21, 1967.

Congressman Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Under most circumstances voluntary information has more reliable, usable response than forced answers. Obviously voluntary answers cannot be obtained from the total market. However sampling techniques can be used which do give a high degree of statistical reliability to the total answers obtained.

Roy St. Jean,
Edward G. Doody & Co.

Several of the firms from whom I received replies are or have been Government contractors. It is clear from their statements they are satisfied with the techniques of research using only voluntary questioning and that the Federal department or agency for whom they undertook the project believed such an approach is sound. In a real sense, then, we find Federal agencies using private contractors who must employ only voluntary data gathering techniques and the Bureau of the Census relying largely on compulsory methods. I think this inconsistency should be fully explored. Here are excerpts of letters on this point:

Philadelphia, Pa.,
August 9, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
House of Representatives,
Washington D.C.:

Certain private marketing research firms such as Chilton Research Services are conducting and do indeed have, the particular research capability and technical qualifications to conduct nationwide surveys among such highly specialized populations as engineers, psychiatrists, educators, and farmers, as well as surveys among consumers in households.

Private marketing research organizations are in fact doing this kind of work every day both for business and industry and for the Federal Government. Since these companies must be competitive in terms of cost, accuracy and reliability, they must function at the highest level of efficiency possible or they do not stay in business. American businessmen using these services, who in their own highly competitive fields, require maximum efficiency cause these research organizations to be creative. It is my opinion that certain of these private research facilities can undertake or participate in the many projects with which the Bureau of the Census is involved.

It is my view that the present clients of Chilton Research Services do not suffer in any way from our inability to apply the penalties of the law for not responding to questionnaires seeking legitimate information. Where information is given freely and willingly it may be more reliable and may demonstrate greater finesse and technique to elicit information than where there is the possibility of threat or penalty for not replying.

John H. Kofron,
Vice President, and Director, Chilton Co.

Finally, there are those market research firms whose management feel that my recommended approach, through the adoption of H.R. 10952, is a desirable change in present law and census practice.

San Francisco, Calif.,
September 5, 1967.

Mr. Jackson E. Betts,
Eighth District, Ohio,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We would suggest that Census surveys might be conducted in such a way that only the basic Constitutionally required information be obtained by a complete census, while the additional information could be obtained from sub-samples of the population, perhaps at more frequent intervals, thereby diminishing the burden on individual citizens while at the same time providing society with vitally needed estimates of important population parameters.

Field Research Corp.
Mervin D. Field.

Peekskill, N.Y.,
September 12, 1967.

Hon. Jackson E. Betts,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

I believe that the Census Bureau should obtain its basic information by the interview methods that are currently in use, and on an involuntary basis. However, I believe that the information that an individual is required to give, on this mandatory basis, ought to be limited, as you have suggested in your bill and speech. Information going beyond this basic data can, I believe most expeditiously be garnered by reuse of sample surveys. The Bureau of the Census, The Department of Commerce, and other organizations within the government, are well acquainted with the use of sampling surveys and their limitations statistically and mathematically, and I believe, could gather most of the information which is sought in the census by the use of such methodology.

William Capitman,
President, The Center for Research in Marketing, Inc.

Of all the letters I received, the following paragraph succinctly summarizes the wholesome and apparently abundantly successful approach taken to market research firms by men and women in this profession:

> All Marketing Research studies are based on the premise that, "It is the basic right of every individual to refuse to be interviewed, once he has agreed to the interview it is his basic right to refuse to answer any questions he feels are an invasion of his privacy." In addition to this all work is of a highly confidential nature and respondents are assured their answers will never be seen or used by anyone other than the people directly connected with the research study. We find by adhering to these principles that a well trained personable interviewer capable of establishing and maintaining rapport, not only encounters few refusals but provides respondents with an interesting and enjoyable diversion from their days activities.
>
> In my opinion there is never a need for a threat of fine or imprisonment for one's refusal to answer questions—properly conducted interviews can elicit these answers without concern or threat.

Mr. Speaker, this analysis is only part of the reasoning and documentation I plan to advance in support of H.R. 10952. I would welcome assistance from any of my colleagues in attempting to protect the privacy and freedom from harassment of the American people. When a hearing is scheduled on 1970 census question plans, I hope many Members will afford themselves the opportunity to speak for their constituents, because all our citizens are involved in a decennial census.

THE MALTESE WELFARE PROPOSAL

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, ocean floor resources are to be turned over to the United Nations of some nebulous international organization for administration. The revenues from exploration and exploitation are to be turned over to the developing nations of the world.

The tiny country of Malta on August 17, 1967, in fact, made such a proposal to the United Nations, rushing its proposal as an agenda item for the 22d session even before studies to formulate proposals for expanded international cooperation were completed. These studies were to have been reported to the Secretary General during the 23d—current—United Nations General Assembly session.

The Maltese proposal looks forward to a treaty which would reserve the ocean floor for peaceful purposes, establish an international agency to assume jurisdiction over the deep ocean floor—and its resources—and set aside revenue from the exploitation of the ocean floor for the benefit, not of the United Nations at large, not of the countries that conduct the exploration and exploitation, but for the benefit of developing countries.

On the surface the proposal sounds innocuous enough, but when one realizes the scope of the proposal, it would seem that our Ambassador, Mr. Goldberg, should have notified we who represent the people in the Congress, of the danger and expressed himself to the United Nations as inalterably opposed to a giveaway of resources; over the jurisdiction of which we have a paucity of knowledge.

The proposal itself disregards the extensive work of the United Nations International Law Commission, a number of important laws of the sea conventions adapted in Geneva in 1958 and also agreed to and signed in 1958. One of those conventions deals directly with the Continental Shelf. It gives to coastal states sovereign rights for the purpose of exploration and exploitation of the natural resources of the Shelf and defines Shelf as the seabed adjacent to the coast beyond the territorial sea "to a depth of 200 meters or, beyond that limit, to a depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said areas."

I have read carefully the position of our State Department as expressed by the Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organizational Affairs, David Popper. As one might expect, the State Department expressions lack preciseness, but he surely understands the magnitude of the proposed giveaway.

It is my belief that it is time to again examine the Executive authority. It is time to again take inventory of the total giveaway authority vested in the President, and which he has further and I believe erroneously delegated to his representative at the United Nations. The matter must be examined in depth.

The United States as a member—and I might add paying member—of the United Nations is entitled to know:

First, why did the Maltese Ambassador, Arvid Pardo, make this premature proposal?

Second, who put the Maltese Government up to the proposal? Are they, perhaps, the sounding board for the British?

Third, and, most of all, why the rush?

It is my conviction that there is no rush; it is my conviction that the presently agreed to international law is reasonable and is substantive. There is little reason to set up additional unknowns and additional legal barriers, which will impair and deter investment and exploration in the depths of the sea even before capabilities and resources are developed. A part of the revenue received certainly should come to the country adjacent to the sea bed being explored and risking the prospecting.

It is my opinion that the Congress must make its will abundantly clear to the executive department and that the executive department should instruct our Ambassador to the United Nations along these lines.

Mr. Speaker, for these reasons I am today introducing a joint resolution that will express the sense of Congress in this vital area.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE BALANCE OF THIS WEEK

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time in order to inquire of the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], the program for the remainder of the day and for the remainder of the week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield to me?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished minority leader, we shall have no further legislative business today. We do have one bill on the program for the consideration of the House upon tomorrow, which is listed in the whip notice, H.R. 10673, to amend the Packers and Stockyard Act, under an open rule with 1 hour of general debate. Further, unless there are other unanimous-consent requests and conference reports to be considered, about which I do not know at this time, that will constitute the balance of the legislative program for the week.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns tomorrow it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SNOOPING

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, there is no question in anyone's mind that the protection of the law-abiding majority is one of the fundamental purposes of government. But the desirability of assuring that protection must not cause us to overlook what is perhaps a more important consideration: the right of every citizen to be free from unwarranted invasion of his privacy from any source.

It is in this context that I see the current debate of the extension of the use of wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping. We have already witnessed hundreds of examples of the loss of individual privacy. No matter how laudable the aims of the distinguished Judicial Conference of the United States, it is my belief that any proposal that would broaden the use of electronic intrusion is another blow at privacy and, ultimately, at freedom.

I think that the soberness and seriousness of the debate taking place among concerned citizens, lawyers, law-enforcement officials, and responsible journals of opinion is an indication of how deeply this problem touches the shared, basic values of every man who lives under our Constitution.

The Washington Post, in an editorial on September 28, 1967, has made a highly useful contribution to that debate and I would like to commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

SNOOPING

The Judicial Conference of the United States has voted to endorse legislation that would permit Federal and state investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court order. With the highest respect for the authority of the Conference, we offer an opposition to its view. The social costs of such intrusion into privacy would, in our judgment, heavily outweigh the gains to law enforcement.

The Conference gave its approval to pending eavesdropping legislation with the proviso that it be amended to meet the restrictions laid down in last June's Supreme Court decision in the *Berger* case. In that case, the Court struck down as constitutionally invalid a New York statute authorizing eavesdropping under court order because it failed to meet the Fourth Amendment requirement of a reasonable search—that is, that it particularly describe "the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

The truth is, we think, that this requirement cannot be met by any court order authorizing eavesdropping. As Mr. Justice Black observed in a dissenting opinion in the *Berger* case, the Court's decision "makes constitutional eavesdropping improbable."

It is a fallacy to suppose that a court order can circumscribe or control eavesdropping in the way that a warrant can limit an ordinary search. When a telephone is tapped or a room is bugged, the privacy of everyone using the telephone or the room is invaded, whether or not he is under suspicion of criminal conduct. The conversation of anyone calling the telephone or entering the room is recorded, whether or not it is related to a crime under investigation. Intimacies of every sort—social, business, conjugal—may thus be divulged to the eavesdroppers.

More serious, perhaps, than the eavesdropping itself is the pall which fear of it may put upon normal conversation. The most law-abiding men and women have things to say to each other which they want to say in confidence. Any official intrusion into such privacy is, as Lord Camden put it two centuries ago, "subversive of all the comforts of society." People who fear that government agents may be covertly listening to all that they say are not free people. They speak under constraint. And where this fear is endemic, freedom of communication is a casualty.

The community must choose, as is so often the case, between the claims of freedom and the claims of safety. Acknowledging that bugging and tapping may give the police some assistance in combatting organized crime—or may at any rate make it necessary for criminals to be extremely circumspect in communicating with each other—the question is whether the inhibition on lawful conversation is worth the cost. The choice is between facilitating the work of the police and facilitating free communication. Men cannot be free if they live in fear of official surveillance. "It is more than desirable, it is necessary, that criminals be detected and prosecuted as vigorously as possible. It is more necessary," as President Roosevelt put it, "that citizens of a democracy be protected in their rights of privacy from unwarranted snooping."

WTAE-RADIO-TV EDITORIAL ON JUVENILE CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I introduced legislation proposing a drastic overhaul of the way the Nation's Capital deals with juvenile offenders.

I feel that cities throughout the Nation can look to this proposal as a model for action to combat juvenile delinquency.

Recently WTAE-Radio-TV, Pittsburgh, carried an excellent editorial on this subject which I would like to call to the attention of our colleagues:

(The following Editorial was presented over WTAE Radio by F. Geer Parkinson, Vice President and Station Manager, from September 22–24, 1967.)

Our Juvenile Court has received a severe going-over in a long, critical study by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

The survey found the court overcrowded and understaffed; its probation practices faulty; its space cramped; its salaries inadequate and unrealistic. There aren't enough typists, nor enough telephones. A judge hears cases until nine o'clock at night, and there's still a backlog. Youngsters are in detention who shouldn't be, and some who should be are getting off by paying fines to squires.

The report does not paint a pretty picture of the court nor of the political leadership responsible. But the report did not stop there. It had a measure of criticism for every adult in the county, because of our nearsighted belief that a juvenile court is the only answer for troublesome youths.

Portions of the report which were critical of the court, the detention home and the county government have been widely quoted. But no one yet has quoted the portion which places blame on all of us. It reads like this:

"In order to really tackle the juvenile delinquency problem in Allegheny County, the people of this community must be more ready to tolerate and work with non-conforming youth and less ready to pass them on to juvenile court."

The study charges that many youngsters are going to court for offenses that aren't really bad enough to require the formal machinery of a court. But their neighborhoods lack the patience, the concern, the wholesome resources of sports and constructive activities that keep restless youths occupied and supervised.

The flaws the study found in the juvenile court are easily fixed with more money. Less easily fixed is the flaw in our national thinking which wants to substitute institutions for the old neighborhood spirit of looking after your own.

LET'S GIVE CRIME VICTIMS AND GOOD SAMARITANS A BREAK

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, the idea is growing in our Nation that society has a responsibility to those persons who become innocent victims of violent crimes.

The innocent victim of a violent crime is often called the "forgotten man" of our society.

Our system of criminal justice takes great care to apprehend suspects, afford them a fair trial, and punish and rehabilitate those found guilty. But while society is housing, feeding, and attempting to rehabilitate its criminals, it is leaving victims of crime and their families to fend for themselves. Often this is at considerable hardship to these innocent people.

Unless the crime victim carries an unusual amount of his own insurance, he will have the burden of costly medical care and lost earnings for the time he is recovering. If death to a family breadwinner results from a violent crime, the family left behind might well have little or no resources or income on which to live.

In the last Congress I sponsored H.R. 14887, to set up a Federal Violent Crimes Compensation Commission. Today I am introducing a similar bill but broader in scope, since compensation could go not only to the principal victim of a crime but also to a good Samaritan, who was injured while trying to stop the crime or apprehend the offender.

The bill I am introducing would cover crimes committed in the District of Columbia, on Federal installations, and other places where the U.S. Government has general police power. Beyond its immediate area of coverage, however, I hope this bill can serve as a model to encourage States to provide their own crime compensation schemes. New York and California already have crime compensation laws.

Under the crime compensation bill I am introducing, a good samaritan injured while helping at the scene of a crime would have a claim for compensation. It is a government's duty not to throw roadblocks in the way of unselfish citizens who wish to aid another in an emergency. For this reason I am introducing a companion bill that will shield every good samaritan from civil liability arising from their helping at the scene of an accident or other medical emergency, such as a crime.

The good samaritan immunity from civil suits has covered physicians and nurses in the District of Columbia since Congress enacted it in 1965. My bill would extend this immunity to all citizens acting in good faith, provided they are not expecting payment for their aid and their conduct is not grossly negligent.

At least 13 States now give good samaritan immunity to all persons, not limiting the immunity to physicians and nurses, according to the Legislative Reference Service. These States are Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Serious crime has risen to such a level in this country that nearly two out of every 100 Americans will be a victim of some serious crime in 1967. My two bills, I hope, will give more backing to the good samaritans among us who are willing to help their fellow man at the risk of great sacrifice. And the crime compensation plan I propose in one of the bills will go a long way to lighten the burden that violent crime can place on individuals and their families for up to a lifetime.

Mr. Speaker, the Reader's Digest, in its July 1967 issue, presented an article by Irwin Ross entitled "The Victims of Crime Deserve a Break." It tells both clearly and concisely how crime compensation plans are working in Great Britain and the United States. For the benefit of those Members who did not happen to see this excellent brief article, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

THE VICTIMS OF CRIME DESERVE A BREAK

(By Irwin Ross)

Great Britain and New Zealand, and two American states—California and New York—now recognize society's obligation to assume some responsibility for those who suffer criminal violence. Shouldn't every state follow their example?

When a Chicago cab driver named Lawrence H. Boyd saw three thugs pounce on a couple of young men and knock them to the ground, he dashed from his cab to help. Pistol shots rang out, felling Boyd. He managed to drive himself to a hospital, then collapsed in the emergency room. He underwent two operations, but partially lost the use of his right hand. In all, he spent 31 days in the hospital and ran up medical bills totaling $2269. No longer able to drive a cab, he was unemployed until he found a factory job that he could do with one hand. Despite substantial gifts from sympathetic citizens, he still owes more than $2000. For Boyd, it was a costly moment of heroism.

The fate of the Collins family was even more tragic. In October 1965, Arthur Collins, 28, and his wife, Christine, 26, were riding on a New York City subway train when a drunk lurched through the car and began annoying several women passengers. At the next station, Collins rose from his seat and put the man off the train. But the drunk dashed back and plunged a knife into Collins' heart. Collins died within minutes. He carried no life insurance and had been earning a modest $6000 a year, so Mrs. Collins was left virtually penniless.

The maimed cab driver and the young widow typify the plight of the innocent victim of crime. Year by year, the crime rate rises. FBI statistics for 1965 (the most recent available) showed 206,700 cases of aggravated assault, 118,920 robberies, 22,470 cases of forcible rape, 9850 murders. For thousands, the sheer bad luck of being the victim of unprovoked violence means financial disaster as well as physical agony.

The situation is as ironical as it is unjust. City, state and federal governments spend millions of dollars each year on housing and feeding criminals, on attempts to rehabilitate them. The perpetrator of crime is well cared for—as is proper in a humane society—but the blameless victim of crime has traditionally had to fend for himself, pay his own medical bills and support his family during his convalescence. "The innocent victim is the forgotten man in our society," New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller declared.

The problem has finally touched the conscience of the nation. In 1965, California passed legislation providing financial aid to victims of crimes of personal violence. Last year, New York State followed suit. Similar proposals are now being considered in Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey and Rhode Island. Meanwhile, in New York City, the Collins case prodded the City Council to pass a "Good Samaritan" law to compensate citizens for losses they sustain in trying to prevent a crime or preserve the peace. Mrs. Collins now receives a pension of about $4420 a year, or what a policeman's widow would get in similar circumstances.

Compensation for crime victims is a proper charge on society, in the view of many authorities. Arthur J. Goldberg, while still a Supreme Court Justice, said, "The victim of a robbery or an assault has been denied the protection of the laws in a very real sense, and society should assume some responsibility for making him whole."

As a practical matter, private insurance schemes are no solution to the problem. If a crime victim has medical insurance, his hospital and doctor bills may be covered, but he will not recoup lost earnings. Income-protection insurance is too expensive for most people. And although the victim of a felony has a legal claim against the perpetrator, too often the criminal is never caught. When he is, more often than not he is penniless. Private charity, as a source of assistance to crime victims, is too capricious to be dependable.

Efforts in this country to compensate victims of crime have been enouraged by the success of the programs that went into effect in New Zealand and Great Britain in 1964. The British plan in particular is providing helpful guidelines for similar programs in the United States.

The British plan is run by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board, consisting of a chairman and six members, all lawyers. Anyone injured as a result of a crime, or in trying to prevent a crime, is eligible for compensation. So are his dependents if the victim dies. The Board determines the validity of claims and also decides on the amount of compensation. A valid claim must involve "substantial" injuries—defined as costing at least $140 or three weeks' lost wages. Crimes committed by members of the victim's family, living under the same roof with him, are excluded from coverage. So are criminal-negligence cases resulting from auto accidents.

In judging the claim, the Board verifies the applicant's earning's figures, notes any payments of unemployment or sickness benefits, checks medical records, and may ask a Board doctor to examine him. The award is always made in a lump sum, its size determined by the amount of medical expenses and estimated lost earnings (or lost earning capacity, if the victim was killed).

Rich and poor are equally eligible for the Board's awards, but a ceiling of twice the average industrial wage—or, currently, about $112 a week—is imposed on compensation for lost earnings. Anyone making less is compensated only for his actual loss. A comparable ceiling for the United States, where both wages and prices are higher, would be about $198 a week.

Since the scheme began, the Board has rejected 458 applications and paid 3682 awards totaling $3,780,865; 1616 applications were still under investigation at the end of March of this year. Among the biggest awards is one for $9800, paid to a mother whose 23-year-old son went to the aid of a man set upon by a gang of drunken youths. The rescuer ended up with a knife wound in the groin, from which he quickly bled to death. His assailant was captured and ultimately sentenced to life imprisonment. The victim had helped support his widowed mother; hence the size of the award.

A more typical case involved a 55-year-old rent collector who was attacked by two youthful robbers as he went his rounds. He escaped with comparatively minor knife wounds on his left arm and leg. But he subsequently suffered a severe attack of depression and anxiety which required treatment. He was so fearful of being robbed again that he had to give up collecting rents—which meant relinquishing his free apartment—and take another job. All told, he was away from work three months. The Board awarded him $2660.

If the victim was responsible for his injuries—if, for example, he provoked a fist fight and then got mauled—he cannot receive compensation. The Board is equally alert to accidental injuries falsely attributed to criminal attack.

The California and New York programs both resemble the British in many respects; the major difference is that aid is limited to those suffering serious financial hardship. For example, the California program, administered by the Department of Social Welfare, applies substantially the same eligibility standards as those involved in the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program. This feature of the law has drawn the most criticism. As Prof. Marvin E. Wolfgang, of the University of Pennsylvania, a top criminologist, has put it, *"Compensation should be provided as an assertion of an individual right and a social obligation, not as a form of charity."*

The New York City law, in effect since the end of 1965, requires no showing of penury, but suffers from another limitation: it covers only individuals who have been injured or killed *"while attempting to prevent public disturbances."* This takes care of the occasional hero, but not the bulk of crime victims.

Most authorities agree that an effective compensation program should cover both the "Good Samaritan" and the ordinary victim. It should provide compensation for medical expenses and, within limits, for lost income. But not for property losses—property insurance is widespread, and opportunists might find it too easy to defraud the government by faking losses.

As to whether compensation should be paid in a lump sum, as under the British plan, or in installments, as California handles it: perhaps the best system would be to allow payment at the compensation board's discretion. In the case of a physical disability, periodic payments offer the chance to review the situation from time to time.

The United States does not need a national program. A variety of plans, devised by different states, will give scope for experimentation in what is still a relatively uncharted field. The essential point is that assistance be prompt and adequate. Those hapless casualties of crime are more than anonymous statistics. They could be any of us, as we unsuspectingly go about our daily business.

A SPEECH BY ODIN LANGEN

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. BERRY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest things I have heard or read in a long time was the address of our colleague, the Honorable ODIN LANGEN of Minnesota, before the Minnesota Fur Breeders Convention on September 23, 1967, in Minneapolis.

His comments were geared to the plight of the mink farmers, but they are applicable, Mr. Speaker, to other agricultural products being damaged by cheap, ruinous imports. The speech follows:

While I find it a great honor and a privilege to share a few observations with the Minnesota Fur Breeders Association, I would be more at ease if the subject assigned to me had a brighter outlook in the Congress.

The past several weeks and months have brought me an acquaintance with the mink industry, and with pending legislation and considerations presently in progress by the Tariff Commission, which constitute the subject of my discussion with you this afternoon.

I have had the opportunity to correspond and communicate with almost all of the mink producers in the State, and others who have an interest in the future of the mink industry. This correspondence has revealed that we share a very common concern for the economic problems that have been created by the ever-increasing imports of mink pelts that now threaten the more than 5,000 ranchers throughout the country to the point of where many may have thought of seeking some other line of endeavor.

The object of our discussion today is to look at what has happened so far, in an attempt to save the mink ranchers, and to see what we can do in the days ahead to assure some success.

The history of the American mink ranchers is a commendable one, and compliments are truly in order for their efforts in building a world-wide demand for mink. It constitutes the kind of accomplishment that we have long recognized in this country as one of the main factors in the growth and progress of our nation, as afforded by the free enterprise system. It would seem, then, at this time, that certainly such a commendable accomplishment on the part of a free enterprise endeavor should at least be permitted to continue its operation. To do so would be an economic asset to many local communities and the nation.

I refer to the fact that during the past twenty-five years, you have assessed your own sales receipts to the extent of $20 million for market development. The result has been the building of a world-wide demand for mink. This $20-million investment in building consumer demand around the world has been so successful that we now find foreign nations making use of the market you created, for their own personal gain. This is a story very familiar to American agriculture. American farmers have, time and time again, created their own markets, only to see their efforts usurped by foreign suppliers, who then got on the band-wagon at their expense.

Oftentimes, the governments of foreign countries have provided great help to their producers in maintaining their markets, but the United States Government is so intent on helping everyone in the world that they often forget to give even token recognition to the best interests of those who have created the production ability of both quality and quantity in this country.

The mink industry has never received a

government subsidy or a support price. They now find even a lack of the regard for their future well-being that they have earnestly and sincerely earned.

Imports of mink began on a duty-free basis, and at one time, had little or no share of the American market. They have since expanded, so that in 1966, nearly 42 percent of the American consumption of mink pelts was being satisfied by foreign imports. During the six-year period from 1960 to 1966, statistics reveal that the imports doubled, with 2,846,000 pelts in 1960 and 5,675,000 pelts in 1966. The results of such a drastic increase in imports have been most disastrous to the mink ranchers of the United States.

The catastrophic proportions of these imports have now depressed the market to a point where you can't even sell your pelts, or, if you can, you are forced to take a substantial loss. Minnesota mink ranchers alone lost over 5-million dollars of income on the 1966 crop, because of the greatly reduced average prices at the auction houses. With Minnesota producing about 13 percent of the total production in the United States, it follows that the national loss would be nearly 40 million dollars. Obviously, this has a great economic effect on an industry that normally has a return of some $160-million annually.

All of this money goes back into ranch operations that enrich your local communities. It is worth noting that the annual feed bill runs over $60-million a year and so the mink rancher doesn't stand alone in this loss, if he goes out of business. The producers of feed and the suppliers of the other needed equipment and facilities also have a heavy stake in your business, and they should be enlisted as allies in your endeavor to preserve your industry.

In Minnesota, which is the second largest mink-producing State in the Nation, you have a total investment of more than $20-million, with gross sales of almost $20-million a year. You provide a feed market of $7-million, and a payroll of almost $4-million.

Let us consider the presently depressed prices, which averaged $19.50 for the 1965 crop, and dropped to $14.25 for the 1966 crop, with prices down as low as less than $8.50 in June of this year.

Every community that has enjoyed the benefit of the growth of the mink industry has quite obviously felt the economic effect of this greatly reduced income, with a comparable reaction on the entire national scene.

The over-all results don't stop there, however, because this unhealthy ratio of imports to exports also affects the United States balance of payments. It has been estimated that the United States suffers a loss of gold in the amount of $73-million each year.

It is these adverse economic factors that have prompted a great many Members of Congress to submit bills that would restrict imports of mink into the United States. Many of these bills provide for a limitation of imports to 40 percent of our domestic consumption. In my humble estimation, however, this is not a sufficient reduction, and I have, therefore, recommended legislation that would reduce the imports to the level of 1966, which was about 30 percent. It would seem to me that the mink ranchers are entitled to at least this minimum assurance of their own domestic market.

In addition to the legislation introduced, attempts have also been made to convince the President and the respective Departments to require the United States Tariff Commission to hold hearings for the purpose of establishing and recommending responsible quotas.

Let me comment for a moment or two with regard to the results of these Congressional endeavors so far. First, it appeared somewhat favorable for the legislation some time ago when the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee did request the views and recommendations of the State, Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce Departments, together with those of the United States Tariff Commission. However, so far, the only report that has been called to my attention has been from the Tariff Commission. Possibly the others may be forthcoming.

It has been most difficult to attract the attention of the Ways and Means Committee in holding hearings on this legislation, primarily because of the heavy workload that they have had in connection with Social Security, Medicare, and now a proposed tax increase. The Tariff Commission, with reluctance, has finally agreed to hold an investigation and hearings on the matter, which no doubt has come about because of the many letters written by myself and other Members of Congress to the President and the Commission, calling attention to the urgent need for action.

The hearings are scheduled to begin on December 5th of this year, providing interested parties the opportunity of stating their case.

Anyone wishing to do so should notify the Secretary of the Commission in writing at least three days in advance of the date set for the hearings, or may submit written statements which should be on file by December 5th. (Note: Secretary's name—Mr. Donn N. Bent, Secretary, U.S. Tariff Commission, Tariff Commission Building, 8th and E Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.)

The response to our letters at times has been most discouraging, and I should like to quote from a letter received from the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, to which my request had been referred. The letter read in part as follows:

"We would be reluctant to consider the imposition of additional restrictions on imports of mink without a showing that such imports are causing or threatening serious economic injury to the domestic industry. This is especially true, since the domestic industry already enjoys extraordinary protection through the total embargo on imports from the Soviet Union."

I can see no extraordinary protection to American mink producers, in that we don't buy mink from the Soviet Union. To do so would only provide Russia with additional moneys that they, in turn, could use to provide more military equipment and supplies to our enemies in North Viet Nam.

Their answer offers somewhat of a clue as to how much sympathy you may be getting from the Administration.

The pressures on them, however, by the Congress have been of such proportion that they found recent actions necessary, possibly in order to avoid further embarrassment.

I should say without hesitation that this proposed tariff investigation is primarily designed to stall Congressional action, while additional mink ranchers go out of business. These hearings should have been held long ago, as was suggested by the industry and Members of Congress. At this late date, they can accomplish little in remedying the damage that has already been done, and will continue until some changes are made. For this reason, I wrote again yesterday to the President and the Tariff Commission recommending that these hearings be held at the earliest possible date, in order to avoid a catastrophe at the beginning of the new marketing season, comparable to last year's experience.

These same tactics have been used before to satisfy the disregard that some would show for our own industry in this country in favor of their counter-part in foreign countries. We might well remember that the same identical experience was prevalent in the milk industry when it appeared that Congress was on the verge of passing a dairy products quota bill, and, I am happy to say, did result in dairy product quotas being established, and while not sufficiently reduced to adequately satisfy my recommendation, they are a big improvement over the quotas that prevailed for the past several years.

It, therefore, becomes most pertinent, at this time, to not only continue the pressure, but to expand it, with the objective in mind that either Congressional action may result, or the Tariff Commission will respond with realistic quotas that would grant assurance of a reasonable proportion of our own domestic market being preserved for our own producers.

I cannot urge you strongly enough not to neglect any possibility of conveying to the Tariff Commission or the Congress your feelings and recommendations on the matter.

There has been one additional consideration registered by myself and others. I asked for emergency Farmers Home Administration financing for mink ranchers. Again, I have been just as dismayed by the answers received from the Department of Agriculture. An Assistant Secretary wrote to me that "only in areas where a natural disaster has caused a general need for agricultural credit which cannot be met by local sources would emergency loans be granted." He said the law does not permit the designation of emergency loan areas, based on unfavorable economic conditions, but to me, mink ranching going out of business IS a disaster, regardless of whether or not the Assistant Secretary may consider it to be a "natural" one. I might remind him that such disasters have come to be most natural in all segments of agriculture.

The irony of this attitude toward your problem defies understanding. Much has been said and written regarding the general plight of agriculture and rural areas. This is one of many significant and contributing factors to their plight, that warrants our brief consideration this afternoon.

We have identified this afternoon an industry that was making money, paying taxes, supporting local schools and merchants, and contributing substantially to the economic well-being of our State and local communities. Each of you as self-sustained men and women has been paying your own way at no expense to government, and actually making great contribution to that government. Then along come imports. No effort is made to recognize their significance to your future. All of the efforts of individual initiative and investment literally go up in smoke and you can no longer make a living at mink ranching.

It sounds almost brutal to recognize that a bankrupt mink rancher can pay no taxes, can support no payroll, can provide no market for other farmers who provide feed or merchants who supply equipment for your ranch. A bankrupt rancher leaves no incentive for his children or labor to remain on the farm or in the community.

While irritating, it is of interest to note what the attitudes of the bureaucrats in Washington are, in relation to the many areas where the producers of agricultural products have found themselves in a state of no longer being able to make a living, because of inadequate prices. On Wednesday of this week, I noted this statement by the Secretary of Agriculture, made in Montevideo, Minnesota—and I quote:

"Improved agricultural methods of the last twenty years, which have driven thousands of illiterate, unskilled workers off the farms and into the cities, have helped fuel the racial disturbances of the past summer."

Not only does he disregard the plight of the agricultural producers and laborers, but actually further blames them for the riots and racial disturbances that have been prevalent around the country.

Statistics show that we have been losing mink ranchers at the rate of 500 per year, and have lost other farm operators at the rate of 75,000 per year, and not because they were either illiterate or unskilled. We will be a long time in finding any solution to these problems, if such statements are a display of either the knowledge or understanding of what the problem IS, which in most instances, is inadequate prices. It is difficult enough for rural people and rural areas to survive under today's adverse economic conditions, without being blamed for conditions that are far removed from their problem, and I think such remarks ought to be stopped by whatever means available.

The rancher himself may well find that as retirement age approaches, he has no reliable sustenance and becomes dependent upon completely inadequate Social Security benefits or other pension and welfare programs. Along about this time, today's government seems to want to get back into the picture, now years too late, but will suggest a multitude of programs which might offer part-time work during the senior years, like planting flowers or picking up sticks along the roadways.

It would seem to me that it would show better wisdom to have had a fully self-employed, taxpaying citizen through the years, who is capable of taking care of his family and providing for his retirement.

The result is economically-depressed communities and rural areas that then find need to demand government assistance through multitudes of programs involving spending huge sums of taxpayers' moneys, most of which is wasted before it ever reaches either the individual or the community. If we don't have the wisdom to see the folly of such neglect, then it is any wonder that we also find ourselves incapable of dealing with riots, strikes, disturbances, inadequate farm prices, or unable to fight and win a war? The lack of concern by government in instances such as this amounts to a self-destruction of a pertinent segment of our economy, and then attempting to find a solution to the problem by the element that was the big loser in the first instance, namely, government.

It seems we haven't even learned the old and simple analogy that you can't lift yourself by your own bootstraps.

One ought to contemplate the philosophy of our diplomats who conduct and promote trade relations. It isn't too long ago that our Ambassador to Denmark was promoting the sale of Danish mink at the exclusion of our own superior product. It is almost unbelievable that such utter disregard for American interests should be exercised by our own diplomatic personnel.

This comedy of errors continues as we now note some of the negotiations that took place at the Geneva Conference. It should have been apparent to our negotiators long ago that rising imports of mink were depressing the domestic market.

With that knowledge, a realistic arrangement should have been made before those talks ended last June.

Proposed legislation and Tariff Commission investigations would not have been necessary today if these negotiators and the Commission had merely reviewed the Commission's own statistics instead of ignoring the pleas of the mink industry throughout the years.

Not only did our negotiating team in Geneva fail to come up with an agreement to help the American mink rancher, but the agreements will actually add to your problems. They not only agreed to maintain free entry of raw skins into this country, but they further agreed to reduce by over fifty percent the previous tariffs on dressed mink skins. This, of course, opens up possibilities of even more mink glutting our markets.

The further one explores the problem, the more ironic and disturbing it becomes. For it then becomes evident that foreign producers, notably the Scandinavian countries, are also feeling the effects of these price-depressing experiences. The office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations informs me that the American Embassy in Copenhagen has been told that mink breeders in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland are equally disturbed over declining prices for their mink pelts, and have agreed to reduce mink production by 30 percent. Proper regard and regulation of the movement of these pelts would not only have helped the American rancher, but would also have prevented these nations from glutting our market to the point of where even THEY are not making any money.

I have never been able to understand how there could possibly be any wisdom or economic stability involved in trade policies that result in the producers on both ends of the transaction winding up as losers. This is a typical example of what has happened in the movement of agricultural products in far too many avenues of international trade.

In most instances, other countries show a regard for their producers and accomplish for them some security, and usually at our expense. I can think of no way whereby we can ruin the production capacity of quality products quicker than by permitting this utter disregard for realities to continue.

While somewhat aside from our subject today, how do we ever expect to feed and clothe a hungry world, if trade policies are to continue in such manner that the producers of these goods and commodities are to be deprived of any incentive to improve their production capacity or quality merchandise?

I can find only one consolation in exposure and review of these problems, and that is the dedication and ability of the mink producers, such as this group that is before me at this moment.

Their persistence, durability and desire to be self-sustaining and independent seems to be of such magnitude that even government can't subdue them, try as it will.

May I sincerely commend you for your patience, most considerate attitude, and your untiring efforts to bring common sense to bureaucratic chaos.

This problem can and should be corrected at the earliest possible moment. It is not impossible to do so. It has been encouraging to note that in recent months, we have finally gotten the bureaucrats to recognize, in a small way, at least, that imports do have a direct relationship to the price of agricultural commodities in this country. This has been documented and evidenced by the recent actions of the Tariff Commission in establishing quotas on dairy products. I can recall only too well six or seven years ago, when I first directed attention to agricultural price inequities that were caused by unnecessary imports from foreign countries. There were few people in Washington, or anywhere else, at that time that would give any regard to the relation of imports to current prices. This year, however, we find an increasing number of Members of Congress who have introduced bills, made statements, and in every way possible attempted to convince the respective departments that actions are necessary if our markets are not to be ruined entirely.

This has now expanded into fields that go beyond the agricultural scene. Earlier this week, an editorial column by David Lawrence, carries the headline, "Steel Feels Peril of Import Squeeze." The article goes on to identify the extent to which the steel industry has been hurt by imports, with more than 75,000 jobs lost, and other economic setbacks being the result of foreign imports of steel. There have also been concerns expressed, and legislation introduced relating to wool, textiles, honey, beef, hides and many other commodities that have suffered similar depressed prices and economic difficulties because of excessive imports.

All of these developments should only serve to further encourage us in this effort not to leave a single avenue unexplored in our attempt to restore the richly-deserved opportunity for mink producers to conduct their business on a profitable basis.

I have not only found great satisfaction in working with you, but have gained reassurance and confidence that the American people are still desirous and capable of guiding their own destinies, including that of their government. Thank you very much.

U.S. AGRICULTURE EXPORTS THREATENED

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, news reports have made clear that the Japanese have refused to negotiate with the United States any new understanding that would result in quantitative limitations—quotas and licenses—on Japanese exports of wool and manmade fiber textiles to the United States. Legislation requiring the administration to negotiate such controls has been introduced by many Members of Congress. The Japanese have indicated that any unilateral U.S. action to limit its exports in contravention of present U.S. international obligations would be greeted by Japanese retaliation against U.S. farm exports.

Such Japanese retaliation would take the form of tariff levies which would have the effect of limiting U.S. sales of farm commodities in Japan. The United States is vulnerable to such retaliation because we export substantial amounts of farm commodities to that country. For example: Japan buys $150,000,000 worth of soybeans from the United States each year. Soybeans is an important U.S. agricultural export of which the largest exporters by State are Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. Missouri soybean exports in fiscal year 1965–66 were $70.5 million, and the exports of Arkansas were approximately $60 million. Japan is also an important consumer of American wheat.

Japan is not alone in threats of retaliation to any new restrictionist U.S. textile move. The British Government has delivered a strong note to the U.S. Government stating its position against negotiation of new textile quotas. The German Government has done likewise and it is expected that the other members of the European Economic Community, Italy, France, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, will do the same. The Swiss Government is also considering a formal note to the U.S. Government.

Missouri total exports of agricultural products in fiscal year 1965–66 were $204.3 million, of which soybeans, feed grains, wheat, flour, and lard and tallow were the major items. Many other States are also large exporters of farm commodities. The possibility of foreign restrictions against these exports in retaliation against a U.S. unilateral action to isolate U.S. textile production from the international economy has serious implications for the economies of many farm States.

THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK PUTS THE KENNEDY ROUND OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the September 1967 edition of the Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York analyzes the results of the Kennedy round in perspective. The article emphasizes that all original U.S. proposals and objectives in the negotiations beginning in 1963 were not realized, but it stresses also that analysis of the results of the negotiations has shown that the Kennedy round was "truly a success."

The City Bank's article on the Kennedy round also emphasizes another aspect of the Kennedy round "success" and of U.S. trade policy that has received too little attention. This is that American exporters tend to be hesitant about investing heavily in developing export markets for fear that a shift in U.S. trade policy toward trade restrictionism might bring retaliation by foreign countries, thus cutting off those expensively developed export markets.

Thus, the long period of uncertainty in which the Kennedy round floundered before finally concluding had taken its toll on the so-called "trade climate."

To quote:

> Just as a firm decides to invest in a foreign country if there is a favorable investment climate and not otherwise, so its willingness to develop a potential export market depends on a favorable trade climate. . . . Failure of the Kennedy Round would have been serious, but less because tariffs would have remained at present levels than because business confidence in the future course of tariff policy would have been seriously disturbed. The economic significance of the Kennedy Round is measured not so much by the direct effect of lower tariffs as by the maintenance and strengthening of that confidence.

The factor of business confidence in the trade climate and its direct influence on U.S. exports has been noted by the National Export Expansion Council and other groups. But it is too often forgotten by many businessmen who seek to affect long-term U.S. trade interests in response to short-term problems arising from constant shifts in the dynamic international marketplace. The article referred to follows immediately.

THE KENNEDY ROUND IN PERSPECTIVE

The Administration's thousand-page report, just released, will make clear in exhaustive detail what has so far been known to the public only in general terms: that the Kennedy Round was truly a success. Tariffs will be reduced on a much larger proportion of the world's dutiable trade than in any of the five previous rounds of tariff negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the average cut will be as deep or deeper.

GATT ROUNDS COMPARED

GATT round	Scope of U.S. tariff cutting [1]	Depth of U.S. tariff cuts [2]
	(Percent)	(Percent)
1947	44	35
1949	3	35
1951	9	27
1956	11	15
1962	14	20
1967	46	35

[1] Value of U.S. dutiable imports on which tariff reductions were made or agreed in the year shown, expressed as a percentage of the value of total U.S. dutiable imports in the same year.

[2] Average percentage reduction in U.S. duties (considering only items whose duties were reduced), weighted by the value of U.S. imports of those items in the year shown.

Sources: U.S. Tariff Commission; U.S. Department of Commerce; Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

The United States agreed to reduce tariffs on nearly two thirds of its dutiable imports; the average reduction will be 35 per cent. Cuts will be made over a five-year period. These results far exceed those of the four preceding rounds, as the accompanying table shows. Tariff reduction of comparable scope has not occurred since 1947, when duties were generally much higher and included a good deal of "fat" or excess protection.

Comparable figures on the scope of tariff reductions by other countries are not yet available. It appears, however, that the Common Market, Britain, other industrial countries of Western Europe, and Japan will reduce tariffs on roughly the same proportion of their dutiable imports as the United States. The average depth of our main trading partners' tariff cuts is as follows: Common Market, 35 per cent; United Kingdom, 38 per cent; Japan, 30 per cent; Canada, 24 per cent—compared with 35 per cent for the United States.

Success was all the more welcome because it was so unexpected. The negotiations, which dragged over four years, were far more difficult than previous GATT rounds had been.

In earlier negotiations the United States had been content with gradual and selective tariff cutting, and the President's authority to cut tariffs had also been quite limited. In contrast, the U.S. delegation entered the Kennedy Round armed with authority to offer tariff cuts up to 50 per cent of existing duties and with a mandate from Congress to launch an offensive against the European Community's common external tariff and agricultural policies. The United States hoped to build an "Atlantic trade partnership," in which the trade discrimination inherent in the Community's tariff and agricultural policies would be drastically reduced.

Had U.S. aims been less ambitious, the Kennedy Round would have accomplished less, but the far-reaching U.S. objectives brought, inevitably, a clash with the Common Market. The Community's common external tariff and agricultural policies serve not only protective purposes; they also serve important political ends. They help to maintain the Community's sense of identity during its evolution toward more complete economic union and are, for the time being, the main economic inducement to participating countries to remain members. The difficulties arising from the collision with U.S. objectives were compounded by others resulting from conflicts of interest within the Community.

In the circumstances, much credit is due the patient, dedicated and durable officials who did the negotiating.

THE INDUSTRIAL NEGOTIATION

To call the Kenndy Round a success is not to say that the original U.S. proposals were all accepted. The United States had originally hoped that all the industrial countries would make a 50 per cent across-the-board ("linear") cut in duties on all or nearly all manufactures, but it proved necessary to make a number of important exceptions. Textiles and steel in particular—where major tariff cuts would have disruptive consequences—were largely spared.

Moreover, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa made smaller and more selective cuts than the other industrial countries. Although these countries are highly industrialized, they export mainly agricultural products and minerals, and many of their manufacturing industries have high costs because domestic markets are small. Thus, they had—or believed they had—less to gain and more to lose than the other industrial countries from reciprocal tariff cutting on manufactured products.

Nevertheless, the "linear countries"—the United States, the Common Market, Britain, the other industrial countries of Western Europe, and Japan—agreed to cut tariffs on the great bulk of their imports of manufactured products by nearly 50 per cent.

This outcome reflects the fact that, for most of the industrial countries, rapid economic growth has come to depend in part on rapid expansion of international trade in manufactures and growing international specialization. A rapid growth of exports of manufactures makes a rapid growth of output possible, both directly and by loosening the balance-of-payments constraint on capital investment and expansion of internal demand. Economies of large-scale operation and associated technological progress are also involved. In these advanced industrial countries, the bulk of industrial output consists of differentiated consumer products and specialized capital equipment and intermediate products. For such products, full exploitation of economies of scale often requires rapidly growing export markets.

This is why trade in manufactured products among the industrial countries in the postwar period has been growing even faster than industrial output. Historically, this is unprecedented. Even in the heyday of free trade, 1880–1913, trade in manufactures grew no faster than output.

The success of the industrial negotiation also reflects the fact that the industrial countries have found it relatively easy to adjust to the economic impact of postwar tariff cutting. Adjustment to lower tariffs sometimes involves reallocating labor and capital from higher-cost, import-competing industries to lower-cost, export industries—a process normally accompanied by transitional unemployment and losses to investors. This is especially true of industries producing standardized products. But in the case of industries producing differentiated and specialized products, which today account for the bulk of trade in manufactures, adjusting to new import competition and export opportunities is easier, because it occurs largely within the same industry and often within the same firm.

STEEL AND TEXTILES

Steel and textiles are not usually thought of as similar, but they have common economic characteristics which explain why their tariffs were not cut much in the Kennedy Round—or in previous GATT rounds.

Both industries produce mainly standardized products which compete in international trade primarily on the basis of price. Costs tend to be determined by differences in the cost of the principal raw materials (in the case of steel), or in national wage levels (in the case of textiles).

Textile production is geographically very widespread. Its technology is relatively simple and demand is large, even in low-income countries.

Steel production is also fairly widespread. In nearly all the industrial countries and in a number of developing countries, domestic demand for steel is sufficient to support local production. And postwar improvements in ocean transport have made it possible for some countries without adequate local supplies of iron ore and coking coal to produce steel at competitive costs.

Thus international competition in steel and textiles is particularly sharp. If trade barriers were greatly liberalized, a number of the industrial countries would face large and politically difficult readjustments in steel and textiles. This is why the Kennedy Round substantially preserved the status quo in these industries. The losers—or non-gainers—are the low-cost producers: Japan, in the case of both steel and textiles, and the more industrially advanced developing countries in the case of textiles.

Each of the "linear countries" also insisted on other, less important, exceptions to the 50 per cent rule. The Common Market's list of exceptions is rather long. Prominent on it are certain products of highly technological industries: for example, electronic computers (other than card-operated machines), automatically controlled machine tools, semi-conductors, and several other kinds of electrical and electronic equipment. The rationale of these exceptions is the so-called technological gap; the Community hopes to encourage the rapid development of these industries in Europe. Encouragement in this form is unlikely to prove very real, however. Tariffs are not an effective means of protecting industries whose products sell more on the basis of uniqueness, reliability and service, than on price.

The U.S. list of items on which tariffs were cut less than 50 per cent consists largely of labor-intensive consumer goods: for example, footwear, hats, gloves, watch movements, glass products and transistor radios. Such industries have a cost disadvantage relative to imports in the high-wage U.S. economy.

CHEMICALS AND ASP

The main industrial countries import and export chemicals in large volume, and their desire to increase exports generally outweighs fears of import competition. Fifty per cent cuts would, therefore, have presented no unusual difficulty if the Common Market had not raised the thorny issue of American Selling Price (ASP).

The American-Selling-Price method of customs valuation applies by law to certain U.S. imports of benzenoid chemicals, mainly dyes, pigments and certain pharmaceuticals. Tariff duties are normally calculated on the invoice value of the imports. ASP requires instead that the customs official determine a domestic U.S. price and then apply the tariff as though the item had been imported at that price. According to a 1966 study by the U.S. Tariff Commission, ASP results in higher duties—in some cases much higher—than conventional valuation for some two thirds of the chemical items subject to ASP. Since rates on benzenoids are rather high anyway, the combined effect of ASP and high rates affords unusually high protection.

The decision of the Common Market to make a major issue of ASP was based more on tactical than commercial grounds. In bargaining terms, ASP was vulnerable. It was not easy for the United States to defend such high protection for this one sector of an industry which has so large an overall stake in trade liberalization. The fact that elimination of ASP would be politically difficult made the issue the more useful, tactically, to the Common Market, itself under strong U.S. pressure on the vulnerable and politically sensitive variable levy system for agricultural imports.

Quite early in the negotiations, the Community demanded elimination of ASP as a condition of reducing many of its chemicals tariffs. It maintained this position almost to the end, making it appear likely that the Kennedy Round would end with no cuts at all in chemicals tariffs. That outcome was averted by a last minute compromise, in which the chemicals agreement was divided into two "packages." In the first package, the United States agreed to cut chemicals duties by an average of 43 per cent; the Common Market and the United Kingdom agreed to cut duties by only 20 and 24 per cent, respectively. In the second package, the United States agreed to ask Congress to abolish ASP; the Common Market and the United Kingdom agreed to make further cuts of 26 and 23 per cent, respectively, if ASP were eliminated.

THE AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATION

The Common Market's variable import-levy system, covering grains, dairy products and a few other agricultural products, was the main U.S. target in the agricultural negotiation. This system is designed to support a high level of farm prices in the Community. The United States initially sought a guarantee that net imports of grain (mainly from Canada and the United States) would be allowed to reach 15 per cent of the Community's total grain consumption—the proportion of net imports to consumption in recent years. The proposal proved not to be negotiable, however, for it implied a commitment by the Common Market to reduce support prices and restrain production whenever necessary to fulfill the guarantee.

Although the U.S. negotiators stuck to their guns almost to the end, they finally had to settle for an agricultural package consisting of two main items: an agreement to raise the minimum wheat price established under the International Wheat Agreement, and the Community's agreement to contribute one million tons of grain a year (mainly wheat) to a new, multilateral food-aid pool for developing countries short of food. The United States and the Common Market also agreed to cut their tariffs by an average of 25 per cent on less important agricultural items which are protected by conventional tariffs.

The food-aid pool is the most important result of the agricultural negotiation. The financial burden of food aid, which the United States has been carrying virtually alone, will now be shared by other countries, and the Community's contribution will take some grain off the Community's internal market, thereby increasing grain imports from the United States and Canada over what they would otherwise have been.

In appraising the somewhat disappointing outcome of the agricultural negotiation, it must be remembered that in all countries, the United States included, agricultural protectionism has largely resisted liberalization.

THE KENNEDY ROUND AND THE TRADE CLIMATE

The magnitude of the effects of tariff cutting on trade depends on how vigorously businessmen respond to the new import competition and export opportunities created by lower tariffs. If they believe that the lower tariff levels are likely to be permanent, their response will be greater than if they believe that increased imports may cause tariffs to be raised again or new nontariff barriers to be imposed. Just as a firm decides to invest in a foreign country if there is a favorable investment climate and not otherwise, so its willingness to develop a potential export market depends on a favorable trade climate—that is, on a reasoned belief that the conditions of access to the foreign market will probably be no less favorable in the future than they are today.

The sustained downward trend of industrial tariff rates in the postwar period has helped to create a favorable trade climate among the industrial countries. Failure of the Kennedy Round would have been serious, but less because tariffs would have remained at present levels than because business confidence in the future course of tariff policy would have been seriously disturbed. The economic significance of the Kennedy Round is measured not so much by the direct effect of lower tariffs as by the maintenance and strengthening of that confidence.

Nontariff barriers to trade did not figure prominently in the Kennedy Round, although agreement was reached on a multilateral antidumping code and on modification of the so-called road or horsepower taxes on automobiles levied by certain European countries, which discriminate against larger U.S. cars. (The latter is part of the second chemicals "package.") Nontariff barriers are of many kinds. They include formal import quotas on agricultural products, cotton textiles and coal, informal quotas (such as those used to limit some imports from Japan), so-called border taxes, discrimination in government procurement, and a variety of administrative devices and procedures which may be used for protectionist purposes. There is, so far, no international consensus about nontariff barriers. This fact, as well as their complexity and variety, made it impossible to do much about nontariff barriers in the Kennedy Round.

AFTER THE KENNEDY ROUND

The Kennedy Round marks the near-completion of a process of tariff disarmament among the industrial countries which began twenty years ago. When the reductions agreed in the Kennedy Round have been made U.S. and European tariffs on the bulk of manufactures will be in the range of 5 to 15 per cent.

Such duties are modest. But by the same token it may be asked whether they serve any public purpose sufficiently important to outweigh their remaining adverse effect on economic efficiency and living standards. In the case of textiles and a relatively few other industrial products, the economic benefits of eliminating tariffs would probably be outweighed by the resulting disruption of markets. But in the case of other manufactures, free trade—rather than simply freer trade—may soon be the appropriate objective.

Free trade in manufactures in this special and selective sense could be approached gradually in a series of future GATT rounds. It could be accomplished in a series of negotiations limited to particular industrial sectors, as GATT's Director-General, Eric Wyndham White, recently suggested. Or the industrial countries could simply agree to abolish duties on manufactures, with appropriate exceptions, the reductions to be staged over (say) a ten-year period.

It may be too early to contemplate so major a new departure in tariff policy. The battle wounds of the Kennedy Round are not yet healed; the economic consequences are still to be felt. Other, more urgent unfinished business, such as nontariff barriers and trade preferences for developing countries (which gained much less than the developed countries from the Kennedy Round), must first be taken up. Yet if action be premature, consideration is not. The broad study of trade policy recently requested by the President provides an opportunity to consider how far tariffs on manufactures still serve the industrial countries' real interests.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM: "OLD TRICKS IN CONGRESS"

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the lack of action in the House of Representatives on congressional reform may not seem to be of great concern to the Members of this body, but I assure you that it is not going unnoticed by the American public and the American press.

One writer who has called attention to the lack of progress on this important legislation is Roscoe Drummond. Some of his articles have been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by me and other Members of the Congress. Recently, my attention was drawn to Mr. Drummond's article entitled "Old Tricks in Congress," which appeared in the September 25, 1967, issue of the Christian Science Monitor. In this article, Mr. Drummond places responsibility for inaction on congressional reform squarely on the House Democratic leadership. This, in my opinion, is where the responsibility belongs.

The members of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, who were given the mandate in March of 1965 of studying the procedures and organization of the Congress and recommending improvements, have done everything in their power to complete the task entrusted to them, but they are powerless to take any further action in the face of the silent, but determined, opposition of the Democratic leadership to permit the House to work its will on this important subject.

The Democratic Party has a sizable working majority in the House of Representatives and it cannot escape accountability to the American people for bottling-up a bill which would provide an opportunity for the Congress to update itself by the first major overhauling of its procedures and its structure in the 21 years since the adoption of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

The text of Mr. Drummond's article follows:

OLD TRICKS IN CONGRESS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The politicians in Congress are up to their old and bad tricks.

This time the Democratic leaders of the House are guilty—plainly and unconsciously guilty—and only a determined and angry public reaction to what is happening can possibly pry the urgently needed congressional reform bill from the suffocation chamber of the Rules Committee.

Here is what has been happening and it has been happening so silently and so slyly that many haven't realized what was being done.

The House Democratic leadership is subverting majority rule by refusing to allow the Senate-passed Congressional Reorganization Act of 1967 to come to the floor.

Unlike Caesar's friends, they are not even praising congressional reform; they are burying it with ceremonies as inconspicuous as possible.

IMPROVED PROCEDURES

At stake is the fruitage of long and careful work by a special House-Senate committee on what most needs to be done to enable Congress to transact the public business more effectively.

It was completely bipartisan.

Its recommendations for improved congressional procedures and practices were unanimous.

Its findings were available to every member of Congress a year ago so there would be ample time for study. The legislation was not introduced until this winter.

The new reorganization bill, after thorough debate lasting 18 days, was passed by the Senate, 73 to 9.

That was six months ago and today the bill lies limp and neglected—by design—in the inner recesses of the Democratic-controlled House Rules Committee.

Well, perhaps not entirely neglected.

The committee permitted one day of hearings, but when it appeared that supporters of the bill were showing themselves too persuasive in expounding its merits, the hearings were abruptly called off.

DENYING VOTE

And the Democrats allowed two other things to happen. They didn't want it said that they were entirely neglecting congressional reorganization so they boldly introduced a measure designed to get better work out of the page boys and guides.

They also had their eye on their own pocketbooks. They carefully drew from the package of reforms the Senate had approved the one dividend they could endorse with enthusiasm—a provision, justified as part of the whole, to pay themselves more expense money for more trips to and from their home districts.

Money for their use, yes; reform of Congress, no.

But things are beginning to stir a little. The Republicans have just reactivated their task force on congressional reform and its chairman, Rep. James C. Cleveland of New Hampshire, is asking the Democratic leaders embarrassing questions in the House. He put it this way the other day:

MINORITY STAFFING

"There comes a time we must ask not only when, but indeed whether, the committee plans to report this bill to the floor. I want to know by what rationale this legislation can be permitted to reside in the dark recesses of the House Rules Committee so long?"

But the nearly all-powerful Democratic committee chairmen know what they want and they don't need any rationale to explain. They want to prevent any cutting back of their historic, dictatorial powers and they are intent upon denying the House the right to vote on reorganization rather than give up anything.

In the interests of enabling Congress to function more efficiently and safeguarding majority rule, the Senate-passed Reorganization Act does vest some of the traditional one-man authority of committee chairmen in the hands of the majority of the members of the congressional committees. And it would guarantee fair minority staffing without which the minority is greatly handicapped.

To the unanimous recommendations of the bipartisan House-Senate Committee on what urgently needs to be done to bring Congress into the second half of the 20th century, the Democratic leadership is giving an arrogant and disdainful no.

I wonder if the voters will be amused.

MR. TAFT REPORTS ON TRIP TO SOVIET UNION

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the Vietnam war, the Middle East crisis, and efforts for a nuclear nonproliferation treaty are among the issues which have brought the United States and the Soviet Union into varying degrees of contact in an attempt to establish some rapport and search for a key to agreement. However, no notable success has been achieved in any area.

It is therefore reasonable to ask why, and to examine the more constant underlying attitudes of the Soviet Union.

My colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, Congressman ROBERT TAFT, JR., was among three members of the European Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee who recently visited the U.S.S.R. They interviewed at length a number of groups of Soviet officials, press representatives, the Moscow rabbi, as well as the U.S. press correspondents and U.S. officials in Moscow, including Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson.

Mr. TAFT returned with personal observations which I feel are extraordinarily perceptive and extremely useful. His conclusions, which I am inserting in the RECORD today for the study of the Members of the House of Representatives, provide an interesting insight into the question of both the present and future relations between our Government and that of the U.S.S.R.

By unanimous consent, I include Mr. TAFT's report at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR., FOLLOWING TRIP TO SOVIET UNION

The current political climate for an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations is very, very cool. This is the conclusion that must be drawn from the recent visit by three members of the European Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to Moscow and Leningrad.

During the visit of Congressmen John Culver, John Buchanan, and myself, we interviewed at length five different groups of Soviet officials, representatives of two leading Soviet publications, U.S. press corps correspondents in Moscow, Moscow's only practicing Rabbi, as well as several U.S. officials, including Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson. We had incidental contacts with certain other free-world diplomats and a considerable number of Soviet and U.S. citizens. We visited widely in Moscow and Leningrad and observed church services in Baptist, Roman Catholic, and Russian Orthodox churches.

The coolness of our reception by Soviet officials and the limited compliance with requested contacts with top officials seemed intended to hamper achievement of our goals of exploring Soviet attitudes on the Cold War, on Viet Nam, on the Near East, on trade, and on religious freedom in Russia. However, the contacts permitted to us, and those we made ourselves, were sufficient to warrant certain general conclusions.

As I have mentioned, we can expect no thaw in the Cold War in the foreseeable future. Our policies will be concurred in and assisted only when the Soviet hierarchy is of the opinion that some tangible gain to their purposes will be accomplished. There was little if any evidence of different attitudes among others. The Soviet press, echoing the official line, constantly sows anti-U.S. propaganda. One newstand of Russian papers carried no less than four grotesque cartoons of President Johnson throwing bombs at helpless people. In no case did there appear to be any understanding of U.S. positions in the Far East, or indeed in the Middle East. Our policies seemed to be viewed as dominated by colonialism and economic royalists seeking to exploit. On the other hand Soviet citizens interviewed from Chairman of the Council of Nationalities, Paletskis, down felt that continued Soviet arms supply to other nations was justified and should continue.

At the same time there seems to be a primary involvement of government officials and private citizens with domestic progress, concentrating currently on the 50th Anniversary of the Revolution to be celebrated on November 7th. No one seemed to know just what the celebration will consist of, but all agreed it will be big. In view of this, particularly bitter resentment was expressed to U.S. press and television coverage given to Stalin's daughter Svetlana. This coverage plus reports of small university or other groups in the U.S. staging counter demonstrations on November 7 seemed to be attributed to the C.I.A. and as demonstrating U.S. official policy, dominated by big business. Even such an extreme event as the recent publicity about the American Nazi Party is seized upon in discussions by Soviet officials as demonstrating potential U.S. attitudes.

While much interest is expressed in U.S.-Soviet trade, current world conditions are held out as a bar to progress on it. As put by a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, theoretically we do have the possibility, but it is not practical now. Reasons given are the Viet Nam war, requirements on using 50% U.S. shipping, licensing bans (referring to the Grand Coulee Dam generator ban), longshoremen's boycotts and a failure to grant the most favored nation clause. The Soviets consider they have a number of items we might purchase and they suggest long-term credits repayable in products produced in lieu of capital investments. U.S. participation in an international clothing fair currently underway was viewed favorably, as was a U.S. fashion show in connection with it. While the fashion show was excellent, the very poor and limited display sponsored by our U.S. Commerce Department compared most unfavorably with Poland, France, Italy, and Japan. If we were to participate at all, a better showing should have been required. The present one could only hurt our image by comparison. It is perhaps symptomatic of the very basic question for U.S. trade policy—whether increased trade and development of more consumer-oriented economy in Russia is in our interest and should be promoted. With present hard-core thinking and domination of public thinking there is little evidence that it can help on any basis other than a very long-range one.

Misunderstanding of U.S. thinking is so profound that the Soviets generally seem to believe that an increase in trade with the U.S. can come to dominate U.S. foreign policy through greedy business motives and that this will somehow be favorable to Soviet policies.

Meanwhile there seems to be little evidence of any easing of controls over the Communist society at home. While the proposed Fiat plant will increase considerably the number of automobiles, we were told of little if any planning for parking or highways for the general public. While we were in Moscow another secret writers trial got underway. While religious services we visited were permitted, official disfavor limited them almost entirely to the elderly and to women. The only exception was the Baptist churches in Leningrad and in Moscow. There was no evidence shown us of any variation from total government ownership of property even down to the smallest kiosk or newsstand. The only exception to this came at a collective farm market where private sale of produce and handmade items was permitted. The attitude and salesmanship at the booths stood in marked contrast to all the other markets and stores.

We had considerable discussions with local officials on metropolitan problems such as housing, transportation, traffic and parking, and juvenile delinquency, or hooliganism as they call it. While the volume of new housing is impressive, the quality is not and foreigners joke about many of the buildings becoming "instant antiques", a label they appeared to merit. The prospect of a consumer economy as a wedge toward political enlightenment if it exists at all, seems a dim one. Yet it may be the only course to peaceable transformation.

Finally, a word about U.S. representation in Moscow. The U.S. Embassy staff headed by Ambassador Thompson, a profoundly experienced and wise officer, is doing a most difficult job under frequent harassment. While we were in Moscow another reprisal reaction occurred in the banning of two most capable U.S. officers from the Soviet Union. It was difficult to decide whether to commiserate with or congratulate them.

After thorough study of official notes of the meetings held and analysis of reactions of each of the members and staff, the Subcommittee will prepare and publish a report of its visit and findings. The foregoing, therefore, reflect solely my own views.

LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED BY EUROPEAN SUBCOMMITTEE OF HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, AUGUST 29 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

London: U.S. Ambassador David Bruce.

Moscow: U.S. Ambassador Llwellyn Thompson.

U.S. Press Correspondents: Henry Bradsher, AP; Dick Longworth, UPI; Frank Starr, Chicago Tribune; Edmund Stevens, Newsday; Bud Korengold, Newsweek.

U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, U.S.A. Division: Korniyenko, Chief; Levchenko Assistant Chief; Sokolikov, First Secretary; Sokolov, Second Secretary.

Mayor of Moscow, Pramishloff.

Ministry of Foreign Trade: Manguloff, Chief of Dept. for Western Countries.

Pravda "Observer": Yuriv Zhukov, Viktor Mayevskiy.

Chairman Yu. I. Paletskis, Council of Nationalities of Supreme Soviet.

Za Rubeshov Magazine: Paramonov, Editor; Rabbi Levine of Moscow Synagogue.

Leningrad: Filonov, Deputy Chairman of Leningrad Soviet.

Helsinki: U.S. Ambassador Tyler Thompson.

Members of the European Subcommittee besides Robert Taft, Jr. were John C. Culver (Iowa) and John H. Buchanan, Jr. (Alabama). They were accompanied by Foreign Affairs Committee staff consultant Marion A. Czarnecki.

THE GROWING NATIONAL CRIME RATE AND THE INCREASED ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZED CRIME

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ANDREWS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the growing national crime rate and the increased activities of organized crime in our Nation must be of serious concern to all Americans.

The State of North Dakota, I am proud to say, enjoys one of the lowest crime rates of any of our States. However, the people it is my privilege to represent are interested in this national problem, which is the topic of my most recent report to my constituents.

I have unanimous consent to insert this report in the RECORD at this time:

A professional agitator brought two busloads of New Yorkers to Washington recently and led them in a wild—at times violent—demonstration in the House of Representatives Gallery. At least two policemen were injured (one was hospitalized) and seven of the rioters were hustled off to a nearby police station. Almost within the hour, a local judge released them on $10 bonds—the same penalty levied for double-parking in the District of Columbia.

It is strange indeed when law enforcement officials are given virtually no backup by the courts of this land. Time and time again we read of the confessed murderer or rapist brought to jail by hard working police officers, only to be turned loose when some clever attorney is able to convince the courts that his confession was given in an improper fashion.

The technicalities of the law all seem to be interpreted in favor of protecting the rights of the person who commits the crime, rather than the individual who is the victim of the crime. While violence and robbery are a nation-wide problem, it is one that can and should be solved at the local level by encouraging and backing up our law enforcement officials.

Individual criminal action, however, is in many cases the stepchild of organized crime, which is a national problem requiring a national solution but getting little, if any, attention from this Administration which has allowed the Eisenhower and Kennedy war on organized crime to grind to a virtual halt.

Figures developed by my Appropriations Subcommittee, which funds the Justice Department—including the FBI—point out graphically the fantastic indifference shown by the Justice Department under Attorney General Ramsey Clark in what they are doing to handle the increase in organized crime. With crime on an upsurge you would necessarily think that the Department of Justice's work level would increase correspondingly. Just the opposite has been the case.

Another strange statistic at this time of sharply increased crime is the fact that the average annual Federal Prison population has declined by nearly two thousand convicts during the past two years.

When Federal Prison System Director, Myrl E. Alexander, testified before our 9-man Subcommittee, I asked him: "Is it true that the crime rate in this country is increasing?"

Mr. ALEXANDER. I think so, yes.

Mr. ANDREWS. Why, with an increase in the crime rate would we have the lowest prison population in years?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I cannot be a total expert in answering this question. First of all, there is increasing use of Federal probation, which over the past 5 or 6 years has accounted for a substantial part in the reduction of our prison population.

FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, told our Subcommittee what happened as a result of turning these prisoners loose prematurely. He said:

"At the close of the calendar year 1965, an examination of the 135,000 individual records which had been entered in this program disclosed that three of every four were repeaters in that they had a prior arrest on some criminal charge. Over one-half of these criminals had been the recipients of lenience in the form of parole, probation, suspended sentence, or conditional release on one or more occasions in their criminal careers."

The results of the Johnson Administration's relaxing the fight against crime are, of course, evident. The national crime rate in 1966 was 22% higher than in 1964!

This is the situation which prompted a number of my colleagues and me to issue a joint statement (*New York Times—August 29*) calling for specific administrative and legislative action. We pointed out that Congress has been asked for $2.06 billion for the War on Poverty in fiscal 1968—about one-third what the profits of organized crime from gambling will be during the same period. Certainly, it is the height of hypocrisy for government to extend a promise of help to the poor, but give only lip-service to an all-out war on organized crime of which the poor are the prime victims; and not only the poor, but all America suffers from this strange slowdown in the fight against crime.

We are now finishing work on a number of bills, legislation aimed specifically at battling organized crime and corruption. Some of the recommendations were based on the work of the President's own National Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice—a worthwhile study strangely ignored by President Johnson. They include:

(A) An expansion of the staff of the Organized Crime and Racketeering Division of the Justice Department.

(B) Financial assistance to encourage the development of efficient systems of regional intelligence, gathering, collection and dissemination.

(C) An abolishment of the rigid two-witness and direct-evidence rules in perjury prosecutions.

(D) Extended prison terms for convicted offenders who occupied management or supervisory positions in illegal businesses.

(E) The establishment of residential facilities for the protection of witnesses who request it.

(F) The creation of a carefully guarded central computerized office into which Federal agencies would feed all of their organized crime intelligence.

(G) The establishment of a permanent joint Congressional Committee on organized crime.

(H) Make it a Federal crime to coerce or threaten a person who is willing to give vital information.

(I) The prohibition of the use of wiretap and eavesdrop devices by the Federal government *except* in cases specifically requested by the Attorney General and approved by court order.

(J) Anti-trust legislation designed to curtail organized crime operations.

We hope public opinion will aid us in prompting the Administration and Democratic leadership of Congress to give immediate attention to these proposals so vitally necessary in our nation today.

GREAT BRITAIN INDICATES THEY WILL CONTINUE TRADING WITH CUBA

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. KLEPPE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Star last night I noticed another statement from the British Government indicating that they will continue trading with Cuba. This stand was reiterated the day before yesterday in response to the call by the Organization of American States for a global trade embargo against Cuba. Great Britain has said that they are "opposed in principle to economic warfare."

My observation here is that many times in the past—and I am sure many times in the future—Great Britain has been and will be knocking on our door seeking economic advantages, and in so doing will consider the problem of economics to be a one-way street. Maybe they have been driving on the wrong side of the road for too long. I believe our State Department should suggest to the British that economic problems are a two-way street. There is no time like the present to take action, to finally determine where our friends really are.

"IT'S GETTING NOISIER," BY CARL DREHER

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a rare day indeed when the Nation magazine, published in my district and known for its strong liberal views, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, a bulwark of business and capitalism, can find an area of agreement.

This they have indeed done in their mutual concern on problems of the environment.

Yesterday, September 27, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at pages 27008–27015, I reported on the National Chamber of Commerce symposium, in which I took part, on the problems of noise.

I am now happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues the very fine article entitled "It's Getting Noisier," by Carl Dreher, which appeared in the Nation of September 18, 1967, at page 238:

IT'S GETTING NOISIER

(By Carl Dreher)

When President Johnson proclaims that overloading with noise "is without precedent and poses a serious threat to the health and welfare of mankind," we know in our ears and nerves he is right. When Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman says that noise detracts from the quality of our lives as does a filthy street or a polluted stream and that we have no right to call ourselves civilized unless we do something about it, few will disagree (but fewer still will easily surrender their own right to make noise for profit or pleasure). All abuse of the environment is like that.

Not that noise is entirely a modern affliction—Don Quixote's frightful adventure with the fulling hammers shows it isn't—but in our time it has grown to monstrous proportions. While the noise level has been rising steadily, counter factors, such as distance and physical barriers, have been weakening. And instead of striving to narrow the gap between information on noise control and its application, we have allowed it to widen. Public resentment will eventually reverse this trend, but in the meantime it is each for himself and the devil deafen the hindmost.

A little acquaintance with the physics of sound is necessary both for acoustic self-defense and effective social action against noise. Sound, whether objectionable or otherwise, varies in power over an enormous range. Standing near the tail of a jet airliner with all four engines roaring, a person has his eardrums assaulted with a pressure a thousand trillion (1,000,000,000,000,000) times greater than the minimum sound he can distinguish against a silent background (an approach to which is to be found only in the laboratory). Since acousticians, and engineers dealing with electronic reproduction of sound, have better things to do than write zeroes, they borrowed from the Bell Telephone Laboratories the decibel (db), a unit so useful that it is now coming into vernacular use. It is a tenth of a bel, named, with the final l dropped, after Alexander Graham Bell. An appropriate memorial: before he invented the telephone, Bell was a teacher of the deaf.

Decibels are used in calculations of power, of pressure (the response of the ear is proportional to pressure) and for many other technical purposes but, however applied, a decibel is just a logarithmic ratio. Logarithms afford a rapid means of multiplication by addition and division by subtraction (a slide rule does it mechanically) by means of which the cumbersome number cited above can be written as 10 to the fifteenth power (10^{15}) or, still more conveniently, 150 db. The whole vast range of sound volume is thus compressed into an easily manageable compass.

The accompanying graph shows the db range, from minimal perception of sound by young, normally sensitive ears, which is taken as zero, to the output of a siren that is rumored to be the latest exotic weapon for use in Vietnam. It has been compiled from a number of sources which do not agree precisely and is intended only to give a general idea of the magnitudes involved.

Besides their use in arranging sounds in ascending order of physical strength, decibel ratings help us to assess the subjective magnitude of changes, up or down. While there are important complicating factors, such as pitch, lowering the level of a sound by 2 db will be just about noticeable, a drop of 10 db will be significant, while a reduction of 20 to 30 db will generally eliminate a noise that was previously disturbing. The reason is again logarithmic—a 30 db reduction corresponds to a pressure reduction on the ear of 10^3 (1,000) which is obviously considerable. Conversely, a rise of 10 db may change an unobtrusive noise into an annoying one. In another application, building structures, such as walls and floors, may be rated in db for their ability to cut down noise.

Noise can damage hearing in a number of ways. Blast trauma that ruptures the eardrum or disrupts the chain of small bones that transmit sound within the ear is exceptional, but occupational deafness is common and has assumed great importance in the field of industrial hygiene. It was well established in the 19th century that blacksmiths, boiler makers and other workers in noisy surroundings tended to become hard of hearing earlier in life than other people. With increase in industrial noise and recognition of the principle that employees are entitled to compensation for injury incurred in the course of work, this type of disability has increasingly concerned management and labor. What with the differences of individual tolerance and the difficulties in measuring complex types of noise, quantitative standards are not easy to set up, but the need is as obvious as for speed limits on highways.

Leo L. Beranek, a leading acoustical engineer, observes that men of 30 who have been exposed to a work environment with an average noise level of 90 db for periods as short as ten years, may have hearing as impaired as men in their 60s and 70s who have worked in a quiet environment. The danger limit for most individuals is somewhere between 80 and 85 db. The U.S. Air Force, the largest single employer with an inescapably noisy environment for much of the personnel, has settled on 85 db, in the frequency range important for speech intelligibility, as the level where ear protection is mandatory. Investigation has shown, however, that some degree of hearing loss may occur at levels around 80 db, which is well below many of the levels commonly encountered under all sorts of contemporary conditions.

The existence of these community noise levels means that few people, especially in cities, can escape harmful exposure, and since more and more of us live in cities, or in suburbs which often are just as noisy, the incidence of noise-caused deafness is pretty sure to increase. For the past thirty years the noise level has been increasing at the rate of 1 db a year. In general, noise varies with the power of the source, and some of the increase is attributable to a horsepower race which, unfortunately for our hearing, is not confined to automobile designers (who, unlike some other machine designers, at least make some efforts to reduce noise). The typical self-propelled power mower of fifteen years ago was driven by a 1-horsepower gasoline engine. Now, even "economy" and push models are equipped with 3 or 3½ H.P. engines, and some householders with a total lot area of 1 acre acquire prestige among the neighbors and help to deafen them—with riding mowers or tractors that may develop as much as 12 H.P. Indoors, where sound is reinforced by reverberation, vacuum cleaners boast of electric motors rated at more than 2 H.P.; less than 1 H.P. is exceptional. In the kitchen, with an exhaust fan, dishwasher and garbage grinder going simultaneously, it is said that the noise level may reach 100 db.

High fidelity music reproduction affords another example. A stereo amplifier for home use will commonly be advertised as producing 120 watts, or 60 watts of audio power per channel. The advantage is supposed to be that momentary peaks will be accommodated without distortion, but since the acoustic output of a 100-man symphony orchestra seldom rises above 10 watts, and modern loud-speakers are quite efficient, it is hard to see what anyone can legitimately do with such power in a living room.

Surface traffic is a major noise producer not only in the cities, where it is taken for granted, but within a band hundreds of yards wide along every express highway. Since intercity expressways extend for hundreds and thousands of miles, acoustically they bring the city to the country on a formidable scale. Every time an interstate highway is extended, we witness not only the destruction of houses in its path but the engulfment by noise of a far greater number of residences whose occupants had previously enjoyed a measure of quiet. There is compensation for property that is condemned for a road, but none for the loss of a peaceful environment.

City subways and rail lines are another source of high-level noise. The San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District, the Montreal subway and a few other urban-suburban railroads have taken pains to reduce noise, but most of the major systems, like that of New York City, seem to be operated on the basis that noise is unimportant. Well-known, perfectly feasible engineering measures to abate noise are regarded as a refinement to which the users of public transportation are not entitled.

Fortunately the exposure of the individual is intermittent, and people vary in susceptibility. This is true also of those exposed to occupational noise: some come through with unimpaired hearing, while others suffer rapid deterioration and should be taken out of this kind of environment before irreversible damage is done. However, there is now convincing evidence that millions of Americans sustain ear damage, usually without knowing it, from a high general noise level. Dr. Samuel Rosen and others have made audiometry measurements on Mabaan tribesmen, who live in an exceptionally quiet desert region in the southeast Sudan. The majority of Americans (men somewhat more than women) suffer severe hearing loss at the higher frequencies in old age, while the Mabaans show the same acuity of hearing at age 75 as the average American at age 25. The elderly American hears speech, but guesses at the meaning. He misses the low-energy fricatives (f, th, ch, etc.) and consonants that are essential for intelligibility. These researches cast doubt on the concept of "normal" loss of hearing and indicate that those who already have some hearing loss should expose themselves as little as possible to loud noise.

Noise is also charged with causing emotional and physical illness. Dr. Rosen has probed a possible correlation between noise and coronary heart disease, which is as rare among the Mabaans as deafness, but their lives are so different in all respects from those of Westerners that the evidence is only suggestive. Constant interference with sleep is certainly harmful but, again, individual susceptibility varies. The same is true of reaction to low-level noise. Dr. Beranek points out that while some people are able to live happily next to elevated railroads, trucking routes, airplane flight paths and other racket-making sources, at the other extreme there is a group that seem to be disturbed by any noise, however faint, that is not of their own making. Interviews elicited the fact that these people were dissatisfied with other features of their surroundings as well.

Boosting the ambient acoustic field by increases in household motor size, high-speed roads, faster aircraft, etc., is one way in which a mere nuisance may be converted into a menace. Yet noise is by no means the most intractable type of pollution. One saving feature is its local character. Even thunder, an extremely loud noise at close range, dies away at a distance of 12 miles at most. Like other forms of radiation, sound in the open is subject to the inverse square law: double the distance, and the intensity drops to a fourth. The waves also bounce back from barriers and are attenuated as they pass through. But as air and surface vehicles multiply in numbers, speed and power, distance becomes less of a protection; at the same time modern building construction tends to transmit noise, whether from the outside or from room to room, to a greater extent than pre-World War II construction.

There is no question that modern building practices incorporate many improvements, but protection against noise is rarely one of them, despite the fact that from an engineering standpoint it is more readily available than ever before. Efforts have been made to cut down on noise, especially in one- and two-family housing, but the results have been poor. The situation is summed up in a survey in *House and Home* (December, 1966): "What ever became of the big noise about the Quiet Home?" The story begins: "Few merchandising ideas ever looked more promising than did the Quiet Home in 1963." The second paragraph ends: "What happened? Is the Quiet Home dead and buried?" The post-mortem that follows is thorough, and gives some promise of limited success in the future. It points up an important fact: much of our affliction with noise is due, in more senses than one, to people.

A typical experience is that of a leading Southwest building firm, Fox & Jacobs of Dallas, which centered a major promotion around anti-noise construction. Spending considerable money on research and development aimed at applying existing acoustic knowledge to medium-priced houses, they evolved a sound-conditioning package costing roughly $500 for houses in the $13,000 to $35,000 range. They sold just four Quiet Homes. Other builders had the same experience. N. P. Dodge of Ohama summed it up in 1966: "We were very disappointed with the public's reaction. This thing has no sex appeal whatsoever. People are interested in price; the average buyer—of homes, say, in the $30,000 range—has only a nominal interest in quality."

The National Association of Homebuilders, in cooperation with manufacturers of acoustic materials, has switched the promotion from "Quiet Home" to "Quiet Living" or, more specifically, "Quiet Room," which costs about $200, or somewhat more for zonal quieting. They are also resorting to an indirect or "piggyback" sales appeal involving rooms for specialized functions—a study center, a teen room, a pre-schooler room, a party room, a home gym, an arts-and-crafts room, in the hope that these gaps "will be distinctive enough emblems of newness and status to entice prospects." When a prospect shows interest, the salesman points out the indispensability of sound-conditioning if the study center and the home gym, for example, are to coexist.

If, to the average home buyer, noise control is a luxury subordinate to bathroom lighting fixtures in gold finish or a double oven in the kitchen, noise in the apartment house may turn out to be a menace to both tenant and landlord—although usually neither realizes it until too late. It is a fact that the cold-water flats of the 19th century were built better, acoustically than many of the luxury apartments going up today. It was not that the landlords and builders were solicitous for the tenants, but the builders were limited both in their knowledge and their choice of materials. They knew only one way to construct a partition: full-size two-by-four studs to which was nailed wooden lath, and over that an inch or so of plaster. The result was a heavy structure which blocked sound pretty well: unless the neighbor was beating his wife, the chances were the slum tenant would not be too much disturbed.

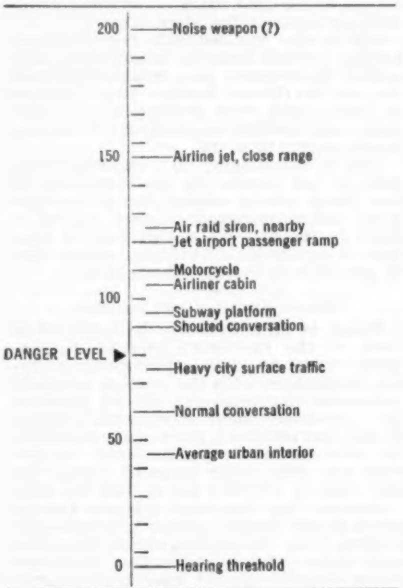
As for luxury apartments of the twenties, acoustically, and in some other ways, they are today real treasures. One big New York builder estimates that if the typical apartment house of this class were to be duplicated today, the tenants would have to pay rents of about $1,000 per month per room. I think this is exaggerated, but it gives some idea of the deterioration in building standards. The same expert points out that European noise-control standards are higher than ours. As far as is known, nowhere in the United States does a local code (there are 6,000 of them) specify any degree of noise control. It is a matter left entirely to the builder and he along with the banker who provides the mortgage loan, is concerned primarily with keeping down already inflated costs. New York City is at present considering a code which would stipulate 45 db reduction from one room to the next, and between floors. This is the standard now required by the Federal Housing Administration homes for which it provides a mortgage guarantee. It is inferior, however, to the 56 db prescribed for Grade I structures in Britain, and even to their 51 db for less expensive Grade II housing. The Netherlands, Sweden, Germany and the USSR likewise have up-to-date acoustic codes.

When the plasterers in New York City urge in subway advertising, "Keep New York plastered!" and inveigh against wallboard, they have a good case as far as it goes. Light sheet material on aligned studs will produce a partition that lets through TV sound and even normal conversation. Plaster is heavier and stiffer and blocks sound better. However, a serviceable partition can be built with wallboard if the studs are offset, so that there is never a direct path from one side to the other, and the interstud space is filled with soft insulating material. In general, sound insulation is the same as thermal insulation; there is no particular mystery to the art of keeping sound in its place of origin.

Some anti-noise measures, such as floating floors and hanging ceilings, do entail extra expense; others do not, or at least very little. For instance, weather stripping on inside doors (sound passes through cracks) is not a costly item, nor does the builder save significantly when he allows the electrical contractor to install outlets back to back, providing an acoustic path from rooom to room. If the rooms are in adjacent apartments, so much the worse. Bathroom medicine chests back to back are likewise indefensible. Overall, good acoustic design need not raise the cost more than 5 per cent.

As renters grow more critical, new construction will be forced to meet higher acoustic standards, and rents in buildings of poor construction will decline—but hundreds of thousands will still be forced to put up with annoyance which could have been easily avoided in the first place. As yet, few prospective tenants take the obvious precaution, in a new house which is still largely vacant, of playing a transistor radio at high volume in the adjacent apartment (but the squeaky sound tells nothing about transmission of low tones) and walking on the floor above, while someone checks on the sound getting through. In an occupied house, a visit in the evening will often reveal reasons for not renting that were not apparent during the day. Of course, for anyone buying a cooperative apartment investigations of this kind are even more advisable.

DECIBEL PRESSURE



More publicity has been given to airplane noise than to any other kind, but relief is a long way off. Despite countermeasures, the prospect is for further deterioration in most areas. Jets produce a higher pitched, hence more disturbing noise than propeller-driven aircraft, and there are going to be more and more jets. The Federal Aviation Agency predicts a doubling of passenger volume in the next five years, and a ninefold increase in small jets, which, in proportion to power, are the noisiest of all.

The seriousness of the situation is appreciated in high quarters and some extremely competent people are working on it, particularly in the Office of Science and Technology which advises the President, and in committees reporting to it. But, as Nicholas E. Golovin, a member of the OST staff, points out in a paper on "Alleviation of Aircraft Noise" (January 1967, *Astronautics and Aeronautics*) it is extremely difficult to compromise among the conflicting interests of airplane manufacturers, airline and airport operators, pilots and communities—which themselves often contain warring factions and are by no means united behind the homeowners directly under the flight paths.

Some of the latter had no choice, but some have themselves to blame, as well as the tract developers who got them into this bedlam. Anyone who contemplates buying near an airport should make it his business to sit in the living room during the 5 to 7 P.M. rush hour, when the air and the runways are filled with aircraft landing and taking off, and on the terrace almost any time. He will then have some idea of what he is letting himself in for.

One story that can lead only to melancholy reflections concerns a housing development close to the John F. Kennedy airport, New York's largest. When the homeowners organized to combat the noise, the FAA noise abatement officer asked if they had not been aware of the problem when they bought. The indignant owners explained that the sales agency had told them that the airport would close down the disturbing runway as soon as the area was developed. It never occurred to them that, since Kennedy is ringed with developments, on this basis the airport would soon be out of business, nor did they think of checking with FAA before signing the contract.

To end on a note of relative cheer: the chances are that the supersonic transport will *not* make the situation worse in the vicinity of airports. Whether the SST is a good thing is a moot question, but the economic stakes are so large that the heat is on the design engineers on no account to increase take-off and landing noise. These efforts will probably be successful. They had better be.

The sonic boom is another, quite separate question, but here again a note of optimism is justified. Unrestrained, the SST could change noise from a local phenomenon to one of nation-wide proportions, as the aircraft streaked from coast to coast, laying down sonic-boom "carpets" 50 miles wide across the country. [See the recent three-part series by Karl M. Ruppenthal, *The Nation*.] But this will not happen. If the boom turns out to be seriously disturbing, by the time the prototype is built public resentment will collide head-on with the project. Some experts believe that by modifying the shape of the aircraft to reduce drag and hence the force of the boom, it can be kept within tolerable limits. If they prove wrong, there is little doubt that the SST will be barred from overland use. The economic consequences would be serious, but the public relations problem would be even worse. Either the technical problem will be solved, or the SST will be the first major casualty of the anti-noise movement.

NATIONAL PROBLEMS CONSTRUCTIVELY EDITORIALIZED

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. GARDNER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, the local newspaper in my hometown of Rocky Mount, N.C., has a very fine editorial page that points out to its readers the problems that should be of concern to every citizen of our country, and offers much constructive thinking concerning these problems. I am having a number of these editorials from the Rocky Mount Telegram inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order that all Members of Congress might have an opportunity to read them also:

THE THREATS VERY REAL

You hear a lot these days about "building bridges" to China, cultural exchange programs with the Reds, giving U.S. wheat to the Peking government and peaceful coexistence with the vast Communist bloc. Behind it all, the movement grows to get Red China admitted to the United Nations. It is part of the same movement to persuade the U.S. government to abdicate its commitments to the free world, pull our troops out of Viet Nam and dismantle the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The whole idea is that Communism is only an abstract doctrine and does not really pose a threat to the peace and freedom of the world, and that this doctrine has as much right to be heard as any other. It's the same kind of line you hear from those who want Communist speakers on campus.

When one hears these preachments, he may be sure that virtually the opposite is true: Communism is a deadly threat and it is no abstract doctrine. As for getting Red China into the United Nations, Dr. Walter Judd of Minnesota, former member of the U.S. House and a medical missionary to China for 10 years, charged recently that the admittance of Red China to the U.N. would bring that organization "down to the level of gangsters" and enable the Chinese to spread the malignancy of Communism more easily.

Speaking at a conference of doctors and lawyers at Lake Junaluska last week, Dr. Judd warned that the U.S. should do nothing that would strengthen the Red Chinese position. Specifically, Judd warned against any trade with mainland China. Yet, the administration is flirting with the idea of shipping vast quantities of American wheat to that country.

It would be one of the greatest mistakes possible in waging the cold war. "Overall, there is a vast disenchantment with Communism, especially in the newly independent countries," Judd noted. But to help the Communist bloc economically would enable it to continue its goal of conquest. Why should we, therefore, provide the sinews for our own conquest? It doesn't make sense, but that is what we and other free nations are doing.

As Dr. Judd points out, there is something wrong with the system of Communism. It does not gear in with the nature of man. Every time we stand firm it has led to an improvement of the situation. By standing firm and refusing to aid the Communist bloc we are helping to wither it.

Judd believes that Communism might disintegrate faster than many think if it were shown to be a "paper tiger." Judd is one of those who has not fallen for the current popular idea that China is more dangerous than the Soviet Union.

The Russians have issued conciliatory words but not one deed indicates the slightest deviation from their basic objective of world domination. A lot of people get bored when you speak of the Communist threat. But the Communists profited enormously by the mistakes of the Germans and Japanese in the last war. The shocking, devastating attacks by the Axis united the dissident American factions as nothing else could have.

But the Russians are not making that mistake. They are patient; they look to the long haul. They provoke us just enough with small wars—"brush fires"—to keep us engaged in local situations, like Korea and Viet Nam, creating a costly drain on resources and manpower. But the Russians invest practically nothing except some small material support.

They can go on in this manner, keeping the pressure on us in some far corner of the earth, dividing the American people, creating doubts, friction, dissent. That is what they are doing. Yet, always in the background is mighty Russia, capable, armed to the teeth, making just enough conciliatory remarks for world consumption about peaceful coexistence.

How, then, can anyone believe the hogwash about abstract Communism, about brotherly love in the United Nations which "ought to have" Red China as a blood-brother member, about shipping our material resources to aid the enemy in his time of economic blunders, and above all—the insanity proposed time after time by the Fulbrights and Morses and Kennedys about sitting down at a peace conference with the aggressors and hoping for an honest-to-goodness peace deal that would be fair to one and all?

Why Anarchy Is on the Rise

One of the favorite dodges used in excusing the anarchy in the streets is that more employment is necessary. It is getting rather tiresome to hear that more jobs are needed to keep the looters and snipers off the streets. In the San Francisco anarchy last week, that excuse was immediately seized upon. More jobs are now being scrounged for the lawbreakers.

The sure-fire explanation that all that is necessary to keep the rioting down is more costly poverty projects. The story goes that the underprivileged, their backs to the wall, are in desperation picking up bricks, intuitively knowing how to fashion Molotov cocktails, somehow getting hold of expensive guns and ammunition, and rioting for their rights.

This approach has a great deal of appeal. The ultra-liberals believe it. Those who doubt it are caught up in their natural regard for the underdog. Perhaps, in some cases, these are the facts. The riots are also blamed on recent migrants to the big cities, who found woe instead of the promised land. Usually the migrants "are from the South."

An investigation of the worst riot of them all—in the Watts area in Los Angeles—brought some startling facts to light. The press hasn't given them much play. The Dallas Morning News points out that a report by the California State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation released histories on a third of the 3,371 adult rioters arrested during that week-long brawl.

Its findings? Almost half of the arrested rioters were far from being illiterate. Thirty-two percent of them were high school graduates; almost 12 per cent had additional schooling.

Unemployed? Seventy-three percent of the rioters handled by police were employed full time, 30 per cent in skilled jobs, eight per cent in sales or clerical work.

About 49 per cent of the 1,057 in the study earned from $200 to $400 a month, and 22 per cent earned $400 or more.

Migrants? A full 75 per cent arrested lived in Los Angeles County at least five years, only six per cent less than a year.

The Dallas paper points out that these facts show the average Watts rioter was an employed Negro male who had lived in Watts for five years and had at least part of a high school education.

What caused these people to turn from constructive community work, from activity in civic projects to burning buildings? One reason: the federal government, by its policies of regarding demonstrations and rioting as "non-violent protests"; high government officials by their statements which seemingly condone lawlessness as an instrument of protest; the sheltering by federal officials of civil disobedience; the protection of rioters—while seemingly ignoring those whose property is destroyed or who are the victims of the mobs.

Violence is curbed when punishment is swift, just and full. Violence is unleashed when national leaders make speeches offering to lead riots themselves, and say they don't blame the rioters a bit. Then, when federal forces arrive to back up the rioters, who can blame them for turning loose the violence that lies within nearly everyone at some time?

This Is Good Business?

Republican congressional leaders are on sound ground when they demand that President Johnson stop "trafficking" with the Russian and other Communist nations. "If dealing with the enemy, who are dealing in nothing but death to Americans in Viet Nam, is good business, then truth and honor have indeed been perverted beyond recall by this administration," declared GOP House Leader Gerald Ford.

He recalled a speech Oct. 7 in which Johnson noted new U.S.-Soviet cultural and air agreements and announced new steps to expand trade with the Soviet bloc. Johnson was quoted as calling this "good business." For whom? Certainly not for this country.

In a move to promote more trade with the Reds, the administration has eased export restrictions on a wide variety of goods which it termed "nonstrategic." Apparently that phrase is a matter of interpretation. It is difficult to term as anything but strategic such items as chemicals, machinery, ignition equipment, paraffin and metal manufactures.

Yet, the administration makes much of such items as mayonnaise, popcorn, corsets, hog troughs and the like. And probably not listed at all are a whole string of highly strategic items which can boost the enemy war potential tremendously.

"Until the Communist world convinces us by act, not by word, that it not only seeks peace but it will so act to preserve peace among men, we will not be a party to any deal, any agreement, any arrangement, any treaty with Communists anywhere in the world," Ford said. Any such increase in trade with the Soviet should be used as a bargaining point to get the Russians to stop shipments of war goods to North Viet Nam.

Russia has been supplying in increasing volume the weapons and ammunition that are killing American troops. As those GIs are dying, the Soviet Union announces an enormous further increase in its economic and military aid to the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

If that is good business, then Washington is using a different yardstick than the one most Americans are accustomed to using.

Correcting Our Aid Abuses

Conducting the war in Viet Nam under the best of conditions is difficult enough. But when sloppy or careless administration is evident, then the effort of our troops is all the more seriously hampered.

Mismanagement of our economic assistance to South Viet Nam has been severely criticized in a report by the House Government Operations Committee. The report declared that such "unconscionable" mismanagement had made economic aid a device for graft and corruption, black marketing and a source of supply for the enemy.

The disturbing thing about the situation is that no single agency is to blame, but several. The Government Operations Committee takes to task the State Department, the Defense Department, the General Accounting Office (which is supposed to watch-dog for such activities), and the U.S. Information Agency.

These agencies were criticized for the "general abdication of responsibility for the audit and inspection of United States programs in Viet Nam for many years. That is a serious indictment, yet indications are that it is deserved.

Still another agency received even heavier blame—the Agency for International Development (AID) and its mission in Saigon. This was accused of having left unmanaged, unaudited and without concern its commercial import program under which some $420 million in consumer items was pumped into the South Vietnamese economy during the past year.

The report by the House Government Operations Committee charged that large amounts of aid shipments had been diverted to the Viet Cong. It was estimated by the deputy director of the Saigon mission that as much as 60 per cent of the aid is diverted from the purpose for which it is intended.

It is, of course, fantastic that something like this could be allowed to happen in the first place. But it is almost unbelievable that the activities could be permitted to continue. Certainly someone knew about it.

The deputy director also stated that he had circumstantial evidence that some of the aid went to Cambodia, Thailand and even Communist China. It is obvious that if this is the case, it is part of a well-organized move.

The House committee report lists testimony from other members of the Saigon mission that quantities of iron and steel mill products, industrial machinery, cement and chemicals exported by AID were so great that the economy of South Viet Nam could not absorb them.

Some steps have been taken to correct the situation, not only by AID, but also by the Defense Department as well. Better security for cargoes, efforts to remedy the leaks and abuses, and a close watch on strategic materials are some of the steps taken.

AID is also credited with boosting commodity analysis activity, introducing commodity procurement on a consolidated basis through the General Services Administration to allow more solid evaluation of import needs, and a continuing analysis of the commodity import program.

This is encouraging. But remedial steps now do not answer the main question of how these sort of abuses, sloppy management and mismanagement were allowed to begin in the first place. Certainly we have been in the foreign aid business long enough by now to have become experts at it.

Social Security and Politics

Plenty of arguments can be mustered in favor of the President's proposal for another boost in Social Security benefits. Everyone sympathizes with the millions of elderly Americans who must eke out an existence on a relatively small government pension. Unless that pension is increased periodically, its value constantly declines—and the decline has been rather dramatic during the past year, as inflation has stalked the land.

Another of the President's proposed amendments to the Social Security program—permitting those who work after age 65 to earn more money without losing their Social Security benefits—should have been enacted long ago. Under the present rules, those who want to supplement their meager government pension by gainful employment are penalized for taking this initiative.

Besides, most of those who collected Social Security benefits have paid for them in the form of taxes. In fact, as a recent study by the Tax Foundation revealed, anyone who spends a lifetime working and paying Social Security taxes will have paid into the program $13,000 more than he can expect to withdraw from it. At that rate, why should anyone be penalized further by losing even more of his investment, simply because he is industrious?

The cost of the President's proposed package of Social Security benefits is expected to add $2.2 billion initially to the annual federal budget. Unfortunately, this will only add to the vicious inflationary spiral and may inevitably wipe out whatever gains the increased benefits will provide.

It should be recalled that Social Security benefits were increased by 7 per cent only a year ago. Has the value of that increase already been wiped out by the forces of inflation? Will the next boost of 10 per cent be erased as quickly?

The timing of the President's announcement, of course, could not have been better —from his political standpoint. It should be obvious that he expects to gain dividends by promising just four weeks before a national election to increase the income of some 23 million Americans (almost half the number of citizens who will cast ballots on November 8).

The increased taxes to pay for these new benefits won't be levied until well after the votes are counted, and the new benefits themselves won't go into effect until 1968—another election year. Nevertheless, the President couldn't wait to announce his plans.

By way of contrast, consider the fact that for months Mr. Johnson has postponed a decision—or the announcement of a decision—on whether or not to ask for a general tax increase or curbs on wages and prices next year or both. These, of course, would be politically unpopular; hence they can be postponed until after the election.

The Social Security hike may be worth millions of votes; its pre-election unveiling is thus a political expedient.—Richmond Times-Dispatch.

Guaranteed Wage Indefensible

By no amount of economic gymnastics can the proposed guaranteed annual wage be justified, although there are economic and social planners in the Great Society who are trying to make a solid case for just such a program.

The major question is what the effect on the nation's economy would be. It takes no professor to realize that if the government tries to give every family a minimum wage—free—of $3,000 per year, that more money will be required to finance such a spree.

And, of course, the money will have to come in the form of taxes—and these taxes will have to come from the peole who already are working and paying through the nose. If more is taken from them, that means they will be deprived of money to buy more goods themselves. The economy will be pinched accordingly.

There is another problem in this country. There are millions of jobs available, like car washing, grass cutting, and others which provide substantial sums of income for those willing to get out and get it. But it is likely that if a person is guaranteed $3,000 a year from Uncle Sam, he won't go out and cut grass, or paint fences or whatever he's been doing.

These available jobs are going begging even now, despite the high levels of unemployment the government keeps complaining about. If people are to be paid for not working, they certainly won't work. And what's to keep them from moving to the swank resort areas where they can enjoy their guaranteed annual wage in more style?

The fact of the matter is that those who would benefit by a free federal wage of $3,000 a year represent a potentially tremendous pressure group—not necessarily a minority, because their ranks would grow and grow, continually pressing for still more increases in their minimum free wage.

It is logical to assume that this would force wage levels up throughout the economy, thereby aggravating inflation even more. Unfortunately, in such a scheme as this, there would be no standard—that is—it wouldn't matter whether the recipient was really down on his luck, or simply too lazy to work. Poverty would be the only criterion, and certainly that could be easily self-imposed if the recipient wanted to ride the gravy train.

Shocking Attack Against Police

Law enforcement authorities throughout the nation have for some years now been subjected to a systematic attack by the left-wing elements, with charges of "police brutality" constituting the main basis of these irresponsible attacks.

Such charges flared anew, predictably, in the wake of the recent wave of anarchy in a dozen American cities. But now the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union have launched the most shocking attack yet against law enforcement in the United States.

The NAACP and ACLU have filed suit seeking appointment of a receiver to take over and operate the Newark, N.J. Police Department.

The "victims" who have filed the suit in U.S. District Court for New Jersey are quite serious about their action. They intend to have the Newark law enforcement agency controlled by a "receiver" probably to be named by a federal court.

This is ridiculous, but even in its absurdity it should give cause for serious concern to responsible American citizens who recognize law and order as the foundation of our system. For to witness the success of this insidious action would be to witness the final denouncement of a tragedy that has beset America.

However, in the wake of many questionable decisions by federal courts in recent years, one cannot with any assurance say that the suit filed by the NAACP and ACLU will be turned down by the federal court. The suit was filed with a complaint against the police which charged "acts of violence, intimidation and humiliation to keep the Negro community (of Newark) in a second-class status."

This is the result of the police department's efforts to maintain law and order and discourage the wave of anarchy, looting, arson and murder that assailed the city recently. If this suit is successful, the final facade of law and order will have been removed, and the anarchists will have a field day at the public's expense.

More Alice in Wonderland

How would you like to have a job making $150 a week, and also have the welfare department pay your rent each month?

That's what happened in Yonkers, N.Y., believe it or not. William Jacobs and his wife have seven children. He makes $150 a week driving a garbage truck for the city. But because the welfare department claims his salary doesn't cover all of his expenses, it has been paying $600 a month to keep Jacobs and his family in a motel.

The Jacobs lived thusly for six months. Recently the family signed a lease for a House which rents for $270 a month. The Westchester County welfare commissioner, Louis Kurtis, says the county will still have to pay some of the cost because the $150 a week that Jacobs earns will "not cover his expenses."

In addition to adding a second window to the living room, which the family requested, the welfare department will provide the family with any additional furniture they might need.

Well, granted that the cost of living in Yonkers is exorbitant, that is no reason why other taxpayers should foot the bill for a man who makes $150 a week, but still can't meet expenses. Lots of families find themselves in the same situation, because of the high cost of living in the Great Society but they're not being subsidized by the state, nor should they be.

This case helps explain why costs of welfare is mushrooming. The real goal of welfare obviously has been lost sight of, somewhere along the line, as bureaucratic power grows and grows. To insist that the problems of this family properly belong in the realm of public welfare is to depart from the realities of life. In too many cases, the self-perpetuation of a bureaucracy is the major goal.

And say what they will to explain away this Yonkers case, there are many families in America today—not on welfare—which would trade their incomes for that of the Jacobs family.

Those Expensive Bargains

Past experience has shown that when Robert McNamara talks about "bargain" purchases by his Defense Department one can be sure he's not talking about "bargains" in the sense that the canny housewife views them.

Take as one example the story unfolded recently by Rep. Otis Pike of New York. Rep. Pike charges that the Defense Department ordered $33,398 worth of gadgets actually worth $210—and called it a bargain.

Rep. Pike declared that the Pentagon ordered 130 knobs used on generators in Vietnam from Sterling Instruments Division of Designatronics Inc., of Mineola, N.Y. But Pike, a member of a House Armed Services subcommittee investigating the purchase, said the same knobs were sold by Federal Pacific Electric Co. of Newark, N.J., for only $1.62 each—the whole batch would have cost only $210.60. But the Pentagon paid $33,398 for them and proudly called them a "bargain."

The apparent reason for the $33,398 order. Pike explained, was that Sterling Instruments was the only manufacturer to respond to an advertisement for bids. Because it was technically a competitive bid, the Defense Department considered it a bargain, Pike said, and credited its "cost reduction program" with an automatic 25 per cent savings, or $8,349.

Pike contends that each time the Pentagon buys something through competitive bidding it throws the purchase into a computer which figures an automatic 25 per cent saving. That explains in large measure how McNamara's been "saving" so much money for the taxpayers.

Then there is another little item on which McNamara saved the taxpayers scads of money. This was a simple washer which the government bought, through a middleman, for $1.55 each. As Rep. Pike points out, it's just a plain, old flat washer—which was worth 15 cents. You can get them at any reputable hardware store. But the Pentagon gets them through a middleman for $1.55, thereby racking up another sensational "cost reduction program" saving for the taxpayers.

We suspect the taxpayer would be happy if the government halted this kind of bargain buying—they've had about as much as their pocketbooks can stand.

Life on Paradise Isle

Britain's socialist paradise rolls on. The government reported last week the biggest rise in British unemployment in four years, with a winter of labor strife in prospect.

This comes only a month after Laborite Prime Minister Harold Wilson boasted that he was going even further in his party's efforts to socialize almost every aspect of the British economy. His efforts have succeeded: the economy is paralyzed, labor strikes are causing work stoppages, and an era of harsh austerity has descended upon merry olde England.

The government's austerity kick (necessitated by the imposition of socialism upon the nation) is held directly responsible for much of the 97,027 increase in unemployment since Sept. 22, making the total unemployed in the land of the welfare state 437,229.

Wilson is like the squirrel on the treadmill. He keeps forcing through more of his fuzzy socialistic schemes and the economy totters still more. It would seem that somewhere in his life he, an educated man, learned about the free enterprise system. It doesn't show in his policies, and Britain is suffering because of his ignorance.

In spite of the disturbingly high total of unemployed in Britain, there is no hint that there might be some relaxation of belt-tightening measures. And even the left-wing Laborites are calling the report on unemployment "most gravely disturbing." Fancy that.

All production stopped at the big Austin motors plant because of a strike of car deliverers which began four weeks ago at the British Motor Corp., makers of Austin, at Oxford. The drivers walked out when the company announced 12,000 men had to be laid off because of the government's rigid austerity measures. That's the socialist treadmill at work.

Behind the labor disputes was the general discontent with Wilson's six-month freeze of wages and prices—another dividend of socialist paradise. (A voluntary freeze was ordered by the government last July and then it was made compulsory when some of the unions—usually the chief backers of socialist measures—refused to observe the voluntary freeze.)

Growing business stagnation is noted throughout the feeble island kingdom. Wilson is certain to be rapped not only by the Conservatives but also by leftwingers from his own Labor party, because of the hardship for workers. But, amid the squabbling and the screaming, Hal Wilson's socialist paradise of the British Isles rolls merrily along, serene in the knowledge that with enough reforms and gimmicks the whole British economy will founder, forthwith, in the English Channel.

GOVERNMENT STOCKPILES — A THREAT TO FREE ENTERPRISE?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress have watched with great concern the use of Government stockpiles to control prices. For example, the President has released by proclamation over 500,000 tons of stockpiled copper in an effort to prevent price increases. Aluminum and tin are but two more major items that have been used for similar purposes.

The market system is the backbone of our economy, and any tampering with it involves serious risks and sets dangerous precedents.

All this is brought to public attention by Dr. N. A. Ansari in the summer 1967 issue of "Business Perspectives," a publication of Southern Illinois University. Dr. Ansari's excellent, scholarly article is titled "Federal Government Influence on Prices of Stockpiled Materials." The associate professor of management at the University of Nevada puts the case well.

He states in part:

> It seems ironic that the United States, a nation ostensibly so deeply committed to the ideals of a free enterprise sytsem, should be moving away from these trusted principles, while many of the communist countries, having learned from the experiences of the United States and having been convinced of the hazards of central planning and government control, are rapidly moving in the direction of profit motive, free enterprise and free market. If the experiences of Yugoslavia are of any significance, such a move is paying off. It would be a tragic mistake for the United States to undermine the basic right of an entrepreneur—the right to set the price of his products.

I might add that while Dr. Ansari's finding deal with various metal stockpiles, his observations should be kept in mind as well by the Nation's farmers. With prices such as we have today, such punitive actions must not be permitted to take place for corn, feed grains, or any other agricultural commodity. With inflation mounting, the Federal Government may increasingly turn to dumping stockpiled commodities to drive prices down.

I therefore recommend this article to my colleagues, and request its inclusion at this point in my remarks:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE ON PRICES OF STOCKPILED MATERIALS

(NOTE.—This author believes that the federal government is becoming an increasing menace to free competition by influencing price levels of materials held in the national stockpile. Tin price fluctuations are examined to determine the extent of government interference in pricing decisions on the open market.)

(By Nazir A. Ansari,* University of Nevada)

Traditionally, American businessmen like to think that they are operating in an economy which is governed by the basic laws of supply and demand, for this concept is the very foundation of a free enterprise society. They like to think that as owners and managers of their ventures they are free to set the prices of their products at levels where they can best meet the forces of competition. They like to think that as long as their actions do not restrict competition, or as long as they are not guilty of actions considered unlawful under the existing laws of the land, they can expect the minimum amount of interference by the federal government or its regulatory agencies in their policy decisions.

The events of the recent years, however, have cast serious doubts on the validity of these ideals and raised some pointed questions regarding the nature and the extent of the independence of private enterprises. The reaction of the federal government and the rapidity and ruthlessness with which it mobilized the vast and powerful forces at its disposal to compel the nation's steel, aluminum, coffee, tobacco, and molybdenum producers to rescind their announced price increases are instances that will be remembered by all for a long time to come. These are instances of direct and conscious effort by the federal government to influence major policy decisions of independent corporations.

Of the various methods employed by the federal government to influence pricing decisions of independent corporations, the use of the national stockpiles and the threat by the government to release vast quantities of stockpiled materials are gaining in prominence. A close look at the sequence of events in the case of aluminum shows the extent to which these methods have proved effective.

On October 29, 1965, under pressure of rising cost, the nation's major aluminum producers announced a price increase of one-half of one cent per pound. The response of the federal government was immediate. It asked the aluminum companies to rescind this "unjustified and inflationary" price increase. In the event that the companies failed to comply, the government threatened to release vast quantities of aluminum from the surplus in the national stockpiles, with 100,000 long tons[1] designated for immediate release and an additional 200,000 long tons pin-pointed for release in 1966. On November 11, just 13 days after the initial confrontation, the aluminum producers bowed to government demands and rolled back their prices.

There is yet another and perhaps equally effective, though commonly unknown, manner in which the federal government uses stockpiles to attain desired price levels for certain materials. A careful study of the fluctuations of tin prices shows that an agency of the federal government exercises an undeniable and decisive influence on prices of this metal by buying in the open market when the price gets below the desired level and selling in the open market by releasing tin from the national stockpile when the price rises above a certain level. By carefully planning the timing and amount of releases from the national stockpile, the federal government is able to influence appreciably the price of tin on the open market.

Although such governmental manipulation of supply is not a new weapon, it is growing in power and in prominence and should be of paramount concern to all the nation's business entrepreneurs. The ability of the government to act in this manner, coupled with the general upward trend in wages and material costs, implies, a cost-price squeeze on all producers and consumers of stockpiled materials.

The purpose of this paper is to direct the attention of both businessmen and the public to the nature and extent to which the influence of the federal government prevails on the prices of materials held in the national stockpile. Using tin as an example, this paper shows how tin prices have fluctuated relative to the amount and the timing of releases of surplus stockpiles by the government. A critical examination of the basic objectives of stockpiles and the authority of the federal government in this matter provides the background for this analysis.

TIN PRICE FLUCTUATIONS

A reasonable degree of stability in the price of tin on the world market is zealously sought by the consumers as well as the producers of this metal. There are two main reasons for this. First, tin prices must be kept high enough to maintain profitable production. Second, the price must be kept low enough to discourage the substitution of the metal by any one of several feasible products. Toward these ends, the major tin producing and consuming countries of the world, with the notable exception of the United States and the Soviet Union, banded together in 1956 to form the International Tin Council. Control by the members of the Council is usually governed by their share of the world market.

In order to achieve its goal of stabilizing tin prices, the International Tin Council introduced two fundamental programs. The first program, that of restricting supply in order to change the world balance from an excess to a deficiency, achieved success in 1958 when, for the first time, demand exceeded supply. This condition has persisted ever since. The second program, that of setting up a buffer stock in order to control prices, failed for the most part even though the principle behind it was sound. Under this plan the manager of the buffer stock, which was donated for this purpose by the International Tin Council members, was to sell tin if the prices rose above a given level or to buy if the price fell below a certain specified minimum. The key to the failure of this program was the inadequacy of the buffer stock in relation to the holdings of non-member countries such as the United States and lack of sufficient funds to purchase tin in the open market in order to help raise its price.

Despite the efforts of the International Tin Council, tin prices have fluctuated widely from one period to another. At times they are found to have changed by well over 50 per cent beyond their previous level. Table 1 shows the monthly averages of tin prices from 1946 to 1965:

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*The author wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Guy K. Grant for his help with the collection of data.

[1] The International Tin Council defines long ton as being the equivalent of 2,240 pounds.

TABLE 1.—MONTHLY AVERAGE PRICE OF STRAITS TIN IN NEW YORK (PROMPT DELIVERY)

[In cents per pound]

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1946	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	65.00	70.00
1947	70.00	70.00	70.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	85.33
1948	84.00	94.00	94.00	94.00	94.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00
1949	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	101.90	95.70	91.11	79.08
1950	75.92	74.50	74.75	76.45	77.50	77.70	89.88	102.05	101.29	113.35	137.68	144.78
1951	171.72	182.68	145.46	145.83	139.96	118.05	106.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00	103.00
1952	109.76	121.50	121.50	121.50	121.50	121.50	121.50	121.50	121.38	121.23	121.27	121.47
1953	121.50	121.50	121.40	101.11	97.46	92.95	81.63	80.68	82.31	80.85	83.19	84.61
1954	64.83	85.04	91.88	96.12	93.52	94.20	96.54	93.37	93.54	93.04	91.10	88.57
1955	87.27	90.77	91.04	91.39	91.37	93.64	96.82	96.46	96.26	96.09	97.87	107.76
1956	104.32	100.53	100.57	99.17	96.88	94.48	96.16	98.96	103.57	105.72	110.26	104.01
1957	101.35	100.22	99.48	99.30	98.32	98.02	96.46	94.15	93.31	91.84	89.23	92.32
1958	92.68	93.75	94.33	92.82	94.49	94.62	94.89	94.94	94.01	96.47	98.96	98.97
1959	99.35	102.71	103.03	102.50	103.04	104.15	102.31	102.33	102.43	102.20	100.96	99.13
1960	99.85	100.97	100.09	99.24	99.54	101.31	103.49	102.85	102.23	103.28	102.82	101.14
1961	100.38	100.98	103.40	107.08	110.03	114.55	116.25	119.78	121.85	121.05	122.89	120.98
1962	120.30	121.06	123.08	122.12	117.19	113.02	111.45	108.46	108.46	108.76	110.78	110.64
1963	111.06	108.54	109.22	113.02	116.65	117.73	115.34	114.84	116.11	119.97	127.04	130.20
1964	134.02	140.12	134.82	133.51	134.85	150.60	159.65	161.67	185.38	204.61	190.27	163.11
1965	157.26	154.98	164.98	180.67	191.95	188.94	184.12	186.96	191.90	185.32	176.76	174.23

Source: Commodity Year Books, 1952–66.

From 1941 to 1946 the price of tin was set by the Office of Price Administration at $.52 per pound. In November, 1946, and thereafter until midyear 1948, government price ceilings were gradually raised. This accounts for the alternate climbing and leveling-off pattern exhibited until November, 1949, when all price controls on the metal were lifted. After the removal of direct price controls, the story told by Table 1 is of another, more subtle type of government control over prices in the form of actions taken to augment or decrease tin stockpiles.

As might be expected, one of the most spectacular price fluctuations for the period under consideration came at the time of the Korean conflict. When in late 1950 and early 1951 the crisis was most critical, there were heavy stockpile purchases by the government, in addition to increased buying by consumers and foreign governments in anticipation of wartime shortages—enough to drive the price to $1.83 per pound, an increase of about 50 percent over the low of $.74½ per pound set just previous to the outbreak of the hostilities.

Early in 1951 when fears that the United States would run short of tin were abated, the discontinuance of tin purchases by the General Services Administration was a significant factor in the plunge of tin prices from an all-time high of $1.83 per pound to $1.03 per pound, a drop of approximately 44 per cent in less than six months.[2]

Again, in 1952, tin prices were pushed upward by a large government purchase contract at $1.21½ per pound and also by an agreement for the United States to obtain 20,000 long tons of tin from the United Kingdom for about $1.21 per pound.

Along with rumors of a peace settlement in early 1953 came a government announcement that the stockpile requirements had been completed. The subsequent price drop from $1.21 per pound to $.80 per pound in less than a few months is another, though less dramatic, example of the influence of stockpile transactions upon the price of tin.

From 1953 to 1959 tin prices remained fairly stable with a few minor exceptions. During 1959 and 1960, when world tin consumption started to exceed tin production, the International Tin Council sold heavily from its buffer stock in an effort to hold prices down. By 1961, however, this buffer stock had depleted substantially, and the sharp rise in the price of tin in that year was the direct result of this.[3]

In January, 1962, the price of tin stood at $1.20 per pound. The subsequent drop to $1.08 per pound by mid-year can again be attributed to government actions—this time the public's uncertainty over the announcement of the intentions of the General Services Administration to dispose of 50,000 long tons of tin. After the initial announcement, prices recovered and continued to climb due to the increasing gap between supply and demand. How much higher prices would have gone if the United States had not been simultaneously engaged in disposal activities is subject for speculation. Subsequent disposal programs were authorized in July, 1964, and March, 1965.[4]

Tin prices reached record highs in 1964 and 1965 due to an acute supply deficit or "short-fall" in production, which can be explained in part by the political tensions existing at that time between Malaysia and Indonesia, producers of two-thirds of the world's tin. During that period the United States was filling the supply gap by selling large quantities of surplus tin and, consequently, preventing prices from climbing even higher.[5] Tin prices fell from a high of $2.18 per pound in late 1964 to $1.61 per pound in July, 1966, a decline of about 26 per cent. This decline can be attributed, for the most part, to three factors—the cease-fire agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia, which brought forth increased production from both countries; a decrease in the shortfall since 1964 from 20,000 long tons to about 15,000 long tons because of increased production and a decrease in tin consumption; and accompanying United States disposal actions.[6]

The fact remains, however, that as long as there is any deficit of supply, and as long as the government has a stockpile surplus, the fate of tin prices rests largely in the hands of the federal government through its stockpile surplus disposal policies. The producers and the consumers of tin will simply have to stand on the sidelines and watch the market respond to the actions of the U.S. government rather than their own.

It would, of course, be erroneous to assume that the federal government can use the entire quantity of tin in the national stockpile to exert its influence on tin prices. The General Services Administration and the Office of Emergency Planning, two of the agencies of the federal government that are most directly concerned with matters under discussion here, are not allowed to dispose of any quantities from the national stockpile unless these quantities are found to be in excess of the expressed objectives and reclassified as such without any objections from either of the Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Interior, or State. Authorization must be secured from Congress for any disposal from the national stockpile.[7]

Table 2 presents data that further emphasize the magnitude of the influence of the federal government on the price of tin. It shows the amount of tin held in the national stockpile already reclassified as surplus and the proportion of this surplus to total world production.

TABLE 2.—TOTAL WORLD PRODUCTION OF PRIMARY TIN, TIN IN NATIONAL STOCKPILE, STOCKPILE SURPLUS, AND STOCKPILE SURPLUS AS PERCENT OF WORLD PRODUCTION AND TOTAL NATIONAL STOCKPILE, 1958–65

[In long tons]

Year	Total of world production	Total in national stockpile	National stockpile surplus	Surplus as percent of total world production	Surplus as percent of total national stockpiles
1958	121,100	345,000	147,000	121.39	42.61
1959	114,000	(1)	(1)		
1960	145,900	352,000	167,000	114.46	47.44
1961	136,500	349,000	163,505	119.78	46.85
1962	144,700	347,290	147,290	101.79	42.41
1963	143,000	337,356	137,356	96.05	40.72
1964	142,800	308,741	108,741	76.14	35.22
1965	149,300	284,754	84,754	56.76	29.76

[1] Not available.

Sources: International Tin Council, Statistical Bulletin, April 1966; U.S. Senate, "Inquiry Into the Strategic and Critical Material Stockpiles of the United States," hearings before the National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves Subcommittee, Committee on Armed Services, 87th Cong., 2d sess., July and August 1962, pt. 5; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbooks, 1961–64; General Services Administration, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, statistical supplement, "Stockpile Report to the Congress," July–December 1965.

The first stockpile objective for tin was set in 1944 at 210,000 long tons. From that time until the mid-1950's, the government was vigorously adding to its stockpile inventory of tin in order to meet its ever-increasing stockpile objectives. These objectives were gradually raised from the initial objective of 210,000 long tons to a maximum of 350,000 long tons in 1950. Since that time the objectives were gradually relaxed and have remained unchanged since 1962 when they were set at 200,000 long tons.

According to available statistics, 1958 is the first year for which there was a recorded surplus of tin. At that time the U.S. government surplus was equal to over 121 per cent of the total world production of tin for that year. Since 1961, however, the proportion of

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[2] United States Senate, "Inquiry into the Strategic and Critical Material Stockpiles of the United States," Hearings before the National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves Subcommittee, Committee on Armed Services, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, July and August, 1962, Part 5, p. 1742.

[3] Ibid, p. 1744.

[4] *Commodity Year Book* (New York: Commodity Research Bureau, Inc., 1966), p. 332.

[5] International Tin Council, *Statistical Supplement* (London: International Tin Council, 1965), p. 7.

[6] John P. Hawkins. "Tin Prices Drop from High Level of 1964," *Wall Street Journal*, July 7, 1966, p. 4.

[7] "Stockpiling Policy May be Heated Issue in 1966," *Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet*, December 10, 1965, p. 2451.

U.S. stockpile surplus to total world production has been in constant decline, which can be attributed to the surplus disposal program which the government has actively pursued since 1962.

Despite this decline, however, with world consumption of tin having exceeded world tin production since 1959, it is obvious that through its disposal program the U.S. Government has been instrumental in preventing prices from climbing even higher than they would have after the International Tin Council buffer stock was depleted. Also, it seems reasonable to conclude that the United States, with an amount equal to over half of the total annual world production of tin in its stockpile surplus and with almost one-third of its total inventory of tin classified as surplus, still remains in a strong position to influence tin prices in both the United States and world markets.

STOCKPILE OF OTHER MATERIALS

The evidence presented in this paper shows that the federal government, by virtue of its vast holdings in the national stockpile, can exercise its influence on prices. The case of tin, as studied here, is by no means an isolated instance. Since the vast quantities held in the stockpile are the basic source of the power of the government over prices, it can be rightly argued that similar influence can be exercised in all cases where stockpile surpluses exist. As pointed out earlier, such influence has already been demonstrated in the case of aluminum. Coffee and molybdenum are other instances.

This close study in the case of tin points out a useful lesson to the producers and the consumers of materials included in the stockpile program of the federal government. The existence of sizeable surpluses in the national stockpile may very well mean that the decisive power to manipulate prices of these materials in the open market rests not with the producers and consumers, but with the federal government.

Just how large are these surpluses? Out of a total of 49,800,000 short tons of strategic and critical materials on hand on December 31, 1965, a total of 22,400,000 short tons were classified as surplus.[9] At that time out of the 77 materials of specification grade in government stockpiles, there was an inventory deficit recorded for only 12, and the inventory either equaled or exceeded government stockpile objectives for 45 of the materials. For the balance, there were sufficient quantities on hand in total government-owned inventories to complete the objectives. Table 3 lists the surpluses for some of the most significant strategic materials.

TABLE 3.—*Quantities of selected materials in the national stockpile classified as surplus, December 31, 1965*

Materials:	*Amount*
Aluminum (short tons)	1,434,807
Aluminum oxide, fused, crude (short dry tons)	218,359
Antimony (short tons)	23,832
Bauxite, refractory grade (long calcined tons)	126,279
Beryl (short tons)	12,472
Cadmium (pounds)	10,047,669
Cobalt (pounds)	48,629,210
Copper (short tons)	144,968
Lead (short tons)	1,284,626
Magnesium (short tons.)	24,083
Molybdenum (pounds)	4,916,514
Nickel (short tons)	150,688
Pyrethrum (pounds)	42,044
Rare earths (pounds)	795,647
Rubber, crude, natural (long tons)	617,718
Silicon carbide, crude (short tons)	166,445
Tungsten ores and concentrates (pounds)	35,785,000
Zinc (long tons)	1,312,868

Source: General Services Administration, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, Statistical Supplement, Stockpile Report to the Congress, (Washington, D.C.: July–December, 1965).

This table shows that in several instances the government is armed with considerably larger surpluses than is the case with tin. What would happen if the producers of these materials should announce price increases in these inflationary times is food for thought. Gone are the days when the conscientious producer could raise his prices without fear of some form of government retaliation. As has been shown in numerous instances, these government retaliatory forces, especially in the form of stockpile manipulations, are so strong that they are felt throughout the world market. The story behind the price fluctuations of many strategic materials would, as in the case of tin, be a story of federal government action taken to influence the forces of supply and demand in the open market.

CONCLUSION

John Croston, representing the General Services Administration at a Senate hearing on the government's tin disposal policies, stated that "We [the GSA] will attempt to sell tin at a price that will keep the major part of the industry in a healthy condition." As was shown here, this statement concerning tin could apply to a large number of other materials contained in the national stockpile.

There was a time not too long ago when this "healthy condition" would have been determined by the unimpeded forces of the open market, whereas now, more than ever, it is being determined by some form of direct governmental intervention. As members of a supposedly free enterprise system, it is only natural that we should decry such governmental tampering with the forces of the free market.

At this point one might ask what the implications of such government control over prices are and what influence such control will have on this nation's profit incentive system. Presently, the American entrepreneur finds himself faced with a situation where government reaction to a price change is a more significant factor than the reaction of the open market. Admittedly, prices are still determined in the marketplace, but in a market largely dominated by the government. It is needless to say that such a situation does not coincide with the cherished ideals of a free economy.

Throughout this nation's history, freedom of enterprise has been paramount in shaping this country's economic destiny. American businessmen have always been able to point with pride at the accomplishments of their free enterprise society. Now this country's entrepreneurs are faced with the unhappy circumstance of risking capital while the government determines the fair profit and price. It is obvious that such a situation can give little, if any, incentive to the entrepreneur to put his capital at stake.

In recent years we have witnessed the reluctant, but admittedly necessary, transition of many communist nations, notably Yugoslavia, from the principles of a planned and centrally controlled economy to that of an economy based more and more on profit motive and freedom of action as incentives. Under the economic system eulogized in Marxist doctrine, the totalitarian economies lagged, but with their return to economies based on the profit motive, their productivity has witnessed rapid expansions and wide-range improvements.

It seems ironic that the United States, a nation ostensibly so deeply committed to the ideals of a free enterprise system, should be moving away from these trusted principles, while many of the communist countries, having learned from the experiences of the United States and having been convinced of the hazards of central planning and government control, are rapidly moving in the direction of profit motive, free enterprise, and free market. If the experiences of Yugoslavia are of any significance, such a move is paying off. It would be a tragic mistake for the United States to undermine the basic right of an entrepreneur—the right to set the price of his products.

IMPORTS CONTINUE TO PELT U.S. MINK RANCHERS

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the pathetic state of U.S. mink-pelt prices, driven to below cost of production by cheap foreign imports, has been repeatedly called to public attention by many of us. We have sought diligently to bring these destructive imports under reasonable control through legislation.

In a further effort to persuade the powers that be of the situation confronting our mink ranchers, I wish to include for the Record an article appearing in the September 3, Minneapolis, Minn., Tribune. It outlines clearly the bleak future facing mink ranchers such as Henry Morlock in my own State of Minnesota, which is the second largest mink-producing State in the country.

The article follows:

Mink Doesn't Mean Affluence—State Ranchers Feel Pinch From Imports

(By Dick Youngblood)

Henry Morlock lounged in the shadows of one of the exhibit buildings, surrounded by the fun and noise of the Minnesota State Fair.

He wasn't happy.

Morlock, a state representative from Jordan, Minn., is a mink rancher—a big one, as mink ranchers go.

"I haven't sold my 1966 pelt crop yet," he said, watching the fairgoers filing through the mink exhibit building west of the grandstand, "and I've got another crop of about 4,000 pelts coming in November."

The reason is the pelt price, which now is running between $12 and $14. That's $4 to $5 under what Morlock says is the average rancher's break-even price.

And it's about $6 under the price that mink pelts commanded just a year ago.

"If I sold my 1966 crop now," Morlock declared, "I'd be out of business tomorrow." He thought a moment, then added: "I may be anyhow."

The problem, he contended, is imports—primarily the low-priced pelts shipped in from the Scandinavian countries.

Morlock, a past president and present board member of the Minnesota Fur Breeder's Association, said imports have been climbing steeply throughout the 1960s, reaching 4.4 million—or 41 per cent of the domestic market—in the 1965–66 season.

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[9] Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, *Stockpile Report to the Congress* (Washington, D.C.: July–December, 1965), p. 2.

This season, he added, imports promise to top six million pelts, and the result is a price that has been driven down to distress levels.

"I've got $100,000 sunk into housing, cages, mixers, freezers and carts," Morlock said. "Right now, I couldn't realize 20 per cent of that if I sold out today.

"The mink ranchers in this country simply can't compete with the cheaper labor and cheaper feed available to producers in the Scandinavian countries."

The mink industry and its problems isn't exactly an issue the average working stiff can identify with.

Nevertheless, it's a sizable industry which produced nearly nine million pelts in 1965–66. Even at current low prices, that's worth more than $100 million.

And in Minnesota, the second-largest mink producing state, it's a matter of vital concern to more than 420 producers who turn out upwards of a million pelts a year.

In 1965–66, before prices took a nosedive, this production was worth nearly $20 million.

Morlock and his Minnesota colleagues aren't the only ones worrying about the import problem.

After 900 ranchers aired their gripes before federal officials at an Aug. 18 conference at Fond du Lac, Wis., President Johnson last week requested the tariff commission to investigate the effect of mink imports on the domestic industry.

Morlock and other Minnesota breeders, however, aren't waiting around for the tariff commission.

As fairgoers passed through the mink exhibit building last week, they were asked to sign a petition supporting passage of one of the 11 bills now before Congress that are aimed at trimming mink imports.

By midweek, Morlock had collected more than 6,000 signatures.

"If we could cut imports in half, as these bills are designed to do, we could market our pelts at a profit and still leave a substantial market for foreign producers," Morlock said.

The U.S. industry, he admitted, helped get itself into this competitive bind.

"Some of the boys grabbed for the green stuff six or seven years ago, when the foreign producers came over looking for breeding stock," Morlock said.

"I didn't sell," he said, "but plenty of them did."

And those prolific mink now are coming back to haunt the domestic industry.

A FANTASTIC PLOT

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Inquirer of today, September 28, carried an account of an almost unbelievable plot to start a riot and in the confusion to poison the food and beverages of hundreds of policemen on the scene. According to the UPI release from Philadelphia yesterday, September 27, also marked for death were Mayor James H. J. Tate, District Attorney Arlen Specter, and Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo. The organization involved is the Revolutionary Action Movement—RAM—which was founded in 1963 and is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Three members of this organization, it will be remembered, were apprehended some time ago with a quantity of dynamite with which they planned to blow up the Statute of Liberty and the Washington Monument. It is not surprising that Stokely Carmichael entered the picture somewhere along the line. J. Edgar Hoover, in his appropriations statement earlier this year before a House subcommittee, commented on Carmichael's connection with RAM:

> In espousing his philosophy of "Black Power", Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret all-Negro Marxist-Leninist Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals, and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

That the public will be better alerted to the nature of this extremist organization, I insert in the RECORD at this point the UPI news release of September 27 and the article entitled "Four Extremists Accused of Plot To Poison Police During Riot," by Frank J. McDevitt and George J. Murray of the Inquirer staff:

[UPI Report]

PHILADELPHIA.—The revolutionary action movement (RAM), a Negro extremist group, had planned to poison up to 1,500 policemen and top city officials in the event of a riot here, dist. atty. Arlen Specter said today.

High on the list to be marked for death allegedly were Mayor James H. J. Tate, Specter and Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo.

Specter said plans were underway to obtain warrants for the arrest of at least four members of the RAM.

He said an informant had tipped the FBI of the mass murder plan to place deadly potassium cyanide in coffee and sandwiches served police from portable canteens.

Specter said a "quantity" of the deadly poison was turned over to the FBI and that it was enough to have killed 1,500 persons.

The informant was said to have told authorities that members of RAM actually had attempted to spark a riot with a hurling of a firebomb into a building, but that police stepped in and quickly squelched further violence.

Details concerning the attempt were not immediately available. But, it was known that cyanide was found on some persons during an investigation of a firebomb incident during the summer. Police, however, were not able to link the cyanide with a plot at that time.

Specter said his office, the police department and the FBI held a "high priority" meeting earlier today to map a course of action.

Some members of RAM had been arrested during the past summer on charges of inciting to riot and one was convicted.

An FBI spokesman here said the confiscated poison turned over to them had been sent to its laboratories in Washington and found to be deadly cyanide.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 28, 1967]

FOUR EXTREMISTS ACCUSED OF PLOT TO POISON POLICE DURING RIOT—MEMBERS OF RAM IMPLICATED

(By Frank J. McDevitt and George J. Murray)

A fantastic plot to start a riot and in its wake kill "thousands of policemen and other citizens," by slipping deadly potassium cyanide into their food and beverages has been exposed by a former member of an extremist Black Power organization, it was announced Wednesday.

District Attorney Arlen Specter disclosed that warrants containing a long string of charges had been issued late Wednesday for four members of the Revolutionary Action Movement, more widely known simply as RAM.

SUSPECT IN CHICAGO

One of the alleged plotters, Specter said, now is a student at the University of Chicago. He said Chicago authorities have been alerted to arrest him.

Specter described the plot as one aimed at "literally destroying the city by violence."

The murderous scheme came to light only last week when Hilton Louis Jones, 22, of Wilt st. near 31st st. and Montgomery ave., went to the Philadelphia office of the FBI and turned over more than a half pound of pure potassium cyanide to Special Agent Edward Cole.

Jones said he himself was a member of RAM and had been one of the plotters since last July 6 when the five men first met in the home of William James (Rashed) Lyles, 26, on Cumberland st. near Front.

SEARCH LAUNCHED

Jones identified two of the others as Reginald (Yusef) Grantham, 18, of Haverford ave., near 34th st., and Anthony Montiero, 22, who at that time lived on 12th st. near Fairmount ave.

The fourth man, Jones said he knew only by his Black Muslim name of Sakeeb. He described him as short, stocky, weighing about 150 pounds, in his 20s and sporting a "Freedom haircut."

Lyles, it was learned, is in the Philadelphia Detention Center for a previous offense. Montiero is at the University of Chicago. An immediate search was begun for the others. All the men are Negroes.

According to Jones, who is free on $3500 bail and awaiting trial after being arrested Aug. 18 on a robbery charge, the riot was to be started by tossing Molotov cocktails and exciting residents of a slum area.

Later, when police gathered, the plotters and "their agents" planned to serve food and drinks laced with potassium cyanide, Jones said.

Later, the RAM members, according to Jones planned to fan out over the city and poison food in restaurants.

According to the informer, the RAM militants made one actual attempt to touch off a riot. That was at 10 P.M. last July 29, when they threw four Molotov cocktails into a building at 1516 N. 21st st.

"CRAP GAME" REPORTED

While firemen were en route to the blaze, a RAM plotter telephoned police and reported "a large crap game" was taking place in the 21st st. address.

Police sped to the scene but remained away from the building, suspecting immediately a "setup to start a riot."

The firebombing of the 21st st. building was checked out and Jones was found letter-perfect in his account of it—while the powder he turned in to Cole was being analyzed—and found to be pure cyanide—at the FBI laboratories in Washington.

Meanwhile, the District Attorney's office, the Philadelphia police and the U.S. Secret Service joined the investigation.

Feeling his story to be almost unbelievable, Jones requested and was given a lie-detector test. He "passed it with flying colors," one investigator said.

Specter said Jones was picked by the group to prepare the cyanide for distribution because he had had "some education in chemistry."

According to plan, Jones, on Sept. 19, went to the basement of a building on Diamond st. near Broad. There he found the cyanide. The following day, Jones went to the FBI.

The warrants were issued Wednesday afternoon by Judge Leo Weinrot on the basis of an affidavit sworn by Lt. George Fencl, of the police civil disobedience squad.

The affidavit stated that Jones had given investigators a 34-page sworn statement in which he said he had been solicited by the other RAM members "to commit murder, to cause public chaos by destructions of private and public property and to literally destroy the city by violence."

PLANS FOR POISON

The affidavit further stated:

"It was their intention, once riots started in the city, the poison would be distributed through their agents at various places throughout the city for the purpose of placing it in food and drink that would be gratuitously offered to policemen assigned to riot areas.

"Also, the potassium cyanide would be distributed to restaurants throughout the city in which policemen and other citizens would be taking food and drink at the time."

Jones also gave a detailed account of the manufacture of the Molotov cocktails used on 21st st. They were, he said made of a combination of gasoline, kerosene and petroleum jelly. The substance was placed in bottles and rag wicks were attached with tape.

Fencl said investigation corroborated much of what Jones had told investigators.

THE LATE CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, SR.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the death of Charles McC. Mathias, Sr., is a personal loss to those of us who knew him. More than that, the loss to his community is infinite.

Here was a man who gave of himself that his community and his world would be a better place to live. Truly he was a citizen in the highest sense of the word.

The Frederick Post has eulogized Mr. Mathias, and I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, SR.

Frederick County has lost one of its most distinguished citizens with the death on Tuesday of Charles McC. Mathias, Sr.

Active in all phases of community life, Mr. Mathias was especially interested in the care and education of disadvantaged children. His interest was manifested with service for 35 years as president of the Children's Aid Society, and also as chairman of the executive committee of the Maryland School for the Deaf.

His distinguished record of service also encompassed nearly every field of community endeavor, and he was a loyal and devout member of All Saints' Episcopal Church.

Mr. Mathias was noted for his serenity and composure under all circumstances. His outstanding characteristic was his ability to see both sides of a question, and bring opposing parties to a common meeting ground. Because of this, his counsel was widely sought.

He was known as a diplomat for his tactfulness, and even when on the losing side of an argument, he managed to put across his point. His motives were always honest, and his integrity was never questioned.

His legacy to society included that of a distinguished family which has also made its contribution to both the community and the nation.

Because of his attributes and activities, Mr. Mathias was one of the best known citizens of Frederick. In all of his activities, he was conscientious and devoted, and was one who could be counted on to assist in the lead for civic betterment.

THE "FORGOTTEN AMERICAN" IS AIDING HIMSELF

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, because of my great interest in the "forgotten American," a law-abiding minority who has been relegated to the guardianship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, I have asked unanimous consent to insert this article in the RECORD.

The article I refer to, Mr. Speaker, is entitled "The 'Forgotten American' Is Aiding Himself." It was written by Grant Salisbury. In obtaining material for this article, Mr. Salisbury spent considerable time on the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. He has done an exceptionally fine job of portraying the feeling of the Sioux Indian people.

The Sioux Indian, like most Americans, asks not for relief and Federal handouts. He asks not for more bureaucrats in the Indian Department to do his thinking for him. He asks only for an opportunity for employment, for jobs, for an earned income, and a right to hold his head high, commanding the respect of the true citizen.

The gentleman from Arizona, Congressman MORRIS UDALL, and I have been working for a tax-exemption program which would be a substantial inducement for industry to come on to an Indian reservation and establish jobs and opportunities for the Indian people. The Department has opposed it. The Treasury has opposed it. The Ways and Means Committee have permitted the bill to languish in their committee without hearings.

We have now introduced legislation which would apply only to the States of South Dakota and Arizona to be used as a pilot project in order that the Treasury and the Indian Department and the various agencies of Government might learn just what this program might cost nationwide and just what it would accomplish on a nationwide basis. Certainly it would not be too expensive to try it out in two small States.

As further proof, Mr. Speaker, of the need and what could be accomplished, I submit the article by Grant Salisbury in the U.S. News & World Report of October 2, which is as follows:

"FORGOTTEN AMERICAN" IS AIDING HIMSELF

(NOTE.—Some of the nation's underprivileged people are seeking to end their troubles without taking the law into their own hands. These are the American Indians. Their ancestors were hunted and slain. Their land was stolen. They have been kicked around for more than a century. This report comes from a reservation where the Indians have found some hope for the future.)

(By Grant Salisbury)

ROSEBUD, S. DAK.—Once again, the Indians are on the warpath.

This time the fight is against the grinding poverty that has been the Indians' lot ever since they were herded into reservations.

The Rosebud Sioux Reservation is one of many across the U.S. that are stirring with plans for progress. It is getting close attention because it has been selected as a testing ground for some of the latest ideas on how to give the original Americans a share of the nation's prosperity.

Most Indian reservations are as underdeveloped as the emerging nations abroad on which the U.S. has spent billions of dollars in aid.

ISOLATION, POVERTY

Take the Rosebud Reservation. It lies in an isolated area along the southern border of South Dakota. The land is better suited to ranching than to crop production. It does not provide an economic base to support the 7,000 members of the tribe living on the reservation.

Until recently, there were few jobs for the Rosebud Sioux. Sixty-five per cent of the labor force was unemployed. Average family income was less than $1,500 a year.

This tribe leans less on the Federal Government than most. It was one of the first to set up a tribal council and become self-governing. The old boarding and day schools run by the Government have been completely integrated into the local public schools.

RELOCATION ATTEMPT

The Rosebud Sioux have tried relocation, one of the latest in a long string of ideas conceived in Washington. Under this plan, Indian families were given a chance to leave the reservation to take jobs set up for them elsewhere.

Relocation hasn't worked, says Cato W. Valandra, president of the Rosebud Sioux tribal council, who is recognized as one of the nation's top Indian leaders. In his view:

"Relocation is not the answer to our problems. The Indians who leave the reservation usually wind up in city slums. About 75 per cent of them get discouraged and return. We think the place to solve our problems is right here on the reservation, instead of transferring them to some other area."

JOBS FOUND

In 1964, the tribal council launched a drive to bring jobs to the reservation. Now there is a manufacturing plant turning out prefabricated kitchen cabinets. It employs 25 Indians.

Under a contract with International Business Machines, around a dozen Indian women put together wiring assemblies for computers. Another 10 to 12 women work at making "Squawcorn" jewelry.

The council is hopeful, too, that a food-processing plant which would employ as many as 200 eventually will be located on the reservation.

The most exciting work in progress is the building of 375 low-cost homes to replace some of the makeshift housing in which the Indians live.

The makeshift housing has to be seen to be believed. There are tents, tarpaper shacks and old log cabins.

The new homes are called "transitional," because they are designed to prepare the Indians for better housing in the years ahead.

It remains to be seen whether the majority of the Indians will take good care of these homes.

In the 1870s, the Government built a fine, two-story house for Spotted Tail, then chief of the tribe. But his wives could not adapt to the white man's kind of housing. They pitched their tepees outside when the big house got too dirty to bear. Since then, other housing projects have met a similar fate.

EXERCISE IN SELF-RESPECT

Now a different approach is being tried. First, meetings were held in every community on the reservation to find out what kind of houses the Indians themselves wanted. Then a simple home to meet their requirements was designed.

Instead of having a contractor build the house, tribal officials insisted that the Indians handle the construction from start to finish. They argued that this would in itself create jobs and self-respect. With some misgivings, Washington went along with the idea. The plan is working so well that it may be extended to other reservations.

A home-improvement association has been set up in each community. Through this, the Indians are learning how to make curtains and hang them, how to use and clean a modern kitchen, and other basic things.

The housing program is financed by close to 2 million dollars in federal funds. It is under the direction of the Government's antipoverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity. OEO is spending another million dollars this year to finance a Community Action program. Under this are such things as adult education and the Head Start project for preschool children.

"IT WORKS"

All told, the housing and other antipoverty programs are providing close to 500 full and part-time jobs for the Rosebud Sioux. Says the Rev. Richard G. Pates, a Catholic priest who has worked with the Rosebud tribe for 10 years and now directs the houseing program:

"Whatever they say about OEO in the cities, it works out here. You can see a great change in these people. They are better-dressed and look healthier. And they have hope. Like any underdeveloped nation, this reservation has to reach the take-off. I think we are on the countdown."

Will the day come when the Rosebud Sioux will be able to get along without massive help from Washington? This answer comes from Robert S. Johnson, director of economic development for the tribe, though not an Indian himself:

"If we can keep this momentum, if Washington will have patience, and if the tribe's leaders don't lose their nerve, we can bring jobs to this reservation."

One problem to be overcome, says Mr. Johnson, is that the old tribal customs and habits ingrained by long years of unemployment, make it difficult for some Indians to adjust to a regular working day. He finds, however, that jobs provided by the housing program and the other OEO projects are helping to bring about this adjustment.

LONG-TIME NEED

At Rosebud, as on other reservations, Indian leaders make it plain that they are looking to Washington for large-scale assistance for some time to come.

Leaders of 30 tribes met earlier this year to give their opinion on the Omnibus Indian bill proposed by the White House. Among other things, the measure would set up a fund of 500 million dollars to encourage economic development on reservations, with 20 million a year available for the first five years.

This, said the Indian leaders, is far short of the aid needed. In a resolution, they stated:

"We desire an American Indian Development Fund, of low-interest long-term nature, comparable to the funds committed to our South American cousins and the native peoples of Africa and Asia. Aid to those peoples totals in excess of 3 billion dollars annually—more than was spent on the American Indian between 1789 and 1960."

Many Indian leaders favor legislation sponsored by Representative E. Y. Berry (Rep.), of South Dakota, and Representative Morris K. Udall (Demo.), of Arizona. It would give new industrial plants set up on reservations a 10-year exemption from federal income taxes.

Mr. Berry says that a similar program, "Operation Bootstrap," has been largely responsible for raising per capita income in Puerto Rico from one of the lowest to the highest in Latin America.

BASIS FOR HOPE

One of the most hopeful signs for the future of the Rosebud Sioux, says Father Pates, is a marked resurgence of pride in their race.

This, he feels, will do more than any thing else to help the original Americans win their fight against poverty.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, when the rollcall was taken on the bill, H.R. 478, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] and I were engaged in a conference in the Rayburn Building in a room in which there were no bells, the radio recording studio. As soon as we were notified that there was a rollcall we rushed immediately to the Chamber, but arrived at the Chamber after the rollcall had been completed.

Had I been present, I would have voted for the bill, H.R. 478. Previously during the debate on the bill I made a statement to the effect that I did support the bill.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to report the occurrence my friend from Alabama [Mr. ANDREWS] has spoken of. We did not know that the rollcall was on and, as soon as we did know, we rushed immediately to the floor, and arrived on the floor after the rollcall had been taken.

Had I been present I would have voted "yes" for this bill. I am very much for the bill, and spoke in favor of the bill during general debate.

IT IS TIME TO REVIEW OUR POSITION IN VIETNAM

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SCOTT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I was one of those who joined in introducing this week a resolution for congressional review of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. I have stated to my constituents the basis of my concern about the war in Vietnam through a newspaper column distributed to weekly newspapers in the Eighth District of Virginia. In order that my colleagues may also know the reasons underlying my joining in this resolution, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD a copy of that column, setting forth my views:

The war in Vietnam dominates American life today.

Under our Constitution, the Executive Branch has primary responsibility in the field of foreign policy. However, the Executive must answer to the people, and as their representatives, members of Congress must act upon increasing concern over our involvement in Vietnam.

My comments here are based on the limited information available to me. I do not have all the information I would like to have and questions have been raised regarding the credibility of available information. Most of the figures cited are from the Department of Defense, others are from Congressional committees and news media.

The war in Vietnam has become primarily an American war. We shall soon have more that a half million troops within this country the size of the State of Washington. In nearby Thailand, 35,000 more stand by. Aboard ships off-shore are another 35,000. Nearly 15,000 civilians are in South Vietnam in support of our military effort.

By contrast, South Vietnam's regular army numbers only 320,000 troops, half of whom have been withdrawn from fighting to concentrate on the pacification program. We are told that desertions from that army are running 10,000 a month.

This war affects all of us. It takes our young men. Nearly 14,000 of them have been killed. More than 80,000 have been wounded.

The war takes our earnings. The cost of the war in fiscal 1967 totals more than $20 billion. The President's budget message in January called for $1.9 billion more for fiscal 1968, and in May, Treasury Secretary Fowler said the cost would actually run closer to $24 billion. In July, the Joint Economic Committee said the war cost in fiscal 1968 would run between 26 and 28 billion dollars.

What does this mean? If you are the bread winner for a family of three dependents, earning $8000 a year, it is estimated that you now pay $425 a year for the war in Vietnam. If the President's surcharge proposal is adopted, you will pay $467.

In addition, the war economy creates an inflation which presses us with higher cost of living, shortages of skilled workers, higher wage demands, demands on money which make it harder for many to borrow money to buy homes for their families or make necessary improvements to their businesses.

The United States has committed to this war in a country 10,000 miles away, of no economic or strategic value to us, more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of our combat-ready Army and Marine divisions, 40% of our tactical fighters and fighter squadrons, half our Marine air wings, and if we count only the Sixth fleet and not the First, which is also in the Pacific, 20% of our ships.

What have we accomplished?

Communist strength in South Vietnam has more than doubled since January 1965. We are now, in this strange war, allied with one South Vietnamese Army, fighting a small army of North Vietnamese regulars and another army, five times as big, of South Vietnamese Communists, the Viet Cong.

Why are we there?

We are told we are there because of our SEATO commitments. But South Vietnam is not a member of SEATO and SEATO as a group is not helping South Vietnam.

How did our commitment grow so large? The 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution has been cited as the authority given by Congress to the Executive for expansion of U.S. participation in Vietnam. But many in Congress believe that Resolution, which stressed our unity in the face of an exchange of fire between U.S. destroyers and North Vietnam P.T. boats, was never intended as the basis for such a vastly enlarged land war.

The President and the Secretary of Defense have said that a major U.S. aim in the war is to show the Communists of North Vietnam that the price of their aggression is too high. Yet, the Secretary of Defense himself has said that even without the 50,000 North Vietnamese troops, even if all military objectives in the north are destroyed, the quarter million Viet Cong in the South could go on fighting.

There is much to question about our basis for involvement, our goals, our limited methods, and our future conduct of the war.

Congress has the sole power to declare war. The people are asking Congress to examine all aspects of this question and with a full knowledge of the facts, to exert its will.

I believe that the American people, through their representatives in Congress, must maintain control over the war. Therefore, I have joined with a large bi-partisan group of my colleagues in the House in introducing a resolution calling for committee investigation of the need for further action. In effect, this would bring a thorough review of our role in the war in Vietnam. Perhaps we can decide whether to win or get out.

The war has reached a stage where it is in the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, a danger to international peace and security. The United States more than any other nation has supported the U.N. with men and money.

Congress may well come to the conclusion, after careful study, that it is time for the United States to support the principle of the UN Charter. Perhaps Congress will recommend that the United States seek the help of the UN Security Council in bringing an immediate end to the war in Vietnam. Such action might bring a just conclusion to a war which seems otherwise to have no end in sight.

OUR BATTLELINES SHOULD BE DRAWN TO PREVENT OUR CHILDREN FROM SMOKING

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BROOKS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, contributing to the delinquency of a minor is punishable by imprisonment and an accomplice to a murder may be jailed for varying terms.

Are we not all guilty of these crimes? The evidence is no longer circumstantial that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer and other pulmonary diseases. Mr. Speaker, it is the responsibility of the Congress to free itself of these charges by enacting legislation that will discourage debilitating and death-dealing cigarette smoking.

Each year 50,000 Americans are dying from lung cancer. Smoking causes an unnecessary 11 million cases of chronic disease per year. Statistics now show that male smokers are shortchanged 3.4 years of life. Life expectancy would have increased 7.4 years over the past 45 years if these 3.4 years had not gone up in smoke.

Are we to sit idly by while tobacco sentences a man to an early grave? I propose that the Congress do its part by prohibiting radio and television advertising of tobacco products between 3 and 9 p.m., and during sporting events. Also, that the innocuous warning on cigarette labels be strengthened and that the warning be required on all forms of advertising.

It is tragic that over 4,000 children start smoking each day, nearly a million and a half per year. I believe our battlelines should be drawn at this point. It is obviously easier to prevent the smoking habit from starting than it is to break it. Therefore, my bill would prevent cigarette advertising during the hours when children are watching television and listening to radio. I also would prohibit such advertising during the broadcasting of sporting events.

I realize that this foray into the battle against smoking will not be completely effective. The Federal legislation is negative. A much larger force must be mustered to enlist youngsters in the ranks of nonsmokers. I challenge schoolteachers, athletes, public officials, scout leaders, health associations, and church groups to develop positive programs to discourage teenage smoking.

The ineffectiveness of the present labeling requirement is too obvious to belabor. I suggest changing the present language from "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health" to "Warning: Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous and May Cause Your Death," and also adding the skull and crossbones to the label.

Another reason for the ineffectiveness of the warning is the limitation of its use to cigarette packages. It should be required on all advertising—in newspapers, magazines, television, and radio. My bill requires the Federal Trade Commission to prescribe regulations so that this warning is presented no less conspicuously than other portions of cigarette advertisements.

To supply significant information on the label, my bill calls for the statement of tar and nicotine content. Research now proves that the danger from cancer is proportional to the tar and nicotine yields of cigarettes. This information should be available to smokers who wish to minimize this health hazard.

I welcome support from my colleagues for this urgent legislation and will appreciate any suggestions to make it more effective.

OUR CHANGING SCHOOLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is recognized for 30 mintues.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, with the start of another school year, Members of Congress should take a very close look at their respective school districts and at our colleges and universities to determine what effect the Federal Government's intrusion into the field of education is having on the Nation's academic posture. There is mounting concern about bureaucratic control that is taking a firmer grip on classroom planning and management, and this concern is coming not only from those of us who from the start have consistently opposed the very idea of permitting big government to get into our schools.

At the conclusion of my remarks, I wish to include an editorial of the Wall Street Journal which appeared at the beginning of the new school term for most areas. As the article has indicated, whatever anyone thinks, Federal control of education remains "a very lively ghost."

The August 4 report published by the National Education Association Division of Federal Relations included these paragraphs:

> The principle of general federal aid for public schools remains a prime legislative goal of the National Education Association, but delegates at the 1967 Convention in Minneapolis urged continuation and improvement of existing categorical programs—such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, impacted areas aid, and other special-purpose federal programs.
>
> There is mounting pressure, however, for school aid with no strings attached. The NEA legislative Commission, after months of study and review of existing federal legislation, recommended supplementing present categorical grants with a tax sharing program. Starting in Fiscal 1969 (assuming the availability of funds) the Federal Government would return $50 per school-age child to each state for the purpose of strengthening public instruction. In Fiscal 1970, the per-pupil aid would be increased to $100. The estimated cost of this program would be $2.5 billion in FY 1969, $5 billion in 1970.
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> By contrast, the Educational Policies Commission (cosponsored by the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators) favors the abolition of categorical aids, arguing that such programs have served their primary purpose of establishing a flow of federal funds to the states. EPC argues that the time has come to "institute practical measures which will tend to reduce dependence on categorical grants and to increase reliance on the more reliable kind of support—general support."

The NEA publication, Washington Outlook on Education, also has some very cogent remarks regarding the Education Professions Development Act of 1967:

> In sharp contrast to acrimonious debate over the 1967 ESEA amendments was the smooth passage, on June 28, of a bill that would pour another $1.5 billion into the school system over the next three years—and through its language give the office of the U.S. Commissioner of Education more power than it has ever enjoyed in the past. . .
>
> It is the breadth of this authority that places unprecedented power in the hands of the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Acting with the advice of a National Advisory Council—including elementary and secondary educators—the Commissioner is to survey educational manpower needs throughout the nation and report his findings annually. On the basis of these findings, the Commissioner may make grants and enter into contracts with state and local education agencies, public and nonprofit private agencies and organizations—virtually anyone he chooses—for carrying out the purpose of the act. . . .
>
> In actual practice, of course, the U.S. Commissioner of Education will not enjoy pure dictatorial power in the selection and funding of programs. Congress is watching the administration of USOE programs closely; the House Special Subcommittee on Education conducted extensive hearings last year,

> and will report its findings shortly. Colleges and universities, teaching organizations, and other interested groups will press for the continuation of popular institute and fellowship programs. And state and local school systems will resist any action by the Commissioner which threatens, or appears to threaten, their autonomy.
>
> What concerns many education interests, however, is the extent to which the U.S. Commissioner (as an individual or as an institution) will be able to influence the development of school offerings through the broad discretionary power he has in choosing who will train or retrain the nation's teachers.

Congress must not overlook these warnings, particularly when there is available to us such an uncomplicated method of getting out of the fix that the schools find themselves in as a result of bureaucracy's admission into the classroom. NEA's proposed tax-sharing program that would start with $50 per child can begin next fiscal year—and at an actual savings in expenditures—merely by deducting the estimated $2.5 billion from the budget of approximately $4 billion that the Office of Education will be sending up for funding next year. In getting this agency out of some of the many activities in which it has no legitimate business, Congress will at the same time make available to local school systems a substantial number of the 3,200 employees now on the Office of Education payroll.

The economic benefit of closing out a good portion of this Office and sending the money back where it belongs is incentive enough, for it would give school districts the wherewithal to provide wage increases for underpaid teachers and to purchase teaching tools and equipment that local officials may choose to install. More important, it would take away the dangerous bureaucratic control about which NEA is coming to worry and which should create fear in every last person who objects to national standardization of our educational system.

But there is still more money that should be removed from the greedy hands of bureaucrats and made available at the local level. On July 30 the distinguished Representative from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], who is a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, was interviewed on Washington television station WMAL by Mr. Joseph McCaffrey, a highly respected commentator who has established an enviable record for objectivity in his programs.

In response to a question about conflicts between elected city officials and representatives of the so-called antipoverty program, Mrs. GREEN said:

> I must say that I was surprised and a little bit shocked by one of the Community Action Program people from my own State of Oregon who came in the other day. One of his statements was that we want Congress to give CAP, the Community Action Program, more power to compel others to work with us. Now, here's an agency, not one of whose board members was elected. In fact, he said it's a self-perpetuating board. They appoint themselves. They're not responsible to any elector and this man stated that he wanted Congress to give them the power, for instance, to compel the schools—and they have an elected school board. The people elect members of the board.
>
> I question this kind of procedure that could overrule an elected board. After all, the majority of the people elect the ones who are running the governments. Maybe they are inadequate, maybe they don't do the job, but at least they are duly elected in our democratic procedure and it seems to me that these anti-poverty agencies should not be used to oppose that, but rather to work very closely with the elected officials, to bring new ideas and suggestions, and to cooperate in every way.

Later in the program, on the subject of the Headstart program, Mrs. GREEN said:

> Again, I was talking to one of the people who is head of a Community Action Agency (they run the Headstart Program in that community) and I said: "Whom do you get to run it, the schools?"
>
> "No, they hired their own people. The two top teachers that ran the Headstart Program in this community," he said—and he was really bragging about it—were high school drop-outs and they gave them a two months intensive educational program so that they would have the equivalency of a high school certificate. Then they put them in charge of the Headstart Program.
>
> In another community a Head Start teacher was paid more than the kindergarten or the other elementary teachers because she was paid with 90% federal funds. She had 20 youngsters and two aides during the day. The kindergarten teacher next door, paid with the local tax dollars on which the people had put a ceiling through their votes, had 30 youngsters in the morning and 30 youngsters in the afternoon and no help, no aides at all.
>
> Now, if you had both programs, both the Head Start and the kindergarten, under the same educational agency, any principal or superintendent, I think, would say it would make better educational sense to have some kind of a fair division here, so that one teacher wasn't burdened with 60 youngsters and no help. Now, I think that there's no doubt we're not doing enough in the kindergarten and the first grades. But the Follow Through program, which will be administered by the Office of Education, will help to correct the matter.

What has happened, Mr. Speaker, is that not only the Office of Education has invaded the local classrooms, but the Office of Economic Opportunity has followed right behind to lend more confusion and exert more Federal influence over our teachers and students. You can take Headstart out of OEO and put it into the Office of Education, as some of my colleagues have suggested, but you are still going to have all of the waste and Federal assumption of power that goes with it. If we take all the money that is going into these two programs and turn it over where it should be, we will give local school boards a chance to improve their teaching staffs and their facilities without exposing boys and girls to the goosestep cadence that will develop if Washington calls the tune.

There is no question but that some of our schools are antiquated both in structure and in teaching methods. Some districts have been accused of following 18th-century practices, but in no case is the Federal Government justified in mandating change in procedure. For the RECORD, I should like to include at the conclusion of my remarks an editorial "Our Changing Schools," with an accompanying article, from the Wall Street Journal of August 9. Here is a review of some of the problems that confront local school districts, and of student potential recognized only recently.

Improvement in backward schools will come primarily from employment of better teaching talent, and better teachers are going to be attracted only when salaries are adequate. The same rule applies in the case of school superintendents, principals, and other officials. As the Wall Street Journal points out, better salaries are needed to bring superior students into teacher training.

Admitting that there are still rough spots in some of our schools, I perceive no reason why elected Members of Congress should under any circumstances allow a bureaucratic agency to impose its autocratic will upon duly elected and duly appointed local schoolteachers and officials. Despite all the critics of our educational systems, I for one am encouraged at the progress that America has made in bringing book learning to our people. Half of all Americans 25 years or older have had at least 12 years of elementary and high school education as compared with the one-third of 20 years ago when figures of this nature were first compiled. Almost 10 percent have had 4 years or more of college, twice the number in 1947.

Perhaps these figures are not sufficiently impressive for promoters of the scheme to have the Federal Government assume dominance over the Nation's educational systems, but to me they are an indication of marked progress. Furthermore, I abhor the prevailing efforts to infer that success is entirely dependent upon a college education. To advocate that every boy and girl, man and woman, obtain as much formal education as possible is judicious advice, but to imply disaster for those who choose or are unable to go further than high school is baseless and unjust. At the conclusion of my remarks I should also like to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the March 24, 1967, Johnstown, Pa., Tribune-Democrat entitled "Everyone Can't Go to College."

I ask that my colleagues note particularly the last paragraph of that editorial:

> And although everyone does not need a college degree, it would help if more of the budding plumbers, auto mechanics, etc., were to receive a type of higher education—such as at vocational-technical high schools and post-graduate technical institutes.

Without question there is an urgent need for more and expanded technical schools to accommodate the youth who do not seek a college degree. With finances to initiate and support technical programs, State and local school districts can make this service available to those who today are understandably disturbed and discouraged at the lack of educational facilities for developing trades and skills that may lead to well-paying careers without college training. Through the years there have been youngsters without ability to pursue higher studies but with talent for carpentry, gardening, painting, mechanics, and an assortment of other occupations where improvement can come through technical and trade schools. A start toward providing local districts with the funds necessary for such programs could come through release from the Federal Government of a stipulated amount per schoolchild, as suggested by the NEA.

The one precept to be honored in releasing these funds is that bureaucracy must keep hands off. States and communities should by both logic and constitutional right plan educational programs without Federal interference. In a review of the dilemma that is besetting the Washington, D.C., school board since a Federal judge ordered abandonment of the track system—grouping children in classes according to intelligence scores and performance—the Washington Post—in an editorial which I shall insert in the Record along with other material to which I have referred—came to this conclusion:

> It is wise to recognize that there is no pattern which can usefully be applied to every school in this large and diverse city.

On this premise, it would seem to be particularly wise to recognize that there is no one pattern which can usefully be applied to every school in this large and diverse land. Yet ambitious officials in Federal Government either do not recognize or do not care to accept this truism.

On the one hand we are confronted with an Office of Education whose arrogance increases in proportion to the volume of funds it is permitted to dispense and administer. At Senate subcommittee hearings in July the Democratic Senator from Texas said that—

> Complaints that the most dictatorial orders ever had in any branch of government are about your Office of Education.

On the other hand, we find a recently formed bureaucracy fostered by the Office of Economic Opportunity also attempting to seize powers of local school boards. Harassed with this dual threat, our school systems will become progressively less attractive to member and potential members of the teaching profession.

Another handicap to efficient school administration is the Federal Government's penchant for constant communication with local authorities. The Pittsburgh Press of August 10 contained this excerpt of a news story filed out of Washington:

> A school director from suburban Pittsburgh today urged the U.S. Office of Education to stop burying local school officials in "mountainous reports and paperwork."
>
> "The reports," said Fred M. Heddinger (president of the Wilkinsburg School Board, vice president of the Pennsylvania School Boards Association, and Secretary of the Allegheny County School Board), "have been so numerous and so voluminous that I have difficulty finding time to read them."
>
> Mr. Heddinger said the required reports apparently stem from a desire by Federal officials to serve as directors and managers of local programs when they should be encouragers and assessors.
>
> "It is unlikely that these reports serve any useful purpose at the Federal level except to require additional personnel to receive, document, and file them" he said.

In view of the growing registers of testimony—much of it from those who have supported Federal entry into the field of education—citing suspicion, dissatisfaction, annoyance, and disgust with bureaucracy's presumption, impudence, bungling, and waste, Congress should without delay undertake an entire readjustment of the whole complex problem into which we have been plunged. NEA's recommendation for a return of $50 per school-age child from the Federal Government for the purpose of "strengthening public instruction" can begin in fiscal 1968 merely by putting the Office of Education on notice that a cutback of $2.5 billion from the current budget will take effect next July 1. The resultant reduction in force of OEO need create no undue hardships on members of the teaching profession now occuping chairs at USOE, for the demand for good teachers in public and private institutions will continue to mount far into the future.

At the same time Congress can notify the Office of Economic Opportunity and its myriad of subsidiaries that henceforth any Headstart or Follow Through program will be conducted by and under the exclusive aegis of local school boards, which in turn will be happy to hire qualified OEO personnel—although it is unlikely that many of the school dropouts cited by the Member of Congress from Oregon [Mrs. Green] will find themselves in positions superior to experienced kindergarten teachers whose life work has been devoted to getting children off on the right start in the world of education.

Our obligation is clear. To delay is to lend encouragement to what has been clearly documented as a deplorable situation.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 5, 1967]

A Very Lively Ghost

According to Charles Cogen, president of the American Federation of Teachers, fear of Federal control of education is a "worn-out ghost." Much as we'd like to, we don't find his comment realistic or reassuring.

True, local school boards are still in business even though, as Mr. Cogen notes, "the Federal Government is already a partner in our educational enterprise." A heavy-spending partner, too, with Federal outlays on elementary and secondary education expected to total about $2 billion in the current fiscal year.

It's difficult, nonetheless, to describe Washington as exactly a silent partner. Much of the Federal money is assigned to education of the "disadvantaged," while other sums are earmarked for purchase of specific items such as books and equipment. And the Government hasn't been at all shy about setting rules and standards for everyone to follow.

After all, why should it be? A Government spending billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money would be wholly derelict in its duty if it didn't try to keep some sort of tabs on where the funds go.

Mr. Cogen himself clearly recognizes that the Federal purse is powerful, and he'd like Washington to begin wielding it even more forcefully. What he suggests is that the Government draw up a "master plan" setting minimum standards for all public schools in the U.S. What happens to schools that don't fall in line? The answer is obvious: They won't get Federal aid.

In Mr. Cogen's view, the Government among other things should set minimum teacher salaries and maximum class sizes and teacher work loads—all matters that local school boards now consider within their province. He does not propose that Washington tell teachers what to teach, but that sort of step would not necessarily lie too much farther down the road he wants to open.

Fortunately, there appears to be little chance for early approval of Mr. Cogen's plan. His idea might not even be worth taking seriously if there weren't many others, including well-meaning educators, who argue the need for more centralized control of the public schools.

Superficially, the centralizers would seem to have a case. In no field of such vast importance is so much authority entrusted to widely scattered groups of amateurs, which is of course what school board members are. Each of the many thousands of boards—so far, at any rate—largely goes its own way, without having to bow to the dictates of some higher power. Some board members know little of school matters or serve only for the local prestige involved.

There are reasons to believe, though, that the average quality of the nation's school boards is remarkably high. While there is, and always will be, room for improvement in the school system, the caliber of its output hardly justifies demands for sweeping overhaul of school control.

Whether school boards are dedicated or not, their diversity reflects the country's diversity. The best curriculum for Larchmont, N.Y., may not be the best for Little Falls, Minn., at all. A teacher's salary that may seem munificent in a rural community may not be a living wage in a big city.

In the absence of firm central control, local boards can be free to react to changing ideas and conditions in education. As a series on this page has been stressing, schools must change to keep up with a world that never stops moving.

The process is not neat and orderly, and that fact offends some observers. But we prefer to take our chances on sound educational policy seeping up from the bottom, rather than on having an agency, run by professionals, dictate its own idea of sound policy at the top. Professional educators' past ventures into permissivism and the like hardly justify complete capitulation to their views in the future.

The nation may never make such a surrender, but it plainly is heading toward it. Whatever anyone thinks, Federal control of education remains a very lively ghost.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 9, 1967]

Our Changing Schools

Elsewhere on this page appears the first of several articles on new developments in education. The intent is not to be comprehensive but rather to point up that, in this area as in others, intelligent change is both essential and often extremely difficult to achieve.

Resistance to change is of course a common vice in vast institutions, and U.S. education surely is vast. At last count there were well over 100,000 elementary and secondary schools, the great majority of them publicly financed. The taxpayers' outlay on education runs to more than $30 billion every year.

Teachers and administrators frequently are reluctant to move in new directions; their task is difficult enough without a constant rewriting of the rules. Even when school men are eager to move, taxpayers may oppose paying the inevitably higher bill.

In support of the status quo it's possible to cite past achievements of U.S. schools. The most notable is American technology, still the envy of the world, but the arts and humanities haven't been as neglected as their supporters sometimes contend.

The gains, however, would not have come about if education had not been, in one way or another, adjusting to its changing environment. Some of the changes were anything but wise; traces of the ills of "Deweyism" still linger on, for example. But others, such as the consolidation of tiny, inadequate schools into larger, more effective units, were vital.

At the moment one change in the public schools' environment is of prime importance: The influx of children, both Negro and white, from intellectually deprived backgrounds.

To cope with this development schools will have to adjust not only physical features—classes, books, teaching materials and the like—but people and ideas. Unfortunately, things can be far easier to alter than people and ideas.

One reason is that there's more polished salesmanship behind the new things, such as language laboratories and teaching machines. In the right hands these devices can be astonishingly useful, particularly for students needing special help, but school administrators on occasion appear to regard them as almost an end in themselves.

To be sure that the tools go into proper hands, especially in view of the problem of backward children, the nation needs improvements in teacher education (and, in many areas, better salaries to attract more superior students into teacher training). In too many schools of education the emphasis still is excessively on how to teach, and insufficiently on what is to be taught.

If schools are to benefit children from deprived backgrounds, they will have to become more selective in what they teach to whom; many students must learn ideas that others have absorbed outside of school. The same curriculum for all will be far too stiff for some, not nearly demanding enough for others. And if the nation is to build intelligently for its future, pupils who can handle more advanced instruction must be offered it.

Selecting this elite of ability, wherever it may be found, is in itself difficult enough; it involves, among other things, the chancy process of communication between generations. Even more arduous, oftentimes, is the effort to override the objections of many educators and civil-rights spokesmen to what is, undeniably, a form of discrimination.

That kind of change in the direction of excellence, like most of the others, is unlikely to be quick or cheap. Yet if education is not to level but uplift mankind, it is a change that must be made.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 9, 1967]

OFF TO COLLEGE AT 15—IS IT A GOOD IDEA?

(By Herbert G. Lawson)

Should unusually gifted students be encouraged to enter college a year or two before they would normally graduate from high school?

Most educators say no. They claim that high school curriculums are improving so rapidly that even the brightest student can be challenged to the limits of his talent: they argue that 15- and 16-year-old high school sophomores and juniors aren't ready socially and emotionally to jump into the wider world of a university campus; and they fret that high schools shouldn't be deprived of the stimulating impact on other students of high-IQ pupils.

Nonsense, say critics. "Some high schools are very good and some are obviously lemons," notes Herbert Howe, professor of classics at the University of Wisconsin. Prof. Howe was advisor during the 1950s to 162 Wisconsin undergraduates who were part of an experiment to find out whether exceptional students could skip the last year or two of high school. (Almost all the students did well at Wisconsin, and two compressed high school and college into five years, graduating Phi Beta Kappa.)

The controversy over college entrance for students without a high school diploma is a peculiarly American dilemma of the 20th Century. It raises fundamental questions about "democracy" in schooling and the proper emphasis that should be placed on academic ability as opposed to social maturity and "adjustment."

COTTON MATHER, FOR EXAMPLE

Many European school systems single out the brightest pupils early and speed them along to university programs as quickly as their abilities permit. This was the system in colonial America when Cotton Mather, the famed Puritan author and clergyman, entered Harvard at age 12 in 1674.

The 20th century brought a new concept of mass education in America. Few would challenge its necessity, but it brought problems. "After 1900, when the ideal of mass education began to take hold in the U.S., the practice of advanced or individual placement almost disappeared from our college admissions procedures," according to David A. Dudley, director of admissions at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

In its effort to educate everybody, the American secondary school had little time for the exceptional student. "Too often," said the Ford Foundation, "the able student is prevented by the 'lock step' from progressing as far or as fast as his abilities will permit. Too frequently the result is boredom, loss of momentum and serious waste of time in moving toward intellectual and professional objectives."

The Ford Foundation decided to do something about such students. In 1951, 420 high school students around the nation—most of whom were 15 or 16 years old and had just finished their sophomore or junior years—left home for college. In rigorous examinations, they had won Ford scholarships to 11 U.S. colleges and universities, including Yale, Wisconsin, Columbia and Chicago. They were the vanguard of 1,350 students in the next three years who received $3.4 million in tuition and expenses from the foundation to test the theory that a year or two of secondary education could be profitably skipped by carefully screened students.

The results were astounding to many conservative high school principles and teachers. The Ford scholars quickly became the academic leaders in their colleges. Most were in the top half of their classes, even as freshmen when the adjustment to college was greatest. As sophomores a large group of the young students took a special liberal arts test designed by the Educational Testing Service. The test was also given to a large sample of normal-age college seniors and graduate students. The Ford students "demonstrated that they had a better grasp of the basic concepts of a liberal education than a large body of American college seniors and first-year graduate students," the foundation reported.

While this and other exhaustive testing and scrutiny of grades seemed to prove the academic readiness of the young students, a tougher point to demonstrate was the "maturity" or social precocity of the "Fordies," as some older students labeled them.

A team of Harvard and Yale doctors and psychiatrists, as well as the associate director of the College Entrance Examination Board, evaluated the underage students' emotional adjustment to college. Their psychiatric problems, drop-out rate, dating and other factors were measured against a carefully matched group of controls—normal-age students of similar backgrounds and intelligence. The conclusion of all the evaluators was that the Ford scholars adjusted as well to college life as the control group of comparison students.

The greatest problems came at schools such as Yale, where the underage scholars were segregated in special dormitories (one was nicknamed "the nursery" by regular students). But the schools soon recognized that they were acting like over-protective parents; when the Ford students were treated like all others, they adjusted quickly.

Most of the Ford scholars went on to graduate study, aiming at careers as college teachers or in professions such as medicine. But even those who entered the job market at 19 or 20 years of age had no apparent difficulty. Some entered military service with Reserve Officer Training Corps commissions.

The foundation concluded that early college admission "under the proper circumstances . . . represents a promising approach to the problem of enabling the very best students to realize their full potential."

The experiment has had an impact, but it was less than revolutionary. The schools accepting the Ford scholars all continued to leave the door open to underage freshmen without high school diplomas. At least two dozen other schools followed suit. But there is still scant encouragement of early admission and even less financial backing.

Columbia will admit "six or seven" young students this fall who have completed the junior year of high school. One is a Rochester, N.Y., boy who "will be challenged only by the very best we have at the university," says Erwin Glikes, assistant director of admissions.

Mr. Glikes expresses the reservation about early admission that is echoed by countless admissions directors. "The Ford Foundation experiment was a success on paper but I've heard it said that something very valuable was lost for these young students," he says. "Perhaps the thing lost was the time for reflection, growth and intellectual adventure as an undergraduate."

Columbia insists that the small number of underage students it now admits meet rigid standards. One is that they come from a secondary school that can't provide a "full and challenging" program. Wisconsin similarly tries to limit its half-dozen or so yearly admissions of young students to those from academically impoverished schools.

THE SHIMER APPROACH

Tiny Shimer College in Mt. Carroll, Ill., is one of the few schools unafraid of early admissions. About one-fifth of its freshman class of roughly 200 students don't have high school diplomas. Shimer, an unorthodox school that stresses a core curriculum of liberal arts for all students, was once run by the University of Chicago. Ralph Hough, director of admissions, says, "Many of the faculty consider our early admission scholars the pace-setters."

The University of Chicago was one of the first proponents of early admission under Chancellor Robert Hutchins three decades ago. It still admits 15 or 20 underage freshmen in its class of 700 each year, but "We don't make any distinct recruiting effort for them," says Margaret Perry, associate director of admissions. She adds, "After Sputnik stimulated increased interest in secondary education, there's been less need for early admission."

Educators almost uniformly agree that high schools are beefing up curriculums. "We now get freshmen who've read Locke, Hobbes and Rousseau," says Miss Perry, who also teaches English at Chicago. Prof. Howe at Wisconsin notes with some amazement that high school grads "now come here who have read the Odyssey and Greek plays and can discuss them at a reasonably high level."

One of the most important changes in many high schools is the Advanced Placement Program begun in the early 1950s as another Ford Foundation-financed experiment. The concept is to provide college-level courses in the high school for bright students. The courses are taught by qualified high school faculty members, using texts and course outlines approved by the College Entrance Examination Board, which administers the program. Students take any of the 12 courses—in subjects ranging from American history to physics—while carrying the normal high school course load.

Students who pass tough tests after taking these courses are admitted to most U.S. colleges with advanced standing and often college credit for the work done. About 42,000 students in 2,800 high schools took the May

1967 exams, a huge increase from the 1,200 students in 104 schools when the program started in earnest in 1955.

CAN HIGH SCHOOL EQUAL COLLEGE?

The Advanced Placement Program, despite its growth, isn't a complete answer to educating precocious youngsters. It's actively pushed in only 15% of the nation's 20,000 high schools, notes Paul Kelly, director of the board's Southwest regional office. More importantly, the question remains whether any high school "enrichment" program can equal the stimulus of college. "I don't think the same kind of motivation exists in high school as on a good college campus," concedes another board official.

Nevertheless, educators—high school principals in particular—are loath to consider any major expansion of early college for non-graduates of secondary schools. "Many principals feel it shows up the inadequacy of their school to send off their best sophomore or junior students to college," says Prof. Howe. "And many feel that the universities are full of vice and godless beatniks."

If so, it may well be that it is the principals who must be educated before the fullest opportunity can be given to the small but important group of youngsters who could benefit from early admission to college.

The debate over early admission will clearly continue. As the Ford Foundation puts it, "The risks of entering college early have been the subject of much popular concern, and properly so. But too little thought has been given to the risks run by an able student in an unchallenging environment in *not* entering college early."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 4, 1967]

Hopeful Beginning

Washington's School Board is now moving rapidly and effectively to effect very substantial reforms before classes begin in September. The impressive range of the plans presented by the acting superintendent, Mr. Henley, last Friday suggests that many people in the school administration were only waiting for an invitation to move in this direction.

The Board's action so far confirms the impression that, while Judge Wright's decision in the Hobson case has forced the schools to change, the most important changes have little to do with the Judge's order. Transferring children into the empty seats west of Rock Creek Park will be very useful in relieving overcrowding in Southeast Washington. But there is space for only about 615 more children in the Northwest schools, and the impact on the school system as a whole will not be great.

Much more important, the School Board has declared that each school's staff now has the responsibility to work with parents in developing "the organizational pattern which best meets the needs of the community it serves." These words are the beginning of a policy of decentralization and community participation that can bring immense benefits to the children. Some principals will, of course, resist the idea of working with parents. But the purely educational benefits of this style of cooperation are indisputable.

Most of the best elementary school principals have long since abandoned the track system, but most of the others will require a good deal of help and encouragement in reorganizing their classes. It is wise to recognize that there is no one pattern which can usefully be applied to every school in this large and diverse city.

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune-Democrat, Mar. 24, 1967]

Everyone Can't Go to College

The college-for-everybody concept has come under rather sharp, though deserved, criticism from one of the nation's leading educators.

"Stop blathering about college for everyone" is the way it was put by Calvin E. Gross, dean of the school of education at the University of Missouri and former superintendent of public schools in Pittsburgh and New York City.

Speaking at the 22nd national conference on higher education, Mr. Gross recommended that educators should concentrate on providing each individual with the kind of education appropriate to his needs, abilities and achievements.

Such advice is going to go against the grain, of course, for those who feel that the only way to any measure of success in modern America is through the gate marked alma mater. But it is evident that Mr. Gross doesn't mind rubbing such thoughts the wrong way.

He said that it is harmful to higher education and to students to admit people to college "just because they've gotten old enough. If ill-qualified students are enroled, college standards inevitably will be lowered."

To illustrate his point, Mr. Gross noted the problem of poor reading ability. He said that students with third-grade-level reading skills are common in community colleges, noting that remedial reading courses are becoming standard at universities. And he suggested, quite sensibly, that remedial reading instruction and other such programs should be provided somewhere besides in the college themselves.

A side benefit accruing from having universities maintain standards of admission was noted by Mr. Gross. By keeping their standards at a respectable level, the universities exert a pressure on high schools to do a better job of preparing qualified people for higher education.

As a further rebuff to the college-or-nothing-at-all school of thought, Mr. Gross urged that efforts be made to "engender respect for every honest vocation." He said:

"There is nothing wrong with being a happy blacksmith, provided he is free and earns a comfortable living. We keep trying to make trees out of rosebushes."

That statement brought a measure of dissent from some in the audience at the education conference, with somebody saying that the demands of modern citizenship require that a person be more than a happy blacksmith.

That seems to indicate that a blacksmith can be happy only if he has a college degree. Which, of course, is not true. A college education admittedly can help tremendously in an individual's being able to do certain tasks, but desirable as a college degree can be it is ridiculous to believe that the halls of ivy and they alone can lead to a productive life.

If, however, everyone can be assured of a college education, well and good—provided that some of the degree holders will be content to be plumbers, auto mechanics, common laborers of all sorts for these and similar jobs are as important—if not more so—than those that absolutely require a college education.

And although everyone does not need a college degree, it would help if more of the budding plumbers, auto mechanics, etc., were to receive a type of higher education—such as at vocational-technical high schools and post-graduate technical institutes.

ADVERSE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1965 ON IRISH IMMIGRATION

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ryan] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. **RYAN**. Mr. Speaker, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965—Public Law 89-236—was intended to facilitate immigration to the United States; it represents a new approach free from the inequities which restricted immigration for so many years. However, certain unforeseen difficulties in its implementation have created serious hardship, closing "the golden door" to many worthy immigrants.

It is time to recognize that changes are necessary to expunge inequities in the new law and make its operation conform to its noble purpose.

One of the most urgent problems concerns the labor certification process required by section 212(a)(14) of the act (8 U.S.C. 1182 (a) (14)).

Prior to the effective date of the new law, December 1, 1965, an alien seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor was not eligible to receive an immigration visa only—

> . . . *if* the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified to the Secretary of State and to the Attorney General and (A) sufficient workers in the United States who are able, willing and qualified are available at the time (of application for a visa and for admission to the United States) and place (to which the alien is destined) to perform such . . . labor, or (B) the employment of such aliens will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of the workers in the United States similarly employed . . . (Section 212 (a) (14), 8 U.S. Code 1182 (a) (14) (1964 ed).)

Moreover, only nonpreference aliens described by 8 United States Code 1153 (a)(4)—1964 edition—and certain nonquota immigrants described in sections 1101(a)(27)(C), 27 (D), and 27 (E) of title 8 of the United States Code—1964 edition—were subject to exclusion if the Secretary certified the existence of the requisite conditions.

The present law provides that, among others, the following aliens shall be ineligible to receive visas:

> Aliens seeking to enter the United States, for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor, *unless* the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified to the Secretary of State and to the Attorney General that (A) there are not enough sufficient workers in the United States who are able, willing, qualified, and available at the time of application for a visa and admission to the United States and at the place to which the alien is destined to perform such . . . labor, and (B) the employment of such aliens will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of the workers in the United States similarly employed. . . . (Section 212(a)(14) 8 U.S. Code 1182(a)(14) (Supplement II 1965-66))

Under the previous law, such an alien could not obtain an immigration visa unless the Secretary of Labor had certified either that there were unavailable in the United States a sufficent number of workers for the particular job involved or that the employment of such alien would not adversely affect wages and working conditions. Present law precludes the granting of a visa to such an alien unless the Secretary of Labor has certified—and the proper authorities have received notification of said certification—that a sufficient number of workers are not available in the United States and that admission of said alien will not adversely affect wages and working conditions.

The effect of the change was to shift

the burden of proof from the Secretary to the alien. Under the previous law it was presumed that a job opening existed and that working conditions would not be adversely affected if the Secretary had not certified to the contrary.

The report of the House Committee on the Judiciary accompanying H.R. 2580 stated:

> "The amended section 212 (a) (14) represents a substantial departure from existing law. Presently, the provisions of section 212 (a) (14) operate only when the Secretary of Labor invokes them by certification . . . This procedure is reversed under the amendment. Responsibility is placed upon the intending immigrant to obtain the Secretary of Labor's clearance prior to issuance of a visa." House Report No. 745, 89th Congress 1st Session p. 14 (1965).

A labor certificate is required of immigrants from any independent country in the Western Hemisphere—101(a) (27) of the Act, except for parents, spouses, or children of U.S. citizens or of aliens admitted into the United States for permanent residence—third and sixth preference aliens and nonpreference aliens defined in section 203(a) (3), (6) and (8) of the Act respectively (8 U.S.C. 1153(a) (3), (6), and (8) (Supplement II 1965–66)).

Under current administrative procedure an alien for whom a labor certificate is required must file an application, U.S. Department of Labor form ES–575A, stating among other things, the alien's abilities and qualifications. In addition, the prospective U.S. employer must fill out and file with the local State employment service office form ES–757B indicating the nature of the work and describing the efforts made to find qualified employees within the area.

For certain categories of workers the Secretary has determined:

> ". . . There are not sufficient workers who are able . . . and available for employment . . . and the employment of aliens in such categories . . . will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of workers in the United States similarly employed." [29 Code of Federal Regulations 60.2 (a) (1)]

In effect, it is presumed that there exists a nationwide shortage of workers for such categories, listed on schedule A. Schedule A, however, includes only aliens who have received an advance degree comparable to a Ph. D. or masters degree of American universities; aliens holding degrees from accredited institutions of higher learning in certain professions specified by the Secretary; and aliens who perform certain religious functions. Although aliens covered by schedule A must file form ES–575A, his prospective employer need not file form ES–575B describing prospective employment and alleging inability to find qualified employees within the United States. A dearth of such employees is presumed.

Schedule B lists jobs for which the Secretary has determined that no certification can presently be made.

Schedule C is a list of occupations which have been found to be in short supply generally—although not nationwide as in schedule A. This schedule includes not only certain jobs of the sixth preference variety, but any person qualified as a professional or who has exceptional ability in the sciences or arts and whose occupation is not listed on schedule A. This latter group is eligible for a third preference visa.

An alien applying for a schedule C job need file only form ES–575A—29 Code of Federal Regulations 60.3(b). I understand, however, that his chances of obtaining a certification are higher if both ES–575 A and B are filed.

The available evidence indicates that the shifting of the burden from the Secretary to the prospective immigrant has resulted in extreme hardship for those faced with unfamiliar customs and procedures. The hardship is compounded for the many who find it difficult, if not impossible, to handle the English language with the facility necessary to negotiate the redtape involved.

Moreover, except for the select few jobs listed on schedule A, the alien, while in his own country, must not only find an existing job opening, but he must show via his prospective employer the nonexistence of available employees already in the United States and that his presence will not adversely affect wages and working conditions. Whether the average employer will subject himself to the uncertainty and redtape involved is highly questionable.

The American Immigration and Citizenship Conference in a "Memorandum on the New Immigration Law With Particular Reference to the Labor Certification Requirement, February 23, 1967" stated:

> . . . Thus, the law now places the burden of proof on the immigrant who is far removed from the American scene.
>
> They have to submit U.S. Department of Labor Form ES–575A and get an employer who is willing to employ them and who will fill out Form ES–575B. These forms are in addition to the regular visa petition forms.
>
> This procedure presents numerous difficulties and delays in that an employer has to show the efforts he has made to find an American worker through a variety of ways, indicating that there are no resident workers available . . . the employer has to go through the long drawn out process of filling out Form ES–575B for a person whom he has never seen and who, because of the complications of administrative processes undoubtedly could not come to him for months, during which period any number of new conditions might arise. If this procedure proved so difficult formerly in connection with highly specialized professionals, how much more cumbersome and even open to misuse will it be for the average immigrant? It is questionable how many employers would be willing to go through this process. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 112, pt. 9, p. 11543.)

As difficult as the procedure faced by "qualified immigrants who are members of the professions" may be, it is even more difficult for sixth-preference category applicants.

Earlier this year I presented statistics indicating that the new law was an important factor in the decline of those immigrating to the United States from Ireland—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 18, 1967, page 13166.

That study, prepared at my request by the U.S. Embassy in Ireland, stated that among the several reasons for a decline in Irish immigration to the United States—

> There is no doubt that section 212(a) (14) of the Act has caused a decrease in Irish immigration to the United States. As many Irish visa applicants are unskilled or semiskilled workers, they are unable to qualify under section 212(a) (14) as amended.

Although statistics for fiscal year 1967 have not yet been made available by the Visa Office of the Department of State, the figures for fiscal year 1966, during which the law became effective—December 1, 1965—indicate a sharp decrease in visas issued to Irish immigrants.

Compared to preceding issues.

Fiscal year:	*Visas issued*
1962	5,354
1963	6,237
1964	6,328
1965	5,378
1966	3,071

(Annual Report of the Visa Office, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, p. 28, 1966.)

This same report at page 42 shows that between July 1, 1965, and November 30, 1965, 2,422 non-preference immigrants and selected immigrants of special skills from Ireland obtained visas. On December 1, 1965, the new law became operative. Between that date and July 30, 1966, only 385 visas were issued to Irish immigrants in the third, sixth and nonpreference categories—see page 45. Admittedly, part of the discrepancy may be accounted for by the attempt of many to obtain visas before the new law became effective when they might otherwise have waited until later in the fiscal year; but, as indicated by the U.S. Embassy, it is only a partial explanation.

I have recently received from the U.S. Embassy in Ireland a letter dated September 12, 1967, signed by Ambassador Raymond R. Guest, updating to June 30, 1967, the date on visas applied for and issued to Irish immigrants. I include it at this point in the RECORD:

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Dublin, Ireland, September 12, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM F. RYAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RYAN: I refer to your letter of August 8, 1967, and to our interim reply of August 16, 1967, in regard to the data which you requested concerning the trend of Irish immigration.

In reply to your specific questions, the statistics for the period April 1, 1967, through June 30, 1967, are as follows:

1. Question: All persons who have made an inquiry regarding immigration from Ireland to the United States.

Answer:	
April	440
May	445
June	299
Total	1,184

2. Question: All persons for whom a petition or labor certification has been approved, or who have established their exemption from the provisions of Section 212(a) (14) of Immigration Act of 1965, i.e. applicants for immigrant visas.

Answer:	
April	250
May	248
June	215
Total	713

3. Question: The number of immigrant visas issued, and refused to Irish applicants by each preference category, as well as immediate relatives and special immigrants.

Answer: See Table 1 (enclosed).

4. Question: The occupations of applicants to whom immigrant visas were issued under the third, the sixth and the nonpreference categories; by category.

Answer: See Table 2 (enclosed).

5. Question: The number of preliminary visa questionnaires which gave occupations listed in Schedule B of Title 29, Part 60, Section 60.2(a)(2), Subtitle A of the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR).

Answer:

April	3
May	4
June	nil
Total	7

6. Question: The number of applicants for visas giving occupations listed on Schedule C of Title 29, Part 60, Section 60.3(c), Subtitle A of the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) and the number of persons, by category, who applied under Schedule C but were turned down.

Answer: Although we do not keep statistics on those applicants who qualify for Schedule C certification, it is estimated that approximately 25 applications for direct certification under Schedule C were submitted to the Department of Labor during the period from April 1967 through June 1967. Of these applications for certification, approximately 2 or 3 were not certified. When an applicant is refused certification under Schedule C, he is informed that an employer in the United States should apply for certification on his behalf. The majority of Schedule C applicants who have not received certification are primary or Montessori teachers who do not have university degrees.

Since Schedule C certification has become effective, we have observed that more secretaries and other skilled workers who qualify under Schedule C are being issued immigrant visas. No doubt prior to the establishment of Schedule C, many of these applicants experienced difficulty in finding employers in the United States to apply for certification on their behalf. Other than this factor and the normal summer increase in immigration we have noted no new trends in Irish immigration since April 1967.

Sincerely yours,

RAYMOND R. GUEST,
American Ambassador.

TABLE 1 (QUESTION NO. 3).—IMMIGRANT VISAS ISSUED AND REFUSED AT DUBLIN TO IRISH APPLICANTS

Classification	Apr. 1 to June 30, 1967	
	Issued	Refused
Preference and nonpreference:		
1st	1	2
2d	9	1
3d	--------	--------
4th	--------	--------
5th	91	20
6th	2	--------
Nonpreference	351	36
Total	454	59
Immediate relatives:		
IR-1	6	3
IR-2	--------	--------
IR-3	--------	--------
IR-4	4	--------
IR-5	4	2
Total	14	5
Special immigrants:		
SA-1	--------	--------
SA-2	--------	--------
SA-3	--------	--------
SB-1	18	--------
SD-1	2	--------
SD-2	1	--------
Total	21	--------

It should be noted that the majority of applicants, who are shown as having been refused visas, ultimately overcame the grounds of their ineligibility and were issued visas. For instance, an applicant who lacks a police certificate or sufficient evidence of support would be refused a visa. Upon receipt of the required documents, if satisfactory, the applicant would be eligible to receive a visa.

TABLE 2 (QUESTION NO. 4).—OCCUPATIONS OF APPLICANTS ISSUED IMMIGRANT VISAS FROM APR. 1 TO JUNE 30, 1967, TO WHOM SEC. 212(a)(14) IS APPLICABLE

Occupation	3d preference	6th preference	Nonpreference
Nurses	------	------	89
Domestics	------	1	95
Priests	------	------	53
Nuns	------	------	27
Medical doctors	------	------	5
Teachers	------	------	7
Secretaries	------	------	4
Research worker (scientific)	------	------	1
Architect and university lecturer	------	------	1
Economist	------	------	1
Research chemist	------	------	1
Engineer	------	1	1
Mechanical engineering	------	------	2
Electrical engineering	------	------	3
Industrial scientist	------	------	2
Motor mechanics	------	------	2
Apprentice mechanic	------	------	1
Knitting machinist	------	------	1
Porter	------	------	1
Painter and decorator	------	------	1
Tailor	------	------	1
Assistant catering supervisor	------	------	1
Physical therapist	------	------	1
Shorthand typist	------	------	1
Typist	------	------	1
Statistical clerk	------	------	1
Chemist's assistant	------	------	1
Comptometer operator	------	------	1
Nurse's aide	------	------	1
Fashion designer	------	------	1
Professional musician	------	------	1
Total	------	2	309

Based on the study for the period ending March 31, 1967—letter of April 7, 1967, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 18, 1967, page 13166—and the more recent study for the period ending June 30, 1967—letter of September 12, 1967—the total number of third, sixth, and nonpreference immigrant visas issued, for which labor certificates were a prerequisite, are six, five, and 1,160 respectively for the period between December 1, 1965, and June 30, 1967.

Between April 1, 1967, and June 30, 1967, no third preference visas and only two sixth-preference visas were issued. Of the 309 nonpreference visas issued, the recipients of which were required to obtain a section 212(a)(14) labor certificate, at least 174 of the applicants qualified for schedule A certification, which means that they did not have the burden of proving the existence of a job and showing that no adverse effects would result from their employment. In effect schedule A constitutes a blanket certification for the categories listed thereon.

Parenthetically, the September 12 letter states that an additional 25 visa recipients qualified for schedule C certification which in theory precludes them from having to find an employer willing to fill out form ES-575B, et cetera.

Although the Secretary of Labor has afforded some relief by increasing the number of jobs subject to blanket certification—those listed on schedule A—and by establishing schedule C—January 25, 1967—giving certification on a local rather than a nationwide basis for some sixth preference occupations and all third preference occupations not included on schedule A, the existing procedures do nothing to relieve the burden imposed on those not included on any of the three schedules.

Applicants for jobs listed on schedule A know they can obtain certification, if they meet other requirements, for the Secretary has found that a shortage exists and their employment would not have adverse effects. According to the Bureau of Employment and Security of the Department of Labor, a schedule A applicant does not need to have a prospective employer prior to receiving his visa.

The same is applicable for jobs subject to schedule C certification, except such applications are, unlike schedule A applications, subject to a review of local labor conditions prior to issuance of the certification. Neither schedule A nor schedule C applicants are required to have an employer file form ES-575B.

Those jobs listed on schedule B are not eligible for certification since the Secretary has found either that a shortage does not exist or that local workers will be adversely affected.

Those applying for jobs found on none of these schedules must, while in his home country, find an employer in the United States, show that a shortage exists and that his employment will not result in adverse effects, and persuade the prospective employer to fill out Form ES-575B—which means the employer must stipulate that he cannot find available employees in the United States—as well as wait for an indefinite period of time.

Although schedule C applicants find themselves in a somewhat better position, they are still subject to the uncertainty of a review of local labor conditions.

There appears no valid reason precluding the Secretary of Labor from making blanket determinations for all categories of employment as he has done for schedule A and B jobs. Certainly the Secretary is in a much better position than the prospective immigrant to ascertain the prevailing conditions of the U.S. labor market. One of the purposes inherent in the 1965 act was to reduce the burden imposed on prospective qualified immigrants by often unduly complex and cumbersome procedures. The present labor certification process is inconsistent with this policy and results in unnecessary hardship for those least equipped to cope with the process.

Earlier this year I introduced H.R. 7775 to rectify this situation by removing the inequity imposed by section 212 (a)(14). My bill amends the new section by substituting for it the section 212(a) (14) language used prior to the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

If approved under my bill an alien will again be able to enter the United States unless the Secretary of Labor makes a specific finding that—

> (A) there are available in the United States at the alien's proposed destination sufficient workers able, willing, and qualified at the time of application for a visa and for

admission to the United States, to perform such skilled or unskilled labor, or (B) the employment of such aliens will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of workers in the United States similarly employed.

In providing that only section 101(a)(27)(A) special immigrants—with certain exceptions—and nonpreference immigrants described in section 203(a)(8) are subject to exclusion under section 212(a)(14) my bill is more consistent with previous law in this respect than the current provisions.

My bill would, moreover, expand the category of relatives now exempt from section 212(a)(14) by including "the brother, sister, son, or daughter of a citizen of the United States or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence." This change is consistent with the intent of the 1965 act to facilitate the reuniting of families.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 7775 seeks to correct a defect that most of us did not anticipate in 1965—a defect, the inequitable results of which are becoming more apparent as time passes. It is an inequity which particularly affects Irish immigration. I know that, because of our distinguished Speaker and the late President Kennedy as well as several Members of the Congress who are of Irish descent, I need not dwell on the magnificent contribution of the Irish to our Nation. It is not to America's advantage to retain section 212(a)(14) in its present form.

Time passes; young people grow old; the hope of those desiring to immigrate to the United States fades; their ability to contribute to our culture and progress decreases. I urge the Congress to act with all speed to remedy this situation.

INVESTIGATION SHOULD BE DEMANDED ON PENTAGON PURCHASING PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Congress should launch a thorough investigation of the Pentagon's purchasing program in the light of admission that half the Marine Corps' supply helicopters in Vietnam have been grounded because the tails were falling off, according to the UPI ticker this morning.

This is a shocking indictment of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, added to the fact that food, medical supplies, and ammunition are being delayed at the war front because of deficient helicopters bought by Pentagon purchasers. We have a condition of computerized chaos in the Pentagon.

The failure of the Pentagon to supply operable equipment is a stab in the back of the boys at the front. There is no excuse in a nation with the technical abilities of the United States to send equipment to Vietnam that does not work. McNamara's procurement policies have been arbitrary and contemptuous of military advice. Now we are reaping the sorry result of one man's folly.

More and more reports of funny dealings at the Pentagon have been coming into Congress. Firms with low bids are brushed aside. It is time Congress looked into the claimed savings by the Defense Department and into the situation that allows a deficient plane such as the TFX to become the Nation's biggest money loser and worst performer but most highly propagandized by the Pentagon's paper brigade.

The helicopter incident in Vietnam is only the latest of a string of McNamara miscues, which included delay of supplies, shortages of clothing, bomb shortages, and the jamming of the M-16 rifle. All of these errors have hampered the U.S. war effort. It is simply time to find out how the war effort is being run, and if possible to halt the computerized chaos that is indicated by news reports from the battle zone.

JOB CORPS CENTER VISITS BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged last Friday to be invited to participate in a rededication ceremony at the Huntington, W. Va., Job Corps Center for Women. The Xerox Corp. operates this center, and on that day officially submitted their contract request for continuance of the center under their management.

The ceremony in which I participated included the presentation of four girls who had successfully completed their studies at the center during the past year. Poised and confident, these four girls explained what the center had done for them, and spoke with such warmth and sincerity that I was deeply moved by their remarks.

I wish that all of the Members of this House would have the same opportunity to visit one of these centers because I am confident that if they did, they too would find this program truly one of the outstanding features of the economic opportunity program.

Two of our distinguished colleagues have made such visits to centers in their respective districts, and experienced much the same promise and excitement in what they saw.

Mr. Speaker, so that all of the House may know of these expressions of interest in the Job Corps, I insert at this point in the RECORD several articles which appeared in the Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press on the visit to the Cleveland center by Congresswoman FRANCES P. BOLTON, and also the entire text of remarks presented by Congresswoman CATHERINE MAY at the dedication of the Fort Simcoe Center at White Swan, Wash.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 8, 1967]

REPRESENTATIVE BOLTON TOURS FACILITY: CITY JOB CORPS CENTER PRAISED

(By Alma Kaufman)

Rep. Frances P. Bolton, R-22, had high praise for the Cleveland Job Corps for Women after spending yesterday there and said Job Corps should get a larger share of antipoverty money.

"This was one of the most wonderful days I ever had," said Mrs. Bolton.

"You see Hawaii living with Texas . . . Washington with Alabama; you get the sense that this is the way we're building America as we can't build it any other way."

The Cleveland congresswoman advocated Job Corps tours for congressional critics of the program.

"I know that what I needed was to come here and spend the day," she said. "My sense of the Job Corps is very different from what it was yesterday."

Mrs. Bolton said the program should have enough money to provide job security for center staffs and continuity of service. At present centers are funded for a year at a time and employees cannot be hired for a longer period. The people of Cleveland should make some provision for continuity, Mrs. Bolton said.

She also said the Cleveland center should be moved from Ansel Road to a better location, but probably not into the suburbs.

"Young people should be within walking distance of recreation," she explained. "They tell us we're all going to be urbanites very soon, so we should be ready."

Mrs. Bolton praised the center director, Dr. Zelma George, as the person responsible for its good impression.

"A short time ago this was a disgraceful place."

[From the Cleveland Press, Sept. 8, 1967]

CONGRESSWOMAN BOLTON LAUDS GIRL'S CENTER HERE

Cong. Frances Bolton (R-Cleveland) said a tour of the Women's Job Corps Center here has won her enthusiastic approval of the program, regarded as the most costly and most criticized of national anti-poverty efforts.

The center at 1588 Ansel Rd. has an enrollment of about 330 girls and has cost about $2,500,000 a year to operate in addition to about $300,000 in cash allowances for the trainees. This amounts to about $8000 a year for each trainee.

But Cong. Bolton said these costs are justified by the success of the center and urged that more money be provided for the program.

"This is the essence of what Americans want to do to help people," she said of the center where girls from poverty families live while they receive schooling and job training.

Mrs. Bolton added that she feels Congress was wrong in restricting the policy by which girls and youths are flown to and from centers far from their homes for this training. The center here has girls from Hawaii, California, Texas, Alabama, New York and other states.

Having trainees from all parts of the nation living together is a way of helping to build America, she said.

Dr. Zelma George, the center director who was highly praised by Cong. Bolton, contended that there is less temptation for trainees to drop out of the program when they are remote from their homes.

An aide said that more than 75% of the center's graduates are being placed in jobs.

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE CATHERINE MAY AT THE FORT SIMCOE JOB CORPS CONSERVATION CENTER DEDICATION CEREMONIES, WHITE SWAN, WASH., SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1967

As a proud citizen of Yakima County, I am honored to take part today in this dedication of the Fort Simcoe Job Corps Conservation Center. I am honored because what we pay tribute to is the continuation of the American ideal—the right of every American to help himself to a better life, a life of promise for himself, his community, and for the world in which we live.

This ideal is the continuing theme of American history. It was the ideal that inspired the founding fathers and those who followed in their footsteps in the building of our nation.

In this regard, it occurs to me that it is a rather fitting coincidence that this ceremony takes place on the Memorial Day weekend. Throughout our nation people gather on this weekend to remember, honor, respect and pay deserving tribute to the brave fighting men of many wars who have made the supreme sacrifice. But, I wonder if it wouldn't be more correct to say that Memorial Day is a time that we give thanks for the privilege of being Americans, free to serve our God and free to serve our country. Ours might better be words of gratitude for this nation, that they fought to develop and preserve.

This Memorial Day still finds our country engaged in another great struggle and on the brink of another international crisis because there are still those abroad in this world who would destroy the principles of freedom and prevent others from developing the blessings of liberty. The long list of those who lie in a corner of some foreign field grows daily, as a grim reminder that the cause for which the sacrifices were made hasn't yet been accomplished. They gave, and are still giving, their all in the defense of freedom. Now, we must, as their living heirs, pay our debt of gratitude by convincing the world that we were worth the price.

Throughout the United States today, we are troubled by poverty, racial hatred and ignorance. We hear a lot about the hot war in Vietnam and the cold war throughout the world. We hear of the actions and reactions of these problems on the part of big governments, big organizations and mass movements. But in an age of big government and mass movements, what we don't hear enough about is the vital role which we as individuals must play in dealing with the problems of a troubled world in terms of our American ideal.

That is the challenge of your generation, and in a large sense, it is really the same challenge which has faced succeeding generations of Americans from the time when our nation was founded to the pioneer era, to the present 20th Century. It is the challenge of the Job Corps—and that is why your role, as individual members of the Job Corps, is very special.

In an age when some argue that individual responsibility and individual opportunity are on the way out, you are reasserting and by your efforts replenishing the American pioneer spirit.

No one made you come to the Job Corps: No one drafted you or told you that you either join or go to prison. You came here on your own will power: You came to make yourselves better men, better Americans. You came to do a very special job—a job of personal self improvement. This is what we salute today—your effort to keep the American ideal alive and healthy.

We also salute the Job Corps. We salute the Job Corps because it has afforded each one of you and those who will follow you at Fort Simcoe, the opportunity to help yourselves. Presently, there are 202 of you here at Fort Simcoe. You are just a small part of the total number being given this chance by Job Corps. Nationally, Job Corps serves more than 35,000 young men and women at this time. But each one of you are being given the same chance. Here at Fort Simcoe, your work includes training in heavy equipment operation and repair, training in forestry and farming, even training in cooking and banking.

In another part of our Congressional District we have the Columbia Basin Job Corps Conservation camp at Moses Lake on the site of the former Larson Air Force Base. Since its activitation date, November 1, 1965, and up to April 30, 1967, 562 Corpsmen have received some degree of training in various types of skills and services. Right now there are 183 boys at the Camp. Just this month a Job Corps contingent of young women was established at Moses Lake, too, and this new center for Job Corps women is being geared to our area needs of the Northwest, offering courses in clerical and mechanical types of work, as well as basic educational training and special training courses like those of nurse's aides.

Everywhere the Job Corps training is different, but everywhere the opportunity is being given, and, I am glad to say, being taken.

Though young in years, the Job Corps has a commendable record. It has had its problems, certainly—and every effort must be made to solve these problems, toward the end that the Job Corps can accomplish its important mission. But despite these problems, the achievements of the Job Corps have been impressive. To date, more than 70,000 young men and women have been in the Job Corps. Of the 70,000, more than 70 percent have left to return to a much fuller, more meaningful life, as assets to their communities. Most have gone on to jobs where the future extends beyond the next pay check; 14 percent have returned to high schools, the same schools where they were previously listed as "dropouts." Another ten percent have gone on to the Armed Services, to serve their country. And some of these young men like Bernie Gonzalez of the Kingman Job Corps Center, have made the ultimate sacrifice for their country in the war in Vietnam.

Thus, the Job Corps has given young men and women an opportunity and a challenge to help realize the American ideal.

Here at Fort Simcoe it is still a bit early for us to recount stories about the graduates. We do know that 66 Fort Simcoe Corpsmen have either returned to school, joined the service or found permanent jobs. And I am certain, from what I have seen and heard here, that Fort Simcoe Job Corps Conservation Center alumni will head the list of Job Corpsmen who are contributing to their community and their country. Let me say, too, that in the brief time you have been here in the Yakima Valley, you have won the hearts of many of us by your hard work and helpful hands.

You and the staff at Fort Simcoe have shown us that the American system and the American ideal is one which makes our country, more than any other, a land of opportunity for young men and women. Your efforts have given us all a better understanding of the Job Corps mission. In effect, you have made Yakima Valley partners in your individual efforts to keep the American ideal alive.

And although your work has primarily been restricted to the boundaries of the reservation, your extra curricular duties have not gone unnoticed. The construction of the Sunnyside Day Care Center, as well as the renovation of the swimming facilities at Wapato, have made terrific contributions to the well being of the Yakima Valley. When the Chamber of Commerce of Goldendale asked for help in the general clean up work necessary for another good winter of skiing at the Satus Pass Ski Lodge, it was you young citizens of Fort Simcoe who jumped in and made things ship-shape. In hundreds of ways, you of the Fort Simcoe Center have helped forge the partnership that binds us.

This very same spirit of community involvement that the Job Corps has demonstrated here will, I know, go with you when you leave Fort Simcoe. Whether you stay in the great State of Washington or whether you return to your homes across the country, I know your communities will benefit as we have been benefited here.

The community involvement that you Fort Simcoe Job Corpsmen have demonstrated to us, has also been demonstrated to communities throughout the country. In Clinton, Iowa, Job Corps girls have been filling sand bags to hold back the flooding waters of the Mississippi River; the Corpsmen of Custer Job Corps Center in Michigan have been working as volunteer therapy aids at the State Home—over 2,500 man-hours of free time donated so far. Everywhere there is a Job Corps Center, there are Job Corpsmen and women rendering services to the community.

As gratifying as this community involvement is, it only tells a part of the story of the Job Corps. The deeper success of the Job Corps will be apparent when you Job Corps graduates are raising your own families, for then will you be really able to share what the Job Corps is giving you every day that you work and take advantage of what is offered you here. The basic education courses, which may sometimes seem so boring and difficult, are equipping you to get more out of life—and thereby enabling you to share more fully in the riches it offers. Here at Fort Simcoe, four of your fellow Corpsmen are presently taking courses at the White Swan High School; they are taking advantage of their opportunity to learn and grow. All of you have the same opportunities in the classes conducted daily right here at the Center. And even outside the classroom, whether it be planting trees in the forests or welding in the welding shop, you are being given the chance to gain skills that will make you more employable and better able to contribute.

The residents of Yakima Valley recognize what is going on at Fort Simcoe. We are happy to share in the work of the Job Corps. It is a partnership that will benefit us all in the years to come. Even now, we have fourteen of you young men working in Yakima as "on-the-job trainees." The partnership that you have helped to develop between the Fort Simcoe Job Corps center and the citizens of Yakima Valley was never better demonstrated than last Christmas, when the sixty or so Corpsmen who were unable to go home for Christmas had their Christmas dinner with families in the area. I know that these families enjoyed your visit just as much as their Christmas dinners enriched your "Christmas away from home."

In many, many ways, this Fort Simcoe-Yakima County partnership has grown and, I am sure, will continue to grow. By your hard work, you are showing us all that the American ideal is still alive in 1967.

And as a citizen and a Member of Congress, I am encouraged because I can see what the Job Corps and its Corpsmen are doing to help meet the challenge facing our country. Not only will you profit by gaining the skills and knowledge that the Job Corps offers you, but you will be able to share them with those less fortunate in your own communities—and through this sharing, your communities will grow stronger and happier.

I also said I was proud—just as I am proud of you as new and contributing members of our community, I am also very proud of my own neighbors in Yakima County. They have understood what the Job Corps is all about, and realized that the success of every Job Corps Center is dependent on the help and cooperation of the community in which it is located.

The partnership that I spoke of earlier is a very real one, and I am certain that each of us will continue to help in every way.

Before I bring my remarks to a close I would like to make one personal observation to you young men. I visited your Corps Center for the first time last winter. As I drove in here passed the Fort buildings that have been so beautifully restored, and on up the road surrounded by the rolling hills on up to the mountains, a thought struck me. While I have been familiar with this area and loved it since I was a little girl, I rather imagine that you young men, as you first drove in here coming from homes thousands of miles away—I rather imagine a lot of you must have said to yourselves, "My gosh, they've brought us to the end of the world!" And, then I thought, I bet that's just exactly how the many young men in the Army, who came clear across the nation for the founding of that Fort well over 100 years ago, must have felt, too. At that time, a lot of those young men were sick physically from lack of proper diet on the long trek—and I am sure they were homesick, too. But, you fellows have an even more important bond with them—you came here to do a job for your country and you are pioneers. And pioneers always have in common the same virtues—individual responsibility—individual resourcefulness—and individual courage. The job of the pioneer corpsmen in those days on all fronts was to help create new communities and a new society. Your job Corpsmen pioneers of today, by your individual responsibility, individual resourcefulness and individual courage will leave our Valley one day to return home—or perhaps elsewhere—to help build better communities and a better society for yourselves and your neighbors.

For the true test of the success of the Job Corps lies in the future when we might hope that communities throughout America will share in the benefits of the training and skills which you gained here in our Valley.

We have much to be proud of as we dedicate the Fort Simcoe Job Corps Conservation Center today. For we are, in reality, rededicating ourselves to the American ideal.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CUTTING NONESSENTIAL SPENDING?

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the action of this House yesterday in recommitting the supplemental appropriation bill was unfortunate and irresponsible in and of itself. The way to cut Government spending is not to bring the operations of the Government to a halt.

Furthermore, the implications of the motion were to place the responsibility for making reductions in Federal spending on the President, rather than Congress. This is an unfortunate implication. The constitutional responsibility for determining authorizations and appropriations is with Congress. It should remain with Congress.

In past months, we have heard a good deal of talk about usurpation of congressional prerogatives by the White House. If anything could dramatically illustrate the adage that "talk is cheap," the vote in this House yesterday did. This body said, in effect, "We have neither the inclination nor the ability to decide where reductions in spending should be made. You do it, Mr. President."

Congress has consistently refused to grant the President the power to exercise an item veto, and with good reason. Yet, that is precisely what this House was voting to do.

I have been one of the most vigorous advocates for cutting nonessential Federal spending. So far this year, I have voted to cut more than $11 billion from the budget, particularly in the public works, space, farm, and other special interest subsidies, and SST programs. I strongly believe this should be done.

As a result of my urgings and the expression of others who feel as I do, the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee yesterday made a firm commitment to review all appropriations already made and recommend recisions in the order of magnitude recommended by the opposition. I commend the chairman for his statement and feel this is the appropriate way for the needed cuts to be made—by Congress, not the Executive.

The question before us, then, was not whether the cuts should be made but how they should be made. To make them by recommitting the continuing authorization bill and handing over to the Executive our constitutional fiscal responsibilities would have been irresponsible. To make the needed cuts through congressional action in accordance with the Constitution is the way I support and the way it should be done.

Let there be no doubt, however, that cut we must.

A PROGRAM FOR AVIATION SAFETY

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, when the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce opened hearings on aviation safety on July 24, I charged the head of the Federal Aviation Administration with having been derelict in his duty to aggressively pursue a meaningful air safety program. I said at that time that we had reached a point of crisis in aviation safety. I have seen nothing in the past 3 months to change my mind.

Aviation safety has been very much in the public eye since that initial hearing. The deliberate leak of a story about FAA's request for an additional $100 million for personnel and equipment was a front-page story, as was the President's response that FAA had to make do with what it has and his order that the Sectary of Transportation prepare a long-range plan for airport improvement. This little charade, the scenario for which was probably written several weeks earlier, should fool no one. Even the announced $7 million allocation for hiring and training air traffic controllers was only a shift of funds from facilities and equipment. Any implication of new Federal commitment to air safety is purely illusory.

FAA's "leak" did nothing more than temporarily shift the burden to the White House. The President promptly shifted it back, while giving the appearance of taking some positive steps. In my view, the subject of air safety has been studied to death. It is time for action.

The sheer growth of aviation, both commercial and private, creates a serious safety problem, and it seems obvious that advances in safety have not kept pace either with aviation technology or growth. In the last 5 years alone, traffic has doubled at the 234 airports at which the FAA has control towers. It will triple between now and 1977, when FAA controllers will have to handle 140 million takeoffs and landings.

A look at the impact of general aviation on existing airport facilities gives some idea of what the situation will be like 10 years from now. At 23 metropolitan "hub" airports, general aviation accounts for 36 percent of all operations. The percentage varies from over 70 percent at Denver, 65 percent at Houston, 57 percent at Kansas City, and 43 percent at LaGuardia in New York, down to 12.8 percent at O'Hare in Chicago and 8.2 percent at Kennedy in New York.

These are just averages, of course. The situation during peak hours is far worse. At LaGuardia, for example, general aviation accounted for 62 percent of the airfield capacity during a typical peak hour, from 5 to 6 p.m. on a Friday. During that hour, 2,950 passengers took off and landed; only 7 percent of them were carried by general aviation. It is well established that general aviation accounts for most of the planes in use but only a small percentage of the passengers. In my view, the congestion created by these smaller planes is in and of itself a distinct hazard.

General aviation also accounts for some pretty horrifying accident statistics. According to FAA, 80 percent of all general aviation accidents are due to a lack of proficiency or a lack of procedural knowledge on the pilot's part. A National Transportation Safety Board study found that 3,147 general aviation accidents in 1964—84 percent of the year's total—involved pilot error as a causal element. The FAA also states that 30 percent of all general aviation accidents resulted from the pilot losing control of his plane in instrument weather. I believe it is absolutely necessary for FAA to see that as many pilots as possible attain and maintain instrument proficiency and to establish this as a minimum standard for pilots flying in and out of congested areas.

I want to make it clear that I do not believe general aviation is the sole threat to air safety, nor the only cause of airport and airway congestion. The commercial airlines could contribute to safety and ease congestion by a more even distribution of their operations. No safety program should be directed only at small, private planes. I agree with John Adams of the Civil Aeronautics Board, when he said:

> The entire airline industry must find a way to coexist with general aviation, with each industry having equal access to the city and sky above them but with a means developed to unshuffle the cards somewhat so that both may fly, both may land and both may park without the time and money cost which now seems too much on the increase.

About 140,000 men, women, and children are exposed to death in midair collisions over the United States every year. In just 10 short years, when the number of takeoffs and landings will have tripled to over 140 million at airports with FAA control towers, over 400,000 persons will risk death in the air. FAA must close the safety gap between its activities and aviation growth. There are some steps it could take now with little or no cost.

First among these procedural changes is the exercise of FAA authority to restrict the operations of inadequately equipped planes and inadequately trained or experienced pilots in the vicinity of congested airports, especially during peak hours. During the Commerce Committee's hearings in July, FAA Administrator McKee flatly stated that he could not take such a step in the absence of an overriding safety problem. Unfortunately, the FAA refuses to acknowledge that the type of congestion experienced at airports such as LaGuardia, Kennedy, and O'Hare at peak hours is dangerous per se.

LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING SEPARATION OF AIRCRAFT

I am introducing legislation today that clearly grants FAA this authority. My bill amends that section of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 that deals with air traffic rules by adding a new subsection that reads as follows:

> In order to further promote safety in air commerce, air traffic rules and regulations prescribed under this subsection may include reasonable rules and regulations designed to relieve congestion at airports having a high density of air traffic. Such rules and regulations may designate the type and size of aircraft eligible to use an airport having a high density of air traffic during peak periods of air traffic congestion, and establish other reasonable criteria to alleviate air traffic congestion at such airports.

My purpose in authoring this legislation is simple: to see that air safety standards are set for each airport in terms of facilities, equipment, personnel and the qualifications and capabilities of the pilots and aircraft which use those airports. If the FAA determines that conditions at a certain airport are such that it would create a safety hazard for an inadequately equipped plane or one piloted by someone without an instrument flight rating to use that airport, or even to enter the traffic area around it, then FAA should be able to prohibit that plane and/or that pilot from using that airport or flying over it.

I have purposely drafted this legislation in the most flexible, general terms in the belief that FAA must have discretion to set different standards for different airports. But I want to make clear that while this new authority is broad and discretionary, it must be exercised.

There are a number of measures I would like to see FAA seriously consider, both under its existing legislative authority and under the new authority my bill would grant. Their cost would be minimal:

First, minimum plane and pilot standards: FAA should establish stringent standards for all aircraft equipment and for pilot proficiency where congested airspace and facilities are to be used.

Second, definitions of airspace and facilities: FAA should clearly define airspace and airports in terms of congestion so that standards for such airspace and facilities may be established.

Third, flight plans: All pilots should be required to file a simple flight plan, indicating the type of aircraft they are flying and the equipment it carries, the pilot's rating, intended route, destination, and altitude. Pilots should be required to adhere to that plan in congested areas unless air traffic control approves in-flight modifications. This procedure will not only do away with the popup phenomenon in which a controller is suddenly confronted with one or more small planes of which he had no prior knowledge, but will also enable controllers to reroute small planes if their chosen route or terminal facility is too congested to handle them safely.

Fourth, equipment standards: Before permitting an aircraft to use a given airport, FAA should require that the aircraft carry equipment necessary for full cooperation with the airport's control system.

Fifth, expanded control area: FAA should expand its area of control so that no aircraft can enter an airport traffic area at any altitude without coming under the specific direction of that airport's controller.

Sixth, pilot recertification: FAA should require general aviation pilots to be recertified on a regular basis, perhaps annually.

Seventh, near-miss reporting: FAA should encourage the Flight Safety Research Foundation to reinstitute its near-miss reporting program on a statistical basis. Between 400 and 600 near misses are reported to FAA each year, but reliable estimates of the actual number run as much as 300 percent higher. Accurate data is essential for an effective safety program.

Eighth, air taxi standards. FAA should set aircraft, equipment, and pilot proficiency standards for air taxis, a rapidly growing segment of general aviation and a major contributor to congestion at "hub" airports.

EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES PROPOSALS

FAA should also install or initiate or accelerate the testing of a number of devices which, added to an airport or aircraft, could greatly increase the safety of air travel. Some of these innovations are already in use by the military:

First, three-dimensional radar: The Navy has been using three-dimensional radar in Vietnam for nearly 2 years, but FAA apparently has not even sought operational data on this equipment. The Navy's unit, manufactured by ITT-Gilfillian of Los Angeles, costs $1.5 million each. While this equipment may not be feasible for domestic use, the principle of three-dimensional radar should be explored as a possible alternative to the alpha-numeric system.

Second, runway barriers: These could promote safety, especially at airports where there are bodies of water at the end of runways, by effectively checking an aircraft's speed without destroying it.

Third, fuel tank protection: FAA should delay no further in establishing the feasibility of polyurethane foam for use in domestic aircraft. The foam has been used in Air Force planes for 9 months in Vietnam and virtually eliminates fuel tank fires and explosions.

Fourth, jet drag chutes: Drag chutes, such as those used on military jets, should be considered for use on domestic jetliners as added insurance in the event of brake failure.

Fifth, downed plane locator: FAA should develop an automatic signaling device which would be activated immediately upon the crash of an airplane and which would enable searchers to pinpoint its location quickly. Lives are lost unnecessarily in crashes in remote areas or on water because of difficulty in locating the crash site.

Sixth, airborne recorder: FAA should accelerate the testing of an airborne recording system such as the one being tested by American Airlines to keep a constant check on pilot and aircraft performance. More accurate near-miss data is essential for the prevention of midair collisions and FAA must have greater knowledge of pilot performance under varying conditions. If the recorder is feasible, it should be required on all commercial aircraft.

Seventh, secondary radar and ILS: Backup radar must be installed at each of the 23 "hub" airports. The failure of the radar system at Kennedy Airport twice in 3 days this summer was intolerable, and the million-to-one odds quoted by an FAA official with reference to a single incident of that nature are open to question. Instrument Landing Systems should be installed at each airport having scheduled airline service.

Eighth, transponders: FAA should require transponders on all general aviation planes so that an aircraft's identity and altitude can be reported automatically to air traffic control.

Ninth, STOL: Testing of short takeoff and landing technology should be accelerated as a means of relieving congestion. STOL strips of under 1,000 feet could be readily established at most airports now experiencing severe overcrowding of existing runways.

Tenth, collision avoidance system: Development of an effective and economical collision avoidance system for general aviation should be given priority by FAA. The commercial airlines can pay for development of such a system for their use. Until all aircraft are equipped with a collision avoidance device, the danger of midair crashes will continue to be great.

Eleventh, parallel runways: Priority should be given to the construction of parallel runways at congested airports, where sufficient land is available. This would enable controllers to separate general aviation from large commercial aircraft without substantially increasing the controllers' workload.

Twelfth, new general aviation facilities: At the very core of the air safety problem is the urgent need for facilities geared to the needs of general aviation and the public it serves. In areas where they are needed most, such facilities are actually disappearing. According to the Air Transport Association, in 1950, 10 major metropolitan areas had 340 general aviation airports. By 1960, the number was 316. The scarcity of land and rising prices increase the difficulty of establishing these facilities, but without them the hazards of air travel must either increase drastically or onerous restrictions will have to be placed on general aviation.

It is disturbing to me to discover that in all the discussions of airport financing by the Federal Government, major emphasis has been placed on new jetports. In my view, there is little need for the Federal Government to keep pumping money into this arena. The large airports are turning over quite handsome profits, and I understand that the commercial airlines are not only able but in most cases willing to finance needed improvements and even new facilities where they are necessary.

General aviation airports can also pay their own way operationally, but are difficult to finance initially. The Federal Government should be emphasizing the financing of these smaller, general aviation facilities. Section 5(d)(3) of the Federal Airport Act is a specific authorization for general aviation airports to relieve the pressure on major congested airports. The authorization is $7 million a year but appropriations have run closer to $6 million. Unfortunately, I have seen little evidence that FAA is using even these modest appropriations where they are most needed. In the New York area, pitiful little has been done, and while local agencies such as the Port of New York Authority must share the responsibility for this sad state of affairs, more leadership must come from the FAA.

I feel strongly that one of the prime causes for the full decade that air safety is lagging behind aviation growth has been the failure of FAA to aggressively exercise its existing authority. In my view, FAA has been too concerned with keeping happy the various industry groups, regardless of the consequences for air safety.

The FAA certainly has not been nearly aggressive enough in seeking Budget Bureau and congressional approval of appropriations necessary to implement an effective air safety program.

On the other hand, FAA has quite aggressively pursued appropriations for the Supersonic Transport. The $700 million FAA has obtained from Congress so far for the SST would be more than sufficient to put the most up-to-date radar in every airport serving the scheduled airlines and have enough left over to build needed control towers and install ILS. FAA's priorities are obviously open to serious question.

In the final analysis, the words of Bo Lundberg, Director-General of the Aeronautical Research Institute of Sweden, should be studied and repeated by every official, every citizen concerned with aviation safety:

> We cannot wait for more accidents to occur in order to improve the safety level by corrective actions, or we will never be able to catch up with rapid expansion of aviation.

PROPOSAL TO IMPROVE BENEFITS UNDER THE FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Fascell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation designed to alleviate certain hardships to employees in the administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. The bill proposes two separate changes in the FECA, which I believe are desirable and necessary to prevent certain hardships to employees whose injuries require them to come under the FECA program.

Section 1 of my bill is designed to provide financial relief to injured workers who experience delay in receiving their award under the compensation program. It would allow an employee to continue to receive his regular pay between the time of his injury and the time when he received his first compensation payment. Any amount due the United States by reason of the continued payment of the employees' salary or remuneration would, under the terms of the bill, be recoverable by withholding sums from his compensation payments in a manner which would be equitable to the employee and to the Government. One of the effects of this recovery provision would be to prevent abuse of the benefits extended by the bill.

Under present law, as you know, an injured worker awaiting his first compensation check may use up any annual or sick leave to which he is entitled, if he so chooses, but he then receives no further payment from the Government until his claim is processed and his first FECA payment is sent to him. In many instances this can be a prolonged and difficult period, running for months in some cases. During this time the employees must provide for himself and his family as best he can.

An injured worker may experience delays of varying periods both within the agency that employs him and within the Bureau of Employees' Compensation, which processes all claims after they leave the employing agency. I am informed that the average period of elapsed time between the date of an injury and the date it reaches the BEC is 48 days. This represents the time lapse within the agency.

Most claims are processed fairly rapidly by the Bureau. According to a statement by its Director, 75 percent of the claims they receive are processed within 1 week to 10 days; 85 percent are processed in 3 weeks, and the remainder take a longer time for a variety of reasons. Those cases in which there are difficulties in establishing a causal relationship between the injury and the conditions of employment usually take the longest time in processing.

So the situation is, Mr. Speaker, considerable delays are experienced in processing these FECA claims and during the waiting period an employee must either utilize what leave he might have, or go without a fixed source of income until his first compensation payment is sent to him.

In many cases employees are forced to go a step further and utilize their sick leave rather than apply for FECA payments.

Section 2 of my bill would allow an employee who has been granted an award under the FECA program and who returns immediately to Federal employment to earn annual and sick leave credits for the period that he was on the FECA rolls. Under present law no annual or sick leave credits are earned during the period an employee is on leave without pay and drawing FECA benefits. The situation is just the opposite with respect to an employee who is on annual or sick leave. Such an employee continues to accrue leave credits while he is on leave.

It is patently unfair, in my opinion, to the employee who is injured on the job to be denied a benefit extended to another employee who is on vacation or absent from work because of illness.

In introducing this bill I would remind my colleagues that the vast majority of Federal employees are dependent upon their paychecks to keep their households functioning. A letter carrier earning around $5,000 or $6,000 a year, for example, cannot afford to miss a single paycheck without feeling an immediate strain on his resources. Those who are forced to undergo 5 or 6 weeks without income, as many now do while awaiting their compensation awards, are confronted with a severe financial struggle. The bill I have introduced, with its built-in safeguard against abuse, is necessary to help these workers in surmounting the problems they face at these dire times.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Cohelan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw attention to an editorial that appeared in the Washington Post concerning the President's request for the United States to contribute to the new special funds for the Asian Development Bank.

This proposal has special interest for me as I have just returned from Shimoda, Japan, where I participated in the Japanese-American Assembly. Of serious concern to all participants in the Assembly was the question of Asian involvement in Asian problems and the proper role of the United States in this regard.

The Asian Development Bank represents a unique opportunity for Asians to work out their own problems—with minimal assistance and encouragement from the United States. It also permits Japan to assume a large role in assisting and working with its Asian neighbors. The United States and much of Asia still retain fear of Japanese influence and power, based on the Japan of the 1930's and 1940's. At the same time it is clear that Japan, as a major industrial nation in Asia, must play an important role in Asian economic development.

However, it is also unreasonable to assume that the United States does not have any role in the development of this vast area. Certainly the wealth of the United States can be used effectively in assisting the less-developed countries of the world. And it is unreasonable and shortsighted to believe that military assistance is our most effective method of assistance.

The U.S. contribution to this new special fund would represent only 20 percent of the total. This is in sharp contrast to other agreements wherein the United States has assumed the bulk of the financial support. This factor alone should reassure those who recommend a lessening of the American commitment abroad. Also, it should reassure those who wish to see American aid used to fight the positive battle against poverty, disease, and ignorance.

As our policy of military assistance gains greater worldwide antagonism, as our own country becomes increasingly torn by our military role in Vietnam, it would appear that a positive, nonmilitary, role in Asia would be welcome. To quote from the Washington Post's editorial:

> There is little logic in a policy of resisting aggression in one small Asian land at whatever cost while denying what is urgently needed to counter the despair and hunger and poverty which feed the fires of insurrection in nearly all the rest of Asia and in a very significant part of the rest of the world.

The editorial referred to follows:

A CHANCE TO RECOUP

With dismal inconsistency, the Congress this year has gone down the line for whatever is needed in Vietnam while taking every opportunity to scuttle a foreign aid program which is intended, in no small part, to forestall future "Vietnams" in Asia and elsewhere in the world. It is probably too late now to repair the damage done to foreign aid this year. But there is still an opportunity for Congress to restore some degree of elementary logic in its approach to the underdeveloped world. It can do so by giving early and favorable consideration to yesterday's welcome proposal by President Johnson for a $200 million United States contribution to new Special Funds planned for the Asian Development Bank.

The ADB, to begin with, is a sensible institution, established at our urging, but with genuine Asian effort and initiative. Our share of the capital is a modest 20 per cent, the same as Japan's. Management is in Asian hands, where it belongs. The ADB is also a sound institution. Like the venerable and respected World Bank, its standards for projects promise to be high; its insistence on responsible self-help by recipients promises to be strict; its terms for loans from its regular $1 billion capital promise to be business-like.

But also like the World Bank, which has a more lenient-lending offshoot called the International Development Association, the ADB needs money for longer-term loans at lower interest rates to cover the needs of its members for projects such as roads and schools which do not yield a rapid return on investment. These are the needs which the Special Funds are designed to meet and the American contribution of $200 million, to be spread over four years, is a minority share of the total to be raised, as well as a relatively modest sum.

Senator Fulbright has promised early Senate hearings and passage this year is in order on several counts. For one, the ADB reflects not only a praiseworthy Asian initiative but an encouraging trend towards an Asian sense of regional responsibility, measurable in a wide range of mutual "self-help" measures taken recently by various groups of Asian nations in the fields of education, health, transportation, and economic development. Progress in harnessing Southeast Asia's Mekong River basin is a striking example.

The ADB and its Special Funds also mark a useful step towards "multilateralization" of foreign aid, which puts a premium on collective, cooperative undertakings rather than strictly bilateral assistance with all the political complications it entails. Significantly, in his message to Congress yesterday, the President cited the ADB Special Funds as "an example of multilateral assistance that we fervently hope will be followed increasingly in the years ahead in Asia and throughout the developing world."

Finally, as the President also observed: "Lasting peace in Asia requires much more than resistance to armed aggression. Peace will come to stay when despair gives way to hope, when insurrection gives way to peaceful opportunity . . ."

There is little logic in a policy of resisting aggression in one small Asian land at whatever cost while denying what is urgently needed to counter the despair and hunger and poverty which feed the fires of insurrection in nearly all the rest of Asia and in a very significant part of the rest of the world.

PREDICTING CHINA

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in our involvement in the Vietnam conflict, an important imponderable threatening us in every decision has been China.

The China watchers thus far have stood on the proposition that—

> China will not enter the war as long as American troops do not invade North Vietnam and no attempt is made to destroy the regime of Ho Chi Minh.

The administration has based its decision in Vietnam on this advice and on the Korean precedent.

In the Washington Post of September 9, an article by Chalmers M. Roberts, raises a disturbing point about this policy. The mounting chaos inside China may lead to irrational actions unpredictable in terms of established precedent. He concludes:

> In fact, the scene internally in China is beginning to nag at least some of the China watchers. If the chaos continues, they wonder, will the premises on which non-intervention has been built remain valid? The answer today, at least for some, is beginning to reach the "yes, but—" stage.

Mr. Speaker, I call this excellent article to the attention of the Members by inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

PREDICTING CHINA: KOREAN PRECEDENT

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

The other day a Washington-based China watcher in discussing the mounting chaos in the world's most populous nation commented that "it's decreasing my confidence in my ability to predict what they will do." He was referring to the possibility of a Chinese takeover of Hong Kong and to a Chinese intervention in the Vietnam war.

The China watchers, both here and in Hong Kong, have been all but unanimous that Peking's financial gains from Hong Kong precluded any attempt to take over the British crown colony. Likewise, they have stood on the proposition that China will not enter the war as long as American troops do not invade North Vietnam and no attempt is made to destroy the regime of Ho Chi Minh.

In both cases the China watchers have credited the Peking rulers with rationality. It is the seeming irrationality of what is now going on in China which is beinning to shake some of them, though the premise is still official doctrine.

President Johnson is operating on the advice of the China watchers and for that reason he has rejected any thought of a Korean war-type Inchon landing behind North Vietnamese lines to wipe out the threat to the Marines. Likewise he has opposed area bombing in Hanoi where Ho and the other leaders live.

In short, the rule is to do nothing that the Chinese could interpret as threatening their vital interests. It was the mistake of posing such a threat in Korea that led to intervention by Chinese "volunteers," the historians generally agree.

It is worth noting that when the Chinese crossed the Yalu into Korea in October, 1950, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs was a man named Dean Rusk. As Secretary of State, Rusk has been quoted as saying that "I was among those who thought they would not come in. I was wrong."

It was Rusk who received the secret dispatch in which the Indian Ambassador in Peking reported, via New Delhi, that the Chinese Army Chief of Staff had told him on Sept. 25 that China would not "sit back with folded hands and let the Americans come up to the (Sino-Korean) border."

There were other warnings, too, though some were not as easy to decipher. Yet the allied forces did drive North and the American Ambassador at the United Nations declared on Sept. 30 that "the artificial barrier which has divided North and South Korea has no basis for existence either in law or in reason."

In late August and again on Sept. 24 the Chinese protested that American planes had violated their border by flying across the Yalu to strafe and otherwise engage in "criminal action."

In the current Vietnamese war the Chinese again have complained of American "intrusions" and have captured at least two American crew members. But there is no sign of any private threat to intervene. Indeed, the bulk of the China watchers believe that the Peking regime has told the North Vietnamese they must win the war on their own according to the doctrine of "wars of national liberation."

Thus in the current war the United States has been careful to admit air intrusions into China, to try to explain them as accidental and on occasion to offer Peking words of apology.

Furthermore, in 1950 the Chinese engaged in a massive redeployment of troops from central China to Manchuria. This occurred during a period of at least a month while China was passing its warnings.

In the case of Vietnam today, American officials have discovered no sign of troop movements and there are far better intelligence devices available than was the case 17 years ago. Furthermore, there is no sign that North Vietnamese forces are being devastated the way the North Korean forces were being destroyed in the march to the Yalu.

Thus it is the Korean parallel, and the steps taken by President Johnson and Rusk to avoid a repetition of the Korean errors, that provides the basis of confidence in Washington that China will not enter the war.

Rusk yesterday referred to the efforts "to move with prudence" but he also said that he could offer no "gold-plated guarantees" of nonintervention. In fact, the scene internally in China is beginning to nag at least some of the China watchers. If the chaos continues, they wonder, will the premises on which nonintervention has been built remain valid? The answer today, at least for some, is beginning to reach the "yes, but—" stage.

NEWARK BAY

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the United States Lines is negotiating with the Port of New York Authority to acquire between one and four berths at the Elizabethport marine terminal in order to move all containership operations from the New York side of the port to the Elizabeth, N.J., facilities.

This anticipated move by United States Lines involves millions of dollars, thousands of jobs, and, of most immediate concern to me, an increase in cargo traffic through the Newark Bay. This move points up once again the critical need for improvements and widening of the 3-mile stretch of the Newark Bay Channel between the Kill van Kull and the entrance channel to Port Newark.

This channel presently ranges from 400 to 550 feet in width. Because of the danger this narrow width poses to navigation, a widening to 700 feet was authorized by Congress and the President. This authorization was contained in the 1966 Rivers and Harbors Act. This authorization of the project, as recommended by the U.S. Army Engineers, was accomplished in record time because of the recognition of and concern for Newark Bay navigational dangers.

The imperative nature of this improvement prompted me to offer an amendment to this year's public works appropriation bill asking for $1 million to begin work on the Newark Bay project. Regrettably, the 1968 bill passed the House without funds for Newark Bay.

In the next few moments I would like to outline the existing hazards in Newark Bay and the reasons why it is imperative that we provide at least $3 million for improvements in the future.

In addition to the narrow channel, there are two other hazards which contribute to the dangerous navigational situation. The first is the Central Railroad of New Jersey bridge which crosses the channel and provides two drawspans for vessels, 216 and 134 feet wide respectively. The second obstruction is so-called Bergen Point, a relatively blind, rock-strewn, sharp turn from the Kill van Kull into Newark Bay. It was near Bergen Point that the *Alva Cape-Texaco Massachusetts* disaster of June 1966 happened which resulted in 33 lives lost and millions of dollars in damage. Both of these restrictions intensify the problems associated with the narrow channel.

Not only are ship accidents on Newark Bay increasing, but they exceed the rate of accidents in other parts of the harbor. For the 13-year period 1950 to 1963, an annual average of three accidents occurred in Newark Bay. For the 1964–66 period, the average doubled to six per year. Furthermore, in 1964, on the lower Hudson River and Upper New York Bay, the port's prime artery of marine traffic, there was one accident per 11,000 movements; on Newark Bay in 1964 there was one accident for every 3,700 ship movements or three times as severe as the Hudson River-Upper New York Bay rate.

A major reason for this increase in accidents is that, while the width of the channel of Newark Bay has remained unchanged, traffic in the channel has grown by 80 percent in 11 years, from 25,800 vessel movements in 1954 to 45,200 in 1965, the latest figures available. The congestion caused by such a tremendous movement of ships, including awkward tows, imposes severe maneuvering restraints on large and cumbersome ocean vessels navigating these confined waters.

The following typical situation points up the gravity of the problem. On June 20, 1967, a 102-foot-wide tanker accompanied by tugs moved up the Newark Bay channel. Coming the other way would be one of the six, 905-foot-long, 103-foot-wide Sea-Land Service container ships being planned for construction. The width of the channel is 400 feet. When this container ship—about as large as the liner SS *United States* which operates in a 2,000-foot-wide channel in the Hudson River—meets the tanker, the two ships with their tugboats take up 305 feet of the 400-foot-wide channel. This leaves only 95 feet to spare. Actually, by applying the Army Engineers' own traditional methods for calculating channel widths, the situation requires a channel that is 885 feet wide.

The impact of this navigational nightmare being faced by ships using Newark Bay was recently summed up by Capt. William A. Mitchell, president of the Sandy Hook Pilots Benevolent Association, in testifying before the House Public Works Committee:

> Newark Bay is an area . . . where the narrow channel dimensions are so restricted that in many instances even the most capable pilots find navigation difficult. They are fearful also that they will find themselves in the midst of a holocaust such as the recent one caused by the collision (Alva Cape) . . .
>
> With the advent of larger ships, piloting in the Newark Bay area might now be compared to running a cabin cruiser through a drainage ditch. Although the problem is severe, it becomes multiplied when two vessels meet in a passing situation.

According to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, marine traffic will continue to grow on Newark Bay in the years ahead. In 1953, less than 1 million short tons of oceanborne cargo moved to and from points on Newark Bay. By 1965, this had grown to 10.5 million tons, with an additional 1.4 million tons destined for or originating along the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers. The Army Engineers predict that in 1975, over 16 million tons will move to and from the Elizabethport-Port Newark marine terminals. Of this volume, it is predicted, as much as 12 million will move by containerships. In addition, in 1975, more than 9 million tons of oil will be shipped by ocean tanker to the head of Newark Bay. And finally, there will continue to be voluminous movements of petroleum, sand, gravel, and rock, which are shipped via coastal steamers, barges, and tugs through Newark Bay and into the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers to serve the vital industrial-commercial complex of northern New Jersey.

It is of equal significance that in fiscal year 1967, the Port Newark and Elizabeth marine terminals handled about 281,000 measurement tons of Defense Department cargo, the vast majority of which moved in containers. Virtually all of this cargo moved out of Elizabethport.

Mr. Speaker, the move of United States Lines cargo operations to Elizabethport is a very clear indication of what is in store for Newark Bay in the future.

I might mention here that the fastest growing mode of ocean transportation on Newark Bay and throughout the waterways of the world will continue to be the movement of containerized cargo. The United States Lines operation will bring to 35 the number of American and foreign flag lines whose containership operations are based at the Port Newark and Elizabethport marine terminals. This section of the New York port has truly become the container capital of the world.

By 1975, the Port Newark-Elizabeth marine terminals will represent an investment of $300 million, and will have 22 of its 65 ship berths devoted to containerships. Since these containerships are generally larger than regular cargo ships, the impact on future traffic of the increased use of containerships on Newark Bay will be greater.

The navigational problems on Newark Bay can be summarized briefly as involving a channel that is too narrow to accommodate safely the growing numbers and sizes of ships using it. The cargoes moving in these ships represent a significant portion of the Nation's foreign and domestic trade.

While the actual numbers of vessels using the channel do cause congestion, and in particular, maneuvering difficulties among ocean vessels, the principal contributor to the problem is vessel size, and more specifically, vessel length and width. Even in the absence of vessel congestion, an encounter between a supercontainership and a supertanker, as illustrated earlier, is a prime ingredient for a disaster of the proportions of the *Alva Cape-Texaco Massachusetts.*

Mr. Speaker, I met with Budget Bureau Director Schultze last week and presented these same facts to him. I am hopeful that at least $3 million can be included in the coming budget to begin this urgently needed project.

The move by United States Lines to Elizabeth is only an indication of the future prosperity of Port Newark, Elizabethport, and the other smaller ports on Newark Bay. But, Mr. Speaker, this future prosperity is closely tied to Newark Bay and navigability. By withholding these critical funds now, we are putting the futures of a great many people and industries in peril.

I am hopeful that the merits of this project will not be overlooked again.

MSGR. MICHAEL MULLIGAN

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Gallagher] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Bayonne, N.J., is saddened today as one of its most distinguished citizens has found his final rest. Msgr. Michael Mulligan, who was intimately connected with St. Henry's Church in Bayonne for many years, was buried yesterday, mourned by people of every religion for his understanding of his fellow man and their problems.

The life of Bayonne was improved, both in quality and in depth, by Monsignor Mulligan's time among us and we will all miss his wise counsel and enlightened influence. His life spanned many changes, not only in his church but in his country and his community, and he gave courage and faith to all who knew him to meet these complex changes in these trying times.

I would like to place in the Record at this point an editorial from the Bayonne Times of September 27, which reflects the feeling of affection that all members of the community had for this beloved man of God:

Monsignor Mulligan

> Msgr. Michael Mulligan, like St. Henry's Church, was towering, impressive, formed in the traditional mold and a symbol of the endurance of the eternal values.
>
> Although his name was synonomous with St. Henry's, his contributions were community wide. His founding of the Bayonne Visiting Nurses Association in 1921 was an act of responsible citizenship which has reaped countless benefits for thousands of Bayonne people.
>
> His sponsorship of sororities for young Catholic women of the city gave hundreds of girls a unique opportunity to broaden their social and cultural experience close to home. St. Henry's Catholic Center which he built on West 30th Street included a dance floor, modern kitchen facilities, meeting rooms and, most of all, a wholesome environment.
>
> The New Jersey Opera Guild which Msgr. Mulligan sponsored was an outstanding vehicle for young performers from the entire city and a source of enjoyment for thousands who heard the group perform. It was an activity which has never really been replaced in this city.
>
> The esteem with which Msgr. Mulligan was held in the educational community was shown in 1950 when Seton Hall College conferred an honorary degree of doctor of laws upon him.
>
> A loyal son of his church, his country and his city, Msgr. Mulligan will probably be best remembered as a man who strove to raise the cultural horizons of his fellow citizens and had notable success.

PROBLEMS OF MENTAL RETARDATION

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Adams] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, there are about 6 million Americans with severe handicaps for whom—and for whose families—our national assistance has been great, and yet far too little.

The 6 million Americans are the Nation's mentally retarded. They are as many as the combined populations of Maine, Oregon, Mississippi, North Dakota, and Wyoming. They are as many people as live in Los Angeles and Chicago combined. Life for them has taken on new promise since Congress passed major legislation in their behalf almost 4 years ago. Over $400 million each year is now appropriated for Federal programs benefitting the retarded. This achievement however, is only a beginning.

The President's Committee on Mental Retardation, established by President Johnson in 1966, recently issued its first report which outlines what we have accomplished on behalf of the mentally retarded and what still needs to be done. The Committee report lists several problems still facing us. Among these are:

The cause of three in every four cases of mental retardation remains unknown. And it is estimated that some 2,100 children who are or will become mentally retarded will be born every week in 1968. We must do more to reduce or prevent the disabilities associated with mental retardation.

Acute shortages of professional specialists—teachers, therapists, physicians, social workers, and nurses—still exist. The 81,000 full-time staff now working in public facilities for the mentally retarded must be almost doubled to reach minimum adequacy.

Three-quarters of the Nation's 201,000 institutionalized mentally retarded live in buildings 50 years old or more. The basic responsibility for providing satisfactory residential care has traditionally rested with the States. Few States, however, are financially able to provide the funds necessary to provide both for adequate capital improvements, and the ongoing costs of program maintenance.

An estimated 2 million retarded persons capable of learning to support themselves need job training and placement services. Even at minimum wage, these individuals have a potential annual earning capacity of $6 billion.

Mental retardation services must be made available to more of the Nation's people living in low-income, disadvantaged neighborhoods, both urban and rural.

Half of the Nation's 25,000 school districts offer no classes for the pupils having special learning problems and needs.

In his February 8 message to Congress on children and youth, President Johnson recommended a further commitment of funds to carry on our fight against mental retardation. The Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967 embody these recommendations and deserve our full support.

I commend the President's Committee report to the attention of my colleagues. If we are to solve the problems of mental retardation, we must continue to enlarge upon our commitment we undertook in 1963. Only then will we make it possible for a much larger number of the retarded to live with some degree of decency and normalcy in our society.

POVERTY WARRIORS HELP FLOOD VICTIMS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride I ask unanimous consent to address the House to relate what the war on poverty warriors of San Antonio have done to help in a crisis.

The Job Corps Center at Camp Gary was asked by the Salvation Army to determine whether any corpsmen would volunteer for relief work. The corps center then asked for and got volunteers who were used in various relief operations. I can get full details tomorrow morning on numbers involved, what they did, and so forth.

SANYO headquarters were used as a center for collecting and distributing civil defense supplies—bedding, blankets, food, and water—to refugee shelters. About 2,500 units of bedding were furnished. San Fernando Center held a total of 84 refugees in shelter. All SANYO buses were used for the transportation of people from the shelters to feeding points, and back, and to transport supplies. All SANYO centers were used as collection points for food and clothing gathered in a weekend clothing drive by SANYO staff and enrollees. This material was then turned over to relief organizations.

POVERTY WARRIORS HELP FLOOD VICTIMS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the Economic Opportunities Development Corp., local coordinating unit for war on poverty programs, on Monday added school classes for children of refugees from Hurricane Beulah to services it has been volunteering for evacuees since they began arriving in San Antonio last Wednesday.

Pepe Lucero, EODC executive director, said seven teachers began classes in the basement of the municipal auditorium Wednesday afternoon. Five are from Headstart day care centers operated by the YWCA and Alamo Methodist Greater Parish as delegate agencies of EODC, and two are from the Inter-American Educational Center, Tower Life Building, which is cooperating in the temporary teaching project.

Classes will be continued as long as evacuees remain at the municipal auditorium.

Saturday, EODC provided tours of Witte Museum, the San Antonio Zoo, San Antonio International Airport, and the Alamo for 257 evacuees. Buses for the tours were loaned by St. John's Seminary and Mount Sacred Heart, St. Ann's, and Christ the King schools.

At the same time, 250 enrollees in the San Antonio Neighborhood Youth Organization, another EODC delegate agency, were conducting a food and clothing drive for refugees at 30 SANYO centers on the south and west sides. Several truckloads of food and clothing were turned in to the Salvation Army.

SANYO headquarters at 1000 West Harriman Place was used as a distribution center for 3,000 cots and mattresses and 3,000 quilts.

Last Thursday, EODC released 60 recruiters in its new concentrated employment program to aid Beulah refugees and opened the CEP intake center at 330 North Laredo Street as a refugee shelter.

Fred Baldwin, Southwest regional director for the Office of Economic Opportunity, wired war on poverty agencies in San Antonio, Edinburg, Corpus Christi, Falfurrias, and Uvalde on Wednesday urging them to mobilize their resources to aid Beulah victims.

A PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY OF UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER AREAS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, Hurricane Beulah and its aftermath of rains and high winds have caused death and destruction along vast stretches of the border between the United States and Mexico. No one knows how great the losses are, and it will be impossible to calculate the damage for months to come, but it is plain that the hurricane has caused the greatest losses ever sustained by the affected area from any cause. There is not only loss of life, but there is loss of ways to sustain life. The suffering and loss left by this hurricane knows no international boundaries—vast areas of Mexico as well as the United States lie inundated.

This is a disaster of international proportions and it demands international efforts to restore and revitalize the affected areas. If disaster is common to both the United States and Mexico, so too must reconstruction be common to both countries.

I am glad to report to the House that during the height of the storm, rescue efforts were an international work. Thousands of residents and citizens of Mexico found shelter in the United States. I feel certain that citizens of both countries owe their lives to the efforts of citizens of the other.

When life itself is in danger there can be no border, and there was none during the storm. But the saving of life is only the beginning of efforts essential to assuage the suffering caused by Hurricane Beulah, and restore the losses resulting from it.

Just as the rescue operations knew no nationality, so must reconstruction efforts be common to all citizens of the affected areas. I believe that this disaster offers opportunity for a new kind of international cooperation and mutual help. If this opportunity is grasped, the border between the United States and Mexico will be a new kind of border, and the citizens of both our country and Mexico will know a new era of economic strength and prosperity. I believe that the means are available to achieve this; we need only the direction and will to do so.

I have a plan which I believe will enable the Governments of the United States and Mexico to build not only a new border, but a new feeling of mutual confidence and trust between the people of the United States and Mexico.

I think that you, Mr. Speaker, and most of my colleagues are aware that President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz are interested in building a new kind of border between the United States and Mexico. Some months ago, the Governments of these countries created a Commission for the express purpose of finding ways and means of improving the border. I believe that this Commission, the Joint United States-Mexico Border Development Commission, can now be used to reconstruct and rehabilitate the border areas damaged by the hurricane. This Commission is already in being and in business, and it can be used to carry out the plan I have in mind.

The immediate need in a disaster is to save life, and this has already been done. After that, refugees must be given shelter, food, and medical care and such other essentials as may be required. But this is only the beginning of work that must be done in a disaster area, and this has been done in this case.

I propose that the President of the United States suggest to the President of Mexico that the Joint United States-Mexico Border Development Commission be assigned the task of rebuilding the border areas which now lie in ruin and disaster as a result of Hurricane Beulah. This would be a task of mutual help and mutual work, a common effort to meet the needs created by a common disaster.

I believe that the President of the United States could initiate this international effort by suggesting to the President of Mexico and the Joint United States-Mexico Border Development Commission be assigned the reconstruction task; I have so suggested to President Johnson.

I believe that the Commission could handle short-term and long-range needs created by the hurricane. First, the Commission should be empowered to coordinate efforts on both sides of the border to provide temporary housing for those left homeless by the hurricane and the flooding which followed it. Possibly the Commission could select sites for shelter areas both in the United States and Mexico, and coordinate the supplying of military and civil defense material for housing, power supply, food, medical supply and even transportation to and from the shelter area to areas under rehabilitation. The Commission could coordinate the supply of equipment and manpower needed to operate the shelter areas, and to provide police protection and other essential services to the disaster area.

Aside from meeting immediate and critical needs, the Border Development Commission could coordinate efforts to restore essential services to towns and cities affected by the storm. Massive sanitation efforts must be taken on both sides of the border, for example, to restore water supplies and to restore sewer lines. Gas and power lines must be repaired, since both are sources of great danger when they are broken. Police services must be restored, and this will probably require military manpower, since the police problem is greatly compounded whenever there is disaster.

The Joint Commission could see to all these needs and more. By coordination of efforts, I believe that these needs can be met more quickly and effectively than they could be otherwise.

Once the immediate needs are taken care of, there will still remain the problem of rebuilding. Again, this can best be coordinated by the Joint Commission, and again, the job must be done both in the United States and in Mexico.

I believe that the Joint Border Development Commission should be assigned the task of surveying and assessing damage on both sides of the border, and recommending a program of recovery and reconstruction. Such a program might include the building of jointly planned and owned bridges, water supply systems, sewage disposal systems, and other public services. Presently, services are generally of a dual nature along the border; there is no reason why this uneconomic and inefficient situation cannot be corrected during the reconstruction of damaged areas. There could even be jointly built and owned power facilities and communication systems. In short, the Commission could for the first time explore ways and means of providing the most efficient services possible for all residents of the border area.

Finally, the Commission could coordinate the actual execution of the plans it recommends. This would include the arranging of financing, procurement of material, execution of contracts, and all other aspects requiring a central administration.

Certainly the rebuilding of the border area will be a costly undertaking. I believe that this is no obstacle. Capital can be provided through a new international bank, which would work with the Joint United States-Mexico Border Development Commission to provide necessary loans and grants for capital projects. This Bank would be called the Bank for Recovery and Reconstruction and would operate for the purpose of providing both short- and long-term capital which would be required to carry out plans recommended by the Border Development Commission.

I believe that the plan I have outlined will enable a prompt and full recovery from the effects of the hurricane. I believe that such a plan would open the way to greater strength and prosperity of both the United States and Mexico, and would show the way to better understanding not just in this country, but everywhere else a similar kind of program might be initiated.

NEW JOBS ACT OF 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced H.R. 13196, the New Jobs Act of 1967. The disturbances that have shaken American cities in recent weeks make clear the need for legislation such as this. Every Member of Congress is more acutely aware than ever before of the dangers of unemployment and the necessity of providing new job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed Americans. Our best way of combatting poverty, it has been generally agreed, is finding jobs.

My bill calls for four major job-creating programs. Three are included in the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, which are now being debated in the Senate. These are work and training programs, a special impact program, and the Emergency Employment Act of 1967. My principal reason for introducing these three Senate measures, plus an extra increase for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, is to focus the attention of the House on them. I urge Senate passage and early House action.

The fourth major program in the bill is the Payroll Supplement Act of 1967, which is designed to make economically possible the employment of workers unable to meet the standards of the existing labor market. Private enterprise, with Government assistance, would help develop new jobs for persons who do not now have marketable skills—those with severe employment problems and handicaps, for example.

My estimate, Mr. Speaker, is that the payroll supplement program alone could open up more than 500,000 job opportunities, while the other three programs in the bill could provide part-time or full-time jobs for more than a million youths and adults. One of the most important features of this bill is the involvement of all levels and sectors of our society. Federal, State and local governments would work side by side in fighting poverty by creating jobs. Joining in the effort from the private sector would be nonprofit corporations and private industries. Poverty in the United States will never be eliminated until jobs are found for every American who wants to work. The resources are there. To be used effectively, they must be harnessed into a massive, concerted campaign.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members, I ask that the following excerpts from the report of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare—sections of the report pertaining to the three programs to which I have referred—be reprinted in the RECORD:

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WORK AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

The committee has concluded that a more effective, total manpower system is needed in the United States, one which would provide for a coordinated approach at all levels—Federal, State, and local. To achieve this objective completely goes far beyond the scope of the Economic Opportunity Act and cannot be accomplished at this time. However, to the extent that manpower programs are authorized by this act, the committee bill takes a first step toward building a better manpower system.

1. Purpose

The bill consolidates the manpower activities carried out at the community level under the Economic Opportunity Act into part B of title I. The focus is upon unemployed or low-income persons, both youths and adults, with emphasis upon local initiative and upon effectively utilizing all available public and private resources (sec. 120). The act assigns responsibility to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, but it is expected that he will delegate operating responsibility to the Secretary of Labor, using a delegation order which promotes maximum coordination with other parts of the poverty program.

2. Prime sponsor

Two major mechanisms are used to achieve coordination. First, drawing on the experience of the concentrated employment program funds will be channeled to the communities through a prime sponsor, which will be the community action agency unless the Director determines that an alternative sponsor, such as a municipal manpower department, is likely to have greater capability. The prime sponsor must provide for participation of employers, labor organizations, and residents of the areas and members of the groups served (sec. 122).

3. Comprehensive program

Second, the prime sponsor is required to develop and implement a comprehensive work and training program which provides participants a wide range of choices and an unbroken sequence of services which will enable them to obtain and hold employment. This would consist of a systematic approach, linking together programs financed under the Economic Opportunity Act, other Federal programs, and private efforts (sec. 121 (c)). It is expected that commonsense will be used to implement this requirement so that action programs are not delayed while a "plan" is being made, but at the same time a planning and implementation process should be instituted which leads to an effective community manpower system. To assure that this happens, the comprehensive work and training program required by this act should be interconnected to the comprehensive area manpower planning system (CAMPS) recently instituted, which utilizes the MDTA program as the point of departure. The goal should be a single community manpower system for the poor with considerable local flexibility on how this should be brought about.

4. Delegate agencies

It is intended that the prime sponsor concentrate its main efforts on planning and coordination and not operate all the community programs, although it may conduct some activities if appropriate. But extensive use should be made of delegate agencies, including both the established agencies, such as those which receive funds under other Federal programs, and also new neighborhood-based organizations formed by residents of the areas served (sec. 122(d)). If necessary to enhance program effectiveness or acceptance on the part of persons served, the director may provide funds directly to independent agencies rather than going through the prime sponsors (sec. 123(c)), but this authority should be used in such a way as not to undermine the systematic approach. For example, this might be done with the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps in certain communities, but the authority for independent financing should not be used in such a manner that it undermines a community's comprehensive approach.

5. Eligible activities

Authority for all the existing programs is continued, including the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Nelson amendment, Scheuer amendment, and the concentrated employment program, along with necessary supportive services and administrative staff (sec. 123(a)). The upper age limit is removed from work and training programs of the type conducted by the out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps, recognizing that some adults could benefit from such activity, and sufficient basic education and institutional or on-the-job training is required in order to remedy the training shortcomings of the present program (sec. 123 (a)(2)). Lack of employment opportunity is added to the possible criteria for eligibility in the Nelson amendment program (sec. 123(a)(3)), and while it is hoped that participants can be placed in competitive employment as soon as possible, they should not be pushed out if there are no jobs available. The Scheuer amendment is further elaborated to stress the need to create new careers with job ladder opportunities (sec. 123(a)(4)). The concentrated employment program is given legislative authorization (sec. 123(a)(5)), and it could be carried out in urban areas with concentrations of low-income unemployed persons and in rural areas with high proportions of such persons. It is also intended that communities may exercise local initiative to develop other component programs consistent with the purposes of this part.

The committee bill permits financial assistance for recruitment, counseling, and placement services, which may be conducted by public or private organizations (sec. 123 (b)(7)). Preference, however, should be given to the U.S. Employment Service where appropriate. In any case, all such activities funded under this act must complement, and not duplicate, the work of the Employment Service, which in turn should be encouraged to outstation personnel in neighborhood centers and mobile units which serve the poor, using its own resources as far as possible but as necessary supplemented by funds from this act.

A new eligible activity is the provision of incentives to private employers other than nonprofit organizations to hire and train unemployed or low-income persons (sec. 123 (a)(8)). The committee feels, based on reports which it has received, that in many cases the incentives and reimbursements to private employers under existing programs are inadequate to induce such employers to hire and train on-the-job unemployed and severely disadvantaged individuals. A variety of such new incentives should be made available to induce the private sector to take a greater role in the employment and training of such persons. These incentives might take the form of reimbursements to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive. However, wages shall be paid only by the employer and must be not less than the Federal minimum wage. Payments may be made to employers for on-the-job counseling and other supportive services, and for recruitment in areas with high concentrations or proportions of unemployed or low-income persons. Employers may also be given financial assistance to enable them to provide transportation assistance to employees, particularly when the low-income areas are a considerable distance from the place of employment. The committee increased the requested authorization for title I part B by $10 million to assure funds for this special incentive program and feels that at least $15 million should be allocated for these purposes in fiscal year 1968.

The committee expects that appropriate regulations will be issued to safeguard against abuses of any of these incentive programs, including but not limited to safeguards against the use of such incentives by any employer in order to transfer any enterprise from one area to another and safeguards designed to prevent the incentives from being used as a subsidy for normal operations. The incentive program should, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the occupational development and upward mobility of individual participants.

6. Funding consolidation

Previously existing community activities financed by this part are required to be consolidated into the comprehensive work and training program by July 1, 1968, and funds must be channeled through the prime sponsor after that date (sec. 123(b)). The Director, however, may give an extension of time for good cause, as for example in some rural communities which may not have yet developed an adequate administrative structure to serve as prime sponsor. However, the process of funding consolidation should not be allowed to disrupt program operations, and generally the present program operators should continue as delegate agencies. Where conflicts are unresolved between the designated prime sponsor and the present operations, the Director has the option of independent funding (sec. 123(c)) until the community manpower system is more fully developed; this might be the case in some rural areas with "green thumb" programs which are activities that should, at least initially, continue under direct funding. To the maximum extent feasible, the work and training components of the title V, work experience and training program, should be made part of the community's comprehensive work and training program. Where appropriate, funds for such components should be channeled through the prime sponsor although it is recognized that this will not always be practicable, such as where the work experience and training program operates on a statewide basis.

7. Participants

Program participants in programs authorized under part B must be unemployed or low-income persons and permanent residents of the United States (sec. 125). The definition of "low income" should be the same for this part and title II, with the Director consulting with the Social Security Administrator. Special attention would be given to providing employment opportunities to persons 55 years and older, for this group of the poor has been served inadequately in the past (sec. 126).

8. Special conditions

The bill retains the special conditions of existing law which preclude employment on projects involving political parties or facilities for use for sectarian or religious worship, and which provide protection for employed workers and existing contracts of service. Program activities related to physical improvement must give preference to those which benefit low-income persons (sec. 124).

9. Pilot projects, technical assistance and training

The committee bill establishes a program of pilot projects designed to develop new approaches and requires that one focus of such projects be the encouragement of maximum participation of private, profitmaking employers (sec. 127). Provision is also made for technical assistance and training (sec. 128). The States are given a role for technical assistance, coordination of related State activities, operation of work and training programs in communities without an acceptable prime sponsor, and provision of work and training opportunities on State projects and in State agencies (sec. 129).

10. Fund allocation

Up to 20 percent of the funds authorized for this title may be reserved for the concentrated employment program and allocated in a manner that does not permit more than 12½ percent to go to any one State. The other funds for comprehensive work and training programs must be allocated so as to meet the criteria which apply to the Neighborhood Youth Corps in existing law, that is, to take into account rates of population, unemployment, and family income levels (sec. 130). The maximum Federal share is 90 percent for these basic activities, and a community may pool its matching contributions with those required in title II for the community action program (sec. 131).

11. Evaluation

The bill requires the development and implementation of a program data system and an evaluation program so that the results of these programs can be carefully measured and compared with other Federal manpower programs (sec. 132). The committee expects OEO and the Labor Department to begin the publication of comparative results within 1 year.

VI. SPECIAL IMPACT PROGRAM

A. FINDINGS

The special impact program was added as part D of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1966. The purpose was to establish special programs in communities and neighborhoods with especially large concentrations of low-income persons. The committee's intent was that the number of communities selected should be limited so that sufficient resources could be available to have a significant impact in those selected. The authority of the amendment was broad enough to permit economic and community development as well as manpower training activities.

Responsibility for the special impact program was delegated by the Director of OEO to the Secretary of Labor, who assigned the program to the Manpower Administration. The Labor Department used the funds in two ways: $17.4 million was allocated to the concentrated employment program, which was discussed previously, and the remaining $6.9 million was granted for a program in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of New York City for an effort more in line with the committee's original intentions. For this latter program, the Labor Department signed a 2-year contract with two nonprofit corporations to conduct components related to (1) industrial development, (2) community facility development, (3) community rehabilitation planning, (4) community home improvement, and (5) related manpower services. This effort has just commenced.

B. LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee bill authorizes the continuation and expansion of the special impact program, contained in title I, part D. Although the committee had intended that the funds provided for this program be concentrated primarily on economic and community development and manpower training, the Labor Department, to whom the program was delegated, used a substantial part of the funds for the concentrated employment program. Economic development activities, in particular, were deemphasized. Since the concentrated employment program is given a separate authorization (sec. 123(a)(5)), the special impact funds this year should be used as the committee originally intended.

1. Purpose

The purpose of the program is to commit enough resources to selected urban and rural areas with large concentrations and high proportions of low-income persons in order to have an appreciable impact. Thus, the number of areas selected should be restricted in number so that each will have sufficient funds to achieve the intended results (sec. 150). The program has been amended to authorize assistance to rural areas, with an emphasis upon those rural areas having substantial outmigration to urban areas served. In this manner, the committee has recognized that the solution of problems of unemployment in urban ghettos requires a concurrent attack on rural unemployment which is stimulating heavy population migration to the city slums.

2. Financial assistance

The bill authorizes financial assistance for both public and private organizations, including private profitmaking organizations as appropriate (sec. 151). Such assistance may be provided either through grant or contract.

3. Eligible activities

Among the eligible activities are the following: (1) economic and business development programs, which may include provisions of (a) financial and other incentives to businesses to locate in or near the areas served and (b) technical and management assistance to small businesses in the area or owned by area residents; (2) community development activities, particularly those which create new training and employment opportunities and which contribute to an improved living environment in the program area; and (3) manpower training programs which support and complement the economic and community development programs (sec. 151). A wide variety of economic development and small business assistance activities are intended to be authorized by this section, including preparation of economic development plans, conduct of economic and market research, the furnishing of loans, loan guarantees, insurance, and other economic incentives, and the furnishing of technical assistance. Since the Economic Development Administration has substantially greater expertise and experience in these areas than does either the Office of Economic Opportunity or the Department of Labor, the committee expects that it will play a major roll in the economic development and small business assistance aspects of the special impact program. Every effort should be made by the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce to develop joint application and funding procedures covering both the manpower training and economic development aspects of any special impact project, including the use of authority made available under section 612.

The committee expects that the Secretary of Commerce will use such funds provided pursuant to section 151 as may be necessary to add personnel needed by his Department to implement this economic development and small business assistance program.

4. Coordination

The special impact program should be very closely linked to related activities, including other programs of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the model cities program, and other community development programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (sec. 152(a)(4)). The committee has carefully studied these other programs and has concluded that none of them is able to achieve what is intended in the special impact program. The economic development program, which the Commerce Department administers, is not permitted to focus on a limited community within a large city, as this program intends, nor does it have sufficient program breadth to deal with many of the interrelated and underlying economic causes of poverty in urban slums. Nonetheless, many of these other programs have contributions to make and should be mobilized in a total approach. To promote this objective, the bill (a) requires the Secretary of HUD to take necessary steps to assure that urban renewal land is available for business location and expansion, (b) makes the special impact project areas "redevelopment areas" within the meaning of the Public Works and Economic Development Act, and (c) encourages the use of Federal contracts, subcontracts, and deposits to promote the economic development of the project areas (sec. 153).

5. Business participation

Participation of local businessmen from the poverty area involved, as well as business leaders from the city as a whole, and the State in the case of rural programs, is an essential part of the special impact program. They should be involved, for example, on boards of directors of agencies implementing the program, on advisory councils, and in other ways.

6. Community participation

Experience of the first year's operation demonstrates that successful program operation, including active participation by business, requires and depends on the utmost cooperation of community residents. That cooperation, in the view of the committee, will best be achieved through effective and substantial participation of the residents in program decisions, responsibility, and benefits. Community and community-based corporations, which have demonstrated their potential utility as vehicles for such participation, should be encouraged by the Department of Labor to undertake sponsorship of programs under this part.

XIV. EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A. FINDINGS

In the hearings held by the committee throughout the length and breadth of the continental United States, a clear consensus emerged that jobs are the single most important way to combat poverty.

Erwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief of the Christian Science Monitor and chairman of the Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, told the committee, "Expert after expert, when consulted by the task force, has emphasized that income and place in the social and economic scheme can best be restored by providing the employable poor with training and job opportunities. These have the effect of bringing them into the mainstream of the economy, rather than merely paying them to remain outside."

Andrew Biemiller, director of legislation, AFL–CIO, recommended: "As a major aspect of the war on want we urge the inauguration of federally supported job-creating programs that would put the hard core unemployed to work providing needed public facilities and services."

Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader and executive secretary of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, stated, "The great majority of the people who are poor, I am convinced, want work, but that work won't be found until we are prepared to establish a full and fair employment economy. We need public services, which is one means of creating full employment."

John Reading, mayor of Oakland, Calif., reported, "When visiting the neighborhood center, I find that most of all, the people want jobs. I feel very strongly, and the ones around me feel very strongly, that if we can provide jobs that we in turn then, over a period of time, will to a great extent solve the rest of the social evils that apply to a poor city."

These leaders reflect the views of the American people. In a public opinion poll taken August 14, 1967, to determine what the people believe would be an effective way to deal with the urban crisis, Louis H. Harris & Associates, Inc., found that 69 percent of the public favor setting up large-scale Federal work projects to give jobs to the unemployed.

The conclusion that jobs are the central need of the poor is well founded in statistics. In 1966 when the U.S. employment rate averaged 3.8 percent, the rate for the disadvantaged was much higher; for all Negroes, 7.3 percent; for all 16- to 19-year-old youths, 12.7 percent but for Negro youth, about 25 percent. The unemployment rate for those with 8 years or less of education tends to run twice the national average for all workers.

A survey of 10 urban slum areas conducted by the Labor Department in November 1966 found 1 out of 10 workers unemployed. Yet these figures do not tell the true story, for they do not reveal the extent of hidden unemployment. To get the whole picture it is necessary also to consider those with part-time jobs who want full-time work, those earning too little to meet their families' minimum subsistence needs, and those who could work but are not looking because they are discouraged at the prospects. Adding these to the traditional unemployment rate yields what the Labor Department calls the "subemployment" rate. In the 10 slum areas, this rate was 34 percent, or three times the usually reported unemployment rate for those areas.

In magnitude, the number unemployed and looking for work in the United States has averaged nearly 3 million during the first half of 1967. To reduce unemployment to a rate of 3 percent, which used to be the Federal goal, would take 600,000 new jobs. To take care of underemployment and hidden unemployment might take twice that number, and perhaps more.

Nonetheless, projecting the findings from the 10 slum areas to the Nation as a whole, the Labor Department concluded that, as bad as the problem is, it is of manageable proportions. Given more resources, the high rate of unemployment could be drastically reduced in a reasonable period of time. The committee is convinced that this would be true even with the addition of rural areas with severe unemployment, although the types of programs would vary some between urban and rural areas.

While a major part of the problem is the lack of job qualifications of the unemployed, no amount of training will solve the total problem unless the jobs are there. Conversely, if jobs are certain, training can be accelerated. As evidence, recall the illiterates who became production workers with only a few months on-the-job training during World War II.

The committee's amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, particularly to part B of title I, have expanded and strengthened the training programs for the disadvantaged. But this is not enough. The extent of unemployment in our inner city areas and in certain rural areas severely affected by technological change is such that a crisis exists. Emergency measures must be taken immediately. Federal funds should be invested now in creating jobs for the unemployed.

This reiterates what the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty recommended in 1964: "Federal, State, and local governments should undertake a joint program to directly employ the hard-core unemployed in poverty-stricken areas, both rural and urban, in an attack on the deficiencies of their own environments. Financial support should be provided by the Federal Government. Local governments and private groups should provide the proposals, planning, and administration."

Since then, three Federal commissions appointed by the President have affirmed this recommendation. In February 1966, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress recommended a 5-year program of public service employment with a sum of $2 billion for the first year. In June 1966, the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" urged the development of "government-financed employment programs on public works and services to guarantee the availability of jobs to able workers who cannot be placed in, or promptly, trained for, regular employment." In July 1967, the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber proposed that Federal funds be granted to State and local governments and certain types of nonprofit institutions which would serve as "the residual employer" in rural areas with high unemployment until economic development programs can take hold.

Each of these bodies has identified public service employment as an especially fruitful source of additional, socially useful jobs. The "Automation" Commission, for example, estimated that at least 5.3 million such jobs could be filled: 1.2 million in medical institutions and health services, 1.1 million in educational institutions, 1.3 million in national beautification, 700,000 in welfare and home care, 350,000 in public protection, and 650,000 in urban renewal and sanitation. In a study conducted for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Greenleigh Associates, Inc. calculated that it would be practicable to fill more than 400,000 such jobs during the first year of a new employment program.

The evidence is strong and consistent. Jobs are central to solving the crisis of cities and depressed rural areas. Public service employment provides an immediate remedy. Federal resources must be used, but the job creation programs should be locally operated. All that is lacking is the national commitment. To supply this missing link the committee recommends the adoption of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967.

B. LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATION

1. Purpose

The purpose of the proposed Emergency Employment Act is "to provide meaningful employment opportunities in public service and other activities which will relieve severe unemployment in urban and rural areas and contribute to the national interest by fulfilling unmet needs" (sec. 202).

2. Administration

The act would be administered by the Secretary of Labor. He would have the option to delegate this task to the most appropriate agency in his Department such as the Manpower Administration, which now operates the manpower programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and other acts. To administer this program effectively will require considerable talent. The committee recommends, therefore, that sufficient supergrade positions be made available to the Department.

3. Eligible areas

The act is intended to and specifically states that the program must serve both urban and rural areas, but to qualify, an area must contain a high proportion of low-income families and individuals and have severe problems of unemployment and underemployment (sec. 203). Such areas may be defined without regard to political boundaries. The intent is that the program must be pinpointed to areas of intense need. In the cities, these are the poverty areas which are generally concentrated in the inner city. In rural areas, these tend to be the counties with high unemployment and outmigration due to technological change. Even though an urban program might be focused on part of the city, an appropriate citywide public or private agency may be used as the prime sponsor of the local program. In many rural areas it might be advantageous to utilize a multicounty agency as a prime sponsor.

4. Program operators

Programs may be operated by either public agencies or private organizations, including profitmaking organizations under contract (sec. 204(a)). Preference should be given to local arrangements which can produce jobs quickly but which also have ties with the local manpower system in order to assure avenues for further training and job placement in competitive employment. Where possible, the program would be appropriately channeled through the prime sponsor of work and training programs required for title I, part B of the committee's amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act. However, if a community has difficulty in forming an effective prime sponsor, the Secretary should fund individual programs directly so as not to delay the creation of new jobs. Even with the use of a prime sponsor, the Secretary may reserve the right to fund directly an independent project which shows great promise of useful work activities for those in need but is not part of package developed by the prime sponsor. The aim should be expeditious action but with the realization that long-range considerations require programs which are linked to a total community manpower system.

5. Financial assistance

The Secretary may provide financial assistance either in the form of grants or contracts (sec. 204(a)). Such assistance may be used to pay part or all of the costs of local programs, including wages and fringe benefits for participants, supervision and administration, education and training where necessary, supplies and equipment, but not capital expenditures, except as part of a work project. A high proportion of project costs would go for participants' wages. Although training costs are permitted, where possible, other Federal training programs should be utilized to supply this component.

6. Local initiative

There should be a maximum emphasis on local initiative and responsibility, particularly in determining areas of need, in selecting participants eligible for assistance, and in developing and selecting job opportunities and projects (sec. 204(a)). While it would be useful for the Department of Labor to develop model programs which could be easily adapted by local agencies; but these should not be imposed on localities nor be given perference over locally developed projects.

7. Requirements for local participation

Local sponsors must achieve full participation and gain the maximum cooperation of local public officials, residents of the areas served, and representatives of such private organizations as business, labor, civil rights, social welfare, and other groups concerned about employment opportunities (sec. 204(a)). The local sponsor must also assure that the emergency employment program is fully coordinated with other relevant programs, including the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, and the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. Particular attention should be given to the various housing and community facilities programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in urban areas and the Department of Agriculture in rural areas so that the jobs made available under these programs can be fully utilized. The Secretary of Labor should take steps at the Washington level to promote coordination with these other Federal programs.

8. Types of Jobs

The Emergency Employment Act is intended to be primarily a job-creation program. Therefore priority must be given to projects which are labor intensive in character (sec. 204(b)). The jobs may be related to either services or supporting facilities. They may be in such fields as health, public safety, education, recreation, streets, parks and municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement. Such services and supporting facilities may be provided by public or private nonprofit agencies or by a private, profitmaking organization under contract. Regardless of the sponsor, the jobs should consist mainly of those which can be filled by the disadvantaged, including persons who are unable to find work in regular employment, and persons who are graduating from training programs (such as for "new careers") but for whom no relevant employment is available. In places with a chronic labor surplus, such as depressed rural areas, skilled workers may be unemployed, and they too may be served by this program.

9. Occupational Advancement

Strong efforts should be made to prevent the jobs created by this program from becoming deadend jobs. With that in mind, the Secretary may provide financial assistance for education, training, and supportive services which help participants prepare for regular competitive employment. He should also take steps to assure that job-creating activities are linked with other training programs (sec. 204(c)). Thus, title I, part B of the Economic Opportunity Act (as amended by the committee) could be used to provide basic education and supplementary training to persons involved in the emergency employment program. Such persons also might move into on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Department of Labor should audit the performance of local sponsors to be certain that they are advancing participants to regular competitive employment as soon as practicable. However, this requirement should not be blindly enforced to force participants out of the program before other jobs are available.

10. Private employment

The total program should have a strong private enterprise thrust. The Secretary should assure that maximum effort is made to encourage private employers to adopt innovative approaches which create additional jobs and new types of careers for low-income and disadvantaged persons. As appropriate, he may provide financial assistance to achieve that goal, such as to organizations which provide information and technical assistance to business enterprises seeking to hire more of the disadvantaged.

11. Loans

Some of the potential public service projects are of a nature requiring a sizeable investment in supplies and equipment. Such examples are sidewalk paving, playground construction, building of picnic facilities, rehabilitating and equipping day care centers, planting shrubs and trees in beautification projects. Although a reasonable expenditure for supplies and equipment may be made with funds provided by this act, this should not become excessive. It is likely that many local governments would be able and willing to provide supplementary funds for this part of the project costs, either from the operating or capital budget, but since local budgets are adopted long before a new Federal program is enacted, there is inevitably a delay. For that reason, the Secretary is authorized to make loans for the purchase of supplies and equipment which support and supplement projects of the emergency employment program (sec. 205(a)).

Loans under this program will bear the interest and carry other terms and conditions as the Secretary may subscribe (sec. 205(b)). He may approve no-interest loans to municipalities and other local sponsors if necessary to get the program going.

12. Eligible participants

Participants in programs under this act must reside in the areas served and must be unemployed or low-income persons. Low income is to be defined the same way as in section 125 of title I, part B of the Economic Opportunity Act, which in turn is tied to a definition developed in consultation with the Social Security Administrator, taking into consideration family size, urban-rural and farm-nonfarm differences, and other relevant factors. The intent is to achieve reasonable uniformity of eligibility for related Federal programs (sec. 206).

13. Special conditions

The bill contains special conditions and limitations which experience with related programs has shown to be necessary (sec. 207). Projects may not involve political parties or so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship. No program may result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for service, nor may a program result in the substitution of Federal funds for other funds for work that would otherwise be performed. Wages must be the highest of (*a*) the Federal minimum wage, (*b*) the most comparable State or local minimum wage, or (*c*) the prevailing wage rate in the area for similar work. Programs must contribute to occupational development or upward mobility of participants, to the extent feasible. Where a program involves physical improvements, preference must be given to those which are used by low-income persons. The Secretary is required to have regulations related to internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, and evaluation procedures of agencies and organizations receiving financial assistance. Programs should seek to eliminate artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement, and particular attention should be given to altering civil service requirements which restrict employment opportunities for the disadvantaged.

14. Reports

The committee wants to be certain that the emergency employment program is working effectively. Therefore, the bill requires the Secretary to report to Congress twice a year (sec. 208).

15. Authorizations

The bill authorizes $1 billion for job creation for the 1968 fiscal year and $1.5 billion for 1969. A loan fund of $300 million is established for 1968. All these sums shall remain available until expended (sec. 209).

The committee estimates that each job will average $4,000 in annual wages and that another $1,000 will be required for fringe benefits, supervision, administration, supplies, materials, and equipment. Thus, $1 billion will allow for the creation of 200,000 jobs. At this stage it is not possible to predict the turnover rate, but if a participant holds such a job an average of 8 months before moving to a job in regular competitive employment, 300,000 persons could be served in a year for each $1 billion.

DELIBERATE MISREPRESENTATION IN THE WASHINGTON POST

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post, never a newspaper dedicated to either the truth or honesty, contains a story in this morning's edition which clearly demonstrates the lengths it will go to distort news stories to make them suit their left-wing purposes.

A two-column news story carries the headline: "Episcopal Bishops Ask Halt in Bombing."

One would naturally assume from this headline that the Episcopal Bishops meeting in their General Convention had voted to ask a halt in the bombings of Vietnam. The true story is that quite the opposite is true; they soundly defeated a resolution asking a halt in the bombing.

This deliberately deceptive headline refers, not to the action taken by the House of Deputies which roundly defeated the resolution, but to the action of 21 mavericks who got together after they were defeated by the Deputies and passed their own rump resolution.

Anyone who reads the story gets the true picture, but more people will read the headline than will ever wade through the story to get to the truth.

This cheap trickery is inexcusable and is a disgrace to what was once a noble profession. If the Post had any sense of honor they would apologize to the Episcopal General Convention in particular and to all Episcopalians in general.

To set the record straight, here is the complete story as printed in the Post:

EPISCOPAL BISHOPS ASK HALT IN BOMBING

(By Jo-ann Price)

SEATTLE, WASH., September 27.—Twenty-one bishops of the Episcopal Church, expressing concern over the "growing terror" of the war in Vietnam, petitioned here today for a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam and de-escalation to end the conflict "as quickly as possible."

Signers of the statement included Suffragan Bishop Paul Moore Jr. of Washington and the controversial Bishop James A. Pike, resigned Bishop of California.

Their petition was signed as both houses of the Episcopal General Convention extended their sessions three hours past a scheduled noon-day closing to dispose of still pending business.

The document represented their individual views, they said, and contains essentially the same points as a measure which was thrown out after long debate last night in the House of Deputies.

The rejected substitute resolution on deescalation had lost heavily in the laymen's order of the dupties and was more narrowly defeated in the clerical order. Approval of both orders is needed for passage in the House of Deputies under the Convention's peculiar voting system.

After 90 minutes of vigorous debate the deputies finally adopted a seven-point resolution shortly before midnight yesterday, primarily aimed at negotiations for peace in Vietnam. This less strongly worded document was approved by the House of Bishops today.

The milder measure urged "continuation of sustained efforts" to take the Vietnam war to the United Nations. It supported U.S. efforts to attain a "just and durable peace."

It also expressed "deep concern" for draft-age youths who believe the Vietnam war "to be wrong and our participation in it to be unjustified."

AFRICA: AN UP-TO-DATE APPRAISAL

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. State Department must reassess its policies to correct the blackhearted role it has cast our Nation into in Africa.

Silence veils the wants of many black Americans who desire to return to Africa, their homeland. Possibly they are needed to become the victims of more riots, looting, and bloodshed in our cities and are forbidden to leave our shores.

Yet in Africa, where the white has been their benefactor and lived among them, our apparent policy has been to run the white out and encourage cannibalism and chaos.

Seemingly the American equalitarian—in his blindness to see or understand life—betrays by destroying those he screams that he most seeks to help.

In Rhodesia and South Africa no white keeps the black man a prisoner—yet the blacks do not leave. To the contrary, they continue to seek admittance to the white-ruled countries. Rhodesia and South Africa have had no riots or wholesale disobedience—no Watts, Rochester, Trenton, or Detroit. Law and order prevail.

Instead of our national policy being to destroy Rhodesia and South Africa, we should import their advisers to learn how to live with our blacks and maintain law and order.

Mr. Speaker, I am in possession of a report on pertinent sections of Africa compiled by Raeford Scott, a former career employee in Federal service, which I feel will prove of material benefit to our colleagues as we seek answers and comparisons of our white brethren around the world.

Mr. Scott has had extensive observation—over many years—in what we call the "emerging nations". Early in his career he was an outstanding newspaper reporter and journalist. Cautious in judgments and comments, he speaks here as a gravely concerned patriotic American.

Mr. Scott reminds us that many of the newspapers and magazines that now seek to build hostility toward South Africa and Rhodesia are the same ones, such as the New York Times, which worked for the overthrow of Batista, who was friendly to America, to supplant him with Fidel Castro. Many of these same sheets worked in the same manner back in the 1940's to displace America's ally, Chiang Kai-shek, and install in his stead the hideous tyranny of Mao Tse-tung.

Their present attempted guidance of America's policies in Africa must be evaluated in the light of that proved past record.

I join with Mr. Scott in his feelings toward some of our shortsighted policymakers who would seek to destroy peace and law and order where it does exist. I ask that Mr. Scott's excellent report of his eyewitness account here follow my remarks. I have inserted the various paragraph topic titles in his letter.

CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA NOW

Mr. Rarick, having spent most of my time through recent months in Central and Southern Africa, I am appalled on my return at the dangerous ignorance of many of my fellow-Americans regarding that part of the world.

Countless Americans and even some Members of Congress appear to accept the notion that the native populations of blacks in the so-called "emerging" nations of Africa are free to enjoy what we normally consider to be human rights, while blacks in countries of predominantly white rule supposedly suffer under chronic injustice and economic exploitation.

But from which side of the boundary, between white-ruled and black-ruled areas, are the native blacks seeking to go to the other side?

On-the-scene realities supply the unarguable answer. Both white-ruled Rhodesia and white-ruled South Africa have an immense influx of blacks from neighboring black-ruled areas. In Rhodesia alone it is estimated that the total may run as high as 400,000 blacks from adjoining territories. Most of these 400,000 blacks from outside are wage-earners seeking the greater opportunities possible where there is stability, law and order, and progressive economic development.

There is no corresponding outflow of blacks from Rhodesia into bordering countries under black rule. And in South Africa, which is likewise under white rule, we see the same situation—blacks from neighboring black-ruled areas pouring by their own choice into a white-ruled country which some elements here in America like to represent as a land of terror and oppression.

By official count, blacks who have legally entered South Africa total near half million, while the number who have slipped in illicitly by evading border patrols are estimated at several hundred thousand more.

BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS

In contrast, we find but a mere handful of blacks who have chosen to leave Rhodesia or South Africa to live in a neighboring black-ruled country. This handful appears to consist mainly of blacks who think of themselves as "intellectuals" in opposition to white rule ideologically, regardless of its favorable showing alongside any black-ruled country with which it may be compared, and regardless of the openly evident preference of more than a million immigrant blacks who are right now living in Rhodesia and South Africa because of the higher wages and better living conditions for them generally where white rule prevails.

In South Africa, tho not in Rhodesia, there is a legally defined separation of the races. Government policy in South Africa aims at doing for the native blacks what far-sighted and conscientiously leaders sought to do and failed to do for the native American Indians in our own country—provide them with areas where in a large measure they can follow their chosen way of life and seek their own course of development, with white aid as needed.

Some of the blacks in South Africa resent this planned separation, and stirred by professional agitators from the United States, the Soviet Union and England, a few of these rebellious blacks have managed to create minor instances of trouble.

But these disorders in South Africa arising from official policy there have never approached the magnitude of riots, looting, mass incendiarism and wholesale bloodshed encouraged by official policy here in America. Our open record shows that this is so, that these violent outbreaks by blacks in America are worst where so-called civil rights have been most generously extended, and in fact worst of all in Northern cities of the U.S. where there was never any official policy of segregation in schools, where there have been no "white" and "black" labels separating rest rooms or other public facilities.

For decades so-called Liberals in these same Northern cities found delight in perpetually lecturing the people of our Southern States on how to handle race relations. Today, when hordes of largely ignorant black people have been attracted to these Northern cities by easy relief allowances and other lures, what are the conditions? We all know the present conditions, where black skin sets up for trouble-makers an immunity in commission of crimes for which any ordinary white person would be chargeable with arson, assault, conspiracy for murder and rebellion against established authority.

So grave has this situation become that recruits for police service in every major Northern city have become dangerously difficult to procure, because honest and competent men who seek to do their duty fairly face all sorts of trouble if they deal with blacks as they would deal with similar offenders who might be white. In consequence lawlessness mounts night by night, and decent citizens both white and black dare not walk the streets which they pay taxes to render safe.

We in the Southern States have never known racial friction to such an extent, and where we have suffered it in any degree in recent years, the cause could be traced to invading agitators—who instead of addressing themselves to their own strife-torn communities—have sought to spread their chaos to our areas of relative peace.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN UNDERWAY

Mr. Rarick, it is shocking and horrible to the peaceful people of Rhodesia and South Africa, who have never offended our country in any way, to find themselves the targets of a campaign of villification, abuse and falsification in the press of our country, purporting to lecture and threaten Rhodesia and South Africa in matters of racial relations.

This campaign is the more amazing because it is the press in American cities showing the least success in race relations, and politicians from the areas which likewise present the worst examples of tragically bad race relations, that lead in this senseless hate campaign against two courageous outposts of non-red and pro-law-and-order civilization.

Possibly no country in the world has a more creditable state of law and order than Rhodesia today. Again and again I noticed that persons parking their cars at the curb in Rhodesian city streets did not bother to lock the car doors. Women and girls as well as men walk city streets both night and day without hesitation or thought of molestation. Rarely indeed do you see a policeman there, and when you do, you note with amazement, as an American, that he carries no weapons. His badge and uniform suffice, so ingrained among both whites and blacks is respect for law.

South Africa's policy of separation will require some years to realize its program of full development for allotted black-populated areas, and meanwhile, blacks need jobs they can get only in white enterprises and whites need the added labor supply. While the more literate blacks do not concede that the system is ideal, they seem, most of them, to prefer it to the certainty of chaos and despotism, Congo style, which is what the UN and certain so called Liberals here in Washington manifestly seek for South Africa and Rhodesia.

ALMOST FOURTH BLACK

But in Rhodesia there is no legal separation of races. Voting requirements are the same for blacks and whites alike. But so many of the blacks still live tribally, and but recently emerged from savagery, that only a minority can meet franchise tests. Attending a session of the Rhodesian parliament, I saw whites and blacks together participating in legislative discussion, all amiably, with nothing like the acrimony to be seen often in Washington relative to matters that touch racial sentiments.

You find no signs over doors saying White or Black in Rhodesia, nor on park benches, nor on railway coaches or public conveyances of any sort. Occasionally you see a black couple enter the lounge or dining room of a leading hotel. Nobody raises an objection. Blacks who are employed in the cities get handsome housing aids from the Government, managed carefully to make every dollar count. Areas of homes for married blacks are fully modern, very neatly kept, and in the communities that I selected at random to visit, seeking to see things for myself, these homes were well ahead of the average for blacks in America.

Nearly a fourth of the present members of Rhodesia's elected legislative body are Blacks—a higher proportion than in our American Congress.

In Salisbury, capital of Rhodesia, an English-speaking black took me with pride to see the handsome modern dormitories for blacks where unmarried young men and young women are separately housed. They live there if they are employed, or while they train for skilled jobs, under spic and span conditions, with community swimming pool, recreation fields, recreation halls, and so on. When a native couple marry, they are assisted by the authorities in setting up their own individual home. But native young men and women are discouraged from coming to the city until employment is assured.

Rhodesian officials are resolved not to make the mistake made here in America—allowing masses of unemployed people to accumulate and perpetuate ghetto conditions in which they become ripe for agitation and the manipulations of political schemers. If a man is going to be unemployed, the Rhodesian plan is that he had better be so on his own tribal land or at least in a rural environment, away from festering slums. And consequently, you will go a long way in Rhodesia to find anything you could call slums. I myself could find none at all.

LEFTISTS CRY "DESPOTISM"

That sort of regulation by Rhodesian officials is cited as despotism by America's enraged liberal agitators. Yet the overall result is kindness to the native blacks there. It saves them from the dope peddlers, the gamblers, the innumerable leeches and predators of one sort or another that prey on the often simple-minded and inexperienced blacks of our own country who are lured by easy public relief or other kinds of bait to migrate to areas of Northern cities that are already overcrowded with unemployed blacks.

As the late great Albert Sweitzer said of the black man, to whose help he devoted so much of his life,—"Certainly I am his Brother. But I am his Elder Brother. And if I am to help him, I must retain the authority needful to do so."

Contrasting with Rhodesia and South Africa, the outlook in neighboring black-ruled lands is less bright. With tremendous U.S. aid, they are making progress in some fields of education. But with no U.S. aid at all, Rhodesia and South Africa are doing far more for their blacks in education, hospitalization, rural guidance, home hygiene, job training, and kindred basics for aiding an orderly transition from recent savagery to modern civilization.

Of the black-ruled countries—Kenya—ruled by the former Mau Mau chief, Jomo Kenyatta, surprisingly appears to be one of the more stable as of now. But this stability is felt to rest on one man, now well along in years—Kenyatta himself.

His relatively good showing seems to come from his good sense in not running out the whites wholesale. They are staying on there in many managerial posts. They manage many of the hotels, and this is in bright contrast to conditions in some of the other black countries, such as Uganda, where few whites are in evidence.

There many of the businesses that were run efficiently in British Empire days are now drifting backward. You see unmended holes in the screens of your hotel window, you pay higher prices than in America for a restaurant meal where the going wage for natives is maybe a quarter a day in U.S. currency, and where service, while friendly and eager, falls pitifully short for lack of training and experience.

TOMMY GUNS AND RUBBER STAMPS

An unfortunate feature of the newly "emerged" black-ruled countries of Africa is the apparent eagerness to look official. Too many of the official class seem to view a tommy gun or a rubber stamp as a realization of status. Tho you insist you are in transit and are in some country for a few minutes only while the plane refuels, you may be asked to fill out a lengthy printed form designed as a questionnaire for permanent residents.

Or your plane may be detained half hour additional when a covey of blacks in uniform, carrying tommy guns on their arms, decide they ought to see everybody's passport. And at these they gape with no signs of understanding whatsoever, nor any indication of being able to read them at all. But the procedure looks official—it is the way Big Countries supposedly do things.

To the lasting disgrace of the Washington Government, it condoned the pressures by which orderly rule was extinguished in one after another African country and supplanted by semi-savage tyrannies which were a hundred-fold more severe toward native blacks than colonial powers have ever been within modern times.

The UN did not set up requirements that white owners of coffee plantations, tea plantations and other developments of value to the native populations as sources of employment would be compensated, where the new black regimes might order confiscation. American Foreign Aid has gone out—and continues to go out—to black regimes which have violated every tenet of fair dealing. Where these native regimes, as in Kenya, have confiscated land and other property of whites, they have condemned it at their own predatory figures, and on top of that, these native regimes commonly allow the victim to take out of the country only a pittance of the funds received.

In Kenya I saw extensive areas where former flourishing plantations had been divided into small parcels for distribution to native blacks. Over half of these small parcels, I might estimate, appeared to be well cultivated. Maybe a third or more appeared to be indifferently tended, and reverting to jungle.

FEAR BENEATH SURFACE

In all these so-called newly emerged black countries, if you get to know some of the English-speaking native blacks well enough, you learn of the anxieties and fears that run beneath the surface.

Thousands were slain only last year in Uganda. In Kenya, normal at the moment, people appear to dread what may happen as factional rivalries might develop after Kenyatta passes. The current civil war in Nigeria seems to have its potential just about everywhere in black-ruled Africa. Only in the white-ruled lands of Rhodesia and South Africa can a black man plan his future with reasonable confidence, be assured of fair civil service tenure in a state job regardless of factional changes in administration, and draw the highest wages in all Africa for native labor. Those realities explain why over a million blacks have migrated from neighboring black-ruled areas to white-ruled Rhodesia and South Africa.

Why do U.S. Liberals hate these areas of relative serenity in a continent of turmoil? Why do they seek so eagerly to bring down in ruins two governments—those of Rhodesia and of South Africa—which have never harmed America, and which stand as bulwarks against bolshevism in a continent elsewhere heavily infested with it?

Why do these self-professing Liberals so smugly ignore the barbarous dictatorships by assassination and terror in many or most of the black-ruled African states and at the same time condemn as "an assault on native rights" Rhodesia's requirement that voting qualifications must be the same for whites and blacks alike?

Why do these Liberals hate two governments which protect all private property, of whites and blacks alike, while holding up as examples for further imitation black regimes which daily confiscate honestly acquired farms owned and developed out of wilderness beginnings by white settlers in years past?

REVERTING TO CANNIBALISM

Mr. Rarick, I was not in the Congo on this trip. But along the Congo border in Uganda I talked with both white and black refugees from the Congo. Apparently the frontier over much of that area is a sort of no-man's land, and some of the whites who speak the local Congo languages venture back now and then to the scenes of their former plantations, now deserted and in ruins. They report that generally the native blacks there—in the Eastern Congo, that is—are not at all anti-white, that instead they crowd to the road at news that a white person has been sighted, and cry out piteously to the whites to return, promising them no harm, begging for jobs that would mean food.

Reports of cannibalism indicate that in localities of severe destitution it has returned as a common practice where the more aggressive tribes prey on the more docile, and in these areas cannibalism seems to be increasing.

Wide areas of the Congo remain more or less closed to the outside world, with no truly dependable figures or even estimates of conditions available.

But both white and black refugees give extremely grim accounts of widespread terror and misery among a population which—ten years ago—was in a high degree contented, employed, and marking up year-by-year enormous gains in education, living standards, and general well-being.

From this agony in the Congo, most of the whites, tho by no means all, fortunately escaped. Not so the native blacks, many thousands of whom have perished in the continuing factional strife or fallen victims to marauding tribesmen who have reverted to savagery and cannibalism, while survivors live in terror over vast regions, with no hope of any early betterment.

It is this Congo situation which America's so-called Liberals invite for Rhodesia and South Africa, where as in the Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and various other black-ruled lands, the blacks themselves would comprise the majority of victims.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Mr. Scott on his pertinent analysis of this vital area of today's world.

I would especially urge my colleagues to weigh most carefully what Mr. Scott has called to our attention.

BRYAN COUNCIL BROWN

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a man well known to many on Capitol Hill and in Washington circles passed away on September 10. He was Bryan Council Brown, known to his many friends here as "B.C."

B.C. had a distinguished governmental career serving as the first employee of the joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and continuing as secretary and staff counsel of that committee for a total of 31 years under both Democratic and Republican administrations until his retirement in 1957.

From 1957 until 1963, he served as counsel at the Washington office of American Mutual Insurance Alliance until his final retirement to his summer home in Beaufort, N.C.

A native of Swansboro, in my congressional district, B.C. received his bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1922 after serving as an ensign in the U.S. Navy during World War I. He attended the law school there and at Harvard and was graduated from the National University Law School in Washington.

He served for a time as personal secretary to the late Edward Kidder Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina.

B.C. was an avid golfer and played in a number of tournaments in the Washington area during his years spent here. He is remembered as a keen competitor and winner of many trophies.

It was my pleasure to know him for many years and I join his many friends in expressing sympathy to his wife and family.

USE OF MAILS FOR FRAUDULENT PURPOSES

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join in sponsorship of a bill to put a halt to the use of the mails for certain fraudulent purposes.

The bill would cover a wide range of practices but would, in particular, greatly assist the Post Office Department and postal patrons across the Nation in the fight against using the mails for the purpose of soliciting or advertising obscene material.

In the time I have been privileged to serve in the Congress numerous complaints have been directed to my office objecting to receiving such advertising through the mails unsolicited.

The Post Office Department, at this time, is virtually powerless to halt this practice.

As a result of a recent complaint, I received the following reply from the Post Office Department outlining the legal problems they face and suggesting that this bill, passed by the House in the 89th Congress, would be of great assistance to them in putting an end to this practice.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter from the Post Office Department in the RECORD at this point:

THE GENERAL COUNCIL,
POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1967.

Hon. RICHARD FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in further reply to your letter of September 2, 1967, to Mr. Walter Harris, Deputy Executive Assistant to the Postmaster General. You enclosed an envelope sent to ——————, containing unsolicited advertising material for sex devices by Safe-P-Products, Los Angeles, California.

We are aware of the subject mailing, and we share your concern and that of your constituent in this matter. Nevertheless, as you are fully aware, the Department may not arbitrarily refuse to accept matter which may be considered offensive. We cannot apply our own administrative criteria, but rather we must study these matters in accordance with the applicable federal court decisions. *Roth* v. *U.S.*, 354 U.S. 476; *Manual Enterprises* v. *Day*, 370 U.S. 478.

We have pursued this type of mailing under the criminal postal fraud statute, 18 U.S.C. 1341. in view of the advertising claims. The Justice Department, however, felt the promoter's claims did not constitute fraud within the meaning of the law.

A few years ago, we had the Justice Department institute a criminal action against one Louis Wolff Linetsky, doing business as Medico Sales, involving essentially the same promotional matter and sex devices as in the instant case. Linetsky was indicted, but thereafter the United States District Court granted the defendant's motion to dismiss the indictment on the ground that the exhibits involved were not obscene under the postal obscenity law, 18 U.S.C. 1461. We then commenced a formal proceeding against Linetsky under the administrative civil postal fraud statute, 39 U.S.C. 4005. The Hearing Examiner's initial decision found that Linetsky was not violating Sec. 4005. We appealed to the Department's Judicial Officer, who sustained the Hearing Examiner. Our difficulty was carrying the burden of proof of intent to deceive by Linetsky.

Since the Supreme Court decision in *Reilly* v. *Pinkus*, 338 U.S. 269 (1949), we not only must prove the mail promoter is falsely or fraudulently advertising his matter by mail, we must also carry the burden of establishing the fact that the promoter intended to deceive mail patrons. As you know, the operation of a man's mind is a most difficult thing to prove. In our instance, this task is even more formidable since we do not have subpoena power to produce certain pertinent evidence bearing on the element of intent.

Moreover, the promoter-respondent in our fraud hearings seldom takes the stand to testify, and we are thus deprived of the opportunity to cross-examine him. Time and time again, we are faced with situations where utter falsity is established by the evidence and there is no question but that the remitter has been deprived of his money on the basis of misleading and deceiving representations, and yet Orders under the statute were denied because the Hearing Examiners were of the belief that the evidence presented was insufficient to establish intent.

Congressman Udall introduced a bill, H.R. 1411, which would amend the civil fraud statute, Sec. 4005, to eliminate the necessity for establishing the intent to deceive. The same measure passed the House in the 89th Congress, but was not taken up by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. We feel Congressman Udall's bill is squarely in line with the underlying purpose of Sec. 4005, which is to protect postal patrons from being duped by mail.

In the meantime, you may wish to advise your constituents that under Sec. 154.11, Postal Manual, they may refuse a piece of mail at the time it is offered for delivery. After delivery, they may mark any ordinary mail matter "Refused" and return it unopened to the mails.

Sincerely yours,

TIMOTHY J. MAY.

Mr. Speaker, I would add only that I have seen a quantity of this material and can describe it only as blatantly disgusting. It is not the type of material you or I would want in our homes or the type of material which we would want to fall into the hands of our children.

This advertising is pure filth and, if this bill will help put an end to the use of the mails to promote and advertise it, then it should be given early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE WEEK—1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. O'NEAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Agricultural Science Week—1967 was appropriately recognized today at the Beltsville, Md., Agricultural Research Center.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman cut a ribbon this morning to open the research facility to public inspection and laid a cornerstone to start construction of a 15-story library.

I was honored to be present and participate in the ceremonies along with my colleagues Hon. PAUL JONES of Missouri, Hon. HERVEY MACHEN of Maryland, and Hon. SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU, Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

Those of us who attended the ceremonies were impressed by the tremendous progress being made in the field of agricultural research. The Beltsville Center is making outstanding contributions toward feeding and clothing our people with the very best at the lowest possible cost and sharing this knowledge with the world.

Secretary Freeman was introduced by Dr. George W. Irving, Administrator, Agricultural Research Service. I take pleasure in making Dr. Irving's introduction and Secretary Freeman's remarks a part of the RECORD. They constitute a wonderful summation of past achievements and promise of a wonderful world to come if we can just avoid world destruction.

INTRODUCTION OF SECRETARY ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, BY GEORGE W. IRVING, ADMINISTRATOR, AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE

Our speaker today was the youngest man ever named to his present post when he was appointed in 1961.

He was a Marine officer in active combat during World War II, presently a Colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, a distinguished lawyer, and three times governor of the State of Minnesota. During the last six years he has fought vigorously for new ideas, new legislation, and new programs to support a stronger and more progressive agriculture.

He demonstrated his remarkable versatility at an early age. While working his way through the University of Minnesota, he won his letter as a quarterback on the national championship football team and election to Phi Beta Kappa at the same time.

He is still demonstrating that versatility. Today he is speaking to us as leader of a research organization. While talking to the National Science Teachers Association last March, he said: "Agricultural research is of crucial importance in man's efforts to create a balanced and diverse environment . . . in improving human health . . . and in examining the life process itself."

When you consider the installation here at Beltsville; the many field stations throughout the country; the cooperative research with State Agricultural Experiment Stations, with industry, with private foundations, and with foreign countries—the United States Department of Agriculture *is* one of the largest research institutions in the world.

And now, as head of that institution, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

REMARKS OF HON. ORVILLE FREEMAN, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Whether I am speaking as quarterback of this team, or Colonel of the Battalion, I am very proud of my position as head of this research organization with its long and productive history.

And I am happy to join in welcoming these distinguished guests and friends to our Open House at the Agricultural Research Center.

We had three reasons for asking you to join us today in this celebration of National Agricultural Science Week.

First, we wanted you to look with us at what agricultural science is doing for mankind now—and to see how these efforts will help us to support a better world by the year 2000—and beyond.

Second, we wanted to give you a graphic demonstration of our intention to improve and increase the flow of information from the U.S. Department of Agriculture to the public. These exhibits and demonstrations today are examples of our open door policy in action. We plan to implement this policy with a permanent visitors' center so that visitors can come year round and see for themselves what agricultural science is doing to serve them.

Finally, we wanted you to join us in laying the cornerstone for a great new library that will give added support to the progress of agricultural research.

As we pursue these three objectives during the day, you will see examples of the agricultural research and science that have helped to lay the foundation for the economic and social structure of this nation.

Agriculture provides the very fundamentals of human existence—food, shelter, and clothing. Until these fundamentals are provided, no man is free to contribute his efforts to anything else. Without a strong and productive agriculture, the goods and services . . . the culture . . . the way of life that we know . . . could not have evolved.

Agricultural research in this country has more than paid for itself. It would be impossible to calculate the ratio of costs to benefits of the agricultural research that has already made its contribution to men, women, and children everywhere.

Let me explain briefly how this has worked.

Here in the Department of Agriculture, we feel that the job of research is not done until the findings are made known and applied. I am proud of the unique Federal-State partnership in agricultural research and education that is finding solutions to the problems standing in the way of national progress . . . and is letting people know what those solutions are.

Agricultural scientists today are probing the basic cell structure of living matter and the fundamental life processes of plants, insects, animals, and man. They are broadening our understanding of our environment so we can modify it for the welfare of mankind.

But we are not leaving this basic knowledge to gather dust in our laboratories. For more than a century, we have carried the results of our research into the field and seen them put into practice. Our scientists and educators have the time and the patience to show farmers, food processors, manufacturers, and homemakers what they have learned.

As a result, agriculture, our biggest industry, has an enviable record for improving production efficiency. A century ago, 7 million farm workers were needed to feed 31 million Americans. Today, roughly 6 million farm workers feed 200 million Americans, plus 160 million beyond our shores.

Without this explosive increase in productivity, it would have been impossible for the United States to have fed a shattered Europe after World War II, or to have sponsored Food for Peace and Food for Freedom. And without these programs, it is certain that millions now living would have died from starvation.

These are direct benefits of a progressive agriculture. But the indirect benefits were also vitally important to the economic development of our country.

The productivity revolution both released agricultural workers for the industrial revolution and lowered the relative cost of food. As a result, more purchasing power was available for the consumption of industrial goods, starting the United States on an economic climb that is still going on.

Our experience during the past century underlines a basic truth. We in America have demonstrated that *science holds the key to increased agricultural productivity, the solid base upon which all subsequent economic development rests.*

In fact, history clearly shows that *no nation* has moved from chronic stagnation to sustained economic development until it first achieved a subsequent gain in *agricultural productivity.*

That is why it is so important *now* that we continue to export our agricultural know-how to the less-developed countries. Their success depends upon their agricultural growth and development.

We are sending our scientists and technicians abroad to share the results of our basic and applied agricultural research. Working with the people in the developing countries, we are *adapting* this knowledge to the specific problems and needs of those who are trying to feed themselves from their own land.

We are also inviting increasing numbers of foreign technicians to train here under our leading scientists. For example, at the U.S. Salinity Laboratory in Riverside, California, more than 1,600 foreign nationals have learned how to diagnose and correct salt damage to soils, that holds down crop yields in many parts of the world. And more than 50 foreign scientists and scholars from some 30 countries have trained under our crops scientists in the past three years.

So far, I have mentioned agricultural research as it supports the productivity of the land. But in the more than 100 years of service to people, USDA scientists have contributed to many other aspects of living.

Our scientists traced the cause of Texas cattle fever to the fever tick, not only paving the way for eradication of a devastating disease but paving the way for the control of such human diseases as malaria, yellow fever, typhus, encephalitis, and bubonic plague.

Our researchers developed a practical process for commercial manufacture of penicillin during World War II and discovered the high-yielding strain of penicillin-producing micro-organism that is in use today.

Other USDA scientists showed that dextran, a starchlike carbohydrate, is an excellent blood volume expander that is used to extend the supply of whole blood for transfusions . . . a particularly vital discovery in times of national emergency.

Agricultural research has expanded industries and created new ones with developments such as frozen orange juice concentrate . . . dehydrated potato flakes and granules . . . wash-wear cottons . . . stretch cottons . . . and washable woolens that do not shrink.

And so, when we look at what has been accomplished, we can give agricultural science an A Plus. Certainly agricultural science among all the sciences best deserves the title of "Humanitarian Science." Its goals are inseparable from the deepest goals of all mankind; of all the sciences, it is the one most responsible for the preservation and enhancement of human life upon this planet.

But the press of world events is not going to give us time to pat ourselves on the back for a job well done. The task of agricultural research is just beginning.

In productivity alone, research must continue to find new and better ways to produce the food and fiber for a growing population in the future. But our goal is not just filling basic requirements. We must improve the standards of living for all our people.

We also will need an increasingly efficient agriculture to take advantage of our expanding export markets. Last year, for example, feed grains became our largest single dollar earner of any export, agricultural or industrial. Now that our surpluses have disappeared, farmers will have to become increasingly efficient to meet competitive market demands at home and abroad.

We look to agricultural science to give us better methods for managing natural resources. We are not *now* doing a good enough job of protecting our soil, water, and forests. And the calls upon thee resources will become even greater in the future.

Agricultural research must find better ways for us to use more water and still keep it free from pollution—to enjoy our forests and shade trees and still maintain an effective timber industry—to grow more from our soil and still maintain its fertility.

Agricultural research must find ways to revitalize rural America and improve the quality of American life. We need to find out how to maintain a better rural-urban balance.

We need research studies to shed more light on the migration of rural people to the cities. We know the rates of migration. We know who is migrating—what age groups. But we don't know the educational level of these people or why they left or where they are going when they leave rural communities and small towns.

In this field of rural-urban balance—in this field of human resources and the need for rural opportunities—we are today about where we were 40 years ago in knowing what was needed in breeding seed corn.

We have not even scratched the surface on this type of research and the human need for knowledge is vital.

We do know that people will go where the opportunities seem most attractive. If that is in Los Angeles or Chicago, that is where they will go. We must find ways to provide more opportunities in rural communities . . . to make them truly more attractive.

For the less developed world, agricultural science must find better means to wage war on hunger. We must find a way to prevent the starvation that is now taking its toll in thousands of lives around the world. We must find a way to alleviate the malnutrition that restricts the capabilities of millions who succeed in averting actual starvation.

The latest World Food Situation Report, "Prospects for World Grain Production, Consumption, and Trade," made certain points evident.

The report estimates that the less-developed countries by 1980 will require between 54 and 58 million metric tons of grain imports, in contrast with about 29 million tons in the mid-sixties. This estimate assumes the continuation of the *historical* rate of increase in grain production—an increase which in recent years has been a respectable 2½ percent annually.

Only if the less-developed countries could somehow attain a 4-percent increase in grain output annually could they achieve a high enough rate of economic growth to provide their people with adequate diets without food aid. Our economists view any such radical rise as extremely unlikely. Few undeveloped countries have increased productivity so rapidly.

So food aid will continue to be needed . . . to buy time for hungry nations to strengthen their ability to feed themselves.

But we must redouble our efforts to help them to help themselves. One of our current research projects may prove useful in these efforts . . . one which you will see illustrated in our exhibits today.

And that is a joint project with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to combine the techniques of the computer and space age to work for agriculture. We are attempting to perfect the use of remote-sensing methods to detect differences in soil, identify crops and forest trees, and to determine crop condition.

When these methods are in use from an orbiting satellite, we will be able to better help developing countries make efficient use of their land . . . or even to use land in areas not yet considered for agricultural production.

Part of the research and much of the planning and direction of research to meet these challenges will be done here at the Agricultural Research Center. We are supporting this effort by the transfer next year of the world's second-largest government library—and the largest devoted to agriculture and related sciences—to this nerve center of Department research.

The National Agricultural Library will occupy a new building, on your left almost directly across the main highway from where we are now. I am sure you saw it when you entered the grounds this morning. The architect's model here beside me shows how the 15-story structure will look when it is completed in October 1968.

At 11:30 this morning, I will lay the cornerstone for this new library, which will replace our outgrown and outdated quarters in downtown Washington. We will transfer a collection that has grown from the 1,000 volumes inherited from the Patent Office in 1862 to more than a million and a quarter volumes today. The new building is designed to accommodate a collection more than half again as large.

The National Agricultural Library shares with the Library of Congress and the National Library of Medicine the responsibility for coverage of the world's scientific literature. It is not unusual for our Library to receive publications in as many as 50 languages from 150 countries in a year. Exchange with institutions throughout the world is the source of three-fourths of the books and periodicals being added to our collection today.

We not only add some 275,000 periodical issues each year by exchange, purchase, and gift, but our staff also handles almost that many requests for loan or photocopy of works on our shelves. The National Agricultural Library serves the entire scientific community—colleges and universities, research institutions, agricultural industry, and other Government agencies—as well as our own employees.

In modern quarters, the Library will be able to serve all of these users more quickly and efficiently in an age when agricultural knowledge is in such urgent demand in solving problems at home and abroad.

We plan to extend to scientists more special services similar to those provided by our Pesticides Information Center. And the new building is designed for future installation of a computerized system of information storage and retrieval that will mesh with similar systems being developed with the Library of Congress and National Library of Medicine.

The broadening of services by the Library is part of a general mobilization of the Department's scientific resources to build the kind of agriculture our country will need during the remainder of this century.

The Department and the State Agricultural Experiment Stations have joined to develop this last year a comprehensive plan to guide the direction our research should take. This long-range study of agricultural research needs provides answers to three basic questions:

What knowledge do we need to get from where we are to where we want to be in the year 2000?

How much of this knowledge is likely to be produced by our current research programs?

And how should we change what we have been doing—where should we put more emphasis, where less—to fill the gaps in needed knowledge?

We then used the long-range study as a basis for setting research objectives to be reached in the next year, within 5 years, and by the year 2000. Our scientific objectives, of course, are based on the knowledge required in achieving the long-term goals of the Department as a whole.

These goals are expressed in terms of a common theme, Agriculture/2000, that looks to the future in our major areas of responsibility:

Communities of Tomorrow—an environment for better living and a revitalized rural America.

Resources in Action—wise care and use of water, land, and timber.

Growing Nations—New Markets—trade and aid, with emphasis on victory over hunger.

Income and Abundance—parity of farm income, continued food abundance, and a rising level of nutrition for consumers.

Knowledge for Living—information and services that will improve the quality of American life.

Science in the Service of Man—the miracles we can expect from agricultural research.

Together, these goals express a commitment by the Department to use its wide and varied resources in making America a more productive and satisfying place to live during the rest of this century.

The theme of our open house, Agriculture/2000: Science in the Service of Man, spotlights the role of research in carrying out this commitment. The exhibits you will see today are designed to give you some idea of the revolutionary developments that may be expected in the future.

And I hope this will be the first of many visits. I hope you will visit the Agricultural Research Center again, and that you will bring your associates and friends. In the past, we sometimes have not been able to accommodate all of the groups that wished to visit our laboratories. But when we establish our visitor center here, we will be able to give more people a more informative picture of what we are doing here.

I am proud of what our scientists are accomplishing, and I know that you will be, too.

It is now my pleasant task to open this exhibition for your inspection.

RULINGS BY FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD AND COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY HELD ILLEGAL BY U.S. DISTRICT COURT—CONGRESSIONAL INTENT THAT COMMERCIAL BANKS BE KEPT OUT OF SECURITIES AND INVESTMENT BUSINESS RESPECTED BY JUDGE McGARRAGHY IN FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK DECISION YESTERDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, since late 1965 I have been engaged in a continuing controversy with the Federal Reserve Board, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Securities and Exchange Commission, protesting the legality of a move by First National City Bank, New York, into the mutual fund business.

These Government agencies turned their backs on more than 30 years of congressional intent that commercial banking and investment banking be kept separate, lest the grave abuses and conflicts of interest so common in the 1920's repeat themselves.

On the flimsiest of excuses, all three agencies gave the green light to the major banking interests by a gross misinterpretation of the laws.

I do not know how many letters I wrote to the Federal Reserve Board protesting this undermining of Congress constitutional prerogatives to legislate. I requested the Board to reverse its erroneous rulings on at least two occasions.

Fortunately the judiciary, in contrast to these banker-influenced administrative agencies, saw no compulsion to flout the clear wishes of Congress when, yesterday morning, Judge McGarraghy fully agreed with me that the Federal Reserve Board and the Comptroller of the Currency had exceeded their lawful authority, finding the First National City Bank "comingled investment account" entirely illegal. This is wonderfully good news for the integrity of our system of a Government of law and not of men.

PEOPLE DO NOT HAVE PROPER PROTECTION PROVIDED BY BANK SUPERVISORY AGENCIES

The American people should be aware of the fact that they are not protected by the three bank supervisory agencies, namely, the Federal Reserve System, Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Each of these agencies, which have been charged with protecting the public interest, have gotten completely away from exercising and discharging their duties as a result of the more than 100 years of lobbying activity of the American Bankers Association. These agencies each carry on and run their own empires and, rather than looking out after the public interest, they engage almost exclusively in providing protection for the banking community.

As a most important case in point, these agencies are not audited by the Government Accounting Office, the official arm of the Congress. There is no check on their expenditures. This is a serious matter which I plan to bring before the House Committee on Banking and Currency in the near future and one which I trust will receive favorable consideration by both Houses of Congress.

In view of the fact that I am sure many Members will be interested in this particular case, under unanimous consent I insert at this point in the RECORD several letters of mine to the Federal Reserve Board protesting their illegal actions, as well as the text of Judge McGarraghy's landmark decision:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
Washington, D.C., March 22, 1966.

Hon. WILLIAM MCCHESNEY MARTIN,
Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN MARTIN: Basing its decision in large part on the Board's ruling that First National City Bank's proposal to operate a mutual fund would not violate Section 32 of the Banking Act of 1933, the Securities and Exchange Commission, on March 10, approved the bank's application to register its fund under the Investment Company Act of 1940 (SEC Investment Company Act Release No. 4538).

This development raises very serious questions with respect to the long-established Congressional policy of separating commercial and investment banking. Congress was determined to prevent repetition of the terrible abuses and conflicts of interest characterizing bank-connected securities operations in the late 1920's. As my previous correspondence to the Board of Governors has made perfectly clear, I remain vehemently opposed to turning the clock back more than 30 year, but this is precisely what this bank's proposal threatens to do. I am not suggesting that the Board is not also desirous of avoiding repetition of the sins of the past in this regard—former Vice Chairman Balderston's testimony last spring is still quite fresh in my mind. Yet, I must admit my shock and dismay at the casual, almost offhand manner, in which the Board has apparently chosen to ignore the clear-cut policy of Congress expressed in the banking laws, e.g., 12 U.S.C. 24(7), 12 U.S.C. 78, 12 U.S.C. 377, 378, and the securities laws, e.g., 15 U.S.C. 80a–10(c). An unmistakable pattern emerges—aside from the fact that each statutory provision is clear on its face—of Congressional policy. This policy was incorporated into law with full knowledge that banks are supervised institutions. Yet, as I have said before, the Board apparently has chosen to embark on a drastic new course which without question conflicts with that clear legislative policy.

I have mentioned in my previous correspondence with you numerous areas of potential conflicts of interest inherent in the bank's proposed securities operation. Up to now, you have chosen not to address yourselves to this particular expression of concern, but instead have ignored the public policy question in favor of an unrealistically narrow and strained interpretation of Section 32.

The courts have held repeatedly that remedial statutes are to be liberally construed, not that the policy prescription of Section 32 is not abundantly clear and its language unambiguous. The legal memorandum you furnished completely misstates the holding of the Supreme Court in the *Agnew* case (329 U.S. 441), ignoring the real meaning of this landmark case.

The Board's decision was, instead, based upon the theory that the fund and the bank are not separate entities and, therefore, the policy prohibitions in Section 32 would not be violated by the proposed mutual fund operation. You claim that Section 32 applies only to formal corporate management interlocks. But the evil sought to be remedied by Section 32 is not prevented by this interpretation. Furthermore, the bank represented to the SEC that the bank and its fund are, in fact, *separate* entities and the Commission, based on this representation, granted the *fund* an exemption from the Investment Company Act prohibition against a registered investment company having a board of directors dominated by a bank. Furthermore, the fund, and not the bank, has been approved for registration with the SEC. Is the Board aware of the bank's inconsistent representations in this regard? I have more to say about this further in this letter.

You have failed to address yourselves to the real problem in this case and that is the problem of conflicts of interest which the regulation of neither the banking agencies nor of the Securities and Exchange Commission would prevent. The United States Supreme Court in *Agnew* in 1947 was well aware that banking is a supervised industry when it held that "Section 32 was designed . . . to remove tempting opportunities from the management and personnel of member banks." Former SEC Chairman Cary, in his 1963 testimony before a Congressional subcommittee, raised questions of conflicts similar to those contained in my letter to you of January 13:

"(1) Since the cash portion of the fund's portfolio may be deposited in the bank and used to make money for the bank, care must be taken to see that the question of how much of the portfolio should be kept in cash is decided on the proper grounds.

"(2) The fund has brokerage business to direct. We have learned that at present brokerage is often distributed by banks according to a formula which rewards those brokers who keep balances in the bank or have other business relations with the bank. This policy of the banks could lead to excessive portfolio turn-over or to the fund not receiving the maximum benefit from its brokerage business.

"(3) As I mentioned before, fund investments could be used to shore up bank investments.

"(4) Banks are underwriters and dealers in various kinds of Government bonds, many of which might be a suitable class of investments for the mutual funds they sponsor. It should be noted that the banks are making vigorous efforts to expand the permissible boundaries of their underwriting activities—most recently in the area of revenue bonds." Hearings before the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 11–12 (May 20, 1963).

All of these questions I commend to the Board's most serious attention and consideration. I am sorry that the Board has apparently not considered them long before now.

I also draw the Board's attention to certain requirements that last week's SEC decision imposed on the bank's plan which would materially and substantially change it from that proposal upon which the Board's

September 29 decision was based. The Board's decision published in the *Federal Register* emphasizes that only one member of the fund's management would be entirely independent of the bank, but that the remaining members would be officers in the trust department of the bank. With respect to the applicability of Section 32, the Board concluded:

"[B]ased on its understanding of the proposal and on the general principles that have been developed in respect to the application of Section 32, that the bank and Account would constitute a single entity for the purposes of Section 32, *at least so long as the operation of Account conformed to the representations made by the bank and outlined herein*. (My emphasis.) Accordingly, the Board said that Section 32 would not forbid officers of the bank to serve on Account's committee, *since Account would be regarded as nothing more than an arm of the bank.*" (Again, emphasis added.)

You will recall that in my January 13 letter, I severely criticized as unsound this theory which would permit First National City Bank to do directly that which even the Board agrees it is prohibited from doing indirectly. I still voice that criticism.

But aside from the question of the essential soundness of the Board's "unitary entity" theory, the possibility of utilizing such a theory to get around the prohibitions of Section 32 was, in my view, completely shattered by the SEC's refusal last Thursday to exempt this fund from the statutory requirement that at least 40 percent of its management be independent of the bank. Since three of the seven member management of the fund must be unaffiliated, it is clear that controlling only a bare majority of the fund's directors represents a material departure from the facts upon which the Board based its original decision, that is, the assumption that the fund will "be operated under the effective control of the bank." In view of the real likelihood that the independent directors may from time to time determine fund policies and that the approval of a majority of the independent directors is necessary to renew the fund's investment advisory contract with the bank, added to the legal right of a majority of the shareholders to cancel that contract at any time on 60 days' notice, it would be grossly inaccurate to describe the proposed fund as "nothing more than an arm or department of the bank." The legal requirements of the Investment Company Act are clearly to the contrary. This Act as a policy matter requires that a registered investment company deal at arm's length with its investment adviser (the bank). If they have to deal at arm's length, how can you possibly consider the bank and the fund a single entity?

Since the SEC has thus drastically changed the ground rules as to the fund's structure and operation from that originally presented for the Board's consideration, I know you will want to reassess your earlier decision that Section 32 would not be violated.

Furthermore, the SEC has just recently amended last week's decision and now considers First National City Bank an underwriter with respect to its proposed fund, an activity clearly prohibited by 12 U.S.C. 24(7), as well as Sections 78 and 378.

I want to make perfectly clear that the Board and I seek exactly the same objective—good administration of the law. I do not accuse any member of the Board, nor of its staff of dereliction of duty, but merely wish to remind the Board that this is a most grave decision for it to make, with no turning back. I wish to cooperate in every way I can in your efforts and will be happy to make available to you upon request an objective and independent legal appraisal of this matter as soon as it is completed by the Library of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1967.

Hon. J. L. ROBERTSON,
Vice Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C.

DEAR VICE CHAIRMAN ROBERTSON: While reviewing our recently published "get acquainted" hearings with department and agency officials, I noticed one particular question which I wish to pursue further with you.

As you may recall, last year I seriously questioned the legality of the Federal Reserve Board's ruling that our Federal banking laws do not prohibit member banks from engaging in the issuance and underwriting of equity securities. This, of course, is the now celebrated First National City Bank case currently before the Federal courts.

When you appeared before our Committee on March 15, you stated that the Board had concluded that neither section 20 nor section 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 prohibited the specific activity conducted by the First National City Bank. You further stated that the Board expressly refused to comment concerning violation of the criminal provision contained in section 21 of that Act.

Now as I recall the Board's ruling with respect to the First National City Bank application, you stated that the investment company would merely be an arm of the bank and therefore the prohibition against management interlocks in section 32 would not apply. However, a subsequent decision by the Securities and Exchange Commission provided that the investment company must have at least 40 percent of its directors completely independent of the bank. This requirement, which I understand the bank has complied with, certainly is in conflict with your earlier finding that the investment company would merely be an arm of the bank itself. Inasmuch as no more than 60 percent of the directors of the fund will be bank management, it seems to me that the problem of management interlocks raised by section 32 has not yet been resolved. I suggest that the Board reconsider its advisory decision in view of the new facts of the case resulting from the SEC ruling and the actual operation by the bank of the fund.

Also, I fail to notice in the Board's official decision any mention whatever of the applicability of section 20 of the Banking Act of 1933 with respect to this activity by First National City Bank. This is contrary to your representation before our Committee of March 15 where you stated that the Board had, in fact, considered the bank's proposal in light of section 20.

I do not understand how you can permit First National City Bank to actively engage in this activity without first determining that there is no violation of section 20 of this Act. Congress wanted to get commercial banks out of the investment banking business because of a long history of abuses, many of which involved the predecessor of First National City Bank itself. I understand the bank has publicly offered and sold several million dollars worth of shares in this fund. Inasmuch as the SEC in its decision last year specifically ruled that First National City Bank is to be considered an "underwriter", I suggest that the Board give its immediate attention to this question in light of section 20.

I will greatly appreciate your prompt attention to this very serious matter inasmuch as in my opinion the Board has rewritten our banking laws without benefit of Congressional action in much the same way as former Comptroller of the Currency Saxon. The fact that it is the subject of pending litigation is no reason for the Board to permit an erroneous decision to remain outstanding.

Sincerely,

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This refers to your letter of May 17, 1967, with regard to certain aspects of the Board's interpretation published at 1965 Federal Reserve Bulletin 1410 (12 CFR 218.111) concluding that section 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 (the "Act") does not forbid officers of a national bank to serve at the same time on the committee of a commingled investment account operated by the bank.

Your letter first asks that the Board reconsider its interpretation in view of the decision by the Securities and Exchange Commission that the account in question (as a regulated investment company, for the purposes of the statutes administered by the Commission) must have at least 40 per cent of its directors independent of the bank. In reply, I refer you to a letter of the Board dated March 31, 1966, to William Everdell, Counsel to First National City Bank of New York, a copy of which was forwarded to you under cover of a letter of April 1, 1966. In this letter, the Board expressed agreement "with the conclusion apparently reached by the Commission that having 40 per cent of the members of the committee unaffiliated with the bank will not prevent the proposed account from being operated under the effective control of the bank."

Your second question has to do with the fact that the Board's published interpretation does not discuss section 20 of the Act. Section 20 forbids affiliation of a member bank with any organization engaged "principally" in certain described securities activities. As is clear from my testimony before your Committee on March 15, 1967, the Board necessarily considered both section 32 and section 20 in reaching its original conclusion in the matter, although the question presented was limited to section 32. You will recall that in his response of December 15, 1965, to your letter of September 26, 1965, Chairman Martin discussed the possible application of section 20 to a hypothetical situation described by you, involving the acquisition by a national bank of controlling stock of a securities business primarily engaged in activities of the kind described in that section.

The Board's interpretation referred to above dealt not with a situation where a separately formed subsidiary has been acquired by a bank, but rather with an extension of existing banking activities, under the effective control of, and effectively integrated with the bank itself. It should be emphasized again that the Board was not asked to comment on the propriety of such an activity by a national bank, which was a matter within the jurisdiction of the Comptroller of the Currency, nor does it have statutory authority to conclude that the activity violates section 21 of the Act, which is a matter within the competence of the Department of Justice and the Courts.

As noted above, the question before the Board was limited to the possible applicability of section 32 to a collateral aspect of the matter, i.e., whether interlocking service could exist between two arms or departments of the same entity. A fortiori, the Board's conclusion that the bank and its commingled account constituted a single entity also requires the conclusion that section 20 does not apply.

If I can be of any further assistance in this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

J. L. Robertson.

House of Representatives,
Committee on Banking and Currency,
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1967.
Hon. J. L. Robertson,
Vice Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Robertson: While it is not my intention to pursue further the question of the registered investment company operated by the First National City Bank, I do wish to raise one final point about this matter.

Your interpretation of the law reaches the anomalous conclusion that Congress, in 1933, was concerned about stopping banks from having an interlocking relationship with securities issuers and underwriters but was not concerned about banks engaging in these operations themselves in a direct manner. I hardly believe that the legislative history supports such a conclusion.

Furthermore, while the prohibition in section 32 speaks in terms of "interlocks," section 20 speaks in terms of "affiliates." The latter section flatly prohibits member banks from being *affiliated* with securities underwriters. An "affiliate" is defined, among other things, as any association of which a member bank controls in any manner the election of a majority of its directors, trustees, or other persons exercising similar functions . . ." Insofar as section 20 is concerned, can a valid argument be advanced that it makes a material difference that the bank and the underwriter constitute a single entity rather than having an interlocking relationship? I think not. What is meant by an affiliate is made quite plain in section 2(b).

As you know, First National City Bank controls 60 percent of the board of directors of the investment company. My final question is, therefore, and I make this in the form of a request for an official opinion of the Board, which for some reason the Board failed to include in its published decision (12 C.F.R. 218.111), is, or is not this investment company an "affiliate" of First National City Bank within the meaning of section 2(b) of the Banking Act of 1933? Is not this investment company a securities issuer and underwriter?

In addressing yourselves to these questions, I would suggest to the Board that with respect to the legal ramifications of its present interpretation of section 32 and its apparent interpretation of section 20, I have been advised that member banks would be free to establish controlled affiliates to engage in most any securities or other enterprise they would deem profitable, including the underwriting of revenue bonds.

I must respectfully reject the legal arguments advanced in your reply letter of May 24, and once again urge you to reconsider your earlier decision. This concludes my statements to the Board in this matter.

Sincerely,

Wright Patman, *Chairman.*

Board of Governors of the
Federal Reserve System,
Washington, D.C.
Hon. Wright Patman,
Chairman, Banking and Currency Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: This refers to your letter of May 27, 1967, in response to my letter of May 24, 1967, regarding sections 20, 21, and 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 (12 U.S.C. 377, 378, and 78, the "Act") and the Board's interpretation in 1965 concerning the commingled investment account of First National City Bank of New York, as to which you urge reconsideration by the Board.

The Board has again reconsidered its conclusion that the operation of the commingled investment account established by First National City Bank of New York does not involve a violation of those sections of the Banking Act of 1933 which the Board was directed by Congress to administer. For the reasons set out in previous correspondence with you and discussed further below, the Board finds no sound basis for altering the views heretofore expressed.

Your letter states that the Board's interpretation of the law "reaches the anomalous conclusion that Congress, in 1933, was concerned about stopping banks from having an interlocking relationship with securities issuers and underwriters but was not concerned about banks engaging in these operations themselves in a direct manner." It is respectfully submitted that this is not an accurate summary of the Board's position. As the Board has repeatedly pointed out, section 21 of the Act, a criminal statute whose interpretation is not within the Board's jurisdiction, forbids banks (with certain exceptions) to engage in issuing securities.

The second question raised in your letter is whether an affiliation subject to the prohibitions of section 20 of the Act, should be held to exist where a bank performs activities described in that section in a division of its own trust department.

The Board has consistently taken the view that sections 32, 20, and 21 of the Act, while not identical in terminology, form parts of an interrelated statutory scheme, under which section 21 forbids banks to engage to any extent whatever in certain prohibited activities, while sections 20 and 32 are directed at means by which they might avoid this prohibition, either by affiliating themselves with organizations engaged "principally" in the activities, or informally, by having interlocking relationships with organizations engaged "primarily" in the activities. Before section 20 can apply, (1) there must be a "corporation, association, business trust, or other similar organization", (2) the organization must be "principally" engaged in the described activities, and (3) the bank must be affiliated with the organization in the manner described in section 2(b) of the Act.

The Board has taken the view that the first factor is not present in the case of First National City Bank's commingled investment account. While the account might be an "association" for purposes of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a), it is not such an organization for purposes of the Banking Act of 1933. As the Board has pointed out, the Investment Company Act of 1940 was drafted in considerably broader terms than was section 20, and a mere informal group of persons can qualify as an "investment company" under the latter statute (cf. *Prudential Insurance Company of America* v. *S.E.C.*, 326 F. 2d. 383, 387, 3d. Cir. 1964). By contrast, the phrase "corporation, association, business trust, or other similar organization" in section 20 of the 1933 Act has a fairly well-defined legal meaning. The Board, always subject of course to correction and guidance by the courts, does not consider the First National City Bank's commingled investment account to be such an organization for purposes of this section.

The essential question involved in this matter, in the Board's view, is whether operation of such an account is a lawful activity for a national bank. This question is within the competence of the Comptroller of the Currency, and as you are aware, the Comptroller has answered in the affirmative. The Department of Justice has not, apparently, at this time taken the view that section 21 would forbid operation of the account. As has been stated, the Board does not believe it has jurisdiction to pass on this question. It may be remarked, however, that operation of a commingled account rather closely resembles operation of a common trust fund on the one hand, and operation of an agency management account on the other, both of which are lawful activities for member banks.

The Board's interpretation published in 1965 Federal Reserve Bulletin 1410 (12 CFR 218.11), concluding that section 32 does not forbid interlocking service between First National City Bank and its commingled account, is expressly conditioned on several factors designed to limit the extent and marketing of the account. No sales fee is charged, minimum participations are $10,000 and the bank agrees not to promote the account except as part of its ordinary trust services. The Board expressly cautioned that any departure from these conditions might tend to weaken the conclusion that the account was not a separate entity from the bank, and could lead to a different conclusion.

Finally, the Board fails to see any connection between its holding on the question of the commingled account described in the interpretation mentioned above, and the question whether banks can or may deal in revenue bonds. Your letter states that under the Board's interpretation cited above, "member banks would be free to establish controlled affiliates to engage in most any securities or other enterprise they would deem profitable, including the underwriting of revenue bonds." As Chairman Martin pointed out in his letter to you of December 15, 1965, acquisition of stock in a controlled affiliate of the kind described in your letter would be forbidden by paragraph Seventh of 12 U.S.C. section 24 (section 5136 of the Revised Statutes). In addition, it seems highly probable that such a situation would come within the purview of section 20 of the Act. The Board can find no basis for your suggestion that its interpretation would facilitate such underwriting or issuing, either by a member bank itself, or through an affiliate controlled by such a bank.

Sincerely,

J. L. Robertson.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Jan. 15, 1966]

PATMAN FOR DELAY ON CITIBANK MOVE

Rep. Wright Patman, D., Tex., requested that the Securities and Exchange Commission delay a decision on whether First National City Bank should be allowed to offer a commingled investment account that would compete with mutual funds. Mr. Patman, a foe of the Citibank move, said the delay was needed so the House Banking and Currency Committee which he heads can look into the Federal Reserve Board's approval of the plan. He said in a letter to SEC chairman Manual F. Cohen that he believes the Board's ruling was "a gross misinterpretation of the law." The SEC hearings are scheduled for Tuesday.

[From the American Banker, June 6, 1967]

PATMAN SAYS FED OPENED LOOPHOLE ON UNDERWRITERS

(By Joseph D. Hutnyan)

Washington.—Wright Patman, D., Tex., chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Monday charged that the Federal Reserve Board has opened a loophole for banks interested in underwriting and dealing in revenue bonds.

Mr. Patman said these securities could be issued under the Fed's 1965 decision which permitted First National City Bank, New York, to set up a mutual fund-type operation.

The chairman said this was the effect of the Fed ruling when it decided that the mutual fund subsidiary proposed by FNCB was part of its banking operation.

"This precedent-shattering interpretation . . . of the Banking Act of 1933," he said, "clearly implies that if member banks, including national banks, desire to engage in general underwriting of common stocks, preferred stocks, corporate bonds, as well as revenue bonds, then the Federal Reserve Act is no bar, provided it is done through a 'satellite' set-up."

Mr. Patman claimed this is clearly contradictory to a previous Fed ruling which said that commercial banks could not handle revenue bonds.

He also noted that the courts so far have refused to sanction bank underwriting of revenue bonds.

Mr. Patman charged that the Fed is guilty of "an extreme example of bureaucratic confusion and self-contradiction" and is "completely oblivious . . . of the clear expression in the laws . . . that commercial banking and investment banking be kept separated."

Both FNCB and the revenue bond underwriting cases are still in the courts.

However, the Fed has taken the position that its two rulings are entirely consistent.

The Fed had decided that FNCB's commingled account was not a separate entity and therefore did not violate the section of the national banking law which bans interlocking directorates.

Lawyers for the agency claim this interpretation was strictly limited to the FNCB situation, and did not represent blanket permission for all banks to set up subsidiaries to deal in revenue bonds and other securities.

[In the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia]

INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS, v. WILLIAM B. CAMP, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY, DEFENDANT—CIVIC ACTION No. 1083-66

OPINION

G. Duane Vieth, Esq., James F. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Charles R. Halpern, Esq., Arnold & Porter, Esqs., and Robert L. Augenblick, Esq., for plaintiffs.

Barefoot Sanders, Assistant Attorney General, Harland F. Leathers, Esq., Irwin Goldbloom, Esq., and Stephen M. Truitt, Esq., Department of Justice, David G. Bress, United States Attorney, and Joseph M. Hannon, Esq., Assistant United States Attorney, for defendant.

This action is brought against the Comptroller of the Currency by the Investment Company Institute in its representative capacity of the open-end investment companies, investment advisers and principal underwriters which comprise its membership. The Investment Company Institute (hereinafter called the Institute) is an unincorporated association, having its principal place of business in the city, county and state of New York. The Institute is a national association, having as its members 177 open-end management investment companies and their 88 investment advisers and 78 principal underwriters. The open-end management investment companies which are members of the Institute have assets of $36 billion, representing about 94 percent of the assets of all such companies in the United States, and have approximately 3.5 million shareholders. The other plaintiffs in this action are several individual members of the Institute. They seek an injunction to restrain the Comptroller from authorizing national banks to collectively invest funds tendered to the bank as managing agent solely for investment purposes. They also pray for a declaratory judgment adjudicating the pertinent regulation promulgated by the Comptroller to be invalid.

The action is now before this court on cross motions for summary judgment, all of the parties agreeing that no factual issues exist and that the legal issues are ripe for disposition by summary proceedings.

It is first necessary to review and to delineate the factual background upon which the issues in this action arose and within which these motions are made. In September of 1962 the statutory authority to regulate the fiduciary activities of national banks was transferred from the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to the Comptroller of the Currency. Pub. L. 87-722, 76 Stat. 668, 12 U.S.C. § 92 a. Pursuant to this authority, the Comptroller caused to be published in the Federal Register for February 5, 1963, a proposed revision of the fiduciary regulation, 12 C.F.R. § 9. In addition to the types of collective investment funds permitted under the prior regulation, this proposed revision provided that national banks were authorized to invest funds held in the capacity of managing agent in a collective investment account, 12 C.F.R. § 9.18(a)(3).[1] Moreover, the proposed revised regulation allowed the Comptroller to approve collective investment of such funds in manners other than those expressly provided by Regulation 9, 12 C.F.R. § 9.18(c)(5).[2]

The Comptroller invited national banks and other interested parties to submit comments pertaining to the proposed regulation. Plaintiff Institute, on behalf of its members, participated to the full degree permitted and submitted a statement in opposition to the proposed regulation. It premised its argument on the same basis that it is presenting before this court, namely, that the revised regulation would allegedly permit activity prohibited by 12 U.S.C. § 92(a), and certain provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act, as amended, 12 U.S.C., §§ 24, 78, 377 and 378. Notwithstanding this opposition the final regulation was adopted by the Comptroller on April 5, 1963, and revised by minor modifications on February 5, 1964, 12 C.F.R. § 9.18.

Pursuant to the regulation, on May 10, 1965, the Comptroller approved a plan submitted by First National City Bank of New York (hereinafter referred to as the Bank) for the establishment and operation of a collective investment fund, called the Commingled Investment Account, under Regulation 9, 12 C.F.R. § 9. The plan as outlined by the Bank differed from the specifically enumerated collective investment funds authorized by the Comptroller's revised Regulation, but the bank, pursuant to 12 C.F.R. § 9.18(c)(5) sought and obtained the Comptroller's written approval of the plan.

On April 20, 1966, the Bank registered its Commingled Investment Account with the Securities and Exchange Commission pursuant to the Investment Company Act of 1940, 15 U.S.C. § 80 as an open-end management investment company. On the same date, the Bank filed a registration statement with the Securities and Exchange Commission pursuant to the Securities Act of 1933, 15 U.S.C. § 77, for the purpose of registering the participating interests or units to be issued by its Commingled Investment Account. The registration statement concerning those participating interests or units became effective on June 14, 1966. From that date the Bank has offered and sold to the public participating interests or units issued by the Commingled Investment Account by means of the prospectus for the First National City's Commingled Investment Account.

Before proceeding to the merits of this controversy, it is best at this time to specifically describe the operation of a mutual fund and the operation of the Commingled Investment Account (hereinafter referred to as the Account) so that a better understanding of the problem can be achieved.

Generally, "mutual funds" are open-end management companies engaged in the business of continuously issuing and offering for sale redeemable securities which represent an undivided interest in the fund's assets. Most mutual funds are corporate in form and the securities issued by them usually consist of capital stock. However, there are a number of mutual funds in a variety of noncorporate forms and the securities issued by some of them are variously denominated as beneficial interests, participating agreements, and the like. The proceeds from the sale of the securities issued by a mutual fund are invested in a portfolio of securities of various kinds, in accordance with the stated investment policy of the particular fund. Some funds invest primarily in securities offering current income; others concentrate on long-term growth securities; still others specialize in particular industries or classes of securities; and many offer various combinations of objectives. The shareholder in a mutual fund is entitled at any time to redeem his interest, usually at net asset value, or in a few instances upon payment of a charge. To facilitate this redemption privilege as well as to establish a price at which new shares are being offered, the value of a share in a mutual fund is calculated regularly, typically twice daily, on the basis of the market value of the securities held by the fund. Because of the continuous process of redemption, the mutual fund would be restricted and contracted in size, unless it continuously issued and offered new securities for sale.

Except in unique circumstances, virtually no shares in mutual funds are traded from one investor to another, and there is no significant trading market for such shares. In almost all cases, shareholders in mutual funds desiring to obtain cash for their shares redeem them with the issuing company. The securities issued by most mutual funds are offered to the public at a price which includes a sales commission or sales load. There are some mutual funds whose shares are sold with no sales commission being charged. These latter funds are frequently called "no load" mutual funds. The activities of mutual funds are under the control of a board of directors or board of trustees. Directors or trustees are elected annually by the vote of a majority of the fund's outstanding voting securities.

Mutual funds usually contract an outside investment adviser for investment advice and other management services, and with a principal underwriter for the distribution of the fund's shares, pursuant to the statutory pattern established by the Investment Company Act of 1940, 15 U.S.C. § 80a-15. The investment adviser of a mutual fund furnishes advice to the fund with respect to its investment portfolio and the securities it should buy, hold, and sell. In some cases the adviser is empowered to purchase and sell securities for the fund. Some investment advisers also furnish supervisory and administrative services to the mutual fund. The investment adviser receives compensation for its services, usually in the form of a fee based on the total value of the assets being managed.

The principal underwriter of a mutual fund is engaged in the business of selling and distributing the securities issued by the fund to the investing public through brokers or dealers, or directly through the underwriter's own salesmen, or both. The principal underwriter either purchases the securities issued by the fund for resale or acts as agent for the fund in distributing the securities. Except in the case of a no-load fund, the principal underwriter receives a fee for its services, usually in the form of a portion of the sales commission included in the selling price of the shares issued by the mutual fund.

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[1] (3) In a common trust fund, maintained by the bank exclusively for the collective investment and reinvestment of monies contributed thereto by the bank in its capacity as managing agent under a managing agency agreement expressly providing that such monies are received by the bank in trust.

[2] (5) In such other manner as shall be approved in writing by the Comptroller of the Currency.

Mutual funds are required to be registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission pursuant to the Investment Company Act of 1940. The activities of the mutual funds and their relationship with affiliated persons and others are all subject to regulation under the Act. The investment advisers and principal underwriters who are plaintiffs herein, perform their services for the mutual funds they serve pursuant to contracts, the terms, execution and continuation of which are subject to the provisions of Section 15 of the Investment Company Act of 1940, 15 U.S.C. § 80a–15. The securities issued by each of the mutual fund members of the Institute are registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission pursuant to the Securities Act of 1933, 15 U.S.C. § 77. All such securities are offered to the investing public by means of a prospectus which is initially filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission under the Securities Act of 1933 as part of the registration statement for the securities to which the prospectus relates.

As can be readily ascertained, the mutual fund community is composed of three principal members. First the body corporate of the fund itself whose membership is the general investing public. This relationship is analogous to the common productive corporate structure. However, the primary function of the investment corporation is to obtain the objectives which are outlined in their charter through the mutual investment of the funds contributed by the "shareholders". *Alfred Inv. Inst.* v. *S.E.C.*, 151 F.2d 254 (1st Cir. 1945) *cert. denied* 326 U.S. 795, 66 S.Ct. 486, 90 L.Ed. 483 (1945). The relationship between the shareholder and the body corporate is plainly one of contract. *Stevenot* v. *Norbert*, 210 F.2d 615 (9th Cir. 1954); see also *Schroeter* v. *Bartlett Syndicate Bldg. Corp.*, 8 Cal. 2d 12, 63 F.2d 824, 825, *Ellingwood* v. *Wolf's Head Refining Co.*, 38 A.2d 743, 27 D.Ch. 356 (1944), 154 A.L.R. 406, *Corporations*, 18 Am. Jur. 2d § 463 (1965).

The management function of the mutual fund lies with the board of directors. They have essentially the equivalent powers as any corporate board of directors. In the same manner they are also responsible to their shareholders as fiduciaries. *Pepper* v. *Litton*, 308 U.S. 295, 60 S.Ct. 238, 84 L.Ed. 281 (1939), *Brown* v. *Bullock*, 194 F.Supp. 207 (S.D.N.Y. 1961) affirmed 294 F.2d 415 (2nd. Cir. 1961).

The board of directors within its broad scope of authority has the power to enter into contracts with the other two members of the mutual fund community, that is the investment advisers and the underwriters. The functions performed by the latter two members of the mutual fund community is essential for the propagation of the investment or the mutual fund corporation. The interrelationship of these independent entities is one of contract which essentially determines the respective position occupied within the structure by each member. The independence of each member is governed by statute as is their interdependence; see the Investment Company Act of 1940, 15 U.S.C. § 80a–1 et seq.

The above few paragraphs outline the general operation of the mutual fund structure. A similar outline is now presented for the operation of the Account as created by the Bank and approved by the Comptroller pursuant to Regulation 9.

The Account as established by the Bank, operates as follows: the investor-customer tenders his funds, $10,000 or more, to the Bank pursuant to a broad authorization making in the Bank the customer's managing agent. There is thus created a principal-agent relationship between each individual investor-customer and the Bank. The authorization includes specific authority for the Bank to invest the customer's funds, together with the funds of other customers who have given the equivalent authorization, through the commingled Account. Funds in the commingled Account are invested in a pool of securities, principally common stocks and securities convertible into common stocks, offering the opportunity for long term growth of capital and income. The Account is divided into "units of participation" of equal value in order to determine conveniently the proportionate interest of each participant. No certificates indicating the "units of participation" are issued by the Bank; however, the participant is informed by a non-negotiable document as to how many "units of participation" are contained in his account.

A participation is transferable only to another person who has validly appointed the Bank as managing agent, and, because of the underlying agency relationship, the interest of participant terminates upon his death or incompetency and his funds are withdrawn from the Account and held for his legal representatives. There is no sales charge imposed on amounts invested in the commingled Account nor is there any redemption charge incurred upon withdrawal from the Account. An investor-customer may terminate his participation in whole or in part on the basis of the net asset value of the units of participation being redeemed. The net asset value of each unit of participation is determined as of the close of business of each of a number of specified valuation dates by dividing the net asset value of the Account as of the close of business on the valuation date by the number of units of participation then outstanding.

The operation of the Account is supervised by a Committee of five persons, who act essentially as a board of directors of the Account. Initially the members were appointed by the Bank, but hereafter are to be elected annually by the participants. Each participant will be entitled to vote at the election of the Committee members and his vote will be weighted according to the number of "units of participation" in his account. At least 40% of the members of the Committee must at all times be persons not affiliated with the Bank, but the majority of the members may be, and are expected to be, officers in the Bank's Trust and Investment Division.

The Committee is authorized to enter into a management agreement with the Bank. The agreement and any amendments thereto must be approved by more than 50% of the participants at their annual meeting and the Comptroller's approval thereof must also be obtained.

In accordance with the management agreement, the Bank serves as investment adviser and custodian for the Account. The Bank, therefore, maintains a continuous investment program consistent with the commingled Account's stated investment policy; it will determine what securities are to be purchased and sold, and will execute all transactions. The management agreement provides that the Bank will furnish all administrative, custodial and clerical services required by the Account and will pay all the organization costs and expenses. Subsequent maintenance fees, the cost of independent professional services, such as legal, auditing and accounting services, and the cost of preparation and distribution of notices to particpants and proxy statements are to be borne by the commingled Account. The Bank will, however, reimburse the Account for the compensation and expenses, if any, paid by the Account to the members of the Committee who are not affiliated with the Bank; the other members of the Committee will receive no separate compensation for their services to the Account. For these services the Bank receives a fee equal to ⅛th of 1 per cent of the average of the net asset value of the Account taken on each valuation date during each fiscal quarter, which is approximately ½ of 1 per cent on an annual basis.

Essentially, the commingled management agency Account as delineated by the Bank's plan consists of two principal members, the first being the membership of the Account consisting of the investor-customer, and the second being the Bank which occupies a dual position, one as investment adviser to the Account and the other as general agent to the participants of the Account. The Bank can also be considered to occupy the position of underwriter for the units of participation which are issued to the investor-customer. The Committee of the Account occupies a position equivalent to that occupied by the board of directors of the mutual funds.

The Account has been approved by the Comptroller, even though it does not essentially comply with all provisions of Regulation 9 as promulgated by him. This action indicates that even though the Account as presently structured does not meet every minute detail of the Regulation, any future plans similar to the one established by the Bank will obtain his approval under 12 C.F.R. § 9.18(c)(5). Therefore, it is not necessary for this court to analyze the differences between the Account as established by the Bank and Regulation 9. For the disposition of the issues before this court, the Account will be treated as if it completely meets the substantive requirements of Regulation 9. 12 C.F.R. § 9.

Before the merits of the issues in this case can be reached, two preliminary procedural matters must be noted. The Comptroller interposes the objection that the plaintiffs lack standing to sue, and that there is no justiciable issue before this court.

These issues—standing and justiciability—are nominally termed procedural only to differentiate between the initial hurdles which a plaintiff must overcome in order to obtain a judicial determination of his action on the merits, and the actual adjudication of the case on its substantive issues. This characterization often borders on mere semantics, since in order to obtain the proper perspective and focus upon the essence of these isues, as here, the substantive law upon which the plaintiffs premise their action must also be taken into account.

Standing has been, and remains, one of the most enigmatic areas of the law. 3 Davis, *Administrative Law Treatise*, § 22.18, at 291–92, n. 3. The courts have not developed a single formula which can be applied to a set of facts to determine whether a plaintiff has or does not have standing. The ever changing concepts which have been used in this area of the law can be readily ascertained by the many cases which have been cited in the briefs of both parties upholding their contentions. Due to the pervasiveness of definition in this area, the court is left with no alternative but to examine the long list of cases which hold that a particular plaintiff had standing on one hand, and on the other the long list of cases where the plaintiff has been denied his day in court because of the lack of standing.

Standing has been generally expressed by an indication that the alleged aggrieved party has asserted a legal right which was his to assert, or has been injured, or has been threatened with injury. *Perkins* v. *Luken Steel Co.*, 310 U.S. 113 (1940), cf *FCC* v. *Panders Bros. Radio Station*, 309 U.S. 470 (1940), *Pierce* v. *Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925). But standing should not be confused with the doctrine of standing to sue which provides that in an action in a federal constitutional court, by a citizen against a government officer in his official capacity, there is no justiciable controversy unless the citizen shows that such conduct invaded or will invade a private substantive legally protected interest. *Associated Ind.* v. *Ickes*, 134 F. 2d 694 702 (2nd Cir. 1943) *vacated as moot*, 320 U.S. 707 (1943), but see *Scott* v. *Macy*, 121 U.S. App. D.C. 205, 349 F. 2d 182 (D.C. Cir. 1965). The former standing is basically a means by which courts can accept or refuse jurisdiction, and it generally alludes to the capacity of a party to obtain judicial review of an administrative action. See *U.S.* v. *Storer Broadcasting Co.*, 351 U.S. 192, 197 (1956) and Jaffe, *Primary Jurisdiction*, 77 Harv. L. Rev. 1037 (1964). The doctrine of standing to sue is generally directed towards the capacity of a plaintiff to present his case before a district court *ab initio*.

The question as to whether a plaintiff may obtain judicial relief in cases like this has been variously phrased, but the many appellations which have been devised do not detract from the underlying policy objective which permeates each of these cases. This policy is well enshrined in Article III, § 2 of the United States Constitution, that is, a "constitutional" federal court cannot be given power to sit in judgment and revise administrative action, since there is no justiciable controversy and the opinion thus issued would merely be advisory. See concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Frankfurter in *Anti-Fascist Committee* v. *McGrath*, 341 U.S. 123, 149, 150 (1951), *Muskrat* v. *U.S.*, 219 U.S. 346, (1911), *C&S Airlines* v. *Waterman Corp.*, 333 U.S. 103, 113 (1948), *United Public Workers* v. *Mitchell*, 330 U.S. 75, 89 (1947), *Associated Ind.* v. *Ickes, supra*.

Standing to challenge an administrative action can be premised on a statutory provision specifically appended to the statute under which the administrative action was promulgated or where the provision for review has been made generally applicable by the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. §§ 701–704 (recodified by Pub. Law 89–554, 80 Stat. 378). Since there is no specific provision for review of the Comptroller's regulation within the terms of the enabling statute, Title 12, Section 1 *et seq.*, the terms of the Administrative Procedure Act will apply. *Citizens Nat. Bank of Maplewood* v. *Saxon*, 249 F. Supp. 557 (D.C. Mo. 1965),, affirmed 370 F. 2d 381 (8th Cir. 1966). See also *United Gas Pipe Line Co.* v. *F.P.C.*, 181 F. 2d 796 (D.C. Cir. 1950), cert. denied 340 U.S. 827 (1950)

The pertinent section of the Administrative Procedure Act specifically provides that:

"Any person suffering legal wrong because of agency action, or adversely affected or aggrieved by action within the meaning of a relevant statute, is entitled to judicial review thereof." 5 U.S.C. § 702.

Under this statutory provision a plaintiff must allege that he has suffered a legal wrong or that a legally protected right will be adversely affected or aggrieved by the agency's action in order to obtain standing before this court. The plaintiffs here are alleging that they are suffering a legal wrong by the allegedly illegal competition made possible by the Comptroller's regulation, thereby being adversely affected or aggrieved. The exact amount of damages which will be incurred by the plaintiffs is rather difficult to assess in precise figures, but the Comptroller has predicted that over the next five to ten years, commercial banks might capture as much as two billion dollars of mutual fund business.[3] The defendant interposes that the competition, even if illegally promulgated, does not create any legal wrong for which the plaintiffs may complain.

In support of its contention that the plaintiffs are not suffering any legal wrong and thereby lack standing to challenge the Comptroller's regulation, the defendant relies on a series of cases which contain the general principle that mere competitive injury made possible by governmental action does not confer standing on the injured party to restrain governmental action. *Tennessee Power Co.* v. *TVA*, 306 U.S. 118, 137 (1938), *Alabama Power Co.* v. *Ickes*, 302 U.S. 464, 479 (1937), *Perkins* v. *Lukens Steel Co.*, 310 U.S. 113 (1940), *Texas State AFL–CIO* v. *Kennedy*, 330 F. 2d 217, 218 (D.C. Cir. 1964), *Benson* v. *Schofield*, 336 F. 2d 719 (D.C. Cir. 1965), *cert. denied* 352 U.S. 976, *Kansas City Power & Light Co.* v. *McKay*, 225 F. 2d 924 (D.C. Cir. 1955), *cert. denied* 350 U.S. 884, 76 S. Ct. 137, 100 L. Ed. 780 (1955). In these cases, the plaintiffs alleged that they were suffering economic loss from the government created competition, but it is significant to note that the competition created by government action in these cases was specifically authorized and sanctioned by Congress and was based upon specific statutory grounds.

Moreover, most of the cases cited by the defendant in support of his allegation that the plaintiffs lack standing have been assiduously distinguished by subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court, even though they have not been expressly overruled. In *Chicago* v. *Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway*, 357 U.S. 77 (1958), the Supreme Court gave explicit recognition to a competitor's standing to challenge illegal competition. That case involved two competitors, one of whom (Parmelee) had alleged that the other (Transfer) was operating illegally because it had not complied with certain licensing requirements imposed by the City of Chicago. Transfer argued that Parmelee had no standing to object to Transfer's allegedly illegal competition, but this argument was flatly rejected by the Court:

"It is enough, for purposes of standing, that we have an actual controversy before us in which Parmelee has a direct and substantial personal interest in the outcome. Undoubtedly it is adversely affected by Transfer's operation. Parmelee contends that this operation is prohibited by a valid city ordinance and asserts the right to be free from unlawful competition.

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"[Transfer] argues that a party has no right to complain about unlawful competition, citing *Alabama Power Co.* v. *Ickes*, 302 U.S. 464 and *Tennessee Electric Power Co.* v. *TVA*, 306 U.S. 118. We do not regard either of these cases as controlling here. It seems to us that Transfer's argument confuses the merits of the controversy with the standing of Parmelee to litigate them. . . . Parmelee's standing could hardly depend on whether or not it is eventually held that Transfer can lawfully operate without a certificate of convenience and necessity." 357 U.S. 77, at 83–84.

With regard to some later cases holding that competitors had standing, see *American Trucking Ass'n.* v. *U.S.*, 364 U.S. 1 (1960), *National Motor Freight Ass'n.* v. *U.S.*, 371 U.S. 223, rehearing denied 372 U.S. 246 (1963), affirming 205 F.Supp. 592 (D.C.D.C. 1962) only on the merits but not as to the standing issued; *Philco Corp.* v. *FCC*, 257 F.2d 656 (D.C. Cir. 1958), *cert. denied* 358 U.S. 946, 79 S.Ct. 350, 3 L.Ed.2d 352 (1959), *Whitney National Bank* v. *Bank of New Orleans & Trust Co.*, 323 F.2d 290 (D.C. Cir. 1963), rev'd on other grounds, 379 U.S. 411 (1965).

In two recent cases challenging the authority of the Comptroller to promulgate regulations under other sections of the banking statutes, the plaintiffs have been granted standing to challenge the regulations over the objections of the Comptroller. Since these cases are directly in point they will be discussed at length. In *Baker, Watts & Co.* v. *Saxon*, 261 F.Supp. 247 (D.C.D.C. 1966), a number of plaintiffs, engaged in underwriting and distributing revenue bonds, sought a declaratory judgment that the Comptroller's regulations authorizing commercial banks, for the first time, to enter the revenue bond business violated the Glass-Steagall Act. The Comptroller raised the standing defense, citing the identical cases as brought forth in his present argument. Judge Holtzoff summarily disposed of that contention by stating:

"The gravamen of the plaintiffs' claim for relief is that they are being subjected to competition by illegal activities of national banks. While no one may maintain a suit to restrain lawful competition merely because he is suffering an economic detriment, nevertheless, a person has a standing to complain against illegal competition, or specifically, against competition on the part of a person who lacks the legal right or power to pursue the competitive activities." 261 F. Supp. at 248.

Judge Holtzoff's opinion focuses not on the impairment of the plaintiffs' competitive position by the unlawfully created competition, but rather on the premise that but for the illegal competition condoned by the Comptroller's regulation, the plaintiffs would not have any economic detriment to base their complaint.

Likewise, in *Georgia Association of Independent Insurance Agents, Inc.* v. *Saxon*, 260 F.Supp. 802 (N.D. Geo. 1966), the district court denied a motion to dismiss for lack of standing. In that case the Comptroller had authorized, for the first time, national banks to sell insurance in towns with more than 5000 people, even though Section 92 of Title 12 of the United States Code permitted banks to act as insurance agents only in places with a population of 5000 or less. Plaintiffs were insurance agents and trade organizations representing insurance agents. Plaintiffs there alleged that the Comptroller was acting beyond his authority to issue the ruling which was in direct violation of 12 U.S.C. § 92 and that, as a result, national banks were able to illegally compete with the plaintiffs. The district court, in reaching its conclusion, observed that:

"In *Tennessee Power Co., supra*, and in *Alabama Power Co.* v. *Ickes*, 302 U.S. 464, 58 S.Ct. 300, 82 L.Ed. 374 (1937), the plaintiffs alleged that they were suffering economic loss from the government created competition. In both cases the Supreme Court held that such economic loss alone did not confer standing on the aspiring plaintiffs. It is important to note that such competition was authorized by Congress and was based upon statutory grounds.

"In the instant case, the competition complained of is not explicitly authorized by statute, but rather is impliedly prohibited by the congressional grant of power. . . ." 260 F. Supp. at 803.

The district judge, in denying the Comptroller's motion to dismiss, further stated:

"The Court is of the opinion that the defendant's attack on the plaintiff's standing is without merit. Title 12, U.S.C.A. § 92 has the effect of protecting insurance agents from certain competition. Surely, the plaintiffs have the right to their day in court to show that the protection afforded them by 12 U.S.C.A. § 92 has been violated." 260 F. Supp. at 804.

Subsequent to its finding of standing, the District Court ruled on the merits of the issues and granted the declaratory judgment and injunction which was sought by the plaintiffs. 268 F. Supp. 236 (N.D. Geo. 1967).

Defendant places great reliance in his brief on the recent case of *Pennsylvania Railroad Co.* v. *Dillon*, 335 F. 2d 292 (D.C. Cir. 1964), *cert. denied sub nom, American Hawaiian Steamship Co.* v. *Dillon*, 379 U.S. 945 (1964).

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[3] *Hearings on H.R. 8499, 9410 before the Commerce and Finance Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce*, 88 Cong. 2d Sess. p. 26 (1964). See also Comment, *Of Banks and Mutual Funds:* The Collective Investment Trust, 20 Sw.L.J. 334 (1966).

In that case plaintiffs alleged not only that defendant Dillon had exceeded his statutory authority but also that the competitive activity which had been allowed was in and of itself illegal. The competing carriers challenged the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to enroll certain vessels in the coastwise trade, allegedly in violation of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, as amended, 46 U.S.C. § 883. That section prohibited the enrollment and documentation of vessels "jumboized" by the installation of foreign-made mid-bodies. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit found that the carriers lacked standing even though they alleged the competition was illegal and in violation of the specific provision of the statute. The Court pointed out the dichotomy of Section 10(a) of the A.P.A., namely the "legal wrong" aspect and the "adversely affected or aggrieved" aspect, as it related to the issue of standing and it concluded that:

> "Under either leg of Section 10(a), therefore, since appellants only complain of government enhanced competition, they must demonstrate 'statutory aid to standing'." 335 F. 2d at 295.

After analyzing the enabling statute the Court concluded that "Congress did not intend to insulate coastwise carriers from other domestic competition or to give them any legally protected right to be free from such competition." 335 F. 2d at 295.

A close analysis of the holding in the *Pennsylvania Railroad, supra,* case does not require a determination of the standing issue adverse to the plaintiffs. In that case the Court of Appeals found that the underlying purpose of the statute under which the regulation was promulgated was to stimulate and encourage resort to domestic shipyards and thus to ensure them sufficient business so that their facilities would be adequate at times of national emergencies, 335 F. 2d 292, at 295. The statutes, under which the regulation in issue was promulgated, were enacted to establish a clear Congressional policy which sought to separate national commercial banking from the securities business.[4] The primary intent of Congress was to segregate these functions and to allow separate entities to engage in these business areas. This clarity of purpose is garnered not only from the Congressional hearings reports of the Glass-Steagall Act, but also from the exactitude with which Congress has delineated the area of common interest in this financial structure.[5] This strong general policy against the invasion of either field of endeavor by either entity is sufficient to postulate an interest upon which standing to challenge the regulation may be premised, cf. *American Trucking Ass'n.* v. *U.S.* 364 U.S. 1 (1960).

Therefore, by implication, the plaintiffs here have a right to complain of the competition which is being condoned under the Regulation. This competition is illegal in the sense that Congress has indicated its policy of separating the two financial institutions and this Regulation allows in an indirect manner a joinder of these interests. The plaintiffs were the recipients by implication of Congressional protection.

Even if this invasion would not in fact cause a palpable injury[6] to be inflicted upon the plaintiffs which could be termed to be a legal wrong under the first leg of Section 10(a) of the A.P.A., now 5 U.S.C. § 702, the plaintiffs could have standing to represent the public interest as held in *Sanders Bros. Radio Station* v. *F.C.C.*, 309 U.S. 470 (1940), *Scripps-Howard Radio, Inc.* v. *F.P.C.*, 316 U.S. 4 (1942), and *F.C.C.* v. *N.B.C.* (*K.O.A.*), 319 U.S. 239, 63 S.Ct. 1035, 87 L.Ed. 1374 (1943). See the application of this doctrine by Judge Frank in *Associated Industries* v. *Ickes,* 134 F. 2d 694 (2nd Cir. 1943), *vacated* as moot 320 U.S. 707 (1943).

The practical effect of the doctrine advanced by those series of cases grants standing to challenge the legality of administrative action to one who is in fact adversely affected by administrative action. Standing in those instances is predicated upon the theory that the plaintiffs do not represent their own private property interests but rather the interests of the public. In the instant situation the plaintiffs could be classified as private "Attorneys General" based on the premise that the public policy dictated by Congress in the Glass-Steagall Act is not being adhered to by the agency charged with its enforcement. See *Philco Corp.* v. *FCC,* 103 U.S. App. D.C. 278, 257 F. 2d 656 (1958), *cert. denied* 358 U.S. 946, 76 S.Ct. 350, 3 L.Ed. 352 (1959), where the competitive interest of a manufacturer and not a broadcaster was held sufficient to satisfy the "person aggrieved" provision of the Federal Communications Act. See also Jaffe, *Standing to Secure Judicial Review: Public Actions and Private Actions,* 74 Harv. L.Rev. 1265 (1961), 75 Harv. L.Rev. 255 (1961), and Davis, 3 Administrative Law Treatise §§ 22.04, 22.05, 22.11 (1958), (Supp. 1965).

Finally, a denial of standing, as urged by the defendant, would leave the plaintiffs and all others similarly situated without a right to seek redress against capricious, arbitrary and unwarranted Regulations issued by the Comptroller, however flagrant and contrary to the intent of Congress. This court, therefore, holds that the plaintiffs have standing to challenge the Comptroller's Regulation 9.

The Comptroller also asserts that there is no justiciable issue or controversy present in this case. This assertion is bifurcated on two grounds. The first is apparently premised upon the theory that the Comptroller's regulation permitting national commercial banks to establish the commingled Account does not regulate nor does it impose any obligation or duty upon the plaintiffs. The standards of justiciability are not limited to those situations in which the plaintiffs are directly regulated by the defendant government official. Indeed, in none of the branch bank cases in which the plaintiff was a state bank did the challenged regulations impose a duty upon or regulate the plaintiffs in any manner. e.g. *First Hardin National Bank* v. *Fort Knox National Bank,* 361 F. 2d 276 (6th Cir. 1966), *First National Bank of Smithfield* v. *Saxon,* 352 F. 2d 267 (4th Cir. 1965), *Union Savings Bank of Patchogue* v. *Saxon,* 118 U.S. App. D.C. 296, 335 F. 2d 718 (D.C. Cir. 1964), *Whitney National Bank* v. *Bank of New Orleans & Trust Co.,* 323 F. 2d 290 (D.C. Cir. 1963), *rev'd on other grounds* 379 U.S. 411 (1965), *Commercial Security Bank* v. *Saxon,* 236 F. Supp. 457 (D.C. Cir. 1964), affirmed 343 F. 2d 758 (D.C. Cir. 1965). However, the justiciability assertion made by the Comptroller in each of these cases was decided adversely to the Comptroller.

The district court in *Baker, Watts & Co.* v. *Saxon, supra,* summarily rejected the Comptroller's contention, stating that:

> ". . . a justiciable controversy obviously exists justifying the court in entertaining an action for a declaratory judgment. The plaintiffs claim that the defendant is authorizing national banks to conduct certain activities in violation of the law and that these activities transgress the powers of the banks and that they are injurious to the plaintiffs." 261 F. Supp. at 249.

The second ground for the lack of justiciability is premised on the theory that only the Comptroller can challenge the acts of a national commercial bank when it acts in excess of its powers. However, the primary thrust of the plaintiffs' allegation is directed not at the national bank which is acting under authority granted by the Comptroller, but rather at the scope of the authority under which the Comptroller promulgated the regulation in issue. The district court in *Georgia Association of Independent Insurance Agents, Inc.* v. *Saxon, supra,* simultaneous with its denial of the motion to dismiss for lack of standing, rejected the Comptroller's assertions on the issue of justiciability. It unequivocally stated that:

> "The defendant further contends that . . . the Comptroller is sole enforcer of the National Banking Act. This contention is impliedly repudiated by the repeated decisions that banks have standing to challenge an allegedly illegal order . . . and was explicitly repudiated in an opinion by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals which stated: "The fact that the Comptroller is charged under 12 U.S.C. § 93 with the duty of enforcing the National Banking Act certainly does not have the effect of prohibiting actions to enforce the law by any other party who might have a legitimate interest. *Jackson* v. *First National Bank of Valdosta,* 349 F. 2d 71 (1965) at p. 75." 260 F. Supp. at 804.

A recent Supreme Court decision inferentially rejects the Comptroller's arguments on the lack of justiciability, *Abbott Laboratories* v. *Gardner,* 387 U.S. 136 (1967). The Supreme Court reversed and remanded to the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit so that the Court of Appeals could consider the issues on the merits. The Court of Appeals had reversed the district court's decision without reaching the merits of the case, 352 F. 2d 286 (3rd Cir. 1965). The district court had found that "a justiciable controversy arises where a plaintiff is confronted with substantial present or imminent harm . . . the very presence of a threat of harm makes the regulations ready for review." 288 F. Supp. 855, 861 (D.C. Del. 1964). The Court of Appeals reversed on the basis that no "actual case or controversy" existed as required for justiciability under the Declaratory Judgment Act. However, the Supreme Court decreed that "the impact of the regulations upon the plaintiff is sufficiently direct and immediate so as to render the issue appropriate for judicial review at this stage." 387 U.S. at 152.

Having found that the plaintiffs have standing to seek redress and that they have presented a justiciable issue, we are now ready to seek a resolution of the subject matter involved in this litigation.

The principal issue involved in this controversy is whether or not the Comptroller has the statutory authority to empower national commercial banks to create, organize and manage the commingled Account. The gist of the activity of managing the Account consists of the purchase and sale of equity securities, nominally for long-term growth of capital and income, for the participating members. National banks have only such powers as are expressly given by federal statute or by necessary implication therefrom, 12 U.S.C. § 24. *Houston* v. *Drake,* 97 F.2d 863 (9th Cir. 1938), *Baltimore & O. R. Co., et al.,* v. *Smith,* 56 F.2d 799 (3rd Cir. 1932), and in some trust activities they may be authorized to act by the Comptroller in any capacity in which competing state banks are permitted to act. 12 U.S.C. 92a(a). See *First National Bank in St. Louis* v. *Missouri,* 263 U.S. 640 (1923), and *Mercantile National Bank* v. *Langdeau,* 371 U.S. 55 (1962), *City of*

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[4] *Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 71 Before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency,* 71st Cong. 3rd Sess. (1931).

S. Rep. No. 77, 73d Cong. 1st Sess. (1933)

H.R. Rep. No. 742, 74th Cong. 1st Sess. (1935)

See also 75 Cong. Rec. 9909 (1932) (remarks of Senator Bulkley).

[5] Note specifically amendments made to Section 24, par. Seventh of Title 12.

[6] *Bantam Book* v. *Sullivan,* 372 U.S. 58, 83 S.Ct. 631, 9 L.Ed. 2d 584 (1963)—see also the discussion of the "Adversely Affected in Fact" doctrine promulgated by Prof. Davis, 3 Davis, *Administrative Law Treatise* § 22.02 (1965 Supp.)

Yonkers v. *Downey,* 309 U.S. 590 (1940), 60 S.Ct. 796, 84 L.Ed. 964, rehearing denied 60 S.Ct. 1071, 310 U.S. 656, 84 L.Ed. 1420, and *Condon* v. *Downey,* 310 U.S. 656, 60 S.Ct. 1071, 84 L.Ed. 1420, *U.S.* v. *Palmer,* 28 F.Supp. 1936 (D.C.N.Y. 1939).

Authority to oversee trust activities of national banks which was vested in the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, 12 U.S.C. § 248(k) was repealed in 1962 when authority to regulate the fiduciary activities of national banks was transferred to the Comptroller. 12 U.S.C. § 92a, 76 Stat. 668, Pub. L. 87–722. Upon transfer of this authority the Comptroller issued Regulation 9 pursuant to which the First National City Bank established the commingled Account. In order to determine the validity of Regulation 9, it will be necessary to investigate each section of the relevant statutes and also to determine the intent of Congress when it enacted the relevant statutes. In order to complete the determination of the issues involved, it will also be necessary to determine whether or not the relevant state statute, here the N.Y. Banking Law Section 100, allows local state banks to act in a similar fashion as is presently being allowed by Regulation 9.

This Regulation authorizes national banks to commingle managing agent accounts, allowing, therefore, the bank to purchase equity securities for the Account in general and not for any specific participating member. The essence of this activity is the purchase and sale of securities deriving thereby a benefit for the participating members, and fulfilling the stated purpose of the Account.

The first statutory provision which is encountered along the logical progression to our conclusion is 12 U.S.C. § 92a which delineates the trust powers which the Comptroller is authorized to grant to the national banks. Section 82a(a) provides:

"The Comptroller of the Currency shall be authorized and empowered to grant by special permit to national banks applying therefor, when not in contravention of State or local law, the right to act as trustee, executor, administrator, registrar of stocks and bonds, guardian of estates, assignee, receiver, committee of estates of lunatics, or in any other fiduciary capacity in which State banks, trust companies, or other corporations which come into competition with national banks are permitted to act under the laws of the State in which the national bank is located."

and under 12 U.S.C. § 92a(j) the Comptroller: [7]

". . . is authorized and empowered to promulgate such regulations as he may deem necessary to enforce compliance with the provisions of this section and the proper exercise of the powers granted therein." 76 Stat. 668, Pub. L. 87–722 § 1.

Pursuant to this statutory authority the Comptroller can empower national banks the right to act in a fiduciary capacity and to issue regulations controlling this activity. From the statutory language it can be concluded that the Comptroller can grant trust powers to the national banks; but the real crux of this issue is whether or not the commingled Account can be considered a fiduciary activity as provided by the statute.

The Comptroller contends that there can be no doubt that the Bank's relationship to the participants in the commingled Account is a fiduciary relationship; however, this general statement, upon close analysis, is untenable. The principal-agent relationship arises from a contractual agreement between the parties. The nature of this relationship gives rise to certain duties which are implied by the law, namely, a fiduciary duty and a duty of loyalty. The trustee and the agent have an equivalent duty of loyalty. The fiduciary duty of the agent is similar to but not the equivalent of the fiduciary duty of a trustee.

The many differences as to the characteristics of a principal-agent relationship and a trustee relationship are notable especially as they relate to the issue in this case. Consent of both principal and agent is a necessary requirement for the creation of the relation whereas the beneficiary of a trust need not consent. An agent is subject to the control of his principal, but a trustee is not subject to the control of the beneficiary. An agent can bind his principal by contract or otherwise, but a trustee has no such power with regard to his beneficiary. The agency relationship is terminable by the direction of the principal or by his death without any express provision to that effect, but this is untrue with respect to a trust unless the instrument so provides. See *Restatement* (Second) *of* Agency, Section 13, comment *a*, Section 14B, comments *e* to *h*, and Section 425, comment *a*. Note also Bogert, *Trusts and Trustees,* § 15 (2d. ed. 1965) p. 70 and *Restatement of Trusts,* 2d § 8, comment *i*.

The Bank and the individual participant of the Account enter into an agency relationship prior to or simultaneous with the participant's engagement with the Account. The Bank's role in this relationship is one of managing agent, nor as trustee for the participant. A leading authority on the law of trusts has stated:

"The duties and powers in the institution [e.g. a bank] as agent are determined by the terms of the contract made with the customer; the duties and powers of the institution as trustee depend not only upon the terms of the trust but also upon the principles and rules of the common law and of statutes which are applicable to the trust relation. The liabilities of the institution as agent depend upon whether it has failed to use due care in the performance of the duties which it undertakes; its liabilities as a trustee depend upon whether it has committed a breach of trust. Ordinarily the responsibilities of the institution are more extensive where it acts as trustee than where it acts as agent, and it may incur no liabilities as agent for conduct which would render it liable if it were trustee." 1 Scott on Trusts, Section 8.1 Bank as Trustee or Agent (2d. ed. 1956).

The courts, as well as the recognized authorities in trust law, have distinguished sharply between the responsibilities of a true trustee and those of a managing agent, even where the latter is granted complete discretion in acting for his principal. It is, of course, established that the managing agent occupies a position of confidence, in which he must act with reasonable care and is held to a standard of conduct higher than that which prevails in the ordinary course of business in the marketplace. But the courts have stated plainly that this is not the high standard of care and strict accounting imposed upon a trustee, *Stephens* v. *Detroit Trust Co.*, 284 Mich. 149, 278 N.W. 799 (1933), *Anderson* v. *Abbott,* 61 F.Supp. 888 (W. D. Ky. 1945), *O'Connor* v. *Burns, Potter & Co.*, 151 Neb. 9, 36 N.W. 2d 507 (1949). In both the *Stephens* and *O'Connor* cases the principal brought suit for accounting against the defendant managing agent on the basis that they had breached the high duty of care imposed upon a trustee. The decisive factor in both cases was that the relationship which existed between the parties had been freely chosen and established and, having entered into an agency contract, the investor could not assert that the relationship was in fact a trust.[8]

Contrary to the contentions made by the Comptroller, the managing agent relationship is not a true fiduciary relationship as it has been defined by the courts and by the recognized authorities in this field. Therefore, it is concluded that the managing agency relationship does not fall within the traditional fiduciary powers as delineated in 12 U.S.C. § 92a(a).

Section 12 U.S.C. 92a(a), however, permits a national bank to act "in any other fiduciary capacity in which state banks, trust companies or other corporations which come into competition with national banks are permitted to act under the laws of the state in which the national bank is located." This saving provision allows national banks to offer the equivalent fiduciary services to their customers that a local state bank might offer.

The Comptroller has authorized the First National City Bank, located in New York state, to establish a commingled Account pursuant to Regulation 9, and under the competitive provision of 12 U.S.C. §92a(a) the authorization granted to First National City Bank may be legally valid, if the banking laws of New York state allow competing institutions to establish a commingled Account.

The general powers of state banks in New York state are contained in McKinney's Consl. L. N. Y. Banking Law § 96 amended, L. 1966, c. 324. These general powers have been supplemented by specific statutory provisions which grant state banks the power to act in a fiduciary capacity, N. Y. Banking Law §§ 100, 100-a, 100-b, 100-c, as amended. Each of these statutory provisions delineate the authorization of state banks with a definite degree of specificity, and none of the sections noted above allow a commingling of managing agency accounts. The only section which could even be deemed to inferentially grant this authority is Section 100-c, which relates to the power of banks to commingle funds held in a fiduciary capacity, specifically requiring that common trust funds be limited to moneys received and held "as executor, administrator, guardian, personal or testamentary trustee, donee of a power during minority to manage property vested in an infant or committee. . . ."

A search of the New York state case law has failed to reveal any relevant judicial interpretation of this statutory section. However, it has been held that state banks are prohibited to exercise any power which was not expressly granted, *O'Connor* v. *Bankers Trust Co.*, 159 Misc. 920, 289 NYS 252 (Sup. Ct. 1936) affirmed 278 NY 649, 16 NE 2d 302; see also *Nassau Bank* v. *Jones,* 95 NY 115, 47 Am. Rep. 14, (Ct. of App. 1884). These decisions indicate that New York state courts follow the federal rule, applicable to national banks, as expressed in *Calif. Bank* v. *Kennedy,* 167 U.S. 362, 17 S.Ct. 831, 42 L.Ed. 198 (1897), that the exercise of power not expressly granted to a national bank is prohibited. This restrictive interpretation of the powers granted under Section 100-c is further substantiated by noting that when the New York legislature has wanted to broaden the categories of accounts held and administered by banks which could be invested in a common trust fund. it has amended Section 100-c to do so.[9]

It is the conclusion of this court that the commingling of managing agency accounts is not authorized either under the federal statutes or the New York banking laws.

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[7] Section 11(k) of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended, 12 U.S.C. § 248(k) (repealed), empowered, in identical terms the Federal Reserve Board to issue regulations.

[8] But see, Saxon and Miller, *Common Trust Funds,* 53 Geo. L. J. 994, 1015, and Main, ***Common Trust Funds***, 83 Banking L.J. 565.

[9] For example, that section was amended to permit a state bank acting as the "donee of a power during minority to manage property vested in the infant" to place the property so managed in a common trust fund, L. 1958, c. 496 § 1; L. 1965, c. 824 § 5. Note also the specific accounting and notice provisions which are contained in Section 100-c as strictly construed by the courts in *In re Lincoln Rochester Trust Co.*, 201 Misc. 1008, 111 NYS 2d 45 (1952). See also New York Banking Board Regulation, 3 N.Y.C.R.R. 11.91 which states that a common trust fund "may be operated only for true fiduciary purposes."

Even if the managing agency accounts could be considered bona fide fiduciary activities, and, therefore, authorized by the present statutes, the commingling of these accounts would still be illegal under the provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act. In order to arrive at this determination it is necessary to make an exact characterization of the Account which was established.

As noted in the early section of this decision, a mutual fund continuously issues its own securities as does the commingled Account. A mutual fund invests the proceeds from the sale of its securities in a diversified investment portfolio, in the same manner as the commingled Account. The mutual fund shares obtains for the investor an undivided interest in the fund's portfolio, as does a units of participation in the commingled Account. Within certain limitations, a participating member of the Account can redeem his units of participation in a similar manner as the holder of mutual fund shares. A majority of the participating members elect the members of the Committee, who oversee the affairs of the Account in much the same manner as mutual fund stockholders elect their board of directors or trustees. The SEC has required the Account to register as an investment company under the Investment Company Act of 1940, 15 U.S.C. § 80. The SEC pursuant to its authority under 15 U.S.C. § 80, 3(c), has granted certain exemptions to the requirements of the Investment Company Act as it relates to board membership;[10] nevertheless it has recognized the similiarity between the Account and an investment company.[11] The Bank and the Committee have entered into a contractual agreement under which the Bank performs managing and advising functions for the Account. This contract is the equivalent of the contracts which are entered into by the mutual funds and their investment advisers. These contracts are subject to and must be submitted for review by the SEC under the provisions of the Investment Company Act. There are some differences between a mutual fund and a commingled Account,[12] but these are not substantially sufficient to create a legal differentiation between the two investment vehicles. The similarities between these related activities are a sufficient basis to draw an analogy from which an equivalency can be premised.

The Comptroller attempts to differentiate between the mutual fund investment vehicle and the commingled Account by attempting to establish a major difference between a mutual fund share and a unit of participation. This differentiation is premised on the basis that the unit of participation is not a security as such. This is mere tautology and a matter of semantics.

The United States Supreme Court has noted that for the purposes of the Securities Act of 1933 the test for a security is whether the scheme involves an investment of money in a common enterprise with profits to come solely from the efforts of others. *SEC* v. *Howey, Co.*, 328 U.S. 293, 301 (1946). See also *S.E.C.* v. *Variable Annuity Life Ins. Co.*, 359 U.S. 65 (1959) and *Prudential Insurance Co. of America* v. *S.E.C.*, 326 F. 2d 383 (3rd Cir. 1964), *cert. denied* 377 U.S. 953 (1964). Under this all encompassing definition, in its most comprehensive sense, whenever an investor relinquishes control over his funds and submits their control to another for the purpose and hopeful expectation of deriving profits therefrom he is in fact investing his funds in a security. The unit of participation in the commingled Account is in fact a security and has been so recognized by the SEC by its requirement that the Bank register the units of participation under the Securities Act of 1933.

The Comptroller argues, however, that the definition of "securities" for the purpose of the Securities Act of 1933 is not applicable to define "securities" as the term is used in the Glass-Steagall Act. He asserts that this definition as judicially and administratively derived has no relevance to the meaning of the various provisions of the national banking laws. He bases this assertion on the allegedly different purposes which the laws have, namely that the securities laws were enacted to protect the interests of investors while the banking laws were enacted to protect the country's credit and currency and the solvency of the national banks. This differentiation fails to focus upon the primary essence of the complete regulatory scheme which the Congress enacted to mitigate the problems that the country faced in the 1930s. Congress, after extensive investigation, realized that the financial community needed stabilization in order to overcome the debacle which arose in 1929 and to prevent any further recurrences. It would be inconsistent to conclude that Congress did not intend to obtain the equivalent meaning for the term "securities" as used in the Securities Act of 1933 when it used the term in the Glass-Steagall Act which was enacted by the same Congress.[13]

By finding that the Account is an equivalent investment vehicle to a mutual fund and that the units of participation are in fact securities, it is, therefore, necessary to determine whether or not the Bank is barred from these activities by the provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act, Sections 16, 20, 21 and 32, codified in 12 U.S.C. §§ 24, 377, 378 and 78 respectively.

The first relevant section is 12 U.S.C. § 24 dealing with the explicit powers granted to the national banks by the Congress. For our analysis only paragraph Seventh is pertinent. It states:

"To exercise by its board of directors or duly authorized offers or agents, subject to law, all such incidental powers as shall be necessary to carry on the business of banking; by discounting and negotiating promissory notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and other evidences of debt; by receiving deposits; by buying and selling exchange, coin, and bullion; by loaning money on personal security; and by obtaining, issuing, and circulating notes according to the provisions of this chapter. The business of dealing in securities and stock by the association shall be limited to purchasing and selling such securities and stock without recourse, solely upon the order, and for the account of, customers, and in no case for its own account, and the association shall not underwrite any issue of securities of stock: *Provided*, That the association may purchase for its own account investment securities under such limitations and restrictions as the Comptroller of the Currency may by regulation prescribe. . . ."

The power of national banks to deal in securities has had a motley history, both legislatively and judicially. In 1823 the Supreme Court held that a prohibition against a national bank's trading and dealing in stocks was nothing more than a prohibition against engaging in the ordinary business of buying and selling stocks for a profit and it did not include purchases resulting from ordinary banking transactions. *Fleckner* v. *Bank of the United States*, 8 Wheat. 351, 21 U.S. 351 (1823). In *First National Bank* v. *Nat. Exchange Bank*, 92 U.S. 122 (1875), the Supreme Court stated that "Dealing in stocks is not expressly prohibited; but such a prohibition is implied from the failure to grant the power." 92 U.S. at 128. The Court in the *First National Bank* case was interpreting, Rev. Stat. § 5136, par. 7, 15; 15 Stat. 101 § 8, the forerunner of 12 U.S.C. § 24, par. 7 which delineated the powers of the national banks.

The limitation on the national bank's power in security dealings was reiterated in subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court. *Concord First National* v. *Hawkins*, 174 U.S. 371 (1898), *California Bank* v. *Kennedy*, 167 U.S. 362 (1897), *McCormick* v. *Market National Bank*, 165 U.S. 538 (1896); see also *Birdsell Mfg. Co.* v. *Anderson*, 20 F. Supp. 571 (W.D. Ky 1937) affirmed 104 F. 2d 340 (6th Cir. 1939), and *Michelsen* v. *Penney*, 135 F. 2d 409, 424 (2nd Cir. 1943).

This implied limitation caused the national banks to establish security affiliates, organized under state law, to profit from underwriting and dealing in stocks and other securities. In 1927 Congress passed the McFadden Act which added to the list of banking powers in paragraph Seventh of Section 5136 of the Revised Statutes the following proviso:

"Provided, that the business of buying and selling investment securities shall hereafter be limited to buying and selling without recourse marketable obligations evidencing indebtedness of any person, copartnership, association, or corporation, in the form of bonds, notes and/or debentures, commonly known as investment securities, under such further definition of the term 'investment securities' as may by regulation be prescribed by the Comptroller of the Currency. . . . [Act of February 25, 1927 (McFadden Act), Section 2(b), 44 Stat. 1226]"

This proviso was intended to be a confirmation and a regulation of the investment security business which was being conducted by the banks through their security affiliates. *H.R. Rep. No. 83*, 69th Cong. 1st Sess. (1926). By the provisions of this Act, the national banks were authorized by statute to engage in the business of underwriting and dealing in investment securities

The storms looming on the horizon were not within the contemplation of very many people in 1927. It was not until 1931 when the Congress, graced with hindsight, sought the primary causes of the debacle which enveloped the country and had its repercussions throughout the world. The Congressional inquiry generated various statutes in an attempt to avoid a repetition of the debacle which had transpired. Among these statutes were the Glass-Steagall Act and the Securities Act of 1933.

The Glass-Steagall Act in particular redefined the powers of the national banks and imposed severe limitations on their activity in the investment security business by amending 12 U.S.C. § 24, P. 7, and adding 12

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[10] The exemptions which were granted are being challenged in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, *National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.*, v. *Security Exchange Commission*, Appeal No. 20, 164.

[11] The similarity between mutual funds and the Account have been noted by many authorities in the financial community, see *Hearings on S. 2704 on Collective Investment Funds Before the Subcommitee on Financial Institutions of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency*, 89th Cong. 2d Sess. (1966); *University of Pensylvania Law School Conference on Mutual Funds*, 115 U.Pa.L.Rev. 669; and Comment, *Of Banks and Mutual Funds*, 20 Sw. L.J.

[12] See *Hearings on S. 2704* (1966) *supra*, at p. 55 and 56.

[13] The Federal Reserve Board has repeatedly ruled that participations or shares in mutual funds are securities for purposes of the Glass-Steagall Act, and it has similarly characterized the units of participation in the bank sponsored commingled managing agency account, Federal Reserve Board Legal Memorandum, "Legal Considerations Under Section 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 in Connection With the Proposed Commingled Investment Account of First National City Bank of New York" (Dec. 15, 1965) reprinted in *Hearings on S. 2704* (1966) at 581–588.

U.S.C. §§ 78, 377 and 378. Section 24, paragraph Seventh, has been noted above. The other relevant sections are noted below. Section 32 of the Glass-Steagall Act, now 12 U.S.C. § 78, provides:

"No officer, director, or employee of any corporation or unincorporated association, no partner or employee of any partnership, and no individual, primarily engaged in the issue, flotation, underwriting, public sale, or distribution, at wholesale or retail, or through syndicate participation, of stocks, bonds, or other similar securities, shall serve the same time as an officer, director, or employee of any member bank except in limited classes of cases in which the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may allow such service by general regulations when in the judgment of the said Board it would not unduly influence the investment policies of such member bank or the advice it gives its customers regarding investments."

Section 20 of the Glass-Steagall Act, now 12 U.S.C. § 377, provides:

"After one year from June 16, 1933, no member bank shall be affiliated in any manner described in subsection (b) of section 221a of this title with any corporation, association, business trust, or other similar organization engaged principally in the issue, flotation underwriting, public sale, or distribution at wholesale or retail or through syndicated participation of stocks, bonds, debentures, notes, or other securities; *Provided*, That nothing in this paragraph shall apply to any such organization which shall have been placed in formal liquidation and which shall transact no business except such as may be incidental to the liquidation of its affairs.

"For every violation of this section the member bank involved shall be subject to a penalty not exceeding $1,000 per day for each day during which such violation continues. Such penalty may be assessed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in its discretion, and, when so assessed, may be collected by the Federal reserve bank by suit or otherwise.

"If any such violation shall continue for six calendar months after the member bank shall have been warned by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to discontinue the same, (a) in the case of a national bank, all the rights, privileges, and franchises granted to it under the National Bank Act, may be forfeited in the manner prescribed in sections 141, 222–225, 281–283, 285, 286, 501a, and 502 of this title, or, (b) in the case of a State member bank, all of its rights and privileges of membership in the Federal Reserve System may be forfeited in the manner prescribed in sections 321–329 and 330–338 of this title."

Section 21 of the Glass-Steagall Act, now 12 U.S.C. § 378, provides:

"(a) After the expiration of one year after June 16, 1933, it shall be unlawful—

"(1) For any person, firm, corporation, association, business trust, or other similar organization, engaged in the business of issuing, underwriting, selling, or distributing, at wholesale or retail, or through syndicate participation, stocks, bonds, debentures, notes, or other securities, to engage at the same time to any extent whatever in the business of receiving deposits subject to check or to repayment upon presentation of a passbook, certificate of deposit, or other evidence of debt, or upon request of the depositor: *Provided*, That the provisions of this paragraph shall not prohibit national banks or State banks or trust companies (whether or not members of the Federal Reserve System) or other financial institutions or private bankers from dealing in, underwriting, purchasing, and selling investment securities to the extent permitted to national banking associations by the provisions of section 24 of this title: *Provided further*, That nothing in this paragraph shall be construed as affecting in any way such right as any bank, banking association, savings bank, trust company, or other banking institution, may otherwise possess to sell, without recourse or agreement to repurchase, obligations evidencing loans on real estate;

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"(b) Whoever shall willfully violate any of the provisions of this section shall upon conviction be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and any officer, director, employee, or agent of any person, firm, corporation, association, business trust, or other similar organization who knowingly participates in any such violation shall be punished by a like fine or imprisonment or both."

The obvious purpose of these legislative enactments was to divorce the banking business from the security investing business. Congress was so emphatic in promulgating this divorce, that it included a criminal provision to assure the efficacy and continuity of the separation; see 12 U.S.C. § 378(b), *supra*, and in some instances it imposed money penalties and forfeitures; see 12 U.S.C. § 377, *supra*. The many pages of legislative hearings reports which preceded the final enactment of the Glass-Steagall Act contain and outline the potential dangers which the involvement of commercial banking in the investment security business created.

These potential dangers were noted by the Comptroller of the Currency in his report of 1920, excerpts of which were cited by the Subcommittee of the Senate conducting the investigation:

"Some 'securities companies' operating in close connection with, and often officered by, the same men who manage the national banks with which they are allied, have become instruments of speculation and headquarters for promotions of all kinds of financial schemes. Many of the flotations promoted by the 'securities corporations' which are operated as adjuncts to national banks have proven disastrous to their subscribers, and have in some instances reflected seriously not only upon the credit and the standing of the 'securities companies' by which they are sponsored, but also in some cases have damaged the credit and reputation of national banks with which the 'securities companies' are allied.

"It has been established clearly by decisions of the United States Supreme Court that a national bank can not, except as authorized by the Federal reserve act, hold the stock of other national banks or the stock of other corporations; but these adjunct or auxiliary companies whose stockholders are identical with the stockholders of the national banks with which they are connected by various ties and devices frequently deal actively in stocks, and they also sometimes acquire the ownership or control of other banks, National and State, through their purchases.

"In times of rising prices and active speculation some of these auxiliary corporations have made large profits through their ventures and syndicate operations, but their losses in other periods have been heavy, and they have become an element of increasing peril to the banks with which they are associated. The business of legitimate banking is entirely separate and distinct from the kind of business conducted by many of the 'securities corporations', and it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the same set of officers to conduct safely, soundly, and successfully the conservative business of the national bank and at the same time direct and manage the speculative ventures and promotions of the ancillary institutions. These varying institutions demand a different kind of ability and experience on the part of those who manage them, and the two types of business when combined with one management are likely to be operated to the advantage of neither.

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"These ancillary companies are being used with increasing frequency for promotion of speculation and for dealing in bonds and stocks, often those of new and unseasoned issues, and which are attended with improper hazard risk, and as a means of enabling banks to do, indirectly through their instrumentality, things which they can neither safely nor lawfully do directly." [See *Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 71 Before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency*, 71st Cong. 3d Sess. pp. 1067–1068 (1931)]

The Senate Subcommittee Report also outlined the organization and functions of the security affiliates. Among one of these functions was the operation of investment trusts which bought and sold securities purely for investment or speculative purposes, *Hearings*, S. Res. 71, p. 1057. These investment trusts were the equivalent of our present day investment companies.[14]

Another drawback which the Subcommittee Report recognized was that "in the case of a trust company or a bank with a trust department, the possession of a security affiliate may adversely affect the independence with which fiduciary activities are exercised." *Hearings*, S. Res. 71, p. 1064.

There can be little doubt as to what Congress intended to do by the enactment of the Glass-Steagall provisions outlined above. Section 16, 12 U.S.C. § 24, par. 7 prohibits national banks from not only underwriting securities directly but also limits the capacity of the national banks in the purchase and sale of securities. *Awotin* v. *Atlas Exchange Bank*, 295 U.S. 209 (1935); cf. *U.S.* v. *Philadelphia National Bank*, 374 U.S. 231, 329 (1963), *First Natl. Bank* v. *Missouri*, 263 U.S. 640 (1923), *Genessee Trustee Corp.* v. *Smith*, 102 F. 2d 125, 127 (6th Cir. 1939), *Guaranty Trust Co.* v. *U.S.*, 44 F. Supp. 417, (E.D. Wash. 1942), affirmed 139 F. 2d 69 (9th Cir. 1943), *U.S.* v. *Palmer*, 28 F. Supp. 936 (S.D.N.Y. 1939). Section 20, 12 U.S.C. § 377 effectively provides that national banks may not be affiliated with an entity which is engaged principally in the business of purchasing, selling, or underwriting securities. Section 21, 12 U.S.C. § 378 specifically provides that it is unlawful for any entity which is engaged in the business of purchasing, selling, or underwriting to also be engaged in the banking business. Section 32, 12 U.S.C. § 78 prohibits banks and investment organizations from having interlocking directorates, and common officials and employees. Through this legislative scheme Congress intended to separate these previously integrated activities, and it made its intent explicitly clear. *Merchants National Bank* v. *Commissioner of Internal Revenue*, 199 F. 2d 657 (5th Cir. 1952), *Commissioner of Internal Revenue* v. *Merchants Nat. Bldg. Co.*, 131 F. 2d 741 (5th Cir. 1942), cf. *Paramount Pictures* v. *Langer*, 23 F. Supp. 890, 902 (D. N.D. 1938), reversed as moot 306 U.S. 619 (1938), *Morgan Stanley Co.* v. *S.E.C.*, 126 F. 2d 325, 329 (2nd Cir. 1942).

The Supreme Court has stated with specific relation to Section 32, 12 U.S.C. § 78, that "It [Section 32] is a preventive or prophylactic measure. The fact that respondents have been scrupulous in their relationship to the bank is therefore immaterial," *Board of Governors* v. *Agnew*, 329 U.S. 441, 449 (1946), see also *U.S.* v. *Brown*, 381 U.S. 437, 454 (1965). This "prophylactic" aspect of Section 32 is also inherent in Sections 20 and 21. This is effective legislation against temptation, *National Maritime Union of America* v. *Herzog*, 78 F. Supp. 146, 171 (D.C.D.C. 1948) affirmed

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[14] *S.E.C.* Report on the Public Policy *Implications of Investment Company Growth, H.R. Rep. No. 2337*, 89th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 33, Fn. 3 (1966).

334 U.S. 354 (1948), and it should not be derogated except by the Congress.

The Comptroller contends that the Account has been passed upon and approved by the Federal Reserve Board of Governors as far as its establishment would be contrary to the provisions of Section 32, 12 U.S.C. § 78.[15] In order to support its conclusion the Board promulgated a "single entity" theory, that is, that the Bank and the Account would constitute a single entity for the purposes of Section 32, since the Account would be regarded as nothing more than an arm or department of the Bank. This proposition seems to be based more on nuances of language than on the factual ascertainment of the relationship of the Account with the Bank. The Account is to be governed by an independent board of directors, the Committee, with full policy making authority. The Committee is elected by a majority of the units of participation in the Account and is responsible only to the investor-participants in the Account and not to the Bank. The Bank serves as investment adviser to the Account and also provides administrative services. It performs these services pursuant to a contract which conforms to the requirements of Section 15 of the Investment Company Act, 15 U.S.C. § 80a–15. The contract is terminable at any time, by either party, with sixty days notice and may be continued only upon annual approval of the investor-participants or of a majority of the Committee, including a majority of the members of the Committee not affiliated with the Bank. The contract will also terminate automatically if assigned by the Bank. When all these factors are taken into consideration, it is obvious that the Bank is contractually affiliated with the Account and cannot, therefore, be considered a department of the bank.[16] The prophylactic provisions of Section 32 prevents the Bank from being affiliated with the Account.

Furthermore, since it is the conclusion of this court that the Account is in fact an investment fund, the complementary provisions of Sections 20 and 21, 12 U.S.C. §§ 377 and 378, prohibit the Account from being affiliated with the Bank and the Bank from being affiliated with the Account.

The Comptroller further contends that the inherent dangers with which the integration of these financial activities was previously fraught are not present in the instant relationship, since the Bank only receives a set fee for managing the Account and does not obtain any remuneration from issuing or underwriting the units of participation. This limitation in probable expected remuneration to the Bank may mitigate the possible aggressive use of the Account by the Bank, but this does not override the clear and unequivocal Congressional mandate that national banks be divorced from investment organizations.[17]

It is a legislative process which determines the newly evolving circumstances which require a change in the statutes. The courts can only enforce and interpret the legislative enactments. The statutes presently in force do not allow a national bank to establish, operate, or be affiliated with an investment fund.

In view of the statements and conclusions made above, this court holds that the provisions of Regulation 9 which allow commingling of managing agency accounts do not comply with the statutory provision of the Glass-Steagall Act and are, therefore, illegal. The promulgation of these specific provisions allowing a commingling of managing agency accounts is also beyond the power of the Comptroller under Section 92a (a) of Title 12, and it is ordered to be set aside.

The summary judgment motion of the defendant is denied and motion of plaintiffs is granted.

Counsel for plaintiffs will submit an Order in accordance with the foregoing.

JOSEPH C. MCGARRAGHY,
Judge.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1967.

RATS IN OUR URBAN CENTERS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VIGORITO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, last week the House of Representatives, in passing the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, voted to attach an appropriation of $20 million which will be used to help our municipalities in combating the danger of rats in our urban centers.

Naturally, I am pleased that the House has taken this action. I think the measure, which is badly needed, is a step in the right direction and will lead to cleaner, healthier and safer cities for those who live, work and plan in them.

One of the "checks and balances" in this democratic society of ours is a free and enlightened press. A press which is responsible and which speaks out for the needs of our people is one of our greatest safeguards of liberty. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a short but cogent editorial from the Meadville Tribune, of Meadville, Pa., on the problem of rats in our cities:

NOT A BOONDOGGLE

Naive and unthinking Congressmen viewed as a ridiculous boondoggle the proposal that some $20 million be spent by the federal government for rat control. The project became the butt of jokes and wisecracks. By what stretch of the imagination should the federal government get into "that" business?

The attitude reflects an unfortunate cynicism and ignorance on the part of a good many lawmakers. It's easy to laugh; it's more difficult to understand.

Anyway, a flood of mail from an outraged public persuaded a majority of Congressmen to support the measure when it came up again and now the $20 million has been approved for rat control as part of a federal health program.

Congressman Joseph P. Vigorito, who was astute and understanding enough to vote for the measure in the first place, is warranted in pointing out that "some of those Congressmen who laughed at the bill two months ago changed their outlook rather suddenly after they started to receive mailbags full of letters from outraged constituents." He said it was an example of how voters can force a public awareness upon callous and unfeeling elected officials.

"The need for control of rodents in large metropolitan areas is obvious," Vigorito said, "yet some members of Congress had the gall to vote against the bill the first time. We are spending state and federal funds to protect our livestock from rodents and predatory animals. The least we can do is give our children the same protection we give cattle."

He pointed out, what many other Congressmen apparently did not realize, that rats inflict an estimated $900 million worth of property damage each year, and last year in seven cities 1,000 cases of ratbites were reported to health officials.

AIR QUALITY ACT OF 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the proposed Air Quality Act of 1967 is of great concern to all the people of the United States. Secretary Gardner underscored this in his recent testimony before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when he said:

> It is now clear that the problem (of air pollution) will not yield to anything less than a full-scale concerted attack by both the private and the public sectors.

The Secretary noted that substantial progress has been made under the Clean Air Act; that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has several interstate air pollution abatement actions which will ultimately benefit millions of people; that the Department has published standards which will bring all new automobiles under control beginning this fall; that Federal research efforts have been expanded; and that, through the matching grants provision of the Clean Air Act, State and local programs have been able to increase their budgets from less than $13 million before its passage to approximately $26 million during the current year.

But the Nation's progress has been uneven. In spite of the advances we have made, most of us can still observe, in the places where we work and live, that the same smokestacks puff the same pollutants into the sky. We continually tell one another of the importance of controlling air pollution on a regional basis; but we search in vain for assurance that an effective regional program has actually been established anywhere in the country. As we drive to work in the morning we are still forced to inhale the same nauseating fumes from vehicular traffic.

Aware that our progress in this field has been halting and inadequate, President Johnson recommended last January that new legislation be adopted. In his message to the Congress, the President said:

> The pollution problem is getting worse. We are not even controlling today's level of pollution. Ten years from now, when industrial production and waste disposal have increased and the number of automobiles on our streets and highways exceeds 110

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[15] *Hearings*, S. 2704 (1966) p. 580–588, *supra*.

[16] Under the provisions of the Account, the participants or a majority of the independent members of the Committee could sever relations with the Bank by electing not to renew the contractual management agreement; practically this may never occur; however, it is possible under the present structure of the Account.

[17] The possible conflicts of interests between the Account and other aspects of the bank's activities are still present, notwithstanding the precautions which were taken by the Comptroller in delineating the powers of the Account. See *Banks and Mutual Funds*, Comment, 20 Sw.L.J. 334, 341, 342.

million, we shall have lost the battle for clean air—unless we strengthen our regulatory and research efforts now.

I want to take this opportunity to add my voice to those of President Johnson and Secretary Gardner in support of legislation which would give new impetus to Federal, State, and local efforts to control air pollution on a truly rational basis.

MAYOR JOSEPH A. DOORLEY, JR.—WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dynamic and progressive mayors in our Nation is Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., mayor of the city of Providence, R.I.

Mayor Doorley's record of accomplishment in the 3 years he has been in office is outstanding, and his deep concern for all the people of his city—white and Negro, rich and poor—is evidenced by his perceptive and realistic approach to the problem of human needs.

His dedication to the war on poverty and his success in waging it have been models for other cities to follow. In that regard, I would like to insert at this point in the Record a statement made by Mayor Doorley on September 25 in which he analyzes the real difficulty facing those of us in Congress who stanchly support the Office of Economic Opportunity and its programs:

Statement by Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., Providence, R.I., September 25, 1967

The city has formulated and is now operating one of the most comprehensive programs in the Nation to combat poverty. We provide legal services, educational programs, consumer assistance, employment aid, and a host of other projects which are giving the alienated poor an opportunity which they never have shared in before.

The war on poverty is not an effort simply to support people or to make them dependent upon the generosity of others; it is designed to give the poor a chance to help themselves. Our program in Providence has made it possible for thousands of inner city inhabitants to secure a chance and an opportunity to rejoin the mainstream of American life and share in its affluence and prosperity.

Today's *Providence Journal* on page 28 reports that the anti-poverty bill pending in Congress is in trouble. And that trouble stems from Republican opposition to the bill.

Not too many days ago, the Policy Committee of the Republican Governors' Conference met in New York at the request of Governor Rockefeller. They discussed means of relaxing tension in the Nation's racial ghettoes. Their report charged that the Federal government had failed to allot sufficient funds for its programs dealing with urban poverty.

It is ironic that the Republican governors have so little influence over their Congressional representatives. It is also ironic that the Republican Party which only last August called for more aid to eliminate urban poverty now, one month later, is about to destroy the hope and aspiration of all the Nation's ghetto dwellers.

The politically motivated utterances of the Governors' Policy Committee show clearly that the Republicans are more interested in developing a national candidate than they are in helping the impoverished people of the Nation's cities.

The people of this city and those of every other city should marshal their resources in protest to the politically inspired conduct of the Republicans in Congress who are about to destroy this important program.

LEGISLATION TO EXTEND TARIFF QUOTA ON STAINLESS STEEL TABLE FLATWARE

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, the floodtide of foreign imports and subsequent threat to our domestic industries has caused me to rise on many occasions to voice my opposition and offer legislation in an effort to remedy this insidious situation.

I have spoken in behalf of the rubber footwear and textile industries and, today, I rise in behalf of the stainless steel flatware industry. As is the case in the aforementioned industries, foreign imports have claimed a substantial number of jobs as our domestic industries endeavor to compete against low-wage foreign imports.

A Presidential proclamation, issued in 1959, set a tariff quota on stainless steel flatware. This quota has enabled our domestic flatware industry to remain operational as low-wage imports flow into our domestic market in ever-increasing numbers.

On October 10, just a few weeks away, this quota will expire. In view of the rising tide of low-wage foreign imports, it is absolutely necessary that this quota which, I might add, is most liberal, be maintained if our domestic flatware industry is to survive.

This industry constitutes a very important segment of our economy, particularly the economy of the State of Rhode Island. It has played a significant role in the development and preservation of a healthy economy and is indeed worthy of our assistance and protection.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation to extend this quota for a period of 4 years. I ask that this esteemed body turn its attention to this crucial matter and act favorably and expeditiously on this legislation.

CAR VICTIM HAD DATE WITH SAFETY DRIVE

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, in a tragic accident some weeks ago Dr. Walter J. Vinsant, his wife, and their 8-year-old daughter, Peggy, and Mr. James S. Parker of Slidell, La., were all killed.

Mrs. Vinsant had planned to go to the office of Mayor Victor Schiro in New Orleans the day after the tragic accident to receive a proclamation declaring Labor Day Weekend a Holiday Alert for Safe Drivers Crusade. She, of course, did not make it.

I include herewith a news story about this tragic event not only that others may know of this couple's tragedy, but also to point up the continuing need for safety on our highways:

Car Victim Had Date With Safety Drive

Mrs. Marie Vinsant had planned to go to the mayor's office tomorrow to receive a proclamation declaring Labor Day weekend a Holiday Alert for Safe Drivers Crusade. But she died last night in a highway crash near Slidell, La.

She was to have distributed highway safety banners next week, but her husband's car smashed into the side of an out-of-control station wagon last night and she was killed.

So were her husband, Dr. Walter J. Vinsant, a Slidell optometrist, their 8-year-old daughter, Peggy, and the driver of the station wagon, James S. Parker, 37, of Slidell. Another Vinsant daughter, Susan, 11, was reported in a "satisfactory" condition at the Slidell hospital.

On Monday Dr. Vinsant had called Mayor Victor H. Schiro on behalf of Mrs. Vinsant, who was president of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Louisiana State Association of Optometrists.

He had asked Mayor Schiro whether, instead of proclaiming usual Safe Driving Week for the dangerous Labor Day weekend, he would instead join with the Ladies' Auxiliary in a special effort to reduce the number of lives lost over the weekend in Louisiana.

He told the mayor that the ladies would hand out banners that would proclaim the safety crusade and urge motorists to take greater precautions. The banners would fly from automobile radio antennae as a reminder to other motorists.

Mayor Schiro was convinced. He told Dr. Vinsant that he would issue the proclamation tomorrow and asked that Mrs. Vinsant and another auxiliary officer be on hand to accept the scroll.

Dr. Vinsant, a personal friend of the mayor, followed up the next day with a letter.

The short letter thanked Schiro for his assistance and confirmed that Mrs. Vinsant and another auxiliary member would be in his office at 9:30 tomorrow morning to accept the proclamation.

By the time the mayor received the letter this morning, its message was already precluded.

Dr. Vinsant operated the Vision Care Center in Slidell, and in 1964 was president of the New Orleans Contact Lens Society.

The doctor was president of the Louisiana Optometric Association and immediate past governor of District 8–N, Lions International.

NATIONAL OCEANOGRAPHIC PROGRAM: CONCEPTS AND GOALS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Lennon] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, since August 17, the Subcommittee on Oceanography of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has been holding hearings on the subject of this Nation's oceanographic program. By coincidence, August 17 was the first anniversary of the first meeting of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Consequently, I, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Oceanography, invited Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, as Chairman of the Marine Sciences Council, to present a summary of the Council's activities in carrying out provisions of the legislation, the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966. The Vice President, who was unable to appear personally, submitted a letter, which was then read by Dr. Edward Wenk, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Marine Sciences Council.

The Vice President's letter establishes the broad perspective of the administration's concepts and goals for intensified activities associated with the sea. Under unanimous consent I insert this letter in the Record:

The Vice President,
Washington, August 16, 1967.

Hon. Alton Lennon,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Oceanography, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: As Chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, I am pleased to respond to your invitation to review progress of the Federal Government during the past year toward implementation of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act.

The legislation was developed almost entirely through Congressional initiative and this first year of operating experience has confirmed the soundness of the organic Act, Public Law 89–454, and the amendment that established Sea Grant Colleges and Programs.

Shortly after signing Public Law 89–454, the President asked me to activate the Council and assume the statutory responsibility to advise and assist him in marine science affairs. The Council met first on August 17—exactly one year ago today—and has convened six times since that date. The President asked not only for action, but for immediate action. He requested that the Council review the recommendations of his Science Advisory Committee for more effective utilization of the sea and to submit both budget and legislative recommendations that could be embodied in his FY 1968 program. He also assigned to the Council the responsibility of preparing the annual report describing Federal marine science activities and budgets.

The President's initial recommendations set forth in his report to the Congress in March reflect our awareness that the benefits of the sea can and must increasingly serve the needs of our growing and increasingly urbanized society—the needs for food, minerals, energy, and recreation; for commerce and economic growth; and for strengthened national security and improved international understanding.

Let me briefly review some of these challenges that face our Nation and the world today:

There are one and one-half billion hungry people in the world. The full food potential of the seas, seriously neglected in the past, must be realized to combat famine and despair. Technologies now at hand can be directed toward increasing the world's fishing catch and enriching the diets of the underfed.

Seventy-five percent of our population lives along our coasts and Great Lakes. Nine of our fifteen largest metropolitan areas are on the oceans and Great Lakes and three are on ocean tributaries. Twenty million children live in these metropolitan areas within sight of potential water recreation areas but are often denied their use. Only three percent of our ocean and Great Lakes coastline has been set aside for public use or conservation.

More than 90 percent by value of our intercontinental commerce travels by ship. Although there have been rapid changes in the character of ocean cargoes and technologies of cargo handling, the average age of our port structures is 45 years and the average age of our merchant ships is 19 years.

The continuing threats to world peace require our Navy to maintain a high level of readiness and versatility through a sea based deterrent and undersea warfare capability. Middle East conflicts following closure of the Gulf of Aqaba vividly emphasize the urgent need for a strengthened code of international law of the sea.

Thirty million Americans swim in the oceans, eleven million are saltwater sport fishermen, and eight million engage in recreational boating in our coastal States, yet industrial wastes being dumped into ocean tributaries will increase seven-fold by the year 2000 unless there are drastic changes in waste handling.

Ocean-generated storms cause millions of dollars of damage annually along our coasts, but marine weather warning services are available to less than one-third of our coastal areas.

During the past year I have discussed these challenges with scientists, engineers, business leaders, and local, State, and Federal officials here in Washington, at oceanographic installations in nine coastal states, and in the capitals of six countries of Western Europe and one in Asia.

The problems of the sea are complex, and they involve every type of concern and institution that exists on the landward side of the shoreline. Thus, we must solicit the varied ideas, the advice, and the participation of universities, industry, and all elements of government, just as we have found this mixture an essential ingredient for the vitality and progress of our Nation on shore.

For seven years, the Congress and the scientific community have insisted on more intensive action to reap the benefits of the sea. Now the Administration is responding to the Congressional mandate—building on long-standing capacities within eleven Federal departments and agencies, and accelerating our progress with a new enthusiasm and determination, a new sense of direction and momentum. We are: identifying goals, and milestones to reach these goals; setting priorities; developing purposeful programs to bring our ocean interests into balance with our overall national interests; clarifying agency responsibilities to develop individual and collective capabilities; mobilizing our resources—Government, academic, and industrial.

We singled out a number of marine science areas for particular emphasis during FY 1968, and by concentrating diverse projects on a selected number of objectives have begun to obtain a greater effect from a still modest enterprise. We are critically examining the opportunities for FY 1969, realizing that current actions will significantly affect the course we chart during the next several years.

Certain of these programs are the responsibility of a single agency; but increasingly, new programs cross agency lines. The Council is taking steps to prevent unnecessary duplication and to ensure that program gaps do not occur.

We are fortunate to have a close association with the advisory Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. While the Commission and the Council are independent, we are at the same time working harmoniously together toward common goals. We are looking forward to the Commission's recommendations to the President and to the Congress concerning a national plan and the most appropriate future structure of the Federal Government to carry out statutory purposes.

Most of the mysteries of the sea remain cloaked before us. Most of its resources remain untapped. Most of its potential to serve national goals remains unawakened. To realize this opportunity depends on a creative partnership of our Federal Government with States, with universities and research organizations, and with industry.

We also look forward to increased activities by other Nations with whom we seek further international cooperation and collaboration—in scientific research and in a framework of law by which the sea may serve all men.

Pure logic and practical economics dictate this program. However, not to be forgotten is man's compelling desire to explore and to understand the world around him. The spirit which has carried us to rugged mountain peaks, remote polar icecaps, and distant reaches of outerspace now propels us to the ocean deeps. This spirit is fortified with a confidence developed by past contributions of science that we will not only conquer the ocean deeps but will use them in satisfying the needs of our society.

In concluding, may I say how much I welcome this continuing interest by the Congress in what is both an enormously complex set of issues and an untapped set of opportunities to study and utilize the sea to serve man. This is a program that has support by both Executive and Legislative branches of Government, free of partisan controversy, and I look forward to our working further with the Congress in serving our mutual interests.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey.

MAILING NEEDS OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on September 14 and 15 of this year, Washington played host to the National Postal Forum. This meeting was called by the Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien to bring "superlative postal service" to our Nation's business. This meeting was a unique, a first-of-a-kind event. It is the hope of the Postmaster General that this forum will open new steps in communications which will establish, between business and the Government, a partnership for nationwide improved mail service.

At this conference, a distinguished associate of mine addressed this forum. Barbara Kingsley is the vice president of the Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami Beach, Fla. She is an outstanding community figure and has done an incomparable job in the field of banking.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of Barbara Kingsley's address on the "Mailing Needs of Financial Institutions." I know that my colleagues will find this most informative discussion.

MAILING NEEDS OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS PANEL

(Address by Barbara Kingsley, vice president, Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami Beach, Fla.)

When I was invited to sit on this panel, I was asked for a list of topics for discussion that would be of interest. What a simple question, but how difficult to answer! Without any concentration at all, about two dozen ideas immediately came to mind . . . and most of them controversial! Anyway, of those I submitted, Mr. Cawley selected three, and so I shall confine myself to those.

The first deals with 1099 Forms. As I am sure you know, the preparation and sending of these forms is entirely a Government requirement. No benefit of any kind whatsoever inures to the senders, which include all financial institutions and, in fact any organizations which pays dividends or interest on customers' funds. So far as my organization, Washington Federal Saving and Loan Association, is concerned, it costs us thousands of dollars yearly for postage and labor. We are required to mail these forms first class to all depositors and the copies have to be mailed to the Treasury Department also first class. We pay dividends four times a year and even when accounts are closed during the year, and perhaps only one dividend has been paid, these records have to be kept in order to fulfill the Government requirement. In addition to the costs mentioned, there is also the necessity of coping with frantic telephone calls and correspondence from depositors who have lots their forms and who request duplicates for income tax purposes. Thus, this requirement of the Government is a never-ending source of aggravation and time consuming effort. And, to rub salt in the wound, the expense is borne wholly by the business organizations.

In the case of Government Savings Bonds which, as a gesture of courtesy to the Government, we sell and which, of course, are in direct competition to our own business, nevertheless we are able to mail them in an envelope provided by the Treasury and at Treasury expense and we believe the same should apply to the 1099 Forms. We also get a small fee when we redeem Savings Bonds.

Another condition imposed on us and similar institutions is that we mail these forms even to addresses which we know are no longer valid. In Miami Beach we have the highest transient population in the nation, and probably in the world. In spite of our appeals to our customers, which take every possible form, we can still do no better than maintain less than 90% accuracy in the customer addresses on record. It is not at all unusual for an account to be opened one day, a welcome letter to go out the same day and for it to be returned within a few days marked "Gone—No Forwarding". We have recently converted our savings accounts to an on-line computer operation, which is programed so that whenever there is action on such an account over the counter, the teller is alerted by a "beep" signal that the address is not valid and to request the new one. Nevertheless we have to mail out the 1099 Forms and, of course, they are returned to us. Then again, what are we supposed to do in the case of "No mail" accounts? In such cases, when the account is opened, we are specifically requested not to send any mail of any kind. It could be called a kind of invasion of privacy if we do so—but the Government requires that we mail the 1099 Form to all customers who have received dividends. Thus, we get the opprobrium of our customers, considerable expense on the exclusive behalf of the Government . . . and little else. We have asked the Post Office authorities if we couldn't even send the forms by third class mail, sealed, as is possible when such mailings are identical. And, of course, the forms are identical, except in the amount of dividends shown, and because of this we are forbidden to do so.

So that we do not end this particular subject on a sour note, and in an effort to show good will, we do try to get these forms prepared as long before the deadline of January 31st as is possible, so that they can be mailed during a Post Office slow period. I know this cooperation is appreciated by the Post Office officials because if the mailings all over the country are left until the end of January, you can well imagine how inundated they are. In fact, we try to schedule all our mass mailings in accordance with local Post Office requirements and we always alert them when we expect to be making one.

The second subject I have been asked to briefly discuss is the continuing and unexplained delay in receipt of mail from close-by areas, particularly month end mail, which is the end of the grace period for mortgage payment. All our mortgage payments are due on the first of each month and there is a 30 day grace period. A great many people leave the payment of bills to the last possible moment and if a mortgage payment is received after the grace period is over, there is penalty interest to pay. Of course, we get cries of anguish when this happens and not infrequently the complaint is that the check was mailed well before the end and "it was held up in the mails". Purely in self defense, we now hold all envelopes containing checks received the early part of the month, and it is not at all infrequent that two and sometimes three days have elapsed between the postmark date and receipt by us. This is *local* mail. This could well be due to the fact that in Miami Beach, for instance, and, in fact, a number of the municipalities in Dade County, where Miami Beach lies, a lot of the local mail has to go to another city to be sorted and then returned for delivery. May I suggest, therefore, in an effort to help solve this problem, that all organizations with similar problems use every opportunity to encourage their customers to mail early in the month.

The third subject I would like just to touch on is really not one that involves my organization as such, but it affects me personally and I am sure millions of others like me—and, particularly the Post Office, in whose behalf perhaps I am speaking more than anybody else's. Why is it not possible to get the bulk and third class mail users to purge their files of duplicates, triplicates, quadruplicates . . . and so on? I personally receive the same mailings at least two, and quite often up to five times. I was discussing this with a local Post Office official recently and he told me of a rather amusing incident. A bulk mail user complained bitterly about the expense to which he had been put in order to comply with the Post Office requirement that all his addresses be ZIP coded. I suppose a lot of us had similar complaints! However, subsequently, this complainant told the same Post Office official that he was delighted he was compelled to do it, because while the job was in progress it had been noted that there were hundreds of duplicates, triplicates, and so on and, in fact, in one case the same family was receiving eight identical mailings! In an expensive mailing the cost of these duplications can be enormous and it behooves all bulk mail users to regularly cull through their lists to clear them out—and, if you want to feel magnanimous about it—it would be of enormous help to the Post Office.

In spite of criticizing them, as I am sure we all do, nevertheless, and perhaps secretly, we sympathize with the fact that the United States mails handle more pieces than all other countries of the world put together—and though sometimes I feel I'd like to have a go at trying to solve some of their problems, when I think of the enormity of them, my heart quails. But I do believe they will be solved eventually. My father was an inventor and an engineer and he said something when I was quite small, which I have never forgotten. "There is no problem that cannot be solved—maybe neither you nor I will solve it, but somebody will. And let me add," he said, "if you have an opportunity to help solve a problem, be grateful for the challenge—there is no greater self-satisfaction than solving problems which other people gave up on." So, although I do my share of criticizing the Post Office, nevertheless I shall do my best to cooperate in any solutions that anybody cares to suggest that may be of help to the much maligned Post Office Department.

CULVER PROPOSES LEGISLATION TO OVERCOME CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF NURSES

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CULVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the increasing shortage of nurses in the Nation today is one of the most critical public health problems we face, and we must take action now to reverse these alarming trends.

Several years ago, the Surgeon General's Consultant Group on Nursing estimated that with the current rate of graduations, there would be 650,000 nurses in the United States by the end of 1969. But the same study group estimated that we would need 850,000 nurses by that time—or 200,000 more than we could reasonably expect. There is good reason to believe now that the gap may be even more serious.

Diploma nursing schools connected with hospitals have traditionally been the backbone of the nursing education program, and they produce 75 percent of our registered nurses.

Yet almost without exception, the diploma nursing school is confronted with serious financial problems. As a result, since 1959 over 120 such schools have been forced to close their doors. Other hospitals are forced to increase already high patient costs in order to make up the deficits caused by the training programs.

In addition, tuition costs have steadily risen, and as a result many potential students have been discouraged from pursuing nursing careers. This fall, there were nearly 4,500 vacancies in classes entering diploma schools.

It makes little sense for the Congress to fund programs to help build hospitals or provide medical care for senior citizens if there are not enough qualified nurses to staff the new facilities or to service the additional patient load.

It is for this reason that I am introducing legislation today to establish a 5-year program of aid specifically intended to put diploma nursing schools back on a firm financial footing, and to enable them to build up their enrollments and alleviate the nursing shortage, without further increases in patient fees and tuition costs.

My proposal would provide annual grants ranging from $12,000 to $24,000 per school, based on enrollment, with additional $400 per pupil grants. Matching fund grants not to exceed $6,000 a year would also be available to improve library resources.

In addition, the legislation is designed to stimulate the development of comprehensive plans for nursing education, including development of facilities and recruitment of students, in each State.

Mr. Speaker, the superintendent of one of the major hospitals in my congressional district, which maintains a nurse-training program, has advised me that this bill, if enacted into law, would be "the most constructive possible piece of legislation to deal with the increasing nursing crisis."

I urge the prompt consideration of this legislation by the committee, and hope for early passage by the Congress to help insure that the urgent nationwide need for qualified nurses will be met.

BRAZILIANS EXPRESS GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION FOR AMERICAN EFFORTS IN VIETNAM

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CULVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, criticism of American involvement in Vietnam is readily noted, whether it comes from domestic sources or from abroad. All too often, however, favorable comments go unnoticed.

A recent editorial in A Tarde, a Brazilian newspaper, has been brought to my attention as a commentary on "the tenacity, inspiration, and bravery of the young American generation who risk their lives defending an ideal which made their country a truly universal symbol—the ideal of liberty."

According to this editorial:

> It is really admirable that a nation so tormented by such serious external and internal problems can still find the spiritual and material reserves, which seem inexhaustible, to help other peoples. . . . This example should be sufficiently dissuading to those who lightly presume that the United States is in a phase of incurrable decadence.

Regardless of one's own position on the war in Vietnam, this opinion from Latin America should be noted in maintaining perspective on American involvement there, and I place the entire text of the article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Cedar Rapids Gazette, Sept. 4, 1967]

HIGH PRAISE TO WARM THE HEARTS OF ALL AMERICANS

(By Ray Cromley)

WASHINGTON.—Critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam should read and re-read the following editorial.

It was carried Aug. 7, 1967, in A Tarde, a newspaper in Sao Salvador, Bahia, Brazil.

The editorial says, in its own way, what this reporter has heard many American servicemen and civilians say in Vietnam. Men and women in Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Hong Kong told me the same thing last fall.

SOMETIMES LOSE SIGHT

We sometimes lose sight of this in the daily budget of protest in the news.

Here then is the Brazilian editorial:

"The United States government is going to increase taxes by 10 percent to support the war in Vietnam. What this means for the western world is probably not well understood. But we shudder to think what a collapse of democracy in the Orient would signify . . .

"Fighting in Asia, in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam against ambushes of the Viet Cong, the North American people and their allies . . . are fulfilling a pledge not only to the South Vietnamese. The lives being sacrificed there are for the freedom of the whole world, because if they were to leave Vietnam, we would have the war on our own frontiers. . . .

WELL DEFINED

"An empire like the American one does not need to resort to territorial expansion. The Vietnam war has a well-defined ideological meaning and the fate of two different worlds is in balance there. . . .

"And now all of the American people are being called to contribute to this war. Giving their blood is not enough. It is also necessary for them to make a material contribution, from the national wealth, in favor of a long and tiring campaign with no end in sight.

"Whether or not one agrees with the reasons the United States is in Vietnam, one must admire the tenacity, inspiration and bravery of the young American generation who risk their lives defending an ideal which made their country a truly universal symbol—the ideal of liberty.

AMERICAN STOICISM

"The stoicism of the Americans in this war, in the face of accusations of all types and sometimes from those who should be fighting at their side, is impressive. For the responsibility for maintaining the status quo in Vietnam should fall much more to other countries than to the United States which is there defending interests which were not theirs and which led them into a war in defense of all democratic nations of the world.

"Nevertheless, the United States still considers itself committed to give economic help to the democratic nations, especially to the less-developed ones, in a second front in the war against communism.

"On this other front, the American people are also in the vanguard. Recent statistics show that in the past year more than 100 million Americans gave more than $13½ billion to help the well-being of others, whether in their own country or in other nations around the globe.

NO PARALLEL

"There is no parallel in all the history of mankind to this vast and substantial solidarity. Since the end of the second World war the United States has helped the world to free itself from poverty and has made great efforts to defend the dearest accomplishments of man and the self-determination of people. Devastated Europe was rebuilt under the Marshall Plan and many Asian, African and American nations have counted on the United States for substantial assistance in the fight against underdevelopment.

"It is really admirable that a nation so tormented by such serious external and internal problems can still find the spiritual and material reserves, which seem inexhaustible, to help other peoples. . . .

"This example should be sufficiently dissuading to those who lightly presume that the United States is in a phase of incurable decadence."

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL—A CHALLENGE FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my support of the air pollution bill reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I believe that this bill would establish the basis for a true partnership between the States and the Federal Government in dealing with the very serious problem of air pollution.

In his testimony on the bill, Dr. John T. Middleton, Director of the National Center for Air Pollution Control, noted that the implementation would hinge initially on State action to deal with air pollution problems within air quality control regions designated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The States would be responsible for setting air quality standards for such regions and for developing and implementing plans to meet those standards.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would assist the States by publishing air quality criteria and information on recommended control technology; moreover, it would be given responsibility for determining whether State standards are adequate and consistent with the purposes of the bill. In addition, the Department would be empowered to initiate action to insure both the development and implementation of air quality standards if action at the State level is inadequate.

No one level of government—Federal, State, or local—can adequately or effectively deal with the problem of air pollution. It is inherently a regional problem that must be handled on a cooperative intergovernmental basis. The proposed Air Quality Act provides the necessary basis for such intergovernmental cooperation.

The administration is to be commended for its support of this legislation, which I believe will provide useful new tools for protecting the American people against the rising threat of air pollution.

THE TFX: BIGGEST BLUNDER IN OUR MILITARY HISTORY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, Robert S. McNamara will undoubtedly go down in history as the only Secretary of Defense who never did anything right in his entire tenure. He has, however, one ability that would be the envy of Dunninger and Houdini combined, the facility of mesmerizing the President of the United States.

More influential men than I have begged the President to call for his resignation. More knowledgeable men in the field of military tactics have opposed practicaly every move he has made. As a matter of fact, except for a few sycophants especially chosen for their limp spines, every ranking military commander and most privates, speak openly of his incompetence, his monumental ego, his absolute dedication to failure.

If the record needs to be established, the scandal of his handling of the TFX will serve. Five years and $12 billion since he was told that he was wrong in overruling every authority in the military field, the disgraceful story has been recapped by U.S. News & World Report of September 25.

It is terrifying to think that this capricious incompetent heads the defense system of the Nation. If we escape total annihilation because he is incapable of seeing to our defense, it will be no thanks to him. It will be an act of God.

The wretched history of the TFX is worth reading as a refresher for anyone who has forgotten the beginnings of the controversy 5 years ago.

The article referred to follows:

Troubles are piling up for the vast program to build the F-111 warplane and the chief architect of that program, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

Real alarm is spreading among Congressmen that the variable-wing F-111 is turning into a costly disaster—a fear consistently derided by Mr. McNamara and his principal aides.

Despite military misgivings, the F-111, once known as the "TFX," has been given a major role in future U.S. defenses. Britain and Australia were persuaded to buy the plane over objections of their own military men.

A 6-billion-dollar production program for the Air Force—now certain to cost at least twice that much, according to critics—has been launched by the U.S.

Within the past few weeks, fresh fears have been expressed on Capitol Hill about the entire program, Britain, miffed over other aspects of joint military plans with the U.S., is having some angry second thoughts about the F-111.

LIMITATIONS REVEALED

Dismay about the F-111 is based on questions raised by Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, and replies by Pentagon experts. Latest installment in this running debate appeared September 13 in a censored transcript of hearings held in mid-July by the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

From that testimony and other records made available to "U.S. News & World Report," these charges emerge:

The Air Force version scarcely can fly over Pikes Peak—altitude 14,110 feet—when fueled and fully loaded with bombs of the type used in Vietnam.

In the absence of an adequate speed brake, the F-111 cannot dogfight.

The engine is subject to flameouts—interruptions of its operation—when the power-boosting afterburner is used.

Because of wind resistance, the distance the Air Force F-111 can travel at more than the speed of sound on a low-level bomb run has been reduced by 75 per cent from that expected.

The intercontinental-ferry range is about 1,000 miles short of that originally planned.

All those problems of the Air Force plane, plus other troubles, plague the Navy's version of the F-111:

The Navy plane is nearly 10,000 pounds overweight and still unsuitable for carrier operations.

It is 11,000 feet shy of reaching its planned combat ceiling.

Navy pilots would be unable to use afterburners for added power and safety during launchings from 17 of the 24 catapults aboard the largest carriers.

The Navy plane needs a 19-knot "wind over deck" for carrier launching, instead of the minus 8 knots planned.

In brief, congressional investigators have technical reports that the F-111 has failed to meet the original specifications by wide margins.

Even so, Mr. McNamara is putting the Air Force F-111 into full production. A contract for 493 airframes, costing 1.8 billion dollars, was let for the Air Force to General Dynamics Corporation of Fort Worth, Tex., last May.

So far, Senator McClellan has blocked plans to produce the Navy plane.

ONE GOAL: VERSATILITY

As conceived, the F-111 was to be an all-purpose plane for both the Navy and Air Force.

It was to be a long-range bomber, a fighter, a missile-launching platform and a reconnaissance airplane.

Mr. McNamara told Congress in 1963 that by building such an aircraft he could save taxpayers 1 billion dollars.

The Air Force estimated in 1963 that it could buy 1,700 of the F-111s for 5.8 billion dollars, including 711 million for research and development.

There is testimony before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee that the Air Force now plans to buy 400 fewer aircraft—1,300—and spend more than 12.4 billion dollars, including 2 billion in research costs. Even this figure is misleading. The Air Force calculates the ready-to-fly cost of each F-111 at 10 million, including 2 million for ground-support equipment. That comes to a total of 13 billion.

Senator McClellan has called the F-111 a multibillion-dollar blunder.

Until recently, public attention has been focused chiefly on the troubled Navy F-111.

Last month, however, Senator Carl T. Curtis (Rep.), of Nebraska, said: "There is growing discontent in the Air Force. . . ."

OVERWEIGHT, UNDERPOWERED

Senator Curtis and others have said that the Defense Department has been less than candid about the F-111 program. The Senator told colleagues last month:

"Basically, the TFX is an excellent aircraft for development as a small nuclear bomber, but its effectiveness ends there. It has no versatility for other uses, including strategic bombing and tactical fighting. The main problem is that it is overweight and underpowered."

Weight has been a problem for both Air Force and Navy. The Air Force version, fueled and armed with a 2,000-pound atomic bomb, weighs 81,400 pounds. When armed with 12 conventional 750-pound bombs, it weighs close to 90,000 pounds. The Navy F-111B has a mission-weight to 79,000 pounds. Weight, and resulting "drag" can be overcome by increasing power. But that increases fuel consumption.

A new engine under development for the F-111 will increase engine thrust by only 10 per cent.

The problems of the F-111 are seemingly endless. Senator McClellan reported to the Senate on August 22 that the Navy's preliminary evaluation of the airplane uncovered 104 deficiencies for which corrections were mandatory and 153 other deficiencies which needed correction on a high-priority basis.

By way of comparison, the Navy's initial evaluation of the A-7 attack bomber turned up only 18 major deficiencies.

From the Air Force viewpoint, the most critical defects are the reduction in what is known as "dash distance" and the plane's inability to dogfight.

When the Air Force version was planned, it was to have a combat radius of about 800 miles.

In approaching its target at extremely low altitudes—under 150 feet—to avoid radar detection, the airplane was to fly a certain number of miles at more than the speed of sound. The number of miles, called "dash distance," is secret.

Senator McClellan has informed members of the Appropriations Subcommittee that this "dash distance" has been cut 75 per cent by wind resistance.

IN A DOGFIGHT, GET OUT

At present, the Air Force F-111 lacks an adequate air-speed brake, one which would enable it to dogfight.

Senator McClellan once asked Lieut. Gen. James Ferguson of the Air Force what he would do if he encountered a MIG-21 while flying an F-111 over North Vietnam. General Ferguson, then military director of the Scientific Advisory Board, replied:

"I know what I would do. . . . I would go down on the deck and get out of there."

The Navy is worried by what is described in a technical report as the plane's instability in "a low-fuel configuration."

Upon returning from missions, tired pilots are going to have to land a tail-heavy plane, which has a tendency to yaw, on the pitching deck of a carrier, often at night.

INTERNATIONAL FUROR?

Beyond all this, there is the distinct possibility that the Air Force version may become the center of a quarrel involving Great Britain and Australia.

Both Great Britain and Australia have predicated their long-range defense plans on a successful F-111. Each has contracted tentatively to take 50 of the planes. Great Britain is putting up more than 850 million dollars.

In deciding to buy the F-111, Britain scrapped its advanced swept-wing airplane, the TSR-2. At the time, Britain had 18 of the planes in production and three undergoing flight tests. On the strength of the presumed ability of the F-111 to span continents, the British also decided to do away with aircraft carriers. Some of Britain's top military men quit in protest.

The F-111 is to be Britain's weapon for protecting its interests east of Suez.

For Australia, the F-111 is to provide strike capability deep into Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean regions.

REBUFF FOR BRITAIN

The groundwork for international furor was laid by Congress last week when it voted to bar a British bid to build wood-hulled minesweepers, costing around 100 million dollars, for the U.S. Navy.

Part of Britain's price for agreeing to buy the F-111 was permission to compete for U.S. defense contracts.

"The Times" of London quoted British officials in Washington as saying the veto was "sufficient grounds to cancel the F-111 contracts. There are all sorts of problems with the airplane anyhow."

In London a British Defense Ministry spokesman said:

"Nothing is certain. . . . As it is at the moment, the F-111 deal is in jeopardy."

Senator Curtis has asked that the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, headed by Senator McClellan, reopen hearings on the F-111. The subcommittee has been keeping tabs on the F-111 since November, 1962.

Senator McClellan may accede to the request and resume hearings, probably next spring. If so, the major question before the Subcommittee will be whether the Pentagon should be spending billions to produce the F-111 before it is really certain that the airplane will perform as originally intended.

A Pentagon nickname for the F-111: "McNamara's Albatross."

THE PARALLEL BAY BRIDGE AND THE J. E. GREINER CO.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the House soon will vote on H.R. 11627, a bill to authorize certain Maryland toll projects, including a parallel bridge across the Chesapeake Bay—which the voters of Maryland rejected decisively last November on public referendum.

During the past 2 weeks, I have spoken of the relationship between this parallel bridge and the J. E. Greiner Co. You may recall certain disclosures concerning activities of this company in Pennsylvania and Florida.

In Pennsylvania, the J. E. Greiner partner who recently signed a report recommending a parallel bridge, was, along with another Greiner official, indicted earlier, in 1957, on a charge of "conspiracy to cheat and defraud the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission of millions of dollars." Moreover, the Turnpike Commission dismissed the J. E. Greiner Co. as consulting engineers and brought a $7.7 million civil negligence suit against the firm. The two indicted officials escaped conviction, but the J. E. Greiner Co. paid the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission to settle the civil suit out of court.

In Florida in 1965, a Florida grand jury ruled that fees charged by the J. E. Greiner Co. for engineering and designs for the Tampa Airport were "unduly excessive" by $907,000. Greiner's total fee for the Tampa project amounted to $2.4 million, of which the "excessive" $907,000 represented 37 percent.

In view of the imminent House action on H.R. 11627, and the imminent award of a consulting engineering contract for the parallel bay bridge to Greiner, I hereby place in the RECORD further information on the J. E. Greiner Co.; this time in connection with the Delaware River Joint Toll Bridge Commission, operating bridges between Pennsylvania and New Jersey:

In 1956, the J. E. Greiner Company, as consulting engineers to the Delaware River Joint Toll Bridge Commission, was found to have authorized over a period of years illegal payments of $181 thousand in public funds to Commission members and employees.[1]

Some of these requisitions for illegal payments to Commission members were signed by E. J. Donnelly, the Greiner Company partner who signed the firm's 1964 recommendation of the parallel Bay bridge in Maryland.[2]

In addition, Greiner Company authorized payment of additional public money for pleasure trips to Las Vegas and other cities;[3] for an extravagant party attended by friends of the Commission chairman at an Atlantic City hotel penthouse;[4] for hiring several Powers models to entertain guests at a reception;[5] and for purchase of a set of china costing over $4.3 thousand.[6]

These excesses authorized by the J. E. Greiner Company led to indictments by a grand jury of five Commission officials on charges of misuse of public funds and criminal conspiracy. As a result of these criminal prosecutions, and a number of civil suits, over $100 thousand in public money was recovered by the Commission.[7]

The chairman of a bi-state investigation committee observed that one $4 thousand party held by the Commission head "rivalled, if it did not outdo, the fantastic spendings of Diamond Jim Brady."[8]

Another feature of the investigation of the Delaware River Commission was the payment of $715 to Mrs. Nony E. Brandt for "stenographic services" never performed. Mrs. Brandt was actually a Philadelphia night club dancer billed as "TNT from Gay Paree."[9]

A confidential report on the Delaware River Commission made by the Pennsylvania Attorney General's office in 1956 reported that "during the years 1948 through 1955 the Greiner Company, by its own admission, received consulting engineering fees totalling almost $2,225,000. These fees included at least a 5 percent "overwrite" on expenditures from the Construction Fund of the Commission, as well as $40 thousand a year retainer. This does not include travelling expenditures submitted by the Greiner firm to the Commission.[10]

The re-formed Commission informed the Greiner Company on December 20, 1956, that it would subsequently pay only a $12 thousand annual retainer—or less than a third of the $40,000 the firm had been getting for retainer.[11]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. CORMAN, for September 28 and October 2, on account of official business.

Mr. BUTTON (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. SAYLOR, today, for 30 minutes; and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. RYAN, for 20 minutes, today; to

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[1] *Trenton Times*, May 27, 1956. Article entitled: "Bridge Commission Sues Four to Recover Salaries." The Commission said a total of $181,000 was illegally paid to members of the executive committee from 1948 on. . . . See also, transcript of Executive Session of the Special Legislative Committee Investigating the Delaware River Joint Toll Bridge Commission, March 27 and 28, 1956. Pages 1044 to 1047; pages 909 to 911; quote minutes of Commission meetings at which E. J. Donnelly recommended increases in the illegal payments. See also, Requisition No. 1021, Dated November 6, 1952, of Delaware River Bridge Construction Fund, signed by E. J. Donnelly of the J. E. Greiner Company, directing payment for payroll purposes. Greiner officials approved all payroll expenditures out of the construction fund.

[2] See requisition form No. 1021, signed by Donnelly, in footnote No. 1. See also microfilm of Delaware River Commission payroll journal sheet, files of Commission, showing payment to Alex R. Miller, former chairman, for eight days at $50 a day. $200 charged to Requisition No. 1021 on "Trenton E Account," $200 charged to another account on another Requisition No.

[3] Delaware River Bridges Construction Fund Requisition No. 1069, signed March 10, 1955, by W. H. Pahl of the J. E. Greiner Company, showing payment of $873.64 to United Air Lines, Inc. Bill No. 3576, which corresponds to this requisition, lists flight to Las Vegas and other cities. Transcript of Public Hearing, in the matter of the Investigation of the DRJTBC, Tuesday, May 8, 1956, in the Supreme Court Room, State Capitol Building, Harrisburg, Pa. Page 40 et seq.:

"Q. Did you have any purpose in going to Las Vegas in order to transact Commission business? Was there any busines that you had to transact there for the Commission?

"A. (By Alex R. Miller, former chairman) We were not transacting any business for the Commission.

"Q. But still it was at Commission expense?

"A. It was an incidental trip.

"Q. What were you there as?

"A. Sightseer.

"Q. Isn't it peculiar to be a sightseer on Commission expense?

"A. I don't look at it that way."

[4] Transcript of Public Hearing in the matter of the Investigation of the DRJTBC, Wednesday, May 2, 1956, in the County Court House, Easton, Pa., Page 6. This party for Chairman Miller's friends cost the Commission $4,030.46.

[5] Delaware River Bridges Construction Fund Requisition No. 902, signed by W. H. Pahl of the J. E. Greiner Company, Jan. 18, 1954, includes payment of $477.31 to John Robert Powers (model) Agency Corp. Corresponding invoice, bill No. 3093, itemizes the payment as "to appearance (including expenses) seven models at the ceremonies and dinner dedicating the Delaware Water Gap Bridge, on Dec. 16, 1953."

[6] Delaware River Bridges Construction Fund Requisition No. 1310, signed by the late H. H. Allen of the J. E. Greiner Company, for payment of $4,346.22 for a set of Lenox China. See also Pennsylvania State Police File No. DD 1179, Nov. 19, 1956. Memo on return of true bills returned by Grand Jury at Doylestown, Bucks County, Pa.:

Leslie Brown—Violation of Penal Code, Section 682 (Sale of China). See also, Trenton Times, Sept. 12, 1956. Mr. Brown, who succeeded Miller as chairman, was president of the Lenox corporation which made the set of china.

[7] See State Police Memo above in footnote #6, also progress reports on repayment of money by various officials from State Police file on Delaware River Bridges investigation. The criminal prosecutions which helped to gain repayment were nol prossed, as the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was unable to bring Miller—the key witness—to trial because of his heart condition. He died in 1961 in a New York City hotel room after having repaid $74 thousand to the Commission.

[8] See May 2, 1956, public hearing at Easton, Pa. referred to earlier. Page 6. State Senator Joseph Yosko was chairman of the Investigating Committee, aided by officials of the Attorney General's offices of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

[9] *Trenton Times*, Aug. 7, 1956. Article entitled "$2,500 Bail Set for 4 in Bridge Quiz." See also criminal indictments referred to earlier: R. Chapman Carver—misuse of public funds (alleged steno services). Miss Brandt (TNT) was last officially reported to be living in Berne, Switzerland.

[10] Pennsylvania State Police files on Delaware River Bridges investigation.

[11] Minutes of Commission, Dec. 20, 1956.

revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Waggonner (at the request of Mr. Patten), for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Long of Maryland (at the request of Mr. Patten), for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. Gonzalez, for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include pertinent extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Michel) to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Michel, for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Rhodes of Arizona, for 30 minutes, on October 3.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Miller of California.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Scherle) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Adair.

Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Kleppe.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Patten) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Fraser.

Mr. Ronan.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 13026. An act to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1862. An act to amend the authorizing legislation on the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 29, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1109. A letter from the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies, transmitting the special report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies, special funds of the Asian Development Bank (H. Doc. No. 166); to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

1110. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting the semiannual report of contracts for military construction awarded without formal advertisement, covering the period January 1 through June 30, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89–568; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1111. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report listing claims settled in fiscal year 1967, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 88–558; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DULSKI: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 7977. A bill to adjust certain postage rates, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 722). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 4903. A bill to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands (Rept. No. 723). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MAHON: Committee on Appropriations. House Joint Resolution 853. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 724). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 13187. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 13188. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to prohibit projects and programs which compete with private retail and wholesale businesses; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 13189. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to prohibit programs and projects involving the publication of newspapers in competition with private newspapers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CONABLE:

H.R. 13190. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that certain awards in recognition of outstanding achievement in the field of sports shall be excluded from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 13191. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the independence of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DENT (for himself and Mr. Schadeberg):

H.R. 13192. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exempt certain employees of boat sales establishments from the overtime compensation requirements of that act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DULSKI (by request):

H.R. 13193. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to extend the period of entitlement of persons entitled to assistance under the veterans' educational assistance program and the war orphans' educational assistance program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 13194. A bill to provide day care for children from low-income families, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 13195. A bill to alleviate certain hardships to employees in the administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 13196. A bill to create new employment opportunities and to improve manpower and training programs for the unemployed and underemployed; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 13197. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to use of the mails to obtain money or property under false representations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 13198. A bill to provide for reports of committees of Congress on the personnel of such committees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HICKS:

H.R. 13199. A bill to amend section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 13200. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, with respect to the development of cargo container vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 13201. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, wth respect to the development of cargo container vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 13202. A bill to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 13203. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958 to abolish the rank of detective in the Metropolitan Police force, and to promote persons with such rank to the rank of detective sergeant; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 13204. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize rules and regulations designed to relieve air traffic congestion at airports having a high density of air traffic; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 13205. A bill to extend the tariff quota treatment for certain stainless steel table flatware; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 13206. A bill to develop business and employment opportunities in smaller cities and areas of unemployment and underemployment by providing certain preferences for prospective Government contractors in such cities and areas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHWEIKER:

H.R. 13207. A bill to amend the act of November 8, 1965, relating to liability for civil damages as a result of acts or omissions at the scene of an accident; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 13208. A bill to provide for the compensation of persons injured by certain criminal acts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STUBBLEFIELD (for himself, Mr. Ichord, Mr. Hull, and Mr. Walker):

H.R. 13209. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with and furnish financial and other assistance to States and other public bodies and organizations in establishing a system for the prevention, control, and suppression of fires in rural areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STUBBLEFIELD:

H.R. 13210. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 13211. A bill to create in the Executive Office of the President a Council of Ecological Advisers; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. UTT (for himself, Mr. Bob Wilson and Mr. Van Deerlin):

H.R. 13212. A bill to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of San Diego; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 13213. A bill to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 13214. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 13215. A bill to amend section 1072(2)(F) of title 10, United States Code, to include other than natural parents and parents-in-law within the category of dependents eligible for medical care; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CULVER:

H.R. 13216. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 13217. A bill to authorize the appropriation of $200 million for a U.S. contribution to multilateral special funds of the Asian Development Bank; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 13218. A bill to extend the tariff quota treatment for certain stainless steel table flatware; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 13219. A bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act with respect to the labeling of packages of cigarettes and for other purposes; and to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the broadcasting of advertisements for tobacco products during certain periods; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VIGORITO (for himself and Mr. Brasco):

H.R. 13220. A bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act with respect to the labeling of packages of cigarettes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CULVER:

H.R. 13221. A bill to amend the act of December 21, 1944, relating to the City of Clinton Bridge Commission; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HERLONG (for himself, Mr. Schneebeli, Mr. Utt, and Mr. Collier):

H.R. 13222. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the temporary rate of duty for color television picture tubes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MORTON:

H.R. 13223. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, with respect to the development of cargo container vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 13224. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 13225. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAHON:

H.J. Res. 853. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. GARMATZ (for himself, Mr. Mailliard, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Mr. Rogers of Florida, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Dow, Mr. Karth, Mr. Hathaway, Mr. Clark, Mr. St. Onge, Mr. Jones of North Carolina, Mr. Pelly, Mr. Keith, Mr. Edwards of Alabama, Mr. Schadeberg, Mr. Roth, and Mr. Dellenback):

H.J. Res. 854. Joint resolution to provide for a study of the resources of the ocean floor by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, and to prevent certain premature actions which might adversely affect the interests of the United States in such resources; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HALL:

H.J. Res. 855. Joint resolution to provide for a study of the resources of the ocean floor by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, and to prevent certain premature actions which might adversely affect the interests of the United States in such resources; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.J. Res. 856. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOSHER (for himself, Mrs. Sullivan, Mr. Dingell, Mr. Byrne of Pennsylvania, Mr. Stubblefield, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Helstoski, Mr. Grover, Mr. Morton, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Ruppe, and Mr. Button):

H.J. Res. 857. Joint resolution to provide for a study of the resources of the ocean floor by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, and to prevent certain premature actions which might adversely affect the interests of the United States in such resources; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 858. Joint resolution amending title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to guarantee certain loans made to the National Maritime Historical Society for the purpose of restoring and returning to the United States the last surviving American square-rigged merchant ship, the *Kaiulani*, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself, Mr. Widnall, and Mr. Barrett):

H.J. Res. 859. Joint resolution extending for 1 year the emergency provisions of the urban mass transportation program; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. YATES:

H.J. Res. 860. Joint resolution authorizing participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences with Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H. Con. Res. 514. Concurrent resolution providing for a joint session to hear a former Vietcong prisoner of war; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. O'HARA of Michigan:

H. Res. 935. Resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to set aside a portion of the gallery for the use of scholars engaged in studies of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SMITH of Iowa (for himself, Mr. Stubblefield, Mr. Morris, Mr. Slack, Mr. Waldie, and Mr. Hungate):

H. Res. 936. Resolution creating a select committee to study the impact of East-West trade and assistance to nations which support aggression, directly or indirectly; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ADAIR (for himself, Mr. Berry, Mr. Pelly, Mr. Lukens, and Mr. Goodling):

H. Res. 937. Resolution creating a select committee to study the impact of East-West trade and assistance to nations which support aggression, directly or indirectly; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 13226. A bill for the relief of Isaac, Berta, and Chaya Eichenstein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 13227. A bill to fix date of citizenship of Alfred Lorman for purposes of War Claims Act of 1948; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 13228. A bill for the relief of Joseph P. Hennessey; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 13229. A bill for the relief of Clemente F. Astudillo; to the Commitee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 13230. A bill for the relief of Thomas K. Lomas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13231. A bill for the relief of Ashwani Kumar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 13232. A bill for the relief of David L. Blair; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 13233. A bill for the relief of Nemesio Gomez-Sanchez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 13234. A bill for the relief of Mauro Zaino and his wife, Maria Zaino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13235. A bill for the relief of Oscar Esparza and his wife, Lydia Esparza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13236. A bill for the relief of Filippo Villano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The Wild West Division

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the 91st Infantry Division of the U.S. Army, known as "The Wild West Division," now in organized reserve and headquartered at the Presidio of San Francisco will, on October 1, 1967, celebrate the 50th anniversary of its organization.

It was my high privilege to be one of the original members of the 91st Division when it was put together at Camp Lewis, Wash., on October 1, 1917.

The officers of this new division, one of the 16 national Army divisions organized in World War I, were drawn from the graduates of the first officers training camp held at the Presidio of San Francisco.

The original division was an old "Square Division" consisting of two brigades of infantry and a brigade of field artillery with certain supporting elements. I was a lieutenant with the 346th Field Artillery.

After undergoing intensive training, the division departed for France in June 1918, and landed at Le Havre on July 20, 1918. In the 4-month period between the time it arrived in Europe and the Armistice, the 91st Division was engaged in the Lorraine campaign, the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and the Ypres-Lys campaign.

In the Meuse-Argonne offensive, the 91st Division smashed through three successive German lines driving 8 kilometers into enemy territory.

As part of the Ypres-Lys campaign, the division, on October 31, 1918, just 12 days before the end of the war, made a major attack against the German 207th Infantry Division.

After the Armistice the division left Europe and returned to the United States where it was demobilized. In 1921 the division was reconstituted as part of the Organized Reserves and stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco. Shortly after the beginning of hostilities in World War II, on January 30, 1942, the division was reorganized and trained at Camp White and Camp Adair. On April 18, 1944, the division went overseas and, on June 12, 1944, became engaged in the battle for the Arno River in Italy and was the first unit of the American Fifth Army to reach the river. In September of that year it crossed the Sieve River and opened the general Allied attack against the rugged Apennine Range. Two of its regiments, the 361st and 363d, outflanked the famous Gothic Line and the 362d captured the Fulta Pass. In the spring of 1945 it participated in the Po Valley campaign. Upon the termination of hostilities, the division was inactivated at Fort Rucker, Ala., on December 1, 1945.

Again, on December 31, 1946, the 91st Division was activated at San Francisco as part of the U.S. Army Reserves. Since that time it has had two commanders, Maj. Gen. C. Lyn Fox, who commanded the division until 1956, and its present commander, Maj. Gen. Stuart D. Menist. The division presently carries on its training program at Camp Roberts and is composed of 91 units under five regiments. The motto of the 91st Division is "always ready," which expresses the division's principal function today of training men in the event they may be called upon in the defense of this country.

The green fir tree, which men of the 91st Division wear, is symbolic of the far-western United States from which the division originally drew its enlisted personnel.

California is proud to be the home base of this fine Reserve Division. Maj. Gen. Stuart D. Menist, the division commander, has an enviable record of service to his country as has Brig. Gen. Mackenzie E. Porter, the assistant division commander. Col. Charles A. Briscoe, the division chief of staff, is an outstanding officer and one who has given greatly of himself to preserve the high tradition of the 91st.

A Letter to the Speaker From the Republican 90th Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

A LETTER TO THE SPEAKER FROM THE REPUBLICAN 90TH CLUB

Hon. JOHN MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives, U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: We, as first-term Republican Members of Congress, respectfully seek your assistance to bring about some procedural improvements in the House of Representatives. We are vitally interested in the Congressional Reorganization Bill which appears to be stymied in the Rules Committee. We would hope that this important legislation can be brought to the floor of the House for early consideration.

We are also very much concerned with the apparent lack of organization relative to the "business of the House". We recommend that you schedule our legislative week on a six-day basis, beginning on Monday and ending on Saturday, until the session has been completed. We also seek your leadership in arranging the legislative calendar to bring up important bills early in the week, allowing ample time for debate and amendments. In this regard it might be well to begin many of our sessions at 11:00 A.M. instead of the customary noon call of the House.

Mr. Speaker, we are vitally interested in expediting the work of Congress. With so many urgent problems confronting the Nation, we believe many Members of Congress, with the support of the leadership, are willing to knuckle down and work a six-day week. As first-term Members of Congress, we are deeply concerned about the apparent lack of urgency on the part of those who are responsible for scheduling the business to come to the House floor. We offer this recommendation, not so much as a criticism, but as a constructive suggestion.

Thanking you for your consideration of our request, we are

Sincerely yours,

BEN B. BLACKBURN, WM. O. COWGER, DAN KUYKENDALL, GEO. BUSH, EDW. BIESTER, FLETCHER THOMPSON, JAMES SMITH, TOM KLEPPE, JOHN ZWACH, WM. STEIGER, JAS. MCCLURE, LARRY WINN, BOB PRICE, CHAS. SANDMAN.

TOM RAILSBACK, ROBT. DENNEY, ROGER ZION, WILEY MAYNE, DON RIEGLE, HOWARD POLLOCK, MARGARET HECKLER, WM. ROTH, CHAS. WHALEN, SAM STEIGER, GUY VANDER JAGT, GARRY BROWN, JOHN DELLENBACK, CHALMERS WYLIE.

Air Quality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. RONAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the proposed Air Quality Act, which will shortly come before us for a vote. In the Air Quality Act we have an effective complement to the Clean Air Act of 1963 and its amendments of 1965 and 1966. This bill would strengthen the partnership between the States and the Federal Government in the battle against air pollution and would hasten the day when we can breathe without fear.

In January of this year, when President Johnson recommended the adoption of new legislation dealing with air pollution, he reminded us of the dangerour gases and chemicals with which we have filled our air. He recalled the days during the Thanksgiving weekend of last year, when the Nation watched in horror as New York City and the entire eastern seaboard lay under a shroud of polluted air, which brought death to an estimated 168 people in New York City alone. The President also reminded us that even the ordinary levels of pollution in the air of our cities are a serious threat to public health.

There are two provisions of the Air Quality Act which I would like to discuss. The first would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to designate air quality control regions throughout the country—regions which share the same air supply and which, therefore, should mount cooperative control programs. Within these air quality control regions the States would subsequently develop air quality standards and programs for their implementation. To assist in the establishment of air quality standards, another provision of the act directs the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to continue its promulgation of criteria describing the health and welfare effects of pollutants and to commence publication of information on control technology applicable to the sources of pollutants.

These provisions reflect the new era we are about to enter in the control of air pollution—an era in which the scattered, hit-or-miss efforts of the past will be replaced by a scientific, rational approach. I am confident that the Air Quality Act will prove a valuable tool in our continuing struggle with the deadly enemy of air pollution and I am pleased to support this worthwhile bill.

A New Day for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply honored to be among those present today at the White House for swearing-in ceremonies for Walter Washington, the new Commissioner for the District of Columbia, and his deputy, Thomas Fletcher.

President Johnson's remarks on this historic occasion were most appropriate. He called the reorganization of the District government a "new era" for which citizens of the city have waited nearly a century.

He continued:

> This is the day and year when the District emerges into the world of the 20th Century government.

The President had great praise for Mr. Washington—whom he referred to, quite accurately, as "Washington's first Mayor"—and for Mr. Fletcher. Later in the ceremonies, he announced the names of the nine persons he is recommending for the new City Council. It is an impressive list, Mr. Speaker. I cannot overstate my delight at hearing President Johnson announce that his choice for Chairman of the Council is Attorney Max Kampelman, known to many of us as a most able and dedicated person. While I am not personally acquainted with the other eight nominees for the Council, I am impressed by the depth of background they represent and the contributions they have made to their city. I hope the Senate approves the President's recommendations promptly. As Mr. Johnson told the District's new leaders:

> It is up to you to get with it.

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of the President's comments in the RECORD:

More than ceremony summons us here to the East Room this morning.

We celebrate a new era for the Capital City as we meet here to swear in Walter Washington as Washington's first Mayor, and Thomas Fletcher as his deputy.

The citizens of the District have waited almost a century for this day to come, and all that it symbolizes.

This is the day—and this is the year—that the District emerges into the world of the 20th Century government.

With the recent reorganization plan, the Nation's Capital was liberated from the outworn practices of past years. That reorganization plan equips the city with new machinery to let its government serve the needs of its people.

But the best machinery can function effectively only in the hands of the best men.

I looked across America to try to find these men. And I think we found them—men with the strength and the character and the vision to deal with tough problems. Now, this morning, we commit those problems to their capable hands.

No one here, for a moment, minimizes these problems.

The District's new day comes at a time of real crisis for every American city. And Washington, D.C., the Capital City, represents the American city.

It is alive with promise. And more than any other, it houses the heritage of our history.

But beyond the monuments, urban erosion eats at a city's heart and at a city's hope.

The needs are clear to all of us: Safety on the streets and in our homes; driving crime from our midst; health and education for our children; a decent roof over every family; a good job for every person who is willing to take it. Then every resident can share the pride that stirs every visitor to our Capital.

The leaders who will help to solve those problems know the challenge. They are uniquely qualified to act because their careers have been spent in action, in meeting the needs of cities and the needs of their people.

Together, this team has the energy and the experience to deal responsibly with the great urban and human problems of our time. Together, they will focus those talents on our national capital city.

Mr. Fletcher wrote an outstanding and distinguished record as City Manager of San Diego, California. He brings to his task a deep knowledge of how modern city administration and fiscal planning can work to the benefit of the people.

Mr. Washington brings unsurpassed skills as a city executive. He is taking a very large reduction in salary and making sacrifices to come here to accept this draft from his President. He is an authentic leader and he has devoted a lifetime of effective and inspired work in the cause of good housing, one of our most critical urban needs—to say nothing about what he has done for beautification in the District of Columbia. He has lived and worked on the streets of his home city. And he has said that he is going to travel those streets again, in pursuit of the progress that the people want and the people need and the people desire and expect.

Mr. Mayor, your walk will be long and arduous, but I believe it will be rewarding.

You will walk with the eyes of the Nation on you.

Everything you do will be known. You will live in a goldfish bowl as most of us public servants do. But, Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Deputy Mayor, we wish you well—and bid you godspeed.

Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Fletcher, you won't be walking alone. I am sending to the Senate my recommendations for the District of Columbia City Council.

In filling this Council, it was our goal to find among the 800,000 residents of the District of Columbia nine exceptional men and women to work with you, to work on the team, to assist you in leading the government of the Nation's Capital, to represent the people at all times in this new venture in government that we are undertaking.

We have spent weeks in considering recommendations made to us by organizations, in searching and consulting with the best authorities that we could talk to. We have reviewed hundreds of records and files. We have sought and obtained not only your recommendations, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Fletcher, but those of civic, labor, religious and other leading non-political groups.

Today I am happy to announce the names of those that I recommend to serve on the Council. And if the Senate is willing, they will serve on the Council.

As Chairman, a distinguished Washington attorney, a political scientist, a teacher, a wise counsellor, a leader in bringing educational television and modern transportation to the Nation's Capital, Council Chairman Mr. Max Kampelman.

As Vice Chairman, a crusader for effective government, for broader opportunities, for better housing for all the people, the Pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church—the Reverend Walter Fauntroy.

Very deeply involved in the life of the city, honored as an outstanding citizen, an innovator in the field of programs for the young people of the District and Director of one of Washington's most successful youth projects, the Roving Leaders—Mr. Stanley Anderson.

A leader in church activities, a fighter against discrimination, an eminent attorney, Mrs. Margaret A. Haywood.

A second-generation Washingtonian, a leader in the District's Head Start Program, a worker for better housing, Mr. John Nevius.

President of the Washington Urban League, a respected member of the community, an outstanding lawyer, a past President of the National Bar Association, Mr. William Thompson.

A labor leader who knows the problems of the workingman, who fought for the minimum wage, who has spent a lifetime of service in the cause of labor, a man who has made many contributions to helping his fellowman and to improving his city, Mr. J. C. Turner.

One of 13 children, a lifelong resident of the District, and at present an executive at IBM, he finds the time to teach high school dropouts at night, Mr. Joseph Yeldell.

A life-time Washington resident, an editor, a civic leader, active in the District's family and child welfare programs, Mrs. Polly Shackelton. Mrs. Shackelton this morning is observing conditions in Montreal as a background for what she is going to be called on to do here and cannot be present.

These nine citizens, we believe, will be a genuine voice for the people of Washington. We think they represent this city. We believe they know and understand and will certainly learn all about its urgent problems.

I hope the Senate will act promptly so that the new city government can move rapidly from promise to performance.

With them, Mayor Washington, you and your Deputy Mayor Fletcher can now show America what concerned and aroused municipal leaders can do. You can improve the lives of your fellow citizens. You can transform this city into a proud home for all the people.

Some of the most enlightened Members of the Congress, who at great sacrifice to themselves, have fought for years for a better government for the District of Columbia, are here this morning. We are grateful to all of you for having come.

Now, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Deputy Mayor and

City Councilmen, it is up to you to get with it. And you had better learn these Congressmen and Senators.

Spending, Inflation, and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newsletter to be distributed October 3, 1967, to the people of North Dakota's Second Congressional District:

Spending, Inflation, and Taxes

At the turn of the century, when people spoke of Federal spending they talked in terms of millions of dollars. World Wars I and II changed the arithmetic to billions. Now the word "trillion" is creeping into fiscal discussion.

Since 1947, the Federal government has made total cash expenditures of $1,700,000,000,000—nearly one and three-quarters trillion dollars. Twenty years ago Federal cash outlays totaled $36 billion. Now the annual rate is up to $160 billion, representing an increase of 344 per cent. Over that same 20-year period, U.S. population rose from 144 million to 198 million, an increase of 37 per cent.

In other words, over the last two decades, Federal spending has skyrocketed at a rate 10 times greater than the country's population growth. If our national government continues to increase its expenditures at this rate, a trillion dollar budget will become a reality within the lifetime of most Americans. Such a figure would be one-fourth larger than the Nation's gross national product in 1967—one-fourth more than the total value of all the goods, wealth and services generated by all of the people this year.

Since 1948, gross national product has grown from $243.5 billion to $762 billion. But more than one-third of this increase is *air*, rather than *substance. It represents inflation.* In terms of constant dollars, gross national product has about doubled, not trebled in 20 years. Ballooning government spending has generated inflationary pressures which keep gnawing away at the purchasing power of the dollar.

Administration spokesmen blame the war in Vietnam and the Korean War which preceded it for most of the increase in Federal spending. But since 1953, when the Korean War ended, defense expenditures have increased by $20.7 billion, up 41 per cent. For the same period, non-defense spending by the Federal government is up $63.3 billion, or *242 per cent.* Federal tax collections are up $109 billion since 1948, an increase of 241 per cent.

Now the Administration seeks a 10 per cent tax increase on personal and corporate income. Higher Social Security taxes become effective January 1. And some excise taxes which were scheduled to expire will be continued.

So, with Government taxes and spending going higher and with inflation continuing at a dangerous pace, I have been consistently voting for reductions in non-defense appropriations wherever possible. I have been asking whether it is essential that the United States get a man on the moon by 1970, whether we are getting an appreciable return for our multi-billion dollar investment in the war on poverty, whether the billions we allocate to foreign aid are actually promoting American objectives abroad. We must assign priorities for programs and enforce them. If we can't make some appreciable reductions in non-defense expenditures now, with a booming war-time economy, when will that day arrive?

My position will continue to be that reductions in non-defense spending must have a higher priority than increased Federal taxes.

HOW I VOTED

Since my last report, I voted: *for* amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act for expanded grants to States for rehabilitation services. (Passed). *For* the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Appropriation Act for 1968. (Passed). (Earlier amendments to cut some $137 million from the bill had been rejected by voice votes). *For* cuts in the foreign aid authorization bill. When these cuts failed, I voted *against* passage of the bill. (Passed). (The critical importance of one's vote is evident here, where the bill passed by only 8 votes). *For* the Conference Report making appropriations to the Department of Defense for 1968. (Passed). I voted *against* a motion to permit funds under the bill to be used for construction of naval vessels in foreign shipyards. (Defeated). *For* a bill to extend for one year the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to indemnify farmers forced to remove their milk from markets because it contained residues of chemicals approved by the Federal government. (Passed). *For* the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967. (Passed). Consistent with my earlier vote on the Rat Bill, I voted *against* an amendment providing funds for rat control. (Passed). *For* a bill to amend the public health laws relating to mental retardation. (Passed). *For* the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. (Passed). I earlier voted *for* a recommittal motion designed to delete the public corporation provision of the bill. (Failed). *For* amendments to the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 providing that grants be made to state agencies (and not local organizations) to coordinate juvenile delinquency prevention programs. (Passed). The Act was then passed by a voice vote.

BILLS INTRODUCED

H.R. 12831, to establish a National Visitors Center in Washington, D.C. Enactment of this bill would provide a better organized transportation system between the many historic sites in the area. It would also provide visitors with the ease and convenience of having at their disposal a focal point to plan their vacations in the Capital. H.R. 13181, to place a yearly quota on mink imports that are in competition with domestic production.

HAM IMPORTS FROM EUROPE

The Common Market countries of Western Europe have established an export subsidy of about 50 cents on a two-pound canned ham. Even without this action, foreign hams were already coming into the United States in considerable volume, displacing domestic pork products and helping to depress hog prices. Present duty on canned ham is only 3 cents per pound. In fairness to our domestic producers, such imports should be limited either through quotas or higher tariffs. It is interesting to note that the Common Market countries apply an import duty of nearly $1 per bushel on U.S. corn imports. This, of course, tends to limit U.S. feed grain sales in Western Europe and encourages increased production there. *This puts a "double whammy" on American corn-hog producers: they must not only pay a high entry fee to market their corn abroad but on top of that they see it coming back into the United States in the form of subsidized ham imports.* Little wonder that American farmers feel they were shortchanged in the recently concluded "Kennedy round" tariff negotiations.

U.S. CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES TOP 3 MILLION

Executive agencies of the Federal government had 3,012,387 employees in July, up from 2,980,159 in June. Major increases were *6,442 in Agriculture,* 4,822 in Treasury, 2,312 in Commerce, 2,193 in HEW and 1,876 in Veterans Administration. Cost of civilian employment in the fiscal year ending June 30 totaled $20.5 billion, up $1.8 billion from the preceding year. The increase in USDA employees for the month is roughly equivalent to the decrease in the number of farms in the United States for the same period.

CRIME RATE OUTSTRIPS POPULATION GAIN

The Nation's crime rate skyrocketed 48 per cent in the last six years while the population increased only 10 per cent. The House has acted to strengthen the hand of local law enforcement officials by approving the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act.

THE MISSOURI RIVER LAKES

Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota points out a little known fact: that the six man-made Missouri River lakes have a shoreline of 5,940 miles which exceeds the Great Lakes total of 5,362 miles. Oahe Reservoir, which runs between the Dakota capitals of Bismarck and Pierre has a total shoreline of 2,250 miles, some 400 miles longer than that of Lake Superior.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

Senator Norris Cotton (R.-N.H.) says: "Recently I received a letter from a housewife whose husband makes $6,000 a year, whose taxes and cost of daily bread are increasing, and whose children are reaching college age. Her closing words, straight from the heart, are more meaningful than any speech I've heard in the Senate. She writes: 'Where does the government get its money? From the vacations we could never take. From the movies we never saw, the restaurant dinners we never ate, the clothes we never bought and the savings we haven't got.'"

OUR TOWERING FEDERAL DEBT

At the beginning of 1967, the U.S. public debt was $329.5 billion. This compares with an estimated public debt of $248 billion for all of the other countries of the "Free World". It raises the question of whether the United States should be receiving, rather than giving, foreign aid.

AGRICULTURE AND FARMING

I like the story about the farm boy who was asked by his teacher to write a report on agriculture. He started this way: "Agriculture is a lot like farming, except that in farming you really have to work at it."

Profile of Iran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the Smithsonian Institution, in cooperation with the Iran-America Society, opened a preview of photographs entitled "Profile of Iran" which depicts Iran today and the tremendous growth and progress she has made over the past 10 years. This has only been possible because of the dynamic, progressive, foresighted, and mature leadership of

His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, which has resulted in his being the stabilizing force in the Persian Gulf. Iran is successfully undertaking some of the most comprehensive and truly revolutionary reforms in the free world—the areas of universal suffrage, nationwide public education, administrative overhaul, and land ownership—displaying unusual degrees of realism in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds.

The Iran-America Society was formed just a few short years ago under the leadership of my good friend, Ralph E. Becker, with just a handful of people. Its membership has swelled to well over 500 members, and includes some of the truly outstanding individuals in the United States. Among the board of directors are directors or curators of major museums in America that are interested in Persian art, including the Freer Gallery of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City, Cleveland Museum of Art, Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, Seattle Art Museum, and the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City. The purposes of the society are to foster among Americans and Iranians a greater knowledge of the arts, literature, science, social customs, economic and political patterns, and to develop a deeper understanding of the similarities of the Iranian and American ways of life. Thus, the society opens a wide door to a stimulating and rewarding relationship among the two countries and affords the opportunity to meet and know statesmen, professional people, and students of Iran and America.

Mr. Speaker, on the auspicious occasion of the state visit of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran, I would like to take this opportunity to welcome him to the United States and to repeat the remarks of President Johnson in his toast at the state dinner:

> You have the satisfaction of looking back on a most impressive record of progressive leadership. You have taught Iran's people that they have in their own strength and imagination the power to solve their own problems and achieve their own dreams.
>
> When I visited Iran—just five years ago next week—the land reform program had barely begun. Today, 50% of Iran's rural families farm their own land. Some 7000 rural cooperatives have been established—and 800 extension corpsmen are helping farmers acquire new skills.
>
> This promise of new progress and dignity beckons all the Middle East. The people of that region have just suffered a great shock. But that shock should and must not obscure the vision of what they can do to solve their problems constructively, peacefully—working with their neighbors.
>
> We stand ready now, as before, to help those who ask our help—to strengthen the independence of all who seek it in purposeful partnership. Now as always, we seek no domination—by force of arms, by influence of wealth, by stealth or subversion.
>
> We seek to build in brotherhood. We want to continue giving and learning—as we will again when Iranian and American scientists soon begin to study ways to exploit Iran's water resources, and to employ the exciting new technology of desalting. Our cooperation will continue to grow in this and many other ways.
>
> But turning the dreams we share into a shared reality asks a long journey of both our nations. We take heart from the knowledge that the people of Iran, under Your Majesty's leadership, have the fortitude and vision to continue their advance, and so inspire all who would follow in hope.

Mr. Speaker, I include the remarks of Mr. James Bradley, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and of His Excellency Hushang Ansary, Ambassador of Iran, on the occasion of the opening of the "Profile of Iran" exhibit, August 17, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REMARKS OF JAMES BRADLEY, ACTING SECRETARY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, AUGUST 17, 1967, AT THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION, "PROFILE OF IRAN"

Your Excellency, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. On behalf of Secretary S. Dillon Ripley and the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and as Assistant Secretary, I welcome you here today for the opening of this fine exhibition of photographs and fine arts, representing a "Profile of Iran." As perhaps a great many of you know, this is not the first time that the Smithsonian has sponsored an exhibition concerning Iran. Just a few years ago, in 1964, the magnificent exhibition titled "7,000 Years of Iranian Art," was exhibited by the National Gallery of Art. This exhibit was then circulated throughout the United States under the auspices of the Smithsonian's Traveling Exhibition Service.

The Smithsonian is popularly known for its museums and art galleries. Behind the facade of these exhibitions, however, there is a community of scholars, of historians, scientists, and art directors. These are the men and women who pursue research in the traditional fields of history, science, and art; curate the national collections of about sixty million specimens and other objects of great interest and value; publish the results of their investigations and studies; and provide the essential professional support for the program of exhibitions in the galleries and museums.

As one other example of our interest in Iran, a survey of traditional Iranian arts and crafts has been carried out this year by a grant under the auspices of our program in Ancient Technologies. And during this summer, the Smithsonian is joining Harvard University and the Union Carbide Corporation in sponsoring an expedition which hopes to locate, in Iran, man's first source of tin.

Today, we view this splendid photographic exhibit, "A Profile of Iran"—one more cooperative activity bearing upon Iranian life and culture and accomplishments, with which the Smithsonian is happy to be associated.

In arranging this exhibition, Mr. Ralph Becker was most active. Ralph Becker is President of the Iran-American Society and is an old friend of the Smithsonian, with a heartwarming record of donations to our collections of political memorabilia; a distinguished American; an eminent lawyer and civic leader who has dedicated himself to the cause of expanding cultural relationships between Iran and the United States. Mr. Becker also serves as General Counsel of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, an affiliate of the Smithsonian.

It is now my pleasure and honor to introduce the Guest of Honor and the Patron of this show; a man of distinction and exceptional attainment, who has served his country as Economic Counselor in the Far East, Deputy Minister of Commerce, Ambassador to East and West Africa, Ambassador to Pakistan and to Ceylon, Minister of Information, and now Ambassador to the United States. Ladies and Gentlemen, His Excellency, the Ambassador of Iran, Hushang Ansary.

TEXT OF SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR HUSHANG ANSARY, OF IRAN, AT THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION "PROFILE OF IRAN", AT THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, AUGUST 17, 1967

Your Excellencies, Honorable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to welcome you all to this Exhibit, so that you can actually get a "Profile of Iran"—in fact, two profiles: one the past, and the other the present with all its portent for the future.

Of Iran's glorious past, it is hardly necessary to tell a long story. It was, as we all know, the birthplace of great leaders. Cyrus the Great, founder of the Iranian Empire, still stands as a man admired by the West as well as the East. Darius and others who followed brought honor and fame. It was also the cradle of civilization. The marvelous creation of Iranian carpets, the elegant caligraphy, the miniatures, the illuminated manuscripts, the scholars, the artists, and the poets are known the world over. Its contributions to the world of art and culture, to science and medicine, to architecture and literature are indeed a source of pride to every living Iranian.

Of Iran today, on the other hand, we do have a story to tell: the story of the revolution of the Shah and the people—one that opens a bloodless, contemporary path to the rapid change so urgently desired by more than half the population of the world living in developing nations. It is an integrated series of basic reforms designed to solve at root-level chronic problems typical of most developing countries. The techniques employed in reaching these goals do not follow doctrinaire blueprints taken either from East or West. They are directly related to existing local institutions and traditions. They are directly related to existing local institutions and traditions. They have in common with all truly national movements certain distinctly national characteristics, which can be fully understood only with a knowledge of Iranian society, history and geography. But the principles involved transcend nationality and are at home in all progressive nations sincerely striving for a more ethically satisfying world of shared prosperity and greater human freedom.

Seen as an integrated program, the revolution called for the liquidation of the great feudal estates, which has to date brought more than 2,400,000 farmers the ownership of lands they tilled.

The urban worker was to find a place in the revolution through a share in the profits of rapidly expanding industry, as, by the end of 1966, the great majority of the 340,000 productive establishments in operation in Iran announced profit-sharing arrangements with their workers.

The democratic processes were advanced through a dynamic revision of the electoral laws, reflecting the social changes in the society by granting voting and other equal rights to women and by creating a broader base of better informed voters and a wider choice of candidates.

Social justice was to have legal force in rural areas through the establishment of Equity Courts in the villages to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the old system of "Landlord Justice".

And, finally, social and economic support was given the farmers and their families by what has since proved to be a brilliantly conceived plan, making use of routine military draft of young high school graduates in a coordinated battle against rural poverty, ignorance, isolation, backwardness and disease. Today, over 10,000 young men serve in the Literacy Corps, Health Corps, and the Development and Extension Corps, which were thus created.

The gap between noble intentions and the implementing of urgent reforms is too often regrettably wide. But I take pride in saying that, in our case, the reforms were implemented with considerable success almost from the start, sweeping the small power-elite from domination and speeding Iran on the road to membership with the more advanced industrial nations.

Along with success in social reforms, there have been phenomenal gains in the implementation of our development programs. In 1965, the Gross National Product in Iran rose by 11.9%, and, in 1966, by 9.5%—in both cases one of the highest in the world. Last year industrial investment rose by 16%. Whereas, in 1953, our total imports amounted to only $115-million, in 1966 it reached almost one billion.

The prosperity and stability thus gained, coupled with fantastic potentials, have gone a long way to attracting a great inflow of tourists and of foreign capital to Iran.

For all this the Iranian nation owes a debt of gratitude to the initiative and farsightedness of its dynamic leader. His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran, who declared a long time ago that to reign over a land beset with poverty and illiteracy is no source of pride or satisfaction. The Shahanshah set the revolutionary goals before the nation in the national referendum of January 26, 1963. Said he, and I quote:

"We set ourselves to accomplish far-reaching social reforms, economic reconstruction commensurate with democratic ideals, development of education, international cooperation and respect for moral beliefs, as well as individual and social freedom."

The revolution can now be examined not simply for the goals promised in the first flush of enthusiasm, but for what has actually been accomplished. The present Exhibit is thus brought to you not only to illustrate seventy centuries of Iran's history, rich heritage and culture, but also to portray her achievements of the past decade. The work ahead is still vast, allowing for no complacency; but what has been accomplished is most encouraging and, to all of us, highly rewarding.

Before concluding, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Regents and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as to the distinguished President and members of the Board of Directors of the Iran-American Society, for their kindness in arranging the Exhibit and for their wholehearted support and invaluable contribution toward better understanding and closer cultural ties between Iran and the United States.

I now take pleasure in inviting you all to view the Exhibit.

Mr. Speaker, His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran is respected and admired not only by his countrymen, but the entire world and is a beacon of light in the Middle East.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength.—Isaiah 40: 31.

Our Father in heaven and on earth, we, the representatives of the people of our land, bow before Thee humbly praying for strength, for guidance, and for good will from Thee. Make this a sacred moment in which we become aware of Thy presence, a moment when strength is given, guidance provided, and good will arises anew within us.

We need Thee, every hour we need Thee. We hurry too much, we eat too fast, we sleep too little, and then wonder why we are weary and worried and worn out. As we wait upon Thee renew our strength, restore our spirits, reinvigorate our minds, that this day we may think good thoughts, make wise decisions, and do it all free from tension and filled with faith. Trusting in Thee, may we sing even in the rain. In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana the program for the remainder of this week and the agenda for next.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. In response to the request of the distinguished minority leader, the program for today has previously been announced, as the Members know, as the bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921.

Upon conclusion of the consideration of that legislation the House will adjourn until Monday next, permission having been granted on yesterday, upon the request of the majority leader.

On Monday we have a very heavy calendar and, I might say, we have had very heavy legislative business on Mondays for the past month or so. On Monday we will have the Consent Calendar.

There are seven suspensions scheduled:

H.R. 4903, to provide for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands;

S. 223, to authorize the disposal of Government-owned long-lines communications facilities in the State of Alaska;

H.R. 5943, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Armed Forces;

H.R. 9796, to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence;

H.R. 4772, to authorize the Secretaries concerned to direct initiation of allotments of pay and allowances of certain members of the Armed Forces;

H.R. 11767, to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to adjust legislative jurisdiction of the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.; and

H.R. 12910, to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy.

On Tuesday and Wednesday: Tuesday is Private Calendar day; to be followed by House Joint Resolution 853, making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968; S. 676, obstruction of criminal investigations, to be considered under open rule, with 1 hour of debate; and H.R. 1411, false representations by mail, also with an open rule and 1 hour to debate.

On Thursday and Friday of next week there are Jewish holidays, and we have not scheduled any business for those 2 days.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Does the gentleman from Louisiana, the acting majority leader, think we will get the conference report on the public works bill next week?

Mr. BOGGS. I think so. I think the conference report has been agreed to. Of course, that is the military construction conference report. I do not know about the public works bill generally. As the gentleman knows, however, conference reports are always in order.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS IN ORDER UNDER THE CALENDAR WEDNESDAY RULE ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

L. T. "TEX" EASLEY RETIRING

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, after 30 years of service with the Associated Press, L. T. "Tex" Easley is retiring. During my years here in Washington, I have come to know Tex and his lovely wife, Bonita, as neighbors and friends, as well as by my association with him here on Capitol Hill.

Tex embodies the very highest moral and ethical standards and is an outstanding example of a responsible reporter.

While I am aware that his "retirement" will consist of hard work, I wish him every success in his new endeavor and look forward to many more years of pleasant association with him.

GOV. FARRIS BRYANT LEAVING OEP

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, is going home to Florida. For 18 months he has rendered distinguished service as one of the strong forces in the Executive Office of the President. Those of us who have known Farris through the years, and watched his dedicated work in the Florida Legislature, followed by his outstanding services as Governor of our State, expected no less than an equally outstanding performance in Washington.

Governor Bryant is a man who has a deep faith in the vitality of America's legislative processes and a dedication to the principles of constitutional government. He leaves Washington to return to his professional and business interests with increased stature and with a wider circle of friends who admire his qualities and contributions.

SUPPORTING THE MARINES IN CONTHIEN

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, today over a battalion of our Marines are under attack on three sides on the Conthien Salient. I strongly urge that the strength of the United States be placed behind these men who for days have undergone heavy, unrelenting, incessant bombardment and vicious attacks.

Such action as is necessary to save every life possible must be taken. While I do not support the policy which placed our men there, I do and will continue to support them.

The seriousness of the situation in the I Corps area is such as to require immediate action and our fervent, heartfelt prayers.

M-16 RIFLE

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I received direct firsthand confirmation of some additional sorry facts about the M-16 rifle mess in Vietnam.

First, hard-pressed marines in the thick of fighting still did not have guns retrofitted with the new buffer assembly as of September 16.

Early in August the Congress was told by Defense officials that a sufficient supply of the new parts had been produced to equip all guns in combat service. Manufacture of the buffer assemblies had begun last December, when it was clear that ball-type ammunition still used in the M-16's causes such an increase in rate of fire as to result in frequent gun failure.

In my view, failure of the Defense Department to retrofit all M-16 rifles in combat service long ago is absolutely scandalous. Because of this failure marines in Vietnam go into combat duty without dependable rifles.

Second, these same hard-pressed marines, then serving on Hill 52 in Vietnam, were ordered to lie about the performance of the M-16 rifle when an official inspection team believed to have included several Congressmen, visited the area in early June of this year.

All of them felt compelled to follow orders and did actually lie, telling the inspectors the gun worked fine even after it had been fired for several thousand rounds. Actually, in at least one case, a marine had been able to get less than 300 rounds through the gun and the experience of others had been even worse.

Congress should probe deeply enough to fix precisely the blame for the orders to lie, and for the failure to get all combat weapons retrofitted promptly.

This is an unconscionable outrage, and some heads should roll.

WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE IS SAUCE FOR THE GANDER

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I read in the press that the University of Virginia had asked the Prime Minister of Rhodesia to come there to make a speech, and it was suggested that he would not be granted a visa. I have taken this matter up with the State Department. I do not necessarily agree with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia on his position, but I do think he has a right to express his opinion. I have told the State Department that if they do not give him a visa, I would like to have them come before my subcommittee and explain why they would give a passport to Stokely Carmichael but not a visa to Ian Smith.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 286]

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Belcher
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Brademas
Brock
Brown, Ohio
Burke, Fla.
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Corman
Cowger
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Dulski
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Fino
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gilbert
Goodell
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Gurney
Hagan
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hanna
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Holland
Hosmer
Ichord
Jacobs
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kazen
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landrum
Lennon
Long, La.
McCarthy
McCulloch
Macdonald, Mass.
Madden
Mathias, Md.
Meskill
Michel
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Moss
Multer
Murphy, N.Y.
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Ottinger
Pike
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Pucinski
Quillen
Rarick
Rees
Reifel
Resnick
Reuss
Rivers
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roudebush
Roush
Sandman
St Germain
Schadeberg
Scherle
Selden
Shriver
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Stafford
Staggers
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Taylor
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tunney
Utt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zion
Zwach

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 247 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ATTENDANCE IN THE HOUSE ON FRIDAYS

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that several days ago 28 Members of the House of Representatives addressed a letter to the Speaker complaining about the fact that we do not have business on Fridays. I think today's rollcall will indicate that almost one-half the men who signed this letter addressed to the Speaker are not present today. I think something ought to be done about it.

Of the 28 signers of this letter urging Friday and Saturday sessions, the following 12 are absent today: Hon. WILLIAM O. COWGER, Hon. DAN KUYKENDALL, Hon. GEORGE BUSH, Hon. EDWARD BIESTER, Hon. JOHN ZWACH, Hon. BOB PRICE, Hon. CHARLES SANDMAN, Hon. ROGER ZION, Hon.

Margaret Heckler, Hon. Charles Whalen, Hon. Sam Steiger, and Hon. Chalmers Wylie.

If the House of Representatives' records are further checked, they will reveal that several of the signers of this letter have among the worst attendance records in the Congress.

AMENDMENT OF PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 921 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 921

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10673) to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 921 provides for a 1 hour open rule, making in order consideration of H.R. 10673, to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended.

To the best of my knowledge there is no opposition whatsoever to the rule and very little, if any, to the legislation itself.

I therefore reserve the remainder of of my time.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I agree wholeheartedly with the remarks just made by the gentleman from Missouri.

This resolution provides for an open rule with 1 hour of debate. The purposes of the bill are: First, to make clear that a stockyard owner has the responsibility and right to manage his stockyard in a just, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory manner; second, to require persons operating at the stockyard to conduct their operations in a manner which will foster, preserve, and insure an efficient, competitive public market. The bill expressly provides that no person can engage in business at the stockyard as a market agency or a dealer unless the stockyard owner has determined that his services will be beneficial to the business and welfare of the stockyard and its patrons and customers. It would relieve the stockyard owner or market agency of a duty to furnish stockyard services to all persons upon reasonable request without discrimination, but would provide that all stockyard services furnished pursuant to reasonable request at a stockyard must be reasonable and nondiscriminatory.

The Packers and Stockyards Act was encated in 1921 in response to flagrant and deceptive practices in the livestock and meat industries, including the monopolistic control of livestock marketing facilities through ownership and control of the facilities by several large packing firms. The Congress passed the act, setting up a system of regulation, based on the principle that the major terminal stockyards were monopolies and should be treated as "great national public utilities" whose existence and function was essential to the flow of commerce.

However, major changes have taken place in the livestock industry since the enactment of the Packers and Stockyards Act: First, the terminal markets—where livestock is sold after negotiations between commission sellers and buyers, and the stockyard owner provides the facilities and certain services, and the actual selling is done by the commission sellers—are no longer in a monopolistic position because they are surrounded by 2,200 auction markets and thousands of packer and dealer buying stations; second, today most of the packing plants are located throughout the country areas away from the terminal markets. In these circumstances, it is necessary that stockyard owners exercise such management and control over their stockyards and the persons operating thereon that they are able to preserve and maintain an efficient, competitive market.

This bill applies to terminal stockyards and auction markets. The question of stockyard owners' rights, however, has arisen primarily at terminal markets. At an auction market there is no question about the right of the auction operator to manage and regulate the market.

The need for the terminal stockyard owner to have clearcut authority to manage the stockyard arises from the fact that the stockyard owner provides the facilities, while the actual selling is done by the commission firms. Some stockyard owners have investments exceeding $15 million. The commission firms at a terminal market are, in effect, the selling arm of the stockyard. The stockyard company's existence is dependent upon the ability of the commission firms at the stockyards to obtain consignments to the market. If the firms at the stockyard do not support the market, and the stockyard owner has no control over this matter, the stockyard owner can be forced to close his business.

Most market agencies selling livestock at terminal stockyards conduct their activities in a manner which will foster, preserve, and insure an efficient, competitive public market. Others, however, engage in practices which are not in the best interests of the market or patrons of the market.

Also, some commission firms engaged in business at terminal stockyards exert more effort in getting shippers and buyers to bypass the stockyards than they exert in getting business to be handled at the stockyards.

The Department of Agriculture believes that the enactment of the proposed legislation with the amendments proposed will clarify and extend the authority of stockyard owners in a manner which will be beneficial to the livestock industry, while preserving the right of the Secretary to prevent an abuse of such authority.

The enactment of this proposed bill would not require any additional funds for its enforcement.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10673) to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 10673, with Mr. Brooks in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. May] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, if there are any questions with respect to this measure, I am sure that the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. May], or I or any one of the members of the committee present, will be glad to answer them.

Mr. Chairman, the primary purpose of this bill is to make clear that a stockyard owner has the responsibility and right to manage his stockyard in a just, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory manner, and to require persons operating at the stockyard to conduct their operation in a manner which will foster, preserve, and insure an efficient and competitive market. It preserves to the Secretary of Agriculture the right to prevent any abuse of authority by the stockyard with respect to the exercise of any of the rights that this bill gives.

This bill relieves the stockyard owner or market agency of a duty to furnish stockyard services to all persons merely because they request such services. This is a change to the present law, and is necessitated as part of the attempt here to get away from the outdated concept that these terminal stockyards are "great national public utilities." This bill provides that no person can engage in business at a stockyard as a market agency or a dealer unless first, the stockyard owner has determined that his services will be beneficial to the business and welfare of the stockyard and its patrons and customers, and second, that this determination is not unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory.

Mr. Chairman, the purposes of this bill, and the necessity for its passage, can best be understood in terms of the effect of the changing times on this vital industry.

Fifty years ago, the great terminal markets existed in an attitude of near monopoly. There were abuses of power by several large packing firms. The abuses included the monopolistic control of livestock marketing facilities. In response to these and other flagrant and deceptive practices, Congress passed the present Packers and Stockyards Act, which declared that the major terminal stockyards were monopolies and should be treated as "great national public utilities."

A terminal market sells livestock by negotiation between commission sellers and buyers. The stockyards owner provides the facilities and certain services, and the actual selling is done by the commission sellers. This type of operation is different from auction stockyards, where one person or firm operates the facilities selling livestock at public auction to the highest bidder, although today many terminal markets also sell a considerable volume of livestock at auction on certain days of the week.

The passage of time has not treated these institutions kindly. From their former powerful position, the terminal markets have fallen far. Today these markets are surrounded by approximately 2,200 auction markets and thousands of packers and dealer buying stations. Today, packers buy substantially more livestock directly from producers or others than from terminal markets. The percentage of federally inspected slaughter cattle bought at terminal markets has declined from 91 percent in 1925 to 34 percent in 1965. During the same period, sales of slaughter hogs have dropped from 82 to 26 percent.

Mr. Chairman, successful operation of a terminal stockyard comes about from a blending of the facilities and certain services provided by a stockyard owner, and the actual selling of livestock, which is handled by commission firms. Customarily, the stockyard owner will provide free space to commission firms, and his income is dependent upon yardage charges collected upon the livestock sold by these commission firms. The commission firms are, in effect, the selling arm of the stockyard. The continued existence of the stockyard is dependent on the ability of the commission firms at the stockyards to obtain consignments to the market.

It is readily obvious, then, that the little business remaining to the terminal markets is seriously jeopardized by any unscrupulous practices in which commission firms might be engaged.

While the great majority of commission merchants are honest and reliable, testimony before the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains of the House Committee on Agriculture revealed that some commission firms are actually exerting more effort to convince shippers and buyers to do business away from the stockyard than in getting business to be handled there.

In addition, some commission men do not properly represent the best interests of the shippers. They may have another occupation, which prevents them from giving their fullest effort toward sales in the stockyard. Firms such as these are often disinterested and/or inefficient, and these attitudes result in a poor reputation for the stockyard, as well as for other commission firms which deal there.

To prevent recurrence of the abuses I have mentioned, commission men at a stockyard have sometimes attempted to form themselves into livestock exchanges, which are organizations of commission men at a terminal market. In addition to the other values and benefits which accrue to such an organization, often enough the exchange will attempt to provide a source of regulations designed to foster better and more scrupulous practices at the market. However, because the membership in the exchange is only voluntary, control is gained only over those commission firms and individuals who choose to belong. The common interpretation of the present law is that the commission firm which chooses not to belong to the exchange is free to continue in any harmful practices it may choose without fear of regulation. Thus, these associations are virtually powerless to relieve this most obvious problem in the terminal markets, this situation is serious, indeed.

The logical answer to the problems would be to specifically alter the present Packers and Stockyards Act to give the terminal market owner the power to enforce reasonable restrictions designed to provide for more efficient marketing at his place of business, and to give a more binding effect upon any regulations adopted by the organizations of commission men who work at the stockyard.

This is the purpose of this legislation. This bill would provide the necessary power to the stockyard owner to regulate the matters I have been discussing. The stockyard owner would be authorized to regulate or refuse to furnish facilities and services to a firm which is not furthering the interests of the market, subject to the Secretary of Agriculture's supervision. The owner would also be authorized by the bill to regulate any other matter at the stockyard which is appropriate to foster, preserve, or insure an efficient, competitive public market, practices, for example, such as a centralized computerized bookkeeping and paying system would be allowed under this legislation. This could replace many separate accounting systems, thereby leading to reduced marketing cost.

Presently, stockyard owners are afraid to put such practices into operation, because the ability of the stockyard owner to regulate even these normal activities is open to question. There is a great degree of uncertainty as to whether or not these owners can take many actions that might normally appear appropriate to a businessman, without laying themselves open to money damages for exceeding their authority. The bill would provide reasonable guidelines which owner and commission agent alike could rely on in the conduct of their business.

There is broad general support for this bill. The Committee on Agriculture realized that the present law creates a hardship, not only for the stockyard owner and commission agent, but for the buyers and the livestock industry as a whole. Both my learned colleagues, the gracious gentlewoman from Washington, and myself were members of the National Commission on Food Marketing which unanimously recommended the enactment of clarifying legislation in this murky area. The Department of Agriculture also strongly favors the enactment of this bill.

Initially, there was some question as to whether or not this bill conflicted with the holding of the Supreme Court in *Denver Union Stockyard Company* v. *Producers Livestock Marketing Association* (356 U.S. 282), where the Court held that the present Packers and Stockyards Act does not permit a stockyard owner to prevent a commission man, engaged in his stockyard, from also engaging in business at another regulated stockyard. This is not the intent of the bill, but neither is there here any intent to broaden the scope of the Denver case beyond the limited scope set forth in the committee report.

Mr. Chairman, the stockyards of today are sad reflections of the thriving institution of half a century ago. The small percentage of livestock business that the terminal markets are now receiving has placed them in an economically vulnerable situation. Since 1921, the percentage of slaughter livestock being processed through these markets has been steadily declining, and the trend is expected to continue unless, and perhaps even if, we act favorably on this bill. There is no longer a need for regulation of the stockyards as monopolies and only Congress can provide the necessary surgery to give stockyard owners the reasonable right to mind their own businesses, commission merchants the right to seek compliance with reasonable regulations made by them for better conduct of their business, and the livestock industry the right to except reasonably efficient marketing practices which can achieve the best price to the buyer for his product.

Presently, should the owner of the stockyard attempt to make his stockyards more efficient in operation through regulation of the matters I have mentioned, he is treading in an area where liability and monetary damages can spring up against him at any moment. Serious questions of interpretation have not only "muddied the water" in this area, but have also rendered many stockyard owners simply afraid to act.

The Denver Stockyards case, which I mentioned previously, the Court said:

> We are told, however, that the economics of the business has changed, that while at the passage of the act most livestock purchases were at these stockyards, now a substantial portion, about 40 percent, it is said, takes place at private livestock markets such as feed yards and country points. * * * If the Packers and Stockyards Act does not fit the present economics of the business, a problem is presented for the Congress (p. 289).

Mr. Chairman, the present situation facing these terminal stockyards, as stated by the Supreme Court, represents a mandate on us to act. We must act now to avoid further hardship to this industry. The present Packers and Stockyards Act does not fit the present economics of the business.

In summation, then, passage of this bill is vitally needed. Its enactment would cost nothing. It has broad support. It is good legislation and was thoroughly examined. I urge its favorable consideration here.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may desire to speak.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 10673, a bill to strengthen and clarify stockyard owners' rights and responsibilities with respect to the management of their stockyards.

The Packers and Stockyards Act, passed by Congress and enacted in 1921, set up a system of regulation of terminal livestock markets based on the principle that they were monopolies and should be treated as "great national public utilities." At that time, most of the livestock sold passed through these terminal markets, but today they are no longer in a monopolistic position. Auction markets and packer and dealer buying stations now receive most of the livestock sold.

For example, in 1925, nine out of 10 federally inspected slaughter cattle were bought at terminal markets, but, in 1965, the number had dropped to a little over three out of 10. The comparable decline in slaughter hogs has been from three out of four in 1925 to less than one out of four in 1965. For sheep, the decline has been from eight out of 10 in 1925 to about one out of four in 1965.

At these 50-some terminal markets, the stockyard owner provides the facilities, while the actual selling is done by commission firms. The stockyard owner furnishes free pen space to the commission firms, and the stockyard owner's revenue is dependent upon the yardage charges collected upon the livestock sold by these firms.

Testimony developed in hearings held before our Livestock and Grains Subcommittee in June revealed that some commission firms are actually using the free pen space and facilities provided to solicit business away from the stockyards. Sometimes it seems they work harder at getting business away from the stockyards than to them.

Not only is this practice unfair, but it decreases business at the stockyards and increases operating costs, making it more expensive to handle livestock there. This, in turn, is reflected in higher costs of livestock to the buyers and eventually to the consumers—while at the same time tending to lower the prices received by the producers.

The basic and fundamental thrust of the legislation before us today is to permit owners of these terminal market stockyards to issue regulations that would prohibit agencies using their free facilities from soliciting business for their competitors.

Mr. Chairman, this change seems altogether fair and reasonable. One of the witnesses testifying before our subcommittee made what seems to me an especially appropriate analogy. He said:

> We feel that frequently we are in the same position, let us say, as a depot, a train station down here where the airline puts a man in the lobby who contacts every potential customer who comes in to buy a railroad ticket and they say "We can fly you faster and cheaper and more comfortably—come out and do business with us." I do not think that the railroads would put up with that very long. I do not think that we should have to put with a comparable situation.

It is important to keep in mind that while the bill would make these needed changes with respect to the stockyard owners' right to manage his facility, it would also preserve to the Secretary of Agriculture the right under the Packers and Stockyards Act to prevent the abuse of authority by the owner. The basic regulatory authority under the Packers and Stockyards Act would remain unchanged.

Last year the National Commission on Food Marketing, of which the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] and I were members, filed its comprehensive report on the structure and performance of the Nation's food marketing system with the President and the Congress. In that report, we pointed out, and I am quoting:

> Generally, the stockyards section of the act is considered to be a valuable service to producers and the industry. However, changes in marketing methods for livestock have raised some questions about the restrictions the act puts upon the competitive strength of terminal markets.
>
> In the past few years, direct buying and auction markets have diverted substantial amounts of livestock from the terminal markets. Attempts by terminal owners to meet declining volumes by reducing the number of market agencies on the terminal have been met with the claim that the act requires the terminal to accept all who wish to stay. Although the question is unresolved, it seems clear that such a requirement would make it difficult for the terminal owner to adjust to economic change. The terminal markets' loss of almost complete control of livestock marketing may warrant a new look at regulations of terminal markets not imposed on other marketing channels.

On the basis of our investigation in this area, the Commission made this unanimous recommendation, and again I quote:

> Terminal markets for livestock are still the focal points of livestock trading in many areas, play an important role in all pricing, and are especially important sales outlets for smaller producers. In order that these markets have every opportunity to serve the changing needs of the livestock industry, and in view of increased competition from other marketing methods, the Packers and Stockyards Act should be administered, and if necessary amended, to give stockyard owners and marketing agencies the greatest flexibility and control over their operations consistent with protecting the interests of buyers and sellers.

I might just add that this was one of the few noncontroversial recommendations made by the Commission.

Our 18 months of study clearly demonstrated to the members of the Commission that legislation of the type before us today is necessary and justified by the major changes which have taken place in the livestock marketing industry, and especially in the terminal markets, since the passage of the original Packers and Stockyards Act 46 years ago in 1921.

I think it is also interesting to note that in one sense, the National Food Marketing Commission's recommendation is quite unique. This group was created by Congress, and established as an official governmental factfinding body—yet it has proposed in this instance a movement away from greater Federal control and toward allowing private enterprise more flexibility in management and decisionmaking. I hope this will be a contagious move.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, this legislation is both necessary and desirable, and will have a beneficial effect upon the industry. I was one of those who originally introducea this bill, and it has strong bipartisan support in the Agriculture Committee, as evidenced by the final vote of approval—21 to 3.

I hope my colleagues here this afternoon will also give it their approval.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MAYNE] such time as he may consume.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas for yielding.

I would like to take this opportunity to clarify the intent of this legislation and to ask certain questions of the distinguished gentleman from Texas who is the author of the bill and who is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains, which considered the bill and which conducted hearings thereon, and who is handling the bill today and, also, I would like to address this question to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY], the ranking minority member of the subcommittee and who is handling the bill today for the minority.

I would ask the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington if she agrees that the testimony at the hearings by Deputy Assistant Secretary Rodney E. Leonard, of the Department of Agriculture, by Acting Administrator Donald A. Campbell of the Packers and Stockyards Administration, and also the testimony by President Bennett of the Union Stock Yards Corp. and President Jennings of the American Stockyards Association, and by all other witnesses, all established the fact that the Sioux City Livestock Exchange is a strong and vigorous association of commission men doing business at the Sioux City stockyards and who do a good job of policing their own members?

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAYNE. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mrs. MAY. I would say to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MAYNE] that this was certainly made clear by all witnesses. They testified to the effect that the Sioux City market is working well and that it is not experiencing any trouble. I think we might point out for the record that members of the Committee can find testimony to that effect in the hearings at page 17, lines 4 and 5, which in my opinion is a very good quote. They also testified to the effect that as far as they were concerned they do not need this legislation in Sioux City. I further recall the fact that the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Mr. Leonard, testified that the relationships between the owner of the stockyards and the commission men at Sioux City have been good and that he did not believe this legislation would change that relationship significantly.

I might say that is on page 12, the last 10 lines of our hearing testimony.

Then President Jennings of the American Stockyards Association also testified to the very good job the commission firms are doing in the Sioux City Livestock Exchange, and also testified to the fact that they would not be affected at all by this bill.

Mr. MAYNE. I would like to inquire of the gentlewoman if it is also her intention, and the intention of the committee, that this bill should not change this present existing relationship at Sioux City, and should not affect the situation there?

Mrs. MAY. That is certainly my intention, and I believe it is the intention of the committee.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, if I might direct this question to the distinguished gentleman from Texas, Judge PURCELL, who is the author of the bill, and floor manager of the bill, as well as the chairman of the subcommittee which handled the bill. I will ask the gentleman from Texas if he believes that this bill is aimed at the situation in Sioux City, and the other river markets?

Mr. PURCELL. I will say to the gentleman that the bill definitely is not aimed toward the situation in Sioux City, and I will assure the gentleman from Iowa that it is not the intention of the committee that the situation at Sioux City be changed by this bill in any way.

Mr. MAYNE. Does the gentleman agree with me, and also with the gentlewoman from Washington, that the testimony at the hearing was that the Sioux City Livestock Exchange is doing a good job of policing its own members, that the Sioux City market is working well, and that the bill is unnecessary as far as Sioux City is concerned?

Mr. PURCELL. I do so agree. I would say that the Sioux City market and other markets in the river areas in the general area of Sioux City really are more or less a model for permanent marketing problems, and it is more in the other areas of the country that this bill is really needed.

Mr. MAYNE. I wonder if the gentleman could give us some specific examples of situations in which it would be reasonable for stockyards to take action to deny commission firms the use of the yards under the intention of this bill?

Mr. PURCELL. I will be glad to. We had testimony describing a firm which consisted of one man who was really a painter, as I remember, and who spent most of his time painting. There was another example given of a tollkeeper on a bridge, and this man seemed to spend most of his time keeping the bridge, and not being available for duty as a commission man. The major problem is that this type of individual hurts the stockyards because they are not really interested in fostering a good livestock market. It is only when a firm degenerates to the point where they are hurting the reputation of the stockyard itself in selling livestock that there would be any reason for the owner not to want a commission firm or a selling firm to continue on that yard.

Mr. MAYNE. Are these the types of situations which the bill is intended to affect which the gentleman has just related to the Committee?

Mr. PURCELL. Yes. Those examples that we have given, and other similar ones, are the reasons that this bill is thought to be necessary.

Mr. MAYNE. I would further ask the gentleman is it intended by the Agriculture Committee that this bill should give a stockyard owner complete control over market agencies on the yard with absolute and complete discretion as to who can operate on that yard?

Mr. PURCELL. That is not the intent of the committee or of this legislation. It is intended that the owner shall be required to furnish stockyard services on a fair, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory basis. If a commission firm feels that it has been treated unreasonably, it can bring a complaint to the Secretary of Agriculture, who will investigate the complaint and take appropriate action if he finds a basis for the complaint.

Mr. MAYNE. Referring to the testimony of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Rodney E. Leonard, who appeared before the subcommittee, I will ask the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee if he recalls Mr. Leonard's testimony that where there is an association of commission firms which is actually functioning and policing its own members, such as the Sioux City Livestock Exchange, then the Department would consider that the stockyards owner should consult with the association or exchange before revoking the authorization of any firm to operate on that particular market?

And I believe that testimony appears at page 23, lines 34 to 45 of the hearing transcript.

Does the gentleman recall that testimony?

Mr. PURCELL. I do distinctly remember that testimony, and this is my understanding of the intent of this particular piece of legislation.

Mr. MAYNE. And I believe Mr. Leonard further stated that he would have no objection to having a safeguard actually written into this law providing that the stockyards owner would be required to consult with the livestock exchange or association at a market before revoking the authorization of any firm to operate on that market?

Mr. PURCELL. That is correct.

Mr. MAYNE. In order to further clarify the congressional intent in passing this bill, I would ask the gentleman if it is his intention and the intention of the committee that if this bill is passed, it would be considered unreasonable within the meaning of the act for a stockyards company to take any action against any market agency as defined in the act without first consulting with the livestock exchange or association at the market where such agency was doing business?

Mr. PURCELL. Yes, such is my intention and I believe it to be the intention of the committee.

Mr. MAYNE. I thank the gentleman.

I would like to say to the gentleman from Texas and to the chairman that I have received the following letter dated September 28, 1967, from Deputy Assistant Secretary Leonard which further clarifies the position of the Department of Agriculture with reference to this bill and which reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.

Hon. WILEY MAYNE,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MAYNE: During the hearing before the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grain relating to H.R. 6231, a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, there was a discussion relating to stockyard owners consulting with the livestock exchange before taking action affecting a particular commission firm.

To amplify our views, we have frequently urged stockyard owners to consult with the livestock exchange and other groups engaged in business at a terminal stockyard before promulgating regulations or taking significant action which affects the persons engaged in business at the stockyard. We have stated to stockyard owners that, irrespective of their authority to take unilateral action, the success of the stockyard is dependent upon cooperation and harmonious relations between the stockyard owner and the persons engaged in business at the stockyard. Frequent exchange of views is, therefore, vital to a successful stockyard.

The stockyard owners have expressed an agreement with our views, in this respect. They have assured us that they would obtain the views of the livestock exchange and other persons engaged in business on the stockyard before taking significant action affecting such persons.

In determining whether a stockyard owner acted reasonable, in a particular instance involving one or more commission firms, we believe that one of the relevant considerations would be whether the stockyard owner had obtained the views of the livestock exchange with respect to the matter at issue.

Sincerely yours,
RODNEY E. LEONARD,
Deputy Assistant Secretary.

I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] and the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] for their cooperation in clarifying the congressional intent in passing this bill.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. KLEPPE].

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation and concur in the opening remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] and the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mr. Chairman, after extensive hearings, the House Committee on Agriculture approved H.R. 10673 which revises the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921. The overwhelming support for this bill reflects, I believe, a strong consensus within the committee that this act should be updated to make it clear that stockyard owners have the right and the responsibility to manage and regulate their own facilities in a reasonable and nondiscriminatory manner.

In essence, the bill provides that no person may engage in business at a stockyard as a market agency or a dealer unless the stockyard owner has determined that such services will be beneficial to the business of the stockyard and its customers. Certainly it is not unreasonable to give the stockyard owner this measure of control over operations taking place on his own property.

The proposed legislation, at the same time, requires stockyard operators to maintain efficient, competitive markets and preserves the right of the Secretary of Agriculture to prevent abuses of authority by the stockyard owners. It provides that stockyard services shall not be refused on any basis that is unreasonable or discriminatory.

When the Packers and Stockyards Act was adopted in 1921, marketing conditions were in many respects much different from those prevailing today. The terminal markets held what amounted to a monopolistic position. The volume percentage of livestock moving through terminal markets has substantially declined. While the stockyard owner today still provides the facilities, the actual selling is done through commission firms and individuals. Owners have little power to determine who shall operate in their own yards. H.R. 10673 is designed to remedy this. I urge support for this bill.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey for 5 minutes.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, perhaps coming from New Jersey, I should not participate in this debate because probably I am not fully aware, even after a reading of the report, of the real purposes of this legislation or the implications therein. But as I read it, I have come to the conclusion that this legislation in effect is a private bill for the owners of stockyards whose business has been reduced perhaps 50 or 75 percent in the last several years due to changes in practices regarding the purchase and sale of livestock.

In reading the report, I also note that:

> The Department of Agriculture presently contends that terminal stockyard owners have broad authority under existing law to manage and regulate their stockyard and the persons engaged in business thereon.

The views of the Department are set forth in the report. I have to believe therefore that this act will increase prices for the consumer. Under present law, as I read the report, there is nothing to prevent a stockyard owner from converting his operations or prohibiting anyone he wants from doing business with the yard on a reasonable basis. And this law will not change that. What the law will do, in my judgment at least, is to give the stockyard owners the right to demand that commission agents if they wish to face the realities deal exclusively with the stockyard owners.

In effect, this, in my judgment, will raise the price of meat to the consumer.

Another point interested me. That is the fact that one of the reasons alleged for this bill is that the shippers are not receiving as much money under the present system from the commission agents as they would if the cattle were sold at the stockyards. I would think that if the shippers were dissatisfied, we would be hearing from shippers.

Here is the key sentence as far as I am concerned. It appears on page 3 of the report. It states:

> In addition, the testimony shows that some commission men do not properly represent the best interests of their shippers. They may have another occupation which takes most of their time, resulting in their failure to obtain the best price for their livestock shippers. This not only injures such shippers but may also serve to generally weaken prices at the market.

It seems to me that we are giving stockyard owners the right to say to commission agents, "Unless you deal exclusively with us, we will not handle your individual transactions."

This, in my judgment, could place such economic pressure on commission agents that they would be compelled and constrained to do just that. It seems to me—and I think we ought to understand it—that this legislation will increase the business of the stockyard owners. This seems to me to be the main purpose of the legislation. Today the stockyards can, by the exercise of any reasonable regulations that they wish, keep out any disreputable or unconscientious trader that they want so that I fail to see the real necessity for this legislation aside from the beneficial results to the stockyard owners.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas for some clarification.

Mr. PURCELL. The assumption that the gentleman just made about the owner of a stockyard being able to limit a commission agent to operating only in that yard is not a correct assumption.

In the Supreme Court decision commonly referred to as the Denver case, the Court held that a selling agent, a commission firm, could not be limited to one location. A commission firm, under that holding, may have commission business at various terminal markets.

Mr. CAHILL. I understand. May I ask the gentleman this question. In the gentleman's opinion, if this bill is enacted into law, will it increase the business of the stockyards?

Mr. PURCELL. Our hope is that it will, but it should not increase the price of cattle going through that stockyard.

Mr. CAHILL. Could this not prevent some independent commission merchants from making individual transactions with individual cattle raisers who would be in competition with the stockyard owners? And would this not involve possible additional costs?

Mr. PURCELL. The only manner in which an example such as the gentleman is referring to could occur would be as the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] made very clear a few moments ago.

Let me clear up this point. The owners of the stockyards do not sell anything.

Mr. CAHILL. I realize that. They have facilities available for the commission agents.

Mr. PURCELL. That is correct.

If a commission agent is operating on a terminal stockyard and has violently opposed reasonable rules and is deliberately going to the terminal stockyard in question, and doing nothing but seeking business for himself away from the terminal stockyard, there could be times when the stockyard owner would have under this bill, the power to refuse to allow him to continue this practice, by denying the commission agent the right to sell at the stockyard.

Mr. CAHILL. Will the gentleman explain to me the statement on page 9 of the report, the last sentence, the third paragraph, which says:

> Consequently, many stockyard owners fear to exercise authority which they probably now have.

Mr. PURCELL. Because the law is unclear. Courts have held that some actions of stockyard owners were prohibitive, resulting in civil liability. This effort is to clear the air and make specific what the stockyard owner's authority is.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, was the gentleman on the floor when I made my statement?

Mr. CAHILL. No. I regret that I was not.

Mrs. MAY. In this statement I tried to point out very clearly the benefit to the consumer of this legislation. In the first place, I was a member of the National Commission on Food Marketing, which was definitely consumer oriented. This was one of the very few completely unanimous recommendations that was made by the Commission. I will not read it again at this point—it is in my statement and the report. But the gentleman should notice that this change will protect the interests of both buyers and sellers. When there is an inefficiently operated terminal market—in other words, where an owner cannot refuse his services to people that are not working efficiently on his behalf and the producer's behalf—it is going to be a costly procedure for him. That makes it more expensive to handle livestock there. This, in turn is reflected in higher costs of livestock to buyers and eventually to consumers. Anytime any marketing process is unnecessarily costly and inefficient the consumer pays.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, I must say to the Committee I have not been dissuaded from my original point of view upon examination of this report, that this legislation, it seems to me, must increase the business of the stockyard owners by giving them authority to deprive many individual entrepreneurs of the use of stockyards and, second, therefore, it must follow that prices will probably be increased to the ultimate consumer.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Will the gentleman note that we have kept every original protection in here, that was already in the Packers and Stockyards Act, against injurious discrimination.

Mr. CAHILL. That is why I do not understand the purpose of this bill.

Mrs. MAY. But present law does not make it clear that owner selectivity is not unfair discrimination. On this point I refer you to the Denver Stockyard case. The Supreme Court decision in this case implied that Congress should enact some legislation to clarify this.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended (7 U.S.C. 201 et seq.), is amended as follows:

(a) Section 302(a) (7 U.S.C. 202(a)) is amended to read:

"(a) When used in this title the term 'stockyard' means any place, establishment, or facility commonly known as stockyards, conducted, operated, or managed for profit or nonprofit as a public market for livestock producers, feeders, and buyers, consisting of pens, or other inclosures, and their appurtenances, in which live cattle, sheep, swine. horses, mules, or goats are received, held, or kept for sale or shipment in commerce."

(b) Section 303 (7 U.S.C. 203) is amended to read:

"After the expiration of thirty days after the Secretary has given public notice that any stockyard is within the definition of section 302 by posting copies of such notice in the stockyard, no person shall carry on the business of a market agency or dealer at such stockyard unless (1) the stockyard owner has determined that his services will be beneficial to the business and welfare of said stockyard, its patrons, and customers, which determination shall be made on a basis which is not unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory, and has given written authorization to such person, and (2) he has registered with the Secretary, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, his name and address, the character of business in which he is engaged, and the kinds of stockyards services, if any, which he furnishes at such stockyard. Every other person operating as a market agency or dealer as defined in section 301 of the Act may be required to register in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe. Whoever violates the provisions of this section shall be liable to a penalty of not more than $500 for each such offense and not more than $25 for each day it continues, which shall accrue to the United States and may be recovered in a civil action brought by the United States."

(c) Section 304 (7 U.S.C. 205) is amended to read:

"All stockyard services furnished pursuant to reasonable request made to a stockyard owner or market agency at such stockyard shall be reasonable and nondiscriminatory and stockyard services which are furnished shall not be refused on any basis that is unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory: *Provided,* That in any State where the weighing of livestock at a stockyard is conducted by a duly authorized department or agency of the State, the Secretary, upon application of such department or agency, may register it as a market agency for the weighing of livestock received in such stockyard, and upon such registration such department or agency and the members thereof shall be amenable to all the requirements of this Act, and upon failure of such department or agency or the members thereof to comply with the orders of the Secretary under this Act he is authorized to revoke the registration of such department or agency and to enforce such revocation as provided in section 315 of this Act."

(d) Section 307 (7 U.S.C. 208) is amended to redesignate the first sentence as paragraph "(a)" and to add a new paragraph (b) as follows:

"(b) It shall be the responsibility and right of every stockyard owner to manage and regulate his stockyard in a just, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory manner, to prescribe rules and regulations and to require those persons engaging in or attempting to engage in the purchase, sale, or solicitation of livestock at such stockyard to conduct their operations in a manner which will foster, preserve, or insure an efficient, competitive public market."

(e) Section 312(a) (7 U.S.C. 213(a)) is amended by inserting after the words "in connection with" the phrase "determining whether persons should be authorized to operate at the stockyards, or with".

Mr. PURCELL (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PURCELL

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PURCELL: On page 1, line 3 after the word "Act" strike out the word "of" and insert in lieu thereof the typographical symbol",".

On page 2, line 5, insert "SEC. 303." before the words "After the".

On page 3, line 4, insert "SEC. 304." before the words "All stockyard".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BROOKS, Chairman of the Committee of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10673) to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended, pursuant to House Resolution 921, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amend was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 234, nays 6, not voting 192, as follows:

[Roll No. 287]

YEAS—234

Adair
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clark
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Cramer
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dellenback
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Esch
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fraser
Friedel
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Haley
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Irwin
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Kee
King, Calif.
Kleppe
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Monagan
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, Ill.
Myers
Natcher
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pirnie
Poage
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
Satterfield
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Sisk
Skubitz
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stanton
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stuckey
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik

Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wright
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—6

Cahill
Carey
Cunningham
Denney
Fulton, Pa.
Mayne

NOT VOTING—192

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Belcher
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Brademas
Brock
Brown, Ohio
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Casey
Celler
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Corman
Cowger
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Eshleman
Everett
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gettys
Gilbert
Goodell
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gurney
Hagan
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hanna
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Holland
Hosmer
Ichord
Jacobs
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kazen
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landrum
Lennon
McCarthy
McCulloch
Macdonald, Mass.
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Md.
Meskill
Michel
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Moss
Multer
Murphy, N.Y.
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Ottinger
Pike
Poff
Price, Tex.
Pucinski
Quillen
Rarick
Rees
Reifel
Resnick
Reuss
Riegle
Rivers
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roudebush
Roush
Sandman
St Germain
Schadeberg
Scherle
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Stafford
Staggers
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Taylor
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Utt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zion
Zwach

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Arends.

Mr. Adams with Mr. Riegle.

Mr. Addabbo with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.

Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Delaney with Mr. King of New York.

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Steiger of Arizona.

Mr. Fountain with Mr. Biester.

Mr. Multer with Mr. Harvey.

Mr. Kornegay with Mr. Kuykendall.

Mr. Eilberg with Mr. Bush.

Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. Taylor with Mr. Burke of Florida.

Mr. Everett with Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Wylie.

Mr. Lennon with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts.

Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Eshleman.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Collier.

Mr. Jones of North Carolina with Mr. Zwach.

Mr. Annunzio with Mr. Sandman.

Mr. Scherle with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Jonas.

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Zion.

Mr. Dulski with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Moss with Mr. Fino.

Mr. Ottinger with Mr. Don H. Clausen.

Mr. Wolff with Mr. Brown of Ohio.

Mr. Ronan with Mr. Belcher.

Mr. Sikes with Mr. Utt.

Mr. Staggers with Mr. Widnall.

Mr. Blanton with Mr. Quillen.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Mailliard.

Mr. Hagan with Mr. Bob Wilson.

Mr. Galifianakis with Mr. Schadeberg.

Mr. Montgomery with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Pike with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.

Mr. Brademas with Mr. Davis of Wisconsin.

Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Albert with Mr. Poff.

Mr. Karth with Mr. Michel.

Mr. Madden with Mr. Shriver.

Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Cleveland.

Mr. Morgan with Mr. Morse.

Mr. Nichols with Mr. McCulloch.

Mr. Reuss with Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Rivers with Mr. Hosmer.

Mr. Rosenthal with Mr. Whalley.

Mr. Whitten with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Keith.

Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Minshall.

Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Nelsen.

Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Jacobs with Mr. Clancy.

Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Smith of California.

Mr. Abernethy with Mr. Gurney.

Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Hall.

Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Nedzi with Mr. Devine.

Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Wampler.

Mr. Flynt with Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin.

Mr. Gettys with Mr. Wiggins.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. Stafford.

Mr. Henderson with Mr. Wydler.

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Kupferman.

Mr. Slack with Mr. Meskill.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Taft.

Mr. St Germain with Mr. Goodell.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Wyatt.

Mr. Colmer with Mr. Wyman.

Mr. Corman with Mr. Button.

Mr. Bevill with Mr. Edwards of Alabama.

Mr. Bingham with Mr. Gardner.

Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania.

Mr. O'Hara of Michigan with Mr. Price of Texas.

Mr. Eckhardt with Mr. Kyl.

Mr. Casey with Mr. Watson.

Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Hammerschmidt.

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Whalen.

Mr. Selden with Mr. Reifel.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Steed.

Mr. Holland with Mr. Dawson.

Mrs. Mink with Mr. Ichord.

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Diggs.

Mr. Farbstein with Mr. William D. Ford.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Gray.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Pucinski.

Mr. Rees with Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Willis with Mr. Yates.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. de la Garza.

Mr. Hanna with Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Nix.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. Smith of Iowa.

Mr. Roush with Mr. Fuqua.

Mr. CONTE changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The title was amended so as to read: "To amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed, H.R. 10673, and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON THE CONGO

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the recent appearance before the African Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs by Robert O. Blake, just returned from his post as counselor and chargé d'affaires from November 1966 to July 1967 at our Embassy in Kinshasa, prompts me to make some remarks about the Congo based on the intelligent observations of an experienced foreign service officer.

Last spring we had many reasons to be optimistic about the immediate future of the Congo. It had had its difficult and tragic moments but seemed to be on the path to economic and political stability. Hard work by the Congolese, by their Western friends, and, in no small measure, by the United States has paid off. The Congolese educational system expanded remarkably and a new generation of educated Congolese was moving into positions of responsibility. Thanks to its subsoil wealth, the Congo was expanding its mineral production. Assisted by the International Monetary Fund, the Congo revalued its currency and established a sound stabilization program which promised to stimulate further its economic development, especially in the agricultural field. The United States was playing an important role. It had extended about $45 million in aid. Much of this, in the form of Public Law 480 foodstuffs, has generated counterpart funds for the construction of roads, bridges, and schools.

Unfortunately, on July 5 of this year a small group of European mercenaries mutinied. These mercenaries are still in Bukavu in the eastern Congo. Their revolt threatened the stability and progress of the Congo. It also menaced the important and fruitful relationship between the Congolese people and the foreign community. Most recently the Organization of African Unity met in Kinshasa, the Congo's capital, and adopted a resolution calling for the immediate departure of these mercenaries with the help of competent international bodies.

It is my sincere hope that this effort

will succeed. Thereafter, we can expect a rededication of the Congolese Government and its peoples to the essential tasks of nation building and economic development. In these efforts, I am sure, the American Government will continue to help, thus carrying out its policy of consistent support for the central government of the Congo.

Mr. Speaker, I placed such importance on the recent summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity that I caused to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 27, 1967, on pages 26999 and 27000 the full text of the resolutions adopted, including that relating to the mercenaries.

DAVID T. PETERSON—FLIGHT TO VIETNAM

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thought my colleagues might find it heartwarming, as I did, to know of a letter written by one of my young constituents to a member of his church describing his feelings during his flight to Vietnam this summer.

David T. Peterson, from Decatur, Ga., is a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Intelligence Division. The son of missionary parents and himself born in São Paulo, Brazil, David put himself through Georgia State College, where he received a BA degree in English and drama. An aspiring actor, David performed at the Oakhurst Baptist Church, at Georgia State College, and the Pocket Theater in Atlanta before he joined the service.

The letter which David wrote to a friend, Billy Densmore, music director at Oakhurst Baptist Church, sets forth his impressions and thoughts during his 20-hour flight from San Francisco to Vietnam. Because of my own recent trip to Vietnam, and because I feel an even greater appreciation of our fighting men there, I bring to your attention, with deep gratitude for the thoughts expressed, what I like to think may be a typically American letter, complete with comments on the personalities of the stewardesses on the airplane.

The letter of David Peterson, as reprinted in the Decatur-DeKalb News, follows:

> It was 0600 on the morning of August 13, and our Braniff 707 was circling in a zig-zag pattern over Bien Hoa Air Base, which is just 20 miles north of Saigon. We were in a group of more than 100 officers on our first tour of duty in Vietnam.
>
> As we approached Bien Hoa it was dark, all the lights in the big jet were out, cigarettes were extinguished and seat belts were fastened. As I looked out my window, I carefully scanned the darkness and noticed the lights blinking faintly in the distance. I was lucky to have a seat by the window, because everyone aboard was anxious to get a first glimpse of Vietnam.
>
> The trip, which had lasted about 20 hours, included stops in Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines. Throughout the flight, there was an air of joviality. David Sharp, sitting next to me, asked Dixie, the nice little red-headed stewardess, if red heads were more fun. Marni, another stewardess who had made her debut at 18 years old, spoke excellent Brazilian Portuguese, so, of course, I got her address.
>
> But now, we were landing in Vietnam, and everyone was silent. Were we a little bit scared? Yes, I guess we were. We were wondering where we would go from here and what we would be doing. Would we go 20 miles away to Saigon to enjoy its music and gaiety for a few days? No, probably not. We would probably join our units which were scattered throughout South Vietnam from Con Tho to the northern limit, the DMZ.
>
> The big jet landed gracefully and came to a halt. We waited a few minutes for the health inspector to come aboard. In silence we stood and looked in each other's faces and then off in the distance. I looked out the window and noticed that the sun had risen, over in the east, in the east from where we had flown, from that grand city, San Francisco.
>
> Dixie and all the girls said goodbye to us as we stepped off the plane, down the stairway, and onto Vietnamese soil. The air had a clean scent and the sunrise was beautiful and full of color. I was aware of the noise and the power of the big Skyraider jets as they rose rapidly and fearlessly into the skies, but I was in awe of the silence and beauty of this hour. My eyes drifted to the multitudes of men who ahead of me and behind me were walking away from our plane towards the massive bungalow-style terminal building.
>
> We were all apprehensive and every heart beat a little faster. Was it fear? No, I don't think so. It was a feeling which was hard to explain. I guess it was pride. I was proud to be here and proud of my fellow officers. I glanced back at the big jet we had just deboarded.
>
> I took in the deep blue of the plane's fuselage and its towering size. The largeness seemed to represent the great country we had watched disappear in the distance 20 hours before. But my gaze stopped as I saw our American flag imprinted on the side of the airliner. A tear rolled down my cheek.
>
> I'm proud of that flag and I'm proud of our commitment in Vietnam.

POLITICS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR POSTAL SYSTEM

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about politics in the management of our postal system. I am shocked over a clear case of both politics and mismanagement this last week regarding the proposed merger of rural routes in Putnam County, Ind.

On September 13, I began receiving telephone calls and letters from the patrons of the Roachdale, Ind., post office stating their objections to a Post Office Department decision to consolidate rural delivery service involving four routes at Roachdale, Bainbridge, and Russellville.

Subsequently, I received a petition signed by 439 patrons which, along with my request, was forwarded to the Post Office Department.

On September 21, 1967, I received a two-page letter signed by Mr. Howard R. Barker, Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, which I make a part of this RECORD. Mr. Barker expressed regret that the Post Office Department was unable to approve my request.

The letter, in detail, explains that a savings of $4,343 annually would result from the consolidation. The letter further states, and I quote:

> The Department would be derelict in its duties to continue four such routes when good delivery service could continue to be provided by three carriers none of which would be employed as much as 40 hours per week.

Upon receipt of this notice I notified, by letter, the people of Roachdale of the Department's decision against a review of the case. Yesterday, September 28, 1967, I read in the Daily Banner, a Greencastle, Ind., publication, dated Monday, September 25, 1967, that the senior Senator from Indiana, who just happens to be a Democrat, had the pleasure of notifying the people of Roachdale he had been successful in retaining their mail service.

A call to the Post Office Department yesterday confirmed that the Senator's report was accurate.

I want to emphasize I am happy for the fine folks of Roachdale who will keep their rural routes as they wanted. However, I regret, by the Post Office Department's own admission, that we have a "derelict" Post Office Department.

Webster's dictionary defines derelict as "neglectful of obligation, unfaithful, careless, deserted, and abandoned."

Is it not a shame that the people of this country may soon be asked to pay much more in the form of increased postal rates to finance a careless, neglectful, and abandoned postal system?

A Republican Representative has been told "No" while simultaneously a Democrat is told "Yes." The fine, dedicated carriers and employees of the postal system deserve better and the tax-burdened public is entitled to better than such politically oriented decisions.

This is a clear case of politics being played by the Post Office Department. I would like to see some integrity and honesty someplace in the executive branch of this expensive Federal Government.

As long as the Post Office Department places such a high premium on political decisions we will continue to have a second-class postal system.

I include at this point the material I have previously referred to:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, BUREAU OF OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C., September 21, 1967.

Hon. JOHN T. MYERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This will acknowledge your letters of September 14, 1967, and September 18, 1967, transmitting a petition signed by Mr. Kenneth A. Miller, and others, patrons at Roachdale, Indiana, protesting the proposed consolidation of the rural delivery service at Roachdale, Bainbridge and Russellville, Indiana, incident to a vacancy at Greencastle.

When a rural vacancy occurs, it is the practice of the Department to have a survey made to determine the feasibility of consolidating existing service prior to taking any action toward filling the position on a permanent basis. Such a survey was made in this instance.

The survey disclosed that it would be very practicable to consolidate Route No. 1 at Bainbridge, routes Nos. 1 and 2 at Roachdale and route No. 1 at Russellville into three routes so as to provide a surplus carrier at Roachdale for reassignment to fill the vacancy at Greencastle. There would be a saving of approximately $4343 per annum in operating costs of the rural delivery service.

The four routes involved are not long and serve only 212, 199, 204 and 121 families. The present carrier schedules are evaluated at 31, 29½, 32 and 20 hours per week which is far below the normal workweek of 40 hours. All mail is delivered by 12:30 p.m.

The three consolidated routes would be 76, 71 and 74 pay miles in length and would serve 254, 269 and 213 families. The number of families to be served is well below the national average of 321 families. The proposed schedules would be evaluated at 38, 37 and 32½ hours per week and all mail would be delivered by 1:15 p.m.

The carriers would be routed over all weather roads and mail collected on the routes would be dispatched on the same day.

While it would be necessary for 156 families to change their mailing address, we consider this to be a temporary inconvenience only until such time as they can notify their correspondents of the new address.

The Department would be derelict in its duties to continue four such routes when good delivery service could continue to be provided by three carriers none of which would be employed as much as 40 hours per week.

Therefore, in view of the substantial savings involved, and the fact that excellent delivery service would be provided, the Department feels that it has no alternative, but to place the consolidation of service, as outlined above, into effect on October 1, 1967 as contemplated.

In view of your personal interest, it is regretted that we are unable to reply more favorably in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD R. BARKER,
Deputy Assistant Postmaster General.

NO INTERRUPTION IN ROACHDALE SERVICE

U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, a member of the Senate Post Office Committee, announced today in Washington that there will be no interruption in the present Roachdale Post Office rural route service.

The Post Office Department had recommended earlier the Roachdale routes be consolidated with service from Bainbridge and Russellville.

Petitions and letters substantiating Sen. Hartke's position had been received from some 450 postal patrons at Roachdale.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the chief sponsor of the House resolution calling on Congress to undertake a fundamental view of Vietnam policies, I was gratified to see the following editorial comment which appeared in the September 27 San Francisco Chronicle:

CONGRESSMEN ASK LOOK AT VIETNAM

The move by an unusual coalition of 52 Congressmen to re-examine deepening American involvement in Vietnam is heartening to anyone who believes in constitutional government. The coalition includes both Republicans and Democrats, hawks and doves.

Representative Paul Findley (Rep.-Ill.) is the spokesman for these 52 Representatives who are calling on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to pass formal judgment on whether the Administration is really authorized to do what it is doing in southeast Asia.

President Johnson has repeatedly cited the Gulf of Tonkin resolution as Congressional authority for committing Americans to combat in Vietnam. This resolution was passed three years ago. Requested by Johnson after a reported naval clash in the Gulf, it contained the stereotyped wording calling for "all necessary measures to prevent further aggression."

It was not, as Senator Clifford Case (Rep.-N.J.) expressed it so well this week, a continuing letter of credit to the President to draw on indefinitely. In fact, a parallel movement toward reassertion of Congressional prerogatives in foreign policy is under way in the Senate. There the Foreign Relations Committee is expected to approve a resolution limiting the authority of the executive branch to enter into military commitments without legislative approval.

Three years, as all Americans are aware, have brought drastic changes in the war in Vietnam and our commitment there. Congressman Findley senses "a great uneasiness" over this situation among members of Congress, including many who had voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

In his careful, restrained approach, Findley rightly points out that placing the Vietnam issue "squarely on the Congressional anvil" should ultimately have a unifying influence in clarifying America's will and purpose and "removing the feeling of uneasiness so prevalent today."

More evidence of general concern is shown by the dramatic change in the latest California Poll of persons representing all shades of political opinion and walks of life. Compared with a year ago, there has been a definite shift among both Democrats and Republicans against the Johnson Administration's policy of escalation and increased emphasis on military measures in Vietnam.

The stirring in Congress to tackle head on its constitutional responsibilities is a healthy development for the country.

POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman of New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, as one of the more than 50 Members of the House who this week cosponsored companion resolutions directing the appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report on the desirability of further congressional action with respect to our policies in Southeast Asia, I should like to outline very briefly the reasons which led me to join in sponsoring the resolution and to suggest what I believe are some of the benefits which can be realized from approval of the resolution.

Never before in our history, to the best of my knowledge, has the United States ever fought a major war in which congressional participation in the determination of policy has been so strictly limited. Aside from the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in August 1964—which did not even begin to contemplate the huge expansion of the war which followed—the role of the Congress has, for all practical purposes, been limited to the more or less routine approval of military authorizations and appropriations.

It is worth noting, too, that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which was passed without a dissenting vote in the House, was considered in the midst of a presidential campaign in which the principal issue was the President's strong opposition to a major expansion of the war.

To a considerable extent, therefore, neither the people nor their representatives in the Congress have been consulted about decisions which have involved the United States, step by step, in one of the costliest, most destructive and most dangerous wars in history. Whatever our individual views may be about this war and the administration's conduct of it, there is no reason to doubt that Congress has important constitutional, political and moral responsibilities concerning the Vietnam conflict. This is especially true in the absence of a formal declaration of war. Our resolution, Mr. Speaker, would provide a means for Congress to accept and carry out these responsibilities.

The lack of real deliberation with respect to our policy in Southeast Asia on the part of the Nation's chief deliberative body has contributed, I believe, to the restlessness, the questioning, the unease in the country which have been noted by several of our colleagues. Without the leadership of Congress, the national debate on this major aspect of our foreign policy has inevitably been inadequate. It has lacked direction and focus. Our people have been deprived of reliable information on which to form a meaningful public opinion about our national purpose and the means we are using to achieve it. And the administration has been deprived of the benefits of accountability, the searching scrutiny which would require it to do a better job of informing the people and justifying its policy.

In my own experience as a Member of Congress, Mr. Speaker, I have found it impossible to justify to my constituents the failure of Congress to conduct a thorough debate on our Vietnam policy. In no other area of major national policy—foreign or domestic—have we failed to do this. In most areas, in fact, such debate or deliberation is carried on periodically as Congress considers legislation to establish, amend, or appropriate for such programs as foreign aid, the war on poverty, housing, urban development, agriculture, public works, and so forth. The war in Vietnam, inexplicably, is the only exception, and this is the single most crucial issue confronting the country.

Approval of our resolution will bring the issue of U.S. policy in Vietnam before the Congress for the very first time in all its fullness and complexity. It will provide the first real opportunity for Congress—the direct representatives of the people—to consider all aspects of our policy in that beleaguered land, to determine whether and to what extent we approve of the policies being followed by the administration, and to recommend whatever changes, if any, we may want to urge upon the administration. I am sure I speak for all the cosponsors of our resolution when I say that we have no desire or intention to usurp or limit in any way the constitutional authority of the Chief Executive for the conduct of our foreign relations or the command of our Armed Forces. Our sole purpose is to assure the people, through their Congress, their right to participate in the determination of their own destiny.

If our resolution is approved, Mr. Speaker, I suggest that we can anticipate many benefits, including the following:

First, the provision of more and better information about our Vietnam policies by the administration;

Second, greater understanding of the nature and extent and legal basis of our commitment in Vietnam;

Third, a more accurate estimate of our present military position and future prospects in Vietnam;

Fourth, greater awareness of the international political implications of our present course;

Fifth, the opportunity for congressional consideration of such critical and complex issues as the significance of the bombing of North Vietnam, the adequacy of U.S. efforts to bring the war to the negotiating table, and the character of the pacification program, together with consideration of the several important alternatives to present policies in each of these areas which have been proposed by a number of our colleagues and which have received less than forthright responses from the administration; and, finally,

Sixth, the opportunity for a formal expression of Congress views on the war in general and on the more significant specific issues raised by the war.

During the years of our involvement in the fighting in Vietnam, Mr. Speaker, our commitment has grown to the point where it now extends to nearly half a million young Americans and tens of billions of American dollars. Is it too much to ask, I wonder, for Congress to stop long enough to consider in depth what we are doing, and why, and where we are going? We owe it to our people and to our own self-respect as a great legislative institution.

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS TO NEW CITY COUNCIL

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I was astounded and embarrassed by the President's appointment yesterday to the new City Council.

Can anyone in this body imagine a draft dodger, a conscientious objector, being chairman of a city council or chairman of a board of supervisors in any other city or county of the United States during a war?

Can you imagine any other city or county tolerating a city councilman who was a rabblerouser, a promoter of demonstrations who condones civil disobedience, during a time when our cities are trying so desperately to maintain and enhance respect for law and order?

Can you imagine the appointment of a Bobby Baker crony, a bank manipulator, a lobbyist, as the chairman of the city council of a city straining for a semblance of prestige and respectability?

Perhaps we should sympathize with the President. Admittedly, his choices were drastically limited. Washington may be a classic example of a fundamental failing of our cities. Long ago the competent and concerned citizens moved to the suburbs. They were no longer willing to carry the burden of city management and of citizen participation required to make a city pleasant and progressive for those who were unwilling to carry their share of the load. The incompetent and unconcerned have stayed behind. They cannot manage themselves, their homes, their streets, or neighborhoods. How could they manage their city? Into the inner core of the big cities have moved many people who have absolutely no experience, training, or ability in city management or city citizenship. Little wonder our cities have deteriorated.

Like other cities, too many people have moved to Washington for what they can get or take from the city—not what they can contribute. Until the citizens contribute more than they consume, their neighborhood and their city will deteriorate.

It is obvious now why the President had to go out of Washington to find a city manager and an assistant city manager. There was no one in Washington competent to fill the requirements.

We should study these appointments to the new City Council carefully. The obvious implications are a tragic commentary on the competency and level of citizenship of the Nation's Capital. If these nominees are the best Washington, D.C., can offer, the District is a long way from effective or competent home rule, and there are many problems ahead which cannot be solved by spending more and more Federal money and some serious ills that can be cured only by raising the competency level of the citizenry.

A FANTASTIC PLOT—PART II

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I inserted into the RECORD reports from UPI and the Philadelphia Inquirer detailing the fantastic plot against various leading political figures in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Inquirer of today details the latest developments of members of the Chinese Communist oriented Revolutionary Action Movement who are behind it all. Today's revelations indicate intentions of murdering the President of the United States and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigations.

The extreme nature of RAM has been known for some time, but to help fill in the details of their tactics and goals, I insert into the RECORD excerpts of the Inquirer's article, "Death of President, Tate, Rizzo, Plotted by Ring, Convict Says," by George J. Murray and E. J. Hussie:

DEATH OF PRESIDENT, TATE, RIZZO PLOTTED BY RING, CONVICT SAYS HOOVER, SPECTER ALSO ON LIST

(By George J. Murray and E. J. Hussie)

A conspiracy to murder high Government and city officials and destroy with dynamite Federal and municipal buildings has been exposed by an escaped Georgia convict now being held for extradition, it was disclosed Thursday.

According to the informer, the assassination list included President Johnson, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Mayor James H. J. Tate, District Attorney Arlen Specter and Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo.

DYNAMITE CHARGE

Tate, according to the informer, was to be killed with dynamite charged to detonate when he started his car. Rizzo was to be shot by the informer himself, who boasted he asked only five days to "set Rizzo up."

There were indications late Thursday the informer would be arrested on charges of threatening to kill the officials named in the list he claimed was supplied by members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), an anarchist, Black Power group sympathetically allied with Red China.

The man was identified as Herman Bailey, alias Robert Earl Bailey, 22, of Atlanta, who now is being held at Holmesburg Prison. Bailey was arrested last November and held for extradition proceedings to Georgia. He was transferred to Holmesburg last August as a troublemaker after attempting to start a riot in the House of Detention.

POLITICAL ISSUE

The plot disclosed by Bailey immediately was made a political issue by Tate who charged Specter—his opponent in November's mayoralty election—left the Mayor and his family defenseless by failing to warn him of the danger of assassination.

Specter replied that Rizzo was kept abreast of the investigation from the beginning as a result of a system of "instant coordination between the District Attorney's office, the Police Department and the FBI."

Bailey, who is being held without bail for Georgia authorities and faces a detainer filed by the U.S. District Court, where he recently was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, said the RAM members promised to help obtain his freedom so that he could shoot Rizzo.

EXPERT RIFLE SHOT

Bailey claimed to be an expert shot with a rifle.

The alleged multiple assassination plot came to light just one day after another youth, who said he was a member of RAM, turned over a half-pound of potassium cyanide to the FBI and said it was intended for use to kill policemen and other citizens in the wake of an artificially instigated riot.

The FBI laboratory in Washington studied the cyanide and reported it in "pure" state. Experts said its quantity was sufficient to kill 1000 to 4500 persons.

The poison plot was exposed by Hilton Louis Jones, 22, of Wilt st. near 31st. He is a neighbor of Maxwell Stanford, 33, of Fontaine st. near 31st and Diamond sts., who has been identified as national leader of RAM.

Last summer, Stanford and 15 New York RAM members were arrested on charge of plotting the murders of moderate Negro leaders Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League.

It was not disclosed whether Bailey identified other members of the multiple assassination plot—which included plans to dynamite City Hall, the Police Administration Building at 8th and Race sts., and the Federal Courthouses at 9th and Market sts.

NAMES THREE IN PLOT

However, Jones—who was reported as cooperating with the FBI for weeks during an investigation—identified three men by name and one by description as fellow conspirators.

One of those named, William James Lyles, 26, of Cumberland st. near Front, was found already in custody at the Philadelphia detention center.

Reginald Grantham, 21, was arrested in a house on Spring Garden st. near 36th on Thursday afternoon by members of the police civil disobedience unit, which received a tip he was hiding out there.

CHICAGO STUDENT

Grantham was taken immediately to the Administration Building, where he asked that he be interrogated without delay. He was joined there by his attorney, Arthur Early.

The third man named by Jones was picked up Wednesday night in Chicago near the University of Chicago campus, where he is enrolled as a political science graduate student.

He is Anthony B. Monteiro, 22, who said he was a graduate of Lincoln University. The fourth man, identified only as Sakeeb, still is being sought.

WAIVES EXTRADITION

Monteiro was arraigned before a Chicago magistrate early Thursday and refused to waive extradition. However, later, he appeared in Cook County Court accompanied by two lawyers and waived extradition before Judge Joseph A. Power.

Monteiro denied in Chicago he was connected with any Black Power groups and stated he would "get all this straightened out" upon his return to Philadelphia.

He was hurried to an airliner and was due to arrive at International Airport here at 11:36 p.m. Thursday.

Specter said Lyles, Grantham and Monteiro would be arraigned Friday morning in City Hall before Judge Leo Weinrott.

TRAINING CAMP

Bailey said he was told that RAM operated a large "training headquarters" somewhere in Virginia and that he would be taken there after he assassinated Rizzo.

Bailey and Jones reportedly both submitted voluntarily to lie-detector tests, which indicated they were telling the truth.

The investigation of the Bailey revelations dates back a month or more—no one would say exactly how far. It was so secret that Edward J. Hendrick, superintendent of Philadelphia prisons, was unaware it was going on.

Hendrick told The Inquirer on Thursday he was so irked over repeated delays in Bailey's extradition proceedings he prodded the District Attorney's office "to move this thing."

"He was being taken downtown to court once every three weeks," Hendrick said. "Each time he would be returned to prison with a card marked 'case continued.' He was down there (City Hall) last Tuesday."

It was learned that on Tuesday, Bailey's statement was prepared formally, signed and sworn to.

Hendrick said Bailey was one of the "ringleaders" in the Detention Center whenever there was trouble.

TROUBLEMAKER

"A number of our ringleaders are coming up in other things," he said. "We feel good we were able to spot them."

He said Lyles was spotted as a troublemaker when he arrived at the Detention Center last August on charges of inciting to riot.

"We put him straight into the House of Correction to keep him separated from the others," Hendrick said.

PLANNING ORDERLY RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAN CHECK THE OVERCROWDING OF URBAN CENTERS

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the problems of our overcrowded cities have erupted into violence in so many areas this summer that we must take action on many different fronts. The possibility of intelligently planning the orderly development of rural areas has not been examined as thoroughly as I believe it should be.

Some cogent analysis of these problems and their solution is contained in a series of editorials in the H[illegible]tington, W. Va., Advertiser, September 25 to 28, which follows:

DIFFICULTIES OF BIG CITIES TIED TO ILLS OF SMALL TOWNS

The baffling problems of the big cities, particularly those of the ghettos, have resulted to a considerable extent from the troubles of the rest of the country.

The drift of people from rural areas and small communities to the cities has been under way for many years. In the last decade it has been greatly increased by three factors:

1. The inability of many tenant farmers and owners of small farms to make a decent living.
2. The elimination of jobs, particularly in coal mines, by the use of machinery.
3. The determination of more and more Negroes to gain their civil rights and better opportunities for themselves and their children.

Surveys have shown that the movement to the cities is beginning to slow down. But federal officials have reported that the number of migrants still reaches about 600,000 a year.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty said recently that about 1,000 newcomers arrive there each week. He estimated that at least a fourth of them come from the South.

Most of the migrants lack skills for any job that pays well. These usually drift into the ghettos and increase the crowding in the woefully substandard housing there.

Thousands that can't find work have to depend on welfare benefits. Some turn to crime.

But besides the disadvantaged newcomers who greatly complicate the problems of the big urban centers, many talented and educated young people who could benefit their smaller communities go to cities to take advantage of more promising opportunities for a career.

Men from Huntington have risen high in law, medicine and business in New York and other large cities. Several have done well in art, science, engineering and the entertainment field.

The hospital and research facilities of the big cities offer strong attractions especially to young doctors of exceptional ability.

The major cause of the acute shortage of doctors in this state is the tendency of graduates of the West Virginia Medical Center to leave for practice elsewhere.

The acquisition of independent retail and wholesale businesses and industries by large corporations also has tended to drain competent and ambitious young people away from towns and small cities.

The most capable employes of the corporations move up to better jobs and generally reach a big city.

The affiliation of the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio railroads has already resulted in the transfer of more employes from Huntington than will come here.

The loss of community leaders through such transfers and the removal of young people who would become leaders tend to reduce the launching of new enterprises that would create jobs.

There are opportunities here for the development of profitable aluminum fabrication industries such as those operating near the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. works at Spokane, Wash.

Before the Kaiser plant opened at Ravenswood, the company took a number of newsmen and Chamber of Commerce representatives to Spokane. Company spokesmen pointed out that operations similar to those in that area could be developed along the Ohio and Kanawha Valleys for fabricating aluminum from the Ravenswood plant.

The possibilities were discussed in West Virginia newspapers at the time. But fabricating industries have not developed as they might have if there had been more enterprising men in the area.

Similarly there are opportunities here for the opening of plants to fabricate nickel, steel and plastics produced in and near Huntington. But there are few such operations even though the city is prospering from the payrolls of its big industries and from heavy shipments of coal.

The constant draining of people away from rural and small urban areas to the overcrowded cities is comparable to giving an overweight patient with high blood pressure one transfusion after another from an underweight victim of anemia.

The big patient has already suffered attacks similar to apoplectic strokes in the form of destructive riots. His well-being is further endangered by polluted air and water, increasing crime and the nerve strain of crowding, commuting and competing for advancement.

The rising costs of government and the increasing welfare load comparable to medical bills are forcing the patient to call for more and more aid.

The anemic patient, who represents the rural urban areas, lacks the means to provide the remedies for the symptoms or the basic causes of his trouble.

Under Secretary of Agriculture John A. Schnittker said in an address at Columbus, Ohio, some time ago:

"Rural towns that once flourished with manufacturing or as railroad centers are now stagnant or deteriorating aggregations of grocery stores, taverns, feed stores, filling stations, garages and empty buildings. They have lost their place in our modern economy."

For several years The Advertiser has been urging legislation to deal with the twin problems of the deterioration of towns and the festering of overcrowded cities.

Now riots and other troubles of the cities have forced themselves upon the attention of high federal officials. At the same time members of Congress and some members of the President's Cabinet have taken up the problems of rural America.

Remedies proposed to adjust the imbalance in which 70 per cent of the people live on one per cent of the land will be discussed in other editorials of this series.

Efforts Under Way To Slow Drift of People to Cities

Several federal programs have been launched to help relieve poverty, create jobs, provide training for them, improve living conditions and in general offer a better life for both city and rural dwellers.

Such efforts should be continued, and some of them should be expanded to meet the needs of millions of disadvantaged people.

But while these remedies relieve some of the troubles, they do not sufficiently reduce the migration of people from the stagnant rural areas to the already crowded big cities. For that a more extensive effort is necessary.

The continuing flow of people from farms and rural towns to the congested big urban areas has been called by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman one of the most serious problems of our times.

For a penetrating study of possible solutions he has announced the sponsorship of a symposium by himself and five other Cabinet members in Washington next December. Eminent economists, sociologists, city planners and population specialists will attend.

Meanwhile, other officials have proposed attacks on the problem.

West Virginia's Democratic Sens. Jennings Randolph and Robert C. Byrd have joined in cosponsoring a rural development bill presented by Republican Sen. James B. Pearson of Kansas.

The measure proposes these tax incentives for attracting job-producing industries and commercial establishments to rural areas:

1. A 14 per cent credit on machinery instead of the normal 7 per cent.

2. A 7 per cent investment credit on the cost of the building.

3. An accelerated depreciation of two-thirds on machinery, equipment and building.

4. A 25 per cent tax deduction above the normal 100 per cent for wages paid low-income persons.

Credits and deductions can be carried backward three years and forward 10 years.

A number of conditions are provided for the benefits. The firm must locate in a county that does not have a city of more than 50,000 population.

At least 15 per cent of the families of the county must have incomes of under $3,000 a year, or employment must have declined at an annual rate of more than 5 per cent during the last five years.

Areas are included where the closing or curtailing of operations of a Defense Department installation is likely to cause a substantial removal of residents.

The secretary of agriculture may also certify the eligibility of Indian reservations after consulting with the secretary of the interior.

Another of the several additional requirements is that the employer must prove that he has not discontinued a similar enterprise and will not reduce the employment in any other area as a result of opening the new establishment.

Restrictions upon the areas in which the benefits would be effective would prevent the development of jobs that would attract many unemployed workers from the big cities.

But if it proved as effective as its sponsors hope, the measure would at least slow the removal of people from rural areas.

Possibly in time its provisions could be extended to encourage the opening of establishments offering work for which city dwellers could be trained and resettled.

Many depressed rural areas, such as those in much of Appalachia, however, are not suitable for extensive industrial development. The best hope of economic progress for the mountainous counties of eastern and southern West Virginia lies in the development of vacation and recreational facilities.

Dams, reservoirs, parks and forest reservations already existing or proposed in that region offer encouragement for building a great playground that would provide work for thousands.

Completion of the Interstate Highway system, Appalachian development roads and the Allegheny scenic highway proposed by Sen. Byrd would open those areas of rugged natural beauty for the enjoyment of millions from the steaming cities of the East and Middle West.

For full success of this development and others in the program of balanced economic growth of the nation, however, still faster transportation facilities will be necessary.

Business and industrial personnel will need jet plane service back and forth and rapid helicopter travel to and from regional airports. There will also be need for fast passenger trains that will carry automobiles.

The rural areas and small cities must have the means of providing theatres, libraries, playgrounds, better schools, regional colleges, swimming pools, golf courses, hospitals and other medical facilities.

There must be facilities to enable young people to develop their full potential for success and to enable them and their elders to travel quickly and frequently to the big cities for business or pleasure.

And these less populous areas must grant the full rights of citizenship and full opportunities for education, employment and advancement to all persons regardless of race or color.

The disadvantaged particularly should be urged to profit by their opportunities.

This should be done because it is right and just.

But besides that, encouraging the millions of low-income families throughout the country to qualify for a higher standard of living would bring a level of progress and prosperity never before approached.

The resultant wealth and harmony would give the nation a strength and respect in the world that it could never otherwise achieve.

Study Proposed as Basis for Balanced U.S. Growth

A plan for an extensive study of means of achieving a better balance in the economic growth of the United States has been offered in a proposed joint resolution of Congress.

The measure was introduced in the Senate by Sen. Karl E. Mundt, R-S. D., for himself and 18 others, including Sen. Jennings Randolph, D-W. Va.

To carry out the study the resolution authorizes the President to appoint a commission of 20 members.

Four of the appointees would come from United States cities having a population of at least a million. Four would be from cities of between a million and 100 thousand population, four from those of between 100 and 10 thousand, and four from communities of less than 10 thousand.

The final four would be appointed for special qualifications to help carry out the work of the commission without regard to place of residence or political affiliation.

Not more than half of those chosen from cities or towns could be from the same political party.

The commission would make an analysis and evaluation of:

1. The social, political and economic factors that affect the geographical location of industry;

2. The social, political and economic factors necessary to enable industries to operate efficiently outside large urban centers or to operate and expand within large urban centers without the creation of new economic and social problems;

3. The limits imposed upon population density to enable municipalities or other political subdivisions to provide public services in the most efficient and effective manner;

4. The effect on government efficiency generally of differing patterns and intensities of population concentration;

5. The extent to which a better geographic balance in the economic development of the nation serves the public interest;

6. The role that state and local government can and should play in promoting geographic balance in the economic development of a state or region; and

7. Practical ways in which federal expenditures can and should be managed to encourage a greater geographic balance in the economic development of the nation.

The study would also cover various ways by which the federal government might effectively encourage a more balanced economic growth.

The resolution requires that the study be completed and a report of findings and recommendations be submitted to the President and to Congress within two years after its effective date.

The commission and its authorized subcommittees and members are empowered to hold hearings. Departments and agencies of the executive branch of the government are directed to furnish any information the commission requests to help in carrying out its work.

The study would not be limited to the subjects specifically assigned. Experience gained as the work progressed would doubtless open new avenues of investigation.

The major purpose of the resolution seems to be to open the way for planning national economic growth to obtain a better balance.

The imbalance now existing between the troubled, overcrowded cities and the deteriorating rural areas gives abundant evidence of the need of such a program.

The possible benefits of national planning have been demonstrated also by the improvements brought about by city and area planning.

If a planning program had been in effect for the nation a generation ago, it could have prevented or alleviated many of the social and economic ills that challenge city, state and federal governments today.

But besides providing the basis for a planning program, the study can encourage general economic development by:

1. Stimulating community agencies to greater effort in attracting business and industry to rural towns and areas.

2. Encouraging smaller cities to join in regional development programs, as The Advertiser has been urging the Huntington and Charleston areas to do in providing a new airport midway between them.

3. Pointing out to progressive companies opportunities for locating branch operations in certain areas and supplying ideas for expanding various lines of production.

The commission might perform a distinct service by studying the benefits of locating railway operating offices at the most advantageous points along their lines.

This Tri-State Area is near the center of the origin of much of the coal hauled by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. It would thus seem to be a superior location for many of the company's offices.

Bringing more people here and providing faster service would tend to attract diversified industries to the area already highly favored by an abundance of fresh water and other resources such as coal, salt brines and natural gas.

Merger of the Norfolk & Western with the Chesapeake & Ohio-Baltimore & Ohio affiliation could open the way for the development of a great railway center here that would provide the stimulus for the growth of a much bigger metropolitan area.

Through such benefits of planned and speeded economic growth the sponsors of the resolution and the commission it established could become the architects for rebuilding the nation into a balanced new pattern that would assure all its people a fairer share of its great riches, and would stand as a shining example of justice and wise management throughout the world.

NATIONAL PLANNING NEEDED TO BALANCE FUTURE GROWTH

The federal government itself could set an example to private business and industry for bringing about a better balance in the nation's economic and population growth.

For several years The Advertiser has been advocating the creation of a national planning agency to make studies and recommendations for the location of new federal bases and installations and for the award of new space and defense contracts.

A short time ago the Republican party's National Coordinating Committee proposed in a five-point program that more government contracts and installations go to poor rural areas.

The five points were outlined in a New York Times News Service story to The Advertiser as follows:

1. Economic incentives for factories to locate in poor rural areas; channeling more government defense and supply contracts and building more installations in such areas.

2. Increased aid for schools, including more vocational-technical schools, in rural areas.

3. Enactment of the rural community action section of the opportunity crusade, the Republican alternative to the administration's antipoverty program.

4. Providing rural areas with the kind of employment service available to urban workers.

5. Stepping up the work of the economic development administration in poor rural areas to attract new industries.

Not only slowing but eventually reversing the migration from rural areas to big cities, as previous editorials in this series have pointed out, is necessary as an attack upon growing social and economic ills.

The need will become even more urgent as the population of the big cities increases. In recent years about four-fifths of the rapid population growth has been in the already congested cities, and much of that has been in the crowded, impoverished slums.

How this crowding can increase, with consequent complication of problems, is illustrated by predictions of future population gains.

The number of people in the nation reached 100,000,000 between the census of 1910 and that of 1920. The total in 1920 was 105,710,620. Within a few weeks the population is expected to reach 200,000,000.

The increase from 100,000,000 to 200,000,000 will thus require about 50 years. But forecasters say only about 30 years will be necessary to reach 300,000,000.

If the proportionate rate of growth in the big cities continues as it has in the last few years, the problem of financing an adequate war on poverty, pollution and congestion could become too great for solution.

But as great as this problem would be, the danger of cataclysmic destruction from a possible nuclear attack upon the major cities would be much more awesome.

These populous centers would be the first targets of enemy missiles. The fact that some of them are on the coasts would make them still easier to hit with missiles from submarines.

And the location of many of our defense facilities and essential production industries on the coasts would simplify the work of an enemy in destroying them.

The need of dispersing essential defense industries and installations was widely discussed during the destructive bombing of World War II.

Some European countries, notably Sweden, have built extensive underground facilities. We have concentrated even our defense research facilities on the coasts, the most vulnerable areas.

Locating new federal installations on the recommendations of a national planning agency could definitely strengthen national security.

In most cases it would probably also give the installations other advantages not available at spots chosen by congressional committee chairman influenced by their constituents.

The threatened serious national water problem is another vital reason for efforts to reverse the migration to the big cities. The seriousness of this threat has been demonstrated by the water shortage that existed in New York and other cities of the Northeast.

Conditions during the long drought there gave ominous emphasis to the 1966 report of a Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution headed by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine.

One paragraph of the report said:

"Our withdrawal of water was 40 billion gallons per day in 1900. It will reach 450 billion gallons in 1970 and 650 billion gallons per day in 1980. The current estimate of usable fresh water in lakes, streams, and reservoirs is 650 billion gallons a day. We will soon reach the limit of our water supply, and because water demands will continue to rise in accordance with population increases and per capita use, it is clear that water needs can be met only by an immediate large-scale expansion of our water resources development program and by continued reuse of the available water supply. Unless pollution is controlled, water cannot be reused."

Dispersing the population to make better use of the available supply of water is important not only because of the growing household consumption but because of the great quantities essential for some industries.

Once the federal government demonstrated the importance of dispersing its bases and installations, private business and industry would doubtless be inclined to follow its example, particularly if tax incentives were offered.

A policy of channeling government contracts into rural areas would also influence industries to locate there.

The factors cited in this series of editorials definitely seem to justify congressional approval of:

1. A bill providing tax incentives for the location of business and industry in rural areas;

2. A resolution for studies to provide the base for a better balance in economic growth;

3. A measure creating a national planning agency to make studies and recommendations for the location of government installations and contracts.

The serious conditions discussed call for prompt efforts to generate popular enthusiasm for planned progress that can bring such enormous benefits.

Serious troubles within the cities have already demonstrated that it may be much later than we think.

Allowing the influx of people from rural areas and towns to continue while middle-class residents leave the core of cities for the suburbs could make the problems impossible of solution.

That could bring on a hopeless era of violence and destruction even if fortune spared the jam-packed millions cremation in the flames of nuclear war.

ACTION COULD HAVE BEEN TAKEN ON A CONTINUING RESOLUTION ON APPROPRIATIONS TODAY

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I should like to observe that the House has been in session today. It has passed legislation.

I further observe that if the Rules Committee had met yesterday on the continuing resolution, it could have been brought up today and action taken on it.

MENTAL RETARDATION

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, many Americans today are concerned about the population explosion and about the problems of mentally retarded people. What many of us who share these concerns do not know is the close relationship there is between them.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Katherine Oettinger, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Family Planning and Population, made a timely speech last week at the dedication of the Child Development Center at Howard University.

The Child Development Center is one of about 140 mental retardation clinics now being supported in whole or in part by the Children's Bureau. These centers provide training and care for the mentally retarded where it is most needed—at the local level. As Mrs. Oettinger said of the Center at Howard University:

> Your Child Development Center . . . will be able to bring to . . . many families . . . the most recent advances in the field of mental retardation. And your work is of even greater significance because your facilities are right at the doorstep of the homes of so many people who otherwise might find no relief from their fears and their burdens.

Last week the House unanimously passed the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, a key element in President Johnson's recommendations to aid the welfare of our children. Its passage insures that many more of the 6 million mentally retarded Americans will receive proper care and training by making available funds to assist in the construction and staffing of mental retardation centers. This is indeed heartening.

But the pessimism expressed by several Members of this House during the debate on the bill as to the likelihood of any immediate or substantial reduction in the number of children born with this affliction was disheartening. This pessimism stands in contrast to the optimism expressed by Mrs. Oettinger that we can do something to reduce these rolls and we can do it now.

Two of the major ways in which we can reduce the incidence of mental retardation with the knowledge we now have is through better maternal and child care and by making family planning services more readily available to all mothers. As Mrs. Oettinger pointed out, premature births occur most frequently among four groups of women: teenage mothers—particularly among unwed teenage mothers—mothers over 40, mothers who have already borne three babies, and mothers who have children one right after the other with no adequate spacing between them.

Mrs. Oettinger offered some striking figures. She said:

> The baby who comes into life prematurely is 20 times as vulnerable to mental retardation . . . as the full-term infant—Everytime a woman delays pregnancy until she is in the optimum condition for both child bearing and child rearing, she increases the chance of her future children to live a life free from such handicapping defects as mental retardation.

Other presently possible means of lowering the incidence of mental retardation are through universal vaccination against measles, through the screening of all newborn infants for phenylketonuria, commonly known as PKU, and through widespread efforts to remove all lead paints from the interiors of old homes and to educate people as to the dangers inherent in lead poisoning. Programs to counter these possible causes of mental retardation are underway. The Public Health Service spearheaded the campaign to educate the public as to the dangers of measles and cooperates with State and local agencies to make measles vaccine readily available at a minimum cost to all children. By late 1966, 34 States had enacted laws pertaining to the screening of newborn infants for PKU. And the Children's Bureau will shortly issue a publication entitled, "Lead Poisoning in Children" in an effort to educate more physicians and parents to this syndrome. The Bureau is also working with the Department of Housing and Urban Development to chart a program whereby local public health authorities will make available to landlords, on a low-cost basis, the machinery needed to remove lead paint from the inside walls of dwellings.

Thus we can and are doing something for both sides of the coin of mental retardation. While we cannot eradicate it with the knowledge we now have, we can lower the percentage of people who must be afflicted. And we can help those unfortunates in our society who are affected by it through therapy and treatment provided in centers throughout the country.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM: ACTION NOW

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article appearing in the July–August issue of Rally entitled "The Great Seniority Struggle: Can Congress Survive as a Co-Equal Branch?" by Donald Lambro.

On January 10 this year I introduced a bill, H.R. 96 to amend the rules of the House to provide for the election of committee chairmen by secret ballot of the members of each committee. My bill embodies the proposal put forward by the prestigious American Assembly of Columbia University, by my former colleague John Lindsay, who researched this subject for our Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform, and by others knowledgeable on this subject as perhaps the fairest and most workable alternative to the present method of selecting committee chairmen purely on the basis of longevity.

In matters of courtesy such as the assignment of room space, I think that reliance on seniority is probably as equitable and practical a system as could be devised. But on the question of choosing who shall be the chairman of each of the important standing and special committees of the U.S. Congress, it seems to me that we ought to be governed by a higher law of logic than that which says that the fellow who has been around the longest shall therefore exercise the greatest authority.

Obviously, I do not agree with Mr. Lambro's conclusion. But he is a hardworking scholar, and I commend his contribution to the literature on this subject. His article is well worth reading, and I hope that its appearance in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will help to advance the dialog on congressional reform.

As an immediate proposition, I urge the leadership to schedule S. 355, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967, for action by the House of Representatives. This modest piece of reform legislation, passed by an overwhelming vote of the Senate, has been bottled up in the Rules Committee approaching 7 months. Although much will remain to be done, this bill contains many provisions for the modernization of our institutions that are critically overdue and should be promptly enacted.

THE GREAT SENIORITY STRUGGLE—CAN CONGRESS SURVIVE AS A CO-EQUAL BRANCH?

(By Donald Lambro)

Washington columnist William S. White likes to recall an incident that occurred at the platform committee proceeding of the 1956 Democratic convention. Nearly the entire day had been given over to complaints against the seniority system in Congress. But after the last witness had his say, Rep. John W. McCormack, who is now Speaker of the House, rose to make some concluding remarks. Warmly placing his arm around Negro Congressman William Dawson of Illinois, he told the delegates that he understood and sympathized with their positions. But, he added, there was inside the House an actuality of experience they did not understand.

"You see," he said, "if it were not for the seniority system in the House I am bound to tell you that I very much doubt that my friend Bill Dawson would today be the chairman of a House committee."

Each year various liberals suggest schemes to replace "The System" as the method of selecting committee chairmen. Ex-Senators Lehman, Humphrey and Douglas, and their colleagues, have repeatedly attempted to substitute almost anything for the present system of advancement through longevity.

In recent years the campaign has been intensified by "reformers" both in and out of Congress. Professor James MacGregor Burns is the foremost academician with blueprints for leveling "obstructionist" legislative hurdles. Senator Joseph Clark (*The Sapless Branch*) and Rep. Richard Bolling (*House Out of Order*) head the congressional opponents of the system.

Our purpose here is to examine the merits of the seniority system in the hope that its remarkable assets will be more fully recognized. According to Dr. George Galloway, House historian, seniority has been entrenched in the Senate for well over a century, but arose in the House only 56 years ago. Liberals have consequently assumed the system to be more tenuous in the House, but almost beyond removal in the Senate, and have concentrated their fire on the lower chamber. The resurgence of a Republican "sentiment" in the House as a result of the 1966 elections has dampened, but not extinguished, their ardor. Seniority is still at the top of the liberals' list.

The seniority system is merely a reflection of the customs and procedures of Congress. "States' rights, local elections, restricted franchise, minority rights, rural over-representation, checks and balances, congressional power, the danger of majority or 'mass' rule, judicial review (at least in the old days), powerful committees, the seniority system, the filibuster—in short, the Madisonian system in all its ramifications—arouse their [conservatives'] support," wrote Professor Burns.

In his "brilliantly wrong book," *Deadlock of Democracy,* written several years before the legendary 89th Congress enacted a flood of welfarist legislation, Burns complained of a deadlock in the political machinery of our national government. Nothing was happening in Washington, he said, and nothing happens out in the country unless something happens in Washington. Something, anything, must be done. The White House would ship bushels of bills to Captiol Hill, but Congress slowly and methodically sifted everything, permitting only a few to become law. This is what the Massachusetts professor called the "deadlock" and he reasoned that it was caused by "obstructionism" in Congress—i.e., committee chairmen, House rules, and off-year elections.

Burns then proposed a tidy scheme to permit the liberals, whom he calls the Presidential Democrats and Presidential Republicans, to seize the two parties. If both parties were liberal, he reasoned, the outcome in Congress would be as delightful (liberal) as the presidential elections which, he said, were always a race between leftward-thinking candidates. In each house, he continued, there would be the Presidential Party (Republicans and Democrats supporting the President's program) and the Congressional Party (Republicans and Democrats who oppose the White House program). The professor is obviously eager to expand the strength of the former and undermine the latter.

"What it takes," he wrote, "is majority support for changes in Congress, determination, parliamentary resourcefulness, and persistence. . . . [S]upported by a Johnson or a Nelson Rockefeller in the White House, the presidential party in Congress should pool its strength with the other presidential party to strengthen both Senate and House."

When the reformers talk of "strengthening" Congress, they do not mean it in the traditional check-and-balance sense of renewing legislative prerogatives vis-a-vis the executive. A "strengthened" Congress is one subservient to the presidency, a Congress composed of liberals; a Congress whose committees are controlled by cooperative people.

Conservative Professor Willmoore Kendall underscores the Machiavellianism of Mr. Burns' proposal for a congressional *coup d'etat*. "Give Mr. Burns and his friends a free hand with our political machinery," he argued in their Pasadena debate, "let them do a little tinkering with it, and everything will come out all right! All of which is to say, Mr. Burns and his friends will then get their way in American politics: the White House program will be adopted and all good things will be added unto us."

It is apparent, on close examination, that the seniority system does govern the "procedures and organization as well as the selection of committee chairmen." "It is perhaps worth remarking," James Burnham wrote, "that this is also true of all other legislative bodies (state and municipal) in the United States, though it is only in connection with Congress that the issue has excited much public debate.

"Unquestionably, as a glance at any session's roster of committee chairmen proves, seniority upsets the plebiscitary relations in favor of age, of social stability in the constituencies, of southern and normally one-party states against more volatile regions, and of farming or small town districts against the big cities."

And it is through these key districts, these safe seats, that those congressmen establish their tenure and accumulate years of service and knowledge—an internship that frequently transforms freshmen into seniors, novices into experts, and congressmen into statesmen.

However, the facts do not altogether mesh with the myth that nearly all committee chairmen are conservative southern Democrats who hail from backward rural areas and seldom vote with their own party.

For example, of the twenty House standing committee chairmen in the 90th Congress only three have an Americans for Constitutional Action rating above 60%; Colmer, 80%; Burleson, 74%; and McMillan, 65%. Thirteen out of the 20 have an ACA rating of 30% or less. Americans for Democratic Action scores correspond inversely to these percentages. Committee chairmanships have hardly been usurped by conservatives.

Of the 20 standing committee chairmen, 6 come from the south, 5 from the north, 2 from border states, 2 from the west, and 5 from the southwest.

New York Times commentator Arthur Krock, writing in the Jan. 22 *Sunday Times Magazine*, vigorously defended the seniority system after a lifetime of observing it in action. Some of his observations, however, are not totally accurate. Rather, he seemed to reinforce the myth that committee chairmen almost overwhelmingly belong to a rural America of yesterday. A close look at the facts suggests that those who have arrived at this conclusion are in error.

Nine House committee chairmen can definitely be placed in the rural column: Mills, Teague, Willis, Colmer, Staggers, Aspinall, Burleson, McMillan and Rivers. However, 7 chairmen are solidly in the urban column: Miller, Fallon, Dulski, Garmatz, Celler, Dawson, and Morgan. More important, though, 4 of these standing committee chairmen come from what can accurately be described as semiurban areas which have through the years felt the impact of industrial expansion and the influx of large numbers of people. For instance, Rep. George H. Mahon (Appropriations) comes from Lubbock, Texas, with a population of over 181,000, and can hardly be called a rural congressman. Rep. W. R. Poage of Waco, Texas, comes from a rapidly expanding district. Waco's population exceeds 170,000. Another Texas chairman, Wright Patman, from industrially expanding Texarkana (pop. 99,000) obviously fails to qualify in the rural column. Rep. Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky has several rapidly growing metropolitan areas in his once-lethargic district. The point is, that population and industrial growth are rapidly urbanizing a number of rural districts. Thus only nine of twenty chairmen can be described as rurally-oriented, and some of these districts are changing rapidly.

The record of party support among House committee chairmen is, surprisingly, quite good. The notion that they are renegade mavericks who constantly bolt their party leadership is just so much mythology. Fully half of the standing committee chairmen of the present Congress supported their party during the 89th Congress more than 75% of the time. Of the remaining ten chairmen, four supported their party leadership more than 50% of the time. The remaining six supported their party an average of 27% of the time. All these statistics simply do not support the theory that seniority is a major factor in congressional resistance to White House proposals.

Committee chairmen wield considerable authority over the affairs of their committees and the subcommittees beneath them. But in most cases they are not the iron-fisted despots portrayed by various pundits and political scientists. They direct committee affairs in much the manner that executives in any complex organization oversee operations.

But just what is it that gives chairmen their power? Let's run down the list. They arrange the agenda; appoint subcommittees; designate chairmen; refer legislative matters to the subcommittees; decide when the committee is to meet; whether or not to hold hearing; approve the list of witnesses; hire the staff; decide what and when to investigate; manage legislation on the floor; decide when the committee is to vote; open and close committee debate; and decide whether hearings will be open or executive. They can, if they wish, pigeonhole legislation or speed up action on it, or amend it substantially with assistance from committee colleagues.

It is argued that these are extraordinary powers, inconsistent with modern democracy and efficiency. But this argument ignores the broad spectrum of checks on the chairman's power. A simple majority vote by the House can bring to the floor any bill being stalled in committee. A simple procedure known as Calendar Wednesday can also pry loose a bill from a reluctant committee chairman. And in almost every instance the Speaker (now that the 21-day rule has been repealed) can request the chairman to report a bill from committee. Several other maneuvers are also available. Often the chairman himself establishes clear rules of procedure and scheduling to protect the committee from arbitrary rules and dilatory maneuvers.

Seniority is not a rigid system that invariably elevates long-term incompetents to authority. It can at times be extremely flexible, often resolving problems and tie-ups with amazing speed and smoothness. No one was surprised, for instance, when the late Sen. Theodore Green (D-R.I.) relinquished his chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1959 even though he continued as that committee's highest ranking member. He was eminently qualified, but because of age he was no longer able to handle the enormous workload of committee business. The younger Mr. Fulbright automatically took command. There have been several instances where congressmen have switched committee positions to enable each man to work in a field in which he had greater competence and interest.

Often the House has carefully circumvented seniority to patch a break in the congressional machinery without disrupting the system itself. R. Ewing Thomason, who later became a federal judge in Texas, was the actual chairman during the early postwar period of the now-defunct House Committee on Military Affairs. The Chairman by seniority, however, was Andrew May of Kentucky, who later got into trouble with the government over influence peddling. The entire House knew about Thomason's *de facto* control of the committee, but not a word was uttered about it outside the caucus rooms. The seniority ranking, on the surface, was left untouched.

The removal of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell from his chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee is still another example of the power to override the system and punish members who flout House standards. The Powell case provides a modern example of the flexibility with which Congress operates.

Though the House and Senate have been reluctant to weaken the prerogatives of seniority, they have at times sternly punished those who have misused the system. Only a few years ago a liberal faction of the Democratic Party successfully purged Rep. Albert Watson (S.C.) and John Bell Williams (Miss.) of their seniority for supporting the candidacy of Barry M. Goldwater in 1964. During the 69th Congress, in 1925, Wisconsin Republicans John M. Nelson and Florian Lampert were purged of their seniority after campaigning as La Follette Progressives in the 1924 elections. Both were committee chairmen, and they and the entire Wisconsin delegation were quickly dropped to the bottom of the seniority ladder of their party.

Still earlier, Rep. John Randolph of Virginia lost his chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee in 1807 for what was described as "eccentric and arbitrary behavior." He apparently didn't learn his lesson, for several years later he was bodily evicted from the chamber by Speaker Henry Clay for bringing a pair of hunting dogs onto the House floor.

The point is, the orderly workings of the seniority system have not coerced the members into becoming its servants. Rather, the system's uniqueness is that it serves its members well, year in and year out.

Heinz Evlau, writing for the American Enterprise Institute, argues that "as a legislator comes to specialize, he tends to become an expert in his area of specialization. But this in turn presupposes that he has sufficient opportunity to become familiar with the often highly technical aspects of modern legislation. This he cannot do if his committee tenure is of short duration. From this vantage point at least, there is much to be said for retaining seniority as a criterion in guiding committee assignments."

Few defenders of the existing system argue that it is always beneficial. "There is rarely a time," writes William S. White, "when some dunderhead is not at the head of some committee by the mere inexorable workings of seniority." This, however, proves to be the exception in both chambers, where scores of committees and 535 men and women figure in a complicated hierarchical system. It is also true that on many committees legislators of extraordinary talent and wisdom are influential, even though they have achieved no specific hierarchical status.

Other ways have been suggested of selecting committee chairmen, but, as White observes, none of them is a viable alternative to seniority. The most frequently suggested reform—that committee members should elect their own chairmen—would plunge the system into a three-ring circus of logrolling and vote-trading: You give me a vote here and I will give you a vote on that bill of yours. Such infighting "would produce a lobbying chaos . . . in which 'outside' pressures, not all of the necessarily beneficent and forward-looking and disinterested, could simply tear the place apart."

"Nor could there possibly be any objective standard upon which objective men could rely," White adds.

When members are repeatedly returned to

their seats they begin to feel the fruits of seniority and their objections to it gradually lessen. Most members have more faith in committee chairmen than the reformers do—a conviction that these senior members know best how to run Congress.

Seniority survives because none of the proposed alternatives seems as likely to serve as well in selecting the right men. White points out that Congress "is no more able—even if it were willing, as it is not now and never will be—to repeal the claims of seniority than any human enterprise is able to repeal the claims of the synonyms of seniority: experience, capacity, earned prestige, personal influence through personal power."

Seniority is essentially the strength of Congress. It ensures that the personal power and prestige of the men who run the committees shall not fall aimlessly into inexperienced hands, into the laps of wild-eyed reformers eager to manufacture a new set of social reforms, or aid the progressive erosion of congressional power by becoming the adjutors of the "presidential party." And, too, seniority enhances the quality of legislation by requiring that congressional leaders absorb a long series of lessons about laws, men, and justice. And it further requires that such individuals merit the support and earn the approval of their constituents.

"What the defenders of the seniority rule are really saying," Burns admits, "is that given our present congressional party system, a seniority rule is inevitable. And in this they are correct. By the same token, an end of the rule depends on the end of the system."

To this William White replies that "any reform of the kind proposed by Burns and by a good many others would within five years of its acceptance be no reform at all. The realities of legislative life . . . will not accommodate themselves to theoretical designs resting upon such splendid abstractions as 'progressive . . . forward-looking'—designs formed far from the scene of daily action."

But the point is that the reformers are slowly gaining ground. Those who favor essentially the present system must gird themselves for a lengthy siege.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES TO COMMERCIAL BANKS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point an interesting series of correspondence which I have had with a commercial banker on the subject of free services provided by commercial banks to the Government. Too often it is overlooked that banks are the ones who enjoy a bonanza at the expense of the American taxpayer, particularly with respect to the $2.5 billion of interest-free funds that banks hold in their Treasury tax and loan accounts, and I have urged for many years that this free ride be ended.

As I pointed out in my letter to Mr. Smith, member banks of the Federal Reserve System are examined free of charge. Commercial banks can build up a bad debt reserve of 2.4 percent of outstanding loans. Since 1956 this has enabled the commercial banks to write off about $2,442 million more against loan income than actual loan losses that amounted to $1,563 million. As you can see, this is quite a tax subsidy. Commercial banks during 1965 had net losses on loans of about $324 million but they wrote off roughly $781 million from taxable income. That writeoff reduced their Federal income taxes by more than $203 million in only 1 year; that is about 26 percent on $781 million. Of course, other businesses pay a rate of about 50 percent and some of your biggest banks pay on a rate as low as 14 or 15 percent. The prestigious Mellon National Bank & Trust Co.'s rate was less than 19 percent in 1966.

The common trust fund in a commercial bank's trust department is completely tax exempt, another huge subsidy that commercial banks enjoy. And, of course, interest paid on time deposits are tax free and the tax-exempt municipal bonds, of which commercial banks hold a huge bulk, are not taxable. Banks also enjoy long-term capital gains on securities at the favorable rate of 25 percent. Losses on securities are used to offset ordinary income which would otherwise be taxable at the 48-percent corporate income tax rate.

The greatest gift to the commercial banking industry by the Government is their ability to create money on the credit of the Federal Government free of all charge by the fractional reserve system. The interest charged on loans which result from the fractional reserve privilege is also part of a commercial bank's profit.

Mr. L. D. Smith, of the Marine Bank & Trust Co., of Tampa, Fla., has outlined his case in the following letter to which my letter of April 10 responds:

MARINE BANK & TRUST CO.,
Tampa, Fla., April 4, 1967.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Banking and Currency Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: Your reply of March 20 to my letter of March 14, 1967 is interesting but hardly reassuring.

You ask me to be specific, in extension of comments in my earlier letter referring somewhat critically to some of your positions and actions which have been held to be less statesmanlike than might have been expected from one with your long experience and rank in Congress.

I shall be specific, at this time, on only one subject.

From time to time, you have undertaken to have the Treasury Department require the payment of interest by banks on Treasury Tax and Loan deposits.

I feel, strongly that you are unaware of, or, perhaps, are not making due allowance for, the fact that the commercial banks render invaluable, extensive, continuous, and skilled service to the public and to the Treasury, the cost of which to the government, if paid for commensurably with going rates for professional service of such a high order, would be shocking to those now obtaining such service practically free. It would be surprising, to you probably, if it could be arrived at.

The number, extent, variety and exacting nature of such services is little understood or adequately appreciated, even by the Treasury Department, in my opinion.

I refer, particularly, to the services rendered to the Treasury Department in issuing, redeeming, and obtaining the reissuance of U.S. Savings bonds for the holders.

The only direct and tangible compensation banks receive for this continuous and exacting service is the small fee they are paid for *redeeming* (over the counter) savings bonds, Series E, and whatever small profit can be earned from their Treasury Tax and Loan accounts. These balances have to be secured with collateral, they are demand deposits, and are withdrawn at the Treasury's pleasure (which means that they are usually left for rather short periods). This seems to be especially true these days, in view of the heavy calls on the Treasury, due to the war effort and constantly expanding government on all other fronts. It also seems to me that the tempo of withdrawals very probably has been increased, either intentionally or unconsciously since you uttered your more recent criticisms and charges that the banks are being unduly enriched at the public's expense thru Tax and Loan deposits.

There is a basic law that banks may not pay interest on demand deposits, which you should bear in mind. Furthermore, the banks have the duty and responsibility of collecting the taxes and proceeds from the sale of government securities, and accounting for them according to rigid rules. This involves much service.

The service extended, in advising with existing and potential holders of government securities, particularly savings bonds, is surprising and its extent is largely unknown to any except those directly involved in dealing with the public. Redemptions, except the simplest, have to be forwarded to a Fiscal Agent, or to Chicago or to the Treasury, which involves considerable work and expense. Usually, there is delay, at which the bondholder fumes.

The unusual and varied nature of many of these transactions requires that someone with long experience handle them. This means considerable expense to the bank. No two transactions seem to be alike, and it is amazing how involved and troublesome some of them are.

Recently, it has occurred to me that I have been handling such matters ever since the first Liberty Loan bonds were issued, about the time of World War I, and I do not recall that the two banks with which I have been connected during all that time have ever received more than very scant thanks, nor can I recall that I, personally, have ever received the first word of thanks from anyone connected with the government. Of course, I expected none, wanting only to serve the government, too much of the time because it was at war, declared or otherwise, and to serve the public because somehow, the public looks to the banks (as the banks would have it) for financial guidance and assistance.

It does seem, however, that the banks might be compensated better, rather than worse, and that at least some sparse words of thanks might be in order now and then.

Yours very truly,
L. D. SMITH.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
Washington, D.C., April 10, 1967.

Mr. L. D. SMITH,
Marine Bank & Trust Co.,
Tampa, Fla.

DEAR MR. SMITH: Thank you for your letter of April 4 concerning the free use by commercial banks of public funds. I fully agree that commercial banks should be compensated for any and all services to the public. I further believe that interest should be paid on the approximately $5 billion annual average balance in the Treasury Tax and Loan accounts.

I should also remind you that the Marine Bank & Trust Company is examined by the Federal Reserve System free of charge to you. Also, the annual additions to your bad debt reserve of 2.4 percent are roughly 15 or 16 times the industry's actual loss experience. The difference represents a huge tax subsidy. Furthermore, your common trust fund in your trust department, if you have one, is completely tax-exempt. Also, you can deduct the interest paid on time deposits and buy tax-exempt municipal bonds. Also, your long-term gains on securities are taxed at the favorable 25 percent rate, while any losses may be used to off-set ordinary income otherwise taxable at the 48 percent rate—another instance of tax favoritism toward banks.

Furthermore, you are permitted to create money on the credit of the government free of charge, by the fractional reserve privilege, and keep for yourself all the interest charged consumers, small businessmen, and other borrowers.

In conclusion, it would seem to me that any alleged subsidy the banking industry gives to the government is far outweighed bv the subsidy the banking industry receives from the government as indicated above.

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman.

TEXAS SCHOOL OFFICIAL BLAMES COLLEGES FOR SLOWDOWN IN STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that the guaranteed student loan program, authorized by the Higher Education Act of 1965, has not been as successful as had been anticipated.

One of the reasons I have suggested for the slowdown is that commercial banks have been slow to go into this program. In recent weeks, the American Bankers Association has made it clear that it is demanding a $35 fee from the Government for each loan made before it will put its mark of stamp of approval.

Mr. L. E. Boze, assistant superintendent of the Grand Prairie Public Schools, has suggested a supplemental reason for the lag in college loans. While pointing out that the Grand Prairie State Bank has been extremely cooperative in making student loans, Mr. Boze suggests that the trouble lies with the colleges and universities. In a letter to me, Mr. Boze wrote:

> They (the colleges and universities) simply will not tell the students, public school people, (counselors and principals) the availability of such loans. We have found it next to impossible to even find that such a loan is possible for a college student to obtain.

I am including in my remarks a copy of Mr. Boze's letter so that when hearings on the student guarantee loan program are resumed by the House Education and Labor Committee, members will have the opportunity to consider Mr. Boze's feelings:

GRAND PRAIRIE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Grand Prairie, Tex., September 20, 1967.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: I read with interest an article in the Dallas Morning News concerning, "United Student Aid Funds, Inc.". I am sure through the publication of this article more students, parents, administrators and counselors are better informed about this project. I think your remarks have merit, and may encourage more banks to make these funds available to college students. I would like to thank you for this.

I thought you would like to know that the Grand Prairie State Bank has made such loans available to our students. Mr. Durwood Sutton, President, has taken a personal interest in making these loans. I might suggest that if more bankers were better informed and that these forms be simplified to the extent that it would not be so difficult for the banks to meet the requirements to make these loans, it would help. Mr. Sutton, personally, spent many hours in studying these forms and requirements. He made several telephone calls to the numerous colleges and universities as well as to the fund headquarters in New York, in order to get all the information needed to complete the applications. It was most difficult to get all information necessary from the colleges and universities.

I feel the trouble lies with the colleges and universities, rather than the banks. They simply will not tell the students, public school people, (counselors and principals) the availability of such loans. We have found it next to impossible to even find that such a loan is possible for a college student to obtain.

If you could help us with the colleges and universities in getting this information to all public schools, it would be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

L. E. BOZE,
Assistant Superintendent.

GRAND JURORS CHARGE CURBS IN CRIME FIGHT

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a grateful feeling toward the recently adjourned grand jury for the District of Columbia that I read into the RECORD a news item from the Washington Post of September 28, 1967. It is on the third page of section B, but deserved a place on the front page of the first section.

It refers to the unanimous action of the grand jurors in writing a letter which should lay at rest the idea in the minds of some, if not most of officialdom, that the Negro population does not want the laws enforced. The composition of this grand jury was predominantly Negro, and its members unanimously soundly condemned the handcuffing of law enforcement in the District of Columbia. I commend them for their courageous action.

The article referred to follows:

GRAND JURORS CHARGE CURBS IN CRIME FIGHT

The outgoing Grand Jury No. 1 for the District of Columbia, in an unprecedented move, yesterday sent a letter to the editor of The Washington Post strongly attacking what it called the limitations imposed upon police, prosecutors and judges in their fight against crime.

The letter was signed by 19 of the 23 members of the jury with a notation that the remaining four, although unable to be present at its composition, gave their approval to its contents.

It stated in part that "we feel the pendulum has swung too far. After two months of duty we find ourselves amazed and shocked at the exaggerated consideration given those who roam our streets indulging themselves in acts of the most outrageous nature."

"If you happen to murder someone in the near future, feel free to confess to one or a hundred people. Unless you are informed of your rights in the most precise terminology, the odds are that the judiciary branch will see to your freedom."

Officials of the U.S. Attorney's office said that the letter had been drafted and sent without their knowledge or consent.

Strictly speaking, a grand jury is prohibited from taking such an action. Each juror is under oath not to discuss any phase of his activities or cases he hears inside the grand jury room.

The jury was dismissed Monday after sitting five days a week for eight weeks. It was predominantly Negro in composition.

A BILLION DOLLARS

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's insurance industry has demonstrated its confidence in the efficacy of the rent supplemental program. Most of the initial portions of the $1 billion they have pledged to invest in rebuilding slum areas is slated to go into housing for tenants eligible to receive rent supplements. Surely, Congress will not turn its back on this industrywide project and the Nation's poor by rejecting funds to continue the recent supplement program.

As the Baltimore Sun noted in a recent editorial, the $1 billion will provide as many as 80,000 dwelling units. However, urban renewal and highway construction alone destroy more units than this each year. We need closer to 2 million new housing units per year, most of them for low-income families. The insurance industry has taken a promising first step. Congress must join in the battle too.

Under unanimous consent I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

A BILLION DOLLARS

Life insurance companies plan to invest $1 billion in housing mortgages in city slums. This will be a good start, but more will be needed. A billion dollars will provide maybe 80,000 dwelling units. Urban renewal and highway building destroy more units than that each year. A building association official says there is a need for two million new dwelling units a year, much of it for the poor, but there has never been a two million-unit year. This year only 1.2 million units will be built.

According to the 1960 census there were 10.6 million units of substandard housing, 4.3 million in urban places. The percentage of substandard housing in most cities had decreased by 1965, but that is for the city or metropolitan area as a whole. In the slums, if Watts is typical, the situation is worse than in 1960: dilapidated units up from 3 to 5 per cent in five years, deteriorating units up from 12 to 28 per cent, according to a special census.

The insurance companies, and the Johnson Administration, are to be applauded for the new plan. Money is the catalyst slums need. Private money is desperately needed. There could never be enough Government money. David Rockefeller estimates the need at five private dollars for every one public dollar. The importance of the insurance companies' announcement is that it signifies faith that money can be profitably put to use in areas increasingly shunned by big investors. If the experiment works, other giant financial institutions could be expected to follow.

SUPPORT FOR S. 780

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to draw the attention of the Members to the fact that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has recently concluded hearings on air pollution control legislation and has reported a bill on this subject to the House, S. 780.

The public has—rightly so, in my opinion—become increasingly concerned about the steady deterioration of the quality of our atmosphere. The President gave voice to these feelings in his message to the Congress last January 30 when he said:

> This situation does not exist because it was inevitable, nor because it cannot be controlled. Air pollution is the inevitable consequence of neglect. It can be controlled when that neglect is no longer tolerated.

The people of this country are demanding an end to such neglect. The reasons for their attitude are numerous. The most important reason, in my view, is that air pollution is a menace to the health of our citizens in many parts of the Nation. The Surgeon General, Dr. William H. Stewart, in testimony to the committee, detailed some of the adverse medical consequences of breathing polluted air. He pointed out that air pollution is associated with many chronic respiratory diseases; including emphysema, bronchitis, and lung cancer. Air pollution also corrodes and destroys property, limits visibility, and depresses the human spirit.

The legislation reported by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee would provide a basis for bold new efforts to combat this problem. In line with the President's recommendations, it would afford new impetus to joint action by the Federal Government, States, localities, industry, and concerned citizens. Such a concerted attack on the problem is to be welcomed. I am particularly pleased by provisions which would place major responsibility upon the Governors of the States and at the same time expand the support and guidance to be furnished the States by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In my opinion, prompt approval of the new air pollution legislation by the House will be a major step to protect the interests of the American people and I urge all my colleagues to support S. 780.

STRONG MOVES FOR AIR SAFETY

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 21 compliments the Federal Aviation Administration for stiffening air safety rules to hold down chances of fires aboard planes that make crash landings and to speed passenger exit from planes under these circumstances.

The Inquirer notes that this move complements President Johnson's call for a new program of air safety, and his own budget amendment, now before the Senate, for several hundred additional air traffic controllers on the FAA staff.

The Administration should be complimented for such timely action aimed at keeping pace with the unprecedented growth in air travel. By these moves, many lives have been saved.

I insert the Inquirer editorial in the RECORD at this point:

STRONG MOVES FOR AIR SAFETY

Everyone who uses the commercial airlines, or expects to use them, has a personal stake in the move by the Federal Aviation Administration to stiffen air safety rules aimed at reducing fire dangers and to speed up escape from planes forced to make crash landings.

The new regulations, scheduled to take effect between next October 24 and October 1, 1969, seem to be soundly calculated to save lives and reduce injuries, if not entirely eliminate them in many accidents. Clifford W. Walker, FAA's deputy associate administrator, sums up a great deal in pointing out that after years of development, airliners are being built that "will take a real battering" without serious harm to passengers.

Under such circumstances, it is a life-and-death matter to get passengers out of the aircraft "before fire, fumes or something else gets them." A major requirement is that new planes must have enough exits for a full load of passengers to get out in 90 seconds using exits on only one side. Furthermore, it is to be up to the manufacturers rather than the airline to demonstrate this capability. Present regulations put responsibility on the airline, and allow 120 seconds. Other rule changes facilitate this aim.

All of these requirements seem to make sense. They nicely complement President Johnson's call for a new program of air safety and aviation control in keeping with the increases in aviation activity which, this year alone, have been double the anticipated rate. The more stringent requirements will mean little, however, unless matched by adequate air traffic controls, airport safety equipment and safety personnel in the field.

DAY CARE PROGRAM

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday I introduced H.R. 13194, a bill to provide day care for children from low-income families, and for other purposes. This bill would amend title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The language in my bill is the same as that now being considered by the Senate during its debate on proposed amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act. It is important, in my opinion, that this proposal be debated fully in the House as well.

There is no question that improved day care programs, particularly for the children of low-income families, are needed in the United States. As the report of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare points out, one of the few poverty groups that have increased in size in recent years have been families headed by females. An effective day care program could become a real means for such women to achieve self-sufficiency. Following is the section of the Senate committee report on the program:

DAY CARE PROGRAM

A. FINDINGS

Poor families with female heads are one of the few poverty groups which have increased in size during the past 7 years. The number of children living in such families grew from 4 million in 1960 to 4.4 million in 1966. This increase occurred mostly among families with five or more children.

There are two means through which these families can escape poverty. One is through an income-maintenance program—by increasing payments under public assistance or by adopting an alternative program, such as a family allowance or negative income tax. The other is to provide training and employment opportunities so that the mothers are able to support their families, but to do this would require child-care services when the mother is at work.

The income maintenance approach has not been considered by the committee but the latter type of approach is within our current interest because the various training and job-creation programs contained in the committee bill will offer new opportunities to these women.

The committee believes that mothers should have a meaningful choice between adequate income support and employment, including combinations of the two. They should be neither forced to work nor denied the opportunity to gain employment. But if they choose to work, they should be assured that their children will receive proper care.

Throughout the country the committee has heard statements about the insufficiency of day-care programs. This testimony has come from civic leaders, professional social workers, and poor persons who would utilize such services if available. A modest program for Federal assistance for day care is contained in the Social Security Act, and Congress is considering amendments to expand this activity. However, this program is administered solely by Departments of Welfare and is aimed primarily at families which receive public assistance, and therefore excludes hundreds of thousands of poor families which could utilize a day-care program as a means of achieving self-sufficiency."

The committee, therefore, recommends a new day-care program as part B of title V of the Economic Opportunity Act.

B. LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Purpose

The purpose of the program would be to provide day care for children from low-income families or other families residing in urban and rural areas having large concentrations or proportions of low-income persons. This would enable parents or relatives of such children to undertake or continue vocational training, basic education, or gainful employment. It is intended that the program focus primarily on children of those persons who are entering training and advancing to employment and that it should be used to fill the interstices not covered by other day-care programs (sec. 521).

2. Financial Assistance

The bill authorizes the Director to make grants to appropriate public agencies and private organizations for day-care programs, including health, education, social, and other supportive services, and the costs of renovation and alteration of physical facilities, if necessary (sec. 522(a)). Federal assistance may not exceed 90 percent of the cost of such programs. If appropriate, such assistance may be provided in conjunction with or supplementary to other federally aided day-care programs.

3. Participants

Preference should be given to children from poor families or families in poverty areas whose parents or relatives desire to accept employment or to undertake vocational training or basic education under this act or related programs (sec. 522(c)). Where a family is not in the low-income category or through employment rises above the poverty line, that family may be charged part or all of the cost of services received (sec. 522(b)). This is permitted because the committee looks with favor upon a reasonable mixture of income levels and does not feel that a family should be barred from participation when, as a result of work, it is able to rise above the poverty line. Partial payment is allowable because some families cannot afford the full cost since their income will not be very far above the poverty line.

4. Training

An expansion of day care in the United States will require additional trained personnel. To meet this need, the bill requires that training be provided to welfare recipients and other low-income persons so that they can fill the new jobs which are created.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 13194

A bill to provide day care for children from low-income families, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. For the purpose of carrying out programs under this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, the sum of $35,000,000.

DAY CARE PROJECTS

SEC. 2. Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding the following new part at the end thereof:

"PART B—DAY CARE PROJECTS

"STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 521. The purpose of this part is to provide day care for children from low-income families or from urban and rural areas having large concentrations or proportions of low-income persons in order to enable the parents or relatives of such children to choose to undertake or to continue vocational training, basic education, or gainful employment.

"GRANTS FOR DAY CARE PROJECTS

"SEC. 522. (a) The Director is authorized to make grants to appropriate public agencies and private organizations to pay not to exceed 90 per centum of the cost of projects under which children from low-income families or from urban and rural areas with large concentrations or proportions of low-income persons may receive day care. Such day care projects shall provide health, education, social, and such other supportive services as may be needed. Project costs payable under this part may include costs of renovation and alternation of physical facilities. Financial assistance under this section may be provided in conjunction with or to supplement day care projects under the Social Security Act or other relevant statutes.

"(b) The Director may require a family which is not a low-income family to make payment, in whole or in part, for the day care services provided under this program where the family's financial condition is, or becomes through employment or otherwise, such as to make such payment appropriate.

"(c) In carrying out the provisions of this part, the Director shall give preference to projects providing day care for children from low-income families or from urban and rural areas with large concentrations or proportions of low-income persons whose parents or relatives desire to accept employment or to undertake vocational training or basic education under this and other Acts.

"(d) The Director and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall take all necessary steps to coordinate programs under their jurisdictions which provide day care, with a view to establishing, insofar as possible, a common set of program standards and regulations, and mechanisms for coordination at the State and local levels. The Director shall give preference to applicants which show evidence of coordination and cooperation between their projects and other day care programs in the areas which they will serve.

"(e) Each project to which payments are made hereunder shall provide for a thorough evaluation. This evaluation shall be conducted by such agency or independent public or private organization as the Director shall designate, with a view to determining, among other things, the extent to which the day care provided may have increased the employment of parents and relatives of the children served, the extent to which such day care may have reduced the costs of aid and services to such children, the extent to which such children have received health and educational benefits, and the extent to which the project has been coordinated with other day care activities in the area served. Up to 100 per centum of the costs of evaluation may be paid by the Director from funds appropriated for the purposes of carrying out this part. Such evaluations, together with a report on the program described in this part, shall be included in the report required by section 608.

"TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS IN DAY CARE PROJECTS

"SEC. 523. (a) The Director, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall take all necessary steps in the operation of vocational training, work experience, and basic education programs under their jurisdiction to train unemployed or low-income individuals in day care projects under this part.

"(b) In carrying out the provisions of this part, the Director shall give preference to projects in which unemployed or low-income individuals are to be employed including individuals receiving or eligible to receive assistance under the Social Security Act.

"DURATION OF PROGRAMS

"SEC. 524. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this part during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and the two succeeding fiscal years."

(b) The heading of title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE, TRAINING, AND DAY CARE PROGRAMS"

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair lays before the House the following personal requests:

Mr. WHALEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. PRICE of Texas (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. MESKILL (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. NELSEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of illness in his family.

Mr. BURKE of Florida (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. BEVILL (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. TAYLOR (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. HAGAN (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. HENDERSON (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. KORNEGAY (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. LENNON (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. NICHOLS (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to raise an issue, that two of the gentlemen that asked for official leave, to be absent from sessions from the House of Representatives, are among those who have been urging the Speaker to have sessions through Saturday, and to start sessions at 11 o'clock in the morning. I would like to know if this really is official business these two gentlemen are engaged upon, or is it some other kind of mission?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VANIK. I yield to the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I did not hear the full observation or comment of the gentleman from Ohio, but I would only say this: To my knowledge, in my 19 years here, I have never heard anybody on either side of the aisle challenge the good faith of a Member who was seeking leave of absence on account of official business.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I have reserved the right to object. I was wondering if the distinguished minority leader might be able to clear up the question I raised about these gentlemen, who are among those who are very much responsible for our being here on a bill which we could have finished yesterday. They asked for sessions on Friday and Saturday, and they are not here today, and now they have asked for official leave of absence. I think this is a perfectly bona fide request, and I would like to know, I would like to be assured they are truly involved in something that relates to the business of the House of Representatives.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, let me repeat a little differently what I said a moment ago: We have never challenged the veracity of a Member who asked for a leave of absence or the basis on which a Member asked for leave of absence based on the signature of the leader. We do not intend to in the future. We have to do a great deal of business in this Chamber based on faith and trust in one another. I assume when a Member on this side of the aisle asks for a leave of absence on account of official business, that it is for a legitimate purpose. I do not know in this particular case the precise details, but I would suggest the gentleman make his inquiry to the Chair and not to me.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VANIK. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I think it would be fair to assume the two gentlemen in question are on official business and that the letter they sent was a little pleasant demagoguery which did not add too much to anything.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw my opposition, but I think the point has been made. I certainly appreciate the position of the majority leader and the minority leader when they submit these requests on behalf of Members. I think the 28 signers of the letter complaining about slowness of business in the House of Representatives have, in effect, questioned the actions of the entire House of Representatives. I think, insofar as they have done this, and tried to discipline the entire House, they themselves are subject to question in their motives and in their own attendance records in the House.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The several personal requests were agreed to.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. McCormack (at the request of Mr. McFall) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Findley.

Mr. Miller of California.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Brinkley) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Pickle.

Mr. Rogers of Florida.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, October 2, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1112. A letter from the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting copies of reports of every institution, organization, corporation or association other than the United States Government, government of the District of Columbia, and foreign governments, owning property exempt under provisions of the act defining the real property exempt from taxation in the District of Columbia, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 77–846; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1113. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of receipt of project proposals, pursuant to the provisions of section 10 of the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1114. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a report on a certain case involving suspension of deportation, pursuant to the provisions of section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1115. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of the Interior, transmitting a report of receipts and expenditures for fiscal year 1967, pursuant to the provisions of 43 U.S.C. 1331, et seq.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1116. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated August 11, 1967, submitting a report together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a survey of Point Roberts, Wash., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved July 14, 1960; to the Committee on Public Works.

1117. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated August 25, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of the report on Calcasieu River and Pass, La., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted May 29, 1962; to the Committee on Public Works.

1118. A letter from the Acting Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958, as amended; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABERNETHY:

H.R. 13237. A bill to amend title 46, section 1159, to provide for construction aid for certain vessels operating on the inland rivers and waterways; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 13238. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 13239. A bill to amend section 4063 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUCHANAN:

H.R. 13240. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 13241. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize certain grants for rehabilitation of the lakes of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 13242. A bill to amend title I of the National Housing Act to provide insurance thereunder of loans made for the purchase of dwelling units in cooperative housing projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 13243. A bill to amend title I of the Housing Act of 1949 to require that any rental or cooperative housing constructed in the redevelopment of an urban renewal area shall be designed for low- and middle-income groups; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 13244. A bill to amend section 213 of the National Housing Act to provide that mortgages covering middle-income consumer cooperative housing projects may be insured thereunder up to the full amount of the replacement cost of such projects; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 13245. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to unremarried widows and widowers, and certain single other persons, who maintain their own households; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.R. 13246. A bill to amend sections 902(b) and 902(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to reduce the 50-percent requirement to 25 percent between first and second levels and to include third-level foreign corporations in the tax credit structure if the 25-percent test is met; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. Con. Res. 515. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the elimination of the Castro Communist regime of Cuba; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 13247. A bill for the relief of Aiko Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 13248. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Di Meglio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

Friday, September 29, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. Metcalf).

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Father of our spirits, with a faith that will not shrink though pressed by every foe, we would this day climb the altar steps which lead through darkness up to Thee. For our greatest need is of Thee.

In this day of destiny for us and for the world, make us worthy of our high calling as keepers of the sacred flame.

The arm of flesh is futile. Thine alone, O Lord, is the greatness and the power and the glory and the victory. Thou only art as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. We are humbly grateful that our America still stands with lamp held aloft, a beacon of freedom for all the earth.

As heralds of good will, send us forth across all the barriers of race and creed, to make our contribution to the glad day when justice and understanding shall engirdle this worn and weary earth.

We ask it in the Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 28, 1967, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR FANNIN TO ATTEND INTERNATIONAL LEAD AND ZINC STUDY GROUP AT GENEVA

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, appoints Senator PAUL J. FANNIN to attend the 11th session, International Lead and Zinc Study Group, to be held at Geneva, Switzerland, on October 6, 1967.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that on today, September 29, 1967, he signed the enrolled bill (H.R. 13026) to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 478) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 478) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT COVERING MILITARY CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS AWARDED WITHOUT FORMAL ADVERTISING

A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, the semiannual report of the Department's contracts for military construction awarded without formal advertising, covering the period January 1 through June 30, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES PURSUANT TO REQUIREMENTS OF OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF LANDS ACT OF 1953

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of the Interior, reporting, pursuant to law, the receipts and expenditures of the Department in connection with the administration of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT ON OPERATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE BONDING OF GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on operations in connection with the bonding of Government officers and employees, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF EURATOM COOPERATION ACT OF 1958, AS AMENDED

A letter from the Acting Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958, as amended (with accompanying papers); to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. J. Res. 109. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center (Rept. No. 575); which was considered and passed.

By Mr. LAUSCHE, from the Committee on Commerce, without amendment:

S. 1314. A bill to amend section 303(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act to modernize certain restrictions upon the application and scope of the exemption provided therein (Rept. No. 576).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, as in executive session, I report from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 192 postmaster nominations, which I ask may be placed in the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. YARBOROUGH (for himself and Mr. MORSE):

S. 2485. A bill to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to improve its benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. YARBOROUGH when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. DIRKSEN (for himself, Mr. MILLER, Mr. PROXMIRE, and Mr. NELSON):

S. 2486. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to adjust the amount of undistributed foreign personal holding company income included in the gross income of certain domestic corporations; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. DIRKSEN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HARTKE:

S. 2487. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service of the Post Office Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTION

ESTABLISHMENT OF REASONABLE RULES OF CONDUCT GOVERNING ACTIVITIES BY EACH NATION UNDER THE EXTRATERRITORIAL WATERS

Mr. PELL submitted a resolution (S. Res. 172) to express the sense of the Senate concerning the need for the establishment of reasonable rules of conduct governing activities by each nation under the extraterritorial waters, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. PELL, which appears under a separate heading.)

LONGSHOREMEN'S AND HARBOR WORKERS' COMPENSATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], I send to the desk for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, known as the amendments of 1967. This legislation is long overdue.

The proposed legislation which I am introducing today, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], proposes major improvements in the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. The Longshoremen's Act, as it is commonly known, provides workmen's compensation benefits for certain private employments subject to Federal jurisdiction—primarily longshoremen and ship repairmen while on board a vessel on navigable waters of the United States. The law has also been extended to other employment, including private employment in the District of Columbia, and employment outside the United States in the service of contractors with the United States at military, air, or naval bases.

Improvements in this basic statute are long overdue. Under our proposal—

The maximum weekly compensation for total disability is increased from $70 to $105 and the minimum weekly compensation for total disability from $18 to $35.

Where there are dependents the bill will augment the compensation and survivorship benefits by 8⅓ percent up to the maximum dollar amount. It will also authorize the continuation of benefits for educational purposes for certain dependents.

Employment of handicapped workers will be encouraged by clarifying the limitation upon the liability of their employers in cases of injuries which, added to previous impairments, result in total disability or death.

Payment of compensation will be permitted without a waiting period when the disability exceeds 21 days rather than the 28 days presently required.

Benefits will be extended to cases of disfigurement of the neck and other normally exposed areas of the body.

Mr. President, it is the purpose of this legislation to bring the Longshore Act benefits more in line with present wages and living costs and to modernize its provisions in other respects. We have an obligation to the men engaged in maritime employment on the navigable waters of the United States, and to the other workers who are covered by this workmen's compensation statute. Only recently—in 1966—the Congress provided needed improvements in the workmen's compensation statute for Federal employees—the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. It is now not only appropriate, but essential, that we turn our attention to the other area of Federal jurisdiction.

Specifically, the proposed amendments will—

First. Increase the maximum weekly benefit from $70 to $105.

Second. Increase the minimum weekly benefit from $18 to $35.

Third. Augment compensation by 8⅓ percent where there are one or more dependents.

Fourth. Extend augmented compensation on behalf of certain dependents while they are in student status from 18 years to 23 years.

Fifth. Extend the time for giving notice of injury and filing claim with respect to latent disability.

Sixth. Limit liability of employers in cases of subsequent injuries to employees with preexisting physical impairments.

Seventh. Provide for further financing of special funds by first, increased payments from $1,000 to $5,000 from employers in fatal cases where there are no survivors, and, second, assessments upon insurance carriers prorated on basis of premiums collected from risks during past year and upon self-insurers on basis of premiums they would have paid if they carried insurance.

Eighth. Provide for financing of administrative expense fund by assessments upon insurance carriers prorated on basis of premiums collected from risks during past year and upon self-insurers based on premiums they would have paid if they carried insurance.

Ninth. Provide for financing of safety program expense fund by assessments upon insurance carriers prorated on basis of compensation payments made on risks covered by such carrier during past year or, if carrier made no payments, on basis of the experience of similar carriers during such year.

Mr. President, we all know that the longshore employment can be extremely hazardous. In 1966 alone, there were over 128,000 injuries reported under the Longshore Act. And this total has been increasing steadily since 1962, when there were slightly more than 89,000 reported injuries.

To deny our longshore workers and other workers covered by this important law adequate compensation protection is unthinkable. I know I speak for the majority of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle when I say we will enact the needed improvements in this law.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the statement of explanation of the bill and the section-by-section analysis prepared by the Department of Labor, as well as the bill itself, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, explanation, and analysis will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 2485) to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to improve its benefits, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. YARBOROUGH (for himself and Mr. MORSE) was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2485

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act Amendments of 1967".

TIME FOR COMMENCEMENT OF COMPENSATION

SEC. 2. Section 6(a) of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act (44 Stat. 1424, as amended) is amended by striking "more than twenty-eight days" and substituting "more than twenty-one days."

INCREASES IN MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM LIMITS OF DISABILITY COMPENSATION AND ALLOWANCE

SEC. 3. (a) Section 6(b) of such Act is amended by striking "$70" and substituting "$105," and by striking "$18," wherever it appears, and substituting "$35."

(b) Section 14 of such Act is amended by striking subsection (m).

COST OF RE-EXAMINATION

SEC. 4. The last sentence of section 7(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"The deputy commissioner may charge the cost of such examination to the carrier or self-insurer."

DISFIGUREMENTS

SEC. 5. Section 8(c) (20) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"Disfigurement: Proper and equitable compensation not to exceed $3,500, shall be awarded for serious disfigurement: (1) of the face, head, or neck; or (2) of other normally exposed areas likely to handicap the employee in securing or maintaining employment."

COMPENSATION AT END OF SCHEDULED AWARD

SEC. 6. Section 8(c) of such Act is further amended by adding a new paragraph (23) to read as follows:

"(23) With respect to any period after payments under paragraph (c) (1) through (c) (20) have terminated, compensation shall be paid as provided in subsections (a) and (b) of this section if the disability is total, or, if the disability is partial, two-thirds of the difference between the injured employee's average weekly wages before the injury and his wage-earning capacity after the injury in the same or other employment."

INJURY FOLLOWING PREVIOUS IMPAIRMENT

SEC. 7(a). Section 8(f) (1) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"In any case in which an employee having an existing permanent physical impairment suffers injury, the employer shall provide compensation for such disability as is found to be attributable to that injury based upon the average weekly wages of the employee at the time of the injury. If following an injury falling within the provisions of section 8(c) (1)-(20), the employee is totally and permanently disabled, and the disability is found not to be due solely to that injury, the employer shall provide compensation for the applicable prescribed period of weeks provided for in that section, or for 104 weeks, whichever is the greater. In all other cases of total permanent disability or of death, found not to be due solely to that injury, of an employee having an existing permanent physical impairment, the employer shall provide, in addition to compensation under paragraphs (b) and (c) of this section, compensation payments or death benefits for 104 weeks only. After cessation of the payments for the period of weeks provided for herein, the employee or his survivor entitled to benefits shall be paid the remainder of the compensation that would be due for permanent total disability or for death out of the special fund established in section 44."

(b) Section 8(f) of such Act is further amended by striking paragraph (2).

AUGMENTED COMPENSATION FOR DEPENDENTS AND STUDENT BENEFITS

SEC. 8. (a) Section 8 of such Act is amended by adding a new subsection (j) to read as follows:

"(j) While the disabled employee has one or more dependents, his weekly basic compensation for disability payable under subsections (a), (b), or (c) (1) through (19), (22) and (23) of this section shall be augmented at the rate of 8⅓ per centum of his average weekly wages, and his basic compensation for disability payable under subparagraph (c) (21) of this section shall be augmented at the rate of 8⅓ per centum of the difference between his weekly pay and his weekly wage-earning capacity. As used in this subsection (j), the term 'dependent' shall mean any of the following:

"(1) A wife, if she is living with or dependent for support upon the employee.

"(2) A husband, if he is living with and dependent upon the employee for support.

"(3) A child as defined in section 2(14) hereof.

"(4) A parent as defined in section 2(15) hereof."

(b) Section 2 of such Act is amended by redesignating paragraph (19) as paragraph (20) and adding a new paragraph (19) to read as follows:

"(19) The term 'student' means a person regularly pursuing a full-time course of study or training at an institution which is—

"(A) a school or college or university operated or directly supported by the United States, or by any State or local government or political subdivision thereof, or

"(B) a school or college or university which has been accredited by a State or by a State-recognized or nationally recognized accrediting agency or body, or

"(C) a school or college or university not so accredited but whose credits are accepted, on transfer, by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited, or

"(D) an additional type of educational or training institution as defined by the Secretary,

but not after he reaches the age of 23 or has completed four years of education beyond the high school level, except that, where his 23rd birthday occurs during a semester or other enrollment period, he shall continue to be considered a student until the end of such semester or other enrollment period. A child shall not be deemed to have ceased to be a student during any interim between school years if the interim does not exceed five months and if he shows to the satisfaction of the deputy commissioner that he has a bona fide intention of continuing to pursue a full-time course of education or training during the semester or other enrollment period immediately following the interim or during periods of reasonable duration during which, in the judgment of the deputy commissioner, he is prevented by factors beyond his control from pursuing his education. A child shall not be deemed to be a student under this Act during a period of service in the Armed Forces of the United States or while receiving educational or training benefits under any other program authorized by the Congress of the United States."

(c) The last sentence of Section 2(14) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

" 'Child,' 'grandchild,' 'brother,' and 'sister' include only persons who are under eighteen years of age, and also persons who, though eighteen years of age or over, are (1) wholly dependent upon the employee and incapable of self-support by reason of mental or physical disability, or (2) are students as defined in paragraph (19) of this section."

(d) Section 8(d) of such Act is amended by striking the words "under the age of eighteen years" wherever they appear therein.

INCREASE IN DEATH BENEFITS

SEC. 9. (a) Section 9(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) If there be a surviving wife or dependent husband and no child of the deceased to such surviving wife or dependent husband 45 per centum of the average weekly wages of the deceased, during widowhood, or dependent widowerhood, with two years' compensation in one sum upon remarriage; and if there be a surviving child or children of the deceased, 40 per centum of such wages to the surviving wife or dependent husband and the additional amount of 15 per centum of such wages for each child; in the case of the death or remarriage of such surviving wife or dependent husband, if there be one surviving child of the deceased employee, such child shall have his compensation increased to 35 per centum of such wages, and if there be more than one surviving child of the deceased employee, to such children, in equal parts, 35 per centum of such wages increased by 15 per centum of such wages for each child in excess of one: *Provided*, That the total amount payable shall in no case exceed 75 per centum of such wages. The deputy commissioner having jurisdiction over the claim may, in his discretion, require the appointment of a guardian for the purpose of receiving the compensation of a minor child."

(b) Section 9(c) of such Act is amended by striking out "66⅔ per centum" and substituting "75 per centum".

(c) Section 9(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "66⅔ per centum" where it appears and substituting "75 per centum" and by striking out "15 per centum" and substituting "20 per centum".

(d) Section 9(e) of such Act is amended by striking out "$105" and substituting "$140", and by striking out "$27" and substituting "$47".

(e) Section 9(g) of such Act is amended by striking the comma after "may" and the words "at his option or upon the application of the insurance carrier shall" and "one-half of".

DEFENSE BASE ACT DEATH BENEFITS TO ALIEN AND NONNATIONAL SURVIVORS

SEC. 10. Section 2(b) of the Defense Base Act (55 Stat. 622, as amended) is amended by striking the comma after "may" and the words "at his option or upon the application of the insurance carrier shall" and "one-half of."

TIME FOR NOTICE AND CLAIMS

SEC. 11(a). Section 12(a) of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Notice of an injury or death in respect of which compensation is payable under this Act shall be given within thirty days after the date of such injury or death, or thirty days after the employee or beneficiary is aware or in the exercise of reasonable diligence should have been aware of a relationship between the injury or death and the employment. Such notice shall be given (1) to the deputy commissioner in the compensation district in which the injury occurred and (2) to the employer."

(b) Section 13 of such Act is amended by substituting for subsection (a) thereof the following:

"(a) Except as otherwise provided in this section, the right to compensation for disability or death under this Act shall be barred unless a claim therefor is filed within one year after the injury or death. If payment of compensation has been made without an award on account of such injury or death a claim may be filed within one year after the date of the last payment. Such claim shall be filed with the deputy commissioner in the compensation district in which such injury or such death occurred. The time for filing a claim shall not begin to run until the employee or beneficiary is aware, or by the exercise of reasonable diligence should have been aware, of the relationship between the injury or death and the employment."

FEES FOR SERVICES

SEC. 12. Section 28(a) of such Act is amended by adding the following sentence:

"In cases where an award is made or increased after payment under the Act is resisted, a claim for legal services approved by the deputy commissioner or a court shall be added to the compensation award and become a lien upon such award in the amount so fixed."

SPECIAL FUND

SEC. 13(a). Section 8(d) of such Act is amended by adding a new paragraph (6) to read as follows:

"(6) If there be no surviving wife, dependent husband, or child, then to the special fund established under section 44(a) of this Act."

(b) Section 44(c) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) Payments into such fund shall be made as follows:

"(1) Each employer shall pay $5,000 as compensation for the death of an employee of such employer resulting from injury where the deputy commissioner determines that there is no person entitled under this Act to compensation for such death.

"(2) When the amount in the fund at the beginning of the calendar year is less than $300,000, each carrier or self-insurer shall be obligated to make prorated payments into the fund based on the gross premiums collected by the carrier for risks during the preceding fiscal year or the amount of premiums a self-insurer would have had to pay during the preceding fiscal year for compensation insurance. The provisions relating to assessments for administrative expenses under section 45(b), (c), (d), (f), (g) and (h) of this Act shall apply to assessments for the special fund.

"(3) All amounts collected as fines and penalties under the provisions of this Act shall be paid into such fund."

(c) Section 44 is further amended by adding a new subsection (h) as follows:

"(h) The proceeds of this fund shall be available for payments under section 8(f) and (g), under section 18(b), and under section 39(c): *Provided*, That payments authorized by section 8(f) shall have priority over other payments authorized from the fund: *Provided further*, That at the close of each fiscal year the Secretary of Labor shall submit to the Congress a complete audit of the fund."

USER CHARGES—SAFETY PROGRAM

SEC. 14. The Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act is amended by adding thereto a new section 41a which reads as follows:

"SEC. 41a. (a) At the beginning of each fiscal year, the Secretary shall estimate the cost of administering section 41 of this Act. The cost of administration shall include any expense reasonably expected to be incurred during such fiscal year.

"(b) The Secretary shall assess each carrier authorized to provide security for compensation under section 32 of this Act to meet the estimated costs of administering section 41 of this Act. The assessments shall be made in the manner and in the amount provided for in subsections (c), (d), (e), and (f) of this section. All assessments, when collected, shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States in a separate fund.

"(c) The Secretary shall give prompt notice by certified or registered mail to each carrier of its assessment. Each assessment shall be paid upon receipt of such notice and within such time as the Secretary shall prescribe.

"(d) The assessment upon each carrier shall be in the proportion that the total compensation paid on risks covered by this Act by such carrier in the immediately preceding fiscal year bore to the total compensation payments made by all such carriers under this Act in such year.

"(e) The assessment for any carrier who made no compensation payments in the immediately preceding fiscal year shall be the amount of compensation which the carrier would most likely have had to pay in such year upon the basis of the experience of similar carriers in such year and any other relevant facts or circumstances as determined by the Secretary after notice and opportunity to be heard for the carrier involved.

"(f) At the end of each fiscal year the Secretary shall adjust the assessments of each carrier upon the basis of the actual cost of administering section 41 of this Act. Whenever the adjusted assessment exceeds the actual assessment, the Secretary may add the difference to the billing for the succeeding fiscal year, or in his discretion shall provide separate notice and billing for the additional assessment. Whenever the adjusted assessment is less than the actual assessment, the Secretary, at the discretion of the carrier, shall refund the difference, or credit the difference toward the assessment for the succeeding year.

"(g) The Secretary shall have authority to make such regulations as he deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including, but not limited to, provisions for the making and preservation of appropriate records, the inspection of such records, and the submission by carriers of reports prescribed by the Secretary.

"(h) In the event of failure by any carrier to pay the assessments referred to in subsections (c) and (f) of this section, to make and preserve records in the form and manner required by him, or to file a report in the form and manner required by him, or a denial of the right of the Secretary to inspect records required by regulations issued under this section, the Secretary may suspend or revoke the privilege of the carrier to secure compensation payments under this Act.

"(i) The provisions of this section shall be limited by the exceptions contained in subsection (g) of section 41, and shall not apply in the case of any employment for which compensation in case of disability or death is provided for employees of nonappropriated fund instrumentalities under authority of the Act of July 18, 1958 (72 Stat. 397).

"(j) This section shall not be construed to authorize the payment of any funds for expenses under section 41 of this Act which are not appropriated by law."

ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES—USER CHARGES

SEC. 15. Section 45 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 45. (a) At the end of each fiscal year the Secretary shall determine the cost of the administration of this Act in such fiscal year. The cost of administration shall include any expense incurred or accrued during such fiscal year as provided in section 39(a).

"(b) The total cost so determined shall be prorated among the carriers and self-insurers authorized to insure under section 32 of this Act. The assessment basis in respect to an insurance carrier shall be the gross premiums collected by the carrier for risks covered by this Act during the fiscal year. The assessment basis in respect to a self-insurer shall be the amount of premium, as determined by the Secretary, which such self-insurer would have had to pay during the fiscal year if he had accrued his compensation liability under this Act by insurance, such premium to be determined without regard to merit or experience rating.

"(c) The Secretary shall assess each carrier and self-insurer for its pro rata share of the total amount of administrative costs of this Act in the fiscal year as determined under this section, and shall give written notice by certified or registered mail to each carrier or self-insurer of the assessment against it.

"(d) Each assessment shall be paid upon receipt of notice provided for in subsection (c) within such time as the Secretary shall prescribe in regulations made under this section.

"(e) All assessments under this section, when collected, shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States in a separate fund. There is hereby authorized to be made available for expenditure from the fund such amounts as the Congress may deem appropriate for the necessary expenses of the Secretary of Labor for the performance of his functions under the Act, except those specified in subsection (j) of this section.

"(f) The Secretary shall have authority to make such regulations as he deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including, but not limited to, provisions for the making and preservation of appropriate records, the inspection of such records, and the submission by carriers and self-insurers of reports prescribed by the Secretary.

"(g) In the event of failure by any carrier or self-insurer to pay the assessments referred to in subsection (c) of this section, to make and preserve records in the form and manner required by the Secretary, or to file a report in the form and manner required by him, or a denial of the right of the Secretary to inspect records required by regulations issued under this section, the Secretary may suspend or revoke the authorization of a carrier to insure compensation or a self-insurer to act as a self-insurer under this Act.

"(h) The provisions of this section shall apply to extensions of this Act in:

"(1) The Act of May 17, 1928, as amended, entitled 'An Act to provide compensation for disability or death resulting from injury to employees in certain employment in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes' (45 Stat. 600);

"(2) The Defense Base Act, as amended, approved August 16, 1941 (55 Stat. 622);

"(3) Section 4(c) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, approved August 7, 1953 (67 Stat. 462);

"(4) Section 2 of the Act of June 19, 1952, as amended, entitled 'An Act to confirm the status of certain civilian employees of nonappropriated fund instrumentalities under the Armed Forces with respect to laws administered by the Civil Service Commission, and for other purposes' (66 Stat. 139);

and such extensions as may be made from time to time to provide compensation for disability or death resulting from injury occurring to persons engaged in private employment, other than extensions in which it is provided that liability for such compensation will be assumed by the United States Government or its instrumentalities. The Secretary shall treat the administration of extensions to which this section applies as a part of the administration of this Act in computing assessments due.

"(i) The provision of subsection (d) of section 44 of this Act shall be applicable to the fund established under this section.

"(j) This section shall not apply to costs incurred in administering section 41 of the Act, as added by section 1 of the Act of August 23, 1958 (72 Stat. 835)."

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 16. Section 46(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There is authorized to be appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968, the sum of $1,420,000 to be deposited in the separate fund established under section 45 of this Act.

"(b) There is authorized to be appropriated in succeeding years sums which may be necessary to administer this Act including sums with respect to claims for which the Federal Government is liable and sums required whenever sufficient assessments are not collected and made available to the Secretary of Labor as provided by this Act."

REPEAL AND RENUMBERING

SEC. 17. Section 47 of such Act is repealed and sections 48, 49, and 50 are renumbered, 47, 48, and 49 respectively.

TECHNICAL AMENDMENT

SEC. 18. Section 3(a)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out the word "nor" and substituting the word "or".

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 19. The amendments made by sections 14, 15, and 16 of this Act shall become effective July 1, 1968. All other amendments shall become effective six months after the date of enactment.

The explanation of the bill presented by Mr. YARBOROUGH is as follows:

STATEMENT IN EXPLANATION OF THE LONGSHOREMEN'S AND HARBOR WORKERS' COMPENSATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

INTRODUCTION

This bill proposes improvements in the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. It increases the benefits payable under the Act to afford workmen's compensation protection commensurate with the level of wages now earned by covered workers.

The bill seeks to overcome the major deficiency of the Act by increasing the limits of maximum and minimum disability compensation and death benefits. The maximum weekly compensation for total disability will be increased from $70 to $105, and the minimum weekly compensation for total disability will be increased from $18 to $35. The death benefits will be increased correspondingly with the benefits for total disability.

Where there are dependents, the bill will augment the compensation and survivorship benefits by 8⅓ percent up to the maximum dollar amount and will authorize the continuation of benefits for educational purposes in behalf of certain dependents or survivors after the age of 18 up to age 23.

Where there are no survivors in fatal cases, the employer's liability to the special fund established for equitable uses will be increased from $1,000 to $5,000.

The bill provides that the special fund will be financed further by assessments upon the carriers or self-insurers based upon the amount of premiums collected by the carriers or which would have been required by the self-insurers, as will the fund for payment of administrative expenses.

Employment of handicapped workers will be encouraged by clarifying the limitation upon the liability of their employers in cases of injuries to such employees which, added to previous impairments, result in total disability or death. Compensation at the end of employer payments will continue to be authorized from the special fund.

The bill will permit payment of compensation without a waiting period when the disability exceeds 21 days rather than the 28 days presently required and will extend the time for filing notice of injury and claim for compensation in cases of latent conditions arising from injury.

Benefits will be extended to cases of disfigurement of the neck and other normally exposed areas of the body. Compensation for total disability or for loss of wage-earning capacity following schedule awards for permanent partial disability is continued.

The Secretary at his discretion may commute future compensation payments to alien survivors. The deputy commissioner is authorized to order medical reexaminations of employees when necessary and charge the cost to the carrier.

PROVISIONS OF BILL

Increase of Present Maximum and Minimum Compensation and Reduction in Length of Disability Before Elimination of Waiting Period

The existing minimum disability compensation payments of $18 weekly was established in 1956 and the existing maximum payment of $70 weekly was established in 1961. In the interim, the average weekly wage in ship and boat building and repair has increased in excess of 17 percent and the average wage of a longshoreman working a 40-hour week has increased more than 27 percent. The bill increases the minimum compensation payment from $18 to $35 weekly to provide a totally disabled employee with sufficient funds to meet the cost of minimum subsistence. Employees whose wages do not exceed the new minimum will be entitled to their entire wages free of the Act's percentage limitation otherwise applicable. With today's living costs it is evident that employees making less than $35 weekly would not be able to subsist on 75 percent of their earnings.

The Act presently provides that temporary total disability benefits may not exceed $24,000. There are many employees who have disabilities which are considered temporary in nature but which prevent the employees from working over long periods of time. The bill eliminates the present $24,000 limitation upon the amount of compensation an employee may draw and permits him to continue to receive compensation for as long as he is disabled.

Since 1956 the Act has provided that there must be a three-day waiting period unless the disability continues for at least 28 days. The bill reduces to 21 days the period when full compensation is available. This improvement is in line with modern workmen's compensation law trends.

In line with the 1966 amendments to the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the bill also provides that following an award under the schedule set forth in § 8(c)(1)-(20) for permanent partial disability, compensation shall be paid for continuing loss of wage-earning capacity or for total disability.

The Act now provides that notice of injury or death shall be given within 30 days and claim for compensation or death shall be filed within one year after the injury or death. These time limits do not take into consideration the later development of compensable disability from a relatively minor accident, or the development of an illness causally related to the employment. The time for giving notice of injury and filing claim for compensation or death is extended until the employee or the beneficiary is aware, or in the exercise of reasonable diligence should have been aware, of a relationship between the disabling condition or the death and the employment.

The bill also provides that, when payment of compensation under the Act is resisted, fees for legal and other services which have been approved by the deputy commissioner shall be added to the amount of compensation payable and shall be a lien upon that compensation. The amendment shifts the cost of employees' expenses for collecting compensation to the employer or the insurance company when approved by the deputy commissioner.

Increase in dependency and survivorship benefits

The bill increases the compensation to be paid to disabled employees with one or more dependents or to survivors in certain cases from the present 66⅔ percent of the weekly wage rate to 75 percent. This amendment would bring the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act into conformity with the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, which pays augmented compensation to employees with one or more dependents.

Because the Act presently gives the deputy commissioner discretion to require the appointment of a guardian to receive the compensation of a minor child, to avoid redundancy the bill strikes the last sentence of section 9(b) of the Act—"In the absence of such a requirement the appointment of a guardian for such purposes shall not be necessary."

The Act presently provides that benefits to surviving children shall be continued only until such children reach the age of 18 years. This age occurs when most children are finishing high school, many of whom may wish to enter college. The increased family financial need could be alleviated to some extent and education encouraged if payment in behalf of a dependent or surviving child could be continued until such time as the child would normally finish college. Benefits in behalf of dependents or survivors under the age of 23 years will be continued, therefore, while they are students at approved educational institutions. This provision for continuing benefits is similar to those contained in the Veterans laws, the Old Age and Survivors and Disability Insurance Title of the Social Security Act, and the Federal Employee's Compensation Act. However, to avoid dual payments, this bill specifically excepts from student status a child during a period of service in the Armed Forces of the United States or while receiving educational or training benefits under any other program authorized by the United States Congress.

Both the Longshoremen's Act and the Defense Base Act at present require the Secretary, upon application of an insurance company, to commute future installments of death benefits payable to aliens by paying one-half the commuted amount of future compensation. This requirement can work an unfair discrimination against aliens because of the wide variety of their circumstances. The power to commute, therefore, is made discretionary with the Secretary under both Acts.

Disfigurement and medical services

The Act now provides for compensation for disfigurement of the face or head only. The bill extends the area of compensable disfigurement to include disfigurement of the neck or other normally exposed area of the body likely to result in failure to secure or maintain employment.

Although disfigurement of parts of the body other than the head or neck might not affect the employability of a longshoremen or harbor worker, the Act also covers employees in private industry in the District of Columbia and at defense bases. Many workers who are required to meet the public, waitresses, for example, would tend to have their employability affected by other disfigurements now made compensable by the bill.

The Act presently provides that only when a second medical examination necessitated by the apparent partiality of a previous examination in fact shows partiality the deputy commissioner may charge such examination to the employer or insurance carrier. The bill permits the deputy commissioner to exercise discretion in making the charge in these cases.

Special funds

To clarify the present law as to liability for injury to employees with previous physical impairments and so encourage the hiring of handicapped workers who might otherwise be rejected for employment, the bill provides that when an employee who has a previous physical impairment sustains an injury resulting in total disability or death and the disability or death is found not to be due solely to that injury, the employer's liability shall be limited to payment of compensation for 104 weeks or as prescribed by the schedule award, whichever is greater, if applicable. Continuing benefits for total disability or death will be paid from the special fund provided in section 44 of the Act.

Two special funds were established as provided under section 44 of the Act, one for longshoremen, harbor workers, and certain other workers covered by the Act, and the other for workers in the District of Columbia. These funds provide residual compensation to disabled workers for permanent total disability and residual death benefits after the cessation of payments by employers or insurance carriers for injuries to employees with physical impairments; payment of compensation and medical services awards when employers are insolvent; vocational rehabilitation, including the furnishing of necessary prosthetic appliances; and maintenance not to exceed $25 weekly to injured employees while undergoing vocational rehabilitation.

Both funds are presently in a precarious financial state. Annual disbursements are in excess of annual income and the outstanding liabilities against the funds exceed the amounts in the funds. In order to rescue these funds from threatened insolvency, the bill provides for payment into the appropriate special fund of any compensation due a deceased employee without survivors under a schedule award for permanent partial disability. The bill also provides that $5,000 instead of the $1,000 payment provided for when the longshoremen's fund was established in 1927, shall be paid into the funds in fatal cases by employers or insurance carriers when there are no survivors.

Assessments to be paid into the special fund are also authorized to be made upon each carrier or self-insurer, prorated on the basis of premiums paid to the insurance companies or the amounts self-insurers would have had to pay in premiums if they had purchased insurance. The same procedure is used for computing assessments to be paid into the District of Columbia special fund. Further, the bill authorizes financing of the Act's administration and the safety program by assessments upon insurance companies and the self-insurers. An appropriation of 1.3 million dollars is provided for to pay the costs of administration until the assessments are collected.

Finally, the bill provides that the sections providing for assessments upon the carriers for the safety program and administrative expenses funds shall become effective as of July 1, 1968, and that all other sections of the bill shall become effective six months after the date of enactment.

The section-by-section analysis presented by Mr. YARBOROUGH is as follows:

SUMMARY OF BILL TO AMEND THE LONGSHOREMEN'S AND HARBOR WORKERS' COMPENSATION ACT

Section 1—*Title:* Designates title "Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act Amendments of 1967".

Section 2—*Waiting Period:* Amends section 6(a) of the Act to permit payment of compensation without a waiting period when the disability exceeds 21 days. A three day waiting period is now specified unless the disability exceeds 28 days.

Section 3 (a), (b) and (c)—*Maximum and Minimum:* Amends section 6(b) to increase the maximum of $70 a week to $105; the minimum from $18 to $35; and repeals section 14(m) which provides a limit of $24,000 on money allowance benefits for temporary and partial disability.

Section 4—*Re-examination costs:* Amends section 7(e) which provides that when the deputy commissioner believes that a medical examination has not been impartial he may require an examination by a physician of his own selection and charge the cost of the second examination to the carrier if the first examination is shown not to have been impartial. The amendment permits the deputy commissioner to charge the second examination to the carrier whether or not partiality in the first examination is shown.

Section 5—*Disfigurement:* Amends section 8(c)(20) to expand the meaning of compensable disfigurement to include disfigurement of the face, head or neck, or of any normally exposed area likely to result in failure to obtain or hold employment.

Section 6—*Compensation after Scheduled Award:* Adds a new subsection (23) to section 8(c) to provide for continuation of compensation for loss of wage-earning capacity or for total disability after payment of an award for permanent partial disability under the schedule set forth in that section.

Section 7—*Injury Following Previous Impairment:* (a) Amends section 8(f)(1) to limit to 104 weeks or to the number of weeks provided for schedule awards in section 8(c)(1)-(20), whichever is the greater, the employer's liability for an injury to an employee with a previous permanent physical impairment, when the injury results in permanent total disability not found to be due solely to the injury. Continuing benefits will be paid, as presently, out of the special fund established in section 44 of the Act.

(b) Further amends section 8(f) by striking paragraph (2) relating to previous disabilities now inapplicable.

Section 8—*Augmented Compensation-Student benefits:* (a) Adds a new subsection (j) to section 8 to augment compensation benefits by 8⅓ per centum when a disabled employee has one or more dependents.

(b) Amends section 2 by redesignating paragraph (19) as paragraph (20) and adding a new paragraph (19) to define "student" for the purpose of continuing benefits related to dependents of 18 to 23 years when in school.

(c) Amends section 2(14) to define "child," "grandchild," "brother," and "sister" in order to permit benefits resulting from student status.

(d) Amends section 8(d) to extend compensation benefits to persons in student status beyond the present expiration age of 18 years.

Section 9—*Death Benefits:* (a) Amends section 9(b) to increase the ceiling of death benefits to survivors from 66⅔ to 75 per centum of the average wages of the deceased employee, payable as follows: Surviving wife or dependent husband—increase payments from 35 to 45 per centum of deceased's average wage. If surviving child or children, 40 per centum to surviving wife or dependent husband and 15 per centum for each child; in the case of death or remarriage of eligible spouse, increases the benefits payable to one surviving child to 35 per centum and for each additional child 15 per centum. Strikes last sentence of section 9(b) pertaining to appointment of a guardian because redundent.

(b) Amends section 9(c) to increase the benefit ceiling for orphan children from 66⅔ to 75 per centum. The section now provides that when there is no surviving eligible spouse one surviving child will receive 35 per centum of the wages of the deceased, and each additional child 15 per centum up to 66⅔ per centum.

(c) Amends section 9(d) to increase the ceiling on total payments to collateral dependents from 66⅔ to 75 per centum, and to increase individual payments from 15 to 20 per centum. No change is made in the amount paid to each parent or grandparent.

(d) Amends section 9(e) to increase the maximum weekly wages of the deceased in computing death benefits from $105 to $140 and the minimum from $27 to $47.

(e) Amends section 9(g) which provides for the payment of compensation benefits to aliens who are not residents of the United States or Canada. The section limits payment of death benefits to the surviving wife and children, or if none, to the surviving mother or father supported by the employee in whole or in part, for one year prior to the date of the injury. The section now requires the Secretary, upon application of the insurance company, to commute future installments of compensation to such aliens by paying one-half of the commuted amount of future compensation. The amendment removes the requirement to commute payments upon the application of the insurance company and the limitation to one-half the commuted amount, and permits the Secretary to commute in his discretion.

Section 10—*Defense Base Act-Benefits to Alien Survivors.*—The Defense Base Act extends the benefits of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to employees of contractors at United States bases or on public works where such contracts are performed outside the continental United States. Section 2(b) of that Act limits payments of death benefits to aliens who are not residents of the United States in the same manner as section 9(g) of the Longshoremen's Act, with the same requirement for commutation of future installments of compensation payments. This bill amends section 2(b) of the Defense Base Act to remove the requirement to commute such payments upon the application of the insurance company and the limitation upon the commuted amount, and permits the Secretary to commute in his discretion.

Section 11—*Time for Notice and Claim:* (a) Amends section 12(a) to extend the time for giving notice of injury or death to the deputy commissioner and to the employer beyond the 30 days after the injury or death now required to include 30 days after the employee or the beneficiary is aware or in the exercise of reasonable diligence should have been aware of a relationship between the injury or death and the employment.

(b) Amends section 13(a) to extend the time for filing a claim for compensation for injury or death. The Act now provides that such claim must be filed within one year after the injury or death, or if payment of compensation has been made without an award a claim may be filed within one year after the date of the last payment. The amendment provides that the time for filing claim shall not begin to run until the employee or beneficiary is aware, or by the exercise of reasonable diligence should have been aware of the relationship between the injury or death and the employment.

Section 12—*Fees for Services:* Amends section 28(a) to provide that claims approved by the deputy commissioner for legal and other services after resistance to awards or increased benefits shall be added to the amount of compensation payable and shall be a lien upon such compensation.

Section 13—*Special Fund:* (a) Amends section 8(d) by adding a new paragraph (6) which provides for payment into the special fund described in section 44(a) of the Act, upon the death of the employee from any cause, when there are no survivors, of any disability compensation due to the employee under a scheduled award.

(b) Amends section 44(c)(1) by substituting $5,000 for $1,000 to be paid into the special fund upon the death of an employee resulting from injury when there are no survivors. Redesignates paragraph 44(c)(2) as paragraph 44(c)(3) and adds a new paragraph 44(c)(2) providing for assessments for the special fund upon each insurance carrier and self-insurer prorated on the basis of the premiums collected by the insurance carriers from their risks, and in the case of the self-insurers on the premiums they would have paid if they had purchased insurance.

(c) Redesignates the last sentence of section 44(c)(1), pertaining to the uses to which the fund is put, as section 44(h).

Section 14—*Safety Program-User Charges:* (a) Adds new section 41a to provide for an estimate of the cost of administering the safety program by the Secretary at the beginning of each fiscal year.

(b) Authorizes the Secretary to assess the carriers for such estimated costs and deposit collected assessments in a separate fund in the United States Treasury.

(c) Provides for notice of assessments to carriers and payment of assessments within prescribed time.

(d) Authorizes assessment upon carriers proportionate to compensation paid by each carrier in relation to total compensation paid by all carriers in preceding fiscal year.

(e) Provides method for assessments upon carriers who made no compensation payments during immediately preceding fiscal year.

(f) Authorizes adjustment of assessments upon carriers based on cost of administering safety program.

(g) Authorizes making of regulations to carry out the purposes of this section of the Act.

(h) Provides penalties against carriers for failure to keep records and file reports under this section of the Act.

(i) Specifically excepts certain employment from the provisions of this section of the Act.

(j) Requires appropriation before payment of expenses under this section of the Act.

Section 15—*Administration expenses-User Charges:* (a) Amends section 45 to provide for determination of the cost of administration of the Act by the Secretary at the end of each fiscal year.

(b) Authorizes prorating administrative expenses of the Act among the carriers and self-insurers based on premiums collected by the carriers and the amount of premiums that would have been paid by the self-insurers if they had taken out insurance.

(c) Provides for assessment of such costs by written notice to the carriers and self-insurers.

(d) Provides for payment of assessments by such carriers and self-insurers within a prescribed time after receipt of notice.

(e) Authorizes deposit of collected assessments in a separate fund in United States Treasury and expenditure of administrative expenses.

(f) Authorizes making of regulations to carry out the purposes of this section of the Act.

(g) Provides penalties against carriers for failure to keep records and file reports under this Act.

(h) Extends the provisions of this section of the Act to cover employees insured under the District of Columbia Compensation Act, the Defense Base Act, the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (67 Stat. 462), and the Non-appropriated Fund Instrumentalities Act (66 Stat. 139).

(i) Permits placing of funds in depository banks and investment of funds not needed for current requirements.

(j) Specifically exempts costs incurred in administering the safety and health provisions of the Act.

Section 16—*Appropriation:* (a) Amends section 46 of the Act to add a subsection (b) authorizing appropriation of $1,420,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968 for the separate fund established under section 45 of the Longshore Act and (b) necessary sums in succeeding years, for administering the Act with respect to claims for which the Federal Government is liable and sums required whenever sufficient assessments are not collected from carriers and self-insurers.

Section 17—*Repeal and Renumbering:* Repeals section 47, relating to availability of appropriations, and renumbers sections 48, 49, and 50, as 47, 48, and 49.

Section 17—*Technical Amendments:* Makes grammatical change of substituting "or" for "nor" in section 3(a)(1) of the Act.

Section 18—*Effective Date:* Provides that amendments made by sections 14, 15 and 16 of this Act shall become effective July 1, 1968, and all other amendments six months after the date of enactment.

AMENDMENT OF INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, from time to time we modify the Internal Revenue Code. Sometimes it is never quite clear why we take a certain action with respect to one kind of entity as distinguished from another. I am referring to an amendment of the Internal Revenue Code of 1962 with respect to foreign corporations actually domestically held by U.S. corporations, with respect to certain income which qualifies, by virtual reinvestment in an underdeveloped country, to be given a certain "plowing back" or exemption status.

However, we did not do the same thing with respect to personal holding companies. I do not know why that distinction was made, but it should be remedied.

One case has now come to my attention, of which I know quite well.

Therefore, out of order, I am introducing a special bill for that purpose.

It is cosponsored by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2486) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to adjust the amount of undistributed foreign personal holding company income included in the gross income of certain domestic corporations, introduced by Mr. DIRKSEN (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

RECLASSIFICATION OF CERTAIN POSITIONS IN THE POSTAL FIELD SERVICE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to reclassify all postal employees who are now in the first five grades of the postal field service.

The lowest five grades of the postal field service are the forgotten men of Government service. They are the backbone of that service, the very ones on whom we must depend if that service is to be upgraded and made better and more efficient. They are the people who come in contact with the public, often the only representatives among the 3 million of us in the National Government that ordinary people see.

The House committee has reported a pay increase bill which recognizes that postal employees have far more claim to consideration than others. While the general classified service is to be raised 4.5 percent, postal employees would receive an increase of 6 percent.

There is great significance in this move.

First, all of the lobbying pressure of the administration was brought to bear on the committee in an attempt to hold the line at an arbitrary and unreasonable 4.5 percent, while private industry settlements are accepted at double or more that rate.

Second, it brings a realization that postal employees are further from our announced goal of comparability with the private sector than are others in the Government service.

Most clerks and carriers in the Post Office Department are in grade 4 presently. Their rate of pay is less than that of street sweepers, garbage collectors, bus drivers, and meter readers, among others, in most metropolitan areas. This is a direct violation of section 50, part II, of Public Law 87–793, which states that it is the intent of Congress to pay Government workers comparably to what their jobs would call for in the private sector.

I believe in comparability. I have fought to achieve it.

The inequities that exist in Government pay scales are rampant throughout all levels of all services. Yet, nowhere are they more flagrant than in the postal service, especially at the lowest rungs of the ladder.

The people in the first five grades of the postal field service carry literally billions of dollars worth of business. They are entrusted with goods, money, messages, and many things of great value and importance. Yet, they are relegated to classifications and pay scales of unskilled people and people who in private industry would make far more money for far less responsibility.

There is a tremendous turnover among postal employees. It has risen alarmingly to a rate of 24 percent a year. This, obviously, is costly and inefficient for it demands training of new hands in an overburdened service which has had frequent breakdowns and crises.

A 6-percent pay increase will help solve the problem, but it will not do the whole job. It will not correct the inequities I have outlined.

There is an additional problem in the postal field service.

Throughout Government civil service there is a normal opportunity for advancement in grades. Some 40 percent of the people employed in the classified services are in the lowest five grades. Promotions through the ranks are normal. Many avenues are open for qualified people to progress to better jobs.

This is not true in the postal service. Workers are virtual prisoners in the lowest ranks. Proof lies in the fact that 90 percent of all Post Office Department people are in postal field service grades 1 through 5.

My bill would correct this inequity and raise salaries while upgrading, through reclassification, these clerks, carriers, and other postal workers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2487) to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service of the Post Office Department, and for other purposes, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

OWNERSHIP AND JURISDICTION OF EXTRATERRITORIAL SEABED AND SUPERADJACENT WATERS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as our Nation expands its technology in the marine sciences at an ever-increasing pace, we are moving toward dangerous legal confrontations with foreign nations over the ownership and jurisdiction of the extraterritorial seabed and the superadjacent waters.

Already we face frequent new problems in the fields of mining, oil well drilling, fisheries, research, and national security in the broad oceans beyond territorial jurisdiction and the Continental Shelf. The sea conventions of 1958 have brought some definition and legal order to the areas of the Continental Shelf of each nation. Bilateral fishing agreements such as those currently in negotiation with the Soviet Union, Japan, and Mexico do bring temporary solutions to certain practical problems as they arise.

My own fear is that, although these case-by-case solutions may be satisfactory for the time being, we might well paint ourselves into the corner in terms of the future national interest; and also miss future opportunities for optimum international study and exploration. We stand on the threshold of a vast technological breakthrough which may suddenly advance our Nation's—and others'—ability to carry out every type of oceanologic activity, at any depth, and in any area of the ocean. To date, there is no adequate regime to provide for order when this breakthrough comes.

Much conversation and study is in progress. Vice President HUMPHREY, as Chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, is taking into consideration possible needs for a legal order to be established in the areas of the sea where we and other nations may find ourselves in competitive confrontation. An interdepartmental committee headed by Deputy Under Secretary of State Foy Kohler is examining America's own multiple inner space efforts with a view to making any necessary diplomatic initiative that may be necessary to avoid conflict with other nations. The United Nations has ordered a study of the resources of the seas partly with a view to anticipating potential conflict and extending international cooperation. Also in the United Nations, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization—to which President Eisenhower honored me by appointing me on the original American delegation in 1959—is doing a creditable job trying to resolve ad hoc legal problems of the sea that may arise between nations. The recent *Torrey Canyon* disaster, with its vast oil pollution, provided the stimulus for a meeting of this body.

The Geneva Conventions of 1958 were helpful in dealing with those questions concerning the high seas, the Continental Shelf, and fisheries which required international action at that time.

Nevertheless, despite this useful activity to protect against underocean legal conflict between nations, I think the process should be accelerated.

The recent agreements with the Soviet Union for peaceful use of Antarctica and outer space lead me to hope that similar action might be undertaken on inner space. I recognize that the problems of the Antarctic and outer space differ considerably with those of the oceans, yet the analogy is compelling and the need is similar. With the success of these agreements in mind, I suggest that our Department of State commence the steps which would lead to an ocean space treaty with all nations for more orderly use of the sea.

Today, the area most susceptible to adoption of such a treaty is the extraterritorial seabed and the resources under the bottom of the world ocean. The other area presents a potential of more difficult legal snarls, however, which will soon require attention: I mean the high seas themselves and their natural resources.

Already, with various international agreements, coastline countries are accorded some extraterritorial rights to the fish that may enter the waters nearest to any given country. The Geneva Fisheries Convention ratified in 1964 deals with the subject and establishes certain rights. Also, bilateral treaties such as those currently in negotiation are designed to lessen controversy over fisheries ownership.

But soon we must attend to the inevitable problems that we may expect as undersea technology continues to expand at a near geometric progression. I am thinking specifically of the jurisdictional and ownership considerations that must intrude into the development of aquaculture, fish husbandry, undersea research, scientific preserves, sport areas, undersea tourism, and many other activities now only dreamed of but sure to occur before long. As history has shown, a visionary Jules Verne today can foretell fantastic but real accomplishments of tomorrow—just as Jules Verne predicted the globe-circling nuclear submarine *Nautilus*.

It will doubtless be difficult even to try to fix the exact limits for the legally defined continental shelf at this time. Which of us is in a position to know all the economic, technologic, political, and other factors relating to any proposal for establishing a fixed limit—factors which caused so much debate and concern at the 1958 Geneva Conference? These and other problems of the extraterritorial seas must nevertheless be brought under the discipline of a reasonable legal pattern if we are to avoid hopelessly complex confrontations in the near future. The first step should be greater knowledge and broader international understanding through exploration of the ocean floor.

Another potential headache is inexorably coming closer: the question of individual crimes under the high seas. Who has jurisdiction when a murder takes place in an undersea colony, or between subsurface fishermen of different nations, or between oceanologic researchers? Who will police the mineral extraction activity, the rich fishing contents of an undersea corral formed by bubbles? No one has the answers now. We must prepare for the future lest it overtake us. As Thoreau said: "Man hits as high as he aims," or as low in this case. But let us not aim too low or be too cautious in our discussions of these problems at this time, for we may well find ourselves naked and unprotected on an unprepared beach when the inevitable tidal wave of ocean-related legal questions breaks upon us tomorrow.

When we actually sit down to draft a general treaty, we see many problems. For today, I offer for your critique only a single, partial move—a Senate resolution that sets forth the skeleton or broad outlines around which such a treaty might be constructed. I believe it is in our national interest, as the world's greatest maritime power; to think through these problems ahead of time and be prepared with our own draft. And because we are so great and powerful—our 6 percent of the world's people possessing 50 percent of the world's wealth—it is important we keep some balance of resources in the world; otherwise the rest of the world's peoples may believe that an ever widening American preserve is liable to overwhelm everybody else. In fact, there could even be a fear that we and the Soviet Union might attempt together to carve up the oceans of the world into codominions much as the Spanish and Portuguese sought to do with the New World in their agreement at Tordesillas, signed on June 7, 1494.

On the other hand, with our advanced technology and our basically fair and democratic views, our leadership in developing the exploration of ocean space can prove of immense value to the whole world.

Such a treaty or series of treaties would basically be divided into four sections—a preamble expressing the needs and purposes; a section concerning the contents of the seas themselves; a section on the ocean floor and dealing with disarmament; and a section on civil and criminal jurisdiction in ocean space. Any international agreement governing the ocean floor should consider practicable arms control measures. In a world of increasing tension, of proliferation of weapons, measures that will counteract these tensions and constrain arms races must be sought, to the extent that such measures are consistent with our national security.

I recognize that the sea represents a major and necessary defensive area for ourselves and our allies. Nevertheless, there is now the opportunity to preclude an arms race involving the stationing of nuclear weapons on or in the ocean seabed. Such a provision would be analogous to a similar measure contained in the outer space treaty and, as such, could enjoy a great degree of acceptability.

An arms control provision would have beneficial effects. It would continue our policy of seeking arms control agreements where such agreements are consistent with and enhance our overall national interests as well as the interests of all mankind. It would serve to prevent some forms of potentially inflammatory or destabilizing actions. It would be a positive contribution to the reduction of tensions. It would prevent dangers inherent in the stationing of unproven types of nuclear weapons on the ocean floor where the action and interaction of sea water, depth, pressure, temperature and water currents carry risks of accident and problems of control that are extremely great. A treaty prohibition against the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed would be compatible with our national defense.

Most important, too, the prohibition against the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed would not disturb our naval gunnery or missile ranges, our current submarine defenses or the operational deployment of our Polaris submarines.

Our commercial and scientific activities must also be considered. Our exploitation of the Continental Shelf under the U.N. Convention on the Continental Shelf and extensive research activities mark the advancement of our control over the resources of the sea. To date, the only use man has made of the deep ocean floor has been to rest his intercontinental telecommunication cables there, and this use has been recognized and protected by treaty since before the turn of the century. This type of arms control measure would not interfere with the communications, industrial and scientific activities.

Briefly, with careful study equivalent to that given to the arms control measures prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons in space contained in the Treaty on Outer Space to which the Senate gave its advice and consent in April of this year, it is hard to see why a practicable agreement cannot be reached along similar lines involving the ocean floor. I believe all the various points covered in the Outer Space Treaty should be studied and, if suitable, covered in our Ocean Space Treaty. For instance, aquanauts on the ocean floor, just as astronauts, should be regarded as envoys of mankind and "shall render to them all possible assistance in the event of accident, distress, or emergency landing on the territory of another state party or on the high seas." The ocean floor, just as outer space, should not be "subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means." This would enlarge the area of human activity which nations of all regions of the world should be prepared to agree shall be free of weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. President, at this point I introduce and send to the desk for appropriate reference a resolution which addresses itself to the subject I have been discussing.

This resolution suggests action toward solution of the international legal confrontations ahead of us and calls for wide ranging steps, including arms control measures, to achieve a reasonable legal order for the extranational world ocean.

I take the liberty of reading the text of this brief resolution, which is as follows:

Whereas, through developing technology man becomes increasingly capable of exploring, and exploiting the resources of, the deep sea; and

Whereas, this technology carries with it the threat of legal confrontations between nations of the world over the ownership and jurisdiction of the bed of the deep sea and the super-adjacent waters, and the resources therein; and

Whereas, the extension of the rule of law and the development of practicable arms control measures with respect to these territories are essential if mankind is to enjoy the fruits of his efforts in the deep sea: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the United States should remain committed to the principle that the living and mineral resources in suspension in the high seas, beyond twelve miles from the coast, are free for the use of all nations, subject to international treaty obligations and the conservation provisions of the 1958 Geneva Conventions adopted by the United Nations-sponsored Conference on the Law of the Sea;

(2) the United States should urge the United Nations to consider the problems of conservation and use of marine resources of the seabed and subsoil beyond continental

shelf limits and any licensing or other arrangements necessary for the regulation thereof;

(3) there is an urgent need for the establishment of an international agreement under which the floor of the deep sea and the resources of the seabed and subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of the continental shelf, will be considered free for the exploration and exploitation of all nations; and are incapable of coming under the sovereignty of any one nation or group of nations;

(4) any such international agreement should incorporate practicable arms control proposals looking toward mutually advantageous safeguard provisions, should encompass the results of an examination of the question of the implacement of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction on the deep sea floor, and should contribute to a reduction of the world arms race by enjoining all nations from the stationing of unproven types of nuclear or other kinds of mass destruction weapons on the ocean floor where unique conditions are likely to cause greater risks of accidents;

(5) fixed limits must be set for defining the outer boundaries of the continental shelf of each nation, and that such limits can best be determined by an international conference to be convened by the United Nations in 1969, five years after the coming into force of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf; and

(6) the President should institute a detailed study within the Department of State and other interested departments and agencies of the United States and in cooperation with the United Nations with respect to the problems of criminal jurisdiction over, and the policing of, activities on and beneath the surface of extra-territorial seas and on the deep sea floor; should consider those situations both immediate and anticipated, which are not covered by existing international agreements, and should seek an early determination by the United Nations on the matter of developing and proposing regulations for handling those situations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 172) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT: DISABILITY BENEFITS FOR THE BLIND

AMENDMENT NO. 366

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today I submit an amendment to H.R. 12080, the substance of S. 1681, which I presented originally on May 3. The bill has a total of 58 cosponsors, and has twice before been passed by the Senate. On the first occasion, in the 88th Congress, the social security bill into which it was incorporated as a floor amendment became deadlocked in conference at the end of the session, and it was not completed. In 1965, the House-Senate conference altered it so much as to leave only a small fraction of the intended improvement.

This is the bill which for the first time would provide for social security purposes a statutory definition of blindness identical to that in common use and incorporated in the Internal Revenue Code. It would specify that any person meeting the statutory definition is automatically to be considered as disabled for purposes of social security benefits. It would also reduce the standard which requires 20 quarters of covered employment out of the last 40 to a standard of six quarters of covered employment.

It is my hope and expectation that this amendment will this year become a part of the social security law as enacted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 366) was referred to the Committee on Finance.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 367

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], I send to the desk an amendment to the instructions of the motion of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator wish to have the amendment printed?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and printed, and will lie on the table.

AMENDMENT NO. 368

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2426) to provide certain essential assistance to the U.S. fisheries industry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senators from Washington [Mr. Magnuson and Mr. Jackson] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 2411) to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that the amount of groundfish imported into the United States shall not exceed the average annual amount thereof imported during 1963 and 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge] and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd] be added as cosponsors of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 54) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON FRANCHISE COMPETITIVE PRACTICE ACT OF 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee will hold hearings on S. 2321, the Franchise Competitive Practice Act of 1967, on October 10, 11, 13, 16, and 17, 1967.

I am advised by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart], and I am authorized by him to say that anyone interested in offering testimony on this proposal should contact Charles E. Bangert, assistant counsel, Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, room 414, Old Senate Office Building.

CONSENSUS ON THE BOMBING

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial from today's New York Times titled "Consensus on the Bombing." The editorial reports the fact that the representatives of nation after nation engaging in the general debate in the General Assembly of the United Nations have stated that the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam is the first step toward the possibility of negotiation. Canadian External Affairs Minister Paul Martin said in a speech:

> It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped.

This is the point I have been arguing in the Senate for 2 years. In speeches in the Senate in January 1966, May 15, 1967, and July 27, 1967, I made the point that a first step—first concession—must be made by the United States. It is my view, as I have stated so often, that negotiations or any chance for action in the U.N., as has been so strongly urged by Senator Mansfield, cannot be guaranteed, but clearly are conditioned upon the cessation of bombing.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Consensus on the Bombing

On the eve of the opening of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General U Thant again urged that the United States stop bombing North Vietnam as an essential first step toward peace. Mr. Thant said he was "convinced" that if the bombing ended unconditionally, peace talks could begin in three or four weeks.

Concurrently, Agence France-Presse reported from Hanoi that "reliable sources" had indicated talks could begin between Hanoi and Washington within three or four weeks of a bombing halt.

The appeal for a bombing halt was taken up in the General Assembly Wednesday by Canada, one of America's closest friends and a nation that has had recent diplomatic contact with North Vietnam.

"There is not the slightest doubt in my mind," Canadian External Affairs Minister Paul Martin said, "that the first step in [the direction of talks] will involve the question of the bombing of North Vietnam. It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped. This is a matter of first priority if we are to start the process of de-escalation and open the door of the conference room."

Canada's plea has been echoed at this session of the United Nations so far in speeches by the representatives of Denmark, Sweden, France, Somalia, Indonesia and Kenya. Many other delegates, friends as well as opponents of American policy, have privately voiced similar views. This mounting international consensus favoring a U.S. initiative for peace through a bombing halt has its counterpart at home. An increasing number of Senators and Congressmen are calling for such a step, responding to the groundswell of public sentiment for an end to the war.

No one can guarantee that stopping the bombing will produce negotiations. There would be, as Mr. Thant has freely conceded, a "limited risk" in any such American initiative. But the United States is big enough to venture such a risk. And the risk is worth taking, especially in view of the limited effectiveness of the bombing, as acknowledged by the Secretary of Defense, and in light of the alternative risks involved in continued escalation of the war.

The Administration has repeatedly protested its desire for peace. Now is the time to prove this intention by heeding the advice of close friends and the wider world community. As Danish Premier Jens Otto Krag observed the other day: "He who takes the decisive step by which to bring the fighting to an end, to get negotiations started, and to insure durable peace in Southeast Asia will inscribe his name in the books of history."

A FANTASTIC PROPOSAL THAT SHOULD BE REJECTED

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the action of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives yesterday in approving a proposed constitutional amendment to entitle the District of Columbia to two U.S. Senators and as many Representatives as it would have if it were a State—two, by current standards—does violence to the Constitution of the United States and, in my opinion, constitutes a distinct disservice to the residents of the District of Columbia.

The Constitution of the United States provides that:

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State . . .

The Senate Chamber in which we meet was for many, many years termed the Hall of the States. In fact, this small rectangular chamber is truly the Hall of the States and should remain so, as the Founding Fathers envisaged it would. It is fantastic that a proposal should now be advanced and considered seriously in the other body to change the entire character of the Senate of the United States by the addition of two Senators representing a city, Washington, D.C., occupying an area of less than 10 square miles, the District of Columbia.

Washington is the Federal City. The District of Columbia is not a State. It is a very special district. When it was founded in accordance with article I, section 8 of the Constitution, it was never anticipated that the seat of Government of the United States would become a State. The Founding Fathers specifically provided that—

> Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district . . . as may, by cession of particular states . . . become the seat of the government of the United States . . .

This has been part of the basic law of our Nation for 178 years. Those who have made the District of Columbia their home were well aware of, or should have been aware of, the fact that the District of Columbia is a unique governmental entity.

The action of the House Judiciary Committee radically altered a proposed constitutional amendment to give the District of Columbia a voting delegate in the House of Representatives. While I personally favor a nonvoting delegate for the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives, reasonable argument could be made for a voting delegate from the District of Columbia in the other body. The proposed amendment providing for accomplishing that stood a reasonable chance of obtaining a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the States.

However, by elevating the District of Columbia to the status of a sovereign State with two U.S. Senators, the House Judiciary Committee virtually assured that this proposed constitutional amendment would not receive the required number of votes in the Congress and certainly would not be ratified by the requisite number of State legislatures. It is safe to say that this proposed amendment is assured of defeat. It is as dead as the dodo. Whereas, prior to the vote yesterday, residents of the District of Columbia did have some chance of receiving representation in the House of Representatives; they now stand no chance at all.

Mr. President, the proposed constitutional amendments go too far, indeed. The Federal City, Washington, D.C., is not entitled to two U.S. Senators. Very definitely, should this fantastic proposal be submitted to the Senate for debate and vote as a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I will oppose it utterly and uncompromisingly. To me it seems absolutely unthinkable that such a proposal to amend our Constitution could be seriously considered in either body of Congress or in the legislatures of our States.

URBAN AMERICA: GOALS AND PROBLEMS

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the Joint Economic Committee, under the chairmanship of our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], has been charting most important and valuable fields in the economy of our country. Of the many fine activities this committee has undertaken, I should like to call the attention of Senators to a compendium of articles entitled "Urban America: Goals and Problems," compiled and prepared for the Subcommittee on Urban Affairs, under the chairmanship of the able and distinguished Representative from Missouri, Mr. BOLLING, and prepared by the director of research, Mr. James W. Knowles.

I have read these articles with great care. I respectfully suggest that any Member of this body or any other person who is concerned about the future of urban America cannot really be knowledgeable in this field without having examined and read very carefully the compendium of articles prepared for the subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend our distinguished chairman, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and his entire staff for having performed a valuable public service.

The Subcommittee on Urban Affairs at present is conducting a series of hearings which go into depth on many of these problems. I am sure that the work of this subcommittee and the hearings it is conducting will be a landmark for the future direction of urban America.

I suggest that members of the executive branch, as well as Members of Congress, pay the most careful attention to the articles in the subcommittee's publication and to the hearings now being conducted.

(At this point, Mr. HARTKE assumed the chair.)

WALL STREET JOURNAL REPORTS ON USE OF AUDIOVISUAL EQUIPMENT IN EDUCATION

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I was pleased to see the Friday, September 22, issue of Wall Street Journal contain a very good article by Jim Hyatt on Project Discovery. This project, which has been bringing audiovisual aid to the schools of chosen experimental areas during the last year, has picked out Terrell County, Tex., as one of its locations. The benefits that the students of this country have gained are tremendous, and have served to prove to Terrell County educators the great value of audiovisual aids in the schools.

I am especially glad to see the success of this project, as I took a special interest in the inclusion of audiovisual equipment in the provisions of the Elementary-Secondary Education Act in 1965. I am glad to see reported in this article the very positive reaction of teachers and students to the increased use of audiovisual equipment in their education. The article notes that the extra help provided in these districts has been to experts like "a little bit of heaven."

This is a timely and thoughtful article, and one which we in Congress should consider carefully in our attempts to provide the best in education for American students.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article "Project Discovery via the Film Library," in the Friday Wall Street Journal, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 22, 1967]

PROJECT DISCOVERY VIA THE FILM LIBRARY—WHAT'S NEW AT SCHOOL

(By Jim Hyatt)

TERRELL, TEX.—For many students, audivisual education is a projector locked in the principal's office, a handful of outdated films and a bunch of bored teachers who use the movies for a coffee break.

Not here. The 150 teachers and 3,200 students in this small (pop. 15,000) North Texas community have films and equipment at their fingertips. Each classroom in the 12 grades has its own screen, 16mm and filmstrip projector, and portable table. Each of the five campuses has its own film library. Altogether, Terrell's school system has access to equipment, films and filmstrips worth more than $600,000.

The investment is due to Project Discovery, an experiment in audio-visual saturation sponsored by Bell & Howell Co., a manufacturer of film projectors, and Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corp., a film distributor. The two companies set out in 1964 to answer some key questions about broad-scale use of audio-visual materials. Are films used mainly to kill classroom time? Do films interrupt the lesson or contribute to it? Would students use films for outside study and research? Is the equipment reliable?

REMARKABLE RESULTS

Terrell's schools and three elementary schools, in Shaker Heights, Ohio; Daly City, Calif., and Washington, D.C., were picked for the program. The film and equipment have been in use here for two full school years. Scientific data haven't been compiled so far, but the broad results seem remarkable. School attendance has improved. Teacher turnover has declined. Circulation at the high school library doubled in a year. Achievement levels in some classes rose as much as two years.

"Even though we did it for research in the beginning," says Terrell's Superintendent Grady Hester, "Project Discovery is a way of life with us now. Our faculty can't think in terms of teaching without it."

Terrell didn't step into Project Discovery overnight, however. The faculty and administration spent the 1964–65 school year reviewing the curriculum. Thousands of films and filmstrips were previewed.

The administration here has tried to eliminate inflexible rules about film use. "The teacher is the best judge of what to use," says one official. Thus, the system doesn't require teachers to order films far ahead, or to return the film by a certain time. With such flexibility, teachers have begun to broaden use of the materials. One fourth-grade instructor used a filmstrip to teach manners, then found the captions were good examples of punctuation. A film about a fox delights first graders; older students find the story full of adjectives, their subject for the day.

An Ohio State University study of the five elementary schools in the program found that during the 1965–66 school year 127 teachers used films and film strip 8,337 times. Terrell's elementary teachers used 55% of the films and 70% of the filmstrips. In addition, the 12-grade Terrell system used more than 9,000 films and filmstrips during the 1965–66 school year.

One civics teacher uses two projectors at once, to contrast American and British government, for example. Some teachers use as many as three different films or filmstrips in one lesson.

Students have been trained to use films outside of class, too. Terrell's library has private viewing-rooms for study. Pupils earning a "projectionist's license" may take the equipment home. One high school freshman, confined to his bed for several months, completed biology, physics and chemistry courses by using films.

The sponsors insist the project isn't a rigidly scientific experiment because there are no control groups for comparison. While most teachers and students subjectively feel achievement has increased, other factors could be at work—Terrell's new buildings, the new curriculum or the new enthusiasm of teachers.

Few school systems, of course, have assumed the high cost of outfitting themselves in the fashion of Project Discovery. A typical film costs $90, and the easy-operating projectors used here retail at $755 each. One authority estimates that Texas ranks 50 in the nation in its use of audio-visual materials, with less than 1% of the state's schools owning their own film libraries.

One film manufacturing executive says that while the nation's schools probably spend 75 cents per pupil a year on audio-visual programs, a Project Discovery would cost $14 or $15 per pupil initially. Indeed, most schools fall far short of the optimum inventory: A projector for every classroom. And they probably don't even approach the standards drafted by the National Education Association's department of audio-visual instruction. The guidelines call for an elementary school to have a 16mm projector for each 10 teachers, a filmstrip viewer for each three teachers, a library of at least 500 films, and one filmstrip per student. School districts, the guidelines add, should spend at least 1% of the average per-pupil cost a year on maintenance and replacement of audio-visual supplies. Capital expenditures are extra.

Spending for such materials is rising, partly due to the influx of Federal funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. "Without Federal money, we'd all be a dead duck," concedes one equipment executive, who estimates that equipment purchases probably jumped 400% last year.

INDICATIVE TREND

School Management magazine surveyed school spending for audio-visual purposes in 1966 and concluded that the sum rose from $97.6 million in the 1962–63 school year to $187 million in the 1965–66 school year. The figures are considered low, due to the nature of the survey sample. But the trend is indicative of the national pattern. The average school district, the magazine added, spent $1.91 per pupil in 1962–63 on audio-visual instruction, compared with $3.98 per pupil in 1965–66.

Experts concede that Project Discovery "is a little bit like heaven" for a school district and conclude that the average school has to set its sights a little lower. Administrators, they insist, must learn to "swing" a little to get the best usage out of a limited budget. Too many schools still keep the equipment entirely out of student hands, and require teachers to order films a semester or a year ahead. "A teacher in a big school system of 150 buildings might have to wait four or five years to get a particular film, if she lives long enough," says one critic.

But he believes Project Discovery and similar programs are "getting at the problem of nothing happening in the classroom." He argues, "Films aren't going to make good teachers out of mediocre teachers, but they can make average teachers more effective. And make school a little more interesting for kids."

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of September 28, 1967, pp. 27177–27178, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, action by the Senate today will bring to a close consideration of legislation reaffirming the commitment of Congress to the program designed to help revitalize the important Appalachian region of our Nation.

The areas of disagreement between the House and Senate versions of the legislation, while important, were few in number. The Senate agreed to the language of the House bill providing certain protections for employees of the Appalachian Regional Commission as well as the employees of the other regional commissions established pursuant to title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

The only important difference in the two bills as relate to the highway program concerned the number of miles of access roads to be authorized. As passed by the Senate, the authorization would have been 2,000 miles; as approved by the House, it would have been 1,200 miles. The conferees adjusted the difference at 1,600 miles.

Action in the House resulted in the deletion of language in the section of the act dealing with "demonstration health projects." The House amendment deleted authority to make grants for operating such medical facilities. The Senate managers deemed these grants to be important elements of the program inasmuch as the "brick and mortar" structures themselves would have little use if adequate staff could not be hired to make them function properly. The conference report reinstates the authorizing language.

One of the needs of the region recognized in the Senate bill was the provision for a meaningful research program in hardwood technology and marketing of new hardwood products. The conference report adopted the Senate language and provided for a 2-year authorization of $2 million to carry out this research program.

The keystone of the nonhighway portion of the program is the supplemental grant section of the act. The Senate had approved an authorization of $97 million to carry out this vital program. The House had reduced that figure to $71 million. The conferees agreed to the higher Senate figure. I place emphasis on this agreement but call attention to the fact that the Senate conferees concurred in the House overall authorization ceiling of $170 million on all nonhighway items. It is the view of the Senate conferees that the reductions in program authorizations which this ceiling will necessitate should not be applied to the $97 million provided for supplemental grants under section 214 of the act.

The $170 million authorized for nonhighway activities reflects and is relatively commensurate with the expenditure level achieved during the past 2 years. As I stated when the conferees concluded their deliberations:

> Because of our country's extremely heavy commitments in Vietnam, there is little likelihood that the total passed by the House and agreed to by the conference could possibly be funded. When the Senate passed the bill five months ago, the fiscal situation was not as dark as it is today, and when the Senate Public Works Committee considered it and recommended it to the Senate, the budget request from the President for fiscal year 1968 had not been submitted to Congress. In the subsequent budget request, the non-highway items were asked to be funded, for the fiscal year which began July 1, by Congress with appropriations of $65 million, only slightly more than one-third of the $170 million authorized for two years.

S. 602 also contains important amendments to title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. This language provides for supplemental grant money for each of the title V regions in the amount of $5 million for each region for fiscal year 1968 and $10 million for each region for fiscal year 1969. There were differences between the Senate and House versions of this program and the conferees agreed on the Senate language which provides that the money for such supplemental funds will go through the Federal cochairman for each of the regions involved.

This conference report which has been approved by the House, and on which I ask approval this afternoon, will enable the Appalachian program to go forward at a rate commensurate with our ability to meet the original objectives of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. In the 2 years since the enactment of that legislation, the program has fully justified our early hopes for its success and its service.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I shall place in the Record a statement giving the details and results of the conference. I should merely like to say now that we are grateful for the leadership of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph]. I emphasize that the results of the conference and the conference report before the Senate are compatible with the needs of the area, and also with the budget situation.

We have been very proud of the progress of the programs under the Appalachian bill.

I emphasize again that I think the chief reason for its progress is that the bill enlists the cooperation of the States and requires that the program determinations be made by the States themselves.

It is this fact—this cooperation, and this initial determination by the States as to the kind of programs they need—as well as the opportunity to establish priorities, which has kept the program in balance. There has also been a reasonable balance fiscally.

I am happy that some years ago I had the opportunity to work with the chairman, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, in the introduction of the original bill, and again this year in conducting the hearings.

I feel, with him, great pride in the accomplishments of the Appalachian regional development program.

Mr. President, the aforementioned statement follows:

Statement of Senator Cooper

I am glad to join with Senator Randolph, the Chairman of the Committee on Public Works on which I serve, in recommending that the Senate adopt the Conference Report on S. 602, the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967.

I was a cosponsor of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, which this Act continues and, with respect to the programs other than highways, which it extends for two years. Earlier this year, on January 23, I was glad to join with the senior Senator from West Virginia in sponsoring, and managing in the Senate, S. 602.

During the two years the Appalachian program has been in effect, it has given us great hope. It is accomplishing results. I believe it is more successful than many other programs primarily because it has actually brought into the work the Governors and the States. It enlists local cooperation and initiative. Objectives are formed and moved toward with some sense of priorities. We have grounds to expect that this record of accomplishment will continue.

The bill as agreed upon by the Conference continues the authorization for the Appalachian development highway system, at a level of $715 million for the four fiscal years beginning with fiscal 1968. It provides authorization for appropriations to the non-highway programs of $170 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969—a realistic level in view of the President's budget and the amounts that have been appropriated and can be expected to be appropriated.

I was particularly interested in the authority contained in Section 202, which in the Senate bill provided for grants for the operating expenses of multicounty demonstration health facilities, including hospitals. The House bill restricted operating expenses to health facilities constructed under the Act. In the conference I pointed out that it would be wasteful to build facilities where existing facilities could be put to use, and I am glad the Senate language was accepted by the House.

One of the most useful programs, as Senator Randolph has emphasized, has been that for supplemental grants-in-aid—which permit the Appalachian Regional Development Commission to supplement in Appalachia the Federal matching grants available under other assistance programs, up to a level of 80 percent. The Senate bill had authorized $97 million, compared to $71 million contained in the House bill, and the Senate amount was maintained.

The House also accepted the Senate provision authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to make grants to carry out research in the utilization of Appalachian hardwoods, although the authorization was reduced from $4 million to $2 million.

We believe the wide acceptance of the Appalachian Development Program by the Congress and by the country shows what can be accomplished with better coordination of Federal efforts, and greater emphasis on State and local initiative and planning.

I may say that S. 602 as passed by the House on September 14 followed rather closely the bill reported to the Senate by the Committee on Public Works, and passed by the Senate on April 27. The authority in the conference bill to continue the Appalachian programs, and making some changes in those programs, is very much the same as the bill passed by the Senate—and my remarks in the Record on April 26 contain a detailed explanation of those changes. The House Committee did reduce the 2-year authorization for the non-highway programs by $53 million, from $273 million approved by the Senate to $220 million, and the House itself further reduced that amount by $50 million. But the purpose, the scope, and the effectiveness of the Appalachian programs is maintained, and we look forward to the continued progress of these programs under the guidance of the Appalachian Regional Commission.

Section 201 of the bill continues the authority for the Appalachian Development Highway System, originally authorized for a period of six years at a level of $840 million. $300 million of that amount has already been appropriated. It provides an authorization of $715 million for the fiscal years 1968 through 1971. The Development Highway System will consist of 2700 miles of high-type road.

The Senate bill also authorized 2,000 miles of the local access roads; the House bill 1200 miles, and the Conference agreed upon 1600 miles of access roads.

Section 202 authorizes the program of grants for the construction, equipment and operation of multi-county demonstration health facilities. I have mentioned the importance of the Senate language—which would avoid the wasteful duplication of construction in order to provide health services, by permitting these operating funds to be used at existing hospitals and facilities, rather than only those constructed under the Act. This section is of particular interest in Kentucky, and we are very hopeful that it will make possible the development of a multi-county health program which will be of great benefit to the region and serve as an example in the nation. The Conference Report conforms to the House allowance of $50 million for this program.

Section 203 authorizes conservation, land stabilization and erosion control agreements between land owners and the Secretary of Agriculture, similar to the familiar ACP program. The House, Senate and Conference bills authorized $19 million for this purpose.

Section 204 was originally directed to timber development organizations. The Senate bill redirected this section to research on hardwood utilization, production and marketing—a neglected resource of the Region, but one which offers great opportunity. The Senate bill authorized $4 million for this work; the House bill provided $1 million to continue the timber development organizations; the Conference bill authorizes $2 million for the Appalachian hardwood research program.

Section 205 authorizes the program of mining area restoration. The Conference Report adopts the level of $30 million provided by the House.

Section 206 continues the water resources survey by the Corps of Engineers, authorizing $2 million to complete the survey.

Section 207 adds a new section to the Act, authorizing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to establish an Appalachian housing fund to provide loans for the cost of planning housing projects intending to qualify for insured mortgages under Section 221 of the National Housing Act. Better housing is one of the most urgent needs of the area, and this new authority, authorized at $5 million, was unchanged by the House.

Section 211 authorizes grants for the construction of vocational educational facilities. It has been one of the most valuable provisions of the Appalachian Act. In fact in Kentucky, the principal effort, other than highways, has been directed to vocational education. Recognizing its value, the House bill increased the Senate authorization to $26 million, which was adopted by the Conference.

Section 212 provides grants for sewage treatment works, to supplement those provided under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. It was unchanged by the House; $6 million is authorized for this purpose.

Section 214, as I have mentioned, has proven especially useful. It provides a means for securing the concentration of effort on selected projects by enabling the Commission to make supplemental grants-in-aid, up to 80 percent, for projects eligible for assistance under the other Federal programs. I believe it has encouraged orderly planning, and the assignment of priorities. Perhaps most important, this mechanism helps secure a coordinated State and local effort, assisted by the cooperation of the various Federal agencies involved. I consider it a mark of the success of the supplemental grants-in-aid that the House accepted the Senate amount of $97 million authorized for Section 214, an increase of $26 million over the House figure.

Section 215, to provide a modest amount for grants for cultural programs, was omitted at the insistence of the House.

Section 302, which provides funds for research and for the administrative expenses of local development districts, was authorized at $13 million by the Senate, $10 million by the House, and established at $11 million by the Conference.

In discussing the limitations on appropriations for each of the above non-highway programs, I think I should point out that the total for Sections 202 through 302 exceeds by $78 million the amount authorized by Section 401 for all these programs taken together—which is $170 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969. Not more than $170 million may be appropriated for all of the programs together, but individually there is some latitude and flexibility. To put it another way, a ceiling is imposed on the amount which may be appropriated for each of the programs. The total of these program ceilings exceeds the authorization in Section 401 by $78 million.

Continuation of the Appalachian development highway system, and the 2-year extension of the other programs—together with the additional authorities granted by the bill and the administrative changes made—represent a reaffirmation of the original Act, and support for the work which has been accomplished and is under way. It will permit the Appalachian program to go forward with continued effectiveness.

I have been glad to have a part in this work. Again I thank the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. Randolph) for his leadership, deep interest, and hard work which will bear fruit through the implementation of this Act—and join him in urging adoption by the Senate of the Conference Report on S. 602.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I commend the constructive contribution of the Senator from Kentucky, who is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works. He was instrumental in drafting the initial legislation in 1965. He has maintained intense interest in the program and is aware of the achievements which have been wrought under the act, which has now been in operation for some 2 years.

I remind Senators that the Senate originally passed the measure by a vote of almost 3 to 1. In 1965 the Senate gave such substantial approval because of the emphasis on the creation of a State and Federal partnership requiring that decisions and programs be conceived and carried forward in the region at the State level.

In April of this year the Senate, by a vote of more than 5 to 1, expressed an even more substantial approval on extension and revision of the act.

I believe this overwhelming approval was a direct result of the fact that the program was carried out during the 2-year period, 1965–67, as an outstanding example of State and Federal cooperation.

I believe that as a result of the conference we have brought back to the Senate a bill which carries out the purposes of the original legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

NATION'S TOP EXPERT SAYS DEFENSE NOT EXERTING DEMAND PRESSURE ON ECONOMY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be allowed to continue for 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the No. 1 question on which our decision should depend on whether or not we enact the proposed 10-percent surtax is this: Is the tax necessary to take the inflationary steam out of the economy?

Of course, no tax increase can reduce the cost pressures that push up prices. Indeed, a tax increase is sure to contribute to the cost pressure to the extent the tax increase becomes a cost. And the proposed 10-percent corporation surtax will certainly become a cost.

If the increased tax is to play any useful economic role in stemming inflationary pressure, it must be by reducing the demand pull on prices.

Today, Mr. President, I summon as competent a witness as this country has to show that the pressures from the defense sector of the economy on demand do not require tax increase restraint.

If there is any common bromide in the tax debate, it is that we need a tax increase to pay for the Vietnam war or to stem the pressure on the economy from the increased spending for defense. Put another way—that we cannot have guns and butter, and that the guns are going to have to be produced in such quantity that America's facilities are going to be under intolerable pressure unless we increase taxes to cut down on the butter.

Mr. President, this is one ghost that was laid to rest yesterday when Prof. Murray Weidenbaum addressed the National Association of Business Economists in Detroit.

Who is Professor Weidenbaum? For several years he was an economist on the Budget Bureau staff. Thereafter he was economic adviser to the Boeing Aircraft Co. He then served for a time as a senior economist on the staff of the Stanford Research Institute, and is now chairman of the Department of Economics at Washington University.

Last spring when the Joint Economic Committee was considering what we could do to secure more timely advice for the Congress on the impact of defense spending on the economy, I—as chairman—asked the staff who was the most competent economist in the country to advise us. They replied with enthusiasm that Professor Weidenbaum was the best man in the country for this. Indeed, it was Professor Weidenbaum who gave us the principal advice on which the Defense Economic Indicators which developed from that Joint Economic Committee Inquiry developed. He told us just the kind of defense data we should secure to enable us to most clearly foresee the impact of the defense effort on the economy.

What does Professor Weidenbaum find right now, on the basis of current Defense Economic Indicators?

Does he find that the on-rush of defense orders is going to so stimulate business activity and employment that the Nation will be faced with explosive demand pressures on employment and facilities that will make the economy a shambles?

Quite the contrary. He finds, as he said just yesterday, and I quote him:

> The period of rapid rise in government spending necessitated by the Vietnam War has drawn to a close and increases in government spending through December 1968 will be much smaller than those we have witnessed in the past few years.
>
> Since the first quarter of 1966, military prime contract awards (exclusive of work to be performed outside of the United States) have shown no growth trend whatever. During the past five quarters, these awards have fluctuated between $10.1 billion and $10.7 billion. The figure for the most recent period (March to June 1967), $10.7 billion, is only slightly higher than the $10 billion for the same period in 1966. Adjusting for the substantial inflation which has occurred in military procurement during the Vietnam buildup, it seems that defense orders in real terms have been on a virtual plateau for the past year.
>
> The rise in the size of the armed forces has abated. Between the first and fourth quarters of 1966, military manpower increased by 365,000 reaching a total of 3,334,000. The increase for this year to date has been only 41,000, less than one-eighth of last year's expansion.

Mr. President, the analysis by Professor Weidenbaum showing that defense orders have stopped growing and have reached a plateau should be placed in the perspective of an American industry which has expanded at an immense rate in the past few years and continues to expand. Our facilities can produce a whopping 6 or 7 percent more each year—compounded.

Our available manpower rushes ahead at one and a half million every year. What happens as defense orders level off and industrial capacity and manpower continue to grow rapidly?

Does this mean that the defense and the Vietnam war is putting pressure on the economy that is likely to drive up prices? Does this mean that a $10 billion tax increase is necessary to stop excessive demand from pulling up prices?

Of course not. The hard facts suggest exactly the opposite. The economy is getting no pressure from the guns side of the guns-and-butter demand on our economy. The guns aspect of the pressures are diminishing—not increasing.

Indeed, we can stand a big and growing increase in demand from the nondefense sector of the American economy to keep our growing manpower and surging plant facilities busy.

Once again, Mr. President, I plead with my fellow Senators and with the administration to take a long, hard look at the nature of recent rising prices. There is no evidence that demand pressures are pulling prices up. There is no evidence that a tax increase would be the kind of demand-depressing prescription that would help keep prices down. There is much evidence that increasing costs are pushing up prices and that increased taxes will add to those increased costs.

The Congress should not be stampeded or intimidated into support for a tax increase on the grounds that the economic facts of life support such a tax increase and that a tax increase is the only responsible course. This is simply not the case. The responsible course on the basis of present economic facts is to oppose a tax increase.

I ask unanimous consent to have the speech of Professor Weidenbaum delivered in Detroit yesterday printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OUTLOOK FOR GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN 1968: A SLOWER RATE OF GROWTH

(A paper to be presented to the annual meeting of the National Association of Business Economists, Detroit, Mich., September 28, 1967, By Murray L. Weidenbaum, chairman, Department of Economics, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.)

It is always a pleasure to prepare a forecast of government spending. There is so much room for creativity and imagination. We are not bound by such restrictions as are found in other sectors. Projections of consumer spending may only vary between 92 and 94 percent of personal income. Estimates of capital spending may only vary plus or minus a few percent from the Commerce-SEC survey results. In comparison, government spending is a wide open field with so much opportunity for individual exploration.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I should like to suggest that—on the basis of the data now publicly available—the period of rapid rise in government spending necessitated by the Vietnam War has drawn to a close and increases in government spending through December 1968 will be much smaller than those we have witnessed in the past few years.

DEFENSE SPENDING

Federal purchases of goods and services for national defense (the defense portion of GNP) have risen from $60.5 billion in 1966 to an approximate $74.0 billion in 1967, an increase of 22 percent for the year. On the basis of current data (this in the past has often been a heroic assumption), I project national defence purchases in 1968 at $80 billion, an increase of 8 percent. A few words of explanation need to be given for this pinpoint forecast. By offering a rounded estimate, $80 billion, I am sticking my neck out and declaring that the figure will not be as low as $70 billion nor as high as $90 billion, and that is all.

Of course, it is always necessary to stipulate that another major escalation, which is not visible in any of the lead indicators available to us, would upset these calculations. Nevertheless, several important factors indicate the current leveling off in military demand in the American economy.

1. Since the first quarter of 1966, military prime contract awards (exclusive of work to be performed outside of the United States) have shown no growth trend whatever. During the past five quarters, these awards have fluctuated between $10.1 billion and $10.7 billion. The figure for the most recent period (March to June 1967), $10.7 billion, is only slightly higher than the $10.1 billion for the same period in 1966. Adjusting for the substantial inflation which has occurred in military procurement during the Vietnam buildup, it seems that defense orders in real terms have been on a virtual plateau for the past year.

2. The rise in the size of the armed forces has abated. Between the first and fourth quarters of 1966, military manpower increased by 365,000, reaching a total of 3,334,000. The increase for this year to date has been only 41,000, less than one-eighth of last year's expansion.

3. The surge of obligations over expenditures has ended, at least for the time being. Here we rely on the lead indicator relationship between the measures of the early and late stages of the government spending process to indicate future trends. Net obligations (gross obligations minus an adjustment of 8 percent for double counting and other technical factors) were running $8.2 billion over expenditures during the first half of 1966, at annual rates. The gap had narrowed to $2.6 billion for the second half of 1966. For 1967 to date, the relationship has been reversed. Net expenditures are running about $3 billion above net obligations.

From these data, it would appear that the Vietnam buildup has hit its stride and is now reaching a plateau. It is tempting to conclude from this type of analysis that the war in Vietnam is deescalating and will be terminating in the foreseeable future. This type of optimistic conclusion, of course, is not supported by any economic or statistical analysis and requires political and military expertise not possessed by the author.

However, it might be of interest to speculate as to the nature and dimensions of a cutback in U.S. defense spending following peace in Vietnam. Various "scenarios" are possible, including a sudden one-shot cessation, a phase withdrawal, a decline at the same pace as the buildup, etc. For purposes of illustration, let us assume that the reductions will follow the lines of the post-Korean adjustment.

POST-VIETNAM

We can recall that the Korean buildup lasted 12 quarters and the subsequent post-war decline took half that amount of time, six quarters. By the *end of 1967, the Vietnam buildup also will have lasted 12 quarters*. Let us assume that the Vietnam war will end in December 1967 and, following the Korean experience, the reductions will take place during the following six quarters, and the new post-Vietnam rate of military spending will continue to be higher than the level existing prior to the Vietnam buildup. It is further hypothesized that the *decline* in aggregate military spending will be about *$18 billion* or two-thirds of the estimated total Vietnam increase of $27 billion from the beginning of 1965 to the end of 1967.

Let us also assume that the $18 billion reduction will be phased out over an 18 month period in the same proportions as occurred during the post-Korean adjustment. On that basis, the major declines would occur in calendar year 1968 and would total $12.5 billion, a fairly substantial amount in absolute terms. However, in relative terms, this would be a smaller proportion of the GNP than the cutback during the first year of the Korean demobilization—less than 1.6 percent of GNP versus 2.0 percent.

Undoubtedly, the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam will give rise to pressures for expansion in those defense areas which have been squeezed, as money and manpower were shifted to meet the needs of the active conflict in Southeast Asia. Specific military program areas that are likely to compete strongly for major additions in funding after the initial post-Vietnam reductions include: an operational anti-ICBM program, a new generation of strategic weapons (either long-range bombers or missiles), and military research and development. Also, there may be need to refill inventory positions and perform maintenance operations which were deferred to meet the urgent Vietnam requirements.

NONDEFENSE GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Peace in Vietnam of course would also act as a spur to civilian government spending programs. However, these programs have continued to rise during the war period, but at a slower rate than military outlays. Assuming continuation of the Vietnam war at about the current rate of resource utilization, it is likely that other Federal purchases of goods and services would rise by about $1 billion a year, to a total of $18 billion in 1968.

The bulk of the increase in non-defense purchases, of course, will continue to take place at state and local levels. The $9 billion increase in state and local purchases during the past 12 months has been at double the growth rate of the past decade, hardly evidence of a war-time squeeze on the civilian public sector. A $6 billion increase in state and local government purchases in 1968 would still be substantial and more in line with long-term trends.

Hence, total government purchases, on the basis of continuation of the war in Vietnam, would come to $192 billion in 1968—$80 billion for defense, $18 billion for Federal non-defense purchases, and $94 billion of state and local outlays. Peace in Vietnam likely would result in a smaller total of government spending in 1968 and in increases in the two non-defense components. This assumes that much of the initial adjustment would be carried out via tax reduction, monetary ease, and expansion of transfer payments, notably unemployment compensation.

TAXES AND DEFICITS

Finally, I am hesitant to enter the great guessing game of what will be the Federal deficit in the fiscal year 1968. The Administration's sudden focus on the administrative budget and the possible huge deficit on that basis is puzzling in view of the effort in the January Budget Message to discredit the administrative budget and to highlight the so-called national income accounts budget. We were told on page 9 of the January 1967 Budget Message, "I am emphasizing the national income accounts as a measure of Federal fiscal activity because the traditional administrative budget is becoming an increasingly less complete and less reliable measure of the Government's activities and their economic impact."

Now I for one have always been a supporter of the cash budget. However, if we bow to the wisdom of the Budget Message and rely on the so-called NIA budget, we find that the prospective deficit for fiscal 1968 is nowhere near the order of magnitude of $24–28 billion used in the August 3 tax message. Some estimates indicate a range more like $6–12 billion, the lower end of the range assuming a tax increase. It is a great game, but I see little utility in forecasting administrative budget deficits as an aid to analyzing the economic outlook. I do wish to offer the firm prediction that, yes, Virginia, there will be a budget deficit in 1968 and that it will be in three figures—on administrative, cash, and NIA bases—and that during the coming year we will find all three bases utilized, whichever best serves the purpose at hand.

SUMMARY

In brief, 1968 is likely to be another year of expansion in public expenditures, but the increase in government purchases of goods and services estimated here would not be at the rapid and sometime feverish rate of the past few years. Government, and especially military, spending will be an important area of strength in the economy as a whole, but perhaps not the pacing element.

MOST RECENT DEFENSE INDICATORS SHOW NO INFLATIONARY PRESSURE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on the same subject, because I hope that Senators will find time to spend a little while with the latest Defense Indicators, I want to take an additional minute to call to their attention the August figures, which have just been made available to me. As I said, this series is prepared once a month by the Department of Defense at the request of the Joint Economic Committee, in response to a request submitted to Secretary McNamara by the Joint Economic Committee. The request was made in April of this year after our hearings on the "Costs and Effects of the Vietnam War," where it became painfully obvious that better reporting on military contract awards and expenditures was essential to proper economic policy management under the Full Employment Act.

Mr. President, the figures for defense contract awards in the month of August are slightly above the July level. The amount of increase—$100 million—has to be gaged against contract awards in excess of $40 billion a year. Thus, the increase is a small fraction of 1 percent and probably can be accounted for by price changes—with no physical increase at all. While we cannot rely on the figures for 1 month as a completely reliable index of economic change, it is highly significant to me that the rate of increase in defense contracts this year has been very small in dollar figures and probably has not increased at all in physical terms.

This supports and underlines the Weidenbaum thesis that the economy is getting no inflationary pressure from the guns part of the guns-and-butter economic pressures we have been hearing so much about.

I ask unanimous consent that the August report of the Department of Defense on Selected Economic Indicators be placed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS

The attached table and chart show selected financial and employment data related to the impact of Defense programs on the economy. The data reflected in the table cover seven major subject areas, beginning with the first quarter of calendar year 1966 and continuing through the latest month for which information is available. The chart covers three areas—obligations, expenditures and contracts—by quarter year. Explanations of the terms used are also attached.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE TERMS USED

I. Military prime contract award

A legally binding instrument executed by a military department or Department of Defense Agency (DOD component) to obtain equipment, supplies, research and development, services or construction. Both new instruments and modifications or cancellations of instruments are included; however, modifications of less than $10,000 each are not included.

The series includes awards made by DOD components on behalf of other Federal agencies (e.g., National Aeronautics and Space Administration), and on behalf of foreign governments under both military assistance grant aid and sales arrangements. It also includes orders written by DOD components requesting a non-Defense Federal agency to furnish supplies or services from its stocks (e.g., General Services Administration stores depots), from in-house manufacturing facilities (e.g., Atomic Energy Commission), or from contracts executed by that federal agency.

The series does not include awards paid from post exchange or similar non-appropriated funds, nor does it include contracts for civil functions, such as flood control or river and harbors work performed by the Army Corps of Engineers. Project orders issued to Defense owned-and-operated establishments, such as shipyards and arsenals, are not included, but contracts executed by such establishments are.

The distribution by broad commodity group includes only contracts which are to be performed within the United States or its possessions. Each commodity group includes not only the indicated end item, but also associated components and spare parts, research and development, and maintenance or rebuild work. Electronics and Communications includes only such equipment and supplies as are separately procured by DOD components. Electronics procured by an aircraft prime contractor is reported as Aircraft. Other Hard Goods contains tank-automotive, transportation, production, medical and dental, photographic, materials handling, and miscellaneous equipment and supplies. Soft Goods includes fuels, subsistence, textiles and clothing. All Other contains services (e.g., transportation) and all new contracts or purchase orders of less than $10,000 each. Commodity identification is not available for these small purchases.

Work done outside the United States refers to the location where the work will be physically performed. About 55–60% of this work is awarded to U.S. business firms, but a lesser percentage of the contract dollars in this category directly impacts on the U.S. economy.

II. Gross obligations incurred

Total amounts recorded in official accounting records of the military departments and Defense Agencies from source documents such as signed contracts or any instrument which legally binds the government to payment of funds. Present coverage extends only to general fund accounts; obligations incurred in revolving funds are excluded. Included, and double-counted, are obligations which are recorded first when an order is placed by one appropriation upon another appropriation, and second when the latter appropriation executes an obligation for material or services with a private supplier. This duplication averages about 8% of gross obligations.

(a) *Operations.* The Military Personnel appropriation and Operation and Maintenance appropriation of the Department of Defense.

(b) *Procurement.* The Procurement appropriation.

(c) *Other.* The RDT&E, Military Construction, Family Housing, Civil Defense, and Military Assistance appropriations.

III. Gross unpaid obligations outstanding

Obligations incurred by the Department of Defense for which it has not yet expended funds. Present coverage extends only to general fund accounts; obligations in revolving funds are excluded.

IV. Net expenditures

Gross payments less collections by the military departments and Defense Agencies, including revolving funds and Military Assistance. Payments represent checks issued.

V. DOD personal compensation

Wages and salaries earned by personnel employed by the Department of Defense. Military compensation represents pay and allowances to active duty personnel; reserve pay and retired pay are excluded. Civilian compensation represents gross pay and includes lump sum payments for final annual leave. Both figures are inclusive of individual contributions to retirement and social insurance funds, but are exclusive of any employer contributions to these funds.

VI. Oustanding payments

Payments to contractors by the military departments and Defense Agencies made before the goods or services contracted for are completed and delivered.

(a) *Advance Payments.* Payments to contractors in advance of performance of a contract.

(b) *Progress Payments.* Payments to contractors as work progresses on a contract. These payments serve to reimburse the contractor for a major portion of the costs incurred to date.

VII. Strength

The number of persons on active duty with the Department of Defense at the end of the period.

(a) *Military.* Men and women on continuous or extended active duty. Excludes reserves on temporary active duty for reserve training.

(b) *Civilian.* Direct hire personnel.

SELECTED DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ECONOMIC INDICATORS

[Quarters by calendar year]

	1966				1967						
	1st quarter Millions	2d quarter Millions	3d quarter Millions	4th quarter Millions	1st quarter Millions	April Millions	May Millions	June Millions	2d quarter Millions	July Millions	August Millions
I. Military prime contract awards:											
Aircraft	$1,945	$2,989	$2,696	$2,262	$2,102	$432	$1,240	$1,377	$3,049	$394	[1]$541
Missile and space systems	1,040	987	1,314	861	1,230	300	260	606	1,166	535	[1]582
Ships	355	491	876	239	679	72	129	206	407	178	[1]175
Weapons and ammunition	555	1,486	692	940	818	279	518	972	1,769	92	[1]416
Electronics and communications equipment	918	1,574	666	915	971	480	338	1,030	1,848	169	[1]318
Other hard goods	843	1,842	660	1,029	915	298	362	904	1,564	202	[1]332
Soft goods	709	922	1,078	989	638	171	199	282	652	588	[1]277
Construction	207	392	198	150	232	126	160	340	626	56	[1]70
All other	1,406	1,963	2,356	1,639	1,605	517	507	963	1,987	1,194	[1]669
Total (exclusive of work outside the United States)	7,978	12,646	10,536	9,024	9,190	2,675	3,713	6,680	13,068	3,408	[1]3,380
Total, seasonally adjusted	8,703	10,144	10,716	10,149	10,171	2,920	4,121	3,626	10,667	3,610	[1]3,727
Work outside the United States	521	1,195	856	672	453	227	228	379	834	314	[1]342

See footnotes at end of table.

SELECTED DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ECONOMIC INDICATORS—Continued

[Quarters by calendar year]

	1966				1967						
	1st quarter Millions	2d quarter Millions	3d quarter Millions	4th quarter Millions	1st quarter Millions	April Millions	May Millions	June Millions	2d quarter Millions	July Millions	August Millions
II. Gross obligations incurred:											
Operations	8,326	9,604	10,426	9,702	10,229	3,664	3,531	[1] 4,016	[1] 11,211	(2)	(2)
Procurement	4,374	8,539	5,368	5,276	5,113	1,801	2,485	[1] 4,350	[1] 8,636	(2)	(2)
Other	2,429	3,470	3,453	2,230	2,519	726	1,130	[1] 1,631	[1] 3,487	(2)	(2)
Total	15,129	21,613	19,247	17,208	17,861	6,191	7,146	[1] 9,997	[1] 23,334	(2)	(2)
III Gross unpaid obligations outstanding:											
Operations	3,828	3,777	4,792	5,024	4,644	4,761	4,765	[1] 4,543	[1] 4,543	(2)	(2)
Procurement	18,023	22,119	22,736	23,173	22,780	22,613	22,947	[1] 24,886	[1] 24,886	(2)	(2)
Other	5,747	7,392	8,179	7,888	7,626	7,453	7,628	[1] 8,354	[1] 8,354	(2)	(2)
Total	27,598	33,288	35,707	36,085	35,050	34,827	35,340	[1] 37,783	[1] 37,783	(2)	(2)
IV. Net expenditures:											
Operations	7,689	9,076	8,968	9,087	10,002	3,416	3,335	[1] 3,745	[1] 10,496	[1] 2,898	[1] 3,722
Procurement	3,651	3,886	4,392	4,264	5,074	1,783	1,850	[1] 1,702	[1] 5,335	[1] 2,037	[1] 1,982
Other	2,757	2,647	2,484	3,092	3,179	918	749	[1] 399	[1] 2,066	[1] 1,231	[1] 881
Total	14,097	15,609	15,844	16,443	18,255	6,117	5,934	[1] 5,846	[1] 17,897	[1] 6,166	[1] 6,585
V. DOD personal compensation:											
Military	3,181	3,249	3,551	3,606	3,624	1,230	1,196	[1] 1,226	[1] 3,653	(2)	(2)
Civilian	1,937	2,015	2,105	2,135	2,163	700	776	[1] 766	[1] 2,242	[1] 724	[1] 791
Total	5,118	5,264	5,656	5,741	5,787	1,930	1,972	[1] 1,992	[1] 5,895	(2)	(2)
VI. Outstanding payments:[3]											
Advance payments	66	79	90	83	92	----------	----------	----------	80	----------	----------
Progress payments	4,402	4,346	4,750	5,461	5,981	----------	----------	----------	6,765	----------	----------
Total	4,468	4,425	4,840	5,544	6,073	----------	----------	----------	6,845	----------	----------
VII. Strength (manpower):	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands
Military	2,969	3,094	3,229	3,334	3,371	3,371	3,368	3,377	3,377	3,382	[1] 3,393
Civilian	1,088	1,138	1,184	1,230	1,268	1,273	1,274	1,303	1,303	1,311	[1] 1,308

[1] Preliminary.

[2] Information not available at time of publication.

[3] Indicator No. VI information available only on a quarterly basis.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS URGE SENATE ACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—CXLVII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, certainly one of America's most respected veterans' organizations, at its 72d annual national convention this August overwhelmingly adopted a resolution endorsing U.S. ratification of the Human Rights Conventions.

I am both encouraged and gratified by this action of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. This outstanding organization thus joins another respected veterans group, the American Veterans Committee, whose representative, Andrew E. Rice, testified before the Dodd subcommittee this past March, in formally supporting ratification of the Human Rights Conventions.

I commend both of these groups for their responsible action. I welcome their support. Both of these organizations are composed of men who have witnessed firsthand the brutality and misery of war, who have proved beyond doubt their selfless dedication to our country, and who labor positively for peace and freedom for the United States and all the people of the world.

Because I am confident that this resolution of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States on the Human Rights Conventions will be of real interest and value to my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES—GENOCIDE

For the first time, affirmative action was taken in the Congress on Human Rights Treaties when an ad hoc subcommittee, this year, considered and reported favorably to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The conventions considered deal with forced labor, slavery and women's rights. Although advocacy for ratification of the Genocide Convention was introduced into the hearings, it was not an agenda item.

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America regrets that the United States Senate has not, as yet, considered the Genocide Convention. The language in the treaty consistent with domestic law and basic American principles found in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and other documents basic to our open pluralistic society. The time has long since passed for joining with approximately seventy other countries by ratifying the Genocide Convention.

* * * * *

International Human Rights Year will be celebrated during 1968. The cause of Human Rights could receive no greater nor more fitting impetus than the ratification of these treaties by the United States. A positive first step towards such a noteworthy achievement would be the prompt consideration and ratification of the Genocide Convention.

The Jewish War Veterans considers ratification of the Genocide Convention and other Human Rights treaties as a matter of great urgency. It would serve the best interests of the United States by bringing real meaning to the many noble utterances made in the world of international relations and diplomacy. We shall continue to work towards the realization of this most laudable goal—United States ratification of the Genocide Convention and the other Human Rights treaties.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANGLEY RESEARCH CENTER

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, from the Committee on the Judiciary, I report favorably Senate Joint Resolution 109.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Langley Research Center at Hampton, Virginia, and calling upon the people of the United States, during the first full calendar week in October 1967, to observe such anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and activities honoring such Center's fifty years of service to the Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the preamble is agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. EASTLAND], and the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] have reported from the Committee on the Judiciary Senate Joint Resolution 109; and the Senate has unanimously passed it.

I wish to express my warm appreciation to the distinguished chairman of the committee for his great cooperation in handling this joint resolution.

Mr. President, the joint resolution commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Langley Research Center, located on the peninsula of Virginia. It authorizes and requests the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

The Langley Research Center is one of the major research facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, engaged in significant programs of advanced research and technology relating to aeronautics and the manned and unmanned exploration of space, including, among others, the development of vertical and short take-off and landing aircraft, the Apollo lunar mission, and a variety of other projects designed to accelerate our flight progress and expand our knowledge of the universe.

Mr. President, the people of Virginia are very proud of the work being done by the Langley Research Center.

The people of Virginia are proud of the dedicated, able, and competent employees of the research center at Langley.

I am pleased today to bring before the Senate the splendid work which is being done at Langley Research Center, and I am pleased that the Senate has unanimously passed Senate Joint Resolution 109, to commemorate 50 years of outstanding service to the Nation, which has been rendered by this space facility in Virginia.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I should like to join with my colleague, Senator BYRD of Virginia, in expressing my pleasure that the Senate has unanimously passed this joint resolution today. I should like to thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary for his role in bringing the joint resolution to the floor of the Senate.

The Langley Research Center for 50 years has played a vital part in the development of our aviation and space programs. It is one of the finest facilities of its kind in the United States, and we are very proud to have it located in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

On this occasion, when its 50th anniversary is being celebrated, I take great pleasure in saluting the splendid personnel of that fine facility, and I thank the Senate for its action today.

VIETNAM

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the New York Times this morning contains a most interesting editorial entitled "Consensus on the Bombing." The article points out that, on the eve of the opening of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General U Thant again urged that the United States stop bombing North Vietnam as an essential first step toward peace. At the same time, the French press agency reported from Hanoi that reliable sources indicated talks could begin between Hanoi and Washington within 3 or 4 weeks of a bombing halt.

We next find the Canadian Foreign Minister, Paul Martin, who represents one of America's closest friends, and a nation that has had recent diplomatic contact with North Vietnam, reporting that there is not the slightest doubt in his mind that the first step in the direction of talks will involve the question of the bombing of North Vietnam.

The editorial states that this position has been echoed at the United Nations so far in speeches by the representatives of Denmark, Sweden, France, Somalia, Indonesia, and Kenya, and that many other delegates, friends as well as opponents of the American policy, have privately voiced similar views.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] made a most important foreign policy speech to a group of businessmen a few days ago in which he indicated that he had switched his position on the bombing of Vietnam, and now is of the view that it is essential that we should stop the bombing if we really want to stop the war. It is really as simple as that. If we want to stop the war we have to stop the bombing. I have been saying this for well over a year, and so has my good friend from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I am happy to hear the statement of the Senator from Pennsylvania. I commend him, and I agree with him entirely.

By the Senator's statement that we should stop the bombing, I assume that the Senator means our President should announce to the world that we will stop the bombing unconditionally, that we will do so without imposing any conditions whatever. It would be an act of statesmanship if our President would announce that we have unconditionally stopped bombing North Vietnam and that such policy will continue for a sufficient time for us to determine if a diplomatic ending to this conflict can be achieved by a meeting of delegates representing the Hanoi government, the Vietcong or its political arm, the National Liberation Front, the Saigon regime of Thieu and Ky, and our representatives.

Obviously, if there is ever to be a meeting of delegates of the Hanoi regime and the Saigon regime, there must also be independent delegates representing the National Liberation Front, or what is now termed the VC. Does the Senator agree with that statement?

Mr. CLARK. I thoroughly agree. It seems to me absurd for us to pretend any longer that this is not a civil war. Mr. President, when you want to stop a civil war you have to bring both parties of the war to the conference table.

I ask the Senator from Ohio if he does not agree with me that when we say we want to stop the bombing we mean the bombing of the north; in fact, we advocate continued protection of our ground troops by bombing in the south and the demilitarized zone, which has been violated by Hanoi.

That policy should be advocated because bombing of the north has not only failed to destroy the capacity of Hanoi, with the assistance of Russia and China, to equip its men in the south, but also it has had no perceptible effect on the infiltration. There are about as many troops going into South Vietnam as Ho Chi Minh wants to send there. Does the Senator agree with that statement?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The Senator is correct. Infiltration of VC forces from North Vietnam into the south has not been stopped by our incessant bombing. They are infiltrating all the time across the demarcation line, which the Geneva Accords of 1954 specifically stated was a temporary demarcation line, until the elections promised for 1956 could be held. We were instrumental, through our then Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and our CIA in having those elections called off.

This is an American war which we are waging, a war in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam, the worst place in the world for Americans to wage a war. Furthermore, the so-called friendly forces of South Vietnam are much too friendly. They do very little fighting but very much deserting. Unfortunately, we have been fighting an American war which has broadened and expanded, although there is more evidence now than even before the election of September 3 that the Saigon regime represents a minority group and is definitely not a viable government.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator for his intervention.

Mr. President, as the editorial points out:

> No one can guarantee that stopping the bombing will produce negotiations. There would be, as Mr. Thant has freely conceded, a "limited risk" in any such American initiative. But the United States is big enough to venture such a risk. And the risk is worth taking, especially in view of the limited effectiveness of the bombing, as acknowledged by the Secretary of Defense, and in light of the alternative risks involved in continued escalation of the war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, the editorial which was published in the New York Times today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CLARK. I wonder if my friend from Ohio would not think it might be worth speculating whether the 17th parallel is any more of a demarcation line between two nations than the Mason-Dixon Line was in our country at the time of the Civil War.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Of course, it is not. Historically there never was a North Vietnam or a South Vietnam. I congratulate the Senator from Pennsylvania on the fine statement he has made.

Mr. CLARK. I thank my friend from Ohio.

Exhibit 1

Consensus on the Bombing

On the eve of the opening of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General U Thant again urged that the United States stop bombing North Vietnam as an essential first step toward peace. Mr. Thant said he was "convinced" that if the bombing ended unconditionally, peace talks could begin in three or four weeks.

Concurrently, Agence France-Presse reported from Hanoi that "reliable sources" had indicated talks could begin between Hanoi and Washington within three or four weeks of a bombing halt.

The appeal for a bombing halt was taken up in the General Assembly Wednesday by Canada, one of America's closest friends and a nation that has had recent diplomatic contact with North Vietnam.

"There is not the slightest doubt in my mind," Canadian External Affairs Minister Paul Martin said, "that the first step in [the direction of talks] will involve the question of the bombing of North Vietnam. It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped. This is a matter of first priority if we are to start the process of de-escalation and open the door of the conference room."

Canada's plea has been echoed at this session of the United Nations so far in speeches by the representatives of Denmark, Sweden, France, Somalia, Indonesia and Kenya. Many other delegates, friends as well as opponents of American policy, have privately voiced similar views. This mounting international consensus favoring a U.S. initiative for peace through a bombing halt has its counterpart at home. An increasing number of Senators and Congressmen are calling for such a step, responding to the groundswell of public sentiment for an end to the war.

No one can guarantee that stopping the bombing will produce negotiations. There would be, as Mr. Thant has freely conceded, a "limited risk" in any such American initiative. But the United States is big enough to venture such a risk. And the risk is worth taking, especially in view of the limited effectiveness of the bombing, as acknowledged by the Secretary of Defense, and in light of the alternative risks involved in continued escalation of the war.

The Administration has repeatedly protested its desire for peace. Now is the time to prove this intention by heeding the advice of close friends and the wider world community. As Danish Premier Jens Otto Krag observed the other day: "He who takes the decisive step by which to bring the fighting to an end, to get negotiations started, and to insure durable peace in Southeast Asia will inscribe his name in the books of history."

REQUEST FOR CORRECTION OF NOTICES TO SUSPEND THE RULE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Stennis] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender] have filed notices of their intention to move to suspend the rule for the purpose of proposing amendments to H.R. 11456 and H.R. 11641, respectively.

I ask unanimous consent that the notices they have filed be corrected to show the proper identification of pages and lines.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSING PROBLEMS AT FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANS.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, earlier this week, when the Senate was considering the military construction bill, I entered into discussion and colloquy with the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. Jackson], who is the chairman of the subcommittee handling the bill, in regard to the elimination of housing units at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Fort Leavenworth, Kans., is the home and location of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College of the United States. I stated at that time I was confident that housing was badly needed, and that it was regrettable the subcommittee had stricken out the housing units. There could be no question as to the need for additional housing in view of doubling the enrollment for this school year.

Since that time. I have received a letter from Maj. Gen. Michael S. Davison, the commandant at Fort Leavenworth Staff College. It is dated September 27, and I read it into the Record:

Dear Senator Carlson: In response to press inquiries concerning the action of the Senate Armed Services Committee in deleting 400 sets of quarters programed for Fort Leavenworth, I believed it necessary to make a news release concerning our student housing problems. A copy of that release is attached for your information.

This morning's issue of the Kansas City Times carried an editorial concerning our need for housing at Fort Leavenworth. A copy of this is also attached for your information.

On behalf of the officers, men and their families stationed at Fort Leavenworth, I wish to express our appreciation for your warm understanding and support.

Sincerely yours.

——— ———.

In this news release, it states in part:

Living in off-post civilian housing as far away as 45 miles from Ft. Leavenworth are 526 student officers in the 1967–68 class at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Three hundred seventy-six live in the Leavenworth and Lansing area, 12 in small local communities, 1 in Olathe, 54 in the Kansas City, Kans., area including Wyandotte and Johnson counties; 62 in the Kansas City, Mo., area including Platte and Clay counties; 15 in Atchison and 6 in Lawrence, Kans.

Commuting distance for those in the Lawrence area is 90 miles a day and for those in the Kansas City area, 50 miles.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the entire news release printed in the Record, as well as the editorial, which was published in the Kansas City Times on September 27, entitled "Surely We Can Afford To House Our Soldiers."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Housing

Fort Leavenworth, Kans., September 26.—Living in off-post civilian housing as far away as 45 miles from Ft. Leavenworth are 526 student officers in the 1967–68 class at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Three hundred seventy-six live in the Leavenworth and Lansing area, 12 in small local communities, 1 in Olathe, 54 in the Kansas City, Kans., area including Wyandotte and Johnson counties; 62 in the Kansas City, Mo., area including Platte and Clay counties; 15 in Atchison and 6 in Lawrence, Kans.

Commuting distance for those in the Lawrence area is 90 miles a day and for those in the Kansas City area, 50 miles.

Among these 526 student officers, housing costs for rent and utilities run as high as $285 per month paid by a student officer with four children. The average costs paid for rent and utilities by student officers is $200 per month.

(A major with a family receives $145 per month to cover housing costs, including utilities, when government housing is not furnished. Student families of the college class this year have an average of four children per family.)

Only 60 of these 526 students are living in housing which meets the Department of Defense adequacy criteria.

The principal factor in determining adequacy is the total cost of rent and utilities. Other criteria are size and quality of the house and commuting distance.

Living in family quarters on-post are 583 students—475 in adequate quarters and 108 in inadequate quarters. The inadequate quarters are World War II barracks, designed for 10-year life, which were converted to family quarters.

Of the 1247 U.S. students in the 1967–68 class, a total of 1171 needed family housing; the remainder are bachelors. Of the 97 allied student officers, 47 needed off-post family housing.

The requirement for additional housing at Ft. Leavenworth was caused by a change in the composition of the student body rather than an increase in its size. For over a decade the college has graduated about 1400 resident students a year—half in a course of 10 months duration and half in two shorter courses of 18 weeks each.

As a result of a survey of the Army's educational system made in the spring of 1965, the college was reorganized to consolidate these three courses into one 10-month course. The students in the 10-month course bring their families with them (those in the short course did not), thus doubling the requirement for family housing.

This consolidation of courses is not related to the Vietnamese situation. The number of resident students to be graduated now is approximately the same as the number graduated in previous years and reflects the long-term needs of the Army.

The long-range housing program figure set by the U.S. Continental Army Command is 2405 sets of family quarters for officers and enlisted men at Ft. Leavenworth.

The fort has 1245 on-post adequate quarters. Construction of an additional 50 has been approved. Presently available in the local communities are 295 off-post houses determined adequate by DOD criteria.

Should Congress later approve the 400 housing units for Ft. Leavenworth, the fort would still have a requirement for 531 sets of adequate family quarters in the local civilian community.

[From the Kansas City Times, Sept. 27, 1967]

SURELY WE CAN AFFORD TO HOUSE OUR SOLDIERS

The Senate armed services committee's refusal to authorize funds for construction of 400 on-post family housing units at Ft. Leavenworth is more than a little baffling. The House already had authorized $8,800,000 in construction at the fort, and surely there can be no question of a housing need. The figures speak plainly.

At the moment there are 1,344 U.S. and allied officers on the post to attend the 10-month Command and General Staff officers' course. The 97 Allied officers are suitably housed, but among the married U.S. officers the situation is acute. Because of the quarters crisis, some left their families behind. Of the 1,171 requiring family housing, 583 live on the post. More than 100 are in inadequate quarters—temporary World War II troop barracks, converted into 4-apartment dwellings.

Seventy-four officers and their families are quartered in government-leased housing in the Leavenworth area and in Wyandotte County. But more than 500 have had to look for private rental property off the post. Many are in the Leavenworth-Lansing vicinity, but nearly 120 live in Greater Kansas City and others must commute from communities as far away as Olathe and Lawrence. There is an obvious cost in time that officers facing four to six hours of homework a night can ill afford.

There is also a dollar cost. Most of the students are majors, drawing a quarters allowance of $145 monthly. Surveys have shown the average of off-post house and apartment rentals to be $200, to which must be added the extra expense of commuting—as much as 90 miles a day round-trip.

Part of the requested housing would have been for staff and faculty at the college, which has increased along with the rising student load. Among Ft. Leavenworth garrison personnel, not associated with the college, there is a 60- to 90-day wait for on-post housing for married officers and enlisted men.

The military profession has its special hazards and inconveniences, some of which are unavoidable. But it is one thing for servicemen to be separated from their families while they are away fighting a war. It is quite another for them to be separated, or shoddily housed, simply because of the unwillingness of a congressional committee to look squarely at the facts.

As House and Senate conferees set about resolving the differences between the two pieces of legislation, we hope the Ft. Leavenworth construction request will come in for serious reconsideration. The outstanding officers who make up the faculty and student body of the Command and General Staff college are not there for a lark. It is an essential part of the national military preparedness program. The country, and Congress, have an obligation to provide these men and their families with a decent place to live.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I am now advised in conference between the House and Senate, that the conferees have agreed to include 100 housing units at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

I deeply appreciate that, and while I am confident that it will be helpful, in next year's military construction bill, we shall have to request additional units in view of the expansion of the staff college, which has doubled its number of students this year. Normally, the students average around 700. This year, it is approximately 1,400 officers and men from our own military services and foreign countries. The country and the Congress have an obligation to see that our military personnel are properly housed.

"SNOOPING" PURSUANT TO COURT ORDER

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, an editorial entitled "Snooping" was published in the Washington Post of yesterday, September 28, 1967.

Mr. President, the editorial is a deserving criticism of the action taken by the Judicial Conference of the United States in endorsing legislation that would permit Federal and State investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court orders, as though court orders gave any guarantee as to the rights of free men under our Constitution.

In my opinion, every judge who endorsed the action was guilty of prejudgment of the basic juridical questions, some involving constitutional law and rights.

I think every one of the judges sullied his judicial robe. Certainly every one of them needs to attend a refresher course in the basic constitutional rights of privacy to which free men and women are entitled.

The snooping they seek to authorize is not cleansed one whit when it is done by judges instead of by policemen. It is the snooping that is evil. It is the invasion of the precious constitutional right of privacy that is evil. It is the protection of the presumption of innocence that is essential.

I am saddened to think that any judge wearing the robe either of a State or a Federal court would be a party to this kind of political action, for that is what it is, and he became guilty when he went along with the endorsement of this "legislation" that the Judicial Conference brought forth.

The Federal judges involved apparently think they are above checks by the people. Maybe the time has come to check them with ballots, too. Perhaps unchecked life tenure positions on the courts of this land need to be checked by the people through their ballots, by requiring that judges be elected.

If the judiciary of this country becomes involved in seeking to amend the Constitution by this kind of judicial action, I am one Senator who will advocate taking away from the judiciary life tenure on the bench. We shall have to check judges, as well as Senators, Representatives, and Presidents if we want to preserve our basic constitutional guarantees.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SNOOPING

The Judicial Conference of the United States has voted to endorse legislation that would permit Federal and state investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court order. With the highest respect for the authority of the Conference, we offer an opposition to its view. The social costs of such intrusion into privacy would, in our judgment, heavily outweigh the gains to law enforcement.

The Conference gave its approval to pending eavesdropping legislation with the proviso that it be amended to meet the restrictions laid down in last June's Supreme Court decision in the *Berger* case. In that case, the Court struck down as constitutionally invalid a New York statute authorizing eavesdropping under court order because it failed to meet the Fourth Amendment requirement of a reasonable search—that is, that it particularly describe "the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

The truth is, we think, that this requirement cannot be met by any court order authorizing eavesdropping. As Mr. Justice Black observed in a dissenting opinion in the *Berger* case, the Court's decision "makes constitutional eavesdropping improbable."

It is a fallacy to suppose that a court order can circumscribe or control eavesdropping in the way that a warrant can limit an ordinary search. When a telephone is tapped or a room is bugged, the privacy of everyone using the telephone or the room is invaded, whether or not he is under suspicion of criminal conduct. The conversation of anyone calling the telephone or entering the room is recorded, whether or not it is related to a crime under investigation. Intimacies of every sort—social, business, conjugal—may thus be divulged to the eavesdroppers.

More serious, perhaps, than the eavesdropping itself is the pall which fear of it may put upon normal conversation. The most law-abiding men and women have things to say to each other which they want to say in confidence. Any official intrusion into such privacy is, as Lord Camden put it two centuries ago, "subversive of all the comforts of society." People who fear that government agents may be covertly listening to all that they say are not free people. They speak under constraint. And where this fear is endemic, freedom of communication is a casualty.

The community must choose, as is so often the case, between the claims of freedom and the claims of safety. Acknowledging that bugging and tapping may give the police some assistance in combatting organized crime—or may at any rate make it necessary for criminals to be extremely circumspect in communicating with each other—the question is whether the inhibition on lawful conversation is worth the cost. The choice is between facilitating the work of the police and facilitating free communication. Men cannot be free if they live in fear of official surveillance. "It is more than desirable, it is necessary, that criminals be detected and prosecuted as vigorously as possible. It is more necessary," as President Roosevelt put it, "that citizens of a democracy be protected in their rights of privacy from unwarranted snooping."

ADDRESS BY SENATOR LONG OF LOUISIANA BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, during the early months of this year, sometime in February, I addressed the Economic Club of New York, setting forth my views with regard to the Nation's monetary and fiscal problems.

That was roughly 8 months ago and, with the passage of time, some of the suggestions which I made then have been heeded by those in the executive branch of the Government. I was at variance in some instances with the policy of the administration.

In the belief that Senators might find it interesting to read my remarks at this date, I ask unanimous consent to have my speech printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the Economic Club of New York; while I am not familiar with all of your impressive history, I feel a deep sense of kinship to your group, dating back to the fall of 1962 when the late President John F. Kennedy was your speaker.

On that occasion he described his attitude toward our nation's tax laws. He said that they were antiquated, designed to meet the problems of an earlier day, that they should be modified to meet the problems of his day and the challenge of the future.

At that time our much-beloved friend, the late Harry F. Byrd was chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance. From the first moment I saw the John Kennedy speech, I knew, as did everyone else, that the Kennedy proposal for a major tax reduction, which necessarily involved a substantial federal deficit for at least two years, could not and would not meet with the approval of that consistent, dedicated conservative who learned his economics before John Kennedy was born on this earth, and who had not conformed to the thinking of the New Deal of 1933 or the Fair Deal of 1948, much less the New Frontier. It was my guess that Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, the ranking member of the Committee on Finance, would speak for the Kennedy Administration if and when the idea that John Kennedy outlined before you on that occasion should come to a vote in the Senate. The thought never occurred to me that, before this imaginative suggestion could come to a vote in the Senate, Allen Frear would have been defeated and that Bob Kerr and John Kennedy would have passed on to meet their reward, and that I, the number four Democrat on the committee at the time of the speech, would be the committee spokesman for the largest revenue measure in the Nation's history—the first major bill to be enacted under President Johnson.

The bill which emerged from John Kennedy's speech to you on that occasion involved a reduction of Federal taxes by more than 14 billion dollars. It provided great reductions in personal income taxes, to increase demand and consumption of new production. It provided major reductions in corporation income taxes. It provided incentives for new investments. When the bill came to a final vote, I pointed out that this nation was enjoying the longest continued prosperity in its history. At that point the nation had enjoyed more than 45 months of continued increases in production, income and employment. It was my argument, and that of the Administration, that this bill, the Revenue Act of 1964, would mean a continued increase in production, income, and employment for as far into the future as any of us were then privileged to see. The events that have transpired since that date are worthy of study in connection with the predictions which we made at the time. Our predictions for employment and production were safely within the events that have transpired. Our prediction for national growth was vindicated.

The only prediction on which we fell short was that we would have by now achieved a balanced budget. With regard to the budget, it is fair to submit that, had this nation not elected to make an expensive and determined sacrifice to prevent a communist takeover in Southeast Asia, we could easily have had a balanced budget for last year and for this year.

While the national debt has increased in terms of dollars, it has declined in terms of the ability of our people to pay. For example, in 1962 the federal debt was 142% of our gross national product. In 1966 it was less than 43% of our gross national product.

Furthermore, when we talk about our national debt, it is appropriate that we make a distinction between our gross national debt and our net national debt. Of the national debt which we are required to report to the American people, approximately 113 billion dollars of that figure is money that the federal government owes to the federal government.

When I speak of money that the federal government owes to itself, I am thinking of the government bonds and funds held by the Federal Reserve Board and other agencies of the federal government. Included in that figure would be government-held trust funds, such as the social security fund of 22 billion dollars plus.

Some of my more conservative-thinking friends challenge my view that a government-held trust fund in the last analysis is money which the federal government owes to the federal government.

If I might use the social security fund as an example, we have contingent liabilities running into hundreds of billions of dollars. Yet, insofar as the federal government holds money in the social security trust fund, it is that much ahead in meeting its obligations. Other trust funds financed by federal taxes and appropriations appear to me to fall in the same category. Therefore, when I speak of the national debt of 329 billion dollars, I am tempted to point out that 113 billion dollars of this debt is money that the federal government owes to the federal government and that debt which the federal government owes to the public is actually 217 billion dollars.

Then when we relate our national debt to our gross national production, we find that our net federal debt in 1945 was approximately 116% of our gross national product, and today it is approximately 28% of our gross national product. It is comforting to note that the tangible assets held by the federal government in terms of property, real and personal, exceed our national debt in value without reference to the nation's greatest financial asset, its ability to tax the income and the property of its citizens.

With the combination of the increases in our population and production, together with the inflation that we experienced after World War II, our per capita federal debt has declined in terms of 1966 dollars from $3,557 to $1,641—less than half of what it was 22 years ago.

Therefore, I am inclined to say when businessmen talk to me about the national debt, "Look who's talking." Measured by a relative standard, our debt is less than half what it was while yours has increased by anywhere from 50% to 200% when measured by the same standard.

Of course, this is not a fair comparison, because each decision to increase the amount of debt outstanding involves a different set of problems. Inasmuch as we have an enormous public and private debt, exceeding 1 trillion, 500 billion dollars, we would do well to recognize that the growth of our economy, the expansion of our assets, the increase in the number of jobs, as well as the increase in the pay which those jobs earn, have been made possible during the past 26 years by a steady increase in the public and private debt of the United States, the overwhelming bulk of that increase being in the private sector. So long as our economy continues to grow in any way that is acceptable to any man here tonight, the total figure of public and private debt outstanding will continue to grow. It is well for us to recognize that most of this debt was incurred for good reason, that it was soundly based, that it has created a credit without which the growth of our economy could hardly have occurred.

It stands to reason that we can carry on indefinitely with continued prosperity, or even as we have done for the past 6 years, so long as the debt which we owe is soundly based. The soundness of our debt is greater because we have a number of government programs to assure that Americans stand together in guaranteeing the payment of most of it.

Perhaps I am overly optimistic about the future, but I am satisfied that, if we continue the kind of economic approach that we have been pursuing in recent years, nothing can destroy the strength and greatness of our nation, other than a devastating war beyond anything that we have ever witnessed.

Such a war we constantly pray and strive to avoid.

Having recognized the existence of a large public and private debt, I would like to make it clear that this Senator for one favors the lowest practical level of interest rates, in order that the burden of carrying our debts may be as light as possible. In the last analysis, the interest cost of carrying our debts falls on the consumer and on the taxpayer. While it is true that corporations pay large amounts of interest, it is a cost of doing business and, so long as competition will permit, they will pass it along to their customer in the price of the product.

Forthrightness compels me to express my difference of opinion with the Federal Reserve Board.

There is much misunderstanding about the degree of independence which the Federal Reserve Board should possess. The board is not a creature of the executive branch. If a majority of the board desires to do so, it may exercise a judgment contrary to the views of the executive branch of the government. If anyone has ever contended that the board is independent of the Congress, it has never come to my attention.

Thirteen months ago the Federal Reserve Board, by a majority of one vote, decided to embark upon a monetary program against the advice of the executive and without the concurrence of the Congress.

Having protested about the matter, President Johnson then bowed to what he seemed to regard as inevitable and undertook to adjust his policies accordingly. Since that date, some members of that board have undertaken to suggest that we in Congress should adjust this nation's tax laws to conform to economic policies decided by this small group which meets in an imposing building on Constitution Avenue. It has been suggested that some of us in the Congress should sit down with members who can speak for the Federal Reserve Board and agree to a given tax policy to conform to the judgment of a majority of the Federal Reserve Board.

Lest it be misunderstood in any source, I want to make it crystal clear that, as far as this Senator is concerned, the Federal Reserve Board is a creature of the Congress; they are exercising powers which belong to us. We are elected to represent 190 million people of the United States, as is the President. Whenever the Congress and the President can agree upon fiscal and monetary policy, it is the duty of the Federal Reserve to modify its policies to come into accord with us, not the other way around.

The tight-money, high-interest-rate policy of the Federal Reserve Board for the past 13 months has been very unpopular with the overwhelming majority of the population of this nation. Those policies have imposed an almost disastrous depression in the housing industry. Those policies have increased the cost of government. They have had a retarding effect upon the growth of our economy. Those policies had much to do with our decision to suspend the investment credit. From the point of view of most of us, we rejoice that the Federal Reserve is now retreating from that policy as some of us have been advocating it should do.

Now it has been suggested by the President that Congress should increase taxes, which would further retard an economy which at this moment is showing signs of becoming sluggish, with the suggestion that, if we do so, the Federal Reserve would further ease its tight grip on the nation's money supply.

We are willing to consider the President's suggestion on some other basis. At the moment there is no compelling economic case for the proposed tax increase. Few economists are attempting to make any such case.

The request for tax increase is based on the assumption that a failure to increase taxes will lead to a large federal deficit. It is argued that, while men fight and die on the field of battle, it is a small enough sacrifice for Americans to pay more taxes. Yet, a tax increase of 10 times the size recommended by the President would still not begin to equate the sacrifice of our courageous young men fighting and dying in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam, with Americans who are enjoying income and prosperity greater than they have ever known.

It has not yet been demonstrated that large reductions cannot be made, nor that expenditures cannot be postponed, until some later date. Nor has it been demonstrated that a number of new programs which the President is recommending even now might not better be deferred than to increase the taxes on the American people.

The Congress is not disposed to deny the best weapons, the best food, and every benefit of medical science to our fighting men. The Congress is disposed to make reductions in new domestic programs and even in old domestic programs before it votes another tax increase.

As an example of a new domestic program that can be cut, I would point to the poverty program, which is poorly and inefficiently managed. Many of the activities of that program are of very doubtful value. Most Americans would support a poverty program, or any part of it, so long as they are getting 70 cents or even 50 cents return for their investment. They will not in conscience support any part of such a program which yields them less than 10% return on the dollar, and some parts of that program appear to be yielding an even negative return.

In peacetime, the poverty program could cost several billion dollars annually. But, with the pressure of a war on our hands, it is well that this program be confined to those areas where it has definitely proved its value and that it serve more in the nature of an experimental pilot program to prove the merit or demerit of new ideas before we attempt to expand it into a multibillion dollar undertaking.

As an example of an old program that can be cut, I would point to the policy whereby this nation continues to maintain approximately 1 million Americans at taxpayers' expense on European soil. This matter was studied by the Democratic Policy Committee. That committee of fifteen Senators included some of the most outstanding members of the Committees on Foreign Relations, Armed Services, Appropriations, and several other major committees in the Congress. It included some of the most trusted friends of the President. Having discussed this matter with the Secretary of State, the Ambassador to the West German Republic, and the other able spokesmen suggested by the Administration, this group, composed of Democratic leaders in the Senate, signed a unanlimous proposal that the number of troops and dependents in Europe should be drastically reduced.

Thus far, our suggestion has met with nothing more than a few additional flimsy and weak reasons for continuing a program which no longer makes sense long after the facts of life which dictated it have changed drastically, compelling a different answer.

One of the facts of life which has changed since the troops for Europe proposal was voted in 1949, my first year in the Senate, has been that this program, along with other grants—or, to use a better word, gift-programs—have so depleted our supply of gold that this nation is finding it necessary to plead with former beneficiaries of our largesse not to call upon us to pay in the only recognized international currency, gold, the money which we owe to them. In replying, these nations, which we have aided in the past are exercising their proper right to insist upon this nation doing things which we would not otherwise do in the absence of our monetary distress. Of all the items which would relieve this nation's difficulties with its balance of payments, none would do as much good or make as much sense as a reduction, a major reduction, of American troop strength in Europe.

This nation's contribution to the defense effort is roughly 10% of our national product. Our European allies are making a contribution which is about 5% or less of their national product. Those nations and Japan are the most prosperous nations on earth, except for the United States. If they are not so concerned about the threat of aggressive communism that they will not make a sacrifice to compare with our own, then we have no business and no proper right bleeding this nation white economically until America becomes an international beggar to do for our friends things which they are well able to do for themselves.

The strongest single reason for continuing the existing level of American troop strength in Europe from the viewpoint of a European is the bountiful blessing of the money that this policy pours into their domestic economy. While some of us may not begrudge this blessing to the economy of Europe, we can no longer afford it.

Another good argument for a continuation of this situation has been that the Soviet Union might be willing to agree to withdraw some of its troops from Eastern Europe if we withdraw some American troops strength. But, why should the communist world wish to arrive at any such arrangement? The maintenance of a million Americans on European soil is the largest reduceable item of those factors that are making the leader of world capitalism an international pauper. Any such program which brings us to our knees before first one lesser power and then another serves the purpose of international communism, in that it undermines and destroys the ability of the leader of the capitalistic world to continue to lead.

It is my fervent hope that this nation may soon reach an honorable termination of hostilities in Vietnam. When we are able to do that, we should embark immediately upon a number of policies which the future and prosperity of our nation would require. Meanwhile we should be planning for them so that they could be put into effect immediately. The investment tax credit should be restored, if indeed it has not been restored before that time. We should make up for lost time in providing adequate highways and eliminating slums, rebuilding the center of our great cities, beautifying our countryside, eliminating pollution from water and air.

At the first possible moment, we should start rebuilding our American Merchant Marine, to provide this nation with the strength on the seas and in world trade which that arm of our national policy once possessed. The neglect of our Merchant Marine has been so tragic and so lacking in understanding of the over-all problem that the present trend would make this nation impotent to carry its strength around the world to meet emergencies. Russia is launching a dozen new merchant ships for every time this nation launches one. To meet this problem and to help with our balance-of-payments problem in the future, I will introduce a bill next week to place a small tax on all cargo entering and leaving this country, and directing the receipts from that tax to the reestablishment of the American Merchant Marine to its proper position among maritime powers.

In other trade programs, the combination of taxes, tariffs, and quotas has not been successful in maintaining American industry at the desired level. Our trade policies need a thorough new look and some hard-headed American businessmen are needed to devote a great deal of independent thought and study to the over-all program. This nation in its trade and aid programs has played the part of an Andy Gump until it is on the verge of becoming an international Barney Google. Personnel that have manned the international giveaway programs for a great number of years are poorly equipped to change costumes and play the opposite role for the future even if their intellectual makeup could be so transformed.

This next year we will be passing additional trade legislation. The tendency in recent years has been to reduce American tariff protection while foreign countries have given little if anything in return, other than to agree to continue their existing practices, without making trade more onerous for us than it had been in the past. The reduction in levels of American tariffs has brought an increase in imports. The program has not brought us a corresponding increase in our exports. The result is that our favorable balance of trade is being reduced to the vanishing point.

When our unfavorable balance of tourist trade is added to the scales, together with our foreign aid program, troops for Europe, and the war in Vietnam, we find ourselves in a serious deficit position which is steadily growing worse. It cannot be corrected entirely while the Vietnam war continues, but we must start improving the situation so that it can be corrected when the Vietnam war is over.

This nation has it well within its power to correct all of these things which give an unfavorable balance of payments and move toward an unfavorable balance of trade. We can do it by expanding our Merchant Marine, by providing more rather than less protection for any American industry that is threatened, by insisting upon a quid pro quo from those countries which are enjoying favors from Uncle Sam.

The most imperative item is that we must stop American negotiators from committing this nation to international agreements which bind our hands and prevent us from using those tools which could save us in the future.

Lest someone be confused that I have expressed some opinions at variance with the Johnson Administration, I believe it well to make it clear that I am elected to represent the State of Louisiana and its three million people. Under our Federal system it was intended that there be room for differences of opinion. That is one of the reasons we have so many Congressmen and Senators. The fact that a man is chosen by his colleagues to be a part of their leadership does not reduce for one moment his duty to his nation, to the people who elect him, and to his convictions. As a part of the leadership, he has the duty to go an extra mile in bringing men of good will together to support policies and agree on decisions which are good for this country. So long as he remains a part of the legislative branch, he does not relinquish his duty to speak for what he believes.

This great and powerful nation holds its place in the world in spite of many mistakes, disasters and adversities with which its people have been confronted. It holds its place foremost among free people because we have realized our mistakes in time and with the guidance of a merciful Lord we have been able to correct our mistakes and find the right course to justice, wealth, and leadership. From time to time we would do well to rejoice in our good fortune. Having done so, we should then rededicate ourselves to the task ahead and accept whatever danger or sacrifice may be necessary to achieve it.

THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY—THE NATION'S WHIPPING BOY

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, the Government seems once more determined to make a whipping boy of the country's tobacco industry.

Latest evidence of that is the Federal Communications Commission's effort to apply the so-called fairness doctrine to the smoking question, so that both sides of the story can be told.

That being the case, fairness seems to require that the basis for the Government's antismoking campaign be subjected to an objective analysis, and Columnist James Kilpatrick, a highly respected and competent newsman, seems to have done an excellent job of that in his report entitled "Antismoking Figures Look Flimsy," published in the Washington Star of September 27, 1967.

Because the article so well puts the case into perspective, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Antismoking Figures Look Flimsy

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

"Get the facts!" said the authoritative voice on the boob tube. "A quarter of a million extra heart conditions. A million cases of bronchitis and emphysema. Eleven million cases of long-term illness. Write for your free copy of 'Smoking and Illness.' "

This free government leaflet, if you're curious, purports to "present the highlights" of a study released in May by the Public Health Service, "Cigarette Smoking and Health Characteristics." If the really curious viewer pursues the matter, and also obtains a copy of this parent study, he may discover at first hand what is meant by a credibility gap.

In plain words, both the free leaflet and the larger study on which it is based, in terms of the impression they seek deliberately to convey, are frauds. Prevaricators, it is said, are divided among three classes—liars, damn liars, and those who misuse statistics. By picking and choosing among some figures that are shaky to begin with, by glossing over necessary qualifications, and by mixing reasoned inference with pure surmise, the authors of these publications have perpetrated a shabby piece of propaganda.

The PHS study, conducted over 52 weeks in 1964–65, was intended to discover the relationship, if any, between smoking and a variety of chronic and acute illnesses. The raw figures were derived from interviews in a random sample of 42,000 households.

So far, so good. But the key figures, on which all the conclusions are based, are the figures covering smoking habits. How many cigarettes per day? Did the respondent ever smoke? If so, how many cigarettes did he smoke? What was his heaviest rate of smoking? If these figures are not solid, the whole study begins to fall apart. And the astounding fact, glossed over in the report, is that "data on 60 percent of the males who had ever smoked were obtained from other persons." The interviewers simply accepted answers from whoever happened to be at home at the time.

This is a study of smoking and "illness." To get the figures, the interviewers presented a list of chronic and acute conditions, and asked the householder to check appropriate boxes. Bronchitis, sinusitis, upper respiratory infection, emphysema, "heart trouble," "liver trouble," "chronic nervous trouble," "hypertension without heart involvement." The typical layman may be able to answer some of these questions generally; it is unbelievable that he could answer them precisely; but in this study the diagnoses of any 19-year-old who happened to be at home are given the impressive weight, down to two decimal places, of laboratory findings.

The authors of this study kept tripping over the inadequacy of their own data. They were thus reduced to guessing: "It could well be that . . . Had data been available, it might have been found that . . . This could indicate that . . . This could be affected by . . . This could result from . . ." In a moment of candor, they confess the truth: Their figures do not establish any cause-and-effect relationship between smoking and illness.

Still, their job was to leave precisely that impression—that cigarette smoking does result in illness and lost time. So they carefully bear down on the horrendous figures dealing with men who smoke more than two packs a day. Such smokers are in a small minority. Here they are made to bulk large. It is the pick-and-choose technique.

Two can play that game. With the same validity, on the basis of the PHS statistics, a critic can assure you that pack-a-day smokers spend fewer days in bed than persons who have never smoked; that the pack-a-day man is likely to have less hypertension, less arthritis, and better hearing than the never-smoked man. Amazingly, men who are presently smoking even have a lower incidence of upper respiratory conditions than persons who have never smoked. And believe it if you will, from Table 21 of the PHS report: Heavy-smokers over 65—the two-pack-a-day volcanoes—spend 8.5 days sick in bed each year, while their counterparts, men over 65 who never have smoked at all, are sick in bed nearly two weeks. What do you make of that?

Bosh! The figures are flimsy and the conclusions cannot rise above them. Caution, one would say to the curious TV viewer: Relying upon these statistics may result in your being bamboozled.

THE BOOM IN EDUCATION

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, about 6 million young Americans are studying this year at our colleges and universities. This is nearly twice as many college and university students as there were 10 years ago, and almost three times as many as there were 20 years ago. The figures are ample proof that higher education in this country is a boom industry.

An editorial published recently by the Charlottesville Daily Progress suggests one very good reason for the boom. Americans believe in the value of higher education, and they support it. The editorial points out that "nowhere have Americans undertaken a commitment as willingly and enthusiastically as the one they have made to themselves and their children in the field of higher education."

As a nation, we are spending $20 billion a year for the higher education of these 6 million students. I think it is most significant that half of this $20 billion is coming from private sources. Five billion is being provided by State legislatures. The Federal Government is allocating the remaining $5 billion.

The Daily Progress warns, however, that Federal spending may multiply more than three times within the next decade as private and State sources reach their limit. It also observes that "nearly universal higher education is a necessity if the Nation is to remain a leader in a shrinking world run by technology."

Mr. President, this is a timely warning. It implies that an even greater commitment by Americans to the support of higher education will be necessary in the 10 years just ahead. I certainly hope we will be able to maintain a balance among private, State, and Federal sources of support, and I am confident that Americans will respond to the needs as they have responded in the past 20 years. I ask unanimous consent that the Daily Progress editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Education a Boom Industry

Never in the course of human events have so many spent so much to educate so many.

Higher education—education beyond high school—now ranks as a major growth industry. It is a boom industry, with college enrollments rising faster than population, investment in college and university facilities and equipment expanding, the ranks of teachers, administrators, clerical and custodial personnel burgeoning—and tuition costs soaring.

No end to the boom is in sight.

Today, six million young Americans are enrolled in institutions of higher education, about two-thirds in public and one-third in private schools. This is nearly twice as many as 10 years ago and nearly three times as many as 20 years ago.

The number can only go on multiplying as the belief takes hold that a college education is not the privilege of a minority but the right of everyone capable of benefiting from it—indeed that nearly universal higher education is a necessity if the nation is to remain a leader in a shrinking world run by technology.

Yet few people realize that Americans are collectively spending $20 billion a year educating these six million students Juan T. Trippe chairman of Pan American World Airways recently pointed out.

By contrast he said, England, with a quarter of the U.S. population, has but a 30th as many collegians—200,000—and spends but a 28th as much on their education—$700 million.

Fully half this $20 billion comes from private sources—endowments, tuition, alumni contributions, corporate gifts and foundation grants.

Another $5 billion is allocated by state legislatures.

Federal financial support makes up the balance reaching a new high $5 billion last year—25 times more than it was after World War II when federal participation in higher education began.

The outlook is for federal spending to more than triple in the coming decade as private and state sources reach their limit.

We talk a lot about "commitments" these days. We have commitments to our allies, commitments to South Vietnam, commitments to land on the moon, commitments to elevate the impoverished and discriminated-against in our own land.

But nowhere have Americans undertaken a commitment as willingly and enthusiastically as the one they have made to themselves and their children in the field of higher education.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE SERVICE CORPS: ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, one of the important private organizations contributing immensely valuable assistance to underdeveloped countries is the International Executive Service Corps. Since its inauguration on June 14, 1964, in a launching which included a White House ceremony some of us in this body attended, it has quietly and very soundly gone about the business of providing managerial aid to mainly private businesses in other countries. The American know-how provided by the volunteers whom the IESC has so carefully selected is helping to fill a great need.

One of the clearest, and certainly from many standpoints one of the most official, statements of its evolvement and principles, its program and achievement, was made some months ago at an international management congress, sponsored by the Conseil International pour l'Organisation Scientifique—CIOS—by Mr. States Mead, vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Mr. Mead was one who worked closely toward the formation of the IESC and has since been a member of its Board and Executive Committee.

I ask unanimous consent that his report to the CIOS meeting, held at Rotterdam, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[The CIOS XIV Congress, Rotterdam, Sept. 20, 1966]

THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE SERVICE CORPS

(By States M. Mead)

In September 1963 at the CIOS XIII International Management Congress in New York, Mr. David Rockefeller, President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, delivered the keynote address on the subject of "Managerial Work and Human Progress". In that address Mr. Rockefeller proposed the creation of a "Managerial Task Force of Free Enterprise", to be made up of businessmen-volunteers from the advanced nations who would serve as advisers or consultants to enterprises in the emerging nations in order to assist the growth of strong and free economies.

The proposal won a warm response, from both the immediate audience and others in both government and private circles. However, as we all know, much lies between ideas or words, on the one hand, and action and accomplishment, on the other hand. It is for that reason that I am both delighted and privileged to be able to report, just three years after Mr. Rockefeller's address, that the idea has borne fruit. Thanks to the attention and efforts of a number of responsible business and government leaders following the CIOS XIII Congress the International Executive Service Corps has been brought into existence, and is a going concern. To date, it has accepted nearly 300 individual projects in 33 countries of the developing nations and has completed one-third of them. It has assembled a remarkable roster of experienced American executives available for such assignment. And in the projects thus far completed, the IESC has proved that the concepts on which it was developed are sound and workable.

Besides Mr. Rockefeller, two individuals who must receive credit as "founding fathers" of the IESC, are U.S. Senators Vance Hartke of Indiana and Jacob Javits of New York. Senator Hartke, following a trip abroad in 1962 had proposed the establishment of a "businessman's peace corps" to make available to developing economies the talent and know-how of retired American business executives. Senator Javits had called on U.S. corporations to create a pool of skills for overseas assistance. What these proposals and Mr. Rockefeller's had in common was that the experts to be sent abroad would come from the private sector.

It so happened that this line of thought paralleled one that was being discussed within the Federal Administration, particularly in the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.): Could not the private sector to be encouraged to play a larger role in the continuing United States program of economic aid to the developing nations?

In response to the very favorable reaction and a deluge of mail which followed Mr. David Rockefeller's CIOS XIII keynote address, he subsequently had a staff study made for the purpose of putting some meat on the skeleton of his basic idea.

A.I.D. also had undertaken some very thorough studies, based both upon various independent proposals and upon its own soundings of opinions and attitudes in the United States and abroad. The conclusion to which A.I.D. came was: that some sort of executive service corps could and should be established to make the human skills of U.S. business directly available to business in the developing nations. Hence, a small planning staff was created within A.I.D., and early in 1964 A.I.D. sponsored a voluntary organizing conference of business leaders, both from companies and all major business associations and management groups, as well as from government. The conference participants, in turn, created an organizing committee which, significantly, was made up entirely of seven private businessmen, including Mr. David Rockefeller and Mr. Sol Linowitz of Xerox Corporation, as the organizing co-chairmen.

In the following two months, those seven men met frequently to plan and to direct the staff work necessary to develop a charter, select a suitable name, formulate basic policies, establish fundamental operating practices, elicit initial financial support, select and form a strong and highly representative Board of Directors. During this period valuable assistance was given by the Council for International Progress in Management (U.S.A.) and by the National Industrial Conference Board.

As the principal staff aide to the seven men of the Organizing Committee, I can bear witness to the intense interest, dedication and time they gave to the subject. In addition to Messrs. Rockefeller and Linowitz, these men were Mr. Ray R. Eppert, President of the Burroughs Corporation; Mr. Dan A. Kimball, Chairman of the Board of the Aerojet-General Corporation; Mr. William S. Paley, Chairman of the Board of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Mr. John H. Johnson, President of Johnson Publications; and the late Mr. C. D. Jackson, Senior Vice-President of Time Inc. We should note that Mr. Jackson was the General Program Chairman of CIOS XIII Congress and that he served as the first Chairman of the Board of Directors at the founding of the I.E.S.C.

By June 1964, the IESC had become a reality; incorporated as a non-profit organization in New York State, with tax free status under United States law. Following the initial meeting of the IESC Board of Directors on June 14, 1964 the directors were received at the White House by President Johnson, who indicated his enthusiasm for the organization in saying: "You are making a most important contribution . . . to the economic development of the free world."

It was accepted at the outset that A.I.D. would provide initial grants, as "seed money", to help the IESC come into existence and grow—and that the contributions of the private sector would grow increasingly as a part of the total.

The recruitment of a small but very high grade initial headquarters organization reqiured several months time—as also did the obtaining of suitable office space in New York City.

We were fortunate in convincing one of our IESC Directors to devote his services full time to the management of IESC as its President. This man is Mr. Frank Pace, Jr., a former Secretary of the Army and former President and Chairman of the General Dynamics Corp. In November 1964, the offices of IESC were opened in New York, and in January 1965, the first active project was initiated with the assignment of Mr. Howard Rose, a semi-retired consulting engineer of Connecticut to the Amado Engineering Co. in the small provincial city of David, Panama. Amado had asked for suggestions on problems encountered in growing from a small engineering firm into a metal fabricating and construction complex. Mr. Rose spent about four months there, recommended reorganization and personnel development and changes in pricing policies. The company subsequently benefited much from the managerial assistance. Now, hardly 21 months later, there are 90 projects completed, 32 underway, 37 more to which the assigned volunteer is now en route, and over 120 for which a qualified executive is being recruited. By the end of this year it is expected that a total of about 400 projects will have been accepted since the beginning. It is anticipated that in the future IESC will take on some 400 to 500 new projects each year.

Its activities already span the world—the length of Latin America and across Africa, the Middle East and Southern Asia to the Pacific. There are 80 projects in Central America, 43 in South America, 74 in the Far East, 72 in the Middle East, and now 10 in Africa with more anticipated.

In most cases, IESC projects consist of the assignment of a carefully selected executive to the top-management level of an overseas business firm. The program rests on two fundamental premises. One is that the service rendered must be of high quality. The other is that the enterprises assisted should be significant to the local economy.

Among other IESC principles are these:

1. The function of the IESC executive is only to help an enterprise, not to run it. Experience has shown that a three or four-month assignment is usually adequate, with a later follow-up assignment desired in some cases.

2. Although IESC is subsidized by public and private sources in the United States, overseas client firms must make a measurable contribution toward the cost of the services they receive. Such contributions are negotiated on the basis of local standards of compensation and the firm's ability to pay.

The principle of charging something for IESC service is basic. It is not a giveaway program. It is a business proposition among businessmen.

3. IESC provides service only where the necessary assistance cannot be obtained locally, either because of its cost or because it is not available.

4. IESC executives must be experienced businessmen, with records of substantial achievement, who volunteer to serve. They and the organizations they represent are interested in the opportunity to be of help rather than in salary or other material rewards.

IESC provides assistance principally to the private sector, but will consider any project that is likely to strengthen the local business community. In a few cases this includes assisting government agencies, when such assistance is likely to improve the environment for free enterprise.

The procedure for requesting IESC assistance is very simple. All that is necessary is for a firm to make its interest known to any of the IESC representatives now stationed in key countries around the developing world, or write directly to IESC in New York. It is not necessary to go through any official channel, although economic offices of both local governments and United States missions are ready to help establish contact with IESC when asked to do so.

After a proposed project is approved by the IESC field representative, it is submitted to New York for final approval. When this is given, IESC then—and only then—looks for the executive who can best do the job. For this is not an employment agency trying to turn up jobs for businessmen at loose ends; the client firm comes first. Although there have been thousands of inquiries from United States businessmen willing to volunteer for the program, IESC has firmly pruned this list down to fewer than 1,500 names of men considered qualified for overseas assignment. Even so, the file often does not yield the name of just the right man. When this happens, a specific search is made throughout the country to find him. IESC has a substantial recruiting office in New York (now manned by one paid and six volunteer recruiting officers) and a network of volunteer representatives in some 35 cities to assist the search. To date IESC has been very successful in matching the clients' needs with executives who are not only technically qualified but, equally important, are suited by personality and temperament to adjust to working conditions that may be quite different from those they are used to.

Many of these men have recently retired from United States firms. Others have their own businesses, in which they are now freed of day-to-day responsibilities. Still others may be what are called "mid-career" men, executives still actively at work who are loaned to IESC for a few months by their U.S. employers.

All of them have one thing in common—they are volunteers. They serve IESC without compensation, except for basic expenses. This requirement that executives serve without salary is perhaps the most important single factor in assuring the quality of the service; it automatically weeds out the self-seeker.

Of the approximately 75 men who have so far completed more than 90 assignments (some have already gone out twice), nearly every one has said that the experience, and the opportunity to give of himself, has been one of the most satisfying episodes of his life. From the viewpoint of the client companies, it is of more significance that they, too, have found the association satisfying and rewarding.

There have inevitably been a few cases—but only a few—where personal or business problems have created serious obstacles; IESC considers seven or eight projects so far to have been unsuccessful, or a little less than one in ten. Thus the goal which President Frank Pace set—90 per cent success—is being met.

Approximately two-thirds of IESC's initial financial requirements have been met by grants from the U.S. Government and one-third by contributions from the private sector. The Government's participation reflects the continuing interest of the President of the United States in encouraging American business to assist foreign economic development. The private contributions reflect support for the IESC concept by the business community at home and abroad. It is important to note that the governmental grants to IESC through A.I.D., have been strictly with "no strings attached". Policy and programs are directed only by the IESC Board of Directors.

In this brief outline of the origins and progress of IESC we can detect a characteristic that is still today one of the most significant features of the program. It is a *private* effort, *publicly* sponsored. IESC's Board of Directors continues to be made up entirely of distinguished private businessmen.

It has 55 members, including some from various industries and regions and few outstanding figures from major business schools. Initial members of the IESC Board of Directors have been the outgoing President of CIOS, Mr. Gerrit van der Wal of the Netherlands, and his predecessor, Mr. A. M. Lederer of the United States. The Board meets twice a year, and its Executive Committee of 15 members meets 4 times a year to review management. The IESC budget continues to be assisted by A.I.D. contributions.

In this respect IESC has become an unusual, if not unique, experiment. Its sponsors like to think that after too many years in which the public sector and the private sector looked upon each other as natural enemies, they are helping to clear a path toward the fruitful collaboration.

IESC's special blend of private and public effort carries over from the United States to the countries where it engages in active projects. The executive advisers assigned to overseas firms are strictly private individuals, but they function with the full knowledge and approval of the local government, which normally enters into a simple agreement with IESC regulating such matters as the tax status of the executive volunteer. Similarly, the client companies to which these volunteers are assigned, for periods of three or four or six months, are private enterprises, almost without exception. One exception for example, is in Ghana where an IESC volunteer, a public-utility executive from Columbus, Ohio, is now helping that troubled country to unscramble the economic omelet dished up by its former government. IESC was one of the first Western agencies Ghana turned to in its effort to chart a new course for the future. IESC projects are broadly conceived in terms of the economic future of the country as a whole. Still others, far more numerous, are more limited in scope but collectively no less significant. There are volunteers working on management and technical problems with individual firms throughout almost the entire range of business activity. As the total number of projects multiplies in such fields as these, IESC hopes also for a multiplying effect on economic growth and international cooperation.

Now let me recall that the various suggestions which gave birth to the IESC varied greatly in detail. They had in common, however, the general observation that large scale government-to-government aid lacked two important elements as a stimulus to the growth of vigorous free economies in the developing nations. In the first place, it did not provide sufficient opportunity for the private sector in American life to participate directly in the creation of a strong private sector overseas.

In the second place, massive injections of funds to close the capital gap between the developed and the developing nations did not alleviate what has been called the second gap—namely, the discrepancy in human skills, and primarily managerial knowledge and skills.

The developing nations simply do not have the vast resources of managerial talent and experience that have been such vital factors in our dynamic American economy.

Thus, the IESC concept is one of growth through international cooperation, very much in keeping with our topic here today at CIOS XIIII. Although initiated primarily through American stimulus and action, it does not exclude the participation of the businessmen of other advanced nations, who share an interest in the objectives of IESC.

I believe the establishment and progress of the International Executive Service Corps, in these three short years since our last CIOS Congress, is a tribute both to the international spirit and dedication to management science (which is exemplified by CIOS) and to the generous, practical efforts of the IESC founders. IESC is both a succesful experiment and a reality—in cooperation between the U.S. Government and private enterprise and in international cooperation for growth and economic development through better management. I am confident that by the time of the next CIOS Congress in 1969, this cooperation will have been carried still further.

WHY ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM HAS TROUBLE IN CONGRESS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, during this debate on the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, it is timely indeed to heed the counsel of those individuals who are on the "front line" of the "war on poverty," the mayors of our Nation's great cities.

In that connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement issued on September 25 by Hon. Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., mayor of Providence, R.I., in which he discusses the true reasons why the antipoverty program has had such trouble in Congress.

Mayor Doorley has compiled one of the most successful records of any municipal chief executive in the Nation, and I know that Senators will want to give his views careful attention.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., Providence, R.I., September 25, 1967

The city has formulated and is now operating one of the most comprehensive programs in the Nation to combat poverty. We provide legal services, educational programs, consumer assistance, employment aid, and a host of other projects which are giving the alienated poor an opportunity which they never have shared before.

The war on poverty is not an effort simply to support people or to make them dependent upon the generosity of others; it is designed to give the poor a chance to help themselves. Our program in Providence has made it possible for thousands of inner city inhabitants to secure a chance and an opportunity to rejoin the mainstream of American life and share in its affluence and prosperity.

Today's *Providence Journal* on page 28 reports that the anti-poverty bill pending in Congress is in trouble. And that trouble stems from Republican opposition to the bill.

Not too many days ago, the Policy Committee of the Republican Governors' Conference met in New York at the request of Governor Rockefeller. They discussed means of relaxing tension in the Nation's racial ghettoes. Their report charged that the Federal government had failed to allot sufficient funds for its programs dealing with urban poverty.

It is ironic that the Republican governors have so little influence over their Congressional representatives. It is also ironic that the Republican Party which only last August called for more aid to eliminate urban poverty now, one month later, is about to destroy the hope and aspiration of all the Nation's ghetto dwellers.

The politically motivated utterances of the Governors' Policy Committee show clearly that the Republicans are more interested in developing a national candidate than they are in helping the impoverished people of the Nation's cities.

The people of this city and those of every other city should marshal their resources in protest to the politically inspired conduct of the Republicans in Congress who are about to destroy this important program.

ANOTHER FAMOUS MARINE CORPS GENERAL SPEAKS OUT AGAINST U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, there has been for too long a mistaken impression in the country that all military men are in favor of the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

This is not so.

More and more experienced military men are speaking out against U.S. military involvement.

I have previously alluded to the fact that Gen. Douglas MacArthur, undoubtedly one of the greatest soldiers of our time, warned repeatedly against engaging in a ground war on the continent of Asia. He said:

> Anyone in favor of sending American ground troops to fight on Chinese soil should have his head examined.

Gen. Matthew Ridgway and Gen. Omar Bradley also warned against such action. Gen. David M. Shoup, retired Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, in addressing the annual Junior College World Affairs Convention in Los Angeles in May 1966, said:

> I want to tell you I don't think the whole of Southeast Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of the people of this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American.

To this respectable chorus of experienced military men warning against U.S. military involvement in a land war in Asia, there is now added the voice of a distinguished former Marine Corps officer, Samuel D. Griffith II, retired brigadier general of the Marine Corps—who, in a message to the Business Executives for Peace in Vietnam, meeting on September 27, 1967, said, in part:

> If we *really* want negotiation, we must begin to de-escalate the war rather than continue to escalate . . . Even if we were to obliterate North Vietnam completely, the guerrilla war in the South could continue. . . . Why is it not possible for America, the most powerful nation in the world, to take a first step toward what practically everybody in the world except Mao Tse Tung wants?

General Griffith is a China scholar as well as a much decorated Marine officer. Guerrilla warfare is not unknown to him. In World War II, he commanded the 1st Marine Raiders, winning the Navy Cross and the Purple Heart at Guadalcanal and the Army Distinguished Cross at New Georgia. After his retirement in 1956, General Grffith earned a Ph. D. in Chinese military history at Oxford. He translated Mao Tse-tung's "On Guerrilla Warfare" and, more recently, wrote "The Battle for Guadalcanal." He is a research fellow on China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City and is a member of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

As a student of Chinese military history, he said:

> Our country . . . is now beginning to be hurt both in body and spirit. And who stands to reap the benefits of our misguided strategy? None other than Moscow and Peking.

I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the message sent by General Griffith to the Business Executive for Peace in Vietnam, meeting on September 27, 1967, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Message to Henry E. Niles, Cochairman, Business Executives for Peace in Vietnam, Baltimore, Md.

September 25, 1967.

Dear Mr. Niles: I regret that my scheduled trip to the Far East makes it impossible for me to attend the Washington Meeting of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace.

I heartily endorse the objectives of your organization so clearly set forth in your Open Letter to the President printed in the New York Times on May 28, 1967.

Mr. Chairman, our country is indeed troubled. American casualties in the Vietnam War are increasing at an alarming rate. In one three-day period last week more than 400 U.S. Marines were killed or wounded at Con Thien, a position on the border of the so-called demilitarized zone in Vietnam. There the Viet Cong used artillery, heavy mortars, and rockets. This bombardment was no isolated incident but the scale of it is a grim portent of the future. It is high time for the American people to ask bluntly, "For what purpose are Americans still being killed and maimed in Vietnam?" We, of course, know the official answers to this question. We have heard them countless times but the situation today requires something more than the tired clichés of the Secretary of State.

What is imperatively demanded is a positive policy designed to end the fighting in Vietnam so that those unhappy people who have not known peace for two decades may once again enjoy it and so that we may stop expending lives, blood, energy, and resources in an area which is not of critical importance either to our national security or to our strategic position in the Far East.

Despite optimistic statements to the contrary, the end of the Vietnam War is not yet in sight. Indeed, the chances for a peaceful settlement grow daily more remote as the Administration stubbornly persists in its desperate determination to force Ho Chi Minh to negotiate. Let us ask whether further Americanization of the war and its progressive escalation toward a confrontation with China is the way to persuade Hanoi to talk peace. This is, however, precisely the policy which the Administration pursues. It is, in my opinion, as I believe it is in yours, a disastrous policy.

If we *really* want negotiation, we must begin to de-escalate the war rather than continue to escalate. The obvious action we can take, and I believe should take and at once, is to cease bombing Hanoi. Even were we to obliterate North Vietnam completely, the guerrilla war in the South would continue.

Our bombing of the North does not and cannot, as Mr. McNamara has testified, stop the flow of the relatively small tonnage required to sustain guerrilla war in South Vietnam.

Why is it not possible for America, the most powerful nation in the world, to take a first step toward what practically everybody in the world except Mao Tse Tung wants?

If a strategy proves unproductive, it is the first responsibility of a commander to change it. But how long are we going to have to wait?

How long would a business man wait to change a manifestly wrong policy? Not long, or he would soon be out of business. I am not suggesting that our country is going out of business, but it is now beginning to be hurt both in body and in spirit. And, who stands to reap the benefits of our misguided strategy? None other than Moscow and Peking.

Surely respect for our President both at home and abroad would not diminish should he take a first positive step which, hopefully, could lead us eventually out of this costly morass into which we daily sink deeper and deeper.

Finally, Sir, I want to congratulate you, Mr. Willens, and your Executive Committee for organizing "Business Executives Move For Vietnam Peace" and again to express my regret that I cannot be with you.

Sincerely,
Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Griffith II,
U.S. Marine Corps, Retired.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN MOTORS

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, American Motors Corp., is in a most serious situation as it introduces its new models this year. When its books are tallied up for the fiscal year ending September 30, they may well show a loss of $60,000,000 for the year, while it faces loans due December 31 in the staggering amount of $66,600,000.

Yet the management is optimistic about changes now in process. With a current sale of only 3 percent of all cars leaving dealer showrooms, American Motors is aiming at 4.2 percent of sales by next summer. In a field where most of the business is shared by only three companies, the American economy needs the preservation of this smaller company lest the monopolistic trend toward fewer companies—a trend not confined to the automobile field—be accentuated still further.

On August 11 the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson] introduced a bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, dealing with the tax situation of tihs company. I am a cosponsor of the bill.

An enlightening article detailing this company's situation, in the form of a Detroit dispatch, was published in the National Observer of September 25. Mr. Roy Chapin, as American's chairman and chief executive officer since early this year, and his team of executives are moving positively to cope with the situation, as the article shows. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

American Motors: "We've Quit Rambling"—Shifting for an Uphill Climb

Detroit.—The is American Motors Corp.'s week of hope and horror.

The company hopes for the beginning of a 20 percent annual sales gain when the 1968 models go on sale Sept. 26 with a flashy new advertising campaign for a flashy new car, the Javelin, AMC's first entry in the "Mustang market." But the company still shudders at the red ink splashed so freely through AMC's ledger for its fiscal year ending Sept. 30.

Indeed, this loss, which may reach $60,000,000, forces the question of whether AMC can survive. If it does, its recovery will have to be splendid as its decline was calamitous, because its 1967 loss approaches some of the most spectacular deficits in recent business history—General Dynamics Corp.'s $69,437,000 loss in 1961 and the $76,932,000 loss in 1965 by Brunswick Corp.

These companies quickly rebounded into profits. Brunswick's loss came primarily from a onetime write-off when the company overextended its bowling investments. General Dynamics abandoned in 1962 its production of Convair 880 and 990 jets, which had drained its treasury. AMC's potential recovery appears tougher.

AMC, for example, can't drop autos; its only other business is the lagging Kelvinator appliance division, which accounts for 12 to 14 per cent of the company's sales. AMC must sell more cars. A legacy of questionable management decisions helped cut domestic sales during the 1967 model year to about 243,000 cars from 441,472 in 1963. And bankers may press AMC for the $66,500,000 due Dec. 31 and secured by mortgages on the company's plants, equipment, and inventories.

At AMC's headquarters on Plymouth Road here, management bubbles with determination. The word "survival" has been stricken from the accepted corporate lexicon. Ask William V. Luneburg, the peppery American Motors' president, if the company can be saved, and he snarls: "What the hell do you think I'm doing here? This outfit isn't planning on optimism."

RECOVERY PROGRAM OUTLINED

Roy D. Chapin, Jr., AMC's chairman and chief executive officer since January, last spring outlined a recovery plan to the 24 creditor banks, with month by month projections on sales and costs. "We're right where we said we would be," he declares now. "They [the banks] are in a more positive frame of mind. I'm confident we can live up to our commitments until next June."

Mr. Chapin won't specify that June goal, but a vice president suggests AMC will grab 4.2 per cent of the auto market by next summer; it currently makes 3 of every 100 cars sold in the nation.

Such optimism has encouraged some investors. No large institutional investors a few months ago owned any of AMC's 19,000,000 common shares. AMC now proudly declares that mutual funds own 3,000,000 of the company's shares; its stock closed last week at $15.13 a share, compared with a 1966 low of $6.38.

"I've been through a lot of mock burials before, and we've always recovered," chuckles one top AMC official. American Motors was created in 1954 by merging two dying companies, Nash-Kelvinator Co. and Hudson Motor Co. The financial hemorrhage continued. In 1956 the company lost $30,000,000, and AMC was selling less than 2 per cent of the nation's cars. Then came economic recession, and boom times for AMC's little car. AMC in 1959 turned a $60,000,000 profit. Sales the following year reached 7.2 per cent of the market.

This success had a side effect; it lured George Romney into politics in 1962. For a successor as AMC president, Mr. Romney tapped Roy Abernethy, his bluff, cigar-smoking sales chief. The Abernethy management posted profit gains in 1962 and 1963. As competition tightened the compact market, Mr. Abernethy decided to expand AMC's market; he called it "moving the fence" within which AMC operated.

The company jazzed up its cars, adding inches, horsepower, options, and cost. "We've got everything everyone else has," Mr. Abernethy boasted. Laments an insider: "The proliferating number of body styles and frequent changes in models created tremendous costs of tooling. If they had sparked adequate volume, fine, but they didn't. At least our old boxy compact was distinctive." After a $37,800,000 profit in 1963, profits and sales tailed off steadily, until AMC lost $12,600,000 in fiscal 1966, and ran a $47,985,000 loss in the first nine months of this fiscal year.

The mistakes ran deeper than styling. AMC paid generous cash dividends to shareholders. From 1961 through 1965 the company accumulated a profit equal to $6.97 per share of its common stock, and paid out dividends of $4.71 a share, or 69 per cent of its profit. By comparison Ford Motor Co. over the same five-year period paid less than 40 per cent of its profit in dividends, saving the rest for expansion, modernization, and other expenses.

Then auto buyers discovered the Mustang. To get in on the market for small, sporty cars, AMC decided to build, beginning in 1965, a car it called the Marlin. One insider on reflection concedes AMC should never have built this car, which was planned as a sporty version of its American series. The American was the smallest of AMC's three model lines, which included the Classic (now called Rebel), and the top-of-the-line Ambassador. But to give Marlin plenty of power and zip, AMC decided to equip it with a V–8 engine. "The V–8 engine didn't fit the American chassis, so we put the Marlin on a Classic chassis. That made the car too big to sell well," this official admits. Before it was dropped earlier this year, Marlin reached a top selling pace of 1,000 a month.

In search of cash, AMC mortgaged its plants and equipment, then spent $60,000,000 to restyle the 1967-model cars. Mr. Abernethy predicted domestic sales of 375,000 AMC cars, up from 280,000 in the 1966 model run. When the sales slump continued, AMC directors eased Mr. Abernethy aside last January.

The shift brought a sharp personality change in the corporate management. Mr. Abernethy came up through sales, and he seemed to feel most at home with dealers. Mr. Chapin prefers, as now he must, bankers. Thin, articulate, patrician, and wealthy, Mr. Chapin chats easily and confidently of AMC recovery. As a sign of where the company's problems lie, only 2 of 15 vice presidents report to Mr. Chapin directly: the vice presidents for public relations and finance.

AN EXPENSIVE SHUTDOWN

With a 150-day stock of unsold cars, the Chapin-Luneburg management shut down production early this year for several weeks at the AMC assembly plant in Kenosha, Wis. Mr. Chapin talks of the shutdown as "excruciating," and its cost at running into the "tens of millions of dollars."

Then, to boost sales, AMC cut the suggested retail price by $234 to $1,839 on its lowest-priced American model; about half the cut was in the wholesale price to the dealer, the remainder in the dealer's suggested mark-up. In April, AMC sold 7,400 Americans, compared with 3,200 in January. AMC blames a shortage of cars for the drop in sales of the American last month to 4,255, off from a year-earlier 6,740.

The company trimmed costs, reducing the number of salaried employes to a current 7,000 from nearly 8,400 at the end of 1966. It dropped "marginal" development work on a rotary engine.

AMC seeks to refashion its image. "We've quit rambling," declares a vice president. "With a name like Rambler, you can't have a sharp company." So the name Rambler now appears only on the American series, and the company has begun a program to help dealers pay for new "American Motors" signs to replace "Rambler" signs. The company hired the Wells, Rich, Greene, Inc., advertising agency to add zip to its advertising. The campaign, which concentrates on the Javelin, includes one TV pitch showing six gangsters stealing a Javelin for a get-away car because its got such a big engine and so much back-seat leg room.

Doubt persists among many business analysts over a very basic question: whether Mr. Chapin has the necessary freedom and time to accomplish his goals. AMC last May sold its Redisco, Inc., financial subsidiary to Chrysler Corp. for a fire-sale price of around $28,500,000, sustaining a $5,289,178 loss on the transaction. Says a Wall Street analyst: "They sold a property earning a profit of $3,000,000 yearly to pay off part of their loan and reduce their annual debt costs by maybe $1,500,000 a year. That sounds to me like the creditors are running the company, and running it to their benefit."

Mr. Chapin denies this. "The bankers are trying to be as helpful as they can. David Rockefeller [president of Chase Manhattan Bank, the key lender] made a TV tape for our dealer show. He didn't have to spend time doing that. He feels a desire to see us succeed. Everybody in the country wants us to make it." Ford and General Motors Corp. have opened their safety-testing facilities for AMC use. GM is selling AMC a new, collapsible steering column. "They made it available to us immediately. They didn't have to."

Good wishes don't sell cars. Javelin may accomplish that. Mr. Chapin plots this formula for AMC success in 1968: Sell as many Americans, Rebels, and Ambassadors as during the 1967 model run, 243,000, then top that with 60,000 Javelins. But with an uncertain economic year ahead and only a "light face-lift" in styling of its non-Javelin models, holding at 1967 levels may not come easily.

And will buyers take to a car that seems a me-too copy of Ford's Mustang? Granted, there are differences, such as two extra inches of rear-seat leg room, compared with Mustang, three added gallons of gas-tank capacity, and a plastic grille.

"You don't have to offer radical differences," Mr. Chapin believes. "You just must give people a reason to buy, a reason to say why they bought an American Motors car." Leg space is a big Javelin difference. Price is a big American difference. At the suggestion of Mary Wells of the advertising agency, air conditioning will come as standard equipment on the 1968 Ambassadors. "No other car this side of $10,000 offers air conditioning as standard equipment," boasts a vice president.

If AMC rebounds once again, analysts will hail it as a classic example of what good management can accomplish. Says Mr. Luneburg. "We're all on the same wave length, as opposed to before, when we had problems of communication; a number of people had set ways." He refuses to cite examples, but will concede that the Abernethy era was beset with "hauling and tugging," which Mr. Luneburg says resulted in constant indecision and delay.

Throughout this talk of problems and proffered remedies, designers busily sculpture clay mock-ups of the potential 1970 AMC cars. A dozen or so full-sized designs are scattered around the second-floor design room, two Americans are off to one side, an Ambassador nearby, and several potential variations on the Javelin. Mr. Chapin and his associates must decide next month which designs to select to give time for engineering and tooling work. On the success of the 1968 cars rests the hope that there will be a point to making this selection.

—Harold H. Brayman.

THE REDISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CITY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently, the Under Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Robert Wood, addressed the annual alumni seminar at the Massachusetts Institue of Technology. His speech, "The Rediscovery of the American City," is most noteworthy because it provides a new, intelligent framework for our thinking in urban affairs. It summarizes the accomplishments of the last few years and outlines the priorities for future inquiry and action in urban questions.

The Under Secretary rightly points out that there have been improvements, that we have made progress, and that there is reason for confidence in our urban society. Specifically, Mr. Wood lists three principle reasons for this optimism:

First, the recognition that the urban system is a complex "set of relations of people and space involving many dimensions";

Second, the development of ideas that recognize this complexity of the urban system; and

Third, the development of a national policy that is committed to "city-building in the broadest sense of the word everywhere across this continent."

But Mr. Wood clearly indicates that there is a need for a continual expansion of our commitment to a better urban society, encompassing the center city, the suburb, and the exurb. This commitment to the total improvement of urban America shapes "a common cause among the urban poor, the urban middle-class, the urban rich."

Likewise, Mr. Wood praises the efforts of the private sector and details the need for more of this cooperation. The formation of the urban coalition, and the recent commitment of $1 billion from the insurance industry for mortgage credit are examples of this new effort from those outside the public sector concerned about the urban future. The private sector must help, must share in the responsibility for a better urban environment.

Mr. President, these words from the Under Secretary are encouraging in light of the pessimism that developed in response to the urban disorders this summer. The speech helps us see the entire urban picture and highlights the need for comprehensive thinking.

I ask unanimous consent that the Under Secretary's address be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Rediscovery of the American City

(Address by Robert C. Wood, Under Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, MIT Alumni Seminar, 1967, Cambridge, Mass., September 8, 1967)

Good evening, it has been twenty months since my sabbatical year was suddenly transformed from one of political speculation to political experimentation—and extended somewhat in duration. But three times since then one group or another on this lively, diverse and changing campus has welcomed me home again. I appreciate every opportunity.

Early in my Washington days, I explored with undergraduates the new career challenges urban affairs offers young scientists and engineers.

Later on, I talked with faculty friends as they took up Jim Killian's and Howard Johnson's charge to bring the resources of this great university to bear on urban problems in a major new commitment. And I salute the program's first great accomplishment, persuading one of the country's great urban leaders. John Collins, to join MIT's ranks.

Tonight, I meet with this distinguished group of alumni and alumnae—hoping to help make clear how your fortunes and interests are intertwined with the American urban community and to encourage the use of your talents and energies in its behalf.

From each visit to MIT I take more than I give. There are older universities in this nation and some that profess a more cosmopolitan style. But none can claim to be in closer touch with those distinctive features of the American character and culture that have generated this nation's uniquely successful development:

A reliance on reason in place of emotion or illusion as a means to solve problems both human and material;

An emphasis on productivity, on action, on work, on results—not talk—as the measure of competence;

An insistence on quality in the application of reason and the execution of tasks, so that the mark of the professional stamps the men and women of MIT from their freshman year onward.

It is worth recalling these characteristics. They underlie the Institute's reputation. They are also qualities sorely needed in our present struggle to build cities that reflect the best of America's aspirations.

For, since the time I accepted Bob Bishop's invitation to join this Seminar today, we have passed through a series of calamitous events in our cities. In President Johnson's words, "We have been through a time no nation should endure." Since last May, storms of urban discontent have broken over Cincinnati and Tampa, over Newark and Detroit, here over Boston—indeed over more than a score of American cities.

This is the fourth consecutive year of urban violence and the intensity is increasing.

These outbreaks were not unexpected. Nor were they, to the professional observer, inexplicable. But they have produced the torrent of commentary and explanation that now swirls around us and the sense of urgency and concern with our urban civilization that was lacking in earlier years.

All of us in the urban business welcome every indication of the public's sense of heightened urgency and broader concern. However, the solemn predictions of disaster, and the panicky search for panaceas is another—and disturbing—matter.

Urban problems we have aplenty—and inventory of ills assembled over years of indifference and inattention. Yet the potential for city-building in the United States grand in scale and fine in quality has never been greater.

Indeed, my central theme is that we are in fact further along in understanding the urban system, developing the capabilities to direct it, and deciding in what direction it should go than most Americans appreciate—or, given the decades of neglect, than we probably deserve.

This thesis runs contrary, of course, to the cloudburst of criticism that now falls on our city policies. The urban wailing wall is lined today with eloquent communicators urging us in this direction or that. Some of these are old colleagues who only a few short years ago wrote learned treatises entitled "There is no Urban Problem" or "Cities are Better Than Ever." Others are the experts who called for the abolition of the automobile as a practical solution to the unspecified ills of suburbia.

Now while these observers come forward with a different set of opinions and assertions, prescriptions and philosophies, let me present some evidence for long-run confidence in Americans as urbanites. The foundation for this optimism is principally that the characteristics of reason and problem solving which give validity to this Institute's approach, are now being applied to urban affairs.

Specifically—

We come increasingly to understand the city as a system of many variables in precise and accurate terms, as a complex set of relations of people and space involving many dimensions. This may sound theoretical, but an accurate description of the phenomenon is a prerequisite for guiding it. Until very recently in urban scholarship there was a clear and present danger of committing the single-factor fallacy in diagnosing our cities ills. The special error was a tendency to analyze them solely in terms of race.

Second, we are beginning to develop a balanced capacity to design and build better city systems. We are learning that, as in all great national endeavors, manpower, know-how, talent, and commitment are as important as dollars. We ignore any one component at the peril of the total enterprise. And when we emphasize only one, we invite waste and error.

Third, our national policy states clearly that the task is still city-building in the broadest sense of the word everywhere across this continent. It is not only the ghetto and the ghetto resident that concerns us, but all urban dwellers and all parts of the urban complex. This means we must develop a broader system and direct it toward goals we identify and come to agree upon more clearly.

Let me expand on each of these points.

The first reason for some confidence in our urban future is that, despite the spate of Sunday supplement commentary, we are beginning to define and study urban behavior systematically. It has been ten years since Raymond Vernon began directing the New York Metropolitan Study. This was a truly extraordinary nine volume inquiry into the economic functioning of our largest metropolitan area.

This thirty-man professional group effort established a new direction in urban scholarship. It shifted the study of the city away from the emotionally oriented, intuitive, historical and architectural approaches of the lonely scholar tradition. It moved urban scholarship toward a carefully designed, multi-disciplinary exploration of the varied relationships between the location of jobs and households in urban space.

The economic focus of the New York Study had its limitations. Vernon's policy conclusions were largely comforting and reassuring. They gave heavy emphasis to the fact that *relatively speaking* city dwellers are better off in material terms than ever before.

With ten years' hindsight, it is possible to identify some critical missing elements of analysis. They include the failure to recognize that there is a psychological identity crisis among the new migrants from rural American circumstances; that we wrote off too quickly the potential role of government in the process of urban development; that we did not take into account the full meaning of changing technology.

But the foundations of urban systems analysis were clearly set by the Study. They still stand in stark contrast to some contemporary diagnoses by latecomers in the field who even now persist in treating a multivariable situation in single cause and effect terms. The Study carefully avoided any simple classification of a special category of urban people, a single source of discontent, or a particular kind of family problem.

As we build on the work of the 1950's we have come to know that urban conditions of stability or instability, squalor or decency, efficiency or inefficiency, beauty or ugliness, are not the functions of single factors.

They are not the result of—

just obsolescence of our housing supply;

just the changing requirements of industrial location;

just a racial change in the character of the jobs technology makes available;

just the vast migration of rural citizens to strange and complex urban circumstances;

just discrimination;

just the desire of new urban residents to be heard;

just hostility between generations;
just the increase in sheer numbers.

The urban condition is all of these. The issue is not the intuitive search for the single thesis, be it anomie, or the unemployment rate among central city residents, or the family structure of poor people. The issue is how to balance and take into account, on some weighted basis, the play and pull of all these varied forces.

The Woods Hole Conference which the President's Science Advisor, Donald Hornig, and Secretary Weaver sponsored in the summer of 1966 marked the first official effort to move in this direction. Walter Rosenblith, Chairman of the Faculty at MIT, led some fifty largely "hardware" researchers in the search for simultaneous equations to locate and remove the sources of urban discontent. That Summer Study began the process that continues today within the Department. Its work was the basis that led the Congress to approve our first meaningful research and development budget.

Where one appreciates that a problem is complex and subtle, not responsive to massive undirected applications of energy or simple professions of good will and heartfelt concern, one is likely to search for a reasonably comprehensive and carefully developed response. This is the second reason for some optimism for urban America. Our public policy today, proposed by the President, enacted by the Congress, is of that character.

In the tumult of this summer, it is easy to forget—but vital to remember—that urban aid legislation enacted in 1965 and 1966 was designed to remove the causes of the tumult. We have many new efforts underway to provide more housing for those who desperately need it. For the first time we are seeing the leaders of private enterprise focusing their talents and energies on the nation's most pressing urban problem. Here I mean the involvement of private industry in the Rent Supplements Program which makes privately developed housing available to low-income families by helping them to pay the rent. I also mean the new program of leasing private housing which increases our supply of low-cost public housing. I mean the Turnkey process by which private enterprise uses its ingenuity and efficiency to build low-cost housing for sale to local authorities. And I mean the new refinement of Turnkey—we call it Turnkey II—in which private management firms will operate public housing.

The Model Cities Program of the 1966 Act is designed explicitly to bring comprehensiveness to the rebuilding of older portions of older cities. It will provide more housing. But, more than that, the Model Cities Program seeks to restore all aspects of the neighborhood environment—by merging social, physical, public and private programs from many sources into a total attack. For the first time, it introduces quality control into urban rebuilding. For the first time, it offers bonuses to stimulate local innovation, local ingenuity, local solutions of local problems.

Then there is the Metropolitan Development Program of 1966. It would reward, and therefore, encourage collaboration between local governments. Finally, there is the new program to stimulate the development of entirely new communities. This offers the hope of providing fresh alternatives to urban living.

Taken together, these new efforts represent a reasoned strategy. They will expand the freedom of choice for urbanites. For all of us, they will increase our options for where we seek to live, to work, and to invest our leisure time.

These, among others, are programs now on the statute books. Now they are all in the process of first funding.

They already authorize many of the programs proposed in the 30-odd new bills introduced in the Congress in the aftermath of Newark and Detroit.

Their principal limitation at the moment is the size of the investment they call for.

But here, amid calls for billion dollar emergency funds, and a thirty billion dollar housing investment, three comments are in order.

The urban professional recognizes that all three levels of government and the private sector as well must be involved in the process of rebuilding our cities. The Federal investment is not the total investment, as it is in space or national security programs. Those who make facile comparisons of just the gross Federal budget figures are either amateurs in urban affairs, or worse, they are actors engaging in political chicanery.

The urban professional also recognizes that the investment of economic resources alone does not assure effective capacity. Talent and knowledge are equally essential components and our shortages in each are awesome. This year is the first year of urban planning fellowships supported by the Federal government. Our $500,000 authorization this year will support 95 fellowships against an estimated shortage in urban planners of 1,500 to 1,700. This is also the first year of operation for our new Office of Urban Technology and Research in HUD. At a time when Federal Research and Development expenditures were 16 billion, we in HUD have spent only $70 million. Though we have begun the development of a genuine research program, we remain woefully behind other areas of national concern.

Meantime, the popular battle cry of many local officials remains: 'Give us the money and we will do the job." This does not ring so true when they cannot show that they have people to spend the money on programs and enterprises that are well designed, carefully tested, and certain to achieve the purposes for which they were intended.

Finally, the urban professional recognizes that the true test for an effective urban response is how it helps people. An effective program, at a minimum, involves an appreciation of the needs of the human personality and the human spirit. There is an oft-quoted line of Martin Lomasney, the old political boss of Boston, to the effect that "there's got to be in every ward somebody that any bloke can come to and get help. Help, you understand, none of your law and justice, but help."

But, it is no less true today than it was at the opening of this century that "the greatest of evils and the worst of crimes is poverty." Help these days is more than more urban renewal funds, more jobs, more housing. Help is all of these and law and justice, too. But, help is first communicating with those who now feel debarred from our society and consequently debased. Second, it is assurance of genuine participation in the process of city rebuilding and neighborhood restoration. Access to those in authority, a share in decision-making—these are the vital components today.

It was this desire to show tangible, visible concern for the current conditions of the poor—and to take at least one specific step to eliminate at least one shameful condition—that led the Administration to propose the so-called Rat control bill to the Congress. Those members of the House of Representatives who thoughtlessly laughed it out of the chamber, and those outside observers who wrote it off as budgetary trivia, and therefore, of no consequence, underestimate grievously one whole dimension of the urban challenge.

The same drive for action underlies our new program of making Federal surplus property available for new community development. Our first project is building a new town in town for 25,000 people on the site of the National Training School in Washington.

Admittedly, human concerns are the most elusive elements of a truly capable response. Effective programs and activities are evolving slowly from the trial and error, and success and triumph, in our economic opportunity programs. But they are vital components and those who would have us return to New Deal days—of simply providing dole for the poor until their children or their children's children struggle forward to a state of middle class blessedness—place more faith in economics and less faith in other social skills than I do.

At rockbottom, I cannot believe that we do not have the ability to engage our urban poor in democracy today nor any prospect of increasing their competence to deal with urban life today.

I cannot accept the proposition that there is no hope for my contemporaries in this urban world who did not have the luck of a good education and equal opportunity for a job.

I cannot believe that the only way to assure eventual economic well-being for all Americans is to relive the miseries, pain, despair and human costs of the Industrial Revolution of the 19th Century.

Understanding the pattern of urban development as a complex system fashioning a capacity with manpower and knowhow, as well as money, to respond to the urban challenges, these two processes are well underway. But unless we are prepared to deal with our urban future as well as correct the mistakes of our urban past, they will not be enough. That is, no genuine urban response is sufficient that focuses solely on the American core city or identifies only the urban poor as the beneficiary of our public and private policies.

The truth is that the entire pattern of urban development, from central city to suburb to exurb, is robbing us all of genuine freedom. We are all losing the choice of a clean, healthful and pleasing environment—with pure air and water, a landscape unimpaired by destructive building processes. We are all losers when we are hit in the pocket book by excessive and unnecessary costs in the construction of housing and provision of community facilities and services today. Unplanned, unguided, sporadic urban development cheapens our common environment and places prohibitive prices on land and improvements.

As we prepare for the generation of city building that lies just ahead—when we distribute 100 million more Americans across the continent in the next 30 years—these spiraling costs, this waste, and the despoliation are common concerns. They shape a common cause among the urban poor, the urban middle class, the urban rich—Caucasian, Negro, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican.

There is a final common concern and challenge. How do we build our new urban communities on a geographical and numerical scale unanticipated even twenty years ago and still retain a sense of genuine community? What modern counterparts do we have for barn-raisings, street dancing, Fourth of July celebrations? Where are our new village greens and town commons?

To rediscover community on a larger scale will surely mean making real again the old colonial adage, "You are as good as any man—and better than none." Today, this means, at a minimum, freedom of choice for any family to live anywhere that its home economics makes possible. Open occupancy is a rudimentary necessity of an urban civilization today. Our increasingly urban character only serves to make more compelling than ever the fulfillment of the promises of democracy.

But genuine community building in our urban circumstances will require more positive action. Urban and suburban communities must recognize more explicitly that they have common concerns and common obligations.

We now, for example, at HUD are using

some of our assistance grants in mass transportation to carry workers from poor neighborhoods in the central city to factories on the suburban fringe.

This is, we believe, a socially beneficial and well justified policy. It is, however, only a substitute for workers freely following their jobs and taking up residence close to where they work. If that freedom already existed, we could use this investment for other vital transportation needs.

Indeed, if we provide genuine variety in occupations, in income, in race and religion in cities and towns across our metropolitan regions, we accomplish two other things simultaneously—

We insure that no single part of the new urban community has to care for the majority of the poor, the old, and the helpless;

We provide the excitement of variety and complexity to the human experience in all parts of the community. For our children, free exchanges and encounters in early life can prevent prejudicial confrontations later on.

These are aspirations of community life yet to be realized of course. Major changes in public attitude, in private industrial performance, in labor practices, in governmental patterns of behavior must occur before these aspirations are realized. But they are the objectives to which present, established national policy is committed.

Let me add, that one of the most encouraging developments of this summer has been the unmistakable evidence of the community commitment by the private sector. Representatives of business associations, of individual industries, of community enterprises: group after group have been visiting with us in Washington. They all seek effective ways to expand their commitment to our urban communities. They no longer withdraw, retreat, or simply complain about the urban condition. We welcome each and every step in the direction of massive commitment by private enterprise.

Those, then, are the bases for urban optimism. Urban programs fashioned by reason and not illusion, emphasizing practical and tangible results, committed to quality, are now underway.

They will not immediately quiet urban discontent nor instantly make competent citizens of the newest migrants from rural circumstances. They will not magically introduce effective local land development and tax policy nor will they easily eliminate hazards to health and beauty. They never will—without expanded and sustained commitment from the private sector and the academy on a scale never before undertaken. Thus, in the unspoken words of Franklin Roosevelt, "The only limit to their realization will be our doubts of today."

But given such commitment and common effort the America of the 21st Century can offer its urbanites greater hope than the newly urbanized nation entering the 20th Century offered earlier generations.

This nation will have come to peaceful terms with the urban destiny that it now no longer refuses to acknowledge. It will have arrived at the time the President pictured when he said; "Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. . . . Let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say, 'It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.'"

WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN, JR.—DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, it was with deep regret that I read of the death of a distinguished public servant, William Zimmerman, Jr.

Bill Zimmerman was one of the key officials in the Interior Department during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, one of several outstanding midwesterners whom Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes tapped for public service in 1933. He served for several years in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, including a period as Acting Commissioner. He was Associate Director of the Bureau of Land Management. Subsequent to leaving Government service, he headed the Washington office of the Association on American Indian Affairs and served the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club.

Bill Zimmerman was a good friend and wise counselor of many of us in the legislative branch. He understood Government as few men do, and gave unstintingly of his time toward workable solutions of complex conservation and resource development programs. His areas of special competence and significant contributions ranged from the first Americans to the last redwoods. I mourn his passing and extend my condolences to his wife and family.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the obituary published in the Washington Evening Star.

There being no objection, the obituary was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

William Zimmerman, Jr., 77, Authority on Indian Affairs

William Zimmerman, Jr., 77, a specialist in American Indian affairs who was assistant commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1940, died Tuesday at the Woodbine Nursing Home in Alexandria. Mr. Zimmerman had been ill with heart disease for about five months.

He lived at 4713 Rock Spring Road, Arlington.

Mr. Zimmerman was appointed to the bureau in 1933 by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes.

Until he came to Washington, he had been vice president of a fruit preserving company in Indianapolis, Ind., sold stocks and bonds and had been an editor for several encyclopedias in Chicago, Ill.

His first contact with American Indians came after passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, when he and the commissioner of the bureau, John Collier, spent 18 months visiting different reservations to explain the bill's provisions for self-government for Indian tribes.

Mr. Zimmerman was acting commissioner when the commissioner was traveling and when the top position was vacant.

He was appointed associate director of the Bureau of Land Management in 1949 and retired in 1954 to head the newly opened Washington office of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

He had been manager of the Robert Marshall Wilderness Fund, a conservation organization, since 1939.

In recent years, Mr. Zimmerman had been a consultant here to the Sierra Club, a conservation group with headquarters in San Francisco.

Last spring, he actively lobbied for an extension of the Indian Claims Commission Act, first passed in 1947 while he was with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Mr. Zimmerman was born in Chicago. He graduated from Harvard University in 1910, and then studied one year at Harvard Business School.

He leaves his wife, Eleanor; a son, Peter B., a senior at Harvard University; a daughter, Mary, a sophomore at Sullins College in Bristol, Va.; three children by his first wife, William III of 6418 13th St., Alexandria, Edward J. P. of Briarcliff Manor, Westchester County, N.Y., and Mrs. Talbot Wegg of Bainbridge Island, Wash.; 10 grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren.

His first wife, Susan, died in 1941.

Memorial services will be at 1 p.m. tomorrow at the Walker Chapel Methodist Church, 4102 N. Glebe Road, Arlington.

The family requests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Children's Hospital or the Sierra Club Foundation.

THE ECONOMIC PICTURE DOES NOT WARRANT THE SURTAX

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have on several occasions stated my opposition to the adoption of the proposed surtax. I have taken that position not on political but also on economic grounds.

Some of the economic factors which belie the optimism of those who fear a revival of inflation were recently detailed in the National Observer. Durable goods orders, for example, have been down successively in July and still further in August from their June level—and this is an indicator which stands as "a key gage of future factory production." Business inventories remain high—higher than the average for last year and the year before. A slight gain in industrial production needs to be seen in the perspective of the fact that some of that gain arises from deferred production because of strikes in the tire and television-set industries.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "How's Business?" published in the National Observer, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

How's Business?—Signs of Joy and Concern

The economy's sluggishness "is already over" and the nation enters autumn on a "clear and accelerating upturn," proclaims Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. With business again robust, according to the Administration's theory, Congress must now pass the 10 per cent tax surcharge to dampen excessive private spending that would accelerate inflation.

One disquieting factor creeps into Mr. Ackley's declaration—a lack of clear evidence that the economy is suddenly shooting upward. Signs indicate plenty of sloth left in the economy, even before Ford Motor Co. was struck, which could curtail some growth in the coming months.

Durable-goods orders, for example, slipped in August to $22.8 billion, seasonally adjusted, from July's $23.4 billion and June's $24.3 billion. The order level, which trailed the year-ago total by $700,000,000, is a key gauge of future factory production.

Business inventories continue to drag at the economy; salesmen must clean out some overstocked warehouses before industry can bolster production dramatically. Business during July, the latest figure, held inventories equal to 1.54 months of selling. That's down from a 1.58-month supply in April, but it remains well above the average of 1.48 last year and 1.46 during 1965, considered more normal levels.

At 158 per cent of the 1957–58 average, industrial production last month rose from 156.7 in July; it held below the record 159 per cent last December. Government economists find that some of the recent gain came in catch-up production following strikes in the tire and television-set industries.

Some indicators are available to justify the boast of one government economist that "the upturn is a fact, it isn't a forecast any longer." Housing starts in August rose to 1,381,000, figured at an annual rate, the highest seasonally adjusted rate since March 1966. The gain topped July's rate by 19,000 dwelling units, but this is not considered a vigorous advance. Steel demand in September, according to major producers, is running 3 to 4 per cent above the August level, about in line with seasonal expectations.

Retail sales set a record for the third consecutive month in August, and personal income reached an annual rate of $631.2 billion in August, up $4.5 billion from the July rate. But inflation has evaporated some of this buying power, diluting the impact of dollars spent at retail on actual production demand.

These figures, of course, may form a solid base for rapid fall expansion in the economy. Certainly the money exists to finance it. The Federal Reserve System has pumped new money into the economy at an extraordinary rate recently, increasing the nation's money supply to $179 billion in currency and checking-account funds. That's $9 billion above January's supply. When the Government was striving to rescue the economy from the last recession in 1961, it increased the money supply during all of 1961 by $4 billion.

In peering ahead at the nation's economy, a member of Mr. Ackley's council last week found business "is rounding a treacherous curve and the road ahead is bumpy and slippery." The same might be said for forecasting.

TECHNOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES TO BENEFIT AGRICULTURE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last month a series of 11 articles written by Dick Youngblood, staff writer for the Minneapolis Tribune, surveyed the tremendous advances in agricultural efficiency and productivity which will result from new technological and scientific discoveries.

Changes in the future will be even more revolutionary than they have in the past—from the use of crop computers to the possibility of high rise cattle growing in or near metropolitan areas. Mr. Youngblood's articles are fascinating and informative. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPUTERIZATION OR CANNIBALISM—SCIENCE SADDLED TO BEAT FAMINE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first in a series of 11 articles exploring the massive changes that will shape the farm of the future—its science, its technology, its precision and, most important to an exploding world population, its productivity.)

(By Dick Youngblood)

In a laboratory near Tarrytown, N.Y., scientists are growing corn completely submerged in water.

They're raising cotton in a computer at the University of Arizona.

Across the nation, in these and more than 40,000 other research projects, scientists are shaping the American agriculture of tomorrow—an agriculture that would be all but unrecognizable to the farmer of today.

It will be a world of computerized business management and robot machinery, of skyscraper truck farms and high-rise livestock feedlots located in or near large cities.

It will be populated with strangely shaped "supercrops" and with cattle "custom-designed" to yield more steaks and less hamburger.

It will be served by crop-monitoring space satellites and protected by precise systems of weather modification.

It will be almost totally free of insects and crop-choking weeds.

These are not pipe dreams. The exciting changes envisioned by agricultural researchers will evolve, the experts agree, for one critical reason:

The grim mathematics of a world population that swiftly is outracing its food-production capacity will make these changes not only economically feasible, but absolutely essential.

Simply, the highly sophisticated, push-button agriculture of the future also will be an exceedingly efficient, far more productive agriculture.

The pressures forcing this transition are clear right now.

Hunger already is a daily fact of life for a billion of the world's 3.3 billion people.

Studies by the World Health Organization indicate that at least 3 million children die every year of malnutrition.

Even now, world food production is increasing at a rate of 1 per cent a year, while the rate of population growth is 2 per cent—and this has been the ominous trend since 1961.

Yet, world population is expected to more than double to nearly 7 billion, within 33 years.

IN LESS than 20 years, in fact, mass starvation may be stalking many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where much of the population growth will occur.

Recently, the possibility of widespread cannibalism in some of these countries in the 1980s was suggested by two officials of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

This—the crucial race for more food—is the common link between that laboratory in New York, the computer in Arizona, and the thousands of agricultural research projects around the country.

The cotton growing in the computer promises a dramatic speed-up in this race against famine.

Simply, what engineers have managed to do is reduce to numbers the physical and biological data that allows them to simulate a growing cotton plant in the computer.

With this complex model, in effect, they can plant weeds in the computer, or infest it with insects, or create a drought. They can sprinkle it with fertilizer or drench it with pesticides.

In this fashion, they quickly may assess the effects of a multitude of variables on a living plant.

This is an imposing breakthrough, says Wendell A. Clithero, Chicago, agricultural representative of International Business Machines (IBM) Corps., for it promises a tremendous speed-up in the crop research aimed at uncovering more productive varieties.

No longer must researchers wait through the life cycle of a test plant for their results. They are not chained to the hit-or-miss system of field tests and random selection.

Instead, says Clithero, the computer can point to the direction the researchers might take for promising new varieties.

It could predict research results, he says, that could then be validated with field tests—but with, perhaps, five tests instead of 500.

H. N. Stapleton, the engineer who built the cotton computer model, says that the simulation program already has yielded "reasonable" results, "near those obtained from field tests . . ."

But most important, he says, "with cotton, we undoubtedly tackled the toughest crop system—without question, this same concept can be applied to any crop or animal production system."

The corn growing under water, in a Union Carbide Corp. lab, has even more exciting implications.

A research team led by Dr. S. M. Siegel has discovered that conventional crop seeds not only can live, but actually thrive in a carefully controlled environment containing less oxygen than the 21 per cent found in the atmosphere, or even the 5 per cent contained in good soil.

"Nature has provided us with clues to this," says Siegel, who left Union Carbide recently to head the University of Hawaii Biology Department. "Take, for example, rice growing in low-oxygen muck."

In the laboratory, the seeds are placed in water, Siegel explains, into which oxygen and nutrients are injected at varying levels, depending on what the researchers find to be the optimum for a particular plant.

The oxygen rate can vary between 1 and 5 per cent.

Some nonflowering plants—lettuce, celery, carrots, cabbage—actually can be carried to maturity in this fashion.

Others—corn and cucumbers, wheat and tomatoes, rye and barley—merely are sprouted and incubated for a short time in this watery environment.

The frequent result says Siegel:

Germination is more even; the plant is hardier; its stems are sturdier; its growth is faster.

Resistance to cold is enhanced, which could extend the growing season for many important crops grown in Minnesota.

Cereal-crop content of vitamins B1, C and E is boosted 50 to 300 per cent, and resistance to fungus disease and drought is heightened.

In short, the result is a sort of "superplant"—and, most important, these characteristics are retained even when a plant is taken out of the water and replanted in the ground.

The result of all this, Siegel theorizes, might one day be a crop with enough drought resistance to grow in desert land.

At the least, he predicts that farmers of the future will be producing their own superplants, sprouting them in water "incubators" right on the farm and replanting them in the fields.

Ultimately, he foresees plants selected to endure in salt water, or at least in the brackish water that lines the world's coastal areas.

"If we could grow rice in salt water," Siegel says, "the implications for Asia would be fantastic."

Siegel seems confident that something like this is in the offing.

"In the next generation," he says, "the sea will be a major new addition to the world's 'tillable soil.'"

THE AGRI-REVOLUTION: FARMING GOES FANTASTIC—COMPUTERS TO GET MAJOR FARM OPERATIONS ROLE

(*Second of a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

It took a computer precisely nine minutes to tell an eastern Nebraska crop-and-livestock farmer how a few small changes in his operation could triple his net returns.

Another helped Dale and Harold Anderson, Blooming Prairie, Minn., boost corn profits $15 an acre last year. (It advised them to increase their plant populations and fertilizer rates.)

An Iowa representative of a big chemical firm can talk directly to a computer in Chicago—by telephone—to get weed control advice for his customers.

A large poultry farm in New York is running a computerized "dating bureau" for its chickens—carefully blending parental characteristics to breed the best possible egg-producing offspring.

Across the country, these and other field tests are laying the groundwork for the farm management systems of the future.

"Any large manufacturer today will tell you he just couldn't compete without the help of a computer," says Wendell A. Clithero, national agricultural representative of International Business Machines Corp. (IBM).

"Yet the farmer, who's actually running a big chemical factory, may have hundred times more variables and options, which he's trying to cope with using a stub pencil and the back of an envelope."

Not for long.

Within 20 years, Clithero predicts, the farmer with management problems simply will pick up a telephone and tell his trouble to his friendly neighborhood computer.

The computer—provided by a regional cooperative, a farm supply company or even the local bank—will fire back its answers almost immediately, perhaps over a teletype in the farmer's office.

It will tell him not only which crops would be most profitable on his particular farm, but which fields to put them on, how much fertilizer to apply, precisely how to control weeds and insects.

It will advise him on the kind and number of livestock to raise, the limit he can afford to pay for feeder animals—even the ration to use for optimum profits.

It will tell him, from miles away, more about the soil moisture situation on his "north forty" than he knows himself, then give him an idea of how best to adjust to these conditions.

And all along the line, he'll have options from which to choose, depending on the investment and risk he's willing to accept.

"The farmer of tomorrow may not know a damned thing about the details of farming," suggests J. D. Canton, until recently an executive at International Minerals and Chemicals Corp. (IMC) in Skokie, Ill.

"He'll be a money-manager, a businessman, more than a farmer."

Clithero says the computer can handle in minutes the countless details that would take a farmer months to deal with manually—and with less precision or objectivity.

It can account, for example, for soil type, fertility, cropping history and amount of land available to a farmer.

It can inventory his capital resources, equipment and machinery, his borrowing capacity and labor supply.

It can calculate projected costs and assess supply-and-demand data on past price trends and projected market conditions.

And it can race through this maze of detail to produce the farm plan that means the optimum profit.

In this fashion, a computer told that eastern Nebraska farmer that his farm plan was all wet—that his available resources were being sorely wasted.

By shifting to a few more profitable crops, adding normally to the debt and labor load and substantially increasing the livestock operations, the computer raised that farmer's net return from just over $6,000 to more than $19,000.

The computer's potential as a farmer, in fact, goes even beyond this. In Skokie, for example, all of this data—and a bit more—is fed into an IMC computer, which serves 1,300 farmers in five states in an experimental program called "M.O.R.E. Profits."

The "bit more" stored in the computer's memory involves the opinions of experts on the cropping practices necessary to produce optimum yields.

Thus, IMS's farmers are told not only which crops to plant and where to plant them, but the amount of fertilizer to apply and the density of plants to seed to achieve their yield "goals."

Clithero goes one step further: Someday he says, computers will tell a farmer not only how to feed his crops for best results, but his livestock as well. It will sort the feeds available, assess their relative cost and nutritional value and produce a "least-cost" ration for optimum profit.

Ultimately, he projects, sensors in the stomach of an animal might even transmit its nutritional requirements to a computer, which then would adjust the ration automatically to fill these needs.

Two other IMC computer programs promise to handle some of the more difficult variables that always will confront the farm manager.

One allows IMC representatives in several states to draw on the combined talent of a dozen weed experts, whose solutions to a wide range of weed problems have been fed into the computer.

Using a portable Teletype and an adapter that translates the Teletype's signals into language the computer can understand, the IMC man can telephone the computer right from a farmer's home.

Even more fascinating, an IMC computer is keeping a running check on soil moisture and temperature conditions across the entire eastern two-thirds of the United States.

To do the job, which is called "wealth impact," IMC has transformed its computer into the best-informed agronomist in the world.

Exhaustive data on past weather conditions, as well as the moisture-holding characteristics of all soil types from the Atlantic to the Continental Divide, are fed into the computer.

Next, information is added on how such conditions as moisture, air temperature, wind and humidity affect soil moisture and temperature.

Finally, this data is updated from 230 weather stations every four hours, digested by the computer and translated into a very accurate estimate of current soil conditions across the region.

This can be extremely important.

If moisture is short, for example, a Minnesota corn farmer can plan to reduce plant populations and fertilizer expenditures to minimize the effects of a prospective drought. Or he may shift to a crop like soybeans that is less susceptible to dry conditions.

If, on the other hand, he's told that his soil is saturated with moisture, he can go for broke with high plant populations, heavy fertilizer rates—the works.

And if, as can be done today, the computer also tells him when his soil is warm enough to seed, he's even further ahead.

The Agri-Revolution: Farming Goes Fantastic—Robots Will Put in 24-Hour Day Tilling, Harvesting Farm Land

(*Third of a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Huge unmanned machines chugging through the fields 24 hours a day, will make a full-time management executive out of the farmer in the year 2000.

Remote sensing systems or numerical tape-controlled programs will guide the robot's direction and speed, while the deskbound farm manager monitors its movements over closed-circuit television.

One machine will do all or most of the spring field work, with built-in sensing devices automatically gearing tillage, seed depth, fertilizer and chemical rates to changing soil conditions.

And sensors on harvesting machines will adjust ground speed and intake to the varying conditions of a grain crop, or select and pick only the vegetables in a field that are ready for market.

The technology for these and other mechanical marvels of the future is available today, experts say.

"If we can send up a machine to dig in the moon's surface, and analyze and transmit its findings, we can jolly well build a robot to do a precise job right here on the ground," says Dr. Gordon H. Millar, director of research at Deere & Co., Moline, Ill.

Dr. John Dempsey, corporate vice-president for science and engineering at Honeywell Inc., agrees.

"There are darned few things we can't build a sensor for," he says, "if you tell us what needs to be sensed and with what degree of accuracy."

The limiting factor, today, is cost. Nevertheless, automation in agriculture will become economically feasible within 30 years, experts agree, for several reasons:

The pressures of mounting world food needs will demand it.

And the trend to ever-larger, heavily capitalized farms, coupled with dwindling rural labor supplies, will insure it.

"With hundreds of thousands, even a million dollars invested, the farmer of the future will be sitting in an office managing not out riding a tractor," predicts J. D. Canton, until recently an executive with International Minerals and Chemicals Corp., Skokie, Ill.

The shift to automation, however, will be "evolutionary rather than revolutionary," says Dr. L. S. Fife, agricultural economist with International Harvester Co. (IH), Chicago, Ill.

In a few years, he thinks, an auto-pilot will be available to the farmer, who already has plenty to do on the tractor without worrying about steering a straight line or sustaining ground speed.

In a planting operation, for example, this would free him to concentrate on as many as 32 different systems that he must keep track of—seeding units, fertilizer attachments and chemical applicators for each row he is covering.

And in harvesting, he would be better able to adjust the ground speed, the intake and the speed of the threshing cylinders to the density and moisture content of the crop.

Eventually, the man in the cab of the auto-piloted planter will have a control panel to monitor all of these functions, suggests R. W. Hough, executive head of IH's Farm Equipment Division.

And from there, he says, the step would be to full automation, using television scanners out in the field and some type of sensor or tape-control system to direct the machine.

With other sensors, Millar envisions a similar unmanned harvester that would adjust speed, intake and threshing rates to optimum levels to reduce field losses substantially.

Dempsey sees the hardware for these automated farm machines as "an application engineering task of no great difficulty."

Already available are heat sensors so delicate they can detect the difference in body temperature emitted when a man opens or closes his suitcoat several yards away. Others can spot a lighted cigarette hundreds of yards away.

Dempsey suggests that some type of heat sensor might be spotted at the ends of each field row, with a homing device on the farm machine to keep it operating in a straight line.

If it strayed out of line, the homing device would feed this information to the control system for automatic compensation.

In some crops, notably vegetables, highly selective harvesters will replace the judgment now applied by man.

At the University of California at Davis, engineers already are developing a lettuce harvester that, first, uses an electronic sensor to decide on the size of the head—then literally "feels" the lettuce with a pressure sensing device to see if it's firm enough for harvest.

If it is, the head is cut, if not, it's left for a later pass over the field.

At the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) research center at Beltsville, Md., for example, low-frequency sound waves are used to sense the size, shape and firmness of a tomato.

And researchers are using light beams to determine when a green tomato is mature enough to be shipped to market with the assurance it will require a minimum of ripening time.

Thus, these devices might one day be applied to harvesting, or simply mounted on a pole in a field to tell the farmer when his crop is at its peak of flavor and quality.

The preferred technique, of course, would be once-over harvest, which will come as plants are developed to mature simultaneously.

Two varieties of a canning tomato, in fact, already have been bred with 80 per cent simultaneous maturity by USDA researchers.

And in experiments at Deere & Co. agronomists are treating specially selected seeds with a hormone growth regulator to produce more vigorous uniform plants.

Planted in a field, but surrounded by vermiculite to prevent soil crusting, these seeds pushed germination well above 90 per cent.

Ultimately, development of uniform maturity might result in The Compleat Harvesting Machine, as IH's Fife envisions it.

Not only would the machine harvest some crops, he predicts, but it would clean, grade, package and freeze them in the same operation—then load them into refrigerated vehicles for "fresh-from-the-farm" delivery.

The Agri-Revolution: Farming Goes Fantastic—Western Kansas in Saran Wrap?—Asphalt Subfloor in Irrigated Potato Field Raises Yield 82 Percent

(*Fourth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Millions of miles of asphalt highways—built two feet under the ground—may be one answer to the world food shortages threatened in the next 30 years.

Electric heating cables imbedded in the soil of the northern climes may be another approach.

Or you might—as one distinguished scientist suggests only half-facetiously—do something like encase the whole of western Kansas in Saran Wrap.

All three make sense in terms of what they would be designed to do, which is to make the soil a more habitable, and more productive, medium for a growing plant.

What's more, there are scientists willing to predict that all three may well become a reality, in one form or another, in the next three decades.

In less time than that, in fact, the underground highways promise to reclaim, or improve the productivity of hundreds of millions of acres throughout the world.

Simply, there is a vast acreage of porous, sandy soils that are not productive because rainfall is inadequate, or because the available moisture is lost to rapid infiltration into the ground.

Now, scientists at American Oil Co. and Michigan State University have developed a system for laying an impermeable layer of asphalt under the ground, to trap moisture within reach of growing plants.

The process involves a special, hollow plow into which asphalt is pumped. The plow gently lifts the soil, deposits the asphalt two feet down, then allows the earth to slip back into place.

Not only does the barrier reduce the rainfall or irrigation required by a crop, but it prevents the loss of nutrients that otherwise would filter rapidly out of a plant's root zone.

Results to date have been impressive. In tests on irrigated land, yields of cucumbers and cabbage jumped one-third and potato production rose 82 percent, compared with untreated plots.

On non-irrigated land, the yield gains were 33 percent for the cucumbers, 43 percent for cabbage and 51 percent on potatoes.

The potential here is enormous: According to a recent American Oil report on the process, 100 million acres could be reclaimed in the United States alone—and a billion acres world-wide.

L. C. Brunstrum, American Oil's project manager, is unwilling to predict that crops suddenly will begin blooming on the deserts. For one thing, the cost still is a little steep—$225 to $450 an acre.

But he foresees widespread use of the technique in a few years on the world's sandy coastal plains. And he expects that refinements in the process, coupled with swelling food needs, will take care of the economics in the near future.

Moisture conservation is much the same thing that Dr. Sterling B. Hendricks has in mind when he talks about wrapping western Kansas up in plastic.

It's simple, explains Hendricks, the head of the Agriculture Department's Mineral Nutrition Laboratory in Beltsville, Md.

The plastic would cut the intensity of the sunlight—most of which is wasted anyway—and the soil moisture lost to evaporation would be reduced considerably.

Actually, the Saran Wrap people may never get their product out of the kitchen and onto the farm.

But something very much like Hendricks' brainstorm may be commonplace on the farms of the future—in fact, it's being explored by researchers right now.

William A. Bailey, a USDA research engineer, Beltsville, says private industry is experimenting with the use of a black plastic, which is treated with chemical sterilants and laid out across a field prior to planting.

The sterilants kill disease organisms in the soil, while the dark plastic prevents the sun from evaporating soil moisture or germinating weed seeds.

Whereupon, you go along through the fields with some futuristic type of machine, poke holes in the plastic, and plant your crops.

Not only will this be common farming practice in the future, Bailey predicts, but the plants that go in through the plastic cover will be something special as well.

Bailey is one of the directors of a new USDA laboratory, where plants are being grown in artificial environments in an effort to learn exactly what they need in the way of temperature, light, moisture and nutrition for optimum growth.

When a seed is sprouted and allowed to grow under these carefully controlled conditions, Bailey explains, indications are that it will be a hardier, faster-growing, higher-yielding plant even after it finally is transferred to the soil outdoors.

Thus, Bailey foresees the future equipped with growth chambers, or incubators, in which seeds might be sprouted artificially for later replanting and higher yields.

At the same time, Bailey envisions the drive for optimum field conditions leading to the installation of electric heating cables below plow depth out in the fields.

With the dark plastic covering to trap escaping heat, he says, the cables might extend the crop-growing season several weeks by allowing planting to begin much earlier in areas like Minnesota.

The result: Higher-yielding varieties, with their longer growing seasons, could be planted without fear of frost damage in the fall.

While these techniques for improving soil conditions are promising, the major drive of the future still will be in the area of moisture conservation.

Dr. Thomas J. Army, senior research associate at International Minerals and Chemicals Corp., Skokie, Ill., predicts that this will be enough of a concern that it will become economically feasible to manipulate—or even rebuild—the soil structure to increase moisture retention.

The Agri-Revolution: Farming Goes Fantastic—Canadian Science Weds Wheat, Rye

(*Fifth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

The farmer of tomorrow will be raising crops the farmer of today never heard of.

Other crops will have familiar names—corn, for example, or soybeans—but today's farmer wouldn't recognize them growing in a field.

Chemical growth regulators may well allow a man to speed the maturity of his crops to avoid a frost, or hold them back to dodge a temporary market glut.

Production per acre will reach unheard-of levels: 3, 4, even 10 times the average yields of the present.

Science already has given man the key to this remarkable production system of the future.

History's first man-made crop species, a high-yielding, protein-rich grain born of a cross between wheat and rye, has grown out of nearly 10 years of research at the University of Manitoba.

Plant breeders have produced a corn species whose erect, almost-vertical leaves expose the entire plant to more sunlight, which allows closer planting and significantly-higher yields.

Similarly, a new chemical, which makes the broad, bushy soybean plant look more like a Christmas tree than an umbrella, promises to boost the yield potential of this important Midwestern crop.

The most fascinating scientific adventure of all, however, has to be the Canadian research, which bypassed literally thousands of years of natural evolution to produce a completely new form of plant life.

The result: A new supergrain called triticale (tritt-uh-kay-lee).

It's a giant, this off-spring of rye and durum wheat, with a head that's nearly twice as long as a wheat head. It has a yield potential that exceeds wheat's by as much as 50 per cent.

And, almost as important, it has a protein content that is at least two percentage points above even the high-quality wheats raised in the Upper Midwest and Canada.

Several strains are being increased and tested. They will be available in Canada and the United States by 1970, predicts Dr. R. C. McGinnis, head of plant science at the University of Manitoba.

It will be used here primarily as a high-quality stock feed, he says, because it produces a flat bread loaf, rather than the light, fluffy loaf, preferred by our consumers.

But in food-short nations, McGinnis feels, it could be made into easily acceptable human foods like the chappattie, a bread-like Indian food staple made from ground wheat.

McGinnis predicts that a concentrated plant breeding program could give India an adaptable variety within five to six years.

The birth of this significant new hybrid wasn't easy.

It meant not only the complex task of blending the diverse genetic makeup of two different species, but also the job of sorting through a huge array of rye and wheat varieties in search of the superior qualities the researchers wanted in their hybrid.

Most important, it unscrambled the problem of sterility that normally results in a hybrid produced from two different species. The solution was colchicine, a drug used in treating gout.

The drug creates fertility when injected into growing hybrid plants. Fortunately, the treated plants also yield fertile offspring.

Now, McGinnis says, efforts are under way to get an even higher producing hybrid from a cross of wheat and a form of quack-grass.

In more conventional areas, the corn that farmers would plant someday would look slightly ill alongside a tall, green stand of present-day corn.

It will be much shorter, with small upright leaves instead of the lush, droopy ones that are familiar today. Its corn ears will be runts compared with those harvested now.

But it will yield three or four times more than current corn varieties—500 bushels an acre within 10 years, predicts Tom Army, senior research associate for International Minerals and Chemicals Corp. (IMC), Skokie, Ill.

Because its strange shape allows sunlight to reach the entire plant more easily, plant populations of 100,000 to 150,000 an acre will be possible, compared with the 25,000 now considered high.

Energy now going into producing leaves and stover will go instead into corn on the smaller plant. Thus, it might produce several runty ears that yield almost as much corn as the one big ear on a plant today.

Scientists already have isolated a semi-dwarf variety that can withstand populations of 50,000 an acre, and Army projects that the goal of 100,000-plus is just a decade away.

A chemical called TIBA, developed by IMC, does much the same thing for soybeans.

It halts plant growth beyond flowering, so that energy usually directed into leaf and stem production is channeled to producing more beans. It also reduces height, increases stem strength and causes the Christmas tree effect that allows closer planting.

Even without higher plant populations, TIBA promises to boost soybean yields 10 to 20 per cent. And when farmers start packing more and more plants onto each acre, researchers hope that yields will climb tenfold, to 200 or more bushels an acre.

TIBA is one of a lengthening list of growth-regulating chemicals that effect the internal signals governing the life process of a plant.

There are growth inhibitors, for example, to reduce plant height and eliminate lodging and wind damage.

Others close the stoma—the tiny breathing holes on a leaf—to prevent moisture from being expelled and help offset the effects of a drought.

Growth stimulators have been found to speed coloring and increase the sugar content of oranges, or boost the size of certain seedless grapes.

These chemicals are just the first step—they are extremely difficult to use and effective under only very limited conditions—says Dr. Henry M. Cathy, a plant physiologist at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's research center in Beltsville, Md.

Nevertheless, 10 years of research have added a broad array of chemical growth-regulating characteristics for scientists to blend and mix in their search for the chemical regulators of the future.

And by the year 2000, Cathy is optimistic that we will have the kind of capabilities envisioned by Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman in a recent speech on the agriculture of the future.

Some day, Freeman said, farmers in, say, Oklahoma will be able to apply chemicals to slow the maturity of their wheat crop and avoid a local market glut while farmers in Kansas use another chemical to speed their wheat to meet a scheduled export shipment.

The Agri-Revolution: Farming Goes Fantastic—Skyscraper Feedlots, Farms Foreseen to Free Land

(*Sixth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Sawdust, or some equally improbable cattle feed, may produce the steak you broil for dinner 20 or 30 years from now.

The steer which furnishes that T-bone probably will be raised in a multi-level livestock hotel, where precise environment control relieves him of all cares save that of eating and growing.

And the vegetables served with the steak might well come from a skyscraper truck farm, probably located in or near a major metropolitan market, where crops are grown in synthetic soil, under artificial light and in a gaseous environment that would kill a man quickly.

With a nervous eye on the exploding world population, scientists today are exploring these and other fanciful advances, all of which have one thing in common:

They would free millions of acres—now devoted to such things as livestock feed-growing, truck crops or feedlots—for use in producing food grains for direct consumption by man.

More to the point, the rich nations would be assured a steady supply of fresh meat, fruits and vegetables, no matter what pressures widespread starvation places on the world's land resources.

An angus cow employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) several years ago served as the pilot model for researchers beginning work toward the totally synthetic cattle ration of the future.

Weaned in 1962, old No. 248 as she was affectionately known munched contentedly for nearly three years on a ration of wood pulp and urea, fortified with sugar, starch, vitamins and minerals—the longest period a ruminant animal has lived on a synthetic diet.

(The woodpulp provides bulk and energy, and the urea, a synthetic source of nitrogen, replaces natural protein in the diet.)

In the spring of 1962, she gave birth to a bouncing heifer calf. Since then, a number of her colleagues—cows, steers, and bulls alike—have demonstrated their ability to thrive on a similar diet.

This does not mean that the still-costly synthetic rations are a commercial fact today, says Dr. Paul A. Putnam, a leader in beef cattle nutrition studies at the USDA's Beltsville, Md., research center.

Rather, the pulp-and-urea ration is a valuable research tool, he explains designed to do two things:

Provide basic information on the dietary needs that must be filled by a synthetic diet for an animal's growth, reproduction, and lactation.

Ultimately, give reserchers an idea of the kinds of rations that will produce high-quality beef without competing with man for land resources.

A variety of waste products might finally be used for bulk in a ration Putnam suggests. Such materials as straw or stalks from food grains, for example, or the tops from beets or carrots.

The high-rise truck farms envisioned by another USDA researcher, engineer William A. Bailey, would have many advantages beyond the conservation of land for food-grain production.

Crops could be raised year-around, he points out, and they would be harvested close to the urban markets, reducing storage and transportation costs while insuring fresh-from-the-farm delivery.

The plants would grow in synthetic soil. A photocell would regulate artificial light for optimum intensity to speed growth 25 to 30 per cent. Finely measured doses of essential carbon dioxide, as well as nutrients and water, would be fed automatically into the environment.

Bailey is one of the directors of a new USDA laboratory at Beltsville, where plants are being grown in precisely controlled, artificial environments.

"We're trying to learn precisely what a plant needs for optimum growth," Bailey explains, "just how it is affected by changes in light, temperature, moisture, nutrition, air flow and day-length."

In short, they are refining the techniques that will go into these urban farm factories of the future.

High-rise livestock hotels appear to be even more of a certainty.

Already, the poultry industry has moved indoors, and many hog and cattle producers are finding that a controlled environment means a more comfortable animal that will grow faster and cheaper.

Thus, it would seem that a healthy nudge from rising land values could easily send livestock feedlots soaring into the air.

The animals, themselves, could also provide an important new source of food or feed, says Harry J. Eby, a USDA engineer at the University of Maryland.

Eby has been grappling with the problem of what to do with the two billion tons of livestock and poultry waste produced annually in the United States. And he's come up with an answer.

He has designed a system for the waste to be pumped out of a lagoon into a series of hydroponic beds in which crops are growing in fine gravel. The waste nutrients would feed the crops—which could supply either feed for livestock or (if our delicate sensibilities don't rebel) food for humans.

Eby also suggests—very quietly—that the protein level of the waste could be raised by incubating it, allowing the bacteria to grow, then sterilizing it and feeding it back to the livestock as protein supplement.

Many other alternatives are being explored in the hope of relieving the growing competition between man and animal for the world's food resources.

An obvious one is to get each animal to produce more of what the consumer wants, but without increasing its feed intake or, hopefully, its cost to the housewife.

For a decade, swine researchers at Beltsville have been selecting, breeding and reselecting hogs with low-fat characteristics. The results to date:

A smaller, longer, more efficient animal that yields five more pounds of lean cuts (ham, loins, shoulders) than the more typical members of its breed—and on less feed, yet.

Similar research is under way in beef cattle, and Dr. Everett J. Warwick, chief of USDA's beef cattle research branch, predicts that the waste fat on a beef carcass, typically about 20 per cent, will someday be trimmed to 5 per cent or less.

The same selective breeding already has produced a turkey whose breast now is so meaty that, as one writer put it, the male loses its balance when it tries to mate. "Artificial insemination has come to the consumer's rescue," the writer noted, "if not to the turkey's."

The ultimate research goal, however, is the ability to identify precisely the genetic markers for certain desirable characteristics.

With this weapon, Warwick suggests, man might be able to custom-design the kind of animal he wants—match the markers in a dam and sire that will produce the most desirable type of offspring.

A more fanciful approach, which might someday boost a single cow's milk production, is being studied by other Beltsville scientists.

A hormone, called estrogen, it has been found, will simulate the natural lactation process whereby a cow or heifer must give birth to a calf before the milk-production cycle can begin.

Treatment with estrogen stimulates development of the mammary glands and actually starts the milk-producing cycle, without the animal giving birth to a calf. The implications are important.

If attempts to breed a young heifer fail, a farmer might someday be able to bring her into production anyway.

And he might eliminate the tailing-off of production that normally precedes calving—

in short, keep a cow producing year after year if he wants to, giving her only brief rest periods.

Soybean Sausage? Don't Laugh; It's a Fact

(*Seventh in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Crude oil someday will be putting food in man's stomach.

And soybeans processed to match the taste and texture of almost any kind of food—from sausage to sauerkraut—will be an everyday fact of life.

Together, these curious additions to the human menu promise a rich new source of nourishment for a world in which half the people already are malnourished and which is expected to double its population within the next 30 years.

Unsavory as they are to the human palate, crude oil and soybeans have one extremely crucial quality in common:

Both have the potential of supplying huge quantities of edible protein, the one dietary element in shortest supply in the food-short nations.

Of course, no one will snack on crude oil as it flows from the earth.

But in laboratories around the world, scientists for most of the major oil companies are laboring to perfect the process that produces a cheap, edible protein from petroleum products.

Simply researchers have found that certain micro-organisms—bacteria or yeasts—will feed and grow on crude oil and natural gas hydrocarbons. Specifically, they feed on paraffins in oil and gas, in effect dewaxing the raw product for the refiner.

Placed in a fermentation tank with such hydrocarbons as diesel fuel, kerosene or methane and nurtured with air, water, nitrogen and minerals, these little bugs multiply rapidly overnight.

Ultimately, they yield a bland, edible powder, brimming with vitamins and containing 40 to 70 percent protein. In the lab, scientists have managed to make this powder look and taste like meat, fish, cereals or soups.

The potential for this discovery is enormous, for several reasons:

Crude oil and gas are cheap and abundant—or easily transportable—throughout the world, including those nations where the capacity to produce more familiar forms of protein is limited.

What's more, there already are hundreds of refineries scattered across the globe which one day could double as food production plants.

Alfred Champagnat, a French researcher, in a recent article estimated that 40 million tons of petroleum a year might yield 20 million tons of protein—half of today's total annual output.

Though only about 10 percent of available supplies contain the waxes on which bacteria thrive best, this still would hardly put a dent in the world's ample proven reserves (recently estimated at 390 billion barrels of oil and a million-billion cubic feet of gas).

While competitive consumers food products may one day emerge from this research, the initial aim is a high-protein supplement that could be added to the indigenous foods of the poor nations.

More specifically, the first target is kwashiokor (translated freely, "the sickness the older baby gets when the new baby comes"), a protein deficiency that afflicts millions of small children between weaning and the time they go on a full adult diet.

There are however, many research problems to be overcome that would place this development 10 to 20 years away from implementation.

Their researchers are transforming soybean meal, now a livestock feed, into a edible, high-protein material that can be made to simulate any kind of fibrous food.

The process, rapidly being refined by the scientists, is extremely promising on two counts:

Where animals consume 100 pounds of feed protein to produce 7 to 20 pounds of meat protein, scientists can isolate 70 per cent of the protein in soybean meal and turn it into a product that is nearly 100 per cent pure.

The ability to match the appearance, taste and texture of a wide range of foods means that high-protein products could be made to satisfy the individual, often rigid tastes of any underfed nation.

Edmund Field, assistant director of exploratory research with American Oil Co., says his firm still is searching for a bacteria that will provide the most acceptable protein yield and quality.

And researchers still have much to learn, he explains, about the kind and amount of hydrocarbons and nutrients required for optimum results.

A piece of technology pioneered by General Mills, Inc., however, promises a much earlier contribution to world protein supplies, perhaps within five years.

"The problem with feeding these people, even if they're starving, is getting them to eat something unfamiliar," says Arthur D. Odell, head of the General Mills project.

But with the new protein material, he explains, "We can make it taste like rotten fish, if that's what the West Africans like, or like fermented foods if that's what they eat in Indonesia."

In the project, Odell and his researchers have isolated the protein from the soybean meal, then taken it a step further.

A simple process, akin to textile-spinning methods, was developed to spin the isolated protein into fine, tasteless fibers that serve as the textural base for the simulated foods.

By varying the process to change the texture, then adding proper flavors and colors, Odell can produce a deceptive match for, say, beef, chicken, ham—or sauerkraut, General Mills, in fact, now is test-marketing small bits of what looks and tastes like crisp bacon.

Odell, however, refers to these meat analogs as the Cadillacs of the simulated foods. His aim, he says, is to develop an inexpensive Honda for the people of the undernourished nations.

"When we're through," he explains, "I hope the process is refined to the point where the natives, with a gas engine and some rather simple hardware, can turn out their own high-protein food at a reasonable cost."

They will use, he adds, not only soybeans and other oilseed crops, as Odell now is doing, but any native food surpluses that now are allowed to spoil or be destroyed by weather or rats.

"I expect," Odell says confidently, "that we will have this capability within the next five years."

In a more conventional area, a breakthrough recently announced at Purdue University in Indiana might fill the protein gap for millions of persons in Central and South America who get most of their calories and protein from corn.

Researchers have bred a hybrid corn in which lysine, one of the essential amino acids, is present in exceedingly large amounts.

This gives it a protein value about double that of ordinary corn—and a nutritional value on a par with that of, say, skim milk.

If commercial varieties can be developed, the new strain would be a significant contribution not only to human nutrition, but to livestock nutrition as well. (In Purdue tests, small pigs fed the high-lysine grew 3.6 times faster than on the common hybrid corn.)

The startling discovery now has touched off a widespread search for similar characteristics in wheat, rice, barley and sorghum.

Female May Be Insects' Ruination

(*Eighth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Insects have feelings, too, you know. Which is why a sexy female insect someday might be used by farmers to entice the male of the species into a trap.

The female, in fact, may not even be necessary, her "sex appeal" having been duplicated in an artificially produced chemical lure—the insect world's version of Chanel No. 5, if you will.

The use of the female as a lure, and the far more complex task of identifying and synthesizing her sex "attractant," still are in the early research stages, involving a very limited number of pests.

They are, however, two of the promising approaches in a growing arsenal of "biological" methods under study by scientists across the country.

The aim is to augment familiar chemical controls—among other things, by getting the insects to cooperate in destroying themselves.

As a result of this work, predicts Dr. Paul Oman, assistant director of the Agriculture Department's. Entomology Research Division, the farmer 30 years from now no longer will consider infestations of insects a major, persistently costly management problem.

Happily, for the urbanite, the pesky mosquito also will be caught up in the clean sweep Oman envisions.

"Insect populations will not be exterminated altogether," he projects, "but many of the major species will be completely under control."

A most promising approach to this biological warfare involves flooding an insect population with sterile males of the same species.

These males, mass-produced in a "factory" and sterilized by chemicals or radiation, compete with their fertile brethren for the attention of the female, rendering her eggs infertile.

The result: A sharp, continuing drop in production of offspring.

A major livestock pest, the screw-worm fly, has been arrested in the South in this manner, and efforts, are under way to refine the techniques for many other insects—including the mosquito.

It won't work universally, though. Some species, notably the legendary boll weevil, tend to drop dead when exposed to radiation, or become sluggish suitors when sprayed with chemical sterilants.

But agricultural researchers are assembling a wide assortment of other likely options in the field of non-chemical control. Among them:

Ultraviolet light traps have given encouraging results in attracting a number of costly pests, including the corn borer, which is very unpopular among the better southern Minnesota corn farmers.

One test indicated, for example, that light traps may control another familiar nemesis—the corn ear worm—as effectively as 10 pesticide treatments. Another, using a suction-type light trap, caught 85 pounds of gnats—a million to the pound—in one night.

Efforts to define precisely which wave lengths are most attractive to individual species are continuing, though researchers admit that this approach won't work on all insects either.

Deadly viruses—deadly to insects, that is—are an "exceedingly promising" approach for at least 25 species, Oman says.

Applied as a dust or spray, these highly selective viruses would spread fatal disease throughout an insect population.

These viruses, now under scrutiny by Food and Drug authorities, appear to be harmless both to humans and animals, Oman says.

Energy waves have been used to rid stored grain of insects. In one test, high-frequency radio waves created enough heat to kill the pests. In another, sound waves simply drove the insects away.

Engineers are working with a variety of energy sources and frequencies to determine the most effective applications.

Insect predators, harmless species that attack damaging types, have provided limited, though very exciting results.

A wasp imported from France, for example, promises an effective means of controlling the elm bark beetle—which, in turn is the principal carrier of the destructive Dutch elm disease.

There are, however, literally millions of different species in the world to be inventoried for possible use as control predators. So far, only a handful of helpful species have been uncovered.

Ultimately, many of these approaches will be used in combination, rather than singly, as "the" answer to a problem. For example, a sex attractant or light might lure the males into a trap, there to be sterilized and released to breed with fertile females.

This work is not aimed at replacing pesticides, researchers contend, though one man admitted that Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring" helped "scare up" additional appropriations for nonchemical control research.

Rather, the goal is to go on the offensive with a combination of chemical and nonchemical control methods, to achieve a thing called "total population control"—TPC.

Today, most pesticides are valuable only as defensive weapons, simply because they are economically efficient only up to, say, 90 per cent of an insect population. The remaining 10 per cent, with their fantastic reproductive potential, are capable of keeping an insect problem alive year after year.

Many of the nonchemical methods, on the other hand, are most effective when insect populations are at their lowest ebb.

The application is obvious: Hit a population with the minimum effective amount of pesticide, then stomp those that remain with, say, a massive release of sterile males.

Thereafter, a low-cost, low-risk combination of pesticides and nonchemical methods might keep the insects under control.

Resistant plants, crop varieties with built-in defenses against insects, as well as disease, are another possibility under study by Agriculture Department researchers.

An alfalfa variety resistant to the damaging alfalfa weevil, for example, is in the final development stages.

But widespread application of this method represents an awesome amount of work. There are many different plant enemies for which resistance must be bred into a variety, and the screening process now used in developing new breeds is an 8-to-10 year matter.

Nonchemical methods also are being explored to enhance chemical weed control, with heartening results.

One major success involves a weed-eating beetle from Australia, which is credited with controlling the damaging "klamath weed" and reclaiming a million acres of infested western rangeland.

In fact, grateful cattlemen actually erected a monument to the klamath weed beetle in California.

Another beetle, from Europe, promises to help control the Canada thistle, a serious enough problem in these parts to rate a "Canada Thistle Control Month" every summer.

W. B. Ennis, chief of the Agriculture Department's Corps Protection Research Branch, sees possibilities in a current project aimed at identifying the mechanics of weed dormancy.

Out of this, Ennis feels, will come a means of keeping weeds forever dormant, perhaps by making them susceptible to cold or drought, or of getting all of them to germinate without producing seeds.

SCIENTISTS SEARCH FOR TRIGGERS TO WEATHER SYSTEMS

(*Ninth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

Will man one day have the weapons to bend to his will the potent forces of the world's weather systems?

On the eastern flank of the Rockies, high on a slope overlooking the city of Boulder, Colo., scientists at the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) are taking the first steps toward an answer.

From the urbanite, who loses his home to the weather, to the farmer who loses a crop, all men have a vital stake in their success.

The obstacles to total weather control are formidable, however, for the energy contained in even the mildest of weather systems looms far beyond man's ability to duplicate.

A sample: The natural energy required to increase rainfall just a tenth of an inch over 100 square miles is equivalent to all the electrical energy produced in the United States in six days.

But is brute force essential to effective global weather control?

The answer lies in the research effort now under way at NCAR and around the world to expand man's rather rudimentary understanding of the forces that shape the weather.

NCAR scientists are intrigued by the suspicion that large weather systems actually may be triggered by relatively small sources of natural energy.

And this, they say, offers the possibility that major changes in the weather may one day be effected with small, strategically placed amounts of man-made energy.

Dr. Walter Orr Roberts, the distinguished director of NCAR, is confident that a clear understanding of what causes weather to change will be achieved, perhaps by the late 1970's.

This may well lead, he says, to accurate, long-range weather forecasts covering three weeks—or possibly a season in advance.

But Roberts is less optimistic that control of even the weather's small "triggering" mechanisms, if they can be identified, ever will be within man's grasp.

Nevertheless, even if global control is impossible, the knowledge amassed in the next decade promises a big assist for scientists now seeking to modify the weather on a small scale.

As a result, Roberts is confident that farmers one day will be suppressing crop-damaging hail, perhaps by blasting chemical-laden cannon shells into the center of a storm cloud.

They will be harvesting higher yields of rainfall— "milking" passing clouds of every available drop of water—using precise cloud-seeding techniques.

And possibly, they may even be protecting their crops and farm buildings against lightning or damaging wind storms.

But these far-out capabilities, all with some encouraging basis in the present, represent mere tinkerings compared with the concept of total global weather control now under study.

Armed with the most potent of computers—which still is too puny for the job—NCAR scientists are beginning to simulate mathematically the vast and complex forces of the world's weather systems.

It is their only hope, Roberts explains, of dealing with the billions of calculations involving air movement, cloud formation, atmospheric radiation—all the processes that govern the weather.

There are tantalizing clues, Roberts says, behind the theory that large-scale weather systems actually are controlled by rather small "triggers."

One example: There is a statistical correlation between the occurrence of the aurora borealis, northern lights, and the intensification of large weather systems moving south out of the Gulf of Alaska.

This is important, for the energy involved in the northern lights is relatively small compared with what seems to result.

And while this possible "trigger" may still be beyond man's control, there is the further hope that an even smaller intervention might be found, in effect, to "trigger the trigger."

Essential to the computer program, however, is a far broader knowledge of what makes the weather tick. Thus, a "world weather watch"—a global observation system—now is being established.

And in the mid-1970's, a global atmospheric research program of the dimensions of the International Geophysical Year is planned.

Meanwhile, scientists will be hedging their bets on total control with continued efforts toward small-scale weather modification.

The most exciting prospect in this area, and an important one for the farmer, is hail suppression.

Russian scientists, in a report recently translated, claim that hail damage to crops was reduced 80 per cent on 1.25 million acres, with radar and cannons as the unlikely means.

The Russians used the radar to locate the "hail-growth zone" in a storm system, then cannonaded this danger zone with projectiles containing silver or lead iodide.

Simply, these chemical particles provided a massive number of nuclei on which water droplets would freeze to form hailstones.

The result: many more, but much smaller hailstones that would melt before hitting the ground or be too small to do any damage.

Dr. Guy Goyer, an NCAR program scientist in cloud physics, is inclined to accept the Russian claims as valid and important contributions to hail-suppression research.

And while much work remains to be done in perfection of an operational system, both Goyer and Roberts predict that hail suppression will be a routine matter within the next 30 years.

Heartening returns also are flowing in from cloud-seeding aimed at boosting rainfall, says Dr. J. Robert Stinson, associate chief of the Federal Office of Atmospheric Water Resources in Denver, Colo.

Here, too, silver iodide is placed in a cloud (by airplane or ground generator) to increase the supply of nuclei on which water vapor rapidly freezen and grows to a size that will fall to earth.

Results to date: under "ideal" conditions, rainfall apparently can be increased 10 to 20 per cent. Stinson's terms are necessarily cautious, simply because evaluation of seeding results (Would it have rained anyway?) is extremely difficult.

But within the next three decades, he says, "we hope to have the capability to enhance rainfall, not just under 'ideal' conditions, but from any cloud with an excess of moisture in it."

Other encouraging—but inconclusive results—have been reported in the area of lightning and hurricane suppression, though scientists have less hope for these than for the rain and hail research.

In a program called Project Stormfury, U.S. Weather Bureau scientists are seeding chemical nuclei into clouds, to get the moisture to freeze on the nuclei and give up its latent heat.

Since temperature is one factor in the makeup of such a storm, a change in the temperature at the right place in the system might set up a chain reaction that would reduce the winds.

In two separate tests, a decrease of about

10 per cent in wind velocity was observed. But researchers quickly point out that this change falls easily within the natural variability of such storms.

A U.S. Forest Service program, Project Skyfire, has indicated similarly encouraging—and equally inconclusive—results for lightning suppression.

Again, the aim is to produce artificial ice crystals from the silver iodide—but this time to drain off the electrical charge in the cloud before it builds to an intensity that would produce a lightning stroke.

An apparent reduction in the number of lightning strokes has been reported—but there also are indications that this may result in greater intensity in the ground strokes that do occur.

SATELLITES TO SCAN FIELDS FOR DISEASES AND WEEDS

(*Tenth in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood)

LAFAYETTE, IND.—An orbiting space satellite, outfitted with a powerful lens and sophisticated remote-sensing gear, may be the farmer's most valuable piece of machinery 15 years from now.

It promises, in fact, to save American farmers billions of dollars a year in crop losses.

The key is the equipment it will carry—scientific devices so sensitive they will be capable of warning a farmer in southern Minnesota that:

An isolated part of his corn crop suddenly is being attacked by disease, insects or moisture problems (It's also entirely possible he'll be told which of the three it is).

The soybeans in a remote corner of one of his fields, which he thought were clean, are becoming infested with weeds.

A certain pasture is being overgrazed and underfertilized.

The value of information like this, relayed immediately to the farmer, cannot be overrated.

Laggard response to these and other cropping problems now costs American farmers at least as much annually as the $16 billion net farm income recorded in 1966.

The farmer, however, will not be the sole beneficiary of the farm satellite that the United States plans to have in orbit sometime in the next 15 years.

For example, the satellite will also provide precise acreage counts—and perhaps even accurate yield estimates—on all the major crops in the United States and around the world.

This could eliminate millions of dollars in losses that can be suffered by farmers, traders and processors due to faulty crop estimates.

This would be immensely valuable information for the financial planning of the storage and transportation industries that handle farm production.

It could also help government leaders to assess strengths and weaknesses of China and Russia, by providing the first accurate estimates of their potential food production.

It would allow American agriculture to boost its production to offset an impending crop failure in another part of the world, or cut back in the face of a developing world surplus.

The satellite might even help a backward nation plan its agricultural development by pinpointing a remote area of the country with favorable soil types, high water-holding capacity and high fertility.

Most important, the voluminous data collected worldwide by the satellite would be analyzed and correlated almost overnight by a computer, and presented in an easily interpreted printed form.

The research base for this space-age wizardry is taking shape at Purdue University, in an unpretentious, one-story blockhouse known as the Laboratory for Agricultural Remote Sensing (LARS).

Though less than 2 years old, the government-financed program already has produced, on a limited scale, some of the functions envisioned for an agricultural satellite in the 1980s.

LARS scientists, however, are grappling with two extremely complex problems that are at least a decade away from final solution, says R. B. MacDonald, the program's technical director.

The first is the matter of distinguishing accurately between a multitude of ground targets, and the second involves creation of a computer system for converting this flood of data into usable form in time for it to do any good—which means almost immediately.

A key to the first problem is the fact that all objects reflect, absorb and re-emit energy from the sun in a distinctive fashion.

This radiation, transmitted at a certain frequency (ultraviolet, visible and infrared) on the electromagnetic spectrum, represents on object's unique "signature."

An encouraging and fascinating round of successes in detecting these signatures already has been recorded. For instance:

LARS scientists, using an airborne "scanning spectrometer," have found that one of their simpler tasks is differentiating between soil, water and vegetation.

Various crops, when well along in development, also have been identified accurately by a spectrometer—though techniques are not yet refined enough for the similar signatures that are all green, to be distinguished effectively.

But planting patterns differ between various crops, for instance, corn and soybeans, so that a fairly accurate identification of young plants has been made by "sensing" the relationship of bare soil to vegetation.

Similarly, a change in this relationship from one part of a field to another has been identified correctly as a weed infestation.

Infrared film, in a University of Maine experiment, pinpointed clearly the pronounced change in signature of potato plants under stress from blight. The signature of different corn varieties, or corn planted on different dates, has been identified in the same way.

Taken together, these developments contain the crude elements of an operational agricultural remote sensing system.

The difficult question is, however: Given the wide number of radiation frequencies that could be scanned, which ones should be included in the design of the final sensing instruments?

The research is a paintaking, trial-and-error process—a matter of scanning many frequencies to find a unique response that might help establish the sign nature of a specific type of plant stress, or of a different species of green plants.

There's also the question of how atmosphere and cloud cover might affect a satellite reading, or how signatures might change from region to region or with different soil types and climates.

In tandem with this research, LARS scientists have had some encouraging success with the system that will automatically refine and interpret a huge amount of ground information.

Simply, the radiation data collected by airborne sensors is recorded on magnetic tape and then converted on another tape to the digital language a computer can understand.

Data from a small portion of the flyover area then is compared with ground information collected earlier on the types and conditions of crops planted at several "checkpoints" along the way.

If a certain radiation value has been picked up from a checkpoint that is known to be planted in corn or soybeans, for example, then that value is established as the current "signature" of the crop.

Enough comparisons are made in this manner to establish what MacDonald calls a valid "training sample" for the flyover area.

Finally, the computer applies the radiation values established in the training sample, using them to analyze and identify the targets surveyed.

What results is a printout showing the distinctive patterns of field boundaries, with each crop identified by such symbols as C for corn, W for wheat, S for soybeans or, simply, G for green.

Each character can be made to represent as small an area—for example, 10 square feet or less—as required by the information sought.

Without this "training-sample" approach, MacDonald explains, it would be necessary for researchers to establish an infinite number of signatures, involving many targets under a wide variety of conditions.

FARM TOWNS MAY SOON MOVE OUT TO SEA—THEY'LL SERVE HARVESTERS OF OCEAN

(*Last in a series*)

(By Dick Youngblood

Athelstan Spilhaus, the intellectual gadfly whose curiosity roams all the way from the sea to the stars, envisions the revival within 30 years of the small family farm and the little town that served it.

This "rural community," however will be floating out on the ocean.

The sea-going city would be supported by a fish-processing plant and equipped with the usual assortment of grocery stores, movie theaters and taverns—not to mention churches and hospitals.

It would be a market center and headquarters for the "Saturday night on the town," long familiar in rural America.

But this time it would serve the fishing fleets—and the "sea farmers"—that have spent the week harvesting the ocean.

"It's perfectly stupid to catch the fish and bring them back to land intact," he declared, "Why not do the processing at sea and bring back only what will be eaten?"

Spilhaus, who resigned recently from the university to become president of the Franklin Institute of Science, Philadelphia, Pa., is known internationally as an expert in oceanography and meteorology.

A penchant for seemingly outrageous crystal ball gazing, however, often has made him a controversial figure in the scientific world.

But as more and more attention is turned to the sea, as a rich source of protein for a mounting world population, Spilhaus' extreme proposals often begin to look like feasible solutions.

An article published in "International Science and Technology" magazine is an example.

"Less than 10 per cent of the world fish catch (more than 50 million tons a year) currently is taken in the southern hemisphere," the magazine reported, "although it has larger areas of high fertility than the North Atlantic and North Pacific."

In fact, all but a dozen of the 20,000 known species of fish now are underexploited or not exploited at all, the magazine reported.

A major reason for this, it explained, is distance to markets.

Its solution, Floating "protein-processing" plants, fed by several harvesting units and operated much like whaling fleets, would reduce waste, weight, spoilage—and costs.

Spilhaus' floating city—"to make life more attractive on the sea"—is merely a logical extension of this.

"Fishing today is utterly primitive compared to land farming," he says. "We hunt fish rather than husbanding them."

In 30 years, Spilhaus predicts, acres of bottom-feeding marine life will be raised like livestock on the continental shelves, fenced in by columns of air bubbles and herded by dolphins—"the sheep dogs of the future."

Harvesting would be done by men residing under the sea, selecting the "produce" that's ready for market much as a cattleman does today.

In fact, prototypes of manned underwater vehicles and robot manipulators for underwater farming already are being developed, International Science and Technology magazine reports.

Another idea he long has expounded—lining coastal areas with old automobiles, which attract large fish populations—already is being tried successfully in California.

The question remains, however: How much of an annual fish harvest can the ocean sustain without, as Spilhaus puts it, "robbing nature, rather than borrowing from her." Estimates of the experts range from three times all the way up to 40 times the current level.

But the limits simply cannot be established until far more is known about the sea and its inhabitants, says Louis D. Stringer, an assistant branch chief in the Federal Bureau of Commercial Fisheries.

Victor L. Loosanoff, former senior scientist with the Bureau, points out, however, that "reliable evidence shows that populations of oceanic fishes are not so great they cannot be quickly and drastically reduced by man's fishing efforts."

A promising answer may lie in the work of Lauren Donaldson, a University of Washington researcher who has bred a species of rainbow trout that weighs nearly 20 pounds at three years of age.

Now he is attempting to crossbreed these giants with steelhead trout, which migrate to sea before returning unerringly to its birthplace to spawn. The potential is obvious:

Raise the fish in coastal "ranches." Ship them out to sea to "graze." Then "round 'em up" when the sexual urge brings them back to spawn.

To conserve fish food, Spilhaus predicts, ways will be found to rid the seas of undesirable species—in effect, to "weed the ocean."

Ultimately, he sees sections of the continental shelf fenced off to hold in fish, with waste heat from nuclear power plants used to warm northern waters and help create the natural updrafts that lift nutrients from the ocean floor into the feeding areas.

A more imminent development, experts agree, will be hatcheries and "feed-lots" for raising shellfish and crustaceans, built in an estimated 30 million acres of lagoons and inlets along the world's seacoasts.

Important progress already has been made in the difficult task of inducing spawning oysters and raising them in captivity, Stringer points out. And Loosanoff notes that lobsters also can now be hatched in large numbers, using special equipment.

Both of these developments point toward true "sea farming" in the future, including selective breeding for improved species and controlled environment "feedlots" for optimum production.

Other research leads in the same direction.

An experiment with mussel culture in Italy actually produced more than 100,000 of the little critters per acre annually.

In South Carolina, scientists have found that highly productive shrimp farms can be operated in artificially constructed marsh ponds, built for as little as $35 to $50 an acre.

Construction, maintenance and operation of a modern shrimp trawler is so expensive, the scientists concluded, that a large acreage of marsh ponds could be built and operated for several years for the same money.

Not to be outdone, Spilhaus takes even this far-reaching research a step further. As these techniques are refined, he predicts, it will be only a short hop to "high-rise" shrimp and oyster farms right in downtown Minneapolis.

IMPORTANCE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, so that this may be a more progressive democracy, education must continue beyond the primary, secondary, and college classroom. Labor education is one of the means of training better union leaders at all levels, better able to serve their colleagues and their communities.

Walter G. Davis, director of the AFL–CIO Department of Education, recently discussed the American approach to labor education as he addressed the first World Conference on Education in the Trade Union Movement, conducted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Montreal, Canada.

Mr. Davis' address was printed in the current issue the American Federationist, the AFL–CIO official monthly magazine. I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Labor Education and Effective Unions," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Labor Education and Effective Unions

(By Walter G. Davis)

If one begins with the simple hypothesis that the vast majority of citizens of all countries are workers and that workers organized into trade unions represent a significant force for social, political and economic good, then it will logically follow that the effectiveness of the trade union movement will determine the degree to which workers have or will achieve their objectives of social, political and economic justice.

This I consider to be a universal truth. The road to justice for workers is a winding road. Its length, shape and width does adjust to individual countries but, like most everything else in the world community, there is more similarity of purpose today, there is more understanding of world problems because of better communications between nations, at least in a technological sense. Likewise, better communications between trade unionists permit us to share our experiences and to assist each other with our problems.

Workers are experiencing similar problems with their employers and internally the trade union movements can readily identify the problems of members which need immediate attention.

I would like to set forth what I believe to be the important areas for training within the labor movement if it is to play its proper and effective role in a free society.

The role of the AFL–CIO Department of Education has been developed within the broad mandate set forth in Article III(f) of the AFL–CIO Constitution. The Department operates as the staff arm of the Standing Committee on Education.

Its work involves the promotion of "the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation." It "shall assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels."

In response to this mandate, the Department has engaged in a variety of activities to promote trade union training in two basic areas. One is concerned with strengthening the union while the other is designed to strengthen the movement.

Let us look at the first area. In the United States, a profile of a strong, effective union has several elements:

There must be a stable political government at the top. This means that national leadership is attuned to all of the important social, political and economic matters affecting the union and the industry to which it is related. Unions with multi-industry relations are also included. The leaders in this case must be even better informed on the history of the various industries.

The union must have an aggressive organizing program, for in most cases program development in the union depends on its resources, which in turn relates to its size. A possible exception, of course, would be in the case of highly skilled workers normally considered in the professional class, i.e., airline pilots or the performing arts.

Connected to this effort must be an effective new member program, for once the workers become organized they must become unionized.

The union must have an imaginative ongoing staff training program for its national and/or district staffmembers.

It must have an education division with adequately trained staff. It should develop its own research division related to its needs.

There must be effective two-way communication between the national body and the local union and between itself and the national federation.

It must participate fully in the shaping of policy at the national, state and local trade union levels.

Of its many objectives, it must develop program review functions designed to keep always in forward motion toward its goals.

In general, it must address itself to all of the matters affecting its members and the total movement of which it is a part.

Trade union training programs, therefore, depend upon the needs of the union in the categories mentioned above. I have by no means exhausted the list in my profile. I am merely asserting that unions structured as outlined above tend to have strength, stability and growth potential.

Before discussing actual programs, let me underscore the point that trade union training affects all of the forgoing elements and, therefore, is vital to the union in every imaginable way.

The union profile notion can serve as a master plan for action for those organizations planning administrative reorganization. This concept is encouraged by the AFL–CIO Department of Education and receives active response from affiliated national unions and state and local central bodies.

To the extent that union officials carry out the objectives of the master plan, I submit that the union will successfully meet the everyday challenge that it faces. It will be strong and effective and it will attract new members.

The literature from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Labor Organization and eminent scholars from the universities in the field of union education has more than adequately defined the term "trade union training" as distinguished from workers' education. I, therefore, wish to borrow what seems to me an accurate definition which appeared in "Education News No. 1" entitled "Trade Union Training," published by the ICFTU in October 1960.

The aim of trade union training is to "make trade unionists." "In addition to the lessons of workers' education, trade union training aims to impart to those who benefit from it a more systematic knowledge of the economic, social and political problems involved in the running of public affairs. Furthermore, it should develop, amongst those who accept the responsibility for trade union affairs, qualities of combativity, tenacity and perseverance in action, honesty in the running of an organization and psychology and knowledge of human nature.

"In a nutshell, the main task of trade

union training is to make leaders determined to defend the interests of the workers who, by democratic procedures, have placed their trust in them."

It is important, therefore, who does the training. Should such programs remain within the structure of the trade union movement? Should they be carried on at the university labor education center? If so, should the university have the responsibility of determining the extent of the union's requirements?

In the United States, unions engage in programs which are developed and carried out by and within the union and also programs jointly planned with university labor education centers. The union spells out the need in the latter case—quite often in consultation with the Education Department of the AFL–CIO.

Many other countries have their own labor colleges to meet the need. This is currently under consideration in the AFL–CIO. But, may I hasten to add, however, it is not our intent to replace the university with our own, for American universities which have concerned themselves with the training of workers and their representatives are making a valuable contribution to the trade union movement and to our nation.

Our present interest is to promote the expansion of university labor education centers, particularly among the southern tier of states in the United States. It is ironic for us to find state universities, supported by the workers' tax dollars, providing services for business and management while refusing to provide comparable services for the labor movement.

Of the various possible forms of trade union training, we offer a variety, depending upon the size of the union and its resources.

For members, local officers and staff who demonstrate outstanding qualities in terms of their union commitment, educational background and understanding of human nature, there is the long-term residential labor program at Harvard University. Originally a 9-month program, it now provides 13 weeks of intensive training. This type of program represents a worthwhile investment in union training. It is comprehensive in its curricula and has produced a significant number of union officers who have maintained their interest in training and workers' education.

The weekend conference or institute has by far been the most popular because it avoids the reimbursement of lost time to workers not serving as full-time union staff representatives.

National unions offer the majority of training opportunities during the summer months in summer schools which run from 3 to 5 days.

There are state federation-sponsored schools which generally run one week and which are planned and carried out jointly with the sponsoring organization, the AFL–CIO Department of Education and the state university with which it maintains close liaison. Where there is no university with a labor program, the AFL–CIO conducts regional one-week schools covering several states. This year, 150 summer schools have been scheduled. Of these, 122 are sponsored by national unions.

Many of the larger international unions operate their own staff training centers on a year-round basis. These vary in length but are comprehensive and oriented to the needs of the individual unions. Worthy of mention is a recent innovative staff intern program developed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, an affiliate of the AFL–CIO now enjoying rapid growth among state and local government workers. The union opened a three-month pilot program at its international headquarters for rank-and-file members, leading to possible staff intern position with the union. After the screening of applicants, 15 were selected and brought to Washington, D.C., for general orientation. This was followed by three weeks of strenuous class sessions covering a variety of subjects, from political action and labor history to collective bargaining, community organization and other subjects. Important labor and government officials were brought in during the period to discuss the subjects in the courses. Each was then assigned to a field supervisor after the first month to observe firsthand what problems union organizers and staff representatives face. The final week was assigned to the evaluation of each student and graduation. Of the 15 starters, two were dropped and staff assignments were provided the remainder.

Trade union staff and officer training is developing in a significant way in the U.S. Almost all of the 129 national affiliates conduct some programs for full-time staff. Such programs vary in approach and level of leadership coverage. Here are some basic features:

Training programs generally presuppose that the student has already been exposed to the basic courses offered in the regular workers' education programs.

The larger unions schedule long-range programs to assure that every union staff representative participates in the program.

Unions tend to select seminar topics relevant to the problems in their industry. Thus automation and time-study programs are included in virtually all staff training programs since these are considered a national problem for unions in the United States.

In training union organizers, great emphasis has been placed upon communication skills and recently on the general principles of sociology. In-plant committees are now exposed to some basic training about the trade union movement to facilitate the work of the organizers. The effectiveness of the in-plant committee in organizing a hostile company quite often makes the difference between success and failure in the campaign.

Looking to the future, teacher training programs offer great hope for the achievement of total union involvement in labor education and trade union training. International unions, AFL–CIO state councils and the AFL–CIO Education Department are presently making plans for the development of such programs. Many of the smaller union organizations with little budget and small staffs can benefit from these programs, particularly where teachers are trained to teach shop stewards at the local level. The expense of travel and time for international officers and staff representatives to handle minor grievances is grossly inefficient and costly to the union.

This matter will be on the agenda of future meetings between AFL–CIO representatives and representatives of university labor education centers.

Of the unions reporting about the features of their long-term staff training programs, the seminar approach appears to be most popular. Topics vary but collective bargaining, social insurance and new legislation appear high on the list.

In most longterm programs (three weeks or more), theory courses involving a variety of subjects are offered. This is generally followed by traditional union courses such as labor law, contracts, etc.

Time is reserved for a how-to-do-it section of instruction. The "how" method is often made an integral part of the curriculum.

The list of unions engaged in longterm staff training is beginning to grow as of 1967. Pioneers in this field have been the Communications Workers of America, the United Auto Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers and United Steelworkers of America. This year, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes and the Laborers' International Union, among others, have significantly contributed to this effort.

Programmed learning as a teaching technique has been reported to be successful by those unions venturing into this new field. The UAW develops its own programs using this technique while others utilize the services of specialized organizations in the field.

This technique forces the student to think about a problem. Advocates of this technique claim that, when confronted with a series of questions presented in logical sequence, the student learns more. Questions are formulated around some of the situations the students may be called on to handle in carrying out his everyday responsibilities. The correct answers are provided the student but only after he has attempted to provide his own answer.

The UAW also reports a need for introducing courses designed to speed up the reading and comprehension of its staff. This need appears universal within the labor movement as a voluminous amount of material crosses the desks of union leaders.

One of the most interesting new programs in trade union training is the series of top-level conferences for elected union officers run by the Advanced Study Program of Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

More than 75 of our nation's influential labor leaders have participated so far. Seventeen of these were principal officers of international unions.

Fred Hoehler of the United Steelworkers of America, a long-time expert in the field of labor education, planned these conferences in cooperation with an advisory committee selected from the AFL–CIO Executive Council.

One major effect of these conferences was to stimulate additional interest in labor education among those leaders who had not pressed such programs in the past.

The second areas of union training which American unions promote can be best described as courses to strengthen the labor movement.

American unions are now issue-minded in the sense that where there are defeats of labor candidates in local or national elections, it is directly felt by the workers.

It is felt in administrative policies of government agencies, in legislation and in the general economic philosophy of the country or region.

Where an anti-labor candidate is elected to high public office, it is sometimes interpreted by those outside the movement to mean the time has come to stop labor's progress or, even worse, to further restrict labor's rights.

Staff representatives are expected to provide leadership in their dealings with rank-and-file members to head off this possibility and, therefore, must be as well informed about the issues involved as possible.

Such matters as government spending, taxation, housing legislation, civil rights and the political process are considered important subjects for any summer school, weekend institute or conference.

Guest lecturers are generally high ranking public officials or experts from the trade union movement or the university. The utilitarian value of these courses is significant in that they strengthen and implement the objectives of the national union and the AFL–CIO.

In most cases, special recruiting efforts are made to assure participation by the level of leadership contemplated in program planning.

National unions generally use AFL–CIO manuals, films and materials in this phase of their program although some unions produce their own.

Programs in this phase are not always politically related in the direct sense. Sometimes the nation is divided on an important controversial issue as was the case on civil rights and the Negro's struggle for social, political and economic justice.

Since union members reflect the attitudes of their communities, it was necessary for workers, officers and staff members to develop an understanding of the merits of the civil rights cause and its implications to the labor movement. Techniques such as boycotts and picketing employed in civil rights were borrowed from the earlier union struggles of the 1930s.

The effect of union education programs in civil rights facilitated formation of a coalition of the religious, labor, liberal and Negro communities which was responsible for passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The development of local union education committees in the United States has increased during the past five years. Of the active national unions in this field, an excellent example would be the Communications Workers of America. CWA locals, under the direction of their national Education Department, have organized local union programs which included film showings at local meetings, special conferences on current topics, both local and national, and participation in labor discussions in high schools in their areas. Local education committees also work closely with university extension services which are helpful in providing expert advice and counsel in the planning of programs.

To give an example of recent trends, I would like to single out the growing interest in the training of local and national full-time staff in the Steelworkers, Operating Engineers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Painters, Carpenters and Laborers' Union.

The Ladies' Garment Workers' training program, although somewhat geared to the problems of the industry, does go significantly beyond this. The underlying philosophy of their program rests on the rational proposition that "the complexities of industry and society dictate that the union representative be trained in many areas beyond the basic elements of the union-management contract. . . . The modern union representative must also know politics, law and administration." With its membership, the majority of which are women, this union has developed trade union training with a spirit of innovation.

Over 500 staff members of the United Auto Workers have completed at least one 3-week seminar of staff training—some more than once. This program has been conducted at their national center. In addition, 4-day seminars relating to one subject important to the union has been conducted on a regional basis. For example, this year's program dealt with the Report of the President's Commission on Automation. Another of the UAW series of 4-day seminars is oriented around the economic problems of the auto, areospace and agricultural industries. Short-term specialty seminars deal with such subjects as arbitration, current developments in time-study and production problems.

The union has developed a series of discussions of current union political and social problems which is organized around a publication called "The Simulated Union." In this publication, a mythical but realistic union with its community and its leadership, contract and constitution are described, and a series of problems based on the simulation is posed for discussion. The discussions range from civil rights and political action to union administration and arbitration.

The union also plans a series of seminars in international affairs at Harvard University in the near future.

The AFL–CIO has been operating residential seimnars to train staff and officers of Latin-American unions through the American Institute for Free Labor Development. In cooperation with the AFL–CIO Department of Education, programs were planned to acquaint these union leaders with the American union experience. Special training in economics was offered at Loyola University in New Orleans for those qualified, a program since moved to Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. The mushrooming effect of the AIFLD program is evidenced by the follow-up programming in labor education when the students return to their countries. Over 60,000 Latin-American unionists have been exposed to some training over the past four years as a result.

Another important development in our education efforts is our work with the government unions. For the past four years, the AFL–CIO Department of Education has been involved in education programs that have had great impact on federal government unions. These educational activities have been carried on in cooperation with the postal unions, the unions representing the skilled crafts in the federal government (Metal Trades Department and its affiliated unions), the American Federation of Government Employees, the Government Employees Council, as well as several university workers' education centers.

These programs were developed immediately after collective bargaining rights were extended to the federal government employees in 1962. These activities centered around three objectives: to acquaint local and national union officers with the problems of collective bargaining, to train negotiating committees and to build an effective shop steward system.

Varied types of training, special curricula and study materials had to be prepared to effectively serve the various levels in the structure of the federal unions—the local union officers and stewards, the full-time national staff representatives and the training of new instructors.

The role of the university in American trade union training has been a significant one.

The activities of the 25 workers' education centers at universities relate to all phases of workers' education in the United States. Universities may offer their own programs or they may develop programs upon request and in cooperation with local and national unions and the AFL–CIO Department of Education.

The spectrum of university activities includes long-term and short-term, resident and non-resident programs; courses for all levels of union officers and for full-time staff; general workers' education and specialized training programs. Some universities have specialized in full-time staff training (including programs for education staff), collective bargaining, time and motion study and similar technical courses. Many programs are sponsored in cooperation with the AFL–CIO Department of Education, particularly in the field of staff training.

There are signs that the traditional controversy involving union suspicion of the "pro-business" orientation of university programs appears to be dissipating mainly because of the increased needs of unions and because of increased effectiveness of labor advisory committees in program planning.

The AFL–CIO Department of Education plans a series of conferences for labor advisory committees in the near future, hopefully to discern the present characteristics of these relationships and hopefully to find ways to strengthen union-university relations.

There is more than enough experience in method and in the development of course material to now provide for American workers and their union leaders coherent ongoing union training programs which will accrue to the benefit of the trade union movement in the United States and to free trade unions everywhere.

VIETNAM'S PROSPEROUS LOTTERY

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Embassy of Vietnam here in Washington issues a monthly publication entitled Vietnam Bulletin, sponsored by its Office of Cultural Affairs and Information. In a recent issue there appeared an item describing with pride an aspect of current Vietnamese culture which I found most interesting. It is captioned "Instant Wealth Through Vietnam's Lottery."

The article asserts that in 1966 the Vietnamese people spent 2,100 million piastres—$357,000,000—on the national lottery. This works out to some $23 per person—man, woman, and child—on the basis of a 15 million population. But with about half the country under the control of the Vietcong, the truer rate must run closer to $50 per person.

It is interesting to know, too, that distribution of the tickets is one of the prerogatives of the Province chiefs. One can only conjecture as to whether they, or others dealing with the ticket distribution, find this an onerous task or a desirable fringe benefit of office.

The article places the operating costs at 10 percent, which means that the state is paying more than $35,000,000 for the privilege of offering its people a chance at "instant wealth." Income to the government is stated to be 850 million piastres in a year, which is $144,500,000. Since these figures—the government revenue and the operating costs—add up to $180 million out of the $357 million taken in, one is left wondering what happened to the other $177 million. The article does not deal with this question.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Instant Wealth Through Vietnam's Lottery

Each week, three million Vietnamese purchase lottery tickets for twenty piastres—about seventeen cents U.S.—in the hope of becoming a millionaire on Tuesday afternoon.

The chances are one in a million of becoming one of the three lucky top winners, but hundreds win lesser amounts ranging from two hundred piastres to 200,000-piastre boons. For the government of the Republic of Vietnam, the National Reconstruction Lottery brings in 850 million piastres a year to the country's hard pressed budget. The three top winners of the weekly drawings each get two million piastres.

Vietnam, like Mexico, Thailand, Italy and France and other countries that have utilized lotteries as an additional source of national income, carefully control each step of the lottery to insure honesty and to maximize the profit.

In 1966 the Vietnamese people spent 2,100 million piastres on the lottery. Sixty percent of the take was distributed in prizes, 10 percent was earmarked for operating costs, and 30 percent was left for the Vietnamese treasury. Operating costs include administrative expenses (4%) and commissions to wholesalers and retailers (6%).

There are 36,708 winning tickets each week out of the 3 million, which is better than one winning ticket in one hundred. The cream of the prizes are the three "doc-dac", a tier of fifteen awards of 200,000 piastres each, and a tier of fifteen 100,000 piastre prizes.

The rest of the winners consist of one hundred and eighty 20,000-piastre prizes, and lesser prizes of 10,000, 2,000, 1,000, and 200 piastres. A ticket which differs from the top winning ticket by only one digit wins a consolation prize of 4,000 piastres. Thus as opposed to three lucky new millionaires there are 162 persons in Vietnam each week who "almost" make it.

The brightly colored tickets are sold in Government offices and at hundreds of sheet booths or newsstands in the larger cities. Designed by painter Van Thanh, they are issued in three series of a million each. They bear identical numbers from 000,000 to 999,999, but with different letter prefixes—A, AA and AAA, for instance. For each series, the grand prize 2 million piastres, and 12,235 lesser prizes are awarded.

An inter-ministerial commission with representatives of the Departments of Finance, Labor, Economy, Social Welfare, Information and Justice controls the circulation of the tickets. In Saigon, sales are managed through the Department of Finance and other government agencies. The office of the Province Chief handles distribution in each of the country's forty-four rural provinces.

According to Mr. Nguyen Van Son, a member of the Lottery Commission, the government tries to discourage attempts to convert losing tickets into winners by changing the numbers. The tickets are printed on a special kind of safe paper imported from England. The Commission has its own presses and uses many secret marks and engravings that would make counterfeiting difficult. The penalty for counterfeiting a lottery ticket is 20 years in prison.

Lottery drawings are held in the 900 seat Thong-Nhut (Unity) Theatre, to which the public is lured by the promise of a free stage show, featuring Radio Saigon artists.

On the stage stand six steel spherical cages. Each cage contains 10 balls, on which the numbers from zero to nine are marked. The balls are set whirling when the teenagers spin the bird cages simultaneously. When the cages stop the winning digit from each of them drops in the cup below. Then the teenagers pick the balls and hold them up at arm's length for the audience to see.

The first cage provides the first digit of the winning number, the second cage the second, and so forth.

Some ticket holders go to the theatre to witness the drawing in person, but usually most of the seats are filled by teenagers. People who follow the event directly over the radio share with them the suspense and the free entertainment presented between the drawings. The results are published in official Vietnam Press bulletins (in Vietnamese, English and French) and all daily newspapers the next day.

Prior to 1955, only 600,000 tickets valued at ten piastres each were printed every week. Sales were low, even though the top prize was one million piastres.

In 1956, however, the government set a firm drawing date and began announcing results by radio. The official price remained at ten piasters per unit but the demand was so great that hawkers sold the tickets for twelve or thirteen piastres. By October 1965, the blackmarket became so vicious that the government enacted stern decrees to punish illegal sales, including nullification of bidders' contracts if the bidders violated the Lottery regulations.

During the first nine months of 1966, circulation rose to three million tickets a week. Unable to print more tickets, the government raised the price in September 1966 to twenty piastres, hoping to hold down volume. Each week there are now three winners, each getting two million piastres, instead of one million.

Many Vietnamese, enjoying unprecedented wages and desiring more of the good life, have sought through the lottery to make the big leap to wealth. During 1967, the lottery will make 156 Vietnamese millionaires—and many feel it is worth the odds. Of course, thousands more will earn from ten times to twenty-five thousand times the cost of their tickets.

On the streets of Saigon, in the smallest village market, and at many government offices, one can toss a 20-piastre note to a smiling ticket vendor and dream of two millions piastres. Who wouldn't?

THE NATION'S CAPITAL CITY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, earlier this year I addressed a Kiwanis Club gathering in Charleston, W. Va. For the occasion, the host club had as its guests other Kiwanis groups in the area as well as other outside guests. I was asked to speak on the role of the District of Columbia as the Nation's Capital City.

I ask unanimous consent that my address be placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT AS THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Washington belongs to the Nation!

When the Congress was sitting in Philadelphia near the end of the Revolutionary War, a mob of disgruntled soldiers marched upon the Congress, surrounded the meeting hall, and threatened and interrupted the business of the National Legislature. Appeals by the Congress to the officials of the City of Philadelphia and to the officials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania brought no assistance to the Congress. Lacking the power of control, the Congress removed to Princeton, New Jersey, to reconvene and get on with the execution of the Revolutionary War.

The genius of the framers of the Constitution found a solution to such a problem by providing for the establishment of the seat of the National Government at some location which was not a part of a City nor a part of a State, but an area ceded to the Federal Government and completely under the control of the Federal Government to serve for the sole purpose of becoming the seat of the National Government.

This concept was put into language by the framers of the Constitution, which provision was part of the Constitution ratified by the people of the States in Article I, Section 8, Clause 17 of the Constitution which provided, among other powers of the Congress, that it ". . . exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States. . . ."

The Founding Fathers gave the District a unique role in that they did not ordain it as a seat of the Government, but, rather, as *the* seat of the Government—the one and only seat of the Government of the United States.

The District of Columbia was established solely, therefore, for the purpose of being the seat of the government of the United States, and it is first and foremost the Federal City. It belongs to every American citizen no matter where he lives. This is a city *sui generis*, and I want the District of Columbia to remain the unique city that it is.

Granted that there are many features of the present running of the District of Columbia which can be improved—as is the case with any city—there is no ground for assuming that the governmental purposes and functions would be better, or as well, served if the United States abrogated to the residents its duty of providing a safe center of government. I do believe, however, that they should have a voting delegate in the House of Representatives.

As the home of the Federal Government, the District stands in a profoundly and magnificently unique role. As the Federal City, of course, the District commands a prestigious position unequalled by any other American city and in many respects, by any other city in the world.

Here it is that the three great coordinate branches of Government of this Republic have their seats. Congress meets annually in Washington; The President and the Executive family live and function there; the Judiciary, represented by the highest court in the land, holds its sessions there. The eyes of the nation look toward Washington, so named for the first President of our country.

No other American city is so richly endowed by history, so favored with Federal largesse and payroll, so courted by student and diplomat, so blessed with memorials and museums—in truth, it is the Constantinople of the modern world—a city like him for whom it was named: first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. Homer, of old, wrote of Mt. Olympus in northern Thessaly, where Zeus, king of the Gods and arbiter of human destiny, sat upon its topmost ridges and made or marred the fortunes of human beings.

Washington, like Mt. Olympus, often decides the interests of the State and determines the destinies of men. It marks their futures, for war or for peace, and its influence upon the fortunes of old and young, rich and poor, rustic and urbane, is felt from the cradle to the grave. President, Shah, and King; Senator and Governor; scientist, inventor and astronaut; lawyer, merchant and priest—the paths of all cross here—the Capital of the Nation.

Viewed historically, the role of home rule for the District of Columbia is divided into two periods of almost equal length. throughout the first period, beginning in 1802 and continuing for almost three quarters of a century, District residents lived under varying degrees of self-government. Then came the political and financial crisis of the 1870's and this privilege was taken away by Congress. The Commission form, now in effect and substantially unchanged through the years, was installed during that period.

So, for the first 70-odd years of its history, the District of Columbia experienced some measure of home rule. For a decade, from 1802 to 1812, it was governed by a city council and Mayor. The City Council, of 12 members, was elected by the eligible voters. The twelve members chose from their own ranks five persons to serve in the second Chamber, while the remaining seven made up the first chamber.

The mayor was appointed by the President.

Over the next eight years the original two-chamber council was replaced by an eight-member Board of Aldermen elected for two years and a twelve-member Board of Common Council elected for one year. The Mayor was elected annually by a majority vote of the Aldermen and Common Council Members.

Legislation was enacted in 1820 providing for election of a mayor for a two year term by the vote of the people, who continued to elect the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council. This basic form of government remained in effect without important change for more than 50 years, until the 1870's.

In 1871, Congress established a territorial form of government, and abolished the office of mayor, and provided for a Governor to be appointed by the President for a four year term with senatorial consent. A four-member Board of Public Works was created, its members to be appointed by the President.

A two-chamber legislative assembly was made up of an eleven member Council and a 22-member House of Delegates, the former appointed by the President, and the latter elected by the people. The voters also chose a delegate to the House of Representatives who served on the District of Columbia Committee, but who could not vote. This government lasted three years. In 1874, legislation was passed placing the government in the hands of three commissioners, appointed by the President and all elective offices were abolished. This was avowedly a temporary government. A joint Congressional Committee was to study and consider a permanent form of Government of the District.

This permanent government was created by an 1878 act, the organic law under which the District is governed today.

The District was made a municipal corporation, and the administration of its officers was the responsibility of three Commissioners, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate.

One may ask why the Congress acted as it did almost a century ago with regard to the District of Columbia government.

There were several factors among which were the rapid population growth of the city after the Civil War; the desire to transform Washington into a city of beauty, dignity, and attractiveness befitting the Nation's Capital; a serious and immediate need for greatly improved and expanded public works and services; racial problems; political differences; and financial difficulties.

The acute stage of the crisis leading to the loss of home rule began under the administration of Mayor Sayles J. Bowen. Money was lacking for basic and essential improvements which would have been possible only through the assistance of Congress.

Local politicians competed among themselves for favors, and finally it was revealed that the mayor had made payments to contractors in anticipation of tax collections.

Teachers, laborers and other city employees had not been paid for months. The city treasury was so empty that on one occasion the furniture in the mayor's office was seized because of the corporation's failure to pay a small bill.

The ultimate decision, therefore, to deprive the District of Columbia of home rule and establish the commission form of government was based, among other things, on the necessity of keeping the District on a sound financial basis, and the experience of the 1870's is not without relevance to the home rule question today.

The overriding Federal interest in the District is everywhere conceded, and this interest would be compromised and diluted by home rule.

The seat of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia are one and the same and inseparable, and to superimpose a home rule government on Washington would be artificial and a continuing source of friction.

Were this not the Federal capital, the situation would be otherwise, and we would all join in supporting the principle of self-government.

But the District of Columbia is impacted with Federal Government.

The Federal Government asserts pressures and *responsibilities* on the District of Columbia that no other United States city has experienced.

For example, about 43% of the city, by area, is in Federal title, and about 37% by value.

It is almost as if every other building in the city were owned by the United States government. A landlord of that size asserts quite a bit of influence whether or not he consciously exercises it.

Moreover, the Federal Government is the city's chief industry.

The people employed in Washington by the Federal Government equal ⅓ of the city's population.

Federal grant-in-aid moneys poured into the District at the rate of $128 million in FY 1967 and the total is estimated at $167 million in FY 1968.

The Federal Government provides most of the city's celebrities and stimulates most of the area's social life, conversation, and news. The historical sites, museums, memorials, and Federal governmental activities attract over 9 million tourists to the District annually, and these tourists spend on an average of approximately $50 each.

They not only bring good business to the District of Columbia, but they also contribute several million dollars in tax revenues. Hence Washington has closer financial ties to the Federal Government than has any other city.

It seems to me that the facts I have already stated would constitute convincing reasons why Home Rule would not be in the best interests of the District of Columbia, the Federal Government, or the Nation.

Moreover, machine politics, which thrives on the problems of cities, would probably introduce its handmaiden, graft, which is also a stranger, by and large, to the commission form of government in Washington.

Having served 7 years as Chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, I know, as perhaps no other member of the Senate knows, the ineffable pressures which can be brought to bear in behalf of programs, various and sundry, sound and unsound, by groups which appear to be oblivious to the important question as to how the money will be raised or from where it will come. The City of Washington has no industry and, because of its geographical limitations, no prospects for future development of an industrial tax base.

Often those who clamor loudest for expensive programs are those who pay little or no taxes to support the present governmental functions and who would pay little or no taxes in support of the programs espoused.

Yet these same individuals would vote for the city officials under Home Rule.

Many individual taxpayers have fled the city and the exodus is continuing, the vacuum being filled by illiterate, nontaxpaying people. Control of the Police Department by elected city officials in the District of Columbia would result in a complete demoralization of the Police Department and diminish protection for the citizens, both white and Negro, of the District, and for the millions of Americans who annually visit the city as sightseers and tourists.

If we are to provide police protection—uncontrolled by machine politics and uninfluenced by pressure groups—to the millions of Americans and to people from other countries who come to this city, the Police Department in the District of Columbia must not be placed under the control of elected city officials as would be the case if Home Rule should be given back to the District of Columbia.

One has only to recall the recent and continuing attacks on the track system to fully understand that District of Columbia Home Rule would inevitably result in the domination of the educational programs in the District of Columbia by pressure groups which, in many instances, appear to be guided by emotions rather than reason, experience, and a full consideration and knowledge of all the sociological facts involved.

FEDERAL-STATE EDUCATIONAL RELATIONS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Commissioner of Education has invited my attention to a significant article entitled "Federal-State Educational Relations," published in the September 1967 issue of the Phi Delta Kappan. The author of the article is Dean Roald F. Campbell, of the Graduate School of Education of the University of Chicago.

The paper was originally presented at a May 1967 meeting of the Education Commission of the States at Denver, Colo.

I bring the article to the attention of Senators at this time so that they may have an opportunity to review the points made by this distinguished educator, since the subject of his article can inform the Senate debate upon educational legislation in this session.

I commend the article to the Senate for review and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Federal-State Educational Relations

(Note.—Planners of the May, 1967, meeting of the Education Commission of the States suggested that the federal government may be making a power play for educational control. Here is a thoughtful analysis of the present status of federal-state relations, with suggestions for reducing power aspects and emphasizing the interdependent, creative relationship.)

(By Roald F. Campbell)

The announcement of this conference carried the theme, "power-play for control of education." This theme seems to imply that state and federal governments are locked in conflict in an attempt to seize control of our schools and colleges. Despite the differences state and federal governments may have regarding the control of our educational institutions, I cannot ascribe sinister motives to either level of government as they strive to integrate their efforts toward achieving the best possible educational system for our nation and for each of its subdivisions.

With World War II, federal participation in education, always present in a minor way, took a quantum jump. The GI bill of rights represented the largest fellowship program ever attempted. This was followed by the creation of the National Science Foundation, the National Defense Education Act, and the great quantity of more recent legislation. Two of our presidents have made education an important cornerstone in the American dream. Legislation devised to create the Great Society has placed great strain upon American federalism.

All of us find ourselves in a new world of education. Expectations held for schools and colleges have multiplied, our social and economic objectives are increasingly thought to be tied to our educational efforts, costs have risen even faster than enrollments, more and more our political leaders must take stands on educational issues. In this educational ferment the chief initiative for the improvement of education has passed from local and state agencies to the federal government. The federal government, including its legislative and executive branches, seeks advice as it attempts to formulate and pass legislation and to administer programs designed to bring greater quality to our educational endeavors.

This advice comes from a wide spectrum of spokesmen—the establishment and the non-establishment or, if you wish, the old establishment and the new establishment. In this process schoolmen at local and state levels often feel left out. They note the prominent role played by university scholars, foundation officers, and political leaders. Advice from a variety of sources has led to many federal programs, often with little coordination at the national level but frequently requiring much collaboration at the local level. My purpose today is to analyze some of the relationships between and among federal and state agencies, to note some of the problems and issues that arise out of these interactions, and to suggest that these relations may best be understood when seen as part of a national social system for education.

Let us turn first to some of the problems I shall mention only two. The first has to do with the programs of the Office of Education itself. Programs appear to be too numerous and too frequently revised. I recognized that the Office must implement each of the titles mandated to it by the Congress. Moreover, I suspect that the USOE has been subjected to considerable pressure from the Executive Office of the President and the Bureau of the Budget. Even so, it seems to me that the Office must insist on some additional integrity for itself.

I have the impression that the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health have more control over their own procedures and programs than does the U.S. Office of Education. If this be the case, the more tenuous position of the Office may be due, in part, to a more diverse mission and possibly to lack of the kind of support other agencies have in the scientific community. But part of the problem seems to reside within the Office itself. The decision to establish a major research training program in 1966 and to cut it back in 1967 seems to have been, at least in part, an allocation decision within the Office. The decision to decentralize postdoctoral fellowship admissions procedures in 1966 and to centralize them in 1967 seems to be another example of uncertainty. Also, some would suggest that the Office has had a vacillating policy with respect to the purpose and financing of regional laboratories.

In any case, it seems that the Office ought to settle down a bit, decide what programs it must offer, develop the necessary guidelines and let them stand a few years, and put its energies into making such programs work. Undoubtedly there was a time for change and effervescence in the Office. The time for stability and accomplishment now seems to be at hand.

The second problem is a related one: the administration of federal programs. Again, much of the problem grows out of the unprecedented growth of federal programs, the rapid expansion of personnel in the Office of Education, and the time limits imposed by congressional action. Even so, lack of lead time, relative instability of programs, and specificity of budgets and reporting procedures have imposed great difficulties on local and state educational agencies. We must all help the Congress understand that a program can hardly begin in July when appropriations are not made until the following December. Moreover, the personnel demands for many of the new programs require careful search, sometimes even the establishment of new programs for training, before people can be put on the job.

The short-run nature of some federal programs creates other staffing problems. Efforts to secure additional, specialized personnel are not encouraged unless there are fair indications that such people can be assured of reasonable employment conditions. Moreover, few states and local agencies are in a position to run all of the budget risks for the continuation of such people on the payroll with uncertain federal assistance.

While the problems of federal aid are essentially those of mission orientation and inadequate administration, the issues in federal-state relations appear to have even greater consequence. The first of these issues is as old as the nation itself: should the federal government play a role in education? Most of us have long since answered this question in the affirmative, but a few politicians find it useful to keep raising the issue. I suggest that education is too closely linked to the national wellbeing, particularly in terms of trained manpower and economic growth, for any answer other than federal participation.

It should be noted in passing that with the adoption of our Constitution in 1787 we not only created a federal system but also a national government. The welfare clause and the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments have provided ample constitutional authority for federal entry into educational endeavors, as congressional legislation and a number of our U.S. Supreme Court decisions attest. In a very real sense, then, we have had an incipient national system of education from the beginning. Only within the last two decades, however, have we begun to sense the full implications of the federal role.[1]

A second issue has also been about for a long time: Should federal aid be categorical or general in nature? As can be readily understood, most schoolmen and college administrators prefer general aid. A formula for the distribution of general aid to the several states and universities could be developed. The Congress is currently giving attention to "block grant" amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), presumably as a way of at least reducing the categorical aid proposed by H.R. 7819. One wonders about the motives behind such a proposal. Is it a well-conceived shift away from categorical aid or merely a plan to discredit the administration?[2]

While the arguments for general aid are persuasive, I doubt that the Congress will permit a substantial part of federal assistance to be general in nature. General aid means that any state, even any community, can be as bad as it wants to be. Measures designed to desegregate the schools, to provide compensatory education for the culturally disadvantaged, and to insure that library materials are made available to nonpublic school pupils are illustrations of national needs, as perceived by the Congress, and either through legal mandate or financial inducements no state or locality is permitted to ignore such national needs.

Still another condition suggests that general aid alone is a doubtful solution. By its very nature, general aid provides little political visibility for the congressman. Categorical aid, on the other hand, permits a congressman to stand for something: the education of the poor, vocational and technical training, teaching fellowships, assistance for federally impacted districts, new research and development institutions, and other specific programs. While a combination of general and categorical aid may be feasible, I take the position that the Congress has an obligation to support some specific programs aimed at meeting national needs.

Let us turn to a third issue. Should federal programs make use of established institutions or must alternative arrangements be set up? NDEA assistance in the purchase of science equipment and the provisions of Title I of ESEA are examples of channeling assistance through existing school systems. On the other hand, the Head Start program of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) resulted, in many instances, in the creation of new institutional arrangements. Contracts with business firms to operate Job Corps and other programs is another example of new arrangements. Recently, some have advocated that a new federal school system be established to compete with the existing school systems.[3]

Local and state school systems, like other organizations, public and private, do develop certain inflexibilities over time. Some of these local systems, particularly in the large cities, have become hemmed in with tradition, tradition imposed by bureaucratic administrators and by teachers' organizations. Achieving change in curriculum programs or in teaching practices at times seems wellnigh impossible. When urgent problems such as desegregation of the schools and improved instruction for the culturally handicapped appear to be largely ignored in favor of business as usual, discouragement with the "establishment" is intensified. Little wonder that some members of Congress and representatives of federal agencies seriously consider alternative organizational arrangements.

Without doubt, existing school organizations need, or did need, a shake-up. Titles I, II, and III of ESEA and many provisions of the OEO program have provided some of that shock. Public schools have new partners in nonpublic school officials, art curators, orchestra directors, and university professors. Community action groups are ready to set up Head Start programs if the school is not. If board members and administrators have been loath to identify the educationally handicapped, they are now required to do so in order to qualify for Title I money. If one school district cannot or will not set up vocational and technical programs, a combination of school districts may be formed into a regional vocational district.

Should we persist with these interventions in existing local schools, improving them where need be? Or should we conclude, after our short experience with the new programs, that existing schools and colleges are bankrupt and then set up new structures under federal operation? Clearly, some expectations for school reform have been unrealistic; moreover, schools alone cannot solve all of our social problems. We need to formulate our expectations and our programs in much more realistic terms. But I think the time is here to make what we have already begun work, not to start all over with a new set of institutions. Even new institutions will soon take on their own inflexibilities, and if we give up on local and state participation we may find that the federal bureaucrats soon become even worse than the local variety.

Still another issue has to do with church-state relations. Should federal aid force new arrangements in our historic struggle to keep church and state separate? Nearly all of our state constitutions forbid the use of public money for nonpublic schools, particularly church schools. Moreover, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution contains the ringing words, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." Despite these seemingly clear legal demarcations, the doctrine of "child benefit" was evolved by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Cochran case in 1930. The Louisiana practice of providing textbooks at state expense to pupils in church schools as well as in public schools was allowed to stand.

Titles I, II, and III of ESEA have made full use of the child benefit principle. In each of the acts, programs are to be made available to nonpublic as well as to public school pupils. The public library has been used as the model. But the line between benefiting the child and supporting the school is sometimes very hard to determine. When programs for the culturally deprived are provided in church schools as well as in public schools, one wonders if the distinction has not been ignored. Or when books are supplied to nonpublic schools, albeit on a loan basis, one suspects that the loan will never be repaid. Without doubt some of these practices are still to be tested in the courts.

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[1] Roald F. Campbell and Gerald Sroufe, "Toward a Rationale for Federal-State-Local Relations in Education," PHI DELTA KAPPAN, September, 1965, pp. 2–7.

[2] For another view on the Quie amendment see "Kicking Civil Rights Upstairs," *Saturday Review*, June 17, 1967, pp. 49–50.

[3] "Educator Says U.S. Should Start Schools To Challenge Local Systems," *The Washington Post*, April 5, 1967. (See p. 2 this KAPPAN.)

In the meantime one can take any one of three positions. The "separationists" on one end would make no overture at all toward aiding nonpublic schools and probably not even the pupils who attend them. At the other end the "collaborationists" advocate that public money should be allocated to church schools as well as to public schools. I subscribe to neither position; rather, I think we must find some accommodation between these two positions. While nonpublic schools, particularly church schools, do serve some public purposes, I contend that public money cannot be used to support them unless public agencies also supervise their curricula and teaching practices. At the same time, this need not rule out public provisions for books, transportation, health services, shared time, and other arrangements for nonpublic school pupils. Constantly, we need to ask whether or not the practice seems to be helpful to our future citizens and whether or not it does any damage to our public institutions. Such queries may help us formulate necessary adjustments in this difficult area.

Let me suggest one additional issue. Should federal aid require restructuring of educational government? Federal programs appear to accentuate the conflict between special government and general government. At the local level, educational government is essentially special government—special boards, special taxing procedures, and, for the most part, fiscal independence for school districts. At the state level, the education agency represents special government. To some extent, so do the special provisions for the state financing of education. At the same time, the state legislature is the plenary body for education, hence education is inevitably thrown into the arena of general government. At the federal level, with the important roles played by the Congress, the courts, and the Executive Office of the President, all policy questions regarding education seem to be shaped even more within the context of general government.

The USOE and other federal agencies operate within the context of general government or, if you wish, much more as a part of the total political system than do local school districts. The general government context at the federal level suggests that congressmen deal with mayors, not school officials, even on local educational matters. Such approaches, however, ignore the special government context of most school districts. This problem is accentuated when other social measures, such as many OEO programs and possibly the model cities program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, include educational provisions, some of which affect local school districts directly, but whose administration is tied much more closely to the mayor's office than to the school office.

I have no doubt that some restructuring of educational government is called for. While I am not yet ready to transfer school affairs from boards of education to city councils, at the same time better ways of coordinating efforts in education, planning, housing, welfare, and other social programs, particularly in our large cities, must be found. But the need for coordination and unified effort at the local level is no greater than at the federal level. Some consolidation and reorganization of federal agencies is called for. Moreover, additional stability should be built into the federal agencies which are evolved.

Let me now turn to another consideration. A mind-set or way of looking at the world is a powerful force. If we view federal-state relations within the mind-set of "power-play for the control of education," we shall find some evidence for our position. We all see what we are looking for. We are dealing here with the well-known psychological phenomenon of perception, and there is abundant evidence that much of what a person sees is in his own eyes. Mind-sets or analytical constructs can be useful or harmful. They are useful if they suggest additional insights regarding the real world, harmful if they limit or thwart our understanding of the real world. I believe the power-play concept limits and misrepresents our understanding of federal-state relationships.

I suggest another mind-set or way of viewing these phenomena, namely, an interdependent social system. As a way of provoking our thinking and not as a precise description of all of these relationships, we may think of the nation as a total social system, social in the sense that we are concerned with interactions among persons. Within such a social system we have many subsystems—cultural, religious, economic, political, and others. In federal-state relations we are concerned chiefly with the political subsystem, particularly as it applies to education. In the political subsystem we may envision the states and localities as additional subsystems.

If these subsystems are to function as part of the larger social system, there must be communication between and among the parts and the whole. The subsystems must be strong enough, articulate enough, and wise enough to provide useful feedback to the larger system. The larger system, on the other hand, must be alert to its dependence upon its subsystems, to the need to nurture them, and to the importance of the feedback provided through them.

Within this kind of framework we can understand that during the last two decades the larger social system (representing all of us, I may add) has become more concerned and more aggressive. The equilibrium within the total system seems to have been altered: more influence at the national level, less at state and local levels. Actually, national activity, such as Title V provisions of ESEA for strengthening state departments, may help state and local levels acquire even greater influence. This thrust toward a national system is not well understood, has created apprehensions, and in some instances produces downright resistance. In view of the growing importance of an educated citizenry to the national well-being, I think this shift is inevitable. At the same time, we need to recognize the interdependence of the total system and its subsystems. The nation must depend upon states and localities to operate schools and colleges and to collaborate with other operating agencies in advancing the general good. Vigorous and constructive interaction between state and federal agencies, not recrimination, seems to be the road ahead.

The concept of interdependence provides challenges to both the states and the federal government. States need to become less concerned with structure and legal jurisdiction and more concerned with giving leadership to local agencies and to helping in the formulation of federal polices. Very few of our states are currently staffed to do this; most state boards of education, most chief state school officers, and most state department staffs must be strengthened if they are to meet this challenge. Governors can make a major contribution here particularly in the selection of able, not merely deserving, citizens for membership on state boards of education. No governor should be content until he can say honestly that the state board of education contains as many dedicated and illustrious citizens as does the board for the state university.

The federal government, too, needs to recognize more fully what is involved in interdependence. Federal programs need some consolidation, the missions of federal agencies need further classification, and additional stability in terms of programs and personnel, particularly in the U.S. Office of Education, needs to be achieved. Communication between federal and state agencies should be extended. Hopefully, over a period of time feedback from the state agencies will be improved in quality and in turn influence federal programs more significantly. The federal government has the very difficult task of initiating and implementing programs which support our basic value positions as a nation even though we have some dragging of feet in certain quarters. Such a task requires the utmost in courage, discernment, and tact.

THE SECURITY OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. RIBICOFF. I join with Chairman Mills in my deep concern over the statements made against the social security program in the article written by Mr. Charles Stevenson and published in the October 1967 issue of Reader's Digest.

Social security should not be made a political football or partisan issue. Social security is vitally important to millions of aged citizens, widows, orphans, and the disabled. These people depend upon their monthly social security benefits. Many of them have very little other income to depend on. They must have faith in the continuity and financial integrity of social security.

As a member of the Committee on Finance and a former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, I join Chairman Mills in reaffirming the actuarial and financial soundness of the social security system.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Chairman Mills, published in the Congressional Record of September 27, be reprinted in the Record, together with the Stevenson article and a statement by the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen.

There being no objection, the remarks, article, and statement were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

How Secure Is Your Social Security?

(Mr. Mills (at the request of Mr. Edmondson) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. Mills. Mr. Speaker, the Reader's Digest has published an article by Mr. Charles Stevenson in its October issue which casts doubts on the financial soundness of the social security program. I have read the article very carefully and find that it contains a number of half-truths that lead to misleading conclusions.

The Committee on Ways and Means has recently completed a most exhaustive reexamination of the contributory wage-related social security program. The program is actuarially and financially sound. Moreover, the revisions incorporated in the House-passed bill not only increase the present benefits for both older retired persons and the future benefits of younger persons now contributing to the program but it strengthens both the wage-related and contributory features of the program.

Because of the importance in rebutting the erroneous implications contained in the Stevenson article I am inserting in the Congressional Record a statement by the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, replying to this article and a reprint of the article itself.

[From the Reader's Digest, October 1967]

How Secure Is Your Social Security?

(By Charles Stevenson)

Our Social Security insurance is in trouble. Ever since 1937 Americans have been willingly kicking back, an ever-increasing portion of their paychecks to the government, confident that these Social Security taxes, along with matching payments by their employers, were buying them insurance guaranteed to provide a floor of security in old age. Nevertheless, now, even as President Johnson pressures Congress to increase benefits still more, the curtain of government-controlled publicity which has shielded the program is coming apart and letting some grim facts show through.

"Social Security is facing a crisis; it is at the crossroads," warns Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

"It has been seriously compromised," says a staff study of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

"The time has come for every American to ask, 'How secure is my Social Security?' and demand the truth," adds Rep. Tom Curtis (R., Mo.), one of the country's most astute students of the subject. "If we don't do something fundamental to reform the system, I'm afraid it's going to hit the rocks in another ten years."

Such alarming statements must seem preposterous to Americans whose knowledge of Social Security comes from government publicity. The official booklet, "Your Social Security," declares that all Social Security taxes *"go into special funds"*; that when earnings stop or are reduced because the worker retires, dies or becomes disabled, *"monthly cash benefits are paid from the funds"*; that nine out of ten working people *"are now building protection for themselves and their families under the Social Security program"*; that *"the amount will depend on your average earnings."* The Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, an early architect of Social Security, additionally stresses that "individual rights to benefits are enforceable in the courts" and that "payment through a separate trust fund is essential to giving people a sense of security about the receipt of their benefits."

Such talk implies a genuine insurance setup with guaranteed payment—but there isn't any. "The Cost and Financing of Social Security," published by the scholarly Brookings Institution, refers to the "adoption of term 'insurance' by the proponents of Social Security," as "a stroke of promotional genius which has capitalized on the good will of private insurance and, through the establishment of a reserve fund, has clothed itself with an aura of financial soundness."

By the record, the Social Security taxes which *you* pay for *your* protection go into the Treasury's general fund, and are used at once to pay *current* Social Security benefits and administrative expenses. The small percentage left over goes to finance foreign aid, the moon race or any other government activity, and the sum shows up in the so-called Social Security trust funds as government I.O.U.s which can be liquidated only by further government borrowing or another hike in taxation. If thus transformed into cash, these I.O.U.s—accumulated since 1937—would now total around $23 billion, theoretically enough to continue paying benefits for 14 months.

Actually, the Social Security Administration's cash income is so close to outgo, and what's left over so quickly converted into government I.O.U.s that the system is dependent on further government borrowing to provide cash. Indeed, Secretary of Treasury Henry H. Fowler testified last January that unless Congress at once raised the national-debt limit by $7 billion, the government could cover only half of the Social Security checks it was obligated to send out in early March—a month in which it needed $2 billion for 22,930,000 beneficiaries.

"Considered as an actuarial account, the Social Security Administration is bankrupt," declared Prof. James M. Buchanan, director of the Thomas Jefferson Center at the University of Virginia, and Dartmouth economics Prof. Colin D. Campbell in a recent *Wall Street Journal* article.

THE NESTOR CASE

There is no room for even official denial. Despite all the reassuring statements which the government puts out for public consumption, here is its unpublicized policy as it was successfully argued before the Supreme Court in 1960 in the case of Ephram Nestor, an alien deported in 1956 whom the government didn't want to compensate.

"A belief has developed," went the argument, "that Title II benefits are paid as the result of a contractual obligation on the part of the U.S. government. This belief has been fostered to a considerable extent by statements of responsible officials of the Social Security Administration, [but] there is no contract. Heretofore these facts and their implications have not, for some reason, been conveyed to the public."

Consider that a moment. Then this too:

"The Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is in no sense a federally administered 'insurance program' under which each worker pays 'premiums' over the years and acquires at retirement an indefeasible right to receive for life a fixed monthly benefit. Social Security must be viewed as a welfare instrument to which legal concepts of 'insurance,' 'property,' 'vested rights,' 'annuities,' etc., can be applied only at the risk of serious distortion of language. We are dealing with a social instrument by which public action, involving compulsion [taxation], is invoked to deal with a social problem—the lack of basic economic security of large segments of our society . . ."

And this:

"The Social Security concept is of a program under which those with jobs are taxed chiefly to provide the funds for current benefits to aged beneficiaries and other eligible survivors. No beneficiary or prospective beneficiary acquires any interest in the fund itself—monthly benefit payments are voluntary payments to the recipient, property acquired by gift. There is no correlation between the taxes paid and amount of benefits which may become payable. The benefits conferred may be redistributed or withdrawn at any time in the discretion of Congress." [1]

That doesn't jibe with the government's assurances that people who invest in Social Security are "building protection for themselves." It *did* start out to be such security insurance back in 1935, and it made sense to most Americans. The myth that this still is the system is officially perpetuated for one reason alone. Under the cover of the mythology, the government has been able to shift the skyrocketing expense of increasingly unpopular relief expenditures to the popular Social Security system—in a way not known or understood by the country's workers, and in a way that doesn't show up noticeably in the Administration's budget.

SQUEEZE ON THE YOUNG

In addition, the government has blanketed literally millions of additional persons into the system—millions who by no stretch of the imagination have paid enough into it to compensate for their benefits. Some have paid nothing at all. These beneficiaries include everybody 72 or older who doesn't get a check from another government source; contributing wage earners and their wives who elect to retire at 62; the younger disabled, along with their families; entitled divorced wives; 60-61-year-old widows; beneficiaries' children up to age 22 if still in school. These people may be either rich or eligible for relief. Nevertheless, most of their monthly Social Security benefits come out of the special tax that Americans have been led to believe is buying insurance just for themselves.[2]

As a result, the top $189 annual Social Security tax which was paid in to the government in behalf of a "covered" worker ten years ago has soared to $580.80 this year; and that tax is officially scheduled to climb to $745.80 in another 20 years. This last figure represents 11.3 percent of the first $6600 in wages that a man takes in!

Already there are young people protesting the squeeze. "With inflation and income taxes taking everything else, our family can't meet our mortgage payments if our Social Security contributions go any higher, a young man writes his Congressman. "All that makes them bearable now is knowing the government is saving our money for us."

Innocent young man! If his own government had been honest with him he would know that:

Current Social Security recipients have paid in an average of only one-tenth the value of their annuities; the remaining 90 percent of their benefits is paid by the taxes levied on the payrolls of the younger workers

Because of this extra bill, Robert J. Myers, chief actuary of the Social Security Administration, explains, "The benefits that a new entrant gets are not equal in value, over the long run, to the contributions that he and his employer pay." Social Security Commissioner Robert M. Ball similarly admits that "young employes do not, in those terms, get their money's worth."

Thus the maximum tax put into the Treasury in behalf of a now 25-year-old worker (under current law) *for annuity payments alone* will total $19,392 during his working years, and for this—if Congress doesn't change its mind—the Social Security Administration says that he will be entitled to a "gratuity" of $168 a month at age 65 if single and $252 if married, with his elderly widow to get $138.60 if he dies first.

According to calculations worked up for the National Association of Life Underwriters, the same contributions schedule could buy the same worker a private insurance policy designed to pay $312 a month if he remained single and $263 if he married, with either survivor to continue receiving $175.83 a month until death. Or if the young worker banked the amount of the $19,392 tax payments at four percent compound interest over his working years, he would end up with $47,074 at age 65—minus income taxes, of course—to spend as he saw fit, or collect interest on. And he could will the principal to his heirs.

Nevertheless, whether Social Security can pay our friend back *anything at all* for what he puts into it will depend entirely on the mood of the taxpayers of that later day. The unfunded outstanding obligations of the Social Security system—that is, the amount by which its promised benefits exceed what the "insured" persons are supposed to eventually pay toward meeting these costs—are $350 billion. That is a sum which exceeds the current national debt.

Can the government collect enough Social Security taxes to keep the program going indefinitely? Officially it anticipates taking in up to $37 billion in 1980, even if the law isn't changed. With anticipated changes in the law, collections may soar as high as $58 billion.

Today President Johnson is trying to force through Congress a scheme to bend what's left of legitimate Social Security purposes into a vast relief giveaway which would complicate the already excruciating problem of poverty among persons over 65. Even now these people are discouraged from augmenting their incomes. If they earn small sums at odd jobs, they must continue to pay Social Security taxes with no comparable increase in benefits. And if they contribute enough to the economy through their labor to take in more than $1500 a year, the Social Security Administration penalizes them; it withholds benefits to which they're otherwise entitled. The Administration's cure is to let those who insist on working earn a bare $180 more a year than the present law allows. Yet simultaneously it would increase Social Security benefits to both workers and *nonworkers* from 15 to 59 percent!

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[1] *Flemming* (*U.S.*) v. *Nestor,* 363 U.S. 603.

[2] The only exceptions are the special payments to persons 72 or older not otherwise receiving a government check. These are subsidized out of general taxes.

The Johnson program proposes to "take 1.4 million Americans out of poverty this year" partly by raising the federal income taxes of another 1,400,000 persons over 65 who have been able to save enough, somehow, so that with Social Security they have incomes of $6000 or more, and by shifting the expense of caring for some hundreds of thousands now on the relief rolls to Social Security. Then the country's wage earners will pay these people through their still higher Social Security taxes, and the Administration will be able to boast that prosperity is saving the cash that formerly went into state and federally financed public-assistance payments.

To finance this, the President would raise your Social Security taxes yet again—to an eventual $1252.80 squeeze on a single job. And this would be just the beginning. Chief actuary Myers estimates the unfunded "accrued liability" of the system would soar again, too—this time to $417 billion. "It staggers my imagination," declared House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur D. Mills when the payments pattern was unfolded by Under Secretary Cohen.

TIME TO TAKE STOCK

No matter what temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program, now or later, the basic question still remains: Just how much more can the economy afford? Will the young people now keeping the system afloat be willing to pay ever more out of their paychecks when they learn that they're scheduled to get back less than they contribute? If they are pinched now, how can they continue to take on an ever more expensive burden of the elderly? Won't they insist on caring for their children first?

Already, the Social Security take is beginning to encroach on funds needed to keep private pension plans afloat—plans which through invested reserves create new wealth rather than devour it. Already the Social Security taxes are so high that a Treasury memorandum warns "it is doubtful" that many professional people earning even $10,000 a year "can afford to devote appreciably more to their retirement." So how high can these taxes go without seriously undermining the economy?

What if the government *can't* squeeze out the still higher taxes it needs from tomorrow's payrolls? Well, then, as the government told the Supreme Court, "If a statutory program offers more now than the economy can afford to furnish later, Congress has only to revise the statutory program."

As a matter of fiscal sanity, now would seem the time to take stock and find out if we can make Social Security function as it was originally intended. Some students in and out of government are suggesting putting all welfare back where it belongs—in the regular welfare budget, supported by general revenues, which everybody can see. Through such appropriations we can and must find ways to assist, with dignity, the disabled and the elderly who have no way to provide for themselves.

As for the rest, a blue-ribbon commission could explore the possibility of requiring workers to buy annuity insurance from government-regulated private insurance-investment funds just as some states require motorists to buy liability insurance. Whatever the means, Social Security must be restored to its legitimate purposes before it is too late.

STATEMENT BY WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Charles Stevenson's article on "How Secure is Your Social Security?" in the October issue of the *Reader's Digest* is misleading, and, in my opinion, creates anxiety and fear about the financing of our social security system that are groundless.

I state categorically that:

The social security system is soundly financed.

Present and potential future beneficiaries of social security will get the benefits provided by the social security law.

I

Mr. Stevenson begins his article by saying our "social security insurance is in trouble." This is not so.

The subtitle of Mr. Stevenson's article says that "Recent disclosures are raising grave doubts as to how much—if anything—today's taxpayer will get back when his time for retirement comes." Use of the words "disclosures," "grave doubts" and "if anything" can only result in worry to millions of people who are now drawing social security benefits or expect to draw them in the future. This worry is wholly without factual basis.

The article seeks to depict Chairman Wilbur D. Mills and the ranking minority member, Representative John W. Byrnes, of the House Committee on Ways and Means as profoundly alarmed about the basic design and fiscal integrity of the social security program and about the course that the program is taking. The facts, however, are that as recently as 5 weeks ago these men jointly supported legislation in the House of Representatives, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080), which builds upon the present social security program and, with careful attention to actuarial soundness, makes needed improvements in the benefits of the program.

The implication that Representative Byrnes, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, agrees with the charges made by Mr. Stevenson flies in the face of the fact that Mr. Byrnes was a co-sponsor of the social security bill now before Congress and is contradicted by his remarks on the floor of the House of Representatives during the debate on the bill. At that time he stated:

"I personally do not feel that the burdens imposed by this bill are greater than the taxpayers will be willing to pay. After all, today's taxpayer is tomorrow's beneficiary. I was very glad to join the chairman of our committee in sponsoring the social security bill—a bill which gives due consideration to the needs of our elderly citizens as well as those who are called upon to pay the taxes."

Representative Byrnes went on to say that: "Everyone paying taxes today can do so with the knowledge that he is participating in a sound program of social insurance which will provide commensurate benefits in the event of his death or disability."

The House Committee report on H.R. 12080, which was signed by 24 out of 25 members of the Committee on Ways and Means, bears ample witness to the care and thoroughness which the Committee has devoted to assuring the continued soundness of the social security program.

The proposals contained in H.R. 12080 were considered during 18 days of public hearings over a period of 6 weeks, and during 64 executive sessions over a period of 16 weeks. Following debate, the House approved the bill by the overwhelming non-partisan vote of 415 to 3. The bill reaffirms the soundness of the contributory, wage-related social security program.

The soundness of the social security system has been examined a number of times by groups of independent, nongovernmental representatives of business, insurance, labor, and the public.

In 1957, under the Eisenhower Administration, an Advisory Council on Social Security Financing was appointed by Secretary Flemming. It reported as follows:

"The Council finds that the present method of financing the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program is sound, practical, and appropriate for this program. It is our judgment, based on the best available cost estimates, that the contribution schedule enacted into law in the last session of Congress makes adequate provision for financing the program on a sound actuarial basis."

Among the members of the Council who made this statement were the President of a Federal Reserve bank, two actuaries—one from a private insurance company and one from a university—and representatives of business, labor and professional groups.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security, again made up of outstanding experts in the field, examined thoroughly all of the issues connected with the "security" of social security. Like the preceding council they concluded, in their report of January 1965, that the social security program is soundly financed and that its income—out into the long range future—will be sufficient to meet its obligations.

Both Advisory Councils took note of such charges as those made in the article to the effect that social security taxes are used for purposes other than social security, that the trust funds contain only IOU's, and that the system is "in the red" by hundreds of billions of dollars. Both Councils found these charges to be without foundation.

II

The article says that the social security program puts a "squeeze on the young." This is not so. The fact is that even without taking into account that social security benefits have been and will continue to be increased from time to time as changes occur in wage levels and cost of living, young workers as a group will get social security protection worth 20 to 25 percent more than they will pay in social security contributions. This is the case under present law and would be the case under the House-passed bill and under the Administration's proposal.

Young workers could not buy comparable insurance protection from private insurance companies at anywhere near the amount they pay for their social security protection.

The article takes no account of the fact that the benefits provided by the present social security law are very much lower than the benefits that will actually be paid when today's young workers reach retirement age. As wages rise—as they have throughout the history of the country—benefits can be increased *without increasing the contribution rates*. This is because the contributions are a percentage of covered payroll and because, as wages go up, income to the system increases more than the corresponding liabilities.

As a matter of fact, if benefits were not increased as wage levels rise over the years, the contribution rates scheduled in present law would be too high, and they could be reduced. Whether benefits are increased or contribution rates are reduced the result would be the same, namely, more protection in relation to contributions than is shown by analyses that assume no change in wage levels and in benefits.

The calculations referred to in the article assume that the covered employee would have within his control an amount of contributions paid by his employers equal to the amount of his own social security contribution. This assumption rests on a misconception of the nature of the social insurance program and indeed the nature of private group insurance. If such an assumption were used, the whole fabric of private group life insurance, annuity insurance, and other forms of group insurance in this country would have to be regarded as inequitable.

As a general rule, under private group insurance plans the employer contribution is not allocated to each employee in an amount related to the employee's own contribution. On the contrary the employer contribution, as in the case of social security, is what makes it possible to pay larger benefits to workers and their survivors who are in the upper age brackets when the group insurance plan goes into effect than could be paid only on the basis of the worker's own contributions.

I believe it bears repeating that even without taking into account the fact that benefits will be increased in future years, even young workers covered under social security will get insurance protection worth 20 to 25 percent more than the value of their contributions, and moreover, they will actually do much better than that when account is taken of the fact that social security benefits can and will be increased as wage levels go up without any need to increase the contribution rate.

In deciding whether young people get their money's worth it must be kept in mind that social security provides not only retirement protection but also survivors and disability insurance protection. While Mr. Stevenson's figures do take into consideration the fact that social security provides protection against loss of income due to death and disability and also provides hospital insurance protection at age 65, most of his discussion ignores the importance of these parts of the program. That importance may be illustrated by an example: The value of the social security survivors insurance protection provided under the House-passed bill in the case of the worker whose earnings are about the median earnings of regularly employed men ($550 per month) who dies at age 35 leaving a wife aged 32 and two small children is about $56,000. Were this worker to become disabled at 35, the value of the disability insurance protection to him and his family would be about $59,000.

Social security is a sound and equitable program for the young and the old.

III

Mr. Stevenson's article contains nearly two columns on the so-called *Nestor case*, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1960 (pp. 76–77). Mr. Stevenson distorts the legal issues. He has several quotes which to a lawyer and a general reader would appear to be from the Court's decision. But they are *not*. He not only does not quote from the Court's decision but fails to mention that the Court decision reversed the contention of the Justice Department brief (prepared in the Eisenhower Administration) that the program is not an insurance program. What the U.S. Supreme Court actually said was:

"The Social Security system may be accurately described as a form of social insurance, enacted pursuant to Congress' power to 'spend money in aid of the general welfare,' whereby persons gainfully employed, and those who employ them, are taxed to permit the payment of benefits to the retired and disabled, and their dependents."

The fact is that the Supreme Court decision rejected many of the contentions made in the brief and stated that: "The interest of a covered employee under the [Social Security] Act is of sufficient substance to fall within the protection from arbitrary governmental action afforded by the due process clause."

Thus, as the Supreme Court stated, although the Congress can modify rights granted under the statute, it cannot do so in an arbitrary way. The right to benefits under social security, as the Court has said, is protected under the due process clause of the United States Constitution against denial or diminution by arbitrary Government action.

IV

The article attempts to show that social security is unsound by referring to "unfunded outstanding obligations" of $350 billion and stating that under the Administration bill this amount will rise to $417 billion (pp. 79–80). The $350 billion referred to is the amount that would be needed—if social security were a private, voluntary insurance program—to pay off all obligations on the assumption that there would be no new entrants into the system. The idea of there being a huge unfunded liability in the social security system is wholly meaningless and irrelevant for any practical purposes. There is no need in a Government program such as social security for funding on the basis referred to in the article. It would not only be unnecessary but also unwise to build up such a huge accumulation of social security funds. No life insurance expert nor social security expert, nor business nor labor organization, and no Advisory Council or Committee of the Congress has ever recommended such funding.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security—an independent group of experts in the field which reviewed all aspects of the social security program over a period of 18 months—stated in its 1965 report:

"The Council is in agreement with the previous groups that have studied the financing of the program that it is unnecessary and would be unwise to keep on hand a huge accumulation of funds sufficient, without regard to income from new entrants, to pay all future benefits to past and present contributors. A compulsory social insurance program is correctly considered soundly financed if, on the basis of actuarial estimates, current assets plus future income are expected to be sufficient to cover all the obligations of the program; the present system meets this test. The claim sometimes made that the system is financially unsound, with an unfunded liability of some $300 billion, grows out of a false analogy with private insurance, which because of its voluntary character cannot count on income from new entrants to meet a part of future obligations for the present covered group."

V

The article is in error in saying that the social security changes recommended by President Johnson would take persons out of poverty "partly by raising the Federal income taxes" of other people over 65 (p. 79). Under the President's proposal, over 2 million persons would be removed from poverty (1.6 million aged 65 and over and 0.5 million under age 65) by the increase in the amount of the social security benefits—especially the increase in the minimum benefit from the present $44 a month to $70. There is no truth in the statement in the article that the method of removing these people from poverty would be through raising income taxes.

The article speaks disparagingly of the improvement of social security benefits for the purpose of reducing the number of persons on assistance or relief. But this has been the objective of the social security program since it was enacted in 1935! This was the original congressional intent. In fact, the carrying out of this intent has been one of social security's great achievements. The proportion of the aged on welfare has decreased from about 22 percent in 1950 to about 10 percent today. We hope to decrease the proportion to 5 percent. Increasing the level of social security benefits will aid in this objective.

VI

One more of the many inaccuracies contained in the article is the allegation in the article that social security contributions are put into the "Treasury's general fund" (p. 76). The fact is that the contributions are automatically appropriated by law to the social security trust funds, which are kept separate from one another and from the general funds of the Treasury and can be used only for the payment of the benefits and administrative expenses under the social security program.

VII

Mr. Stevenson says that the Government is discouraging beneficiaries from augmenting their incomes by collecting social security contributions with no comparable increase in benefits and by withholding benefits from those beneficiaries who earn over $1500 a year (p. 79).

The purpose of the social security program as determined by the Congress is to pay benefits when there is a loss of earnings because of death, disability, or retirement. The law prescribes a test—generally referred to as the retirement test—for determining whether such loss of earnings has occurred. The amount of the retirement test and whether there should be any retirement test is certainly a question which warrants discussion.

What Mr. Stevenson didn't say in his article is that eliminating the retirement test would increase the cost of the program by $2 billion a year. The additional cost would be incurred to pay benefits to about 2 million people, many of whom are fully employed and earning as much as they ever did. The vast majority of social security beneficiaries—some 20 million other persons—either are unable to work or cannot find a job and therefore would not be helped one iota by the elimination of the retirement test. Would this be an intelligent and equitable way to spend $2 billion a year additional?

The author's statement that beneficiaries who work and pay social security contributions get "no comparable increase" in benefits may give the impression that this work cannot increase their benefits or that, if it can, the benefit increases are insignificant. The fact is that the beneficiary who works can get a benefit increase if he has even just a single year in which his earnings are more than his earnings in any one of the past years that were used in computing his benefits.

In short, Mr. Stevenson didn't tell a full or fair story on the retirement test.

VIII

The article concludes that further study of and basic changes in social security are called for. Some of the concluding remarks are repetitions of misleading assertions made earlier and some go further.

The article raises a number of questions about what will happen to the social security program in the future after whatever "temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program"—as if the House and Senate are not comprised of the elected representatives of the American people and as if the President is not responsible to the American people. It is through such processes as the article calls congressional deliberation and debates—that this Nation builds its public programs, orders its economy, and carries on the affairs of Government, and this will doubtless be true in the future.

The article goes on to suggest, on the basis of the increases in social security contribution rates that have been enacted over the years, that private pensions may not be able to remain "afloat." Such scaremongering ignores the fact that social security has not prevented the rapid growth of private pensions. Private pensions have made tremendous strides since the 1930's, when social security began. There were only about 400 private pension plans in 1935 when social security was enacted. Today there are over 60,000!

With regard to Mr. Stevenson's proposal to establish a "blue ribbon commission," over the years since the Committee on Economic Security submitted its report to President Roosevelt and the original Social Security Act was enacted in 1935, there have been numerous independent studies of social security by advisory councils composed of highly respected and knowledgeable citizens. For instance there was an Advisory Council Report in 1939, 1948, 1959, and 1965. Since 1956, studies by advisory councils have been provided for in the social security law itself, and there have been periodic studies by these councils. Through the councils, consisting of representatives of employees, employers, the self-employed, and the general public, the social security program has had the benefit of a great deal of intelligent and thoughtful examination. Under the law, the next advisory council, scheduled to be appointed in 1968 (under the bill recently passed by the House, it would be appointed in 1969), will review all aspects of the social security program, including the status of the social security trust funds in relation to the long-range commitments of the program and will make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Board of Trustees of each of the social secuirty trust funds and to the Congress.

IX

Mr. Stevenson has not clarified any fundamental issues. He has not pointed out the great unmet social needs. What he has done has been a great disservice to the millions of social security beneficiaries and the millions who are counting on social security benefits in the future. He has obfuscated and confused the major policy issues in social security. A critical and constructive review of social security would be welcome. A glib and superficial attack on a program so important to millions of Americans is not a contribution to the American people.

UNSAFE DRUGS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on August 10, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on Small Business, under the able chairmanship of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] revealed some alarming information. An unbelievable percentage of the drugs produced by the major pharmaceutical manufacturers is unsafe. These drugs may even be deadly.

The problem is a peculiar one. It is not that these are "fake" drugs, or worthless or poisonous drugs. If that were the case, authorities could simply stop the production of these bad medicines.

No, the problem is more difficult than that. At some point in the manufacturing process, something goes wrong, and drugs which are contaminated, nonsterile, mislabeled, or subpotent reach the market. And there is no way of knowing about it until after the damage is done. The removal of the drug from the market by the FDA often comes too late.

A few of the examples mentioned by Senator NELSON should be repeated here.

One of them is downright frightening. More than half a billion—that is, 570,374,450—tablets of Librax which had reached the market were found to be adulterated. Librax, one of the most frequently prescribed tranquilizers, is produced by Hoffman-LaRoche, a member of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and a leading drug company in the United States. The FDA determined that the hazard to the public was serious, and actual cases of injury were reported. Nevertheless, I wonder how many people suffered serious harm because of it. No one seems to know.

Although the Librax story is terrible, others are even worse. One case evokes a particularly horrible picture in my mind. It concerns the recall of three and a half million bottles of sterile water solution produced by Abbott Laboratories. I can visualize a patient—perhaps he is unconscious—lying in a hospital. He is being fed intravenously, in an effort to keep him alive. What happens, however, when it is found that the sterile solution being injected into him is not sterile after all? It sounds impossible. But the recall list tells me that just such a situation did occur. The solutions did reach the hospitals and were used on patients. Very little of this dangerous product was recovered. I doubt that we can ever really measure the extent of the injuries.

There is another item on the list which I want to point out. It is important because it relates to the experience of just about every one of us. It is generally accepted practice, I suppose, for doctors to receive samples of products manufactured by large companies. Many times, when I have gone to the doctor, he has reached into a drawer and pulled out a bottle of some medicine he wanted me to try. I imagine that is what many physicians did with some of the 40 million tablets Charles Pfizer & Co., sent, unsolicited, to doctors all over the country. There was something different about this particular batch though. The labels on the bottles were mixed up.

Without knowing it, a doctor could have given a patient suffering from upset stomach medicine used by heart patients. Instead of handing out a tranquilizer, he might have given a patient a potent antibiotic. Here again, the FDA's determination was that the danger to the public was serious. There is no way of knowing how much, or rather how little of the mislabeled medicine was recovered and what the consequences were.

These stories and the many others which could be drawn from the recall lists upset me greatly. But more than that they prompt me to ask a few questions which are particularly troubling.

I wonder, for example, just how good the checks for purity and potency are. Antibiotics and insulin are supposed to be batchtested at the end of the manufacturing process. Why, then, do so many impure, subpotent, and contaminated pills reach the market? Perhaps continuous surveillance of drugs is needed from the time they leave the manufacturer to the time they reach the consumer. Also, should we not consider expanding the testing program to include other kinds of drugs? Is there not some way in which we can prevent catastrophes or possible catastrophes which could result from something like Abbott's production of nonsterile intravenous solutions?

I wonder, too, why it is that only such very small quantities of these dangerous drugs are recovered. If it is impossible to improve the quality of the drugs that go on the market—and I, for one, cannot believe that something cannot be done—then at least we should be able to prevent these drugs from doing serious damage. Why, for example, could only 10 percent of a batch of 18,500,000 tablets of a subpotent Squibb antibiotic be recovered? And what happened to the other 96 percent of the 1,258,533/10 cc. vials of a Burroughs-Wellcome product that never got taken off the market? I am afraid to estimate the extent of the damage done to the well-being of our people before any of these mistakes are caught. This all leads me to the conclusion that communication between doctors, companies, and the FDA needs drastic improvement.

Finally, I must say that now, more than before, I doubt whether the big companies really are as reliable as they would have us believe. We are constantly told that we can depend on brand-name products, that a brand name is an assurance of quality. But it seems to me that rather than being more dependable, the products of large companies have potential for being more dangerous.

Of the 140 members of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, one-third had products recalled by the FDA during the past 2 years. But only 15 percent of the smaller companies—the non-PMA firms—had drugs called off the market.

Advertising and promotional activities increase the market for drugs—and the wider the market, the greater the number of people who will be affected by a mistake. Instead of helping the public, the major companies may be doing it serious harm.

Although it shocks and worries me greatly to learn of the dangers the American people face in this vitally important area, I am very glad, indeed, that this information is reaching the public. It is high time that something was done to insure that every phase of the health care our people receive is the finest and safest modern science can provide.

I ask unanimous consent that a partial list of major recalls by the FDA be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAJOR RECALLS, FISCAL 1966-67

Company	Drug	Quantity	Hazard	Depth	Percent recovered	Reason
Ayerst Laboratories (American Home Products).	Chlorhexidine dihydrochloride (Hibitane).	15,045,092 tablets	Moderate	Doctor	30.0	Cross contamination penicillin.
Squibb	Nystatin (Mycostatin)	18,500,000 tablets	do	Branch warehouse	10.0	Subpotent.
Abbott	Sterile water solutions	3,500,000 bottles	Serious	Doctor	10.0	Nonsterile.
Roche	Chlordiazepoxide (Librax)	570,374,450 tablets	Serious (injury)	do	17.9	Adulterated.
Pfizer	Meclizine HC-1 (Bonine)	6,905,408 tablets	Moderate (injury)	Retail	40.0	Not given.
Ciba	Aminoglutethimide (Elipten) NDA	41,600,000 tablets	Serious (injury)	Doctor	20.0	Not given.
Pfizer	Physician's samples	40,000,000 tablets	Serious	do	(1)	Label mixup.
Richardson-Merrell	Bacitracin (Bacimycin)	656,700 ½-oz. tubes; 810/100-g. jars; 10,450 ⅛ tubes.	do	Wholesale	(1)	Subpotent.
Burroughs Wellcome	Polymixin B sulfate (Aerosporin)	1,258,533/10 cc	Moderate	Retail	4.0	Do.

[1] Not given.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a penetrating analysis of some features of the war in Vietnam as set forth in an editorial entitled "The Price Is Right?" published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of September 27, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Price Is Right?

Once again Senators and Representatives are raising questions about the Tonkin gulf resolution of 1964, on which President Johnson bases the legal justification for his escalation of the Vietnam war. Senator Case of New Jersey charges that the President took advantage of Congress in a way that tampers with "the trust of one man for another"—a polite euphemism for trickery.

While these protests express the growing dismay and frustration in Congress and the country, they do not go to the heart of the problem. The vital issue is not the President's legal authority to enlarge the Vietnam commitment from a small and limited aid program to a full-scale war on the mainland of Asia. What matters is that he pursued this policy, legal or not, after having gained election by promising exactly the opposite one. It is the discrepancy between the President's Asia policy before and after the 1964 election that raises the question of "mutual trust and confidence" which Senator Case refers to.

In a speech last week Mr. Johnson disclosed the outlines of the argument he will take to the voters next year. What the nation is going through in Vietnam, he says, is "worth the price," because the price of "Communist conquest" in Southeast Asia would be higher. He seeks to identify the war in Vietnam with all other wars we have fought—particularly, with World War II. And he justifies the national ordeal by describing it as necessary to avert a third world war.

We think it will take some doing to convince the American people that Ho Chi Minh, the leader of a tiny underdeveloped country struggling to emerge from one of the most backward colonialisms on record, presents the same menace to our vital national interest as Hitler did in his effort to conquer Western Europe, Britain and Russia. The false parallel is just too incredible to swallow.

The truth is that we are not fighting "Communist conquest" in Vietnam. We are fighting Vietnamese nationalism, which developed out of years of colonial exploitation and accepted Communist leadership because Communists like Ho Chi Minh offered the most implacable resistance to foreign domination, whether by France, Japan or anybody else. President Roosevelt, whose mantle Mr. Johnson aspires to don, was farsighted enough to consider supporting Ho as the best expression of Indochinese self-determination. He did not live to carry out that policy, and America instead backed first the French and then a succession of agents in efforts to crush an indigenous anti-colonial revolution. Having failed over 20 years to gain that end by proxy, we are now trying to achieve it with our own military power.

When Mr. Johnson says Vietnam is saving us from a third world war, he is saying that the Hanoi government is simply a front for Chinese Communism which would have to be fought elsewhere if not in Vietnam. The truth is that despite 20 years of desperate war Hanoi has amazingly avoided becoming a puppet of either China or Russia. We are not fighting Chinese Communism. We are fighting a native nationalism which, far from opening the door to Chinese conquest, offers the best hope of erecting political and cultural barriers to such conquest. We are ravaging a small country which presents no threat to our interests or security. And for this we are paying a price which more and more Americans regard as far, far too high.

OUR CHOICES IN VIETNAM

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, Mr. Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan, has written an important article on the issue of Vietnam for the September 19 issue of Look magazine. In a penetrating way, based upon years of study and experience, Reischauer traces our involvement in Vietnam. He makes it quite clear that our involvement in Vietnam has progressed to such a point that whatever way we choose to end the war in Vietnam will cost us dearly, and I quote from Ambassador Reischauer's article:

> My purpose is to bring home the fact that we are paying dearly for the war and face a miserable selection of choices of ways to end it. The question is: To what purpose is all this suffering and travail? What could possibly emerge from this war to make it all worthwhile? Wars sometimes seem justified by their end results, but this justification hardly applies to the Vietnam war. Even the most extravagantly optimistic outcome would leave far more losses than gains.

Mr. Reischauer's final paragraph is both a warning and a future guideline:

> Our men in Vietnam are superbly equipped, are well organized and are fighting valiantly, but the best they can hope to achieve is worse than what we could have had, virtually for nothing, if we had only had enough interest in Vietnam and in Asia to study in advance the problems we faced there. If we are to avoid more national catastrophes like that in Vietnam, we must devote a great deal more attention and careful thought to our relations with the half of the world's population that lives in Asia.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Reischauer be printed at this point in the Record, as a valuable contribution to the discussion of the issue of Vietnam.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

What Choices Do We Have in Vietnam?

(By Edwin O. Reischauer, Ambassador to Japan, 1961–66)

I do not know any American who does not want a speedy end to the war in Vietnam. No one can be happy about the suffering it brings to the Vietnamese; and we, too, pay a heavy price—in American lives, in domestic political disunity, in the diversion of so much of our national wealth away from constructive tasks at home, and in the mounting disapproval of our friends abroad. The question on everyone's mind is how to bring the war to a quick and tolerable end. What can we do to induce our opponents in Vietnam to stop the fighting through a reasonable negotiated settlement?

Some have argued for an escalation of the bombing. They believe the resultant increase in the pain of the war to the North Vietnamese will increase their willingness to negotiate. I find this unconvincing. In fact, the bombing could so build up hatred and distrust of us among the North Vietnamese that it could increase their determination to go on fighting. This might be true in any country, and it is all the more likely to be true in Vietnam because of deep resentments and fear of the Occident developed during a century of colonial domination. Thus, from one point of view, chances for a negotiated settlement might be slightly enhanced if we cut down or eliminated the bombing of the North.

This, however, is not necessarily the full story. To the extent that bombing cuts down the flow of men and munitions to the South (a point on which estimates vary widely), it reduces the capacity of the other side to wage war in the South and thus might possibly increase its willingness to negotiate. If, on the other hand, a reduction of the bombing permitted a substantial increase in this flow, it might from this point of view reduce the chances for negotiations.

A solution to this dilemma might be some sort of a barrier across Vietnam and Laos at the 17th parallel that would largely eliminate the military flow and at the same time remove the need to bomb the North, thus helping in two ways to increase the chances for negotiations. But is this really feasible? And if it is, how long would it take to establish such a barrier and have it take effect? At best, this would bring no speedy end to the war.

Some people feel that if we were to develop a more democratic, civilian-controlled government in Saigon, a negotiated settlement would become more possible. Perhaps so, but I have my doubts. Hanoi would have no more liking for a democratic government in the South than for the present one, and in any case, the hate and distrust that separate the supporters of Saigon from their adversaries are too great to be easily bridged. But the important point is that, even at best, this program, too, would offer no speedy solution. Given the lack of experience of South Vietnam in democracy, the divisive intellectual and social climate, the disruptions of war and the limitations on what we as outsiders can do politically in Vietnam, the development of a more democratic, civilian-controlled government would be a very slow, difficult and chancy business.

Many people rest their hope on a negotiated settlement guaranteed by some international force. This might be possible if such a force existed, one that both sides could trust and that could be brought to Vietnam in sufficient strength to underwrite a settlement. It would take tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, of well-organized and well-armed men. But I see no signs of such a force. If there were one, not only Vietnam but many other world problems would be much less pressing than they are. For the present, at least, this does not seem to be a realistic solution.

However desirable a negotiated peace may be, therefore, we cannot count on achieving one, even with the best intentions in the world. Whether or not we stop bombing the North, whatever success we have in reforming the Saigon government, and however assiduous we might be in pursuing every lead toward a negotiated settlement, the chances of ending the war in this way in the near future are not great. In fact, I wonder if any sort of settlement will ever be reached until one side or the other recognizes that it faces eventual defeat.

People usually discuss what Hanoi or Washington might be willing to concede and what pressures Peking and Moscow might bring one way or the other. The problem, however, lies fundamentally with the two original and still basic protagonists in the war: the supporters of Saigon and the Vietcong—or the National Liberation Front, as they call themselves. Perhaps the bulk of South Vietnamese belong to neither side. These are the peasant masses, who only wish to be left alone. But a large part of South Vietnam's 16 million people have divided into two strongly hostile groups—one, the Vietcong, apparently united in revolutionary zeal; and the other, the South Vietnamese military establishment and a congeries of quarreling religious bodies and political factions held together only by a determination not to fall under Communist rule.

These two groups of millions of Vietnamese have fought each other fiercely and brutally for years. Their distrust and fear of each other run deep. Will either side be willing to lay down its arms and trust in the good faith of the other? Will either be willing to share control with the other over the territories it now dominates?

And if not, what meaning would there be to a division of cabinet seats between them? It is hard to envisage at this stage a negotiated settlement that is not virtually a surrender by one side or the other.

Perhaps I am being too gloomy. I hope that is the case. But at least at the time of this writing, there seems no easy or certain way to reach a negotiated settlement, and if one proves impossible, we are left with three choices, all of them unsatisfactory. We can seek to end the war quickly by greatly increasing our military effort, but this course would obviously run great risks. We can end the war by withdrawing our support for South Vietnam and letting the Saigon regime be overwhelmed by the Vietcong, but this, of course, would mean that we accept defeat. Or we can go on fighting on somewhat the present terms, in the hope that in time, we could bring about a de-escalation of the scale of the war and could eventually persuade the Vietcong and Hanoi to seek a settlement, but this course means that we would go on paying the high price of the war with no clear end in sight.

The first of these choices—escalation—would give little promise of ending the war, while exposing us to absolutely unacceptable dangers. We could greatly expand the bombing of the North, say by wiping out the cities; we could land in the North, occupying the cities and cutting the lines of communication to the South; or we could use nuclear weapons. But what would we achieve by any of these acts? They would contribute relatively little to stamping out the original guerrilla war in the South. We might be able to destroy the Hanoi government as it now exists, but this would probably mean only that we then would have two guerrilla wars on our hands—the old one in the South and a new one in the North.

Any of these steps of escalation would seriously damage our position in much of the rest of the world. They might well wreck our whole relationship with Japan—and perhaps with other important allies as well. We would also be running serious risks of tangling with the 700 million people of China in a war neither side could ever win. China's Communist leaders believe that we are compelled by our very nature as "imperialists" to wish to destroy them. When, during the Korean War, we pushed into North Korean territory contiguous to China, they came out to meet us. We should assume that they might do the same in North Vietnam. And if we were to come to blows with the Chinese, no one could guarantee that the Soviet Union would not feel impelled to join in, and we then might end up with the nuclear holocaust we are all trying to avoid. Clearly, a major escalation of the war in Vietnam would be absolute folly.

I find the second alternative—withdrawing—though more debatable, not much more attractive. There would be many ways in which we could seek to conceal our defeat. Sen. George D. Aiken has put forth the tongue-in-cheek suggestion that we declare ourselves the victors and then de-escalate the war. Others advocate that we allow ourselves to be negotiated out, presumably with the understanding that the Saigon government would be allowed to exist free of Communist control long enough to let us get out before the roof falls in on it. This would be a settlement much like what the Geneva agreement of 1954 was intended to be for the French. Some have suggested our withdrawal into enclaves, though this would seem to me merely a surrender of South Vietnam with the additional disadvantage for us of having military bases left in this hostile land.

However our withdrawal might be papered over, it would be recognized everywhere as a defeat for us, and we would have to face the consequences. The real question is what these consequences would be. All of Vietnam would fall under Communist rule—but this in itself would be only a relatively minor drawback to us, as I hope to show later. Nor would the problem, as I see it, be primarily that the United States was "losing face." If one means by "face" prestige or self-esteem, then we, as overwhelmingly the strongest and richest country in the world, have, if anything, too much face. Our size, wealth and power are already so great that in some ways they militate against us in our relations with other countries. In many, they stir up suspicions and resentments against us; in others, they create a sense of apathy because of overreliance on Uncle Sam to carry all the burdens of the world. Even in a great and friendly country like Japan, I found that our very size and power made it difficult for the Japanese to feel a sense of full equality with us. If only "face" were involved, we could safely withdraw from Vietnam tomorrow.

A far more important consequence of our withdrawal would be the psychological and political impact of our defeat on Southeast Asia and the whole world—and, not the least, on the United States itself. I do not subscribe to the simple "domino" theory, that if one country falls to communism, it will, in its fall, knock down the next one to it geographically and so on down the line. In a less mechanical sense, however, there is something to the domino theory.

While there is extreme disapproval of our Vietnam policies in much of the world, this is not true in several of the countries closest to Vietnam. There is, in fact, strong approval in Thailand, Laos, the Philippines, Taiwan and South Korea; and in several other Southeast and South Asian lands, there is a considerable degree of quiet support, masked either by discreet silence or by an official stance of mild condemnation. Many of these countries are themselves unstable and either fear the sort of internal subversion that has torn South Vietnam apart or are apprehensive about the intentions of their great Chinese Communist neighbor and suspicious of the loyalties of the sometimes sizable Chinese populations within their borders. They would feel much less secure if the United States, after having committed itself to the fight, were forced to admit defeat at the hands of Communist insurgents. In fact, such an outcome of the Vietnam war would send a massive psychological tremor through all these countries, further threatening their stability and perhaps sharply shifting their present international orientation.

Conversely, all those who hope for Communist take-overs in the less developed countries of the world, whether in Asia or elsewhere, would receive a shot in the arm. America's defeat in Vietnam would seem to be proof positive of the Maoist doctrine that what the Communists call "wars of national liberation" are irresistible. It would be far better proof than Ho Chi Minh's victory over the French in North Vietnam, or the Communist triumph in China, or the sweep of communism in the wake of the Soviet Army in North Korea and East Europe, because in none of these cases was the military power of the United States directly involved. The old concept that communism was the wave of the future, at least in the less developed parts of the world, would be strongly revived, just at a time when the wave seemed spent. The possibility that Communist insurgency will develop or succeed in other Asian lands depends, primarily on internal conditions in each country, but a clear-cut defeat of the United States in the Vietnam war would certainly be one external factor that could have a seriously adverse influence on this situation.

Some argue that these reactions could be minimized by strenuous American efforts to build a more tenable defense line against Communist subversion on sounder terrain in Asia. Specifically, it is suggested that shifting our military strength to Thailand would largely offset a defeat in Vietnam. This might be true, but I have my doubts.

Whatever our countermeasures, the defeat in Vietnam undoubtedly would change the political climate of Asia decidedly for the worse. Moreover, the proposed counterstrategy would, in essence, mean the further spread of American military power into areas where the Vietnam war had just shown that our type of military power was relatively ineffective.

Our withdrawal from Vietnam would not be a defeat in the sense that France, a far smaller and weaker country, was forced to accept defeat in 1954. As has been stated all too often, we cannot be defeated in Vietnam. We simply would be deciding to go back on our commitments. We might have good grounds—political, strategic or moral—for doing this. The commitments may have been unwise in the first place. But, nonetheless, we would be failing to carry out commitments not just solemnly made but repeated, often in grandiose overstatement, by one administration after another.

One wonders what effect this might have in other countries, such as Japan and our European allies, that have been relying on commitments made by us. It would certainly increase doubts in some of these countries about the reliability of the American nuclear umbrella, and thus encourage nuclear proliferation.

What worries me most, however, is the effect that our withdrawal from Vietnam might have on ourselves. Some Americans would justify withdrawal on moral grounds and, with renewed confidence in their own country, would return to the task of making American strength a more constructive influence for the healthy advance of the less developed countries. The more strategically minded would justify it as a sound cutting of losses in an unimportant area so that American power could be more effectively used in more important places. They would argue for what might be called a sophisticated neo-isolationism of the West from the East. Already, we can detect the *leitmotifs* of this theme in some of the leading newspaper columns of this country—the argument that, after all, "East is East and West is West." Asians, having their own distinctive cultures and special problems, should go their own way, presumably in poverty and turmoil, while we of the advanced nations go our own prosperous and peaceful way.

These sophisticated justifications, however, would probably not be those of the bulk of grass-roots Americans. They, I believe, would justify what would otherwise seem a humiliating defeat on the grounds that all the benighted Vietnamese (I refrain from writing the actual adjectives and nouns that would be used) aren't worth the life of "one good, clean, Christian American boy" and that these "little yellow people" and all their ilk deserve to be left to "stew in their own juices." This attitude could all too easily turn into the worst sort of racist isolationism, which might drastically reduce our usefulness to the less developed parts of the world and might also damage our relations with the advanced nations. One can understand the desire to conserve American strength for more constructive tasks than this unhappy war. We are all eager to save American lives and stop the carnage in Vietnam. But it is possible that in our eagerness to do this, we might help produce such instability in Asia and such impotence in ourselves that the development of a more stable, prosperous and peaceful Asia might be delayed by decades.

All these dire consequences of withdrawal are only speculation. They may be exaggerated. But my own guess, as of the present, is that the less costly course will prove to be to continue somewhat along the present lines, working toward reducing the scale of the war and ending it as soon as possible, but not resorting to either extreme—withdrawal or major escalation. This is what I understand to be in general the Administration's policy, and it is for this reason that I have been basically in support of it. While I, like everyone else, keep praying that a negotiated settlement will end the war quickly on some satisfactory basis, I believe the chief hope we have for a tolerable outcome is to force the other side gradually to reduce the scale of fighting and eventually to accept some sort of reasonable settlement.

Is this slow simmering down of the war, however, a real possibility? I believe it is. We are putting tremendous military pressure on the Vietcong and have so built up our forces in South Vietnam that we cannot really be defeated in a war that remains localized there. There are signs that we may be starting to make slow progress toward getting the rural population and its produce out of the hands of the Vietcong. We are beginning to help build a broader base of support for the Saigon government. This approach to ending the war is admittedly a slow and somewhat dubious one, but it seems more promising and less hazardous than the other two.

If the gradual process of damping down the war is our best way to end it, or at least cut its costs, then our strategy should be directed primarily toward this objective. This is why we should direct not just verbal emphasis but our chief efforts toward political, social and economic development in the parts of South Vietnam under Saigon's control. This is why it is important to carry out a slow but sound pacification of as much of the agricultural area of South Vietnam as possible. If the Vietcong could be denied access to the peasants and the rice they produce, their main sources of manpower and food would dry up, and thus their capacity to continue the war would be sharply reduced.

Pacification is more a political and economic job than a military one. The chief task is to convince people that they have more to hope for from Saigon than from the Vietcong, and this must be done by the Vietnamese themselves. The Saigon government must hold out a more convincing promise of a better day to its people, and the South Vietnamese Army must be retrained, both politically and militarily, so that it can spread the influence of Saigon more effectively throughout the country. This reform must be based not just on our alien ideas but on ideas that are appealing and meaningful to the Vietnamese.

This, unfortunately, is not a quick solution, calculated to meet American election deadlines. The reasoning of our leaders in Washington, I suspect, is not very different from mine, but being oriented toward politics in this country, they naturally pay primary attention to the influence of the war on elections here. As a consequence, they seem sometimes to be grasping for quick but unsound solutions to the war. They have permitted a creeping escalation of the fighting, apparently in the unrealistic hope that some new, even if minor, pressure on Hanoi will cause a spectacular change of attitude there. Actually, Hanoi and the Vietcong have their eyes set, too, on the 1968 American Presidential election, hoping that it may somehow lead to an American withdrawal from Vietnam. Until this hope has been dispelled by the election itself, they are not likely to show any willingness to compromise, no matter what pressure is put on them. Thus, instead of trying to force them to give up before the election, which probably cannot be done no matter how much pressure we apply, we might better concentrate on slower but surer ways of tipping the scales against them, so that by the autumn of 1968, when they see themselves facing an American President with a four-year mandate, they may be more inclined to seek peace through negotiations. One important element of such a strategy might be the elaboration of realistic and generous terms of settlement that would give the Vietcong a tolerable alternative to an apparently endless war.

But even assuming a decided worsening of the Vietcong position by the autumn of 1968 and the formulation of realistic peace terms on our part, I doubt that a negotiated settlement would be much more than a cease-fire, at least at first. The Vietcong, in effect, would be suspending their attempt at an immediate military seizure of all South Vietnam, but only in the hope that the terms of the settlement would allow them to win by other means or to recoup their strength for another try at a forceful take-over sometime in the future. Even this, however, would give South Vietnam and the world a breather—a chance to move beyond the present stalemate to a phase in which the war might no longer seem necessary or relevant.

I put forth these personal views of the war in Vietnam with some diffidence because no one can be sure about these very complex problems. My purpose is to bring home the fact that we are paying dearly for the war and face a miserable selection of choices of ways to end it. The question is: to what purpose all this suffering and travail? What possibly could emerge from this war to make it all worthwhile? Wars sometimes seem justified by their end results, but this justification hardly applies to the Vietnam war. Even the most extravagantly optimistic outcome would still leave far greater losses than gains. South Vietnam, only a tiny corner of Asia, would have a precarious chance to start restoring slowly and painfully the great damage, both spiritual and physical, done during the many years of fighting. There would be an opportunity to try to build a free society and democratic institutions, but certainly no guarantee of success. Nor would there be any guarantee that, ten or twenty years after the war had ended, political rule over South Vietnam would not be more or less what it would have been if we had never got involved there.

It is also doubtful that even a favorable outcome to the war would do much to deter Communist subversion in other less developed countries. Instead of being discouraged by our ultimate victory in Vietnam, would-be revolutionaries might be encouraged by the obvious pain of the war to the United States and the clear reluctance of the American people to get involved in further wars of this type. Whatever international goodwill might be engendered by a settlement would only slightly offset the hatred and the distrust the war had bred. Restored confidence in American power would only partially balance the harm done to our image abroad and our unity at home.

Of course, wars are usually justified more in terms of the might-have-beens they prevented than by anything positive they produced. Some prices just have to be paid—as in World War II. But is there even this justification in Vietnam? I have no doubt that if those who determined American policy toward Vietnam had foreseen even dimly the costs and futilities of the war, they would have made different choices at several times in the past and thus avoided the present situation, with only trifling costs, if any, to American interests.

The obvious alternative was to allow Ho and his Communist-dominated Vietminh to take over the whole of Vietnam. This would have happened early if the United States had made quite clear in 1945 that it did not approve of the revival of colonialism in Asia and would give it no support. It would still have happened if we had not given massive aid to the French war effort after 1949. It would have happened if we had been willing in 1954 to support the Geneva agreements and had not tried to build up a permanent regime under Diem in South Vietnam. It would have happened if we had not steadily increased our military commitments to South Vietnam between 1960 and 1963. It would have happened if we had decided against massive participation in the war in the winter of 1964–65. Thus, under each of our last four Presidents, decisions were clearly made, even if not fully thought out, to reject this one obvious alternative.

What would have happened if, at any of these moments of decision, we had chosen the alternative? If we had clearly favored Vietnamese nationalism over French colonialism in 1945, it seems obvious that Ho, in short order, would have established effective control over the whole of Vietnam. He probably would have set up the same sort of dictatorial, oppressive, Communist rule over all Vietnam that he actually did over the North. He would probably have encountered much the same sort of problems he did in the North, and the economic progress of Vietnam would have been slow, though, of course, not as slow as in a war-torn land.

The society and government of this unified Vietnam would probably not have been something we would have approved of, but we have not found much we could approve of in the society and government of a divided Vietnam either. Quite possibly, a unified Vietnam under Ho, spared the ravages of war, would have gone at least as far toward the evolution of a stable and reasonably just society as has the divided, war-torn land we know today. For us, however, the question is what that sort of Vietnam would have meant in international politics. I believe it would be safe to assume that it would have been a highly nationalistic Vietnam. By the same token, I believe it also would have been free of Chinese domination. The Vietnamese have instinctive fears of their great northern neighbor. While they have always admired and imitated China, for more than a millennium they have had a deep national tradition of resistance to its domination. If they had had no specific reason to fear or resent us, the chances are that their fears and resentments would have come to focus on China, whether or not it, too, were Communist.

It seems highly probable that Ho's Communist-dominated regime, if it had been allowed by us take over all Vietnam at the end of the war, would have moved to a position with relation to China not unlike that of Tito's Yugoslavia toward the Soviet Union. Ho, like Tito, had had cordial wartime relations with us. He apparently expected our continued friendship and had more to hope for in economic aid from us than China. He and his associates were ardent nationalists and probably had deeper fears and suspicions of the Chinese than the Yugoslavs had of the Russians. While such a Vietnam might have been more circumspect and respectful toward China than Tito has been toward the Soviet Union, it would probably have been even more fiercely independent. The way in which Hanoi has sought to maintain its independence of Peking and Moscow, despite the military dependence on both, which was forced on it by the protracted war with us, suggests how strongly independent a Communist Vietnam would have been, if not pushed by these military necessities.

Would such a Communist regime in all Vietnam have been a serious menace to its neighbors or to world peace? I doubt it. A Communist take-over in all Vietnam shortly after the end of the war would probably have seemed to the rest of the world no more of a Communist triumph than the successive victories of Communists over anti-Communists that have taken place in Vietnam since 1945. It is hard to believe that a united Communist Vietnam would have had any more harmful an influence on Laos than a divided war-torn Vietnam has had. Laos and Cambodia might have fallen under Vietnamese influence, but this at least would have kept them out of Chinese control. Or, possibly, Cambodia's traditional animosity toward Vietnam would have induced it to veer further away than it has from association with the Communist nations, if South Vietnam, too, had been Communist. Thailand would probably have been less adversely affected by an entirely Communist Vietnam than it has been by the prolonged war there. Meanwhile, a united, strongly nationalistic Vietnam, while paying lip service to Communist China, would probably have served as a far more effective dike against the southward extension of Chinese power and influence than have a North Vietnam forced into military dependence on China and an unstable South Vietnam. And this general situation in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, which would have been so much less unsatisfactory for us than what we have today, would have been achieved without any of the terrible costs that have mounted so high.

Our men in Vietnam are superbly equipped, are well-organized and are fighting valiantly, but the best they can hope to achieve is worse than what we could have had, virtually for nothing, if we had only had enough interest in Vietnam and in Asia to study in advance the problems we faced there. If we are to avoid more national catastrophes like that in Vietnam, we must devote a great deal more attention and careful thought to our relations with the half of the world's population that lives in Asia.

SOCIAL SECURITY IS NOT IN TROUBLE

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate will soon begin to debate the Social Security-Medicare-Welfare Amendments of 1967. The Committee on Finance has already concluded comprehensive and informative hearings on the legislation and the major social issues related to it.

The transcript of that hearing record is a tribute to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], who, as chairman of the committee, is determined that the Senate will make its final decisions on this year's amendments with full knowledge of the importance of the legislation to the people of this Nation.

At a time when the Committee on Finance is laboring so effectively to search out the facts needed for intelligent decisions, it is disheartening to discover that several newspaper columnists and magazine writers have recently written articles to the effect that, first, social security cheats the young generations of this Nation by forcing them to pay for social security benefits given to the disabled and the aged; and, second, that somehow the financial reserves of social security have been ruthlessly pillaged, creating grave doubts about the soundness of the social security fund.

Mr. President, as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging, I am acutely aware of the deficiencies of social security benefits and other forms of retirement income. I believe that it is necessary to go even beyond the modest and well-reasoned proposals for increased benefits sought by President Johnson this year, and I will certainly give all possible support to the proposals offered by the Finance Committee.

But while it is reasonable to seek improvements that will increase the help social security gives to millions of Americans, it is reprehensible to distort basic issues about the program at a time when objective appraisal is vital.

Perhaps the most misleading article on the subject appears in the October issue of the Reader's Digest. I believe that it does a great disservice not only to present social security beneficiaries, but also to all of us who count upon such income for security in retirement for ourselves or for our elders.

Fortunately, the article's arguments have been answered in some detail in a statement issued by Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mr. Cohen, who has labored long and effectively for major innovations in the social policy of this Nation, is both incisive and informative in his analysis of the Reader's Digest article. His statement should be at the disposal of every American who wants the facts about social security today. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Charles Stevenson's article on "How Secure is Your Social Security?" in the October issue of the *Reader's Digest* is misleading, and, in my opinion, creates anxiety and fear about the financing of our social security system that are groundless.

I state categorically that: The social security system is soundly financed. Present and potential future beneficiaries of social security will get the benefits provided by the social security law.

I

Mr. Stevenson begins his article by saying our "social security insurance is in trouble." This is not so.

The subtitle of Mr. Stevenson's article says that "Recent disclosures are raising grave doubts as to how much—if anything—today's taxpayer will get back when his time for retirement comes." Use of the words "disclosures," "grave doubts" and "if anything" can only result in worry to millions of people who are now drawing social security benefits or expect to draw them in the future. This worry is wholly without factual basis.

The article seeks to depict Chairman Wilbur D. Mills and the ranking minority member, Representative John W. Byrnes, of the House Committee on Ways and Means as profoundly alarmed about the basic design and fiscal integrity of the social security program and about the course that the program is taking. The facts, however, are that as recently as 5 weeks ago these men jointly supported legislation in the House of Representatives, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080), which builds upon the present social security program and, with careful attention to actuarial soundness, makes needed improvements in the benefits of the program.

The implication that Representative Byrnes, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, agrees with the charges made by Mr. Stevenson flies in the face of the fact that Mr. Byrnes was a co-sponsor of the social security bill now before Congress and is contradicted by his remarks on the floor of the House of Representatives during the debate on the bill. At that time he stated:

"I personally do not feel that the burdens imposed by this bill are greater than the taxpayers will be willing to pay. After all, today's taxpayer is tomorrow's beneficiary. I was very glad to join the chairman of our committee in sponsoring the social security bill—a bill which gives due consideration to the needs of our elderly citizens as well as those who are called upon to pay the taxes."

Representative Byrnes went on to say that: "Everyone paying taxes today can do so with the knowledge that he is participating in a sound program of social insurance which will provide commensurate benefits in the event of his death or disability."

The House Committee report on H.R. 12080, which was signed by 24 out of 25 of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means, bears ample witness to the care and thoroughness which the Committee has devoted to assuring the continued soundness of the social security program.

The proposals contained in H.R. 12080 were considered during 18 days of public hearings over a period of 6 weeks, and during 64 executive sessions over a period of 16 weeks. Following debate, the House approved the bill by the overwhelming non-partisan vote of 415 to 3. The bill reaffirms the soundness of the contributory, wage-related social security program.

The soundness of the social security system has been examined a number of times by groups of independent, nongovernmental representatives of business, insurance, labor, and the public.

In 1957, under the Eisenhower Administration, an Advisory Council on Social Security Financing was appointed by Secretary Flemming. It reported as follows:

"The Council finds that the present method of financing the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program is sound, practical, and appropriate for this program. It is our judgment, based on the best available cost estimates, that the contribution schedule enacted into law in the last session of Congress makes adequate provision for financing the program on a sound actuarial basis."

Among the members of the Council who made this statement were the President of a Federal Reserve bank, two actuaries—one from a private insurance company and one from a university—and representatives of business, labor and professional groups.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security, again made up of outstanding experts in the field, examined thoroughly all of the issues connected with the "security" of social security. Like the preceding council they concluded, in their report of January 1965, that the social security program is soundly financed and that its income—out into the long range future—will be sufficient to meet its obligations.

Both Advisory Councils took note of such charges as those made in the article to the effect that social security taxes are used for purposes other than social security, that the trust funds contain only IOU's, and that the system is "in the red" by hundreds of billions of dollars. Both Councils found these charges to be without foundation.

II

The article says that the social security program puts a "squeeze on the young." This is not so. The fact is that even without taking into account that social security benefits have been and will continue to be increased from time to time as changes occur in wage levels and cost of living, young workers as a group will get social security protection worth 20 to 25 percent more than they will pay in social security contributions. This is the case under present law and would be the case under the House-passed bill and under the Administration's proposal.

Young workers could not buy comparable insurance protection from private insurance companies at anywhere near the amount they pay for their social security protection.

The article takes no account of the fact that the benefits provided by the present social security law are very much lower than the benefits that will actually be paid when today's young workers reach retirement age. As wages rise—as they have throughout the history of the country—benefits can be increased *without increasing the contribution rates*. This is because the contributions are a percentage of covered payroll and because, as wages go up, income to the system increases more than the corresponding liabilities.

As a matter of fact, if benefits were *not* increased as wage levels rise over the years, the contribution rates scheduled in present law would be too high, and they could be reduced. Whether benefits are increased or contribution rates are reduced the result would be the same, namely, more protection in relation to contributions than is shown by analyses that assume no change in wage levels and in benefits.

The calculations referred to in the article assume that the covered employee would have within his control an amount of contributions paid by his employers equal to the amount of his own social security contribution. This assumption rests on a misconception of the nature of the social insurance program and indeed the nature of private group insurance. If such an assumption were used, the whole fabric of private group life insurance, annuity insurance, and other forms of group insurance in this country would have to be regarded as inequitable.

As a general rule, under private group insurance plans the employer contribution is not allocated to each employee in an amount related to the employee's own contribution. On the contrary the employer contribution, as in the case of social security, is what makes it possible to pay larger benefits to workers and their survivors who are in the upper age brackets when the group insurance plan goes into effect than could be paid only on the basis of the worker's own contributions.

I believe it bears repeating that even without taking into account the fact that benefits will be increased in future years, even young workers covered under social security will get insurance protection worth 20 to 25 percent more than the value of their contributions, and moreover, they will actually do much better than that when account is taken of the fact that social security benefits can and will be increased as wage levels go up without any need to increase the contribution rate.

In deciding whether younger people get their money's worth it must be kept in mind that social security provides not only retirement protection but also survivors and disability insurance protection. While Mr. Stevenson's figures do take into consideration the fact that social security provides protection against loss of income due to death and disability and also provides hospital insurance protection at age 65, most of his discussion ignores the importance of these parts of the program. That importance may be illustrated by an example: The value of the social security survivors insurance protection provided under the House-passed bill in the case of the worker whose earnings are about the median earnings of regularly employed men ($550 per month) who dies at age 35 leaving a wife aged 32 and two small children is about $56,000. Were this worker to become disabled at age 35, the value of the disability insurance protection to him and his family would be about $59,000.

Social security is a sound and equitable program for the young and the old.

III

Mr. Stevenson's article contains nearly two columns on the so-called *Nestor case,* decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1960 (pp. 76–77). Mr. Stevenson distorts the legal issues. He has several quotes which to a lawyer and a general reader would appear to be from the Court's decision. But they are *not*. He not only does not quote from the Court decision but fails to mention that the Court decision reversed the contention of the Justice Department brief (prepared in the Eisenhower Administration) that the program is not an insurance program. What the U. S. Supreme Court actually said was:

"The Social Security system may be accurately described as a form of social insurance, enacted pursuant to Congress' power to 'spend money in aid of the general welfare,' whereby persons gainfully employed, and those who employ them, are taxed to permit the payment of benefits to the retired and disabled, and their dependents."

The fact is that the Supreme Court decision rejected many of the contentions made in the brief and stated that: "The interest of a covered employee under the [Social Security] Act is of sufficient substance to fall within the protection from arbitrary governmental action afforded by the due process clause."

Thus, as the Supreme Court stated, although the Congrses can modify rights granted under the statute, it cannot do so in an arbitrary way. The right to benefits under social security, as the Court has said, is protected under the due process clause of the United States Constitution against denial or diminution by arbitrary Government action.

IV

The article attempts to show that social security is unsound by referring to "unfunded outstanding obligations" of $350 billion and stating that under the Administration bill this amount will rise to $417 billion. (pp. 79–80). The $350 billion referred to is the amount that would be needed—if social security were a private, voluntary insurance program—to pay off all obligations on the assumption that there would be no new entrants into the system. The idea of there being a huge unfunded liability in the social security system is wholly meaningless and irrelevant for any practical purposes. There is no need in a Government program such as social security for funding on the basis referred to in the article. It would not only be unnecessary but also unwise to build up such a huge accumulation of social security funds. No life insurance expert nor social security expert, nor business nor labor organization, and no Advisory Council or Committee of the Congress has ever recommended such funding.

The most recent Advisory Council on Social Security—an independent group of experts in the field which reviewed all aspects of the social security program over a period of 18 months—stated in its 1965 report:

"The Council is in agreement with the previous groups that have studied the financing of the program that it is unnecessary and would be unwise to keep on hand a huge accumulation of funds sufficient, without regard to income from new entrants, to pay all future benefits to past and present contributors. A compulsory social insurance program is correctly considered soundly financed if, on the basis of actuarial estimate, current assets up future income are expected to be sufficient to cover all the obligations of the program; the present system meets this test. The claim sometimes made that the system is financially unsound, with an unfunded liability of some $300 billion, grows out of a false analogy with private insurance, which because of its voluntary character cannot count on income from new entrants to meet a part of future obligations for the present covered group."

V

The article is in error in saying that the social security changes recommended by President Johnson would take persons out of poverty "partly by raising the Federal income taxes" of other people over 65 (p. 79). Under the President's proposal, over 2 million persons would be removed from poverty (1.6 million aged 65 and over and 0.5 million under age 65) by the increase in the amount of the social security benefits—especially the increase in the minimum benefits from the present $44 a month to $70. There is no truth in the statement in the article that the method of removing these people from poverty would be through raising income taxes.

The article speaks disparagingly of the improvement of social security benefits for the purpose of reducing the number of persons on assistance or relief. But this has been the objective of the social security program since it was enacted in 1935! This was the original congressional intent. In fact, the carrying out of this intent has been one of social security's greatest achievements. The proportion of the aged on welfare has decreased from about 22 percent in 1950 to about 10 percent today. We hope to decrease the proportion to 5 percent. Increasing the level of social security benefits will aid in this objective.

VI

One more of the many inaccuracies contained in the article is the allegation in the article that social security contributions are put into the "Treasury's general fund" (p. 76). The fact is that the contributions are automatically appropriated by law to the social security trust funds, which are kept separate from one another and from the general funds of the Treasury and can be used only for the payment of the benefits and administrative expenses under the social security program.

VII

Mr. Stevenson says that the Government is discouraging beneficiaries from augmenting their incomes by collecting social security contributions with no comparable increase in benefits and by withholding benefits from those beneficiaries who earn over $1500 a year. (p. 79)

The purpose of the social security program as determined by the Congress is to pay benefits when there is a loss of earnings because of death, disability, or retirement. The law prescribes a test—generally referred to as the retirement test—for determining whether such loss of earnings has occurred. The amount of the retirement test and whether there should be any retirement test is certainly a question which warrants discussion.

What Mr. Stevenson didn't say in his article is that eliminating the retirement test would increase the cost of the program by $2 billion a year. The additional cost would be incurred to pay benefits to about 2 million people, many of whom are fully employed and earning as much as they ever did. The vast majority of social security beneficiaries—some 20 million other persons—either are unable to work or cannot find a job and therefore would not be helped one iota by the elimination of the retirement test. Would this be an intelligent and equitable way to spend $2 billion a year additional?

The author's statement that beneficiaries who work and pay social security contributions get "no comparable increase" in benefits may give the impression that this work cannot increase their benefits or that, if it can, the benefit increases are insignificant. The fact is that the beneficiary who works can get a benefit increase if he has even just a single year in which his earnings are more than his earnings in any one of the past years that were used in computing his benefits.

In short, Mr. Stevenson didn't tell a full or fair story on the retirement test.

VIII

The article concludes that further study of and basic changes in social security are called for. Some of the concluding remarks are repetitions and of misleading assertions made earlier and some go further.

The article raises a number of questions about what will happen to the social security program in the future after whatever "temporary tinkering the House and Senate may do regarding the President's program"—as if the House and Senate are not comprised of the elected representatives of the American people and as if the President is not responsible to the American people. It is through such processes as the article calls "tinkering"—studied proposals such as those made by the President, and congressional deliberation and debates—that this Nation builds its public programs, orders its economy, and carries on the affairs of Government, and this will doubtless be true in the future.

The article goes on to suggest, on the basis of the increases in social security contribution rates that have been enacted over the years, that private pensions may not be able to remain "afloat." Such scaremongering ignores the fact that social security has not prevented the rapid growth of private pensions. Private pensions have made tremendous strides since the 1930's, when social security began. There were only about 400 private pension plans in 1935 when social security was enacted. Today there are over 60,000!

With regard to Mr. Stevenson's proposal to establish a "blue ribbon commission," over the years since the Committee on Economic Security submitted its report to President Roosevelt and the original Social Security Act was enacted in 1935, there have been numerous independent studies of social security by advisory councils composed of highly respected and knowledgeable citizens. For instance there was an Advisory Council Report in 1939, 1948, 1959, and 1965. Since 1956, studies by advisory councils have been provided for in the social security law itself, and there have been periodic studies by these councils. Through the councils, consisting of representatives of employees, employers, the self-employed, and the general public, the social security program has had the benefit of a great deal of intelligent and thoughtful examination. Under the law, the next advisory council, scheduled to be appointed in 1968 (under the bill recently passed by the House, it would be appointed in 1969), will review all aspects of the social security program, including the status of the social security trust funds in relation to the long-range commitments of the program and will make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Board of Trustees of each of the social security trust funds and to the Congress.

IX

Mr. Stevenson has not clarified any fundamental issues. He has not pointed out the great unmet social needs. What he has done has been a great disservice to the millions of social security beneficiaries and the millions who are counting on social security benefits in the future. He has obfuscated and confused the major policy issues in social security. A critical and constructive review of social security would be welcome. A glib and superficial attack on a program so important to millions of Americans is not a contribution to the American people.

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, my attention was called to an article entitled "Federal Funds for Teacher Training," appearing in the September 1967 issue of American Education, a publication of the Office of Education.

It is an exposition of the current fellowship programs under title IV of the National Defense Education Act and title V–C of the Higher Education Act of 1965. In my judgment, the article will be of interest to Senators because it contains on a State-by-State basis the number of fellowships awarded to the institutions of higher education for the purposes of these two acts.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL FUNDS—TEACHER TRAINING

To meet the ever-increasing need for teachers and to improve the quality of classroom instruction, Congress has authorized several programs specifically aimed at training teachers for the nation's schools, colleges, and universities.

Title IV of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 encourages graduate students to prepare for college teaching careers and to work toward their Ph.D. or its equivalent. This academic year, 15,000 NDEA title IV fellows are taking courses in such varied programs as city planning, economic history, physics, speech and drama, nuclear engineering, entomology, computer science, and comparative education. Each student receives a stipend of $2,000 for the first academic year of tenure, $2,000 for the second, and $2,400 for the third, together with an allowance of $400 a year for each dependent. An additional stipend of $400, plus $100 for each dependent, is available for summer study. Participating colleges and universities receive an annual allowance of $2,500 per student in lieu of tuition fees.

Under title V (C) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 teacher fellowships are available for up to two years of graduate study leading to an advanced degree other than the doctorate. These fellowships may be awarded to persons teaching now or intending to teach at the elementary or secondary level. This year, 2,336 prospective and some 1,500 experienced teachers are enrolled in the program and academic institutions listed on the chart on the opposite page.

Prospective teachers receive a stipend of $2,000 for the first academic year, $2,200 for the second, and an allowance of $400 per academic year for each dependent. Experienced teachers selected for the program receive a stipend of $4,000 per academic year and $600 for each dependent. An annual allowance of $2,500 per student is given to each participating institution.

Graduate fellowships for college and university teachers under the National Defense Education Act of 1958, academic year 1967–68

State and institution	*Number of awards*
Alabama:	
Auburn University	25
University of Alabama	40
Alaska: University of Alaska	4
Arizona:	
Arizona State University	30
University of Arizona	60
Arkansas: University of Arkansas	14
California:	
California Institute of Technology	25
Claremont Graduate School	30
Loma Linda University	2
San Diego State College	2
Stanford University	85
University of California—Berkeley	85
Davis	50
Irvine	30
Los Angeles	85
Riverside	27
San Diego	30
San Francisco	4
Santa Barbara	25
Santa Cruz	4
University of Southern California	60
Colorado:	
Colorado School of Mines	8
Colorado State College	7
Colorado State University	25
University of Colorado	80
University of Denver	12
Connecticut:	
University of Connecticut	45
Wesleyan University	2
Yale University	85
Delaware: University of Delaware	12
District of Columbia:	
American University	2
Catholic University	32
Georgetown University	20
George Washington University	14
Howard University	12
Florida:	
Florida State University	60
University of Florida	80
University of Miami	22
Georgia:	
Emory University	32
Georgia Institute of Technology	26
Georgia State College	4
Medical College of Georgia	4
University of Georgia	60
Hawaii: University of Hawaii	28
Idaho: University of Idaho	12
Illinois:	
Illinois Institute of Technology	14
Illinois State University	4
Loyola University	12
Northern Illinois University	10
Northwestern University	85
Southern Illinois University	32
University of Chicago	85
University of Illinois	85
Indiana:	
Ball State University	8
Indiana State University	4
Indiana University	85
Purdue University	65
University of Notre Dame	38
Iowa:	
Iowa State University of Science and Technology	35
University of Iowa	70
Kansas:	
Kansas State University of Agriculture and Applied Science	28
University of Kansas	65
Kentucky:	
University of Kentucky	40
University of Louisville	10
Louisiana:	
Louisiana State University and A. & M. College	43
Tulane University	60
Maine: University of Maine	12
Maryland:	
Johns Hopkins University	75
Peabody Conservatory of Music	2
University of Maryland	55
Massachusetts:	
Boston College	14
Boston University	31
Brandeis University	40
Clark University	10
Harvard University	85
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	65
Northeastern University	10
Springfield College	4
Tufts University	28
University of Massachusetts—Amherst	45
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	4
Michigan:	
Michigan Technological University	4
Michigan State University	70
University of Detroit	2
University of Michigan	85
Wayne State University	34
Western Michigan University	4
Minnesota: University of Minnesota, Minneapolis-St. Paul	85
Mississippi:	
University of Southern Mississippi	4
Mississippi State University	14
University of Mississippi	12
Missouri:	
St. Louis University	30
University of Missouri—Columbia	55
Kansas City	2
Rolla	12
Washington University	72

Graduate fellowships for college and university teachers under the National Defense Education Act of 1958, academic year 1967–68—Continued

State and institution	*Number of awards*
Montana:	
Montana State University	12
University of Montana	8
Nebraska: University of Nebraska	30
Nevada: University of Nevada	8
New Hampshire:	
Dartmouth College	10
University of New Hampshire	18
New Jersey:	
Newark College of Engineering	4
Princeton University	80
Rutgers, The State University	58
Stevens Institute of Technology	9
New Mexico:	
New Mexico State University	10
University of New Mexico	32
New York:	
Alfred University College of Ceramics	2
City University of New York—all institutions	50
Clarkson College of Technology	4
Columbia University—main division	85
Columbia University—Teachers College	21
Cornell University	85
Fordham University	25
Juilliard School of Music	4
New School for Social Research	4
New York University	80
Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute	12
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	25
State University of New York—Albany	26
Binghamton	7
Buffalo	60
College of Forestry	10
Stony Brook	18
Syracuse University	60
University of Rochester	72
Yeshiva University	15
North Carolina:	
Duke University	60
North Carolina State University—Raleigh	30
University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill	85
North Dakota:	
North Dakota State University	14
University of North Dakota	8
Ohio:	
Bowling Green State University	7
Case Institute of Technology	32
Kent State University	12
Miami University	7
Ohio State University	70
Ohio University	25
University of Akron	4
University of Cincinnati	25
University of Toledo	4
Western Reserve University	45
Oklahoma:	
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science	27
University of Oklahoma	30
University of Tulsa	2
Oregon:	
Oregon State University	32
University of Oregon	75
Pennsylvania:	
Bryn Mawr College	10
Carnegie Institute of Technology	35
Drexel Institute of Technology	4
Duquesne University	6
Lehigh University	16
Pennsylvania State University	80
Temple University	23
University of Pennsylvania	85
University of Pittsburgh	45
Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania	4
Rhode Island:	
Brown University	60
University of Rhode Island	18
South Carolina:	
Clemson University	24
University of South Carolina	15
South Dakota:	
South Dakota State University	5
University of South Dakota	12
Tennessee:	
George Peabody College for Teachers	10
University of Tennessee—Knoxville	60
Vanderbilt University	50
Texas:	
Baylor University	4
North Texas State University	6
Rice University	45
Southern Methodist University	10
Texas A. & M. University	28
Texas Christian University	6
Texas Technological College	8
Texas Woman's University	4
University of Houston	10
University of Texas	85
Utah:	
Brigham Young University	14
University of Utah	45
Utah State University	22
Vermont: University of Vermont and State Agricultural College	12
Virginia:	
College of William and Mary	2
Medical College of Virginia	7
University of Virginia	65
Virginia Polytechnic Institute	25
Washington:	
University of Washington	85
Washington State University	28
West Virginia: West Virginia University	14
Wisconsin:	
Marquette University	16
University of Wisconsin—Madison	85
Milwaukee	10
Wyoming: University of Wyoming	16
Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico	4

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS UNDER THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, ACADEMIC YEAR 1967–68

[P denotes prospective teachers; e experienced]

State and Institution	Program	Number of awards
Alabama: University of Alabama	Elementary education	4–p
Alaska: University of Alaska	Biology	4–p
	Rural education	25–e
Arizona:		
Arizona State University	English math	10–p
	Art	25–e
	English	15–e
University of Arizona	Reading	25–e
Arkansas:		
Henderson State Teachers College	History	4–p
University of Arkansas	do	4–p
	Modern foreign languages	15–e
California:		
California State College, Los Angeles	Social studies education	4–p
Chapman College	Modern media	25e
Claremont Graduate School	Elementary education	4–p
Sacramento State College	English	4–p
San Fernando Valley State College	do	25–e
San Francisco State College	Early elementary education	20–e
Stanford University	Secondary education	16–p
	Elementary education	25–e
University of California, Berkeley, Los Angeles.	do	4–p
	English	4–p
University of Southern California	Elementary education	4–p
Colorado:		
Adams State College	Elementary and secondary education	4–p
Colorado State University	Earth science, education reading, English	12–p
University of Denver	Elementary and secondary education, international relations.	10–p
Western State College	Elementary education	4–p
Connecticut:		
University of Connecticut	Math	18–e
Wesleyan University	Secondary education	6–p
Yale University	do	10–p
Delaware: University of Delaware	Math	4–p
District of Columbia:		
Howard University	Elementary and secondary education	10–p
Trinity College	History education	4–p
Florida:		
Florida State University	Art, English, social science, foreign language.	16–p
	Math	25–e
	English	25–e
Stetson University	Social studies	4–p
University of Florida	Chemistry and physics	4–p
	Spanish	15–e
	Supervision	25–e
University of Miami	Mental retardation	4–p
University of South Florida	Early elementary education	4–p
Georgia:		
Emory University	Secondary education	12–p
University of Georgia	Math, geography, history, science and social science education.	12–p
	Reading	25–e
	Psychology	20–e
Hawaii: University of Hawaii	Science education	4–p
	Communications	20–e
Idaho: Idaho State University	English	4–p
Illinois:		
Illinois Technical College Chicago, North.	Language, arts, education	4–p
	Disadvantaged	25–e
Northwestern University	Elementary education	4–p
Southern Illinois University	Curriculum supervisors, helping teachers, department chairmen.	25–e
University of Chicago	Biology, English, math, foreign languages, physical and social science.	16–p
	Urban elementary education	10–e
University of Illinois	Latin, math, secondary education	16–p
	Early elementary education	20–e
	English	20–e
Indiana:		
Ball State University	English, physics	8–p
DePauw University	Math	4–p
Indiana State University	Guidance	20–e

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS UNDER THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, ACADEMIC YEAR 1967-68—Continued

[P denotes prospective teachers; e experienced]

State and Institution	Program	Number of awards
Indiana—Contiinued		
Indiana University	Biology, reading, math, classic literature, music, Russian.	16-p
	French, Spanish	25-e
Purdue University	Secondary education	12-p
	Economics	25-e
	Political science, civics	15-e
University of Notre Dame	Secondary education	4-p
	World history	20-e
Valparaiso University	Social science	4-p
Iowa:		
Clarke College	Reading	25-e
Drake University	Biology, elementary education	8-p
Iowa State University of Science and Technology.	Sex education	4-p
State College of Iowa	Industrial arts education	4-p
Kansas:		
Kansas State College, Pittsburg	English	4-p
Kansas State Teachers College	Secondary education	4-p
University of Kansas	German, math, social sciences	12-p
	History	15-e
	Geography	20-e
Kentucky: University of Kentucky	Elementary education	4-p
Louisiana:		
Loyola University	Physical science	25-e
Southern University and A. & M. College.	English	4-p
University of Southwestern Louisiana.	Computer science	15-e
Maine: University of Maine	Elementary and secondary education	4-p
	Guidance	20-e
Maryland:		
Johns Hopkins University	English, math, social sciences, science, modern foreign languages.	12-p
	History	15-e
University of Maryland	Teaching, guidance	25-e
Massachusetts:		
Boston College	Elementary education	4-p
Boston University	Chemistry	4-p
Clark University	Geography	4-p
	Geography, history	20-e
Harvard University	English, reading, math, art, music, science, social studies, foreign languages.	16-p
Springfield College	Physical education	4-p
Tufts University	Early elementary education, French	8-p
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	English	4-p
Michigan:		
Eastern Michigan University	Early elementary education	4-p
	Social studies curricula	20-e
Maygrove College	Educational reading	4-p
Michigan State University	History, social science	10-p
	Reading, math, science	25-e
University of Michigan	Music	4-p
	Elementary education	24-e
Wayne State University	Business education	4-p
	Industrial arts	24-e
Western Michigan University	International studies	4-p
Minnesota:		
University of Minnesota, Duluth	Science and math	24-e
Minneapolis-St. Paul	Classics, guidance	8-p
	Geography, history	20-e
Mississippi: University of Mississippi	History	4-p
	Reading	25-e
Missouri:		
St. Louis University	Elementary and secondary education	4-p
University of Missouri, Columbia	English	4-p
Washington University	Elementary and secondary education language arts.	12-p
Montana: Montana State University	Elementary education	4-p
Nebraska: University of Nebraska	Elementary education, social science	8-p
Nevada: University of Nevada	Elementary education	4-p
New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire.	Science	4-p
	Guidance, reading	25-e
	Science	20-e
New Jersey:		
Montclair State College	English	4-p
Rutgers, the State University	Romance languages	4-p
	Psychology	30-e
Seton Hall University	Elementary education, Japanese, Chinese	8-p
Trenton State College	Outdoor education	25-e
New Mexico: New Mexico Highlands University.	Mental retardation	4-p
New York:		
Colgate University	Science, English, math, social science, romance languages.	4-p
Columbia University Teachers College.	English	8-p
	Early elementary education	25-e
	Math	15-e
Fordham University	English, history	8-p
Hofstra University	Early elementary education	4-p
	Elementary education	20-e
New York—Continued		
New York University	Physical education, foreign language	12-p
	Disadvantaged-urban	18-e
	English as 2d language	25-e
SUNY College, Geneseo, Potsdam	Physics and science	4-p
	Chemistry	4-p
Syracuse University	Educational media	15-e
	Social studies	24-e
	Reading	15-e
North Carolina:		
Appalachian State Teachers College	Math	4-p
Duke University	English, French	8-p
North Carolina College	Media specialists	16-e
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.	Elementary and secondary education	12-p
North Dakota: University of North Dakota.	Social science	4-p
Ohio:		
Kent State University	English, geography	8-p
Ohio State University	Art education	8-p
Ohio University	Speech	4-p
	Economics	25-e
University of Dayton	English	4-p
University of Toledo	Elementary and secondary education	4-p
Oklahoma:		
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Sciences.	English	4-p
University of Oklahoma	Math	4-p
Oregon:		
Oregon College of Education	Geography	25-e
Reed College	Secondary education	4-p
University of Oregon	Elementary, secondary education, physical education, art, math, English.	12-p
	English	20-e
	Elementary education	15-e
Pennsylvania:		
Carnegie Institute of Technology	English	4-p
	History	15-e
Pennsylvania State University	Sex education	6-p
	Geography	15-e
Temple University	Disadvantaged-urban	25-e
University of Pennsylvania	Elementary education	6-p
Rhode Island: Brown University	Secondary education	16-p
South Carolina: South Carolina State College.	Elementary education	4-p
South Dakota: University of South Dakota.	English	4-p
Tennessee:		
George Peabody College for Teachers.	Music, social science, social studies education.	12-p
	Humanities	25-e
Memphis State University	Science teaching	4-p
Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University.	Home economics, health, physical education.	8-p
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	Business education	4-p
Vanderbilt University	Secondary education	12-p
Texas:		
North Texas State University	Elementary education	4-p
Sam Houston State College	Science	4-p
	do	25-e
Southern Methodist University	History	4-p
	do	25-e
Texas A. & M. University	History, science	10-p
Texas Christian University	English	4-p
Texas Woman's University	Elementary education	4-p
University of Houston	do	4-p
University of Texas	Art, art education, music, physical education.	12-p
Utah:		
Brigham Young University	Physics, family life	8-p
Utah State University	Business education	4-p
	Social sciences	25-e
Vermont:		
St. Michael's College	English	4-p
University of Vermont	do	4-p
Virginia:		
College of William and Mary	Elementary education	4-p
University of Virginia	Secondary education	8-p
Washington:		
University of Washington	Music	4-p
	Germanics	25-e
Western Washington State College	English, math	10-p
	English	16-e
West Virginia: West Virginia University	Music	4-p
Wisconsin:		
Marquette University	Spanish	4-p
Wisconsin State University, River Falls, Platteville.	Social science	4-p
	Industrial arts	24-e
Wyoming: University of Wyoming	Elementary education, physical	6-p
Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico	English, social science, math	4-p

INCREASE TAXES OR CUT FEDERAL SPENDING?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, over the past few weeks an upsurge of interest in cutting Federal spending as an alternative to a tax increase has been very evident on Capitol Hill. I have gone on record as supporting this approach. Consequently, I was delighted to read an editorial in the San Jose, Calif., Mercury-News which stressed the need for a good hard look at Federal spending priorities with particular reference to Senator Proxmire's proposed legislation to create a Government Program Evaluation Commission.

Over the years, the Senator from Wisconsin has achieved a reputation for carefully examining Federal expenditure policy. Thus I think it is appropriate that he should be in the forefront of those who are espousing a cutback in Federal spending rather than a 10-percent surtax.

I ask unanimous consent that the Mercury-News editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Proxmire's Reform Ideas Popular With Taxpayers

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis) is one of those on Capitol Hill who does not believe that the Johnson administration's proposed 10 per cent surcharge on corporate and individual income is a good idea.

The gentleman from Wisconsin, who is ranking majority member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, believes the surcharge will not reduce inflationary pressures, halt the price spiral or—for that matter—even produce as much revenue as the President hopes.

Senator Proxmire would rather see the federal government cut its spending programs than raise taxes, and, in this the gentleman from Wisconsin surely must echo the heartfelt sentiments of a majority of Americans.

In point of fact, Senator Proxmire has gone so far as to suggest specific areas in which budget cuts can be made—the space program post-Apollo, supersonic transport development and "pork barrel" public works projects to name but three.

This approach to the problem of federal spending, however, is hopelessly inadequate, Senator Proxmire concedes, because too many Americans believe that the federal government is so big. and the mechanics of it so cumbersome, that meaningful reductions in spending are impossible.

Senator Proxmire disagrees. What is needed, in his view, is a review of old federal programs, to see which should be retained and which jettisoned, and establishment of a set of national priorities that could guide Congress in establishing new programs.

To this end, Senator Proxmire has introduced S. 2032, which would establish a government commission to evaluate programs, both old and new with an eye to their cost effectiveness, and to ponder the question of national priorities.

In the Senator's words:

"The commission members would be appointed by the President, the Speaker of the House and the President Pro Tem of the Senate, and would be required to report to the President and the Congress by Feb. 1, 1969. It is my great hope that this commission will be useful to the President, to the Congress, and, above all, to the people whose tax dollars pay for everything the federal government does. . . .

With over 20 per cent of the national income passing through the federal till, federal expenditures are of major importance. The ways the federal government chooses to spend tax revenue has a tremendous effect on the allocation of our basic resources in this nation and upon our growth and prosperity as an economy."

The point is a telling one. Senator Proxmire's colleagues in the Senate and in the House should support his program evaluation commission bill. It represents a step, and a significant one at that, toward a long-needed government reform.

AMENDMENT TO ADD GOVERNOR VETO PROVISIONS TO TITLE III(b) OF THE ANTIPOVERTY BILL

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the response to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] to add a provision which would allow the Governors to veto programs for migrant and farm workers under title III(b) of S. 2388 was immediate, spontaneous, and unanimously opposed to such an amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record 12 telegrams which are representative of the viewpoint expressed to me.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Washington, D.C.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

The problems of migrant workers cannot be solved on a State basis. A very large part of the self-help housing program in this country is among seasonal and migrant farm workers financed by OEO section III(b) funds. There is no Federal program we know of where there has been a finer cooperative working relationship between low income families local religious business and professional people and a Federal agency than in self-help housing. Consequently we are deeply concerned about any proposal which would inject a veto power between local groups and OEO. This program is so locally oriented that an official at a higher level might not be possessed of the requisite information to pass wise judgment on the validity of programs. The only State in which a self-help housing program has been dismantled was in a State OEO office. There is nothing in our experience to indicate that migrant programs would be improved by placing Federal funds under State control. Indeed the contrary is quite clear.

Sincerely,

Clay L. Cochran,
Executive Director, International Self-Help Housing Association.

Visalia, Calif.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams,
Chairman, Subcommittee, Migratory Labor, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

We strongly object to amendment title III (b) OEO giving Governor veto power. Interstate of program makes this amendment impractical. An added bureaucratic factor will preclude benefits to low-income migrants.

Everett S. Krakov,
Executive Director, Tulare County Community Action Agency.

Des Moines, *Lowa,*
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams,
New Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

We desire maximum flexibility of operation under the various phases of the OEO program and reiterate our strong opposition to any amendment which would give governors at the State level veto power over the application of funds whether public or private we urgently request defeat of the amendment introduced by Senator George Murphy.

National Catholic Rural Life Conference.
Msgr. Edward W. O'Rourke,
Executive Director.

New York, N.Y.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison A. Williams,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge voting down Murphy amendment to poverty bill giving veto power to governors of title III(b) programs would seriously endanger and delay some of the most effective and urgently needed programs to needy seasonal farm workers and their families.

Fay Bennett,
Executive Secretary, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

New York, N.Y.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Arlington Williams,
Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Please oppose the Murphy amendment which would give Governors veto power over title III, part B of poverty bill. Proposed amendment would be a handicap for poorest rural people.

Ben M. Herbster,
President, United Church of Christ.

Baltimore, Md.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams, Jr.,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Senator Murphy's motion to subject title III of EOA to Governor's veto would emasculate or eliminate many title III projects.

Scott Nielsen,
Director, Farm Labor Program Southeastern Pennsylvania, American Friends Service Committee, Kenneth Square, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams, Jr.,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge you do everything to prevent title III of the Economic Opportunity Act being subject to Governor's veto through title III innovative programs in many previously neglected areas have begun to find solutions and create a partnership in the use of public and private resources. Seasonal farm labor programs require multi-Stage approach difficulty of securing for example approval of six or more east coast Governors staggers imagination. Possibility of veto and delays inevitably inherent in procedure would effectively minimize participation and contribution of private agencies to war on poverty. Present title III has enabled imaginative and conscientious use of anti-poverty resources in line with stated intent of original act.

Eleanor A. Eaton,
Community Relations Division, American Friends Service Committee.

Miami, Fla.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams,
Chamber of U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Feeling here in south Florida that Murphy amendment to section 3b of OEO bill can be terribly damaging to migrant programs since many considerations expand beyond State boundaries.

Edwin Tucker,
Director, Diocese of Miami Office of Community Service.

Miami, Fla.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Pete Williams,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Urge against amendment placing 3b under Governor's veto.

Rev. D. W. Havens,
Director, Liberty City Community Council.

Lantana, Fla.,
September 28, 1967.

Senator Harrison Williams,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

Urge Senate reject Senator Murphy's amendment to OEO Appropriation Bill allowing Governor's Veto Title 3B.

Edwards Rodgers,
President, Palm Beach County Chapter, Florida Council on Human Relations.

WILMINGTON, DEL.,
September 28, 1967.
Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We object to placing Title #3 OEO under Governors Veto.

ROBERT AND KATHARINE WAY.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.,
September 28, 1967.
Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Please help defeat the Murphy amendment.

S. W. GEORGE,
President, Broward County NAACP.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CHANCES FOR REELECTION GIVEN REALISTIC APPRAISAL

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, these are difficult days for President Johnson. Problems and more problems, domestically and internationally, weigh heavily on our Chief Executive.

President Johnson is beset by opposition, often within the Democratic Party, as well as from Republicans. But a reasoned assessment of Mr. Johnson's reelection chances is contained in the Christian Science Monitor of Wednesday, September 27, 1967. It is titled "Johnson No Pushover." Most keen observers can agree.

Yes, President Johnson is a truly hardworking man. He is, I believe, a man to match our times.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in my remarks, at this point, the editorial from the Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 27, 1967]

JOHNSON NO PUSHOVER

The "dump Johnson" move failed at the board meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action in Washington, and maybe that was a victory for LBJ. Or maybe it was a modest victory for political realism within the free-wheeling, leftward-winging ADA.

It is normal for the ADA—and even for the "New Left" which met in argumentative convention in Chicago recently—to make vigorous noises of dedicated protest. But the basic rule of politics is that "you can't beat somebody with nobody." When Sen. Robert Kennedy warmly endorsed the Johnson-Humphrey ticket for 1968 last May, he removed himself from the Democratic lists. There is no one else save the White House incumbent for Democrats to rally round.

By those political columnists who examine and reexamine the Johnson phenomenon, the Prsident could be dubbed the "unhappy warrior," these recent months. The political polls which he so closely watches do not show that sweeping strength for the Democratic presidential ticket that they displayed in 1964. Yet even at this moment, at the supposed nadir of Johnson popularity, after a summer of ghetto violence and with Vietnam dragging on, the latest Harris survey finds that no Republican candidate is running ahead of LBJ.

Opinion polls can change rapidly, of course. But as of now the strongest Republican combination against Johnson-Humphrey would be a Rockefeller-Reagan ticket. These rival slates stand even at 50–50. A Romney-Reagan ticket would run seven points behind Johnson-Humphrey. Other possible GOP combinations lag further.

So Lyndon Johnson is hardly a political cypher. The Vietnam dilemma, the reduction in America's world prestige, the city savaging racial friction, the discreditable credibility gap, even the proposed tax increase—have in various quarters, combined to beat down the President's public image.

But this is a time when the United States is negotiating one of its toughest passages in history. It is fighting a war where issues are not clearcut and simple. It is experiencing a hometown revolution, as blacks seek to shake off what has been called internal colonialism. It is patiently continuing to pump out foreign aid in remarkable amounts and, as a practicing Christian, is not demanding "gratitude" in return.

In all this, Mr. Johnson has exhibited considerable dogged staying power. Governor Rockefeller said on TV last weekend that the President anticipated the problems of the cities with his antipoverty program. A political realist, LBJ knows precisely the value, or lack of value, in wafting unofficial peace envoys to Hanoi. Some intellectuals decry him as the last "frontiersman" President, but no one ever found a western (or southwestern) frontiersman to be lacking in steady patriotism.

Wily, resourceful, politically savvy, LBJ is a formidable force in and out of his party. If the Vietnam war were removed to the conference table before next year's election, he would be tremendously difficult to defeat. But even if Ho Chi Minh keeps the war going, and if the travail of America's cities persists, the hardest-working President in Washington's recent history will be no political pushover in 1968.

OREGON PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL 1968

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish once again to thank my good friend, the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] and all other members of the Committee on Appropriations for the fine help and consideration they gave the State of Oregon in connection with public works appropriations for fiscal 1968.

I wish to pay special tribute to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Works, the Senator from Louisiana, for his usual fine courtesy to our Oregon witnesses who appeared to testify in support of Oregon public works appropriations and to the serious consideration and study he has given to the needs of our State in the field of public works appropriations.

One of the projects of special concern and importance to the coastal area of Oregon is Siuslaw Harbor, at Florence, Oreg. The preconstruction planning on the project was completed almost 2 years ago and the proponents of the project have, during that period, amply demonstrated the urgent need for the harbor improvement. The Public Works Subcommittee, under the leadership of the Senator from Louisiana, recommended funds for the project in fiscal 1967; unfortunately, we were not able to hold the Senate recommendation in conference. This year I am most grateful that the committee approved $500,000 for an initial start of construction on this most desirable $2,435,000 harbor modification project. I cannot overemphasize the importance of efforts on the part of the Senate conferees to hold the $500,000 in conference because the economy of the area will be enhanced by this development and its benefits will be enjoyed not only locally but by the Federal Government through increased tax revenues.

The people of Oregon owe a debt of gratitude to the committee and to the Senator from Louisiana for retaining the items of $100,000 and $500,000, respectively, which were not recommended in the budget, but which were approved in the House of Representatives for development of the Cheto River harbor and the Tillamook south jetty. These excellent projects are long overdue, and the actions taken by the Senate and House of Representatives in including appropriations for these harbors will bring them to completion at a much earlier date.

The economy of Portland and the lower Columbia River area received a great stimulus when the committee increased by $1,300,000 the House-approved budget request of $2,700,000 on the Willamette River 40-foot project. Portland and other harbors in the lower Columbia River area will benefit greatly by the increased water commerce which will be induced by the $22,600,000 Columbia River channel deepening program. It is my hope that the Senate conferees will do everything in their power to convince the House conferees of the wisdom of retaining the Senate-recommended $4,000,000 for the Columbia River 40-foot project.

The Corps of Engineers has on file a long list of projects upon which bank protection works are required in the Willamette River Basin. Floods on the Willamette and its tributaries take their annual toll by way of heavy damage including the washing away of priceless topsoil. The people of the Willamette River Basin should be grateful to the committee and to the Senator from Louisiana for their action in recommending an increase of $125,000 over and above the $375,000 budgeted and recommended by the House for Willamette River bank protection. If this increase can be held in conference, it will mean the acceleration of work on bank projects which are long overdue.

In the area of funds for general investigations, the Senate Appropriations Committee is to be commended for recommending a total of $36,246,000, an increase of $2,501,000 over the amount recommended by the House. These studies warn us of the needs in the fields of navigation, flood control, and related water projects. They represent wise investments in the future of our Nation.

To the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], I wish to express the thanks of the people of Oregon for the excellent help he has rendered to my home State over the many years in the fields of appropriations for reclamation projects and the program of the Bonneville Power Administration. Not only did the committee, under the leadership of the Senator from Arizona, bring about the approval of the budgeted amounts for our Oregon projects, but it also recommended an impressive sum of $21,555,000 for general investigations of reclamation projects. This reflected an increase of $5,555,000 over and above the amount recommended by the House. This favorable action made possible the recommendation of a new reconnaissance survey of the land and water resources of the Juniper division of the Wapinitia project. We are indeed thankful for this new survey project.

In closing, I should add that the committee has followed an extremely wise course of action because it has recommended the investment of taxpayers' dollars in projects that will redound to the benefit of our generation and generations of future Americans.

EULOGY TO JEFF KIBRE

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I was deeply grieved and shocked to learn of the death of Jeff Kibre on the morning of September 27 after a long illness resulting from a series of strokes.

A militant and vigorous advocate of the cause of labor unionism all his life, Jeff Kibre served during the last 15 years as a representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union here in the Capital.

In this capacity he served long and well. He became a familiar figure around Capitol Hill, and he counted as personal friends literally scores of Members of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives.

Across the country and in the Nation's Capital, his reputation as an acknowledged expert in all aspects of law pertaining to organized labor, to maritime and transportation became firmly established.

Many of the laws on our Nation's statute books stand as a monument to his memory. His lifelong work is indelibly recorded in the history of this country.

Before working as Washington representative of the ILWU, Jeff represented the Fishermen's Union on the west coast. Before that, he had been secretary of the United Studio Technicians Guild in Hollywood.

He was born in Philadelphia 60 years ago, but his family moved to Los Angeles when he was only 6 months old—so that he was reared and attended public schools in Los Angeles. He received his B.A. degree from the University of California in Los Angeles.

Earlier this year, Jeff retired from active service with the ILWU and moved back to Los Angeles to recuperate from several strokes he had suffered—the first one of which occurred in October 1964, while he was on the island of Maui in Hawaii.

Even after retirement, and until quite recently, when he suffered another serious stroke which proved fatal, Jeff continued to assist the ILWU in an advisory capacity.

His life was cut off at a time when he was contributing significantly to the forward progress of our Nation. For Jeff was a thoroughly dedicated, fighting and courageous champion of workingmen everywhere.

He had great vision, and he had the courage of his convictions. Perhaps equally important, he knew how to go about implementing his ideas and his beliefs to make them realities.

Jeff slipped into a comatose condition on June 21 and never awakened after that. His death came peacefully. But he died as he lived all his life: his fight for life continued right up to the very end.

He is survived by his wife Pearl and a son, Joe, who is now doing graduate work at UCLA.

He also leaves four brothers, Maynard, James, Walter, and Bert, and three sisters, Cecile, Pearl, and Adele.

He will be sorely missed by all of his many, many friends here in Washington and throughout the country, including the hundreds of people who knew, admired and respected him in Hawaii. More than 600 delegates to the eighth biennial convention of ILWU Local 142 in Honolulu stood in 1 minute of silence in his memory 2 days ago.

Mr. President, the Longshoremen's Union has lost a loyal and devoted leader. Working men and women everywhere have lost an eloquent champion. The Nation has lost one of her leading citizens. I have lost a friend.

My wife, Ellyn, and my entire staff both here and in Honolulu join me in offering warmest and sincerest condolences to his wife, his son, and his entire family.

OUTSTANDING WORK OF SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION IN NEW JERSEY

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in today's world of advanced technology and mass production, the Nation's small businessman is finding it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of change and innovation so vital to maintaining a competitive position in the business world.

Small industrial and service firms in New Jersey account for a large part of the total number of businesses in our State. They have contributed millions of dollars to the national economy, provided jobs for thousands of workers, and have also provided products and services essential to the expanding American economy.

I invite attention to the outstanding job that the Small Business Administration is doing in helping small business in New Jersey under the progressive leadership of its new Administrator, Robert C. Moot.

SBA has approved a total of 95 loans amounting to $6,075,000 to small business firms during the first 10 months of this fiscal year in the State of New Jersey.

As in the case of many small businesses throughout the United States, they frequently need assistance and guidance in maintaining their competitive position, and more important, to develop new products and services demanded by our space-age economy.

The SBA provides several broad programs of assistance to these small firms, and it is doing a superlative job of helping America grow and prosper by aiding deserving small firms with management guidance, financing, technical knowledge, and counseling.

In many cases, SBA's assistance helps unite community resources with Federal, State, and business factors in a self-help effort inherent in our American tradition.

I invite attention to the success story of the Middlesex Tool & Machine Co., of Mountainside. It is particularly noteworthy because it clearly illustrates how SBA, working with the private business community, has wisely lent taxpayers money to expand and modernize a small firm, which in turn provides additional jobs, larger payrolls, and supporting services and taxes.

I am pleased to mention this SBA assisted firm, a leading manufacturer of molds for the plastic industry, because of its industrial leadership and contribution to the economic growth of Mountainside and the State of New Jersey.

Deficiency in the company's working capital position interfered with economically sound operations, and while fairly substantial sales were being conducted, operating capital was meager.

Mr. Joseph Schmidt, president of the firm, and Mr. Robert White, vice president, decided that more working capital was needed to place the company in a favorable position to meet competition.

Messrs. Schmidt and White consulted with Mr. Andrew Lynch, regional director for the Small Business Administration in Newark about their company's problems. This was in June 1964. On August 31, 1964, a $90,000 loan was disbursed in participation with the National State Bank of Elizabeth, N.J. National State Bank's participating share of the loan was 25 percent.

Today Mr. Schmidt and Mr. White report that the SBA loan improved the working capital position of their firm allowing it to purchase in quantity at favorable prices. The loan also helped them to exercise better inventory control and take advantage of available trade discounts. Improved cash flow eased tight operating position with profit potential enhanced.

While sales have fluctuated modestly, profits have followed a decisive upward trend. The firm's net profits have multiplied 25 times in the 3-year period since that SBA loan was disbursed. Net profits in 1964 were $933 and in 1966 the profit had reached an all-time high of $25,936. Deficit working capital of $26,453 on December 31, 1963, has been steadily improved by the loan and through retained earnings to $71,263 on December 31, 1966. Net worth on December 31, 1963, was $116,850. This was increased to $159,596 by December 31, 1966, an increase of over 36 percent. The loan has always been current and has been reduced from the original $90,000 to $53,000.

There are 38 presently employed as compared to 34 at the time of the loan disbursement. Employment opportunities with the firm are expected to expand even more in the near future, bringing new impetus to the economy of Mountainside.

President Johnson has, on numerous occasions, noted the important role which America's small businessmen play in building our Nation's economy. They are the seedbed of democracy nurturing the free and innovative development of our Nation's wealth.

Mr. President, I commend the Small Business Administration for the outstanding work it is doing in developing our Nation's small businesses.

I certainly hope that the outstanding success story of the Middlesex Tool & Machine Co., of Mountainside, will serve as an incentive to other small businessmen throughout the Nation.

They, too, can play an important role in our Nation's growth and prosperity by taking advantage of the advice and counsel which their regional SBA office stands ready to give.

Mr. President, the President has repeatedly stated that the economy can only prosper to the extent that the individuals in our country prosper. In his annual budget message to Congress the President stated:

> Government must always be responsive to human needs.

In proclaiming Small Business Week during May of this year, President Johnson stated:

> We recognize and applaud the contributions made by our 4.8 million small businesses. We must insure that they will continue to hold a vital place in our Nation.

Mr. President, we have here a good example of how a Federal agency—the Small Business Administration—under favorable conditions, can work in partnership with our citizenship for the kind of development and progress that President Johnson wants for all Americans.

NATIONAL PLANNING NEEDED TO BALANCE FUTURE GROWTH

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the big cities of the country are in serious trouble. The Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser, for years has been advocating the creation of a national planning agency to make studies and recommendations for the location of new Federal bases and installations and for the award of Federal contracts. This suggestion seems to me to be a very meritorious one in that it could lead to a more evenly dispersed population throughout the country and would relieve the already overcrowded urban centers from further congestion.

Mr. Wendell Reynolds, editor of the editorial page of the Advertiser, has just completed the presentation of four related editorials, all of which deal with the difficulties of big cities and the ills of small towns. I ask unanimous consent that the thought-provoking series of editorials be included in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser, Sept. 25, 1967]

Difficulties of Big Cities Tied to Ills of Small Towns

The baffling problems of the big cities, particularly those of the ghettos, have resulted to a considerable extent from the troubles of the rest of the country.

The drift of people from rural areas and small communities to the cities has been under way for many years. In the last decade it has been greatly increased by three factors:

1. The inability of many tenant farmers and owners of small farms to make a decent living.

2. The elimination of jobs, particularly in coal mines, by the use of machinery.

3. The determination of more and more Negroes to gain their civil rights and better opportunities for themselves and their children.

Surveys have shown that the movement to the cities is beginning to slow down. But federal officials have reported that the number of migrants still reaches about 600,000 a year.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty said recently that about 1,000 newcomers arrive there each week. He estimated that at least a fourth of them come from the South.

Most of the migrants lack skills for any job that pays well. These usually drift into the ghettos and increase the crowding in the woefully substandard housing there.

Thousands that can't find work have to depend on welfare benefits. Some turn to crime.

But besides the disadvantaged newcomers who greatly complicate the problems of the big urban centers, many talented and educated young people who could benefit their smaller communities go to cities to take advantage of more promising opportunities for a career.

Men from Huntington have risen high in law, medicine and business in New York and other large cities. Several have done well in art, science, engineering and the entertainment field.

The hospital and research facilities of the big cities offer strong attractions especially to young doctors of exceptional ability.

The major cause of the acute shortage of doctors in this state is the tendency of graduates of the West Virginia Medical Center to leave for practice elsewhere.

The acquisition of independent retail and wholesale businesses and industries by large corporations also has tended to drain competent and ambitious young people away from towns and small cities.

The most capable employes of the corporations move up to better jobs and generally reach a big city.

The affiliation of the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio railroads has already resulted in the transfer of more employes from Huntington than will come here.

The loss of community leaders through such transfers and the removal of young people who would become leaders tend to reduce the launching of new enterprises that would create jobs.

There are opportunities here for the development of profitable aluminum fabrication industries such as those operating near the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. works at Spokane, Wash.

Before the Kaiser plant opened at Ravenswood, the company took a number of newsmen and Chamber of Commerce representatives to Spokane. Company spokesmen pointed out that operations similar to those in that area could be developed along the Ohio and Kanawha Valleys for fabricating aluminum from the Ravenswood plant.

The possibilities were discussed in West Virginia newspapers at the time. But fabricating industries have not developed as they might have if there had been more enterprising men in the area.

Similarly there are opportunities here for the opening of plants to fabricate nickel, steel and plastics produced in and near Huntington. But there are few such operations even though the city is prospering from the payrolls of its big industries and from heavy shipments of coal.

The constant draining of people away from rural and small urban areas to the overcrowded cities is comparable to giving an overweight patient with high blood pressure one transfusion after another from an underweight victim of anemia.

The big patient has already suffered attacks similar to apoplectic strokes in the form of destructive riots. His well-being is further endangered by polluted air and water, increasing crime and the nerve strain of crowding, commuting and competing for advancement.

The rising costs of government and the increasing welfare load comparable to medical bills are forcing the patient to call for more and more aid.

The anemic patient, who represents the rural urban areas, lacks the means to provide the remedies for the symptoms or the basic causes of his trouble.

Under Secretary of Agriculture John A. Schnittker said in an address at Columbus, Ohio, some time ago:

"Rural towns that once flourished with manufacturing or as railroad centers are now stagnant or deteriorating aggregations of grocery stores, taverns, feed stores, filling stations, garages and empty buildings. They have lost their place in our modern economy."

For several years The Advertiser has been urging legislation to deal with the twin problems of the deterioration of towns and the festering of overcrowded cities.

Now riots and other troubles of the cities have forced themselves upon the attention of high federal officials. At the same time members of Congress and some members of the President's Cabinet have taken up the problems of rural America.

Remedies proposed to adjust the imbalance in which 70 per cent of the people live on one per cent of the land will be discussed in other editorials of this series.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser, Sept. 26, 1967]

Efforts Underway to Slow Drift of People to Cities

Several federal programs have been launched to help relieve poverty, create jobs, provide training for them, improve living conditions and in general offer a better life for both city and rural dwellers.

Such efforts should be continued, and some of them should be expanded to meet the needs of millions of disadvantaged people.

But while these remedies relieve some of the troubles, they do not sufficiently reduce the migration of people from the stagnant rural areas to the already crowded big cities. For that a more extensive effort is necessary.

The continuing flow of people from farms and rural towns to the congested big urban areas has been called by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman one of the most serious problems of our times.

For a penetrating study of possible solutions he has announced the sponsorship of a symposium by himself and five other Cabinet members in Washington next December. Eminent economists, sociologists, city planners and population specialists will attend.

Meanwhile, other officials have proposed attacks on the problem.

West Virginia's Democratic Sens. Jennings Randolph and Robert C. Byrd have joined in cosponsoring a rural development bill presented by Republican Sen. James B. Pearson of Kansas.

The measure proposes these tax incentives for attracting job-producing industries and commercial establishments to rural areas:

1. A 14 percent credit on machinery instead of the normal 7 per cent.

2. A 7 per cent investment credit on the cost of the building.

3. An accelerated depreciation of two-thirds on machinery, equipment and building.

4. A 25 per cent tax deduction above the normal 100 per cent for wages paid low-income persons.

Credits and deductions can be carried backward three years and forward 10 years.

A number of conditions are provided for the benefits. The firm must locate in a county that does not have a city of more than 50,000 population.

At least 15 per cent of the families of

the county must have incomes of under $3,000 a year, or employment must have declined at an annual rate of more than 5 per cent during the last five years.

Areas are included where the closing or curtailing of operations of a Defense Department installation is likely to cause a substantial removal of residents.

The secretary of agriculture may also certify the eligibility of Indian reservations after consulting with the secretary of the interior.

Another of the several additional requirements is that the employer must prove that he has not discontinued a similar enterprise and will not reduce the employment in any other area as a result of opening the new establishment.

Restrictions upon the areas in which the benefits would be effective would prevent the development of jobs that would attract many unemployed workers from the big cities.

But if it proved as effective as its sponsors hope, the measure would at least slow the removal of people from rural areas.

Possibly in time its provisions could be extended to encourage the opening of establishments offering work for which city dwellers could be trained and resettled.

Many depressed rural areas, such as those in much of Appalachia, however, are not suitable for extensive industrial development. The best hope of economic progress for the mountainous counties of eastern and southern West Virginia lies in the development of vacation and recreational facilities.

Dams, reservoirs, parks and forest reservations already existing or proposed in that region offer encouragement for building a great playground that would provide work for thousands.

Completion of the Interstate Highway system, Appalachian development roads and the Allegheny scenic highway proposed by Sen. Byrd would open those areas of rugged natural beauty for the enjoyment of millions from the steaming cities of the East and Middle West.

For full success of this development and others in the program of balanced economic growth of the nation, however, still faster transportation facilities will be necessary.

Business and industrial personnel will need jet plane service back and forth and rapid helicopter travel to and from regional airports. There will also be need for fast passenger trains that will carry automobiles.

The rural areas and small cities must have the means of providing theatres, libraries, playgrounds, better schools, regional colleges, swimming pools, golf courses, hospitals and other medical facilities.

There must be facilities to enable young people to develop their full potential for success and to enable them and their elders to travel quickly and frequently to the big cities for business or pleasure.

And these less populous areas must grant the full rights of citizenship and full opportunities for education, employment and advancement to all persons regardless of race or color.

The disadvantaged particularly should be urged to profit by their opportunities.

This should be done because it is right and just.

But besides that, encouraging the millions of low-income families throughout the country to qualify for a higher standard of living would bring a level of progress and prosperity never before approached.

The resultant wealth and harmony would give the nation a strength and respect in the world that it could never otherwise achieve.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser, Sept, 27, 1967]

STUDY PROPOSED AS BASIS FOR BALANCED U.S. GROWTH

A plan for an extensive study of means of achieving a better balance in the economic growth of the United States has been offered in a proposed joint resolution of Congress.

The measure was introduced in the Senate by Sen. Karl E. Mundt, R-S.D., for himself and 18 others, including Sen. Jennings Randolph, D-W. Va.

To carry out the study the resolution authorizes the President to appoint a commission of 20 members.

Four of the appointees would come from United States cities having a population of at least a million. Four would be from cities of between a million and 100 thousand population, four from those of between 100 and 10 thousand, and four from communities of less than 10 thousand.

The final four would be appointed for special qualifications to help carry out the work of the commission without regard to place of residence or political affiliation.

Not more than half of those chosen from cities or towns could be from the same political party.

The commission would make an analysis and evaluation of:

1. The social, political and economic factors that affect the geographical location of industry;

2. The social, political and economic factors necessary to enable industries to operate efficiently outside large urban centers or to operate and expand within large urban centers without the creation of new economic and social problems;

3. The limits imposed upon population density to enable municipalities or other political subdivisions to provide public services in the most efficient and effective manner;

4. The effect on government efficiency generally of differing patterns and intensities of population concentration;

5. The extent to which a better geographic balance in the economic development of the nation serves the public interest;

6. The role that state and local government can and should play in the economic development of a state or region; and

7. Practical ways in which federal expenditures can and should be managed to encourage a greater geographic balance in the economic development of the nation.

The study would also cover various ways by which the federal government might effectively encourage a more balanced economic growth.

The resolution requires that the study be completed and a report of findings and recommendations be submitted to the President and to Congress within two years after its effective date.

The commission and its authorized subcommittees and members are empowered to hold hearings. Departments and agencies of the executive branch of the government are directed to furnish any information the commission requests to help in carrying out its work.

The study would not be limited to the subjects specifically assigned. Experience gained as the work progressed would doubtless open new avenues of investigation.

The major purpose of the resolution seems to be to open the way for planning national economic growth to obtain a better balance.

The imbalance now existing between the troubled, overcrowded cities and the deterioriating rural areas gives abundant evidence of the need of such a program.

The possible benefits of national planning have been demonstrated also by the improvements brought about by city and area planning.

If a planning program had been in effect for the nation a generation ago, it could have prevented or alleviated many of the social and economic ills that challenge city, state and federal governments today.

But besides providing the basis for a planning program, the study can encourage general economic development by:

1. Stimulating community agencies to greater effort in attracting business and industry to rural towns and areas.

2. Encouraging smaller cities to join in regional development programs, as The Advertiser has been urging the Huntington and Charleston areas to do in providing a new airport midway between them.

3. Pointing out to progressive companies opportunities for locating branch operations in certain areas and supplying ideas for expanding various lines of production.

The commission might perform a distinct service by studying the benefits of locating railway operating offices at the most advantageous points along their lines.

This Tri-State Area is near the center of the origin of much of the coal hauled by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. It would thus seem to be a superior location for many of the company's offices.

Bringing more people here and providing faster service would tend to attract diversified industries to the area already highly favored by an abundance of fresh water and other resources such as coal, salt brines and natural gas.

Merger of the Norfolk & Western with the Chesapeake & Ohio-Baltimore & Ohio affiliation could open the way for the development of a great railway center here that would provide the stimulus for the growth of a much bigger metropolitan area.

Through such benefits of planned and speeded economic growth the sponsors of the resolution and the commission it established could become the architects for rebuilding the nation into a balanced new pattern that would assure all its people a fairer share of its great riches and would stand as a shining example of justice and wise management throughout the world.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser, Sept. 28, 1967]

NATIONAL PLANNING NEEDED TO BALANCE FUTURE GROWTH

The Federal government itself could set an example to private business and industry for bringing about a better balance in the nation's economic and population growth.

For several years The Advertiser has been advocating the creation of a national planning agency to make studies and recommendations for the location of new federal bases and installations and for the award of new space and defense contracts.

A short time ago the Republican party's National Coordinating Committee proposed in a five-point program that more government contracts and installations go to poor rural areas.

The five points were outlined in a New York Times News Service story to The Advistiser as follows:

1. Economic incentives for factories to locate in poor rural areas; channeling more government defense and supply contracts and building more installations in such areas.

2. Increased aid for schools, including more vocational-technical schools, in rural areas.

3. Enactment of the rural community action section of the opportunity crusade, the Republican alternative to the administration's antipoverty program.

4. Providing rural areas with the kind of employment service available to urban workers.

5. Stepping up the work of the economic development administration in poor rural areas to attract new industries.

Not only slowing but eventually reversing the migration from rural areas to big cities, as previous editorials in this series have pointed out, is necessary as an attack upon growing social and economic ills.

The need will become even more urgent as the population of the big cities increases. In recent years about four-fifths of the rapid population growth has been in the already congested cities, and much of that has been in the crowded, impoverished slums.

How this crowding can increase, with consequent complication of problems, is illustrated by predictions of future population gains.

The number of people in the nation reached 100,000,000 between the census of 1910 and that of 1920. The total in 1920 was 105,710,620. Within a few weeks the population is expected to reach 200,000,000.

The increase from 100,000,000 to 200,000,000 will thus require about 50 years. But forecasters say only about 30 years will be necessary to reach 300,000,000.

If the proportionate rate of growth in the big cities continues as it has in the last few years, the problem of financing an adequate war on poverty, pollution and congestion could become too great for solution.

But as great as this problem would be, the danger of cataclysmic destruction from a possible nuclear attack upon the major cities would be much more awesome.

These populous centers would be the first targets of enemy missiles. The fact that some of them are on the coasts would make them still easier to hit with missiles from submarines.

And the location of many of our defense facilities and essential production industries on the coasts would simplify the work of an enemy in destroying them.

The need of dispersing essential defense industries and installations was widely discussed during the destructive bombing of World War II.

Some European countries, notably Sweden, have built extensive underground facilities. We have concentrated even our defense research facilities on the coasts, the most vulnerable areas.

Locating new federal installations on the recommendations of a national planning agency could definitely strengthen national security.

In most cases it would probably also give the installations other advantages not available at spots chosen by congressional committee chairmen influenced by their constituents.

The threatened serious national water problem is another vital reason for efforts to reverse the migration to the big cities. The seriousness of this threat has been demonstrated by the water shortage that existed in New York and other cities of the Northeast.

Conditions during the long drought there gave ominous emphasis to the 1966 report of a Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution headed by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine.

One paragraph of the report said:

"Our withdrawal of water was 40 billion gallons per day in 1900. It will reach 450 billion gallons in 1970 and 650 billion gallons per day in 1980. The current estimate of usable fresh water in lakes, streams, and reservoirs is 650 billion gallons a day. We will soon reach the limit of our water supply, and because water demands will continue to rise in accordance with population increases and per capita use, it is clear that water needs can be met only by an immediate large-scale expansion of our water resources development program and by continued reuse of the available water supply. Unless pollution is controlled, water cannot be reused."

Dispersing the population to make better use of the available supply of water is important not only because of the growing household consumption but because of the great quantities essential for some industries.

Once the federal government demonstrated the importance of dispersing its bases and installations, private business and industry would doubtless be inclined to follow its examples, particularly if tax incentives were offered.

A policy of channeling government contracts into rural areas would also influence industries to locate there.

The factors cited in this series of editorials definitely seem to justify congressional approval of:

1. A bill providing tax incentives for the location of business and industry in rural areas;

2. A resolution for studies to provide the base for a better balance in economic growth;

3. A measure creating a national planning agency to make studies and recommendations for the location of government installations and contracts.

The serious conditions discussed call for prompt efforts to generate popular enthusiasm for planned progress that can bring such enormous benefits.

Serious troubles within the cities have already demonstrated that it may be much later than we think.

Allowing the influx of people from rural areas and towns to continue while middle-class residents leave the core of cities for the suburbs could make the problems impossible of solution.

That could bring on a hopeless era of violence and destruction even if fortune spared the jam-packed millions cremation in the flames of nuclear war.

EUGENE V. DEBS HOME AND EUGENE V. DEBS AWARD

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, last weekend another historical site was designated in the State of Indiana by a Department of Interior marker, and a great American, A. Philip Randolph, was honored at a related ceremony.

Our guest of honor for both these events was Stewart L. Udall, the Secretary of the Interior. I ask unanimous consent to print his remarks at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary Stewart L. Udall, at Presentation of Registered National Historic Landmark to Eugene V. Debs Home, Terre Haute, Ind., September 23, 1967

It is indeed a pleasure to be here today to take part in the ceremony officially designating the Eugene V. Debs Home as a Registered National Landmark.

In a way, it is rather remarkable that we are here at all.

As many of you know, it was only through the dedicated efforts of friends and admirers of Eugene Debs a few years ago, that this historic site was saved from destruction.

As recently as February, 1962, the Debs home was under private ownership. It was being cut up into two and three-room apartments, some of which already had been rented.

But the contractor who had purchased the home and was remodeling it, was persuaded to sell it for $9,500. Tilford E. Dudley, Director of the Speakers Bureau of the AFL–CIO, along with Professors Earl Stephanson and Howard D. Hamilton, of Indiana State College, wrote personal checks to cover the down payment.

They then took the leadership in forming the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, with Ned Bush, Terre Haute newspaperman, serving as Executive Vice President.

Contributions to the Foundation come in from labor leaders, unions, college professors and hundreds of admirers of Mr. Debs throughout the country. They made possible the purchase of the Home and the restoration we see today.

Under the leadership of President Pat Gorman and with the support of the distinguished officers and directors of the Foundation, I know that this restoration will be completed in the near future.

The certificate I present today to the Foundation testifies to the fact that the Debs Home possesses national significance of an historic nature, and that it retains its basic integrity as to original location and workmanship.

Before a building or site is designated by the Secretary of the Interior as a Registered National Historic Landmark, it must pass through a quite rigid screening process. The criteria for such a designation were established by the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and those who administer this program take their responsibility very seriously indeed.

This is apparent when you consider that less than 800 sites and structures throughout the United States have been found eligible for the program in the 32 years of its existence.

The fact that the Eugene V. Debs Home, which was dedicated only three years ago, so quickly won this official recognition is further testimony of its historical importance.

Today, with five of the eight rooms of the Home restored and furnished, and with hundreds of items, articles and memorabilia relating to his life on exhibit, the Home stands as a fitting memorial to the life of Eugene V. Debs.

Certainly there is no question as to the importance it played in the life of Mr. Debs. In 1889 he purchased the ground on which it stands. His wife, Katherine, designed the interior of the house, planning a fireplace in every room but one.

The young couple moved in when the house was completed in 1890, and it remained their home during his years of national prominence. Eventually, after the death of Mr. Debs in 1926 and of his wife 10 years later, the house passed into other hands. For a time it was a private residence, then a fraternity house until five years ago when it was rescued from the threat of being converted into an apartment building.

Much has been said and written about the life of this extraordinarily gifted man, Eugene V. Debs, who was in so many ways so far ahead of his time. There are at least three biographies and numerous scholarly efforts weighing the impact of the man upon his times and upon succeeding generations.

He was without doubt the father of industrial unionism in this country, although the concept was not firmly established until after his death. As a labor organizer his talents bordered on genius. Over a 20-year period he helped build the railway unions into a powerful economic force.

He was many things—writer, lecturer, passionate advocate of the underprivileged and the uneducated—the hero of millions of working people throughout the world, who looked to him to lead them out of their poverty and misery.

He didn't succeed completely, of course. But he never stopped trying. As Norman Thomas said of Debs when he dedicated this building three years ago: "His greatest contribution to mankind was his personality which found expression in his writing and speaking."

Many of the "radical" social reforms Eugene Debs advocated during his five losing campaigns for the Presidency have long since been adopted, and, indeed, are considered quite conservative today.

However, his vision of the society he so eloquently described—a society in which there is a brotherhood of races and nations living and working together in peace and prosperity—has not been realized.

Perhaps it never will be—at least in our lifetime. But it is terribly important that we keep that dream before us.

More than most men, Eugene Debs knew the eternal truth voiced by the Old Testament prophet who said: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Let us retain the vision of Eugene Debs.

REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR STEWART L. UDALL, AT THE DEBS FOUNDATION AWARD DINNER FOR A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, TERRE HAUTE, IND., SEPTEMBER 23, 1967

This afternoon it was my pleasure to present the officers of the Debs Foundation the certificate designating the Eugene V. Debs Home as a Registered National Historic Landmark.

Many of you here tonight were present at that ceremony, and I know you share with me a sense of gratitude to the officers of the Debs Foundation for the excellent job that has been done in restoring the Home to its original condition.

Pat Gorman, Foundation president, Ned Bush, the executive vice president, and the others certainly deserve congratulations.

Special notice should be taken, too, of the efforts of Tilford Dudley and Professors Earl Stephanson and Howard Hamilton, whose decisive action five years ago saved this historic building as a lasting memorial to the life and career of Eugene Debs.

There is much to admire and inspire in the career of this eloquent and passionate spokesman for the underprivileged and the oppressed.

I am, however, particularly fascinated by one audacious practice of Eugene Debs, the politician—and that was his practice of charging a small admission fee to those who came to hear his campaign speeches!

No other candidate of his time dared do this. But such was the eloquence of Eugene Debs that he often drew a larger crowd to his paid campaign rallies than his opponents were able to attract to a free event.

Even in the days before television this was a remarkable achievement, and I must confess it fills me with envy.

We are here tonight to honor A. Philip Randolph, a great American whose life has been in the tradition of Eugene Debs.

The citation of the 1967 Eugene V. Debs Award to Mr. Randolph states that he is a Labor Leader, Educator, Journalist, Civil Libertarian, Partisan of Peace, and Great American.

He is all of these and more. For many years, he has served as the unofficial conscience of the American labor movement. He holds unchallenged, the title "Dean of the Civil Rights Movement."

In preparing my remarks for this occasion I was struck with the many parallels between the lives of Eugene Debs and A. Philip Randolph—a fact that I am sure did not escape the attention of the Committee that selected him for this Award.

Both Mr. Debs and Mr. Randolph were to a large extent, self-educated.

In both, the drive for knowledge was so strong that through extensive reading they obtained a broader and deeper grasp of history, economics and government than most people who hold formal university degrees.

Both men were dedicated and skilled labor organizers, starting from scratch to build powerful and responsible unions of railroad workers.

Both Mr. Debs and Mr. Randolph abhorred violence, but both stood fast to their principles in the face of persecution and vilification.

Both sought, through the columns of their union newspapers, to educate their fellow workers to the need for collective action.

And both men extended their vision beyond the narrow confines of trade unionism to work for the broad social goals that would create a better America.

Finally, both men believed in achieving those goals—peacefully through the democratic processes—through education, persuasion, and the moral rightness of their cause.

This point, I believe, is worthy of some elaboration in the context of the violence of this past summer.

Long before the militants and extremists who command the headlines today were even born, A. Philip Randolph was waging a peaceful war on the status quo. For more than half a century he has pushed, prodded, pressured and persuaded America to move closer to the goals of equal opportunity, brotherhood, tolerance and economic justice.

And he has met with no small degree of success.

Let me cite just two examples, both of which bore the personal stamp of A. Philip Randolph—and both of which resulted in considerable progress.

The first occurred early in World War II, when Mr. Randolph became increasingly concerned with the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense plants. While on a trip through the South, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro march on Washington to dramatize this injustice and bring it to the attention of the American people.

So successful were his efforts in organizing this March throughout the country that it never was held. Instead, he was granted an audience with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which was allowed by issuance of the famous Executive Order 8802. This landmark action created the Fair Employment Practices Committee, and—even more important—established the fair employment practice concept in the American economy.

Twenty-one years later, in August 1963, Mr. Randolph was again the Director, organizer and moral force behind another March on Washington, which produced even more dramatic results.

It has been said that this 1963 March on Washington—which brought over a quarter of a million persons to the Nation's Capital to urge full citizenship for all Americans regardless of race, color or creed—was one of our Country's finest hours.

Certainly, that gathering on the Mall was a spiritual experience, as anyone who was there can testify. And certainly, too, it mobilized the Nation's conscience in a manner that made possible the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In his remarks to that gathering, which he described as the largest demonstration in the history of this Nation, Mr. Randolph said, and I believe his words are worth repeating here because they so accurately express his philosophy:

"Let the Nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom. . . .

"The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle, but a new beginning, not only for the Negro, but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life. . . .

"We here today are only the first wave. When we leave it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever-growing numbers until total freedom is ours."

In keeping with Mr. Randolph's longstanding convictions on the necessity for achieving social change through the democratic process, the A. Philip Randolph Institute was established in New York in 1965.

Working with the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, it is helping to recruit and tutor minority youth to enter apprenticeship programs in the New York building trades unions.

This program already has placed 250 young men and it is significant that the only two who dropped out, withdrew to enter college. So successful has this program been that it is now being expanded to other cities with the financial support of the Department of Labor.

This, I believe, is the direction in which true progress lies—the path we must walk toward the goals of brotherhood and economic justice.

I have mentioned earlier, the courage of A. Philip Randolph and his willingness to hold fast to his principles in the face of persecution and vilification, regardless of how unpopular they might be at the moment.

And so it came as no surprise when rioting, looting and burning erupted in the streets of America this past summer, that he would be among the first to denounce the violence.

Joining with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young, on July 26 of this year, he issued a statement that said in part:

"We who fought so long and hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress. Riots have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause, and to the entire nation.

"We call upon Negro citizens throughout the Nation to forgo the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean that we should submit tamely to joblessness, inadequate housing, poor schooling, insult, humiliation and attack. It does require a redoubling of efforts through legitimate means to end these wrongs and disabilities. . . .

". . . . we support President Johnson's call 'upon all of our people black and white alike in all our cities to join in a determined program to maintain law and order, to condemn and combat lawlessness in all its forms, and firmly to show by word and deed that riot, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated.' "

Events since those unhappy days have confirmed the judgment of these four leaders "that the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints" and that the primary victims of the rioting were the Negroes themselves.

The plain truth is they have had just the opposite effect—stiffening opposition of pending civil rights legislation and hardening resistance to President Johnson's programs to improve life in the cities, to eradicate poverty and injustice, and to enrich the educational opportunities for the young people of America.

There are those, of course, who were against these programs all along and welcomed the riots as a convenient excuse for continuing their opposition.

But the vast majority of Americans do believe in these programs to eliminate discrimination and to correct economic injustice.

They believe, however, that they should be achieved in an orderly and peaceful manner—through the democratic processes that have served this Nation since it was founded.

As our President, Lyndon Johnson, said in his 1963 Memorial Day address at Gettysburg—

"In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake—it is our nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision.

"The Negro says, 'Now.' Others say, 'Never.' The voice of responsible Americans—the voice of those who died here and the great man who spoke here—their voices say, 'Together.' There is no other way.

"Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact. To the extent that the proclamation of emancipation is not fulfilled in fact, to that extent we shall have fallen short of assuring freedom to the free."

And it is in this spirit—exemplified by the life and philosophy of A. Philip Randolph—that we will continue to make progress in the future.

LYNDON JOHNSON: THE URBAN PRESIDENT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I disagree with those who tell us that the Johnson administration is marching "backward" on its urban programs, and that the administration is not doing enough in its poverty program, or not training enough people for jobs.

The fact is that there was no manpower training program until a Democratic administration took office in 1961 and adopted the policy that it is important to train people for jobs, and that Government should have a major role in such training.

Under Democratic administrations a million Americans have received job training and retraining—a record the Republicans can only attack, but cannot match.

The opposition asserts that we are not doing enough to fight poverty.

Well, there is one fact that is indisputable. Seven years ago when a Democratic administration took office, there was no antipoverty program.

But, today, here is what we see under President Johnson's war against poverty:

Nine hundred thousand men and women have enrolled in Neighborhood Youth Corps across the land.

More than 200,000 talented but poor students are attending colleges this fall under educational opportunity grant programs.

Two million preschool children have already benefited from Project Headstart.

Federal aid to vocational education more than quadrupled since 1964.

The second summer of the President's youth opportunity campaign has resulted in over a million jobs being made available to 16- to 21-year-olds since April 1967 alone.

In toto, almost 10 million people have been reached by the antipoverty program to date.

This is the very program which Republicans have tried to dismantle.

It was the Republicans in the House of Representatives who just a few months ago so diminished the model cities program and the rent supplements program. Republicans in the House of Representatives also voted, almost to a man, to stall the Federal aid-to-education program.

This is the same Johnson-Democratic aid to education program which in its first year helped 8 million boys and girls get a better education, and which last year aided another 9 million poor school children.

The fact is that Lyndon Johnson believes in the resurgence of our cities, and that he and the Democratic Party have worked hard, and will continue to work hard, for the people in our cities.

The record shows the results. The people will judge it, and not be misguided by partisan statements.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virgina. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 548, Senate bill 2388.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. A bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 356

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding other motions now pending, it be in order for the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] to call up his amendment No. 356, out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered; and the amendment will be printed in the Record at this point.

The amendment offered by Mr. Prouty is as follows:

On page 126, after line 11, add the following new title:

"TITLE III—INVESTIGATION AND EVALUATION BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

"INVESTIGATION

"Sec. 301. The Comptroller General of the United States (hereinafter in this title referred to as the Comptroller General) is authorized and directed to make an investigation in sufficient depth of programs and activities financed in whole or in part by funds authorized under section 2 of this Act, in order to determine—

"(1) the efficiency of the administration of such programs and activities by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by local public and private agencies carrying out such programs and activities; and

"(2) the extent to which such programs and activities achieve the objectives set forth in the relevant part or title of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorizing such programs or activities.

"REPORTS

"Sec. 302. The Comptroller General shall make such interim reports as he deems advisable and shall transmit his final report to the Congress not later than February 1, 1969. Such final report shall contain a detailed statement of his findings and conclusions together with such recommendations, including recommendations for additional legislation, as he deems advisable.

"POWERS OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

"Sec. 303. (a) The Comptroller General or, on the authorization of the Comptroller General, any officer of the General Accounting Office may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this title, hold such hearings, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places as he deems advisable. Any officer designated by the Comptroller General may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Comptroller General or such designated officer.

"(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed to furnish to the Comptroller General, upon request made by him, such information as he deems necessary to carry out his functions under this title.

"(c) The Comptroller General is authorized—

"(1) to appoint and fix the compensation of such staff personnel as he deems necessary without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, and

"(2) to procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $50 a day for individuals.

"(d) The Comptroller General is authorized to enter into contracts with Federal or State agencies, private firms, institutions, and individuals for the conduct of research or surveys, the preparation of reports, and other activities necessary to the discharge of his duties under this title.

"AUTHORIZATION

"Sec. 304. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment directs the Comptroller General to make an investigation of all programs financed in whole or in part by Economic Opportunity Act funds.

This amendment specifies that the Comptroller General's investigation shall be in sufficient depth to determine, first, the efficiency of the administration of such programs by OEO and by local public and private agencies, including the questions of duplication of effort and overlapping of functions among Federal agencies; and, second, the extent to which such programs are achieving the objectives outlined as the intent of Congress in initially authorizing them under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Comptroller General is authorized to enter into contracts with Federal or State agencies, private firms, institutions, or individuals for the performance of such activities as he deems necessary to discharge his investigative duties. He is also given the discretion to hold hearings for purposes of taking testimony, and all Government agencies are directed to furnish, upon request, any necessary information.

Interim reports are required to be submitted to Congress as the Comptroller General deems available, but he is directed to submit a final report to Congress not later than February 1, 1969, containing a detailed statement of his findings and conclusions, together with recommendations, including recommendations for additional legislation.

This investigation will be truly representative of all aspects of the war on poverty, and should be equally concerned with the implementation of these programs in rural areas as it is in urban or city areas.

I consider this amendment as perhaps the most important one to be offered in terms of insuring the long-term success of the war on poverty.

I am happy to say that the distinguished Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], has agreed to accept the amendment.

With that statement, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont is correct that I have as reluctantly agreed to accept the amendment as he has reluctantly agreed to cooperate in certain other areas.

My reasons for agreeing to accept the amendment I should like to state briefly for the record, because my position represents a change over what I thought was the proper thing to do earlier this year right on down to the present time.

The Senator will recall that at the time the Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment, and Poverty sought funds from the Committee on Rules and Administration, and from the Senate to conduct the inquiry, evaluation in depth, investigation—whatever we wish to call it—the Republican members of the subcommittee urged very strongly that most of the funds we have obtained from Congress should be devoted to contracting with a private management firm in the free enterprise sector of the economy to make what our Republican friends felt would be an impartial and businesslike investigation of the poverty program. We on the Democratic side felt that it was part of the legislative process and part of our duty as members of the subcommittee to conduct our own inquiry, our own investigation, and we therefore rejected the position of the minority. We did, however, retain, with the money which was voted for us, seven consultants, experts in the area covered by the poverty program, to make evaluations and reports to us on conditions in the several regions into which the OEO has divided its administrative operations.

Those reports were received and filed. I believe they were useful. They have certainly influenced me with respect to the position I have taken with respect to this bill, though it should be noted that those evaluations were independent of the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act.

Nevertheless, I think my friends on the other side of the aisle from me remained unconvinced. I deplore it, but they do remain unconvinced that the study of the subcommittee was adequately objective, and they still remain convinced that an impartial investigation, outside the area of the subcommittee, needs to be made.

I still think it does not, but I think it is most important that we should minimize partisanship in this area; that we should, wherever possible, attempt to seek agreement between differing points of view.

I believe the suggestion made by the Senator from Vermont is perhaps—I use the word "perhaps" advisedly—a happy compromise between those conflicting views. That is because the Comptroller General is historically an agent of Congress. He is a part of the legislative branch of Government. True, he is appointed for a long term by the President of the United States, but I believe the precedents are clear that the Comptroller General is an arm of the Congress, an agency of the Congress.

Therefore, when the Senator's amendment proposes to turn this investigation of the poverty program over to the Comptroller General, he is, in effect, saying the Congress retains this legislative power of oversight, but, instead of delegating it exclusively to a legislative subcommittee, will share that responsibility of oversight of the program with another arm of the Congress, the Comptroller General.

I have great respect for the Comptroller General. I think he is impartial and able and has a good staff. Therefore, largely because I would like to have the minority believe that we in the majority do pay careful heed to their recommendations and their suggestions in this whole field, I am prepared to accept the amendment and take it to conference; and, indeed, to press it on our friends in the House when we get to conference.

That is about all I care to say about the Senator's proposal. I, therefore, accept the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am very grateful to my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania. I assure him, as I have in the past, that it is not my intent to sabotage this program in any way. I agree fully that the Comptroller General is perhaps the most desirable agency to conduct a study of this nature. I am sure it will be objective. I am sure it will be most helpful to all of us who serve on the committee.

My only concern with the investigation which has been procured by the committee is that it does not have the numerical personnel or sufficient money to do the job which I think should be done.

I am grateful to the Senator for accepting the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield briefly?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I take it the Senator will agree with me that by authorizing the Comptroller General to make this investigation, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and its Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, does not in any way waive the investigative and oversight functions which we presently have with respect to this program.

Mr. PROUTY. No, it does not. I think it is most important that we continue to have it.

Mr. President, I am ready for a vote on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 351

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, notwithstanding the fact that other motions are pending, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to call up amendment No. 351 out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered, and the clerk will state the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendments (No. 351).

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendments be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments (No. 351) are as follows:

On page 16, line 10, strike the words "The Director shall seek to" and insert in lieu thereof the words: "The Secretary of Labor shall".

On page 17, line 7, change the period after the word "offices" to a comma and add the following: "and shall furnish copies of such records to the Secretary of Labor."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, as I mentioned in my remarks on Monday, I had several amendments adopted in committee which improve the effectiveness and recordkeeping of the Job Corps.

Amendment No. 351 proposes wording in the bill which provides that records kept by the organization in the placement of members of the Job Corps be placed with the Secretary of Labor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator asking that the amendments be considered en bloc?

Mr. PROUTY. Yes, Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, these are simply clarifying amendments.

I understand that the distinguished floor manager of the bill has no objection to them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments en bloc.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the pending amendment makes, I think, a useful change in the present law. We discussed this subject in committee and agreed on language slightly different from that proposed by the Senator from Vermont in the present amendment.

I ask my friend from Vermont if I am correct that the purport of this amendment is to make it possible to send to whatever agency appears to be most sensible under the circumstances the last paycheck of a member of the Job Corps, but to assure that the Secretary of Labor has at all times copies of such correspondence or records. Is that correct?

Mr. PROUTY. That is the sole purpose of the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. I think it is a useful amendment. I am prepared to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to en bloc.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the acting majority leader agreed to unanimous consent to set aside the pending business, seriatim, so the Senator from Vermont could continue to propose amendments.

AMENDMENT NO. 352

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the fact that other motions are pending, the distinguished junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] may be permitted to call up amendment No. 352 out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will state the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment (No. 352).

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the amendment is short, and I would like to have it read to be sure I understand it.

Mr. PROUTY. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment (352), as follows:

On page 30, line 11, add the following new sentence at the end of subsection (c): "In the case of programs under subsection (a) (1) of this section, financial assistance may be provided directly to local or State educational agencies to carry out such programs in accordance with policies, procedures, and requirements covered by existing agreements between the Director and the Secretary of Labor providing for the delegation to the Secretary of Labor of the Director's authority with respect to such programs."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, my amendment No. 352, in effect, formalizes a practice which is presently being carried out by the Secretary of Labor. That practice is that the Secretary of Labor has authority to pay funds for the operation of in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps programs directly to local or State educational agencies.

I believe, Mr. President, that it is obvious why the in-school neighborhood youth program is presently and should be funded by direct payments to the local or State educational agency. The very nature of the program is such that it is most properly run by the State or local educational systems.

It is my understanding that the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania is prepared to accept this proposal also.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, again my understanding is—and I ask the Senator from Vermont for confirmation—that this amendment merely puts into legislation what is currently the existing practice of the office. Is that correct?

Mr. PROUTY. That is exactly what it would do.

Mr. CLARK. There has been some discussion within the committee as to the extent to which it is desirable to legislate administrative practices. Generally speaking, I believe there ought to be a great deal of flexibility reserved to the Director of OEO so that, as conditions change, administrative regulations can change, and indeed the whole area of the organization of programs can change to meet changing conditions.

However, the Senator from Vermont and a number of other Senators feel very strongly about the desirability of writing this particular provision into the law, and since it does comply with existing practice, and to me is quite unobjectionable, I am prepared to accept the amendment.

I had been of the view that perhaps the Senator would modify his amendment; but as I heard it read, I understood it was just the way it had been printed.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I just noticed that I did not send the modified amendment to the desk, as I had intended. I do so now.

Mr. CLARK. May we have it read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The modified amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 34, line 11, insert the following new sentence at the end of subsection (c): "In the case of programs under subsection (a) (1) to this section, financial assistance may be provided directly to local or State educational agencies pursuant to agreements between the Director and the Secretary of Labor providing for the operation of such programs under direct grants or contracts."

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the amendment as modified, I believe, is an improvement over the original version. Therefore, I am prepared to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, notwithstanding other motions that are pending, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] be permitted to call up an amendment out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Has this amendment been printed?

Mr. PROUTY. No, it has not.

Mr. CLARK. Does the Senator have a copy which I could follow?

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment of Mr. PROUTY is as follows:

On page 19, between lines 14 and 15, insert the following new subsection:

"(h) Title VI of such Act is amended by adding the following new section after section 618:

"'RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOLLOWTHROUGH PROGRAM

"'SEC. 619. Pursuant to section 602(d), the Director shall delegate his functions under section 221(b) (2) to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and such functions shall be carried out through the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.'"

On page 91, strike out line 15 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(i) Title VI of such Act is further amended by—".

On page 55, line 22, insert the following at the end of the sentence: "Funds for such program shall be transferred directly from the Director to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Financial assistance for such projects shall be provided by the Secretary on the basis of agreements reached with the Director directly to local educational agencies except as otherwise provided by such agreements."

On page 54, line 22, strike the word "subsection" and insert the following: "subsections (b) (2) and".

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum so that I may have an opportunity to inspect the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this amendment transfers the followup program to the Office of Education. It does so by providing that the director of OEO shall delegate his functions to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. President, under the committee bill, primary responsibility for administering the Followthrough program was given to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to fund the program directly through community action agencies. This was so despite the understanding between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Secretary of HEW which specifically spells out that grants would be made directly to local educational agencies, and administered by the Commissioner of Education.

My amendment simply restores the status quo.

It is again by understanding that the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania is prepared to accept the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as I understand it—and I ask the Senator from Vermont whether or not by understanding is correct—the purpose of this amendment is to transfer the Followthrough program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education.

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct, in accordance with an agreement which they already have.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is attempting to write into the legislation the administrative procedures which are presently in effect.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CLARK. I am not happy about this amendment, although I have agreed to accept it.

I believe that the Followthrough program still needs the watchful eye of the OEO. I would like the RECORD to show that the reason for creating the Followthrough program was that a substantial volume of evidence was accumulating indicating that in a number of areas of the country the young children, mostly 3 and 4 years of age but some of them 5 years of age, who had benefited enormously from the Headstart program, both the yearlong Headstart program and the summer Headstart program, were falling back when they got to the first grade or even kindergarten in the public school system and losing the benefits which they had attained from attending Headstart.

For that reason the OEO instituted the Followthrough program and retained control over it in order to assure that steps would be taken, which were not all educational by any means at all, to see that these youngsters held the gains they had made under Headstart.

It is true that for administrative purposes Followthrough has been delegated to the Office of Education. Nevertheless, there are many school boards and school districts in this country which are still allergic to the Headstart program and will, I fear, be allergic to Followthrough.

It does not follow, of course, because a program is delegated to the Office of Education that it need necessarily go from the Office of Education to the school board at the local level. Nor is it essential, I take it, with respect to the noneducational features of Headstart which involve medical and dental services and public health services and the bringing of the parents into the program to give them a little adult education so that they will be better equipped to handle their children when they come home, that it necessarily follows that all of this has to be abandoned.

I do not share the disillusionment of some Senators with the Office of Education. I think it is well run. I have very high regard for Mr. Harold Howe, the Commissioner of Education.

I could have wished that we could have retained flexibility so that if it turned out in certain areas of the country that the Office of Education was not having the appropriate impact on the local school system—for various reasons including racial—that OEO could step in, as it did with the Headstart program in Mississippi, and see to it that an appropriate Followthrough program is carried on outside the formal bureaucratic structure of the local boards of education.

We must remember that this Followthrough, starting with the kindergarten and first grade children, is still getting these youngsters at a very young age.

I would think that in many areas it would be desirable for Followthrough to remain in the end under the jurisdiction of the OEO if that agency felt the school system in the particular area was not capable of handling it. However, I would like to suggest, as a matter of legislative history, and I wonder if the Senator from Vermont will agree with me, that the Commissioner of Education should be advised that it is the intent of Congress to be very sure, indeed, that the local school system, the local principal, and the local school board are sympathetic to the Follow Through program before he undertakes to make funds available to carry on this program in a school district which may well be philosophically opposed to the whole system.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I think that is highly desirable. I certainly hope that the Commissioner would make very certain that a school would intend to carry out the program effectively, efficiently, and without any discrimination whatever.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator for his concurrence in the views I have expressed.

Under those circumstances, I call the attention of Mr. Howe and his successors to this colloquy, and I am prepared to accept the amendment.

(At this point, Mr. BYRD of Virginia assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I should like to address myself to the pending question as it pertains to the transfer of part of the program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, perhaps since the Senator from Vermont and I appear to be on the same side, I might be able to satisfy some of the doubts of the Senator.

Mr. HARTKE. I point out that I am basically in sympathy with the approach taken. I think it is a good amendment. I think we ought to put our house in order. However, it puts us in a sort of ridiculous position to take the Headstart program and insist on the one hand that it must be kept in the Office of Economic Opportunity and then take the program of carry through and say that this——

Mr. CLARK. Followthrough.

Mr. HARTKE. I should like the Senator from Pennsylvania to know that I am very much interested in all these programs. I disagree with him as to how they are being handled, and I disagree with the procedures by which we are trying to get some of the work done.

The mere fact that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would have jurisdiction of this program, for jurisdiction over the program of Operation Headstart, would not mean that they necessarily had to be carried through to the school systems all over the country if the school systems would not perform.

I believe the Senator will have to agree that what you are doing is duplicating governmental services. This would in effect provide for no elimination of duplication because all it would do would be to transfer from one administrative agency to another the operation of one of the programs that is before the country.

In good conscience, it certainly appears to me that since we have had a rollcall vote upon the question of Operation Headstart, this other program, Followthrough or Carry Through—what is the name of it?

Mr. CLARK. Followthrough. If the Senator will think about his golf game, he will get it right.

Mr. HARTKE. I am not a golfer. I am a basketball player.

The operation of Followthrough should be accorded the same right to have it nailed in or nailed out by rollcall vote.

I would respectfully suggest, if the Senator from Vermont were here, that he should give consideration to that fact.

I am hopeful that somehow it could appear that the entire Senate is heading in the same direction, that we are not going off in two directions at one time—that is, eliminating Headstart and putting Followthrough into the same category that the Senate voted against doing with respect to Operation Headstart.

Mr. CLARK. If I may say a word in support of my Republican colleagues, Senators PROUTY and JAVITS, the Senator from Indiana has a good deal of basic logic on his side in the comments he just made. However, I believe that when you get down to the grassroots and the actual administration of the program, the Senator might be prepared to concede that the logic is somewhat afflicted by having been evolved in a vacuum.

The fact is that Headstart was initiated as a poverty program largely because the school systems all across the country were not doing their business. They were not doing anything to see that the children from poverty-stricken families were given the preliminary and very simple educational, medical, public health, and other instruction and treatment which was necessary, when they got to the first grade, if they were to be able to keep up with those of their same age group.

The local school boards were not doing that, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, with what I think was great wisdom and with a great sense of initiative, undertook to create Headstart. I am one of those who believe that in due course Headstart should be transferred to the Office of Education. At present, Headstart has been delegated to the local school boards in approximately one-third of the programs during the wintertime and two-thirds during the summer. This is the point at which the situation becomes a little complicated, and I ask the Senator to acknowledge the existence of the complications. It is much easier for a school board to run a Headstart program in the summer, when school is not in session, than it is in the winter, when the classrooms and the teachers are occupied in taking care of the children in the first twelve grades.

The fact that Headstart has been delegated to the schools already to the extent of two-thirds in the summer and one-third in the winter is some indication of a gradual transition from a new program evolved by a new agency, which was asked to pitch in and plan well, to a more established bureaucracy at the local level. In a couple of years, in my opinion, the time will come to put all of Headstart into the school boards. In the meantime, the Office of Education might have acquired some adult education itself.

When you move over to Followthrough, you find that the school boards are now approximately where they were with respect to Headstart two and a half years ago, except that since many of the Followthrough children are in the first grade and many school boards now conduct a kindergarten, the school boards have primary jurisdiction over these children, anyway.

The thought was to hold the money and standards in the OEO, in order, frankly, to put the match to the feet of the school boards to see that they did the job properly.

I, for one, would agree with the Senator from Indiana that perhaps this amendment is a little premature; we should keep Followthrough in the OEO, although delegated to the school board for another year or two. When you let the school boards run it, you avoid all the administrative duplication. But what you do is hold onto the purse strings and assure that where a school board is not doing the job it should, you will be able to take the money away from them, and OEO can run the program directly.

However, since the Director of OEO is perfectly willing to write into the law the present administrative practice, and since the Senator from Vermont and his colleagues on the minority in the committee feel very strongly about this matter, I am perfectly willing to accept their amendments. I do not see any logical inconsistency. It appears that way on the surface, but I do not believe there is any inconsistency.

So far as the rollcall vote is concerned, if the Senator from Indiana insists on a rollcall vote, I shall cooperate with him. But I wish to point out that a rollcall vote this afternoon—and this is the understatement of the day—might embarrass a number of our colleagues who, for various reasons, usually in the public interest, were of the view yesterday, rightly or wrongly, that we would have no rollcall votes this afternoon.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from Indiana has the floor.

Mr. HARTKE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I believe I should say, on behalf of the majority leader, that the statement by the Senator from Pennsylvania, to the effect that Senators might be embarrassed in the event there were a rollcall vote this afternoon, is a statement for which I am sure the Senator from Pennsylvania takes full responsibility.

Mr. CLARK. If the Senator will yield, I certainly do. But I have had a look at the list of absent Senators.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, so have I. But the majority leader has not put out this word. The leadership has not put it out. The leadership has indicated to all Senators who have inquired that there may be rollcall votes this afternoon. I wish to make that position clear. There may be rollcall votes this afternoon, and the leadership hopes there will be.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARTKE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. May I say to the Senator from Indiana that I am in complete accord with what the Senator from West Virginia has said. But the ball is in the corner of the Senator from Indiana. If he desires to call for a rollcall vote this afternoon and can get sufficient Senators to the floor to order the yeas and nays, I certainly shall not stand in his way.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the leadership will cooperate in getting sufficient Senators to the floor, if the Senator from Indiana wishes to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournment until 12 noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been requested. Is there a sufficient second? There is not a sufficient second.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, is the matter still open for debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator withdraw his request?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, with the understanding that I will not be precluded from offering this amendment on Monday, I withdraw the amendment at the present time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, perhaps there should be an informal ruling from the Chair that the Senator is not prejudiced in any right to offer this amendment on Monday next, or any other day, when the bill is up for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment would be in order at the proper time on Monday or any other day while the bill is still before the Senate, and there is no preferential amendment or motion pending.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, that is, the bill has to be before the Senate.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] have full authority to offer the amendment which was withdrawn prior to a vote on anything relating to title II; namely, the motion to send to committee with instructions, so that his rights will be fully preserved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Does the Senator include the second of the pending motions, the motion to strike title II?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Only the first. Only one motion is pending at present.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. But there are two motions.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That is right.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Before either motion could be voted on——

Mr. DIRKSEN. If that is the desire of the distinguished Senator from Vermont, I shall be glad to include both motions.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Does the distinguished minority leader wish to specify that the Prouty amendment, when it is resubmitted, will be the same amendment which has just been withdrawn?

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Illinois is agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois has the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield to me, so that I may ask a question of the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I am perhaps mistaken, but I thought the Senator from West Virginia had withdrawn the motion to strike and then filed a motion to recommit.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. No; that is not correct.

Mr. CLARK. Then will the Senator explain what the difference is? It seems to me that the two motions are practically identical; are they not?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. No. As to the final result, they would be identical, but for procedural purposes the thought of the Senator from West Virginia was that it would be best to have a second motion to strike title II in the event the first motion was not agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from West Virginia, of course, is entirely within his rights. It occurs to me, as a pragmatic and practical matter, that there is little, if any, difference between the two motions. That is, of course, my personal opinion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. We set aside an earlier motion on which agreement was entered into. At least, the yeas and nays were ordered on yesterday. Will the Chair now advise the Senate what motion was it that was temporarily set aside?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say to the Senator from Illinois that there was proposed a unanimous-consent request but it was not actually entered into.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The pending motions were never set aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Senator from West Virginia has asked unanimous consent, in each instance that, notwithstanding the fact that there were motions pending before the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] be allowed to proceed out of order to bring up certain amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What is the present business of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that one motion to strike title II was offered after which a motion to recommit with instructions to report forthwith was called up. The motion to recommit takes precedence over the motion to strike.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Then, Mr. President, the motion to recommit is the pending business of the Senate; is that not correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That takes care of that.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CURRICULAR AMENDMENTS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare I am supporting the distinguished floor manager of the bill in trying to pass in the Senate a measure which, because of the care and thought that was given to it in the committee stage and on the floor, will survive the test of conference to become law, substantially as it passes this body.

I want to pay tribute to the able senior Senator from Pennsylvania for the consideration he gave to proposals offered in committee on certain aspects of the proposed legislation.

As an example of the type of thoughtful consideration that was given, I direct attention to sections 243(4); 243(6); and 224(d)(2) of S. 2388. The discussion of this language is to be found on pages 54 to 55 and 60 to 61 of Senate Report No. 563.

What I now say to the Senate is in the nature of legislative history on this language, and upon conclusion of my statement I shall appreciate hearing the comments of the floor manager of the bill on whether my summary of the committee report language is his understanding of the situation and reflects the intent of the committee.

The availability of financial assistance from the Office of Economic Opportunity to assist in the education of the poor has raised a number of questions as to the relationships which are to be established with the U.S. Office of Education and with State educational agencies and local schools. A number of persons in the education community have expressed concern about the role of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In order to clarify this question I offered, and the committee accepted, three amendments designed to delineate the respective responsibilities of the two agencies. For the purposes of legislative history I would like to explain the theory upon which the delineation is based and to explain intent of the committee with regard to the amendments. Present law clearly prohibits community action program assistance for general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system. The committee amended this provision to limit financial assistance in the educational field to such noncurricular educational services as special health, remedial, and welfare services. Nothing in the bill would expand the present authority of the Office of Economic Opportunity with regard to curricular education.

This limitation must be viewed in light of the fact that there are other funds available for the education of disadvantaged children. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes about $2.4 billion for programs for educationally deprived children. Funds from the Economic Opportunity Act are not to be used to duplicate or compete with programs funded under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The coordination language in title VI is designed to insure that Federal programs be carried out efficiently and without duplication. In no case can community action funds be used to support a school program which competes with the public schools.

Community action funds may be used to make the services of school social workers and psychologists, nurses and doctors, speech therapists, and education specialists—such as remedial reading specialists—available to poor children when such children have a special need for those services. However, those funds may not be used to hire teachers or instructional personnel for schools.

The role of the Office of Education in the Nation's education program may be described as one of increasing educational opportunities by improving the quality of education offered by school systems as institutions. The Economic Opportunity Act is designed to increase opportunities for poor children. This necessarily involves improving educational services. The institutional approach of the Federal education programs and the individual approach of the antipoverty legislation converge in improving the educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. If duplication is to be avoided and if efficiency and coordination are to be attained, a distinction must be drawn where the two approaches meet—with the child. Poverty programs are intended to supplement education programs and therefore are limited to noncurricular educational services. For the purposes of this program curricular education, as distinguished from noncurricular educational services, should be defined as those aspects of education which are offered as part of the normal school program in the area to be served. I offered and the committee accepted three amendments which are designed to insure that, first, Federal, State, and local education programs and the community action programs will be mutually complementary and will not be duplicative or competitive; and second, Federal support of educational institutions will continue to be within the purview of the Office of Education. These amendments provide:

First, that, educational services provided with community action program funds will be noncurricular in nature;

Second, that, in extending such educational services, there will be maximum use of the services and facilities of the Office of Education and State and local educational agencies; and

Third, that, where a public school offers educational services which can be expanded or adapted to meet more effectively the educational needs of poor children and the purposes for which assistance is being extended under the community action program, that school's services will be utilized in providing the extended assistance.

The administration and funding of the followthrough program has also been subject to question. The Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Education have initiated a pilot followthrough program which is being administered by the Office of Education on the basis of a memorandum of understanding between the two agencies. The memorandum provides that funds authorized by title II of the Economic Opportunity Act and delegated to the Office of Education are to be used for grants to local educational agencies for followthrough projects. The Commissioner grants funds directly to local educational agencies. The committee bill has drawn up more explicit guidelines for the administration of all community action programs. Generally, all such programs within a community will operate under the general sponsorship of the community action agency for the community. The general change made in the funding of community action programs will not alter the basic operation and funding mechanism of the followthrough program. Local educational agencies will submit applications through the appropriate community action agency which will forward the application to the Office of Education. Final approval rests solely with the Commissioner, subject to the conditions of the memorandum of understanding with OEO.

Nothing in the amendment would require a change in the memorandum of understanding between the two agences.

PRINTING ERROR

I want to point out that there was a printing error in the committee report. On page 61 of the report in the second paragraph, the fourth sentence was garbled in the printing of the report. It should read:

> The institutional approach of the Federal education programs and the individual approach of the antipoverty legislation converge in improving the educational opportunities for disadvantaged children.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the statement by the Senator from Oregon correctly reflects the interest of the committee. It is our view that efforts of community action agencies should complement and not duplicate the work of schools and other community agencies. Moreover, funds appropriated under the Economic Opportunity Act should not be used for curricular education but should be limited to special health, remedial, welfare, and other noncurricular services.

An illustration of remedial services which would not duplicate in-school programs are special tutoring programs, such as those operating in store fronts and neighborhood centers with financial assistance under the community action program. In many communities these and related programs support and supplement the on-going school programs in poverty areas.

REPORT ON VISIT TO TEXAS WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO INSPECT HURRICANE DAMAGE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Thursday, September 28, I accompanied the President of the United States to Texas on Air Force 1 for the Presidential inspection of flood-damaged areas of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

In addition to the Presidential staff, the President was accompanied on this tour of inspection by my colleague in the Senate, Senator JOHN TOWER, the Governor of Texas, Congressmen ELIGIO DE LA GARZA, and KAZEN, of Texas, and the outgoing Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, Farris Bryant.

The President landed at Harlingen, Tex., where he inspected the refugee camps of the refugees from the flood waters of Arroyo Colorado, who were sleeping in public buildings. He made numerous inquiries as to the extent of the care provided for the refugees.

We then traveled by helicopter to Rio Grande City, Starr County, where the President inspected the food kitchen operations, where thousands and thousands of homeless refugees from both the United States and Mexico are being furnished food, and inspected the temporary hospitals set up in the schools of Rio Grande City to care for refugees from the flood who had become ill and were being cared for medically. The President then returned by helicopter to Harlingen, Tex.

The Governor of Texas had handed the President a request that 24 south Texas counties be declared an emergency disaster area. On the return to Harlingen, Tex., in a public announcement Thursday afternoon, September 28, 1967, the President of the United States declared those 24 south Texas counties an emergency disaster area.

The President, immediately upon the request from the Governor of Texas, moved with dispatch and with immediacy and with a sense of urgency and with a sensitivity of the needs of the people there, to the distress suffered by the people in this great area, where a million people reside and where hundreds of thousands are homeless in Texas and Mexico.

I commend the President of the United States for his personal attention to the flood-ravaged areas of Texas, and for the dispatch and speed with which he declared this to be a disaster area, immediately upon the legal right flowing to him to declare this a disaster area.

The President immediately made available $2½ million of the President's emergency disaster relief fund for emergency disaster relief, on the preliminary figures by the officials involved. Twenty million dollars was the preliminary estimate of the emergency disaster relief that would be required in this Hurricane Beulah disaster in Texas; and in their statements to the President, made on Air Force 1 en route to the Lower Rio Grande Valley, they said that this was a beginning, that the emergency disaster relief expense would be higher in the long run.

Mr. President, this makes the action of the U.S. Senate on Thursday, September 21, 1967, in adding $10 million to the Bureau of the Budget's estimated $15 million needed for emergency disaster relief for fiscal year 1967, a very necessary action.

With $20 million being the first estimated needs for emergency disaster relief in the wake of Hurricane Beulah in Texas, and with the officers of the Office Emergency Planning and the State both stating that this was only a beginning, that the expense would be higher than that, the addition of the $10 million by amendment on the floor of the Senate September 21, bringing the total appropriations for this fund to $25 million, was urgently needed. The Senate acted with great vision in adding $10 million.

It also points up the recognition by the Senate of the real problem when the leaders in the Senate on September 21 stated that additional funds could be added in the supplemental appropriation toward the close of this year's session of the Congress.

I thank my colleagues in the Senate for the unanimous action by which the $10 million was added to the President's emergency disaster relief fund. My 3-day inspection in Texas on Sunday, September 24, Monday, September 25, and Tuesday, September 26, and my return to Texas with the President from Washington on Thursday, September 28, convinced me that the $20 million will not be sufficient to pay all the public damage payable out of the President's emergency disaster relief fund, caused by the monumental Hurricane Beulah, which did an estimated $1 billion in damage in Texas alone.

Mr. President, I am also grateful for the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee on Thursday morning, September 28, shortly before the presidential plane left Washington for the Rio Grande Valley, in adding $1 million to the appropriation for the Army engineers for emergency work, looking to the rehabilitation of the intercoastal canal, the Corpus Christi ship channel, the Brownsville ship channel, and the other navigation facilities constructed by the Corps of Engineers in the area along the Texas gulf coast damaged by Hurricane Beulah. This, too, was a preliminary estimate. The chairman of the Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee, the Honorable ALLEN ELLENDER, senior Senator from Louisiana, stated that, on his communication with the Army Engineers, they had stated that this $1 million would not be sufficient to rehabilitate the navigation facilities of the area—it was a beginning.

I am grateful to the Senate Appropriations Committee for moving with such great alacrity and dispatch and understanding in making this $1 million available as soon as the appropriations can be passed through both Houses.

I have today addressed a letter to the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, which reads as follows:

> DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The past weeks have been especially difficult ones for the people of the Rio Grande Valley. The immediate job will be to restore community services to normal. After that the big clean up will begin. Undoubtedly many people who have lost their normal jobs will be utilized in this clean up operation. However, when that is finished the hundreds of individuals who earned their livelihood on the farms of the

> Rio Grande Valley, which have been devastated, will have no place to turn. The people who would harvest the crops which have been lost very likely will have no work, no money, and no place to turn for help. The time to think of their prospective plight is now.

I have heard from operators of canning factories who have told me they would not be able to undertake their normal canning operations because of the hurricane damage and that therefore there will be thousands of jobs lost.

I continue reading from the letter:

> You recently announced that a number of workers would be allowed into California from Mexico in order to help harvest the crops. On Thursday September 28, 1967, Senator Murphy of California remarked on the floor of the Senate:
>
> "California agriculture is today in a desperate state. I am advised that our farmers as of now need at least 3,700 pickers for tomatoes and grapes, and that this number will increase by at least 1,500 within a week."
>
> Would it not be wonderful for California, for the farm workers in Texas who have lost their customary employment, and for the country that needs this food production if some way could be found to use the farm workers presently homeless and unemployed in the Rio Grange Valley to harvest the crops in California. This would not only help California and the Texas workers but would also make unnecessary the additional importation of foreign labor in order to harvest the California crops.
>
> As Chairman of the Labor Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare I stand ready to take any action you may recommend which will have the effect of getting jobs for these people whose lives have been uprooted by Hurricane Beulah.
>
> With best wishes,
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> RALPH W. YARBOROUGH.

I add, Mr. President, the tomato crop in the Rio Grande Valley which was just being planted not long ago is lost The crop now being harvested in California consists largely of tomatoes. The agricultural workers in Texas whom this disaster has thrown out of employment are tomato and citrus fruit harvesters; for many of the crops grown in the valley are of the same type as those grown in California.

The loss of wages and employment by these agricultural workers has not been counted in the billion-dollar loss created by Hurricane Beulah. I hope that a way may be found for some of them to be used to fill the need for skilled farm labor in California.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is now 2:45 on Friday afternoon. I had hoped that a number of Senators would be prepared to present amendments to be considered, and many of them, perhaps, modified and accepted; or, if necessary, that we might have proceeded to dispose of them adversely by rollcall votes. However, it now seems pretty clear that there are no Senators present and ready to propose amendments.

Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CLARK. What is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is the motion of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to recommit the bill to the committee, with instructions to strike title II.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I intend to address myself in opposition to that proposal. However, I state for the benefit of the acting majority leader and the minority leader that if any Senator wishes to come to the floor and propose an amendment, I shall be entirely happy to yield the floor in order that such amendment may be presented, and we can at least debate it and determine whether or not it can be accepted, or modified and then accepted, or whatever the situation may be with respect to the particular amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield for that purpose?

Mr. DIRKSEN. He did yield.

I ask that the Chair notify staff and all others that this will be a live quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 270 Leg.]

Allott
Bartlett
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Clark
Cooper
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender
Griffin
Hatfield
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, Idaho
Mansfield
McIntyre
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Stennis
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] are necessarily absent.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are absent on official business.

The Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is not present.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

Anderson
Baker
Church
Curtis
Fannin
Fong
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hartke
Hayden
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, N.Y.
McCarthy
Mundt
Nelson
Randolph
Smith
Spong
Williams, N.J.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

THE BUDGET

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in a remarkable editorial which appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune of Saturday, September 23, 1967, entitled "The Budget Box: Panacea or Pandora?" the Minneapolis Tribune editorializes on the difficult and complex problems which confront our Government in funding the necessary programs, and in particular, the relationship of that funding to the current proposal for the tax increase.

While each of us may have disagreement with one or another of the suggestions contained in the editorial, the approach and its maturity are obviously of profound and compelling good sense.

The editorial concludes with this statement:

> Instead of panaceas, Americans should look for accommodation.

They strike the theme of approach which should commend itself to every mature and public-spirited American. I commend the Minneapolis Tribune for this editorial and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Budget Box: Panacea or Pandora?

Critics of the administration proposal for an income tax surcharge point to congressional reluctance to enact such a measure. They see Congress as reflecting the public weariness with excessive government spending programs which ought to be cut down before tax increases can be justified. The taxpayer, they say, is overburdened.

Nonsense.

At all levels of government, the rates of taxation are indeed high, but so are prosperity and both quantity and quality of public services. Certainly there are misguided programs, and just as certainly there are many people continuously looking for ways to change them.

The sweeping statement, "Cut down spending." is insufficient without the qualification of saying where it should be cut. If there is abuse in welfare programs, for example, should the public welfare concept be discarded in mystical reverence for the good old frontier days when men really determined their own destinies? . . . overlooking embarrassments like slavery, child labor, disease and starvation.

And no one objects to the elimination of pork-barrelling. Well, almost no one. The difficulty is the susceptibility of federal works projects to the law of inverse political geography: The closer the pork barrel is to one's own district, the less objectionable it becomes.

Of course there's the war in Vietnam which induces an economic myopia by the fact that its annual cost is about the same as the presently projected federal budget deficit of $29 billion. Stop the war and stop the deficit! . . . that is, if the North Vietnamese and Russians and Chinese will only co-operate.

There is no panacea. The state of the economy is good, but potentially dangerous because of budget imbalance, a tightening money market, and an auto strike which may be the harbinger of steeper wage-price spirals.

In the enormous but tightly inter-related U.S. economy, a mixture of actions is what is needed: a federal tax increase combined with reductions in such categories as the supersonic jet transport and race-to-the-moon programs; and a strike settlement which gives auto workers less than the six per cent annual increase demanded but will impinge somewhat on industry profits.

Instead of panaceas, Americans should look for accommodation.

ACTIVITIES, SUCCESSES, AND GOALS OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY IN MINNESOTA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the war on poverty effort is now 3 years old and we are beginning to see the successes of this program and the opportunities it offers for the continual social and economic improvement of those living in poverty.

Recently, I received a letter from the Intercounty Community Council, the Community Action Agency for the counties of Clearwater, East Polk, Pennington, and Red Lake, in the rural northwestern part of Minnesota. This letter describes the activities and the successes of the CAA and outlines its future goals.

Mr. President, this letter serves as a testimonial to the efforts of the poverty program and as an example of how local communities in a rural area have been able to improve the conditions of the poor. It is a clear endorsement of the continuation of the innovative spirit associated with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Intercounty Community
Council, Inc.,
Oklee, Minn., August 31, 1967.

Hon. Walter W. Mondale,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale: In order to assist you in your legislative considerations of Community Action Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, this Council wishes to provide you with an evaluation of what has been done locally, what is planned for the future, and the status of Community Action Programs within this area.

Project Pretty-Up, Nelson Amendment, has employed 170 of our elder citizens on a beautification and community improvement program since June of 1966. 75% of these employees are 65 years of age, or older. They had been *existing* on below-subsistence Social Security benefits that averaged less than $800 of yearly income.

The supplementary income provided by employment on Pretty-Up has enabled these older folks to purchase needed household appliances, to repair and improve their homes, to raise their standards of living by spending more for food and clothing, to remedy physical handicaps (one man used his first three paychecks to purchase a new artificial leg. Others have replaced, or been fitted with new dentures, eyeglasses, etc.), and to live among their friends and neighbors with the reinstatement of pride and self respect that comes from having proved their worth, their skills and their determination to still be a useful member of the community.

These are Pretty-Up benefits to the employees. Consideration should also be given to the community improvements. 21 villages in our four counties have cleaned and repaired public parks, streets and other facilities, and incidentally, spent a considerable amount of their local funds on problem areas, and with an enthusiasm and interest previously lacking.

Our Nursing Home Activity Program, operating in seven nursing homes, has taken hold like an epoxy glue. Residents of the homes, who had previously remained in their rooms, dejected and despairful, waiting only for death, have joined in and are proving to themselves, and to others, that there is still much to live for, and a considerable enjoyment in the process.

Recent County Fairs had entrees of craftwork from all of the Nursing Home Activity Projects. The ribbons they won hang proudly in the centers. We must consider this as an indication of the involvement these people now feel toward community affairs.

Our School Social Service Program, funded to provide family counseling for Head Start and other pre-school projects, has revealed new directions and concepts for home, school and family coordination, and according to school administrators is one of our most valuable programs.

We are now trying to have this taken over by the schools so that it may be expanded and improved through the use of educational funds. This, as with all of our projects, fulfills the committee of OEO to develop programs that are feasible for the area, that alleviate specific problems, and that are ultimately operative under local administration.

Head Start has proven itself in our area as it has in all areas. Here, it is furnishing the influence that promotes and permits the simple integration of Indian Children into predominantly white schools, and it is fulfilling its promise of social adjustment and cultural improvement for the children and families from more unfortunate circumstances.

Head Start is now being supplemented by a locally initiated Follow-Through phase that is attempting to insure a permanency of the effect of the Head Start program. This Follow-Through is on a local basis only and precedes a similar innovation at the Federal level.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps Project, sponsored by this CAA, has employed 564 youth from 16 Northwestern Minnesota counties during the summer and will continue such employment, on a curtailed basis, during the coming school session. It has provided income and work experience to boys and girls in dire need, and even more important, it has instilled in many the desire to complete or further their education.

All of these statements are the tangible and measurable benefits of programs sponsored by this CAA. There are other benefits, intangible perhaps, but no less important to our area and its people. They include the coordination of effort between our agency and other Federal Agencies that sees the benefits of all programs reaching more and more of the intended beneficiaries. After two full years of operation, our council is an accepted part of community service and the people we are organized to serve are turning to us for assistance of all kinds.

For the reasons mentioned, this council respectfully requests your careful consideration for the continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the influence of your high office toward the maintenance of Community Action Programs at at least their present level of Federal assistance, and if possible, that such assistance be increased so that we may provide service and assistance to more of our people.

Sincerely,

Phillip C. Stoltenberg,
Chairman.
Merle A. Lindberg,
Vice Chairman.
H. A. Fink,
Secretary.
Sildney Kirk,
Treasurer.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT—THE INSEPARABLE TWINS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, over the past 20 years—almost, in fact, since the end of World War II—the Nation's unemployment rate has hovered around 4 percent. Seldom has it dropped below that point, and the several postwar recessions sent the jobless rate climbing to 5 percent, 6 percent, and higher.

We have learned in the last few years that even unprecedented national prosperity and affluence, and excellent economic growth rates, will not help some 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 unemployed. Our concern is based not only on the economic waste and drain that mass unemployment means. Our concern is also based on the human waste, the tragedy of millions of families sustaining themselves on substandard incomes or on pitifully inadequate public assistance benefits. We cannot begin to calculate the price this country pays in lost self-respect, despair, and frustration.

The Senate is here considering an omnibus antipoverty bill, legislation which we hope, when enacted, will help us continue our commitment toward the eventual eradication of poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy in the United States.

We must face the realities of poverty. We can never be wholly successful in abolishing poverty as long as mass unemployment persists. Poverty and unemployment feed upon each other, fatten each other. A man cannot endure prolonged unemployment in the United States without becoming poverty stricken and without his family suffering the consequences—which are inadequate housing, medical care, nutrition, and inadequate educational opportunities.

These deprivations are what unemployment means; they are also what poverty means.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has wisely seen that poverty and widespread joblessness are inseparable twins, twin afflictions, twin evils.

Those who have studied the causes of urban riots and disorder—those who have looked at the desolation of the urban poor—have nearly unanimously concluded that the lack of jobs is one of the major causes leading to the hopelessness and alienation which sets the stage for urban warfare.

The evidence is overwhelming. Expert after expert has agreed on this point.

Consequently, in developing this legislation and sending it to the Senate, the committee also incorporated into the basic bill what is known as the Emergency Employment Act of 1967. This is a specific and calculated attack on the problem of hardcore unemployment. It is an attempt to make a major inroad on the several millions of jobless Americans seeking work today. It will create an estimated half-million jobs in the next 2 years.

One of the most important aspects of the purpose of the Emergency Employment Act is that the jobs it will create will be public service jobs. They will not be boondoggles or leafraking jobs, as some federally created employment was known during the depression years.

On the contrary, these will be public service jobs in badly needed and socially productive areas such as education, welfare, health, public safety, municipal maintenance, reconstruction, recreation, and neighborhood improvement. They will be the kind of public service jobs that cities and towns in every State of the Union need but cannot afford. They will be jobs that will have enduring social and economic value, and—equally important—will give the men and women who perform the work a sense of dignity, value, and individual worth.

This public service employment is directed toward another goal. Rioting and civil war are a threat to the very structure of our society. Our society cannot do what is required if it is in shambles. This bill will help remove the causes of civil disturbances, violence, bloodshed, arson, and looting.

I would like to be able to say, Mr. President, that my State of Minnesota was singularly free this past summer of those storms of hatred and destruction that swirled like tornadoes through more than 40 communities, large and small, from coast to coast. But events in Minneapolis proved that no community has immunity, that the turbulence born out of discrimination—both economic and racial discrimination—can strike any American city.

Every mayor, every city official, every city councilman, and community leader who has commented on the outbreaks of violence in his city this past summer has, without exception, emphasized the fact of unemployment.

Beyond any possible question widespread and persistent joblessness has been the most powerful fuel to the flames of ghetto violence. The important fact is that the jobless rate among Negro residents of our big city ghettos has been—and is—enormously higher than the national figure.

The national jobless rate, as I have already pointed out, hovers around 4 percent, but the jobless rate in our Nation's slums is a horrifying 10 percent.

Even more appalling is the fact that the U.S. Department of Labor has found that in urban slum neighborhoods the unemployed rate among nonwhite 14- to 19-year-old boys is 31 percent and among girls 46 percent.

The Emergency Employment Act offers Congress a unique opportunity to defuse the explosive potential that continues to exist in the ghettos of our cites, large, medium, and small. And unless we do defuse this social and economic dynamite, we can expect the pressures to build up and the hazards to intensify.

This is neither bribery nor a reward for past violence. On the contrary, we are doing in this Emergency Employment Act what we should have done long ago—remove the root causes of violence and hatred and hopelessness. We are depriving the hatemongers and the demagogs of their only weapons, their only instruments for the creation of chaos, if we wipe out mass unemployment and thus take the first big step toward the eradication of poverty.

Specifically what does this mean? The committee states that the number of jobless who can be reached depends on how long workers stay on these jobs before moving to other regular competitive employment. A conservative estimate is an average of 8 months, or a turnover rate that would mean 300,000 jobless could be reached in a year for each $1 billion. The annual wage for these public service jobs would average $4,000.

The question we face, it seems to me, is not whether we can afford the $2.8 billion the Emergency Employment Act calls for, but whether we can possibly afford not to wipe out mass unemployment and all the evils of hopelessness and hatred that it breeds—or whether we can possibly afford not to avoid future violence and terror in our streets—or whether we can possibly afford not to prevent the destruction of billions of dollars worth of property.

The answer, of course, is "No," Mr. President. Preventive, not punitive, measures will safeguard our cities from violence and bloodshed and looting. Preventive, not punitive, measures will strengthen the economies of our cities, our States, and the Nation by eradicating the waste of mass unemployment.

Preventive, not punitive measures, will move us toward victory in the war on poverty.

The Emergency Employment Act, Mr. President, is a must, a necessity, for the Nation's immediate future and its safe and prosperous future in the years to come.

Mr. President, in closing, I should like to pay tribute to the distinguished, creative, and courageous chairman of the committee who handled the hearings and developed this great, impressive, and necessary bill, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

I am proud to follow his leadership in this inspiring and most necessary proposal. In this effort, I take pleasure once again in saying that he is one of the great liberals—and—if I may say so—practical spirits in the country. I am proud to be with him on this question.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I want to thank the Senator from Minnesota for his very kind words, which certainly warm the cockles of my heart at a time when there are those who do not agree with the somewhat extravagant estimate the Senator has made of my capabilities. I welcome him to this just cause and welcome him as an ally in our efforts to do something for the poor people of the United States of America. I am sure his inspired leadership will be of great assistance in the critical votes which we will have next week.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, it has been suggested by some, as the Senator from Pennsylvania has found, that the chances and prospects for this measure are not too bright. I am one of those who believe that, hopefully, we will be successful; but whether we are successful or not, I believe it is important that the fundamental issue which this proposal presents is the question whether we are going to make meaningful and substantial new efforts to improve the life of the ghetto dweller.

The effort to undertake the adoption of this proposal is important in itself because the word must get back to the ghetto that there are people in Congress who care, that there are people who understand, that there are people who realize that this problem cannot be solved cheaply; that it needs a substantial new effort on the part of the Federal Government.

I think that is an additional reason why the Senator from Pennsylvania is so wise in pressing this proposal.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I may say I hold, as of this afternoon, a measure of optimism that the heart of this bill will be maintained; that the effort to recommit will be defeated; that the motion to strike title II will fail.

I say this because I believe the conscience of America has been aroused; that the conscience of America will require that we, the Congress of the United States, face up, regardless of the apparent fiscal cost, to the necessity of assuring that unfortunate individuals of the United States of America, living in our teeming cities and in our rural ghettos, will be given that fair chance which they were promised by President Johnson 2½ years ago when he instituted the war on poverty.

I cannot believe that the conscience of America, as represented by the Senate of the United States, is so callous that we can pass, with practical unanimity, bills amounting to nearly $80 billion for the swollen Military Establishment of this country and turn our backs on the poor of America.

Mr. MONDALE. Am I correct in understanding that virtually every expert who testified before the Senator's subcommittee in its exhaustive hearings on the problem of getting rid of the well-known frustrations and near rage which have become a national phenomenon, testified that jobs and the availability of jobs was central to the solution of this problem; that there cannot be a solution which does not include in the effort a real and substantial solution in finding employment for the ghetto dweller?

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is entirely correct. We had some 442 witnesses brought before the subcommittee from all over the United States. With the exception of the National Association of Manufacturers, there was only one extreme right wing representative of a small, and I might say, lunatic fringe group who was opposed to continuation of the poverty program.

With respect to title II, the special Emergency Employment Act, I have here a whole committee print of 184 pages of quotations from knowledgeable people in all walks of life, from all over the country, supporting a massive emergency job program.

Perhaps the most heartening thing that happened occurred 2 weeks ago when an Urban Coalition was formed consisting of leaders of American opinion from all across the spectrum. That spectrum ranged from people like David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, to I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America. It went from Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., of Atlanta, to Andrew Heiskell, chairman of Time, Inc. It went from Roy Ash, president of Litton Industries, to Mayor Joseph M. Barr, Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, and Mayor James H. J. Tate—respectively, mayors of Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Philadelphia. It included too Walter Reuther, George Meany, Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins. It covered the whole spectrum of leadership opinion in America, as opposed to this motion to strike.

I say this with all sincerity, and perhaps with a stronger feeling than justified. The Senate will perhaps excuse my emotion under the circumstances, because of the long, long time in which I have been immersed in this problem. I think one can say the issue is whether the Government of the United States has been taken over by the Spartans, leaving the Athenians outside the seats of power. To me, those who believe in that kind of civilization in which the Age of Pericles was shining light should not now turn our backs on that vision of America in order to support a military group bent on war, instead of peace, and, in my opinion, constituting a grave threat to the survival of American democracy.

Those are strong words, but I have come to that point of view slowly and gradually, and I believe in my heart they are true.

Mr. MONDALE. I could not agree more with the Senator from Pennsylvania. I am glad he has mentioned the strong support given to his proposal and to the objective of finding jobs for the unemployed by the Urban Coalition. We had a large, balanced, highly prestigious delegation from Minnesota which was a part of that coalition. It included the mayor of my city. It included the publisher of one of our largest newspapers. It included many top businessmen and labor leaders from my State. They were unanimous that this proposal was not only something to be considered, but that it was absolutely essential. This is not the voice of the left wing radical being heard; this is the voice of responsible Americans.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct. This is the voice of the conscience of America. I am happy to see so many successful businessmen joining in this effort. I think it should be of great interest to our colleagues when men of this caliber are willing to put their names on the list, not for the 200,000 jobs which title II of the bill would create, but for 1 million jobs, which would amount to increasing fivefold the amount asked for by title II of this bill.

Mr. MONDALE. We hear it said that the Senator is trying to push too far ahead with this proposal; that we are getting too far ahead of the American public. Yet we have an almost unprecedented assemblage of prestigious Americans calling for a proposal bolder than the one we are calling for. We have had indications from recent Harris polls that about two-thirds of Americans think that jobs should be provided, among other things. I would say that this is a case of the Senate following, not leading. It is about time we caught up.

Mr. CLARK. I think the Senator is correct. People talk about power structures in this country. If this is the kind of judgment they want to make as Americans, if they want to go along with the power structure, they had better take a long, hard look at the recommendations of the Urban Coalition, instead of the political-military industrial complex, which, in my opinion, is leading this country down the road to fiscal ruin.

Mr. MONDALE. I am glad to support the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CURTIS obtained the floor.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding other motions that are pending before the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska be permitted to bring up an amendment out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—do we have an understanding that, in the event the unanimous-consent request is agreed to, there will be no vote had on the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Under those circumstances, I have no objection.

AMENDMENT NO. 341

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 341 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] proposes amendments as follows:

On page 2, line 3, strike out "$2,258,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,963,000,000".

On page 2, beginning with "$295,000,000" on lines 5 and 6, strike out down through "title I of such Act," on line 7.

On page 2, beginning with line 22, strike out through line 8 on page 26 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"JOB CORPS REPEALER

"SEC. 101. Part A of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is hereby repealed."

At the end of the bill add the following new title:

"TITLE III—AMENDMENT TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963

"INCREASED VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AUTHORIZATION

"SEC. 301. Section 2 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

" 'AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

" 'SEC. 2. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, $60,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, $118,500,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $177,500,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, $225,000,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and each fiscal year thereafter, $420,000,000 for the purpose of making grants to States as provided in this part.' "

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **CURTIS**. I yield.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the distinguished manager of the bill, the Senator from Pennsylvania.

It is my understanding that the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis] will speak on his amendments at some length this afternoon, at least sufficiently to lay the groundwork.

He has indicated that he would be agreeable to a time limitation of 1 hour on his amendments at the conclusion of morning business on Monday, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Pennsylvania, the manager of the bill, and the author of the amendments, the Senator from Nebraska.

What is the thought of the Senator from Pennsylvania as to that proposal?

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, I should like to have that time extended to 1 hour on each side. This is a very important amendment; it seeks to cut the heart out of the Job Corps. I would, however, agree to a limitation of 1 hour on each side.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Up to 2 hours, then, the time to be equally divided.

Mr. **CURTIS**. Very well.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of morning business on Monday next, at which time the pending amendments will become once again the pending business, there be a time limitation of not to exceed 2 hours, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Pennsylvania, the manager of the bill, and the Senator from Nebraska, [Mr. Curtis], the proponent of the amendments now pending.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement was subsequently reduced to writing, as follows:

Ordered, That after completion of the routine morning business on Monday, October 2, 1967, further debate on Amendment No. 341, offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], to the bill S. 2388, a bill to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, be limited to 2 hours to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark].

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, in order that I may speak very briefly to the majority leader, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. **CURTIS**. Mr. President, this amendment would substitute a vastly enlarged program of vocational and technical training in lieu of the Job Corps.

The bill before us authorizes the sum of $295,000,000 for the Job Corps. Amendment No. 341 strikes that out, repeals the Job Corps, and increases the authorization for the Vocational Training Act of 1963 from $225,000,000 to $420,000,000. This increase would substantially double the amount of money currently being spent by the Federal Government on vocational education under the act of 1963 and at the same time save the taxpayers $100,000,000 annually. The adoption of amendment No. 341 would result in a better job and the elimination of more poverty.

Mr. President, what is it that is needed to make a nonproductive and dependent individual who is able-bodied into a self-supporting, productive member of society? I believe the need is twofold:

First, he must be trained to perform useful work. He must have the knowledge and skills which are needed in our economy to the end that not only a job but advancement can be his.

Second, he must have character, a desire to be self-supporting, productive, and helpful to others or, in other words, the motivation to make his life worthwhile.

I seriously doubt if the latter can be acquired by the passage of a law. The providing of schools, however, to meet the first need is clearly the responsibility of Government. The untrained cannot provide their own schools.

Mr. President, if my amendment No. 341 were to be adopted and the amount authorized for vocational training were appropriated, it would enable the States to make a massive attack on unemployment. The following table has been assembled showing the amount of money currently allocated to each of the several States under the Vocational Act of 1963 and the amount which each State would receive if the sum set forth in amendment No. 341 were authorized and appropriated. It must be borne in mind that States and localities participate under the 1963 Vocational Education Act, so the total amount of money available to train individuals for good jobs would increase much more than the table herein listed would indicate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that table I(a) and table I(b) be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Table I(a).—*Allotment of Federal funds for grants to States and outlying parts under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88–210) fiscal year 1967, based on appropriation of $198,225,000*

State:	
Alabama	$4, 610, 512
Alaska	245, 236
Arizona	1, 805, 218
Arkansas	2, 519, 605
California	14, 665, 140
Colorado	1, 946, 059
Connecticut	2, 171, 198
Delaware	390, 298
Florida	$6, 199, 468
Georgia	5, 810, 089
Hawaii	797, 792
Idaho	890, 996
Illinois	8, 216, 394
Indiana	4, 907, 895
Iowa	2, 883, 076
Kansas	2, 391, 526
Kentucky	4, 131, 417
Louisiana	4, 537, 243
Maine	1, 189, 505
Maryland	3, 202, 493
Massachusetts	4, 351, 359
Michigan	7, 856, 956
Minnesota	3, 720, 844
Mississippi	3, 132, 779
Missouri	4, 274, 571
Montana	796, 156
Nebraska	1, 508, 981
Nevada	337, 727
New Hampshire	722, 359
New Jersey	5, 340, 073
New Mexico	1, 302, 460
New York	13, 630, 868
North Carolina	6, 711, 898
North Dakota	794, 770
Ohio	9, 793, 732
Oklahoma	3, 005, 524
Oregon	1, 965, 985
Pennsylvania	11, 185, 718
Rhode Island	888, 672
South Carolina	3, 614, 447
South Dakota	833, 066
Tennessee	4, 954, 951
Texas	12, 595, 165
Utah	1, 200, 597
Vermont	482, 651
Virginia	5, 507, 219
Washington	2, 942, 267
West Virginia	2, 403, 411
Wisconsin	4, 173, 147
Wyoming	340, 700
American Samoa	35, 423
District of Columbia	546, 495
Guam	107, 156
Puerto Rico	3, 599, 103
Virgin Islands	56, 610

Table I(b).—*Allotment of Federal funds for grants to States and outlying parts under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88–210) fiscal year 1968, based on estimates of appropriation of $420,000,000*

State:	
Alabama	$9, 769, 383
Alaska	519, 653
Arizona	3, 825, 051
Arkansas	5, 338, 886
California	31, 071, 627
Colorado	4, 123, 364
Connecticut	4, 600, 048
Delaware	826, 938
District of Columbia	1, 157, 713
Florida	13, 135, 073
Georgia	12, 311, 172
Hawaii	1, 690, 512
Idaho	1, 887, 962
Illinois	17, 407, 897
Indiana	10, 398, 779
Iowa	6, 108, 701
Kansas	5, 067, 158
Kentucky	8, 754, 147
Louisiana	9, 614, 059
Maine	2, 520, 393
Maryland	6, 785, 416
Massachusetts	9, 219, 235
Michigan	16, 647, 209
Minnesota	7, 883, 836
Mississippi	6, 638, 492
Missouri	9, 056, 679
Montana	1, 686, 961
Nebraska	3, 197, 228
Nevada	715, 533
New Hampshire	1, 530, 523

TABLE I(b).—*Allotment of Federal funds for grants to States and outlying parts under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88–210) fiscal year 1968, based on estimates of appropriation of $420,000,000*—Continued

State—Continued	
New Jersey	$11,313,752
New Mexico	2,759,881
New York	28,878,477
North Carolina	14,222,152
North Dakota	1,684,076
Ohio	20,750,494
Oklahoma	6,368,179
Oregon	4,165,530
Pennsylvania	23,699,012
Rhode Island	1,882,856
South Carolina	7,659,175
South Dakota	1,765,177
Tennessee	10,498,864
Texas	26,687,298
Utah	2,544,025
Vermont	1,022,674
Virginia	11,669,144
Washington	6,234,171
West Virginia	5,092,596
Wisconsin	8,842,058
Wyoming	721,891
Guam	227,078
Puerto Rico	7,626,780
Virgin Island	119,961
American Samoa	75,071

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that my amendment would double the current allocation to each State for the purpose of vocational and technical training under the 1963 act. For example, Alabama, at the present time, receives $4,610,512. Under my proposal, that State would receive $9,769,383; and so on down the list.

Mr. President, it is said that the Job Corps is doing a better job than when it started. I am willing to concede that some progress has been made. I venture to say, however, that those Job Corps projects which have been most successful are the ones where a good program of vocational and technical training has been carried out. I believe the Job Corps project at Lincoln, Nebr., has done an unusually fine job under the circumstances. Its per capita cost is far below the national average. It has some very fine, dedicated people in charge. The central theme is vocational and technical training. I hasten to point out that the adoption of my amendment No. 341 does not mean the end of vocational and educational training at the site of the Lincoln Job Corps, which is occupying part of the facilities formerly used by the Air Force. The State of Nebraska could take over the activities, do a better job, and reach more people for less money.

It is my understanding that the national average cost per enrollee in the Job Corps is $6,950. This is a tremendous sum of money. I understand that the Lincoln Job Corps operation which I mentioned is much less than the average. I believe the Lincoln figure is a little over $5,409 per enrollee, but this is clearly out of line with the cost incurred by the State of Nebraska in operating the Nebraska Vocational Technical School in Milford, Nebr.

In arriving at the cost per enrollee at the Lincoln Job Center, nothing has been allocated to regional and national costs, and we know that bureaucracy is weighted down with a lot of high-priced people who are constantly on the move at the taxpayers' expense.

I wish to give a few facts about the Nebraska Vocational Technical School in Milford, Nebr., because it is a typical example of what can be done by States, localities, individuals, and the Federal Government.

The Milford school operated 11 courses of training with an enrollment of 958 students last year at a cost of $1,076,058, or an average of $1,123.26 per student. This cost includes equipment but not construction. Federal funds accounted for $352,911 of the total, or $368.38 per student; State funds, $384,045, or $400.88 per student; other sources, including tuition and earnings from production, $339,102, or $354 per student. Tuition for Nebraska students is $84 a quarter or $336 a year—the school has four 12-week quarters, or a 48-week year.

The Milford school also operates dormitory and cafeteria services. These cost a total of $185,500 last year, or an average of $193.60 per student, but all students did not utilize these services. The school charges $50 a quarter for dormitory residence and $100 a quarter for cafeteria services for students who want these services. Thus, a student can receive board and room at the school for $600 for a 48-week year.

Based on the figures in the foregoing two paragraphs, we find that the average enrollee cost to the school is $1,123.23. When we add to this the $600 for cafeteria and dormitory costs, it makes a total cost per enrollee of $1,723.23.

What do the foregoing cost comparisons mean? They mean that the cost per enrollee for the federally operated Lincoln Job Corps project is more than 2½ times that of our State-operated school at Milford. It must also be borne in mind that under the terms of the 1963 Vocational Training Act and in actual practice non-Federal sources are raising as much money or a little more than the amount of the Federal grant. This lower cost of operation, plus State and local sharing of the cost, means one thing: For every dollar spent by the Federal Government under the 1963 Vocational Training Act, the actual vocational and technical training provided is at least five times that which is provided by the Job Corps.

Again, let me stress that this illustration in Nebraska is very conservative. On a national level, the good to be accomplished by the adoption of my amendment would increase not fivefold, but much more than that. I also remind Senators that the adoption of amendment No. 341 would save $100 million annually.

Nationally, the Job Corps is in dispute. It does not have the confidence of the American people. It has been overloaded with bureaucrats, and tremendous sums that should have been used to train minds and hands have been spent flying enrollees as well as bureaucrats all over the country. The young people intended to be helped are taken away from home and in some cases exposed to mass immorality. Nobody has an accurate check as to what happens to them after they leave the Job Corps. The basic plan of the Job Corps has some erroneous features. Vocational and technical training should be offered right in the community where the potential enrollees live. What better tax-supported function could be used to set an example in a depressed or slum area than an institution which trains people who want to be trained? Those who would view the institution first hand would see the opportunities which come to those who make good on their training. The mere location of these training centers in such an area would be a great motivating force without which we cannot attempt to cure the chronic unemployment existing in these areas.

A State-operated or locally run vocational training school is in a position to keep track of its students and know what happens to them. The fact is that industry picks up the graduates as fast as they are turned out. In Nebraska our vocational and technical training schools are not tied to an antiquated, historic pattern. They are based upon the needs of employers today, tomorrow, and next year. There is no accurate information as to what happens to the vast majority of Job Corps enrollees.

It must be pointed out also that even if the Job Corps were without blemish in its operation and without the moral problems that have arisen in some places, it reaches only a tiny fraction of the individuals who need to be reached for vocational and technical training. Those Job Corps enrollees who do complete their training probably seldom, if ever, go back to improve the surroundings from which they came.

We need to train more people and we need to do a better job of training people. To do this, it is necessary for us to get more for our money. I offer this amendment not because of any hostility toward Job Corps enrollees or the competent, dedicated instructors and administrators that we find here and there in the Job Corps. I offer this amendment because I am interested in having my Government improve the lot of those individuals who need a chance. The facts are conclusive that a partnership arrangement with State and local governments and individuals brings into play forces that make the training program a success.

In addition to all the costly procedures of the Job Corps in flying people around the country, taking over hotels, and other costly operations which seem to go hand in hand with a Federal bureaucracy, the fact is that the Job Corps at best is not reaching enough people to make a dent in the chronic unemployment. I will leave it to each Senator to draw his own conclusion as to the quality of training and the success which is being made by the Job Corps. Of the number of people being reached, however, there can be no dispute.

Mr. President, I am aware that the costs of running a vocational or technical school are higher in many States than the illustration I used with reference to the Nebraska Vocational Technical School at Milford, Nebr. I point out, however, that the costs of running more Job Corps centers elsewhere is far, far in excess of the figure which I have used in reference to the Job Corps center at Lincoln. Consequently, the relative comparison of what we get for our money under these two programs is applicable to all States.

Mr. President, I want to add that the Nebraska Vocational Technical School at Milford has been operating for a number of years and is doing an outstanding job. I want to give some brief facts about a new school operating within 30 miles of my home. I refer to the Central Nebraska Area Vocational School at Hastings. This school has been operating only a couple of years. It has the equivalent of 800 full-time students for the budget year. Like the Milford school, it operates for 48 weeks a year. The Hastings school's budget is $2,075,000. This means an average cost per student of $2,037, but because the school is new, considerable sums must be spent on equipment. Exclusive of equipment, this school is operating for a cost of $1,380 per year for each enrollee. If we add to that the food and dormitory costs which are paid at the Milford school, we would find that their costs of operation, exclusive of equipment, would be about the same.

I am sure there are many institutions in other States that likewise are doing a superb job. I have used as my illustrations those schools about which I have the most knowledge.

Mr. President, I am not going to submit a bill of particulars of the weaknesses and failures of the Job Corps. These weaknesses and failures are common knowledge and they have been well documented over the months. Most Senators can and do privately relate many shortcomings of the Job Corps. We should not be unmindful, however, that the taxpayers' money has been used to lobby for the Job Corps. This has been freely done by many of those who hold high-paying positions in the Job Corps.

I do want to point out that the program of the Job Corps in removing individuals from their own environment, is not solving the problem faced by the majority of the individuals enrolled and it is definitely not solving the problem of the areas from which they come. In this connection I wish to read from testimony taken by the Senate Committee on Finance on Tuesday of this week. The witness was one who had spent many years in welfare work in New York City and is dedicated in her desire to better the lot of the unfortunate. Please notice this testimony. The witness is Dr. Trude W. Lash, executive director, Citizens' Committee for Children of New York:

> Senator Curtis. How many individuals have been taken out of New York City to be trained by the Job Corps elsewhere?
>
> Dr. Lash. Very few, sir. I am not sure about the exact number, but I think it is below 3,000; very few.
>
> Senator Curtis. So the Job Corps has not made much of a dent in training the people who need training in New York City?
>
> Dr. Lash. No, no sir, it has not, and also those who know the situation best have questioned the removal of the young people under all circumstances and have wondered whether sometimes——
>
> Senator Curtis. I am very interested in that remark, because I question the wisdom of it as you have expressed there. It is because of those who go, perhaps a much, much smaller number return and never add anything to the poverty-stricken area from which they were taken.
>
> Dr. Lash. Yes, sir. Also a good many come back because they are homesick. It is very difficult for children who have never perhaps been even 20 blocks away from their homes suddenly to be taken to a place where it is quiet and there are birds and everything is scarey whereas the noise is needed to be reassuring.
>
> Senator Curtis. Is it not also true that a well-organized and productive training program in a slum area sets an example for the whole area and provides a worthwhile activity there that makes a contribution?
>
> Dr. Lash. I completely agree; particularly under the present circumstances after the summer's difficulties, this would be so.

Mr. President, I urge the adoption of this amendment, because it would be of more and better help to the unfortunate unemployed individuals and would reach vastly greater numbers, and at the same time would result in a substantial saving to the Federal Treasury in this time of war, unprecedented deficits, and demands for a tax raise.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I hope very much that the proposed amendment will be defeated when it comes to a vote on Monday. I shall have more to say about it during the hour which has been set aside for the opponents of the amendment under the unanimous-consent agreement.

For the moment, I should like merely to categorically disagree with many of the statements made by my friend, the Senator from Nebraska, and with most of the conclusions which he drew in his argument in support of the amendment.

Let me point out that the Job Corps got off to a shaky start shortly after it was established as a result of the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. There were many bugs in the Job Corps; there was much dissatisfaction with it. I believe the OEO, under Mr. Shriver, has by now got most of those bugs out.

I believe I speak with some knowledge of the facts, since not only have I heard the testimony, but also, I have visited Job Corps centers, and my colleagues on the Subcommittee on Poverty have been to a number of other Job Corps centers. In fact, I believe that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson] will have some statements to make in this regard as a result of the field hearing he held in Wisconsin, which concentrated pretty much on the Job Corps.

The consensus of testimony which was brought before the committee was that the Job Corps, as I have said, after a slow start, turned the corner toward success around the first part of 1966. It has been improving constantly since then, and presently is doing a fine job all over the country.

I recall that in January and February of 1967 there was much criticism in the local papers in New Mexico about the women's Job Corps Center in Albuquerque—criticism which, quite frankly, rather shocked me. The center was operated by the Bell-Packard Corp., a private contractor for profit, with some expertise in the field of personnel management.

I made a fairly careful examination of those criticisms on the site and found—at least, to my own satisfaction—that much of it had been remedied. The troublemakers had been discharged from the staff, the faculty, and a new superintendent had been brought in. I had an opportunity to discuss with the girls in the center alone, when none of the faculty or employees of the center were present, their views about the type of training they were receiving, and they were all enthusiastic about it. I believe this is generally true with respect to the other centers across the country.

So I would categorically deny that the American people are fed up with the Job Corps. Our own testimony and my own soundings indicate to me that the people of the United States are enthusiastic about the Job Corps and the splendid work which is being done with 42,000 boys and girls, in making useful and employable citizens of them.

The committee retained a consultant, Mr. Sar Levitan, a distinguished social scientist from George Washington University, who was engaged in making an evaluation of the Economic Opportunity Act for the Ford Foundation and he undertook to do some special work for the subcommittee.

His report on the Job Corps begins at page 1 in volume I of the staff and consultants reports in "Examination of the War on Poverty." I quote briefly from his comments on page 23, which have reference to proposals of which the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska is typical. Mr. Levitan said:

> Recent proposals (H.R. 10682, 90th Cong.) to place the Job Corps in the Vocational Education Division in the Office of Education, presents inherent problems, despite the indicated advantages. Since the residential centers would be operated by State vocational authorities, there would prevail in a number of States serious obstacles to establishing racially integrated residential centers.

This would be particularly true in the South.

> While few Job Corps centers were located in the Southeastern States, where the problem was most acute, youths from these areas could enroll in centers outside their State or region. State operation of residential centers would intensify problems of integration and probably preclude some youths from enrolling. Past experience has shown that Federal proscription of racial discrimination does not solve the problem.
>
> The vocational education establishment might also lack experience in handling the special problems of operating residential centers for disadvantaged youth. The Job Corps has gained considerable expertise in this area from its two and a half years of experience.

Mr. Levitan concludes that transferring the Job Corps to HEW and to the vocational education program would be a doubtful solution.

Mr. President, I will have more to say on this subject on Monday. At the moment, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McIntyre in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in view of a certain colloquy which occurred in the Chamber today I ask unanimous consent that the paragraph under the heading "Program" in column 1, page 27165 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the paragraph was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> PROGRAM
>
> Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I believe the majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] feels there will not be a vote on the pending motion before Monday next. The Senate will meet tomorrow at noon, and it is hoped that action can be taken to dispose of several amendments on tomorrow. There may be rollcall votes; I cannot be sure.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on yesterday six or eight Senators asked me, during the afternoon, whether or not it was likely that there would be any rollcall votes today. At the end of the day on yesterday I felt it to be my duty to contact those Senators who had made such inquiries and to indicate to them as best I could what the outlook might be for today. I dictated to a member of my staff the following verbiage, which I asked her to impart, by telephone, to the offices of those Senators to whom I have alluded. She accordingly relayed to those offices the following message which I had dictated:

> Senator Byrd said that it was impossible for him to get an exact reading on the outlook for tomorrow. But there will not be a vote before Monday on the motion to recommit the bill to delete Title II. That is for sure.
>
> Senator Byrd hopes that action can be taken to dispose of some of the lesser amendments tomorrow. There could possibly be one or more rollcall votes in this regard. Senator Byrd is not sure.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 2, 1967, at 12 noon.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Alcohol and Alcoholism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to the new, National Center for Prevention and Control of Alcoholism for some up-to-the-minute information on the use of alcohol by young people in the United States.

The information appears in the first report published on "Alcohol and Alcoholism" by the National Institute of Mental Health. The new center is the focal point for the expanded national program to prevent and control alcoholism which was requested last year by President Johnson in his health message to the Congress.

The report points out that adult concern about the use of alcohol by young people "has been directed primarily toward the supposed relationship of juvenile drinking to juvenile delinquency." It goes on to say that accounts of riots and automobile accidents are so alarming to most adults that the violence of these events often obscures the facts.

And what are the facts? At first glance, they are alarming. Surveys show that the average American first tastes alcohol—usually in the form of an experimental sip—by the age of 10. As many as 50 to 85 percent of high school students—depending upon the area in which they live—say they drink at least occasionally.

But the national center's report quotes Dr. Robert Straus, of the University of Kentucky, an expert in this field, as follows:

> These figures, however, as shocking as they may seem, are meaningless in themselves. There is no proof to show that early exposure to alcohol will in itself lead to excessive drinking in later life. In fact, all the proof is clearly to the contrary.

Is a teenager who drinks a juvenile delinquent? A recent study in Massachusetts shows that the percentage of alcohol users is about the same among delinquents as among "normal" high school students. The chief difference, the study concludes, is not how many of each group drink but how they drink.

> Research shows that teenagers follow adult models in their drinking patterns—

The national center's report says—

> and the best single indicator of the teenage drinking pattern in any specific community is the adult pattern in the same community. If parents drink, there is a high probability that teenagers will drink; similarly, abstinent parents typically produce abstinent children.

These findings were based on five studies involving 8,000 high school students within the past 10 years in five areas of the United States. These studies also showed:

First. The average age at which students had their first drink is 13–14, although they may have "tasted" alcohol before.

Second. First exposure to alcohol is likely to be at home with parents.

Third. Practically every high school graduate will have experimented with at least one drink.

Fourth. One in four users claimed to have been "high" at least once during the month prior to the research in three of the five areas studied.

Fifth. One in 10 users in these studies reported having been "drunk" in this same period.

Sixth. In all the studies, beer was the most commonly used beverage.

Seventh. Laws relating to teenage drinking had little relationship to drinking practices.

There also have been studies covering 27 colleges and 17,000 college students. The national center's report says:

> Those colleges with the lowest percentage of drinking students were generally marked by the highest percentage of students who had been intoxicated. By contrast, excessive drinking was reportedly infrequent in those colleges where drinking was most common.

Mr. Speaker, I think the report makes an excellent summary of what is known today about the use of alcohol by young people. It says:

> A young person's decision to drink or not to drink is usually made on the basis of a complex of forces including the practices and wishes of his parents, the attitudes of his church, the influence of his peers, how much money he has to spend, and how strongly he may be impelled to assert his independence from adult authority.

I commend the National Institute for Mental Health and the National Center for Prevention and Control of Alcoholism for this first report. As Secretary Gardner observes in a foreword to the report, it surveys the present state of our knowledge of alcoholism. It represents a major step toward understanding and eventual control.

Milestone for Rent Supplement Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on August 23, 1967, an event of national significance took place in Boston, Mass. It was a milestone for the rent supplement program—the dedication of the first all new construction project in the country. The occasion was the forerunner of many more such projects to come as the projects now under construction or in advanced planning are completed.

The rent supplemental program will do much for the poor of our country and we all can look forward to further advances in the housing program as these planning programs are strengthened. For me it is particularly pleasing because the first of these projects has been established in my congressional district.

The Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development presided at the dedication of this housing project. His remarks are informative as to the progress and potential of this very worthwhile Federal aid in helping to meet the housing needs of low-income families.

I am pleased to include in my remarks the speech of Secretary Weaver:

Remarks by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Opening of Charlame Park Homes Rent Supplement Project of the Charles Street AME Church, Roxbury, Boston, Mass., August 23, 1967

SUMMARY

There is always a need for informed criticism but that criticism must be rooted in facts. What are the facts about FHA today? It is a principal source of mortgage financing for existing homes purchased by nonwhites across all of the urban complex. It has lifted the barriers that once prohibited insuring mortgages in changing neighborhoods. It is taking positive steps to finance the rebuilding of blighted areas in the central city. It is increasingly involved in building and rebuilding housing for low- and moderate-income families. Indeed, today FHA is an effective instrument that is providing opportunities to nonwhites in all parts of urban areas. In recent weeks, FHA initiated a housing counseling service for low-income families. Recently it moved into insuring mortgages in riot-torn or riot-threatened areas. Thus FHA today is operating in many ways in the slums and blighted areas of our cities.

This is a symbolic occasion. I want to assure you that this occasion of opening seven buildings for 38 families has importance far beyond Roxbury and the City of Boston. In a sense, we are today formally opening the Rent Supplements Program—and that is a significant moment, and a new direction, for the Nation's urban housing policies.

This is the first development in the Nation consisting entirely of new construction that was planned, financed and completed under the Rent Supplement Program. There are already some families residing in housing that has been rehabilitated for this program. In fact, there are already one thousand families receiving Rent Supplement assistance.

But most of them are residing in housing provided by older programs. Some of the programs are administered by the Federal Housing Administration. Some are administered by other parts of FHA's parent organization—which I head—the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

This occasion is appropriate to examine the Nation's efforts to help the ill-housed. Recently, it has become almost common to hear questions about whether the FHA—which has helped in housing millions of families—is genuinely concerned about the most serious social problem of housing low- and moderate-income families. Sometimes the criticism is confusing.

In a recent instance, the Mayor of a midwestern city asserted that FHA red tape had delayed a moderate-income housing development in his city. But only a few days earlier, he had written us to declare that the project could never have been completed without the full cooperation of FHA. Faced with this record of inconsistency, he recently wrote to me saying, and I quote: "Dear Mr. Secretary: I owe you an apology."

In a situation closer to home, the Mayor of Malden, Massachusetts, has complained of FHA's efficiency and concern for a moderate-income project in his city. He cited an 18-month delay. He attributed it entirely to FHA. He failed to mention that the site plan had been changed after the original submission had been approved by FHA. This occasioned a seven-month delay in processing.

Also the Mayor made much of FHA's requirement for a 100% bond. He was repeating a complaint made by the "packager" of the project. This is the same packager who had been placed on FHA's list of those determined to be undesirable risks—because of irregularities in his financial arrangements with the builders of moderate-income housing projects. And only last week, the same packager had to be advised that he has still failed to conform to the requirements that he had agreed to as a condition for being removed from the list.

Actually 100% bonds are not impossible nor even extremely expensive for builders who have the financial ability to construct the multiple-unit developments involved. It is not the amount of the bond but the financial capacity of the firm seeking it that is important. And the 100% requirement applies to *all* FHA insurance of multi-family projects in the Boston area. It was secured by the builder of this development. Bonding of this type is, in fact, a response to the requests of small subcontractors who frequently were unable to collect payment from out-of-town builders.

II

Let us turn to the Rent Supplement Program. It is administered by FHA. It received its first funds on May 13, 1966.

The specific chronology of this Charlame Park Homes Project is instructive. The sponsor, the Charles Street A.M.E. Church, applied for FHA insurance on June 11, 1965. On November 1, FHA agreed to make the commitment for the project. On May 30, 1966, the sponsor asked to change the project from that of standard, moderate-income housing to the new Rent Supplement Program. Two weeks later, June 17, FHA allocated funds for it. Two months later, August 29, FHA issued the commitment to insure it.

On September 26, 1966, construction was started. Today we are marking its completion.

Thus, 15 months after the new program was first funded; 11 months after initial endorsement; and 11 months after construction began, this development is complete.

One reason this development moved rapidly is that the sponsor has some experience. The Charles Street A.M.E. Church has already completed and now operates a moderate-income development near here. Thus, when the church undertook a Rent Supplement project, it was familiar with the procedures and processing requirements for an FHA multi-family development. And it was knowledgeable about construction and finance.

This development was financed out of the first $12 million appropriated for Rent Supplements, which became available on May 13, 1966. On September 6, 1966, an additional $20 million were appropriated. Between then and June, 1967, all $32 million were allocated. This involves 439 projects in 290 cities and 46 states. It will mean 33,905 dwelling units for low-income families.

All of these dwellings will be built and managed by private sponsors. Some will be non-profit and limited-profit corporations, some cooperatives. Since they are financed by mortgages obtained at normal market interest rates, as soon as the mortgages are seasoned, the financing, too, will be by private, rather than public funds.

Many are already privately financed, and this one today is an example. Indeed, I am confident that long before the first $32 million of Rent Supplements are translated into homes for low-income Americans, most of the mortgages will have been purchased by private investors.

If you recognize the size of the Rent Supplements Program, the relative inexperience of many sponsors, and the novelty of the undertaking, this is a record that simply does not fit the charges of indifference or ineptitudes by FHA.

There are problems of sites, land cost, design, construction cost, financial arrangements, and management proposals. Each has to be examined. Because the program is new, both FHA and sponsors have had to learn by doing. But the lessons are as important for the future as they are difficult for the present. Their importance is obvious when we recognize that the mortgages involved are long-term, extending over 40 years.

III

Aside from Rent Supplements, the moderate-income housing program of FHA holds a special interest for me. It was one of the innovations I sponsored in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1961. It is the first national program to provide housing for those who are too poor to afford housing in the open market, but who earn too much to qualify for public housing.

The subsidy here is a below-market-interest-rate mortgage. The other mortgage terms and eligible sponsors are similar to Rent Supplements.

It has been observed that only 40,000 moderate-income housing units are now occupied. It is alleged this reflects on FHA administration. These critics ignore the fact that the size of the program depends on the amount of funds authorized for financing the mortgages. Since the mortgage interest rates are below the market, special assistance funds are provided by our Federal National Mortgage Association.

Let us examine the records compiled in this effort. The first funds from FNMA were allocated in August 1961. This amounted to $30 million. In March, 1962, $100 million were added. And these additions followed: In July, 1962, $250 million; in July, 1963, $370 million; in May, 1964, $200 million; in August, 1964, $350 million; in June, 1965, $112.5 million; in October, 1965, $425 million; and in October, 1966, $32.5 million were added.

What about the housing? As of June 30, 1967, there were 40,000 units completed. Another 22,027 are under construction. An additional 83,000 are being processed. Thus, 145,000 units of housing for moderate-income families will be provided. And the effort will continue to expand with $500 million of further special assistance in the 1968 budget.

Both the moderate-income and rent supplements programs of FHA have moved more rapidly than any other multi-family program sponsored by the Department. They have not been neglected. Nor will they be neglected. I have constantly stressed their importance and the need to accelerate them. We are emphasizing improved processing and encouraging the development of more sponsors.

Every new housing program requires time for tooling up and developing effective processing methods. This involves trial and error. New sponsors have to become experienced. Standards have to be established. People inside and outside government have to be recruited and trained. These steps would have to be taken no matter what administrative machinery is devised.

Billions of dollars are involved. Those who commit the credit of the United States for immense programs have grave responsibilities. They are responsible to the taxpayer who may have to pay for any and all mistakes in market analysis, design, location, construction or management. They have a unique responsibility to protect and assist inexperienced sponsors. And most of all, they are responsible to the occupants who ought to get the best possible housing at the lowest possible cost in all publicly-assisted developments.

IV

All of this is not to say that FHA is without fault. There have been instances where local offices lacked enthusiasm for low- and moderate-income developments. Some have questioned the wisdom of building in central cities. Some have been hesitant to approve developments that did not reflect traditional standards for mortgage insurance. But the record of these last few years clearly shows that these attitudes and practices are changing—and changing rapidly.

These years have also indicated to us in HUD what needs to be done to accelerate processing. We have brought in highly qualified teams from Washington to break administrative jams. We are experimenting with a series of techniques and methods to reduce processing time. We have simplified requirements and procedures.

In addition, we are increasingly bringing the decisionmaking in Rent Supplements and moderate-income housing into the HUD regional offices. This expedites processing. It also relates this housing more closely to other HUD programs. In short, we are learning how to act effectively in a market where private enterprise has had little previous experience, and where FHA has been equally uninvolved.

We are not satisfied with the results. Processing still takes too long. But we have profited from experience. These programs are moving. We are prepared to move them more rapidly in the future.

V

One striking fact about administering an agency such as HUD (and its predecessor the Housing and Home Finance Agency) is that there is a lag in public recognition of changes.

I first saw that in urban renewal. Initially it was somewhat insensitive about relocating families. It did often tear down the housing of low- and moderate-income families and rebuild housing for the affluent. It did too often emphasize bulldozer clearance. And it did take its lumps from the critics.

But we have significantly modified every one of these characteristics—yet the old reputation clings and persists, though it is no longer accurate or fair.

Today eight out of ten persons displaced by urban renewal are helped, or help themselves, to move into decent, safe and sanitary housing. Urban renewal today upgrades the quality of housing for the vast majority of those who originally lived in the slums and blighted areas involved. Of course, many people understandably resent being forced to move, regardless of what their conditions, or dissatisfactions, were before. That is one reason why we now stress rehabilitation rather than demolition. And today there are more dwellings scheduled for rehabilitation than demolition in the urban renewal process.

Last year a score of mayors and other officials helped us re-examine urban renewal. One result is that many of these cities have said that rebuilding their pockets of poverty will be their highest priority. Another result is that HUD adopted a new policy that says specifically that our urban renewal aid must advance these goals:

1. It must conserve and expand housing for low- and moderate-income families.

2. It must develop new employment opportunities for the unemployed and the underemployed.

3. It must emphasize renewal of urban areas that have the most critical needs.

This does not mean there will be no more central business district redevelopment or no more high-income housing redevelopment. Many cities must upgrade central business districts to provide a viable economic base. Some blighted areas should be redeveloped for higher-income occupancy. But this new policy means that every city must provide a balanced program—and the first priority must go toward rehousing the lower income segment of the population.

Culture is essential to an exciting city. Thus there will continue to be civic centers and university extensions in urban renewal areas. But they must concentrate first on housing those who need it most.

I think FHA suffers a similar reputation lag as has urban renewal. FHA is accused of having concern only for the suburbs, or upper-income groups in the central city. It is charged, with some justification, of having been a principal instrument in the spread of racial, residential segregation in the past. It continues to be labeled by many as unconcerned about housing the poor and those who are the victims of discrimination.

But what are the facts about FHA today? It is a principal source of mortgage financing for existing homes purchased by nonwhites across all of the urban complex. It has lifted the barriers that once prohibited insuring mortgages in changing neighborhoods. It is taking positive steps to finance the rebuilding of blighted areas in the central city. It is increasingly involved in building and rebuilding housing for low- and moderate-income families. Indeed, today FHA is an effective instrument that is providing opportunities to nonwhites in all parts of the urban complex.

I take pride in what Dempsey J. Travis, president of Chicago's Sivart Mortgage Corporation, wrote in the July issue of *Ebony*. He said: "I think FHA policies have made a 100 percent about-face since Weaver's coming."

Let me mention two other developments. In recent weeks, FHA initiated a pilot effort in five cities to counsel low-income, minority, veteran, elderly and other families in securing housing.

The FHA counselor interviews prospective buyers and renters. He helps them determine their financial capacity. He tells them about all FHA-acquired or insured housing that is covered by the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

Through the interview, families select properties they like, and they are assisted in getting appointments to see them. All of this has several results.

It directs families to properties they like and can afford. That avoids useless explorations.

It alerts owners, managers and real estate firms that FHA will insist on open occupancy practices in its programs.

It provides machinery for seeing to it that those who are required to follow open occupancy practices are in fact doing so.

A second development, equally significant, is FHA's recent instructions to field offices requiring them, in accordance with new legislation, to insure mortgages in riot-torn areas, or areas threatened by riots. Thus FHA today is operating in many ways in the slums and blighted areas of our cities.

VI

At the outset, I said this was a symbolic occasion for the Rent Supplement Program. Today we can see tangible evidence of this program becoming the most imaginative and significant effort to house low-income families that this Nation has produced in the last 30 years.

With appropriations now available, we shall house some 34,000 families in developments similar to this.

But that is not enough. It does not even approach the need. Therefore all who are concerned with people must feel the enormity of the failure of the House of Representatives to appropriate the $40 million to expand Rent Supplements.

We are now attempting to restore this appropriation in the Senate. As you know, President Johnson has repeatedly urged such action. What we can see here today speaks eloquently of the need of the funds that the President urgently requests.

In recent days, the President has also had to ask the Nation to accept a tax increase—so that we can get on with many urban jobs long unfinished, and to support our armies abroad. I believe this Nation will accept both challenges—and the sacrifices they require.

For more than six years, it has been my principal goal to make HUD programs more responsive to the needs of people. Urban renewal has, I believe, turned the corner. And FHA is well on the way. The latter agency *is* in the business of augmenting the supply of decent moderate- and low-income housing.

I have always believed in FHA's potential for assisting a wide spectrum of income groups. Even years ago, when I was one of the agency's most severe critics, I wrote of that potential.

More recently, with the full cooperation of Commissioner Neal Hardy and today of Assistant Secretary Philip Brownstein, and many of their associates, we are beginning to realize that potential.

There is always a need for informed criticism but that criticism must be rooted in facts.

The central fact today is that this Nation needs all of the tools and weapons it can muster to meet the urban problems that affect all of us. FHA is such a tool. Our continuing need is to find the ways to make it increasingly effective.

Today, in this development, and in the nearby moderate-income projects now in existence, we can see what can be, and is being, accomplished. Let us build on that solid foundation.

Results of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take note of the cooperation of the residents of my district in responding to my annual questionnaire. This year over 35,000 replies were received. I want to thank all those who have participated in their Government this way, and to report here the results of the questionnaire for the first session of the 90th Congress:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No answer
1. Do you support U.S. military activity in Vietnam?	74.7	21.9	3.4
2. Would you favor prohibiting wiretapping and bugging in all cases except national security?	57.4	39.2	3.4
3. Do you favor the current war on poverty?	23.0	73.4	3.6
4. Should the United States increase trade with Communist countries?	23.6	71.6	4.8
5. Do you support foreign aid?	28.2	61.6	10.2
6. Would you support a program to improve health, education, and housing for migrant farmworkers?	74.0	21.4	4.6
7. Are you in favor of increasing social security taxes to provide increased social security benefits?	54.5	42.5	3.0
8. Do you favor "open housing" legislation?	18.0	73.0	9.0
9. Would you favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit Federal control of school curriculum and teacher qualifications?	73.9	24.4	1.7

Congressman Horton's Concern for the Ukraine Lauded by Congressman Findley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the plight of small nations which have been forcefully put beneath the Communist yoke grows more serious each year.

Unfortunately, there is too often a tendency for some to forget the millions in those nations who yearn for their lost freedoms.

But there is one among us who never fails to express his conviction that we should do everything in our power to strengthen the forces which would free the captive nations.

I refer to our colleague, Representative Frank Horton.

Mr. Horton spoke eloquently on the subject recently at Benjamin Franklin High School in Rochester, N.Y., during the observance of the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

I would like to share his address with you and with our colleagues at this time:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE FRANK HORTON

Perhaps some of you will recall that in July of last year I spoke to a Captive Nations dinner audience. At that time I opened my remarks with a quotation from the work of Taras Shevchenko, the reknown Ukrainian poet of freedom. The passage I used was from "My Testament" and was this:

> Oh bury me, then rise ye up
> And break your heavy chains
> And water with the tyrants' blood
> The freedom you have gained

The passage of time has only made his words more appropriate as we today pay tribute to the courage of those people of the Ukraine who fifty years ago rose up to throw off the oppressive chains of the then newly constituted Kerensky government of Russia. Unfortunately the freedom for which your forefathers fought so valiantly was soon lost. In 1921 the Polish government and the rulers of Communist Russia signed a Treaty under which they agreed to dissolve the Ukrainian National Republic and divide between themselves the territory of this once sovereign state.

The stranglehold of Communism that was then imposed on the Ukraine has since been forced upon many additional millions of peoples as the list of Captive Nations has grown ever longer.

As all of you know, I have long decried the continued growth of the Captive Nations "roster" and I have employed every means at my command to awaken the Administration to the real magnitude of the Communist menace. Today more than 20 countries comprise that roster and range from the once proud nations of Eastern Europe with their rich cultural heritages to the beleaguered island only 90 miles off the shores of America whose people have suffered so greatly since the establishment of a Communist government. Today we also witness the loss of many thousands of American lives in Asia where we seek to frustrate the most recent effort of the Communist World to expand its empire.

When I look back over the record of American efforts in the defense of freedom during the last fifty years I am deeply saddened. The fundamental American faith in the honesty of all men has caused this Nation to frequently forfeit at the conference table, and elsewhere in the sphere of international politics, many of the victories which we have achieved on the battlefield at such staggering cost. Unlike Winston Churchill who perceived so clearly the fall of the Iron Curtain, American statesmen continue to be naive about the intricacies of international politics.

For example, I have repeatedly called for a strengthening of the NATO alliance as well as our own defensive posture. The Administration, however, appears more concerned with achieving an East-West detente and a vast expansion of trade between the two worlds, financed with American credit. I am compelled to conclude that the priorities of the present Administration are confused when goals such as these are promoted while we are engaged in armed combat with a nation receiving vast amounts of aid and arms from the Soviet Union.

In my judgment the first order of business is to strengthen our great European alliance and our own defensive capability before we embark on programs to ease the tensions of the world. We should attempt to further international cooperation and understanding only after our national security and sovereignty are assured.

Organizations such as the United Ukrainian Committee and people such as Bill Andrushin have a vital role to play if the government of this country is to be made fully aware of the threat which the Communist menace poses to our continued national existence. I am hopeful that through your dedicated educational efforts the true nature of the menace will be exposed.

Port of Oakland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the very distinguished Senator from Alaska, the Honorable E. L. Bartlett, chairman of the Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, addressed the Intermodal Transportation Symposium at Oakland, Calif., on September 14, 1967, in connection with the 40th anniversary of the inception of the Port of Oakland. Senator Bartlett is most knowledgeable in the affairs of our merchant marine and particularly in the phase of its operations treated in his remarks on that occasion.

I am pleased to insert in the Record the following speech of Senator E. L. Bartlett:

REMARKS OF SENATOR E. L. BARTLETT, CHAIRMAN, MERCHANT MARINE SUBCOMMITTEE, SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, INTERMODAL TRANSPORTATION SYMPOSIUM, SEPTEMBER 14, 1967, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Honored guests at head table, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me be candid.

I come before this symposium with mixed emotions.

My emotions are mixed not because I am hesitant to address this group or because I have doubts about the value of intermodal transportation systems. To the contrary, I believe that tying all modes of transportation into one system is the most exciting concept to come down the turnpike, the ways or landing strip in decades. Rather, my concern is that this concept will not be allowed to become all it is capable of becoming. However, I hasten to add the proper use of containers is not the sole mixer of my emotions in the transportation picture. I will briefly outline the sources of my discontent.

Last year Congress authorized the creation of a Department of Transportation. On the basis of time lapsing between the proposal and the passage of the act, the Transportation Department set a record for becoming a cabinet-level organization. Such haste on the part of Congress, a body not always know for moving swiftly, would seem to indicate that the nation's lawmakers felt strongly about the need to bring some order to our transportation system, to develop a balanced system which would move people and goods quickly, efficiently and on that mode of transportation best suited to a particular trip. I am sure everyone in this room applauds, as I do, the philosophy behind the new department.

However, that philosophy can become policy only if the Department of Transportation has the backing within the executive branch to make changes in bureaucratically set agencies, to make decisions for the good of the entire nation and not just for the benefit of a particular department.

If, indeed, the Secretary of Transportation does not enjoy the standing within the executive branch that many of us envisioned, it won't be the first time the Executive Department has ignored congressional intent.

As a matter of fact, if any of the administrations since 1936 had implemented the Merchant Marine Act of that year, this country would not be losing its position as a great maritime power.

I recently completed rather extensive hearings on the present state and future of the United States Merchant Marine. There was unanimous agreement that our old fleet was getting older fast and that if something were not done soon, the United States, for all intents and purposes, would cease to be strong in its maritime power at a time when the Soviet Union, among other nations, cognizant of the value of sea power, had launched programs designed to make it the ruler of seas, militarily and commercially.

Believing that necessity is the mother of invention, I was hopeful, but not very, that such widespread concern would lead to development of widespread support for a new maritime policy. Apparently, necessity is not the mother of unanimity, for, as everyone in the room knows, each segment of the maritime industry put forth different proposals for meeting this great national need. The diversity was and is so great that our Secretary of Transportation has yet to come up with a public policy on this question.

Further, we witnessed a distressing happening in which the Department of Defense, in pushing for a pet project of its own, not only overstated the strength of our reserve fleet, but expressed no interest in the relation between the merchant marine and our national security other than in our fleet's rather uncertain ability to supply troops around the world.

In addition to hearings on the merchant marine, I also recently concluded an investigation into standardization of containers. As I indicated previously, I believe development of the container conception can revolutionize the transportation industry. I know from first-hand knowledge in Alaska that the use of containers can cut costs. I was, therefore, dismayed to learn that an industry already stifled by over regulation was about to embark on a policy with government support which might well stifle development of a new and promising concept. This "stifling" would, in effect, discriminate against ship owners who did not choose to go along with industry-set standards. The stifling would mean rigid use of certain size containers which might prove to be less satisfactory than other sizes, thus leaving our merchant marine or transportation industry in a very uncompetitive position.

I have no objections to private industry setting standards, but I do object and object strongly when a government agency acts to impose those standards on everyone. I object strongly to such actions: particularly when there is no economic justification for the standards.

Particularly when use on the open market—remember free enterprise?—is the best way to determine the best standards;

Particularly when two firms which pioneered the concept and made an "unsubsidized" go of it would be penalized;

Particularly when the standards would not work as advertised—for example 20-foot containers must be specially strengthened when coupled, and uncoupled 20-foot containers cannot fit into 40-foot container cells.

And particularly when it is easier for cranes to adjust from 20-foot to 24-foot containers and from 30 to 35-foot containers than from 20-foot to 40-footers, the two sizes which are the most popular among the standards.

It must also be noted that two-thirds of the containers in the world are 24 feet or 35 feet long, neither of which is "standard."

So these are the causes of my mixed emotions. On this hand, we have a Department of Transportation, on the other, it is not yet clear that the new department has sufficient muscle within the executive branch to do the job which must be done.

On the one hand, all are agreed our merchant marine is sinking fast, but no one agrees on how best to keep it afloat.

An intermodal transportation system holds great promise for the future, but there is a move afoot to tie that future to the present.

In each case, hope is balanced by concern, good reason for mixing something for the emotions.

Now I am certain, or at least I hope, that you do not think I flew to Oakland just to unburden my emotions in a group therapy session. No, if you will pardon the expression in an "emotion" ladened speech, there is a method to my madness.

I have no intention of extolling the virtues of intermodal transportation system to this audience. If you didn't appreciate the value of the concept, you probably would not be here. If you happened to wander in uninitiated in the fine art of containerization, I suspect the views of a legislator would have little impact in convincing you that containers are the wave of the future.

Rather, for the next few minutes I want to return to the mixers of my emotions to outline briefly the role that this legislator believes legislation can play in helping to develop a modern, efficient and competitive transportation industry.

Frankly, I am not sure what else Congress can do about giving the Department of Transportation added muscle. Perhaps it is only a matter of time before all the organizations now lumped together in the new department accept their new status in life. Congress can help by appropriating adequate funds and I think, judging from the haste in which Congress approved the new department, Capitol Hill will supply the needed capital.

Turning to our merchant marine, there is something Congress can do, and that is to establish a merchant marine program, with or without proposals from the administration. Of course, if Congress does take the initiative in enacting a program, there still remains the question of whether the administration will implement a program with which it does not agree. However, I can report that chances have brightened in recent weeks that a new maritime policy will be placed before Congress during the 90th Congress. I have discussed the question of a new merchant marine program with many persons in and out of Washington, and that includes the man in the White House. While these discussions have not brought concrete results, they are the basis for my somewhat optimistic statement of "brightening changes."

Let me emphasize though, that whatever the chances, I believe in face of the conditions of our merchant marine, it is incumbent upon the national legislature to propose and enact a program whether or not the administration acts. This legislator is one among several who intends to put forth such a program with or without administration support, though, of course, I would much prefer that we have assurances that the program will be implemented.

Certainly Congress does have a key role to play in efforts to revitalize our merchant marine.

Similarly, it will be up to Congress to decide the final resting place for the Federal Maritime Administration, and I use the phrase "resting place" with some malice of forethought. It is quite clear that a "wrong" decision on relocating the Federal Maritime Administration could make my phrase only all too accurate. There are those who believe that the administration would be subordinated to the needs of other agencies if it were moved to the Department of Transportation; and there are those who argue that an independent administration would lack the necessary muscle when it sought appropriations from Congress.

While I am not about to predict the outcome of the debate, I will venture a guess on what will be the determining factor in settling the question. If the administration proposes or supports an adequate merchant marine program, many persons will be convinced that the Federal Maritime Administration will receive a fair shake in the Department of Transportation. If the administration turns thumbs down on all meaningful maritime proposals, many persons will fear for the future of the Maritime Administration if it is turned over to a department which cannot or will not take a lead or even support efforts to build up an important segment of its responsibility.

I would like at this point to express a hope—a hope that all those persons who agree that our merchant fleet is sinking will agree to put a substantive program ahead of politics if and when a program is forthcoming.

And now I come to containers and what legislators can do to help this idea develop as it should. As you no doubt surmised, I do not intend to stand idly by while the federal government uses its power incorrectly, in my judgment, to stifle a concept that, left to flourish in the open market, will benefit the transportation industry and those the industry serves.

However, Congress must do more than that if containerization is to live up to its promise.

There are numerous problems to be solved before the full effect of containerization can be felt. Some of the problems are mechanical and some are what might be classified generally as regulatory. It is in the latter area that Congress can and must act.

There is the problem of regulations requiring custom officials to open and inspect containers en route, thereby negating in part the value of containers in reducing handling costs and pilferage.

There is the problem of adopting the various liability regulations now applied to different modes of transportation to the concept of containers moving unopened over land and sea and in the air.

And finally, there is the most important problem of establishing through bills of lading providing through routes and rates.

Unless these problems are solved the mechanical benefits of containerization will not be translated into economic incentives and savings which will encourage widespread use of containers.

Inasmuch as these rules are man-made, there should be no reason why man cannot find ways to change these rules to fit this new development.

I say that mindful of the difficulties already alluded to in getting changes in man-made rules governing the merchant marine.

However, I think that Congress will be receptive to proposals to alter our rate-setting environment to permit full use of this new technology.

As in the case of our merchant marine, there is need for haste in developing a new rate-setting environment. Containerization is coming faster than anyone imagined, or for that matter, hoped. The rush is on to get in on the ground floor of containerization, or perhaps I should say, the rush is on to catch up with those few firms which already are on the ground floor.

Let me briefly review some of the efforts now underway in the Department of Transportation to facilitate intermodal transportation.

In order to make maximum use of through shipments, especially with containers, cargo must be documented at the originating point so that it can be moved via various modes of transportation without the expense of re-documentation for each mode.

Efforts to develop such documentation in the United States parallel work that is underway in the Economic Commission for Europe. A Working Party on the Standardization and Simplification of External Trade Documents of the Committee on the Development of Trade is working toward through documentation for the European countries. The United States is a member of the Economic Commission for Europe and is participating with the European countries to align the United States' documentation for cargo with that of the European nations. This effort will be expanded to the Far East, African, and Latin American countries who have recently requested the Technical Adviser of ECE to help them standardize their through documentation projects. The objective of these programs is to develop an international bill of lading.

The United States is working with other members of the United Nations through the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization to standardize entry and clearance documents. The Senate has ratified the two maritime conventions—the Convention of Mar Del Plata and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization Convention—proscribing a minimum number of documents that will be required to enter and clear vessels at any of the member country ports. The documents required will be: a general declaration (to enter and clear the vessel); a cargo declaration; ship's stores declaration; crew's certificates declaration; crew list; passenger list; universal postal convention document for mail, and maritime declaration of health.

Work is underway to design the forms and determine what items will be contained on those forms to cover the above items. When these forms are put into effect, the paperwork and procedures for entering and clearing vessels will be greatly simplified and standardized.

Legislative changes to permit through documentation, simplified and standardized entry and clearance procedures and documents will require changes in existing laws.

Legislative changes will be required to permit development of through rates and rates. A number of proposals, ranging from creation of super regulatory agency to establishment of joint boards involving the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, and the Civil Aeronautics Boards, to development of a new type of freight forwarder, have been made in the past.

Obviously, any such major change in our present rate-setting environment requires considerable study and experimentation. It may well be that the pressure of the container revolution will not permit us to wait for such major changes. At present, none of the three regulatory agencies, with certain exceptions, accept rate filings for routes which extend beyond their areas of authority. Perhaps the best approach at this moment would be enactment of permissive legislation to allow the regulatory boards to accept through-route, single-rate filings. If this approach were taken, then those members of the transportation industry which want to take full advantage of containerization would be allowed to do so, subject to rate approvals from the proper regulatory bodies.

Clearly the days ahead will require close cooperation between private industry and government if we are to be successful in making the legal adjustment necessitated by the container revolution. Regardless of what proposals eventually come forth, the various segments of the transportation industry must be prepared to face the fact that in their dealings with the regulatory agencies, business will not be done "as usual."

A few minutes ago, I expressed the hope that if and when a maritime program is proposed all interested parties will value the establishment of a sound merchant marine program more than making political points. In the same spirit, I hope that when changes in our rate structures are proposed, all interested parties will submerge any narrow interest to the greater good of making the containerization revolution as successful as possible.

And now, I want to thank you for this opportunity to discuss my "emotional" state. I suppose the persons who suffer most from the malady of mixed emotions are those who find themselves unable to do anything about what is bothering them. As I review my remarks to you, I find that happily I am not in such a predicament. For you in the business end of transportation and for me in the legislative end, this is indeed an exciting era. The problems are not insoluble, and by solving them we will help make the world a better place in which to live. No man, mixed emotions or not, can ask for a better opportunity than that.

SENATE

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Lord of life and light, who art the center and soul of every sphere.

Turning aside, for this hallowed moment, from the violence of these embittered days, we would hush the words of the wise and the prattle of the foolish.

In the silence of this Chamber of governance, we would hear the ancient assurance, "Be still and know that I am God."

We ask not that Thou wilt keep us safe in these dangerous times, but that Thou wilt keep us loyal to the starry ideals of this dear land of freedom.

By a vision of Thy eternal kingdom whose sun never sets, give us the inner strength to serve the present age.

"To be true to all truth the world denies,
Not tongue-tied by its gilded lies,
Not always right in all men's eyes,
But faithful to the light within."

For Thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, September 29, 1967, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT, APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 28, 1967, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 1657) to extend for 1 year the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers who are directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Legislative Calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations on the calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR HAYDEN ON HIS 90TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Today is a very special day for the Senate.

Today marks a milestone in the life of one of our most distinguished Members. I refer to the 90th birthday anniversary of the senior Senator from Arizona and our beloved President pro tempore.

CARL HAYDEN has achieved a great many personal milestones since entering public service: treasurer and later sheriff of Maricopa County in his home State when a sheriff was the law; Arizona's first Representative to Congress when it received statehood in 1912; a U.S. Senator whose 40 years of service is a record for this body and whose combined House-Senate term of 55 years is a record for Congress.

Now he has reached another milestone. I know that he would rather that the day pass quietly and with no recognition. But the veritable army of friends of CARL HAYDEN will not let it pass without some expression of affection for our senior colleague.

History will record that we do not honor Senator HAYDEN simply for his longevity. Age is a neutral quality. Rather we honor him for what he has done with the many years allotted to him. We honor him for remaining humble, compassionate, and kind when he could have been otherwise. We honor him for the selfless example which he has shown for more than half a century. Above all, we honor him for being a truly great U.S. Senator and a close personal friend.

Happy birthday, CARL.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. I thank the majority leader for his very kind words, and I hope to be around when he attains my age. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator from Arizona has just indicated what I meant. I thank the Chair.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I endorse everything the majority leader has said about the Senator from Arizona this morning, and I should like to add that it seems pretty good to look at the President's desk and see the Senator from Arizona holding the reins over the Senate as usual. That is about all I have to say—he looks good.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. I thank the Senator.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to join with all the Members of the Senate in paying well-deserved tribute to the President pro tempore of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, on the occasion of his 90th birthday anniversary.

Senator Hayden has the great honor and distinction of having served longer in the U.S. Senate than anyone else in history. Through this long tenure, he has held many important assignments and chairmanships, and for many years has been the chairman of one of the most powerful and important committees in the U.S. Senate, the Committee on Appropriations.

Having served on this committee for 20 of my more than 22 years in the Senate, I have become quite close to Carl Hayden and have had the opportunity to evaluate his work on the committee. Carl Hayden has handled this very difficult assignment in a most capable, efficient, and diligent manner. He has earned the respect of everyone who has served with him.

Carl Hayden's contribution to his State and the Nation during his tenure, the longest tenure of anyone who has served in Congress, has been immeasurable. One of the greatest of all his contributions has been his stanch, steadfast, and powerful support of reclamation for the West. The great empire that has been built in the Western States during his service in Congress would never have been possible had it not been for his effective efforts in bringing all-important water to this vast area.

One really has to know Carl Hayden to understand why it was possible for one man to accomplish so much in nearly a lifetime of service in the Senate and why the people of his State have continuously elected him to public office since his youth.

The great respect and loyalty he enjoys from everyone who has come to know him is well deserved. He is completely honest in everything he does. He is a highly intelligent legislator and has a long record of service and good judgment. No Member of this body has been more faithful to his duties as a Senator than he.

Carl Hayden has won the admiration and respect of his fellow men as few people in this body have ever been able to do. I count him as one of the best and most respected friends I have ever had. He has helped me to be a better Senator.

I congratulate our friend on this, his 90th birthday. This is a great day for the State of Arizona and the entire Nation—and more especially for the U.S. Senate and Carl Hayden.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with other Members of the Senate in extending felicitations and best wishes to our colleague, Carl Hayden, on this, his birthday anniversary.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona has through his many years of service in Congress endeared himself to all of us.

He is truly a westerner, and never at any time has he failed or faltered in support of programs effecting that great area. Coming as I do from the Midwest, I personally know of many programs and projects that, as history is written, will carry the Carl Hayden label.

Time and again I have gone to the distinguished Senator from Arizona with projects and problems in my own State of Kansas, and on those occasions I always received the most sympathetic consideration. I am deeply indebted to him.

It is a privilege and a pleasure to serve and work with Carl Hayden. Congratulations and best wishes.

Mr. HILL. I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our friend, Senator Hayden, the President pro tempore of the Senate.

I was first privileged to know Carl Hayden when I came to the House of Representatives in 1923, more than 44 years ago. Through the years, he has given me his friendship, always so kind, always so sympathetic, always so understanding, and always most helpful. In fact, when I think of him and his friendship, I think of the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson: "A friend may well be reckoned the masterpiece of Nature."

Since I became a Member of the Senate, I have been privileged to serve on the Committee on Appropriations, most of the time under his chairmanship. I have seen and I have witnessed his wisdom and his uncommon commonsense. I have seen his vision, his indefatigable work for our country and its people, his dedication and devotion to the cause of our people and our country.

Surely I am proud today to pay tribute to this wonderful man who has a record the like of which I know of no other man in all of the history of our country to have. I do not think that history will show any other man who has served in Congress for 55 years, the length of service of the Senator from Arizona.

It is a great tribute to the people of Arizona that they had the wisdom, the knowledge, and good sense to keep Carl Hayden here in the Senate all these many years.

It is an honor and a privilege for me to pay tribute to him and his magnificent service to our country and our people.

It has been said that character is that which draws a man to God and which draws other men to him. Surely no man has displayed or shown greater character than has our friend from Arizona, Carl Hayden.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. It gives me a great deal of pleasure at this time to join with Senators in paying tribute to my good friend and colleague, Senator Hayden. I have not been a Member of the Senate as many years as other Senators who have spoken and who will speak this morning.

No Member of the Senate has ever come to this body and enjoyed the friendship of other Senators more than has Senator Hayden. It has been my privilege to be associated with him on the Committee on Rules and Administration ever since I became a member of that committee. For a good many years I have been the chairman of that committee. The Senator from Arizona is the ranking member of that committee and no other man could have been more helpful or more sympathetic or have used a better guiding hand than he does in helping me to run that great committee.

I am also a member of the Joint Committee on Printing, of which his is chairman. This morning we went to the Government Printing Office to see put into operation a great new printing process which has taken 3 to 4 years to develop and make possible the rapid printing which is taking place in the Government Printing Office.

Through Senator Hayden's wise counsel, and through his foresight, it was made possible to have this process developed and placed in operation. It will save taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars in the future, while doing better work more quickly.

Senator Hayden is always alert to the needs of the people and he acts quickly and sympathetically.

I wish to join with all of my friends in wishing Senator Hayden the happiest of birthdays and that he will be with us for many years in the future.

Mr. HOLLAND. I am happy to join my colleagues today in saluting one of the Nation's most devoted servants as he reaches the ripe young age of fourscore and ten.

As a Senator from Florida, I have had the distinct pleasure of serving on the Appropriations Committee under Senator Hayden's forceful leadership since the beginning of the 84th Congress.

He served in the House of Representatives from February 19, 1912, when the State of Arizona first entered the Union, to March 3, 1927. He did not seek reelection to the House as he became a candidate for the U.S. Senate, being elected to this body in 1926, where he has been a stalwart, devoted to the betterment of the Nation as a whole and of the fine State from which he comes and which he has so ably represented in the Congress throughout the past 55 years.

He has been a member of the Committee on Appropriations throughout his service in the Senate, having served under such able chairmen as Francis E. Warren, Wesley L. Jones, Frederick Hale, Carter Glass, Styles Bridges, and Kenneth McKellar, prior to his assuming the chairmanship of the committee in the 84th Congress, which incidentally was the same time that I was honored by becoming a junior member of the committee.

The respect his colleagues hold for him is indicated by his election as President pro tempore of the Senate in 1957, at the start of the 85th Congress and each succeeding Congress thereafter.

During his fruitful and rewarding career both to the State of Arizona and to the Nation as a public servant, he has served some 55 years in Congress and an additional 10 years as a member of the

Tempe Town Council, treasurer of Maricopa County, or as sheriff.

I might add that this wonderful individual, whom I, and I know my colleagues, one and all, hold in the highest esteem, not only has been my senior in the Senate, but he was commissioned in the infantry during World War I as a major, while I attained the rank of captain.

On this day, Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues in the Senate to salute a statesman, a man of courage and convictions, and a man who has earned the gratitude of all America. I wish my distinguished chairman and the President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from Arizona, CARL HAYDEN, many happy returns on this day which denotes another milestone in his most productive life, and wish him continued happiness in the years ahead.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, it is with great pride and pleasure that I take this occasion to extend my best wishes to the distinguished President pro tempore and senior Senator from Arizona, upon the celebration of his 90th birthday anniversary.

Throughout Arizona statehood, he has served in Congress with unparalled honor and distinction. His record in Congress is a tribute to the people of his State and an honor to a grateful Nation.

CARL HAYDEN is a humble man. He is an extremely honorable and intelligent Senator. I know that no Member of this body has been more respected since I have been a member than has Senator HAYDEN. He is respected because of his character and ability. CARL HAYDEN is one of the great Senators of the 20th century. He has served with honor and distinction both the people of Arizona and the entire American people.

On behalf of the people of Mississippi, I salute a trusted friend, a powerful statesman, and a great American. We wish for him many more years of successful tenure in the Senate.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, there is a great deal that I could add to what has already been said about our longtime friend from Arizona. I could stand here all afternoon and talk about personal recollections in my long years of service with him.

He and I have been neighbors for many, many years in the Senate Office Building. The old first floor in the Old Senate Office Building is becoming known as "Hayden's Haven."

I have been privileged to serve with Senator HAYDEN and to know him personally all these years. I know that everyone today will talk about his long service in the Senate, his service to the Nation, and his many, many accomplishments. However, I shall always remember CARL HAYDEN and always think of him and his work here in terms of what he has done for the West. I know of no man who could point out any one person who has done more for the development of the great natural resources of the West than CARL HAYDEN. On his 90th birthday, I wish him many, many more years.

He has been the father, the author, the sparkplug, the moving factor in much of the great development which has taken place in the West. He never confined himself only to one State. He has been helpful throughout the West in developing many of the resources which have now become facts, more to become facts, and which have added greatly to the wealth and security of our country.

I do not like to admit it, but actually CARL HAYDEN was the father of the Grand Coulee Dam. He would always tell my constituents that I helped him to begin it, but he was the one who got it started. He was the one who aided Wesley Jones, who was mentioned here and who was one of the chairmen of the Appropriations Committee, and former Senator C. C. Dill, who always visits CARL HAYDEN when he comes to Washington. They often talk about the beginning of that great project. But I could go on and on throughout the West and show that CARL HAYDEN has never confined himself. He has been interested in the fields of irrigation and reclamation, and lately in the field of hydroelectric power development, all over the country.

During the long career of CARL HAYDEN—and I wish him a still longer career in the future—there have been some great monuments to him. I do not know what more I could add, but he must feel very proud of them. Rewards in politics are often intangible, but CARL HAYDEN can go around this country and point out literally scores of dams, reclamation projects, flood-control projects, and water-resources developments which are right now in existence. Everyone can look at them.

Mr. President, it must give you great satisfaction to know that you have done such a great job for the people of this country. I salute you on your 90th birthday.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, it is my pleasure today to join with Senators on both sides of the aisle in observing a most significant and happy event: the birthday of our greatly esteemed President pro tempore, CARL HAYDEN.

The Senator from Arizona has the unique distinction of having served in Congress as a representative from Arizona since the State was admitted to the Union in 1912, 55 years ago—longer than any other person has served in Congress.

He has been the dean of the Senate since 1957. Over these many years, he has earned a special place in the hearts of all of us by his unswerving devotion to duty and to the interests of his country.

It is most appropriate and particularly fitting today, at a time when there are those who would cast doubts upon the honor and integrity of the Senate and some of its respected Members, to honor a man of such dedicated purpose, unquestioned integrity, and proven honor.

Mr. President, it has been my great privilege to serve on the Committee on Appropriations with the Senator from Arizona for the past 18 years, and for many of those years under his able chairmanship.

Thus, I proudly join with Senators in saluting a man who is deeply respected and admired by us all.

His friendship, his quiet dignity, his stature as a national figure, and his statesmanship have been an inspiration to me and to all other Members of this body. His record is one which not only we, his colleagues of today, but all who may follow after us as Members of this body, may well and profitably emulate.

Very proudly I join my colleagues in saluting him today. It is my wish for him that he may have many, many more such happy and meaningful occasions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, this is a remarkable day—in the remarkable life—of a remarkable man. Today marks the 90th birthday in the long, full, and productive life of one of our Nation's greatest statesmen—Senator CARL HAYDEN.

We who have been privileged to serve with Senator HAYDEN can only be thankful we have known this great American. We have been the beneficiaries of his wise counsel and gracious spirit. We have been moved by his steadfast dedication and will.

The Nation is better for the life of CARL HAYDEN. He has served his country with determination in a career that has had no equal. In every corner of the country his imprint has been deeply etched. He has been a constructive force for the betterment of civilization and humanity. Under his leadership, the country has grown strong and our people have enjoyed the fruits of his dedicated labor.

Mr. President, I salute CARL HAYDEN, a great American and a great human being. I hope that he will be with us to share his wisdom and wit, his vision and courage for many years to come.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, almost always a knowledge of history comes from what we read; but here today, on the occasion of the 90th birthday anniversary of the present occupant of the Chair, the President pro tempore, the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], we have history in visible form.

The Presiding Officer, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from Arizona, CARL HAYDEN, entered Congress when we were living in a different kind of world and the problems and the needs were different.

I know of no man who could have adjusted himself with more deftness to the profound changes which have come over the world since he first came to Congress to represent Arizona than he.

His achievements on behalf of his own State and on behalf of the Nation are great. The West bloomed because of him. The country is a better one for his having lived with us.

Mr. President, some people, when they have many more or fewer years than does Senator HAYDEN, have a remarkable memory for events of long ago, but their memory for yesterday is deficient. That is not true of the man we speak about today as he observes his 90th birthday. Once more this year, I had occasion to recognize that fact because, although I was not as faithful in my attendance at the Interior Department Appropriations Subcommittee hearings as was Senator HAYDEN, I nevertheless was there very frequently. Once again I was impressed with the marvelous capacity of this great man to recognize what had occurred long ago and what had happened last week.

When I first became a Member of the Senate, Senator HAYDEN gave me some advice. He said, "Speak only when it is necessary." I have tried to follow that advice, but today it is necessary to speak, and I do speak.

We salute the distinguished Senator from Arizona as he observes his 90th birthday.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, not much can be added to what has been said about CARL HAYDEN's political career. All will agree that it is a far cry from CARL HAYDEN, Tempe Town councilman, his first elective office, to CARL HAYDEN, President pro tempore of the greatest deliberative body in the world. He has been able to attain this latter distinction of high honor because he was elected and reelected, time and again, by the grateful people of a sovereign State. What greater tribute can be paid to CARL HAYDEN than the fact that he has been elected for seven consecutive terms a Member of the Senate.

He was almost 60 years of age when I was sworn in as a Senator over 30 years ago. I was proud to join with him in the fight to develop, protect, and preserve our two most important natural resources—land and water. He worked through the Interior and Appropriation Committees and I through the Agriculture and Forestry and Appropriation Committees. We saw eye to eye on problems affecting our land and water resources and teamed up to help solve them.

As my good friend from the State of Washington stated, I doubt that any man in the Senate has done more to develop the West, agriculturally as well as industrially, than the man whose birthday we are celebrating today.

CARL HAYDEN fostered legislation in the Congress that made it possible to harness our water resources and make them work for the benefit of the people. No greater tribute can be extended to our colleague, as a legislator, than his work in having Congress authorize the construction of great dams in the Southwest and the Northwest, behind which the waters of our great rivers were impounded and made useful to the people, in the providing of electricity, reclamation, and navigation.

Today I am glad to join all my colleagues in extending to you, CARL, a happy birthday and a wish that you may have many more.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, rather than consider you as something detached in the third person, I thought I would talk to you personally for a minute on your 90th birthday.

First of all, to accomplish 90 years is quite an achievement in itself. The world is so full of bugs and aches and pains and maladies of all kinds that when a man has accomplished fourscore and ten, he has done quite a job. It reminds me of that abbe during the French Revolution. A French friend saw him sometime later, and he said, "What did you do during the Revolution?" He said, "I lived."

And so, you see, you have lived. That is an accomplishment in itself.

Anniversaries are something special. You stand on this pinnacle, and you look back and you look around and you look into the future. Some people do not like to look back. I do.

CARL, you were born in October 1877. You were in the cradle when Rutherford Hayes was President of the United States. I presume your only interest in tactics and strategy was to maneuver a milk bottle into your mouth in that year, when you were born.

I would like to go back and pick up the stitches of history. Sometimes they remind me of the story of the man who went into a restaurant and tied a napkin around his neck, and when the waiter came, said, "What kind of soup do you have?" He said, "Ox tail." He said, "Well, why go back that far?" [Laughter.]

Well, I like to go back that far—1877.

Your life extends over the tenure of 18 Presidents of the United States and, of course, 90 years means that the earth has gone around the sun 90 times. Every time the earth makes a journey around the sun, we call it a year. So this old ball we live on has spun around that sun 90 different times since you came on to this globe.

So I point out that that is an accomplishment in itself. You have been through wars and through depressions and all the economic dislocations of the country, and I am delighted to note that the hand and the chisel of Father Time have dealt so very gently and generously with you. And I think your smile is just as infectious and just as warm as it was when you were probably 40 or 50 or much younger.

Now, as I think back, I think of others, because you have accomplished so much, particularly in the later years of life. So did Adenauer when he became the Chancellor of Germany. So did Winston Churchill, who became the Prime Minister of his country. So did Theodore Green when he was a Member of this body and had a long and very useful tenure.

I am not sure, CARL, that I am going to live that long. I am getting there, of course, but one can never be sure. But for you I wish many other gentle and fruitful years and that same delight of living, that same smile, and that same exuberance of spirit that have been so manifest in the Senate. You have been like a lighted candle in a dark place for a long, long time.

And so, along with my other colleagues, in the Senate, I salute you so warmly, with respect, and, more than that, with affection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I, too, wish to express my congratulations to the Senator from Arizona on his birthday.

It has been my good fortune to be his neighbor. My office is just one removed from his. Nearly every day I walk with him and ride with him to and from the Senate Chamber. I have enjoyed and have been the beneficiary of his counsel, his advice, and his friendship.

I remember that a few years ago, at a convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, a dinner was given in honor of our distinguished fellow Senator. I remember very well his speech. He traced the history of his family, his father, and his grandfather back through the years as they had lived in different areas of the country. As I recall, his father, his grandfather, and his great grandfather spanned the whole history of our Nation.

I remember that he told a story of the time when, as a young boy, he lay on a hill in his native State—not yet then a State—and saw Indian smoke signals on the horizon.

The story of his life, in a significant way, is the story of the America to which he has contributed so much. I remember, a number of years ago, in my home State, reading of the Hayden-Cartwright bill, which was the foundation of the legislation which is responsible for the great highway system of America. Of course, there have been many other bills which bore his name and have contributed much to the development of our country.

So today I express my congratulations and good wishes to him, and my appreciation for the friendship that he has so generously given me.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I want my statement, too, to be a part of the RECORD today. I want to express my congratulations to our distinguished President pro tempore on this, the 90th anniversary of his birth. He has the respect of all of us.

I cannot add to what has been said about his record. I merely wish to pay my tribute to him, to congratulate him, and to wish him a happy birthday.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the remarks that have been made by other Senators in tribute to a man whose career is unique in the history of the United States. Our beloved colleague has the respect of everyone with whom he has served. For he exemplifies spotless character and integrity. During the years that I have served in the executive and legislative branches, Senator HAYDEN has contributed at least as much to the Senate as any American living today.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, CARL HAYDEN is the most envied man in the Senate today. I would expect that practically every Senator would like to arrive at the mature age that Senator HAYDEN has reached, and still be in the Senate, still serving his constituents and his country, as effectively as CARL HAYDEN does.

Our Presiding Officer's life spans the years from the Frontier West to the Space Age. He has taken pains to accumulate and use the wisdom and experience that have come his way.

In the fall of 1927, when I was very young, I went to El Paso, Tex. The Presiding Officer had been sworn into the U.S. Senate in March of that year. At that time, the conservation of water was the uppermost question in the West. It was relatively new then; there were few dams and few projects.

Just above El Paso was the Elephant Butte Dam. The distinguished Presiding Officer of the Senate had gone to the House of Representatives in 1912. He had been a pioneer in water conservation during that 15 years in the House; and, with all due respect to the great Senators then serving from Texas, when I went to El Paso in 1927, CARL HAYDEN's name was repeated and mentioned more times in El Paso than the names of either of our Senators from Texas.

For he, to the West, meant water. And water meant the thread of life itself. They told me, when I went out there, how a few years before, before the construction of the first great dam on the Rio Grande River, the Elephant Butte Dam, they had disastrous floods along the Rio Grande a few months of the year, and all the rest of the year famine and drought. Since that first great project was built, water has flowed past El Paso in the Rio Grande every single day. And that city has less than 8 inches of rainfall a year.

Many of the problems of the western part of Texas are the same problems faced by Arizona, also a border State having an international boundary. Two-thirds of our State has little rainfall and a scarcity of water, as is the condition of most of Arizona. The distinguished Presiding Officer met that problem; and for 35 years he has contributed his talents and his genius in Congress to helping to build the West and solve its problems.

I think our two States are tied very closely together. El Paso is less than half of New Mexico's width away from Arizona's border. The first stage line, the Butterfield Stage Line, had tied the Territory of Arizona and the State of Texas closely together before the Civil War; and after that, the Southern Pacific Railroad, the main route of travel through the southern part of my State and through Arizona, also tied the two States together. So at least half of my State has felt close to the Senator's State, and has kept up with his career throughout the years.

Mr. President, my father lived to be more than 100 years of age. At 95 years of age, he was giving us wise counsel and sage advice. Coming from a family with a history of some longevity, I appreciate sitting on the Appropriations Committee and observing the deft manner with which the chairman listens to the evidence and, just at the right moment, stops the argument and puts the question to the committee. I have never seen a Senator who had a finer sense of timing—especially on that 26-man committee, not easily run—than the Senator from Arizona.

Earlier this year, as a member of the Potomac Corral of Westerners, it was my honor to be one of the sponsors of a dinner at which the Senator from Arizona was given the title "Westerner of the Year." He had already long since earned it. When I went to El Paso, they were talking about his services as sheriff of his county in Arizona, and being the champion rifleman of the United States. The distinguished Presiding Officer was a true westerner, a sheriff in a country that was tough.

Yes, he was a real westerner. To all of us, he is senior Senator from Arizona, he is the senior Member of Congress, he is President pro tempore, and he is preeminent over us all; but in the West, they speak of him primarily as CARL HAYDEN, a real westerner, personifying the legends of the American West. While such men continue to be born and raised to eminence in the United States, the proud traditions which we westerners honor will continue to live and grow. It is an honor to serve in a body presided over by the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, when I first came to the Senate, 11 years ago, I received some sage advice from the distinguished Presiding Officer and the President pro tempore of this body, the senior Senator from Arizona. He said to me:

> Young man, you can always explain a vote, but it is not always easy to explain away a speech.

I have since learned, sometimes to my sorrow, the wisdom of that advice.

As he reaches his 90th year, CARL HAYDEN sets a record not likely to be equaled again in the history of Congress. He has represented Arizona in Congress ever since its statehood, over a span of more than half a century. During that period, no Member of this body has contributed more to the building of the West.

I wish to say, as a fellow westerner who takes much pride in his friendship and association with CARL HAYDEN, that it gives me great pleasure to join with my fellow Senators in wishing him a very happy birthday.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair thanks the Senators who have made such fine remarks about him. All Senators have violated the 3-minute rule. But I forgive them for it.

I wish that all of them may remain in the Senate as long as I have. I shall now abandon the chair and return to my seat on the floor of the Senate.

(At this point Senator McGOVERN assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, with real enthusiasm I tender my heartfelt congratulations to a great American as he reaches his 90th birthday. And I say to the dean of the Senate that those sentiments are shared by my wife, who respects the senior Senator from Arizona as do I, and by my mother who, in almost her 97th year, salutes her young friend and wishes him Godspeed for many, many more years of constructive service to the people of the United States and to the people of his beloved Arizona.

One may not think so, but as a Californian, I am particularly proud of that branch of my family which lives in Arizona. Years ago, when Arizona was a territory, one of my mother's younger brothers was a member of the territorial legislature, and he and CARL HAYDEN were friends. I flatter myself that that friendship has endured through the years and comes to me by way of inheritance.

For the last few Congresses, it has been my honor to serve on the Committee on Appropriations. There I have seen the consummate skill with which the Senate's dean has discharged his official labors in what is perhaps the most important chore of any Senate committee. Here, clearly seen, are all the abilities that a long lifetime of legislative service has given to him. Here, also, are clearly demonstrated the kindness and the helpfulness by which Senator HAYDEN eases the path which his colleagues, Democrats and Republicans both, tread in their public service.

I can testify to many occasions when this kindly, humble man of integrity and principle has helped my State and me. Indeed, an occasional vexing disagreement to the contrary notwithstanding, the senior Senator from Arizona has been in his years in the Senate a third Senator for the people of California. And again and again, were it not for CARL HAYDEN, progress legislatively in this Chamber for those whom I am honored to represent, in part, would not have been made.

So, on this occasion I salute with very great pride one whom I call my friend and one of the great American Senators of all times.

A skill among many is his facility in Spanish. In the Spanish language, "Don" constitutes a term of high respect when applied to another. I always have used this word in addressing CARL HAYDEN. No one I know is more deserving of such respect. So with the rest of his colleagues, on this occasion of his 90th birthday, I, too, rise to say to my good friend: "Happy birthday, Don CARLOS, and may you enjoy many more years of additional happy and constructive service to all the people."

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, it must be a wonderful thing to have, as a young man, represented a territory; to recall those days of stepchildhood, which in the case of Arizona lasted from the 1840's until 1912; then to have seen that beautiful and lovely area become a State; and then in the 55 years thereafter, until today, to play so large a part in seeing Arizona grow and develop and enjoy a place of full equality with her sister States.

It must be a source of great satisfaction and pride to have uniquely in the history of Congress played so large a part in the story of any State and, indeed, of the Nation. No one has ever equalled that record for length and quality of service. Nor is anyone likely to do it again.

Our greetings to you, CARL, are based on our affection, our love, and our respect for you on the happy occasion of your 90th birthday.

It is appropriately signalized in this Chamber where you have served so long and so well, and where you are loved and admired by all, to wish for you many more years of fruitful endeavor as a public servant, the profession to which you bring such great honor.

No Member of Congress has seen so many changes as you have in your public service or has done so much to bring about those beneficial changes which we signalize as progress and to which you contributed.

You come from the most southwesterly part of the Nation, and it is a pleasure for one elected to represent the most northwesterly part of the Nation to point out that although we may be separated quite a distance by latitude, we are still a part of the great West which has played a major part in American history since the western march of our people who first crossed the uncharted seas of the Atlantic, and then traveled across the Appalachian Mountains and the plains and then across the Rockies to fulfill the great destiny of our Nation.

No one in the history of the Congress

has played so great a part as has the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] would like to be recognized last. For that reason, he has graciously yielded to me.

I serve under Senator HAYDEN as a member of the Committee on Appropriations. I congratulate him for his unique sense of looking at the present and the future, rather than the past. It is a real inspiration to all of us on the committee to observe the alertness, the interest, and sometimes, indeed, the passionate intensity with which he addresses himself to so many of the problems which come before the committee. This is refreshing and exciting, indeed, to many of us who seem far more tired than he does.

I really feel very deeply that not only Senator HAYDEN himself, but also his whole family and all of those who look to him as "Daddy," should take great pride in his alertness, interest, and sense of involvement which show a tremendous capacity of human personality as reflected by so distinguished and so unusual a man as our President pro tempore.

So I join with all my colleagues in bespeaking for him continued years of health and happiness and success, and especially admiring the inspiration he represents to us, to those of his State, and to his own family.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it is very difficult to express adequately the respect and admiration which all of us have for Senator HAYDEN. He has been here longer than any of us, although I have been here quite a long time. But we all have developed, over the years, such respect for his judgment and affection for him personally that it is difficult to put it into words as it should be.

I have a rather special interest in CARL HAYDEN, because his mother came from my State—Forrest City, Ark.

CARL HAYDEN has been in Congress so long, and so many people have said so many things favorable to him, that it is difficult to think of anything new. He has made a tremendous contribution to the development of this country, in his sponsorship of the progressive and farseeing programs which all of us, in every State, have enjoyed. Certainly, in my State, which was one of the underdeveloped States, his assistance in obtaining the cooperation of the Federal Government through his great committee has been indispensable.

The living proof of the good judgment of CARL HAYDEN can be seen in his sponsorship of these programs, when we consider the great progress that has been made by the people in my State, and it could have not been achieved without the cooperation of the Federal Government, for which CARL HAYDEN is to a very great extent responsible.

I particularly recall when I was a freshman in this body, which was nearly 25 years ago, how helpful and patient he was with a new Member. This is always deeply appreciated by new Senators; and to have a man of his prestige, stature, and influence befriend one is extremely valuable and helpful.

So I join all my colleagues in offering our sincere congratulations to CARL HAYDEN, not only on his birthday as such, but also for the great contribution he has made to the Senate as an institution and to our country as a great democratic country.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I would not forgo the opportunity to pay my personal respects to the dean of us all, the senior Senator from the State of Arizona, CARL HAYDEN.

Even though at times we become embroiled in honest disagreement over an issue of vital importance to our respective States, what man among us could fail to be inspired by a record of service to State and Nation unsurpassed in the annals of our history? What man among us has not benefited from CARL HAYDEN's counsel and good judgment at one time or another during our service with this wise and gentle Senator?

Personally, I know of no man for whom I have greater personal affection; and as he enters his 91st year, I would indeed be remiss if I did not express to him that affection and my gratitude for his many and varied contributions to the Nation as a whole and particularly to that section of our country to which he and I are both so dedicated—the West.

We all admire you, CARL; we all respect you for the record of service you have made in Government, and particularly the Senate, and we all celebrate with you, CARL, in hopes that your future will be as fruitful as the past. Congratulations and may the good Lord, in His eternal wisdom, bless and reward you for all you have done.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the indefatigable pursuit of his work, his ineluctable dedication to duty, his unexcelled record of service, have all constituted an example which to me, as one of the newer Members of this body, is as a "pearl of great price in a chalice of silver."

I have served 9 years on the Committee on Appropriations, of which this great Senator is chairman, and he has always been considerate and helpful to me.

So I join with my colleagues today in congratulating Senator HAYDEN on his long period of sacrifice and service to the Senate, to his constituents, and to the Nation. I am glad that he has gone beyond the span promised by the psalmist who said:

> The days of our years are three-score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.

My colleagues have said everything that I would wish to say, and they have said it in more eloquent words than I could have expressed.

So, Mr. President, I shall be content with recalling the simple lines of a poet, when I say to CARL HAYDEN:

> Count your garden by the flowers,
> Never by the leaves that fall.
> Count your days by the sunny hours,
> Not remembering clouds at all.
> Count your nights by stars, not shadows.
> Count your life by smiles, not tears.
> And on this beautiful October afternoon,
> Count your age by friends, not years.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I would not want this occasion to pass without paying my own warm, personal tribute to the senior Senator from Arizona.

I have been privileged to know him for many years—long before I came to Congress, as a matter of fact. I first met him in my capacity as attorney general of Nevada, when I represented the State of Nevada in many of its water problems—and certainly the history of the West must be written, in part, around the water problems of that area and the honest efforts of men trying to solve them.

No man ever contributed more and continues to contribute more to that hopeful day when the problems of the Colorado River will finally be solved than the man we honor today.

A compact was entered into in 1922 in Santa Fe, N. Mex., to settle water rights of the seven southwestern Colorado River Basin States. Even today, some 45 years later, we still have the problems unsolved in their entirety. However, great and worthwhile progress has been made.

The senior Senator from Arizona, whom we honor on his birthday today, was in the forefront of the champions to bring water to the starving acres of his State. I salute the senior Senator from Arizona for the constant attention he has given to this endeavor over the many years.

As has been said so well and so much better than I can say it, today we salute one of God's noblemen whose contributions are legend, whose compassion and understanding of the people of the Nation are the greatest.

I have been privileged to serve on the Committee on Appropriations since I came to the Senate. The guidance and help of the senior Senator from Arizona has been of inestimable worth and value to each of us as he showed the great skill that has come to him, which is through a native intelligence, training, and education, and then, in the hard school of experience. Certainly he has had that experience in Congress and has written record after record of great achievements.

Our words here today, however eloquent, will remain in the long shadow cast by CARL HAYDEN's towering record of accomplishment. It is a record that speaks for itself. It is a monument to the great works of a great man.

It has been one of the great privileges of my service in the Senate to know CARL HAYDEN. My affection and respect for him derives not so much from his record of service—the longest in the history of Congress—but from the fact he has used these years of service so productively.

All of us—each American—owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to the Senator from Arizona.

I salute the senior Senator from Arizona and I wish for him the very happiest returns.

Mr. President, at this time I wish to read a statement on behalf of another distinguished colleague from the southwestern part of the country. The Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] could not be here today because he is in his State on official business.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MOSS READ BY SENATOR BIBLE

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it is an honor to be able, at this time, to join my colleagues in extending a personal salute to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

It is known to all that Senator HAYDEN has filled with honor and distinction for many decades positions of deep responsibility to his State and the Nation. Countless Members of Congress have received his wise counsel and assistance over the years that the Senator has faithfully performed the duties of high elected office.

The Senator from Arizona has, since first being elected to represent his State in Congress, made it a personal policy to make friends easily and keep them permanently. He has long been a courageous fighter who has never been willing to sacrifice principle for political expediency.

I humbly offer my personal wishes for his continued health and vitality as he celebrates his 90th birthday. I count the Senator as a dear friend whose association has been enjoyed for many years and which will be similarly enjoyed in the near future.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I know that the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] will couple that statement with a warm handclasp to the Senator from Arizona when he returns to the Nation's Capital in the next several days.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] be recognized, so that he may speak on this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HART in the chair). The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am honored and pleased to have the opportunity to join other Senators in paying tribute to the "first Senator," our beloved CARL HAYDEN, on his 90th birthday.

As has been said here today, Senator HAYDEN not only is the dean of the Senate, but he has served longer than any other Member of the entire Congress. A one-time sheriff of Maricopa County, he has fought as hard in the Senate for what he believes in as he did for law and justice in the days of the frontier.

But CARL HAYDEN is much more. He is a man of wisdom, integrity, and personal warmth, a Senator whose counsel has been often sought and has always been ready to assist or advise any of his colleagues.

We have a special interest in him in Connecticut, because his roots are in Connecticut. His father's roots were in Connecticut, for he was born in Hartford County, a good many years ago, and he is still remembered there. Hayden's Landing on the Connecticut River is well known and a well marked place, and a revered one.

I wish to join other Senators in paying tribute on this happy birthday to the Senator from Arizona. My prayers and my deepest affections are with him today.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it is a very great privilege for me to have the opportunity to join Senators in presenting birthday greetings to my senior colleague from Arizona. I, too, am very proud of his many achievements which have been discussed by my colleagues.

I want all Senators to know that Arizona began to celebrate his birthday on Saturday of last week. On that day his hometown college, Arizona State University, hailed the occasion by drubbing a tough University of Wisconsin football team 42 to 16. Arizona State, which has often honored him, has recently named a library after the Hayden family and the senior Senator from Arizona was the speaker at the dedication of that library. In addition his University of Arizona, which likewise honors him, traveled to Ohio, a State where Senator HAYDEN had displayed his superb skills for many years in rifle matches, and there defeated another formidable Big Ten team, Ohio State University, by a score of 14 to 7.

Arizonans are so very, very proud of our distinguished colleague and have shown their pride in many instances for his great accomplishments. They take pride in his being a great American and a person who has unselfishly given of his time in public service throughout the years.

Other States share this feeling as was noted by the Senator from California. Senator HAYDEN's school in California, Stanford University, named him Man of the Year this past year. To have these schools recognize his great contributions is testimony to his stature.

All of us in Arizona wish CARL HAYDEN well. We honor him as a personal friend, as a public servant over these many years, and a dedicated American. I wish him a happy 90th birthday and good health in the years to come.

As is generally known Senator HAYDEN has served in Congress longer than any other man, continuously since 1912. This is a remarkable and enviable record. But more important, even, than his years of service is his contribution to Arizona and to the Nation generally. He has served them faithfully and well.

CARL HAYDEN has represented Arizona in Congress since, in 1912, the territory became the 48th State. And during these years, he has seen the State grow with remarkable speed, so much so that it today bears little resemblance, except in its unmatched beauty, to CARL HAYDEN's birthplace. Thriving cities now dot the once-barren landscape, modern highways and roads traverse the State, once desert lands have been made productive, industry and commerce continue to grow in importance and thousands of new residents flock to the State each year. Yet Arizona has retained much of the charm it held for CARL HAYDEN as a young man.

In the Nation at large, the change that CARL HAYDEN has seen—the change he has helped to bring about—has been equally spectacular. In almost every sense—militarily, economically, socially and culturally—America is a stronger Nation, a better Nation, than she was at the start of this century.

There have been in the past, as there are today, Members of Congress who have been more widely known than the man whose birthday we are celebrating. But few if any Members have been, or are, more widely respected than CARL HAYDEN, particularly among our colleagues in the House and Senate. Quietly, but very effectively, he has done the job for which he has time and again been elected: first, as treasurer of Maricopa County, Ariz.; next as county sheriff; eight times as a Member of the House of Representatives; and seven times as a Senator.

He has worked with equal enthusiasm for the interests of Arizonans and for the rights of all Americans.

And as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, he has consistently put the Nation's interests above all others, including his own.

If ever a man personified the essential goodness of democratic government, CARL HAYDEN is the man: selfless and dedicated, honest and fair, interested and interesting. His life is a study in American government, a mirror of America herself.

I honor CARL HAYDEN.

A personal friend.

A faithful public servant.

A dedicated American.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to extend my personal congratulations and the congratulations of the people of the State of New Mexico to our esteemed colleague, Senator CARL HAYDEN, on his 90th birthday.

It is difficult to speak of the contributions that the senior Senator from Arizona has made to the progress of our Nation because they are so numerous that one knows not where to begin. One contribution which deserves special mention, however, has been Senator HAYDEN's leadership throughout the years in the development of our Nation's natural resources.

In pressing for appropriations and new authority to develop the natural resources of this country, he has never sponsored or supported arbitrary legislation for the benefit of one State and to the detriment of another. His attitudes and his actions have always been regarded with the highest esteem by all with whom he has dealt. He has established himself as a true statesman and has earned the respect of those who have been privileged to serve with him.

Mr. President, it would be well for all of us to reflect upon all of the good that this man has done for each of us, for our States, for our colleagues who served before us, and for our Nation. I consider it a privilege and an honor to have known and worked with this fine gentleman. I hope we shall continue to have his leadership and guidance for many years.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to a great man and to an extraordinary public servant—the senior Senator of the United States, the gentleman from Arizona. Although today is CARL HAYDEN's birthday, I think we in this body all know now what we had long suspected—that this wiry former sheriff of Maricopa County is ageless. Birthdays are notches on a rod used to measure ordinary mortals, not men like the Senator from Arizona.

Senator HAYDEN's years in public office span the gulf between the old frontier and the New Frontier. His years in Washington link the trustbusters of the T. R. and William Howard Taft era with the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson.

He was a sheriff on the old frontier at

the end of an era peopled by so many brave and colorful characters wearing the badge of that honorable office that it restored to the title of "sheriff" the luster which had been clouded for centuries by tales about the sheriff of Nottingham and his mistreatment of Robin Hood.

Carl Hayden has met the challenges of many new frontiers in his long public career and each with the great energy and effectiveness of a young posse leader in hot pursuit of a desperado.

Arthur Edson of the Associated Press summed it up very well in a story about the Arizona Senator on the occasion of a previous birthday. He said:

> There are few other modern politicians who have done more to change the face and plot the future of America. Deserts bloom, highways span the land, foreign aid wobbles through, all because Hayden has known whom to prod and how and when.

The list of Presidents of the United States that Senator Hayden has worked with closely is longer than most schoolboys can memorize. When he first came to Washington as the newly admitted State of Arizona's first Representative, Willian. Howard Taft was President. That was in 1912. He was elected to the Senate in 1926, when Calvin Coolidge was President.

I am proud to serve in the Senate with this great man and grateful for the opportunity to be a member of the Committee on Appropriations under his chairmanship.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it is with much personal pleasure that I join my colleagues to congratulate the Honorable Carl Hayden, senior Senator of Arizona, on his 90th birthday anniversary.

Senator Hayden came to Washington in February 1912 as Member of the House of Representatives upon the statehood of Arizona. In March 1927, he became a Senator. No other person in the history of the country has served his State and his Nation so long or so well in Congress.

Since I came to the Senate, a mere 11 years ago by comparison, I have become a great admirer of the outstanding ability of the senior Senator from Arizona, and I highly respect him for his astute statemanship. He is a man of great virtue and wisdom, as he has demonstrated on so many occasions in the 55 years that he has been a Member of Congress. Just as his record of service has never been and probably never will be equaled, so it is regarding Senator Hayden's unmatched devotion to duty and dedication to the time-honored principles that has made ours the greatest Nation on earth. Senator Hayden is the personification of these principles. I join all other Members of the Senate in extending heartfelt felicitations on his birthday. I wish him many more and every future success and happiness.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate the Senate's wisest and most revered Member, the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

Two of the great privileges of my Senate service have been to sit with Carl Hayden on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and to share with him the role of President pro tempore of the Senate. I share with him the pride that Stanford University holds for him as an alumnus.

The measure of Senator Hayden is not taken by reference to years or chairmanships. The Senate legislative calendar, for the past 40 years, would be a better guide. It is an illustrated calendar, adorned with pictures of an America that he has painted with the delicate strokes of a master.

The panorama of the Nation since those lean days of 1927, when Carl Hayden crossed Capitol Plaza to the Senate, bears the indelible but strong imprint of this man from Arizona. Through the depression years, World War II, the postwar period, the Korean war, and our two-front crises of today, he has guided Federal investment, resource development, military preparedness, and programs for the disadvantaged.

There are none who know him who have not been impressed with his detailed knowledge of the needs of the Nation and his ability—without fanfare or credit—to see to it that the Nation meets its responsibilities.

We Montanans have special reason to be grateful to Senator Hayden. He has responded to the requirements of our region: for forest fire research, public land development, training programs for Indian citizens, and recreational and conservation programs, to mention but a few.

On behalf of the people of Montana, I say: "Thank you, Carl, for what you have done for the development of our State, and I thank you for being a U.S. Senator in all the finest connotations of the term."

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, on this, the 90th birthday of the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, I wish to extend my warm congratulations.

I speak as a friend and as a representative of Virginia. I speak, too, not only for myself, but I bespeak the sentiments often expressed to me by my late father, who served in the Senate with Carl Hayden for 33 years.

For Senator Hayden I have high esteem and deep affection. And for the people whom he represents—the citizens of Arizona—I take particular pride.

My great uncle, Representative Henry Delaware Flood, of Virginia, after whom I received one of my names, was chairman of the House Committee on the Territories in the early 1900's. Representative Flood presented to the House of Representatives on August 19, 1911, the resolution establishing Arizona as a State. Shortly thereafter, when Arizona was admitted as a State, Carl Hayden became its first Representative to the U.S. Congress.

Certainly no State has been better represented more continuously than Arizona; and surely no State has chosen more wisely than Arizona in electing and reelecting Carl Hayden—as it has done consistently throughout a period of 55 years.

Carl Hayden is a man of great work; but, what is more, he is a man superior to his works. He seems to act without effort, but his accomplishments for his State and country are monumental.

Evidence of his mature judgment and constructive powers has marked the work of Congress for 55 years. He has the capacity to foreshadow the future while working for the present.

In the Senate, we know Senator Hayden as a man of reserve but not isolation; we know him as a warm personality without egotism; we know him as a man of wisdom, with kindly wit.

We know him as the President pro tempore of the Senate. We know him as one who has served in this body longer than any man in history.

We know him as a beloved colleague. We know him, too, not only as the senior Senator from Arizona, but, indeed, as Mr. Arizona.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I join with other Senators in extending fervent best wishes on his 90th birthday anniversary to one of the truly great Americans of our time, a magnificent Senator of the United States, Senator Carl Hayden.

Our distinguished colleague has given more than 55 years of devoted and dedicated service to his Nation and to his State. Few Americans, indeed few men, have contributed so much to their countrymen and so much to the service of people throughout the world as has this distinguished statesman.

This fair, wise and kindly man has always used his great power with restraint. He is a very great man, but a very humble man, who has demonstrated his courage and capacity for public service for more than half a century.

Mr. President, the fact is that nobody really grows old by living a specific number of years. People grow old by deserting their ideals—losing their enthusiasm. Men and women are as old as their doubts. They are as young as their hopes, their zest for life, and their self-confidence. Given those criteria, Carl Hayden is one of the youngest men I know.

With the rest of my colleagues on the occasion of his 90th birthday, I too say good luck, Senator Carl Hayden and Godspeed for many, many more years of additional happy and constructive service to our Nation.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I congratulate the senior Senator from Arizona on his 90th birthday anniversary. Beyond that, I offer my appreciation to this good man for his kindness and his encouragement to me as one of the younger Members of the Senate.

His life has already spanned nearly a century. It is a life devoted to his public service, to the development of his State, and to the well-being of our Nation.

Senator Hayden has been an inspiration and an example of good representation to us all. I wish him well on this special day and for all the days ahead.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join with my colleagues who are today commending and congratulating the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, on the occasion of his 90th birthday anniversary.

This is a day of joy for all of us. It is always refreshing and encouraging to find man's proverbial three-score and ten lengthened not only in years but in achievements, as well.

CARL HAYDEN was engaging in public affairs before the Arizona Territory was admitted as a State of the Union. He was a Member of Congress when Presidents Taft, Wilson, and Harding were occupying the White House. He was a Member of the Senate 2 years before my birth.

He has distinguished himself in the Senate during the turbulent years since the depression. CARL HAYDEN's perspective on the political life of America is as circumspect and as expansive as that of any living American.

But a man is known more by what he does than by the length of his service—however uncommon that term might be. By this measure, as by any other, CARL HAYDEN has distinguished himself. My friends who reside in Arizona tell me that Senator HAYDEN is virtually a living legend. His untiring efforts to make the desert flower and to provide for the orderly growth and development of such cities as Phoenix and Tucson are an integral part of Arizona's history.

As a Senator from Minnesota, a State which shares with Arizona an abundance of scenic treasures, I take particular note of Senator HAYDEN's leadership over the last five decades in the conservation of our national resources. Perhaps it is not widely known, but it is a fact that in 1919, when public concern prompted legislation to preserve the pristine beauty of the Grand Canyon, CARL HAYDEN managed the bill on the House floor. His contribution to the preservation of the Grand Canyon is mirrored in the countless other scenic and historic treasures of Arizona which he has fought to preserve for present and future generations of Americans.

I am delighted to commend the senior Senator from Arizona today for his good work and good fortune. I share the hope of all Members of the Senate that Senator HAYDEN's able assistance will be available to the Senate for many years to come.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, our beloved Senate President pro tempore is 90 years young today, so it is a time for great rejoicing in this Chamber.

The very fact that our distinguished colleague could endure more than a half century in the Nation's Capital, representing the best interests of the people of Arizona, is a tribute to his dedication, tenacity, and love for his constituents.

CARL HAYDEN is a product of the magnificence and grandeur of the American West. We who were not fortunate enough to participate in its development from the early frontier days feel that we have been deprived of a part of our precious American heritage.

So even unto this day we carry on a love affair through the medium of films and television epics with an era whose heroes were always larger than life.

Among those of us here today, only our Senate President pro tempore has personally bridged that time span between the great American past and its even more promising future.

He walks among us, a man symbolic of all our hopes, our yearnings and our dreams.

It is with a great sense of pride in our country and in people like CARL HAYDEN that I say, happy birthday Mr. President. Happy birthday.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, Senator HAYDEN's 90th birthday anniversary, I believe, generates an historical fascination within all of us. We suddenly realize just how young a nation we really are and how closely our history trails our heels.

Here is a man who once preceptively pioneered the use of an Apperson Jackrabbit motorcar in the pursuit of mounted bandits and who now deals with equal competence in the problems of space travel and supersonic aircraft.

In one sense, I find this observation of Senator HAYDEN's birthday a little unfortunate. I fear that, whatever we say here, the news reports that go out will nevertheless leave the impression that CARL HAYDEN is noteworthy because he is a Senator and is 90 years old.

His contributions to this body and to this Nation will go largely unnoticed by those who are content to read headlines and the first paragraph or two of a story.

But perhaps even this is fitting. It would certainly be in the Senator's established tradition. He has rarely been unsuccessful in anything he has tried.

And one of his most earnest endeavors—by all available evidence—has been directed at disguising the merits of his contributions, or at least minimizing them.

He is a gentleman, and we all know of his impatience with flamboyance and self-congratulation.

But even if the bulk of the Nation remains unaware of his energy and dedication, we can all trust that the citizens of Arizona are not.

I remember that in 1962, on the occasion of the Senator's 50th anniversary in Congress, his junior colleague, then Senator Barry Goldwater, had this to say:

> There are no words or any eloquence which I could use to express my respect for this lifelong friend—both words and eloquence have been exhausted.
>
> Let me just put it in this simple way—whenever my service in the Senate is terminated, I hope that my service to my country and my State equals a small fraction of what Carl Hayden has provided in both areas.

I think many of us would be happy to echo those words.

Senator HAYDEN recently ascribed his longevity in the world and in the Senate as "luck, pure luck."

I would submit, Mr. President, that ability and perseverance have played an at least equal role. But insofar as luck has played a role in Senator HAYDEN's service record, I would suggest that the luck has been even more ours than his.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in extending heartiest congratulations and sincere best wishes to the senior Senator from Arizona on attaining this important milestone in his life. With 55 years of continuous tenure in Congress, the last 40 of which have been in the Senate, no man in our history has compiled a more impressive and devoted record of public service than the man we honor today, Senator CARL HAYDEN.

Although my personal acquaintance with this esteemed colleague has been limited to the last 5 years, during this short period I have come to respect his knowledge and wisdom and to appreciate his many virtues and attributes. His kindness, his thoughtfulness for others, and his willingness to share the fruits of his experience with younger Members is well known. More than once I have sought Senator HAYDEN's counsel; never has he hesitated or refused to spend the time necessary to advise me on any issue, whether it be procedural or substantive, and I am extremely grateful to him for his unfailing courtesy.

As President pro tempore of the Senate, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and the Joint Committee on Printing, and member of both the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Committee on Rules and Administration, Senator HAYDEN carries an extremely heavy load of responsibility. From the standpoint of one who is less than half his age, and whose official Senate role is far less demanding, I marvel at his capacity to perform these many duties not only with perception and understanding but also with vigor and promptness. Despite his four score and 10 years, few Members of this body are more faithful than he in attending committee meetings, answering quorum calls, or voting when the yeas and nays are taken.

Mr. President, no Senator is venerated or loved more than CARL HAYDEN. He has earned the admiration not only of Members of Congress; those who acclaim him today include many officers in the other branches of the Federal Government, State government officials, numerous leaders in private life, and countless citizens in his home State and elsewhere who, through the years, have been influenced, guided, and inspired by him. I count my association with Senator HAYDEN to be one of the most valuable and memorable experiences of my brief career as a legislator, and I am delighted that the Senate is today expressing to him the debt of gratitude which the Nation owes this great man for his unprecedented years of devoted and sacrificing service.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, much has been said about one of the supposed chief characteristics of our times—namely, the youth syndrome which seems to prevail these days. So it is that we hear that those over 30 are not to be trusted, as well as the mischievous injunction to tune in, turn on, and drop out.

If ever there was a man who was the antithesis of such a lightweight mandate, it is Senator HAYDEN.

Before this rare man was 30, he demonstrated the very opposite of the dropout point of view. By the time Senator HAYDEN was 29 he was the manifest demonstration of the "face up" insistence that has run like a golden thread throughout his 65 years of public life. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1904, the year he was elected treasurer of Maricopa County. Two years later he was elected sheriff of Maricopa County.

What Senator HAYDEN's devoted service to the public weal so richly demonstrates is an example all Americans should heed. His love of the West, his profound wisdom as to the West's problems, and his tough pursuit of solutions to those problems marks him in no uncertain terms as the West's architect.

No other man so amply evinces the proposition that youth is a state of mind. Senator HAYDEN, through his continuing vigor and fresh legislative approach, demonstrates for us again and again the marriage of growth and wisdom.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I wish to pay my respect and that of my State of Nevada to the dean and President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate, the distinguished CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

As has been widely noted, his service to his State and country dates back to the admission of Arizona as a State in 1912. That event and the arrival of CARL HAYDEN in Congress mark a period of great growth for Nevada's neighboring State of Arizona and for the man who has come to be internationally recognized as Mr. Arizona. I speak today as his friend in congratulating him and wishing him many more useful years of service on the occasion of his 90th birthday anniversary. Nevadans have always held Senator HAYDEN and the fine people of his State in the highest regard and deepest affection.

Mr. President, I received my university education in the State of Arizona and recognize that the southern part of the State of Nevada was once a part of Arizona Territory.

It is a source of wonderment and inspiration to me when I review the growth of the United States as the leading world power, a position attained during the span of CARL HAYDEN's service. So much progress and development have been accomplished since CARL HAYDEN arrived in Congress, yet the country has been in existence for a period of only twice the age of CARL HAYDEN. So it is small wonder that the United States itself is so young and vigorous.

Mr. President, I am thankful for the opportunity I have had for the past 9 years to study the legislative craftsmanship of Senator HAYDEN. My admiration for him has grown steadily. It is also a tribute to this great American that the admiration and respect which flow to him come from both sides of the aisle.

Other records in service and consistent patriotism will be made in years ahead, but it is a part of the great story of CARL HAYDEN that his service will be the target and the goal of all the men who will follow him in the continuing story of the U.S. Senate.

It is a pleasure at this time for me to join with CARL HAYDEN's fellow countrymen in wishing him good health, good fortune, and continued happiness in the years that lie ahead.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I am delighted to join so many of my colleagues in paying respect and tribute to the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] as he reaches yet another milestone in a long and constructive life of public service to the people of his State and of the Nation.

His is a record to which few could aspire and one which may never be attained again. I speak not only of his many years of dedicated service, but more particularly of the use to which he has placed that service, of the accomplishment and the good his efforts in this body represent, of the conscientious, intelligent, and vigorous application of his energies for over half a century in the Congress of the United States. Such a record speaks eloquently of the man himself.

It is my privilege to serve under Senator HAYDEN's chairmanship on the Committee on Appropriations—a privilege I shall cherish as long as I live. I shall always have reason to appreciate and be thankful for his kindness, his tact, his understanding, and his legislative skill. I am happy, therefore, to extend my hand in congratulation as he celebrates his birthday.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, our distinguished colleague from Arizona is beloved and respected by each of us in this Chamber. Our affection for him is not the result of age, because few men carry 90 years more lightly or gracefully. Rather, it is because of his wisdom and kindness, and his accomplishments for his own State and the Nation. As a relative newcomer to the Senate, I have always welcomed Senator HAYDEN's counsel and appreciated his willingness to listen to the problems of younger Members.

I am particularly fond of one story. As a freshman Congressman, Senator HAYDEN took the floor of the House to make a speech that, reportedly, was notable only for its longevity and vacuity. An older colleague soon counseled him that there are two kinds of Congressmen—show horses and workhorses. The older man said one will get your name in the papers, while the other will get you votes and the respect of your colleagues.

CARL HAYDEN obviously has never forgotten that advice. Since then, he has built his influence on performance, not words. Every Federal program that has contributed to the development of the West—irrigation, power, mining and reclamation—bears his mark. The Federal highway system, which binds this country together, is in large measure his creation.

In 1912 when Senator HAYDEN first came to Congress, a newsman, speaking at the Press Club, allowed that:

> HAYDEN was all right as a frontier sheriff, but he'll never amount to a damn in Congress.

Seldom has any judgment missed the mark by a wider margin. Just 4 years later, the Arizona weekly Tombstone Prospector pleaded:

> We wish the Arizona Republicans would sometimes nominate a man for Congress who would start the perspiration on CARL HAYDEN. Nothing they have produced yet has even made him break into a trot.

That statement still holds.

And on this memorable 90th anniversary I am happy and honored to salute a great Arizonan and a great American.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, today being the 90th birthday of the senior Senator from Arizona, Mr. HAYDEN, I would like to join with those who have paid tribute to this outstanding public servant. A territorial sheriff before Arizona was admitted to the Union as our 48th State in 1912, a Member of the House from that time until being elected to the Senate in 1927, our esteemed colleague is the embodiment of that principle so ingrained in the American tradition—faithful and unselfish devotion to the spirit and the implementation of representative government. Truly, CARL HAYDEN exemplifies the best in Senate service. May he enjoy many birthdays more.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I desire to be associated with the many other friends and colleagues of Senator CARL HAYDEN paying tribute to him on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

CARL HAYDEN is indeed a most remarkable American. He came to Congress as a Member of the House the day his State of Arizona became a member of the Union. He has served in Congress continuously ever since. It should be added, of course, that his career of public service began much earlier than his long congressional career in that he served as sheriff of Maricopa County, Ariz., even before his State was admitted to the Union and when county sheriffs faced many of the challenges and dangers now being depicted so graphically by our steady and interesting diet of television "Westerns."

Having served long and intimately with CARL HAYDEN on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate which he heads with great decorum and equity and as ranking Republican Member of the Senate Appropriations Interior Department Subcommittee which he also chairs, I can honestly say that it is always a privilege and a pleasure to work closely with CARL HAYDEN on the consideration of these important money bills. His special interest in improving the lot of our American Indians has been a source of tremendous gratification to me since my own State of South Dakota has the third largest Indian population in the Nation.

CARL HAYDEN is also a strong and effective advocate of maintaining the powers, the rules, and the precedents of the U.S. Senate. For this service, also, I pay him great respect.

Let me conclude these brief words of tribute simply by saying, "Happy birthday, CARL, and many happy returns of this momentous day in the life of a great American and a valued personal friend."

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to add my congratulations to the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona on the occasion of his 90th birthday. The author Dorothy Thompson wisely observed that:

> Age is not measured by years. Nature does not equally distribute energy. Some people are born old and tired, while others are going strong at 70.

CARL HAYDEN has been gifted with an extra allotment of energy, for he is going strong at 90 and I expect him to be going strong for many years to come.

During my 3 years in the Senate, I have been continually impressed by the vigorous leadership which Senator HAYDEN provides the Senate—leadership based on a wealth of knowledge gained through 57 years of experience in the U.S. Congress. As a matter of fact, 1967 marks another anniversary for Senator HAYDEN—his 40th year of service to the people of Arizona and the Nation in the U.S. Senate. I hardly need say that his chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Committee commands great respect, especially when the Congress considers projects which affect the State of Arizona. The Senate attaches great weight to his judgment on all legislative matters and on the government of the Senate itself.

I am honored to have the privilege of serving in the Senate with this great man. I wish him the happiest of birthdays.

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN'S LIFE OF CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE IS UNEQUALED

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, at the age of 90 years, Senator CARL HAYDEN is receiving from his colleagues today the praise he so fully merits. I join in this commendation.

CARL HAYDEN is a great American; he is a man unique in the annals of this Senate, from the standpoints of years lived and years served in our forum.

But Senator HAYDEN is more than a legislator and creator of measures that have become law. He is, in a sense, an institution. It was Thomas Carlyle who said:

> What we have done is the only mirror by which we can see what we are.

And CARL HAYDEN can look into that lifetime mirror and see reflected both success and service.

I often relate a personal story concerning Senator HAYDEN. I believe it deserves retelling because it may best serve to indicate the helpfulness and the generosity of the senior Senator from Arizona. In November 1958 I arrived in Washington to serve in the Senate for an unexpired term. I had been in my temporary office 2 days, as I recall, when a kindly gentleman paid a visit. My visitor was Senator HAYDEN and he came to welcome me and to offer his services as I commenced my duties in the Senate. One never forgets a friendly gesture of this nature. Senator HAYDEN deeply impressed me with his genuine desire to be of assistance.

Faithful, patriotic, and productive labors have been the hallmark of CARL HAYDEN's unequaled congressional record.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the tributes paid today to CARL HAYDEN are fitting. But they do not measure the full debt this body owes to its President pro tempore, and its most respected Member. For one of his many functions has been his valuable advice and assistance to the Senate's newer Members. CARL HAYDEN has consistently made the effort to guide these Members through Senate procedure and tradition; and in so doing, he has made better public servants of us all. In this sense, then, all of us—his juniors—owe a personal debt of gratitude to the senior Senator from Arizona—the senior Senator from the United States.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, I know I am speaking for all Missourians when I offer my heartiest congratulations to Senator CARL HAYDEN on his 90th birthday.

Senator HAYDEN has long symbolized the vigor and vitality of his State and Nation. He has dedicated his life to public service. He has served Arizona and the United States proudly and well.

He was a leading figure in the move for Arizona's statehood. Since gaining statehood, the citizens of Arizona have had the great privilege of having CARL HAYDEN in Congress.

We in Missouri take special pride in noting that when Senator HAYDEN first came to Congress, Missouri's famous Congressman Champ Clark was Speaker of the House. Champ Clark was from Pike County where my home is and where today in Bowling Green we have a statue of him. Thus Senator HAYDEN's first legislation in Congress, was handled while working with Champ Clark. In fact, these men continued together in the House, working for the people of this country, for 9 years.

Senator HAYDEN has always impressed me with his young-at-heart attitude. However, it is his record as a representative of the people that has impressed me the most. It is a record of able and wise action. It is a record which has benefitted all Americans.

His leadership as chairman of the vital Senate Appropriations Committee has brought fiscal responsibility and soundness to our national economy. The United States has indeed been fortunate to have CARL HAYDEN in Congress these many years. At this happy time of his birthday I join my colleagues in wishing CARL HAYDEN the very best and also in expressing my hope that he will continue to serve his Nation for many years to come.

ARIZONA'S MAN

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, today we honor the Senate by the recognition of one of our own. In this celebration of the 90th birthday anniversary of Senator CARL HAYDEN, we pause to recall to all of us—and to the Nation we are honored to represent—the great human values of our country.

CARL HAYDEN, senior statesman extraordinary, has lived and served through one of the most tumultuous eras of history, close to the seat of power through more than two score years, and as a hodler of great power for another 15.

If proof were needed that the United States did not come into its present position of world leadership by accident, CARL HAYDEN is ample proof that great men have helped to shape our destiny and have engineered our development.

It is hard to think of Congress without a CARL HAYDEN. Throughout the entire life of the State of Arizona, which he has served so well and faithfully, he has been its stalwart leader. As he has represented his State, so has he helped significantly to boost the United States into a position of eminence among the world's nations. He has helped to shape policies and programs which both at home and abroad have marked our upward movement in keeping the peace of the world: opposing aggression; establishing and assisting new nations; yes, and assuring the dignity of the individual.

He has served his State continuously since 1904—a total of 63 years of distinguished constructive faithful public service. His service as treasurer of Maricopa County, Ariz., in 1904, and as sheriff in 1906 and 1908, was a training for higher office, for in 1912 CARL HAYDEN came to Congress as a member of that new State's first congressional delegation.

He was elected to seven succeeding Congresses serving until 1927. As have many, he began in 1927 his great career as the senior Member of the Senate and is now in his seventh consecutive term in this great body, serving as its highest officer—President pro tempore—and as chairman of the great and powerful Committee on Appropriations.

In these decades he has always served the people of Arizona and the United States with a dedicated spirit of leadership which has advanced human values both here and abroad. It has been due to his brilliant foresight and energy that the United States has grown to greatness in power and in the resources which he has done so much to mobilize.

He was one of the coauthors of the Hayden-Cartright legislation, which gave the Nation's interstate highways a great boost forward. He was the pioneer and moving spirit of the water development that has conserved the water resources of the West so as to develop our great Western States.

But among the men who know him best, he was also a great conservator of men. He has inspired dozens of younger men in helping them to realize, as he has realized so well, the challenge of industry and understanding that rests upon a Senator's shoulder and in his heart. For he has helped so many dozens of new men and women on the Hill to find their way into leadership in their new and important duties. Yes, he has helped some who have become Presidents of the United States and has been a trusted adviser of other Presidents under whom he has served during his 55 years on Capitol Hill.

Today on the occasion of his 90th birthday anniversary, Senator HAYDEN is still young in heart, and his vision for his Nation still has the long reach of a farsighted pioneer peering through the clear air of Arizona.

Here is a man whom every Senator is proud to call a friend. Here is a man who has labored valiantly and successfully in the vineyard—the vineyard of the Senate—where the grapes of goodness and mercy must be cultivated so diligently if the world is to be mankind's glory and not its grave.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], has prepared a statement with reference to the salute that was made by various Senators earlier today in connection with the birthday of the President pro tempore of the Senate.

Because the Senator from Georgia is necessarily absent, in his behalf I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR RUSSELL

It is indeed a pleasant occasion to be able to salute the ninetieth birthday of anyone, but it is especially heartwarming to be able to join in paying tribute to my beloved colleague, the distinguished Senior Senator from Arizona, on such a noteworthy occasion.

While history will record that Senator Hayden has served in the United States Senate, as well as in the Congress, longer than any other American, his distinguished service to his State and Nation will, without question, be measured by more than simply longevity. He has been one of our great National leaders in the most exciting era of our civilization.

Upon the admission of Arizona as a State of the Union, Carl Hayden was elected Arizona's first representative at large and served eight consecutive terms. He was elected to the Senate in 1926 and has served seven consecutive terms in this body.

Since Arizona first achieved statehood in 1912, there has not been a single moment when the State of Arizona has not enjoyed the leadership of this remarkable man. And I venture to say, that in all the history of these United States no man has contributed more to the building of a state than Carl Hayden has contributed to the State of Arizona.

The distinguished Senior Senator from Arizona is the only member of this body today who occupied a seat in the Senate when I first took office as a United States Senator in 1933.

It has been my privilege to enjoy a close association with him on the Appropriations Committee for these thirty-five years, and I believe I can state without fear of successful contradiction that every man with whom he has served has had a genuine affection for him.

As a Committee Chairman, as well as a colleague, he has been an exemplar of integrity, cooperation and constructive achievement. The welfare and security of our beloved country has been the lode star that has guided him always. It is with great pleasure that I express my affection and best wishes to my warm friend and colleague on his ninetieth birthday, and I look forward to serving with him in the years ahead.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, CARL HAYDEN

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, among the things Carl and I have in common, the least significant, and yet, when thinking on it, the most remarkable, is the number "7": Senator Hayden has been in the Senate for as many terms as I have years.

From the outset of my association with this grand gentleman, his consummate legislative skill and true wisdom have been a model for me. His open friendliness to everyone has endeared Senator Hayden to all of us.

Happy birthday, Carl. I know your upcoming eighth term will be as excellent as the earlier seven.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement prepared by the distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya].

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MONTOYA—CARL HAYDEN—ARIZONA'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SENATE

Today is the 90th birthday of Carl Hayden, and although many tributes have been rendered and many others will follow, I certainly take pleasure in adding my own.

This body is the most august deliberative body in the world today. The only other group that can stand with it is the House of Commons of Great Britain. We represent participatory democracy at its best in this chamber.

The United States Senate has in its turn been moulded by those men and women who have served in it, giving of themselves in the process. We have grown because of what these lawmakers have contributed. Some of these Senators have left a permanent mark on this chamber. Others have passed on to a few lines in the history books.

We often abuse superlatives by too common usage. But no superlative is wasted when we speak of those very few men who have not only put their lives into this chamber, but have left a permanent mark on it and our country by their actions. Carl Hayden is one of those very few men.

He is a link between the days when America was emerging as a world power and our time now. He is a child of our century and one of the master builders of the modern Republic.

He has stood here when the darkest clouds have gathered over the Republic, and never has he flinched. He has played a role in decisions and policies that will affect mankind decades from now. And he has played a wise and effective role. It is one thing to be somewhere for an extended period. It is another to function expertly and to continually contribute first class performances. All of this Carl Hayden has done.

No nation produces too many first-class leaders. Ours is no exception. Mr. Hayden is one of them now as he has always been. Throughout his career he has continually shown those personal character qualities that add to his stature as a man. Unfailingly considerate and understanding, he has guided many a new Senator towards a finer, deeper understanding of what this chamber really is. The personal example he has set has always been exemplary. I have personal cause to be grateful to him for the many personal and professional kindnesses he has shown me and the people of New Mexico.

I congratulate Carl Hayden on his day. The years have been kind to him, for he retains a keeness of mind and intellect that are always at the disposal of his country, state, and this body. He has served and is serving Arizona and our nation well. May he continue to do so.

This chamber has been blessed with some first-class men. None have surpassed him. I believe every Senator here is the better for having served with Mr. Hayden.

A VERY HAPPY BIRTHDAY

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I want to associate myself with all of the fine comments made about our distinguished colleague, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Honorable Carl Hayden, and to wish him a very happy birthday.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, annouced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 10673) to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 602) to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 10673) to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT OF U.S. EXPORTS TO YUGOSLAVIA

A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, reporting, pursuant to law, the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia, for the month of August 1967; to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a review of the examination function of the small business investment company program by the Small Business Administration, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning oil interests acquired in obtaining land for construction projects by the Corps of Engineers (Civil Functions), Department of the Army, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the review of inventory accounting systems for aeronautical equipment, Department of the Navy, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the opportunities for improvement in administration of the contract for operation of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colo.. National Science Foundation, dated September 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committeee on Government Operations.

RICHARD C. MOCKLER

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Richard C. Mockler (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF SECTION 127, TITLE 28, UNITED STATES CODE

A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 127, title 28, United States Code, to define more precisely the territory included in the two judicial districts of Virginia (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROJECT PROPOSAL UNDER PROVISIONS OF SMALL RECLAMATION PROJECTS ACT OF 1956

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a project proposal under the provisions of section 10 of the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the **PRESIDENT** pro tempore:

Resolutions adopted by the City Councils of Gardena, Montclair, Orange, and Whittier, all of the State of California, favoring the enactment of some form of a Federal tax-sharing program; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the State Council of Kentucky, Junior Order United American Merchants, Covington, Ky., relating to a peaceful settlement of the War in Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Two petitions signed by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, of the State of Illinois, relative to the provision of jobs, housing, and education to solve the problems of American cities; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. MONRONEY, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, without amendment:

H.R. 3979. An act to amend section 6409 (b) (1) of title 39, United States Code, which relates to transportation compensation paid by the Postmaster General; (Rept. No. 578).

REPORT ENTITLED "RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS"—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 577)

Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Government Operations, submitted a report entitled "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders," which was ordered to be printed.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 2488. A bill for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 2489. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jesus Jose Eduardo Garcia;

S. 2490. A bill for the relief of Dr. Juan de Moya;

S. 2491. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio Pinera;

S. 2492. A bill for the relief of Leonardo E. Arteaga; and

S. 2493. A bill for the relief of Capt. Bruce E. Wilta, U.S. Air Force; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TALMADGE:

S. 2494. A bill to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 to prohibit the charging of certain fees thereunder; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. TALMADGE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

S. 2495. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jesus Ortiz Ricote; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 2496. A bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the local governments in the Washington Metropolitan Area; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. BREWSTER when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 2497. A bill to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

AMENDMENT OF THE LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND ACT OF 1965 TO PROHIBIT THE CHARGING OF CERTAIN FEES

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, effective January 1, 1968, the Corps of Engineers of the Department of the Army plans to begin charging private resident homeowners on public reservoirs or impoundments fees for such facilities as floating docks, boat mooring facilities, duck blinds, ski jumps, swimming or diving platforms, and other similar facilities constructed on waters administered by the Corps of Engineers.

According to these plans, private homeowners would be levied an annual fee of $10, plus 7½ percent for each square foot of the area occupied in excess of 200 square feet.

The Department of the Army has taken the view that since the operators of commercial concessions, which do business for a profit on Corps of Engineers reservoirs, are required to pay user fees, private homeowners on these lakes should likewise have to pay a fee.

I cannot follow this line of reasoning, and I find no justification for private property owners being subjected to mandatory user fees of this kind.

The private occupants of lakeside homes or resort cottages have invested both capital and labor in their facilities, often in very large sums. I fail to see any similarity between private homeowners on such lakes and waterways, who are only there to seek relaxation and recreation, and concessionaires who build and operate their facilities solely for personal and private gain.

I see no more justification in this instance than there would be for charging private homeowners a fee to enter either our public city streets or Nation's highways.

I feel very strongly that action is required to secure the traditional freedom, access and use of the public waterways and lakes of this Nation. For this reason I introduced today a bill to prohibit the Department of the Army from charging private homeowners user fees for their facilities on Government-administered waters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2494) to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 to prohibit the charging of certain fees thereunder, introduced by Mr. TALMADGE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

POLICE MUTUAL AID AGREEMENTS FOR THE METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, in recent years, the local jurisdictions which compose the Washington metropolitan area have been confronted with many urban problems that are regional in nature. It was for this reason that the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments was formed. The council of governments is a voluntary association of the area's 15 major local governments.

The Public Safety Policy Committee of the Council of Governments is concerned with the coordination of police, fire, civil defense, traffic safety and codes, and regulations related thereto on a regional basis.

On September 29, 1967, the membership of the Public Safety Policy Committee voted unanimously to urge the Congress and the State legislatures in Maryland and Virginia to adopt enabling legislation which would allow the local governments of our region to enter into police mutual aid agreements.

This type of legislation was first suggested by the Regional Police Chief's Committee which advises the Council of Governments on police matters. The police committee is composed of the chiefs of police from all area local governments in addition to representatives from the FBI, the U.S. Secret Service, the Capitol Police, the park police, the airport police, and the military police.

The Police Chiefs' Committee has expressed concern on many occasions over the fact that while crime and civil disorder often affects more than one jurisdiction in our area, a police officer cannot render emergency assistance beyond the boundaries of his own jurisdiction.

To resolve this difficulty, Mr. President, I am proposing legislation today to pave the way for an agreement which would eliminate jurisdictional restrictions incumbent upon area law enforcement officers in emergency situations.

The bill I am introducing authorizes the new Mayor of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the other local governments in the Washington metropolitan area.

At his discretion, and for such periods as he deems advisable, the Mayor would be permitted to enter into reciprocal agreements with any county, municipality, or other governmental units in the States of Maryland and Virginia for this purpose.

The agreements would allow the District and surrounding jurisdictions to establish and carry into effect a plan to provide mutual aid, through the furnishing of policemen and other agents and employees of the District, together with all necessary equipment, in the event of an emergency resulting from the existence of a state of war, internal disorder, or fire, flood, epidemic, or other public disaster.

This legislation would indemnify officers responding to requests for emergency assistance from claims from third parties and would assure that while working outside their own jurisdictions, they would still be covered by all of the pension, relief, disability, workmens compensation and other benefits they enjoy while performing their respective duties within the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, Congress and the State Legislatures of Maryland and Virginia several years ago approved a bill permitting the development of reciprocal agreements for mutual firefighting aid by the local area governments.

This legislation that I am introducing today is essential if our local police forces are to meet the growing challenges to the life and property of our area's citizens. I hope that it will receive the strong support and approval of Congress.

I now send to the desk for appropriate reference a bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the other local governments in the Washington area.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2496) to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area, introduced by Mr. Brewster, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

AMENDMENT OF MARINE RESOURCES AND ENGINEERING DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1966

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, together with a statement of purpose and need and a section-by-section analysis of the bill, be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the statement of purpose and need, and a section-by-section analysis of the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2497) to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, introduced by Mr. Magnuson (by request) was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The material presented by Mr. Magnuson is as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., September 29, 1967.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: There is transmitted herewith on behalf of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, and the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, for referral to the appropriate committee, a draft of legislation "To amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development."

This proposed bill would—

1. extend the time in which the Commission's report could be submitted for an additional six months, to January 9, 1969;

2. change the expiration date of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development from a date 120 days following the rendering of the Commission's report to June 30, 1969. As under the current law the Commission would remain in existence for an additional 30 days following the rendering of its report.

The proposed extension of the time for rendering the Commission's report is needed to insure adequate and effective discharge of the Commission's responsibility to recommend an overall plan for an adequate oceanographic program that will meet present and future national needs.

The later expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development would continue for a brief period the existing mechanisms for assisting the President in carrying out his responsibilities under P.L. 89-454 and P.L. 89-688. The amendment would further provide a fixed expiration date for the Council rather than relating the Council's expiration to the indefinite date of the Commission's report.

Sincerely,

CHARLES L. SCHULTZE.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEED

The draft bill amends the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, by:

1. Extending the time in which the Commission's report could be submitted for an additional six months, to January 9, 1969.

2. Changing the expiration date of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development from a date 120 days following the rendering of the Commission's report to June 30, 1969.

The Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources has been charged with recommending an adequate national marine science program that will meet present and future needs, and a governmental organizational plan together with estimated cost. The Act establishing the Commission was approved in June 1966; the Commission was appointed in January 1967. Initially, staff support was provided by the Secretariat of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Organization of a separate Commission staff was begun in late April 1967; a staff of approximately a dozen professionals is now available. With these preliminary steps completed, the Commission is now in a position to assess what work can feasibly be accomplished within alternative time periods. On the basis of this assessment, the Commission recommends that its enabling statute be amended to extend by six months the period of time within which it is required to submit its final report.

With this additional time, the Commission would be able to develop its findings and conclusions on a significantly broader base of factual information than could be obtained if the report were to be rendered on the date required by existing law. The Commission would also be able, on a twenty-four-month schedule, to test more adequately the soundness of its premises with its Congressional Advisors, members of the National Council and other key individuals.

The task which has been assigned to this Commission is one of very large dimensions. The Commission does not anticipate that it will be able to advance solutions for all of the problems and questions which it might like to consider. It intends instead to be selective and to focus its attention on those areas in which it believes action is most urgent. However, with respect to those matters on which it does advance recommendations, the Commission believes that the President and the Congress deserve a fully-considered, documented and complete proposal, and that it is incumbent upon the Commission to frame its recommendations so that they will provide concrete guidelines for legislative and administrative action.

The National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development advises and assists the President in carrying out his responsibilities under the Act. These include evaluation of Federal marine science activities, the development of a comprehensive program, the establishment of long-range studies, coordination of a program of international cooperation, guidance for Sea Grant program policies, and the submission of an annual report. The advice and assistance of the Council will be useful to the President during the time he is reviewing the Commission's report, evaluating its implications for agency programs, and preparing his recommendations to the Congress.

Extension of the Council to June 30, 1969 provides a fixed date for expiration of the Council rather than relating the Council's expiration to the indefinite date of the Commission's report. The additional extension in the life of the Council by substituting a fixed date would be less than two months, should the Commission report an January 9, 1969, but the definite expiration date would provide more certainty in planning staff work.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

The draft bill amends the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended (hereinafter "the Act"), by:

1. Extending the time in which the Commission's report could be submitted for an additional six months, to January 9, 1969.

2. Changing the expiration date of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development from a date 120 days following the rendering of the Commission's Report to June 30, 1969. The provisions of the Act with respect to the Commission expire 30 days after the Commission submits its final report, at which time the Commission will cease to exist. The provisions of the Act with respect to the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development (hereinafter "the Council") now expire 120 days after the Commission submits its final report. This amendment instead provides a fixed expiration date for the Council, June 30, 1969, rather than basing the expiration on the indefinite date of the Commission's report. Should the Commission report on January 9, 1969, the Council would expire slightly less than six months thereafter rather than expiring 120 days later as provided in the present language.

During this additional time, the Council could continue to: assist the President in the exercise of the functions and responsibilities set forth in sections 4 and 7 of the Act; coordinate a program of international cooperation in work done pursuant to section 6 of the Act, at the President's request; advise and provide policy guidance to the National Science Foundation on the Sea Grant College Program and prepare an annual report to the Congress on this program, pursuant to section 205 of the Act.

The amendment would not affect functions vested in the President or the authorization, set forth in section 9 of the Act, for appropriations of up to $1.5 million per year to carry out the purposes of the Act.

RIOT CONTROL BILL—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 369

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, to H.R. 421, the riot control bill, which has been passed by the House and which is now being considered by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Copies of this amendment have already been provided to the Judiciary Committee.

I think everyone would agree that something has to be done to put an end to the terribly destructive riots of the past few years.

If the riot epidemic continues to spiral upward, and if race relations in this country continue to spiral downward, the process may very well tear our society apart and destroy the United States as a nation.

As I see it, we have to do a number of things simultaneously.

More stringent legislation and more effective police measures will not by themselves be sufficient to prevent the eruption of more Detroit and Newark riots, so long as there are masses of underprivileged, discontented, and embittered people in our Negro communities.

On the other hand, the social reform approach which ignores the need for strengthening the legal bulwarks against rioting, is also doomed to failure. The proof of this lies in the experience of Detroit and New Haven, which were among the most advanced cities in the Nation in terms of what they had done for the Negro.

I speak as a lifelong friend of the Negro cause. Indeed I bow to none in my record of commitment to civil rights and social justice for our Negro citizens.

But even with the best of good will and with the most energetic and imaginative program, it is going to take time—perhaps a decade, perhaps several decades—to sweep aside the accumulated debris of centuries and to eliminate all the social inequities about which our Negro citizens complain.

What happens until we achieve the ideal state of complete equality? Are the riots to continue to grow in number and intensity with each passing year? If they do, I fear that nothing can save our country.

It has been argued that an antiriot bill can contribute little to law enforcement because the crimes we are trying to get at are already covered by local and State statutes.

It is true that there are such statutes. But it is my belief that Federal law should supplement State and local laws to create the strongest possible legal barriers and restraints to riotous activity.

The knowledge that the full power of the Federal law enforcement agencies will be brought to bear in riot situations will in itself serve as a deterrent. It may help to prevent riots in some cases and reduce their severity in other cases.

Beyond this, there is a clear need for Federal legislation providing stiff punishment for itinerant agitators and arsonists and guerrillas and for those who use the mails or other interstate facilities to incite riots or to aggravate riots. This need can only be filled by a riot control bill at the Federal level.

I believe that such a bill is called for, first, because of the interstate character of the problem; second, because of the evidence of foreign control over some of the major extremist groups involved in the incitation to violence and rioting; and third, because the national security is clearly involved.

THE NEED FOR FORTIFYING H.R. 421

I believe that in enacting riot control legislation we should seek to make it as broad as possible, as strong as possible, and as unassailable as possible.

In its original form, H.R. 421 suffers from several weaknesses that would make it difficult to enforce. In certain respects it is too broad, and in other respects not sufficiently broad. And the penalties prescribed by it are altogether inadequate.

The language of the Eastland amendment represents a definite improvement. However, I hope and I believe that there are some new ideas and some new formulations in the amendment in the nature of a substitute which I have introduced today.

Let me set forth the major differences between H.R. 421 and the proposed amendment in the nature of a substitute.

This substitute measure, like H.R. 421, would prohibit and make unlawful any interstate travel or use of facilities of interstate or foreign commerce, including the mails, for the purpose of inciting or conspiring to incite public disturbances resulting in acts of violence against persons or property.

However, I believe that the substitute measure is an improvement because it is more precise in its definitions; because it broadens the scope of the bill to include specific criminal activities related to riot situations other than inciting or instigating; because it simplifies the problem of enforcement; because it provides for stiffer penalties; and finally because it provides for the establishment of an Office of Riot Prevention and Control and an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control, for the purpose of coordinating all research, planning, and training programs relating to riot prevention and control.

DEFINITION OF A RIOT

H.R. 421 defines a riot as "a public disturbance, involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which poses an immediate danger of damage or injury to property or persons." This traditional language might be applicable to minor street scuffles involving three or more persons, if interstate travel or the use of interstate facilities happened to be a factor. I do not believe that it would serve any purpose to apply Federal law to such situations. Such situations can most appropriately be handled by State and local laws.

My amendment defines a riot in precise terms as a public disturbance involving 25 or more people, characterized by looting, arson, the use of explosive or incendiary devices, sabotage, or attacks on law-enforcement authorities or firemen.

This is the kind of public disturbance that we are really concerned about.

REBUTTABLE PRESUMPTION

A weakness of the original version of H.R. 421 to which many critics have referred is the fact that it requires proof of intent at the point of crossing a State line or at the point of using a facility of interstate or foreign commerce. My amendment minimizes this difficulty by providing that, if someone has traveled or has used an interstate or foreign commerce facility, and has, within a period of 10 days thereafter, instigated or encouraged the continuation of a riot, or has contributed to a riot through any of the acts specified in the bill, his intent shall be presumed, unless he is able to rebut this presumption to the satisfaction of the jury or court.

Such presumptions of fact are not without precedent and they have been upheld by the Federal judiciary if the inference rests upon a strong logical basis. For example, several of the laws relating to the importation and sale of narcotic drugs contain a provision that "possession shall be deemed sufficient evidence to authorize conviction, unless the defendant explains his possession to the satisfaction of the jury."

TEACHING OR DEMONSTRATING—EXPLOSIVES OR INCENDIARY DEVICES

My amendment would make it a crime to travel or to use other interstate facilities or foreign commerce facilities for the purpose of teaching or demonstrating the making or use of any explosive or incendiary device in a riot situation.

MAKING OR USING EXPLOSIVES OR INCENDIARY DEVICES

It would make it a crime for someone who has crossed a State line to participate in a riot situation by making or using an explosive or incendiary device in this situation, or by engaging in sabotage or attacks with deadly weapons on firemen or law enforcement officers, or on other persons during the course of a riot as defined.

TRANSPORTING FIREARMS

It would make it a crime to transport firearms or explosive or incendiary devices for use in riot situations.

FURTHERING RIOTS ALREADY BROKEN OUT

Its prohibition is not confined to "inciting" or "instigating" a riot. There is evidence that when riots break out, extremists from other cities tend to move in. The language of my bill explicitly makes it a crime to travel or to use interstate or foreign commerce facilities, after a riot has broken out, for the purpose of promoting the continuation of the situation, or contributing to the riot through any of the acts specified in the bill. On this very important point, my amendment roughly parallels the Eastland amendment.

PUNISHMENT

My amendment provides for a maximum punishment of 20 years or $20,000 fine or both, as against a maximum punishment of 5 years or $10,000 or both prescribed in the original version of H.R. 421. Obviously such maximum penalties would not be imposed in the case of simple looting. But where it can be demonstrated that a man was directly responsible for inciting a riot that results in heavy loss of life and extensive property damage, 5 years or $10,000 is a ludicrously inadequate punishment.

OFFICE OF RIOT PREVENTION AND CONTROL

My bill would establish for the period of the next 5 years a Federal Office of Riot Prevention and Control. This proposal does not appear in H.R. 421.

The purpose of this office would be to conduct research into more effective methods of preventing and controlling riots; to coordinate such research by providing for the participation of the Department of Justice, local law-enforcement agencies, the Army, and the National Guard; and to disseminate this information, by means of seminars, publications, and training films, to the various local and State and Federal offices concerned with the problem of riot prevention and control.

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON COORDINATION OF PROGRAMS OF RIOT PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Finally, my amendment calls for the establishment for the period of the next 5 years of an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control, in which the following agencies of Government shall be represented: The Department of Justice; the National Guard; the Department of the Army; local law-enforcement officers. In addition, the Council shall contain five members to be appointed by the President from among private citizens. The Council, which would meet at least twice a year, would be under the Chairmanship of the Director of the Office of Riot Prevention and Control.

The existence of such a Council would help to promote the coordination of research, informational programs, and operational planning by the various Federal, State, and local agencies, including the Army and National Guard, concerned with the problems of riot prevention and control.

I believe that the establishment of the Office of Riot Prevention and Control and the Advisory Council are of the greatest importance because together they will provide a mechanism for coordinating research, training, and operational planning on the part of the Department of Justice, local law enforcement agencies, the Army, and the National Guard.

The need for a coordinated research and training program was driven home repeatedly during the recent riots.

In part the problem has been one of inadequate training—and in this connection I am pleased to note that the National Guard and the Army, as well as the police in our major cities, are all intensifying their riot control training program.

But intensified training is not enough.

The riot control methods used in Newark and Detroit and other cities are much the same methods that were in use 50 years ago. They depend primarily on rifles, shotguns, automatic rifles, fixed bayonets, and billy clubs.

These methods are extremely costly in human life, and they are simply inadequate to cope with the much more complex and sophisticated and destructive type of riot with which we are now confronted.

Thus far I have come across only a few fragments of evidence to indicate that we have put our unrivaled technological resources to work to improve the methods of riot control.

New and improved methods and improved hardware for riot control purposes can be developed with a concerted program.

But the costs of such a research and development program are beyond the means of local government institutions. It is an effort that should be centralized, under the collective guidance of representatives of local, State, and Federal law enforcement officers, as well as the Army and National Guard.

For example, riots like those which occurred in Watts and Newark and Detroit are really battle situations which require observation and command facilities that even our largest municipal police forces do not maintain.

Among the kinds of technology potentially available to deal with this problem is the use of helicopters as vantage points from which to survey the total scene, to transmit television camera pictures and to survey special areas on instruction and to answer questions from the command center.

Moreover, no municipal police force is equipped to cope with the massive communications problem that arises when a riot develops. It goes without saying that enforcement authorities can be seriously handicapped if there is a significant lag in the flow of information from the various fronts on which the battle is being fought. Experience with several major riots in recent years indicates that situation reports assembled at police command and control centers ran as much as 3 hours behind events in the field.

To deal with this situation, perhaps the Army or National Guard, in cooperation with the Office of Riot Prevention and Control, could develop and make available mobile command vans or aircraft specifically designed to deal with riot situations and equipped to receive and process the massive volume of situation reports that riots inevitably engender.

It would be too much to expect the riots of the past few years to come to an end overnight as the result of the enactment of this legislation or of any other measures we may take. The prospects are that these destructive disturbances will be with us for some years to come.

However, it is not my expectation that the Office of Riot Prevention and Control or the Advisory Council will be permanent fixtures of our Government. On the contrary, it is my belief that at some date in the not-too-distant future—perhaps 4 or 5 years from now—it will be possible to terminate the Office because the situation has been brought under control.

For this reason, my amendment provides for funding the Office on a year-to-year basis.

It is my earnest hope that, before this session adjourns, Congress will enact a riot control bill.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of my amendment printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 369) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"FINDINGS

"SECTION 1. It is the sense of the Congress that the large-scale public disturbances, commonly described as "riots" which have recently taken place in cities throughout the United States constitute a growing danger to the happiness, prosperity, and ordered progress of our society. The Congress finds that these disturbances involve the commission of criminal acts of violence by certain individuals resulting in a substantial number of incidents of personal injury and loss of life and substantial damage to and destruction of private and commercial property. The Congress believes that the widespread occurrence of such disturbances creates a problem of national scope, that the commission of such criminal actions militates against improved race relations and against all positive efforts to reduce or eliminate legitimate grievances of the Negro community in various parts of the country, and that the commission of such criminal actions can be partially ascribed to the agitation and other efforts of individuals who are not inhabitants of the affected areas and who travel from State to State exporting grievances and inciting civil disorders, or who use the mails or other facilities of interstate communication for this purpose. In view of the above, the Congress believes that riot control legislation at the Federal level is both appropriate and essential.

"PURPOSE

"SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to prohibit and make unlawful travel in interstate or foreign commerce, or the use of the facilities of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce, for the purpose of inciting or instigating the commission or continuation of serious public disturbances involving arson, looting, the use of explosives or incendiary devices, sabotage and obstruction of essential public works and utilities, and aggravated assaults against firemen and law enforcement officers and, in certain cases, against members of the general public. This Act also is intended to make unlawful travel in, or the use of the facilities of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce for the purpose of committing certain other prescribed acts in furtherance of serious public disturbances.

"This Act is not intended to apply to every minor public disturbance or breach of the peace in which interstate travel or the use of interstate facilities may be a factor, but is specifically directed against serious public disturbances of the nature of the violent and destructive riots which have occurred throughout the United States in recent years.

"It is also the purpose of this Act to establish, for a period of five years, an Office on Riot Prevention and Control to conduct an operational study of the immediate causes and dynamics of the recent riots in the United States, to make studies and conduct programs of research relating to the prevention and control of riots, and to serve as a central collection office of information of all kinds relating to riots.

"In order to enable such Office to more effectively carry out its functions, this Act further provides for the establishment for a period of five years of an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control, which shall consist of nineteen members who are professionally engaged or interested in fields related to riot prevention and control, to promote the coordination of programs and activities carried out by the Office of Riot Prevention and Control with related programs and activities carried out by the National Guard, the United States Army, and State and local law enforcement agencies.

"FEDERAL OFFENSE

"SEC. 3. (a) Title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting, immediately after chapter 101 thereof, the following new chapter:

"Chapter 102—Riots

"'Sec.
"'2101. Riots
"'2102. Definitions
"'2103. Preemption
"'§ 2101. Riots

"(a) Whoever travels in interstate or foreign commerce or uses any facility of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce, for the purpose of—

"'(1) willfully inciting or instigating the commission or continuation of a public disturbance by twenty-five or more persons, intending, knowing, or having reason to believe that such public disturbance will result in or continue to result in any one or more unlawful acts of (A) arson, (B) looting, (C) sabotage or violence causing damage to, or the obstruction of the operation or functioning of, any basic public works or utility, (D) assault or battery with a dangerous or deadly weapon against any fireman or law enforcement officer engaged in the performance of his official duties incident to and during the commission of such public disturbance, or (E) violence by any one or more persons using any firearm or explosive or incendiary device to inflict injury or damage to persons or property; or

"'(2) willfully making any explosive or incendiary device, willfully teaching or demonstrating to any number of persons the use, application, or making of any explosive or incendiary device, or willfully distributing any instructional materials with respect to the use, application, or making of any explosive or incendiary device, intending, knowing, or having reason to believe that such device will be unlawfully used by any one or more persons to inflict injury or damage to persons or property in the course of a public disturbance by twenty-five or more persons; or

"'(3) willfully transporting, or furnishing by any means, to any other person or persons any firearm or explosive or incendiary device, intending, knowing, or having reason to believe that such firearm or explosive or incendiary device will be unlawfully used by any one or more persons to inflict injury or damage to persons or property in the course of a public disturbance by twenty-five or more persons; or

"'(4) willfully and unlawfully using any firearm or explosive or incendiary device to inflict injury or damage to persons or property in the course of a public disturbance by twenty-five or more persons; or

"'(5) willfully committing, during the commission of a public disturbance by twenty-five or more persons, any unlawful act of (A) arson, (B) looting, (C) sabotage or violence causing damage to, or the obstruction of the operation or functioning of, any basic public works or utility, (D) assault or battery with a dangerous or deadly weapon against any fireman or law enforcement officer engaged in the performance of his official duties incident to and during the commission of such public disturbance, or (E) assault or battery with a dangerous or deadly weapon against any other person in the course of a public disturbance involving any one or more of the acts described in clause (A), (B), (C), or (D);

shall be fined not more than $20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.

"'(b) In any prosecution under this section, proof that a defendant has engaged in, or attempted to engage in, any overt act for any purpose described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), or (5) of subsection (a), at any place within any State or the District of Columbia, at any time within ten days after—

"'(1) his travel in interstate or foreign commerce to that place, or

"'(2) his use of any facility of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce to communicate with or broadcast to, or to convey any article to, any person or persons at that place, or to transport any person to that place,

shall be deemed prima facie proof that such defendant has traveled in, or has used a facility of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce for a purpose described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), or (5) of subsection (a), unless such defendant explains his travel in, or use of a facility of, or means of communication in, interstate or foreign commerce to the satisfaction of the jury (or of the court when tried without jury).

"'§ 2102. Definitions

"'For purposes of this chapter:

"'(1) The term "basic public works or utility" means (A) any works for the storage, treatment, purification, or distribution of water if such works is owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States; (B) any sewage, sewage treatment, or sewer facility, if such facility is owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States; (C) any facility for the generation or transmission of electric energy, if such facility is owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States; (D) any facility for the distribution of natural gas, if such facility is owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States; (E) any bus, railway, subway, waterway, or other public transportation system, if such system is owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States, and any terminal or public highway, rail line, or other necessary right-of-way used in connection with such public transportation system, or any necessary harbor or port facilities in connection therewith; (F) any radio, telegraph, telephone, television, or other communications station or system owned, operated, licensed, or regulated by any State or local government, or the United States; or (G) any of the equipment, property, distribution, or transmission lines or cables, or material of any public works or utility specified in clause (A), (B), (C), (D), (E), or (F).

"'(2) The term "fireman" means any member of a fire department (including a volunteer fire department) of any State, any political subdivision of a State, or the District of Columbia.

"'(3) The term "law enforcement officer" means any officer or employee of the United States, any State, any political subdivision of a State, or the District of Columbia, while engaged in the enforcement or prosecution of any of the criminal laws of the United States, a State, any political subdivision of a State, or the District of Columbia; and such term shall specifically include, but shall not be limited to, members of the National Guard, as defined in section 101(9) of title 10, United States Code, members of the organized militia of any State, or territory of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the District of Columbia, not included within the definition of National Guard as defined by such section 101(9), and members of the Armed Forces of the United States, while engaged in suppressing acts of violence or restoring law and order during a civil disorder.

"'(4) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the act of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

"'(5) The term "arson" means to maliciously set fire to or burn (A) any dwelling, building, or similar structure, whether public or private, or any other person, or (B) any appurtenance to such dwelling, building, or similar structure.

"'(6) The term "explosive" means dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device, gunpowder, and any chemical compound or mechanical mixture that contains any oxidizing and combustible units, or other ingredients, in such proportions, quantities, or packing that ignition by fire, by friction, by concussion, by percussion, or by detonation of the compound or mixture or any part thereof may cause an explosion.

"'(7) The term "incendiary device" means any incendiary bomb or grenade, including, but not limited to, any device which (A) consists of or includes a container of any material including a flammable liquid or compound and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (B) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

"'§ 2103. Preemption

"'Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which any provisions of this chapter operate to the exclusion of State or local laws on the same subject matter, nor shall any provision of this chapter be construed to invalidate any provision of State law unless such provision is inconsistent with any of the purposes of this chapter or any provision thereof.'

"(b) The table of contents to 'PART I.—CRIMES' of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after

"'101. Records and reports............ 2071'

a new chapter reference as follows:

"'102. Riots .... 2101'

"OFFICE ON RIOT PREVENTION AND CONTROL

"SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established an independent agency to be known as the Office on Riot Prevention and Control (hereafter in this section referred to as the "Office"). Such Office shall be administered by a Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed by section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, for level IV of the Executive Schedule.

"(b) The functions of the Office shall be—

"(1) to conduct, as soon as practicable after the enactment of this Act, an operational study of the immediate causes and dynamics of the various riots that have occurred throughout the United States in recent years;

"(2) to make studies and conduct programs of research, in light of the findings and results developed by the study carried out under paragraph (1), designed to develop improved methods, techniques, equipment, and devices which may be useful in the prevention and control of riots, including, but not limited to the development of nonviolent methods and devices for dispersing rioters and other methods of maintaining order with minimum injury to persons and minimum damage to property, and the development of methods and techniques to achieve the most effective coordination and integration of units of local law enforcement agencies with State law enforcement personnel and with units of the National Guard of the several States and the District of Columbia and units of the United States Army while engaged in maintaining and restoring law and order during a riot;

"(3) to conduct, from time to time, seminars and workshops throughout the United

States for the presentation and dissemination, to officers and employees of State and local governments and of the United States concerned with riot prevention and control, of information with respect to the dynamics of recent riots in the United States, and advanced or improved methods, techniques, equipment, and devices for the prevention and control of riots;

"(4) to publish and disseminate to the States and local law enforcement agencies, to the National Guard of the several States and the District of Columbia, and to the United States Army, a quarterly bulletin or publication presenting and evaluating the latest information concerning the dynamics of riots and the prevention and control of riots, including, but not limited to, information concerning advanced or improved tactical and technological methods, techniques, equipment, and devices to control riots;

"(5) to prepare training films on riot control for the use of police departments and other local law enforcement agencies, the National Guard of the several States and the District of Columbia, and the United States Army, relying for purposes of realism on film sequences of actual riots, collated and edited with analytical commentaries; and

"(6) to serve as a central collection office and repository of information of all kinds relating to riots, the immediate causes of riots, and the prevention and effective control of riots.

"(c) For the purpose of carrying out his functions under this section, the Director is authorized to make grants to or enter into contracts with any private or public nonprofit agency, organization, or institution engaged in, or, concerned with research training, education, or demonstration activities in the field of riot prevention or control.

"(d) In carrying out his functions under this section, the Director is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the Government, information, advice, estimates, and statistics for the purposes of this section; and each such department, agency, or instrumentality is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Director and, to the extent permitted by law, furnish such information, advice, estimates, and statistics to the Director upon his request.

"(e) The Director may appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees of the office as he may determine to be required for the performance of its duties.

"(f) The Director may procure temporary and intermittent services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3101 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $100 per diem for individuals in addition to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses.

"(g) On or before August 31 of each year the Director shall transmit to the President and the Congress an interim report on his activities under this section during the preceding fiscal year, together with such recommendations as the Director may deem appropriate. The Director shall submit a final and comprehensive report not later than August 31, 1972. Sixty days after submission of such final report the Office shall cease to exist.

"ADVISORY COUNCIL ON COORDINATION OF PROGRAMS OF RIOT PREVENTION AND CONTROL

"SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control (hereafter referred to as the 'Council'), which shall be composed of 21 members, as follows:

"(1) The Director of the Office on Riot Prevention and Control, who shall be the chairman;

"(2) Three members to be appointed by the Attorney General from among officers and employees of the Department of Justice;

"(3) Five members to be appointed by the President from among chiefs of police departments of local governments whose names are submitted to the President by the National Association of Chiefs of Police;

"(4) The chief of the National Guard Bureau appointed under section 2015 of title 10, United States Code;

"(5) Three members to be appointed by the Secretary of Defense from among the Adjutants General of the several States and the commanding general of the National Guard of the District of Columbia;

"(6) Three members to be appointed by the Secretary of the Army from among members serving on active duty in the United States Army; and

"(7) Five members to be appointed by the President from among citizens in private life with special training, knowledge, or experience in any field (including research) pertinent to the functions of the Council.

"(b) The Council shall promote the coordination, by advice and consultation, of study, research, and informational programs and activities carried out by the Office of Riot Prevention and Control under section 4(b) of this Act with related types of programs and activities carried out by the National Guard of the several States and the District of Columbia, or the United States Army, or local law enforcement agencies, including as appropriate encouragement of the joint conduct or support of such programs and activities.

"(c) The Council shall meet not less than once each six months.

"(d) (1) Members of the Council appointed by the President from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Council and, in addition, shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Council.

"(2) Members of the Council, other than those referred to in paragraph (1), shall serve without compensation in addition to that received in their regular public employment, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of duties vested in the Council.

"(e) The Council shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable. In addition, the Council is authorized to obtain temporary and intermittent services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

"(f) Financial and administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel and procurement) may be provided the Council by the General Services Administration, for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement from funds of the Commission in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the chairman of the Council and the Administrator of General Services.

"(g) On or before August 31 of each year, the Council shall submit to the President and the Congress an interim report on its activities pursuant to this section during the preceding fiscal year. The Council shall submit a final and comprehensive report not later than August 31, 1972. Sixty days after the submission of such final report the Council shall cease to exist.

"AUTHORIZATIONS

"SEC. 6. For the purpose of carrying out sections 4 and 5 of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. For any succeeding fiscal year only such sums may be appropriated for such purpose as the Congress hereafter may authorize by law.

"Amend the title so as to read: 'An Act to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce for the purpose of inciting or instigating the commission or continuation of certain public disturbances resulting in acts of arson, looting, damage or obstruction of basic public works and utilities, and aggravated assaults upon firemen and law enforcement officers; to establish an Office on Riot Prevention and Control and an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control, and for other purposes.' "

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 370

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 371

Mr. PROUTY (for himself and Mr. SCOTT) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the motion by Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, relating to an instruction to strike out title II of Senate bill 2388, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT: REQUIRING PASS-THROUGH OF BENEFITS—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 372

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, unless present social security law is changed, many thousands of those who supposedly will receive increases upon passage of the pending legislation will end up with no more benefits than they now have. Without an amendment such as I submit today, in the case of several hundred thousand persons at the lower end of the beneficiary scale, the only effect will be to give the States a greater subsidy for their welfare payments, shifting the burden to the Federal Government without benefit to those individuals who are on both social security and old age assistance.

At present the lower range of social security payments to the elderly is too low for them to live on, unless they have other resources. Where there are no other resources, social security must be supplemented by old age assistance, financed equally by local and Federal sources under title XIX of the social security code. It has happened before, and without amendment it will happen again, that social security increases are merely applied to reduce the OAA share, leaving the recipients with exactly the same total.

For example, a person receives the minimum $44 of social security in a State whose minimum standard is $85. Old-age assistance pays the other $41, $20.50 of which is Federal money, the rest local. Suppose the bill now before us raises the social security minimum to $50, a $6 monthly increase. Will the beneficiary now get $91 instead of $85? In most cases, no—unless my amendment is adopted. Instead of passing on the increase and maintaining the same old-age assistance supplement, the States are free to cut the OAA payments so that there is still only $85 per month total income for the needy elderly person. In effect, the State will pocket the $6 intended for the beneficiary. It will cut its supplement from $41 to $35, in effect making a profit on the raise that should go to the beneficiary. Instead of paying $20.50 as its OAA share, it will now pay only $17.50 as its share, saving its own tax money by requiring, in a sense, a $6 kickback from the elderly.

This, I submit, is wrong. The provisions we make for helping the beneficiaries must be made to help them truly, not simply reduce the tax cost of the States at the expense of those we should assist. It can be done by requiring the State to pass the increase along, not countermand it, and this amendment will do it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 372) was referred to the Committee on Finance.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2481) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide special assistance for the improvement of laboratory animal research facilities; to establish standards for the humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals in departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States and by recipients of grants, awards, and contracts from the United States; to encourage the study and improvement of the care, handling, and treatment and the development of methods for minimizing pain and discomfort of laboratory animals used in biomedical activities; and to otherwise assure humane care, handling, and treatment of laboratory animals; and for other purposes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1341) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act in order to authorize comprehensive pilot programs in lake pollution prevention and control.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on September 29, 1967, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1862) to amend the authorizing legislation of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON TAX CONVENTIONS

Mr. **FULBRIGHT**. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Foreign Relations has scheduled a public hearing on the following tax conventions at 10 a.m., on Thursday, October 5, 1967, in room 4221 of the New Senate Office Building:

One. Tax Convention with Brazil (Ex. J, 90–1).

Two. Income-Tax Convention with Trinidad and Tobago (Ex. F, 90–1).

Three. Supplementary Income-Tax Convention with Canada (Ex. B, 90–1).

Persons interested in testifying on any of these conventions should communicate with the chief clerk of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION BILL

Mr. **ERVIN**. Mr. President, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, I wish to announce that the subcommittee will hold hearings on Monday and Tuesday, October 30 and 31, on S. 2307, a bill I introduced which would establish procedures to implement the provision in article V of the Constitution for convening State conventions to propose constitutional amendments. The hearings will begin at 10 a.m. each day in the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing room, room 2228, New Senate Office Building.

Article V of the Constitution provides that constitutional amendments may be proposed in one of two ways—by the Congress or by a convention called by the Congress in response to the applications of two-thirds of the State legislatures. Although the framers of the Constitution clearly contemplated that both methods of proposing amendments would be used frequently, it is remarkable that the State-convention method has never been put into operation. This may not be true much longer, however, since 32 State legislatures have petitioned for a convention to propose an amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's one-man one-vote doctrine on State legislative apportionment. If only two more States legislatures memorialize the Congress to call a constitutional convention, we will be faced for the first time in our history with implementing that provision of article V. Since virtually none of the complex and important questions relevant to the composition and functioning of such a convention, and the disposition of its proposals, has ever been authoritatively resolved, the result could well be a constitutional nightmare. S. 2307 is intended to forestall that nightmare, to bring order to the chaos and conflict that threaten in the absence of such legislation.

I noted when I introduced the bill that I am not firmly committed to all of its provisions. I know that some Senators, in speeches on the subject, have indicated that they disagree with the answers supplied by the bill to such questions as how the convention shall be apportioned and how the delegates shall vote, how long State petitions remain valid, and whether a State may rescind a petition it has filed. I want to assure those Senators that I do not contend that the provisions of the bill represent the only or even the best answers to those questions. Any suggestions for modification will be sympathetically received and earnestly considered.

The important thing, I think, is to answer these questions before, not after, the Congress finds itself in receipt of the requisite number of petitions. The legislation I am proposing would be a general statute to implement the State-convention method of amendment specified in article V. Its provisions would not be aimed at any specific effort to amend the Constitution, and thus should not be influenced by conflicting views as to the substantive merits of any proposed amendment, now or in the future. The legislation would establish fair and permanent criteria against which to measure the validity of State petitions received by the Congress. It would set outstanding procedures to guide the Congress in convening a convention and to govern the convention's proceedings. And, finally, it would establish procedures for congressional review of the recommendations of a convention and for forwarding proposed amendments to the States for ratification.

Mr. President, I consider this to be an important and timely bill. I hope my colleagues will agree and will participate in the hearings. Anyone who wishes to testify before the subcommittee or submit a written statement for inclusion in the hearing record may contact Mr. Paul L. Woodard, subcommittee counsel, Room 1403 New Senate Office Building, telephone 4434, to make the necessary arrangements.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. **FULBRIGHT**. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

Harrison M. Symmes, of North Carolina, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, vice Findley Burns, Jr.

Hugh M. Smythe, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Malta.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

BOSTON RED SOX WIN AMERICAN LEAGUE PENNANT

Mr. **BROOKE**. Mr. President, since becoming a Member of this body, I have been looking for the good news behind the morning's headlines. Such news is not always easy to find. The war in Vietnam still rages on. The problems of our urban centers have not yet been solved. The prospect of a surtax awaits us. And the hurricane season is upon us.

But today, Mr. President, I do have good news, and I want to share it, and my pleasure and excitement, with my colleagues. The Boston Red Sox have won the pennant.

Perhaps those Senators who come from New York, Illinois, or California, cannot really appreciate the delirium which seized my home State yesterday after the last "out" was made by the Minnesota Twins.

It has been 21 years since a Boston Red Sox team won a pennant. Only last year, the Red Sox were one-half game out of last place at the end of the season. But this year, under the tough but inspiring management of Dick Williams, they have captured first place.

I shall not read into the Record all of the names and accomplishments of the members of this superb team. Carl Yastrzemski, the Sox brilliant outfielder, affectionately known to us as "Yaz" is only the seventh man in the history of baseball to win the triple crown. Jim Lonborg, our 22-game winner, who had never beaten the Minnesota Twins before, certainly picked the right time by winning the crucial game yesterday. George Scott, Jose Santiago, Gary Bell, Rico Petrocelli, Reggie Smith and all the rest made it a truly "Go Red Sox" club. Their feat is more astounding when we consider that the Sox did it after losing one of their most valuable player, Tony Conigliaro, a former American League home run champion, who had already hit 20 home runs this season before receiving a serious eye injury which kept him out of the lineup for the crucial last quarter.

But perhaps the most outstanding fact about this Red Sox team, apart from their obvious winning spirit, is their youth. We have a young, fighting team which will be with us for a long time to come. The Red Sox relief pitcher who was warming up in the bullpen during yesterday's game was only 18. I am sure there will be many pennants ahead for this Red Sox team.

Mr. President, several weeks ago, during a fairly crucial point in the baseball season, I sent the following poem to Red Sox manager, Dick Williams:

Of all the teams in baseball
The Red Sox are the best.
You've vanquished all contenders
From the East Coast to the West.

Your fans are all excited
With this year's great performance.
We couldn't be more delighted
With your encouraging transformance.

You've won the praise of all of us
Win, lose, or draw the race.
And it is my humble prediction
You'll end up in first place.

Now, Mr. President, as the Red Sox go into the World Series, I express my confidence that owner Tom Yawkey's team will go all the way.

Ah, Mr. President, there is victory in the air in Boston.

How sweet it is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hart in the chair). Will the Senate indulge the Chair the opportunity to express for the Record his disagreement with his colleague from Massachusetts that he regarded today's newspaper headlines as good news. My silence might be misunderstood in Michigan.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

I can fully understand his feeling of joy and his optimism today.

I hope that he will preserve those feelings in his memory for they will not otherwise be with him this time next week.

TRIP TO THE FAR EAST

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I have just returned from a trip to the Far East, Middle East, and Europe, visiting Japan, Hong Kong, South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Israel, Greece, Italy, and Great Britain.

The trip further increased my respect for the ability and dedication of U.S. civilian and military leaders, all over the world.

Tomorrow I shall present to the Senate, toward the end of the morning hour, a short statement entitled "A Proposal Looking Toward Peace in Vietnam."

BOBBY BAKER BUDDY CHOSEN COUNCIL CHAIRMAN

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the President has named Max M. Kampelman to the position of Chairman of the new Washington City Council. This appointment of a former Bobby Baker crony follows the Fortas and Bress appointments to high political office.

Senators may recall that Kampelman was one of our important witnesses that we were denied from subpenaing by a 5-to-4 vote in the Committee on Rules and Administration which conducted the Baker investigation.

Kampelman was one of the founders, and former director and general counsel of the District of Columbia National Bank. That bank received the first charter granted in the District of Columbia in 25 years. This is made more interesting when one remembers that for 6 years Kampelman was a Senate administrative assistant, and that he and Bobby Baker were two of the bank's original stockholders. Additionally, you may remember that Baker obtained some highly unusual loans from this bank, such as a $125,000 unsecured loan which covered the full purchase price of his Spring Valley home. When Baker wanted that loan he first went to Kampelman, who sent him to a bank vice president named Collins. When Collins approved the loan he said:

> Mr. Baker's position within the U.S. government recommends serious consideration to the transaction, as he is a gentleman with innumerable friends and connections whose good offices in behalf of our bank would be very valuable in our growth.

Kampelman as a former Senate employee if called as a witness could have been asked what part if any Baker had in securing the charter for the District of Columbia National Bank. Kampelman could also have been asked if he knew of any conflict of interest on the part of anyone in the securing of the charter for the bank. Moreover this man might have told us if any high Government officials were beneficial owners of this bank stock although not stockholders of record.

Mr. President, the country should take note that Bobby Baker associates have been placed in the courts, the district attorney's office, and now on the Washington City Council.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Does not the Senator think that the appropriate time to inquire into the matter will be when Mr. Kampelman appears before the committee for confirmation of his nomination?

Mr. CURTIS. Not being a committee member, I shall not have that opportunity.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I understand that. However, the committee will have the opportunity.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator.

WE SHOULD BE GIVEN THE TRUTH REGARDING OUR ALLEGED VIETNAM COMMITMENTS

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, we continue our involvement in a miserable civil war in Vietnam because of our proud refusal to admit a mistake in our attempt to make South Vietnam a pro-American and an anti-Chinese buffer state. Above everything else, this administration has involved more than 500,000 of our ground forces in the worst terrain in all of the world for Americans to be fighting in a war. More than anything else, we are fighting to avoid admitting failure. As Walter Lippmann bluntly put it, "We are fighting to save face."

Furthermore, according to all reliable reports from leaders of nations numbered among our allies and also other so-called friendly nations and Communist nations, ending the bombing of North Vietnam will result in negotiations toward a cease-fire and an armistice. It is foolish pride to continue to demand that Hanoi make the first overture and sue for peace as a defeated nation.

Those who favor our involvement and expanding bombing of North Vietnam allege that South Vietnam is "the scene of a powerful aggression that is spurred by an appetite for conquest." Who is this powerful aggressor? The only forces fighting against us in Vietnam are the Vietnamese people themselves. When I was in Vietnam in late 1965, General Westmoreland stated to me that the bulk of the Vietcong forces fighting in South Vietnam were born and reared in South Vietnam. Gen. Richard Stillwell, who was then second in command, told me that 80 percent of the Vietcong fighting in the Mekong Delta were born and reared in that delta area. No one will deny that the great majority of the forces of the Vietcong are South Vietnamese. Even today, the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam is enlisting 30,000 young South Vietnamese each month into the Vietcong, its military arm. There are no Chinese troops nor Russian troops nor volunteers of any other Communist Nation fighting against us in South Vietnam.

Administration leaders from the President down claim that because of our alleged commitment we should not withdraw our ground forces to Saigon and to other coastal bases or enclaves on the South Vietnamese seacoast where our 1st and 7th Fleets and our Air Forces would give ample protection. Those who urge further escalation of the war and now even urge mining the harbor of Haiphong, or bombing the docks, invariably talk of the commitments they allege were made by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. Then, from the President down they assert that we Americans must live up to those commitments.

What are the facts? What commitments did President Eisenhower really make? What commitments did the late, great President Kennedy make? First, before I destroy those arguments regarding commitments, may I say that historically there never were two nations, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

Vietnam for thousands of years was one nation. There was no North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The Geneva accords of 1954, which we agreed to, but which our representatives did not sign, stated.

> The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

The Geneva accords also called for elections to be held in 1956 toward unification of Vietnam. The fact is that after we installed our puppet Diem, the elections were called off at our behest. The fact is that the civil war in which we are now involved has been raging in Vietnam since 1940, when the people of Vietnam begin their war of liberation, first against the Japanese and then against the French colonial oppressors.

To maintain that the Vietcong is a powerful aggressor spurred by an appetite for conquest is to distort history. This is a war that millions of Vietnamese have been fighting since 1940. While the Communists may have captured leadership of the nationalist movement, we must not lose sight of the fact that this is also a continuation of a war of national liberation. The Saigon military junta is composed of 10 generals. Of the 10, nine fought on the side of the French colonial oppressors in 1953 and 1954 against their own fellow countrymen seeking national liberation. Prime Minister—and soon to be Vice President—Ky was born in Hanoi and was in the French Air Force in 1954 as a cadet in training. In other words, in the Vietnam war for liberation Ky and his cohorts were the tories and the Viet Minh fighting for national liberation were the patriots.

We certainly cannot claim that North Vietnam threatens our existence as a world power. Very definitely, Vietnam is of no strategic or economic importance to the defense of the United States. Now what about that argument that we are defending a free people against military aggression? There is no aggression from the North. For thousands of years Vietnam has been one undivided country. The Geneva accords called for an election of a president during 1956. We approved of this agreement and the Geneva Accords. Nevertheless our CIA and our puppet president of the Saigon regime called off those elections. President Eisenhower stated Ho Chi Minh would have been elected by 80 percent of the vote. Also, in reference to this, we face the embarrassing fact that very few nations in the world accept this argument as an accurate description of the war. More important, the great majority of the Vietcong were born and reared in South Vietnam. It is factually incorrect to claim that we are in Southeast Asia with more than half a million soldiers fighting a land war in an area 10,000 miles distant from our shores because of national aggression by one state against another. This is a fantastic claim lacking adequate basis in fact. Ho Chi Minh was waging his "war of national liberation" long before the Chinese Communists gained power in their own country.

What really are our so-called commitments in Vietnam? Those who urge further escalation of the war always talk of commitments made by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy and assert that we Americans must live up to those commitments. What are the facts? What commitments did President Eisenhower make? What commitments did President Kennedy make?

Our initial commitment to South Vietnam, made by President Eisenhower in 1954 in a letter to the President of South Vietnam stated:

> I am instructing the American Ambassador * * * to examine with you * * * how an intelligent program of American aid * * * can serve to assist Vietnam in its present hour of trial. . . . The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means. * * * The U.S. Government hopes that such aid, combined with your own continuing efforts, will contribute effectively toward an independent Vietnam endowed with a strong government.

Can anyone claim that Prime Minister Ky of South Vietnam, who himself was born and reared in Hanoi, heads a strong, viable state? The military junta in Saigon could not remain in power 1 week except for the operations of our Central Intelligence Agency and the support of our Armed Forces. It is becoming increasingly questionable whether even with all our power we can secure a tranquil administration for Thieu and Ky who received but 34 percent support at the September 3 election.

While General Eisenhower was President, the U.S. military advisory group to Vietnam was increased from a total of 327 in 1953 to 685 in January 1961.

Now, having made it crystal clear that President Eisenhower's commitment, so-called, was a very "iffy" commitment indeed, what commitment did the late President John F. Kennedy make?

President Kennedy said on September 3, 1963, shortly before his assassination:

> I don't think that unless a greater effort is made by the government to win popular support that the war can be won out there. In the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it—the people of Vietnam—against the Communists. We are prepared to continue to assist them, but I don't think that the war can be won unless the people support the effort, and, in my opinion, in the last two months the government has gotten out of touch with the people.

On another occasion, our late, great President John F. Kennedy said:

> Transforming Vietnam into a Western redoubt is ridiculous.

Therefore, it is evident that we are not fighting a land war in Southeast Asia because of commitments made by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

After rehashing the tired arguments regarding our so-called commitment, how can it honestly be claimed that our involvement in this war is justified because of our commitment under the SEATO Treaty? When they do not refer to the very "iffy" commitments made by President Eisenhower and President Kennedy to justify our involvement in the civil war in Vietnam, administration officials during the last year and a half fall back on our so-called obligation under the SEATO Treaty.

Article IV is the basis for this claim. The text of article IV is as follows:

> 1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.
>
> 2. If, in the opinion of any of the Parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any Party in the treaty area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense.
>
> 3. It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement under paragraph 1 of this Article or on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned.

The odd thing about the SEATO Treaty is its elusiveness; it has a quicksilver character about it. It seems to suit the purpose of whomsoever is interpreting it at any given moment. Secretary of State Rusk has stated:

> It is this fundamental SEATO obligation that has from the outset guided our actions in South Vietnam. . . . If the United States determines that an armed attack has occurred against any nation to whom the protection of the treaty applies, then it is obligated to "act to meet the common danger" without regard to the views or actions of any other treaty member.

However, the architect of the SEATO Treaty, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in trying to assuage congressional fears about the degree of commitment that the United States was making in the SEATO Treaty, said in 1955:

> If there is a revolutionary movement in Vietnam or Thailand, we (SEATO nations) would consult together as to what to do about it, because if there were a subversive

> movement that was in fact propagated by communism, it would be a very grave threat to us. But we have no undertaking to put it down; all we have is an undertaking to consult what to do about it.

It is interesting to note that the last sentence of section 1 of article IV states:

> Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

In a publication issued by the Department of State in March 1966, entitled "The Legality of U.S. Participation in the Defense of Vietnam," the claim is made that our Government fulfilled this obligation in August 1964, when we asked the Council to consider the situation created by North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. destroyers in the Tonkin Gulf; twice again in February 1965, when the United States sent additional reports to the Security Council on the conflict in Vietnam and on the additional measures taken by the United States in the collective defense of South Vietnam; and in January 1966, when we formally submitted the Vietnam question to the Security Council for its consideration.

It is interesting to note that we did not take any step toward reporting our action in Vietnam to the Security Council until August 1964—after we had already committed thousands of men and billions of dollars of equipment to the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. It apparently took officials of the State Department quite a long time to determine that we were in Vietnam because of the SEATO Treaty. In fact, it appears that this justification was made after it was finally realized that all the other time-worn excuses and loophole-ridden justifications would not hold water.

The fact is that the SEATO Treaty has never been invoked with reference to Vietnam. Of the eight signatories to the treaty, only four—Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand—have given us any assistance whatever and that only minimal.

In a recent speech the President referred to statements of various leaders of nations in Southeast Asia—statements which ostensibly support our involvement in Vietnam.

He quoted the Prime Minister of Australia. What has Australia, which is supposedly so concerned, done to help us? The answer is that this nation of more than 10 million people has sent less than 1,000 soldiers to Vietnam to fight alongside the more than half million Americans. A tremendous contribution for a nation that feels itself threatened by so-called North Vietnamese aggression.

The President quoted the Prime Minister of New Zealand as thanking God that "America regards aggression in Asia with the same concern as it regards aggression in Europe." New Zealand has made the tremendous sacrifice of sending approximately 200 soldiers to assist us. It is obvious that the Government of New Zealand does not regard the so-called aggression in Vietnam very seriously.

If some of our so-called allies in Vietnam seem to be heavy verbally in support of us, words are about as far as they are willing to go.

Regarding South Korea, it is a fact that South Korea has sent 50,000 fine fighting men to fight in the Vietnam civil war. It is also a fact that this was done only after we agreed to give and did give South Korea more than $150 million additional aid in 1965 and 1966. And this year approximately $200 million additional American taxpayers' money.

This represents additional foreign assistance as a quid pro quo for this fighting contingent armed, fed, paid, supplied, and maintained entirely at our expense.

The President quoted President Marcos of the Philippines. The Philippine Republic, freed by us, has made a contribution of only 2,000 noncombat engineers, and has recently refused to increase that contingent. Also, it is worth noting that the Philippine sacrifice was made after we agreed to increase aid to the Philippines to the tune of more than $100 million. We should also note that when President Johnson recently sent two personal emissaries, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Clark Clifford, to assess the situation in Southeast Asia, their plane was forced to land, because of engine trouble, at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippine Republic. This embarrassed them. A bitter congressional campaign was being waged by opponents of the Marcos administration based an opposition to even this trifling aid to us in Vietnam. President Marcos refused to see them, although he was within half an hour's drive from the base. Here is real evidence of his concern over our involvement in Vietnam. Public sentiment in the Philippine Republic is likely to result in his recall of that noncombat engineer group early next year.

The President also quoted the Prime Minister of Malaysia, which, interestingly enough, is not a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Is not that rather peculiar for a nation which believes itself to be threatened with Communist aggression and from North Vietnam? Furthermore, Malaysia has not contributed one soldier or 1 cent to aid us in Vietnam.

Mr. President, the observations of the distinguished majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] who recently returned from a tour of Southeast Asia are worth noting in this regard. The senior Senator from Montana found that while criticism of the war is not great, there is little enthusiasm for it except in South Korea and possibly in Taiwan. To continue to lose the priceless lives of thousands of young Americans in behalf of a cause in which our so-called allies show so little interest is unconscionable.

Also South Vietnam has never by formal action asked SEATO for assistance.

What of other SEATO nations? France has incessantly condemned our involvement in Vietnam and continually urged our withdrawal. Great Britain has done nothing to help. As a matter of fact, many of the war supplies reaching North Vietnam arrive on ships flying the Union Jack. Pakistan, the remaining SEATO signatory, has condemned our participating in the Vietnam civil war and has been against us more often than with us in other international disputes in which we have taken a position. With an ally like Pakistan, who needs enemies?

Like all other official allegations of why we are in Vietnam and what we are doing there, those based on the SEATO Treaty go up in smoke upon the most cursory examination.

Unpleasant as it may be, the time for reappraisal has come, and thoughtful Americans should resolve to be realistic about it. The first step is to cast off the illusion that the civil war in Vietnam represents a final showdown with world communism.

Mr. President, our mission should be to help people, if they want help, and to assist in building political and social conditions that will deter the people of the underdeveloped nations from looking to the Communist ideology for the cure for their national ills.

This does not at all mean abandoning the field everywhere to the Communists and retreating into isolation, but it does mean that we should apply appropriate measures to the particular situation we are dealing with, instead of trying to handle them all by a formula derived from a bygone set of circumstances. It means abandoning the assumption that the only way our national interest can be protected is by the direct application of our military power around the periphery of the Communist world. It means limiting our commitments to vital areas and bringing them into line with our capacity to fulfill them. Dean Rusk may assume the United States has a mandate from Almighty God to police the world. I repudiate any such view.

Mr. President, if we are truly interested in seeking peace in Vietnam, the President should immediately announce the unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam without imposing any conditions whatever and announce that such policy will continue for sufficient time for us to determine if a diplomatic ending of this conflict can be achieved. Also at the same time our President would do well to announce that in South Vietnam our Armed Forces would willingly abstain from offensive ground action if the Vietcong would likewise abstain from offensive action and acts of terrorism in order to afford the Vietcong and the leaders of the Hanoi and Saigon regimes some days or even weeks to arrange for a conference of independent delegates representing each group involved for the purpose of seeking a cease-fire and an armistice. Every indication that we have from leaders of friendly nations is that an unconditional suspension of the bombing will bring the North Vietnamese to the conference table. The most recent was the statement last week by Canadian Foreign Minister Paul Martin that:

> All attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped.

Canada's plea was echoed at the United Nations by representatives from countries throughout the world.

There is a limited risk in our taking such initiative. The risk is worth taking, especially in view of the statement by Secretary of Defense McNamara of the limited effectiveness of the bombing of

North Vietnam and in view of the alternative risks involved in continued escalation of the war. We are the most powerful Nation on earth. If we are sincerely interested in peace, we can afford to bend a little and venture this minimal risk.

I urge the President to announce that along with stopping all bombing of North Vietnam unconditionally, we will withdraw to our coastal enclaves including Saigon once negotiations begin, providing, of course, that the Vietcong cease offensive action during that period. Furthermore that we are willing to withhold offensive action on the ground in South Vietnam and in the air over South Vietnam if the Vietcong and Hanoi abstain from offensive action, any terrorist attacks, and infiltration of forces south of the DMZ provided we also cease sending in further reinforcements.

Mr. President, we must seek to neutralize Vietnam and end the bloodletting there. Otherwise, the future holds forth for us involvement in that wartorn land for 5 years—possibly 10 or 20 years. Even more compelling is the fact that to continue our present tragic course is likely to lead to a third world war.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS STRONGLY ENDORSE SENATE RATIFICATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS CXLVIII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as one who has advocated Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery during every day of the 90th Congress, I want to express my gratitude for the tremendous support provided by American churches and religious organizations.

Among the American religious organizations which have worked long and hard for Senate ratification of these four conventions are B'nai B'rith, the Episcopal Church, United Church of Christ, Unitarian-Universalist Association, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, General Board of Christian Social Concerns, the Methodist Church, American Friends Service Committee, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahai's of the United States, Catholic Association for International Peace, American Baptist Convention, American Jewish Congress, and Hadassah.

What a remarkable ecumenical display.

These groups, having literally millions of members, share one basic tenet—a belief in and a dedication to the real dignity of man.

I urge the Senate to heed the wise message of these millions of men and women of good will.

I urge the Senate to translate these cherished human rights into legal reality by immediately ratifying the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery and thereby put our Nation squarely on record on these fundamental questions of human dignity and world peace.

MEXICO—A NATION ON THE MOVE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of the most amazing—and heartwarming—developments in the Western Hemisphere in recent decades has been the steady rise of Mexico both as a power and a partner.

That rise is being accelerated today. Despite some serious problems, such as pockets of rural poverty and rapidly expanding population, Mexico is a nation on the move. Under the leadership of such statesmen as ex-President Adolfo Lopez Mateos and current President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, enormous progress has been made in achieving economic stability, a high growth rate and opportunities for the nation's citizens.

A recent news article published in the U.S. News & World Report documents that country's success story. At one point, it states:

> Mexico is a shining light that is pointing the way to progress for other nations in this Hemisphere and throughout the developing world.

To that, I can only say "Amen."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEXICO'S SUCCESS STORY: NEW INDUSTRIES, SOUND MONEY, STEADY GROWTH

(NOTE.—The Mexicans appear to have found a success formula that is unique in Latin America. Massive worries remain—nagging poverty in the rural areas and an exploding population, as examples. But fresh capital, sound currency and business incentives are giving the U.S. neighbor development on a steady and stable course.)

MEXICO CITY.—Just to the south of the United States is to be found a real success story in what has been an underdeveloped nation. This story points to what can be done by a combination of hard work with policies that experience has shown to be practical.

Mexico, if all of the signs are right, definitely has "taken off." It is breaking through the restraints that long have held the nation in check. Still to be solved are massive problems—rural poverty, maldistribution of income and an exploding population.

The contrast with many other nations of Latin America is sharp. Instability, inflation and unwillingness to face up to basic problems have slowed progress in many of these countries. Mexico, by contrast, is proving that planning for the future, sound policies of taxing and spending, and insistence on a strong currency can be the keys to steady and stable growth for developing nations.

Sound credit. Two years ago, the International Monetary Fund declared the Mexican peso a "hard currency." Mexico's international credit is strong, and there is no trouble in floating bond issues in the New York market. One loan recently was marketed in Europe.

This country's planners seek to keep the nation's rate of growth between 6 and 7 per cent a year, which they regard as a "sustainable rate." When that rate rises to 10 per cent or above inflation threatens and steps are taken to cool things off.

The result is that the average rise in the cost of living in Mexico has been about 2 per cent annually—a record that compares favorably with rises in the so-called "advanced" nations of the world. A special effort is made to keep down costs of the basic elements of diet—beans, corn and milk. It is in this field that the contrast is sharpest with most developing nations.

Confidence high. With the Mexican peso stable, private savings have been growing at a rate of 15 per cent or more a year. The growth of financial institutions has been equally striking. The increased flow of savings is providing capital for both private and public investment—in building, in industry.

The high rate of savings and of investment reflects confidence of people in Mexico's future.

Younger people in Mexico have the idea that the way to make money is to go into business—just as Americans long have felt. The country's "new rich" are industrialists. In most of Latin America, by contrast, the idea is to own land, to go into the military service, or to invest in U.S. or Europe.

Foreign plants wooed.—Mexico's policies are encouraging investment from abroad. In the past two years, direct foreign investment and reinvested earnings of foreign-owned firms have averaged around 200 million dollars annually. At present, many smaller U.S. firms are joining the bigger companies in Mexican investment.

A new development is in the plants that are springing up near the Mexican-U.S. border.

Border towns, once best known for vice, now are attracting American firms. Most are light manufacturing industries, including textiles and electronics, that use much hand labor. Tijuana, Mexicali, Ciudad Juárez have 30 to 40 of these firms, with others interested.

A special policy of the Mexican Government is encouraging foreign-company investment along the border. So long as the finished products of these companies are not sold in Mexico, the firms are permitted to bring in materials duty-free. The hope apparently is to compete with Hong Kong and other centers in Asia. Labor costs are one third to one half those in U.S. While these costs are much higher than Hong Kong's the cost of transportation to the American market is far lower.

Flexible policy.—Mexico, like other nations, including Canada and France, frets about too much control by foreign interests.

There is a so-called "Mexicanization" policy requiring 51 per cent Mexican ownership of new industries that sell inside the country. This tends to deter some U.S. firms. However, the policy is flexible.

If an American firm is producing goods not competitive with Mexican firms, uses a lot of labor, wants to locate in an area that needs new industry, and the products can be exported, the 51 per cent requirement is waived. In one recent case, only 15 per cent Mexican ownership was required.

Said one official: "U.S. investors scream about the Mexicanization policy—but go right on investing."

Although Mexico is making a major effort to become self-sufficient in both manufactured goods and farm products—and imports are held down to around 8 or 9 per cent of the country's total output—the Government often has refused to protect many inefficient industries. There is pressure on the country's industrialists to cut costs and become more efficient. If prices get out of line, the tap is opened and foreign products are let in more freely.

This country has shown farsightedness in development of the tourist trade—while others in Latin America lagged.

In 1961, despite strong objections from Mexican airlines that wanted protection, U.S. and other foreign airlines were given new routes. Results have been spectacular, with annual increases in traffic from 7 to 14 per cent.

Last year tourists, including those to U.S.-border cities, numbered 1.5 million, and they spent 860 million dollars. This income was a big plus to Mexico in balancing its international payments.

Everything possible has been done to make tourists feel at home. Special examinations are required of guides. Police and other officials wear armbands telling what languages they speak. Ceiling prices are set on hotel rooms—and enforced. Tourist offices have been set up over much of the world.

Hotel space in Mexico City always is in tight supply. Acapulco, once strictly a winter playground, has developed a year-round business. New areas are being developed. The 1968 Olympic Games, in Mexico City, will give a boost to the profitable tourist trade.

Ingenuity and initiative are being shown in other fields as well.

BOON FOR AGRICULTURE

Two years ago, when the American Government ended the *bracero* program which permitted thousands of Mexicans to enter the U.S. to pick vegetable and fruit crops, the Mexican Government entered only a mild protest despite heavy loss of *bracero* income.

Now, U.S. capital is pouring into the development of Mexican fruit and vegetable growing for the American market. Many U.S. growers, faced with higher wage rates, have had to switch to crops requiring less "stoop labor."

A good example is found in tomatoes. When production dipped in California, Mexico rushed to fill the gap, and tomatoes now are an important export. One major U.S. firm has set up a catsup plant. Other plants are being planned.

In the end, U.S. termination of the *bracero* program—the result of heavy pressure by labor unions—may prove a boon instead of a deterrent to Mexico.

Over all, agriculture in Mexico is not advancing as rapidly as manufacturing. Yet farm gains are outstripping those of other countries in Latin America.

FAST-GROWING POPULATION

The area of land in Mexico that is suitable for efficient and really productive farming is small in relation to the population of 43 million. This problem is further complicated by a still unsolved problem of a population explosion of the kind that is general through Latin countries of the Hemisphere.

A portion of the Mexican farm economy consists of peasants, on marginal land, barely eking out an existence. Yet another portion of Mexico's farm economy—where it is possible—is highly developed. Says a bank economist:

"The commercial sector of the farm economy here is vigorous, productive, impressive. It can hold its own with the Western United States."

Advanced irrigation. Mexico's drive for irrigation goes back to the 1920s when farsighted policies were applied. Irrigation has opened the way for large increases in production on otherwise unproductive land.

On Mexico's Northwest Coast are large irrigated wheat farms, operated by progressive farmers. In harvesting season, an American would think he was in Kansas. Yields are extremely high and modern machinery and techniques are used.

Mexico has passed self-sufficiency in wheat and could produce much more than it does. However, the Government has drawn back from protecting marginal farmers by the use of price supports, and is not trying to become a surplus producer. Policy, instead, is to urge farmers to grow oilseeds, feed grains and other crops in which Mexico is not yet self-sufficient.

Varieties of wheat developed in Mexico, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, are being sent to India, Pakistan, Turkey and other parts of the world. These strains are more suitable for hot climates and irrigated land than for U.S. varieties.

MANY TRAINED EXPERTS

One explanation for Mexico's success lies in its "cadre of technicians."

Unlike its neighbors to the south, Mexico has trained experts in fields such as finance and banking, dam construction, highway and railroad engineering. If the country wants to build a dam, it does not need to run to the U.S. for either money or know-how. Some Mexican-built dams are regarded as engineering masterpieces. U.S. engineers admit there is nothing they can teach Mexican engineers about draining and irrigation.

Mexico, among other things, ranks as a pioneer in the construction of superhighways and freeways. Some of its engineering ideas in this field have been borrowed by U.S. highway engineers.

Another key factor in the Mexican success story: hard work.

Says an official of the U.S. State Department:

"This is rather hard to explain, but Mexicans are not afraid of getting their hands dirty. In fact, to earn a degree in any professional field, a student must spend at least six months to a year in social service. Many work in remote areas as doctors and engineers. The son of a peasant in Mexico can work up to any job he is capable of filling."

Hand in hand with economic stability has been stability of Government.

A one-party system usually has been found to lead to nepotism, corruption and stagnation. Nobody seems to know quite why, but in Mexico, one-party Government has worked. Upper levels of Mexican bureaucracy are competent and dedicated.

Explains an official of an international bank: "Mexicans try to explain this to me in terms of the revolution, of tradition and culture, but I still do not understand it at all."

Civilian control. Since before World War II, this country has had civilian, middle-of-the-road Government. At times, Mexico has shifted to the left; at other times, to the right. There has been change even when outgoing Presidents have, for all practical purposes, named their successors.

The way the political system operates, extremists so far have had no chance of election. In addition, the military has little power; so does the church. Whatever the reason the result is a system that provides government in a responsible manner.

The Mexican Government, for example, has played a major role in spurring the country's development boom through the *Nacional Financiera,* a Government finance corporation. This agency, through development loans, has helped to establish more than 50,000 industrial concerns.

Many of Mexico's most successful manufacturing firms got their start, or their impetus for expansion, from the *Nacional Financiera.* Its officials are highly respected for their business know-how and sense of responsibility.

Yet Mexico still is beset by serious problems.

Heritage of poverty. The worst of the troubles is rural poverty, inherited from the past and aggravated by land reform which resulted in units too small for efficient, modern farming.

In sections of the Mexican interior, there are places where per capita income is as low as in countries such as India or Egypt, or lower. In some semidesert areas, water is too scarce to meet needs of the people. As a result, some are on the verge of starvation. There are about 3 million native Indians living in remote areas on unproductive land. They speak no Spanish and exist much as their ancestors did across the centuries.

Because of inability to live on the land, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans in a population that is burgeoning have flocked into the larger cities. The result is an employment problem. Mexico has its slums, but they do not compare with those in many other Latin-American countries.

Government's choices. In view of the need to improve the plight of the rural poor, Mexico's economic planners are faced with hard choices.

Some think more should be done for the poor—smaller irrigation projects should be built in poverty-stricken areas, and more secondary roads built to open up remote areas.

Others say money should be put, first, into productive, modern agriculture to build Mexico's economic strength, and that the country is not yet able to undertake a U.S.-type "war on poverty."

The Mexican Government is trying to maintain a balance between these two viewpoints—doing enough in rural areas to prevent starvation, but putting most resources where the payoff is bigger and quicker.

Some steps have been taken to alleviate poverty. Strong efforts are being made in education especially. One program is trying to provide more jobs in small towns in rural areas; another is designed to provide more agricultural credit for small farmers. Officials admit much more needs to be done.

Mexico's Government, despite a good over-all record, has had some setbacks.

As an example, the Government requires that automobile assembly be done locally, with 60 per cent of the parts produced in Mexico. It is almost impossible to import a car because of Government regulations. But the market is not large enough to support the required assembly plants. The policy has produced inefficiency and high prices.

Among other problems:

Mexico's birth rate is extremely high, and nothing much has been done about family planning. This is not the result of any church doctrine. Mexicans believe every child born is another fine Mexican to be proud of, and the more Mexicans the better. Outside experts say this may be a "time bomb" which will act as a deterrent to social and economic development in the future.

Occasional violence has occurred in Mexico as elsewhere. A gun battle between rival union factions in Acapulco in August killed 32 and wounded nearly a hundred. Police recently arrested 13 persons on charges of participating in a plot financed by Red China to overthrow the Government by guerrilla warfare.

Higher education is inadequate. Too much of college training is concentrated in the National University at Mexico City, now enrolling 85,000 students. Many teachers and students are part-time, and standards are low. New idea is to improve provincial schools, especially technical schools.

Mexico needs to develop more advanced industries, and to develop its own domestic markets. Too much emphasis is on such products as dishes and home appliances that are exported to foreign markets.

THE WAY TO PROGRESS

Added up, however, Mexico is a shining light that is pointing the way to progress for other nations in this Hemisphere and throughout the developing world.

The United States has indicated that it would be happy to see Mexico assume political leadership in Latin America. Mexico has never assumed this role.

Mexican Presidents have been quiet, locally oriented men as a rule, concerned mainly with domestic problems rather than with hemispheric power and leadership. Some observers say this may be one of the secrets of Mexico's success.

HOUSING FOR MODERATE-INCOME FAMILIES

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, ACTION-Housing Inc., a private nonprofit organization which has provided new housing for moderate-income families in Pittsburgh, Pa., now proposes a new plan for housing rehabilitation on a mass scale.

Pittsburgh, a publication of the chamber of commerce of that city, commented on the plan in its September 1967, issue. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HOPE FOR OLD HOUSING

Pittsburgh is at it again . . . attracting national attention for tackling with imagination another tough problem that is common to urban centers.

This time the action is in the field of housing renewal.

And *action* is the apt word.

Pittsburgh's ACTION-Housing, Inc. is advancing a concept of "providing housing rehabilitation on a mass scale." The proposal is in essence a probing, creative attempt to find a practical answer to revitalizing aging neighborhoods. The purpose of the effort is implicit in the title of a proposed corporation: Allegheny Housing Rehabilitation Corporation (AHRCO).

J. Stanley Purnell, chairman of the board and president of ACTION-Housing, Inc., in testimony (July 27, 1967) before the Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Banking & Currency Committee describes AHRCO as "A joint venture between the private and public sectors to bring about a large-scale rehabilitation of old housing in old neighborhoods for families of moderate income." The income range specifically noted by Mr. Purnell is "between $5,000 and $9,000 per annum."

As a privately structured non-profit corporation, ACTION-Housing has to its credit a number of new housing developments that have been sold or rented to Pittsburgh families of moderate income. In its new proposal, ACTION-Housing enjoys guideline experience in successfully rehabilitating 22 old but structurally sound houses in an old Pittsburgh neighborhood. The corporation acquired the properties on the city's Cora Street at about $4,000 per unit, renewed the houses for an approximate $6,000 each—and are now renting them at only a little more than the tenants were previously paying.

The AHRCO proposal envisions capitalization of between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000 by Pittsburgh industry—with implementation established on a profit-motivated basis in cooperation with local, state, and federal agencies.

It is the intention of AHRCO to provide leadership in the reclamation of approximately 90,000 units of deteriorated dwelling units that are susceptible of rehabilitation in Allegheny County—and to serve eventually as the prototype that could be repeated in many cities throughout the country.

It is likely that there is contained in the proposed AHRCO approach the seeds of a workable solution to the whole problem of aging housing and—in large measure—slum prevention.

With the support and participation of Pittsburgh's leading corporations, AHRCO is on its way to becoming a reality . . . providing another focal point for legislators and the civic leadership of all of the nation's cities.

THE COMPETITIVE ROLE OF PUBLIC ELECTRIC POWER

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, Gov. Philip Hoff, of Vermont, has long been a leader in the struggle to bring down the costs of electric power in the Northeast. On September 14, he addressed the Municipal Electric Association of New York at its 37th annual meeting in Bolton Landing, N.Y., stressing the need for the full development of the hydroelectric resources of the Northeast and the necessity of creating and maintaining a strong competitive force of public power to bring low-cost and reliable electric power to the region.

Pointing out that Vermont's electric rates are the lowest in New England, Governor Hoff said that this is "due to the fact that we have had injected into our total electric power business in the State of Vermont a sizable portion of power, both from St. Lawrence and Niagara, and it has been this injection of public power that has allowed us to have these lower rates." He went on to note that "we desperately need a public power measuring stick to apply against the private power industry in the New England area."

In the State of New York, we have been fighting to maintain the competitive role of public power to serve as a stimulus to the private electric utilities. As Governor Hoff points out, high power costs are not only a State problem, but are a regional problem as well. I hope that his suggestion that cooperation between New York and New England in the development of nuclear generating facilities for electric power supply on a regional basis is given careful consideration.

Because of the importance of Governor Hoff's speech, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY GOV. PHILIP G. HOFF BEFORE MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC UTILITIES ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, 37TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BOLTON LANDING, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 14, 1967

Honorable Philip G. Hoff, Thank you very much, and good morning, gentlemen.

My apologies for preventing you from participating in what has certainly been one of the loveliest days of this summer. Frankly, we have had it coming to us. It has been kind of a tough summer, although we can be grateful we don't live along the coast of Maine, or Cape Cod, or along the coast of Massachusetts, where they have probably had the worst summer in many years.

I am here not to talk to you at any length, and I would like to make things clear before I begin, and that is that I have no particular expertise in terms of the electric power problems of New York State. I am broadly familiar with your problems here, and your opportunities, I might add, but I do not pretend in any way to have any expertise in respect to it. I do think I have a good deal of expertise as far as Vermont and New England are concerned, and my object here this morning is to talk to you about what I would like to call the Vermont-New England story in the hopes that it may have some bearing upon your problems here in New York State.

I should say at the beginning that I am neither private power oriented or public power oriented. I like to consider myself as being consumer power oriented, and this, essentially, is my point of embarkation, and it is this philosophy which I have attempted to follow during the entire time that I have been Governor of Vermont. I will come back to that problem before I am through.

Inasmuch as I have developed a few slight prejudices against one sector of the electric power industry here in the New England area, at least, and I do think through Vermont, perhaps we can speak to a couple of problems that you have.

Vermont has the lowest power rates in all of New England, and considerably lower than the New England States. The New England States, incidentally, as a whole have the highest power rates in the country.

In honesty, the reason that Vermont's power rates are lower than our New England neighbors is due to the fact that we have had injected into our total electric power business in the State of Vermont a sizable portion of power, both from St. Lawrence and from Niagara, and it has been this injection of public power that has allowed us to have these lower rates.

May I say, however, it has not simply been just the question of the lower costs of public power in and of themselves, because the injection of this kind of power into Vermont has made Vermonters very conscious of the competing costs of public and private power, and it has been, in essence, a vehicle to exert continuing pressure upon the private sector of the power business in Vermont, and thus it has been not simply the price but the potential comparison and competition offered through this medium that has stood Vermont in such good stead.

Vermont, then, has been the only recipient of any real form of public power in the New England area, and it certainly shows. The New England situation, as a whole, is one of almost tragedy. It has far more power companies, both in terms of generation, transmission and distribution than makes any sense whatsoever, and if we just take the large number of generating companies, large private industries in the New England area, we have far more than that relatively small region can economically afford.

We have in addition a large number of municipals and co-ops, although not too many co-ops in the area, outside of the State of Vermont. They have in a very real sense been the victims of the larger power companies in New England, because they have been able to buy their power only through them, and thus it is that they have been able to make very little headway outside of what limited generation goes on through some of the municipals.

The generating facilities in New England as a whole have tended to be outmoded, even archaic, and we, the people of the New England area tend to pay this price.

In terms of Vermont and New England, several years ago it came to our attention that there were very large generating potentials, hydroelectric in character, located in many parts of Canada, of course, but the one that particularly came to our attention was the Churchill Falls project in Labrador. A number of years ago I was privileged to attend a meeting at which Premier Smallwood of Newfoundland spoke, and at that time they were actively negotiating with the private power companies of New England with respect to bringing power from Labrador to Newfoundland and then down through the coast of Maine. I no more than heard this than I recognized instinctively—although I am not an engineer—that this was not economically feasible, and we bided our time until finally it was declared to be economically unfeasible.

We then, acting on behalf of the people of the State of Vermont, made contact with Quebec Hydroelectric, and after some discussion, it appeared quite possible that we might be able to obtain as much as 2,000,000 kilowatts of power, which could then be brought into New England and inject into that total power picture there a very sizable amount of public power, which could do as much as anything we could think of to improve that situation, not simply again in terms of cost alone, but in terms of the comparison and competition which it provided.

The problem was what sort of vehicle could be utilized for this particular purpose, and we finally went far west and copied a project that had been used in the Columbia River Basin, a model of its kind, essentially a non-profit corporation, not exactly the same as our situation but essentially utilizing a non-profit corporation which could issue tax exempt bonds, and we had an exact model, through Columbia, which we could follow.

So approximately two years ago we did some rather extensive work on this, utilizing the best bond counsel, corporate people that exist within the New England area and the City of New York, and we finally, a year ago this past January submitted to the General Assembly of the State of Vermont this model, this so-called non-profit corporation for them to act on, and then I began to learn something about real power politics, more so than I had learned since the time I have been Governor.

The problem, of course, was that we had made absolutely no promises to anybody. We did think that, potentially, it was possible to bring in as much as 2,000,000 kilowatts of power. We thought that there was a very distinct possibility that this could be 4 mills or less at the point where it would be turned over to other companies in New England.

We did not promise this. We had no guarantee that it could be done. So that what, in a very real sense, we were talking about was a potential, and we were merely seeking to create in the Vermont Legislature a vehicle which if it were at all possible could be utilized for the great promise offered by the Churchill Falls project.

And we did manage to get it through the Senate, and then we were witness to the most extensive lobbying, highly questionable in terms of its motive and in terms of its approach, and ultimately that bill was defeated on the least reading in the House of the State of Vermont by a very large margin. So the perfect vehicle—because we had spent a great deal of time in developing this vehicle—disappeared.

The municipals and co-ops have undertaken the basic responsibility now, and we are still in hopes that we may be able to utilize some portion of the power developed out of the Churchill Falls project, although in our discussions with the Quebec Hydroelectric the amount of power that we hoped to take from them was in no way identified with any particular project.

But I learned something about a thing called the arrogance of power—not a phrase coined by me in any manner, shape or form, but the more I have been in this business—and, incidentally, this is true whether it be in the form of electric power or whether it be in a wide variety of other activities connected with our society.

One of the most serious mistakes that any society can make is to put too much power into too few hands and, after a while, it becomes self-serving and it doesn't serve the objectives of the society which allowed it to come into being, and, in the end it spends most of its time trying to aggrandize itself, to develop itself, to perpetuate itself in power rather than to serve the people who enabled it to come into being. This perhaps is a lesson that does have some bearing on the situation here in the State of New York. I am sure of this. The need for a measuring stick is overwhelming and it is a mistake to allow any large generating source to be controlled by one group alone. Indeed, this would be true whether it be public or private, because public institutions can become self-serving, too. But it is a mistake to put any generating facility completely, or at least potentially in the hands of one group alone, because if you do, I can promise you that in the end the needs of the people will not be met and, as a person who is essentially consumer oriented, this concerns me very greatly.

For this reason, then, I have been an active proponent of the Dickey-Lincoln project in the State of Maine, and this, too, has been fought tooth and nail by the private power interests in the New England area. As I foresee it, they are going to continue this kind of tooth and nailing fighting to the day that it either passes and is an accomplished fact or until it is defeated.

However, in New England, particularly, we desperately need a public power measuring stick to apply against the private power industry in the New England area. I must say that I think we have made some progress in New England in terms of the private power interests themselves. Nevertheless, this has been at a snail's pace. It has come only at the cost of a great deal of energy and time, particularly on my part.

Finally, we have obtained the active interest of a few newspapers in the New England area, and this has helped immeasurably, too, but the course is very long indeed. And I think, too, nobody should underestimate the political strength of the private utilities in the New England area. They have an amount of political persuasion and control that far exceeds their actual contribution to the New England society, and nevertheless it is there. Again, it is there because it, essentially, has such a large monopoly.

Worst of all, however, is that, without competition, the New England private power utilities have not modernized their facilities. They have not integrated their facilities. In short, by virtue of no competition, by virtue of no real push, they have been able to go their way very much on their own and have not met the needs of the people of New England.

Thus, it is, I think, one of the worst mistakes that any segment of our society can make, to allow any particular generating source to fall completely, whether in fact or potentially, within the hands of one group. And I will recommend this as strongly as I can to you.

The need for competition always will exist, and then, in addition, if you do have some public power and a potentially increased public power involvement and, in turn, generate feelings on the part of the people themselves, apart from the comparison it generates the continued activity and interest and concern on the part of the citizenry, of the society in which this is located. And, when all is said and done, any society is going to move forward or move backward as fast or as slow as the people living within that segment of our society will see fit to do.

I will also make a couple of other suggestions, and, again, I don't know your total situation here in New York State, except to say this: I think you have some real potential in this area. The Far West should be a tremendous example, not simply to New England but I suspect to the East. The Far West has suddenly, somehow, gotten over this myth that there is some great, vast gulf between the private sector of our economy and the public sector of our economy. As a practical matter, if you take the average utility in this country there is considerable question as to whether you could call it completely private or not. After all, how many businesses are guaranteed a definite return on their investment? They are presumably under control, and I think there is considerable question whether they are truly private.

One of the books I would recommend that you read, as a matter of fact—and I think you could read with considerable interest—is Kenneth Galbraith's latest book in which he talks about the larger corporations of America, and really whether they are totally private or not, at least not, certainly, in the traditional sense of the word.

But the point is that in the Far West, particularly, the private interests finally have managed to compromise some of their points of view, and the public interests have managed to compromise some of their points of view. And while it is true that perhaps their natural resources, in a sense, are naturally stronger than we have here in the East, nevertheless they have recognized that to produce, transmit power at a reasonable cost today demands large, exceedingly large combinations, and that if we set out with a vast multiplicity of small units—and this is true whether it be distribution or transmission, or even generation, ultimately the consumer will pay the cost. There are vehicles—vehicles for anybody to see—that can bring these combinations into being, and we here in New England—and I suspect we here in the East—should be taking a stronger look at those vehicles.

I would think, for example, that it might be quite possible, in terms of atomic energy, nuclear energy here in New York State and New England to effectively combine for this purpose. Certainly, however, it would be a mistake to give any one group a monopoly over this particular form of producing electrical energy.

May I conclude by simply saying this, in passing, about atomic power, because we are in the midst of rather extensive hearings about locating in the southeastern corner of the State of Vermont an atomic or nuclear generating facility. Nobody should look upon atomic power as being a panacea in and of itself, particularly in terms of the movement of our society, and the degradation of our natural resources brings immense problems that cannot be easily solved.

So it would be true, whether it be the automobile industry, or whether it be in terms of generation of electric power, that one of the considerations has got to be the impact upon our society as a whole and upon our natural resources. No one, I believe, should look upon atomic energy as being some sort of panacea. It is not. And while this is really sort of off the top of my head, the more I take a look at it, the more I am convinced that we should not look to it alone in the future, and, indeed, we should be looking to hydroelectric generating facilities wherever they can be developed as well.

This, then, again brings in the whole potential of that almost unbelievable country lying to the north of us, and, in honesty and without having gone into it in any great detail—although I did once make the mistake of discussing some potentials with a past president of Consolidated Edison, not very successfully satisfactorily, and you have a little arrogance down here, too. I do not speak about your present president. But I do think that one of the things we ought to be doing in the East as a whole is taking a look at the total eastern power structure. I think we should be investigating very closely not only our relationships as a whole, including both the public and private sectors, but, indeed, I think in broad terms we should be looking at our picture in terms of the great country of Canada lying to our north.

Nobody can predict with any certainty what might occur, but I am convinced that apart from Canada itself there are tremendous potential areas of cooperation on an entire eastern grid basis, and I think the sooner we learn this lesson—and it is a very easily learned lesson if you will just look to the West—the better off we are going to be.

I must say that it is a great pleasure to be with you. I find that my experience over a period of years has taught me that there are certain people that tend to be my friends. I would consider you to be my friends, and if any of you would like to go home by way of Vermont, we would be delighted to have you.

Thank you very much.

DISREPUTABLE HOME IMPROVEMENT SCHEMES

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the Washington Post has been publishing a series of articles about a group of Washington homeowners who have been cheated in the most horrendous manner by various "home improvement" schemes. I was shocked as I followed the articles over the weekend to learn that many well-meaning, and often low-income, homeowners have lost thousands of dollars at the hands of disreputable businessmen.

I should like to commend the two reporters, Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell, for their work in unearthing this sordid matter and for bringing it so dramatically to the public's attention. I also wish to commend Representative William B. Widnall for calling for immediate congressional investigations of the industry and its method of doing business. He has my complete support in this matter.

The Senate Subcommittee on Housing is at present considering legislation to encourage homeownership among low-income citizens. For this reason, I have written to Commissioner Brownstein, of the FHA, and requested his comments about this matter. Should he have recommendations for remedial legislation, I believe Congress should give them immediate consideration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post articles and the text of my letter to Commissioner Brownstein be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles and letter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 30, 1967]

Homeowners Lose Millions in Mortgage Schemes Here—100 Suits Stir Probe by Four U.S. Agencies

(By Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell)

Hundreds of low-income Negro homeowners in Washington are complaining that they are being bilked in second mortgage schemes that Federal authorities say net more than $1 million a year.

In more than 100 suits filed in General Sessions and U.S. District Court here, homeowners allege that these mortgages (deeds of trust) were obtained by a dozen home improvement businesses here through high-pressure salesmanship, fraud and, in many cases, false notarization. Two officers of one company have already been indicted for forging signatures of eight homeowners on deeds of trust.

SOLD AT DISCOUNT

A four-month investigation by a team of reporters from The Washington Post revealed that some second mortgages obtained here have been sold at a discount to a national credit firm. This company is also involved heavily in second mortgage business in Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, Columbus, Texas, Indiana and New Jersey.

The home improvement companies who obtained the mortgages—and the creditors who bought and are now collecting on them—are being investigated by United States Postal Inspectors, the Federal Housing Authority, the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice.

The second mortgage practices have been going on since 1962, and many millions of dollars are involved.

INDICTMENTS EXPECTED

In the wake of this newspaper's investigation, U.S. Attorney David G. Bress said he expected indictments in the cases here within two weeks.

In case after case in Washington, homeowners are being forced to pay exorbitantly or lose their homes:

Two elderly blind women who are paying $7500 plus interest say all they received was a black-and-white portable television set and installation of a small gas heater and a rusting radiator, worth a few hundred dollars.

A retired couple in their 70s told reporters they ended up with $15,000 in mortgages after having $7,500 in old mortgages paid off and an "American Townehouse Front" installed, which consisted mostly of aluminum siding on the upper part of the house front, paint on the rest, and a new front door.

A 67-year-old charwoman has two mortgages on her home totaling $9000 as a result of two cash loans she received that totaled $5000.

TEN LOSE HOMES

At least ten families facing similar debts have lost their homes through foreclosures here in the past two years. Scores more are fighting in court to save their houses.

Many other homeowners who signed contracts for home improvements with any of a dozen local firms did not know—until contacted by reporters from The Washington Post—that their signatures were also on mortgages on their homes filed with the D.C. Government

When questioned by reporters, these nearly 100 homeowners—selected at random from District real estate records—voiced nearly identical complaints as those found in the court suits.

The United States Attorney's office here first began receiving complaints about some of these firms more than two years ago. Two isolated indictments—charging the officers of one firm with forgery and the notary public for another with false notarization—were handed down early this year.

[The practices complained of do not affect most of the several hundred home improvement contractors licensed to do business in the District. These contractors are reputable businessmen whose work is financed conventionally through normal commercial channels.]

On March 30, Federal investigators sent United States Attorney Bress a lengthy report on the activities of one firm.

The report also contained a strong indication that there were many other firms in the District engaged in similar schemes.

FRAUD SQUAD SET UP

In July, after The Washington Post investigation began at the courthouse, Bress decided to set up a special fraud squad in his office to work on the case "because of the voluminous nature of the investigation."

Bress said this week that the fraud charges are "not the crimes of violence that I am now primarily interested in, of course, but it is the kind of illegal conduct we will look into."

Named in many court suits as offenders are Custom House Construction Co., Monarch Construction Co., United Mortgage Co. (trading as Bankers Mortgage Co.) and United Home Enterprises Corporation.

A majority of the financial paper from these firms involved in litigation here has been sold the Atlas Credit Corp., of Philadelphia, a giant credit firm listed on the New York Stock Exchange, which was recently renamed Sunasco, Inc., as the result of a merger. Sunasco lists assets of $400 million.

The pattern was this:

The home improvement firm would sell the paper at a discount to a local Atlas broker. He in turn would sell it at a discount to Atlas in Philadelphia which would then turn it over to a wholly owned subsidiary company to make collections.

Two Federal agencies (the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice) are looking into Atlas' activities in a number of cities, including Washington.

Suits have been filed against four other local firms which also allegedly originated or passed on debt paper to Atlas during the past two years. Some other firms that have sold such paper to Atlas have gone out of business during that time. In some cases their officers have helped start other firms that have also dealt with Atlas.

NOTARY SUIT CITED

First public attention to these schemes came last year when one notary public from Maryland pleaded guilty in U.S. District Court here to falsely notarizing two D.C. mortgages in favor of Custom House Construction Co.

Deeds attested by the notary, Louise Beane, are involved in five suits filed by homeowners against Custom House. The suits say that no notary public was present when they signed, as the law requires.

One lawyer representing eight homeowners filed damage suits claiming a "money lending scheme" involving Atlas Credit Corp. of Philadelphia and Bankers Mortgage Co. of 722 11th st. nw.

That lawyer, like many others who pressed their charges of fraud vigorously, won settlement exceptionally favorable to his clients.

Government investigators say that much of the financial paper generated by Custom House was sold for more than a 40 per cent discount, and some of it has been discounted by as much as 60 per cent.

CANVASS BY PHONE

Here is how some of the home improvement companies have worked:

They canvassed low-income Negro neighborhoods generally by phone, seeking people interested in anything from home improvements to television sets, air conditioning or carpeting.

The telephone canvassing is usually done by women who use real estate directories and cross-indexes listing phone numbers by street address. One company called 6000 homes in 28 months.

A visit by a salesman usually occurs, complete with sales talk, and the quotation of a low price. The suits claim that some fast shuffling of papers to be signed follows.

If the homeowner is buying a product, it is delivered quickly. In the case of home improvements, work begins promptly. Weeks later, a payment book arrives in the mail from a finance firm the homeowner has never heard of.

PAYMENTS SOAR

If the homeowner bothers to multiply the monthly payments by the number of months he must pay, in some cases he may find the principal owed is anywhere from double to four times the amount he thought he had signed up for.

If he protests, he discovers that not only has he signed a note for this amount, but that he also has signed a deed to his home, and that there is not much he can do about it.

The holder of the deed (the firm that sent the payment book) has bought the note and mortgage and thus can claim that it is a "holder in due course." The law presumes that a holder in due course is entitled to his money, since he has paid for the paper "in good faith." He is merely the financier, and quality of work, for instance, is not his problem. The original salesmen, in effect, wash their hands of the affair.

DEBTS "CONSOLIDATED"

In some cases, a homeowner protests he can't afford whatever it is the salesman is selling because he already is heavily in debt.

At that point he is told he will be "helped" by debt consolidation.

The salesman arranges for him to get a loan to pay off all his old debts and also cover the cost of work to be done or an item purchased.

He is then told that the new monthly payment will be less than the combination of all the previous monthly payments on the other debts.

Sometimes, a few hundred extra dollars is added to the note for the homeowner to use as he pleases.

After the deal is signed, the homeowner sometimes finds the debts are not paid off and he winds up with a large new debt plus some of his old ones.

LOSS OF HOMES LIKELY

Scores of homeowners are in danger of losing their homes over the next few years because of a clause in the contracts relating to the method of financing involved.

It is called balloon payment and works like this:

Say a note is signed which, including interest and finance charges, totals $7,000 to be repaid in five years.

The payments are $50 a month. Sixty months times $50 equals $3,000.

This leaves $4,000 yet to be paid. The clause in the fine print says that the full note is due and payable on the same day as the final payment.

In other words, if the victim cannot come up with the extra $4,000 on month number 60 he can lose his home.

PRESSURE ON LOANS

Balloon payments are an accepted part of many bank mortgage loans. Most borrowers understand how balloon payments work, though, and assume they would be in a position to refinance their notes when they fall due. In the cases involved here, the homeowners often do not understand the meaning of the balloon payment arrangement.

In some cases in which banks make loans insured by the Federal Housing Authority to customers of home improvement firms, the homeowner is pressured into signing a certificate that the work has been completed long before the work is done. The FHA warns homeowners against signing before completion.

The reason the firms press for the signatures is that banks will release loan money to the firms only after a signed certificate is presented.

BANKS HELD NEGLIGENT

Another factor working for the home improvements firms has been the apparent failure of some banks to investigate thoroughly the firms they regularly do business with.

According to FHA regulations, this investigation should find if the home improvement firm is "reliable, financially responsible and qualified to perform satisfactorily the work to be financed."

Thus the FHA is now investigating some of the local home improvement firms, as are the postal inspectors. The post office is involved because some of the firms advertised in newspapers that travel through the mail.

In 1961, the District Commissioners drew up regulations requiring local home improvement firms to register at the District Building and, when registered, to keep their sales practices within detailed guidelines.

The regulations have a loophole, though, according to an official of the District's Department of Licenses and Inspections. The rules say that firms do not need licenses if they do not collect their money until jobs are completed—precisely what some of these firms are doing: getting money after completion certificates are signed.

Several of the firms have registered anyway, but none has been prosecuted for violating the regulations.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 30, 1967]

A Woman's Costly Bargain

One homeowner who signed up for more than she bargained for is Lucy Kinard. Mrs. Kinard is blind, and lives with her 76-year-old mother, Mary Williams, who is partially blind, at 1103 5th st. nw. She says that she and her mother bought a portable television set for her nephew and had a gas hot water heater and a radiator installed. The total cost, she thought, was $900, so she and her mother made their marks on a contract for that amount.

Soon afterward, Mrs. Kinard says, a man called her to tell her he had bought a note and a deed of trust against their home for $7500, plus 7 per cent interest. She told the man she hadn't signed for that much and couldn't afford to pay. Then, she says, the noteholder came to the house and threatened to foreclose on the mortgage.

Unable to afford a lawyer, Mrs. Kinard, who is 56, and her mother, are now paying $50 a month on the note, in addition to payments on a first mortgage. They have now made 15 payments on the note, but still owe $7402.34 on the principal. The note was discounted, by the way, and the noteholder's price for it was $3494.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1967]

Firm Duped Them, Say Residents

(By Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell)

A current Washington ghetto synonym for "you've been had" is "you've been Monarched."

The genesis of the term goes back to 1963, when the Monarch Construction Company began its massive canvassing here of low- and middle-class homeowners, selling private "urban renewal"; the "American Townehouse Front," other home improvements, debt consolidation, the works.

By the beginning of last year—after Monarch disbanded and its president, Nathan H. Cohen, left town—Monarch had sold contracts to hundreds of Washington homeowners and grossed $2.5 million, according to one estimate.

Cohen said yesterday he would not answer any questions about Monarch operations, whether the company was still in business, or about court suits alleging fraud.

He was reached in Baltimore where he and his mother, who was also a Monarch officer, operate the Baltimore Business School, 303 E. Fayette st., a computer training school.

In more than 25 civil suits in General Sessions and U.S. District Courts here, homeowners have charged that Monarch used high-pressure salesmanship and fraud to get their signatures on contracts and home mortgages.

Monarch's Townehouse Front ususally is a combination of white aluminum siding, black aluminum shutters, new windows and door, carriage lamps and trim put on the front of a row house. It can look handsome from a distance, but some owners have complained that the work is shoddy and deteriorating.

Interviews with dozens of Monarch customers draw similar complaints: the Monarch salesman mentioned something about urban renewal and being forced to make improvements; the Townehouse Front looked so nice in the photographs; there were apparent endorsements of Monarch by Negro leaders and Congressmen; there was so much shuffling and signing of papers; finally, there was the debt—often thousands of dollars more than the price they remembered quoted or the worth of the job. Almost always, the note was secured by a deed of trust.

In a civil suit in the Court of General Sessions, Judge Catherine B. Kelly found that Monarch was guilty of using "fraudulent representation" to procure the signature of Alberta K. Smith, 778 Irving st. nw., on a home improvement contract.

Mrs. Smith testified that the Monarch salesman said he was a "representative of urban renewal," that her home "would not be torn down" if she signed the contract and that "urban renewal" would pay $2000 of its cost.

When she called the Redevelopment Land Agency the next day, she testified, she was told it had no connection with Monarch. Mrs. Smith called Monarch immediately and ordered the firm not to do any work.

Monarch sued her for the contract price of $4500. Judge Kelly in July, 1966, awarded Mrs. Smith $1525 punitive damages instead. She has not been able to collect.

Monarch might be termed the "granddaddy" of the nearly dozen firms here that have engaged in second mortgage schemes. A number of companies are under investigation by four Federal agencies and by the U.S. Attorney's office.

Usually, Monarch got the customer's signature on a mortgage to his home, too. Several homeowners complained in the court suits and interviews with reporters that they did not know they were signing mortgages, that no notary public was present, or that the amount of the debt was not the same or did not cover all the work as they had been told.

When Monarch obtained mortgage loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration through a reputable bank, the amount was usually $3500 total cost for the job plus $837 financing charges.

MAXIMUM ALLOWED

The final $4337 amount on the mortgage is the maximum allowed by the FHA under its Title I home improvement program. Usually the customer received the American Townhouse Front which, court suits show, cost Monarch about $1500.

The FHA allows 15 per cent overhead and 40 per cent profit. This would total about $2500 for a Townhouse Front. Monarch usually charged about $3500, plus interest.

Like the customers of nearly a dozen other home improvement firms investigated by reporters from The Washington Post in the past four months, the homeowners who were "Monarched" must pay or lose their homes.

At least three homeowners have lost their homes after signing Monarch contracts. At least six more are in court trying to stave off foreclosures.

Clarence and Georgia Winters, who live in a modest row house at 1102 Park st. ne., are trying to fight that inevitable fate.

Winters, 61, has worked as a skilled laborer for a Washington construction firm for 20 years. His wife, who is 54, has worked for the past seven years as a cook for Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

GOOD CREDIT RECORD

In buying furniture, appliances and cars on time over the years, the Winterses have maintained a good credit record. During the 16 years they lived in the house on Park Street, they whittled the first trust on their home down to less than $1000. That is, until Monarch came along in December, 1964.

What happened since to the Winterses is recounted by them under oath in separate depositions filed in their suit in the U.S. District Court:

A woman had called Mrs. Winters talking about improvements to be made in her neighborhood. It was not until two men came to her house a few days later that she knew the call came from Monarch. (Monarch is believed to have called 6000 homeowners while it was in business.)

The salesmen "were so friendly and nice" and showed them photographs of other Negro homeowners, some prominent Washington Negroes and homes "improved" with an American Townhouse Front.

"They said that Roy Wilkins sent them there," Mrs. Winters attested.

One salesman "said he was going to do the whole entire front, and he was going to remove the windows and give us new windows, and build a brick wall all around the front, and a cement porch, and the aluminum siding."

The Winterses said their kitchen was what really needed work. The salesman told them that the kitchen work would be included, too, and the whole job would be $2000 cheaper than usual "by letting him write it up in December."

The Winters family says the prices quoted that night and on other nights by Monarch salesmen varied from $2500 to $4000. They said they signed one set of contracts the first night, which were taken away from them and replaced by others when the salesmen came back later.

Then, one night three months later, the salesmen came to the Winters home again and asked the couple to sign the top page of a "big pad" of documents.

In their depositions, the Winters couple states further that one of the men identified himself as Nathan Cohen and explained that the other papers were copies of the top page.

"It is just as much for your benefit as it is for mine," Mrs. Winters says Cohen told her as they sat at the dining room table. "We have to get some more copies."

When Winters asked why so many copies were necessary, a man who had accompanied Cohen told Winters to "calm down, you're getting all upset." He took Winters into another room to look at the Winters furniture. The man told him that some of it appeared to be "antiques."

Cohen placed the thick pad in front of Mrs. Winters and told her to "press hard, press real hard," according to her deposition. When Winters came back into the room, he saw his wife's signature and signed himself.

It was only later, the Winters said when they got a payment book from Citizens Building and Loan Association of Silver Spring, that they discovered their signatures were on a mortgage (deed of trust) on their home for $4337 and on a completion certificate for the work.

As work progressed on their home, the Winters found several things that displeased them: cement splashed on the front door, rags and other refuse left on the front lawn, sticky windows, a loose lamp.

Winters, who worked as a carpenter's helper on his construction job, was particularly upset by "the rough job" a workman was doing in his kitchen: such as wooden panels installed upside down, with wide gaps between them.

REFUSED TO PAY

He stopped Monarch's carpenter from doing anything further on the kitchen and began calling Monarch to complain. The Winters said they never got a satisfactory answer to their complaints and, when they received the payment book from the bank, called to say they would not pay until the job was finished right.

That was when they found the Citizens Building and Loan had already paid Monarch its $3500 out of the $4337 loan insured by the Federal Housing Authority. The bank said Monarch had presented a signed completion certificate required by the FHA.

The Winters insist they never signed a completion certificate, since the work was never finished. The completion certificate the bank's attorney has introduced into the court record has no date on it, in violation of FHA regulations.

The bank has introduced into the suit the mortgage it holds to secure the Winters loan. It bears a different date than the mortgage recorded with the District Recorder of Deeds.

Complaints about Monarch first surfaced in the autumn of 1964, after it had been in business for a little more than a year.

In a story published in The Washington Post on Nov. 1, 1964, several owners of homes on unrestored fringes of Capitol Hill complained about Monarch's sales tactics. One woman had already filed suit in U.S. District Court, charging Monarch with "trickery" and "false pretenses."

The homeowners said that Monarch's telephone solicitation, sprinkled heavily with references to "urban renewal" and "talking to you about schedules for your property and your street," led them to believe the Government was somehow behind it.

NO MONOPOLY

Cohen told a reporter then that "we don't think the Government has a monopoly on the words." He said then: "Our program is to rehabilitate a large part of Washington over a period of ten years. If we'd remodel the insides of houses nobody'd see them, while on the outside you can see the change right away."

At the same time, the Capitol Hill Restoration Society, complained about Monarch to Government agencies. Some homeowners and a former Monarch salesman went to talk with prosecutors in the U.S. Attorney's Office about Monarch in 1964.

Yet Monarch's business continued to flourish. In January and February of 1965, it took out full-page newspaper advertisements criticizing Federal urban renewal as "far more urban removal" and boasting its own "private urban renewal program" as having "created $2,149,500 in new first trust loans" and "$300,000 worth of approved Title I FHA loans."

But the FHA was investigating Monarch by then and, on May 11, 1965, placed the firm on its "precautionary measures list."

Notice went out to all banks handling FHA-insured loans that FHA had information "indicating that the subject has not conducted his operations . . . consistent with the purposes and objectives of the FHA Property Improvements Program."

Banks were instructed to deal with Monarch only in cases in which bank officers personally checked the contractors' work and to have completion certificates signed in the presence of bank officers.

Monarch no longer obtained FHA insured loans. Instead, it sold some of its second mortgage notes to Allstate Mortgage Corp., now of 1111 Massachusetts ave. nw. Allstate, in turn, sold some of the mortgages to the Atlas Credit Corporation of Philadelphia (recently renamed Sunasco as a result of mergers). Atlas assigned the notes to its subsidiaries to collect payments from the Washington homeowners.

Monarch also was still able to obtain, from reputable banks, new first mortgage loans not insured by the FHA for its customers. Money from these mortgages was used to pay off the customers' old mortgages and, in some cases, also to pay Monarch for home improvements.

In many of these cases, records indicate that Monarch also obtained the customers' signatures on a new second, and sometimes a third, mortgage. Money from these also went to Monarch for home improvement contracts.

After being involved in more than 50 suits in Washington's courts—more than 25 involving charges of fraud against it—Monarch has suffered one judgment against it and lost four other times on dismissals when it failed to answer questions filed by opposing attorneys.

Monarch, and the dozen other firms under investigation are a minority of the home improvement contractors who do business in the city. Most contractors are reputable businessmen who tell customers just what they are getting and how much it will cost.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1967]

Bill Eyed To Protect Unwary Homeowner

A ranking Republican House member yesterday said he will seek legislation to prevent recurrence of "the despicable conduct" of home improvement and finance companies who have obtained millions of dollars from low-income homeowners in the Washington area.

Rep. William B. Widnall of New Jersey, referring to the series on home improvement schemes presently running in The Washington Post, said he was "shocked to learn that allegedly reputable firms have made millions by taking advantage of the unwary and uneducated."

Widnall said he was calling for an immediate investigation of the entire industry and its method of doing business. Widnall is the ranking Republican member of the House Banking and Currency Committee and also of the special House Subcommittee on Housing.

"At the same time," Widnall said in a statement issued by his office, "the Congress should investigate the matter to determine what remedial legislation is needed to prevent such despicable conduct from recurring."

Rep. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R–Md.) said the revelations "have far more than local significance. They are part of the national picture of the deliberate attempt of widely organized forces to single out the urban poor as targets."

Mathias said the newspaper series pointed up the need for an increased force of Federal lawyers and enforcement officers to press the campaign against exploitation of the urban poor.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1967]

Nominee Is Monarch Agent

Margaret Haywood, one of nine Washingtonians selected Thursday by President Johnson for the new City Council, has been registered agent and attorney for the Monarch Construction Co. for the past two years.

Mrs. Haywood, a Republican, said yesterday she plans to "reassess" her relationship to Monarch and her other clients in view of the nomination which is subject to confirmation by the Senate "to make sure there is no conflict of interest."

As registered agent, she is available to accept service of suits against the firm. She represents Monarch in court, as well, but performs no other functions of the concern, she said. The lawyer-client relationship precluded her commenting on the reports in The Washington Post about Monarch's activities, she said.

Her total earnings from Monarch last year were less than $2000, she said.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 2, 1967]

Suits Hit Mortgage Practices—Misled on Loan Terms, Claim Homeowners

(By Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell)

Custom House Construction Co. went into the business of home improvement construction on March 3, 1966, in an office at 7849 Eastern ave., Silver Spring.

Almost six months to the day later, Custom House went out of business, according to its president, Harvey W. Davis.

Records in the D.C. recorder of deeds office show 55 second mortgages worth $250,000 made out to Custom House.

In the past four months, a team of reporters from The Washington Post interviewed 23 Custom House customers.

All are low-income Negroes, elderly and often widowed, and in each case the price of the job done or products received (such as a paint job or a color television set) was secured by a mortgage on their homes.

DIDN'T KNOW OF MORTGAGE

Four Custom House customers said they had no idea there was a second mortgage on their homes until they were told so by reporters. The other 19 said they first learned of the mortgages from United States postal inspectors, who are investigating Custom House.

At least one customer, Chester Thompson, has lost his home through foreclosure on the second mortgage. Six others—faced with foreclosure—filed court suits charging that their signatures on the mortgages were secured through fraud.

A pattern appeared in the complaints:

The customers were contacted by Custom House, not vice versa.

The customers said they signed what they thought was a contract but later turned out to be a note and mortgage.

The customers said there was no notary public present when they signed the "papers" although the mortgages on their homes bore notarization seals.

All said they received payment books in the mail from companies they had never heard of demanding payment of notes they didn't know they had signed.

The 23 additional Custom House customers interviewed by reporters said the same points apply in their cases.

Custom House is one of nearly a dozen home-improvement firms under investigation by Federal authorities for their second mortgage dealings in Washington. The U.S. attorney's office expects grand jury action within two weeks.

The vast majority of home-improvement firms in Washington enjoy good reputations.

PRICE ABOVE APPRAISALS

Sources said that one professional appraiser who dealt with Custom House said that when he had done appraisals for Custom House the firm automatically increased its prices well above the appraisals.

Suits in court indicate that Custom House would then quote prices to the customers but give them contracts to sign, the face values of which would be double the quoted prices.

In two court suits, customers have claimed notes and mortgages were filed against their home for at least double the amounts quoted on the jobs by the Custom House salesman.

The contract in one case tells the story:

One customer had the front of his house painted "for the total sum of $2350." The contract says that the customer agrees "to pay the sum of $2350 upon completion, secured by a note of $5875 plus 8 per cent interest in monthly installments of $58.75."

When reporters asked the customer, an elderly man who cannot work because he is being treated for cancer, why he agreed to pay $5875 for work that cost "the total sum of $2350," the homeowner replied:

"I thought just the monthly payment was $58.75."

USED TELEPHONE SALESGIRLS

Custom House employed a battery of girl telephone solicitors. One of the girls told an investigator about the sales talk:

The girls were given phone numbers of houses in low-income Negro areas selected from a cross-index file.

They were told to hang up if they judged a white person had answered.

Otherwise, they were to find out within 60 seconds if the resident of the house owned or was buying the house.

If it was discovered the resident was only renting, they were under orders to terminate the conversation and make another call.

Otherwise, they would try to interest homeowners in anything from a television set to a new roof. If the prospects seemed good, they would then turn the files over to salesmen.

One of Custom House's first jobs was on the home of Albert and Mattie Smalls, at 401 11th st. se.

SMALLS FILE SUIT

After being threatened with foreclosure, the Smalls filed suit against Custom House charging "willful, deliberate and malicious fraud."

The Smalls' suit says the salesman told them he could fix up the front of their house for $800.

They thought that would be nice, but lamented that they already had debts of $4900 and didn't feel they could afford it.

The salesman then said he could arrange to get them a loan that would permit them to pay off the $4900 as well as cover the cost of fixing up the house front, according to the suit.

They agreed to this, and signed papers they thought were contracts and loan application forms.

The job was done. They learned later, however, that only $575 worth of outstanding debts were paid off, leaving them with $4397 in old debts plus a mortgage on their home for $500 that they didn't know they signed, the suit says.

The couple paid $1000 on this note until they contacted attorney John J. Carmody Jr., who filed suit. On July 24, 1967, U.S. District Court Judge Joseph C. Waddy issued a temporary restraining order against the present holder of the Smalls' note, prohibiting the holder from making any further collections until the court case is decided.

ACCEPTANCE CORP. NAMED

The Smalls' suit also named as defendant a company called Universal Acceptance Corp., located at 6400 Georgia ave. nw.

According to official D.C. records, a founder, a director and president of Custom House is Harvey W. Davis of 8313 Raymond st., Potomac.

According to these same records, Harvey W. Davis is also secretary, treasurer and a director of the Universal Acceptance, with an address at that time of 8804 Lanier dr., Silver Spring.

Davis told a reporter: "I really can't answer your questions, I really don't know much about that. I took in a partner who knew the home-improvement business. He did the selling and I did the bookkeeping. I never knew any contracts were fraudulent."

All notes and mortgages generated by Custom House were sold immediately, sometimes within hours, to second parties, known legally as "holders in due course."

The Smalls' case was no exception. Their note was sold to Universal Acceptance. Much of the paper generated by Custom House went to Universal.

The Smalls' suit contains the following allegation:

"Davis conspired with both Custom House and Universal to hatch a scheme whereby Custom House would fraudulently obtain a promissory note, reinforce its right to enforce the terms of the note by fraudulently obtaining a deed of trust (mortgage) against the property, fail to perform the consideration for said note, sell the note to Universal at a fraudulent discount rate, allow Custom House to lapse into insolvency thereby defrauding potential creditors and hide the whole behind the sham shield of the 'holder in due course' defense of Universal."

NOTE DISCOUNT CLAIMED

The suit also alleges that Universal bought the Smalls' $5500 note from Custom House for $2200—at a discount of 60 per cent.

Many Custom House notes were sold at discounts ranging from 40 to 60 per cent.

The U.S. Court of Appeals here has characterized discounts of 40 per cent or more as "outrageous" and stated that such discounts, if there are also circumstances such as the purchase of notes executed by unknown persons whose credit has not been investigated, constitute a "badge of fraud."

An answer to this suit was filed on behalf of Universal by Bernard T. Levin, a local attorney. The answer denied all allegations of fraud and maintained that Universal had purchased the note in the ordinary course of business.

In its answer, Universal argued that it was merely a "holder in due course," and it also filed a counterclaim against the Smalls for $5119.55 not yet paid on the note, plus attorney's fee.

Custom House Construction Co. has not yet answered the allegations contained in the Smalls' suit.

The signature of the notary public who swore she witnessed the Smalls' signatures on the $5,500 mortgage on their home was Louise Beane.

In January of this year, Louise Beane, a licensed notary public in Maryland, was indicted and charged with the false notarization of two mortgages in Washington.

NOTARY PLEADED GUILTY

Mrs. Beane pleaded guilty and received a suspended sentence in U.S. District Court here.

Those two mortgages had been generated by Custom House. Mrs. Beane notarized a total of 27 mortgages generated by Custom House.

In six court suits, homeowners have claimed that they did not know they signed mortgages, that no notary public was present when they signed papers and that they had never seen anyone named Louise Beane, either in their homes or in Maryland. Numerous other homeowners made similar claims to reporters.

Seven Custom House notes were purchased by a District realtor named Leonard Freedman, of 761 17th st nw., for what investigators say were 40 per cent or greater. Freedman denies the discounts were that large.

One of those mortgages was on the home of an elderly widow, Alberta Kibler, of 1737 D st. se.

After her home was threatened with foreclosure, she filed suit against Custom House and Freedman, charging that her mortgage was secured by fraud through a conspiracy between Custom House and Mrs. Beane.

Her suit alleges that Custom House's dealings with her were "part of a conspiracy in which Louise Beane similarly made many false notarizations for Custom House."

It says that she was quoted a price of $2750 for a new kitchen and discovered a mortgage against her home she didn't know she had signed for $5550.

FIRM DENIES FRAUD

Custom House answered this suit with a denial of fraud and conspiracy and denied that Mrs. Beane was an agent of Custom House.

Freedman answered by saying he was without sufficient knowledge to admit or deny the charges since he was merely a "holder in due course" and he denied any conspiracy existed. He said yesterday that "all I can do is check the District records to see that it's a legitimate mortgage. I dealt with Custom House the same way I dealt with everybody else."

One Custom House customer, Amanda Green, 56, of 829 Sheridan st. nw., bought four air conditioners for what she thought was "a little over $2000" and later learned there was a mortgage on her home for $5800, plus 7 per cent interest.

Her paper was purchased from Custom House by Freedman. He showed her a note bearing her signature that called for payments of $33.50 a month for 60 months.

At this rate Mrs. Green could not have paid off the interest due on the note by the end of the 60 months, much less the principal.

Since by the 60th month she would have only paid $2010, much of it having gone to pay off interest, Mrs. Green stood to lose her home unless she could pay the balance or obtain a new loan for it.

If she refinanced the note for the same schedule of monthly payments, she would not have been able to pay off the principal due in her lifetime, Federal investigators say.

Mrs. Green hired an attorney before making any payments. He hired an appraiser who valued the air conditioners at $974. U.S. postal inspectors had them appraised for $971.

Mrs. Green's attorney reached an agreement with Freedman whereby he wiped off the mortgage on her home in return for a payment of $1000.

LABORER SUES

Frank Harris, of 124 10th st. ne., an illiterate, elderly laborer has filed suit saying he was tricked into signing a $7450 mortgage on his home and received only $500 worth of work in return.

His suit claims he signed certain papers because Jack Shulman, Davis's partner and the salesman in this and many Custom House transactions, promised him that Custom House would pay off two previous mortgages on his home.

On the original two mortgages, he was paying a total of $100 a month, Harris said, in the suit. He also said that he had to pay $80 a month on the new mortgage held by Custom House, plus the same old $100 he had been paying.

He earns $65 a week.

Shulman, of 5300 Westbard ave., Bethesda, and Custom House answered the suit and denied any fraud or wrongdoing.

MENTIONED IN SUITS

Shulman is mentioned in most of the Custom House suits as the salesman involved and by most of the customers contacted by reporters.

Shulman told a reporter that none of the mortgages signed up by him were obtained by fraud.

"You will find they were all legitimately signed," said Shulman.

Shulman said that in each instance he was accompanied by a notary public, including those in which Louise Beane's signature appears on the mortgage.

The activities of Custom House, and several other home-improvement contractors, are being looked into by Federal authorities. Most home-improvement contractors are reputable businessmen who tell customers what they are getting and how much it will cost.

Five Custom House mortgages ended up in the hands of Atlas Credit Corp. of Philadelphia, which has been renamed Sunasco, Inc., following a merger. Atlas is now also under investigation by Federal authorities.

Atlas buys second mortgage paper from firms in 40 states and two Canadian provinces.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING
AND CURRENCY,
October 2, 1967.

Mr. PHILIP N. BROWNSTEIN,
Federal Housing Commissioner,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER: The subject of the articles which have appeared in the *Washington Post* over the weekend has been of concern to me, as I know it has been to you.

That any citizen should suffer from such disreputable business practices is a serious matter. That low income citizens should suffer is most unfortunate.

I noted in the Sunday article that the FHA has made an investigation of the situation and I would be interested in your findings. What role does the FHA play in matters of this nature? Are you presently empowered to take any remedial action?

As you know, the Senate is presently considering enactment of legislation to encourage home ownership among low income families. In view of this, I would be most interested in learning whether the FHA has any recommendation for legislation to protect individual home owners from situations similar to those described in the *Washington Post* articles?

I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

CHARLES H. PERCY,
U.S. Senator.

SOARING STATE AND LOCAL TAXES ARGUE AGAINST A FEDERAL TAX HIKE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it is frequently argued that the tax increase proposed by the President will not really impose a heavy burden on taxpayers because their Federal tax will still be less than it was before the 1964 tax cut. If the extra burden to taxpayers is indeed so slight, why then is there so much public opposition to the tax increase?

The fact is that the total tax burden upon our citizens—when we take into account State and local taxes as well as Federal taxes—has increased sharply since 1964. Using the latest comparable figures, total State and local government tax revenue rose from $47 billion in March 1964 to $60 billion in March 1967—an increase of nearly 30 percent. In the last year, from March 1966, to March 1967, the increase was 8.7 percent.

By types of tax, between March 1964, and March 1967, the percentage increases were as follows: property taxes rose 20 percent; general sales and gross receipts taxes were up more than 40 percent; and individual income taxes increased by almost 60 percent.

Although part of this increase in revenues can be attributed to an expanded tax base, much of the increase has come through new or increased taxes. Between 1959 and 1966, State governments levied 19 new taxes and increased tax rates in 230 instances. During these 8 legislative years, every State except Louisiana raised its tax rates or adopted a new levy in at least one of six major tax fields; sales taxes, personal income taxes, corporate income taxes, motor fuel taxes, cigarette taxes, and alcoholic beverage taxes. In Wisconsin personal income taxes were raised four times.

This data does not include the many increases enacted in 1967. Among the most significant increases this year were the following: Maryland enacted a substantial increase and revision of its income tax; Michigan adopted a tax on personal and corporate incomes which became effective October 1; and California passed the largest tax increase in its history, raising levies on sales and personal income among other items.

The Tax Foundation, Inc., recently estimated that State tax collections will be boosted by close to $2½ billion on an annual basis by new or increased taxes adopted so far by State legislatures meeting this year. By States, the tax increases were expected to yield the following amounts: California, $944 million; Michigan, $281 million; Illinois, $188 million; Ohio $188 million; Iowa, $130 million; Maryland, $120 million; Nebraska, $91 million; other, over $500 million.

Mr. President, this heavy and increasing tax burden that our citizens are faced with at the State and local level should be fully recognized in formulating national fiscal policy. Clearly, this factor makes it all the more important that we avoid raising taxes at the Federal level and renew our efforts to cut expenditures.

NATIONAL 4–H WEEK, SEPTEMBER 30 THROUGH OCTOBER 7

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, good citizenship among America's youth will be accented again this week as National 4–H Week is observed from September 30 through October 7. In the spotlight will be nearly 3 million 4–H'ers completing their year's work and commencing new projects.

Since its origination in the early 1900's, the program stressing head, heart, hands, and health has been of inestimable value in guiding and teaching the country's youth. Today, 4–H'ers may choose from up to a hundred 4–H educational experiences. Selections may be from such activities as clothing, community beautification, conservation, entomology, electric, automotive, and leadership.

Our 4–H'ers can learn about such varied subjects as budget management, town and country business, home improvement, personality development, personal grooming, horsemanship, health and safety, and community service.

In recent years the 4–H organizations have sponsored international exchange programs in which outstanding youth of America have had the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas with youths from a number of foreign countries. This has succeeded greatly as a young people-to-people program promoting international understanding and respect.

The 4–H is a part of the national education system of the Cooperative Extension Service in which the U.S. Department of Agriculture, State land-grant universities, and counties participate. The 4–H organizations are active in each of the 50 States, and more than a half-million volunteer leaders assist 4–H youths in achieving their goals.

The 4–H program has been a vital force in my home State of South Dakota in guiding our young people toward mature, responsible citizenship.

I salute this most worthwhile organization as it celebrates National 4–H Week.

PRESIDENT APPOINTS FRANK GREGG TO NEW ENGLAND RIVER BASIN COMMISSION

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I wish to invite attention to the President's recent appointment of Frank Gregg to be chairman of the New England River Basin Commission. I am delighted with the President's choice. He could have found no man better qualified to be the first chairman of the New England River Basin Commission than Frank Gregg.

Although Mr. Gregg is not a native New Englander, he has a long and distinguished career in natural resource management. Prior to his appointment he was vice president of the Conservation Foundation. He has also served as executive director of the Citizens Committee for the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Report, staff assistant on the resources program staff in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, executive director of the Izaak Walton League of America, and editor of the Colorado Outdoors magazine for the Colorado Department of Game and Fish.

In addition to these positions Mr. Gregg has served on a number of committees directly concerned with water resource management and pollution control. These include 2 years as chairman of the Izaak Walton League's clean water committee, membership on the President's Committee on the Quetico-Superior boundary waters area, and membership on the Central States Advisory Board to the U.S. Forest Service. He is at present serving as chairman of the National Technical Committee on Water Quality Criteria for Recreation and Aesthetics established by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. President, I commend President Johnson for the wisdom and excellence of his choice of Frank Gregg, and I offer my warm congratulations to Mr. Gregg. I am confident that he will be an outstanding chairman of the New England River Basin Commission.

SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S TEST PROGRAM ON EMPLOYMENT TRAINING

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, the Johnson administration has once again taken the initiative to involve private enterprise in the problems besetting American society. Today the President announced the start of a pilot program to aid those Americans who are in the ranks of the longtime unemployed.

This new program will involve the full partnership of both industry and government in building new facilities in areas of large-scale unemployment, and in training and counseling those who have been out of work for a long time.

As the President said today:

> Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.

The President has succeeded in the past in involving private industry in the problems of housing and jobs in our cities. This latest step, a $40 million project that will utilize Federal funds and resources, will focus the talent and experience of private enterprise on the nagging and complex problem of persistent unemployment. The knowledge and expertise of private industry will be invaluable to effect meaningful solutions to this problem.

There is good reason to believe that this pilot project may point the way toward future endeavors that will expand upon new insights generated by this program.

I think the President is to be warmly commended for pioneering in this important partnership for progress between the public and private sectors. It is a partnership that is bound to grow over the years to the benefit of all the American people.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the White House statement today launching this major test program.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> We are launching today a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed.
>
> The heart of this new effort is to reach the forgotten and the neglected—those citizens handicapped by poor health, hampered by inadequate education, hindered by years of discrimination, and by-passed by conventional training programs.
>
> To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require—on an unprecedented scale—the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal Government.
>
> As we embark on this new course, let us be clear about what is involved: our purpose is not to hand out but to help up, to help provide every American the opportunity for a good job at a good wage.
>
> Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.
>
> We call upon private industry to join us in tackling one of America's most urgent domestic problems. I have no doubt that the private sector will respond. For we have witnessed in the past few months a remarkable series of events which attests to the dedication of American business in meeting the needs of the society in which it flourishes:
>
> On September 12, 1967, the insurance companies in this country agreed to commit $1 billion of their funds for investments in city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. Some of these resources are already financing promising housing projects and insurance company executives and officials of this Administration are working together to develop other projects.
>
> A project has been launched to use surplus Federal lands to meet the housing needs of our cities in which the efforts of private developers will be the most important single element.
>
> A Committee, headed by Edgar F. Kaiser and composed of distinguished industrialists, bankers, labor leaders and specialists in urban affairs is examining every possible means of encouraging the development of a large-scale efficient construction and rehabilitation industry to reclaim the corroded core of the American city.
>
> Upon the recommendation of the Kaiser Committee we have begun the "Turnkey Plus" project to encourage private industry not only to develop and build, but also to *manage* public housing.
>
> In this effort, we will again attempt to bring the great resources of the private sector to bear on a critical national problem. Through the great talents and energies of private industry, with full support from the Federal Government, we hope to:
>
> Bring new job training opportunities in existing plants to the hard core unemployed.
>
> Create new jobs and new training opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged in plants which will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.
>
> Encourage new enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to provide jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged.
>
> To initiate this effort, the resources of the Departments of Commerce, Defense, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration will be combined to provide maximum assistance and to minimize the added cost of those in private industry willing to assume responsibility for providing training and work opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged.
>
> Initially, nearly $40 million from a wide variety of existing programs will be made available, as will millions of dollars worth of surplus Federal property and excess Federal equipment.
>
> We will offer to private industry:
>
> A full spectrum of aid to assist them in recruiting, counseling, training, and providing health and other needed services to the disadvantaged.
>
> Aid which will enable them to experiment with new ways to overcome the transportation barriers now separating men and women from jobs.
>
> Surplus Federal land, technical assistance and funds to facilitate the construction of new plants in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.
>
> Excess Federal equipment to enable them to train more disadvantaged people.
>
> Assistance to joint enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to bring jobs and training opportunities to the disadvantaged.
>
> I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to direct this test program and insure that all available Federal resources are utilized. The Secretary of Commerce will designate a full-time Special Representative as the single point of contact for private employers participating in this project. The Special Representative will provide employers with one-stop service for the entire Federal Government and will make whatever arrangements are appropriate with the various Federal agencies for all forms of Federal assistance.
>
> The Secretary of Labor will designate a full-time officer in the Manpower Administration to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary of Commerce in connection with the training and employment elements of these projects.
>
> I have also asked the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrators of the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration to assist the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor in this test program and to assign a single official in their agencies who will coordinate their efforts in support of this program.
>
> Provision will be made for continuing liaison with local projects and for careful research and evaluation to crystallize field experience into guidelines for future action.
>
> I have asked the Secretary of Commerce to invite corporations throughout the country to join this new effort to bring meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens both in existing plants and, where feasible, in new locations near areas of concentrated unemployment.
>
> I have directed each Department and Agency of this Government to give top priority to all phases of this important effort.
>
> LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

BALANCED URBANIZATION AND NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, increased concern is being expressed in Congress, in a number of executive departments, and in the country at large over the continued migration from rural areas into our concentrated metropolitan areas. A new word, "megalopolis," has been coined to describe this concentration of population in geographically limited areas along the east and west coasts and across the lower Great Lakes region.

People are leaving rural areas which lack economic opportunity because of changes in agricultural production, mining, lumbering, and other industries and crowding into the already densely populated metropolitan areas. In a sense they are merely transplanting economic problems from the rural areas to the cities. Many of them lack the specialized training and skills that are needed for industrial and urban jobs. Furthermore, while the migrants tend to locate in central cities, there is a distinct trend of movement of industries out into suburban and other outlying areas.

Increasingly the need is recognized by many of providing alternatives by revitalizing rural and smaller urban economies. Through all of this, the need for a national economic development and urban growth policy become increasingly apparent.

A number of bills have been introduced in the current Congress proposing programs to increase economic opportunity in rural areas and thereby foster a balanced pattern of urbanization. Several proposals have also been made for the establishment of a national commission to study balanced economic development. I invite the attention of interested Members of Congress to the fact that in connection with a study of the development of new communities, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is directing its attention to this problem.

The Commission was established by Congress in 1959 and is composed of representatives of the public and each level of government including six Members of the Congress. The senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], and I are all original members of the Commission. In the other body, Representative DWYER, of New Jersey, and Representative FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina, are also original members of the Commission, and Representative ULLMAN, of Oregon, was recently appointed to membership.

In addition to the six Members of Congress, the Commission has three from the executive branch: the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney-General, and the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. Other members include four Governors, four mayors, three State legislative leaders and three elected county officials. The public is represented by three members. The Commission's study will provide an excellent opportunity for Congress and the many interested groups and individuals throughout the Nation to give this matter thorough and informed consideration. I ask unanimous consent that the Advisory Commission's study outline be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the study outline was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C. Sept. 8, 1967]

OUTLINE OF STUDY OF BALANCED URBANIZATION AND NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The following is a topical and paragraph outline which develops the major areas of coverage for the Commission's study on Balanced Urbanization and New Community Development. Not all topics are treated in equal depth nor is the depth of treatment necessarily related to importance.

The study describes the present pattern of urbanization in the country and the patterns of urban and regional growth and decline. It will review the economic, social, and political factors which influence economic development and urbanization. Consideration will be given to the need for a national economic development and urbanization policy to foster balanced development throughout the country, and to the respective roles of Federal, State, and local governments. It will then consider intergovernmental problems involved in evolving policies and programs to facilitate the financing, development, and governing of new communities as one of the methods to implement national policies and goals for a balanced urbanization.

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the study.

1. To examine the present total pattern of urbanization nationwide, emphasizing the whole range from villages to metropolitan centers, including specific attention to trends affecting small towns and rural counties as well as the large urban concentrations.

2. To provide a description of urbanization, using a broader definition for "urban" and more restricted for "rural."

3. To identify the forces which have influenced present population distribution patterns with a view to facilitating the consideration of possible policies designed to encourage balanced urbanization.

4. To identify economic and social advantages and disadvantages in population concentration in metropolitan centers.

5. To consider the need for a national urbanization policy which can guide specific decisions regarding programs which affect urban development.

6. To examine several types of measures at various levels of government that can be used to foster balanced urbanization.

7. To examine the potential of "rural growth centers" as a method of counteracting the diseconomies of metropolitan concentration and congestion.

8. To examine the potential of new communities as another method of meeting the problem of population concentration in metropolitan areas.

9. To review the problems involved in planning, regulating, and building large new communities. Particular emphasis will be placed on the possible role of Federal, State, and local governments and the relationships between the public and private sectors in developing new communities.

10. To explore questions of land assembly and development; planning and development; provision of community facilities and services; the time and character of municipal government for new communities; and to explore the regions and metropolitan areas.

11. To examine the governmental and administrative techniques that can be used to encourage and regulate urban development in accordance with public policy objectives.

B. Definitions—distinguish types of new communities and related developments: satellite new communities, independent new cities, regional centers, growth centers, planned developments, planned residential districts, planned unit developments, "new town-in town" (on undeveloped sites or cleared sites or a combination of the two).

C. While the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the study of new communities will have relevance for rural and urban growth centers, "new town-in town," planned residential districts, planned unit developments, etc., the emphasis will be on strictly "new communities," i.e., communities started from scratch in areas with no significant development within the projected borders and no coterminus local government. Perhaps modified to include those developments (especially those using staged development) which so enlarge an existing small incorporated nucleus as to put them outside the normal subdivider/developer situation.

PART I—NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND URBANIZATION

Chapter 1. The process of urbanization

A. Descriptive and statistical account of urbanization in the United States identifying the growth of urban areas emphasizing the whole spectrum from the smallest "rural" urban centers to the largest metropolitan areas and "megalopolis."

1. Emphasis should be given to the total pattern of urbanization stressing the growth of medium-sized urban centers.

2. The significance of the growth of suburbs in relation to central cities and the distinction between central cities and other components of urban population (fringe areas, urbanized areas, other urban places, and some rural nonfarm).

3. A description of the megalopolis concept.

4. Identification of the most rapidly growing small- and medium-sized counties and cities (including those cities located within SMSA's but not a part of the socio-economic structure of the SMSA).

5. Description of problems attendant upon the pattern of urbanization including heavy concentration in metropolitan areas and suburban "sprawl" and the resulting economic, social and governmental problems. A parallel description of problems created by the exodus of population from rural areas.

6. Significance of dispersal of industry into urban fringe and rural areas and increased industrialization of agriculture with owners and even operators more frequently living in urban places.

Chapter 2. Factors influencing economic development and urbanization

A. Analytical discussion of factors influencing national and regional economic growth and decline and urbanization based on the recognition that mature economies function through the interaction of urban-industrial complexes (cities); that the major economic activity of the nation operates and will in the forseeable future continue to operate through a system of cities; that regional differentiation tends to give way to urban interaction as the economy of a nation matures. For the purposes of this analysis, the urban complex or center is not just a densely populated area, but is a social complex containing a hierarchy of economically and socially interrelated and overlapping hinterlands which collectively comprise a recognizable, viable entity.

B. Examination of social and economic forces influencing regional activity and urbanization.

1. The extent and character of national economic growth.

2. The impact of change-initiating factors central to such growth, particularly (a) technology, (b) natural resources, (c) population and labor force, (d) changes in consumer demand, and (e) strategically important institutional changes, such as those flowing from governmental policy.

3. The relative extent to which regions have shared in the national economic growth, and the shift in the relative position of individual regions with regard to the key measures (i.e., employment within major industries).

4. The major characteristics of the economic growth (or decline) patterns of the individual regions, particularly the extent to which such growth (or decline) is related to industry composition or to within-industry locational changes.

5. The nature of the individual regions, and their patterns or urbanization.

C. Examination of economies and diseconomies of concentration and dispersion.

Chapter 3. Conclusions and recommendations regarding the influencing of economic development and urbanization

A. Identify the need for national and regional, State, and local economic development policy incorporating urbanization policy.

B. Consider possible Federal, State, and local policies to encourage a balanced industrial and economic growth throughout the nation and a balanced pattern of urbanization between large metropolitan centers, smaller urban places outside of metropolitan areas, and rural areas.

1. Policy to stem the continued concentration in metropolitan areas and to encourage the development of alternative patterns of urbanization including smaller growth centers and new communities.

2. The use of industrial location policies to influence development; placement of public contracts, institutions and facilities as an influence; and the development of job opportunities.

3. Land use and development policies such as new approaches to zoning, open space provisions, and timing of water and sewer lines and highways.

4. Measures dealing with government organization and structure such as boundary commissions, extra - territorial powers, strengthening county governments, and regional arrangements.

5. Elimination where possible of the arbitrary distinction resulting in similar but separate programs for rural and urban areas—701 and community development districts, urban rural water sewer facilities program, HUD and USDA extension programs, proposed separate urban and rural job opportunity programs.

C. Organizational alternatives to formulate economic development and urbanization policy.

1. A national economic planning agency assigned responsibility for economic development and urbanization policy—an existing or new agency in the Executive Office of the President.

2. Complementary regional, State, areawide, and local planning organization and process.

PART II—INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNING OF NEW COMMUNITIES

Chapter 4. New communities in America and their objectives

A. Objectives of new communities and identification of the public interest in them. (Obviously not all of the objectives are equally important or feasible.)

1. Dispersal away from overconcentrated urban centers.

2. Regulate development: an opportunity for planned, staged development to influence the future course of urban growth encouraging desirable cities and towns based on sound principles of physical planning, using flexible approaches, viewing the total projected city as a whole, and providing for various needs on a rational basis.

3. Assure the most economic use of public and private resources for new urban development.

4. Provide a wide range of single and multifamily housing covering a broad price range from low-income housing to luxury homes and apartments.

5. Present the opportunity for innovation and experimentation unhampered by preexisting structures and organization.

6. Provide relatively self-contained social and economic opportunities within or easily accessible to the community for a wide range of professional and occupational needs.

7. Provide housing choices to all groups as a step in overcoming established patterns of segregation which foreclose or minimize the opportunity for moving out of minority ghettos.

8. Relieve pressure on central cities and built-up areas for relocation opportunities in connection with urban renewal, highway projects, code enforcement, and other displacements.

9. Provide for amenities and desirable residential, work, and recreational opportunities. Forestall blight and deterioration.

10. Contribute to the sound economic development of a region.

11. Provide direct economic benefits to the governments involved, such as a diversified tax base and economic provision of public services and facilities.

12. Provide alternative residential and work opportunities for migration coming into metropolitan areas.

13. Provide geographically dispersed alternatives to migration into the largest urban concentrations.

B. History of "new towns" and new communities.

1. Early history.

2. General philosophy of "new towns" and new communities—various streams of thought going into them: town planning, good government, garden cities, economic interest, company towns, convenience.

3. New towns in Europe.

4. New communities in America.

a. Roots in city planning movement.

b. The company town.

c. Earliest planned suburban developments.

d. The 1920's and 1930's Garden City efforts.

e. New Deal "Greenbelt" cities of the 1930's.

f. Defense towns: Los Alamos, Oak Ridge, Richland.

g. Post-World War II large suburban developments—Levittowns, Park Forest, etc.

5. Evaluation of previous experience.

Chapter 5. New Community Development and Government Action

A. Present experience and problems facing new community development—their political, social, and economic feasibility.

1. Need to combine the public interest requirements essential to justify special provisions, concessions, and inducements with the economic need for a profit to interest entrepreneurs.

a. Provision of essential public services and assurance of adequate public facilities designed to incorporate the capacity or be capable of expansion to incorporate the capacity to serve the ultimate planned population.

b. The protection of public objectives such as the provision of a range of housing types including low-rent, public housing and middle-income housing either subsidized, nonprofit, or limited profit.

2. Need for national and State and metropolitan areas, urban development policy to provide broad, basic goals and objectives to guide and inform decisions.

3. Large initial financial commitment and extended development period during which return is limited or nonexistent.

4. Limited tax base for current public needs during earlier stages before commercial and industrial development.

5. Problem of securing adequate fiscal resources to finance needed public services and facilities in those new communities which don't include sufficient industrial and commercial development within their borders.

6. The necessity for imaginative public regulation during the crucial formative stages before a government exists which is specifically concerned with the "new community" per se. Their government, in some States particularly, may not necessarily be coincident with the borders of the new communities—i.e., it may be the county, town, or borough within which development takes place.

7. The need for flexibility to develop new imaginative approaches and meet changing conditions over the period of development while at the same time protecting the public interest by preventing exploitation of the more liberal or flexible regulatory policy thus preserving the essential assumptions under which the initial commitment to develop is entered into.

8. The necessity to anticipate a political and community leadership and a constituency not yet present or even clearly identified consisting of residents, merchants, industrialists, etc. The general direction that will be desired or acceptable must be foreseen and then there must be allowance for adjustment without compromising the basic objectives as actual experience grows.

9. Relationship of development to an existing incorporated place—either a city larger than the new development or a town much smaller than the new development—when annexation is a possible alternative step rather than independent incorporation. Use of local agency formation commission or State review agency could be helpful.

10. The necessity to assess the market for and acceptability of new communities.

B. Possible recommendations for government action to assist in the development of new communities.

1. Organization.

a. A range of organizational possibilities which can be adapted to varying specific needs and objectives of new communities is needed. The organization must provide for supervision during initial stages and the ultimate transition to a permanent arrangement including incorporation if desired. There must be provision for representation and protection of metropolitan, regional, and statewide interest.

b. Organization for overall development responsibility.

(1) Public development authority with an opportunity for participation by and representation of a wide range of public and private interests.

(a) Could include authority for acquisition of title or development rights to land with subsequent sale to private developers or use for public purposes.

(b) Could include responsibility for planning and designing, land development, regulatory authority, public services, and supervision of actual development of public facilities and private houses, buildings, and factories.

(2) A mixed consortium of public and private groups (using the comsat corporation as a precedent) or a strictly private consortium, but with public funds involved in research and development, to take responsibility for development. Existing governments would retain more of the regulatory authority under these arrangements.

(3) New authority to equip the county or the State to take direct responsibility for regulation and development and for marshalling and coordinating participation of other public and private entities.

(4) New authority to permit existing cities to develop satellite cities—to take initiative and exercise early regulatory authority over them looking to later incorporation or possibly annexation.

(5) County subordinate service areas.

c. Organization for development of segments or parts of the new community.

(1) State-chartered development credit corporations to help finance individual developers of housing, apartments, commercial or industrial buildings.

(2) State development finance authorities to channel State funds and credit or credit guarantees into new communities development either through State-chartered development corporations or direct to developers. This type of assistance might be limited

to or have more desirable terms for limited-profit groups.

(3) Citizens nonprofit housing cooperatives or other organizations for low- and middle-income housing and housing for special groups such as the aged.

(4) Limited-profit groups for middle-income and special housing needs.

(5) Authority for an existing government or public agency to undertake low-income public housing and middle-income housing and make necessary commitments and assurances.

(a) Could be either the county, other existing local jurisdictions, or the State.

(b) Could subsequently be superseded by an incorporated municipality or an authority of such a municipality.

(6) Limited, but multi-purpose special districts or county subordinate service areas to assume responsibility for certain public works and services either directly or by contract or interlocal agreement.

(7) Interlocal contracts or agreements with existing governments.

2. Financing.

a. Direct public finanical programs.

(1) Federal and State grant programs for land acquisition and development.

(2) Federal and State grant programs for construction of public facilities—open space, water and sewer facilities, public buildings, hospitals, schools, etc. Special provisions for additional matching or incentives or higher ceilings could be made for planned new communities.

(3) Loans or loan guarantees for similar purposes and postponements of interest where justified.

(4) Grants and technical assistance to the responsible government for planning and for administering development controls during the formative stages.

b. Tax concessions or equalization measures.

(1) Certain types of tax abatement, forgiveness, or other concessions during the period of holding land for development or during the early years of development.

(2) Tax equalization or redistribution measures to help relate needs of new communities to tax resources. For example, in earlier stages of new community development, needs often outstrip the tax base. Or a new community may be located to be accessible to an industrial complex and thereby serve it and yet not include industry within its borders.

3. Planning, site designation, land assembly, and regulation.

a. Public acquisition of land or development rights for subsequent sale to developers or use of public facilities.

b. New, improved and flexible approaches to land use and development controls such as zoning regulations, subdivision control and official maps and building codes; to development plans; and to the formulation of comprehensive planning policies and objectives.

c. A regulatory system to permit negotiation of a total plan with provision for staged development and adaptations to changing population and social and economic conditions while still providing predictability for the developers and adequate protection of the public interest.

d. Application and adaptation of existing regulatory techniques such as planned unit development, planning residential district, usable open space, and staged development.

e. Development of new land use control techniques for large, mixed, residential-commercial-industrial developments such as borrowing or average densities, "floating zone" approaches, and so forth.

f. Some techniques for obtaining assurances of continuing ratios of low- and middle-income housing opportunities to total housing which are the quid pro quo for special regulatory and financial incentives. Protection of open-housing practices. Assurances of adequate, well-planned public facilities to anticipate projected growth.

g. Regulatory leverage arising from public ownership of land or of development rights and conditions attached to sale.

h. National, regional, metropolitan area, and State planning for identification of possible sites and designation of specific sites using physical, social, and economic analysis techniques.

i. Tax policy to influence development.

j. Programming of public facilities to influence urban development.

TRIBUTE TO NORMAN S. PAUL, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it is my privilege on this occasion to speak by way of tribute to Norman S. Paul, who recently resigned his post as Under Secretary of the Air Force.

We who are privileged to serve as Members of Congress are especially cognizant of the difficulties experienced by the executive branch of our Government in attracting and retaining the highly qualified personnel needed to properly and efficiently administer the affairs of our Federal Government. Yet, over the years we have been fortunate indeed in having self-sacrificing, dedicated individuals who have stepped forward to give of their time and their talents to make our country the great place it is.

In recent years, Norman Paul has been one of those men. He has served our Government for almost 20 years in such varied positions as Legislative Counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, and, most recently, as Under Secretary of the Air Force, to name but a few of his important assignments. In each of these positions Secretary Paul was at the forefront of the department or agency in its dealings with Congress. He appeared on numerous occasions as a departmental spokesman before the committees of Congress. He certainly must be included among the most able and effective witnesses ever to appear before our committee. He had always "done his homework" and had a complete grasp of the issues presented; however, his committee appearances were further enhanced by his personal charm, ready wit, easy manner, and unfailingly pleasant personality.

In his duties for the past 5 years as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and as Undersecretary of the Air Force he has testified on many occasions in support of legislation designed to improve the incentives and opportunities for our military personnel His expertise and knowledge in this area were always of substantial assistance in our efforts in the Congress to make the military career more attractive and to reward properly the men and women of our Armed Forces. Secretary Paul has made substantial, significant contributions to the strength of our Armed Forces during trying times when so many of our men are fighting in Vietnam. He should take justifiable pride in his accomplishments. The Air Force will miss him, we in Congress will miss him, and we certainly hope that his contributions will continue on the national scene.

FIRST QUARTER FISCAL 1968 STATISTICS SHOW NO CASE FOR TAX INCREASE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the bombing, blasting third quarter of 1967 that was supposed to explode with a demand that would begin to make a shambles of the economy unless a tax increase was promptly forthcoming has just been completed.

And what was the economic result in that quarter?

The hard, cold statistics now indicate that the economic case for a tax increase just is not there.

Excessive demand was supposed to be pushing available manpower and facilities to the limit about now. Is it?

Consider the story as told in this morning's Wall Street Journal: New factory orders slipped in August for the second consecutive month as defense contracts declined, according to the Department of Commerce. And Department of Commerce analysts say that new orders probably dipped again in September.

Steel mill shipments in September are estimated to have declined from the August level, and industry sources are pessimistic over prospects for the rest of the year.

It is true that machine tool orders rose in August, and preliminary reports suggest that they rose again in September. But the Wall Street Journal reports:

> Few machine-tool-makers think the gains signal a strong upturn that would carry orders back the torrid 1966 pace.

Construction awards in August climbed 7 percent from July. Also, housing contracts rose sharply, a result which F. W. Dodge attributed to the availability of credit.

Mr. President, this mixed bag of reports suggests that the economy is bumping along, sliding sideways, or perhaps growing or gaining a little. But there is no evidence at all that there is too much demand for the mighty productive facilities of the Nation.

On the contrary, it now seems clearer than ever that our growth this year is going to be a disappointing 3 percent, or perhaps even less, in real terms. This is below the target of almost every economist, liberal or conservative. It may not be enough to maintain our present inadequate 85 percent utilization of our productive capacity and 3.8 percent unemployment. It is even less likely that it is enough to improve this disappointingly slow level of activity.

How in the world can we justify voting a tax increase now that would be imposed at an annual rate of $10 billion?

Mr. President, I do hope the administration will take another hard look at the economic situation before pressing for this tax-increase proposal.

We have just finished the first quarter of fiscal 1968, the year for which the big budget deficit is supposed to be so overstimulating for the economy. Obviously it was not. Not only was there not too much stimulation in this first fiscal quarter. There was not enough. Does this mean it is time to slow down the economy more?

Of course not. Senators who said last July that they would wait until the economic statistics became available later in the year before determining their position on a tax increase, now have the case pretty clearly before them. The economic answer is "No."

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the following articles from this morning's Wall Street Journal be printed in the RECORD: "Factory Orders Slipped in August From July Levels," "September Steel Shipments Fell, Mills Estimate," "Building Awards Rose 7 Percent in August From July Total," "August Orders of Machine Tools Rose From July."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal]

Factory Orders Slipped in August From July Levels—Decline Blamed Mostly on Aerospace Bookings Drop; Inventories Gained a Bit—Shipment Edged Up to Record

WASHINGTON.—New factory orders in August slipped for the second consecutive month and inventories unexpectedly increased a bit, the Commerce Department said. Shipments in August edged up to a record while unfilled orders gained slightly from July.

Inventories, which most analysis believed had leveled off, equaled a seasonally adjusted 1.79-month supply at the end of August, slightly above a downward-revised 1.78 at July's end. At the end of August 1966, this figure was 1.68.

New orders, a key guide to future factory output, slid 0.8% in August to a seasonally adjusted $45,559,000,000 from an upward-revised $45,921,000,000 in July, when the decline was 0.4%.

Incoming orders for durable goods alone dropped 1.3%, not the 2.3% estimated in an advance report. The change, a spokesman said, reflects upward revisions in August ordering for fabricated metals, electrical machinery and automobiles.

AEROSPACE BOOKINGS

The August factory-orders setback was due mostly to an $853 million decline in aerospace industry bookings, the department said. Total Defense Department orders for aerospace, ordinance and communications equipment were down to $2.6 billion from July's upward-revised $3.6 billion.

New orders for nondurable goods slid 0.3% in August to $22,201,000,000 from July's upward-revised $22,262,000,000.

Government analysts tended to pooh-pooh the second monthly orders setback, which contrasts sharply with gains in most other key measurements of August business. Economic indicators are being watched carefully by Congressmen to see if they bear out Administration forecasts of a strong upturn in business activity. Government officials predict such a strong upturn would intensify inflation unless Congress raises income taxes. The President's tax bill is bogged down in the House Ways and Means Committee.

Should September's orders decline or hover near August levels, Congressional foes of the President's tax proposal would have new ammunition. It's possible the September report could be sluggish if defense ordering is again low and auto shortages develop as a result of a prolonged strike against Ford Motor Co. Such a long strike, analysts said, could also result in slackened auto-company ordering of metals and other auto-parts products.

INVENTORIES

Manufacturers' inventories rose 0.6% in August to an adjusted $81,365,000,000 from $80,897,000,000 in July when they gained at a similar rate after a 0.2% dip in June, their first decline since mid-1964.

The August increase was centered in the work-in-progress and finished-goods categories of durable goods makers. Analysts said the stocks rise may indicate optimism about sales in the coming months. But they noted that much of the large increase in inventories this year was due to sales falling short of factory managers' expectations. Such "involuntary" accumulation is often followed by planned cutbacks in production that accelerate any downward trend.

Shipments in August gained 0.3% to a seasonally adjusted $45,475,000,000 from July's $45,346,000,000. The advance reflected moderate increases in shipments of motor vehicles and in the aerospace segment of transportation industry. Total durables shipments rose 1.4% in August while shipments of nondurable-goods makers slipped 0.9%, reflecting decreasing shipments in the petroleum, paper and tobacco industries.

Despite the decline in new orders, the inflow of business topped factory shipments for the fourth consecutive month, sending the August backlog to an adjusted $79,850,000,000 from July's $79,764,000,000. The backlog of durable-goods makers, however, edged down $95,000,000 in August to $76,615,000,000. Unfilled orders of nondurable-goods manufacturers gained $181,000,000 to $3,235,000,000.

Here is the Census Bureau's monthly tabulation of manufacturers' shipments, inventories, new orders and unfilled orders (in millions of dollars):

SHIPMENTS

	Unadjusted			Seasonally adjusted	
	August 1966	July 1967[1]	August 1967[2]	July 1967[1]	August 1967[2]
All manufacturing	43,109	40,864	44,334	45,346	45,475
Durable goods	21,432	20,256	22,043	23,136	23,454
Nondurable goods	21,677	20,608	22,291	22,210	22,021
INVENTORIES					
All manufacturing	73,770	80,628	81,005	80,987	81,365
Durable goods	46,680	52,194	52,694	52,346	52,847
Nondurable goods	27,090	28,434	28,311	28,551	28,518
NEW ORDERS					
All manufacturing	43,805	42,093	44,517	45,921	45,559
Durable goods	22,244	21,430	22,133	23,659	23,358
Nondurable goods	21,561	20,663	22,384	22,262	22,201
UNFILLED ORDERS					
All manufacturing	77,300	80,085	80,268	79,764	79,850
Durable goods	73,615	76,908	76,998	76,710	76,615
Nondurable goods	3,685	3,177	3,270	3,054	3,235

[1] Revised.
[2] Preliminary.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

September Steel Shipments Fell, Mills Estimate—Increase Had Been Forecast; the Decline Is Blamed on Strikes, Reduced Demand—Outlook Poor for Rest of 1967

PITTSBURGH.—Strikes and reduced demand hurt the steel industry's September shipments and the outlook for the rest of the year also is disappointing.

Mills had been forecasting a second straight rise in shipments for September, after deliveries hit a 19-month low of 6,221,000 tons in July. Now, they say that September shipments fell below August, when they're estimated to have reached roughly 7,000,000 tons.

Largely, the downgrading is a product of labor strife, including a strike by owner-operators of steel-hauling trucks against steel plants in a dispute involving their demand for better representation from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Ford Motor Co.'s closedown by the United Auto Workers union strike and a walkout at Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.'s Cleveland plant, that has nearly closed that facility. The truckers' strike and the Ford closedown have severely affected steel shipments and are increasingly putting a damper on steelmaking operations.

Mills say that steel buying isn't turning out to be as good as they'd expected either. This has affected the pace of business in the past month and has caused the mills to lower their sights on market predictions for the remainder of the year.

One big mill, for instance, says orders in the past four weeks topped a month before by 10%, but an official adds, "they haven't increased as much as we thought they would." Business during most of the summer has been uninspiring, with consumption of steel lowered and users continuing to trim steel inventories.

"We thought inventory liquidation would be over by now and customers maybe would be building some steel stocks, but now we think it's going to continue, though at perhaps a slower rate," one steelman says.

MILL ESTIMATES

This mill was expecting a 5% rise in September shipments, but current figures dropped below August. A big Midwestern steelmaker that also was forecasting a 5% climb in September deliveries estimates that they declined by about 7%. Another large Midwest mill says lagging demand would have prevented its September shipments from measuring up to August even without the Ford and truck strikes.

In some cases, the effect of strikes has been severe. At J & L the truckers' strike and the Cleveland walkout "will have a severe impact on third quarter earnings," says Charles M. Beeghly, chairman.

Mr. Beeghly says that J & L looks for September shipments to be 30% less than orders scheduled. Generally, steelmen had anticipated that September deliveries would be about the best of the year. The highest month so far in 1967 was March, when shipments were 7,562,341 tons.

J & L earned $13,616,000, or $1.67 a share, on sales of $242,912,000 in the third quarter of last year.

J & L says its operations at Cleveland were "virtually closed down" Friday by a work stoppage of some 3,600 production workers resulting from the suspension of 27 electrical construction employes. The trouble began Tuesday with a five-day suspension of a union committeeman over his refusal to report for a work assignment and another 26 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 188 at a finishing mill insisted they also be suspended, the company says.

The suspended workmen persuaded some 400 of the 700 workers in finishing and shipping operations to stay away from work, J & L says. Later, the dissatisfied workers appeared at the adjacent iron steelmaking gate and convinced enough workers to stay off the job to force J & L to begin banking furnaces, the company says.

TRUCK STRIKE

The truck strike caused most big mills to start piling up unshipped steel in the plants, wherever it couldn't be diverted to rail shipment. As the piling-up process reached its limit, production was cut back.

One large steelmaker estimates that some

7% to 8% of scheduled September shipments had been deferred into October because of the strike. Bethlehem Steel Corp. says that four steelmaking open hearth furnaces are being taken off this week at its Bethlehem, Pa., plant and supervisors are considering curtailment of ironmaking output in blast furnaces, because of the truckers' strike.

Total man-turns canceled at the plant this week will be "substantially higher" than last week, a spokesman said. Bethlehem had said that 750 man-turns would be canceled in the plant's structural division, then canceled an additional 200 man-turns later last week.

Republic Steel Corp. has more than 500 men on layoff because of the truck strike, but hasn't laid off the additional 2,000 that the company indicated two weeks ago might have to be furloughed. Republic apparently has been able to avoid that augmentation by diverting shipments to railroad. Another large producer says truck hauls are still 20% below normal, but some steel has been diverted to rail and barge movement and it seems that operations won't have to be curtailed.

The six-week truck strike by the 15,000 owner-operators appears to be on the verge of being settled. Last Friday, after two days of intense bargaining, between the dissident truckers and representatives of the Teamsters union, the parties arrived at certain proposals that they will recommend as a basis for a settlement. Terms of the proposals won't be disclosed until voted on by the truckers early this week. The truckers sought an increased share of the proceeds from the steel-hauling business, more pay for time spent waiting between loads and more voice in Teamster affairs. The strike has been marked by considerable violence.

FORD STRIKE

The effect of the Ford strike hasn't been as great. One steel mill market analyst computes it this way: Ford makes about a fourth of the nation's cars and trucks, which consume roughly 20% of the nation's steel, so requires about 5% of domestic steel output. But some of this is in auto parts made by concerns that haven't had to trim their production, so that maybe 4% of steel output would be affected.

Since Ford makes about half of its own steel, only 2% of U.S. production by other mills would be affected. Ford is taking shipment on about half of the steel it normally buys, so production of these makers is lowered by only 1% or so, this steelman reasons. On top of this, of course Ford's own steel production—or roughly 2% of the nation's—also is down, he notes.

Mills say that General Motors Corp. and Chrysler Corp. seem to be going full blast in operations and steel purchases, but there's no evidence this is to take up any of the slack caused by the Ford buying letdown. Mills aren't compensating for it, they say.

Most steelmakers look for October shipments to rise sharply from September, because of the expected delayed effect of the strikes on September deliveries—provided, of course, that they don't last well into October. For a while, they add, shipments of canmaking tinplate will continue to benefit from rush deliveries in advance of an Oct. 16 price increase, with a resulting depressing effect after that date.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

BUILDING AWARDS ROSE 7 PERCENT IN AUGUST FROM JULY TOTAL—F. W. DODGE INDEX OF CONTRACT VALUE SET HIGH, REFLECTING HOME-CONSTRUCTION SPURT—AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT CITED

NEW YORK.—Showing the effects of a recovery in home building, construction contracts awarded in August climbed 7% from July to $5,103,750,000, crossing the $5,000,000,000 mark for the third time in four months. The record high, $5,400,000,000 was reached in June.

F. W. Dodge Co., a division of McGraw-Hill Inc., reported that its seasonally adjusted index of construction contract value reached 165 in August, a record for any month. The previous record, based on 1957–59 as 100, was 164 set in June. While the raw value of August awards was about $300 million less than June's, the seasonal adjustment takes into account the fact that June is traditionally the strongest month of the year.

George A. Christie, Dodge chief economist, said that the strong showing in August "is further evidence of the steady improvement that has been taking place in construction during 1967." He noted that the year started out 20% below 1966, but that "the cumulative comparison for 1967 has improved with each succeeding month, and now things have just about evened out."

Mr. Christie attributed the improvement in the construction outlook to "the response of the housing market to the availability of credit." Housing contracts in August were $1,912,112,000, up 26% from August 1966, marking the fourth successive month they've surpassed the year-earlier figure. In May they rose 2% from May 1966, ending a string of 13 consecutive declines.

Both single-family houses and apartments showed strong gains in August. On a seasonally adjusted basis, the index of residential contract value climbed to 136 from July's 129. The index stood at only 107 in August 1966.

Nonresidential building awards totaled $1,846,605,000, up 7% from the year-earlier month. The gain was attributed to a rise of more than 50% in construction of office buildings and hospitals.

Industrial buildings, stores and public buildings all slipped below a year earlier in August, while educational construction contracts held about even.

August contracts for heavy construction were $1,345,033,000, up 25% from the 1966 month. Mr. Christie said that "highway construction, still responding to the restoration of Federal funds, advanced 26% to pull almost even with last year's cumulative total." Sewer systems and water supply projects scored a 41% increase, while several large dam and reservoir projects boosted that category's total to nearly twice the amount of last August.

F. W. Dodge Co. reports construction awards for August:

	1967	1966	Percent change
Residential building	$1,912,112,000	$1,514,617,000	+26
Nonresidential building	1,846,605,000	1,728,891,000	+7
Heavy construction	1,345,033,000	1,790,133,000	+25
Total	5,103,750,000	4,322,641,000	+18
8 months' total	35,181,397,000	35,648,288,000	−4

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 2, 1967]

AUGUST'S ORDERS OF MACHINE TOOLS ROSE FROM JULY—STILL FURTHER IMPROVEMENT FOR SEPTEMBER IS NOTED BY A NUMBER OF COMPANIES—FEW SEE RETURN TO 1966 PACE

Machine-tool orders rose in August from the previous month and a number of builders note a further improvement in September. But few machine-tool executives think the gains signal a strong upturn that would carry orders back to the torrid 1966 pace.

Net new orders for metal-cutting machine tools in August rose to $105,950,000, highest for any 1967 month so far, from $88,250,000 in July, according to the National Machine Tool Builders' Association in Washington. However, orders lagged behind the $113,050,000 of August 1966.

Orders for metal-forming machine tools, a smaller category of machines including presses that shape metal through pressure instead of drilling, shaving or grinding as cutting tools do, declined in August to $14,000,000 from $18,100,000 in July and $24,650,000 in August 1966.

Total orders for both types of machines at $119,950,000 exceeded August shipments of $105,650,000, adding to the industry's backlog for the first time this pear. Most manufacturers came into 1967 with heavy backlogs as a result of unusually high orders in 1966, but reduced bookings through the first seven months of this year lowered the total.

Shipments of metal-cutting machine tools in August were $85,050,000, down from $96,150,000 in July and the lowest for any 1967 month, the association says. This chiefly reflects closedowns for vacation, both by machine-tool builders and their customers, rather than a significant trend. The August shipments exceeded the $80,950,000 of the comparable 1966 month.

The association estimates backlogs for metal-cutting machine tools at the end of August were at an average of 9.5 months production, up from 9.2 months at the end of July but about a month lower than the January order accumulation.

Shipments of metal-forming machines in August were $20,600,000, down from $21,200,000 in July and $26,700,000 in August of 1966.

MEANING OF SHIFTS

Machine-tool builders caution against reading too much significance into month-to-month shifts in orders. The August order figures don't indicate that U.S. industry is about to embark on a capital goods buying spree, they say.

Total machine-tool orders for the first eight months of this year, at $893,450,000, were down 31% from the abnormally high $1,286,150,000 a year earlier, they note.

But a survey of a dozen machine-tool builders, including many of the largest companies along with some smaller companies, shows that most believe the last four months of the year will be relatively good.

"Our orders have been holding about steady, with September about equal to August, which was a good month for us," says August R. Hayes, sales manager, Moline Tool Co., Moline, Ill. "Our backlog had been holding reasonably steady for a little over a year at about 11 months production but it's a little stronger now than a couple months ago."

Giddings & Lewis Machine Tool Co., Fond du Lac, Wis., also says September orders about equaled August and that bookings for both months were right on target with budget forecasts. This is an improvement from the first six months when orders lagged slightly behind forecasts, the company says.

Most companies say this improvement has come without significant help from the automotive industry. Neither the auto makers nor suppliers of parts have been ordering machine tools in large quantities in recent months, machine-tool executives say.

EXCEPTION TO PICKUP

"Our salesmen report an overall pickup in ordering and they're optimistic that the favorable trend will continue," says New Britain Machine Co., New Britain, Conn. "The one exception to that is automotive. We had expected some automotive business, but we just haven't been getting much."

"Automotive companies, supporting industries as well as the auto producers, just haven't been ordering in the last three months the way they did earlier," agrees Robert D. Lawson, vice president and general manager of Norton Co.'s machine-tool division. The Worcester, Mass., maker of grinding machines had expected a pickup in automotive business by September, "but it hasn't occurred," he says.

For machine-tool companies heavily dependent on that industry, this slowness in auto ordering has severely reduced business. Several executives say this is one major reason why domestic orders for metal-forming machines in the first eight months of 1967 were down 46.7% from a year earlier, compared with a 28.1% drop in domestic orders for metal-cutting machine tools. They say the forming-machine end of the business is more heavily dependent on the auto industry.

"Business is lousy," says one maker of metal-forming presses that normally sells heavily to the auto industry. "The dropoff began about the first of the year and really tailed off about in May. As a result, our backlog is down to five months production, while a year ago we had a 16-month backlog."

Machine-tool builders say the Ford strike may be a factor in lower automotive ordering, but that it isn't the major one. The slide in auto tool buying began well before the strike, the companies say, and automotive manufacturers usually base their machine tool ordering on longer range considerations.

COMPARATIVE NEW ORDERS

METAL-CUTTING MACHINES

	1967		August 1966
	August	July	
Domestic	$96,750,000	$77,900,000	$107,100,000
Foreign	9,200,000	10,350,000	5,950,000
Total	105,950,000	88,250,000	113,050,000

Note: 8-month total for 1967, $761,550,000; 8-month total for 1966, $1,048,950,000.

METAL-FORMING MACHINES

	1967		August 1966
	August	July	
Domestic	$13,400,000	$13,600,000	$22,700,000
Foreign	600,000	4,500,000	1,950,000
Total	14,000,000	18,100,000	24,650,000

Note: 8-month total for 1967, $131.900,000; 8-month total for 1966, $237,200,000.

COMPARATIVE SHIPMENT FIGURES

METAL-CUTTING MACHINES

	1967		August 1966
	August	July	
Domestic	$76,300,000	$88,800,000	$74,400,000
Foreign	8,750,000	7,350,000	6,550,000
Total	85,050,000	96,150,000	80,950,000

Note: 8-month total for 1967, $816,000,000; 8-month total for 1966, $715,800,000.

METAL-FORMING MACHINES

	1967		August 1966
	August	July	
Domestic	$17,650,000	$18,700,000	$24,400,000
Foreign	2,950,000	2,500,000	2,300,000
Total	20,600,000	21,200,000	26,700,000

Note: 8-month total for 1967, $218,250,000; 8-month total for 1966, $217,900,000.

VIETNAM'S ARMY: "INEFFICIENT, SLOVENLY, AND LAZY"

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, we are told that the war in Vietnam is going well, that we are making progress. Certainly we are making progress in the sense of progressing deeper and deeper into dangerous and difficult situations—as witness the plight of our Marines at Con Thien, and at Gio Linh.

But as our casualties go up, do the Vietnamese losses likewise rise? The answer is "No." We are doing exactly what we were told 3 years ago would not happen—we are fighting the war that Asians should be fighting for themselves. When they will not do it, we do it for them The plain fact is, they all too often will not, so we are increasingly doing it instead. The facts are made clear in a recent article by Wesley Pruden, Jr., writing from Saigon for the National Observer. He cites incidents and circumstances in proof of the fact that, in his words:

> The Vietnamese army is the No. 1 scandal of the war, and it is the No. 1 failure of the U.S. military.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article, from the September 25 issue of the National Observer, may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INEFFICIENT, SLOVENLY, AND LAZY—THE TROUBLED ARMY OF SOUTH VIETNAM

SAIGON.—The colonel was on his way back to the base, his day's work finished. He and his Cessna O-1 "Bird Dog," the busy little single-engine observation plane, were all alone in the bright-blue sky.

"I was down on the deck," the colonel recalled later, "just plain having fun with flying, for a change, I'd fly up to a hill, then hump over it, and down the valley to the next hill. I was on my way home and there wasn't any hurry.

"Just then, I came over the top of the hill, and spread out in front of me was one of the longest, cleanest beaches in the world. I couldn't believe what I saw in front of me: a string of boats, beaching themselves, and men spilling out of them. These weren't landing barges, and I knew they weren't ours.

"'Hell,' I said, 'this is a Viet Cong landing party, and what a piece of luck this is.'" With his voice almost trembling with the excitement of his rare good luck, the colonel quickly put the message to his radio center, carefully making the navigational fixes and sending the exact co-ordinates of latitude and longitude.

TEMPTED TO STAY AROUND

"I knew we had people [troops] in the area, and I had flown over an Arvin [Army of South Vietnam] base camp a few minutes before, so I was tempted to stay around for the action. I knew it wouldn't be long before all hell would break loose.

"I could hardy wait to get to the base to get a report on the landing party. There were maybe 300 or so of them, and I knew they would have been zapped [shot up] by the time I got back to the base. I jumped out of my plane and almost ran to the [co-ordination center] to see what had happened.

"The sergeant on duty wasn't at all excited. Yeah, he had got my message. Yeah, he had passed the word on. The word finally was sent over to the local Arvin commander, like the plan says. I knew all that. I wanted to know what the Arvins had done with it. Nobody had ever given them sitting ducks like this one, and I knew that even the Arvins couldn't goof something like this.

"That was before I knew the Arvins as well as I do now. The Arvin commander had got the message all right. But he said he had another operation planned and he couldn't afford to change his plans."

And what happened to the landing party? "They came ashore unopposed, and for all I know they're still sitting down there on the beach."

THE NO. 1 SCANDAL

This was months ago: the colonel is retired and no longer in uniform, but it is typical of a story that is repeated frequently. Collecting tales about the incredible inefficiency, slovenliness, and laziness of South Vietnam's army is perhaps the easiest work in all of the country. The army is the No. 1 scandal of the war, and it is the No. 1 failure of the American military command here.

U.S. officials insist the Vietnamese army isn't all bad; they cite the Vietnamese rangers and marines as specific examples of units that have performed well, often remarkably well, under heavy fire and intense pressure. "When he has good leadership, the Vietnamese soldier will fight as well as anybody's soldier," says an American officer.

Yet, hardly anyone disputes the evidence that the good units are the rare exception. Even the Vietnamese concede that much of their army is not as good as it ought to be. No less an authority than Gen. Cao Van Vien, the chief of the Vietnamese joint staff, concedes it. He not long ago cited his 25th Division as not only the worst in the Vietnamese army, but probably the worst in the world.

Last week, the new president-elect, Nguyen Van Thieu, boldly cashiered four of his most powerful colleagues—including three who were or recently had been connected with the training program. It was, Americans here hoped, the beginning of General Thieu's promised shake-up and clean-up of his army. But it is much too soon to say so.

Those fired (or forcibly "retired") include Maj. Gen. Ton That Xung, the former commander of the national military academy at Dalat; Maj. Gen. Bui Huu Nhon, commander of the Thu Duc Military Training Center; and Brig. Gen. Nguyen Thanh, who until recently commanded the army's military-training program.

If President-elect Thieu keeps his promise, others will be forcibly "retired" as well. Just before the Sept. 3 election, General Thieu said he might eventually get rid of as many as 50 top-ranking worthless (and worse) officers.

The National Leadership Council, the ruling military junta, has been pressed for months to replace corrupt and ineffective generals, but it is not yet clear how many of them General Thieu can rid himself of. The first to go were dispatched on election eve, but the public charges against them hinted that their chief crime was the support of a rival presidential slate.

The officers dismissed last week were accused, vaguely, of several things, including helping themselves to bribes and acquisition of government-owned land. They probably won't be brought before a civil court, but will instead be required to answer questions of a special military disciplinary council.

But even if President-elect Thieu succeeds in getting rid of all the deadwood (which isn't likely), the Army of Vietnam will still have problems. Hard-nosed, honest combat leadership can't be found overnight and unless the entire approach to army organization is changed the officer is not likely to improve much, if at all.

Despite years of U.S. training, the Vietnamese army is woefully timid. Commanders rarely will commit their troops unless they are certain—the word here is certain, not confident—they can whip the enemy. Often, a Vietnamese commander won't even go to the aid of a neighboring outfit under attack if he thinks his own unit will get cut up in the rescue attempt. The fighting day stops promptly at nightfall.

THE THREAT AFTER DARK

The Arvin commander frets most of all about a night attack, because he knows the Communist Viet Cong are masters of stealth and speed once the land is enveloped by the brooding jungle night. If an Arvin outpost is attacked after dark, the reaction—usually by helicopter gunships—is left for the Americans.

"This is awfully frustrating," a grimy U.S. lieutenant remarked the other day, as he unrolled a map inside his tent east of Saigon, "but I can understand it. The Arvin commander figures the war might be a long one, and if he loses his troops he won't get any more, so he doesn't want to risk losing the ones he has." Understandable, but it means that the commander isn't likely to do much more than lose his men piecemeal, over a period of years rather than months.

The commander might or might not know very much about military tactics. The chances are his aptitudes for soldiering had little to do with how he got his job in the first place. His essential qualification was the attaining of a French-style second baccalaureate, or university degree, and this limits the officer corps to the wealthy.

Even more important than wealth in Vietnam is the family tie, and once the officer gets his commission, he is likely to count more on his cousins and uncles than skill and valor to get his promotions. There is no such thing as time-in-grade promotions; the lieutenant may wait 3 years, or 13 years, to get the golden insignia of the *daiwe*, or captain.

POOR PAY SCALE

Pay is miserable, for both officer and soldier alike. The average infantryman makes the equivalent of about $15 a month, the average captain a bare $25. To this, the government adds a monthly rice ration and housing; officers take their families with them even to the remotest back-country outposts.

But what the Arvins need most of all is discipline. If Thieu can accomplish this, the improvement will be, by comparison with the present, vast. Desertion has not often meant anything more than a mild reprimand, if that; desertion in an American army in wartime can mean the firing squad. No wonder, then, that the desertion rate has been astronomical. Last year, more than 130,000 Vietnamese soldiers strayed away (though many returned later or joined other units closer to their homes).

Discipline in the ranks of the Viet Cong seems, on the other hand, almost miraculous. They are, after all, Vietnamese too. This dedication to Communist duty is too often taken, by critics of the Saigon army, as heartfelt devotion to a cause. It is hardly that. Captured Viet Cong, as well as captured Communist memoranda, have made it clear that Charlie fights because if he doesn't, he can count on getting shot in the back by his own people. Arvin, until now, has been able to run either way with little worry about the consequences.

Neither the officer nor the soldier has a military tradition to fall back on. The Vietnamese army dates only from 1949, when Bao Dai was recognized as chief of state, under the French union.

AN INCREDIBLE COLLECTION

Le Garde du Sud Viet-Nam, about 20,000 men, was then a part of the 150,000-man French army fighting the old Communist-led Viet Minh. The armed forces were an incredible ragbag of Frenchmen, Germans (veterans of Hitler's armies), Moroccans, Senegalese, and the Dutch. *Le Garde du Sud Veit-Nam* was officered exclusively by Frenchmen, who rarely hid their contempt for *les jaunes*—"the yellow." To the French, the color of Vietnamese skin was the same as the color of the Vietnamese spirit.

The first U.S. military aid to the Vietnamese began the next year, when the United States and France signed a mutual defense treaty for all of French Indochina, which then included both Vietnams, Laos, and Cambodia. This pact was signed two days before Christmas 1950, and a small group of American advisers went to Saigon to set up "the shop."

By 1954, the year of Dienbienphu, "the shop" had grown to 200, commanded by Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel. General O'Daniel came to Saigon, he said later, "to try to get a little bit of a voice in the training of the Vietnamese troops." The Vietnamese, of course, were still under the French. Though many of them left after the Geneva convention later in 1954, the last French officer didn't leave the Vietnamese army until 1956.

It was about this time that the first of the Vietnamese officers were appointed to military schools in the United States. The first officers accepted went to infantry school at Fort Benning; later, senior officers were admitted to the U.S. Army Command and Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

Few of these officers are still in uniform; most are now past the retirement age. But all through the late 1950s, the size of the army grew. By 1961, it had increased to 200,000 men; by mid-1964, a year before the big U.S. build-up, it had reached 275,000 regulars.

NO U.S. COMBAT TROOPS

In these early days, there were no U.S. combat troops; all were advisers. When the Geneva agreements were signed in 1954, under which both Vietnams were to be kept free from a military build-up, the American advisory force was kept to a level of 342 officers and men. Nearly all of them lived here in Saigon. At the end of 1960, form was still being observed: When Washington and Saigon wanted to double the size of the Military Assistance Group-Indochina, they sought (and won) the approval of the Internation Control Commission, which then (as it does now, for the record) policed the Geneva accords.

But by 1961, it was clear that neither Hanoi nor Saigon intended to maintain a placid little country. At the invitation of President Ngo Dinh Diem, the U.S. advisory force was increased to 4,000 men. By January 1965, it had reached 15,000. In February of 1965, the first U.S. combat troops arrived.

In Diem's last days, the army was not doing badly. Diem was very much the political boss, and the generals were told to run the war while Diem ran the government. It was after a succession of coups, following the murder of Diem, that the top leadership of the army degenerated. By one recent reckoning, only 2 of the 44 generals on active duty in the last days of Diem are still in uniform today.

CONFUSING TURNOVER

Some of the 42 general officers who have left the service have not, of course, left much of a void behind them. But this incredible rate of turnover is a striking illustration of the unrest and confusion that has made the Army of Vietnam the unreliable "fighting force" that it is today.

Confusion dogs the system from bottom to top. Only the rich become officers, only the poor become soldiers, goes the slick Saigon saying. It often seems so. Stories abound of the selling of draft deferments.

From this pool and others, South Vietnam is committed to raise another 60,000 troops. This would bring its combined total to nearly 700,000. About half are regulars and the rest are the home-guard Popular Forces and the militialike Regional Forces. It's an impressive enough figure for a nation with a population of 16,000,000.

But until someone devises a way to make them into something more than a ragtag army of chicken thieves (Viet Cong commanders occasionally shoot their men for unauthorized "requisitioning" of villagers' chickens and pigs), the numbers that seem impressive on paper won't mean anything.

THE TEMPORARY SOLUTION

The natural temptation here is to shove the Arvins further into the background; U.S. troops are, after all, reliable and willing, even eager, to go after the enemy. This is hardly a permanent solution. Many Vietnamese are beginning to resent this, even though they understand why. Several civilian candidates struck a common plaint when they accused the generals of turning the war over to alien armies.

This feeling would be aggravated, many U.S. observers here believe, if, as some suggest, all military forces were put under a single, unified command. This was done in Korea, and a miserably inept Korean army was slowly transformed to the army that is fighting with distinction in South Vietnam today.

There are several important differences between this war and that one, however. Since troops were sent to Korea by the United Nations, a unified command was all but mandatory. And since most of the troops (as well as the money and equipment) was supplied by the United States, it was all but mandatory that an American general be named as the commander.

The most important difference is that the war in Vietnam is a guerrilla war, the Korean war was not. The Communists never let up in the propaganda that the United States seeks only to replace the French as the colonial master of Vietnam.

Thus, putting the Arvins under U.S. command and discipline, however effective it might be, could very well turn out to be the greatest blunder of all. To the sensitive Vietnamese, their army would seem to be nothing more than another *Le Garde du Sud Viet-Nam,* this time part of the U.S. Army.

Some success has been achieved by integrating certain Arvin units with American units at the company level, with joint U.S.-Vietnamese command. This has been done by the Marines near the Demilitarized Zone, by the 1st Cavalry (Airmobile) Division in the central highlands, and, most recently, by the 199th Light Infantry Brigade in Gia Dinh province, near Saigon. The idea is to tighten up discipline in these selected Arvin units, teach them effective fighting methods, and turn them back to their old units—and hope it catches on.

SOME ARVINS ARE EXPERTS

Some Americans are pleased with the results and contend that unification often has immediate benefits to the American units too. "When I'm point man on patrol," Pfc. Barrie E. Idom of Newport Beach, Calif., said the other day, "I'm glad my Arvin buddy is along. He can spot booby traps I'd never see. 'Charlie' is pretty good at setting booby traps. You can't see the wires; you have to spot the trap, and these Arvin soldiers are experts at that."

Sgt. Stephen Mulry of Long Beach, Calif., a squad leader, lights a cigaret and talks about the problems of joint command of the two squads with a Vietnamese noncom who speaks as little English as Sergeant Mulry does Vietnamese.

"I issue my orders and my counterpart issues his," Sergeant Mulry says. "Before every operation, we have a detailed planning session to prepare for any situation which may occur. Of course, if something develops that we didn't cover, we have to play it by ear. I remember once when we were forced to change our ambush site at the last minute. I pointed to a spot on the map and my counterpart shook his head and pointed out another one.

"Sure enough, we bagged two Charlies at his site. We may not speak the same language, but we're both soldiers and our military language is universal."

AN URGENT NEED

The experience of the 199th Light Infantry Brigade does, in fact, support the common view here that the Arvin soldier would be a good one if he had good officers and good training. To get this, the entire structure of the Army of South Vietnam will have to be turned upside down. It must be done soon.

General Thieu has promised to do this, and perhaps he will. But it is not likely to happen unless American pressure is applied. "There is lots to do," a U.S. officer remarked wearily. "There is pride to wound, and toes to step on, and if it comes to it, seats of pants to kick."

It will be difficult, because the generals do not like to be pushed, and it may take the kind of pushing that the United States has never liked to do here. The alternative is even less attractive, and it is a very, very expensive alternative.

—Wesley Pruden, Jr.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RELEASES TANKERS TO CARRY NO. 2 FUEL OIL TO EAST COAST

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have been concerned with recent reports indicating that a tight supply situation is developing in New York and in other east coast States that could result in higher prices for millions of consumers for No. 2 household heating fuel oil.

Inasmuch as it appears that the principal reason for the current shortage is an insufficient supply of U.S.-flag tankers, on September 20 I wrote Secretary McNamara requesting that to the maximum feasible extent the Department of Defense release U.S.-flag tankers it uses so that they could be used to transport this fuel from the gulf coast to New York and other east coast ports.

Today I received a reply from the Department of Defense. In that letter I am informed that the No. 2 fuel oil situation on the east coast is improving. As one of the factors the Department of Defense reply cites the "recent" return to the commercial trade of four U.S.-flag vessels chartered by the Department of Defense. It also indicates that five more such vessels are scheduled to return to this trade by November 15, 1967. This is good news.

So that the public record may be complete on this matter I ask unanimous consent that my letter to Secretary McNamara and the Department of Defense's reply of September 29 I received today be printed in the Record at this point.

While the No. 2 fuel oil situation may be improving—and the relief provided by the Oil Imports Appeals Board on September 27 by granting import quotas to several east coast No. 2 fuel oil suppliers has contributed importantly to that—the winter season itself will determine whether the supplies are adequate and this situation bears therefore constant watching. I assure the Senate that I will do so and I urge that all interested Senators do the same.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

September 20, 1967.

Hon. Robert S. McNamara,
Secretary of Defense,
The Pentagon,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary McNamara: There is a tight supply situation developing on the East Coast that could result in sizable price increases to consumers of #2 Fuel Oil (household heating fuel). Since this product is used by millions of householders in New York and in other states on the East Coast, the added burden in the cost of living would be widespread.

I am informed that the main reason for this shortage is insufficient supply of U.S. flag tankers. The prime source of supply of #2 Fuel Oil is in the U.S. Gulf area and the movement up to the East Coast is intercoastal trade and therefore U.S. flag vessels must be used.

Due to increased national security requirements in connection with the war in Viet Nam, the return of much procurement of fuel to domestic sources to lessen the dollar outflow and to improve our balance of payments, and more recently due to the Middle East crisis, the Department of Defense chartered every available U.S. flag vessel earlier this year. While some of the above factors still are in effect, with the availability of petroleum products in the Persian Gulf now returned to normal, I urge you to release U.S. flag vessels to be used in the East Coast trade. This move will not only continue to keep these vessels in operation and assist our domestic producers and marketers, but it will also very materially help the East Coast consumer by relieving the critical supply position that currently exists.

Other moves to bring relief to the East Coast may be necessary, such as the easing of oil import quotas, especially if we have an unusually hard winter, but meanwhile you could very materially help relieve the present crisis.

With best regards,
Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits.

Assistant Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C., September 29, 1967.

Hon. Jacob K. Javits,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Javits: This is in reply to your letter to Secretary McNamara of September 20, 1967, in which you requested the Department of Defense to release U.S. flag vessels for use in the East Coast trade.

We are aware of the supply situation on the East Coast and have had discussions with the Department of the Interior on this subject, including the possibility of our releasing additional U.S. flag vessels.

The Department of the Interior has advised us recently however, that the No. 2 fuel oil situation on the East Coast is improving. Factors contributing to the improvement are: (1) an increase in distillate fuel oil stocks on the East Coast; (2) the recent relaxation on No. 4 fuel oil imports; (3) the opening of the Trans-Arabian pipeline on September 15, 1967; (4) the decisions of the Oil Imports Appeals Board on 27 September 1967 granting import quotas to several East Coast No. 2 fuel oil suppliers; and (5) the recent return to the commercial trade of four DoD chartered U.S. flag vessels, with five more scheduled for return by November 15, 1967.

Despite the fact that the Department of Defense is also finding it difficult to meet tanker requirements under present conditions and the fact that we also are governed by public laws (Title 10, US Code, Sec. 2631 and Title 46, US Code, Sec. 1241(b)) on the use of U.S. flag vessels, everything possible will be done to assist the Department of the Interior and other governmental agencies to avoid a critical heating oil shortage on the East Coast.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Riley,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Services).

PANAMA CANAL CONTROL AND MODERNIZATION: VIEWS OF EMINENT CONSTRUCTION ERA ENGINEER

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, when first undertaking the serious study of interoceanic canal problems and Panama Canal history, the voluminous writings on them appeared overwhelming. But gradually, as knowledge was gained, the subject came into focus, and what at first seemed to be an insuperable task proved relatively easy when it was reduced to its simplest elements.

In the course of my examination of many contributions to canal literature, past and current, I have noticed a vast difference in quality between those composed by casual writers and self-serving propagandists, as compared to matter produced by persons with responsible experience in the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, or protection of the canal, and who have lived in the Canal Zone or in Panama. The latter group knows the problems of the isthmus at first hand and cannot be misled by fallacious arguments, however plausibly expressed. The latest significant contribution is an article by Dr. Richard H. Whitehead of Laconia, N.H., recently published in the Manchester, N.H., Union Leader. This newspaper is published by William Loeb, son of the former secretary to President Theodore Roosevelt.

Dr. Whitehead, as a young electrical engineer, served in the Canal Zone during 1912–16 and became the first superintendent of the Pacific Locks in the permanent operating organization. After leaving Canal employment, his career was distinguished in both industry and public service. Thus, when discussing such crucial questions as sovereignty over the Canal Zone and management of the Canal enterprise, he speaks with the background of successful experience and with only one view in mind—the best interests of the United States and world commerce, as well as of Panama.

Significantly, Dr. Whitehead strongly opposes the long-planned surrender of U.S. sovereignty over the U.S.-owned Canal Zone territory to Panama, the establishment of a joint United States-Panama management over the canal, and the construction of a new canal of so-called sea level design, all of which are provided for in the proposed new canal treaties.

For increased canal capacity, Dr. Whitehead urges the modernization of the existing high-level lake and lock-type canal by the simple and relatively inexpensive means of constructing additional locks, emphasizing that water supply is no problem, as water can be pumped at low cost. He also suggests the construction of a Nicaragua Canal, with locks of the same size as those for the St. Lawrence Seaway—800 feet by 80 feet by 31 feet—as a self-liquidating venture, a proposal that I shall not comment upon at this time.

In connection with the needed increase of capacity and operational improvements of the existing Panama Canal which has lock dimensions of 1,000 feet by 110 feet by 41 feet, Mr. President, I would invite the special attention of the Senate to the fact that canal marine operations were the subject of meticulous studies in the Panama Canal organization during World War II. As a result of these studies, there was developed a plan that, in addition to providing for a set of larger locks, called for the elimination of the Pedro Miguel Locks, the consolidation of all Pacific Locks south of Miraflores, the formation of a summit lake traffic reservoir in the Pacific sector to correspond with the lock plan at Gatun, and the raising of the summit water level from its present maximum of 87 feet to 92 feet.

This plan was recommended to the Secretary of War by Gov. Glen E. Edgerton in 1944 for thorough investigation and was approved in principle by Gov. J. C. Mehaffey on November 15, 1945, during executive hearings before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries as the preferred plan for the major increase of capacity of the existing canal. The original third locks project, which would be modified, was authorized in 1939 at a total cost not to exceed $277,000,000; and some $75,000,000 was expended on it before work was suspended in 1942, including lock site excavations at Gatun and Miraflores that could be used in improvement today.

The proposed modifications for the original project, known as the terminal lake-third lock plan, would include provision for one set of larger locks—1,200 feet by 140 feet by 50 feet—and greatly improve canal operations. Because of these advantages, it won the support of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and of his successor, James Forrestal, and was approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a postwar project.

Also, Mr. President, I would invite attention to the point that the total investments of the United States in the Panama Canal, including defense, from 1904 through June 30, 1966, was $4,889,051,000, and that Dr. Whitehead's reference to $1.9 billion is evidently exclusive of the defense costs.

In order that Dr. Whitehead's illuminating paper may be easily available to Senators, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY WE SHOULD KEEP FULL CONTROL OF THE PANAMA CANAL AND NOT GIVE UP OUR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TO THE CANAL ZONE

(By Dr. Richard H. Whitehead)

Over five weeks ago I received copies of the Proposed New Treaty from Panama under which we are to give up our sovereign rights to the Canal Zone, abolish the Panama Canal Company, set up a dual operating authority, greatly increase the annual payment to Panama by raising canal tolls, and give all canal property in the Zone not used by the canal to Panama, all in the expectation of our building a Sea Level Canal elsewhere. The Treaty would give the present canal eventually to Panama without payment of any kind on their part. The proposed treaty was published in all Panama newspapers. The new treaties not only abrogate the 1903 Treaty, under which we took the gamble of building the present canal, but also all other treaties including the Treaty of 1936. Under this 1936 Treaty, a so-called treaty of friendship and mutual accord, *our sovereign rights were reaffirmed*, thus disposing of that old canard that we have our position in Panama by force and the imposing of our will on a reluctant people.

The American People have been kept ignorant of these treaties and brainwashed by a steady barrage from government sources aimed to minimize the importance of the present canal to our economy. This notwithstanding the fact that 70% of the cargo transiting the canal originates in or is landed in U.S.A. ports. Even the effect of increasing tolls to give a greater take to Panama will have serious repercussions. For instance, we now are exporting a heavy tonnage of coal mined in the U.S.A. through the canal to Japan. This coal is carried to port by the Norfolk and Western Railroad. Only the present low tolls through the Canal make it competitive to other world sources. The Treaty therefore provides not only for eventually *giving away* the canal but also meanwhile raising the cost of living in the U.S.A. by increasing costs of our imports and exports. It will also, as in the case of our exports of coal, put a lot of Americans out of jobs.

In Panama there is a University with a dominant far leftist group that plan and promote the troubles we encounter in Panama that is independent of government. This University is the protected sanctuary from where all the riots start in Panama, that destroy Canal property and lives, and make it unsafe for an American Canal employee to cross the street from the Zone into Panama. The Panama authorities let them riot, kill, and burn and then blame it all on us. There will always be trouble in Panama as long as the government of Panama is unable under their laws to restrain the leftists in their University.

Besides the riots that have burned and destroyed property and lives in the Zone, Panama has had frequent armed insurrections of its own as attested by the bullet marks in the walls of the National Palace. Recently there was an invasion planned from within. In 1936 we revised our treaty and gave up our right to maintain law and order in Panama. Without our military presence with such an unstable government, the safety of the Canal would be most problematical. The only power that maintains order in Panama is their police force. Their former Chief, who became President, was assassinated by opposite political forces who were never punished a few years ago.

Every step we have taken to help Panama, every concession made by us, has simply resulted not only in a lack of appreciation but increased demands. The organized leftwing group in the University hate us and there is nothing we can do about it. When we built the new Thatcher Ferry Bridge at a cost of $26,000,000 for the sole benefit of Panama did we get thanks? No. We had another riot. In 1964 we couldn't even have a pleasant commemoration event to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Canal.

The U.S.A. has invested 1.9 billion in the Canal [in addition to defense costs.] On the balance sheet of the Panama Canal only 350 million has been capitalized. Countless millions have gone by gifts and grants to Panama in property, public roads, water supplies, sanitation, education, and into many other channels for their well-being. In the fiscal survey of Panama, "Report of the Fiscal Mission of the Organization of American States, Etc., 1964", the opening paragraph states: "*Panama has been inaptly referred to as a small poor country*. The country is small, with a population of only 1,100,000, but compared to countries in Latin America . . . Panama is relatively well off. Panama has the fifth highest per capita income among nineteen Latin American states." In considering our relations with Panama we must bear in mind that there is no great middle class.

There are twenty or so wealthy families, a small middle class, and a large part of the population live in the interior in what we would consider a primitive state. What we are up against in Panama are the ruling families and their *uneasy relationship* with a leftist-oriented University. There is no possible solution by us to a peaceful and lasting settlement to our Canal problems with Panama. Every concession simply hastens the day and probability of giving up the Canal to our shame and future regret. If what we have already done for Panama hasn't produced an atmosphere of mutual friendship and trust, nothing ever will. There is no way of having the Panama University friendly to the American people. Here is a basic conflict that can only be held in check by our determination to assert our rights. It is part of the cold war. Revolutions are common in Panama. With 20 political parties, no great stabilizing middle class, a few wealthy ruling families, and a leftist University ready to stir up trouble, our giving up any control of our life-line Canal is unthinkable. The future interest of Panama itself would logically be best served by our standing by our present rights. This does not mean, however, that we should not increase canal payments to Panama and help continue to develop their economy. The removal of our military arm is just inviting more trouble.

What would happen to the present Canal if the Senate approves this give-away treaty? My answer, and I organized the operating force on the Pacific side, is that *the safety of the canal would be jeopardized by dual operation*. I know many simple ways that sabotage could wreck the Canal. Such sabotage is likely when sensitive positions are filled under the proposed treaty by unscreened graduates from the Panama University under a dual control of the Canal.

In spite of all the facts given, which should be known to our State Department, the proposed treaty is being carefully pushed through an unsuspecting Senate. The strategy is transparent to one who is cognizant of the facts leading up to its proposed presentation.

First the Army Engineers claim the Canal is obsolete, that the locks should be eliminated, and the Canal changed to a sea level canal. This implies that such a sea level canal would be free from locks. They suggest also a sea level canal may be built to replace the present Canal elsewhere and that when this is done the present Canal will be obsolete entirely. Therefore, they reason we might as well get rid of it and give it to Panama. Then the Army and the State Department collaborated and had Congress pass a bill with an initial appropriation of $17,500,000 to study the situation. But the commission appointed *is limited to a study of a sea level canal*. The problem of tides is discussed by the proponents of the legislation but lightly passed over. After three years the commission finds that the tidal currents in a sea level canal would make its transit hazardous and states that "tidal navigational devices will be required". What are these tidal navigational devices? They don't state, but I can tell you in simple language, *they are tidal locks*.

I can easily prove that they will be more complicated than the present locks. Why? Because a ship from the Pacific entering the tidal locks must be locked either up or down to enter the Canal. Thus depending on whether it is high or low tide in this *so-called sea level canal* there still remains the locks they would like to eliminate, but the locks required are more complicated. The problem of caring for the flood waters from tropical rainfall, whose natural route to the sea is through the line of a canal, still remains. These flood waters reach in the present Canal 350,000 cubic feet per second. A sea level canal costs billions more than a high level canal that works with and harmonizes with the forces of nature like our Panama Canal at present. Both Stevens and Goethals, who built the present Canal, emphatically stated they would prefer a high level canal that tames the Chagres, to a sea level canal even at the same cost. We have currents of over 5 knots in the Cape Cod Canal with 12 foot tides. At the entrance to the Panama Canal tides reach 22 feet. These tides, with out tidal locks, will produce tidal currents of 7 to 8 knots. This would make navigation in a narrow waterway of say 600 foot width for large ships hazardous and impractical.

The commission study of a sea level canal is a red herring to distract the attention of the American people from realizing how important the present Canal is to us. The limiting factors in the present Canal are its depth of 40 feet, the limited size of its locks of 110 feet, and the width of Culebra Cut of 300 to 500 feet. Water supply is no problem as pumped storage, a device used by many utility companies, can inexpensively care for any seasonal shortage.

The Army, contrary to popular belief, *did not build* the Panama Canal. That was a historic *civilian* achievement of the American People. The Army, 20 years ago, made a study of converting the present canal into a sea level canal and delayed the installation of larger locks on which we have already spent in excavation over $50,000,000—locks that are badly needed now. Their estimate for converting an inadequate sea level canal to care for the larger ships built since was nearly 2½ billion dollars. The study was rightly shelved by a previous administration and never reached Congress or the public. I believe that when all the chips are down, this is still their objective and they are the agent for the commission. It will never be done, but if such an objective could be achieved the Army could say *We built the Panama Canal.* It is interesting to note since the Army made its study the canal was threatened with closure by a rock mass breaking away from Contractors Hill in Culebra Cut. Only prompt action and months of work removed the moving mountain slab of rock that had broken away. What would have happened if the canal had been 100 feet deeper through the Continental Divide as they propose?

When the 300 foot width to Culebra Cut was decided on, the estimates for excavation were increased to 195,000,000 cubic yards. Before we reached the 40 foot depth in the Cut, we had taken out 325,000,000 cubic yards. To date we have removed over 700,000,000 cubic yards and the slides *are still in motion.* It will take us 4½ more years to widen Culebra Cut from 300 to 500 feet. For every ship that has gone through the Canal we Americans have excavated over two thousand cubic yards of material, and we are still digging.

They talk of using atomic energy to remove dirt and rock and illustrate the effect of its use by showing a hole in the dry desert of Nevada from a single blast 350 feet deep. In the tropics the rainfall would change the material on the slopes to *sliding mud* and fill up the hole made by the blast. The so-called new science of soil mechanics will quickly realize that atomic energy will at the same time it blasts a hole in the ground, also weaken the adjacent supporting structure, with the probability of starting slides like Culebra and Cucuracha of the Panama Canal. So estimates on costs based on use of atomic energy are very problematical; the Army estimates of excavation made initially for the Panama Canal were far off in left field, and the estimates for costs of a sea level canal are subject to the same unreliable guesswork.

The answer to the Panama Canal problem is a simple, relatively inexpensive one *that cannot be proposed by the commission* under the present limiting sea level legislation. It is simply to *keep control of the present Panama Canal,* deepen it, widen it, and add a set of larger locks. Then build a high level lock canal through Nicaragua for smaller ships using locks the same size as the St. Lawrence Seaway. Most of the engineering studies have been made and the cost factors are available. As the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway is recent, estimates of a similar canal through Nicaragua would be reliable. This canal would divert the smaller ships from Panama and shorten the distance from New Orleans to San Francisco by 360 miles. It would be a self-liquidating venture, costing about one-half billion. It would create the new wealth that a new line of communication always does. This canal could be a joint venture *under our control* with participation by the Central American States. Castro wouldn't like it because of its proximity to Cuba but started on the right basis it would help us and the Central American countries.

I would suggest if we do this that we insure establishing an educational system that will put our contributions in the proper light to the nations we work with. If we do not look ahead to our future relationships with the countries we are cooperating with the result will be as in the case of Panama. We will do wonderful things for others, spend vast sums to advance their economies, but instead of building lasting good will they will openly, as in the case of Panama, refer to the treaties they have entered into as "cursed treaties" and give no credit to us for the benefits they have received from our hands.

Having been in Government, I know partly how propaganda is set in motion by government agencies to promote a policy that is frequently not declared beforehand to the American public. The present aim is to promote the new treaty with which the American public is unfamiliar. The first step is *secret* negotiations, the past two years in the case of Panama. During this period future obstacles are cared for by brainwashing publicity. In the present case a red herring device of a sea level canal has been used and Congress has been prevailed on to pass legislation to study a sea level canal only *so that other sensible and more practical proposals* cannot even be discussed.

We are now in the final stage. Panama has known all about, and deliberated on, the proposed treaty for months. They are in—the American public is out. They know of the unlikelihood of a sea level canal ever being built and the great importance of the present canal. They also know that the vast majority of ships built recently that are too large to transit the Canal, will never use any canal and can operate only between a few places having sufficient depth to care for them. Many were built to avoid payment of tolls to the Suez Canal, a busier waterway than Panama, when Egypt lets it open. While the Panamanians are being informed fully we are kept in ignorance, except for the brainwashing propaganda that is given to us meanwhile.

Now we come to the final and present stage: The State Department knows if the American people have the opportunity of digesting all the facts that the Senate *will not likely approve* the proposed treaty, so they take the next step, just before releasing the treaty for Senate approval. This step has just been made in the Christian Monitor of August 29, 1967, in a brainwashing article from Panama entitled *"New Canal Treaties Stir Panama Politics"*. This article is a clever piece of propaganda. Here is how it ends:

> "The existence of a foreign colony supported by a massive military force in the heart of Panamanian territory, whether sanctioned by treaty or not, works as an irritant to Panama pride and nationalism". "Naturally Panamanians want control over the Zone and an end to military bases," *a student said.* "After all the definition of national sovereignty is to have political and economic control over national territory."

The article then concludes:

> "Under these circumstances *any delay* in signing of the treaties *or any revisions to the detriment of Panama,* could spark violent protests, a coup, or open revolution . . . that could be far more dangerous to United States interests than any of the concessions contained in the agreement."

Thus notice is served by those we have done so much for, and to whom we have made concession after concession and assisted in every conceivable way, that we had better not deliberate the merits of the proposed treaty, only sign it without regard to the equities in the situation which have cost the American taxpayer to date nearly two billions. We must not discuss the recent riots and what might have happened to the canal if we had had no protective military force. We must not remark that our past acts of generosity have only led to more trouble, dissatisfaction, and increased demands. It is plain that if the Senate passes this treaty that future historians of our great Nation will mark it as a great unwise step.

"Without wisdom", the Good Book says, "the people perish". May He grant our leaders not only wisdom but the courage to fight for the right. A shameful surrender of our heritage is being planned of which the public is almost unaware. If it succeeds it will be a major victory for world Communism in which the University of Panama has played a major part.

I, as one of the builders of the Canal, will feel that something precious has gone out of my life and that those of mine who follow are going to have fewer opportunities in the America of Tomorrow.

This I have prepared in beloved memory of Stevens and Goethals, who built the Canal and with whom I had a long-standing, intimate relationship.

SALUTE TO THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today the people of Guinea celebrate the eighth anniversary of their national independence. On October 2, 1958, Guinea became an independent republic, after it rejected the Constitution of the Fifth French Republic and the concept of the French community.

Since that time, Guinea has participated in many international organizations and been an active leader in regional African affairs. In general she pursues a course of nonalinement, avoiding binding commitments to major political-ideological blocs.

In 1962, it was my honor and pleasure to be in Guinea and meet with the capable President Sekou Toure and his Cabinet. They have faced many stimulating and frustrating challenges in seeking to develop the material and human resources of their nation and to fulfill the aspirations of their people.

Mr. President, it is my sincere wish, shared I am sure by many Americans, that our two nations enjoy friendly and fruitful relations based upon mutual respect. I join well-wishers throughout the world in saluting the people of Guinea as they celebrate their national independence.

"THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM"—A PASSAGE FROM THE BOOK BY JAMES BURHAM.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, recently I re-read a passage from "The Coming Defeat of Communism," by James Burham, which I consider so impressive and so pertinent to the situation in which we now find ourselves, that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the passage was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM

(By James Burham)

"Suppose that there are two contiguous ranches, of vast extent, located in frontier country where there was no police force and no functioning governmental authority. The two share a long fenced boundary which runs all along all kinds of terrain from flat meadows to cliffs and canyons. One of them, the X ranch, is much more the prosperous, with fat pureblood cattle, many fine buildings and corrals, and much first-class equipment. The other, the Y ranch, has poorer animals and inferior shoddy equipment and buildings. Both employ many hands.

The policy of the Y ranch is constant attrition. Every night, fences are cut and heads of X cattle driven over the line. Disguised Y employees are planted in the X working force, and in its management. They or their colleagues from across the line, frequently damage X equipment, dynamite barns, burn fodder, dismantle pumps and contaminate water holes. The infiltrated Y agents nurture discontent among the cowhands, and spread mythical stories about utopian conditions on the Y ranch. The Y agents in the X management give regular reports to the Y bosses, and manipulate contracts to favor Y interests. Every now and then, the Y ranch carries wider operations. Miles of fence are torn down, a new fence is put up around sections of heretofore X land, including all cattle, buildings, and men found there, and Y signs are posted.

Both managements know, in addition, that the complete Y plan is to take over the entire X property, after dynamiting the central buildings and shooting up most of the leading personnel.

The X management was trained in more settled parts of the country, where legal, rather than violent, methods were in practice. It counters the Y actions by hiring numerous lawyers and getting certified copies of its deeds and titles. It is disturbed about the fence cutting, and tries to develop repair crews to push each morning to the latest breaks. It strains its resources to try to put the fires out, save its fodder, repair the pumps, and test and decontaminate the waterholes. Occasionally it dismisses one of the more blatant Y agents around the property; but often the other agents, and those they have influenced, raise such a howl that the job, or another, is given back again. When parts of its land get absorbed by the shifted fence into the Y ranch, the X lawyers file formal protests. But the X management has always had a great respect for fences. It keeps its wirecutters in the storehouses (from which they are often stolen by the Y agents) even though the Y built fence is so slipshod that it could almost be pulled apart by hand.

The X lands shrink; its cattle diminish; its loyal employees lose confidence; its supplies are exhausted and its equipment deteriorates with the never-ending repair jobs, and the rushing about. The exhausted watchmen cannot properly guard the buildings and corrals and endless miles of fence. The Y management, well informed, observes guiding its own decisions and its own timing. The Y management is even, at times, a little puzzled. For it knows its own immense weakness compared to X. It knows most of its own men are dissatisfied, only waiting for a lead to go over to X. It knows that it has no firm title to any of its acres, and not even the counterfeit of a title to the lands which it now fences off; and that it would have to yield on one section after the other if the other X ranch merely walked in and asserted its rights. It knows that its whole operation, in spite of its bold front, is so shaky, functioning so badly, that it is in danger of toppling over at a single firm push. But the push doesn't come and the Y management concludes that it has been right all along in believing that there is an endemic disease, spread throughout the X organization, which paralyzes its power of decision."

NEW LEFT ATTEMPTS TO ENCOURAGE DESERTION FROM THE U.S. ARMY

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, from time to time short news accounts appear recording attempts by the new left student groups to encourage desertion by U.S. soldiers stationed abroad. Few of these articles have gone into much detail and depend mainly upon the assertions of sympathetic reporters and other biased information.

U.S. spokesmen have denied that desertions are increasing in any appreciable number.

However, I invite the attention of the Senate to a statement prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth Osth for broadcast over Radio Station WDIX, in Orangeburg, S.C. Over the years, Mrs. Osth has acquired a solid reputation as a researcher and analyst of Communist and Socialist activities. Her studies are meticulously drawn from the publications of the leftwing movements themselves. From her wide acquaintance with the personalities and intellectual trends in this area, she is able to present news and information which is generally overlooked in the Nation's press but is yet news of significance to our society.

She has now prepared a study which gives specific instances and accounts of what the new left is doing to encourage desertion. Whatever the success of this movement, it is clear that the new left is working very hard to achieve its goals. I would like to call these facts to the attention of my colleagues for further study and, in particular, to commend Mrs. Osth for her diligence in bringing them to light.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that her WDIX broadcast entitled "Left Wing Student Movement Here and Abroad" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEFTWING STUDENT MOVEMENT HERE AND ABROAD

When he was only 19 years of age Jeffrey Shero, then a University of Texas student, came to the attention of Congress by signing an ad in the *Herald Tribune* against being drafted to fight in Vietnam. By the time he was 20 he had been elected vice-president of the Students for a Democratic Society at its June 1965 convention. In 1966 his picture was published in the Communist publication called *Southern Patriot*, and during this past summer he made headlines in *New Left Notes*, official organ of the SDS, because of his presence in the Soviet Union as a delegate to the "international youth meeting to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution."

New Left Notes for August 21, 1967, called Shero, "Our Man in Moscow," and published his article including the fact that he told Cuban delegates that "SDS" thought the war against South-East Asia was a logical extension of the American political economy, and that we understood that American troops would be fighting more wars in our economic colonies in the near future." He said, "we (meaning the SDS) were prepared actively to oppose these campaigns, while building a movement whose goal was the building of a new society."

Shero stated that the value of the conference lay in the hundreds of conversations with delegates from throughout the world. All the Americans present met with the entire Vietnamese delegation and Shero himself had long conversations with a North Vietnamese editor and the leader of the delegation from the National Liberation Front. These Communists expressed their appreciation for the anti-war movement in the U.S.

Most dangerous perhaps is the fact that the National Liberation Front leader wanted information on the SDS and SNCC programs of draft resistance and desertion. It seems John Tillman of SNCC was present with Shero and didn't hesitate to make SNCC facts known to the Red leader. According to Shero's report, "Phoung said that some black soldiers have deserted to the (National Liberation) Front." He said, "the Front has special leaflets for Negro soldiers talking about conditions in the United States and asking why they come to Vietnam to help kill and oppress the Vietnamese people." This propaganda is prepared by Frenchmen who deserted in the last war. To prove these desertions Phoung said he would attempt in the future to communicate specific names and addresses of soldiers who had deserted.

That event, in itself, ought to cause Congress to overrule the Supreme Court or any agency of the executive branch of this government, so that travel abroad by such radicals can be prohibited in time of war, declared or undeclared. Here we have an open statement by an SDS leader that he has connived with the enemy we fight in Vietnam—connived with him in the bosom of the enemy in Moscow which finances the Vietcong. Imagine the boon to the leftwing movement here if they can obtain names of deserters and at the same time constantly flit back and forth from here to Hanoi as couriers.

Shero wrote that the European New Left and Old Left was well represented at the Soviet Conference. The New Left student movement in Europe calls itself syndicalist and is similar to its United States counterpart. A plan was concocted for SDS speakers from here to travel to European campuses this fall to speak about the war in Vietnam and about the American left movement. It seems, according to Shero, that the German SDS members thought it would be nice if some of their members could come to live in the United States and work with local university groups here for a semester. Certainly this should be prohibited by law.

Shero further wrote that he talked with British New Left groups, and to the French, about their programs of "talking with the troops about the Vietnamese war and encouraging them to desert." Shero wrote that "Both the French and Swedish governments have now given political asylum to troops who have deserted." Shero is conniving in this effort for he stated that "We talked of better coordinating efforts, and some groups asked SDS to create leaflets to give to the American soldiers for them. They felt that Americans would best understand the attitudes of American soldiers. One German SDS member from Munich said they had been taking up a collection for the National Liberation Front, got into a discussion with some Negro troops, and in the end the troops gave a contribution."

Shero then announced he was going to attend an all-European syndicalist student conference in Berlin and would write about that later.

He was true to his word. *New Left Notes* for September 18, 1967 carried his article called, "The Mood in Europe." He said in the old days the "long-haired kid hanging around the European train station or soldier's bar" might offer "Dirty pictures." But today he offers "a better deal." This "better deal" is described by a name too vulgar to quote, but it adds up to efforts to demoralize United States Army men abroad. They urge our men to desert.

Shero revealed that the German SDS began to move. He explained that France has improved its system for "smuggling guys into the country and getting them work papers. Sweden takes more." He said that in Amsterdam the Dutch (leftwing) movement searches among U.S. Army deserters for "the right man to make the legal test case for asylum. England prints leaflets, and the international floaters smuggle them to the continent."

Jeff Shero reported openly that what he calls the international underground consists of "thousands of crow quick minds (with) incredible mazes of contacts, and a few dollars."

According to Shero the Dutch Provos, the name for the New Left in Holland, claim that to promote desertion is part of the struggle against the American war. He said young Europeans, speaking of the leftwing of course, equate what he calls "American barbarism" with the "deeds of the Nazis."

In the September 23, 1967 issue of the Radical Red weekly newspaper, *National Guardian*, another article appears on the front page by Jeff Shero. Here he again discussed the various youth movements in Europe and particularly stressed the importance of what he termed "solid left wing trade union traditions" there. These offer, among other things, "a beer in the club in an atmosphere of sexual liberation and fraternity against the authorities and occasional illegal actions. . . ." Shero admitted that "Many of these unions are surreptitiously aiding the army desertion effort carried out by the more militant activists in Europe. Student union money . . . finances conferences on student affairs where private discussions between people working in the underground desertion movement take place, and where plans for better contacts and coordination are made. . . ." He wrote that as in America, "the anti-Vietnam war movement (in Europe) is searching for tactics which will have more effect than the marches of the past year. Campaigns now center on the army desertion programs" and a few other plans. Shero thinks the New Left movement in Europe is healthier than it is here because it is less isolated from society there.

Jump back now to the *National Guardian* newspaper dated September 9, 1967. The front page article, continued on page 8, was written by Peter Schumacher. He wrote from Amsterdam that at least two European countries, France and Sweden, are giving legal refuge to U.S. servicemen refusing to fight in Vietnam. According to Schumacher an estimated several hundred GIs have deserted in Europe and are being put in hideouts there. Groups in Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Germany, and soon Italy will be included, all have "activist" leftwing groups aiding in this desertion of our men. Most of these work "underground." Schumacher reiterates what was written before by Shero—that the activists are looking for a GI willing to risk a test case leading to the granting of political asylum in European countries.

A radical student leader in Holland named Ton Regtien told Schumacher that "In Amsterdam we are on the lookout for an American deserter who will take the risk to stand as a test case here in a similar way as Negro soldiers Louis Armfield and Roy Jones have done in Paris and Stockholm." It seems Jones, 21 of Detroit, was an intelligence specialist until he deserted from an army base near Nuremberg. An underground organization helped him get to Sweden by providing him with forged leave papers.

According to Schumacher, the difficulty in locating an American GI willing to risk a test case for political asylum abroad somewhere is in the fact that most men who desert do so on what he calls "human grounds" rather than due to their "political consciousness." This is an admission really that most GI's who do desert abroad probably do so because of fear of war rather than because they are so pro-Communist they won't fight in Vietnam.

It seems that a pacifist-socialist senator in Holland who has been behind numerous anti-Vietnam demonstrations in Amsterdam helps U.S. army deserters by using his parliamentary immunity. He has asked his Netherlands government if deserters can have political asylum there but to date there has been no reply.

The first U.S. army deserter was offered refuge at the Russian embassy in The Hague, but due to certain circumstances this was not accepted. Instead, the man was taken to France and put in touch with the left-wing Student Union (the UNEF) there. They found a hiding place for him on a farm in France where he still works. Now more than 20 deserters have passed through Amsterdam to Paris by car. There is also a Danish underground group aiding in this anti-American effort. Schumacher reported that to urge desertion, pamphlets are handed out near U.S. army barracks in Germany instructing GI's on ways and means. Fortunately for us, German police attempt to confiscate such leaflets, but now others are printed in England and given to our GI's on leave.

Obviously, it is national suicide for the United States to continue permitting radical student revolutionaries to travel abroad where they are in a position to set up intelligence networks with Marxist-Leninist student movements there. Congress needs to act immediately to put a halt to such subversion.

PROF. JEROME B. COHEN OPPOSES TAX INCREASE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the role of the Federal Reserve in feeding the very inflation they also advocate controlling through a tax increase is discussed in a very cogent letter in yesterday's New York Times by Prof. Jerome B. Cohen of the City University of New York.

Professor Cohen notes that the money stock has risen at an annual rate of 9 percent in the past 6 months; that private demand deposits have risen since February at a 10.5-percent annual rate; and that time deposits at commercial banks have gone up even faster, at an annual 18-percent rate since January. All of these put together average out to 13 percent, a sizable increase from the 1960–66 rate of 8.5 percent.

In view of this, the fastest growth in monetary expansion in 20 years, Professor Cohen contends that the Federal Reserve Board has, by contributing to the "easy money" situation so largely, failed to control the situation as it might have. In short, we should be controlling any inflationary dangers besetting us through a better use of monetary policy rather than laying the burden on the public through a tax increase.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter may appear in the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the letter to the editor was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Against Tax Rise

To the Editor: A propaganda campaign is under way to convey the impression that most economists in the country favor a tax increase. Many of us do not, but we lack Washington sponsorship to organize and publicize our views. [Editorial Sept. 24.]

One of the chief culprits in the inflationary pressure building up at present has been the Federal Reserve, which has been pumping credit into the economy vigorously since the beginning of the year.

The money stock has risen at a 9 per cent annual rate in the past six months. As a result of the "Fed's" easy money, about $10 billion has been added to the money supply since the beginning of the year. Private demand deposits are up at a 10.5 per cent rate since February.

Time deposits at commercial banks have grown at an 18 per cent annual rate since January. Consequently, the inclusive money supply, private demand deposits plus currency plus time deposits, has increased at a 13 per cent annual rate this year. From mid-1960 to mid-1966 this measure grew at an average rate of less than 8 per cent.

GROWTH OF DEPOSITS

As a leading bank declared recently, "Monetary policy has been extraordinarily expansive during the past nine months. The public's holdings of currency, demand deposits and time deposits have grown faster than at any other time in the last twenty years."

The Chairman of the Federal Reserve System has come out for a tax increase on several recent occasions to contain the inflationary pressures which his system has been helping to generate. In the face of a mounting Federal deficit, Federal policy should have been neutral during the first half of 1967, and restrictive from mid-year on.

If Federal Reserve policy were reversed and average free reserves of the member banks were reduced from the present plus $275 million to a minus $400 million figure by a tight-money policy, no tax increase would be necessary.

A tax increase isn't needed at this time and once imposed is difficult to reverse. Federal Reserve policy is much more flexible if used intelligently.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Under the unanimous-consent agreement reached on Friday last, the pending business is amendment No. 341, offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], and the debate is limited to 2 hours to be divided equally and controlled by the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark].

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR COOPER

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that—notwithstanding the unanimous-consent agreement, that Amendment No. 341, offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], be the pending business—the distinguished Senator from Kentucky be recognized for 20 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

VIETNAM

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, President Johnson said in his comprehensive statement of the administration's position on Vietnam last Friday evening that peace lies with Hanoi. One statement was:

> It is by Hanoi's choice, not ours, not the world's, that the war continues.

I cannot agree. I do not criticize my country, but fact and reason dictate that the first step toward negotiations and peace—the unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam—lies now in the choice and control of our country.

The reasons which lead the North Vietnamese, in my view, to ask for the unconditional cessation of bombing, the growing support of this requirement by friend as well as foe, lead to the conclusion that there is little hope for negotiations and for a just settlement of the war in Vietnam until the United States takes this first step—the cessation of its bombing of North Vietnam.

This has been my judgment since the bombing started in 1965. It is a judgment which I expressed first in March 1965, when the bombing commenced, and later in January 1966, after I had returned from Vietnam, and in several speeches in the Senate this year. It is a judgment that I have expressed to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State since that time.

I speak today because there are new situations which cause me to urge again this course of action.

The first is the possibility of the assistance of the United Nations, or of its member states, during its session in New York. The strong and consistent position of the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]—a man whom we all respect and admire—that the issue of Vietnam should be submitted by the United States to the Security Council without reservation, and if the Security Council will not act, to the General Assembly, has received wide support in the Congress and throughout our country.

The distinguished majority leader is correct in holding that the United Nations should assume jurisdiction and satisfy its chief reason for existence, that of maintaining peace, whatever the obstacles may be. The United Nations should assume jurisdiction, but if it does not, the presence of representatives of concerned countries at the United Nations provides an unusual opportunity for private discussions and negotiations—an opportunity which will not be easily available after the session has adjourned.

We may note, while jurisdiction has not yet been assumed, that the chief burden of practically every speech of representatives of the members of the United Nations; speaking in the General Assembly, has been the war in Vietnam.

There is a second reason which leads me to speak today. We are on the eve of a national election—one of the great events in American political life—and the campaign debate is already underway.

Vietnam will inevitably be an issue, for it is the greatest problem and concern of our country. It would be strange indeed if it were not an issue in the coming campaign. Parties and candidates will take positions and the people will make their decisions upon policies and the course of the war in Vietnam.

We know that in the heat of the campaign when emotions are aroused, politics may for a time override the reasonable debate of policy, and the opportunity for a settlement of the war may be postponed until after the election next November. I do not want this to happen. I do not speak politically today, for the war with all its problems and burdens is the concern of all our people.

No one can say whether this will cause a postponement of a settlement of the war, but if it does, we know that in the intervening period until November 1968, a heavy price will be paid by the young men of our country and the peoples of South and North Vietnam. And in that period, the dangers of an expanded war will not be lessened.

We have all been in politics; we have all been in campaigns. Many of us have participated, one way or another, in presidential campaigns. I believe we will all agree that there will be less possibility of a settlement of this war during the campaign year.

The cessation of bombing is a difficult decision for the President to make. It involves a change in present policy, but such a change would be consistent with the President's speech at Johns Hopkins in April 1965, in which he stated that the United States would be willing to enter negotiations unconditionally. Admittedly, the cessation of bombing might not result in negotiations, and admittedly it involves some immediate risk to the security of our forces in Vietnam. But the possibility of a cease-fire, negotiations, and a settlement based upon the determination of the people of North and South Vietnam far outweighs any risk.

It is in this sense that I believe the issue of negotiations and of peace in South Vietnam lies now with the administration and with our country.

Now I should like to direct my attention to some questions and criticisms that have been raised regarding the proposal to cease bombing. It is correct and proper that questions should be asked and criticisms should be raised on such a vital issue.

I am aware that it can be said that the plea for a cessation of bombing expresses only a hope. I do not believe it is only a hope. Fact and reason are the basis of my support and my appeal for the cessation of bombing.

We must take into account the long record of North Vietnam's requirements for an unconditional cessation of bombing. As escalation has increased, its government has presented to the United States additional and harsher requirements; but the continuing condition, without variation, has been the cessation of bombing.

Ho Chi Minh's response to President Johnson's letter of February 10 of this year, in which he asserted the full list, the old list, of requirements, appeared to foreclose the President's offer; but it ended with these words:

> It is only after the unconditional cessation of United States bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States could enter into talks and discuss questions concerning the two sides.
>
> The Vietnamese people will never submit to force, they will never accept talks under the threat of bombs.
>
> Our cause is absolutely just. It is to be hoped that the United States Government will act in accordance with reason.

Recently, after the speech of Ambassador Goldberg—and it was a very good speech—in the United Nations, the response of Hanoi, through its press, appeared inflexible. But again, the same theme—the cessation of bombing—was emphasized.

North Vietnam's requirement undoubtedly is based upon its view that the United States has, by its bombing, invaded and aggressed against its territory and its people. We do not have to accept as correct this reasoning of North Vietnam, but we have to consider it. I believe that commonsense informs us that a people who would not surrender to the French or to the Japanese, and again to the French after World War II, and a Communist government allied with Communist China and the Soviet Union, will not negotiate under the threat of bombing, which they consider to be an ultimatum to come to the conference table or to surrender. In fact, some of our military leaders have said that the purpose of our bombing is to compel the North Vietnamese to come to the conference table.

We must take into consideration, also, the reasoning and the opinion of other countries and peoples of the world. U Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations, recently said again, categorically, that if bombing should stop, negotiations would occur shortly. Mr. Kosygin, according to the report of the Department of State, told President Johnson, at Glassboro, that negotiations would ensue if the bombing stopped. It is hardly likely that the representative of the U.S.S.R., speaking to the President, would make this statement without authority. At the United Nations, in growing chorus, the representatives of member states have taken the same position. It may be that their statements express a hope, but they are made by men experienced in world affairs, experienced in negotiation, and they speak for their governments. The necessity of a cessation of bombing is becoming a worldwide judgment. It is one which the United States cannot afford to ignore.

I hope the President will take counsel from such an international consensus and from the countries which are our friends. Such a friend as Canada, speaking through its Minister of External Affairs, Paul Martin, has said:

> It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks between the two sides are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped.

I believe, also, that the President can take counsel from those in Congress and throughout the country who have maintained this position for a long time, not from any doubt of the strength of our country or doubt of the good intentions of the President, but upon the basis of fact and reason.

Now I direct my attention to other questions that are asked, and they are proper questions. Many questions necessarily must be raised and faced by the Government, by the President, and by those of us who propose this alternative course, if the cessation of bombing were not followed by negotiations.

Would the failure of negotiations endanger the security of our forces?

Would the resumption of bombing be required?

Would the failure of negotiations lead to the hardening of the positions of the parties and a long and expanded war?

Would a failure of negotiations, harden the positions of the parties and lead to a larger danger—the intervention of Communist China and a larger participation by the Soviet Union?

I should like to answer these questions for myself.

The reasons which support a cessation of bombing would in my view be applicable to the policy we should follow if negotiations do not ensue immediately. If negotiations should not follow, I believe our policy should then be to confine military action to South Vietnam along with the cessation of bombing it would be the best means of preventing a long and expanded war, and the best means of ultimately securing negotiations.

This is not a position I have taken recently. In 1965, in debate in the Senate Chamber, I said that the cessation of bombing and the confinement of the battleground to South Vietnam were the best means of preventing an expansion of the war and preventing the possible intervention of Communist China and the Soviet Union.

The necessity for such a new policy is supported by the record of our present policy. Since bombing began in 1966 the infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam has increased, as have the activities of the Vietcong. Our forces have grown from nearly 24,000 to over 500,000. This does not take into account those forces which are on the perimeter of Vietnam, our naval forces; or Thailand, Japan, and the Philippines, who together are engaged in support of our forces in Vietnam.

The increase of our forces to over 500,000 men and and massive bombing, the weight of which is larger than the bombing in World War II, has not halted the infiltration of men and supplies from the north. We must ask if this vast expansion of the war in 2½ years is a consequence of our bombing, rather than as the administration says, that bombing has been required because of the expansion of the war.

I believe it is our bombing which has caused vast expansion of the war.

Since the bombing of North Vietnam began, the Soviet Union has stepped up its supply of arms including sophisticated weapons, and recently it has promised additional aid and volunteers, if necessary. The Soviet Union considers North Vietnam its ally which it must aid, as we consider South Vietnam an ally which we must aid.

Again, we must ask if this increased supply from the Soviet Union and the provision of sophisticated weapons is a result of our bombing, and whether confinement of the battleground to South Vietnam would result in a reduction or a cutoff of the Soviet Union's supplies to North Vietnam. It would be an important means of determining the intentions of the Soviet Union in Vietnam and, indeed, their intention toward the United States in the difficult problems which engage our two countries.

It is tragically clear also that the extension of the war to North Vietnam has not strengthened the security of our forces. Since the bombing started the casualty lists have gone up from a few hundred until today the number killed is over 13,000, and the number wounded is over 88,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may continue for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Now, with this record, can it be said that it would endanger the security of our forces if we should cease the bombing and confine the battleground to South Vietnam?

It is difficult for me to believe that if we change our policy to one of deescalation, that the United States, with its vast array of arms and power could not protect our forces effectively and do so even better than today. Our vast power could be concentrated where needed in support of our troops and at the points where infiltration routes from the north enter South Vietnam.

I have raised these questions as to whether the proposal to cease bombing is simply one of hope, and what situations might result if negotiations did not ensue, for they are proper questions and they must be answered.

But my chief purpose for speaking today in support of this proposal, as I have urged for two and a half years, is to press for cessation of bombing, as a means to determine if the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong will respond—and whether the war can be brought to an end. If the war does not, then I believe that confinement of the war to South Vietnam would reverse the present dangerous expansion of the war and lead ultimately, if not immediately, to its end.

We cannot foresee every eventuality. I argue today that we should take steps which will reduce the conflict or which we can hope will lead to its settlement rather than to continue a course of action which promises thus far no settlement except by the arbitrament of war.

I do not attempt to lay out specific policies that United States should pursue if negotiations occur. I believe our objectives for the people of South Vietnam are worthy, but I believe also that the ability of the United States to determine the course of another country is limited. As the people of North Vietnam and, indeed, of South Vietnam would resist domination by the United States, they will resist domination by the Communist Chinese. This is borne out by the history of their long struggle against the French, Japan, and China. In the event of negotiations and any settlement, it is likely that an international body, and most likely the Geneva Conference, could provide time and opportunity for the people of South Vietnam and North Vietnam to determine the form of government and society they desire. We hope that it will be a choice of democratic values, but their people must make the choice.

It is clear that the United States, with all its vast power, its good and noble intentions, cannot prescribe the affairs of another country. We cannot intervene throughout the world unless our national security or freedom in the world is truly affected. We can be of assistance. We can support the processes of world order and law, we can provide effective economic aid and, above all, we can set an example of freedom and opportunity at home, which the peoples of the world seek.

The war troubles our people. I do not think it is a criticism of the American people to say that it troubles them. We are concerned that our country shall, by its actions, express the ancient principle, in which we believe, that the affairs of nations and men can best be governed by reason and justice, and not by force—even our force, and that our country with all its power and influence shall lead the way to sustain that principle in the world.

If our country does not do this, then I see little hope that other countries in the world with power and influence will do so. It is because of this faith, as well as for the practical reasons which I have argued, that I urge the President, who wants peace—who has sought peace—and who must make the decision, to order a cessation of the bombing as a step toward negotiations and a just settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I close by reading the closing paragraph of an editorial which was published in the New York Times last Friday:

> The Administration has repeatedly protested its desire for peace. Now is the time to prove this intention by heeding the advice of close friends and the wider world community. As Danish Premier Jens Otto Krag observed the other day: "He who takes the decisive step by which to bring the fighting to an end, to get negotiations started, and to insure durable peace in Southeast Asia will inscribe his name in the books of history."

I would like for the name of the United States to be included in the books of history for this noble cause.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield?

Mr. COOPER. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from Kentucky for his responsible attitude and the statesmanlike address he has just delivered.

I know how deeply he feels. He recognizes that the President of the United States wants peace. In his suggestions he has been most respectful and most constructive. He has weighed, as he pointed out in his remarks, the consequences of a bombing halt.

That raises a most interesting question, because if there is to be a bombing halt, is it to be of a temporary nature, with a time limitation, or is to be permanent and marked by a period?

If it is to be the former, I think the danger is great that if there is no reaction from the other side and bombing is once again resumed, the war will be widened still further, made more open-ended, and will create a greater possibility of a confrontation with China.

The Senator from Kentucky, though, has not indicated that he is interested in that kind of cessation in the bombing, that he is interested in a cessation, period. In that event we could confine our activities to South Vietnam per se, and see what the reaction would be on the basis of the proposal made by the Senator from Kentucky.

In that respect, I might say that in discussing Vietnam this morning with the distinguished dean of Republicans, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], we came to the conclusion that what we are doing in Vietnam is fighting two wars. One is a civil war in the South. That is how this war began. The other is a war against Hanoi because of the penetrations—with the buildup of our forces—of troops sent down by General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander of Hanoi's armies. We should remember that the war is a two-phase struggle. Even if we do bring the war in the north to a satisfactory conclusion, we still will have the elements in the south which number about 250,000 Vietcong plus 50,000 North Vienamese—almost exactly the same figure they had a year ago at this time.

That is something we should keep in mind. But I am getting off the point here.

The Senator has also brought out and raised again the proposal in which he is so much interested; namely, the taking of this question before the United Nations. He has indicated that many voices have been raised in the United Nations, in this session, on the subject of Vietnam. Friendly and unfriendly nations have discussed it from their own points of view; but practically all the nations, as the Senator has indicated, who have spoken thus far, through their highest officials in the field of foreign affairs, have indicated a deep, intense, and abiding interest in what is going on in Vietnam and what they consider to be solutions for the situation there. I cite, as examples, the statements made by Paul Martin, Minister for External Affairs in Ottawa, by Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister, and many others.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. As these talks go on in the United Nations, the fighting continues on land and the bombing in the north extends, first, within 10 miles, or 30 seconds from Chinese frontier, and, second, in the past few weeks, within 6.8 miles, or 24 seconds, from the border of China.

During this period, also, an announcement was made that it is the intention of this country to build a light antimissile defense, not against the Soviet Union but against China—it says here!

Well, it is a necessity, I assume, not so much because of China, in my opinion, but because no agreement has been reached with the U.S.S.R. to hold back in the construction of an ABM system—a system which, if we go through with it, will cost this country at least $40 billion and the Soviet Union a similar effort.

Mr. President, in my judgment, all these factors indicate the increasing possibility of a confrontation, not necessarily in the immediate future, but at some time in the future, if conditions develop through miscalculation, mischance, or accident, to bring this about—and I am referring to China.

Now is the time, as the Senator from Kentucky has indicated, and the Security Council of the United Nations is the place, to bring up the U.S. resolution on Vietnam which has been on the table since early February of 1966, to propose another resolution, or to consider a resolution offered by another country. I mean no offense when I say that this is not the time to take U Thant at his word, that what is necessary is a halt in the bombing. He is the Secretary General of the United Nations; Kosygin is the Premier of the Soviet Union; Hans Tabor of Denmark; and Paul Martin, of Canada can speak only personally for their proposals for a settlement. The times call for the Security Council, to speak officially on the basis of the procedures of the charter.

Now is the time, and the Security Council is the place, to take a consideration of this sort in open discussion.

It would be my hope that we would push the initiative, which the President undertook in February of last year, to insist that this matter come before the United Nations Security Council.

The question of taking up is not vetoable.

The question of discussing and who should participate in the discussions is not vetoable.

If the Security Council members do not want to have this issue called up before their body, let them stand up and tell the world what their reasons are for refusing to use the charter or trying to open the way to a settlement of the situation in Vietnam, a settlement which is as much their responsibility as it is of the combatants directly or indirectly concerned.

If they want to recommend a stop the bombing, if they want to reconvene the Geneva Conference, if they want to lay down these conditions, let them take that responsibility officially under the charter and keep it away from any one man, be he a Secretary-General of the United Nations, or a foreign minister advising us what should be done.

Even though they express their opinions singly, their collective voices are rising. It would help to hear them officially in the Security Council.

I thank the Senator from Kentucky very much for allowing me to make these remarks.

Mr. COOPER. I appreciate more than I can say the remarks and advice of the majority leader.

I have been strengthened in my support and resolve in the position I have taken because of the example and high patriotism of the majority leader. I remember that in 1954 when it was proposed that American ground troops and bombers should be sent to Vietnam to support the French before and even after the fall of Dienbienphu, that the Senator from Montana opposed and I supported our involvement at that time, and we have been together on Vietnam since that time.

The question has been asked, "What does unconditional cessation of bombing mean?" It means exactly what it says. The Secretary of State and the President have spoken of our bombing pauses. There always has been a call for reciprocity or pauses during religious holidays.

I do not question the good motives of the President in ordering those cessations, but they do not meet the condition—one we do not like to admit, but it is nonetheless a condition based upon the fact that North Vietnam considers U.S. bombing an aggression against their land—one which is not negotiable.

May I say this? I do not think we will run any greater risk by stopping the bombing and confining the battle to South Vietnam than we are running now—and that it will entail a lesser risk to our men. The pressure has been from the north. If we stop the bombing, perhaps the pressure might be lessened. At least we will find out.

We must consider also that the struggle for independence from any foreign power has been one of long duration. The people fought for independence from China for years. They fought for independence of the French for years before World War II. We have to face up to the fact that Ho Chi Minh has long been leading the fight for independence. During World War II he led the fight against Japan. The United States supported him then with supplies and weapons. When the war closed, he declared the independence of all Vietnam. The French moved in to assert their colonial domination. The French promised free elections, and the withdrawal of troops. Ho Chi Minh agreed that Vietnam would become a member of the French Union. But the French broke their pledge. In 1954 there was another chance for independence, when the Viet Minh had defeated the French. But Ho Chi Minh agreed to the 1954 Geneva Conference.

This history of Vietnam in its struggle for independence makes it apparent the Government of Vietnam will be determined by the people themselves, and not by the United States.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. COOPER. I promised to yield first to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, first I wish to congratulate the Senator. I think his original statement is extremely well done. He has rendered a service in bringing this subject up once again, as he has in the past. I particularly wish to associate myself with what he has just said with regard to the origin and history of this conflict.

I was interested in his reference to the Geneva Conference and whether or not it might be reconvened as a result of putting the matter on the agenda of the Security Council. It strikes me, under the present conditions, as being one of the best ways to proceed that I can think of.

If I understood the majority leader—although he did not put it exactly this way—the onus for asking for a reconvening of the Geneva Conference should be on the Security Council, because there are 15 members, and many of the members were participants at the Geneva Conference when the meeting took place in Geneva in 1954. Furthermore, Security Council initiative would remove the responsibility from either the Russian or the British, or ourselves for that matter, in requesting it.

I think what the Senator had in mind in his statement was that he would recommend that the United States do everything possible to have the Security Council recommend the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. Is that correct?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I think that the most likely and appropriate way would be for the Geneva Conference to resume its jurisdiction.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I agree, because most of the participants at Geneva are in the Security Council, except for the NLF. It was not in existence at that time, and some provision might be made for it to participate with the other conferees. I think the Senator is quite right. It is a most timely recommendation. If there is anything I could do or say to help prevail on the President to take that course, I would certainly like to do it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator may be allowed to proceed until the debate is concluded, at which time the Senator from Nebraska will be recognized, and the time begin to run on the limitation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the Senator made reference to our security, as nearly everyone does in commenting on this subject. Our security is very much in the minds of the military people and everyone else. I think the speech is excellent and speaks for itself, but I would like to ask him to comment on what effect the Senator thinks this war, as such, is having on the security of this country generally. It surely cannot be that the Senator believes South Vietnam itself threatens the security of this country. Does he?

Mr. COOPER. No. I do not think we can intervene over the world unless our security is actually threatened or unless the whole problem of freedom in the world is involved. No, I do not think our security is threatened in South Vietnam. If our security were threatened on this continent or hemisphere, or even because of some countries with which we have close ties, it would be a different thing.

The Senator asked me if this war threatens our security in other ways. I think it does. Our involvement has made our relations with the Soviet Union more harsh and reduced our capabilities in the Mideast, Europe, and elsewhere. It makes it more difficult to settle conflicts elsewhere, and in these respects endangers the security of the United States to a greater extent.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think the Senator ought to extend that thought a bit, because I think the country does not realize the ramifications of this war if it continues, not only as it ties up our own military men and our arms, but what it is doing to our relations with many countries which have been traditionally our friends and supporters and who believe today that we are taking a wrong course and who have very grave doubts about our wisdom. Does the Senator not agree?

Mr. COOPER. Yes. No country can be right in every instance. Naturally, that is true. But I think countries must have assurance about our judgment—and I think we have exercised good judgment——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In the past.

Mr. COOPER. In the past, in most of the dangerous situations that have arisen. A progression of events led us into the war in Vietnam, and perhaps the great mistake, and the great criticism of everyone is, that we did not look ahead. But the question remains, What can we do to break out of this cycle? The countries of the world do look at the United States, the most powerful and the richest country in the world, and ask, "Why doesn't the United States take the lead to bring the war to a close?"

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What I am trying to lead up to, perhaps in an awkward way, is that we have two alternatives. There may be others. One alternative is to follow the Senator's suggestion, which I favor. If we do not do that, it seems to me we are undermining the security of this country in a very serious sense, because of the fall-off, if you like, in our other relationships.

Take our domestic situation. I do not think there is any doubt, and I ask the Senator from Kentucky, does he think there is any doubt, that the difficulties in our budgetary matters here at home, the great deficit of $28 billion which the President mentioned a few weeks ago, when he made his great speech with respect to the deficit, are aggravated by the fact that since that time we have pledged ourselves to an ABM, a thin one, at an initial investment of $4 billion, and the majority leader has stated that if we go through with it, the cost will ultimately be $40 billion; he has also mentioned the proposals of the Secretary of Defense to save money by building a new early warning ABM system, at a cost of $4 billion; and by the fact that we are pursuing the SST, which we will soon have before us, and also pursuing the moonshot?

All of this together, it seems to me, is seriously undermining our security in a very broad sense, because we are tied down militarily in Vietnam, and we are neglecting our affairs everywhere else, all over the world—in the Middle East, South America, and so on—in addition to our domestic problems.

If we balance the two off, which is the greatest long-term threat to our security, to continue this war, with all its side effects, or to seek to negotiate, through a reconvened Geneva Conference?

Mr. COOPER. Of course, the former, without question.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator says "without question." It does not seem beyond question to the President. The President stated the other day that the key to all we have done is our own security. Apparently it is not as obvious to the President as the Senator says, "without question." There must be at least some question in some people's minds about this matter.

I think it is very useful for the Senator to make it as clear as he can, because the President seems to think our security will be in great jeopardy if he changes his position on South Vietnam. I would gather that from what he says. I think those are his words.

The Senator from Kentucky does not agree that our security is dependent upon pursuing this war in South Vietnam, does he?

Mr. COOPER. No; I do not agree with the President that our security is dependent upon pursuing the war in South Vietnam. I feel in my bones it is not.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Oh, I do, too. But, on the other hand, I feel——

Mr. COOPER. The problem is, what do we do to find some way out?

My thought is that if the people of this country, and the overwhelming majority of Members of Congress, believed that our security was threatened we would be united, and we would support without question any means to fight the war. We would endure any deficit. We would endure controls. We would do what we have done in other wars.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Surely.

Mr. COOPER. The real answer, and I believe it is this answer that troubles our country, is that the people do not believe such a threat exists.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. To put it another way, I am reminded of an editorial published in one of the leading Chinese newspapers about a year ago, not too long after we were having hearings on Vietnam.

The editorial, as reprinted in the New York Times, stated, after a lot of preliminary talk, of course, in their usual vitriolic manner, that the Chinese should be obliged to the Government of the United States for bringing its soldiers, weapons, and material over to the continent of Asia, because otherwise the

Asians and the people of North Vietnam would have no way to get at them, to destroy them; that the only way they could put the United States in its place was for us to come over there. I thought at that time that there was a good deal of truth in it.

What worries me about our security is not the war in Vietnam, but what is happening to us here at home and all around the world: particularly here at home, if we do not stop it. If we continue with our present course, and continue to have the inflation we are threatened with, which is beginning now, with this tremendous budget deficit, then I really begin to have fear about the future effectiveness of this country in defending itself and its interests in all parts of the world.

So it seems to me that our country is much more endangered by continuing the policy we have followed for the last 2 years then it would be by following the Senator's suggestion. Does the Senator agree?

Mr. COOPER. That is my purpose in trying to propose some ways to try to see if the war can be brought to an end.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I concur in the Senator's position; and, without asking further questions, I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join with the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the distinguished majority leader in again calling attention to the distinguished public service rendered by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], in his continuing analysis of our situation in Vietnam, where, as the whole world knows, we have a bear by the tail.

I agree with the Senator from Kentucky that a world framework is now again being established—as it was established in January and February 1967, when we failed to take advantage of it—which perhaps will accommodate an unconditional cessation of the bombing, with, in my judgment, the word "permanent" stricken out. The President, for all practical purposes, has acknowledged that, but apparently, and for reasons that are not clear, just could not bring himself to the final point of saying, "We will do it."

I agree that a bombing cessation is worth trying. We know it will amount to some risk for our forces but our forces are suffering losses now, and the question is whether the risk is worthwhile. I think it is.

I should like to join also with the majority leader in his feeling that the United Nations should be seized of this decision. It is high time that Vietnam was debated in the world forum. We can have no fear from that.

I would, however, like to ask the Senator from Kentucky, whose judgment is so important in this matter, this question: Is not the real nub of this problem what we can do for ourselves, rather than what others can do for us? If we cease the bombing, it is up to Hanoi whether they will negotiate. If the United Nations takes jurisdiction, it is up to the United Nations as to whether anything will happen, with the Russian veto and everything else in the book. But is it not necessary also that something be up to us?

I call attention to the Senator's statement, which I believe every American should read and reread, which says:

> I believe also that the ability of the United States to determine the course of another country is limited.

And the further statement:

> It is clear that the United States cannot prescribe the affairs of another country, and cannot intervene throughout the world.

And so on. Now, the President directly challenges that. The President says—and I think this is the quotation for which the Senator from Arkansas was searching—

> I would rather stand in Vietnam in our time and, by meeting this danger now, reduce the danger for our children and grandchildren.

So the President places it strictly upon the basis of a war for survival of the United States.

I ask the Senator, Is not the real issue before Congress, whether this is our war, or is it the war of South Vietnam? Do we help them until they demonstrate that they do or do not have the capacity for helping themselves, or do we help them forever, even if the country becomes empty and everybody lays down his arms except the U.S. Army.

This is the issue the United States has to face, in my judgment, Mr. President, and I say to the Senator, we will not face it until we rewrite the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. We do not have to repeal it; we do not have to embarrass the President and the country by canceling it; but we have to write a new one, and we ought to, by now, have enough courage to know that he is not going to ask us for it, and we will have to do it ourselves.

We must delimit a new commitment, which is not a blank check. That is the only way, in my opinion, to proceed.

We can start with these three things: An experiment in ceasing the bombing; submitting the matter to the United Nations, if it will take it; and rewriting the Tonkin resolution to give us a tolerable posture, where we are not locked in on only one basis, so that we have to stay there forever, and commit all the resources of the United States, and unless we do, we are nationally disgraced.

I do not believe that. The Senator from Kentucky does not believe it. I think the majority of the Senate does not believe it. It is high time the President's hand was called. I believe that the Senator from Kentucky has put the issue very succinctly and very clearly.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New York. I know that his long and deep interest, his faithful work, his creative thought, and his speeches have played an important role in bringing some light and reason to this situation.

We have to face the fact that we are in Vietnam, and ask ourselves, how can we help end the war? How do we try to perform our mission, to help South Vietnam?

I have just proposed in my speech, as I have done before, a method and means of determining whether the war could be brought to a close. I frankly do not think anything significant is going to happen to the people of South Vietnam until the war is ended.

I do believe that if reforms to benefit the people do not take place—and they have not taken place yet of any substance because land reform is denied, just as it was under the French—and if no substantial reforms come to the people of Vietnam, we will have fought the war for nothing. Although we cannot direct them or order their government to do things, we can say: "If you do not undertake these reforms, we will have no further responsibility."

I have always thought that we could have gotten out in 1959 and 1960. I thought, too, Diem, although he had done some good, would not accomplish any of the reforms prescribed by President Eisenhower. I thought that if President Kennedy had taken the same course of action when he took over, it might have helped. It was admittedly difficult when President Johnson came in because the troops were already committed.

That does not mean, however, that the matter is closed. We must reverse our present course of action or, it seems to me, we will not have done any good for ourselves or for South Vietnam, but will have sustained a great loss of American and Vietnamese lives.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator for a great address.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Kentucky for once again thinking through a very difficult problem and giving us a great deal of food for thought.

I particularly would like to indicate my longstanding association with his position that our vast power should be concentrated in the bombing of those infiltration routes leading into the south and directly bringing supplies and manpower from North Vietnam to wage war against our forces and our allied forces in South Vietnam.

I want to comment for a few moments on what I think is another aspect of the problem which has not been touched on this afternoon. That concerns what this war is doing to our own people.

I think it is dividing our people and separating them from this administration because of the frustration and bitterness and discontent which I see existing from one end of the country to the other on the problem on Vietnam.

I do not think we can overemphasize what this dissension which is growing and mounting is doing to our people with respect to the programs that we must carry on not only in the world but also here at home.

I have just returned from my sixth visit to Illinois for the express purpose of having a "listen-in" with the people of Illinois.

I had a desk moved down to the ground floor of a Federal building in one of our cities and listened to anyone who wanted to come in.

The No. 1 topic in those "listen-ins" and in all of the correspondence I have received since I have arrived in the Senate has been Vietnam.

I can well remember how the people dissented from some positions taken by the administration, such as the time when the President in Chicago tried to characterize all those who disagreed with him as "nervous Nellies" and put them in the position of showing an almost unpatriotic attitude toward our country.

We are deeply sympathetic with the problems encountered by the President in this tragic war, I think it is a necessity that we speak out and try to analyze why more and more unhappiness is displaying itself in our country.

Last Friday night President Johnson made a very stong argument against unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam. Few Americans, and few, if any, Members of Congress are asking for unilateral withdrawal. The President, by suggesting that his critics want unilateral withdrawal, is, I think, attempting to dishonor all of them.

Nearly half the American people today disagree with the manner in which the President is conducting the war. But only about 10 percent of them favor unilateral withdrawal.

The President's problem is with the vast majority who are dissatisfied with his performance in Vietnam, not with the 10 percent who urge withdrawal.

How has the President failed to win the support of the majority for his war in Vietnam? I would say that the President has had seven failures in Vietnam and that these failures are at the root of his problem with the American people.

First is his failure to persuade the South Vietnamese Government to institute truly democratic reforms which would win the support of the people of their own country.

Second is his failure to persuade the South Vietnamese Army to carry its rightful share of the combat, so that our American men will not have to bear the heaviest burden of the fighting by themselves.

Third is his failure to persuade our other Asian allies to participate substantially in the military, economic, psychological, and diplomatic tasks confronting us in Vietnam. Further, he has been unable to persuade a single country in Western Europe to provide any meaningful help or support.

Fourth is his failure to pursue every possibility for negotiations leading to a settlement of the war.

Fifth is his failure to learn from experience that every U.S. escalation is matched by the enemy and only brings more casualties.

Sixth is his failure to recognize that bombing so near China has already caused the Chinese and the Soviets to massively increase their military role in support of Hanoi. Thus, for limited military gain, he has provoked heavier military pressure against our own military forces.

Seventh is his failure to understand that widespread dissent indicates something may be wrong with his policy, rather than with his critics.

These are the seven failures of Lyndon Johnson in his Vietnam policy. He is not being criticized for refusing to withdraw unilaterally. He is being criticized because he has failed to succeed either with military force or with diplomatic initiative.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PERCY. I have only 1 additional minute. However, I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, is there evidence of massive Chinese and Russian forces now being massed on the borders there?

Mr. PERCY. I understand from the best information I have that there are some 400,000 Chinese forces in South China now. We know, of course, that they have 2½ million soldiers under arms and additional millions in reserve.

I was in Peoria last weekend. I asked everyone who came up to my desk whether he was aware of the fact that there are already 40,000 or 50,000 Chinese forces in North Vietnam manning AA installations, repairing roads, and repairing railroads. I do not think that one out of five or six had any idea that the Chinese were already that deeply involved.

We do know that the Russians have agreed to escalate and step up their technical assistance.

Mr. MURPHY. That was my reason for speaking. I have just returned from Vietnam. I saw an entirely different picture there than I had obtained from reading the press and the reports.

All reports seem to indicate that we were in a stalemate. Our military people there do not reflect this view. They have continually said that we are winning and could win a lot faster if we were not fighting a limited war.

I want to get out of Vietnam as fast as anybody. However, I want this to be done in the best interests of our Country and not to accommodate a troublemaker.

Our military people have said, and I have said, that certain basic things will make it impossible for the enemy to continue fighting.

We have said we would cut off his supplies.

The administration, for one reason or another, refuses to do this.

I agree that the quickest way out is the way we should go. However, it must be an honorable and proper way.

I never hear discussed many of these things that I found on visiting areas in Vietnam.

Also, I have heard here that we are fighting the entire war. I was told there by our military people that this is not true, that the South Vietnamese are doing an excellent job, and possibly the toughest job. I was told that we are doing the conventional job.

I spent a day and a night with the Marines, and they said that if they had their choice, they would rather be where they are than to be in another part of the war which they consider tougher. I heard expressions of approval for the magnificent job they are doing.

Much danger is involved because of the urgency of the situation. However, we must consider all sides. I sometimes worry about this aspect of the matter. I do not say that the military is always right. However, certainly these men have been trained in their careers to study and become experts on the conduct of war.

I have said for 3 years, and I continue to say, that I think more attention should be paid to their desires.

A few months ago, the great Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], who has worked for a year and a half to get a battleship into the waters of Vietnam in order to save our fliers, finally secured agreement for this action.

Many of these things have been going on, and every time we make the accommodation, we continue to make the accommodation.

I disagree with the President's policy. I disagree with the President on many things. I believe I am one of the most outspoken Senators, perhaps too outspoken for a freshman Senator; but, then, I have not too much time to be here. I disagree with many things the President does. But I am convinced that it is in our best interests to be in South Vietnam. I am convinced, having spoken with people in four areas of the country who know exactly the problem, that they are not under any misapprehension.

I spoke with an old man in Hue, and he said:

> Naturally, we would like to have a civilian government, but now our country is at war. When we are at war, we want military people who can get us out of it, and when peace is here again, we'll have another election and elect civilian people.

They know the story forward and backward, and I believe most of us in the Senate know the story; and if we do not, we should. I have been studying it for 25 years, and I am concerned when I hear that the only option we are given is to stop bombing. The record shows that bombing has been most effective psychologically.

We also know that the number of North Vietnamese coming over to the south has doubled in the last 3 months—each month the number has doubled. They all speak about the bombing.

More than anything else, my concern is for the division about which the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] has spoken. Our military people in Vietnam point out that the French did not lose in South Vietnam. They lost in Paris, because of pressures that were put on the continued character of the war, as it was delivered to the people. I am afraid that exactly the same thing is happening here—that we are being denied some of the options that should be ours.

I rise to make this point because, having just returned from Vietnam, I am kind of full of it. I believe we are there properly and that the Vietnamese want our help. I believe if we got out, all of Southeast Asia would be lost. I do know that Indonesia straightened out its problems without any military help from us, once we had exploded the theory that America was a paper tiger and would never come to the assistance of anybody.

This has been the story for 15 or 20 years. It did not just start here. The tactic here is not a new one. It is an old one.

I rise to make these remarks so that the record may show that I want to get out. Members of my family are in the armed services, and I am as concerned as anyone. But I want to make sure that we get out in a manner that is to the best interests of the security of the United States, as the Senator has said, not only the immediate interests but also the long-range interests of the United States.

Mr. PERCY. The distinguished Senator has raised a number of provocative questions. I disagree as strongly and as respectfully with some of the positions the Senator has just taken as I did two weekends ago, when the distinguished Senator spoke in St. Louis and I spoke in Kansas City on different aspects of the war.

The distinguished Senator said that if we unleashed the military, we could win this war in 30 days. Sometime I should like to have an explanation as to how we can win this war in 30 days if we unleash the military. I believe if we could do that with conventional weapons, with nonnuclear weapons, we might give someone 30 days, if we could end this war.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PERCY. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Actually, this statement was not an invention of my imagination. Many military experts, most of whom are now retired, have been saying this for a year. They did not just start it.

I pointed out how it could be done. If you cut off the supplies of the North Vietnamese, he cannot continue to fight over 30 days. It is the most painless and simplest method.

I assure the Senator that experts in Vietnam, including people at our Embassy, say that some of the reasons why Ho Chi Minh and Hanoi continue this effort is that they are told from time to time that we are divided at home, and if they continue a little longer, our division will be so great that our entire capability in Vietnam will be impaired.

I heard one of my colleagues suggest the other day, "Get out under any conditions. Get out." It is similar to saying, "My goodness, the dam has burst." I do not believe it is that bad.

I will give the Senator a couple of speeches that were made a year ago, and I will be glad to supply him at another time with all the information I have been able to gather. I am convinced that these experts were not really making pipedreams. They are quite serious about the matter and believe that the war could be ended in 30 days.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, in concluding my comments, I should like to return to the distinguished Senator's comment about one of the points I raised, as to whether or not it is valid to indicate that, as the distinguished Senator has pointed out, in his judgment, the South Vietnamese forces are assuming a major share of the burden and are doing a great deal of the dirty fighting that is going on. All the evidence I have been able to secure is completely to the contrary. More and more, increasingly, the tough burden of this responsibility is falling on the backs of American forces, and less and less, relatively speaking, is being done by South Vietnamese forces. The evidence I have comes not from detailed military knowledge but from analyses by responsible reporters. It comes from boys with whom I have spoken as recently as a week ago. A young, fresh, wonderful looking Negro boy, an amputee, hobbled in with a wooden leg and a wooden arm—the result of a hand grenade. Listen to this boy say what kind of a dirty job the Americans have to do and how willing or unwilling the South Vietnamese forces are.

A year ago I went to the amputee ward at Great Lakes Naval Hospital, and an amputee there, among many, said to me:

> The difference between this war now and when we went there is that when we went there, we thought we were going out to help them with their war. But increasingly, our experience has been that they are ready to hold our coat while we go in and do the fighting.

That is the difference. As we have gradually escalated our effort, we have not asked for commensurate commitments from the South Vietnamese, that they fight their war; and increasingly it has become an American effort, with less and less effort from the Asian nations, as well as the South Vietnamese.

Mr. MURPHY. Will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. PERCY. I yield for a question.

Mr. MURPHY. As I have said, I am not a military expert. I have had experience with amputees. As a matter of record, in World War II, I made the first trip through 25 hospitals, and I greeted the first ships which came back from Normandy, and I was abroad just before that time. So I know of this aspect. I know of the horror. I know that it is a dirty, nasty, foul, evil business. I know as well as anybody in this Chamber that at this point in our so-called progress in civilization, God knows, we should have found a better way to solve our problems. Unfortunately, we have not.

The next to the last experience I had in South Vietnam, which was 3 weeks ago, was a briefing by a general who detailed exactly the activities and the deployment of our brigades, where they were fighting, where the enemy divisions were set up; and when I say that the South Vietnamese are taking up a pretty dirty side of the war, I am using his language, not mine. I must assume that he did not achieve the rank of general by not knowing his business. I know that the Army is just as competitive as many other fields in American life, and I must assume that he is telling the truth. I had the privilege of living with General Westmoreland for 4 days, and if that general was not telling the truth, I am certain that General Westmoreland would not permit him to brief people such as I, who come there to learn what the facts are.

I thank the Senator for allowing me to interrupt. I did not mean to speak at this length, but I felt that since the picture was going so quickly in one direction, and many facets are being glossed over, I should like to attract attention for a moment to the facts I have stated.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on the last point?

Mr. PERCY. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in my committee we have had direct conflict in the evidence on this question about the ARVN Army. The representatives of the Pentagon have stated very much what the Senator from California has said. We had a very high-ranking civilian member of the administration who had been out there. Mr. Komer—

Mr. COOPER. I believe it was Mr. Porter.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes. Mr. Porter, the Deputy Ambassador. His testimony was the opposite. It was in accord with what the Senator said in his overwhelming evidence. I can say from my experience, from letters I have received, and from my observation, that it accords with what the real facts are.

Mr. PERCY. I thank the Senator for this additional statement.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, who has the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has the floor.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the Senator from California has raised some valid questions. But we are not talking about the same matter. He is talking about how a military victory might be won. The President said that is not our purpose.

What I have been talking about and what I think others have been talking about is how to bring the war to an end by negotiations and to achieve our purpose in Vietnam without war, under conditions of peace—which is the only way I think these goals can be achieved.

Mr. President, I am prepared to yield the floor. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I find myself in somewhat of a double-barreled situation because I had hoped to participate in dialog with the Senator from Kentucky, and in waiting for my turn I found myself caught in the crossfire of a separate and unrelated matter.

I hope that the junior Senator from Illinois is willing to remain in the Chamber until he and I might get the floor and discuss the seven points he sets forth. If we can set those aside for a moment——

Mr. COOPER. I have not addressed my remarks to any domestic or political situation.

Mr. McGEE. That is why I wish to ask the Senator a question or two about his speech. The Senator, as he always does, provokes what to me is helpful dialog on this very troublesome question.

First of all, I wonder if the Senator from Kentucky means to suggest to us, as I thought he said, that because of our preponderance of strength, power, and force, that we can do more about the aftermath of a bombing suspension in Vietnam than can the North Vietnamese. Did I understand the Senator correctly in that suggestion?

Mr. COOPER. I have two points. First, we have great power, force, and influence in the world. We can take a step toward bringing about peace without loss of face because of our power and influence, that a smaller nation could not take. Second, suppose the stopping of bombing does not bring about negotiations. I spoke to that point. I said if we have to fight, we can fight just as well in South Vietnam, protected by our fire power which now is spread over all of Vietnam. I spent my 4 years in the Army in the war in Europe but I am not a military expert. The confinement of the war seems a better road to negotiations and our security than the present policy of ever-increasing escalation.

Mr. McGEE. The reason for my question is, if my memory serves me correctly, in previous bombing pauses the interruption of the bombing was not met by Vietnamese inaction. The best evidence we have is that they took advantage of it by bringing up and sending in more supplies and men. It looks to me as if it is wrong to point the finger to us and suggest that because of our preponderance of power and if we take a breather that is all they ask. That does not seem to be all they ask. They move in in a hurry the moment they get extra squirming room and send in more men and supplies.

Mr. COOPER. I raised that question. I said, in my view, they past pauses—and "pause" is the correct word because they were only pauses—were hedged with time limitations or done during religious holidays when time ran out.

What has been required, although we do not like it much, is unconditional cessation of bombing.

I gave reasons why I believe the North Vietnamese insist on "unconditional." It is because they consider the United States an aggressor against their territory.

Let us try this approach. If it brings negotiations for peace the world would be happy, the United States would be happy, and North and South Vietnam would be happy. If it does not work I suggest confinement of the battlefield to South Vietnam, and according to testimony many have given, including the Secretary of Defense, our bombing has not hindered much the actual infiltration and passage of supplies from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. That is the point.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, my friend, the Senator from Kentucky, in the colloquy which followed his very thought-provoking speech, was asked to comment on the American national interest in this whole area and what we had at stake in this matter.

It seemed to me, as I listened to that colloquy, that conspicuous by its absence was the suggestion that there was realistically much more at stake than what happened to the Vietnamese.

As I remembered in listening to the President on Saturday night, as many of us have been saying for some time, as these leaders have been saying, what we are doing has already made a difference.

Does it mean nothing that President Marcos of the Philippines said that if it was not for our effort in Vietnam it would only be a matter of time, and they would face the same problem; that the Foreign Minister of Thailand said that they would be next to face the threat if we do not hold the line; that Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said, "If you do not hold out we are finished"?

What about the Burmese who now are saying that our presence there will determine their future? What about Malaysia who advised the United Nations, a few weeks ago, that they are only one step removed, and that if we do not hold, then they are next? What about the shift in position of Sihanouk of Cambodia, who is now discovering that his problems are closing in?

Mr. COOPER. I would not rely too much on Sihanouk.

Mr. McGEE. What about the poor Indonesians who told me, after I had visited there not long ago, that their chance for constructive change stemmed largely from our presence in Vietnam?

That is a part of the question of Vietnam, really, which gives us a more proper and basic perspective of the issue, than just to talk about how we are bogged down there. What happens in this country could have very much more of a bearing on our security. Is the Senator's position that we let those areas go, that they do not make much difference anyway to our national interest?

Mr. COOPER. I am well aware of these problems. I have thought a great deal about them. The Senators and I have discussed these points before, earlier this year in this Chamber, and in other places as well.

I have visited some of the countries the Senator has mentioned, Thailand, the Philippines, and I was told that our presence in Vietnam was important to them. I am sure that if those countries should be invaded by China or North Vietnam, their governments would be very glad for us to come to their aid.

Mr. President, my judgment is that these countries will settle their own destinies. Sometimes I believe that they will settle them better if we are not there. When we go in, we are welcomed, for our generosity and good will. But, after a time, the spirit of nationalism asserts itself, disagreements occur, the people begin to dislike us, and finally we are asked to leave.

Our position and purpose is not colonial, but the human instinct of people is the same toward the domination or long continued pressure of the armed forces of other countries.

I draw a little bit upon my own experience in India. I remember, when I went there, it was difficult for our people in the United States to understand what we called India's neutralism, which the Indians called nonalinement. Some felt that they were morally at fault because they would not commit themselves to our side of democratic government.

I listened while I was there, and I learned something of what they meant by nonalinement. It is that the first desire is to be independent—independent of outside domination; free to make their own decisions.

I must say this, that even if we intervene in other countries, with the best of intentions, I do not believe in the long run that we can do much about prescribing what their governments and what their societies should be. In fact, our presence can stir up the spirit of nationalism against the regime we assist.

But the Senators have asked the more immediate question; should we get out of Vietnam and would it endanger other countries?

It might affect Thailand because of our large forces there. Of course, we are faced with the same danger in Thailand that we faced in Vietnam—involvement in war, but if we could help settle the war in Vietnam and withdraw, the countries in the area will have a better opportunity to develop their governments and societies by agreement among themselves without our presence, without war, and aggression from the Communists.

Mr. McGEE. I think that the Senator and I are talking about two different things.

Mr. COOPER. I do not think so.

Mr. McGEE. I suggest that because I agree with him that I do not believe we should make little Americans or little Democrats out of these people. That is their business. They have to evolve in their own way. What they have been saying to us, as their leaders remind us, is the importance of our presence there, that might give them the opportunity to achieve their full-blown independence. They want the chance to evolve whatever form of government they think best fits their part of the world.

They feel they will not get that chance if there are skillfully calculated outside forces already underway that by infiltration, terrorism, try to take them over through violence, and not through the peaceful evolution of change and under conditions of stability.

At the very time Vietnam became the critical question in our foreign policy, it seemed to me that the evidence of the presence of trained guerrilla cadres was already apparent in northeastern Thailand. Thailand will tell us that they thought their days were numbered at that time if we had not intervened.

Mao Tse-tung bragged that the Thais were next.

Still, 9,000 trained cadres from Hanoi were in the eastern third or half of Laos, in violation of the truce.

Whose independence are they interested in?

There are now cadres of the National Liberation Front which Cambodia affirms are present in two of their northeastern provinces.

Whose independence are they interested in?

What the Philippines, the Thais, the Vietnamese, the Malaysians, and the people in Singapore are trying to say is that they want that opportunity. As President Marcos of the Philippines reminded us, the only power in the world in Asia today capable of winning them that chance is the United States.

They ask for that chance.

I think that is the essence of our presence there. We are the wall, the umbrella, or whatever figure of speech you wish to describe it. That is our role.

They want to do it themselves, if they can achieve stability, political sophistication, and economic viability which will permit them independence. They do not want to be confronted by a new regime forced upon them by the mobilizing of terrorist groups from the outside. It is as simple and as elementary as that.

Our role is to help them win that

time, in the desperate hope that some day they will architect the new infrastructure of Asia, that they will be the keeper of the peace in Asia. The sooner that comes about the happier we shall all be. But they have to have that chance to achieve that opportunity.

Thus, it seems to me that is why we are talking about two different things, not about making democrats out of them, or even achieving their independence now, because their independence was in jeopardy before we were ever there, because a number of designs were already being practiced in the field by the National Liberation Front on more than one frontier at the same time.

That is the reason I raised that question with the Senator from Kentucky. I agree with him that they should go their own way and should build the institutions and systems which fit them best. But they must have the opportunity to do so, and we must oppose someone imposing on them from the outside by force. That is the reason for this.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. I should like to point out that from my experience as an observer at the recent elections, at the request of the President of the United States, we have records that over 1,000 persons were killed by terrorists trying to stop the election, trying to impede the election, trying to frighten people from exercising their right to vote in a democratic process.

Our purpose there was not to try to influence an election. We were sent there merely to find out how it was being conducted. We found that it was being conducted very well—much better than many elections in our own country, let me say.

However, we never heard very much about the 1,000 people who were killed in order to keep them from exercising their right to vote. The Senator, I am glad to say, has put his finger on the important part.

The propaganda against us is that we are the aggressors. If one listened to the Russian ambassador to the United Nations, we have been the aggressor for 30 years in every instance. I said at one time:

> If he is telling the truth, the United States, should be put out of the United Nations because we have broken the rule, and if he is not telling the truth, he should be put out for breaking the rule, that is, being dishonest.

The Senator has pointed out a most important question, which is that we are not there as conquerors or to impose our ideas or ideals of our own, but merely to protect these people, as stated by four American Presidents, in their right of self-determination, with some degree of safety.

If my colleagues do not recognize the importance of this, I suggest that they read the record of the imposition of tyranny through Europe and the results of the conquest there.

We had an example of this in Korea at one time. My friend General "Rosie" O'Donnell said he wanted to take out the Yalu bridges so that the supplies could be cut off. He said he could do it with 10 aircraft and no casualties. He was taken out of command and sent to March Field. I met him when it was done a year later. He said he had not been able to find out what the casualties were and how many Americans had been killed by that time.

I say this is not a simple proposition. It is not one-sided. But all the considerations and all the options should be placed on the table, and not just that of those who say let us get out of Southeast Asia at any price.

I agree with the Senator when he says if we get out of Southeast Asia, then that entire area, including Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines, are in jeopardy. Where then do we finally make the decision?

We have the same problem building up in Latin America. My distinguished colleague speaks about the safety of this hemisphere. It does not exist any more.

These are questions involved in this particular problem, and it is a problem that needs solving, but we must look at the board, overall problem.

I congratulate the Senator for making this point about the situation so clear in his remarks.

Mr. McGEE. I thank my friend the Senator from California, and conclude by suggesting that where we get off the track is to try to reduce this to a separable Vietnam problem. The Vietnam question is incidental. It happened to happen. It could have happened in half a dozen other places. Therefore, we ought to invoke some order in the suggestions which are made to keep them in their proper order and priority.

The real issue at stake is all of eastern Asia. Lee Kuang Yew has said:

> If we can prevail, all of eastern Asia will be closer to stability than at any time in this century.

I do not know whether that is right or not. I think most of them think they are edging toward that kind of condition. I think independence is a pretty cardinal principle that we have tried to write. It reads the same in all languages. But it is more than that. Southeast Asia makes a difference to the future structuring of Asia. We are a Pacific Ocean nation, and our future lies in that direction. The shape it takes will be determined to a large extent by what happens in Southeast Asia. As Lin Piao has said China is interested in this area because if she can move in there, she will outflank India, she will face headon the Philippines, and stand face to face with Malaysia. So this is indeed a calculable prize that some desire.

I think the shape of the new Asia will be conditioned by whether we seek to let people in Southeast Asia who are not Chinese structure their own countries or whether we forfeit them to the domination of the mainland group.

Mr. President, this is an area of a couple of hundred million people. It is an area rich in bauxite and tin and rice and other natural resources of great abundance. The Japanese thought enough of it to strike there as one of the objectives of its war. Other nations have recognized this area as of great significance. It lies astride the great trade route between East and West. It has a bountiful supply of resources and products that makes a great difference to the economic advance of its people. To me this is also a national interest reason for our country.

Finally, this area is of concern to us because, for the most part, as I see it, we brought about this condition. How did this vacuum occur in Southeast Asia that has tempted the predators of violence and terror to try to move in there? It was done by the United States. We destroyed Japan. We won the war. We made the British move out. We were instrumental in running the French and Dutch out of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. There were no allies who were in a very substantial role in World War II in the Pacific. It was an American undertaking in our own interest.

As a consequence can we now go home and say, "All right, we left it in a mess. We left a vacuum," or are we to shoulder that responsibility to try to put those pieces back together as meaningfully and as intelligently as mortals are empowered to do?

This is why we cannot dismiss the question lightly by saying it does not make any difference or that we do not have an obligation to be there. I say we have an obligation to be there because we turned out to be the fortunate victors in World War II. I appreciate that the role of the victor, under the old saying, used to be "the devil with the loser." I think the people expect a better statement from us, especially in view of the times in which we live.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I do not want to keep the floor all afternoon, because I know other Senators have business to transact; but my speech, although narrow in its terms, was, I hope, broad in its concept. I have not talked about withdrawal of forces from Vietnam. I said nothing about surrender. I stand for my country. I said we should try to find a means to bring about the war to a close and also to avoid an expansion of the war. That is what I have talked about and offered a plan.

I do not agree that Vietnam has such significance that we should accept a military solution which could involve this country in a larger war in Asia, with the predictable intervention of the Communist Chinese with the support of the Soviet Union. Such counsel, I think, blows the situation up beyond any sensible meaning. That is what I am arguing about.

We ought to confine this war to some reasonable scope and at the same time do all we can do to prevent its disastrous expansion, which will occur unless we change our course. That is what I have been arguing today.

Mr. McGEE. I want the Senator to know that I read his speech very carefully, but his speech did surface many comments. I was addressing myself to the comments which the speech provoked.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, did not the Senator from Kentucky have the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky has the floor unless he yields.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CURTIS. Who will have the floor when the Senator from Kentucky yields it? What is the order of business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous-consent agreement provided a limitless and endless amount of time to conclude this debate. As the Chair recalls the way the unanimous-consent agreement was ordered, it did not specify that the Senator from Kentucky had control of the floor throughout all the tenure of the debate. At the termination of the debate, the motion which was before the Senate earlier would be the pending order of business, and the Senator from Nebraska would be recognized, of course, to pursue this matter.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McGEE. Does that mean, then, that the colloquy that I asked permission to join in after the Senator from Kentucky leaves the floor, with the Senator from Illinois, to respond to his seven points, would be in order, under that unanimous-consent agreement?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is the opinion of the Chair that that would be a legitimate part of the entire area of debate, which revolves around the speech and discussion of the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McGEE. I thank the Presiding Officer.

Mr. COOPER. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Kentucky. Like all of us, I appreciate what he is trying to do. He is conscientiously trying to help us achieve some kind of a method for bringing this unfortunate war to an honorable conclusion.

What bothers me about the idea of this unilaterial cessation of bombing—and I am sure the Senator can check this—is that we have had testimony upon testimony from responsible military leaders, under whom troops are serving, leaders who go down to the hospitals every morning to see their men who have been wounded during the night, who tell us that a unilateral cessation of the bombing would cost us more and more casualties.

Now, I must say that testimony from people in that position of responsibility carries great weight with the Senator from Iowa. Certainly, I am sure the Senator from Kentucky is not advocating some step that would cost us more casualties, more men in hospitals, and more who will not come home. I wonder why the Senator does not accept the testimony of those people.

Mr. COOPER. I will respond by saying I addressed myself to this very question in the speech I made.

First, it is my hope that a cessation of bombing would be followed by negotiations. If that were true, then the problem the Senator has suggested would not be relevant.

Mr. MILLER. Will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. COOPER. Surely.

Mr. MILLER. Negotiations, possibly, yes. But there is nothing that I know of which indicates that negotiations might not proceed while fighting goes on, or while the enemy would take advantage of a cessation of the bombing to lock itself in more deeply.

Mr. COOPER. That is possible.

Mr. MILLER. That is, as I recall, what happened in Korea for a while; and it was the concern that there is no commitment from the other side, I am sure, that led President Johnson, last Friday night, to say very carefully—and this, I might say, was not picked up as much as it might have been in some of the stories I read about the speech—that we assume that while these talks are going on, there will not be an advantage taken by the other side.

I suggest that that assumption is absolutely indispensable to the idea of negotiations. If we cannot assume that, and if the enemy takes advantage of the pause and causes us more casualties, then it seems to me that that is not likely to help shorten the war.

Mr. COOPER. I have had to be frank. I said, first, my belief is that there will be no negotiations unless the bombing is stopped. That is my position. Second, I said that if bombing was stopped, and negotiations did not ensue, then the question of danger to the security of forces would arise. I question whether there would be any more danger with a cessation of bombing than has occurred with bombing. We have had to place 500,000 men over there, the casualty losses have steadily risen, and where we have reached the point where the danger of an expanded war increases—and since bombing started.

I have further said that I foresee the possibility that, with a constriction of the war, a gradual de-escalation on both sides might occur, and eventually bring the war to a conclusion.

Of course, these are questions that cannot be answered; and they will not be answered finally until the effort is made.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I follow up my first question with this: Does not the Senator from Kentucky recognize that throughout 1966, as the testimony before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, which has been released to all Senators, pointed out, only 1 percent of all of the sorties flown in the north were directed at what might be called key military targets, and that it has only been within the last 60 days or so that there has been attention focused on the quality of military targets, which might persuade the enemy that it is paying too high a price, between what is taking place in the south and what is taking place in the north, and that thus by holding back this air and sea arm, which we have the advantage of possessing, we might actually be causing the war to be still more prolonged than if we used it to its best advantage to shorten the war?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I am certainly aware of the testimony and of the report, and I have heard some of the generals testify. I have also been briefed on South Vietnam, and have received, I may say, a very thorough and I think absolutely honest briefing.

I am acquainted with briefings. I have heard them during World War II, as did the Senator from Iowa.

I recognize that the function and mission of military men is to win the war. They have what is called a military mission. The Senator knows, having been in the military service, that they propose courses of action under the doctrine of military necessity, to do whatever is necessary to accomplish the mission.

That is the function of the military man. It is his duty and humble duty. I am not getting into the military field at all.

The President said we do not have a military mission to win the war, that we have a mission to help South Vietnam become a free and viable state. I am merely proposing what others have proposed, that we take steps to see if we can accomplish our correct mission by peaceful, political and not by military means.

That is the only answer I can give.

Mr. MILLER. The Senator knows that every Senator would like to see our objectives attained by peaceful means and not by war.

Mr. COOPER. I know that, and nothing that I have said here would in any way derogate that. All in the Chamber, in the House, our President, want the same objective.

Mr. MILLER. Does not the Senator recognize that in order to attain the political objective which he just stated, it is essential that people in South Vietnam be free from terror and outside aggression? Does the Senator think that political objective can be obtained if the South Vietnamese are not free from terror and subversion and outside aggression?

Mr. COOPER. I know that objective has not been attained by war, and I am proposing another course.

Mr. MILLER. It has not been attained so far.

Mr. COOPER. The matters and decisions which relate to the shape of South Vietnam will have to be made, in my judgment, in negotiations. The negotiations will come at some time. Then, whether South Vietnam achieves those objectives will depend upon what the government and the people of South Vietnam do.

We can help every country in that area with military forces and money, but unless they reform and provide some advancements in the living standards of the people, in time revolution will occur. That is my judgment.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I thoroughly agree. However, I would like to make one point.

It is true that the war has not so far

brought about the situation which is necessary to provide for the political objective we seek. It has in some parts of Vietnam, but not in the country as a whole.

I wonder why that statement could not have been made during the course of World War II by somebody saying: "We are not obtaining our objectives in restoring Europe to freedom and taking back the islands in the Pacific." That statement would not mean that we could not hope to achieve those objectives as the war progressed.

Now that the bombing is obviously causing the north to pay a price they do not want to pay, it seems to me this is an unfortunate time for us, in effect, to stop what we are doing.

It appears to me that we have hopes of attaining our objectives much sooner than many of us might think. However, to say that we have not attained our objectives in a matter of about 2 years in a country which is most difficult to fight a war in, I think is denying the fact that we have hoped that our military power could provide the very atmosphere that is necessary to attain the objectives.

I am afraid that if we do not do it, we will have an atmosphere which will not provide for this political objective for a very long time, and it will not help to say that there may be hope for insurrection over there. The people in Cuba have lost hope for insurrection. The people in the captive nations of Europe have lost hope for insurrection.

I hope that the people in South Vietnam will not have to lose hope, too.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I have great respect for the views of the Senator from Iowa, and I thank him.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I have promised to yield first to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and then to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK].

Mr. PELL. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I did not have a chance to hear the Senator's speech. However, I read it carefully.

I congratulate him and commend him on his speech.

I felt and have said from the beginning that the bombing has been counterproductive to our interest, to the interest of Vietnam, and to the interest of the world.

Our objective originally was threefold: first to hurt the morale of the North Vietnamese; second, to improve the morale of the South Vietnamese; and, third, to stop the flow of men and supplies from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. Actually, just the reverse has happened. First, the morale of the North Vietnamese, or, at least, their leaders, has been hardened, not weakened. This, too, is what history shows us to be the case when a country starts being subjected to civilian bombing. Second, Truong Dinh Dzu the candidate who stood for peace and a cessation of bombing, is the candidate who, after the Government-sponsored slate, polled most strongly in the recent election. And, third, Secretary of Defense McNamara himself has said:

> I don't believe that the bombing up to the present has significantly reduced, nor any bombing that I could contemplate in the future, would significantly reduce the actual flow of men and material to the South.

I think the speech of the Senator was altogether excellent. I congratulate him on it.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator. Only recently he made a very thoughtful and constructive speech on the problem of Vietnam—which should be read and studied widely.

Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I express some concern with the speech which is well thought out, well expressed, and highly thoughtful in trying to suggest some method by which we can arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

I know that this is exactly what the Senator is trying to do. The difficulty with it is, it seems to me, that we look at this only from our side and not from the point of view of some of the statements that have been made out of North Vietnam.

Just last Sunday, David Schoenbrun had an article in the Washington Post, a copy of which I do not have present. However, it was an article that I read with great interest because under no circumstances can he be called a hawk.

He had had an interview with the North Vietnamese Prime Minister and was discussing this very issue.

The Prime Minister of North Vietnam said that in trying to determine when negotiations would be possible, he would refer back to the interview of August 27, I believe it was. It listed the four points, once again, that he had made.

One was the definitive and unconditional stopping of our bombing raids on North Vietnam. That is the point the Senator addressed himself to. However, it goes much further than that. It then says "and all other acts of war."

Point No. 2 is that we have to withdraw all our troops and all the troops of our allies out of Vietnam.

Point No. 3 is that we have to recognize the Vietcong, the National Liberation Front, as the sole representative of the Vietnamese people.

Point No. 4 is that the Vietnamese people can then settle their own affairs among themselves.

The difficulty with this is that there is no room here for the optimism, as far as I can see, to say that the simple matter of stopping the bombing is going to result in negotiations. If it does not result in negotiations, then we are in about the same position we were in before we started the bombings. However, in the meantime we will have given them the opportunity to repair the damage that has been done there and to concentrate their forces near the South Vietnamese borders where it will hurt us the most.

I think there is this fundamental distinction which has not been brought out here. As far as the North Vietnamese are concerned, there are not two countries there. There is only one country, and since there is only one country, there is no boundary by which they are obligated under a treaty or anything else to recognize.

They feel, consequently, that they can go through the country at will and do what they want to impose their own will on both the north and the south.

It is this problem, it seems to me, that creates the major danger in trying to forecast that we will get negotiations with a cessation of bombing.

In order to obtain negotiations, there are three or perhaps four other things that we would have to do before they would enter into negotiations. And if we do not get negotiations this way, then I think we have placed our own position and that of the South Vietnamese in more jeopardy than at present.

This is the reason why it seems to me we should approach this matter very carefully.

I might say, in passing, that when I was in Vietnam in May of this year, I discussed these possibilities at some length with our State Department representatives in the area as well as with the military. The State Department personnel, so far as I know, did then and would now reflect, I believe, a great reluctance to cut off the damage that is being inflicted on North Vietnam, and I believe they would do this from the diplomatic point of view that I have just mentioned. We have no assurances of any reciprocity if we start to deescalate.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I will respond briefly.

I may say that everything the Senator from Colorado has said is precise and thoughtful. What he has said with respect to the statement of conditions that at times have been laid down to the North Vietnamese is absolutely correct. In referring to the response of Ho Chi Minh to President Johnson's letter of February 10 of this year, I said that Ho Chi Minh laid down the same list of requirements; but that he emphasized, at the close, that the cessation of bombing had to occur.

U Thant has also reported this. Premier Kosygin told President Johnson that if cessation of bombing occurred, negotiations would result.

I know that other requirements have been laid down, but I have said that cessation has been emphasized again and again.

It is also correct that North Vietnam considers Vietnam as a whole. That was contemplated by the Geneva agreement. But unless we take some affirmative means other than we have been taking, I see no change at all—just more of what we have been doing.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. I believe the Senator has said that the Geneva agreement pointed out that North Vietnam considered the entire country as one.

Mr. COOPER. No, not the Geneva agreement. The Geneva agreement itself considered the whole country as one. The 17th parallel was to be a temporary arrangement.

Mr. MURPHY. I thought that was a

result of the Geneva agreement, which was agreed to by the North but never agreed to by the South Vietnamese or the United States.

Mr. COOPER. The Geneva Conference agreed that Vietnam was one state. But for the purposes of arranging affairs preparatory to election and arranging the withdrawal of troops and the movement of people from one area to another, the 17th parallel was established as a temporary dividing line, with the understanding that 2 years later there would be an election throughout the entire country.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. COOPER. And to constitute a government for the whole country. The only agreement signed was an armistice agreement between France and the Vietminh. A statement was issued—as my colleague [Mr. Morton] knows so well, because he was an Assistant Secretary of State at that time—approved by all the parties except South Vietnam and the United States.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Senator. I just desired to make certain in my mind that I understood the facts correctly.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I have said that I would yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the able Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. President, I respect very highly the able Senator from Kentucky, as he knows, but I could not disagree with him more violently on any matter than to put into effect the cessation of bombing in North Vietnam.

I do not know whether the Senator has had occasion to read some of the testimony before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services with respect to the air war against North Vietnam. I would invite his attention to the statement of General Johnson, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and I shall quote two paragraphs which I believe are pertinent to this matter:

> First, the air campaign is making it more difficult for the North Vietnamese to support enemy forces in the South. They have had to divert an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 personnel to full and part-time war-related tasks to counteract the effects of the air campaign. These individuals represent a work effort and, perhaps more sigificantly, management and technical skills that might otherwise be more directly engaged in support of activities in the South. The high level of attacks since the advent of good weather in April, particularly against the lines of communication in the northeast quadrant, has resulted in a major increase in the level of damage inflicted. Although trucks, rail cars, and equipment are replaceable, and bridges and rail lines repairable, valuable North Vietnamese resources must be diverted to accomplish this repair and replacement. Thus, these resources are unavailable for commitment to South Vietnam.
>
> Second, the air campaign is exacting a cost from North Vietnam for her aggression. In this regard we have also achieved some success. All or substantial segments of the militarily important elements of North Vietnam's limited industrial bases have been destroyed; for example, her explosives, pig iron, and cement production facilities as well as her thermal power plants have suffered major damage.
>
> In summary, I believe that air attacks in the North have contributed significantly to the success we have achieved thus far in South Vietnam.

According to General Johnson, the Chief of Staff of the Army, if we did not bomb, 500,000 to 600,000 personnel would not have to be diverted as they are being diverted because of our bombing. It seems to me that is a very important point and is very significant in substantiation of the bombing. I did not know whether or not the Senator had seen that statement, and I thought he would like it called to his attention, if he had not.

Mr. COOPER. May I say that I have read the statement.

Mr. THURMOND. Also, the new Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Moorer, testified, in a very short paragraph, to this effect:

> Well, I think there is no question about the fact that the bombing has certainly reduced their capability to conduct operations in South Vietnam. It has greatly increased the difficulty with respect to repairing roads and mobilizing forces and increased the effort they have had to take to repair their facilities that are struck, and so on. Had we not conducted the bombing, there is no question about the fact that the effort they are putting forth in South Vietnam would be much larger.

In other words, Admiral Moorer's view is that if we had not conducted the bombing, the effort by the North Vietnamese would have been much stronger, much more powerful, much greater, and, naturally, would have caused the loss of many more lives.

So the evidence is clear, in the testimony of these people whom I am quoting very briefly, that the air war has been a tremendous asset to our side in this war.

General McConnell, the Air Force Chief of Staff, was asked this question:

> What is your assessment of what the impact of halting the bombing north of the 20th parallel would be; what impact would that have on the war in the south?
>
> General McConnell. If you stopped that I think it would enable them, in a matter of time, to recover all of their normal ways of life up there. They would be able to bring in a lot more equipment, and they could certainly increase their rate of infiltration. They undoubtedly would move their defenses, which they have already done, down into the Route Packages [deleted] and we would find it pretty hot down there.

General McConnell takes the same position as the others I have mentioned.

General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was asked this question by the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith]:

> General Wheeler, you have stated that the war in Vietnam is a single war, and that air strikes in North Vietnam have an important influence on combat operations in South Vietnam.
>
> Is it your belief that a reduction or restriction of the bombing of the North would result in increased casualties of allied forces in the South because of the increased support which the enemy would receive there?
>
> General Wheeler. That is correct, Senator Smith; that is my belief.

Then, Admiral Sharp, our commander in the Pacific, who has command over General Westmoreland and that entire area, was asked this question by me:

> Admiral Sharp, this morning you stated that the less bombing we do, the more troops we would need in South Vietnam. That was the effect of your statement, was it not?
>
> Admiral Sharp. If we stop bombing.
>
> Senator Thurmond. If we stop bombing, we would have to have more troops?
>
> Admiral Sharp. That's right.

Mr. President, what does this mean? It simply means, as I see it—and as has been testified to by General Johnson, General McConnell, General Wheeler, and Admiral Sharp, our commander in chief in that area; and all of these people take the same position—it would be a great mistake to bring about a cessation of bombing.

They say, first, that the bombing is now diverting 500,000 to 600,000 people from aiding the north in the war against the south. That is one strong reason. They say further that if we stop the bombing, more troops will be required. That is exactly what the American people do not want. The American people do not want to have to send more troops to Vietnam.

My answer is that we should do more bombing. Every one of those gentlemen who testified took that position. All the military people took the position that they would like to see the restrictions lifted on the bombing. If we would do that and permit them to bomb all military targets they wish to bomb to win the war, and close the port of Haiphong, through which 85 percent of the supplies pass for the enemy, as well as the other two ports, we could cut off the north from receiving essential, and otherwise unavailable, supplies.

Without the help of the Soviets I do not believe the war could last but a brief while. The Soviets supply surface-to-air missiles, the Soviets supply Mig planes, the Soviets supply antiaircraft artillery, communications, complex radar, and all the equipment necessary in order to assist the north in fighting this war.

Red China is supplying some small arms and ammunition, but most of this equipment is supplied by the Soviets. If we had the courage to close the port of Haiphong and the other ports, and cut off supplies and remove restrictions on the bombing—and military men want both of these things—we could bring the war to a close in a reasonable time.

We have had a cessation of bombing several times. What happened? Military people tell us that the North used that cessation of bombing every time—not once, but every time—to increase their supply line south, to regroup and repair damaged facilities without fear of danger from the air, to fortify themselves in all respects to continue the war even more aggressively.

Does the Senator have any evidence that if we have a cessation of bombing the north is not going to use that opportunity to fortify itself again, to bring in more supplies, to get ready to continue this fight longer? If so, it is new information, it is vital information, and it would be most helpful. We have had no assurance.

My argument with the President has been that we have not used our power properly over there. In World War II, we put all of the power necessary, and in a proper fashion, to win it. The Senator was in that war and he knows.

We put in the power necessary to win it and win it as quickly as we could. We have not done that in Vietnam. We have fought with one hand behind our backs, as we did in Korea. We are only fighting for a stalemate, not a military victory. The President has said that over and over. I predict if we do not have a military victory there, we will have to fight again and maybe the next time it will be nearer home where our people will be endangered to a greater extent.

This is not a war between the north and the south. This is not a civil war. This is a war by the Communists to take over the world. This is just another battleground chosen by the Communists to wage another war in their goal of world domination.

We have the power to win. They could not stand it if we were to bomb as we ought to; they could not stand it if we were to cut off all supplies. We could win this war in a brief period, I firmly believe, if we put the power there and made it so hot for them that they could not take it.

Mr. President, I went to Vietnam a few months ago. I talked to our men. I not only talked to our generals, but I also talked to noncommissioned officers and privates. I went out on a battleship; I was in touch with the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, all of them. The opinion among our military people is practically unanimous. They want to win it and they want to fight. They know what it takes to do it. But they are not allowed to do it.

The Senator may have reached the conclusion that we are not going to win it and that we are not going to put our power in there. The Senator advocates a cessation of bombing. From the way in which we have been fighting this war, I can see how it is so frustrating, and it might bring about a temptation for a cessation. However, the Communists do not operate that way. The Communists choose the time and place. The Communists make the decisions. They choose whether to stand and fight in South Vietnam. They are the ones who precipitated the war.

Who started this war; who came into South Vietnam; who inspired these guerrillas; who is supplying these guerrillas; who is giving leadership and training to the guerrillas and the Vietcong? It is the Communists of the Soviet Union and Red China and North Vietnam.

In my judgment, this will continue as long as the people of America appear divided. I think one of the greatest harms we can do in this country is to give the impression that our people would stop bombing. One of the greatest harms we can do is to give the impression that our people are divided. I can tell the Senate that in my experience in traveling throughout this country, speaking with the American people, the American people want this war won; they want to win it in a hurry, and get our American boys home. In my opinion, a cessation of bombing will not do that. A cessation of bombing will increase the timespan before we can bring the boys home.

These men I have mentioned are top military people in this administration; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, every chief of staff, and our commander in the Pacific, the top man, every one of them feels that we should lift the restrictions on the bombing, close the ports, and cut off enemy supplies.

Mr. President, I want to call the attention of the Senator to this, because I do not know whether he has read the testimony of all of these people or not. But again, I say, I can see that he might feel frustrated because we have not gone ahead and won the war, but I firmly believe that what he is advocating will not be in our best interests, but on the contrary. I would advocate putting more power in there as quickly as possible, and ending the war. We have got to have the will to win as well as the power to win. We have not said yet that we are going to win. All we say is defend, defend. That is what we did in Korea and we are still there—just defending. We have a stalemate there. The same thing will happen in Vietnam. If we have a stalemate there, we will have to keep troops there for years and years unless the Communists are allowed to take it over.

I hope that public opinion in this country will rise to the point that it will demand the President win the war.

We can win. We should win. We should do it as promptly as possible so that we will not have to send more troops there, so that we will be able to bring our American boys back home as soon as possible.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I must respond to the Senator's remarks. The Senator has spoken at some length so I think I should be permitted to respond briefly.

The position taken by the Senator from South Carolina is a position held by some people in this country. I do not know how many, but it is an opinion held by many.

As I stated to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], it is a perfectly reasonable position for the military to take, because their responsibility is to achieve a military mission by whatever means is necessary. They have to take that position.

I take issue with the Senator from South Carolina in saying that the military people should have the right and the authority over the President of the United States.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. I am sure that the Senator would not wish to misquote what I said, but——

Mr. COOPER. The Senator implied it by saying that we should follow their decisions.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I did not——

Mr. COOPER. Well, I say that——

Mr. THURMOND. I said that the military people know how to win the war.

Mr. COOPER. All right.

Mr. THURMOND. At least, that they advocate a certain policy. But the President makes the decisions. The President does not have to follow their recommendations. He is not obliged to follow them.

Mr. COOPER. But the President of the United States speaks for all the people. He has got to decide whether a policy recommended by the military is one which will be in the best interests of the country, or whether it might go far beyond the immediate military objectives which the military commanders might want to obtain.

He has got to determine whether that course of action would lead to far more difficult and possibly terrible consequences. To say that they should be let loose—as fine and as honorable men as they are—in performing their duty, which is to accomplish a military mission, so that their determination should be accepted, although that might lead us into a war on a greater land mass with Communist China, or perhaps the Soviet Union, is just beyond any kind of serious contemplation.

Let me say also, and I will close, why should we follow their judgments? They are chiefly responsible for our being in this war.

I have great admiration and respect for Gen. Maxwell Tayor, who advised President Kennedy. I respect him as a very attractive, brilliant, military man, very able military tactician. But unfortunately, he gave political advice to President Kennedy and again to President Johnson which I do not believe has been most helpful.

The thing we have to determine is: Which is the chicken and which is the egg?

These military men say that if we did not bomb, the great flow and volume of supplies would continue to come down into South Vietnam. But those supplies were not coming down in such quantity until we began the bombing.

Mr. THURMOND. Oh, yes; they were.

Mr. COOPER. Some supplies, yes; but it needed only 24,000 American soldiers to help contain them. Now we have over 500,000 and, in spite of the bombing, the flow of supplies has not been substantially reduced in the sense that it helps the South Vietnamese.

I appreciate the Senator's comments. We are old friends under arms, but I cannot agree with him.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will my colleague from Kentucky yield to me?

Mr. COOPER. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MORTON. I am sorry that I could not be in the Chamber to listen to my colleague's remarks. I have read them with much interest. I have followed some of this colloquy for some time now. I want to associate myself with my colleague and point out that total military victory, which might mean complete destruction and the complete surrender of North Vietnam, would leave us with a policing job for years to come in a country located right on the borders of Communist China.

I wonder what we would do if the Chinese Communists decided to invade India. A commitment of 5 million men, perhaps, would be necessary. These are some of the problems we shall have to consider.

I commend my colleague for an excellent statement.

Mr. COOPER. I thank my friend and colleague very much. I appreciate his statement.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I did not hear all the debate which has raged on this floor all day, but I did read the Senator's speech and I read it with some care. I think it is important that debate on Vietnam should not become a partisan matter. It is too important a question.

I commend the Senator for what he said. I agree with everything he said.

I note that at least one and possibly more Members on my side of the aisle have also commended the Senator, and I am glad that they have.

I note that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton] has commended his colleague, and others, who feel quite differently about it. There is no doubt about the fact that the Senate is divided on this question of whether the bombing should be stopped.

It seems to me the more we think about it, the more we discuss it, the more we read about it, the clearer it becomes that the calculated risk of stopping the bombing, in the hope that we can stop the war and get to the negotiating table, is well worth taking.

I find myself in complete disagreement with the Senator from South Carolina whose comments I did hear.

As a Democrat, I want to commend the Senator from Kentucky, a Republican, for what he has just said. I assure him that I do not think this is a partisan political matter. I hope it will not become one. In my opinion, the course of action outlined by both Senators from Kentucky is completely sound.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator. I read the Senator's statement last Friday on the same subject, and I also remember his statement last year calling for cessation of bombing.

This issue could become a partisan matter. That is one of the reasons I hope action will be taken before it becomes so partisan as to be a shambles.

The war affects all parties, the entire country. We must consider it from that viewpoint.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask for the floor at this time because my good friend from Illinois [Mr. Percy] has made a statement here and by agreement I should like to address myself to it. The Senator is not in the Chamber at the moment, and I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Spong in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S STAND IN VIETNAM WILL BE CONFIRMED BY HISTORY

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, in a succinct, logical, and unemotional manner, the President of the United States last week restated the rationale of the American commitment in Vietnam.

In a serious speech to a gathering of elected State officials from all over the country, Lyndon B. Johnson again told the American nation what it already knew: that we are fighting in Vietnam so that our grandchildren may not have to fight; that the American commitment is vigorously approved by almost every free leader of Asia.

The President cited our commitments under the SEATO Treaty. Is there anyone recommending now that we nullify this treaty because it is being severely tested?

He cited our willingness to meet the postwar challenges of Greece, Turkey, Berlin, Korea, and Cuba. Is there anyone recommending that we now abdicate our responsibility to continue meeting such challenges?

He cited the Communists' belief that the United States would tire, become divided, withdraw. Is that the course for "the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

The President said—and I believe the Nation stands with him—that the United States will persevere until there is a sign that Hanoi seeks an honorable negotiated settlement which does not sacrifice South Vietnam to expediency.

The President said—and I believe the Nation stands with him—that the true peacekeepers are the men in Vietnam on the line and in the demilitarized zone who are preventing the takeover by one nation of another nation.

I commend this serious address of the President to the country and the people.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's speech before the National Legislative Conference be inserted in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of the President Before the National Legislative Conference, Villita Assembly Hall, San Antonio, Tex.

Speaker Barnes, Governor Hughes, Governor Smith, Congressman Kazen, Representative Graham, most distinguished legislators, ladies and gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear before an organization whose members contribute every day such important work to the public affairs of our State and of our country.

This evening I came here to speak to you about Vietnam.

I do not have to tell you that our people are profoundly concerned about that struggle.

There are passionate convictions about the wisest course for our nation to follow. There are many sincere and patriotic Americans who harbor doubts about sustaining the commitment that three Presidents and a half a million of our young men have made.

Doubt and debate are enlarged because the problems of Vietnam are quite complex. They are a mixture of political turmoil—of poverty—of religious and factional strife—of ancient servitude and modern longing for freedom. Vietnam is all of these things.

Vietnam is also the scene of a powerful aggression that is spurred by an appetite for conquest.

It is the arena where Communist expansionism is most aggressively at work in the world today—where it is crossing international frontiers in violation of international agreements; where it is killing and kidnapping; where it is ruthlessly attempting to bend free people to its will.

Into this mixture of subversion and war, of terror and hope, America has entered—with its material power and with its moral commitment.

Why?

Why should three Presidents and the elected representatives of our people have chosen to defend this Asian nation more than ten thousand miles from American shores?

We cherish freedom—yes. We cherish self-determination for all people—yes. We abhor the political murder of any state by another, and the bodily murder of any people by gangsters of whatever ideology. And for 27 years—since the days of Lend-Lease—we have sought to strengthen free people against domination by aggressive foreign powers.

But the key to all we have done is really our own security. At times of crisis—before asking Americans to fight and die to resist aggression in a foreign land—every American President has finally had to answer this question:

Is the aggression a threat—not only to the immediate victim—but to the United States of America and to the peace and security of the entire world of which we in America are a very vital part?

That is the question which Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson had to answer in facing the issue in Vietnam.

That is the question that the Senate of the United States answered by a vote of 82 to 1 when it ratified and approved the SEATO treaty in 1955, and to which the members of the United States Congress responded in a resolution that it passed in 1964 by a vote of 504 to 2. "The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Those who tell us us now that we should abandon our commitment—that securing South Vietnam from armed domination is not worth the price we are paying—must also answer this question. And the test they must meet is this: What would be the consequence of letting armed aggression against South Vietnam succeed? What would follow in the time ahead? What kind of world are they prepared to live in five months or five years from tonight?

For those who have borne the responsibility for decision during these past 10 years, the stakes to us have seemed clear—and have seemed high.

President Dwight Eisenhower said in 1959:

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. The freedom of 12 million people would be lost immediately, and that of 150 million in adjacent lands would be seriously endangered. The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom. . .".

And President John F. Kennedy said in 1962:

". . . Withdrawal in the case of Vietnam and the case of Thailand might mean a collapse of the entire area."

A year later, he reaffirmed that:

"We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there."

This is not simply an American viewpoint, I would have you legislative leaders know. I am going to call the roll now of those who live in that part of the world—in the great arc of Asian and Pacific nations—and who bear the responsibility for leading their people, and the responsibility for the fate of their people.

The President of the Philippines has this to say:

"Vietnam is the focus of attention now . . . It may happen to Thailand or the Philippines, or anywhere, wherever there is misery, disease, ignorance . . . For you to renounce your position of leadership in Asia is to allow the Red Chinese to gobble up all of Asia."

The Foreign Minister of Thailand said:

"(The American) decision will go down in history as the move that prevented the world from having to face another major conflagration."

The Prime Minister of Australia said:

"We are there because while Communist aggression persists the whole of Southeast Asia is threatened."

President Park of Korea said:

"For the first time in our history, we decided to dispatch our combat troops overseas . . . because in our belief any aggression against the Republic of Vietnam represented a direct and grave menace against the security and peace of free Asia, and therefore directly jeopardized the very security and freedom of our own people."

The Prime Minister of Malaysia warned his people that if the United States pulled out of South Vietnam, it would go to the Communists, and after that, it would only be a matter of time until they moved against neighboring states.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand said:

"We can thank God that America at least regards aggression in Asia with the same concern as it regards aggression in Europe—and is prepared to back up its concern with action."

The Prime Minister of Singapore said:

"I feel the fate of Asia—South and Southeast Asia—will be decided in the next few years by what happens out in Vietnam."

I cannot tell you tonight as your President—with certainty—that a Communist conquest of South Vietnam would be followed by a Communist conquest of Southeast Asia. But I do know there are North Vietnamese troops in Laos. I do know that there are North Vietnamese trained guerrillas tonight in Northeast Thailand. I do know that there are Communist-supported guerrilla forces operating in Burma. And a Communist coup was barely averted in Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world.

So your American President cannot tell you—with certainty—that a Southeast Asia, dominated by Communist power would bring a third world war much closer to terrible reality. One could hope that this would not be so.

But all that we have learned in this tragic century strongly suggests to me that it would be so. As President of the United States, I am not prepared to gamble on the chance that it is not so. I am not prepared to risk the security—indeed, the survival—of this American Nation on mere hope and wishful thinking. I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, we are greatly reducing the chances of a much larger war—perhaps a nuclear war. I would rather stand in Vietnam, in our time, and by meeting this danger now, and facing up to it, thereby reduce the danger for our children and for our grandchildren.

I want to turn now to the struggle in Vietnam itself.

There are questions about this difficult war that must trouble every really thoughtful person. I am going to put some of these questions. I am going to give you the very best answers that I can give you.

First, are the Vietnamese—with our help, and that of their other allies—really making any progress? Is there a forward movement? The reports I see make it clear that there is. Certainly there is a positive movement toward constitutional government. Thus far the Vietnamese have met the political schedule that they laid down in January 1966.

The people wanted an elected, responsive government. They wanted it strongly enough to brave a vicious campaign of Communist terror and assassination to vote for it. It has been said that they killed more civilians in four weeks trying to keep them from voting before the election than our American bombers have killed in the big cities of North Vietnam in bombing military targets.

On November 1, subject to the action, of course, of the constituent assembly, an elected government will be inaugurated and an elected Senate and Legislature will be installed. Their responsibility is clear: To answer the desires of the South Vietnamese people for self-determination and for peace, for an attack on corruption, for economic development and for social justice.

There is progress in the war itself, steady progress considering the war that we are fighting; rather dramatic progress considering the situation that actually prevailed when we sent our troops there in 1965; when we intervened to prevent the dismemberment of the country by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

The campaigns of the last year drove the enemy from many of their major interior bases. The military victory almost within Hanoi's grasp in 1965 has now been denied them. The grip of the Viet Cong on the people is being broken.

Since our commitment of major forces in July 1965 the proportion of the population living under Communist control has been reduced to well under 20 percent. Tonight the secure proportion of the population has grown from about 45 percent to 65 percent—and in the contested areas, the tide continues to run with us.

But the struggle remains hard. The South Vietnamese have suffered severely, as have we—particularly in the First Corps area in the North, where the enemy has mounted his heaviest attacks, and where his lines of communication to North Vietnam are shortest. Our casualties in the war have reached about 13,500 killed in action, and about 85,000 wounded. Of those 85,000 wounded, we thank God that 79,000 of the 85,000 have been returned, or will return to duty shortly. Thanks to our great American medical science and the helicopter.

I know there are other questions on your minds, and on the minds of many sincere, troubled Americans: "Why not negotiate now?" so many ask me. The answer is that we and our South Vietnamese allies are wholly prepared to negotiate tonight.

I am ready to talk with Ho Chi Minh, and other chiefs of state concerned, tomorrow.

I am ready to have Secretary Rusk meet with their Foreign Minister tomorrow.

I am ready to send a trusted representative of America to any spot on this earth to talk in public or private with a spokesman of Hanoi.

We have twice sought to have the issue of Vietnam dealt with by the United Nations—and twice Hanoi has refused.

Our desire to negotiate peace—through the United Nations or out—has been made very, very clear to Hanoi—directly and many times through third parties.

As we have told Hanoi time and time and time again, the heart of the matter really is this: The United States is willing to stop all aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We, of course, assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation.

But Hanoi has not accepted any of these proposals.

So it is by Hanoi's choice—and not ours, and not the rest of the world's—that the war continues.

Why, in the face of military and political progress in the South, and the burden of our bombing in the North, do they insist and persist with the war?

From many sources the answer is the same. They still hope that the people of the United States will not see this struggle through to the very end. As one Western diplomat reported to me only this week—he had just been in Hanoi—"They believe their staying power is greater than ours and that they can't lose." A visitor from a Communist capital had this to say: "They expect the war to be long, and that the Americans in the end will be defeated by a breakdown in morale, fatigue, and psychological factors." The Premier of North Vietnam said as far back as 1962: "Americans do not like long, inconclusive war . . . Thus we are sure to win in the end."

Are the North Vietnamese right about us?

I think not. No. I think they are wrong. I think it is the common failing of totalitarian regimes, that they cannot really understand the nature of our democracy:

They mistake dissent for disloyalty;

They mistake restlessness for a rejection of policy;

They mistake a few committees for a country;

They misjudge individual speeches for public policy.

They are no better suited to judge the strength and perseverance of America than the Nazi and the Stalinist propagandists were able to judge it. It is a tragedy that they must discover these qualities in the American people, and discover them through a bloody war.

And, soon or late, they will discover them.

In the meantime, it shall be our policy to continue to seek negotiations—confident that reason will some day prevail; that Hanoi will realize that it just can never win; that it will turn away from fighting and start building for its own people.

Since World War II, this nation has met and has mastered many challenges—challenges in Greece and Turkey, in Berlin, in Korea, in Cuba.

We met them because brave men were willing to risk their lives for their nation's security. And braver men have never lived than those who carry our colors in Vietnam at this very hour.

The price of these efforts, of course, has been heavy. But the price of not having made them at all, not having seen them through, in my judgment would have been vastly greater.

Our goal has been the same—in Europe, in Asia, in our own hemisphere. It has been—and it is now—peace.

And peace cannot be secured by wishes; peace cannot be preserved by noble words and pure intentions. Enduring peace—Franklin D. Roosevelt said—cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

The late President Kennedy put it precisely in November 1961, when he said: "We are neither war mongers nor appeasers, neither hard nor soft. We are Americans determined to defend the frontiers of freedom by an honorable peace if peace is possible but by arms if arms are used against us."

The true peace-keepers in the world tonight are not those who urge us to retire from the field in Vietnam—who tell us to try to find the quickest, cheapest exit from that tormented land, no matter what the consequences to us may be.

The true peace-keepers are those men who stand out there on the DMZ at this very hour, taking the worst that the enemy can give. The true peace-keepers are the soldiers who are breaking the terrorist's grip around the villages of Vietnam—the civilians who are bringing medical care and food and education to people who have already suffered a generation of war.

And so I report to you that we are going

> to continue to press forward. Two things we must do. Two things we shall do.
>
> First, we must not mislead our enemy. Let him not think that debate and dissent will produce wavering and withdrawal. For I can assure you they won't. Let him not think that protests will produce surrender. Because they won't. Let him not think that he will wait us out. For he won't.
>
> Second, we will provide all that our brave men require to do the job that must be done. And that job is going to be done.
>
> These gallant men have our prayers—have our thanks—have our heart-felt praise—and our deepest gratitude.
>
> Let the world know that the keepers of peace will endure through every trial—that with the full backing of their countrymen, they are going to prevail.

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

In other words, Mr. President, there will be no morning hour tomorrow; and I hope that tonight we can get started on the Curtis amendment, which is the pending business. After the prayer, and the disposition of the reading of the Journal, we will be back on limited time, and will take up the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska.

I apologize to Senators to whom I sent telegrams telling them there might be a vote at 3 o'clock today; but I am sure they will understand the circumstances.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none and it is so ordered.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the majority leader yield for a question with respect to his unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I made a statement on the floor earlier today that toward the end of the morning hour tomorrow, I would make a 5-minute statement on Vietnam, upon returning from my trip.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Well, I am sure the Senator can get 5 minutes, if that is what he wants. But we are operating on a debate limitation agreement on the pending amendment.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I already have the agreement. I will be glad to yield, if the Senator wants me to.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I ask the majority leader to yield, because I would not wish to be in a position where there could not be any discussion of an idea that I have with respect to the possibility of obtaining peace in Vietnam.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Would the Senator like us to come in at 9:30? In that way, he could be assured of a half hour.

Mr. SYMINGTON. No; I withhold my objection, but I am not particularly happy about it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator could get his 5 minutes. But if he wants a discussion, I would suggest coming in at 9:30.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I do not ask my fellow Senators to come in at 9:30; and I shall be very happy to abide by the majority leader's wishes.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it, then, expected that my amendment will be the pending business on tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; although it is hoped that as much debate as possible can be obtained on the amendment this evening.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I take the floor now to continue a colloquy with my friend, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], who, a little while ago, expressed some views in connection with and as the aftermath to a speech by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER]. Because I did not want to distract from the remarks that were being addressed to Senator COOPER at that time, we asked for consent to have our own colloquy at this time.

I wanted to raise with the distinguished Senator from Illinois some points of view in regard to his remarks. Since listening to him on the floor, I have been kindly supplied a copy of the Senator's remarks. I wanted to address myself to the seven points contained in the Senator's release. The burden of the seven points in the release, as I understand them, is that the President of the United States has had seven failures in Vietnam, and these failures are at the root of his problem with the American people.

We can take them up however the Senator would prefer, one at a time, or would he prefer that I address myself to the seven quickly and then take them up en masse?

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I should think it might be well for the distinguished Senator from Wyoming to make all of the points on the seven points that he cares to, and I shall be happy to respond. However, I am happy to do it in any way that the Senator wishes.

Mr. McGEE. Very good.

The first point that the Senator from Illinois makes is that the failure of the Government of the United States to institute truly democratic reforms in South Vietnam has contributed to the failure to win the support of the American people.

I think we have to ask ourselves, Mr. President, what our primary objectives and our priorities there are. I have made it clear on many occasions—and we heard more of it this afternoon here on the Senate floor—that it probably is not one of our greatest foreign policy efforts to try to make little democrats out of everyone, and that there are parts of the world that may never be able to prosper under what we call democracy; that, indeed, they would suffer political indigestion from it, if nothing else.

As the late Winston Churchill once said, it is the most difficult of all forms of government, not the simplest, and different patterns of government fit different part of the world, different cultures, different nationalities, in different ways than they happen to fit us.

Therefore, I would submit that, most importantly of all, our priority in our presence over there has to do with trying to win the chance for all of Southeast Asia to effect whatever changes fit them best, without violence, without war, without being forced from the outside to accept somebody else's domination.

But now to the particular question itself. As a matter of fact, if we even want to argue the question of democracy in South Vietnam, I think we ought to remind ourselves from whence we ourselves have come. We have heard a great deal of loose talk about free elections in Vietnam. We ought to remind ourselves, with due modesty, that we have been asking the questions attendent to free elections in our own country for 200 years, and there are still a couple of places that would readily come to mind where they are far less than perfect. Yet we expect the Vietnamese to have free elections in 2 months. When are we going to begin keeping our perspective of political change in focus?

I think we ought likewise to bear in mind that it was only a year ago—I do not think the Senator from Illinois would have been involved at that time, because he was busy with other endeavors about a year ago—that critics on this floor were saying to us, "We dare you to call a constituent assembly; we do not believe you can call one over there. We dare you to try to write a constitution, because we do not think they know how to write a constitution in Vietnam."

Then, after they achieved those small steps forward, there were those who began to say, "Well, let us see them hold a national election."

I do not know how fair the national elections just held were. It would be hard to find very many elections that some people did not think unfair. The candidate who loses always thinks they were unfair. That is part of the static we are hearing from Vietnam right now.

But I think the comment of one of the losing candidates for President over there was very significant. When he was asked, by the American press:

> Were these elections fair?

He said:

> Of course they were not fair, but they were the fairest ones we have ever had in our history.

What that says is that they are trying to move ahead, even though some try to torpedo their efforts on the floor of the Senate day after day by pronouncing in advance that it is a hoax, a fraud, and a phony job.

I say we ought to give them half a chance, because they are moving. Whether it is going to work, time alone can tell. It is hardly democratic, for us to try to measure our role in Southeast Asia in terms of how democratic the South Vietnamese are going to become. For in that part of the world they have been denied for many centuries any meaningful experience in self-government.

My real guess is that they will probably not be very democratic in our lifetime—let us say in my lifetime, not in the lifetime of the junior Senator from Illinois. He has a much longer life ahead of him. Maybe we will never see it there, I do not know. But I do not think we dare let that become a criterion.

Other Senators on this floor, Mr. President, have suggested that, if we do not satisfy ourselves that the Vietnamese are really determined to be democratic, we better pull out.

Nothing could miss the point farther than an assertion of that type. It ought to have nothing to do with the matter. I do not care who is in Saigon; the issue happens to affect the Philippines, it happens to affect Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Indonesia. It is not the politics of Saigon, nor the military background of Saigon, nor the democracy or lack of it, in Saigon, that colors their concern with what happens there.

That is why I say, Mr. President, let us put first things first; and the first thing there is that we help them achieve the chance to develop the kind of infrastructure in their own government that they think they can live with. That ought to be their business. It cannot be our business, when the chips are down. We try to help them achieve the chance.

Now, the second mistake of the President of the United States, according to my friend from Illinois——

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, I am glad to yield. I thought the Senator asked me to go ahead with the whole series.

Mr. PERCY. Before we miss the thread, I wanted to be sure that I understood the points the Senator from Wyoming was making on my first point.

Is the Senator maintaining that we have not had, as a national goal for the South Vietnamese Government, truly democratic reforms, and that that has not been our policy under the past three administrations?

Mr. McGEE. I think what the Senator from Illinois and I would quarrel over would be the semantics of "democratic institutions" and "democratic framework of government."

Our goal, under three Presidents, according to my understanding, has been to try to achieve a stable and responsive representative government.

Representative government is a relative term. There is democracy, and then there is democracy. Our own Government started at a time when one male in eight had a chance to vote, and no women could vote; and yet we were calling it a democratic republic.

So it is a case of relative terms.

I only say we cannot apply this as our priority yardstick, that this is an incidental that flows in the wake of the other events in Southeast Asia.

Mr. PERCY. Well, I would accept the last statement made by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming, as to a reasonable goal. I would think it might be stated another way, that we simply want to have a government out there that would serve the people rather than, in a sense, exploit the people, as have the province chiefs and the governors of the provinces over a period of a number of years.

But does the Senator feel, then, having had that objective over a period of three administrations, that we have succeeded in achieving sufficient democratic reform, over the period of the last 7 or 8 years when we have been deeply involved, so as to win the support of the South Vietnamese people, as would be indicated in the last election, when the winning candidate received only 34.8 percent of the vote?

Mr. McGEE. I say to my friend from Illinois that if we are going to play with the percentages of an election vote, then we should start with France, and suggest that we can think of a whole succession of French prime ministers who should never have been recognized by this country, because they got in with a fraction of the vote.

We have had fractional votes for American Presidents. What they have, however, is a government, with whatever percentage, that went through the test at the polls, that came up with the most votes, under the infrastructure of their constitutional system, that entitles them to the right to make up the Government. It is not like ours, but it is like theirs, as it should be, and there has been very considerable headway.

May I say that in the 4 or 5 years that this kind of concern has been expressed, there has been more progress in South Vietnam, given the point from which they began, from a totally unrepresentative colonial structure, than the United States made in the 5 years from 1787 to 1792, in our own history. Also our changes did not come about for almost 50 years, until the Jacksonian Revolution; and until then, we kept imposed on this country a rigid failure to change.

So my answer to the Senator is, "Yes, they have made some startling headway in the processes of a more representative approach to government."

Mr. PERCY. If I could just conclude on this point of the statement that the Senator makes that we ought to put back in perspective the percentage points, I was trying to analyze why the American people, by every indication we have today, do not support the policies of this administration.

I think one reason is the judgment of the people that there has not been sufficient social reform, to date, over the period of many years that we have been in Vietnam, to win the support, not only of the South Vietnamese people, but to give to the American people the confidence that sufficient progress is being made to have warranted the kind of expenditure that has been made to date, in treasure as well as in American casualties.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I appreciate the point the Senator made in response.

I think we ought to put the finger of responsibility, however, where it belongs—on the development of this as an issue. The war was being waged there from the outset. The decision was made in January of 1965 that some effort had to be made to stop the flow of large trained units of North Vietnamese—professional military, if you will.

The static then began to appear. It was said, "But, look at the kind of characters we have in Saigon. Look at General Ky. Why don't we have responsible elections?"

This was because we had to take the course of action of those who had to make the decision as to whether to stand in Vietnam. There was a steady staccato of assault from the Senate floor. And this builds up into a crescendo of opposition, and for the wrong reasons, about the need for our presence there.

The opinion was built up as a secondary issue to the tertiary issue to the point where there had to be an attempt to meet the criticism of some of the critics on the floor. Efforts had to be made.

It was said that someone like General Ky could hold out even though he is a professional military man. The hope was expressed that there might be a constitutional government.

This was in response to the critics who were talking about the issues on the floor.

As a consequence, this has been continuing over the last 2½ years.

They first said, "All we ask is that you write a constitution. We don't think you can do it, but we challenge you."

A constitutional convention was called and a constitution was written. But that did not calm the critics. They slipped off of that one and they moved to the next one.

They said, "We dare you to call an election in a wartime in a country in which they have never had experience with an election. We challenge you to call a national election."

That was a new line being pursued by the critics. This was a fresh assault on a new front.

Those elections were held, and they were held under very difficult, tortuous, and unlikely circumstances.

The fact that this happened there, it seemed to me, was significant.

This newest tirade from the critics was called, and called successfully, and now they have receded again to the next position.

They now say, "Look, there are some complainants as a result of the election. They are meeting with the voice of protest there. Why were the elections not more democratic? Why were they not better than they were?"

This is a new assault.

My point is that the critics will never be satisfied in their criticism until we pull out of Vietnam. That is why we ought to lock horns with the basic growing issue as to whether we have to be in Southeast Asia, and not what the South Vietnamese Government is doing in the course of an election. That is where the debate on this issue ought to center, because this is what the policy position is all about.

That is the reason that I think we are playing a slippery game in trying to keep up with the critics. They slip off one assault after another. The latest one came on the floor today after we have had a succession of bombing pauses. We have had these bombing pauses, even though they have produced nothing. We have given the other side a chance to say, "Well, we ought to try another one."

Maybe we should. I do not think we dare leave a single chance unexploited here. However, I think we ought to keep our shirts on about what we have a right to expect or demand concerning what constructive criticism is in terms of our basic policy position.

I think those who want to be honest with the people and with themselves ought to be digging into the question of why we are there. If they then say we ought to get out, let us debate it on those grounds.

I do not think this happens to be the number one priority consideration.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. We have six more issues to move to.

Mr. MILLER. But this is very important colloquy concerning the statement on the critics.

I think we must be careful not to put all critics in the same basket.

Mr. McGEE. As well as all supporters of the war in the same basket; because some of them are supporting it for the wrong reason.

Mr. MILLER. The Senator is correct. There are critics who want to criticize for no particular reason. And if a responsive argument is given to one of their criticisms, as the Senator has said, they will slip away and try something else.

Mr. McGEE. And those are the ones I had in mind while making my comments.

Mr. MILLER. I wanted to bring this out because there are other critics of the conduct of the war. They are not critics of the policy or the reason that we are there. However, they are critics of the conduct of the war.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MILLER. It seems to me that if this war has to become a prolonged war, there will be a snowballing of criticism of all kinds.

I said earlier this year that I did not believe the American people would tolerate a 5-year war or a war for a longer period, if they thought the war could be a shorter war than that.

I expressed myself then and have said many times since that I hope the President would get on the national television and tell the American people why we are not taking certain action to shorten the war. I said that until the President did that, the criticism would not stop. If anything, it will grow larger. I had hoped that this would be forthcoming on the television last Friday night. It was not.

I am not saying that the President can give persuasive arguments as to why the war must be a prolonged war. However, I think he ought to try. If his arguments are persuasive, perhaps the American people will tolerate a prolonged war.

I personally do not think they will. I personally do not think the President will be able to give them persuasive arguments. However, he should try. If the President does not do so and the war continues on, the criticism will become louder and, I am sorry to say, it will tend more and more to split the country.

Mr. McGEE. I say to my friend, the Senator from Iowa, that the point I was making here—and I apologize for not being sufficiently clear and articulate in expressing it—was to account for why in the public mind the kind of election in Vietnam had become all of a sudden such a big issue.

In my analysis it has become such a big issue because of what the Senator has alluded to. I agree that the little fuzzier class of critics who want to be heard but who make a slippery attack and then slip off of that argument and go to the next one have contributed to the public overexpectation of what we have any reason to expect in a political way from a country at the present stage of South Vietnam.

That was the basis for that allegation. I do not include in my suggestion anything more than the suggestions about the democratizing of South Vietnam. That has been a constant drum beat on this floor for a long time.

I think the question of the Senator from Iowa is directed at the kind of basic question we ought to be grappling with on the floor of the Senate. With respect to that, I disagree for reasons that I may have occasion to spell out later.

That is a good question. It is a proper question, and it is the kind of question we ought to be discussing.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator from Iowa for bringing the colloquy back to the principal point of my very brief—what I thought were to be my very brief—remarks of 2 minutes this afternoon.

I was trying to say that the President has made the mistake, I believe, in his address of last Friday night of equating all the critics of this administration's policy on Vietnam, that he made a year ago in calling them nervous Nellies. This time the President has equated them with all those who would call for unilateral withdrawal. And that is what he announced.

He was only then responding to the demands of a very small percentage of people in this country. I do not know of anyone in this body who has called for unilateral withdrawal. Perhaps there are one or two. But certainly the majority, the overwhelming majority, of the Senate would oppose that policy.

I recall that in the midst of a political campaign a year ago, the National Student Association was meeting in Champaign with a thousand delegates, and I received word, while out on the road, that they were going to adopt a resolution that night, in a liberal caucus, calling for unilateral withdrawal. I sent a wire stating that I wanted to meet with them. I broke up my campaign and flew down, arriving at 10:30, and denounced 600 of them, who were on the verge of doing that, as doing something irrational and irresponsible. We quickly answered that criticism at that meeting, and they did not adopt such a policy. I do not believe that particular group is present very frequently.

The President should address himself to the critics of the war who feel that there can be an escalated victory and show why, then, his policy does not lead in that direction; and he should address himself to those others who feel that we should in every conceivable way work toward what I felt was the consensus of the Senate—88 to 2—when this body said we should work toward an honorable, negotiated settlement.

I believe that we cannot have the will of the Asian people and the South Vietnamese fighting for their own territorial integrity, their own political freedom, unless they have the social reform which President Eisenhower called for in his letter of 1954, in which he laid down certain conditions for economic assistance. Thirteen years later, land reform was presented to the Assembly, and it was overwhelmingly voted down. The type of reform that is necessary to gain the support of the people to rise up and fight for their own economic, social, and political well being simply has not been carried on by this government.

I do not believe it would be appropriate for me to comment on the fairness of the elections in South Vietnam, and I have not done so. I do not believe that a politician from Cook County should set himself up as an expert on free elections. Today, the constituent assembly did validate the Vietnamese election results, but only by a vote of 58 to 43, and the speaker resigned in protest. So, apparently, there is much dissention in the country about the election. But in my remarks I did not even address myself to the election. I addressed myself to the fact that people in this country and in South Vietnam are unhappy about the conduct of the war in Vietnam. And I mean the other wars as well, because sufficient social and economic progress is not being made; and I truly believe that the distinguished Senator from Wyoming would agree that inadequate progress is being made, and this is why we have a certain amount of dissatisfaction.

Mr. McGEE. May I say facetiously that all progress is inadequate except the progress that I decree or that you decree and try to move along. We are relative in our judgments on those things. But as an outsider looking in, I believe most of us in America rather marvel at the type of progress that is being made in Vietnam in many ways, and that, therefore, it ill behooves us to raise this matter to the top as a number one yardstick that we apply in measuring whether this is the place where we should stand or whether we should continue our position there.

I do not know whether I detected in the Senator's comment just now that he was wishing to leave the impression that we were even questioning the sincerity of their judgment of their last elections because the vote was 58 to 43.

The Senator knows as well as I that we are lucky sometimes to get a vote of 58 to 57, and we feel pretty great about it. That is one of the processes of responsible government. You have to make a decision. You have to count the votes, and you will not get unanimous votes. Therefore, we should be applauding the fact that the assembly took the action that it did in saying:

> We are speaking for those who sent us here, and in our judgment the elections were good enough to stand.

Let us give them credit for a vote. I am sure that if the issue had lost by one vote, we would have been hearing much oratory on the floor of the Senate about what a tremendous revolution or overturning of something or other this reflected in South Vietnam. That game can be played two ways. Let us give them the marks for having tried. They are moving toward greater stability.

Let me turn to the Senator's second point.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a comment at this point?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. Is it not interesting that many of the critics of the election in South Vietnam are so myopic that they have nothing to say about the lack of any elections whatever in North Vietnam?

Mr. McGEE. The Senator is correct. I do not believe that the people of South Vietnam are especially myopic in that respect, quite so much as some people who can be heard clearly in this country. They never remind us that North Vietnam abolished elections, that Ho Chi Minh abolished political parties. Nobody is talking about that. That is not wrong for North Vietnam. It is only wrong when it happens in the South. We have a double standard, largely because all the TV cameras and visitors got to South Vietnam. They cannot get to North Vietnam. It is an unfair judgment. The Senator has made a good point.

The second presidential failure, as described by my friend, the Senator from Illinois, is the President's failure to persuade the South Vietnamese army to carry its rightful share of the combat so that our American men will not have to bear the heaviest burden of the fighting by themselves.

I believe we should face up to some facts. The first is that in reporting on a war, most of the reporting is of the activities of American troops. And why? Because an editor back home says, "We want to know what the boys are doing. The people want to read about the boys in their neighborhood." The news is loaded, to begin with, with American action, as it was in World War II. We had to wait until the war was over to learn what the Russians did at Stalingrad to Hitler's army, because we were reading about the Yanks and their heroic efforts on other fronts. And this is understandable. But we overread and we overreport on the action of our effort, and we underreport on the action on the other fronts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point a column by Joseph Alsop—if it has not been put in the Record already—that appeared in this morning's newspaper, because it makes a very good point; namely, that some of the dirtiest, ugliest, and meanest fighting of this war has been turned over to the South Vietnamese.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Third North Vietnamese Division Reduced to Wretched Rabble

(By Joseph Alsop)

An Lao, Binh Dinh Province, Vietnam.—The helicopter put down here as an Eagle might land in its eyrie among the clouds. Infinitely far below, to the east, there lay the rich, flat Bong Son rice plain. And to the west, the mountain plunged steeply downwards into the An Lao valley, once a major V.C. paradise.

It was a V.C. paradise in the old days because it was difficult of access, richly productive, and had many people who could be made to do the will of the V.C. They did not wish for this. Most of the An Lao people spontaneously moved out a year ago, when the First Air Cavalry Division ran a brief operation into the valley that briefly broke the grip of the V.C. But at the time, no proper arrangements to receive the people in the refugee camps had yet been made, so the majority trickled back again.

"You won't recognize the place now," said Col. James McKenna, commander of the Air Cavalry's 3rd Brigade, which has its command post here at Landing Zone Sandra. In proof, he led the way to a lookout post, where the whole valley lay spread out below. The mountain slopes were half defoliated. The rice fields were abandoned. The little villages were gone. The place was empty of all but war, for a minor air strike was going on, and smoke plumed lazily upwards from bombs dropping on the opposite mountain wall.

Some time ago, in fact, the needed arrangements were made to receive the An Lao people, and they were all moved out, as were the people of the other V.C. paradise in in this province, the Kim Son valley. At one stroke, in this manner, the enemy was deprived of food, porters, conscript candidates and places for rest and recreation—everything he most needed, in fact, except arms.

Now therefore, the units of the 3rd North Vietnamese Division must either rot and starve in the mountains, or come down into the coastal plain and meet the terrible Air Cavalry.

One of those units, the 81st Battalion of the 22nd North Vietnamese Division, had been trapped recently in the grim waste that is now the An Lao valley, however, "lets go and have a look," said Col. McKenna. The chopper took off swiftly, and this time the landing was like a kittiwakes on its nesting ledge—for the narrowest imaginable ledge on the steepest possible slope was the landing zone of A Company, 1st Battalion, 7th Air Cavalry Regiment. A Company had been toilsomely combing the valley slopes for over a week, but Capt. Thomas C. Richardson was as debonair a host as the giver of a successful cocktail party when he welcomed us to his bleak C.P.

As we seated ourselves on the ledge, Sgt. Robert Leopold, a slender former Peace Corpsman, scaled the lip of the rocky cliff that fell away below us, and one by one, the men of his platoon followed him onto the landing zone. "If there are any V.C. in this damn draw, they must be using rapelling ropes," the sergeant said amiably, and his giant Negro machine gunner, festooned with heavy skeins of ammunition, yet not even out of breath, nodded an enthusiastic assent.

"All the same," said Sgt. Leopold seriously, "there's plenty of water in this draw. (One could see and hear it, plunging down the mountainside in a series of silvery, loud-splashing waterfalls.) And where there's water, there can be V.C. So we've got to finish combing it out."

Again, there was assent from the rest of the platoon. And there, on that high ledge, among these hardy youngsters of every sort our country can produce, the story of the fate of the 8th Battalion of the 22nd North Vietnamese Regiment was unfolded bit by gruesome bit.

The battalion had come back into Binh Dinh Province in fair shape, after resting, replacing and refitting beyond reach of the Air Cavalry in a refuge further to the north. Now, they were down again to about 300 men.

Worse still, the relentless pursuit by the Air Cavalry battalion assigned to track them had reduced the men of this once proud and formidable North Vietnamese outfit to a wretched rabble. Their whole battalion armament—two 75-millimeter recoilless, two 57-millimeter recoilless mortar tubes and much else besides—had been found in one hide-hole in the rocks. Their stock of mortar rounds had turned up in another hide-hole. They were mere fugitives, ranging the valley in groups of 2 to 10 men, without communications, without weapons in some cases (for abandoned rifles had also been found here and there), and almost without food. Three rice cakes a day was the ration reported by prisoners, and one little group had been run across tragically scrabbling in the garbage dump of an abandoned American C.P.

"We're wearing them down or picking them up by 3s and 4s and 5s and sometimes 8s and 10s each day, and if we just keep at it, this historic North Vietnamese battalion will be finished for good and all."

To those few who know the history of this strange war in Vietnam, the foregoing news from Col. McKenna in the An Lao valley will speak volumes.

Mr. McGEE. This is the platoon-level fighting. This is the five-man terrorist squad fighting. And that is where the casualties are, also.

But because the reporters sometimes like to travel where the transportation is such that they can get back to the communication line to call back home and get another column, we do not get a balanced share of the reporting on what else is going on in Vietnam.

I am sure that many of the Vietnamese military elements are goofing off. I suspect that it would not be the first case in the annals of military history in which some units have been less military than others in their propensities for carrying on the noble fight. This is the problem at any time with any army—and I say "any army."

Some people have spoken about the men with whom they have discussed this question when the men came home. We have all spoken with the boys who have come home.

I had a boy in my office last week who said that he wished he knew how to counteract this impact, that he had just completed serving an assignment in the delta for 18 months with a South Vietnames unit. He said:

> I want you to know that I didn't cringe for one minute, knowing that my life depended on what the guy next to me was going to do

or not do. I'd like to have a chance to tell the people that.

You can get anybody's reaction to this matter, depending on his experience. The man who lost a leg or an arm because somebody else did not live up to his obligation will always be understandably moved to this question. That is the casualty, the horror, and the unfairness at any time, in any place, in any war.

I spent a little time with several South Vietnamese units on two trips to Vietnam, the last one only a few months ago.

Many of those troops are some of the finest our military people say that they have seen. They are doing an excellent job; some are not so fine; but these men have been at war for 20 years.

We have people in our country wondering if we can stick it out for 4 years, 3 years, or another year. This has been a way of life, as one of these young lads said to me. He said, "I was born in war. I have never known anything else." Yet, he thought his group was right; he felt he had no option, no alternative.

The kind of assignment to which the ARVN is being shifted is in the rough, paddy fighting, and not unit fighting, to try to set up security around villages. This will happen more and more. It is not glamorous. It is the kind of place in which your chances remain uncertain 24 hours a day. There is no rest. Do not sell them short.

There are great ones and there are malingerers. The casualty list is one way in which we, at least, measure who suffers the most casualties. South Vietnamese casualties outrun ours several times over. Mr. President, you have to be in the middle of something if you are going to get shot up.

It is time that we dispense with this relatively secondary matter and say that the South Vietnamese are carrying their fair share. The task of moving in this kind of warfare is always preponderantly more difficult for those trying to maintain law and order than it is for those who have to destroy. In Malaysia the proportion was 10 to 1; at least, that is what the Malaysians, or the British told us.

Let us not overexpect, but in the final analysis the finest service we can get from the South Vietnamese is not enough. That is not the issue.

The issue is whether we hold successfully so that the Cambodians, Laotians, Filipinos, Malaysians, Burmese, and Indonesians have a chance to restructure their part of the world in their own way.

That is the measure and that is a much bigger question than what the South Vietnamese Army is doing. It is time that we put the matter in proper proportions.

Perhaps the Senator would like to comment on that point while we are on it.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article recently published by the Wall St. Journal, from a distinguished correspondent, who commented in detail on the degree of effort being exerted by the South Vietnamese Army.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 17, 1967]

WANTED: SOUTH VIETNAM ARMY HEROES

(By Frederick Taylor)

SAIGON.—"We need more ARVN heroes," Barry Zorthian, the top U.S. public relations man here, told a group of military public information officers the other day. And so Mr. Zorthian, whose resounding title is Director of the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, Vietnam, and Minister-Counselor for Information of the American Embassy, Saigon, kicked off another drive to burnish the image of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, known as ARVN for short and pronounced to rhyme with Marvin.

This image-building campaign is aimed at the American press in South Vietnam, and through it, the American people. It stems from a fear among U.S. officials that, as the U.S. troop commitment continues to mount, Americans will get the impression that the South Vietnamese army is doing little to defend its own country.

There are those who would say this is precisely the case, but that's unfair. Only about 80% of the entire South Vietnamese army is ineffective.

UNUSUAL CONGLOMERATE

The South Vietnamese military force is an unusual conglomerate. It is composed of 320,000 regular army troops and about 300,000 Regional and Popular Force troops; regional forces are somewhat akin to U.S. National Guard outfits, mainly assigned to their home areas, while popular forces are mainly assigned to defensive tasks such as manning guard posts and supplying security for individual villages and hamlets. Technically the regular army is the ARVN, but the term is used loosely to include all South Vietnamese military forces.

In addition, there are about 100,000 paramilitary forces, including combat youth; civil irregular defense groups, which are the government's counterpart of the Viet Cong; and national police. But it is the 620,000 men in the regular army, regional and popular forces that are generally counted in enumerating South Vietnam's fighting forces.

In Washington last week at a White House news conference, the U.S. field commander, Gen. William Westmoreland, heaped praise on the ARVN, saying "They are fighting much better than they were a year ago." But reservations persist.

There are many reasons for the ARVN's ineffectiveness. One of them is that when the U.S. advisory effort began more than a dozen years ago the plan was to train the South Vietnamese to fight a Korean-style war, not the insurgency with which they became involved. There are others:

After 20 years of fighting, much of the ARVN leadership is war-weary and sees no hurry in pursuing the enemy; the war ends at noon Saturday and begins again Monday morning after the officers have relaxed in Saigon. This reporter, in the Delta with an artillery battalion of the ARVN's seventh division, one of the country's best, spent a rainy afternoon in the battalion commander's jeep; while his troops fired their artillery in desultory fashion (six rounds in five hours) between squalls at the Viet Cong five miles away, the commander was in town for a leisurely lunch. He returned at 5 p.m. to take his men back to camp.

Officers are picked for their educational achievement, not their leadership qualities, and too often are promoted or keep their jobs because of political loyalty.

Brig. Gen. Phan Truong Chinh is the commander of the 25th division, recognized as the worst in Vietnam. (Gen. Cao Vien, the ARVN chief of staff and the only general officer ever wounded in combat, has called it not only the worst ARVN division but "possibly the worst division in any army.") The 25th division won't move at night; when U.S. advisers coerce Gen. Chinh into sending his troops out against a known VC unit, he's likely to direct his men carefully to a spot three or four miles away from where the VC were spotted. The common explanation of how he remains in command: He's a friend of his corps commander, and his corps commander is a close friend and supporter of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky.

The officer corps, never good to begin with, has been spread thin by the 50% expansion of the army over the past three years. Coups have resulted in exile or retirement of some skilled officers. The common practice of appointing officers as province and district chiefs and to government jobs in Saigon has further reduced the supply of leaders.

The ARVN aren't as well equipped as U.S. forces. An ARVN division has only two artillery battalions; a U.S. division has four. The U.S. Army expects to have air support from three to five fighter squadrons of 12 to 20 planes each during any given fight; the ARVN have only six fighter squadrons to support 10 army divisions. While U.S. artillery and U.S. planes support the ARVN when they get into a fight, the Americans support their own forces first, and in many cases there are long delays before aid reaches the South Vietnamese, because of communications difficulties.

CONNECTIONS AND KICKBACKS

Corruption is widespread among the officers, at least partially because of their deep involvement in politics; as the province chief is frequently a military man, it is easy for him and the local military commander to shake down local merchants, using the army to back them up. Promotions are frequently based on favoritism, family connections and the size of kickbacks to the commander.

Most Americans in Vietnam have no doubts about the courage and native ability of the Vietnamese soldier; they have only to look at the Viet Cong to know that, when motivated, the Vietnamese are tough soldiers. But the ARVN obviously are poorly motivated. One indication is the desertion rate: Despite great improvement from last year, in the first quarter of 1967 the rate still was 22 per 1,000 men per month; that means of every 1,000 troops, only 736 would remain at the end of a year. (U.S. advisers take some comfort in the fact that ARVN don't usually go over to the enemy but return home; still, they aren't on hand to fight.)

It almost all goes back to leadership. "Almost everything we see is a failure of leadership," says a U.S. general in Saigon.

The chronicle of disasters resulting from this failure seems endless. In mid-May a Vietnamese army battalion command post was overrun and 29 ARVN and three American advisers were killed; only one VC body was found after the attack. Three hundred yards away three ARVN companies were in place; they didn't move to help.

In the Union II operation south of Da Nang, two ARVN battalions were assigned as a blocking force to cut off the North Vietnamese under attack by U.S. Marines. But they refused to block, and the North Vietnamese escaped. (A high U.S. general's comment: "Nobody blocks in this war.") U.S. advisers—the captains, majors and lieutenant colonels who work with the ARVN on the battalion and company level—tell of ARVN battalions melting away during battles, of stopping their attacks after an hour or so of fighting ("When they've got all the battlefield souvenirs they can carry"), or refusing to leave camp at night, of deliberately playing transistor radios out on patrol to warn the enemy. (Some of the radios come from the U.S. Agency for International Development.)

Many U.S. advisers discount one argument frequently used to prove that the ARVN are doing their share: That ARVN battle casualties regularly outstrip U.S. casualties. Various studies indicate that the regional and popular forces, which make up less than half of the regular military, suffer about three-fourth of the fatalities, and because of the nature of these forces the fatalities are incurred while they are in defensive positions, such as a popular force outpost that is overrun by the VC. Its members are just as dead as if they'd been killed on an offensive mission, but they haven't killed many of the enemy.

In an attempt to make some use of the ARVN, and on the theory that only the Vietnamese can root out the VC infrastructure, about half of the 320,000-man regular army has lately been assigned to the pacification program, responsible for (1) guarding the revolutionary development teams being sent into South Vietnam's villages and hamlets to conduct civic welfare and political indoctrination programs, and (2) killing Viet Cong guerrillas, rather than engaging in big search-and-destroy operations against main force enemy units. It is still too early to tell whether this change will prove successful. There have been initial difficulties: The regular army troops so assigned come under the command of the province chief; some battalion commanders have shown their displeasure at having their authority curtailed and have refused to obey his orders.

EXPERIMENTAL BOOSTERS

To counter the ARVN's failings, a variety of experiments are being tried—pairing squads of ARVN with squads of U.S. soldiers; attaching ARVN companies to U.S. companies; teaming U.S. squads, ARVN squads and popular force platoons, all in hope that U.S. experties will rub off. The ARVN failings also inevitably have led to proposals for a unified command in South Vietnam, which would permit the U.S. to remove incompetent ARVN commanders. But so far this hasn't taken place, primarily because of fear that any kind of unification would play into the hands of the North Vietnamese, who already charge that the South Vietnamese are only U.S. puppets.

In the meantime, senior U.S. generals here fall back on the tired comparison with the South Korean army in 1950 and the vast improvement it has shown in fighting in Vietnam today. "I spent 16 months in Korea and we had all the same things said then," recalls one. "There were great Korean leaders and there were others who didn't have the guts to lead their outfits. In time they disappeared from the scene."

But what the generals ignore is that it took 15 years for the Koreans to reach their present level of competence. Is there that much time in Vietnam?

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I feel that when we mention accumulative and total overall casualties, we must bear in mind that we are dealing with current events, and that in 1 month in this past summer American casualties were double the casualties of the South Vietnamese army. It would seem to be a most unusual thing for an army that is coming to help another nation to have twice the casualties that the army has which is defending its own people on its own soil.

Perhaps this is attributable to the fact that there have been increasing reports that the South Vietnamese Army is really on a 5½-day work week; perhaps we do not win a war and get it over as quickly as those who believe it should be brought to a final conclusion, on a 5½-day workweek.

There have also been considerable reports that the brunt of the fighting after dark must be taken up by American forces; that the South Vietnamese forces at dusk are not really as active as their counterpart forces, the American forces.

It would seem to me that the brunt of the attack of the Vietcong is at nighttime; in the stealth of the night they have their ambushes, and make sneak attacks and otherwise. To have the local army, which knows the territory and the terrain there, and which is better adapted to living in it not carrying its full fighting force at night would certainly seem to me to be a situation that we have every right to insist that the military forces and the government correct over there.

Mr. McGEE. In response to that statement I would suggest that the assignment of the South Vietnamese, which is to preserve security at the village level, rather than to search-and-destroy missions, to throw the enemy off balance, is to use five-man and seven-man teams, and in some instances 19-man teams. These are specific numbers because I have just had an opportunity to go over the pattern of some of these tasks with some of our people who have just returned from there.

These missions are on a 24-hour basis. Every night these outfits can count on casualties. These casualties are not dramatic casualties. Perhaps there will be a casualty over in this village, and another casualty over in this village, and perhaps one over here gets shot at. If one wanted to trace the statistics, perhaps 20 percent are shot but it is not news enough for a news story and there are not many newspaper men who wish to crawl around on their bellies at night with the ARVN forces. I think it is all relatively irrelevant.

The real issue is that the line must be held, whatever the performance of the Vietnamese, the Laotians, or the Cambodians. The line has to be held if they are to win this chance. That is the proper priority and let us keep the priority in proper dimension.

Mr. PERCY. I wish to keep the matter in balance and in perspective. I am not a military expert and I do not pretend to be.

I attempt to present to the administration, if it does not know already, the reasons why a vast majority of the American public does not now support the policies of this administration in the conduct of the war. It is my general impression, after talking with thousands of people personally in all parts of the country that most of the people in this country—whether right or wrong I cannot personally judge, other than by sorting and sifting the evidence—believe that the South Vietnamese Army and the military forces are not carrying the main burden of the war, and that the main burden of the war has now been shifted to the American forces. That was my second point in my prepared remarks.

Mr. McGEE. I think that if the Senator is really concerned about keeping this matter in balance and perspective, to which he refers, that his help would be very gratefully received in bringing the public to a level of understanding. These American newspaper column reports are written by reports who are responding to demands back home. It is a hard way to win a war or to firm up a policy in the national interest.

For that reason I think we probably have more substantive evidence on this question outside the pages of a newspaper than we have from the signed columns which are sent back home. I would only suggest, therefore, that there inescapably is a great deal more to this on behalf of the South Vietnamese military than meets the columns in the newspapers.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in that connection, on August 23, I pointed out that so far over 50,000 members of the Army of South Vietnam had been killed in action. I think American forces have suffered about 12,000 killed in action.

Mr. McGEE. At that time.

Mr. MILLER. At that time. That is very recent. I do not believe it is proper to say that the South Vietnamese Army has not borne the brunt of the casualties in the war.

When I was in Vietnam, I talked about the Army of South Vietnam with many of our military leaders. The story was pretty much what we might expect to find about almost any army. Some of the divisions, regiments, and battalions of the South Vietnamese are of top quality and others are not. There is the problem of good young leadership. Many of their finer and better educated young officer potentials were killed off. It takes time to develop that kind of leadership and develop a first-rate unit.

I also talked with some Marine commanders recently, who have been intimately concerned with the South Vietnamese division which is fighting with the Marines along the DMZ, and they had nothing but praise for them.

Thus, we might go to another place in the country and find a second- or third-rate unit which perhaps some member of the press happens to be visiting, and we get an entirely different impression.

But, I must say, if I were a South Vietnamese Army officer, I would point to the fact that 50,000 members of the Army of South Vietnam have been killed. That is a pretty good indication of their desire to maintain their freedom.

Mr. McGEE. I thank the Senator for his additional information. It is very well received.

The third of the points made by the Senator from Illinois is the failure of the President to persuade our other Asian allies to participate substantially in the military, economic, psychological, and diplomatic risks confronting us in Vietnam.

Again, this reminds me of World War II. These are always relative things. The Russians disliked the Americans because we were opening a second front in Europe, and they thought we were not going to help them. We were unhappy with the Russians because they would not enter the war against Japan in the Pacific. The other guy never does help us enough, particularly when we are actually on the firing line. I think we should not look in too cursory a way toward our Asian allies as they are described here.

The Koreans are not "nobodys." They happen to be Asian allies. They have more men in Vietnam in proportion to their population than we have. That speaks rather well for an ally.

In the second instance, the Philippines have—what?—3,000 combat engineers, yet the Philippines lie off short a couple of hundred miles.

The Thais have openly committed manpower to the fighting line, and have been involved in the fighting. The position of the Thai Army has made a considerable difference about that crucial flank. In fact, in Vietman, the Australians have been committing men. New Zealand has committed less men. Malaysia and Indonesia have been in the throes of their own little wars until very recent months, which they have finally settled.

Indonesia is going through the throes of starting up its government with a new structure of stability, and is hardly in a direct position to make a contribution here. We should be grateful that they have made a great turn in a more hopeful direction. We should be grateful that Malaysia is able to pull its own weight without compounding the difficulties which have confronted them since their independence.

I do not believe we have a right to expect any measurable manpower contribution from Singapore. It is a brand new country now. It is a very compact, small area in many ways, and yet they, too, have switched their position in terms of their attitude toward our efforts in Vietnam.

Thus, those countries more closely involved in that area are involved at the front. At the same time, every one of those countries I have just mentioned has committed economic teams, psychological warfare teams, and hospital teams to Vietnam. This includes Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, and a host of other so-called neutral countries—33 in all—who are committed in some meaningful way to the present endeavor in Vietnam.

Accordingly, let us stop making quite so much light of what our allies in Asia are doing in this conflict. None of them can do over-all what we are capable of doing. One of the reasons we are there is that there is no power or combination of power capability in that part of Asia. We are bound to be disproportionately larger than all of the rest who are there. That is why we are there. That is why it makes a difference that we are there.

Even the presence of the British in Singapore, where they still have in excess of 40,000 men, has made a difference. This, too, is part of the weight of the scales of the balance of force in that part of Asia. It protects and carries a bit of atmosphere of relative stability in a very crucial flank in all of Southeast Asia.

So it is not correct to assert, as this suggestion does, that there is too little activity. There is always too little from our point of view. We wish they would do more.

I conclude this point with the suggestion that these men themselves, if they could win the chance and achieve the chance at a stable government and an economy that can produce, long for the opportunity to take this over themselves, to restructure the balance of stability in Asia. They ask for the time to win that chance. I think that is crucial to our concept and understanding of our role regarding point 3.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I can only say this, in response, that if they truly want to take it over and long to take back this responsibility, there will be a great many persons in this country who would be very happy to give them that opportunity, including 500,000 American boys in Vietnam who would like to get home to their families.

I have merely made the statement here—and I have not heard any evidence, really, to refute it at all—that our Asian allies have not contributed enough to convince the American people that the administration has done enough to ask them to carry their fair share of the load.

In illustration, I offer the incredible comment made by Clark Clifford, when he returned from Southeast Asia as an emissary of the President—and Gen. Maxwell Taylor—when he was asked the question: "Did you ask the Asian nations for additional support?"

He said, "No."

They had not even asked for additional support.

I should like to come back to the Asian nations in just a moment, but I should like to give my distinguished colleague an opportunity to comment and perhaps interpret, because I think that also contributes to the dissatisfaction over the policies of this administration.

My last sentence under point 3, "further has been unable to persuade a single country in Western Europe to provide any meaningful help or support." Why is it, after all that we have done in Europe to rebuild Europe, enemy and ally alike, why is it that the overwhelming burden of evidence, as the administration indicates, is that the freedom of the free world depends upon our actions in South Vietnam, but we have not yet been able to convince a single European ally to give us any meaningful support?

Is this an untrue statement that I have made, and does the distinguished Senator feel that that fact does not contribute to certain dissatisfaction which exists a great deal about our conduct of the war?

Mr. McGEE. I would say partially, it is untrue. The Senator asks me why the Western European nations cannot help us even though they were our allies in the last war and look what we have done for them.

I think the best way to put that in its proper setting is to remind the Senator that that is exactly the question the British were asking of us about 1935 and 1936 when Britain had the responsibility for maintaining relative stability in power politics around the world. They wanted to know where the Americans were. We had to squirm a little bit and admit that we were isolationists. There was a long process of building up American understanding of British policy in World War II. It was a ticklish and decisive process, but we finally came through.

I think we have a right to ask the British this question today. The British Prime Minister made no bones about where he stood. He is catching a little flak back home as a result, but that is a part of the life of politicians. He has taken his position.

The only politician in Western Europe in opposition—except the Scandinavian countries—happens to be that "Batman"—you know who—in Paris. The man who can analyze the motivations there can probably answer a lot of other questions. It has to do with the rather embarrassing action of the French there. It has to do with the shabby way in which the allies in France sometimes treated De Gaulle. This leaves scars, and it is still leaving scars.

The role of the allies must be relegated to their proper role, which is a secondary role. Do not sell the British short. The world is round. The British are still maintaining a semblance of stability in other parts of the world where she still has a commitment.

I recall the words of a top official of Australia, who said:

> For the life of me, I cannot understand our friends, some of our own family in Western Europe, and why they cannot see that what is happening in eastern Asia is as important to them today as what was happening to them in Germany was important to us 15,000 miles away in Australia.

It is a question of who is wearing the shoe, or which foot the shoe fits. It is human nature that the farther away something is, the less one seems to think that he will suffer immediate consequences. I remember reading articles in the British press, and clipping some of them for use in my classes, dramatizing how the British and French were saying to the Australians and New Zealanders, "You do not do enough to stop Hitler. Why don't you see that Hitler is your enemy?"

It is the reverse of the story now. It is understandable, even though it is not right. It is part of human nature that the farther away people are, the less they concern themselves with the problem.

Our role is different. Not only are we concerned in it by geography, history, and policy; we happen to be the largest single force in that part of the world capable of trying to achieve a less violent method of change than the creation of those vacuums which would have occurred had we not moved in.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; I am pleased to yield.

Mr. PERCY. Is it the opinion of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming that European countries, allies of this country in Western Europe, should be doing more than they are now doing to help us in this effort which we maintain is not just to protect ourselves but to protect the interests of the free world?

Mr. McGEE. I would say, in response to the Senator, that at any time "the other guy" ought to be doing more than he is at any one time. It would be difficult to imagine anyone saying that someone is doing all he can to help him. But our role with regard to that of the British is now reversed. We happen to be responsible for a good bit of what goes on in the world. The British have had to retreat. Therefore, they cannot take over as they were in a position to do in 1938, even though they have committed themselves where they have not been severed in other parts of the world from their commitments.

Mr. PERCY. Does the Senator feel that any reasonable man, taking into commensurate account the economic strength, prosperity, and available resources of the European nations, feels those countries are now contributing what is a reasonable contribution toward this effort? We have been unsuccessful to date, as I have pointed out, in convincing them to make that kind of contribution, and this is one of the underlying reasons why the American people are so dissatisfied when they see no European nation willing to help us in this effort.

Mr. McGEE. I think the dissatisfaction arises as a result of having focused a television camera on one spot. In Europe, we have a rather integrated military force to which the Europeans have made a contribution, and still are. That is a commitment, and the firmness of the NATO commitment right now is one of the factors in restraining other capabilities which would have a bearing on Southeast Asia. It is one of the great balancing factors. So I think it would be totally unfair to dismiss the Europeans for doing nothing. I wish they would do more. If the British could have kept the job, it would have been a great thing, as far as I am concerned. But that was not fate or history. We emerged as the most powerful nation. We had to move into that nation's role whether we liked it or not. They are doing a great deal in Europe militarily. I do not think it is fair to dismiss it as not being one of the restraining factors on the other side's being willing to take greater chances in Southeast Asia. So my answer is that they are making a contribution, and a very meaningful one.

Mr. PERCY. I could not disagree more with the distinguished Senator. I think their relative contribution is virtually zero. In fact, it is less than zero, because we have now stationed in Europe, for their defense, as well as ours——

Mr. McGEE. As well as ours.

Mr. PERCY. A quarter of a million in American forces. Yet they contribute nothing for our help where we are fighting and where the action is in Southeast Asia. As the Senator has pointed out, there is a gentleman in Paris who is obstructing the forward movement to help, but maybe it is because of the fact that De Gaulle cuts more mustard in Europe than does President Johnson. Maybe he is more eloquent and forceful in putting forth the view that that is the wrong course, and that there should be no intervention of European forces there, than we are in persuading our allies that it is a right war and that their freedom is conditioned upon achievement of success there.

I am simply making the point that whereas we did have a situation in World War II where we did not rush in to help, it is significant that many of the hawks of today who would have us greatly expand our activities were the very bastions of support for the isolationist policy which kept us out of the war in Europe which was for our own well-being and security. It was the eloquence, it was the patience, it was the perseverance of a Churchill that worked on this problem steadily to get the American Government more and more deeply involved, short of a declaration of war—lend-lease, money, ships, equipment, and then manpower.

That is not the kind of help being given us by the European nations. These European nations are doing virtually nothing. In fact, Great Britain has notified us that she intends to withdraw additional support, leaving the burden on us for defending Europe——

Mr. McGEE. By the 1970's.

Mr. PERCY. Yes; but they have given us due notice. I hope that we will be more persuasive in persuading them that, even though their facilities are taxed, we have a problem as to how much more we can continue to finance this whole commitment to the world.

I would now like to turn to Asia, because the distinguished Senator made the comment that the South Koreans are making a major contribution of 45,000 in fighting forces. I acknowledge this. This is a tremendous contribution to put their forces into a fighting war. They have been so effective that this is why for 2 years I have called for more Asian forces, because I think Ho Chi Minh is going to be much more impressed with multination action than he will with merely unilateral action by us. But I really must, in fairness to the whole picture, point out that the situation in South Korea is a unique one. We did save her freedom at the cost of 54,000 American lives and $18 billion. They have 45,000 men in forces in South Vietnam. But that is sort of washed out. In fact, we end up short because we have today 50,000 in American forces tied down in South Korea. So we are still out 5,000 men in forces, and we are equipping all the 45,000 men in forces that they have in Vietnam.

I would simply say we must do more to get more forces of the Asians there. I have indicated, in numerous conversations with our military and our State Department, that I thought another 30,000 or 40,000 South Koreans would be far more effective than 30,000 or 40,000 more American forces.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator must know that as he makes this plea to get more individual nations to do even more than they are doing, he really flies in the face of history; that at any time in history the disproportionate sharing of this kind of responsibility is a harsh fact of life. For most of our history, it has redounded to our advantage.

For the first 140 years of the history of this Republic, we had a ring of friendly nations who fought most of our battles for us. They shielded us. But the times changed because of what the war did to England, to France, and to us, in opposite ways.

I would hesitate to share the comparison that the Senator suggested in asking what it is that De Gaulle has that L.B.J. does not have, or what it is he is doing that persuades, that L. B. J. cannot do to persuade.

I will tell you what the difference is. De Gaulle is enjoying the luxury of irresponsibility. He does not have to take the consequences of what he says or advocates now. The President of the United States has to live with what he decides, because what he decides makes a difference. He has to take the consequences.

It is interesting to note that Mr. de Gaulle was not taking any such divisive position at the time that Russia was the great question mark of Europe. In those very severely testing days, De Gaulle was strangely silent. It is only now that the success of our position, of our policy, of our firmness has achieved a kind of diplomatic ease in Europe, that De Gaulle feels emboldened to sound off—again because he does not have to take the consequences. That is the great difference between the leader of France and the leader of the United States of America.

We are not going to change that difference. It is an unfair difference, but it is a fact of life; and De Gaulle will continue to exploit it to his advantage. The President of our country does not dare live quite that recklessly, in terms of the kinds of decisions that we have to make.

Finally, on this same point, I think the Senator should understand, too, as I am sure he does, that Vietnam is not World War I or World War II, and we hope not world war III. This is a part of the difference. I think it still would have been impossible for the great Winston Churchill to have persuaded the Americans to help stop the Nazi onslaught in Austria, or to have stopped it somewhere else in Eastern Europe. It was only when it began to run away that we finally were brought into it; and thus it became the big war.

The chances of persuasion go up the worse the war becomes, rather than the better it becomes; and thus the task of persuading somebody in Western Europe or somewhere else around the globe to stand with us, with more men in South Vietnam, is made more difficult and more unlikely because the decision in Southeast Asia, in part, was premised upon the conviction that the place to stop it was at the start, at the beginning, rather than after it blew up into something much more difficult to contain, to control, or to put down.

Therefore, I say the Senator argues in the face of history. There is no valid parallel between South Vietnam, in terms of international psychology or persuasiveness of the vital interests of the other countries, and the movement of Hitler to the Atlantic coast of Europe, which had a tremendous shocking effect on a great many people who thought it could not happen. So did England's survival, when they thought she was going down.

So I do not think the analogy that the Senator has chosen to refer to here is totally appropriate, in the context of historical experience.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. McGEE. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I have been listening with great interest to the colloquy between the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Wyoming.

I think that the Senator from Illinois has a very valid point. I run into great dissatisfaction, wherever I go, over what is deemed to be improper or inadequate support of our war commitment and our war effort on the part of many of our allies.

It is understandable. I have rationalized and explained the situation just as has the Senator from Wyoming. That is an explanation, but it is not really an excuse. I know that we can recognize human nature for what it is; but that does not excuse it.

I have been more inclined to be critical of the failure of some of our allies to cease and desist from permitting any ships bearing their flags to visit the port of Haiphong. That is the very least we ought to expect of them. I think the very most we might expect them to do is to share in the burden of the war; but at the same time, I must say that I would wonder about how effective it would be if, for example, one of the European allies should offer to send a division of troops to fight over in South Vietnam. I think it is entirely understandable and entirely proper for the Australians to be there; but I would far rather see a division from one of the Asian countries.

The question is, then, why can we not get more Asian nations to join in the fighting? I think that the Koreans are bearing about all of the burden that they can properly be expected to bear. The Philippines could undoubtedly provide more troops over there.

My guess is that President Marcos would like to be able to do it. It may take more urging and more diplomatic relations to get it to happen; but at the same time, if I were one of the Asian nations' leaders, and the question came to me whether I would recommend sending a division of my troops to fight with the allies in South Vietnam, and my military leaders or advisers told me that from the way the United States was conducting the war in South Vietnam, it appeared that it was on a prolonged war basis rather than a shortened war basis, I am not so sure that I would be in such a big hurry to send a contingent of my people down there to fight.

I think that there is a point to be brought out, and that is that the way this war has been conducted, the gradualism approach to which former President Eisenhower referred, would have had a tendency to discourage would-be allies from sending military personnel there to share in the fighting.

I add further that if there is a cessation of bombing directed without a quid pro quo and without a clear understanding that no advantage will be taken by the enemy during such a cessation of bombing, but that genuine negotiations will take place, I think that we had better forget about any more people coming in from any other country. If we have a cessation of bombing, it will indicate to them that we are willing to sacrifice the lives of our fighting men for the sake of securing negotiations without any guarantees that our fighting men will not be put in further jeopardy as a result of the enemy's taking advantage of the lull in the bombing.

I think that those two points ought to be remembered when we start to talk about receiving more contributions from other forces apart from Southeast Asia.

I repeat that if there is any way I know of to discourage any would-be allies from sending fighting men into Southeast Asia to help us, it is to let them pick up their newspaper and read that the United States has called a unilateral cessation of the bombing in the face of warnings from our military leaders that this action will cost us casualties among our fighting men without a genuine quid pro quo from the other side.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, let me state quickly to my friend, the Senator from Iowa, that some of the Asians, I suppose, are a little more sophisticated than we are in this matter. They have been living under this kind of tension for a long while and it is a way of life with them.

I noted with interest the other day that two of the Asian leaders, President Marcos of the Philippines and Kuang Yew of Malaysia, both made the following point: that in their judgment this kind of restraint and limited concept would be best for the American policy position vis-a-vis Vietnam, and was the only kind of restraint, because they thought there would be a risk in a nuclear age and that it would take a very long process of pressure and attrition to effect a clear change over the long pull.

I do not think they would be about to give up if there were some restraints that ought to be exhibited. What those ought to be, I personally leave to the President and those who again take the course of action.

I think we ought to allow for the role of the newly independent Asian countries. They are brand new, and they also have stability problems. Their armed forces are not armed forces such as ours.

The Thai are probably the major exception in that part of the world and also the Koreans, because of what they were through 15 years ago. However, for the most part, those nations are still building their military capabilities and they have some stability problems. They have to make sure their Government stays on top, as our own Government did in the years following the gaining of our independence.

I should also call to mind, when we talk about the contributions that these Asians are making, that the whole continent of Asia is very large. It includes India.

Who would have thought 10 years ago that India would have a half million troops on the Chinese borders? If someone had said that 10 years ago, they would have been called crazy. Yet, India has that many troops there now. Those Indian troops need to be counted and placed on the scales with which we equate the participation by Asians, because they contribute to the options that are available to those who play loose or close games in Vietnam.

I think we must keep the whole picture in front of us.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I recognize that they are making a contribution with respect to other areas of Asia. I think they are to be praised for this action. However, when the Senator talks about the restraints, I guarantee to him that the restraint they do not want would be a restraint which would cause more casualties to the troops fighting in Vietnam. And if they have an understanding that we will exercise that kind of restraint—and I do not think that is a very good name for it—we should not expect them to send their fighting forces to join ours to be needlessly destroyed or sacrificed.

There are restraints and there are restraints. However, they are very perceptive people, and they understand very well what can happen.

If there is a cessation of the bombing as a result of which more United States and South Vietnamese and Korean troops can be killed, I think we ought to understand, if we want more of them to come in—and some more can come in from the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia—that our action in having a cessation of bombing will cause them not to send their fighting forces there.

I am not talking about a division from each country, but merely about more troops that can come in. If we want to discourage that from happening, we should just start to exercise that kind of a restraint, which I would not really call a restraint except in name only. If we do that, we should not expect them to send any more fighting men there to join us.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I am very delighted that the distinguished Senator from Iowa agrees with my premise that there should be more Asian forces there and that there can and must be more Asian forces there.

I think it is our job as public officeholders and representatives of the American people not to continue to find excuses why those forces cannot come in. I think we must find reasons why they should be there and eloquently persuade them that they must be there. We must open the doors so that they can be.

I have a great deal of sympathy for the unhappy role that the Senator from Wyoming has in defending this particular point on behalf of the administration. And I have considered it to be a failure to date.

There is no point on which I feel more strongly than this one. When I left South Vietnam and Southeast Asia 2 years ago after visiting with and talking with the Chiefs of State of all the countries of Southeast Asia and with their Cabinets and with our own officials there, I came back convinced that the Southeast Asian nations really wanted us in South Vietnam and were willing to give a degree of assistance themselves.

I talked to the leader in Thailand at that time, Kittichorn, and asked if they would be willing to put forces in Vietnam. He said "Yes."

After a business council meeting, I had

a conversation with the American ambassador from Thailand to the United States who had addressed that group. I spoke to him and asked if they would be prepared to do so. He said "Yes."

I then went to the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara—and I know that it is popular to condemn him, but I have a great deal of respect and admiration for him because of the burdens he carries which are occasioned by the war—and I mentioned to him that I wanted to be as helpful as I could, but that as an opening, I was hopeful that it would be the policy of our country to press in every possible way to have the Thais come in with direct force to make this a multination effort, as we had done in the case of the Korean war, which psychologically made it a different war than an American war with us taking the place of the hated French as the Communists claim.

Mr. McNamara told me about the problems in Thailand and told me that he felt it would not be wise that they do it, but that it would be wiser that the Philippines do it instead.

And it would be better for me not to insist that the Thais do it. I quietly and simply have always hoped that the Thais would, and I rejoiced when they finally came in.

Apparently, they came in after a reassessment of our policy there, and they recently came in with 2,000 or 2,500 fighting forces in South Vietnam. I believe this is good, much better than committing an additional 2,500 American boys. But I believe that Thailand, which has so much to lose—more than any other country—should South Vietnam fall, can afford this kind of effort; and it should have been the policy of our government for a long time to persuade them to come in directly.

I feel very deeply that the Philippines should send in fighting forces. They now have a 2,000-man noncombat military engineering unit in South Vietnam. I realize that internal politics makes it difficult to send combat forces. I know something of the political situation in the Philippines, though I am by no means an expert. But they have had experience with this type of war. The right kind of persuasion could convince them that their well-being is at stake, and I believe that they could usefully contribute substantial military training and pacification personnel to the allied effort, if they cannot contribute combat forces. They can go much further than they have thus far.

We can only ask the question: "What would their military cost be if we were not in South Vietnam, if we were not sacrificing as much as we are, if we were not stopping and having the Great Society in a shambles in the rubble of Newark and Detroit now, because of our incapability of carrying forward our own domestic programs, with a $28 billion deficit?"

In the face of that situation, I believe they can make more sacrifice.

Malaysia has a very small army, but I believe it could do far more in the training of the Vietnamese in counterinsurgent tactics. Presently, they train only 30 to 60 men a month. Considering the $47 million in U.S. foreign aid to Malaysia, it certainly should do more. They have had tremendous experience in this field, and they no longer have the threat they had from Indonesia. Their internal situation is much more secure with the new agreements than they were before. I believe they could ask themselves the question: "What if the United States were not doing this? Why don't we contribute, then, something substantially more than we are doing right now?"

Prime Minister Holyoake of New Zealand has acknowledged his country's responsibility to help South Vietnam, but he has provided fewer than 400 military personnel, and I believe he could be persuaded to provide more.

I should like to comment on Japan, because I realize an unusual situation exists there, with a constitution that prohibits combat forces. But when we consider what we have given, that we have strengthened the Japanese economy by $3 billion, that the war in Vietnam continues to provide a tremendous amount of economic trade for them, I believe that Japan can afford to provide more economic aid than the total $55 million it has given South Vietnam thus far.

I believe that agricultural experts from Japan would be more valuable than agricultural experts from the United States. Our technology is much different from the technology which Japan can provide. In the building of schools, aiding with education, and offering hope for future generations in South Vietnam, educators from Japan, the most literate nation on the face of the globe, would have a great impact and would lessen, once again, the tremendous burden that we are carrying ourselves.

Italy, which has been on the receiving end of $6 billion in U.S. foreign aid, has only sent one surgical team to Vietnam. Just one, period.

In terms of personnel, the United Kingdom has provided six civilian advisers, a single pediatric team of four doctors, and one English professor. This is incredibly small, compared with the stakes that they still have in Asia today, and compared with what they are capable of doing.

Mr. President, I certainly do not wish to sound in the spirit of Shylock, demanding a pound of flesh because of what we have done for these nations, but the administration has apparently failed to effectively remind these countries that freedom has survived in this century because freemen have helped each other in hours of danger and in hours of need. Certainly, if the need is as great as our Government thinks it is, their eloquence should be just as great in convincing others that they should do more to protect themselves.

As the President, himself, said:

> I am not about to send American boys 9,000 to 10,000 miles to Southeast Asia to do what Southeast Asian boys should be doing for themselves.

All through the campaign of 1964, the President spoke in moderating terms against those who would escalate the war. He spoke against those who would step up our effort, and he spoke in terms of what a people must do for themselves.

All I am attempting to do today—in my original 2-minute presentation on these seven points—is to indicate once again that the American people are disunited because they feel, as I mentioned in point No. 3, that the burden is now on the backs of the Americans, and increasingly the Asian nations are relatively contributing less, and they should be contributing more.

Mr. McGEE. In response to the Senator from Illinois, I would say, first, that he should be assured that I stand here not to make an apology for an administration position or an administration case.

I sought to cast the point of the thrust on his third issue—the failure of our Asian allies and those in Western Europe to carry their fair share—in its historic setting, to remind all of us that this is nothing new which was just invented. This has almost always been the plight of the big power in the world.

I should like to address myself, first, to the suggestion that somehow we have not put the squeeze on these people to do their fair share. The Senator knows as well as I that that is not true; that every time there is a confrontation, every time an ambassador makes a call, every time a private team makes a visit, the screws are turned again, urging and urging for still more. That is how these things have happened; that is how they have come to pass. The picture is entirely different now than it was 12 months ago. Then it was much different than it was 12 months before that.

It is a slow process, because you are not the dictator. You can command satellites. Allies happen to be equals, and you have to move along in some orderly way by persuasion. You cannot browbeat; you cannot kick. You have to persuade.

In every conference of which I have known, in every confrontation at which I have been present, this was always one of the great thrusts: Do more, do more, do more. But what it all says, really, is that whether they do or not, or when they do it, is still relatively less important than the fact that they get the job done. That is the big question, even if it means doing a disproportionate amount of it ourselves. That is a far more important issue than weighing the relative contributions of a multilateral effort.

We are the big guys. We are the victors of the last war. We are the only great power in that area, in terms of sheer power capability. For that reason, it will be this way for a long time to come.

But rather than getting worse, the situation is getting better. It is moving in the direction of a greater participation by more, in greater depth.

The Senator knows, also, that we dare not converse about some of the aspects of this matter on the floor of the Senate, in open session, and that four and possibly six Southeast Asian countries are involved in terms of the type of help that has been available all along. It does not happen to be a headline.

I believe that in wartime we must take those things in stride. For that reason, it ill behooves us to throw out rather quick generalizations about how little they are doing, when it is not possible to talk at all times about how much they are doing.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. McGEE. I yield.

Mr. PERCY. The source of the information that I have just related is the State Department. Either I have been misled, or this is all that those countries are doing. If the Senator from Wyoming refutes the statements I have made, as to the degree of support these countries have given, I should like to have more evidence and more facts.

Until I hear such facts I will stand firm on the ground that this administration has failed the American people and failed this war effort, and has failed our boys in South Vietnam by not getting sufficient help from our allies whose political integrity and whose well-being and personal freedom are at greater stake than ours.

When the Senator indicated that on every occasion we have asked for more help but have not gotten it, and that it is going to take time, I would ask: How much time? We have only been able to get 45,000 to 50,000 troops to match ours from all of the Asian nations and our allies in 7 years. How many more years do we have to wait?

If on every occasion we have asked for this kind of help, why did Clark Clifford, when he served as an emissary of the administration on a much heralded trip to Southeast Asia, when asked if he had asked for help, say, "No." Why, with all of the power that he carried with the voice of the President, did he come back and say he did not ask for help? Either his instructions failed to embrace what I feel and the Senator feels they should embrace or he did not tell us the truth when he got back, because he may have asked for help and was turned down and did not want to report that.

I do not make any implications. I accept the statement that he made when he returned, "I did not ask for help," which seems to repudiate the statement of the Senator that on every occasion we asked for help. The help is not there.

Denmark has provided medical supplies and has trained nurses in Denmark, but we have given nearly a billion dollars, or $920 million in aid to Denmark.

I am going country by country from a list supplied to me at my request by the State Department, when I asked what have we done for those countries and what are we doing now. As far as I know they reported a full disclosure and it is a minuscule effort compared with the gravity of the situation as announced day after day, month after month, and year after year by this administration.

It contributes to the misunderstanding, the disunity, frustration, and unhappiness of the American people which resoundingly, by a 69-percent vote, has indicated it does not support the policies of this administration. In my report I was simply trying to analyze this point.

Mr. McGEE. I suggest, first of all, that the Senator is fully aware that some of these things that are available to him are not available publicly, as he well knows. I suggest that the Senator go back and have another sit-down session. It would not make for a speech in the Senate Chamber. I was suggesting that perhaps we are more interested in headlines than in getting things done. I was suggesting that in perspective, in terms of what they are doing, I wish they would all do more and do a great deal more.

The suggestion from the Senator seems to be that we have not tried, which is a grossly unfair and wrong statement. The facts that he himself recites suggest that you have participation here in its overall complexities that does considerable credit to Southeast Asia and Southeast Asians. We went through this in Korea. Part of the price we learned there was the fact that the nation that emerges as the greatest power in the world is addled with that thankless burden.

Others helped us there for psychological reasons. However, it remained an American unilateral operation except for the freakishness of that Friday afternoon in the United Nations when we were able to slip through a helpful resolution in that body.

The Senator did say we should keep this matter in proper perspective. Our request and our hope for allies has hardly stretched over 7 years, however. The decision for the buildup came in January of 1965. The first large infusion of American troops was not until the spring of 1965, scarcely more than 2 years ago. I would request that the Senator not impinge on the facts any more than the facts suggest. It is a tough enough experience to treat allies as allies and not attempt to make light of the contribution of the Filipinos and the Thais, or other Southeast Asian countries, where it does make a difference.

Thus, I submit to my friend that we have to sophisticate our action to understand that the first requisite is that the job has to get done. The next consideration is how much help can we get to accomplish the job. I am afraid that the Senator's suggestion tends to at least turn it around a little, and too much the other way.

If it is agreeable to the Senator, let us shift to the fourth point that he has made. The fourth point, and I shall read it:

> Fourth is his failure to pursue every possibility for negotiations leading to a settlement of the war.

I say, with some frustration, Mr. President, that this comes as a considerable shock and it is going to be a position difficult not only to sell to the American people, least of all to ascribe to them.

Whatever conduct may be called into this, we have probed, pried, pushed, begged anybody, everybody, everywhere to try. We have made it clear, the President has made it clear, the Secretary of State has made it clear, and it has been reemphasized to ascertain if there is not some way, somehow we can sit down and talk. Just give it a try; the President will go anywhere. He repeated that on Friday night and he means it, I am sure. The Secretary of State said a while back, "Anywhere you can produce one North Vietnamese who is willing to talk, just one, anywhere."

The cruelest cut of all would be to suggest that we have failed to probe and to test not only the probable, or likely, or the official, but even improbable, unlikely, and unofficial, in the hope that some of them would meet at some time in a breakthrough; and that there might come that propitious moment when there might be a taker in Hanoi. It still takes two. Nowhere can anyone suggest any visible, measurable shifting of attitude, as far as Hanoi is concerned. It still takes two.

I do think that point No. 4 is a spurious suggestion in terms of explaining the problems of the attitude of frustration about the war. We all know that experience of frustration; we all do. I suggest that this point does not have depth or meaning to the man in the street.

Mr. PERCY. If this is a spurious suggestion and cannot be valid, it is a suggestion supported by a great many of my distinguished colleague's friends on his side of the aisle; in fact, far more Senator on that side than on my side of the aisle.

It has been the contention of a distinguished member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and others that we have failed to pursue every possibility for negotiations leading to a settlement of the war.

I only point to the past Ambassador to the United Nations, a distinguished member of the administration, who told a reliable reporter, as it was fully reported after his death, his great disappointment that we had—and I cannot remember the exact words—muffed the chances offered to us.

I do not ordinarily quote from Communists or Soviet officials as an authority, but Kosygin, and our allies such as Mr. Wilson, and many other powerful states which are not spurious, felt that there was an opportunity, if the bombing had been stopped, to begin negotiations. I do wish to point out that I did not consider the President's letter to Ho Chi Minh as a basis for successfully pursuing serious negotiations. As I remember that letter, the President simply indicated that if they would stop infiltrating and sending supplies to their forces already in South Vietnam, we would undertake negotiations.

I can just imagine what the reaction of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming would be if Ho Chi Minh had made an offer, presumably in good faith, that he would sit down at a negotiating table provided American ships would stop coming into South Vietnam, provided we would not send a single additional American soldier or a pound more of supplies into South Vietnam. If we would cut off the 500,000 American boys in South Vietnam, and then he would sit down and negotiate with us.

That is not the basis for serious negotiation. That is not even a letter coming from a responsible office that intends, really, seriously to negotiate. There is no human being of whom I know to be responsible who would feel that was a reasonable basis for negotiation.

I merely come back to the point that I think would be supported by a large number of Members on the other side of the aisle, when I say what I consider to be important and responsible, and a very moderate statement, that the administration has failed to pursue every possibility for negotiation leading to a settlement of the war. The principal point that once again I wish to reiterate is that I am not trying to make it as a condemnation of the administration per se. That would serve no useful purpose. I am trying to explain, and am trying to understand myself as I pursue this question, why it is that the American people feel this way, and why it is that a large part of the American people feel that the administration has not successfully pursued negotiations in every way possible.

Mr. McGEE. In the course of the question on negotiations, over 2½ years now of the intense part of the war, there has been a recurring buildup of some kind of demand for a special kind of feeler or proposal. Invariably, the terms change as the war intensifies and the dimensions change. I think it is important, when we sketch this from 2 years ago, and the evolution through the letter last January to the declarations at the present time, that we keep them in their proper context at the moment they were projected and what they meant at that time. But the nub of them all is that every single proposed request advanced among the critics as an idea was encompassed in some phase of the approaches, sometimes through some source. Whether third parties, allies, agents of a private source, or individuals of a public sort, it matters not. The record is replete with them. I question seriously the real role that this has, as it may or may not lurk in the thoughts of the average American.

Because the record is so stark. We had the bombing interruptions, not once, twice, but three times, and each time with the door wide open and only a hardening of taking advantage of it, not even sitting still, but taking advantage of it. We have had every kind of proposal that has been tested and tried, and always the answers are the same. The only different answers we get are those which Ho Chi Minh used to give visting travelers of one sort or another, where he does not have to take the consequences. But when the chips are down, the blank wall is still there.

It takes two to negotiate. I would question any valid, reasonable, or even sometimes rather unlikely patterns of formulas, for testing the genuineness of the Vietnamese. The ultimate was just reached where now the President says and the Secretary says, "Just give us the assurance that you will really sit down." They do not ask for anything more than that. "Just give us the assurance that you will really sit down." And the same reply. It does not matter. But the degree of shift there must be compared in its proper context.

Now I know that the Senator has a dinner engagement, as I have——

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. McGEE. I am glad to yield briefly.

Mr. MILLER. I also have a dinner engagement, but what we are talking about here is important.

I should like to make one observation. It just could be that the way the offer of negotiations has been brought on by the administration and its spokesmen has tended to diminish the possibility of success.

I do not deny the good faith. I do not deny that any member of the administration, let alone any Member of the legislative branch, would infinitely rather have the problems in South Vietnam resolved by peaceful means than by war. But the Senator will recall a speech entitled "Unconditional Negotiations," when the President of the United States first came out and offered to negotiate without any conditions at all.

I am sure this did not convey to the North Vietnamese that the President was willing to have negotiations carried on without the basic understanding that the U.S. commitment in South Vietnam would be upheld. That was so basic to the whole war and the negotiations that might be carried out that I am quite sure the North Vietnamese understood this, very loud and clear, and that they were not impressed by the term "unconditional negotiations."

Thus, right there, I think we got off on the wrong foot.

If we had talked about the desire for negotiations, but letting it be understood that we did not expect to negotiate away the U.S. commitment, I think probably it would have been better received than it was.

Then, further, there has been so much publicity attendant on the offers to negotiate that we could well have caused the North Vietnamese to get the idea that we were so worried about the situation that if they just hung on long enough, the United States, might cave in, especially cave in here in Washington.

I talked to foreign diplomats. My guess is, and many colleagues feel this way, that all of the attendant publicity in connection with these offers and attempts to obtain peaceful negotiations, was not well received by foreign diplomats. They might have been well received by the American voting public but not by foreign diplomats. The best way to handle it would have been to do it quietly.

So I think the way in which this activity has been carried on has had an adverse effect. No one knows whether we could have had peaceful negotiations by using any other approach up until now. But knowledgeable persons have stated that we were going about them in the wrong way.

I think the Senator from Illinois has a point. I believe there has been good faith on the part of the administration. I do not deny that. But it has not borne fruit. I have heard just too many people who were much more knowledgeable than the Senator from Iowa say that we got off to a very bad start when the President said we would have unconditional negotiations, because certainly the leaders in Hanoi knew that that was not the case. The repetition of that statement and the publicity that has been attendant on those efforts has not done any good at all; as a matter of fact, I think it has probably given Hanoi cause for feeling that if it just hangs on long enough, the United States is so eager to enter into negotiations that maybe North Vietnam will win the war anyhow.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator from Iowa knows, as I do, that the negotiations that have been talked about or publicized are minimal. We could probably name them on the fingers of one hand. In contrast with this, I am sure that, in terms of general public knowledge, every avenue has been tried, whether public, private, secret, classified, prayerful, or hopeful. Whatever it was, every acceptable one was tried.

If in the fourth suggestion that the Senator from Illinois makes there is some better way to do it, some other way to do it, that we do not yet know about, or that might work, I think he owes it to somebody to be sure to spell out, privately or secretly, whatever it is.

I do not believe the record at all supports the suggestion that is alleged that these attempts have been ignored or have been goofed. I think everything has been tried. Nothing has been left untried, untested, or unattempted. Who is to say whether what was done was or was not wrong? We cannot know. We have to try and then, according to our best judgment, make the kind of attempt that we hope will be successful.

I would not want the impression left that those who have to take the consequences for making those attempts do not want to end the war. The Senator from Iowa and the Senator from Illinois would, I am sure, agree now that the President and the Secretary of State would give anything if they could bring the war to a close. They are not about to fumble or kick away an opportunity to end the war, if it is humanly possible to end it. I think this is the point we have to come back to every time. Such an allegation, it seems to me, is clearly out of line with the hard facts concerning negotiations, proposals, attempts, suspicions, inklings, or whatever we want to call them.

There have been more than 300 of them, according to what I have read. All of them have been pursued to the point where they were proved to be false, unyielding, or whatever the situation was.

Mr. PERCY. I have not the slightest doubt that the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense would like to see the conflict come to a swift and satisfactory conclusion. I am certain that they are doing everything they can toward that end. But I believe that the Secretary of State, a man whom I respect greatly, a man to whom we are all indebted for the task he is performing for his country, is a victim of the problem the administration faces.

I think this is the credibility gap that exists between the American people and the administration, and the rest of the world and the American Government, today, and possibly it has even seeped into the enemy camp.

I think we have to try to analyze and understand as much as we can about the mentality of the enemy, because that is the mentality we have to negotiate with. For instance, the position taken by South Vietnam is that they will not negotiate with the Vietcong. If we do not have enough influence on the allies we are helping and supporting to help them get off that deadend street and that unrealistic approach, there is something wrong with us. I can only judge this from something Ambassador Lodge said; namely, if we destroy the enemy force, we would still have 150,000 Vietcong in South Vietnam. We cannot pretend they do not exist or that we are killing them all off. They are probably being born faster than we can kill them today. So I do not think that is a realistic attitude.

I think we also have to look at the evidence that comes out of North Vietnam. An authoritative source indicated he had talked with high-ranking officials in Vietnam and asked them when they would be willing to negotiate with the Americans over this war. He said that that particular Vietnamese official looked at him and indicated the question how we would expect them to trust any negotiations with the American Government when even the American people do not trust the American Government and what it says at all. So this credibility gap is one of the great problems and one of the prices we pay.

We did face this problem in Korea. A man came along—I admit one in a century—who said, "I will go to Korea and try to settle this," and he did settle that war.

So maybe a change of face is necessary. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], who does not have a partisan bone in his body when it comes to saying what is right for this country, said that maybe a change of administration would give a face-saving door through which the enemy could walk, now that they realize—and certainly they must realize—that they cannot win this war, and sit down and negotiate, as so many Members of this body called for in a provision added to the defense appropriation bill.

Mr. McGEE. I cannot accept that that fanciful or real-meaning phrase "credibility" gap has in fact now become the deterrent in Hanoi for the Senator to peddle as the motivating reason why he cannot trust the United States, because the people do not trust the President of the United States. It seems to me that is so utterly ridiculous that I think it is very questionable in terms of good judgment.

The integrity and reputation of this government have been upheld, I think, beyond serious doubt all over the world, under rather trying circumstances. That has been a part of the record. I think the integrity of the President is the same.

For the reason I do not think we ought to give credence, or even the time of day, to whatever Hanoi might allege was its uncertainty in terms of whether they could trust an American negotiator.

I would think the Senator from Illinois might wish to withdraw that particular statement, or modify it in some way, because I cannot believe he believes it.

Mr. PERCY. I will expand on it.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator has learned the way of the Senate quickly.

Mr. PERCY. I will report it as a statement from an authoritative source. I was repeating it because it was germane to the argument and the understanding as to the mentality of the enemy and what is possibly going through their minds. But if the Senator from Wyoming is to maintain that this could not be a factor, I think it is unrealistic. How many times, through private persons and publicly, has the enemy condemned what they felt was an understanding and agreement in Geneva which was not lived up to, and of which they say they want no part? That is why it is going to be so difficult to get them to Geneva. They feel that an agreement was made—which we were not a party to; thank heavens that we were not a party to that agreement—was not carried out, namely honest elections—

Mr. McGEE. We were not a signatory to that.

Mr. PERCY. That is right. I say, thank heaven we were not, because that election was not held——

Mr. McGEE. I wondered why the Senator has held that up as an illustration.

Mr. PERCY. Because they have pointed that out as a reason for being suspicious of any negotiating settlement, and they have indicated their willingness to carry on the fight for 1,000 years rather than sit down at a conference table.

But if the question of the credibility of this administration, its integrity, is the point—I think it has been alluded to by the Senator that I am off base on it and that we should not waste the time of day talking about it—I can only say that millions and millions of words of some of the most responsible members of the press have referred to what is known as the credibility gap. We could cite chapter and verse for years as to what has been built up in the American mind as contributing to this credibility gap.

I am not saying that this administration alone is at fault, because I am positive that it has existed under Republican as well as Democratic administrations, that at times the whole truth and nothing but the truth was not told to the American public.

But a pattern of misleading statements has become so consistent that there is now a so-called credibility gap, which is not a term manufactured by me nor, to my knowledge, by any member of my party, but manufactured and developed by the members of the fourth estate, who are constantly, day by day, 24 hours a day, dealing with the administration, to indicate that they simply feel there has been a lack of good faith in the reporting to the American people of events that have transpired that affect the security, the well-being, and the future of the American people and the Nation.

Mr. McGEE. I was not intending to deal with the credibility gap as an issue, a question, or a factor in our dialog here, at all, and did not inject it. It was my understanding that the Senator from Illinois had suggested that because of the credibility gap Hanoi had told some responsible person in South Vietnam that they could not trust Americans in a negotiation because of whatever they meant by that term credibility gap. My suggestion had nothing to do with the import of that term here at home at all. It had to do with the idea that this was a valid element in understanding that the North Vietnamese would not negotiate, that they could not trust an American negotiator because of what they heard the American people saying in their debate.

I think it is germane to suggest at this point that I am sure that our divisiveness here at home has brought joy to Hanoi. But I happen to be one of those who thinks that is proper; that it is a part of the price we have to pay, in these times. I do not favor cutting off the allegations or the criticisms; I think we may have to face more of them, and that we must continue in that fashion; that the price we would pay for cutting them off would be far higher than I am prepared to pay. I think we have to be sophisticated enough to live with it. Hanoi will exploit that fact to the ultimate, but I reject that as an excuse for Hanoi not to sit down at the conference table, because they could not trust an American negotiator; and for that reason I raise the question with the Senator from Illinois, not because of the use of the term "credibility gap" here at home at all.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I realize that we should draw this colloquy to an end, out of consideration for Senators and staff who must stay until we finish; but we do have this problem, and it may be a contributing factor in our inability to get to the negotiating table.

There is always, in any negotiation, the question of the degree of sincerity of both parties. If one party does not believe, whether rightly or wrongly, that the other party is sincere in its professions and accurate in its statements and its representations, then I think it may understandably contribute to the fact that they are unwilling to get together to negotiate; because even if, under such circumstances, a satisfactory basis for negotiation were found, and it ended up signed, sealed, and delivered, the negotiator might not have the confidence that the terms would be carried out.

I wish to conclude by quoting, not a Republican, but a distinguished Democrat, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, who recently said:

> The country sickens for lack of moral leadership.

Moral leadership implies all that that term embraces, with respect to the ability to achieve credibility in negotiating a settlement of some sort with an adversary who is suspicious of you to begin with.

Mr. McGEE. I do not intend to get into the things that many Senators have said on the floor here. A great many things have been said, because, again, Senators do not have to take the consequences. This floor has produced a great many declarations that probably are not very illuminating in terms of policy problems at the time that they are uttered. They are uttered in the context of some irresponsibility.

The fifth of the Senator's points is the failure of the President to learn from experience that every U.S. escalation is matched by the enemy, and only brings more casualties.

It seems to me that the Senator has

this turned around, in reverse order; that there was no escalation until the other side began to escalate. That is why we are there. And I think it is imperative that we keep that in the right order, and to realize that we have to do what increasing pressures require.

The limited nature of the war, the dimension of the conflict when it began in 1965, has not changed. There has been reckless use of this quickie word "escalation," when the proper word would more properly and more clearly be "intensification." An escalation, in my judgment, would be a change of the dimension of the war, not an intensification of doing what we set out to do, as the commitment there became increasingly difficult within the confines and the jurisdiction of the original commitment; namely, to conduct the limited war, to simply seek to require that the north stop doing what it was doing. Our effort has been contained and confined to that. There has been no spreading of the conflict; there has been no slipping over into China in terms of the dimensions of the conflict; the broad outlines of the original undertaking have been adhered to, and thus, I think, a rather careless use of the word "escalation" every time another thousand marines lands there, when in fact once the commitment was determined upon, we could not put 500,000 men there the next Tuesday morning, because they had to be prepared for this special kind of warfare. It was a gradual buildup, as rapidly as we could make our manpower available; and yet every new landing was described as an escalation. To me, that is an abuse of the meaning of that word.

Thus, in those terms, I think we ought to keep things in the right order; and that is that we have kept this within its original dimensions. We have not expanded it recklessly and irresponsibly; in fact, it was charged by one of the Senator's Republican colleagues a few moments ago that we have leaned over too far backward to try to keep it under control and restraint.

Mr. President, we cannot play this game both ways. Either we have been too cautious, too fair, and too unescalating in our conduct of the war, or we have been the opposite; we cannot be both.

So I think sometimes the President is so caught between these barrages of words by which he is assaulted that he feels, "Damned if you do and damned if you don't," because he has to take the consequences; he has to live with the decision that is made, and not just talk about it in terms of what it might mean.

This fifth point of the Senator from Illinois does not contain, in my judgment, a valid explanation of where mistakes have been made, as he has described them.

Mr. PERCY. If the Senator will yield, because I was involved in a colloquy over the dictionary definition of another term, the word "opportunistic"—and I would not wish to be considered an opportunist now in this case—I would like to ask unanimous consent for the Webster definition of "escalate" to be printed in the RECORD, to see whether or not I am using the term in the proper sense.

I am trying to use a term which is understandable to the American people, because that is our problem, to communicate in understandable, unmistakable language what we mean.

I simply say that the war was escalated when we began taking the war to the north and bombing North Vietnam. That that was a distinct escalation; it was an upward movement of our effort, and it was done, as I understand it, for the purpose of making them pay a higher penalty for their involvement in the war. That end has certainly been accomplished. But also, it was presumed by some to mean that this "escalation" would weaken the will of the North Vietnamese people to resist, and would lessen the infiltration into South Vietnam, and thereby cut off supplies and manpower.

It has miserably failed in the last two categories; and anyone who could reassess the original position we had would say so, including Secretary McNamara, who maintains that was not even the original intention.

It has strengthened their will to resist. It has given them an enemy from the sky, raining down on civilian populations. I do not say that civilians can always be protected; but we must always measure how much value we get from bringing planes from Guam, 3,600 miles, to drop a bombload in the midst of a jungle, and merely kill a pig, a cow, or something like that, and then sending the planes all the way back to Guam, and whether this is a reasonable or sensible escalation.

There being no objection, the definition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Escalate. To ascend by or as by escalator.

Mr. PERCY. I thank the President. I should like to ask whether it is an escalation when, after having confined the bombing to areas well outside the Chinese borders—and the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense and the President of the United States clearly indicated that we did not want to involve the Chinese in it—we move up our bombers and two of them are shot down over China when we are bombing 7 miles from the Chinese border. Is that a proper use of that term as defined by Mr. Webster?

Mr. McGEE. In the opinion of the Senator from Wyoming, that is within the original definition of the limited development, vis-a-vis Hanoi and North Vietnam. If it were to involve an attack on the mainland of China, this would be a specific escalation in my judgment.

The aircraft shot down over China were not there as a matter of policy or escalation, but as a matter of accident. It has not been followed up since.

The escalation, it seems to me, has nothing to do with the number of men we have there or with the number of air strikes that are ordered as long as the demands remain roughly the same, and those have not changed. But the intensification of locking in combat has been changed. However, that, may I point out, was because the North Vietnamese began to build up very large launching platforms in the demilitarized zone, and whereas this was not an original area for assault on the part of our own troops, it became indispensable to move into some of those limited areas because of the advantage that was taken by the other side.

Mr. Webster's dictionary will not record on escalation that some umpteen thousands of North Vietnamese in large groups moved across the 17th parallel in the late weeks of 1964 and from there on into 1965, which provoked the decision to finally move into South Vietnam, which finally required the decision to bomb in the north.

And this is the order of things that makes the difference, and that is the reason I took exception to the statement of the Senator, because we did not provoke it. It was indeed perpetrated by the original action taken by the North Vietnamese.

I think that is an imperatively significant point that the Senator seems to take too lightly or gloss over here.

Mr. PERCY. My whole point is that we have to weigh the consequences of our action. And I know it has been said that these are military decisions and that we must leave it to the military. But it is going to be a political decision as to whether China comes in. It is going to be a political decision to tell the military, "We are in now. Move."

It will be the same as when there were a million Chinese forces who moved across the border of South Korea. They came over in human waves and mowed down our boys.

We provoked them into coming in, and we had a monopoly on the atomic bomb at that time. Certainly we could provoke them into coming in now.

The Secretary of State said that he could not give a guarantee that they would not come in. We could provoke them merely because they might want a common enemy in order to consolidate all the dissident elements that exist in China today.

We could provoke them to do something that it is said could not be done.

With all our electronic gadgets, we assured ourselves that we would not fly over China. Yet, two planes have been shot down over China.

We know that many of the great wars have been provoked over small incidents, and this might very well be the case here.

We were told that we could not lose an atomic bomb. Tell that to the Spaniards. We had great difficulty in getting it back.

How much of a gamble do we want to take? How much do we want to try to entice them?

Actually, if they were bombing America and the bombs fell in Mexico, 7 miles from the Rio Grande, Lyndon Baines Johnson would feel a little different than if the bombs fell farther away from his beloved Texas.

We can provoke this action if we are too reckless. It has been the policy of this administration to be prudent.

How many have said, "Bomb them back to the stone age"? We cannot take that kind of a risk. This is a limited war, but we have gradually escalated the effort, and it has always been matched by a new escalation from the enemy.

The Soviets have signed a new agreement for assistance, and the Chinese have stepped up their assistance.

What are we going to do next to entice them to bring a whole series of armies down there?

This is all I am asking. I am not asking that we give up bombing the supply routes. I have advocated for months that we bomb the supply routes and pound away at those routes and concentrate on that. However, it is of limited value, it would seem to me, to take the risk of knocking out a bridge or a road 7 miles from China when that road could be taken out as effectively without doing it 60 seconds away from the Chinese border by jet plane.

The road can be taken out some place else without further endangering the outcome of the war and the lives of American men by taking needless risks.

As I said, point five is his failure to learn from experience that every U.S. escalation of this type is matched by the enemy and only brings more and more American casualties.

Mr. McGEE. The Senator has now moved on to the sixth point as well, because they are linked together. I think it makes it more convenient to tie them together.

The sixth point is that the President has failed to recognize that bombing so near China has already caused the Chinese and the Soviets to massively increase their military role in support of Hanoi.

Therefore, it ups the ante generally along the line.

This is a curious charge in many ways for the reason that the charge against the administration is that it has been forcing the men to fight with one hand tied down, that this has been limited and restrained, that it has been prudent. And I think that is the record of the whole conduct of this conflict, a consciousness and not taking any more steps to provoke a widening of the war in some irresponsible way. It is probably one of the heaviest considerations hanging over the head of every man in the Government tonight, whatever his philosophy may be.

For that reason, I do not see that any of this is out of that context. The tactical judgment in terms of whether to bomb within 10 miles or 7 miles is one of those hairline kinds of decisions that I will leave to those who are much closer to it.

I agree with the Senator that the presence of China is a conscious restraint at all times, but we cannot be so restrained that we fall flat on our faces, because the only way to have avoided that kind of decision was to not be there in the first place. I do not think the Senator agrees with that, that we should not have been there in the first place.

The Senator is simply interested, as we all are, in trying to find some way to deescalate the intensity of the combat and the loss of lives, and that somehow we can find a way to do it. But, if at some point we decide to take a stand, if we are called upon to take a position from which we will not retreat—namely, South Vietnam and the 17th parallel—we would have an instance then where we are going to have to reach that point where there is the risk of some kind of Chinese difficulty and we will be face to face with the policymaking.

The only way we can avoid that is not to have been there. That is the kind of close decisionmaking that must accompany every mission into the north, and I think it is to the credit of our system that those decisions have been reserved to the civilian commander of this country, and not to the generals.

The generals have to deliver on order. They are only tacticians, but the policy has remained political and diplomatic rather than military.

It is desperately important that we recognize it. It is one of the most frustrating things about the entire conflict. It is not a good, old-fashioned war. The old rules do not obtain. This is probably as frustrating an experience as any people can be expected to go through. It is my position that we have to go through with it and that we have to learn to live with that type of frustration, because the other side will not play fair—and they should not play fair, for the reason that they do not have the means to come out in the open and fight as they did in the old days. They are fighting the type of conflict they are best equipped to continue: guerrilla conflict, where they can hit and run.

We must learn to live with that type of conflict, without losing our composure or our tempers—and that means restraint. I would join the Senator in urging that type of restraint, in contemplation of where we ought to go or ought not to go vis-a-vis North Vietnam.

But that is not to suggest, therefore, that we are on the brink of plunging this country into war with China. I believe the Senator put it best of all when he suggested that, for all we know, the Chinese might decide to go to war for no reason. And that is part of the risk you have to take. To take any other type of approach to the matter would simply be to roll over and play dead, to forfeit the strategically important, critically significant vacuums, if you will, the filling of which makes a difference in terms of who does the filling and with what ingredients.

So, mindful as we all are that a nuclear conflict must be rejected, if we can; that war with China should be avoided, if somehow it can be, some things are even worse. One of those would be to contribute to the coming of that type of showdown because we were afraid to call their hand on the Rhineland in 1936, to call their hand in Manchuria in 1931.

What I am suggesting is that the parallels we should have learned from 30 years ago should warn us now that, with all the risks, the chances of succeeding are greater by stopping it at the beginning, at the outset, than to move away or look away and hope there is a cheaper time or a better place to do it, or some other way.

In a nuclear world, I suspect that this type of very limiting, frustrating war is the only kind of war that dare be risked. It is not a very happy one to cope with in terms of public opinion.

I share the point. I believe that the objection to the point does not reflect upon the President of the United States in his conduct of policy, that he has been mindful of—that this administration has been mindful of—the importance of trying to keep this matter localized, to keep it in its perimeter, rather than spreading it recklessly to some other area of the globe.

Mr. PERCY. I believe all it does is reflect on his judgment, and I believe the judgment of the administration has been incredibly bad. In my opinion, this is the contributing factor to so much dissatisfaction by the country and why an overwhelming and vast majority of the country indicates today their disagreement with the policy of this administration in the conduct of the war.

This judgment has been bad. And if I could speak just on behalf of, say, the superhawks—and I would be an unbecoming spokesman for that particular thought—I believe it would be their argument that the judgment of this administration should have been to not lull the country into a placid condition, to not promise that we could end this without sacrifice, that we would not have to, say, call up the Reserves or not have to sacrifice in all our domestic programs; that we could have a great society at home and we could wage a war abroad, and even promise a great society to Southeast Asia—and do all that without the sacrifices necessary, the sacrifices possibly necessary for a politician, a public officeholder, to stand up and say what the consequences must be.

I believe it is the position of those who feel we ought to get in and win this war, and get it over with once and for all, that by constantly piecing out forces, sending a thousand men now, a thousand men a few days later, never really telling the American people what the price is going to be, what the number of men will be, what it is going to take to win this war, to placate the American people and get them used to this escalation, we are really detracting from the effectiveness, instead of just saying, "This is what it is going to be, and we are going to do it," and doing it, and not giving the enemy time to constantly build up with forces that counter our forces, that cost America more lives and more American casualties.

This is why I cannot help trying to report as honestly, as reasonably, and as responsibly as I can. These are the seven reasons why the American people are so critical today of the conduct of the war—and critical on both sides.

I can only judge by results. So far as I can hear from the American people and report to the President and Congress, the results simply are not there, in the opinion of the American people; and that is why there is growing dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and with the administration's policy.

I should like to say, however, that I deeply appreciate the spirit in which the distinguished Senator from Wyoming has addressed himself to my "2-minute" remarks this afternoon. I hope they were important remarks, and I hope someone would care about them. I have no omniscient feeling that my judgment is the absolute judgment on these matters. But I deeply appreciate the conscientious, careful, thoughtful, and reasonable approach that the distinguished Senator has taken to each of these points, and the eloquence with which he has articulated and defended the administration's position—a position that I believe is eminently wrong and is being so judged by the American people and the people of the world, but which I do not believe could have been more persuasively argued than was done in the colloquy this afternoon.

Mr. McGEE. I thank my colleague, the Senator from Illinois, for his generous comments. I remind him that it is not often that one has a pleasant dialogue on a subject that is so charged with great fear and great feeling as is the difficult and complex question of Vietnam.

I pay tribute to the Senator for having the courage to bring this matter before the Senate.

I would urge upon him, however, that the dialogue itself should not be measured, as a contribution of a discussion between a Democrat and a Republican, or separated by an aisle or an administration; that the differences between the distinguished Senator from Illinois and some of his colleagues on his side of the aisle are as great as—perhaps even greater than—the differences between this Democrat and some of his colleagues on his side of the aisle. What that says is that it is less a political partisan sort of question. It is even less a question of liberals and conservatives than it is a question of such intermeshed difficulties and decisionmaking requirements that many of the decisions turn out to be, let us say, 51 percent good and 49 percent bad. Because it is so close, do we then not make a decision? The answer is that somebody had to decide each step along the way. And that is why it is deeply important that dialogues such as this continue, and not at the partisan level, not even at the liberal-conservative level, but rather at a level of trying to thrash out all the options, so that, if possible, the wiser of the options can be chosen or the least evil of the bad options can be chosen. Sometimes the answers are all bad. Some are just worse than others. I believe it is that type of reality in which we find ourselves, and in which some decisions must be made.

The fact we come down to, it seems to me, is that as we assess the picture in Southeast Asia, as we weigh the alternatives that confront us, there is very little wiggling room where rational people have to go. There is little wiggling room. We may disagree on the intensity of the moment on carrying out a particular aspect, but the basis is there, the direction is there, the concept of limiting this conflict is there, and the wish to end it and to somehow bring it to a close pervades everywhere. The disagreements are in the methods.

I express my appreciation in the hope that somehow we may have contributed a little in the differences we have exhibited here.

I think we are going to have more of this kind of difficult frustration with our constituents and each other in these times because it is the first time in our history that we have been called upon in the world to display this role of the chief victor in a world war of one whose responsibility it is to try to maintain enough stability that peaceful change can prevail over violent change if at all possible. If all of this means you cannot run the rules of the old days where somebody wins and somebody loses, I suspect we are living in a time where wars can never be won but can be lost. I think it is a hard fact of our times. The old cliches about victory and defeat no longer have meaning and no longer apply because you have to keep your priorities and objectives on what the main goals are. Our main goal, it seems to me, is a more peaceful world.

I believe what we seek to help to do in Southeast Asia is achieve the chance where we will move a little closer to that kind of opportunity in Eastern Asia. We have come close to it in Eastern Europe, and closer than some people think.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew stated it better when he said:

> If you Americans succeed in standing firm in Vietnam, Eastern Asia will be closer to stability than at any time during this century.

I think there is much in what he said.

I thank the Senator from Illinois for his indulgence in this lengthy colloquy of what was to have been a 2-minute opening address.

Mr. PERCY. I thank the distinguished Senator. Any time he feels more comfortable on this side of the aisle, I know he would have the welcoming arms of 36 Senators welcoming him over.

This is not a partisan debate made on my side of the aisle. There are many Senators on my side of the aisle who would agree with the Senator's side of the argument, just as there is one man I have listened to, revered, respected, and admired more than most men I have met in my life, the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, who might tend to find points of agreement in my argument. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McGEE. I would say to the Senator from Illinois that in most other States, given his philosophy and point of view, he would have to run as a Democrat in order to be elected. These are matters that vary with the States.

Mr. PERCY. I have given my daughter. That is enough.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow, in accordance with the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate (at 7 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.) took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, October 3, 1967, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 2, 1967:

Diplomatic and Foreign Service

Harrison M. Symmes, of North Carolina, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, vice Findley Burns, Jr.

Hugh H. Smythe, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Malta.

Having designated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, Vice Adm. John J. Hyland, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of admiral.

Having designated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, Rear Adm. William F. Bringle, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of vice admiral.

Adm. Roy L. Johnson, U.S. Navy, when retired, for appointment to the grade of admiral pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

The Judiciary

Erwin N. Griswold, of Massachusetts, to be Solicitor General of the United States, vice Thurgood Marshall.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 2, 1967:

Postmasters

ALABAMA

Emory S. McNider, Coffeeville.
Edna M. Usrey, Gurley.
Margaret S. Carter, Myrtlewood.
Pete Holman, Titus.

ARIZONA

Fern E. Morgan, Fort Defiance.
O'Reece T. Cleve, Inspiration.
M. Louise Zufelt, Kayenta.
Curtis L. Steveson, Kearny.
Betty L. Dunagan, Peach Springs.
Paul W. Strain, Sun City.

ARKANSAS

William C. McArthur, Dyess.
George E. Fryer, Russellville.
James F. Cannon, Saratoga.

CALIFORNIA

Morris A. Hoff, Aromas.
Charles E. Cotten, Boron.
Margaret Bridgham, Coloma.
Clarence J. Barry, Jr., Davis.
Lodema K. Cook, East Irvine.
LeRoy B. Stewart, El Cajon.
William A. Ellis, Exeter.
Raymond W. Gribbin, La Verne.
John W. Panighetti, Los Gatos.
Virginia F. Martin, Pioneer.
Bernice M. Willson, Richvale.

COLORADO

Russell C. Bowlby, Hideaway Park.
Cecil S. Hofmann, Iliff.
Donald G. Haynes, Jamestown.

FLORIDA

Richard M. Collins, Largo.

GEORGIA

R. Eldon Wilkinson, Leary.

IDAHO

Jasper E. Heller, Gooding.
Fay J. Evans, Malad City.
Phil Raymond Perkins, Montpelier.
Paul H. Boxleitner, Riggins.

ILLINOIS

James R. Huston, Braceville.
Francis L. Hogan, Byron.
Harold S. Gilvin, Cambridge.
Gordon R. McDowell, Cave in Rock.
Ralph J. Einhorn, Crete.
Richard W. Otto, Danvers.
Paul R. Hughes, Earlville.
Mary L. Yocum, Edgewood.
Jackie L. Moore, Gilson.
Paul E. Tucker, Jerseyville.
John R. Wallace, Omaha.
John J. Curbis, Panama.
Averil L. Keller, Sainte Marie.

Robert J. LaPointe, Westmont.
Pasquale C. Fiandaca, Winfield.

INDIANA

Wilma G. Rice, Helmsburg.
Edith E. Cain, Heltonville.
Mary J. Griepenstroh, Lamar.
Donald F. Reidy, Medaryville.
Edna M. Gatewood, Poseyville.
Sam D. Talbert, Russiaville.
Glenn Dougan, Spurgeon.
James R. Kirkwood, Summitville.
Walter P. Hoke, Tipton.
Joseph J. Sorota, Whiting.

IOWA

Wayne G. Smith, Adair.
Edward P. Farrell, Algona.
Walter C. Anawalt, Cedar Rapids.
Robert F. Miller, Clarence.
Roy B. Martin, Junior, Clear Lake.
Duane P. Conrad, Dallas.
Quincy I. Rice, Delta.
Vernon P. Tiefenthaler, Halbur.
Bernard J. Mullaley, Marion.
Edmund J. Langenberg, Tiffin.

KANSAS

James M. Cameron, Summerfield.

KENTUCKY

Ernestine Ward, Inez.
Harry H. Boaz, Mayfield.

LOUISIANA

Bessie R. Brumble, Bethany.
Eva M. Boudreaux, Centerville.
Edward O. Douglas, De Quincy.
Hubert J. Bayham, Senior, Grosse Tete.
Evelina F. Agoff, Lafitte.

MAINE

H. Lloyd Carey, Augusta.
Robert A. Winslow, East Boothbay.
Mary F. Worcester, Harrington.
Robert R. Kendall, Perry.

MARYLAND

Arthur G. Virts, Jr., Boyds.
L. Everett Marvel, Easton.
Dorothy C. Bowie, Faulkner.
William J. Thomas, IV, Sandy Spring.
Wilber B. Leizear, Silver Spring.

MASSACHUSETTS

Joseph P. Dahdah, Feeding Hills.
Norman W. Daunais, Graniteville.
Edward M. Bassett, Jr., Leominster.
Warren E. Ward, Lunenburg.
Walter D. Calnan, Merrimac.
Gerald C. Tucke, North Chelmsford.
Raymond L. Stauff, Scituate.
Kenneth H. Doulette, South Easton.
William T. Trant, Westfield.

MICHIGAN

Marion E. Cooper, Jeddo.
Shirley H. Fogarty, Smiths Creek.

MINNESOTA

Albin L. Zinda, Appleton.
John C. Webster, Beltrami.
David H. Jennings, Truman.

MISSISSIPPI

Joseph E. Martin, Bentonia.
Samantha M. Denton, Crowder.

MISSOURI

Kenneth P. Grace, Albany.
Harold M. Sliffe, Archie.
Lloyd J. McGeorge, Bismarck.
Buford A. Patten, Miller.
Warren D. Osborn, Patton.
Charles R. Sands, Sr., Rolla.

MONTANA

Rex P. Guthrie, Columbus.
Milton M. Sloan, Whitefish.

NEBRASKA

William J. Kleinow, Curtis.
Alvin G. Staben, Elkhorn.
Robert L. Johnson, St. Edward.
Freda T. Shubert, Shubert.
Carson C. Williams, Stamford.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Rudolph E. Curry, Hampstead.
Arthur R. Beauchesne, Newmarket.
Milton B. Paradis, North Stratford.

NEW JERSEY

William R. Connelly, Jr., Cedar Knolls.
Betty W. Dunfee, Chatsworth.
Frank J. Sedita, Lodi.
Leonora T. Harrison, Tabor.

NEW YORK

John F. Schumaker, Albany.
George O. Barden, Barton.
Raymond L. Sabre, Calcium.
Donald A. Krantz, Callicoon.
James P. O'Connor, Sr., East Northport.
Edward B. Bierman, Jr., East Syracuse.
John J. Collins, Glens Falls.
John M. O'Malley, Le Roy.
Harold F. Pierson, Painted Post.
Francis A. Hanigan, Phoenicia.
Dorothy B. Hall, Richville.
Ruth B. Fraser, South Wales.
Raymond M. Yahnke, Sylvan Beach.

NORTH CAROLINA

George D. Elliott, Jr., Bath.
Merdice T. Simmons, Hampstead.
James R. Breedlove, Lake Toxaway.
Henry Franklin Wilson, Mount Ulla.
George H. Wall, Rolesville.

NORTH DAKOTA

Ralph A. Pederson, Park River.

OHIO

M. Virginia Miller, Fletcher.
George R. Cotter, Glouster.
David W. Barnes, Homerville.
Nello F. Bianchi, Put-in-Bay.

OKLAHOMA

LaWanda M. Smith, Milburn.
Bobby G. Pitts, Noble.
Clarence D. Robertson, Jr., Wapanucka.

OREGON

Alma M. Elliott, Chiloquin.
Marjorie A. Stumbaugh, Crescent.

PENNSYLVANIA

Martin E. Breit, Beaver Falls.
Florence M. Hannan, Bradfordwoods.
Lora E. Eschenbach, Clarendon.
John F. Schupp, Fryburg.
Katherine A. Hart, Genesee.
Dorothy J. Osterberg, McKean.
David J. Florentine, New Brighton.
Albert M. Fry, Orefield.
Myrtle A. Palm, Renfrew.
Robert B. Myers, State Line.
Frank A. Fargo, Warren.

PUERTO RICO

Mario Arroyo-Lopez, Toa Baja.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Tillman W. Derrick, Fort Mill.

SOUTH DAKOTA

LaVerne V. Binger, Tulare.
Milo L. Godfrey, Woonsocket.

TENNESSEE

Howard I. Harris, Dukedom.
Edward L. McDonald, Gallatin.
John G. Mitchell, Smyrna.
Dennis L. Lewis, White Bluff.

TEXAS

William T. Zimmerman, Burkburnett.
Jefferson D. Collier, Cisco.
Homer R. Anderson, Forestburg.
Harry D. Anderson, McCamey.
Ruby M. Mouser, Spade.
Nezie L. Duncan, Willis.
William H. Kennedy, Woodsboro.

UTAH

Majorie C. Christiansen, Mayfield.
Richard C. Stevenson, West Jordan.

VERMONT

Lawrence A. Williams, Newfane.
William B. Holton, Westminster.

VIRGINIA

John W. Wood, Jr., Pearisburg.
George E. Kidd, Williamsburg.
Joseph C. Haines, Winchester.

WASHINGTON

Lawrence T. Baker, Airway Heights.
Gunnar R. Johnson, Chelan.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charles C. Tickle, Bluefield.
Patricia W. Noel, Pratt.

WISCONSIN

Norman E. Anderson, Hudson.
Wallace J. Regan, Kohler.
Chris E. Youssi, Muskego.
Eugene L. Hoeffling, Poplar.

WYOMING

Betty J. Leonard, Bairoil.
Bessie E. Lieuallen, Fort Laramie.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

In God is my salvation and my glory; the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God.—Psalm 62: 7.

O God and Father of us all, we know of no better way to begin the week than by lifting our hearts unto Thee in prayer and by pledging unto Thee the desire of our hearts to serve Thee by devoting ourselves to the welfare of our country and to the well-being of our fellow man.

In these stirring days which search our souls, try our faith, and often dampen our spirits, we pray for guidance that we may know Thy will, for courage to walk in Thy way, and for uplifting strength to keep on without faltering and without fainting.

We pray for peace and as we seek it may we be determined to protect our freedom against any aggressor. Both militarily and morally may we stand strong, and filled with Thy spirit continue to labor for liberty and justice for all. In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, September 29, 1967, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 109. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 602) entitled "An act to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend title V of the

Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965."

The message also announced that the Presiding Officer of the Senate, pursuant to Public Law 115, 78th Congress, entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of certain records of the U.S. Government," appointed Mr. MONRONEY and Mr. CARLSON members of the Joint Select Committee on the part of the Senate for the Disposition of Executive Papers referred to in the report of the Archivist of the United States No. 68-4.

WALTER CHANDLER, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE HOUSE

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the House today the death of a former and great colleague, Walter Chandler. This grand old man passed away this morning in Memphis, the city which he served so long and so well as both its Representative in Congress and as its mayor. He would have been 80 years old on October 5 and it is ironic that those of us now serving in Congress from the Memphis area were planning to surprise him with a joint telephone call of good wishes.

Walter Chandler was a great American in the finest sense of the word. He lived and worked for his community and its people and in serving them he served America. He was a fighter for those causes in which he believed, a dedicated proponent of justice, a tough but considerate adversary in debating those with whom he disagreed. His sudden and unexpected death was in the Chandler tradition, still on his feet, still looking ahead, still ready to accept new challenges.

Memphis has lost a revered and beloved citizen. The Nation has lost a soul filled with greatness, but Memphis and the Nation are better because Walter Chandler lived. No man can earn a more sincere tribute from his fellow citizens.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EVERETT].

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, it was with very great sadness that I learned of the passing of one of the most distinguished men who ever served in the House of Representatives. Walter Chandler served as a member of the Judiciary Committee during his two and one-half terms in the House and became nationally known as the author of the Chandler Bankruptcy Act, which completely revised bankruptcy laws.

Perhaps I knew him better than any Member of our present Tennessee delegation. All during my adult life he was my close neighbor in Tennessee and a man for whom I had the greatest admiration and respect.

Just 2 weeks ago he was in Washington and our friend, Cliff Davis, who succeeded Mr. Chandler in this body, had him up for luncheon. I was privileged to join Mr. Davis and Captain Chandler, along with Zeake Johnson, who was born in the same town as was Mr. Chandler, Jackson, Tenn., at luncheon. He appeared in excellent health though he was reaching his 80th birthday.

We had a delightful time reminiscing about many things. He was able to speak to our great Speaker, with whom he had served, and they shared a mutual admiration, along with WRIGHT PATMAN and others who served in the House when he was here, and he had a good time exchanging experiences.

On the floor of the House he was literally besieged by well wishers and made many new friends.

Mr. Chandler served in the Tennessee State Legislature, was an assistant attorney general, was city attorney, and twice served by draft as mayor of Memphis, before coming to the Congress. While he served here, the New York Times rated him as one of the 10 most valuable Members of Congress.

Not only was he active in the political life of his city, county, State, and Nation, but he had time to take a very deep interest in the cultural things of life. He served on an art gallery board and knew more of the State's history than anyone I have ever known.

He was most popularly addressed as Captain, though some called him Congressman and some Mister, because in World War I he was a captain and served in five major battles. Somehow he seemed to appreciate this title as much or more than any other.

He was a devoted husband to his late wife, close to his children, and very active in the Episcopal Church, which he had served so long and so faithfully.

Truly, the country has lost a very great man just 5 days before the city of Memphis was to celebrate a special occasion on his 80th birthday.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the people of Tennessee are saddened by the passing of one of our most esteemed elder statesmen, former Congressman Walter Chandler, of Memphis.

Mr. Chandler would have been 80 years old on October 5, and my colleagues Mr. EVERETT and Mr. KUYKENDALL and myself were going to participate in a special recognition party for him on that date. We learned of his passing on Sunday, and we share the sorrow of his son, Wythe, and the countless friends he made over many decades of unselfish public service.

Walter Clift Chandler was born in Madison County, Tenn., October 5, 1887. He graduated with a law degree from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1909.

He began his life of dedicated public service in 1916 when he became assistant district attorney general in Memphis. He served in the Tennessee legislature in 1917 as a member of the House, and then served as State senator from 1921 to 1923. He became the city attorney for Memphis in 1928 to 1934.

During World War I, Walter Chandler served as a captain in the 114th Field Artillery, 13th Division, American Expeditionary Forces.

A lifelong Democrat, who attended his first national convention as a delegate in 1940, Mr. Chandler was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1934, and served in the 74th, 75th, and 76th Congresses, representing Shelby County, Tenn.

He resigned January 2, 1940, having been elected by an appreciative people of Memphis as their mayor. He was reelected to this office in 1943, served until September 1, 1946. He then entered the private practice of law for the first time in 35 years. He was greatly grieved at the passing of his beloved wife in 1949.

But his service to the people of Tennessee and Shelby County did not cease then. A leader in the move to update the State constitution, he was elected president of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention in 1953. He again entered public life in 1955 when he was elected mayor for the third time of his career.

Walter Chandler has been a symbol of progress for Memphis, Shelby County, and the State of Tennessee. If any elected official can truly be called a "people's man," Walter Chandler was that. He not only served, but took the initiative in leading his constituents.

He labored for the people of Memphis in the same selfless attitude that won him wide admiration far beyond the borders of any one county or State.

A chapter of Tennessee history passed with the death of Walter Chandler, but the sense of self-sacrifice which embodied his entire life will always guide those who knew him, were in a contest with him, and who were served by him.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks concerning the late Honorable Walter Chandler.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

THE BOSTON RED SOX CHAMPIONS OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, for the past 2 days, Boston has been the capital of the world of baseball and, today, the Boston Red Sox are the champions of the American League. All America, and many areas around the globe, have thrilled to the fantastic, incredible American League pennant race. When this season opened last April, the Boston Red

Sox were picked to finish at, or near, the bottom of the league. Through magnificent management by manager Dick Williams—by sheer determination, unbounded enthusiasm, and marked improvement of all of its players, the Red Sox stunned the baseball world by their constant, consistent uphill struggle to capture the American League crown. It is indeed the miracle team of 1967. No club deserved to win it more. No other baseball club in either league is as close to its fans as the Boston Red Sox, and no other club has done so much for the community—particularly by raising, through the Jimmy fund, thousands and thousands of dollars for the Children's Hospital—one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world. The owner of the Red Sox, Tom Yawkey, has always been one of baseball's best assets. His faith in his club and its players may have faltered through the years but it has never fallen. His faith and his spirit in his club has paid off.

The Massachusetts congressional delegation joins millions around the Nation in congratulating the Boston Red Sox, its players and its management.

Mr. Speaker, we challenge the Missouri delegation. We will put up the best in beans, cod, or lobster for the best in beer or whatever else they have in Missouri. The Boston Red Sox will win the World Series.

Under unanimous consent I place the final standings of the American League for the years 1967 and 1966 at this point in the RECORD. These standings indicate the spectacular performance of the Boston Red Sox:

Final standing of the American League, 1967

	Won	*Lost*
Boston	92	70
Detroit	91	71
Minnesota	91	71
Chicago	89	73
California	84	77
Washington	76	85
Baltimore	76	85
Cleveland	75	87
New York	72	90
Kansas City	62	99

Final standing of the American League, 1966

	Won	*Lost*
Baltimore	97	63
Minnesota	89	73
Detroit	88	74
Chicago	83	79
Cleveland	81	81
California	80	82
Kansas City	74	86
Washington	71	88
Boston	72	90
New York	70	89

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the Massachusetts congressional delegation salutes all of the Red Sox organization who contributed so much to bringing the American League championship to Boston and Massachusetts. We are proud to list them.

Manager Dick Williams, players Carl Yastrzemski, Tony Conigliaro, Jim Lonborg, George Scott, Gary Bell, Darrell Brandon, Bill Landis, Al Lyle, David Morehead, Dan Osinski, Bill Rohr, Jose Santiago, Lee Stange, Hank Fischer, Jerry Stephenson, Gary Waslewski, John Wyatt, Ken Brett, Elston Howard, Mike Ryan, Russ Gibson, Jerry Moses, Jerry Adair, Mike Andrews, Joe Foy, Dalton Jones, Rico Petrocelli, Norm Siebern, Ken Harrelson, Reggie Smith, Jose Tartabull and George Thomas; coaches Bobby Doerr, Al Lakeman, Sal Maglie, and Eddie Popowski; owner Tom Yawkey and his aids Dick O'Connell, Haywood Sullivan, Neil Mahoney, and Tom Dowd; trainer Buddy LeBoux; team physician Dr. Tom Tierney; equipment manager Don Fitzpatrick; groundskeeper Al Forrister and his crew; and bat-and-ball-boys Keith Rosenfield and Jimmy Jackson.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I am happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Is the gentleman from Massachusetts in a position to invite his colleagues up to see the Boston Red Sox play in the World Series?

Mr. BOLAND. We would be delighted to have you gentlemen up there. However, there is a question of tickets. I understand that there has been an allocation of a couple of hundred tickets to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I would suggest that you place your request in the hands of the distinguished Speaker.

THE QUESTION OF TICKETS TO THE WORLD SERIES TO WATCH THE BOSTON CLUB PARTICIPATE THEREIN

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] and to state that we extend congratulations to the Boston Red Sox upon winning the American League pennant race. Now all Boston has to do is to worry about the Cardinals.

We as Members of the House have always loved the distinguished gentleman from Boston, Mass. [Mr. MCCORMACK], the Speaker of the House of Representatives, but never have we loved the Speaker more than we love him now for the two tickets to the series that he is going to provide to each one of us—or is he?

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BOLAND. I appreciate the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois.

IRRESPONSIBLE ACTION ON THE PART OF THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last week the American people witnessed what must be classified as one of the most politically irresponsible acts of this century by the Republican Party. The U.S. Government, by what I am told was a unanimous Republican vote, was denied in the House the funds needed to permit it to continue to function as a government. And the curious thing about it is that this move to decree that the President make billion-dollar cuts without specifying whatsoever the areas in which the cuts should be made was led by the party which has contended for years to the American people that it believes in congressional and legislative responsibility, and has also contended that it did not believe in enlarging the powers of the executive.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the time has come to face up to our responsibility. It seems to me that our friends on the other side of the aisle cannot have it both ways. If they believe in congressional responsibility, if they believe in this body's exercising its power judiciously and wisely and effectively, then certainly they should abandon this attempt to hand over a $5 billion item veto authority to the President of the United States and should join us on this side of the aisle in meeting our responsibilities as a legislative body.

I feel that when this matter comes to the House on Tuesday that the House will decide to continue exercising its responsibility to the country in the traditional way, and that the effort on the Republican side to undermine congressional responsibility will be defeated.

VIGOROUS RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM NEEDED TO REVERSE POPULATION TREND

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the finest opportunity in America to deal with the problems of sickness in the Nation's cities is receiving almost no attention. A vigorous rural development program to reverse the population trend from rural communities to city slums would provide a bigger step forward at less cost than any of the programs which are being offered to cure big-city problems.

Throughout our country there are wholesome, pleasant rural communities and small towns, many of which literally are dying on the vine. Their people are moving away to the city where they feel opportunities are better. To my mind, this is a poor thing to happen to any family, but economic pressures are bringing about a great shift from rural to urban living. One of the bad features which results is the buildup of slum areas and the attendant growth in welfare rolls, both of which directly contribute to riots and to the crime problem.

This trend makes it harder and harder for small communities to support proper education, to build needed community facilities, to provide the jobs required to hold their young people, and just to stay alive. Steps to make rural living more attractive obviously would help to solve the urban problems which now plague the nation. In comparison with the enormous problems presented by the cities, a little help would go a very long way toward improving job opportunities, education, and community facilities in rural communities and small cities. Apparently few in the administration are giving really serious consideration to helping America by making rural living more attractive. It would appear that this may well be the best means by which to combat the aggravating and growing problems which confront the cities. Certainly it would be a more economical and a far more wholesome approach.

Regardless of its economic status, the average rural community or small town offers a pleasant and happy environment which is much more desirable than that of the crowded metropolitan area.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO GUINEA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the ninth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Guinea is being celebrated today, October 2, I am pleased to call this occasion to the attention of the House and to extend my best wishes to the Government and the people of Guinea.

I am fortunate in having had the opportunity personally of meeting many high ranking Guinean officials during their recent visits to Washington, and I can vouch for the dedication and vigor of the leaders of that country. I particularly recall the visit of Foreign Minister Beavogui on March 9, 1967, at which time I had the honor, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, to be his host at a luncheon.

I express the hope that the mutuality of interests already shared by our two countries and two peoples may not only continue to flourish but may grow stronger in the years to come.

American industry is assisting the Government in mining Guinea's rich bauxite deposits, which obviously will do much for the economy of that country. The good relations that continue to exist between the Government of Guinea and American industry is gratifying and stimulating to both Guineans and Americans.

I express my personal felicitations to the able President of Guinea, His Excellency Sekou Toure, and to my good friend the Guinean Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Karim Bangoura.

REPUBLICANS PLAYING POLITICS IN VOTING TO RECOMMIT CONTINUING RESOLUTION

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I think the RECORD should show that our Republican colleagues in the House are trying to play politics with vital functionings of the Federal Government. By voting to recommit the continuing resolution, these Republicans have sought to paralyze the entire Federal establishment under the guise of alleged fiscal integrity.

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans say they want the budget cut, and many programs drastically trimmed. They claim that is why they have voted to recommit the continuing resolution.

But I think we may ask: Do you achieve fiscal integrity by paralyzing, in a dangerous and irresponsible way, the Federal Establishment? Do you save money by bringing the Government to its knees?

This is a foolish and irresponsible game the Republicans are playing. It is not the way to fiscal responsibility. It is the high road to political recklessness, and it will not succeed.

It will not succeed, Mr. Speaker, because the majority of House Members know that cutting back expenditures is not the job of the President; it is the function of Congress.

And I would say to these Republicans: Where do you want to start cutting? In which congressional district? If you are sincere, perhaps you will not mind if a few projects in your own districts are trimmed back?

These are the hard facts, Mr. Speaker. And the Republicans know them.

REPUBLICAN RULE OR RUIN POLITICS PARALYZES GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I too would have preferred to line up this morning for World Series tickets. Unfortunately, however, the major action in the Nation this week will not all center in Boston and St. Louis. There will be considerable public attention on Washington, D.C. For the Republicans in this body, by a unanimous, partyline, rubberstamp vote have threatened to paralyze the Federal Government. They have refused it permission to pay its bills and fulfill its obligations.

In recommitting the continuing resolution last week, those who wish to embarrass the administration politically have worked their will in this House. Major departments of Government can now not function.

But this political sham will be uncovered.

Willful men cannot merely shout "cut the budget" to the administration without specifying where those cuts should be made.

Willful men cannot practice rule or ruin politics in this House, without inviting a negative reaction from the people.

It is the responsibility of the House of Representatives as a whole to approve or disapprove budgets submitted by the President. But it is also the duty of the House of Representatives to make certain that Government is not paralyzed, that essential services go on, and that the Government of the United States is not made a laughing stock before the world.

I urge that the continuing resolution be approved, and that the fiscal year 1968 budget be approved, and that we get on with the job of Government.

Political maneuvers cannot be allowed to play havoc with the U.S. Government.

ABSENTEES COMPLAIN OF ABSENTEEISM

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I think some note should be made of a recent letter that was sent to the Speaker of the House by some 28 freshmen Congressmen.

The gist of it was to provide some tips to the Speaker about more efficient management of House business.

These young Members of our body told the Speaker that business is scheduled on a Tuesday to Thursday basis so that everybody can take off Mondays and Fridays.

I think we should take some note of the fact that 11 of these 28 watchdogs were absent on the day after they sent the letter, last Friday, when a quorum was called prior to the vote on the bill, H.R. 10673, which would have amended or which did amend the Packers and Stockyards Act.

It seems to me that some of these 28 know-it-alls are worrying too much about other people's business. Perhaps they should concentrate making these rollcalls themselves first—or maybe they were too busy drafting another letter about people taking off on Fridays for personal matters.

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have an opportunity here today to pay my respects to a great American—and I mean a great American.

Senator CARL HAYDEN is 90 years old today. He has done for the protection and development of our great national resources what the late John Fogarty did for the health of mankind. The New York Times said recently that John Fogarty did more than any man for mankind, and he did. The same can be said for CARL HAYDEN for his great achievements for mankind in respect to our priceless national resources.

Without people like CARL HAYDEN and John Fogarty in this country, where would we be?

The late Senator Kerr often said:

> Prosperity does not really come from our automobile factories, steel plants, railroads, and other elements of our industrial processes. Prosperity comes instead from the land, the woods, and the waters of this land.

For the protection and development of these basic resources he has done more for mankind than any man who ever lived.

It is a privilege and an honor for me just to mention his name, and I hope that God who in His wisdom has let him be here for 90 years will let him stay around here for 100 years to come.

HOW SCRUPULOUS IS THE READER'S DIGEST?

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Reader's Digest is up to its old tricks of slanted rightwing attacks on American institutions; this time it is the social security system. In the October issue of the magazine, a Charles Stevenson has done a clever hatchet job on social security, entitled "How Secure Is Your Social Security?"

In the RECORD of September 27, the distinguished and fairminded chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Mr. WILBUR MILLS, stated:

> I have read the article very carefully and find that it contains a number of half-truths that lead to misleading conclusions.

He then had reprinted in the RECORD a factual and soundly reasoned refutation of the Reader's Digest article by Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen.

The Reader's Digest has consistently attacked progressive Federal programs for years, usually under the spurious rationale that they interfere with the free enterprise system. It is regrettable that the Digest does not provide a letters-to-the-editor section within its magazine in order that replies to its attacks can be offered to its readership.

Because replies are not allowed within the pages of the Digest, I believe it is doubly important that the Members of this body and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are informed of the fact that while the Reader's Digest is crusading against Federal social programs, it is constantly dipping into the public till to add to its own profits. Currently, publishers of magazines pay less than 30 percent of what it costs the Post Office Department to deliver them; in the case of the Digest this means the taxpayers are subsidizing it by $8.9 million a year. The Digest is also a heavy user of third-class mail and is receiving a subsidy within this class of mail to the tune of approximately $2.3 million a year. Therefore, the taxpayer is subsidizing the Reader's Digest to the tune of over $11 million a year in second and third class alone; another hefty subsidy is given the Digest when they mail the books they publish, which are delivered by the Post Office for a little over 40 percent of cost.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I believe it is important that the information that I have disclosed today be included in the RECORD and thereby be made known to the American public.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES SHOULD BE REDUCED IN AN ORDERLY AND LOGICAL MANNER

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, it has been indeed unfortunate that our Republican colleagues have voted to recommit the continuing resolution that provides various agencies of the Federal Government with operating funds to meet financial obligations.

This action—presumably—is to embarrass the President and demonstrate a the voters that those opposed to providing the Federal Government with sufficient funds to meet current obligations are for budget cutting against an administration of wild spenders.

Mr. Speaker, this is political demagoguery. We all know that the authority to reduce expenditures belongs to the Congress, not to the White House. The President recommends—the Congress appropriates.

Apparently the Republicans want the President of the United States to be the one to take the political criticism by cutting back programs the people want. The President has said—time and again—that he will carefully review all appropriations which have been passed by the U.S. Congress.

I, for one, do not want to give up the congressional authority to control Federal expenditures.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the responsibility for appropriating funds rests entirely with the U.S. Congress, and I firmly believe that the Appropriations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives should have adequate time in order to reduce Federal expenditures in a logical manner which will not disrupt the essential services and the economy of the United States.

SUCCESS OF BOSTON RED SOX IN WINNING AMERICAN LEAGUE PENNANT

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate you and the people you represent in the great city of Boston for the remarkable success of the Boston Red Sox in winning the American League pennant on the final day of the season. Every one in St. Louis looks forward to the appearance in our magnificent new Busch Stadium of the gallant Boston team in the World Series this coming Saturday.

I am sure the St. Louis Cardinals will do everything they can to prevent it, but it is my feeling that the Boston team should win one of the first four games of the series so that we will have the opportunity to have three World Series games in St. Louis.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that when your constituents go to St. Louis for the world's series, they will have the opportunity to visit many of the other attractions in my city, and particularly the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and the spectacular Gateway Arch which, are part of the national park system and for which we, incidentally, still need a final Federal appropriation of $6 million for construction. Once your people see this breathtaking structure, I am sure they will want you to continue to do everything you can to assure completion of the work. In any event, all St. Louis joins me in welcoming Boston to the world's series.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. SULLIVAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I have been unable to get any tickets out of Boston so far. What about St. Louis?

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, may I tell the gentleman he is very late. Three weeks ago I could have gotten the gentleman what he wanted.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 11722 UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the conferees on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill, H.R. 11722, to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, have until 12 o'clock tonight in which to file a conference report on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF MAX KAMPELMAN TO NEW WASHINGTON CITY COUNCIL

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the appointment by President Johnson of one Max Kampelman, to be the chairman of the new Washington, D.C. City Council, is astonishing to the point of disbelief.

Kampelman was a conscientious objector in World War II, who, through some sort of manipulation, after the shooting stopped in the Korean war, obtained a Reserve commission as a captain in the Marine Corps. When the war in Vietnam began to expand, he resigned his commission.

Kampelman was a pal of the notorious Bobby Baker. He was one of the organizers of the District of Columbia National Bank, a former chairman of the executive committee and a member of the board of directors.

It was the District of Columbia National Bank that handed out to the fast-traveling Baker an unsecured loan of $125,000.

Mr. Speaker, this appointment calls for the most careful scrutiny and I urge that the proper committee of the House undertake an immediate investigation of this appointee.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES AND RESPONSIBILITY THEREFOR

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest today to the boilerplate speeches that have been made here on the question of the Bow amendment. I shall read them carefully, and we will meet them and reply to them in detail tomorrow.

I notice in the press reports that the President again has said, "Send all the appropriation bills down to me and I will then make the cuts in them."

Everyone seems to be complaining about the President and the vicious things he is going to do. I hope in 1969 I have more confidence in my President then than the majority seem to have in their President this year. Everyone complains of what he might do to him.

I say to you, I am more interested in what we are doing to the country. If we go forward with the spending on the basis we are now, the July and August expenditures of $24,232,000,000, this means they are going to spend this year $145 billion.

Now let us go back to last year. The limitation that I am suggesting is $131 billion. Last year total expenditures were $125 billion, and we did not do bad last year. It seems to me we might go back to last year and add for them a little $6 billion, and they would get along quite well, without all the trouble mentioned.

So far as shutting down the business of the Government is concerned, we were here, ready and willing to pass a continuing resolution, 2 days last week, but it was denied because of the majority. So if there is any shutting down of the Government, the majority must take responsibility for it.

Let me say, when there are complaints about the adoption of the motion to recommit, it was only done with the help of courageous and loyal Democrats. So when you say to us that we are upsetting the functions of Government by the adoption of the motion to recommit, the responsibility lies in the majority party, if there is anything to be said.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. Of course I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. The gentleman will admit that——

Mr. BOW. Do not tell me what I am going to admit. The gentleman does not know what I am going to admit.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. This is in the form of a question.

Mr. BOW. Yes.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I will put it a different way. Is it true that by the exclusion of the military, the interest on the national debt, and other fixed contract obligations that could not be canceled without great cost to the Government, the $5 billion cut would apply to a $21 billion pool, which includes $9 billion for salaries of Government employees?

Mr. BOW. No. I do not admit that.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. You do not admit it. Will you explain why not?

Mr. BOW. I will explain that tomorrow, when we have time in the House to do it, when the continuing resolution comes up.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I will be glad to have you do it.

Mr. BOW. We will be glad to do it.

ATTENDANCE AND ABSENCE

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to comment briefly on the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Ohio [Mr. Hays] a few moments ago, and his point that some 11 freshmen were not present for the quorum call last Friday. I was present last Friday, but as I go over the Record for last Friday, I find there were 186 Members absent, and 106 of those, or well over half, were from the Democrat side of the aisle.

This is not surprising, because I believe the reason so many Members were gone last week was touched on by my chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon], with his request of Thursday that the continuing resolution be put over until Tuesday of this week, because of the fact that many Members of the House had made commitments to be away from Washington last Friday, on official business presumably.

I would now like to comment briefly on the letter sent to the Speaker last week by 28 freshmen Republicans. I want to say that I think the remarks I am about to make express the spirit of the Members who signed that letter, as well as my own. I think it in no way reflects on our esteem and our very deep respect for the Speaker. I know of no man in Government today that I have any higher personal respect for than the Speaker. Certainly our letter was not intended to reflect on him in any way. Our point is this: We have a congressional reorganization bill that has gone through the legislative mill for some months and is awaiting action on the House floor. We would like to see it come down here so that we can have a chance to look at it and discuss it and determine what reforms are needed. If we can win some bipartisan support on that, we all will be ahead and the country will be ahead.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIEGLE. I will if you are supporting my desire to get the Congressional Reorganization Act out of committee and down here on the floor.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I merely want to compliment the gentleman for the kind remarks that he made with respect to the Speaker, which I am sure all of us share.

DISCUSSION OF CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I join with the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] in calling to the attention of the House the importance of the vote we will be having tomorrow here on the floor of the House. The important vote will be the vote on the previous question. That particular vote will be important because if the previous question carries, then Mr. Bow will be precluded from offering his amendment to establish an expenditure limitation for fiscal year 1968.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is extremely important that we all realize that the Congress can make substantial reductions in appropriations but that reductions in appropriations will not directly affect spending levels. Even if we make a $7 billion or $8 billion reduction in appropriations, this will only reduce the amount of new obligational authority in the hands of the executive branch from $192 billion to about $184 billion. The executive branch will still have in its hands $184 billion with an appropriation cut of $8 billion available for expenditure in fiscal year 1968. This is because of the large carryover in obligational authority, or appropriations, from prior years.

Mr. Speaker, I think we all realize that the Congress cannot control the expenditure rate, because the Congress deals with appropriations and only with appropriations. We feel, however, that the time has come, because of the serious crisis facing this country, for the Congress to move into the expenditure field in fiscal year 1968. We are facing a tremendous crisis with a budget deficit of over $30 billion.

The Chief Executive seems to be trying to create confusion in this country by refusing to distinguish between appropriations and expenditures. In doing this, he is only widening the credibility gap. Yesterday in his press conference, the President talked about a $1.6 billion reduction in appropriations for the Defense Department. He tried to tie that $1.6 billion up with the war cost in Vietnam. The Committee on Appropriations in reducing new obligational authority did not reduce expenditure rates, but in reducing new obligational authority by $1.6 billion not a single bit of that authorization was involved with war costs in Southeast Asia. It is true that the war in Southeast Asia is going to cost more than the budget estimate of expenditures of $21.9 billion. The cost of the war will in fact be at least $29 billion in fiscal year 1968.

Mr. Speaker, I can only say I am shocked that the President of the United States would imply that there is any connection between the Congress cut in defense funds and the war in Vietnam.

I cannot remain silent when the word of the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee is thrown into serious question by the President of the United States. Yet, that is precisely the effect of the Chief Executive's attempt to relate the $1.6 billion reduction in the Defense Appropriation bill to the cost of the war in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, Chairman Mahon and I may not see eye to eye on all things but he certainly made it crystal clear both in the Defense Committee report and on the floor during debate on the Defense bill that not a single penny of the $1.6 billion in defense cuts was in any way related to Vietnam war costs. The report clearly stated that—

> The reductions . . . are made in programs not directly related to the prosecution of the war.

For the President of the United States to cast public doubt on the word and the assurances of the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon] and the unanimous committee report written under his direction cannot go unanswered.

Mr. Speaker, we all know that additional funds will be required for the war in Vietnam—we know that and said so when the original budget came up last year.

But the $1.6 billion has nothing to do with those additional requirements and it is time this administration stopped throwing up smokescreens in attempts to cloud the issue that faces us in tomorrow's action.

Tomorrow's issue has to do with expenditure controls, not with new obligational authority or appropriations. Let us deal with that issue with relevant facts.

This credibility gap in America is being widened, and I say it is being widened deliberately in view of the important debate which we will have upon tomorrow here on the floor of the House.

TO AUTHORIZE AND REQUEST THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION COMMEMORATING 50 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE NATION BY THE LANGLEY RESEARCH CENTER

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I understand that this has been completely cleared on our side of the aisle with the members of the Committee on the Judiciary?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, the gentleman from Illinois is eminently correct.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, may we have some assurance that this is not going to cost the taxpayers of the United States any money?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Illinois will yield further, the proclamation will not cost the taxpayers one dime.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Illinois will yield further, let us go beyond the proclamation. Will this celebration cost the taxpayers of the United States of America any money?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Illinois will yield further, it will not.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the Senate joint resolution, as follows:

S.J. Res. 109

Whereas this calendar year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment in 1917 of the Langley Research Center at Hampton, Virginia; and

Whereas the Langley Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, of forty-one years a facility of the former National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, has provided a continuing technological basis for significant advances in military and commercial aviation; and

Whereas pioneering scientific investigations conducted by the Langley Research Center contributed to the development over the years of unique facilities, research techniques, and the technical competence required to establish and maintain this country's leadership in aeronautics; and

Whereas the Langley Research Center was the birthplace of Project Mercury—the first United States manned space flight project; and

Whereas the Langley Research Center is one of the major research facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration engaged in significant programs of advanced research and technology relating to aeronautics and the manned and unmanned exploration of space, including, among others, the development of the supersonic transport, vertical and short take off and landing aircraft, the Apollo lunar mission, and a variety of other projects designed to accelerate our flight progress and expand our knowledge of the universe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Langley Research Center at Hampton, Virginia, and calling upon the people of the United States, during the first full calendar week in October 1967, to observe such anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and activities honoring such Center's fifty years of service to the Nation.

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I arise in enthusiastic support of this legislation.

This resolution gives national recognition to the 50 years of scientific progress in the fields of space and aeronautics at Langley Research Center in Hampton, Va.

Langley was the first of the scientific facilities under the old National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics which was subsequently changed to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration when this Nation decided to unite and promote its efforts in this scientific field.

Today it is one of the foremost facilities in the huge NASA complex. Under the capable leadership of Dr. Floyd L. Thompson and a dedicated group of scientists, Langley can achieve the impossible if asked to do so.

This first week in October is Langley Research Center Week and it is open to the public to see and hear what has been accomplished in the last 50 years and what we can expect in the future.

I have just returned from Langley a few minutes ago where I had the privilege of seeing the morning's presentation. It was dramatic, impressive, and educational. I was extremely proud to see the magnificent scientific accomplishments which our own facility has produced. I invite all the Members to attend if they possibly can. If they will call me, I will be happy to make the necessary transportation arrangements.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Record, I include a NASA press release which sets forth some of the achievements of the Langley Research Center:

[A National Aeronautics and Space Administration, news release, Oct. 1, 1967]

Langley 50th Anniversary

On Oct. 7, 1903, Charles M. Manley, chief assistant to Samuel Pierpont Langley, was launched from a houseboat on the Potomac in a heavier-than-air machine that was designed to fly. It sank.

Sixty-eight days later a similar wood and canvas contraption, designed by a pair of bicycle mechanics, Wilbur and Orville Wright, shot down the sands at Kitty Hawk, N.C., stayed in the air for 3.5 seconds and covered a distance of 105 feet.

A few weeks from now a sleek rocket, the Saturn V, 365 feet tall and with a thrust comparable to 160 million horsepower, will take off from Cape Kennedy, Fla., on a test flight in preparation for this country's first trip to the Moon and back.

As unlikely as it seems, the Saturn V had its genesis in the Langley and Wright machines.

The journey from the first biplanes to supersonic aircraft and space vehicles was exciting, arduous and rewarding. Credit for the success of man's conquest of the air and space must go in large part to the work done at the research center, later named after Dr. Langley, located in Hampton, Va.

In recognition of Langley Research Center's contribution to the advancement of the United States in aeronautics and astronautics, the first week of October has been set aside by Presidential proclamation to commemorate 50 years of service to the Nation.

From 1917 to 1938, Langley, as the single laboratory of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, provided the facilities and scientific brainpower necessary to keep the nation in the vanguard of aviation progress. As other research centers were established across the country after 1938, Langley staff members provided the leadership to make them work. When the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was established in 1958, it was built largely around NACA and the experience gained at Langley.

Langley has assisted in increasing the speed of the airplane from less than 100 miles-per-hour to more than 4,000 miles-per-hour. It has helped man conquer the air and move toward mastery of the infinite space above the atmosphere.

Its milestones include:

The development in the 1920's of a cowling for aircooled engines, a streamlining effect credited with increasing the speeds of airplanes of that period from 12 to 15 per cent; an innovation that made possible the use of engines of much higher horsepower;

The accumulation of scientific data and technical competence that increased the performance and utility of aircraft used in World War II;

The conception in the 1940's of research planes leading to history-making advancements at supersonic and hypersonic speeds;

The design, development, and practical application in the '50's of the world's first transonic wind tunnels which bridged the technological gap in research facilities between subsonic and supersonic speeds;

The discovery and verification of the Area Rule, a revolutionary idea concerning the configuration of aircraft;

The development of much of the technology for a practical supersonic commercial air transport plane.

Langley continues in its aeronautical researches, working on current and future concepts of hypersonic flight, advanced supersonic aircraft, helicopters, vertical takeoff and landing and short takeoff and landing aircraft (VTOL/STOL), and support services for the exploration of space.

If Dr. Langley were alive today he would be gratified by the nation's space program. He would also have a part in it. He had from his earliest years been interested in astronomy. For many years he was interested in research as Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. He and his brother John built from scratch a telescope with a five-foot focal length and a seven-inch mirror. They polished and discarded 20 mirrors before they fabricated one that met their standards.

Later, at the Allegheny Observatory, he made drawings that served for years as classic sunspot representations. Having realized early the limitations placed on astrophysics by the blanketing layer of Earth's atmosphere, he attempted to overcome them first by trying to find a constant that would represent the filtering atmosphere of the Earth, and later by moving instruments to the tops of mountains where this effect would be minimized.

In order to explore the physics of outer space further he invented the boloscope, a device that could measure temperature differences of 1/100,000 of one degree Centigrade. With this instrument he extended the spectrum to a point until then undreamed of.

It was not until he was 50 years old that he launched a new career in aerodynamics.

The credit for flying the first heavier-than-air machine was hotly disputed by followers of the Wright brothers and Langley for many years, but time eventually dulled the dispute and all of the figures involved were given due credit.

Disputes were not unusual in the history of aviation progress.

Attempts to end NACA's existence as an independent agency were made with regularity. It was proposed at varying intervals that NACA's facilities and functions be transferred to the Navy, the Army, the Bureau of Standards, the War Department and the Department of Commerce.

The Langley laboratory also suffered its share of natural disasters. Wooden buildings, hangars and wind tunnels were beset by fires, and storms and floods took their toll. Langley, however, pushed aviation progress ahead in the face of adversity in politics, natural disasters, and a shortage of funds during the Great Depression of the 30's.

A five-foot wind tunnel was opened in 1920. In many ways, the development of the airplane has been the development of the wind tunnel, and Langley consistently has pioneered in these devices, extending with each new one the range of aerodynamic testing that can be done on the ground.

Langley's first wind tunnel was not unusual. It was modeled after one in use at the British National Physical Laboratory. Similar models were in use by the Army, Navy and various engineering schools. Its operation was quite simple: it directed a stream of air across a model airplane, where gages measured the stresses.

By the following year it was decided that a new kind of wind tunnel was needed, one using compressed air. It was known for some time that a model's behavior differed from that of a full-scale airplane. By raising the air pressure in the wind tunnel this difference in the effects of scale was overcome. As a result of tests in this so-called "variable density" wind tunnel, NACA studied the feasibility of jet propulsion some 25 years before the first jet airplane flew.

In 1927, a tunnel known as the propeller research tunnel, large enough to test full-scale parts, was put into operation. It had a 20-foot test section through which air flowed at 110 miles-per-hour. This tunnel, the world's largest at that time, allowed aerodynamic tests on full-scale propellers, fuselages, landing gear and other aircraft parts.

The most dramatic breakthrough achieved by this equipment was what came to be known as the NACA cowling. A streamlined covering for radial air-cooled engines, the cowling reduced the drag created by exposed engine parts. Because it greatly improved cooling, it permitted much larger engines of greater power.

In its 1928 report, NACA stated, "by the application of the results of this study to this study to a Curtiss AT–5A Army pursuit training plane, the maximum speed was increased from 118 to 137 mph. This is equivalent to providing approximately 83 additional horsepower without additional weight or cost of engine, fuel consumption, or weight of structure." For this achievement, NACA was awarded the Collier Trophy for 1928.

Another benefit from the Propeller Research Tunnel was the location of engine nacelles on the leading edges of wings, rather than slung beneath them as had been the previous practice. This resulted in important speed gains. The amount of drag on fixed landing gear was also accurately determined.

Throughout the 1930's, aviation continued its advance. The shape of wings and airplane bodies all over the world were determined by the knowledge gained at Langley. And when World War II came, the information acquired over the years at this NACA facility contributed mightily to America's superior wartime air power.

Elaborately instrumented research rocket planes were carried above the atmosphere, where the density of the air was low, to explore transonic and supersonic speeds. Starting with the spectacular flight of the X–1 and progressing through the more and more advanced models, speed and altitude records were broken again and again. Langley shared the Collier Trophy with Bell Aircraft and the U.S. Air Force for this pioneering research in 1947. Today the X–15, latest in the series, has achieved speeds over 4,000 miles-per-hour and altitudes of more than 354,000 feet.

Langley was honored with the Collier Trophy again in 1951 for the development and practical application of the transonic wind tunnel, a facility that bridged the gap which once existed in wind tunnel research in the range from high subsonic speeds to those just above the speed of sound.

Langley's fourth Collier Trophy was won in 1954 for the discovery and experimental verification of the Area Rule.

Essentially, the Area Rule is a method to balance in a rational way the lengthwise distribution of volume of fuselage and wings in order to produce an airplane with minimum drag at transonic speeds.

Slight modifications of the shape of the airplane fuselage can result in highly-improved performance. For example, a fighter plane prototype was unable in tests to achieve supersonic speed. With slight modifications indicated by the Area Rule, a gain in speed as much as 25 per cent was attained.

Today, Langley continues to improve the speed and versatility of aircraft. Some of its objectives are improved helicopters for urban travel up to 100 miles, short takeoff and landing aircraft for interurban travel up to about 500 miles, and improvements in subsonic jet transports to allow short runway operation.

Work is going forward on the supersonic airplane, and in the more distant future for an airplane designed to go more than five times the speed of sound—the hypersonic airplane.

Langley was the birthplace of Project Mercury, the first United States manned space flight project. It was instrumental in some of the key research in support of the successful Gemini project and the Apollo program, now just getting under way.

Langley research contributed to the Echo passive communication satellites. Once launched into orbit, a large aluminum-covered mylar plastic balloon automatically inflated and was used to bounce electronic signals from one point on Earth down to another. Line-of-sight electronic transmission is generally restricted to about 150 miles; by means of Echo satellites, this range was extended to span oceans and continents. In addition, regularly published reports of the transit of the Echo balloon allowed people all over the world to see their first man-made satellite move across the night sky.

Langley also took part in the development of the versatile Scout rocket, first all-solid-fueled launch vehicle to put a satellite in orbit, and the management of Lunar Orbiter, a spacecraft which circled and helped map the Moon. Lunar Orbiter was successful in five launches on five attempts.

Mercury models were tested in Langley's wind tunnels. Tests varied from static stability studies on full-scale models to drag and heat transfer investigations on models weighing less than a ping-pong ball.

The research center is supporting project Apollo through the use of unique simulators and specialized laboratories, designed to enable the country to gain on the ground experience of the rigors of outer space.

The experience and accomplishments gained at Langley, combined with the availability at one location of an array of specialized laboratory facilities and equipment at Hampton, is unique. Langley today constitutes a vital national resource for the future conduct of advanced research and technology programs in aeronautics and the manned and unmanned exploration of space.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 109) just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time for the purpose of making an announcement.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the Members of the House that we expect to call up the conference report on the military construction authorization bill tomorrow.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, in order to find out how many of the 28 advisory committee members to the Speaker are here, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 288]

Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Blatnik
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Bush
Cabell
Carey
Carter
Casey
Celler
Cleveland
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Culver
de la Garza
Dent
Derwinski
Diggs
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Evans, Colo.
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Gallagher
Gettys
Hagan
Halleck
Hanna
Helstoski
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kyl
Landrum
Leggett
Lukens
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
May
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Nichols
Nix
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Pettis
Pool
Pucinski
Rarick
Reifel
Resnick
Ronan
Sandman
St Germain
Smith, Iowa
Stuckey
Teague, Calif.
Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Watkins
Watts
Whitener
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wright

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 348 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is the call of the Consent Calendar. The Clerk will call the first bill on the calendar.

SAUGUS IRON WORKS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, MASS.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1308) to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1308

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to preserve in public ownership the first sustained integrated ironworks in the Thirteen Colonies, the Secretary of the Interior may acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or otherwise, lands and interests in lands within boundaries of the area generally depicted on drawing numbered NHS SI 7100, entitled "Proposed Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site", dated May 28, 1964, which is on file in the Department of the Interior. If the Secretary determines that features historically associated with the Saugus Iron Works, including the charcoal pit and the collection basin, are outside the boundaries shown on the drawing he may revise the boundaries of the area by publication of a notice to that effect in the Federal Register. The property acquired pursuant to this section shall be known as the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall administer the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in accordance with the Act approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented, and the Act approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666).

SEC. 3. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 3, through page 2, line 7, strike out all of section 1 and insert the following in lieu thereof:

"That in order to preserve in public ownership the first sustained integrated ironworks in the Thirteen Colonies, the Secretary of the Interior may acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or otherwise, lands and interests in lands within the boundaries of the area generally depicted on drawing numbered NHS–SI–7100B, entitled 'Proposed Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site', dated May, 1967, which is on file in the Department of the Interior. The property acquired pursuant to this section shall be known as the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site."

On page 2, lines 13 and 14, strike out "such sums as may be necessary" and insert "$400,000".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. SAYLOR Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 1308, a bill to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes.

The purpose of H.R. 1308 is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept the donation of the site of one of America's earliest industrial landmarks—the old Saugus Iron Works. The nucleus of this proposed national historic site consists of property now owned by the First Iron Works Association, Inc. This association has offered to donate all of its property, comprising some eight acres, to the United States for the proposed national historic site.

This colonial iron works dates back to 1648 and the site was first owned and established under an English partnership called the "Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works in New England," and was operational from 1648 to 1670. The site is on the Saugus River about ten miles north of historic Boston.

The old Saugus Iron Works, though not successful financially because of competitive imports and mismanagement, was a prototype of a modern iron and steel plant. It was an integrated mill producing directly malleable wrought iron in contrast to pig or cast iron. This colonial iron works supplied the tools and hardware very much needed in our colonial development. The old Saugus Iron Works was a symbolic forerunner of America's present-day industrial giants.

The historic values of this property were recognized and in 1943 the First Iron Works Association, Inc., a private, nonprofit organization interested in historic preservation, was formed to protect the site from being moved and publicize its historic importance. In 1949, the American Iron & Steel Institute became interested in the restoration of the Saugus Iron Works and for the next 13 years spent $2.4 million in support of the archeological investigation as the first step toward reconstruction of this site. By 1954, extensive archeological investigation and research had been completed, the works were created and opened to the public.

The restoration and reconstruction of this colonial iron works has been accomplished in a meticulous manner using the foundations of the original building. The work has been done and supervised by the same group that advised and assisted in the reconstruction of historic Williamsburg.

At the site of the first iron works in America one can see how iron was made in the early days of this Nation. It is truly an enlightening experience to see and particularly for those people who live in the cities and towns where modern steel methods are being used.

It is most interesting to note that this colonial iron works was probably the first example of a large scale capitalistic enterprise in the American colonies. The company of undertakers starting this venture was organized in England and included not only people who lived in England but people from all walks of life who lived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, including members of the clergy who invested their money in this original undertaking. The first iron works was started with a capital investment of a thousand pounds sterling and later investments brought the total investment to approximately 15,000 pounds.

Mr. Speaker, establishment of the proposed Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site would, in my opinion, become a valuable addition to our national park system. The Saugus Iron Works exemplifies an important era in the industrial and economic development of this Nation. I wish to commend the American Iron & Steel Institute for its spirit and generosity in financing the excavation and restoration of this colonial ironworks. And further, I wish to commend the First Iron Works Association, Inc., for its preservation of this historic site and offer to donate the Saugus Iron Works to the United States for administration as a national historic site.

The estimated capital cost for acquisition of additional lands and development of the site is $400,000. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments has endorsed the proposal to establish the Saugus Iron Works as a national historic site.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it will be a tremendous benefit to the American people to be authorized to accept the gift of the First Iron Works Association, Inc., and the American Iron & Steel Institute, who have done an excellent job in preserving our American heritage.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the passage of H.R. 1308.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. TAYLOR] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 1308 by our colleague, Congressman SAYLOR, is to set up the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site.

Congressman SAYLOR, Congressman SKUBITZ, and I visited these ironworks about 2 months ago. These works were one of the most interesting attractions and historic spots we found in Boston.

The Saugus Iron Works as they exist today are a reconstruction on the original foundations of the first integrated ironworks in America. The works were in actual operation from 1648 to 1670. They consisted of a blast furnace, a forge, a rolling and slitting mill, and other works. In addition, there was an iron master's house which is still standing and is an interesting example of early 17th century American architecture. There are two large fireplaces you can almost walk in. Most of the reconstructed works are in operating condition today and are put through their paces twice a day when the big water wheels are set in motion, the fires of the forge flare up, and the machinery goes into operation.

Restoration of the Saugus Iron Works was accomplished through the interest and generosity of the American Iron & Steel Institute. The buildings and the 8 acres of land on which they stand are now owned by the First Iron Works Association, Inc. The association's income, however, is insufficient for it to maintain the works as they should be maintained and the American Iron & Steel Institute is unwilling to invest more money in the project. The association intends to donate these assets to the United States if H.R. 1308 becomes law.

There can be no question that the Saugus Iron Works represent an important chapter in our early industrial history and that, as such, they deserve a place in the national park system. I visualize on this spot a museum of great national value telling the story of development of iron processing in this country from the very beginning when it was in its primitive stage down to the present. There is a small museum there now that could well be enlarged to tell this whole story.

The Interior Department's report on the bill advised us that its cost estimates were $47,700 for acquisition of two parcels of land in addition to the 8 acres that are to be donated and $831,000 for rehabilitation and development expenses. The committee thought the estimated cost was too high and cut this figure to $400,000.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to support this legislation and urge its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING THE SMALL RECLAMATION PROJECTS ACT OF 1956

The Clerk called the bill (S. 862) to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, as amended.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I object.

GRAZING RESERVES FOR INDIANS OF FORT McDERMITT, NEV.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11576) to amend the act of January 17, 1936 (49 Stat. 1094), reserving certain public domain lands in Nevada and Oregon as a grazing reserve for Indians of Fort McDermitt, Nev.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a similar Senate bill, S. 2162, be considered in lieu of the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 2162

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of January 17, 1936 (49 Stat. 1094), is amended by inserting a comma after "southwest quarter section 26; west half".

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 11576) was laid on the table.

REALLOCATING PART OF THE BANKRUPTCY FILING FEE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8632) to amend sections 40c(1) and 52a of the Bankruptcy Act so as to reallocate part of the filing fee from the clerk's earnings to the referees' salary and expense fund.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask someone who has had this bill under consideration how we are doing in this country with respect to bankruptcies. Are they increasing or decreasing?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The answer to the gentleman's question should not affect this proposal, but the information I have is that there are more bankruptcies being filed.

Mr. GROSS. There are more bankruptcies being filed in the Great Society than heretofore?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The answer is yes.

Mr. GROSS. I regret to hear that, but I guess it goes along with the welfare state that is being established.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8632

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraph c(1) of section 40 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 68c(1)) is amended by deleting "$32" and inserting in lieu thereof "$37".

SEC. 2. Paragraph a of section 52 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 80a) is amended by deleting "$8" and inserting in lieu thereof "$3".

SEC. 3. This amendatory Act shall take effect on the thirtieth day following the date of its approval.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ALLOTMENTS TO UNIFORMED SAVINGS DEPOSIT PROGRAM

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4772) to authorize the Secretaries concerned to direct the initiation of allotments of the pay and allowances of certain members of the Armed Forces for the purpose of making deposits under section 1035 of title 10, United States Code.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4772

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when the Secretary concerned considers it to be in the interest of a member of an Armed Force or his dependents, he may direct the initiation of an allotment of the unallotted pay and allowances of the members for the purpose of making deposits under section 1035 of title 10, United States Code, if the member entered a "missing status" (as defined in section 551(2) of title 37, United States Code) before having an opportunity to execute an allotment for that purpose. The Secretary may direct the initiation of an allotment under this act without the knowledge of the member, but the allotment shall be terminated upon the written request of the member.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following language:

"That section 1035 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection.

" '(e) The Secretary concerned, or his designee, may in the interest of a member who is in a missing status (as defined in section 551(2) of title 37) or his dependents, initiate, stop, modify, and change allotments, and authorize a withdrawal of deposits, made under this section, even though the member had an opportunity to deposit amounts under this section and elected not to do so. Interest may be computed from the day the member entered a missing status, or September 1, 1966, whichever is later.'

"Sec. 2. This act becomes effective as of September 1, 1966."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4772 is a bill that would give members of the military services who have been captured in Vietnam, or who are missing, certain rights which their more fortunate companions have today.

Last year the Congress enacted Public Law 538 which inaugurated a new savings deposit program for members of the armed forces. This new program replaced the soldiers', sailors', and airmen's savings deposit program which had virtually fallen into disuse.

The new savings deposit law became effective on September 1, 1966. Unfortunately, and through a mistaken interpretation of the law, the Department of Defense thought that 350 men who were captured or missing on that date could have deposits made in the savings fund on their behalf. However, the Comptroller General held that the law was not broad enough to cover these 350 persons in a missing status in Vietnam. This, of course, created a wholly unreasonable situation which this bill is designed to correct.

There is no one on the floor of this House but will agree that those unfortunate enough to be captured or missing should have the same rights as other military people in overseas areas.

H.R. 4772 as introduced would have taken care of these 350 missing persons. It did not, however, go quite far enough and the committee, therefore, broadened it to remove any doubt whatsoever that any person achieving the status of missing or captured after September 1, 1966, would have these same rights to have deposits made in the savings deposit program.

That is all this bill will do. It will give captured and missing people the same rights that our other military people in overseas areas have today.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'Neill] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in support of legislation I have sponsored. I believe that H.R. 4772 is a necessary addition to Public Law 89-538.

On August 14, 1966, the President signed into law a bill that both Houses of Congress thought necessary. Public Law 89-538 established a new savings deposit program for members of our armed services. This program provides competitive rates of interest and reasonable deposit and withdrawal terms; features which the old program lacked.

The purpose of H.R. 4772 is to extend the privilege of that program to members of the Armed Forces who are in a missing status, to prisoners of war, those people who do not have the option to act for themselves. There were 350 men in missing status on the enacting date of Public Law 89-583.

Existing legislation does not provide for those 350 missing men and their families. H.R. 4772 will correct that omission. This bill authorizes the Secretaries concerned to act in behalf of men missing or captured so that they might have the benefit of this program. It merely extends the privileges now enjoyed by all other men in the service.

These men cannot act for themselves. It is only right that we protect their interests and assist their families. I hope the Members of this body will follow the suggestion of the Armed Services Committee and give this legislation their full support.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Casey] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend my distinguished friend and colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, for authoring H.R. 4772, and the members of the Armed Services Committee for bringing it before the House.

I joined in cosponsoring this legislation when the inequity in the present law was brought to my attention by the parents of my first appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy, who is listed as missing in action in Vietnam. My bill, H.R. 4851, is a companion to that authored by my colleague.

The need for the authority contained in this bill—to permit the Secretary of the service branch to act in initiating or modifying allotments in the interest of missing or captured servicemen or their families—is obvious. These men cannot act for themselves, and certainly every effort should be made to assist them.

It is indeed gratifying to me that this legislation, which affects about 350 men and their families, has the full approval of the Department of Defense and Bureau of the Budget, and unanimous support of our colleagues on the Armed Services Committee. It certainly merits similar support by the House.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JURISDICTION AT U.S. NAVAL STATION, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11767) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to adjust the legislation jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands comprising the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11767

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Navy may, at such times as he may deem desirable, retrocede to the State of California all, or such portion as he may deem desirable for retrocession, of the jurisdiction heretofore acquired by the United States over any lands comprising the United States Naval Station, Long Beach, California. Retrocession of jurisdiction under the authority of this Act may be made by filing a written notice of such retrocession with the Governor of the State of California, and shall take effect upon the acceptance thereof by the State of California in such manner as its laws may prescribe.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 11707 would permit the Secretary of the Navy to retrocede to the State of California all or such portion as he may deem desirable for retrocession of the jurisdiction heretofore acquired by the United States over lands comprising the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.

This authority is similar to many other bills that we have passed and specifically is sought to permit the State of California, acting through local civil authorities, to furnish regular police protection to the 391 families residing in two Navy housing projects constructed on separate parcels of land which now comprise parts of the Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.

Retrocession would be accomplished by filing written notice thereof with the Governor of California to be effective upon its acceptance by the State in such a manner as its laws may prescribe.

The U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif., comprises a total of 1,503.63 acres of land and submerged land. The main site of the naval station comprises 1,102.46 acres acquired by separate condemnation actions in 1940, 1942, and 1963. The remaining 401.17 acres of land acquired by condemnation and transfer are the sites of seven off-station Navy housing projects.

Over most of the naval station and the first five off-station housing projects, the Government jurisdiction is proprietorial only. However, over a 243.46-acre portion of the main site—including 219.58 acres in which the Government interest is only a leasehold until August 9, 1970—the Government presently has partial legislative jurisdiction, subject only to State reserved powers of taxation and service of civil and criminal process. Such jurisdiction is vested by article I, section 8, clause 17 of the Constitution; section 255 of title 40, United States Code; an act of the California Legislature of March 12, 1872, as amended by chapter 710 of the statutes of 1939—California Political Code, section 34—and Secretary of the Navy letter of April 5, 1943, accepting jurisdiction, acknowledged by California State Lands Commission letter of April 10, 1943.

The same Federal constitutional provision and statute, the same substantive California law, recodified as California Government Code, section 111 by chapter 134, California Statutes of 1943, Secretary of the Navy letter of November 12, 1943, accepting jurisdiction and California State Lands Commission acknowledgment letter of November 12, 1943, operated to vest the Government with similar jurisdiction over 485 acres acquired in 1942 for use in connection with the U.S. Naval Fuel Depot, San Pedro, Calif. Two portions of this 485-acre tract, measuring 58.86 and 88.77 acres, were subsequently transferred from the Naval Fuel Depot, San Pedro, to the Naval Station, Long Beach. Their development and use as Palos Verdes public quarters and the San Pedro fund housing project, respectively, has given rise to a significant problem in the furnishing of adequate police protection to the 391 families residing in the housing projects. The Government's existing legislative jurisdiction over the entire 485 acres leaves local police authorities with no jurisdiction over these projects for performance of their ordinary functions of law enforcement and protection of persons and property on behalf of the residents. The Navy shore patrol, the only Government police agency readily available, cannot effectively police these residential areas since it has no general authority over persons other than members of the Armed Forces. Under section 13 of title 18, United States Code, the criminal laws of the State would be enforceable in the project areas notwithstanding the lack of State jurisdiction, but only as Federal law and only by such other Government police officers as may be provided. The forum for enforcement of such laws would be the U.S. district court.

The law enforcement agencies of the city of Los Angeles and of the county of Los Angeles, presently rendering police services in the general localities of Palos Verdes public quarters and the San Pedro fund housing project, have both indicated willingness to furnish these housing projects with their regular services if the impediment of lack of jurisdiction is removed. Government retrocession of legislative jurisdiction over these projects as soon as possible is considered highly desirable to relieve the existing unhappy situation. This will make regular police services of the city of Los Angeles and the county of Los Angeles available to occupants of portions of the housing project under their respective jurisdictions. Advising that State acceptance of retrocession of Government jurisdiction will require an act of the California Legislature, the California State Lands Commission has prepared proposed general legislation to effect State consent to Government retrocession of jurisdiction under certain conditions of procedure.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ESTABLISHING A JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS IN THE NAVY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12910) to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I simply want to commend the committee for bringing forth this bill.

Mr. Speaker, for many years I have advocated the creation in the Department of the Navy of a Judge Advocate General's Corps. I have never been able to understand why the other branches of the Service have had a Judge Advocate General's Corps and not the Department of the Navy.

Mr. Speaker, I simply wish to compliment the committee for proposing this legislation.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished gentleman from Iowa for his comments and to also thank the gentleman for his support of this legislation throughout the years.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12910

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 47 of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 801(11) is amended to read as follows:

"(11) 'Law specialist' means a commissioned officer of the Coast Guard designated for special duty (law)."

(2) The following new clause is added at the end of section 801:

"(13) 'Judge advocate' means an officer of the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the Army or the Navy or an officer of the Air Force or the Marine Corps who is designated as a judge advocate."

(3) Section 806(a) is amended by deleting the first sentence and inserting the following sentences in place thereof:

"The assignment for duty of judge advocates of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and law specialists of the Coast Guard shall be made upon the recommendation of the Judge Advocate General of the armed force of which they are members. The assignment for duty of judge advocates of the Marine Corps shall be made by direction of the Commandant of the Marine Corps."

(4) Section 815(e) is amended by striking out the words "Army or Air Force, a law specialist of the Navy" in the last sentence and substituting in place thereof the words "Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps".

(5) Section 827(b)(1) is amended by striking out the words "or the Air Force or a law specialist of the Navy or" and inserting in place thereof the words ", Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps or a law specialist of the".

(6) Section 865(c) is amended by striking out the words "or the Air Force, a law specialist of the Navy" and inserting in place thereof the words ", Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps".

(7) Section 936(a)(1) is amended by deleting the words "and the Air Force" and inserting in place thereof the words ", Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps".

SEC. 2. Chapter 513 of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 5148 is amended—

(A) by amending the catchline to read:

"§ 5148. Judge Advocate General's Corps: Office of the Judge Advocate General; Judge Advocate General; appointment, term, emoluments, duties";

(B) by redesignating subsections (a), (b), and (c) as subsections (b), (c), and (d), respectively, and inserting the following new subsection:

"(a) The Judge Advocate General's Corps is a Staff Corps of the Navy, and shall be organized in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy."; and

(C) by striking out, in subsection (b) as redesignated, in the third sentence, the word "officers" and inserting in place thereof the words "judge advocates".

(2) Section 5149 is amended to read as follows:

"§ 5149. Office of the Judge Advocate General: Deputy Judge Advocate General; Assistant Judge Advocate General

"(a) A judge advocate of the Navy or Marine Corps who has the qualifications prescribed for the Judge Advocate General in section 5148(b) of this title shall be detailed as Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Navy. While so serving he is entitled to the rank and grade of rear admiral (upper half) or major general, as appropriate, unless entitled to a higher rank or grade under another provision of law. The Deputy Judge Advocate General is entitled to the same privileges of retirement as provided for chiefs of bureaus in section 5133 of this title.

"(b) A judge advocate of the Navy or Marine Corps who has the qualifications prescribed for the Judge Advocate General in section 5148(b) of this title shall be detailed as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

"(c) When there is a vacancy in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, or during the absence or disability of the Judge Advocate General, the Deputy Judge Advocate General shall perform the duties of the Judge Advocate General until a successor is appointed or the absence or disability ceases.

"(d) When subsection (c) cannot be complied with because of the absence or disability of the Deputy Judge Advocate General, the Assistant Judge Advocate General shall perform the duties of the Judge Advocate General."

(3) The analysis is amended by amending the items relating to sections 5148 and 5149 to read as follows:

"5148. Judge Advocate General's Corps: Office of the Judge Advocate General; Judge Advocate General; appointment, term, emoluments, duties.

"5149. Office of the Judge Advocate General: Deputy Judge Advocate General; Assistant Judge Advocate General."

SEC. 3. Section 5404 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection at the end thereof:

"(c) The Secretary of the Navy, as of January 1 of each year, shall establish the authorized strength of the active list of the Navy in officers in the Judge Advocate General's Corps."

SEC. 4. Section 5508(b) of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by inserting the following new clause after clause (5): "(6) Officers in the Judge Advocate General's Corps,"; and

(2) by renumbering clauses (6), (7), and (8) as clauses "(7)", "(8)", and "(9)", respectively.

SEC. 5. Chapter 539 of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) The following new section is added after section 5578:

"§ 5578a. Regular Navy; Judge Advocate General's Corps

"(a) Original appointments to the active list of the Navy in the Judge Advocate General's Corps may be made from persons who—

"(1) are at least twenty-one and under thirty-five years of age;

"(2) are graduates of an accredited law school or are members of the bar of a Federal court or the highest court of a State; and

"(3) have physical, mental, and moral qualifications satisfactory to the Secretary of the Navy.

For the purposes of determining lineal position, permanent grade, seniority in permanent grade, and eligibility for promotion, an officer appointed in the Judge Advocate General's Corps shall be credited with the amount of service prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy, but not less than three years.

"(b) Under such regulations as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe, appointments to the active list of the Navy in the Judge Advocate General's Corps may be made from officers of the Navy, including the Naval Reserve, in the line or in another staff corps. Notwithstanding any other law, an officer appointed under this subsection shall have a running mate assigned to him under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy."

(2) Section 5587(c) is amended by striking out "law,".

(3) The following new section is added after section 5587:

"§ 5587a. Regular Marine Corps: judge advocates.

"(a) With the approval of the Secretary of the Navy, any officer on the active list of the Marine Corps who is qualified under section 827(b) of this title may, upon his application, be designated as a judge advocate.

"(b) For the purposes of determining lineal position, permanent grade, seniority in permanent grade, and eligibility for promotion, a person appointed to the active list of the Marine Corps with a view to designation as a judge advocate may be credited with the amount of service prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy, but not more than three years."

(4) Section 5600(b) is amended—

(A) by adding at the end of clause (1) the words

"(D) Judge Advocate General's Corps—3 years;";

(B) by striking out clause (2); and

(C) by renumbering clause (3) as clause (2).

(5) The following new items are inserted in the analysis:

"5578a. Regular Navy: Judge Advocate General's Corps."

"5587a. Regular Marine Corps: judge advocates."

SEC. 6. Section 5762 of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 5762(d) is amended by inserting the words "Judge Advocate General's Corps," after the words "Medical Corps,".

(2) The following new subsection is added at the end:

"(f) The Secretary shall furnish the appropriate selection board convened under chapter 543 of this title with the number of officers that may be recommended for promotion to the grade of captain or commander in the Judge Advocate General's Corps. This number, determined by the Secretary as of the date the selection board is convened—

"(1) may not exceed the total number of officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps in the promotion zone for the grade concerned; and

"(2) may not be less than the product of the number of officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps in the promotion zone and a fraction, of which the numerator is the number of male line officers, not restricted in the performance of duty, placed upon the promotion list pursuant to the report of the comparable board for the selection of line officers convened in the same fiscal year, and the denominator is the number of male line officers, not restricted in the performance of duty, in the promotion zone considered by that board."

SEC. 7. Section 202 of title 37, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (g) is amended by inserting the words "or as Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Navy," after the word "Navy".

(2) Subsection (h) is amended—

(A) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (6);

(B) by redesignating clause (7) as clause (8); and

(C) by adding immediately after clause (6) a new clause as follows:

"(7) Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Navy; or".

(3) Subsection (i) is amended by striking out clause (3) thereof and by renumbering clauses (4) and (5) as clauses (3) and (4), respectively.

SEC. 8. (a) In this section "law specialist" means a line officer on the active or retired list of the Regular Navy or of the Naval Reserve designated for special duty (law) or a line officer of the Naval Reserve assigned a numerical designator indicating a special duty officer (law).

(b) All law specialists in the Navy are redesignated as judge advocates in the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the Navy. Each law specialist of the Navy who is on a promotion list on the day before the effective date of this Act shall be placed on the appropriate promotion list for the Judge Advocate General's Corps and shall be eligible for promotion when the officer who is to be his running mate in the next higher grade becomes eligible for promotion in that grade. All provisions of title 10, United States Code, not inconsistent with this Act, relating to officers of the Medical Corps of the Navy shall apply to officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the Navy.

SEC. 9. Nothing in this Act shall operate to terminate or reduce the term of an officer who was serving as Deputy and Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy on the day before the effective date of this Act or to deprive him of the rank, pay, allowances, or retirement privileges to which he was then entitled. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, an officer who was so serving on the day before the effective date of this Act shall be deemed to be detailed as Deputy Judge Advocate General, pursuant to section 5149 of title 10, United States Code, as amended by this Act, and, in addition to rights and benefits then accrued, to be entitled to the rank and retirement benefits authorized by that section. For the purposes of determining his eligibility for the retirement benefits authorized by section 5149 of title 10, United States Code, as amended by this Act, an officer who is serving as Deputy Judge Advocate General on the effective date of this Act shall be credited with all service performed under appointment or detail as Deputy and Assistant Judge Advocate General before the effective date of this Act.

SEC. 10. This Act does not affect rights accrued, duties matured, or proceedings commenced before its effective date.

SEC. 11. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, all provisions of law applicable to a male officer in the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the Navy, including the Naval Reserve, are applicable to a woman officer in that corps.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 3, lines 20 through 25, and page 4, lines 1 through 21, strike entire section and substitute in lieu thereof the following:

"§ 5149. Office of the Judge Advocate General: Deputy Judge Advocate General; Assistant Judge Advocates General

"(a) A judge advocate of the Navy or Marine Corps who has the qualifications prescribed for the Judge Advocate General in section 5148(b) of this title shall be detailed as Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Navy. While so serving he is entitled to the rank and grade of rear admiral (upper half) or major general, as appropriate, unless entitled to a higher rank or grade under another provision of law. The Deputy Judge Advocate General is entitled to the same privileges of retirement as provided for chiefs of bureaus in section 5133 of this title.

"(b) An officer of the Judge Advocate General's Corps who has the qualifications prescribed for the Judge Advocate General in section 5148(b) of this title shall be detailed as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy. While so serving he is entitled to the rank and grade to rear admiral (lower half), unless entitled to a higher rank or grade under another provision of law. An officer who is retired while serving as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy under this subsection or who, after serving at least twelve months as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy, is retired after completion of that service while serving in a lower rank or grade, may, in the discretion of the President, be retired with the rank and grade of rear admiral (lower half). If he is retired as a rear admiral, he is entitled to retired pay in the lower half of that grade, unless entitled to higher pay under another provision of law.

"(c) A judge advocate of the Marine Corps who has the qualifications prescribed for the Judge Advocate General in section 4158(b) of this title shall be detailed as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy. While so serving he is entitled to the rank and grade of brigadier general, unless entitled to a higher rank or grade under another provision of law. An officer who is retired while serving as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy under this subsection or who, after serving at least twelve months as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy, is retired after completion of that service while serving in a lower rank or grade, may, in the discretion of the President, be retired with the rank and grade of brigadier general. If he is retired as a brigadier general, he is entitled to the retired pay of that grade, unless entitled to higher pay under another provision of law.

"(d) When there is a vacancy in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, or during the absence or disability of the Judge Advocate General, the Deputy Judge Advocate General shall perform the duties of the Judge Advocate General until a successor is appointed or the absence or disability ceases.

"(e) When subsection (d) cannot be complied with because of the absence or disability of the Deputy Judge Advocate General, the Assistant Judge Advocates General in the order directed by the Secretary of the Navy, shall perform the duties of the Judge Advocate General."

On page 7, on the last line before line 6, add an "s" to the word "Advocate".

On page 9, after line 4, add the following:

"(4) The following new subsection is added at the end:

"'(k) Unless appointed to a higher grade under another provision of law, an officer of the Navy or Marine Corps serving as Assistant Judge Advocate General of the Navy is entitled to the basic pay of a rear admiral (lower half) or brigadier general, as appropriate.'"

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 12910 would provide for a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy. At the outset, I should say that this bill stems from legislation which had been carefully studied and drafted by our able and conscientious colleague, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BENNETT].

The responsibilities of the uniformed lawyer in the Navy—now law specialists—have been increasing over the years. It was not until after World War II that the Navy began to use full-time lawyers in place of line officers with legal training who spent part time on legal matters. Now the problems have become even more complex—with the Uniform Code of Military Justice, with the increased necessity of providing legal guidance to service personnel and with the Navy's increased responsibilities around the world.

The Navy has had to rely recently more and more on young students right out of law school to provide the major portion of its officers. There has been a real dearth of officers continuing in the Navy making it a lifetime career. Young men who have been interviewed when leaving the service have said that one of the two main reasons for their departure was the lack of a professional organization within the Navy. This bill is designed to supply that lack. It is hoped that with a full organization within the Navy more young men will decide that there is a place in the Navy for a legal career and will stay with it for their professional lives. Then the lawyers will have the same kind of an organization within which they can have professional recognition as the doctors, the dentists, and the civil engineers. The bill has many sections because it was necessary to amend many parts of title 10 in order to provide for the Judge Advocate General's Corps.

The bill was unanimously approved in subcommittee and in the full committee. I move its passage.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12910.

I support this for the following reasons: First, each other branch of the armed services already has such a corps and has found this to be efficient and helpful; second, if the Navy secures the establishment of such a corps it will be consistent with and carry out the internal Navy organization in other staff corps such as supply, civil engineering, medical, dental, nurse, and medical services; third, the present Navy strength of persons doing this legal work is now at the level of 555 and the demand for the type of work which they do is increasing. Recently enacted legislation to require the Navy to recover certain funds under the Medical Care Recovery Act of 1962 and the Federal Tort Claims Act of 1966 have increased the responsibilities of Navy lawyers. Further, decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to furnishing free legal counsel to the accused must eventually be consistently carried out in the armed services, and this would require a substantial number of lawyers. So it is clear from these and other things that the responsibilities of the Navy lawyers have increased substantially through recent years, and it seems clear for this reason alone that the Navy should be allowed the same organizational structure in this field as is enjoyed by other branches of the services. Fourth, and finally, the legislation will assist in obtaining and retaining adequate Navy lawyers. The experience level of the Navy lawyer has been steadily declining since 1957. Although the numbers available for the Navy have been adequate, if their lack of experience is not considered, the numbers reflect very largely the present draft situation. This means that we are obtaining inexperienced lawyers and that when the draft situation eases even they will not be available. Even at the present time the question of retention of an adequate number of lawyers with experience is very much a problem. This legislation would help to correct this situation.

It is my belief that the creation of a Navy Judge Advocate General's Corps would be a great help in the retention problems of the Navy in the field of maintaining adequate lawyers for the responsibilities that are placed upon them by statute. I sincerely hope that the House will pass the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FACILITATING COMPUTATION OF TOBACCO ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

The Clerk called the bill (S. 1564) to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 1564

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first sentence of section 313(g) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, the Secretary may convert the national marketing quota into a national acreage allotment by dividing the national marketing quota by the national average yield for the five years immediately preceding the year in which the national marketing quota is proclaimed, and may apportion the national acreage allotment, less a reserve of not to exceed 1 per centum thereof for new farms, for making corrections in old farm acreage allotments, and for adjusting inequities in old farm acreage allotments, through the local committees among farms on the basis of the factors set forth in subsection (b), using past farm acreage and past farm acreage allotments for tobacco in lieu of past marketing of tobacco; and the Secretary on the basis of the factors set forth in subsection (c) and the past tobacco experience of the farm operator, shall through the local committees allot that portion of the national acreage allotment reserved for new farms among farms on which no tobacco was produced or considered produced during the last five years."

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. This concludes the call of the Consent Calendar.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RYUKYU ISLANDS

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4903) to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 4903

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4 of the Act of July 12, 1960, Public Law 86-629, as amended (76 Stat. 742), is amended by striking out the figure "$12,000,000" and inserting the figure "$25,000,000" in place thereof.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4903 would raise our assistance to the Ryukyu Islands from the sum of $12 million to $25 million.

The bill, however, is very much more important than the amount of money would indicate, and I shall attempt to make this statement abundantly clear during my discussion of what the bill, if adopted, would do.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, this is the third time that legislation of this kind has been considered by the House of Representatives. Only last year, in March, we considered a bill, identical in its language to the one which is pending before us today. That bill was reported out of the Committee on Armed Services unanimously and passed the House. However, it failed of passage in the other body.

Further, by reason of your approval of this same legislation—and I do not intend to go into great detail, since great detail as has been gone into on previous occasions, we do have a real high priority and practical obligation to the people of Okinawa. Legislation of this kind is in the last analysis serving our own best interests. There can be no doubt that Okinawa is our most important military installation in the Far East.

Mr. Speaker, our investment to date in structures alone on Okinawa is in excess of one-half billion dollars. Of course, what this bill will do, if enacted, is very simply stated as follows: It will permit the raising of teachers' salaries, for example in the area of public health, it will provide for disease control and for health and medical facilities and equipment.

It will permit the building of roads, bridges, and a sewer system, and many other things of this same general nature.

Mr. Speaker, I will not go into further detail on this unless of course there are some questions on the part of the Members. But, Mr. Speaker, this is an essential bill in support of our military installations in Okinawa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. This bill, as I believe the gentleman has stated, would increase the authorization for the support of the Ryukyu Islands from $12 million to $25 million a year?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Why, having taken the islands at a terrific price in blood and lives, must we now, in addition to the economic support that our huge base there gives to these people, more than double the direct authorization each year?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I will say to the gentleman that emphasis has been placed in the past that since we took Okinawa by conquest our use of the islands is merely the result of the defeat of the Japanese.

The gentleman will grant this is the emphasis that sometimes has been placed in these matters, that is true. But it fails to recognize that Okinawa is far separated from Japan, and has in many ways its own, ancient culture. The Okinawans were never really our enemies; they were rather the unhappy victims of the war that had little or no presence there. They do, however, consider themselves a part of Japan. They compare their situation as against the situation in the other prefectures of Japan. They compare their progress with the progress being made in the other prefectures of Japan. Unfortunately, they find themselves a little bit below that progress.

I believe we have some responsibility to assist them in at least maintaining the same rate of progress as the people in the other areas of Japan enjoy.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Yes; I yield further to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I know of no one who wants to surrender this bastion we have in the Pacific. That is not the issue at all. What I am concerned about is this continual increasing of the spending of our taxpayers' money on the Ryukyus, with the Japanese continuing to insist that they again take over the rule of the Ryukyus and Matsuoko, chief of the local government, insisting on a return to Japanese jurisdiction.

What are we proposing to do; spend more hundreds of millions of dollars putting capital improvements on Okinawa and then one day turning the huge investment over to the Japanese?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I will say to the gentleman that we went into this quite thoroughly during our hearings, and we have held extensive hearings on this matter. The Okinawa situation is a continuing situation. The increase in the cost of operation is like in any other part of the world. The economics have improved, naturally, and we want them to continue to improve.

But I do want to comment on the gentleman's concern about the reversion of the islands to Japan. There has been a great deal said in the past about the possibility of returning Okinawa to Japan. That is the reason we were careful in our hearings to give much attention to this matter. We went into it in detail, and I might say we went into it in depth, both with the Army representative and Ambassador Berger of the State Department, and I want to state frankly—and I believe the other members of the subcommittee will agree with me—that there is not any thought on this side, at least, in our Government being given to the return of Okinawa to Japan. There was no division of opinion on this in any of the testimony received by the subcommittee.

Mr. GROSS. Do I understand there are about a million natives on the Ryukyu Islands?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. There are something less than a million. It is in the neighborhood of 940,000.

Mr. GROSS. And about 700,000 of them are on Okinawa?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. That is true—yes.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman have any figures as to the Japanese contribution to the economy of the islands?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Yes, we do. The Japanese have contributed about $26 million in 1967 to the same type of program. Over $67 million since 1951.

Mr. GROSS. What is their annual share of the contribution? I know what it is for 1966, but what was it for 1967? or what is it estimated to be?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. They are increasing it to about $25 million in 1967 and it has been a steady increase each year since 1951.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, the Japanese in fiscal year 1966 put in about $16 million into Okinawa; is that not correct?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. That is right. They are increasing it this year.

I might say to the gentleman that this is one reason for the necessity of increasing our authorization because we have a partnership program with the Japanese for sharing the costs of certain specific items that are of great importance to the economy of Okinawa.

Mr. GROSS. Is it not true that the bulk of Ryukyus exports are to Japan, and the bulk of their imports are from Japan?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. That may be true. But the Okinawans for a long time have attempted to increase their trade with other parts of the world and they have attempted to increase their business with us.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, we are about to vote here to double the take from the United States—from $12 to $25 million—and yet we do not have the slightest assurance that this is going to provide us with any larger share of the trade with the Ryukyus, and principally Okinawa? The Japanese are living high on the hog so far as trade with the Ryukyus is concerned, and we are putting in more money than the Japanese.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. No, no—we are not.

Mr. GROSS. Oh, yes, we are when it is all totaled.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. In the whole picture—in the operation of our base—yes. But in the particular program for which these funds are being provided, we are not. We have to face the practical situation we are in in Okinawa. We have our main military installation in Asia in Okinawa. We are going to have to stay there a long time and the gentleman, I think, wants us to stay there. If we are going to stay there, we have to meet our responsibilities to the area and we have to assist the people of Okinawa to promote and build up their economy and to do the essential things that are necessary and this money will help them.

This is for educational programs. It is for public health and medical programs, and public safety and cultural facilities. It is for public works and economic development. It is for the construction of a sewer system and of a water system and for transportation. It is for all the essential things that go to make up the economy of a country. These are just as essential for our troops over there because without an adequate water supply and without an adequate sewer system, we are adversely affected.

Mr. GROSS. I again say to the gentleman that we obtained the island of Okinawa at a staggering price in lives and blood of Americans. I know of no reason why we should today expend the kind of money that we are, over and above the contribution that the stationing of our troops at this base contributes to their economy. I know of no reason why we should continue to pay right through the nose to the Ryukyus who are demonstrating at times and insisting that they be returned to Japanese rule.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I do not follow the logic of the gentleman because if he thinks that we should stay there, and if he thinks we are there by conquest, and if he thinks we have a right to be there, then we have the obligation to maintain the island and support its economy. We have $1.5 billion in a military operation there to maintain and protect. I think it is in our own self-interest that we do this.

Mr. GROSS. There are any number of the natives employed by the U.S. Government at good pay by Asian standards and that is where their economy gets its biggest boost.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Of course, they are. There is no argument about that.

Mr. GROSS. Then why double the amount of the authorization in this bill?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Because the sewer systems are essential. The water system is essential. Because the educational system is essential. Because these funds are required to bolster the economy of the country and at least to try to bring them up to a level equal to that of the people in other prefectures of Japan.

I think it would be a sad reflection on America if we are not able to do that.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Did the recent visit of the Prime Minister of Japan to this country have anything to do with a commitment to pass this bill? Is the effort to pass this bill a result of his visit here?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. That has nothing to do with it. This bill was passed by the House in the 89th Congress before his visit here. This will be the third time it has been passed. It has been passed twice by the House.

I would like the gentleman to bear in mind the preamble to the basic law related to those islands. Here is what it says:

> In the exercise by the President of the authority over the Ryukyu Islands granted to the United States, Article III of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, every effort shall be made to improve the welfare and well being of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and to promote their economic and cultural development.

That is what we seek to do with this bill, but without these funds we will not be in a very good position to fulfill this commitment in the preamble to the treaty entered into with Japan.

Mr. GROSS. With the Japanese putting in $16 million and with an increase in our contribution to $25 million, that would be $41 million going into that country, in addition to the other money to which I have referred.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. We must contribute $25 million even to match what the Japanese may be expected to put in. The Japanese put up $16 million in 1966. We were not able to do that in this particular program. The Japanese were able to put $25 million in for fiscal 1967, which we are not able to match because we do not have sufficient authorization to do it.

Mr. GROSS. Does not the gentleman appreciate that the U.S. Treasury is "busted," and that we are borrowing money every hour of every day to run this Government? And this is an increase of more than 100 percent in our authorization for the Ryukyu Islands. I just do not go along with it, and I want the record to show that I am opposed to it.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. To protect an investment of $1,500,000,000 that we have in military operations in the Ryukyus and which we hope to maintain.

Mr. GROSS. If the channeling of more and more millions of dollars into the Ryukyu Islands is necessary for our retention of the Ryukyus, then we had better prepare to get out of there now, because we cannot continue this endlessly and forever. We cannot always buy our way around the world. In this case there is no justification for buying our right to stay on Okinawa or any other island of that chain.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RUMSFELD. The report indicates that the Government of the United States recognizes a residual sovereignty of Japan with respect to the Ryukyu Islands. We all know that Japan has been increasing their economic aid and technical assistance throughout Southeast Asia in recent years. In view of the fact that the United States Government, and the taxpayers of the United States, are providing a nuclear as well as conventional umbrella over Japan, and in view of the fact that the security treaty and their Constitution require that Japan not have a Military Establishment and therefore she does not bear the costs of defense, would it not seem reasonable for the U.S. Government to encourage Japan to undertake a greater role with respect to economic assistance in the Ryukyu Islands.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I am glad the gentleman brought that up, because at this point I would like to read into the RECORD how the Japanese contribution has been increasing year by year.

In 1960 the Japanese Government contributed about $172,000. Then in 1961, $570,000; in 1965, to $8 million; in 1966, $16 million; in 1967, $25 million.

So those figures indicate that the contributions of Japan have grown year by year.

So Japan has been increasing its contribution.

I might say to the gentleman—I think he will agree with me—that it is in our interest to maintain our bases on Okinawa. I do not know where we would go in the Asian area, and I do not know what the cost of replacement of the facilities would be in some other place.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further. I certainly am not debating the question as to whether or not the United States should retain bases on Okinawa—at least until such time as the world situation is such that those bases are no longer required.

My point is this. On the economic side, and it assumes continuation of U.S. involvement there and the base there, and a continued attitude on the part of Japan that they recognize, as we do, a residual sovereignty. In view of the fact that Japan is spending less than 5 percent of her national budget per year on defense and on their foreign aid programs—and my guess is that it would be something closer to 2 or 3 percent—and in view of the fact that the U.S. Government is spending approximately 60 percent on defense, military assistance, and foreign aid, it seems to me it would not be unreasonable for the United States to attempt to make an arrangement with Japan whereby Japan would undertake a proportionally greater portion of the assistance in the Ryukyu Islands.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my time is almost up, so I will reply to the gentleman very rapidly. First of all, the Japanese Government is precluded in the Treaty of Peace from operation of military defense there.

Mr. RUMSFELD. The gentleman is not answering my question. I know that.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Secondly, I do not think there would be any difficulty in the world in having the Japanese put more funds into the existing joint program, but it would then strengthen their case for early reversion and would cause considerable problems.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am interested to hear the gentleman say that that is what is behind his position.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. I think we should bear that in mind.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bill, H.R. 4903, being full well aware of the argument that has gone before. In noting that, I will advise our colleagues to review the committee report, pages 5, 6, 7, and 8 in particular. These pertain to the authority of the United States in the Ryukyus. It pertains to something that has been very close to the heart of those of us who have been in the military (and perhaps are still in the Reserves), those of us who have served in Okinawa and in the Ryukyu Islands in World War II, or who have visited there officially as architects for the Congress since that time, or indeed even on active duty as Reserves. I refer to the fact that control of the Ryukyus is in their assembly, elected in a representative fashion, in their elected head of State, in the High Commissioner of the Ryukyus, and the civilian adviser to the High Commissioner.

The High Commissioner of the Ryukyus has three different hats to wear: First of all, he is the commander in chief of the 9th Corps of the Army; secondly, he is the High Commissioner and is appointed by the State Department and has State Department functions; and also, indeed his civilian adviser is for the most part from and nominated by the Department of State. I for one am adamant in my belief that the High Commissioner should remain an armed service representative and designee.

This is a very complex situation. Suffice it to say that under the de facto sovereignty which we exercise there, although Executive Order No. 10713, and indeed the peace treaty with Japan, sections 2 and 3, do not clearly establish this as a total sovereign right or a ceding of territory to the United States of America, it is beyond any peradventure of doubt important that we maintain this as a crossroads of the military in the Western Pacific, as far as our ability to maintain freedom around the world is concerned.

I, for one, do feel that it is important that we maintain this bastion in the far western Pacific forever. If we do so, I think we do have some obligation to see that, on a private enterprise basis and on a government basis, if necessary, "we fly our flag," in this area.

Toward this end I have indeed gone so far as to solicit private enterprise from time to time, and some medical care in particular, and the Sears, Roebuck Foundation specifically, for the establishment of clinics needed there, and also to see that some American-trained physicians practice there. We were partially successful in this effort for the area.

There has been a need for and an opportunity to fly the flag there with fertilizer plants, increased farming techniques with land restoration objectives, paints, certainly private power, and many other areas.

So long as we are going to maintain this as a base, and maintain control, including the health factors and the required sanitation in this faraway place, much of it for military purposes, our obligation is worthwhile; and albeit, as stated, we can never retract or take from them the installations of private enterprise, there planted in an effort to fly our flag, or any public installation, we need do this for the weal of all concerned.

Personally, after careful consideration of this bill, after having visited both with past and present high commissioners and representatives from the Ryukyus, after having been assured by our Department of State—which I am not always so positive can and will maintain our sovereignty there, other than residual sovereignty, as indeed they are now attempting to do in the Panama Canal—I have come to the considered opinion, Mr. Speaker, it is better for us to so manipulate and to so contribute and to so constitute our control, and the high commissioner's veto power, along with the ascendancy of the GRI (the governing body of the Ryukus), that they will, in the open market place on a fair enterprise basis, put out bids for the electric power company, which certainly we have subsidized in the past, even by putting barges alongside, and ships to generate power in times of need from low power peaks so that they themselves will be able to build the powerplant on a competitive basis, rather than let the Corps of Engineers do it, which would be wholly subsidized. I believe there is some evidence that perhaps the Corps wanted to do this construction and perhaps along with the Department of the Army has been instrumental, in an indirect way, in not allowing the bids for the consortium for the development of power on the Ryukyus base, for too long a time.

Therefore, I would rise—with some reservation—in support of this bill, especially in view of the fact that on two past occasions it passed this House. We should work the will of the House vis-a-vis the other body, where the bill has languished in idleness and failed to come before the body, as needed law.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] 3 minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to quite a discourse from both sides of the aisle on the fact that we are there and apparently we are going to stay. I hope we do stay in the Ryukyus.

If we fail to increase this expenditure by more than 100 percent, from $12 million to $25 million, does it mean the United States is going to be forced off the Ryukyus, that we are going to be forced out of Okinawa? Is this what the gentlemen on the committee are saying, that unless we more than double this authorization we are going to be forced off the Ryukyus, including Okinawa? If this is the situation we are in today then we are militarily bankrupt.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman looked over this way, so I assume he wants me to answer.

No. I would say this is a reflection of our responsibility. If we are going to remain there and maintain our installation, we have this responsibility and it should be met.

I would say that the fact the authorization is for $25 million does not indicate there is $25 million in the budget this year. As a matter of fact, it would be considerably less than that for this year.

Mr. GROSS. What the gentleman should admit is that with the passage of this bill it can go to $25 million at any time in the future.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. No. It puts us in a position, on a program we have there in conjunction with the Japanese, where we can match offers of contributions with the Japanese.

Mr. GROSS. Why should we match anything with the Japanese?

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Because——

Mr. GROSS. Just a minute now. Why should we match anything with the Japanese? The Japanese, if I remember the figures correctly, for 1966, at least, are getting more than 70 percent of the import business into the Ryukyus and particularly into Okinawa and more than 70 percent of the exports from the Ryukyus are going into Japan. We are way down the list. We are in second or third place as far as trade with the Ryukyus is concerned despite the fact that we have been putting up the lion's share of the money for them. The reason why I do not know. When we consider the millions of dollars that we have spent for the support of this base, for the military forces there and for hiring of native employees and so on, I just do not understand why we should spend $12 million, much less increase it to $25 million as is proposed. Some place along the line you on the Committee on Armed Services ought to put a stop to this business. We are there by right of conquest at a staggering price in terms of Americans killed and wounded. We should stay there by right of conquest until the Ryukyus are no longer valuable to use as a base in the Pacific. There is no reason why we should ask the taxpayers of this country to pay through the nose for this right.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I simply want to say that I believe every member of the Committee on Armed Services full well realizes how Okinawa was obtained. I am sure we all realize the success and vagaries of the peace treaty with Japan. I want to emphasize to this House that this is the most important military base currently in existence in all of our armed defenses of the United States of America, and freedom around the world.

Second. I want to make the didactic statement that insofar as this member of the Committee on Armed Services is concerned, so long as he or any influence he might wield is concerned, these islands will never be returned or receded, with residuary rights or otherwise, to any foreign sovereign power because of their inherent value, considering our military defense needs.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman is not saying that if we should refuse to add $13 million a year to the take by the Ryukyuan Government, that we are going to lose this base in the Pacific, is he?

Mr. HALL. No, I am certainly not, nor have I ever countenanced such a thought. Personally I do not believe this is on a matching-fund race basis with any other government, but I am sincerely anxious that we keep this as a going concern for the military. I just do not consider it on that basis or that we are matching pennies or playing games with any other sovereign power.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4903, a bill to provide for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands, and to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE] for the great leadership and foresight he has demonstrated in the matter under consideration. Much of the good relationship which we now enjoy with the Ryukyuans is the result of the work of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE]. From personal knowledge, I know that he is one of the most highly regarded Americans in the Ryukyu Islands, as well as in Japan.

Mr. Speaker, the bill under debate will authorize the increase from $13 million to $25 million in appropriations to maintain our position in the Ryukyu Islands. As it is well known, the islands are under the complete control of the United States, and will continue to be so, so long as it is our wish. It is an undeniable fact too that the Ryukyu Islands play a highly important role in our efforts in Vietnam. Were it not for the free use of the military bases there our operations in Vietnam would be sorely handicapped.

Both the Japanese and the Okinawans recognize this, and being in support of our policy in Vietnam, they are not exerting undue pressure for the return of the islands to Japan, under its recognized rights of residual sovereignty.

Despite the fact that the United States exercises complete jurisdiction and control over the Ryukyu Islands, the Japanese Government has, upon the urging of our Government, agreed to increase its economic assistance to the Ryukyuans and will be boosting its annual contribution from its present $16 million to $25 million.

Because there are thousands of Americans, civilian and military, now resident in the Ryukyu Islands, and because it is not known how long they will be there, whatever improvements we make there will be to the benefit of Americans, as well as to the Ryukyuans. If we fail to provide the necessary improvements, agitation for reversion will no doubt increase, and our operations in connection with Vietnam can become truly complicated. Passage of this bill will assure continued good relations and cooperation from the people of the Ryukyus, and will be in our own best interest. I therefore urge my colleagues to support and vote for the measure under consideration.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Zablocki] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I urge favorable action on the legislation before this body today, H.R. 4903, which provides for the promotion of economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have long been concerned about American policies and position in the Ryukyu Islands.

Less than 2 years ago as chairman of a study mission to Asia I visited both Japan and Okinawa in an attempt to gain firsthand information and opinions on the "reversion" issue.

The mission, which included our colleagues, Representatives Murphy of Illinois, Broomfield, Whalley, Thomson of Wisconsin, and James Fulton and Representative Matsunaga, representative of the House Agriculture Committee, discussed relevant matters with Japanese, Ryukyuan, and American officials.

Our observations confirmed that the requirement of free world security are intimately connected with the effective and unified control of the military facilities which dominate the life of the islands. At the same time, the study mission expressed support for any measures which would aid in improving American-Ryukyuan relations and in eliminating sources of friction.

The legislation before the House today fulfills those criteria. It seeks to help eliminate an economic source of unrest by providing additional funds for further development of the islands' wealth and resources.

Certainly progress has been made during the past few years. At the same time, however, the standard of living for the people of the islands lags behind that of the Japanese. The Ryukyuans, who are ethnically Japanese, need only look to the East to see a reason for pressing for the reversion of their island to Japan.

Through this legislation we hope to demonstrate to the people of the island that the United States is not only interested in their island as a military bastion, but as a real interest in the progress and welfare of the inhabitants.

Such a concern unfortunately, has not been too evident at times in the past.

It we are to keep this important base in the Pacific for as long as the security of our country and the countries of this area demand without constant friction and troubles, the future must be different.

That is the purpose of this legislation: to insure a better and more harmonious future for the Ryukyuan people and for American military presence on the islands.

At the same time, we continue to hope that the international and regional tensions which require a U.S. presence in the eastern Pacific will soon subside, allowing the reversion of the Ryukyus to Japan.

When that day comes, let us be sure that the Ryukyuan people do not look back on their "American period" as one of stagnation and unrest, but rather as a time of growth and development for themselves while their island home served as an indispensable arsenal of strength in the defense of the free world.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 4903.

The question was taken.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 284, nays 80, not voting 68, as follows:

[Roll No. 289]

YEAS—284

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Cramer
Culver
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gubser
Haley
Hall
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyros
Laird
Lennon
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Meskill
Mills
Minish
Mize
Monagan
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Purcell
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scheuer
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Sullivan
Taft
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Whalen
White
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—80

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Bevill
Blanton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Byrnes, Wis.
Cederberg
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Conable
Conte
Cowger
Cunningham
Dorn
Duncan
Edwards, Calif.
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Gardner
Gathings
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gude
Gurney
Hammerschmidt
Hutchinson
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Kastenmeier
Kleppe
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Mahon
Mayne
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Montgomery
Natcher
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Poage
Pryor
Quillen
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Roybal
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Scherle
Schneebeli
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Snyder
Stubblefield
Talcott
Thompson, N.J.
Tuck
Wampler
Watson
Whalley
Whitten
Williams, Pa.
Wolff
Wyman

NOT VOTING—68

Ashbrook
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Bush
Cabell
Carter
Casey
Cleveland
Conyers
Corbett

Corman
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Evans, Colo.
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Gallagher
Gettys
Hagan
Halleck
Hanna
Helstoski
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kyl
Landrum
Leggett
Lukens
McCulloch
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
Miller, Calif.
Mink
Minshall
Nichols
O'Konski
Pettis
Pool
Pucinski
Rarick
Reifel
Resnick
Ronan
Stuckey
Teague, Calif.
Tiernan
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Watkins
Watts
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Willis with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Feighan with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Ayres.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Halleck.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Cabell with Mr. Derwinski.
Mr. Casey with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Cleveland.
Mr. Fountain with Mr. Reifel.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Teague of California.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Ashbrook.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Kupferman.
Mr. Watts with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Corman with Mr. McEwen.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Kyl.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Bush.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mrs. Mink with Mr. Pettis.
Mr. Wright with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.
Mr. Hanna with Mr. Hagan.
Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Pool.
Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Diggs.
Mr. William D. Ford with Mr. Rarick.
Mr. Nichols with Mr. Eckhardt.

Mr. FUQUA changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Messrs. HAMMERSCHMIDT, DUNCAN, CUNNINGHAM, BROWN of Michigan, GARDNER, LATTA, and BURKE of Florida changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT TO FILE CERTAIN PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

DISPOSAL OF THE ALASKA COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 223) to authorize the disposal of the Government-owned long-lines communication facilities in the State of Alaska, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 223

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Alaska Communications Disposal Act".

TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

Sec. 101. In this Act—

(1) "Transfer" means the conveyance by the United States of any element of ownership, including but not restricted to any estate or interest in property, and franchise rights, by sale, exchange, lease, easement, or permit, for cash, credit, or other property, with or without warranty.

(2) "Long-lines communication facilities" means the transmission systems connecting points inside the State with each other and with points outside the State by radio or wire, and includes all kinds of property and rights-of-way necessary to accomplish this interconnection.

(3) "Agency concerned" means any department, agency, wholly owned corporation, or instrumentality of the United States.

TITLE II—TRANSFER OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT - OWNED LONG - LINES COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN AND TO ALASKA

Sec. 201. (1) Subject to the provisions of section 202, and notwithstanding provisions of any other law, the Secretary of Defense or his designee, with the advice, assistance, and, in the case of any agency not under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Defense, the consent of the agency concerned, and after approval of the President, is authorized to and shall transfer for adequate consideration any or all long-lines communication facilities in or to Alaska under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government to any person qualifying under the provisions of section 202, and may take such action and exercise such powers as may be necessary or appropriate to effectuate the purposes of this Act.

(2) Transfers under this title shall be made in accordance with the procedures and methods required by sections 203(e), (1), (2), and (3) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 484(e)), except that "the Secretary of Defense or his designee" shall be substituted for all references therein to "the Administrator".

(3) The requirements of section 207 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 488), shall apply to transfers under this title.

(4) The head of the agency concerned or his designee shall execute such documents for the transfer of title or other interest in property, except any mineral rights therein, and take such other action as the Secretary of Defense deems necessary or proper to transfer such property under the provisions of this title. A copy of any deed, lease, or other instrument executed by or on behalf of the head of the agency concerned purporting to transfer title or any other interest in public land shall be furnished to the Secretary of the Interior.

(5) No interest in public lands, withdrawn or otherwise appropriated, may be transferred under this title, without the prior consent of the Secretary of the Interior, or, with respect to lands within a national forest, of the Secretary of Agriculture.

(6) In connection with soliciting offers to purchase such long-lines facilities of the Alaska Communication System the Secretary of Defense or his designee shall:

(a) Provide any prospective purchaser who requests it data on (i) the facilities available for purchase, (ii) the amounts deemed to be the current fair and reasonable value of those facilities, and (iii) the initial rates which will be charged to the purchaser for capacity in facilities retained by the Government and available for commercial use;

(b) Provide, in the request for offers to purchase, that offerors must specify the rates they propose to charge for service and the improvements in service which they propose to initiate;

(c) Provide an opportunity for prospective purchasers to meet as a group with Department of Defense representatives to assure that the data and the public interest requirements described in (a) and (b), above, are fully understood; and

(d) Seek the advice and assistance of the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, and the Governor of Alaska or his designees, to assure consideration of all public interest factors associated with the transfer.

Sec. 202. No transfer under this title may be made unless the Secretary of Defense or his designee determines that—

(1) the United States does not need to retain the property involved in the transfer for national defense purposes;

(2) the transfer is in the public interest;

(3) the person to whom the transfer is made is prepared and qualified to provide, without interruption, the communication service involved in the transfer; and

(4) the long-lines communication facilities will not directly or indirectly be owned, operated, or controlled by a person who would legally be disqualified by subsection 310(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, from holding a radio station license.

Sec. 203. The agreements by which a transfer is made under this title shall include a provision that—

(1) the person to whom the transfer is made shall, subject to the rules and regulations of any body or commission established by the State of Alaska to govern and regulate communication services to the public and of the Federal Communications Commission and all applicable statutes, treaties, and conventions, provide without interruption, the communication services involved in the transfer, except those services reserved by the United States in the transfer;

(2) the rates and charges for such services applicable at the time of transfer shall not be changed for a period of one year from the date of such transfer unless approved by a governmental body or commission having jurisdiction; and

(3) the transfer will not be final unless and until the transferee shall receive any requisite licenses and certificates of convenience and necessity to operate interstate and intrastate commercial communications in Alaska from the appropriate governmental regulatory bodies.

Sec. 204. Transfers under this title do not require the approval of the Federal Communications Commission except to the extent that the approval of the Federal Communications Commission is necessary under section 203(3) above.

Sec. 205. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the gross proceeds of each transfer shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

Sec. 206. The Secretary of Defense or his designee shall report to the Congress and the President—

(1) in January of each year, the actions taken under this title during the preceding twelve months; and

(2) not later than ninety days after completion of each transfer under this title, a full account of that transfer.

TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 301. This Act does not modify in any manner the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

SEC. 302. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of Defense such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. Albert). Is a second demanded?

Mr. **HALL.** Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price].

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, S. 223 is a bill to authorize the Department of Defense to dispose of the Alaska Communications System. It has been unanimously approved in both subcommittee and full committee.

In 1900 Congress authorized the Army to provide commercial communications to the then territory of Alaska. The Army has continued to do this until 1962 when the Air Force took over the responsibility since most of the defense communications in Alaska involved that Department. The Alaska Communications System has been a special organization formed to be the link between the local communications companies and the long-lines facilities of the Air Force. On the major links between Fairbanks and the lower 48 and between Anchorage and the lower 48, the Alaska Communications System utilizes one-fourth of the channels available. While the overall communications system in Alaska had an initial cost of about $200 million, the present fair market value of that portion relating to commercial messages is in the neighborhood of $20 million.

There are believed to be several advantages in turning the commercial communications business over to a private firm. First of all, since the Department of Defense decided that it should no longer be in the business of providing commercial communications in Alaska, it has not put in the new equipment which is needed to keep the system up to date. There is no commercial long-distance direct dialing. Second, the rates for long-distance calls are much higher than the rates for comparable distances in the lower 48.

Because the rates are so high, the subcommittee followed the Department of Defense and the Senate in providing essentially that the facilities to be sold should go for their fair market value, and that the competition among the bidders should be for enforceable improvement in service and rates. The successful bidder is not only going to have to spend about $20 million for the facilities at the outset, but it is also going to have to spend a roughly equal sum to modernize the facilities that are sold.

The disposal is not going to be able to be accomplished quickly. It is going to take between 1 and 2 years before the details can be straightened out. During this period, the Department of Defense is going to consult with both the Federal Communications Commission and the government of the State of Alaska to be sure that the disposal planned is in the best interests of that State.

There are committee amendments which merely clarify the role of the Federal Communications Commission—there might have been some conflict between its advisory capacity in connection with the sale of its later responsibility of licensing the successful bidder. By the technical amendments offered, it is believed that these two roles can be successfully handled without having them conflict.

Mr. **GROSS.** Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. **GROSS.** Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois used a figure of $200 million. In what relation?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. That is the overall cost of the original installation of the long-line facilities and all other facilities that the Government owned and operated in Alaska.

Mr. **GROSS.** Over what period of time, if the gentleman will yield further?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. I would like to say that this is a communications system and its initial construction commenced in 1900. Of course, there have been other stages of added construction which, of course, have added to the original cost of the construction of these lines.

I might say further to the gentleman from Iowa that this $200 million is not to be compared with the $20 million, because the Government is only selling the commercial long-line facilities. It is not selling any of its other facilities.

Mr. **GROSS.** Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, over what period of time was it depreciated?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. Well, I do not know the period of depreciation, but this is the investment of the Government in its communications system up to this time. However, the commercial aspects of the operation——

Mr. **GROSS.** Now, let us see if we have this straight: $200 million invested in this communications system. Is that over the total period of time?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. In the overall system, yes.

Mr. **GROSS.** And it has now depreciated down to the sum of $20 million?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. No, no. The $20 million represents that part of the facilities which are used for commercial purposes that the Government seeks to dispose of.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 additional minute in order to further respond to the gentleman from Iowa.

The Government does not dispose of its own communication lines, only those that are used for commercial communications in the State of Alaska.

Mr. **KLEPPE.** Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. **KLEPPE.** Mr. Speaker, I would like to know if the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price] could give us a little further explanation of the $500,000 which has been estimated as the cost, administrative cost, in order to dispose of the communications system?

It seems to me that this is a rather large sum of money to be used for the disposal of this system.

Could the gentleman from Illinois comment on that?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. It is for preparing the accounts, and preparing the specifications and the normal work that goes into setting up sales specifications for any commercial disposal, that is the amount which has been arrived at.

Mr. **KLEPPE.** Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, as I look at this, it seems to me that we might be better off to retain the system rather than paying the sum of $500,000 in order to get rid of it. I am just wondering if the gentleman would care to comment upon that situation? In other words, it might cost us more to get rid of it than to retain it.

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. Of course, we would not be paying $500,000 to get rid of it, because $20 million would come into the Treasury of the United States and that sum would certainly offset the $500,000 for setting up the investigation of its disposal.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has again expired.

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. **POLLOCK.** Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **PRICE** of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. **POLLOCK.** I thank the distinguished gentleman from Illinois for yielding to me at this time.

I would like to reiterate the point that was just made by the gentleman from Illinois to the effect that this is a unique situation wherein the U.S. Government is going to profit because this communications system will be sold, and the income will come into the Treasury of the United States. That is point No. 1.

Point No. 2, to more specifically answer the question which has been propounded by the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Kleppe] as to sales costs involved in the disposition of this property. Higher than normal costs are involved due to the fact that over the years of the operation of this system by the military there was never any industrial fund accounting system implemented so that we would know what the actual cost of the operations have been. Therefore, in order to determine the realistic and accurate current sales price, and in order to determine the current maintenance and modernization condition of the operating system, a lot of research and detailed FCC accounting work is entailed which has not been previously done.

Mr. KLEPPE. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for this information and I thank the gentleman from Alaska for responding.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 223 and concur generally in the statement of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], the chairman of the subcommittee handling this bill, and advise the House that it came out of the subcommittee and the full committee unanimously.

In addition to that which has been said I might amplify on the fact that it was necessary within this $500,000 allowance to convert to the FCC type of bookkeeping from that which had been used since 1900 by the Army, and since it was turned over to the Air Force in later years.

I would also like to emphasize that this is the sale of only the commercial long lines aspects of the overall Alaskan communication system to private enterprise at a fair market value yet to be determined in detail.

The subcommittee had before it from the new and prideful State of Alaska the Public Service Commission, representatives and statements from the Governor, and all others who were interested in this and, indeed, the aims of the government of Alaska and it is the committee's feelings that they should not have the right of veto perhaps on any arrangement that can be made under this authority to sell, but should at least be up to date and appraised concerning this matter.

I want to emphasize that our BMEWS defense line and others, using all of the means of communications including forward troposphere scatter, and all other lines of communications from this vital defense area, are involved in such an Alaskan communication system as, indeed, are the communications of the Alaskan railway system, and many different departments, all coordinating in this effort to divest the Defense Department as controlling agency of another enterprise which certainly should be in the open marketplace, and on the basis of competitive price handling.

In addition to all of this, Mr. Speaker, there are two main reasons that I support this bill. First, we are relinquishing from the Department of Defense to private industry one of its burdens that now properly belongs in the open marketplace, and industrial side of our country. One of the reasons for the value and the depreciation is the fact that there has been no upkeep, no modernization or extension of the long-lines communications on the commercial side of this because the military side has been using other means of communications for some time.

To me it is most encouraging that even this portion of some 720-odd operations of the DOD, which should be, in my opinion, in the open marketplace, can now be turned over for what has generally been the goal that we on the Committee on Armed Services have sought for that Department for a long time.

Second, Mr. Speaker, by turning this group of facilities over to private industry there is started in the State of Alaska a new commercial enterprise which will help that State in many different ways. Not only will it help it to improve the present system of long-lines communications and give more equity and justice to toll rates, but it will allow bidding by many fine, capable, telephonic communications industries. And that is the basic reason for the legislation.

In addition it will also help to attract new business into Alaska. In my opinion, both the purchaser and the other new industries, the satellites of the long-lines communications, so to speak; will be brought into the State and will provide additional tax bases for the further development of Alaska, and hasten the time when it is not so largely dependent upon the Federal Government.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, S. 223 has my endorsement.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I would ask the gentleman why, if an appraisal has been made of the fair market price for this property, it is necessary to expend half a million dollars for the disposal of it?

Mr. HALL. As was explained, the appraisal is in process of being made, and a lot of this is in the conversion to the FCC type of bookkeeping, so that a universal applicable appraisal can be made in the next 2-year period.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I notice on page 7 of the report:

> It does not obligate or authorize the FCC or the State authorities to evaluate or choose between competing offerors, but only to act on applications from the successful offerors, as selected by the Secretary of Defense or his designee.

I have two questions. One—was there competitive bidding, and if so by whom?

Mr. HALL. Let me hasten to tell my colleague, the gentleman from California, the appraisal, as I just told the gentleman from Iowa, has not yet been completed and, secondly, this bill does make in order such competitive bidding for the future, and that the call or prospectus for bids has not yet been offered.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to my colleague, the distinguished gentleman from California.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to compliment the gentleman from Missouri and also to associate myself with his remarks.

Just recently the Flood Control Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works went to Alaska, and specifically to the Fairbanks area, to view some of the flood damage. During that time we had an opportunity to discuss this particular piece of legislation with a number of people there and they wholeheartedly endorsed this. So, Mr. Speaker, I want to add my support to what the gentleman has said.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's comments. I could not accept any credit for this legislation because it belongs, indeed, to the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK], to the Department of Defense, and to the committee that has worked wholeheartedly on this and has held extensive hearings.

In that respect, Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to yield 2 minutes or such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Alaska, our colleague [Mr. POLLOCK].

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 223 a bill which will lead to improved long-distance communications between the State of Alaska and the continental United States.

The purpose of this bill is to dispose of certain of the long-line communications facilities in Alaska now owned by the Air Force and operated for commercial, not military purposes.

A separate military organization was organized to run the system, first by the Army, then from 1962 by the Air Force. Now the Air Force wishes to sell the system, and to my knowledge there is no opposition to this authorization.

The Government will benefit as a result of reduced expenditures, plus the income from sale.

The State will benefit from an improved system and increased tax revenues.

The American people will benefit by private enterprise taking over this commercial business from the U.S. Government.

It is a vital bill from the standpoint of Alaskans who now pay exorbitant rates for service that is not up to present-day standards anywhere else under the American flag.

The act of May 26, 1900—48 U.W.C. 310—authorized the Army to transmit commercial business over military lines in the then territory of Alaska. Under this authority, the Army and from 1962 the Air Force has had a separate military organization, the Alaska Communications System, responsible for commercial communications within Alaska and between Alaska and the other 48 States in continental United States. The Government-owned facilities tie in directly with commercial operations at several points—at Ketchikan with an American Telephone & Telegraph cable and with a General Telephone tropospheric scatter route to Seattle; and at the Canadian border point on the Alcan Highway with the Canadian National Telecommunications and British Columbia Telephone Co. In Alaska the Alaska Communications System ties in with local and municipal telephone companies.

As presently established, the Alaska Communications System utilizes available channels on the Air Force communications routes to carry commercial messages long distance within Alaska and between Alaska and the lower 48. There are four main toll centers in Alaska—Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, and Ketchikan. It is presently contemplated that these four centers, together with some additional equipment which would also cover the bush and marine operations, would be sold to a private company. The original cost of this equipment was around $36 million, but it is estimated that the present fair market value would be about $20 million.

As Alaska begins to grow as a new State, good communications across her vast areas will be essential. Since about 1959, when it was first determined that the U.S. Government should withdraw from the commercial communications operation in Alaska, there has been little money gone into new equipment for the ACS. Consequently, the service is not up to present-day standards, including direct distance dialing. The rates are high. There is no effort made to get new business in the spirit that a regular telephone company would seek it. Hence the Air Force desires to sell the Alaska Communications System, a commercial enterprise for which it is not fitted, and the State of Alaska hopes to have a commercial communications operator vitalize this central element in its development.

This legislation has been sought by the Air Force ever since the operation of the Alaska communication system was transferred to it from the Army, 5 years ago. The system, popularly known as ACS, is the civilian long-distance communications network in Alaska. With the growth of the nonmilitary economy in Alaska, civilian users have accounted for about 90 percent of the traffic using the system. It has been a longstanding Government policy not to operate such a business where private enterprise can do the job. The Air Force has been particularly uneasy in its role as an operator of a civilian communications company. Feeling such an operation to be outside of its assigned mission, the Air Force has been eager to divest itself of ACS.

Because of this attitude, the long-distance communications facilities in Alaska have suffered greatly. As noted in the committee report, little improvement has been made in ACS since 1959. Air Force policy has been to "operate and maintain." "Improvement" definitely has not been part of this policy. As a result, the entire system is woefully obsolete and rates are astronomical.

From the standpoint of the Federal Government, it would be a distinct advantage to be rid of this unwanted business. The Senate Committee on Armed Services has estimated that a sale will probably result in a dollar benefit to the Government. From every angle, it is quite clear that the Government will benefit.

The parties most concerned, however, are the people of Alaska who are served by ACS, and their elected representatives. For several years the State and the Alaska Congressional delegation were unenthusiastic about such a sale. Last year, however, the delegation backed the measure and this year the State administration strongly endorsed S. 223. No opposition was expressed at the hearings. The reason for the change from this wariness to wholehearted support was the realization that Alaska would never have a modern communication's system unless ACS were sold. Only private industry is willing to make the multimillion dollar investment necessary to bring the facilities up to date. Several large companies have expressed interest in a purchase. It is thus expected that sufficient competition will exist to insure a fair price and a qualified buyer.

The Air Force has pledged to work closely with the Governor of Alaska and the Alaska Public Service Commission to insure that all public interest factors are considered.

It should be noted that S. 223 contains several safeguards for the Government and the public. No property can be transferred if its retention is needed for national defense. The Secretary of Defense must make a determination that the transfer is in the public interest and that the transfer is in the public interest and that the transferee is qualified to provide the service.

Mr. Speaker, S. 223 is a good bill from every angle. From Alaska's standpoint, however, it is a vital bill. Indeed, it is the only way open for the 49th State to obtain the type of communications system that is absolutely necessary in this modern age. I urge the passage of S. 223.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Miller].

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and appreciate his yielding to me at this time.

I have a question. Is there a possibility of this communications system being sold to a co-op and then the co-op coming back to ask for a part of the 2-percent money that the House has already appropriated?

We have many co-op telephone companies in this country, that are competing for 2-percent dollars to build up their own systems.

The question is, Could this system be sold to a co-op and then it in turn, ask for additional dollars to build up the system, thus causing an existing co-op with a pending loan application to have its application deferred?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that the subcommittee took this under advisement and detailed consideration, and that specific question was posed to both the author of the bill in the other body and certainly to our distinguished colleague.

I will say then that it could be possible under section 202 wherein the Secretary of Defense is required to work out plans for disposal to the best interests of the Government. But this is not a point of issue in this particular sale or in the disposition of the long lines communications.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price], that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill S. 223, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 358, nays 1, not voting 63, as follows:

[Roll No. 290]

YEAS—358

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flood
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle

Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
Sandman
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—1

Burton, Calif.

NOT VOTING—63

Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Bush
Cabell
Carter
Casey
Cleveland
Conyers
Corman
Culver
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Evans, Colo.
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Gallagher
Gettys
Hagan
Halleck
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Helstoski
Keith
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kyl
Landrum
Leggett
Long, La.
Lukens
McCulloch
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
Miller, Calif.
Mink
Minshall
Nichols
O'Konski
Pettis
Pool
Pucinski
Rarick
Reifel
Resnick
Ronan
Scheuer
Skubitz
Steiger, Wis.
Stuckey
Teague, Calif.
Tiernan
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Watkins
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wright

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Broomfield.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Teague of California.

Mr. Willis with Mr. Utt.

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Fino.

Mr. Macdonald with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. Brademas with Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Minshall.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Reifel.

Mr. Fountain with Mr. Cleveland.

Mr. Gettys with Mr. Ayres.

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Bob Wilson.

Mr. Tiernan with Mr. McEwen.

Mr. Waggonner with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Leggett with Mr. Kupferman.

Mr. Flynt with Mr. Skubitz.

Mr. Ronan with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Foley with Mr. Conyers.

Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Diggs.

Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Lukens.

Mr. Nichols with Mr. McCulloch.

Mr. Culver with Mr. Kyl.

Mrs. Hansen of Washington with Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Hagan with Mr. Carter.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Bush.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Pettis.

Mrs. Mink with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin.

Mr. Wright with Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Cabell.

Mr. Casey with Mr. Corman.

Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Eckhardt.

Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Hanna.

Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Pool.

Mr. William D. Ford with Mr. Stuckey.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, TO CHANGE THE METHOD OF COMPUTING RETIRED PAY OF CERTAIN ENLISTED MEMBERS OF THE ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE, OR MARINE CORPS

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5943) to amend title 10, United States Code, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 5943

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3925(a) of title 10, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) For the purpose of determining whether a regular enlisted member of the Army may be retired under section 3914 or 3917 of this title, his years of service are computed by adding all active service in the armed forces and service computed under section 3683 of this title. For the purpose of computing his retired pay under section 3991 of this title, his years of service are computed by adding—

"(1) his years of active service in the armed forces;

"(2) his years of service computed under section 3683 of this title; and

"(3) the years of service, not included in clause (1) or (2), with which he would be entitled to be credited under section 1333 of this title, if he were entitled to retired pay under section 1331 of this title."

SEC. 2. Section 6330 of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out the words "the number of years of active service in the armed forces" in the first sentence of subsection (c) and inserting the following in place thereof:

"the total of—

"(1) his years of active service in the armed forces; and

"(2) the years of service, not included in clause (1), with which he would be entitled to be credited under section 1333 of this title, if he were entitled to retired pay under section 1331 of this title";

(2) by striking out the words "purposes of subsections (b) and (c)" in subsection (d) and inserting the words "purpose of subsection (b)" in place thereof; and

(3) by inserting the following new sentence after the first sentence of subsection (d):

"For the purpose of computing total years of service under subsection (c), after years creditable under clauses (1) and (2) have been added together, a part of a year that is six months or more is counted as a whole year and a part of a year that is less than six months is disregarded."

SEC. 3. Section 8925(a) of title 10, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) For the purpose of determining whether a regular enlisted member of the Air Force may be retired under section 8914 or 8917 of this title, his years of service are computed by adding all active service in the armed forces and service computed under section 8683 of this title. For the purpose of computing his retired pay under section 8991 of this title, his years of service are computed by adding—

"(1) his years of active service in the armed forces;

"(2) his years of service computed under section 8683 of this title; and

"(3) the years of service, not included in clause (1) or (2), with which he would be entitled to be credited under section 1333 of this title, if he were entitled to retired pay under section 1331 of this title."

SEC. 4. This Act is applicable to enlisted members heretofore or hereafter retired or granted retainer pay. However, no person retired or granted retainer pay before the effective date of this Act is entitled to a retroactive increase in retired pay or retainer pay because of this Act.

SEC. 5. To accrue rights under this Act, a person who is entitled to retired or retainer pay on the effective date of this Act must file an application with the Secretary of the military department concerned.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, this bill, I believe, is noncontroversial. An identical bill passed the House on two prior occasions but no action was taken on those bills in the other body.

H.R. 5943 would allow career enlisted men who have completed 20 years' active duty to receive credit in computing their retired pay for time they might have spent in nonactive Reserve duty status. That is all it does. It affects only career enlisted men.

The bill was unanimously approved by our committee. I know of no opposition to it.

Enlisted men now receive no credit in their retirement multiplier for inactive Reserve service. Officers do receive credit for such service and this has created a morale problem with enlisted personnel.

Officers who have completed 20 years receive full credit in their retirement multiplier for pre-1958 Reserve service. That is, they receive 2½ percent per year for each year active or reserve. In 1958, Congress changed this to say such officers could only receive credit according to the point system normally used for those citizen-soldiers who achieve Reserve retirement at age 60.

H.R. 5943 would give to enlisted men credit according to this point system for any nonactive Reserve duty time, regardless of when accrued.

The Department of Defense supports the bill.

The Department of Defense has estimated that the maximum additional annual budgetary requirements as a result of the bill would be $2,630,532. This is the maximum. The estimate was arrived at by taking a sampling to determine the percentage of men who had prior Reserve service and the average number of years of such Reserve time and then assuming the maximum number of Reserve points were earned for each year. The committee believes that many enlisted men would have years in which they earned fewer points or, perhaps, none at all, thus reducing their creditable service and reducing the cost of the bill. However, there is no precise way to determine what the average number of points earned would be without screening the records of all enlisted personnel. The Committee on Armed Services is satisfied that $2,630,532 is the upper limit of possible cost for the bill.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER].

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, this bill was reported out by the subcommittee unanimously as well as the full committee.

The present situation is such that the law discriminates against our enlisted men in terms of retirement credit.

This bill, H.R. 5943, will remove this inequity and will handle retirement credit for inactive service and compute it in the same way as is now done for commissioned officers.

This bill has already passed the House on two occasions and is legislation that is very much needed to take care of the great disadvantage to our enlisted men at the present time.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the immediate adoption of this bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 5943.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZE LOAN OF CERTAIN NAVAL VESSELS

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 9796) to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 9796

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding section 7307 of title 10, United States Code, or any other law, the President may extend on such terms and under such conditions as he deems appropriate the loan of ships, previously authorized as indicated, as follows: (1) Brazil, two submarines (Act of July 18, 1958 (72 Stat. 376)); (2) Chile, one submarine (Act of July 18, 1958 (72 Stat. 376)), two destroyers (Act of July 18, 1958 (72 Stat. 376)); (3) Federal Republic of Germany, one destroyer (Act of August 5, 1953 (67 Stat. 363), as amended by Act of August 3, 1956 (70 Stat. 967)); (4) Greece, one submarine (Act of August 5, 1953 (67 Stat. 363), as amended by Act of August 3, 1956 (70 Stat. 967)), two destroyers (Act of October 4, 1961 (75 Stat. 815)); (5) Korea, one destroyer (Act of October 4, 1961 (75 Stat. 815)), one destroyer escort (Act of October 4, 1961 (75 Stat. 815)); (6) Portugal, two destroyer escorts (Act of August 5, 1953 (67 Stat. 363), as amended by Act of August 3, 1956 (70 Stat. 967)); (7) Spain, two destroyers (Act of August 5, 1953 (67 Stat. 363), as amended by Act of August 3, 1956 (70 Stat. 967)).

Sec. 2. Notwithstanding section 7307 of title 10, United States Code, or any other law, the President may lend to friendly foreign nations, on such terms and conditions as he deems appropriate, ships as follows: (1) Republic of Korea, one destroyer, and (2) the Republic of China, one destroyer. All expenses involved in the activation, rehabilitation, and outfitting (including repairs, alterations, and logistic support) of ships transferred under this section shall be charged to funds programed for the recipient government as grant military assistance, or as reimbursable, under the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, or successor legislation.

Sec. 3. All new loans and loan extensions executed under this Act shall be for periods not exceeding five years, but the President may in his discretion extend such loans for an additional period of not more than five years. They shall be made on the condition that they may be terminated at an earlier date if necessitated by the defense requirements of the United States.

Sec. 4. No loan may be made or extended under this Act unless the Secretary of Defense, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, determines that such loan or extension is in the best interest of the United States. The Secretary of Defense shall keep the Congress currently advised of all loans made under authority of this Act.

Sec. 5. The President may promulgate such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 6. The authority of the President to lend naval vessels under this Act terminates on December 31, 1969.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, this bill, H.R. 9796, would authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and also authorize two new loans.

This kind of legislation has been passed on by the Congress on numerous occasions in the past. This bill is exactly the same as all of the previous ones.

Let me describe what this bill will do. It will authorize the extension of the loan of 15 vessels now in the possession of certain foreign countries. The countries are Brazil, Chile, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Korea, Portugal, and Spain. It should be understood that all of these ships are now in the possession of and are being used by the countries I have named.

The committee amended the bill to add two new loans. The countries involved are Korea and the Republic of China. The ship to be the subject of the new loan in each instance is a destroyer. I would like to point out that the Armed Services Committee was unanimous in its belief that these new loans should be granted.

Korea has a very special problem with respect to protecting its shoreline. Frequent forays are made along its shores by the Communist North Koreans. The North Koreans have in their possession very fast patrol boats which are extremely difficult to intercept. It is very clearly in not only their interests but in our own interests that our friends in South Korea have a capability of maintaining constant vigilance in order to repulse these intrusions along their coasts.

Let us remember, not so incidentally, that there are over 50,000 Korean troops fighting side by side with Americans in Vietnam today.

Little need be said about the loan of a destroyer to the Republic of China. This country has no firmer friend or greater ally in the Far East than the Government of the Republic of China. The trained and ready force which Chiang Kai-shek maintains on Formosa is a powerful, stabilizing force in that part of the world. The Chinese Navy needs improvement and enlargement. The loan of one destroyer to this great ally will constitute an important step toward this end and cannot help but redound to our own benefit.

The bill refers to "friendly foreign nations." We have no better friends than the Koreans and the Chinese. They are indeed "friendly foreign nations."

The basic theory of lending ships to friendly foreign nations is simple. The program of lending ships from our Naval Reserve Fleet to selected friendly countries—as approved by Congress—has, over the past 15 years, proven to be one of the most effective and economical ways to assist our friends and allies. With our assistance, these allies can accomplish tasks such as antisubmarine escort, patrol, mine warfare, and coastal and harbor protection in their local waters. Also, the potential help of these navies is valuable in our wartime role of controlling the deep seas. Our loaned ships provide the major assets for accomplishing these tasks. To deny our friends and allies the use of these vessels would create vacuums in many areas of the world which could be filled only by us and only with difficulty and at the expense of other commitments. By combining our idle ships and their competent manpower and strategic locations, we contribute substantially to mutual defense—and at a minimum cost.

Many of the ships involved in this proposed legislation are loaned to navies which have responsibilities under bilateral or multilateral defense agreements. Greece requests that the loan of two destroyers and one submarine be extended. Portugal desires the same for two destroyer escorts. Germany seeks to extend the agreement for a destroyer now on loan. These countries are, of course, NATO allies, and the ships involved are important units which help fulfill mutual security commitments as well as perform national tasks. These ships participate in combined naval exercises which have attested to the effectiveness of these navies in carrying out their responsibilities.

Spain requests that the loan of two

destroyers be extended. The efforts of the free world in the European area have been assisted significantly by the privileges granted U.S. forces by this friendly nation. Spain's strategic position makes her extremely important to free world defense. In recent years, Spanish Navy ships have a fine record of performance in combined exercises with U.S. 6th Fleet units. And this is something concerning which I have extensive personal knowledge.

The two South American countries included in this bill—that is, Brazil and Chile—have played an active role in the annual combined fleet exercises—called Unitas—conducted in Latin American waters. Brazil requests that the loan of two submarines be extended. Chile desires the same for two destroyers and a submarine. These ships compose very significant parts of the active fleets of these two friendly maritime nations. The submarines in both countries provide essential target services for antisubmarine warfare training.

Mr. Speaker, I want to stress that these 17 ships—15 loan extensions and two new loans—are not now required for the defense of the United States.

I would also like to make specific note of the fact that the bill includes the language:

> No loan may be made or extended under this Act unless the Secretary of Defense, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, determines that such loan or extension is in the best interest of the United States. The Secretary of Defense shall keep the Congress currently advised of all loans made under authority of this Act.

You should understand that these ships are not ships that we would be using ourselves were they not on loan to our friends since they are old and were in the mothball fleet.

In addition to the prime purpose of antisubmarine patrol there are collateral benefits that accrue to the United States. The officers and men who run these ships come to the United States for training at our naval installations and become oriented to the manner in which our Navy does its work. In effect, these foreign crews become an arm of our own naval forces and it is easy to see that this, on a longrun basis, cannot help but benefit us.

As I have said, someone has to do the job and this is an inexpensive and efficient way to do it.

There is no cost involved in this bill for the 15 ships already on loan. The only cost is about $15 million to place the two destroyers for Korea and China in operational shape. This money will be spent in our own shipyards here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, that is the bill—it is no different from many previous ones that the House has passed on favorably over the years and I strongly recommend the favorable consideration of the House.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I do not believe the gentleman needs to convince the House of the propriety of loaning certain warships to Korea and Nationalist China. The pertinent question here is why are we lending ships to Chile and what assurance do we have that they and others are not going to continue stopping our fishing boats on the high seas or chasing them onto the beaches?

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from South Carolina yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington. Does the gentleman want to answer the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. PELLY. Yes. As the gentleman from South Carolina will remember—and I am sure also the gentleman from Iowa—in the past I have strongly objected to legislation to authorize the President to lend naval vessels to certain Latin American countries who are illegally seizing American fishing boats on the high seas. However, I have scrutinized this bill and report, and I am delighted to assure the gentleman from Iowa that the two South American countries included in this bill, Brazil and Chile, are not guilty of seizing our fishing boats. Others in South America are.

I only want to say I will join with the gentleman from Iowa in opposing legislation where there is a case of a nation seizing our fishing boats, but these two nations are not guilty as far as I know.

Mr. RIVERS. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. GROSS. No, not quite, because the disease seems to be contagious.

Mr. RIVERS. To what is the gentleman referring?

Mr. GROSS. I am referring to the various Latin American countries and the disease they have of seizing our fishing boats or chasing them onto the beaches.

Mr. RIVERS. Let me answer the gentleman. Not one ship which we authorized for loan is engaged in the activity to which the gentleman refers. Not one single ship.

Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman how the gentleman knows some of these naval vessels we have given them have not been used to intercept our vessels?

Mr. RIVERS. I guess we can rely on the Navy, can we not? The Navy says they have not been so used. They are our authority on the high seas. Not a single ship which has been the subject of a loan has engaged in these activities.

Mr. GROSS. The Mexican Government did not use any of our naval vessels to chase our shrimp boats onto the beach?

Mr. RIVERS. The gentleman now refers to Mexico. I can investigate that also. Mexico is not in this bill.

Mr. GROSS. I just say this disease seems to be catching. I think we ought to have assurance in every case that we loan any kind of an American combat vessel.

Mr. RIVERS. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from South Carolina and the gentleman from Iowa suggested that to the State Department and the military several years ago in the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. I want to be assured that when we lend vessels, that is warships, combat ships to these countries, under no circumstances will they be used to go after our fishing fleets.

Mr. RIVERS. Of course. I agree with the gentleman. I insist on that also.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in regard to what the gentleman has said, I think actually—according at least to a letter I received from the State Department—our naval vessels have been used by certain Latin American countries to seize our fishing boats.

Mr. GROSS. That is correct.

Mr. PELLY. And I certainly know that one nation, Ecuador, has used our cutters.

Mr. RIVERS. But not naval combatant ships loaned under this type of legislation.

Mr. PELLY. That is correct. But I will say this, that I have introduced legislation which will ask our Coast Guard to lend protection to our fishing ships when they are congregated there. The State Department says it is against our policy to protect our American vessels flying American flags.

Mr. RIVERS. To what committee will those bills go? Will they go to the gentleman's committee or to our committee?

Mr. PELLY. I believe they will go to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Mr. RIVERS. If they should come to our committee, they will be reported out.

Mr. PELLY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, there is also a question of their gratitude. When they go 200 miles offshore to intercept our fishing vessels and cargoes, confiscating them along with the crews. There is a question of gratitude, in addition to that.

Mr. RIVERS. I agree with the gentleman. The gentleman mentioned that I did not have to sell him on the idea of furnishing ships to Korea and Nationalist China.

I had to sell the State Department and the Defense Department, because they did not include additional destroyers for these two countries. The committee added them, because they are our great allies. We added these two destroyers in committee.

This is not a ship loan bill. This is a bill to authorize the President to loan them if he sees fit. We do not loan anything by this bill. We extend the authority to the President; that is all.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, that raises another question. Are we here delegating more power to the President? We have been hearing a lot about that in the past few days. I wonder if we should do this.

Mr. RIVERS. Every other President has had this same authority.

I am glad to see the gentleman, as usual, is trying to help. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to the rest of this legislation and the ships that are involved but I would like to question the advisability of extending the loan of one submarine and two destroyers to the Government of Greece which is today charged with denying the democratic process to many of its citizens.

It seems to me that under the circumstances we should carefully consider what we do and defer action on the Greek loan until the facts can be ascertained.

Mr. RIVERS. This would only authorize the President to make the loans, not require that the loans be made.

I have here, handed to me by Mr. Kelleher, the Greek policy statement issued in April. It states:

> The Government will endeavor to carry out the following: to abide firmly by the idea of peace and freedom according to the principles of the U.N. Charter. In this sense, Greece, as a free and proud nation, intends to abide firmly by its obligations to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its Western Allies.

The bill would not extend existing loans, but only authorize the President to extend the loans. In other words, the bill if approved would merely authorize the State Department to negotiate an extension of these loans. Negotiations will not commence until the bill becomes law.

The State Department advises that loan extension agreements customarily stipulate that the extensions are pursuant to the provisions of the basic agreement, and subject to all terms and conditions stated therein. This provision will be included in any ship loan extension, as authorized by Congress, negotiated with the respective countries.

As I said to the gentleman from Iowa, and I repeat, this bill would not extend any loan. It merely authorizes the President to do so. He may extend all of these, or hold back on one or more.

Mr. VANIK. What is the date of that?

Mr. RIVERS. April 21.

Mr. VANIK. However, the conditions I talk about have developed since that date.

Mr. RIVERS. What Mr. Kelleher has pointed out is that the memorandum conveying this policy statement to the committee is dated September 29, 1967, and refers back to the April 21 statement of policy.

Mr. VANIK. The letter is dated September 29?

Mr. RIVERS. Yes. The memorandum to the committee is dated September 29, 1967; and I will put this in the RECORD:

> The use of loan ships is restricted by—
>
> a. *Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended*, Sec. 305, which states that "Military Assistance to any country shall be furnished solely for internal security, for legitimate self-defense, to permit the recipient country to participate in regional or collective arrangements or measures consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, or otherwise to permit the recipient country to participate in collective measures requested by the United Nations for the purpose of maintaining or restoring international peace and security, . . ."
>
> b. *Military Assistance bilateral agreements* which state that respective countries will not permit the use of articles provided thereunder for "any purpose other than that for which the article . . . is furnished."
>
> c. *The Ship Loan Agreements.* For example, the Ship Loan Agreement with Greece states that Greece will "retain possession of and use the vessels . . . for the purpose of promoting an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area in accordance with defense plans formulated by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

Mr. Speaker, this only authorizes the President to take action. He can extend them all or none of them, as he sees fit.

Mr. VANIK. He has full discretion?

Mr. RIVERS. Yes. I would also like to point out the language of section 4 of the bill which reads:

> SEC. 4. No loan may be made or extended under this Act unless the Secretary of Defense, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, determines that such loan or extension is in the best interest of the United States. The Secretary of Defense shall keep the Congress currently advised of all loans made under authority of this Act.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requirement for time.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to reaffirm what the chairman of the committee has said.

Of the 17 ships involved, 15 are merely a continuation of the use of the vessels which has already been accorded these particular countries. The other two involve destroyers to Korea and the Republic of China.

Our committee this time, as it has on all other occasions, unanimously reported the bill to the House.

It seems to me this is an economical way of getting defense. These ships, except for Korea and China, are already an active part of the navies of the requesting countries and the continued loan is at no cost to the United States.

I am in full agreement with the bill and ask that the House pass it.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BATES. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. I refer back to the remarks made by the gentleman from Ohio. I am not quite satisfied with the answers given by the distinguished chairman of the committee.

What this bill provides is military aid to a totalitarian junta in Greece that has been locking up friends of democracy—that has just recently, within the past few days, put in jail and is going to try in a military court Mrs. Helen Vlachos, who has two Athens newspapers. Do Members know what the charges are? The charges were that she insulted the Government in an interview with an Italian newspaper.

Does the gentleman not believe it is about time that the House have a debate on our relationship with Greece?

I think it is possible that the whole world and certainly the Greek people are awaiting the expression of an attitude by us on this. Perhaps these items should be aired and perhaps it would be better to defeat this bill and then bring that portion on Greece out with a rule so that there could be full debate.

Mr. BATES. Is the gentleman asking me this question?

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Yes.

Mr. BATES. Certainly at all times we should have full debate on these issues. I am glad that the gentleman brought this point up. I do not think every time someone is arrested in some country that we can stop the flow of legislation on this floor. I would suggest that the gentleman contact the Department of State and the Committee on Foreign Affairs on the matter.

When this bill came before us there was no inkling of such an episode. Certainly Greece has been our friend. In the realm of foreign aid I do not think there has been any example given that has been more indicative of success than there has been in the case of Greece and Turkey. I feel that when the foreign aid bill comes before this House every year the advocates of the bill always point with great pride to what happened in the late 1940's when we first gave aid to Greece and Turkey and thus saved them from communism. For that reason and for other reasons as well, Mr. Speaker, I advocate the passage of this bill today, including the ships to Greece.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS. Greece is still a member of NATO and these are NATO allies of ours. I do not know what the intricacies are of the situation in Greece, but we have a member of NATO in good standing. We are committed to the security of Greece in our NATO commitments. We are carrying out the things that we have been doing all this time. I do not know how we can change the course of things at this time.

Mr. BATES. Circumstances change in the development of a country, but it is not right to try to fashion every country in the world in our image here in the United States. Other countries have their laws which they respect, and we have ours. As the chairman said, in the postwar period Greece has indeed been our ally and has been a good one. I think she should be the beneficiary of this legislation.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENNEY. I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the committee, Mr. RIVERS, one or two questions.

I have one boy who just came back from Vietnam and another boy aboard the U.S.S. *Dupont*. His ship was hit 2 weeks ago off the coast of North Vietnam. My question is do you have any knowledge as to whether or not any of these countries that we are authorizing ships to, have any trade directly or indirectly with North Vietnam?

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. I do not know of any having any trade with them. None of these ships.

Mr. DENNEY. None of the ships listed here?

Mr. RIVERS. I am not aware of any. I do not know of any.

Mr. DENNEY. In other words, what I am concerned about is we in America proceed to make ships and money and material available to foreign countries. That encourages their economy, and then they are able to trade with other countries and carry munitions of war to North Vietnam.

Mr. RIVERS. I can almost positively say I do not think there is any such thing as this happening in Greece or any that I know of.

Mr. DENNEY. I appreciate that statement.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SCHERLE. I appreciate the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services yielding to me at this time. I have only one brief question. Can you tell me who will pay for the activation and modernization and overhaul of these two new ships being loaned?

In other words, we are taking these two ships out of the fleet?

Mr. BATES. The gentleman refers to the ships going to the country of Korea and the Republic of China?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes, I do.

Mr. BATES. The renovation of these two ships is estimated to cost $15 million and will be paid for by the United States.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, to pursue this a little further, why is it necessary, if we are to loan these ships to these countries, do we have to furnish and overhaul them, rather than to have the recipient countries do this job?

Mr. BATES. Because they are our allies and, presently, under the foreign aid bill we are spending a lot more money than this. This is just another effective way in which we believe the job can be done.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman means this is another means of extending foreign aid to these countries to which we are presently providing such aid?

Mr. BATES. I beg the pardon of the gentleman?

Mr. SCHERLE. This is another means of providing additional foreign aid to these countries?

Mr. BATES. As the gentleman is aware, the foreign aid bill does not come under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. SCHERLE. But I am saying, this is in addition to the foreign aid program?

Mr. BATES. We do provide foreign aid to both of these countries.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER].

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of pursuing this question about Greece. I am a little surprised to hear the remarks on the other side of the aisle, suggesting that Greece at the present time is the loyal and stanch ally of this country. Other members of NATO have taken a different view indicating very clearly the disapproval which they attach to the present military junta in Greece. I refer specifically to a report which appeared in the press recently to the effect that the European Common Market had voted, by a vote of 9 to 5, to deny a $10 million loan to Greece on the grounds that this was a Fascist government and on the ground that it was denying its people the fundamental liberties expected of a democratic form of government. This was buttressed by another article which appeared in the press—I think by the former Premier who headed a rightist cabinet, who in defiance of the laws of the military junta spoke out against the military junta and asked the military junta to get out and leave Greece. This was no leftist political leader of Greece. This was a leader who formerly had headed a rightist cabinet of Greece but who was deposed by the members of the military junta.

Mr. Speaker, the point I want to make is that our allies in NATO are very reluctant to give more economic assistance to Greece. This is particularly true with reference to the Scandinavian countries. These countries have spoken out very sharply against the present regime in Greece.

I have in my hand a copy of a telegram which was sent from Denmark to the other NATO countries, a telegram from one of the great members of the Atlantic community, which is a strong indictment of the present regime in Greece.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that for the United States to put any stamp of approval or to furnish or indicate any support of that regime would represent a flat denial or repudiation of our concern as has been expressed by our efforts in Vietnam and in the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that this bill ought to be sent back to the committee and brought out again without the Greek ship loans in order that we may have a separate discussion of this particular matter. We ought to make clear to the rest of the world that the United States believes in what it says it believes in. We ought to demonstrate that we believe certain things are wrong and that we believe in freedom.

I would ask the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services if the chairman does not think that this question requires further discussion? I would also ask why should we stand alone among our NATO allies in defense of a Fascist regime, when our closest allies say, "Let us cut off aid to the present Greek regime."

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRASER. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS. The gentleman from Minnesota is talking about the Common Market. NATO has done nothing about Greece. We have extended loans to the military—to our allies—in the Scandinavian countries. Some of the Scandinavian countries represent some of the best members of the alliance which we have and have proven that they are fighting the same type of situation which we are fighting.

I do not know what is going on in Greece. I hope they do get a representative government. However, that has nothing to do with these loans. If the President decides he does not want to make these loans, this is not mandatory. This is only permissive. One could debate it 10 times or for 10 days. We do not make anything mandatory under the provisions of this bill.

We only authorize the President to do this as we have been doing for 15 years. If he sees fit to do it he can, and he can attach any strings he wants to keep up with our commitments to our allies, and in keeping with whatever treaties we are signatory to. So I do not know what good any debate would do on this. The gentleman can make such representations to the President as he desires to.

Mr. FRASER. I will say to the gentleman that it is the Common Market that has spoken, and the Common Market members happen to be, for the most part, members of NATO.

Mr. RIVERS. I do not know anything about the Common Market. The gentleman knows more about that than I do.

Mr. FRASER. We ought to learn something about it, maybe this should be done.

Mr. RIVERS. I have nothing to do with the Common Market, this is something else again.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to emphasize the statement that my colleague from Minnesota made in connection with the arrest of a reputable Greek publisher and point out that this one particular arrest is not an isolated incident. I had occasion to be in Greece for a week in July of this year, and had many conversations with our own Embassy people there; from the Ambassador on down, and spoke also with many Greek professionals—doctors, lawyers, economists, bankers, and the like. There is no question of the fact that the intelligentsia of Greece feel they are suffering under a reactionary and repressive regime. Somewhere between 3,000 and 5,000 Greek intellectuals and politicians are languishing in confinement on an isolated island off the coast of Greece, under the most primitive conditions, without charges being brought, without arraignments, without trials. So I believe this Congress should have very serious doubts and misgivings about giving further aid at this time to the present Greek regime.

Mr. RIVERS. Let me answer the gentleman on that point before he continues with his statement.

I would say to the gentleman that we are lending these ships in our own interest in connection with our NATO and other responsibilities. If someone else does not patrol the Aegean Sea and the other waters in that part of the world then we must do so ourselves. Already NATO has been cut in half by one De Gaulle.

If the gentleman wishes to take all these ships away from them and send our own ships and men to do it, then go ahead, I just do not want to do this. These loans are in our own interest, and I want the gentleman to keep that in mind always. That is why we are authorizing the President to do this, and the

President can do it if he sees fit. If the President does not want the Greeks to patrol for us, then the President can send our own ships down there. That is all this bill does—is to authorize the President to continue on with that policy of letting the Greeks patrol the Aegean Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Sea.

Mr. SCHEUER. I am afraid of voting for a policy that is not in our interest.

Mr. RIVERS. That is very simply what this is: to continue our current policy.

Mr. SCHEUER. It is not that simple.

Mr. RIVERS. That policy to me is quite simple.

Mr. SCHEUER. I believe it is in our interests to have peace and stability in the Middle East and the Aegean; to have governments that have popular support. I believe that is in our long-range interest.

Mr. RIVERS. I do not believe we can impose pax Americana on every people and nation on earth. Somewhere down the line we are going to have to let somebody else run his own country instead of us dipping our nose into it.

Mr. SCHEUER. This present administration in Greece was by no means popularly elected.

Mr. RIVERS. That may well be so.

Mr. SCHEUER. In the next 30 to 60 days the present junta is supposed to put into effect a constitution under which they would give some power back to the people. Our own State Department people are involved and are having some quiet conversations. Does the gentleman know what that means? This will be a turning point in Greek history if it is done, and it seems to me that, until the Greek junta gives evidence of its bona fides in returning to a system of constitutional democracy, we ought to tread very warily in giving them additional military aid. The time is only 30 to 60 days off. We can defer action that long.

Mr. RIVERS. The gentleman is not saying on the floor of the House that our Government is going over there telling them how to run Greece?

Mr. SCHEUER. I said I believe some quiet conversation is going on between our State Department people and the members of the ruling junta.

Mr. RIVERS. If they are doing anything about what happened in Greece I believe this is highly improper. I hope we let them run their own country.

Mr. SCHEUER. I would say that this junta took over by force, and imposed itself by force of arms, and that we have every right to encourage them to return to constitutional democracy—just as we have been doing for several years with some limited success in South Vietnam.

Mr. RIVERS. I do not know how our State Department could think of such a thing.

Mr. SCHEUER. I will say our State Department has been carrying on quiet discussions, and quite properly so.

Mr. RIVERS. I hope they are very quiet.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it always has seemed to me that legislative emotion on an unrelated matter did not furnish the most promising background for the development of sound foreign policy.

Most respectfully would I disagree with my good friends who see in a negative vote on H.R. 9796 a means of strengthening and advancing their concept of foreign policy as regards the present Government of Greece. I agree with them that affairs in Greece at the moment are disquieting to many good Americans and certainly I am of that number. I doubt, however, that the present situation will be long continuing. It is even possible that the enactment of H.R. 9796, with the broad powers it gives the President of the United States, could hasten the return of democratic government to Greece.

It should be made perfectly clear that H.R. 9796 does not turn over to Greece or any other country a single naval vessel of any size, age, or condition—not one ship to Greece or any other country. If it did this I might admit some germaneness to the present contention. If, upon the enactment of H.R. 9796, its passage by the House and the other body, and its signature by the President, and without any further ado the United States was giving Greece the continued and unrestricted use of a destroyer I well could join with my colleagues in advocating a halt at least until we had come to a better understanding.

But what H.R. 9796 does—and all that it does—is to give the President authority to "extend on such terms and under such conditions as he deems appropriate" the continued loan of ships to Brazil, Chile, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Korea, Portugal, and Spain and the new loan of destroyers to Korea and free China.

Mr. Speaker, that is not all. Let me read section 4 in its complete verbiage:

> No loan may be made or extended under this Act unless the Secretary of Defense, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, determines that such loan or extension is in the best interest of the United States. The Scretary of Defense shall keep the Congress currently advised of all loans made under authority of this Act.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under H.R. 9796 the old naval loan to Greece, as well as those to Brazil, Chile, the Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, Portugal, and Spain, and the new naval loans to Korea and Free China would not start until, first, the Secretary of Defense had consulted with the Joint Chiefs of Staff; second, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed that the loans or extensions were in the best interest of the United States; and third, the President of the United States had reached the determination that the loan or renewal in each instance was in the national interest, and on what terms and under what conditions.

Not to be overlooked is the power vested in the President of the United States to outline to Greece, as well as the other recipient nations, the terms and conditions.

Mr. Speaker, I have served in the Congress under four Presidents, three of my party and one of the opposition. With all the faith in me I have believed in the loyalty of all four Presidents to the United States and the American people. If ever the unhappy day should come that the loyalty and patriotism of our President was in question, historians could write finis.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from South Carolina that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 9796, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 321, nays 42, not voting 69, as follows:

[Roll No. 291]

YEAS—321

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Boggs
Boland
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Carter
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flood
Ford, Gerald R.
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Pa.
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kyros
Laird

Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
McClory
McClure
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Ruppe
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Winn
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—42

Bingham
Blatnik
Bolling
Brasco
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Cohelan
Collier
Dow
Edwards, Calif.
Foley
Fraser
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Hechler, W. Va.
Jacobs
Joelson
Kastenmeier
Long, Md.
McCarthy
Michel
Moss
Nix
Olsen
Ottinger
Rees
Reuss
Rosenthal
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
Scheuer
Sisk
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Yates

NOT VOTING—69

Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Brademas
Brock
Broomfield
Bush
Cabell
Casey
Cleveland
Conyers
Corman
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Evans, Colo.
Feighan
Fino
Flynt
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Gallagher
Gettys
Hagan
Halleck
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hawkins
Helstoski
Holland
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landrum
Leggett
Lukens
McCulloch
Macdonald, Mass.
Miller, Calif.
Mink
Minshall
Nichols
O'Konski
Pettis
Pool
Pucinski
Rarick
Reifel
Resnick
Riegle
Ronan
Steiger, Wis.
Stuckey
Teague, Calif.
Tiernan
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Watkins
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Broomfield for, with Mr. Riegle against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Ayres.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Cleveland.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Halleck.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Hawkins.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Nichols with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Derwinski.
Mr. Feighan with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Reifel.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Kupferman.
Mr. Casey with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Willis.
Mr. Wright with Mr. Kyl.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Teague of California.
Mr. Fountain with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Bush.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Diggs.
Mrs. Mink with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin.
Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Pettis.
Mr. Hanna with Mr. Kuykendall.
Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Rarick.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Pool.
Mr. Cabell with Mr. Stuckey.
Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Hagan with Mrs. Hansen of Washington.
Mr. Eckhardt with Mr. William D. Ford.

Messrs. **LONG** of Maryland and **OLSEN** changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. **WALDIE** changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and new loans, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HURRICANE BEULAH

Mr. **KAZEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **KAZEN**. Mr. Speaker, I have recently returned from a tour of the areas in my district which suffered from floods, the winds of Hurricane Beulah and tornadoes spawned by the hurricane.

It is impossible to watch the struggles of those made homeless, the destruction of citizens' most prized possessions, the crumbling of roads and buildings, without feeling heartsore.

The 23d Congressional District received a large amount of flood and wind damage. Two counties—Jim Wells and Duval—were struck by the hurricane itself. In addition to direct damage, many areas will continue to feel the effect of loss of topsoil and pasture for some time to come.

I was fortunate, however, in being able to watch cities and counties, as well as the State of Texas, and the U.S. Government, put emergency procedures into operation. In every instance, cooperation was magnificent.

This spirit of helping others was pointed out in a September 21 editorial in the San Antonio Light newspaper which states:

> There can be no taming of a shrew such as Beulah turned out to be, but her vindictiveness can be blunted by the skill and courage and generosity of thousands of South Texans.

And even though the article refers to work done in only one county, it could very well speak for all of the other counties affected, since this wonderful spirit was very much in evidence in every single part of the disaster area.

Mr. Speaker, it would be impossible to name all of the organizations and the many hundreds of individuals who did such a tremendous job in helping victims of the hurricane, flooding, and the tornadoes. I am proud to report to you and the membership of this Congress that every single Federal agency, every State agency, and all local agencies worked as one in helping those affected. I am also happy to report to you that every single person who was in need of food, shelter, or medicine was taken care of.

On behalf of the people whom I am privileged to represent, I offer my sincere thanks for a job well done. Over and beyond this, I want to commend the people themselves, who in the midst of suffering and heartache, exhibited a tremendous spirit of cooperation and concern for the less fortunate. This attitude of concern for others in time of great duress prompts me to reaffirm how very proud I am to be an American.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to include with these remarks in the RECORD a copy of the San Antonio Light editorial of September 21 entitled "Hurricane Heroes."

HURRICANE HEROES

There can be no taming of a shrew such as Beulah turned out to be, but her vindictiveness can be blunted by the skill and courage and generosity of thousands of South Texans.

Hurricanes may not make heroes of us all, but they create an astonishing number. Some become widely known. Many more are known only to those in their immediate vicinity. The identity of others is known only to themselves.

Who can measure the contribution of all the law enforcement officers, the National Guardsmen, and the Red Cross, Civil Defense and Salvation Army workers?

We think also of the telephone and electricity linemen, working at all hours and in appalling conditions to restore the means of communication and the source of power that are needed all the more when disaster strikes.

It is good to know that San Antonio also has been in a position to help the victims of Nature's rampage.

Auditorium Circle became the site of an unusual kind of convention. The delegates were fugitives from the hurricane, housed in the basement of Municipal Auditorium and at the city's Civil Defense headquarters.

Other refugees were cared for at Lackland AFB, Agudas Achim auditorium, Trinity Baptist Church, Alamo Stadium gym, and elsewhere. The Mexican Chamber of Commerce supplied interpreters for the Spanish-speaking.

We salute all those, professional or amateur, who responded to the emergency, including (may we add?) this newspaper's reporters and photographers who have kept you informed.

THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Government of Nigeria marked its seventh anniversary. To that troubled nation and all its people I express the fervent wish that future anniversaries will find the country united and in peace.

Nigeria has the resources, ability, and strength to become one of the strongest nations in the world and certainly a leader on the continent of Africa.

I pray that a way will shortly be found for all Nigerians to work together once more making their country a great and united nation.

HINDSIGHT IS BETTER THAN FORESIGHT

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that, when the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 was before the House on September 21, I offered an amendment which would have provided the necessary funds for financing the program, through a schedule of license fees, to be set by the FCC, approved by the appropriate committees of Congress, and which would have saved the taxpayers of this Nation an initial $10 to $15 million a year, and which eventually are estimated to run possibly a half billion a year or more.

Since the defeat of my proposed amendment by approximately 4 to 1 on a division vote in the Committee of the Whole, a number of Members have told me that, while they did not vote for the amendment, because they did not understand how it would operate, that after having had an opportunity to read and study it, they were of the opinion that it was unfortunate the House did not adopt the amendment, especially in view of the fact that it will probably be a long time before such legislation will be approved by the committee, particularly when one realizes that the proposition which I have proposed is opposed by the FCC, the networks, and larger stations who also control the NAB, which exercises a great influence in the broadcasting industry, but in my opinion does not represent the views of the smaller broadcasters.

In the current issue of Broadcasting magazine, I read where the National Citizens Committee for Public Television had advocated that the television advertisers ought to contribute a "proper percentage" of their total advertising budget to noncommercial TV. I do not agree with that recommendation but feel that those who enjoy the exclusive and monopolistic use of the airwaves should contribute in proportion to the income they receive through the use of these channels, based on a very small percentage of their gross income—says, in proportion to the fees they pay ASCAP, Sesac, and BMI. Following is the editorial referred to above which appeared in the October 2, 1967, issue of Broadcasting:

WRONG PLACES TO LOOK

Now that the House has passed a bill to create a Corp. for Public Broadcasting (Broadcasting, Sept. 25) and that compromise seems probable between that bill and one that the Senate passed earlier, it may be assumed that the corporation will indeed come into being.

That brings us to the next question of how public broadcasting is to be financed in the long range.

Thomas P. F. Hoving, chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Public Television, proposed, in the same week the House passed the CPB bill, that television advertisers ought to contribute "a proper percentage" of their total advertising budgets to noncommercial TV. During House debate 25 congressmen voted for an amendment that would have assessed commercial broadcasters to pay for noncommercial broadcasting.

More of the same will be heard—and, no doubt, louder.

BIG SPENDING CUT BACKERS DISREGARD PAINFUL LESSONS

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an article.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am including with my remarks an article from the Sunday, October 1, 1967, Washington Post by Joseph R. Slevin, entitled "Big Spending Cut Backers Disregard Painful Lessons."

Mr. Speaker, this article analyzes the true meaning of the Bow amendment to direct the President to cut $5 billion in expenditures from the fiscal 1968 budget. The figures given in the article have been checked by my staff and verified by the Bureau of the Budget with one correction of a technical nature. The 3.1 billion listed for the National Health Institute also embraced the Health, Education, and Welfare Department.

The gist of the article is to show that the $5 billion cut must be made from a pool of $21 billion and not from the overall pool of the total budget of $141 billion.

The cut of $5 billion must be found in appropriated funds from the following programs:

First. Government payroll, $9 billion.

Second and third. Health, Education and Welfare programs and educational grants and aids totaling $3.1 billion.

Fourth. Surplus food to underdeveloped countries, $1.8 billion.

Fifth. School lunches, food stamps, housing, urban development, and veterans programs, $1.9 billion.

Sixth. Transportation, $500 million.

Seventh. Foreign aid, $500 million.

Mr. Speaker, the $5 billion cut, because of fixed charges such as interest on the national debt and excluded military appropriations and contract obligations, will, if carried out, destroy many of the Nation's most vital domestic programs.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1967]

BIG SPENDING CUT BACKERS DISREGARD PAINFUL LESSONS

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

Congressional backers of big Federal spending cuts are disregarding painful lessons in budget arithmetic.

The burden of the lessons is that President Johnson can satisfy Congressional demands for a spending slash of $5 billion or more only by ordering deep cuts in a large number of popular programs. The candidates for the presidential axe include everything from the school lunch program and the agricultural extension service to small business loans and new Bureau of Reclamation dams.

Congressional Republicans and a big clutch of Democrats have been pushing the spending cuts as their price for supporting the President's Vietnam War surtax. Mr. Johnson agrees that spending has to be reduced. He pledged a cut of more than $2 billion when he sent his tax request to Congress in early August. But the White House insists that there cannot be an additional $5 billion of reductions without drastic cutbacks in programs that command powerful support in Congress and in the country at large.

Slashing Federal outlays by over $5 billion looks manageable when the cut is measured against a Federal spending budget that currently totals more than $141 billion.

The trouble is that most of the $141 billion is beyond Mr. Johnson's control. The startling fact is that any savings will have to come out of a relatively small $21 billion slice of the total budget, including $9 billion that is earmarked to meet the Government's payroll.

A quick look at the rest of the $21 billion shows that it covers $3.2 billion for space, $3.1 billion for the sacrosanct National Institutes of Health and school aid, $1.8 billion to provide surplus food to needy, underdeveloped countries, $1.9 billion for school lunches, food stamps, housing, urban development, and a variety of veterans programs, $500 million for transportation, and $500 million for foreign aid.

The biggest, untouchable chunk of Government spending is more than $75 billion that is budgeted for Viet Nam and other defense programs this year. The question is not whether the $75 billion can be reduced but whether it can be kept from going even higher.

Another $45 billion of civilian spending is beyond Mr. Johnson's control because it either is fixed by law or is tied to contracts that the Government cannot breech without huge losses. Major items include $14 billion for interest on the public debt, $5 billion for veterans benefits, $4.4 billion for public assistance grants to the states, $1.9 billion for the jealously guarded farm price supports, and $1 billion to cover the post office deficit.

The President, as this is written, has been steadfastly refusing to give Congress a list of potential spending cuts but high officials privately have been showing lawmakers a teeth-rattling rundown of the kind of slashes that would have to be ordered to chop the $21 billion of relatively controllable civilian programs by $5 billion.

At the top of their list, the Administration officials have a one-third slash in grants to states and local communities for aid to education, school lunches, maternal and child welfare, antipoverty programs, urban transportation, waste disposal, agricultural extension activities, and a broad range of other programs.

New construction of dams and Federal buildings is prohibited. All recently started projects of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are to be halted immediately.

The confidential Administration list includes a 50 per cent slash in new loans including loans to farmers for electricity and telephones, in Federal emergency loans to disaster areas, and in housing, small business, and foreign aid loans.

The closing of some VA hospitals is proposed along with the discharge of a number of doctors and nurses.

The Administration officials even have included a cut in the FBI. They don't think the number of FBI agents is likely to be reduced under any circumstances but they stress that other programs would have to be chopped more severely if the FBI did not bear its share of the $5 billion spending reduction.

THE PRESIDENT COURAGEOUSLY FIRM: "WE SHALL PRESS FORWARD"

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, 100 years from today historians will perhaps search fruitlessly for what mania possessed a nation when people in high places and even Members of the Congress of the United States, in effect, ask for the death of their own flesh and blood, now fighting in South Vietnam, by asking for a cessation of bombing even while our men are under fire in South Vietnam.

Perhaps the answer is, we all tend to specialize. In this body we are very busy people, and perhaps those people calling for a halt do not really know what would happen during a bombing cessation—and what happened during the last bombing cessation.

Without further comment, Mr. Speaker, I will include an editorial by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat entitled "The President Courageously Firm, 'We Shall Press Forward' ":

THE PRESIDENT COURAGEOUSLY FIRM: "WE SHALL PRESS FORWARD"

Replying to the most recent freshet of emotional, vituperative criticism, coming from Senate foes of the Vietnam policy, President Lyndon B. Johnson has restated with clarity and logic the United States policy in Southeast Asia.

He refused to be cowed by the new bombast of tongue-lashing doves. He rejected the diatribes of appeasement that would have the nation retreat from the Vietnam cauldron—no matter what the cost to American integrity, no matter what the fate of South Vietnam, no matter what the profit to Communist aggression throughout Asia, indeed over the whole world.

Mr. Johnson's talk was calm, reasoned, at times eloquent. He stood staunchly behind conduct of the Viet war. If only he had gone further and set a victory goal, he would have had the nation behind his policy as the people have never been before.

The country is deeply worried and confused by the ugly conflict 10,000 miles distant, when the President has no clear goal.

In war there is only one goal: Victory. Americans cannot understand a war of attrition, that saps our strength, treasure and the lives of our troops with no clear design to win.

* * *

The President declared we "shall press forward." We shall fulfill our commitment under the SEATO Treaty, hard and sacrificial as it has become—not only to protect South Vietnam freedom under assault by combined Red power, but because American safety and our national existence as a democratic free people are threatened.

This took political courage on the threshold of a campaign in which he will seek reelection. An intensely political man, he has a compulsive desire for consensus approval of all his acts. No other President has sought to be all things to all people so assiduously. Yet in the Vietnam policy, he repudiates a cut-and-run compromise, which might achieve censensus if sugared over with a thick veneer of Washington propaganda.

In his week-end talk at San Antonio, Mr. Johnson once again showed his willingness to meet with Ho Chi Minh for peace talks. Time after futile time he has made the same plea. But it takes two to talk. Ho coldly, flatly turns down every suggestion. So have other, more powerful Communist nations, backing the Red Viet aggression with increasing supplies of rockets, planes, artillery, munitions and all needed materiel to kill our troops.

Again was the proffer made in cease bombing, if it could lead to "productive discussion." This cannot be done—and Mr. Johnson made this amply clear—unless the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese give similar concession. Repeatedly, when we have halted bombing, Red forces have used the lull to fortify, regroup and rush in new supplies for stepped-up aggression.

It would be a proved stupidity to halt bombing unilaterally in the north, or anywhere in Vietnam, in the fuzzy hope this insane strategy would do anything but prolong the war and slay more of our youth.

The key to all we have done, as the President declared, is our own basic security. He said he could not forecast with certainty that a Southeast Asia dominated by Communists would bring a third world war. None can read the future. But we can know the past. He was grimly right in warning "all we have learned in this tragic century" strongly argues that a Communist sweep of Southeast Asia would follow in the wake of a Vietnam capitulation.

The domino theory is still the only viable conclusion that can be read into a South Viet defeat. North Vietnamese are already in Thailand and Burma. These states would drop into the Red China maw. So, most certainly, would Hong Kong. Then Formosa, the Philippines, Indonesia, even Japan would be under a rapacious Red threat which would soon be open and violent.

Mr. Johnson emphasized he would "not risk the security, indeed the survival of (the United States) on mere hope and wishful thinking." Nor has he any right to do so.

Vietnam Reds believe that, despite their steady, slow setbacks in Vietnam, they are going to win out in Southeast Asia. They are banking on America getting weary, discouraged, disgusted with an inconclusive war that has already killed 13,500 of our sons and wounded 85,000 more. That's why they obdurately refuse to consider any talk of peace.

Such bilious blasts as Senator Thruston Morton's charge that the President of the United States has been "brainwashed" to defend South Vietnam, and the politically scurrilous speech of Senator Clifford Case calling the Johnson policy "perversion" of the Tonkin Gulf resolution by Congress, are music in the ears of Ho Chi Minh and his Hanoi warmongers.

Rational dissent is always justified, usually healthy. Divisive contumacy and harangue, such as we have recently suffered, simply give aid and comfort to the enemy, hardening their design to continue the war and kill more Americans.

Until we declare a victory purpose in Vietnam, and pursue that end, Hanoi will cling to a conviction of Communist triumph. The most humane, intelligent way to end the grueling Vietnam issue is to use whatever power is necessary to win the bloody conflagration—fast and decisively.

AN EVER-PRESENT DANGER

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, with the superabundance of fictional spy stories on the market in the past few years one might perhaps be tempted to view the field of espionage with undue levity. One need only recall the many cases in country after country where citizens have betrayed the country of their birth for various reasons to realize that the danger of espionage is forever with us. Especially so, when the Soviet Union over the years has enticed persons from foreign lands to switch their allegiance and service to the U.S.S.R.

One such case is that of Harold A. R. Philby, a former British diplomat, whose service to a dangerous foreign power makes Benedict Arnold look like a piker.

I request that the article, "Philby Admits Spying for Reds," from the New York Daily News of October 2 be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

PHILBY ADMITS SPYING FOR REDS

(By Henry Maule)

LONDON, October 1.—Twelve years after British diplomat Harold A. R. (Kim) Philby was exposed in the News as the "third man" in a spy case, he has admitted being a Soviet agent for more than 30 years.

An exclusive dispatch from this correspondent to The News in 1955 named Philby for the first time as the man who had tipped off British turncoats Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean, enabling them to flee to Russia.

The question was raised in Parliament and Harold Macmillan, then foreign secretary, cleared Philby, former first secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, declaring there was "no reason to conclude that Mr. Philby has at any time betrayed the interests of this country or to identify him with a so-called third man."

"I HAVE COME HOME," HE TELLS SON

Philby, 55, has admitted to his oldest son, John, 24, who recently visited him in Moscow, that his allegiance has been to the Soviet Union most of his adult life.

"I have come home," he told the son, declaring himself completely happy in Moscow, where he ostensibly works for a Soviet publishing house.

Two London newspapers, the Observer and Sunday Times, carried today what the Observer called his "unmatched success story in espionage."

They reported that Philby was now known to be the most important spy the Russians ever had in the West, and that for more than a decade, while serving as a Soviet agent, he was a trusted senior officer at the heart of British intelligence.

Philby reportedly was assigned by the Russians in 1934 to infiltrate British intelligence. By 1944 he was appointed head of British anti-Soviet intelligence.

IN ON BRITISH AND U.S. SECRETS

He was named to diplomatic posts from which he was able to disclose to Moscow the inner secrets of M–16, Britain's counterintelligence service, and of American Central Intelligence Agency, the newspapers said. He was being groomed to head M-16 and be Britain's link with the CIA.

In 1951, Philby risked exposing his position by warning MacLean that he had just been unmasked as a major atomic spy, permitting MacLean to flee with his friend Burgess, who since has died.

Apparently Philby did so because he suspected MacLean and Burgess might break down under interrogation and betray him.

Philby was later exposed by a Soviet intelligence officer who defected to the West in 1961 and told London about him. Philby fled to Moscow in 1963 from Beirut, Lebanon, where he was working for the Observer and, that paper said, for British intelligence.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ELOQUENT ADDRESS PLACES VIETNAM IN ITS TRUE PERSPECTIVE

Mr. **BROOKS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **BROOKS**. Mr. Speaker, Friday night in San Antonio, the President of the United States reiterated our Nation's determination to stand fast against Communist aggression in Vietnam.

In this memorable speech, President Johnson explained to the American people the reason why Vietnam is so important to the vital interests of the United States. He emphasized that if aggression is allowed to go unchecked in Vietnam, its flaming violence would soon spread across the great land mass of Southeast Asia.

The President declared:

> I cannot tell you—with certainty—that a Southeast Asia dominated by Communist power would bring a third world war much closer to terrible reality. One could hope that it would not be so. But all we have learned in this tragic century strongly suggests it would be so. As President of the United States I am not prepared to gamble on the chance it is not so.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is time for those so vocally opposed to the President's policy in Vietnam to ask themselves whether they are prepared to take such a gamble.

For as the President said:

> I would rather stand in Vietnam, in our time, and by meeting this danger now, reduce the danger for our children and our grandchildren.

I support this view, Mr. Speaker. I support it not only because I have confidence in the wisdom and judgment of the President, but because I believe we have learned our lesson about appeasement. We learned in the 1930's that appeasing an aggressor only whets his appetite for more violence and territorial expansion at the expense of freedom and liberty.

Mr. Speaker, our cause in Vietnam must—and will—prevail. Our goal, as the President noted, is peace. But, he reminded us:

> Peace cannot be secured by wishes; peace cannot be preserved by noble words and pure intentions.

And he added:

> Peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD President Johnson's address to the American people, as it was delivered at the National Legislative Conference in San Antonio:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE, VILLITA ASSEMBLY HALL, SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Speaker Barnes, Governor Hughes, Governor Smith, Congressman Kazen, Representative Graham, most distinguished legislators, ladies and gentlemen, I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear before an organization whose members contribute every day such important work to the public affairs of our State and of our country.

This evening I came here to speak to you about Vietnam.

I do not have to tell you that our people are profoundly concerned about that struggle.

There are passionate convictions about the wisest course for our nation to follow. There are many sincere and patriotic Americans who harbor doubts about sustaining the commitment that three Presidents and a half a million of our young men have made.

Doubt and debate are enlarged because the problems of Vietnam are quite complex. They are a mixture of political turmoil—of poverty—of religious and factional strife—of ancient servitude and modern longing for freedom. Vietnam is all of these things.

Vietnam is also the scene of a powerful aggression that is spurred by an appetite for conquest.

It is the arena where Communist expansionism is most aggressively at work in the world today—where it is crossing international frontiers in violation of international agreement; where it is killing and kidnapping; where it is ruthlessly attempting to bend free people to its will.

Into this mixture of subversion and war, of terror and hope, America has entered—with its material power and with its moral commitment.

Why?

Why should three Presidents and the elected representatives of our people have chosen to defend this Asian nation more than ten thousand miles from American shores?

We cherish freedom—yes. We cherish self-determination for all people—yes. We abhor the political murder of any state by another, and the bodily murder of any people by gangsters of whatever ideology. And for 27 years—since the days of Lend-Lease—we have sought to strengthen free people against domination by aggressive foreign powers.

But the key to all we have done is really our own security. At times of crisis—before asking Americans to fight and die to resist aggression in a foreign land—every American President has finally had to answer this question:

Is the aggression a threat—not only to the immediate victim—but to the United States of America and to the peace and security of the entire world of which we in America are a very vital part?

That is the question which Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson had to answer in facing the issue in Vietnam.

That is the question that the Senate of the United States answered by a vote of 82 to 1 when it ratified and approved the SEATO treaty in 1955, and to which the members of the United States Congress responded in a resolution that it passed in 1964 by a vote of 504 to 2, "The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Those who tell us now that we should abandon our commitment—that securing South Vietnam from armed domination is not worth the price we are paying—must also answer this question. And the test they must meet is this: What would be the consequence of letting armed aggression against South Vietnam succeed? What would follow in the time ahead? What kind of world are they prepared to live in five months or five years from tonight?

For those who have borne the responsibility for decision during these past 10 years, the stakes to us have seemed clear—and have seemed high.

President Dwight Eisenhower said in 1959: "Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. The freedom of 12 million people would be lost immediately, and that of 150 million in adjacent lands would be seriously endangered. The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom . . ."

And President John F. Kennedy said in 1962: "Withdrawal in the case of Vietnam and the case of Thailand might mean a collapse of the entire area."

A year later, he reaffirmed that: "We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there."

This is not simply an American viewpoint, I would have you legislative leaders know. I am going to call the roll now of those who live in that part of the world—in the great arc of Asian and Pacific nations—and who bear the responsibility for leading their people, and the responsibility for the fate of their people.

The President of the Philippines has this to say: "Vietnam is the focus of attention now . . . It may happen to Thailand or the Philippines, or anywhere, wherever there is misery, disease, ignorance . . . For you to renounce your position of leadership in Asia is to allow the Red Chinese to gobble up all of Asia."

The Foreign Minister of Thailand said: "(The American) decision will go down in history as the move that prevented the world from having to face another major conflagration."

The Prime Minister of Australia said: "We are there because while Communist aggression persists the whole of Southeast Asia is threatened."

President Park of Korea said: "For the first time in our history, we decided to dispatch our combat troops overseas . . . because in our belief any aggression against the Republic of Vietnam represented a direct and grave menace against the security and peace of free Asia, and therefore directly jeopardized the very security and freedom of our own people."

The Prime Minister of Malaysia warned his people that if the United States pulled out of South Vietnam, it would go to the Communists, and after that, it would only be a matter of time until they moved against neighboring states.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand said: "We can thank God that America at least regards aggression in Asia with the same concern as it regards aggression in Europe—and is prepared to back up its concern with action."

The Prime Minister of Singapore said: "I feel the fate of Asia—South and Southeast Asia—will be decided in the next few years by what happens out in Vietnam."

I cannot tell you tonight as your President—with certainty—that a Communist conquest of South Vietnam would be followed by a Communist conquest of Southeast Asia. But I do know there are North Vietnamese troops in Laos. I do know that there are North Vietnamese trained guerrillas tonight in Northeast Thailand. I do know that there are Communist-supported guerrilla forces operating in Burma. And a Communist coup was barely averted in Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world.

So your American President cannot tell you—with certainty—that a Southeast Asia dominated by Communist power would bring a third world war much closer to terrible reality. One could hope that this would not be so.

But all that we have learned in this tragic century strongly suggests to me that it would be so. As President of the United States, I am not prepared to gamble on the chance that it is not so. I am not prepared to risk the security—indeed, the survival—of this American Nation on mere hopes and wishful thinking. I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, we are greatly reducing the chances of a much large war—perhaps a nuclear war. I would rather stand in Vietnam, in our time, and by meeting this danger now, and facing up to it, thereby reduce the danger for our children and for our grandchildren.

I want to turn now to the struggle in Vietnam itself.

There are questions about this difficult war that must trouble every really thoughtful person. I am going to put some of these questions. I am going to give you the very best answers that I can give you.

First, are the Vietnamese—with our help, and that of their other allies—really making any progress? Is there a forward movement? The reports I see make it clear that there is. Certainly there is a positive movement toward constitutional government. Thus far the Vietnamese have met the political schedule that they laid down in January 1966.

The people wanted an elected, responsive government. They wanted it strongly enough to brave a vicious campaign of Communist terror and assassination to vote for it. It has been said that they killed more civilians in four weeks trying to keep them from voting before the election than our American bombers have killed in the big cities of North Vietnam in bombing military targets.

On November 1, subject to the action, of course, of the constituent assembly, an elected government will be inaugurated and an elected Senate and Legislature will be installed. Their responsibility is clear: To answer the desires of the South Vietnamese people for self-determination and for peace, for an attack on corruption, for economic development and for social justice.

There is progress in the war itself, steady progress considering the war that we are fighting; rather dramatic progress considering the situation that actually prevailed when we sent our troops there in 1965; when we intervened to prevent the dismemberment of the country by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

The campaigns of the last year drove the enemy from many of their major interior bases. The military victory almost within Hanoi's grasp in 1965 has now been denied them. The grip of the Viet Cong on the people is being broken.

Since our commitment of major forces in July 1965 the proportion of the population living under Communist control has been reduced to well under 20 percent. Tonight the secure proportion of the population has grown from about 45 percent to 65 percent—and in the contested areas, the tide continues to run with us.

But the struggle remains hard. The South Vietnamese have suffered severely, as have we—particularly in the First Corps areas in the North, where the enemy has mounted his heaviest attacks, and where his lines of communication to North Vietnam are shortest. Our casualties in the war have reached about 13,500 killed in action, and about 85,000 wounded. Of those 85,000 wounded, we thank God that 79,000 of the 85,000 have been returned, or will return to duty shortly. Thanks to our great American medical science and the helicopter.

I know there are other questions on your minds, and on the minds of many sincere, troubled Americans: "Why not negotiate now?" so many ask me. The answer is that we and our South Vietnamese allies are wholly prepared to negotiate tonight.

I am ready to talk with Ho Chi Minh, and other chiefs of state concerned, tomorrow.

I am ready to have Secretary Rusk meet with their Foreign Minister tomorrow.

I am ready to send a trusted representative of America to any spot on this earth to talk in public or private with a spokesman of Hanoi.

We have twice sought to have the issue of Vietnam dealt with by the United Nations—and twice Hanoi has refused.

Our desire to negotiate peace—through the United Nations or out—has been made very, very clear to Hanoi—directly and many times through third parties.

As we have told Hanoi time and time and time again, the heart of the matter really is this: The United States is willing to stop all aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We, of course, assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation.

But Hanoi has not accepted any of these proposals.

So it is by Hanoi's choice—and not ours, and not the rest of the world's—that the war continues.

Why, in the face of military and political progress in the South, and the burden of our bombing in the North, do they insist and persist with the war?

From many sources the answer is the same. They still hope that the people of the United States will not see this struggle through to the very end. As one Western diplomat reported to me only this week—he had just been in Hanoi—"They believe their staying power is greater than ours and that they can't lose." A visitor from a Communist capital had this to say: "They expect the war to be long, and that the Americans in the end will be defeated by a breakdown of morale, fatigue, and psychological factors." The Premier of North Vietnam said as far back as 1962: "Americans do not like long, inconclusive war . . . Thus we are sure to win in the end."

Are the North Vietnamese right about us?

I think not. No. I think they are wrong. I think it is the common failing of totalitarian regimes, that they cannot really understand the nature of our democracy: They mistake dissent for disloyalty; they mistake restlessness for a rejection of policy; they mistake a few committees for a country; they misjudge individual speeches for public policy.

They are no better suited to judge the strength and perseverance of America than the Nazis and the Stalinist propagandists were able to judge it. It is a tragedy that they must discover these qualities in the American people, and discover them through a bloody war.

And, soon or late, they will discover them.

In the meantime, it shall be our policy to continue to seek negotiations—confident that reason will some day prevail; that Hanoi will realize that it just can never win; that it will turn away from fighting and start building for its own people.

Since World War II, this nation has met and has mastered many challenges—challenges in Greece and Turkey, in Berlin, in Korea, in Cuba.

We met them because brave men were willing to risk their lives for their nation's security. And braver men have never lived than those who carry our colors in Vietnam at this very hour.

The price of these efforts, of course, has been heavy. But the price of not having made them at all, not having seen them through, in my judgment would have been vastly greater.

Our goal has been the same—in Europe, in Asia, in our own hemisphere. It has been—and it is now—peace.

And peace cannot be secured by wishes; peace cannot be preserved by noble words and pure intentions. Enduring peace—Franklin D. Roosevelt said—cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

The late President Kennedy put it precisely in November 1961, when he said: "We are neither war mongers nor appeasers, neither hard nor soft. We are Americans determined to defend the frontiers of freedom by an honorable peace if peace is possible but by arms if arms are used against us."

The true peace-keepers in the world tonight are not those who urge us to retire from the field in Vietnam—who tell us to try to find the quickest, cheapest exit from that tormented land, no matter what the consequences to us may be.

The true peace-keepers are those men who stand out there on the DMZ at this very hour, taking the worst that the enemy can give. The true peace-keepers are the soldiers who are breaking the terrorist's grip around the villages of Vietnam—the civilians who are bringing medical care and food and education to people who have already suffered a generation of war.

And so I report to you that we are going to continue to press forward. Two things we must do. Two things we shall do.

First, we must not mislead our enemy. Let him not think that debate and dissent will produce wavering and withdrawal. For I can assure you they won't. Let him not think that protests will produce surrender. Because they won't. Let him not think that he will wait us out. For he won't.

Second, we will provide all that our brave men require to do the job that must be done. And that job is going to be done.

These gallant men have our prayers—have our thanks—have our heart-felt praise—and our deepest gratitude.

Let the world know that the keepers of peace will endure through every trial—that with the full backing of their countrymen, they are going to prevail.

GI LETTER FROM VIETNAM

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we read constantly of those who advocate withdrawal from South Vietnam. We hear from those who demand that the United States stop bombing the aggressor, North Vietnam. We receive letters and petitions from many who should know the tragedy of appeasement, demanding that we quit and come home.

Mr. Speaker, all of the communications and statements that I receive urging that we quit in South Vietnam come from the continental United States—areas far removed from the fighting in South Vietnam. I have yet to receive a letter demanding that we quit from a member of our Armed Forces now engaged in combat or who has recently been engaged in fighting the ruthless aggressor in South Vietnam.

Having traveled throughout this Nation pleading for support of our men in Vietnam and pleading for unity here in the United States, the following letter from a combat soldier from my congressional district is a source of personal encouragement to me. I commend this letter, straight from a combat soldier's heart, to the attention of those who would create disunity, discord, and doubt here at home:

BEARCAT,
August 28, 1967.

DEAR MR. DORN: Received your most warm and appreciated letter today. I am very truly and honored to have such a fine man, such as yourself, representing that good old Dixie State of South Carolina, and the rest of the U.S.A.

The Reverend George Baker is truly a man of God and he believes in our policy over here as much as anyone. Just today, he sent me a small prayer book, that helps me in so many ways. I want to give him a word of thanks, because he is really a wonderful person just to give me a little of his time each week and write and send the books and etc.

I know your job in Congress has its problems like every other job, and that your job is a big burden sometimes. I know the decisions and questions that you have to decide some times.

Well Mr. Dorn, maybe I can help you see how we GIs feel about the conflict over here. We do not like to kill anyone, but the men know that they have a job to do, and believe me they do it, because we are proud. We are proud because we have something to be proud of. We have the greatest nation, the most opportunities, and last, we are free to go, and do what ever we want to do.

The G.I.'s over here have more spirit than the people back in the U.S.A.

I know this is the most downgraded conflict in our history, and many people cannot understand why we are here, and why we are fighting. If they could be in Viet Nam for a week or so and just see how the Vietnamese make their living, build their homes, and grow their food, and then see the Congs destroy their homes and everything they have in 5 minutes or see innocent children and civilians killed by bombs or mines, I believe they would change their minds about the conflict over here.

So, Mr. Dorn, you don't have to worry about us G.I.'s losing our morale, nor about Army standards because of some bearded demonstrator or someone burning their draft card. I was drafted into the Army, too, but I know when I get out shortly, I will look back over my 2 years in service and say "I did my best" and I can be proud of it the rest of my life.

I know this conflict will go on for years to come. It will just take time, that's all. I know we will win it in the end, because we have great men like yourself and President Johnson and the whole Congress who are giving us 100% backing and support. I remember you came to Whitmire High School a few years back and gave us a very good talk on Character and Respect.

Thanks again for the encouraging letter. The best of luck in all the work you do in the future.

Your friend,
SP/4c. GARY COLLIER.

BALTIMORE EXPERTS HELP SAVE ITALY'S ART

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, during March of this year, I addressed the House regarding the storms and floods which hit the city of Florence, Italy, and caused the Arno River to overflow its banks.

The world expressed its deep concern that famous treasures of art—paintings, statues, books, and other priceless art objects—were either destroyed or severely damaged. I voiced my own sympathy for the brave and artistic Italian people and strongly urged and recommended that all Americans interested in preserving the heritage of the past aid in every way they can the efforts to salvage as much as possible.

It gives me great pleasure to report to my colleagues in the Congress that, in addition to the many people of the State of Maryland who have contributed money and other help, two experts of the city of Baltimore have been working to restore the flooded Florence art treasures. They are Miss Kay Silberfeld, a young restorer from the excellent Baltimore Museum of Art, and Miss Mary Lou White, a staff restorer at the justly renowned Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

The Sun magazine, a part of the Baltimore Sun, of Sunday, October 1, 1967, published an interesting account of the work done by these two very talented artists in salvaging and restoring some of the Italian art.

Believing it to be of such general interest, I include this article in the RECORD, as follows:

HELPING SAVE ITALY'S FLOODED ART: TWO BALTIMORE EXPERTS AT RESTORATION HAVE BEEN WORKING ON FLOODED FLORENCE TREASURES

(By Vera Martin)

FLORENCE, ITALY.—As an American fund raiser had predicted—after collecting a million dollars within one week of the catastrophic Italian floods last fall—Florence is now going through a new Renaissance, but this time the United States has a hand in it.

Since that first million was raised, a great deal more money has come from all over the world to help relieve the disaster.

But money alone was not enough.

Even before the floods, the restorers in this country were understaffed, underpaid and heavily overloaded with work. For years the Italian art experts, conservators and officials complained, appealed, warned—and despaired. But nobody paid attention and many invaluable and irreplaceable treasures were slowly going to ruin.

Then, on the rainy, bleak dawn of November 4 the river Arno took over the city. Its fetid, oily waters inundated practically all the major art centers and monuments—the museums, the churches, the galleries, architectural masterpieces, as well as everything else in the heart of Florence.

In a few hours, the number of damaged art treasures that had accumulated over centuries became only an infinitesimal fraction of all the urgent restoration jobs to be done.

This time the world listened.

Among the people everywhere who heard about the floods, there were many who immediately got on the move to help. Among them was Miss Kay Silberfeld, a young restorer from the Baltimore Museum of Art.

"I was horrified," she said, when I heard the news of the disaster over the radio in Baltimore. It struck me all the more because I had been to Italy and Florence. It was hard to believe that all those magnificent works of art which I had admired ever since I was 14 were drowned in mud and water."

Kay decided that she must go to Florence as soon as possible. She talked to Charles Parkhurst, director of the Museum of Art. "We were busy at the time," she said, "but he immediately agreed to let me go." It was arranged that the museum would continue to pay her salary while she was away; the Committee to Rescue Italian Art paid her travel fare.

A Baltimore party of volunteer helpers was just about to leave for Florence and Kay was able to join it.

"I had to get ready almost at once," she said. "It was a terrible rush to gather all the equipment I wanted to take. I started out with an enormous amount of luggage, and yet I would have willingly taken another thousand things which I knew would be invaluable. I left for Italy with a curious mixture of emotions."

In Florence, it was hard work from dawn to dusk. Such elementary comforts as are usually taken for granted—water, electricity and heating—were rare. Meals tended to be erratic.

"But nobody had time to think about these things," Miss Silberfeld said. "Everyone was determined to accomplish as much as possible in the time available."

On arrival in Florence, each restorer picked an object to work on. Kay had until then been restoring only paintings. Here, however, she was attracted by the curious antique objects from the Bargello, a major museum.

One of the objects was a Sixteenth Century Venetian shield, covered with paint-decorated leather and shaped like a saddle. From the mud-ridden Bargello, Kay carried this to the Palazzo Davanzati. This stupendous Fourteenth Century palazzo was also a museum before the flood, but since then it has been turned into a well-equipped, efficient and certainly the most romantic art restoration laboratory that ever existed.

"It was exhilarating to witness and participate in the enthusiasm of all the young people of different nationalities who set up this laboratory," Kay said.

The shield that Kay "adopted" was a complicated restoration job to tackle. It had a base of wood, then a layer of gesso, a leather cover and, finally, the paint and varnish of the decorations. Each of these four materials required its own treatment.

At first Kay was able to remain in Florence only three weeks, which barely gave time to perform the first stage of restoration, the so-called acid treatment, to stop the damage from spreading. One of the worst after-effects of water damage is mold.

Restoration, like creative art, requires talent, steady application and great patience, in addition to specialized technical knowledge. And unlike a successful artist, a restorer acquires no public glamour. "But it's a marvelous satisfaction when the work comes out well," Miss Silberfeld said.

Upon special request from Signora Cristina Piacenter, in charge of the restorations at the Palazzo Davanzati, Kay returned to Florence at the beginning of summer. In August she was finishing her part of the restoration of one shield; it had been kept waiting for her return. Before it can go back to the Bargello, however, leather experts from Holland will have to come for the final stage.

Kay had another few weeks left before going back to Baltimore. Until then, she was going to work on wood sculptures—yet another new experience.

Kay shared her apartment with Miss Mary

Lou White, a staff restorer at the Walters Art Gallery. Miss White, who speaks fluent Italian, had studied restoration in Rome, Florence and London.

An expert at restoring sculptures and paintings on wood panels, she had spent some six weeks at the Fortezza da Basso, an old army barrack also converted into a restoration center.

"The work going on in the Fortezza is exciting," Mary Lou said. "The paintings often arrive in such a state that you can't even see what they are. The Italians are doing a magnificent job. Even to us, professionals, it seems a miracle the way some practically nonexistent paintings come back to life."

The flooded panels blister and come out in holes like large wounds. "The work I do is like putting jigsaw puzzles together," Miss White said. She estimates that at least 200 panels of great value are still in danger.

"The problem now is to stop further damage—the so-called first-aid treatment—so that eventually they can be properly restored. But there are far too few of us here to do this task in time."

According to Professor Umberto Baldini, head of restoration work at the Fortezza da Basso, another 50 head restorers and about 500 assistants are still needed.

Mary Lou was also leaving Florence soon, but both girls hoped to come back to do more work.

TAX INCREASE AND INFLATION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Kuykendall] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, in his weekend press conference the President said that unless his tax increase proposal is accepted there will be a tax increase anyway as the result of the inflation which would take place. Just to keep the record straight we should remind ourselves of a few facts.

Inflation is already here and the American taxpayers are hurting now because of it. Especially hard hit are those on fixed incomes and our older citizens on pensions and annuities.

We faced a national financial crisis in 1966 as the result of an $11 billion deficit. Even if the President's 10-percent surtax is enacted without a corresponding cut in Federal spending we will face a deficit of some $22 billion. The result will be that we will get a direct-tax increase, plus a hidden-tax increase caused by more inflation, because without a cut in spending, the inflationary pressures will still be with us.

The only sane course for us to follow before agreeing to a tax increase is to demand concrete proof that there will be a sizable cut in spending to bring the budget more nearly in balance.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Mize] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, during the period September 23 to 30, I had the honor of serving, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, as one of the congressional advisers at the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

I am sure that my colleagues have followed the reports on the meetings and know how constructive the discussions were in helping reach an understanding on international monetary matters.

Because it was necessary for me to be away when the House took action on several measures, I am not recorded as voting on this legislation. So that my constituents and the other Members will know exactly where I stand, I wish to offer this explanation about my position.

On rollcall 273, to provide for the election of a nonpartisan, locally elected school board for the District of Columbia, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall 274, to permit the new District of Columbia government to issue rules and regulations regarding the sale of alcoholic beverages, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall 277, the Railsback amendment to the juvenile delinquency bill, requiring block grants to the States, based on population, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall 278, the Waggonner amendment to the juvenile delinquency bill, to prohibit receipt of funds under the act by the Office of Economic Opportunity, I would have voted "yea."

Or rollcall 282, the recommittal motion on continuing appropriations, I was paired for recommittal. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall 285, establishing procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage areas, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall 287, the amendment to the Packers and Stockyards Act, I would have voted "yea."

FCC CEREMONY HONORS MR. RAYMOND TOBIAS, LYONS, KANS.—A PIONEER IN BUSINESS SERVICE TWO-WAY RADIO

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Shriver] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, this morning a ceremony was held in the offices of FCC Chairman Rosel Hyde in Washington commemorating the approval of the 100,000th license in the business radio service. The ceremony was arranged by the National Association of Business and Educational Radio, Inc., in coordination with the Federal Communications Commission, to mark the occurrence.

I wish to congratulate Mr. Raymond Tobias, head of the Tobias Dirt Construction Co., of Lyons, Kans., which is in my congressional district, who was the first licensee in the business radio service. Mr. Tobias and his wife are in Washington today for the observance. His license was granted on August 1, 1958, just a few weeks after the business radio service was created by the FCC.

It is a matter of significance and pride that this small businessman from Lyons, Kans., had the foresight and vision to recognize, even before businessmen in the big cities of our Nation, the benefits which the use of two-way radio in business could bring for him and the people he serves.

Today Mr. Tobias also utilizes two-way radio communications in his soil conservation work and in farming. In addition he is engaging in the development of channel catfish, a new and important industry in Kansas.

Mr. Speaker, the ability to contact trucks and all types of vehicles while they are in motion, and even to contact individuals, such as policemen and doctors while they are making their rounds, is one of the miracles of the century. It has opened for us a whole new vista of effective operations, not only in business but in fighting forest fires, conservation work, police work, disaster relief, and in every phase of our daily activity.

The growth in the use of this type of radio communication has been remarkable. According to the FCC's last annual report, there were over 2¼ million transmitters in the land mobile radio services and the FCC reports that applications for new ones are pouring in at the rate of almost 20,000 per month.

A report from the executive office of the President estimates that between the years 1965 and 1970 the number of transmitters in the safety and special services, about one-half of which are in the land mobile radio services, will increase from 5.3 million to 15.5 million, and by 1975 will reach the astounding number of 39 million.

These are impressive statistics and they help drive home the significance of Mr. Tobias' action in becoming the first licensee only 9 years ago. Today the 100,000th license authorization went to the Hooie Plumbing Co., of Rogersville, Ala.

In conclusion, I also want to congratulate the National Association of Business and Educational Radio on its leadership and guidance in behalf of two-way radio users in this country. Last year NABER effectively brought to the attention of the Select Committee on Small Business the plight of small businessmen and other users of two-way radio whose communications are hindered by too little frequency spectrum.

MESKILL REPORTS ON BURLINGTON POSTAL CONFERENCE

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Meskill] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, September 29, I attended a conference in Burlington, Conn., which I had arranged some weeks ago so that town officials could meet with a representative of the Post Office Department from the Boston regional office.

For almost 8 years the town of Burlington has been attempting to establish a post office. This town has been served for many years by two rural carriers out of the Unionville Post Office, two rural carriers out of the Bristol Post Office, and one rural carrier out of the Collinsville Post Office.

Burlington has been growing, as have most of the small towns in my district. The town is trying to obtain identification through its own post office. It is experiencing some difficulty with business locations and industrial acquisitions because it does not have a post office address which can be used for mailing purposes. Furthermore, the citizens of this community experience frequent mixups and delays resulting from mail being forwarded from one town to another.

In short, Mr. Speaker, Burlington, Conn., has three zip codes but no post office.

The Friday session was a most productive one and it appears that changes will be made in the postal service which will improve mail delivery to the citizens and also help to give postal identity to Burlington, Conn.

I am grateful to the Department for its cooperation and to the officials of Burlington for their understanding. Although details remain to be worked out, I am hopeful that the postal needs of this growing community will be met in a more satisfactory manner than they are at present.

A LONG-NEEDED AMENDMENT TO THE FEDERAL FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Bob Wilson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining a number of my House colleagues in introducing a long-needed amendment to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

In 1938, Congress made major changes in the act with respect to drugs, partly as a result of the proliferation of newly discovered drugs in the first four decades of this century. We are faced with the need to again make changes in the law because of the rapid development of food supplements since 1938. It is time for Congress to define for the Food and Drug Administration just exactly what the term "food supplement" means. The definition is taken from the FDA's own regulations, which were in effect until very recently.

In 1966 the Food and Drug Administration published regulations in the Federal Register altering the previous understanding of "food supplements" and drastically interfering with the freedom of individual citizens to purchase the "food supplements" of their choice. The new FDA regulations would require a warning label stating that the food supplement is, in effect, of no scientific or medical value and would establish specific guidelines with respect to the potency, number, combination, and amount or variety of any food supplement.

The Food and Drug Administration is to be lauded for its efforts on behalf of the American people with respect to impure foods, or injurious, improperly tested drugs. Such vigilance prevented the tragedy of thalidomide in this Nation. In the case of "food supplements," however, the question is not whether they are injurious to health, but whether the FDA should be permitted to imply through its regulations that "food supplements" are a waste or money. Although FDA has marshaled a mountain of statistics to show that such supplements are unnecessary for health purposes, we are also aware that statistics can be manipulated to support almost any argument.

The FDA, through its statistics and statements of facts, says that "food supplements" are not necessary if Americans eat properly. Yet, I should like to point out that the Agricultural Department, using its reservoir of statistics, reports that 48 percent of American families are deficient in at least one important nutrient in their daily diets.

My legislation would guarantee the right of Americans to purchase and use nonharmful "food supplements" of their choice. Anything less would be inconsistent with our treasured heritage of individual freedom of choice.

A RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE PRESIDENT TO PROMOTE NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION CRUSADES

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Bob Wilson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, during the summer months our Nation witnessed a spectacle of riot and destruction such as we have never experienced in our history. Anarchy reigned in large areas of our major cities until Federal troops, National Guardsmen, and police were able to quell the disturbances. We are all now searching for long-lasting solutions to prevent any more rioting in our cities.

The best way to attack a problem is to begin at the base and build from there. There is an urgent need for responsible community-level leadership to stem the tide of rabble-rousers and outside troublemakers who have invaded riot-torn cities. Such disturbances are caused by a minority in the area involved, yet all residents suffer severe consequences when their homes, schools, businesses, and churches are destroyed.

For this reason I am joining a number of my colleagues in introducing a joint resolution calling upon the President to promote neighborhood action crusades. These would be composed of local neighborhood leaders, working in their own neighborhoods on a primarily voluntary basis, in order to rally those stabilizing influences within each local community necessary to assure peace in America's cities. The text of the resolution is as follows:

H.J. Res. 862

Joint resolution to call upon the President of the United States to promote voluntary Neighborhood Action Crusades by communities to rally law-abiding urban slum dwellers in preventing riots.

Whereas the overwhelming majority of Negro Americans are dedicated citizens, strongly opposed to disorder and violence; and

Whereas the involvement of these, our fellow citizens, in keeping peace within their own neighborhoods is essential to the realization of the current crises in our cities; and

Whereas such involvement must be through voluntary citizen participation, organized and directed by local citizens at the community level; and

Whereas the President and the Congress of the United States possess the power of leadership necessary to inspire such locally controlled and directed citizen-involvement: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in *Congress assembled,*

1. That the Congress urges the President to use the persuasive powers of his office to call upon the communities to initiate a Neighborhood Action Crusade to provide continuing communication and positive direction to defuse the tensions now threatening the lives and property of urban America; and

2. That the Neighborhood Action Crusade be composed of local neighborhood leaders, working within their own areas, on a largely voluntary basis in order to rally those stabilizing influences within each local community necessary to assure peace in America's cities; and

3. That the Congress urges the President to place at the disposal of such local governments as may request assistance, such fund and equipment permitted by existing statutes and as may be necessary to support this Neighborhood Action Crusade; and

4. That is is the sense of the Congress that the Neighborhood Action Crusade shall be composed of local programs, developed, organized, and directed by local citizens for such periods of time as may be deemed advisable.

LEGISLATION TO STOP IMPLEMENTATION OF RECENT ARBITRARY FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION RULINGS ON DIETARY SUPPLEMENTS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Denney] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation designed to do two things—first, to stop the implementation of recent arbitrary Food and Drug Administration rulings restricting the addition of dietary supplements to certain foods—House Concurrent Resolution 516; second, H.R. 13249, which will give the American people a choice on how they wish to supplement their diet.

On December 14, 1966, a FDA order redefined "food supplement." Although this definition had stood for 26 years, suddenly this agency, under certain conditions, would now classify food supplements as prescription drugs.

Mr. Speaker, I have received considerable correspondence from my constituents demanding that I, as their Congressman, take action to remedy this arbitrary ruling. It is my belief that enactment of House Concurrent Resolution 516 and H.R. 13249 will provide a suitable solution for their request. For instance, one of the practices that would be affected is the addition of vitamin C to milk. Addition of this much-needed vitamin to milk has provided a low-cost method of supplementing people's diets. This is especially true in low-income areas with people who do not have sufficient funds to purchase enough fresh fruits. As my colleagues know, recent testimony before a congressional committee demonstrated the excessive profits obtained by certain drug manufacturers which have been and are extracting exorbitant prices for their products. Testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on medicare also emphasized the high cost of prescription drugs.

As too often the case, we have one agency of the Government attempting to accomplish a task and another agency engaged in activities diametrically opposed to that effort. In this case, OEO, the food stamp program, and other activities of the Federal Government are aimed at improving the diets of needy Americans. On the other hand, the effect of this ruling by FDA is to deny those very same people low-cost vitamins and nutrients.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER] may extend her remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Friday last, September 29, I was confined to my home because of illness and following the directions of our House physician, Dr. Rufus J. Pearson.

Had I been present for that day's session, I would have voted "yea" on roll No. 287, amendment of Packers and Stockyards Act.

ADMINISTRATION MUST ESTABLISH NEW PRIORITIES

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, for some weeks now the Ways and Means Committee has had under consideration the President's proposal for a 10-percent tax surcharge. An overwhelming majority of the members of the committee—Democrats and Republicans alike—have taken the position that it would be futile to enact increased taxes without at the same time correspondingly reducing the level of Government expenditures.

I am not talking about cutting out any specific program. The threatened $29 billion budgetary deficit for fiscal 1968 can be reduced by rescheduling the priorities and level of spending. Control over the level of spending rests wholly within the discretion of the President. To this extent, almost every expenditure of Government is controllable.

Nevertheless, we seem to have reached an impasse.

Over the weekend, the President is reported to have stated that he would not submit any proposals for reducing spending at this time. If I correctly judge the temper of the members of the Ways and Means Committee—and the American people—they are equally adamant in opposing a tax increase unless spending is reduced.

If the administration persists in its refusal to reduce spending, we might as well be prepared to go through another round of inflation accompanied by higher interest rates, a squeeze on the home-construction industry, and the other dislocations in the economy which occurred last fall. If this should occur, responsibility rests squarely on the administration.

I would like to review the Republican record on this issue.

As early as February 1966—when the Ways and Means Committee reported the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966 (H.R. 12752)—the Republicans urged a reappraisal of domestic spending. While generally supporting the Tax Adjustment Act, the Republicans stated:

> Notwithstanding the inclusion in the budget for fiscal 1967 of nonrecurring revenues of more than $12 billion, coupled with an unprecedented projected level of economic growth and tax revenues, the administration's budget shows a deficit of $1.8 billion. If the administration cannot present a balanced budget under these conditions, when does the administration propose to balance the budget?
>
> If there were any assurance that the war in Vietnam would not extend beyond the fiscal year 1967, there might be some justification for financing that war through a series of temporary expedients. On the contrary, however, we are told to prepare for a long struggle in Vietnam. If this is correct, and domestic spending continues even at the present level, how does the administration propose to raise the additional revenues which will be required for fiscal 1968?
>
> The administration knows that increased expenditures for social programs at home and abroad, in the face of the escalating costs of the war in Vietnam, have already created dangerous inflationary pressures. The administration may be forced to seek controls over wages, prices and credit as well as further increases in taxes, if it continues on its present course. Apparently, the administration is willing to take this risk if the "day of truth" can be postponed until after the November congressional elections.
>
> We are unalterably opposed to the fiscal policies which make it necessary to raise an additional $5 billion in revenues for fiscal 1967. Under present circumstances, however, it is our judgment that the failure to raise additional revenues at this time will increase the danger of inflation and aggravate the problems with respect to our balance of payments, gold flow, and debt management. We therefore reluctantly support this bill. We caution, however, that unless the administration and the Congress are willing to establish strict priorities for its nondefense programs, and put some of them "on the shelf" for a later day, this bill will be only the first in a series of bills increasing taxes and imposing controls on our economy.
>
> (Separate Views of Messrs. Byrnes, Curtis, Schneebeli, Collier, Broyhill (Va.), and Battin on H.R. 12752, H. Rept. No. 1285 (H.R. 12752) 89th Cong., 2d sess.)

On June 2, 1966, in reporting the bill (H.R. 15202) to provide for an increase in the public debt limit, the Republicans reiterated their concern over the fiscal policies of this administration. The Republicans said:

> From the outset, the fiscal policies adopted by this administration have been calculated to deceive the Congress and the American people. Initially, the Johnson administration adopted a cloak of frugality in Government expenditures. Expenditures for fiscal 1964 were held to $97.7 billion and expenditures for fiscal 1965 were held to $96.5 billion. Beginning in the fall of 1965, however, the administration abandoned any pretense of fiscal restraint. As a result, by fiscal 1967, the administration's reported spending will have increased to $112.8 billion. To this amount, there should be added an additional $5 or $6 billion realized from the sale of loan and other Government assets, the proceeds of which are reflected in the budget not as "receipts" but as a reduction in expenditures for fiscal 1967. We are thus faced with an expenditure budget of more than $118 billion for fiscal 1967—a $35 billion increase in the Federal spending since fiscal 1961. Less than one-third of this increase can be attributed to the war in Vietnam.
>
> It is becoming more and more apparent that the Government cannot continue to increase its spending, as the administration proposes, without disastrous consequences. The business and financial community, as well as the economists in our leading universities and industries, have expressed their concern over the inflationary pressures in the economy today. For the most part, they agree that Government spending has largely contributed to these pressures. The administration's spending policies have resulted in a rising deficit in our balance of payments, the threat to international monetary stability, a further drain on our gold reserves, and a serious problem in debt management. Now, as a final consequence the American people must stand by and watch the value of their savings being drained off by inflation.
>
> Instead of being willing to reduce expenditures, and thereby curtail these inflationary pressures, the administration suggests that a further tax increase may be needed. Such an increase cannot be justified on account of any "short fall" in Federal revenues. While differing in amount, both the Treasury Department and the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation point out that tax revenues are running well ahead of estimates made as late as January 1966. If

> a tax increase is proposed by the administration, it will only be because the administration is unwilling to recognize that, notwithstanding the record yield of our tax system, there is a limit on the amount of money Government can and should spend. For this reason, we are unalterably opposed to any further tax increase.
>
> (Separate Views of the Republicans on H.R. 15202, H. Rept. 1607 (H.R. 15202), 89th Cong. 2d sess.)

In the fall of 1966, faced with a so-called fiscal crunch, the administration requested the suspension of the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code providing for the investment credit and for accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property. While some of us supported the suspension as being necessary under the circumstances, a majority of the Republicans joined in opposing suspension of the investment credit. They pointed out again that the problem did not arise from business spending, but Government spending. In the report on this bill, those Republicans stated:

> In opposing this bill (H.R. 17607), the undersigned Republican members of the committee join in sounding a note of caution. Let no one be misled. This bill is presented by the administration to relieve the inflationary pressures confronting our economy. The basic cause of inflation is clear—excessive Government spending. Without an attack on Government spending, further inflation is inevitable. The Government has been on a spending spree. Today, we are suffering from a "hangover." What is needed is a period of restraint—not just on the part of labor or on the part of business—but on the part of Government.
>
> During the past 6 years a Democrat administration and a Democrat-controlled Congress have proceeded on the assumption that there was no deficiency in our society which the Federal purse and the heavy hand of Federal regulation could not cure. We have seen each piece of legislation beget more legislation—each new expenditure by the Federal Government beget other expenditures.
>
> The level of domestic spending—wholly apart from our defense requirements and the war in Vietnam—has increased from about $46 billion in fiscal 1965 to more than $58 billion in fiscal 1967, and it is still going up.
>
> Spending for national defense, including the war in Vietnam, as presented in the President's budget last January increased from about $50 billion in fiscal 1965 to about $61 billion in fiscal 1967. It is already clear that this is an underestimate of the true cost of the war in Vietnam. The chairman of the House Appropriations Committee recently warned the Congress to be prepared for a further increase of as much as $15 billion if the war continues.
>
> Overall the annual Government expenditures already show an increase of more than $35 billion during the past 6 years, and if we are to add another $15 billion for the Vietnam war, this will mean an increase of $50 billion. The Government will be spending $50 billion more in 1967 than it spent 6 years ago.
>
> It should be surprising to no one that this policy would bring about uncontrollable inflationary pressures. Something had to give—and it turned out to be the consumer's pocketbook.
>
> Prices for food, goods, and services have been increasing at an accelerated rate. Increases in the cost of living index exceed any period in the past 10 years.
>
> Wages have also been increasing, but the purchasing power of the wage earner has not kept pace with increases in the cost of living.
>
> Interest rates—a part of the cost which the American consumer must pay whether he is buying a house, automobile, or a household appliance—have reached the highest level in 40 years. While the dollar buys less and less, it costs more and more to borrow. The deterioration in the value of the dollar both at home and abroad has led to a steady drain on our gold reserves.
>
> * * * * *
>
> At this late date, the administration states that it proposes to reduce the amounts ordered, contracted for, or to be expended by the Federal Government in fiscal 1967 by a total of $3 billion, of which a total of $1.5 billion already has been approved by the President. In spite of repeated questioning on the part of the Republican members of the committee, the administration witnesses were unable or unwilling to substantiate these claims. They refused to identify a single reduction. The promised $3 billion reduction in expenditures—or commitments—is a reduction from an unknown and unidentified expenditure budget. It is wholly illusory. We have no assurance that the administration will, in fact, cut back on its domestic spending programs.
>
> (Dissenting Views of Messrs. Curtis, Utt, Betts, Schneebeli, and Collier, H. Rept. 2087 (H.R. 17607), 89th Cong. 2d sess.)

As one of the first acts of this Congress, we were called upon to enact a further increase in the debt limit. In the report on that bill (H.R. 4573) on February 6, 1967, we said:

> The exigencies of the war in Vietnam made it imperative that the administration exercise fiscal restraint. Instead, in order to get the Congress to provide the "butter," the administration deliberately understated the cost of the "guns." The administration came to the Congress with a proposed budget for fiscal 1967 which understated expenditures by at least $15 billion. The administration now admits this.
>
> This bill (H.R. 4573) is the price tag which the American people are being called upon to pay for the failure of the administration to disclose to the Congress and to the American people a year ago the cost which would be incurred in fighting a major war in Vietnam. After refusing for the past 12 months to disclose to the Congress—and to the American people—the true state of the Government's finances, so that the Congress might take appropriate steps to alleviate the problem, the administration now comes pleading an emergency. With threats of dire consequences if the Congress should fail to act promptly, we are called upon to provide forthwith an additional $6 billion of borrowing authority.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Not only did the administration fail to exercise fiscal restraint, but it kept from the Congress the information on which the Congress might have exercised such restraint. The conclusion is inescapable that it has been the gross mismanagement of the fiscal affairs of the Nation by the administration, if not actual bad faith in its dealings with the public and the Congress, which necessitates a further increase in the public debt at this time.
>
> * * * * *
>
> (Separate Views of the Republicans on H.R. 4573, H. Rept. No. 4, 90th Cong., 1st sess.)

Last June—just a few months ago—another increase in the public debt limit was brought to this body. The first time, the bill (H.R. 10328) was voted down. At that time the Republicans again urged a review of the budget. In the report of June 2, 1967, accompanying that bill the Republicans said:

> THREAT OF $29 BILLION DEFICIT REQUIRES BUDGET REVIEW
>
> Facing a deficit of this magnitude, the administration and the Congress should "stop, review, and revise" our whole fiscal policy. The impact of such a deficit on our economy could be disastrous.
>
> In a recent statement at Rochester, N.Y., the chairman of this committee emphasized the need for reappraisal. After pointing out that in the absence of a reappraisal, the budget deficit for fiscal 1968 could go as high as $29.2 billion, the chairman said:
>
> "I again emphasize tonight that we must continually reevaluate existing expenditure programs in the light of a very objective measurement of the benefits which they convey and the costs which they will impose. Every new program should be viewed not in terms of its first year cost alone, but in terms of what its cost will be 5 years from now, 10 years from now, or perhaps 15 years from now. It is only by this process that the full impact of spending programs can be objectively evaluated in terms of their demands upon the entire economy."
>
> The administration in January submitted a budget for fiscal 1968 showing a deficit of $8.1 billion. Presumably, the priority of expenditures in the budget were evaluated on that basis. If it now appears that without remedial action the deficit may run as high as $29.2 billion, as the chairman of this committee estimates, the reappraisal of all expenditures and the adoption of new priorities are absolutely essential.
>
> (Separate Views of the Republicans on H.R. 10328, H. Rept. 331, (H.R. 10328) 90th Cong. 1st sess.)

When a second bill (H.R. 10867), was brought to the floor a couple of weeks later, we reiterated this view. Pointing out the danger of a threatened deficit running as high as $30 billion, we said:

> REVIEW OF FISCAL POLICY ONLY RESPONSIBLE COURSE
>
> In the face of a deficit running as high as $30 billion—and notwithstanding the action of the House in rejecting a similar bill on June 7—the administration steadfastly refuses to discuss means either for reducing expenditures or for improving the revenues. The administration seeks to ignore the dangers facing our economy. Without regard to the consequences, the administration persists in its refusal to change its spending plans. Under the circumstances, we have no alternative except to oppose this legislation. It is the only responsible course open to the Congress.
>
> Certainly, something must be done to prevent the debt ceiling from reverting to $285 billion on June 30, as provided for in existing law. Before doing more, however, it is equally important—and responsible—to insist upon a review both of expenditures and revenues—a reconsideration of priorities. That is the only responsible course in the face of the magnitude of the threatened deficit.
>
> (Separate Views of the Republicans on H.R. 10867, H. Rept. 368 (H.R. 10867), 90th Cong. 1st sess.)

I wanted to present these excerpts from prior statements by the Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee—not merely to show where the blame rests for our present fiscal mess—but to make clear to the administration the Republican position in regard to the fiscal policy the Nation should pursue.

To increase taxes without reducing expenditures will not get at the root of our problem. Such action will merely provide more money for the administration to spend, without requiring any reduction in the deficit.

My position is clear. The magnitude of the threatened deficit is such that neither expenditure reduction nor increased taxes standing alone will solve the problem. I am convinced that the best interests of our people would be served by a course of action which resulted in both reduced expenditures and increased Federal revenues. I am not willing, however, to impose additional taxes on the American people while the administration persists in its refusal to take constructive action in order to reduce the level of Federal spending.

AIR POLLUTION DAMAGE TO PLANTS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GUDE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] held hearings before his subcommittee of the House District of Columbia Committee on our legislation to provide for the control and elimination of air pollution in the District.

Last week, in connection with our legislation, I went to Beltsville, Md., where Dr. H. E. Heggestad, head of the air pollution laboratories at Agriculture Research Service, is doing commendable scientific work on the effects of air pollution on plants. To say the very least, Dr. Heggestad's findings are alarming.

I think my colleagues both from the suburbs and the cities will be interested in the contents of the following article from the April 1967 issue of Grounds Maintenance magazine concerning air pollution damage to plants. It gives a good description of what has been and is being done in this area of research so vital to our attack on air pollution.

The article follows:

AIR POLLUTION DAMAGE TO PLANTS

Air pollution is on the increase all across the United States. Major cities get most of the publicity, but you can find damage to vegetation in the open country near ore smelters, pulp and paper mills, coal and petroleum burning furnaces, fertilizer and other industrial plants and wherever vehicle traffic is heavy.

There are areas in the United States and foreign countries near ore processing plants where nothing can grow, not even a blade of grass.

The visible air pollution damage to vegetation in California has been estimated at more than $13 million annually (only $500,000 in 1953), affecting over 12,000 square miles. An estimated $18 million in visible damage occurs annually along the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to New York and Philadelphia to Norfolk, Va. Estimated national losses to crops and ornamentals from air pollution amount to $325 million each year.

Losses include both visible injury—foliage discoloration, stunting, abortion of blossoms, reduction in yield or quality, die-back of twigs and branches or death—as well as hidden injury—delayed maturity, early leaf drop, slow decline in vigor and growth suppression.

Smog first became known because of its damaging effects on vegetation. Plants make excellent indicators and compose a vast air-pollutant monitoring network.

Air pollution injury to plants, however, may be confused with disease, insect damage, nutritional imbalance in the soil, neglect and adverse effects of temperature or wind.

Since plants are much more sensitive to smog, sulfur dioxide and other pollutants than human beings and animals, they can serve as warning devices. Once air pollutant injury can be recognized, it will be possible to determine what toxicants are or were in the air, at what time and even the approximate concentrations. Plants become graphic records of the time and nature of past pollutants since each toxic gas produces different symptoms on different plants.

Many factors govern the extent of plant injury as well as the areas in which air pollution occurs. The kind and concentration of the pollutant depends upon the type and location of industry, fuel use and number of motor vehicles. Other factors include the distance from the source, length of time exposed, city size and location, meteoroligical conditions, land contour and drainage, soil fertility and moisture, age of leaf tissues, time of year, plant species and varieties grown.

Air pollution damage usually is greatest in clear, still, humid weather when barometric pressure is high. Toxicants build up near the earth when warm air aloft traps cooler air at ground level. This is called air inversion.

The most important plant-affecting air pollutants are sulfur dioxide, fluorides, ozone, oxidant damage or smog and ethylene. Other pollutants—hormone-type herbicides such as the vapors of 2,4-D, 2,4,5-T, MCPA and related chemicals, ammonia and chlorine fumes, nitrogen oxides, sulphuric acid mist, dust from cement plants and injury from manufactured illuminating gas—are not included in this discussion.

SULFUR DIOXIDE

Sulfur dioxide (SO_2) is the most widely known and studied air pollutant. It is formed by the combustion of nearly all fuels.

Exposure of broad-leaved plants results in dry, papery, white to straw-colored, irregular, marginal or interveinal blotches in the leaves. Yellowing or chlorosis and a gradual bleaching of surrounding tissues is fairly common. Injured grass blades develop long, light tan to white streaks. A reddish-brown die-back occurs at the tips of conifer leaves, usually with adjacent yellowish areas. Damage is easily confused with winter, drought or mite injury.

Damage to sensitive plants may occur at ½ part of SO_2 in 1 million parts of air (0.5 ppm). (1 part per million, 1 ppm, equals 1 ounce of salt in 62,500 pounds of sugar, 1 inch in nearly 16 miles, 1 minute in about 2 years, a 1-gm. needle in a 1-ton haystack or 1 penny in $10,000.)

Very sensitive plants include crabapple, aspen, birch, Douglas fir, hawthorn, larch, sumac, tulip, violet, smartweed, ragweed and curly dock. Somewhat resistant plants include maples, privet and pines.

FLUORIDES, HYDROFLUORIC ACID (F–)

Fluorides occur in smoke from the manufacture of certain metals, ceramics and superphosphate. Fluorides typically cause a killing (scorching) of the tips and margins of leaves of broad-leaved plants and a "tipburn" of grasses and conifer needles. The tips of gladioli leaves turn white or yellow. A sharp reddish-brown or yellowish line may occur between living and injured tissues. Citrus leaves develop a yellow mottling or spotting prior to the typical burning. Injured areas in stone fruit (apricot, plum and peach) leaves may drop out leaving irregular shot holes.

Young succulent growth is most easily injured. Leaf-fluoride concentrations of 50 to 200 parts per million usually result in injury, although resistant plant species or varieties will tolerate concentrations of 500 ppm.

Very sensitive varieties of gladioli such as Shirley Temple and Picardy are injured by 0.1 ppb (parts per billion) of fluorides. (1 part per billion, 1 ppb, equals 1 inch in nearly 1,600 miles, 1 drop in 20,000 gallons, 1 ounce of dye in 7,530,000 gallons of water, 1 pound in 500,000 tons or 1 second of time in over 322 years.) Other more resistant varieties of gladioli can tolerate 100 times or more this amount F- in the air.

Sensitive plants include crabgrass, gladoli, iris, grape, Chinese apricot, Italian prune, peach, white and yellow pines, larch and citrus. Resistant plants include roses and pigweed. A tremendous variation exists in susceptibility to fluorides among varieties of the same plant.

OZONE

Ozone is a by-product of numerous manufacturing processes, causing collapse, killing of tissue, markings on the upper leaf surface known as stipple (pigment usually red-brown to black), flecking (white to straw-colored), chlorosis or bleaching. Growth is stunted and leaves drop early.

Injury occurs to most sensitive plants when exposed to air levels above 0.15 ppm of ozone.

Sensitive plants include lawn grasses, grape and white pine. Resistant plants include gladioli, geraniums and citrus. Great differences in susceptibility to ozone are often expressed by varieties or clones of the same plant. An active breeding program to develop ozone-resistant varieties of plants is in progress.

Ozone and sulfur dioxide can combine to cause injury at much lower concentrations that either pollutant could cause acting alone. Ozone damage is often found in combination with oxidant damage or smog in the Los Angeles area.

OXIDANT DAMAGE OR SMOG

Oxidant damage or smog was originally described in 1950 in the Los Angeles area. Many chemical compounds and reactions are involved, including precursors, but peroxyacetyl nitrate or PAN has been identified as the principal toxicant. PAN is now known to be a serious air pollutant in and around major cities where organic fuels are combusted in large quantities and vehicular traffic is heavy. Injury may increase as the temperature rises.

The typical leaf marking is a distinctive silvering, glazing or bronzing of the underleaf surface. Injury is often seen as a cross-leaf banding rather than as a blotching or streaking as associated with sulfur dioxide. In grass leaves, the collapsed tissue appears bleached, with tan to yellow lengthwise bands. Conifer needles turn yellow. Petunia leaves show whitish areas near the tip, in the middle or at the base. PAN exposure also results in stunting, early maturity or senescence, followed by early leaf drop. These latter symptoms are common on citrus, elms or other trees. Invisible damage may be more widespread than realized at present.

Very sensitive plants are lawn grasses, Swiss chard and petunias. Pansies are resistant. Atmospheric "oxidant" concentrations above 0.2 ppm are known to result in plant damage.

ETHYLENE

Ethylene once was a problem in greenhouses where manufactured gas was used in heating. With the shift to oil and natural gas, this problem is no longer serious, except where ethylene is an air pollutant.

Damage to broad-leaved plants occurs as a drooping of leaves and shoots, early leaf and petal fall, chlorosis, stunting and a more spreading type of growth. Specific diseases due to ethylene are "sleepiness" in carnations, dry sepal in Cattleya and other orchids and blasting of rose buds. Damage somewhat resembles 2,4–D in certain plants.

Very sensitive plants include sweetpea, narcissus, snapdragon, orchids and carnations. Grasses are resistant. Orchids are injured at ethylene concentrations of 5 parts per billion or less. Exposure to 0.1 ppm causes injury to sweetpeas.

CONTROL

The solution to air pollution is not easy and involves enforced use of "blow-by" and other devices on automobiles, stopping emission at the manufacturing plant, state and federal legislation, plant breeding, a shift to growing less susceptible plants, passing air through activited carbon filters in greenhouses and possible spraying of high value crops.

Sprays of Ozoban or other ascorbic acid products, as well as fungicides containing zineb, maneb, ferbam, thiram and dichlone often reduce damage from oxidized hydrocarbons. Calcium oxide sprays prevent fluorides injury.

CONTROL METHODS

To learn how to best combat the problem, the Agricultural Research Service has established a new Plant Air Pollution Laboratory at Beltsville, Md.

Basic research in the laboratory will be directed toward a better understanding of how air pollutants act an agronomic, horticultural and ornamental plants; and toward developing methods for controlling damage to plants.

Until now, the ARS air pollution research at Beltsville has been limited to the effects of pollutants on tobacco plants. The new lab will enable scientists to expand the research to include a broad spectrum of plants—both cultivated and wild.

Initially, the scientists will use oats, alfalfa, petunias and beans as test plants. These are representative species known to be sensitive to air pollutants. Tobacco plants will be closely coordinated with other studies at Beltsville and ARS air pollution research in cooperation with the U.S. Public Health Service at Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

H. E. Heggestad, ARS plant pathologist and a pioneer in research on air pollution damage to tobacco plants, will head the new laboratory, to be staffed eventually with five scientists of various disciplines.

The scientists will concentrate on air pollutants in photochemical smog, including ozone, pheroxyacetyl nitrate (PAN), sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide. Fuel combustion and auto exhausts produce the major portion of these pollutants.

In their research, the scientists will:

Characterize pathologic, physiologic and biochemical changes induced in plants by air pollutants.

Study the effects of pollutants on plant pigments and stomatal action and their relation to premature development of leaves and yield and quality of flowers, fruits and seeds.

Identify species and varieties that are resistant or susceptible to air pollutants. Until the level of air pollution can be reduced by prevention at the source, identification and development of resistant plants is probably the best method of controlling damage.

Further explore the possibility of using chemicals as antioxidants to reduce damage.

Special fumigation chambers in the laboratory will help the scientists better understand what air pollutants do to plants. In these chambers, plants can be exposed to specific levels of pollutants for specific time periods.

The laboratory will also include greenhouses equipped with special carbon filters that will remove most of the air pollutants in photochemical smog from incoming air. Performance of plants grown under filtered air will be compared with plants grown under non-filtered air.

Carbon filtered greenhouses are now used experimentally and commercially in some parts of California. Research at Beltsville indicates that they may be necessary along the Eastern seaboard for growing sensitive plants without serious injury from polluted air

WASHINGTON POST PERFORMING OUTSTANDING PUBLIC SERVICE IN EXPOSING THE SECOND MORTGAGE RACKET IN HOME IMPROVEMENTS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the series of articles which began Saturday in the Washington Post by Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell on the victimization of low-income families in Washington by fast-buck operators peddling home improvement contracts, which turn out to be mortgages on the property at unconscionably inflated prices, is journalism at its best.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs and as the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Housing of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I am not a bit surprised by any of the information Mr. Downie and Mr. Jewell have brought to light. The names or individual cases may be different, but the pattern is one we are thoroughly familiar with.

I was glad to see a report over the weekend that the ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] wants to see legislation enacted to block these vicious practices. He has always opposed second mortgage rackets, I know.

TRUTH IN LENDING MUST COVER ALL MORTGAGES TO BE EFFECTIVE

Mr. Speaker, there is an excellent opportunity before the Committee to help solve this problem through the passage of effective—and I repeat the word, "effective"—truth-in-lending legislation. The bill which passed the Senate, S. 5, which the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] and some other minority members of the committee are cosponsoring in the House, would solve some of the problems brought to light by the Washington Post as they relate to disclosure of finance charges on second and third mortgages, and to balloon notes, blank contracts, and all of the other fraudulent practices described in these cases.

But S. 5 and Mr. WIDNALL's companion bill, H.R. 11602, exempt "first mortgages." As those of us who have sponsored the consumer credit protection bill, H.R. 11601, have repeatedly pointed out in our hearings, unconscionable contracts, such as the Downie-Jewell articles have been describing, become first mortgages whenever a previous mortgage is retired.

ELDERLY OWNING HOMES FREE AND CLEAR OFTEN VICTIMS

Elderly couples who have paid for their homes over the years and then find they do not have the funds for costly repairs are frequently victimized by the kind of schemes reported by the Washington Post. But under H.R. 11602 and similar truth-in-lending bills sponsored by six of the 12 members of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, such mortgages would nevertheless be exempt from finance charge disclosure requirements as long as they were "first" mortgages. On the other hand, under the Sullivan-Gonzalez - Minish - Annunzio - Bingham-Halpern bill, H.R. 11601, and H.R. 11806 introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] and numerous other Members, they would not be exempt.

Mr. Speaker, following is the first article in the Washington Post series on mortgage racketeering, telling how low-income families purchasing homes of their own were sold improvement contracts which ended up costing them far, far more than they had been led to believe, at interest and finance charges bordering on the fantastic:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 30, 1967]

HOMEOWNERS LOSE MILLIONS IN MORTGAGE SCHEMES HERE—100 SUITS STIR PROBE BY FOUR U.S. AGENCIES

(By Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell)

Hundreds of low-income Negro homeowners in Washington are complaining that they are being bilked in second mortgage schemes that Federal authorities say net more than $1 million a year.

In more than 100 suits filed in General Sessions and U.S. District Court here, homeowners allege that these mortgages deeds of trust were obtained by a dozen home improvement businesses here through high-pressure salesmanship, fraud and, in many cases, false notarization. Two officers of one company have already been indicted for forging signatures of eight homeowners on deeds of trust.

A four-month investigation by a team of reporters from The Washington Post revealed that some second mortgages obtained here have been sold at a discount to a national credit firm. This company is also involved heavily in second mortgage business in Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, Columbus, Texas, Indiana and New Jersey.

The home improvement companies who obtained the mortgages—and the creditors who bought and are now collecting on them—are being investigated by United States Postal Inspectors, the Federal Housing Authority, the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice.

The second mortgage practices have been going on since 1962, and many millions of dollars are involved.

INDICTMENTS EXPECTED

In the wake of this newspaper's investigation, U.S. Attorney David G. Bress said he expected indictments in the cases here within two weeks.

In case after case in Washington, home owners are being forced to pay exorbitantly or lose their homes:

Two elderly blind women who are paying $7500 plus interest say all they received was a black-and-white portable television set and installation of a small gas heater and a rusting radiator, worth a few hundred dollars.

A retired couple in their 70s told reporters they ended up with $15,000 in mortgages after having $7,500 in old mortgages paid off and an "American Townehouse Front" installed, which consisted mostly of aluminum siding, put on the upper part of the house front, paint on the rest, and a new front door.

A 67-year-old charwoman has two mortgages on her home totaling $9000 as a result of two cash loans she received that totaled $5000.

TEN LOSE HOMES

At least ten families facing similar debts have lost their homes through foreclosures here in the past two years. Scores more are fighting in court to save their houses.

Many other homeowners who signed contracts for home improvements with any of a dozen local firms did not know—until contacted by reporters from The Washington Post—that their signatures were also on mortgages on their homes filed with the D.C. Government.

When questioned by reporters, these nearly 100 homeowners—selected at random from District real estate records—voiced nearly identical complaints as those found in the court suits.

The United State's Attorney's office here first began receiving complaints about some of these firms more than two years ago. Two isolated indictments—charging the officers of one firm with forgery and the notary public for another with false notarization—were handed down early this year.

[The practices complained of do not affect most of the several hundred home improvement contractors licensed to do business in the District. These contractors are reputable businessmen whose work is financed conventionally through normal commercial channels.]

On March 30, Federal investigators sent United States Attorney Bress a lengthy report on the activities of one firm.

The report also contained a strong indication that there were many other firms in the District engaged in similar schemes.

FRAUD SQUAD SETUP

In July, after The Washington Post investigation began at the courthouse, Bress decided to set up a special fraud squad in his office to work on the case "because of the voluminous nature of the investigation."

Bress said this week that the fraud charges are "not the crimes of violence that I am now primarily interested in, of course, but it is the kind of illegal conduct we will look into."

Named in many court suits as offenders are Custom House Construction Co., Monarch Construction Co., United Mortgage Co. (trading as Bankers Mortgage Co.) and United Home Enterprises Corporation.

A majority of the financial paper from these firms involved in litigation here has been sold the Atlas Credit Corp., of Philadelphia, a giant credit firm listed on the New York Stock Exchange, which was recently renamed Sunasco, Inc., as the result of a merger. Sunasco lists assets of $400 million.

The pattern was this:

The home improvement firm would sell the paper at a discount to a local Atlas broker. He in turn would sell it at a discount to Atlas in Philadelphia which would then turn it over to a wholly owned subsidiary company to make collections.

Two Federal agencies (the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice) are looking into Atlas' activities in a number of cities, including Washington.

Suits have been filed against four other local firms which also allegedly originated or passed on debt paper to Atlas during the past two years. Some other firms that have sold such paper to Atlas have gone out of business during that time. In some cases their officers have helped start other firms that have also dealt with Atlas.

NOTARY SUIT CITED

First public attention to these schemes came last year when one notary public from Maryland pleaded guilty in U.S. District Court here to falsely notarizing two D.C. mortgages in favor of Custom House Construction Co.

Deeds attested by the notary, Louise Beane, are involved in five suits filed by homeowners against Custom House. The suits say that no notary public was present when they signed, as the law requires.

One lawyer representing eight homeowners filed damage suits claiming a "money lending scheme" involving Atlas Credit Corp. of Philadelphia and Bankers Mortgage Co. of 722 11th st. nw.

That lawyer, like many others who pressed their charges of fraud vigorously, won settlement exceptionally favorable to his clients.

Government investigators say that much of the financial paper generated by Custom House was sold for more than a 40 per cent discount, and some of it has been discounted by as much as 60 per cent.

CANVASS BY PHONE

Here is how some of the home improvement companies have worked:

They canvassed low-income Negro neighborhoods, generally by phone, seeking people interested in anything from home improvements to television sets, air conditioning or carpeting.

The telephone canvassing is usually done by women who use real estate directories and cross-indexes listing phone numbers by street address. One company called 6000 homes in 28 months.

A visit by a salesman usually occurs, complete with sales talk, and the quotation of a low price. The suits claim that some fast shuffling of papers to be signed follows.

If the homeowner is buying a product, it is delivered quickly. In the case of home improvements, work begins promptly. Weeks later, a payment book arrives in the mail from a finance firm the homeowner has never heard of.

PAYMENTS SOAR

If the homeowner bothers to multiply the monthly payments by the number of months he must pay, in some cases he may find the principal owed is anywhere from double to four times the amount he thought he had signed up for.

If he protests, he discovers that not only has he signed a note for this amount, but that he also has signed a deed to his home, and that there is not much he can do about it.

The holder of the deed (the firm that sent the payment book) has bought the note and mortgage and thus can claim that it is a "holder in due course." The law presumes that a holder in due course is entitled to his money, since he has paid for the paper "in good faith." He is merely the financier, and quality of work, for instance, is not his problem. The original salesmen, in effect, wash their hands of the affair.

DEBTS "CONSOLIDATED"

In some cases, a homeowner protests he can't afford whatever it is the salesman is selling because he already is heavily in debt.

At that point he is told he will be "helped" by debt consolidation.

The salesman arranges for him to get a loan to pay off all his old debts and also cover the cost of work to be done or an item purchased.

He is then told that the new monthly payment will be less than the combination of all the previous monthly payments on the other debts.

Sometimes, a few hundred extra dollars is added to the note for the homeowner to use as he pleases.

After the deal is signed, the homeowner sometimes finds the debts are not paid off and he winds up with a large new debt plus some of his old ones.

LOSS OF HOMES LIKELY

Scores of homeowners are in danger of losing their homes over the next few years bebecause of a clause in the contracts relating to the method of financing involved.

It is called balloon payment and works like this:

Say a note is signed which, including interest and finance charges, totals $7000 to be repaid in five years.

The payments are $50 a month. Sixty months times $50 equals $3000.

This leaves $4000 yet to be paid. The clause in the fine print says that the full note is due and payable on the same day as the final payment.

In other words, if the victim cannot come up with the extra $4000 on month number 60 he can lose his home.

PRESSURE ON LOANS

Balloon payments are an accepted part of many bank mortgage loans. Most borrowers understand how balloon payments work, though, and assume they would be in a position to refinance their notes when they fall due. In the cases involved here, the homeowners often do not understand the meaning of the balloon payment arrangement.

In some cases in which banks make loans insured by the Federal Housing Authority to customers of the home improvement firms, the homeowner is pressured into signing a certificate that the work has been completed long before the work is done. The FHA warns homeowners against signing before completion.

The reason the firms press for the signatures is that banks will release loan money to the firms only after a signed certificate is presented.

BANKS HELD NEGLIGENT

Another factor working for the home improvement firms has been the apparent failure of some banks to investigate thoroughly the firms they regularly do business with.

According to FHA regulations, this investigation should find if the home improvement firm is "reliable, financially responsible and qualified to perform satisfactorily the work to be financed."

Thus the FHA is now investigating some of the local home improvement firms, as are the postal inspectors. The post office is involved because some of the firms advertised in newspapers that travel through the mail.

In 1961, the District Commissioners drew up regulations requiring local home improvement firms to register at the District Building and, when registered, to keep their sales practices within detailed guidelines.

The regulations have a loophole, though, according to an official of the District's Department of Licenses and Inspections. The rules say that firms do not need licenses if they do not collect their money until jobs are completed—precisely what some of these firms are doing: getting money after completion certificates are signed.

Several of the firms have registered anyway, but none has been prosecuted for violating the regulations.

A WOMAN'S COSTLY BARGAIN

One homeowner who signed up for more than she bargained for is Lucy Kinard, above. Mrs. Kinard is blind, and lives with her 76-year-old mother, Mary Williams, who is partially blind, at 1103 5th st. nw. She says that she and her mother bought a portable television set for her nephew and had a gas hot water heater and a radiator installed. The total cost, she thought, was $900, so she and her mother made their marks on a contract for that amount.

Soon afterward, Mrs. Kinard says, a man called her to tell her he had bought a note and a deed of trust against their home for $7500, plus 7 per cent interest. She told the man she hadn't signed for that much and couldn't afford to pay. Then, she says, the noteholder came to the house and threatened to foreclose on the mortgage.

Unable to afford a lawyer, Mrs. Kinard, who is 56, and her mother, are now paying $50 a month on the note, in addition to payments on a first mortgage. They have now made 15 payments on the note, but still owe $7402.34 on the principal. The note was discounted, by the way, and the noteholder's price for it was $3494.

SECOND ARTICLE IN WASHINGTON POST SERIES QUOTES COURT RECORDS

Mr. Speaker, the second article in the series by Washington Post reporters Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell on mortgage rackets in the home improvement field appeared in yesterday's newspaper.

In addition to numerous interviews, the two writers went to the court records to find sworn statements on the methods allegedly used by home improvement salesmen in signing them up for work on their homes resulting in extremely high credit costs. This article follows:

FIRM DUPED THEM, SAY RESIDENTS

(By Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell)

A current Washington ghetto synonym for "you've been had" is "you've been Monarched."

The genesis of the term goes back to 1963, when the Monarch Construction Company began its massive canvassing here of low- and middle-class homeowners, selling private "urban renewal": the "American Townehouse Front," other home improvements, debt consolidation, the works.

By the beginning of last year—after Monarch disbanded and its president, Nathan H. Cohen, left town—Monarch had sold contracts to hundreds of Washington homeowners and grossed $2.5 million, according to one estimate.

Cohen said yesterday he would not answer any questions about Monarch operations, whether the company was still in business, or about court suits alleging fraud.

He was reached in Baltimore where he and his mother, who was also a Monarch officer, operate the Baltimore Business School, 303 E. Fayette st., a computer training school.

In more than 25 civil suits in General Sessions and U.S. District Courts here, homeowners have charged that Monarch used high-pressure salesmanship and fraud to get their signatures on contracts and home mortgages.

Monarch's Townehouse Front usually is a combination of white aluminum siding, black aluminum shutters, new windows and door, carriage lamps and trim put on the front of a row house. It can look handsome from a distance, but some owners have complained that the work is shoddy and deteriorating.

Interviews with dozens of Monarch customers draw similar complaints: the Monarch salesman mentioned something about urban renewal and being forced to make improvements; the Townehouse Front looked so nice in the photographs; there were apparent endorsements of Monarch by Negro leaders and Congressmen; there were so much shuffling and signing of papers; finally, there was the debt—often thousands of dollars more than the price they remembered quoted or the worth of the job. Almost always, the note was secured by a deed of trust.

In a civil suit in the Court of General Sessions, Judge Catherine B. Kelly found that Monarch was guilty of using "fraudulent representation" to procure the signature of Alberta K. Smith, 778 Irving st. nw., on a home improvement contract.

Mrs. Smith testified that the Monarch salesman said he was a "representative of urban renewal," that her home "would not be torn down" if she signed the contract and that "urban renewal" would pay $2000 of its cost.

When she called the Redevelopment Land Agency the next day, she testified, she was told it had no connection with Monarch. Mrs. Smith called Monarch immediately and ordered the firm not to do any work.

Monarch sued her for the contract price of $4500. Judge Kelly in July, 1966, awarded Mrs. Smith $1525 punitive damages instead. She has not been able to collect.

Monarch might be termed the "granddaddy" of the nearly dozen firms here that have engaged in second mortgage schemes. A number of companies are under investigation by four Federal agencies and by the U.S. Attorney's office.

Usually, Monarch got the customer's signature on a mortgage to his home, too. Several homeowners complained in the court suits and interviews with reporters that they did not know they were signing mortgages, that no notary public was present, or that the amount of the debt was not the same or did not cover all the work as they had been told.

When Monarch obtained mortgage loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration through a reputable bank, the amount was usually $3500 total cost for the job plus $837 financing charges.

MAXIMUM ALLOWED

The final $4337 amount on the mortgage is the maximum allowed by the FHA under its Title I home improvement program. Usually the customer received the American Townhouse Front which, court suits show, cost Monarch about $1500.

The FHA allows 15 per cent overhead and 40 per cent profit. This would total about $2500 for a Townhouse Front. Monarch usually charged about $3500, plus interest.

Like the customers of nearly a dozen other home improvement firms investigated by reporters from The Washington Post in the past four months, the homeowners who were "Monarched" must pay or lose their homes.

At least three homeowners have lost their homes after signing Monarch contracts. At least six more are in court trying to stave off foreclosures.

Clarence and Georgia Winters, who live in a modest row house at 1102 Park st., ne., are trying to fight that inevitable fate.

Winters, 61, has worked as a skilled laborer for a Washington construction firm for 20 years. His wife, who is 54, has worked for the past seven years as a cook for Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

GOOD CREDIT RECORD

In buying furniture, appliances and cars on time over the years, the Winterses have maintained a good credit record. During the 16 years they lived in the house on Park Street, they whittled the first trust on their home down to less than $1000. That is, until Monarch came along in December, 1964.

What happened since to the Winterses is recounted by them under oath in separate depositions filed in their suit in the U.S. District Court:

A woman had called Mrs. Winters talking about improvements to be made in her neighborhood. It was not until two men came to her house a few days later that she knew the call came from Monarch. (Monarch is believed to have called 6000 homeowners while it was in business.)

The salesmen "were so friendly and nice" and showed them photographs of other Negro homeowners, some prominent Washington Negroes and homes "improved" with an American Townhouse Front.

"They said that Roy Wilkins sent them there," Mrs. Winters attested.

One salesman "said he was going to do the whole entire front, and he was going to remove the windows and give us new windows, and build a brick wall all around the front, and a cement porch, and the aluminum siding."

The Winterses said their kitchen was what really needed work. The salesman told them that the kitchen work would be included, too, and the whole job would be $2000 cheaper than usual "by letting him write it up in December."

The Winters family says the prices quoted that night and on other nights by Monarch salesmen varied from $2500 to $4000. They said they signed one set of contracts the first night, which were taken away from them and replaced by others when the salesmen came back later.

Then, one night three months later, the salesmen came to the Winters home again and asked the couple to sign the top page of a "big pad" of documents.

In their depositions, the Winters couple states further that one of the men identified himself as Nathan Cohen and explained that the other papers were copies of the top page.

"It is just as much for your benefit as it is for mine," Mrs. Winters says Cohen told her as they sat at the dining room table. "We have to get some more copies."

When Winters asked why so many copies were necessary, a man who had accompanied Cohen told Winters to "calm down, you're getting all upset." He took Winters into another room to look at the Winters furniture. The man told him that some of it appeared to be "antiques."

Cohen placed the thick pad in front of Mrs. Winters and told her to "press hard, press real hard," according to her deposition. When Winters came back into the room, he saw his wife's signature and signed himself.

It was only later, the Winterses said, when they got a payment book from Citizens Building and Loan Association of Silver Spring, that they discovered their signatures were on a mortgage (deed of trust) on their home for $4337 and on a completion certificate for the work.

As work progressed on their home, the Winterses found several things that displeased them: cement splashed on the front door, rags and other refuse left on the front lawn, sticky windows, a loose lamp.

Winters, who worked as a carpenter's helper on his construction job, was particularly upset by "the rough job" a workman was doing in his kitchen: such as wooden panels installed upside down, with wide gaps between them.

REFUSED TO PAY

He stopped Monarch's carpenter from doing anything further on the kitchen and began calling Monarch to complain. The Winterses said they never got a satisfactory answer to their complaints and, when they received the payment book from the bank, called to say they would not pay until the job was finished right.

That was when they found the Citizens Building and Loan had already paid Monarch its $3500 out of the $4337 loan insured by the Federal Housing Authority. The bank said Monarch had presented a signed completion certificate required by the FHA.

The Winters insist they never signed a completion certificate since the work was never finished. The completion certificate the bank's attorney has introduced into the court record has no date on it, in violation of FHA regulations.

The bank has introduced into the suit the mortgage it holds to secure the Winters loan. It bears a different date than the mortgage recorded with the District Recorder of Deeds.

Complaints about Monarch first surfaced in the autumn of 1964, after it had been in business for a little more than a year.

In a story published in The Washington Post on Nov. 1, 1964, several owners of homes on unrestored fringes of Capitol Hill complained about Monarch's sales tactics. One woman had already filed suit in U.S. District Court, charging Monarch with "trickery" and "false pretenses."

The homeowners said that Monarch's telephone solicitation, sprinkled heavily with references to urban renewal and "talking to you about schedules for your property and your street," led them to believe the Government was somehow behind it.

NO MONOPOLY

Cohen told a reporter then that "we don't think the Government has a monopoly on the words." He said then: "Our program is to rehabilitate a large part of Washington over a period of ten years. If we'd remodel the insides of houses nobody'd see them, while on the outside you can see the change right away."

At the same time, the Capitol Hill Restoration Society complained about Monarch to Government agencies. Some homeowners and a former Monarch salesman went to talk with prosecutors in the U.S. Attorney's Office about Monarch in 1964.

Yet Monarch's business continued to flourish. In January and February of 1965, it took out full-page newspaper advertisements criticizing Federal urban renewal as "far more urban removal" and boasting its own "private urban renewal program" as having "created $2,149,500 in new first trust loans" and $300,000 worth of approved Title I FHA loans."

But the FHA was investigating Monarch by then and, on May 11, 1965, placed the firm on its "precautionary measures list."

Notice went out to all banks handling FHA-insured loans that FHA had information "indicating that the subject has not conducted his operations . . . consistent with the purposes and objectives of the FHA Property Improvements Program."

Banks were instructed to deal with Monarch only in cases in which bank officers personally checked the contractors' work and to have completion certificates signed in the presence of bank officers.

Monarch no longer obtained FHA insured loans. Instead, it sold some of its second mortgage notes to Allstate Mortgage Corp., now of 1111 Massachusetts ave. nw. Allstate, in turn, sold some of the mortgages to the Atlas Credit Corporation of Philadelphia (recently renamed Sunasco as a result of mergers). Atlas assigned the notes to its subsidiaries to collect payments from the Washington homeowners.

Monarch also was still able to obtain, from reputable banks, new first mortgage loans not insured by the FHA for its customers. Money from these mortgages was used to pay off the customers' old mortgages and, in some cases, also to pay Monarch for home improvements.

In many of these cases, records indicate that Monarch also obtained the customers' signatures on a new second, and sometimes a third, mortgage. Money from these also went to Monarch for home improvement contracts.

After being involved in more than 50 suits in Washington's courts—more than 25 involving charges of fraud against it—Monarch has suffered one judgment against it and lost four other times on dismissals when it failed to answer questions filed by opposing attorneys.

Monarch and the dozen other firms under investigation are a minority of the home improvement contractors who do business in the city. Most contractors are reputable businessmen who tell customers just what they are getting and how much it will cost.

NOMINEE IS MONARCH AGENT

Margaret Haywood, one of nine Washingtonians selected Thursday by President Johnson for the new City Council, has been registered agent and attorney for the Monarch Construction Co. for the past two years.

Mrs. Haywood, a Republican, said yesterday she plans to "reassess" her relationship to Monarch and her other clients in view of the nomination which is subject to confirmation by the Senate "to make sure there is no conflict of interest."

As registered agent, she is available to accept service of suits against the firm. She represents Monarch in court, as well, but performs no other functions of the concern, she said. The lawyer-client relationship precluded her commenting on the reports in The Washington Post about Monarch's activities, she said.

Her total earnings from Monarch last year were less than $2000, she said.

BILL EYED TO PROTECT UNWARY HOMEOWNER

A ranking Republican House member yesterday said he will seek legislation to prevent recurrence of "the despicable conduct" of home improvement and finance companies who have obtained millions of dollars from low-income homeowners in the Washington area.

Rep. William B. Widnall of New Jersey, referring to the series on home improvement schemes presently running in The Washington Post, said he was "shocked to learn that allegedly reputable firms have made millions by taking advantage of the unwary and uneducated."

Widnall said he was calling for an immediate investigation of the entire industry and its method of doing business. Widnall is the ranking Republican member of the House Banking and Currency Committee and also of the special House subcommittee on Housing.

"At the same time," Widnall said in a statement issued by his office, "the Congress should investigate the matter to determine what remedial legislation is needed to prevent such despicable conduct from recurring."

Rep. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) said the revelations "have far more than local significance. They are part of the national picture of the deliberate attempt of widely organized forces to single out the urban poor as targets."

Mathias said the newspaper series pointed up the need for an increased force of Federal lawyers and enforcement officers to press the campaign against exploitation of the urban poor.

TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE REPORTS HOW SALES CONTRACTS TURNED INTO MORTGAGES

Mr. Speaker, this morning, the Washington Post carried the third article in the series on home improvement frauds written by Leonard Downie, Jr., and David A. Jewell. It tells about homeowners interviewed by the reporters who had no knowledge, until the reporters informed them, that there were second mortgages on their homes as a result of their signing contracts for home improvement work.

The material in this series of articles is incredible, but those of us who have been investigating these rackets over the years are certainly not surprised by any of the revelations. I am convinced that these articles will provide tremendous momentum for the kind of truth-in-lending legislation for which former Senator Douglas, of Illinois, worked so hard and so long, and which Senator PROXMIRE, of Wisconsin, has sponsored in the Senate—including coverage of first mortgages. The Senate-passed bill, however, does not include first mortgages.

After reading these articles, I do not see how any Member of the House could oppose inclusion of all mortgages under the coverage of this legislation, as H.R. 11601 would do.

The article in this morning's Washington Post follows:

SUITS HIT MORTGAGE PRACTICES—MISLED ON LOAN TERMS, CLAIM HOMEOWNERS

(By Leonard Downie Jr. and David A. Jewell)

Custom House Construction Co. went into the business of home improvement construction on March 3, 1966, in an office at 7849 Eastern ave., Silver Spring.

Almost six months to the day later, Custom House went out of business, according to its president, Harvey W. Davis.

Records in the D.C. recorder of deeds office show 55 second mortgages worth $250,000 made out to Custom House.

In the past four months, a team of reporters from The Washington Post interviewed 23 Custom House customers.

All are low-income Negroes, elderly and often widowed, and in each case the price of the job done or products received (such as a paint job or a color television set) was secured by a mortgage on their homes.

DIDN'T KNOW OF MORTGAGE

Four Custom House customers said they had no idea there was a second mortgage on their homes until they were told so by reporters. The other 19 said they first learned of the mortgages from United States postal inspectors, who are investigating Custom House.

At least one customer, Chester Thompson, has lost his home through foreclosure on the second mortgage. Six others—faced with foreclosure—filed court suits charging that their signatures on the mortgages were secured through fraud.

A pattern appeared in the complaints:

The customers were contacted by Custom House, not vice versa.

The customers said they signed what they thought was a contract but later turned out to be a note and mortgage.

The customers said there was no notary public present when they signed the "papers" although the mortgages on their homes bore notarization seals.

All said they received payment books in the mail from companies they had never heard of demanding payment of notes they didn't know they had signed.

The 23 additional Custom House customers interviewed by reporters said the same points apply in their cases.

Custom House is one of nearly a dozen home-improvement firms under investigation by Federal authorities for their second mortgage dealings in Washington. The U.S. attorney's office expects grand jury action within two weeks.

The vast majority of home-improvement firms in Washington enjoy good reputations.

PRICE ABOVE APPRAISALS

Sources said that one professional appraiser who dealt with Custom House said that when he had done appraisals for Custom House the firm automatically increased its prices well above the appraisals.

Suits in court indicate that Custom House would then quote prices to the customers but give them contracts to sign, the face values of which would be double the quoted prices.

In two court suits, customers have claimed notes and mortgages were filed against their home for at least double the amounts quoted on the jobs by the Custom House salesman.

The contract in one case tells the story:

One customer had the front of his house painted "for the total sum of $2350." The contract says that the customer agrees "to pay the sum of $2350 upon completion, secured by a note of $5875 plus 8 per cent interest in monthly installments of $58.75."

When reporters asked the customer, an elderly man who cannot work because he is being treated for cancer, why he agreed to pay $5875 for the work that cost "the total sum of $2350," the homeowner replied:

"I thought just the monthly payment was $58.75."

USED TELEPHONE SALESGIRLS

Custom House employed a battery of girl telephone solicitors. One of the girls told an investigator about the sales talk:

The girls were given phone numbers of houses in low-income Negro areas selected from a cross-index file.

They were told to hang up if they judged a white person had answered.

Otherwise, they were to find out within 60 seconds if the resident of the house owned or was buying the house.

If it was discovered the resident was only renting, they were under orders to terminate the conversation and make another call.

Otherwise, they would try to interest homeowners in anything from a television set to a new roof. If the prospects seemed good, they would then turn the files over to salesmen.

One of Custom House's first jobs was on the home of Albert and Mattie Smalls, at 401 11th st. se.

SMALLS FILE SUIT

After being threatened with foreclosure, the Smalls filed suit againt Custom House charging "willful, deliberate and malicious fraud."

The Smalls' suit says the salesman told them he could fix up the front of their house for $800.

They thought that would be nice, but lamented that they already had debts of $4900 and didn't feel they could afford it.

The salesman then said he could arrange to get them a loan that would permit them to pay off the $4900 as well as cover the cost of fixing up the house front, according to the suit.

They agreed to this, and signed papers they thought were contracts and loan application forms.

The job was done. They learned later, however, that only $575 worth of outstanding debts were paid off, leaving them with $4397 in old debts plus a mortgage on their home for $5000 that they didn't know they signed, the suit says.

The couple paid $1000 on this note until they contacted attorney John J. Carmody, Jr., who filed suit. On July 24, 1967, U.S. District Court Judge Joseph C. Waddy issued a temporary restraining order against the present holder of the Smalls' note, prohibiting the holder from making any further collections until the court case is decided.

ACCEPTANCE CORP. NAMED

The Smalls' suit also named as defendant a company called Universal Acceptance Corp., located at 6400 Georgia ave. nw.

According to official D.C. records, a founder, a director and president of Custom House is Harvey W. Davis of 8313 Raymond st., Potomac.

According to these same records, Harvey W. Davis is also secretary, treasurer and a director of Universal Acceptance, with an address at that time of 8804 Lanier dr., Silver Spring.

Davis told a reporter: "I really can't answer your questions I really don't know much about that. I took in a partner who knew the home-improvement business. He did the selling and I did the bookkeeping. I never knew any contracts were fraudulent."

All notes and mortgages generated by Custom House were sold immediately, sometimes within hours, to second parties, known legally as "holders in due course."

The Smalls' case was no exception. Their note was sold to Universal Acceptance. Much of the paper generated by Custom House went to Universal.

The Smalls' suit contains the following allegation:

"Davis conspired with both Custom House and Universal to hatch a scheme whereby Custom House would fraudulently obtain a promissory note, reinforce its right to enforce the terms of the note by fraudulently obtaining a deed of trust (mortgage) against the property, fail to perform the consideration for said note, sell the note to Universal at a fraudulent discount rate, allow Custom House to lapse into insolvency thereby defrauding potential creditors and hide the whole behind the sham shield of the 'holder in due course' defense of Universal."

NOTE DISCOUNT CLAIMED

The suit also alleges that Universal bought the Smalls' $5500 note from Custom House for $2200—at a discount of 60 percent.

Many Custom House notes were sold at discounts ranging from 40 to 60 per cent.

The U.S. Court of Appeals here has characterized discounts of 40 per cent or more as "outrageous" and stated that such discounts, if there are also circumstances such as the purchase of notes executed by unknown persons whose credit has not been investigated, constitute a "badge of fraud."

An answer to this suit was filed on behalf of Universal by Bernard T. Levin, a local attorney. The answer denied all allegations of fraud and maintained that Universal had purchased the note in the ordinary course of business.

In its answer, Universal argued that it was merely a "holder in due course," and it also filed a counterclaim against the Smalls for $5119.55 not yet paid on the note, plus attorney's fee.

Custom House Construction Co. has not yet answered the allegations contained in the Smalls' suit.

The signature of the notary public who swore she witnessed the Smalls' signatures' on the $550 mortgage on their home was Louise Beane.

In January of this year, Louise Beane, a licensed notary public in Maryland, was indicted and charged with the false notarization of two mortgages in Washington.

NOTARY PLEADED GUILTY

Mrs. Beane pleaded guilty and received a suspended sentence in U.S. District Court here.

Those two mortgages had been generated by Custom House. Mrs. Beane notarized a total of 27 mortgages generated by Custom House.

In six court suits, homeowners have claimed that they did not know they signed mortgages, that no notary public was present when they signed papers and that they had never seen anyone named Louise Beane, either in their homes or in Maryland. Numerous other homeowners made similar claims to reporters.

Seven Custom House notes were purchased by a District realtor named Leonard Freedman, of 761 17th st. nw., for what investigators say were 40 per cent or greater. Freedman denies the discounts were that large.

One of those mortgages was on the home of an elderly widow, Alberta Kibler, of 1737 D st. se.

After her home was threatened with foreclosure, she filed suit against Custom House and Freedman, charging that her mortgage was secured by fraud through a conspiracy between Custom House and Mrs. Beane.

Her suit alleges that Custom House's dealings with her were "part of a conspiracy in which Louise Beane similarly made many false notarizations for Custom House."

It says that she was quoted a price of $2750 for a new kitchen and discovered a mortgage against her home she didn't know she had signed for $5550.

FIRM DENIES FRAUD

Custom House answered this suit with a denial of fraud and conspiracy and denied that Mrs. Beane was an agent of Custom House.

Freedman answered by saying he was without sufficient knowledge to admit or deny the charges since he was merely a "holder in due course" and he denied any conspiracy existed. He said yesterday that "all I can do is check the District records to see that it's a legitimate mortgage. I dealt with Custom House the same way I dealt with everybody else."

One Custom House customer, Amanda Green, 56, of 829 Sheridan st., nw., bought four air conditioners for what she thought was "a little over $2000" and later learned there was a mortgage on her home for $5800, plus 7 per cent interest.

Her paper was purchased from Custom House by Freedman. He showed her a note bearing her signature that called for payments of $33.50 a month for 60 months.

At this rate Mrs. Green could not have paid off the interest due on the note by the end of the 60 months, much less the principal.

Since by the 60th month she would have only paid $2,010, much of it having gone to pay off interest, Mrs. Green stood to lose her home unless she could pay the balance or obtain a new loan for it.

If she refinanced the note for the same schedule of monthly payments, she would not have been able to pay off the principal due in her lifetime, Federal investigators say.

Mrs. Green hired an attorney before making any payments. He hired an appraiser who valued the air conditioners at $974. U.S. postal inspectors had them appraised for $971.

Mrs. Green's attorney reached an agreement with Freedman whereby he wiped off the mortgage on her home in return for a payment of $1,000.

LABORER SUES

Frank Harris, of 124 10th st. ne., an illiterate, elderly laborer has filed suit saying he was tricked into signing a $7,450 mortgage on his home and received only $500 worth of work in return.

His suit claims he signed certain papers because Jack Shulman, Davis's partner and the salesman in this and many Custom House transactions, promised him that Custom House would pay off two previous mortgages on his home.

On the original two mortgages, he was paying a total of $100 a month, Harris said, in the suit. He also said that he had to pay $80 a month on the new mortgage held by Custom House, plus the same old $100 he had been paying.

He earns $65 a week.

Shulman, of 5300 Westbard Ave., Bethesda, and Custom House answered the suit and denied any fraud or wrongdoing.

MENTIONED IN SUITS

Shulman is mentioned in most of the Custom House suits as the salesman involved and by most of the customers contacted by reporters.

Shulman told a reporter that none of the mortgages signed up by him were obtained by fraud.

"You will find they were all legitimately said," said Shulman.

Shulman said that in each instance he was accompanied by a notary public, including those in which Louise Beane's signature appears on the mortgage.

The activities of Custom House, and several other home-improvement contractors, are being looked into by Federal authorities. Most home-improvement contractors are reputable businessmen who tell customers what they are getting and how much it will cost.

Five Custom House mortgages ended up in the hands of Atlas Credit Corp. of Philadelphia, which has been renamed Sunasco, Inc., following a merger. Atlas is now also under investigation by Federal authorities.

Atlas buys second mortgage paper from

firms in 40 states and two Canadian provinces.

PAINT JOB

Custom House painted the front of a Northwest rowhouse. As a result of signing a contract "to pay the sum of $2350" to Custom House for the work, the homeowner now has a $5875 mortgage on his home. And, if he continues to pay the $58.75 monthly payment set up by Custom House, several thousand dollars will still be due on the note when it matures in 1971. If he cannot pay the balance, or get a new loan for it, he stands to lose his home.

BAD NEWS FOR AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on the weekend of September 9 and 10, 1967, more than 2,000 persons, including Communists, Socialists, and black power advocates, gathered in New York City for what was called the third annual conference of Socialist scholars.

Few Americans are aware of the frightening things that transpired during the weekend meetings, and for the simple reason that the conference was ignored by the Nation's major news media.

The only report I have seen on the conference was written by Alice Widener, the publisher of U.S.A. and a nationally syndicated columnist. Her report ought to be read by every American.

She tells of the plans which were made for a "military struggle" in the streets of 20 American cities next year and of the discussion about "defense courses" to train "serious activists" for future guerrilla warfare in our urban communities.

One of the more incredible facets of the conference was the fact that some speakers gloated that many of those who plan to organize the "military struggle" in 1968, including the burning of some 20 cities, are receiving money from the Johnson administration's so-called war on poverty.

Why would this important conference not only receive the attention of the national press, radio, and television? Perhaps Alice Widener has the best answer to that question when she says in her report:

> The news, it seems, is based on what happens, not on what is being planned. But when what is being planned happens, it will be very bad news for America.

The full report by Alice Widener appears in the September 8–22 issue of U.S.A. Extensive excerpts from it appear in "Barron's Weekly" for September 25, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

LONELY WEEKEND—A REPORT ON THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST SCHOLARS

The Third Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars took place at the New York Hilton Hotel, Rockefeller Center, Manhattan, during the weekend of September 9 and 10. There were more than two thousand registrants, including Communists as well as Socialists; two guests from the Soviet Union, Timor Timofeev and Yuri Zamoshkin, Institute of World Labor, Moscow; and a guest of honor Owen Lattimore, the University, Leeds, England.

In 1952, the U.S. Senate Security Subcommittee reported unanimously, after conducting an exhaustive inquiry into the activities of the Institute for Pacific Relations, that Dr. Lattimore, a leading figure in the IPR, had been "a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

The official printed program of the Socialist Scholars carries ads from the Communist publication, Science and Society, the Communist publishing firm "International Publishers," and the American Institute for Marxist Studies, of which Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party, U.S.A., is director.

The program flyleaf states: ". . . Formed in 1965, the Socialist Scholars Conference is an independent association bringing together scholars from many disciplines to stimulate research, analysis and theory. A Steering Committee elected by the members invites scholars to present papers and comments on the basis of known competence in a particular area and not according to political or ideological criteria.

"The Conference is not a political organization; meetings are intended for expression of ideas unencumbered by partisan purposes, political rhetoric or polemic. As a scholarly association, it is not a forum at which political organizations may propound their views, nor is its purpose to organize or guide political activities.

"All those sharing an interest in scholarly analysis from a socialist perspective are invited to join the Conference."

On its face, the Socialist Scholar's program statement is self-contradictory and deceptive. A socialist perspective is per se political and ideological. Moreover, not a single paper written from a capitalist perspective has been presented at any panel discussion in the first, second or third Socialist Scholars Conferences.

At the New York Hilton, Socialist Scholars from more than two dozen U.S. and Canadian institutions of higher learning took part in the weekend Conference, including McGill, Alberta, Temple, Yale and Boston universities; Queens, St. Mary's and Bennington colleges; St. Thomas Seminary; the universities of Illinois, Michigan, California, Pennsylvania and others. The Conference program included the following topics for panel discussions: Marxism and International Economic Relations; Mass Media and Radical Critics; Marxism and Sociology; Radical Intellectuals in the 1930s; Class, Party and Revolution; Poverty in America; Soviet Society; Planners for the Ruling Class; Black Power; Marx and the Industrial Proletariat; Anthropological Studies of Peasants; Historical Studies of the Cold War; the Working Class in the World Arena; Radicals and Hippies; Catholicism and Socialism; the Welfare State.

A very large audience attended the Saturday afternoon discussion on "Poverty in America," which featured Michael Harrington, board chairman of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy and author of "The Other America," the book that is conceded generally to have inspired the government's Poverty Program. Discussion panel chairman Russ Nixon alluded to the fact in introducing Mr. Harrington, but both gentlemen were quick to let the assembly know of their thorough contempt for the Poverty Program as totally inadequate for what they conceive to be nation's needs.

Eloquently, Michael Harrington argued that "the poor" alone cannot make a successful revolution in the U.S. Evidently bearing in mind results of the National Conference for New Politics' (NCNP) convention in Chicago, which was controlled by a minority of Communists and Black Power militants, he pleaded passionately for the democratic socialist reformist way of changing our society.

His was the classic "soft socialism." He was a Menshevik, a revolutionary who believes in legal means, among an audience that was most Bolshevik, revolutionaries who believe in attaining their goal "by any means." At the end of the discussion, however, Michael Harrington evidently changed his mind, after fellow panelists Hyman Lumer, national education secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Stanley Aronowitz, chairman of the West Side Committee for Independent Political Action (CIPA) in Manhattan, had argued for radicalism rather than reformism in the path toward U.S. revolution.

"Okay," Harrington conceded finally, "If you think it will work, I'm all for it."

Though most of the audience was much more responsive to Lumer and Aronowitz, it was hard to understand what prompted Harrington to surrender. He is a witty, articulate, dynamic speaker. Hyman Lumer offered only a deadly dull standard Communist dialectical commentary in a thickly monotonous voice. Aronowitz was humorless, fanatical and polemical (despite the Socialist Scholars' disavowal of "political rhetoric or polemic").

Tearing into Harrington's paper, Mr. Aronowitz identified himself with "a revolutionary action group," and said only such a group could attain socialist objectives in America. Whereas Harrington had discoursed on "the need for racial entrance into American society of the industrial working class," and had insisted that "welfare recipients are a class and have a relation to authority," Aronowitz called for destruction of existing authority. "Racism is based on the profit system," he declared.

The police, claimed Aronowitz, are the arm of the ruling class in the ghettos. "They are the oppressors," he said, adding that Negroes in urban areas, South and North, have self-defense communities of their own. Violently, Aronowitz attacked the entire Poverty Program except for a single aspect which he described as "a valuable tool" for the radical movement. "At least," he said, "it has given employment to the organizers."

The audience burst into laughter, applause and cheers. "That's right, man," called out someone from the floor. "It gave our organizers some bread." In Leftist slang, bread means money.

Certainly there seems to be no shortage of bread in either the Old or New Left. Not only the leaders but also the rank and file travel from coast to coast and city to city with the greatest of ease. Over Labor Day weekend, they were assembled in such posh capitalist surroundings as the Wabash, Crystal and Scarlet room of the Palmer House in Chicago; a week later, hundreds of the same people were in the Gramercy and Murray Hill suites of the New York Hilton, and in its Sutton Ballroom, where a capacity crowd of fashionably dressed Socialist Scholars and friends dined by candlelight at $12.50 a head and then sat back, full of food and in a relaxed spirit of camaraderie, to listen to Dr. Owen Lattimore.

Nothing could be more understandable than the intellectual spell that Owen Lattimore seems to have cast over U.S. foreign policy makers during the crucial years between 1941 and the fall of China to the Communists. The mild-mannered, smiling way in which he says the ugliest things about our country must be very disarming to all those intellectuals who believe that it isn't what is said that counts, but the way it is said.

Dr. Lattimore is a past master at making offensive statements inoffensively. He is an artist in knowing what to highlight and what to obscure during an alleged historical analysis. He is civilized, cultivated, cultured and urbane. He looks like a bank president, not a professor. Above all, he is very, very clever.

Listening to Owen Lattimore in the Sutton Ballroom of the New York Hilton, one could grasp the full significance of what the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had in mind when it reported to the American people, 15 years ago, that he was one of the persons active in and around the Institute of Pacific Relations who "knowingly and deliberately used the language of books and articles which they wrote or edited in an attempt to influence the American public by means of pro-Communist or pro-Soviet content of such writings."

Dr. Lattimore's main thesis at the Socialist Scholars dinner was that it is the U.S., not the Soviet Union or Red China, which is "expansionist." The borders of the Soviet Union and of Red China are merely their historic ones, he alleged, dating back to the great eras of the czars and Chinese imperial dynasties. He never mentioned Czechoslovakia, East Germany or Tibet as being subject to Red expansionism, but he identified as subjects of present day U.S. expansionism, "Guam and Japan and the Philippines." He accused the U.S. of seeking to make Asia "the privileged reserve of white men." He derided the intellectual ability of American scholars and foreign policy molders, and he lauded "the great Lenin's mature, sophisticated understanding of world politics."

Lattimore described the Chinese Communist Party as "nationalistically patriotic." He also belittled the notion that the present civil chaos in Red China and dissension among Communist leaders signify a breakdown there. He said that what is taking place is "turbulent debate—not the precursor of general massacre."

All notions that there will be a Sino-Soviet conflict over border regions between the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China are sheer nonsense, according to Dr. Lattimore. He said the present frontiers of both Communist nations "are of an enviable stability." He said neither nation seeks expansion. "Expansionism," he said, "is in the areas where American forces are."

After his speech, the audience of Socialist Scholars was invited to ask questions. Someone inquired when the Chinese are going to take Hong Kong from the British imperialists.

Dr. Lattimore beamed with delight at the question. A most apt historical analogy, he said, could be found in a true story about Lawrence of Arabia. When Lawrence was defending the Arabs against the Turks, he would bomb the Turkish railroad across the desert in intermittent attacks, a strike here, a strike there.

A subordinate asked, "Why don't you blow the whole bloody thing all at once and get it over with?"

"Ah," replied Lawrence, "I want them to suffer a permanent hemorrhage."

Dr. Lattimore paused and looked all around the Sutton Ballroom, beaming at the Socialist Scholars and the dinner guests. "A permanent hemorrhage," he repeated, with utmost satisfaction, smiling benignly as if he were a minister pronouncing the benediction.

Those were just about his last public words to the Socialist Scholars at their Third Annual Conference. They found them inspiring. Their applause was rapturous. Dr. Corliss Lamont of Columbia University, seated next to Yuri Zamoshkin of the Soviet Union, looked pleased as Punch.

While comfortable, complacent capitalist Americans went to church or played golf or lolled around at home reading the papers or watching television, Sunday morning, September 10, a Black Power panel session at the Third Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars was talking about burning down 20 American cities next year and waging "a military struggle in the streets."

The session took place in the Rhinelander Gallery, which seats 1,000 and was filled to overflowing. Chairman of the panel session was James Boggs of Detroit; the panelists were Raymond S. Franklin of Queens College, who delivered a paper on "The Political Economy of Black Power"; Ivanhoe Donaldson, campaign manager for Julian Bond in Georgia and a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick); and Gilbert Osofky of the University of Illinois, Chicago.

James Boggs declared, "Black Power is a scientific concept whose time has come." He described it as "clashing with every segment of society," and said it must "bring the struggle to the streets." Black Power forces, he continued, will force existing authority in America to "increase militia and police" beyond its capacity by bringing the struggle "not to a few cities" but to 20 next year. He said there will be "military battles" in these cities. Addressing himself directly to the Socialist Scholars, Boggs said, "There is no in-between. You are either with the revolution or you are not. The U.S. as a nation is a counterrevolution."

James Boggs said the Black Power revolution is talking "a language the American people don't understand and say they won't understand, but that they've got to be made to understand." He said, "All revolutions start with a minority, from Haiti on down. I don't think over 3% of the Russians were ready for the revolution."

Ivanhoe Donaldson of Snick, who was a member of the steering committee for the National Conference for New Politics' recent Labor Day convention in Chicago, declared from the Socialist Scholars Conference dais: "The struggle of the Sixties isn't the ballot or having jobs—it is a physical struggle." He said about the present social and governmental structure in the U.S., "Our position is—tear it down because we don't want to be part of it!" Donaldson said, "In Detroit we defeated the police and the National Guard." He said Newark and Detroit put a strain on existing police and military forces, and that next year "two or three Detroits at the same time are going to pin down the American forces."

Donaldson said that in the struggle in 10 or 20 cities next year, the revolutionary forces would not be confined to burning down the black areas, that the forces would "go downtown" and "begin to burn down the white ghetto banks and ghetto draft centers." He said, "There's a Chase Manhattan Bank at 125th Street in this town. We're trying to get jobs in a bank we ought to destroy."

During the question period from the floor, Boggs and Donaldson explained why urban areas in the U.S. are more favorable to the success of guerrilla warfare than the countryside, unlike Cuba and elsewhere. They explained in coldly calculated terms that from the strategic point of view, guerrilla warfare is much more likely to be successful in the cities, where a combination of "violence, sabotage and traffic tie-ups can bring down the system."

From the floor, a questioner asked Ivanhoe Donaldson, "When do we start a guerrilla war?"

James Boggs grabbed the microphone and said, "If he started to answer that, I'd shut his mouth!"

That was the end of the Sunday morning meeting, which began at 10 o'clock and lasted for more than two and a half hours. As soon as Boggs had officially adjourned the meeting, he announced over the microphone that another Black Power meeting would take place immediately in the Morgan Room, "to plan how to do things now and next year."

A gray-haired woman in a brown dress said, "Did you say we're meeting in the Morgan Room?" "Morgan Room is right," he answered. "But not 'we.' Our meeting is for blacks only."

A tall, professorial-looking man stepped up and asked him something. "Sorry," Boggs said. "I'm catching a plane at four o'clock. I've been to Cleveland and Columbus. They put us down in Cleveland last time. But I'm riding out to the airport with someone who's going to tell me how we can fix it so they won't be able to next time."

In America, in 1967, after Watts and Cleveland, after Chicago and Rochester, after Newark and Detroit, most people still believe a Red-Black Power revolution can't happen here.

"Are you sure that's the way it was?" ask some readers of this reporter's newspaper columns and magazine articles. "I don't mean to question your accuracy or integrity, but are you sure? I mean, was there any kind of printed program or something you could send me a copy of?"

At the Sunday morning meeting of the Socialist Scholars Conference at the New York Hilton, there was distribution to the more than one thousand persons present a single-page, orange-colored leaflet with the following text:

"Please inform your members—some may want to take advantage of this. Then post.

"Demonstration defense course

"Techniques in crowd control and demonstration defense against:

"*Individual *group *horse and *police attacks!!*

"1st Session: 13 Classes—7 weeks + $7.00 (Applicants must be approved by instructor.)

"This course is being provided for serious activists who wish to develop and participate in coordinate defense techniques for future street actions.

"Class will be led by a former U.S. Marine 'D.I.' having training and experience in these areas."

The full class schedule is printed, with the date and time of a series of 14 sessions during September and October 1967. Among the subjects taught are: "Coordinated Movements; Tactics; Hand and Foot Techniques; Crowd Control; Defense Against Clubs and Horses; Inter-Group Actions."

In the Lower Plaza at Rockefeller Center on Sunday evening, crowds of law-abiding, contented Americans watched the fountain water splash and listened to the sound of music. The traffic flowed smoothly.

High up in skyscraper offices of CBS, NBC and ABC, and in upper floors of the Time-Life Building, lights were on as editors, cameramen, writers and researchers busily worked on regular weekend schedules to accomplish the communications media objective of bringing the up-to-the-minute news to America.

On Monday morning, September 11, there were no reports in the press or on television or radio about the Red-Black Power session that took place Sunday morning at the Third Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars in the New York Hilton. For all Americans knew, the weekend had been relatively uneventful, except for street demonstrations in Milwaukee and the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

There was not a word in the press or over the air about plans for "a military struggle in the streets" of 20 American cities next year. Nor was there a word about demonstration "defense" courses to train "serious activists" for future guerrilla warfare in our urban communities.

The news, it seems, is based on what happens, not on what is being planned. But when what is being planned happens, it will be very bad news for America.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE CARL HAYDEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] is recognized for 45 minutes.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, today is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Arizona's beloved senior Senator, the honorable Carl Hayden. I have taken this time to wish him a very happy birthday, and many happy returns of the day. I know my colleagues in the House, in which Carl Hayden served for 15 years, join me in extending felicitations to our distinguished friend and colleague, Senator Carl Hayden.

Senator Hayden was born at a place then known as Hayden's Ferry. This place has grown into the thriving and important city of Tempe, Ariz. He was educated in the public schools of Tempe, attended the Normal School of Arizona, which is now Arizona State University, and later attended Stanford University, being a member of the class of 1900.

Carl Hayden was elected treasurer of Maricopa County in 1904, and sheriff in 1906 and again in 1908. He held the position of sheriff of Maricopa County when Arizona became a State. In fact, he left that office to come to Congress as the first Representative of the fledgling State of Arizona. Senator Hayden told me that the hardest adjustment he made in coming to Washington was getting used to the absence of the weight of his six-shooter, and the feel of it against his thigh.

Carl Hayden married Nan Downing on February 14, 1908. Never were two people better suited for each other, or better equipped emotionally and intellectually for the great career which they shared. Mrs. Hayden was beloved by all who knew her, and the high regard the people of Arizona had for her manifested itself many times during her long illness which ended in her death on June 25, 1961.

In 1926 Carl Hayden was elected to the U.S. Senate. He is now serving his seventh term as a Member of that body. He has served longer in the Congress of the United States than has any man in the history of the Republic. He now serves as President pro tempore of the Senate, and as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Carl Hayden's legislative activities have covered a very broad scope. Perhaps his greatest accomplishments have occurred in the legislation with regard to Federal aid to highways and for the development of the water resources of the West.

Carl Hayden has always been an ardent champion of reclamation. His efforts have been decisive in authorizations and appropriations to build many reclamation projects. Among these are the upper Colorado storage project, the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, the Bonneville project, and the great central valley project of California. Federal funds in excess of $4 billion have been invested in the central valley project alone, largely through the efforts of Carl Hayden.

Ever since he came to Congress, Carl Hayden's fondest dream has been the construction of a Federal project to bring water from the Colorado River into central Arizona. He was active in the fight within the State of Arizona which finally culminated in the ratification of the Sante Fe Compact in 1942. This compact purported to divide the waters of the Colorado River, and its ratification was a necessary prerequisite to any Federal effort aimed at helping Arizona to use its water. Immediately after ratification Carl Hayden went to work on getting a project in shape for authorization. The central Arizona project was the subject of legislation in 1948 and again in 1950. In both of these years the bill to authorize this project passed the Senate, but died in the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

In 1952 Arizona filed suit against California to quiet title to its share of Colorado River water. This suit became necessary because of the doubts in the minds of Members of Congress as to whether or not Arizona really had a legal title to the water. The suit finally culminated in a decree of the Supreme Court of the United States handed down in June of 1963 which gave title to the State of Arizona to 2.8 million acre-feet of water each year from the mainstream of the Colorado River.

Almost the next day, Senator Hayden and the rest of the Arizona delegation introduced bills to authorize a central Arizona project. Hearings were held in the Senate that year, but no further action was taken until 1965, when exhaustive hearings where held in the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The effort in the House culminated in the approval of H.R. 4761 by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in late 1966. The chairman of the Interior Committee did not see fit to ask for a rule to bring the bill up in the 89th Congress, and therefore it became necessary for the whole procedure to begin again in the 90th Congress.

In this Congress, Senators Hayden and Fannin introduced their bills early, and action came on the Senate side of the Capitol which culminated in the passage of S. 1004, again authorizing the central Arizona project. Concurrently, hearings had been held by the House Interior Committee, but once again that committee has adjourned for the year without doing anything whatsoever about voting out a central Arizona bill. For reasons which he apparently deems to be good and sufficient, Chairman Aspinall has once again decided that Arizona shall have no water from the Colorado River.

This week, Senator Carl Hayden will begin one of the great battles of his career. He has decided to try to put his S. 1004, authorizing the central Arizona project, on to the public works appropriation bill for fiscal year 1968. Such an amendment can be accomplished in the Senate by two-thirds vote. When the House and the Senate go into conference on the public works appropriation bill, House conferees cannot accept Senator Hayden's amendment, assuming he has been successful in attaching it to this bill. The rules of the House provide that any material in a bill which is not germane to the bill itself must be brought back to the House in technical disagreements. This will be done by the House conferees. Then a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment will be made. After 1 hour's debate, this amendment will be voted either up or down.

This procedure is unusual, but not without precedent. The Colorado-Big Thompson project was authorized in an appropriation bill. There have been other instances in which legislation has been put on appropriation bills, and the House has concurred in such legislation.

Senator Carl Hayden and the entire Arizona delegation have always favored legislating by orderly means. However, when a State and a civilization are drying up, and when committees of the Senate and House have held exhaustive hearings on a project and, when both committees have from time to time reported out bills favoring the project, it seems that emergency action to nullify the blocking action of one man is reasonable. We ask for the support of our colleagues in this effort, which we take more in sorrow than in anger.

I have taken this occasion of Senator Carl Hayden's birthday to inform the House as to his plans and the plans of the Arizona delegation. You will be receiving further details on this undertaking, and the reasons for it as time goes by.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to no one in my admiration and respect for the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden]. He is one of the noblest, grandest, and most effective persons it has been my experience to meet in my political life. Since 1939 when I became a member of the Appropriations Committee, it has been my responsibility to work with him on numerous occasions. Since I have become chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, my work has thrown me more and more frequently in contact with this great personality of the Senate, Carl Hayden, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. No one could be finer to work with.

I am grateful to the gentleman now addressing the House for calling attention to this memorable event. I join him and others on both sides of the aisle in paying tribute to the life and record of this great statesman from Arizona who has done so much for America.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to my distinguished colleague from Arizona [Mr. Udall].

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, few Americans ever stay around long enough to celebrate their 90th birthday, and no American has ever been around on his 90th birthday or any other birthday to complete 55 years of service in the Congress of the United States.

Yet today Carl Hayden celebrates his 90th birthday, and he celebrates 55 years of outstanding service to this country and to the Congress of the United States.

In Arizona, Carl Hayden is more than just a man. He is an "Arizona institution." We have to stop and really pause to grasp the fantastic span of his years of service. This man has served 15 years in the House of Representatives and 40 years in the U.S. Senate. He was born as the transition was being made from the administration of Ulysses Grant to that of Rutherford B. Hayes. He has lived under 18 Presidents and served in the Congress with 10.

I can best put in my own perspective the length of this congressional service when I stop and contemplate that he was serving here in this House 10 years before I was born.

CARL HAYDEN, Mr. Speaker, is a quiet man, but one of the most effective Members the Congress has ever seen. He has often said that Congressmen are divided into workhorses and show horses, and that he decided a long time ago to be a workhorse. He speaks infrequently. I have heard him say many times that he never heard of a Member who was beaten in an election by a speech he never made, and I have heard him say many times, "What is the use of making a lot of speeches when you have the votes?"

So CARL HAYDEN operates and has operated in quiet, honorable and effective fashion throughout these years.

Mr. Speaker, this House may soon have an opportunity to demonstrate to Senator HAYDEN the good faith of the people of the United States and the Congress in keeping a promise long delayed and long withheld.

As my colleagues know, Senator HAYDEN has practically made a career of trying to pass the central Arizona project, a reclamation undertaking which would enable Arizona to utilize its legal share of the waters of the Colorado River. After many years of effort and passage twice by the Senate this project was delayed in 1951 with a demand in the House that Arizona go to the Supreme Court to prove its right to certain waters of the Colorado. For 12 years Arizona fought that case, and in 1963 Arizona won. But the project still eludes us, and to Senator HAYDEN this is a bitter pill.

Before Arizona set out on its long, expensive, and harrowing legal suit it had assurances from its neighbors that, once the court had ruled, obstructionism would end. Three years before that painful decision was made to go to court, Governor Earl Warren of California had said:

> Whenever it is finally determined which waters belong to Arizona, it should be permitted to use that water in any manner or by any method considered best by Arizona.

And similar assurances came from the other Western States for whom Senator HAYDEN had fought many a reclamation battle. Yet today two of those Western States which Senator HAYDEN has helped are exerting every possible pressure to prevent passage of that project for which Arizona has waited so long. And they are doing it for the same reason they opposed the project before that legal battle was fought. The reason is simple: they want to continue to use Arizona's share of the water.

Mr. Speaker, for an octogenerian, now turned nongenerian, Senator HAYDEN has shown amazing energy in advancing Arizona's cause in the 4 years since the Supreme Court handed down its decision. He has devoted long hours to negotiations, hearings, writing, and rewriting sections of the bill, entertaining new approaches, conferring with the administration and leaders of the various Western States. He has displayed a capacity for work that a man half his age could be proud of. And yet the project is still not a reality.

Mr. Speaker, let me review the developments that have occurred since the Supreme Court handed down its decision in 1963.

Immediately following the decision Senator HAYDEN and the Arizona House Members introduced identical bills similar to the bill put on the shelf at the start of the Supreme Court litigation. Hearings were held on that bill both in the House and Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committees in 1964. It was reported favorably by the Senate committee.

In 1965 a more comprehensive bill, seeking to solve water problems of the seven Colorado River Basin States, was introduced, and hearings were held in the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Nearly a thousand pages of testimony were printed. In 1966 additional hearings were held, and another 700 pages of testimony were printed. In August 1966 this bill was reported by the House committee on a vote of 22 to 10, but it was blocked before it could get to the House floor.

This year more hearings were held, and another 700 pages of testimony were printed, but again this has been to no avail. Markup of the bill has been delayed indefinitely because of a new alliance that has developed between the States of California and Colorado.

Meanwhile, the Senate has passed the central Arizona project bill. By an overwhelming margin the Senate has indicated its approval of this long-delayed reclamation project.

Because of this frustrating legislative history on a project, nearly everyone agrees is meritorious, Senator HAYDEN has decided to take an unusual, though not unprecedented, course of action next week. He plans to ask the Senate to suspend its rules and amend the Public Works and Atomic Energy Appropriation Acts to include authorization of the central Arizona project.

This is not the way Senator HAYDEN would prefer to bring this matter to a vote in the House. But at the age of 90, having been working on this legislation since he was in his 40's, Senator HAYDEN has lost just a little of his patience. He is all for the seniority system and proper procedures, but he also believes the National Legislature ought to be able to work its will—at least once in 50 years.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with Senator HAYDEN, and I intend to do all I can to see that his years of dedicated service are rewarded, not only with a vote but with a victory for the cause of reclamation in Arizona.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. STEIGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is my great privilege to join today with my colleagues as well as the people of the great State of Arizona in wishing a very happy birthday to our senior Senator, CARL HAYDEN, on this, his 90th birthday.

Born in 1877, this remarkable gentleman has spanned, with the exception of 13 years, the entire history of the Territory and the State of his native Arizona.

He has served that State since 1912; 15 years as a Representative and 40 years as a Senator, a record not likely to be duplicated—ever.

We happily tip our hats to the distinguished Senator and wish him many, many happy returns of the day.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues from Arizona in wishing the distinguished Senator from Arizona, CARL HAYDEN, a happy 90th birthday. Senator HAYDEN is one of the most amazing men in history. He was serving in this House before most of the Members now serving were born. He has broken all records for legislative service in this country. But he will be remembered more by the quality than by the length of his service.

America is richer because of his long tenure in the Congress. He is a great and noble man. All the Members love this distinguished American. The gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL], has said that Senator HAYDEN is an institution in his State. I say, Mr. Speaker, he is an institution in this House. He is an institution in our country. He has earned the respect and admiration in which he is universally held.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Arizona yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to add to and supplement the wonderful words on behalf of Senator HAYDEN just expressed by my distinguished friend the majority leader in reference to Senator HAYDEN.

There is an old saying that aristocracy is of the soul, not of the word. That statement, I believe does indicate the kind of a person Senator HAYDEN is.

He says very few words on the floor of the Senate or in other legislative deliberations.

I have had experiences in conferences, where he was the chairman of the conference between the House and the Senate, and he would sit at the head of the conference table, with Members of the House and the Senate on either side, and barely say a word over many hours of deliberations, where compromises were sought between the different versions of an appropriation bill. It was his patience which in the long run would inevitably bring the differences to a point of compromise, which could be justified in sending a version back to both Houses for subsequent approval.

For those of us who are many years younger, many years less experienced, and in many respects probably less wise, it was a wonderful lesson in how our system can best work for the benefit of all.

I can say, as one Member, that I benefited immeasurably from my associations with him. I know, on his 90th birthday, there are literally hundreds of others either here or elsewhere who can say the same concerning their experiences with a great statesman, the distinguished senior Senator from the State of Arizona.

I wish him well on his 90th birthday.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Laird] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my friend and colleague from the great State of Arizona, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. Rhodes], who is today paying tribute to one of the great men in U.S. congressional history.

Senator Carl Hayden, President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate, the man who has served in Congress longer than any other man in history, a man who was sent to the Senate when Arizona became a State 56 years ago, is celebrating his 90th birthday.

It has been a great privilege and honor for me in the last 14 years of my own service in the House of Representatives to have come to know, respect and admire Carl Hayden. Because I serve on the House Appropriations Committee, I have had the great opportunity of serving on many conference committees with the Senate on appropriations matters. As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Carl Hayden has always impressed me with his vast knowledge of the very complex Federal programs that we in Congress are called upon to finance each and every session.

Carl Hayden has been a great voice for his beloved State of Arizona, an inspiration to Members of Congress in both bodies and from both parties for more years than many of us have been privileged to live on this earth.

I am grateful for the opportunity to join the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. Rhodes] in paying a well-deserved tribute to the dean of the U.S. Senate on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

May God grant him many more.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. Holifield].

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I thank my friend for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to echo the words of praise which have been given to the senior Senator, not only of Arizona but, I believe, of the Senate of the United States, the Honorable Carl Hayden.

The West, including the State of Arizona and including the State of California, certainly owes to this great man a great deal of praise and a great deal of appreciation over the years for the cooperation we have had. We are unstinted in our praise of this great man because he has been one of the great leaders.

If the words of Daniel Webster, which are engraved in stone above us here, mean anything at all, they certainly apply to this great man.

Let me read them:

> Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests and see whether we also in our day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered.

I used those words once upon a time in praise of Mike Kirwan, of Ohio, chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Works of the Committee on Appropriations. I use them with the same feeling of genuine approbation in applying them to the works of this great man.

My good friend, my Democratic colleague [Moe Udall] mentioned a number of things which I believe call upon me to say that although we revere and respect this great man, there have regrettably been instances between the great State of California and the great State of Arizona where there were differences of opinion. These differences of opinion have never in any instance descended to personalities or recriminations between the members of the Arizona and California delegations. Nevertheless, those differences have obtained. They have been honest differences between honorable men, and some of those differences still remain. This is not the time or the place to go into the areas of failure to agree which undeniably exist. I shall not utilize the time that the gentleman from Arizona has granted me for that purpose but will just end by saying that I believe every member of the California delegation respects and honors this great senior Senator from the State of Arizona.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank my good friend from California. I assure him it is as deep a source of regret to the Arizona delegation as it is to him that we have had these differences between our two States. They are sister States and neighbor States and should be working together instead of separately. The gentleman knows I have felt that way for many years, and I know he has, too. I know he joins with me in the hope that the day will dawn, and soon, when this will occur and we may have these vital issues settled. Possibly they will not be settled to the satisfaction of either group, but so that we can face the future together instead of apart.

Mr. Speaker, when I called the senior Senator from Arizona this morning to wish him a happy birthday, I said, "How do you feel?" He said, "Well, I will tell you. I hope you feel as good when you are 90 as I do right now." My answer to that was, "Senator, I hope that when I am 90 I am half the man you are."

I believe this is the way we all feel toward a great statesman, a great American, Senator Carl Hayden.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy and privileged to join with my dear friend, and able and esteemed colleague, Congressman John Rhodes, in hailing and saluting on his 90th birthday one of the truly great Americans that it has been my privilege to know during my service in the Congress, the Honorable Carl Hayden, outstanding U.S. Senator from the great State of Arizona.

Senator Hayden is unique. There is no one like him in Washington today. His service in public life commenced about the turn of the century and has continued since that time with steady advancement to high and higher levels of service, culminating in the House and U.S. Senate. He has served for the past 55 years with outstanding distinction, fidelity to duty, great ability, extraordinary diligence, and an exceptional spirit of devotion.

Carl Hayden is a great American. His country, his State, and all of us who know him may well be very proud of his illustrious career in the public service and be grateful for the opportunity to know and to serve with such a great public servant who is admired by all.

The Senator served in public office with some great people from his State. It was my privilege as a young man to meet him with my own great, patriot-statesman friend, the late, lamented Senator David I. Walsh, and another great illustrious figure from the State of Arizona, and one time distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the later renowned Hon. Henry Fountain Ashurst.

Senator Hayden is physically rugged and inexhaustible and is blessed by the good Lord with a very keen mind, untiring energy, and the ability and patience to tackle and handle multifold duties and an incredible volume of official work with hardly the wink of an eyelash.

I could not pay adequate tribute to such a great man, but must observe that he is truly incredible, not only in the amount of work he can accomplish, but also in his amiable, relaxed personal qualities and great respect for the dignity of his colleagues and fellow men and women.

I want to thank my valued, very able friend, Hon. John Rhodes, an outstanding Member of this House, for giving me this opportunity to join in the wholehearted, deeply-felt tribute of esteem and high regard that Members of the House are paying on this occasion to this great Senator of the United States, who has served his country over such a long period of time with such unflagging devotion, loyalty to the people from whom he has sprung, and the Nation, and deep concern for this great system of Government and for the American people.

I wish for Senator Hayden, esteemed national leader and friend to very many, continued success in his work, good health, real happiness, and peace for many years to come. He is, indeed, one of God's noble men and a great credit to his State, his Nation, and the Congress of the United States.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of the 90th birthday of Senator CARL HAYDEN.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

PROPOSES WAY FOR CONGRESS TO RESOLVE VIETNAM DILEMMA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, in his statement on Vietnam policy last Friday in San Antonio, President Johnson raised an important question when he asked:

> Is the aggression (in Vietnam) a threat, not only to the immediate victim but to the United States and to the peace and security of the world of which we are a part?

The answer of course must be affirmative. The expansion of Communist territorial control any place does indeed constitute a threat to the United States as well as the immediate victim, and it is therefore an event of deep concern to our people.

The affirmative answer, however, does not automatically define the form and extent that our response to the threat should take. Proper definition is both crucial and complicated.

The President also asked, appropriately, "What would be the consequence of letting armed aggression against South Vietnam succeed? What would follow in the time ahead? What kind of world are they (who question whether present policies are worth the price) prepared to live in 5 months and 5 years from tonight?"

These question do not yield easy answers, partly because they pose only one side of the grave dilemma now facing the American people. They can be considered and answered satisfactorily only in conjunction with other, more fundamental questions.

For example:

What would be the consequence of permitting the costly military stalemate in Vietnam to continue along present lines for another year, 5 years, or even longer?

How would continued stalemate affect our national interests elsewhere in the world, especially in Western Europe—which, by all standards, must be considered as the most important dimension of our foreign policy?

How would continued stalemate affect South Vietnam, its people, and their attitude toward us?

How would continued stalemate affect our response to mounting problems at home—inflation, high taxes, civil strife, and the influence of the military-industrial complex of which former President Eisenhower warned in his farewell address?

How would continued stalemate affect the willingness of the American people to share in future world responsibilities? Would they, in bitterness, turn their backs elsewhere on our 20-year-old policy of Communist containment? Would they compromise their commitment to NATO? Would they duck the costly and continuing chore of helping to avert worldwide famine as the food-population crisis worsens?

What would follow in the time ahead? What kind of a world would we then live in?

These questions—together with the ones voiced by the President—show the awesome and tormenting scope of the American dilemma in Vietnam.

As we ponder the consequence of letting armed aggression against South Vietnam succeed, as the President put it, we must also ponder the consequence of continuing along the present lines.

Must we choose between those two unattractive alternatives? If so, the choice is a grave one, and in making the decision all evidence must be weighed with the greatest care. I, for one, do not accept the conclusion that America must necessarily choose between present policies, on the one hand, and letting the Communists take over, on the other.

Because both of these alternatives, on their face, seem to be unacceptable—other possibilities must be carefuly explored and evaluated.

One such alternative is for Congress to place reasonable new conditions on further U.S. military action in Vietnam. The conditions could take various forms, of course. One possibility would be to require broader participation by other Asian powers—including South Vietnam—in meeting the cost of the war, in terms of both combat troops and money. This would likely mean that an allied high command would supplant the present U.S. command to make basic decisions on strategy and tactics, but so much the better.

In all important respects, these new conditions—if fulfilled—would have the effect of de-Americanizing the war. The advantages of this transformation are obvious.

Is it attainable? No one can foretell with certainty, of course, but if the proposal is presented formally as an absolute condition of further U.S. military operations in Vietnam it might well shock the other Asian powers at long last into taking up their proper share of the burden. If they reject the proposal, then they would, in a sense, share the responsibility for whatever consequences might result from the cessation of present U.S. military policies in Vietnam.

If that bleak consequence should come, then all major Asian powers and not just the United States alone would, in effect, have decided that the military defense of the Saigon regime is not worth the price.

No doubt other alternatives are possible, and certainly all should be thoroughly explored.

The President's statement shows clearly that he is caught on the horns of dilemma. He sees only two possibilities—present policies, or pullout—and therefore plans no basic changes in Vietnam policies. Judging by his speech, it is his intention to continue along the present lines indefinitely.

This underscores the importance of the Congress itself taking a new look at basic policy in Vietnam. Accordingly, I will press this week for consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 508, which would instruct the appropriate committees of the Congress to do just that. As the first step, I will ask Chairman COLMER of the House Rules Committee to schedule hearings.

In this resolution, I now have the support of 55 other House Members. In addition to the 50 names—46 Republicans and four Democrats—appearing on the resolution introduced a week ago by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] and myself, these House Members have introduced the same identical resolution: Representative OGDEN REID, Republican, of New York, Representative KEN HECHLER, Democrat, of West Virginia, Representative MARGARET M. HECKLER, Republican, of Massachusetts, Representative CHARLES M. TEAGUE, Republican, of California, Representative GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr., Democrat, of California. In addition, Representative RONALD E. LUKENS, Republican, of Ohio, announced his support for it.

The Congress itself must resolve the Vietnam dilemma: first, because it is the most representative branch of the Government and, therefore, best suited to deal with the complicated, vital question of war; and second, because it bears the clear constitutional responsibility to do so.

No Representative and no Senator will relish the task. In fact, several have told me privately, and with feeling, that they are determined to avoid having to vote on any question of basic war policy. This reluctance is understandable. But can any Congressman honorably neglect the constitutional duty to which he is sworn, especially this one, touching as it does so intimately the lives and well-being of all our citizens?

INFORMATION NEEDED

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POOL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, there is a nationwide organized plan to destroy our draft laws. I know that the Members of the House will be interested in reading the Friday, September 29, editorial from the Dallas Morning News, which is as follows:

INFORMATION NEEDED

> An ironic footnote to the John Birch Society's failure to get booth space at the State Fair is establishment of the "draft information center" across the street from Fair Park.
>
> The purpose of the center, according to Dallas' Rep. Joe Pool, is to advise young men how to dodge the draft. This is being done by "counselors," he said.
>
> One such "counselor" told The News that "we only make information available to anyone with questions."
>
> He said that he himself is presently trying to get his draft board to classify him as a conscientious objector. He is active in the

Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam.

There are a good many questions about this activity that occur, such as:

Who is sponsoring this center? Who is paying the costs? What organizations are involved?

Rep. Pool, who has introduced a bill to prevent disruption of Selective Service operations, suggested that an investigation may be made soon to learn the answers to these and other questions about the center.

At a time when the nation is involved in a shooting war, an investigation seems to be needed. And legislation to outlaw organized draft-dodging campaigns is needed as well, and as soon as possible.

The left wing will jump on Dallas' Pool and the committee, as usual. And as usual, Pool and the committee are justified in making investigations like these.

DEALING WITH URBAN PROBLEMS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, following the outbreak of civil disorders in many of our urban centers, there has been a rash of proposals for governmental action. Nearly all of them are characterized by the common denominator of more Federal aid. This is a very disturbing trend for those of us who are interested in maintaining a strong Federal system.

The ultimate in these proposals was made on July 31 in a Daily Bond Buyer editorial which suggested that the Federal Government take over not only the financing of most urban poverty problems but their administration as well. The effect of this proposal would be to put many municipal employees on the Federal payroll.

This outrageous suggestion was strongly attacked by one of my colleagues on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the Honorable William O. Beach, county judge of Montgomery County, Tenn. The Commission is a bipartisan body created by the Congress to study questions of Federal-State-local relations and to make recommendations to the appropriate levels of government for their resolution. I have the privilege of serving as one of the Representatives of this House on the Commission along with the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ULLMAN].

At this point I would like to insert in the RECORD both the editorial from the Daily Bond Buyer with which I take strong issue, and Judge Beach's very persuasive letter to the editor:

RELIEF FOR THE URBAN AGONY

The nation is still so stunned by the raw physical catastrophe inflicted by race riots and armed insurrections that little thought has yet been given to appraising the financial consequences.

The money payoff in due course will no doubt be felt soon in the closely related insurance community and the public market for municipal bonds.

Fire and casualty insurance companies now own about $13 billion of the $105 billion of outstanding bonds of state and local governments. In recent years, they have been the market's second largest institutional buyer of such securities.

It is feared in market circles that the casualty companies will not be as big buyers in the future as before. What is more, it seems certain that some insurance companies may have to sell blocks of local government bonds to raise cash to meet underwriting losses sustained in the recent disorders. Who will buy these liquidated portfolio holdings and at what price?

Perhaps some losses can be spared the insurance companies if they can show that the losses were the result of planned armed insurrection, rather than the casualty of impromptu riot. Armed insurrection should not be hard to prove in view of the public calls to riot and arms that are being reported almost daily in the New York Times and other general circulation newspapers. But even so, the arson-and-pillage bill will have to be paid by pretty much the same people, if not in higher insurance premiums for everybody, then through public taxation. In finance, it doesn't seem to make much difference how slums are cleared.

Meantime, the wounded cities are left nursing these distressing questions:

Will private insurance continue to be available for dwellings and business quarters in the pillaged and burned-out areas?

Who will buy the bonds of the stricken cities, and on what price terms? How does an investor feel about owning the bond of a city in flames?

Who will continue to dwell in such cities if they can move out? How can business and industry in such cities be persuaded not to go away?

Is not the urban neighborhood ghetto destined to mushroom into the ghetto-city, or even the ghetto-state? What will dissuade propertied families from quitting urban areas? What will dissuade propertyless families from continuing to move in?

In the wake of the urban disorders is a great disenchantment.

There no longer can be warrant for the wishful thought that municipal government of itself can cope with the problems of mass poverty, mass unemployment, and swelling spiritual bankruptcy that abide in the postwar city slums.

Municipal government has neither the financial means for ministering to the urban congestion of this social sickness, nor the police power to protect the community as a whole from the violent impact of social protest and revolt.

It is a Federal problem.

And if the issue is to be faced squarely as a Federal Government problem, a new approach may be in order.

Perhaps the current makeshift of money grants and loans to the cities, and the collateral state and Federal Government investments in such things as public housing, hospitalization, education and urban renewal should be re-examined with soul-searching thoroughness.

Is it not still true that "everybody's business is nobody's business"? Has it ever been good sense either economically or politically for one government jurisdiction to raise money and for another government jurisdiction to spend it?

It will take time for a Congressional investigation to establish the extent to which the riots and insurrections have been due to the social despair of unpropertied and jobless Negroes, to the naked hooliganism of juveniles; and how much to the conspiratorial tactics of dedicated revolutionaries, whose first and perhaps only aim is to discredit and break down public authority.

While such an investigation is going on, perhaps a new approach to the urban ghetto problem might be explored.

One suggestion stems from the rapidly-spreading conviction that the relief of the propertyless and jobless urban population is a financial responsibility of the Federal Government.

If this is so, why should not the Federal state undertake not merely to *finance* the relief of the propertyless and jobless, but to *administer* such relief as well? This would take an immense financial and political burden from the local government part of the public sector.

The only precedent at present for Federal administration of community affairs is in Washington, where the nation's Federal business is administered through a Federal district—the District of Columbia.

It could be that the time has come to experiment with a regional application of the Federal district idea. Why could not the whole urban problem of relief to the unpropertied and jobless be transferred to regionally-established Federal districts?

These districts need not be in urban areas. Like the District of Columbia, they could be models of city planning. Conceivably they could come to house not only recipients of public relief, but could be "demonstration cities" that would attract not only people on the Government payroll or the Government relief rolls, but, like Washington, lure into residence a host of discriminating outsiders who would cherish the new Federal district cities for reasons of voluntary choice rather than compulsion.

AUGUST 25, 1967

THE EDITOR,
The Bond Buyer
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: I have read your editorial, "Relief for the Urban Agony," in the July 31st issue of *The Daily Bond Buyer*. I am shocked at your suggestion that the Federal Government take over the *administration* as well as the financing of urban poverty problems.

If the Federal Government is better fitted to administer programs designed to remedy poverty, then what argument is there that it would not also be better fitted to administer any and all other local affairs that happen to be beyond the financial capability of local government?

I grant that there are some inherent difficulties in the American federal system, one of which is that in some cases one governmental jurisdiction must raise money and another spend it. The situation of course arises from the imbalance between the great resources of the federal government and the relatively meager resources of state and local governments.

But is this defect so serious or so basic as to warrant the overthrow of our federal system of government—our three-level federal-state-local partnership, which, with whatever defects it may have, provides a substantial amount of government close to home and thus assures broader citizen concern, participation and control? These important features of democratic government would be absent in any scheme of national administration of local problems, it seems to me.

Nor is it enough in my opinion to say that poverty is a national problem rather than a local problem. The fact that it exists in many places throughout the nation does not necessarily mean that it can be effectively attacked only through a single national administrative agency. For in every locality where ghettos, sub-standard housing, inadequate educational opportunity, and other poverty-begetting conditions exist, the remedies must come from the efforts of an aroused and concerned local citizenry, or they will not come at all. No team of federal administrators are as likely to be able to provide the leadership that will motivate and arouse the people at the grass roots level as the officials who are elected and known at home.

Admittedly local leadership has fallen short of the mark in solving the problems of urban blight. I do not know how we are to be sufficiently motivated. But of one thing I am convinced; the Federal Government with all its money and expertise cannot get the job done alone.

I can find nothing in my experience as a county administrative official on which to base any support for your proposal. Also it runs counter to what I believe to be the philosophy of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of which I am a member, which gives constant and continuing study to the problems of the relationship of the three levels of government in the American Federal System. (I must make it clear, however, that I do not presume to speak for the Commission.) Your proposal might at first blush give appealing promise of greater administrative efficiency, but I believe it would soon prove to be both stifling to local initiative and concern and unproductive of any real remedy for the urban agony.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM O. BEACH.

THERE ARE MANY LEGITIMATE FARMER COOPERATIVES

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I have recently charged that many of the Nation's farmer cooperatives are perpetrating a fraud upon the American farmer and American taxpayers. These co-ops have issued to their members between $4 and $6 billion in worthless patronage dividend certificates, instead of issuing cash from their profits.

I would like to point out that there are many legitimate cooperatives throughout the country which are run by farmers for the benefit of farmers. Intercounty Cooperative, Woodbridge, which provides feed and marketing services for farmers in Sullivan and Ulster Counties, is an example of a legitimate co-op. The Dairymen's League is another example. I am certainly not referring to co-ops like these.

My charges are directed toward those co-ops which practice the following abuses:

First. Co-ops which are controlled by gigantic corporate entities so that member farmers do not have an honest voice in the operation of the co-op.

Second. Co-ops which issue dividend certificates and do not redeem them for 30 or 40 years, even upon the death of the patron.

Third. Co-ops which take over independent taxpaying businesses, bring them under the tax exempt umbrella, and drive private competitors out of business.

The worst offenders seem to be the Farm Bureau co-ops and other gigantic co-ops in the Midwest—in Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa. There are many co-ops which provide much needed services to the American farmer, and are a valuable part of rural America. We must stop the abuses of the Farm Bureau-type co-op so that the legitimate co-ops can continue to serve the American public.

INDUSTRIAL REVENUE BONDS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the past 2 years much concern has been expressed by the U.S. Treasury Department, as well as some of my colleagues, regarding industrial revenue bond financing. Opponents contend that such financing is an abuse of the tax exemption privilege granted State and municipal bonds.

However, the advantages and contributions which this form of financing provides our States, must not be overlooked. Southern and Midwestern States have found industrial revenue bond financing of tremendous value in obtaining new industry, and consequently, a wider geographical distribution of industry is emerging. It has also made a major contribution in raising the standard of living in rural and distressed areas by bringing in new industry, and broadening the tax base of such communities.

Because of these advantages, 40 States now have industrial revenue bond laws, and my own State of Florida is now seriously studying this type of financing.

I commend to my colleagues the following letter from the Committee for the Evaluation of Industrial Aid Financing which further explains, with the use of data from the Federal Reserve flow of funds, the use and advantages of industrial revenue bond financing:

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE EVALUATION OF INDUSTRIAL AID FINANCING,
Washington, D.C., September 8 1967.

LETTER MAILED SEPTEMBER 8, 1967, TO ALL U.S. SENATORS, CONGRESSMEN, AND STATE GOVERNORS

DEAR ———: The use of Industrial Revenue Bonds to finance a relatively small portion of the industrial construction in the United States is being criticized in some quarters of Congress and, in particular, the Treasury Department. Ignoring the many benefits derived from such economic expansion by the states and their municipalities, and even the Federal Government, the criticism is based on the belief that Industrial Revenue Bonds deny the Treasury additional income in the form of "lost taxes."

The municipalities, for their part, by encouraging and assisting in financing of plant construction increase economic productivity within their locality, thus incurring the benefits of increased employment, expanded commercial activity and the development of a larger tax base. The net result is the minimizing of welfare costs and the maximizing of the municipality's ability to finance other local government services.

It is notable that the Economic Development Administration and the Office of Regional Economic Development were established in the Department of Commerce to create new jobs by attracting business and to rural communities. For the period ending June 30, 1966 EDA approved . . . a total of $383 million for the construction of facilities on the justification that "when these facilities are completed the industrial and commercial firms using them will create thousands of new and permanent jobs." It is ironic that little or no recognition is given to the role that Industrial Revenue Bonds play in attaining the same basic economic goal.

The statement that the tax-exempt Industrial Revenue Bond constitutes a "tax dodge" by the business corporation leasing the facility is untrue. Granted that such financing provides a lower rate of interest in today's tight money market; the belief that the Treasury would derive greater benefit if these undertakings were all financed with taxable corporate bonds is open to serious question. Consider, for example, that in 1965 the total volume of corporate financing approximated $8.1 billion and according to the Federal Reserve flow of funds only $3 billion went into the hands of investors where the interest income was fully subject to taxation. What many fail to recognize is that the taxable-bond market is dominated by purchasers such as pension funds, foundations, life insurance companies and mutual savings banks who have themselves been granted full or partial tax exemption by the Federal government.

Let us examine the postulated loss of income taxes to the Federal Government on the $504 million Industrial Revenue Bonds which the Investment Bankers Association of America estimates were issued in 1966. Assume that these bonds were issued as taxable securities and that the holders of the bonds were also fully taxable; taxable income at an interest rate of 6% would only amount to $30 million. However, if one wishes to assume the ratio of taxable-nontaxable ownership of securities aforecited by the Federal Reserve, the taxable income on the $504 million securities would be reduced to $11,250,000. Assuming, further, a 50 per cent tax bracket for the holders of these securities, the government would have received only $5,625,000 total gross income. One cannot help but compare this minimal amount with the $383,600,000 expenditure by EDA to attract new industry.

Therefore, by this very simple comparison, it appears that there are those who are using Industrial Revenue Bond Financing as a "straw man." The Federal government, with the tremendous burden of Viet Nam is limited in its assistance to such battle scarred communities as Newark, New Jersey. Needless to say that if the state of New Jersey had an Industrial Revenue Bond law it could prove to be of great service in providing new industry in rebuilding this community and in eliminating pockets of unemployment.

The incentives offered by states and their municipalities to attract new business via the Industrial Revenue Bond route are no less tempting than the incentives offered by the Federal Government, the difference being that there is no interference with local and states rights and no direct expense upon the Federal Government.

LESTER M. HADDAD,
Washington Representative.

QUEST FOR PEACE

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON] may extend his remarks at this time in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in these troubled times the United Nations frequently comes under attack because it does not always have a ready answer and instant solution to complex and difficult problems, which the world faces.

It is my feeling to the contrary that the United Nations has provided a very important focal point for all international discussions and peace efforts and accordingly deserves a large measure of credit for what stability and peace we do have today.

A short time ago William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, Hearst Newspapers, summed up the situation in an "Editor's Report" which I feel is an outstanding declaration of the strong points and merits of the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place this report in the RECORD at this point:

SAN FRANCISCO.—Out here in this naturally air-conditioned city—easily the most beautiful in America—the doings back at the United Nations in New York are geographically remote.

Nevertheless, the opening of this session is news of interest to every literate human being.

Twenty-two years ago this summer, I was here when this organization—created to help the nations of the world settle their problems through reason and logic—was born.

The atmosphere of hope which prevailed at that time around the shining new baby was a far cry from the gloomy air hanging this week in New York over its big, cold, marble and glass slab of a building on the East River.

As the delegates gathered to again begin hashing over the problems of this messed-up world, the professional cynics, doomsayers and other pessimists had a field day. And with good cause. The outlook for any constructive action again was as bleak as any sourpuss could hope for.

In fact the outlook is even more dismal than usual in recent years. Exactly as predicted by the handwringers, opening statements by the United States and Russian spokesmen in essence were mere restatements of previous positions on the overriding problems of the Middle East, Vietnam and disarmament.

This means the present stalemate not only probably will continue during three months of fruitless talk ahead but is likely to become more and more bitter. Literally nothing meaningful can be done by the assembly—or the Security Council—where the U.S. and the Soviet Union are not in agreement.

So, it may well be asked, of what value is this gathering of 122 nations which are anything but united? And if it may be on the verge of following the old League of Nations into oblivion because of impotence, as some of the doomsayers believe, what of it?

Being neither a cynic nor a pessimist but by nature rather an optimistic realist, I would like to try to answer those questions by doing what Al Smith always recommended—taking a look at the record. When you do that you find that the UN despite its depressing failures, has a very real value indeed. Its demise, further, would be a real tragedy in man's continuing quest for peace.

* * *

The underlying trouble with the UN—the reason it never has been able to function fully as the peacekeeping body it was supposed to be—is that none of the big powers, understandably, has been willing to give up their sovereignty. Thus it has all the trappings of a superstate and none of the authority.

In actual operation the General Assembly has been primarily a world forum for general debate. The 15-member Security Council, which does have power to enforce peace, in actuality has largely been hamstrung by the veto right accorded to five permanent members—the U. S., Russia, Britain, France and Nationalist China.

Yet despite these basic hobbles the UN has been able to snuff out many dangerous situations by sending truce teams, fact-finding missions and what it calls "neutral-nations commissions" to various parts of the globe. It was responsible for the 1965 cease-fire between India and Pakistan. And on five major occasions it has intervened with UN forces in the interests of peace.

Those occasions began with actual warfare in Korea, from 1950 to 1953, a joint undertaking against Communist aggression made possible only because Russia was boycotting the Security Council and thus was unable to cast a veto.

The interventions include the buffer force set up in the Middle East between 1956 and this year to help keep peace between Israel and the Arabs. Removed at the request of Egyptian President Nasser just before the outbreak of new hostilities last June, the UN is now back as an "observer" of the shaky truce line.

Still other on-the-spot peacekeeping operations included the Congo, from 1960 to 1964, which ended when Russia and France refused to pay their share of the costs, and Cyprus from 1964 to the present. A force of 7,000 UN troops was sent to Cyprus to end fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and is still on the island.

In addition to these direct interventions to restore peace or halt aggression, the UN since its formation in 1945 has helped greatly in maintaining what world stability there is through a tremendous variety of economic and social uplift programs. The fact that the U. S. has borne the lion's share of the cost, as usual, does not detract from the fact that these efforts represent international cooperation.

So, on the record, the UN has been far from a complete washout. It has and is helping millions of underprivileged people throughout the world understand what mankind can do when it works together. And so far as the big crises are concerned, there is little doubt it repaid its investment just by averting an almost inevitable major East-West showdown over the Congo in 1960.

Certainly, the UN has proven a disillusionment to many who thought it could police the world. Certainly it is depressing that the UN has failed in so many situations, past and present. One thinks not only of Vietnam and the continuing Mideast mess, but of Tibet, Czechoslavakia, Hungary, Goa and many others, including Berlin.

But the disillusion is the result of over-optimism. The properly optimistic view to take of the UN—indeed the practical view—is to judge it not by its failures but by its successes. They have not been inconsiderable.

It is not the fault of the UN that the world has not known real peace since the end of World War II. It is the fault of the Communists. Every major crisis since 1945 has been the direct result of Communist aggression, or aggression encouraged by the Communists in keeping with their policy of stirring up trouble for non-Communist states.

Communists—whether Russian, Chinese or Cuban—simply are not interested in peace. Moscow claims it is, but the truth is demonstrated by the more than 100 vetoes it has cast in the Security Council in the past 22 years. The U.S., by contrast, has never used its veto power even once.

Between now and the adjournment of the General Assembly on Dec. 19, Russia and her supporters will be continuing their campaign of vilification against the U.S. and our allies. They apparently will keep repeating the same tired and futile demands for this country to get out of Vietnam and for Israel to surrender the territory she was forced to occupy for her own continued existence.

The aim of the verbal attacks, of course, will be to attempt to win some kind of a diplomatic victory to replace failures of force. The attempt will not succeed, nor will anything at all come about until reality replaces delusion.

And end to the Mideast crisis could come quickly if Moscow would stop abetting the Arabs in their unrealistic attitude toward Israel. An end to the war in Vietnam would come even quicker if Moscow stopped supplying arms to Ho Chi Minh and his armies of aggressors.

Russia, obviously, is not yet willing to do either. Her Communist masters will take such steps only when they decide it is in their best interests to do so.

Meanwhile the non-Communist world continues its quest for peace. Part of that quest—an important part—consists in the battle of words being waged in the world forum of the UN.

There, at least, certain rules must be followed and objective observers from all corners of the earth therefore can listen and separate the truth from the lies.

Even if it served no other purpose but this, the UN would be indispensable for all who retain hope for eventual peace among nations. There can be no lasting peace without universal freedom. And it is hearing the truth that can set men free.

TO REBUILD THE SLUMS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, that there is an unmet need for decent housing within the means of low-income families is by now axiomatic. How best to meet the need is the question. Recent proposals lean heavily on greater Federal incentives to private capital to enter the low-income housing field. The New York Times on September 25 analyzed these proposals and concluded that the involvement of private capital is not a substitute for public housing. With regard to the Percy and Kennedy proposals, the Times pointed out that "The subsidized interest rates, tax concessions, and other inducements are a roundabout way of doing what the Government could do straightforwardly if the public understood that decent housing for the poor cannot be a goldmine for private profit."

I think my colleagues will be interested in the respected Times' analysis of various housing proposals, and I place the full text of its September 25 editorial, entitled "To Rebuild the Slums," in the RECORD at this point:

TO REBUILD THE SLUMS

In the task of rebuilding the urban slums neither Congress nor the nation itself has looked squarely at the housing problem.

The underlying truth remains what it was twenty years ago when the late Senator Robert A. Taft became a convert to public housing and set out to persuade the real estate industry to relax its doctrinaire opposition. There is no way, Mr. Taft often said, that private enterprise can build housing for the very poor at a profit. But Congress has never been willing to appropriate sufficient money for a large-scale public housing program.

Federal housing officials and city mayors have complicated the problem by pursuing unrelated objectives. They have pushed for so-called "middle-income housing" to persuade a remnant of the middle class not to flee to the suburbs. They have promoted urban renewal programs to revitalize the rotting downtown commercial areas and lure shoppers back into the centers of cities. These are both worthwhile purposes, but they do nothing to rehouse slum-dwellers and may actually reduce the supply of housing available to them.

The political impasse which has long existed in the housing field, now made more visible by the budget stringency of the Vietnam war, has stimulated enterprising politicians in both parties to devise ways of luring private business into this unpromising activity. President Johnson has a committee at work studying the possibility of a mixed public-and-private Comsat-type corporation, Senator Percy, Republican of Illinois, and Senator Robert Kennedy have introduced ambitious, complex bills to encourage the entry of private capital into the field.

None of these plans will directly help the people in the slums who are worst-off—the 32 million Americans, or one person in every six, who live in families where the breadwinner is unemployed, on welfare or whose income hovers at or slightly above minimum wage levels.

Senator Kennedy concedes that under his bill apartments would rent for $70 to $100 a month, which is more than the really poor can afford to pay. The same is true of Senator Percy's bill, which is nominally intended to convert slum residents into homeowners. As with most existing Government housing programs, except public housing, these proopsals would most help white-collar and blue-collar workers in the $4,000 to $7,000 bracket.

Private capital's involvement, however, is not a substitute for public housing, much less a panacea. The subsidized interest rates, tax concessions, and other inducements of the Percy and Kennedy plans are a roundabout way of doing what the Government could do straightforwardly if the public understood that decent housing for the poor cannot be a goldmine for private profit.

NEW APPROACH GIVES NEW HOPE FOR THE JOBLESS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it is well known by now that the key to solving the problem of poverty in the central cities and in our rural poverty pockets is to find jobs for the jobless and to train those who are not equipped to find jobs. Accordingly, the announcement yesterday by President Johnson of a new pilot program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help solve the job problem will be welcomed by everyone concerned about the state of health of this country. If anyone wondered about the seriousness of purpose of the President and the speed with which this new program would be launched, those doubts must have disappeared today when Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge and Secretary of Labor Wirtz held a joint news conference to set forth in detail the proposals made yesterday by the President. Present at the news conference today was Mr. William E. Zisch, a highly respected business executive in the aerospace industry, who will serve as Secretary Trowbridge's Special Representative to get this program moving with all speed. Through Mr. Zisch, the businessman will have a single point of contact in the Federal Government. This pilot program has many aspects, but there is a common theme—deep involvement by private enterprise in the creation of job opportunities. I am particularly pleased to learn that San Antonio is one of the five cities where initial contacts have been made by Secretary Trowbridge. A Federal team will be going to San Antonio to take a look at prospective new uses for surplus Federal property and facilities, new uses which would aid in the creation of jobs and the training of potential workers. I can assure the President and Secretary Trowbridge that this Federal initiative will be matched with equal enthusiasm and cooperation by the people of San Antonio. In my view, this program is an example of creative federalism and business responsibility at their finest. I unhesitatingly predict fruitful results from the steps that have been taken yesterday and today.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

To: The Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Administrator of General Services Administration, Director of Office of Economic Opportunity, and Administrator of Small Business Administration.

We are launching today a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed.

The heart of this new effort is to reach the forgotten and the neglected—those citizens handicapped by poor health, hampered by inadequate education, hindered by years of discrimination and by-passed by conventional training programs.

To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require—on an unprecedented scale—the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal Government.

As we embark on this new course, let us be clear about what is involved: our purpose is not to hand out but to help up, to help provide every American the opportunity for a good job at a good wage.

Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.

We call upon private industry to join us in tackling one of America's most urgent domestic problems. I have no doubt that the private sector will respond. For we have witnessed in the past few months a remarkable series of events which attests to the dedication of American business in meeting the needs of the society in which it flourishes:

On September 12, 1967, the insurance companies in this country agreed to commit $1 billion of their funds for investments in city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. Some of these resources are already financing promising housing projects and insurance company executives and officials of this Administratin are working together to develop other projects.

A project has been launched to use surplus Federal lands to meet the housing needs of our cities in which the efforts of private developers will be the most important single element.

A Committee, headed by Edgar F. Kaiser and composed of distinguished industrialists, banker, labor leaders and specialists in urban affairs is examining every possible means of encouraging the development of a large-scale efficient construction and rehabilitation industry to reclaim the corroded core of the American city.

Upon the recommendation of the Kaiser Committee we have begun the "Turnkey Plus" project to encourage private industry not only to develop and build, but also to *manage* public housing.

In this effort, we will again attempt to bring the great resources of the private sector to bear on a critical national problem. Through the great talents and energies of private industry, with full support from the Federal Government, we hope to:

Bring new job training opportunities in existing plants to the hard core unemployed.

Create new jobs and new training opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged in plants which will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Encourage new enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to provide jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged.

To initiate this effort, the resources of the Department of Commerce, Defense, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration will be combined to provide maximum assistance and to minimize the added cost of these in private industry willing to assume responsibility for providing training and work opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged.

Initially, nearly $40 million from a wide variety of existing programs will be made available, as will millions of dollars worth of surplus Federal property and excess Federal equipment.

We will offer to private industry:

A full spectrum of aid to assist them in recruiting, counselling, training, and providing health and other needed services to the disadvantaged.

Aid which will enable them to experiment with new ways to overcome the transportation barriers now separating men and women from jobs.

Surplus Federal land, technical assistance and funds to facilitate the construction of new plants in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Excess Federal equipment to enable them to train more disadvantaged people.

Assistance to joint enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to bring jobs and training opportunities to the disadvantaged.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to direct this test program and insure that all available Federal resources are utilized. The Secretary of Commerce will designate a full-time Special Representative as the single point of contact for private employers participating in this project. The Special Representative will provide employers with one-stop service for the entire Federal Government and will make whatever arrangements are appropriate with the various Federal agencies for all forms of Federal assistance.

The Secretary of Labor will designate a full-time officer in the Manpower Administration to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary of Commerce in connection with the training and employment elements of these projects.

I have also asked the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrators of the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration to assist the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor in this test program and to assign a single official in their agencies who will coordinate their efforts in support of this program.

Provision will be made for continuing liaison with local projects and for careful research and evaluation to crystallize field experience into guidelines for future action.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce to invite corporations throughout the country to join this new effort to bring meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens both in existing plants and, where feasible, in new locations near areas of concentrated unemployment.

I have directed each Department and Agency of this Government to give top priority to all phases of this important effort.

PRIVATE HOUSING MONEY SHOULD BENEFIT CITIES

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, our American insurance companies' plan to invest in the building and improvement of housing in the Nation's deteriorated slum areas is indeed noteworthy. I join the applause that greeted it, and I ask that the RECORD include the editorial remarks of the Nashville Tennessean which, on September 16, also praised the compsanies' involvement in the problems of the Nation's cities. The editorial is as follows:

PRIVATE HOUSING MONEY SHOULD BENEFIT CITIES

The Nation's life insurance industry has agreed to invest $1 billion of mortgage money to build and improve housing in the big city slums.

The decision is a hopeful step toward greater involvement of big business in the problems of the nation's cities—an effort in which business has as great an interest as anyone else.

The 350 insurance companies participating in the plan will incur little risk to their investment, since the loans will be guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration. But the companies will have to accept somewhat lower interest rates than they could get in other investments. This represents a financial sacrifice for the companies in a commendable effort to serve the public interest.

The $1 billion which the companies will put into the plan represents a considerable percentage of the approximately $16 billion which the companies have to invest each year. There may be additional investments in slum housing later, but the companies are not committing themselves on this yet.

The plan does not involve government spending, except for the guaranteeing of the loans by the FHA. Each participating life insurance company will negotiate individually with each borrower, and there will be no centralized machinery for coordinating the program. The money will go for projects in slum areas which would ordinarily not be financed under normal business practices.

The plan has possibilities of becoming a positive effort between business and government to clear slums and improve the housing conditions of millions of Americans.

One possible stumblingblock to be avoided is the threat of establishing segregated housing patterns and recreating ghettoes out of the old slums. This problem is great enough in redevelopment involving all government funds. The situation could be even more troublesome where private funds are involved.

Federal housing officials, in meetings in Nashville Wednesday night, appeared to be confused about this aspect of the Edgehill urban renewal project.

Mr. Deane C. Tucker, member of an advisory team from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, said the project probably would create a ghetto unless the Nashville Housing Authority alters present intent. "We would prefer that it not end up in all-Negro housing," he said, "but it probably will."

Mr. Gerald Gimre, executive director NHA, said the agency intended to rebuild the ghetto. "We want to preserve the neighborhood but create a better environment."

Slum clearance and the redevelopment of ghettoes obviously present many agonizing problems. If private funds are to be invested to the best advantage, it seems that the federal agencies are going to have to decide on some clear agreement for investing government funds.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO URGES CONTINUATION OF RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the insurance companies' declared intention to invest large sums in rent supplement housing is good indication that private enterprise is enlisted in the Nation's total effort to improve living conditions in our cities. The Chicago Sun-Times on September 24 discussed this development and suggested that the House cannot ignore the companies' show of faith in America, and should provide the means for continuing the rent supplement program. With permission I insert the editorial in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

THE HOUSE MUST AID THE CITIES

The Senate has responded to the reality of the times by approving enough model-city and rent-supplement funds to get the program under way. Now it is up to members of the House to reverse themselves and follow the Senate's lead.

The Senate last week allotted $537,000,000 for model cities. The House in May set the figure at $237,000,000. The Senate approved $40,000,000 for rent subsidy, the House approved nothing. The Senate bill now goes to House conference, and it is incumbent on the conference either to adopt the Senate figure or offer a reasonable compromise.

The administration has pledged to cut some non-war spending, and it should. Yet there are programs that must be given overriding priority, because they benefit both the poor and the general economy. Model-city and rent-subsidy programs mean slum clearance and new construction, with resultant jobs, private profit and tax revenue.

The life insurance industry recently pledged $1 billion as backing for construction of housing whose tenants would be aided by rent-supplement money. That's a billion dollars worth of faith in common sense that the House simply can't ignore. It's time to allow a cure for urban sickness to begin.

NEW HOPE FOR DICKEY

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. Speaker, New England needs it and the vast majority of New England people want the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project.

To those of my colleagues who have supported my efforts to bring about construction of this needed project, I extend my deepest gratitude. Their votes for Dickey have been votes for New England's welfare and progress.

To those esteemed colleagues who have seen fit to oppose me and have sought to prevent or delay Dickey's construction, I issue another call that they reexamine the facts. There is no legitimate basis to justify opposition to this project. The need for it has been fully demonstrated, and its merits established beyond any doubt.

Especially do I urge those of my New England colleagues who have opposed the Dickey project to reconsider their position. I do so confident that their opposition does not reflect the wishes of the majority of their constituents. The many expressions of support I have received from labor, consumer, and other organizations as well as from numerous individuals throughout New England have persuaded me that this is the case.

Leading New England newspapers share my view of the importance of this project and the broad support it enjoys in the area. The Providence Journal is one of those newspapers.

On September 19, 1967, it published an editorial endorsing Dickey, reiterating the fact that it is important to all New England and strongly urging its support by all Representatives of the area. In a desire to share this excellent editorial with all my colleagues, and in the hope that some of them may be persuaded to lend me their support, I place this editorial in the RECORD:

NEW HOPE FOR DICKEY

Hope for the buffeted Dickey-Lincoln School public power project in northern Maine is flickering again. The White House itself has taken the lead in gathering supporters of the big dam for another effort at winning approval in the House of Representatives.

Deletion of the modest 1.7 million dollar appropriation for this project from the giant four billion dollar public works bill by the House carried a sad commentary on the state of regional cooperation in New England. The negative vote of 16 New England congressmen of both parties was an example of the kind of regional "split personality" that New England no longer can afford. The region already has fallen behind other sections of the country in economic growth; and long-range forecasts indicate that dramatic measurers will be needed to halt that trend.

The arguments for the Dickey project are straightforward enough. It will provide up to 700,000 kilowatts of "peaking power" that is needed for high demand periods and emergency use—the kind of demand for which steam plants are uneconomic. It is needed as a "yardstick" against which to measure the performance and rates of privately generated power in an area that has the highest electric rates in the nation. It is an opportunity to get a needed facility for New England with the aid of federal funds which, in the power field, have all gone elsewhere—to the South and the West—in the past.

The private utilities have lobbied Congress hard on this issue. The irony of the split New England position in the House is suggested by the fact that the Dickey appropriation was the only one deleted on the house floor from a huge bill containing projects for all other parts of the country. The argument of the private companies that they can provide the needed power without Dickey would ring less hollowly if the mere threat of the project, plus the abortive proposal to import two million kilowatts of Canadian hydro power, had not already resulted in some voluntary rate reductions.

Nor does the 11th-hour opposition of a Maine conservation group sit well with many supporters who are equally concerned about preservation of natural resources. In fact, to some this opposition smacks of breach of faith because many backers of a St. John River power dam concurred in curtailment of the project in order to preserve the recreational treasure of the tributary Allagash River.

While the Senate can be expected to restore the appropriation that will keep the Dickey project alive, the more conservative cast of the House this year leaves the final outcome still in doubt. House members would be performing a high public service to take their cue from the White House when the report of the conference committee comes back to them for approval. A vote for Dickey will be a vote for progress in New England.

CALL TO CONGRESS FOR ACTION NOW

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, and a vice president of the AFL–CIO, recently declared that there is strong public support for stepped up congressional action on housing, education, and employment.

Mr. Beirne based his statement on early reaction all over the Nation to the union's nationwide petition to Congress. He said in an interview on "Labor News Conference," AFL–CIO public service program, heard on the Mutual Broadcasting System, that most Americans seek effective answers to the problems of slums.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the text of the broadcast interview be reprinted in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Mutual Broadcasting System, "Labor News Conference," Sept. 26, 1967]

CALL TO CONGRESS FOR ACTION NOW

Guest: Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, and a vice president of the AFL–CIO.

Panel: Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine Murray Seeger, economic correspondent for Newsweek magazine.

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery.

FLANNERY. Labor News Conference. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, and a vice president of the AFL–CIO.

Early this month, the Communications Workers launched a nationwide drive for petitions calling on Congress to provide jobs, housing and education to meet the needs of the cities. Here to question Mr. Beirne about the progress of the union's petition effort and what it is hoped will be accomplished by it, are Murray Seeger, economic correspondent for Newsweek magazine, and Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery.

And now, Mr. Adams, I believe you have the first question.

ADAMS. Mr. Beirne, your union has launched this signature campaign—this petition to Congress—why does your union feel that such a petition is necessary at this time? These issues have been before Congress for some time now.

BEIRNE. Well, for a number of reasons, Mr. Adams.

First and foremost, we are concerned about what is happening in the country. The riots in many cities during the summer pinpointed the neglect of areas in our big cities, as well as the neglect of millions of people throughout the country.

Our concern stems from the reactions that have appeared in Congress—reactions typified by the vote of the House on the original rat extermination bill in July—the reaction in Congress in handling riots by passing, or trying to pass, a law controlling riots—to send people to jail for fomenting them.

And, finally, we believe that a hardening of attitudes is setting in among Americans toward the problems that we have. The hardening would make it impossible for the kind of progress needed in the areas of poverty that actually exist.

So, thinking about ways in which we could affect Congress—ways in which we could go to our own members and have them think about the problems that face us in this nation—we latched upon this method of educating our own members on the need for jobs and housing and education by getting signatures of the public to present to Congress. We hope to thereby persuade Congress to do what I believe, way down deep, most of the American people want to do—the right thing—to solve the problems stemming from our disadvantaged citizens.

SEEGER. Mr. Beirne, what is wrong with Congress? Why did Congress react in such a negative way to the events of this summer? Why has Congress turned down bills like the rat extermination bill?

BEIRNE. Well, my personal opinion, Mr. Seeger, is that they reacted as they did because they had no answers to the problems. And, having no answers, it is quite understandable. Congressmen, I have noticed, perhaps more than any other group of people in America, are apt to react to their own frustrations in a most negative way. Now, most people do that, but I have noticed that Congressmen, because they are in a fish bowl, tend to show their reactions more than others do. Having no answers, and recognizing that something must be done, in their frustration, they howled instead of quietly thinking about the things that might be answers to these problems.

ADAMS. Mr. Beirne, your petition will be circulated throughout most of September. When the signature drive is over, do you think it will reflect that the people's views are really hardening on the subject, or, do you think it will show that they are concerned and want Congress to do something positive in this area?

BEIRNE. Well, we are going out for more than a million signatures. I have every reason to believe that we will succeed in getting many more than a million signatures in some 46 of our 50 states. Many governors have signed our petitions and it is our hope that we can persuade them to accompany our people to Washington to meet with the Congressional delegations of their states. Meeting with the Congressional delegations, we want to talk about the points that are made in the petitions—jobs, for instance—having the federal government become the employer of last resort. In other words, if a person is willing and able to work, but can't find a job in private enterprise, then it is the obligation of society to provide gainful employment at a fair wage for that person. And, we hope to educate the Congress on that point.

Now, we believe that our own members, getting behind this drive and taking the time to tell people what is behind each of these three major items—jobs, housing and education—is an educational process. We have had so many stewards of our union who have enthusiastically gone out to get signatures that we know the educational program works. We already have reports from stewards about some of the resistance they run into. But, when they explain it to the people, they sign the petitions. So, there is no doubt in my mind that our organization, in its own small way, is making a terrific impact with this educational process.

FLANNERY. Do these stewards get only signatures of members of the Communications Workers? You don't have a million members.

BEIRNE. No—they are not limited to just our own membership. There are some 440,000 members of the Communications Workers of America—and there are at least two or three other people in the families of our members. This brings us to more than a million people in the family of the Communications Workers of America. But, we are going beyond our own jurisdiction as a union. We are reaching the public. This is a public problem, so, the members are reaching as many citizens of their communities as they can.

ADAMS. Mr. Beirne, how are these petitions being circulated? Where will the public see them, look them over and, perhaps, sign them?

BEIRNE. Well, it is handled in different ways in various parts of the country. We want to involve as many of our stewards as possible in the program. Very often, they take the petitions to the people in their own neighborhoods.

FLANNERY. Stewards are union officials of some kind?

BEIRNE. Union representatives at the lower echelon of the union structure. They work alongside other members day in and day out. They handle the small problems that arise each day when humans are working together. We have some 60,000 stewards throughout the country. They will be seeing their own neighbors. Many of them belong to clubs of one kind or another and will circulate petitions there. I know of an instance where one of our members, a veteran of Korea, went to his post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and got the members of that organization to sign the petition. I know that in New York City they have a table on the street. In the first week that they had the table there they got the signatures of thousands of people who took the time to stop and read the big sign that carried our message. After reading it and talking to the person manning the table, they found that they were in agreement with what we were trying to do and signed the petition.

SEEGER. What kind of jobs would you have the government provide, Mr. Beirne? Are we talking about the old leaf-raking idea of the depression days?

Beirne. If all we have to do is rake leaves, then let's rake the leaves. At least our streets and our parks would be clean.

But, there is so much unfinished business that only the federal government can tackle, that you would finally get to leaf-raking, way, way down the line.

I'll give but a few examples.

Back in the '30's, when the WPA (Works Progress Administration), the PWA (Public Works Administration) and all the other initiated organizations began, great fun was poked at the building of bridges. Everyone remembered the raking of leaves. But, any motorist traveling on our highways, if he would take the time to stop, would see that many of the sturdy bridges in use today were built by the WPA back in 1934 and 1935. Those bridges certainly have served a very useful purpose, and they are there long after the leaf-raking has been forgotten.

But, if it gets to leaf-raking, yes, if this will keep people off the streets, particularly young men and young women. One statistic we ought to burn into our memories is this—for every Negro in poverty there are two whites in poverty. So this is not a race question, although the riots last summer would lead many to believe that everything connected with poverty and disadvantage is a race question. It is not.

Congress is seeking right now to cut into the Appalachia program. Well, there are hundreds of thousands of white citizens whose forebears came to this country early in its life who are absolutely desolate now—people who have absolutely nothing except what comes out of the Appalachia program. They are human beings. They are Americans. They are white. No race is involved. They are of sturdy stock that has been in this country since its founding days. The rest of society in our judgment, owes those human beings the best it can give them. If Congress cuts down on the Appalachia program, the degradation of children would be even worse. This is unthinkable, as far as we are concerned.

Adams. Mr. Beirne, jobs, with the government as the employer of last resort, is just one phase of your program. You talk about education and housing. How do these fit into what you feel Congress should do?

Bierne. Well, take housing. I believe that every person should walk into the slums in our cities—walk into the slums in the countryside—the rural slums—and take a look at the kind of housing many Americans live in. I have heard people come back from visits to other countries, and say they have seen the slums—in Lima, Peru, for example. They were just astounded at the filth. They were just astounded at the way human beings are living at the animal level.

Well, you don't have to go to Peru to see that sort of thing. You can go, here in Washington, D.C. You can go in New York City. You can go in Chicago, in Detroit. You can go in St. Louis. I could name countless cities in which you would find exactly the same conditions—where human beings are living just a short step above the level of animals.

Now, how do you take care of that? Well, there is only one way.

So long as private enterprise, so long as real estate operators look at the almighty dollar and forget that the dollars they are collecting—and many of them welfare dollars—are being collected from people who don't even have four decent walls or a decent roof over their heads—when the private sector will not take the steps needed to clean up these areas—when the cities do not have the money—when the state cannot tax enough to take care of it—then we say that the federal government, working in conjunction with the states and the municipalities and the private sector, has an obligation to take the lead. It is the only organized group in America with the strength and the wealth capable of taking the lead to clean up these slums. If these areas can't be repaired, then get the bulldozers and level them—build the kind of houses that human beings should live in.

Now, that is on housing. It will take a couple of billion dollars to get it going, but I am sure that we have the kind of talent in the private sector that once the federal government took the lead, would come forward with their skills, with their expertise, and with their dollars and make our slums decent places.

On education, we happen to believe that public education is worth fighting for. In the latter part of the last century, many people screamed that if we had public schools, there wouldn't be enough money to send all the children in America to school. Well, that has been proven wrong and we now have required public education, usually, up to the 16th year—about half way through high school, or about 10 years of basic education.

Well, a century has gone by since that was established. We think it is time to re-examine our education policies.

In this age of space, when we are thinking of defenses against China, with missiles that go so fast that the eye can't follow them—when we are thinking of a communications system with but three satellites to connect the entire world in split-second, instantaneous electronic connection—in this kind of age, it is time for us to go beyond the concept that every child up to the age of 16 is entitled to a free public education. It is time for us to ask ourselves, is not every child entitled to a free education from pre-kindergarten to the doctorate degree, if the ability and desire of the person leads to it?

In the Communications Workers of America, we have answered that. We have said yes. Every person is entitled to a free public education from pre-kindergarten through the doctorate degree, with only desire, motivation and ability as the criteria.

Now, we can afford it. And, we will get more back in taxes from people who are equipped to earn more money than we will by piddling around trying to revise an antiquated school system. It needs revision.

Seeger. Mr. Beirne, the Administration has legislation before Congress covering most of these areas you have been talking about. Are you going to tell your people that these pieces of legislation are what they should be supporting, or, don't these go far enough? What is your feeling about that?

Beirne. My feeling is twofold.

First, to go back to my opening remarks, we think there is a hardening in Congress as a result of the riots. There is a frustration that causes them to duck the real hard answers that are self-evident. The hard answers are the three I mentioned. And, most people agree on that.

We hope to unfreeze the approach that Congress has taken. It is so awfully negative.

Now, the bills that are before the Congress in these three areas—and there is no Administration bill that I know of on employment—but on housing and education, yes, they are insufficient. So, we go beyond supporting what the Administration has proposed. We go much beyond that. We need massive action. What is being proposed is just the normal, routine, political approach to problems—keeping the hard economic view as the criteria, rather than the soft human problem. In Roosevelt's day, property rights versus human rights was the big issue of public dialogue. Well, it's back with us. I believe, and always have, that human rights and human needs are the great areas in which our federal government must give leadership. Yes, we go beyond what is being proposed. In one area they haven't urged anything—namely employment—and we think this is a big key.

Adams. Well, there is a pragmatic issue that goes along with this, Mr. Beirne. Does your union have a solution to how the bill for these programs is going to be paid by the federal government?

Beirne. Yes, this is a very simple thing that gets awfully confused at times. But, to face right up to the answer, you pay all bills through taxes and in no other way. It has always been that way, and it always will be that way, where a group of people get together in their own society and want a government to keep order. And so, we will pay the taxes. It is just that simple.

Flannery. Would it save money in the long run?

Beirne. Of course it would save money. It has been proven time after time after time, that the greater the opportunity for people to earn higher salaries and better wages, the more money automatically flows into government through taxes, because they are participating in the economy, they are participating in the affairs of the country, they are paying their way.

Flannery. Would you also say that if these programs went into effect this year that there wouldn't be any riots next year?

Beirne. No, because again, we have to go back, and keep emphasizing so that everybody will understand, that the riots are only an effect. We have to get at the cause of the riots. And the cause of the riots is deprivation. Now, I have lived long enough to know that the federal government is not going to move fast enough to eliminate the utter deprivation that exists in so many of our cities by next year. So, therefore, the possibility of riots has to be looked at squarely. It is there.

Seeger. We keep hearing from Congressmen the argument that these kinds of programs are butter, when the big bills that we are trying to pay now are for guns in Vietnam. What is your answer to that argument?

Beirne. Well, I think we can have butter and bread, and also live up to our international obligations. To me, it is again the question of how much taxes can we afford. The last proposal was a 10 percent surtax, and we certainly can afford a 10 percent surtax. We can afford much more than that. These are the things we have to start taking a look at, so that the critics of America who say we have such a materialistic society, that we have lost our soul, will be proved wrong. In America, it is the spirit of the people who have come together in this country of ours that is the real wealth of the nation.

Flannery. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America and a vice president of the AFL–CIO. Representing the press were Alan Adams, Washington Correspondent for Business Week magazine, and Murray Seeger, economic correspondent for Newsweek magazine. This is your moderator, Harry W. Flannery, inviting you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN STARR COUNTY, TEX.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with my colleagues a recent report prepared by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The report deals with the administration of justice in Starr County, Tex., as a consequence of the continuing efforts by farmworkers in that area to organize for the purposes of collective bargaining, and wage and fringe benefit guarantees.

The facts as set forth by the Texas Advisory Committee are clear, as well as highly revealing. Hearings conducted in Starr County bear out the charge of repression and brutality by law enforcement personnel. Moreover, it is plain that law enforcement officials are not conducting themselves in an impartial manner.

Are not the days of the company detectives over and done with? It appalls me that American citizens seeking to organize themselves into unions in this year of 1967, are faced with such hostile actions as those displayed in Starr County, Tex. I hope that we will see an end to such activity soon. I am confident that once the public at large is apprized of the facts, they will show an indignation similar to that of a great many of the Members of this House.

I would remind those present, Mr. Speaker, that farmworkers are still not protected by the National Labor Relations Act. This inequity can be corrected by approval by the 90th Congress of H.R. 4769 and S. 8.

The report follows:

[A report prepared by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights]

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN STARR COUNTY, TEX.

INTRODUCTION

On May 25–26, a Subcommittee of the Texas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights held closed meetings at the Starr County Courthouse, Rio Grande City, Texas, to receive information relating to allegations of denials of equal protection of the laws in the administration of justice. These meetings were undertaken in response to requests from the League of United Latin American Citizens; the American G.I. Forum; the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee AFL–CIO; the Texas State AFL–CIO; Texas Advisory Committee members; and interested individuals. All the persons who appeared at the meeting did so voluntarily and their statements were not made under oath.

Members of the Subcommittee present were Garland Smith, attorney, Weslaco; Rafael H. Flores, attorney, McAllen; Albert Armendariz, attorney, El Paso; and Carlos Truan of Corpus Christi. Assisting the Subcommittee in its investigation was Mr. William B. Oliver, Field Representative from the South Field Office of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Approximately 30 persons appeared before the Subcommittee to testify and submit sworn statements relating to the administration of justice. Among the persons who appeared were representatives and members of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO (UFWOC); religious groups; private community organizations; attorneys for the unions; growers; attorneys for the growers; the County Attorney; the District Attorney; and individual citizens. Although the Texas Rangers received a written invitation to participate in the meeting, none appeared.

Early in 1966, the UFWOC began a campaign in Starr County to organize persons employed by growers and packers. Since the beginning of this drive, there have been reports alleging sabotage of farm machinery and other reports alleging physical violence. As a result of these allegations, the Starr County law enforcement officials requested the assistance of the Texas Rangers. About the time of the appearance of the Texas Rangers, the Committee began to receive requests to investigate allegations of denials of equal protection of the laws in the administration of justice.

The Texas Advisory Committee has forwarded this report and recommendations to the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C., with a request that they be made public. The Staff Director of the Commission has approved this request.

REPORT

On May 25 and 26, a Subcommittee of the Texas Advisory Committee held closed meetings in Rio Grande City. At these sessions, the Committee received information including sworn statements submitted by members of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO (UFWOC) and other citizens. On the basis of this information, the Committee concluded that members of UFWOC and other citizens active in the organizing campaign have been denied their legal rights in Starr County.

These denials included:

1. Physical and verbal abuse by Texas Rangers and Starr County law enforcement officials;
2. Failure to bring promptly to trial members and union organizers against whom criminal charges have been alleged;
3. Holding of union organizers for many hours before they were released on bond;
4. Arrest of UFWOC members and organizers on the complaints of growers and packers without full investigation of the allegations in the complaints. In contrast, law enforcement officials made full investigations before acting on complaints filed by members and officers of UFWOC;
5. Encouragement of farm workers by Rangers to cross picket lines;
6. Intimidation by law enforcement officers of farm workers taking part in representation elections;
7. Harassment by Rangers of UFWOC members, organizers, and a representative of the Migrant Ministry of the Texas Council of Churches which gave the appearance of being in sympathy with the growers and packers rather than the impartiality usually expected of law enforcement officers.

The majority of the farm workers and members of the Farm Workers Organizing Committee are Mexican Americans. To many Mexicans, the Texas Rangers are a symbol of oppression; their appearance in Starr County only served to aggravate an already tense situation. While the Committee supports fair and objective law enforcement and recognizes the possible need of Starr County law enforcement agencies to seek outside assistance in this situation, it questions whether the Texas Rangers are the appropriate source for such assistance.

The Committee also collected information indicating that many Mexican Nationals who possess alien-resident receipt cards (Green Cards) but who are living in Mexico, are being utilized as a source of labor on farms which are being picketed. Several persons alleged that this practice constitutes a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of Federal Immigration Law.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above findings, the Committee recommends to the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

1. That the information received by the Committee be transmitted to the U.S. Department of Justice;
2. That the Commission request the Attorney General of the United States to undertake immediately an investigation of the denial of equal protection of the laws in Starr County; and further, that if the Attorney General's findings corroborate the information obtained by the Committee, the Department of Justice take immediate action to secure injunctive relief in Federal District Court.
3. That the Commission request the U.S. Secretary of State, the U.S. Secretary of Labor, and the U.S. Attorney General, through the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to re-examine the regulations and policies which permit and encourage persons residing in Mexico to cross the border and engage in agricultural labor in the United States on a daily basis to the detriment of citizens or other persons permanently residing in the United States.
4. That the Commission continue its investigation of denials of equal protection of the laws to farm workers in South Texas and other Southwestern states.

The Texas Advisory Committee intends to continue its exploration of the problems affecting farm workers and at an early date will seek meetings with State officials to explore possible remedies to the situations in Starr County and to prevent similar situations from arising elsewhere in the State of Texas.

VIETNAM

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, on Friday night last the President spoke to the Nation from San Antonio, Tex., on the subject of Vietnam. The speech was generally considered to be an effort to allay the mounting doubts of the American people concerning our involvement there. The comments made after the speech by the press and political figures were largely to the effect that nothing new was said, and that not many doubters would be convinced.

I watched and listened to the President as he spoke. I have read his speech in detail. There is one impression that comes through clearly. The President believes, strongly and sincerely, that the course on which he has directed this country is the right course. By whatever path he may have reached this belief, and there are many, he has apparently now so committed himself to it that he cannot draw back.

This is unfortunate for our country, for the Democratic Party, and for President Johnson. I strongly believe that our country has made, and will continue to make, its greatest progress under Democratic leadership. I respect and admire the ability of President Johnson to develop and to achieve new goals for the progress of the American people. But on the issue of Vietnam, I believe that this country has been both wrong in its approach and mistaken in its judgments of success from the beginning. In escalating our commitment to these errors, President Johnson is losing the support of the American people, as well as most of the peoples of the world. And in making clear the sincerity and strength of his commitment to these errors, the President is making it more difficult for his supporters to maintain their opposition to his Vietnam policies without opposing him as a leader and as a candidate for reelection.

The mounting disenchantment of the American people with the administration's Vietnam policy rises from a rapidly growing awareness of its increasing impact on our society—increased taxes, greater casualties, and a deferment of action on many pressing domestic problems—and an increasing awareness of the tenuous grounds on which this impact is justified. The President provided nothing in his speech that would stem this disenchantment.

Thoughtful Americans are today questioning the very assumptions on which our involvement is based, assumptions which the President projects as almost to be taken on faith. Let me discuss briefly the nature of some of these assumptions, stressed repeatedly by the President in San Antonio, and many times before.

He said:

> Vietnam is also the scene of a powerful aggression that is spurred by an appetite for conquest.

The American people, and most of the rest of the world, know that the Vietnamese are one people, with an overwhelming desire for national identity, and that they were promised that national identity by the Geneva Conference of 1954. We have collaborated in frustrating that desire because we believed it would result in a Communist-dominated state. But the American people are now asking whether a deep Vietnamese commitment to national unity, which we support in principal throughout the world, can be transformed by the words of the President into "an appetite for conquest" merely because it is led by Communists. The President fails to answer, or even ask, this question.

The President has used the term "moral commitment" to describe American entry into the Vietnam war. Here again the American people, with a profound desire to be guided by morality, are questioning any moral result from this involvement. How can we judge as moral a course which destroys a people we claim to be helping to freedom and democracy? How can it be moral to attempt to convince a people of the rightness of our cause by destroying their villages, corrupting their cultural values, buying their young women, maintaining in power a government with only the most tenuous support of its people, purchasing the support of that government and its supporting elite class by closing our eyes to the most flagrant enrichment of its officers by graft and corruption? Again the President's speech does not answer these questions.

The President attempts in his speech to make the keystone of our involvement the matter of our own security. He says, "But the key to all we have done is our own security." And the American people could be convinced of the worth of our effort if they could see that one point—even if they questioned all other points. But they cannot see how the fate of one-half of a backward Asiatic country can affect the security of the greatest power on earth.

If our security is threatened by the possibility of a neutralist or Communist-leaning South Vietnam, why was it not equally threatened by the militantly Communist North Vietnam? If we are, in fact, threatened by North Vietnam, why do we not act to destroy North Vietnam and replace its government by a military dictatorship favorable to us, as we are doing in South Vietnam? If the loss of South Vietnam would threaten the stability of Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and the rest of Asia and the Pacific, why did not the loss of North Vietnam pose a similar threat?

The fact is that these questions have no satisfactory answer, so they are swept under the table by the President and his spokesmen. Our original support of France in Indochina, and opposition to the nationalist aspirations of that region, was based on our policy of the containment of Russian communism and our fear that the fall of China to communism strengthened the U.S.S.R. We know today that such is not the case. Russia is as threatened by Chinese Communist nationalism as we are, and Vietnamese Communist nationalism is of little aid to Russia. While the facts changed, our policies did not. Instead we created the new specter of Chinese Communist wars of national liberation as the vast, new conspiracy against which to guard. We ignored the fact that wars of national liberation are endemic to mankind, and will flourish wherever a people are repressed. The leadership of such wars may come from a George Washington or a Simon Bolivar, or it may come from a Fidel Castro or a Mao Tse-tung—depending on the course of history. But it will come to every people who see hope for progress only in the violent overthrow of the status quo.

Yet we persist in equating our security as a nation with the repression of revolution, when over most of the world we should be supporting revolution—peaceful, where possible, but revolution nevertheless. Our repeated and stereotyped identification of all revolution as Communist-inspired, and our adherence by our actions to the myth of monolithic communism as the ultimate evil in the world only separates us further from the aspirations of the masses of mankind oppressed by both tyrannical governments and the even worse tyranny of poverty and ignorance.

The true enemy of freedom and democracy is this latter tyranny. The magnitude of this problem can be illustrated simply. If all of Asia were to make economic progress at their present rate for a hundred years they would be further behind the economic level of the United States—assuming that the United States continues to advance at its present rate—than they are today, many times over. If the Asian countries were to progress at twice their present rate of increase in GNP/capita, for a hundred years, their level would still be below what the United States is today. This is the massive fact that overshadows all others in the world today. This is the real threat to the security of the people of the United States. And our insistence on mouthing the cliches of the cold war in the face of this overriding reality is the certain path to our own ultimate loss of that leadership to which we may be entitled by history, and the loss of any security for our people.

The citizens of this country are increasingly aware of this threat to our security, and they look to the President for meaningful answers to these questions. He has neither given the answers nor posed the questions. Instead, he has called the roll of client states whose subservience to our policies we have bought, or pressured, but whose own problems of achieving freedom and democracy, with a few exceptions, remain unsolved, and tried to use their support as justification for our own mistakes. The danger to our children and grandchildren, with which the President and all of us are concerned, is vastly greater in a world of skyrocketing population and decreasing rates of economic progress for the poor nations than from any other possible cause.

The last comment I must make on the President's speech is his repetition of our desire to negotiate, and Hanoi's unwillingness to meet with us. To quote him:

> It is Hanoi's choice—not ours, not the world's—that war continues.

To believe such a statement, as I am sure the President does, requires a total conviction of the rightness of our course in Vietnam. It requires a conviction that the National Liberation Front has no legitimacy in representing some of the aspirations of the people of Vietnam, for we have made it clear we will not negotiate with them. It requires a conviction that they should have no voice in the Government of South Vietnam, or any part of it, for we have made it clear that we will not tolerate such a voice. It requires a conviction that the people of South Vietnam are best served by a government of generals, made rich by their willingness to serve first France and then the United States, for we will consider no other government. It requires a conviction that these values are so great as to justify the military devastation of all Vietnam if necessary, for we have made clear our intention to do this rather than negotiate any alternative possibility. And because Hanoi and the National Liberation Front reject these basic conditions underlying our offer to negotiate unconditionally, we place the blame on them for continuation of the war.

I think that the American people increasingly understand the nature of this impasse, and want it resolved by a simple offer by the President to accept any government for South Vietnam in which all the people vote without coercion, and any candidate may run without fear. They have to date received no such affirmation by the President.

Thus the President's speech, while it revealed his own sincere commitment to the course we are following, gave the country little hope for the success of that course—or even a more convincing justification for it.

Perhaps just by coincidence, shortly after the President spoke, two widely read and greatly respected columnists appeared in print with analyses, drastically different from those of the President, of the war in Vietnam and America's role in the world. Joseph Kraft, returning to the United States after 2 months in Vietnam and elsewhere, wrote a column entitled, "We Can't Win in Vietnam." Calling for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, Mr. Kraft says, in two key paragraphs:

> Then there is the matter of political objectives. Since the President has never spelled these out in detail, the field has been dominated by men in Washington and Saigon who give the impression that the American aim is an anti-Communist South Vietnamese state.
>
> But the other side will negotiate only if there is some prospect that at some time in some way its political objectives can be obtained. Thus, as a further prelude to talks, Washington and Saigon will have to lower their political objectives. They will have to open a channel whereby the insurgents on the other side can re-enter South Vietnamese political life, and maybe even come to power.

In another column, Walter Lippmann, comparing the role and problems of President Johnson and Charles de Gaulle in a philosophical vein, tries to explain the unpopularity of military and diplomatic adventures abroad. He concludes by saying:

> France cannot remake Europe and President Johnson cannot remake Asia. They have to remake France and America.
>
> And if this be isolationism, so be it. It is nevertheless an almost universal human sentiment in the world today.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I include the entire Joseph Kraft column and the last portion of the Lippmann column at the conclusion of these remarks.

Mr. Speaker, in these tragic times when no sane man can claim final answers to the problems which confront us, one sometimes fears to speak out at all. Yet this fear has brought us to where we are today. Now is the time to speak out.

WE CAN'T WIN IN VIETNAM—UNITED STATES MUST NEGOTIATE A WAY OUT AND IT WON'T HELP TO PERSONALIZE THE ISSUE AGAINST L. B. J.

(By Joseph Kraft)

Returning to this country after two months in Vietnam and elsewhere, I find one striking change. There has been a dramatic hardening of temper against the President on Vietnam.

What useful purpose this shift of mood can serve is not clear to me. Not that I think the war is going well. On the contrary, I am more than ever convinced that the United States cannot achieve a military victory in Vietnam.

One measure of the outlook is the situation around Danang. For more than two years, that city and its environs have been a base for about 10,000 American Marines. The Marines have been active in the area not only militarily, but equally in civic action programs designed to assert control over the local population.

Still, hardly a night goes by without some small-scale enemy assault on the Marine positions. The attacks generally come from close in—sometimes a mere 1000 yards away. The attackers can come that close only because they have the support of the local population.

This means that our best troops operating in force in not unfavorable terrain over a period of two years have not been able to break up the enemy's local support. At that rate, I do not think the United States will force the other side to fade away for years and years. And thus it seems to me imperative that we negotiate our way out of Vietnam.

But negotiating out, while perhaps possible, is surely not easy. For openers, there has to be a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. Without it, there will be no talks with the other side.

But would there be talks if the bombing stopped? The President is certain there would not be. Some well-informed officials around the world disagree. But even they acknowledge that to yield talks, a stop in the bombing would have to be managed with great skill—particularly as to timing.

The more so because Hanoi would probably use any bombing pause to rush new supplies to its forces. That would increase the vulnerability of American troops, and cause American commanders, not unnaturally, to demand resumption of bombing.

To forestall these demands, American troops would have to be insulated against whatever advantage the other side might take of a bombing halt. They would have to be less exposed—which, at a minimum, means pulling back from the belly-to-belly encounter along the Demilitarized Zone. But deliberately relinquishing territory is not easy either.

Then there is the matter of political objectives. Since the President has never spelled these out in detail, the field has been dominated by men in Washington and Saigon who give the impression that the American aim is an anti-Communist South Vietnamese state.

But the other side will negotiate only if there is some prospect that at some time in some way its political objectives can be obtained. Thus, as a further prelude to talks, Washington and Saigon will have to lower their political objectives. They will have to open a channel whereby the insurgents on the other side can re-enter South Vietnamese political life, and maybe even come to power.

These are the minimal arrangements which have to be made for negotiations to have a chance. No President would find the course easy to follow; a beleaguered one least of all.

And so, while I think President Johnson has made mistakes, while I think he has been led to exaggerate the strategic importance of Vietnam out of all proportion, it does not seem to me to be helpful to personalize the issue.

The sad truth is that for those of us who favor a political settlement the best hope lies in support of that part of the President's instinct which also seeks to resolve the war by negotiations.

UNLIKELY PAIR BOTH PLAY LOSING GAME

(By Walter Lippmann)

The Gallup polls recently have been bad reading both in the Elysee and in the White House. They are showing that popular confidence cannot be won by actions abroad.

By the traditional standards of power politics, President Johnson has all the material resources needed for a successful diplomatic policy. But, unhappily for us all, he has landed this country in the most serious trouble it has had to face for at least a hundred years. And Gen. de Gaulle, the most prophetic and experienced of living statesmen, has somehow entangled himself in costly and dangerous miscalculations both in Europe and in the Middle East.

One is tempted to say that the traditional game of power politics has become unplayable. For not only in Washington and Paris but also in Moscow, Peking and London, the Foreign Offices and the diplomatists are in trouble. The Soviet Union finds itself vulnerable on its long Asian frontier with China and it has made a humiliating hash of its opportunities and its interests in the Middle East.

Britain is in full retreat from what remains of its empire and also from its pretensions and obligations as a world power. Yet Britain has a long travail ahead of it before it will be able to play a satisfying part in Europe.

The powers who feel that they have duties and ambitions to fulfill abroad seem unable to prevail abroad. The United States has to put up with Castro's Cuba and it is unable to carve an independent South Vietnam out of Indochina. The Soviet Union has to put up with Israel. And Britain and West Germany have to put up with the Russians and the Americans.

A FRIGHTENING REVOLUTION

The frustrations of power politics are reflected everywhere in what is a strong tide of isolationist sentiment. To speak of isolationism in this connection, however, is not to say very much that is illuminating. I venture to think that we can begin to say a little more only when we start with the idea that the people everywhere are very preoccupied with the problems, with the pains and the pleasures, which confront them because they are living in the midst of the most radical revolution in the history of mankind.

This revolution is a transformation of the human environment and of man himself by technological progress which, beginning about two centuries ago, has now acquired enormous momentum. It is changing the way men live, not only their work and their houses, their food and their communications and their pleasures but it is changing also the structure of the human family and the chemistry of the human personality.

These changes are bewildering. They are frightening, and it is no wonder that the masses of mankind are too much absorbed in their own lives to care very much about what happens in some other country.

This experience accounts, I think, for the unpopularity of activity abroad. It is also a cause, perhaps the main cause, for the ineffectiveness and the failures of foreign activity. Nations cannot now be ordered around by coercing their governments or cajoling their governments or bribing their governments. For the masses of the people are too much preoccupied with the problem of living in the modern world to respond to and to think about the abstractions, about foreign ideologies and even of distant national interests.

The game of power politics may again become playable some day if mankind can come to terms with the technological revolution. But this will not be in our time, and what we all have to realize—President Johnson and President de Gaulle and Chairman Kosygin and the rest of us is that the solution of the internal problems of modern living must have priority over foreign affairs.

France cannot remake Europe and President Johnson cannot remake Asia. They have to remake France and America.

And if this be isolationism, so be it. It is nevertheless an almost universal human sentiment in the world today.

INCREASE ASSISTANCE TO HOSPITAL DIPLOMA SCHOOLS OF NURSING

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. TIERNAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to introduce today along with Mr. Corbett of Pennsylvania an amendment of the Nurses Training Act of 1964, which provides for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing.

There is no doubt in my mind that with the great shortage of nurses today, we must find a way to assist those schools who are carrying the burden of educating our nurses. With the rising costs of hospital care, and with no relief seen in the near future from even higher costs, I believe we must make this assistance available to our hospital diploma schools of nursing.

It is with great interest and concern that I join Representative Fred Rooney, Representative Corbett and many other sponsors of this measure in urging speedy passage of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I include as part of my remarks a copy of this legislation:

A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 806 of the Public Helath Service Act is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 806. (a) In order to prevent further attrition and promote the development of public and nonprofit private diploma schools of nursing, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for the four succeeding years to defray a portion of the cost of training students of nursing.

"(b) From the amounts appropriated pursuant to subsection (a), the Surgeon General shall pay to each public or nonprofit diploma school of nursing for each fiscal year in the five-year period beginning July 1, 1967, an annual grant of $12,000 for a full-time student enrollment of fifty or fewer, $15,000 for a full-time student enrollment of fifty-one to one hundred, $18,000 for a full-time student enrollment of one hundred and one to one hundred and fifty, $21,000 for a full-time student enrollment of one hundred and fifty-one to two hundred, and $24,000 for a full-time student enrollment of two hundred and one or more; an annual grant not to exceed $6,000 on a 50 per centum-50 per centum matching basis for library resources, and an annual grant of $400 per full-time student. The Surgeon General shall make such amounts available to those diploma schools of nursing as approved by the appropriate State agency.

"(c) For the purposes of this section, a diploma school of nursing shall be deemed accredited upon approval by the appropriate State agency recognized by the Surgeon General.

"(d) That an annual grant of such sums as may be necessary on a 75 per centum-25 per centum Federal-State matching basis be made toward the establishment and operation of a State comprehensive planning committee for nursing education. Such committee shall be appointed by the appropriate officer of each State and its membership shall include equal representation from baccalaureate associate degree and diploma schools of nursing. Such committee should develop a State master plan for nursing education which includes consideration of the following objectives:

"1. avoid costly duplication of programs;

"2. insure strategic location of new, expanding programs;

"3. create and maintain balance among various kinds of educational programs;

"4. provide a balanced supply of all kinds of nurses needed;

"5. determine statewide needs for nursing personnel of all kind on a succession of target dates;

"6. plan an educational system which will provide the needed personnel, with specific recommendations about individual institutions and their capacities;

"7. recommend the means of attracting students and sources of financial support for capital and operating expenses of programs;

"8. maintain continued planning and evaluation of progress.

"(e) For the purpose of this section, the full-time enrollment in any school shall be determined as of February 15 of each fiscal year."

WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. Tiernan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, added evidence of the growing support for the war on poverty was expressed last week in an editorial of the Westerly Sun of Westerly, R.I.

Two statements in this editorial from a conservative, Republican-oriented newspaper stand out significantly. I quote from the first sentence of the editorial:

> Despite the blasts of critics, the War on Poverty must be doing something right.

The second comment in the editorial that drew my attention is—

> There is also negative evidence encouraging to the War on Poverty. In the 32 cities that did experience riots, only 16 of the more than 30,000 CAA employees in those cities were arrested for taking part in it.

Mr. Speaker, I think this is telling evidence of the merit and worth of OEO and all of the many community action programs. I do not think we in the House of Representatives can afford to discourage or to disappoint those people who are to benefit by these programs. I also think we cannot afford to deny the many local officials this valuable right hand.

Without objection, I ask for inclusion of this editorial in the Record:

[From the Westerly (R.I.) Sun, Sept. 28, 1967]

Gains in War on Poverty

Despite the blasts of critics, the War on Poverty must be doing something right.

In 32 cities in which there were no riots or civil disorders this summer, most of the local authorities credited the summer programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity for helping to prevent violence.

This is what they told the OEO in a nationwide survey in which OEO inspectors talked to mayors, police chiefs, juvenile judges, heads of local Chambers of Commerce and other leading citizens.

Not one police chief or mayor blamed War on Poverty programs for heightening tensions, and in 15 cities, local Community Action Agencies were praised for calming down bad situations in specific instances.

In 14 cities, municipal police departments and CAAs had joint programs to prevent riots. In eight cities, the juvenile arrest rate went down this summer as a result, it is believed, of increased availability of summer jobs.

There is also negative evidence encouraging to the War on Poverty:

In the 32 cities that did experience riots, only 16 of the more than 30,000 CAA employes in those cities were arrested for taking part in them.

More than $300 million worth of property damage was done in riot cities, says the OEO, yet not one of its 244 buildings in the riot areas was burned or destroyed.

Total damage to Community Action buildings was $1,840 for seven sets of broken windows.

URBAN POVERTY

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. Tiernan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, September 25, Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., of Providence, R.I., in a prepared statement pinpointed the failure of the Republican Party to act constructively in the matter of urban poverty.

I have wondered for some time as to the reason why Republican Governors who favor such urban programs as model cities, rent supplements, and the war on poverty, do not make an extra effort to influence some of the Republican Members of the House who represent their States. I am beginning to feel that, in truth, the Republican Governors are more interested in making political hay at the expense of worthwhile Federal programs rather than undertake an effort to persuade their fellow Republicans in the House to see beyond the 1968 elections:

Mayor Doorley says, and I quote:

> It is ironic that Republican Governors have so little influence over their congressional representatives. It is also ironic the Republican Party, which only last August called for more aid to eliminate urban poverty, now one month later is about to destroy the hope and aspiration of all the nation's ghetto dwellers.

Mr. Speaker, Mayor Doorley's comments are well timed and speak eloquently of the hypocrisy that is involved in this situation.

Without objection, I include this editorial from the Providence Evening Bulletin in the Record:

Doorley Slaps Congress GOP on Poverty

Mayor Joseph A. Doorley Jr. sharply criticized congressional Republicans today for their opposition to antipoverty legislation now before Congress.

The mayor said in a prepared statement news reports indicated the administration-sponsored bill now in the House is in trouble because of the Republican opposition.

He said this is "ironic" in the light of a recent statement by the policy committee of the Republican Governors' Conference that the federal government had failed to allot sufficient funds for its programs dealing with urban poverty.

"It is ironic the Republican governors have so little influence over their congressional representatives," the mayor's statement said. "It is also ironic the Republican Party, which only last August called for more aid to eliminate urban poverty, now one month later is about to destroy the hope and aspiration of all the nation's ghetto dwellers.

"The politically motivated utterances of the governors' policy committee show clearly the Republicans are more interested in developing a national candidate than they are in helping the impoverished people of the nation's cities.

Mr. Doorley said Providence has one of the most comprehensive poverty programs in the country. He called on the residents of this and other cities to "marshal their resources" against the Republicans.

The Doorley statement came in response to a report from Washington which said an effort in the House education and labor committee to reach bipartisan agreement on a bill had failed, jeopardizing the bill's chances of passage in the House.

"If we can't go on the floor with a bipartisan support, we can't pass a bill," one of the Democratic members said. Actually, observers believe Republican opposition to the bill is so intense the GOP may not support the bill even if Republican members of the committee do.

FORMER U.S. SENATOR CLARENCE C. DILL

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent speech by a very distinguished citizen of the State of Washington, former U.S. Senator Clarence C. Dill.

The occasion of his remarks was the 40th anniversary of a luncheon at Saddle Mountain in the Columbia Basin, where pioneers of another era made the plans which later resulted in development of the mighty Columbia River for power and irrigation.

Senator Dill is truly an amazing man and he played a key role in the efforts to launch the development of the Pacific Northwest's water resources.

A native of Ohio, he received his law degree at Ohio Wesleyan University in 1907. After working briefly as a newspaper reporter in Cleveland and as a teacher in Dubuque, Iowa, he came to Spokane, Wash., in 1909 and began the practice of law there in 1910.

His long career in public service began in the following year when he became a deputy prosecuting attorney for Spokane County. He then served in 1913 as private secretary to Gov. Ernest Lister, of Washington, but resigned after a few months to return to Spokane to run for Congress.

When he was elected in 1914 he was the first Congressman to represent the Fifth District which had just been created and he was the first Democrat to be elected to the House from the State of Washington. He served in the 64th and 65th Congresses. He was the youngest Member of the House at the time.

Mr. Speaker, it was more than 50 years ago that this outstanding American represented the same district that I now have the honor to represent.

When his second term expired, he returned to the practice of law. He was elected to the Senate in 1922 and served with distinction for two terms.

Senator Dill served on a special committee which in 1924 investigated the leasing of naval oil reserves.

The Senator was the coauthor of the Dill-White Act, passed in 1927, which established Federal regulation of the radio industry. He also sponsored a 1934 law which established the Federal Communications Commission.

In his Senate career, he ranks in stature with such progressives as Robert LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler.

Senator Dill's greatest achievement, in the memories of the people of the Pacific Northwest, was his effort in personally persuading President Franklin D. Roosevelt to have the Public Works Administration allocate $63 million to build Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River.

Low cost power from Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dam, downstream on the Columbia, made it possible to develop the aluminum and atomic products industries in the Pacific Northwest during World War II.

Grand Coulee Dam, for which Senator Dill did so much to get started, is now being enlarged with the addition of a third powerhouse that will boost its generating capability from the present 2 million kilowatts to 9.2 million kilowatts. It was my privilege to sponsor legislation in the 89th Congress to authorize the third powerhouse.

Senator Dill has continued his active role in public affairs since his retirement from the Senate. He served on the Washington State Columbia Basin Commission from 1945 to 1948 and was a special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General from 1946 to 1953.

He is widely acclaimed for his abilities as an orator and he regularly receives more invitations to speak than he is able to accept.

Senator Dill continues in the active practice of law in Spokane. His keen mind, vigor, and enthusiasm surpasses that of men half his age.

Mr. Speaker, with this preface I include in the RECORD the text of Senator Dill's address at the Saddle Mountain Luncheon on September 23, 1967:

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF SADDLE MOUNTAIN LUNCHEON, SADDLE MOUNTAIN, SEPTEMBER 23, 1967

(By Clarence C. Dill)

A nation or a community without an anniversary is a nation or a community without a history or a heart. The people of the Columbia Basin area have both a history and a heart, and we meet today to celebrate the results of the struggle which this anniversary commemorates.

It is a historic fact also that a nation or a community advances as it develops and uses the resources with which Providence has endowed it. Providence blessed the Pacific Northwest and especially this Columbia Basin area, with oceans of sunshine, vast areas of level land whose soil is super rich and most of all, with the great Columbia River carrying an abundance of clear, unpolluted water from the ice fields of Canada and Glacier National Park, over a rock bottom for nearly all its course.

Those are the resources which Nature provided. The white settlers, and especially their children and grandchildren, with the immigrants from the East and South, who came during the first years of the 20th century, were dreamers and planners. They conceived plans to bring an abundance of water to those vast areas of level dry lands. They planned to change the literally millions of acres of sage brush and sand into God's own gardens with flourishing fruits and unbelievably large production of grains and vegetables. They also dreamed of the great Grand Coulee dam, not only to furnish the necessary water, but also to provide the lowest cost electric power in the world which would bring a great industrial empire along with the agricultural production to the whole Northwest. Those were the people who greeted the 24-man delegation of Congressmen and Senators from Washington, D.C. to inspect the proposed project forty years ago.

It is not my purpose today to review the struggle of forty years ago of the supporters of the so-called gravity plan to bring water from the Pend Oreille Lake, 140 miles away, and the supporters of the pumping plan to build a dam at Grand Coulee which would furnish both unlimited amounts of water and millions of kilowatts of the lowest cost power in the nation.

I was the prime target in public life in this state forty years ago of the Spokesman-Review, the Washington Water Power Company, and allied chambers of commerce and private power companies, but I am thankful I learned long ago never to burden myself with the memories of abuse and misrepresentation in political contests. Hate is a greater burden to the consignor than to the consignee. A man who fights must carry scars and those scars may serve as momentoes of contests lost or won. In this contest they can remind me of the great victory we all won.

Time gives perspective and looking backward I have often thought that probably the fierce opposition of those who opposed the building of Grand Coulee dam was in fact a blessing in disguise because it made the supporters of Grand Coulee work the harder to win. Suffice it to say that the Spokesman-Review, the Chambers of Commerce and those allied with them not only joined in supporting the final drive to have the dam built under Mr. Roosevelt's leadership, but they, private power companies most of all, have profited rather than lost by the miraculous development of the Columbia River.

Returning now to those who provided the luncheon in 1927, they set a table with food and drink here on Saddle Mountain so the Congressional delegation would see thousands of arid acres from this point. Had our dreams of those days not come true, we would not celebrate here today. Men do not celebrate failures. But we did not fail. We persisted and persisted until we found a Moses in the person of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president who dared to start the great Grand Coulee dam as a work project with WPA money, without waiting for specific authorization by Congress.

As I listen to this program today describing and depicting the way of life in this region before the water came, we enjoy being reminded of the good old days, but should all realize that the best thing about them is, they're gone. Now my memory recalls the leaders who contributed their time, energy and real money to carry forward the struggle that brought Grand Coulee dam the use of which already amazes the nation and best of all opens the door to the unlimited possibilities of the future.

If those who have gone before can look back and know what happens after they are gone, I'm sure the spirits of Rufus Woods, Billy Clapp, Gale Mathews, Nat Washington, Sr. and the thousands of others they induced to help carry on the fight are looking down upon this scene and rejoicing in the skies. They not only celebrate with us, but are no doubt urging us on to enlarge and improve the way of life for all the people of the Pacific Northwest.

We still have with us one of that galaxy of leaders, Frank T. Bell, who is here today. He was my secretary in Washington, D.C. He always urged me on to fight continuously for Grand Coulee dam. He defied its opponents and enthused its supporters. I say to you, he did more to help originate and agitate for this great project than any man still living in the Columbia Basin today.

Forty years ago two plans were proposed to bring water to these dry lands. One by gravity and one by pumping. The gravity plan was to bring water by 140 miles of canals from Pend Oreille lake in northern Idaho. We all know now the gravity plan could not have supplied the water needed for this vast project. The dam at Albeni Falls would have impounded only one million acre feet of water. Today, with only 420,000 acres of land under irrigation, the Columbia River is furnishing 2,150,000 acre feet. Each acre of dry land requires five acre feet of water. Thus the gravity plan to bring only one million acre feet would have supplied a total of two hundred thousand acres. How puny and insufficient that seems now. It would have irrigated only one-tenth of the two million acres that will some day be furnished with water from the Columbia River. That two million acres will require at least ten million acre feet for irrigation.

Yet we should not be too scornful of those who worked for the gravity plan simply because they had no conception of the amount of water that would be needed. None of us who then supported the Grand Coulee plan, had even the faintest conception of what the furnishing of low cost power would mean to this region. The use of atomic energy had not even been imagined then. Nobody could foresee a president who would dare to start the great dam without specific authorization by Congress. By so doing, Roosevelt saved at least three or four years in starting the dam Congress would probably have consumed arguing over its authorization. Saving that amount of time enabled the government to provide power for the atomic plant at Hanford in time to produce plutonium, the explosive part of the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima and ended the war. Nowhere else on earth could plutonium have been produced then. Not only that, but it made available large amounts of low cost electricity soon enough to bring the great aluminum plants to the Northwest to produce the aluminum for one third of the airplanes used in the war. When the war was over, private corporations bought and enlarged them and other aluminum plants were built. We could not foresee that this low cost power would bring the great Boeing airplane factories, the largest in the world, and many other manufacturing plants. This low cost power has made possible the distribution of electricity by REAs and PUDs, so that 98% of the farm population of the Northwest is using power furnished by the Bonneville Power Administration.

Our people and our business organizations of every kind have become extremely power minded. Although we have built ten more dams on the Columbia River since Grand Coulee and are storing the flood waters of Canada, the Bonneville Power Administration is now planning five immense atomic energy plants to supply the power that will be needed five to ten years from now. This increased demand for power in the Pacific Northwest has no counterpart in any similar sized area in the world.

It was a rare privilege for me to have had a part in helping to start this great development. I am forever indebted to the people of the state of Washington that they sent me to the United States Senate at the time when the door of opportunity opened and I walked through it, as it were, to present the proposal to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the greatest builder the world has ever known. The Grand Coulee dam is only one of the great material projects he caused to be constructed in all parts of the United States. He did even greater service by the laws he led Congress to enact that created a new world for the plain people of the nation. The guarantee of bank deposits, social security, and old age pension, are institutions which he induced Congress to establish and which revolutionized not only the lives of those then living, but of generations yet unborn.

Those of us who were here forty years ago at the luncheon that marked the high point of the struggle to win Grand Coulee dam, can proudly say, "We were there."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S INITIATIVE TO INVOLVE PRIVATE INDUSTRY IN JOB RETRAINING IS TO BE COMMENDED

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, today President Johnson has taken another important step to involve private enterprise in the work of helping to cure the Nation's stubborn domestic problems.

The White House has announced a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of unemployed Americans.

This new program, using existing resources and available funds, will provide new job training opportunities for the unemployed in plants that will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment. The program will also encourage new enterprises combining the resources of large and small businesses working together to provide jobs and jobs training opportunities for the disadvantaged.

To coordinate the efforts of the Federal Government the Secretary of Labor has appointed an outstanding American businessman, Mr. William E. Zisch of Aerojet Corp.

The Federal involvement in this program will include SBA loan guarantees for leases by small business; EDA funds for planning and technical assistance; maximum use of surplus lands, factories, and equipment; HEW health and education funds; and Transportation demonstration projects like the pioneering program in Watts.

This test program will involve five cities and two or three rural areas, to be named later.

I believe private industry's willingness to participate in this program stems from the recognition that full employment means a stronger more dynamic economy.

We have growing evidence that American business wants an opportunity to share in building the Nation. Last month, the American insurance industry agreed to commit $1 billion of their funds to invest in jobs and housing in the cities.

A project now underway to use Government surplus lands to fill housing needs will be planned and managed by private developers.

These are very hopeful signs, indeed. For the fact is that Washington cannot go it alone in the massive job of rebuilding American cities or in ridding the Nation of long-term unemployment.

This must be a partnership effort between Government and business. And the record will show that the Johnson administration is doing everything it can to make this partnership bloom and prosper.

Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous-consent request I include a memorandum from President Johnson to the heads of various Federal agencies announcing this new program:

MEMORANDUM, OCTOBER 2, 1967

To: the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Administrator of General Services Administration, the Director of Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrator of Small Business Administration.

We are launching today a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed.

The heart of this new effort is to reach the forgotten, and the neglected—those citizens handicapped by poor health, hampered by inadequate education, hindered by years of discrimination, and by-passed by conventional training programs.

To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require—on an unprecedented scale—the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal Government.

As we embark on this new course, let us be clear about what is involved: our purpose is not to hand out but to help up, to help provide every American the opportunity for a good job at a good wage.

Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.

We call upon private industry to join us in tackling one of America's most urgent domestic problems. I have no doubt that the private sector will respond. For we have witnessed in the past few months a remarkable series of events which attests to the dedication of American business in meeting the needs of the society in which it flourishes:

On September 12, 1967, the insurance companies in this country agreed to commit $1 billion of their funds for investments in city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. Some of these resources are already financing promising housing projects and insurance company executives and officials of this Administration are working together to develop other projects.

A project has been launched to use surplus Federal lands to meet the housing needs of our cities in which the efforts of private developers will be the most important single element.

A Committee, headed by Edgar F. Kaiser and composed of distinguished industrialists, bankers, labor leaders and specialists in urban affairs is examining every possible means of encouraging the development of a large-scale efficient construction and rehabilitation industry to reclaim the corroded core of the American city.

Upon the recommendation of the Kaiser

Committee we have begun the "Turnkey Plus" project to encourage private industry not only to develop and build, but also to *manage* public housing.

In this effort, we will again attempt to bring the great resources of the private sector to bear on a critical national problem. Through the great talents and energies of private industry, with full support from the Federal Government, we hope to:

Bring new job training opportunities in existing plants to the hard core unemployed.

Create new jobs and new training opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged in plants which will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Encourage new enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to provide jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged.

To initiate this effort, the resources of the Departments of Commerce, Defense, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration will be combined to provide maximum assistance and to minimize the added cost of those in private industry willing to assume responsibility for providing training and work opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged.

Initially, nearly $40 million from a wide variety of existing programs will be made available, as will millions of dollars worth of surplus Federal property and excess Federal equipment.

We will offer to private industry:

A full spectrum of aid to assist them in recruiting, counselling, training, and providing health and other needed services to the disadvantaged.

Aid which will enable them to experiment with new ways to overcome the transportation barriers now separating men and women from jobs.

Surplus Federal land, technical assistance and funds to facilitate the construction of new plants in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Excess Federal equipment to enable them to train more disadvantaged people.

Assistance to joint enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to bring jobs and training opportunities to the disadvantaged.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to direct this test program and insure that all available Federal resources are utilized. The Secretary of Commerce will designate a full-time Special Representative as the single point of contact for private employers participating in this project. The Special Representative will provide employers with one-stop service for the entire Federal Government and will make whatever arrangements are appropriate with the various Federal agencies for all forms of Federal assistance.

The Secretary of Labor will designate a full-time officer in the Manpower Administration to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary of Commerce in connection with the training and employment elements of these projects.

I have also asked the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrators of the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration to assist the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor in this test program and to assign a single official in their agencies who will coordinate their efforts in support of this program.

Provision will be made for continuing liaison with local projects and for careful research and evaluation to crystallize field experience into guidelines for future action.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce to invite corporations throughout the country to join this new effort to bring meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens both in existing plants and, where feasible, in new locations near areas of concentrated unemployment.

I have directed each Department and Agency of this Government to give top priority to all phases of this important effort.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

JOB CORPS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KAZEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, there are still some people in this country who think that the members of the Job Corps are nothing but a bunch of thugs and roughnecks. The slightest wrongdoing on the part of a Job Corps man is cited as absolute proof that the entire program should be abolished. The tremendous good that the Job Corps has done is often ignored. Mr. Speaker, can you imagine the headlines we would see if a Job Corps man was killed at one of the centers in a violent struggle? Well, there have been eight of these young men killed in a violent struggle and I think it is time that the Congress and the people are aware of it. These young men were killed in action in Vietnam. There have been several more wounded. They are among the 346 former Job Corps men who have served their country in that distant land.

The Laredo Times recently carried an article about one of these brave young men, Mr. Donald Morris of Plains, Tex., who was killed in June. Donald Morris had been turned down for military service because he was not qualified. He joined the Job Corps and as a result of the training he received, he was able to enlist in the Armed Forces. More than 6,600 of his colleagues have done the same.

Mr. Speaker, in a time when we are presented with the tragic spectacle of young men burning their draft cards and refusing to fight for their country, the knowledge that there are other young men who are willing to work for the privilege to serve their country fills me with pride. It is time we took note of the many Job Corps men who make good instead of the few that do not. At this point I insert the article in the RECORD:

JOB CORPS DORM NAMED FOR CORPSMAN

HUNTSVILLE.—Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman Friday helped dedicate a new Waverly Job Corps dormitory named for a former corpsman who was killed in action in Vietnam.

The dormitory was named for Donald Morris, who was at the Waverly center from November, 1965, to August, 1966.

He was killed last June in Vietnam while attempting to disarm a faulty hand grenade. He was buried in his hometown of Plains, Tex.

"We are here to do the best we can in our small way to recognize his (Morris') courage, patriotism and unselfish devotion to his country," Freeman said.

Morris was originally turned down for military service, so he joined the Job Corps.

Freeman said after his work with the corps, Morris had no difficulty enlisting in the Army.

Freeman told a group of 200 corpsmen the work the Job Corps is doing is not busy work, "but constructive work which will give future enjoyment to hundreds of thousands of Americans."

UNDERSTANDING OF RENT SUPPLEMENTS

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the rent supplement program is unique as it proposes to bind private enterprise and the Federal Government in a dynamic partnership to provide housing for low-income families. Private enterprise has responded with enthusiasm to this partnership. Recently, the life insurance industry committed $1 billion to attack the problems of urban slums, most of which will be used in the rent supplement program. When making this announcement Mr. Gilbert Fitzhugh said:

> Existing programs offer many opportunities for constructive action. For example, the rent supplement program is probably the area into which we will move most rapidly.

Mr. Speaker, too long we have neglected to provide incentives for private enterprise to invest in solving urban problems. The rent supplement program is designed to provide such incentives. It will reduce Government control over housing construction and management. It will stimulate private investment. And, most important, it will greatly increase our supply of decent housing for low-income families.

Despite these benefits, the House of Representatives failed to support rent supplements. Many people have been unable to comprehend this lack of support. For example, a recent editorial in the Coatesville, Pa., Record noted:

> There are times when Congressional economizing leaves us puzzled and disturbed. The action of the House in refusing to approve any funds for the rent supplement program for fiscal year 1968 is a good example. One can only conclude that the legislators didn't understand the program, or that they didn't think through the alternatives to it.

Since I believe that the Coatesville Record editorial clearly and concisely sets forth the benefits of the rent supplement program, I would like to share it with my colleagues by placing it in the RECORD at this point:

COSTLY ECONOMIZING

There are times when Congressional economizing leaves us puzzled and disturbed. The action of the House in refusing to approve any funds for the rent supplement program for fiscal year 1968 is a good example. One can only conclude that the legislators didn't understand the program, or that they didn't think through the alternatives to it.

Decent housing for low-income families is an urgent need in nearly every city in the nation. If business can't fill that need, then it logically follows that government will do so, sooner or later.

The fact is that the business community—builders, bankers and brokers—support the rent supplement program. So do mayors, city managers, labor, churches and other organizations. The program has this wide-based support because it represents a working partnership between government and private enterprise. The features of the program are:

It is available for new or rehabilitated housing, privately financed, and privately managed. The property stays on the local tax rolls.

Only the really poor are eligible. Income limits are the same as for public housing, but tenants are not required to move if income rises. The supplement is simply reduced or eliminated.

It tends to reduce government control over housing construction and management.

It stimulates private investment. To date some $500 million in private financing has been triggered by the $32 million of federal funds approved for rent supplement payments.

In short, the program joins public and private resources in a common attack on the program of developing the housing which low-income Americans in cities large and small so badly need.

The Senate should approve the proposed $40 million for the rent supplement program in 1968, and thus give the House a chance to reconsider its earlier action.

Both local and federal tax burdens will benefit in the long run.

RED SOX WIN PENNANT

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'NEILL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, we in this body lead a busy life, caught up with the problems of our country and the world. We do not often take time out to contemplate the truly beautiful and wonderful things in life. I would like now to share with you one of the most delightful things to have happened in many years. It concerns a great American tradition.

The tradition of which I speak is the pennant race, and lest any of the Members of this body were in some isolated area of Antarctica during the past weekend and have not heard the news, let me inform you that the Boston Red Sox won the American League pennant and will play the National League champions in the World Series.

This pennant race was the closest one in the history of the American League. Many of you, especially those who have the honor of representing Detroit, Chicago, and Minnesota, will understand the tension and anxiety that accompanied this close race.

It was so close for so long with only one game in the loss column separating four teams. Three of these teams went to the wire and it was only the last game that decided the whole contest.

And, of course, the reason I am standing here now is that the Boston Red Sox won that game. Now, the competition was fierce this year and all the teams were in fine shape, but I must insist that the best team won.

The last time the Sox had the pennant was in 1946. Last year they finished in ninth place and I am told that the Las Vegas odds were against them 100 to 1. Well, that only served to spur them on to greater heights. In the past two weeks, they vacillated between 1st and 4th place, but they could not be counted out.

But I am not going to go on and tell you things you can read in the sports pages—about 12 and 22 inning games, about 44 home runs or records in RBI's. I would prefer to tell you something about the greater Boston area's reaction to this victory. It was fantastic.

The people in Boston were completely behind this team. They broke the all-time attendance record. There were sell-out crowds with more people than seats and, it seemed, more voices than people.

On Sunday a 12-year-old boy climbed to the top of the time clock. Now those of you who do not know Fenway Park will not understand, but let me assure you, it is incredible—and before Sunday it was impossible. But he did not have a ticket, and like everyone else around, he wanted to see the game.

And what a game to see. It was everybody's hour. Dick Williams did a splendid job, bringing the team from ninth place to the pennant in 1 year. Tom Yawkey—who stood behind the Red Sox through the years—finally had his dreams come true. So did the coaches who put time, energy, lots of hard work and good advice into everything they did. But when you come down to it, there are only nine men out there—and these are the nine best. They put everything they had into it, and they brought home the pennant.

And the people of the Boston area, of all of Massachusetts, were justly appreciative. Fenway Park was covered with people; the team could not get back to the locker room. When I left Boston this morning there was a smile on everyone's face and, more often than not, a piece of Fenway Park in his hand.

There are hundreds of stories about these games and about the men that won yesterday. I will not repeat them. The names of the Red Sox are household words by now—they should be. But this whole season was a team effort: great pitching, great batting, great fielding. The statistics show what a wonderful season it was. There was nothing lacking in this team. They had every component and worked together and worked smoothly.

I am afraid no one less than a poet could describe the beauty of Sunday's game. The score was 5 to 3 and for once in our busy lives there was true beauty and happiness.

But now, Mr. Speaker and colleagues, we must get back to work, to serious business, as we all ceaselessly endeavor to get tickets to the Series.

I would like to share one more part of the Red Sox and their wonderful victory with you. The newest of the great stars of baseball, the greatest major leaguer of today is a young man who sounds and looks like a baseball player should. I would like to include in the RECORD the well-written article in today's Boston Globe, by Harold Kaese. It illustrates one of the reasons the Sox won the pennant!

YAZ CLUTCH STREAK HAS NO PARALLEL

(By Harold Kaese)

Like a rocket that starts from a spark, traces a fiery path into the night until it explodes in a shower of light, the Red Sox have dazzled a nation by winning the American League pennant.

Whoever thought that so modest a vehicle as this team guided by Dick Williams would climb into the baseball sky to deliver streamers of excitement and the incandescent confetti of inspired effort?

"I thought we would finish about 10 games over .500 and in fourth or fifth place," said Tom Yawkey seriously, as his players drenched each other with beer after the climatic 5-to-3 victory over the Minnesota Twins.

But Williams, his manager, quipped, "I said all along we'd finish over .500."

And now for the great anti-climax—the World Series.

No known Red Sox hitter ever had a final two weeks to compare with those the Yaz delivered in the hottest stretch of the American League's hottest pennant race.

The Series can do a lot for Boston, for the Red Sox, for still unidentified heroes who may be lurking in the wings, but what can it do for Jim Lonborg, for Carl Yastrzemski?

Tris Speaker may have done it, or Duffy Lewis, Chick Stahl or some other Red Sox giant of long ago, but Ted Williams didn't, nor Jimmy Foxx, nor Vern Stephens.

As the Sox won eight out of the last 12 games for their eighth pennant, Yaz made 23 hits in 44 times at bat for an average of .523, hit safely in 11 of the games, drove in 16 runs, scored 14 and hit five homers.

In the two all-or-nothing games against the Twins, he made seven hits in eight times up.

If any player in baseball history—Babe Ruth, Rogers Hornsby, Ty Cobb, Lou Gehrig—ever had a two-week clutch production to equal Yastrzemski's, let the historians bring him forth.

Certainly no other Globe writer has done anything comparable on the athletic field, even though Leonard Fowle and John Ahern have won boat races and Bud Collins owns some tennis trophies.

Of Yastrzemski, Dick Williams said, "I never saw a player have a season like it."

And Rico Petrocelli said, "You'll never know how much he meant to us. We just knew he was going to hit."

And Tom Yawkey said, "At no time has this club ever been close to trading Yastrzemski.

In the Red Sox clubhouse, Yastrzemski wept from joy; in the visiting clubhouse, the Twins wept from Yastrzemski.

On Yawkey's 35 Red Sox teams, he has had few inspirational players. Joe Cronin, Ted Williams, Dom DiMaggio. These men wore the capes of baseball greatness—but none approached Yastrzemski for combining the qualities of baseball proficiency and on-the-field leadership. Baseball is a game in which individual players seldom fire up a lot of other players, but Yastrzemski did it this season.

He did it with his arms, legs and sharp eyes, with his desire, with his optimism and determination. And even though a ball rolled through him for an unearned run Sunday, how fitting it was for him to cut down Bob Allison trying to advance the tying run to second on what looked like a double into the left field corner.

The Red Sox put it together this season, which is why they won, but nobody put it together the way Yaz did, and not many in the annals of baseball ever have.

Strategically, the games with the Twins revolved around that fact that the Red Sox pitched around Harmon Killebrew, whereas the Twins did not pitch around Yastrzemski.

Killebrew got three walks and four hits; Yaz got no walks and seven hits. The Red Sox were careful; the Twins took chances. So today the Red Sox are champions of the American League, as they also were in 1903, 1904, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1918 and 1946.

Now they have a chance to even the score with the Cardinals for the only World Series they have ever lost, and while the Cardinals look like the better team on paper, I would no more bet against Yastrzemski, Lonborg and the Red Sox than I would bet against the United States Marines.

BUREAU OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS CLEARS UP OFFICER BORROWING QUESTION

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, shortly after Public Law 90-44, the so-called Officer Borrowing Act, was signed by President Johnson, the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions issued two interpretations that have been strongly questioned by a number of credit unions.

The act was designed to ease the restrictions placed on the borrowing powers of directors of the supervisory and credit committees of Federal credit unions. Prior to enactment of this law, these individuals could borrow only up to the amount of their unencumbered shares or shares pledged on their behalf. The new law allows these individuals to borrow up to $5,000 without the necessity of pledging their own shares, provided that the other elements of the law, such as adequate collateral, are met.

The Bureau, in analyzing the law, determined that all loans made by officer-borrowers would have to be approved by the board of directors of the credit union. While it is true that it was the intent of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House that Board approval be obtained on most loans, it was never the intention that loans fully secured by the officer-borrower's shares be subject to Board approval, unless the individual credit union felt such approval was necessary. It was felt that such loans could be approved by the normal approval standards of most credit unions. Under this arrangement, a loan is approved by the credit committee or the credit committee may delegate certain lending authority to a loan officer. Such an arrangement would in no way jeopardize the safeguards contained in the officer borrowing legislation since these loans are fully secured by the shares of the borrower. Thus, they are backed by the best possible collateral, and in the event that the borrower defaults, the shares may be impressed for payment of the loan.

The Bureau also determined that any loan made by an officer-borrower in excess of the $5,000 limitation contained in Public Law 90-44 must be fully secured in its entirety by the shares of the borrower or shares pledged on his behalf. This was not the intent of the Banking and Currency Committee and the report on the legislation correctly reflects this intent. Under present law, any loan in excess of $750 must be fully collateralized. However, the law does not require that collateral be only in the form of pledged shares. It may be in the form of stocks and bonds, a chattel mortgage or other acceptable collateral. It was the intention of the committee that loans in excess of $5,000 made by officer-borrowers be collateralized by pledged shares for that amount in excess of $5,000. Thus, a loan for $5,500 to an officer-borrower could be made on the following basis, provided the credit union agreed to such terms: $750 on an unsecured basis—the amount from $750 to $5,000 fully secured by collateral acceptable to the credit union and approved by law and the $500 in excess of $5,000 secured by the unencumbered shares of the officer-borrower on shares pledged on his behalf.

Thus, the law is intended to require that only the amount above $5,000 be secured by the shares of the officer-borrower.

Because of the problems that the Bureau's interpretations have caused, I consulted with the ranking majority member of the Banking Committee, Mr. Multer, and the ranking minority member Mr. Widnall, and on September 19, 1967, I wrote to Mr. J. Deane Gannon, Director of the Board of Federal Credit Unions asking that he restudy the situation. A copy of that letter follows:

House of Representatives,
Committee on Banking and Currency,
Washington, D.C., September 19, 1967.

Mr. J. Deane Gannon,
Director, Board of Federal Credit Unions, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gannon: It has come to my attention that the Bureau, following enactment of the recent credit union officer borrowing legislation, has issued the following regulations in connection with this new law:

1. Officers, directors and members of the supervisory and credit committees must file detailed financial statements and receive Board approval before obtaining a loan if that loan is secured by the shares of the officer-borrower or unencumbered shares pledged on behalf of the officer-borrower.

2. Loans in excess of $5,000 to officer borrowers must be secured in the entire amount of the loan by unencumbered shares of the officer-borrower or shares pledged in his behalf.

Because of the hardship that these two rules would work on credit union officers, and the fact that officer borrowing legislation was designed to ease borrowing provisions for credit union officers, I have consulted with Mr. Multer, the ranking Majority member of the Banking Committee and Mr. Widnall, the ranking Minority member of the Banking Committee, to ascertain their feelings on the Bureau's rulings as they relate to the law.

Both Mr. Multer and Mr. Widnall, as well as myself, are of the belief that the law as amended by the officer borrowing legislation does not provide a basis for the Bureau's rulings. This position is further backed up on Page 3 of the Banking and Currency Committee's report on H.R. 9682 which reads in part:

("H.R. 9682 would continue the present credit union officer borrowing requirements contained in the Federal Credit Union Act. But in addition, H.R. 9682 would allow Federal credit union directors and members of the supervisory and credit union committees to borrow up to $5,000 without the requirement of pledging shares. The requirement that any loan which exceeds $750 shall be fully secured for that portion of the loan in excess of $750 remains unchanged. Such security might be in the form of pledged shares or in other collateral authorized by the Act and the regulations of the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions.")

Thus, the Act is intended to liberalize the borrowing provisions for credit union officers and in no way is designed to make the borrowing provisions more restrictive. In addition, the report makes it clear that collateral for officer borrowing loans may be in the form of pledged shares but this is not a mandatory requirement.

Since Mr. Multer offered the amendments to the bill contained in the credit union officer borrowing section, I have withheld writing this letter until I had an opportunity to discuss the matter in depth with him. He confirms the belief of both Mr. Widnall and myself that his amendments, and the resulting legislation, have been misinterpreted by the Bureau in promulgating the regulations for the legislation.

In light of this, it would be appreciated if the Bureau would restudy its regulations so that they may conform to the spirit of the legislation.

With kindest personal regards,
Sincerely yours,
Wright Patman,
Chairman.

Today I have learned that Mr. Gannon has restudied the Bureau's position and has determined that with regard to officer-borrowing loans that are fully secured by pledged shares, the board of directors of the credit union may, if it desires, delegate the authority to approve such loans to the credit committee of the credit union and the credit union, in turn, may further delegate the authority to approve such loans to a loan officer. It must be remembered that this delegation is only for loans that are fully secured by shares of the officer-borrower or shares pledged on his behalf.

At the same time, Mr. Gannon assures me that he is carefully looking into the other problem, the loans in excess of $5,000. It is my hope that the Bureau will find a solution to this problem in the near future.

I want to commend Mr. Gannon for the expeditious treatment that he gave this important matter, one that affects the officers of every Federal credit union.

WORDS OF PRAISE FOR NORMAN S. PAUL

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, from this floor many words of praise have been spoken. The deeds and accomplishments of great men have been recognized, and their names have been called before the Nation for acclaim.

Today, I would add the name of Norman S. Paul, Under Secretary of the Air Force, who soon will be leaving the Defense Department to return to private life.

Mr. Speaker, Norman Paul has spent more than 20 years in the service of his country. As a Navy officer in World War II, he took part in combat operations in the southwest Pacific. In April 1948, only 2 years out of the University of Virginia Law School, he joined the legal staff of the Economic Cooperation Administration. The Marshall plan was then just beginning to get underway.

In the ECA and in its successor agencies he functioned in a number of administrative positions dealing with military and economic assistance matters in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Next in the Foreign Operations Administration from 1953 to 1955, he was first the Regional Director for the Near East, Africa, and South Asia and later Deputy Director for Congressional Relations. It was at this time that many of us here in Congress began to know and appreciate this dedicated and able gentleman. And it was in 1955 that he received the William A. Jump Memorial Award presented annually to an employee of the executive branch, 36 years of age or younger, for "exemplary service in public administration."

Recognized as an outstanding manager he was marked for greater responsibilities. For 5 years, from 1955 to 1960, Norman Paul served the Central Intelligence Agency as Legislative Counsel and in other capacities.

Then in January 1961 Secretary of Defense McNamara appointed him Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs. Subsequently, he was appointed by President Kennedy in July 1962 to be Assistant Secretary of Defense—Manpower. That position he held until October 1, 1965, the date he became Under Secretary of the Air Force.

Military men and civilians alike in the Air Force are quick to say that the Air Force was indeed fortunate in 1965 to have a man of Mr. Paul's talents and experience appointed as its No. 2 leader backing up Secretary Harold Brown. The years during which they have teamed together have been years of strengthening and improving the Air Force. I know from personal observation and by confirmation from a large number of people in the Pentagon that the combination of Brown and Paul has been one of the best ever to head the Department of the Air Force. Their individual talents complemented and blended to give the Air Force invaluable leadership.

Norman Paul's wise counsel, his astute judgment, his perceptiveness, objectivity, and understanding will be missed by the Air Force staff and his associates in the Office of the Secretary. Those officers and airmen who felt something deeper and more profound about the Air Force after they had met him in Europe, in the United States, and in Vietnam—all over the world—will miss him too. Surely this is one of the greatest rewards of a true public servant—and Norman S. Paul, a man dedicated to the service of his country and his countrymen—is a great and true public servant.

I take this opportunity to wish him well in his future endeavors. I thank him on behalf of the Congress, the people and the Nation for his contributions to U.S. security.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMUNITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, representing, as I do, a district which contains a major university, the University of California at Berkeley, I am deeply interested in the problems of education and the role of the university in the community.

Thus, it was with special interest that I read a recent article in the Berkeley Gazette that deals with the contribution a major university can make to its home city. As Dr. Neil Sullivan, the respected Berkeley superintendent of schools points out, university resources are often not fully drawn upon by the local school systems.

We have been fortunate in Berkeley that the University of California has contributed to university demonstration schools and to the school resource volunteer program. These projects serve both the university and the community.

The vast resources, the manpower and facilities of the universities of our country are, in the main, untapped by surrounding communities. We can no longer assume that the university is removed from the problems of its community environment. We have, in fact, received strong indications from the universities themselves that they reject this insular role.

Dr. Sullivan points out that he feels—

> No university in the country has fully utilized its potential for aiding surrounding communities and their schools.

I, therefore, wish to insert Dr. Sullivan's article at this point and urge attention to the specific suggestions he makes for involving universities in the community:

THE ROLE OF A UNIVERSITY IN LOCAL SCHOOL PLANS

(By Neil Sullivan)

A major university in a city can be a major benefit to that city's school system. But there are wide variations in the degree to which universities accept their responsibilities and involve themselves in the life of the surrounding community Since its property is tax exempt, Harvard University, for example, takes its responsibility so seriously that it voluntarily makes a contribution to the city treasury of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Another example is a major midwestern university, standing aloof as the school system of the suburban community in which it is located, wrestled with a major problem in human relationships. In most places the helpfulness of the university in the community and its local school system falls somewhere between these extremes. I know of no case, however, where a university and its surrounding public schools are taking advantage of their potential helpfulness to each other.

Here in Berkeley we have been relatively fortunate in the help our school district has received from the University of California. The presence of that institution in our city has been a distinct and valuable asset to our school district's program. Chancellor Heyns has clearly demonstrated his support for public education and his willingness to help us. Other offices and departments as well as individual members of the university community have likewise made palpable contributions to the public schools of this city. These contributions cover a wide range.

The program of three of our elementary schools is greatly enriched by their designation as "University Demonstration Schools." Each year approximately 155 student teachers from the University (in addition to 57 from other teacher training institutions in the area) participate in our schools. Many members of the University faculty live in Berkeley and have given generously of their time on citizens' committees, and in individual consultation. Some have made valuable contributions as members of the Board of Education. Many special projects sponsored by the University are operated within our schools. Various classes and activities at the University are made available to our high school students who can profit from them.

In addition to the help we receive from faculty members of the University, hundreds of U.C. students donate their time each year to our School Resource Volunteer program. Their volunteer services provide a genuine help to our classroom teachers in enriching the educational opportunity of the boys and girls in our schools.

This description of some of the ways in which our local University assists the public schools serves to indicate that my following remarks are not directed specifically at the University of California. However, I feel that no university in the county has fully utilized its potential for aiding surrounding communities and their schools.

Dr. Harold Howe, Commissioner of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has taken a strong position in urging universities to become more involved in their surrounding communities. I concur and feel that there are several areas in which this kind of help needs to be expanded.

1. Every major university contains on its staff an unusually high concentration of brains and experience in virtually every field. This brain power should be brought more fully to bear upon the problems faced in local communities. Even in times of no crisis, local community officials can profit by the expertise of the typical university faculty in developing goals and plans for community life.

2. Every major university contains extensive facilities for public meetings. These facilities range from rooms for small, informal discussion groups to space for massive public forums. These facilities, when not being used by University classes, should be made available for conferences and meetings dealing with community problems.

3. The massive research facilities, both human and material, should be used more fully in studying the important questions facing surrounding communities and their schools. In some instances research projects might be carried out by University staff members; in other cases the facilities could be made available to surrounding school districts and other community agencies for use

in research developed by the agency involved.

4. Universities frequently have access to sources of funds that can be used for the benefit of the surrounding communities and schools. This applies both to the research projects and action projects that could be sponsored by the University and operated within the schools. We have several projects of joint sponsorship currently in operation. However, this field should be explored more fully.

5. One of the most vital aids the universities could give to surrounding schools is the training and retraining of teachers. University schools of education regularly turn out teachers who are technically competent in imparting academic subject matter. But much more is required to prepare teachers for their vital role in a racial, intercultural urban center. New teachers need a better understanding of the varied backgrounds of the children they teach.

I wonder how many potentially good teachers have been lost to the profession because their initial baptism into teaching came in an environment for which they were totally unprepared? It is neither fair to the teacher nor to the children to send eager but unsophisticated young teachers into difficult situations before giving them the kind of background necessary to cope with such difficulties. And the problem is not limited to new teachers.

Our profession is so dynamic that methods, skills and attitudes common in one era can be totally inappropriate in another. Even the best of school staffs frequently need retraining.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MILLER of California (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

To Mr. CABELL (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

To Mr. ECKHARDT (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

To Mr. KUYKENDALL (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for today, on account of illness.

To Mr. PETTIS (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for today, on account of official business.

To Mr. FLYNT (at the request of Mr. BRASCO), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mrs. SULLIVAN, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. GROSS, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona, for 45 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. GRAY, for 30 minutes, on October 3.

Mr. FINDLEY (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. COHELAN (at the request of Mr. UDALL), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. HOLIFIELD.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ZWACH.

Mr. HUNT.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. UDALL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PUCINSKI.

Mr. JONES of Alabama.

Mr. DANIELS.

Mr. LONG of Maryland.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The Speaker announced his signature to an enrolled bill and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 602. An act to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; and

S.J. Res. 109. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on September 29, 1967, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 13026. An act to extend through March 1968 the first general enrollment period under part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (relating to supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged), and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 46 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, October 3, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1119. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the District of Columbia Public School Food Services Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1120. A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, transmitting a report on the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia for the month of August 1967, pursuant to title III of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act of 1967, and to the Presidential Determination of February 4, 1964; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1121. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of opportunities for improvement in administration of the contract for operation of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colo., National Science Foundation; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1122. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of inventory accounting systems for aeronautical equipment, Department of the Navy; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1123. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for procedures to preclude more than just compensation in acquiring oil interests, Corps of Engineers (Civil Functions), Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1124. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of the examination function of the small business investment company program, Small Business Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1125. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 127 of title 28, United States Code, to define more precisely the territory included in the two judicial districts of Virginia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1126. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Richard C. Meckler; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1127. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions approved, according beneficiaries of petitions third preference and sixth preference classification, pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1128. A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1129. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report of operations by Federal departments and establishments in connection with the bonding of officers and employees, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1967, pursuant to the provision of 6 U.S.C. 14; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1130. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated August 11, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a letter report on Pensacola

Bay and Bayou Texar, Pensacola, Fla., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved May 17, 1950, no authorization by Congress recommended as the desired improvements have been accomplished by other interests; to the Committee on Public Works.

1131. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated July 21, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a letter report on Silver Lake Harbor, N.C., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted June 13, 1956, no authorization by Congress is recommended as the desired improvement has been approved for accomplishment by the Chief of Engineers under the provisions of section 107 of the River and Harbor Act of 1960; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HALEY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 306. An act to increase the amounts authorized for Indian adult vocational education (Rept. No. 725). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. RIVERS: Committee of conference. H.R. 11722. An act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 726). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. COLMER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 938. Resolution providing for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 853, joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 727.) Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENNEY:

H.R. 13249. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FOLEY (for himself, Mr. Pelly, Mrs. May, Mrs. Hansen of Washington, Mr. Adams, Mr. Hicks, and Mr. Meeds):

H.R. 13250. A bill to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MACHEN:

H.R. 13251. A bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 13252. A bill to amend section 8332, title 5, United States Code, to provide for the inclusion in the computation of accredited services of certain periods of service rendered States or instrumentalities of States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13253. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 13254. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 13255. A bill to allow a limited credit against Federal income tax for certain deposits in restricted educational accounts and for expenses of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 13256. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOB WILSON (for himself, Mr. Reinecke, Mr. Lipscomb, Mr. Gubser, Mr. Smith of California, Mr. Broyhill of Virginia, and Mr. Rhodes of Arizona):

H.R. 13257. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 13258. A bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13259. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 13260. A bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to enter into and renew reciprocal agreements for police mutual aid on behalf of the District of Columbia with the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 13261. A bill to provide for financing the acquisition, construction, alteration, maintenance, operation, and protection of public buildings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 13262. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to provide that the amount of groundfish imported into the United States shall not exceed the average annual amount thereof imported during 1963 and 1964; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 13263. A bill to amend title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to establish more effective criteria for a finding of serious injury to domestic industry as a result of concessions granted under trade agreements, to make mandatory the findings of the Tariff Commission with respect to the necessity for tariff adjustment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TIERNAN (for himself and Mr. Corbett):

H.R. 13264. A bill to amend the Nurse Training Act of 1964 to provide for increased assistance to hospital diploma schools of nursing; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR:

H.J. Res. 861. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as National School Safety Patrol Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.J. Res. 862. Joint resolution to call upon the President of the United States to promote voluntary neighborhood action crusades by communities to rally law-abiding urban slum dwellers in preventing riots; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.J. Res. 863. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as National School Safety Patrol Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENNEY:

H. Con. Res. 516. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to certain proposed regulations of the Food and Drug Administration relating to the labeling and content of diet foods and diet supplements; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts:

H. Con. Res. 517. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to United States policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 13265. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Orecchia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARTER:

H.R. 13266. A bill for the relief of Mohammad Z. Assadi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 13267. A bill for the relief of Agostino Maggiore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 13268. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Allegra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 13269. A bill for the relief of Byung Il Chang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

165. By the Speaker: Petition of Junior Order United American Mechanics, Louisville, Ky., relative to efforts to settle the Vietnamese war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

166. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., relative to distribution of introduced bills; to the Committee on House Administration.

167. Also, petition of the City Council of Orange, Calif., relative to governmental tax sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

168. Also, petition of the City Council of Whittier, Calif., relative to a Federal tax-sharing program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

169. Also, petition of City Council of Gardena, Calif., relative to governmental tax sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The 100,000th License Issued for Business Radio Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a resident of the district I represent has received the 100,000th license in the Business Radio Service and is in Washington today with his wife for appropriate honors. I refer to Mr. Horace W. Hooie, of Rogersville, Ala.

Just a few weeks ago Mr. Hooie became the 100,000th licensee in the Business Radio Service. This means that he is now able to bring the benefits of two-way radio communication to the people that his company, the Hooie Plumbing Co., serves. No longer will a person who calls in for some plumbing work to be done have to wait until the truck comes back to the office in order to be dispatched to his job. Through the use of his two-way radio, Mr. Hooie can now get that message about the new job directly to his truck, wherever it may be, and just as soon as the job it is on is finished, the truck can go on to the next job without making the time-consuming trip back to the office.

This is going to be a great boon to the people in the Rogersville area.

It is also a tribute to Mr. Hooie's acumen as a businessman because the use of two-way radio communication is going to lower his cost of doing business. By being able to be in constant contact with a truck, he will be able to make one truck do the work of two trucks because he will be able to cut down on expensive and unproductive travel time and on the time that the truck is not actually out on a job.

Alabama is a forward-looking State. It is made up of forward-looking businessmen like Mr. Hooie, and I am determined to do everything in my power to help this type of progress. We must not let anything hinder the increased benefits which the growing use of two-way radio communication is bringing to the people of this country.

We must make room for this type of development. The FCC has described this as one of its thorniest problems, because the rapid growth in the use of two-way radio communication has caused a congestion which is bringing this form of communication almost to a standstill in many places and the applications for new transmitters are pouring in at an estimated rate of about 20,000 per month.

We cannot let this type of communication suffer or its advantages be denied to the people of this country. If some form of relief is needed so that forward-looking businessmen will be able to make the greatest possible use of their two-way radios, then the necessary relief must be found. I shall certainly do my best to see that no Federal Government agency is responsible for any delay in finding such a solution.

Again I congratulate Mr. Hooie, in the name of the people of Alabama and the people I represent here in the Congress, on being the 100,000th licensee in the Business Radio Service and on the contribution he will be making to the welfare of the people he serves through use of two-way radio communication.

I do not want to let this occasion pass without also taking the opportunity to congratulate NABER, the National Association of Business and Educational Radio, on the fine work which it has been doing on behalf of two-way radio users throughout this country under the direction of Mr. Val J. Williams, the executive director of NABER. At hearings held by the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives last year, the testimony NABER presented dramatically and vividly showed the need for additional frequency spectrum for two-way radio users. A fine member of that committee who is an outstanding Member of this Congress and of committees on which I serve, Representative JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, has recalled these hearings on a number of occasions and has forcefully and effectively stated the need of the small businessmen of this country who are two-way radio users for relief in the form of additional frequency spectrum in order that they can better serve their customers who are the people of this country.

NABER has also worked effectively with the FCC and with other radio user organizations toward the solution of this difficult and important problem and I am delighted that this forward looking, active, and productive organization exists to take such an effective role in the work toward this goal.

Textile Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week, I introduced a bill as a companion measure to H.R. 11578, introduced by the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. This bill is known as the Textile Trade Act of 1967.

The bill has the support of both the cotton and the woolen industries as near catastrophe faces both of these basic industries.

While the Sixth Congressional District does not produce any cotton, we do produce a large amount of wool from our farm flocks, and we feed hundreds of thousands of lambs annually. The present wool price, hanging at less than 50 percent of parity, only partially tells the story of the price problems that our producers face.

Most of these lack-of-income problems can be laid at the door of unbridled imports. It is unconscionable that we are asking our farmers to permit and live with higher guaranteed labor costs, higher feed costs, and higher fixed costs all around, and then still ask them to compete equitably with the world with their level of production costs.

I am enclosing a table of the hourly wage rates paid to weavers of some of these countries whose exports are coming into the United States. This table is compiled by the U.S. Department of Commerce, and I believe shows the great unbalance that exists:

Country	*Hourly wage rate*
United States	$2.02
West Germany	.96
Belgium	.80
France	.63
Italy	.55
Spain	.44
Portugal	.19
Netherlands	.75
Colombia	.21
Mexico	.55
Japan	.39
Hong Kong	.23
Singapore	.17
Taiwan	.14

Mr. Speaker, this bill would authorize the President to carry out the intent of the textile program of 196[illegible], which really has never been fully implemented.

I am informed that the woolen textile imports in 1966 into the United States displaced or cost us the loss of 20 million man-days of domestic labor.

In view of the conditions cited above, plus the fact that the conditions generally agreed to by the U.S. representatives at the Kennedy round tariff conference at Geneva, whereby wool and woolen textiles face additional tariff reductions, I believe the passage of this bill to be urgent.

Brothers Decorated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Alan L. Caldwell and Sp5c. Terry Caldwell, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Leo J. Caldwell, of Catonsville, Md., have both been decorated for service in Vietnam. Alan, pilot of a C–130 transport plane, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for rescuing a civil engineering team from a Vietcong-held position. Terry, who served with a 1st Infantry Division intelligence unit, was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for "meritorious achievement" in operations against the Vietcong. I commend these young men on their courage and congratulate their parents for having two outstanding sons.

Tide May Be Turning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HUNT
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I take the opportunity today to call to the attention of the American people and to the Members of this House a situation that has pervaded this distinguished body over the years until today the voice of Congress has become but a cry in the wilderness. The will of the people has been supplanted by the will of an administration. But Mr. Speaker, I believe that the signs of strain and stress are beginning to show through the maze, the voice of the people is starting to be heard, and this Congress is commencing to regain the responsibilities for its rightful duties.

The following excerpts may serve to emphasize this point and let us hope that we shall be deserving of the people's trust.

Mr. Allan C. Brownfeld, writing in the September 26, 1967, issue of the "Roll Call," observes:

> Power is the essence of politics. Where power lies, is where decisions are made, funds distributed, programs initiated, and important directions set forth. Political men devote their lives to gaining power, and give it up only when compelled to do so either by the force of events or the appearance of an even more persuasive seeker after that same commodity.
>
> To prevent any one man, or group of men, from dominating the United States by acquisition of such power the Constitution made it clear that power was to be diffused and divided. The Founding Fathers did not want to substitute an all powerful executive or all powerful legislature for a despotic king. Thus, the legislature was given certain functions, and the executive was given others.

The Constitution is explicit in its intent of the division of powers, where in article I, section 1 it states:

> All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Among those power enumerated in section 8 are the power to lay and collect taxes, regulate commerce with foreign nations, coin money and regulate the value thereof, declare war, and to raise and support armies. In addition, Congress has the exclusive powers to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces, provide for calling the militia to execute the laws, and others.

Of particular note in section 8, Congress is entrusted with the power "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or officer thereof."

Then in article II, section 1, "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." In section 3 it is pointed out that "He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; (and) he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

As a further measure to insure the balance of power, the President may veto any legislation passed by Congress, but Congress may override this veto by a two-thirds vote of both Houses. The judicial branch, of course, acts to compliment the balance among the three branches.

Mr. Brownfeld continues in his observation that:

> It was a carefully devised system, and as long as the various poles of power remained divided, it worked well. During the course of history we have had weak presidents and strong ones. Andrew Jackson assumed more authority, William Henry Harrison less. Still, the Congress maintained effective control over the areas within its jurisdiction, at least most of the time. In the long run, Congress' will was done.
>
> Today Congress' will is not done. The Congress passes a law, set forths a policy goal, appropriates a sum of money, and is then effectively ignored by the executive and the bureaucracy, which has become a most effective and virtually autonomous fourth branch of government. The Congress is, in fact, scorned by both the executive and the bureaucracy.

To cite the rather effective "management" of Congress and usurpation of Congress legislative initiative by the President, Congress enacted almost two-thirds of the more than 1,000 measures proposed by the administration during its first 3 years in the White House through calendar year 1966. The majority of these not only created new spending authority, but paved the way for programs that Congress will most certainly be asked and influenced to expand by countless billions of dollars annually.

The challenge to Congress could not be more plainly stated than in Mr. Brownfeld's words that:

> If the will of Congress is ignored, this means simply that the will of the people, for whom the Congress speaks, is being effectively thwarted. This is, in no sense, the kind of representative government set forth in the Constitution.

Of course, Congress itself shares in the responsibility for the creation of this situation. As stated by Prof. Hans Morganthau, commenting in particular on the role of Congress in relation to the President in foreign affairs:

> In former times I tried to admonish a number of Presidents to use their enormous power against an obstructionist Congress in order to put American foreign policy on the right course. Today it is necessary to admonish a subservient Congress to make use of its power of criticism, delay, and if necessary even obstruction, in order to prevent pernicious tendencies in American foreign policy to come to fruition. But the Congress today is subservient, to an unprecedented degree, to the power of the Executive.—From Conference Papers, "The Role of the Public in the Formation of American Foreign Policy," University of Illinois, December 3–4, 1965, page 32.

It appears, Mr. Speaker, that the tide may be turning in view of recent actions by this body, and it may just be due to the fact that the voice of the people is making itself heard.

In Praise of Lyndon Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on September 21, 1967, my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT], delivered a short but meaningful speech in the House of Representatives.

The speech can be found on page 26378 of the RECORD dated September 21.

Excerpts from Mr. WRIGHT's speech were printed in the New York Times of Sunday, October 1.

In this time of stress in regard to our foreign policy in Vietnam and in this time of vague and ambiguous criticism of our policy in Vietnam, it is refreshing to have a calm and clear analysis of the unfair and sometimes vicious criticism from the extreme right leveled against the President.

In my opinion, Mr. WRIGHT's analysis answers the critics in a most appropriate manner.

Under unanimous consent I insert herewith in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the newspaper article entitled "Another Opinion: In Praise of Lyndon Johnson":

ANOTHER OPINION: IN PRAISE OF LYNDON JOHNSON

> (The following are excerpts from a speech in the House of Representatives last week by Congressman Jim Wright, Democrat of Texas.)
>
> "Today I want to say a few kind words for the President of the United States—both for the awesome office which has been so aptly described as the world's most 'splendid misery,' and for the extraordinarily hard-working human being who occupies that office.
>
> "Alexander Hamilton once warned of the paramount importance in a republic to guard not only against the government's oppression of its people, but also against the people's abuse of their leaders.
>
> "Just as our elected leadership was never to become lordly and officious, neither was it to be cowering, servile and obsequious. The nation's highest public office was not intended to become a public footmat. And the sacred right to criticize was not a license to vilify.
>
> "History shows that, as a people, we have often taken Hamilton's advice rather badly. It seems, in fact, that our strongest and best Presidents are precisely those for whom we have reserved our bitterest hostility and our rankest abuse. . . .
>
> "Now the hounds of the hunt are baying again. The pack is in full cry. Our quadrennial silly season of organistic overstatement is approaching, and like some weird maso-

chistic cult we find among us those who would turn upon our leader and devour him. . . .

"Let me make it clear that I am not speaking of those people who criticize American policy responsibly and constructively. I am not talking of those who honestly and honorably disagree with the President on matters of opinion.

"I am speaking of those who are forever assailing the President's motives, those who trade on fear and traffic in hatred. I am speaking of those who wallow in the gutter of personal abuse. I am speaking of those who superciliously set themselves above the President and sneer at his works, mistrust his words, belittle his deeds and question his honor.

"I am speaking of some urbane sophisticates who think they have discovered a safe and clever way to abuse the President's personal integrity by inventing a term they call a 'credibility gap' and chattering about it incessantly in the hope that they thus can create a climate of disbelief between the American public and its elected leadership.

"I am speaking of those who gleefully try to embarrass our President internationally by thwarting fulfillment of his international commitments, in the making of which he acted under the Constitution for all of us.

"BEST TRAINED

"Never has a man come to the Presidency better grounded by experience in the intricacies of our Government than Lyndon B. Johnson. Never has a man devoted himself more dutifully to the office or at greater sacrifice of his personal repose. Never has a President worked longer hours or been more deeply dedicated to the fulfillment of his promises. And never has a President kept more of his promises to the people.

"For more than a generation, every American President has spoken hopefully of medical care for the aged, of equalizing educational opportunity, of fairer treatment for the minorities and of preserving our natural heritage. It remained for Lyndon Johnson to transform those dreams into realities.

"And for these efforts, he is rewarded with abuse.

"The white supremacists abuse him for doing more for civil rights than any President in history; and the black power militants castigate him for not having done the impossible, immediately.

"The reactionaries flay him for producing the greatest volume of social legislation in history; and the so-called 'New Left' ridicules him for preserving and honoring the very institutions and processes of our constitutional system which he is sworn to defend.

"FROM ALL SIDES

"The bloodthirsty hawks scorn him for not having completely devastated North Vietnam and risked the outbreak of World War III; while the timid doves abuse him for not having cravenly abandoned an ally in its mortal struggle for freedom.

"One extreme flails at the President for spending too much on Vietnam and too little on domestic programs; and another attacks him for devoting too much to domestic spending and too little to Vietnam. Surely they cannot both be right. Each is too eager to criticize and too reluctant to analyze.

"Any President—and certainly this President—deserves better than this. The very least we owe to any President is a modicum of understanding and an assumption of his good faith. At the very least, our propensities for partisanship and personal abuse should stop at the water's edge. In the counsels of the world, he is our spokesman. If we cannot uphold him, surely we should not undermine him.

"There are, in all of this, two saving graces: while Americans historically have mercilessly abused our strongest and greatest Presidents throughout their terms in office, we seldom fail to reelect them.

"And those whom partisan contemporaries most bitterly vilify, history most firmly vindicates.

"And so it will be, my friends, with Lyndon Baines Johnson."

Federal Meat Inspection Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, meat inspection legislation now before Congress seeks to further improve the programs which have helped build meatpacking and processing into an industry with nearly $16 billion in annual gross sales, and which, in turn, provides nearly $13 billion in yearly sales of livestock by American farmers.

The availability of these markets for American livestock, as well as the prosperity and potential for the American food industry, rests on one basic fact—the continued confidence of today's homemaker in the integrity of our meat supply.

To assure that every effort is made to provide the homemaker with the full assurance that the meat she buys for her family is safe and wholesome, a Federal-State partnership must be forged through which the consumer is fully protected, the packing industry continues to prosper, and the producer is assured of an expanding market for his livestock.

H.R. 12144 accomplishes this by two means:

First. It recognizes the role of the States as a vital link in this essential program, and seeks to provide a positive means by which the States can integrate their efforts into a stronger, more unified system of meat inspection.

Second. It proposes much-needed reforms in the present Federal meat inspection system, to close existing loopholes in the 60-year-old Meat Inspection Act, and make it more responsive in the years ahead.

The most serious flaw in the existing Meat Inspection Act is an absence of any provisions for coordinating Federal and State meat inspection efforts. The role of the States is a vital one, since the Federal law applies only to products produced in plants dealing in interstate and foreign commerce. This leaves the States with sole responsibility for meat products in intrastate commerce.

The volume of nonfederally inspected products is significant—approximately 15 percent of commercially slaughtered animals, and about one-fourth of commercially processed meat products. Significant amounts of these meats are sold without any form of Government inspection. The remaining amounts are subject to inspection by State or local governments. Inspection under these programs is generally well below Federal standards, but these products may be intermingled in retail stores with federally inspected products for sale to the public.

Not all States have meat inspection statutes, and the degree of authority, implementation, and effectiveness of State inspection programs vary from State to State in those that do have meat inspection laws. Even greater variation is found between State and local inspection programs, where local inspection exists.

Administrators of State meat inspection programs generally admit that they have had neither the money nor manpower to conduct an intensive, continuous inspection service for both slaughtering and processing operations. State legislators, veterinary associations, industry groups and others have tried repeatedly to obtain meaningful legislation and enforcement.

Nevertheless, the need for stronger, more effective, and more uniform State inspection programs is of critical importance. In the past couple of years, there has been increasing interest among the States to initiate or improve existing programs.

The efforts by the States must be fostered and encouraged by the Federal program if this Nation is to achieve adequate, overall protection of the consumer's meat supply with resulting prosperity for the industry and the producer. By providing legislative authority for meaningful Federal-State cooperation, a uniform framework can be constructed which will provide this essential consumer protection for all citizens regardless of where their meat originates.

The proposed legislation would also update the existing Meat Inspection Act to bring it more in line with the massive technological advancements in the meat industry. The meat inspection program is dealing with problems not conceived by those who drafted the original legislation 60 years ago.

The original Meat Inspection Act is becoming increasingly outmoded in its ability to regulate the modern, aggressive industry as it is today and envisioned in the future. The role of the States is not sufficiently recognized in the existing legislation to encourage their effective contributions to a viable network of coordinated programs. The legislation is urgently needed to close serious loopholes in the Federal meat inspection program.

Yet, the consumer continues to buy her meat with presumed confidence in its wholesomeness. The prosperity of the meatpacking industry and our Nation's livestock producers is greatly dependent upon her continued confidence.

Our responsibility, therefore, is to insure that both Federal and State Governments are provided with the necessary tools and resources to fulfill their responsibilities to protect the consumer in the manner she expects and demands. This proposed legislation will accomplish this purpose.

Congressman Daniels Hails Freedoms Foundation Winner, George Toripow, of Kearny, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, last week winners of a special contest sponsored by the Freedoms Foundation, of Valley Forge, Pa., were taken as guests of that organization on a trip to historic sites connected with the establishment of this Nation.

Two members of the student-faculty group were residents of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey, Mrs. Grace Kelaher, a member of the teaching staff of the Kearny, N.J., school system and a very outstanding eighth grade student at the Lincoln School in Kearny named George Toripow, who lives at 51 Johnston Avenue in Kearny. George, by the way, is a young man who was born in Poland and was selected as a result of both his academic background, leadership, and citizenship. Clearly, he is an example for all young people to emulate.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great source of regret that the press of business here in the House prevented me from being able to have lunch with this fine teacher and this very exemplary young man. However, my legislative assistant, who was with them, reported to me that they were recipients of every courtesy from several Members of the other body, notably the beloved senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], with whom Mrs. Kelaher and George had lunch, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], as well as the chaplain of the Senate, the Reverend Doctor Frederick Brown Harris. To all of these fine men I would like to extend my personal thanks.

Mr. Speaker, Freedoms Foundation deserves the thanks of this House for this very fine program and, speaking for my constituents involved, I can report that it was a great success.

SENATE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1967

(*Legislative day of Monday, October 2, 1967*)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Dr. Ralph John, president, Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Thou in whose providence we find the time and substance of life, and before whom the nations rise and fall: Prompted by those who have gone before, and compelled by our own needs, we look to Thee for wisdom and strength sufficient for the demands of this place and age.

Frequently frustrated by the complexities of a world which recurrently defies simplification, and with hearts burdened by the errant impulses of a humanity which has not caught the vision of its common ground in Thy love, we ask Thy guidance for the living of these days. Make us perceptive in appraisal, courageous in advocacy, and above all, committed to Thy will and way. So may we claim our destiny as a nation, and Thy Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, October 2, 1967, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2388) to provide and improve the Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs. to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, how does the time stand?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time is divided between the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

Mr. DIRKSEN. And how much time remains?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. An hour on each side.

The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Missouri on a nongermane subject.

A PROPOSAL LOOKING TOWARD PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, yesterday, for some hours, there was discussion on the Senate floor about the war in Vietnam, with many Senators on both sides of the aisle recommending that the United States cease the part of the war in which this country has definite superiority; but no recommendations with respect to that part in which our superiority is clearly more in question.

In the Washington Post this morning, an editorial entitled "The Lesson of Con Thien" is especially interesting to me because I was in the Con Thien area a few days ago.

The editorial illustrates only too well "the perils and pitfalls and hard disciplines of limited war," now limited to the point where the already heavy casualties to U.S. forces are increasing; limited to the point where the prestige of this country is being affected, all over the world.

Nevertheless, as evidenced yesterday, some are now demanding that the war be still more limited.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SYMINGTON. I have just returned from a trip to the Far East, Middle East, and Europe, having visited Japan, Hong Kong, South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Israel, Greece, Italy, and Great Britain.

A report of findings and conclusions will be made shortly to the chairmen of the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees. In the meantime, however, one can only view with increased apprehension both the nature and the extent of the current worldwide commitments of the United States.

In Vietnam the pot has boiled over. In other countries where we have binding commitments, however, the water also is becoming very warm indeed.

In this connection, one notes the strange paradox of the brilliant military victory recently achieved by Israel against sophisticated Soviet weaponry nevertheless resulting in a much improved Soviet position in the Middle East; because both the United Arab Republic and Syria were left so weak militarily they can only hope to be rearmed by the Soviet on the latter's terms—said rearmament is proceeding rapidly, to the point where 70 percent of their air equipment losses have now been replaced.

The Soviet position is also improving steadily in the western Mediterranean. Today Algeria is probably the strongest Arab country in their orbit; and if there is any truth in the rumor that General de Gaulle plans to turn over to Algeria the great naval base of Mers el Kebir, the Soviets will obtain further significant leverage in that part of the Mediterranean.

Such a development would, in effect, turn the southern flank of SHAPE; and the original concept of NATO, already heavily damaged in the center by the withdrawal of France, would be weakened still further.

The resources of any country, even those of the United States, are not inexhaustible; and therefore these developments in the Middle East and Europe should also be considered as we in turn consider future policies incident to Vietnam.

I have presented for many months my conviction that the United States is overcommitted and overextended on a unilateral basis. We need a great deal of money to handle all these foreign commitments along with our growing problems at home, and we do not want to jeopardize the integrity of the dollar.

In addition, and most important, is the matter of American lives. In this latter connection, the campaign here to cease air attacks against North Vietnam is receiving full attention in the other countries. But all civilian and military people abroad confirm the sworn testimony before the Committee on Armed Services. All those with whom I discussed this matter warn that another cessation of the raids against North Vietnam would guarantee additional casualties in South Vietnam—13,500 Americans have already been killed, 85,000 wounded.

Instead of only another cessation in the air attacks against North Vietnam, therefore, I propose that this Government announce, as of a certain date, the cessation of all military action in South Vietnam as well as over North Vietnam; and also announce that there will be no reinforcements into the theater.

The Government would announce that these policies were being undertaken in earnest hope that their adoption would result in prompt and meaningful negotiations in the interest of a just peace.

At the same time, the United States should also announce that, if after this cessation of all military action in South Vietnam, as well as North Vietnam, the North Vietnamese, and Vietcong nevertheless continued hostilities, then the United States would feel free to pursue this war in any manner of its own choosing.

It would appear that the political objectives of the United States have now been achieved through the creation, by means of free elections, of the present Saigon Government; and the military objectives of this Government have never included the invasion of North Vietnam, the occupation of Hanoi, or the taking over of the Government of North Vietnam.

Concurrently with the above proposed announcement of U.S. policy, the Government of South Vietnam should announce its willingness to negotiate with anybody, and offer amnesty to members of the Vietcong.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 3, 1967]

THE LESSON OF CONTHIEN

The story of Conthien is the story of the Vietnam War. There is the same sense of stalemate and seemingly senseless bloodshed, the grinding attrition to no apparent or decisive purpose, the cruel inhibitions on our fighting men. And there are the same, perfectly normal, strictly conventional military reflexes at work—reflexes which have confounded so much of the conduct of this essentially abnormal and unconventional conflict. Indeed, the story of Conthien is not just in the spectacle of brave men dug in under a heavy handicap. It is in the spectacle of a limited war threatening to become a wider war because of a temptation to forget that our war purposes are limited.

This is the lesson of Conthien. It is not Dien Bien Phu, or the Chosin Reservoir, or Verdun. Like almost everything else about Vietnam, it is without precise precedent. We can abandon it (which the French could not at Dien Bien Phu). It is not, by most estimates, of critical military significance. If it is rapidly acquiring political and psychological significance, that is in large part because we ourselves are making it a symbol of something—our resolve, our military prowess, our courage—which it need not be. All these have been amply attested to in Vietnam, and will be soon enough again. Nor does the honor of the United States Marines need vindication at Conthien. In a war of attrition, to use General Westmoreland's phrase, Conthien has played its part, for the Marines have taken the enemy's worst and returned it manyfold.

Can it be that the sticking-point is mere territory? To accept this is to renounce a large part of what we have learned in the hardest kind of way in Vietnam about the conduct of "counter-insurgency" war. We are fighting to destroy enemy main forces, to help clear areas of guerrilla units, to expand security in populated areas—in short, to prevent the freedom of choice of the South Vietnamese from being foreclosed by force. None of this obliges us to conquer and hold a particular desolated strip of unpopulated territory.

A very good military case can be made, in fact, for the Marines pulling their base camps and prepared positions back out of range of heavy Communist artillery all across the DMZ. If the North Vietnamese bring their guns and rockets down into South Vietnamese territory, they can be dealt with on the ground without adding the new dimension to the war of a ground invasion of North Vietnam.

There is another compelling argument for doing so. Where the United States troops, and those of South Vietnam, take their stand in the northern slice of South Vietnam will very much determine where the so-called "barrier" against infiltration will be built. There is some military logic in having this defensive position also out of the range of Communist artillery over the border in North Vietnam.

Psychologically, this would seem to surrender a slim strip of South Vietnamese real estate to the North. In effect, however, we have been surrendering large chunks of the highlands and the War Zones to the enemy at one time or another all along. Search and destroy operations against mass concentrations of enemy troops and small patrols would still continue north of whatever positions the Marines might pull back to.

To state the case for pulling back is not to say flatly that this must be done. It may be that the Marines can hold out indefinitely and reduce their casualties by more effective counter-battery fire or deeper entrenchments. What would be indefensible, however, would be a prolonged defense of Conthien at the cost of heavy losses out of misplaced pride. Worse would be a stubborn defense finally impelling a ground attack over the border that would remove one more inhibition against a wider war.

If Conthien is to be a test of anything beyond the gallantry of our fighting men, it should be a test, not of our resolve, which does not need such testing but of our restraint. The lesson of Conthien lies in what it tells us of the perils and pitfalls and hard disciplines of limited war.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time to come out of neither side.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, rather fortunately this amendment has been pending for some time and my basic statement has been available to Senators in their offices and on their desks. I realize that at this unusual hour, with committee meetings and other responsibilities of Senators, what I am saying here is largely for the RECORD.

I have offered this amendment because I am interested in the untrained having an opportunity for training and becoming productive members of our society. I believe that what I have proposed will do a far better job than the Job Corps.

My amendment is easily understood. It would repeal the Job Corps. In lieu thereof, we add $195 million to the authorization for vocational and technical training under the 1963 act. This would double the amount of money going to each State for this purpose, if the amount provided in my amendment is authorized and appropriated.

Now, it stands out clearly and without dispute that this proposal would save $100 million annually. In addition, the cost of operating the Job Corps is excessive. I think it is not subject to dispute that training in a vocational and technical school which is run by a State can be given at far less cost. I have estimated that it costs 2½ times as much to keep an enrollee in the Job Corps as it costs to keep a young man or young woman in a vocational or technical school that is a part of the State educational system.

When the Federal Government spends money for vocational education under the 1963 act, the States and localities have to match it; so for every sum of money spent increasing vocational and technical training by the Federal Government, as compared with the same amount of money given to the Job Corps, this expenditure would reach five times as many people.

Mr. President, here is a chance for the Senate to get rid of one bureau, reach five times as many people with better training, and save $100 million annually.

One argument that pops up is: The very, very unfortunate people who are recruited for the Job Corps will not be reached by the State vocational and technical training courses. I say that argument is without foundation. I say they are not being reached by the Job

Corps. The Job Corps is picking up a few people here and there, flying them all around the country, flying them home for Christmas, flying supervisors here and there, and that is where the taxpayers' money goes.

Can anyone here tell us what happens to 75 percent of those enrollees when they leave the Job Corps? The fact of the matter is that the Job Corps is not making a dent in the problem of unfortunate people who are untrained and who live in undesirable areas, whether we call those areas slums or ghettos.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, what greater incentive could Government provide than to have well-run vocational and technical schools right in the midst of the ghettos? Can Government set a better example? They cannot. This is the right way to do it.

In addition, Mr. President, there is a part of this problem that is beyond the Government. Government must provide the schools, but the character within the people to want to be self-sustaining, to want to provide for their families, to want to amount to something, cannot be accomplished by appropriations or by the passage of a law. We will have to turn to the spiritual institutions and character-building institutions of the country in order to carry out that function.

I point out that whenever State and local people are brought into an operation of training the untrained, we get some forces that cannot be supplied by a bureaucracy running the whole show.

Mr. President, it is shameful the way in which bureaucracies are lobbying to perpetuate themselves. The time and energy high people in this agency are spending to promote the perpetuation of their own empire is shameful.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

I hope the amendment will be defeated.

Let us take a look at what it would do.

The Curtis amendment would repeal outright the present Job Corps establishment without making any provisions for its orderly liquidation. This would mean that $144 million in facilities would be abandoned, with no opportunity to work out in an orderly way what is to become of them. It would mean that $18 million in corpsmen allotments to their families—mothers, wives, sisters, and brothers—would not be sent home because they would not have the money out of which the allotments could be paid.

It would mean that $23 million in conservation work would go undone. This, I think, is of as much significance to States in the East, such as Pennsylvania, where we have untold work which can be done in the Allegheny National Park, in Fairmont Park in Philadelphia, and State game and fish lands, as it is to a State like Montana. The present occupant of the chair is well aware that there are inadequacies in appropriations for our national parks and national forests and an enormous amount of useful conservation work which has been backlogged for many a year.

Adoption of the Curtis amendment would mean that 80,000 deprived youth would not be served.

These are poor people. It would mean that the economic impact on 123 communities in 38 States where centers are operating and bringing money into communities and increasing the wealth of the inhabitants, these benefits would be lost. It would mean that over 125 million dollars in contracts with private industry would be terminated.

For, let us remember that a substantial part of the Job Corps' operations is under contract to private industry which is doing it for profit. Lytton Industries, Packard Bell, the brains of private industry in the management field, have been brought to bear on the Job Corps under a profit arrangement. All this would be lost in order to terminate the Job Corps program and substitute for it a middle class program, a program for the children of individuals who, in the ordinary course of events, are able to provide for their boys and girls, to send them to vocational educational schools, and see to it, if necessary, that they have the money for dormitories and food away from home.

But this program is directed to the poor, not to the middle class. This is a poverty bill. This is not a bill to improve the educational opportunities of middle-class American boys and girls.

That is taken care of in the Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education Act.

This is a bill for the poor.

This amendment would strike at the heart of one of the most important and one of the most successful programs to take young boys and girls off the streets and bring them into a healthy environment, to give them medical and dental services, to give them the kind of character building training which will turn potential juvenile delinquents into useful citizens.

This is a program which did, I will admit, have a shaky beginning, but now most of the bugs have been removed and 42,000 young people are benefiting from the program, with 70 percent of them getting jobs when they complete the program. All this would be cut away, at one fell swoop, if the Curtis amendment should be agreed to.

Mention is made of the fact that the Curtis amendment would cut costs.

Of course it would cut costs. Why would it not? It deals only with the training aspects of the rehabilitation program. Most kids who go to a vocational school do not need any particular extra training in character and in attitude. That is where at least 50 percent of the money spent on the Job Corps goes, to make good citizens out of disadvantaged youth.

Thus, necessarily, if we dismiss the whole problem of character and attitude, as my friend from Nebraska has done, surely, it will save costs. But the problem will remain. Is it not worth the cost to redeem the youth of this country through service in the Job Corps in 38 States—coming from all 50 States? Is this not well worth the cost which, to be sure, is not low?

The program suggested by my friend from Nebraska is aimed at only half the problem, as I just said, and hence requires only half the cost. But what lies at the heart of the poverty program is the total rehabilitation of these youngsters. This is basic economics. It must also follow that we will have available for each of the young persons only one-half of what needs to be done, if the Curtis amendment should be adopted.

Why did these young people not respond to vocational schools in the first place?

They had the opportunity if they had the money—and all too often they did not have the money—to go to school as part of their secondary education, but they did not respond because they needed something else. In many cases, they needed a full stomach, a warm room, an understanding person to direct them toward the right way to achieve the good things in American life which they are being denied today. It was to give them these services, not as a matter of charity but as a matter of right that the Job Corps was established, in the first place, to give the youngsters a different environment. That is why the Job Corps fixed their teeth, gave them comprehensive physical examinations, performed hernia operations, put glasses on their eyes when they could not see, and provided a healthy diet to renew a body too long victimized by poor nutrition.

None of this can be done by turning half the money over to vocational schools. Not until these things are done can a young boy or girl begin to concentrate on a vocational career.

Human renewal is not cheap. Those of us fortunate enough to provide for our children from the moment they are born, through college and sometimes to graduate school, know the expense involved. To take a youngster who has not been so fortunate as ours and try to make a contributing citizen out of him is expensive.

It is also claimed that the local community from which a Job Corps youngster has been recruited seldom benefits from the time, money, and training that has been afforded the individual enrollee. May I suggest we take a look at the record.

Here are some figures about the Job Corps as of June 1967—about 3 months ago—the figures would be higher now.

There are 11 States in which Job Corps centers to this date have not been established. That means that there are Job Corps centers in 39 of the 50 States.

Although no Federal funds have gone into these States for construction and maintenance of Job Corps centers, these States have benefited from the allotments to dependents and readjustment allowances which are brought back with the Corps member to the State from which he was recruited.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield at that point for a question?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. What are the 11 States which do not have Job Corps centers?

Mr. CLARK. I shall be glad to obtain that for the Senator a little bit later. I do not have it on the tip of my tongue.

Mr. President, in this respect, the State of Louisiana has benefited to the extent of $2,114,583; the State of Mississippi to the extent of $1,783,507; Alabama by $1,988,480; Georgia by $2,357,997; and South Carolina by $1,833,766. And these figures reflect only the monetary benefits, above the training and new skills which the Corps members bring back to their States.

The goal of the Job Corps is to prepare young men and women for jobs in which they can earn a decent living and through which they can become responsible citizens.

To illustrate my point, let us talk for a moment about the typical Job Corps enrollee.

He has had 8 years of school but he reads only at the fourth-grade level. That is because he has not been able to absorb his education properly—frequently because his ghetto school is no good.

Forty-seven percent of the males failed the induction eligibility test for the Armed Forces—33 percent failed for educational reasons; 60 percent from broken homes; 63 percent from homes where the head of the household is unemployed.

Almost 40 percent come from families on relief, and 80 percent have not seen a doctor or dentist in the last 10 years. What chance would these youngsters have in a vocational educational system? I suggest none. That is why the Curtis amendment is not a program for poor people. It is a program for middle class children, a program for children who have already had most of the amenities of life.

We know that for every 10 months spent in the Job Corps, the average Corps member gains 1½ grade levels in reading. This is over twice the gain he showed in public school before he dropped out.

Seventy percent of all Job Corpsmen obtain jobs, or reenter schools, or qualify and enter the military service. Those who have jobs receive wages of $1.71 an hour. If we assume this youngster works at $1.71 an hour for 40 years with no increase in earnings, he will return to the Government in income tax payments alone over $11,200.

To talk of the Job Corps as a vocational program is just not to understand the average Job Corpsman whom I have just described. He could no more go to a vocational school, live independently in a dormitory, pay for his room and board, read his vocational manuals, than he could enter college. A vocational program alone is too far above him educationally and emotionally, and, I would say, culturally. This youngster needs complete human renewal, and that is what the Job Corps does.

So I think in essence the question in determining the vote on the Curtis amendment is: Do we want a poverty program or do we want to put more money into middle class education? We are putting plenty of money into middle class education. I have supported it in many bills of which I have been proud to be a cosponsor.

Mr. President, how much time do I have left?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator has used 12 minutes of his 60 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. I will yield myself, again, such time as I may require.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I would like to say a word about Job Corps costs, and here I refer to the committee report, page 14, which states that the committee has conferred with a number of Job Corps contractors, including those from industrial firms which have had long experience in cost-cutting methods. They conclude that costs are reaching rock bottom and cannot be further lowered without seriously impairing program quality. Center managers have expressed shock on learning the depth of disadvantage of the youths who enroll in the Job Corps.

Mr. President, mark this well: Remedial medical and dental services alone cost $360 per enrollee. That is because these youngsters have not had a chance to have adequate medical and dental care because of the cost involved.

The seemingly high costs are necessary to remedy 16 to 20 years of neglect by local schools—whether they be in the humanities or technical or vocational schools—neglect by health agencies, and other community service organizations, and to overcome the handicaps of broken families and disrupted neighborhood life.

Indeed, costs are high, but the needs are great. Yet the committee is convinced that, in the long run, the Government will be fully reimbursed for these expenditures through the taxes derived from the corpsmen's subsequent greater earnings, not to speak of the savings to the welfare and correctional systems of the country as these youngsters are assisted in finding productive roles in society.

A comment was made, in the course of the debate, that—

> Nationally, the Job Corps is in disrepute. It does not have the confidence of the American people. These weaknesses and failures are common knowledge and they have been well documented over the months.

I categorically deny that statement. There is not one word of truth in it. Of the more than 400 witnesses who testified before the subcommittee, only two advocated the abolition of OEO and the transfer of its functions, including the Job Corps, to other agencies. These witnesses included key representatives from such important national organizations as the following:

National League of Cities.
The U.S. Conference of Mayors.
National Association for Community Development.
National Urban League.
League of Women Voters.
National Council of Churches.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Conference of Senior Citizens.
National Council of Catholic Women.
American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

And the American Bar Association—surely not a radical organization.

All of these groups have supported the maintenance of the Job Corps within OEO, and, in fact, many have recommended an expansion of the program.

In addition, the business community has become increasingly more receptive toward the OEO programs, and the Job Corps in particular, and plays a leading role in the operation of the Job Corps camps, as I noted a moment or two ago.

My friend from Nebraska said:

> Nobody has an accurate check as to what happens to the Job Corps enrollees after they leave the Job Corps.

There is not a word of truth in that statement. Let me read from the committee report, at page 13:

> Based upon sample studies conducted for OEO by Louis Harris & Associates, the Job Corps estimates that 70 percent who have left the Job Corps are working, in the armed services, or enrolled in school. The remaining 30 percent were unemployed, out of the labor force (such as young women who married), or whereabouts unknown.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. Yes, I yield. Before the Senator begins, may I say to him that I can give him the list of States where there are no Job Corps camps. I asked my staff to get that information.

Mr. CURTIS. I am neither offended nor stirred over the fact that the Senator stated that the statements in my speech were without a word of truth in them. Of course, nobody believes that absurd and ridiculous charge.

Mr. CLARK. I yielded for a question, if the Senator wishes to ask a question.

Mr. CURTIS. I told the Senator that I interviewed three of the top leaders of the Job Corps and I asked them what happens to people who leave the Job Corps and they told me that they had no way of finding out because they write them at the address when they enrolled, and when they are gone from there they have no check on any of them, but about 25 or 30 percent——

Mr. CLARK. Is the Senator referring to the Job Corps center in Nebraska?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Because the information is here in the National Office of OEO.

It may be that they do not have the information in Nebraska. In fact, when we talked to them the other day they seemed to be singularly confused. These are figures we got from Mr. Shriver.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Shriver is fighting the battle of his life to save his bureaucracy. I challenge Mr. Shriver to give a list of the figures based on Government figures showing where they are working right now.

Mr. CLARK. May I read into the RECORD the list of States where there are no camps?

Alabama, Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Rhode Island, and South Carolina.

Mr. President, studies made by Louis Harris, to which I referred a moment ago, are in the House hearings on the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967, part I. The hearings were held from June 12 to 16. I hold in my hand a copy, which I shall be glad to furnish to the Senator from Nebraska if he cares to look at it.

Mr. CURTIS. That is an opinion poll; is it not?

Mr. CLARK. No; it is a check, to see where they are. It is not an opinion poll.

Mr. CURTIS. It is merely a poll taken by a pollster.

I still challenge Sargent Shriver to tell what happened to the people who were trained in the Job Corps. He has no record of them.

Mr. CLARK. All I can say is that if the Senator from Nebraska does not believe Sargent Shriver, perhaps he will believe Lou Harris.

Mr. CURTIS. No, I did not say I do not believe him; I said he did not have the information.

Mr. CLARK. He told us he did.

Mr. CURTIS. Why does he not present it?

Mr. CLARK. He did before our committee. I just read it to the Senator.

Mr. CURTIS. No; he gave a pollster's opinion.

Mr. CLARK. I cannot agree with my good friend from Nebraska. What was given us was an analysis made by his own assistants.

Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska commented about Job Corpsmen being flown all over the country and taking over hotels. The answer to that criticism is that during the early years of the Job Corps, it was the custom of the Job Corps to fly enrollees from their reception centers, where they were gathered, out to the conservation camps in the West. This was felt to be the most economic way to handle them, but Congress did not like it, so in 1966 Congress added an amendment to require trainees to be assigned to their own region, and the present bill requires assignment to the center closest to the residence of such enrollee.

If there is any puddle-jumping flying still being done—I do not think there is—it is because it has turned out to be the cheapest way to get the corpsmen to the centers where they are to be trained.

With respect to taking over hotels, it is true that in the early days certain hotels which were pretty much on the ropes—I can say from my own experience that the ones I saw were rather second-class hotels—were picked up at bargain rates in order to provide trainees in the Corps with the facilities where the corpsmen could be trained in urban centers.

I saw one such hotel myself, in Albuquerque, N. Mex., where there was a Women's Job Corps camp. I can attest to the fact that the Packard-Bell Co., which is the contractor operating that Women's Job Corps center, had really made a good and shrewd purchase—it may have been a lease, I do not know: I think it was a purchase—of a facility which was extraordinarily well planned for the conduct of a Women's Job Corps camp. The fact that it happened to be a hotel seems to me to be relatively unimportant.

Of course, the initial investment in capital facilities for the Job Corps is now over, because the committee bill, in accordance with the action of Congress last year, fixes the number of enrollees at somewhere in the neighborhood of 42,000; and we do not want to see that number extended any further. The present facilities are entirely adequate to receive and continue the training of that many persons.

Let me not be too dogmatic about this. There are weaknesses in the Job Corps. There have been failures. My own view is that since Mr. Kelly took over as Director of the Job Corps, there has been an almost spectacular improvement in the caliber of its administration; and I must say, from what we see and what we have heard, including testimony from Job Corps graduates themselves, I am of the view that on balance, with some mistakes and some weaknesses, and at a cost which is high, the Job Corps program has done well and should be continued.

The Job Corps is a vital resource for the Nation. I believe it is doing as much as any other one of the poverty programs to insure that a substantial segment of disadvantaged youth shall be given the training which they require.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time. I ask how much time I have remaining.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania has consumed 25 minutes, and he therefore has 35 minutes remaining.

Mr. CLARK. May I ask whether the 5 minutes I yielded to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] on a nongermane matter have been charged to me? In other words, I wonder whether I really have 35 minutes remaining.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct. He has 30 minutes remaining. He has consumed 25 minutes, and the Senator from Missouri consumed 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield the floor, and, with the concurrence of my friend from Nebraska, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time to be charged to neither side.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, if the Senator will withdraw that request, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding the previous order, that the remaining time be limited to 14 minutes, to be equally divided between the proponent of the amendment and the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, and that prior thereto, we have a live quorum, with the time not to be charged to either side; in other words, that we have a live quorum, then 14 minutes of debate, and after that we vote. There will be a request for a rollcall vote.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I shall not object, but before we proceed with that, I ask unanimous consent that a statement on the pending amendment concerning the Job Corps, prepared by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], who is necessarily absent, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOB CORPS STATEMENT, OCTOBER 2, 1967

(By Senator GAYLORD NELSON)

Since the beginning of our national effort to eliminate domestic poverty, no program has been as misunderstood and as unfairly treated as the Job Corps. Adverse reaction and political attacks, reported in the press and broadcasting media, have clouded the dramatic successes achieved by this imaginative program.

As part of its review of the effectiveness of the poverty programs, the subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty this spring visited the Camp McCoy Job Corps Center at Sparta, Wisconsin. I had the honor of chairing those hearings and of visiting with camp officials and enrollees.

I was deeply impressed by the accomplishments of that center in its few short months of operation.

As with any new program of such magnitude, its development was not without problems. Initial difficulties with individual Corpsmen and with administrative procedures are being resolved.

The Center is being run by the Office of Extension of the University of Wisconsin and the Radio Corporation of America. The program and work of the Camp McCoy Center are typical of similar camps throughout the country.

From 1965 to the present time close to 100,000 young men and women have been enrolled in urban and conservation camps. These young people are the most severely disadvantaged of our society. They are school dropouts, many Armed Forces rejectees and people who have had trouble with the police.

But they are still young. Society could permit them to continue to drift and to be a burden on the taxpayer, whether on welfare or in jail, for the rest of their lives. Or we can make an effort to bring them into society, to enable them to become productive citizens and taxpayers. The Job Corps chooses the second path, and has proven itself successful. There is no question that severe difficulties have existed in forming this program. The young people we deal with have been alienated and ignored by society all their lives. Repressive disciplinary action alone cannot solve the critical problems caused by the living conditions of these enrollees.

The Job Corps is not a welfare or handout program. It trains men and women to work and to earn a decent wage.

Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh of Detroit cited before our subcommittee here in Washington the benefits derived from OEO training programs. He said, "For the most part the dollars spent through local programs are investment dollars." The Mayor cited an adult and youth employment project which cost $788,000 and assisted 1417 persons. These people, once jobless, now earn $4 million a year in wages and pay $650,000 a year in taxes.

Seventy percent of those who have completed the Job Corps courses have since been placed in jobs, school or the military. Those who are working earn an average $1.71 an hour.

Not all those who enter the centers complete their training. But few people realize that close to fifty percent of those entering college fail to complete their degree requirements. Yet this does not reflect on the quality of American universities. Nor can it be denied that the experience was of great value to those who did not graduate.

This must be kept in mind when making a judgment on the Job Corps, which begins with young people who are, in effect, dropouts from the mainstream of our society.

We have in the Job Corps a unique example of cooperation between government and private industry in an effort to show America's poor that they can be helped through our existing institutions.

This effort has just begun. My greatest regret is that the program is so limited in scope. We are reaching only a small number of those who are in need of the Job Corps.

Tragic events of the past summer should alert us to the folly of abandoning the small starts we have already made in providing a chance for America's poor and disadvantaged.

Passage of the pending amendment would further erode the remaining confidence of America's poor in our commitment to help them.

Unemployment figures have taken on new and dramatic meaning in recent months. The rate in America's slums is three times the national average. Unemployment among Negro teenage boys is 31% and among girls it is 46%. Yet a recent survey revealed that 67% of unemployed slum residents are willing to take on-the-job training.

With the Job Corps a commitment was made to these young people. Today we are faced with a choice, to accept our responsibility and to continue that commitment or to attempt to turn the clock back. Reversal of the trend of these past three years is not possible. It can be undertaken only at a tremendous future cost to the United States and it cannot succeed.

Mr. CLARK. There may be other Senators who wish to put in statements also.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the New Statesman of London, September 1, 1967, had an interesting article on the Job Corps Center at Camp Kilmer, N.J., run by the Federal Electric Corp., a subsidiary of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.

In these days when we hear much carping criticism about the Job Corps and indeed the whole poverty program, it is gratifying to read observations by outside observers which recognizes the value of this concept of job training. Indeed, Nora Sayre the author of "Jobs for the Dropouts," perhaps summed up in one phrase the true story of the whole Job Corps concept when she said:

> The Job Corps has the simple evidence of success: thousands are now working who would probably have been on relief.

Mr. President, as we study the various aspects of the poverty program let us not lose sight of the basic fact that there are thousands upon thousands of American citizens who are ill prepared to take part in today's society. For some reason our past efforts have not reached the so-called hard-core poor. Since enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 these people have been reached. For the first time in our governmental history instead of applying palliatives to the problem of poverty, we are utilizing curative methods which, if given time and support by this body, can truly break the cycle of the poor.

I believe this article contains some interesting observations and without objection would like to have it printed in today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOBS FOR THE DROPOUTS

(By Nora Sayre)

From fire to fire the riots flare across the summer, while many liberals automatically deduce that the Anti-Poverty Programme is a failure or an irrelevancy. Yet, sifting the ashes and the shattered glass of riot sites, while counting the dead, should clinch the conviction that the Job Corps should be urgently expanded. Currently, there are 122 centres in the U.S. Camp Kilmer, in New Jersey—a former army base that once held Italian prisoners of war and, later, Hungarian refugees—has placed 2,039 of its 2,377 graduates in jobs. Staff members stressed that these particular young men might otherwise have been burning, smashing and dying. Aged 16 to 21, these school drop-outs are damaged goods when they arrive—but all have come voluntarily. Conspicuous for self-contempt and uncertainty, they are selected according to need: poverty, bad family life, minimal education. Records of delinquency do not disqualify them, although "major criminal offenses" aren't acceptable, nor is retardation. At Kilmer, 70 percent are Negro and Puerto Rican. They receive $30 a month, and average nine months' training; they can stay for a maximum of two years. On finishing they get $50 for each month "satisfactorily completed." The Kilmer management is contracted to the Federal Electric Corporation, a subsidiary of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation.

The Corpsmen's reading and mathematics are improved so that they can receive the equivalent of a high-school diploma, and the choice of vocational programmes includes electronics, trucking, mechanics, carpentry, painting, cooking and offset printing. (At women's centres, the courses range from secretarial training to cosmetology.) Vocational counselling is intensive; a boy who's determined on electronics but has no ability is carefully guided to a related field. Another is advised against office machine repairs if he's going to return to a hometown of 200 inhabitants without a single typewriter. It's admitted that the kitchen is an inflammatory place, and that a nervous, irascible boy shouldn't become a short-order cook subjected to yells, heat and inevitably short tempers. They are trained in on-the-job behavior, dress and hygiene, and how to act during interviews and towards an employer ("Keep to the point, he doesn't want to know about your sex-life. Watch the hep talk.") and how to budget their salaries. City drop-outs are nocturnal creatures; they tend to sleep all day and roam at night, hence many are shocked by the requirements of punctuality. The intention is to raise them to a very strong apprentice level and to provide every graduate with a letter of introduction to a specific company. Industry and corporations have responded admirably, and Job Corps centres concentrate on encouraging firm representatives to visit the camps and inspect the professional level. Thus the Job Corps has the simple evidence of success; thousands are now working who would probably have been on relief.

However, personal rehabilitation is as crucial at Kilmer as the level of future employment. Counsellors and group-leaders stimulate Corpsmen to ventilate all their problems, including racial tensions (which do exist, but have not been serious), plus the numerous manifestations of homesickness. (They come from all over the U.S. Many miss their neighborhoods or city blocks, rather than their families.) There's an emphasis throughout on expressing feelings—which must be a fresh and startling experience for many, since impoverished parents often stress silence, especially by shouting at their offspring to shut up. Today it's quite astonishing to realize that a large group can be good for its members. While armies, offices and school dormitories deaden and deflate so many psyches, it's evident that Corpsmen thrive on mutual exposure and on their eventual concern for one another. There are nightly group meetings: quite often these focus on a boy who wants to leave, while the others try very hard to persuade him to stay. They say that they feel like failures when they can't convince a classmate to remain (incidentally, anyone can leave whenever he wishes.) But the group aura is far from militant; Corpsmen say that they appreciate being allowed to work at their own different speeds, and the lack of competition. The staff is frank about intrinsic problems; one is the diversity of intelligence—mingling those who read like eight-year-olds with some who are college material. Discipline is naturally quite intense; fighting or returning drunk from a weekend results in menial tasks or fines. But, talking to Corpsmen, one learns that they are very concerned about the Corps' reputation—and that they want each other to keep it clean. The verb 'to blow' is often heard at Kilmer; there are many references to blowing your job or your salary, as well as your cool. But repression isn't an albatross and griping is considered healthy.

Asked about their complaints (apart from the absence of girls, whom they do see on weekends or at many social events), Corpsmen were critical of the outside screeners who had glamorised the camp: "They promise roses and cream. Hence some are disappointed. Still, the national drop-out rate is less than 19 per cent. Over a canteen lunch of fried chicken and limitless gravy, three students of heavy trucking were indignant about the costs of the space programme, and very well informed about its budget in contrast to Anti-Poverty funds: 'So go to the moon. Later. Not now. We know too many people who need what we're getting here.' However, they (and others) seemed to have little feeling about Vietnam; the army is still considered good employment, and a fair number of Corpsmen later enlist. They said that there hadn't been much 'interest' in the recent riots in New Jersey or elsewhere. One behemoth added: 'I used to be a . . . [careful pause] . . . hell-raiser. Then I got sick of standing on the corner with the wine.' They all agreed that their previous lives had been boring—'with your mother on your back all day long too.'

Since the US school system caters for the middle-class, it has already failed to serve anyone who is eligible for the Job Corps. Tangible results are important for morale at Kilmer, from the tools and machine parts which a Corpsman can keep when he's completed them, to the final diploma. A librarian remarked that there's a fierce determination to own things—that Corpsmen are pleased by the fact that everyone's given his own paperback dictionary. Noting that thousands of wooden pencils vanish from the library, he suggested that 'there must be something symbolic about owning them', and, since the camp is strewn with a host of broken pencils, he thinks that many must snap them in half during spasms of momentary frustration.

There has been ample hostility to the Job Corps, plus many tinted distortions by the press. It's true that the first applicants were not so carefully selected as they are now and that discipline has been accelerated. But the arrest rate among Corpsmen is less than half that for their age group throughout the US. Antagonism probably springs from envy of the swimming pools and other recreational amenities that nearby townsmen lack, homespun racism and the educated whites' fear of competition from Negroes with good vocational training. Also, rescuing people isn't cheap. Since it costs about $6,950 a year to maintain one Corpsman, there's a lot of rhubarb about 'the taxpayer's dollar'—ignoring the fact that Corpsmen themselves pay taxes. Even among liberal New Yorkers there's a lax readiness to believe that Job Corps centres are festivals of delinquency. Hence visits should be compulsory for every critic. Energy and professionalism make their own testimony. At Kilmer's driving school vast trucks weave slowly between orange barrels in a serpentine obstacle-course; in an auto-service station, Corpsmen's bodies dangle or protrude from capsized cars, amidst Plotonic showers of sparks an Irish instructor lyrically extols the poetry of welding and his students' exceptional 'feel' for the medium; the dilemma of perfecting a pumpkin pie absorbs a crew of intent cooks. The Corpsmen hardly wear halos, but there are cordial and courteous, greetings to any stranger. Numerous back pockets bulge with paperback books. Seeing so many alert and intelligent faces, it's hard to remember that many were almost illiterate not long ago

Despite its achievements, the Job Corps'

> budget has not been enlarged. The President is never shy of asking Congress for fresh funds for Vietnam; his requests for Anti-Poverty money are punctual but less passionate. This particular Congress may be remembered for its anti-riot bill, cutbacks in aid to the poor, and a recent vote for an elegant $10-m. Washington aquarium that few natives are said to desire.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There being no objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska, it is so ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 271 Leg.]

Aiken
Bartlett
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Mansfield
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Monroney
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Prouty
Randolph
Spong
Talmadge
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] are necessarily absent.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] and the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is absent on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Long of Missouri in the chair). A quorum is not present.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

Allott
Anderson
Bible
Brooke
Cannon
Cooper
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fulbright
Hansen
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Hollings
Hruska
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Magnuson
McCarthy
McClellan
McIntyre
Miller
Mondale
Muskie
Pearson
Percy
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Thurmond
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. Who yields time?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I yield myself 4 minutes. Let me say to all Senators now in the Chamber that we will vote in 14 minutes.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I should like to state what the amendment is about.

The amendment would repeal the Job Corps. It would double the money for vocational and technical training under the 1966 act.

If any Senator wishes to see how much money his State will get now and how much it would get if the full amount were authorized and appropriated; it is shown on tables 1A and 1B which are printed on pages 3 and 3A of my statement which is on the desk of each Senator.

Here is what we propose to do. By repealing the $295 million item, we can double the money for vocational and technical training, save $100 million annually, and reach five times as many people with training.

The cost as I have estimated it in my statement to operate a State vocational educational school, including dormitories and meals, this is far less than the Job Corps. The Job Corps is two and a half times as costly as a State or locally operated school would be with Federal funds.

When we consider that a Federal appropriation under the 1963 program must be matched, we would reach five times as many people. Here we have an opportunity to double the vocational and technical education money going to the States, eliminate one bureau, reach five times as many people, and save $100 million annually.

The question has been raised that there is nothing in the amendment to provide for a tapering off. Yes, I am asking the Senate to vote on the general policy involved. Should the amendment carry, it will be a simple matter to implement it with additional amendments as may be necessary.

I contend that the present Job Corps method of taking a handful of people here and there, flying them across the country, then flying them home for Christmas, taking over hotels, is wasteful. It also sets a poor example.

Let us build vocational and technical schools right in the slums, right in the ghettos, so that all the people may see an example of education at its best where individuals can attend and graduate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 4 minutes of the Senator from Nebraska have expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I shall vote for the Curtis amendment. If adopted, it will increase from $225,000,000 to $420 million the money available for vocational training of the youth of our Nation. The vocational training program has been an efficient and constructive instrumentality in vesting our youth with vocations fitting them for employment.

Its cost will be far less than the cost of $6,950 per pupil in the Job Corps.

The cost of training a dropout in the Job Corps is at least twice as much as it costs to send a youth to our institutions of higher learning in Ohio.

Dropouts are brought in for enrollment from one section of the country to another at great and unjustified cost to the taxpayers.

Enrollees are hauled from one section of the country to another for the purpose of get-togethers at home, and are then returned to their original base. Vigorous complaints of misconduct keep cropping up from around the country, misconduct of the worst kind which has taken place in some of these institutions.

My vote will make available $195 million more for vocational training where the job can be efficiently done.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I reserve the remaining minute and a half of my time.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, as I recall, Senators who were Members of this body when the Job Corps was first advanced opposed it far more vigorously than I did. I felt then that there were many problems we had to anticipate, and I regret to say that many of my fears have been realized. The proposal which is now being put forward by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska is a step in the right direction, but I believe it is premature and that this is not the time to adopt it.

We must remember that we have a tremendous capital investment in Job Corps camps around the country. We must remember also that drastic changes have been made in the Job Corps program under the new Director, Mr. Kelly. Also, certain amendments which I offered and which were adopted in committee and on the floor of the Senate have, I think, strengthened the program immeasurably.

We must remember also that a number of contracts are outstanding for the operation of Job Corps camps, including those operated by big business. Many of them would be invalidated, and we would be faced immediately with a chaotic situation if the camps were closed. Furthermore, it is not possible for the vocational education personnel to take over those camps now. Perhaps in the future, they might.

Mr. President, I say regretfully to my distinguished friend from Nebraska that I cannot support his amendment now. If he offers it next year, or some similar proposal, I may have a different view of it then.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy].

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I want to read, from the report, the statement of the committee's consultant on the Job Corps:

> The record of the Job Corps is clear: it tried to attract youth who had difficulty finding employment even in a tight labor

market. Two of every five enrollees in May 1967 had completed 8 years of education or less. And actual educational achievement was much lower than the formal education would indicate. Reading and arithmetic comprehension for half of the enrollees was at about the fifth grade level (or below). Nearly one of every three was unable to read a simple sentence or solve a second grade arithmetic problem. Two of every five came from a broken home, and two of every five from families on relief.

The difficulty will be that these young men are going to need special training. It is not really going to do any good to try to return them to vocational schools. Studies have indicated that vocational schools are unable to deal with the peculiar and particular problems that these young men and women are facing. It is only through institutions such as the Job Corps and programs such as the Job Corps program that they are going to be able to improve their education and be enabled to later become members of the labor force and contribute to their own families and to the community.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska. It is not just a question of reeducating or moving people from the unemployable level to one that will enable them to have jobs. There is an additional problem in the spectrum of employment; namely, the middle area, from which one can get from lower status employment to more technical employment which has been largely removed by virtue of automation. So it is a problem that encompasses not only those not sufficiently educated or those who are borderline, but also the whole spectrum of employment. I think it is vitally important that we continue this program.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough].

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Job Corps camp at Camp Gary at San Marcos, 20 minutes away from my home, was the first established camp under this program. It trained thousands and has been one of the most efficiently operated camps in the country. It would be tragic not to continue it.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

What would the Curtis amendment do?

One hundred and forty-four million dollars in facilities would be abandoned.

Eighteen million dollars in Corpsmen allotments would not be sent home.

Over $23 million in conservation work would go undone.

Eighty thousand deprived youth would not be served.

An economic impact on 123 communities in 38 States where the centers are operating would be felt.

Over $125 million of contracts with private industry would be terminated.

We would substitute a middle class program and a vocational education program for a program to help the poor people of the United States of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska has 1 minute and a half remaining.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, has all time been used except the 1½ minutes remaining to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time of the Senator from Nebraska except 1 minute and a half has been used.

Mr. CURTIS. Has all time except the 1 minute and a half remaining to me been used?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I agree that the Senator should have the concluding argument, so I yield back my time.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, let me again state we are voting on a policy question. Are we going to bring the States and localities into the program, to save money, and to bring the schools where the poor people are? If this proposal carries, there can easily be a detailed amendment on the tapering off. No one has risen to defend the Job Corps during this debate. The charge that they have been flying around, taking over hotels, is true. One of the first things that occurred at the hotel in Omaha was that they removed the Gideon Bibles.

Government can provide the schools, but flying people around or a law cannot meet the character question that causes people who want to learn to do something and be self-supporting. The only way to encourage people to do that is to establish a good school in the poor areas, and not by getting people to go away from home and nobody knowing what happens to them after they leave. I daresay very few return to improve their own surroundings. There is something about a partnership between individuals and the State and local governments that brings to people those things that make such training a success.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. The bureaucracy is making the fight of its life to stay in office. I ask for the vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DIRKSEN (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. HOLLINGS (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. LAUSCHE (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is absent on official business.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] is necessarily absent and his pair has been previously announced.

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker]. If present and voting, the Senator Utah would vote "yea," and the Senator from Tennessee would note "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 49, as follows:

[No. 272 Leg.]

YEAS—30

Allott
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Hansen
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
McClellan
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Percy
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.

NAYS—49

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bible
Brooke
Burdick
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Dodd
Fong
Fulbright
Griffin
Gruening
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Inouye
Jackson
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—21

Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Brewster
Dirksen
Gore
Harris
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hollings
Javits
Lausche
Long, La.
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Russell
Tower

So Mr. CURTIS' amendment was rejected.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this afternoon, it stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

THE VIETNAM CONFLICT AND WASHINGTON

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, for the past 2 weeks I have been in Southeast Asia, by leave of the Senate. This ancient land has, for a long time, been the scene of recurrent strife among the many peoples who have come there over the centuries. In the past generation, that strife has largely degenerated into fratricide, terror, and bloody war, in which the forces of fading colonialism, expanding Asiatic communism, and national independence have been contending. For almost all of my 15 years in the Senate, our own country has become increasingly involved. And from the very beginning, that involvement has produced some contrary views.

In the past few weeks, the American press, and—I can personally testify—the press in Asia, have reported an intensification of the debate here at home. Free and constructive debate, of course, is vital. The American people need to know the truth, and Members of the Senate have a duty to seek it out.

Last May, I said in the Senate:

> The larger Communist powers must be on notice of the determination of the government and people of the United States to bring an end to our effort by negotiation, if possible, but by military force, if necessary.

Those remain my views now.

I cannot say that a fortnight abroad qualifies me as an expert. The fact is that, as with all human problems, there are currents and crosscurrents, good and bad, some full of hope, some full of despair. There are no clear-cut, guaranteed answers; and no catch phrase, however artful, can help guide us in this time of crisis. The views I express are my own, and represent my best judgment of the general situation.

Mr. President, as I see it, the American people face two basic issues in this tragedy. One is Communist aggression against South Vietnam and, less visibly, against Laos and Thailand. The other is more directly in the sphere of the Senate and the Congress, as a matter of national policy. It is the question of the continuing commitment of the United States and its overwhelming might to collective security of free peoples in Asia.

In Vietnam our leaders, both civilian and military, believe they see a dim light at the edge of a distant horizon. There are visible signs of progress in allied military operations, and in political development, as well. Even America's severest critics recognize that our Armed Forces have destroyed Communist hopes for military conquest of the south.

Land communications among cities in Vietnam have been expanded and secured. Villages, long out of touch with major cities, have resumed nearly normal contact. In Pleiku, I spoke with Montagnard tribesmen, some of whom had not in decades had any relationship with the central government in Saigon. They are now learning that they are part of a large nation. Many of them are fighting for their homeland. In the Mekong Delta, waterways between the tributaries of that great river have been made secure for the passage of trade. Sampan operators have been quick to exploit this situation and, incidentally, to express their gratitude for protection against Vietcong extortion and terror. These roads and waterways continue to require vigilant patrol which they are receiving. But the access they give is vital to the health and progress of South Vietnam.

The allied military effort is now supported by a vast complex of port and airfield facilities. Our forces are no longer dependent solely upon the congested harbor at Saigon. Our air forces have been deployed widely over the entire countryside. They are able to respond rapidly to any call for air support. In military terms, the essential logistic elements are in place. The capital investment in our military effort has been made.

While our communications have become more secure, the Communist enemy has been pushed out of most of his base areas. Under continued pressure from the air, land, and sea, his units are forced to keep moving. Enemy casualties have been high, possibly higher than the Communists can replace at present rates of recruitment and infiltration.

In the northern provinces the war on the Communist side has passed largely into the hands of regular units of the North Vietnamese Army—so severely have the Viet Cong been decimated. In these areas, the initiative remains largely with our forces. As one officer said to me, "When you have difficulty getting a fight, you know the enemy has problems." The enemy seems to have many problems. Only when he can operate out of sanctuaries, such as the demilitarized zone along the border north of Con Thien, does he seek to engage our forces on a large scale.

I do not pretend to pass judgment on military developments, except to note these points which were confirmed by a number of sources, both civilian and military, both American and South Vietnamese. It is clear that a base for progress has been laid. The tide of battle has long since stopped running in favor of the Communist Vietnamese. This is an enormous tribute to the thousands of American youth in uniform now serving in Vietnam. I spoke freely with them at every opportunity, from aboard the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* in the Tonkin Gulf to a bivouac at Jackson Hole on the Cambodian border. Their morale is high. They have no fear. They believe in their mission. One-half million gallant Americans are participating in the defense of South Vietnam and the greater effort of knitting together the fabric of her nationhood. America is particularly fortunate to have the services in this struggle of Gen. William Westmoreland. His grip on the complexities of this unprecedented conflict has marked him as an outstanding military leader in our time. Without attempting to name them, our military personnel, from Admiral U. S. Grant Sharp to each of our enlisted men, and our civil servants, from Ambassador Bunker, and the other excellent ambassadors representing this country in that area, to our young advisers in the hamlets and in the villages, represent the finest kind of our fellow Americans.

The Communists now know that they cannot win on the battlefield. Their hopes lie in diplomacy and political action designed to divide and conquer the Vietnamese people. Here, our counter has been a determined effort to improve the life of the village people of South Vietnam and to free them from the yoke of Vietcong intimidation extortion, and terror.

This program is making slow but steady progress. In Quang Tri Province, only a few miles south of the battle at Con Thien, I was able to see the work of a revolutionary development cadre in bringing renewed hope to a small village by building a new school, providing medical facilities and instruction, and by organizing self-government. I saw a similar process in the Mekong Delta, a village which only two weeks earlier had been under Vietcong domination and control.

Vietnamese villagers seem to respond readily to the offer of new life. Wherever security can be provided, the possibility for political stability is apparent. But, after decades of struggle, villagers are not always convinced that the central government's forces will remain. Some fear the day when the Vietcong may return. In the pacification effort, security is vital, and it must be sure.

Pacification is a crucial part of the struggle. The late President Kennedy called it "another type of war, new in its intensity, ancient in its origin—war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush, instead of by combat; by infiltration instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him."

This kind of war requires an intimate understanding of local conditions. It must, therefore, primarily be the mission of the Vietnamese Armed Forces and the Vietnamese people.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam have taken large casualties in its national cause—over 100,000 total casualties and over 49,000 killed since 1961. Allied troops fight by their side against North Vietnamese regulars in the provinces north of Saigon. In the populous delta in the south, they have the primary role. Their determination to continue to fight the war by ambush is essention it seems to me, to the success of the pacification effort and to the eventual freedom and independence of South Vietnam. They have undertaken this role, different from that assigned to the U.S. forces, by general agreement among military and civilian leaders in Vietnam. American commanders see clearly the need for this division of responsibility. They recognize that they can far better discharge the role of separating the Vietcong from the people as a whole. This is a military judgment and a military decision, and it makes sense to me. Without this work, the Communist Vietcong will continue to hold in thrall many areas of South Vietnam, particularly in the rice-rich delta region, where 40 percent of the South Vietnamese population resides.

South Vietnam is now at a critical juncture. The constitutional process is moving forward. The armed forces are ceding their authority to representatives of the people. Their willingness to prosecute the war will be increasingly susceptible to political pressures, both from within South Vietnam and from the world outside, particularly from the United States. God knows their score is not perfect. I visited a delta hamlet where a supposedly crack South Vietnamese unit did not, perhaps was not willing to, assume the initiative to protect the villagers.

I spoke at length with President-elect Thieu about the work of the army in the pacification program. He is dedicated to civilian rule and civilian control over the armed forces. He also recognizes the vital role of the armed forces in the pacification program. I believe he sees, as do our military and civilian leaders, that the gains of the past few months will be meaningless unless that program goes forward. Any untoward political development, any unreal psychological victory for the north, or a tragic reversal in the progress already made in the constitutional process could severely weaken the determination of the South Vietnamese Army to take on this important job.

This delicate situation must not be affected by any failure of understanding on our part. Collective security inevitably involves commitment. There can be no effective alliance without mutual and reinforcing support. The question of unilateral cessation of bombing and our nation commitment in Southeast Asia must be seen in this perspective.

Mr. President, while in Southeast Asia, I read statements by a number of my colleagues calling for a unilateral halt to the bombardment of North Vietnam by air as a means of opening peace negotiations. I also listened yesterday to some of my colleagues for whom I have the highest respect, as they spoke on this subject. So far as I know, the objective of these negotiations has not been specified beyond an expressed desire for peace.

The point I wish to try to make, Mr. President, is that a unilateral halt in bombing would be of great value to the North Vietnamese. Five times in the past we have undertaken a cessation of hostilities in the hope of reaching the conference table. Each time the north has used this pause as a means of stepping up infiltration into the south and of resupplying its forces. Following the stand down for the Tet holiday in February, the Communists were able rapidly to expand their operations as a result of the respite from our attacks on their lines of supply. Many American lives were lost in later months because our openhanded action failed.

A tabulation of what the marines of the I Corps area euphemistically call "incoming" shows how important these resupply operations were to the enemy. "Incoming" is the name applied to inbound artillery, mortar, and rocket shells fired against South Vietnamese and American positions. As the American press has been vividly reporting in the last few weeks, this bombardment, largely from the sanctuary of the so-called Demilitarized Zone, north of the Ben Hai River, has accounted for a high percentage of our casualties.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this point in my remarks that a tabulation of incoming mortar, artillery, and rocket shells fired on American position in the I Corps area since July 1966 be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). Without objection, the tabulation will be printed in the RECORD.

The tabulation is as follows:

INCOMING MORTAR, ARTILLERY, AND ROCKET SHELLS

	Mortar	Artillery	Rocket
1966—July	1,135	--------	--------
August	647	--------	--------
September	859	--------	--------
October	510	--------	--------
November	498	--------	--------
December	1,425	--------	--------
1967—January	690	--------	--------
February	1,177	--------	51
March	6,268	150	219
April	3,848	850	40
May	5,140	1,346	353
June	1,906	1,950	153
July	3,641	3,134	190
August	3,095	2,406	75
Total	30,839	9,836	1,081

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I wish to refer to the tabulation, which is a tabulation prepared by fellow American citizens wearing the uniform of the U.S. Marine Corps, covering the period from July 1966, to August 1967. It demonstrates incoming mortar, artillery, and rockets from the demilitarized zone and from the southernmost portion of North Vietnam against our position and the position occupied by the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam in the First Corps area.

Mr. President, let those figures speak for themselves. It seems to me that they are convincing proof that during the unilateral bombing pause by the allies, the North Vietnamese were feverishly building up their positions in order to strike with greater force against our allies and our own American military personnel.

The tabulation shows at least a fivefold jump in mortar fire after the Tet stand-down. It shows the first appearance of artillery and rocket fire immediately after the pause. There can be no doubt that this stepped-up action resulted from improved supply to the enemy's forces.

There are those who argue that the Communist North requires only a "face-saving gesture" in order to accept reasonable terms at the conference table. But the logic is far more persuasive that North Vietnam hopes to gain both military and political advantage by cynically exploiting the worldwide yearning for peace. Is there any one in this Chamber who is willing to contend that North Vietnam is not the aggressor?

The American bastions at Con Thien and Gio Linh, south of the demilitarized zone, have been taking hundreds of incoming shells fired from the DMZ and from North Vietnamese territory. A principal defense of those bastions has been aerial bombardment. At this stage, the loss of these allied positions would be a tremendous psychological victory for the north. A unilateral bombing halt would deny the Marine garrison at Con Thien now a vital air cover, and leave it open to massive ground assault.

On September 22, I saw Con Thien and Gio Linh. I talked with the men of the 3d Marine Division at Dong Ha. In the course of that trip, I observed a B-52 raid on entrenched artillery positions of the enemy in the demilitarized zone. The men of the 3d Marines live with a daily rain of incoming shells. I cannot understand how any fairminded approach to honorable negotiations would deny them their principal means of defense through air power while they are under attack. Nor do I believe that we can ever be expected to declare a unilateral stand-down that would permit the North Vietnamese unilaterally to improve their positions in this now critical area—the only place in Vietnam where regular Army units of the Communist north have been on the offensive in recent months.

Mr. President, Americans believe in peace. That is why we joined the United Nations. Americans abhor aggression in any form. That is why collective security has been basic to our foreign policy. Our presence in South Vietnam is earnest testimony of our adherence to those deeply held views. In our zealous quest for a speedy end to all hostilities there, we must not be blind to the indispensable necessity that the peace we seek to achieve must be both just and enduring. In May, I said in the Senate:

> Whether we like it or not, the United States is committed today in Viet Nam. The issue before us now is not the origin of our involvement in the conflict but bringing it to a conclusion, honorably, and, hopefully, peacefully.

I like what J. R. Wiggins, the distinguished editor of the Washington Post, wrote a short time ago:

> The scale of the Viet Nam war already has demonstrated that the price tag on such wars of national liberation is higher and the risk greater than the hawks of North Viet Nam must have anticipated. If there occurs in Viet Nam a demonstration that such wars involve an unendurable risk and an unbearable cost and are not likely to succeed, prospects for peace in the future will be increased.

Mr. President, I believe in the validity of that statement.

That the risk to the Ho Chi Minh

regime arising from her aggression is unendurable, and that the cost to her is unbearable is being made clear, and must remain clear.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said a few days ago that he would like to see the U.S. military forces withdraw from South Vietnam, but not too hastily, and only if the peace formula insured that the same thing would not be repeated in the other Southeast Asian countries.

> The wrong kind of conclusion to the war in Vietnam—

He was talking about the possibility of an American military pullout from Southeast Asia—

> can absolutely unscramble the whole lot of us in Southeast Asia.

The Prime Minister of Japan, Eisaku Sato, has repeatedly said, in recent days, as he toured Southeast Asian nations, that a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war was of the "utmost urgency," but that an end to American bombing of the North alone would not be enough to end the war. Before stopping the bombing, Sato said:

> The United States must have some assurance there will be a settlement.

He added:

> If you say the right side is bad and the left side is good, you will never achieve peace. There is military infiltration from the North, and there is bombing of the North from the South. Somehow, only the bombing is considered as "bad," but the combat on the ground continues.

Last week, I flew to Vientiane, Laos. I spoke with Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma. His country's borders have been repeatedly assaulted by the North Vietnamese. Laos is perhaps next on their timetable. Small wonder that he ardently hopes that his nation will be left in peace. Among the free peoples of Asia there is a general hope that the cost of Ho's aggression will continue to be made so unbearable that they may have a better hope of living in a decent peace. Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines all agree.

Mr. President, domestic American politics does not offer a satisfactory basis for a winning strategy in world affairs. North Vietnam, unable to win a military victory, seeks, as I say, a political one. She counts on our moral paralysis in the face of mounting pressure for peace of almost any kind in connection with next year's elections.

I speak both as an American and as a Republican. What this administration does to demonstrate to the Vietnamese, both North and South, that America's commitment is enduring, will have, I sincerely believe, the support of the American people, and surely, of this U.S. Senator. It is far too late in the day to throw away what free people have fought valiantly to achieve in Southeast Asia. America must not now sully her commitment to the security of free Asia to which she pledged herself by groping for a nameless settlement. We seek an end that will leave the people of South Vietnam in lasting freedom and independence. This represents, it seems to me, the difficult path which leads to the best hope for just peace and stability in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, is this going to be a colloquy?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. If the Senator will withhold just a minute, I just want to say that the senior Senator from California has really made a very special speech today. It deserves examination and reexamination by every Member of the Senate and every Member of Congress, and I hope, sometime in the course of the day, to re-echo some of these sentiments, if I can find the time in the course of the debate. But I congratulate the Senator on the fruitfulness of the observations which he has made on his recent trip to Vietnam. He has been diligent about it. I think he has rendered a service to the Senate and to the people of the United States.

Mr. KUCHEL. I am profoundly grateful for what the Senator has just said. His is a powerful voice for national unity in time of crisis. I have followed his vote these 15 years on this subject, and I was glad to receive his encouragement for the 2 weeks in Southeast Asia which I have just concluded. I thank him very much for his words. I look forward to being present when, during his busy day, he will have an opportunity to speak on this subject.

I am glad to yield to the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON].

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I want to commend the able Minority Whip for the clarity of his remarks in identifying the key issues involved in the terrible struggle in Southeast Asia. The able senior Senator from California has put this problem in the context of Asia. It is in that context that we must look at the problem in Vietnam.

I compliment him for an able—yes, a brilliant—speech in connection with his trip to South Vietnam.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank my friend very much.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I merely wanted to add to what has been said that I think the Senator from California has made a profound contribution to this whole matter. We can have our differences, but I think the great contribution he has made today is his honest attempt to put these questions in proper perspective. I compliment him.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield to my able colleague.

Mr. MURPHY. I would like to join in the congratulations expressed in this Chamber to my senior colleague. I have had great regard for him over the years. I have never had more respect and regard for him than I have at this moment for the concise, simple, and knowledgeable statement he has made within the past 15 minutes on our problem in Southeast Asia.

One of the things that particularly impressed me was the fact that he pointed out, clearly and distinctly, that there is no one in the Senate Chamber who does not want peace. There is no division in the Senate Chamber on that one basic desire. There is a division of opinion on the method of achievement of that desire, but the actual facts, in our eagerness to achieve that objective, become clouded and confused, and maybe we get into partisan attitudes when we should not.

I am so pleased that my distinguished colleague has laid before us, concisely, practically, and exactly, the position of this great Nation; our commitment, the reasons for this commitment, and the prospects for the future.

He has pointed out one thing as important as any other—that any open, obvious, and protracted disagreement as to the methods has aided, is aiding, and will aid the determination of the enemy to continue to fight.

As I said yesterday, there are two things our military people have suggested for a long time to stop the ability of the enemy to continue to fight: to stop the physical ability of the enemy to fight by cutting off his supplies; and, second, to make it impossible for him to believe psychologically that, somehow or other, there is a great division in this Nation; that we will falter in our purposes, that we will go back on the promise made by four Presidents of the United States, that, somehow, they can divide us and win a victory by default.

I congratulate my colleague for his clear statement.

During my trip, I saw people who walked miles to vote. When a bomb exploded among the people, injuring 39 and killing three, 20 of those 39 went to the hospital and then walked back to vote. These people have a determination for democracy the like of which I have never seen demonstrated. It is beyond belief that this great Nation, which has made democracy the foundation of our way of life, would ever walk out on those people.

I congratulate my colleague. I am so pleased about his report on the trip he has just made.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank my good friend and colleague from California for his thoughtful comment.

He has put his finger on one of the profound truths of the election process in South Vietnam where almost 85 percent of those eligible voted. My friend was in that group of distinguished citizens representing all American points of view who were there and found that the election was valid.

I recall a rather interesting fact, which I am sure my friend knew, but I did not, that in the First Corps area, there was an 85-percent turnout.

Mr. MURPHY. We who sat there and watched the election tried to figure out mathematically how it would be possible for all those people to be processed through the polling places, with all the safeguards they had built in. We were amazed to find that in some of the northern voting places some 30 percent of the people had voted in the first hour in their eagerness to vote.

One other point I am glad to hear my

colleague mention that we did not discuss before he left was the example of the determination of these people and the will they had, which is sometimes misunderstood. This is not an emerging nation. This is a nation that has been in being for many, many centuries. This was one of the most attractive localities in the whole of Southeast Asia, starting in about the 1550's. First it was under the domination of the Chinese; then under the Japanese; then under the French. Now they see their opportunity to have their own nation—something they have sought for hundreds of years.

I met an old gentleman in Vietnam who said, through an interpreter:

> We must have now a military government because we are at war, but as soon as we achieve peace then we will have a civilian government.

I am glad to hear that my colleague found exactly the same reaction on his trip. I sincerely congratulate him.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank my friend.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield to the able Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I certainly wish to commend the distinguished senior Senator from California for having made this very worthwhile factfinding trip to South Vietnam, and for coming back and reporting to us in the Senate and to the American people his findings in South Vietnam.

I should like to ask the distinguished Senator a question or two concerning what he has said on the floor of the Senate today.

My first question has to do with his statement, in colloquy with the junior Senator from California a few moments ago, relating to the validity of the South Vietnamese elections. If I remember correctly, the distinguished Senator stated that all of the people found that the elections were valid.

Very frankly, Mr. President, I was discouraged when I read only this morning that in the Constituent Assembly, when it was called upon to vote on the allegations of irregularities in the elections in South Vietnam, 58 members voted for the validity of the elections, and 43 voted that the elections were not valid, or that the charges of irregularities were substantiated.

Of course, the majority ruled, and the elections were upheld. But it was discouraging to me that 43 members did find sufficient evidence to merit their voting against the validity of the elections.

My question to the distinguished senior Senator from California is; Did he look into the charges of irregularities in the election proceedings in South Vietnam, during the course of his trip?

Mr. KUCHEL. First let me express my thanks to the Senator for his kind personal comments.

When I was in Saigon, there were articles in the local newspapers indicating that an attempt would be made to invalidate the elections in the Constituent Assembly, when it would meet, as it did meet, by law, yesterday.

I had a long talk with our own Ambassador Bunker and with people on his staff, with respect to the election and the allegations of fraud and illegality.

There were undoubtedly some instances of illegality in the election process; but surely not sufficient to require its invalidation. As the Senator will recall, for example, the winning ticket received roughly some 35 percent of the vote; so it could hardly be alleged that there was any attempt at controlling the ballot box.

The Senator will recall also that in Saigon, one of the defeated candidates ran strongest. Beyond that, there have been, regrettably, some very bitter religious problems in the whole South Vietnamese community.

To sum up and to answer the question, I think that, without any doubt, there were instances of illegality in the election. I personally am most grateful, as an American, that those instances of illegality were not found to have been sufficient cause by a majority to invalidate the process, because it would have been, as I am sure the Senator would agree, a highly regrettable situation had the Constituent Assembly found that fraud had vitiated the elective process.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I have often said that we could not expect perfect elections in South Vietnam. Unfortunately, we do not have perfect elections here in the United States of America in all instances; and the South Vietnamese people have certainly not had much opportunity to choose their own form of government and to participate in the democratic process.

But I was disturbed by the vote in the Constituent Assembly, and I repeat that I feel that 43 is a particularly large number of members to feel that there was sufficient evidence to invalidate the election proceedings. I had expected that an overwhelming number of the members of the Constituent Assembly would have found insufficient evidence to invalidate the election proceedings. I wondered if the distinguished senior Senator from California had some explanation as to why the number was so large.

Mr. KUCHEL. Without wishing to inject any unhelpful comments on the political life in South Vietnam, I do wish to say this: A number of members of the Constituent Assembly were candidates for the Senate, and, of course, a number of them were defeated. They became greatly aggrieved at their defeat; so much so that it was suggested that in some instances that bitterness, resulting from defeat, might have affected their judgment.

I simply indicate that to suggest that we cannot, from this distance, say that each of the 43 who cast a negative vote did it because he found that fraud had actually vitiated the process.

I have tried to say in one sentence that this is surely not all good or all bad. Many problems occur in the building of a nation, both civilian and military sectors. I am persuaded that the President-elect will have a civilian government and not a military government. I am persuaded that his Cabinet will reflect the influence of civilians in his Government. To that extent, on balance, I say as an American that I am glad that there were more votes in favor of finding the election valid than of those who found otherwise.

Mr. BROOKE. Does the Senator have any assurance that there will be Buddhist representation in the Cabinet of the President of South Vietnam?

Mr. KUCHEL. I am not so sure that I should make a comment on that, other than to say that in my judgment, a sincere attempt will be made to find competent civilian Vietnamese who will give a broad representation to the various elements that make up the South Vietnamese society. Vice-President-elect Ky, of course, as the Senator knows, is a Buddhist.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, that brings me to my next question.

As the distinguished Senator remembers, upon my return from South Vietnam—and I talked then at great length with the distinguished Senator from California—I reluctantly concluded that our course of action in Vietnam was the only course which we could take at that time. I based this conclusion primarily on my failure to find sufficient evidence to support the contention that Ho Chi Minh would come to the conference table if we ceased bombing in the north.

I did say at that time, and I still say, that if it ever appeared certain that North Vietnam would negotiate upon a cessation of bombing, our Government should cease bombing in the north and attempt to bring a negotiated end to this disastrous war. Since my return from Vietnam, the two main alternatives which had been considered have been rejected by our Government and, I think in the main, by the American people.

One alternative was, of course, a further escalation of the war, whether by means of an invasion of North Vietnam or by the addition perhaps 1 million American troops. There are still some people who say, "Get it over with; knock them out, and win the military war."

However, our Government has consistently said that it is not our purpose to win the military war or to take over and occupy Vietnam. We are in Vietnam for two purposes. The first is to prevent the spread of the Communist regime by force and by terror. The second is to allow the South Vietnamese people an opportunity to choose their own form of government in freedom and security.

It would appear that we have achieved to some degree, both of these purposes. We have prevented the further spread of a Communist regime by force and by terror. And we have given the South Vietnamese people an opportunity to try to choose their own form of government in freedom and security. They have chosen the executive branch of the Government and they have chosen a Senate. And on October 22, they will choose a House of Representatives.

As the distinguished Senator has said, even though there were criticisms—and some of them very valid criticisms—of the election, this is the first time that the South Vietnamese people have chosen their own leaders. To the extent that they have been able to do so, we have achieved the second of our stated purposes in South Vietnam.

The other alternative to further escalation and an all-out war is withdrawal from Vietnam. This has been a devastating war. We have had over 100,000 casualties and have suffered the loss of more than 13,000 lives. It is a war which is costing almost $3 billion a month and which may necessitate an increase in taxes. Some people say this is too high a price to pay, and that we ought to just pick up and walk out of Vietnam.

The arguments against this proposal have been very clearly stated. It has been pointed out that we cannot do this. For one thing, the word of the U.S. Government is at stake. For another, we cannot leave the South Vietnamese people to the mercy of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese.

But there is a third alternative: a negotiated peace. This is where it appears that we get into very difficult ground. Some people, even on the floor of the Senate as recently as yesterday, have expressed the belief that we should cease bombing in the north in order to bring about this negotiated peace.

Our Government, speaking through Ambassador Goldberg—I think while the distinguished Senator from California was in Vietnam—asked the question whether Hanoi would assuredly come to the conference table if we ceased bombing in the north. We have not yet received a favorable reply to that question.

The next step, and the only step remaining if the Hanoi Government does not answer that question affirmatively, would be to cease bombing in the north to find out whether Hanoi would come to the conference table and negotiate a peace in Vietnam.

The question which remains uppermost in almost everyone's mind about the cessation of bombing in the north is, What will be the effect on American troops in Vietnam if we cease bombing in the north? As I understand the speech of the distinguished Senator from California, the statistics which he has given indicate that past bombing halts resulted in a buildup of North Vietnam's fire power and troop power, and that our forces suffered as a result of the cessation of bombing in the north in these periods.

I am not asking the distinguished Senator to look into a crystal ball. But did the Senator find that today, if our Government ceased bombing North Vietnam, we would have sufficient military strength, both in groundpower and airpower and seapower, to protect the American forces in Vietnam so that during this period of the cessation of bombing our ground forces and troops in Vietnam would not suffer thereby?

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I want to make several points in answering the question which my able friend, the junior Senator from Massachusetts, raises.

First, I am completely persuaded, from the discussions I have had with our fellow citizens who hold the responsible military commands in South Vietnam, that we are winning the war in the south, at least against the Army of North Vietnam. Also, many of the areas controlled by the Vietcong during the past 2 years have been relatively cleansed. While there has been no flat interdiction, surely the flow of supplies from the north to the south has been greatly impeded.

I think there is unanimity of feeling by both our military and civilian representatives in Southeast Asia that a unilateral cessation of bombing now would result in grevious harm to our men fighting at Con Thien and Gio Linh.

I think that point must be underlined. And I have tried to do so in my comments.

The fact is that it would have been far better yesterday if my able friends who take a different point of view had been able to excise out, in their urging that bombing be stopped unilaterally, the area which now is being used as a sanctuary, and from which our troops are being shelled.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, does the Senator mean that militarily we are dependent upon bombing of this area in the DMZ from which fire is being directed against our troops? Are we not able, with superior artillery fire, effectively to protect ourselves from this artillery bombardment that comes from the DMZ?

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I repeat to the Senator what the military personnel there told me, that our area bombing of the DMZ, occupied by the North Vietnamese regulars, and the southern portion of North Vietnam constitutes a powerful defense for our Marine Corps personnel stationed at Con Thien and Gio Linh.

Mr. BROOKE. Is the enemy artillery in the DMZ superior to the artillery which we have on the southern side of the DMZ?

Mr. KUCHEL. I have listened to the military personnel talk about the strange manner in which this war is being conducted, in that one rarely sees the enemy. The enemy burrows and makes holes and has its artillery positions underground. He brings the artillery up suddenly and opens fire and then immediately withdraws, or moves it to another place.

Our military people feel that the B-52 strikes and the carrier-based strikes against that area have been highly successful. And, according to the press, the amount of fire coming into the south has decreased tremendously in the last few days.

Mr. BROOKE. Admittedly, air superiority is excellent to have, and we have air superiority in Vietnam. Also, it must be recognized that air superiority is a great benefit to the morale of our troops in Vietnam. These are all arguments on the side of not ceasing the bombing in the North without a commitment from the North Vietnamese. But if we are to make a decision as to whether we should cease bombing in the North in order to stimulate or to bring about a negotiated peace, it would seem to me that we must also look on the minus side of the ledger to determine not only what are the assets, but what are our liabilities.

On the liability side, obviously, we would lose the benefit of air bombardment of the DMZ. But are not our artillery pieces able effectively to protect our troops from the artillery fire that comes from the DMZ?

Mr. KUCHEL. I can only say again—and then I wish to make two more points in this answer—that from General Westmoreland down, it is felt that it would be a self-inflicted guarantee of higher casualties were that decision—to stop bombing unilaterally in this area—carried out.

We have unilaterally had a cessation of hostilities on five past occasions, with no indication that we had come any nearer to a conference table discussion.

I was most interested in reading in either this morning's press or yesterday's that Pham Van Dong suggested that the National Liberation Front—with which, of course, he contended there was no guidance from the North—had the great stake in this controversy. In other words, the North may well, at some point, in the negotiating process take the position that it is not solely competent to make peace—and that another set of conditions would have to be met by the free world in order to come to terms with the NLF.

I simply wished to make that point in our discussion.

Mr. BROOKE. Then, the best information that the Senator from California possesses is that if we were to cease bombing in the north unilaterally, the casualties inflicted upon our troops in Vietnam would be exceedingly high, and it is a risk which we should not take at this time. Is that the conclusion that the distinguished Senator has made?

Mr. KUCHEL. If I may paraphrase some of the words that the able Senator from Massachusetts has used, the answer is "Yes." I believe that our military commanders are correct when they indicate that a unilateral decision to halt bombing now would result in additional casualties to our own personnel.

Mr. BROOKE. And if the distingushed Senator rejects withdrawal and rejects further escalation of the war and rejects cessation of bombing unilaterally in the north, is it his conclusion, as a result of his trip, that we are compelled at this time to continue the war in the same manner in which we have been conducting it, until such time as the enemy hurts to the degree that he will come to the conference table and negotiate?

Mr. KUCHEL. I am not so sure that this conflict will ever result in a conference and formal negotiations. It could. As does the able Senator, I hope there will be a mutual cease-fire soon. However, the pacification program in South Vietnam is proceeding. One by one, hamlets will be secured. That program is underway, with all the difficulties that are involved.

With respect to our military operations, I repeat that, after a year in which General Westmoreland, given this responsibility, was able to build up our strength there—to establish new ports along the South Vietnamese border; to erect great, new airbases in the various areas; to organize a so-called riverine force, which would make commerce in the Mekong Delta and the Mekong River and its tributaries safe and potentially profitable—he then began to have the ability to seek out and to destroy Vietcong Communist units where they were hidden.

This must be made very clear: The only fighting that takes place is south of the 17th parallel, in South Vietnam—except, of course, for the bombing of the north.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, this

brings me to the final question. I have been discouraged by what appears to me to be an absence of total commitment on the part of the South Vietnamese people. I had hoped that after the election, the South Vietnamese Government would move with all dispatch to unite the South Vietnamese people behind the war effort. But we have received reports that the South Vietnamese Government—namely, President Thieu and Vice President Ky—have continued censorship of the press, and that, in addition, they have arrested some of their political enemies.

This is not the only time a plurality government has been elected; we have had them in the United States on three or four occasions, and we have had them in France and in Germany. But it would seem to me that since the present Government in South Vietnam won only a plurality of the popular vote, they would move immediately toward a coalition government, so that they could get the support of the people behind them. Censorship of the press and the arrest of political enemies is not the way to unite the people.

Did the distinguished Senator from California see any encouraging signs during his trip that President Thieu and Vice President Ky were going to move in the direction of uniting the people of South Vietnam, so that it would become their war and their effort, as we understand is being done in North Vietnam? Are they doing anything to strengthen their own army, and to conscript more men into the military?

As the distinguished Senator knows, they only draft men in the army in Vietnam at 20 years of age, while we in the United States are drafting young men at 19 years of age.

In addition they have never had more than 700,000 men in the South Vietnamese Army. What, if anything, is this Government doing to unite the people to a strong, well-trained army, and to bring about a total commitment of the South Vietnamese people?

Mr. KUCHEL. I wish to give the Senator the comments of both President-elect Thieu and General Westmoreland in answer to the question. General Westmoreland tells me that in his judgment the South Vietnamese troops are becoming an effective fighting force. He made a comparison between the South Vietnamese personnel in uniform and those who were representing South Korea in the early days of the struggle there. In Korea, there was considerable difficulty in creating a fighting force in the Republic of South Korea, which, as the Senator knows, in later months became a highly effective organization. Incidentally, its units in South Vietnam are highly effective there.

He believes that the same development and progress is now commencing to show among the members of the South Vietnamese Army.

I talked to General Thieu about the time that a couple of people in the government were removed summarily for the commission of illegal acts, people who had been politically friendly to him, which I thought was an excellent sign.

I think we have to concede that the history of this government has not been perfect. We will both concede that sometimes in our own country we have ugly instances of failure of servants of the people to devote themselves to the public trust. But without any hesitation at all, this fairly young man with whom I did have an opportunity to speak at some length, told me that it was his earnest desire to build his country and to unite.

I can only say to the Senator that I hope and believe that he reflects his own passions for his people in doing so.

Mr. BROOKE. Is there censorship of the press in South Vietnam at the present time?

Mr. KUCHEL. It is true, and the record must show that the military junta has from time to time closed down newspapers, and that, to our Western eyes, is surely wrong. However, I think that it is only a part of the complete picture.

Mr. BROOKE. Are political enemies being arrested at the present time in South Vietnam?

Mr. KUCHEL. I think there have been instances of that. As I left, one so-called or alleged political prisoner had been released. I think there have been some very unfortuniate and regrettable examples of that.

Mr. BROOKE. Did President Thieu, when the distinguished Senator discussed the matter with him, say at any time that the government was going to cease censorship of the press or cease the arrest of political enemies?

Mr. KUCHEL. I did not specifically ask that question, so that I cannot, in all truth, tell the Senator. He did tell me he wants to build a viable democratic state, and that he wants the people and the representatives of the people to rule. It surely is true that there are great difficulties, but I doubt they are insurmountable, which must be overcome in order for any government to reach that point.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I am very grateful to the distinguished senior Senator from California for this very informative discussion. I thank him for being so kind as to answer my questions, which I think need to be answered by one who has recently been on the scene in Vietnam. We are happy to have the Senator back home.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator. I listened to and carefully read the conclusions the Senator from Massachusetts made after his fact-finding trip. I think that the questions he raised are all relevant and some are very piercing. But we discuss them freely, and although there are not happy answers to some of the questions, nevertheless, these are the views that must be expressed.

Mr. BROOKE. I trust the senior Senator from California understands the purpose of what he said has been a piercing inquiry of several areas pertaining to Vietnam.

Mr. President, the decision our Government will have to make, and make sometime soon, as to what the next step will be in Vietnam is, of course, a very crucial one. If we do reject the alternatives of withdrawal and further escalation of the war, and if the Hanoi government, in its lack of wisdom, does not say to the American Government that if we cease bombing they will come to the conference table and negotiate, it seems that, short of a miracle, our Government will soon be called upon to make the decision whether it can afford to take the risk and cease bombing in the North unilaterally, to see if the North Vietnamese Government will come to the conference table.

It is a risk more and more Americans every day are calling for us to take. It is a risk which more and more mothers and fathers and sisters and wives are asking us to take as so many more people are becoming involved in the war. Each year as more young men come of draft age, we will hear more people calling upon us to take this risk. I do not believe anybody in the country would ask us to take this risk if they thought it would be to the great detriment of our American fighting men in Vietnam.

Whenever it can be ascertained that we will not suffer immeasurably from taking the next step of cessation of bombing in the north to see if negotiations would take place then, it seems to me, at that time we must take that risk. Most of our allies have asked us to take that step. Most people across the world have asked us to take that step. Of course, they are not as informed about the military situation as are our military men in Vietnam. But their opinions and interests count, and it is a question that should be explored to its fullest. It was for this reason that I asked the distinguished senior Senator from California, who is our most recent colleague to have been in Vietnam, those questions. And it is for that reason that I am very grateful to him for having answered those questions based on his own factfinding on the scene in Vietnam. I thank the Senator.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, first I commend the Senator from California for his diligence in making a trip which must have been physically and emotionally very tiring and a great strain. I think he has made a great contribution.

I think he has been most eloquent today and, may I say, most patient in answering the questions of his colleagues.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] has covered many of the points I had in mind.

I merely want to clarify one thing: Obviously, I am one of those to whom the Senator referred—and I say this in all kindness—when he said that he read statements which were somewhat disturbing to him while he was on the scene in Vietnam.

On page 10 of the prepared statement of the Senator from California, he mentions Con Thien, as follows:

> On September 22, I saw Con Thien and Gio Linh. I talked with the men of the Third Marine Division at Dong Ha. In the course of that trip, I observed a B-52 raid on entrenched artillery positions of the enemy in the Demilitarized Zone. The men of the Third Marines live with a daily rain of incoming

> shells. I cannot understand how any fair-minded approach to honorable negotiations would deny them their principal means of defense through air power while they are under attack.

I concur. I certainly did not mean to imply by my suggestions that we were not going to give air support to our troops wherever they might be.

Mr. KUCHEL. That is most important. I think the Senator knows of my high respect for him. That is most important from the standpoint of clarification of what we are talking about.

Mr. MORTON. I am sure that the colloquy which developed in the Chamber on yesterday, as a result of the speech made by my senior colleague, in which most of us engaged—and I am sure I speak for him as well as for myself on this—did not mean to imply otherwise.

What I suggested was a two-way thing: reappraisal of the bombing, one; and, two, withdrawal to that 20 percent of the land where 80 percent of the people live. In other words, to abandon the hunt-and-destroy method and again take up the offensive which has been very costly.

I sometimes question why we have this enclave in the desolate and unpopulated northern area at Conthien, but I know that there are probably good military and strategic reasons for it.

I did want to make that point, because the questions I intended to pursue were most eloquently developed by the junior Senator from Massachusetts.

I appreciate this opportunity to respond to the Senator from California.

If the Senator would permit, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the Washington Post this morning, entitled "The Lesson of Conthien," the lead editorial which deals with this point.

Mr. KUCHEL. Yes indeed. I thank my able friend from Kentucky.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LESSON OF CONTHIEN

> The story of Conthien is the story of the Vietnam War. There is the same sense of stalemate and seemingly senseless bloodshed, the grinding attrition to no apparent or decisive purpose, the cruel inhibitions on our fighting men. And there are the same, perfectly normal, strictly conventional military reflexes at work—reflexes which have confounded so much of the conduct of this essentially abnormal and unconventional conflict. Indeed, the story of Conthien is not just in the spectacle of brave men dug in under a heavy handicap. It is in the spectacle of a limited war threatening to become a wider war because of a temptation to forget that our war purposes are limited.
>
> This is the lesson of Conthien. It is not Dien Bien Phu, or the Chosin Reservoir, or Verdun. Like almost everything else about Vietnam, it is without precise precedent. We can abandon it (which the French could not at Dien Bien Phu). It is not, by most estimates, of critical military significance. If it is rapidly acquiring political and psychological significance, that is in large part because we ourselves are making it a symbol of something—our resolve, our military prowess, our courage—which it need not be. All these have been amply attested to in Vietnam, and will be soon enough again. Nor does the honor of the United States Marines need vindication at Conthien. In a war of attrition, to use General Westmoreland's phrase, Conthien has played its part, for the Marines have taken the enemy's worst and returned it manyfold.
>
> Can it be that the sticking-point is mere territory? To accept this is to renounce a large part of what we have learned in the hardest kind of way in Vietnam about the conduct of "counter-insurgency" war. We are fighting to destroy enemy main forces, to help clear areas of guerrilla units, to expand security in populated areas—in short, to prevent the freedom of choice of the South Vietnamese from being foreclosed by force. None of this obliges us to conquer and hold a particular desolated strip of unpopulated territory.
>
> A very good military case can be made, in fact, for the Marines pulling their base camps and prepared positions back out of range of heavy Communist artillery all across the DMZ. If the North Vietnamese bring their guns and rockets down into South Vietnamese territory, they can be dealt with on the ground without adding the new dimension to the war of a ground invasion of North Vietnam.
>
> There is another compelling argument for doing so. Where the United States troops, and those of South Vietnam, take their stand in the northern slice of South Vietnam will very much determine where the so-called "barrier" against infiltration will be built. There is some military logic in having this defensive position also out of the range of Communist artillery over the border in North Vietnam.
>
> Psychologically, this would seem to surrender a slim strip of South Vietnamese real estate to the North. In effect, however, we have been surrendering large chunks of the highlands and the War Zones to the enemy at one time or another all along. Search and destroy operations against mass concentrations of enemy troops and small patrols would still continue north of whatever positions the Marines might pull back to.
>
> To state the case for pulling back is not to say flatly that this must be done. It may be that the Marines can hold out indefinitely and reduce their casualties by more effective counter-battery fire or deeper entrenchments. What would be indefensible, however, would be a prolonged defense of Conthien at the cost of heavy losses out of misplaced pride. Worse would be a stubborn defense finally impelling a ground attack over the border that would remove one more inhibition against a wider war.
>
> If Conthien is to be a test of anything beyond the gallantry of our fighting men, it should be a test, not of our resolve, which does not need such testing but of our restraint. The lesson of Conthien lies in what it tells us of the perils and pitfalls and hard disciplines of limited war.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I am delighted that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] raised the question he did. I am happy to note that now, at least so far as the record is concerned, the situation relative to a cessation of the bombing is clarified, period.

The distinguished Senator from California has made an excellent speech. I commend him for it. He recognizes that there is room for disagreement. Disagreement is one of the strengths of a democracy. If a person disagrees with a certain policy, what has that to do with aiding the enemy?

If we are all to be robots, we might as well abolish the Congress of the United States, because when we are sent to Congress, we are sent here to express the opinions we hold, in accordance with our conscience.

That is exactly what the distinguished Senator from California has done, and I commend him and congratulate him for it. What he has done is to make a worthwhile trip to Vietnam and then return with an honest appraisal. He has made his report to the Senate on his views. There were no ifs, ands or buts in it. He laid them out. That is as we all should do.

Getting back to what the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] said, he did clarify something which I am sure has been bothering the distinguished Senator from California and, as he seemed to indicate, some of the men fighting in places like Con Thien.

The Senator from California stated earlier during the course of this debate that he wished, when the matter of bombing was discussed, when it came to the 17th parallel, particularly Con Thien, that this situation could have been "excised out."

I think the formula of concentration and consolidation which the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has advocated is a cessation of the bombing in North Vietnam, but not along the 17th parallel, or along the Ho Chi Minh trails extending into Laos, so that our men—and that is what the other Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] has said—would be reinforced with the aerial protection necessary. It would be given them no matter where they might be in South Vietnam. To the best of my knowledge, the only area in which Americans are fighting on the ground in Vietnam is in South Vietnam at the present time.

Thus, I am delighted that this part has been straightened out so that the viewpoints of the two distinguished Senators from Kentucky can be made a part of the RECORD and so that our men at Con Thien and elsewhere in the 1st Corps will be aware of the fact that so far as some of the suggestions are concerned, they do not mean in any way, shape, or form, insofar as I am aware, that they will be denied this valuable support when they are under attack or when they are subject to attack.

The distinguished Senator from California has made a most worthwhile contribution in giving us—as soon as he returned—the benefit of his honest views.

I commend him for a fine report to the Senate.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the majority leader very much. I join him in being grateful for the clarification of the cleavage which exists among us.

As I have pointed out, I am persuaded that our air arm has been of significant importance to our effort and our commitment.

With the clarification that my good and distinguished friend from Kentucky has just made to me, I think that debate and dialog on this subject should continue.

I want to make another comment but am wondering, first, whether the able Senator from Kentucky wishes to enter into colloquy at this point.

Mr. MORTON. I thank the Senator from California. Let me add one point: I appreciate very much the words of the majority leader.

One other point is of significance. We have debate and dialog in this body. There is also debate and dialog in the other body on this matter. But when it comes down to the logistic support of our boys in South Vietnam, regardless of our agreement or disagreement on policy, 97 or 98 percent of the Members of the entire Congress have voted to give that support. This fact should be made known to our forces in Vietnam. I also think that the government of Hanoi should be—and is—sufficiently sophisticated to evaluate that point regardless of any discussion we might have in Congress.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator's comments are much appreciated. I thank my friend.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KUCHEL. I yield.

Mr. HARTKE. I wonder whether the Senator from California has considered why North Vietnam, with 16 million people, is able to keep South Vietnam, with 15 million people, on the defensive, when we have been in there for the past 13 years with practically unlimited military support and psychological support and every kind of buildup. We have given the people of South Vietnam everything; 500,000 American troops are now there. Why is it that South Vietnam cannot defend itself? Why is it that South Vietnam will not fight for itself?

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator. We live in an age where we can see the frenetic and dedicated zeal with which some nations have attempted to take over neighboring societies.

I rather think that the good people of the United States who love the American way of life and who would defend that way of life, still, day in and day out, do not have that extreme single-minded and highly emotional regard for their ends—and they are honorable—that Ho Chi Minh and his people do have for their ends which are not so honorable. I know that militarily our people have respect for General Giap and the means by which the Vietnamese achieved, in the struggle against French colonialism, an important victory at Dienbienphu, which was a harbinger, in my opinion, to what then happened to the government in Paris.

This is a type of conflict that the late President Kennedy said is ancient; yet, the means by which it is accomplished in Southeast Asia is new.

I do not understand the Red Chinese regime. The other day I noticed in the paper that Red China abruptly closed its Embassy in Tunisia and, at the airport, this group from the Chinese Embassy gathered around the picture of Mao Tse-tung and began to read out of the red book, chanting what he said and waving the book in the air to make their points. We do not understand that human activity. We perhaps do not understand the dedication by which the Communist regime in the North intends to take over the South. But the fact is that they are losing. I am convinced of that, Senator, and I am convinced that the people in the South have an expanding opportunity to create a viable state in Southeast Asia in exactly the same fashion that the Republic of Korea came from almost nothing into a viable state.

Mr. HARTKE. What I want to know is whether the Senator has ever considered why the 16 million people of North Vietnam, with the dedicated zeal to which the Senator referred, are able to keep South Vietnam, with 15 million people, on the defensive, even though the latter have, in addition to their own people, 500,000 of the best troops in the world, with the best military equipment in the world, with the most sophisticated weapons, and with airpower which the enemy does not have. Why are they not able to protect the south? Why is there not that dedicated zeal among the 15 million people in the south, that there is in the north with 16 million people? We have given the south military equipment. We have given them advisers. President Kennedy said, 3 weeks before he died:

> We will give the help, but, after all, they will have to do the fighting.

Why are they not doing the fighting? Why do they not have the zeal? What is wrong? Have we made mistakes in our policy? What is it?

Mr. KUCHEL. I think I ought to observe that the Creator has endowed South Vietnam rather lavishly with resources. Rice crops are easy to raise. The ground is fertile. There is no problem of lack of rainfall. The people there are a peace-loving people. They have not been placed under the yoke of communism—nor do they want to be.

North of the 17th parallel is a dominant leader. He is a Communist, but he is a leader, Ho Chi Minh. The people in the north, I think it quite fair to say, are held subservient in complete political control.

The South Vietnamese people should not be denounced, Senator, because they are free from any desire to commit acts of aggression.

Mr. HARTKE. I am not talking about acts of aggression. I am asking a simple question: Why will they not defend themselves? Why does even General Ky say "We want the Americans to do the fighting"? Why do they not defend themselves? Where is the great leader in the south? The Senator says there is a great leader in the north. Is there no great leader in the south?

Mr. KUCHEL. The South Vietnamese have lost almost 50,000 male human beings killed in action, in uniform. I think it is a poignant and an eloquent testimony to their desire to save their homeland from Communist aggression.

I say this further to the Senator, because I think I sense part of what troubles my able friend. That is the Army of the Republic of Vietnam taking over the prime obligation of the war by ambush. This was a military decision which was made with the concurrence of our American commanders, for a number of reasons. Theirs is the rotten war. Theirs is the war of ambush. That is the war of the Vietcong coming into a village at night and slitting the throat of the head of the hamlet, of extortion from the citizens, of kidnaping and mayhem.

I think it is an additional tribute to the South Vietnamese that they have assumed the primary responsibility for the pacification of these hamlets at the same time that they stand by their ally in confronting the regular units of the North Vietnamese Army near the demilitarized zone.

Mr. HARTKE. I say to my distinguished friend from California that I think the American people, with this total commitment of $70 billion for the military and a war which is costing about $4 million an hour, a war in which we have suffered close to 100,000 casualties, can ask, Did we not train these people well? Can we not train 15 million people well enough to defend themselves against the 16 million of the north? Our boys are dying in the south, not in the north. What have we failed to do?

The Senator said there are reasons why the military made up their minds that we should take over the fighting and give the job of pacification to the South Vietnamese. Does the Senator know what the reason is? Is it not true that the military said the South Vietnamese could not do the fighting in the manner which is most effective?

Mr. KUCHEL. No. Perhaps when I used the word "pacification" I was not complete enough in my answer. The pacification program includes as the first requisite the security of the hamlets and the villages of South Vietnam.

There are two kinds of war taking place in South Vietnam. One is that in which regular North Vietnamese units are fighting against South Vietnam and her allies near the DMZ. The other is a strange war, in which the shadows and the foliage and the jungles are ready havens for the Vietcong who have been recruited in the south and the northern guerrillas who have infiltrated down through the demilitarized zone and down through Laos and Cambodia.

As I say, I am not going to make it my judgment that the conflict against the Vietcong and the northern guerrillas in the south is the filthy, nasty, rotten conflict. I am going to accept that description by the American commanders with whom I talked.

I accept equally their belief that that kind of a conflict ought to be combated by indigenous South Vietnamese people.

So I say to the Senator that, for the reasons I have already stated—and I shall not repeat them, except to indicate that I think the casualty lists are a pretty fair supporting argument for the views I have expressed—I think the South Vietnamese are becoming, as General Westmoreland has said, an effective defense force for their territory and their people.

My able friend from Indiana has said nobody is fighting in the North. Precisely. The fighting is in the South. As I asked in my comments, does any Senator deny that the North is the aggressor? I think the answer is "No." Nobody denies it.

Mr. HARTKE. I say to my friend from California that that is exactly why I was driving at the point so hard. It is well known that the invasion plans for invading the North have been drawn up for a long time. Whether they will be implemented is another question; but everyone knows those invasion plans are ready.

I ask my friend from California, is that what he was advocating? Is he advocating, as the military clique of this country has been advocating, that North Vietnam be invaded? Is he advocating, that by these little hints and innuendos, such as we have heard before every step of this escalation as it has gone forward? First comes the hint. Now we have the statement of the former Ambassador to South Vietnam, Mr. Lodge, speaking in Pittsburgh, seemingly sending up another trial balloon. Is that what the Senator from California is telling the Senate, that now we must be prepared to take on the aggressor in the north, in his own territory?

While 15 million people, with the help of the most powerful nation on earth, cannot defend themselves on their own territory is the Senator saying, by inference, that we should invade the north?

Mr. KUCHEL. I shall not ask the reporter to read back all that I have said during the last 2 hours, but I do ask the Senator from Indiana to take a look at the RECORD tomorrow, and examine the words and phrases I have used, based upon which he can answer that question for himself. Meanwhile, I shall merely state that the answer is "No."

Mr. HARTKE. As I read the statement of the Senator from California, he says that as far as they are concerned, if they cannot achieve victory, "America must not sully her commitment to the security of free Asia by groping for a nameless settlement." The Senator says we must hold for a military victory until we have attained it.

I have repeatedly asked the Senator why those 16 million people of North Vietnam are able to keep the 15 million people of the South on the defensive, when they have 500,000 Americans over there fighting and dying. Why are they not able to protect themselves? I leave that question with the Senate.

Mr. President, I think this is a serious question. I think this is why so many Senators are concerned today. We seem to be hearing hints that there is about to be another turn of the escalation screw, such as we have heard before every one of these turns. Again we hear it said, "We are into it now, and we cannot withdraw."

All I can say is, I hope we never take that next turn of the screw, that we do not move again up that escalation ladder, from which there seems to be no return. The bombing of the north, the Tonkin Gulf resolution—each one of those things was a gradual step which followed little hints, little side statements, little inferences, with denial after denial that the situation in which we find ourselves would be the result.

I say to the Senator from California, before we invade North Vietnam, before that course is taken, the administration ought to think twice, three times, four times, or as many times as necessary, before it takes us down the road to utter ruin.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I most sincerely suggest that my able friend block out a couple of weeks and visit Southeast Asia, and take a look for himself.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia in the chair). The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. I yield.

THE COPPER STRIKE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are approaching the 80-day mark in the major work stoppage in the copper mining industry. It has been apparent for some time that there is evidently no real desire, or at least no effort, on the part of the unions or the management involved to get together to bargain in good faith and to reach an agreement which might bring this situation to an end. In this respect both labor and management are at fault because up to this time both of them are not even paying lip service to the free collective bargaining process.

Both labor and management ought to, even at this late date, get down to hard discussions about ways and means by which this strike could be settled. At the instigation of various Members of the Senate from copper-producing States, Secretaries Wirtz and Trowbridge did call to Washington representatives of unions and companies during the first part of September. There was no progress reached toward a settlement at that time, and following this meeting both Secretary Trowbridge and Secretary Wirtz stated that the situation was hopeless.

I do not agree. I think we ought to give consideration to the miner and the smelterman who is out on strike, because his purchasing power is being diminished. The many needs to look after his family and his obligations are not now being met. Many of these people are seeking part time or other forms of labor in other fields. Many members of the craft unions in Butte, Anaconda, Great Falls, and elsewhere are moving to other parts of the Nation to find employment, and many of them will not return to Montana. The States affected are losing revenue at an alarming rate.

I am today requesting the President to appoint a study committee to assess the effects of the strike on the national defense effort. I am also requesting him to look into all the available means at his disposal to bring this matter to a head. I am hopeful that he and his advisers can come up with the means to cope with this long-drawn-out strike to which there is no end in sight. But, in all candor, the only authority I know of that the President has is the invocation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Frankly, I do not think that Taft-Hartley is the answer, because it would cover only a period of 80 days, and then if no settlement were reached the strike might well begin again in the middle of the winter when conditions would be worse for the miner and the smelterman and their families. I am not at all certain that legislation similar to that which now covers the railroad shop crafts difficulty would be the answer either. I do believe, however, that if collective bargaining in good faith is not undertaken in the immediate future by the companies and the unions that other ways and means will have to be considered in the interest of the economies of the States affected by the strike as well as the Nation as a whole.

May I say that I deplore the trend toward Government intervention in these matters—a trend encouraged by both labor and management—because it degrades the principle of free collective bargaining and it places in the hands of the central government powers it should not have and does not want.

I, therefore, request the unions and the companies involved to meet on this matter, and I would hope that consideration would be given to the possibility in Montana as it has already been given in Utah, of the Anaconda Co. and leaders of the respective unions getting together to discuss the matter as it affects my State.

I thank the Senator from Massachusetts.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, very few legislative items which reach the floor of the Senate raise such high emotion and feeling, year after year, as does the poverty bill.

And with good reason. The programs in the poverty bill are different in concept and in execution from ordinary Federal programs—and they are different because they are aimed at no ordinary problem. They are aimed at the problem of loosing the bonds of poverty.

For some people, these differences mark a bold and needed departure from traditional notions of Federal assistance programs. For other people, however, the differences pose a threat—the threat of the unfamiliar.

I find it strange that those who criticize the Government for not doing anything, or of not doing enough, for the poor, are very often the same ones who cry out that the poverty program should be rendered asunder, and that its component programs be transferred to old-line agencies—those same agencies criticized, out of another side of the mouth, for doing nothing.

I am one who sees the poverty program as a bold and needed departure. Innovation should not be restricted to private enterprise—whenever a severe challenge is being faced, then Government, too, should not rely upon old established patterns, but should construct a new organization reflecting modern ideas and techniques. Only then can we be sure that our response to a complex problem will be sophisticated and effective.

That, I submit, is what OEO is doing. Those who took part in the creation of OEO in 1963 and 1964—within and without the Government and in both the legislative and executive branches—seized upon the single most important concept for breaking the bonds of poverty—the concept of opportunity. OEO was to be a way station for those Americans trapped by their heritage in the hopelessness of poverty. OEO was—and is—only designed to get these individuals to the bottom rung of the ladder, at which point the standard institutional structure of schools, jobs, and health services will take over.

For some 30 million poor Americans, hard as it is to believe, the pathways to advancement simply are not open. For these 30 million poor people, opportunity is something other people have, and which the poor cannot get.

The poor do not have the opportunity to get other than menial jobs, because they dropped out of school and cannot meet the educational requirements. The advertisements for jobs which fill the classified pages of our newspapers are, for the poor, cruel reminders of what other people can have.

The poor cannot keep up with their first-grade classmates, because no one has ever read to them, they have never seen a doctor or dentist, and have lived on bad food. Forty percent of poor children, for example, have identified a picture of a teddy bear as a picture of a rat—for they are more familiar with the rodent than with the toy.

The poor cannot hold jobs, because they are sicker more often and when sick, are sicker longer because they cannot afford medical treatment. Influenza, tuberculosis, dysentery—these are illnesses poor Americans live with.

The elderly poor often live out their years in loneliness and frustration, not knowing what is available for them in benefits and services. The unheated interiors of dark rooms are the last horizons of far to many of our elderly poor.

The poor never know what jobs are open, and that job training is often available as an assist in getting the jobs. The poor are simply outside the stream of communication and information most Americans take as universal.

OEO's programs are an attempt to change all this—an attempt to open up broad new avenues of opportunity to advancement.

The remarkable successes of this bold attempt are a matter of record. This record is, unfortunately, obscured all too often by wild charges and accusations—but it nevertheless is there.

I want to cite just a few examples of this impressive record, compiled in just two and a half years.

JOB CORPS

More than 70,000 young men and women have been enrolled in the Job Corps since its inception, in either the 83 conservation centers or the 26 urban centers. Of the total enrollees, including those who did not complete the course, fully 70 percent are placed in jobs, schools, or the military. This is an astonishingly high figure, when one takes into account that the Job Corps works on the hardcore, poor unemployed youth of America. In carrying out the tough task it has set for itself, the Job Corps has made extensive use of private industry. Of the 26 urban centers, for example, all but four are actually operated by some of America's largest industries, such as IBM, Ford, Xerox, and Litton Industries. In the instance of the Job Corps, OEO is a catalyst—it has provided a mechanism for our unemployed youth to reach the bottom rung of the ladder of advancement, and in doing so has opened the doors of employment in some of our most modern industries.

HEADSTART

In 1967, Headstart will involve nearly 700,000 four- and five-year-old children. For these children, Headstart means a medical examination, it means a hot meal a day, and, most important, it means educational preparation for entering the regular school system. Most children of poor families begin school with two strikes against them; Headstart is an attempt to eliminate this penalty.

NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS

By the end of fiscal year 1967, OEO had funded 35 neighborhood health centers, bringing to those neighborhoods in which the centers operate a revolution in health care.

The poor simply do not get even the rudimentary health care most Americans take for granted. Fifty percent of poor children, for example, do not receive adequate smallpox and measles immunizations. Sixty-four percent of poor children have never seen a dentist. Forty-four percent of all women who have babies in public hospitals have no prenatal care. For poor people, the chance of dying before reaching age 35 is four times higher than for better-off Americans.

It was knowledge of this situation which led me last year to propose the amendment to the OEO bill which authorized the neighborhood health center program within the framework of the community action program. I have been gratified by the response my amendment has generated, because I have seen what the centers have been able to do for poor Americans.

Let me cite a few examples.

In families with incomes under $4,000, less than 60 percent sought out a doctor even once during the last year. But in Denver, where a neighborhood health center is operating, 85 percent of the people in the target area saw a doctor, and in Boston, where a center is located in the Columbia Point public housing project, 92 percent of the people saw a doctor last year. These same results carry through to more specific aspects of health care. Ninety-seven percent of low-income mothers in Columbia Point, and 85–95 percent in Denver, now receive prenatal care—contrasted with the only 44 percent of poor mothers nationwide. Less than 11 percent of poor children under 15 years old, nationwide, saw a pediatrician last year. But in Boston and Denver, as a result of the neighborhood health center, 95 percent and 85–95 percent, respectively, saw a pediatrician.

There is one other noteworthy aspect of the impact of neighborhood health centers. Poor people, with no access to family physicians, use the emergency rooms as a family clinic, which, as many hospital administrators have testified, is a disruption to the ordinary hospital services. The dramatic impact on this use of the emergency rooms in New York City, in the vicinity of the Gouverneur Health Center, is illustrated by a series of statistics: in 1961, emergency room visits totaled 26,000; in 1962, 30,000; in 1963, 31,000; and in 1964, 32,000. Then in 1966, when the health center began operation, the emergency room visits began dropping, and in the first full year of operation, 1966, was down to 26,000. This indicates to me that the neighborhood health centers, while bringing a new order of life to the poor, have the side effect of improving the operation of our hospitals.

The guidelines and regulations for the neighborhood health center program were available only in mid-February of this year, which means that they have been circulated for only 6 months. Yet more than 100 formal applications for neighborhood health centers have been received in OEO's office. Unfortunately, OEO has programed only $15 to $20 million for the inception of 10 to 15 new centers in fiscal year 1968, the remainder of the $60 million being used for refunding of existing centers. While we all know the pressures of the Federal budget, we will surely have difficulty justifying to the doctors and mayors who want to get health centers why they must be turned down—and justifying to the poor why they must continue to be denied the rudiments of medical care.

It has also been gratifying to see the support and involvement of the medical profession. Dr. Harold Marguilies, assistant director of the AMA's Division of Socioeconomic Activities, said this about the health centers:

> I think it is eminently correct that this be part of the OEO program. . . . This is something which the AMA looks to with great warmth, to which the AMA is pledging full cooperation, and for which we think there is a very good future.

Last year's AMA president, Dr. Charles Hudson, also supported the health centers, and these two doctors stand out in contrast to this year's president, Dr. Milford Rouse. It is Dr. Rouse who made the incredible statement that health care is not a right, but is a privilege for those who can afford it. I think we can all be sure that Dr. Rouse did not speak for a majority of American doctors when he said that.

For example, in California, the medical and dental societies actually operate two health centers; in Chicago, three health centers are being operated by community hospitals, whose policies are determined by the local board of health and the doctors who comprise the staffs. And there are many other examples of the close involvement of the medical profession with this program.

Further, OEO, the Surgeon General, and the Public Health Service work jointly on the program, and it has the enthusiastic support of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In short, the neighborhood health center program has, like Headstart, filled a void in opportunities available to the poor. This month OEO announced that a health center would begin operation in Watts, to serve 30,000 people out of the 350,000—half the population of San Francisco—who live in Watts. The Neighborhood Health Council has indicated that it wants to begin with other health centers very soon, because people from other areas of Watts want the same opportunity to have their illnesses treated. The need is vast—but the available funds are few. This is in no small way one of the reasons for the unfulfilled expectations of so many of the people living in poverty, in our urban ghettos and in our rural areas.

There are many other aspects of the poverty program which have made important inroads into the lack of opportunities open to poor Americans. The migrant worker programs, the work experience programs, the legal services program, VISTA—all these and more have brought the new light of hope to dim lives.

The Employment, Manpower, and Poverty Subcommittee, chaired by the distinguished and hard-working senior Senator from Pennsylvania, has undertaken an extensive and comprehensive examination of all phases of the poverty program. Senator CLARK's presentations to the Senate have detailed the scope of this examination, and I will not repeat it except for his conclusion: That the examination has shown the need to continue OEO in existence, while working some changes in the statute. That is what the bill before us does: Works the changes the examination has shown need to be made, while continuing the poverty program in existence for another 2 years.

It was my privilege to chair 2 days of hearings in Massachusetts, as part of the nationwide examination being carried out by the Employment, Manpower, and Poverty Subcommittee. In those 2 days, we heard from witnesses in Boston, Springfield, and New Bedford, as well as inspecting the Rodman Job Corps Camp outside New Bedford. To be sure, we heard criticism of the poverty program during the nearly 15 hours of testimony—but the criticism was directed not at the concepts governing the design of the component programs. Neither was it directed at the operation of OEO. What it was directed at, in general, was the disparity between the tremendous needs of the poor and the funds available to operate OEO programs. This can hardly be called a criticism of the poverty program, as we have it before us in this Chamber.

But there are areas in which legislative changes are needed, areas in which the committee has acted on the basis of its thorough examination.

There are three basic areas of change I want to discuss briefly, as most others have been thoroughly covered either by the distinguished floor manager of the bill, or else by other Senators.

These three areas are health of the poor, the elderly poor, and neighborhood organizations.

HEALTH OF THE POOR

The existing legislation authorizing neighborhood health centers has, as I have pointed out, generated an overwhelming and enthusiastic response from communities across the country. I think it unfortunate that this demand cannot be satisfied, but we have at least made a beginning.

I have already cited many of the deficiencies in health services available to the poor, the deficiencies which neighborhood health centers are designed to overcome. But there is another and critical deficiency in health services for the poor—the availability of health personnel skilled in the special needs of the poor. To overcome this deficiency, I introduced an amendment to the bill in committee, which now appears as section 221(b)(3)(B).

This amendment authorizes the provision of financial assistance to public agencies and private organizations, and to individuals, for programs and projects designed to develop knowledge and to enhance skills in the provision of health services for the poor.

There is an acute shortage of doctors and other qualified health professionals trained for and concerned about the provision of health services to the poor. Experience with the promising development of neighborhood health centers, located in areas populated largely by poor people, has revealed a need for more qualified personnel. The basic purpose of the amendment is to induce a many-sided effort to help overcome this shortage.

The testimony given to the subcommittee, during this examination of the poverty program and the needs it is designed to fill, confirm the need for this specialized training. For example, Dr. Joel Alpert, medical director of the Family Health Care program at the Harvard Medical School, said this to our subcommittee:

> I do not believe that we presently possess the necessary body of knowledge that enables us to deliver care in the community. I hope that the patient care field would have the same characteristic development of fellowship programs as has characterized [other health specialties]. Fellowship training provides the physician with the opportunity, beyond residency, or in place of residency, to acquire the needed skills. . . . I say this because at the moment, members of various programs being developed under the Poverty Program require staffing by physicians who are not presently available, let alone specially trained or appropriately trained to provide this care. I plead for the development of fellowship programs which would not only enable physicians to acquire these necessary skills, but would serve as a focus to attract physicians to the provision of patient care as an exciting and appropriate career.

This testimony I found compelling, persuasive, and, when joined with other material, amply sufficient to justify the Amendment I offered.

The problem of providing health services for the poor involves four related issues: First, developing institutional arrangements and services which would be more responsive to the needs of the poor; second, training personnel equipped to help develop programs for reaching the poor with health services; third, training health personnel to serve in such programs; and fourth, developing educational facilities to provide such personnel with specialized training.

The connection between poor health and poverty is now beginning to receive the active attention it has long warranted. The relationship between poverty and lack of education is acknowledged, and is being acted on in various ways. It is my belief that the provision of health services to the poor requires special, new approaches, just as education for the poor does. Education and good health are utterly fundamental to all change of social and economic status. This is true of the less-developed countries of the world, and it is true of the less-developed areas of our own country. Without this fundamental equipment, there is no opportunity for the poor to gain full membership in our society.

The overall objective of the amendment, therefore, is twofold: First, to encourage the entry of larger numbers of people into the health science professions from among the most deprived sections of the population; and second, to help in their training by improving and expanding existing training facilities, with special emphasis on preparation for the provision of health services to the poor.

In order to recruit students for the health science professions, a series of intensive educational measures must be taken. With rare exceptions, the poor cannot now qualify adequately for professional schools because family background and previous educational experience do not prepare them for the demands of the school work, or for sustaining the necessary motivation.

While medicine, dentistry and nursing have been classic fields for social mobility in this country, this situation is changing, especially among the Negro population. Negro students can now choose among many vocations offering quick changes in economic and social status, as compared with the longer training required for such professions as medicine and even dentistry. Although the number of Negro physicians increased by 37.6 percent between 1950 and 1960, the representation of Negroes in the medical profession actually fell in comparison with their representation in other professions. In 1950, Negro physicians constituted 2.0 percent of all Negroes in the professions; by 1960, this figure had fallen to 1.7 percent.

Any program to increase the number of health professionals drawn from the ranks of the poor, Negro and white alike, must deal with the problems in depth and will probably require a commitment to upgrading educational opportunities offered Negro and other deprived students at all levels, especially at the high school and college levels. This amendment authorizes a beginning of such efforts for poor students intending to enter the health professions.

Such a program requires financial support both for institutions and individuals. It should be a flexible, pioneering program, putting emphasis on these four factors; training people to participate in organizing new and more effective means of delivery of medical services for the poor; recruiting and training health personnel for such services; assisting institutions in which personnel can be trained to enter and to work in the field in a variety of capacities and at variety of levels; providing a stimulus to advanced training, and to research in all aspects of the problem.

The amendment would authorize OEO to take the following steps:

First. To provide by grant, contract, or otherwise for educational exchanges, and for studies, research, and instruction and for other educational activities intended to develop knowledge or skills in the field of health services for the poor. Provision could be made to support research and development in methods of delivering health services to the poor; to assist in the establishment, expansion, and maintenance of educational and training courses concerned with community health care, with special emphasis on health care for the poor; and to foster studies through professorships, lectureships, institutes, conferences, seminars, and courses in such subjects as are necessary to encourage concern with and improve knowledge of the health and other disciplines associated with the provision and delivery of health care for the poor.

Second. To initiate a series of stipends or fellowships designed to encourage and support both prospective and senior health professionals in obtaining education, experience and training in the area of the health sciences. A first concern would be with regard to students who would prepare to enter the stream of education leading into health professions. For professionals, the primary concern would be to provide practical experience specifically in the innovative forms of delivery of health services to the poor, which would be augmented by academic studies in a professional school affiliated with such services or in one which offers courses relevant to the field experience undertaken.

Third. Funds available for programs under this amendment would be available for orientation courses or other appropriate services and materials for poor persons intent upon entering fields related to the purposes of this amendment, whether or not they are receiving other financial support from the Government; and to provide or continue services to increase the effectiveness of the programs following the completion of the fellowship term.

Fourth. For the purpose of assisting recipients of stipends to make the best possible use of their opportunities and assisting them in directing their talents and initiative into channels which will make them more effective leaders, teachers, advisers, and workers in the field of health care for the poor, suitable arrangements may be made for the establishment of an adequate counseling service at training centers and appropriate colleges and universities.

Fifth. The stipends or fellowships could be financed, administered, and awarded by OEO with private organizations, notably foundations and academic institutions. Private organizations, firms, licensing boards, professional associations, agencies, international organizations, foundations, academic institutions, and private individuals should be encouraged to participate to the maximum extent feasible in carrying out this amendment, and to make contributions of funds, property, and services which would be acceptable to be utilized to carry out the purposes of this amendment. And, of course, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to work closely with OEO in the administration of the amendment.

Sixth. Stipends would be of several varieties related to the educational and experimental status of the candidate. I would contemplate that the varieties would include: First, one category of stipend for students undertaking education in disciplines leading to professional training in the health science professions. The second category for students in professional schools who would be preparing for service in the health professions. I hope that recipients of these stipends would spend a period of weeks, or months, up to 1 year—with the approval of professional schools—in a community health service. The third category would be for students who have just completed their medical or other graduate health professional training; the stipend would be for 1 year of service in a community health facility augmented by academic work in a recognized medical professional school. A fourth category would provide fellowships for graduate physicians or other health professionals at the point in training where resident specialties are undertaken, and in this instance the training would be equivalent to specialization in community health work, would be for longer than 1 year, and would include tours of duty in neighborhood health facilities in both urban and rural settings, in Job Corps camps and in VISTA centers. A fifth category would be for physicians or others with experience in private practice who would undertake 1 year's work in community service augmented by academic work. A sixth category would be for members of medical or other health related disciplines who would do research in, or widen their experience of, or give technical assistance to, community health facilities.

Seventh. Categories would vary, as would the stipends, depending on time involved, educational and professional status and experience, numbers of dependents, cost-of-living factors, and so forth.

OEO and the Department of HEW are directed to work closely together in the development of this new program. It involves expertise common to both agencies, and both have indicated to me their willingness to begin in this fashion, with OEO given the main responsibility because of its expertise in the specific field of health care of the poor. In testimony before the subcommittee on the poverty legislation, the HEW spokesman, Assistant Secretary Lisle Carter, spoke of the close working relationship between HEW and OEO in the respective health programs of each, and cited numerous examples of joint funding and supervision.

In the health area, at least, there is close cooperation and coordination among the Federal agencies, a development calculated to bring better care to the poor. I applaud the personnel involved in making this cooperation effective.

The amendment grew out of the experience of OEO in funding summer projects involving health care for the poor in three areas across the country: California, Chicago, and New York City.

The three programs represent the most ambitious activity to date of a growing sector of the health student community: The Student Health Organizations. Student Health Organizations—SHO—have appeared over the past 3 years in major cities across the Nation. Composed of students from all of the health sciences, and seeking the advice of prominent professional and community leaders, the organizations have carried out numerous projects designed to foster leadership through service, experience and education. The SHO's have introduced the notion that the health science student, during his educational tenure, is an untapped resource for alleviating the health manpower shortage crisis in the United States. The possibility and desirability that health students might actively participate in community services while they receive their education has been a major SHO contribution. The SHO's have emphasized the importance of mobilizing students to explore creative and flexible new roles in conjunction with the public and the professions.

The value of such an approach was clearly demonstrated in the student health project of 1966, a program funded by OEO and jointly sponsored by the USC School of Medicine and the Student Medical Conference of Los Angeles. Through the 1966 project, 90 students of nursing, medicine, dentistry, dental hygiene and social work from 40 institutions in 11 States served in various capacities in poverty areas across the State of California. Each student consulted directly with a preceptor who was involved in some way with health concerns and disadvantaged populations. Students were joined in their work by 15 community workers, individuals with marginal incomes who received the same stipend as the students.

The success of the 1966 project laid a firm foundation for the program planned for summer 1967, which has been an even greater success than the 1966 project. One hundred fifty students from all health disciplines were joined by 50 community workers and teenage health "interns" in placements throughout the State of California. Student fellows were placed in one of three areas in California. Those in the northern and southern parts of the State worked in poverty-stricken urban communities. Students in the central part of California were placed in rural settings. The project fellows worked in interdisciplinary teams combining students to medicine, dentistry, nursing, social work, and other health-related fields. Project fellows concentrated in well-defined communities in order to maximize their impact upon the community and to insure, as far as possible, that the life of the programs they developed lived beyond the summer's end.

It is against this background that the 1967 Chicago student health project was constructed.

The Chicago project focused on the problems of health and health care among the urban poor. All 100 students—including medical, nursing, dental, social work and law—worked within the city of Chicago. Placements were in Negro, Puerto Rican, Appalachian white, and Mexican-American areas. The assignments ranged from community organization around health issues, with local groups in the city's most troubled areas, to university research positions studying patterns of delivery of health care to these same regions. There were placements with Headstart schools, Chicago Board of Health facilities, Neighborhood Health Centers, university and city outpatient departments and private physicians.

In addition to the 100 health science students, the project included 50 salaried interns—16- and 17-year-old high school students from Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in areas in question. The interns worked alongside the health science students, in the same placements, as integral parts of the team.

The New York City project, operated in the South Bronx, is similar. In this area 50 health professional students and 10 community workers were concentrated this summer from June 27 through September 1. The group was drawn from the nursing, medical, dental and social work disciplines. They worked to encourage and support community efforts to deliver better health care and to effect a substantial change in medical service. The idea of maintaining continuity, that is, of training residents of the South Bronx to fill the jobs created by student fellows during the summer, was paramount in the project's outlook. The sponsors of the project, Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Montefiore Hospital, were instrumental in assuring the broad based community support.

An article in the September 25, 1967, edition of the AMA News contains a vivid description of the accomplishments of these summer medical students projects "in improving the health conditions in ghetto areas of cities." I commend this article to those who wonder about the AMA's position on this amendment.

In short, the amendment will supplement and complement the great success of the Neighborhood Health Centers and can help make Aristotle's statement in "Politics" an American boast:

> Health of mind and body is so fundamental to the good life that if we believe that men have any personal rights at all as human beings, then they have an absolute moral right to such a measure of good health as society and society alone is able to give them.

ELDERLY POOR

The elderly poor is the second major area I want to discuss.

The elderly poor, as a group, have been least affected by the general economic progress made since 1959—the earliest year for which we have comparable data. For example, in 1959, there were fewer elderly poor individuals than there are now: 2.5 million then, versus 2.7 million now.

Today, about six out of every 10 unrelated aged are poor. Today, one out of every five seniors living in a family is poor. But only one out of nine persons age 18 to 64, in families, is poor. Thirty percent of all the elderly in the United States are poor, in contrast to 17 percent for the total U.S. population. The problem is particularly acute in rural areas. Eighty percent of the poor living alone in rural areas are over 55, as opposed to 68 percent in urban areas.

We, as a nation with a gross national product approaching $800 billion, should simply not tolerate poverty among our senior citizens. For one thing, most senior citizens have played their role in building our society—and they should have recognition for this from us, the beneficiaries of their efforts. For another, we can ease the pains of poverty and the loneliness it brings to seniors without a massive financial expenditure.

Strong evidence that this is so is readily available. In 1966, hearings in the Federal, State and Community Services Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, of the Special Committee on Aging, reviewed the successes of the OEO-funded medicare alert program, under which 12,000 seniors in 466 different projects sought out other seniors and informed them of their rights under the recently enacted medicare program. The subcommittee issued a report recommending that the program be continued and expanded, building upon the enthusiasm of medicare alert. The National Council on the Aging responded, applying to OEO for funding of what it called Project Find, and OEO has, happily, funded the project.

What these two efforts have discovered is that the hundreds of thousands of seniors who have been reached by the projects care about such basic human services as nutritious food, better housing, regaining contact with a society which has passed them by, learning about their rights under Federal, State and local aid programs, employment, recreation and other aspects of American life. They care about them because they are not presently receiving them. The projects have also successfully demonstrated that seniors themselves can plan effective and efficient roles as staff workers in the projects, operating under specific plans of action.

The testimony presented to the subcommittee confirms this. Representatives of many organizations spoke before the subcommittee, but few were as eloquent or as compelling as those from organizations of seniors.

Jack Ossofsky of the National Council on Aging said, for example:

> But what of those fathers of generations past? They, the poor who have grown old and the old who have grown poor. They, too, need the chance for a better life embodied in the promise of the War Against Poverty, and this need is urgent, for their future is now.

John Edelman, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, said:

> The report [on Project Find] showed that among the 388 older persons interviewed, thirty-six percent were entitled to public assistance they were not getting, forty-seven percent were entitled to United States food stamps they were not buying, and forty-eight percent appeared eligible for Medicaid but had no information about this benefit.

And William Hutton, executive director of the National Council for Senior Citizens, said:

> We should also make available to seniors a variety of other options, like the opportunity to continue working, to launch upon a second career, to engage in part-time or full-time study, or simply to continue working at a gradually decreasing work schedule in a gradual transition from full-time production to leisure.

The testimony of these three gentlemen does not come from studies or intuition. It comes from working with older Americans, day after day and year after year. They know what the elderly poor need and they know what the elderly poor want, and it has been my experience that they reflect accurately the hopes of the many millions of seniors they represent.

For these reasons, I proposed that a national emphasis program, somewhat similar to Project Find, be adopted as part of the OEO legislation. OEO has only reluctantly, despite consistent prodding from myself and from other Members of Congress, moved toward adopting any programs designed for the elderly poor. Figures submitted to the subcommittee, at my request, clearly indicate that the funds OEO has allocated for the elderly poor are disproportionately low. This led to one of the findings of the committee:

> Once again, the Committee must report an inadequate performance in programs for the elderly, and urge OEO to take immediate steps to remedy this deficiency.

It is my hope that a national emphasis program for the elderly poor can work a dramatic change in this orientation.

My amendment, appearing as section 221(b)(6), is designed to encourage local community action agencies to develop local programs employing seniors to reach out and assist other seniors, those isolated from the currents of everyday life and unaware of what health, legal, housing and other services are available to them. I have high hopes for the success of Project Find, and know that these hopes are shared by all those closely familiar with the fears and the needs of the older, retired, or widowed American.

There are a number of other changes this legislation effects which will have a salutary impact on the needs of the elderly poor. In the VISTA program, for example, OEO is directed to raise the participation of older volunteers and to develop more projects which serve the needs of older persons. Today, only 16 percent of VISTA volunteers are over 60 years of age. This is, in my opinion, a grave mistake: seniors are available, willing and able to serve; they need only to be organized and recognized. Other amendments direct that older persons should be made members of the governing board of the local community action agency and that older persons should be employed as staff members of local agencies.

In short, we have only begun to move toward doing for our elderly poor what we should do. OEO has not yet implemented the requirement in a 1966 amendment, which I offered, requiring special studies and programs for the elderly poor, but I intend to see that the studies are begun shortly and that program recommendations are forthcoming soon. Then, and only then, can we be sure that retirement years for seniors are not empty, but are full of meaning and enjoyment.

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

Neighborhood organizations are the third major area I want to discuss. I introduced two amendments relating to neighborhood organizations: section 233, which authorizes the development of neighborhood centers; and section 219 (b), which authorizes the development of housing development and services organizations as specific delegate agencies.

Neighborhood centers are fast becoming the keystone in the arch of local antipoverty efforts. My purpose in proposing that the authorization for neighborhood centers be put into the statute is to encourage their widespread development in all communities and rural areas.

In 1968, OEO plans to fund, through local community action agencies, something on the order of 1,000 neighborhood centers, 700 urban and 300 rural, serving roughly 4 million people. These centers reflect a wide variety of forms: some are comprehensive service centers, some are referral centers, some are one-stop service centers, and some are small storefronts. But whatever the form, there is one central feature common to all: each center reflects the actual needs of the neighborhood, as expressed by the residents of the neighborhood. Thus, in some areas, legal services are in demand, and they can be made available through the center. In other areas or neighborhoods, conversely, day care or job referral may be in demand, and these services can be provided. It is this wide choice of services, a choice exercised by neighborhood residents which marks OEO's centers as distinct from those established by other agencies with a more restricted mandate.

The concept of neighborhoods as the focus of social action is deeply woven into the fabric of American urban and rural life. In the early days, life centered around the neighborhood or town churches, and later, when immigration mushroomed, it grew to include the social club.

The depression and the consequent proliferation of health, welfare and educational programs, on local, State and Federal levels, changed all this. The churches and voluntary agencies became more specialized, as public programs entered the arena, and consequently the consumer of services was forced to become quite sophisticated as to the existence and location of the private and public agencies, often spread at random throughout the community.

The need to return to a neighborhood-based, comprehensive service organization has only recently been recognized. President Johnson, in August of 1966, asked the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to set as his goal "the establishment—in every ghetto in America—of a neighborhood center to service the people who live there." In June of 1967, a group of Federal agencies announced pilot neighborhood center projects in 14 cities, in response to the President's speech.

America will not—and need not—wait for the funds to be made available to construct brandnew centers in every ghetto. OEO has encouraged the rental of space, as opposed to costly new construction, in an effort to get the centers in operation as soon as possible.

I think the foresight of OEO in this matter is great, and the success story of these centers should be widely told. I visited two centers in Roxbury, a ghetto area in Boston, and when the rioting broke out during the summer in Roxbury, these two centers were spared, while buildings close on either side were burned out. The reason, I think, is that those centers were a visible indication that someone cared about the people of Roxbury, and cared enough to ask the people what they needed and wanted.

This program, it is important to note, does not in any way compete with that authorized by section 703 of the Housing Act of 1965—the neighborhood facilities grant program administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Rather, OEO's neighborhood center program supplements it. OEO can provide the funds for planning and operating a center; HUD supplies the construction funds. Thus, the two programs dovetail neatly.

The second amendment relating to neighborhood organizations is the inclusion, within the section encouraging the use of delegate agencies to carry out the components of the community action program, of one specific type of delegate agency—housing development and service organizations.

In the last 5 years, a number of new kinds of housing programs have become available. These programs, administered by the Federal Housing Administration, provide interest-rate subsidies for the provision of low- and moderate-income housing, and rent supplements for the provision of low-income housing. These programs require a sponsor which is either a nonprofit or limited-dividend corporation, or a cooperative organization. The sponsor itself organizes and manages the project. FHA processes the application and provides direct assistance under the program.

The results of these housing programs are paradoxical. On the one hand, the amount of money available is small. But on the other hand, available funds have not been fully utilized. The administrative and financial skills required, and the seed money needed, have simply been too much for most nonprofit groups to muster. Well intentioned and energetic though they may be, these groups have just not been able to hire the personnel or raise the money needed to bring such projects successfully to conclusion through the regulations and complications which the programs require.

Housing professionals generally agree that an upgrading of the nonprofit sponsor is necessary if such programs are ever to work. The nonprofit housing development corporation is a device often mentioned in this context. OEO has been experimenting with these corporations—through section 205 community action grants and section 207 demonstration grants—in a wide variety of situations, from the neighborhood level on the one hand, to the semiregional on the other. The housing development corporations, at the city, metropolitan, and semiregional levels, are concentrating on the "packaging" problem.

To date, OEO has funded 11 of the Housing Development Corporations, in New York City; Durham, N.C.; Cleveland, Ohio; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Md.; St. Louis, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Denver, Colo., and Whitesburg, Ky. OEO's financial involvement in the seven corporations which, to date, have had their mortgages committed, is $1,900,000; the value of the housing being constructed is $68,900,000. This is, to my mind, dramatic evidence of the multiplier effect of OEO's seed money in this area, and it convinced me that this tentative, experimental program should be made a specific part of OEO's legislation.

For housing development, these corporations bring together the lawyers, architects, real estate and construction specialists needed to prepare applications for the Federal Housing Authority and to shepherd them through the processing stages. Equally important, they provide entrepreneurial drive which the private market has yet to supply for low-income housing. Both these functions require skill and access to capital, capital which can be recovered when permanent financing is secured, but without which projects are impossible to develop. By aggregating such resources, the development corporation becomes a new base of support for other institutions. The existing nonprofit groups—churches, labor unions and civic associations—can draw on these new institutions for talents which they have been unable to muster themselves, and they in turn become the formal mortgagor entity envisaged by statute.

As one specific example of the success of OEO's experimental efforts, consider the case of the Philadelphia Housing Development Corporation in Philadelphia. OEO made a grant of $160,000 to the Corporation, which in turn generated a $2,000,000 revolving fund. This revolving fund then generated $10,000,000 in mortgages in process, which translates to 850 low-income housing units actually under construction. The importance of the $160,000 initial grant lies in the very high "front-end" cash cost which must be laid out before a mortgage can be obtained. Many Federal housing programs are so complex that architects, real-estate experts, lawyers, administrators, and finance men all must be consulted before an application can even be drawn up. This front-end cost has forced many nonprofit sponsors to shy away from using the low-income housing programs. But when the front-end cost can be obtained, then these local sponsors have little difficulty in borrowing the remaining costs.

My amendment, then, simply encourages the creation of the local institutional structure with which the Government can deal. In his testimony, the Director of OEO, Sargent Shriver, described the need for this local structure in these terms:

> Our government and society is so set up that unless a fellow has got the right kind of a catcher's mitt, he cannot even get the ball the other guy is throwing.

Now, with this amendment, catcher's mitts will be available.

In short, what I have tried to do is to strengthen the role of the neighborhood-based organization in the poverty program. The neighborhood is the right place, in my mind, for services for the poor—who only rarely have transportation—to be made available. It is my hope that the progress OEO has already made in this direction will be accelerated.

INCREASE IN COMMUNITY ACTION FUNDS

I would like to explain, briefly, one other amendment. The committee added a number of new programs to title II of the OEO legislation, including Project Find. It is my belief that the authorization should consequently be raised to reflect the addition of these new items, and not held down to the level requested when these programs were not part of the legislation. Consequently, I offered an amendment to raise the authorization for title II by $40 million.

EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

I consider the Emergency Employment Act of 1967, recommended by the committee, landmark legislation. We now have, as the lucid two-page statement in the report accompanying the bill indicates, the opportunity to vote on a measure recommended by three different Presidential commissions, by the urban coalition, and endorsed by almost seven out of 10 Americans. If the need for this measure is so clear to Presidential panels and to the American public alike, I fail to see how the Senate can, in conscience, do anything but accept it.

Can we be so indifferent to the call of need? Can we ignore the lessons of the past two summers? Can we be unmindful of the pressures operating in our slums?

I believe that the perspective of history will reveal the vote on the Emergency Employment Act as a measure of the concern of the U.S. Senate for the well-being of our national life. I also believe that those who vote against it are voting against the best interests of the Nation and of its people. There can be no viable American society so long as jobs, and the income they produce, are denied to those men and women who want to work.

I would also make the point that this is an authorization bill and not an appropriations bill. Consequently, voting to accept the Emergency Employment Act as recommended by the committee will not cost anyone so much as a dime. What it will show, however, is that the U.S. Senate is not unaware or unmindful of the recommendations of some of this country's best minds, as well as 70 percent of its people.

When riots occur, the national conscience is shocked. Yet voices have for years warned that urban ghettos are crucibles of discontent and alienation, and breeding grounds for violent outbreaks of frustration. These same voices say that employment is, among young men, the single most important factor in soothing the frustrations.

What do riots cost? We can, perhaps, measure the cost in dollars and cents of physical damage. But can we ever measure the cost in national prestige? In lives? In young men and women who will never feel the same about the American way of life? In the willingness of small businessmen to locate in ghettos?

What the Emergency Employment Act does is to authorize $2.8 billion spread over 2 fiscal years, 1968 and 1969, to create public service jobs. This is a small price to pay, I think, when stacked up against the true costs of past or possible future riots. It is, too, pale in comparison to the space budget, the Federal highway budget, or to many others.

We should ask ourselves, what will be the cost of delaying a year in sending a man to the moon? Or, what will be the cost of delaying for a year a few miles of urban freeway?

This is the frame of reference for debate on this bill. We are talking not about a capital investment in physical facilities—we are talking about a capital investment in human beings. These human beings are not passive, and it is they who will make or break the future of this country. If there is any clear message of the past two summers, I think it is that our investment, to date, in human beings, has been far too small. The gulf between the affluent American and the poor American is widening—and it is this gulf which has rubbed raw the sores of 300 years of deprivation.

CONCLUSION

There is one last area I would like to discuss—the issue of control of the program. "Increase local control; untie the Federal strings"—how often have we heard that cry? Yet, when charges were leveled this summer that local poverty workers were involved in the riots, these same critics cried: "Tighten up the controls." Now, let me ask: When will these critics make up their minds? For we cannot have it both ways. We cannot tighten Federal controls and loosen them at the same time.

I, for one, have made up mine: I think the local control in design and operation of poverty programs is unprecedented in extent and crucial to its success. Poverty is simply not subject to the contours of a grand design; the poverty program, in this regard, is totally different from the Federal highway program, which is susceptible to national standards and criteria. I think the extent of local control is important and meaningful, and I reject out of hand the assertion that the program is controlled in Washington, and that local programs cannot show initiative.

The poverty program is without parallel as an innovative Federal effort at unraveling a problem as complex as society itself. I am, as one who participated in the development of the initial program and the subsequent years' amendments, proud of what it has done. I know the road ahead is long and difficult, but I think the changes made in this year's bill are constructive and will help us down that road with firm conviction and deliberate speed.

Mr. President, I would like once again to express my admiration for the work of the distinguished floor manager of the bill [Mr. Clark]. He is in no small measure personally responsible for the vast amount of thought which went into the development of this bill, and I commend him for his leadership.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the senior Senator from Massachusetts for his fine statement.

Senator Kennedy's aid and support throughout the subcommittee's examination of the war on poverty were notable. Senator Kennedy held extensive hearings in Massachusetts. He was particularly helpful in the subcommittee's hearings of administration witnesses and in drawing up the legislation which is now pending.

Senator Kennedy's amendments in the areas of health, housing, neighborhood centers, and the elderly have greatly strengthened the bill and the poverty program.

I thank the Senator for his support and his kind comments.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hollings in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the debate on the Ribicoff-Percy amendment to the instructions of the motion of the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] and all amendments thereto be limited to 1 hour, the time to be equally divided and controlled by the proponents of the amendment and the junior Senator from West Virginia, the sponsor of the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 367.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment (No. 367) offered by Mr. Ribicoff, for himself and Mr. Percy.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 367) is as follows:

> In lieu of the motion by Mr. Byrd of West Virginia to strike out title II, I move to strike

title II and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"TITLE II—EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the 'Emergency Employment Act of 1967'.

"FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 202. (a) The Congress finds that certain communities and areas in the Nation are presently burdened by severe unemployment and underemployment. Such areas contain large concentrations or proportions of persons who are unable to obtain jobs in regular competitive employment because of lack of education, occupational skill, or work experience and because of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement. This situation is aggravated by migration of unskilled rural residents to urban areas. Many of the affected areas are doubly handicapped by the lack of sufficient jobs for all the potential labor force. This condition is destructive of human dignity and results in a loss of national productivity. In many localities the problem has reached crisis proportion by contributing to social unrest and civil disorder.

"(b) At the same time there is a huge backlog of need for additional public services and public facilities in such fields as those which (1) contribute to the development of human potential, (2) better the conditions under which people live, learn, and work, and (3) aid in the development and conservation of natural resources.

"(c) Therefore, it is the purpose of this title to provide meaningful employment opportunities in public service and other activities which will relieve severe unemployment in urban and rural areas and contribute to the national interest by fulfilling unmet needs.

"ELIGIBLE AREAS

"SEC. 203. The Secretary of Labor (hereafter referred to as the 'Secretary') shall designate urban and rural areas to be eligible for assistance under this title. Such areas shall contain a high concentration or proportion of low-income families and individuals and shall have severe problems of unemployment and underemployment. They may be defined without regard to political boundaries.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 204. (a) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to public agencies and private organizations for part or all of the costs of programs which create meaningful public service and other employment opportunities. He shall adopt procedures to assure (1) that there is maximum emphasis on local initiative and responsibility with full participation of and maximum cooperation among local public officials, residents of eligible areas, and representatives of private organizations in the establishment of programs under this title, including, without limitation, the determination of areas and participants eligible for assistance and the selection of projects under subsection (b) of this section, and (2) that such assistance is fully coordinated with programs operated under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and other relevant Federal Acts.

"(b) Jobs created or made available under this title may include services and supporting facilities in such fields as health, public safety, education, recreation, streets, parks and municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement. Such jobs shall include (1) those which can be made available immediately to persons who are otherwise unable to obtain employment, (2) those which provide placement resources for persons completing training under titles I and V of the Economic Opportunity Act and other relevant manpower training programs, and (3) those which use the skills of unemployed persons in areas with a chronic labor surplus. Priority shall be given to projects which are labor intensive in character.

"(c) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to assure that (1) persons employed in jobs created by this title are provided opportunity for further education, training, and necessary supportive services, including those provided by other relevant Acts, so that they may be prepared to obtain regular competitive employment in the future; and (2) that maximum effort is made to encourage private employers to adopt innovative approaches which create additional jobs and new types of careers for low-income and disadvantaged persons.

"LOANS

"SEC. 205. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make loans to public and private agencies for the purchase of supplies and equipment which support and supplement projects carried out by participants under section 204.

"(b) Loans authorized under this section may be made without interest and under such other terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe.

"ELIGIBLE PARTICIPANTS

"SEC. 206. Participants in programs under this title must be unemployed or low-income persons who reside in eligible areas and who meet other criteria prescribed by the Secretary. Low income shall be defined in terms of section 125 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

"SPECIAL CONDITIONS

"SEC. 207. (a) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this title unless he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

"(1) no participant will be employed on projects involving political parties, or the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

"(2) the program will not result in displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services, or result in the substitution of Federal for other funds in connection with work that would otherwise be performed;

"(3) wages paid a participant shall not be lower than, whichever is the highest of (A) the minimum wage wihch would be applicable to the employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 if section 6 of such Act applied to the participant and he was not exempt under section 13 thereof, (B) the State or local minimum wage for the most nearly comparable covered employment, or (C) the prevailing rate of wages in the area for similar work.

"(4) the program will, to the extent appropriate, contribute to the occupational development or upward mobility of individual participants.

"(b) For programs related to physical improvements preference shall be given to those improvements which will be substantially used by low-income persons and families in urban neighborhoods or rural areas having concentrations or proportions of low-income persons and families.

"(c) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs under this title have adequate internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, evaluation procedures, and other policies as may be necessary to promote the effective use of funds.

"(d) Programs approved under this title shall, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the elimination of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement, including civil service requirements which restrict employment opportunities for the disadvantaged.

"REPORTS

"SEC. 208. The Secretary shall submit to the Congress a report on the progress made in implementing this title and suggestions for improvements on or before May 15, 1968, November 15, 1968, and on or before May 15 and November 15 of each year thereafter.

"EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT FUND

"SEC. 209. There is hereby established in the Treasury of the United States an Emergency Employment Fund. To provide capital for such fund, the President is authorized to allocate to such fund an amount not to exceed 2 per centum of the funds appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, which are determined by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to be available to carry out Federal programs which are not directly and primarily related to the national defense. Sums so allocated to such fund shall be available to the Secretary to carry out the purposes of this title."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from West Virginia renew his unanimous-consent request?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, while the creation of an emergency employment program has my enthusiastic support, I believe we can accomplish this goal without spending any additional Federal money.

Amendment No. 367, which the junior Senator from Illinois has cosponsored with me, authorizes the President to transfer up to 2 percent of nondefense moneys from the current budget into an emergency employment fund.

The 1968 budget calls for $55 billion in nondefense spending. Two percent of this sum would yield $1.1 billion—the amount that title II of S. 2388 would authorize each year to create employment opportunities in public service areas.

Mr. President, the most obvious fact in America is that a good job at an adequate wage is the key to providing self-respect for an individual and progress for a nation.

Yet unemployment in our central cities is twice the national rate. A recent Labor Department survey of 10 big city slums showed that 1 of every 3 persons was unable to earn a living. The same study also found that unemployment among Negroes between the ages of 16 and 19 was as high as 40 percent.

If this severe employment problem existed at a time when there were no tasks waiting to be performed, no jobs that needed to be done, that would be one thing. But that is not the case.

There are today a total of 5.3 million potential jobs in the public service field alone, according to the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress.

Under the provisions of title II, meaningful employment opportunities would be provided in such fields as health, recreation, public safety, education, beautification, municipal services, and neighborhood development and improvement.

Jobs are the number one priority in America today. Survey after survey proves that much of the violence that has struck our cities stems from unemployment, and that disorder often comes from persons who feel they have no stake in society.

However, this is also a time when our national financial commitments are strained to the utmost. It is obvious that Congress and the executive branch are in no mood to vote additional expenditures. But the need for jobs is our No. 1 priority. Other expenditures can be deferred. I am sure that 2 percent can be found in items of less priority in the domestic budget. Here is an opportunity to give priority where the need is greatest.

Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the junior Senator from Illinois.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the issue before us is a very simple one. Hardly a day goes by that we do not hear either from an urban specialist or academician, a mayor, or a ghetto resident that an immediate priority in our urban areas is jobs. And who amongst us can deny this? Is not man's most valuable asset his ability to find and maintain meaningful employment? At the present time there are 3 million able-bodied men and women on the streets of America looking for jobs, but it is a hopeless search for the jobs which they seek and are prepared to fill do not exist. Ironically, at the same time, there are millions of positions going begging for lack of adequately trained persons to fill them. The frustrations to the community as a whole and the indignities to the person as an individual that this situation engenders are obvious. I need not repeat them here.

Even the most ardent supporter of title II of the bill under consideration will admit that it does not offer the final or long range solution to the unemployment problems of our nation. As a realistic advocate of the program I argue that we have an emergency situation to deal with as well as a long term one.

This program is, as its name implies, an emergency program. It should be judged on those terms. I do not advocate that it take the place of existing or future long range programs.

I am certain that everyone in this Chamber knows the value of manpower training and retraining and most of us realize what a tangled mess the Federal manpower programs are now in. There presently exist over 79 Federal training and education programs administered by 15 different agencies and bureaus. The real tragedy is that one finds example after example of completely uncoordinated training programs and of men and women training for jobs which do not exist. Welfare mothers tell me stories of leaving their children home alone at night in order to participate in a Federal training program and then, after graduation, not being able to find work in the field for which they have prepared themselves at government suggestion. Others tell of taking basic education courses which bring them up to a sixth-grade level in reading and writing, but then discovering that a ninth grade literacy level is needed to qualify for a job training program.

In not assuring that these programs are properly and efficiently administered this Congress and, to a greater degree, this administration is guilty of dashing untold numbers of personal dreams and ambitions on the part of low-income citizens. In a real sense the Great Society has failed its people. Now it must begin to make up for this failure by giving some of its citizens a little extra help.

The emergency job program will do just this. It will give an extra boost to those who need it the most. This program offers much more than a job and a steady income. The program, by providing employment, offers dignity to the individual, stability to the family and hope to the community.

All this being so, is it too much to ask that this administration accept the emergency job program as a priority and cut back on other less pressing, less immediate and less efficient programs? I think not.

The amendment which Senator RIBICOFF and I have offered today would give the President the authority to set the priorities in his administration by cutting back some less important programs. He would be authorized to use up to $1.1 billion of the resultant savings the first year to fund the Emergency Employment Act.

As strongly as I believe that such a job program is ncessary I just as strongly believe it would be wrong for us to authorize an additional $2.8 billion at this time even for so high a priority item as jobs. With a projected deficit of $25 to $30 billion and with full proposed 10 percent surcharge which would bring in less than $5 billion this fiscal year, we have no choice but to pull in our belts. An average American family of four with a $7,000 income could certainly cut back 2 percent of their budget, or $116, if necessary to meet a new urgent need rather than just spending its money adding to its debt. Why should we not do the same thing in government?

If we do not, the resultant inflation will impose a stiff penalty on millions of American families, acting most harshly, as inflation does, on the poor.

With a $135 billion budget, no one can argue that there is not plenty of room to tighten our fiscal belts. This Government is like so many Americans—it keeps talking about going on a diet, but it is all talk for the scales never show a loss of weight. Every year the President promises economies and every year we have a larger and larger budget. The more we talk about dieting, the fatter it gets.

The President often criticizes the Congress for not permitting him to economize. Let us say to the President—we now authorize you to cut back 2 percent on nondefense spending and to use these funds to meet an emergency situation in our Nation. Let us assure him that the American people are willing to economize on other important programs in order to help those in our midst who need emergency assistance.

Mr. President, not just as Senators, but as Americans, let us wake up to the need and set our priorities. What is more important than the dignity and fulfillment of meaningful employment?

I therefore, Mr. President, offer cosponsorship and support for the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut which is now before the Senate, as a possible means of meeting this emergency situation by providing legislation that will end on June 30, 1968, to deal with this immediate future period, which we do consider an emergency period insofar as it involves the necessity of providing jobs for Americans who urgently need useful and gainful employment, and the sense of dignity that can only come with a job and a chance to earn one's own living.

We offer this amendment as a means of shifting priorities from less essential items to an essential item of high priority and urgent need, in both our rural and urban communities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I do not question the purpose and intent of the pending amendment. The purposes are good. I have great respect for both of these dedicated Senators. However, speaking as a member of the Appropriations Committee, I think the Senate should have a word of caution.

I do not care who the President is or to what party he might belong, when we transfer to the President the power to determine priorities, after both our branches of the Congress and the Appropriations Committees and the committees of conference have thrashed out and determined the priorities on behalf of the Congress—in which body the Constitution vests this power and responsibility—we are liable to run into a good deal of trouble.

In principle I think it is a violation of constitutional intent, but I also would suggest to the Senate that it might find itself very much disappointed in the possible results.

We have just been going through a long committee of conference on the appropriation bill for Labor-HEW. The committee felt with respect to that appropriation bill that a certain amount of money should go to impacted school areas. The committee felt that a certain amount should go to a long-established and well-working program of national defense education funds in which I think almost every superintendent of schools and school principal in the country are interested.

The President, I am quite sure, is not in sympathy with those programs at this time.

The Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation has seen fit to add funds for air safety, for the policing of the air, for observation, for personnel, and for devices to insure the safety of those flying. The President does not approve of the addition of those funds.

It would be all right if the 2-percent leeway were restricted to the poverty program, to shifting programs within the poverty program itself. However, when we transfer to the President the power to establish priorities all along the line on nondefense spending, we will suddenly wake up and find that our studied, final decision on very delicate and sensitive matters will have been nullified by our own action.

We will begin to hear from our school officials and those who are vitally interested in the development of airports and air safety. We will hear from the people.

The committees in both bodies of Congress have acted upon the matter. I feel that in spite of the good objectives of the pending amendment, to take this unprecedented step of surrendering to the Executive the power to establish priorities after we have gone clear through the legislative process—from the House committee to the House, from the Senate committee to the Senate, and from there to the conference committee, and finally to a decision—would be a very dangerous precedent to set.

I must oppose the amendment.

I am not authorized to speak for the members of the Appropriations Committee. However, I believe it will be found that almost every member of that committee feels this would set an extremely dangerous precedent.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, it is true that the action we seek to achieve is unprecedented. However, we live in unprecedented times.

It becomes very obvious as we study the basic problems of the cities of America that the key problem today is jobs. That is the view of everyone, whether they be sociologists, mayors, or people living in the ghettos.

It is also apparent that the Congress is reluctant either to spend the money and appropriate the funds, or to raise taxes to supply the funds needed for programs such as this.

Under such circumstances, we must make a choice. If we are unwilling to raise taxes and are unwilling to appropriate the money, then I believe we have a duty to start setting priorities. And if we ourselves are unwilling to set certain priorities, I see nothing wrong with allowing these priorities to be set by the President of the United States.

We should keep in mind that, whether we will it or not, the President of the United States does have the authority to withhold spending if he is dissatisfied with—or finds that he does not have the funds with which to carry out—programs that Congress authorized.

I recall that in 1961, after Congress had adjourned, the late President Kennedy—I having been a member of his Cabinet—called the Cabinet together and asked us to hold back on the spending of various appropriations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, as the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I did withhold the spending of a substantial sum of money. If my memory serves me right, it involved a sum of $100 million in funds that Congress had voted to appropriate. And no one raised the question of whether the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare or the President of the United States had the authority to withhold these funds.

We have a basic problem that we must decide. We should either vote the money and raise the taxes; or, if we are unwilling to take these steps, we should set priorities.

The needs are present and very great. This program is so important that we should at least give the President the authority to determine the priorities that are so vital to the future of our country.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, what the distinguished Senator from Connecticut has said is perfectly true. We do have precedents, I think, for impounding and withholding funds.

I do not know that the courts have ever passed on that privilege. However, in a sense it is exercising an item veto.

Let us concede that it is true. No one has questioned it. However, it is one thing to withhold money and not spend it. It is quite another thing to have the ability and the power to decide that some particular program that Congress has decided is highly important is not important or not as important as others, and to take money from that program and expend it in a way that Congress did not see fit to authorize.

I agree with the Senator. I commend him for what he has to say. Congress has not met its responsibility either in holding down expenditures or in being careful about priorities.

I have much sympathy with the position of the Senator from Connecticut and the junior Senator from Illinois. However, merely because we do not face up to our responsibilities in one respect, we are not going to improve things by transferring to the President of the United States the right to exercise this power. Congress might as well go home, if that is going to be its future policy.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I point out that there are 250 programs in the Federal Government today that deal with the problems of the city. That is the informal count we have received from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Last year the mayor of Oakland appeared before our Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization and said that they had taken an inventory and found that there were some 140 Federal programs in which the city of Oakland alone was involved.

I have before me the catalog of the Federal assistance programs put out by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This newest catalog lists 459 channels through which Federal help and dollars can flow to cities, States, and individuals.

We are in a ridiculous situation. We pass program after program, and the executive branch of the Government and the Congress are equally at fault.

For we rarely stop to think about what America needs most. We keep voting piecemeal programs until they become astronomical in number and in amount. We think they will solve everything. Yet when we look at the problems, in depth, we finally realize that we can make our greatest impact on problems of poverty and disorder in our cities by providing job opportunities.

In 1966, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress studied this problem. They pointed out that there were 5.3 million potential jobs in the public service field. In medical institutions and health services, there were 1.2 million; in educational institutions, 1.1 million; in national beautification, 1.3 million; in welfare and home care, 700,000; in public protection, 350,000; in urban renewal and sanitation, 650,000—some 5.3 million jobs, that were not leaf-raking and "make-work" tasks, but were both productive and in the public interest.

When you consider the rate of unemployment in our central cities, and when you study the riots across America, you see that teenaged youngsters, without jobs, often are in the forefront of the riots. We must realize that jobs are the important key to the self-respect that can help eliminate violence and help solve the crisis of the cities.

I believe that the program submitted by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is a worthwhile program. But the weakness of that program is that at a time of national stress and national shortage of funds, they are voting $2.8 billion. We, as realistic men, know that Congress will not spend $2.8 billion. But if jobs are as important as the committee says—and I agree that they are—then we have a duty to determine how we will set and reach this priority.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I have great regard for the comments made by the Senator from New Hampshire. I certainly respect the judgments of members of the Committee on Appropriations. I have a reverence for the operation procedures that have been developed over a period of many years in this body.

But I believe that sometimes emergency conditions require carefully calculated and carefully controlled innovations. The control placed upon this innovation would be that it would be subject to the discretion of the President. It would not involve additional funds. It would involve a transfer of funds. It would be strictly limited to 1 year. The authority would end on June 30, 1968. We have an election coming up, and I have great faith in the electoral process.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. PERCY. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PERCY. The able Senator from New Hampshire has rightfully indicated that if the President chose to cut back, say, the air safety program or the school milk program, you would have enraged citizens, and you would have school superintendents making complaints to Congress. But the man who would be responsible for making that decision would be the President. Presumably, he would be running for reelection, and he would be held accountable for having made that decision. I believe we can have sufficient confidence in the President of the United States—one of the only two officers elected by all the people of this country—to use discretion, to consider this an emergency, to apply these funds only as would be prescribed in the measure, and to put them to work where those conditions exist today that have created in our cities an emergency condition.

We have talked a great deal about the long, hot summers, but they come only once a year. When I met yesterday with the leaders of nine of the Youth Corps centers in New York, each of them in turn said, "Now, this authority for the summer jobs is over, but where are the boys? Back on the streets." Perhaps the weather is cooler, but the condition is just as bad as it was before, and we need something that is year-round; because the frustration, the bitterness, and the discontent exist year-round. The hot summers are just the top of the iceberg. The remainder, which is not showing, is the fact that society has somehow not met the need of these people, who do want work but do not have the skill and training for one reason or another—perhaps because of their fault, perhaps the fault of society, or perhaps a combined fault.

This emergency situation calls for some innovation. This is a carefully controlled situation. If it did not work, we could easily cancel the authority. The authority would not be extended beyond June 30, 1968. Certainly, we would hold the President accountable for every decision he made. His commission, which already has been appointed, has indicated informally and in conversations that housing and jobs are the two most urgent problems they face. We are simply trying to find a way to meet the problems without adding to the deficit, without adding to the fires of inflation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern] be permitted to speak for not to exceed 3 minutes, to submit a conference report, and that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISPOSITION OF JUDGMENT FUNDS DEPOSITED TO THE CREDIT OF THE CHEYENNE-ARAPAHO TRIBES OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I ask that the Presiding Officer lay before the Senate a message from the House on S. 1933, a bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1933) to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to distribute and expend the funds on deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma that were appropriated by the Act of October 31, 1965 (79 Stat. 1133), in satisfaction of the settlement and compromise of claims of said tribes against the United States in the Indian Claims Commission in dockets numbered 329A and 329B, together with the interest accrued thereon, as herein provided.

Sec. 2. Five hundred thousand dollars of said funds shall be held in trust for the purpose of providing education and scholarships for members of said tribes pursuant to a trust agreement to be made and entered into by and between said tribes, as grantor, and a national banking association located in the State of Oklahoma, as trustee, which trust agreement shall be authorized and approved by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall distribute remaining funds per capita to all persons alive on the date of this Act whose names appear on the membership roll of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma or who, on the date of this Act, were eligible for membership, hereinafter referred to as "enrollees", as follows:

(a) a share payable to an enrollee not less than twenty-one years of age shall be paid directly in one payment to such enrollee, except as provided in subsections (b) and (c) of this section;

(b) a share payable to an enrollee dying after the date of this Act shall be distributed to his heirs or legatees upon the filing of proof of death and inheritance satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior, or his authorized representative, whose findings and determinations upon such proof shall be final and conclusive: *Provided*, That if a share of such deceased enrollee, or a portion thereof, is payable to an heir or legatee under twenty-one years of age or under legal disability, the same shall be paid and held in trust pursuant to subsection (c) of this section;

(c) a share or proportional share payable to an enrollee or person under twenty-one years of age or to an enrollee or person under legal disability shall be paid and held in trust for such enrollee or person pursuant to a trust agreement to be made and entered into by and between the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, as grantor, and a national banking association located in the State of Oklahoma, as trustee, which trust agreement shall be authorized and approved by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 4. (a) All claims for per capita shares, whether by a living enrollee or by the heirs or legatees of a deceased enrollee, shall be filed with the area director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko, Oklahoma, not later than three years from the date of approval of this Act. Thereafter, all claims and the right to file same shall be forever barred and the unclaimed shares shall revert to the tribes.

(b) Tribal funds that revert to the tribes pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, including interest and income therefrom, may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body.

Sec. 5. No part of any funds distributed or held in trust under the provisions of this Act shall be subject to Federal or State income taxes.

Sec. 6. Funds distributed and payments made under this Act shall not be held to be "other income and resources" as that term is used in sections 2(a)(10)(A), 402(a)(7), 1002(a)(8), and 1402(a)(8) of the Social Security Act as amended (42 U.S.C. 302(a)(10)(A), 602(a)(7), 1202(a)(8), and 1352(a)(8)).

Sec. 7. (a) All costs incident to making the payments authorized by this Act, including the costs of payment roll preparation and such sums as may be required to distribute said funds, shall be paid by appropriate withdrawals from the judgment fund and interest on the judgment fund, using the interest fund first.

(b) In the event that the sum of money reserved by the Secretary of the Interior to pay the costs of distributing said funds exceeds the amount actually necessary to accomplish this purpose, the money remaining shall revert to the tribes and may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized and approved by the tribal governing body.

Sec. 8. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment, with an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. On page 4 of the amendment adopted by the House, strike section 6 in its entirety.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the Members of the Senate will recall that as introduced by the distinguished junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris] for himself and his colleague, Senator Monroney, S. 1933 had in it section 6, which provides that funds distributed under the act, amounting to some $15 million, should not be held to be "other income" under the Social Security Act and hence subject to contribution under that law. However, after hearings on S. 1933 conducted by the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Interior Committee on August 9, the committee concurred in the recommendation of the Department of the Interior that the section be deleted.

The Department pointed out that it had consistently maintained that Indians are entitled to receive assistance under the Social Security Act on the same basis as non-Indians. Acceptance of this position has been achieved.

But acceptance of benefits under the act carries with it assumption of responsibilities. Payments to the fund from which benefits are received is such a responsibility.

Thus, the deletion of section 6 from the bill was still another step forward in making Indians full-fledged American citizens, ready, willing, and able to accept responsibilities as well as benefits.

The committee was assured by responsible spokesmen for the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribe of Oklahoma that the tribe was willing to accept S. 1933 as we amended it.

However, the companion bill in the other body, H.R. 11847, was passed on September 18 with the provision exempting the per capita distribution funds from contribution under the social security law, and the text of the House-passed bill substituted for the text of S. 1933 as amended and approved by the Senate on August 21. The amendment I am proposing would, in effect, reinstate the Senate language.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, on the basis of the position of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes in favor of the Senate position as the best way to secure the most rapid passage of this measure, I join in the motion just made by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota.

I ask unanimous consent that certain correspondence and communications from those tribes be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

Clinton, Okla.,
August 22, 1967.

Hon. Fred R. Harris,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Harris: Thank you for your work on S. 1933. Business committee now favors the complete omission of section six in order to expedite passage. We will want House to pass the Senate version and will notify Edmonson by letter. Will you secure the flag used yesterday over the Senate for the tribes? This may be a presumptuous request but I know you understand their patriotism to our Nation with all American Indians. The flag will have great meaning to the members of the tribes and I will appreciate it if you can fulfill this request.

Very sincerely,
Lawrence H. Hart.

Portland, Oreg.,
October 2, 1967.

Senator Fred R. Harris,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Respectfully request passage of S. 1933 as amended. Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee by formal action favors deletion of section six. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Lawrence Hart,
Cheyenne-Arapaho Chairman.
Concho, Okla.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes,
August 23, 1967.

Re: S. 1933
Senator Fred R. Harris,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Harris: The Business Committee of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma met on August 21, 1967 to consider the Senate passage of S. 1933 as amended.

After a careful and thorough deliberation the Business Committee resolved to accept the Senate version. We feel that this will help to expedite passage by Congress. We also are impressed with the reasoning to the objection of Section Six. We concur with the objection and as an alternative we intend to cooperate fully with the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Oklahoma.

I want to thank you for your work on S. 1933. Your testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs for and in behalf of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma was most impressive.

Very truly yours,
Lawrence H. Hart,
Chairman, Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from South Dakota.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 1564. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; and

S. 2162. An act to amend the act of January 17, 1936 (49 Stat. 1094), reserving certain public domain lands in Nevada and Oregon as a grazing reserve for Indians of Fort McDermitt, Nev.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 223) to authorize the disposal of the Government-owned long-lines communication facilities in the State of Alaska, and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1308. An act to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4772. An act to authorize the Secretaries concerned to direct the initiation of allotments of the pay and allowances of certain members of the Armed Forces for the purpose of making deposits under section 1035 of title 10, United States Code;

H.R. 4903. An act to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands;

H.R. 5943. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps;

H.R. 8632. An act to amend section 40c(1) and 52a of the Bankruptcy Act so as to reallocate part of the filing fee from the clerk's earnings to the referees' salary and expense fund;

H.R. 9796. An act to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and new loans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11767. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands comprising the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.; and

H.R. 12910. An act to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, and for other purposes.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 1308. An act to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 4772. An act to authorize the Secretaries concerned to direct the initiation of allotments of the pay and allowances of certain members of the Armed Forces for the purpose of making deposits under section 1035 of title 10, United States Code;

H.R. 4903. An act to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands;

H.R. 5943. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps;

H.R. 9796. An act to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and new loans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11767. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands comprising the U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.; and

H.R. 12910. An act to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 8632. An act to amend section 40c(1) and 52a of the Bankruptcy Act so as to reallocate part of the filing fee from the clerk's earnings to the referees' salary and expense fund; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] be recognized for not to exceed 3 minutes, for the submission of a conference report, and that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. I thank the distinguished Senator from West Virginia for his courtesy.

ACQUISITION OF CAREER STATUS BY TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1320) to provide for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of Sept. 28, 1967, p. 27175, Congressional Record.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I believe we have worked out a good bill. Both the House and Senate versions of the bill were designed to provide for the conversion of certain long-term temporary employees in the classified and postal service to career status. Both committees held hearings on this legislation and heard testimony from the Civil Service Commission, the Post Office Department, and interested Federal employees and Federal employee organizations.

We have ironed out certain basic policy differences between the House and Senate versions. After a full and free conference, and after a cooperative session with our counterparts from the House of Representatives, we are able to recommend a final version which will eliminate a serious inequity in present law and generally improve the efficiency of the civil service.

The conference report provides for the conversion of temporary indefinite or TAPER employees to career status if they have 3 years' continuous service, pass a suitable noncompetitive civil service examination, are otherwise eligible and qualified for the position, and receive a recommendation from their agency for conversion to a career appointment. In the case of postal employees, the legal ratio of five regular employees for each one substitute will be maintained, and conversions will take place only when suitable vacancies occur.

The Whitten amendment, imposing a limitation on the total number of permanent employees in the Government, which was enacted in 1951 and which has been revised from time to time since then, is repealed.

At this point I would like to have inserted in the RECORD an analysis of the differences between the House and Senate bills and a statement of the agreement on each point reached by the conference.

There being no objection, the analysis and the statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1320—TAPER APPOINTMENTS CONFERENCE

Senate version	*House version*	*Conference agreement*
	TYPE OF APPOINTMENTS	
Senate excludes any term appointment, overseas limited appointments and supergrades	House excludes any term appointment and supergrades	Senate provision adopted
	CONVERSION REQUIREMENTS	
1. Four years' service 2. Suitable non-competitive examinations 3. Recommendation by superior and certification that work is "equivalent" to employees appointed competitively. 4. General eligibility and qualification	1. Three years' service 2. Suitable noncompetitive, unassembled examination 3. Recommendation by superior and certification that work is "satisfactory." 4. General eligibility and current qualification.	Conferees have agreed to: (1) Three years' service; (2) Noncompetitive examination; (3) Recommendation by superior and certification of "satisfactory" service; (4) General eligibility and qualification.
	POSTAL EMPLOYEES	
Has a different section of the bill unrelated to classified service, to amend postal statutes (title 39) rather than government employees statutes generally (title 5)	Postal employees are included in amendments to title 5.	Postal employees included in title 39; other employees included in title 5.
	CONVERSION REQUIREMENTS FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES	
1. Four years' service 2. 700 hours satisfactory work each year. 3. Suitable noncompetitive exam. 4. Recommendation by superior and certification that work is equivalent to employees appointed competitively.	1. Three years' service 2. 700 hours satisfactory work each year. 3. Suitable noncompetitive unassembled exam. 4. Recommendation by superior and certification that work is "satisfactory."	Conferees have agreed to: (1) Three years' service; (2) 700 hours' satisfactory work each year; (3) Noncompetitive examination; (4) Recommendation by superior and certification of "satisfactory" service.
	RATIO OF REGULARS TO SUBSTITUTES	
Senate requires conversions be "stockpiled" awaiting vacancies. Regular 5 to 1 ratio will continue in full effect.	House waives ratio requirement but postmaster must certify that other substitutes having career appointments will not lose any regular work.	Senate provision adopted.
	WHITTEN AMENDMENT	
Senate limits permanent appointments to number necessary "required for the efficiency of the Federal Civil Service."	House has no limiting language.	Senate provision adopted.
	EFFECTIVE DATES	
Senate provides 120-day grace period for the first group of employees not recommended for conversion before they are automatically separated.	House has 90-day grace period.	House provision adopted.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate agree to the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma.

The motion was agreed to.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, so frequently do I find myself in sympathy with the views expressed by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] and the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] that it is with great reluctance I find it necessary to oppose the amendment they have offered, although I am highly sympathetic to the principles which inspired it. As a matter of fact, I had offered the same amendment in committee and it was rejected.

Mr. President, since that time I have changed my mind on this matter because I think, as the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire has so eloquently expressed it, this amendment would abrogate the appropriation process which has been in the Congress for these many years.

If we leave this matter up to the administration to determine where funds are going to be removed from other programs and transfer them to the poverty program, I am sure we are going to find that many programs which we have all supported in our own districts and elsewhere will be nullified. I think it is the responsibility of Congress to determine where money is going to be appropriated, how, and for what programs. We would violate that concept under the proposed amendment.

In addition, I am opposed to the measure because, on behalf of myself and the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania, I shall offer an amendment later on which I hope a majority of the Senate will consider constructive, and a compromise which a majority on both sides can accept.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield so that I may ask for the yeas and nays?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, on this amendment I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, there is nothing more I can add to what has been said except to say that at the Republican policy luncheon this noon, many members of the Committee on Appropriations expressed deep concern over the procedure suggested by my two distinguished colleagues. For that reason, and for other reasons, I hope very much that the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the senior Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, with some regret, because the proposal is rather alluring, I am opposed to the Ribicoff-Percy amendment.

The key clause is section 209, which establishes in the Treasury an emergency employment fund. The section further provides:

> To provide capital for such fund, the President is authorized to allocate to such fund not to exceed 2 per centum of any unobligated funds, appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, which are determined by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to be available to carry out Federal programs which are not directly and primarily related to the national defense.

This proposal, to me, is quite unrealistic. In the first place, it circumvents the already swollen defense appropriations. If any money is to be cut to provide funds for the Emergency Employment Act, that is where they should come from.

I think the debates on the military authorization bills and the Military Appropriation Act have shown quite conclusively, at least to my satisfaction, that the military-industrial-scientific complex, which has pretty nearly taken over this country, has gotten appropriations for the vast expansion of military activities which are definitely not in our national interest.

We have been having a debate in connection with Vietnam on the floor of the Senate for the last several days. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], who probably has been as well informed as any other Senator in this body about the cost of the Vietnam war, responded to a question by me just a few weeks ago that the actual cost of the war in Vietnam is running about $30 billion a year.

Mr. President, that, in itself, is more than 10 times the amount which this Emergency Employment Act asks to be authorized. The remainder of the military budget—Vietnam is less than one-half of it—is still susceptible to being cut by 2 percent, and I think probably more. To my way of thinking, the exclusion of the national defense appropriation from the areas where cuts should be made under the Ribicoff-Percy amendment is unwise and really unfair. I reiterate that this swollen military budget is the one place where I think cuts could easily be made. For that reason alone, I would oppose this amendment.

However, a second reason for opposing the proposal is perhaps best expressed by asking a question: How is the President going to determine what appropriation he is going to cut by 2 percent? He cannot cut in on the national debt which is one of the largest of the items in our budget. Is he going to cut the expenditures for the space program; or will some say, and not without reason, that the space program is directly and primarily related to the national defense? I do not think it is, but imagine the storm which would arise on the floor of the Senate if we abandoned the effort to put a man on the moon in order to pay for the poverty program. Mr. President, I think we should, but to me this is not pragmatically or politically feasible.

Are we going to cut back on the Atomic Energy Commission and its efforts in support of the peaceful development of atomic energy? Imagine what that lobby would say if the President was going to cut 2 percent from that. Are we going to take from health programs and social security programs, or primary, secondary, and higher education programs?

Are we going to take it out of public works? Are we going to take it out of air pollution control? Are we going to take it out of water pollution control?

We would not dare take it out of the highway program, would we? That is a sacred cow. Think of the lobbyists for the highway program who would be storming the ramparts of the Senate if 2 percent were to be taken out of that.

I have great sympathy for the President of the United States in the difficult situation in which he finds himself, but I would not want to make those difficulties almost insuperable by throwing the Ribicoff amendment at him and saying, "Look, Congress passes the buck to you. You decide where these programs shall be cut. Do not ask us to do our congressional duty by telling you where we want the appropriations cut to pay for the poverty program."

Mr. President, I would hope very much that the OEO Act would survive the debate which has been instituted on the floor of the Senate, but I cannot conscientiously vote for the Ribicoff-Percy amendment. To my way of thinking, it is unfair to the President. It is unrealistic in terms of the way to legislate, to create appropriations for badly needed programs. It is quite wrong in excluding the military budget from the area in which the cut is to be made.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twelve minutes remain to the Senator from Connecticut and 14 minutes to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the argument of my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania, particularly to his dire predictions as to what would happen if we cut back on the multitude of programs which he reeled off.

I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania for having the foresight to add title II to the poverty bill—a giant step forward in trying to solve the problems of the American cities.

The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania would not have taken this great step that will cost $2.8 billion if he did not think it was important.

But if we really believe that jobs are the No. 1 priority in America today in the ghettos and cities of America, then we should be willing to say that if we do not have sufficient funds, then we will spend our money on the matters and the programs that are most important.

The distinguished Senator was absent from the Chamber when I pointed out that the Department of Housing and Urban Renewal estimated there are some 250 urban programs. The latest OEO catalog indicates there are 459 programs through which Federal funds flow to various cities, organizations, and individuals.

Basically, if the various committees of Congress have not taken the time to list the priority items among 459 programs, then I believe that we have abdicated our responsibility

Mr. President, I should like to read for a few moments from an article in the publication "Urban America: Goals and Problems," of the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Urban Affairs. The article was written by Roger Starr, who is the executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York. He writes:

> One cannot understand the riots without studying the psychological structure of the rioters and their sympathizers, or investigating their family constellations, education, and personal history. Such an investigation might reveal that the riots themselves are not so much a form of protest as a form of gratification; that they express the extent of the disorganization of some low-income Negro families as well as the economic and social deprivation of the Negro community as a whole. Such an investigation might reveal that this family disorganization is partly

> the cause of the conditions complained of, and partly an effect of those conditions. From this point of view, the riots become, for those engaged in them, a substitute for the gratifications of work, and the socially acceptable masculine satisfactions of family leadership.

The article also points to the basic need for jobs in establishing the self-respect of the individuals who are rioting, the gratification of having a job, the need of the people for self-respect, so that they will feel they have some meaning in our society.

I, for one, cannot understand the leadership of this august committee, which was willing to face the problem and the need for jobs, and willing to say that they would authorize the expenditure of $2.8 billion because they thought it was so important, even though we are running a deficit of $29 billion at the present time; and their current position of being concerned that if an element of priority was introduced, some less important items might be deferred for a year. All these items are important. But the time has come for us not to put all our faith in a programmatic approach, which has failed, but in a systematic approach based on priorities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. With all the programs we have voted on, we still have not achieved the objective we sought. The reason is that we have not gone to the root of the basic problem that plagues the ghettos and cities of America.

The No. 1 problem that cries out for priority action is for jobs. The No. 2 priority is housing.

I do not believe that we are studying the problem enough, that we are willing to come up with a solution, when we fear to ask the President to temporarily put aside a worthy project if it does not have the priority of jobs and housing—and in this case we are talking about jobs.

I would hope that since the Congress of the United States is unwilling to vote the funds or to vote the taxes for the No. 1 priority of the cities in America, that at least we would have the good judgment to authorize the President to defer the expenditure of programs that are of less importance in order to vote money for jobs, jobs which the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania and his committee thought were so important that they were willing to authorize $2.8 billion of new money.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield at that point for a question?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I have not read the entire amendment, but when we talk about setting aside 2 percent, is that the figure——

Mr. RIBICOFF. That is on the domestic budget.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes. Is that 2 percent in any given project, or is it 2 percent of the total?

Mr. RIBICOFF. It is 2 percent of the total. The President would be able to make the choice as to whether he would take the 2 percent. He could take more than 2 percent from one project, or nothing from another.

Mr. MAGNUSON. In other words, there would be flexibility there.

Mr. RIBICOFF. That is correct.

Mr. MAGNUSON. It would not be what is called 2 percent across the board?

Mr. RIBICOFF. No. It would not be.

Mr. MAGNUSON. The total sum allocated would be 2 percent, or a total of $1.1 billion that would be taken from the overall domestic budget of approximately $55 billion; is that not correct?

Mr. RIBICOFF. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will heed the cogent arguments presented by the Senators from Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and reject the motion, cosponsored by the Senators from Connecticut and Illinois, which would substitute instructions for the instructions in the motion which has been offered by the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do the Senators yield back their time?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Yes.

Mr RIBICOFF Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut and the Senator from Illinois. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INOUYE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was resumed.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 14, nays 73, as follows:

[No. 273 Leg.]

YEAS—14

Brewster
Case
Dodd
Harris
Hartke
Jackson
Long, La.
Magnuson
Morton
Percy
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Smathers
Tydings

NAYS—73

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—13

Baker
Bayh
Cooper
Ellender
Ervin
Gore
Inouye
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Pastore
Russell
Tower

So the Ribicoff-Percy amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 371

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], I call up amendment No. 371, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 371) of Mr. PROUTY is as follows:

In lieu of the instruction to strike out title II, I move to strike title II and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"TITLE II—EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the 'Emergency Employment Act of 1967'.

"PART A—EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

"FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 202. (a) The Congress finds that certain communities and areas in the Nation are presently burdened by severe unemployment and underemployment. Such areas contain large concentrations or proportions of persons who are unable to obtain jobs in regular competitive employment because of lack of education, occupational skill, or work experience and because of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement. This situation is aggravated by migration of unskilled rural residents to urban areas. Many of the affected areas are doubly handicapped by the lack of sufficient jobs for all the potential labor force. This condition is destructive of human dignity and results in a loss of national productivity. In many localities the problem has reached crisis proportion by contributing to social unrest and civil disorder.

"(b) At the same time there is a huge backlog of need for additional public services and public facilities in such fields as those which (1) contribute to the development of human potential, (2) better the conditions under which people live, learn, and work, and (3) aid in the development and conservation of natural resources.

"(c) Therefore, it is the purpose of this part to provide meaningful employment opportunities in public service and other activities which will relieve severe unemployment in urban and rural areas and contribute to the national interest by fulfilling unmet needs.

"ELIGIBLE AREAS

"SEC. 203. The Secretary of Labor (hereafter referred to as the 'Secretary') shall designate urban and rural areas to be eligible for assistance under this part. Such areas shall contain a high concentration or proportion of low-income families and individuals and shall have severe problems of unemployment and underemployment or, with respect to rural areas, problems of outmigration. They may be defined without regard to political boundaries.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 204. (a) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to public agencies and private organizations for part or all of the costs of programs which create meaningful public service and other employment opportunities. He shall adopt procedures to assure (1) that there is maximum emphasis on local initiative and responsibility with full participation of and maximum cooperation among local public officials, residents of eligible areas, and representatives of private organizations in the establishment of programs under this part, including, without limitation, the determination of areas and participants eligible for assistance and the selection of projects under subsection (b) of this section, and (2) that such assistance is fully coordinated with programs operated under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and other relevant Federal Acts.

"(b) Jobs created or made available under this part may include services and supporting facilities in such fields as health, public safety, education, recreation, streets, parks and municipal maintenance, housing and neighborhood improvement, conservation and rural development, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement. Such jobs shall include (1) those which can be made available immediately to persons who are otherwise unable to obtain employment, (2) those which provide placement resources for persons completing training under titles I and V of the Economic Opportunity Act and other relevant manpower training programs, and (3) those which use the skills of unemployed persons in areas with a chronic labor surplus. Priority shall be given to projects which are labor intensive in character.

"(c) The Secretary is authorized to provide financial assistance to assure that (1) persons employed in jobs created by this part are provided opportunity for further education, training, and necessary supportive services, including those provided by other relevant Acts, so that they may be prepared to obtain regular competitive employment in the future; and (2) that maximum effort is made to encourage private employers to adopt innovative approaches which create additional jobs and new types of careers for low-income and disadvantaged persons.

"LOANS

"SEC. 205. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make loans to public and private agencies for the purchase of supplies and equipment which support and supplement projects carried out by participants under section 204.

"(b) Loans authorized under this section may be made without interest and under such other terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe.

"ELIGIBLE PARTICIPANTS

"SEC. 206. (a) Participants in programs under this part must be unemployed or low-income persons who reside in eligible areas and who meet other criteria prescribed by the Secretary and priority shall be given to persons who are heads of families. Low income shall be defined in terms of section 125 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

"(b) For the purposes of this part, the term 'heads of families' includes any person who contributes more than one-half of the support of one or more other persons.

"SPECIAL CONDITIONS

"SEC. 207. (a) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this part unless he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

"(1) no participant will be employed on projects involving political parties, or the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

"(2) the program will not result in displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services, or result in the substitution of Federal for other funds in connection with work that would otherwise be performed;

"(3) wages paid a participant shall not be lower than, whichever is the highest of (A) the minimum wage which would be applicable to the employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 if section 6 of such Act applied to the participant and he was not exempt under section 13 thereof, (B) the State or local minimum wage for the most nearly comparable covered employment, or (C) the prevailing rate of wages in the area for similar work;

"(4) the program will, to the extent appropriate, contribute to the occupational development or upward mobility of individual participants.

"(b) For programs related to physical improvements, preference shall be given to those improvements which will be substantially used by low-income persons and families in urban neighborhoods or rural areas having concentrations or proportions of low-income persons and families.

"(c) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs under this part have adequate internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, evaluation procedures, and other policies as may be necessary to promote the effective use of funds.

"(d) Programs approved under this part shall, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the elimination of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement, including civil service requirements which restrict employment opportunities for the disadvantaged.

"REPORTS

"SEC. 208. The Secretary shall submit to the Congress a report on the progress made in implementing this part and suggestions for improvements on or before May 15, 1968, November 15, 1968, and on or before May 15 and November 15 of each year thereafter.

"PART B—HUMAN INVESTMENT JOB TRAINING

"SEC. 210. This part may be cited as the Human Investment Act of 1967.

"PURPOSE

"SEC. 211. The purpose of this part is to provide incentives to private employers other than nonprofit organizations to invest in the improvement of the Nation's human resources by hiring, training, and employing persons eligible to participate in programs as provided in section 206 of this title.

"DEFINITION

"SEC. 212. For purposes of this part, the term 'employer' means any private person, corporation, firm, or business concern which employs more than ten individuals in a trade or business.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND REGULATIONS

"SEC. 213. In order to carry out the provisions of this part, the Secretary of Labor is authorized:

"(a) To provide financial assistance to employers for training and employment costs incurred pursuant to a plan approved by the Secretary of Labor under section 214, including, but not limited to—

"(1) unusual training and other unusual services for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive, including, on-the-job counseling, day care and other supportive services;

"(2) all or part of employer costs of sending recruiters into areas of high concentration of unemployed or low-income persons;

"(3) payments to permit employers to provide employees resident in such areas with transportation to and from work or to reimburse such employees for such transportation; and

"(4) unusual overhead costs incurred as a result of an employee's lack of education, training, or experience, such as costs of spoilage of work or of added managerial effort.

"(b) To prescribe regulations to—

"(1) establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution among the States of payments made from funds reserved under this Act; but not more than 12.5 per centum of the funds so reserved for any fiscal year shall be used within any one State;

"(2) provide such application, reporting, and accounting procedures as he deems necessary;

"(3) provide for an evaluation of the program authorized by this subsection in achieving the objectives of this part;

"(4) safeguard against abuses of any incentives provided under this part, including, but not limited to, safeguards against the use of such incentives in order to transfer any enterprise from one area to another and safeguards designed to prevent such incentives from being used as a subsidy for normal operations; and

"(5) assure compliance with the requirements of section 207(a) of this title.

"TRAINING PLAN

"SEC. 214. No financial assistance shall be provided under this part except upon approval by the Secretary of a plan submitted by an employer which shall be revised from time to time as requested by the Secretary, the provisions of which shall include:

"(a) The title and description of the job objectives for which individuals are to be trained;

"(b) The length of the training period;

"(c) A schedule listing various operations for major kinds of work or tasks to be learned and showing, for each, job operations or work, tasks to be performed, and the approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task;

"(d) The wage or salary to be paid at the beginning of the course or training, at each successive step in the course and at the completion of training;

"(e) The entrance wage or salary paid to employees already trained in the kind of work for which the individuals are to be trained;

"(f) The number of hours of supplemental related instruction required; and

"(g) Information respecting the cost of usual training and other usual services provided employees other than those described in section 206 of this title, in order to make them fully productive.

"SEC. 215. For purposes of applying chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, any grant received by an employer under this part—

"(a) shall not be included in the gross income of such employer, and

"(b) shall not be treated as reimbursement for expenses incurred by such employer in his trade or business.

"PART C—AUTHORIZATIONS, DURATION OF PROGRAM

"SEC. 221. The Secretary shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and the succeeding fiscal year.

"SEC. 222. (a) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this title, except the provisions of section 205, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $875,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

"(b) Of the funds authorized under subsection (a) of this section, not less than 10 per centum nor more than 20 per centum shall be used by the Secretary for the purpose of carrying out training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 for persons eligible under section 206 of this title.

"(c) Of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary shall reserve not less than 12.5 per centum nor more than 37.5 per centum for the purpose of carrying out part B of this title.

"(d) For the purpose of making loans under section 205, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated $50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

"(e) Appropriations authorized by this section shall remain available until expended."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, after consultation with the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], as well as with the proponent of the pending amendment, the manager of the bill, and others, I send to the desk a unanimous-consent request and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous-consent request will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That on Wednesday, October 4, after the approval of the Journal there be a quorum call to ascertain the presence of a quorum, immediately after which further debate on the motion by the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Prouty) (amendment No. 371) to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. Byrd) to recommit with instructions S. 2388, a bill to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes, be limited to 20 minutes to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Prouty) and the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. Byrd).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, just to make it clear, Senators have unlimited time today and tonight, as long as they wish to remain in session, to debate this amendment?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; the limitation does not begin until tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may I ask the majority leader at what time he intends to have the Senate convene tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Ten o'clock. We already have an order.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I should like to inquire whether amendments to the Prouty amendment would be in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Not if the unanimous-consent request is agreed to.

Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

VIETNAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on yesterday we had very considerable discussion of the situation in Vietnam, and I think it ranged into the question of the conduct of that struggle.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I suggest that the Chamber be cleared and that there be order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chamber will be cleared, and we will have order. All attachés whose presence is not needed in the Chamber will remove themselves from the Chamber.

The Sergeant at Arms is directed to see that these instructions to clear the Chamber are carried out.

The Senator from Illinois may proceed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, from time to time inquiry has been made of me about what seems like dissident views that have been expressed on this question of Vietnam, and particularly as it relates to the minority side of the aisle.

I have stated over and over again that the Republican Party umbrella is ample for all purposes and for all shades of opinion. I have only two concerns. The first is, of course, that we do not try to invade the constitutional prerogative of the President of the United States.

The first article of the Constitution does give to the Congress the power of the purse. And, in exercise of that power, we can discipline virtually everything in Government.

The Congress also is the exclusive lawmaking body in our form of government, and we can abolish every bureau. We can abolish nearly every agency. We cannot abolish the Presidency or the Supreme Court because they are constitutional offices. However, with those exceptions, we can go pretty far in exercising our exclusive function as the one and only lawmaking body. The fact that a whole body of administrative law has developed in this country was only possible under a delegation of power by Congress.

So, we have the power of the purse, and when the Constitution made the President the Commander in Chief, it tendered to him the sword of the country. And that includes not only the conduct of our foreign relations, but also the conduct of any struggle or hostility in which we might be engaged.

The only other concern I have is about my own conduct in this matter. I want to be sure it is in conformity with my conscience and my conviction. Beyond that, it does not make any difference, because my responsibility is to explore for the facts, to ascertain as much as I can on a given subject, and then to exercise an independent judgment.

Mr. President, I hope I have not failed to do that, for Edmond Burke once remarked in Parliament that he felt he would betray his constituency if he did not do that. I grant the same privilege, the same prerogative, and the same latitude of every Member of the Senate.

What is more, I have no hostility toward criticism. I think it was in World War I that Woodrow Wilson said that in time of war we need more criticism, not less. But always it has to be within the framework of our constitutional power, and we must not arrogate to ourselves the conduct of an external struggle.

I think we have had some lessons in that field. Mr. President, the very Capitol, where we sit in the Senate wing, was destroyed in the War of 1812 because there was too much civil interference with the conduct of that war.

Lincoln did not brook any interference from a committee that was set up on the conduct of the war. I think it was General Grant who said that the greatest aid for him was from none other than Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, because he was interfering with Robert E. Lee and his tactics and his strategy.

Who shall say what the outcome of that war would have been if that great general from the South had been let alone? Nobody knows, but that interference was helpful, and Grant recognized it and paid testimony to it.

So, I grant that right, but I hope always it will be within due bounds. However, criticism, I always recognize.

On Sunday I had an experience and at first, I did not know how it came about. The operator of a very splendid motel in Galesburg, Ill., called me on the telephone. I scarcely know him. He said that he and the city—having a population of about 40,000—were going to be hosts to about 130 or 140 Vietnam veterans, all wounded, who were in the hospital at Great Lakes, Ill.

The whole community was energized to turn out for these youngsters. They lodged them. They fed them. They entertained them. They brought them from Great Lakes to Galesburg, a distance of 150 miles, and they took them back.

I was asked to get on the telephone at 5 o'clock on Sunday and to make them a telephone speech, which I did.

When the speech was over, a sergeant by the name of Wright was designated to respond to the speech, and he did.

He said:

> Senator, we want to thank you. You are in our corner, and you have stood up for us, and you stood up for the cause. And we, the wounded from Vietnam, want you to know it from us. And we say it as sincerely, as simply, as emphatically as we know how. We simply thank you.

What I did first on Sunday was to salute them as a measure of deference, because a salute is given to a superior, and I recognize the superiority of their sacrifice. They come back without legs and without arms. And if anybody wants to see what Vietnam has done, he needs only to go out to Walter Reed, which is an evacuation hospital, to see the results.

When flowers came into my room at the hospital from time to time, I got a cart and went down to the Vietnam wards with those bouquets. They were better for them than for me. However, I have seen what has happened, and I yield to nobody in my hope, in my desire, and in my prayers that somehow this insane and grim and grisly business can honorably come to an end.

I think you have to say that for the President of the United States. I cannot in my position, and I cannot under any circumstances, denigrate him or demean him in the eyes of the world in connection with this controversy by anything that I might say. And so, granting all this latitude to anybody in the legislative branch of the Government, I feel that the time has come to say a little more than I have said on the subject of Vietnam.

I recognize my kinship with those who were out in Galesburg, Ill., by virtue of a common uniform which I wore 50 years ago as a private first class, as a sergeant, and as a second lieutenant in France on the western front. That is a kinship that you cannot forget.

And I want to be sure that almost a half million American boys who are out there in the cause of our country will not be the forgotten men under any circumstances, because they are too precious as Americans who have responded and are willing to do their duty even if the last and supreme sacrifice is required for their services.

I will never forget as I think of the thousands who have now died, in addition to the thousands who have been wounded, the lines of Colonel McCrae, that Canadian doctor who had a field dressing station on the banks of the Ypres River in France, and saw the bodies roll down into the door of his dressing room tent out there on the front, and who finally committed his soul to paper and in that tender and gentle poem said:

> We are the Dead. Short days ago
> We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
> Loved and were loved, and now we lie
> In Flanders fields.

Well, some boys are lying out there. I do not know what I would say to the shades of those who made that sacrifice. I want to be sure, if I can, that it is not a vanity and that I fully recognize my responsibility in an anxious hour like this.

It was said the other day:

First. That our programs and our policies were suspect by friend and foe alike. Where, I would like to know? Who besides bonnie Charles de Gaulle has been so bold as to affront us in this field? Thirty countries are helping us now. Have you heard it from Australia? Have you heard it from New Zealand? Have you heard it from Korea? Indeed, not. The nations have been there in our corner. They did not always send troops, but there were other kinds of assistance that they sent.

So, is that a good sentiment to utter, that we are suspect by friend and foe alike? I do not know where it is, and I want to see the proof. And I do not like to see it go on the dispatch wires into every corner of the earth, to make a headline.

I remember once doing some work on immigration, trying to help India; and when I got to Bombay and Calcutta, the headlines were that high—"India's Friend Is Here."

Nothing is provincial here, or parochial; nothing is limited. What we say here goes on the wire. And if you want a lesson, send somewhere—I could tell you where—to get the international shortwave monitor, and see what is said on the Senate floor, which goes out of the shortwave stations from Peking and from Hanoi and elsewhere.

How good is it for the morale of the troops? You ought to be out there on the front on a lonely night, when the bombs are dropping or the mortar shells are coming over, and see whether it makes a difference. Oh, yes, they begin to wonder whether they are the forgotten men, and are forgotten back home. It is a ghastly feeling, I can tell you; and sometimes I had it on the western front a long, long time ago. That is one thing about which I want to be extremely careful.

It has been said that the President was brainwashed by a military-industrial complex. I would hate to have heard that said about General Eisenhower, the grand captain of the second great crusade mission in world affairs. I do not believe anybody ever said it about him, great tactician that he was, great strategist that he was. They combed the Army to find him. And General Marshall was deeply attached to him. And so he became the grand captain.

Well, I can imagine how he feels about a statement like that. It does not sound good and it does not look good, because he was a Republican President who served us with honor and distinction. And it would not sound good about any President.

Have you heard the British demean their King and Queen? If you have, show me the day and the time. Why, we were so circumspect about it that when the King and Queen were our guests, we set up a scaffolding in that rotunda so that the cameras would not catch the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. That is how circumspect we were. And I was there, roving around in the place, to find out what it was all about.

No, you do not demean the ruler. The President is not our ruler, but you do not demean him in the eyes of people abroad; for when you do, you demean the prestige of this Republic. And I do not mean to do it, as the one remaining great, free republic on the face of the earth.

Yesterday, this whole question about security came up. Where was our security? I heard the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee ask these questions. I am no tactician, goodness knows. I have been to the command staff school as a lieutenant, but I am no tactician, I am no strategist. But I do know this, Mr. President, from those with whom I have associated in government: that our outer defense perimeter started in Korea and went to South Vietnam. Now, you see, Saigon, in South Vietnam, is at the lower end. That is our left flank. Suppose the left flank of your line is turned and you lose Vietnam? Then what?

The distinguished Senator from Hawaii can certainly tell us about how close it is from the Philippines to Malaysia and to Indonesia. And you cite to me a holding station where you can hold if we lose Vietnam. There is no place short of Singapore. Anybody who has some perspective knowledge of tactics can tell you that. And when you are in Singapore, you are at one of the clogged water courses that I am confident, as surely as I am standing here, the Soviets are going to try to control. Control Panama, control Singapore, the two ends of the Gulf of Aden and Suez, and you have just about command of the world. That is all you need.

So you have to see this in perspective. There is no holding line between Saigon and Singapore. So when they speak about the fall of Southeast Asia, they are not kidding. And I am not disposed to quarrel with men who have gone through our military schools, who have worked with worldwide maps, and who are expected to plot this thing in the large. That is what you need for the security of the country.

There may be Members in this body this afternoon who may remember, as I remember, when during the war we went down to the Munitions Building for briefings by George Marshall, the Chief of Staff.

I almost fell out of my seat one morning. These were members of the Appropriations Committee. I almost fell out of my seat when suddenly, out of a clear sky, he said:

> Gentlemen, I may have bad news for you.

We waited with bated breath. He said:

> Our best intelligence tells us that the Japanese are going to invade Alaska, and for the moment we can't stop them. We can't redeploy our troops from the Pacific. We think the strategy we follow is correct; and if they invade Alaska, we'll have to let them do it.

What do you think the wave would have been in this country if the Japanese Army had suddenly invaded Alaska? I ask you.

Why, it would have been a wave of such intensity that I expect people would want to come and cut the throats of leaders down here for letting our domain be invaded. But General Marshall was a soldier and a great one. He knew what he had to do, no matter how much he might be scolded, and he kept the ship's nose in the wind. Everybody knows how we came out. He was right and I do not try to argue with them about it.

That is our outside security line. Suppose it fails. I think the Senator from Missouri could tell us the answer. It will run from Alaska to Hawaii, and you tell me how far you are from San Francisco and Los Angeles, as to whether or not our security is involved out there in Asia. If I did not think it was, I guess I would take another good long look at this whole business before we get through.

It has been said we have not emphasized the political needs and aspects of this controversy in the face of the fact that maybe we cannot get a military solution. Have we defaulted in that field? I thought they had an election out there to pick a constituent assembly. I thought they had an election out there. Senator MURPHY and Senator HICKENLOOPER went there as observers from this side. They came back and said that in their judgment it was a fair and honest election. They brought back ballots with them and indicated exactly how the people went to the polls. Is it not strange that in this second election in September a half million more people voted than had voted in the earlier election? Does that mean anything? It means we have done something to dispel fears in Vietnam and in shoving back the Vietcong so that life can pursue its normal course. Has that been neglecting the political fabric? Those figures simply do not prove it.

I reemphasize these two facts largely because the point is made that our security is not involved. This is a pretty small consideration when one thinks of these high-speed bombers. The designers are not at all satisfied with the speeds we get today, and I presume that would be particularly true with respect to military aircraft. They have just tied this great ball into short reaches, and you can go from here to there in very short order. When you do so on a pair of wings, you can have in the fuselage the lethal and deadly weapons that will impair our security. Let no one say our security is not involved, and with it, of course, the peace of the world is involved.

Who can forget how fast these things move. Here was a student. I suppose almost everybody has forgotten his name. His name was Princip and he was standing in a doorway in the little town of Sarajevo. When the Austrian Archduke and his Duchess, who were the heirs to the throne, came by, out comes the pistol and he shoots and both die before they get to the hospital. The legends are set in motion. The boots on the cobblestones begin to sound all over Europe, and before we knew it we were caught up in a frightful conflagration.

What about this area in Southeast Asia? Are we there to stop aggression? I think we are. Are we there in the interest of peace so that the thing will not spread? I think we are. Are we there in the interest of self-determination, a phrase Woodrow Wilson used so often? I think we are. Can we not do that without undertaking to police the entire world? I think we can. I am not insensible to the fact that there is a limitation to our capacity in manpower, in finances, and in any other field you want to mention. No one can be insensible to it today when you stop to figure the fever, turbulence, and problems you have everywhere in the world. But these are ideals and these are objectives that I think we can probably serve and I think we are serving them now. I think it is an undertaking to which we were committed.

I hear it said that we ought to stop bombing immediately, project a day, sharpen up your forces, then say to all the world, "On this day we stop; on this day a ceasefire will stop everything. Now, if you, the enemy fail to desist in your hostility, then we shall feel free to use everything at our command in order to bring you to heel."

Well, have we not said some of that already? Oh, I rather think so. We have used a good many countries, like Britain, we used the Hanoi embassy in Moscow, people in Warsaw, and elsewhere, but strangely enough these things have not produced anything yet. The tragedy of it is that I think we have gone pretty far but, Mr. President, we could get no reciprocal assurances, and that is the stinger.

I am sure we were willing and I am sure that sentiment was conveyed. If only those three crack divisions they had at the demilitarized zone would stay in their place, but Ho Chi Minh and his associates would give no such assurance. What would you deduce from it? If you would stop the only leverage we have now, those troops would have moved. And what about the Marines on the outside and north of the demilitarized zone? What about those who could become the forgotten men? I am not going to forget them. I am not going to see that kind of punishment visited upon them because suddenly we felt we had to stop this bombing business as a kind of last, desperate resort. It may be the war is a one-way street. Everybody discovered that from the day they invented warfare. There is a great troop risk involved when they counsel that kind of action.

But there is something else that ought to engage our recollection and that is what happened in Korea in 1951. We had a brilliant offensive mounted there and we were doing exceedingly well. Then, suddenly, a kind of inertia came into it. In some areas they reported that President Truman had issued a standstill order. He had not. You will not find it in history books or papers. That is not what happened. But the word went out that we were going to settle for the 38th parallel and that deenergized the drive, and as a result it cost us 90,000 casualties.

Do you want to go down that anxious road again? Not me, not me. One lesson in history is enough and with 450,000 men, and perhaps more over there now, no sir, I am not going to expose them to that sort of thing and rue the day that I do it. That will be a hardened memory with which to keep a rendezvous from that day on.

I, for one, do not propose to do it.

In a recent speech, it was stated that we should end our search-and-destroy operations. The Senator has seen the Montagnards when he was in Vietnam last week. We could not bring them in before. Finally we had to go out and find them by searching the hills and the valleys. That was the only real technique we had which was effective for a time. But, it is said, we should stop it. We should end this business of search and destroy.

What kind of posture does it put us in? A defensive posture.

The moment we are on the defensive, we can no longer employ a technique of this kind. Is that what we want to do? Is that what we want to say to General Westmoreland and our troops out there? I do not.

Sooner or later the truth has got to come to the American people.

A great point was made about taking all this to the Security Council. That matter was argued in this Chamber for hours on yesterday, as if it had not been up there. They made a real endeavor. We have to get nine votes. Yes, there is no veto power where a procedural matter is involved, and this would be procedural. But, we could not get them. We could not energize the members of the Council to take a real interest in it.

Suppose, however, we did get nine votes. What would be the next step? Not procedural. It would have to be substantive.

How do we get a substantive matter out of the Council, with the Soviet Union sitting there with a veto?

I do not think we have looked all the way down that road. Inquiry leads me to believe that our Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, has not been wanting in trying to get some kind of action in the Security Council. He has not been successful.

Thus, Mr. President, in all the discussion had on yesterday, I do not think it came to anything because I doubt very much whether it was pursued to a real conclusion.

I fairly shuddered when the two newspaper editors, Ashmore and Baggs, finally got visas from the State Department and went out to Hanoi.

If I had been the State Department, they would not have gotten any visas, because they are both associated, as I understand it, with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in Santa Barbara. That is where Robert Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago, is. Senators should read some of the stuff that comes out of that center. I sent for and got lots of it. I delivered quite a lecture on one. The subject was "Justice for All, Freedom for None."

I wish I had my notebook with me so that I could read a few of the notes—they would knock your hats off as to what they had in mind as to the ultimate in a free society. Their idea was that our free society would have to be restructured, that there could be no freedom any more. Justice, yes.

But, I say, what will happen when freedom goes?

What is that old ditty——

No man escapes when freedom fails.
The best men rot in filthy jails.
And those who cry "appease, appease."
Are hanged by those they sought to please.

Mr. President, that is one reason why our boys are in Vietnam. Let freedom slip, and it begins to slip everywhere.

We remember that Churchill said he was not made the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Let me say that I was not made a Senator to preside over the liquidation of the holy fabric of freedom. May I be the last ever to approach that kind of task.

Well, Mr. President, Ashmore and Baggs go out there. I followed that pretty closely. I thought perhaps they were really going to "pin one on." But read between the lines. What and how much did they get out of Hanoi, if we stopped bombing? It could have eventuated into something. Not that it would. It just could. They came back emptyhanded. But they had enough for a few headlines.

I consigned Ashmore and Baggs to the wastebasket. I received a letter from them excoriating me for identifying them with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Well, Mr. President, they have not heard the last of it, I say to my friends of California. They will hear a lot more on that subject before I get through, because if this is going to be the new politics in our country, predicated on the theory that freedom must be liquidated, then the time to start fighting is now.

Thus, I just "kiss off" Ashmore and Baggs after their escapades on the front pages. I doubt very much whether they will make any significant history from now on.

Now I get back to one more point, and then I think I have said enough.

In 1952 we actually went abroad to bring the grand captain back, made him the head of our party and elected him to the Presidency of the United States. We reelected him in 1956. If there had been no constitutional prohibition on a third term, I make so bold as to say that Dwight D. Eisenhower had sufficient of the trust, esteem, and confidence of the American people to be elected for a third time.

Thus, it would occur to me that we who have been associated with him in a common party, we who have gone to see him so often at the Tuesday morning sessions at the White House, could very well, when we are baffled and troubled by problems of this kind, when we are disconcerted of spirit in what appears on the outside to be a kind of party dissidence, we could take a little more counsel from him because he is a great tactician and a great strategist. He is now at that age where he can speak with a wealth of wisdom and experience.

I can only hope that we do not wander too far afield so that, somehow, we go across that yet undefined line under which we might arrogate to ourselves the conduct of the war.

It is a rather interesting thing—I have run down many legal cases before the Supreme Court—that I have found as yet no delimitation on the powers of the Commander in Chief under the Constitution. Thus, I want to abide by that Constitution. I do not want him to invade our responsibility and I do not want to invade his. When he wants counsel, he can call—and he does; how many times we have been to the White House with the maps and the charts looking over them to see where we are and getting some better ideas about direction. Then we knew, I think, a little better, for our own comfort and the stability of our soul, what we should do.

So, Mr. President, that is the whole story. I am not disposed to argue it, as I said at the outset. I want to be sure only that I comport myself according to my own convictions and my own conscience, because I have a responsibility to myself, to my country, and to those boys who are out there in Vietnam now.

May we pray for them always. May we make no mistakes that will add an undue burden on, and an undue jeopardy to, a task which in itself is amply hazardous without our adding to it.

I do not want our boys in Vietnam to become the forgotten men.

Thus, in every step we take, in every word we utter, let us be sure that we have in mind those men who, at this very moment, are 12,000 miles from this gracious country, who are ready for any sacrifice, who are ready for any vigil, who are ready for any task in order to requite their obligations and responsibilities as soldiers of the United States of America.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, what the distinguished minority leader said needed saying. It was said eloquently. He spoke as an American. I think the American people approve of what he had to say.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was indeed said eloquently, and, of course, as an American, and I suggest there has not been a word uttered in this Chamber over the last many months that has been uttered by other than an American. I think this is very clear. I do not think any of us who have spoken has had any lack of responsibility or any reason to feel that he was not discharging his obligation to his country or to this body, or to those who are serving on active duty anywhere in the world.

Just as it was proper for the Senator from Illinois to call to the attention of all of us our responsibility not to weaken the cause of our Nation, the cause of freedom in the world, so I think it is equally important for all of us to meet our responsibility, when we disagree with the conduct of affairs by our Government, to state that disagreement as clearly and distinctly as possible, whether in time of peace or in time of war.

The strength of our democracy depends upon this being done, because people in high office can make errors as can people of humble station.

The only way to guard against error in what is at best an imperfect world, in the conduct of affairs by men who are at best less than omniscient, as they should be less than omnipotent, is to encourage, certainly not to condemn or seek to stifle, criticism of a responsible nature by all citizens, including Members of the Senate of the United States.

(At this point Mr. SPONG assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have listened to the distinguished minority leader with a great deal of interest. All of us have very deep respect and affection for the Senator from Illinois, and certainly I have always counted myself as one of those who admire him very much. He has great talents and I particularly enjoy his company. It pains me very much to have a different view on such an important matter of policy.

I have not the slightest doubt that he has the deepest conviction when he says he is not a Senator to liquidate the holy fabric of freedom. I am sure he feels that way. I feel just as strongly that the pursuit of this war under the conditions that exist is more likely designed to liquidate the holy fabric of freedom because of what could well be a war of indefinite tenure, indefinite existence, and possibly involve China.

So what we are arguing about is not the objective. I think the objective of the Senator from Illinois and that of myself and those of us who disagree with the current policy in Vietnam are identical. We do have this difference of judgment, and it is a judgment based upon similar facts, as to the best way to go about preserving our freedom.

The Senator expressed his very deep feeling for the men in Vietnam. All of us share that. There are men from every State represented by everyone in this body, and we are all getting, almost daily, notices of their death or injury. The difference is, I think, that those of us who would like to liquidate this war believe that we are acting in the interest of those men in Vietnam. We do not wish them to stay there. Also, we believe it is not in the national interest to do so.

So it seems to me the question is narrowed a bit if we get down to some of the issues that are related to this question. What is the objective of this Vietnam policy? Is it in the interest of this country and the preservation of our strength?

The Senator intimates, in one section of his speech, that our security is involved. Yesterday I said I thought our security was best protected by maintaining a strong country, and not wasting or spending our resources, manpower, and money, in South Vietnam. This is not a part of the world which it seems to me has ever been regarded heretofore as strategic and as of vital importance to the United States.

The Senator from Illinois mentioned President Eisenhower, a great general. When President Eisenhower was in office, this matter was presented to him in 1954. He very carefully selected his Chiefs of Staff, General Ridgway and General Gavin. They undertook a study of the landing problems in support of the French in Vietnam. Very wisely, after a thorough examination, General Ridgway recommended against it, although there were powerful people in that administration, including the Secretary of State, and Admiral Radford, who were for it. But President Eisenhower, exercising his responsibility as President, decided against it. I think history will prove him right.

General MacArthur had made a statement, not under these same circumstances, but after what had been his experience in the same area to the effect that it would be very foolish to engage in a land war on the continent of Asia.

I believe there are other leading military men who have taken that view. There has been a difference of opinion among the highest branches of the military establishment on this particular problem. But General Eisenhower at least made a decision not to go into that precise area, Vietnam. I believe at that time there was the question of landing in North Vietnam, but, anyway, it was in the general area of Vietnam, and he decided not to go to the aid of the French.

We were at that time in a false position in supporting a colonial power, which is contrary to the tradition of this country. I think this whole operation from the beginning has been afflicted with this weakness. The idea that Vietnam would threaten the security of this country by bombs or other means is not realistic.

I assume that what the Senator is saying is that Russia and/or China will use it as a base to attack us. I do not know what other reason would lead us to say that what happens in South Vietnam is a real and direct threat to the security of the United States.

If it is Russia that is the threat, I do not see how Russia needs Vietnam to be a threat to the United States. At any rate, Russia, not so long ago, had missiles in Cuba and withdrew them. If she is determined on such an attack, I do not know why she withdrew those missiles in Cuba.

This gets us into a very involved matter as to motives. With due respect, I do not see how what the Senator thinks will happen in South Vietnam is a threat to us. I agree with what the Senator said about the recent election and that the votes were cast, but most people agree that the conditions for the voting were determined by us and our proteges. It seems to me this would be quite similar to having a rule in Arkansas that only Democrats could be elected. I would feel that I would come out pretty well under those conditions and we could count the votes as they were cast.

But coming back to the matter of security, which I commented on yesterday—and I assume perhaps the Senator from Illinois had that in mind, because I said I thought that we are playing the Communist game—if that is what is involved, and I think it certainly is involved in the long term, I think that we are weakening this country. I think there is evidence that this country, not just in the Senate, but in the polls, and the speeches, the statements of recognized and respectable people—they are not all peculiar people who are evidencing dissent in this matter—there is great confusion and much difference of opinion. But judging from recent speeches by responsible Members of this body, I particularly think it significant that some of the Republican Members are reflecting their own maturity of judgment, and also, presumably, that of their constituents. I think that is a very healthy thing. I think this is the proper role of the minority party in any government, to take that position, to refine the issues, and to contribute to a refinement of policy which I hope will be wiser than the one we are following.

I do not think even the Senator from Illinois is pleased with our present situation. It is a very disagreeable thing, even though he supports the present policy.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Before the Senator gets too far away from Ridgway and Gavin——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will yield for a question, but I do not wish to lose the floor.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I think we have got to keep our history straight here. The Senator drew upon history. Let me state my version.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. All right.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It is based upon having been in North Vietnam in 1953. I was at Hanoi. I saw our Navy planes, that we had given to the French, take off in the hope that they could save Dienbienphu, the last French stronghold, as the Senator knows.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. They did not save it. The French got licked.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Notwithstanding the fact that we poured 700 million American dollars into their effort.

Now, why were they there? They had been there; Indochina, as it was then known, was under French tutelage for more than 90 years.

They did not even train people to run the government. They were willing to train doctors only because of tropical diseases. They were there to conquer, not to preserve the freedom of a humble people. They were really there to subdue them.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That may have been their motive.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Well, it was the case.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But I daresay they did not cause nearly the destruction, in the 90 years they were there, that we have caused in 2 years. I am sure they did not kill anything like as many people, nor disrupt the economy and the life of the people in Vietnam as much.

I do not mean that we have done this because of bad motives; we have done it through lack of wisdom, I will say.

But if I may come back to it, the question which I think is central, and which we are really interested in, is what policy really serves the interests of this country. Surely just what kind of government they may have in South Vietnam is not of such importance to us as to justify our risking 500,000 men. We have already suffered 15,000 deaths, and nearly 85,000 casualties. To compare that loss to our interest in the kind of government in a little country that has never before had a representative government, and say that we must give them precisely what we think they ought to have, does not make any sense to me.

It is the question of our security, I think, that is of central importance. Surely we could agree that all that we are doing is not worthwhile, simply to give this little country representative government, or a democratic government, if you like, in which they elect people in the same fashion we do in Chicago, or in Harlem, or in Arkansas. Whether it is necessary to the security of this country, seems to me to be the crucial point.

I cannot see that it is crucial to our security. On the contrary, when you consider the cost that we are now undergoing, and what we have already suffered—the Senator knows how much we are spending; it is now estimated at the rate of $30 billion a year. The casualty rate is twice as high this year as it was last year. We have already suffered, this year, more casualties than in all of last year. The rate is going up, and will continue to go up if the war is intensified, one would suppose.

Is it worth the cost? It seems to me that it could be only if this is a very strategic area, from the point of the security of this country. I cannot see that the proponents of the war have made a case, their argument does not appeal to me. I would be most interested, if anyone can make that point.

On the contrary, as I said yesterday, the Chinese first stated this thought, and I think it has some validity: If we were not there, they could not challenge the United States; they have no air force worthy of the name—the Chinese, I am speaking of now, not South Vietnam—that neither South Vietnam nor North Vietnam have anything that they could attack us with is self-evident. The Chinese have no air force, they have no navy worthy of the name; they have, we presume, a very primitive nuclear weapon, but no delivery system, as of now.

In addition to that, while we have apparently built up great fear and apprehension about it, there is nothing, really, in the record, in our hearings, or anywhere else that I have heard of, indicating any fervent desire on the part of the Chinese to attack us in the foreseeable future. That will depend, of course, a great deal upon the way we conduct ourselves, in regard to China.

But what we are doing is sending our men over there and having them slaughtered. We are spending our money, we are disrupting our economy, we are threatened with inflation, we are confronted with an enormous deficit; I do not know what is going to be done about the tax bill, but the news in the papers every day says it will have very hard sledding. If that does not come through, there will be a deficit of some $28 or $30 billion. That will cause further disruption here.

Then there is the division within our country, the lack of unity and cooperation among our citizens, in carrying out our policies domestic as well as foreign, which is a very serious thing for a great and powerful country of this kind. The alienation of the young people—you can laugh all you like at hippies, but it is not just hippies. I have been to a number of universities where there are no hippies, or at least there are very few. The most responsible and intelligent young people of this country do not support this war, by and large. They have given every evidence of it in practically every university in the country.

Not that that in itself is decisive, but it is indicative of a lack of justification for this war. It has not been made a self-evident fact of life that it is in our interest to pursue this war.

There was no question of this sort in the Second World War. There was very little question in Korea. There was certainly none in the First World War. Why is it that there is such a great question now? Could it not be possible that the feeling of those who oppose this war could have some validity? Might that not be indicated by the fact that it is shared by so many people in this country?

All of us are elected here. I do not think that my fellow Senators who have expressed their opposition to the continuation of this particular war—and I say "this particular war" because it is not like any of the other wars which have been mentioned—completely ignore the views of their constituents.

To make it out that Ho Chi Minh is like Hitler is nonsense. He has none of the characteristics. His country has none of the power, or characteristics of power, that Germany had, and so on. That kind of an analogy makes no sense whatever to me. We have to judge it on the facts of this case; and it seems very strange to me that so many people in this country, of all types and characters, dissent from the pursuit of this particular war and the fashion in which we are pursuing it. I think it is something to give the Senate pause, and I believe that we should all participate, as are the Senator from Illinois, and his colleagues on his side of the aisle, and those of us on this side of the aisle, in discussing this problem.

I think the Senator has rendered a great service in opening up the subject. he always attracts attention to these problems, much more than any other Senator can, because of his own very special talents, which we all appreciate. But I think it is a very fine thing to discuss it, if we can arrive—and I hope we can—at an agreement about where the real interests, the vital security interests of this country lie, and what pursuits, what policies, would best promote them. If we could arrive at such an agreement, it would be the greatest favor we could render, not only to the President, but to this country.

The suggestions about using the United Nations, it seems to me, are entirely appropriate. We helped to create that body. We have been its principal sponsor. I do not think the suggestions that have been made should be dismissed because, in the past, the United Nations has not been able to solve all these problems. I think it should be given a real try. And I do not think we have yet given it a real try, partly because of the feeling that it is futile. Under the serious conditions that now exist, I do not believe that we should refrain from doing anything possible, and I do not think we have, to obtain the agreement of the Security Council to put this matter on the agenda and have it discussed, and hopefully to have some resolution of it, with the assistance of the members of the Security Council.

I can only say that I hope all Senators will do as have the Senator from Illinois, the Senator from California, and others, in talking about this matter and seeking to resolve it.

All the other matters that we have before us seem to be connected with Vietnam—the foreign aid program has been affected by it, and almost all the other matters that have come before my committee. This morning we had a meeting on the Asian Development Bank. All of the consideration comes around to the question of what is going to happen to Vietnam. Unless we can resolve this, it is like a cancer eating into all our other policies. I think everybody knows that it is affecting our budget. It affects the tax bill. All of these matters relate to Vietnam.

If the Members of the Senate cannot discuss it and hopefully come to some agreement upon it by a clear majority, the country is going to be more and more divided. We are going to get in deeper and deeper trouble.

I do not know what the answer is. We have to make some agreement on it, it seems to me. It is an intolerable situation for the most powerful country in the world with all its vast resources at its disposal to be in this position, apparently not able to make up its mind. Its mind is not made up. Even though the President has control, he cannot carry on indefinitely without the real support of the country. I think we can agree to that.

Difficulties will arise in other fields. Difficulties have already arisen in other fields. They are not directly affected, but are indirectly affected by Vietnam.

So, I could not overexaggerate the importance of the Senate continuing the discussion and coming to some resolution. I do not quite see how we can come to a resolution, but we ought to be able to come to a resolution and a high degree of agreement as to where our interests are.

Is it in the interest of this country to pursue the war indefinitely with the escalating cost of money and lives? Is it in the interest of this country to bring the war to a close by some kind of compromise?

I do not think that approach has been explored as it should be, certainly through the U.N.

I commend the Senator for at least bringing up the question for proper discussion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, certain it is that any war develops stresses, spiritual, moral, and emotional, that very often impel many people to take a given course of action. Even in the War Between the States it was so.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That was the trouble.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The party of Lincoln, decided that there would be a rump convention and that they would not nomiwhen it came time to hold a convention, nate the Commander in Chief.

The person who then corresponded to the Republican national chairman today besought Lincoln with every talent he had to try to do something to get the soldiers back before the November election and to get this thing over and to receive some negotiators from the South.

I think history will bear this out, that Lincoln met aboard ship two of them that had been brought through the lines.

Lincoln listened very carefully and then he took a piece of paper. At the top he wrote:

> No. 1. The Union must be preserved.
> No. 2. Slavery must be abolished.

He then said:

> Gentlemen, you fill in the rest of it, the disposition of the horses, the military material, the feed stocks, all of that. You write that in there, but just leave No. 1 and No. 2 at the top, and I will sign it.

You see, we are up against a decision of some kind. No. 1. Do we quit? Do we retreat? Do we go ahead to a victory? Do we deescalate? And if we do, I think that we throw away whatever leverage we have?

What is the answer? I am content to go along in the interest of our troops with that position that does not forfeit our leverage in the hope that there can be negotiation and put it on thicker and thicker if necessary.

I learned long ago that it is the hit dog that yelps. They are being hit. They are being hurt, and they are beginning to yelp.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What does the Senator have in mind as the final outcome in this area? What does he want to achieve in Vietnam? Does he want a colony?

I wonder what the Senator has in mind that we wish to have there in the foreseeable future.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Do we have any commitment under the Southeast Asian Treaty?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Not to do what we are doing.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not think so.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What are the commitments? It is a protocol state.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. They are to cooperate with the other members of the Southeast Asian Treaty as to what course we should take. There was no guarantee that we were to come to their aid in South Vietnam.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No commitment as to self-determination?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. No.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I think you had better reexamine that.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. We have reexamined it. That is the opinion of a number of experts who appeared before our committee. I may say that the Secretary of State never used that as an excuse until about a year and a half ago. They gave other reasons.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Maybe there was not an occasion for it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That was only involved in a minor way until we began to escalate the number of troops.

I wonder what the Senator has in mind. Does he think the United States security requires us to have a permanent presence in Southeast Asia or South Vietnam?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I said nothing about a permanent presence. I mentioned, and I presume the Senator was present, that

I probably have a different military concept in that we have an outside perimeter than runs from Korea to Vietnam. If that is there, what about the rest of Southeast Asia? And we will have to include Australia, New Zealand, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Laos, and Cambodia. They are all part of it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Do I then understand that the Senator believes a permanent base there is necessary for our security?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No. I think that after stability is restored at long last, they can set up their own military requirements in order to meet this threat.

Perhaps the Senator does not share my conviction that this is a Red threat. This is a Communist threat that proposes to liquidate freedom in South Vietnam.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I wish the Senator would explore that a little further.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Does it need any explanation?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think it does. By way of background, a moment ago it was stated that this area of Indochina was a colony of France. France took it about 1870 or thereabouts, and they held it until they were forced out in 1954. And the leader then was Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the nationalist forces which really defeated the French.

Mr. DIRKSEN. You stated why the French troops were there.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was a colony of France. That is why they were there. It was a colony, and they were trying to maintain it as a possession which they exploited for its national wealth.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It was colonialism at its very worst.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not know that it was different from all the other French possessions. They exploited it as they always have and as most colonial powers do.

What I am coming to is what do we have in mind? The Senator says that we do not have in mind maintaining a permanent presence there, and that it will not be a colony.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I do not think there is any doubt. This is a Communist threat. I do not want to see that line broken so that all of the rest of Southeast Asia is exposed, because if it is, then the whole Pacific coastline of this country will be exposed.

If that does not involve security, then I have no understanding of the word.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think the Senator is making a real contribution. At least, we understand each other. If I understand the Senator, he thinks we should have a permanent presence there.

This, of course, leads to different conclusions. I do not wish to misspeak myself or misinterpret the Senator's words. If that is true—and I gather from what the Senator said that it is—then certainly my theory is quite wrong. I mean, I do not agree with that view at all. I do not believe that would promote the security of this country. I believe that the security of this country would be better promoted, rather than establishing a colony there in place of the French, to have Vietnam a strong, independent country. I think we made a great mistake in intervening there.

I believe the analogy of Yugoslavia is a very sound one. Vietnam would have been a Communist country, but an independent country; because they have had a thousand years of history, fighting the Chinese, to avoid becoming a satellite; and they succeeded in that up until the French took them.

This is an important difference. The President has never said that. I do not know whether the Senator means to say that or not, but I gather that he did say that. Am I correct?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I said it; yes, I did.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. You did?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes. And yesterday you said our security is not involved at all. It depends on whether or not you take a global view of security. If you do not, the chances are that you are right. I take a different view, because we have conquered time, space, and distance to the point where this is a pretty small world.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I agree with that, and that is the reason why I think what I consider an obsolete concept of colonial bases is no longer adequate for security in this kind of world. I think we have to find new ways, particularly ways of working with countries such as Russia, rather than competing with them for bases in outposts such as South Vietnam. I think this is bound to bring a clash, bound to bring a nuclear exchange, which will not be in the interest of this country or any other country.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Of course, that is a speculation.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What is a speculation?

Mr. DIRKSEN. What you just said. It is a speculation into the future, as to whether there will be a nuclear clash.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. You mean if we do not find a way to get along with Russia, it is speculation that there will be a clash?

Mr. DIRKSEN. It is still a speculation in proportion, as I have seen these figures put on a blackboard in a good many places, as to how many people will be killed if they unleash nuclear exchanges, and whose people will be killed in greater numbers, and they run up into the millions. I cannot believe that mankind has so sloughed off its compassion and its commonsense as to get into that kind of a hole—yet.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not think they do it deliberately.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Oh, no.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. We have rarely got into wars deliberately. You blunder into these wars. And what we are doing in assuming the mantle of the British Empire, and in beginning to accumulate bases such as Vietnam, is to expose us to the same kind of troubles the British had, to a gradual erosion of our power and of our influence. We have already, I think, lost the sympathy of Western Europe in this policy—not because they do not have great respect for this country as such, as a great country, but they question our judgment in pursuing this war, which they believe is undermining the strength of this country.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I cannot believe that mankind will blunder into this sort of thing. We did not blunder into it in Hiroshima or Nagasaki. That was done after the most prayerful deliberation. And when it was done, they picked up the pieces, assessed the damage, saw how many people were killed, and how by nuclear weapons you can convert a cool, placid river into a boiling stream. That is not lost on the leaders anywhere in the world, and I cannot imagine that they are going to blunder into that sort of thing.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Well, of course, I wish I had the same faith the Senator has, even though we continue the policies we have now that apparently inspire his allegiance to this policy in Southeast Asia, which is to fight off this Red menace, that he at the same time thinks they are going to be so reasonable that they will never engage in a nuclear war. I think you are trying to have it both ways. If they are as dangerous a menace as you would lead us to believe because of Vietnam, then, surely, we could have no assurance that they would not use nuclear weapons.

Mr. DIRKSEN. They know that nobody ever won an earthquake, and they are not going to blunder into this.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not see why the Senator thinks that they are behind Vietnam and that this is a step intended to attack us.

Mr. DIRKSEN. They are certainly behind North Vietnam. Have you any doubt about Soviet weapons over there?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Oh, no. But they are helping an ally, in the same way we have helped allies. That does not mean the Soviets are intending to use South Vietnam or North Vietnam as a steppingstone to attack us.

Mr. DIRKSEN. We are not over there to conquer anybody.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Why not? You just said we are going to have a base there.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I did not say we are going to have a base there.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I was trying to develop what the Senator did say.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I certainly did not. We are over there to help South Vietnam preserve their Republic, their freedom, their self-determination, and, over and above everything else, freedom from aggression.

Now, why is the Soviet Union helping North Vietnam? For freedom's reasons? No. To conquer South Vietnam. That is the difference. It is certainly a sharp difference in principle.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Well, of course, I need not tell you about this idea of aggression—the other side believes we are the aggressor. We have intervened in a civil war, a war between Vietnamese. The Senator does not deny that. These are all basically Vietnamese.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Basically, yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. And we do not live there, and it is a foreign country, and we intervened.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What would have been the situation if the Chinese had sent a hundred thousand men over here during our Civil War?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am glad I do not have to speculate on that.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It is a civil war; and the assumption that everybody believes that this is an outright aggression by one national state or another is open to question; is it not?

Mr. DIRKSEN. It seems to me that from the very days of Ngo Dinh Diem—and I had many meetings with him when I was there—they were just trying to set up a republic to suit themselves. They were content to leave their neighbors to the north alone. That did not satisfy Ho Chi Minh—not on your life. He was going to bring all of what was ancient Indochina into the fold, no matter what it cost. That was the conflict.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. All we tried to do in the South, since the Senator referred to the Lincoln principle, was to set up our own government, if the North would leave us alone, but the North would not do that.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The North did not try to conquer the South. We had a Constitution.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But we did set up a Confederacy, yet the North insisted on conquering us anyhow.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No, we did not; we took exception to Calhoun's Doctrine of Nullification and said that the South just could not walk out.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is what Ho Chi Minh said to Diem.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Ho Chi Minh had nothing to say.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. He thought he should have.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That is a different thing.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Just as Lincoln thought he should have.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No, Lincoln did not. Lincoln was guided by the Constitution that applied to the Senator's State as well as it applied to his own State. The South walked out on it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Before I sit down, I should like to have a clarification. I understood the Senator to say that we needed a base; that we intended South Vietnam to be a permanent base for the United States.

Mr. DIRKSEN. If I said that, I would have opened up the whole subject of colonialism, which is as alien as anything I know of to our concept of government.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not want to prolong the discussion, but I should like to clarify the question. What does the Senator say is the objective of our war in Vietnam? What is it that we wish to achieve that is worthy of what we are doing?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I mentioned security. Obviously, it would take a long military lecture of global dimensions to persuade my friend from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. No; I mean what concrete effect would result in Vietnam?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Did I not recite the right of those people to decide their destiny for themselves, particularly their political destiny?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Are we going to leave Vietnam?

Mr. DIRKSEN. We undertook to fulfill a commitment under the SEATO Treaty, while we did not ask for much in Geneva in 1954, I think we came away from there somewhat with the idea that if they had to have help and asked us for it, we would help. What happened?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Did not Diem ask us for help? We put him in office; he was "our boy."

Mr. DIRKSEN. We did not put him in; the people of South Vietnam put him there. Diem went around the countryside, talking to South Vietnamese farmers, rice farmers, and everyone else. He was a very popular person. I listened to him when he was on the platform at the time. We did not put him in; he put himself in.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does the Senator mean to say that Diem was elected in a free election?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; I mean that he undertook, by going around the country, to get the trust and confidence of the people there. Then, too, of course, there had to be a leader to take over somewhere along the line. Who was a more natural leader than Ngo Dinh Diem? But we did not put him in.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The fact is that he created such a dictatorship that we had to come to his aid and support him all the time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am sorry to say that that case has been badly exaggerated.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. There is a very grave difference of opinion as to the historical fact.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But it is clear that the Senator does not wish us to incorporate this as a colony or a military base. He said that. And he does not wish us to be there permanently.

Mr. DIRKSEN. How often must I say that we do not go in for colonialization at all? As for setting up a base there, if I know the meaning of the word——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. There are people who say we have set up bases there.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator says there are people. I have not heard them.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator has not heard them?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No, sir.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think it is very important to clarify what our purposes are in Vietnam. I would put it this way to see if it comes closer to the Senator's thought. The Senator says that we guarantee the right of self-determination, that they had an election, and that it was a good election. Why if that is so do we not leave or turn it over to them?

Mr. DIRKSEN. We have an enemy up there and we have to make sure——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That means we stay.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What does the Senator want to do? He has not heard me quarreling with what we have done. He has been quarreling for the last year about the conduct of the war.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is right.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What does the Senator want to do?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I have said it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Tell the Senate. Does the Senator want to quit now and pull out?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What I would like to see happen—whether it will happen this way I do not know—is a reconvening of the Geneva conference, and our agreeing to abide by the result. We did not agree the last time at the last minute. We refused to agree.

Mr. DIRKSEN. We were not even a signatory.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Nobody was. There was agreement to it, and we refused to agree. We can neither claim rights under it nor claim other people's rights under it. The Senator is correct. We were not a signatory.

I would like to see a return to the principles of the Geneva conference. The President himself, at about the time of his speech at Johns Hopkins, said that was a proper basis. The North Vietnamese, have said that was a proper basis. I would like to see that, and a negotiation under the cochairmanship of Great Britain and Russia; and that they come to an agreement as to a way to have elections, full and free elections, throughout South Vietnam to create their government; and we would come home.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Has the Senator heard Ho Chi Minh ask for a reconvening of the Geneva Conference?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. No; but I have not heard us either. This is what I would like to see happen.

Mr. DIRKSEN. He is the guy taking the pasting. He is the guy being pushed around.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes; and so are we.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Why not ask, and see what the reaction is?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The reason is that he feels he has been unjustly attacked. I regret very much that he has not responded to these offers we have made. I think he is wrong for his benefit and for our benefit. Do not misunderstand me. What does Ho Chi Minh have at stake? A little God-forsaken country of 15 million or 16 million people.

We are threatening the security of the strongest country in the world, on which other countries depend economically, politically, and morally. This is a great undertaking and a great risk.

The Senator's expression of a moment ago reassured me when he said he was not a Senator to liquidate the holy fabric of freedom. Neither am I, but I think the course we are following will do it in the bitter end. We are expending this for what? Suppose we take all of Vietnam. Is it worth it? The price we are paying for this is all out of proportion to anything we can gain. We cannot do all of this. At least 15 or 30 million people have an election. That is not the kind of objective to justify this.

There is surely something more that the Senator has in mind. I was trying to develop it. Is it to have a permanent base? The Senator said "No."

Mr. DIRKSEN. No.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator has not mentioned anything yet to make me believe that this is worth what we are doing. That is about the sum and substance of it.

Therefore, I think we should return to the Geneva Conference and liquidate this war on the same basis the parties really involved, which were the French and the Vietnamese, agreed to in 1954, which we had a major part in disrupting and preventing from being carried out.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I see no reason for continuing this. I tried to emphasize my concept of our security line from Saigon and Vietnam to Korea. I still believe in the general field of global strategy that is our defense line, and if we lose it by having the flank turned, that means the line is shortened and the Pacific will no longer be a real defense to our country. As for freedom, it is an indivisible as well as a holy fabric. When it is impaired in one place, that impairment continues.

What about the people in our country like those associated with the Center for Democratic Institutions, who, for instance, belabor the line "Justice for all, freedom for none." They would liquidate freedom.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator mentions freedom. What does the Senator say about Greece? Here is one of our old allies, and suddenly freedom is snuffed out, like that.

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; it is not.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Of course it is. I read just recently in the newspaper that a former minister there made a statement critical of the government and the next day they arrested him. One woman refused to print a newspaper under censorship and they threatened her with arrest. There are 50 members of the Parliament who are still in jail.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It is only within the last 2 weeks that the newly elected Supreme, they call him, of the American Hellenic Organization, which is referred to as AHEPA, Mr. Andrew Fasseas of Chicago, who is president of the national association, has returned from Greece. He has been in my office. If ever there was a devotee of freedom he is. I have not heard him say yet they have been deluded of their freedom.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does the Senator think there is a free government in Greece?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes, I do. Just because they have a military junta for a specific purpose for a little while to shove back the Communist influence——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Communist influence?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Surely, and it has been trying to move into Greece.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Is the Senator saying that the previous government was a Communist government?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I did not say anything about the previous government. You can have a new government move in without there being a Communist government. We have Communists in this country, do we not?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It is a minor affair.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It may not be as minor as the Senator thinks. I am having trouble trying to take the bill off the Calendar to reenergize the Subversive Activities Control Board, only to be met with resistance in this Chamber, and probably more when the authorization for State, Justice, and Commerce comes here, when every veterans organization in the country is for it, so that the Board can go through. Yet, the Assistant Attorney General went before the committee and said there are 100 cases over at the Department of Justice that should be submitted to the Control Board. It is not a government. The influence, however, is here. Perhaps the Senator does not——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It is a minor one, I think. It is here. If we continue to follow policies as misguided as the present one, it will grow. I have not heard J. Edgar Hoover say recently that he was as much disturbed about it as he was 20 years ago.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Once upon a time it was minor. It was minor in Albania, Rumania, and Poland. But it is not minor any more. It has swallowed up all those countries.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does the Senator think the Communists are threatening this country?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I say that communism is threatening the world. If it is not, then why this imbroglio in Vietnam?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is a pertinent question. I was under the impression that since the death of Stalin, the drive of that branch—not the Chinese—was receding. It certainly has become less aggressive.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Did the Senator get that idea from Kosygin's visit?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The strength of these parties, for example, in Western Europe, is not so powerful now as it used to be. In France and Italy it is still a major party. In France and Italy, about 25 percent of the electorate is Communist, although both countries have been making substantial economic and political progress.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What were the gains reported in the press made by the Communists in France?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Where?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I saw a little subhead on it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In what country?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I thought it was in France. I will look it up.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I did not even know they had an election in France.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It was a local election.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I saw a report on the elections in Bremen, Germany, where the right wing gained a little there. I saw that in this morning's paper. But I did not realize that communism is on the march, so to speak, nearly so much now as it was under Stalin.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It has never been off the march.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As a relative matter, it is not so aggressive as it used to be. We have made considerable progress in various ways in adjusting to the Russians. The Senator himself, I believe, finally relented and supported the Consular Treaty this year. To me, that is just an indication. Not that the treaty is significant in itself, but it is an indication.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Would the Senator like to tell the rest of the story about the Consular Treaty?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I was mentioning only that it was approved by the Senate. The press said—and I do not want to misquote without checking—that the Senator from Illinois did not positively oppose it. I think the Senator was right. Do not misunderstand me, I thought this was a sign of a degree of relaxation of the kind of fear and apprehension that afflicted us at the height of the Stalin era. I think we were quite justified in being apprehensive because Stalin was a very determined and resourceful man. But I think, since then, there has been a lessening of pressure, a relaxation of that conflict, that they are moving themselves internally more toward a different and more relaxed system.

Mr. DIRKSEN. All that has exactly nothing to do with it. I am sure that we can imagine the man who sat in my office——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. And brought us all that information which I could not even discuss.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think the Senator is quite correct. I did not mean to criticize him. I merely meant to say I thought this was a sign that he accepted a change or an evolution taking place in the Communist world. I think in the Kremlin and in Eastern Europe there are signs of it. China is in a class by itself.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It was not a sign at all.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was not?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Just coming to grips with naked reality.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 117. An act for the relief of Martha Blakenship; and

S. 534. An act for the relief of Setsuko Wilson (nee Hiranaka).

The message also announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 1160) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Staggers, Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts, Mr. Kornegay, Mr. Springer, and Mr. Broyhill of North Carolina were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House insisted on its amendment to the bill (S. 454) for the relief of Richard K. Jones, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Ashmore, Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Smith of New York were appointed as managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 1564. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; and

S. 2162. An act to amend the Act of January 17, 1936 (49 Stat. 1094), reserving certain public domain lands in Nevada and Oregon as a grazing reserve for Indians of Fort McDermitt, Nev.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

AMERICAN LEGION RESOLUTION ON THE PANAMA CANAL

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the American Legion has long had a history of careful and knowledgeable interest in the foreign relations of the United States. The Legion has never hesitated to come out foursquare on issues in which they believe. But at the same time, they have not done so without the most careful study and analysis of the situation.

The 49th annual convention of the American Legion has passed a series of important resolutions on foreign policy. I have the honor of being foreign relations chairman of the American Legion of South Carolina. It will be my pleasure, therefore, from time to time, to call attention of the Senate to some of these carefully prepared resolutions.

For example, Resolution No. 356 concerns the Panama Canal, a subject which is under active discussion in this Congress. I would like to point out that the Legion once more reiterates its previous positions. It reaffirms support of the existing treaties and opposes any dilution of U.S. rights in the Canal Zone.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the 49th national convention of the American Legion on the Panama Canal be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Resolution No. 356

Whereas, The American Legion has repeatedly insisted that the Government of the United States must retain sole and complete authority over the administration, operation, maintenance, and protection of the Panama Canal as provided for in the 1903 Treaty; and

Whereas, the course of U.S.-Panamanian relations has demonstrated that any concessions made on our part in regard to our rights in the Canal Zone have only led to increased demands by the Panamanians; and

Whereas, the most recent series of negotiations concerning the existing canal and a possible new canal has resulted in three proposed treaties which reportedly, if ratified, would—

(a) abrogate the 1903 Treaty,

(b) substitute a weak and perhaps inefficient form of administration over the present canal,

(c) compromise and probably render impossible our ability to defend the canal in times of crisis (or even to guarantee its security in normal periods),

(d) abandon both our capital investment and its earnings,

(e) give the canal to the Republic of Panama, completely, and unequivocally, on or before the last day of 1999 (just 32 years from now),

(f) provide that the United States—under very limited circumstances but at great cost to this country—might construct a second canal across the Isthmus of Panama, the ownership of which would revert to Panama—at no cost to that country—60 years after its opening, or the year 2067, whichever is earlier; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in National Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, August 29, 30, 31, 1967, That The American Legion:

(1) reaffirms its support of the basic and still existing provisions of the 1903 Canal Treaty, and of the continued indispensable sovereign control by the United States over the Canal Zone;

(2) opposes ratification of the proposed treaties in their present form;

(3) opposes any change in U.S. rights in the Canal Zone; and

(4) reiterates its stand taken at previous National Conventions concerning these matters.

(By unanimous consent the following routine business was transacted:)

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The PRESIDING OFFICER announced that on today, October 3, 1967, the Vice President signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 602. An act to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; and

S.J. Res. 109. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating the 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Amendment of Title 10, United States Code

A letter from the Under Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for each vacancy at the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Amendment of Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

Roza Division, Yakima Project, Washington

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting pursuant to law, a draft of contract relating to proposed drainage and minor construction work which, together with previously executed contracts, will exceed a total cost of $200,000 on the Roza Division of the Yakima project, Washington; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Admission Into the United States of Certain Defector Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting admission into the United States of certain defector aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Suspension of Deportation of Certain Aliens

Two letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders suspending deportation of certain aliens, together with a statement of the facts and pertinent provisions of law pertaining to each alien, and the reasons for ordering such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Third-Preference and Sixth-Preference Classification for Certain Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports on third-preference and sixth-preference classification for certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDING OFFICER:

A resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego, California, favoring the enactment of some form of a Federal tax-sharing program; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Westminster, California, favoring the enactment of some form of a Federal tax-sharing program; to the Committee on Finance.

A petition signed by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO, of the State of Kansas, relating to the provision of jobs, housing, and education to solve the problems of American cities; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 12474. An act making appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; (Rept. No. 579).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HATFIELD (for himself and Mr. Morse):

S. 2498. A bill to amend section 2 of the National Housing Act to facilitate the financing of alterations, repairs, or improvements needed to provide sanitary waste disposal facilities upon, or in connection with the mooring of, houseboats; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. Magnuson):

S. 2499. A bill to extend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Monroney when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Miller, Mr. Morse, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Hollings):

S. 2500. A bill to require a health warning on the labels of bottles containing certain alcoholic beverages; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Thurmond when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCLELLAN:

S.J. Res. 114. Joint resolution extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. McClellan when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 373

Mr. SMATHERS submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 12080) to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATION BILL, 1968—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 374

Mr. PROXMIRE submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 11456) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 375 AND 376

Mr. RANDOLPH submitted two amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 12080) to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

EXTENSION OF AIRCRAFT LOAN GUARANTEES LEGISLATION

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I introduce by request of the Department of Transportation, for appropriate reference, a bill to extend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter dated September 15, 1967, from the Honorable Alan S. Boyd, Secretary, Department of Transportation, explaining the history of this legislation, together with the need for its extension be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2499) to extend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees, introduced by Mr. Monroney (for himself and Mr. Magnuson), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter presented by Mr. Monroney is as follows:

The Secretary of Transportation,
Washington, D.C., September 15, 1967.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: I submit herewith, for the consideration of the Congress, a bill "To extend the Act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees."

The Aircraft Loan Guarantee Program was established by the enactment of Public Law 85–307, September 7, 1957. It provided for guarantee by the Federal Government of up to 90 percent of private loans to local service, helicopter, Alaskan, Hawaiian and certain Caribbean carriers for the purchase of aircraft. The program was inaugurated because of a desire to assist these carriers in securing financing for replacement of obsolete piston aircraft with new modern equipment. It made it possible for these carriers to finance the acquisition of the new aircraft at the lowest possible cost. The object of the program, from the Federal government's view, was to assist these carriers in providing improved service at lower costs and thus reducing subsidy paid by the government.

The program was first authorized for a 5-year period. During that period, through September 7, 1962, twelve carriers received guarantees under the program for loans totalling $42 million. These loans covered the purchase of 33 F–27's, 2 DC–6's, 14 Convair 240's and 340's, a Boeing 720, 3 Martin 404's and 13 helicopters.

In 1962, the program was extended for an additional 5 years, to September 7, 1967. During that period new loans totalling $13.3 million were guaranteed for 4 carriers covering the purchase of 3 DC–9's, 4 DC–6's, 2 Hercules 382B's and 4 PC–6A's.

The need for the extension of the program at this time is not as great as the need was for the program initially, or in 1962 when it was last extended, in terms of the number of carriers that will require the assistance of the program or in the number of aircraft loans that are expected to be made in the next 5 years. However, some carriers continue to need the assistance of the program and it is still in the interest of the government to provide the guarantee to those carriers. The fact that the loan guarantee is no longer needed in the degree of 10 years ago attests to the success of the program in aiding the classes of carriers involved toward a sounded financial position and demonstrates the wisdom of keeping the program in force until it has served its purpose completely by providing assistance to those carriers still in need of it.

We have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the enactment of this legislation from the standpoint of the President's program.

Sincerely yours,

Alan S. Boyd.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO REQUIRE HEALTH HAZARD LABELING ON CERTAIN ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill on behalf of myself and Senators Smith, Miller, Morse, Bennett, Randolph, and Hollings. I ask that the bill be appropriately referred and printed in full in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the most serious health problems in the United States today has received far too little attention. The one to which I refer is the health hazard posed by the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Alcoholism, long viewed by many as solely a moral issue calling for social censure and punishment, is increasingly being viewed as the serious health problem that it is, requiring the application of the combined skills of medicine, psychiatry, and sociology. Because alcoholism has for so long been considered a moral rather than medical problem, medical science is just now showing an awareness of the severe problems to the physical welfare of the individual which can result from the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

In March of 1966, in his health message to the Congress, President Johnson called for the start of a new program to counter the health problems created by alcoholism. The President said:

> I have instructed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to appoint an Advisory Committee on Alcoholism; establish in the Public Health Service a center for research on the cause, prevention, control and treatment of alcoholism; develop an education program in order to foster public understanding based on scientific fact; and work with public and private agencies on the state and local level to include this disease in comprehensive health programs.

In accordance with the President's directive a National Advisory Committee on Alcoholism was appointed and a new National Center for the Prevention and Control of Alcoholism has been established as a major bureau of the Public Health Service. This recognition of the dimensions of the multitude of health problems involved in alcoholism signals a new approach to a decidedly old, but heretofore neglected, problem.

In April of 1967 the statistical bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. reported that deaths attributed to alcoholic disorders in the United States were nearly 11,000 annually. Additionally, their research revealed that the reported death rate from alcoholic disorders had risen steadily from 5.5 per 100,000 population in 1950 to 8.7 per 100,000 population in 1964. This amounted to an increase of nearly 60 percent over this short span of time.

It must be remembered that statistics of this nature necessarily refer only to deaths actually reported for the causes listed. It is highly probable, according to the most reliable and informed sources, that the reported mortality from alcoholic disorders do not disclose an altogether accurate reflection of the extent of the problem. Several studies reveal that serious understatement exists in the reporting of deaths associated with alcoholic disorders for several understandable reasons. Because of the social stigmatism involved, friendly family doctors are frequently reluctant to list the specific cause of death in order to spare the family the unnecessary embarrassment. In many cases, they prefer to list some general cause which gives no clue as to the actual cause of death. In other cases, individuals fall victim to one of the many accidents that drinkers are prone to, such as automobile or household accidents. For these reasons the exact dimensions of the health problem posed by alcoholism, which everyone admits exists, is impossible to state with statistical precision.

While the statisticians may have difficulty in measuring the dimensions of the problem, the medical scientists know that it is one of major proportions. The evidence indicates that alcohol acts as a systemic poison for many individuals which, over the years, results in identifiable physical damage. For a long time, it has been the fashion to accept uncritically the theory that alcoholism was basically a mental disorder. Opinions are now coming around to the belief that alcoholism is the result, as well as the cause, of physical dysfunction in a cycle that seems to begin with the inability of some individuals to metabolize alcohol properly.

It has been estimated that approximately 20 percent of the adult population in the United States is physically susceptible to alcoholism. But, of course, not all of these drink. Of those who do drink statistics indicate that one out of 15 either are now or will become alcoholics regardless of their intelligence, education, or many other factors.

Whatever the cause, the health effects of alcoholism are predictable. Alcoholism stands almost alone in that every system of the body is measurably damaged; other diseases may damage specific systems, but alcoholism damages them all. Most of the damage is non-fatal, but generally three of the body systems may find fatal or permanently crippling damage:

First, the cardiovascular system, comprising the heart and blood vessels; second, the nervous system, comprising the brain, spinal cord and the various nerves running to all parts of the body; and, third, the liver itself.

The frequent drinking of large quantities of alcohol tends to raise the blood level of fats; it may also result in damage to the heart muscle. At any rate, a disproportionate number of alcoholics suffer crippling or fatal heart attacks.

Damage to the nervous system of alcoholics has been observed for centuries. Numbness in hands and feet, frequent tremors, discernible differences in brain wave patterns, and rapid brain cell damage are phenomena associated with advanced stages of the disease. As a person grows older, his brain cells die and are absorbed. Fortunately, the normal person has a reserve supply of thousands of more cells than he needs. The alcoholic literally destroys his brain, resulting in the well-known effects of delirium tremens, complete loss of memory, and mental incapacity.

Not all alcoholics progress to this state, however. Most of them die from other causes, principally cirrhosis of the liver. Cirrhosis appears eight times more frequently among alcoholics than among nonalcoholics. Although malnutrition in the alcoholic is frequently the cause of this damage, in more recent years it has been found that alcohol itself has the capacity to cause liver cell damage even if the diet is adequate.

Despite these physically identifiable health hazards, it has long been the practice to label the alcoholic instead of alcohol. Alcoholism has been equated with mental illness with the assumption that once a patient's neurosis was cured, his alcoholism would go away. The fact seems to be that for a predictable segment of our population alcohol is a systemic poison whose progressively devastating effects can be halted only by a complete cessation of drinking alcoholic beverages. For the majority of drinkers alcohol has a mild, anesthetic effect which has been judged acceptable by the majority of our citizens. However, the unwitting minority is faced with a serious health hazard.

The chief problem is the problem of education. Few people today are aware that different individuals may face different hazards in drinking. The general public, both those who drink and those who do not, assume that holding to the norm of infrequent social drinking is simply a matter of willpower and choice. The man with a physical susceptibility for alcoholism is unaware that he is exposing himself to dangers that his social drinking companions do not face.

Unfortunately, the impression of socially acceptable drinking is fostered by the $15 billion-a-year alcoholic beverage industry. Studies by the Brand Rating Index, an independent survey organization, show that nearly 50 percent of the sales of alcoholic beverages is consumed by approximately 6 percent of the population that are heavy drinkers. The vast majority of these heavy drinkers are alcoholics. This means that the alcoholic beverage industry profits from exploiting the misfortune of sick people.

Not surprisingly, the industry depends upon heavy advertising schedules and massive public relations. The five top distillers in 1966 spent $154 million on advertising. In addition, the Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc., a trade organization, maintains an extensive program to secure favorable news coverage, speakers, and a respectable public image. It even has a special women's division to promote the use of alcohol among women.

Faced with this barrage of propaganda for social acceptability of alcohol, the addict, or potential addict, hears no voice warning him that alcohol can affect different people in different ways. A health warning ordered printed on each label will serve as an objective guideline upon which he can base his own judgment or spur him on to further inquiries.

On September 17 of this year the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare released a monograph entitled "Alcohol and Alcoholism." This document, along with the others which will surely follow, will add immeasurably to the existing efforts to combat the ravages of alcoholism. The closing paragraph of the preface to the monograph reads as follows:

> Successful programs for the treatment, control and prevention of alcoholism will require unprecedented public understanding, public support and public participation.

As President Johnson indicated in his health message to Congress in 1966, there is a crying need to "develop an education program to foster public understanding based on scientific fact."

The bill I am introducing today is designed to contribute to a better public awareness of the health problems involved and to enlist public support for programs of this nature. This bill is not a prohibition measure. All it does is require a health warning label, similar to that now required on cigarette packages, on alcoholic beverages containing more than 24 percent alcohol by volume.

This is a reasonable and necessary approach to the problem. Congress should face up to the acknowledged health hazards caused by alcoholism and promptly take action on this bill.

The bill (S. 2500) to require a health warning on the labels of bottles containing certain alcoholic beverages, introduced by Mr. THURMOND (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2500

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5(e) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act (49 Stat. 982, as amended; 27 U.S.C. 205(e)), is amended by inserting the following new paragraph immediately before the last full paragraph of such section:

"It shall be unlawful to sell or ship or deliver for sale or shipment, or otherwise introduce in interstate commerce or foreign commerce, or receive therein, or to remove from customs custody for consumption, any bottle containing a beverage having more than 24 percent of alcohol by volume, unless the label of such bottle contains the following statement: 'Caution: Consumption of alcoholic beverages may be hazardous to your health and may be habit forming.' Such statement shall be located in a conspicuous place on each label, and shall appear in conspicuous and legible type in contrast by typography, layout, or color with other printed matter on the label."

EXTENSION OF DURATION OF COPYRIGHT PROTECTION IN CERTAIN CASES

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Committee on the Judiciary, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases.

The subcommittee has conducted 17 days of hearings on legislation to provide for the first general revision of the copyright law since 1909. Because of serious difficulties with certain provisions of this legislation, it became apparent during the summer that the Congress could not complete action on this subject during the current session. It, therefore, became necessary to consider what interim copyright legislation would be required pending the enactment of the general revision bill.

During the earlier stages of the revision program, the 87th and 89th Congresses passed legislation extending the term of expiring copyrights. The pending revision bill, S. 597, would increase the term of new works to a term for the life of the author and for 50 years thereafter. It also provides for a substantial extension of the term of subsisting copyrights. Under these circumstances, it has seemed desirable that the terms of expiring copyrights should be temporarily extended so that these copyright owners may enjoy the benefit of any increase in term that may be enacted by the Congress.

The joint resolution which I am introducing today would continue the term of expiring copyrights until December 31, 1968. I have been informed by the Copyright Office that this resolution will affect 57,811 renewal registrations. Included among these copyrights are a number of outstanding musical compositions, such as "Alexander's Ragtime Band", "I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now", "Down by the Old Mill Stream", "Shine on Harvest Moon", and "By the Light of the Silvery Moon". It is appropriate that this joint resolution should be introduced this week since "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" is also among the compositions that will enjoy a longer term.

One of the major issues involved in the revision bill is the copyright liability of community antenna television systems. The liability of CATV systems for copyright infringement under the Copyright Act of 1909 is the subject of current litigation. In a case now pending before the Supreme Court, lower courts have held that CATV systems are fully liable for retransmitting copyrighted programs without permission. The pending revision bill, S. 597, would modify this liability to some extent. The Federal Communications Commission, the Department of Justice, and the Copyright Office in their testimony before the subcommittee urged certain limitations on the copyright liability of CATV systems.

The subcommittee has been confronted with a situation in which, before the Congress had an opportunity to complete action on the revision bill, a number of lawsuits for copyright infringement might be filed against CATV systems. This could disrupt the television viewing of millions of our citizens. Therefore, consideration has been given to the necessity of legislation providing for a temporary suspension of judicial remedies for copyright infringement by CATV systems. This legislation would have provided for a moratorium on such lawsuits during the period of this interim copyright legislation, but would have protected the substantive rights of the copyright owners by tolling the statute of limitations, and preserving all causes of action.

Before any such legislation was introduced, all interested parties participated in a series of meetings. As a result of these discussions there has been submitted to the subcommittee certain representations on behalf of the major owners and distributors of television film programs. The representations already received, plus others which are anticipated shortly, cover about 95 percent of the copyrighted programs carried by CATV. These representations provide that, while the parties are negotiating contractual arrangements and discussing appropriate legislative formulas, the copyright owners will refrain from instituting legal action against CATV systems. It is further provided that in the event such negotiations are terminated no infringement suits will be filed for a period of 90 days.

As chairman of the subcommittee, I have been assured that these representations are made in good faith. The subcommittee expects both the copyright owners and the National Community Television Association to observe the commitments which they have voluntarily made. Consequently, under the existing circumstances there does not appear to be a substantial risk of lawsuits, and it would appear that no legislative action on this issue is required at the present time. The subcommittee will continue to observe developments, so that it may be prepared to take appropriate action in the future if this should prove necessary. But, as of now, it would seem that the only interim copyright legislation which must be considered at this session is the extension of expiring copyrights.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 114) extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases, introduced by Mr. MCCLELLAN, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS TO S. 2226, THE CATTLE INDUSTRY TRADE CONFERENCE ACT

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 2226, to provide for an annual conference between representatives of the beef industry, the Secretary of Agriculture, and representatives of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government to consider problems relating to the export of beef and beef products from the United States and related international trade problems, and for other purposes, the names of the following Senators be added as cosponsors: Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. COOPER, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. HILL, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. TOWER, and Mr. YARBOROUGH.

I also ask that the statements of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] relating to the bill be included at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statements are as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HATFIELD

Mr. President, I welcome the opportunity to join as a co-sponsor of S. 2226, the cattle industry trade conference bill introduced by the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. Sparkman).

Although I was not a member of the Small Business Committee at the time of the hearings in 1965 and 1966, I became a member in time to consider and participate in the report on livestock exports expansion which the Committee filed on June 12—Senate Report 343, 90th Congress Session.

As a member of the Agriculture Committee, I am aware of the fact that sales of beef animals account for fully one-quarter of all farm income. Therefore, any steps that can be taken to assist in the strengthening of domestic and foreign markets for this commodity will have wide benefits to livestock producers and processors across the country.

It is a pleasure for me to associate myself with the other Senators who have offered their support to this measure with these goals in mind.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR SMATHERS

Mr. President, on August 3, the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Sparkman) introduced S. 2226, the proposed Cattle Industry Trade Conference Act. On that day I was unavoidably absent. It is my understanding that 25 Senators have since asked to co-sponsor this measure.

As Chairman of the Small Business Committee, I would like to take this opportunity to join as the 26th co-sponsor, and to commend the Senator from Alabama for the leadership which he has provided in this area.

Senator Sparkman was among the first to bring to the attention of the Senate and the

American public, the potential abroad for the sale of U.S. quality meat products and the significance to small and independent livestock producers, finishers and processors, as well as the nation's balance of payments. The investigation of these possibilities spanned nearly three years and three sets of hearings before our Small Business Committee.

As a result, we have learned from the officials of the European Economic Community of a potential market which will have to be serviced by imports and which may reach a billion dollars a year by 1970. Moreover, the EEC constitutes less than half of the 380 million consumers in Western Europe.

It would seem eminently sensible for our meat industries in this country to examine these trade prospects on a regular and continuing basis, and this is what S. 2226 seeks to bring about.

For these reasons I am glad to support this legislation and to recognize the initiative and the accomplishments of the Senator from Alabama in this matter.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, RELATING TO TAXES ON INCOME—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from Executive N, 90th Congress, first session, a convention between the United States of America and the French Republic with respect to taxes on income, signed at Paris on July 28, 1967, transmitted today by the President of the United States and that the convention, together with the message from the President, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the convention between the United States of America and the French Republic with respect to taxes on income, signed at Paris on July 28, 1967.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Acting Secretary of State with respect to the convention and the copy, enclosed therewith, of a note addressed on July 28, 1967, by the American Ambassador in Paris to the Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Upon entry into force, the existing income tax convention of July 25, 1939, between the United States and France would be abrogated in its entirety and the double taxation convention of October 18, 1946, the supplementary protocol of May 17, 1948, and the supplementary convention of June 22, 1956, would be superseded insofar as they concern taxes on income, capital, and stock exchange transactions.

Fundamental changes in the French income tax structure were made in 1965. The new convention reflects those changes and also changes made in U.S. law by the Foreign Investors Tax Act of 1966. Certain aspects of the model convention on taxation of income and capital published in 1963 by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD—resulting from the trend toward standardizing international tax relationships, are also reflected in the new convention with France.

The new convention follows the patterns set by the income tax conventions with Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands as recently amended.

Among the articles of special interest are those which provide: (a) that dividends received by a U.S. corporation from a French affiliate will be subject to tax at a 5-percent rate instead of the 15-percent rate applicable under the existing convention; (b) that interest income will be subject to tax at a 10-percent tax rate in most cases instead of the 15-percent rate applicable under the existing convention; (c) that royalties, instead of being exempt from tax in the source country, will be subject to a 5-percent tax; (d) for changes in the definition of industrial and commercial profits to include motion picture film rentals; and (e) that France waives its tax on imputed income based on the rental value of property in certain cases where a U.S. resident owns property in France.

The convention has the approval of the Department of State and the Department of the Treasury.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this convention with France.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 3, 1967.*

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, October 3, 1967, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bill and joint resolution:

S. 602. An act to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

S.J. Res. 109. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation commemorating 50 years of service to the Nation by the Langley Research Center.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR HAYDEN ON HIS 90TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I regret very much that I could not be on the floor of the Senate yesterday to pay tribute and to offer congratulations to our distinguished and beloved President pro tempore on the occasion of his 90th birthday anniversary. I was in Alabama attending a seminar sponsored by the Small Business Administration. I trust that the senior Senator from Arizona will know that my remarks today are no less sincere by reason of their being offered a day late.

I have known CARL HAYDEN since I first came to Congress as a Member of the House in 1936. At that time, Senator HAYDEN had been a Member of the Senate for 10 years, having been elected in 1926, after serving 15 years in the House of Representatives.

CARL HAYDEN is one of the most colorful Members of Congress. He was twice elected sheriff of Maricopa County—in 1906 and 1908. At that time, Arizona was a Territory, and the West was pretty wild. The sheriff was the law in those days, and it took a man of great courage and ability to fill the job. CARL HAYDEN was such a man. Following his service as sheriff, and upon the admission of Arizona as a State, he was elected as his State's first Representative in Congress.

As his years of service to Arizona and to America rolled by CARL HAYDEN built a remarkable reputation for ability and integrity. These two qualities, in combination with his seniority, have brought many honors to Senator HAYDEN. He serves as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and is a member of both the Committee on Rules and Administration and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He also serves as chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The remarkable thing about CARL HAYDEN is that with all of the power and influence which is his to command, and with all the honors which have come his way, he remains a kind and considerate friend, always sensitive to the needs and feelings of others.

It is a great privilege for me to pay tribute to this great Senator and great American, and to wish him a happy birthday.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am delighted to learn that yesterday was the 90th birthday anniversary of the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the President pro tempore of the Senate. This is a rare benchmark for any of us to reach, particularly when leading the strenuous and tension-ridden life of Congress, and I congratulate Senator HAYDEN on achieving it.

More to the point, I congratulate his State of Arizona on having such a fine, powerful, and intelligent spokesman in Congress.

In that my father and Senator HAYDEN served together and were friends in the House of Representatives, I add a personal word of good wishes, and also a word of thanks to a senior colleague who has always been as kind and thoughtful as has Senator HAYDEN to me.

NO INFLATION IN AGRICULTURE

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, much has been published in the newspapers recently about the danger of inflation and of advancing food prices. As a Senator from an agricultural State, where prices received for farm commodities have been falling, I find it quite difficult to understand.

Farm prices are indefensibly low, compared with farm costs. They are lower than they were 20 years ago. I have just examined the September issue of Economic Indicators, published by the Joint Economic Committee. It shows that the wholesale price index for farm commodities was 8.7 points down from August a year ago, and stood at 99.4 in August of this year. The wholesale price index on processed foods was off 3.6 points between August 1966 and August this year.

There is no sudden spurt in the economy and purchasing power to indicate inflation. Economic Indicators shows that we experienced a slight decline in gross national product in the first quarter this year, based on a stable price level, and that our economic growth rate in the first half of the year was only about 2.5 percent—far less than we require to maintain stable employment and a stable economy.

In the absence of any sign in economic statistics to justify inflation warnings one must conclude that if prices, and especially food prices, are advanced now it will be as a consequence of handlers increasing their markups to keep their profits stable in face of a decline in volume sold, rather than a consequence of burgeoning gross national product and purchasing power.

I certainly hope, Mr. President, that no one will have the audacity to blame rising farm prices for any increases which may be made in retail food costs, although I shall not be surprised if it happens. In the past, small increases in farm prices have been used as an excuse for much larger increases in retail food prices. But it is going to be difficult to blame farmers for any advances in food prices now when farm prices are indefensibly low and still falling. The parity index just issued shows that prices received by farmers on September 15 were 73 percent of parity—down 7 percent from September 15 a year ago and 2 percent from August 15 this year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record an article by William H. Kester, financial editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, on the paradox of lower wholesale and basic commodity price levels, and talk of inflation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Inflationary Influences Mount Despite Drop in Price Indexes

(By William H. Kester)

Expectations of inflation are widespread, although wholesale price indexes have declined in the last 12 months.

The recent boom in stock prices has been attributed to investors' beliefs that further increases in the general price level are inevitable, especially in view of the reluctance of Congress to increase taxes.

Many economists inside and outside the Administration have warned of incipient inflation in recent weeks.

WHOLESALE INDEX DECLINES

But the Government's wholesale price index in August was 106.1 per cent of the 1957–59 average, compared with the record high of 106.8 reached in August and September last year.

In addition, the Government's index of basic raw material prices has dropped about 10 per cent in the last 12 months and is more than 15 per cent below the 1966 peak. The decline has been widespread, with raw industrial commodity prices off 20 per cent from the March 1966 peak and foodstuffs showing a 14 per cent decline since reaching a peak in August 1966.

The decline in the last 12 months of the over-all wholesale price index resulted from a decline in prices of farm products and processed foods that more than offset higher prices of industrial commodities.

Prices of industrial commodities were stable from last February to July after a two-year period of increases that added 4 per cent to the index. In August, the rise was resumed and recently announced price increases have apparently pushed the index to new highs.

The price level of farm products has declined this year due in large part to expectations of record harvests and increased supplies.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX HIGHER

Inflationary trends are evident in the consumer price index—which increased at a 4 per cent annual rate from April to July, after rising at a 2 per cent rate during the previous seven months, the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis reported. The index, which is not adjusted for seasonal variations, in July was 2.8 per cent higher than it was a year earlier.

The bank noted that the acceleration in the index was due primarily to food prices. These vary seasonally.

There has been no acceleration in the rise of consumer prices other than food, the bank reported. It said these prices increased at a 3 per cent annual rate from April to July, virtually the same rate as in the previous seven months.

WAGE SPIRAL ACCELERATES

Many recent price increases have been made to cover higher wage costs. Collective bargain settlements in the first half of 1967 involved wage and fringe benefit increases averaging 4.6 per cent a year, compared with increases of 4.1 per cent in all of 1966 and 3.3 per cent in 1965.

Not only have wage costs increased at a faster pace this year than in other recent years, but productivity gains have been limited by the decline in manufacturing output in the early part of 1967.

"The combination of rising labor costs and virtual stability in output per man-hour resulted in a sharp increase in labor costs per unit of output," the Federal Reserve Bank of New York said in its latest monthly review.

The Government's index of labor cost for each unit of manufacturing output in July was 106.7 per cent of the 1957–59 average, compared with 100.8 a year earlier. From 1959 to 1966 it was about steady.

Inflationary pressures will be reduced but not eliminated as manufacturing output expands. The bank said "while productivity can reasonably be expected to move upward once again as the economy expands more vigorously, it is unlikely that the growth in output per man-hour will be adequate to offset mounting labor costs."

DEMAND PUSH NOTED

Another source of recent inflationary pressures has been the increase in demand, the New York Reserve Bank said. As sales went up, producers have been encouraged to hike prices to cover rising costs and to recover profit margins.

Profits of corporations have declined this year despite rising sales for most. In the first half of this year, the ratio of profits to income originating in corporations was 12 per cent, compared with a peak of 13.5 per cent in the first quarter of 1966.

Much of the consumer price index—which is widely used as a measure of inflation—is based on consumer services, in which improvements in labor productivity are small. As a result, the consumer price index has an upward trend.

Wages in the consumer service industries continue to rise along with those in other industries, where labor is more highly unionized and labor productivity increases are larger. But the small improvements in labor productivity in the consumer service industries do not offset the increased labor costs, and prices are hiked to cover the wage increases.

SENATORS BIBLE AND CANNON HAIL ACCEPTANCE OF F–111

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the formal acceptance of the F–111 by the Tactical Air Command on September 23, 1967, at Nellis Air Force Base ranks with other significant milestones in the annals of aviation. It is a natural step ahead in the tradition of the Wright brothers' initial flight and the XF–1's breaking of the sound barrier by Chuck Yeager.

We now have a swing-wing airplane in the Air Force inventory capable of assuming any mode, flying high or low, fast or slow, and carrying weights unheard of in the history of tactical aviation. Like all aircraft, it has had its growing pains, but recent reports are most encouraging.

Although still in the category III testing stage, the present F–111 aircraft at Nellis are averaging 60 hours a month, an unprecedented accomplishment for a new weapons system, I am told. Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record the commemorative remarks made on September 23 by the commander of the Tactical Air Command and by the senior and junior Senators from Nevada [Mr. Bible and Mr. Cannon] during the dedication ceremony at Nellis Air Force Base.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks By Gen. G. P. Disosway, Commander, Tactical Air Command, Nellis AFB, Nev., September 23, 1967

I'm delighted to be out here today for the ceremony bringing the F–111A into the tactical inventory. We always have a lot of problems with airplanes until we get them out in the field and then the people in the field seem to cure it. As an example of this, since we've had these airplanes out here we've been flying them about 60 hours a month each. This is unprecedented with a new aircraft. No matter what you read in the newspapers it does fly and that's why we flew it today so all of you could witness it in flight.

We've got great hopes for the airplane. We've got lots of things to do with it because it's in the Category III testing. At the same time we're doing that, we're going to have to upgrade our instructor pilots so that they can carry on the training of the other people who will come in as we get more aircraft in the inventory.

As you know, not only the Combat Crew Training but also the first wing is going to be here at Nellis. So we've got lots of work to do. We've got lots of testing to do in the various modes that this aircraft is capable of.

It's certainly the most advanced aircraft right now, I suspect, in the world, although the Russians, I understand, had a swing-wing at a show they had over in Moscow. I haven't asked Mr. Cosby to analyze that to see if they've stolen any of his ideas on the General Dynamics swing-wing airplane.

So, all in all, we're very happy to have it. We've got it where it belongs—with the people who're going to fly it and fight it. We're going to make a good weapons system out of it.

Remarks of Senator Alan Bible, at the Formal Acceptance of the F–111 by the Air Tactical Command, Nellis Air Force Base, Las Vegas, Nev., September 23, 1967

After seeing the F–111 in action, I want to say first of all that I'm glad it's on our side.

It would be a gross understatement to describe it merely as an impressive aircraft.

Based on today's demonstration, I think all of us agree it will prove a powerful addition to the air arm of our nation's defense posture.

Now that it's airborne, I for one hope the controversy which has shadowed the F-111 stage will finally subside. This pioneer aircraft should be judged purely on its merits.

I realize problems still exist in the development of the Navy version, but from what I have heard and just seen the F-111A performs very well indeed for the Air Force. Pilots have referred to it as the "Cadillac of the Air" and "the greatest thing with wings since angels."

Pilots also agree it is a remarkably versatile aircraft which lives up to its billing as a complete airborne weapons system. It flys high and low, fast and slow, throws a power punch greater than five World War II heavy bombers and is able to sniff out targets with unerring accuracy.

It sounds as if I have a great deal of respect for the judgment of our Air Force pilots. I do, because I have always had a sneaking suspicion that pilots know more about flying airplanes than anyone else. And I think it's significant that a good deal of the criticism of the F-111 has come from people who aren't pilots.

I take a great deal of interest in the affairs of Nellis Air Force Base. I am proud of the important role it plays in our effort to win the war in Vietnam as well as its role in our other defense obligations.

Assignment of the F-111 to the Air Tactical Command has meant a tremendous increase in personnel and physical facilities here at Nellis. I am happy that my position as Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Sub-Committee on Military Construction has made it possible for me to insure that the needs of this important installation are met. I intend to see that these needs continue to be met in the future, because I view the mission of the United States Air Force as vital to the defense of this nation.

This week, Nellis takes part in observances marking the 20th anniversary of the Air Force. Nothing so graphically illustrates the tremendous progress of this arm of the service than the flight of the F-111 here today. It is a remarkable plane; one which looks capable of carrying on its own private war.

But if the F-111 is a challenging aircraft, certainly its application as the number one Air Force weapon and the training of the men who will fly it is a challenge of equal magnitude.

It deserves the best possible care. And it will be guaranteed the best, because it is in the hands of the officers and men of Nellis Air Force Base. I am happy you have been chosen by your government for this important responsibility.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HOWARD W. CANNON, AT NELLIS AIR FORCE BASE OPEN HOUSE FOR F-111

Distinguished guests, I am honored by this opportunity to participate in welcoming the F-111 to Nellis Air Force Base.

I am told that the fighter-jockeys here could not wait and have already logged more than 500 hours in this great airplane. Now that I have talked with them and seen for myself, I can understand their tremendous enthusiasm.

We are delighted that Nellis has been chosen as the F-111's "home". The plane has been to the jungles of Panama and the frozen wastes of Alaska; it has traveled overseas as far as the United Kingdom and France; it has been tested at facilities across the country from California to New York. I am sure I speak for all of us in saying, "welcome to Nevada".

Over the years, we have welcomed a proud procession of tactical aircraft through Nellis—the F-86 Sabrejet, the F-100 Supersabre, the F-105 Thunderchief, the F-4 Phantom. But the F-111 is much more than just a worthy successor. It opens a new era in the effectiveness, versatility and striking power of our tactical forces. It is fitting that it has arrived at a time when the Air Force is celebrating its 20th birthday.

It is fitting on this occasion to pay tribute to some of the men responsible for this bold breakthrough, men like General Frank Everest, the TAC commander who was one of the first to grasp the untapped military potential of the variable sweep wing. To him goes much of the credit for assuring that tactical aviation would remain in the technological forefront. Even now the principle of this wing is being proposed for the advanced manned strategic bomber, the supersonic transport, and next generation fighters such as the FX and VFAX. TAC has led the way with the F-111.

Another is General Walter C. Sweeney, the TAC commander who was a driving force behind the F-111 until his untimely passing. I recall his remarks in 1964, when the first F-111 rolled out of the factory at Fort Worth. He said:

"The F-111 represents far more than just a new aircraft with greater flexibility to us. It represents a major break-through in tactical air capabilities.

"Many planes have come close. But there was always a compromise.

"The F-111 with its revolutionary variable-geometry wing will give us a combination of tactical air capabilities far beyond those we have been able to achieve up to now in any single aircraft."

General Disosway, General Taylor, and men of the USAF Tactical Weapons Center, we are proud to be here with you today to celebrate the payoff—the formal acceptance of the F-111 into the TAC inventory. The military development agencies and the nationwide industrial team led by General Dynamics Corporation have worked hard for almost five years with only one thought in mind—to deliver to you the finest tactical weapon system that has ever been built. I know you join me in acknowledging the great debt that is owed them.

In the F-111 you have the revolutionary new aircraft that General Everest was told might never work. In the F-111 you have the tactical system without compromises that General Sweeney envisioned. Their hopes are now your hardware. Yours is the high honor of being the first to cross one of the most significant thresholds in the history of tactical airpower.

Aircraft have been spanning the Atlantic unrefueled for years, but not tactical aircraft. Strategic bombers have long routinely carried payloads in the five figures, but not tactical aircraft. As tactical aircraft have improved in speed and range, moreover, there have usually been attendant drawbacks in deployment flexibility. Runways have had to be lengthened and reinforced reliability and maintainability have become more complex, and requirements for support equipment have increased.

For the first time, in the F-111, you have an aircraft that combines these capabilities into a single, multi-potent package—one that excels at both supersonic and subsonic speeds, simply by moving its wings—one that can operate from short, unprepared fields, yet carries payloads that blur the distinction between tactical and strategic aircraft—one that can deploy anywhere in the world without tanker support, but is also highly reliable, easy to maintain, and needs only a minimum of facilities.

In the F-111, you have a tactical weapon system with all-weather precision bombing accuracies and defense penetration capabilities superior to those of any other aircraft in the USAF inventory. You have an aircraft that will multiply several-fold the effective combat durations and distances available to the tactical commander, whether the mission is close-support with the F-111's internal gun or long-range strikes with the full spectrum of conventional and nuclear weapons. You have an aircraft so advanced, militarily and technologically, that other countries have been left far behind and are now seeking to catch up.

Now it is up to you. From your ranks will come the pilots and ground crews who will weld these capabilities into combat ready units. You will be the ones who rewrite the book on tactical doctrines with this extraordinary aircraft. In the process, I am sure you will be setting new records, adding to the long list the F-111 has already compiled. More important, you will be gaining the training and experience necessary to assure that your "birds" are there whenever and wherever tactical airpower is needed. I am confident that the F-111 fighting units you will form here and command will be second to none in the world today.

We in Nevada are proud to share in this endeavor. That Nellis has been selected for the F-111 speaks well for the Las Vegas climate and the excellent community relationships that have been built up over the years. An important part of the success of the training at Nellis is the support that we have given and will continue to give its personnel and programs.

I am proud to have been a part of the development and growth here at Nellis for a period predating my service in the Senate. Proud because this base has for many years placed our State in the forefront of the Nation's defense. And now—thanks to the F-111—that contribution will continue and be enlarged.

Thank you.

"THE SICKNESS OF ANACHRONISM" AND "THE AMERICAN PROMISE"

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, two extremely perceptive articles of great pertinence and of enduring worth appear as full-page editorials in successive issues of Newsweek. In the issue of October 2, Emmet John Hughes writes on "The Sickness of Anachronism." He points out that while the world moves, our foreign policy does not. It is rigid, ossified, obsolete. He points out that our actions in world affairs are dated by treaties entered into in past decades under conditions which are no longer applicable.

Walter Lippmann, in the October 9 issue, writes on "The American Promise" and points to the great distrust that now exists in the world of our foreign policy which is "accentuated by the spectacular ineffectiveness" of the administration's "resort to military force" and that "as against the military muddle in Vietnam there is, by way of contrast, the tremendous example of the American way of life."

Both of these editorials, written by two extremely knowledgeable and lucid writers, deserve wide reading. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SICKNESS OF ANACHRONISM

(By Emmet John Hughes)

"If I were Secretary of State," a veteran of twenty years of Washington politics told me last week, "I would urgently start measuring how far the world has traveled these last two decades—and how far American policy has lagged behind. I would restudy all the premises of the 1940s and all the stale official definitions of 'aggressive world Communism.'

And I would review all commitments around the globe—to sift out the worthless and the reckless."

Such an assessment would seem not at all remarkable from an Administration critic like Sen. William Fulbright. But the critic voicing this distress stands among Lyndon Johnson's closest counselors. And such nagging unease even within this privileged circle sharply suggests the whole Capital's growing awareness that national policy betrays again a familiar American weakness: the habit of clocking history by the minute hand of a sluggish timepiece, while the rest of the world races ahead by its own calendar of the years.

The sense of this seems quickened this season by the simultaneous celebration of different but related birthdays. In Washington, the Central Intelligence Agency—a kind of American monument to the East-West conflict—has just celebrated its twentieth anniversary, with the President hailing its performance as "the best in the world." In New York, the U.N. General Assembly has celebrated its 22nd session by electing as its President the Rumanian Foreign Minister—the first Communist to be so honored. And in San Francisco, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara celebrated "the 22nd Year of the Atomic Age" by outlining a $5 billion defense screen against Chinese missiles, while plaintively appealing: "What the world requires . . . is a new race toward reasonableness."

The appeal sounds unassailable. But to many American ears, it rings hollow. For there are few voices in the land to proclaim confidently the current *reasonableness* of American policy.

The doubt hinges critically on the question of historic time. The basic U.S. commitments embrace no less than 42 countries; some U.S. military presence appears in 38 countries; and some kind of U.S. aid travels to 76 countries. These commitments find roots in a diplomacy aged exactly twenty years: the Inter-American Treaty (1947), NATO (1949), and SEATO (1954). Yet the quickest glimpse of the world of twenty years ago—this very month—suggests an almost alien world . . . In the Middle East, the British Palestine police were haplessly fighting off Jewish guerrillas sworn to make an Israel yet unborn . . . In the Far East, the Chiang Kai-shek government was shooting its own generals to stamp out corruption in Manchuria . . . In Rumania, there was heard no soft-spoken leader aspiring to preside over the United Nations, but the strident Ana Pauker lashing all Americans as "Fascists."

The insistent doubt rises: could policies apt for *then* also be fit for *now?* Yet the basic American designs seem amended scarcely at all . . . In Europe, a U.S. force of more than 350,000 men still stands watch against the most unlikely of events—a massive Soviet drive to the Atlantic. *Why?* . . . In Asia, a U.S. force of nearly 700,000, from Vietnam to Korea, is deployed to impose a political settlement by containing a China bloodily divided against itself and politically quarantined by America. *How?* . . . And in Washington, all the world of the late 1960s seems addressed with precisely the rhetoric—and the righteousness—that were the political fashion of the early 1950s. On almost any occasion, the latest apologia proclaimed by Dean Rusk could be read as the oldest anathema hurled by John Foster Dulles. Indeed, the official rhetoric insists that the war in Vietnam *is* the same as the defense of Berlin. *Really?*

It is this profound lack of discernment that marks the faltering of American leadership. Such as the bloated size of American purpose that its commitments do not merely span the continents: no less indiscriminately, they span the decades. And from this there can follow the worst kind of national policy: random, reactionary and headlong.

Even the concern voiced to me by the President's friend itself seems belated. For it called to mind a conversation in London—a full ten years ago—with the gifted Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, then Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office. "If this thing we call 'the West' is to survive," the veteran diplomat warned, "we must decide not only what to save but also what *not* to save. We cannot arm, educate, industrialize and inspire every country on earth. We must judge certain places worth little enough to say to the Communists: 'It's yours. Take it. Spend your rubles, send your technicians, pick your puppets—and waste your time!' We cannot be—or do—all things with all nations. We must fix priorities. We must make choices. What else lies within reason?"

It is this frontier of reason that American policy still seems unable to find and to heed.

THE AMERICAN PROMISE

(By Walter Lippmann)

After a summer in Europe, when for the most part I sat back and watched, I am impressed with how much Americans and Europeans are involved in the same predicament. For us all the world is disorderly and dangerous, ungoverned and apparently ungovernable. Everywhere there is great anxiety and bewilderment. This general concern about the threat of atomic war, of revolution and counterrevolution is suffused by almost everybody's preoccupation with the difficult business of living in the modern age.

The governments of the more advanced countries, those which have outgrown the first illusions of liberation and independence, are all of them unpopular governments. For they are failing to cope with disorders abroad and with trouble at home. In the more-developed countries, Communist as well as non-Communist, there are no great sustaining, unifying and inspiring beliefs, no schemes of salvation and no ardent promises of better things to come.

This dusty outlook marks, I believe, the historic fact that we are living through the closing chapters of the established and traditional way of life. We are in the early beginnings of a struggle, which will probably last for generations, to remake our civilization. It is not a good time for politicians. It is a time for prophets and leaders and explorers and inventors and pioneers, and for those who are willing to plant trees for their children to sit under.

The international order which evolved since the Middle Ages, the order imposed and managed by the Western great powers, has been shattered. There are some who think we can return to that old order, with the United States replacing the Great Britain of the nineteenth century. But all who think this, President Johnson and Secretary Rusk and Mr. Nixon for example, merely compound the confusion and anarchy of the international order. It is a naïve illusion that 1967 is 1939, that Southeast Asia is Western Europe, that Mao Tse-tung is Hitler and that Lyndon Johnson is Churchill. It is not producing a firm and free international order but the largest quagmire in which this country has ever floundered.

Unpopularity. The best that can be said for President Johnson is that the other leaders of great powers are also in trouble. The Gallup polls are bad reading in Paris, London, Moscow, New Delhi and Peking. This general unpopularity of the governments of great powers throws light on the problem. But it does not explain away what has happened in Washington. More is expected and more is demanded of the President of the United States than from any other head of government. For the United States is incomparably the most powerful country in the world. Moreover the original purpose of America has created hopes and expectations in the hearts of men everywhere. The original vocation and destiny of the American people has been, not that they should rule the world, but, that they should provide an example of how men can live in freedom.

The dislike and distrust of Johnson's America is harsh. It stems in the last analysis, I believe, from a feeling of having been let down. There is a growing belief that Johnson's America is no longer the historic America, that it is a bastard empire which relies on superior force to achieve its purposes, and is no longer providing an example of the wisdom and humanity of a free society. There is, to be sure, envy, fear, rivalry in the worldwide anti-Johnsonism. But the inner core of this sentiment is a feeling of betrayal and abandonment. It is a feeling that the American promise has been betrayed and abandoned.

Ineffectiveness. This feeling is accentuated by the spectacular ineffectiveness of President Johnson's resort to military force. After years of struggle the greatest military power on earth finds itself unable to bend to its will a small and backward people. Our hawks ascribe this lack of military success to the official strategy of wounding but not killing the adversary. The performance in Vietnam would be a military scandal were it not a demonstration, which is of enormous historic significance, that the firepower of modern weaponry can annihilate an adversary or neutralize him but it cannot bend him to its will.

As against the military muddle in Vietnam there is, by way of contrast, the tremendous example of the American way of life. An irresistible tide of Americanization is flooding the world with our airplanes and computers and supermarkets, our household appliances, with ready-made clothing, with mechanical entertainment, carrying along with it what is convenient and pleasant in our lives and also much of our vulgarity.

The fact of our example is greater than the force of our arms. If only we realized this, if only we were governed by men who realized that the age of Roosevelt and Churchill is over, we might begin to pull ourselves out of the quagmire.

OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN BILL

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, almost daily I encounter evidence of widespread opposition to the Federal Election Campaign bill that is scheduled to be reported this week by the Committee on Finance.

I have not been surprised. I cannot imagine that the American people would countenance opening the U.S. Treasury in order to pay for the election of campaign of politicians. This proposal is especially repugnant at a time when we cannot balance the budget, when we face a deficit of almost $30 billion, and when the President wants more taxes. But in my view, it would be repugnant to the American people at any time.

I invite the attention of the Senate to three editorials published in Georgia newspapers recently which express opposition to this proposal in no uncertain terms. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Savannah Morning News, Sept. 27, 1967]

DEFEAT CAMPAIGN SUBSIDY

Georgia's Sen. Herman Talmadge is congratulated for his stand against the public subsidy of presidential and senatorial election campaigning.

Sen. Talmadge last week urged the defeat of a bill which would provide some $28 million of public funds for the presidential and vice-presidential campaigns and $26 million for Senate nominees.

Talmadge, and we, call the bill "unthinkable."

In the first place, even if financing politicians of opposing political parties were an advisable undertaking, now is not the time to do it. In the second place, there is no good time to do it.

"At a time when we cannot balance the budget—when the President is requesting additional taxes of $8 billion to saddle another burden on the taxpayers of this country to say you must finance politicians, you must turn the keys of the Treasury over to politicians is "unthinkable,'" Talmadge said.

An obvious disadvantage of such a bill is that it is similar to arming both sides in a military conflict—merely an expensive way to waste ammuntion from both sides of the public trough.

Furthermore, when the President has been in office more than four years, the voters already know what he has to offer. They do not need to waste $28 million to hear more of his promises. They might, in fact, be willing to spend twice that to support an opponent able to unseat him.

In that case, the equal slice of public funds would only serve to perpetuate an unpopular and unwanted regime in power.

If the people wish to support the campaign of their favorite Senate or presidential candidate, they are free to do this privately—and selectively—without the "unthinkable" necessity to raise taxes to subsidize both sides of a political propaganda war.

The campaign financing bill should be defeated.

[From the Augusta Herald, Sept. 27, 1967]

The Persistent Raiders

Political "ins" who almost had a financial bonanza, in the form of a federal presidential campaign subsidy, within their grasp, only to have it snatched away by a Congress that finally had come to its senses, do not give up a good thing easily.

Last year, a proposal by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) to permit taxpayers to check off, in their income tax returns, a $1 contribution to a presidential campaign fund, slipped through Congress with very little fanfare. After some second thoughts, the present session of Congress voted to suspend the operation of the law, which it was estimated would pour $30 million apiece into the war chests of the two major parties. That, supposedly, was an end to the plunderers' raiding ambitions.

But the tenacity of those who sense a windfall is not to be discounted. This same subsidy proposition, in somewhat altered form, has popped up once again. The Senate Finance Committee, dominated by the same Sen. Russell Long, has reported out a modified version of Long's original "check off" plan which would permit taxpayers to subtract up to $25 from their annual tax bill for contributions to political candidates at any level. The bill would make available an estimated $54 million—$14 million to each of the two major party candidates for President and $26 million to the candidates in 34 Senate contests—all of it in federal funds.

There is a big catch, however. The money isn't there, and won't be there next year. Sen. John L. Williams (R-Del.), one of the leaders in the fight to repeal the original Long bill, has called pointed attention to the fact that upcoming revenues are already more than spoken for and that creation of this political slush fund would only make worse the overspending binge on which the current Administration has embarked.

"At a time when the federal deficit is $25 to $30 billion and we're talking about increasing taxes," he said, "it's unbelievable that Congress and the Administration would ask their grandchildren to finance the 1968 election. The money isn't in the Treasury."

Actually, cost of the proposed subsidy could be much more—well over $100 million. What the cost might be if House members also decide to hop aboard the gravy train is anybody's guess. This they can do if they choose; the campaign contribution proposal was tacked on as an amendment to a House-passed bill to establish a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury, and in this amended form would be subject to further House approval—and further amendment.

The subsidy bill, patently a financing hedge by a party that has found itself dismally on the decline in popularity—not to mention, undercut financially—has generated strong opposition from the Republicans as well as from a number of Democrats. Among the latter are Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, lone Democratic dissenter on the Finance Committee, and Sen. Frank Lausche of Ohio, who has called the proposal "unjust, wicked . . . an insult to the intelligence of every taxpayer in the United States."

And that it is. We have seen, in our times, the Treasury raided under any number of half-baked pretexts. Now, to throw the coffers—and empty coffers, at that—open to politicians whose chief concern seems to be no better than that of self-perpetuation in office, would be the ultimate in the public's surrender of its political birthright.

[From the Dublin Courier-Herald, Sept. 25, 1967]

No Taxes for Political Campaigns

The suggestion of using tax monies for political campaigns is about the worst ideas of the use of tax monies we can think of. By no stretch of the imagination can we see that tax monies should be spent in campaigns for political office.

And there are reasons.

In the first place, the American public is saddled with enough things for which tax monies are spent, things that range for trying to educate and train people who don't want to be educated and trained to paying for high-priced bombs that are dropped on the trees in the jungles of Vietnam.

In the second place, we shudder to think that money we pay in taxes will be used to promote the campaign of a man we don't want elected to office. We can think of nothing that would be less palatable to us than using tax money we pay to promote the campaign of the present President for reelection.

In the third place, it seems to be a dangerous precedent for taxpayers to pay campaign expenses on the national level, to be brought then down to the state level for U.S. Senators, and then certain to be brought to the district level for U.S. Representatives. It would then be only a short step for agitation to pay political expenses of state and local candidates. Somehow, we think the taxpayers of the nation have enough on their shoulders paying for the operations of the government. Paying for people to get places in the government seems a burden too great to bear.

FEASIBILITY OF THE METRIC SYSTEM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President as another session of Congress moves into its final weeks, the Nation may once again be losing its change to ascertain the benefits to our economy of switching to the metric system of weights and measures.

There are many who feel already that such a change would bring with it large economic benefits through increased efficiency at home and increased sales abroad.

The grocery industry, in its trade magazine, Grocery Manufacturer, has spoken strongly in favor of legislation which Representative George P. Miller and I have introduced to study the feasibility of a switch to the metric system.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article, entitled "Grams for Groceries?" be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Grams for Groceries?

Only U.S. of all major nations clings to use of pounds as basic measurement, so two bills before Congress propose three-year study of problems in conversion to metric system.

Nine out of ten people in the world use kilograms and meters as measures of weight and length, and before long the United States will be the only major nation which still measures in pounds and yards. The trend is strongly toward worldwide adoption of the metric system.

The metric system has been legal in the United States for 101 years. While its adoption has grown and some industries have converted completely to its use, grocery manufacturing in this country has barely been touched by the metric trend. Only a few packaged food producers list the contents of their packages in grams as well as pounds to use the same containers in foreign as well as domestic distribution.

All of this could change in the not-too-distant future. Legislation for a three-year study of the problems of U.S. conversion to the metric system has twice passed the Senate and has Administration support. This just might be the year for one tentative step toward conforming with the rest of the world.

The key bills are S. 441, by Sen. Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), and H.R. 3136, by Rep. George P. Miller (D., Calif.). The stumbling block for a metric study has been the House Rules Committee, where the Miller bill has rested for months following approval by a House committee.

Both the Senate and House bills declare: "That the Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized to conduct a program of investigation, research, and survey to determine the impact of increasing worldwide use of the metric system in the United States; to appraise the desirability and practicality of increasing the use of metric weights and measures in tne United States, and to evaluate the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action which may be feasible for the United States."

The bill calls for "appropriate participation by representatives of United States industry, science, engineering, and labor, and their associations, in the planning and conduct of the program . . . and in the evaluation of the information secured under such program." The study would be completed within three years of enactment of a law. A first-year appropriation of $500,000 would be authorized. Cost of the study would be about $2.5 million.

GMA silent. While there are some vocal business proponents and opponents of U.S. adoption of the metric system, the general attitude of American industry has been one of watchful waiting. Some trade associations have committees investigating the problems. Grocery Manufacturers of America has no policy on converting to metrics but is watching the legislative situation.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has taken no position for or against the metric system but has endorsed the study proposal, providing the legislation retains its present language guaranteeing business representation in conducting and evaluating the government study. Some manufacturers are opposed even to a study, fearing it would lead to the change.

It is admitted by everybody that converting to the metric system would be very expensive for U.S. industry. A Stanford University survey estimated this cost at $11 billion. General Motors considers this figure is far too low and believes the price tag might be $26 billion. General Electric estimates its own conversion costs at $200 million.

Nobody really knows the price tag. However, most students of the problem agree that the longer the delay, the higher the cost. Advocates like Senator Pell argue that as much as $20 billion in foreign sales is being lost annually because the United States clings to an "antediluvian" system of weights and measures.

Not new to some. Without any push from Washington, a number of industries have already switched to metrics in whole or in part, including pharmaceuticals, electronics, chemicals, electric power, photography, optometry and oceanography. The motive in each case has been economic necessity—to get in step with the rest of the world. Some U.S. manufacturers have been using metric measurements for more than 50 years.

In 1965, the Library of Congress made a study for the House Science and Astronautics Committee, which was published as a committee print under the title "Notes on Conversion to the Metric System." The report contained this reference to grocery field:

"Many shoppers have undoubtedly noticed the increasing numbers of packaged grocery items, of food products particularly, which are now showing on their covers the weights in both ounces and grams, the latter generally being in parenthesis following the former. This is probably caused, in part at least, by the needs of their export trade. India, for example, requires that all incoming imports be labeled in metric units."

It is likely that more food manufacturers will soon add metric weights to their labels when they are redesigned to meet the requirements of the new Federal Fair Packaging and Labeling Act.

Advantages. Congressional hearings in recent years have pointed out both the advantages and the disadvantages of U.S. conversion to the metric system. The principal advantage appears to be that foreign trade would be facilitated, since metric nations prefer to deal with those employing the same standards.

There would be an educational by-product if the metric system were adopted here. One advocate claims the metric system can be learned by a schoolchild in one hour. If kilograms, liters and meters replaced pounds and feet, the time it takes to learn mathematics could be cut 25%, it is claimed.

The American Geophysical Union noted that "such monstrosities as proper fractions, denominators, greatest common divisors, and mixed numbers could be laid to rest with the celluloid collar and the oxcart."

Problems. It might take a generation to get the public to accept the new standards. Japan took 38 years to make the change and even then achieved only 85% compliance. England plans a 10-year conversion period.

Business would be forced to maintain double inventories during the conversion period, of products, parts used in manufacturing and maintenance, and specifications. These problems would undoubtedly be more serious in certain other industries, such as automobiles, appliances, and machine tools, than in grocery manufacturing.

Federal and state and local governments would face huge problems. Highway signs would have to substitute kilometers for miles, a zillion purchase specifications would have to be converted and land titles would have to be reissued, just to name a few.

A few inroads. Generally speaking, the United States now follows what is known as the English system of weights and measures, featuring inches and ounces, feet and pounds. However, the U.S. system already embodies some key parts of the metric system. The unit of time, the second, is a basic unit in the modern metric system. Electrical quantities are measured in watts, a metric unit.

The power input to an electric motor is stated in terms of metric units, but the power output of the same motor is stated in horsepower, which is outside the metric system. In our space program, the problems of conversion became so great that a major part of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has converted entirely to metric measurements.

For many years, the U.S. Navy has measured its gun barrels in millimeters. And of course all physicians write their prescriptions in terms of metric units. Scientific texts are written almost entirely in metric terms, although most engineering books use feet and pounds.

So what we have now is a hodge-podge. In temperature measurement, we have a dual system, centrigrade and Fahrenheit. We have short tons and long tons, statute miles and nautical miles, and avoirdupois, troy and apothecaries' measures of weight. We have gallons and British Imperial gallons. Our track sprinters sometimes run the 100-yard dash, and sometimes the 100-meter.

POSSIBILITIES

Would the metric system be an improvement? The rest of the world, including England, which originated our system, thinks so. The U.S. scientific community thinks so. The official spokesman for business in government, the Department of Commerce, thinks so. And for these reasons, Congress may authorize a study. If there is a study, the alternative courses to be considered are:

1. General adoption of the metric system by legislation.
2. Voluntary extension of metric usage, industry by industry.
3. Regulated partial conversion, segment by segment, in identified areas, over an extended period.
4. Solutions other than adoption of the metric system, to mitigate crucial problems.
5. A system of financial incentives to encourage voluntary conversion.

It may be a while yet before Cousin Minnie drives seven kilometers to the nearest super market to buy three liters of milk, a four-kilogram box of breakfast food, and 500 cubic centimeters of cooking oil. But that day may come and it is high time the grocery industry began thinking about the problems that would bring.

WORKSHOP ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS AND PROCUREMENT: REMARKS OF SENATOR MORSE

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, on September 27, 1967, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] addressed a workshop on Government Contracts and Procurement in Eugene, Oreg. The workshop was arranged with the cooperation of the Oregon congressional delegation and the Senate Small Business Committee.

His remarks emphasized the role of Pacific Northwest industry in helping to solve the problems of the Federal, State, and local governments, while at the same time strengthening the Nation's maritime programs.

The areas of fisheries, oceanography, and marine science and technology, on which the Senator commented are of great and increasing importance. They affect the health of our domestic business community, our capabilities to assist our allies and friends abroad and thus the conduct of our foreign policy.

These points have been underscored by the outstanding work of my colleague, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], who for many years has been a leader in the quest for forward looking marine legislation. This year he has brought to public attention a body of scholarly material on the potential benefits of developing ocean and fishery resources.

At the Pacific Northwest regional hearings on export expansion conducted by the Senator from Oregon at Portland in May of this year, Senator Bartlett summarized these thoughts in the form of testimony which would be available to the Small Business Committee as a basis for its action in these areas.

Most recently, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Maritime Affairs of the Senate Commerce Committee, my Alaskan colleague conducted hearings on a number of bills to strengthen the fishery industry of the United States.

I commend Senator Morse and Senator Bartlett for their good work, which has a direct impact on Alaska and our other maritime States and territories. I ask unanimous consent that Senator Morse's recent remarks be printed in the Record, so that his observations may be more readily available to all who seek to harness our sea resources.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse at the Workshop on Government Contracts and Procurement, Eugene, Oreg., September 27, 1967

Chancellor Lieuallen, Chairman Sturgen, and Members of the Oregon Business Community, it is a pleasure to be able to be with you for this workshop.

I would like to make some brief observations about the procurement picture, as I see it. Then, in order to cover the subjects of greatest interest, I want to take your questions, for as long as time permits. As you realize, that turns the tables on me, because during my previous assignments in Eugene, it was my job to ask the questions. You might have noticed that I wasn't bold enough to say I could *answer* all of your questions. But I will try my best.

This conference is only the second that has been held in Oregon devoted to procurement. However, the breadth and depth of the program, and the careful preparation that preceded it will, I feel, make it a significant event.

OREGON INDUSTRY CAN HELP FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

In addition to the size of this attendance, another element which is noteworthy is the nature of the group that we have here. Some of you are experienced in selling to the government; others are just beginning to learn the procedures. However, one thing you possess in common is a range of impressive resources and experience in solving the problems of business.

These qualities hold a potential for the solution of the problems of the federal, state, and local governments that is exciting to contemplate.

I have been asked whether this is a "small business" conference. I suppose that it could be called that, in the sense that small firms account for nearly 50% of Oregon's government sales and that all but a few of Oregon's firms are in that category. Nationwide, 90% of our 290,000 manufacturing companies and even a greater percentage of food producing, general distribution, and service concerns are small, independent, or closely held companies.

CONFERENCE IS BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE

However, our workshop is not limited to small business. Among the more than 330 registrants, and panelists and briefing officers, the conference, of course, has welcomed the larger corporations. I feel I speak for all of us when I say that we are very pleased to have their executive with us.

We are interested in what these companies have to offer.

Beyond this, however, our sponsors include the business associations such as the Chambers of Commerce, which are the backbone of community business activity. We have research groups; and many State and Federal Government agencies. The great universities of this State are well represented.

Gatherings of this kind probably do not take place very often. It is thus my feeling that the whole may be a little greater than the sum of its parts—not only from the point of view of the goods and services and ideas which are available, but in the momentum which this gathering—coming from across the broad spectrum of business of our State—can develop in many areas.

While I am speaking of distinction, it should be obvious to all who are participating in this conference that many of the most highly qualified contract and procurement specialists in the United States are sitting with us and have been placed at our disposal for these two days. I have been looking forward to meeting as many of them as possible, as you have been doing. I know that their advice and counsel are invaluable and will serve our State and businessmen well. And, they have brought their shopping lists, as I understand it, for $50 to $100 million in contracts which will be awarded in the next 30 to 90 days.

As the conference announcement stated, the federal government, and the combined state and local governments both brought about $77 billion worth of goods and services during 1966. As customers, they each account for between 9 and 10% of total gross national product, so we can only benefit from getting better acquainted.

HISTORY OF PARTICIPATION IN PROCUREMENT HAS BEEN IN TERMS OF PRIME CONTRACTS

For a long time the framework of the procurement picture here in Oregon has been composed of the statistics of the low percentage of prime contracts. Let us face these figures squarely and subject them to some commonsense analysis.

During a recent one-year period, fiscal year 1965, Oregon ranked thirty-second in population, 28th in personal income, and 28th in total federal taxes paid. In R & D obligations, Oregon ranked 28th. As to total military prime contract awards, Oregon ranked 39th, with $90 million in awards. During 1966, on the strength of the 50% increase which you heard about yesterday, we rose as high as 37th.

Now why has Oregon been so far down the ladder?

As all of us on the West Coast are aware, the military prime contracts which give California 18% of the nation's total, and Washington 1.4% (in comparison with Oregon's .3%) go to the large integrated manufacturers. They are capable not only of manufacturing, but of designing, engineering, and testing the complicated large-scale weapons systems. These figures do not include civilian procurements, and they do not include subcontracts which are important areas in which Oregon has widening footholds. Our prime contractors know that a good subcontracting program improves their profits and their ability to compete.

The defense industries with which we are familiar grew up in California and Washington over many years. They were located pursuant to decisions made literally two and three decades ago. It would be interesting to go into history and review the factors that were considered, such as relation to population centers, proximity to capital, low cost electric power, other industries, research facilities and other random factors. These actions were taken long ago, however, and the consequences of ths plant locations cannot be undone.

The major part of our attention during these two days is devoted to examining how Oregon business can relate to such existing contractor and government business.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE ARE BRIGHT IN MARITIME RESEARCH AND PROGRAMS

But it also makes sense to me to look into the future. I feel that, with Oregon's endowment of resources—geographic, natural and personal—and the start that our businesses and institutions have already made—there are areas of potential government business that are bright with promise for the coming years.

One does not have to look far from here to survey Oregon's window on the world, its more than 500 miles of ocean coastline. We have the largest reserve of standing timber in the country. In our Small Business Committee hearings on export expansion in Portland this May, we were reminded again that the Columbia is the second greatest river system in the country, giving the Inland Empire access to the continents around the Pacific basin. These rimlands contain a growing majority of world population. Beyond our coasts are the vast reaches of the Pacific Ocean.

Consider for a moment as a small example, the potential in the development of fisheries and fish protein concentrate.

As we sit here today, two-thirds of the world's population suffers from malnutrition, especially the lack of animal protein. The population of the world is expected to double in the next 35 years. Thus, if the human race is to avert disaster, protein production must be more than doubled before the end of this century. Among the States, Oregon's famous fisheries are in 12th place, with an annual catch of about $11 million. Commercial fishing also brings fringe benefits for our economy, including the stimulation of processing, shipyards, and related marine industries. But it came as something of a surprise to me that U.S. fisheries' production ranks behind Peru, Japan, Russia, and Communist China, and we may soon be passed by Norway.

Per capita consumption of fish in the U.S. last year rose 16%. In the next 15 years it is expected to increase more than 76%. At present, two-thirds of the fish consumed here was caught by foreign fisherman, whose techniques and equipment are, in many cases I am told, superior to our own.

What part will we play in exploring and developing the resources of the Pacific Ocean during the *next* two or three decades? I hope that the American reaction will be adequate. We would certainly want the ships and equipment and plants to remain in private ownership, and to be within reasonable financial means of our small, independent businessmen. These goals will not be achieved however, without pioneering in the form of research and pilot programs by the federal government and the maritime states, and imaginative participation by our business leaders.

AS THESE EFFORTS EXPAND OREGON SHOULD BE IN THE VANGUARD

The nation has hardly begun to come to grips with the implications and the potentials of the ocean resources, which are so near at hand.

From the material supplied by the National Science Foundation here today, we learn that less than 4% of the ocean floor has been accurately mapped.

The federal government's total budget for marine science and technology stands substantially below $500 million, representing less than 3% of the $17 billion of federal R&D, to be spent this year. Can anyone doubt that these amounts and percentages will climb in the years ahead?

The hard facts make it clear to me that the nation must dramatically upgrade its marine sciences, both basic and applied. We must strengthen our grasp of oceanography, of fisheries and maritime technology—including factory-ship construction, aquaculture, exploratory fishing, and the production and utilization of protein concentrates. In the areas of education and research Oregon, in my opinion, has some of its finest opportunities to expand and to contribute to these national undertakings.

Anyone who has visited the Marine Science Center at Newport, the seafood study facility at Astoria, or the biology lab at Coos Bay, as I have been privileged to do, knows that our universities have begun to respond to those challenges, and our industries have begun to respond. The Oregon legislature backed its interest this year with $500,000, to finance the entry of our State University into the new Sea Grant College program.

We are pleased to welcome to the conference spokesmen for both the civilian and defense ocean study programs: Mr. Robert Abel, the Director of the National Sea Grant section of the National Science Foundation; and Lt. Dennis MacDonell of the Naval Oceanographic Center. They are amply supplied with literature and expertise, and I think it would be well to learn as much about their activities as possible.

I would like to see Oregon in the vanguard of these programs.

OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS—IMPROVING "LIVEABILITY" OF THE ENVIRONMENT

We could cite other areas of large potential investment by governments, including state and local units. These include air and water purification and waste disposal. Through the cooperation of the Department of the Interior, we have arranged for Mr. R. F. Poston, the Regional Director of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration Office at Portland to be present and to furnish individual counseling.

There is the whole gamut of problems of the cities, including new techniques in construction, with which our forestry industries are intimately concerned. We need to have a dialogue with the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs about its experimental programs, and this dialogue has been started. In these growth industries also we find in the Northwest a natural interest coupled with a wide-open field involving federal research and prototype programs.

We have mentioned trade. It is logical to think of exports in the commercial sense of offering products for sale. However, exports can also be thought of as providing for the essential human needs which people beyond our shores share. The free enterprise system of this country has developed the greatest capability in history of fulfilling these needs.

I am proud that the leading industries of this region are involved with furnishing food and shelter. I think that it is a worthy pursuit to learn more about how the worldwide hunger for these necessities can best be satisfied. This may involve a part of the $17 billion being spent on research and development, the introduction of new products and processes, as well as the procurement of new equipment, and new facilities. We need to know what mixture of products, U.S. investments in overseas manufacturing, technical assistance, and education are best for our economy, and the economies of our friends overseas.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION—A LIBRARY OF SPECIFICATIONS

The time to lay a foundation for the future is now.

It is encouraging that, in connection with this Conference, there has been a coming together of ideas on the procurement issues that now affect the companies doing business with the government, and those who are making efforts in this direction.

For instance, there has been considerable discussion of establishing a repository of federal standards and specifications in Oregon.

I am told that there are more than 500 classes of these specifications containing about 60,000 individual items, some of which are quite long and detailed. Furthermore, they are constantly being modified. The operation of a repository to provide retrieval of up-to-date information of this sort thus involves a considerable commitment.

In the past, this information was available only at selected government contracting installations, mostly in other parts of the country. Recently, the first non-federal government public repository was set up in Seattle by the Washington State Department of Commerce.

As a result of preparing for this Conference, the Department of Defense has developed a demonstration, including a film, to show what is involved in establishing and using a repository. They have informed us that their package has already been of help to them in their dealings with contractors and government officials. The top civilian specialist has been assigned to make this presentation to us here.

Meanwhile, our people were exploring with the Department the possibility of founding a limited library in Oregon, covering perhaps 20% of the classes. If all the parties agree that such a partial repository should come into being, it could later be expanded, and could serve as a center for other procurement studies. I understand discussions are advancing satisfactorily, and that Mr. Albert C. Lazure of the Department of Defense announced this morning that he was prepared to recommend to the Secretary that certain portions of this material be furnished without cost to any Oregon institution willing to operate the facility in the prescribed manner. The Willamette Valley Research Council, particularly Jean Mater and others, deserve our gratitude for those initiatives, which I fully support.

From my contact with many of you in the past, I am also aware of other problems, such as the delay in obtaining bids and other materials from Eastern procurement activities. Communication is a problem in the procurement process under any circumstances, and it is magnified by distance. Much good work has been done in improving communications procedures by your speaker of yesterday, Mr. Douglas Strain. As a result, I can report that much has been achieved. More can and should be done.

Overall, there are two ways of improving our procurement performance. The first and easiest is through the organic growth of the businesses in the State. The second is by attracting new industry to locate in Oregon.

The challenges are rigorous, and the competition is strong, especially as to bringing in new companies. Dun and Bradstreet estimates that, for the 1,500 plant location decisions that are made each year, some 15,000 alternatives are considered. In my judgment, however, the resources within our borders and adjacent to them can support both sound expansion and new growth.

Furthermore, the type of industries we have been talking about do not pollute the water and the air. On the contrary, instead of detracting from the environment, they would tend to increase "live-ability"—in the city and in the countryside; here and elsewhere.

I feel that this is the kind of progress Oregon needs and wants, and that federal, state, and local procurement opportunities which are suitable and profitable, can play a part in this progress. It is apparent that capitalizing on these opportunities will take sustained, day-to-day effort by our State institutions and business groups. There should also be a synchronization of these activities with the Congressional delegation.

WHAT THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION CAN DO

Certain things can be accomplished in Washington. We can keep watch on the policies of the Executive Branch. Two weeks ago we acted upon a proposal to have Navy minesweepers built abroad. I opposed this arrangement, because it sacrificed the future of small American shipyards, which urgently need the business. These yards keep alive capabilities vital for national defense. I am glad to say Congress rejected this legislation.

We can work for and support enlightened policies in oceanography and fisheries, and trade expansion—programs which take full advantage of the character of our regional industries. I can assure you that we are doing this, and we are originating these proposals when they are not forthcoming from elsewhere.

For example, as a result of the export hearings in Portland, the Administration promptly filled the position of Secretary of Commerce to provide leadership in trade promotion, which is of such importance to the Pacific Northwest. Then, just two weeks ago, on September 12 the export program of the Small Business Administration, which had been in abeyance for some time, was formally re-established.

We can also aid in straightening out misunderstandings with government agencies and assure equal and equitable treatment for our businessmen in particular cases. The Small Business Committee, of which I am a senior member, can help us in this regard.

You will recall that the Congress took the lead in establishing the Small Business Administration in 1953, and in protecting its independence since. One of the primary missions conferred by the Act on SBA, and upon all other government departments, is assuring that small firms get a fair share of government contracts and subcontracts for the purchase of goods and services. In 1958, we amended the law to add "sales" of government property, so that small companies in the forest industry would have an even break in the sales of government timber.

Each year our Committee holds public hearings to review procurement developments and to see how this mandate is being carried out. We inquire into general policies, and can also delve into particular practices. Recommendations are made for legislative or administrative changes. Our hearings, and annual and special reports are freely available as a public service.

The several loan programs, management assistance, and certificate of competency program of the SBA, which are as close as Albert Lofstrand's office in Portland, can be key factors in helping your firms to enter the procurement field or expand your capabilities. I urge you to familiarize yourselves with these resources. The same should be said for the Commerce Department field office in Portland under the able direction of James Goodsell.

In our congressional undertakings, however, we must rely upon the guidance of our businessmen and organizations, who are involved in the procurement process and may be experiencing the actual difficulties.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFERENCE

This Conference is a fortunate opportunity for our business community, our State officials, our universities, and the Congressional delegation to discuss these prospects and problems. Out of such meetings I hope will come improved means for marshalling the constant attention, the concerted effort, and the coordination of activities that are required to have an impact on the long-term development of procurement and other business in this State.

I will be pleased to do all that I can to assist in this work, which can do so much to build business here in Oregon which is compatible with our geography, the spirit of our State and its institutions, and its people.

TV AND THE RIOTS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the effect of television upon civil disorders has been a subject of increasing concern during this year of turmoil and violence in our urban areas.

Television brings events from distant places into our living rooms and has tended more and more to mold the opinions of those who watch it.

The manner in which television uses its vast influence can determine which men become heroes, and which villains. It has the power to convert a virtually unknown extremist with a handful of followers into a national figure. Each time a network decides to feature a Stokely Carmichael or a Rap Brown on its news and commentary programs, it is assisting such irresponsible agitators to achieve recognition as leaders of the Negro community both by white people and by Negroes who had never heard of them previously.

It leads young Negroes to believe that men like Carmichael and Brown are leaders to whom they should show respect, and on the other hand, it leads the general community to the erroneous conclusion that the majority of Negroes are involved in the violence of Detroit, Watts, and Harlem.

Both of these conclusions are clearly incorrect. The Stokely Carmichaels and Rap Browns are not leaders and, in fact, have no constituencies. The majority of Negroes are law-abiding citizens and are themselves the major victims of the violence such agitation has produced.

A recent article in TV Guide asks the question: "Do TV Cameras Add Fuel to Riot Flames?" Reporter Neil Hickey asked Detroit Police Commissioner Ray Girardin about the effects of television's presence in his city during this summer's riots in which 43 people died. His response was firm and unequivocal:

> The showing of films of scenes from riot-torn areas seemed to arouse the curiosity of hundreds of people who wanted to see for themselves what was happening. Almost immediately the streets were crowded with curiosity-seekers hampering law enforcement officers. TV could have performed a civic duty by informing people to stay away from the dangerous sections. Many innocent people were injured and some killed by snipers because they wandered into the troubled areas to see the action.

Negro leaders have been equally outspoken in their criticism of television coverage of the riots. Henry Lee Moon, public relations chief of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

> Negroes have generally been unhappy about the way television has played their affairs. It's damaging to the cause of civil rights to give a forum to somebody shouting "Kill Whitey" and cast him as a Negro leader when he represents no substantial part of the Negro population.

Mr. Hickey points out that on many occasions TV newsmen have fanned the flames of violence in order to produce a better story. Many stations have responsibly adopted standards for use in riot situations, including holding off on reporting mass violence until police establish some modicum of control, and using unmarked cars, hand-held cameras, no bright lights, and exposing the cameras to public view only when there is something to film.

Still, many stations have not adopted such a code, and codes may not be the entire answer. Mr. Hickey concludes this way:

> A part of television's difficulty in this area is inherent in the nature of the medium and will never be absolved altogether. But the opinion is now abroad that networks and stations must do a great deal more than they're doing to ensure that the medium (1) does not alter the shape of events it touches and (2) does not let itself be manipulated by the show business appeal of special pleaders.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Hickey's article, captioned "Do TV Cameras Add Fuel to Riot Flames?" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DO TV CAMERAS ADD FUEL TO RIOT FLAMES?

(By Neil Hickey)

A new law of television journalism is emerging in the atmosphere of civil protest, picketing, parades, demonstrations, labor strikes and the broad spectrum of public expression of discontent which has become a central aspect of American life in the last several years, and—more immediately—in the violent summer we have just weathered.

Stated most starkly, the law is: "Television, by its very presence, creates news."

Never before today has the law been more operative. Only in recent months have legislators, police officials and TV newsmen come to a suspicion of the full impact of television upon the news it is covering; of TV's power to shape events it chooses to record; of the medium's rather frightening capability of creating a cause, a public figure or a news story where—but for the cameras—none might otherwise exist.

The charge sheet against TV news is shaping up this way:

That the presence of cameras frequently transmutes a potentially violent situation into an *actually* violent one, and that mischief-makers often show their most troublesome selves at the sight of television crews.

That TV pictures of looting, destruction and mayhem create a contagion—far more so than radio or newspaper reports—which causes riots to feed upon themselves.

That TV stations and networks give too much time to the flashier and more vocal extremists—such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown—whose words foster violence, and not enough to the less theatrical but saner voices of moderation.

That pressure groups of all types have become extremely "savvy" in manipulating television by staging protests and parades specifically for the cameras and thereby achieving an inflated importance for their private, special pleading.

These are only a few of the complaints—some of which have been denied by broadcasting executives—being aimed at TV news in the current controversy. TV Guide asked Detroit police commissioner Ray Girardin about the effects of television's presence in his city during this summer's terrible strife in which 43 people died. His response was firm and unequivocal: "The showing of films of scenes from riot-torn areas seemed to arouse the curiosity of hundreds of people who wanted to see for themselves what was happening. Almost immediately, the streets were crowded with curiosity-seekers hampering law-enforcement officers.

"TV could have performed a civic duty," Girardin added, "by informing people to stay away from the dangerous sections. Many innocent people were injured and some killed by snipers because they wandered into the troubled areas to see the action."

Police officials in Newark, another scene of recent strife, are similarly disturbed about TV's riot coverage: "We were very disappointed by the behavior of TV crews," a spokesman says. "Doubly so since we had called a meeting as far back as June 23 and invited about 20 news organizations—both local and national—to discuss an informal 'code of ethics' for reporting trouble, should any arise. Three attended the meeting."

Sen. John McClellan (D., Ark.) plans to include testimony on TV's riot coverage in hearings currently in progress before his Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Congressman Torbert Macdonald (D., Mass.), chairman of the Communications Subcommittee, also is eager to call TV industry executives to Washington for hearings on the medium's capacity for exacerbating troublesome situations and creating new ones. Congressman Macdonald told us: "I'm not saying that Congress should interfere, but I wonder about the wisdom of what TV does in this area. Is it really news if one Negro gets up and shouts, 'Burn Whitey!'? I'd like to find out if the networks and stations have policies on these matters and what instructions they give their reporters."

The disturbances in the streets amount to rebellion, Macdonald added. "I'd like to know if this rebellion is being fed by television and radio. Television may have to take a share of the blame for spreading dangerous doctrines. I'd like to find out what steps they're taking to live up to their responsibility to their audiences."

Sen. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.) entered the controversy on Aug. 2 with a statement that he was "greatly concerned about the newspaper and radio and television coverage of the recent riots and civil disturbances throughout the country. I believe that the news media, in many instances, inadvertently contributed to the turmoil."

That salvo elicited return fire from all three networks. Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, Inc., insisted that "so far as the news presented over our radio and television networks . . . goes, I can find no evidence that this is true. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence that the exact opposite is the case." At the same time Stanton admitted that "serious problems" attend television's handling of civil disorder and that his own news officials had been duly warned of the "unsettling effect on a stimulated crowd that the presence of cameras may have."

NBC president Julian Goodman echoed Stanton's disfavor of any "code of emergency procedure" (as suggested by Scott) that might impinge upon TV's freedom to cover the news as it sees fit. ". . . A code cannot exercise judgment," said Goodman. "It cannot foresee all the variables in the fast-breaking events with which newsmen must deal."

Another quick response to Scott's statement came from James C. Hagerty, vice president of American Broadcasting Company. In a "Dear Hugh" letter, Hagerty defended his network's news practices while adding that the whole subject has "been a matter of continuing concern to all of us here. . . . The danger that news coverage can influence or inflame an event is foremost in our thoughts."

Other criticism of TV news has come from pundits and private-interest groups. Columnist Max Lerner says: "Americans seem to have struck a Faustian bargain with the big media, by which they have received total and instant coverage and have in turn handed themselves over to the vulnerable chances of crowd psychology and of instant infection."

Henry Lee Moon, public relations chief of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People told TV Guide: "Negroes have generally been unhappy about the way television has played their affairs. It's damaging to the cause of civil rights to give a forum to somebody shouting 'Kill Whitey' and cast him as a Negro leader when he represents no substantial part of the Negro population."

TV newsmen are as sensitive as anybody else to such dangers. ABC News executive William Sheehan says that he thinks "it's no coincidence that the flourishing of the civil-rights movement has occurred at the same time that television news has reached the point where every evening it literally saturates the country with reports on world happenings."

Another TV executive recalls that during the AFTRA strike of last March, when TV reporters were idle for two weeks, a sharp diminution in protests and picketing for peace and other causes was apparent. "Nothing seemed to be happening," he says. Then the TV news directors realized that—in the absence of cameras—the protestors had concluded it was pointless to mount a protest.

TV people become aware of their own influence in a variety of ways. Cindy Adams, a glamorous reporter for WABC–TV in New York, recalls the time she accepted a telephone call in her newsroom and was informed that a private group planned a demonstration at the Dominican Republic's UN mission headquarters to protest U.S. involvement in that country's affairs. "Can you cover it?" asked the lady caller.

"Well, I'm not sure," Cindy said. "How many of you will there be?"

"How many do you need?" the woman answered.

A bit startled, Cindy replied that it wasn't exactly her place to say. "What time will you be demonstrating?" the reporter then asked.

"Maybe right away. That suit you?"

"Well, we have no crews here right now," said Cindy.

"We'll have as many marchers as you want out there any time you say," the caller assured her. WABC did indeed cover the demonstration, moving Cindy Adams to recall recently: "That woman knew what she was doing; she was savvy in the ways of TV news." An increasing number of social and political activists are learning that it is possible to manipulate TV news to their own interests.

Similarly, TV people have been known to attempt the manipulation of an incipient news story to their own interests. When James Meredith was testing the University of Mississippi's exclusion policy, a potentially volatile situation grew out of the student body's tension and anger over his presence. A TV reporter from a Southwestern station drove onto the campus one day, hoping for some exciting newsfilm, and was disappointed that the students' mood seemed taut but controlled. He leaned from his car and shouted to a group of them: "Hey! Where's the action? I heard there was *action* going on around here!"

That triggered them. First, they turned the newsman's car over and burned it, sending him scrambling; the violence spread from there. At the end of it, two men were dead.

Many observers are sure that TV news (as well as newspapers) fanned the embers which erupted into the bitter riots of the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant section of New York in the summer of 1964. During spring and early summer, almost daily interviews with "Negro leaders" predicting a holocaust were visible on television. Many of these men were spokesmen without a following, ambitious activists eager for exposure. But their words created an air of tension and expectancy, convincing the ghetto dwellers that violence was indeed imminent. Nobody was surprised when it came.

In Los Angeles in 1965, mobile TV vans moved into riot areas of Watts and showed live pictures of looting even before the police had arrived. A police official remembers: "Television served as a terrific guide for potential looters who wanted to know where to go for some action."

Still, there's no gainsaying that TV reporters as a class are well aware of the effect of their presence on an evolving story. We asked a number of network correspondents—experienced in coverage of street demonstrations—for their thoughts:

Tom Jarriel, ABC: "There's no doubt that a camera causes pickets to act up more vigorously. They know the power of TV exposure; all these people want their story told. The camera is an attraction. The problem is to keep it from becoming a bigger story than the one you're covering.

"We often leave our cameras on the seat of the car and stand to one side while a situation is developing. When something actually happens, we film it."

Jarriel feels that the TV presence also can have a moderating influence. "I doubt that James Meredith would have completed his most recent march in Mississippi unmolested if the cameras hadn't been there. People didn't heckle him; they stayed away so as not to cause a major incident on nationwide TV."

John Laurence, CBS: "More trouble is caused by young and inexperienced wire-service reporters than by TV men. They can make a quick phone call and in minutes a bulletin is going out on their wires. The presence of a TV camera often tends more to keep a situation honest than to aggravate it. If a camera is on a policeman and his prisoner, chances are the policeman won't beat the prisoner and the prisoner won't attack the policeman."

Don Oliver, NBC: "Once a public disturbance has begun, cameras have very little effect on its progress, but in the early stages—where the possibility for violence exists—the sight of a TV crew can have a bad effect. Police and TV people work well together most of the time; but as a riot goes into its third or fourth day, the police get edgy and angry and start feeling that the cameras are drawing attention to them."

Bill Matney, NBC: "Cameras have very little effect while a disturbance is actually going on. In Detroit, I interviewed two fellows while they were actually looting, and later filmed their arrest. On one day, while whole sections of the city were going up in smoke, the TV people refrained from reporting it so as not to make it worse. That was an independently-arrived-at decision by the local stations."

CBS's Midwest bureau manager, Dan Bloom, had the job of setting up that network's riot coverage in a number of cities during the summer. "It boils down to the fact that the equipment is sometimes a magnet," he says. "But our policy is simple. If a reporter has any suspicion that a performance is going on just for the camera, we immediately pack up and move away. This is rigidly enforced. On the other hand, if you have a peaceful demonstration that goes on for 60 minutes and a bomb is thrown in the last two minutes, where is the story? We'd be remiss if we didn't put that part of the action on the air. We make a very deliberate attempt at setting the proper balance."

Before this past summer, many TV newsmen were understandably reluctant to admit television's influence on evolving news, but the proliferation of protests and riots, as well as the thoughtful criticism of lawmakers and private citizens, are forcing the subject onto center stage, where it must now be examined in full public view, and some firm conclusions arrived at. CBS News president Richard S. Salant, for example, admits, "It is certainly true that a great many events —almost all except tornadoes—are, at least to some degree, designed in time or in place or even in nature for *all* of the mass media. . . . But our job is to report news, not to shape it."

And there are no easy, self-executing rules applicable to all situations, Salant adds. "We know that one cannot simply ignore these events because indeed they *are* news. And we have come to the conclusion, then, that the wise policy is a policy of restraint and awareness of what the problems are."

For the last several years, the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service has been working quietly in cities across the country getting TV people together with police officials and helping them agree on voluntary guidelines for the reporting of civil disorders. Together, they've come up with solid recommendations aimed at keeping good order in the streets while not raising the ugly specter of censorship. Scores of TV stations have agreed to:

Hold off reporting mass violence until police establish some modicum of control.

Use unmarked cars, hand-held cameras, no bright lights, and expose the cameras to public view only when there's something to film.

Avoid reporting rumors, trivia and wild statements.

Use command posts set up by police in strife areas as clearinghouses for news breaks, and not cruise about the streets aimlessly.

Refrain from using the word "riot" unless there's simply no other word to describe what's happening.

The networks and many local stations try to do many of these things out of common sense, and not from official nudging. But it's apparent that no guidelines nor agreements can replace the dispassion and detachment of a seasoned TV newsman who is determined to convey—soberly and untheatrically—the full sense of a public disorder; whose eye is not upon competing newsmen nor on the aggrandizement of his own reputation; and who is sensitive to the effect of his words upon an anxious audience.

A part of television's difficulty in this area is inherent in the nature of the medium and will never be absolved altogether. But the opinion is now abroad that networks and stations must do a great deal more than they're doing to ensure that the medium 1) does not alter the shape of events it touches and 2) does not let itself be manipulated by the show-business appeal of special pleaders.

It is apparent that the adaptation of rigid "codes" is not the answer. But, if, indeed, television's self-generating potential for news is an operative unwritten "law" of broadcast journalism, it is a law in need of prompt and drastic—unwritten but nonetheless effective—amendment.

AT LAST, POSTAWARD AUDITS ORDERED BY DEFENSE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Department of Defense has moved to plug a gaping hole in its procurement procedures, which has been costing the taxpayers millions of dollars a year in overcharges on defense contracts.

In a memorandum made public yesterday, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze issued orders which effectively translate into executive action the legislative intent of a bill I introduced 4 months ago. The Comptroller General has indicated that he is satisfied that this will do the job.

My bill—S. 1913—which would require postaward audits on defense contracts grew out of 4 days of hearings last May on Federal procurement procedures conducted by the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee.

The Pentagon's shocking failure to adequately enforce the 1962 Truth in Negotiations Act was brought out very clearly during the hearings in testimony by the Comptroller General, Congress' watchdog over the executive branch. This act, which requires that contracting officers obtain current, accurate and complete cost data from contractors, is the taxpayer's only defense against the establishment of unreasonably high cost levels in negotiated contracts.

The Comptroller General pointed out that the Pentagon's failure to postaudit contracts has been a major factor in contract overpricing. He told the Subcommittee of repeated efforts by his office over the years to persuade the Pentagon to adopt a postaudit policy which would allow them to make sure that actual costs incurred in the performance of a contract were in line with estimated costs given at the time the contract was awarded.

In minimal spot checking, the General Accounting Office uncovered a high number of shocking discrepancies between the original contract estimate and the postaudit figure. In 242 contracts checked, the GAO found 177 cases of inflated pricing for an overcharge in just this handful of contracts of $130 million.

Secretary Nitze's memorandum now establishes just the policy the GAO has been urging and the policy my bill would establish through legislation. The memorandum states that "action shall be taken to include in all noncompetitive firm fixed price contracts involving certified costs or pricing data, a contractual right to have access to the contractor's actual performance records" in order to provide assurance that "defective cost or pricing data had not been submitted prior to consummation of the contract."

The Pentagon should have adopted this policy long ago. Nevertheless, Secretary Nitze is to be congratulated for issuing this memorandum. It takes a long step in the right direction—toward providing the taxpayer with an adequate defense against blatant profiteering on defense contracts.

I ask unanimous consent that Secretary Nitze's memorandum be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, September 29, 1967.

Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), Assistant Secretary of Defense (I&L), Directors of Defense Agencies.

Subject: Access to cost performance records on noncompetitive firm fixed price contracts.

I have given careful consideration to the arguments for and against access to contractor post-award cost performance records on noncompetitive firm fixed price contracts, for the purpose of determining the degree of contractor compliance with PL 87–653. Clearly, it has been and remains our policy that in firm fixed price contracts the cost and profit consequences are the full responsibility of the contractor since he assumes all the risk of performing in accordance with the contract. Likewise, it is our policy that such contracts be used only where there exists a reliable basis for judging reasonableness of contractor cost estimates. Where such a basis does not exist, other contract forms should be used.

The Department of Defense is required to conduct a program of review and audit sufficient to ascertain that the cost or pricing data submitted by contractors in connection with the negotiation of noncompetitive firm fixed price contracts were current, accurate and complete as required by PL 87-653. It is our policy to make such audits, as fully as possible, prior to completing the negotiation of the contract. However, when it is necessary to provide assurance that defective cost or pricing data were not submitted, audits should also be conducted of actual costs incurred after contracts are consummated. To assure that such post-award audits may be conducted when deemed appropriate, action shall be taken to include in all noncompetitive firm fixed price contracts involving certified costs or pricing data, a contractual right to have access to the contractor's actual performance records.

Circumstances which may dictate the use of a post-award cost performance audit include such cases as those where: (1) factors of urgency in placing the initial procurement were clearly present; (2) material costs are a significant portion of the contractor's total cost estimate; (3) a substantial portion of the contract is proposed for subcontracting; or (4) there was a substantial interval between completion of a the pre-contract cost evaluation and agreement on price.

In directing this action, I wish to make it clear that the purpose of any post-award cost performance audit, as provided herein, is limited to the single purpose of determining whether or not defective cost or pricing data were submitted. Access to a contractor's records shall not be for the purpose of evaluating profit-cost relationships, nor shall any repricing of such contracts be made because the realized profit was greater than was forecast, or because some contingency cited by the contractor in his submission failed to materialize—unless the audit reveals that the cost and pricing data certified by the contractor were, in fact, defective.

I desire that the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics) and the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) issue implementing instructions to place the above policies into effect.

PAUL H. NITZE.

VIETNAM

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I wish to share with Senators and all other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent letter I received recently on the war in Vietnam from Maryland's distinguished State Senator, Harry Hughes, the majority leader of Maryland's State Senate. His letter is an articulate expression of what I believe to be an evergrowing concern of the American people with our involvement in Vietnam. Senator Hughes' call for diplomatic flexibility instead of reliance upon false honor or pride to find a solution in Vietnam strikes the right note. Senator Hughes has again demonstrated his ability to deal with complex issues.

I had the honor of serving with Harry Hughes in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1955 to 1959. In 1959, Harry was elevated to the Maryland Senate and has served in that body with great distinction since that time. As majority leader of the senate, he has won the respect and admiration of his fellow legislators. As chairman of the committee on taxation and fiscal matters, he coauthored the "Cooper-Hughes" tax reform plan which was enacted during the last session of the legislature as the "Agnew-Hughes-Lee" tax reform proposal. That measure, Mr. President, was termed a "model of responsibility and fiscal soundness" by no less an authority than Joseph A. Peckman, director of economic studies, the Brookings Institution, and coauthor of the well-known Heller-Peckman plan for Federal tax sharing with the States.

Senator Hughes is an extremely able legislator, and I commend his view on the Vietnam situation to the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that his letter to me, dated September 25, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE OF MARYLAND,
Annapolis, Md., September 25, 1967.

Hon. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOE: I have read with interest your speech on the war in Vietnam given at the University of Maryland.

In commenting on this speech, as requested by you, I must preface my remarks with the obvious statement that my knowledge and information, like the rest of the public, emanates solely from what I have been exposed to through the press and is considerably less than yours and others in responsible positions of authority related to our foreign affairs. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that I speak from an informed position.

However, I am greatly disturbed about the war in Vietnam—the tremendous loss of American lives, the ever increasing and extremely high cost in American dollars, the restrictions and sacrifices it imposes upon meeting domestic programs, the apparent lack of enthusiasm and singlemindedness of purpose among the Vietnamese people regarding the war and its goal, the adverse effect the war seems to be having on our relations with our allies throughout the world, etc. None of these matters of concern is novel to me. They are touched upon in your speech and are disturbing to an evergrowing number of Americans. One cannot help but be aware of this in his daily contacts with people, the press and numerous periodicals.

Consequently, I am inclined to agree with the views set forth in your speech. I believe a complete and objective re-evaluation of our involvement in Vietnam is imperative. I agree with you that the election of a new government in Vietnam offers an opportunity for this re-evaluation that should not be ignored.

In making this re-evaluation (and hopefully sincere negotiations for peace), I would hope that we would not be guided by past commitments possibly made upon mistaken premises. Pride and honor are certainly not to be discounted in upholding the prestige and integrity of any country. But blindly adhering to obsolete commitments based upon the premises, of another time resulting in a tragic loss of lives and a seriously damaging financial drain, becomes false pride and false honor and the justification of maintaining prestige and integrity fails miserably. In fairness to those who have died, to those who live and to future Americans we cannot ignore past mistakes, changing circumstances, existing realities and a realistic evaluation of accomplishments and goals. In other words, our thinking must be flexible, not rigid, and our course of action must be decided by intelligent decisions based upon accurate, sound and current information, not unduly influenced by the industrial-military complex, either theirs or ours.

In closing I would like to make one brief comment about whether or not we should continue bombing North Vietnam and escalating the war. To say the least, the military success of the bombings and escalation appears to be doubtful. On the other hand, I cannot believe that they have not had some favorable effect from a military standpoint. The point, however, is whether or not whatever military success has been realized by the bombings justifies the loss of lives and planes, the damage to our image in the world and the possible damage to our efforts towards peace negotiations.

I recently read of a commission established by President Roosevelt during World War II to make a bombing survey. The purpose of this commission was to objectively determine whether or not the results of the bombing of certain cities justified the death and destruction caused by the bombing. It would seem to me that such a survey made by an impartial, well-staffed, highly authoritative and empowered commission of capable people is in order with regard to the bombing of North Vietnam. This has become a very controversial and emotional issue in this country and a complete, impartial and intelligent review of the bombings and their effect, with a report to the people, might be most helpful. I am sure you are aware of such a proposal.

This has been a rather lengthy letter but the subject matter is most serious and complicated and not subject to simple, brief comments. I hope they are helpful to you even though coming from a poorly informed source.

With best regards, I am
Sincerely,
HARRY R. HUGHES.

LABORATORY ANIMAL LEGISLATION

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, controversy continues to rage over the question of the best way to eliminate intolerable conditions in laboratory animal-care facilities. Despite the fact that there is already effective, though inadequately funded, animal-welfare legislation on the books, a new bill has recently been introduced in the House and the Senate which would nullify the existing law.

The most dismaying provision of the new bill calls for self-policing of laboratory animal-care facilities, thereby eliminating the requirement for Federal inspection and licensing by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the agency presently charged with that responsibility. Experience has demonstrated that self-policing does not work. It did not work in the drug field. It will not work in the laboratory animal field either. I appeal to Congress not to place regulatory responsibility in the hands of those who have a vested interest in evading compliance with presently established standards.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excellent editorial on the subject, published in today's Washington Post, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Protecting Animals

Medical research leaders have suddenly become so zealous for the protection of animals involved in laboratory experimentation that they now want to take over the protecting job themselves. They have been vehemently opposed to protection in the past and were unable to find a kind word to say for P.L. 89–544, the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, when it was passed overwhelmingly by the 89th Congress. Miraculously converted and reformed, however, they have become ardent supporters of a Johnny-come-lately bill proposed by Sen. Jacob Javits and Rep. Paul Rogers.

The Javits-Rogers proposal has admirable features. It would extend protection to all warm-blooded animals, while the existing law covers only dogs, cats, monkeys, hamsters, guinea pigs and rabbits. It would widen the coverage of laboratories and protect research animals throughout their stay in a laboratory, while the existing law protects them only when they are in the hands of dealers and in the laboratory before and after experimentation. We support such protection wholeheartedly.

But the Javits-Rogers proposal would wreck the existing law by the simple device of shifting the inspection of laboratories and research centers from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Could it be that the medical research leaders prefer to entrust enforcement to HEW because they are so influential in that Department through the National Institutes of Health?

The Javits-Rogers proposal threatens to vitiate enforcement in an even worse way—by allowing HEW to delegate inspection and the licensing of laboratories to "professional bodies." The obvious "professional body" in this field is the American Association for the Advancement of Laboratory Animal Care, sponsored by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and the American Medical Association. It sounds a little like assigning Cosa Nostra to guard the banks.

If Messrs. Rogers and Javits really want to improve the protection of research animals, let them safeguard the gains made last year and take their improvements to the Senate Commerce Committee—instead of trying to circumvent that experienced body. And if the AMA really wants to promote animal welfare, let it start lobbying for the funds needed to police last year's law, P.L. 89–544.

BETTER PRIORITIES NEEDED FOR CONTROLLING FEDERAL SPENDING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it has been my strong conviction that if Congress is to control Federal spending effectively, it needs help in determining the relative priorities of different programs. As we are all aware, the present budget process is fragmentary; that is, each appropriation bill is considered separately, so that there is never any opportunity to take a broad view of the entire budget. This system makes it extremely difficult for Congress to make judicious cuts in the President's budget, as is so painfully obvious this year.

This great need for better program evaluation and better determination of priorities underlies my bill, S. 2032, which would set up a Government Commission to review both old and new Federal programs to determine their cost effectiveness. The Commission would provide Congress with a rational set of program priorities and would make it possible for Congress to postpone those Federal activities least needed. It would eliminate the need for desperate meatax cuts which affect good programs as well as bad.

The need for such a rational system for establishing priorities was emphatically pointed out in an editorial entitled "Priorities, Not Curbs," published in Sunday's Washington Post. I was especially gratified that the editorial mentioned the testimony received by the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Economy in Government regarding the misallocation of resources by the Federal Government through use of unrealistically low discount rates.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Priorities, Not Curbs

The House action in sending back a routine financing bill to the Appropriations Committee for reduction comes as no surprise. The proposals for an income tax surcharge and the widespread feeling that Federal spending has gotten out of control are engendering a sense of frustration. But the meat-ax approach of across-the-board expenditure reductions for non-defense programs will be counterproductive. If expenditures are to be controlled in a rational fashion, Congress should establish priorities and then proceed to fund those programs which promise to satisfy the most pressing needs.

The goals that a country can realize through public expenditure—better education, more habitable cities, cleaner rivers or security from external threats—are over the longer run jointly determined by its wealth and the resources that its citizens are willing to transfer by taxation from private consumption to the public sector. This is a very rich country, but there are nonetheless limits on the rapidity with which public expenditures can grow without a concomitant reduction in private expenditures or a serious price inflation. That limit is not approached in periods of idle productive capacity, but it does exist. Congress knows through its political antennae that the electorate will at any time demand more Federal services than it is willing to pay for through taxation. So does the President. That is why there are efforts, unfortunately ineffectual efforts, to establish priorities, to decide which Federal programs should take precedence over others. Only by establishing priorities and measures of the effectiveness of Government programs can a society pursue its goals in a rational fashion.

The objection to expenditure curbs is that they fail to go to the root of the matter. Across-the-board reductions affect all programs, the good and the bad, in an indiscriminate fashion. As a result of delays, the cost of some good programs may well be increased. Furthermore, there is no sound justification for concentrating all the fire on nondefense programs. Can it be assumed that *all* the defense programs are essential? If there is waste and inefficiency in the Federal establishment, is there any reason for believing that the defense programs are somehow exempt? It is axiomatic that all the progress of the Federal Government cannot be assigned the same priority, nor are they equally effective in attaining their stated goals.

But neither the Congress nor the Executive is facing up squarely to the need for a system of establishing expenditure priorities. Three witnesses, respected economists, recently testified before the Joint Economic Committee that billions of dollars are being wasted every year because the wrong interest rate is used to determine the benefits of public works projects. Senator Proxmire put the matter bluntly when he said that: "We make no effort to determine whether the Federal Government can better invest funds . . . or whether it is wiser to leave that investment to the private economy. We have no sensible ways of determining whether we are going to get back in benefits the costs of the billions of dollars which this Government invests every year."

Curbs that are fashioned in a fever pitch of anger will not reverse the trend of Federal expenditure. At best it will check the rise for more than a single year; at worst it will disrupt effective programs. There is, in short no alternative to a rational system for establishing priorities.

HUMANE CARE FOR LABORATORY ANIMALS

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, last year the Senate approved by a 85-to-0 vote the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, which for the first time, provides humane care and treatment for the thousands of animals used in laboratory research. The act, Public Law 89–544, applies to both animal dealers and research laboratories. It authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to administer and enforce the program.

On September 27 the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] introduced a bill with the appealing title, "Humane Laboratory Animal Treatment Act of 1967," which would repeal Public Law 89–544 and permit the research laboratories, which have fought so long and hard against any regulation or requirement for humane treatment, to police their own actions. It would take away the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to require humane care and treatment of animals by research laboratories.

There was strong editorial support throughout the country last year for Public Law 89–544. That support remains. I am delighted that leading editorial writers are so alert to the seemingly innocuous, but deadly, provisions of Senator Javits' bill, which would eliminate the effective regulation of research laboratories.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record editorials published in the Christian Science Monitor, the Evening Star, the Courier-Journal & Times, and the Washington Post, which expose the Javits bill for what it is—an attempt to undo what Congress did last year by repealing effective animal-care regulation of research laboratories.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 21, 1967]

Laboratory Animal Welfare

When the 89th Congress, by an overwhelming majority, passed P.L. 89–544, the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, humanitarians might well have supposed that relief from intolerable conditions on dealers' premises, in transit, and in research laboratories was in sight. But behind-the-scenes opposition has been quietly at work to delay and to nullify.

Sen. Jacob Javits has circularized the Senate with a letter asking for cosponsors on a draft of a new laboratory animal bill. It has been characterized by Senator Javits as an "extension of P.L. 89–544"; but in reality it would repeal the major coverage of that act, which is to regulate conditions in laboratories and medical research centers. Senator Javits' proposed bill would still leave with the Department of Agriculture the enforcement of that part of the law involving dealers' premises. But it would take away from that department the enforcement of the clauses involving laboratories and medical research centers and would transfer it to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This department would, in turn, be authorized to delegate the inspection to "professional bodies." The main accrediting body would almost certainly be the American Association for the Advancement of Laboratory Animal Care, which is sponsored by such groups as the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and the American Medical Association. These groups would obviously be liable to motivation by self-interest. Yet Senator Javits' proposal would use taxpayer's money to pay for this self-policing.

As P.L. 89–544 now stands, the inspection of both dealers' premises and laboratories is carried out by veterinarians employed by the Department of Agriculture—men who bring to the job an objective viewpoint, with no self-interest involved.

Senator Javits has stated that he and Congressman Paul Rogers will introduce the new bill concurrently in Senate and House. Such a bill should attract no cosponsors in the Senate, and its companion bill should receive no support in the House. Self-policing by vested interests must be no part of any law designed for the protection of laboratory animals.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 23, 1967]

Animal Welfare, Round 2

According to a letter he has mailed to colleagues, Senator Javits of New York plans to introduce a bill soon, similar to one by Representative Rogers of Florida, which would tinker with the sensible Laboratory Animal Welfare Act enacted last year.

On the face of it, his amendment bears a humanitarian label. It would repeal a section of the law and require laboratory researchers to administer anesthesia to animals they are using in those experiments likely to cause pain.

But this clause, apparently a sop to the antivivisectionists, carries a price tag. First, it is hedged by an exception that anesthesia needn't be used it if would "defeat the objective" of the experiment.

Other more sweeping changes also are proposed. Regulatory authority over laboratories would be taken away from the Department of Agriculture, which is impartial and has no axe to grind in this matter, and would be given to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which fought the bill as enacted last year. Furthermore, HEW would be empowered to farm out inspection of laboratories to a private group. It seems highly likely this would be the same outfit friendly to the medical fraternity that was proposed last year in a defeated amendment.

The motive for the Javits-Rogers bills seems clear. They have bought the line that the present law is a move toward federal control over research, and that the best way to weaken this is by bankrolling a private inspection organization that will not embarrass laboratories with over-zealous inspections.

The present law, if backed with adequate funds, will do the job. It will not be improved by the Javits-Rogers amendment.

[From the Courier-Journal & Times, Sept. 24, 1967]

This Act Would Hurt, Not Help Animals

When a long fight ends in the adoption of a satisfactory law, it is a great pity to tamper with it. Such a battle, led by dedicated and determined women all over America, resulted in the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act of 1966. Its official designation is P. L. 89–544.

Now come Rep. Paul Rogers and Sen. Jacob Javits with a joint bill which purports to improve last year's measure. Unfortunately, their bill would have the opposite effect. It would weaken the 1966 act and disrupt its administration, even before it has had a chance to prove its workability.

The Rogers-Javits bill would take the enforcement of humane standards in animal laboratories out of the hands of the Department of Agriculture and put it under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This sounds like a harmless shift from one government agency to another. What it really entails, however, is a new set of standards to replace the good requirements now in use.

Inspection and accreditation of animal laboratories, too, would pass to outside groups which have an interest in maintaining relatively lax standards of care. One visit would serve to accredit a laboratory for five years, without a second inspection.

Javits and Rogers call their bill a mere "extension" of P.L. 89–544. But what it really represents is a fundamental change, which would give less protection than more.

The 1966 bill was thrashed out after years of work and extensive hearings. It should be allowed to stand without amendment, at least for a reasonable period of trial.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 2, 1967]

Protecting Animals

Medical research leaders have suddenly become so zealous for the protection of animals involved in laboratory experimentation that they now want to take over the protecting job themselves. They have been vehemently opposed to protection in the past and were unable to find a kind word to say for P.L. 89–544, the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, when it was passed overwhelmingly by the 89th Congress. Miraculously converted and reformed, however, they have become ardent supporters of a Johnny-come-lately bill proposed by Sen. Jacob Javits and Rep. Paul Rogers.

The Javits-Rogers proposal has admirable features. It would extend protection to all warmblooded animals, while the existing law covers only dogs, cats, monkeys, hamsters, guinea pigs and rabbits. It would widen the coverage of laboratories and protect research animals throughout their stay in a laboratory, while the existing law protects them only when they are in the hands of dealers and in the laboratory before and after experimentation. We support such protection wholeheartedly.

But the Javits-Rogers proposal would wreck the existing law by the simple device of shifting the inspection of laboratories and research centers from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Could it be that the medical research leaders prefer to entrust enforcement to HEW because they are so influential in that Department through the National Institutes of Health?

The Javits-Rogers proposal threatens to vitiate enforcement in an even worse way—by allowing HEW to delegate inspection and the licensing of laboratories to "professional bodies." The obvious "professional body" in this field is the American Asssociation for the Advancement of Laboratory Animal Care, sponsored by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and the American Medical Association. It sounds a little like assigning Cosa Nostra to guard the banks.

If Messrs. Rogers and Javits really want to improve the protection of research animals, let them safeguard the gains made last year and take their improvements to the Senate Commerce Committee—instead of trying to circumvent that experienced body. And if the AMA really wants to promote animal welfare, let it start lobbying for the funds needed to police last year's law, P.L. 89–544.

ELECTION OF NEW BOARD OF FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the New York Times of September 29 reported the election of a new board of the Foreign Service Association, an election which was apparently the product of a write-in campaign aimed at providing the association with more activist-minded leadership. This development strikes me as a good sign for the future of the Foreign Service.

The election was, however, a sign that the present state of affairs in the Foreign Service is apparently quite unsatisfactory in many respects. The New York Times reported the remark, attributed to an Association spokeman, that the election reflects "a general mood of grievance and concern, a sense of frustration and malaise about the state of morale" at the State Department and among career officers of the Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency. The article went on to note that the problems which worry officers of these agencies include "the demand of career officers at all levels for more responsibility, more pay at lower grades and a more acceptable system of promotion and career planning at the upper grades."

These comments do not come as news to any of us familiar with the Foreign Service. As I have pointed out on the floor of the Senate, anyone who has more than a superficial contact with the Foreign Service, and with AID and USIA, knows that morale in these organizations leaves much to be desired. On June 20, I said on the floor that I thought that the time had come "to make a comprehensive study of this country's requirements, present resources, and future needs not only in the Department of State and Foreign Service but also in USIA, AID, the Department of Defense, and the other principal government agencies involved in foreign affairs." I mentioned that I had written the President in October 1966, "suggesting that he consider appointing a high-level, blue-ribbon Presidential committee to take a new, thorough, and objective look at these organizational problems." I added that it seemed logical to me "that the Department would be glad to see such a committee established and would feel a responsibility to its employees to see that the best available minds in the United States were set to work" on these problems.

My proposal does not seem to have been received with much enthusiasm by the Department of State. On August 2, I wrote Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, mentioning my suggestion again and pointing out to him that the discussions in the committee on several recent legislative proposals relating to USIA and AID personnel "showed clearly that there is a growing feeling in the committee that the time has come to drop the piecemeal approach in favor of making a thorough study."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Diplomats' Group Elects Activists," published in the September 29 issue of the New York Times, and my letter of August 2 to Under Secretary Katzenbach be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIPLOMATS' GROUP ELECTS ACTIVISTS—WRITE-IN SLATE GAINS CONTROL OF FOREIGN SERVICE SOCIETY

WASHINGTON, September 28.—A slate of activist-minded Foreign Service officers, campaigning on a write-in-ticket that promised fellow professional diplomats a chance to air their grievances, took control of the 7,000-member Foreign Service Association today.

A spokesman said the slate's victory in what had traditionally been routine annual elections of the professional group reflected "a general mood of grievance and concern, a sense of frustration and malaise about the state of morale" at the State Department and among career officers at the Agency for International Development and the United States Information Agency.

Lannon Walker, the new board chairman of the association, said the mood had developed over the last 18 months.

"This has been going on for some time in small groups—talking, writing papers, open letters and so forth," said Mr. Walker, 31 years old, a middle-level officer. "A couple of us decided about six months ago that we'd better stop talking and start organizing."

A SAY IN THEIR CAREERS

"Our decision to run for office was to give ourselves a more powerful position from which to take independent positions to that foreign affairs professionals would, for the first time, have a say in what their careers should be and how the foreign affairs community should be organized," Mr. Walker said. "And we feel these views should be stated clearly and forcefully."

Mr. Walker and other new officers shied away from calling their campaign a "Young Turk" movement, noting that three of the 11 new directors of the association were senior officers.

But they acknowledged that much of the impetus had come from junior-level and middle-level officers who had been dissatisfied with the relative inactivity of the association.

The association, a private organization for career officers in the State Department, the A.I.D., the U.S.I.A. and the Peace Corps, was established in 1918.

In the past, the State Department and other agencies have consulted association officers on personnel and administrative matters affecting career officers.

SPIRIT OF FRATERNITY

Its purposes have been to promote the spirit of fraternity among professional foreign affairs officers and to project their good name and well-being. The association had a voice in the preparation of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Nonetheless, many Foreign Service officers say that until now the association has amounted to what one called "a company union."

The new board of directors, chosen indirectly in worldwide balloting between July 1 and Sept. 10, has an average age of 36. It includes two junior officers, equivalent to Army captains; six middle-grade officers, equivalent to Army majors and colonels, and three senior officers, equivalent to brigadier and major generals.

Mr. Walker, who joined the Foreign Service in 1961 after serving in the Air Force, is chairman. Theodore L. Eliot Jr., 39, who has been in the State Department for 18 years, is vice-chairman.

KOHLER PRAISES ACTIVISM

The president of the association, re-appointed by the new board, is Foy D. Kohler, Deputy Under Secretary of State and the ranking career diplomat in the Foreign Service.

In a speech to an association meeting today, Mr. Kohler praised the bold spirit of the new board. He observed that in the past the Foreign Service had "given the appearance of dreading change."

He said he was "pleased" by the new spirit of activism.

"I refer to an inclination to look the world straight in the eye, take its measure without flinching or equivocation and to respond to its challenges," he said.

He also praised a number of transitional studies started under the auspices of the out-going board.

One, he noted, recommended that the association concentrate "on becoming an organization with a serious intellectual base and an active—even combative—concern for the people at the heart of foreign affairs, regardless of their agency affiliation."

Mr. Kohler also referred to exploratory talks with labor unions of comparable professional or Government employes such as the American Federation of Government Employes and the National Federation of Professional Organizations.

The new board of directors has not yet made public any specific program, other officers said. But the private comments of several new board members and other diplomats indicated the following general areas of concern:

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

This includes the demand of career officers at all levels for more responsibility, more pay at lower grades and a more equitable system of promotion and career planning at the upper grades.

The situation is aggravated, new leaders maintain, by the top-heavy structure of the Foreign Service, which is now overloaded with senior officers. Some of these say privately they are concerned about new regulations that would force them into early retirement if they remain in any individual grade for too many years.

"In some cases," said a sympathetic middle-grade officer who asked to remain anonymous, "this would penalize some of our brighter lights. These were the guys who were promoted fast to the top ranks ten years ago and then, because of the logjam at the top, have had to stay there."

Others worry in private about what they consider to be a shift toward the military career system, in which many officers count on leaving after 20 years of active duty.

"If this is what is going to be expected. We want to know about it in advance," the middle-grade officer explained. "But most of us count on a lifetime career in the foreign service.

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

In his speech, Mr. Kohler alluded to the feelings of many officers that the foreign affairs community, consisting of the several government agencies dealing with foreign affairs, could be better organized.

Privately, some middle-level State Department officials express frustration at their inability to exert the leadership role that they think the State Department should have. New board members say they would like to see the association come up with proposals for improving the situation.

THE PRESTIGE PROBLEMS

The underlying feeling, as one of the new board members put it, is that there is an unfair gap between the public view of the foreign affairs professionals and the feeling of the Foreign Service corps that they represent a highly qualified, well-educated, dedicated elite group of government servants.

This viewpoint was spelled out by six middle-level officers in a letter to the Foreign Service Journal in November, 1966. The letter was headed, "Are We Obsolete?" The Journal is the monthly publication of the association.

AUGUST 2, 1967.

Hon. NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KATZENBACH: It occurred to me that now that you have been Under Secretary of State for some ten months, you might have had some second thoughts on my suggestion, made in a letter to the President last October, that a blue-ribbon Presidential commission be established to examine thoroughly the organization of not only the Foreign Service but all government agencies involved in the conduct of our foreign relations. I know that when I talked to you about this proposal last January you felt that you would prefer to undertake this task yourself. I can fully appreciate the fact that more pressing problems have prevented you from devoting your attention to this complicated matter; in fact, I was skeptical from the beginning that you would ever find the time to do so.

Since our talk, there have been several legislative proposals before the Committee relating to U.S.I.A. and A.I.D. personnel. The discussion of these measures showed clearly that there is a growing feeling in the Committee that the time has come to drop the piecemeal approach in favor of making a thorough study of this country's requirements, present resources and future needs with respect to personnel engaged in foreign affairs.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman.

U.S. SUPPORT OF U.N. SULLIED BY FAILURE TO RATIFY HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—CIL

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] has been joined by a growing number of Senators in requesting United Nations action as a possible means of bringing peace and stability to Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

I welcome the majority leader's suggestion of an enlarged role of the United Nations in working toward a just and honorable peace in Vietnam.

I would also suggest that the support of the United Nations by the United States is somewhat suspect in view of this Nation's failure to ratify a single human rights convention. Our national failure to ratify any of these conventions stands in direct contradiction of our stated allegiance to the U.N.

Everyone is for human rights. The human rights conventions constitute an honest attempt to translate cherished human rights into international legal rights: to establish minimum universal standards of human dignity. The question can rightly be asked: "Just how much does the United States care about the work of the U.N. when the United States can ignore the Genocide Conventions for 18 years?"

This is a valid question and one which is not easily answered. Our unexplained failure to ratify any of these conventions embarrasses our allies and provides tons of propaganda for unfriendly nations.

The United States does not have to

take a back seat to any nation in human rights. I am proud of our Nation's continuing struggle to extend and guarantee human rights to every American citizen. Yet we have failed to ratify Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery—treaties that guarantee freedoms which are already the birthright of every American.

I urge the Senate to reaffirm this Nation's support of the United Nations in a very meaningful way by giving our advice and consent to all the human rights conventions before us.

By so doing, we will put the United States squarely on record on the question of international human rights as well as give the United Nations a real lift when that world organization badly needs our endorsement.

THE NATURE OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I have read with interest the remarks in the RECORD made yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] concerning the nature of our involvement in Vietnam.

The Senator has in his usually able fashion pointed out what is to me the single most important facet of our involvement there—the fact that our presence in Vietnam is welcomed by our Asian friends and the neighbors of South Vietnam. They welcome our involvement there because they realize, as Senator McGEE notes, that we are the wall—the umbrella—that shields them from Communist aggression.

As the Senator succinctly put it:

> They do not want to be confronted by a new regime forced upon them by the mobilizing of terrorist groups from the outside. It is as simple and as elementary as that.

I agree. It is that simple. There has grown up around the entire question of Vietnam a body of nebulous charges as to who involved us in Vietnam, why we are involved in Vietnam, and the nature of our national interest in Vietnam. The remarks of Senator McGEE have helped to put the problem back in perspective.

In this same connection, I should like to recommend to the Senate an article written by the distinguished author Mr. Eugene Lyons, and published in the October issue of the Reader's Digest. In the article, Mr. Lyons quotes Senator McGEE as saying:

> To understand Vietnam, it is necessary to understand that the issue is not Vietnam. Rather, it is the chance to achieve stability in all of Eastern Asia.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled, appropriately, "Vietnam: The Charges and the Facts," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM: THE CHARGES AND THE FACTS

(By Eugene Lyons)

(NOTE.—In Vietnam the United States is fighting a bloody war that has not been officially "declared" by Congress. Consequently there are none of the legal restraints on domestic dissent that prevail in wartime, and opponents of the military action have made the most of this situation. It is easy to overestimate the magnitude of the opposition because of its emotionalism and sheer decibel power. The fact is, nevertheless, that the majority of the American people, if polls are to be credited, support the war. But even among supporters the dissenters' arguments have generated confusion and skepticism. Here, then, are some of the critics' principal charges—and the hard facts that overwhelmingly refute them.)

Charge: "If we were not already involved as we are today in Vietnam, I would know no reason why we should wish to become so involved," George F. Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow and Belgrade, testified at Congressional hearings. Our policy makers, Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota wrote, "have distorted history to justify our intervention in a civil conflict." These claims imply that U.S. commitments to defend the life of South Vietnam were exaggerated and did not bind us to intervene with military force.

Fact: Through its adherence to SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), the United States in 1954 pledged explicitly to use "appropriate means" (a diplomatic euphemism for military force) to meet any threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of South Vietnam. Thereafter, three successive Washington administrations consistently committed themselves to protect the national independence of that newborn nation, and economic and military aid to the Saigon government has been approved by Congress year after year.

The purpose of all this, as President Eisenhower explained to President Diem of South Vietnam in October 1954, was to assist in developing a "strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means," Six years later, Eisenhower again assured Diem that "for so long as our strength can be useful, the United States will continue to assist Vietnam in the difficult yet hopeful struggle ahead." President Kennedy reaffirmed this pledge in a letter to Diem on December 14, 1961, adding, "If the communist authorities in North Vietnam will stop their campaign to destroy the Republic of Vietnam, the measures we are taking to assist your defense efforts will no longer be necessary." The promise was sufficiently clear that if the campaign did continue, so would the American commitment to frustrate it.

In early August 1964, two U.S. destroyers were attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the international waters of the Gulf of Tonkin. Congress responded to this act of war at once. On August 7, it passed a joint resolution, with only two negative votes, authorizing the President to "take all necessary measures to prevent further aggression." The United States was prepared, it said, to use armed force "to assist any member or protocol state of SEATO requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." (South Vietnam, while not a member of the organization, is a "protocol state" under its protection.) That Congressional authorization remains in effect today.

Since then, of course, the record is replete with further official commitments to prevent the extinction of South Vietnam. At a White House press conference on July 28, 1965, for instance, President Johnson said, "We are in Vietnam to fulfill one of the most solemn pledges of the American nation. We cannot now dishonor our word or abandon our commitment or leave those who believed in us to the terror and repression and murder that would follow."

There may be room for dispute on the wisdom of the commitments and the actions taken to implement them, but not on their compelling reality. Solemn obligations have been assumed at the highest levels of government and approved by Congress. In the course of the years, moreover, these commitments have acquired moral dimensions. Ever since 1954, American pronouncements have encouraged the South Vietnamese to persevere in resisting communism. To leave them now to the mercies of the enemy would be close to betrayal. American credibility and honor are clearly on the line in Vietnam.

Charge: The United States has no business being in Vietnam. In the words of Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, "the war has no rational political purpose." We are acting, some critics say, through "a psychotic fear of communism," though communism has long ceased to be a real menace.

Fact: As far back as June 1, 1956, Sen. John F. Kennedy, at a conference of the American Friends of Vietnam in Washington, emphasized the great American stakes in Vietnam. "Vietnam," he stated, "represents the cornerstone of the free world in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike. Burma, Thailand, India, Japan, the Philippines, and obviously Laos and Cambodia would be threatened if the red tide of communism overflowed into Vietnam. The fundamental tenets of this nation's foreign policy, in short, depend in considerable measure upon a strong and free Vietnam."

Hanoi's conquest of South Vietnam could touch off a chain reaction of those "wars of liberation" which Red China and the U.S.S.R. equally have defined as their main technique for encircling and strangling the world of freedom. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on August 3, 1965, "If we were to fail in Vietnam, our adversaries would be encouraged to take greater risks elsewhere." Confirmation of this prospect comes constantly from the communists themselves. They candidly acknowledge that Vietnam is the test case for their liberation-war plans. "Within a short time," a delegate from North Vietnam declared at the Tricontinental Conference of world communism in Havana in 1966, "there will be not one but many Vietnams."

"To understand Vietnam," Sen. Gale McGee of Wyoming said at American University in Washington last June, "it is necessary to understand that the issue is not Vietnam. Rather, it is the chance to achieve stability in all of eastern Asia. What is happening along both sides of the 17th parallel might well have happened instead in the Philippines or in Thailand or Burma. It just happened to happen in Vietnam." And in his last recorded words, only half an hour before he died, Adlai Stevenson touched the heart of the matter. "My hope in Vietnam," he said, "is that resistance there may establish the fact that changes in Asia are not to be precipitated by outside forces."

Already the mere American presence in South Vietnam has raised the political morale in the small countries within the shadow of Red Chinese power. Those countries are showing new courage in tackling common social and economic problems through collective action. "If the Americans succeed in Vietnam," Thanat Khoman, Thailand's foreign minister, has declared, "there will be no second Vietnam, no third Vietnam." In the course of his recent American visit, Harold Holt, prime minister of Australia, told the press that American steadfastness in Southeast Asia had indirectly helped the defeat of communism in Indonesia.

Ugly and costly as the war has turned out to be, Vietnam was the right place and the right time to meet a life-and-death challenge in a critical part of our shrinking world. The argument that "we have no business" to be in Vietnam is a formula that opens wide the gates to aggressive communism—a virtual guarantee of bigger and more dangerous challenge elsewhere.

Charge: "While calling for negotiations, we are practicing military escalation and diplomatic rigidity in such a fashion as to foreclose negotiations." This assertion by Senator McGovern reflects the fact that millions at home and abroad are honestly convinced that the United States has evaded peace talks. The demand that the United States "negotiate now" has been inscribed on myriad antiwar placards.

Fact: Never before in history has the stronger nation in a war pleaded so persistently with a weaker adversary for peace talks on almost any terms short of surrender, only to be repeatedly repulsed and insulted.

The State Department in late April made public an inventory of 28 proposals for talks made by the United States and intermediaries. An unofficial accounting by *U.S. News & World Report* placed the peace feelers between February '65 and March '67 at 45. But whatever the score, the common element in every case has been a firm rejection either by North Vietnam or by Red China in its behalf. Hanoi actually boasted that it had turned down the 28 U.S. peace initiatives listed by the State Department—five of them directly from the President—as mere "imperialist tricks." In these same years not a single direct feeler looking to negotiation or deescalation of the conflict has come from North Vietnam.

In view of this record the continuing clamor for instant negotiations surpasses understanding. Strangely, the demands are directed not to reluctant Hanoi but to overeager Washington. It is easy to understand the note of frustration in President Johnson's speech before the American Physical Society in April: "I want to negotiate. But I can't negotiate with myself."

At one point in 1964, it is true, the United States failed to respond to what U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, reported as willingness by Hanoi to make contact with Americans in Rangoon, Burma. At that juncture the cards were so heavily stacked for the communists that few even among the so-called doves saw any sense in the meeting. The Vietcong was then at the peak of its victories and the Saigon government tottering; the American forces in Vietnam, still in an advisory role, were extremely minor. Negotiations then could only have been a cover for surrender.

Early in 1965, a more reasonable ratio of strength was attained. But at that point North Vietnam was indicating an impossible precondition for negotiation: the withdrawal of all American forces. Thereafter, when the United States began selective bombing, it switched to insistence upon permanent and unconditional cessation of that bombing, but without offering so much as a token move to match the American reduction in the level of fighting.

From that time forward, not only have the pressures for negotiations been entirely one-sided, but every American offer has been tailored to overcome previous communist objections. In an address in Baltimore on April 7, 1965, President Johnson consented to "unconditional discussions." Hanoi promptly denounced it as "a smoke screen to cover up the U.S. imperialists' military adventures in Vietnam." Then, when Hanoi charged that the U.S. was not willing to deal with North Vietnam's political arm in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, and its Vietcong terrorists, Washington made it clear that they would indeed be acceptable as partners to negotiation. Yet approaches to Hanoi, as well as Washington attempts to submit the issues to the U.N., have consistently been rebuffed.

On February 20, 1965, Britain proposed that Soviet Russia join her in seeking a settlement of the war. A spokesman for the NLF replied that first "the U.S. imperialists must withdraw all their troops." Ten weeks later, on April 1, seventeen nonaligned nations appealed for unconditional negotiations. Washington approved their initiative, but again the reply was, in substance, "Nothing doing while American forces are in Vietnam."

During and after the Christmas truce in December 1965, the United States prolonged its cessation of bombing for 37 days. Against this background of unilateral restraint, it mounted a dramatic peace offensive. U.S. diplomatic envoys visited 34 capitals to seek support for negotiations, and the President addressed many heads of state to the same effect. U.N. Secretary General U Thant and dozens of governments begged Ho Chi Minh to agree to talks. Not only did Hanoi denounce all of it as "a large-scale deceptive peace campaign," but it raised the ante with a demand that the bombing be called off not merely unconditionally but permanently.

Then, in August 1966, the foreign ministers of Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines sought an all-Asian effort to set talks in motion. They, too, were dismissed by Hanoi as "third-class henchmen of the United States" engaged in a "cheap farce." At the United Nations in the following month, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg offered the withdrawal of troops and a halt to bombing, and possible admission of the Vietcong to peace talks. The United States and six of its allies, meeting in Manila in October 1966, proposed a six-point plan for peace, which the communists at once condemned as "a swindle."

This is only a partial accounting. Hoping that North Vietnam might be more amenable to secret talks, Washington has made a number of unpublicized approaches. All in vain. If anything is clear it is that all possible paths to the conference table have been blocked not by Washington but by the communists.

Charge: U.S. bombing is the stumbling block on the path to peace. At an international *Pacem in Terris* conference in Geneva last May, the Rev. Martin Luther King called for an "end of all bombing of North Vietnam in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiations." A Canadian delegate, Chester A. Ronning, saw cessation of bombing as the first step toward "a dialogue among the parties to the conflict." "Stop the Bombing" is the No. 1 antiwar slogan.

Fact: On five occasions American bombing was halted as part of a holiday truce. In each instance Hanoi found excuses for evading peace talks. Instead it has exploited pauses to speed up its flow of supplies to the South. After the six-day cessation of bombing last February, for example, the Pentagon disclosed that the enemy had transported 23,000 tons of materials—"the largest resupply ever detected."

Under the circumstances Washintgon can hardly be blamed for resisting the demands for an unconditional and permanent end to bombing. American authorities have made plain that to bring about peace talks they are prepared to suspend bombing, provided Hanoi will suspend further infiltration of men and supplies into the South. They are urging, in substance, a freeze on the force levels of both sides, preferably with a ceasefire, but without one if necessary.

It should be obvious that, without such reciprocal action, the United States and its allies would face a constantly strengthened Vietcong as the hoped-for peace talks dragged on month after month. (It should not be forgotten that aobut one half of American casualties in Korea were sustained after the start of peace talks.) North Vietnam would again become a privileged sanctuary. And if obliged to resume air operations above the 17th parallel to stem the tide of enemy reinforcements, the United States would inevitably be accused by the whole world of disrupting the negotiations. These are the realities ignored by those who urge cessation of bombings and no questions asked. Even columnist Walter Lippmann, a relentless opponent of American policy on Vietnam, concedes that to promise a *permanent* suspension of bombing would be an "absurdity." Yet the enemy will accept nothing else.

In a secret letter to Ho Chi Minh on February 2 of this year, President Johnson went close to the limit on this issue. "I am prepared," he wrote, "to order a cessation of bombing against your country and the stopping of further augmentation of United States forces in South Vietnam as soon as I am assured that infiltration into South Vietnam by land and by sea has stopped."

Ho's response, on February 15, accused the United States of "crimes against peace and against mankind." The United States, he said, "must cease this aggression, must stop unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war." Only after that could his government "enter into talks."

In the light of such communist rigidity, only wishful thinking could justify another unconditional cessation. Surely, if Hanoi really had a change of mind, it is resourceful enough to convey that fact to Washington. The stakes are too high for another round in a murky guessing game.

Despite the clouds of confusion thrown around the issue, Hanoi knows it can get a cessation of American bombing at any time for the asking. The sole condition is a reduction in its own level of operations to match. This is not only reasonable but the least the United States can do to protect its own forces and those of its allies.

NEW YORK TIMES CALLS SPENDING CUT, NOT TAX HIKE, BEST ANTI-INFLATIONARY MEDICINE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this morning's New York Times argues very persuasively that the tax hike proposed by the administration will not do the big anti-inflationary job that the administration says it will.

The Times points to the size of the tax increase—only about 1 percent of the gross national product—and also says that the tax might very well persuade corporations and labor to raise the price of what they sell.

I might add, Mr. President, that because the tax hike itself tends to slow down the economy and reduce income and jobs, it will yield far less than the amount the administration has indicated. Indeed, as some economists have told the Joint Economic Committee, it could have precisely the reverse effect of the 1964 tax cut which, in the view of most economists, actually increased revenues by increasing jobs and incomes.

Similarly, the 1967 tax hike could reduce, not increase, revenues and increase the size of the budget deficit.

Furthermore, as the New York Times has said, a spending cut can accomplish the same effect as a tax hike without the explicit inflationary impact of higher taxes contributing to higher prices. And, as the New York Times points out, there are plenty of places to cut without turning our backs on our social or international responsibilities.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Inflation Insurance," published in this morning's New York Times, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFLATION INSURANCE?

President Johnson's warning that his proposal for tax increases is essential if the hidden tax extorted by a future inflationary spiral is to be avoided overlooks the fact that the nation's consumers are already suffering the evil effects of inflation. This year's upsurge in prices, coming on top of the sharp rises of 1966, has shrunk consumer purchasing power and provoked organized labor's swollen wage demands.

Unfortunately, the President's proposal for a 10 per cent surcharge will do nothing now to halt the present wave of inflation. A tax increase might still be justified if it would really eliminate the threat of inflation in the future, but it is highly doubtful that Mr. Johnson's admittedly small request, averaging about 1 per cent of the present tax and providing only about $7 billion in added revenues, is adequate for the purpose.

If the economic situation is as critical as Administration spokesmen say it is, this much of an increase in revenues is not going to be enough to curb inflationary price rises or prevent a fresh escalation in interest rates. Certainly it is too small to make much of a dent in a Federal budget deficit estimated to run from $19 billion to $29 billion. The surcharge might in fact prompt industry to raise prices in order to maintain profits and cause labor to press for even bigger wage increases. So instead of acting as a deterrent, it could be another spur to inflation.

A safer and surer way to guard against price rises is to reduce Federal spending that is not absolutely required to support the war in Vietnam and the fight against poverty. Mr. Johnson has observed that it took political courage to press for tax increases, but it would require even more courage to bring down spending by cuts in the Congressional pork barrel and other entrenched sources of waste and extravagance. By waging a fight for spending cuts, the President would not only lessen the threat of future inflation. He would also be doing something positive to cope with the inflation that is already here.

SELF-EVALUATION OF POVERTY PROGRAMS OF SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHOE TRIBES OF WIND RIVER RESERVATION, WYO.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, recently I received in the mail a rather concise self-evaluation of the poverty programs which are being carried on among members of the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indian Tribes on the Wind River Reservation of Wyoming. The overall community action program on the reservation is broad-based and popular and covers much ground, ranging from the publication of an excellent and informative newsletter to self-help housing. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the report from Mr. J. C. Sollars, reservation director of the community action program.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHOE TRIBES,
Fort Washakie, Wyo., September 26, 1967.
Senator GALE MCGEE,
U.S. Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCGEE: On July 11, 1967, the O.E.O. Committee met for the purpose of evaluating our existing O.E.O. Program, its components and allied activities.

These items included Conduct & Administration, Newsletter, Agricultural Extension, Head Start, NYC (Out of School, Summer & In School). Adult Basic Education, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Alcoholism, Legal Aid, GSA Surplus Property, Educational Survey, Community Survey, Industrial Developments, Self Help Housing, Low Rent Housing, Rural Area Redevelopment Funds and MDTA Programs plus five VISTA workers.

This meeting lasted over four hours and persons responsible for each aspect gave a report and answered questions for the group.

The principal goal of our overall C.A.P. Program has been education and employment. Following this hearing it was moved and passed by a unanimous vote to recommend to the Shoshone and Arapahoe Joint Business Council that continual support be given to the O.E.O. Program. This recommendation was endorsed by a unanimous vote of the Shoshone and Arapahoe Joint Business Council the following week.

From an administrative position, it becomes difficult to rate one program over another so let me put them all together and list some details of each program.

All our employees have been hired locally except our professional employees: three Head Start teachers, one attorney and one director. We also have one Japanese employee, three rehabilitated employees, one alcoholic, one war veteran and one with a felony record. We further have one person who has been through a bankruptcy charge and two people who were previously on welfare. All of these employees are currently doing an excellent job for us. Our staff is composed largely of family people who are supporting 68 children.

We have had a waiting list for our NYC Program since it has been in operation. We have also had a waiting list for work stations which indicate how well the program has been received. Transportation has been a problem for us in a rural area. Our greatest pleasure from our NYC Program has come from the permanent job placement these young people have secured. Twelve NYC enrollees who were in this year's quota of 38 Out of School (drop outs) have returned to school. Six have found regular work, five have gone into the military service, two boys and one girl entered Job Corps, two enrollees went on job relocation and two were placed in MDTA Programs with several applications pending for the new Datel Training Program.

Our Legal Services is our newest component and we have had a very heavy work load for our attorney over the past eight weeks.

We are currently operating two Head Start centers with 60 children and we have requests and interest to establish a third center should funds be made available.

We have ten students in the University of Montana Upward Bound Program of which we are very proud. We have been trying to get a quota from the University of Wyoming as we have an additional 20 students who qualify and are interested.

Our Conduct and Administration Component, which administers all the programs listed, consists of a director, two assistant directors (one from each tribe) and one clerical person. With the exception of an assistant NYC Director, no other administrative personnel is employed.

We have contracted the firm of Raab-Rausch & Gaymon to audit all our financial records under O.E.O. grants.

Our newsletter has been very well accepted and has proved very useful as shown by our Legal Services questionnaire which showed 70% of the people who used this service had gained their information from the newsletter.

This publication was so well accepted that the Joint Business Council agreed to finance additional copies for Service Men, Institutionalized tribal members and children away to schools.

We have completed an Educational Survey in conjunction with the new Junior College in Riverton. We conducted an Adult Basic Education Program in English and Math for 13 people which ended in May. We also conducted a program under MDTA Funds for 30 heads of families. This program was completed in June.

Our Agricultural Extension Program includes home repair & construction, home management, consumer buying gardening, landscaping, cloth construction and home appliance use and care.

Our evaluation causes us to feel we are making good progress in our goals of education and employment. With better education or training, employment will increase and family income will be raised as a result. With an increase in income, living standards and personal motivation will also be raised.

In conclusion, on behalf of our O.E.O. Committee and the Shoshone and Arapahoe Joint Business Council, it has been our opinion based on the work of the Community Action Program during its first year, that it has been an excellent agency in helping to eliminate poverty on the Wind River Indian Reservation.

Sincerely,

J. C. SOLLARS,
Reservation Director, Community Action Program.

EXCESSIVE COST OF PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT CORP.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on September 26, 1967, I spoke in support of the Emergency Employment Act. Throughout my statement I called attention to the need for proper implementation of that program if enacted. Indeed, we have all too often been in the position of seeing worthwhile programs by the somewhat less than inspiring level of their implementation. We would do well to consider the degree to which opponents of the Emergency Employment Act are influenced by situations such as that described in the following article from the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 17, 1967. The article details the fruitless efforts to obtain information about the Philadelphia Employment Development Corp. It is a sad story when the north Philadelphia area which most needs help has a program which lists $1.8 million for staff salaries, travel, and expenses. Let me ask again the question asked in the article: Why is it going to take $4.9 million and 480 persons for Philadelphia Employment Development Corp. to place 3,000 in jobs?

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRECTOR SIDESTEPS QUESTIONS ON JOB

(By Ward Welsh)

The new $375-a-week director of a $4.9 million program to find jobs for the poor in North Philadelphia said this week he thought his major problem would be "one of communication" with the public and private agencies.

Norman T. Russell, a 57-year-old North Jerseyite who has been in Philadelphia six weeks, knows what he is talking about.

For in a 45-minute interview with The Inquirer, he:

Clammed up when asked how the Philadelphia Employment Development Corporation's (PEDC) $4.9 million in Federal funds would be spent, at first insisting it was "confidential information."

Refused to comment on Mayor James H. J. Tate's job-mobile program, even though the 500 persons it put to work for the city are being paid through Russell's office.

Could not recall when he had attended the University of Pennsylvania or Columbia University, although he noted both in his resume.

Russell, who had directed a training project for the National Committee on Employment of Youth in New York for about a year before coming here last month, will be coordinating the activities of six existing city agencies in an effort to find employment for about 3000 residents of North Philadelphia.

What makes Russell's PEDC different from other job development agencies is that Russell will be going after the real hard-core unemployed—those who have never been motivated even to apply for a job.

He'll be coordinating the efforts of the North City Congress, the Opportunities Industrialization Center, Urban League, Manpower Utilization Commission, Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment and Security and the Jewish Employment Vocational Service.

Richard Olanoff, director of the Manpower Utilization Commission, who outlined the program for The Inquirer after a fruitless interview with Russell, said Russell's program would be limited to the North Philadelphia area bounded by Vine st., Susquehanna ave., 5th st. and 25th sts.

Here are some excerpts from the Russell interview:

Q. Then you went to Penn?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you take at Penn?

A. Pre-med. I was interested in medicine then.

Q. What years were you there?

A. 1932. For two years. (Records indicate Russell attended Penn in 1930–31, as a predental student.)

Q. Then you went to Columbia later?

A. Yes.

Q. When?

A. Ummm. I don't really remember. That's going back 30 years or so. (Columbia records indicate he attended the university in 1938–39.)

Q. Did you continue pre-med at Columbia?

A. No, I took business. I became interested in personnel (School records have Russell as an engineering student.)

That was the way it went.

Russell, who has two married daughters and a son, 12, said he'd rather not have it published that he and his wife live in Leonia, N. J.

Q. Why not?

A. Well, because that will be incorrect information.

Q. But you live there, don't you?

A. Just say I'm relocating.

"How is this $4.9 million going to be spent" Russell was asked.

"Well, it's all here in this budget," he said, picking up an inch-thick notebook from his desk.

"I'd like to look at it."

"Well, this is confidential information," Russell said.

He was told that the budget involved the expenditure of public funds and The Inquirer was interested in knowing where the $4.9 million was going.

"I don't think it's necessary that you review my books," he said, looking at his watch to suggest time was up. "You'll have to get budget information from our auditors," he said. "I could meet you at the accountant's on Monday."

"But you are the executive director of this program. I presume you can give me *some* idea how you are going to spend this money," he was pressed.

"Awfully sorry, but I'm so busy," Russell said graciously.

"I want you to get the right interpretation of the budget," he said.

"I'm not interested in interpretation. I just want to see the figures."

"Well, what do you want, everything down to the last dollar?" Russell said, restarting an earlier merry-go-round.

"No, maybe you could break it down into $500,000 blocks."

"Oh, no, it can't be broken down that way."

In an effort to make up for wasted time, the interviewer asked Russell what the real "gut-problems" of his job-finding effort were going to be.

He reeled off something about "recruitment . . . two weeks' orientation . . . see if they're ready for placement . . . skill training . . . placed in OJT situation."

But hadn't Mayor Tate's jobmobile drive already placed several hundred hardcore unemployed in jobs in recent weeks?

"No comment," Russell blurted.

"Well, I mean, you must be familiar with what's been going on here in this field," this reporter said.

"I only know what I read in the papers," Russell said. "I can only speak about PEDC." (Olanoff said later the 500 persons employed by the city in the jobmobile program are being paid with PEDC funds, through Russell.)

Russell finally agreed to show The Inquirer one page of his budget. It showed $1.7 million allocated for recruitment and enrollment, $1.8 million for staff salaries, travel, and expenses, and $914,000 for operations, including $423,000 for "training."

"You'll have to hurry," Russell said, as the reporter scanned the complex page of figures, taking notes.

"Could I look at the figures in your secretary's office so I won't hold you up?"

"No," Russell said.

Olanoff said the Mayor's program had placed 2100 persons in jobs in the last six weeks and that indications are that about 1800 of those are still working.

Then why is it going to take $4.9 million and 480 persons for PEDC to place 3000 in jobs.

"Well, Russell is going after the people who have given up, who won't even come out if a job is offered them," Olanoff said. "They're at the bottom of the barrel. They don't *want* jobs.

ASKING HO TO BEG FOR MERCY

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President the latest pronouncement of President Johnson on the war in Vietnam took no new ground in the arena of possible peace negotiations. I had hoped that this might be an occasion on which we would hear an important announcement—it was even my hope that the time had come when the President would decide to halt the bombing of the north unilaterally and wait for the overtures we have so often been told would be forthcoming in due course if we should do so. Instead, the reiteration of a demand for assurances in advance results again, predictably, in no response from Hanoi.

Carl T. Rowan has put the situation into this summary sentence:

> To ask Hanoi publicly to pledge peace talks if the United States stops the bombing is equivalent to asking Ho to beg for mercy in front of the whole world. It just isn't going to happen.

Mr. Rowan, in the column from which that quotation is taken, discusses not only the realities of the approach but the reactions of the public, particularly as seen in a discussion with college students and faculty. Most, he found, believe that in spite of our peace protestations "President Johnson really wants to solve the Vietnam war only by giving the Communists a military drubbing."

Whether the conclusion is valid or not, the truth is that this interpretation is a most central factor in the credibility gap. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Rowan's column, published in the Washington Star, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON CLOSING THE CREDIBILITY GAP

(By Carl T. Rowan)

WEST CHESTER, PA.—"I'm convinced that Lyndon Johnson will settle only for complete surrender by Ho Chi Minh and the Communists," the young professor said. "I'm convinced that no other end to the Vietnam war is acceptable to him."

I looked down the dinner table as a couple of students at West Chester State College nodded weakly, as if inclined to agree, but not quite sure.

"But how does that make sense," I asked, "when you have just told me what a totally politically animal Lyndon Johnson is? And when you have said Johnson is in deep political trouble because of this war?

"Wouldn't logic suggest that a politically sensitive President, desiring re-election, would want out of this war almost as much as he wants to breathe?"

This led to a discussion of the recent controversy over the claim by former editor Harry Ashmore that the President undercut a major peace effort by Ashmore and Miami editor William Bagge by dispatching a tough letter to Ho. There was talk of other alleged "peace rejections" by Washington.

Then a couple of dinner guests chimed in with comments that "Johnson is in an impossible dilemma"—that however badly he wants peace in Vietnam, he must get it on terms good enough to prevent the Republicans from filling the 1968 campaign with charges that the Democrats are "soft on communism."

When the talking was all done, it was clear that most of the people at that dinner believed President Johnson really wants to solve the Vietnam war only by giving the Communists a military drubbing.

This I found both surprising and disturbing, particularly in view of the fact that only hours earlier Ambassador to the U.N. Arthur Goldberg had said to the U.N. General Assembly:

". . . This conflict can and should be ended by a political solution at the earliest possible time. A military solution is not the answer. For our part, we do not seek to impose a military solution on North Vietnam or on its adherents. By the same token, in fidelity to a political solution, we will not permit North Vietnam and its adherents to impose a military solution upon South Vietnam."

These students and faculty members to whom I talked at dinner were no wild-eyed placard bearers, no irrational demonstrators. They were just ordinary Americans troubled, confused, looking for help in staking out an area of true belief—and not finding enough help from their government.

It seems to me that there is a lesson in their suspecting the worst about their President and their government—even in the face of those pretty plain words by Goldberg. That lesson is that, if Americans found the Goldberg speech unconvincing, so did foreigners at the United Nations and the decision-makers in Hanoi, Moscow, Peking.

The truth is that millions of Americans have come to think that the United States plays the game of foreign relations the same way the Russians do: That we talk one track, even as we roll resolutely down another.

The people seem to think that, with deliberate cynicism, we talk peace even while delivering death in ever-larger doses.

Thus, it is easy even for Americans to believe that Goldberg could deliver his peace appeal, for propaganda effect, with a certain knowledge that Hanoi would reject it. And this rejection would become justification enough for further escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam.

Well, there surely was no doubt in the White House or State Department that Hanoi would respond negatively. To ask Hanoi publicly to pledge peace talks if the United States stops the bombing is equivalent to asking Ho to beg for mercy in front of the whole world. It just isn't going to happen.

I said months ago that if the United States stopped the bombing without any implied threats—or promises—we would get a real clue as to whether a political solution is possible. I said we could make our next moves in good conscience once we had made an honest, bold move that many wise men say is the absolute key to peace. I said that the potential benefits far outweigh the potential dangers. I still believe this.

A major potential benefit might be restoration of the credibility of the President and of the United States government among people like those I saw here. And that is a benefit not to be passed over lightly.

FISCAL 1968 AND REDUCING FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, we are in a period when it is essential to the economy, to the people, and to the country that Government exercise restraint and good judgment in Federal spending.

In fiscal year 1968 we face a possible budget deficit of $30 billion. With the war in Vietnam, the likelihood of an even higher deficit is undeniable, and the people here at home are facing an even more inflated market. Each wage increase is lost in the spiral of price increases, and the consumer is questioning the administration's demand for a 10-percent tax increase.

In an effort to ease the economy, the administration has announced it will cut all nonessential spending possible. In 1966, the administration sought to reduce expenditures in the fiscal 1967 budget. President Johnson told Congress:

> We intend to reduce or eliminate every possible federal expenditure provided in (the 1967 fiscal appropriations) consistent with the well-being of our citizens . . .

Just last month the President sent another message to Congress concerning the 1968 appropriations. He said:

> The executive branch pledges to take every proper action within its power to reduce expenditures in the January budget . . .

He continued:

> I pledge to the country and the Congress that I will make every possible expenditure reduction—civilian and military—short of jeopardizing the Nation's security and well being.

Secretary of the Treasury Fowler echoed the President's promise before the House Ways and Means Committee on August 14, when he said:

> This program includes both tax measures to increase our revenues and action by the Congress and the Executive Branch to restrain, cut and control expenditures so as to reduce the prospective deficit on fiscal 1968 and thereafter to manageable levels.
>
> I appear today to ask for taxing authority for the same purpose and to plead through this Committee to the Congress that it join with the President in making every possible expenditure reduction—civilian and military—short of jeopardizing the nation's security and well being.

I agree with the intent of the administration, but question its actions. From what I have seen in the past few weeks, the requests and promises of the administration are a veneer of words. They have called for a cut in Federal spending, yet they act to the contrary. When the chips are down, few stand on the side of reducing Federal expenditures. But now, of all times, is when we need to face the reality of our fiscal spending. Now is when we must cease our constant increasing of Federal expenditures and, if not reduce them substantially, at least hold the line at the present level.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Last week the Senate considered the Independent Offices appropriation bill. As approved by the House, the bill contained $10 billion. This amount was $435 million more than the $9.5 billion appropriated in 1967 for the same agencies. The figure sent to us from the House was a substantial increase over last year, yet was $807 million under the administration's estimated budget for fiscal 1968. To the appropriation sent over from the House, the Senate reported the bill out of committee with an increase of $446 million, making the total appropriation more than $10.8 billion.

When the estimated participation sales are added to the Senate's recommendation, the money available to the offices and agencies for spending increases by $3.3 billion over fiscal 1967, rather than the $880 million figure of actual appropriations. The amount of increase over the House appropriation similarly expands from $446 million in actual appropriations to $2.8 billion with the addition of the participation sales.

Collectively, I supported the total bill, since the offices and agencies involved perform vital functions within the governmental structure. But as I mentioned earlier, this is a time to hold the line on continued increase in spending. I cannot see unlimited appropriation for each and every office and agency of the Government when our task as responsible legislators is to protect the economy and provide sound fiscal policy. If we must cut spending, why not now? When is there a better time to start?

The consideration of the Independent Offices appropriation bill was an excellent time for the Senate to begin cutting nonessential items from the budget. Nothing in that bill was an essential military expenditure; therefore, it was right to review and question any item. Yet when questions were raised on the floor and record votes were called to reduce spending, they were defeated by 2-to-1 margins. The reductions, if approved, would have decreased Federal spending authority by $3.5 billion—including participation sales—but not one of the proposed reductions passed. As shown by the record I supported the reductions and opposed the increases.

THE 1968 OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BILL

Having reminisced the activities of last week, I find we stand at the same familiar crossroads again. Our attention is now on the appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In fiscal year 1967, the original appropriation for that Office was $1.6 billion, to which a later supplement of $75 million was added. The OEO thus received $1.7 billion for that fiscal year.

The original plan for fiscal 1968 called for an appropriation of $2.258 billion. This represents an increase of $570.5 million over last year. Now, as we consider this request for appropriations, a call is made not to reduce the level of spending, but to increase the appropriation by more than twice as much. An amendment to add $2.8 billion to the original appropriation request is made by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This additional sum would boost the total OEO appropriation to more than $5 billion, which is more than three times the fiscal 1967 appropriation.

If our need to cut Federal spending is as necessary and imperative to the economy as the administration and its advisers indicate, then how can we in good conscience allow appropriations of such magnitude and increase to be authorized? If we must act to help the economy, let us act now, before we create conditions which will require our future attention and action to eliminate.

Frankly, Mr. President, my concern is that this administration not only has spent money it has not got yet; it has spent money it is not going to get either.

CHAIN DRUGGISTS MOVING TO GENERIC PRESCRIPTIONS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I am happy to be able to say that recognition of the importance of generic drugs in making dramatic savings—and still affording the consumer the excellent care to which we have all become accustomed—is becoming an accepted fact.

Just recently, two large drug store chains announced that they are going to maintain complete inventories of generic drugs. Soon in two of the Nation's largest cities, whenever a doctor prescribes generically, he can be assured that the prescription will be filled with a high quality, low cost generic drug.

Peoples Drug Stores, Washington, D.C., a chain of 241 stores representing $154 million in gross annual sales, filled 7 million prescriptions in 1966. In a letter written to 5,000 area doctors, Peoples announced that they are dropping their brand-name policy.

> From now on—

They said—

> should doctors choose to prescribe by generic name, the (your) prescriptions will be welcome and will be filled with quality drugs at competitive generic prices.

The choice still remains with the doctor to choose whichever drug he wishes.

In a full page newspaper ad in the Cleveland Press, Gray Drug Stores preceded People's change in policy by announcing that it was taking steps to carry a full line of generic drugs for those medical doctors who "would like to save their patients money."

In supplementary letters to the doctors of the area, Gray, whose 173 stores grossed $83 million and filled 4 million prescriptions in 1966, ranking them number five in order of size in the country, said M.D.'s "can prescribe generic drugs with confidence that they will be products of a reliable manufacturer."

The ad stressed the 133 years' experience of the generic manufacturer who will supply Gray, and added that along with the use of the professional fee, the generic prescription would cost "less than half of the price of equivalent 'brand name' drugs."

Gray intends to expand its generic policy into other cities shortly. Neither drug chain so far has reported any opposition by the doctors.

As a matter of fact, both actions by these two large mercantile establishments merely endorses the policy of the American Medical Association which is in favor of "quality drugs at lowest possible price," leaving the choice to the doctor.

It is interesting to note in Gray's advertisement that the particular generic drug manufacturer Gray will be buying from also manufactures "brand name drugs" for many of the best known pharmaceutical firms in the country—a point stressed by several witnesses who have appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly.

I feel that this dramatic policy change to generic prescriptions by two of the largest drug chains in the country, representing more than 400 stores and $230 million in gross annual sales, and filling over 11 million prescriptions per year, is a major breakthrough in knocking down ridiculous prejudices against quality generic drugs.

No level-headed businessman is going to jeopardize his business by trying to sell faulty drugs. Peoples and Gray have built huge businesses based on public confidence and favorable prices.

I anticipate that other drug retailers and community pharmacists will soon follow suit and that the consumers' demand for better drug buys will soon bear fruit.

If millions of dollars a year can be saved for the American patient by the use of high quality, inexpensive, generic drugs—as I am confident will be demonstrated by these two chain druggists alone—then the committee will be amply rewarded for its efforts.

MODINE BEGINS ANOTHER 50 YEARS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the Modine Co., of Racine, Wis., is to be congratulated for becoming the Nation's leader in keeping industry cool.

In 50 years, Modine has grown to a work force of 2,500 persons, nine plants, and $59 million in annual sales.

The company is the largest independent manufacturer of radiators and oil coolers for engines. It is an industrial leader in building specialized heat exchangers, institutional heating, air conditioning, and ventilating systems.

Modine has achieved a major breakthrough in technology by developing a thermochemical process for bonding aluminum components into an integral heat exchanger structure.

I ask unanimous consent that an article describing Modine and its achievements published in a recent issue of the Wisconsin Business News magazine, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Keeping Industry Cool for 50 Years

It's a little over 50 years since Arthur B. Modine started out with a handful of employees, a small rented space and a firm belief in an idea . . . the right way to cool an engine.

Today Modine, an acknowledged leader in its industry, has a work force in excess of 2500 operating nine plants producing and selling 59 million dollars worth of products in the past year.

Progress from the Spirex radiator (above left) to today's ultra modern and highly diverse devises has been accomplished through a series of research developments that has seen Modine grow to the largest independent manufacturer of engine cooling products for the O.E.M. market, supplying radiators and oil coolers to major producers of agricultural and earth-moving machinery, trucks, buses and passenger cars. The company also builds specialized heat exchangers for air compressors, electric generating sets, stationary power plants and hydraulic systems.

Additional, and entirely different, markets are served by Modine heating, ventilating, air conditioning and air handling equipment designed for human comfort. Typical of these products are unit heaters, fan-coil air conditioners, unit ventilators, central station air handlers and make-up air units. Primary markets for this product group are factories, schools, hospitals, commercial buildings and apartments.

Typical of Modine's policy of progress through research is the development of Alfuse. Alfuse, one of many Modine patents, is a thermochemical process for bonding aluminum components into an integral heat exchanger structure. Ten years in development Alfuse has proved to be a revolutionary advance in new high-production aluminum fabricating wherein the bonding achieved through the process is so superior that the resultant bonds are actually stronger than the parent metal itself.

A NEW CONCEPT IN ALUMINUM EXCHANGER DESIGN

Application of the Alfuse bonding process to heat exchanger fabrication permitted Modine to develop a new type of coil having special performance, durability and application advantages. The new design concept offered engineers far greater flexibility in adapting condensers and evaporators to their end products.

This major difference between standard round-tube, plate-fin coil construction and the new Modine process is that Alfuse coils are aluminum extrusions which incorporate internal struts and finning for greater heat transfer. In addition to being relatively inexpensive, it is possible to fabricate extruded tubes in a variety of shapes at moderate tooling costs. And since each coil has a single continuous serpentine tube with a brazed inlet and outlet at either end, the potential for leaks is minimal when compared with conventional coils having from ten to a hundred brazed tube joints.

The secondary heat transfer surface is made up of a type of serpentine air fins which have long been used successfully in automotive radiator designs.

After assembly, tubes and fins are completely bonded by the Alfuse process into a solid structure. The Alfuse process, in addition to producing an extremely rugged coil, has several side benefits. For example, alloying which takes place during the process, serves to harden the aluminum fins. And because the Alfuse process metallurgically bonds fins to tubes . . . as opposed to the mechanical bonding used in conventional coils . . . gradual deterioration of the fin-tube joint and subsequent loss of heat transfer capacity over a period of time are eliminated. Experimental condensers installed on cars in 1956 now have 180,000 miles of service and have retained their original heat transfer performance.

DESIGN FLEXIBILITY SOLVES PROBLEMS

Designers of air conditioning and refrigeration equipment have found Alfuse coils of particular value in solving critical problems created by space, weight and configuration of the required heat exchangers. Recognizing the need for coils of a predetermined capacity, their efforts to achieve new styling concepts have been hampered by the bulk and shape of the standard coils previously available to them.

Because Alfuse coils can be formed into a variety of shapes ranging from a figure 8 to a complete circle, they do not restrict the creative ideas of the designer.

Greater heat transfer capacity in a given space . . . or the same cooling capacity in less space offers further design and styling flexibility.

Esthetically, Alfuse coils are pleasing to the appearance when painted in colors to match or contrast with the end product. Therefore, they can be used for both decorative and functional purposes.

Alfuse represents one of the longest and most complex development projects ever undertaken by Modine. Entirely new and untried manufacturing techniques had to be developed and perfected. New manufacturing facilities had to be designed and built in order to apply the process for high production. Existing laboratories and research required substantial expansion with increased emphasis on thermochemistry. Testing procedures under aggressive environmental conditions were developed, involving product life tests in the field and in the laboratory extending up to six years. A new plant specifically devoted to aluminum products was built to separate the processes required to produce aluminum products from those required for the company's other copper, copper-aluminum, brass and steel products. This plant has since been expanded three times to accommodate the increasing aluminum product volume.

In all of these activities, Modine ran into many blind alleys and headaches, some of which proved extremely costly in time and money. Organic chemistry of the highest order has had to be employed.

Further development of the Alfuse process and product design continues in Modine laboratories, on its drafting boards and in its manufacturing facilities. Currently, another complete plant for Alfuse manufacturing is being constructed.

The dollars Modine has spent and continues to spend in process and product research and development and the required additional personnel and manufacturing facilities are a sound investment . . . even to the ever-watchful controller.

McGRAW-HILL ECONOMICS VICE PRESIDENT OPPOSES A SURTAX NOW

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, one of the most respected corporations dealing with the affairs of the business world is McGraw-Hill, Inc., to whose business publications leaders of the economy look for guidance with the greatest of respect.

It is therefore especially significant that the corporation's vice president for economics, Dr. Gordon W. McKinley, has added his voice to those of economists who fail to see wisdom in the surtax proposal in view of the current economic situation.

Dr. McKinley finds that there has been "a serious lack of careful economic analysis in connection with the timing and size of the tax increase." He believes that a 10-percent surtax could be, as I have stated repeatedly, self-defeating under the circumstances—that it "could bring about a smaller output of goods and services, a lesser revenue to the Treasury, and a greater deficit in the Federal budget."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. McKinley's views, as set forth in a speech made by him in Cincinnati on September 19, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Business Outlook and National Economic Policy in 1968

(Address by Gordon W. McKinley, Vice President, Economics, McGraw-Hill, Inc., before the seventh annual distribution conference, sponsored by the American Supply and Machinery Manufacturers' Association, in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 19, 1967)

There are three questions which I should like to discuss with you today: *First*, is the Johnson Administration correct in believing that business activity will surge ahead very strongly in the closing months of this year? *Second*, should Congress enact the proposed surtax on corporate and personal incomes? *Third*, what is likely to happen to business activity in 1968?

During the past year and a half, the American economy has been subjected to stresses and strains of tremendous magnitude. The most obvious of these has been the sharp redirection of economic activity caused by the huge increase in Government expenditures. From the beginning of 1966 to the middle of 1967, spending by the Federal Government has jumped by $20 billion, and spending by the state and local governments has increased by $14 billion. In this short space of time all forms of government have called on the economy to divert an extra $34 billion of goods and services to defense and other public needs.

Government has also been responsible for severe stresses imposed through fiscal and monetary channels. The great swing in Federal Reserve policy, from moderate ease at the end of 1965 to an almost unprecedented degree of tightness in the autumn of 1966, had its most obvious casualty in the housing industry but the remainder of the economy did not by any means escape unharmed. In the field of fiscal policy, the suspension of the investment tax incentives in October, 1966 and their hurried restoration in 1967 produced a completely unnecessary hiatus in investment plans as well as administering a sudden and ill-timed shock to the economy as a whole.

In addition to these strains imposed by Government, the economy in 1966 and 1967 has struggled through a huge inventory adjustment and a period of unusually cautious consumer behavior. From the spring of 1966 to the spring of 1967, consumers retreated into their shells, saved a very high proportion of their incomes, and appeared disinterested in durable goods of any kind. Retail sales simply leveled off for an entire year. Partly as a result of the leveling in consumer purchases and partly as a result of the enforced downturn in capital expenditures, inventories increased in the final quarter of 1966 by an all-time record annual rate of $18.5 billion. The attempt to work off these huge inventories, at a time when consumers were reluctant to buy, when capital spending was falling, and when housing had been cut to a very low point naturally exerted a tremendous depressant force on production during the opening months of this year.

The stresses and strains which I have been describing could hardly fail to have left their mark on the economy. If economic systems could have nervous breakdowns, certainly the American economy should have had such a breakdown during the last year and a half as it was buffeted by conflicting forces, private and government, and twisted this way and that by demands for greater output here, and less output there.

As we know, our economic system in the opening months of this year did exhibit some of the systems of an incipient breakdown. In the first quarter, national output rose by only 0.6 per cent, and when allowance is made for price increases, real national output actually fell slightly. In the second quarter, output gained 1.1 per cent, but this was still below par. Reflecting the slow growth in output, unemployment has risen slightly, overtime has been cut, real weekly earnings in manufacturing have slipped, and corporate profits have turned down.

But despite these unfavorable developments, the really surprising thing is that the economy was able to stand up as well as it did under the tremendous stresses placed upon it. Despite the slowing in the pace of business activity, the fact is that economy did grow, it did not fall into a recession, it did make the unusual adjustments required of it, and at mid-year was once again beginning to exhibit its characteristic resiliency.

There is no question that the economy is now gathering speed and strength. The automobile strike has introduced an element of uncertainty, but the economic indicators are nevertheless rising. Manufacturers' new orders have exceeded shipments in each of the past three months, and order backlogs are rising. Retail sales in the most recent six months have risen by 6 per cent, an exceptionally rapid gain. The drop in corporate profits appears to have been arrested, and personal incomes are rising more rapidly. Housing starts have regained almost all of the loss suffered in 1966, and nonresidential contracts are signaling a rise in commercial and manufacturing construction. The money supply is increasing at an above-average pace, and individual savings are at record levels. The inventory correction has now proceeded to the stage where the downward pressure on production will be relieved; a small accumulation of inventories is likely to occur in the closing months of this year.

My guess is that national output is now running at an annual rate of $792 billion, and will surge forward to an $810 billion pace in the closing quarter of this year. Gross national product for the full year 1967 is likely to exceed $785 billion, a good increase of almost 6 per cent over 1966—particularly good in the light of the poor performance early in the year. In other words, I believe that the Administration is correct in anticipating a strong recovery in the closing months of this year.

THE PROPOSED TAX INCREASE

Now let's move on to the second question—Should Congress enact the proposed surtax on corporate and personal incomes?

Because of the huge deficit in prospect for the Federal budget and because of the strain that deficit might impose on the capital markets, some increases in taxes is probably unavoidable in the year ahead. *But there has unfortunately been a serious lack of careful economic analysis in connection with the timing and the size of the tax increase. As a result, the surtax proposed by the Administration is both too much and too soon.*

The Administration has argued that there is an immediate need for a substantial tax increase because the total demands on the American economy will in the near future outstrip the maximum capacity of our productive resources. Government economists have painted a picture of an economy so fully employed that excessive demand will result in serious inflation. They have argued that a substantial tax increase is needed to curb demand and hold inflation in check.

Is this an accurate picture of the American economy today, or several months from today? I do not believe so. At present, our manufacturing industries are operating on the average at 83.5 per cent of capacity, unemployment is higher than a year ago, and there is little resort to overtime. Even if the recovery over the rest of this year is fully as strong as the Administration has predicted, it will nevertheless be true that there will be a great deal of slack left in the system. Real output in the closing months of this year may rise as much as 3 per cent, but industrial capacity in the United States is also growing steadily and rapidly. For this reason, even a sharp increase in output will raise the operating rate to only 85 per cent of capacity by the end of this year. This is far below maximum capacity and well below the preferred, or most efficient, operating rate of 91 per cent. To put it briefly, at the end of this year there will be no strain on manufacturing capacity and no economic reason for a tax designed to curb demand for manufactured products. Furthermore, it is difficult to conjure up a threat of any materials shortages, and quite obviously the economy will not be short of inventories on hand.

It might be argued, however, that although goods will be plentiful and productive capacity will be ample, there may be a shortage of labor. Again, the argument is unconvincing. There are almost always shortages of highly skilled and particularly able workers, but the contention that we are approaching a general shortage of workers just does not stand up under examination. The labor supply at present is increasing rapidly, and the number of hours worked per week can be increased by almost 2 per cent without exceeding the 1966 average. The increase in output expected over the rest of this year is likely to be accomplished simply by absorbing most of the growth in the labor force and by returning workers who are now on part-time to a full-time schedule.

It thus seems reasonable to conclude that at the end of this year neither our resources of plant nor our resources of labor will be strained by the expected rise in output. There will still be considerable slack in productive capacity, there will be few materials shortages, there will be abundant inventories, and there will be an adequate supply of labor.

Under these circumstances, an increase in taxes before the end of the year would be self-defeating. Even by the beginning of 1968, a tax increase will not be needed to curb demand. A small increase at that time will perhaps be necessary in order to lessen the burden imposed on the capital market by large Treasury borrowing, but even this argument appears a bit strained, depending as it does on the assumption that the Federal Reserve would permit a sharp tightening in the capital markets at a time when manufacturing industries are operating at only 85 per cent of capacity.

Fortunately, Congress does not seem in a mood to be rushed on the tax question. The legislators will show good judgment if they defer action on the tax bill until the economic trend is clearer than it is today. As that trend unfolds I believe that it will indicate that the surtax should not exceed 5 per cent, that it should be applied equally to corporate and personal tax liabilities, and the effective date should not be prior to January 1, 1968.

DEMANDS ON THE ECONOMY IN 1968

Now let's turn to the final question—Assuming a 5 per cent surtax effective January 1, how well is the economy likely to perform in 1968?

I think the year will be good, but not exuberant. I seriously doubt that at any time during the year the economy will be pushed to its maximum capability. Here are the main demand segments which I believe will join to produce a moderately prosperous year for 1968—

Government Spending. First, government spending. In 1968, government purchases of goods and services will rise rapidly, but not as rapidly as in either 1966 or 1967. State and local government spending will continue its steady upward climb, and expenditures of the Federal Government will expand by about two-thirds as much as in 1967. By the fourth quarter of 1968, total purchases by all forms of government will reach a $200 billion annual rate, accounting for 23.5 per cent of total GNP. The increase of $16 billion in government expenditures in 1968 will be a principal force driving the economy upward.

Inventories. A second force, which can on occasion exert a strong impact on national output, is business inventory policy. During the past year, inventory policy has fluctuated widely, from the final quarter of 1966 when total business inventories in the United States were growing at an $18.5 billion annual rate, to the middle of 1967 when inventories were falling slightly, and now back to a policy of moderate inventory accumulation.

In the first half of 1968, the rate of inventory accumulation will be speeded up, and this will stimulate increased production. Part of this rise in stocks on hand will be a natural rebound from the cautious policy of 1967. In addition, there will be stockpiling of steel in the first half of 1968 as a hedge against a possible strike in that industry following the termination of the wage contract in July. In the last half of next year, however, the subsequent rundown of steel inventories will exert some dampening effect. For the year as a whole, inventories will constitute a mildly buoyant factor calling for an increase in national output of about $3 billion.

Housing. A third force which will provide a steady, though modest, addition to national output in 1968 will be residential construction. Housing has recovered well this year, rising from an annual rate of only 880,000 units in October, 1966 to almost 1,400,000 at present. In 1968, there is no question that the underlying demand for housing will be strong. The number of young people coming to the age when they are likely to establish separate living quarters is exceptionally large. Marriages have been rising steadily in the past several years. More and more single persons, both young and old, are able to afford separate living quarters. The inventory of unoccupied housing units has declined sharply over the past year, and rental vacancy rates for the nation as a whole are lower than at any time since 1959.

The principal doubt about housing in 1968 does not arise from a lack of demand, but rather from the possibility of a lack of mortgage money. With the 1966 tight money experience fresh in mind, many economists have pointed out that, if open market interest rates in 1968 are permitted to rise much above their current level, funds could once again flow out of the mortgage market and the housing industry could once again be brought to its knees through a lack of financing.

Such a development could occur but I do not believe it is likely. The situation facing the Federal Reserve in 1968 will be quite different from that in 1966. On that occasion, both financial and nonfinancial corporations were starved for liquidity, whereas the economy will enter 1968 in a fairly liquid position. In 1966, manufacturing industries were operating at better than 90 per cent of capacity, whereas the operating rate in the opening months of 1968 will be about 85 per cent. In 1966, the growth in government spending was accelerating, whereas in 1968 it will be slowing. In 1966, inventories were piling up at a record pace, whereas in 1968 inventory accumulation will be moderate.

For these reasons, I believe that a tight money policy in 1968 would be unjustified and unsound. The fear of a new credit squeeze is likely to prove unfounded. Mortgage money should remain sufficiently plentiful next year to permit a rise in housing starts to a 1,500,000 unit level. Residential construction expenditures are likely to rise in 1968 by about $2 billion—not a tremendous increase when matched against the capacity of the construction industry, but nevertheless one which will provide the housing we need as well as contributing to the rise in overall business activity.

Business Capital Spending. Now let's turn to the fourth major segment of the economy in 1968—the broad area encompassed by what are usually called the capital goods industries.

Business expenditures on plant and equipment are at present slowly recovering from the unfortunate effect of the suspension of the investment tax incentives. From a peak annual rate of $83 billion in the closing months of 1966, capital spending dropped to an $81.5 billion rate in the second quarter of this year. Following the restoration of the incentives, new orders for durable goods rose in May, June, and July, and deliveries of capital goods have now begun to increase. By the fourth quarter of this year, the pace of business capital expenditures will probably have moved back to an $83 billion rate. There will thus have been no growth in capital expenditures during 1967, a strong contrast to the average 15 per cent growth in the two preceding years.

I would like very much to say that in 1968 business capital expenditures are due for a new and tremendous spurt upward. I would like to make that prediction because America's economic strength, its ability to wage both the battles of war and of peace, and its ability to avert inflation, all depend on the quantity and the quality of the capital equipment.

The evidence, however, suggests that although plant and equipment expenditures will rise next year the increase will be quite moderate. It will be moderate: *first,* because the downturn in profits in 1967 has limited the funds available for fixed investment; *second,* because even a small surtax imposed on top of corporate tax liabilities will further limit investable funds; *third,* because the dominance of Government as a buyer, along with the restriction of consumer expenditures through higher taxes, limits the growth of the peacetime economy and the industries serving the peacetime economy; *finally,* because the economy in 1968, contrary to the predictions of the Administration in Washington, is not likely to operate at so high a percentage of capacity as to encourage extraordinary capital investment.

My guess is that plant and equipment expenditures will increase from an $83 billion rate in the closing months of this year to about $88 billion in the fourth quarter of 1968, a rise of 6 per cent.

Consumer Purchases. The final main buying segment which will determine the course of the economy in 1968 is that presided over by the consumer.

Fortunately for the business outlook, consumer spending now appears to be on the upside of a cycle. Following the caution of late 1966 and early 1967, consumers in recent months have shown an increased willingness to buy both durable and nondurable goods. Retail sales have grown by a larger amount in the past six months than in the preceding sixteen months.

In 1968, the cyclical upswing in consumer purchases will continue, but enthusiasm will be somewhat dampened by the extra burden imposed by higher taxes. The surtax, plus the increase in the social security tax because of the rise in the taxable wage base, will more than offset the effect of increased social security benefits. Consumer expenditures next year are likely to rise at a somewhat restrained $7 billion per quarter. Although this is a lesser rate of gain than at present, it will nevertheless amount to a large overall increase. Total consumer spending in 1968 is likely to rise by about $28 billion, providing a steady boost to the economy as a whole.

THE ECONOMY IN 1968

Now what does this all add up to for the 1968 business outlook? I have pointed out that government spending next year will increase by $16 billion. Consumer purchases are likely to be up by $28 billion. Housing, inventories, and capital expenditures will all rise moderately, providing a total boost of about $10 billion. Adding together these major buying segments, we come up with the conclusion that total demand for the output of the American economy in 1968 is likely to increase by about $54 billion. National output for the full year 1968 is thus likely to total $840 billion, a gain of almost 7 per cent above 1967.

The economy which I have pictured for the year ahead is a prosperous economy. A surtax of 5 per cent effective at the beginning of 1968 will not unduly depress our growth. I should like to repeat, however, that there is little evidence at this time that the demands on the economy next year will outstrip our productive ability. If Congress should mistakenly accede to the Administration proposal for a heavy surtax, the business outlook would be much less favorable than that which I have presented. The result could be a smaller real output of goods and services, a lesser rather than a greater revenue to the Treasury, and a larger rather than a smaller deficit in the Federal budget.

I believe that the economic experience of the past two years suggests that we must attempt in the future to apply fiscal and monetary policy with a lighter, and steadier hand. An extreme monetary policy which produces a credit "crunch" has proved to be undesirable both because of its uneven pressure on various segments of the economy and because of its disruption of overall economic growth. The on-again, off-again application of taxes, as illustrated in the case of the investment tax incentives, has been shown to be bad economics quite apart from the ill-timing of the 1967 experience. We have recently overcontrolled the economy in much the same way that the novice driver nervously swings the wheel first in one direction and then in the opposite direction as his vehicle lurches down the road. What is needed is a steadier and more gentle pressure at the helm.

In 1968, the revenue of the Federal Government will grow substantially even without any increase in the tax rate. A modest surtax will provide ample insurance against excessive demand. We are not on the verge of a wild boom, nor a financial catastrophe, as some have testified. If we can resist the temptation to once again push fiscal and monetary policy to the extreme, the economy will move forward in an orderly and prosperous fashion in 1968, setting a firm base for continued economic progress in the years beyond.

THE MILWAUKEE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the State of Wisconsin has achieved a notable high in the field of education.

Along with its several large distinguished universities—both public and private—and its eminent smaller, liberal arts colleges, stands the Milwaukee School of Engineering.

Industry owes much to the large core of skilled craftsmen and technicians upon which it can draw. Milwaukee School of Engineering has educated over 65,000 of these trained brains, a noteworthy number of whom hold key positions in our industries.

It offers over 300 courses leading to certificates and degrees in 2-year, 4-year, and advanced programs.

The institution owes its success to its president, Karl O. Werwath, who succeeded his father, Oscar Werwath, Milwaukee School of Engineering's founder, in 1948.

I wish Milwaukee School of Engineering continued success in helping to make Wisconsin a good State in which to do business.

I ask unanimous consent that an article describing the Milwaukee School of Engineering, published in the August issue of the Wisconsin Business News magazine, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VITAL COMMODITY

The most important commodity developed in Wisconsin is the human mind . . . the highly and specially trained brainpower that has for years, is now and will continue to in the future, have a key position in the control of our industrial destiny and the direction of our overall national wellbeing.

Here in Wisconsin are trained and educated the men and women of key responsibility in the running of the machinery of the world.

They come from all parts of the state . . . of the nation . . . they come from many foreign lands. They come seeking the answers to many questions in many divergent areas of specialized interest. They come to learn how to live in the world of today and to learn how to solve the problems of the future. They come in huge and growing numbers each with a separate need, a separate requirement, an individual goal.

Yet as highly individual, as highly specialized as these brilliant minds are, many of them . . . actually more than 65,000 of them . . . have one major thing in common—Source of Knowledge.

Widely diversified, and highly successful, specialists—such as:

T. W. Bruner, President, Bruner Corp., Milwaukee.

T. S. Bilbo, Flight Director, Jet Propulsion Lab.

J. L. Gordon, Ch. of Board, Central Illinois Electric and Gas Co.

Shahpoor Farhadi, Ch. Technical Ministry, Teheran, Iran.

R. E. Fieulleteau, Sup. Electronic Engineer, N.Y. Naval Shipyard, U.S. Navy.

E. F. Webb, President, Webb Engineering Associates.

G. O. Henderson, Chief, Navigation & Guidance Project, Grumman Aircraft.

H. A. Hogan, Dir., Test Engineering, AC Electronics, Milwaukee.

W. Van Zeeland, Penetrations Aids Branch, Office of Secretary of Defense, U.S. Govt.

Dr. G. J. Murphy, Ch. Elec. Eng. Dept. Northwestern University.

H. U. Hjermstad, President, Electro-Seal Corp.—have one thing in common:

Each one of these men . . . and 65,000 more . . . received training at Milwaukee School of Engineering.

IT BEGAN IN 1903

At 11th and Winnebago Street. And it began with Oscar Werwath. Although only 22 years old, this rarely gifted young man had already achieved a singular recognition both academically and industrially. Graduating at 18 with degrees in both electrical and mechanical engineering Oscar Werwath had, in four years, risen to a position of supervision in the installation of major electrical projects in principal cities throughout northern Europe. In 1903 he brought to Milwaukee the key ingredients for the establishment of the foundation of advanced technical instruction in this part of the country and through his association with the Mechanical Appliance Company (later to become the Louis Allis Company) was formed MSOE.

Four years and 250 students later the School went through the first of a long and still continuing series of physical expansions. At this time just two full time day school, two semester courses, were offered, but evening courses and 4-semester courses were soon added and the faculty expanded to six instructors.

Success and growth became a way of life with Oscar Werwath and success and growth came because of his dedication to the delivery of a superior product. The development of the superior mind through the application of superior methods. The result—the continuing result—we have in Milwaukee today in the impressive form of one of the principal pillars of the technical academic structure of the most highly technological nation in the world.

LOOK AT THE FACTS

The School is internationally recognized. Over 300 subjects are offered in 2-year programs for engineering technicians, 4-year programs for graduate engineers and advanced degree programs for Master's degrees.

The faculty and staff exceed 200 with present enrollment approximately 3000. The current annual operating budget exceeds 2½ million dollars and assets have grown to $7 million. The School is chartered by the state of Wisconsin and is governed by a nonprofit, nonstock, corporation of 83 businessmen and industrialists headed by Ch. Fred F. Loock, President, Allen Bradley Co. Student services are the finest and most complete including counseling, health, housing, loans, scholarships, financial aids, part-time employment and full-time placement.

Degrees are available in the following engineering and engineering technology courses: Computer, Electrical Power, Architectural Engineering, Electronic Communications, Air Conditioning, Building Construction Technology, Fluid Power, Industrial Engineering, Internal Combustion Engines, Metallurgical, Welding, and Chemical Production. General courses include Economics, Industrial Psychology, Marketing, Management, Accounting, Industrial Relations, Finance, Engineering Graphics, Languages, Speech, Logic, Ethics, Business Law, and Creative Thinking. And many more.

RESEARCH

For over 32 years Milwaukee School of Engineering has been a primary contributor to the advancement of industrial research. Organized in 1935 the MSOE Industrial Research Institute has conducted continuous research projects in engineering and allied fields to provide training for industrial scientists and engineers. This Institute serves as an experimental station for industrial research investigation in applied engineering and as a clearing house on specific scientific information.

Similarly, but in more specific areas of industrial application, the Institute of Leather Technology and the Fluid Power Institute provide the most modern and the most complete facilities for advanced areas of education and research. The M.S.O.E. Computation Center serves the dual purpose in both educational and industrial research programs and is available to industry and business for sponsored projects. Most recent of this type of addition is the Institute For Non Destructive Testing put into operation in the fall of last year. This new department will, in addition to adding a two year program in Non Destructive Testing Technology and Radiology to the curriculum, open new vistas of non-destruct-test research and consultation to industry through sponsored conferences and seminars.

So the Werwath tradition of developing the vital commodity of the educated human mind continues in rising tempo and in phase with the accelerating demands of today's . . . and tomorrow's . . . industrial and economic complex. Under the direction of Karl O. Werwath, president of the institution since the death of his father, founder Oscar Werwath, in 1948, the school has virtually doubled annual enrollments, materially enlarged the faculty, staff and physical facilities and increased assets by seven fold. And while the basic philosophy of developing the superior mind through the use of superior means remains the keystone of the entire educational structure, a new dimension in the process of learning is taking on importance and momentum both by plan and by necessity.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

More truly than ever before, if you don't keep going ahead you start going backwards. This is particularly and vitally true in terms of education and in recognition of the growing demand for the continuous further development of the already educated businessman and industrialist, M.S.O.E. began a program of accelerated continuing education 25 years ago. Today the benefits of this penetrating analyses of future needs are tangible in multiple form as three basic types of program in continuing education are available to the man ,and the organization) who recognizes the imperative demand of keeping up with the state of the art in his particular fields of activity. These three basic types of program are:

Supervisory and management for the Individual

Here, on a regular one-evening-a-week basis, individuals from many areas of business and industry meet in groups to learn improved methods of handling typical and general supervisory and management problems. In this type of program a selection of specific technical subject matter particular to the individual's needs are elective. Credits are applicable to degree.

Special company programs

For corporate groups, these programs are custom designed to meet the needs of a particular firm. Courses may include both technical and supervisory subjects and may be presented in seminar form or in prescribed weekly meetings. Such special company programs have already been developed in the areas of physics, chemistry, standard costs for manufacturing, metallurgy, welding, statistical control, materials testing, basic economics and engineering graphics.

Selected subjects and degree programs

Here the businessman-student can choose an individual subject or series of subjects in a particular field, earning a subject or course certificate upon completion. This type of program can be continued to the completion of a Degree of Associate in Industrial Management and, in addition, credits earned in the physical sciences may be applied to a Bachelor of Science degree. Programs leading to the degrees of Master of Science in fluid power engineering and in engineering management are also offered.

Here in Wisconsin are trained and educated the men and women of key responsibility in the running of the machinery of the world.

Have you taken the time recently to examine and evaluate your own individual, and corporate, continuing education needs?

During this period Karl Werwath achieved, among many other awards, the distinction of being the only member of the American Society For Engineering Education to receive both the James H. McGraw Award for Outstanding Contribution to Development of Technical Institution Education and the Arthur L. Williston Award for the Publication of Literature on Technical Institution Education.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations and for other purposes.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, last week the distinguished junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] moved to strike title II from the pending bill, S. 2388, the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, and later offered a motion which would have the effect of recommitting the bill to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee with instructions to strike title II.

The amendment which I have offered, Mr. President, will, if adopted, change the instructions in the motion to recommit. It removes the requirement that title II be stricken.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the effect of this amendment, if adopted, would be to change the instructions of the motion to recommit. It removes the requirement that title II be stricken. Instead, the amendment instructs the Labor and Public Welfare Committee to report back the bill, S. 2388, forthwith with the following changes in title II.

First. Instead of a 2-year program totaling $2.8 billion, the authorization would be limited to $875 million until expended.

Second. A provision would be added which would have the effect of giving priority for jobs under all parts of title II to eligible persons who are heads of families. By heads of families, we mean a person who contributes more than one-half the support of one or more other persons.

Third. A provision would be added which would earmark not less than 10 percent nor more than 20 percent of the $875 million authorization to be used by the Secretary of Labor for the purpose of expanding the Manpower Development Training Act of 1962.

Finally, a provision for reserving from $100 to $300 million for use by the Secretary of Labor as incentive for private industry to engage in job training programs would be included. The Secretary would be authorized to make grants to private industry for employee training expenses of an employer.

Mr. President, I shall discuss each of these provisions in some detail and then explain, why with these changes, title II of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967 is acceptable to me.

Under the provisions of my amendment, the authorization for the Emergency Employment Act of title II would only be for 1 year. The total authorization for 1 year has been cut by $500 million. I have not suggested a greater reduction because the need for jobs and job training is pressing and grave. The expense, although great, is justifiable because by training and retraining men, we are investing in their future productivity and contributing to the wealth of the Nation. By creating jobs for those who cannot be trained, we are enabling people to have self-respect and to at least earn a living rather than merely receive welfare.

However, Mr. President, this is a large program involving a great deal of money. Rather than to authorize it for 2 years, I think it might be worthwhile to reevaluate effects of the various parts in 1 year's time and perhaps make some changes in programs before expending additional funds.

One of the objections I have had to the programs already created under the Economic Opportunity Act is that they have not been properly examined, and once established, we have been reluctant to cut them back much less to eradicate them. Let us not make the same mistake with the Goliath of an employment act. By authorizing expenditures for 1 year, we commit ourselves to an examination and reevaluation next year. We retain flexibility.

Mr. President, it has been estimated that some 3 million able-bodied Americans are for the most part unemployed. In addition, there are some 5 million Americans who work for less than the minimum wage.

The cost of providing merely the 3 million with jobs at the minimum wage has been estimated at $12 billion annually. Obviously at this juncture we are not able to expend such a vast sum of money. But who is to decide which of these people is to receive either job training or public service jobs to the exclusion of the others?

I suggest, Mr. President, in view of the limited authorization that priority be given to one particular group of Americans; namely, the head of the family.

Garth L. Mangum, in a paper entitled "Government as Employer of Last Resort," presents some excellent reasons for giving priority to heads of families. He states that there need to be more programs offering job opportunities for youths under 20, but notes that out-of-school, out-of-work youths are not often always attracted by minimum wage make-work jobs or motivated to retrain in them. Basic education and training are far more important for them. He goes on to say:

> A little over one half of the long-term unemployed men and one-fourth of the long-term unemployed women in 1966 were married family heads. So were 60 per cent of the out of the labor force males and half of the involuntary part-time workers. Limiting the employment guarantee to family heads would therefore be a defensible initial approach.

Family heads, Mangum presumes, would be more motivated to remain in jobs, especially if training were provided.

By giving priority to family heads, we provide the out-of-work fathers or mothers with children an opportunity to regain both self-sufficiency and self-esteem. In this way, a better family environment can be encouraged which will have a beneficial effect on the children who will be tomorrow's providers. The concept of the family is basic to our society and whatever we can do to uphold the integrity of that institution will contribute to the well being of all of our citizens and our Nation. There is increasing evidence that a broken home is detrimental to children. It inhibits the learning process and perhaps contributes to juvenile delinquency.

Thus, by giving priority to heads of families, the older generation is directly benefited and the younger generation receives indirect benefits.

Mr. President, the second section of my proposed amendment which I would like to discuss in part C, authorization for Manpower Development and Training Act. In essence, this section requires that not less than 10 percent or more than 20 percent of the funds authorized for title II must be used through the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

I have earmarked this proportion of the funds for Manpower Development and Training Act, Mr. President, for several reasons. First, I believe that it is the most effective training program in existence today. Second, it can easily, and, in fact, needs to be expanded. Finally, it can be incorporated into the type of comprehensive manpower and training approach which I have been advocating.

The Manpower Development and Training Act has been widely acclaimed because of its flexibility and because of its achievements. Secretary Willard Wirtz, speaking at hearings before the Labor and Public Welfare Committee's Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower in 1965, cited the "basic soundness of training programs under Manpower Development and Training Act" and recommended that the act be put on a more permanent basis. He said:

> The effectiveness of an active manpower policy as carried out under the MDTA is now clear from the record of proven experience. There is no doubt that the training and retraining of unemployed workers is a sound social and financial investment.

In 1966, Congress enacted substantial amendments, demonstrating that Manpower Development and Training Act was a "living, changing law" with "flexibility and capacity to adapt quickly to changing needs." The amendments substantially changed Manpower Development and Training Act to make it more effective an instrument for combating unemployment among the poor.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was redirected in 1966 toward the poor, by specifying that 65 percent of the training effort would be "person-oriented" or directed toward the reclamation of hardcore unemployed. The groups which were to receive the greatest attention were enumerated. They included: "culturally impoverished and poorly educated youth, the unemployed of middle age or older, minority groups, persons with low educational attainment, the long-term unemployed, and the rural poor."

Further, in 1966, the on-the-job training component of Manpower Development and Training Act was expanded. In fiscal year 1967, the on-the-job training program will constitute 50 percent of all Manpower Development and Training Act training. This is a vast increase from 1963, when the on-the-job training portion of Manpower Development and Training Act was only 6 percent. In addition, participation by private industry has increased. In 1963 only 400 businesses were involved, while today over 2,000 are involved.

VALUE OF MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The amended act has been highly praised. Sar Levitan in a paper entitled, "Alternative Approaches to Manpower Policies," states:

> During its five years of operation, MDTA has demonstrated its effectiveness. Available studies, though limited, indicate that benefits exceed costs; and the program has proven adaptable to changing policy goals and labor market conditions.

Stephen Kurzman, in a paper entitled "Private Enterprise Participation in the Antipoverty Program" concludes that:

> On-The-Job Training stimulated by the cost reimbursement treatment method under the MDT Act appears to be a highly effective tool for training and placing the unemployed and under-employed in satisfying jobs.

Available statistics substantiate the fact that both institutional and on-the-job training components are relatively successful in placing graduates in jobs. Institutional trainees averaged 73.6 percent initial placement over the first 3 years and on-the-job training averaged 93.1 percent initial placement. Both of these figures contrast favorably with 50 percent of all those public assistance recipients who entered work training and experience programs only to return to welfare roles upon completion of the program.

Prof. Garth Mangum, in an interview recently, stated that a much higher percentage of Manpower Development and Training Act enrollees than he had thought were actually extremely disadvantaged. He declared he had evidence that one-half of the family heads in Manpower Development and Training Act had incomes of less than $3,000 a year when they entered the program.

Manpower Development and Training Act has been very successful in both meeting particular skill shortages and in establishing skill ladders. It has alleviated skill shortages in jobs which require less than 2 years of training and has made significant contributions in the fields of machine operators, welders, motor vehicle mechanics, and body repairmen, secretaries, and draftsmen.

The on-the-job training part of Manpower Development and Training Act has been particularly successful in meeting skill shortages. The President's manpower report to Congress describes one such example:

> The OJT program in the tool and die industry is an outstanding example of this industry-Government approach to a skill shortage situation. Since early 1964, a project sponsored by the Department of Labor and conducted by the National Tool, Die, and Precision Machining Association has provided opportunities for preapprenticeship or apprenticeship entry training for unemployed persons as tool and die makers and machinists. The project was so successful that in March 1966 the Department extended it to provide training for 1800 workers, bringing the total number of trainees under the project to nearly 3000.

The same report gives two examples of programs which are particularly successful in upgrading the skills of workers, many of whom are disadvantaged:

> For example, under a national agreement with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, 1,000 journeymen are to be given training which will upgrade their skills, and 2,000 unemployed men are to be trained as carpenter apprentices. About half the trainees will receive preapprenticeship training in a coupled project and the other half will enter apprenticeship directly. The employers will receive on-the-job training assistance for 26 weeks of the four-year apprenticeship term.
>
> The same pattern is seen in a major pilot project, launched early in 1967 in New York City, to upgrade the skills of 2,500 employed workers. The four major unions and industrial leaders involved are committed to filling the vacated less skilled jobs with entry workers drawn from minority groups and the ranks of disadvantaged and long-term unemployed.

Because of the facts which I have cited, Mr. President, I think it is fair to conclude that the Manpower Development and Training Act has been an effective and highly successful program. Obviously, it would be advantageous to expand such a program. However, we must first consider whether or not the Manpower Development and Training Act program can easily be expanded to the degree to which I recommend.

I believe that it can be expanded. Stephen Kurzman, in his report which I quoted earlier, stated:

> The present level of the on-the-job training program is . . . both highly fortuitous and considerably lower than its apparent potential.

A noted authority in the job training field who has been intensively studying the Manpower Development and Training Act around the country, continually asked the question: "Given your present capacity, how much could you expand the Manpower Development and Training Act immediately?" He reported that he never was given any figure less than double, saying:

> They have people who are available in general to go into the program and they have the capability in general to expand it very rapidly. But nobody has made that kind of proposal for MDTA.

I am making that kind of proposal, Mr. President.

I have indicated that the Manpower Development and Training Act has been successful, and I have quoted several authorities who believe that the Manpower Development and Training Act can and should be expanded. These facts alone justify my inclusion of 10 percent to 20 percent delegation of title II funds to Manpower Development and Training Act. However, there is still another reason why it is important to expand this program.

Last week, when I addressed the Senate, I spoke of the desperate need for a coordinated, comprehensive approach to the problems of poverty. I indicated that this kind of approach was particularly imperative with regard to unemployment and underemployment problems in order to alleviate the recent piecemeal efforts.

In order to be truly comprehensive, a job training program must treat the multiple ills of the disadvantaged unemployed or underemployed person. The Manpower Development and Training Act, with the enactment of the 1966 amendments began to supply supportive services—namely, medical services to enrollees. Increased attention has been given to the necessity for reclaiming individuals as well as merely training them. The President's manpower report to Congress notes that—

> With the funds available, the target set for fiscal year 1965 was training for 250,000 individuals—a reduction from the 275,000 total for the previous year, since it was recognized that the new emphasis on the disadvantaged would require more intensive effort with many individual trainees. Training emphasis was to be equally divided between institutional and on-the-job training, and special attention was to be given to enlisting greater assistance from industry in training for upgrading and in providing opportunity for the disadvantaged.
>
> It was recognized that no sharp dividing line could in fact be drawn between the two aspects of the training program—human reclamation and the remedy of skill shortages.

I have noted time and time again, Mr. President, that there is much duplicity and overlap in job training programs. I believe, however, that if the best programs can be expanded, some of the ineffectual ones can be phased out. Then perhaps we can coordinate the remaining ones. Sar Levitan, in "Poverty and Human Resources Abstract" of September-

October 1966 decries this lack of integration:

> The fragmentation of federally supported training programs assumes crucial significance when the impact upon clientele is considered. . . .
>
> The defects of the present system have become particularly pronounced as labor shortages develop in an increasing number of communities and occupations. In a looser labor market, when jobs are scarcer, a training program may become a holding operation. But in the present labor market, as the demand for labor intensifies, the training programs should become an integral part of labor supply, as activities of the training programs are increasingly a concern of broader sections of the population.

An increased emphasis on Manpower Development and Training Act and its endorsement and inclusion in the Economic Opportunity Act could perhaps be a step in the integration process.

Finally, Mr. President, I have stated time and time again that the poverty war cannot be won by the efforts of the Government alone. The involvement and participation of all segments of the community must be sought. On-the-job training in particular encourages the participation of private industry. An expanded Manpower Development and Training Act program along with the enactment of the human investment provisions of my amendment could achieve this to a large degree. The combination of these two approaches has been recommended by many, including the President's manpower report, which stated:

> Various methods or combinations of methods of Government financial assistance for privately administered training programs have been proposed. MDTA on-the-job training, for example, provides one form of current assistance which has been highly successful, although on a limited scale. Large-scale expansion of this program might constitute one approach to the problem. Other suggested approaches would involve incentives such as special taxes coupled with tax credits for business expenditures in connection with on-the-job training programs.

Mr. President, only 290,000 of the 3 million Americans who are unemployed are currently being reached by Federal manpower and training programs. Obviously, this is insufficient performance if we really want to win the war against poverty.

I submit, Mr. President, that the primary reason for this insufficient performance is that we have failed to significantly involve the private sector of our economy. Secretary of Labor Wirtz, in a statement submitted to our committee, acknowledged this deficiency when he said:

> The most underdeveloped aspect of the manpower program (and possibly the poverty program as well) involves the potential for increased private participation.

In April of this year the manpower report of the President also recognized this difficulty when it stated:

> If the enormous occupational training task which will face the Nation during the next several years is to be successfully accomplished, greater Government-industry effort in the area of skills training will be required. Basic issues should be jointly examined—such as the better coordination and division of training responsibility between private industry, Government, and the educational system; the need for broad planning and coordination of the Nation's total training effort; and the possibility and desirability of financial assistance to employers to help them continue to carry the largest share of the training burden.

But, Mr. President, a mere recognition of the fact that greater Government-industry effort is needed is not enough. Our poor performance in the area of skills training points up the need for substantially greater participation by industry. We in Congress must enact legislation which will stimulate private industry to increase job training for unemployed or low income Americans.

It was with this need in mind that I, together with 120 other Republicans, sponsored the Human Investment Act. Unfortunately, legislative action on the Human Investment Act has been delayed primarily because of its provision for a general tax credit incentive. Apparently the tax credit is alien to the philosophy which presupposes the need for direct Federal control over all Government-subsidized manpower training programs.

Since I believe the need for a substantially increased effort in manpower training is now acute, I have made an effort in this amendment to set aside philosophical disagreements over the tax credit approach. Consequently, I have modified the human investment approach to remove the tax credit feature.

Even with this modification, I believe the human investment approach represents a major step forward. It offers possibilities for widespread involvement by private industry.

Primarily, Mr. President, the human investment approach is based on the premise that job training under the direct auspices of private industry is generally preferable to institutional training conducted by Government. There are a number of reasons why I believe this premise is sound.

First, job training by private industry minimizes the necessity for Government intervention and regulation in the economy. The Government does not need to get into the business of screening instructors, determining curriculum, supporting trainees, and other such appendages of Government-run programs, beyond the point of assuring that useful training is, in fact, being imparted by the employer.

Federal-State complications, elaborate placement procedures, and general administrative problems are largely avoided. It is interesting in this connection to note that the British Government, faced with the identical problem in 1963, chose to promote job training through private industry instead of setting up an elaborate Government-operated program.

Second, the great majority of those trained by private business are actually employees on the payroll. A number of studies, notably that by Prof. Richard Cloward of Columbia University's School of Social Work, reported in the January 1965 issue of American Child, have shown that the motivation of an unskilled and unemployed person to complete a training program bears a different relation to his perceived chance for obtaining employment promptly at the conclusion of his training.

Much of the dropout problem in such institutional programs as the Job Corps and the Manpower Development and Training Act are traceable to a sense of discouragement and uncertainty felt by the trainee with respect to his job chances after training. When the trainee has been positively assured that he will be hired for a given job if he satisfactorily completes the training, the chances that he will abandon the program decrease drastically.

One of the most pitiful spectacles to me, Mr. President, is the spectacle of a man who has completed a Manpower Development and Training Act institutional program, only to find that there are no job openings for him in his area. When private firms are responsible for the training, however, the trainee is almost invariably either hired at the beginning or given a firm promise of employment when his training is complete. This point has been driven home ably by Mr. M. S. Hutcheson, general president of the Carpenter's Union, in his editorial in the February 1966 issue of the Carpenter. Mr. Hutchinson writes:

> A realistic approach to training programs ought to be a fundamental part of the governments attitude toward eliminating poverty. Any program undertaken ought to be based on a reasonable assumption that there will be a place for a youngster when he has completed his training. Any other approach is neither fair to the youngster, to the industry, or to the nation.

I believe it is indisputably true that private industry people, far more than the Government or institutional personnel, know where and what the jobs will be.

Third, when private industry trains a man it invests in him. That investment is made with the expectation that the trainee can contribute to the company's productivity as an employee following training—else it would be difficult to justify the expense to the stockholder. Thus there is a built-in bias in favor of the employer giving top quality training, carefully designed to prepare the trainee for a position for which a worker is needed.

It would make little sense for a firm to train men and women as a public service project, and then see its investment wasted because the company has no appropriate job openings. Speaking on this point, Prof. William Faunce of the Labor and Industrial Relations Center of Michigan State University has said:

> A retraining program which did not involve retraining with respect to specific job openings is not a meaningful retraining program.

Here training by private industry has a great advantage over solely Government-run programs.

Fourth, the instructors in on-the-job training programs are directly involved in the latest day-to-day developments in the field. Unlike instructors in schools, they are in the forefront of innovation and technological change, and thus can give, by and large, more up-to-date instruction to trainees.

Fifth, private industry can train workers on the latest models of machines without necessarily investing in new equipment for the purpose. Faced by the rapid pace of innovation in many training fields, schools too often are left with the choice between trying to train people on obsolete equipment or obtaining new equipment, with a resulting increase in the cost of the training program. This fact accounts for a large part of the cost savings that can be realized by utilizing the resources of private industry for job training.

Sixth, by training the trainee in the context of an actual job situation, private industry provides a more realistic preparation for continued employment. The trainee is spared the problem of making what may be a difficult adjustment from a simulated to an actual worksite. To many trainees at the bottom end of the ladder, the prospect of regular employment with a company is a strange and bewildering experience. To have to adjust to this situation at the moment of maximum subconscious anxiety—just when training in an institutional program has been completed—puts an additional psychological burden on the worker, which may be reflected in poor performance.

This factor does not apply, of course, in the case of longtime workers who are merely changing from one line of employment to another via retraining. In the case of a hard-core unemployed person, however, it merits consideration.

Seventh, on-the-job training has conclusively proven to be more economical than the equivalent institutional training. Experience of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in comparing per hour costs of trainees in institutional and in on-the-job training programs shows that where the average cost of the former runs over $5 per hour, the latter cost the taxpayer only 55 cents per hour. Even when the wage of the trainee, paid by the employer, is added on, it is still obvious that the on-the-job programs are more than twice as economical as the school programs.

Indeed, Labor Secretary Wirtz, in reply to my question submitted at a Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee hearing last February, stated:

> There is considerable economy in on the job training over institutional training. The average cost per trainee in on the job training is approximately one third that of the average total cost of institutional training.

At the same time he presented new figures from calendar year 1965 experience, showing the average cost to the taxpayer of on-the-job training programs to be $26 per week per trainee, while the cost of institutional training ran about $60 per week per trainee. Even though the two types of training are not directly comparable without some qualification, it is still clear that from a taxpayer's point of view, training on the job means money saved.

Eighth, on-the-job training is adaptable to any size training class and to any location, urban or rural. Institutional classes are limited to minimum numbers which may not exceed the required number of workers in a given occupation. Institutional facilities are not often available at all in rural areas; private business, however, can design programs for even one trainee—small firms with one apprentice in training are not uncommon. In fact, as of spring 1962, more than half of the apprentices surveyed in a national survey conducted by the Labor Department were employed in establishments with fewer than 100 workers.

Industry, as well as unemployed and low income persons, would greatly benefit from the human investment approach. My amendment would provide an incentive to private industry for improving its manpower efficiency and to fulfill its social obligations.

Many businessmen are faced with employee inefficiencies because they cannot afford the total cost of adequate job training or retraining. This amendment would provide enough incentive for many businessmen to intensify training programs thus increasing business efficiency.

Equally important, severe manpower shortages plaguing many parts of the country could be eased. New York State, for one, has suffered severely from skill shortages. According to the New York Times of January 8, 1967, State Senate Majority Leader Earl W. Bridges reported alarming shortages of skilled personnel in a number of areas, including skilled and semiskilled trades. In doing so he announced the formation of a special ad hoc committee of the State Senate to survey the manpower problem and recommend means for its solution.

LABOR SHORTAGE NOW

Sylvia Porter, the well-known financial columnist, reports in her column of January 12, 1967, in Burlington, Vt., Free Press:

> So severe are some skill shortages, in fact, that corporations, schools and government agencies are now raiding each other to fill job openings, paying bonuses of up to $300 to employees who can deliver new job recruits, scouring Canada and Europe for employees.

Miss Porter concludes:

> The basic, long term answer to skill shortages can only be drastically improved and increased vocational education and job training by private industry as well as by government agencies.

Industry could not only prosper economically from this amendment, but also better fulfill its social obligations. In recent months we have all sensed a willingness by many businessmen to become involved in the war on poverty. In Rochester, N.Y., for example, I understand businessmen have agreed to provide jobs for over 2,000 unemployed. These businesses have carried out obligations to society without subsidies or monetary incentives. However, realistically we cannot expect all businesses to follow the lead of the Rochester businessmen without some incentive. I believe this amendment would encourage substantially increased participation in the war on poverty by businessmen throughout the country.

The human investment approach, Mr. President, would benefit unemployed or low-income individuals. It would also benefit industry. And finally, Mr. President, it would benefit the Federal Government by relieving some of the burdens of the war on poverty.

Mr. President, I have just described the four significant changes in the Emergency Employment Act of 1967 that my amendment would make. I believe that I have demonstrated the desirability of limiting the authorization to 1 year, gearing the program to heads of families, utilizing the excellent experience we have had under the Manpower Development and Training Act, and initiating a human investment approach as an incentive for greater participation by private industry.

Now, Mr. President, I imagine that many are wondering what has prompted me to change my mind concerning the enactment of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967. On this floor last week I noted that the title II program was reminiscent of New Deal days and only a make-work program which did not represent a long-range solution to unemployment problems.

Even though I had doubts concerning the advisability of enacting title II as originally proposed, I was aware that large segments of the American population desperately need assistance. I realize, Mr. President, that the number unemployed and looking for work in the United States has averaged nearly 3 million during the first half of 1967. I realize, Mr. President, that to reduce unemployment to a rate of 3 percent would take 600,000 new jobs. I realize, Mr. President, that meeting unemployment with jobs is central to solving the crisis of our cities and rural areas.

While these statistics, Mr. President, demand constructive action during this session of Congress, I could not see instituting a $2.8 billion work relief program for a 2-year period.

After taking a hard look at the provisions of title II, I am convinced that if my amendments to it are adopted it could have a beneficial impact on our Nation.

First of all, Mr. President, it would get down to the serious work of training thousands of unemployed persons to become productive members of our society. In years to come, taxes from these individuals alone would more than pay for the Emergency Employment Act of 1967.

Second, Mr. President, it would provide industry with a real incentive to become a fullfledged partner with Government in this war on poverty. As I have pointed out so many times on this floor, the Federal Government alone cannot do the job of eliminating poverty. There must be a coordinated and comprehensive effort by the Federal, State and local governments, and above all both the private sector of the economy and organized labor must become fully involved.

Third, Mr. President, I fully realize that there are some unemployed persons who would not respond to job training in any way, shape or form. What do we do with this type of individual, Mr. President? Do we give him relief checks and let him sit on his front porch playing cribbage and drinking beer? Do we forget about him and let him become a beggar? Do we ignore him and hope that some way he will disappear?

Realistically, Mr. President, I think that we have to realize that for some individuals the Government must become the employer of last resort. I know, Mr. President, that considering the Government as the employer of last resort conjures up the image of the "shovel leaning" WPA worker of the 30's. I am sure that part of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967 would generate a few "shovel leaners." But, also, Mr. President, it will restore the dignity which can only come from productive work for thousands of individuals who have become accustomed to hopelessness, despair, and laziness in that order.

EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT

Prof. Garth Mangum points out in a recent paper that:

> Ways may be found to attract employers to depressed areas and neighborhoods, or to get the unemployed and underemployed out of them. Until then—and the day appears far off—reasonably adequate solutions to the social and personal problems of the employable but competitively disadvantaged will require the government to act as "employer of last resort."

Finally, Mr. President, I have pointed out numerous times that the administration has been plagued by a definite performance gap between promises and results. Part of the reason for this performance gap has been an apparent inability to attack any one area of poverty with the determination and drive necessary to eliminate that particular problem. In the area of job training the performance gap is all too apparent for thousands of unemployed and low income indivduals who continue to become more economically disadvantaged each day. For too many of them federally sponsored job training programs have been but an illusion. Their lives have remained unaffected in any way, shape or form.

I believe, Mr. President, the enactment of the Emergency Employment Act as changed by my amendment would diminish the performance gap now plaguing the Federal Government. More important, Mr. President, it would enable thousands of individuals who have become victims of abject poverty and the welfare dole to lead a meaningful life.

Mr. President, in conclusion, I point out briefly the effects of this proposed amendment.

First, it would cut title II authorization from $2.8 billion to $875 million, plus $50 million for interest-free repayable loans for purchase of training equipment and supplies.

Second, it would permit the Secretary of Labor to use up to $328,125,000 of the $875 million for human investment training programs by private industry, pursuant to plans approved by the Secretary.

Third, it would permit the Secretary of Labor to use up to $175 million of the $875 million for on-the-job training and other programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Fourth, it would require the Secretary of Labor to give priority in filling all employment and training openings created by title II programs to unemployed and low-income persons who are the heads of families.

Fifth, it would expand the definition of "eligible areas" to include rural areas with problems of outmigration.

Mr. President, it seems to me that this represents a reasonable compromise between the positions of those who favor the adoption of title II of the bill in its present form and those who would eliminate it entirely. Also, Mr. President, my amendment concentrates more on training programs, making it possible for the unemployed and the underemployed to acquire skills necessary and essential to enable them to become productive, self-supporting citizens.

I very much hope, Mr. President, that the Senate will look with favor upon my proposal.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I am very much interested in the Senator's proposal. As he knows, he and I have discussed it, and I have discussed it with some of my Democratic colleagues on the subcommittee which held the initial hearings on this bill.

I should like to see whether the Senator and I are in accord—and I will not detain him long—as to the basic principles of his amendment.

I understand, first, that the amendment would cut the authorization from a 2-year authorization to a 1-year authorization. Is that correct?

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARK. In the original Emergency Employment Act which I introduced, and which the committee brought to the floor, the authorization for the first year would have been $1.3 billion, of which $300 million would have been set aside for tooling up, hardware, and making available the facilities through which the program would operate.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is absolutely correct.

Mr. CLARK. What the Senator has done has been to reduce that $1.3 billion to $925 million, of which $50 million would be set aside for tooling up and hardware?

Mr. PROUTY. Yes; and I think it should be pointed out that the $50 million is in the form of loans which will be repayable.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct; and they are non-interest-bearing loans?

Mr. PROUTY. That is right.

Mr. CLARK. My third point would be that the Senator's amendment puts greater stress on the job training than does the original Emergency Employment Act.

Mr. PROUTY. Yes. As the Senator knows, I feel very strongly about that. It is one of the most important things we must do if we are to enable people who are now unemployable to learn skills and becoming self-supporting.

Mr. CLARK. I share the Senator's view that on-the-job training needs as much emphasis as we can reasonably give it, and the on-the-job training emphasis is directed at the hard-core poor who are unemployable, is it not?

Mr. PROUTY. That is true.

Mr. CLARK. As I understand, the Senator intends, under part (b) of his amendment, which I think is referred to as the human investment part of the amendment, to give encouragement to private industry to employ hard-core poor after adequate on-the-job training. In order to do that, there is an inducement to private industry in the form of the payment of a subsidy—perhaps the Senator would prefer some other word; that is the first word that occurred to me—represented by the difference between what it costs to train a hard-core poor individual and what it would cost to train an ordinary employee.

Mr. PROUTY. That is the purpose of the amendment, and of my approach in the human investment program.

Mr. CLARK. With respect to part (b), the Senator's amendment leaves a good deal of flexibility to the Secretary of Labor, does it not, in that the Secretary would have discretion, within a limitation of a low of 12½ percent of the $875 million and a high of 37½ percent of the $875 million, as to how much should be utilized for the human investment program and how much should stay within the original conception of the Emergency Employment Act?

Mr. PROUTY. That is within the discretion of the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. CLARK. So without being very adept at doing mathematics in my head—perhaps the Senator or his staff has done it—what does the 12½ percent figure come to, and what does the 37½ percent figure come to?

Mr. PROUTY. The 12½ percent figure is $109,375,000; the 37½ percent figure is $328,125,000.

Mr. CLARK. So, roughly speaking and rounding out the figures, if the Secretary has to take the lower amount, there would be a high in excess of $700 million left for the emergency employment part of the bill.

Mr. PROUTY. Offhand I think the Senator is approximately correct.

Mr. CLARK. If the Secretary were to take the higher figure of 37½ percent, there would still be in excess of $500 million, would there not, for the emergency part of the bill?

Mr. PROUTY. I think that is true.

Mr. CLARK. I overheard the colloquy between the Senator and his able staff member about the MDTA. Perhaps the Senator will explain to what extent, if at all, that enters into this discussion.

Mr. PROUTY. Certainly in addition to the human investment part of the amendment there is a 10 percent minimum earmarked under MDTA which would amount to $87.5 million. The maximum which could be spent would be $175 million.

Mr. CLARK. That would be in addition, would it, to the $109 million and the $300-odd million we spoke about before?

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct. I point out to the Senator, however, that while this is a 1-year authorization, the amendment contains a provision to make funds available until they have been expended.

Mr. CLARK. I understand. Would the Senator, as an experienced legislator, agree with me, it now being the first week in October—and since we are expecting problems in the House and a conference which could be long winded, and a possible veto, although we hope not—that it is not very likely that this legislation will become law much before the end of the year.

Mr. PROUTY. I think that is a fair assumption.

Mr. CLARK. So one-half of the fiscal year 1968 would have passed before this money could even begin to be made available.

Mr. PROUTY. That is very true, and quite frankly, that is one reason why I felt we could reduce the funds rather substantially without curtailing the effect of the poverty program which the Senator and I favor.

Mr. CLARK. I think the Senator has a good point there. I am more favorably disposed toward his amendment, although I might say quite candidly that I am not in a position to accept it tonight.

I am not at all sure that I can accept it at all. However, I do want to think about it very hard, because it would be very difficult for the Secretary to spend in this fiscal year all the money provided in the original Emergency Employment Act.

Mr. PROUTY. I think that is true. I appreciate the fact that the Senator is going to give appropriate thought to the proposal which I am sure he appreciates is offered in good faith.

I am very much concerned about what I consider to be our No. 1 domestic problem which is the prevalence of poverty. While the Senator and I do not agree on everything, I think philosophically we feel that this is a problem which we must approach along the lines which he and I both seem to feel is desirable and essential.

Mr. CLARK. I think the Senator and I are in accord that something must be done to give employment potential to the hard core poor who are of employable age. And I agree with the Senator that something more needs to be done with respect to training them in employable skills.

The Senator and I are both realists, and we know that there are limits to what we can expect the Senate to do in this regard, and perhaps even greater limits to what we can expect the House to do.

I commend the Senator for the efforts he has made in working out what may well become an acceptable compromise for the Senate.

So that we can have an appropriate record, I wonder if the Senate would permit me to ask him a couple of additional questions so that I can be sure I understand the full purport of the amendment.

Section 214 of the Senator's amendment would prohibit financial assistance by the Secretary except upon approval of a plan submitted by an employer who desires to receive financial assistance under part (b), the human investment job training part of the Emergency Employment Act.

I take it that refers to a written plan.

That plan is required to include under section 214(g):

> Information respecting the cost of usual training and other usual services provided employees other than those described in Section 206 of this title, in order to make them fully productive.

They are there described as hard-core corps.

Reading this section in conjunction with section 213 which authorizes financial assistance for training and employment costs including "unusual training and other unusual services for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive" would require the Secretary of Labor to determine the unusual training and employment costs by first requiring the establishment of the usual training and employment costs under the plan.

In other words, to make a figure available, we have to know what it would ordinarily cost them and then how much it would cost for this hard-core corps.

Mr. PROUTY. That is absolutely true. We think this is set forth under section 214(g) of the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. In this connection I would think it appropriate for the Secretary to take into account in determining such usual training and other employment costs the following information in addition to other information which the Secretary might require:

First, it would seem to me that the employer should provide the Secretary with a description of the training and services usually provided its new employees. That description should include the usual duration of such training and an analysis of the employer's training costs during a substantial period prior to the submission of the plan.

Second, it would seem to me relevant for the Secretary to consider the normal turnover rates of the employer's employees information on work injuries and absenteeism of employees performing work similar to that which is expected to be performed by low-income or unemployed persons who are to be employed under the plan.

Third, I think some information should also be provided on the productivity and efficiency of the employer's employees.

Lastly, the Secretary may wish to require that the employer provide other information in order to enable the Secretary to determine the amount and rate of financial assistance to be provided an employer for the hiring of poor people under the Senator's amendment.

I am wondering whether the Senator would agree with these observations?

I think it important that the Secretary of Labor have enough flexibility in determining the employer's usual training and other services costs and in determining the information necessary to be included under the plan so that the Secretary would be able to exercise an informed judgment as to the amount of financial assistance to be provided.

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct. And I think this is still at the discretion of the Secretary. I think the language is sufficiently clear so that there is no doubt about certain restrictions which may be placed upon him.

Mr. CLARK. I have another point which disturbs me a little, but I suspect that the Senator is in accord with me on this.

Further, in connection with subsection 214(g), I am concerned that there are no specific legislative safeguards prohibiting the use of the financial assistance provided under the Senator's amendment to assure that this assistance is not used by an employer who typically and normally has a high turnover rate for his employees. I would hope that the Senator from Vermont would agree that the human investment job training program should not be used by employers which have typically high turnover rates. I do not think it would be advisable, for example, to have a small shop of one sort or another which normally hires persons on a short-term basis receive aid under this act. I am sure the Senator would agree that the purpose of his human investment job training amendment is to create permanent jobs and not merely temporary jobs in industries where turnover rates are particularly high.

Mr. PROUTY. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. CLARK. The third point is that section 213(a) authorizes financial assistance to employers for "training and employment costs incurred pursuant to the plan described in section 214. I think the act is quite clear what the term "training and employment costs" refers to for sections 213(a), (1) through (4) indicate the kinds of reimbursements which would be made by the Secretary to an employer. I would like to ask the Senator from Vermont if he would not agree with me that the language on its face is quite clear that employment costs refers to matters contained within section 213(a) and does not refer to wages, and that his amendment would not authorize a wage subsidy.

Mr. PROUTY. I believe that is the Senator's understanding and I believe he is correct.

Mr. CLARK. I am glad to have the Senator make that point.

My semifinal point I wish to raise, as a matter of legislative history, is that subsection 213(a)(2) authorizes the payment of all or part of employer costs of sending recruiters into areas of high concentration of unemployed or low-income persons. Would the Senator from Vermont agree that this provision is not intended to duplicate or replace existing recruitment efforts by the U.S. Employment Service and the State public employment offices or other public or private agencies which are currently engaged in the recruitment of unemployed or low-income persons?

Mr. PROUTY. No, it would not duplicate their efforts. It would be an additional means of finding some of the people, if necessary, who need this help. It would not in any sense supplant the activities of the U.S. Employment Service or of State employment services.

Mr. CLARK. Of course, there is an analogy between the human investment job training amendment proposed by the Senator from Vermont and the present practices of the Department of Labor in connection with the on-the-job training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Would not the Senator agree that, where appropriate, the rules and regulations established for training under MDTA by the Department of Labor be made applicable to the human investment job training provisions proposed by the Senator from Vermont where such rules and regulations could be adapted to fit the provisions of the Senator's amendment, so we will not be establishing another jungle of bureaucratic rules with situations which in many ways are substantially identical?

Mr. PROUTY. I believe that is a logical approach, but I should say to the Senator that the final decision must be up to the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Senator very much for his candid answers to my questions and I assure him that overnight I will give prayerful consideration to accepting his amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. I hope very much that the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania will find it possible to accept the amendment, after he has had an opportunity to think about it.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Vermont for his support of this proposal and for his having worked out what I believe is a very useful alternative, which I hope will be favorably acted upon by the Senate.

I support the proposal. I have joined in it with the Senator from Vermont. I hope for its success, and I hope that the senior Senator from Pennsylvania may find that he also will be able to support the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania. I must say that his cooperation and help in drafting this amendment have been extremely valuable. I share his hope that the senior Senator from Pennsylvania will find it possible to accept our proposal.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. In title II of the bill before us, the language would authorize $1 billion for fiscal year 1968 and $1.5 billion for fiscal year 1969.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. There would also be an authorization for loans in the amount of $300 million.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. As I understand the distinguished Senator's amendment to my motion, one of the changes that would be embodied in the instructions which he proposes would be a limitation on the authorization to $875 million until expended.

Mr. PROUTY. Plus $50 million for repayable loans, which are noninterest loans but are repayable.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. This brings me to the question I was about to ask the Senator. I have not had an opportunity to read his statement, but I was going to ask whether or not he intended to provide any monies for loans.

Mr. PROUTY. There is $50 million in the amendment for loans.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. So there will be $50 million instead of the $300 million as provided in the bill?

Mr. PROUTY. There is $50 million in addition to the $875 million authorization.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. So the $875 million would be in grants, and there would be a total of $50 million in loans?

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, although I am a cosponsor with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] of the original bill which is sought now to be amended, it is my judgment that the scheme adopted by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] sharpens and makes even more specific the private enterprise job which I had in mind in effecting several amendments to the bill in its original form which I worked out with the Senator from Pennsylvania.

I think that the Senator from Vermont has rendered us all a valuable service by sharpening and committing specific sums of money for that purpose. In many respects, this amendment proposes incentives to private industry like those I sponsored under section 123(a)(8) of title I of the act, and extends those incentives to something beyond a pilot program in size.

He has limited the program to 1 year. I think that program is more important than that limitation. Therefore, it shall be my intention to support the Senator from Vermont, and I hope very much the majority of the Senate will do the same. I have examined the needs closely and I am more than ever convinced that jobs must be our first priority in attacking the problem of poverty. This bill would provide those needed jobs.

OPPOSITION TO TITLE II

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, there can be no question about the desirability of eradicating poverty, and no question at all about the necessity of helping those who are in genuine need. Speaking as one who knows about the pangs of poverty from firsthand experience, I can say that improving the opportunities for all Americans to share in the fruits of an affluent society—and I emphasize the word opportunities—is a commendable and worthwhile national objective.

But in my view, there are serious questions about the validity of some of the premises and some of the statistics on which the war on poverty is based. And there are even more serious questions about the effectiveness of a number of phases of the effort which the Office of Economic Opportunity is making. I have serious reservations about continuing to fund some of these programs in the amounts sought, or, for that matter, in any amount whatsoever.

In many instances the results we had hoped for as a consequence of the enactment of the Economic Opporutnity Act of 1964—which I supported—have not been attained. And they may not be attained, for it is doubtful to me that the OEO, or any other agency that can be devised, is going to be able to wipe out poverty in this or any other country. I believe that eradicating poverty is much more related to the individual and his own efforts than it is to federal undertakings of this nature. This is not to say that the Federal Government should not assist.

A thought-provoking article entitled "Is United States Really Filled With Poverty?" appeared on page 50 of U.S. News & World Report for September 4, 1967, which I believe could profitably be read by any person concerned about the problem of poverty in this country. I ask unanimous consent that this article be labeled exhibit A and be printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Before additional billions are voted for the war on poverty, there are many facts that should be weighed. I shall call attention in these remarks to a few of them.

The word "poverty" has emotional connotations. Our sympathies are stirred at thoughts of the less fortunate and the disadvantaged, and properly so. Providing equal opportunity for all is among the noblest ideals which we profess.

But reality should guide us, and it is my opinion that a good many misleading or at least questionable statistics have been advanced as to the number of individuals and families that actually live in poverty in America and who can be motivated to make the effort to lift themselves out of the poverty strata.

In the U.S. News article to which I referred, John B. Parrish, professor of economics at the University of Illinois, does much, I think, to put this problem in proper perspective and focus. The author has been on the Illinois faculty for 20 years and, before that, was an economist and statistician with the War Labor Board and the War Manpower Commission in Washington. For 3 years he was Chicago regional director of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

He brands as "poverty fallacy No. 1" the estimates of the number of Americans living in poverty. The figures I have heard most commonly quoted place this number at 30 to 35 million. But some members of what Dr. Parrish calls the "poverty cult"—meaning those persons, or groups, who go the farthest in advocating antipoverty measures—put the number at 40 to 50 million, and a few, using some yardstick that is utterly incomprehensible to me, would contend that as many as 80 million Americans are victims of poverty. Here is part of what Dr. Parrish wrote:

> Poverty fallacy No. 1 got its big push from the 1964 report on "The Problem of Poverty in America," by the Council of Economic Advisers. CEA determined that households with less than $3,000 annual income were in poverty. Using this income yardstick, it was determined that 20 per cent of U.S. households containing 30 million persons were in the poverty class.
>
> The truth about poverty-income statistics is this: Under no reasonable assumptions does income below $3,000 indicate poverty status. It may or may not, and to say otherwise, is not only erroneous but absurd.
>
> Let's take as an example a young married couple, the Smiths. They are attending college. They constitute a statistical household. Their annual income is $1,500 a year. They are not being "hopelessly" shut out from the good things of life. They are, along with other American youth, enjoying a rate of access to higher education greater than the youth of any country, any time, any place. They enjoy electric lighting, refrigeration,

> adequate if not fancy food, and a secondhand automobile or motorcycle. They would like a new Cadillac, but will manage without one. They aren't "poor" and need no crocodile tears shed in their behalf.
>
> At the other end of the life cycle are the Joneses. Mr. Jones has been a machinist all his life. He and Mrs. Jones had always wanted to visit the country's great national parks after the children had grown up and left. So he has opted to retire at age 60. The retirement income will come to only $2,000 a year. Are they poor? The poverty cult says, "Yes," these people are suffering from deprivation. They have been "hopelessly" cast aside. Yet the truth is they have a small home paid for, a modest automobile paid for. They enjoy refrigeration, automatic cooking equipment, inside plumbing, TV, enough clothes to last for years—the accumulation of a lifetime. And now they propose to enjoy more leisure, in more comfort, for more years than similar working-class families of any country, any time. The Joneses think the Council of Economic Advisers is statistically wacky.
>
> And take the Browns. They are in the middle years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brown work. Their three children are in school. They have a modest new home, partially paid for, some savings, some insurance, good clothes—yes, and a paid-for refrigerator and TV set. They have a new car and six installments still outstanding. Mr. Brown becomes ill. Mrs. Brown quits work to take care of him. Their income drops to below $3,000 for the year. Are they in trouble? Yes. Are they in desperate consumer poverty? Are they "hopelessly trapped?" By no means. After a tough year they will resume as members of the affluent society even by CEA's definition.

These cases could be multiplied endlessly, I think. If poverty is to be measured or defined on the basis of income and size of family alone, or the difference between low and high income brackets without taking into consideration all the other factors which are pertinent, then we will, indeed, always have poverty with us.

I do not believe that poverty can be predicated solely, or even mainly, on the basis of income or on family size. Such data form an insufficient basis on which to proceed, for they omit such estimates, which Dr. Parrish cites, as these:

Ninety-five percent of U.S. families have an adequate minimum daily diet; 99 percent of all U.S. households have adequate cooking equipment including those living in both urban and rural "ghettos"; 99 percent of U.S. households have refrigeration; 96 percent of U.S. families who want it have television; 98 percent of U.S. mothers give birth to their babies in hospitals; 95 percent of U.S. households have telephones.

Moreover, America's vast resale market makes all kind of consumer-type durable goods available to those in low-income groups at a fraction of their original cost. Refrigerators, automobiles, TV sets, record players, furniture—these and other items are sold and resold as used goods. Instead of being shut out, our low-income families are, in many instances, gaining more in the way of necessities and conveniences than they have ever had before.

I do not contend that they, the low-income families, have everything they need or should aspire to. Far from it. But I do say emphatically that it is my opinion that the bleak picture of 30 to 35 million Americans living in the depths of poverty, existing on a bare subsistence level, is a badly overdrawn and distorted picture.

Now, let us look briefly at three of the more controversial programs of the war on poverty about which I have the strongest reservations. I refer specifically to the Job Corps, some of the community action programs, and the activities of the VISTA workers.

In the case of the Job Corps, the data are confusing and conflicting and tend generally to indicate that the program is not doing what it was intended to do; namely, to fit disadvantaged youths for holding other than make-work jobs.

Some educators and sociologists believe that the theory behind the program is faulty. They question the wisdom of removing youths from their homes and training them for situations that may or may not exist in their home communities or anywhere else.

Many who are best versed in this phase of the war on poverty believe that not enough use is being made of existing educational and vocational training facilities; that the "education" these youths are receiving is poor; and that there has not been enough involvement of State educational agencies in the program. It seems evident that there is too much overlapping and duplication of both Federal and State educational and manpower training and retraining programs.

But most seriously I question the great cost of this program when viewed in the light of the results it has produced so far.

The figures on the cost annually per enrollee have been widely discussed. The committee report on the pending bill shows that during the first 3 fiscal years $715 million has been allocated to the Job Corps for its operation. The direct operating cost per enrollee was $6,900 for the 1967 fiscal year for the centers in operation 9 months or more, which is under the ceiling of $7,500 per enrollee imposed by a 1966 amendment to the 1964 act, and which the new bill would reduce to $7,300 per enrollee.

But additional overhead and capital costs raised the cost for each enrollee by an average of $600. The direct operating costs for men's urban centers averaged just under $7,500 and for the women's centers just under $8,500. The cost for the conservation centers was $6,100 plus $854 per conservation center enrollee, or a total of $6,954 per enrollee.

Without making any invidious comparisons with other private educational costs, it must be obvious to all that, when no one knows exactly what results are being achieved, these costs are inordinately high.

Statements which one sees now and then in the public press and elsewhere to the effect that the youths trained in the Job Corps centers will return more than the cost of their training in the future taxes they will pay and the good they will do for society are, at best, only guesses. Assumptions that welfare costs for the youths involved will be reduced or eliminated are equally nebulous, for, as the minority report on the bill notes, many who have received public assistance receive it again after finishing their "training."

As the U.S. Chamber of Commerce noted in its comprehensive study of the Job Corps earlier this year:

> The Job Corps is doing very little directly to aid the graduates in job placement. . . . About 60 percent of the Corpsmen found their jobs themselves. Even when the Job Corps did assist in placement, responses from graduates indicate that an effort was not always made to match previous training and job specifications.[1]

The chamber of commerce study made the additional point that employers hold the graduates of the Job Corps in low regard. The most disturbing result of its investigation, the chamber said, was that roughly 74 percent of the Job Corps graduates covered by the study were no longer employed in the job in which the Job Corps indicated they were placed.

Moreover, the press has reported many incidents, occurring both at the Job Corps centers and in neighboring cities and towns, in which enrollees have participated in unlawful or disruptive activities. Often it has been reported that enrollees who have committed crimes were not subjected to punishment. This has evoked criticism and antagonism, especially from citizens residing near Job Corps centers.

Many of the incidents that have marred the image of the Job Corps probably have been due to poor screening methods. The Job Corps has said that it has no way of checking whether a man is on parole or probation when he applies. They refuse to require fingerprints from enrollees—despite the fact that members of the Armed Forces and Government employees have their fingerprints taken automatically.

I do not say that the Job Corps should accept only those boys with clean records, but I do say that the Job Corps administrators should know enough about each boy's background to be able to reject him, if need be, or, once enrolled, to handle him effectively. Many of the scandals and riots that have plagued the Job Corps may have been avoided if the camp leaders had known which boys had the most serious problems and had helped them accordingly or had rejected or dismissed them.

Turning to the community action phase of the war on poverty, I have been disturbed by reports reaching me from my State that in some instances these programs are being subverted by "leadership" which seems to be ideologically opposed to what it openly refers to as "the power structure," or contemptuously calls "the establishment." The objective of some community action leaders in some communities appears mainly to be the overthrow of this "establishment."

I have had reports that in some communities persons associated with the poverty programs are openly talking of "running candidates for office," who presumably would be amenable to the points of view of "do-gooder" or extremist types of leadership, whether that fitted into a community pattern or not. I regret to say that some reports reaching me indicate that social misfits and mal-contents have, in some cases, infiltrated the war on poverty and have become its leaders.

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[1] "Youth and the War on Poverty," February 24, 1967, The Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Local initiative and local participation in Federal programs are rightly regarded as essential in the effective development and carrying out of many such programs. But in some communities responsible leaders have shied away from having anything to do with the war on poverty. In my judgment, the OEO has failed significantly to involve progressive yet sound local leadership in many communities.

The objective in some instances appears to have been to incite hatred and anger, to build up class consciousness and to foment unrest instead of to provide constructive leadership. In one West Virginia city—Bluefield—a mimeographed notice of a community action meeting circulated in a predominantly Negro neighborhood began with these provocative words:

> Are you tired of being stepped on? . . . Are you satisfied with the prevailing conditions?

I ask unanimous consent that this item be included as exhibit B at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit B.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, other inflammatory pamphlets and literature have been circulated in what seems to be a deliberate effort to take advantage of the community action programs to agitate for increased welfare benefits and to gain other similar ends. As an example, I have some literature which was recently sent to me by an elected State official and which has been circulated by poverty workers to welfare recipients. I ask unanimous consent that this literature be inserted as exhibit C at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit C.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, it is fine, in theory, to involve the poor in community endeavors for their own purported betterment. But where the poor have had little experience and practice in such matters, they all too often can be misled by persons who have their own, not the poor's, interests and welfare in mind.

The issues appear to me to revolve around poor implementation of a number of the poverty programs, ineffective operation, loose administrative control, and the weaknesses inherent in the concept of such programs as the Job Corps, some of the community action programs, and some of the VISTA activities.

The legislation before us amends and revises the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It broadens the program at the same time it purportedly seeks to correct the weaknesses to which I have referred. I do not believe that some of them have been corrected. Too often it appears that special interest groups coming into a community from outside it have seized the initiative at the local level, and that they are using the communtiy action setup as a vehicle for their own special purposes, which all too often do not coincide with the basic purposes and aims of the war on poverty. As a result, a great deal of social dissension has been stirred up, a new class-consciousness has been introduced, much public disenchantment has resulted, and, in my judgment, a great deal of money has been wasted.

I cite a letter, dated August 14, 1967, from Gov. Hulett C. Smith, of my State, to Director R. Sargent Shriver of the OEO, in which the Governor of West Virginia states that he would not give his permission or approval "today" to the VISTA and Appalachian volunteer phases of the war on poverty which he has approved for the past summer.

In his letter Governor Smith said:

> Earlier this year, I approved for the second summer the placement of Appalachian Volunteers in the State of West Virginia under the auspices of the VISTA program. In so doing, I approved the return of the AV's in the face of a considerable amount of public protest from communities where they had served before, with some persons taking exception to the philosophy and activities of the group in the community, but with a majority protesting alleged immorality, uncleanliness, unconventionality and personal obnoxiousness by some of the AV's working in the State during the summer of 1966.
>
> However, it was my feeling at that time that the good being done by these young people outweighed the flaws and peccadilloes being manifested by some of them.
>
> In recent weeks, incidents have occurred which—to be quite frank—cause me to question whether I exercised my best judgment in approving the 1967 AV contract.
>
> Briefly related, these incidents are:
>
> 1. A group of persons identified as AV's and VISTA personnel staged a riotous all-night party on July 22 at Babcock State Park—destroying park property, interfering with the exit and entrance of other park guests, tampering with automobiles and generally disturbing the peace. This is documented in the attached report from the park superintendent, which points out that several of these persons used Federal Government automobiles, raising the possible question of misuse of U.S. Government property (as well as being abominable public relations for the national Administration). The superintendent's report has been carefully checked, and verified in almost every detail.
>
> 2. Reports from Wyoming County, West Virginia, indicate that confidence in, and effectiveness of, the VISTA–AV program has been seriously weakened by immoral conduct on the part of several of those volunteers. While these persons logically argue that their personal lives are their own affair, the fact remains that promiscuity, particularly when it crosses racial lines, is not accepted by the community as a whole and damages public respect and support for the VISTA and AV program.
>
> 3. On August 6, pickets protesting U.S. participation in the Viet Nam war staged a demonstration on the lawn of the State Capitol. The protest, which was peaceful and orderly, included five VISTA–AV workers from Raleigh County. While I affirm their right to their own views on the Vietnamese situation, the fact that they drove to Charleston in a clearly-marked U.S. Government car, which was parked near the Capitol, attracted considerable attention, as the attached State Police report reveals. The use of a Federally-owned car for such purposes certainly is open to question.
>
> 4. A respected State Senator, Carl E. Gainer, from central West Virginia has protested formally to me about the activities of VISTA and AV workers in Nicholas County. These persons apparently have called for the mass dismissal of a number of the county's elected officials and school personnel. While such social protest might be valid, the absence of constructive alternatives to the problems of the community has led to a general feeling that the VISTA–AV group is composed of "trouble-makers" who offer only negative solutions to community problems. Charges of teaching "ideas that are Communistic" have been made. Enclosed are copies of the letters outlining this problem.
>
> 5. The arrest of a group of VISTA–AV workers in a nearby county of Kentucky on charges of sedition, and their alleged possession of Communist literature and paraphernalia, has been widely reported by West Virginia news media, and has served further to undermine confidence in the VISTA–AV program.
>
> Since I was given assurances that the 1967 Appalachian Volunteer Program would be more tightly controlled to the extent of picking persons of greater maturity and judgment and screening out those individuals whose Bohemian habits might render the program effete, I feel I have no alternative but to call this evident breach of those assurances to your attention.
>
> It remains my contention that a program such as the Appalachian Volunteers can be a positive force for community betterment and assisting the poor to higher standards of living and aspiration.
>
> However, it is also my contention that the poor—and the image of your office—both would be far better served if these persons were oriented in the common courtesies; inspired to set a truly good example for the people they serve in grooming, manners, dress and demeanor; and that they be impressed with the fact that they are representative of the Federal Government (and, in the eyes of many persons, government and authority in general), and as such, should try to be circumspect to the point of extreme prudence in their personal appearance, conduct and attitudes.
>
> In conclusion, may I state that I feel the guarantees given me in the spring by VISTA officials and Mr. Milton Ogle, director of the Appalachian Volunteers program, have been disregarded or abrogated. In the light of the summer's developments, I certainly would not give my approval to such a program if it were before me today.
>
> I believe you personally should know of these problems and incidents, for I am certain we share a desire to make the Economic Opportunity program as effective as possible in West Virginia.

The sedition charges to which Governor Smith referred made some very unfavorable national news for the poverty program. Charges that antipoverty workers were seeking the overthrow of the government of Kentucky and of Pike County were involved.

It is true that these charges of sedition were voided by a three-judge Federal court, which held that the Kentucky law on which they were based is unconstitutional. Nevertheless, a Pike County, Ky., grand jury found enough evidence to indict five persons for sedition, and a wide area of eastern Kentucky has been wracked by destructive controversy as a result of the activities of antipoverty workers.

Excuses, explanations, and defenses too frequently have been offered by the OEO as a result of criticisms and charges such as this.

The New York Times reported on September 4 that—

> An inspector for the Office of Economic Opportunity has concluded that a sedition charge against Joseph Mulloy (one of the five persons involved), a poverty worker in the

mountains around Pikeville, Kentucky, is based entirely on local issues.

The news story said further that the inspector for the OEO stated that he found "no basis for the sedition charges."

This sort of defensive report has come from the OEO many times when it has been criticized, which indicates to me that the agency actually has little control at the local level over a number of activities carried on in its name.

But it will not be sufficient, in my opinion, for it to say that it has no control, or little control, over volunteer workers such as the Appalachian volunteers, for they are paid in part by poverty funds and are thoroughly identified in the public mind with the poverty program.

The five persons in Kentucky were not directly employed by the OEO, but they were identified in the public eye with its activities, and at least one of them, Mulloy, was supported in a substantial degree by Federal funds. So the damage is done. The poverty program, by the very nature of the way in which it is set up, is given another nationwide black eye.

In a feature article, the Sunday, August 27, 1967, Washington Post stated in the opening paragraph:

> Are Federal tax dollars paid to antipoverty workers subsidizing sedition in Kentucky?

This is a serious question to raise in the minds of the public which must support the antipoverty endeavors if they are to be successful.

But even more important than this, in the case of Pike County, Ky., which borders my own State, is the fact that outside agitators in the guise of seeking to help the poor natives have, instead, brought on deep dissension and set neighbor against neighbor. In the process they have helped no one. They have certainly not eradicated poverty.

There is no doubt in my mind that the persons indicted for sedition in Kentucky, along with many of those who have stirred up controversy in West Virginia and elsewhere, whether they realize it or not, are virtually revolutionaries bent on destroying the present order of society instead of trying to improve conditions within the framework that exists.

I am happy to say that Director Shriver subsequently cut off all funds for the Appalachian volunteer program in Kentucky at the request of Gov. Edward T. Breathitt following the charges of sedition.

All too often, complaints to the Office of Economic Opportunity regarding community action activities elicit only defensive responses. Charges of misconduct on the part of poverty workers are seemingly sloughed off, casually brushed aside, and made to appear as nothing out of the ordinary with regard to citizen conduct. The OEO response to Governor Smith's charges seemed to me to conform, in some respects, to such a pattern. I ask unanimous consent to insert the OEO reply as exhibit D at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit D.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I must also say, in all fairness, that I have had some good reports, as well as bad, regarding the VISTA program. I would not want it to appear that I condemn this antipoverty program in its entirety—a point about which I wish to say a few words more in order to clarify my position.

In the field of mental health in my State, for example, I am informed that Dr. Mildred Mitchell-Bateman, West Virginia's State director of mental health, has been publicly quoted in the press to the effect that the VISTA program has been effective and valuable.

In fact, she said that the work of VISTA volunteers with emotionally disturbed West Virginians, in their communities and in the State's mental hospitals, has saved the State an estimated $486,000 in custodial care, funds that are being used to help provide better services.

Dr. Bateman said that the VISTA's also had helped to organize Boy Scout troops in rural areas for the first time, as well as day-care centers for children, tutoring programs for elementary and high school pupils and services for the retarded.

Dr. Bateman said:[2]

> In all these activities, the VISTAs are training local people to take over when they leave. This is really a program in which VISTAs try to work themselves out of a job.

Governor Smith, I believe, concurs in this evaluation.

However, I have received may complaints from dependable sources concerning the activities of some of the VISTA workers. Just the other day, on September 22 to be exact, through questions addressed to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] I expressed some concern and reservations anent VISTA. The Senator subsequently, on September 25, submitted for the RECORD certain documentation in support of VISTA, including exhibits attesting to the value of VISTA's mental health program in West Virginia.

I was, of course, aware of the complimentary reports concerning the mental health program, having heard directly from Dr. Mildred Mitchell-Bateman, West Virginia's director of mental health, and from a few county directors of mental health programs in the State.

But the part does not make the whole, and I ask unanimous consent that there be printed, as exhibit E at the conclusion of my remarks, a sampling of the correspondence which has reached my office from so many people of my State and which reflects in the opinion of many persons, a poor image of VISTA workers in general, as observed in West Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit E.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, these reports include, for example:

First. Strong criticism of the VISTA program in his county by the sheriff of Raleigh County and a plea for an investigation of the actions of VISTA workers. Seven months later, after what he characterizes as a "job of whitewashing" by OEO officials, he still urged investigation.

Second. An expression of belief by a well-known real estate operator that VISTA workers 18 or 19 years old, untrained, and "looking in most cases more in need than our own people," cannot accomplish much in the promotion of a "better life for those in the rural areas," and a request that something "be done about this reckless spending of our tax money."

Third. An expression of alarm by a member of the West Virginia Senate who characterizes the VISTA workers in his district as "a bunch of improperly misguided misfits who are endangering our concept of law and order in this Nation."

Fourth. A protest by a high school librarian in Nicholas County of the "smirching of our schools with dope raids, long-haired, rude, and untidy students, moral problems, and the like," resulting from the presence of anti-poverty workers, who sought the forced resignation of duly appointed school authorities.

Fifth. A report by a grocery store manager of VISTA workers headquartered in Mingo County, driving a Government car, exhibiting rude and intimidating manners in his place of business.

Sixth. A request from a postmaster that an effort be made to "get these people—VISTA workers—out of here," since "they are telling the people here that they are not getting what is due them."

Seventh. A report by the chief of police of Huntington concerning attempts to "set up black power movement meetings" by individuals believed to be OEO employees from New York City and Norman, Okla. If OEO, they may or may not be VISTA workers; OEO has not reported the facts.

Eighth. Reports by an outstanding lawyer regarding slovenly, unclean VISTA employees inciting political disorder and stirring up dissatisfaction against "the taxpayers of this country" who are paying the bill and "have a right to expect better treatment."

Ninth. A sampling of letters from interested citizens, who will be identified by their initials.

In summary, the picture of VISTA in West Virginia is one of certain individuals who have come to our State from other parts of the country, some of whom are carelessly dressed and look worse than even the poorest of our people, and who have sometimes served to create and foment unrest, dissatisfaction, and trouble. If VISTA is to continue, its image and its programs would be far better served if these workers were, in the words of the Governor, oriented in the common courtesies; inspired to set a truly good example for the people they serve in grooming, manners, dress, and demeanor; and circumspect to the point of extreme prudence in their personal appearance, conduct, and attitudes.

I have had excellent reports on the adult basic education program, and the Headstart program, both of which are other components of the community action phase of the legislation before us. The basic criticism I have heard regarding Headstart is that it should be under the jurisdiction of local school systems rather than under community action direction.

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[2] *Charleston Gazette*, p. 3, August 23, 1967.

As the adult education effort has been conducted in my State and elsewhere it seems to have fortified and strengthened existing adult education programs and contributed to improving the lot of the undereducated.

More than 10,000 persons have been involved in this program in my State in the past 3 years, and our State department of education reports that the overall average of public education in the State will be increased by as much as two full grade levels as a result of the program.

For example, I have been advised by Mr. James Basil Deck, State supervisor of the adult basic education program for the West Virginia Department of Education, that 4,800 individuals have moved off the welfare rolls during the past 2 years, these individuals having gone through the adult basic education class. Many have just learned to read and write and have upgraded educational skills and have been able to move out and get jobs. Mr. Deck advised me that there are 6,071 AFDCUP participants in the adult basic education classes this year; 846 are in high school equivalency classes; and 451 are in vocational classes, making a total of 7,368.

I am informed that there were over 16,000 students in classes during the past year and that it is expected to be about the same number this year. Mr. Deck stated that many of these individuals take the general adult development tests for high school equivalency. Moreover, he stated that 25 students in classes have enrolled in college this year. So, from the reports I have received, an excellent job is being done in the adult education effort in West Virginia, an effort which improves basic education skills or upgrades skills to prepare for jobs. This is the kind of program that I wholeheartedly support.

I have had some equally good reports concerning the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which OEO farms out to the Department of Labor.

Mr. President, I voted for the original economic opportunity legislation. The eradication of poverty where it is real and where the objective can be accomplished effectively is a worthwhile goal of which I approve and for the achievement of which I supported the original Economic Opportunity Act. I do feel, however, that the war on poverty needs a full-scale, in-depth inquiry and investigation. I am fully cognizant of the work which Senator CLARK's subcommittee has so ably performed in conducting hearings on this bill, and I would say nothing in derogation of this work. But I do not believe that this is sufficient. It is my opinion that a thorough and comprehensive reappraisal of the war on poverty is needed, and I think that the kind of scrutiny required can only be provided by competent and trained persons skilled in investigative and auditing techniques.

I feel strongly that many of the community action programs have not been properly administered, properly directed, properly supervised, or properly audited. I also believe that if such an in-depth study of these programs were to be conducted, many disturbing, and even shocking, facts would be brought to light with regard to how these programs have been mismanaged, with a concomitant wasteful expenditure of Federal funds. Moreover, I am convinced in my own mind that some of the poverty workers have been utilized by misguided persons and even out-and-out revolutionaries, who have sought to achieve ends that have little or nothing to do with the stamping out of poverty. I am deeply disturbed at the many indications that some programs have been utilized to foment social protest, civil rights disturbances, and anti-Vietnam war demonstrations.

I was happy to support the amendment offered by Senator PROUTY on Friday, which would order the General Accounting Office to investigate the Office of Economic Opportunity and its local agencies in the war on poverty. I believe that this type of investigation by the GAO will help to determine the real efficiency of the administration of OEO programs and the extent to which such programs achieve the objectives as intended by Congress. I have a feeling that some of the shortcomings of the antipoverty programs in the District of Columbia may be indicative of what is taking place throughout many areas of the country.

The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, of which I am chairman, has information of interest in this regard.

The subcommittee has received information that indicates a grave weakness in the financial management of records and expenses maintained by one of the programs in the District of Columbia. In 1 month the organization responsible to the Washington Welfare Association claimed expenditures for positions which were vacant during that period. Expenditures for group health insurance premiums had also been overstated; bills for merchandise purchased by a former employee after his dismissal in the previous year had also been claimed as an expense reimbursable by the United Planning Organization.

As a further illustration of lack of adequate financial control and laxity in the management of the program there existed in one instance unsupported billings from a local store which had been paid and claimed as an expense, an excessive retroactive salary payment had been made to an employee, expenditures were repeatedly charged to incorrect program components, personnel costs have been overstated by 1 day for all employed positions of another development program, and in several instances commitments incurred during the prior contract period had been paid from current contract funds.

Other reported deficiencies showed reimbursement twice to the activity for expenses that had been incurred during a period in calendar year 1966. Another instance of questionable practice concerned the accountant-office manager and her assistant, in that each received, in addition to her regular salary, one half of the funds available for a part-time accountant position in another activity of the area.

The reported deficiencies also revealed that inventory records for equipment furnished the area have not been maintained as required by agreements with the United Planning Organization.

With further regard to the additional payments to the accountant-office manager and clerk-typist, the two employees receive monthly salaries of $667 and $401 respectively, and each person was reportedly receiving an additional $162 per month for performing the duties of the part-time workers in another development program. Justification of the additional payment to the two individuals related to the fact that each worked 10 hours per week in addition to her regular full-time working hours, and officials recognized the practice was not desirable but said they were not able to find the qualified neighborhood residents to fill the positions.

Another questionable practice concerns the use of poverty funds to pay certain administrative expenses of the credit union in the area rather than using the proceeds of credit union operations to pay those expenses, as is customary. There are over 1,200 members with share accounts totaling over $86,000. It is reported that without the aid of poverty funds, the credit union would be facing financial difficulty. For example, in February 1967, it cost more than $2,000 to make loans of $6,802. Moreover, dividends which are now paid regularly could not be continued if earnings from less than $100,000 of capital were required to pay expenses at the rate of $22,509 for 10 months. Loan delinquencies of the union are said to have been increasing over the period of its operations. For example, on March 31, 1967, delinquent loans totaled $8,612, 11.2 percent of loans outstanding of $76,824, whereas on December 31, 1964, delinquent loans were only 3.9 percent of loans outstanding.

Another reported irregularity related to the child day care and Headstart programs. It was reported that the Office of Economic Opportunity income guidelines were not adhered to. A legal requirement of the 1964 act is that not more than 10 percent of families with children receiving day care who are enrolled in Headstart may have incomes higher than levels to be set under the act by OEO. It was found in this area that the act was not observed in some cases. At one day care program in the area, 16 of the 90 children were from overincome families. It was noted that only eight of the 16 children whose incomes exceeded the OEO guidelines were charged a fee as required by the act.

Of the 30 children enrolled in two Headstart classes in the area in September 1966, it was found that six of the children's families had incomes at the time of enrollment which exceeded eligibility guidelines.

Mr. President, I shall probably have more to say, at a future date, about poverty programs in the District of Columbia area to which I have referred. I have merely alluded to the situation in that particular area of the District of Columbia at this time for the purpose of indicating the need, in my opinion, for a thorough investigation of the poverty program in urban communities and elsewhere.

Mr. President, I have discussed certain aspects of the war on poverty as we have seen it operate since its beginning. I call attention to the fact that the authorization in title I is in excess of the administration bill in the amount of $198 million for fiscal year 1968.

However, the Senate is confronted, in the massive bill before us, with a radically new proposal to spend another $2.5 billion in grants, and $300 million in loans on a crash program which is estimated to create 500,000 new jobs.

Although I respect the sincerity of the distinguished Senator whose name is associated with it, I believe his multi-billion-dollar proposal is the wrong program and comes at the wrong time.

In its haste, the proposal attacks the wrong horn of the manpower dilemma faced by the country.

There is no shortage of jobs in the United States today. The total work force, as of July 1967, was 82.9 million. The number of unemployed persons was 3.2 million, or 4.1 percent. I think it is important to note that the term "unemployed" as used here can be misleading. For example, persons are considered unemployed who, for an entire week, did not work at all, were able to work and available for work and would have looked for work except that: First, they were waiting to return to a job from which they were laid off, or second, waiting to report to a new wage or salary job scheduled to start within the following 30 days—and were not in school during the week, or third, believed no work to be available in their line of work or in the community. Moreover, persons under AFDCUP and working in work experience programs are primarily counted as unemployed.

Agricultural workers and construction workers are counted among the unemployed if they have registered as seeking employment. Others unemployed and not seeking work cannot be counted.

Thousands on thousands of good high-paying jobs are going begging every day in every city in every State simply because there are not enough trained or qualified people to fill them and, in some instances, because there are people who do not want to work.

I am advised that, at the end of July, there were, for example, over 343,000 unfilled job openings listed at over 2,000 State public employment offices across the country. These job openings were in 150 major employment areas.

Now, why do we not concentrate on filling those job openings, before we create another half million?

In fact, the 343,000 job openings tell us only part of the job vacancy story.

The total figure on job vacancies—listed and unlisted—is probably closer to the million mark, because information is not available as to the number of job openings nationwide. But this is only part of the story. In many areas of the country, Federal job training openings are going begging as well. In fact, as of last July 31, there were nearly 50,000 MDTA unfilled openings in these programs in the Nation's 48 largest cities.

Is the Congress seriously supposed to authorize the creation of half a million new jobs when one million jobs have no takers and 50,000 training opportunities are being ignored?

The second major defect in the proposal is that it would certainly result in a number of cities quickly creating jobs—jobs they do not need, jobs they do not want, but jobs which will be produced simply because Uncle Sam is footing the bill with hundreds of millions in ready cash.

The kinds of jobs cities will create, for the most part, will be psuedo-jobs. They will be makework jobs, shadow jobs, deadend jobs. They will be manual or unskilled jobs which require little, if any, training. They will be underskilled jobs with no future, with no possible development, with no real base upon which a human being may build a career.

Such jobs will have the effect of further isolating the poor person from society. He will not only be poor; he will also have a poor man's job. This is exactly the kind of situation which we should all be trying to reverse today. We should try to break the cycle of poverty, not freeze poverty into job categories.

The 1967 Manpower Report of the President stated clearly the kinds of jobs our economy must fill if it is to continue the seven unprecedented years of prosperity the country has enjoyed.

The Manpower Report stated:

> At the end of 1966, the most widespread shortages existed for industrial production workers . . . machinists, machine operators, tool makers, aircraft mechanics, model and pattern makers, assemblers, electricians and welders, and for engineers, draftsmen, mathematicians and health service workers.

I do not care how crashing a crash program is, or how many billions may be poured into it; it is not possible to create skilled, trained, and qualified workers for such jobs overnight. No amount of money will turn an undereducated, unskilled, unmotivated ghetto dweller into a skilled employee by providing him with a 1- or 2-year leaf-raking assignment.

You must train and prepare those who will man and guide the American economic system of tomorrow.

And that leads me to the third major defect in the emergency proposal.

What 3 million unemployed in our country need today is not just a job—but a job with a bright future.

The unemployed need education for a job. They need to be taught how to hold a job; how to perform under varying job conditions; how to shift to a new and perhaps more promising occupation when new opportunity arises.

And if we look at the record of the Congress and the administration these last few years, we will find that there already exists a comprehensive series of opportunity programs which, if they are properly administered, can serve as blueprints for the social and economic rehabilitation of millions of poor people.

The administration's opportunity programs are basically geared and intended to raise people to the level where they can become productive Americans, rather than dependent Americans.

The Manpower Development and Training Act, for example, is a good illustration of the kind of program which invests in human beings by training or retraining people for better jobs. Since it was inaugurated, almost one million men and women have received job training with Federal help. In the past the MDTA program has focused more and more on the disadvantaged, with positive and fruitful results.

This is the type of program we should be improving, rather than setting up parallel or conflicting programs.

Let us not launch new programs until we have corrected the flaws in the old ones, and as I have already stated, there is much work to be done in correcting the existing programs.

My fourth major objection to title II of the bill is that it is clearly inflationary—and that is another thing we do not need in our present state of economic affairs.

Almost $3 billion poured into 500,000 jobs of very slight productivity is either going to give us a solid dose of new inflation or force the President and the Congress to raise taxes even higher than now proposed.

The total national debt at the end of fiscal year 1967 was $326 billion. According to the testimony of the Director of the Budget and the Secretary of the Treasury before the House Ways and Means Committee, the anticipated deficit for fiscal year 1968 may go as high as $29 billion. I do not believe that it is wise to compound this dangerous deficit with an additional $1.3 billion required, by title II of the bill before us, for fiscal year 1968. This is in excess of the administration's request, and if it stays in the bill, the bill will never reach the President's desk for his signature, considering the temper of the other body.

At a time when the President is requesting the enactment of legislation providing for a surtax on personal and corporation incomes, it would be a serious mistake to launch this new and costly program.

My fifth objection to title II is that it is extraordinarily vague, ambiguous, and unclear. Such a new and costly program as would be envisioned by title II should have the most thorough study and should involve the most careful and detailed analysis before enactment. Exhaustive hearings would be required. Even if we were living in a time when such a crash emergency program were needed, in my judgment, the concepts and outlines of such a program would have to be much more concrete, more carefully evaluated, studied, and delineated than is the case here.

As Senators DOMINICK and FANNIN stated in their supplemental views on the bill:

> Title II was reported to the Floor without hearings.

Senator MURPHY, in his supplemental views stated, with regard to title II:

> Here again we seem to be faced with a lack of planning, a lack of definition, a lack of

guidelines, and an absence of complete preparation. In good conscience, I cannot agree to spending $2.8 billion of taxpayers' dollars on such a program.

Senator GRIFFIN, in his supplemental views, referred to title II as "an unfortunate example of hasty, unsound congressional reaction to the riots." He said:

> It is as extravagant in its promise as it is vague in its operation. The committee has had no real opportunity to consider the proposal in depth. The record contains no statement of the administration's views regarding the merits of the program, its effect on the poverty war or on the budget. How such a program would relate to ongoing job creation and training programs has not been explored. . . . Instead of holding hearings, the subcommittee released a booklet entitled "Emergency Employment Act—Background Materials." The booklet is supposed to establish the need for title II. In fact, however, the material also emphasizes that superficial, short-term make-work programs do not solve long-term unemployment problems, and that efforts should be directed toward training and education. As written, the title would constitute a virtual abdication of congressional responsibility; it would delegate almost unlimited authority and discretion to the Secretary of Labor.

Finally, there are some real basic philosophical questions we have got to ask ourselves about such a program as would be inaugurated by title II. Is the country ready to give a permanent job to anyone who cannot or will not find work elsewhere?

Once we get people into a program such as this, how do we get them out into productive employment?

Will we ever get them out?

Would we not create a new public welfare bureaucracy?

We will be paying people, essentially for doing nothing productive. They will become an added, and possibly, permanent public burden.

Title II would authorize an expenditure of $1 billion in grants in fiscal year 1968 and $1.5 billion in fiscal year 1969. If past experience is worth anything, every Senator knows that these programs mushroom like the prophet's gourd overnight. Two years hence we could expect the Congress to be asked for an expanded program—one which would perhaps double that which is envisioned in title II. If this country were in the midst of a depression, a crash program of this kind might be justified. One thing is abundantly clear. The sense of the Congress and the Nation today is that this program is not necessary and not wise.

I urge the Senate to take action to delete this title from the bill.

Mr. President, I have not addressed my remarks to the pending Prouty amendment; but if the Prouty amendment is agreed to, then the motion which I have offered, the effect of which would be to delete title II, would be out of the question, because the question would then recur on my motion as amended by Senator PROUTY's substitute. My motion would no longer be amendable.

Therefore, I hope Senators will support me in voting against the Prouty amendment and against all other amendments to my motion, so that we can have a final, clear-cut vote on my motion to recommit with instructions to delete title II in its entirety.

EXHIBIT A

[From U.S. News & World Report]

IS UNITED STATES REALLY FILLED WITH POVERTY?—A LOOK AT THE FACTS

(NOTE.—How many Americans are really in poverty? Thirty million? Eighty million? Or only a handful? This article, written for "U.S. News & World Report," is based on a study of poverty—and of the "poverty cult" that has developed in this era.)

(By John B. Parrish, professor of economics, University of Illinois)

When future historians write the history of the 1960s, there will be no more extraordinary episode in their accounts than the rise of America's "new poverty" cult. Intellectuals from every social-science discipline, every religious denomination, every political and social institution have climbed aboard the poverty bandwagon.

This article is concerned with a few fundamental questions: How did the new cult get started? What are its claims? Does the economic evidence support the claims? Are we moving toward a new and better social order or toward social chaos?

After a decade of exploring every nook and cranny of the poverty world, the "new poverty" cult has settled on a few basic doctrines which together form a dogma that apparently must be accepted on faith. These claims may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The economic process, which in earlier years brought affluence to a majority of Americans, recently has slowed up and apparently stopped. As a result, a large minority of Americans are "hopelessly" trapped below the poverty line.

2. The size of this poverty population is "massive," and may be increasing. Minimum estimates place the number at 30 million, maximum at nearly 80 million.

3. Despite its great size, the poverty population is hidden away—"invisible," unknown, unwanted, unaided, helpless.

4. The hard core of the "other America" is the Negro. Because of racial discrimination, he has been unable to participate in economic progress. He is frustrated, embittered, forced to live outside the affluent society of the majority.

5. The "new poverty" can only be eradicated by massive, federal social-action programs involving income maintenance, self-help, education and training, in a milieu of racial integration, the latter voluntary if possible, compulsory if necessary.

Does the evidence on diffusion of economic well-being support the "new poverty" cult? Has diffusion mysteriously slowed to a halt, leaving millions "hopelessly trapped"? Are 30 to 80 million suffering acute deprivation in today's America? The plain truth is there is no basis in fact for the "new poverty" thesis. The high priests of the poverty religion have been exchanging each other's misformation. Let's look briefly at some illustrative evidence.

Diet. The diet of U.S. families has continued to improve steadily over time until today at least 95 per cent, perhaps 96 per cent or 97 per cent of all families have an adequate minimum daily intake of nutrients.

Automatic cooking equipment. Are 20 per cent, perhaps 40 per cent of U.S. families without decent equipment with which to prepare this food intake? No. As a matter of fact, 99 per cent of all U.S. households have automatic cooking equipment, including most of those families living in rural and urban "ghettos." The diffusion has been consistent and persistent over the last six decades.

Refrigeration. Could it be that millions of American families are experiencing dull and dreary meals because they have no way to preserve foods and beverages against spoilage? No. About 99 per cent of all U.S. families have purchased electric or gas refrigerators. It is reasonable to assume that they know how to operate them, even in the "ghettos."

Communication. Are millions of America's poor shut off from all contact with the rest of their affluent countrymen—alone, frustrated, in that "other world" of poverty isolation? At last count, the diffusion of TV sets had reached 92 per cent of all U.S. households, providing instant access to entertainment, news, sports, cultural enrichment. Since a small per cent of middle, and upper-income families who can afford TV have chosen not to buy, the per cent of families having TV who want it must be around 96 or 97 per cent—a diffusion achieved in just 15 years.

Medical aid. Have the "new hopeless poor" found the doors to modern medical service "slammed shut," forcing them to rely on quack remedies, superstition, midwives, or to die alone and unattended?

In 1910, only one of every 10 American families had access to hospitals for childbirth. The diffusion since then has been spectacular and persistent for all groups, including nonwhites. By 1960, over 97 per cent of all American women had their babies born in hospitals. Today it is somewhere between 98 per cent and 99 per cent.

The luxury of telephone service. Telephone service is ordinarily not a rock-bottom consumer necessity. It is useful and convenient but not an absolute requirement, as was demonstrated during the Great Depression of the 1930s when the percent of families with telephones declined.

Yet today nearly 90 per cent of all U.S. households have telephones. Since there are still a few pockets of unavailability, it is reasonable to conclude that close to 95 per cent of all U.S. households in availability areas who would like this luxury actually enjoy it.

Some clues to how much poverty in United States

Percentage of families having—	*1920*	*1965*
Minimum adequate diet, or better	50	95
Electric or gas stoves	28	99
Electric refrigerators	1	99
Television sets	0	92
Telephones in home	35	[1] 88
Children born in hospitals	20	98

[1] In metropolitan areas.

Source: Study by Prof. John B. Parrish, University of Illinois.

THREE POVERTY FALLACIES

The foregoing illustrative evidence raises an interesting question: *How can the "massive" group of America's "hopeless poor" buy so much with so little?* Perhaps this basic question can be put another way: How could the poverty intellectuals be so wrong? The answer is actually very simple. The intellectuals have chosen to be wrong. Most members of the "new poverty" cult are quite well-trained in statistics. Some are acknowledged experts. They know better. But, for the sake of the "new poverty" religion, they have chosen to accept three poverty fallacies.

The "new poverty" cult has built much of its case on family-income statistics. Some technical matters aside, there is nothing wrong with these statistics, per se. But there is something wrong, very much wrong, with their use. It is impossible for anyone adequately to interpret them in terms of average family economic well-being.

Poverty fallacy No. 1 got its big push from the 1964 report on "The Problem of Poverty in America" by the Council of Economic Advisers. CEA determined that households with less than $3,000 annual income were in poverty. Using this income yardstick, it was determined that 20 per cent of U.S. households containing 30 million persons were in the poverty class.

This report provided a wonderful takeoff point for poverty statisticians. With 30 million to build on, it was not difficult to find millions of additional families who should be added to the poverty population. The poverty numbers game became quite exciting. Who could count the most? Honors so far have gone to those claiming nearly 80 million. A majority of cult members have settled for a more modest 40 to 50 million.

The truth about poverty-income statistics is this: Under no reasonable assumptions does income below $3,000 indicate poverty status. It may or may not, and to say otherwise is not only erroneous but absurd.

Let's take as an example a young married couple, the Smiths. They are attending college. They constitute a statistical household. Their annual income is $1,500 a year. They are not being "hopelessly" shut out from the good things of life. They are, along with other American youth enjoying a rate of access to higher education greater than the youth of any country, any time, any place. They enjoy electric lighting, refrigeration, adequate if not fancy food, and a second-hand automobile or motorcycle. They would like a new Cadillac, but will manage without one. They aren't "poor" and need no crocodile tears shed in their behalf.

At the other end of the life cycle are the Joneses. Mr. Jones has been a machinist all his life. He and Mrs. Jones had always wanted to visit the country's great national parks after the children had grown up and left. So he has opted to retire at age 60. The retirement income will come to only $2,000 a year. Are they poor? The poverty cult says, "Yes," these people are suffering from deprivation. They have been "hopelessly" cast aside. Yet the truth is they have a small home paid for, a modest automobile paid for. They enjoy refrigeration, automatic cooking equipment, inside plumbing, TV, enough clothes to last for years—the accumulation of a lifetime. And now they propose to enjoy more leisure, in more comfort, for more years than similar working-class families of any country, any time. The Joneses think the Council of Economic Advisers is statistically wacky.

And take the Browns. They are in the middle years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brown work. Their three children are in school. They have a modest new home, partially paid for, some savings, some insurance, good clothes—yes, and a paid-for refrigerator and TV set. They have a new car and six installments still outstanding. Mr. Brown becomes ill. Mrs. Brown quits work to take care of him. Their income drops to below $3,000 for the year. Are they in trouble? Yes. Are they in desperate consumer poverty? Are they "hopelessly trapped?" By no means. After a tough year they will resume as members of the affluent society even by CEA's definition.

ECONOMIC WELL-BEING: "CUMULATIVE"

These illustrations could be multiplied many times. Cross-section household-income statistics are a very inappropriate yardstick with which to measure economic well-being, which is a longitudinal and cumulative process.

Let's return for a moment to the telephone as a luxury—or at least a semiluxury—consumer good. Now take the desperately poor on whom the doors of affluency have presumably been "slammed shut." Now take the "poorest of the poor"—those at the very rock bottom of the income scale, those desperately deprived households earning less than $500 a year. You just can't get much poorer than that.

Now observe that nearly 60 per cent of these poorest of the poor had telephone service in 1965. How could this be? Why would families presumably facing the grim miseries of malnutrition order telephone service? And, if we make allowance for the availability factor and the "can afford but don't want" factor, then it is reasonable to conclude that 70 to 80 per cent of America's poorest poor had telephones in 1965.

If this is the "new poverty," it is apparently not too severe. How to explain this paradox of income poverty, consumer-goods affluence? The answer is quite simple. Income data are a very bad measure of economic well-being. The Smiths, the Joneses, the Browns, all had telephone service even though the CEA's income statistics put them in the "poverty class."

There is a second big fallacy in the "new poverty" claims, and in some respects an inexcusable one. The poverty cult measures the economic well-being of families at all income levels by determining what they can buy with their income at current retail prices. In fact, the poverty cult makes much out of the fact that because of the greed of retail merchants and the gullibility and lack of buying savvy on the part of many poor buyers, the "new poor" actually pay more for the same goods than the affluent classes. This is hogwash.

The truth is, America's low-income classes have access to a low-price consumer-goods market in which prices are a fraction of published retail prices, and in which the purchasing power of "poor" dollars is multiplied many times. This discount market yields levels of consumption far above that indicated by retail prices.

As the poor could explain to CEA and the poverty intellectuals, this market is America's enormously big resale market—the world's largest. Every year, from 25 to 65 per cent of many consumer durable-goods purchases involve second or third-hand goods moving in established trade or in informal, person-to-person channels.

Take as an example a popular consumer durable good, the electric refrigerator. In 1923, this appliance was a new item. In current dollars, it cost around $900. Its capacity was small, averaging less than 6 cubic feet. It averaged only six years of service life, or about $150 a year. There were too few produced, and service was too short for a resale market. Only the rich could afford a refrigerator.

Today a good new refrigerator can be purchased for about $300. Its capacity will average about 10 cubic feet. Service life will be around 18 years. The average replacement year currently is around 10. So the first buyer pays about $30 a year, minus trade-in. Resale value will be about $50. This will permit the second buyer to purchase eight years of the same quality of refrigeration for about $6 a year. The low-income buyer, not particular about the latest style, has expanded his purchasing power 500 per cent over that of the first high-income buyer.

Today's low-income, "new poverty" buyer has purchasing power 25 times greater than that of the rich buyer of 1923. America's consumer durable-goods market is operating under a law of accelerating diffusion. America's low-income families are not being shut out. They are being pulled into affluence at an ever-increasing rate.

There is a big, hidden, tertiary consumer-goods market not measured even by retail or resale price statistics. This is the intergeneration movement of goods accumulated over time and handed down or distributed from one generation to another. In an affluent society this becomes a very large market. Sewing machines, automobiles, electric irons, kitchenware, furniture, silverware, dinnerware, bicycles, etc.—all these provide an enormous source of consumption for all income classes, including the poor.

GROWTH OF NO-COST GOODS, SERVICES

If ignoring the durable-goods resale market is inexcusable, the failure of the poverty cult to take account of the rapid growth in low-cost or no-cost goods and services in America is well-nigh incredible. It is incredible because much of it has been brought about by the very federal agencies whose economists have been among the high priests of the poverty cult. This failure constitutes poverty fallacy No. 3.

To illustrate: Nearly 90 per cent of all Negro births today are in hospitals. Yet the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor in 1964 said half the Negroes in America were suffering from acute poverty, measured by income statistics. How can so many poor afford so much medical service? For two reasons: First, as already noted, the income data are faulty. But more to the point here, almost every urban community has free or very low-cost medical services for low-income families. In fact, surveys show that in some communities the lowest-income families have more medical checkups, vaccinations, chest X rays, eye examinations than some higher-income groups.

The number of low-cost food programs has been growing rapidly. For example, the national school-lunch program provided low-cost noon meals for nearly 20 million children in 1967. The food-stamp plan provided low-cost food for 1 million persons in 1966, and was scheduled to rise to 2 million in 1967. The low-cost milk plan—along with school lunch—accounted for 5 per cent of total U.S. nonfarm fluid-milk consumption in 1966, and would have expanded even more in 1967 had not cutbacks been ordered because of Vietnam.

The total number of low-income persons reached by various food-subsidy programs came to nearly 30 million in 1966, or precisely the number of persons classified as poor in 1964 by the Council of Economic Advisers. Since many of CEA's 30 million didn't belong in the poverty classification in the first place, some questions may well be raised as to who and how many poor have been "forgotten."

If the evidence suggests the "new poverty" intellectuals have grossly exaggerated the extent of poverty in America, can we now sit back comfortably and forget the poverty claims? Unfortunately, we cannot.

SOME DISTURBING TRENDS

There are some very disturbing social trends which have accompanied the spread of affluency. Even more disturbing is the possibility that the federal antipoverty programs may be causally as well as associationally related to these developments. We may be headed not toward a great new society, but toward social chaos. Let's look briefly at six problem areas, all of them interrelated:

1. The various federal-State income-maintenance programs seem to have generated an explosion of illegitimacy in America that will have far-reaching consequences for the future. The illegitimacy rate has doubled in the last few years, until today 1 out of 12 Americans is born illegitimate. At recent rates of growth, every tenth American by the early 1970's will be born out of wedlock.

2. Related to illegitimacy is the long-run growth in households managed only by females, a large proportion subsidized by various federal-State aid programs. Today in America, 1 out of 10 households is fatherless. There is every reason to expect this to rise in the future. Among Negro families the percentage is already 1 out of 4.

3. A particularly disconcerting development over and above trends for the whole population is the upsurge in the number and proportion of unwanted and unguided Negro youth. Today 1 out of 4 Negroes is born illegitimate. In some sections of large urban areas the percentage is very much higher. If the trends of 1950–64 continue, then by 1975 about one third of all Negro youth born in the U.S. will be born outside normal family-life patterns. They will be arriving

at the teen ages not suffering from malnutrition or abject consumer-goods poverty, but from acute social and intellectual poverty. The future consequences for the rest of the urban populations, both white and nonwhite, will be considerable.

4. Related to but not solely derived from problems 1 to 3 is the rise of juvenile delinquency. The rate has doubled in the last decade. How long can society tolerate such a rate of growth? At least in part, the steady climb of delinquency may be due not to poverty, but to an affluent society—more leisure, more spending money, fewer responsibilities, less motivation, failure of rehabilitative programs.

5. The diffusion of affluency has been accompanied not only by rising juvenile delinquency but by a rising rate of general crime. The rate rose by one third, 1960 to 1964. The law-abiding segment of the population has an ever-increasing struggle to avoid the depredations of criminals, the latter experiencing not acute deprivation but the encouragement of easy and profitable pickings of the affluent state.

6. Perhaps no problem illustrates so well the failure of the poverty intellectuals than the upward drift of youth unemployment. Very strenuous and dedicated efforts have been made by the U.S. Congress to do something about youth unemployment. A great diversity of programs has been attempted. Recent conditions of tight, full employment have provided a favorable labor market. Yet the "new poverty" intellectuals have only failure to show for their efforts. Youth unemployment has not retreated. For nearly 20 years it has shown a rise—slight for white youth, sharply upward for nonwhite youth.

Could it be the "new poverty" cult has been fighting the wrong war? Measured by consumer-goods yardsticks, less than 5 per cent of U.S. households are below the poverty line, and the percentage continues to decline.

There is a war to be fought, however. There are disturbing signs of deep social problems around us, and more on the horizon. The most rapidly growing segment of the American population is the illegitimate segment. The largest proportion of this "other America" is Negro.

Who is to discipline, guide, train this growing army of unwanted, unmotivated? The ordinary family influences, so strong among earlier ethnic groups immigrating to U. S. cities, appears to be lacking. In fact, such influences appear to be declining and may well be disintegrating.

The churches, historically an important institution in shaping constructive life patterns, appear to have limited and perhaps declining influence.

The "new social problem" is being dumped onto the public schools and the police. But schools cannot discipline—and without discipline they cannot educate.

The police can discipline—but they cannot educate and motivate. Racial-integration efforts have created new antagonisms to add to the problems of the already overburdened schools and police.

PHONY STATISTICS: HARDLY CONVINCING

The poverty intellectuals say they are building a great new society. Perhaps they are. But phony statistics are hardly convincing proof. Perhaps they should take a second look. They may well be rushing us pell-mell toward social chaos. The dogmas of the poverty cult may not prove as effective as expected.

Efforts to force racial integration may bring about as many disruptive as constructive influences. We may well need some new institutions designed for the problems of an affluent society of the present, not the poverty society of the past.

If this conclusion is even partially correct, then we should be about the task before it is too late. It may be already too late.

EXHIBIT B

IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE IN NORTHSIDE!!

Are you tired of being stepped on?

Are you satisfied with the prevailing conditions in *Northside?*

Community action can help you!!

Come to the Community action meeting.

Date: Tuesday July 18, 1967.

Time: 7:30 P.M.

Place: Presbyterian Church—North Mercer Street.

PROPOSED AGENDA

Election of officers.

Committee reports.

Recreation center.

Representatives to the Board of Directors.

Fund Raising Projects.

Freedom School . . . and anything else that's on your mind . . .

"United We Stand Divided We Fall."

EXHIBIT C

MORE MONEY—NOW!

All across the nation, more and more welfare recipients are now getting more money for their living needs because they are now members of the welfare/rights movement.

How are you doing? Are you getting more? You can get legal help and a voice that counts in getting more welfare money.

Find out! Write, phone, or come in and see us, at your local Welfare Rights Office.

GOALS FOR A NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS MOVEMENT

OUR RIGHTS ARE NOT FOR SALE

We are not willing to sell our rights as *American citizens:* Our rights to *dignity,* our rights to *justice,* our rights to *democracy*—for the food, clothing, and shelter which our *age,* our *disability,* the *absence or death of our family's breadwinner,* our *lack of economic opportunity,* our *society*—have made us unable to provide.

Based on Report of Workshop No. 2, Goals for a National Welfare Rights Movement, First National Welfare Rights Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, August 6 and 7, 1966.

Our goal is: Jobs or income *now!* Decent jobs with adequate wages for those who can work, adequate income for those who cannot work.

Our goals are:

1. Adequate income: A system which guarantees enough money for all Americans to live dignified lives above the level of poverty.
2. Dignity: A system which guarantees recipients the same full freedoms, rights and respect as all American citizens.
3. Justice: A fair and open system which guarantees recipients the full protections of the Constitution.
4. Democracy: A system which guarantees recipients direct participation in the decisions under which they must live.

IMMEDIATE GOALS

Stopping the *illegal* practices of welfare departments:

Midnight raids

Other searches and seizures without search warrants

Giving recipients smaller grants than the law says they should be getting

Not giving recipients "special grants" for heavy clothing, household furnishings, etc., which the law says they should get

Illegally cutting people off welfare

Threatening, scaring, or intimidating recipients

Discriminating against families with illegitimate children

Discriminating against large families

Racial discrimination

Forcing recipients to "accept" other "social services" in order to keep their welfare grants

Not informing recipients of their rights of appeal

Making friends or non-legally responsible relatives pay child support

Forcing mothers with young children to take jobs

Forcing recipients to live in segregated or substandard housing

Illegally rejecting applicants for welfare

Recognition of welfare recipient organizations as representatives of welfare recipients . . . including the rights to pass out information at welfare centers and to be with recipients at interviews and fair hearings.

Full budgets and grants based on *current* cost-of-living . . . in many states grants are based on costs-of-living during the 1950's.

Full budgets and grants for all welfare recipients . . . in many states, recipients receive only a percentage of the state's own grant standards for minimum health and decency.

Getting made *public* . . . to welfare recipients, their organizations, and anyone who want to know. . . .

All the rules, regulations, and policies of welfare departments . . . in many places, although they are "public documents" such information is purposefully kept from welfare recipients and their organizations.

Fair hearings, immediately, with free lawyers, for recipients who believe they have been treated illegally or unfairly by welfare departments . . . most communities do not follow the federal regulations for fair hearings.

Direct representation of welfare recipients' organizations on all welfare policy-making and advisory boards.

Clearer and simplified welfare regulations, policies, and procedures.

OTHER PRESSING GOALS

National (Federal) grant minimums set at or above the Federal poverty line.

Ending "categories" for assistance (such as OAA, AFDC, home relief).

Having only one category for assistance—*need.*

Welfare grants for all people who have incomes below grant levels—including people who are employed.

Property maximums for welfare eligibility set at equal to one year's income at the Federal poverty line.

Getting rid of "man in the house" and "suitable home" regulations and laws, except as they apply to the *whole* public.

Court-ordered child support payments for welfare children paid directly to welfare departments, with welfare families getting full, regular grants.

Application for welfare by affidavit (sworn statement that the person applying is eligible) with *immediate* grants unless or until the person is proved ineligible.

An end to all residency requirements.

Enough money for food, rather than food stamps.

More Federal money for welfare.

Minimum standards for clothing and household furnishings.

Clerical and sub-professional jobs in welfare departments for recipients who are able to and wish to work.

Federal money for "home relief" programs.

Getting rid of "special investigation units" in welfare departments.

Ending "relative responsibility" except for parent-for-child.

Allowing all recipients to earn some money without deducting it from their welfare grants.

Ending all liens by welfare departments on welfare recipients' property.

Making all banks cash welfare checks.

Providing child care for welfare mothers who are able to and wish to work.

Providing real job training and actual jobs for recipients who are able to and wish to work.

Emergency public assistance . . . available 24 hours a day.

Dividing public welfare into two completely separate parts:

(1) One agency handling only welfare grants (income assistance . . . a clerical rather than social-work agency).

(2) Another handling all other social services . . . a social work agency handling counseling, guidance, training, etc.

[From Now! national welfare leaders newsletter, vol. 1, No. 11]

CONGRESS READIES ANTI-WELFARE LAWS—DEMONSTRATION CALLED FOR NATION'S CAPITOL AUGUST 28

WELFARE RIGHTS NEWS

Cleveland welfare rights movement wins furniture

The basic needs campaign in Cleveland has succeeded in getting the Welfare Department to tell workers to meet all basic needs requests for beds, mattresses-blankets, tables, and chairs, stoves, refrigerators and washing machines.

The Welfare Department also admitted that they had not been "uniform" in meeting requests for these basic needs. The fight to prevent the closing of the Hough office (in the ghetto) continues.

We've got rights!

An excellent summary of the growing legal attack on the welfare system is to be found in Richard A. Cloward's and Frances Fox Piven's latest article in the *New Republic's* August 5, 1967 issue. Reprints are available from the Poverty/Rights Action Center for 25¢—all four Cloward/Piven articles for $1.00

Four locals now in Utica

The Utica (New York) Welfare Rights Movement now has 4 chapters. Mrs. Annie Mae Goodson is Coordinating Chairman. Mrs. Goodson, Mrs. Beatrice English, James Hooks, and Diana Compolongo head the locals.

Iowa welfare rights now has two active groups. Mrs. Margaret Rees is chairman of the Mothers for Adequate Welfare in Waterloo, and Mrs. Margaret Beechum is chairman of the Progressive Action Club in Muscatine.

GOALS FOR THE NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Enclosed in this issue is the statement of goals for the National Welfare Rights Movement, developed at a workshop at the August 1966 national meeting in Chicago.

It will serve as a basic working document for the convention. What changes are needed?

ACTION

Congress must know that if this bill passes it will directly contribute to the crisis in our cities. We must make our voices heard on this anti-welfare bill.

1. Plan to send a bus from your community to join the national demonstration Monday, August 28, in Washington, D.C. against this bill and for jobs and decent income now. (See next page for details.)

2. Write your Congressman today to protest this anti-welfare, anti-poor people bill ("1967 Social Security amendments").

3. Contact church, social worker, civil rights and other liberal groups and especially all grassroots community groups and get them to protest this bill; write their Congressmen, and to join your delegation to Washington, D.C., on August 28.

Now!

The national welfare rights movement invites ghetto and barrio groups from across the country to join in opposing oppressive anti-welfare legislation and to demand *jobs and decent income now!*

In a Washington, D.C., demonstration, Monday, August 28.

Liberal, labor, church, social work and civil rights groups are also urged to attend.

Groups should plan to arrive in Washington by 10 a.m. and to stay through 5 p.m.

Lobbying visits to Congressmen will be scheduled in the morning as well as meetings with OEO, Labor, HEW, HUD, and other officials. The demonstration and rally will be held in the afternoon.

For additional information contact; Poverty/Rights Action Center, 1713 R Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20009.

More money now!

NATIONAL CONVENTION AUGUST 25 TO 28

These dates are definite—disregard earlier dates:

The First National Welfare Rights Movement Convention will be held in Washington, D.C., August 25 to 28.

See Newsletter #15 for the Convention Call and full details.

Each welfare rights group has received a pre-registration form for its delegates.

Delegates will be based on *paid up* members. Both the money *and* the national record cards for members must be turned in to count toward delegates. Groups should have their membership money and national record cards in to national headquarters as soon as possible. Membership money and national record cards will be accepted at the convention but this may delay seating of some of those delegates.

Delegates will be sent details of registration, maps showing the convention location, and information on how and where to register in Washington. Groups should return the yellow pre-registration form with the names of their delegates as soon as possible.

Any welfare recipients or organizers who wish to attend the convention *as observers* should notify national headquarters immediately as space will be limited.

All group members and supporters are urged to plan to come to Washington on Monday, August 28, for the national demonstration on jobs and decent income.

Call national headquarters *today* if you have questions!

CONGRESS READIES ANTI-WELFARE LAWS

The House Ways and Means Committee this week announced its proposals on welfare. They proposed that:

All states be required to set up Work and Training Programs for welfare recipients.

Every welfare recipient over 16 years of age who is determined able be required to participate in work or training or be cut off welfare. This would *include* mothers.

Instead of providing more money for children in their own homes, more money would be provided for children placed in foster homes, states establish more programs for investigating "neglect and abuse of children" with more "child welfare works" to remove children from their own homes.

States not receive federal money for more children than are presently on the rolls—welfare rolls would be frozen at present levels.

The Committee did *not* include the Administration proposal that all states be required to meet 100% of their own standard of need. It also did *not* require states to aid families with dependent children when a parent is unemployed (AFDC–UP).

These proposals are a direct attack on poor people. This bill would continue to use welfare as a weapon to divide families *and* now try to force mothers to work whether or not this is in the best interest of their children.

Instead of providing for real jobs it proposes more WET training—which a majority of the time does not lead to jobs. And now it seems that once "trained", people will be cut off welfare—whether or not they are able to find work.

WELFARE RIGHTS NEWS

Pittsfield, Mass., PAPAW marches

Mrs. Barbara Bragdon, President of PAPAW (Pittsfield Association of Parents for Adequate Welfare) reports that her group is continuing to press for fair hearings even though some people have been denied hearings.

The PAPAW protest on June 30 was described as the "most militant act ever staged by Pittsfield welfare recipients." PAPAW got friendly support from the Mayor but there has been little action on their 16 demands for changes in welfare department procedures.

Mrs. Bragdon, mother of 7, will lead the PAPAW delegation to the national convention.

Lancaster, Pa.

The Citizens Welfare Group led by Mrs. Charlotte Stewart, Chairman, picketing the County Board of Public Assistance on June 30, got the County Welfare Director to admit publicly "we aren't paying the minimum standards of health and decency. The state doesnt have the money."

Louisville welfare organization elects officers

The Louisville Welfare Organization has elected Mrs. Mae Belle Potter, President. Mrs. Potter, 30, mother of 6 children, says she joined the welfare rights movement "to get the benefits we are entitled to." Her first act as president was to telephone the Kentucky State Welfare Director to press for changes in state policy as demanded by Kentucky Welfare Rights groups on June 30.

The group plans a dance August 15 to raise money to send their delegates to the convention.

Wiley to speak at national Catholic conference

George Wiley will speak on "The Equal Rights of the Poor" at the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Kansas City, Aug. 17–20.

EXHIBIT D

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. HULETT SMITH,
Governor of West Virginia,
Charleston, W. Va.

DEAR GOVERNOR SMITH: As you know, OEO, at your request and in cooperation with your offices, has been conducting an investigation of the following charges cited in your letter of August 14, 1967, to Sargent Shriver:

1. Babcock State Park disturbance.
2. Alleged immoral conduct in Wyoming County
3. Misuse of GSA vehicles
4. Nicholas County controversy
5. Effects of sedition arrests in Kentucky

Briefly, our investigation found the following:

1. The Volunteers at Babcock State Park, while not nearly as inconsiderate as first noted, did indeed disturb neighboring cabins on the night of July 22.

The charges of tampering with vehicles and of destroying park property were found to be invalid. However, there seems to be no question the Volunteers who stayed at the park did disturb some people using the park. We feel the Babcock State Park incident might have been avoided with better planning and supervision on the part of the Appalachian Volunteers and with better notification of State Park officials of the exact nature and duration of the conference held there. The fact is that apparently no planning concerning the possibility of rain took place and Volunteers had to make their own arrangements in the midst of the sudden downpour. By copy of this letter, we are relating our concern to Mr. Milton Ogle, Director of the Appalachian Volunteers.

We regret that this incident took place and will work closely with the Appalachian Volunteers and your office to insure that similar incidents do not reoccur in the future.

2. We found no verification for the charges of immoral conduct by VISTAs or Appalachian Volunteers in Wyoming County or any of the other counties in which VISTA and the Appalachian Volunteers worked in West

Virginia. You should know, however, that there are rumors of immorality in Wyoming County and that, while untrue, may continue to disturb the program of the Appalachian Volunteers. This means that the Appalachian Volunteers should make even greater efforts to maintain high standards of conduct in the communities where they are working. A total of 21 people were interviewed in Wyoming County and were unable to provide any concrete evidence for the charges. We feel that increased supervision this summer by Appalachian Volunteer staff has led to more satisfactory behavior by the Volunteers.

3. The charge of misuse of a government vehicle by a VISTA Volunteer was found to be true. A VISTA Volunteer drove the vehicle with a friend to Charleston, West Virginia, for social purposes.

Since this is an inappropriate use of a government vehicle, we have transferred the car from her use and will not make a GSA vehicle available to her in the future. Any Volunteer found to be misusing a government vehicle will have GSA vehicles removed from his use as a minimal action taken by VISTA in the future.

4. The charges of Appalachian Volunteer Summer Associates in Nicholas County calling for the "mass dismissal of a number of the county's elected officials and school personnel" were unfounded. We feel that the Appalachian Volunteer-VISTA group conducted itself well within the bounds required by OEO. The OEO investigation did find that a number of citizens of this county have opposed the policies of the school principal in question for several years, thus predating both CAP and VISTA programs. Because of their interest in tutoring and other education-related matters, VISTA Volunteers did work with people who had doubts about school policy.

5. As you know, a panel of three Federal Judges has recently ruled unconstitutional the sedition law under which an Appalachian Volunteer fieldman was indicted.

Because of the current misunderstanding about the Appalachian Volunteers and the need for closer coordination and administrative tightening, we are increasing our staff in West Virginia. A new staff member, Miss Denise Cavanaugh, will work full time in the state and an additional staff person will be added to work part time in coordinating with the Appalachian Volunteers in West Virginia. Mr. Richard Dodds will continue to have overall responsibility for the state and will continue to work closely with the State OEO Technical Assistance Director, Mr. Jeff Monroe, and his staff.

While the Appalachian Volunteers were found to have violated no major or minor OEO regulations, they can be criticized for incomplete planning. Therefore, we do think it essential that the Appalachian Volunteers show an increased awareness of the need to communicate to the general public the nature of the program, especially since the general public has heard principally the charges and none of the positive aspects of the group's efforts, and of the need to take appropriate steps to insure that the incidents which did occur will not happen again. For example, I think the need for an intensive Volunteer orientation to the area (and this holds true for Volunteers across the country) has been underscored during the events of the past several weeks and we will require that such an orientation is a part of the training for every Volunteer who serves in West Virginia. We are grateful for your offer to provide staff to participate in this aspect of the training and we intend to take immediate advantage of it. For example, this week members of the West Virginia Department of Mental Health are in Kansas training and selecting VISTA Volunteers who will serve in the highly successful West Virginia Mental Health project.

To further implement the training suggestion and others, I have directed our mid-Atlantic Regional Administrator to work with Mr. Monroe and the Appalachian Volunteer staff to set up regular, periodic meetings to review program progress and potential problem areas.

VISTA has held the Appalachian Volunteer program in high regard and will make every effort to insure that the program is maintained at a professional level. We are glad that you have not let a few incidents influence your judgment about the program, and we are grateful for your support, both now and in the past, for overall VISTA efforts in West Virginia.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. CROOK,
Director, VISTA.

INTERIM RESULTS OF THE OEO INVESTIGATION INTO COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST APPALACHIAN VOLUNTEERS AND VISTA VOLUNTEERS IN WEST VIRGINIA

This is an interim statement containing the results of the OEO investigation into a series of complaints made against the VISTA and Appalachian Volunteers (AVs) program over the past summer. A complete investigation on all significant complaints is in the process of being completed. This statement contains the present status of the investigation with respect to four of the complaints contained in the letter from Governor Hulett Smith of August 14 to the Director of OEO.

Charges and details (The charges are quoted from the governor's letter.)

1. *Charge:* "A group of persons identified as AVs and VISTA personnel staged a riotous all night party on July 22 at Babcock State Park—destroying park property, interfering with the exit and entrance of other park guests, tampering with automobiles and generally disturbing the peace. Several of these persons used Federal government automobiles, raising the possible question of misuse of U.S. Government property (as well as being abominable public relations for the national administration)."

Details: On Saturday, July 22, an AV training program involving 89 people in an overnight camp-out at Babcock State Park was rained out at about 11:00 p.m. The majority of the campers, none of whom had tents, left the park and returned to their communities. About a dozen stayed in the park at one of two park cabins rented for the night by an AFL–CIO training officer. Five others stayed at the second cabin. The cabin where the twelve stayed was located some 40 yards from two occupied cabins. The people in these cabins complained to the Park Superintendent that a wild party was held late into the night. The AV's in the cabin contend that there was much loud discussion, but not a real party.

The purpose of the AV gathering was to hold a mid-summer conference-training-discussion session. This was done with the approval of VISTA. This removes the question of misuse of the GSA cars.

There was little preparation for the event. An AV staffer, went to the park and got general information about a week before, but gave the park no notice of the AV plans. Despite this, the arrival of the almost 90 members of the AV session were assimilated into the camp with a minimum disturbance and the group finally settled in the evening in an overflow camp site across the highway and behind a clump of trees from other campers. The park superintendent says when he made his 10:00 P.M. rounds everything was all right. Then it rained.

The disturbance could not be called riotous although noisy and probably inconsiderate; there was no property damage attributed to the AVs by the park superintendent. One park guest told the superintendent that his distributor wire was cut during the night but the superintendent said he had no basis but guess work to tie this to the AVs—the man's cabin was at a location away from the AV disturbances. The other charges in the letter about tampering with cars were, according to the superintendent, instances where people heard a group near their car and were afraid something might be done to it.

One of the people staying in the two neighboring cabins says she spent a sleepless night and thought the AVs must have had an "unsupervised ball" until about 3:30 A.M. She says there was loud singing with guitars and banging of doors. She thinks there was a lot of drinking, but says she saw no bottles. She says her husband did not ask them to be quiet because they were afraid they might be attacked—this was also the reason they didn't try to go for help in their car. Although the two ends of the loop drive past their cabin were sometimes blocked with about four different cars, she remembers they were not blocked during all of the party.

The family had planned to leave the next morning for home, but delayed their trip until the following day so they could get a good night's rest.

The lady says, "We can go anywhere and get this kind of behavior—we went to the park to get away from it." She adds that the AVs were crummy-looking—she noted particularly that one girl had sores on her legs which she attributed to being dirty. She says that some were all right and that she didn't see them until the morning after the incident when they had been caught in the rain.

One camper left the park in the afternoon because of the AVs who had first attempted to fit into four six-man camp sites (24 total) in the main camping area. His reasons as given by the park superintendent were that his site was a path-way between areas rented by the AVs. One AV staffer says he told them that he objected to their beer drinking. The AV's say they were told by park officials that they could drink the beer. The provisions for the group brought three cases of beer and three cases of soft drink. They were told to move to the over-flow area because of their numbers. They agreed to do so with approval of an unidentified park ranger after dinner so they could use the stoves on the camp sites—none were available on the over-flow site. The superintendent was not asked directly if he gave permission for beer drinking but he knew of the beer drinking in the afternoon and made no effort to restrict it.

With respect to the other charges in the letter from Superintendent, he says cabin guest did not actually have his car tampered with, but said the AVs were "messing around" and was apparently afraid they might tamper with it. Another report from a person described in the letter, "a lodge guest" was from a temporary park employee who was afraid the noise outside might endanger his state truck; this man, however, did not notify the superintendent.

It seems likely that much of the disturbances reported by other guests was a result of AV campers and possibly other campers looking for a place out of the rain—the lodge would be a logical place to look as well as the two cabins rented by the AFL–CIO Training Officer, one of which is in the far corner of the park and probably was not found. This explanation was considered possible by the park superintendent.

2. *Charge:* "Reports from Wyoming County, West Virginia, indicate confidence in, and effectiveness of, the VISTA–AV program has been seriously weakened by immoral conduct on the part of several of these volunteers. While these persons logically argue that their personal lives are their own affair, the fact remains that promiscuity, particularly when it crosses racial lines, is not accepted by the community as a whole and damages public respect and support for the VISTA and AV program."

The key source on AV immorality in Wyoming County, a neighbor of the former office-apartment of the AVs on Broadway Street in Mullens did not articulate much detail about the AV misconduct. He said that he saw some kissing. The only example of this was an incident outside the AV office when he said some guy lined up a whole lot of girls and went down the line kissing them. The often repeated complaint is that a group of boys and girls stayed overnight on occasion sleeping on the floor in sleeping bags. This source says, "They were staying in there together, but I couldn't say if they stayed overnight. I would see them in the morning."

One VISTA who lives in the apartment says that on two occasions groups stayed overnight. The first time was after a big cookout organized at Herndon Heights. About 15 AVs stayed overnight on the floor in sleeping bags of the office rather than drive home later at night. The next time four stayed after getting to Mullens late from Beckley July 23 where they attended a local pageant called "Honey in the Rock." These groups included boys and girls, but no Negroes were included.

A boyfriend of one VISTA girl stayed overnight about twice, but the VISTA Volunteer slept in the bedroom with her roommate and the boyfriend slept in the next room.

She moved out of the apartment on Broadway after she learned that she was in physical danger; the storefront windows on the building were broken by vandals. She moved temporarily to Brenton where two AV girls have a trailer.

The two remaining neighbors of the AV apartment which is the subject of complaint were contacted. One said that his only objection was "just the looks of the outfit—as dirty looking as a damn sewer. I haven't seen anything take place. I could hear them some but they didn't bother me. I was afraid they'd agitate the colored. They went up to a colored restaurant in Goose Hollow to get meals sometimes. The better class of white people didn't mess with them."

A second neighbor says he thought nothing of the AVs as neighbors except they were a little dirty. He said he would be sound asleep by 11:00 p.m. every night.

One of the VISTAs lived in another apartment before moving to the Broadway address. She left before she was asked to leave, but her landlord said he had complaints from neighbors that she was noisy late at night. He would have asked her to leave if she had not done so. A local official who looked into the matter said he found that the VISTA had been loud on occasion (she admits playing her phonograph at night) and at one point had a loud party. The official says such parties happen often in most neighborhoods—he said it was basically innocent, the kind of party he would have enjoyed. The former landlord, however, complains that the VISTA also damaged some property such as removing doors from bookcases, a kitchenette broke down and some chairs were damaged. The landlord also complained that he had to repaint the apartment. He says he observed none of her behavior while the VISTA was his tenant and got no complaints except about noise.

A total of 21 residents of Wyoming County were interviewed concerning AV activities; none had more specific information about immorality than covered above.

3. *Charge:* "On August 6, pickets protesting U.S. participation in the Viet Nam war staged a demonstration on the lawn of the State Capitol. The protest, which was peaceful and orderly, included five VISTA-AV workers from Raleigh County. While I affirm their right to their own views on the Vietnamese situation, the fact that they drove to Charleston in a clearly marked U.S. Government car, which was parked near the Capitol, attracted considerable attention, as the attached State Police report reveals. The use of a Federally-owned car for such purposes certainly is open to question."

Details: A VISTA working with the AVs admitted that she and a summer AV drove to Charleston from Beckley in a GSA car to do some sightseeing. The two workers stopped at the State Capitol and participated in an anti-Viet Nam war rally they found in progress. Later, they accompanied a demonstration leader to his home. After their visit, they went back to Beckley.

The AVs learned of this after Governor Smith's letter became public. They confirmed the incident and suspended the workers from further use of cars for a short period. VISTA has directed the AVs to make the suspension permanent. Short-term suspension was also imposed last winter when the AV staff learned that volunteers assigned to them had taken two GSA cars from Beckley to Bluefield to attend a movie. The summer AV involved left the AVs with the end of the summer program.

The GSA car was one assigned to a volunteer attached to the Beckley County CAA and borrowed for official purposes according to the AV staff.

Attempts to reach the State Department of Public Safety for information concerning the allegation that there were five VISTA-AV workers present from Raleigh County, rather than the two so far identified, have not been completed and will be checked out.

4. *Charge:* "A respected State Senator, Carl E. Gainer, from central West Virginia has protested formally the activities of VISTA and AV workers in Nicholas County. These persons apparently have called for the mass dismissal of a number of the county's elected officials and school personnel. While such social protest might be valid, the absence of constructive alternatives to the problems of the community has led to a general feeling that the VISTA-AV group is composed of 'trouble-makers' who offer only negative solutions to community problems. Charges of teaching 'ideas that are Communistic' have been made."

Details: Most of the controversy in Nicholas County has centered on the CAA education committee efforts to make changes in a Summerville High School. These efforts have included reports calling for the removal of the county school superintendent, the school board and the high school principal unless reforms are made. There have been no general or specific requests for resignations of other public officials. The AVs who worked in the county over the summer under the general direction of the local CAA director have not promoted the school issue, but have attempted to help get people out to meetings where these issues are being discussed. There was no evidence to support the charges of communism against the AVs contained in the letter to Governor Smith. Using leads supplied by the Principal complainant, no one was found in Richwood or Summerville with first-hand knowledge of what the VISTA workers have been doing in the areas where they have worked—none indicated knowledge of VISTAs teaching communism.

EXHIBIT E

SHERIFF AND TREASURER,
RALEIGH COUNTY,
Beckley, W. Va., September 21, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Attached you will find copy of a small publication which is being put out by some area citizens aided by VISTA workers and the Area Youth Corp.

Bob, the investigators sent into our area are doing and have done one of the best jobs of white-washing that I have ever witnessed. These so-called investigators came into this County after having made up their minds regarding the situation and refused to listen or look into any problems, they simply made as few calls as possible and then came away saying exactly the same things in exactly the same language they had used when they first arrived.

Preconceived ideas and indoctrination of the persons who have been sent in to evaluate the poverty programs have made it impossible to obtain anything but a biased report. Again, Bob, I would like to ask you and our other representatives for some help down here before it is too late.

Very sincerely yours,

OKEY A. MILLS,
Sheriff.

P.S. Bob, I still feel that part of the program is good. The administration of this program could have been planned by Civil Rights Leadership. I still hope we can have constructive changes in our Federal setup. It may be too late already. Bob, send some investigators from your Democratic Caucus to look into this Federal *Stupidity.*

Sincerely,

OKEY.

SHERIFF AND TREASURER,
RALEIGH COUNTY,
Beckley, W. Va., February 17, 1967.

Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JENNINGS: We are asking your help in trying to solve a problem caused by one of our Democratic Programs that has reached the place where it is to the point of being fantastic. I make direct reference to the Vista Program under the C.A.A.

I will not bother you with numerous details but it is hard for me to believe this program, as it is being administered, is a result of the thinking of any sane department of our U.S. Government. It would seem that it was dreamed up in a mental institution.

This program is making the Democratic Party in our County look ridiculous to the point of absurdity. It is beyond my imagination to think that the results of this program could be due to the direct action of any sub-divisions of our government and the blame thereto laid directly to the Democratic Party. There is one person that I know of that would be pleased with this program and that is Gus Hall.

I would be most pleased if we could get someone to come to Raleigh County and investigate the actions of these people. I would also appreciate someone investigating the feelings of local people as a direct result of this program. We have many Federal Programs under the Democrats which are worth while and should be progressing as far as the Government is concerned and the Democratic Party is concerned. We are sitting on our rear ends and letting two or three parts of the program not only tear down all of the good that the rest of the program is doing but is disgusting our Democratic wage earning citizens to the point that they have resentment toward the Federal Government that is reaching the point of no return. I am making direct reference to people who have been good Democrats all their life and have worked for a living and do not owe anyone a dime and have voted Democratic because they wanted to.

I, personally, am a strong Democrat and intend to remain a loyal Democrat but I am disgusted with this program and if something is not done by the leaders of our party, I fully intend to make a personal call to Drew Pearson and ask him to come down and check into this program. I hope that this is not necessary but if some action is not taken by our leaders, I will not be deterred in my intention to follow through. If you think that the only trouble in this program is in Raleigh County, I would suggest that you check with the other counties that have this program.

In conclusion, let me say, please pay attention to this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

OKEY A. MILLS,
Sheriff.

Bradley, W. Va.,
January 10, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Byrd: We have discussed the expenditure of funds for Community Action Programs and especially those paid to Vista workers.

Admittedly Vista workers can do good work in certain areas of the world if educated and trained but I do not believe an 18 or 19 year old can come into Raleigh County without training, looking in most cases more in need of assistance than our own people, and accomplish much in the way of a "better life" for those in the rural areas.

I am enclosing two clippings from our local paper which I feel may be of interest to you. I certainly do not know of any training program in Raleigh County which would produce qualified workers for the Vista program.

No doubt this lack of training is considered to be an asset to a Vista worker as Radio advertising for Vista Workers specifies "No Training" required.

I trust something will be done about this reckless spending of our tax money.

Sincerely,

J. A. Blackburn.

The Senate of West Virginia,
August 8, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Byrd: I am enclosing a news release which appeared in the Sunday Gazette August 6, 1967 and a letter from one of my constitutents dated August 5, 1967 which I sincerely believe at this time is the genuine concern of most of the citizens *of Nicholas County.*

It is rather unusual that any group would be wanting to ask the resignation of the School Superintendent, Principal of Summersville High School, the Sheriff and the County Road Supervisor all in the same meeting. It is also unusual that Senator Paul Kaufman and Ralph Murphine would be present for the Friday night meeting along with the Vista Workers and *Appalachia Volunteers.* As far as I can tell there was no announcement made to the general public of this meeting and only these people selected by the Vistas and Volunteers were transported to the meeting in their own cars.

I have watched the Vista Workers from the beginning of the program and I believe that I made the statement to Senator Randolph and Governor Smith at lunch at my home last August before the Cherry River Navy parade that if they were allowed to continue they would defeat the Democratic Party in the 1968 election.

It has certainly become more evident in my district with the increase of these workers coming in the county. No doubt, a *very small* percentage of these workers are sincere and do a good job but by and large the majority are a bunch of improperly misguided misfits who are I believe endangering our concept of law and order in this nation. I do not think these workrs were ever needed in this County and would respectfully ask for their resignation.

Very truly yours,

Carl E. Gainer,
State Senate.

Senator Robert C. Byrd,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: In the Allen-Scott Report in *Daily Mail* (Charleston, W. Va.) on July 31, 1967, report was made of charges by Rep. James Gardner (R-NC) implicating government financed anti-poverty workers in inciting riots and directly involved in agitations.

Under ordinary conditions, I would not get too excited about this item, for it did not directly concern our community, but after some unpleasant publicity regarding anti-poverty workers (Better Community Action-OEO) in this county, I feel a protest is in order.

Here in this county, we have good stable citizens who are interested in progress, education and all the better things for our families . . . and until now, we have had no smirching of our schools with dope raids, long-haired, rude and untidy students, moral problems and the like. This has been due to the fine Administrators employed by the Board of Education. However, at the moment, meetings are held by the Community Action Groups with guest speakers from surrounding counties promoting changes and shouting unfair school policies and charging public institutions with "lining their mink-lined pockets".

I am a high school teacher and a mother of two teen-agers. I *resent* the implications that our school people are doing so many things wrong, for I know that is not true. Personally, I like strict rules in the schools for that makes for much better schools and better future citizens. At this very moment the Community Action seek the resignation of our fine Principal and Assistant. Only last week they demanded the resignation of our Superintendent of Schools.

These Administrators are fine, intelligent, and dedicated men who could further their financial status by going to other states, but have not done so. We are most fortunate to have matters in the schools handled so efficiently and there is not need for anti-poverty to advise these experienced and well trained educators.

I deeply resent that my hard earned teacher dollars help to pay these inexperienced, untrained, and hysterical workers. Instead of Better Community they very well might force this community to a much worse one.

You will find enclosed some newspaper clippings which will further explain this matter and will somehow convince you that I am not a hysterical constituent whose sole purpose is to complain and make trouble. These Better Community Workers are a detriment to our school. Can someone do something to help us retain our previous status without OEO interference?

Very truly yours,

——— ———,
Librarian.

Williamson Piggly Wiggly, Inc.,
Williamson, W. Va., August 2, 1967.

U.S. Senator Robert Byrd,
House of Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator: We are a Kentucky firm located in Pike County, Kentucky, bordering a West Virginia county, Mingo, and enjoy a reasonable amount of business from West Virginia.

On Monday, July 31, 1967, a group of VISTA workers entered our store. They arrived at our store in a government car driven by a female. This group was composed of two colored girls and three colored boys. We do not know if they all were VISTA workers. These workers have headquarters in your state in Mingo County.

While the girls shopped as normal one of the boys wandering through different departments of the store entered our produce department. He had a marks-a-lot pencil, which is a pencil used for marking merchandise. He marked 5¢ on a lemon. An employee of ours, Benjamin Beverly, advised him that our Manager would not approve of this. He said "I'm not afraid of your manager or anyone else in the store." Beverly said "I am not the only boy in the store, we have more in the back room." The colored boy walked away from the produce department toward the meat department and our Meat Manager, David Crigger, heard him say "Do you think one of them could shoot this gun I have in my pocket." He then asked Mr. Crigger if he had any Hard Coconuts. Mr. Crigger advised him that he would have to ask our produce clerk. The boy then said "He is just like you, he doesn't know anything either." Mr. Crigger did not reply and the boy walked away.

Several of our customers noticed his rudeness and saw him re-enter the government car with the others. A government car being a carrier of this type of ill will could be projected in the minds of on lookers as an ally of this type of doings.

We do not wish to magnify this incident and we know it is small in comparison with the racial disturbances elsewhere, but if this is an example of the attitudes and actions of any government group it could very well cause some bad situations.

We do not discriminate in our employment and now have, as we have had in the past, colored employees.

We again emphasize that we do not want to ignite a fuse, only hope that this bit of information will help to serve as one of the many corrective measures that are so badly needed in this racial strife.

Yours truly,

Williamson Piggly Wiggly, Inc.
Claude P. Varney, *Manager.*

August 10, 1967.

Hon. Robert Byrd,
Washington, D.C.:

We have some V. Vista workers here in Wyo. Co. who is working against the Democrat party and causing a lot of disturbances among people, one here, 20 yr. old from rich family in Chicago. I hear all that is going on in Post Office, let me know what this is all about. They are telling the people here that they aren't getting what is due them. Get a big stir up about the water works and giving the ring in Wyo. Co. thunder

Thanks for an answer or get these people out of here.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

Police Department,
Huntington, W.Va., July 31, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator: For the past several weeks, the City of Huntington has been fraught with rumors of racial strife; i.e., riots, looting, burning, etc. On every occasion we have attempted to get to the source of the rumors and found each of them to be untrue. However, we have found that each time these rumors started one or more of the following people were in the City: Phillip Carter Negro/Male, Pat Austin Negro/Female, Ann Adams White/Female, and Marion Hanley White/Female. From past experience we know these people are trouble makers. Our information now is that each are active in the furtherance of the Black Power Movement. They were each in the City of Huntington over this past weekend attempting to set up Black Power Movement meetings.

Our information is that Carter, Austin, Adams, and possibly Marion Hanley are employees of the Federal Government. Phillip Carter is reported to be employed by OEO in some capacity in Norman, Oklahoma. The three females are reported to be employed by OEO in some capacity in New York City. Carter was formerly assigned to the Job Corps at Lake Vesuvius in Ironton, Ohio; Pat Austin and Ann Adams were employed in some capacity with the Job Corps in the City of Huntington and Marion Hanley was employed by Action in the City of Huntington.

We have the best of relations with the local F.B.I. agents; however, we sometimes feel that information we pass on to them and which they forward to Washington may be filtering back to these same people. We have no basis of fact for this except our intuition.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could possibly cause a confidential check made of these people through your office to determine if they are employees of the Federal Government. It is felt that the appointment of the Blue Ribbon Commisson by the President to investigate riots will be of no value if the Federal Government in fact is financing, at least in an indirect manner, people of this caliber who are advocating revolution in this country.

Your assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated and any other information we might be able to furnish you on Carter, Austin, Adams, and Hanley, we would be glad to do so.

Sincerely,

G. H. KLEINKNECHT,
Chief of Police.

LAW OFFICES SAYRE & SAYRE,
Beckley, W. Va., May 5, 1967.

Senator ROBERT C. BYRD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: The great "Vista Workers" of the Johnson-Kennedy-Shriver regime made a vicious attack on Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower at their Jacksons Mill training program this week, according to the newspapers, and the Rev. Jack S. Stephenson of Cincinnati, director of the training camp, said the trainees were giving vent to their expression. This damnable practice and procedure should stop and our senators and congressmen should see that it stops. The taxpayers of this country are paying the bill and we have a right to expect better treatment.

This entire program is a farce from beginning to end. Some of these so-called volunteers came into Raleigh County and proceeded to stir up all the trouble they could. We have some surface mining going on in our county and last summer we had a disastrous and unprecedented flood and it caused some damage, and they proceeded to go abroad, hauling people to the site, trying to make a mountain out of a molehill, while the company was doing everything possible to rectify the damages done. They even went to the legislature and made all kinds of untrue statements, and you might say stampeded the Legislature of West Virginia into passing an unworkable surface mining law, and reported that our company had not done anything to alleviate the damage, and I quote with respect to one case from a letter written by an official of the company to a local lawyer in Beckley under date of January 9, 1967, concerning the claim being made by one, Ernest Bonds, concerning a very small parcel of land, and I quote from the letter without mentioning the name of the attorney:

"Sufficient information now has been furnished by our engineers for reply to your letter of December 9, 1966, regarding claims in the vicinity of our mining operations at Drews Creek.

"We must take exception to your statement that in connection with these claims 'to date nothing has been done.' Prior to the date of your letter, property affected by our operations was landscaped by skilled people in a fashion which not only removed all debris, but also provided drainage superior to that which existed prior to our arrival. With respect to landscaping already accomplished, we have agreed to seed the same area at the appropriate time and that agreement will be kept.

"In accomplishing the foregoing, the following expenditures, in addition to our engineers' time, have been made:

"30 hours D-8 bulldozer rental at $20	$600.00
8 hours grader rental at $15	120.00
24 hours truck rental at $10	240.00
Labor	202.84
Total	1,162.84

"Concerning the dwelling which allegedly was damaged by our blasting, our engineers carefully inspected this dwelling and found that the only condition of damage existing is the result of normal depreciation but in no way attributable to our operations.

"It always has been the policy of our companies to meet any responsibility to the public resulting from our operations and we believe you will find from personal inspection that we have more than done so in this instance."

This reputable attorney refused to prosecute their alleged vicious and unfounded claim.

The above states more completely the efforts made by the company I represent as an attorney than I am able to give you concerning the various claims made. The amount of work done to alleviate the damage amounted to more than the value of the land. This is just one instance of their trouble making.

During the last year or so there have been a lot of stories making the rounds concerning the actions and conduct of these people. One man was chosen by the Governor as Director of the Economic Opportunity Program for Raleigh County and he was not vicious enough and the Vista workers had him fired.

A grandson of a very well known Raleigh County citizen, now deceased, former state senator and well known lawyer throughout this section of West Virginia, was a dropout and in some manner got him a job and came into Raleigh County as a Vista worker. He traveled with others of lesser standing. He was dirty, clothes unclean and unkept, rooming in a home of a colored family in East Park, and I understand that they wouldn't keep him because he would go to bed with his shoes on. He never called on his grandmother, so I understand, although he was rooming within ½ mile of her home, and she did not know he was in the county. His grandmother is a very refined lady and not very well, and I expect she would have passed out if she had seen him or had received knowledge of what was going on.

This is just a sample of some of the Vista workers we have had in our county, and some of their actions and conduct would not stand the light of investigation. I don't know of any good they have done. They just cause trouble and raise the hell.

In order to save time I am sending a copy of this letter to Congressman Slack and a copy to Congressman Arch A. Moore.

With kindest personal regards to all three of you, I am

Sincerely yours,

FLOYD M. SAYRE.

HANOVER, W. VA.,
August 15, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We have in our neighborhood four young people who say they have been sent here by the Federal Government to help Poverty Stricken people of W. Va.

They call themselves Appalachian Volunteers of America. They seem to be arousing suspicion among some people, whether they are really working for the betterment of the people in Wyoming County, W. Va., or are they going about ensighting riots, are maybe Sedition. Will you please let me hear from you with literature concerning these people, as I'm very interested in helping the poverty programs. I've been working with these people and have seen nothing wrong, but the people won't help us if we don't furnish proof that they are sent out by the Federal Government as they say.

As I have written you before concerning floods in Huff Creek District, and you have always given my letters your immediate attention I'm hoping you will do the same with this one. Dredging Huff Creek, building bridges and better schools is what we hope these people are working for.

Please give this your attention quickly as possible so I can show the people of Huff Creek what to expect of these people.

Very truly yours,

W. W. C.

GLEN DANIEL, W. VA.,
January 12, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Would it be possible for you senators to send a committee to Raleigh County to investigate the programs and methods being sponsored by the VISTA workers? I believe if congressmen can see, first-hand, the class division, the strife, and malice that is being generated right here in Raleigh County, you will want to stop it now.

When the VISTAS speak of the "people", they mean only those on relief and welfare checks. The rest of us aren't "people", we are only taxpayers.

We Raleigh County people aren't so unable to solve our own problems that "volunteers" from all over the United States have to come here and do it for us. The biggest barrier has been financial in the past. Now that funds are available, please give us a chance to work out our own problems and not send an avalanche of "young beatniks" to do it for us.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Senators Randolph, Mansfield, and Dirksen.

Please help us in this struggle for self-respect.

Sincerely yours,

V. S.

DELBARTON, W. VA.,
August 5, 1967.

DEAR SIR: I am again writing you concerning the work of the Poverty Program in Mingo County, after two special meetings of the Lee District C.A.G., called by the County organization in an attempt to oust this present group, an effort which failed, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Mingo County E.O.C., Mr. Gerald Chafin, said they were to work with the present group, who is truly interested in trying to help the community.

Our problem is the Appalachia Volunteer's Activities. They are constantly agitating and attempting to cause trouble. They have not succeded with but a very few people but it is enough to cause many of our people to seemingly be afraid to come out to a C.A.G Meeting.

Tonight we had a meeting for the purpose of screening applications for work in the head start center. They came in with a man, who was highly intoxicated and kept interrupting the meeting. These volunteers are scattering hate, propaganda, plus the idea that people who work are against the poor.

It sems to us, since we have discussed this problem with various reliable people in our area that it is very much like a communist idea. Their feeling from all we can gather is overthrow regardless of what law is. Now, I ask you, Is this, what I, and others are paying taxes for?

Frankly, we think we speak for a great number in our area—GET THEM OUT and let our people work here. I am sure we can do a better job of understanding the problems of the poor than can outside agitators.

Do we get any results? or is this to be ignored also? I am very much afraid of what the results will be if they are not removed.

None of us want trouble, but if they keep agitating, I am afraid for what could happen.

Yours very truly,

C. W.

DELBARTON, W. VA.,
August 6, 1976.

DEAR SIR: I attended a Community Action Meeting August 4, 1967 of the Lee District CAG of which I am Vice Chairman. The special meeting had been called to screen applications for employment in the head start center, and selection of two (2) people to serve on an advisory group for the center.

The Appalachian Volunteers came in with a man who was highly intoxicated and kept trying to agitate trouble as were the AV's. We finally succeeded in finishing our meeting, but outside the building one of the Appalachian Volunteers, Susan School, got a group of two or three together and was threatening to take me apart. Now I ask, is this what Government money is to go for? That people life-long residents cannot get together to transact business without threats? I think it's time we re-examine closely what is going on.

Many of the people are afraid to come out to meetings for fear of trouble. There must be something done about preventing agitators from receiving Government money or we'll just let the Communist take over. I am a firm believer in free speech, but peaceable. These people seemingly are not. The only thing they seem to know is force.

Many of the people to whom I have talked feel as I do. Get the Appalachian Volunteers and Vistas out. Let our community alone. Neighbors being neighborly, not at each other's throats. They are stirring up hate in everyone.

Needless to say, I feel that the riots could well have started with agitators such as these.

Respectfully yours,
H. B.

(Mr. BYRD of West Virginia assumed the chair as Presiding Officer at this point.)

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the hour is late and I shall be as brief as possible under the circumstances; but I should like to make a few comments on what the Senator from West Virginia has just said, and then proceed with a fairly brief argument in support of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967, which is title II of the pending bill.

Preliminarily, may I say that when the subcommittee of which I am chairman began its investigation of the poverty program in February of this year, we made a commitment that we would undertake neither a whitewash or a witch hunt. A good many months and more than 4,000 pages of testimony later, I think I can conscientiously say that we have kept that pledge.

This is not a whitewash. There are many things wrong with the poverty program. We have pointed them out in our report. We have undertaken, in this legislation, to remedy as many of them as could be remedied by tightening up legislation, and by seeking, through our oversight function, to point out to the Office of Economic Opportunity other areas where we believe administrative practices should be strengthened and improved, and, to some extent, drastically changed.

Nor was our investigation a witch hunt. We did not go out to get anybody. We did not ask a lot of loaded questions of witnesses, intended to show them up or make them look bad. We undertook to get at the truth. I believe our report does state the truth, states it objectively, states it fairly, states it clearly, and should be the basis for action by the Senate on the bill we have brought in.

The Senator from West Virginia suggests that there are many misleading statistics about the war on poverty, and complains that it is not a fair test to determine who is poor and who is not on the basis of the family incomes of the families in question.

I would reluctantly have to disagree with that point of view. I suggest that any reasonable person with the background of those of us who have been out and looked at the ghettos and met these people face to face, who have gone into their houses and seen their community facilities, who have discussed their plight not only with representatives of the OEO, but with local welfare workers, mayors, city councilmen, and various municipal and State departments, would come to the reasonable conclusion, as did a majority of the subcommittee—and I have no quarrel with the findings of other members of the subcommittee in the minority reports—that it is a pretty clearly established that there are, at the moment, somewhere in the neighborhood of between 27 million and 30 million American citizens, of all ages, races, creeds, and colors, who are living in penury by the standards set up by the OEO in the legislation to determine who is poor and who is not, by reasonable standards, standards on which we can rely.

I base this not only on the statistics which I have seen, but on the witness of my eyesight as I went around to look at these areas, all the way from the east to the west coast, down south in Mississippi, up to the Canadian border, in Chicago and elsewhere.

So I would respectfully disagree with my friend from West Virginia that the figures are distorted. In my opinion they are not, and there is now one-fifth of the Nation living ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-housed, just as there was, in Franklin Roosevelt's day, one-third of the Nation.

It is quite a bit of progress to go from one-third to one-fifth, and I am proud of what has been done in the intervening years. But as I say, Mr. President, there is a certain callousness in certain areas of the United States, particularly among those who have not been out to look at conditions in the urban and rural ghettos of this country. To me it is almost disgraceful that the richest Nation the world has ever known, has done as little as it has, from a sense of compassion, to bring its poor citizens up to a decent level of civilized living. I assert again—and I regret to have to disagree with the Senator from West Virginia in this regard—that those people live in penury. Many of them are hungry and their children are hungry, and there does exist in America, in various places, starvation. I would take great exception to the report the Senator from West Virginia placed in the RECORD—I did not see it, but I heard his reference to it—to the effect that in excess of 90 percent of the American people are in fact well-fed, well-clad, well-housed, and on an adequate diet. Mr. President, that in my opinion is just not true.

The Senator from West Virginia complained about the Job Corps, and Job Corps data; he said it was conflicting. He said the record of the graduates of the Job Corps was, in many instances, defective.

I shall not undertake to answer that part of my friend's argument, because we discussed that matter this morning in connection with the debate on the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska, [Mr. CURTIS] to eliminate the Job Corps. By a vote of 49 to 30, the Senate rejected the arguments made by the Senator from Nebraska and, I say in all good humor to my friend from West Virginia, the arguments which he reiterated this afternoon after the vote.

I think the statistics which have been shown as to who kept their jobs after they left the Job Corps and who got new jobs are correct statistics. I would stand by them.

My friend, as his fourth point, complained about the community action programs in many parts of the country and attacks that have been made by community action committees on the power structure and what is called "the establishment."

The Senator is correct, to some extent, in that regard. We did find, throughout the country, that there were instances where, to my way of thinking, irrational people undertook to attack the established elected officials in their particular communities. This I deplore.

On the other hand, we found, generally speaking, that these were very rare exceptions to the general rule. We also found that in a number of instances, in our opinion, the elected public officials deserved to be attacked because they were not giving a fair shake to the community action activities. And in some instances they were speaking against it.

What has happened across the country is that the poor have become articulate. Their voice, stilled by inadequate income and education, has risen to attack the conditions under which they live and under which they have been deprived for the most part of the good things in life which this country is perfectly capable of giving them.

This is a shock to many conservative people. I must say that it was a shock to me when I first saw it. I think that there have been some instances in which there has been inflammatory action.

I remember one witness in Los Angeles, whom I shall not name, whose behavior was entirely deplorable.

I remember an upstate New York city where I cannot believe that commonsense motivated the officials when they acted with such vigor and took such inflammatory action.

I say again that in my opinion these are rare exceptions and should not be translated into the rule. Moreover, generally speaking, the community action program have done vastly more good than they have done harm, and they are getting better every day.

The committee's records, which are on the desks of every Senator, bear strong witness to the soundness of the conclusions I have just stated, as, in fact, does the committee report.

I am not familiar with conditions in West Virginia, and I would not pretend to be. I have no doubt that the complaints which the Senator from West

Virginia [Mr. Byrd] has raised not only with respect to some conditions in his own State but also with respect to what he calls a subsidized version in Kentucky—with outside agitators and the like—may very well have some merit, and I would not want categorically to deny them.

I will say that the very able member of our committee, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph] tells me that he has looked pretty carefully into these things and he still feels that it is his pleasure and obligation to support the bill, including emergency employment.

There are many times when I do not agree with my colleague from Pennsylvania. I go to no pains to conceal that fact. So, I can well understand that my friend, the Senator from West Virginia, the present occupant of the Chair, is well within his rights to say "That is true, but I do not agree with my colleague. I am right, and he is wrong." I have no quarrel with that. There are 2 sides to a question even in West Virginia.

The Senator's criticism of the VISTA program, exclusive of the mental health program in West Virginia, I am in no position to answer because I do not know the facts. However, again I feel compelled to say that I do know that wherever the committee went, with the exception of the criticism raised by the Senator from West Virginia, we found enthusiastic encomiums for the action of the VISTA volunteers.

I have attended a number of graduations of VISTA volunteers around the country and have made talks at these ceremonies. In my opinion, they are splendid young people, well worthy of the traditions of the Peace Corps, carried on on a domestic basis.

I do not wish to get into a discussion and argument with my friend, the Senator from West Virginia, in this regard. It may be that the VISTA volunteers in West Virginia are not doing what they should.

I think I can say on the basis of the investigation of the committee, the witnesses we heard, and the consultants whom we sent out to look into these matters that generally speaking across the country the VISTA volunteers are doing an extraordinarily fine job.

I hope that no effort will be made—and none has so far in the course of this debate—to disturb the continuing program which they are presently engaged in carrying out.

My friend, the Senator from West Virginia, said, I believe, that the Headstart program should be transferred to the Office of Education. So did a number of other Senators. However, we voted on that a few days ago, and the majority determined to leave it where it is. I think it is unnecessary for me to comment further on it.

The Senator pointed out that he would like to have a reappraisal by an independent agency. He was kind enough to say that he was not critical of the committee or of the investigation it made. So did other Senators.

I was happy to accept the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] and bring the General Accounting Office into the picture.

It may be that they can help us. I hope that they can. They are certainly well qualified in investigative techniques. How much understanding they have of the human elements involved here, we will see when they bring in their report. We now have the amendment in the bill. I suggest that, to that extent, we wait until next year to see what happens.

When it comes to the District of Columbia, the Senator from West Virginia is far more expert in that area than I am. I sat for 2 years on the District of Columbia Committee, but I got off by 1960 and cannot pretend to be an expert and I know that the Senator from West Virginia is. All I can say is that we did have one member of the subcommittee staff make what I thought was an investigation of some depth and inquire at some length concerning the poverty program in the District of Columbia.

He came back with a report speaking of it in glowing terms, admitting, of course, that there are some deficiencies.

I have no doubt that many of the specific instances mentioned by the Senator from West Virginia may very well be true. It is an enormous program. It would be surprising if there were not some defects.

The committee held 2 days of hearings here in Washington, at which leaders of the national planning organization and many others connected with the program testified.

Some of them were pretty critical of the effectiveness and the efficiency of the program.

I came out of that hearing, as one Senator, with an enormously high regard for Mr. Banks, executive director of the program who, unfortunately, in my judgment, has now left, and my friend, Mr. Lee, whom I look upon as a distinguished American.

He has held many high places in the Federal Government. In my opinion, he is also doing an excellent job as the chairman of the board of directors of the Upward Bound group, where he has to do a coordinating job that requires high skill. So I came out of the District of Columbia investigation with the feeling that by and large an excellent job was being done.

I do not know all the details. This is an area where I feel the Senator from West Virginia has superior knowledge and expertise in the field.

Let me speak briefly now about the Emergency Employment Act. The Senator has moved to recommit the entire bill with instructions to delete the Emergency Employment Act, title II.

I have no doubt that the Senator reaches a point of view in this regard which is shared by many of his colleagues, and it may well be that his point of view is shared by a majority—that we will find out tomorrow or a little later. I would not wish to quarrel with the Senator for his—in my judgment—unduly conservative point of view as to the very great need to have an emergency employment program to deal with the problems of the cities of America and the rural ghettos.

We saw a great deal of poverty as we went around the country—in the Delta counties of Mississippi, in the slums of Chicago, among the migrant workers in San Joaquin Valley in California, in Watts, and in a number of other places where I would suspect that the majority of the Senators have not had a real opportunity, as we in the subcommittee of necessity did, to see the conditions of misery and penury and squalor under which so many Americans are living, the end result being that thousands of them are being denied the good things in life and indeed are being deprived of their rights as free citizens of this great Republic.

The end result of the Senator's point of view—and I honor him for his point of view, as I say, because it is shared by many of his colleagues here—is that we will turn our back on the poor insofar as any effective employment program is concerned for the balance of this fiscal year.

We are turning our backs on the poor, if the Senator's views are to prevail—and I hope they will not—largely because the Senator thinks we cannot afford to support both the war in Vietnam and the war on poverty.

I have said enough on this subject on other occasions, so all I will do this evening is to define that issue and to point out that I have felt for a long time that we have a swollen military establishment, a military-industrial-scientific complex, which is taking this country down the road to disaster, and that we are neglecting many a problem which is a real threat to the civilization of which we are so proud when we put so much emphasis on the military and so little emphasis on our sense of compassion in doing what needs to be done for our needy fellow American citizens.

I shall not attempt to reply seriatim to the other arguments—and some of them are persuasive arguments—made by the Senator from West Virginia, but would rather turn away from an answer to his comments toward a positive espousal of the Emergency Employment Act.

In the hearings held by the committee throughout the length and breadth of the continental United States, I believe a clear consensus emerged that jobs are the single most important way to combat poverty. We had some pretty impressive testimony to that effect, which is set forth in the report of the committee. I shall do no more than to point out some of those who felt that jobs were the key answer—not the only answer, but the key answer—to poverty in the urban and rural ghettos.

Erwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief of the Christian Science Monitor and chairman of the Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, told the committee:

> Expert after expert, when consulted by the task force, has emphasized that income and place in the social and economic scheme can best be restored by providing the employable poor with training and job opportunities. These have the effect of bringing them into the mainstream of the economy, rather than merely paying them to remain outside.

Andrew Biemiller, director of legislation, AFL-CIO, recomended:

> As a major aspect of the war on want we urge the inauguration of federally supported job-creating programs that would put the hard core unemployed to work providing needed public facilities and services.

Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader and executive secretary of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, stated:

> The great majority of the people who are poor, I am convinced, want work, but that work won't be found until we are prepared to establish a full and fair employment economy. We need public services, which is one means of creating full employment.

John Reading, mayor of Oakland, Calif., reported:

> When visiting the neighborhood center, I find that most of all, the people want jobs. I feel very strongly, and the ones around me feel very strongly, that if we can provide jobs that we in turn then, over a period of time, will to a great extent solve the rest of the social evils that apply to a poor city.

These leaders reflect the views of the American people. In a public opinion poll taken August 14, 1967, to determine what the people believe would be an effective way to deal with the urban crisis, Louis H. Harris & Associates, Inc., found that 69 percent of the public favor setting up large-scale Federal work projects to give jobs to the unemployed.

The conclusion that jobs are the central need of the poor is well founded in statistics. In 1966 when the U.S. unemployment rate averaged 3.8 percent, the rate for the disadvantaged was much higher; for all Negroes, 7.3 percent; for all 16- to 19-year-old youths, 12.7 percent but for Negro youth, about 25 percent. The unemployment rate for those with 8 years or less of education tends to run twice the national average for all workers.

A survey of 10 urban slum areas conducted by the Labor Department in November 1966 found 1 out of 10 workers unemployed. Yet these figures do not tell the true story, for they do not reveal the extent of hidden unemployment. To get the whole picture it is necessary also to consider those with part-time jobs who want full-time work, those earning too little to meet their families' minimum subsistence needs, and those who could work but are not looking because they are discouraged at the prospects. Adding these to the traditional unemployment rate yields what the Labor Department calls the "subemployment" rate. In the 10 slum areas, this rate was 34 percent, or three times the usually reported unemployment rate for those areas.

In magnitude, the number of unemployed and looking for work in the United States has averaged nearly 3 million during the first half of 1967. To reduce unemployment to a rate of 3 percent, which used to be the Federal goal, would take 600,000 new jobs. To take care of underemployment and hidden unemployment might take twice that number, and perhaps more.

Nonetheless, projecting the findings from the 10 slum areas to the Nation as a whole, the Labor Department concluded that, as bad as the problem is, it is of manageable proportions. Given more resources, the high rate of unemployment could be drastically reduced in a reasonable period of time. The committee is convinced that this would be true even with the addition of rural areas with severe unemployment, although the types of programs would vary some between urban and rural areas.

While a major part of the problem is the lack of job qualifications of the unemployed, no amount of training will solve the total problem unless the jobs are there. Conversely, if jobs are certain, training can be accelerated. As evidence, recall the illiterates who became production workers with only a few months on-the-job training during World War II.

The committee's amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, particularly to part B of title I, have expanded and strengthened the training programs for the disadvantaged. But this is not enough. The extent of unemployment in our inner city areas and in certain rural areas severely affected by technological change is such that a crisis exists. Emergency measures must be taken immediately. Federal funds should be invested now in creating jobs for the unemployed.

This reiterates what the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty recommended in 1964:

> Federal, State, and local governments should undertake a joint program to directly employ the hard-core unemployed in poverty-stricken areas, both rural and urban, in an attack on the deficiencies of their own environments. Financial support should be provided by the Federal Government. Local governments and private groups should provide the proposals, planning, and administration.

Since then, three Federal commissions appointed by the President have affirmed this recommendations. In February 1966, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress recommended a 5-year program of public service employment with a sum of $2 billion for the first year. In June 1966, the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" urged the development of "Government-financed employment programs on public works and services to guarantee the availability of jobs to able workers who cannot be placed in, or promptly, trained for, regular employment." In July 1967, the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber proposed that Federal funds be granted to State and local governments and certain types of nonprofit institutions which would serve as "the residual employer" in rural areas with high unemployment until economic development programs can take hold.

Each of these bodies has identified public service employment as an especially fruitful source of additional, socially useful jobs. The "Automation" Commission, for example, estimated that at least 5.3 million such jobs could be filled: 1.2 million in medical institutions and health services, 1.1 million in educational institutions, 1.3 million in national beautification, 700,000 in welfare and home care, 350,000 in public protection, and 650,000 in urban renewal and sanitation. In a study conducted for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Greenleigh Associates, Inc., calculated that it would be practicable to fill more than 400,000 such jobs during the first year of a new employment program.

The evidence is strong and consistent. Jobs are central to solving the crisis of cities and depressed rural areas. Public service employment provides an immediate remedy. Federal resources must be used, but the job creation programs should be locally operated. All that is lacking is the national commitment. To supply this missing link the committee recommends the adoption of the Emergency Employment Act of 1967.

I have already adverted to the statement of the Urban Coalition, which specifically endorsed the Emergency Employment Act, which was jointly submited to the committee by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and myself, and which comes to the floor with the support of a majority of the committee.

Before asking unanimous consent that the statement of the Urban Coalition of September 15 be printed in full in the RECORD, I should like to point out that the members of the Urban Coalition represent a uniquely wide spectrum of respectable opinion in the United States.

We have had some talk—some of it in a lighter vein, some of it not—about the "establishment" in America; but I would say that, across the spectrum, from respected leaders of industry and banking through the chief executives of our principal municipalities, to prominent educators and churchmen, across to noted civil rights leaders and the leaders of the great labor movements in our country, we have in this Urban Coalition about as powerful a group of respected citizens as is possible to bring together.

I will not read the names of all of them, but among them are Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc., and for many years the publisher of Life magazine; and A. Philip Randolph, the well-known civil rights and labor leader. They include the mayor of Atlanta, the mayor of Philadelphia, the mayor of Pittsburgh, the mayor of Detroit, the mayor of Boston, the mayor of Chicago.

These are the people who have to deal with the problems in the urban ghettos. They include Arnold Aronson, the executive secretary of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. They include some substantial industrialists: Roy Ash, president of Litton Industries; Frederick J. Close, chairman of the board of Aluminum Co. of America; Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank; Theodore Schlesinger, president of Allied Stores; Asa T. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co.; Henry Ford II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co. Mayor Lindsay, of New York, I should not have skipped.

Prominent, too, are labor leaders George Meany and Walter Reuther. Among the civil rights leaders are Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, Jr.

This is just a sampling of the strength of this leadership.

I now ask unanimous consent that the

statement of the coalition, issued on September 15, specifically endorsing title II of this bill, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF URBAN COALITION SEPTEMBER 15, 1967

The Urban Coalition endorses the Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act as a significant step toward an urgently needed national emergency program to provide at least one million jobs. We urge the President to support it and we urge Congress to adopt it as part of the Economic Opportunity Act amendments this year.

With regard to the private sector, we commend Mr. Gilbert Fitzhugh of our National Steering Committee and the Insurance Industry for their recently announced commitment of $1 billion in mortgage and investment funds for the reconstruction of the core areas of our cities. We are encouraged that the program will take advantage of rent supplements and that the federal government has developed an FHA-mortgage insurance program for these areas as well as middle and upper income families in the suburbs.

In support of the job program, the Emergency Convocation, held in Washington on August 24, and attended by 1,000 representatives of business and industry, organized labor, religious groups, local government and civil rights organizations, endorsed a Declaration of Principles, Goals and Commitments which called for legislation consistent with the following principles:

The federal government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end, an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

The program must provide meaningful jobs—not dead-end, make work projects—so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the federal minimum wage.

Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

The operation of the program should be keyed to specific localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

The Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act is responsive to these princples. It is also responsive to the conditions of unemployment and despair revealed in the dozens of hearings held over many months by the Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment and is consistent with the findings and recommendtaions of the National Committee on Technology Automation and Economic Progress (Feb. 1966), the White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights (June 1966), and The National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber (July 1967).

In addition, we call upon Congress to expedite action in providing full funding for the poverty program, the rent supplement program and Model Cities. We also urge the adoption of the Equal Opportunity in Housing measure now pending in both houses.

We offer our full support in implementing these objectives.

ANDREW HEISKELL,
Cochairman.
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
Cochairman.

Mr. CLARK. The statement points out that an emergency convocation was held in Washington on August 24, attended by a thousand representatives of business and industry, organized labor, religious groups, local government, and civil rights organizations; and it endorsed the statement of principles, goals, and commitments which has just been printed in the RECORD.

I should point out that the coalition statement called upon Congress to pass emergency job legislation which would create 1 million jobs. That was a little too rich for the blood of Senator JAVITS and myself. We cut that 1 million down to 200,000, for 2 years, which could grow to 300,000 or perhaps 350,000, depending on how the program would be administered during that 2-year period.

We felt it was not feasible, under present congressional sentiment, to do what these leaders of business, labor, industry, and church groups asked us to do. Their program would have cost a minimum of $5 billion for 1 year, or $10 billion for 2 years. Ours, I point out, is a much more modest program.

Mr. President, the Senator from West Virginia did not advert to Senator PROUTY'S amendment, nor have I done so in this talk. But Senator PROUTY and I had a colloquy about it earlier today, which interested Senators can read in the RECORD. I must say that, as a pragmatist and, I hope, a realistic Senator and politician, I believe the best hope of doing something for the poor, unemployed Americans who live in our urban and rural ghettos, on this 3d day of October 1967, in the light of congressional sentiment, is for me, as the floor manager of this bill, to accept the Prouty admendment.

I have discussed this matter with my colleagues on the subcommittee which reported the bill. They feel as I do, that if we could get the entire $2.8 billion for a 2-year program, this possibly would be perfection.

They feel it is most dubious that this could be done. They feel it is important, and so do I, that this should be a bipartisan effort to help the poor of America; not a Republican effort or a Democratic effort, but a bipartisan effort to join hands together to do something for these poor fellow citizens of ours who are denied so many of the good things of life.

I shall support the Prouty amendment tomorrow and I hope it will be agreed to. The Senator from Vermont described the measure at some length earlier this afternoon. I asked him a number of questions to bring out the strengths and possibly the weaknesses of his amendment. We will have little time tomorrow to debate the Prouty amendment.

Therefore, I say tonight that I shall support that amendment. I hope that absent Senators who may be interested will read of this support in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD tomorrow, and perhaps our long-suffering friends of the press—who I am sure want to get home for dinner as much as I do—will report the commitment I have just made.

(At this point Mr. CLARK assumed the chair.)

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I shall not prolong the discussion, except for a moment. I wish to say that I respect the viewpoint of the distinguished, able, and congenial Senator from Pennsylvania. I admire his compassion for the poor, and what I have said this afternoon was not in any way any personal criticism of his efforts. I know that he has put a great deal of thought and much effort into developing the hearings, taking the testimony therein, and into formulating the bill that is before the Senate.

I congratulate the Senator for his zeal. I share his compassion for the poor. I am sorry we cannot agree with regard to the wisdom of retaining title II in the bill.

I would imagine that, if exhaustive hearings were held on the subject, it might be possible, at some future time and under appropriate circumstances, for his subcommittee to bring some language before the Senate that I and other Senators who oppose title II could accept. However, as I said earlier, I believe it is the wrong time now and the wrong approach. I have made my case against title II and I shall not attempt to repeat it now.

I expect to vote for the bill on final passage, but this would be difficult for me to do if title II were to remain in this bill.

PROGRAM FOR TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the information of Senators who will read the RECORD in the morning, perhaps I should recall that, in accordance with the unanimous-consent request propounded by the majority leader today, it was agreed that after the prayer and disposition of the Journal tomorrow morning there will be a live quorum, following which 20 minutes will be allotted to the debate on the Prouty amendment, the time to be equally divided between the proposer thereof, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] and the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], who opposes the amendment.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 7 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 4, 1967, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 3 (legislative day of October 2), 1967:

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

Edna M. Callaway, Orange Beach, Ala., in place of M. L. Brown, retired.

CALIFORNIA

Haakon T. Magnussen, Alpine, Calif., in place of P. G. Hall, retired.

Hugh A. Cassidy, San Rafael, Calif., in place of W. H. Williams, retired.

COLORADO

James A. Barrett, Mancos, Colo., in place of G. R. Noland, retired.

FLORIDA

Horace E. Treadwell, Oak Hill, Fla., in place of D. L. Hilldale, resigned.

GEORGIA

James H. Campbell, Cleveland, Ga., in place of C. E. Head, retired.

IDAHO

Louise K. Gosselink, McCall, Idaho, in place of R. B. Fields, retired.

ILLINOIS

John P. Hanley, Wilmette, Ill., in place of L. J. Orr, retired.

INDIANA

Wayne A. Kern, Bedford, Ind., in place of W. E. Shirley, retired.

IOWA

Wesley T. Ward, Dallas Center, Iowa, in place of R. G. Mann, deceased.

Dale D. Stupp, Hazleton, Iowa, in place of J. J. Snoble, transferred.

Rose M. Gelhaus, Ledyard, Iowa, in place of E. S. McDonald, retired.

Myron W. F. Ihde, Monona, Iowa, in place of M. M. Funk, resigned.

KENTUCKY

Rose K. Durbin, Nazareth, Ky., in place of M. K. Egan, resigned.

Harold G. Rice, Waco, Ky., in place of M. M. Bush, retired.

LOUISIANA

Doris L. Bradley, Sondheimer, La., in place of E. J. Dalfiume, transferred.

Estelle D. Gorman, Tullos, La., in place of C. D. Norsworthy, retired.

MARYLAND

Rachel B. Racine, Childs, Md., in place of F. B. Gallaher, retired.

George B. Hasson, Perryville, Md., in place of J. T. Barrow, retired.

William D. Beall, Stevenson, Md., in place of H. B. Long, retired.

MASSACHUSETTS

Robert L. Carrington, Granby, Mass., in place of R. T. Ruel, retired.

John G. Duffy, West Springfield, Mass., in place of R. J. Specht, retired.

MICHIGAN

Joseph V. Spreitzer, Allegan, Mich., in place of F. C. McOmber, retired.

John A. Mulligan, Plymouth, Mich., in place of George Timpona, retired.

MINNESOTA

Glenn O. Solomonson, Storden, Minn., in place of W. H. Roemer, retired.

MISSOURI

Robert E. Booth, Cainsville, Mo., in place of C. C. Thompson, retired.

Kenneth W. Bolton, Chaffee, Mo., in place of L. B. Papin, deceased.

Ralph O. Hood, Cosby, Mo., in place of W. C. Mandler, retired.

William E. Jenkins, Kahoka, Mo., in place of F. M. Story, retired.

Maurine Simmons, Malta Bend, Mo., in place of H. C. Taylor, deceased.

NEBRASKA

Betty G. Hoelting, Lawrence, Nebr., in place of W. H. Hoelting, deceased.

Bernadean R. Strufing, Martell, Nebr., in place of M. L. Wunderlich, retired.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Laurent J. Ruell, Ashland, N.H., in place of C. E. Crowley, retired.

Richard P. Piper, Jr., Holderness, N.H., in place of J. M. Cripps, resigned.

NEW JERSEY

Richard E. Case, Pennington, N.J., in place of G. C. Koeppel, resigned.

NEW MEXICO

Ernest S. Castillo, Belen, N. Mex., in place of Martin Baca, retired.

NEW YORK

Ethel M. Reilly, Esopus, N.Y., in place of A. C. Jones, retired.

Virginia E. Hunt, Greenwood, N.Y., in place of M. H. Burd, retired.

Hilliard R. Crane, Livonia, N.Y., in place of F. B. Densmore, retired.

John F. Fosina, New Rochelle, N.Y., in place of A. J. Rivers, retired.

Jarvis E. Ireland, Panama, N.Y., in place of L. R. Wagner, retired.

Melva J. Sherman, Shelter Island, N.Y., in place of N. B. Dickerson, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

Robert F. Corbin, Sr., La Grange, N.C., in place of M. D. Harper, retired.

OHIO

John W. Schromen, Orrville, Ohio, in place of J. W. Evans, deceased.

Elmer R. Klinger, West Farmington, Ohio, in place of W. S. Rice, deceased.

OREGON

Gladys M. Mortimore, Mitchell, Oreg., in place of C. M. Norton, retired.

PENNSYLVANIA

David G. Anderson, Enon Valley, Pa., in place of M. A. Simpson, retired.

Elizabeth A. Lis, Everson, Pa., in place of Victor Wolinski, retired.

Liberty R. Catherine, Morrisdale, Pa., in place of T. A. Howe, retired.

Delbert L. Potts, Saint Petersburg, Pa., in place of A. K. Francisco, retired.

Charles S. S. Reppert, Shoemakersville, Pa., in place of M. A. Shappell, retired.

RHODE ISLAND

Howard F. Tucker, Jr., Chepachet, R.I., in place of W. H. Seifert, retired.

Peter McLaren, Greenville, R.I., in place of R. L. Battey, retired.

TENNESSEE

Robert T. Jacobs, Beechgrove, Tenn., in place of J. A. Bryant, retired.

Edna E. Courtner, Butler, Tenn., in place of F. P. Curtis, retired.

Joseph W. Satterfield, Dandridge, Tenn., in place of R. M. Sams, transferred.

Harry D. Montgomery, Trenton, Tenn., in place of W. W. Taylor, retired.

TEXAS

Cornelious M. Hatch, Hamilton, Tex., in place of G. H. Boynton, deceased.

Charles E. Clifford, Jr., Hitchcock, Tex., in place of C. L. Woods, deceased.

Wesley E. Coburn, Huntsville, Tex., in place of T. G. Sandel, retired.

Robert E. Ligon, Loving, Tex., in place of M. B. Rowley, deceased.

Mary R. Morris, Mobeetie, Tex., in place of R. J. Tyson, retired.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Rupert R. Abramson, Frederiksted, V.I., in place of Curneall Watson, removed.

WEST VIRGINIA

Russell L. Morrow, Smithers, W. Va., in place of E. D. Burch, retired.

WISCONSIN

Louis S. Skarda, Coleman, Wis., in place of H. A. Martens, retired.

Richard L. Schwartz, Ixonia, Wis., in place of O. F. Huebner, retired.

IN THE NAVY

Having designated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, the following-named officers for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, I nominate them for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving:

To be vice admiral

Rear Adm. Paul Masterton, U.S. Navy.

Rear Adm. Turner F. Caldwell, Jr., U.S. Navy.

IN THE NAVY AND MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the U.S. Navy for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant (junior grade) in the line and staff corps, as indicated, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

LINE

Allen, James E.
Alley, Walter L.
Allison, Robert L.
Anzini, Bert J.
Appel, Harry L.
Armstrong, Eldon L.
Atchison, Thomas L.
Aubin, Charles D.
Bahr, Stephen M.
Baier, Joseph E.
Bailey, Kenneth E.
Baird, Walter L.
Baker, Robert W.
Baker, Stanley C.
Bakkala, Eugene J.
Ballinger, Robert W.
Banks, Harold R.
Barrett, James L.
Bean, Richard L.
Becker, James R.
Beckham, Jerry
Bell, Walter A.
Bell, William F.
Bennett, James G.
Benson, James N.
Bonjorni, Edward E.
Bornman, Richard E.
Boston, Glenn J.
Bourdon, Theodore J.
Boyd, Gerald G.
Brashear, James E., Jr.
Breidert, William E.
Brooks, Chapin C.
Brooks, Morris E.
Brown, Carl R.
Brown, Oval D.
Brown, Richard S.
Bruce, James R.
Bryant, Robert W.
Bucholz, Roger C.
Burck, Clarence W.
Burns, Dale M.
Burns, Jerome P., Jr.
Bush, Harold S.
Butler, Frank A.
Butrovich, John, III
Butterfield, John F.
Cameron, John F.
Carlson, Robert W.
Carlyon, Walter E., III
Carver, Marion E.
Cegler, Edmund C.
Chappell, Ralph E.
Christianson, Richard A.
Claassen, Aaron J.
Clapper, Richard F.
Clark, Ray L.
Cobb, Robert M.
Cody, Edward J.
Collins, William V., Jr.
Connor, James V.
Cook, Clifford V.
Cornell, Clifford L.
Cornett, Arthur
Courtney, Marlin A.
Cox, Arthur B.
Craker, Paul W.
Creekmore, Edwin W., Jr.
Crosson, Bobby D.
Cumbie, James B.
Cyr, Robert T.
Dalton, David H.
Dameron, Jack E.
Dassler, Frederick W., Jr.
Davis, James R.
Dawson, Wilbert E., Jr.
Dean, Donald R.
Deemie, William H.
Degange, James J.
Densmore, Dean W.
Dentremont, Albert G.
Dillon, James P.
Disharoon, Donald L.
Dobbs, Wiley G.
Dole, Howard W.
Domanski, Bernard J.
Donnelly, Ambrose T.
Dotson, William T.
Dozier, Loyle B.
Draper, James W.
Duffy, Marvin L.
Duncan, Carl T.
Durazo, Alfred M.
Eastberg, George E.
Eckhoff, Clarence, J., Jr.
Edmison, William J.
Elliott, David F.
Ernst, Eugene E.
Everett, Carl S.
Fee, James W.
Fell, William G.
Ferguson, James T.

Fiske, Eugene G.
Flanagan, Donald S.
Foley, Robert F.
Franklin, Eugene, C., Jr.
Frederick, James S.
Fried, Arthur A.
Friesen, James M.
Fuller, Jerry L.
Gammons, Robert A.
Garza, Jose E.
Gilbert, Proctor J.
Gilbert, Richard B.
Gillie, Earley C.
Gipp, Earl W.
Glass, Robert L.
Gless, Edwin H.
Goddard, Glen L.
Gomes, Benjamin J.
Good, James R.
Goodson, Joe B., Jr.
Gordon, Leonard
Graham, James E.
Graham, Ronald B.
Grantham, Nick H.
Gray, Lawrence S.
Gray, Robert J.
Greathouse, Robert L.
Green, George W.
Greenwell, William M.
Guthrie, Charlie M.
Haacke, Karl M.
Hahn, Gary T.
Haire, Charles R.
Hakes, Vander D.
Hall, Gaylon S.
Hall, John P., Jr.
Hall, John T.
Hansen, Jack C.
Hansen, Norman L., II
Harrelson, James T.
Harris, Hubert V.
Hearn, Ellison J.
Hefty, William A.
Heitzman, Dwayne J.
Helm, Samuel W.
Henderson, Ronald B.
Hendricks, Judson J.
Herrmann, Robert H.
Hess, Walter W.
Hewitt, William H.
Hilsabeck, Clayton N.
Hinds, Glenn W.
Hoglund, Delbert P.
Horne, Don M.
Hotalen, Robert J.
Hubble, Hilbert R.
Huckabone, Theodore W.
Hudson, Charles E.
Humphreys, Kellogg F.
Hunnell, Sherman M.
Hunt, Edmund J., Jr.
Hyneman, Roger T.
Irvine, Pickens W.
Irwin, Fred B., Jr.
Isaksen, Roy E.
Ivie, Gayland C.
Jackman, Richard M.
Jackson, Donald L.
Jackson, Roy B.
James, Leonard D.
Janes, James B.
Jeffords, John M.
Jensen, Robert J.
Johnson, Charles H.
Johnson, Douglas J.
Johnson, Golden H.
Jones, George R.
Jones, James R.
Kaufman, Jack J.
Kautz, John F.
Kear, Billie G.
Kegley, Ben L.
Keidel, Lawrence F.
Kimmel, Ronald C.
Kinard, Edgar C., Jr.
King, Francis L.
Kiser, Paul F.
Koch, Melvin A.
Kochenower, Bobby D.
Kramer, Larry E.
Kunz, Gerald W.
Lakin, John B., Jr.
Landis, Robert S.
Lanier, Bobby R.
Lassley, Arthur R.
Laurick, George
Lavelle, Donald L.
Lepore, Daniel J.
Lindley, James R.
Listol, Lavern D.
Lloyd, William E.
Long, Gerald E.
Longstreth, William A.
Looney, Robert L.
Lopez, Ambler B. M.
Loveless, Sheldon L.
Ludwig, Harvey E.
Lyons, Leonard S.
Madsen, George G.
Mallett, Charles A.
Maroney, Derrell
Martin, Michael L.
Mason, Roger W.
Matthews, John E.
Maze, Robert A.
McCrea, Charles M.
McCreary, James D.
McCullough, Robert I.
McDonald, John L.
McFearin, Allen L., Jr.
McGauley, Gilbert E.
McKean, Robert W.
McKnight, Jimmie D.
McLaughlin, John W.
McMahon, Thomas W.
McMeekin, Richard L.
McNab, John D.
McNett, Donald D.
Meek, Phillip D.
Mellendorf, Wayne H.
Michael, Robert E.
Migliorini, Ernest B.
Miller, Francis L.
Miller, William P.
Miller, William W.
Minnick, Steve A., Jr.
Mohler, Marvin L.
Moore, Frederick S.
Morell, Ronald W.
Morgan, Benny M.
Morgan, Robert E.
Morrison, Virgil E.
Morse, Gilbert M .
Murdock, Glenn E.
Murphy, Jeremiah J.
Nelson, Walter O.
Newbern, Thomas N.
Newton, William J.
Nilsson, Kenneth M.
Oakes, Floyd M.
O'Brien, John L.
Older, Clinton D.
Outcault, Frank W.
Overson, Claude L.
Owens, Compton C., Jr.
Parker, Kenneth W.
Parker, Thomas F.
Patin, Carl A.
Patridge, Delmar E.
Patten, Freddie J.
Paulson, Glen T.
Peak, Jack R.
Pemberton, Colin C.
Perez, Richard
Pfister, Raymond
Polinsky, John W.
Polk, Raymond F., Jr.
Pollock, Clifford, E.
Powers, Ralph V.
Pritchard, Richard D.
Pritchett, Roland H.
Radford, David A.
Ralston, Gene D.
Randolph, Richard L.
Reynolds, Claude D.
Rhodes, James L.
Richardson, Dix
Ridley, William D.
Ritz, Richard W.
Robbins, Shirley A.
Roberts, George H.
Roberts, John R.
Roberts, William A.
Robinson, Albert E.
Robinson, Keith D.
Roffey, Robert C.
Roman, Joseph N.
Rucker, Joseph T.
Ruhland, Ralph F.
Russell, James L., Jr.
Sadler, Jack R.
Sage, Ralph J.
Sandusky, Howard E.
Savage, Eugene M.
Schrader, Richard H.
Schwartz, Louie A.
Schwendinger, Ronald G.
Scobee, Mitchell O.
Scott, Jerry L.
Scott, Larry J.
Sears, Frederick D.
Seebeck, George
Seeler, Carl L.
Shaw, Earl D.
Shaw, Laroyce
Short, Mark S.
Shuford, Earl D.
Shustack, Edmund J.
Simmons, James R.
Simmons, Samuel M.
Smith, George H.
Smith, Guy A., Jr.
Smith, William F.
Snead, Thomas S,
Snodgrass, Carl E.
Soderberg, James L.
Spooner, Robert J.
Stanfield, James W.
Staton, Bobby P.
Stevenson, George A.
Stone, "S" "J"
Storaasli, Leroy O.
Strangeway, Leon E.
Stratton, Phil Z.
Suthowski, George E.
Swann, Jack T.
Swearingen, Gerald B.
Sweet, Jack H.
Taylor, Richard L.
Templin, Charles L.
Thieme, Glenn A.
Thompson, Henry M.
Thompson, Vernon R.
Thorn, Paul E.
Thurman, Ronald J.
Tosspon, Maurice C.
Tow, James D.
Trahan, Ronald G.
Trance, Roland G.
Tucker, Roger W.
Turner, James F.
Turner, William A.
Tyson, Paul D.
Valentine, Darrell L.
Vanderveen, Paul E.
Vipavetz, George F.
Wagner, Fernley R., Jr.
Wagner, Robert J.
Walker, William E.
Walls, Hulet G., Jr.
Walt, Charles E., III
Watford, Franky G.
Watkinson, William H., Jr.
Watson, Alva D., Jr.
Watson, William E.
Webb, Jay S.
Webb, Reginald C.
Weller, Jac S.
West, Edward E.
Whitehead, Robert C.
Williams, Donald F.
Williams, Paul V., Jr.
Williams, William
Windom, Bobby G.
Winterberg, Franklyn E.
Winthrope, Jeff G.
Wright, George G.
Wright, Willis T.
Yates, Robert E.
Yates, Robert H.
Yeager, John L.
Young, Martin P.

SUPPLY CORPS

Andrea, William R.
Archibald, Robert L.
Bartlett, Terry M.
Bennett, Herbert D.
Birmingham, Joseph F.
Black, John F., Jr.
Brigden, Jack A.
Collins, Jesse, Jr.
Craig, James B.
Dougherty, Daley D.
Driscoll, Eugene J.
Elich, Mitchell
Emde, Arthur B.
Fisher, Richard C.
Frank, Daniel S.
Gonzales, Virgilio G.
Gutman, Philip W.
Hall, Robert L.
Harris, Allen W.
Humphrey, Carl L.
Johnson, Creighton E.
Latorra, Donald J.
Lilley, Edward H.
Lord, Clifford C.
McMillen, Kenneth V.
Newson, Richard W.
Norton, William F.
Pettigrew, Daniel
Pica, Joseph N.
Romero, Severiano L.
Rucka, Edward T.
Schumann, Frederick W.
Smith, Jerry W.
Swing, John P., Jr.
Vroman, Henry A.
Waldrop, Charles G.
Wilmes, Donald J.

CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS

Grover, William B.
Gunn, Alexander C.
Hartman, Franklin J.
Jarvis, Jimmie E.
Jobe, Eugene G.
King, Jerry W.
Malla, Joseph J.
Miller, Huey W.
Payne, Purcell C., Jr.
Schrader, Terry C.
Steffens, Eugene H.
Swinford, Harold D.

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

Antonopoulos, Adam T.
Aringdale, Gordon L.
Ayers, Samuel H., Jr.
Boyle, Richard L.
Butts, Charles, M.
Carter, Franklin W.
Chomiak, Donald E.
Clem, Nicholas J.
Combs, Wesley B.
Cook, Jimmie C.
Corley, Richard A.
Cota, Richard J.
Dekrey, Charles R.
Dotson, Robert M.
Felt, Water R.
Fisher, Frank D. R.
Galbreath, Jerry D.
Gregory, George H.
Hilling, Levi N.
Holcomb, Howard E.
Lashley, Kenneth L.
Lewis, Jack T.
McNamara, John E., III
Mullins, William F.
Oglesby, Norman G.
Pepera, Leroy J.
Piatt, Austin E.
Pilkington, Richard H.
Renfro, Gene F.
Robinson, Richard A.
Sammons, John H.
Skinner, Howard L.
Slipsager, Frederick A.
Smith, Lloyd D.
Spillman, Graham B., Jr.
Windholz, Francis L.
Wortendyke, John
Zink, George A.

Lieutenant Robert Crafts, Junior, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy, for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant commander in the Medical Corps, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

Lieutenant (junior grade) Clyde W. Rogers, U.S. Navy, for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant in the line, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

Lieutenant (junior grade) Ronald H. Thompson, Supply Corps, U.S. Navy, for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant in the Supply Corps, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

The following-named officers for permanent promotion to the grade of chief warrant officer, W–3, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Bromley, Jack E.
Corman, William C.
Heckbert, Donald F.
Johnson, Benjamin M.
Sessions, William M.
Smith, George D.
Smith, George R.

The following-named officers for permanent promotion to the grade of chief warrant officer, W–4, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Reustle, Charles H.
Wheeler, Eugene D.

The following-named officers for permanent promotion to the grade of lieutenant (junior grade) in the line and staff corps, as indicated, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

LINE

Brockley, John P.
Burgess, Larry L.
Craig, Norman L.
Crane, Stephen H.
Elliott, Thomas J.
Grieve, James E.
Gullickson, Lamoine K.
Long, Michael D.
Mellin, William F., Jr.
Morgan, William T.
West, Franklin G., Jr.
Withey, Thomas A.
Wixom, Robert F.
Young, Terrence J.

SUPPLY CORPS

Anderson, Edward J., Jr.
Claflin, Neville H.
Ketcham, Richard D.

Edward S. Hartford, U.S. Navy, for transfer to and appointment in the Civil Engineer Corps of the Navy in the permanent grade of lieutenant (junior grade) and in the temporary grade of lieutenant.

The following-named line officers of the Navy for transfer to and appointment in the Civil Engineer Corps of the Navy in the permanent grade of lieutenant (junior grade):

James A. Haugen
Joseph J. Rudy, Jr.

The following-named (Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps candidates) to be permanent ensigns in the line or staff corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Daniel W. Aljoe
George T. Allen
Ronald D. Alley
Edward L. Anderson
William A. Angus III
Russel L. Appleyard
Fredric G. Arnow
Lawrence J. Asmus
Bert L. Atwater
Albert M. Bacco
Robert T. Bailes
Stephen A. Banks
Anthony J. Baratta Jr.
Terrell W. Barlow
Gerard J. Barrett
Gerard F. Becker
Donald W. Blackwood
Gerhard H. Bonas, Jr.
John J. Born
Carleton B. Brink
Mark S. Brothers
James W. Brown
Jack A. Burgess, Jr.
Charles A. Burns
Phillip T. Buss
Mark L. Byars
Richard B. Carter
James F. Casey, Jr.
Howard M. Chatham
Cecil A. Clabaugh
Jerry A. Clements
Melvin A. Coble
William R. Cooper
Philip G. Corrigan
Anthony E. Cristina
Daniel H. Dennison, Jr.

Henry N. Didier
William R. Diwgosh
Anthony W. Dougherty
Robert E. Douglas
Jesse C. Drain III
Robert F. Duminiak
Robert W. Erikson
William S. Fellner
Richard M. Fessenden
Michael B. Flaherty
Jimmy M. Forbes
Floyd E. Freeman
Kevin P. Gallen
Anthony J. Gardella
Jeffrey W. Gartner
James E. Glading
Stephen W. Glidden
Eric R. Goepfert
Charles M. Goodsell
Gerald L. Green
William G. Groepper
Marshall V. Hall
James P. Hampson
Timothy M. Harisook
Charles R. Harley, Jr.
George S. Harris
Ralph R. Heffernan
James F. Higgins, Jr.
Thomas A. Hoffner
Bruce M. Holzapfel
Harwood Hoover, Jr.
Harry J. Hopcroft, Jr.
Alan L. Inglis
Clinton W. Inouye
Oleg Jankovic
Bernard Janov
John A. Jedrlinic
Robert K. Johann
Michael A. Judge
Thomas J. Keagy
Walter F. Keane, Jr.
James A. Kilpatrick
Albert Lew
Eric D. Lindstrom
John S. Locke
Frederick C. Louder, Jr.
Michael C. McConnell
Clemie McKinney
William T. McLaughlin
Dwight W. McNeace
William T. Magee, III
John M. Malone
William D. Marshall
Richard L. Martin
Martin C. Meade
Robert P. Meadows
Gordan C. Menzies, Jr.
William G. Mock
Julian L. Moon III
Vincent S. Morgan
Tim T. Morris
Hugh R. Muir
Raymond D. Munkres
Raymond S. Nichols
Jeremy J. Nittle
William J. Norris
Thomas C. O'Connor, Jr.
Raymond J. Palmer
Martin E. Plante
Joel A. Porter
Kenneth W. Prater
James E. Pruske
Orville G. Ramer
John N. Raudabaugh
John G. Reedy
William L. Rogers
Carl W. Rosengrant
Frederick G. Ruben
Paul A. Schaeffer
Roger L. Schenkel
Robert C. Schucker
Robert E. Schunter
Paul B. Shaffer
Tommy L. Shanyfelt
Porter R. Shults, Jr.
Stephen R. Smith
Robert M. Souter, Jr.
Wayne P. Starke
Victor J. Starks
David H. Starr, III
Thomas J. Stewart
John W. Strassberger, Jr.
Jonathan W. Strom
Theron S. Taber, III
Kennith W. Tapscott
Thomas W. Teneyck, Jr.
Kenneth R. Thompson
Willard S. Titus, III
James P. Virtue
Edwin J. Voss, II
David S. Watson
Ervin R. Way, Jr.
Richard D. Webb
Morris A. Weseloh
William R. Williams
William T. Williams
John H. Wilson
Carl J. Withee
Richard H. Woodrich
William W. Wright
Larry P. Yarham
Steven C. York

James W. Whatley (Navy enlisted scientific education program candidate) to be a permanent ensign in the line of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

William D. Shepard
Bruce A. Thompson

Stanley B. Young (Naval Reserve officer) to be a permanent lieutenant and a temporary lieutenant commander in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

Emile G. Abbott III
Homer A. Anderson, Jr.
Ernest L. Bade
Dean J. Beasley
Roger A. Bell
Joseph J. Bellanca
Victor J. Bilotta
Eugene L. Brown, Jr.
Joseph B. E. Brown, Jr.
Ronald K. Burke
James M. Carter
George V. Cestaro
David P. Colley
Robert T. Crosby
Douglas C. Dechairo
Jay S. DeVore
Albert J. DiVittorio, Jr.
John B. Dorsey
Larry R. Evertson
Ira L. Fox
Macea E. Fussell
Robert S. Gold
William R. Grandolfo
Joseph P. Green
Donovan D. Hanson
Garry C. Harris
William O. Harrison
Henry D. Haynes
Frank E. Isabelle
David G. Johnson
Harvey M. Jones
James K. Jones
Dennis M. Jurczak
Donald J. Kearney
John E. Kelleher, Jr.
Patrick J. Kelly
Donald W. Klopp
James A. Lambert, Jr.
Michael J. Levine
Robert B. Lewis
Thomas H. Loecker
Michael J. Lynch
Martin L. McRoberts
Ross E. McRonald
Robert B. Mallon
Calvin Marantz
Richard H. Mathews
Richard F. Meese
Norman D. Nelson
Craig R. Nolte
Phillip M. Park
William H. Peloquin
Albert B. Pleet
Joel A. Reisman
Richard F. Romfh
Jay F. Rowe
Robert H. Rozendal
William A. Schueller
Paul L. Schell
John A. Shea
John H. Senechal
Milton B. Shields
Nolan D. Shipman
Harold E. Sleight II
Philip R. Somers, Jr.
Dean E. Sorensen
Joseph A. Testa
Robert W. Tom
Donald R. Tredway
Edward S. Tucker
James W. Tyson
Gary F. Velat
John C. Vidoloff
Eugene J. Voltolina
Robert E. Walley III
James A. Waltermire
James L. Wolfsen
David B. Zurschmeide

Jack V. Lowman (civilian college graduate) to be a permanent lieutenant and a temporary lieutenant commander in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Charles M. Kawahara
Harry C. Mullins

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Robert W. Hinman
John R. Lohr
John F. Sadler

Warrant Officer (W-1) Stuart R. Heath to be a warrant officer (W-2) in the Navy, for temporary service, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of major:

Peter E. Benet
Thomas C. Cox
George M. Edmondson
Charles W. Gobat
Robert L. Gray
John I. Hudson
Robert H. Nelson
Middleton P. Ray
Richard D. Revie
Richard T. Trundy
John R. Waterstreet

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of captain:

George V. Best
Edward M. Condra, III
Louis P. Etcheverry

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of first lieutenant, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Edward T. Barfield
Raymond C. Kinkead
Robert O. Tilley

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of first lieutenant, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Heinz Ahlmeyer, Jr.
Laverne B. Arndt
Michael F. Barber
Patrick L. Barry
Lawrence J. Bolger
Walter R. Burroughs
Larry E. Campbell
Duane B. Capps
James M. Chapin
Clayton C. Christensen
Patrick J. Connor
Ralph E. Crafts
Rowland D. Creitz, Jr.
Thomas R. Delux
Wilbur C. Dishman
Richard D. Duff
Robert J. Eisenlohr
Martin J. Forrest III
James E. French
Barton J. Friebolin
Joseph L. Gerry, Jr.
Perry H. Gesell
Thomas L. Hall
Charles H. Hawkins, III
Donald R. Head
George R. Hofmann
Richard F. Hoogerwerf
Laurens J. Jansen
Joseph D. Joiner
Lee D. Kane
John N. Kennedy, Jr.
Frederick L. Kingery
Robert A. Kisch
Norman E. Lane, Jr.
Fred C. Lash
Michael R. Layman
Stephen I. Leonard
Frank Libutti
Gary N. Long
James J. Marshall
Dennis E. McCloskey
James J. McKnight
Eugene G. Meiners
John T. Mero
Russell E. Moke
Joseph H. Murphy
Clyde W. Muter, Jr.
Thomas E. Nadolski
Denver L. Newman, Jr.
Robert J. Peterman
James R. Petty
Sam Pisacreta
Robert S. Plaisance
Patrick D. Polk
Geoffrey K. Rasmussen
William A. Rawson
Richard D. Rodriguez
Robert T. Rohweller
Zebedee L. Rush
Roger L. Sanders II
Klaus D. Schreiber
Thomas A. Schwindt
Donald C. Scott
Millard M. Shell
Charles W. Shobe
Larry E. Smith
Michael Z. Smith
David A. Snyder
Terry W. Stone
William D. Turnbull
Allen E. Weh
John K. Wetter
Joseph H. Williams

Captain James A. Addison, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy (Retired), to be a permanent captain in the Medical Corps of the Navy, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, 1211.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Howard J. Samuels, of New York, to be Under Secretary of Commerce.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Alexander George, St. John's Eastern Orthodox Church, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we bow before You and acknowledge that we have failed to lift our eyes to the vision of peace among men which You have revealed to us. Teach each of us to be dissatisfied with fine words, to work constantly for the brotherhood of man and justice for all men. Make us one under You in quest of the precious things of the spirit. Bestow upon us truth and liberty, human rights, the dignity of the human person, equality of large and small, and peace's blessings.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the work for which this House of Representatives was elected—to save our own and generations from the scourge of war, to construct a world which guarantees the freedoms, justice, and peace which are Your endowment to all Your children.

We ask this in the name of one who never won a committee vote nor who was ever found among the majority opinion of His day, Christ Jesus, our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SUPPORT OF CEASE-FIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS IN VIETNAM

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I recently experienced considerable surprise when the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] came out of an executive session of his Senate Preparedness Subcommittee and said that if what Secretary McNamara had just told committee members were true, "the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time and on the best possible basis."

Now, Mr. Speaker, this came from a man of great ability and stature who heretofore had been in favor of our bombing policy on North Vietnam. However, today, he has, with the firsthand knowledge of our national policy, altered his views with respect to Vietnam.

Since his days as Secretary of the Air Force, I have had a high regard for Senator SYMINGTON, and during his service to the Senate he has impressed me as extremely knowledgeable in matters having to do with national defense. On this account, I have awaited a report on his recent visit to South Vietnam, for, as I said, he had previously fully supported an all-out effort in Southeast Asia.

Earlier today, Mr. Speaker, the Senator reported to his colleagues in the other body, and I am sure the Senator's view will be of great interest to Members of the House. Senator SYMINGTON called today for the Government to announce, "as of a certain date, the cessation of all military action in South Vietnam, as well as over North Vietnam, also announce that there will be no reinforcements into the theater."

The Senator said the Government should announce that these policies were being undertaken in the earnest hope that their adoption would result in prompt and meaningful negotiations in the interest of a just peace.

However, Mr. Speaker, he added that if the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong continued hostilities, then the United States, of course, must feel free to pursue this war in any manner of its own choosing.

As a Member of the House who has been supporting reconsideration of Southeast Asia policy, I think we must ask ourselves the cost and consequences of permitting the costly military stalemate in Vietnam to continue along present lines for another 5 years or longer.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, may I express the hope that action to stop all fighting and bombing be announced and that we try this cease-fire that the Senator and many others have called for.

Let us proclaim that free elections having been achieved, we want to negotiate and order a cease-fire.

THE GREAT FALL CLASSIC

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, we have had much discussion recently of the need to expedite the business of the House by scheduling legislation on Mondays, Fridays, and even Saturdays.

Starting tomorrow afternoon, however, the most important business confronting our Nation will be conducted in Fenway Park rather than here under the Capitol dome. Those of us who are not privileged to be from Boston—or for that matter, from anywhere in New England—will have to be tolerant of those who are. With the stirring finish of the Red Sox leading to their participation in this year's great fall classic, starting with tomorrow afternoon's opening game, we will have to display a high degree of understanding to those who will not be here to answer the rollcall. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, I suspect many members of the Massachusetts delegation would risk political suicide were they flagrantly to display their absence from Fenway Park by responding to the rollcall tomorrow. In short, the so-called Tuesday to Thursday Club will be put to a severe strain during the next few days.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to assure you that I do not think there would be a single eyebrow raised in surprise, if, when the House meets tomorrow afternoon, we find that the Speaker's gavel itself has been passed to the unfriendly hands of a Cardinal rooter.

TRIBUTE TO GOOD SPORTSMANSHIP

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I have enjoyed very much the remarks made by my colleague on the outstanding achievement of the Boston Red Sox.

I also want to express my congratulations to the other three teams who fought so hard to the last game. I also want to express my congratulations to the other teams that were out of the race for the championship of the American League for their competitive spirit right up to the last game.

While I am very happy at the Red Sox winning, there is a deeper lesson that we can learn from the competitive spirit in baseball.

Boston had to win the two final games, and yet, on the other hand, if Detroit had won the doubleheader, Boston and Detroit would have been tied for first place and would have had to engage in a runoff. And yet the Angels were fighting hard with competitive spirit to win that second game, which they did.

I am not gloating over the fact that they won the second game, but I point out the fine exhibition of clean sportsmanship, the players fighting under highly competitive conditions to win.

In congratulating the Red Sox, I think we can learn a lesson, all of us—the people of America—from the fine spirit of the men who play in the big leagues and other leagues. But the spirit of the American League, going down to the last gun, not only the teams who had a chance to win but the teams who had no chance of winning the championship, carrying on in a highly competitive spirit to win until the last ball was pitched by the pitcher and the last batter swung his bat, was clear to all.

So I am very happy that the Red Sox were victorious, but I pay tribute to all the players of both major leagues.

SUPPORT FOR MILITARY POLICY IN VIETNAM

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I have supported the President's military policy in Vietnam and I do so today. I believe that the President wants to end this miserable war as soon as possible, but not at any price. As the Commander in Chief of our Nation's military might, he alone is privy to all information and facts that guide him in the conduct of this military action.

To pull out of Vietnam would be abandoning that country and all of Southeast Asia to communism and a complete renunciation of this country's treaty obligations. If we abandon Vietnam, where do we put up our next defense against communism? Cambodia? the Philippines? or San Francisco?

If we have to stay, we have to win.

For 6 long years we have been mired in the mud of Vietnam in a battle which has taken the lives of thousands of America's finest young men and cost countless billions of dollars.

Our allies have been disappointing and frustrating. Without exception they are calling on us to halt the bombing as a show of good faith. We have done this several times before with absolutely no results. In fact, they used those respites to further build up their military effort so that they could kill more American boys. And, still our allies say "Stop the bombing."

I would like to make this suggestion to our President. Go ahead and agree to a bombing pause of 2 or 3 weeks as a further evidence of our sincere hopes to negotiate peace. But tell North Vietnam and the rest of the world that, if at the end of this bombing halt, there has been no meaningful effort by the enemy to come to the bargaining table, or if they violate the respite in obvious bad faith, then we intend to close up this war once and for all by doing what we have the military capability of doing. By that, I mean a total, all-out effort to win, using every weapon that is necessary to obliterate every target that can possibly support the enemy. This would include closing the Port of Haiphong as well as any other area of supply.

If we have a no-win policy in Vietnam—it should now be abandoned. The American people want this war over.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY?

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to understand the motives of those who would halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

U.S. bombing of North Vietnam is aimed at strictly military targets and those targets directly contributing to North Vietnamese terror and aggression. No bombing in the history of the world has been conducted in such a humane manner. We carefully avoid casualties among civilians, even to the point of endangering the lives of our pilots.

Many of those demanding that we cease bombing North Vietnam cheered the loudest when our airpower destroyed the cities of Germany and brought an earlier end to the war. Many advocating that we now quit bombing and leave our men in South Vietnam to the mercy of the North Vietnamese war lords offered no objection to the bombing of the Nagasaki, Hiroshima, and Tokyo and which thus ended that greatest of all Pacific wars.

The American people at the grassroots cannot understand this strange behavior of an increasing number of our national leaders. Would these people restrict our men to bows and arrows because some of the enemy west of Pleiku use outmoded weapons? The only military advantage the United States has over the Red enemy hordes of Southeast Asia is our science and technology—our airpower, our naval power, and our missiles. We do not have the men to match, man for man, the aggressors in Asia.

We must support and protect our men who are engaged in the fighting by using our superior firepower and our air supremacy. The greatest deterrent to Chinese intervention is our superior airpower and our bombing of North Vietnam. Should we become so foolish as to create a sanctuary in North Vietnam by a permanent halt in the bombing, the Red Chinese millions could pour into the protected areas of North Vietnam and nearby neutral countries.

To halt the bombing would be the surest way to escalate the war—giving Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung the green light to further aggression and conquest. Rather than halt the bombing, the time has come for the United States to consider, after due warning, the full application of our air and sea power. Mr. Speaker, this would be far more humane and moral than the murder, terror, and torture daily conducted by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese against South Vietnam civilian officials, women, and children.

Further, Mr. Speaker, we should declare a national emergency in order to deal with those here in the United States who are aiding the enemy and undermining our fighting men in South Vietnam and those standing guard for peace and freedom the world over.

HELP FOR POOR AND UNEMPLOYED

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask the question: "Why can't the Great Society help the poor without bringing hanky-panky into the game?"

I note that the President has suggested the laudable idea of job training for the unemployed in our cities. He proposes that private industry be invited to do the job—a position we Republicans have been advancing against overwhelming indifference in this Congress and downtown for the past 4 years. But, instead of doing the job plainly and above board, the President has suggested that business firms who participate can get "special advantages in bidding on Government contracts."

This, of course, is downright bribery. It is use of the taxpayers' dollars to coerce business to earn favors at the Pentagon by participation in the President's program: It is an open invitation to corruption and clandestine deals. It is discriminatory against firms that might be extremely capable in the field of defense production, but financially not able to go into the social welfare field. They would lose defense contracts to firms who might not be able to produce as well or cheaply but who "played ball" with L. B. J.

I contrast with this process the Republican Human Investment Act which proposes to supply job training, by the simple and practical process of providing tax incentives to reimburse business firms for the expenses of buying machinery, hiring technicians and providing job-training facilities. This is a straightforward approach. It would do the job without undue cost to the taxpayer and without the taint of privilege or favor.

I regret that the worthwhile objectives of the President's program have been entwined with the questionable policy of special favors in return for helping the poor and unemployed. Again I ask: "Why can't the Great Society help the poor without playing a game of hanky-panky?"

THE TRUTH ABOUT BUDGET CUTTING

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the time has come for some straight talk about the budget.

In 1966, if the President had decided to ignore the appropriations bills passed by the Congress and spent the money as he saw fit, the cries of objection would be echoing still.

Yet today, in 1967, that is exactly what the Republican Party is demanding of the President.

The Republicans are demanding that the President—by himself—cut $5 billion from the budget.

This vote seeks to confer on the President awesome power—in my opinion more power than any President should have. It would give the President discretion to pick and choose among programs without any advice from Congress which has studied these programs for 8 months.

Mr. Speaker, any action by Congress which says in effect, "We cannot do the job we were elected to do; here, Mr. President, you do it," is government in reverse.

Is this what the Republicans want? I thought they were the party that is always warning about an all-powerful centralized government. Now they say, "Let's give the executive branch the powers that rightly belong to the Congress."

By the same token, the President cannot cut from any appropriations bills which have not passed the Congress. There are now nine civilian appropriations on which we have not yet acted.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must face its responsibilities honestly and courageously. This is the way we must operate if we are to steer the Nation on a sound and prudent fiscal course.

RECISION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, we have just listened to another one of these speeches by our Democratic friends in respect to the fiscal situation.

I think it ought to be quite clear that the House is under control of the Democratic Party and, of course, the Congress should assume its responsibilities in cutting back expenditures. The chairman of the Appropriations Committee has said that his committee is going to meet to consider recision bills. This certainly should be done. But that action does not alter the fact that the President also ought to be doing his job in cutting back on the fiscal year 1968 expenditure level.

I can assure the gentleman who just spoke in the well and other Democrats who have been talking about the responsibilities of Congress that they will get full cooperation from the Republican side in getting recision bills, so that the Congress will be able to undertake its primary responsibility of cutting back expenditures. It is because the Congress has defaulted under the leadership of the gentleman's party that we find ourselves in such a fiscal situation that we must ask the President, or tell the President to cut back. I suggest that we in the Congress move forward on our own front.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE WASHINGTON SENATORS

Mr. **TEAGUE** of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. **TEAGUE** of California. Mr. Speaker, since this seems to be "Baseball Day," I think it would be fitting to say a kind word about the Washington Senators—and I do not mean the other body. After all, Washington was figured by all the experts to wind up in the cellar. Last year Baltimore won the World Series championship in four games. In case any of you failed to notice, this year we ended the season tying Baltimore in the final standing.

I think our team, the Senators, deserves our commendation and full support.

GREAT BALLPLAYERS COME FROM NEW YORK

Mr. **CAREY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York ?

There was no objection.

Mr. **CAREY**. Mr. Speaker, just to get in the ball game, may I suggest by way of requiem that we do not have baseball any more in Brooklyn, but since reference was made to the Boston Red Sox and the Washington Senators, I do note in passing that the manager of the Washington Senators still resides in Brooklyn, N.Y., and that is where he gets his good baseball ideas. And the Boston Red Sox would not be the Boston Red Sox except that on the great day we in New York mark the nationality of the Polish people, we saw fit to let Yastrzemski leave the place where he resides in New York and go to win the pennant for Boston. So we in New York take credit for our sons' winning on the diamonds all over the country.

WHITE SOX WILL WIN IN ELECTION YEAR

Mr. **O'HARA** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. **O'HARA** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the White Sox of Chicago, I hasten to explain that this was all planned. The pennant was safely in the grasp of the White Sox, when on an early autumn day somebody whose mind was not on baseball questioned in the hearing of the conquering White Sox the reelection of President Johnson. So the White Sox decided to postpone their pennant for 1 year that 1968 would be a year of double celebration, in October of 1968 the White Sox winning the pennant and in November of 1968 President Johnson being reelected to another term as President of the United States.

PRIVATE CALENDAR

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). This is Private Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first individual bill on the Private Calendar.

E. F. FORT, CORA LEE FORT CORBETT, AND W. R. FORT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2661) for the relief of E. F. Fort, Cora Lee Fort Corbett, and W. R. Fort.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

MRS. INGE HEMMERSBACH HILTON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6096) for the relief of Mrs. Inge Hemmersbach Hilton.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6096

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Inge Hemmersbach Hilton shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available.

With the following committee amendment:

Beginning on page 1, line 7, after the words "visa fee.", strike out the remainder of the bill.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MAURITZ A. STERNER

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3865) for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

CHARLES WAVERLY WATSON, JR.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8091) for the relief of Charles Waverly Watson, Jr.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

SETSUKO WILSON (NEE HIRANAKA)

The Clerk called the bill (S. 534) for the relief of Setsuko Wilson (nee Hiranaka).

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 534

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 212(a) (23) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Setsuko Wilson (nee Hiranaka) may be issued a visa and be admitted to the United States for permanent residence if she is found to be otherwise admissible under the provisions of that Act: *Provided,* That this exemption shall apply only to a ground for exclusion of which the Department of State or the Department of Justice has knowledge prior to the enactment of this Act.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MARIA KOLOMETROUTSIS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7427) for the relief of Maria Kolometroutsis.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

HUBERT ASHE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4404) for the relief of Hubert Ashe.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. **HALL** and Mr. **GROSS** objected, and, under the rule, the bill was recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary.

COL. GILMOUR C. MACDONALD, U.S. AIR FORCE (RETIRED)

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired).

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10932

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any statute of limitations, lapse of time, or bars of laches, jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any legal claim filed by Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, United States Air Force (retired), Shalimar, Florida, for compensation for the usage by the United States during World War II and the Korean conflict of a tubular caltrop tire puncturing device allegedly invented by the said Gilmour C. MacDonald.

SEC. 2. Suit upon any such claim may be

instituted at any time within one year after the date of enactment of this Act. Except as otherwise provided herein, proceedings for the determination of such claim, and review and payment of any judgment thereon shall be had in the same manner as in the case of claims over which the Court of Claims has jurisdiction under section 1491 of title 28 of the United States Code. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as an inference or admission of liability on the part of the United States.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELPIDIO AND NATIVIDAD DAMAZO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3727) for the relief of Elpidio and Natividad Damazo.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3727

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Elpidio and Natividad Damazo shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of June 27, 1958, and June 16, 1959, respectively.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 4, strike out the names "Elpidio and Natividad Damazo" and substitute in lieu thereof the names "Elpidio Dimacali Damazo and Natividad Simsuangco Damazo".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FEIGHAN

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FEIGHAN: On page 1, strike out the date "June 16, 1959" and substitute in lieu thereof the date "July 11, 1959".

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Elpidio Dimacali Damazo and Natividad Simsuangco Damazo."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MARTHA BLANKENSHIP

The Clerk called the bill (S. 117) for the relief of Martha Blankenship.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 117

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Martha Blankenship of Meador, West Virginia, is hereby relieved of all liability for repayment to the United States of the sum of $1,887.86, representing the amount of survivor benefit payments which were erroneously paid to the said Martha Blankenship under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 incident to the death of her brother, Hasten Daniels, such payments having been used by the said Martha Blankenship to pay the funeral expenses and debts of her deceased brother prior to a determination by the Railroad Retirement Board that such payments should have been made to the surviving children of the said Hasten Daniels. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, full credit shall be given for the amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Martha Blankenship, the sum of any amounts received or withheld from her on account of the payments referred to in the first section of this Act.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

VIRGILE POSFAY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1884) for the relief of Virgile Posfay.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1884

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Virgile Posfay, former Royal Hungarian Minister Plenipoteniary and Envoy Extraordinary, residing in Naples, Italy, the sum of $3,700 in recognition of the services performed by him, including personal expenses incurred by him in performing such services, for and on behalf of the United States, as an Austro-Hungarian consul at Monastir, Albania, in charge of handling the interests of the United States of America, in the years 1906, 1907, and 1908.

SEC. 2. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ALLAN L. SCHOOLER

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6325) for the relief of 2d Lt. Allan L. Schooler.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

DR. ABRAHAM RUCHWARGER

The Clerk called the resolution (H. Res. 493) to refer the bill (H.R. 9326) entitled "A bill for the relief of Dr. Abraham Ruchwarger" to the chief commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 493

Resolved, That the bill (H.R. 9326) entitled "A bill for the relief of Doctor Abraham Ruchwarger", together with all accompanying papers, is hereby referred to the chief commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code, for further proceedings in accordance with applicable law.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. RAY F. McMILLAN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2283) for the relief of Dr. Ray F. McMillan.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2283

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, Doctor Ray F. McMillan, Kensington, California, is hereby relieved of all liability to refund to the United States any amounts of excess compensation paid to him in the period from July 1, 1957, to September 10, 1966, as a civilian employee of the United States Naval Air Station, Alameda, California, which was subsequently ruled to have been erroneous due to a continuing error in fixing the amount of compensation covering attendance at the United States Naval Air Station in accordance with applicable regulations.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, after line 11, add the following: "In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, full credit shall be given for the respective amounts for which liability is relieved by this Act."

After section 1, add the following:

"SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to Doctor Ray F. McMillan, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him with respect to the indebtedness of the United States specified in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further call of the Private Calendar be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 292]

Aspinall
Barrett
Blackburn
Brock
Broomfield
de la Garza
Derwinski
Diggs
Edwards, La.
Esch
Fountain
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Gubser
Hanna
Hays
Holland
Kee
McClory
Martin
O'Konski
Ottinger
Pool
Rarick
Taft
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Vander Jagt
Watkins
Williams, Miss.
Wilson, Bob

The **SPEAKER**. On this rollcall 400 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 10196, APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. **FLOOD**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill H.R. 10196 making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

RICHARD K. JONES—APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 454) for the relief of Richard K. Jones, with the House amendments thereto, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. ASHMORE, HUNGATE, and SMITH of New York.

FOR THE RELIEF OF GILMOUR C. MacDONALD, COLONEL, U.S. AIR FORCE, RETIRED

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate the proceedings of the House whereby the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force, retired, was passed.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return for immediate consideration to Private Calendar No. 179, the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force, retired.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10932

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any statute of limitations, lapse of time, or bars of laches, jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any legal claim filed by Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, United States Air Force (retired), Shalimar, Florida, for compensation for the usage by the United States during World War II and the Korean conflict of a tubular caltrop tire puncturing device allegedly invented by the said Gilmour C. MacDonald.

SEC. 2. Suit upon any such claim may be instituted at any time within one year after the date of the enactment of this Act. Except as otherwise provided herein, proceedings for the determination of such claim, and review and payment of any judgment thereon shall be had in the same manner as in the case of claims over which the Court of Claims has jurisdiction under section 1491 of title 28 of the United States Code. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as an inference or admission of liability on the part of the United States.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ASHMORE

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ASHMORE: On page 2, following line 10, add a new section 3 as follows:

"SEC. 3. No attorney shall charge, demand, receive, or collect for services rendered, fees in excess of 10 per centum of any judgment rendered pursuant to this Act. Any attorney who charges, demands, receives, or collects for services rendered in connection with such claim any amount in excess of that allowed under this section, if recovery be had, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. ASHMORE].

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON S. 1160, TO AMEND THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 1160) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes, with House amendments thereto, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia? The Chair hears none; and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. STAGGERS, MACDONALD of Massachusetts, KORNEGAY, SPRINGER, and BROYHILL of North Carolina.

GOP TACTICS TO CUT OFF ALL GOVERNMENT FUNDS IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN ATTEMPT TO EMBARRASS THE PRESIDENT

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the world may soon be witnessing a rare spectacle indeed: The U.S. Government—the richest and most powerful on earth—may not be able to pay its bills.

The reason, of course, is that our Republican colleagues have irresponsibly voted for recommital of the resolution for a continuing appropriation.

Their purpose, Mr. Speaker, is either to admit their failure to deal with the complexities of the budget or to embarrass the President of the United States. Apparently our Republican colleagues are blind to every consideration, except election year 1968. Anything they can do now—including paralyzing the U.S. Government—to bolster their chances next year seems to be fair game.

I doubt whether Congress has ever witnessed more irresponsible and reckless conduct by the total membership of one side of the aisle. These Republicans know full well that President Johnson is not the only one responsible for trimming the budget. Only the Congress can repeal or amend the laws which set these expenditures.

But our Republican colleagues want to pretend this is not so. They want President Johnson to wield the cutting knife. They want him to take the heat and cut back on such programs as aid to our schools, housing funds for our cities, protection for our commercial airways, aid to our veterans' hospitals, and loans to bring electricity to our farmers.

In their actions, they are completely allocating their responsibilities as Members of Congress to judge on the budget items submitted to Congress by the President.

The Republicans want $5 billion cut from the budget. Let them tell us where to start cutting. Mr. Speaker. Let them give us the specifics—what programs and in whose district.

Let them stop playing such blatant and hypocritical politics with such a vital matter as the Nation's fiscal welfare.

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 938 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 938

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, the joint resolution shall be read for amendment. At the conclusion of the consideration of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the joint resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], representing the minority in the consideration of this resolution, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to say in the beginning that I am troubled enough about the problem that is presented here, and I hope my colleagues will bear with me and not add to my troubled mind.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat what I said here last week, in the well of this House, that no problem I have been called upon to deal with in recent years has caused me more trouble of mind than the problem presented here about the mechanics of reaching the desired objective of cutting expenditures. I am not going to take any time here to tell the House, "I told you so." All I want to say in that connection is that for the past couple of decades, in an ever-escalating degree, we have been spending the taxpayers' money like it was water.

Mr. Speaker, before I proceed further I think it might be advisable to again put this whole matter in its proper prospective as to what has brought this House, rather belatedly I think, to realize the necessity for reduction in expenditures in the first place and secondly to present and analyze the problem of how it is to be done.

Of course, we all must realize that the hassle over expenditures is brought about by the fact that the Congress must face the President's request for additional taxes and the realization by the Congress that new and burdensome taxes are not popular with the already burdened taxpayers.

It is apparent now, therefore, that the majority of this House, if not the Senate, realizes that if there is to be a tax bill there must also be a drastic cut in expenditures; otherwise the projected possible deficit for the current fiscal year, $30 billion, could well exceed that awesome figure. This being true, the machinery by which it is to be accomplished is the real problem.

Under the parliamentary situation we must take one of two alternatives. Either we adopt the continuing appropriations resolution, largely sponsored by the Democratic majority and thereby give the Appropriations Committee a further opportunity in an orderly legislative manner to do the job; or the other alternative is the so-called Bow amendment, sponsored by our Republican friends, which would delegate to the President, in the form of a mandate from the Congress the authority to make the necessary cuts.

Mr. Speaker, for the reasons which I shall develop as I go along, I shall support the committee resolution largely because I am opposed to giving the President this additional power.

We have been reminded from time to time, as these programs for new ventures into social welfare and the socialistic state have come up, that this very hour was going to arrive. It was just a question of time.

Now the hour for decision has again arrived, for you as well as for me.

When this matter was up before, I wrestled with it, considering what I should do and how I should cast my lone vote for the best interests of my country and for the objective sought. At the last moment I decided, in the dilemma in which I found myself at that moment, to vote for the Bow motion to recommit, just as I had voted for all of the Bow amendments to cut back on the several bills already passed, which the gentleman had offered.

May I again compliment my friend from Ohio by saying that he has made a very valuable contribution in the past, and he is making one now, because he is calling to the attention of this House in a very forcible manner that we have reached the hour of decision.

As I say, I voted for the motion to recommit. I was troubled. I am not without trouble now in my mind.

I went home over the weekend and got away from the trees here and began to examine the forest, in the brief time I had, to come to what I thought would be the proper conclusion.

I would vote today as I did the other day, except for two reasons.

One is that I tried to get my chairman of the Appropriations Committee and my leadership to permit me to offer an amendment, when this matter was before us last week, which would have done exactly what they propose to do today; namely, pass an extension for 10 days rather than 30 days. But they did not see fit to do that.

Who am I to criticize them for it? I do not.

What I had in mind then was to give the Appropriations Committee an opportunity, both the majority and minority members, to get in the committee, behind closed doors and to forget partisanship, if any existed, and try to come to a correct and agreeable conclusion on the mechanics by which to make the necessary expenditure cuts which everybody now appears to be agreed upon should be made.

Who is responsible for this situation we find ourselves in? Is it the President of the United States? Yes, to a substantial degree. But who else is responsible for it? It is the people who honor me by giving me their attention here now, the majority of the Members of this body.

We are the ones who are responsible for this crisis, if crisis is how you want to designate it. I say that because again I remind you the President of the United States could not spend one thin dime unless this Congress authorized it and appropriated it, and that is what we have been doing. Yes, the President of the United States, just to spell it out, made a grave mistake, in my judgment—and as a citizen I am entitled to be critical of him if I so see fit—when he said that we could have the Great Society and carry on an all-out war at the same time. I disagreed with him then and I disagree with him now. I think time has shown that he was in error. How long has it been—search your memory for a moment—how long has it been since we were talking about the fact that if we did not cut down on these appropriations and expenditures we were going to have a $100 billion budget here? Well, we arrived at it in 1965, to the tune of $110.2 billion. In 1966 we went up to $121 billion. In 1967 it was $144.8 billion. And the escalation is still on. What are we going to do about it? That is the thing we are faced with here today. I will tell you what I want to do with it. I would like, as some of you would, to lay this thing on the President's doorstep, but I hasten also to point out that I have been traditionally opposed, as you have been traditionally opposed, to giving the Chief Executive the item veto power. Every President in my time has sought that power. We can do that here today by resolution, but if we do we set a dangerous precedent. It is argued he already has that power, but I do not admit it. I do not know where the Constitution of the United States or the Congress of the United States has given him that power. He may use it by usurpation, but once you set out on this type of a program, then you are setting the precedent and the President will get it and use it just as previous Presidents have desired and asked for it. I emphasize again the danger of this step.

Now, I do not like to talk politics. I do not think my record here—and I am sure the administration would bear me out on this—has been a very partisan one. But if we want to talk politics I would urge a word of caution. If I were in the minority, speaking of the minority in the broad sense—and sometimes I think I am in the minority in a rather limited sense—I think I would be very cautious about giving the President the item veto power here. I imagine that the President, being human, could be vindictive. I am not charging that he would be. He might want to take it out on the minority. I imagine he wants to see a Democratic Congress back here after next year's election.

But, I would be awfully cautious about giving him that power. I am cautious about it now as a matter of principle, primarily, because I do not want to let the President of the United States permit these doubtful, Great Society programs, go unscathed, and cut other well established and successful programs.

So, Mr. Speaker, permit me to say that I am not sure my Republican friends over here—many, many of whom are my close friends—are really taking the proper approach to this problem—you have today the political advantage in the move you are making—the temporary advantage. But I doubt its wisdom in the long run.

But, again, I would suggest caution about setting this dangerous precedent.

Now, finally, because I cannot take all of the time, I am going to vote for this 10-day extension resolution, hoping for the accomplishment of the objective which I tried to get the other day. I am going to do it with the knowledge or at least the thought that you are not going to be able to do much in 10 days. In fact, I apprehend that there will be an extension later on. But within the period of 10 days the able gentlemen on both sides of the aisle who constitute that great Committee on Appropriations, can sit down and work out some kind of a formula to cut these expenditures back $5 billion, or more.

But, suppose you do not? You can always come back to the so-called Bow amendment.

And, Mr. Speaker, as one Member of this House I pledge my vote and effort to support some other resolution to accomplish the objective we seek.

Mr. Speaker, I have definitely come to the conclusion that that is the course that I should follow. I shall certainly find no fault with anybody who votes differently because I know that they too have wrestled with this problem, as I have.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to attempt to explain the parliamentary situation before us today as best I see it.

The resolution before us from the Committee on Rules, House Resolution 938, will make in order House Joint Resolution 853, with 1 hour of debate.

House Joint Resolution 853 simply changes the date by striking "September 30, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 10, 1967" on the continuing resolution, which would be to and including midnight a week from today.

It is what we refer to as an open rule, for the purpose of amendment, but such amendments would necessarily have to be germane.

You will remember last week we had the Bow amendment before us, and eventually the matter was recommitted to the Committee on Appropriations. The Bow amendment as we handled it last week, and as I will mention to you later, would not be in order in my opinion as an amendment offered to House Joint Resolution 853. We all know that this cannot be done by next Tuesday night, because the appropriation bills will not be through. It is my thought that last week, when the two sections, 105 and 106, and the language of the Bow amendment were sent back, the resolution was sent back to the Committee on Appropriations by the vote of the House of Representatives, it was my interpretation that that was somewhat of a mandate for the said committee to bring out a resolution for a 31-day extension until October 31, 1967, coupled with the Bow language. But that is not what happened. We simply have a resolution to continue it until next Tuesday night, 10 days into October.

So, following up on the procedure as I understand it, in an effort to get the Bow amendments back before the body, which would not be germane as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 853, it is my intention to object to the vote on the previous question and attempt to have the previous question voted down.

If the previous question is voted down, then there will be 1 hour of debate for that discussion, and a vote thereon. If it is voted down I intend to submit the following language: The resolution before us that we are considering is House Resolution 938, now, that is from the Committee on Rules. On line 11, after the period, insert the following:

> It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the text of joint resolution H.J. Res. 846 as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the provisions contained in H.J. Res. 853.

You will recall, as I mentioned, House Joint Resolution 853 is the resolution by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] to extend this until October 10, next Tuesday. The resolution that I am referring to, House Joint Resolution 846, is a resolution introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] on September 26, 1967, and that resolution reads that the date, September 30, will be stricken and insert in lieu thereof October 31, 1967.

In other words, it is not for 10 days. It is for 31 days.

Then following that, the part of the resolution which we considered last week, are the two sections. There is section 105:

> SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, net aggregate administrative budget expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall not exceed $131,500,000,000; except by those Department of Defense expenditures beyond $72,300,000,000 for military purposes that the President may determine are necessary.

And then there is section 106:

> SEC. 106. Not later than ten days after the last day of the first session of the Ninetieth Congress, estimated administrative budget expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 shall be reduced, through the apportionment process, by $5,000,000,000 (the difference between currently anticipated administrative budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 of $136,500,000,000 and $131,500,000,000). Obligational authority in an amount equal to the $5,000,000,000 reduction in expenditures shall no longer remain available, and such sum shall be covered into the Treasury.

I wanted to read this resolution because many of the Members may not have seen it. The language here is identical with the amendments that we considered and which were debated at considerable length last week on the floor of the House.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WHITTEN. I have tried to follow the exact wording of the gentleman from the outset. I have been asked by quite a number of Members on our side as to whether I would offer a substitute or an amendment to the gentleman's motion in the event we should reach the place where the Bow amendment could be offered.

The gentleman is calling the attention of the House to the amendment to the rule that he anticipates. I am asking the gentleman if his proposed amendment to the rule would enable those of use on this side to offer a substitute for or an amendment to the Bow amendment?

Mr. SMITH of California. As I attempted to state, my language that I have prepared here is in the nature of a substitute to make the Bow amendment, House Joint Resolution 846 in order for consideration.

Mr. WHITTEN. Quite definitely; if the gentleman has his way, he will make the Bow amendment in order.

Mr. SMITH of California. That is correct.

Mr. WHITTEN. Would a substitute for the Bow amendment be in order under the proposed language?

Mr. SMITH of California. What does the gentleman mean? What does the gentleman have in mind when he speaks of a substitute? Let me say this—if the previous question is voted down and if my amendment is then adopted, and then we would go into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union with 1 hour of debate with 30 minutes on the right and 30 minutes on the left for the consideration of the Bow amendment, House Joint Resolution 846. At that time any amendments can be offered to that. An amendment could be offered to strike out section 105 and section 106. An amendment could be offered to change the time.

I realize in the original resolution before us for consideration, it is only for 10 days. I am asking for 31 days. The reason I am willing to ask and agree on 31 days is because of the Bow language in there and with the requirements of sections 105 and 106.

Mr. WHITTEN. I would like to make plain what I have in mind. My thought is that under the Bow amendment we were inviting the executive department to make these cuts where the President may see fit. If I have read the press accounts correctly, the President in turn has announced that he expects to make cuts on his own initiative in the absence of the Bow amendment.

I think the House needs to discharge its responsibility and not surrender to the President or the executive department either under the Bow amendment, which invites the President to eliminate such items and programs as he may wish or by nonaction, cause the President to do the same thing, without invitation.

The purpose of the amendment which

I shall offer in the Appropriations Committee, if the previous question is approved would call for a deferral in expenditures across the board, retaining in Congress the choice of projects and programs.

Having asked these questions, I thought the gentleman is entitled to know the point of my questions.

Mr. SMITH of California. If I understand the gentleman correctly, if my language is substituted and House Joint Resolution 846 is then before the House, it would be open for amendment in any way and be a completely open rule—and, of course, it would have to be germane. That is what I am trying to do to make it in order and have it before the House so we can have a vote on it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. As I understand the situation, the crucial vote will come on the vote to order the previous question; is that correct?

Mr. SMITH of California. That is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Those who vote against the previous question will in effect be voting for a $5 billion limitation on or reductions in expenditures and a date for the continuing resolution of October 31 rather than October 10.

Mr. SMITH of California. That is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I think it is important that all of us understand that the vote on the previous question will be construed, whether the language is in the RECORD or not, that by voting "nay" on the previous question, you will be voting for a limitation on expenditures of $5 billion, and a "yea" vote is again an indication of no ceiling on expenditures for this current fiscal year. A "yea" vote is to support President Johnson's inflationary budget with $141 billion spending from the Federal Treasury in 12 months.

Mr. SMITH of California. That is correct. I think the easiest way for us to have been able to present this to you would be simply to send down an open rule from the Rules Committee making in order House Joint Resolution 846, the Bow resolution, which was introduced on September 26, which would extend the appropriations until October 31, and would place that language in. Then the resolution would have been open for all germane amendments. But we did not have the votes in the committee to do that. So the other method of continuing for 10 days was agreed upon, and we would be faced with a point of order. That is the only way that we could get it before the House for a vote.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. I think the gentleman from California has just answered the question I intended to propound, and that is simply this: Is it not true that the only way under the parliamentary situation that this House can have a vote "yea" or "nay" on the Bow resolution is to vote down the previous question, and then amend the rule to make it in order for us to consider whether we want to adopt the resolution?

Mr. SMITH of California. That is correct. If the previous question is voted down and my language is offered to substitute the Bow resolution, that will be open to any amendment, such as continuing the appropriations until October 31 or passing the joint resolution as it is.

If we simply let it go 10 days we know very well there are no restrictions on it, and 10 days would not help. We are going to take Thursday and Friday off because of religious holidays, and the 10 days will be completed next week. The joint resolution would go over to the other body. They would simply add "October 31" or some other date. The joint resolution would come back, go to conference, and then we will come back later on to have another vote to vote the conference report down. We would then send it back to conference and instruct the conferees to change the date or include the Bow language in the joint resolution.

In my opinion, the only way to get at the question is to vote down the previous question, get the joint resolution before the House, and let every Member vote his will, voting the joint resolution with the Bow amendment, then up or down, and we would have the question resolved.

Sa far as continuing resolutions are concerned, after that is done, if we do it that way, I doubt there will be much more difficulty during the rest of the year on continuing resolutions, and if the Appropriations Committee carries on the real work they are doing.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I think it was the impression of most of us that last week the House worked its will and gave a firm mandate to the Committee on Appropriations. Of course, the Committee on Appropriations did not accept that mandate—in fact, went in the face of it. Those who voted last week to give the mandate to the Committee on Appropriations certainly ought to be consistent and say again that we as a body want a spending limitation, and that vote will come on the previous question. Those who voted last week to issue that mandate to the Committee on Appropriations, to be consistent, ought to vote the same way, which is "nay," on the previous question today.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. The minority leader, as is his right, said that a vote of "nay" on the previous question will be a vote to impose the Bow amendment. But I think it could be argued just as logically that a vote of "nay" on the previous question, when it comes before us here today, will be a vote of no confidence in this House of Representatives and in its Appropriations Committee. I think that will be just as much an issue and just as much a correct statement of what is at issue when we vote on the previous question.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, at the risk of repeating myself, I will say briefly once again the resolution before us, if adopted, provides for consideration of a simple joint resolution for a 10-day extension.

I am going to ask that the previous question be voted down, and, if it is voted down, that the language of House Joint Resolution 846 be made in order—that is the Bow amendment of last week, which we voted on last week—which extends the date to October 31, and it will be open for any type amendment all the way down the line.

This is the only way it can be brought to the House—the best way to my knowledge—and I urge those who feel as I do to vote down the previous question, to see if we can have an opportunity once again to discuss this matter.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California has consumed 15 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday—September 27, 1967—this House, by a vote of 202 to 182, made it crystal clear that it favored the Bow resolution over the one introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

So here was a clear mandate by the House, on a rollcall vote, to have the Bow resolution brought back to the floor so that it could be decided on its merits.

I regret that the Committee on Appropriations declined to follow the will of the House as expressed in that motion to recommit last Wednesday, and I also regret that the Committee on Rules did not grant a rule which would make the Bow resolution in order for consideration today. But since both of these committees have seen fit to ignore the expressed wishes of a majority of the Members who voted last Wednesday, our only recourse is to ask Members to vote down the previous question and thus give themselves an opportunity to vote on the Bow resolution. This can be accomplished only by amending the rule after the previous question has been voted down. In all fairness to the majority who voted in effect for the Bow resolution last Wednesday, I think the previous question should be voted down today because that is the only way the House can be given an opportunity to work its will on the Bow resolution.

A vote against the previous question is not a vote for the Bow resolution but is a vote to give the Members an opportunity to consider that resolution on its merits. I respectfully urge that Members are entitled to that opportunity and I ask that the previous question be voted down.

I cannot agree with the gentleman from Oklahoma that a vote against the previous question would be a vote of no confidence in the Appropriations Committee. The Appropriations Committee deals with new obligational authority requested by the President, but the Bow resolution deals with the level of spending proposed by the President in fiscal year 1968. These are different animals and this difference is often forgotten or perhaps not really understood by some Members who do not deal with the subject on a day-to-day basis.

In order to understand what we are talking about, it is necessary to point out that the President in his current budget asked for new obligational authority in the amount of $144 billion, and this is the budget figure with which the Appropriations Committee has been dealing all year. But the administrative spending program for next year is fixed in the budget at $136.5 billion, and it is this sum that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] seeks to reduce by use of his resolution. This is not the budget proposal with which the Appropriations Committee deals, as I have already pointed out.

The request for new obligational authority is exclusively under the control of Congress and its Appropriations Committees. And up to this point in the session the House has reduced these requests by approximately $4 billion. In my opinion the House will achieve the goal which I for one announced, when the budget was originally transmitted, of cutting requested new obligational authority by $5 billion. We made that $4 billion cut and will make the future ones on a line-item basis. I am willing to accept my part of the responsibility for the cuts already made and which will be made in the future. No member of the Appropriations Committee is seeking to pass that responsibility over to the President.

But the expenditure budget, that is the level of spending proposed by the President next year, is largely outside the control of Congress and its Appropriations Committees. The only way Congress could control that level of spending is by rescinding billions of dollars of previously appropriated funds. This is because the President has on hand, in previously appropriated but unspent funds, $125.6 billion and he proposes to dip into that pool for $39.3 billion of his spending program in 1968. Of the $144 billion in new obligational authority requested this year, the President does not even propose to spend $48.3 billion of that amount in fiscal year 1968, but plans to carry it forward for expenditure in future years.

There is another very practical reason why the Bow resolution offers Congress the only real opportunity it has to exercise any restraint on the level of spending in fiscal 1968. And that practical reason is because one-fourth of the new fiscal year has already passed and we are in what we all hope are the closing days of this congressional session. It would be quite impractical to expect the Committee on Appropriations to redo all of the work that it has required 9 months to accomplish so far this year. Four appropriation bills have already been signed into law; 12 out of 15 have already cleared the House of Representatives; seven have cleared the other body; and three are still to be acted on in either body. But most of the spadework has been completed or is in process of being completed right now. All hearings have been completed, hundreds of witnesses have been examined, and thousands upon thousands of pages of testimony have been taken. All but three appropriation bills have been marked up; and now after all of this work has been completed it is proposed, as an alternative to the Bow resolution, that the committees redo all of this work. I am willing to do it all right and am willing to begin tomorrow. I believe a rescission bill is in order and I will fully cooperate in the effort to bring one to the floor. But I respectfully point out that the most effective way to accomplish the desired objective is to pass the Bow resolution.

In 1957 a somewhat similar procedure was undertaken. On May 12, 1957, the House adopted a resolution calling upon President Eisenhower to send up a revised budget. I voted for that resolution and I would vote for a similar one today. It should not make any difference who is President. This is not politics so far as I am concerned. But there are several substantial differences in the situation which obtained in 1957 and that of today. In the first place, the fiscal situation is substantially different.

The Government ended fiscal year 1956 with a surplus of $1.6 billion, and it ended fiscal year 1957 with a surplus of $1.5 billion. These were Eisenhower years. But in fiscal year 1967, which has just ended, the Government wound up with a deficit in excess of $9 billion and faces a deficit of $29 billion in the current fiscal year. These are Johnson years.

And in 1957 we were considering a proposed administrative budget expenditure of $71.3 billion for fiscal year 1958. Today we are considering expenditures of $136.5 billion—an increase in proposed administrative expenditures of $65.2 billion in one decade. What a record.

And another difference in the situation is that when the previous resolution was before the House it was being considered on March 12, with all of the rest of the year before us. This was 3½ months before the end of the fiscal year. Appropriation hearings were still in progress. Today we are considering the current resolution on October 3, after one-fourth of the fiscal year has already passed, and there is less than 3 months of the current session to run.

For these and other reasons I repeat that this proposal of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, to inaugurate new hearings and studies, made as a resort to defeat the Bow proposal, is simply impractical at this late day in the session. But I assure him that I shall certainly cooperate and will support his every effort to find places where the proposed spending level can be reduced.

In conclusion, let me remind Members that this is not a grant of new power to the President. He has exercised this power in the past without any challenge from Congress or from its appropriations committees. It is in my judgment a responsible way for Congress to act, in view of the circumstances heretofore related. It is in my judgment the only practical way Congress can exercise any control over the spending level in 1968. The President has made it clear that he intends to make cuts in the level of spending, but he does not propose to tell us where those cuts will occur or ask for the approval of Congress. He proposes to make them unilaterally and they may be more or less than the $5 billion cut proposed in the Bow resolution. This Bow resolution is in my judgment the only way that Congress can exercise any real and meaningful control over Government spending in 1968.

I therefore urge my colleagues to vote down the previous question so that we can then have a debate on the merits of the Bow resolution.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. JONAS. If the gentleman can get me a minute or two, I shall be glad to yield to my friend from New York or to my friend from Oklahoma.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN].

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Mississippi, Hon. BILL COLMER, chairman of the Rules Committee.

When this matter was up last week I had this to say—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 27, 1967, pages 26,966–26967—I quote:

> Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I find myself in general agreement with the various statements that have been made as to the seriousness of the situation. My record for voting against programs and policies which has brought our situation about will compare favorably with anyone in Congress.
>
> The question before us is, What shall we do about it?
>
> As I understand the situation, there is pending a continuing resolution to let the Government operate until all appropriation bills are passed and signed. I know we must, in view of the situation, reduce these appropriations in an orderly, judicious, and effective manner.
>
> We all agree that the situation is serious, perhaps as much as my friends on the left have said, and certainly as much as my friends on the right have said. But let us review briefly the fact that we all know we have the separation of powers provided by the Constitution.
>
> Among the tragic things I have seen in recent years, first, is that the Supreme Court has taken unto itself, apparently in many instances, the right to be the supreme department—or so the members act.
>
> Another thing I have seen that I deplore is the fact that the Congress has, in my opinion, abdicated to the executive department more and more power. We give them the right to take actions unless we veto them.
>
> I want to say that this morning the Appropriations Committee took an unprecedented action, to my knowledge for the only time in history. This morning not only did the committee do as said here, but more.
>
> Let us see what my friends on the Republican side asked, and particularly my friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin [JOHN BYRNES], notwithstanding the fact that we know in times past the executive department froze money for veterans' hospitals and recommended drastic cuts in school lunch and school milk programs, which the Congress had to restore.
>
> The gentleman quotes the Secretary of the Treasury as desiring the right to give this power to the executive department, to tell the Congress where programs will be reduced or eliminated, instead of Congress meeting its responsibility of making such cuts and eliminations.

> Yes, the amendment offered by my friend from Ohio would place a ceiling on expenditures and leave it up to the executive department to apply the entire reduction to the school milk and school lunch programs, to veterans' hospitals, or veterans' benefits, if he saw fit to do so. I trust he would not do that, but I do know in times past his Bureau of the Budget has recommended drastic cuts in many of these areas.
>
> Not only that, but the gentleman from Ohio excepts all expenditures of the Defense Department, or up to the amount of $72.3 billion.
>
> Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
>
> Mr. WHITTEN. I yield briefly to the gentleman from Ohio.
>
> Mr. BOW. Just a word. I do not except the funds of the Defense Department. I except the funds of the military. There is a difference.
>
> Mr. WHITTEN. For military purposes. The language speaks for itself, and I appreciate the gentleman's calling my attention to it. Certainly I want to be fair. There is no finer man in Congress than FRANK BOW.
>
> But the amendment does except an area where there are many things identified as military which certainly have no connection with our present war in Southeast Asia.
>
> There are many, many things in the name of defense, Mr. Speaker—and I serve on that subcommittee—that should certainly be reviewed. In fact, I think you could cut $5 billion without stopping the flow of a single weapon of war or affecting the war. I speak for myself only on that. But here is what I come to. The measure before us is the adoption of this resolution permitting the running of the Government for 30 days as presently operating. Prior to its adoption, as I understand it, the gentleman from Ohio or someone will offer a motion to recommit the resolution to the committee.
>
> The committee took another action this morning, and that is what I want to talk to you about briefly. You heard the discussions of the first part of this action taken by the committee, as I say, for the first time since 1943, since I have been on the committee, and I think for the first time in history, the committee, by a rollcall vote, provided as follows:
>
> "The committee will carefully review the appropriation action of the session and determine whether or not, prior to adjournment, to recommend recisions of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time."
>
> What it means is that the committee has gone on record as going over these items, item by item, as determined by the Congress, and to tell the Congress what to do in the exercise of its responsibility and in the discharge or the carrying out of its jurisdiction. I have been assured that reductions will be made.
>
> I say to you a motion to recommit, if carried, would undo this specific action that your committee has had the nerve to do by a united vote on my side of the aisle, that is, commit itself to action.
>
> Do not be caught sending it back there. You are undoing that resolution adopted by a rollcall vote.
>
> The other side of the matter is, if you accept the motion to recommit, you are doing so at the instance of Members who voted against that commitment. You are doing so at the instance of Members who said, "Let us turn over to President Johnson the right to withhold funds from any program that he may see fit," instead of the Congress reducing funds.
>
> Now, I have nothing to say to make the problems any heavier on any President, but it is a responsibility that few Presidents would want even though the Secretary or the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury seems to have advocated it, according to Mr. BYRNES. I say to you politically you can understand that some of our friends might like a President of the opposite party to have to lay his finger as to where the cuts would be. That is understandable. I would welcome such recommendations to the Congress, but I cannot understand a Congress abdicating to the President the right to cut where he wanted to. I tell you that in recent years when the executive department and the judiciary have been usurping the rights of the Congress and when on occasion my own committee, may I say, in my judgment, has not always lived up as much as I thought they should to their responsibility, I felt perhaps such action should be taken, but here, where we have taken action and acted in good faith and have ourselves adopted a resolution and announced to the world that we are going to meet and consider these items with the intention to make cuts as the Congress determines as provided by the Constitution, I say do not send this resolution back and undo the most forward step that has been taken by the Committee on Appropriations since I have been in Congress.
>
> I agree with how serious the matter is. We have taken a step toward correcting it in the proper way. Let us hold onto it. I assure you that whether you let conditions continue for the 30-day period as provided by the committee resolution or send it back to the committee, I expect within the committee to move that the House reduce appropriations in line with the fiscal situation with which we are faced. * * *

Mr. Speaker, what we have here is a request that the business of the Government be permitted to operate for 10 more days while we work out a solution.

May I say I have not been idle since last week. I have here a proposal which I have made to the Appropriations Committee and to the Democratic caucus which would provide that Federal spending by each department and agency of Government, except for military expenditures of the Department of Defense directly related to our involvement in Southeast Asia, including pay of all military personnel, the payment of interest on the national debt, social security, veterans, medicare and old-age assistance payments, as well as payment of officials and other personnel, the exact number of which is fixed by law, for the fiscal year 1968, shall not exceed 95 percent of the amount expended during fiscal year 1967, and further that, insofar as practical, each department and agency shall absorb such reduction by not filling vacancies. Efforts to meet such reduction of expenditures by stretching out the time schedule on performance and payment on contracts should be made so as not to eliminate new construction starts.

In the event this 10-day resolution is adopted, I shall press for such a course of action.

As the debate has shown here today, if the Bow resolution were to be adopted, the Congress would be inviting, in fact requiring, the President to cut appropriations where he pleases, and it is to be anticipated that his cuts will be in line with his recommendations to the Congress last year when the President recommended drastic cuts in funds for school lunch, school milk, soil conservation, flood control, water and sewage loans, and many other necessary programs, funds which we had to restore, and, if the Bow amendment is not adopted and Congress itself does not act, but retains appropriations as already provided by both Senate and House, either individually or jointly, the President has announced that he will withhold appropriations from such programs as he sees fit, on his own initiative.

In such case, doubtless he would cut these same programs which mean so much to our people and to the preservation of our country. There is every reason to believe he will not cut foreign aid or other programs in which he believes, in other words his "butter" programs.

Thus, it is imperative that the Congress act to retain its jurisdiction and responsibility under the Constitution, and by requiring a little belt tightening on everybody's part, retain the projects and programs provided by the Congress.

We need this 10 days' time to bring this about.

Again I subscribe to the remarks of my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi, BILL COLMER, and shall vote for this 10-day extension and assure you of my efforts at getting congressional action in view of our serious financial situation.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, let us make no mistake about it. We are approaching what may be the most important single vote of the 90th Congress. The Nation faces a fiscal crisis. This vote will separate the men from the boys. It will separate those who are willing to do something about facing up to that crisis and those who want to continue to drift. Let me point out that every day we drift the situation becomes more acute. A quarter of the fiscal year is already history. It cannot be retrieved, and we are still facing the potential of a $29 billion deficit.

I know Members like to talk about economy in Government and the dangers of Federal deficits and scream about high interest rates, tight money, the increasing cost of living. Yes, Members like to make speeches about the problems of the poor, those on fixed incomes, those living on social security, and about the need for housing and jobs.

Well, the vote this afternoon will separate those who want to do something about these problems and those who just want to make speeches about them. Those who want to make matters worse, yes, to drift and continue to drift and who just want to continue to make speeches will vote for the previous question on the resolution before us. A vote for the previous question is a vote to prevent this House from working its will on establishing a spending ceiling. It is a vote to do nothing about the deficit except to hope and pray that maybe it will go away. It is just that simple. The question before us, the issue, is are we going to seize this opportunity to do something about the deficit that faces us and the consequences of such a deficit in terms of increasing cost of living, tight money, high interest rates, and a worsening balance of payments.

Let me point out to my friends on the Democrat side that these dire consequences are not ghosts under the bed; they are not some figment of my imagination. They are consequences that were outlined to you; yes, and to me and to the country. The most recent detailed outline was by the Secretary of the Treasury on September 21 when he spoke before the National Press Club. I referred to the consequences outlined by the Secretary when I spoke on this matter last week. The consequences have been outlined by the President and by the Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board and by eminent business leaders, economists, industrialists, bankers, and financial leaders.

I am not very impressed, frankly, and I do not think that the American people will be impressed by the excuses being offered today by the Democrat members who oppose this effort to cut back and put a lid on Government expenditures. They are offered, interestingly enough, by those who talk the loudest about increasing costs of living and constantly express concern about the poor and about tight money and about high interest rates. But when the time for action comes, they are opposed to putting a lid on Government expenditures and halting the rise in interest rates and living costs that fall heaviest on the poor.

The thing that disturbs me more than anything is that this seems to be becoming a partisan issue as we now try to do something about the fiscal crisis facing the Nation. It was not a partisan issue in the Committee on Ways and Means during the last several weeks when we have had appearing before us these financial experts who told us about the problem of this deficit.

Mr. Speaker, it was not a partisan issue when the chairman of the committee, and others, were telling the administration that they should come up to us with some table of cuts; that they should establish some cuts; and oh, yes, where they were going to do it.

Well, if it is going to become partisan, well and good.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remaining 2 minutes on this side to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Let us take it to the American people. The American people want a cut in expenditures. The American people want the expenditure explosion brought under control. They want the deficit cut. They are not going to be very concerned about who does it—about whether it is the responsibility of the Congress of the United States or the President of the United States. They want it down and those who vote in opposition to establishing an expenditure ceiling are turning down one opportunity to do it.

Democrat spokesmen can argue all they want that it is the Congress that should do the cutting. Let it be remembered that it is the Democrats who have control of this Congress. They had control in 1965 and 1966 when the groundwork was laid for the expenditure explosion and the current crisis. They have not only failed to bring the explosion under control, they are responsible for letting the expenditures get out of control. They are still doing nothing about it. Their only response to the crisis which they have created is to oppose efforts to put a lid on spending.

This crisis is not something that has come upon us by surprise. Some of us raised the caution signal over a year ago. I pointed out in remarks yesterday that the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee predicted the approach of the fiscal crisis in reports filed in September 1966 on the tax adjustment act, in June 1966 on the debt ceiling, in September 1966 on legislation to suspend the investment credit, in February 1967 and in June 1967 on the debt ceiling.

Those who now talk about making a review of appropriation bills should have known of the crisis and the need for a greater control over expenditures. As early as this spring when it was perfectly clear that rather than the $8 billion deficit projected by the President in January, we were facing a potential $29 billion deficit. These people heard the President's tax message of August 3 but they still did nothing about it. Now at this late date they oppose a spending ceiling and they tell us, "Don't make the President do it: let us do it."

Let me say to you who have control over the Congress and who now oppose our efforts to bring spending under control, "You have already failed. You are already too late."

Why should not the President of the United States be called upon to put a ceiling upon his spending plans, bringing the total down from the $136 billion set in the budget to $131 billion? Let me ask you gentlemen: Who established this $136 billion figure? Was it the Congress of the United States? No, it was the President of the United States who established that figure, and the Congress of the United States is calling upon the President of the United States to cut it back.

We hear the argument that this would represent an item veto, that we are giving the President of the United States authority that should be reserved to the Congress. Let me point out to you the fact that today the President of the United States has the item veto authority in terms of whether he spends money or not, and everyone of you gentlemen on the Committee on Appropriations knows it. You send to him an appropriation bill or obligational authority and he determines whether he is going to spend all the money, part of the money, or none at all, and for what. He can make the determination as to whether to expend some of it or to expend none of it. You know that is the case. You know that he already has discretionary authority. In fact he has told us he is going to cut the sum of $2 billion. He will cut it where he wants to cut it and, further, he has all of the authority in the world to do so, authority which we provided in the past.

The Bow amendment will take away some of this authority. It would say to the President of the United States, "You can only expend $131 billion and not $136 billion." In fact, unless we impose a ceiling he can spend more than $136 billion, he can spend more than the $144 billion.

Yes, this may well be the most important vote of this session of Congress. To be decided by this vote is whether or not the House of Representatives will face up to the opportunity to do something about the dangerous deficit facing us. I would warn that you turn it down at your peril.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, we are at a crucial moment in the House of Representatives today.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] has deplored politics and said that this is not a partisan issue. But, last week, 100 percent of the minority Members present voted for the motion to recommit the continuing resolution. It seems strange, unless partisanship was a motivating factor, that there was such unanimity. This should not be a partisan issue but the minority has made it a partisan issue. The minority is trying to build an image.

Mr. Speaker, the best hope of this Nation is the Congress of the United States. And, he who would destroy the Congress, its prerogatives and its powers, is working contrary to the best interests of this country and contrary to the finest traditions of our land.

The gentleman from Wisconsin is seeking to abdicate authority of the Congress. Countries have gone down the drain in years past when eloquent speeches were being made, and legislative bodies were weakened and destroyed. And the speakers were being cheered, as was the gentleman from Wisconsin today. But I say this is a moment to determine that we shall retain the power of the purse in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the House, it seems clear, will cut appropriation requests for fiscal year 1968 at this session by $5 billion or more—$5 billion or more. We have already cut $3.8 billion, a very substantial sum. We can do more. I propose that we set as our goal a cut of $6 billion.

I have already arranged, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, for the subcommittees to conduct hearings, and they have begun seeking further ways to reduce appropriations and expenditures in the four appropriation bills which have already become the law. They are Legislative, Treasury-Post Office, Interior, and Defense.

It is my hope that a recision bill can be brought to the House next week in one or more of these appropriations, and Congress can work its will and retain its power over the purse.

Just today, in a conference between the House and the Senate, at long last we have agreed on the $13 billion Labor-HEW appropriations bill, and the conference report will be filed tonight. If the House feels that the amounts agreed to are excessive, the conference report is subject to recommittal. Even when it is enacted into law, efforts to rescind moneys made available can be considered.

Members of subcommittees handling other bills than those which have already passed are confronted with conferences or plans for conferences with the Senate on the remaining eight bills, such as independent offices, public works, and so forth, which have gone to the Senate. We will conduct, however, while we await a settlement in conference, exploratory hearings to seek further reductions in these eight bills. Of course, nothing final can be done until the principal appropriation bills have been settled and enacted into law. As I stated earlier, one for $13 billion should be settled this week and several others should be settled during the month of October.

Three bills have not been considered by the Congress because of lack of required annual authorization. We can and will make sharp cuts in these bills when they come before us. The cuts will be sharp if the Members will sustain us.

In seeking to achieve further reductions in appropriations and expenditures, we are considering—and we began considering last week:

First, the recision approach which I have just discussed, to some extent.

Second, a more generalized approach such as an across-the-board cut in personnel, a limitation on each agency on funds available for appropriations, and/or funds available for expenditures.

The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

As chairman of the committee, I am determined to press—and I am pressing for further reductions in appropriations and spending above the $5 billion appropriation cuts already anticipated. And I shall do, along with those who share these views, everything in my power toward the attainment of these ends.

Of course, I must work through the Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on Appropriations must work through the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I propose that this Congress wage a sustained, unrelenting, and determined effort extending to the final adjournment of this session of the Congress to cut appropriations and spending and authorizations.

If you believe in that philosophy, vote with the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] on this continuing resolution.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman for yielding, because it has been my impression, talking to several of the subcommittee chairmen on appropriations, that they intended to look not only at the current appropriation bills but also at the carryover, obligational authority which was estimated a little bit ago by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS] at $125 billion.

The gentleman from North Carolina said it was his view that there was no power whatsoever in the Congress to do anything about this whole carryover obligational authority. Is that the understanding of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. MAHON. To the extent that trust funds are involved, we have some limitations. But funds generally will be subject to recision if the Congress desires to take such action. Carryover funds will be considered in our study of reductions that can be made through the recision or limiting process. That is correct.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Do I understand then that the chairman of the committee will bring to the floor next week at least one recision bill so that Members will have an opportunity to put up or shut up?

Mr. MAHON. This is the plan I have proposed. I shall undertake to follow through on it.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. I would like to clear up a misunderstanding in the mind of my friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma, who understands that we had no power at all over these unexpended funds, except our control of that limited and specifically mentioned, we do have recision power on part of those funds.

Mr. MAHON. Yes, I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BOW. I should like to say to the very distinguished chairman of the committee, I am delighted to hear the statement he has made here today as to what the Committee on Appropriations will do in the next few days. I doubt very much that the gentleman would have made that statement had it not been for the amendment which was offered last week. It has now gotten to the point where the committee chairmen and the committee realize that something must be done. So I think we have made some real progress by offering the amendment. In view of what the gentleman has said, I cannot see why he should oppose the right of the House to pass on the Bow amendment.

Mr. MAHON. The Bow amendment would assign to the President complete authority as to where to make reductions in spending and shifts in spending and, therefore, of course I could not vote for the Bow amendment.

I think the Congress ought to discharge its responsibility, as difficult as it may be at times.

RIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT TO WITHHOLD APPROPRIATED FUNDS FROM EXPENDITURE

Mr. Speaker, last week, and again today, there has been some debate about the matter of appropriated funds being withheld by the President from expenditure. This is at all times an important question and we should keep before us the law on the matter. Thus I think it would be useful to reprint at this point from my remarks at page 26960, of the RECORD of last Wednesday when we first debated the October continuing resolution:

Right of the President To Withhold Appropriated Funds From Expenditure

A further matter which may be troublesome and which should be considered is that of the right of the President to withhold the spending of funds which have been made available by the Congress.

As a general proposition, there has been and there is in my opinion the attitude on the part of the Members of Congress, on both sides of the aisle, that when Congress appropriates money for Federal programs of one kind or another, it is the responsibility and duty of the Executive, generally speaking, to carry out the will of the Congress and proceed with the programs and expenditures which have been approved by the Congress.

However, the gentleman from Ohio has stated that the President has complete authority to withhold funds which are appropriated and made available to the various agencies of the Government.

And he cites the fact that the President has in many instances—and all Presidents have in some instances—failed to expend, for the programs appropriated for, funds made available by the Congress.

Now, wherein does the President have the authority not to expend funds for the programs which Congress authorizes and appropriates for? I would like to turn to an act which was approved by the Congress in 1950. It is the antideficiency law, and it gives the President some authority to withhold expenditures, but it does not give the President the item veto. We have always taken the position that no President has the right to exercise the item veto, this would give the President authority over the Congress which would be intolerable, and utterly unacceptable. So what did the Congress do under the leadership of the late John Taber, former chairman of the committee, and others? The committee and the Congress improved the antideficiency bill by tightening it up; by putting some teeth in it; by generally improving it. I will read from the antideficiency law the following—31 U.S.C. 665:

"In apportioning any appropriations, reserves may be established to provide for contingencies, or to effect savings whenever savings are made possible by or through changes in requirements—"

In other words, the law says that the President can withhold expenditures and effect savings—and we certainly do not oppose savings—whenever savings are made possible by or through changes in requirements. And there are at times changes in requirements—

"greater efficiency of operation."

If he can make savings by a greater efficiency of operations—

"or other developments subsequent to the date on which such appropriation was made available."

Now, that is the law, but that does not give the President item veto or indiscriminate authority to withhold the expenditure of funds for programs which have been authorized and funded by the Congress.

The trouble with the so-called Bow amendment which was offered earlier is that it provides complete and total authority for the President to eliminate any and all programs regardless of the provision in the antideficiency law which * * *.

UNEXPENDED CARRYOVERS

Mr. Speaker, reference has been made to the unexpended carryover balances of previously appropriated funds that are available to the executive branch. Large amounts are involved, but there are explanations.

The budget for 1968 shows an estimated total of $125.6 billion carried forward into fiscal year 1968 on July 1, 1967, from prior years funds. That was the estimate in the January budget.

But of this amount, $75.3 billion represents obligated funds not yet paid out. Generally speaking, this means that legally binding documents exist calling for an ultimate cash payment. For example, some $33.4 billion of this is in defense and represents such things as ships, aircraft, and missile contruction for which we fully fund when the appropriation is first made, knowing that deliveries may not occur for 2, 3, or even 5 years.

Unobligated funds totalled an estimated $50.3 billion as of July 1, 1967. These represent funds made available for authorized programs, in many cases committed but not yet at the point of obligation in the technical legal sense. For example, $14.1 billion is for defense, again representing largely ship, aircraft, and missile programs; $9.4 billion represents callable capital and standby arrangements for various international banks and the Monetary Fund; about $5.0 billion represents funds available to the Federal National Mortgage Association for mortgage market functions; some $5.3 billion represents funds available for housing, urban renewal, and open space programs and the flood indemnity insurance fund. And so on.

Unexpended carryovers have been growing in size over the years, but carryovers are nothing new to Federal budgets. We have always had them. The $125.6 billion estimated carryover on July 1, 1967, to which I referred is equivalent to about 92 percent of the $135 billion administrative budget expenditures estimated for fiscal 1968 in the original budget last January. Looking back 10 years ago to the fiscal 1958 budget, that budget estimated the unexpended carryover balances on July 1, 1957, at $69.9 billion, of which $40.2 billion was obligated and $29.7 was unobligated, a total equivalent to some 98 percent of the $71.8 billion administrative budget estimate of expenditures for that year.

A special subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations back in 1957—House Report 216, March 21, 1957—had occasion to study the matter of carryover balances and had this to say:

> It is interesting to note that while the President in his recent budget message urged the Congress to give further consideration to pending legislation to place appropriations on the accrued expenditure basis, the booklet entitled, "The Federal Budget (1958) in Brief," recently issued by the Executive Office of the President, contains the following significant statement:
>
> "Because obligational authority foreruns expenditures, it is necessary to exercise control over the amount of new authority voted for Government agencies in order to keep expenditures within receipts. If in any year the Government obligates itself to pay more money than it is receiving, it is courting future deficits."
>
> Carryover balances are pocketed in hundreds of separate appropriation and other accounts on the books of the departments. They are shown in detail throughout the budget. They vary in size from relatively insignificant amounts to billions of dollars. Regardless of size, determination of amounts of new obligating requests to be allowed requires concurrent consideration of the carryover in those programs where advance financing is necessary. That is the general procedure now followed by the Committee on Appropriations. In some instances only the unobligated portion is a pertinent factor, while in others the obligated portion is of equal importance in the determination. Such balances should be held to the absolute minimum, consistent with the varied needs of the individual program to which applicable. But so long as the scale of Federal programs remains of the present general magnitude carryover balances will continue to exist in terms of billions and billions of dollars.

Mr. Speaker, it might be illuminating to insert a breakout showing the main items comprising the $50.3 billion of unobligated balances estimated at July 1, 1967, especially since the figure has been alluded to a number of times in recent debate. I include such a table:

Principal areas of estimated unobligated balances of obligational authority, start of fiscal year 1968 (page 51, budget for 1968)

Funds appropriated to the President	$9,379,000,000
Inter-American Development Bank (callable capital)	611,760,000
International Monetary Fund (standby arrangement)	2,000,000,000
World Bank (callable capital)	5,715,000,000
Asian Development Bank (callable capital)	$100,000,000
Department of Defense—Military	14,073,000,000
Procurement of equipment and missiles, Army	1,277,766,000
Procurement of aircraft and missiles, Navy	941,756,000
Shipbuilding and conversion, Navy	2,571,408,000
Aircraft procurement, Air Force	2,501,237,000
Other procurement, Air Force	500,503,000
RDT&E, Army	229,665,000
RDT&E, Navy	333,185,000
RDT&E, Air Force	447,135,000
Military construction, Army	413,832,000
Military construction, Navy	293,328,000
Military construction, Air Force	270,448,000
Department of Housing and Urban Development	10,340,000,000
Urban renewal programs	1,987,000,000
Low-rent public housing	309,457,000
College housing	787,365,000
Open space	161,113,000
Public facility loans	293,922,000
Federal National Mortgage Association (special market ops.)	2,426,000,000
Special assistance functions	2,561,581,000
Flood indemnity insurance fund	500,000,000
FHA	973,000,000
Other independent agencies	9,335,000,000
Export-Import Bank	879,925,000
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	3,000,000,000
Federal S & L Insurance Corporation	2,446,246,000
Small Business Administration—loan fund	560,223,000
Small Business Administration—Disaster loan fund	181,683,000
TVA	1,050,694,000
Total, these 4 groups	[1] 43,127,000,000

[1] Out of a total of $50,368,000,000 shown in the budget table on page 51.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

Mr. Speaker, reference has been made today to the large increase in the number of Federal employees during the past year. It has been intimated that this is a fertile area for reduction in Government expenditures.

Certainly Federal payroll costs for civilian employment add up to a large portion of the budget—some $20.5 billion in fiscal year 1967. It will be more in fiscal year 1968 especially if the Congress agrees to or even increases the pay raise provisions in the President's budget proposals still under consideration.

The following figures indicate the areas of growth in Federal civilian employment in fiscal year 1967. They indicate which Departments and agencies have expanded to handle new and enlarged Federal responsibilities.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH AGENCIES, FISCAL YEAR 1967

	June 1966	June 1967	Increase or decrease
Total	2,738,047	2,980,159	+242,112
Department of Defense	1,138,191	1,302,665	+164,474
Total, excluding Department of Defense	1,599,856	1,677,494	+77,638
Executive departments (except Defense):			
Agriculture	118,585	121,871	+3,286
Commerce [1]	39,873	38,193	−1,680
Health, Education, and Welfare	99,810	105,600	+5,790
Housing and Urban Development	14,465	14,757	+292
Interior [1]	74,985	76,770	+1,785
Justice	33,733	34,052	+319
Labor	10,045	10,295	+250
Post Office	675,423	716,603	+41,180
State	42,649	47,415	+4,766
Transportation [1]	---------	58,325	+58,325
Treasury [1]	91,365	89,496	−1,869
Major independent agencies:			
Federal Aviation Agency [1]	43,514	---------	−43,514
General Services Administration	38,175	39,891	+1,716
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	35,708	35,860	+152
Veterans' Administration	170,228	173,474	+3,246
All other agencies [2]	111,298	114,892	+3,594

[1] Agencies involved in new Department of Transportation transfers.

[2] Including General Accounting Office and Government Printing Office.

Source: Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures.

These employees are engaged in carrying out the many functions of Government, including of course the many new programs created by Congress in recent years.

Between June 1966 and June 1967, there was a total increase of 242,112 Federal civilian employees in the executive branch. A total of 164,474 of the increase was in the Department of Defense. The Bow amendment exempts virtually all of the Defense Department from its provisions.

Further, 41,180 of these employees have been added to handle the ever increasing mail volume of the Post Office Department.

Nearly 5,800 of this increase is related to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As a result of broad public demand, the Congress has authorized many new health programs and Congress has continued to increase funds for research and many other programs. It takes people to administer and operate programs.

Some 3,200 people were added to handle veterans benefits and services last year. In addition, 3,286 employees were added to handle various programs of the

Department of Agriculture, such as meat and produce inspection, school lunch and milk programs, and other programs essential to the health of our growing population.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I do this also to try to clarify the record, because if I understood my friend, the gentleman from Michigan, the minority leader [Mr. FORD], and my good friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], they say that a vote for the previous question would be considered as a vote against economy. That may not be the exact words, but in substance that was it—and I see my friend, the gentleman from Michigan nodding in assent.

Mr. Speaker, I do want to say as one humble Member of this House that I differ with my friends on that interpretation. I think a more accurate statement is that since it appears that we are all now in favor of some curtailment and retrenchment, that the real situation is a choice on which approach we are to take, whether we give the committee an opportunity to do something about it first; or whether we adopt the Bow amendment now.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I think I have a minute and I feel under some compulsion to yield to my friend so I will yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I appreciate the gentleman's viewpoint. It seems to me that 202 of us last week voted to impose a $5 billion ceiling on expenditures; 182 voted for President Johnson's $141 billion expenditure level in the current fiscal year. All we want to do is to give the House as a whole an opportunity actually to impose this $5 billion saving and prevent President Johnson from spending $141 billion. And that is what the issue is and how the vote will be interpreted.

Mr. COLMER. Of course, the gentleman is entitled to his interpretation, with which I sharply differ.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If the previous question is rejected, then the rule will be open to amendment and there will be debate on any amendments to the rule. Is that correct?

The SPEAKER. Of course, the gentleman's question answers itself. But the answer, specifically and directly, is "Yes."

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the Speaker.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 213, nays 205, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 293]

YEAS—213

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson,
  Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Ashley
Bennett
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brinkley
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford,
  William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Hagan
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald,
  Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Watts
White
Whitten
Willis
Wilson,
  Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—205

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews,
  N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen,
  Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dowdy
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald R.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hammer-
  schmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Horton
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald,
  Mich.
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Tex.
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—14

Aspinall
Barrett
Broomfield
Button
Diggs
Edwards, La.
Fountain
Gray
Hanna
Martin
O'Konski
Rarick
Utt
Watkins

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Aspinall for, with Mr. Rarick against.
Mr. Barrett for, with Mr. Fountain against.
Mr. Edwards of Louisiana for, with Mr. Broomfield against.
Mr. Gray for, with Mr. Martin against.
Mr. Hanna for, with Mr. Watkins against.
Mr. Diggs for, with Mr. Utt against.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) with Mr. VANIK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, the issue now before the Committee of the Whole is so well delineated and has been so thoroughly debated today and last week that I see little need for further discussion of the matter. I have no immediate requests for time on this side. I ask that the gentleman from Ohio take time.

Mr. BOW. You have no requests for time?

Mr. MAHON. Not at this time.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may use.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, first, I should say that I think the actions of the House last week and this week displayed the House of Representatives in one of its better moments. I feel the debate on both sides of the aisle has been on a very high level. Members have spoken out on their beliefs, ideologies, and positions. I hope we can continue this throughout the debate today.

I have taken this time to answer some of the critics, some who have made 1-minute speeches and other statements that have been made.

But I must say, Mr. Chairman, that the last vote, to vote down the motion to order the previous question, was close. I wish the vote might have been reversed so that the people's Representatives could have an opportunity to vote on a clearcut question. Because of the parliamentary procedures, the Representatives of the people have not had an opportunity to vote on whether or not they want to put a ceiling on expenditures. The Reprsentatives of the people have not had an opportunity actually to vote on the question as to whether there should be a spending limitation and a recision of $5 billion in expenditures. It seems to me that last week this House spoke on that question. This House, by its vote on the motion to recommit, asked the Committee on Appropriations to report back to them a bill which had in it an amendment which would do just that.

But unfortunately the Appropriations Committee did not heed the will of the House. The Appropriations Committee did not even vote on the Bow amendment in committee. They simply took up the resolution which you have just made in order, and which we are now debating, and even the committee was not given an opportunity to vote on the Bow amendment. Although a motion was made to make it in order, to take it up, the motion was ignored and the other committee resolution put through.

So there we also had the show of not permitting a vote on the question. Now the House itself has been denied the right to vote on this important issue.

There have been a number of times in this debate when we were talking about the great Congress abdicating its authority to the President. This is pure fiction. There is nothing in the Bow amendment that would change the powers of the President one iota. I am speaking about this because I anticipate that next week we will face the same question again.

Along that line I would like to put a question to my distinguished chairman. If this House passes this joint resolution today providing for this 10-day continuance, do I understand that the House conferees will stand firm with the Senate and insist upon its being a 10-day continuation of appropriations?

Mr. MAHON. We will do our best to maintain the House position. It would seem rather likely that the other body, in its wisdom, may choose to have a resolution providing a greater length of time than 10 days. As the gentleman knows, part of the 10 days has already expired. But we will adhere to our position as best we can.

Mr. BOW. I hope that we stand fast on the House position.

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman realizes, of course, that very dramatic action cannot be taken in 10 days. It is going to take some time.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, in 9 months there has been no dramatic action taken by the Appropriations Committee in cutting the expenses. No, I agree with the gentleman, we cannot do in 10 days what we have not done in 9 months.

Mr. MAHON. I do not know how dramatic the saving of $3.8 billion is, and the prospect of saving $5 billion. Whether that is dramatic or not, it is good news to the taxpayers when the news gets to them, in my opinion.

Mr. BOW. I hope what gets through to the taxpayers is that it is the minority who wants to cut and the majority who uses parliamentary procedures to deny the House the right to make cuts.

There have been questions raised about what the Republicans have done in these 9 months, and what they have tried to do. Have they tried to cut these budgets? I can tell the gentleman exactly what we did. I have a list of the Republican efforts, and I will include them in the RECORD. I have them by vote and by page and amount.

The material referred to follows:

REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO CUT AND SUSTAIN CUTS IN APPROPRIATION BILLS, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.

	Adopted	Rejected
RECORD VOTES		
Treasury-Post Office (Jonas): Cut $185,000, Office of Secretary of Treasury, salaries	$185,000	
Independant offices (Davis of Wisconsin): Strike out $10,000,000 new contract authority, rent supplement program	10,000,000	
Independent offices (Michel): Recommit, strike out $150,000,000 for model cities grants and $75,000,000 for urban renewal, but retain $12,000,000 for planning		$225,000,000
Public works-AEC (Giaimo, Democrat; record vote demanded by Ford, Republican): $1,676,000 cut delete funds for Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric plant in Maine	1,676,000	
State-Justice (Jonas): SBA participation sales insufficiencies, change permanent indefinite appropriation to stated amount "Not to exceed $1,350,000"	X	
OTHER AMENDMENTS		
Agriculture (Pelly): Point of order sustained against $180,000,000 for food stamp program as not authorized	180,000,000	
Agriculture (Jonas): Strike out $800,000,000 participation sales authorization, Farmers Home Administration and $13,268,000 for payment of sales insufficiencies		813,268,000
Agriculture (McDade): Amendment to limit price support and land diversion payments to $1,471,000,000; point of order sustained against McDade amendment		X
Agriculture (Findley): Amendment limiting certain payments under price support or commodity programs to $25,000		X
Agriculture (Riegle): Amendment limiting personnel of Agricultural Research Service, Soil Conservation Service, Consumer and Marketing Service (except special milk, school lunch, and food stamp programs), Commodity Exchange Authority, Office of Information, and Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to level authorized for fiscal year 1967		X
Defense (Byrnes): Add proviso "That none of the funds herein provided shall be used in the construction of any naval vessel in foreign shipyards"	X	
Independent offices (Jonas): Participation sales authorization, VA cut $550,000,000	550,000,000	
Independent offices (Cramer): Add words "or for the administration or implementation of sec. 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-754)" so that HUD will not have the money to administer sec. 204	X	
Independent offices (Jonas): Payment of participation sales insufficiencies cut from $946,000 to $333,882	612,118	
Independent offices (Jonas): Cut $1,804,000,000 participation sales certificates in HUD (from $2,385,000,000 to $581,000,000).	1,804,000,000	
OTHER AMENDMENTS—Continued		
Independent offices (Jonas): Cut payment of participation sales insufficiencies from $42,115,000 to $23,000,000	$19,115,000	
Interior (Riegle): Amendment to cut salaries and expenses, Office of the Secretary, from $6,776,500 to $5,498,000		$1,277,600
Interior (Riegle): Amendment to cut salaries and expenses, Commission of Fine Arts, from $115,000 to $50,000		65,000
Interior (Jonas): Amendment to fund 98 percent of the jobs programed in the bill		X
Interior (Thompson of Georgia): Add new section "No part of any appropriation contained in this act shall be used for any purpose relating to the charging of entrance fees to any recreational sites owned by the United States"		X
Interior (Hall): Cut National Foundation on Arts and Humanities $2,700,000		2,700,000
Interior (Riegle): Cut Smithsonian $182,000 from salaries and expenses; do away with increase in museum programs and related research, $684,000; and delete $803,000 of constructions funds for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.		1,669,000
Labor-HEW (Broyhill of Virginia): Amendment, sec. 907: No part of the funds appropriated by this act shall be used to provide payments, assistance, or services in any form with respect to any individual who— (1) Incites, promotes, encourages, or carries on, or facilitates the incitement, promotion, encouragement, or carrying on of, a riot or other civil disturbance in violation of Federal, State, or local laws designed to preserve the peace of the community concerned or to protect the persons or property of residents of such community; or (2) Assists, encourages, or instructs any person to commit or perform any act specified in par. (1)	X	
NASA (Langen): Motion to recommit		X
Public works (Betts): Amendment to prohibit funds for planning, land acquisition, or construction of Alum Creek project in Ohio		X
Public works: (Davis of Wisconsin): Amendment, "None of the funds appropriated herein shall be allocated for general investigation of projects for which the justifications are 60 percent or more for recreational purposes"		X
Public works (Stanton): Amendment to prohibit planning Grand River Reservoir project		X
State-Justice (Thompson of Georgia): Series of amendments making those appropriations available until "expended" and make them available until July 1, 1972		X
State-Justice: Offered Bow expenditures limitation, excluding FBI, as an amendment		X

REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO CUT AND SUSTAIN CUTS IN APPROPRIATION BILLS, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

	Adopted	Rejected
OTHER AMENDMENTS—Continued		
Transportation (MacGregor): Strike $143,000,000 for SST		$143,000,000
Transportation (Gross): Cut $10,000,000 from State and community highway safety program		10,000,000
Transportation (Gross): Strike out $5,000,000, Inter-American Highway		5,000,000
Transportation (Gross): Cut from $4,000,000 to $2,000,000, Chamizal Road		2,000,000
Transportation (Gross): Delete $4,000,000 for highway maintenance in Alaska		4,000,000
Treasury-Post Office (Gross): Cut from $90,700,000 to $90,400,000, Customs Bureau eliminate authority to hire 50 customs agents in addition to the 177 requested in the budget		300,000
Treasury-Post Office (Jonas): Cut Post Office administration and regional operations from $102,700,000 to $100,450,000 and add proviso "none of these funds shall be used for the payment of salaries and expenses of more than 3,000 employees assigned or detailed to regional operations"	$2,250,000	
Treasury-Post Office (Jonas): Add to postal public buildings appropriation proviso: "Provided further, That none of the funds provided in the appropriation shall be available to reimburse the site acquisition fund in the appropriation for 'Building occupancy and postal supplies.'"		X
2d supplemental, 1967 (Hall): Point of order sustained striking out appropriation of $5,500,000 for military construction, family housing, homeowners assistance fund, defense, authorizing legislation not yet enacted	$5,500,000	
2d supplemental, 1967 (Findley): Amendment: "No funds appropriated in this Act shall be used to pay salaries or expenses in connection with consummation of a treaty on nuclear proliferation"		X

Those are amendments which were offered by Republicans during consideration of these bills.

I must admit I have noticed that somebody put the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GIAIMO] down. We welcome him, but this was Mr. GIAIMO's amendment for $1,676,000, on the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric plant in Maine. That amendment was adopted and Republicans buttressed the amendment by demanding a record vote on it.

What happened? On the Democrat side, during consideration of the appropriation bills, again I say that Mr. GIAIMO, over the opposition of some of his colleagues, did cut $1,676,000. Most of the amendments offered on the majority side of the aisle were to increase appropriations. Fortunately, they were rejected. But what happened with the amendments of the Democrats? If they had carried all the amendments they offered, instead of having a decrease, the Democrats would have increased it by $92,872,000. I will put that in the RECORD so we can see where and what was offered.

The material referred to follows:

DEMOCRAT ACTION ON APPROPRIATION BILLS, 90TH CONGRESS

	Adopted	Rejected
Public works-AEC (Giaimo, Democrat, Connecticut), cut $1,676,000 for Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric project in Maine	−$1,676,000	
Defense (McCarthy, Democrat, New Jersey), strike $428,000 for National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice		−$428,000
Defense (Bingham, New York), eliminate $106,700,000 for EA–6A aircraft from procurement of Navy aircraft and missiles		−106,700,000
Independent offices (Brown, Democrat, California), add $1,000,000 for low-income housing demonstrations		+1,000,000
NASA (Ryan, Democrat, New York), cut research and development by $100,000,000		−100,000,000
NASA (Ryan, Democrat, New York), cut administrative operations by $37,000,000		−37,000,000
Public works (Gallagher, Democrat, New Jersey), add $1,000,000 for Newark Bay-Hackensack River project		+1,000,000
Public works (Howard, Democrat, New Jersey), amendment to raise construction grants for waste treatment works from $203,000,000 to $450,000,000		+247,000,000
Transportation (Hechler, Democrat, West Virginia), amendment to add $10,000,000 for grants-in-aid for airports		+10,000,000
2d Supplemental, 1967 (St Germain, Democrat, Rhode Island), 2 amendments for school impact areas operation and maintenance, $20,000,000 and construction, $48,000,000		+68,000,000
2d Supplemental, 1967 (Ryan, Democrat, New York), amendment, Adult Education Act of 1966, $10,000,000		+10,000,000
2d Supplemental, 1967 (Rooney, New York), amendment to cut USIA salaries and expenses from $3,700,000 to $3,420,000	−280,000	
Total decreases	−1,956,000	−244,128,000
Total increases		+337,000,000
Total, net	−1,956,000	+92,872,000
Net change if all Democrat amendments were adopted	+90,916,000	

So when we talk about what was done and have we tried, of course we have.

If you had accepted the Bow amendment on the separate bills where it was turned down, you would have saved another $778 million. So do not say we have not tried.

Of course, we have no record of what took place within the subcommittees. In the subcommittees time and time again efforts were made to make further reductions, which were turned down.

We happen to be in the minority, which was demonstrated here just a few minutes ago. When the majority decides to work its will, it is worked.

So I say to you, do not ask what we have done or whether we have cooperated or tried.

What has happened? Where are some of the increases that we could take care of? There are a number of them.

Of course, I believe it is the responsibility of the President to give us some of this information about where we can make cuts. He has asked the leadership of this House to finish the appropriation bills, to "get them down to me, so I can make the cuts." But he has not told us where he can make these cuts. He has indicated substantial cuts can be made.

The gentleman acting as the majority leader the other night informed the House, in session, that the President was going to cut $7 billion. But we have not seen where.

I believe he should do it. I believe he should tell us where it can be cut. I believe he should have told it to us months ago.

In this sort of situation I find myself in agreement with the distinguished and great Speaker of this House, our distinguished friend who is very proud of the Red Sox today. Let me read what he had to say on March 12, 1957. This is Speaker MCCORMACK. I am quoting him. He said:

> Only a few days ago President Eisenhower himself said that there are many projects in his budget message that can be deferred.
>
> If that is so, does he not have the constitutional responsibility of letting the other coordinate branch of our Government, the Legislative Branch, know about it? If we are going to appropriate money and then, after appropriating it, he is going to freeze it—and that is what that statement intimates, and he knows what those projects are—do you not think he has the constitutional responsibility of letting the Congress of the United States know what they are?

I wonder whether the great Speaker of this House, who felt the President had a constitutional responsibility to advise the House, when the President of the United States said to the leadership a week or so ago, "Get those appropriation bills through so I can make some cuts on them," said then, "Mr. President, it is your constitutional responsibility to advise the House where you are going to make the cuts."

If it was good in 1957, it is just as good in 1967.

We cannot find out yet where that $7 billion cut is going to be made, although we have been told by the majority that a cut of $7 billion would be made.

Where are some of the other items that can be cut down?

What is the increase in employment in the last year? There is an increase in permanent civilian employment in the executive branch of Government of 189,000 employees.

You ask me where some cuts can be made. I will tell you a few of them—189,000 employees in a year. What does that amount to? We can take an average salary of $7,900. I believe that is about the average now. There are related costs for a new employee, to put him on, of $1,600. That is $9,500 each.

Actually, the annual cost is $1.8 billion, for new employees in the last year. $1.8 billion over what you had in 1967.

You think we cannot make cuts? You want us to point out to you where cuts can be made? There they are. Cut down the new employees. Quit loading up this bureaucracy that you have. I have told you other places where cuts could be made, and we have told you with our amendments where you could make cuts.

Let me say this further to you, those of you who like to chide about where you can make cuts: You give me for 6 weeks the 674 employees you have in the Bureau of the Budget and give me the 81 employees that the majority has on the Committee on Appropriations—give me a staff of that kind and I will find you some further cuts you can make in this budget.

Now, do not say it cannot be done, because the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations just today on the floor has made commitments to this Congress that substantial cuts will be made; that he will bring bills in for recision and substantial reductions of appropriations.

I would just like to make this one further observation.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield on that question of employees?

Mr. BOW. No, I will not. When I have completed my statement I will be glad to yield.

I should like to make just this observation: If we had not had this amendment, if we Republicans had not done what we did last week and had the vote we had then, I doubt very much that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropirations would have been on this floor today making these promises to the Congress and to the American people. The feet have finally been put to the fire. If he does what he says he is going to do—and I have never doubted his word—and brings in those bills and brings in those reductions, I will suport him and I can promise him a lot of support over here. I am sure, though, it never would have happened if that debate of last week and the vote of last week had not taken place.

I doubt that we might do it in 9 days. If the Bow amendment, if a provision for a limitation of spending, is not the proper way to fight this $30 billion deficit and if there is a better way to do it, then let us have it. I will support it. I will urge others to support it. But let somebody bring it in and show us how we can save the American people from the inflation they are faced with with a $30 billion deficit. You cannot do it all with taxes. You have to find some way.

Let me say to you, my friends—and I think the votes here both of these days have shown it—the American people want us to do something about spending. They are concerned and so am I. I had hoped that this would be a bipartisan or a nonpartisan position that we take on this question of spending. The gentleman laughs. Let me say to you—and I am sure that my distinguished chairman will agree—before I took a step on this I went to the distinguished chairman with the idea of his joining with me in some kind of an action to do this very thing. There are some of us who try to be Americans first and members of our party second. That is a quote, I think, from Lyndon Johnson. I hope I can be counted as one of those who is interested actually in the good of my country more than I am in votes. Many people over there are saying, "Oh, I wish you would win this, because you would rue the day you ever did." That is politics. Well, if in the protection of the fiscal situation of this country we have to accept that responsibility, I am willing to do it. If you want to come in and find in my district some places to make cuts, come in and do it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I shall be delighted to yield to my distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Well, Mr. Chairman, with respect to what the gentleman from Texas said last week, it is of official record that he said then that we would seek, through recisions in appropriation bills, as well as otherwise, to make whatever reductions we could.

Will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] agree that I have stated today, perhaps in different language, approximately what was stated last week? As of today, we have had a little more time during which to consider these matters and our plans are further developed.

Mr. BOW. However, it sort of soaked in just a little bit.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, we have had a little time to have meetings of the various subcommittees as well as the full Committee on Appropriations, and to have held conference during the last week on these matters. Permit me to read to the gentleman from Ohio these statements made in the report of the Committee which I submitted last week:

> The committee will continue its efforts to recommend further reductions in the three remaining bills—

And I say that again today, and I say it will be over $1.2 billion, and probably more—

> Opportunities exist for further significant reductions that will very probably bring the total reductions in the House for fiscal 1968 to $5 billion or more. The committee will carefully review the appropriation actions of the session and determine whether or not it may, prior to adjournment, recommend recision of appropriations previously made, giving consideration to the latest revenue outlook and other economic factors at that time.

Today I can say that we have begun some hearings and we have hopes that some recisions can be undertaken next week. I could not have said this last week. Last week, I said that we could not rescind funds in the eight appropriation bills that are now pending in the other body until those bills are enacted. I repeated that today and added that we would have exploratory hearings on these bills to seek specific ways to achieve the results desired and that we would consider the recision approach, and the generalized approach, such as across-the-board cuts in personnel.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt my distinguished chairman to say that I have just been advised that my time is about to expire, and that the statements of the gentleman from Texas already appear in the RECORD. I recognize this. However, it is my opinion that the gentleman from Texas will also agree with me that this came up after we got into the question of the consideration of the Bow amendment. In other words, all of this is brandnew, because we were beginning to bring it to the attention of the Congress.

Mr. MAHON. All of these things have been taken into consideration.

Mr. BOW. But after the Bow amendment was offered.

Mr. MAHON. The Appropriations Committee has been seeking reductions throughout the session, and I have repeatedly said that we ought to make reductions wherever we safely can as the gentleman from Ohio knows.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. Although my time is very short, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Would all recisions considered by the Committee on Appropriations not require new legislation?

Mr. BOW. I believe we can offer a recision bill on the appropriations.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, the second question, very briefly, is this: Is the savings claim of some $5 billion, claimed by the majority of the Committee on Appropriations, not inclusive of all the amendments, or of the amendment which was offered by the gentleman from Ohio this week?

Mr. BOW. Let me say that I hope that within the period of 10 days, when we determine whether they mean what they say, and whether we actually have these reductions, and when this question is up again for consideration, I hope then we shall not only maintain the votes we had today, but that we will recognize the necessity of doing something about expenditure limitations.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW], earlier today pointed with pride to various amendments offered on the floor by Republican Members to appropriation bills that have been considered earlier in the House to make a showing on the record for economy.

I would respond by inviting the attention of the gentleman from Ohio and others to the far greater and more substantial cuts and reductions we have made in the Committee on Appropriations which total some $4 billion in bills reported by the committee and passed in the House up to Labor Day.

In the three remaining bills yet to be reported we expect additional reductions of more than $1 billion. Thus we have made cuts and reductions of more than $5 billion. This is something major, substantial, and solid in which the majority can take justifiable satisfaction. This is not an exercise in semantics. This is a fact. These far-greater and more substantial cuts have been made in committee headed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], while the gentleman from Ohio points to a few cuts made by members of the minority on the floor which while worthy of note were not substantial in comparison with these major billion dollar reductions which the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and the majority party have achieved.

In my own Subcommittee on Appropriations for Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development we have made cuts thus far that total more than $1.3 billion alone. In the independent offices and HUD appropriation bill we have made reductions of over $771 million—over three-quarters of a billion dollars, and in another bill we reported separately providing funds for the national space program—NASA—we have made additional cuts of over $516 million—more than one-half billion dollars alone. This is not an exercise in sematics—this is a fact—an exercise in prudent economy.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I make this statement to keep the record straight.

This record speaks for itself.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS].

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I will begin to believe there is a serious intent to cut the budget when I find people are really willing to look at and to consider and to cut that $91 billion defense bill. Believe me, there is as much water in that bill as there is in anything else in this Congress. And if the Members do not really believe this, and if they are so afraid of this sacred cow that they cannot cut it, then they underestimate the intelligence of the American people.

In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, you could buy everything you are buying in that budget and buy it for billions of dollars less if there were any purchasers within the Federal Government, either in the Defense Department or in GSA. A purchaser is rarely promoted for doing a good job, and they are not paid more, and they are not fired when they do a bad job. Why do we not look at the purchasing operation where the purchases are made? The thing that bothers me about this is that every time you start to talk about cuts I see a little gleam come into everybody's eyes when we begin to talk about things that go into the American cities.

I come from a great American city. We have been paying the bill for years, but when it comes to getting back something, that is different.

The next bill up in this Congress is the conference report on military construction. I would like to point out that the conferees have agreed that the cost of military housing under section 602 can go up from $17,500 to $19,000, and under 602(b), which I presume is officers' housing, it can go up to $35,000. The limitation on public housing in this country is $14,000 per unit, therefore you cannot put public housing in a big city.

I do not intend to say that I believe that the military housing is good. I have never seen any good military housing. Much of it looks as if you could push a hole through it with your thumb, but that is because we do not have good people doing the buying.

If the Members really want to cut the budget down, then let them look at where we are spending the money—Defense—and cut it at that point.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, would the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I subscribe very substantially to what the gentlewoman from Michigan has said, but I want to point out that the House in the first instance and the Congress in the second, in the Defense Department appropriation bill for fiscal year 1968 did make reductions. The appropriations were below the President's budget. But what worries me is that last Friday night, or Saturday, or Sunday—I am not sure which—after the Congress had done what the gentlewoman has recommended, the President in a press conference denounced the Congress for the reductions in appropriations and expenditures. I am glad the gentlewoman from Michigan agrees with the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. As I understood the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio, it did not touch defense.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, would the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. In reply to the gentlewoman, yes, it does. It does not exclude defense, it excludes the military, but defense is covered, which would mean the areas of defense which are not military. And that is to protect the possibility——

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. If the gentleman will pardon my interruption, let me point out to the gentleman that on the very next bill up, in the conference report on military there is no reduction from last year there, and a very substantial increase.

Mr. BOW. I can assure the gentlewoman, even with the great consternation that I get about this resolution that it says the expenditures beyond the amount for military purposes. This means that it is just the military, and the rest of the Defense Department, and I would suggest that we now have in research and development in the Defense Department $7 billion would be a place that does not affect the military a great deal, and there are other areas that do not particularly mean much to defense.

I believe we can cut that bill 10 percent, so there is another $700 million.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. It seems to me the time has come when not only the Committee on Appropriations but all the rest of us should look seriously at the purchasing that is done by our Government, and correct the practices that are involved in that purchasing.

Some of these people who are contractors with the Government are sole contractors to the Government and they get no money from anyplace else.

Mr. BOW. I agree with the gentlewoman.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. They are just as much employees of the Government as anyone employed in the civil service and not only should you be looking at the prices that are paid to them, but you should look into the salaries that their officials are drawing.

The remarkable belief that the military defends us, and that defense is the prime problem in this country is wrong. The domestic problems of our country are just as important. If we do not do something about these problems, instead of standing here to protect our country, we are not going to have a country left to protect from the outside forces.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, several references to Defense appropriations have been made in debate last week, yesterday, and today which I did not undertake to discuss in detail at the time. Under leave to revise and extend, I would now like to more or less set the record straight.

COST OF THE WAR

First, as to the cost of the war in Vietnam—the real cost is said to be much higher than the $21.9 billion shown in the budget. On page 77 of the budget this statement appears:

> Although our ability to conduct military operations in Southeast Asia is underpinned by the entire defense budget, the data shown in the table represent the *costs which are clearly attributable to special efforts in that area and in excess of what might have been the defense budgets for the years shown in the absence of the Vietnam conflict.*

Because of the underpinning by the entire Defense budget, and because we cannot send a cost accountant on each patrol, a precise cost of the war in Vietnam will probably never be known. Everyone is at liberty to make his own assumption as to what defense costs are reasonably attributable to the war. In its report on the Defense appropriation bill this year, the committee said:

> The tempo and cost of the war in Southeast Asia are on an upward trend. The costs of wars can never be projected precisely. The actions of the opponent weigh heavily on such matters.

The President's budget, which was submitted in January, contained no funds for the purpose of increasing our military force in Vietnam by an additional 45,000 men who are or will be deployed in Southeast Asia. Huge additional costs will result from the deployment of this additional force in Vietnam, funds for which are not included in the budget and must be made available from some source.

For the purpose of meeting the cost of the deployment of additional forces in Vietnam, it is hoped that a reallocation of funds within the Defense budget will provide enough money to meet a considerable portion of the cost.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

Second, some comments have been made with respect to the statement issued by the President last week when the Defense Appropriation Act, 1968, was signed. I make special reference to the following statement by the President in regard to the $1.6 billion cut made in the bill by Congress:

> I must emphasize, too, that the costs of conflict can never be precisely estimated nor fully foreseen. This fact, coupled with the Congressional cut of $1.6 billion, might well create an unavoidable requirement for additional Defense funds.

I am not familiar with all the press reports, but I have understood that there has been an implication that the $1.6 reduction made in the Defense budget was assignable to the cost of the war in Vietnam and that in view of the escalating cost of the war, it might be necessary for Congress to restore the $1.6 reduction.

This needs a bit of clarification. Insofar as I know, no one has said that the $1.6 reduction made by Congress might need to be restored to meet the requirements for which the funds were originally requested. My point is that Congress did not cut funds required for the war in Vietnam. The $1.6 billion applies to reductions which are disassociated from the cost of the war and the foregoing statement by the President does not contravene this conclusion.

It may be true that the President will find it necessary to request a restoration of $1.6 billion at a later date, but he will not request it for the same purpose for which the funds were requested in his January budget.

REDUCTION OF WASTE IN MILITARY SPENDING

Third, question has been raised as to whether or not further cuts could be made in Defense. I recognize that Defense is the largest segment of the budget, but let me remind you that in the appropriation process, we deal with Defense in three parts. By far the larger part is the regular annual Defense Appropriation Act, which, as I said, we cut by $1.6 billion. We have yet to act on the bill covering military construction and military family housing. Very probably substantial cuts will be made in the $2.9 billion of estimates for these purposes.

Let me also remind you that the budget expenditure figure of $72.3 billion for "Department of Defense—military" also includes civil defense, which Congress considers as a part of the independent offices-HUD appropriation bill. Action on that bill is not complete, but the House cut the civil defense appropriation estimates by nearly $25 million.

When final action is completed, I would say that cuts made in the total estimates for "Department of Defense—military" will probably aggregate in excess of $2.1 billion, which should result in expenditure reductions of between $650 and $700 million in fiscal year 1968. Of course, we recognize that there is some degree of waste and mismanagement in an organization the size of the Department of Defense. We have held hearings and conducted investigations over the years, both general and specific, into many areas of Defense procurement, the area mentioned by the gentlewoman from Michigan. We have made recommendations resulting in savings of hundreds of millions of dollars in this area. We have exposed wasteful practices and our findings have been widely publicized. We have conducted a continuous and unrelenting campaign against waste and mismanagement and in behalf of economy and efficiency, seeking at all times to promote the military strength and security of the United States.

I have called the Defense Subcommittee to meet for the purpose of reviewing the functions provided for in the regular annual bill with a view to determining what further savings can be made and whether recision action is feasible.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Ohio made reference to reductions that have been made at the instance of the minority—and some reductions have been made at the instance of the minority. I would like to point out that the largest item mentioned involves the participation certificates. Knocking out the participation certificates at the instance of the minority has not saved any $2 billion as might be deduced from the statement of the gentleman from Ohio. I am sure he would not claim that it has, but the RECORD would be misleading to those who are not fully familiar with this situation.

With further regard to the minority, which speaks approvingly of its record of cuts, I would ask the gentleman from Michigan if he will get together with key minority Members and present to the Committee on Appropriations at the appropriate time a listing of further reductions, in the opinion of the minority, that can be made by way of recision or otherwise.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, since the gentleman from Michigan is not here at the moment, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MAHON. Yes. Will the gentleman from North Carolina prevail on the minority leader to present us with a list of suggested cuts at a committee meeting? We will be happy to have him appear.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. I am patiently waiting for these suggested cuts that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations says his committee will make, and we will consider those along with our own.

Mr. MAHON. We will undertake to make as many cuts as we can, and we will be happy to have the cooperation of the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LAIRD. I would just like to say to the gentleman from Texas that we on the minority side of the Committee on Appropriations stand ready to make recisions and reductions in appropriations, and we always have. I think we have given better support on reductions in appropriations than has his own party. I think he will have to admit that is so on votes that have taken place in the committees, in the subcommittees, and in the full committee all year long.

The point I would like to make to the gentleman from Texas is that we are talking about the President of the United States and the obligational authority which he has. When we close shop this year, he will have $192 billion worth of obligational authority. He says he is going to expend $136 billion. But in the last 24 months, he has been off $14.8 billion in underestimating the expenditures for Defense and $9.7 billion in underestimating expenditures for nondefense items. It is a sorry situation that we cannot rely upon the estimate of expenditures made by this administration.

The gentleman from Texas knows full well that the Congress of the United States cannot insure an expenditure rate through control of appropriations. You know that well.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield further at the moment. I realize that the gentleman from Wisconsin has repeatedly pointed out that in his opinion the war was being underfinanced. He has indicated repeatedly that additional funds would be necessary for defense—not recisions or reductions, but additional funds for the war in Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is correct that additional funds for the war will be required because the budget did not include funds for an additional 45,000 men who are to be sent to Vietnam in connection with the war. So, Mr. Chairman, my point is that to this date the Democratic Members are responsible, along with Members of the minority, for cuts of about $3.8 billion.

Before we have finished with the three remaining appropriation bills, the cuts, in my judgment, will be over $5 billion.

The majority Members know that every reduction in appropriations means a dollar saved for every dollar cut. It does not mean a dollar saved during the current fiscal year, but it means a dollar saved during this year or during succeeding fiscal years.

We have tried to act responsibly. We have made reductions in appropriations. We will make further reductions. In my judgment, we will make some recisions and further adjustments. The House can work its will with respect to recisions or reductions.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, there has been a lot of talk about recisions here. In its wisdom the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives did not put any money in for a national park in my district, which everyone who was here then knows that I opposed. When the bill came back from conference there was $1.5 million in the bill for that park. I do not know what they are going to do with that item, but as far as I am personally concerned, you can take it out.

Mr. MAHON. I wish to say that the other body, led by some of the minority Members of the other body, insisted upon placing, I believe, about $9 million in that bill for a series of projects, including $2 million for the Indiana Dunes. I do not remember the exact details. We compromised at the lowest figure we could in order to get a conference agreement, and this compromise included $1,500,000 for the Indiana Dunes item.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. The gentleman from Ohio, my good friend over here, made reference a little while ago to the additional employees that have been added to the Government payroll. I think one area in which we have added employees on the two committees on which I serve has been in connection with the minority staff. Employees have been added at the request of the minority, as a result of their repeated policy declarations that they had to have more minority staff employees.

Now, look at your legislative appropriations bill, and I think you will find that most of the increases that have come in that bill have resulted because of the addition of minority employees that must be added in the view of the minority of this House.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES].

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment very briefly on the question of additional Federal employees. My good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, knows that I regard him most highly. He and I have worked together very closely on a nummber of items.

I happen to disagree with him on his approach to this subject. The distinguished gentleman pointed out that there is a very substantial increase in the number of proposed Federal employees during the current fiscal year, fiscal 1968, and that the cost would be $1,800,000,000.

I could point out that I have made a particular effort, especially in the defense bill, to reduce that proposed increase in the number of Federal employees, and those efforts have been attended with some success. I am convinced we can reconsider and reduce further the number of Federal employees who are proposed. But may I point out that under the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow], there would be nothing to assure there would be any reduction in the number of employees—and with control left in the hands of the administration, there very probably would not be.

But Congress does have within its own control the power to reduce the number of proposed additions to the Federal payroll. If we are given an opportunity to do so in the Appropriations Committee, I am convinced that we will reduce that number. That is a point which I think might well be considered at this time.

Now if I may proceed further: It was made very clear during the weekend that the President will not specify the cuts in spending which will be made by the agencies of Government in advance of action by Congress on this subject. This means approval of the Bow resolution is a blank check for the administration to use in any way that it sees fit for the remainder of fiscal 1968. It constitutes approval for line item veto, something the Congress has never been willing to grant to an executive.

From the date of approval of the Bow amendment until June 30, 1968, or until the fiscal 1969 appropriation bills are passed, which may be considerably later than June 30, Congress would have abdicated its authority on spending very largely to the President and to his advisers. Now if you will look at past history, it should be readily apparent that the reductions which would be made are not the reductions which Congress would want made.

Very probably we would lose most of the impacted area school programs. We could lose most of the school lunchroom programs. We could lose most of the soil conservation program. We could lose other important aspects of the agricultural progress. We could lose most of the river and harbor improvement programs which mean a great deal to most of the congressional districts of the Nation.

In their stead, we would get a stepped up poverty program, a stepped up rent supplement program, a stepped up model cities program, a stepped up highway beautification program, and more foreign aid.

I am extremely reluctant to see the Congress in this way throw away the results of a year of hard work. There is no point whatever in spending all year trying to make selective cuts in those areas which are most vulnerable to cuts, then at the last minute to throw in the sponge and march back downhill, saying to the President, "We are not qualified to deal with spending programs. You take it and do what you and your advisers want to do."

I am amazed that such an idea ever could have become so firmly implanted in the minds of my friends in the minority and some of those on my own side. I am more than a little puzzled on how they will explain it to their constituents back home. The Congress has responsibilities, and particularly in fiscal matters is our responsibility clear. Congress is now in the process of living up to those responsibilities.

The Committee on Appropriations, ably headed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, has given assurance that there will be reductions made and they will be made in those areas which are least damaging to the structure of American progress. This is the only way in which Congress can work its will and that of our constituents on the spending programs of the Government.

Remember it has been made clear that the Appropriations Committee will seek to make actual and specific cuts greater than those proposed by the Bow amendment—and to permit the Congress to retain control rather than surrender it.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Texas yield to me for a question?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman for advancing this proposal for rescission bills. The question I want to ask is this: There seems to be a debate as to whether responsibility should be in the Congress, or whether it should be with the President. I want to ask this question. If the House should take action to enact rescission bills, would not these be subject to veto by the President, so that the President would be making the ultimate decision with respect to whether he wanted to accept those recommendations or not? Would it not be better for him in the first instance to assume responsibility?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, any legislation passed by the Congress is subject to veto. The Bow amendment would be subject to veto. Any other piece of legislation would be subject to veto. But I think we ought to do our job and not just pass the buck to the President, because we were elected to do a job.

Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I fear the chairman of this great committee has overlooked, and perhaps helped some others to overlook, that the heart of our deficit problem is not the appropriations we are dealing with for fiscal year 1968. The heart of our deficit problem is the overall deficit created by expenditures.

The expenditures will come from two sources: $125 billion of previously appropriated money, plus $145 billion of money appropriated in this year. I think it is fair to say that in order for us to effectively reduce the expenditures overall in this fiscal year, we would have to cut back or rescind appropriations for 1968 to the tune of over $50 billion. That is the only way we could get at the $125 billion that has piled up from previous years' appropriation. The President has said that of the $135 billion he plans to spend—at least, that he is spending in this fiscal year—$95 billion of it is going to come out of this year's appropriations, and over $40 billion is going to come out of the previous years' appropriations.

I think there has been a tendency to overlook this. We can control expenditures separately by means of the Bow amendment much more effectively, in handling this grave deficit problem, that we can by cutting back on the appropriations or rescinding the appropriations for the current fiscal year.

I would like to say also with respect to the comments that the chairman made, what the Bow amendment would do would be an exercise of authority by the Appropriations Committee. I think our committee needs to recognize that we have not exercised our authority, that we have been guilty of delivering power to the hands of the President and the executive departments of the Government, without the control that the Appropriations Committee ought to have exercised in the past, and has a grave responsibility to exercise now, through expenditure control, and not only through reductions of appropriations for this Government.

I do not believe the situation is any different—certainly the deficit problem is no less critical—from what it was 6 days ago. This House felt then it was critical enough, in effect, to say, "We must control these burgeoning expenditures of Government from all sources, this year's appropriations and other years' appropriations."

Having felt that way 6 days ago, there is nothing which ought to change the mind of any Member of the House.

I intend to vote against this continuing resolution. I will vote against every continuing resolution, as urgent as the matter is, unless and until Congress exercises its proper control over the expenditures of this Government.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Byrnes].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I take this time only because I know the House is interested in the deliberations which have been going on with respect to the tax bill requested by the administration and the consideration of that matter by the Ways and Means Committee.

I believe the House would be interested in knowing that that committee has just met in executive session and has adopted a motion that the committee temporarily lay the matter of the tax matter on the table, and that further consideration of the tax increase be deferred until such time as the President and the Congress reach an understanding on a means of implementing more effective expenditure reduction and control as an essential corollary to further consideration of a tax increase, and that at such time this matter will again be given priority in the committee's order of business.

What is pointed out, I believe, by the adoption of this motion, Mr. Chairman, is if we are to get any kind of control over this deficit which faces us the first essential ingredient—and the absolute essentially—is to find some kind of implementation to bring expenditures under control.

This House, by practically a straight party line vote, so far as Congress is concerned, of the majority party, the Democratic Party, turned down an implementing provision.

The way is still open for an implementing provision to be adopted or to be developed.

As I pointed out in my remarks earlier, what this House did by turning down the opportunity to vote on the Bow amendment was to lose an opportunity we had to try to get some kind of control over expenditures. Those who voted to refuse to give us that opportunity I believe have on their shoulders the responsibility for the continuation of the deficit situation and its consequences, which continue.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Laird].

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, I never thought it would be necessary for any Member of Congress to write a primer on the difference between appropriations and spending for the executive branch of our Government.

Yet the President in his press conference last Saturday and other spokesmen for the executive branch continue to talk of appropriations by Congress and expenditure rates as if they were precisely the same thing.

Mr. Chairman, I pondered this over the weekend thinking that surely, a President who spent more than two decades in both the House and the Senate and more than 3 years in the White House would know the difference between appropriations and spending.

Yet, statement after statement from the executive branch blurs and confuses the distinction between appropriations and spending.

In the interest of clarity and to dispel what is becoming a credibility gulch, I offer the following primer for any who need it. Copies are being furnished to the White House, the Budget Bureau, and the Treasury Department.

Congress appropriates money.

The executive branch spends it.

Another word for appropriations is new obligational authority.

It has been the practice of Congress in the past to deal only with appropriations or new obligational authority.

Congressional appropriations are like deposits in a bank account. Whoever deposits it makes that money "available" to whomever has the authority to write checks against that account.

It is like a husband depositing his paycheck into his wife's checking account.

He determines how much is "available."

She determines how much she will spend and when she will spend it.

Congress is the "husband."

The White House or the executive branch is the "wife."

At this point, it becomes slightly more complicated.

Congress, through its fiscal year 1968 appropriations, is making available x number of dollars in "new obligational authority."

But on top of all that it will make available in fiscal 1968 appropriations, there is what is known as "carryover authority" from previous Congresses. This carryover authority amounts to more than $50 billion.

For fiscal 1968, the President has requested $144 billion in "new obligational authority."

If Congress gives him this amount, he will have a total of $194 billion available in this "checking account."

But let us assume that Congress "cuts" that new obligational authority by $10 billion.

This will still leave "available" some $184 billion in spending authority.

Let us look at the husband and wife again.

Let us assume that the husband is paid on a yearly basis. He gets one check, say for $10,000, in January of a given year.

His wife is the one who writes the checks. She and only she determines how much she will spend and when she will spend it.

If she spends at the rate of $1,500 per month for each of the first 3 months, a quick calculation will tell her husband that they will be out of funds sometime during the seventh month.

He is then faced with a choice.

He can wring a promise from his wife that she will mend her ways, that she will reduce her expenditure rate by $800 or $900 per month.

Or he can remove the availability of those funds by withdrawing them from the bank or canceling her authority to write checks. If Congress took such action, it would be called a rescission bill.

Or he can instruct the bank only to honor checks within a given ceiling each month and thereby force her to live within an expenditure ceiling.

Congress has already wrested the promise on occasion after occasion from the executive branch that it will practice restraint through a self-imposed expenditure ceiling.

The result of one of those promises was the cause of great fanfare and publicity last November when the President announced he was "freezing" some $3 or $3½ billion in expenditures for fiscal year 1967.

Congress had appropriated that money for fiscal year 1967.

It was "available."

The President, by his announcement, was telling the country that expenditure control was his bailiwick—and indeed it was.

He froze those funds in November and released a good many of them by May.

Congress has decided that an emergency exists, that the promise of self-imposed restraint seems always to be very short lived.

It has looked around and seen that the country is in a fiscal mess.

It has observed past performance and decided that the executive branch, like the spendthrift wife, cannot be left to its own devices any longer, that it cannot be trusted to make prudent judgments about when to spend and when not to spend, about how much to spend and how much to postpone.

Faced with a deficit of some $30 billion, Congress seems in the mood to move into the area of expenditure controls—mandatory expenditure controls.

Congress, if it passes the Bow amendment, will do so reluctantly. It has been resisting this kind of drastic action for many months. But Congress, like the sober husband, is waking to the fact that the executive branch, the spendthrift wife, is buying us all into a fiscal mess.

Drastic measures are called for.

And, one way or another—through the Bow amendment or through a statutory provision on the tax bill—they will be applied.

For it is finally clear to the Congress and the people that there is no other way to obtain iron-clad guarantees that economy in a time of fiscal crisis shall be practiced.

Mr. Chairman, the above primer is admittedly oversimplified in the interest of clarity. The actual availability of funds in the Treasury, or the "checking account," derives from revenue-raising tax measures enacted by the Congress, from receipts, participation sales, the borrowing authority of the Treasury, and so forth.

But to illuminate the central issue that is involved in today's debate—namely, the difference between appropriations and spending and, that gentlemen, is all we are talking about today—the above primer is adequate.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Chairman, until the gentlelady from Michigan [Mrs. Griffiths] spoke, and after listening carefully to these many hours of debate on this issue, I had found myself with an attitude akin to that of the child in the ancient fairy tale whose honesty compelled him to cry, "The Emperor has no clothes."

You will recall the old story—the entire populace had been brainwashed, to use a popular Republican expression, into believing that the Emperor was dressed in the finest raiment. Only the child protested that this was not true at all—that, in fact, the Emperor was naked.

The parallel that strikes me between the old children's story and this debate is that while the Bow amendment purports to cut Federal spending by $5 billion, the net effect would be nothing of the sort.

Yes, it would result in a disastrous dismemberment in many Federal services to the American people—cut off over a half-billion dollars in elementary, high school, and college funds, injure the postal service, the medicare and health programs, the farmers loans, cut back vital progress in parks, conservation, and recreation. But it would not cut back on real Federal spending because these areas are not where the big money goes.

The Bow amendment leaves untouched the fantastic mushrooming of expenditures which practically alone are responsible for the deficit. I refer, of course, to military spending—now approaching $80 billion per year—soon to approach $100 billion per year. I am troubled to note that the military budget has doubled in the 5 years I have been in Congress. The military now spends an amount per year approximately equal to the entire Federal budget of 1961.

I do not know how many billions of dollars are wasted by the military. The recent disclosures by the gentleman from New York [Mr. PIKE] indicate that the loss is substantial.

I do not know how large the Military Establishment should be to provide the ultimate the national security. I do know that the answer is a sophisticated combination of political, economic, psychological, and military factors which the military, neither by inclinaton nor education, is capable of providing.

The military has a massive conflict of interest in the area of defense appropriations. Its prestige, power, stature, comfort, and indeed its entire way of life are at stake. And yet, let me point out that when hearings are held on military appropriations by the House Appropriations Committee, virtually every witness called is on the military payroll.

I recently read the six volumes of hearings of the House Subcommittee on Defense held from February to May 1967, the subject being the $70 billion military appropriation bill recently passed by the House.

Mr. Chairman, should the Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member, have the audacity to bring to this floor any important bill where no adverse witnesses were called to the hearings, I suggest that we would be laughed off the floor.

Public hearings with adverse witnesses represent our only process where error can be found. Dialog without argument is generally worthless, a principle understood by Western man for centuries. So vital to truth finding is opposition that the Catholic Church in its procedures for the cannonization of saints provides as an essential ingredient, a devil's advocate.

The six volumes of hearings I refer to total 3,467 pages, and 3,461 of these 3,467 pages represent testimony or statements of witnesses on the Pentagon payroll.

Of the 263 witnesses who testified or submitted statements, only six of these were not on the military payroll. The six witnesses not military employees were two representing the American Legion, two the National Rifle Association, and two ladies speaking for overseas education for service children.

There was not a single adverse witness and no adverse questioning by subcommittee members. Indeed, the questioning was so friendly that the uninformed readers could only conclude that the process was a dialog within the confines of one happy family.

Mr. Chairman, as I said earlier, the Bow amendment will not reduce Federal expenditures. These will continue upward in the familiar spiral until the military is submitted to the searching scrutiny that is our obligation.

Our Republican colleagues are not of a mind to provide this scrutiny that is their obligation as the minority party. Indeed, all of their recommendations are in the other direction—toward an even larger and more influential Military Establishment—a rubberstamping of all of the requests of the military.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time. I ask that the Clerk read.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.J. RES. 853

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of August 29, 1967 (Public Law 90–75), is hereby amended by striking out "September 30, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 10, 1967".

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. RESNICK. Are we now operating under the 5-minute rule?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Chairman, I have been listening very carefully to this debate. I would like to say at the outset that I think this entire issue of "economy" has been manufactured from whole cloth by the Republican Party. I, for one, have not seen any "grassroots" demand for cutbacks in Government spending. During the 1966 campaign I went through this exact same exercise with my Republican opponent. I asked him the same question that was asked here on the floor today; namely, where are we going to cut? I got the same vague answer—somewhere.

The figures are very clear indeed that after we deduct defense expenditures, veterans pensions, interest on the national debt, social security, and other fixed changes from the total budget, we are left with $21 billion. After deducting $9 billion of Government salaries we wind up with $12 billion—$12 billion to cover everything else. Health, education, welfare, agriculture, housing, war on poverty, postal services, FBI the park service, and all the other thousands of functions and services that are a part of our everyday lives. I cannot see how you are going to cut $5 billion out of $12 billion without wrecking the entire economy and destroying vital Government services that affect each and every one of us.

Sure, we could save $240 million by cutting out Saturday mail deliveries and restricting postal service to one delivery a day for businesses. I would like to see the reaction to that particular piece of economy. And how those who are voting for the Bow amendment would vote on this action.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I am very happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I am glad to see the gentleman bring these figures on the floor today, because the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] said yesterday in a colloquy with me that today he would explain how you could cut $5 billion worth of expenditures out of a $12 billion pool. He has not done it today, and I do not think he can do it.

Mr. RESNICK. My Republican opponent in 1966, reading the Republican campaign literature, parroted the same line. He said we have to economize and we have to cut. He did not tell me then where to cut and the Republicans here in the House today will not or cannot tell us where these mythical savings are to come from.

I would like to make one other point, if I may. There are two ways to cure a deficit. One way is to cut and the other way is to increase taxes. Everybody is screaming about the 10-percent surtax. Everybody is screaming about cutting. I did not hear one single word about tax reform. What about the $10 billion or $20 billion that is lost in this country every year because of the 27.5 percent tax-free oil depletion allowance? What about the tax-exempt organizations that are not entitled to their tax-free status. I can go on and on and on and on. Not one word about that. All we hear about is the 10-percent surtax increase. We did not hear one word about the fact that Federal taxes are lower today than they were in 1964. We have not heard one word about that, either.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I will be very happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. Has the President recommended the elimination of the depletion allowance?

Mr. RESNICK. I would say to the gentleman that this is the House of Representatives. I would say to the gentleman that the House of Representatives has certain responsibilities. I would imagine we are pretty big boys now and we could certainly bring in a tax reform bill.

Mr. JONAS. Yes. But he recommended the surtax bill.

Mr. RESNICK. I understand that.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. YATES. It seems to me the minority party is tending to rely more and more on Presidential assistance in connection with their work.

Mr. RESNICK. I have to agree with my distinguished friend from Illinois.

Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further at this time.

I would like to emphasize a couple of things. I say what we are being asked to do here today is this: There was an old saying when I was a kid—"Indian giving." You give with one hand and 5 minutes later you take it back. I do not know how anybody else is going to explain it, but what we are being asked to do is welch on every single vote we have taken in this Congress. Yes, we voted for urban renewal and we voted for the agriculture bill and we voted for everything else that costs money, but now in the sacred name of economy we are going to take it back, and nobody understands what we are doing. I for one do not intend to vote that way.

Thank you.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I will be very happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RIEGLE. I just wanted to say this: About 2 months ago I offered a tax-reform bill which included a substantial reduction in the oil-depletion allowance. I will be happy to send you a copy and have you cosponsor it.

Mr. RESNICK. I will be very happy to cosponsor it. I would like to see where a responsible Republican Party would come forward with a tax-reform measure. All we hear here is the Bow amendment and let us cut 5 percent. I made a lot of money in business. I never made any of it saving. I always made my money by investing it and spending it and getting it back. I think the United States runs the same way.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, undoubtedly each Member of this body could come up with a long list of what he considers to be nonessential Federal programs. Some such programs may be considered by the individual Member as puny, insignificant, and minor. But collectively all of them can add up to an amount in excess of the $29 billion anticipated deficit.

But equally as costly, Mr. Chairman, if not actually more costly in the long run, is the attitude of the agencies and departments of the U.S. Government toward the value of the dollar and how wisely and prudently that dollar now allocated to the various programs is being spent. Even though some programs are considered essential and cannot be abandoned, millions of dollars can be saved by better procurement and administration.

Mr. Chairman, there is an example, a most recent example, which in my opinion represents a totally reckless disregard for the dollars of the taxpayers on the part of the State Department. I make reference to the recent action taken by the State Department in locating a site for the Russian Embassy here in Washington, D.C. The net effect of this action on the part of the State Department will result in pouring $4.5 million of the taxpayers' money down a rathole.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman from Virginia yield to me at that point?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Permit me to finish my general statement and then I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. Chairman, I realize the difficulties involved in negotiating with the Russians in general and particularly in obtaining an agreement upon the location of an American Embassy in Moscow. But there should be no question as to where the location of the Russian Embassy should be in Washington, D.C. The facts stand out most clearly.

Mr. Chairman, there are two sites which were made available for this embassy. One of those sites is the old Mount Alto Hospital site, containing about 13 acres of land, valued in excess of $8 million. Another site is the old Davies site or Joseph Davies mansion known as Tregaron, which was made available to the State Department on numerous occasions at a cost of $3.5 million.

Mr. Chairman, the State Department repeatedly turned down the Tregaron site. In fact the Department never gave it any open-minded consideration.

Its representatives wanted the other site, despite the fact it would cost $4.5 million more. The Department claimed that citizens in the area surrounding Tregaron were opposed to it. The Department also claimed that the Russians preferred the Mount Alto site and this was important due to the fact they were having difficulty getting the Russians to agree on a site for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

Mr. Chairman, the citizens association in the area adjacent to Tregaron has gotten together and has unanimously adopted a resolution agreeing to the Russian Embassy being located in their neighborhood at the site of the Tregaron estate.

The Russians themselves on many occasions have stated that they prefer the Tregaron site over the Mount Alto site but the State Department ignores this and denies that the Russians have ever shown a preference for the Tregaron site.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Now, Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman from Virginia yield to me at this point?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] after I have completed my general statement.

Mr. Chairman, even if the Russians do not prefer the Tregaron site, I still think we ourselves should face the economic aspects involved herein and, if we can in effect save the American taxpayers $4.5 million in the long run on the location of this embassy, we should do so. In addition we could put the Mount Alto property back on the tax rolls of the District of Columbia, which could produce several millions of dollars in additional revenue to the government of the District of Columbia, thereby reducing the cost of the Federal payment to the District.

So, Mr. Chairman, I consider that this is a tragic waste of the taxpayers' dollars and that the Department of State should be required to correct its error and correct it now.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Now, Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman from Virginia yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I should highly commend my distinguished friend from Virginia who is in the real estate business for helping a real estate firm named Weaver Bros. to make a commission. This is a perfectly normal and natural thing to do, because Weaver Bros. would make a real nice commission on the sale of the Tregaron property rather than to give the Russians property which the Government already owns at Mount Alto.

Mr. Chairman, I stand here and predict that the Russians are going to Mount Alto, not Tregaron.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. They will if it is the only site made available to them.

Further, I think the gentleman's statement objecting to any real estate agent in this community making a commission, as opposed to the proposition which has been offered to save the American taxpayers $4.5 million—and that is what I am talking about right now—does not come with good taste.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I happen to know something about this real estate deal that the gentleman from Virginia is talking about, and I could not concur more with my colleague from New York that what is mainly involved here is the desire of a real estate firm to make some money.

Now, we can say that one site is worth this, and another site is worth that, but the fact remains, as the distinguished gentleman from New York said, that we already own the Mount Alto site, and the real estate firm would like to have us buy the Tregaron site for $3.5 million.

Now, you might be able to juggle this around and convince some people this is the way to save money, but you cannot convince me.

I also want to tell the Members about this so-called citizen committee out there. There happens to be two of them. I do not live in that area. I, unfortunately, sometimes when I get my tax bill, think unfortunately I live in Virginia, when Congress is in session, but there happens to be two citizens' committees, and the one that took a unanimous vote, their total membership could get in the No. 7 telephone booth out there in the Democratic cloakroom, so it is not very hard to get unanimous action out of an organization like that.

This thing has been kicking around for years and years. I am told the Russians are willing to accept Mount Alto, and they have offered us a piece of property in Moscow of comparable size and of even better accessibility, as far as the distance to the Foreign Office compares to the distance to the State Department. Certainly if any of the Members have seen our setup in Moscow I am sure they would say that we ought to accept because we need better and bigger quarters there.

So, Mr. Chairman, I believe all this discussion about sites is academic, except for the fact that that real estate company does want to move the Davies property, and I am sure the Davies heirs would like to get their money out of it. But that is a fact that does not reflect on us, and it does not reflect on the State Department that they are going to move ahead without any cost to the U.S. Government.

I have sat here all afternoon wanting to talk a little bit about this business of the Bow amendment, and I believe I will just go ahead and say what I was going to say.

I spent a part of Saturday out at my farm in Ohio riding around looking at this year's calf crop. We have a policy there that we only save about two of the best bull calves for breeding purposes, and the rest of them are made steers and eventually wind up in the butcher shop. And while I was riding around, thinking about this, it occurred to me that had some application to the Bow amendment because, if I were the President of the United States I could not think of a better present that I would like the Congress to give me than a $5 billion gold-plated castration knife—and do not think I would not know where to cut.

There are a lot of projects that have been cut and probably ought to be cut. They are building a dam on the Ohio River right now which touches my district on one side of the river, and the district of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE], on the other, at a total cost of about $65 or $70 million. It is for the purpose of navigation for some barge companies, and if the President wants to close it down tomorrow, well, I will explain to my people, and I assume the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE] can do likewise.

And I can think of dozens of others that we can postpone.

I would just like to point out to the gentlemen if they want to give the President the power—and I voted against it the other day, I will vote against it today—but one of these days I am going to join you and, assuming that he is the political animal you are all saying he is, he will know which ones of you to send to the butcher shop, and which ones of you to save.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this resolution close in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the House of Representatives the Joelson plan by which we can cut $5 billion from our appropriations.

There are 435 of us here. Each of us knows his own district the best. I think each Member should compile a list of projects that he wants to be discontinued in his district. Those of you who have public works that you want stopped, please compile a list and submit them. Those who have defense contracts you want terminated in your district, please let me know and I will be pleased to offer a recission of that particular project in the Committee on Appropriations.

Those of you who are concerned about too many employees and who have letter carriers and postal clerks whose jobs you want abolished, please let me know and I will add that to the list and I am sure that it will come well beyond the $5 billion mark. I start the list as of now with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK] who tells us about a national park that he does not want.

I assure you that I am willing to practice what I preach. If every Member submits that list for his district, I will be the 435th Member to submit that list for my district.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I deplore the action of the House last Wednesday in voting down the continuing resolution and in bringing the operations of the Government to the brink of chaos. I have been very much disturbed by the tenor of the debate today and last Wednesday.

The debate then and now reflects the frustrations, confusion, and doubts which have been created by the war in Vietnam, the political consequences of which are apparent in the gutting of essential Great Society programs on the one hand and the inviolability of the military-industrial complex on the other hand.

I have listened to a great deal of discussion about budget cuts and rescissions, about reducing Federal spending by $5 billion more than the $5 billion which the Committee on Appropriations already intends. Yet the debate has virtually ignored the sacrosanct military budget, which amounts to some 55 percent of the total budget of $136.5 billion.

Last week the President signed the defense appropriation bill which totaled $69,936,620,000. This afternoon the chairman of the Armed Services Committee will call up the military construction authorization conference report—to accompany 11722. The conferees have recommended for fiscal year 1968 $2,303.3 million compared to $1,005.8 million in fiscal year 1967. That is $1.3 billion or 129 percent more than last year. I suggest that this is an area for economy.

Let me quote from that conference report at page 37:

> The total construction authorization recommended by the conferees for fiscal year 1968 is $1,297,450,000 more than the amount of military construction authorized in fiscal year 1967 by Public Law 89-568, that figure being $1,005,842,000.

That is not double—that is 129 percent more than was authorized last year by this Congress for military construction.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN. I am sorry, my time is too limited. But in the debate on that bill, I will be glad to discuss that with the distinguished chairman.

Mr. RIVERS. I want to discuss it on the floor now.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, military spending is an area in which substantial money could be saved, if the military budget were not regarded as sacred and untouchable.

Last Wednesday I pointed out that the Bow amendment specifically exempts $72.3 billion for the military.

There are other related areas where spending could be reduced or deferred. For instance, the House has voted $142.4 million for the supersonic transport, which is only the beginning of a Government subsidy which the Committee on Appropriations admits will be at least $4.5 billion.

As far as the NASA budget is concerned, I have made very specific recommendations both in committee and on the floor. I regret that those who are most vociferous about economy did not see fit to amend the Space authorization and appropriation bills. Administrative operations funds for NASA could be reduced by 10 percent, by simply maintaining its relationship to the rest of the NASA budget, without in any way impairing the space program.

I have raised questions about the possible duplication between NASA's Apollo applications program, which is estimated to cost $5 billion in the next 5 years, and the Department of Defense's manned orbiting laboratory, which will cost approvimately $1.7 billion to $2 billion.

Members of the House may recall that I suggested a contingent authorization for the Apollo applications program of 50 percent of the committee recommendation pending a satisfactory program description and projection which does not yet exist.

Mr. Chairman, the current administration budget estimate provided in testimony by Budget Director Schultze is $136.5 billion. The administration has conceded that the actual level may reach $143.5 billion. If we take the figure of $136.5 billion, items which are considered "uncuttable" include:

Defense—$75.5 billion. I have already discussed the unwillingness of the House to reduce this.

Debt service—$14.2 billion.

Veterans' benefits—$6.1 billion.

Public assistance grants—$4.4 billion.

Farm price supports—$1.9 billion.

Health insurance payments to trust funds—$1.1 billion.

Postal public service costs and deficit—$1 billion.

General Government—$2.8 billion.

Space—$4.5 billion.

International affairs and finance—$4.3 billion.

Thus, "uncuttable" programs presumably total almost $116 billion.

Therefore, the realistic area from which budget reductions would have to be made is approximately $20.7 billion. Included in this figure is $2.8 billion for education; $7.5 billion in health, labor, welfare, and antipoverty programs; $1.7 billion for housing and community development; $3.5 billion for natural resources and conservation; $2.7 billion for commerce and transportation; $1.5 for agriculture other than farm supports; and some $1 billion for miscellaneous programs.

In short, the cuts would have to come from the Great Society programs. Let me point out, because I think it is important that we understand what we are talking about when we talk about the $5 billion Bow amendment cut, it is really a 25-percent cut. The gentleman from California [Mr. Holifield] has also pointed out that we are really talking about making cuts in $20 billion—not $136.5 billion, which would mean a 25-percent cut in necessary and urgently needed social and domestic programs.

Let us look and see—I have some tables here, let us see what has happened to domestic programs, the Great Society programs which this Congress authorized in the 89th Congress.

The administration itself cut some $4.5 billion in domestic programs before it submitted its budget to this Congress.

As I said, the Bow amendment is directed at no more than $21 billion of Federal programs, of which over $12 billion represents programs in the vital areas of health, education, welfare, labor, housing, and community development.

In Health, Education, and Welfare, for example, the administration failed to submit budget requests for authorized programs in the amount of $2.8 billion. Higher education was cut 50 percent from the authorized level of $2.1 billion to $1 billion.

Elementary and secondary education was reduced by 45 percent from $3.5 billion to $2 billion. The bulk of this cut was in grants to States under title I.

In addition to the administration cuts of nearly $3 billion in Health, Education, and Welfare, the House pared off another $167 million.

This process operated even more severely in connection with Housing and Urban Development programs. The administration failed to submit budget requests for programs totaling $599 million to $2 billion. The bulk of this cut of the rehabilitation loan program and a 70-percent cutback in neighborhood facilities grants, basic water and sewer grants, and urban mass transportation grants.

In addition to the administration's reductions, the House cut an additional $689 million including $325 million from model cities, the entire $40 million rent supplement request, and another $60 million from housing loan program for the elderly. In all, the administration and the House together cut about one third of authorized HUD programs. And more generous Senate action will only restore a fraction of this, even if the House conferees accept the Senate levels.

Since authorization levels have changed somewhat between the administration's budget requests in January and later appropriations, the administration cuts plus the House cuts are not perfectly additive. Nevertheless, if we take the January authorization levels in HEW and HUD, which total about $18.6 billion, and compare them with the administration cuts plus the House cuts, we find that authorized funding in these critical areas has already been reduced by $4.265 billion, or some 23 percent. And since these are precisely the areas where any additional cuts would have to come, a $5 billion cut would reduce these programs by another 25 percent.

At the conclusion of my remarks I will include a table detailing this.

The old 5 percent Bow amendment has suddenly jumped a decimal place, and increased tenfold. The practical effect of slashing $5 billion more from the Federal budget would be to reduce programs in HEW and HUD to 50 percent of their authorizations. The administration and House action have already cut 23 percent, and the Bow amendment would cut another 25 percent.

The legislative gains of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in New Frontier and Great Society programs would be wiped out.

The Vietnam war must not be used as an excuse to emasculate the progressive domestic programs of the past 7 years.

Mr. Chairman, I include at this point in the Record, tables illustrating administration budget reductions in fiscal year 1968 authorizations and additional House reductions of administration requests for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

COMPARISON OF AVAILABLE AUTHORIZATIONS, 1968 ADMINISTRATION BUDGET REQUESTS AND 1968 HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal year 1968 authorization	Actual administration request	Difference
Programs:			
Neighborhood facilities grants	121	42	−79
Alaska housing program	10	1	−9
Rehabilitation loans	100	0	−100
Housing for the elderly loans	95	80	−15
Urban planning grants	84	50	−34
Development incentive grants	50	30	−20
Basic water and sewer grants	400	165	−235
Mass transportation	205	125	−80
Urban information and technical assistance	8	6	−2
Community development training grants	30	5	−25
Total, administration cuts in HUD	-------	-------	−599

	Actual administration request	House appropriations	Difference
Programs:			
Neighborhood facilities grants	42	27	−15
Public housing contributions	290	275	−15
Housing for the elderly loans	80	20	−60
Urban planning grants	50	40	−10
Development incentive grants	30	0	−30
Urban beautification	125	75	−50
Mass transportation	230	175	−55
Urban research	20	5	−15
Rent supplements	40	0	−40
Demonstration cities (model cities)	662	237	−325
Other programs with minor cuts	992	918	−74
Total	2,561	1,872	−689
Total House cuts in HUD	-------	-------	−689

Total cuts in HUD, administration and House: $1,288,000,000.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal year 1968 authorization	Actual administration request	Difference
Programs:			
Regional medical programs	200	65	−135
Health research facilities	100	35	−65
Medical library assistance act	23	13	−10
Higher education, total	2,088	1,000	−1,088
Facility grants	855	440	−415
Facility loans	400	0	−400
NDEA loans	225	193	−32
Educational opportunity grants	210	160	−50
Work-study	200	140	−60
Developing colleges	55	30	−25
Libraries	73	37	−36
ESEA	3,461	1,984	−1,517
Title I: Grants to States	2,314	1,200	−1,114
Title II: School libraries	154	105	−49
Title III: Supplementary centers	515	240	−275
Impacted areas	478	439	−39
Public libraries	114	68	−46
Vocational education	295	260	−35
Adult education	60	44	−16
Total, administration cuts in HEW	-------	-------	−2,810

	Actual administration request	House appropriations	Difference
Public Health Service	2,705	2,669	−37
Education funds	3,911	3,834	−77
Other	6,052	5,999	−53
Total	12,669	12,502	−167
Total House cuts in HEW	-------	-------	−167

Total cuts in HEW, administration and House: $2,977,000,000.

Grand total cuts in HEW and HUD, administration and House: $4,265,000,000 out of some $18,600,000,000 authorized, or nearly 23 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, last week a majority of the House voted, in effect, to place a ceiling or a limitation on expenditures and not turn over the full authority to the President to make such a limitation. Today, that spending limitation imposed by the House was reversed. Now, regrettably, by the vote today, the full authority to make any reductions has been returned to the President. I am amazed, I am dumbfounded that we have abdicated our responsibility in imposing an expenditure limitation. I regret very much that the House has not used a tool, an opportunity to put our own legislative imprint on what the spending ceiling should be.

I would like to make a suggestion to my dear friend, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I understood he asked me to make a suggestion as to where we could reduce expenditures. I have in my hand the budget document submitted by the President for fiscal year 1968. On page 46 of the President's budget document a statement appears that expenditures for fiscal 1968, he anticipates, will be $135.033 billion. That has been increased in a subsequent document to $136.5 billion.

The best way for us really to do something about that would be to vote as we did last week and not vote the way we did today, and then we could categorically cut the expenditures of the President's budget. I think it is too bad, it is tragic that we did not save $5 billion, and, unfortunately, those who changed their vote must bear some responsibility for it. Time is running out. We may not have another opportunity to reduce expenditures below the President's budget by appropriate legislative action.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. Holifield] is recognized.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I was happy to vote with the chairman of the Appropriations Committee in both instances, and I intend to support his attempt to make rescissions when the time comes. But I wish to call the attention of the House also to this budget book to which the minority leader referred. Look at page 454. On that page the gross national product for the past 27 years appears. In the last column there is stated the percentage of the national debt against the gross national product. You will find out that during the war, and even before the war, in 1940, the percentage of the national debt was 51 percent against a gross national product of $95 billion. Then during the war it went up to one point at which the debt was 133.9 percent of the gross national product.

We come on down to 1966, when the gross national product had gone up to $712 billion and the public debt was 45 percent.

The estimate for 1967 is that it will be 42.9 percent, the lowest it has been in 25 years, the lowest public debt percentagewise against the gross national product.

I say those are meaningful figures because that is the difference between income and accumulated indebtedness. A gross national product of $762 billion is estimated with a 42.9-percent public debt against it.

We hear a great deal of screaming on the floor about a crisis, about calamity overtaking us. I say this country is in better condition today than it has been in the last 25 years. There are more people at work. There is less unemployment. There are more savings in the bank. And our national debt is the lowest percentagewise of the gross national product in 25 years. So why all the screaming?

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Byrnes].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I found the remarks of the gentleman from California very interesting. I would suggest that he had better go down and talk to his President. He had better go down and talk to the Council of Economic Advisers. He had better go down and talk to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Reserve Board—yes, the financial experts, the economic experts who have been parading before the Ways and Means Committee. They have certainly expressed in no uncertain terms to the Ways and Means Committee the crisis they feel we are in.

If I have any judgment, Mr. Chairman, I think I would take the decisions or the judgments of these people as to whether or not we are in a serious situation, rather than the rosy picture painted for us by the gentleman from California.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, the comment of the gentleman from California relating the national debt to gross national product, is the argument always advanced by those who see no danger in an ever increasing national debt. This argument contradicts that made by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt who stated, when he was a candidate for President the first time, that a government is somewhat like an individual or a business enterprise in that it could spend more than it takes in for a few years but a continuation of that policy eventually leads to the poorhouse or the bankruptcy court.

The burden of the national debt cannot be evaluated by relating it to gross national product. The way to evaluate that burden is to relate it to administrative receipts, and when this is done the result shows that it now takes approximately 11 cents out of every dollar of administrative receipts to pay the interest on the national debt. After paying the first 11 cents in interest, the Treasury is left with only 89 cents out of every tax dollar with which to pay for running the war and all of the other expenses of Government.

You will have to go back a good many years to find a time when this burden was greater.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon] to close the debate.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin has said he would rather take the views of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers, and others. He seems impressed with the views which they have, and he reports that they state we are confronted with a very serious financial crisis.

The truth is, of course, that these same people have recommended a tax increase to reduce the estimated budget deficit for fiscal 1968, and under all of these circumstances I would think he would be willing to join with us in making all the reductions we can in appropriations. After we have done that, and if we have done a workmanlike job, and the prospective deficit is still unacceptable, then we should pass a tax increase to further reduce the deficit.

I fully agree that Congress ought to do its work on appropriations before we vote on a tax bill. We ought to make reductions wherever we can.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Vanik, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 853) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 938, he reported the joint resolution back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on House Joint Resolution 853, just passed, and to insert pertinent extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DIORI HAMANI OF NIGER AT RECEPTION BY SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA IN RAYBURN BUILDING

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on September 27, 1967, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton], and I, acting for the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, hosted a reception in the Rayburn Building for the Honorable Diori Hamani, President of the Republic of Niger.

In my remarks in introduction I said:

> Today we have among us a real friend of the United States in Africa, a statesman of outstanding dedication and of great ability. Mr. President, you can go back to your country knowing that you are carrying with you the heart of the American people.
>
> We have with us too a great woman of the Congress of the United States, Congresswoman Bolton, who is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. If the good Lord gives the Republicans the House in the next Congress, this lady will be the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. She has a deep, warm and abiding interest in the nations and the peoples of Africa.

Following is a translation of the remarks of President Hamani:

> Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, Members of Congress, and you, Madame Bolton, you who have been called God-mother of Africa. It is with great joy and happiness that I get in touch now with the representatives of this great American people.
>
> You said a moment ago, Mr. President, that after we have stayed here a few days and have gone back to our country, we shall take part of the heart of the American people with us. We have a saying in our country, that when there is a place in someone's heart, the feet will move to go to that place. This is why we came here. In fact, we know that there is a little place in your heart, in this country, for us. You on your part know that we in Niger have a place in our heart for you. That explains why so many Americans come to our country.
>
> We live now in a planet that is getting small for all of us. It is getting smaller all the time, and since you are the people with the most advanced and sophisticated sciences, with your astronauts, your spacecraft, and your space rockets, you know better than anybody that we are always shortening distances—and this always for the betterment of humanity because we live in a century of cooperation, friendship, human dignity, seeking a future of friendly and brotherly love.
>
> There is only one regret I wish to express here. Too few of you men and women—that is, Members of Congress and Senators—come to our country, to Africa generally. We wish to see more of you because there is no better way to know each other than through personal contacts and human contacts.
>
> And I am speaking to you also, Ambassador Ryan. All we know generally about the American Congress is that one year a decision is taken in this direction, the next year you tell us that Congress made a decision in the other direction, then the third year is something else again. What we want is more human contact so that we understand each other better and so that we can better follow what is going on.
>
> We know now that you are changing directions in the field of African affairs toward regional projects. This is the trend today. But we feel that the gap can be bridged between the local or national project, as understood in the bilateral sense of the word, and the regional project. It is our understanding and hope that all this can be resolved in the spirit of compromise that will make it possible to find a solution.
>
> In the seven years that have elapsed since most African countries acquired independence, this political maturity that was so eloquently mentioned by the Chairman of the Committee has been developing greatly and rapidly.
>
> Now we are becoming more aware of the problems that are to be solved in the future, of the difficulties that are coming up, and of the gap between wishes and the possible. We do the best we can, but unfortunately we have limited resources.
>
> We have the will to go forward but our physical and financial resources are unfortunately very limited. As leaders, our major job is to impart the truth to our peoples and this means telling them that it is not possible to do everything at once: we are only human and we cannot accomplish miracles; we can only work out human solutions to human problems.
>
> To do so we have to determine priorities in planning for development and we have to renew our efforts toward achieving these goals. Independence brought with it a whole series of new problems to emerging countries: internal politics, diplomacy and defense.
>
> I am not the authorized spokesman for the leaders of Africa and I am not speaking as such, but I can say that we are trying to organize ourselves with a view to achieving unity and, in so doing, to finding common solutions to common problems.
>
> Each country will have to mobilize all its human resources to achieve maximum development notwithstanding social, religious or other differences. Cohesion will be of the essence.
>
> All the new states of Africa are sovereign among themselves and they all show tolerance and understanding toward one another. Their experience as independent states is too new for them to proclaim that theirs is the right way of national life.
>
> This spirit was clearly shown at the Kinshasa Conference and the international press was quick to recognize the realistic character of the decisions taken.
>
> Most of all, we need peace in order to carry out our programs for economic development. Together we must fight underdevelopment.
>
> We realize that we faced many handicaps when we acceded to independence. On the positive side, we must also recognize that the times are auspicious because of the fantastic potential for development made possible today by scientific progress and by the enormous capital available to advanced countries, the United States above all.
>
> Therefore, our rendezvous with tomorrow is a rendezvous of friends working together for the welfare of many in a better world.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION, FISCAL YEAR 1968—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 726)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

TITLE I

Sec. 101. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment for the following projects:

Inside the United States

UNITED STATES CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND

(First Army)

Fort Belvoir, Virginia: Operational and training facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $3,210,000.

Fort Devens, Massachusetts: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,304,000.

Fort Dix, New Jersey: Hospital facilities, $2,585,000.

Fort Eustis, Virginia: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $976,000.

Fort Hamilton, New York: Operational facilities, $127,000.

A. P. Hill Military Reservation, Virginia: Training facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,893,000.

Fort Holabird, Maryland: Administrative facilities, $588,000.

Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Pennsylvania: Training facilities, $581,000.

Fort Knox, Kentucky: Training facilities, and utilities, $3,325,000.

Fort Lee, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, medical facilities, and utilities, $1,646,000.

Fort George G. Meade, Maryland: Hospital facilities, and administrative facilities, $4,510,000.

Camp Pickett, Virginia: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, and ground improvements, $329,000.

(Third Army)

Fort Benning, Georgia: Troop housing and utilities, $3,759,000.

Fort Bragg, North Carolina: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,019,000.

Fort Campbell, Kentucky: Hospital facilities and utilities, $312,000.

Fort Gordon, Georgia: Training facilities, supply facilities, utilities, and real estate, $4,364,000.

Fort Jackson, South Carolina: Hospital facilities, $11,412,000.

Fort Rucker, Alabama: Training facilities and troop housing, $2,118,000.

(Fourth Army)

Fort Bliss, Texas: Training facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,693,000.

Fort Hood, Texas: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $3,075,000.

Fort Polk, Louisiana: Supply facilities, $954,000.

Fort Sill, Oklahoma: Training facilities and community facilities, $3,636,000.

Fort Wolters, Texas: Utilities, $379,000.

(Fifth Army)

Fort Carson, Colorado: Operational and training facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $15,152,000.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $4,462,000.

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Administrative facilities, $392,000.

Fort Riley, Kansas: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $21,962,000.

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri: Training facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $2,575,000.

(Sixth Army)

Fort Irwin, California: Operational facilities, and utilities, $439,000.

Fort Lewis, Washington: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $4,615,000.

Fort Ord, California: Hospital facilities, and troop housing, $27,329,000.

(Military District of Washington)

Fort Myer, Virginia: Troop housing, and utilities, $1,680,000.

(CONUS Various)

CONUS Various Locations: Community facilities, $1,053,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND

Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland: Training facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $5,142,000.

Aeronautical Maintenance Center, Texas: Utilities, $419,000.

Anniston Army Depot, Alabama: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $964,000.

Fort Detrick, Maryland: Research, development, and test facilities, $2,151,000.

Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland: Troop housing, $653,000.

Letterkenny Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities and supply facilities, $552,000.

Lexington Blue Grass Army Depot, Kentucky: Maintenance facilities, $160,000.

New Cumberland Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Utilities, $330,000.

Pine Bluff Arsenal, Arkansas: Production facilities, $1,713,000.

Pueblo Army Depot, Colorado: Maintenance, and supply facilities, $855,000.

Red River Army Depot, Texas: Supply facilities and administrative facilities, $376,000.

Redstone Arsenal, Alabama: Training facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and administrative facilities, $695,000.

Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois: Utilities, $320,000.

Sacramento Army Depot, California: Supply facilities, $93,000.

Savanna Army Depot, Illinois: Operational facilities, and utilities, $102,000.

Sharpe Army Depot, California: Supply facilities, $199,000.

Tobyhanna Army Depot, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities, $268,000.

Tooele Army Depot, Utah: Supply facilities, $680,000.

Watertown Arsenal, Massachusetts: Research, development, and test facilities, $3,471,000.

White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico: Research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $4,781,000.

Fort Wingate Army Depot, New Mexico: Utilities, $166,000.

Yuma Proving Ground, Arizona: Research, development, and test facilities, $176,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Chicago Defense Area, Illinois: Operational facilities, $365,000.

Detroit Defense Area, Michigan: Operational facilities, $130,000.

New York Defense Area, New York: Troop housing, $327,000.

CONUS Various Locations: Operational facilities, and utilities, $64,846,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY SECURITY AGENCY

Two Rock Ranch Station, California: Supply facilities, $174,000.

Vint Hill Farms, Virginia: Operational facilities, and supply facilities, $433,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS COMMAND

Fort Ritchie, Maryland: Utilities, $136,000.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

United States Military Academy, West Point, New York: Training facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,495,000.

ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE

Madigan General Hospital, Washington: Medical facilities, $185,000.

Walter Reed Army Medical Center, District of Columbia: Hospital facilities, and community facilities, $12,840,000.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Army Map Service, Maryland: Utilities, $156,000.

MILITARY TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT AND TERMINAL SERVICE

Bayonne Naval Supply Center, New Jersey: Operational facilities, $95,000.

Oakland Army Base, California: Utilities, $289,000.

Sunny Point, North Carolina: Utilities, $70,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, ALASKA

Fort Greely, Alaska: Operational facilities, $852,000.

Fort Richardson, Alaska: Utilities, $1,800,000.

Fort Wainwright, Alaska: Utilities, $84,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, HAWAII

Fort De Russy, Hawaii: Troop housing, and utilities, $7,132,000.

Schofield Barracks, Hawaii: Training facilities, $286,000.

Fort Shafter, Hawaii: Utilities, $1,944,000.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES ARMY, PACIFIC

Camp Zama, Japan: Supply facilities, $193,000.

Korea: Hospital facilities, $2,810,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, SOUTHERN COMMAND

Fort Clayton, Canal Zone: Utilities, $7,985,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND

Kwajalein Atoll: Research, development, and test facilities, housing and community facilities, $12,255,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY SECURITY AGENCY

Various locations: Operational facilities, housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,601,000.

UNITED STATES ARMY, EUROPE

Germany: Supply facilities, $2,000,000.

Various locations: Operational facilities and supply facilities, $6,815,000.

Various locations: For the United States share of the cost of multilateral programs for the acquisition or construction of military facilities and installations, including international military headquarters, for the collective defense of the North Atlantic Treaty area, $60,000,000: *Provided*, That, within thirty days after the end of each quarter, the Secretary of the Army shall furnish to the Committees on Armed Services and on Appropriations of the Senate and the House of Representatives a description of obligations incurred as the United States share of such multilateral programs.

UNITED STATES ARMY STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS COMMAND

Various locations: Operational facilities and utilities, $3,821,000.

SEC. 102. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop classified military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisitions, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the amount of $2,873,000.

SEC. 103. The Secretary of the Army may establish or develop Army installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Army missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next military construction authorization Act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acqusition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided*, That, the Secretary of the Army or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a final decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public works projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 104. (a) Public Law 87–554, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Third Army)" with respect to Fort McClellan, Alabama, strike out "$1,352,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,554,000;"

(b) Public Law 87–554, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$102,370,000" and "$150,879,000" and inserting in place thereof "$102,572,000" and "$151,081,000" respectively.

SEC. 105. (a) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "ARMY COMPONENT COMMANDS (Pacific Command Area)" with respect to Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, strike out "$913,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,006,000".

(b) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$155,826,000" and "$200,695,000" and inserting in place thereof "$155,919,000" and "$200,788,000" respectively.

SEC. 106. (a) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Second Army)" with respect to Fort Lee, Virginia, strike out "$2,900,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,000,000".

(2) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Military District of Washington, District of Columbia)" with respect to Fort Myer, Virginia, strike out "$4,052,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,330,000".

(3) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Fifth Army)" with respect to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, strike out "$5,544,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,350,000".

(4) Under the subheading "UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND (United States Army Missile Command)" with respect to Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, strike out "$2,389,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,563,000".

(5) Under the subheading "TECHNICAL SERVICES FACILITIES (Signal Corps)" with respect to Army Pictorial Center, New York, strike out "$1,120,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,185,000".

(6) Under the subheading "TECHNICAL SERVICES FACILITIES (Medical Service)" with respect to Letterman General Hospital, California, strike out "$14,305,000" and insert in place thereof "$15,424,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$252,994,000" and "$304,055,000" and inserting "$256,536,000" and "$307,597,000", respectively.

SEC. 107. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "IN-

SIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the heading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (Second Army)" with respect to Fort Lee, Virginia, strike out "$700,000" and insert in place thereof "$925,000".

(2) Under the subheading "CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND, less Army Materiel Command (Fifth Army)" with respect to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, strike out "$16,084,000" and insert in place thereof "$16,536,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188 is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$253,722,000" and "$310,583,000" and inserting "$254,399,000" and "$311,260,000", respectively.

SEC. 103. (a) Public Law 89–568 is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 101, as follows:

(1) Under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and under the subheading "UNITED STATES CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND (First Army)" with respect to United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, strike out "$2,451,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,705,000".

(2) Under the heading "OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and under the subheading "UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND" with respect to Kwajalein Atoll, strike out "$31,333,000" and insert in place thereof "$36,907,000".

(b) Public Law 89–568 is amended by striking out in clause (1) of section 602 "$57,219,000", "$36,141,000," and "$126,360,000" and inserting "$57,473,000," "$41,715,000" and "$132,188,000".

TITLE II

SEC. 201. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

FIRST NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Utilities, $575,000

Naval Shipyard, Boston, Massachusetts: Utilities, $496,000.

Naval Construction Battalion Center, Davisville, Rhode Island: Troop housing, $2,613,000.

Naval Station, Newport, Rhode Island: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $4,368,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Newport, Rhode Island: Supply facilities $82,000.

Naval Destroyer School, Newport, Rhode Island: Training facilities, $1,486,000.

Naval Schools Command, Newport, Rhode Island: Training facilities, $2,848,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Newport, Rhode Island: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,697,000.

Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, Rhode Island: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $2,823,000.

THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Submarine Base, New London, Connecticut: Operational facilities, and maintenance facilities, $2,355,000.

Naval Submarine School, New London, Connecticut: Training facilities, $1,607,000.

Naval Submarine Medical Center, New London, Connecticut: Medical facilities, $1,590,000.

FOURTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Lakehurst, New Jersey: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,786,000.

Naval Air Test Facility, Lakehurst, New Jersey: Research, development, and test facilities, $148,000.

Naval Air Development Center, Johnsville, Pennsylvania: Research, development, and test facilities, $1,684,000.

Naval Shipyard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,526,000.

Naval Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,859,000.

Navy Aviation Supply Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities, $80,000.

Naval Air Technical Services Facility, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities, $586,000.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Scientific and Technical Intelligence Center, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $1,374,000.

Naval Research Laboratory, District of Columbia: Operational facilities, and utilities, $874,000.

Naval Security Station, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $2,271,000.

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland: Training facilities, Community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $3,578,000.

Naval Hospital, Annapolis, Maryland: Hospital and medical facilities, $134,000.

Naval Radio Station, Annapolis, Maryland: Operational facilities, $5,000,000.

National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland: Utilities, $630,000.

Naval Communication Station, Cheltenham, Maryland: Troop housing, and utilities, $925,000.

Naval Ordnance Station, Indian Head, Maryland: Utilities and ground improvements, $1,208,000.

Naval School, Explosive Ordnance Disposal, Indian Head, Maryland: Training facilities, $296,000.

Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, Maryland: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,522,000.

FIFTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Hospital, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina: Troop housing, $267,000.

Naval Facility, Cape Hatteras, North Carolina: Troop housing, $92,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point, North Carolina: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $5,349,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, New River, North Carolina: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $2,866,000.

Fleet Anti-Air Warfare Training Center, Dam Neck, Virginia: Training facilities, and troop housing, $2,378,000.

Naval Radio Station, Driver, Virginia: Troop housing, $86,000.

Naval Amphibious Base, Little Creek, Virginia: Medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,072,000.

Naval Amphibious School, Little Creek, Virginia: Training facilities, $693,000.

Naval Shipyard, Norfolk, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $4,723,000.

Headquarters, Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet, Norfolk, Virginia: Troop housing, $2,508,000.

Fleet Operations Control Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Utilities, $424,000.

Naval Station, Norfolk, Virginia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,997,000.

Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $4,714,000.

Naval Supply Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Operational facilities, and supply facilities, $153,000.

Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Virginia: Troop housing, $808,000.

Fleet Training Center, Norfolk, Virginia: Training facilities, $65,000.

Naval Schools Command, Norfolk, Virginia: Training facilities, $1,787,000.

Nuclear Weapons Training Center, Atlantic, Norfolk, Virginia: Training facilities, $1,557,000.

Navy Preventive Medicine Unit, Norfolk, Virginia: Medical facilities, $339,000.

Naval Radio Station, Northwest, Virginia: Troop housing, $143,000.

Naval Air Station, Oceana, Virginia: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $8,412,000.

Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Virginia: Troop housing, $1,084,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Yorktown, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,051,000.

SIXTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Cecil Field, Florida: Operational and training facilities, and troop housing, $3,590,000.

Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida: Maintenance facilities, $5,260,000.

Naval Hospital, Jacksonville, Florida: Troop housing, $302,000.

Naval Station, Mayport, Florida: Operational facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $6,975,000.

Naval Station, Key West, Florida: Operational facilities, $300,000.

Naval Air Station, Key West, Florida: Supply facilities, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $1,511,000.

Naval Hospital, Key West, Florida: Troop housing, $243,000.

Naval Training Center, Orlando, Florida: Operational and training facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $13,425,000.

Navy Mine Defense Laboratory, Panama City, Florida: Troop housing, $441,000.

Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida: Maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $5,608,000.

Naval Aviation Medical Center, Pensacola, Florida: Troop housing, $338,000.

Naval Communications Training Center, Pensacola, Florida: Training facilities, and troop housing, $1,864,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Saufley Field, Florida: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,317,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Whiting Field, Florida: Troop housing, $1,020,000.

Naval Air Station, Albany, Georgia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,530,000.

Naval Air Station, Glynco, Georgia: Operational and training facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $3,143,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Beaufort, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and community facilities, $955,000.

Naval Shipyard, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $3,063,000.

Naval Station, Charleston, South Carolina: Community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $4,048,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $17,172,000.

Naval Air Station, Memphis, Tennessee: Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $5,246,000.

EIGHTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Chase Field, Texas: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $12,784,000.

Naval Air Station, Corpus Christi, Texas:

Troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $3,603,000.

Naval Hospital, Corpus Christi, Texas: Troop housing, $344,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Kingsville, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $3,894,000.

NINTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Training Center, Great Lakes Illinois: Troop housing, $6,869,000.

Naval Hospital Corps School, Great Lakes, Illinois: Training facilities, $1,561,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Great Lakes, Illinois: Utilities, $306,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Crane, Indiana: Maintenance facilities, $225,000.

ELEVENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Observatory, Flagstaff, Arizona: Research, development, and test facilities, $704,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Yuma, Arizona: Operational facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $2,133,000.

Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California: Research development, and test facilities, $2,486,000.

Naval Aerospace Recovery Facility, El Centro, California: Research, development, and test facilities, $460,000.

Naval Air Facility, El Centro, California: Troop housing, $427,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and hospital and medical facilities, $4,918,000.

Naval Shipyard, Long Beach, California: Maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $489,000.

Naval Station, Long Beach, California: Community facilities, $800,000.

Fleet Anti-Submarine Warfare Training Facility, Long Beach, California: Training facilities, $434,000.

Naval Dental Clinic, Long Beach, California: Medical facilities, $821,000.

Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, California: Research, development, and test facilities, $509,000.

Naval Ship Missile Systems Engineering Station, Port Hueneme, California: Administrative facilities, $1,591,000.

Naval Construction Battalion Center, Port Hueneme, California: Troop housing, $2,638,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, Santa Ana, California: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,145,000.

Marine Corps Auxiliary Landing Field, Camp Pendleton, California: Operational and training facilities, $381,000.

Naval Amphibious Base, Coronado, California: Administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $8,380,000.

Naval Air Station, Miramar, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $6,590,000.

Naval Air Station, North Island, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $7,692,000.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Ream Field, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing and utilities, $1,471,000.

Naval Submarine Support Facility, San Diego, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $4,720,000.

Fleet Anti-Air Warfare Training Center, San Diego, California: Administrative facilities, $475,000.

Fleet Anti-Submarine Warfare School, San Diego, California: Training facilities, $286,000.

Naval Training Center, San Diego, California: Training facilities, and troop housing, $12,491,000.

Naval Hospital, San Diego, California: Troop housing, $986,000.

TWELFTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Air Station, Lemoore, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $5,955,000.

Naval Air Station, Alameda, California: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $383,000.

Naval Weapons Station, Concord, California: Operational facilities, utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $20,079,000.

Naval Radio Station, Dixon, California: Medical facilities, and troop housing, $172,000.

Naval Schools Command, Mare Island, California: Troop housing, $2,738,000.

Naval Air Station, Moffett Field, California: Utilities and ground improvements, $119,000.

Naval Hospital, Oakland, California: Troop housing, $1,436,000.

Naval Shipyard, San Francisco Bay, California: Troop housing at Hunters Point; and maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities at Mare Island, $9,174,000.

Naval Station, Treasure Island, California: Utilities and ground improvements, $850,000.

Naval Schools Command, Treasure Island, California: Training facilities, and troop housing, $5,825,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Hawthorne, Nevada: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $598,000.

THIRTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Facility, Coos Head, Oregon: Utilities and ground improvements, $65,000.

Naval Shipyard, Bremerton, Washington: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $6,923,000.

Naval Hospital, Bremerton, Washington: Troop housing, $83,000.

Naval Radio Station, Jim Creek, Oso, Washington: Community facilities, $130,000.

Naval Communication Station, Puget Sound, Washington: Operational facilities, $713,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Seattle, Washington: Utilities and ground improvements, $252,000.

Naval Air Station, Whidbey Island, Washington: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $2,626,000.

FOURTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Communication Station, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, $370,000.

Naval Shipyard, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $2,237,000.

Naval Station, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $1,395,000.

Naval Submarine Base, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $4,102,000.

Naval Supply Center, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, $62,000.

Fleet Submarine Training Facility, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Training facilities, $944,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii: Utilities and ground improvements, $7,636,000.

Marine Corps Air Station, Kaneohe Bay, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,554,000.

Fleet Operations Control Center, Kunia, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, and utilities, $1,728,000.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Oahu, Hawaii: Maintenance facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $1,170,000.

Naval Air Station, Barbers Point, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $494,000.

Naval Radio Station Lualualei, Oahu, Hawaii: Operational facilities, and utilities and ground improvements, $6,793,000.

Pacific Fleet Tactical Range, Barking Sands, Kauai, Hawaii: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $2,264,000.

SEVENTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Station, Adak, Alaska: Maintenance facilities, hospital and medical facilities, and utilities, $4,587,000.

Naval Radio Station, Buskin Lake, Kodiak, Alaska: Operational facilities, $686,000.

VARIOUS LOCATIONS

Various Locations: Operational facilities, $55,000.

Various Naval Communication Activities: Utilities, $3,278,000.

MARINE CORPS GROUND FORCES FACILITIES

Marine Corps Schools, Quantico, Virginia: Maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $2,571,000.

Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina: Medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities and ground improvements, $12,507,000.

Marine Corps Supply Center, Albany, Georgia: Maintenance facilities, and utilities, $892,000.

Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, South Carolina: Training facilities, medical facilities, and troop housing, $2,149,000.

Marine Corps Supply Center, Barstow, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $1,230,000.

Marine Corps Base, Twentynine Palms, California: Operational and training facilities, and utilities, $6,704,000.

Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California: Maintenance facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $11,290,000.

Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego, California: Troop housing, $912,000.

Camp H. M. Smith, Aiea, Oahu, Hawaii: Troop housing, $1,549,000.

Outside the United States

TENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Facility, Antigua, West Indies: Utilities, $87,000.

Naval Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba: Troop housing, $3,918,000.

Naval Air Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba: Troop housing, $1,600,000.

Naval Station, Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico: Operational facilities, and maintenance facilities, $1,468,000.

Naval Hospital, Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico: Hospital and medical facilities, and troop housing, $6,283,000.

Naval Radio Station, Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico: Troop housing and community facilities, $513,000.

FOURTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT

Naval Station, Midway Islands: Utilities and ground improvements, $1,669,000.

ATLANTIC AREA

Naval Station, Bermuda: Operational facilities, $1,253,000.

EUROPEAN AREA

Naval Communication Station, Londonderry, Northern Ireland: Medical facilities, $116,000.

Naval Radio Station, Guardamar del Segura, Spain: Community facilities, $58,000.

Naval Station, Rota, Spain: Operational facilities, and community facilities, $288,000.

Naval Communication Station, Nea Makri, Greece: Maintenance facilities, and supply facilities, $133,000.

PACIFIC OCEAN AREA

Naval Air Station, Agana, Guam, Mariana Islands: Operational facilities, and community facilities, $467,000.

Naval Communication Station, Finegayan, Guam, Mariana Islands: Troop housing, $142,000.

Naval Facility, Guam, Mariana Islands: Operational facilities, $2,000,000.

Naval Station, Guam, Mariana Islands: Troop housing, $284,000.

Naval Supply Depot, Guam, Mariana Islands: Supply facilities, $2,590,000.

Navy Public Works Center, Guam, Mariana Islands: Utilities and ground improvements, and real estate, $8,452,000.

Naval Radio Station, Totsuka, Japan: Utilities, $97,000.

Naval Ordnance Facility, Yokosuka, Japan: Maintenance facilities, $336,000.

Marine Corps Air Facility, Futema, Okinawa: Operational facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $6,169,000.

Fleet Activities, Ryukyus, Okinawa: Community facilities, $80,000.

Naval Air Station, Cubi Point, Republic of the Philippines: Medical facilities, $105,000.

Naval Communication Station, San Miguel, Republic of the Philippines: Community facilities, $501,000.

Naval Station, Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines: Community facilities, $179,000.

VARIOUS LOCATIONS

Various Locations: Operational facilities, $65,000.

Various Naval Communication Activities: Utilities, $662,000.

SEC. 202. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop classified naval installations and facilities by acquiring, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $6,784,000.

SEC. 203. The Secretary of the Navy may establish or develop Navy installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Navy missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next military construction authorization Act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Navy, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public works projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 204. (a) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended in title II, section 201, under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to Naval Shipyard, Mare Island, California, by striking out "$850,000" and inserting in place thereof "$908,000".

(b) Public Law 88–174, as amended, is amended in section 602, clause (2), by striking out "$116,031,000" and "$202,930,000" and inserting respectively in place thereof "$116,089,000" and "$202,988,000".

SEC. 205. (a) Public Law 88–390 is amended in title II, section 201, under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS FACILITIES (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to the Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by striking out "$4,760,000" and inserting in place thereof "$5,240,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390 is amended in section 602, clause (2), by striking out "$160,237,000" and "$225,639,000" and inserting respectively in place thereof "$160,717,000" and "$226,119,000".

SEC. 206. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 201, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "BUREAU OF SHIPS FACILITIES (Naval Shipyards)" with respect to Naval Shipyard, Long Beach, California, and Naval Shipyard, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii, strike out "$2,931,000" and "$3,591,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$3,857,000" and "$4,650,000", respectively.

(2) Under the subheading "FLEET BASE FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Station, Key West, Florida, and Naval Station, Treasure Island, California, strike out "$1,293,000" and "$1,856,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$1,462,000" and "$2,234,000", respectively.

(3) Under the subheading "MARINE CORPS FACILITIES" with respect to Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, strike out "$7,126,000" and insert in place thereof "$8,402,000".

(4) Under the subheading "SERVICE SCHOOL FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois, strike out "$11,457,000" and insert in place thereof "$12,732,000".

(5) Under the subheading "MEDICAL FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Dispensary and Dental Clinic, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii, strike out "$2,800,000" and insert in place thereof, "$3,026,000".

(6) Under the heading "COMMUNICATION FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Autodin Facility, Albany, Georgia, and Naval Autodin Facility, Syracuse, New York, strike out "$313,000" and "$45,000", respectively, and insert in place thereof "$926,000" and "$135,000", respectively.

(7) Under the heading "OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH FACILITIES" with respect to Naval Research Laboratory, District of Columbia, strike out "$5,560,000" and insert in place thereof "$7,368,000".

(8) Under the heading "OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES" and subheading "FLEET BASE FACILITIES" with respect to Headquarters Support Activity, Taipei, Republic of China, strike out "$199,000" and insert in place thereof "$370,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (2) of section 602 "$228,770,000", "$34,436,000", and "$314,305,000" and inserting in place thereof "$236,590,000", "$34,607,000", and "$322,296,000", respectively.

TITLE III

SEC. 301. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Duluth Municipal Airport, Duluth, Minnesota: Administrative facilities and community facilities, $316,000.

Hamilton Air Force Base, San Rafael, California: Utilities, $204,000.

Kingsley Field, Klamath Falls, Oregon: Administrative facilities and utilities, $290,000.

McCord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Washington: Operational facilities and utilities, $1,598,000.

Niagara Falls Municipal Airport, Niagara Falls, New York: Maintenance facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $377,000.

NORAD Headquarters, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Operational facilities, $1,201,000.

Otis Air Force Base, Falmouth, Massachusetts: Utilities, $184,000.

Oxnard Air Force Base, Camarillo, California: Training facilities, $264,000.

Paine Field, Everett, Washington: Operational facilities, $401,000.

Perrin Air Force Base, Sherman, Texas: Operational and training facilities and maintenance facilities, $1,105,000.

Peterson Field, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $5,812,000.

Selfridge Air Force Base, Mount Clemens, Michigan: Utilities, $1,681,000.

Stewart Air Force Base, Newburgh, New York: Utilities, $166,000.

Suffolk County Air Force Base, Westhampton Beach, New York: Utilities, $475,000.

Tyndall Air Force Base, Panama City, Florida: Supply facilities and administrative facilities, $199,000.

AIR FORCE LOGISTICS COMMAND

Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York: Maintenance facilities and community facilities, $730,000.

Hill Air Force Base, Ogden, Utah: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and community facilities, $1,628,000.

Kelly Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,147,000.

McClellan Air Force Base, Sacramento, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $7,940,000.

Newark Air Force Station, Newark, Ohio: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $365,000.

Robins Air Force Base, Macon, Georgia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $5,130,000.

Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $3,597,000.

Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $10,862,000.

AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND

Arnold Engineering Development Center, Tullahoma, Tennessee: Research, development, and test facilities, and supply facilities, $1,554,000.

Brooks Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Research, development, and test facilities, medical facilities, and troop housing, $4,185,000.

Edwards Air Force Base, Muroc, California: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and supply facilities, $4,023,000.

Eglin Air Force Base, Valparaiso, Florida: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $7,487,000.

Eglin Auxiliary Airfield Numbered 9, Valparaiso, Florida: Operational facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $1,732,000.

Grenier Field, Manchester, New Hampshire: Troop housing, $465,000.

Holloman Air Force Base, Alamogordo, New Mexico: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $3,621,000.

Kirtland Air Force Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Operational facilities and utilities, $181,000.

Laurence G. Hanscom Field, Bedford, Massachusetts: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,648,000.

Patrick Air Force Base, Cocoa, Florida:

Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and research, development, and test facilities, $1,040,000.

Eastern Test Range, Cocoa, Florida: Research, development, and test facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $4,787,000.

Western Test Range, Lompoc, California: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $15,333,000.

Satellite Tracking Facilities: Operational facilities, research, development, and test facilities, and utilities, $7,137,000.

AIR TRAINING COMMAND

Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois: Training facilities, hospital facilities, medical facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,523,000.

Craig Air Force Base, Selma, Alabama: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $1,665,000.

Keesler Air Force Base, Biloxi, Mississippi: Operational and training facilities and administrative facilities, $3,071,000.

Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $23,457,000.

Laredo Air Force Base, Laredo, Texas: Utilities, $92,000.

Laughlin Air Force Base, Del Rio, Texas: Operational and training facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $736,000.

Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado: Training facilities and troop housing and community facilities, $5,479,000.

Mather Air Force Base, Sacramento, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, hospital facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $7,005,000.

Moody Air Force Base, Valdosta, Georgia: Operational and training facilities, $875,000.

Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas: Troop housing and utilities, $1,203,000.

Reese Air Force Base, Lubbock, Texas: Operational and training facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $3,795,000.

Sheppard Air Force Base, Wichita Falls, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $3,655,000.

Vance Air Force Base, Enid, Oklahoma: Training facilities and utilities, $619,000.

Webb Air Force Base, Big Spring, Texas: Hospital facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $2,296,000.

Williams Air Force Base, Chandler, Arizona: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $2,939,000.

AIR UNIVERSITY

Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $934,000.

ALASKAN AIR COMMAND

Eielson Air Force Base, Fairbanks, Alaska: Maintenance facilities and utilities, $225,000.

Elmendorf Air Force Base, Anchorage, Alaska: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $3,987,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $11,618,000.

HEADQUARTERS COMMAND

Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, District of Columbia: Maintenance facilities, medical facilities, community facilities, utilities, and ground improvements, $7,819,000.

MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND

Altus Air Force Base, Altus, Oklahoma: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $3,655,000.

Charleston Air Force Base, Charleston, South Carolina: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $7,892,000.

Dover Air Force Base, Dover, Delaware: Operational facilities and utilities, $866,000.

McGuire Air Force Base, Wrightstown, New Jersey: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $843,000.

Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,219,000.

Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, utilities, and real estate, $8,083,000.

Travis Air Force Base, Fairfield, California: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,047,000.

PACIFIC AIR FORCE

Hickam Air Force Base, Honolulu, Hawaii: Medical facilities, troop housing facilities, and utilities, $2,566,000.

STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND

Barksdale Air Force Base, Shreveport, Louisiana: Operational facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,483,000.

Beale Air Force Base, Marysville, California: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $356,000.

Blytheville Air Force Base, Blytheville, Arkansas: Utilities, $88,000.

Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Peru, Indiana: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $795,000.

Carswell Air Force Base, Fort Worth, Texas: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing, $1,689,000.

Castle Air Force Base, Merced, California: Administrative facilities, $123,000.

Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi: Operational facilities, hospital facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,132,000.

Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Tucson, Arizona: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $2,954,000.

Dyess Air Force Base, Abilene, Texas: Training facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $537,000.

Ellsworth Air Force Base, Rapid City, South Dakota: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, and utilities, $229,000.

Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $345,000.

Fairchild Air Force Base, Spokane, Washington: Operational facilities and medical facilities, $389,000.

Grand Forks Air Force Base, Grand Forks, North Dakota: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, hospital facilities, medical facilities, and administrative facilities, $1,652,000.

Homestead Air Force Base, Homestead, Florida: Administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $584,000.

K. I. Sawyer Municipal Airport, Marquette, Michigan: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $1,032,000.

Little Rock Air Force Base, Little Rock, Arkansas: Operational facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $759,000.

Loring Air Force Base, Limestone, Maine: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $388,000.

Malmstrom Air Force Base, Great Falls, Montana: Operational facilities, administrative facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $1,428,000.

March Air Force Base, Riverside, California: Administrative facilities, and community facilities, $5,471,000.

McCoy Air Force Base, Orlando, Florida: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing, $430,000.

Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,354,000.

Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebraska: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $960,000.

Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and administrative facilities, $2,203,000.

Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Plattsburgh, New York: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, and community facilities, $2,068,000.

Vandenberg Air Force Base, Lompoc, California: Maintenance facilities, supply facilities administrative facilities, and utilities, $3,581,000.

Westover Air Force Base, Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $3,495,000.

Whiteman Air Force Base, Knob Noster, Missouri: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and utilities, $248,000.

Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Oscoda, Michigan: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and utilities, $1,053,000.

TACTICAL AIR COMMAND

Bergstrom Air Force Base, Austin, Texas: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, hospital facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $5,866,000.

Cannon Air Force Base, Clovis, New Mexico: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $6,311,000.

England Air Force Base, Alexandria, Louisiana: Operational facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and real estate, $4,243,000.

Forbes Air Force Base, Topeka, Kansas: Operational facilities, and troop housing, $970,000.

George Air Force Base, Victorville, California: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $2,454,000.

Langley Air Force Base, Hampton, Virginia: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $2,243,000.

Lockbourne Air Force Base, Columbus, Ohio: Utilities, $51,000.

Lake Air Force Base, Phoenix, Arizona: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $3,165,000.

MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,169,000.

McConnell Air Force Base, Wichita, Kansas: Operational facilities supply facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,395,000.

Mountain Home Air Force Base, Mountain Home, Idaho: Operational facilities and administrative facilities, $470,000.

Myrtle Beach Air Force Base, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina: Community facilities and utilities, $839,000.

Nellis Air Force Base, Las Vegas, Nevada: Training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $4,201,000.

Pope Air Force Base, Fort Bragg, North Carolina: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, medical facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $6,099,000.

Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, Goldsboro, North Carolina: Training facilities, administrative facilities, and community facilities, $613,000.

Shaw Air Force Base, Sumter, South Carolina: Supply facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,582,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY

United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Training facilities, hospital facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,648,000.

AIRCRAFT CONTROL AND WARNING SYSTEM

Various Locations: Maintenance facilities, administrative facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,876,000.

Outside the United States

AIR DEFENSE COMMAND

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, and troop housing, $818,000.

MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND

Wake Island Air Force Station, Wake Island: Operational facilities and maintenance facilities, $484,000.

Kindley Air Base, Bermuda: Operational facilities and community facilities, $584,000.

PACIFIC AIR FORCE

Okinawa: Community facilities, and utilities, $950,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities and troop housing and community facilities, $1,355,000.

STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND

Andersen Air Force Base, Guam: Troop housing and utilities, $1,255,000.

Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico: Administrative facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $1,778,000.

Goose Air Base, Canada: Administrative facilities and utilities, $90,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCES IN EUROPE

Germany: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, and troop housing and community facilities, $2,502,000.

United Kingdom: Operational and training facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $10,457,000.

Various Locations: Operational facilities, maintenance facilities, supply facilities, troop housing and community facilities, and utilities, $4,520,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCES SOUTHERN COMMAND

Howard Air Force Base, Canal Zone: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $1,625,000.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE SECURITY SERVICE

Various Locations: Operational facilities, community facilities, and utilities, $486,000.

SEC. 302. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop classified military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenance, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $59,422,000.

SEC. 303. The Secretary of the Air Force may establish or develop Air Force installations and facilities by proceeding with construction made necessary by changes in Air Force missions and responsibilities which have been occasioned by: (a) unforeseen security considerations, (b) new weapons developments, (c) new and unforeseen research and development requirements, or (d) improved production schedules, if the Secretary of Defense determines that deferral of such construction for inclusion in the next Military Construction Authorization Act would be inconsistent with interests of national security, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $10,000,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Air Force, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a final decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including those real estate actions pertaining thereto. This authorization will expire as of September 30, 1968, except for those public work projects concerning which the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives have been notified pursuant to this section prior to that date.

SEC. 304. (a) Public Law 87–57, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND", with respect to Nellis Air Force Base, Las Vegas, Nevada, strike out "$2,433,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,504,000".

(b) Public Law 87–57, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$146,868,000" and "$474,461,000" and inserting in place thereof "$146,939,000" and "$474,532,000", respectively.

SEC. 305. (a) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE", with respect to Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois, strike out "$3,137,000" and insert in place thereof "$3,998,000".

(2) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebraska, strike out $1,888,000" and insert in place thereof $2,259,000".

(b) Public Law 88–390, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$165,327,000" and $303,447,000" and inserting in place thereof $166,559,000" and "$304,679,000", respectively.

SEC. 306. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "AIR DEFENSE COMMAND", with respect to McChord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Washington, strike out "$3,736,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,277,000".

(2) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois, strike out "$5,442,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,347,000".

(3) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, strike out "$5,510,000" and insert in place thereof "$6,663,000".

(4) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Moody Air Force Base, Valdosta, Georgia, strike out "$1,782,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,017,000".

(5) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, strike out "$651,000" and insert in place thereof "732,000".

(6) Under the subheading "AIR UNIVERSITY", with respect to Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, strike out "$770,000" and insert in place thereof "$970,000".

(7) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE", with respect to McGuire Air Force Base, Wrightstown, New Jersey, strike out $2,094,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,440,000".

(8) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE", with respect to Scott Air Force Base, Belleville, Illinois, strike out "$2,240,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,612,000".

(9) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Peru, Indiana, strike out "$1,785,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,945,000".

(10) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to K. I. Sawyer Municipal Airport, Marquette, Michigan, strike out "$148,000" and insert in place thereof "$223,000".

(11) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Lockbourne Air Force Base, Columbus, Ohio, strike out "$565,000" and insert in place thereof "$706,000".

(12) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to McCoy Air Force Base, Orlando, Florida, strike out "$40,000" and insert in place thereof "$66,000".

(13) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota, strike out "$109,000" and insert in place thereof "$132,000".

(14) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Whiteman Air Force Base, Knob Noster, Missouri, strike out "$218,000" and insert in place thereof "$250,000".

(15) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Oscoda, Michigan, strike out "$45,000" and insert in place thereof "$70,000".

(16) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND", with respect to Langley Air Force Base, Hampton, Virginia, strike out "$3,696,000" and insert in place thereof "$4,063,000".

(17) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND", with respect to Pope Air Force Base, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, strike out "$2,560,000" and insert in place thereof "$2,801,000".

(18) Under the subheading "TACTICAL AIR COMMAND", with respect to Shaw Air Force Base, Sumter, South Carolina, strike out "$1,189,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,267,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$210,630,000" and "$334,376,000" and inserting in place thereof "$215,631,000" and "$339,377,000", respectively.

SEC. 307. (a) Public Law 89–568 is amended under the heading "Inside the United States" in section 301, as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND", with respect to Eglin Air Force Base, Valparaiso, Florida, strike out "$6,277,000" and insert in place thereof "$7,262,000".

(2) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respeect to Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois, strike out "$586,000" and insert in place thereof "$885,000."

(3) Under the subheading "AIR TRAINING COMMAND", with respect to Vance Air Force Base, Enid, Oklahoma, strike out "$1,169,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,313,000".

(4) Under the subheading "ALASKAN AIR COMMAND", with respect to Elmendorf Air Force Base, Anchorage, Alaska, strike out "$1,265,000" and insert in place thereof "$1,500,000".

(5) Under the subheading "MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND", with respect to Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, California, strike out "$7,706,000" and insert in place thereof "$8,560,000".

(6) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi, strike out "$494,000" and insert in place thereof "$607,000".

(7) Under the subheading "STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND", with respect to Minot Air Force Base, Minot, North Dakota, strike out "$440,000" and insert in place thereof "$498,000".

(b) Public Law 89–568 is amended by striking out in clause (3) of section 602 "$107,098,000" and "$198,014,000" and inserting in place thereof "$109,786,000" and "$200,702,000", respectively.

TITLE IV

SEC. 401. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, for defense agencies for the following projects:

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

DEFENSE ATOMIC SUPPORT AGENCY

Sandia Base, New Mexico: Administrative facilities and hospital and medical facilities, $1,732,000.

DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

National Military Command System Support Center, Pentagon, Washington, District of Columbia: Administrative facilities, $600,000.

DEFENSE SUPPLY AGENCY

Defense Depot, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Supply facilities, $375,000.

Defense Construction Supply Center, Columbus, Ohio: Maintenance facilities and supply facilities, $847,000.

Defense Supply Depot, Tracy, California: Supply facilities, $4,026,000.

Defense Logistics Services Center, Battle Creek, Michigan: Adiministrative facilities, $305,000.

Defense Personnel Support Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Administrative facilities and utilities, $2,429,000.

NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

Fort George G. Meade, Maryland: Operational facilities, production facilities, and utilities, $3,416,000.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

DEFENSE ATOMIC SUPPORT AGENCY

Johnston Island: Community facilities, and ground improvements, $1,410,000.

NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

Various Locations, Europe: Operational facilities, troop housing, and utilities, $2,407,000.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop installations and facilities which he determines to be vital to the security of the United States, and in connection therewith to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment in the total amount of $150,000,000: *Provided,* That the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, shall notify the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives, immediately upon reaching a final decision to implement, of the cost of construction of any public work undertaken under this section, including real estate actions pertaining thereto.

SEC. 403. (a) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended under the heading "INSIDE THE UNITED STATES" in section 401 as follows:

(1) Under the subheading "DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY", with respect to Arlington Hall Station, Arlington, Virginia, strike out "$17,900,000" and insert in place thereof "$20,000,000".

(b) Public Law 89–188, as amended, is amended, by striking out in clause (4) of section 602 "$100,051,000" and inserting in place thereof "$102,151,000".

TITLE V

SEC. 501. The Secretary of each military department may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, which are necessary outside the United States in connection with military activities in Southeast Asia, or in support of such activities in the total amount as follows:

Department of the Army, $33,156,000

Department of the Navy, $17,964,000

Department of the Air Force, $23,880,000: *Provided,* That materials only are authorized in connection with dependent military housing facilities for the Vietnamese.

SEC. 502. The Secretary of Defense, in connection with construction projects undertaken in South Vietnam pursuant to section 501 above, shall furnish to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives such reports as were heretofore furnished pursuant to section 401(c) of Public Law 89–367 (80 Stat. 36, 37).

TITLE VI

MILITARY FAMILY HOUSING

SEC. 601. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to construct, at the locations, hereinafter named, family housing units and trailer court facilities in the numbers hereinafter listed, but no family housing construction shall be commenced at any such locations in the United States, until the Secretary shall have consulted with the Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, as to the availability of adequate private housing at such locations. If agreement cannot be reached with respect to the availability of adequate private housing at any location, the Secretary of Defense shall immediately notify the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives and the Senate, in writing, of such difference of opinion, and no contract for construction at such location shall be entered into for a period of thirty days after such notification has been given. This authority shall include the authority to acquire land, and interests in land, by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

Family housing units for—

(a) The Department of the Army, two thousand two hundred units, $40,644,000:

Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, two hundred units.

Presidio of San Francisco, California, two hundred units.

Fort Benning, Georgia, three hundred and sixty units.

Fort Gordon, Georgia, four hundred units.

Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois, fifty units.

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, one hundred units.

Fort Meade, Maryland, three hundred units.

Fort Jackson, South Carolina, two hundred units.

Fort Hood, Texas, one hundred and twenty units.

Fort Stewart, Georgia, one hundred and twenty units.

Pacific Side, Canal Zone, one hundred and fifty units.

(b) The Department of the Navy, four thousand six hundred and twelve units, $93,810,000:

Marine Corps Air Station, Yuma, Arizona, four hundred and thirty units.

Naval Air Station, Lemoore, California, one hundred units.

Naval Complex, Long Beach, California, five hundred units.

Naval Submarine Base, New London, Connecticut, three hundred units.

Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Whiting Field, Florida, one hundred units.

Naval Supply Corps School, Athens, Georgia, forty-two units.

Naval Complex, Oahu, Hawaii, five hundred units.

David Taylor Model Basin Field Station, Bayview, Idaho, four units.

Naval Air Station, Glenview, Illinois, one hundred and fifty units.

Naval Security Group Activity, Winter Harbor, Maine, thirty-two units.

Naval Communication Station, Cheltenham, Maryland, fifty units.

Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, Maryland, two hundred units.

Naval Complex, Boston, Massachusetts, one hundred units.

Naval Facility, Nantucket, Massachusetts, fourteen units.

Naval Ammunition Depot, Hawthorne, Nevada, one hundred units.

Naval Ammunition Depot, McAlester, Oklahoma, thirty units.

Naval Complex, South Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, two hundred units.

Naval Complex, Newport, Rhode Island, two hundred units.

Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, Rhode Island, two hundred units.

Naval Complex, Charleston, South Carolina, one hundred and fifty units.

Naval Complex, Norfolk, Virginia, one hundred units.

Naval Shipyard, Bremerton, Washington, one hundred units.

Naval Security Group Activity, Marietta, Washington, thirty units.

Naval Air Station, Whidbey Island, Washington, two hundred and fifty units.

Naval Communication Station, Sugar Grove, West Virginia, twenty units.

Naval Station, Guam, two hundred units.

Naval Communication Station, North West Cape, Australia, seventy units.

Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, two hundred units.

Naval Station, Keflavik, Iceland, one hundred and forty units.

Naval Station, Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines, one hundred units.

(c) The Department of the Air Force, three thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven units, $75,890,000:

Craig Air Force Base, Alabama, three hundred units.

Luke Air Force Range, Arizona, four units.

Dover Air Force Base, Delaware, one unit.

George Air Force Base, California, three hundred and seventy-two units.

Tyndall Air Force Base, Florida, one hundred and sixty units.

Hickam-Wheeler Air Force Bases, Hawaii, four hundred units.

Bunker Hill Air Force Base, Indiana, two hundred units.

McConnell Air Force Base, Kansas, two hundred units.

Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, two hundred units.

L. G. Hanscom Field, Massachusetts, one hundred units.

Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska, two hundred units.

Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma, three hundred units.

Shaw Air Force Base, South Carolina, three hundred units.

Bergstrom Air Force Base, Texas, fourteen units.

Laredo Air Force Base, Texas, four hundred units.

Laughlin Air Force Base, Texas, one hundred units.

Reese Air Force Base, Texas, one unit.

Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico, one hundred units.

Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, two hundred units.

Wake Island Air Force Station, twenty units.

Albrook-Howard Air Force Bases, Canal Zone, fifty units.

Bentwaters Air Base, United Kingdom, one hundred units.

Upper Heyford Air Base, United Kingdom, seventy-five units.

SEC. 602. Authorization for the construction of family housing provided in this Act shall be subject, under such regulations as the Secretary of Defense may prescribe, to the following limitations on cost, which shall include shades, screens, ranges, refrigerators, and all other installed equipment and fixtures:

(a) The average unit cost for each military department for all units of family housing constructed in the United States (other than Hawaii and Alaska) and Puerto Rico shall not exceed $19,500, including the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

(b) No family housing unit in the areas listed in subsection (a) shall be constructed at a total cost exceeding $35,000, including the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

(c) When family housing units are constructed in areas other than those listed in subsection (a), the average cost of all such units, in any project of fifty units or more, shall not exceed $32,000, and in no event shall the cost of any unit exceed $40,000. The cost limitations of this subsection shall include the cost of the family unit and the proportionate costs of land acquisition, site preparation, and installation of utilities.

Sec. 603. Notwithstanding the limitations contained in prior Military Construction Authorizations Acts on cost of construction of family housing, the limitations on such cost contained in section 602 of this Act shall apply to all prior authorizations for construction of family housing not heretofore repealed and for which construction contracts have not been executed by the date of enactment of this Act.

Sec. 604. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions not otherwise authorized by law, to existing public quarters at a cost not to exceed—

(a) For the Department of the Army, $7,000,000.

(b) For the Department of the Navy, $5,000,000.

(c) For the Department of the Air Force, $5,000,000.

(d) For the Defense Agencies, $671,000.

Sec. 605. Section 507 of Public Law 88–174 (77 Stat. 307, 326), as amended by section 505 of Public Law 89–188 (79 Stat. 793, 814), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 507. For the purpose of providing military family housing in foreign countries, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to enter into agreements guaranteeing the builders or other sponsors of such housing a rental return equivalent to a specified portion of the annual rental income which the builders or other sponsors would receive from the tenants if the housing were fully occupied: *Provided*, That the aggregate amount guaranteed under such agreements entered into during the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 shall not exceed such amount as may be applicable to five thousand units: *Provided further*, That no such agreement shall guarantee the payment of more than 97 per centum of the anticipated rentals, nor shall any guarantee extend for a period of more than ten years, nor shall the average guaranteed rental on any project exceed $185 per unit per month, including the cost of maintenance and operation."

Sec. 696. Section 501(b) of Public Law 87–554 (76 Stat. 223, 237) is amended by deleting the period at the end thereof and adding the following new clause: "and (3) notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of debt service, proceeds of the disposal of family housing of the Department of Defense, including related land and improvements, whether disposed of by the Department of Defense or any other Federal agency, but less those expenses payable pursuant to section 204(b) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 485(b)), to remain available until expended."

Sec. 607. Section 515 of Public Law 84–161 (69 Stat. 324, 352), as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 515. During fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, respectively, are authorized to lease housing facilities, for assignment as public quarters to military personnel and their dependents, if any, without rental charge, at or near any military installation in the United States, Puerto Rico, or Guam if the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, finds that there is a lack of adequate housing facilities at or near such military installation and that (1) there has been a recent and substantial increase in the personnel strength assigned to such military installation and such increase is temporary, or (2) the permanent personnel strength of such military installation is to be substantially reduced in the near future, or (3) the number of military personnel assigned to such military installation is so small as to make the construction of family housing uneconomical. Such housing facilities may be leased on an individual basis and not more than seven thousand five hundred such units may be so leased at any one time. Expenditures for the rental of such housing facilities may not exceed an average of $175 per unit per month for each military department, including the cost of utilities and maintenance and operation."

Sec. 608. Subsection (g) of section 407 of Public Law 85–241 (71 Stat. 531, 556), as amended (42 U.S.C. 1594j(g)) is amended by adding the following sentence at the end thereof: "Any such housing so exempted in connection with depot-type installations, as to which the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, determines, subsequent to July 1, 1967, that indefinite retention may be necessary to satisfy unanticipated housing requirements resulting from future expanded activity at such installations, may be retained and utilized as necessary, notwithstanding that the foregoing criteria are no longer satisfied."

Sec. 609. The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to acquire by transfer, without reimbursement, all rights and interests of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, in ten family housing units located on Auxiliary Field Number 6, Eglin Air Force Base, Florida.

Sec. 610. (a) None of the funds authorized by this or any other Act may be expended for the repair or improvement of any single family housing unit, or for the repair or improvement of two or more housing units when such units are to be converted into or used as a single family housing unit, if the cost of such repair or improvement to such unit or units, as the case may be, exceeds a total cost of $10,000, including any costs in connection with (1) the furnishing of electricity, gas, water, and sewage disposal; (2) roads and walks; and (3) grading and drainage, unless such repair or improvement in connection with such unit or units is specifically authorized by law. As used in this section the term "repair or improvement" includes maintenance, alteration, expansion, extension, or rehabilitation of any housing unit or units.

(b) The Secretary of Defense, or his designee, is authorized to accomplish repairs and improvements to existing public quarters in amounts in excess of the $10,000 limitation prescribed in subsection (a) of this section as follows:

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, eight units, $158,000.

Commandant, United States Marine Corps Quarters, Washington, District of Columbia, one unit, $67,000.

Chief Naval Air Training Quarters, Pensacola, Florida, one unit, $19,900.

Commandant, Ninth Naval District, Great Lakes, Illinois, $40,000.

Quarters A, Naval Station, New York, one unit, $23,500.

Flag Quarters T–143, PWC San Diego, California, one unit, $18,100.

Flag Quarters Number 23, Honolulu, Hawaii, one unit, $16,300.

General Officers Quarters, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, twelve units, $190,400.

Sandia Base, New Mexico, twelve units, $125,000.

(c) Section 609 of the Military Construction Act of 1961 (75 Stat. 111) is hereby repealed.

Sec. 611. There is authorized to be appropriated for use by the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, for military family housing as authorized by law for the following purposes:

(a) for construction and acquisition of family housing, including improvements to adequate quarters, improvements to inadequate quarters, minor construction, rental guarantee payments, construction and acquisition of trailer court facilities, and planning, an amount not to exceed $230,225,000, and

(b) for support of military family housing, including operating expenses, leasing, maintenance of real property, payments of principal and interest on mortgage debts incurred, payments to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and mortgage insurance premiums authorized under section 222 of the National Housing Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1517m), an amount not to exceed $520,000,000.

TITLE VII

Homeowners Assistance

Sec. 701. In accordance with subsection 1013(i) of Public Law 89–754 (80 Stat. 1255, 1292) there is authorized to be apppropriated for use by the Secretary of Defense for the purposes of section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, including acquisition of properties, an amount not to exceed $27,000,000; but no funds may be expended for the purposes of such section 1013 after the expiration of thirty months following the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE VIII

General Provisions

Sec. 801. The Secretary of each military department may proceed to establish or develop installations and facilities under this Act without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), and sections 4774(d) and 9774(d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase exchange of Government-owned land or otherwise.

Sec. 802. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act, but appropriations for public works projects authorized by titles I, II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII shall not exceed—

(1) for title I: Inside the United States, $282,359,000; outside the United States, $100,480,000; section 102, $2,873,000; or a total of $385,712,000.

(2) for title II: Inside the United States, $414,833,000; outside the United States, $39,515,000; section 202, $6,784,000; or a total of $461,132,000.

(3) for title III: Inside the United States, $312,050,000; outside the United States, $26,904,000; section 302, $59,422,000; or a total of $398,376,000.

(4) for title IV: A total of $167,547,000.

(5) for title V: Southeast Asia support—Department of the Army, $33,156,000; Department of the Navy, $17,964,000; Department of the Air Force, $23,880,000.

(6) for title VI: Military family housing, $750,225,000.

(7) for title VII: Homeowners assistance, $27,000,000.

Sec. 803. Any of the amounts named in titles I, II, III, and IV of this Act, may, in the discretion of the Secretary concerned, be increased by 5 per centum for projects inside the United States (other than Alaska) and by 10 per centum for projects outside the United States or in Alaska, if he determines in the case of any particular project that such increase (1) is required for the sole purpose of meeting unusual variations in cost arising in connection with that project, and (2) could not have been reasonably anticipated at the time such project was submitted to the Congress. However, the total costs of all projects in each such title may not be more than the total amount authorized to be appropriated for projects in that title.

SEC. 804. Contracts for construction made by the United States for performance within the United States and its possessions under this Act shall be executed under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, or the Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of the Navy, unless the Secretary of Defense or his designee determines that because such jurisdiction and supervision is wholly impracticable such contracts should be executed under the jurisdiction and supervision of another department or Government agency, and shall be awarded, insofar as practicable, on a competitive basis to the lowest responsible bidder, if the national security will not be impaired and the award is consistent with chapter 137 of title 10, United States Code. Regulations issued by the Secretary of Defense implementing the provisions of this section shall provide the department or agency requiring such construction with the right to select either the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, or the Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of the Navy, as its construction agent, providing that under the facts and circumstances that exist at the time of the selection of the construction agent, such selection will not result in any increased cost to the United States. The Secretaries of the military departments shall report semiannually to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives with respect to all contracts awarded on other than a competitive basis to the lowest responsible bidder.

SEC. 805. (a) As of October 1, 1968, all authorizations for military public works (other than family housing) to be accomplished by the Secretary of a military department in connection with the establishment or development of military installations and facilities, and all authorizations for appropriations therefor, that are contained in titles I, II, III, and IV, of the Act of September 12, 1966, Public Law 89–568 (80 Stat. 739), and not superseded or otherwise modified by a later authorization are repealed except authorizations for public works projects as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts or land acquisitions in whole or in part before October 1, 1968, and authorizations for appropriations therefor.

(b) Effective fifteen months from the date of enactment of this Act, all authorizations for construction of family housing, including trailer court facilities, all authorizations to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions to existing family housing, and all authorizations for related facilities projects, which are contained in this or any previous Act, are hereby repealed, except (1) authorizations for family housing projects as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts or land acquisitions or manufactured structural component contracts in whole or in part before such date, and (2) authorizations to accomplish alterations, additions, expansions, or extensions to existing family housing, and authorizations for related facilities projects, as to which appropriated funds have been obligated for construction contracts before such date.

SEC. 806. None of the authority contained in titles I, II, III, IV, and V of this Act shall be deemed to authorize any building construction project inside the United States (other than Alaska) at a unit cost in excess of—

(1) $36 per square foot for cold storage warehousing;

(2) $9 per square foot for regular warehousing;

(3) $2,300 per person for permanent barracks;

(4) $8,500 per person for bachelor officer quarters; unless the Secretary of Defense or his designee determines that, because of special circumstances, application to such project of the limitations on unit costs contained in this section is impracticable: *Provided*, That notwithstanding the limitations contained in prior Military Construction Authorization Acts on unit costs, the limitations on such costs contained in this section shall apply to all prior authorizations for such construction not heretofore repealed and for which construction contracts have not been awarded by the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 807. Section 610 of the Military Construction Authorization Act, 1967 (Public Law 89–568; 80 Stat. 756) is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting, after the words "under this Act" appearing in subsection (b), the following: "or hereafter authorized" and

(b) By striking the period at the end thereof, substituting a colon therefor and adding the following: "*Provided, however*, That this authorization may be averaged and applied to a single facility of two or more facilities, or among projects on an installation, when such application will result in more fallout shelter space, or is needed to meet minimum fallout protection standards in such facilities or projects."

SEC. 808. None of the funds authorized by this Act shall be expended for the construction of any waste treatment or waste disposal system at or in connection with any military installation until after the Secretary of Defense or his designee has consulted with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Department of the Interior and determined that the degree and type of waste disposal and treatment required in the area in which such military installation is located are consistent with applicable Federal or State water quality standards or other requirements and that the planned system will be coordinated in timing with a State, county, or municipal program which requires communities to take such related abatement measures as are necessary to achieve areawide water pollution cleanup.

SEC. 809. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the lands constituting Fort DeRussy, Hawaii, may be sold, leased, transferred, or otherwise disposed by the Department of Defense unless hereafter authorized by law.

SEC. 810. (a) The Naval Academy Dairy Farm is a self-supporting operation, an economic and morale-building asset to the Department of the Navy, and shall continue in its present status and function.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (40 U.S.C. 471 et seq.) or any other provision of law, the real property located in Gambrills, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and comprising the Naval Academy Dairy Farm shall not be determined excess to the needs of the holding agency or transferred, reassigned, or otherwise disposed of by such agency, nor shall any action be taken by the Navy to close, dispose of or phase out the Naval Academy Dairy Farm unless specially authorized by an Act of Congress.

SEC. 811. Titles I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII of this Act may be cited as the "Military Construction Authorization Act, 1968."

TITLE IX

Reserve Forces Facilities

SEC. 901. Subject to chapter 133 of title 10, United States Code, the Secretary of Defense may establish or develop additional facilities for the Reserve Forces, including the acquisition of land therefor, but the cost of such facilities shall not exceed—

(1) for Department of the Army:

(a) Army National Guard of the United States, $10,000,000.

(b) Army Reserve, $10,000,000.

(2) for Department of the Navy: Naval and Marine Corps Reserves, $4,500,000.

(3) for Department of the Air Force:

(a) Air National Guard of the United States, $9,800,000.

(b) Air Force Reserve, $4,000,000.

SEC. 902. The Secretary of Defense may establish or develop installations and facilities under this title without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), and sections 4774(d) and 9774 (d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

SEC. 903. This title may be cited as the "Reserve Forces Facilities Authorization Act, 1968."

TITLE X

Naval Districts and the Rank of Commandants Thereof

SEC. 1001. Part I of subtitle C of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) A new chapter 516 is inserted after chapter 515 reading as follows:

"Chapter 516.—NAVAL DISTRICTS

"Sec.
"5221. Naval districts.
"5222. Commandants of naval districts.

"§ 5221. Naval districts

"There shall be included within the organization of the Department of the Navy, naval districts. These naval districts and their headquarters are as listed in the subjoined table:

"District No. or name	States and counties	Headquarters
1	Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island (including Block Island).	Boston.
3	Connecticut, New York, northern part of New Jersey, including the counties of Monmouth, Middlesex, Somerset, Hunterdon, and all counties north thereof; also Nantucket Shoals Lightship.	New York.
4	Pennsylvania; southern part of New Jersey, including counties of Mercer, Burlington, Ocean, and all counties south thereof; Delaware, including Winter Quarter Shoal Light Vessel; Ohio.	Philadelphia.
5	Maryland less Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, Montgomery, St. Marys, Calvert, and Charles Counties; West Virginia; Virginia less Arlington, Fairfax, Stafford, King George, Prince William, and Westmoreland Counties and the city of Alexandria; also all waters of Chesapeake Bay including its arms and tributaries except waters within the Fourth Naval District and the counties comprising the Naval District Washington, D.C., west of a line extending from Smith Point to Point Lookout thence following the general contour of the shoreline of St. Marys, Calvert, and Anne Arundel Counties, as faired by straight lines from headland to headland across rivers and estuaries; Kentucky; and the counties of Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Gates, Perquimans, Chowan, Dare, Tyrrell, Washington, Hyde, Beaufort, Pamlico, Craven, Jones, Carteret, and Onslow in North Carolina.	Norfolk.

"District No. or name	States and counties	Headquarters
6	North Carolina less the counties of Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Gates, Perquimans, Chowan, Dare, Tyrrell, Washington, Hyde, Beaufort, Pamlico, Craven, Jones, Carteret, and Onslow; South Carolina; Georgia; Florida; Alabama; Tennessee; and Mississippi.	Charleston.
8	Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico	New Orleans.
9	Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming.	Great Lakes.
11	Arizona; Clark County, Nevada; southern part of California, including counties of Santa Barbara, Kern, and San Bernardino, and all counties south thereof.	San Diego.
12	Utah, Nevada (except Clark County), northern part of California, including counties of San Luis Obispo, Kings, Tulare, Inyo and all counties north thereof.	San Francisco.
13	Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana	Seattle.
Naval District, Washington, D.C.	The Potomac River up to the Frederick County line; the District of Columbia; the counties of Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, Montgomery, St. Marys, Calvert, and Charles in Maryland; the counties of Arlington, Fairfax, Stafford, King George, Prince William, and Westmoreland in Virginia; and the cities of Alexandria, Falls Church, and Fairfax, Virginia. The waters of the Naval District Washington, D.C., include the waters within the counties comprising the command west of a line extending from Smith Point to Point Lookout, thence following the general contour of the shoreline of St. Marys, Calvert, and Anne Arundel Counties, as faired by straight lines from headland to headland across rivers and estuaries.	Washington, D.C.

"§ 5222. Commandants of naval districts

"The Secretary of the Navy shall detail an officer of the Navy not below the grade of rear admiral as commandant of each of the naval districts listed in section 5221 of this title."

(2) The chapter analysis is amended by inserting the following item after item 515:

"516. Naval districts."

And the Senate agree to the same.

L. MENDEL RIVERS,
PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
F. EDW. HÉBERT,
MELVIN PRICE,
PORTER HARDY, Jr.,
WILLIAM H. BATES,
L. C. ARENDS,
WILLIAM G. BRAY,
ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
Managers on the Part of the House.

H. M. JACKSON,
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
HOWARD W. CANNON,
DANIEL K. INOUYE,
STROM THURMOND,
JOHN TOWER,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11722) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

LEGISLATION IN CONFERENCE

On August 1, 1967, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 11722, which is the fiscal year 1968 military construction authorization for the Department of Defense and Reserve components.

On September 25, 1967, the Senate considered the legislation and amended it by striking out all language after the enacting clause and wrote a new bill.

COMPARISON OF HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS

H.R. 11722, as passed by the House of Representatives, provided construction authorization to the military departments and the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1968 in the total amount of $2,378,843,000.

The bill as passed by the Senate, provided new authorizations in the amount of $2,251,846,000.

The Senate bill, therefore, represented a decrease of $126,997,000 in the amount previously approved by the House of Representatives.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES

As a consequence of a conference between the House and Senate on the differences in H.R. 11722, the conferees agreed to a new adjusted authorization for military construction for fiscal year 1968 in the total amount of $2,303,292,000.

The total new authorization, therefore, represents an increase in the amount previously approved by the Senate of $51,446,000 and represents a reduction of $75,551,000 in the amount previously approved by the House.

The total construction authorization recommended by the conferees for fiscal year 1968 is $1,297,450,000 more than the amount of military construction authorized in fiscal year 1967 by Public Law 89-568, that figure being $1,005,842,000.

The Department of Defense and the respective military departments had requested a total of $2,635,238,000 for new construction authorization for fiscal year 1968. The action of the conferees, therefore, reduces this departmental request by $331,946,000.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The attitude of the conference concerning this bill was that whatever was essential for the military should be provided and whatever could be safely deferred should be deferred until a later period.

Among the items in this category were the commissaries requested by the Department of Defense. It was pointed out that in all of the commissaries, the cost per square foot was considerably above that of comparable supermarkets built in the vicinity of the requested commissaries. The conferees were concerned about this great disparity in cost. While both House and Senate conferees believe that a commissary is an important part of the military pay structure, it was felt that the commissaries should not be authorized until their cost was more nearly in line with that of supermarkets being constructed in their vicinity. It is expected that during this year, the Department of Defense and the services will carefully review their commissary construction program with the view of eliminating any items which are not absolutely essential to their operation.

Naval Weapons Station, Concord, Calif.

Both the House and Senate approved $19,800,000 to help remedy a very dangerous situation existing at this plant. The Navy requested authority to acquire a buffer safety zone of 5,021 acres around the naval ammunition outloading facility at Concord, California, which includes the town of Port Chicago.

Neither the House nor the Senate were fully convinced that the proposed solution is the most desirable one. Many plans for the elimination of this hazard have been developed and studied by the Navy and have even been presented to the Congress. Each plan has had many variations. It is recognized, however, that some permanent solution must be found to alleviate the safety hazard at this installation.

The conferees, as both committees, were not entirely satisfied that the current proposal by the Navy is the most desirable solution to the problem, and it was evident that the overall costs are likely to be much greater than current Navy estimates. Therefore, the House accepted the change in the Senate language which added the words "operational facilities" in order to follow flexibility in selecting the work to be done and thus permitting the Secretary of Defense to select an alternate proposal if it is seemed desirable.

As the conferees view this matter, consideration should be given to reconstructing the piers so that they conform to minimum safety regulations. Consideration should also be given to relocating at least a portion of this facility along the seacoast in the northwestern part of the United States.

The conferees recognized, too, that there is an immediate problem of encroachment to this danger area by new real estate developments.

It is the desire of the conferees that the Secretary of Defense shall conduct an exhaustive study leading to a final solution to this grave problem and report his findings to the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives and the Senate as to his decision and reason therefor prior to proceeding with the proposal selected.

TITLE I—ARMY

The House had approved construction authorization in the amount of $379,830,000 for the Department of the Army.

The Senate reduced this amount by $52,030,000, but in so doing, deleted projects approved by the House totaling $93,225,000 and authorized projects totaling $41,450,000, most of which were denied by the House.

The conferees agreed on a new total authorization for the Army in the amount of $385,712,000. But for this figure to have meaning, it must be realized that $60,000,000 for NATO infrastructure which was included in the bill that passed the House but not in the Senate bill, has been restored in conference. The military construction bill as it was presented to the Congress contained a section authorizing the Secretary of Defense to carry out bilateral or multilateral arrangements with any foreign government for sharing the costs of acquiring and construction of military facilities and installations, including international military headquarters, for collective defense. Although the language in the original bill did not so state, the arrangements related only to NATO and the money figure, which was not set out in the bill language, was $60 million.

The House committee modified this language to place the authority in the Secretary of the Army, who is in fact the executive agent for this construction; limited the construction authority to NATO; and inserted the specific money figure of $60 million which is the anticipated expenditure for these purposes for the coming year.

The Senate committee taking note of the fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee granted similar authority for the NATO infrastructure, deleted the proposed authority from the military construction bill. The Conference between the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee has not yet been concluded.

On the basis of representations made by the conferees to the effect that inclusion in the military construction bill of authority of this kind is both logical and desirable, the Senate conferees agreed to the House language. A detailed exposition of the position of the House in this respect is set out in detail in House Report 512, 90th Congress, 1st Session.

The position of the House prevailed in eliminating from the bill three projects which were deleted during House consideration but which were restored by the Senate.

Petroleum Laboratory Training Building, Fort Lee, Va.

The Army had asked for a laboratory classroom building relating to the analysis, supply and/or storage of petroleum products at a cost of $493,000. The building which was constructed in 1943, was modified in 1954 for its present use.

The conferees agreed that replacement of this building could be deferred without impairing the primary training mission.

Fort Campbell, Ky.

The Army had requested $1,342,000 for administration and supply buildings for the Airborne Defense Artillery, other direct support Straf units, and Campbell Army Airfield Army and Air Force units.

At present, they are utilizing 866 diverted enlisted men's barracks spaces to satisfy this requirement, and the conferees agreed that for the present this space should suffice. It was recognized, however, that sometime in the future these facilities must be constructed.

Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md.

The Army had requested $2,086,000 for a welding training building.

The House conferees while recognizing the need for this facility, believe that the unit cost of $27.65 per square foot was excessive and that next year the Army should submit a similar project at a more realistic cost.

The position of the House conferees prevailed on one Army project which was authorized by the House but deleted by the Senate.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.

This project is for air conditioning of the Finance Center at a cost of $3,356,000.

The House conferees pointed out that there are approximately 6,000 military and Government employees working in this Center. Presently the need is being met by use of 3,000 electric fans and inefficient window units which augment a central ventilating system installed when the building was constructed. This method of ventilation causes drafts, frequent illnesses, costly internal electrical breakdowns due to overloading of electrical circuits not designed for fan power requirements, and is a safety hazard.

The work load at the Finance Center has greatly increased to meet the requirements of the Southeast Asia conflict. The average maximum temperature for the month of July 1966 in the Indianapolis area was 97.7° with an average relative humidity of 62 percent. This combination exceeds the figures established for dismissal at non-air conditioned buildings in the D.C. area.

TITLE II—NAVY

The House had approved $474,202,000 in new construction authorization for the Department of the Navy.

The Senate reduced this amount by $18,579,000 but in so doing deleted projects approved by the House totaling $40,971,000 and authorized projects totaling $22,212,000 which were denied by the House.

The conferees agreed on a new total authorization of $461,132,000 which is $10,070,000 less than the House had authorized but $5,509,000 more than the Senate authorization.

The House conferees were able to secure restoration of the following items which had been authorized by the House but were deleted by the Senate:

U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

The Navy requested $1,135,000 for a new laundry and dry cleaning plant.

While the Senate recognized its need, it questioned the design and cost.

The House conferees after pointing out that some of the members had made an onsite inspection the day before the conference, of the laundry, insisted that the present building is totally inadequate to meet the needs. In fact, the building is required to be shored up in order to continue in operation. In actuality, the House conferees pointed out that the Navy is currently operating in "sweat shop" conditions in its present plant.

The proposed laundry will be designed to use economical steel frame and inexpensive brick wall construction.

The Senate yielded.

Naval Radio Station, Driver, Va.

The Navy requested $65,000 for barracks rehabilitation at the Naval Radio Station, Driver, Virginia.

The present barracks consists of a two-story building designed for 100 men, constructed in 1953 at a cost of $228,000. The condition of the building is far below acceptable standards with regard to provision of cubicles; wall and ceiling finishes; quality and quantity of furniture; and lounge and recreational facilities.

Because of the isolated location of this activity, the House conferees believe that this barracks rehabilitation would have a substantial morale effect on the enlisted personnel quartered in these barracks.

Naval Schools Command, Norfolk, Va.

The Navy requested $1,787,000 for an electronics training building.

The Electronics Technician School at Naval Schools Command, Norfolk, provides the only specialized electronics equipment maintenance training in support of the Atlantic fleet except for three electronics countermeasures equipment maintenance courses conducted in limited facilities at the Naval Schools Command, Newport, R.I. The existing facilities at Norfolk contain 20 rooms used as combination classrooms/laboratories, a test equipment qualification laboratory and minimal administrative spaces. These facilities will support only 18 established courses and 11 courses in the process of being established. Classroom/laboratory space is not available for 37 additional maintenance courses required to provide training in support of complex electronic equipments which will be introduced into the Atlantic fleet during the Fiscal Year 1968 through 1972 time period. This line item will support, primarily, these new courses and secondarily will alleviate the overcrowded conditions in existing facilities.

The only alternative to approval of this line item is to support maintenance training on new electronics equipments by costly factory training.

Naval Radio Station, Northwest, Va.

The Navy requested $143,000 for a bachelor officers' quarters and mess.

The House conferees pointed out that there are no bachelor officers' quarters at this Station. Officers messing is accomplished through the enlisted general mess. The nearest BOQ is at Naval Air Station, Oceana, 35 miles away. The connecting roads are mainly secondary county roads with inherent hazardous conditions. The increased operational tasks have caused a considerable increase in the number of officer personnel assigned. The mission of the Station requires that highly trained civilian technicians and officers of other operational units visit the Station for consultation, familiarization and testing of equipments. These visits extend up to six month periods and require the presence of the technicians on the Station to ensure proper continuity and efficient performance of the tests.

Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Va.

The Navy requested $586,000 for barracks rehabilitation.

These buildings constructed in 1942, are structurally sound but grossly inadequate for quarters for enlisted personnel.

Barracks consist of open dormitories which do not provide personal privacy in any form. They are furnished with double bunks and lockers. Walls are drab; lighting is archaic; and the combination of heat and humidity during summer months is unbearable due to the lack of natural or mechanical ventilation. Heads, washrooms, and utilities are antiquated, of insufficient capacity, unreliable, and unsightly. Recreation and lounge areas have bare concrete ceilings, without accoustical treatment, and fail to provide a relaxing, restful atmosphere. The housing of staff and student personnel in such a gloomy, old fashioned, prison-like environment does not contribute to their study, rest, and relaxation so necessary to efficient performance of military duties.

Naval Station, Mayport, Fla.

The navy requested $417,000 for an administration and storage facility.

The House conferees pointed out that existing facilities are overcrowded, scattered, temporary and scheduled for demolition. These facilities consist of: one building at the Naval Reserve Training Center located in downtown Jacksonville which is now in a blast area and is to be torn down in conjunction with a waterfront improvements program; and three renovated house trailers located at Mayport Station.

This item will provide administrative space (14,352 sq. ft.) for the current 112 positions with an expected personnel expansion to 135 needed to perform current workload demands. It will also provide a material storage and work area (3,000 sq. ft.).

As an interim solution to the requirement to vacate, negotiations to rent are now underway. Preliminary estimates at $4.00/$4.25 per sq. ft. indicate a rental cost of $69,400. Since there is no space available near the Mayport Naval Station, rental will be in Jacksonville. This requires administrators of Mastership Ship Repair Controls, Engineers and Technical personnel to make frequent trips of approximately 25 miles (or 45 minutes) from the rental space to the Mayport Naval Station. Personnel should be located closer to the ships to solve suddenly arising urgent ship repair problems; and to perform design, planning, contracting, coordination, inspection, procurement, and related functions in conjunction with a $12,000,000 annual ship repair and overhaul program.

Naval Weapons Station, Charleston, S.C.

The Navy requested $986,000 for the fourth increment for a community center.

Currently, there are 900 children enrolled in Sunday School and/or religious education requiring two separate services on Sunday and two during the week. Space available will accommodate only 85 children. There are 875 adults attending chapel services each Sunday in a chapel with a seating capacity of 209.

There are no club facilities at Naval Weapons Station for enlisted men to relax after long hours of work and on duty at sea. An Enlisted Men's club is urgently required to boost the morale of highly trained enlisted technicians assigned to Naval Weapons Station/Polaris Missile Facility, Atlantic.

Presently, there are 984 units of family housing at Naval Weapons Station; and, an additional 150 units of section 810 located adjacent to the station. An additional 150 units are scheduled for construction on Naval Weapons Station property in the FY 1968 military construction program. The FY 1968 POSEIDON construction program alone will add $15,570,000 worth of production facilities to the station. With a continuous buildup of production facilities and personnel, it is essential that community facilities be programmed concurrently.

Naval Air Station, Miramar, Calif.

The Navy requested $754,000 for a dispensary and dental clinic.

The House conferees pointed out that this item is needed to replace a deteriorated World War II constructed facility which is functionally and spatially inadequate.

Crowding is to the point where 5 or 6 officers and their respective patients must share the same room during sick call without the benefit of privacy usually afforded during consultation and/or examination. The continuance of existing conditions is costly and inimical to efforts which tend to promote a suitable environment for the assigned 8,000 military personnel and their families. Although this facility may be small in scope in comparison to those throughout the Navy, it is large in stature with respect to the needs of the assigned personnel who man and/or support the aircraft homeported at the Navy's sole Master Jet Fighter Air Station on the West Coast.

The Senate restored one item in Title II of the bill, for a degaussing range facility at the Naval Degaussing Station, Portsmouth, Virginia.

Naval Degaussing Station, Portsmouth, Va.

The Navy has requested $364,000 for this item.

The House conferees pointed out that since this was a replacement item, this project could be safely deferred without impairing the mission of this activity.

The Senate yielded.

TITLE III—AIR FORCE

The House had approved construction authorization in the amount of $433,511,000 for the Department of the Air Force.

The Senate reduced this amount by $58,608,000, but in so doing, deleted projects approved by the House totaling $65,365,000 and authorized projects totaling $16,027,000 which were denied by the House.

The conferees agreed on a new total authorization for the Air Force in the amount of $398,376,000.

Of the items authorized by the House but deleted by the Senate, the House conferees were able to secure restoration of the following projects:

Peterson Field, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Beginning 1 January 1968, the Air Training Command will conduct a pilot indoctrination program for senior Air Force Academy cadets. Each qualified cadet will receive 36.5 hours of flying time in T–41 aircraft. This operation will be conducted out of Peterson Field.

Five buildings and underlying land, located contiguous to the existing Air Force area at Peterson Field, Colorado, are required to accommodate the U.S. Air Force Academy Cadet Pilot Indoctrination Program.

This is the only remaining area on the east side of Peterson Field available for this mission. With the planned move of all civil activities to the west side of the field, the acquistion of this area will permit complete Air Force control of the east side of the field, thus providing maximum security and integrity of operation. The five buildings are privately owned on land leased to their three owners by the city of Colorado Springs. These leases may be canceled by the city subject to payment by the city for the buildings current value. The fair market value of $407,000 represents improvements for which the Air Force would reimburse the city. By this acquisition, the Air Force will gain hangar, administrative and shop space as well as an aircraft parking apron.

Through this expenditure, $955,000 in new construction at a less satisfactory location on the field will be avoided for a net savings of $548,000.

Tyndall Air Force Base, Fla.

The Air Force requested $114,000 for an administrative office addition.

The House conferees pointed out that this project is essential to relieve an extremely overcrowded condition now prevalent in the base supply administrative organization. The efficient and expeditious management of a $22 million inventory, involving in excess of 62,000 base supply type items, requires adequate office space for the 155 administrative personnel and associated equipment in execution of their supply management responsibilities. A survey of the base revealed that there is no space available for this function within the supply and industrial areas. The existing 18,875 sq. ft. wood frame building, built in 1943, is currently fully utilized for administrative purposes, and mission accomplishment at this base will be seriously jeopardized if this project is not constructed.

McClellan Air Force Base, Calif.

The Air Force requested $905,000 for an air freight terminal.

This project is required to replace the existing Air Freight Terminal which was developed to support a World War II airlift system. It is substandard, undersized, located an excessive distance from the warehousing complex (2.2 miles) and is functionally inadequate to support the projected airlift capability of the future. It supports the Sacramento Air Materiel Area mission which involves first line aircraft weapons systems, warning and surveillance systems, missile and aerospace programs, critical priority and deadline date items world wide. It also serves as a terminal point for the Air Force CONUS Airlift System.

A total of 31,542 tons of cargo was processed through this terminal during 1966. However, a substantial portion of this cargo was relegated to outside storage and processing, suffering the effects of inclement weather, due to the inadequacies of the terminal. The 1966 tonnages represent a 6 percent increase over the tonnage processed in 1965. Based on experience factors and projected airlift capability the workload at this terminal will be reflected in increased outdoor processing.

Eglin AFB, Fla.

The Air Force had requested $400,000 for an armament test preparation facility.

The House conferees pointed out that this project is urgently needed to meet the increasing demands for new Air Force weapons. Limited war munitions capabilities are made possible by the Air Force Armament Lab capability to develop new munitions and "quick-fix" field deficiencies. The successful solution of these unforeseen problems is attributed to the flexibility of the in-house laboratory capabilities. Contractual efforts to attack these problems, especially if they occur in the chemical process-explosive mix discipline, cannot be achieved quickly. For example, many new munitions have been deployed into Southeast Asia. When the enemy finds means to counter these weapons, the Armament Laboratory is frequently called on to make quick reaction changes to circumvent these counter-measures. The in-house capability at Eglin is now inadequate in this area. Delay in construction of this facility will aggravate the current Air Force difficulties in making quick reaction to munitions deficiencies identified by the operational forces.

Laurence G. Hanscom Field, Mass.

The Air Force had requested $166,000 for a photographic laboratory.

The House conferees pointed out that a new photographic laboratory is needed because of existing inadequate facilities. The facilities are inadequate for the following reasons:

1. Space limitations prohibit installation of required camera and automatic processing equipment.

2. The insufficient space does not properly allow for office, supply equipment custodian room, administration area, an additional color room, a photostatic room, a preview room, an audio-visual photographic repairs room, a chemical mixing room, and a field storage room.

Satellite control facilities, Calif.

The Air Force had requested $4 million for an electrical power plant.

The House conferees pointed out that the design specifications for this power plant require more than provision of a secondary or auxiliary power supply. Most significantly, this project must provide a higher quality electric power than is available in the current source. High quality electric power is required to prevent transient outages and loss of transmission capability in space communications.

This project is more correctly identified as a complete all-purpose utility facility. It will provide: (1) all electrical support consisting of high quality and high reliable prime power, not secondary power; (2) mechanical support such as chilled water and steam to operate the entire Sunnyvale Test Center (STC); and (3) the fire protection control system for the STC. It will be operated under the total energy concept in that exhaust heat from the gas turbines, which generate the electrical power, will be used to provide air conditioning in the summer and heat in the winter.

The recommended second loop from the existing commercial power source may improve the reliability by providing an alternate route but will not improve the quality required to operate the technical loads. The momentary transient outages and other power degradations inherent in the present system cannot be eliminated by a second loop. A fluctuation lasting only a fraction of a second can result in an operational outage necessitating synchronization of data circuits in order to re-establish data transmission capability. The basic justification for this item has been the recognition by the present source of commercial power that they cannot meet the quality required in either frequency or voltage regulation without costly expenditures.

The most critical mission of the Sunnyvale Test Center is the monitoring, control, data acquisition and evaluation of the highest priority national defense satellite reconnaissance and detection programs. The successful accomplishment of this mission is directly dependent upon high quality and high reliable power.

Maxwell AFB, Ala.

The Air Force had requested $632,000 for a U.S.A.F. archives facility.

The House conferees pointed out that the Archives collection cannot be properly protected or preserved in the building presently being used. The threat of losing the entire collection by fire causes great concern. Documents are deteriorating, some to the extent of disintegrating, under the variable heat and humidity conditions. Temperatures in the metal file cabinets range from 30° F in winter to 130° F in summer as heat radiates from the metal roof. During these extremes of temperature the personnel who service and research the documents can stay in the files area for limited periods of time.

In the annual reports to the Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, the Air University Board of Visitors has expressed serious concern over the existing conditions.

Further delay will only contribute to accelerated decay of these invaluable documents.

Scott AFB, Ill.

The Air Force requested $7,500,000 for a headquarters for the Military Airlift Command, and $124,000 for a land fee purchase.

The House conferees pointed out that the existing dispersed and obsolete facilities now utilized are not adequate to support the speed and accuracy of response required to meet the various demands of the intercontinental airlift mission of the Department of Defense. Today, over 200 of the new C–141 jet cargo aircraft have been delivered to the Military Airlift Command. This is one-half of the total MAC force. Next year, the C–5 will make its first flight and shortly thereafter begin entering the MAC force in quantity. These two airlift aircraft procurement programs presently represent some $4.9 billion of capital investment. The capability they represent is essential to the defense posture of the nation. For about ten years, MATS—MAC—has been headquartered at Scott. Its Command, Staff, and Control elements are fragmented and scattered throughout the base in structures which date from 1940, many of which are of wooden construction. This condition may have been tolerable in the past. However, the situation which the Military Airlift Command now faces is identical to the needs of the Strategic Air Command at the time that the jet B–47 began to replace the piston engine B–50/B–36. MAC must now be immediately responsive to contingency and emergency airlift needs of the DOD. The ability to respond immediately and effectively to airlift requirements is dependent on the capabilities of the airlift force and efficacy of the Command and Control organization which directs that force. The vision and direction of the Congress has assured the acquisition of the airlift force—the Air Force now requests facility support with which to manage the force effectively. The MAC Command headquarters facility will provide this assurance at an investment of only $7.5 million.

The conferees, however, were extremely concerned over the acquisition of the one acre of land at a cost of $124,000. While it was recognized that on this one acre of land was an operating, privately owned laundry and dry cleaning plant, the conferees were in agreement that the land authorization should not be utilized unless it will impede or impair the construction of the Military Airlift Command Headquarters.

Westover AFB, Mass.

The Air Force requested $375,000 for officers' quarters.

The House conferees insisted that their objective is to provide quarters on base for those bachelors who are required on base for military necessity or who wish to reside on the installation or who cannot find adequate off-base housing within their housing allowance. On the average, 187 assigned officers at Westover reside off base and receive BAQ because of inadequate on-base facilities.

Pope AFB, Fort Bragg, N.C.

The Air Force had requested $419,000 for a new dispensary.

The House conferees pointed out that this project is required to provide adequate base level medical support for approximately 5700 military personnel. The present facility is 51 percent deficient in square feet.

Kindley AFB, Bermuda

The Air Force requested $1,012,000 for a dependent elementary school.

The House conferees pointed out that this project is urgently required to provide an adequate elementary educational facility for some 410 dependent children at Kindley AFB. The current facility consists of pre-World War II CCC-type structures shipped to Kindley and erected in 1942–43. These buildings are beyond the point of economical repair. Structural deterioration requires use of external bracing and shoring to prop up sagging floors and roofs. Continued use of these facilities will be at a serious risk to student health and safety. Inadequate electrical wiring will not permit use of lighting and training aids at the same time. Lack of adequate sanitary facilities require these children to attend school under conditions which would not be tolerated in a stateside school. Existing sanitary facilities are substandard, inadequate, and expose children to inclement weather during the winter months.

The Air Force and OSD have recently completed an evaluation of the future mission of the base. The net effect has been a reduction in base strength. The remaining missions are firm for the foreseeable future. The scope of this project has been based on the long range, reduced strength of future firm missions. It reflects an accurate appraisal of future elementary educational facility requirements.

The conferees agreed to reduce this amount to $500,000 and request a re-design of the proposed facilities. It was suggested during the conference that perhaps temporary or relocatable buildings might be utilized rather than permanent construction. But it was also recognized that there was an immediate urgent requirement to replace the existing facilities.

Ramey AFB, Puerto Rico

The Air Force had requested $431,000 for an officers' quarters.

The House conferees pointed out that this project is required to partially alleviate an existing deficiency of 76 quarters. The existing facilities suffice for the present only by continuing to house 24 officers in substandard quarters and issuing certificates of nonavailability for 32 transient spaces. The nearest metropolitan area is located approximately 30 miles from the installation.

Section 302

The Air Force had originally asked for $19,500,000 for war reserve material storage facilities.

The House had reduced this figure by $9,500,000, and the Senate eliminated the remainder.

During conference, the conferees agreed to restore $5 million to provide for petroleum storage.

In the area of contingency operations, the Air Force had requested $29,382,000.

The House reduced this amount by $4,382,000.

The Senate further reduced this amount by $22,500,000.

The conferees agreed to a restoration of an additional $2,500,000.

TITLE IV—DEFENSE AGENCIES

The House authorized $169,000,000 for Defense Agencies while the Senate had authorized $217,547,000.

The big difference between the House and Senate versions relates to the contingency fund for the Secretary of Defense.

In the House version, $150 million was authorized with a further restriction that of this amount, $50 million was specifically earmarked for construction of roads and highways in Southeast Asia.

The Senate had authorized $200 million without any restrictive language.

A compromise was reached whereby the Senate reduced this authorization for the Secretary of Defense by $50 million, and the House eliminated the restrictive or limiting language.

The conferees agreed to a new figure of $167,547,000.

TITLE V—SOUTHEAST ASIA

There was no difference in the authorization between the House and Senate.

TITLE VI—FAMILY HOUSING

The House authorized 12,500 units of family housing.

The Senate reduced this figure by 2,816 units.

The House was able to secure restoration of 725 units as follows:

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas—100 units
Naval Command Station, Cheltenham, Md.—50 units
Naval Complex, Boston, Mass.—100 units
Naval Station, Lemoore, Calif.—50 units
Andrews AFB, Md.—200 units
Hanscom AFB, Mass.—100 units
Bentwater AFB, England—100 units
Upper Heyford AFB, England—75 units

The conferees agreed to delete 50 additional units at Pensacola, Florida.

The total number of houses now authorized is 10,409 units.

Section 602

Both houses increased a cost limitation on units of family housing from $17,500 to $19,000 but the Senate included the cost of land while the House had excluded it.

The House yielded on this provision.

Section 602(b)

The House had increased cost limitation on an individual unit of family housing to $35,000 excluding the cost of land.

The Senate set a limit of $32,000 including the cost of land.

A compromise was reached whereby the maximum cost of any unit of family housing could be $35,000 including the cost of land.

The House had included a provision which would permit an increase in both cost and size limitations for houses of commanding officers. It was recognized that there might be instances whereby it would be essential to increase the cost limitation and size of the house of the commanding officer but the Senate was adamant in not writing this increase into law.

However, it was the consensus of the conferees that the Department of Defense should have no hesitancy in presenting to the committee a special request any time they feel that the size and cost limitations for the house of a commanding officer are inadequate.

In all other instances relating to family housing, the House accepted the Senate version but insisted that the house of the commandant of the Ninth Naval District located at the Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois, be restored at a cost not in excess of $40,000.

While the language of section 605 of the House bill has been rewritten, it is now included in section 610 of the Conference Report.

TITLE VII—HOMEOWNERS' ASSISTANCE

During the conference, the House receded on its position that the Homeowners' Assistance Program should be limited to military personnel only. Therefore, the conference report includes both military and civilian employees, and raises the amount of the authorization from $22,000,000 to $27,000,000, the amount requested by the Department of Defense.

It was the position of the conferees, however, that a time period for assistance provided by this authorization should be limited to thirty months. During that period, the whole question of whether this type of financial assistance should be given should be gone into in depth.

TITLE VIII—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Section 805

The House accepted the Senate version of section 805 which would insure that trailer court facilities and improvement to current family housing assets would be repealed if not utilized at the same time that the family housing authorization would expire.

Section 806

The House receded on section 806 and retained the cost limitation of $2300 per person for permanent barracks and $8500 per person for bachelor officer quarters.

Section 809

The House accepted a Senate provision requiring the retention of the entire property constituting Fort De Russey, Hawaii.

Section 810

The Senate receded and accepted the House version of the bill calling for retention and continued operation of the Naval Academy Dairy Farm for the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis.

TITLE IX—RESERVE FORCES

There was no difference in the authorization between the House and Senate.

TITLE X—NAVAL DISTRICTS

Title X of the House bill would establish by law the boundaries and headquarters of the present naval districts and fix the rank of the commandant as that of rear admiral. The Senate deleted the section.

During the conference, a compromise was worked out whereby the naval districts within the continental limits of the United States will be designated by law and the rank of the commandant will be fixed as that of rear admiral. The language relating to naval districts outside the continental limits of the United States was eliminated during the conference.

L. MENDEL RIVERS,
PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
F. EDW. HÉBERT,
MELVIN PRICE,
PORTER HARDY, Jr.,
WILLIAM H. BATES,
L. C. ARENDS,
WILLIAM G. BRAY,
ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. RIVERS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today I bring you the conference report on H.R. 11722, the military construction authorization bill for fiscal year 1968. I wish I could say that the position of the House conferees prevailed on all matters, but like most conferences, it was a give and take proposition and the original House figure of $2,378,843,000 has been reduced by $75,551,000—or a total for new authorization in the amount of $2,303,292,000. The bill passed by the Senate has been increased by $51,416,000 so you can see that both sides yielded. Naturally, when a military construction authorization bill is reduced, certain projects have to be eliminated. I think all that were eliminated will eventually be required but the conferees, acting in a spirit reflective of what I believe to be the attitude of Congress, deleted the projects which were not of the greatest military necessity.

I would not attempt to detail the nearly 200 differences that existed between the House bills. The conference report will show the items we were able to get restored which the Senate had eliminated as well as those items which the Senate added and we were able to delete.

As you will recall when I presented the military construction bill to the House, I told you that we had carefully considered slightly over 1,800 individual line items, but line items alone are only a portion of this bill.

When we went to conference we had been mandated by the House of Representatives to include funds for the construction of international military headquarters at NATO in the military construction bill. I refer not only to the passage of our bill itself but also the rejection by the House of a provision in the foreign assistance bill which would have authorized these same headquarters. I am happy to report that the Senate accepted the House version of the bill.

We also were able to prevail upon the Senate to accept our language in regard to the retention of the naval dairy farm at Annapolis.

Equally as important, we were able to sustain our position insofar as a retention of the naval districts in their present form within the continental limits of the United States. We did, however, accept a compromise which limits the statutory description to the area constituting the continental limits of the United States. I think this is a very workable and satisfactory compromise and reflects the present intention of the Department of Defense.

On the other hand, the House was unable to prevail in its position that financial assistance be provided only to military personnel who suffered financial losses as the result of the base closure program of the Secretary of Defense. Thus, the House version was increased by $5 million and both military and civilians who were affected by this program are now covered, but we did work out a compromise whereby this program is good for only a 30-month period.

I am hopeful that this action will cause Mr. McNamara to more carefully scrutinize the total cost of his base closure program and perhaps this will slow down certain of these unwarranted closure actions.

In the area of family housing, we were able to secure restoration of 725 units of family housing. As I am sure you are aware, the House of Representatives has strongly and consistently backed the philosophy of constructing adequate housing for our military personnel. The Senate, however, has been less enthusiastic toward this housing program so I feel that we made a major accomplishment when we were able to secure this restoration.

We accepted most of the Senate language in regard to the family housing program. Their language tightens up the controls of Congress on the use of rental authority and spending for repair and rehabilitation of family housing units.

As you know, this bill contained approximately $45 million in requests for an initial step in a program to eliminate inadequacies in current sewage and industrial waste disposal systems directed toward the implementation of the recently enacted Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

The conferees authorized all but one project in this regard; however, we did accept the Senate amendment which provided in essence that the authorizations could not be used unless they are carried out only in those areas where the local government is also complying with the Water Pollution Control Act. Letters from some of you indicate that you think that this thwarts the purposes of the act. We do not believe this to be the case. Rather, it is to insure that our tax dollar is spent only in areas which will actually correct a condition of pollution.

During the hearings, we learned that at least in one portion of Honolulu where a substantial request had been made for the construction of sewage treatment facilities, the city was not prepared to proceed with its program until at least 1972.

Would it not be ridiculous at a time when we are trying to economize for us to spend large sums of money on a sewage treatment system if all of the surrounding area was dumping sewage into the same stream or body of water? Thus, if we permitted the immediate construction of sewage facilities, we would not be eliminating the pollution in the area as long as the municipality was continuing to pollute the water.

I feel as strongly as any of you gentlemen regarding the pollution program but when we spend money, I believe the pollution problem should be corrected, not just a small segment of the problem caused by one of the groups creating the pollution.

Gentlemen, I feel confident that we have before you a sound conference report. I feel that we have considered and met our responsibility to the military. I feel equally confident that we have been responsible to the American taxpayer by eliminating projects which could be deferred without impairing our military mission.

Let me recapitulate the figures for you. The Department of Defense requested new authorization in the amount of $2,635,238,000, plus unlimited permanent authority for construction of international military headquarters.

The House approved $2,378,843,000 including $60,000,000 for NATO construction.

The Senate authorized construction in the amount of $2,251,846,000 excluding any funds for NATO construction.

This conference report reduces the Department of Defense request by $331,946,000 and includes $60,000,000 for NATO construction. So, in reality, we have reduced the amount of projects requested by over $390,000,000.

Gentlemen, that is the conference report. I urge your support.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. Certainly.

Mr. HOWARD. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services for yielding to me. I have two questions to propound to the chairman of the committee.

The first question has to do with section 808 of the bill, which involves a provision added by the other body and accepted by the House and which lays down two requirements, that a waste treatment or waste disposal system constructed at or in connection with a military installation, must meet applicable water quality standards for the area, which presents no difficulty.

The second question has to do with the fact that a State, county, or municipal program which requires communities to take such related measures as are necessary to achieve areawide water pollution cleanup, before any funds authorized by this act for water pollution control facilities at or in connection with military installations may be expended, could create problems if administered in an arbitrary manner.

If a community has defaulted on its responsibility to abate pollution from sources within its jurisdiction, I assume that this language means that the Federal Government should not proceed with measures to abate pollution from sources within its jurisdiction until the community has indicated that it will proceed to meet its responsibility.

Mr. RIVERS. I think the gentleman is correct. That is our intention.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, one more question: If a community has not acted, but if its contribution to the total pollution problem in an area is relatively minor, and a military installation is a major offender, the community may have withheld abatement action because the military installation had not acted, and it appeared that the community's undertaking of control measures would therefore be to little avail. In such a situation, the Federal Government would clearly have a responsibility to lead. What would be the impact of section 808 in such a situation?

Mr. RIVERS. Permit me to answer the gentleman in this manner. I think we should cooperate with this community where we are the major offender. I further think that there should be some cooperation and close liaison between the two. I think I can substantially agree with the import of the gentleman's question. Further, I want to do all I can to see that there is cooperation between the parties, particularly where we have made a substantial agreement that we should act and do all we can to end the pollution, because this is what we are attempting to end.

Mr. HOWARD. I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee for his response to my questions.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY].

Mrs. KELLY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina.

Would the gentleman please tell me how much money is in this bill for the construction of military facilities abroad or outside of the United States?

Mr. RIVERS. I cannot tell the distinguished gentlewoman how much is to be expended abroad. However, I can obtain those figures and furnish them to the gentlewoman.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, how much have you earmarked for NATO?

Mr. RIVERS. $60 million.

Mrs. KELLY. Just $60 million?

Mr. RIVERS. That is all.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, have we determined how much we will get from France as a result of the closure of our installations there?

Mr. RIVERS. No. But if we can hurry up and get that information together, we can refer it to the State Department, because I am just as anxious to get it as you are.

Mrs. KELLY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. RIVERS. I thank the gentlewoman for her comments.

I also wish to thank the Members of the House for being so patient with me in taking up their time.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would ask the gentleman has the Committee on Armed Services ever put together a bill as to the cost of our being thrown out of France?

Mr. RIVERS. I will say to the gentleman yes, we have those figures. I sent the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER] over there, and he made a very comprehensive report. I do not have the figure available with me at this moment, but I will be delighted to send the report to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I would appreciate having it.

Mr. RIVERS. It is a valuable document. We lost a considerable amount of money. And that is another thing—we have to construct houses in Great Britain as a result of our being there, and as a result of our men being cast into these communities with very limited accommodations, as a result of this. But I will be glad to send the report to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

I would also ask the gentleman have we been ordered out of the Wheelus Air Force Base as a result of the Middle East situation?

Mr. RIVERS. No. We are still at the Wheelus Air Force Base, and this is very, very valuable as far as the training of our Air Force units are concerned.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from California.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I simply want to express my personal deep gratitude to the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and to the members of the conference committee of this House, and of the other body, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of the people I represent, for the admirable consideration which they accorded me in my district to attempt to work out some solution in the conference report concerning the ammunition loading piers at Port Chicago, and the determination of the conference committee to make it very clear that there were several suggestions reached in the conference to take care of this situation in the community. And I wish to thank the chairman and the committee for the determination they made on the solutions that had been suggested as to which might be more preferable in reducing as much as possible the hazards that exist there. I believe it is an admirable determination for a very complex problem.

I want to again express my gratitude to the committee and to the chairman. And also to express my apologies for the time that I have consumed of theirs in discussing that problem and in attempting to work out the best possible help. I am most grateful, Mr. Chairman, and I hope that the chairman will express that to the other members of the committee.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California. I have been here a long time, and we have had a great number of Members of Congress and of the House appear before our committee on various problems. I do not know of any one Member who has made a more profound impression on our committee than has the gentleman from California. He pointed out eloquently and with great authority and knowledge the conditions prevailing in his district. He presented to use facts that we were unable to obtain from the military. The gentleman has rendered a great service to the committee, to the Congress, and to his people, because this has to do with the saving of human lives. His assistance helped us in writing something in the report which I hope will bear fruit and protect the people who have not been completely protected heretofore.

Again I want to thank the gentleman, and I also want to congratulate him on a meaningful presentation for his people and for his country. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. WALDIE. I thank the chairman very much. I am deeply grateful to the chairman. I just want the Members of this House to know that this is one question that has been delayed overlong in receiving a solution of the problem.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

We had rather extensive debate on the NATO infrastructure item when the foreign aid bill was considered in the House. As the distinguished chairman knows, this item was removed from the foreign aid bill and added to the Military Construction Act. In the other body it was left in the foreign aid bill, and as the gentleman knows, the foreign aid bill is still in conference, and this particular item has not yet been decided upon. I wonder if the gentleman, knowing that there was no debate on this question about the $60 million of NATO infrastructure, during the military construction bill in the other body, would comment on an observation?

I know the chairman is a strong conferee, I see now he brings back from his conference the $60 million for the NATO infrastructure in the military construction bill.

It seems unusual that this $60 million could be kicked around and acted on by the House, and there not be one word of debate in the other body—not one single word.

I had heard from good authority, via the grapevine from the Pentagon, that the deal to get this $60 million in the military construction bill was to not mention it in the other body and that the House conferees were going to overpower the Senate conferees and bring it back in the military construction bill. This is exactly what happened. It seems unusual that we could have a $60 million item adopted when in the other body there was not one single word of debate on it.

Mr. RIVERS. We did prevail on them in conference. I know that you can congratulate us on prevailing on the House position. We prevailed all right and it is going to stay in here.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. VANIK. Looking over the conference report, I appreciate very much the work of the committee and the conferees on this bill.

The question I would like to raise is whether in view of our present financial dilemma, we need to spend this $2.25 billion this year? And, Mr. Chairman, how much of the $2.25 billion in the conference report is set aside for housing as distinct from other purposes? It would seem that at this particular time of labor and material shortages these funds will not buy as much as would otherwise be the case. Why shouldn't we defer this particular item until next year. I recognize that the housing is needed, but if it can be deferred a year, it might carry us over through a critical period.

Mr. RIVERS. Let me answer the gentleman in this way. You can defer everything if you want to and take the calculated risk. You can defer a lot of these things. But you must remember this—that every time we want to save some money, some would take it out of the hide of the military. These military people can continue to live in trailers. They can continue to live in converted garages and they can continue to have to be subject to unfriendly people in some communities. They can go on and live like that, but I do not think that we would then be providing them with what they need when they are making the kind of fight they are making for our way of life.

The philosophy of the Committee on Armed Services is that the military are entitled to a way of life that is equal to the way of life that they are defending. We could cut them back and we could deny these things to them to which they are entitled, but I do not think it would be wise to do that.

But answering the gentleman's question, about 220 million and some-odd dollars is in this authorization for housing.

Mr. VANIK. That amounts to about one-fifth of the money?

Mr. RIVERS. Yes, it amounts to about that much.

Mr. VANIK. Then my next question is this. A good part of this is being spent in Europe?

Mr. RIVERS. Very little for housing—it amounts to 175 units out of 10,000 units.

You must remember that these people in Europe were sent to England because they had to get out when De Gaulle gave us a deadline. They are living in very, very austere accommodations.

Mr. VANIK. My question is going beyond the NATO situation. I understand the necessity with regard to NATO. But what about construction in Europe outside of the NATO area.

Mr. RIVERS. It is the same wherever they are. But this $60 million has nothing to do with NATO.

Mr. VANIK. I recognize the need for housing our military and I certainly join with our chairman in feeling that they should be given the best possible kind of accommodations, but it seems that some can be deferred.

Mr. RIVERS. There are only 715 units in England, where they had to go.

Mr. VANIK. But I am talking about the remainder of the $2.5 billion.

Mr. RIVERS. You can defer all of it, if you want them to continue living as they are. But this is vital now. You must remember that Secretary McNamara cut back $668 million on construction 2 years ago and the housing was needed then. They got some of them last year and some are being built now.

At Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., the boys had to sleep on the ground during subzero weather. These are very vital things that they need. If you want to cut back on them, you will just have to take the responsibility.

Mr. VANIK. To refer to a specific instance, we had an $8 million authorization for the Bolling Air Force Base headquarters command. Could that be deferred over to next year?

Mr. RIVERS. That was deleted.

Mr. VANIK. That was deleted?

Mr. RIVERS. Yes.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. We required the military to give us a priority list and where it was not a matter of top priority, we deleted $300 million—or $100 million on each branch of the service, in round figures.

They had to be high priority. We cut out four hospitals—one in my district, one in the district of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ROGERS], one in Massachusetts, I think, and one in Texas. We have given you the most austere bill we can conscientiously bring to this House. I recognize the gentleman's concern, but I doubt that we could conscientiously go below the dangerous minimum which this bill represents.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, a member of the committee.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the chairman of the great committee yielding. I wish to address a question with relation to the report on section 809, where the statement appears:

> The House accepted a Senate provision requiring the retention of the entire property constituting Fort DeRussey, Hawaii.

I think that was also the House position, as I recall.

Mr. RIVERS. That is correct.

Mr. HALL. As I recall, a special committee appointed by the chairman went there and studied the matter. I hope this means that in the foreseeable future we will keep this great tri-service area for rest and recuperation in the Pearl of the Pacific, where it is needed so badly for the remarkably administered and highly efficient use to which it has been put.

Mr. RIVERS. We accepted the language of the Senate, which will keep the entire project, which the gentleman knows is a vital project.

Mr. HALL. I compliment the gentleman, and I concur in the conference report.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. BROTZMAN. I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding. I would like to speak about Fitzsimons General Hospital, which happens to be in my district. As I recollect, at the time this measure left the House of Representatives there was authorized some $9.5 million for that hospital.

Mr. RIVERS. And the deletion was unanimously approved by the committee of the other body. I think the gentleman had a representative on that item.

Mr. BROTZMAN. I would certainly hope so.

Mr. RIVERS. I congratulate the gentleman. We did the best we could. You lost your fight down the hall.

Mr. BROTZMAN. I wonder what the objection was to this particular construction? I have visited that hospital on numerous occasions and I have seen the broken bodies that we have brought back from Vietnam. It would seem to me that this is a rather important place to authorize this particular expenditure.

Mr. RIVERS. I cut out a hospital in my own district that had a high priority. But the Secretary of Defense said he did not need it. He knew more than the Navy.

Over in the other body the conferees said the hospital did not have high enough priority, and they were adamant about it. They said, "If you want to restore any facility, there was one cut out in Texas that had a higher priority." They said nobody objected to it in the committee.

Mr. BROTZMAN. I thank the chairman. I have had an opportunity to talk to the chairman and the ranking member. I want to thank you for your support in this particular position. But when it gets to the point of setting priorities, I rather question how you can set a higher priority than to take care of those broken and battered bodies that are returning after fighting a war for this country.

Mr. RIVERS. That is what I have said. This bill is very austere. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. I thank the chairman. I am sure we are comforted by the chairman's reply to the effect that this is a barebones bill, and and that the conference report is also barebones.

I would point out to the chairman that I read with some care 3,467 pages, not of the chairman's committee, but the hearings of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Appropriations Committee on the $70 billion military bill. Of the 3,467 pages of testimony, 3,461 pages were from witnesses from the military, all on the Federal Pentagon payroll. Out of 263 witnesses testifying on the $70 billion appropriation bill there were only six who were not on Uncle Sam's payroll, and those six were made up of two

American Legion representatives, two representatives of the National Rifle Association, and two ladies lobbying for the overseas education program.

So I would like to ask the chairman, is the same procedure followed in his distinguished committee, with witnesses only from the Pentagon, so that we only get one side of the picture?

Mr. RIVERS. No.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Are adverse witnesses called?

Mr. RIVERS. We do not call anybody. We have open hearings, and all are invited, anybody who can contribute something we are glad to have.

In this bill, only the classified items were handled in classified sessions. But this was an open hearing. We do not deny anybody who can contribute.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. In other words, does the gentleman encourage outside witnesses, scientists, and so on?

Mr. RIVERS. Historically, we have done that. We do not deny anybody.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Does the gentleman agree that for a $7 billion appropriation, it would seem unusual to have all the witnesses for the bill?

Mr. RIVERS. It does help, I might say. I do not know what the Appropriations Committee does, but when we have classified subject matter, we have classified hearings. We do not provide a sounding board for people who want to get their names in the paper, and I am sure the gentleman is not talking about that. But generally, we have pretty strong proponents favoring our bill. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Florida, the chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the committee knows very well that year after year the field of military construction has been subordinated to all the other programs of defense—procurement, pay, and all the things that go into the defense establishment. Military construction usually has to take what is left. That is understandable, because we can in many instances postpone military construction. That is what has been done.

Regrettably, that has resulted in a situation where a great many of the people who serve in uniform are having to live in definitely substandard quarters. In some areas they are training in substandard quarters. This is a most unfortunate thing for morale and a most unfortunate thing for providing the necessary training and maintenance that will enable our men in uniform to do the kind of defense job we expect them to do.

I am confident that the distinguished gentleman regrets—as I regret—the necessity for making very substantial cuts in this bill. I subscribe to what the gentleman has done. My Appropriations Committee hopes to bring the appropriations for this bill to the floor very soon, but probably we shall be trying to make additional cuts. Yet, I deplore the fact that our fiscal picture is such that this is necessary, because I fully believe every project that was requested by the Department of Defense for military construction this year is needed.

Mr. RIVERS. I think so.

Mr. SIKES. It is just that we are in such a bad fiscal situation that we do have to cut somewhere. This is the bill we cut. I do endorse what the gentleman has done.

Mr. RIVERS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I yield whatever time is remaining to the distinguished ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BATES].

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I wish to commend the chairman and conferees of the committee for bringing out a report which appears to be acceptable to all concerned, even the die-hard economists.

I would like to put one question to the chairman. With reference to troop housing and utilities at Fort DeRussey, appearing on page 4 of the conference report, it was my understanding when the House first acted on H.R. 11722, before it went to the Senate, that the type of construction, whether it be high rise or low rise, will be left to the sole discretion of the Army. For the purpose of establishing legislative history, am I correct in assuming that this legislative intent has not been altered by the conference report, and the type of construction at Fort DeRussey as provided for in H.R. 11722 will still be left to the sole discretion of the Army?

Mr. RIVERS. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in support of H.R. 11722, the military construction authorization bill for fiscal year 1968.

I feel that we have provided those operational requirements essential to provide the facilities to take care of new equipment coming into the military inventory while at the same time deleting the many highly desirable, but not absolutely necessary items that were contained in the original request by the Department of Defense.

As you may remember, our committee worked diligently day and night to reduce this bill and we succeeded in reducing it by approximately $280 million.

Apparently there were some items that we included which the Senate felt could safely be deferred and we agreed with them, and now the bill represents a reduction of $331,946,000 from the amount requested by the Department of Defense.

This bill is not exactly as I would have had it but then what bill of this magnitude ever is after it has gone through intensive hearings before both the House and Senate and then the differences are resolved in conference.

For instance, I still believe that we should not embark on the new principle of guaranteeing losses on homes caused by base closures. I think the Congress opened a Pandora's box when it passed this basic legislation and which this program authorizes funds to carry out.

I think we are engaging on a program which ultimately will cost the Government many millions of dollars. But if we wanted a military construction bill this year, we had to include this section or there would have been no bill.

I do think that on the majority of issues the House achieved substantially what we set out to obtain—in other words, careful deletion of unnecessary projects and certain restrictive language which would prevent the Department of Defense from closing certain selected military installations or consolidating naval districts.

The chairman has generally detailed what we accomplished in conference, and I refer you to the conference report rather than using time today to go over the nearly 200 differences that we were required to resolve.

I do want to point out, however, that authorization is contained in this legislation in the amount of $60 million for the construction of international military headquarters pertaining to NATO. This authority was also contained in the house version of the foreign aid bill but was deleted from that bill on a vote of the House of Representatives because it had already authorized this amount of money in the military construction authorization bill.

The Senate has now accepted our version of this authorization. This makes sense to me because the money is to be used for a military purpose and should be contained in a military bill considered by your Armed Services Committees.

Mr. Speaker, we believe that we have done a good, thoughtful, constructive job on this bill both during the House consideration and in the conference. We have provided that which military necessity requires and we have eliminated that which safely could be eliminated without impairing national defense.

I hope each of you will join me in supporting H.R. 11722.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 377, nays 33, not voting 22, as follows:

[Roll No. 294]

YEAS—377

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik

Boggs
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hébert
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—33

Adams
Bingham
Bolling
Brown, Calif.
Carey
Cohelan
Collier
Conyers
Curtis
Edwards, Calif.
Farbstein
Fraser
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Hawkins
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Kastenmeier
Kupferman
McCarthy
O'Hara, Ill.
Ottinger
Pike
Rees
Reuss
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
Scheuer
Sullivan
Thompson, N.J.
Vanik
Yates

NOT VOTING—22

Anderson, Ill.
Barrett
Boland
Broomfield
Daddario
Diggs
Edwards, La.
Flynt
Fountain
Hanna
Heckler, Mass.
Holifield
Holland
King, Calif.
Landrum
Martin
O'Konski
Rarick
Resnick
Stuckey
Utt
Watkins

So the conference report was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. King of California with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Barrett with Mr. Broomfield.
Mr. Resnick with Mrs. Heckler of Massasetts.
Mr. Fountain with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Holifield with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Martin.
Mr. Diggs with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Hanna with Mr. Rarick.
Mr. Boland with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Flynt.

Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. SCHEUER, and Mr. YATES changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRANSFER OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my special order, scheduled for 30 minutes today, be transferred to tomorow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois.

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 676, TO AMEND CHAPTER 73, TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE TO PROHIBIT THE OBSTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 933 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES 933

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 676) to amend chapter 73, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Hawaii is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 933 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of S. 676 to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations being conducted by proper officials of the U.S. Government.

Existing laws provide penalties for any person attempting to influence or impede witnesses or jurors in judicial proceedings, or witnesses in pending proceedings, or witnesses in inquiries or investigations before Congress or a committee of the Congress. My colleagues will be amazed to learn, as I was, I'm sure, that under the present law there is no protection for potential witnesses prior to the institution of proceedings.

There have been many instances where potential witnesses or their families were intimidated, threatened, or gravely injured during investigative preliminaries preceding criminal prosecution.

S. 676 would remedy the deficiency by making it a Federal crime to coerce or threaten a person who is willing to furnish information to Federal investigators, prior to the convening of a grand jury. This remedy would be effected by adding a new section to chapter 73, title 18, United States Code to prohibit the obstruction of Federal criminal investigations.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 933 in order that S. 676 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I join in the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Hawaii.

The purpose of the bill, S. 676, is to make an offense any effort to willfully try, by means of bribery, misrepresentation, intimidation, force or threats of force, to obstruct or prevent the communication of information to any Federal criminal investigator.

The bill will also prohibit injuring any person or his property because he did give information to any Federal criminal investigator.

Penalties prescribed by the bill are a fine of up to $5,000 or 5 years imprisonment, or both.

The reason for the bill is that under current law witnesses are protected from any intimidation once court proceedings are commenced, but while preparing a case there is no protection for those who know something useful and might come forward if protected by statute.

The bill is supported by the Attorney General.

Additional views are submitted by Messrs. WHITENER and HUNGATE. They believe that the use of the word "misrepresentation" in section 1510(a) is too broad; they believe it should be removed from the bill.

They also believe the words "criminal investigator" as used in section 1510(b) is too broad and think it should be redefined to narrow its scope to regularly employed by the particular department, and those departments which regularly employ such persons should be enumerated.

Along this same line, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HUNGATE] points out that there are over 50 Government agencies which would be covered under the present language; he believes it should be cut down to those regularly doing investigative work.

Mr. Speaker, although on occasion there is extensive argument on bills reported by the Judiciary Committee, I believe this bill almost could be passed on the call of the Consent Calendar. We will see what happens.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the rule, and reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER].

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, as will be noted, I have expressed views with reference to this legislation in the appendix to the principal committee report.

I believe all of us agree with the purpose of this legislation, but it seems to me the use of the word "misrepresentation" is creating a situation which none of us would want to see happen.

During my career as a prosecuting officer I found it was rather characteristic for members of a family to throw a protective shield around other members of the family who were charged with criminal offenses. As a matter of fact, it was my feeling, as a prosecuting attorney, that I should not unduly cross-examine a mother or a wife of a defendant. I stated so to the jury, usually, that I had not done so because it is not unusual for good people to misrepresent fact when their own children or their husbands are involved.

I am perfectly content with the provisions of the bill which would make certain actions a crime.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. I would be perfectly willing to accept the amendment to strike the word "misrepresentation."

Mr. WHITENER. I want to thank the chairman for that. I just wish he had done it in the full committee when we tried to get it done. That would have saved a lot of trouble and writing. I will offer the amendment at the proper time.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. I want to congratulate the gentleman from North Carolina on the tightening of this legislation.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HUNGATE].

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct a question to the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]. I want to see where we are on these amendments. We have agreed to an amendment that will take the word "misrepresentation" on page 1, line 8, out. Is that correct?

Mr. CELLER. That is right.

Mr. HUNGATE. I join with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] in that position.

Also, on page 2, subsection (b), line 7, if I may read it, it says:

> (b) As used in this section, the term "criminal investigator" means any individual duly authorized by a department, agency, or armed force of the United States to conduct or engage in investigations of or prosecutions for violations of the criminal laws of the United States.

What I am seeking to do is amend that to limit it to the agencies which would more commonly use this power. There are some 10 or 11 departments in the Federal Government, and I would suppose there are more than 50 agencies in the Government, all of whom would inherit the benefit of this rather broadly drawn criminal statute. That is the question I direct to the chairman.

Mr. CELLER. I think the gentleman's amendment in that regard would be entirely too broad and would to a very marked degree so weaken the bill that I could not accept that amendment. It may be that if the gentleman could make a speech on the subject and indicate these various bureaus that primarily have to do with a criminal investigation, it might help in that respect and I might indicate in my colloquy or dialog with him that I am in deep sympathy with what he seeks to do. That might answer for the situation.

Mr. HUNGATE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. HUNGATE. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. I wanted to point out with respect to the word "misrepresentation," which we have been discussing here, as I understand it and as the report points out, it is the procuring of the misrepresentation that is the offensive thing. It is the person who may be involved in all kinds of crime that the bill is trying to get at and not the person who makes a misstatement in regard to a fact in regard to a criminal investigation. I do not think the gentleman would want to prevent us from prosecuting the procurer of a misrepresentation under this bill. That is what it is intended to get at and what we are trying to do here.

Mr. HUNGATE. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. However, that is not the point I am expressing myself on.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WHITENER. There is not a single word in this proposal that mentions procuring a misrepresentation. It says:

> "Whoever willfully endeavors by means of bribery, misrepresentation * * *.

There is nothing about procuring in there.

Mr. HUNGATE. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. WHITENER. It says anybody who makes a misrepresentation.

Mr. HUNGATE. I thank the gentleman from North Carolina and point out that it is always possible and probable that lawyers will disagree on an interpretation, but I agree with his interpretation. The statute says, "Whoever willfully endeavors by means of bribery," and so forth, and it gives you a number of these items, one of which is misrepresentation. As I understand it, the chairman has accepted that amendment. I am now addressing myself to page 2, line 7, which reads:

> As used in this section, the term "criminal investigator" means any individual duly authorized by a department—

And there are at least 10, although we have created some more and I am not certain whether they are included—

> agency, or armed force of the United States.

As I understand it, this is a chart that gives you an idea of the Government agencies and departments to whom you are delegating this authority. I simply think that is too broad a delegation of authority. I spoke to the Department of Justice on this, and they will not give you any limiting list, of course, but among the ones that commonly use it and the amendment I would offer would provide this protection to are:

> The FBI, Food and Drug Administration and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Intelligence Division and the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service; the Secret Service, Customs Bureau and the Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department, the Postal Inspection Division of the Post Office Department.

Now, those groups and the Armed Services are the ones, I think, which would now have the greatest need for this.

I think we need not grant this authority and that it would be unwise to do so, to all of these various agencies. I might add that I believe I am joined in that view by the Civil Liberties Union.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Do I understand the gentleman from Missouri to say that you want to spell out the names of every agency of the U.S. Government that may be investigating crime?

Mr. HUNGATE. The gentleman from Colorado senses the problem perfectly. I do not think we should give it to every agency of the U.S. Government. However, I think we should spell out those specific agencies that have a substantial need for this authority before writing a blank check to grant it to them in the form of criminal prosecutions.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield further to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Would the gentleman's amendment spell out those agencies that he has contained on the chart and make them a part of a section of this bill?

Mr. HUNGATE. I just read the ones to which my amendment would refer. They are not, by any means, inclusive overall on that chart.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. I thank the gentleman from Missouri for yielding to me at this time.

As I understand this proposed amendment, we would be condoning and excusing the obstruction of justice on the part of criminal investigators by some governmental departments and agencies—that it only makes this applicable only to them.

It seems to me, if we want to prohibit the obstruction of investigators of criminal activities, we should make it affect the entire Federal Establishment.

Mr. HUNGATE. Apparently, I have not made myself clear to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McClory]. I am not talking about the authority.

As I read the statute, this is an additional authority, an investigative privilege which we are granting to certain agencies of the Government.

The question is, should we grant these privileges to every agency of the Government. I think many of them have no need at all for it. I further believe that many of them have very slight need for it.

This is not a question of excusing those agencies from misconduct. It is giving them additional authority that they now do not have. I think this is going too fast, to grant all of this authority to these agencies, authority which they have never had before.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, apparently my assumption was incorrect when I heretofore stated that we had a noncontroversial bill, for once, out of the Committee on the Judiciary. We now have an amendment halfway adopted during the consideration of the rule making this legislation in order. However, it seems to me that there is disagreement even on that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Poff].

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, let me make it plain that I am not willing to accept the amendment that the gentleman from North Carolina will offer. I hope that the distinguished chairman of the committee would reconsider the consent he gives to the amendment, as I am sure that the Department of Justice would not agree to striking the word "misrepresentation." By such amendment it might be possible to cure some of the ills to which the gentleman from North Carolina is addressing himself, but, it would most certainly create other ills which would make the legislation next to useless. I would be prepared to accept that amendment only if another amendment were made to make it plain that it would hereafter be a crime for an accused to use misrepresentation in obstructing the transfer of information from an informant to an investigator.

And that it be made equally unlawful for a person to procure a misrepresentation by the informant in relaying information to the investigator. But by striking the word "misrepresentation" from this bill you have effectively negated both acts, and that, I suggest, is not a worthy end, and I do not believe it is one that the chairman upon reflection will be content to accept.

I agree that the word "misrepresentation" as presently used, is somewhat ambivalent, unclear, and equivocal, but you would do utter violences to the legislation to strike that word and do nothing more.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POFF. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. I believe the gentleman would have to agree that after striking the word "misrepresentation" we would still have covered any attempt to obstruct, delay, or prevent the communication of information if the parties seeking to obstruct, delay, or prevent this communication did so by means of bribery, intimidation, force or threat.

Mr. POFF. I do agree.

Mr. WHITENER. All right. So now the gentleman is contending that if someone makes a misstatement to an individual, or a misrepresentation of a subsisting fact and causes that individual to give it to the investigating officer in such a way as to delay or obstruct the investigation, that the person who makes the misrepresentation is then to be sent to the penitentiary for 5 years or fined $5,000. Is that what the gentleman means?

Mr. POFF. As the gentleman understands, this legislation is not in any sense aimed at the actual informant. The legislation is aimed at the person who corrupts the informant who is passing information to the investigator. And if that person uses misrepresentation of facts to corrupt the informant and thereby to obstruct the transfer of information to the investigator, yes, he should be guilty of a criminal offense. He should be guilty because it is precisely that individual who is too often frustrating the proper prosecution of some of the most heinous organized criminal activities in the United States, and I most certainly do believe that that kind of conduct should be a crime.

Mr. WHITENER. But the gentleman is leading us down the primrose path which so many tried to lead us down, and leave the impression that when Federal crimes are created by statute that the Federal courts in effect deal only with organized crime. That is not true. The organized criminal would represent a very small portion of those who come into the Federal criminal courts. And this act, if it is passed, would apply to the ignorant mountain mother, it would apply to the loyal lowland brother who may make a misrepresentation of a fact which would in fact delay the investigation.

But if the gentleman had had the experience of being a prosecutor for a while he would find that it is a human frailty not only of bad people, but of good people to protect their own, and I would never vote for this bill or any other bill which would make a mother, a wife, a brother, or a sister subject to 5 years' imprisonment for telling some investigating officer that that member of the family is not at home who is under investigation.

Mr. POFF. I believe the gentleman has adequately made his point, and I know also that the gentleman, who is a good lawyer, will understand that the case he puts does not come under this law unless the mother or the wife has a criminal scienter, the so-called guilty mind and the willfulness must be to obstruct the transfer of information that would lead to a prosecution.

Mr. WHITENER. The scienter under this bill that would be required would be that black heart and guilty purpose to hinder and delay the investigation. If that mother willfully stated a fact which was not true, then you would have no difficulty in going to the jury with the charge that she had violated the statute because the scienter involved here would exist.

Mr. POFF. I would say to the gentleman that if a wife or mother engaged in similar conduct with respect to a witness or a juror after a judicial proceeding had been commenced, today she would be guilty of a criminal act. The obstruction of justice statute would apply to a mother and to a wife who corruptly influences, obstructs, or impedes a witness or a juror or an officer.

I fail to understand why the gentleman would not extend the same principle, already in the law, to cases which have not yet reached the judicial proceeding stage, but are still in the investigative stage.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Hays].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I had understood that this was a little, noncontroversial bill. It does not seem to be so little and so noncontroversial.

I just wonder if it is the intention to try to bring this bill up tonight, because

I have been impressed by the arguments made by the gentleman from North Carolina and after listening to his argument, I do not want any part of this bill. If you are going to bring it up tonight, I just want you to know that I am going to insist on a quorum being here while we discuss this little, noncontroversial, and unimportant piece of legislation.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1411, TO AMEND TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE, WITH RESPECT TO USE OF MAILS TO OBTAIN MONEY OR PROPERTY UNDER FALSE REPRESENTATIONS

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 932 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 932

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1411) to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to use of the mails to obtain money or property under false representations, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Anderson] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. Smith]; and pending that, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 932 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 1411 to amend the United States Code with respect to use of the mails to obtain money or property fraudulently.

The civil postal fraud statute is a protective statute seeking to protect a consumer from being victimized by false representations sent through the U.S. mail. It protects the consumer by authorizing the return of his mail containing remittances, generally in the form of checks or money order, addressed to the unscrupulous promoter.

In order to establish a basis to issue a mail-stop order under the civil postal fraud statute, the Post Office Department is required to prove, first, that advertising is being used by a promoter who seeks money or property through the mail; second, the advertising contains representations which are material and false as a matter of fact; and, third, the false representations were made with intent to deceive.

The Post Office Department is not usually troubled with proving the first and second points. It is seriously hampered, however, by the necessity of meeting the burden of proof as to intent.

H.R. 1411 will eliminate the necessity for establishing the intent to deceive. To retain such a requirement is wholly incompatible with the underlying purpose of the civil fraud statute—the protection of the public and the consumer—against the use of the mail to distribute false representations as a basis for obtaining money or property. More specifically, the legislation would eliminate the necessity for establishing an "intent to deceive" in connection with the issuance of mail-stop orders, which are issued to protect consumers who are being victimized by false representations by promoters through the U.S. mails.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 932 in order that H.R. 1411 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as stated by the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, House Resolution 932 provides a 1-hour open rule for the consideration of H.R. 1411, entitled "False Representations by Mail."

The purpose of the bill is to strengthen existing law under which the Postmaster General can issue mail-stop orders to protect consumers who are being victimized by false representations made by promoters through the mails.

The bill will remove the requirement of establishing an "intent to deceive" in connection with the issuance of such orders by the Postmaster General.

Under current law the Department, to issue a mail-stop order, must be able to prove, first, advertising through the mail is being used; second, the advertising contains false representations of fact of a material nature; and third, such representations were made with an intent to deceive.

The bill will eliminate this third requirement, which is incompatible with the intent of the statute, consumer protection. It will not remove any legal rights held by the mail advertiser. It merely removes the possibility that he will receive remittances through the mails. If an order is issued, he can still go into court for an injunction.

The Post Office stated to the committee that it has investigated a number of cases where advertising was false, but not necessarily fraudulent, and that under current law they cannot stop such activity.

The Post Office supports the bill, as does the Bureau of the Budget. The Justice Department defers to the Congress on the matter.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] filed individual views, believing the bill is unnecessary and that current law is adequate to handle the problem.

Minority views are submitted by Messrs. Waldie and William D. Ford opposing the bill on the grounds that it unduly infringes on the rights of citizens by conferring additional powers on the Government. They do not believe that mail-stop orders should be issued unless it can be shown that there was an intent to deceive by the promoters.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Pool] has submitted minority views opposing the bill because a jury trial is not provided before a mail-stop order can be issued.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to this rule, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH URBAN, RURAL AREAS ESSENTIAL—NATIONAL POLL REVEALING

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as a longtime advocate of a sustained, comprehensive program of growth and development in our rural areas and small towns, I want to commend and congratulate President Johnson on his announcement of the pilot project to attract business and industry to urban and rural areas.

In this connection, I have also been advised that a national poll on a bill I introduced, H.R. 9060, to encourage industrial development in small town areas shows overwhelming support of this proposal which should be reported out of the Ways and Means Committee and enacted as a part of a national program to curb the outmigration to our already congested and crowded cities.

President Johnson's test project for creation of jobs and opportunities in rural and urban areas is keyed to a strong, creative role by business. My bill has the same goal and objective: the inducement and encouragement of business and industry to locate in small-town and rural areas through tax incentives—including an added 7-percent credit, in addition to the investment credit already in effect, for machinery and equipment investment.

This bill which I introduced last April 25 grew out of hearings before our House Small Business Committee into the problems and progress of small town and rural America, and I am pleased to note that the Small Business Administration will play a vital role in the President's proposal by guaranteeing leases, plant, and equipment for a business which will provide jobs in urban and rural areas.

The simple truth that the long-range solution to metropolitan problems is the curtailment and reduction of the population influx is so apparent and so obvious that it has escaped notice in many quarters. Some cannot see the forest for the trees. The solution of our overall problem of population concentration lies in applying basic solutions to the problems that exist in urban areas—and in creating more attractive and more productive small towns and rural areas in America to hold down the population outmigration to big city America.

In this connection, I wrote the following letter to President Johnson on July 27, 1965, more than 2 years ago:

July 27, 1965.

Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson,
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: I read with great interest recently a speech given by Richard N. Goodwin, one of your special assistants, to visiting foreign students. Mr. Goodwin observed at one point in the speech that "we have cleared the boards of most of the old ideas." He suggested a need for new ideas, new departures to meet the massive problems of our age.

I would like to propose a new concept which, if accepted and implemented, would attack many of our social and economic problems from a new direction in a new dimension. My suggestion basically is that rather than continuing to encourage urban growth we shift emphasis and encourage a national small town improvement and development campaign.

The proposal is this:

1. Large metropolitan complexes are becoming unmanageable, unwieldy and ungovernable. They have far exceeded the cities' ability to provide adequate services. They are not single entities; they are conglomerations of unrelated communities that have grown like Topsy. They breed slums, poverty, violence, suicide, discord, unhappiness. Cities have simply outgrown their original concept and their governments. They have exceeded in population and size the quantitative areas that can be governed effectively.

2. The community concept with all of its corollaries is basic to our American system. It is an effective unit. It embraces the psychological dimension that is missing in cities—the dimension of belonging, of being a part of a community, of being neighborly, of identifying with local government, of feeling significant.

3. This concept has been eroded as populations have migrated to our urban areas. Urban populations have been called "the lonely crowd." There is no identification, no feeling of belonging. There is distrust, lack of concern and compassion, lack of identification. Basic human values erode.

As you said in a speech on February 22 last, Mr. President, "The old, tried values of family and neighborhood and community are imperiled or eroded."

4. There are efforts to build whole new communities to retain the community concept and respect inherent in our forefathers' philosophy. But these are isolated efforts. What is needed is a concentrated effort to strengthen the small town base of America, to bring industry and business to small towns, to create towns that embody the best of the new technology and the best of the old philosophy.

5. I believe that people move to cities basically because that is where the greatest economic opportunities are found. You can see departures from this trend in small towns with progressive industry. The children think of staying, rather than leaving. And families who have lived in rural and small town areas prefer to move to a similar environment—but with greater opportunity to live the good life.

Your magnificent effort to build the Great Society is developing the nation in urban areas, rural areas and smaller communities. The new thrust that is needed—the new concept I suggest is a concentrated effort to develop the small town to its peak of perfection and to wage a national campaign to "sell" the small town to our new generation. This would ease urban problems by shifting growth to manageable divisions away from urban complexes.

The true values of our society are strongest in our small towns. We need to strengthen our society by inducing our younger people to live within the strong town structure and concept.

I will be glad to discuss this matter with you at your convenience.

With highest esteem and best regards, I am,

Sincerely your friend,
Joe L. Evins,
Member of Congress.

In a major policy address in Dallastown, Pa., on September 3, 1966, President Johnson enunciated as policy the interrelationship of the problems of rural and urban America, and adopted the thesis that the solution of the problems of our cities hinges on the developing of jobs and opportunities in rural and small town areas.

Our major cities are caught in a population strangulation—our small towns are caught in a population decimation. Their problems are interrelated and intertwined.

As our major cities swell with population our smaller cities and towns suffer from the outmigration of their young people—the loss of verve and leadership and creativity as the young seek opportunities in the metropolitan areas.

Leading authorities on the problems of our cities like Lewis Mumford emphasize that our big cities and smaller towns complement each other—that they have unique roles to perform in our society. We must continue to assist and strengthen both our big cities and our small towns. Our large cities are centers of diversity—the nerve centers of vast networks of commerce and industry—the heart of dynamic human interaction between millions of people in every phase and facet of life.

Our smaller towns—the citadel of the community concept—present a golden opportunity to ease the population pressure on our major cities by reducing the outmigration. In our smaller cities we can combine the best of the old community concept—the community spirit—the spirit of cooperation and feeling of being a part of a unit and a sense of belonging—with the best of the new technology and science. It seems to me that we must work to build this community concept into cities. Leading authorities say that if our cities are to be human cities serving people, the neighborhood community units must be strengthened.

We must strengthen our free enterprise system to provide the opportunities that will hold our young people in Small Town U.S.A. We can do this in many ways: By improving the quality of our education and training; by attracting business and industry to provide opportunity in our rural areas; and by generally improving the quality of life in our small towns and rural areas throughout the Nation.

In doing this, we will not only broaden our economic base and breathe new vitality into small business, we will also be assisting our major cities in solving their problems by reducing the influx of populations, reducing city problems, and thereby reducing the number of people who overtax their services, congest their streets, jam their subways, and crowd their schools. As our small business hearings on metropolitan areas indicated, many big cities have become almost unmanageable with their problems of housing, slums, urban blight, traffic and transportation, parking, crime, and air and water pollution, among others.

By failing our cities and towns—the pillar of our civilization—we fail America. We must not fail them. We must succeed. We are heading in the right direction with more emphasis on small town and rural development and we must accelerate this trend—make it a national theme song of progress.

The press release announcing the introduction of the job development bill follows:

Representative Joe L. Evins (Democrat-Tennessee) Introduced Tax-Incentive Act To Strengthen Small Town America

(Statement by Representative Evins on the floor of the House of Representatives follows:)

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to provide for increased job opportunities and employment—the Tax-Incentive Development Act of 1967—a bill that can mean much to our cities, large and small, by creating employment opportunities in our smaller cities. Several of my Colleagues are also introducing similar bills. This bill provides tax incentives to induce business to locate in smaller communities—a proposal that has the endorsement of many officials in our Government. This bill will offer—

—An added seven percent credit, in addition to the investment credit now under suspension—for machinery and equipment investment, and

—Accelerated tax amortization of investment in industrial and commercial facilities, including land, over a sixty-month period, to industry locating new or branch plants in Small Town and Rural America.

It is my hope that this bill will assist small town and rural areas to develop their resources and their people and provide jobs and employment opportunities for our young people and others who want to live at home. A recent poll shows that 50 percent of our people want to live in Rural America.

Our major cities are caught in a population strangulation—our small towns are caught in a population decimation. Their problems are inter-related and inter-twined.

By providing jobs and opportunities in our small towns, our young people will be encouraged to channel their talent and their creativity into their own communities, rather than into major cities to compete with residents of those cities for jobs. The Washington Post said in a recent editorial: "The country cannot accept as inevitable the further concentration of rural refugees in its large cities . . . The neglect of this problem is rapidly producing two nations—one a rural wasteland and the other an urban slum."

President Johnson, in a major policy address in Dallastown, Pa., on Sept. 3 last, said:

"The cities will never solve their problems unless we solve the problems of the towns and smaller areas." And he concluded: "Modern industry and modern technology and modern transportation can bring jobs to the countryside rather than people to the cities."

That is the objective of this bill—that is what we hope to accomplish. Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear that the purpose of this bill is to bring the benefits of an expanding economy to Rural and Small Town America—there is a specific clause which prohibits the pirating of industry from another section.

My bill simply provides an added tax incentive to industry that locates a new plant or branch plant in Small Town and Rural America—and it deserves strong support.

The announcement of the results of the national poll on the job development bill follows:

Release From National Federation of Independent Business, Inc.

While big city mayors, perhaps understandingly so, and big city-oriented sociologists clamor for billions in Federal funds to solve every problem from rat extermination to jobs for idle teenagers, Congressman Joe Evins, Tennessee, Chairman of the House Small Business Committee proposed a no-cost solution based on furnishing private enterprise incentives.

It is this latter approach that the nation's independent business proprietors support. In a nationwide poll just concluded by the National Federation of Independent Business, the vote in favor of the Evins' proposal is a majority of 63 per cent, with 29 per cent opposed, and 8 percent undecided.

The heavily endorsed Evins bill, which has since been duplicated by similar bills introduced by other members of the House Small Business Committee would encourage the economic development of rural and submetropolitan America by offering special tax incentives to new business enterprise.

After long study of the problem, the House Small Business Committee concluded that not only the present problem, but also a continually growing problem of the big cities is the migrations into these congested centers from the outlying areas by people who are unable to find employment in their home areas. The result being that the cities are overloaded with unskilled and semi-skilled unemployed futilely seeking work in metropolitan areas that are becoming more and more technologically sophisticated.

The bill would give an additional 7 per cent tax credit on the cost of machinery and equipment for enterprises which open up in areas declared to be short of jobs, provided that such enterprises employ at least 20 persons, of whom at least half shall be from the area of location.

To prevent an established firm from taking advantage of this incentive, the bill also provides that the incentives shall not be available to any enterprise that diminishes its operations, or reduces employment in an already established location. In other words, the gain in new jobs must be a net gain.

Special tax provisions over a five-year period are also provided for the cost of plant and real estate and also tax allowances for training workers.

No appropriation of tax money is called for in the bill. Capital investment needed to provide jobs and reverse the migration to the big cities would be provided by private enterprise assured of partial tax forgiveness during the critical early years of getting an enterprise off to a sound start.

Although there has long been recognition that the national industry and commerce is too heavily concentrated in the big metropolitan areas, this is the first time that a no-cost solution to the problem of decentralizing the economic structure has been advanced.

Federation researchers are also inclined to believe that with a proper understanding, the measure will pick up support from farmers growing increasingly bitter over their returns in ratio to the prices consumers pay for their products.

They point out that as the costs of transportation and transportation labor increases, the costs of food distribution steadily climb, raising not only prices to the consumer, but also cutting down the farmers' share of the food dollar. More equitable distribution of job opportunities bringing people closer to the sources of food supply will shorten the distances from farm to consumer, and thus make reductions possible in the overall costs of food distribution.

This bill would provide added 7% tax credit for business locating in rural areas.

STATE BREAKDOWN FIGURES

	Percent in favor	Percent against	Percent undecided
Alabama	68	26	6
Alaska	--------	--------	--------
Arizona	64	23	13
Arkansas	64	31	5
California	59	33	8
Colorado	65	26	9
Connecticut	59	36	5
Delaware	61	34	5
Florida	63	30	7
Georgia	74	21	5
Hawaii	--------	--------	--------
Idaho	61	33	6
Illinois	64	29	7
Indiana	61	31	8
Iowa	62	30	8
Kansas	57	32	11
Kentucky	70	30	--------
Louisiana	75	21	4
Maine	74	24	2
Maryland	61	29	10
Massachusetts	50	35	15
Michigan	59	32	9
Minnesota	61	31	8
Mississippi	75	25	--------
Missouri	70	25	5
Montana	62	31	7
Nebraska	66	25	9
Nevada	73	15	12
New Hampshire	53	34	13
New Jersey	59	31	10
New Mexico	78	16	6
New York	69	25	6
North Carolina	54	37	9
North Dakota	75	18	7
Ohio	60	32	8
Oklahoma	75	19	6
Oregon	57	35	8
Pennsylvania	64	28	8
Rhode Island	46	38	16
South Carolina	66	24	10
South Dakota	82	13	5
Tennessee	68	24	8
Texas	65	29	6
Utah	62	30	8
Vermont	86	14	--------
Virginia	65	29	6
Washington	55	36	9
Washington, D.C	60	30	10
West Virginia	56	35	9
Wisconsin	66	26	8
Wyoming	57	32	11

CAN FEDERAL SPENDING INSURE PROSPERITY?

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Wyatt] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the fantastic rate of growth of Federal spending in the last several years is of concern to every taxpaying American.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri, Hon. Thomas B. Curtis, recently spoke on this important subject at the Conference for Better Business Relations in Gearhart on the beautiful Oregon Coast.

I had the privilege of introducing Congressman Curtis at this conference, and am able to report that his incisive, critical look at Federal spending was most enthusiastically received by those at the conference.

This speech is of such timely importance that I would like to have it presented at this time for the Record:

Can Federal Spending Insure Prosperity?

(Address by Hon. Thomas B. Curtis (Republican, Second District of Missouri) at the Better Business Relations Conference, Gearhart, Oreg., September 18, 1967)

The answer is no, and if a people ever pursue this course they will end up in economic disaster.

As one who has argued for years that "hoarding" is one economic sin I can identify, I must make it clear that this does not justify spending without a purpose. Spending for spending's sake is spending without a purpose. Spending on the assumption that spending per se increases aggregate demand in the society is a fallacy—if aggregate demand is increased as the result of increased spending it is because, in reality, the spending has been related to specific purposes and it behooves us to examine into the matter to find out the specific purposes and the results of the spending.

Government spending, federal, state and local, must be related to governmental purposes—supplying the needs of the people for goods and services through the mechanisms of government—the majority compelling the minority to contribute through taxes to pay for programs which they may even disapprove. The governmental purposes must be translated into purchasing goods and services, not rhetoric. To insure prosperity, to end poverty, to insure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the national defense and to promote the general welfare are rhetoric. Only by developing specific programs to fulfill these rhetorical purposes can we attain our objectives. This means spending for a purpose—a purpose that can be disciplined by cost-benefit ratios.

Another problem is to determine what we mean when we speak of "prosperity." Are we equating prosperity and true economic growth with a rapid increase in gross national product? If so, we are committing a basic error that will confuse all our further attempts to identify these Federal expenditures which do indeed contribute to real economic growth. The gross national product is an indicator of economic activity, not economic growth, and certainly not of wealth creation.

The best rebuttal to those who imply that GNP measures true economic growth is to point out that during periods of war, the economy is highly active, economically and in every other way. Gross National Product soars to high levels. Unemployment is very low. Yet no one would contend that this reflects true economic growth. Quite the contrary. It is economic activity that destroys wealth.

Even in peacetime, economic activity may destroy wealth, rather than create it. This is particularly true in a society governed by central economic planning. Witness some of the gross errors committed by the Russian economic planners, such as in agriculture or in the heavy public investment in hydroelectric plants instead of coal burning steam electric plants. These errors of economic judgment showed up as increased gross national product because they stimulated economic activity. But ultimately they proved to be economic mistakes. They used up wealth, instead of creating it, and economic activity itself diminished in the long run. The ability of the Russian economy to move forward has been sharply limited by these economic errors which were hidden by the inability of the GNP indicators to measure the quality of economic activity.

The second source of confusion that needs to be cleared up at the outset is the difference between the impact of the aggregate level of Federal spending and particular types of Federal expenditures. It should be clear that when the productive resources of our economy are fully employed, Government spending for current consumption takes resources that otherwise might be used to increase our capacity to produce. It should be equally evident that some types of Federal expenditures do add to our productive capacity and the nation's stock of wealth, both physical and human.

Government expenditures may contribute a great deal to real economic growth. The gains in agricultural productivity which have occurred to a large extent were based on the agricultural research that was financed by State governments and the Federal Government in the 1920's and the 1930's. Federal land grants to railroads and the financing of highways out of Federal funds contributed importantly to the growth of productivity. Today our expenditures for manpower training and retraining are having a similar beneficial effect on our economic performance. Mainly and fortunately, I hasten to add, private, not governmental spending. The Private-for-profit—the business sector—of our society spent about $16 billion last year in training and retraining, and the amount spent for these purposes by the non-profit sector of the society still exceeds that of all governmental spending, local, State and Federal.

Those economists and policy-makers who have emphasized the aggregate impact of Federal spending on economic activity have tended to erode the fiscal discipline upon which a sound expenditure policy must rest. The aggregate economists have said, in effect, that we must have spending for spending's sake, in order to stir up economic activity when aggregate demand is insufficient. This philosophy undermines a sound and wealth-creating expenditure policy.

If the purpose of Federal spending is to equate demand to the economy's capacity, then what does it matter what you spend the money for, so long as it is spent? In my view, expenditure policy must relate to what the money is spent for. If Federal outlays are for investment purposes, they must increase wealth and earnings. If they are for current expenditures, they should not exceed present revenues, except in periods of identifiable emergencies, and the length of those periods must be related to the basic wealth already in being. Military expenditures are designed to protect the wealth and the institutions of society itself. But these expenditures are non-wealth-creating in themselves, and should therefore be eliminated whenever possible and certainly supplemented as soon as possible by future wealth-creating expenditures. I can think of no expenditures more likely to create wealth than those on education and training. It has a powerful effect in creating more wealth and new and increased earning capacity.

The reason I believe a capital budget for the Federal Government is vital is that it would give us means of evaluating expenditure policy. We would know what portion of Federal spending is being devoted to capital or investment expenditures, and we could judge those outlays accordingly. We would also be in a position to know the level of current expenditures and to establish the amount of current income necessary to cover those expenditures.

Finally, we cannot discuss Federal expenditures and their economic impact without discussing fiscal policies as a whole. Federal expenditures are financed either by levying taxes, which may seriously restrict private economic growth, or by creating new Government debt, preferred taxation, if you please, which may also have adverse economic consequences, inasmuch as our monetary system has been so interwoven through the Federal Reserve System with the Federal debt. We cannot neglect monetary policy as it relates to the Government's expenditure, tax, and debt actions as we have so often done in the past, and as recently as the year 1966, and as President Johnson seems to want to do in asking for an increase in tax rates without cutting back on the level of expenditures.

So much effort has been spent in post World War II years by economists debating the economic impact of economic aggregates embodied in Federal monetary and tax policies that government expenditures policies and government debt policies have been neglected. Yet, unlike monetary and tax policies, I said *unlike*, there seems to be no dispute that Government expenditure policies should be used affirmatively to effect economic health and growth, but in terms of the objectives set in the specific programs for which the money is to be spent. The value of governmental expenditures lies in what the money is spent for, not that money is spent. If the same objectives can be obtained without spending money, of course then money should not be spent, even though those who seek certain high expenditure levels are faced with lower levels. Certainly if the social objectives can be obtained by not spending money—or, to put it more positively—if spending Federal money would actually hurt the progress, the social objectives, it should not be spent, no matter how much this disturbs the Macro-economists, the new economists, who have simplistically—and falsely—equated economic and social progress with maintaining a scheduled increase in the amount of aggregate demand, or purchasing power, within the society with the Federal Government providing the extra spending when in the judgment of these planners the total demand is insufficient. Even liberals are now beginning to understand that spending Federal money can diminish the total amount of money being spent on the social objective, be it education, health, welfare, or what. The Curtis Corollary to Gresham's Law—Government spending drives out private money, Federal spending can dry up State and local spending—begins to operate.

The promoters of the theory that governmental money and fiscal policies should be used, beyond what I consider their primary functions, to directly promote economic health and growth think they have found an axiom. Otherwise, how can they conclude they do not have to prove their theory or rebut the points of those who disagree with it?

In this kind of intellectual climate I find it necessary to at least restate for the purposes of clarification the opposing theories about monetary and fiscal policies, even though I wish to concentrate primarily on expenditure policies in this discussion.

It is my belief that monetary policy should be directed exclusively to establishing and preserving a "weight and measure," if you please, of economic values of goods, services, labor and savings. In this way, our money can best serve as a sound and reliable medium of exchange and an accurate base for our economic statistics. Anything that distracts monetary policy from achieving this most difficult and, like an ideal, unattainable goal, in the long run, is detrimental to the economic health and growth in the society.

It is likewise my belief that fiscal policy, principally taxation and debt policies, should be directed exclusively to raising, as efficiently as possible, the revenue necessary for pay for the goods and services demanded by and for the society through governmental expenditure policies. Anything that distracts fiscal policy from achieving this difficult goal in the long run also is detrimental to our economic health and growth.

However, in the use of these two great governmental powers economic health and economic growth are constantly being affected. It is a great temptation to conclude that this is a simple operation of the law of cause and effect, so that all we have to do is cut or raise taxes, for example, to produce immediate effects which seem to be in the interest of economic welfare. This is like assuming we can gain the moon because we can see it. Self-discipline accompanied by a bit of humility is necessary to resist this temptation. I suppose this human temptation to tinker with things we do not fully understand has come to us in economics as the result of the newly emerging science of economic statistics. As useful as our statistics are, it is my judgment that this new science is, in 1967, at the stage of development that astronomy and chemistry were as they were emerging from astrology and alchemy.

I think governmental expenditure policies should be determined by forthright political decision after proper Congressional study and debate of the needs and desires of a society. Governmental expenditures should be limited by fiscal policy, only hopefully on a temporary basis, when these needs and desires exceed the fiscal abilities of the society. In establishing its expenditure policy, society should consider that it has available for the purpose of meeting social needs two basic mechanisms, the market place mechanism and the mechanism of political government. After all, the base for governmental revenues is the non-governmental sector, unless we are to have a totalitarian state in which the political and the economic powers are merged.

If a governmental expenditure has been deemed needed or desired and it is most efficiently attained, with a proper regard for the balance of economic and political power, through the Federal political mechanism, then it is just a question of how and when we most efficiently finance this expenditure. In other words, fiscal policy should be based upon the needs of the people which it is felt must be met by means of the mechanism of government as expressed in expenditure policy.

Tax policy must be based upon long term considerations. The economic and social impact of a particular tax structure and tax take upon the tax base must always be a matter of concern to those who establish policy. If the tax structure and tax take weakens he economic structure upon which it is based, then the economic impact of total expenditures, the bundle of program costs which have run the rigid tests of cost-benefit ratios, must be weighed against this economic impact and the net result calculated. In order to shape total government policy, it may be necessary, and probably usually will be necessary, to establish priorities among desirable expenditures, even needed expenditures, so as not to overburden the tax and debt structures and thus weaken the economic base. I believe this is clearly a requirement of national policy today.

Happily, the neo-Keynesian economists joined the tax neutralists in pressing the tax cut of 1964. They finally recognized the merits in the arguments of those who had been saying for many years that our Federal income tax structure was undermining our economic structure and damaging economic health and future economic growth. Tax rates were beyond diminishing returns; lower the rates and the base—economic activity—expands. So the total take is greater—*provided*, and this was the point at issue, that total spending is held down. The tax cut of 1964 was an economic success. Query: were expenditures held down or were they increased as the new economists insisted must be done if the tax cuts were to assist in increasing aggregate demand? The figures are there for anyone to read. In Fiscal Year 1960, Federal expenditures were $77 Billion. In 1961, $82 Billion; 1962, $87 Billion; 1963, $92 Billion; 1964, $97.7 Billion; and the test year, 1965, $96.5 Billion. The only stop in the new economists expansion of Federal spending in this decade.

However, tax policy is only one part of fiscal policy. When we fail to obtain the revenues necessary to meet our governmental expenditures, we must then resort to deferred taxation by issuing government bonds.

It is important when considering the soundness of a tax structure and its economic impact to consider it in its entirety, which is debt and taxation, both the present and future abilities of the tax structure to produce revenues. So, although the neo-Keynesians have reached the same conclusions which the neutralists reached some time before them, about the deleteriousness of the amount of revenue take by means of our Federal tax structure, they are by no means in full agreement with the neutralists' conclusions that the amount of Federal debt is equally, if not more, deleterious to our economy.

Why is Federal debt not like private debt or even like local and State governmental debt? Private debt, whether personal or corporate, is related to specific expenditures. The debt itself is related to two things, singly or composite . . . security of the asset itself and the earning capacity of the asset or the ability of the borrower to repay the debt and to pay the charge for the loan. In other words, it is directly related to and, indeed, based upon the assumption that it is going to create economic wealth.

Local and State debt is similar to personal and corporate debt. Most municipalities and counties float bonds for capital improvements, schools, roads, bridges, sewers, what have you. All increase the wealth, measured in real estate values, if nothing else, of the community which is the primary tax base for local governments. These debts relate to specific assets; they relate to the tax base, the ability to pay. State debt is quite similar.

Only Federal debt differs. It relates primarily to the defense of this country—a service which we badly need, but a service which is economically barren. Defense expenditures do not create wealth in the assets purchased; the missiles, the aircraft carriers, the atomic bombs, etc.,—even military buildings have little asset value. They are created for a single purpose and they do not bring in revenue. That portion of the Fderal debt which does relate to creating economic wealth, except for the traditional public works projects, relates to the area where most of the debate lies as to whether the Federal governmental mechanism is the best mechanism in our society by which to direct these expenditures. Indeed, I would argue that where a wealth creating expenditure is involved, the presumption is quite strong that the expenditure would be better and more efficiently handled by the private sector through the market place mechanism. If other factors suggest that the mechanism of government be used, I think generally it would be best done by one of the other two tiers of government, State or local, rather than by the Federal Government.

The Congress has developed a mechanism for dealing with only one phase of expenditure policy. Congress, though the authorization process of the legislative committees and the appropriation process of the Appropriation Committees, passes upon the desirability of and the need for the components which go to make up total spending. The mechanism needs to be improved and better policy guidelines need to be established. But at least Congress has the necessary machinery.

Congress does not have the machinery to make policy decisions on the optimum size of the Federal debt. Congress makes little effort to establish priorities between needed programs when the tax revenues and the optimum bonded indebtedness are exceeded by the total of expenditures. Some of us have tried to develop the debt ceiling legislation into a mechanism whereby the Congress can make such judgments.

Let me illustrate my points by reference to the Federal budget. Each year, the Administration requests new obligational authority to spend, but only a portion of this new obligational authority is scheduled to be spent in the fiscal year in which it is appropriated; the balance is scheduled to be spent over the following three or four ensuing fiscal years. Each year, there is a carryover balance of unused authority to spend granted by the Congress in previous years. In other words, if the Congress through its appropriation bills grants to the President his original request for $144 Billion of new obligational authority in Fiscal 1968, he would have a pool of $267 Billion of authority to spend in this fiscal year. Of course, the President has no plans to spend this amount of money in one fiscal year. Nonetheless, he alone has the discretion to set the expenditure level for Fiscal 1968. In his January 1968 Budget, he set that level at $135 Billion, although the figure has increased throughout the year to where the Director of the Budget, in early August, revised it upwards $9 Billion to $144.2 Billion. Really it was revised upward $11 Billion to $146.2 Billion, because the Director of the Budget said that the Administration had cut expenditures by $2 Billion. It is true that, take two from eleven, and you have nine Billion. This is what can be referred to in the new arithmetic with Johnson rhetoric as an expenditure cut.

All Presidents have expenditure flexibility and properly so. They have frozen programs, accelerated programs, and decelerated them in accordance with changed circumstances occurring after the authority to spend had been granted and scheduled in the Congressional appropriation bills. The point is, the Congress doesn't spend money—the President spends money. The Congress only gives him the power to spend it. The President has considerable flexibility in the use of this power. He could have cut Federal expenditures in Fiscal Year 1968 from the projected $135 Billion level set in January this year to $130 Billion, as the Joint Economic Committee in its unanimous report said he must do. But, instead of cutting to $130 Billion, as I have said, he increased it $11 Billion, minus $2 Billion, to $144 Billion.

Congress has an obligation to express its judgment on total fiscal policy, and to do this, it must make its determination of what the expenditure rate should be in light of the revenues anticipated for each fiscal year. Failing to do this, Congress has no way of expressing its judgment on the debt aspects of fiscal policy except through setting the debt ceiling which, though effective, is cumbersome, but I would argue, less cumbersome and economically damaging than the meat-axe expenditure cut of inflation. Indeed, if we do nothing to lower total Federal expenditures for Fiscal Year 1968, the increase of .5% in the Consumer Price Index of July, the first month of Fiscal Year 1968, will continue throughout the year to reduce the expenditures in all programs by 6%.

The most the Congress has been doing to set budget and policy is through its control over grants of new authority to spend, but this has a very limited effect upon the expenditure level of the current fiscal year.

The art of budgeting on the expenditure side of the ledger, I have ofttime remarked, is not so much a question of cutting out waste, extravagance and inefficiency, as it is with establishing priorities between needed and efficient programs. Cutting out waste, extravagance and inefficiency is a matter of identification. Establishing priorities between good programs requires judgment and political fortitude. Expenditures must always be related to objectives. Money can be spent effectively to bring about prosperity, to increase standards of living, to maintain domestic tranquility and provide for defense, but to do so it must undergo the tests of rigid cost-benefit ratios. If the components of spending are poor, the aggregates of spending will be bad.

Hoarding is an economic sin, but so is spending for spending's sake.

THE BOW AMENDMENT

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, now that the House has denied itself the privilege of considering the Bow amendment, it would seem that there was sufficient debate on this subject this week and last week when the original continuing resolution was before us. However, there are some basic facts that still have not been stated and ought to become a part of this record.

I think we need to specifically identify the reasons why the resolution is before us in the first instance, and further why an amendment was suggested by the ranking minority member of our committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow]. The amendment would establish an expenditure ceiling of $5 billion less than the original budget.

It is obvious that the reason a resolution is necessary is that Congress has failed to do its work on time; namely, appropriate the moneys to the respective departments for their operation during this fiscal year. This, as I mentioned last week, is abdicating the power of the Congress in that the departments are permitted to run on with expenditures based on either last fiscal year's appropriations or this fiscal year's budget, whichever is smallest. The departments then continue their activities without any direction from the Congress and in some cases even continue programs that have yet to be reauthorized.

Now, what about the suggested limitation of expenditures? It seems to have developed all kinds of substantial arguments as to whose responsibility it is to make recommended reductions in expenditures. This is necessary in order to prevent further increases in interest rates with continuing inflation and to accommodate the proper effects of a tax increase.

It seems to me that the recommendations by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] are proper in all respects and fulfill the intent and concern of the Appropriations Committee as specifically emphasized by the minority of this committee.

Let us look briefly at the facts that have given cause to the need for the amendment. When the budget was presented to the committee last February 7 by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, and the Director of the Budget Bureau, Mr. Schultze, the following economic statistics and policy was presented to us with great emphasis. This was done even though many members of the Appropriations Committee questioned the figures and raised grave doubts as to their accuracy and reliability.

First, it is significant to note that in January of 1966 when the fiscal year 1967 budget was presented to us, they predicted a deficit of $1.8 billion. On February 7 of this year, Mr. Fowler and Mr. Schultze predicted this deficit to be $9.7 billion. By May of this year, the Secretary, in appearing before the Ways and Means Committee in support of a demand for a $29 billion addition to the national debt limit, then estimated the fiscal year 1967 deficit to be around $11 billion. At the end of the fiscal year, it was then announced that the deficit was approximately $9.9 billion. It seems that it makes a substantial difference in the estimates when the purpose of the estimate is accounted for. The estimate is low when they are requesting money, but high when requesting expansion of the national debt limit.

Now then, for a moment let us turn to the fiscal year 1968 budget and estimates. We will first note that on February 7 it was presented to us as resulting in a $8.1 billion deficit with a proposed tax increase of 6 percent. However, by August of this year, the Secretary of the Treasury, again appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee in support of the tax increase, then stated as follows:

> The budgetary consequences of these revised estimates of revenues and the expenditure contingencies outlined would imply a deficit of $23.6-billion. In the event no tax increase were enacted, and in the absence of tight expenditure control, the deficit could rise to $29-billion (including $700-million for the higher interest cost on the public debt that such a deficit would involve).

These two discrepancies positively identify the extent to which information presented to the Appropriations Committee has been unreliable with error of such magnitude that it literally has been of no value to our deliberations.

While the Secretary presented a glowing report of how the economic policy of the Nation would be well served by the budget presented to us, he had a substantial change of heart in his statement to the Ways and Means Committee on August 14. To quote briefly, he said:

> But given present private demands for credit, an outsized Federal deficit, such as would result without the proposed tax rise and expenditure restraints, cannot be accommodated without severe disruption to the credit markets, sending interest rates sky-high and shutting off the flow of credit to sectors such as the home mortgage market and small business.

The original budget and the recommendations that went with it are of course what the Appropriations Committee had to work with during this session. To that budget and the accompanying analysis, the House Appropriations Committee responded with a commendable concern for the best interests of our military and domestic needs.

The chairman of our committee has stated several times that we have already accomplished reductions in the House in excess of $4 billion with indications that another billion dollars will be added to that when we have completed considerations of the three remaining bills. This then makes a total reduction to the credit of the House of approximately $5 billion. It follows that, with that reduction and if the President's budget had been reliable, we could have eliminated the 6-percent tax increase and still have had a deficit that was less than originally recommended.

There are now two factors which identify the immediate need for the expenditure limitation that Mr. Bow has suggested. First, there is evidence that the other body has restored most of the reductions made by the House and in some cases provided additional moneys for new programs. Many of these additions came about because of requests by the executive department to restore House reductions and to add new programs. Second, and more significant, is the disturbing budget picture with a $29 billion deficit that has now been acknowledged and attested to by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, together with other economic advisers.

It is difficult for me to understand how the Secretary could state on February 7 that:

> The fact that revenues have exceeded estimates has enabled the President to compile an overall record of unusual accuracy in estimating deficits.

I can find no accuracy in estimates that miss their mark by 200 to 300 percent in just a matter of a very few months. Nor can I justify—and I quote:

> The Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Council of Economic Advisers work closely together on these matters. Together we try to provide the President with the best possible information on revenue estimates and fiscal requirements necessary to the smooth functioning of the national economy.

If these figures which I have just quoted represent a smooth functioning of the national economy as Secretary Fowler implied on February 7, then it is obvious that all of them have a lot to learn.

It further occurs to me that with these consistent inaccuracies, what reliance do we have that the figures being presented to us now are any more correct than those that were presented to us at the beginning of the year? It seems to me that in the absence of any reliable statistics or policy on the part of the administration, the only course for us to follow in attempting to bring fiscal sanity to budgeting chaos is by the amendment as recommended by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow]. This would permit the Bureau of the Budget to attempt to adjust the expenditures within a described limit on a quarterly basis and in compliance with their own figures which, as we have seen, change every quarter.

The House Appropriations Committee and the House action taken last week fulfilled the responsibility that we have to the American taxpayer. It was a sincere attempt to prevent increased interest rates and resulting inflation.

The Congress next year should very thoroughly analyze in its own right the budget and fiscal requirements of the Nation and respond accordingly. We cannot expect the American taxpayer to be satisfied with a budgeting process that is as unreliable and unpredictable as has been practiced by the administration during recent years.

TEXTILE TRADE ACT OF 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to introduce the Textile Trade Act of 1967. This bill and similar bills demonstrate the deep concern I have for the rising textile imports which affect so many of our wool and cotton producers in this country. Last year the total import picture of textiles shows that a record $2.1 billion in textile imports were brought into this country. This is an increase of $839 million since 1960.

It is the wool producing picture of this Nation that I am very concerned about today. One out of every 4 yards of wool textiles consumed in this country comes from a source outside of this Nation. This means that the American wool producer in this country has lost since 1962 the potential market of $101.3 million a year in manufactured textiles. The imports since 1955 have increased by 61.5 million pounds of wool a year. In addition, total imported sheep products reached $606 million last year. These imports most certainly mean a hardship for our American wool producers. This hardship is reflected in the latest cash price from the Wall Street Journal which shows wool-fine staple down from $1.37 last year to $1.21 now. Obviously this reflects on prices received by our wool producers in this country.

It is becoming clearer that the recent Kennedy round of tariff cutting has left the American farmer with no hope to capture more of the foreign market that was hoped for by our negotiators. We must reexamine the recent cut made in the field of textiles.

My bill would authorize and direct the President to negotiate agreements with single countries or with groups of countries. The agreements reached would limit imports by articles to a period prior to 1967. If after 6 months from the enactment of my bill the textile import levels have not been negotiated, then the quantity of textile imports will revert to the average levels of 1961–66.

I urge prompt action on this bill for it is important that we attempt to bolster another sector of our agriculture economy from the onslaught of foreign trade.

BRING ON ST. LOUIS

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Conte] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, along with the great events celebrated by all Americans—such as Paul Revere's ride and the Boston Tea Party—there must now be added the indomitable achievement of the Boston Red Sox in winning the American League championship.

Along with the names of those great American victories where Americans came from behind to win, must be inscribed the name of Fenway Park.

Boston, long known for its dignity and decorum, gave way to screams of delight at the last out. And even editorial writers, who are not always noted for excitable phrases, have risen above themselves.

A Boston Globe editorial, in words that ring with the spirit of Massachusetts Pine Tree flag, has given us not just a local yell of glee—but an inspired assessment of baseball.

It describes the challenge and the excitement and the rewards of sport.

I appreciate that you all know which is the greatest team in the American League--that rose from a lowly ninth place in 1966.

And you all know that Carl Yastrzemski won the triple batting crown—and how to spell his last name.

But you probably do not all subscribe to the Boston Globe; so, under, unanimous consent, I place its memorable editorial in the Record so you may all have copies of this epic piece of prose on an epochal event:

Right Out of Sight

There are those who say that major league baseball is a bore. They say it is downright ridiculous for grown men to run around a field in knickers and caps. They say baseball fans are suckers, paying to watch three minutes of real action over a period of two or three tedious hours.

They are benighted souls, deserving of our pity.

Baseball, as played by the pennant-winning Red Sox this golden season, has been a mystical union of physical grace, intellectual vitality and moral toughness.

It has been poetry, universally elevating, and yesterday's victory over the Minnesota Twins was its apotheosis.

Baseball this year has been the hard, gemlike competitiveness of a Jim Lonborg, the introspective young pitcher who started the winning sixth-inning rally by dropping a safe bunt down the third-base line with impeccable precision.

It has been the superb athletic craftsmanship of a Carl Yastrzemski, who cracked out four base hits in as many times at bat in the game that counted for everything.

It has been the utter professionalism of a Jerry Adair, who injured himself in starting a hair-raising second-to-first double play in the eighth, and the youthful elan of a Mike Andrews, who replaced Adair and promptly executed the same spectacular play in the ninth.

It has been the gifted all-round play of men like Rico Petrocelli, George Scott, and the injured Tony Conigliaro; the implacable hitting of men like Dalton Jones and Reggie Smith; the hard pitching of men like Jose Santiago and Gary Bell; the exuberant hustle of men like Jose Tartabull and Russ Gibson.

Baseball this year has been delirium, and no one has expressed this better than did the players themselves in the dressing room right after the game.

Said Dalton Jones bashfully: "I lost my head right out there on the field."

Said Jim Lonborg, with shower water streaming down his thoughtful face: "I don't think there'll ever be another day in baseball like this."

Said Jose Tartabull: "I don't know what I am right now."

And the cool reliever, John Wyatt, said it perhaps best of all, grinning mightily: "How do I feel? Out of sight, baby. Right out of sight."

Bring on the Cardinals!!!

THE WIDENING CREDIBILITY GAP

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Brown] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, my office in the past few days has been deluged with mail concerning Vietnam. My constituents ask the almost unanswerable questions of "why," "how," and "when"?

I suffer extreme frustration in attempting to provide responsive answers. And, I find my frustration stems in most part from a lack of information or, more importantly, a lack of consistently reliable information. I find myself leaving "off the record" briefings wondering whether or not I can rely upon the information gained—not so much because I think anyone in the administration takes great pleasure in misleading—but rather, I oftentime conclude there may be those who feel Congressmen, and members of the public, are not to be trusted with, or need not be informed of, the unpublicized data upon which decisions are based. And, just as often, I conclude the unilateral attitude taken by the administration toward dissemination of information places me in no better a position to determine what our policy should be than that of the reasonably well-informed person outside Government.

This dissatisfaction with the reliability and credibility of administration-disseminated information was recently expressed in a talk given by Senator Robert P. Griffin. I think his remarks are well worth repeating here and are expressive of my sentiments. He said:

The Widening Credibility Gap

(An address by U.S. Senator Robert P. Griffin)

In the current issue of the *New Yorker* magazine, Washington correspondent Richard Rovere writes, "Every surveyor of public opinion, every traveler returning from the provinces, reports that the primary cause of disaffection—or at least what is more often stated as the primary cause—is the feeling that this President cannot be counted upon to tell the country the truth—to keep his word—to be straightforward in his dealings with others."

Rovere describes it as a national disaster. For as he sees it, "The lack of confidence in the integrity of a particular president diminishes respect—not only for him—but for the office he holds and will be part of the heritage of any man who succeeds him."

Time magazine reported in the September 22 edition on an exhaustive study on the progress of the Vietnam war. The study, according to *Time* magazine, produced very encouraging news about the military situation. But *Time* also indicated that the President probably won't release the report because the public is just not in a mood to believe it.

Four years ago, on October 2, 1963, the Secretary of Defense said this about our involvement in Vietnam: "The major part of the United States military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a number of United States training personnel."

Only three years ago, on September 25, 1964, President Johnson cautioned against what he termed "reckless action" and remarked: "We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for the Asian boys. We don't want . . . to get tied down in a land war in Asia."

In January of 1966, President Johnson stood before the Congress of the United States and indicated to the Members of Congress and the American people that he was disturbed about the problem of strikes; he solemnly stated that very shortly he would send proposals to Congress to revise and overhaul the legal machinery available to deal with crippling nationwide strikes. You know, many Members of Congress believed him, and the American people—many of them—believed him; and they waited and they waited; and they're still waiting—because President Johnson to this day, 19 months later, still has not submitted those proposals for revision of our labor laws.

There is great concern in the country now about President Johnson's proposal for a 10-percent surtax. I'd like to say—and I'm sure my colleagues in the Congress would agree—that there is widespread opposition to this proposal. In fact my mail is running at least 100 to 1 against it.

After analyzing my mail and talking to many constitutents, I have concluded that a root cause of the public's opposition to the proposed tax increase is a widespread lack of faith in the Johnson Administration and its handling of domestic and foreign affairs.

The war in Vietnam is very costly. At home the summer riots have dramatically drawn attention to the crisis in the cities which constitutes one of the most serious domestic problems that this nation has ever known.

It would appear that a strong case is available for additional demands upon the taxpayer, and that the American people—out of a sense of responsibility--ought to respond to the President's appeal. But this is not their reaction.

I believe there are several basic reasons for the present resistance to the proposed surtax. First, I think there is at work in the country something which has been described as the opposite of "crying wolf too often." As Senator James Pearson, of Kansas, said the other day in the United States Senate, after too many false alarms have been sounded, the point is finally reached when people fail to respond even to a genuine alarm.

And, as Senator Pearson pointed out, the reverse of this principle also is true. In the past, the Administration has assured the people over and over again that we can have a full measure of both guns and butter, without significant dislocation of our econcmy and without additional tax burdens. And now, after the Administration has told the people so many times that we can have "business as usual" while the Vietnam war goes on, the public is skeptical when the Administraiton suddenly reverses itself and says, in effect, that the demands upon the country are so heavy that taxes must be increased.

Closely related to this is another type of public reaction. Month after month, over the past several years, the public has seen the Administration continually underestimate the level of federal expenditures and overestimate the amount of taxes that will flow into the Treasury. Republican spokesmen pointed out, shortly after President Johnson submitted his economic message for this fiscal year, that the deficit could go as high as $30 billion unless proposed expenditures were cut. But those assessments made by Republican spokesmen were dismissed out of hand by the Administration. Indeed, as late as June, Gardner Ackley, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, was saying that any suggestion of a budget deficit of $30 billion was "outrageous."

But then, just six short weeks later, President Johnson in asking for his 10-percent surtax confirmed that the "outrageous" was essentially the fact, which had the effect of admitting that Republicans were telling the country the truth.

Thus, after becoming accustomed to a pattern of confusing, changing estimates and predictions, perhaps the public is justified now in expressing doubts as to whether these new estimates and predictions by the Administration are reliable.

The opposition to the surtax, borne of the public skepticism as to the reliability of the Administration's word, is reinforced by growing doubts and concerns about the Administration's conduct of foreign and domestic policy. Even those who share the general objectives proclaimed by the Johnson Administration have growing doubts about its capacity to properly and effectively execute its programs.

In regard to Vietnam the American public has been repeatedly told over the past three years that the war is going well; but day after day the evidence seems to pile up that the situation grows worse. To many it appears that we are further from a settlement today than we were in 1964, despite the fact that our effort there has undergone a massive escalation—escalation which the Administration has indicated would never occur.

At home, the gap between promise and reality is very wide. The American people have been generally willing to participate in the Administration's declaration of war on poverty because they share the objective of eliminating poverty from our society. But despite the flowing pronouncements of the past few years, poverty has not been significantly reduced and the problems which it breeds seem to have been multiplied.

If anyone thinks that only Republicans are critical of the Johnson Administration on the issue of credibility and truth in government, let me suggest that members of the Nation's press corps are even more disturbed and concerned. The current (September 1967) issue of the *Progressive*, a magazine reflecting liberal Democratic thoughts, has a lead article entitled "The White House Lies". This article documents statement after statement which the authors brand as lies.

The article is part of a book ready for publication. In it, the authors, William McGaffin, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, and Erwin Knoll, White House correspondent for Newhouse National News Service, describe what has become known as an LBJ credibility test. It goes something like this: "When the President smooths down the hair on the back of his head, he's telling the truth. When he rubs his hands, he's telling the truth; but when he starts moving his lips, watch out."

When Governor Romney used some terminology not long ago that touched off a national dialog, he was talking about the same problem that I'm talking about here today.

And it's a problem not exclusively the burden of those who occupy or seek public office. More significantly it's a problem of the American people, whatever their political posture and whatever their station in life or their race or color or creed. For when confidence in our government begins to fade, let me suggest that the sun begins to set on freedom as we know it.

One of the most unfortunate casualties of the Vietnam war has been the loss of confidence of the American people in the word of their own government. Imagine Ambassador Arthur Goldberg feeling compelled to tell the United Nations, and I quote: "We have a great problem maintaining our credibility with our own people."

Now, the American people realize full well that some matters relating to *military* security cannot, and should not, be revealed. But they do not accept the proposition that information can be withheld or distorted for purposes of *political* security. And they do not accept the proposition that the government has the right deliberately to deceive or to lie to those whose consent is essential to the very operation of our system.

Last year, Wes Gallagher, the general manager of Associated Press, said that an examination of the record of what has been reported about Vietnam during the past four years, and what Administration officials have said about Vietnam, leaves no doubt that the news reporting has been much more accurate than official statements. And, he added that there seems to be an Orwellian 1984 concept which pervades the thinking of this Administration. They seem to believe that if reporters would just report the good news, somehow things would be better.

Now I want to be fair. I remember, and you remember too, how shocked the American people were during the Eisenhower Administration when a State Department press officer said, four days after a U-2 spy plane disappeared over Russia, that there had been no attempt to violate Soviet air space. In that case, I suggest, a government agency departed from President Eisenhower's usual policy of candor; the country was rightfully upset and shocked. But stop and think about it; people just don't get shocked anymore about this sort of thing. In the last four or five years, the manipulation and the suppression of government information has become the rule, and not the exception that it was under previous administrations.

Perhaps Walter Cronkite summed it up the best when he said that this is not just a moral or a philosophical problem. The problem has grown to such proportions that today it directly affects the very ability of our system to survive. As he pointed out, the very foundation of representative government is built on honesty, and belief in the honesty of fellow men.

If it is to endure, surely a representative government must accept a basic commitment to the citizens it represents. The people who have the sense to put a government into power must be accorded credit for having enough sense fairly to judge that government's performance. And failure on the part of a representative government to fulfill that fundamental commitment can only sow the seeds of decay and destruction of the system itself.

When our nation was very new, James Madison said this: "Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power that knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or both."

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE ALEXANDER PIRNIE, PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. GROUP TO THE INTERPARLIAMENTAY UNION

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. PIRNIE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, as president of the U.S. Group of the Interparliamentary Union, it is my duty to report on the recent activities of that body, with particular reference to the session held in Geneva September 10 to 15. The regular plenary conference of the Union had been scheduled to be held in Moscow from the 7th of September to the 15th. Unfortunately, action had to be taken canceling this meeting and I feel it most important that the reason for so doing be fully understood by the Congress. Therefore, I will recount the factual sequence in some detail.

Mr. Speaker, over a year ago the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics invited the Inter-Parliamentary Union to hold its plenary session in Moscow, in September 1967. This was duly followed by an official invitation sent by the U.S.S.R. to the IPU, and the signing of the official agreement, dated at Moscow, November 11, 1966.

A copy of this official agreement is in our IPU files in Washington. Here are some points of the signed agreement which I would like to place in the RECORD:

> The Group (Soviet) will issue an invitation to all National Groups affiliated with the Union in conformity with a list to be supplied by the Secretary General not later than May 30, 1967.
>
> The Group will make arrangements with Soviet Consulates and diplomatic missions abroad to grant visas, on presentation of the official identity card issued by the Group to the following:
>
> All delegates of National Groups wishing to participate in the Conference, as well as to members of their families.
>
> Special arrangements will be made for the issuance of visas to citizens of those countries with which the USSR may not have diplomatic relations.

The agreement, having been duly signed by the interested parties, was received at the conference in Mallorca in April 1967, and the delegations started their preparations for the plenary conference in Moscow.

On May 3, 1967, the Secretary General addressed the following letter to the President of the Soviet delegation of the IPU:

> [Unofficial translation from Russian]
>
> GENEVA,
> *May 3, 1967.*
>
> MR. PRESIDENT: In pursuance of my letter to you dated April 20, I have the honour to inform you that my attention has been drawn to a communique issued by the Tass Press Agency in Moscow on April 15, of which you will find an unofficial translation attached.
>
> You will realize that this statement has occasioned some surprise to certain National

Groups which have asked me for an explanation of this matter.

This is why I shall be most grateful if you could let me know how this Tass statement is to be interpreted by the members of the Union in the light of Article 5 of the Agreement concluded between the Soviet Parliamentary Group and the Inter-Parliamentary Union for the organization of the 56th Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Moscow.

I await your reply before May 15 to the question raised above, as well as to my letter of April 20 regarding the arrangements foreseen to ensure that delegations from countries where there is no Soviet diplomatic representation at present will be able to obtain entry visas to the USSR so that they may participate in the 56th Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

I have the honour to be, Mr. President,
Your obedient servant,
ANDRE DE BLONAY,
Secretary General.

STATEMENT ISSUED IN MOSCOW ON APRIL 15 BY THE TASS NEWS AGENCY

Some foreign press agencies reported that the Soviet delegation, during the Council meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Palma, had invited the South Korean Inter-Parliamentary Group to participate in the 56th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union which will take place in Moscow in September.

Tass is authorized to state that these reports were untrue. During the Council meeting in Spain, the Soviet delegation did not extend any invitation to the South Korean Parliamentary Group for the Moscow Conference and has no intention of doing so.

The reply from Mr. Spiridonov was not received until May 24 in a very lengthy cable in which he stated that the South Korean delegation would not be received by the U.S.S.R., and that they would not be issued visas. One paragraph of the cable will suffice to present the argument:

> As you know, the Soviet Union neither recognized nor recognizes the lawfulness of the South Korean regime which claims to represent the entire Korean people. The USSR Parliamentary Group cannot but draw your attention to the fact that, in the examination of the application of the South Korean Group for membership in the Union in Copenhagen in 1964, serious violations of the rules of procedure of the Union were perpetrated.

The rest of the cable is long and involved, and full of specious arguments. The Secretary General answered under date of May 26, stating in part:

> I have received this morning the cable by which you informed me that the Inter-Parliamentary Group of the USSR had in fact no intention of inviting the South Korean Group to the 56th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Moscow. This fact will be brought to the attention of the Union's Executive Committee which, at the request of two of its members, will meet in Geneva on June 3 in extraordinary session.

This meeting of the Executive Committee was held on June 3, 1967, and the United States was represented by Representative EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, of Illinois, in place of Representative EMILIO Q. DADDARIO, of Connecticut, who was unable to attend on account of illness in his family.

The Executive Committee passed a resolution by a vote of eight in favor and one abstention, this last being the vote of the U.S.S.R. representative, not to hold the plenary session in Moscow unless the U.S.S.R. reconsidered the agreement of November 11, 1966, and abided by the terms of the same. The U.S.S.R. did not recede from its position and for that reason the plenary session had to be canceled and the Geneva meeting was substituted.

The Secretary General stated in his report that this was the first time in the long history of the Union that a plenary session had to be abandoned in peace time.

It was against this background that the delegations assembled in Geneva for a session confined to meetings of the Council and the Executive Committee. This prevented conference action on the agenda prepared for Moscow. Regretfully, it also eliminated what promised to be a very stimulating and informative television roundtable discussion on "The Member of Parliament and His Constituents." This program was scheduled for two evening periods at Moscow and I was to have been one of six participants. It would have afforded an opportunity of outlining the many aspects of constituent contact in a free society.

More than 50 countries of the 66 now eligible to participate were represented at Geneva. The nations not qualified to sit due to parliamentary conditions in their respective countries were: Burma, Dahomey, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Monaco, Nigeria, Syria, Republic of Vietnam, Argentina, Sierra Leone, and Greece. It should be noted that Mali, Mauretania, and Niger were accepted at the spring conference in Mallorca and Singapore and Malawi were admitted at Geneva.

No sooner had the Council meeting convened than it was apparent that the Middle East crisis had replaced Vietnam as the dominant issue. Attacks were launched on Israel, sparked by a resolution of condemnation introduced by the Soviets. The Israelis countered with a proposal that the Executive Committee be dispatched as a delegation to all countries involved in the recent hostilities for the purpose of exerting influence in behalf of the Union "toward a stable, just and lasting peace in the interest of all people in the region." The Spanish delegation filed a resolution, temperate in tone, calling for withdrawal by the Israel forces and an end of the state of belligerency. After debate which was long and heated, it became very apparent that any substantial agreement was impossible. The Eastern bloc supporting the Arab position was unwilling to modify their demand that Israel be branded the aggressor. Further, there was no admission of Israel's existence as a nation. Realizing that agreement on a meaningful resolution was impossible in this state of mind, the decision was reached to refer the resolution to the Committee on Political Questions, International Security, and Disarmament for further study and debate during the spring conference at Dakar. Favorable action on this proposal was aided by the timely and most effective speech of Senator HART of the U.S. delegation:

TOWARD A DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(An address by Senator PHILIP A. HART)

The question before us yesterday was whether resolutions on the Middle East should be debated by this Council. Some of us were skeptical that such debate could advance or contribute to the cause of peace; some of us were concerned that such a debate might damage constructive efforts now under way to bring a permanent peace to that troubled region. The Council took the decision to bring the subject to debate. I think we must recognize that the discussion thus far has been of value.

Certainly, I want to make explicit that our apprehension less debate on this issue damage the cause of peace did not reflect a desire to obscure the United States' position. The position of the United States has been stated repeatedly and consistently. It is that all concerned in the Middle East crisis must work toward a durable peace and must refrain from steps which would encourage a renewal of hostilities or would aggravate present dangers.

As we see it, this broad objective can be achieved only if there is recognition of certain principles. Let me list those principles briefly but specifically:

1. There must be recognition of the right to national life for all states in the area.

2. There must be faithful observance of political independence and territorial integrity for all states in the area.

3. There must be justice for the Arab refugees.

4. There must be assurances of innocent passage through international waterways—waterways, plural.

5. There must be limit on wasteful and destructive arms race.

Each of us who believe these principles are relevant must now ask himself what the proper role is and should be for the Inter-parliamentary Union. What action of this Council, consistent with these principles, would contribute toward a goal which I believe each of us seek—a just and a stable peace in the Middle East?

As each of you considers and decides what your own answer is as to the role the Council should play, let me suggest the course which I feel would be constructive.

The Council should not undertake to condemn; to fix blame for the war or to assign responsibility for the conditions from which war developed. For me, this would be neither wise nor possible. Just from listening to previous speakers, nothing could be clearer, and I suspect I would have this feeling even if I were a Ph.D. in history, which I am not.

I suggest the IPU should neither assume nor complicate the tasks of the United Nations, where the parties immediately concerned are trying to work for peaceful settlement—the United Nations, organization with the authority and the facilities and the mechanisms to play effectively this specific role.

The U.N. Security Council has succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire. The issue is before the United Nations. Summit talks have been had among various interested groups as at Glassboro and Khartoum. A special emergency session of the General Assembly has met and will pass its work on to the regular session of the General Assembly beginning next week, just a few days from now.

Each of us recognizes that none of these efforts so far has achieved dramatic success. It is apparent by now that no quick, rapid solution is possible in so complex a situation. But these efforts must be continued.

It seems to me that the function of the IPU, in our formal debates and our informal relationships, should be to seek some detachment from immediate and detailed concerns of our respective governments.

If this is so, we should direct our energies, concentrate our thoughts, in support of and facilitating efforts under way at this hour to seek a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and, equally, to minimize contention within this Council over resolutions which might prejudice peace efforts.

> In conclusion, Mr. President, it seems to me that no resolution presently before us—however acceptable some of them may be to specific delegations—comes close to reflecting any kind of consensus in this greatly divided Council group. While at this point I would not make any specific comments on the several texts before us, I do suggest that our actions on them, our resolves with respect to them be within the principles I have attempted to describe. Only by acting in this fashion could this Council contribute constructively to the goal which is shared by all of us—a Middle East where peace is secure; secure not through force or arms, but by recognition of rights and assertion of duties.

The second major debate was triggered by the resolution on "universality" submitted by the Czechosolvak group. This subject had already been raised by the Soviets to cover their arbitrary action sabotaging the plenary conference. The debate which ensued demonstrated that this concept of "universality" was more a creature of expediency than of principle. It was clear that the advocates of universality were not prepared to apply it to all areas, nor were there any guidelines set forth. Accordingly, no resolution was adopted. Instead, the subject was referred to the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee for appropriate action at Dakar.

The subjects causing the most discussion were added to the agenda immediately prior to the session, while the resolutions adopted at Mallorca were not discussed. It was determined that they should be remanded to the respective committees at Dakar for decision whether they should be submitted to the plenary conference in Lima.

The Council confirmed the dates and places for the 1968 meetings of the Union. The spring conference will be held in Dakar, Senagal, April 15–21, and the plenary conference in Lima, Peru, September 5–13. Further, it reached the conclusion that under the constitution only a plenary session had authority to elect a new President to fill the vacancy in that office developing from the disqualification of Mr. Ranieri Mazzilli, of Brazil. Accordingly, Mr. Abderrahman Abdennebi, of Tunisia, was continued as Acting President until the next plenary conference. In a spirited election, three vacancies were filled on the Executive Committee by the choice of Mr. Wende, of Poland, Mr. Aranegui, of Spain, and Mr. Velaerin, of Finland. Senator Cotton, of Australia, lost out by the narrowest of margins as the candidates struggled through four ballots before the successful three candidates each received the required majority.

Many items of administrative concern were considered during the meeting. One of the most significant was related to the International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation, housed in the headquarters of the Union in Geneva. Its 1968 budget was adopted after approval of the excellent report submitted by Mr. G. Codacci-Pisanelli, of Italy, President of the Governing Board. All delegations were urged to strengthen this effort in all ways possible.

Throughout the tiring sessions of the Executive Committee, we were represented by Representative EMILIO Q. DADDARIO, of Connecticut, who, together with Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan, actively participated in all sessions of the Council. They injected into the debates a note of moderation which did much to give objectivity to the deliberations. With quiet firmness, they set forth the American positions with clarity and persuasion.

Although in some aspects the meeting of 1967 in Geneva was a real disappointment, it was not without areas of encouragement. True, there had been every reason to believe that holding the session in Moscow might promote better relations and contribute to progress in troubled areas. This opportunity the Soviets chose to toss away, forcing last minute adjustments in the agenda and imposing a format for the deliberations which undeniably restricted their character. Yet, we should remember that it was surely better to meet and discuss world problems, even though acrimoniously, than not to meet at all and thus perhaps encourage resort to arms. We encountered the same difficulties and frustrations that plague the United Nations and it is not surprising that we could not work miracles in so few days when that body is finding itself so beleagured after several months.

In the area of personal contacts, the session was most rewarding. Many fine friendships are possible although viewpoints differ and the value of personal exchanges has been frequently demonstrated. This potential your delegation kept constantly in mind.

As we look ahead to 1968 it is my hope that the Union will become less occupied with controversial issues and bloc alinements. It was founded to advance the cause of parliamentary government and much remains to be done in this field.

The legislative process of the member nations still varies between the creative and deliberative approach and automatic ratification of Executive requests. The role of Parliament in the preparation and refinement of legislation deserves greater study and application. Development of this objective within the Union could strengthen representative government throughout the world.

EVISCERATION OF THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on March 23 of this year I spoke on the floor of the House about rumors that the then-proposed organization of the Department of Transportation would include proposals for the dismembering, dismantling, denuding, and disemboweling of the Bureau of Public Roads. At the close of my remarks, which appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 23, beginning on page 7829, I inserted a copy of a letter I had written to the Secretary of Transportation, Alan Boyd, asking for specific information about the proposed reorganization.

In subsequent correspondence, Secretary Boyd assured me that the Bureau of Public Roads would be preserved, as the Congress specifically said it intended. He said, among other things, that—

> I believe the FHWA organizational structure I have outlined is in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Department of Transportation Act. * * * It assures that the Bureau of Public Roads, as a major operating element, will continue to serve the Nation with even greater distinction in the future.

Mr. Boyd's words were comforting, but not too persuasive, based upon the record. Since that time, however, I have had the opportunity to analyze the organizational structure of the Federal Highway Administration and the Bureau of Public Roads, and the various delegations of authority.

It is clear that, despite the expressed will of Congress and Mr. Boyd's assurances, the Bureau of Public Roads has been almost completely eviscerated.

The field offices and personnel no longer report to, or are responsible to, the Director of Public Roads, but instead to the Federal Highway Administrator. About the only functions remaining in the Washington office of the Bureau of Public Roads are, first, supervision and control over the regional office engaged in direct Federal construction in the eastern United States and the Inter-American Highway regional office in Central America; second, development of policies, procedures, and standards, but subject to control of higher officials, and without control over the field offices applying such policies, procedures, and standards; and, third, providing technical program guidance and assistance, with respect to the location, design, construction, and maintenance of highways.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is developing the finest highway network in the world. The primary reason for this is the Federal-aid highway program which, since its inception over half a century ago, has been a State-Federal partnership. The Bureau of Public Roads, representing the Federal partner, has, over the years, done an outstanding job.

The Congress fully recognized this, and clearly expressed its intent that the Bureau be preserved, when it provided in section 3(f)(4) of the Department of Transportation Act that—

> The Director of Public Roads shall be the operating head of the Bureau of Public Roads, or any other agency created within the Department to carry out the primary functions carried out immediately before the effective date of this Act by the Bureau of Public Roads.

Under the new organization and delegations of authority, the Director of Public Roads is not the "operating head of the Bureau of Public Roads. The Federal Highway Administrator has assumed the position of "operating head," and has relegated the Director of Public Roads to little more than a figurehead, presiding over a few scattered remnants of the Bureau's prior functions.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the Congress should sit idly by and watch its expressed will being violated, and an effective, capable Bureau eviscerated. I am inserting at the close of my remarks copies of my exchange of correspondence with Secretary Boyd, and an analysis of the organization and status of the Bureau of Public Roads. My colleagues can see for themselves the difference between what Mr. Boyd says he is doing and what he has actually done.

I urge my colleagues to join me in trying to restore to the Bureau of Public Roads all of those important functions which the Congress intended it to keep.

The analysis follows with the correspondence attached:

ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATION AND STATUS OF THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

By letter dated May 17, 1967, Congressman William C. Cramer asked Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd several questions concerning the organization and status of the Bureau of Public Roads. Secretary Boyd replied to that letter under date of August 3, 1967. Mr. Boyd's letter is very persuasive in outlining his understanding of the Congress' intent in establishing the Department of Transportation and his efforts to comply with that intent. His letter closes with the statements, "I believe the FHWA organizational structure, as outlined, is in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Department of Transportation Act. * * * It assures that the Bureau of Public Roads as a major operating element will continue to serve the nation with even greater distinction in the future."

Analysis of the organizational structure and delegations of authority reveal, however, that the Bureau of Public Roads has been severely weakened and fragmented. Such analysis discloses that:

1. Several important functions, previously delegated by the Secretary of Commerce to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads, have been reserved to the Secretary of Transportation or to the Federal Highway Administrator.

2. Important staff and support functions previously vested in the head of the Bureau of Public Roads (including but not limited to legal, personnel, policy planning, public affairs, audits and fiscal and management services) are reserved to the Federal Highway Administrator or his delegates.

3. Previous delegations of a number of authorities from the head of the Bureau of Public Roads to regional and division engineers are perpetuated, with modification or revision subject to the approval of the Federal Highway Administrator.

4. Bureau of Public Roads regional engineers have been redesignated "Regional Federal Highway Administrators". Bureau of Public Road division engineers report and are responsible to the Regional Federal Highway Administrators, while they, in turn, report and are responsible to the Federal Highway Administrator. The Director of Public Roads is not in the chain of command.

5. The extent to which the Federal Highway Administrator intends to control the internal operations of what little remains of the Bureau of Public Roads is illustrated by the fact that an order describing the organization and general functions of a subsidiary office within the Bureau of Public Roads was issued by the Federal Highway Administrator—*not* the Director of Public Roads.

DISCUSSION

Delegations of authority

Prior to enactment of the Department of Transportation Act, the Secretary of Commerce, by Department Order No. 109 (revised), delegated directly to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads the authority to perform the functions vested in the Secretary of Commerce under Title 23 U.S. Code, Highways, the Act approved June 14, 1960, relating to National Driver Register Services, and the Highway Beautification Act of 1965. The only authority specifically reserved to the Secretary of Commerce was the authority to apportion Federal-aid highway funds among the states and the promulgation of regulations. (Although the reservation of authority to apportion funds specified only Federal-aid funds, as a matter of practice the Secretary also apportioned forest highway funds and public land funds.)

Under the reorganization resulting from the Department of Transportation Act, much of the authority previously delegated by the Secretary of Commerce to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads has been reserved to the Secretary of Transportation or the Federal Highway Administrator.

Department of Transportation Order 1100.1, dated March 31, 1967, delegated to the Federal Highway Administrator much of the Secretary's authority under various laws. In delegating such authority, the Secretary specifically reserved to himself the authority to:

Approve systems of administrative control to restrict obligation of expenditures.

Apportion funds for Federal-aid highways and forest highways.

Issue, modify or revoke proposed or final rules or regulations under several specified laws.

Withhold or suspend Federal-aid highway funds on a statewide basis, and the waiver or compromise of such withholding or suspension.

The portion of DOT Order No. 1100.1 reserving authority to issue, modify, or revoke rules and regulations specifies the statutes with respect to which the Secretary reserves the authority. This is an improvement over prior delegations of authority which did not so specify. However, the list of specific statutes includes section 109 of Title 23 U.S. Code, Section 109 makes no reference to rules or regulations, but relates only to standards for the construction of highways on the Federal-aid systems. The promulgation of such standards is an engineering matter, and is not a proper exercise of authority at the Secretariat level.

With respect to the reservation of authority to withhold or suspend Federal-aid highway funds on a statewide basis, this would apparently include authority to withhold funds under section 116 (Maintenance), section 126 (Diversion), section 127 (Vehicle Weight and Width Limitations), as well as section 131 (Control of Outdoor Advertising), section 136 (Control of Junkyards), and section 402 (Highway Safety Programs). It apparently would also include withholding or suspending Federal-aid funds as an administrative action in cases of irregularity in a particular State. None of these authorities were previously reserved to the Secretary, although obviously the head of the Bureau of Public Roads conferred with the Secretary before taking such drastic action.

By FHWA Order 1-2, dated July 27, 1967, the Federal Highway Administrator redelegated certain authorities to the Director of Public Roads. The following authorities were *not* re-delegated to the Director of Public Roads, but were specifically reserved to the Federal Highway Administrator:

Staff and support functions, powers, and duties vested in the Administrator (including but not limited to legal, personnel, policy planning, public affairs, audits and fiscal and management services).

Approving the general location and control areas of the Interstate Highway System.

Approving the specific locations and intermediate control points on sections of the Interstate Highway System which contain toll facilities and approaches thereto.

Approval of toll facility agreements.

Allocation of Public Land funds.

All of these authorities were previously delegated by the Secretary of Commerce to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads (although, as noted above, the Secretary of Commerce allocated Public Land funds and Forest highway funds as a matter of practice).

With regard to the reservation of staff and support functions, powers and duties, this results in the transfer of 3 of the 8 former offices within the Bureau of Public Roads: the Office of General Counsel, the Office of Audits and Investigations, and the Office of Administration. In addition to this, the former Office of Highway Safety has been severely reduced in responsibilities and personnel largely as a result of the Highway Safety Act of 1966, and has been redesignated as the "Office of Traffic Operations". The Bureau of Public Roads is left with only an Office of Engineering and Operation, Office of Right-of-Way and Location, Office of Planning, Office of Research and Development, and Office of Traffic Operations.

It is pertinent to note that, although the legal office of the Bureau of Public Roads has been officially transferred to the Office of the Federal Highway Administrator, and substantial numbers of key personnel and files and material have been physically transferred, the Federal Highway Administrator had not decided upon an organizational structure as of September 30, 1967, six months after official transfer of the Bureau of Public Roads from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Transportation.

Field offices

A number of authorities previously delegated to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads have, over the years, been redelegated to regional and division engineers (see Administrative Memorandum 1-10.2, dated June 17, 1964, as amended). It appears that these delegations of authority are to be perpetuated, and that the head of the Bureau of Public Roads, acting on his own, will have no authority to withdraw or modify the delegations.

Section 3(d) of FHWA Order 1-2 states that "The Regional Federal Highway Administrator *will* perform the functions and exercise the authorities formerly delegated to the Regional Engineers of the Bureau of Public Roads * * *" (emphasis added).

Section 3(e) of the Order specifically states that further redelegations of authority will be issued subject to the approval of the Administrator.

In addition to the reduction in authority delegated to the head of the Bureau of Public Roads, and the restriction of his authority to withdraw or modify delegation of authority he has previously made, it also appears that the head of the Bureau of Public Roads will no longer have supervision and control of the personnel carrying out authorities delegated to them by him.

FHWA Order 1-2 specifically states that "Each Federal Highway Administration Regional Office is headed by a Regional Federal Highway Administrator who reports and is responsible to the Administrator". Under previous organizational arrangements which are to be continued, B.P.R. division engineers report to and are responsible to the regional engineers, who have been redesignated Regional Federal Highway Administrators. It thus appears that the head of the Bureau of Public Roads will have no direct supervision or control over the Bureau's field offices.

Administration of the Bureau of Public Roads

There are also indications that the Federal Highway Administrator intends to severely restrict the head of the Bureau of Public Roads in the exercise of his judgment and discretion in administering what little is left of the Bureau of Public Roads.

FHA Order 1-3.1, dated May 4, 1967, describes the official functions of the Office of Traffic Operations within the Bureau of Public Roads. Both the order and the attached "Organization and Functions Supplement," were signed by the Federal Highway Administrator alone. The table of organization of the office, which is also attached to the Order, is signed by the Director of Public Roads. However, the Director signed only as recommending the organizational structure, and the Federal Highway Administrator signed as the approving official. Since the functions and organizational structure of offices within the Bureau of Public Roads have heretofore been approved by the head of the Bureau, this indicates that the Federal Highway Administrator intends to act as the operating head of the Bureau, superseding the Director.

CONCLUSION

Although Secretary Boyd's letter of August 3, 1967, is persuasive, it appears that the Congressional intent to preserve the Bureau of Public Roads and its functions as they existed in the past has been violated.

Because of unprecedented reservations of authority, control of modifications or revisions of previous delegations of authority, and the anomalous organizational structure (where officials exercising delegated authority neither report to nor or responsible to the official delegating the authority) and the transfer of important offices out of the Bureau of Public Roads, the Bureau has been converted into an ornamental appendage whose real function is uncertain.

It appears that under the Washington Office of the Bureau of Public Roads will be only the following limited functions:

Supervision and control over Region 15, which is engaged in direct Federal construction in the eastern part of the United States, and the Inter-American Highway Office (Region 19), which administers construction of the Inter-American Highway in Central America:

Development of policies, procedures and standards governing Federal and Federal-aid highway research, planning and construction (but subject to control of higher officials, and without control, over field offices applying such policies, procedures and standards);

Provide *technical program guidance and assistance* to Federal Highway Administration Regional offices, other Federal and State agencies, and certain foreign governments with respect to the location, design, construction and maintenance of highways.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,
Washington, D.C., April 2, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CRAMER: I am very much concerned over your letter of March 23, which informed me about rumors pertaining to one of the key organizations of the Department of Transportation, the Bureau of Public Roads. I would be even more concerned if these rumors were true. Since they are apparently based on lack of information and understanding, I would like to present my philosophy on the Department of Transportation and how the Bureau of Public Roads can best contribute to its over-all mission.

The goal Congress has set for the Department of Transportation is to build the fastest, safest, most efficient and economical transportation that can be devised in an atmosphere of providing a major means whereby the local, regional, and national environment can be enhanced. The means to accomplish this goal are those that are currently in existence. Prior to April 1, they were scattered throughout all levels of the government. Today we are in a position to realize the maximum results by directing the diversified efforts toward the common goal. There is no easy way such as a "technical breakthrough." We must achieve our success by making better use of our existing capabilities and techniques.

The Federal Highway Administration is proceeding along the same path as the Department. Its primary interests are limited to those of the highway mode. It includes the Bureau of Public Roads, the National Highway and Traffic Safety Bureau, and the Office of Motor Carrier Safety.

I have specifically charged the Federal Highway Administrator with the task of producing much greater results than the total produced by the components when they operated as independent agencies. Further, we have specifically discussed and agreed that the present Bureau of Public Roads capability far outweighs the capability of the other Federal Highway Administration components. One of the primary reasons it has this capability is that its field office structure enjoys such a good relationship with the State and local governments.

In order to preserve the Bureau of Public Roads capability but at the same time increase the capability of the other components, the field office structure is not only being retained, but strengthened and expanded. The field organizations with their knowledge, their concepts, and their relationships will then be able to insure the success of not only the Public Roads programs, but all others that must be carried out at State and local level. Just as a matter of interest, although no permanent assignments have been made in the Federal Highway Administration, except those executive level positions provided by statutory authority, all of the regional directors of the Bureau of Public Roads have been given interim appointments as Regional Federal Highway Administrators. This action allows them to control and direct the programs of all Federal Highway Administration components.

You mentioned that rumor had it that of the eight primary functional offices in the Washington Headquarters, only two would remain under the direction and supervision of the Director of Public Roads. This is incorrect. In accordance with Section 3(f)(4) of the Department of Transportation Act, those offices that I consider to be primary functional offices relating directly to the primary functions carried out by the Bureau of Public Roads will remain under the direction and supervision of the Director of Public Roads. I do not contemplate a change in this policy now or in the future. The primary functional offices are the Office of Engineering, the Office of Right-of-Way and Location, the Office of Planning, the Office of Research and Development, and a new Office, Traffic Operations. The other offices, which include the Office of Audits and Investigations, the Office of Administration, the Office of the General Counsel and the public relations function provide services and support and will now report to the Federal Highway Administrator. Again, this was done to provide the best possible attention to the needs of all components of the Federal Highway Administration.

I wish to emphasize the role of the offices and the functions that have been transferred to the staff of the Federal Highway Administrator. These office heads do not exercise supervision over the Director of Public Roads. On the contrary, they respond to his needs for services and support, leaving him free to devote his full attention and energies to the operating functions. The Director of Public Roads is now in a position to perform the increasing responsibilities within the Bureau of Public Roads in accordance with statutory requirements and also provide invaluable assistance in carrying out the goal of the Department. It is mandatory that he and his staff not only continue the direct communications to the field offices but strive to increase it by direct participation.

I have given you my concept and philosophy on the Department of Transportation and how I visualize the role of the Bureau of Public Roads. I have reserved for myself specific authority to insure that Departmental plans continue to be developed along these lines.

Sincerely,

ALAN S. BOYD.

MAY 17, 1967.

Hon. ALAN S. BOYD,
Secretary of Transportation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOYD: Thank you for your letter of April 24, 1967, replying to my letter to you of March 23, 1967, relative to my concern over rumored reorganization of the Bureau of Public Roads.

I take it from your letter that much of the rumored reorganization will, in fact, take place. Of the eight primary functional offices of the Bureau of Public Roads, charged with the responsibility of carrying out functions of the Bureau before the effective date of the Department of Transportation Act, you advise that only four will remain under the direction and supervision of the Director of Public Roads. You state that the Office and Audits and Investigations, the Office of Administration, and the Office of the General Counsel, as well as the public relations functions, will not report directly to the Federal Highway Administrator and will not be under the supervision and direction of the Director of Public Roads.

You do not disclose in your letter what disposition has been or will be made of the Office of Highway Safety, which prior to the effective date of the Department of Transportation Act was one of the eight primary functional offices of the Bureau of Public Roads. Since the Office of Highway Safety is not among the four pre-existing primary functional offices you identify in your letter as remaining under the direction and supervision of the Director of Public Roads. I assume that the Office of Highway Safety has been or will be transferred to or absorbed by some other agency. It is requested that I be informed of the action being taken with respect to the transfer of the functions of the Office of Highway Safety and of the personnel that formerly staffed that office.

It appears from your letter that four of the eight primary functional offices of the Bureau of Public Roads are being transferred out of the Bureau. You further advise that a new Office of Traffic Operations is being established in the Bureau of Public Roads.

I am greatly concerned over the reorganization of the field offices of the Bureau of Public Roads, as pointed out in my letter. You advise that all of the regional directors of the Bureau of Public Roads have been given interim appointments as Regional Federal Highway Administrators. I assume that these are the same individuals who have previously been called regional engineers. Your letter, however, does not shed any light on the organizational relationship between the interim or permanent Regional Federal Highway Administrators and the Director of Public Roads. Apparently, the Regional Federal Highway Administrators will be under the direction and supervision of and will report to the Federal Highway Administrator rather than the head of the Bureau of Public Roads, as was the case before the enactment of the Department of Transportation Act.

I wish to be advised of the nature and extent of the direction and supervision which the Director of Public Roads will exercise over the former Bureau regional engineers who have been designated as Regional Federal Highway Administrators. In this regard I am particularly interested in the authority to be delegated to the Director of Public Roads by the Federal Highway Administrator and the nature, extent, and manner of the delegation of authority to the Regional Federal Highway Administrators with respect to functions performed by the Bureau of Public Roads. I wish to know whether such delegation is directly from the Federal Highway Administrator to the Regional Federal Highway Administrators, thereby bypassing the Director of Public Roads, or if such delegation of authority goes from the Director of Public Roads to the Regional Federal Highway Administrators, thereby leaving the Director of Public Roads in the direct line of supervision and control where he should be.

I am also interested in the organizational relationship between the Bureau of Public Roads' division offices in each State, the Regional Federal Highway Administrators, and the Director of Public Roads. How and by whom is authority delegated to the division engineers? Who exercises supervision and direction over the division engineers, and to whom do they report?

It would appear that the reorganization of the Bureau of Public Roads will reduce the Bureau to an operational agency, limited solely to engineering considerations, and that the Bureau will no longer develop policies and make policy decisions in carrying out its responsibilities under the provisions of title 23, United States Code. I will appreciate being advised as to whether or not this is true. If the Director of Public Roads is to retain any policy making or policy decision authority, I would like to be advised of the specific areas in which he may exercise such authority and any conditions or limitations thereon.

It is also requested that I be furnished copies of the delegations of authority from the Federal Highway Administrator to the Director of Public Roads and the delegations of authority from the Federal Highway Administrator and the Director of Public Roads to the Regional Federal Highway Administrators and the Bureau's division engineers.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Cramer,
Member of Congress.

The Secretary of Transportation,
Washington, D.C., August 3, 1967.

Hon. William C. Cramer,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Cramer: This is in reply to your letter of May 17, concerning the organization of the Federal Highway Administration within the Department of Transportation, and particularly the operations of the Bureau of Public Roads. While I would have preferred to give you an earlier reply, the delay does enable me to provide you with the delegations of authority (copy enclosed) which you requested and which I feel, contain the answers to many of your questions.

These delegations of authority will provide for an effective highway program within the context of the overall mission of the Department of Transportation, consistent with the Department of Transportation Act and with the philosophy of the Department outlined in my previous letter of April 24.

To briefly reiterate my position: In creating the Department of Transportation it was the purpose of Congress to improve and coordinate our total transportation system and to provide the fastest, safest, most economical and efficient transportation attainable within the framework of our social and economic objectives. To this end, Congress brought together existing transportation programs from all levels of the Government and provided for them to be administered through a number of modal administrations responsible to the Secretary.

Responsibility for pursuing the departmental goals with respect to the highway mode rests, of course, with the Federal Highway Administration. This Administration, as you know, has three operating units, the Bureau of Public Roads, the National Highway Safety Bureau, and the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety, whose programs were assigned to it by the Act. Under the concept of the Department, however, its responsibilities go beyond the specific programs of these formerly separate agencies to include the development of national highway policies and the promotion of highway transportation as part of the total transportation system.

In meeting this overall responsibility, the Federal Highway Administrator and I recognize that the Bureau of Public Roads, with its capabilities, resources and well-deserved reputation for successful cooperation with State and local governments, is the key operating unit within the FHWA and the major source of support and expertise for the other components and the total FHWA program.

Accordingly, the Administrator has drawn on the supporting functions of the Bureau of Public Roads in administration, legal services, auditing, and public affairs to create central support offices able to serve not only BPR, but the two safety bureaus and his own office as well. In addition, the BPR field staff is being retained and supplemented by the modest field staff of the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety and new personnel of the National Highway Safety Bureau. This expansion will enable the field staff to carry out all program responsibilities of the FHWA at the State and local levels.

Regional Federal Highway Administrators head the 10 regional administrations which correspond to the regional offices formerly established within BPR. The Regional Administrators are responsible to the Federal Highway Administrator. They receive redelegations of authority over appropriate field functions from the Bureau Directors, subject to the approval of the Administrator. Delegation of program authority proceeds from the Secretary to the Administrator, to the Bureau Directors, to the Regional Administrators. The Regional Administrators then supervise the regional and division staffs in carrying out the programs of the FHWA.

In regard to your specific interests in the Bureau of Public Roads, the Administrator has authorized the Director of Public Roads to exercise the functions, powers and duties relating generally to highways, as enumerated in Section 6(a)(1) of the Department of Transportation Act, PL 89–670, and previously delegated to the Administrator by the Secretary. (A copy of DOT Order 1100.1, containing this delegation to the Administrator is enclosed.)

Furthermore, the Bureau of Public Roads is responsible for developing policies, procedures, and standards governing Federal and Federal-aid highway research, planning, and construction and for proving technical program guidance and assistance to the FHWA regional offices, other Federal and State agencies, and certain foreign governments with respect to the location, design, construction and maintenance of highways.

In addition to these policy responsibilities, the Director of Public Roads is a member of the FHWA policy planning council and participates in the development of plans for the entire highway program. The Bureau of Public Roads, therefore, continues to exercise the basic functions it has in the past with respect to the Federal highway program. Organizationally it carries out this program through five functional offices, the Office of Engineering and Operations, the Office of Right-of-Way and Location, the Office of Planning, the Office of Research and Development, and the Office of Traffic Operations.

The latter, in response to your inquiry, represents a redesignation of the former Office of Highway Safety. The new designation reflects the transfer of some elements of its program to the National Highway Safety Bureau and the assignment of new functions to this office in the traffic operations area. With the repeal of the 1965 Baldwin Amendment, the transfer of the Driver Register to the Safety Bureau (pursuant to the Highway Safety Act of 1966) and the staffing of the Safety Bureau, some of its personnel accepted offers of positions with the Safety Bureau. Those who chose to remain with BPR, however, are currently assigned to the Office of Traffic Operations. The Office presently has an employment ceiling of 59 positions with 8 vacancies. Of this number, eighteen positions were transferred July 1 to the Driver Register. Twenty new positions were in our Fiscal Year 1968 Budget request now before the Congress. I am enclosing a copy of the order describing the organization and functions of the Office of Traffic Operations.

I believe the FHWA organizational structure I have outlined is in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Department of Transportation Act. I am confident it will provide the most effective machinery for meeting the many challenging responsibilities of the Federal Highway Administration. It assures that the Bureau of Public Roads, as a major operating element, will continue to serve the Nation with even greater distinction in the future.

Sincerely,

Alan S. Boyd.

TOBACCO CRISIS

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Gardner] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I have been extremely disappointed that Senator Robert Kennedy of New York has been unwilling to meet with me to discuss the current tobacco problems.

Last week Mr. Kennedy launched a vicious and cynical attack on the more than 3 million persons who depend on tobacco for their living.

Even more dangerous than his statements, however, are the three antitobacco bills that Senator Kennedy introduced. I consider his proposals as unwarranted interference with the American free enterprise system, and as just one more way of giving the Federal Government more control over the tobacco industry.

In Senator Kennedy's statement, he said the tobacco industry has shown "total inattention to public responsibility." The truth is that Bobby Kennedy showed total indifference to facts. Far from total inattention, the tobacco industry has taken many praiseworthy steps that demonstrate their concern with smoking and health questions.

The industry has given, for example, more than $22 million, totally without strings, to independent researchers working in smoking and health. Industry leaders in tobacco have repeatedly and publicly said that if more funds are needed, they will be made available. This does not sound like inattention to me.

The industry has also voluntarily subjected its advertising and promotion to a stringent code that strives to eliminate all health claims and appeals to youth. Breaking a code rule can cost a company up to $1 million for each infraction.

Despite Bobby's rabid and ill-informed statements, the industry has made major changes in cigarette advertising and I would remind the Senator that these changes were made voluntarily, without Government interference, and in the best traditions of responsible free enterprise.

Further, the cigarette companies have cooperated with the Federal Trade Commission in setting up the Commission's laboratory to test tar and nicotine content. The industry's cooperation with the Commission was acknowledged publicly last March, when Paul Rand Dixon appeared before the House Commerce Committee and lauded the industry for its excellent cooperation.

Senator KENNEDY's irresponsible statements have already had a very damaging effect on the tobacco industry in North Carolina, and his refusal to discuss the facts concerning the tobacco industry only points out his total lack of concern for those involved in one of our major industries.

I intend to do all that I can to point out the inaccuracies in Senator KENNEDY's statements, and his very dangerous assault on the free enterprise system.

I call on all of my colleagues in Congress to join with me to fight for the millions of our citizens who depend on the tobacco industry for their very livelihood.

PRESIDENTIAL "E" AWARD FOR BEECH AIRCRAFT CORP.

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BROTZMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure last week of attending a ceremony in the office of Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge, at which the Beech Aircraft Corp. received President Johnson's "E" Award for its success in expanding exports. Beech Aircraft Corp. is headquartered in Wichita, Kans., but it has manufacturing and research facilities in the State of Colorado.

During the past 5 years, this dynamic and progressive aircraft company increased its exports from about $9 million to almost $25 million. The firm has been in the export business for 35 years, and sells light utility and executive planes in 100 foreign countries. Throughout the world, Beech airplanes are widely used in mapping unexplored jungle, mountain, and desert areas, as well as in other private and commercial applications.

I should like to read the citation for the "E" Award presented at the ceremony:

> Exporting since 1932, Beech Aircraft Corporation now sells its light utility and executive planes throughout the entire world. This was accomplished by engineering modifications to fulfill customer needs, establishment of a worldwide service network with foreign language training programs, as well as extensive indigenous advertising and promotion. The direct and well-planned international marketing program of Beech Aircraft has fostered increased export sales on a sustained basis, and reflects credit on management, employees and the American free enterprise system.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, because of serious illness in my family, it was necessary that I make the trip to Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., over the recent weekend, returning Tuesday, September 19, 1967.

Because of my necessary absence under these circumstances, I missed rollcalls:

On rollcall No. 257, to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 4451, PELLY of Washington, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 258, to suspend the rules and pass the bill S. 1657, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall No. 259, on the passage of House Resolution 838, authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct studies and investigation relating to certain matters within its jurisdiction, I would have voted "yea."

DANGEROUS FISCAL CRISIS

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. BERRY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, thanks to the free-spending extravagances of the Johnson administration, our country is deeply entrenched in a dangerous fiscal crisis. We are facing a national deficit close to $30 billion with the accompanying problems of inflation, high interest rates, and an unfavorable balance of payments.

Since the Democrats took over in 1960, annual Government expenditures have increased 83 percent with nondefense spending nearly doubling. Despite warnings by the Republican minority and leading economics experts, the administration seems to feel we can finance an increasingly expensive war and lavishly hand out funds to new and expanded domestic programs. When the voters become aroused and demand solutions, the President gives only token promises to cut spending and persists in building up one of the largest deficits in the Nation's history.

It is already too late to avoid inflation and high interest rates, but it is not too late to attempt to cut the country's awesome deficit, thus paving the way for a more sound fiscal policy in the future.

In the absence of administration leadership to straighten out this fiscal mess, Congress apparently must take the initiative by enacting an expenditure ceiling on nondefense spending. By this action we can give the President the direction he obviously lacks toward a sensible economic policy. In order to meet our current fiscal crisis, we cannot continue to ignore the necessity to keep a reasonable relationship between revenues and expenditures.

FEDERAL PROTECTION FOR SOLDIERS AND FEDERALIZED NATIONAL GUARDSMEN ENGAGED IN ANTIRIOT OR OTHER FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT DUTIES

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. KLEPPE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to provide Federal protection for soldiers and federalized National Guardsmen engaged in antiriot or other Federal law enforcement duties. Under the present United States Code, a National Guardsman or member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties is not protected by Federal law from the forcible assaults or intimidations of criminals or rioters, even though he is enforcing Federal law under orders of the President. I believe that this bill would correct the oversight in the present law.

With adoption of this bill, the weight of Federal law would be put into effect when guardsmen are federalized for law enforcement duty by the President. I do not think that it is too much to ask that these men who are called into Federal service to protect the lives and property of our citizens be given the full protection of the law of the land. Where those laws are insufficient, they must be changed. This bill would remedy that defect.

CONVERSATIONS WHILE THE CROPS ROT

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, during the last session of the Congress when we were belaboring the bracero program—which provided supplemental farm labor for perishable crops during the peak harvest seasons—the big city Congressmen, unfamiliar with the problem of row crop agriculture, decried the little help which the bracero program afforded the grower in preventing crop spoilage.

While I am fully aware that reinstatement of a bracero-type program is a moot question, I do believe that my colleagues should be apprised of the fact that the action taken on the bracero program in the 89th Congress may be coming back to plague us.

A big city radio station—KNX in Los Angeles—is beginning to hear from its listeners. There are two serious developments for city people.

One, the cost of food is going up fast. Crops rotting in the fields contribute greatly to these rising costs. The poor who can least afford it, are affected the most.

Two, the very structure of row crop farming is being jeopardized. City people know that when the farms deteriorate, when crops are allowed to spoil, they, too, will suffer from hunger.

Mr. Speaker, I include a transcript of this KNX editorial of September 14, 1967. Each Member can think this through with profit.

The editorial follows:

CONVERSATIONS WHILE THE CROPS ROT

Today, there are a lot of people standing around talking while California crops rot in the fields. One of the bitterest controversies to swirl around California agriculture came to a head about two years ago with the end of the bracero program. Farmers in certain crop areas such as melons, strawberries and tomatoes used these Mexican farm workers extensively. Under union pressure, the Johnson Administration halted the importation of these workers. The cry was that this would give American workers more jobs.

It will take a longer perspective than we now have to assess the results of this termination with complete validity. So far it seems clear that ending the bracero program did not help our foreign relations with Mexico . . . it did not produce significantly more jobs for Americans . . . it drove farmers to more intensive mechanization which permanently eliminated many jobs . . . it hurt the small farmer who can't afford expensive harvesting equipment . . . and, it appears to have helped increase some food prices.

A few weeks ago, it became clear that several of our crops were in trouble because of a shortage of harvest labor. Governor Reagan asked special permission to bring in 9,625 braceros to save these crops. After some delay, Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz approved. However, a domestic labor group stalled any action by getting a restraining order from a San Francisco court.

Day before yesterday, U.S. District Judge Robert Peckham dissolved this restraining order. His ruling followed an agreement made that day between the domestic labor group and the Department of Labor. All the parties involved are to meet tomorrow afternoon to discuss the situation, and, hopefully, iron it out.

Meantime, crops are rotting in the fields. KNX believes this argument should have been settled long ago, worked out during the off-season—not when the fate of a crop hangs in the balance.

This kind of loss jeopardizes the existence of our farmers. It could hit every family budget with higher food prices. KNX calls upon the State and Federal government, the courts, and domestic farm labor organizations to put a stop to it.

COMMUNITY OPINION: WMAR-TV ASKS "TONIGHT'S BIG QUESTION"

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, public opinion polls have become commonplace throughout America. Yet until recently, it was still possible for most citizens to remark, "Nobody ever polls me."

This gap is now being filled by an exciting public service, the community poll conducted daily or weekly by a television or radio station. Through these surveys, questions are broadcast at peak hours, and the audience is invited to telephone responses to special numbers, where individual votes or preferences are recorded for later tallying and broadcasting. Although the slice of public opinion obtained through such surveys cannot be scientifically declared as "representative," such polls do provide a wide cross-section of community opinion and provoke audience discussion of important National, State, and local issues.

One of the pioneers in such audience surveys is television station WMAR-TV, of Baltimore, which began conducting daily polls on May 8. The immediate success of "Tonight's Big Question" has encouraged many other stations to initiate similar surveys, with equally positive results.

The questions posed on WMAR-TV have covered local issues, such as juvenile curfews; State questions, such as taxes, lotteries, and racing; and many national issues, including Vietnam, firearms control, strike legislation, and the space program. The responses have been extremely interesting, and in some cases have corresponded quite closely to the nationwide results of other polls on the same subjects.

Mr. David V. R. Stickle, the news director of WMAR-TV, has written me a full summary of the development of "Tonight's Big Question," its success as a stimulant for public discussion, and the rapid growth of such programs in many cities. He has also provided a list of the results of their polls on many questions of particular interest to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate WMAR-TV and all the other stations who have begun such public-service polls. These stations' investments, in time and funds, should bring significant returns to the media, to public officials, and to the communities they serve, and should greatly enliven discussion of important problems.

I include Mr. Stickle's letter in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

WMAR-TV,
Baltimore, Md., September 26, 1967.

Hon. CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, Jr.,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MATHIAS: As a means of involving this Station ever more closely with the thought and activity of our community, WMAR-TV, Baltimore has developed a nightly (Monday through Friday) survey of the opinions of the people of this area on a wide variety of timely and controversial topics, and some of the answers are extremely interesting.

In the period since May 8th, when we began this inquiry, our viewers have "voted" some 300,000 times on these topics, several of which are listed herewith, together with the percentage of the vote for and against each question.

This survey is accomplished by means of special telephone equipment installed in these premises which records each call or "vote". Each question, selected from the news of our time and phrased so as to be answerable simply "yes" or "no", is posed on our nightly 7 O'clock News. Those wishing to vote in the affirmative are asked to telephone a number in the PLaza exchange in downtown Baltimore; those favoring a "no" ballot call a different number in the LExington exchange, also in downtown Baltimore. Receipt of each call is acknowledged by a recorded reply as it is registered, and banks of telephone lines arranged sequentially provide maximum receptivity.

This Station had long sought a means of ascertaining the consensus of this community on questions of debate and discussion. When an obscure mention in a trade magazine of a similar project in Philadelphia had been begun by Station WFIL-TV there in February, it was instantly recognized here as the answer to this long-sought method for almost instant surveying.

Thankfully, Baltimore efforts met with understanding cooperation by officials of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company in Baltimore, and the project was quickly begun. Comments were numerous and usually complimentary. The Attorney-General of Maryland spoke of it as a notable public service; and the Chairman of the constitutional convention at Maryland asked that he be kept advised of results of questions which might affect consideration of Constitutional provisions. This has been done.

Station WMAR TV found public acceptance so favorable that a full page advertisement was inserted in Broadcasting Magazine's July 31 issue, and this advertisement has launched a veritable avalanche of similar projects across the nation. Station WMAR TV has provided the necessary information and guidance for about thirty stations, in as many cities, to begin similar projects. We have also received numerous inquiries from telephone companies as to the problems encountered and the solutions therefor.

That first evening of May 8th the first question was "Should Maryland abolish capital punishment?" and the answer, based on nearly four thousand votes showed 74 percent of the recorded votes in favor of retaining this traditional punishment as a crime deterrent.

While no claims of scientific impeccability are made for these surveys, and the results are announced in percentages simply as the votes are recorded, there have been some interesting parallels. For example, a statewide referendum in November of 1966 rejected a bridge parallel to the present one across Chesapeake Bay; and when the question was put via Tonight's Big Question on WMAR TV May 10th, the result was within 2.3 percentage points of the statewide result the previous Fall: Our "voters" registering a negative reaction by 56 percent to 44 percent in favor. The statewide vote was 53.7 percent negative.

The Gallup Opinion Index made a nationwide survey in which one question was "If your party nominated a woman for President would you vote for her if she were qualified?" Gallup showed a positive vote of 57 percent. Tonight's Big Question tried a similar query; The result was a positive vote of 56 percent.

A few other questions with results, which might interest your constituents, are:

Date (1967)	Question	Percent yes	Percent no
July 5	Should the Attorney General be appointed instead of elected?	36.0	64.0
7	Should Maryland legalize dog race tracks?	67.0	33.0
10	Do you think our part in the Vietnam war is morally justified?	37.0	63.0
14	Do you approve of the way Agnew is handling his job as Governor of Maryland?	23.0	68.0
17	Do you consider the new State and city income taxes fair?	19.0	81.0
18	Should social security taxes be increased to provide medical benefits for all?	39.0	61.0
24	Should Maryland have a lottery?	83.0	17.0
26	Should Maryland require inspection of all meats sold in the State?	86.0	14.0
27	Should juvenile loitering in public places be prohibited?	59.0	41.0
31	Would you vote for a woman for President if she were qualified?	56.0	44.0
Aug. 2	Should Mayor McKeldin seek reelection in 1968?	27.0	73.0
3	Should U.S. foreign aid be restricted to nonmilitary uses?	58.0	42.0
Aug. 7	Do you approve of the way Dean Rusk is handling job as U.S. Secretary of State?	43.0	57.0
9	Should the mail order sale of firearms be restricted?	66.0	34.0
14	Is it worth $23,000,000,000 to put an American on the moon?	47.0	53.0
15	Should the United States stop bombing North Vietnam?	50.4	49.6
25	Should narcotics be made legally available to addicts?	44.0	56.0
30	Should labor unions be active in politics?	35.0	65.0
31	Do you believe there are unidentified flying objects from outer space?	83.0	17.0
Sept. 6	Should all election days be legal holidays?	79.0	21.0
11	Should the United States give the Panama Canal to the Republic of Panama?	24.0	76.0
12	Should the U.S. troops be unconditionally withdrawn now from Vietnam?	64.0	36.0
14	Should Federal limitations be put on strikes that affect the public interest or convenience?	69.0	31.0

National attention is being attracted to this and similar projects in many cities. In Cincinnati, for example, three stations are engaged simultaneously in such surveys. There are two in Minneapolis and two in Albuquerque and Miami.

We have been encouraged in fostering the proliferation of these polls by comments to the effect that such projects not only reveal the way people feel about topics of common interest in various parts of the country, but that such "elections" also foster interest in, consideration of and debate over important matters about which the public is all too often apathetic.

Thank you for your own kind interest in this matter, and we sincerely hope the above has been informative.

With all best wishes, I am
Cordially,

David V. R. Stickle,
News Director.

PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR 10-PERCENT TAX INCREASE SERVES A USEFUL PURPOSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Snyder] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the President's request for a 10-percent tax increase is serving at least one very useful purpose. The big business monopolies and combines in their effort to placate the administration by endorsing the proposal tell us a whole lot. The 455 big business people tell us more by what they did not say than by what they did say.

For instance, we are told that freight rates are too high—small business and the consumer are being "taken." If the treasury of the Pennsylvania Railroad were not overflowing with excessive profits they would not endorse the increase. It would seem, too, that the Pennsylvania people could just do without the $11.5 million subsidy they are to receive for the Washington-New York demonstration project of improved rail passenger equipment and service from the Department of Transportation.

We know too, that American Airlines, Braniff, and Pan American Airways no longer need the various subsidies inuring to their benefit for they have excess funds—enough to want to pay an extra 10 percent in surtax charges. Maybe we should let them build their own airports, and so forth.

Then, too, our telephone people have been screaming about a recent FCC ruling on their rates—but it must not only have been correct—it must not have cut them enough because the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. say they have too much money in their treasury and want to pay an extra 10 percent in taxes.

Every year we hear talk of steel price increases—and the realistic dialog that accompanies such talk about the highly inflationary effect steel increases have on our economy. The price increase takes place—prices rise—and the consumer is caught. By their own admission, United States Steel, Inland Steel, and several smaller steel companies should reduce their prices because they have so much extra profit that they want to pay an extra 10-percent tax.

Then too, it is obvious that interest rates can be reduced substantially because the Bank of America and 94 other banks say they are making too much money—and want to pay 10 percent more in taxes.

Mr. Speaker, 42 life insurance companies including "The Man from Equitable" admit that their policyholders are not getting a fair shake—that their profits are so excessive that they want to pay more taxes. If they want to pay more taxes, we could accommodate them by repealing the Life Insurance Tax Act of 1959.

Obviously, the Government is paying too much for the aircraft they purchase from Lockheed, Douglas, and Boeing because they, too, admit to excessive profits.

Several private utility companies—electric and gas—should have their rates checked by the various State public service commissions—maybe public power is not as bad as they say it is—if they are "picking" the consumer so much that they want higher taxes.

Mr. Speaker, the Ford Motor Co. indicates that labor is demanding too much in the current strike—and I do not suppose to know all the facts—but I do know that Ford is obviously shortchanging someone or they would not have so much extra money to want to pay this extra 10 percent surtax. The same is true also of General Motors who "signed in" for the tax increase—and the tire people—B. F. Goodrich. May I say that if Ford is so anxious to pay taxes—their tax-free Ford Foundation is a good place to start.

I wonder too, Mr. Speaker, if we could not let the D-X Sunray Oil Co., and the other oil companies pay that extra tax that they desire by removing the depletion allowance they now have.

Yes, it is fairly obvious to me—Raytheon televisions, Campbell Soup, Westinghouse, and General Electric appliances, Gillette blades, Zenith radios, telephone rates, interest, gas and oil, tires and autos are all too high because these people want their taxes increased.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, of the 455 business people who signed for our tax increase—there is an answer—let them reduce their profits by cutting their prices, lowering their interest and relieving the general taxpaying public of the excessive prices and government subsidies that these business houses receive.

Mr. Speaker, not one of these "big boys" expects to pay the tax increase—they expect to pass it on to the consumer and to use it to "choke out" the small business man. The consumer pays twice, his own surtax and the surtax added to the price by the company.

I suspect, too, that someone has been around with a "little persuasion" and reminded most of these tax increase proponents of their vast Government contracts and/or their reliance on the Government one way or another for their existence.

TRIBUTE TO AN OUTSTANDING ALL-AMERICAN WOMAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Halpern] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read about the honor recently bestowed upon one of Washington's most charming, ablest, and most beloved ladies, Liz Carpenter.

I refer to the ceremony at which her home town of Salado in central Texas, named her to a select company by proclaiming her an Outstanding Texas Woman, and designated her childhood home, the Col. Sterling C. Robertson Plantation, as an official Texas historic landmark.

Liz Carpenter richly deserves this honor. Actually, I feel the title should transcend the geographical boundaries of Texas for, indeed, she is one of the outstanding women of the United States.

Nobody who keeps abreast of national affairs need be told that Liz Carpenter is the First Lady's press secretary, the first woman and the first working newspaper reporter ever to serve in that important capacity.

When she spoke at the ceremonies in Salado, Mrs. Johnson summed up much of what is good, able, and charming about this outstanding woman, when she said:

> I want to tell you how we see Liz: Creativity, laughter, speed, and kind and thoughtful deeds.

Her love for home, and for the real and meaningful things of American life were exemplified in a heart-warming way, when she inspected the works of home-State craftsmen which were on display during the affair in Salado. As related by the Austin American-Statesman:

> Mrs. Carpenter led reporters and friends around the plantation home grounds to visit the booths of skilled Texas craftsmen whose work was on display.
>
> "Isn't this great!" she would say.
>
> "Isn't this beautiful!
>
> "Doesn't this real Texas art beat those tacky rattlesnake ashtrays and things that most tourists have been remembering Texas by?"

Liz Carpenter performs her vital functions with zest, dignity and skill, and a complete sense of fairness. She has admirably fulfilled the difficult role in which she serves. More than that, she presents to the world a picture of the American career woman of which all of us can well be proud.

Texas is fortunate to have such a daughter, but America can claim her as a daughter too. Mr. Chairman, I propose that Liz Carpenter be designated as an outstanding all-American woman.

LESSENING BANK CRIMES

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD statements and articles which make suggestions for dealing with the problem of bank crimes. The Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee, House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am chairman, 4 years ago made a study of bank crimes and what the Federal Bank Supervisory Agencies should do to attempt to lessen them. That study resulted in Committee Report No. 1147, entitled "Crimes Against Banking Institutions."

It would be very gratifying to me if I could report that there has been a dramatic lessening in the number of holdups, burglaries, and embezzlements since that report was issued, but the fact is, there has continued to be a general increase in these crimes. The September 25, 1967, issue of the American Banker contains a very informative article by Ralph L. Zaun, who is—among other things—chairman of the Federal Legislative Committee, Independent Bankers Association of America. Mr. Zaun recounts the growth in attempted bank holdups, and estimates on the basis of experience that in the first half of 1967 there were twice as many as there were in the first half of 1966. He suggests that not everything possible has been done by the banking agencies or by the banks themselves to lessen such crimes. His suggestions are worthy of all who are connected with the banking industry, and of the attention of every Member of the House.

In the June issue of Banking magazine the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation discusses some of the precautionary measures that bankers should take, both as preventative measures and as aids in apprehending the criminal.

The article follows:

CRIMES, CRIMINALS, AND PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

Here are some questions that were recently asked of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, by Banking. And here are the answers he gave.

Q. Much is reported these days about the volume of criminal attacks against financial institutions. How serious is the problem?

A. The postwar years have seen a steady rise in the number of robberies, burglaries and larcenies committed against banking institutions. The incidence of these crimes has become a matter of grave concern to law enforcement officers and to banking institutions in the United States. The number of robberies, burglaries, and larcenies committed against financial institutions protected by Federal law increased from 450 in 1956 to 1,871 in 1966.

A rise in any type of crime is, of course, ample cause for alarm. In violations of the Federal Bank Robbery Statute, the property loss in itself is serious. The real seriousness of the crime, however, lies in the potential for physical danger to employees, customers, and to innocent bystanders during the commission of the crime or along the getaway route. All too often, the general public regards bank robbery in terms of a crime against property and the threat to human life is overlooked. The potential for violence and death, however, is inherent in substantially all assaults upon financial institutions.

Perhaps the most significant changes might be seen in the number of violations investigated by the FBI in 1965 and 1966. While robbery violations increased only slightly from 1,154 in 1965 to 1,164 in 1966, burglaries showed a much greater frequency with 551 reported during 1966 as opposed to 395 during 1965. Larceny violations decreased from 200 in 1965 to 156 in 1966.

Q. What factors contribute to this situation?

A. One of the contributing factors to the steady rise in crimes against financial institutions across the nation is the rapid growth of suburban areas which has greatly increased the number of branch banks and savings and loan institutions. By the very nature of their locality, such facilities are considerably more vulnerable to attack than regular banking establishments. Generally, suburban or shopping area buildings have fewer security features and are easier to rob and burglarize. Such locations usually have less police protection. These branch offices are also choice sites inasmuch as they can be cased and carefully scouted prior to the actual violation with a minimum of exposure and attention. Escape routes in suburban areas are generally more accessible and better concealed; hence, financial institutions in these areas appear more inviting to the would-be burglar or robber.

A recent survey of some 2,220 bank robberies which occurred during the last two fiscal years revealed that more than half of the robberies were of branch offices located in the fringe downtown or suburban areas.

Q. What protective devices have helped?

A. Crimes against banking institutions can never be completely eliminated, even where the bank is equipped with protective devices. The use of such devices, however, has resulted in the capture of bank robbers or burglars in the act of committing such offenses or has assisted in identifying the criminal involved. Indeed, many banks which otherwise might have suffered huge monetary losses owe their escape to the protective devices employed.

For example, three bandits who attempted to rob a bank in Illinois were thwarted when they discovered that the bank was completely protected by four-inch bulletproof glass and automatic locks on the three doors leading to the work area. One of the robbers attempted to push his gun through the teller's cage opening and found this was also secure since it was angled to a degree to completely protect the teller.

In another case, the teller had opened the bulletproof glass window in front of the cage in order to give a customer a bag of coins. As the customer left, a would-be robber stepped up and, with his left hand, thrust through the opening a plastic bag and a note which read, "Put money in bag and don't make a sound until I'm gone." The teller promptly slammed the bulletproof window shut catching the bag and note in a vise. The bandit fled.

Q. Every banking establishment, of course, knows the basic protective measures which may be taken to insure the safety of the institution. What are some of the newer techniques being used by some banks to deter or thwart attacks against their institutions?

A. Many institutions have recognized the value of installing automatic photography systems, and cameras are increasingly being used to take pictures of check cashers and robbers and burglars "in action." The preservation of actual bank robbery scenes on film has led to the capture, identification, and conviction of many bandits. Cameras placed in a bank lobby, at exits, vaults, and other strategic points can be activated with an alarm system, or by a button or other tripping device. Some operate continuously as motion picture cameras or take pictures at regular intervals, such as one a second.

In addition, closed-circuit TV systems are being employed in some banks for observing activities in the work and customer areas. In some institutions, the TV monitor is also in radio contact with armed guards, thus making the odds against a successful robbery much greater.

One-way mirrors which appear on one side to be mirrors, but which are transparent from the other side have also proved of great value. A bank in New Mexico has employed these mirrors extensively in its banking facilities and in its main lobby, covering almost the entire front of one of the executive offices with these mirrors, which provide an excellent view of the interior of the bank by the officer in case of robbery or other trouble. Looking through the mirror, the bank official is in an excellent position to get a good view and description of the robber, while at the same time contacting the police or other law enforcement officials by telephone.

Even ordinary mirrors have proved of assistance. When the night depository of a Midwestern bank had been burglarized of $61,000, the bank went to work to forestall any further such burglaries. Spotlights are now installed on all the night depository safes inside the branch banks, and in those instances where the night depository is not in view from the outside of the bank—which is true in most cases—large mirrors have been hung so that police can observe the night depository from their cruisers by glancing at the mirrors as they pass by.

Q. Naturally, it is up to banking management to provide for proper protection of the bank's facilities, but what is the role of the bank's personnel?

A. Of course, it is not possible to prevent all violations against financial institutions. No thinking person could expect that. Employees, however, should be security conscious—trained to be alert to loiterers and suspicious-looking individuals who seek to obtain change or attempt to open small savings accounts. There is little doubt that every employee of a financial institution is eager and willing to do his part in the prevention of such crimes or in the identification and apprehension of robbers and others who prey upon the institutions by which they are employed. The fault then lies in the fact that the personnel of some of these organizations have never been properly instructed on the measures they can take to assist in this connection.

It is not wise for banking personnel to attempt to resist a bank robber during the commission of his crime, since there is no way of knowing in advance if his weapon is real or if he would actually use it in the event of resistance. Nevertheless, there are ways in which robbery victims can be of assistance to law enforcement authorities in their efforts to locate and apprehend these often vicious and dangerous criminals.

In the event you should be the victim of a bank robbery, here are a few things to remember which can be of inestimable aid to investigating law enforcement officers:

(1) Protect the premises after a robbery has been committed. Do not permit other employees or customers to handle articles which may have been touched by the bandits in order that any latent fingerprint impressions may be preserved;

(2) Be observant. Impress upon your memory a complete description of the robber or robbers. Note particularly their speech, mannerisms, and any apparent scars, marks, or tattoos. Do not attempt to gauge the height of the robbers in feet and inches. It is better to compare the bandits with physical objects such as door jambs, windows, or the tellers' cages;

(3) Try to obtain a complete description of the car used by the bandits, with particular reference to the license number, model, make, and color;

(4) If the robbery is committed by a gang, pay particular attention to its apparent leader. Carefully observe the manner in which he dispatches the members of his band during the course of the robbery;

(5) Take careful note of the firearms used by the bandits. What type of weapons were used? Automatic pistols, revolvers, rifles, shotguns, or machine guns?

(6) Above all, refrain from having any general discussion of the robbery among yourselves until each has been questioned by the investigating officers. Independent recollections of each witness are of more value to the law enforcement officer. Indeed, if possible, each witness should write down pertinent details observed during the course of the robbery in order that they will not be forgotten.

Q. Those are, indeed, all excellent techniques. Could you give us an example of an instance in which photos taken by a concealed bank surveillance camera were helpful in the solution of a case?

A. The effectiveness of the use of movie cameras to photograph bank robberies in progress has been demonstrated many times. One youthful bandit whose photograph was taken during an Ohio bank robbery and was publicized on television turned himself in to local authoritise. In his own words, "Where can you go when you're on TV all the time!"

Nearly five years after this incident, the same Ohio bank was again struck by bandits and, once again, the hidden movie camera paid off. Three armed, unmasked males entered the bank and at gunpoint held up five bank employees, escaping with about $13,000. A teller who had become suspicious as soon as the three men entered the bank had immediately pushed the bank alarm which also activated the hidden movie camera. The resulting films were of excellent quality and wide dissemination was made by local police to newspapers and TV stations. Several television viewers—after seeing on television the motion pictures taken during the robbery—contacted police and reported several suspects in the robbery. These suspects were subsequently arrested by Missouri State Highway patrolmen at a roadblock.

[From the American Banker, Sept. 25, 1967]

ARE WE AGGRESSIVE ENOUGH IN WAR ON BANK CRIMINALS?

(By Ralph L. Zaun)

To a part of the lawless and individually desperate elements in our country, the approximately 13,500 banking offices in the United States represent an irresistible magnet to acquire easy and ready cash. Crimes against banks unfortunately share the disgrace of an ever-increasing crime trend in our society.

That we have not been immune is no surprise. Attempted hold-up statistics (among others) bear this out. In 1964 there were 793 holdups; in 1965, 848, and in 1966, 865. The first half of 1967 figures are not complete, but indicate that hold-ups are nearly double those in the like period of 1966.

Most attempted hold-ups are successful, and the apprehension rate of the criminals perpetrating these crimes is far less than it should be.

The Independent Bankers Association of America has shared the concern of bankers and some bank trade groups with the alarming trend of crimes against our institutions. It is joining with other associations to alert bankers to responsibilities to their employees, and the trust which the public places in them.

We have met with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other enforcement agencies to analyze the emerging picture and to explore means to combat it.

It is not my intention in this brief article to analyze the cause, effect, or prevention of bank crime in any great depth, but some observations gathered from meetings with a number of local police departments and the FBI are pertinent. A group of bankers queried have also contributed facts and opinions on the subject.

Categorically, public safety officials evinced the following:

Extreme interest in the problem of bank crimes.

Sincere concern with prevention of such crimes and apprehension of those responsible for them.

Considerable frustration with the problems facing them in the performance of their duty.

A deep desire to cooperate with the banking industry in preventive measures, and evidence of some wonderment at apathy on the part of bankers.

The concern for adequate preventive measures was centered primarily in the areas of hold-ups and burglaries. There was less emphasis on embezzlements, defalcations and frauds which seemingly constituted more of an internal problem to be dealt with through education and audit.

Officials explained their problem as follows: They must first capture and then help convict the criminal. The police encounter immediate difficulties in that they are nearly always involved after the fact. Their job involves pursuit, which has to be based upon whatever facts are available.

It was emphasized over and over again that these facts, or the lack of them, lead to a hot trail or a cold one, and that here the banker and public disinterest present a major roadblock.

Following a hold-up, for example, the following vital information may not be available:

License plate number or description of a get-away vehicle.

Good descriptions of the bandits involved. (Sometimes even the number of criminals taking part in a hold-up is not accurately reported).

"Bait" money is either not passed with the hold-up loot, or is poorly identified as to serial numbers, series year, and Federal Reserve district.

Defensive measures, such as photographic equipment and alarms, were not used or were inoperative.

Possible fingerprints were obliterated or obscured.

In the absence of positive leads and help from within the bank, the problem of early apprehension of criminals is rendered most difficult. In spite of the handicap of a paucity of information, enforcement officials still do a remarkable job of tracing those committing bank crimes—but the persistent penalty of poor information compounds the important task of conviction. Lack of fingerprints, positive identification or possession of known identifiable stolen currency results in acquittals.

Tougher rules of evidence in today's courts, coupled with conflicting or insufficent identification, must certainly turn loose hardened and experienced criminals who very probably will try their luck again.

Is bank crime the other banker's problem, or is it truly one that should concern you and me? I believe that we ought to share a fraternal belief that a crime against any bank is a crime against all banks. Certainly the premiums of our blanket bonds represent a composite assessment of the cost of these crimes.

As individuals and as institutions, we share the increased burden of law-enforcement in our present society. Every one of us must shudder and decry the shame of ruthless criminal activity which results in death to bank officers, employees, and customers.

Are we doing enough to make a real contribution toward prevention; apprehension; conviction of people who prey on our banks? A considered judgment would indicate we are not.

We are notably deficient in the installation of complete protective devices and alarm equipment. We do not avail ourselves of booklets and films for employee information and training, which are available from law agencies and insurance companies. The advisory help from the FBI and other agencies is not drawn upon by individual banks or groups of bankers for instructional and informational purposes.

Even when an education and hold-up drill program has been instituted in our banks, personnel "refreshers" are not frequent enough to keep pace with employee turnover.

Comparative statistics prove that, where an aggressive crime prevention program has been introduced in a given area, the incidence of bank crime—particularly hold-ups—diminishes dramatically. The individual bank and the banking system are direct beneficiaries whenever your bank and mine intelligently use known preventive measures and protective devices against the crook who wants to "do business" with our banks.

MIDDLE EAST REFUGEES

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Fascell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most tragic consequences of the brief but bloody war in the Middle East has been the desperate plight of the hundreds of thousands of refugees made homeless by the fighting.

Those displaced by the recent war are adding yet another dismal chapter to the tragedy of over 1 million people who now live in the Middle East without permanent shelter, any sources of livelihood or any dependable food supply. The United Nations' Relief and Works Agency estimates that the recent fighting added more than 330,000 new refugees to the pre-war total of one and a quarter million refugees then in the area.

Ever since the inception of the United Nations, the United States has stood ready to aid that organization in its efforts to relieve the suffering of refugees from wars, political strife, and natural disaster. The United States has contributed substantially to refugee assistance programs to help displaced persons from many countries including India, French Indo-China, present-day Vietnam, Chile, Turkey, the Congo, China, Hungary, and East Germany. In my own area of south Florida the United States has contributed substantial assistance to aid refugees from Communist Cuba.

In addition, since the end of the Second World War, the United States has made some substantial contributions both through the United Nations and unilaterally to aid tremendous numbers of refugees throughout the Middle East area. Following the end of hostilities in the Middle East last June, the United States immediately took steps to provide assistance to hundreds of thousands of new refugees in that area. I am sure that many in the House of Representatives are interested in the tremendous effort which this country is making in that area of the world, and for that reason, I quote the text of a note from the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to the U.N. Secretary General which was made public on August 30, 1967:

> The Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honor to reply to his note of July 10, 1967 drawing attention to operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES–V) dealing with humanitarian assistance and requesting information on the measures taken by the United States Government in the light of this resolution.
>
> The United States Government responded immediately to the basic needs of the persons displaced by the recent conflict by airlifting an initial 5,000 tents to Jordan to provide temporary shelter for the homeless. In addition, the United States has airlifted to Jordan 5,000 more tents and offered blankets, household utensils and stoves to help relieve the hardships in the are. The offer of blankets and household utensils have not yet been accepted and these items have not yet been furnished. The total cost of the tents and other items and their transport to Jordan by air is estimated at approximately $1,675,000.
>
> It will be recalled that the United States pledged for the support of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency a contribution of $22.2 million for the year ended June 30, 1967. The pledge included $13.3 million in cash and $8.9 million in foodstuffs. At the time of the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, the last shipments of these foodstuffs were on the high seas enroute to the Middle East. In some cases vessels were forced to discharge their cargo in Mediterranean ports because of the inaccessibility of Middle East ports. The United States Government arranged for the onward transportation of these cargoes destined for use by UNRWA and bore the extra costs of storage in transit and trans-shipment.
>
> As the Representative informed the Secretary-General in his letter of June 29, 1967, the United States made a special contribution of $2 million in cash to UNRWA to help meet the emergency needs of victims of the conflict. Subsequently, the United States informed the Commissioner-General of UNRWA that it would provide 24,000 metric tons of wheat flour and 1,200 tons of vegetable oils for use in UNRWA's relief services during the next several months. The world market value of these commodities, including transportation to Middle Eastern ports, amounts to approximately $4,284,000. The United States Government expects shortly to make a second allocation of commodities to UNRWA of about the same magnitude.
>
> In late June, the United States Government transmitted $100,000 to the American Red Cross for contribution to the International Committee of the Red Cross for the latter organization's activities on behalf of the victims of the recent hostilities.
>
> The United States Government also provided funds estimated at $40,000 for the shipment, by air, to the Middle East of medical supplies (antibiotics and vitamins) donated by the American Red Cross to the International Committee of the Red Cross.
>
> The United States Government is also continuing to donate, at rates prevailing prior to the outbreak of hostilities, foodstuffs to American voluntary agencies for their programs of assistance to needy persons in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank. The value of such commodities at world market prices, exclusive of transportation cost, is approximately $1,779,000 annually.
>
> The United States is keeping the emergency needs of those persons affected by the recent hostilities under constant review and will cooperate fully with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations now at work in the area as well as with the governments directly concerned.

THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S ACHIEVEMENTS FOR URBAN AMERICA VERSUS THE REPUBLICAN VOTING RECORD

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, in each of the four messages on the cities he has submitted to Congress during the past 4 years, President Johnson has warned that we cannot become two people—the suburban rich and the urban poor.

He urged us to begin planning and building today to keep pace with an urban population that will double in the next 40 years; and he emphasized that while we do not possess all of the answers to urban problems, we must move quickly "to make right what has taken generations to make wrong."

I would remind my colleagues that when Lyndon Johnson assumed office 3½ years ago, efforts in the poverty program were sporadic, unorganized, and undernourished. Since that time, the Johnson administration's efforts in the war on poverty have steadily mounted.

This year alone we are spending over $25 billion on jobs, health, education, housing, and other urgent programs for the poor

The record will show that 2 million Americans, as a direct result of these Government programs, have been moved over the poverty line.

Four million slum dwellers have obtained needed assistance from neighborhood centers.

Four million older Americans have received hospital care under the social security amendments—in 1 year alone.

In short, during its first 2 years, the war on poverty has benefited more than 9 million Americans. And this is just the beginning.

In addition, nearly 1 million Americans have participated in the Manpower Development and Training Act programs to develop new skills that leads to new job opportunities.

There was no such program under the last Republican administration. There was no poverty program either. And there is simply no comparison over the efforts made by the Republicans to help our cities with that of the Kennedy and Johnson years.

Those Republicans who are now charging that this administration is reneging on its commitment to the urban poor have obviously neither consulted the record nor conferred with their colleagues in the House.

The record is clear: No administration in American history has created more sound and effective programs for the cities than has the Johnson Administration.

And the record will show that the Republicans in the House have voted overwhelmingly against each and every one of these proposals.

Just in this session, the Republicans in the House have voted to eliminate all funds sought for continuing the rent supplements program. They have voted to reduce by two-thirds the funds requested for model cities. And it has cut by $5 million the President's request for research in urban technology.

This is the party now criticizing the President for not doing enough? The American people must be forgiven if they are slightly incredulous.

All told, some 30 legislative proposals for the urban poor have been enacted by Congress over the past 3½ years. All of them have been strongly opposed by the House Republicans.

This is the record. And those Republicans seeking political advantage from the tragic events of this summer cannot be allowed to bury the bones of their party's dismal voting record on the cities in the Democratic backyard.

At this very moment, Congress has under consideration 14 pieces of major legislation to help our cities build a brighter future.

Let us see how the Republicans in Congress will vote on these measures. Let us measure the degree of Republican support in the House against some of the criticisms voiced by a few Republican Senators that the administration is not doing enough. I think the evidence will be conclusive about which party is the doers for urban America and which is the haven for the perennial obstructionists.

If the Republican Party wants to pose as the city dweller's best friend, let them match their voting record with their alleged commitment.

In the meantime, Lyndon Johnson's record of achievement to help the American city remains unmatched and unrivaled by any group or faction.

The record speaks louder than any political words.

ANOTHER ESCALATION BY REAGAN

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Resnick] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, Governor Reagan is at it again. Instead of concentrating on the problems of his State and his own administration, the "fastest gun in the West" is hysterically trying to set foreign policy from Sacramento.

In his latest scenario, the hair trigger Governor, after threatening to use nuclear weapons to bring about a final solution to the Vietnamese war, tells us he favors expanding the war with an American invasion of North Vietnam, if only the military will give the green light.

Governor Reagan acts upon impulse while reasoned men recognize the dangers of a wider war. The Governor acts from frustration, while calmer men realize President Johnson is attempting to achieve a just solution without irrationally provoking Chinese entrance into the war. Mr. Reagan acts from ignorance of, or indifference to, our basic foreign policy goal—not to destroy North Vietnam and provoke world war III, but simply to insure the independence of South Vietnam.

The Governor should stop making rash and irresponsible foreign policy statements and content himself with bailing out his own ship in California. The last thing we need are policies which would blow us all back to "Death Valley Days."

HOW GIANT CO-OPS PRESSURE TAXPAYING BUSINESSES

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Resnick] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during my ad hoc hearings into the activities of farm organizations, testimony was presented by a number of people which shed light on the business activities of farm organizations. Many of these businesses operate as tax-exempt cooperatives and, over the years, have undergone tremendous expansions into new fields—fields which are only partially related to agriculture. The regulations under which these tax-exempt cooperatives operate gives them a great advantage over the private taxpaying businesses that they compete with, and is putting them under tremendous economic pressure. Many are being driven out of business.

On August 31, Mr. Frank Silkebaken, an independent oil jobber from Iowa, delivered testimony which provided an illuminating insight into the problems that the expansion-minded cooperatives are creating for independent businessmen. Under unanimous consent, I present at this time the statement of Mr. Silkebaken:

Statement of Frank M. Silkebaken, Belle Plaine Oil Co., Belle Plaine, Iowa

Mr. Resnick. These hearings will now come to order.

We will hear from Mr. Silkebaken.

Is there anybody with you that you would like to identify as being here with you?

Mr. Silkebaken. Yes. I refer to a gentleman, a fellow Iowan, E. F. Bock from Garner, Iowa. I also have with me representatives of the National Oil Jobbers Council here in Washington, Mr. Wilfred H. Hall and Mr. Charles Hartman. I have as a personal guest of mine my son, Dennis.

Mr. Resnick. Thank you.

Mr. Silkebaken. Good afternoon, gentlemen. My name is Frank M. Silkebaken, and I am an independent oil jobber from Belle Plaine, Iowa. I am here representing the 700 independent oil jobbers in Iowa, under the auspices of the Iowa Independent Oil Jobbers Association. As oil jobbers we are wholesale distributors of gasoline, heating oil, other petroleum products, and tires, batteries and accessories to various businesses and retail customers within our State. With me today is another Iowa oil jobber, Mr. Ed Bock, who is a past president of our Iowa association.

Mr. Resnick. What is your position with the Iowa Independent Oil Jobbers Association?

Mr. Silkebaken. I am a member, sir.

Mr. Resnick. You are officially representing them?

Mr. Silkebaken. Yes, sir.

Mr. Resnick. Please proceed.

Mr. Silkebaken. This testimony is made in the context of today's needs by the Federal Government to collect additional tax revenues. Our President has suggested a 10 per cent surtax on individuals' and corporations' income taxes this year. We feel strongly that if the Government needs additional revenue to finance its programs, it should first explore our contention that cooperatives who have outgrown the reasons for their initial tax-free status should be taxed at the same rate as those businesses with whom they regularly compete.

The total amount of revenues that could be realized by taxing these cooperative corporations like other corporations are taxed is probably over $100 million a year. Thus, we suggest there is a double-barreled reason for consideration of this problem by the Congress at this time, the first being to provide needed tax revenues and the second to bring much needed equity to the marketplace in order to restore a more fair measure of competition between those engaged in the marketing of non-farm produced products.

The tax-exempt status for cooperatives was originally designed to assist business units composed of farmers themselves, aimed principally at allowing them to buy feed, fertilizer and farm implements at terms and under conditions which would bring benefits to them.

The first Income Tax Act in 1913 granted tax exemptions to certain organizations, including agricultural groups, and at that time the number of small farms in the United States and the amount of products they produced made such a plan appear equitable. However, we have now witnessed a reduction in the number of farms in this country and the centralization of production into ever larger agricultural business units. Thus, the farmers, like other types of businesses, have had to grow in size.

Heavy reliance on farm implements have of course helped to create the situation where the farmer must be fair-sized to afford the hardware necessary to operate today. The successful farmer, therefore, is one who runs a fairly large farm and is one who has a substantial investment in land and can not be compared except by profession with his counterpart in 1913.

With the decline in the number of small farms in the Nation, the cooperatives' originally envisioned role was discarded in favor of entering into the sales of nonagricultural materials. This has extended to the point where a visit to many of the local cooperatives can be likened to going to a hardware store, a service station or even a supermarket, rather than to a grain and feed dealer. This has been occasioned by the fact that the farm itself has changed from one which was essentially a relatively small unit into being a fairly large landholding business operation. The exempt cooperative at that point should have been phased out of operation since its need was evaporating. However, at this time they have altered their operations into nonagricultural items and now compete with a host of other businesses.

The problem of course is that the tax-free cooperative can either sell at lower prices, or advertise more, or acquire more assets because of their tax-free status, but are actually virtually the same as other businesses with which they often compete. However, I should like to dwell exclusively on how their petroleum operations affect me and others like me. This Ad Hoc Committee can draw similar conclusions from my remarks for a wide variety of products other than petroleum, because the same situation undoubtedly exists in regard to many other products.

Two very interesting sentences appear on page 1 of the Internal Revenue Service Report issued in December of 1966 on Farmers' Cooperative Income Tax Returns for 1963, and I quote:

"In getting agricultural products flowing from farmer to consumer, cooperatives are found supplying such transportation services as shipping, trucking and storing; such manufacturing services as canning, winemaking, ginning, and other operations needed to produce finished goods for sale; such selling activities as acting as agent or broker.

"In providing mass purchasing power for the supplies needed for farming operations, cooperatives often will be found operating petroleum bulk stations and even refineries; manufacturing chemical fertilizers; and hiring, housing and transporting farm laborers. In other words, cooperative activities are nearly as varied as to function, as wide in scope and diversified in line as any other type of business enterprise."

Gentlemen, that is a pretty accurate description of how cooperatives are today—"as wide in scope and diversified in line as any other type of business enterprise." And I think they should be taxed like any other business enterprise.

As a matter of fact, a chief competitive weapon is the co-op's ability for cash flow in the form of patronage dividends from the giant super co-op to the regional co-op down to the local co-ops. What this amounts to is that local cooperatives, whom we compete with directly, can actually operate at a loss on the local level. But with cash in the form of patronage dividends coming down from the top through super and regional supplying co-ops, they can show a net "saving" or profit at the end of the year. But by the same token, if I showed a loss over an extended period of time, I would be out of business.

Mr. Resnick. I would like to interrupt you right there. We also heard testimony here yesterday that very often these so-called patronage dividends instead of coming down as cash, would be in better form if it comes down, no certificate or stock is ever cashed in.

Mr. Silkebaken. I believe this is true, sir.

Mr. Resnick. Now we heard this about the Ohio Landmark Farm Bureau Co-op. Now is the same done in Iowa?

Mr. Silkebaken. Well, the one that I have personally knowledge of of course they issue a dividend at the end of the year. I am speaking now of the local retail co-op. In the revenue Act of 1962 they were required to pay at least 20 percent of it in cash which they now do, and the remaining 80 percent is given as a form of a script note redeemable at some unknown future date.

Mr. Resnick. Have you heard or know of any instances where they refuse to redeem these notes or script or paper or whatever you want to call them?

Mr. Silkebaken. Well, I have had some farm customers that have told me they have had stock in various co-op creameries and so on that were unredeemable.

Mr. Resnick. How about in the farm services, the Farm Bureau?

Mr. Silkebaken. I have no knowledge as to that, sir.

Mr. Resnick. I think that is a very important point, one that I plan to look into.

Mr. Silkebaken. The farmer cooperative service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, as a result of its annual survey in 1965, reported there were 8,847 marketing and purchasing cooperatives serving farmers, handling a total of $19.3 billion in goods and services for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964. So when we talk about cooperatives as being businesses, we are talking about big business, totalling in the billions.

I would also like to bring to your attention the Federal income taxes paid as a percent of their net income by exempt cooperatives in 1963. This again from the Internal Revenue Service Report mentioned above. They noted that income tax after credits as a percent of net income, by size of net income, in 1963, for exempt cooperatives was as follows: for those with net income of up to $100,000——

Mr. Resnick. Excuse me. Net income, now, this is after patronage dividends? Is this before patronage dividends or after? The statements I have seen of co-ops usually it is after they have paid out, they charge off their dividends as an expense, the patronage refunds.

Mr. Silkebaken. I would have to get out that report and study it, sir. You have asked me something I am not certain of.

For those with net income of up to $100,000, the tax was 7 per cent; from $100,000 to $250,000 net income, the tax was 5 per cent; for net incomes over $250,000 the tax was 2 per cent. If independent jobbers, whom I represent, or any other corporate business paid taxes at that rate, they too could sell their products cheaper and expand their operations without worrying about where they were going to get the money.

Also, according to this Internal Revenue Service Report, of all cooperative income tax returns in 1963 reporting a net income, or profit, 32 per cent were non-taxable—20 per cent of the non-exempt returns and 42 per cent of the exempt returns. Of all taxes collected from farmers' cooperatives in 1963, the exempt cooperatives, which comprise ⅔ of all cooperatives and do ⅔ of the business, contributed only 14 per cent of the Federal income taxes that were collected. Exempt cooperatives, as a whole, paid income taxes of less than 7 per cent of their net income. Those in my State, Iowa, paid on the average of 7.5 per cent.

For example, one cooperative in Iowa, Del-Que Farm Service Company, and I have here a copy of their 1964 annual report which I will give to you gentlemen, notes that for total sales of $2,113,000, and net "savings" or profits of $184,000, provisions—and I underline that word provisions—for income taxes amounted to $20,022. Assuming this provision for taxes was the Federal income tax, this amounts to only 10.8 per cent of their net income.

Now at this point I would like to depart from my prepared statement to say that in that provision, that $20,000, if they were under the tax laws there would have to be State income tax considered also in that figure.

Mr. Resnick. You would also like to add that Del-Que Farm Service Company is a Farm Bureau co-op, it is part of the Farm Service, FS is the Farm Bureau co-op.

Mr. Silkebaken. Forty per cent of this cooperative business was in petroleum products, over half of that for gasoline alone. This cooperative's gross sales from 1954 to 1964 more than doubled, from $1,026,000 to $2,113,000. These local co-ops are our competitors. To say that this competition for the small, independent oil job is tough because of their great tax advantage, where their retained earnings can be used to increase their activities and expand their business at an alarming and what we feel an unfair rate, would be the understatement of the year.

Mr. Resnick. If I could interrupt you a moment again, who is your Congressman?

Mr. Silkebaken. Congressman John Kyl.

Mr. Resnick. Are you aware of the statement by Congressman Schwengel of Iowa put in the record, and he stated in the record that as an independent businessman and as an independent farm insurance man that he had felt that there was no disadvantage to the independent businessmen?

I thought you might be interested in that. He stated that for the record, that he had been in business all of his life, in insurance and I believe one other business, I have forgotten right now but he stated for the record that his Congressman, Fred Schwengel, I don't recall now which District of Iowa——

Mr. Silkebaken. He is in the Southeast part, taking in Davenport, Iowa City.

Mr. Resnick. That is in the Congressional Record, you might want to look that up.

Mr. Silkebaken. Yes, I shall.

Mr. Resnick. That is in direct contradiction to your statement. August 7.

Mr. Silkebaken. I compete with a local cooperative, similar to the one I mentioned above. It is the Farmers 4-County Co-op Association, a Farmland Industries Association. This co-op started in business in early 1963 and apparently was financed by Farmland Industries. This local cooperative now, in four short years, has passed us in total petroleum sales to farmers. I have been in business over 12 years, and now this cooperative is selling more petroleum products to the farmers than we do.

Mr. Resnick. Do you know the size of Farmland Industries.

Mr. Silkebaken. Yes, they are substantial. I refer to them later on here.

Their growth comes about through patronage dividends from the parent affiliate down through the local co-op to the farm customer, in dividend payments. The farmer is typically given an additional discount at the end of the year of which 20 per cent is paid in cash and the remaining 80 per cent in a note redeemable at some unknown future date.

Mr. Resnick. Do these notes carry any interest or dividends?

Mr. Silkebaken. To my knowledge they do not. I have no direct knowledge one way or the other but it is my information that they do not.

Naturally, I am in no condition to compete with such benefits to the farmer because I have no favorable tax position.

There are some 6,500 corporate jobbers in the United States. 91 per cent of these do less than $2 million in total sales annually. Most of these jobbers are in areas where they compete directly with these cooperatives. These jobbers, with average profits of 3.3 per cent before taxes last year, are hard pressed enough as it is. Something must be done to alleviate this particular problem of the cooperatives' unfair tax advantage. It is a common problem for jobbers all over the country, and for many other businesses, too.

I would like to go over briefly the petroleum operations of 19 major regional cooperatives handling supplies in 1964 and 1965 as reported by the Farmer Cooperative Service, a part of the Department of Agriculture, in their General Report No. 140. These co-ops, incidentally, had a total of 7,727 retail outlets of various types in 1965.

Petroleum products were their second largest commodity group and accounted for 26.3 per cent of their total sales of $1.3 billion in 1964, and 26.5 per cent of $1.4 billion total sales in 1965, an actual increase in total petroleum sales of 5.4 per cent. Their largest commodity group, feed, decreased as a percent of sales of 4.4 per cent. However, the third largest commodity group, fertilizer, did increase by 12 per cent, but the fourth largest group, seed, decreased 7 per cent.

Sales of tires, batteries and accessories increased 8.4 per cent. Their total increase in sales for 1965 over 1964 was 4.6 per cent. So their sales of petroleum products and TBA increased faster than sales of all commodity groups. Since two of the three largest agricultural commodity groups' sales decreased, this indicates to us greater emphasis by these so-called "farmers" cooperatives in sales of products that while they are used on farms, they are used by everyone else and every other business, for that matter.

Six of these 19 regional farmer's cooperatives own 9 oil refineries. Eight of them own 27 petroleum storage terminals. Six own an undisclosed number of crude oil properties. The Farmer's Union Central Exchange, for example, notes in their 1966 Annual Report they have leases on 18,000 acres surrounding a wild-cat oil well they brought in in 1966 in Montana, which brings their total lease holdings to 385,000 acres of producing and potential oil-bearing land. Petroleum sales accounted for 52 per cent of the total sales volume of $137 million of this co-op last year. Co-ops in general own hundreds of miles of pipelines.

I would like to depart from the prepared statement. I have something else here I would like to show. This is the cover of a brochure of the 1966 Annual Report of the Farmers Union Central Exchange, and when you look at it I am sure you will agree with me that this is a brochure like a major fully integrated major oil company would put out.

Mr. Resnick. We have seen them, we have some of our own.

Mr. Silkebaken. You have your oil wells, refineries, transportation, trucks, everything.

Mr. Resnick. Is there a farmer on that cover?

I would like to point out at this point for the record, and for your information, that while this Farmers Union Central Exchange bears the name of a farmers organization, the National Farmers Union, there is no financial connection between the Farmers Union and the Farmers Union Central Exchange. This is one of the things that a lot of people have misunderstood, that they own no stock and this is not controlled in any way by the National Farmers Union. This is not true of other co-ops such as FS Services which is owned and controlled by the Farm Bureau. I don't know if you are aware of that or not.

Mr. Silkebaken. I was not aware of that.

Mr. Resnick. I just would like to point that out, that neither the county nor the State units of the Farmers Union control or derive any income in any way. This is according to a statement by Mr. Tony Dechant, President of the National Farmers Union.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I see.

Mr. RESNICK. That they gave at these hearings yesterday.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Three of these "farmer's" cooperatives are in Fortune Magazine's list of the 500 largest corporations in the United States last year. These three are Agway, Inc., of Syracuse, New York, which, with sales of $462 million is 17th in size. Farmland Industries of Kansas City, Missouri, formerly CCA, with sales of $316 million, is 248th in size. And the one I mentioned earlier, Farmers Union Central Exchange is 477th with total sales of $137 million, and I repeat, over half of those sales were for petroleum products. And, gentlemen, in 1960 Farmers Union Central Exchange also organized a wholly-owned subsidiary, Cracca Libya, Inc., primarily for exploration, discovery and production of crude oil in the Kingdom of Libya. I guess they weren't satisfied with just looking for it here.

Is this what was visualized in 1913 when the cooperative movement really began? Was it the intent of Congress to allow some of these cooperatives to become among the largest corporations in America, and still retain their tax-exempt status, while directly competing with private business in non-agricultural products.

I would like to quote Mr. Mortimer Caplin, a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, from an interview he had with the Senior Editor of Dun's Review, which appeared in their February 1965 issue. Mr. Caplin was asked a question regarding the problem of tax-exempt corporations that engaged in activities in competition with tax-paying businesses. Mr. Caplin's reply was, and I quote: "This has become a very serious thing over the last fifteen years and certainly must be faced up to in a broad tax reform. For example, organizations that are cooperatives are competing actively against stock corporations. These are not the little farm organizations of a generation ago, when the cooperative idea was the only answer to the farmer's economic plight. Some of these cooperatives now own an entire vertically integrated operation from production and distribution that is actively competing against tax-paying businesses. This is certainly unfair competition . . . . . ."

We also feel it is unfair competition and hope that the Congress can do something in the near future to put an end to this discriminatory cooperative tax problem.

Summing it all up, I would like to make the following points:

Back in 1913 when farmers' cooperatives began, farms were small, unmechanized units, price supports were unheard of, and therefore some justification for these tax exempt organizations. This justification probably lasted through the 30's. However, this justification does not exist today.

These exempt cooperatives today compete against tax-paying businesses through government sanctioned tax favoritism. This is simply unfair. These cooperatives not only compete against oil jobbers like myself in the sale of non-agricultural products, but scores of other businesses as well. This situation we feel is now out of hand.

The Federal Government today needs additional revenues. Taxing cooperatives the same as other businesses would bring tens of millions of dollars into the Treasury. Businessmen like myself, already paying regular corporation taxes, are probably going to get hit with an additional 10 per cent surtax. This just makes our position worse, as it widens the advantage for those who pay little or no taxes at all.

For three of the largest 500 corporations in the United States to pay little or no taxes on gross sales of $137 million, $316 million and $462 million respectively, in 1966, is just plain inequitable.

These super co-ops are no longer "farmer's" cooperatives in any sense of the word. They are giant corporations, they are run like giant corporations, and they should be taxed the same as any other corporation.

My remarks are on the record. I hope that Congress does not consider and study a general tax reform measure. I hope at that time which is soon, this statement may be of some assistance.

Gentlemen, now if I could ad lib for just a few minutes to give you a very personal view. First of all, and I feel I can speak for every other Iowa oil jobber that I am representing here today, I was born and reared in Iowa, I come from farming people. Many of my relatives, uncles and cousins, are farmers.

Mr. RESNICK. In other words, you are not a city slicker.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. That is right. There is not anyone in the State of Iowa that wants the farmer to prosper more than I do.

Mr. RESNICK. They are basically your customers.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. That is right, a big chunk of them, and I think they are the finest people in the world. We do not have any personal dislike whatsoever for any farm organization or any personal dislike for any cooperative, they are just another competitor. We regard them the same as we would Standard Oil, Texaco, Mobile, Shell, X-Y-Z, any other competitor.

We do feel very strongly, however, that in this football game of competition that everyone should play under the same rules. When the league-leading White Sox came to town and were knocked off by the Washington Senators, everybody only got three outs each inning, there was no favoritism. We feel that everybody has a basic responsibility to support our Government with tax dollars. The revenues have to come from some place and I do not feel that I as an oil jobber or if I was a farmer or a grocery store operator or an ordinary wage earner should have any special privileges in meeting what I feel is a basic responsibility to support our way of life.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. RESNICK. Well, I could not agree with you more. This is one of the areas that disturbs me. My father belonged to a co-op many years ago and it was the same type of co-op that you described; it is still in existence and it is still based on the theory of one man, one vote. No matter how much stock one might own, he still had the one vote, which I think is the base of any cooperative venture.

I was amazed to learn that co-ops were bought and sold and controlled by these what we call the super regional co-op chains and the super co-ops, and so on.

Now let me ask you this: Are you aware that exempt co-ops must sell 85 per cent of all their products to farmer members?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I believe I have read that, sir, yes.

Mr. RESNICK. In their case you feel they are not selling to non-farmers?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I believe this is correct.

Mr. RESNICK. You know, for example, that Agway sells to Montgomery Ward, they sell them gas now. Montgomery Ward may be classified as a farmer as they sell a lot of stuff to a lot of farmers but this is one of the areas that we want to look into. I agree with you in that the tax advantage is most unfair especially in the area of the so-called patronage dividends which are not dividends at all. I think one of the points that was touched upon but we ought to think about is being a small businessman myself once I know it is not only a question of profits but it is also a question of getting together enough capital to expand your business.

Now you and I want to go out and get capital, we have to pay for it, either borrow it and pay interest or sell some of our equity. The co-ops method of getting capital is simply taking the profits which are not taxed, giving people pieces of paper which are not redeemable, and I understand this is fairly widespread and it is again another area that I would like to look into and I plan to.

I would add that in your list of companies you ought to put down Farm Service. They too would wind up in the top 500 because I believe if I remember your figures correctly they do something like $160 million, so that they would be well within Fortune's top 500 corporations.

I think you have covered the area quite well. I myself plan to introduce tax reform legislation. It is going to be a very basic piece of legislation and it is going to simply say that any tax-free organization or foundation will not be permitted to operate or control a profit-making operation.

Now I believe that if this legislation is passed, and I can only hope for your support on legislation like this, that this would alleviate a lot of these problems.

I would also suggest that you make your views known to your respective Congressmen and Senators. Too often the minute you start saying anything about a farmer's co-op that is supposed to label you automatically as anti-farmer. The farmers are your customers, you certainly need the farmer to prosper if you are going to prosper with them. That is my feeling, that these are no longer farmer-owned or managed or anything else, they are just simply giant corporations that are masquerading as co-ops.

I would like to ask you one further question: Are you aware of the 27½ per cent depletion allowance on oil?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Yes, I have read of that in the newspapers.

Mr. RESNICK. Do you get that as an oil jobber?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. No, sir. As an independent oil jobber I do not know of any benefits that I receive from it.

Mr. RESNICK. Are you in favor of that continuing? Do you feel that the oil companies ought to pay their fair share of the oil taxes as well as the rest of us?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Well, I would say this, Congressman, and I am not trying to dodge the issue. I do not believe I am enough of a student of that thing to say whether it is fair or unfair. I have heard that there are 50 some products of a mineral extractive type deal like steel, copper, lumbering, iron ore, coal, what-have-you, sand, gravel that receive some sort of a depletion allowance. This is a pretty complex subject and the only thing I can say is that as a small town independent businessman I do not receive any benefits from this that I am aware of.

Mr. RESNICK. Do you know of any farmers that might want to say, Yes, let these destructive industries continue to get their 27½ per cent tax-free.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Well, I could not speak for what I don't know, although I think it is fair to say that it is also my understanding that these large super and regional co-ops that own these oil wells and explore, I assume they receive the benefits, if any, from this depletion thing.

Mr. RESNICK. Oh, yes.

Are you familiar with the National Cooperative Refinery Association in McPherson, Kansas?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Yes.

Mr. RESNICK. If I recall the figures correctly, they did something like $60 million. They are jointly controlled by the Farmers Union Central Exchange, Farmland Industries, and the Farm Services which is a Farm Bureau, they earned some $8 million last year and didn't pay a dime in taxes. That is not bad. And you as an independent oil jobber have to compete against these people.

Do you also get into liquid petroleum as well?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. No, we are not in LPG.

Mr. RESNICK. You are aware that the same problem exists in LPG?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Yes, in LPG.

Mr. RESNICK. Completely integrated, they do the whole job selling to your customers and so on.

Well, I think that we are basically in agreement. For your information, for what it is worth, I plan to continue this probe of farm organizations that have built their economic and political base based on the money and the jobs that they generate through these co-ops.

Have many of your colleagues, the independent oil jobbers, been bought up by co-ops?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I have no knowledge as to how many. I know many of them have suffered some rather severe losses in sales. Not particularly to change the subject but I want to make crystal clear for the record and for everybody that the oil jobbers of Iowa are not trying to eliminate a competitor by calling for equal taxation. We welcome competitors.

Mr. RESNICK. I don't think that you could eliminate them if you wanted to.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. They are big boys, they are multimillion dollar deals and we welcome them in the marketplace. We just want everybody to play by the same ground rules and we will scrap with the best of them and may the best man win.

Mr. RESNICK. I understand that. I just point out that many independent businesses such as oil jobbers, feed mills, poultry processing plants, and so on are being bought up by the so-called co-ops and are taken off the tax rolls. This is an increasing trend.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I think this is very true.

Mr. RESNICK. And the old story that it is easier to join them than fight them. We are fighting a multi-million-dollar organization and when you are a small businessman it becomes very attractive to stop scrapping around with Farmland Industries.

Do you know any connection between the Farmland Industries and the Farm Bureau?

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. RESNICK. Other than the Farmers Union Central Exchange.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. I know of none, sir. I have no direct knowledge of any. It is entirely possible they could have joint ownership of some refinery or oil well.

Mr. RESNICK. There is no question about that, that is fact. This is like if A&P, Safeway and Food Fair were all partners in a meatpacking plant. I think the Federal Government would step right in on antitrust. That is exactly what happened out there at this National Cooperative Refinery Association, that they were all, you might say, eating out of the same pot and working together.

Again I want to thank you for appearing. I would hope that you would follow this up, remind your Congressmen that you are tax paying citizens and you would like to keep paying taxes, and that if the co-ops take over pretty soon the only ones that are paying taxes are the Congressmen.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. SILKEBAKEN. Thank you, sir.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT RULES THAT COMMERCIAL BANKS CANNOT ENTER THE MUTUAL FUND BUSINESS

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for years I have been concerned about the increasing trend toward nonbanking businesses engaged in by commercial banks. Today we find these institutions engaged in personal property leasing, professional accounting, the travel agency business, insurance, credit cards and other businesses. It is my view—a view I know is shared by a good many of our colleagues—that banks should only be in the business of banking and should perform only such other activities directly related to banking.

The Subcommittee on Bank Supervision and Insurance of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which I have the honor to chair, held hearings on this matter in the 88th Congress and in the 89th Congress. Substantial testimony was heard each time concerning the unfair competitive advantage enjoyed by banks when they enter into competition with, in many instances, their own customers.

The trend, however, is perhaps being reversed. I note with particular interest the opinion handed down on September 27, 1967, by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy ruled that the regulations of the Comptroller of the Currency authorizing national banks to enter the mutual fund business are illegal and in violation of the Glass-Steagall Act and beyond the fiduciary powers which the Comptroller can grant to commercial banks. Similar suits with respect to banks operating travel agencies, computer services, and selling insurance are presently being litigated.

Judge McGarraghy's opinion, together with relevant correspondence on this subject, was placed in the RECORD of September 28, 1967, at pages 27271–27281, by our colleague WRIGHT PATMAN, the distinguished chairman of the Committeee on Banking and Currency.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION ACT ON OCTOBER 3, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago on this day, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the National Immigration Act. This was an historic event not only because it was performed in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty on Liberty Island in New York Bay, but because it marked the end of an era of prejudice and bias in our relationships with the peoples of many countries. The signing of this great act impressed the whole world as a symbol of American freedom and justice to almost the same degree to which they have regarded that great statue as the symbol of freedom.

The act for which so many of us here worked so ardently and for so many years marked a real milestone in this country's policy toward the admission of aliens for permanent residence. This act is now being widely referred to as the "Johnson Act," and rightly so, because it was enacted primarily as a result of the forceful and determined personal efforts of the President to secure its passage. No President in history has demonstrated greater interest in and compassion for the world's homeless people; no President has equaled having such appreciation for the rich gifts which immigrants of all nationalities have brought to this country; and no President has been more alert to the needs of having adequate, yet fair and equitable, safeguards established for the control of immigration than has President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I consider my more than 20 years of uninterrupted fighting for improved immigration legislation a most significant aspect of my service in Congress. I regard the passage of the immigration bill as one of the most rewarding achievements in which I played a part, and I look back with continued gratification not only to having been present at the act's historymaking signing ceremony, but it was my privilege to be present at the ceremony in Naples, Italy, when the first visa under the new law was issued to Salvatore Esposito and his wife Maria—now residents of my district in Brooklyn.

I still recall with unquenched feeling, hearing the President 2 years ago utter those truly significant words:

> This Bill that we sign today is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not reshape the structure of our daily lives or really add importantly to either our wealth or our power.
>
> Yet it is still one of the most important acts of this Congress and of this Administration.
>
> For it does repair a very deep and painful flaw in the fabric of our American justice. It corrects a cruel and enduring wrong in the conduct of the American nation.

Mr. Speaker, let us now at the end of 2 years, take stock of the results of this legislation.

First, we have all been exceedingly gratified to witness the unifying effect which this act has had upon our citizens, both old and new. No longer are immigrants subjected to their erstwhile "second-class citizen" status. No longer must naturalized American citizens be subjected to the painful realization that because of race or country of birth their parents or their brothers or sisters are to be denied the opportunity to join them and reestablish a family unity. At no period of our history has this unifying process been of greater national interest and value than today.

Second, we read and heard with great gratification the praise heaped upon this country for the steps taken in removing the prejudicial and unfair barriers which were a virtual slap in the face to many of our otherwise friendly nations. Public officials and press all over the world heralded the signing of the act as a positive demonstration of our oft repeated tenets of freedom and justice for all mankind and still speak of it in glowing terms.

Thus, we can rejoice that the President's signature on the National Immigration Act did much to create and restore an improved American image throughout the world.

Third, we can be gratified that, except for a large number of brothers and sisters of Italian Americans, all the admissible people who were on the long waiting lists 2 years ago have now been issued visas.

Mr. Speaker, with 2 years of experience in the administration of this law, some defects and shortcomings have been detected and must be corrected, such as the situation with regard to Irish immigrants, but the law as a whole has proven to be a marked improvement over the discriminatory immigration laws of 1952 and 1924 which it superseded.

Since the act provides for the abolishment of the national quotas in July 1968, the Congress should begin now to review those facets of the law which are in need of adjustments. Certainly this is true if President Johnson's interpretation of the bill which he gave at Liberty Island is to be truly meaningful:

> This bill says simply that from this day forth, those wishing to immigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here.

So long as almost 200,000 applications are backlogged, of which approximately half are Italian brother and sister cases, we must ascertain what remedial steps are necessary. The other half of the backlog represents a variety of professions, skills, and semiskills. The cause of the backlogging of these cases needs to be determined. Certainly, we in the Congress must review with the State Department visa office and the Immigration and Naturalization Service the complete administration of this law. Predicated upon the experience of the past 2 years, we must provide whatever adjustments are necessary.

One corrective measure should have immediate attention. Early in January, I again proposed in the pending bill H.R. 1, certain steps to be taken to recognize the contribution which young immigrants must make in the form of compulsory military service in the Armed Forces of this their newly adopted country after 1 year's residence.

This country was born of the struggle of our Founding Fathers against "taxation without representation." Today we are demanding of these young men that they subject themselves to the possibility of making the supreme sacrifice of their lives yet without recognizing them as citizens, and without affording them the same rights enjoyed by fellow veterans. They may not become officers, nor on separation from the service may they enjoy the veteran's preference in civil service job applications.

My bill would correct this unfair and undemocratic error, and would afford all aliens with honorable service on active duty the right to apply immediately for citizenship.

A speedy correction of this and other inequities resulting from provisions of the act is essential if the glorious words of Emma Lazarus appearing on the Statue of Liberty are to sound not as a hollow mockery on the ears of an already skeptic world.

Let this anniversary remind us once more of what that imposing statue and this great act represent:

> Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
> With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
> Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
> A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
> Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
> Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
> Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
> The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
> "Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
> With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

It is incumbent upon the citizens of this country and most particularly upon us, the Members of Congress, to assure that once these "homeless, tempest-tost" people have been given refuge in our midst, we extend to them maximum opportunities to enjoy the fullest privileges of freedom and to assume a full share of the responsibilities which American citizenship entails.

POLICE-NATIONAL GUARD RIOT CONTROL TRAINING PROGRAM

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our entire Nation is concerned about civil disorders and riots which have struck community after community this summer, an innovative step in preparing to combat such disorders has been taken in my own congressional district.

Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan, of Allentown, Pa., in cooperation with Col. William S. Greer, commander of headquarters and headquarters battery, 213th Artillery Group, Pennsylvania National Guard, have just completed a joint police-National Guard riot control training program.

It is believed this represented the first effort in Pennsylvania to coordinate police and National Guard training in riot control.

Chief Monahan has shown distinctive leadership in the training and administration of the Allentown Police Department. This unique training program is but one of his many accomplishments.

An 8-hour field exercise concluded the 32-hour joint training program. I insert at this point in the RECORD two articles published in local newspapers which elaborate further on this training exercise:

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1967]

RIOT CONTROL EXERCISE HELD BY POLICE, GUARD

Allentown police and a local National Guard unit yesterday morning participated in a riot control field exercise at the Police Academy in Lehigh Parkway.

Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan and Col. William S. Greer, commander of Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 213th Artillery Group, PNG, directed the program.

MAYOR ON HAND

Observers included Mayor Ray B. Bracy; Lt. Col. Irving S. Robinson, U.S. Army adviser to the PNG units; officers of the Allentown Auxiliary Police, the Lehigh County sheriff's uniformed deputies, and Lehigh County Civil Defense.

Yesterday's eight-hour activity culminated 32 hours of riot control training for the National Guard units. It was ordered last month by the U.S. Department of the Army.

Col. Greer said last night that to the best of his knowledge it is the only training in Pennsylvania where the PNG and local police organization joined forces to train for possible civil disturbance.

Morning hours yesterday were used for the study of the use and effects of riot control agents. The use of gas was particularly emphasized.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Sept. 25, 1967]

COMPLETING SCHEDULED COURSE: POLICE, GUARD HOLD RIOT TRAINING

A field exercise on riot control was conducted yesterday by the Allentown Police Department with Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 213th Artillery Group, Pennsylvania National Guard, at the Police Academy on Lehigh Parkway.

The exercise was directed by Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan and Col. William S. Greer, commander of the 213th.

Observers included Mayor Ray B. Bracy, Lt. Col. Irving S. Robinson, U.S. Army adviser to the PNG units; officers of the Allentown Auxiliary Police, the Lehigh County sheriff's uniformed deputies, and Lehigh County Civil Defense.

Yesterday's eight-hour activity culminated 32 hours of riot control training for the National Guard units. It was ordered last month by the U.S. Department of the Army.

Col. Greer said last night that to the best of his knowledge it is the only training in Pennsylvania where the PNG and local police organization joined forces to train for possible civil disturbance.

Morning hours yesterday were used for the study of the use and effects of riot control agents. The use of gas was particularly emphasized.

AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH ACT

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today which would amend the National School Lunch Act to provide expanded food service to children from poor economic areas attending day-care centers, settlement houses, summer camps, and recreation centers.

In this Nation's effort to provide much needed education and day-care to children whose families have a poverty level income, a number of exciting and innovative programs, such as Headstart, have been initiated. These programs provide an opportunity for the Nation to see that the children enrolled in them receive at least one nutritious meal or snack a day. At present, these educational and day-care programs either do not provide a meal or must pay for the food out of their scarce resources and hard-pressed budgets. The following table gives a good estimate of the number of children enrolled in day-care programs and the meals which should be provided:

Program	Number of children	Food requirements	
		Meals	Snacks
A. Education (preschool):			
1. Headstart, summer	480,000	19,000,000	19,000,000
2. Headstart, full year	160,000	26,000,000	26,000,000
Total	640,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
B. Day care:			
1. Headstart	55,000	32,000,000	32,000,000
2. Migrants	13,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
3. Title V	28,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Total	96,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
C. Total	736,000	90,000,000	90,000,000

The legislation being introduced today would provide institutions like day-care centers and summer camps the same type of food resources available to schools under the school lunch program, which is such an efficient success that 71,000 schools involving 18 million children are now participating in it. In light of the vital importance of these programs in breaking the circle of poverty, I would hope that this legislation will receive wide support and immediate attention. It is particularly important to make food resources available to such groups as inexpensively as possible, because the social security amendments recently passed by the House call for a vastly expanded title V work experience program as well as the establishment of day-care centers to care for the children of mothers undergoing training and obtaining gainful employment.

The legislation will also make inexpensive food supplies available to summer camps attended by children from low-income families. This summer, a camping experience was provided for a large number of children who have all their lives known nothing but the hard concrete sidewalks and the hot blacktop streets of center city ghettos. Camps were organized in the Los Angeles area, in Arkansas, and in my city of Cleveland, Ohio. In Cleveland, a total of 4,600 children who have never been to camp before, many of whom have never been out of the city of Cleveland before, attended camps financed by local groups and the Federal Government. The Federal Government alone provided about 1,900 children with a camp experience. Summer was better in Cleveland this year than was the case in 1966.

We in Cleveland are planning for an even bigger program next year, and I know that the idea is spreading to other areas. In many parts of the country, there is no reason that unemployed youth, dropouts from school, cannot be provided a "retreat" experience in which counseling could be provided, morale and drive boosted. Along this line, this year's economic opportunity amendments contained a title providing summer camps for disadvantaged children. The Senate will be considering this proposal as a separate piece of legislation warranting separate hearings.

All of these types of programs could be greatly assisted by the legislation I am introducing today. The bill would authorize $8 million in fiscal year 1968 and in each of the next 2 fiscal years to be disbursed to the states by the Department of Agriculture for the initiation, maintenance, and expansion of nonprofit food service programs for children in private, nonprofit institutions or public institutions which provide day care for children and young people from areas in which poor economic conditions exist.

The Secretary of Agriculture shall provide up to $50,000 to each State as a basic grant and from the remaining funds appropriate an amount which bears the same ratio to the total remaining funds as the number of children in that State between the ages of 3 and 17, inclusive, living in families which have incomes of less than $3,000 per annum bears to the total number of such children in the whole Nation. As an example, if the State in question has 100,000 children between the ages of 3 and 17 living in families with income of less than $3,000 and there are a million such children nationally, then that State would receive 10 percent of the funds available once the basic State grants have been made.

The funds shall be disbursed by the State's educational agency to the child-care institutions selected on a nondiscriminatory basis, to reimburse the service institutions for the cost of obtaining agricultural commodities and other foods. The disbursement per meal will be made at a rate of reimbursement per meal prescribed by the Secretary. The costs of obtaining food may include the cost of processing, distribution, transporting, and handling it.

In cases of severe need where the rate of reimbursement per meal is insufficient to carry out an effective program, the Secretary of Agriculture may permit financial assistance of up to 80 percent of the operating cost of the program.

If a State wishes, it may use up to 25 percent of the funds allocated to it to pay up to 75 percent of the cost of purchasing or renting equipment, other than land or buildings, for handling, transporting, and processing food.

As under the national school lunch program, the Secretary may set definitions of what constitutes an adequate and nutritional meal, and children who cannot pay all or part of the cost of the meal shall be served without charge, and without discrimination.

This legislation directs the institutions participating in the program to use, as much as possible, those foods designated as being in abundance, either nationally or in the institution area, or foods donated by the Secretary. This should enable the total cost of such day-care centers to be drastically reduced.

Expenditures by State and local sources for the maintenance of food programs for children shall not be diminished as a result of funds received under this legislation.

A copy of the bill is included below. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that it is a measure that will do much to provide better programs and cheaper programs to those who need them most.

The bill follows:

H.R. 13293

A bill to amend the National School Lunch Act to strengthen and expand food service programs for children, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 of the National School Lunch Act (42 U.S.C. 1752) is amended by striking out "section 11" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 11 and 13".

SEC. 2. Section 6 of the National School Lunch Act (42 U.S.C. 1755) is amended by inserting "except section 13" immediately after "Act," where it first appears.

SEC. 3. The National School Lunch Act is amended by adding at the end of the Act the following new section:

"SPECIAL FOOD SERVICE PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN

"SEC. 13. (a) There is authorized to be appropriated $8,000,000 for each of the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1968, June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, to enable the Secretary to formulate and carry out a pilot program to assist States through grants-in-aid and other means, to initiate, maintain, or expand nonprofit food service programs for children in service institutions. For purposes of this section, the term 'service institutions' means private, nonprofit institutions or public institutions, such as child day-care centers, settlement houses, or recreation centers, which provide day care for children from areas in which poor economic conditions exist.

"(b)(1) Of the funds appropriated for the purposes of this section for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall reserve 2 percentum for apportionment to Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa shall each be paid an amount which bears the same ratio to the total of such reserved funds as the number of children aged three to seventeen, inclusive, in each bears to the total number of children of such ages in all of them.

"(2) From the remainder of the funds appropriated for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall pay to each State such sums as he deems appropriate, but not more than $50,000, as a basic grant. In addition, the Secretary shall allot to each State from the funds remaining after the basic grants have been made an amount which bears the same ratio to such remaining funds as the number of children in that State aged three to seventeen, inclusive, in families with incomes of less than $3,000 per annum bears to the total number of such children in all the States. For the purposes of this paragraph, the term 'State' does not include Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa.

"(c)(1) Funds paid to any State under this section shall be disbursed by the State educational agency to service institutions, selected on a nondiscriminatory basis by the State educational agency. (A) to reimburse the service institutions for the cost of obtaining agricultural commodities and other foods and (B) for the purposes of paragraphs

(2) and (3) of this subsection. The costs of obtaining agricultural commodities and other foods may include the cost of the processing, distributing, transporting, or handling thereof. Disbursement to participating service institutions shall be made at such rate of reimbursement per meal as the Secretary shall prescribe.

"(2) In circumstances of severe need where the rate per meal established by the Secretary is insufficient to carry on an effective feeding program, the Secretary may authorize financial assistance not to exceed 80 per centum of the operating costs of such a program, including the cost of obtaining, preparing, and serving food.

"(3) Not to exceed 25 per centum of the funds paid to any State may be used by the State to assist service institutions by paying not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of the purchase or rental of equipment, other than land and buildings, for the storage, preparation, transportation, and serving of food to enable the service institutions to establish, maintain, and expand food service under this section.

"(d) The withholding of funds and their disbursement to service institutions shall be carried out by the Secretary under circumstances comparable to those provided for in section 10 of this Act.

"(e) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, balances of funds appropriated for the purposes of this section and unobligated at the end of any fiscal year shall remain available for obligation during the first three months of the following fiscal year.

"(f) Service institutions to which funds are disbursed under this section shall serve meals consisting of a combination of foods and meeting minimum nutritional standards prescribed by the Secretary on the basis of tested nutritional research. Such meals shall be served without cost or at a reduced cost to children determined by the service institutions to be unable to pay the full cost. In making such determination, service institution authorities should, to the extent practicable, consult with public welfare and health agencies. No physical segregation or other discrimination against any child shall be made because of his inability to pay.

"(g) If any State cannot utilize all funds apportioned to it, or if additional funds are made available for apportionment among the States, under this section, the Secretary shall make further apportionments to the remaining States in the manner prescribed in subsection (b).

"(h)(1) The Secretary shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time the amounts to be paid to any State under this section of the Act and the time or times such amounts are to be paid; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to the State at the time or times fixed by the Secretary the amounts so certified.

"(2) Each service institution participating under this section shall, insofar as practicable, utilize in its program foods designated from time to time by the Secretary as being in abundance, either nationally or in the institution area, or foods donated by the Secretary. Foods available under section 416 of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U.S.C. 1431) or purchased under section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 612c), or section 709 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (7 U.S.C. 1446a-1), may be donated by the Secretary to participating institutions in accordance with the needs as determined by authorities of these institutions for utilization in their feeding programs under this section.

"(3) The value of assistance to children under this section shall not be considered to be income or resources for any purpose under any Federal or State laws, including laws relating to taxation and welfare and public assistance programs. Expenditures of funds from State and local sources for the maintenance of food programs for children shall not be diminished as a result of funds received under this section.

"(4) Authority for the conduct and supervision of Federal programs to assist service institutions in providing food service programs for children is assigned to the Secretary of Agriculture. To the extent practicable, other Federal agencies administering programs under which funds are to be provided to service institutions for such assistance shall transfer such funds to the Secretary of Agriculture for distribution through the administrative channels and in accordance with the standards established under this Act.

"(5) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for any fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to the Secretary for his administrative expenses under this section.

"(6) States, State educational agencies, and service institutions participating in programs under this section shall keep such accounts and records as may be necessary to enable the Secretary to determine whether there has been compliance with this section and the regulations hereunder. Such accounts and records shall at all times be available for inspection and audit by representatives of the Secretary and shall be preserved for such period of time, not in excess of five years, as the Secretary determines is necessary."

Sec. 4. The first sentence of section 7 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 (42 U.S.C. 1776) is amended by adding immediately before the period at the end thereof "and under sections 11 and 13 of the National School Lunch Act". The second sentence of such section 7 is amended by striking out "section 11" and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 11 and 13".

CONGRESSMAN DOMINICK V. DANIELS HAILS KEARNY, N.J., CENTENNIAL

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Daniels] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, the town of Kearny in West Hudson County, N.J., was for 18 years a part of the 10th Congressional District of New Jersey represented by our able colleague and good friend, the dean of the New Jersey delegation, the Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr.

Last year, this town was added to the 14th Congressional District which I have the honor to represent and I was suddenly faced with the problem of representing a large number of people whom I did not know well and who did not know me very well either. I can report to this House that I have found the people of West Hudson and their elected officials splendid in every way.

I have the great privilege of knowing Mayor Joseph M. Healey, of Kearny, for many years and I am well aware of his great popularity in all of Hudson County. In this day and age, however, the mayor who can maintain his popularity over more than two decades is rare indeed, and frankly I sometimes wonder how he did it. Having served with him very closely over the past year, it is very easy to understand. No problem is too small for his full attention and he is always looking for programs of benefit for Kearny and its people.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege and high honor to call the attention of all Members of this House to the town of Kearny and its able mayor as this great municipality celebrates its 100th anniversary. Because this is such a major event in the history of this town, I should like to tell this House some of the things that have happened in Kearny this year.

As the town of Kearny began to plan its centennial in 1967, Mayor Healey, who is past president of the New Jersey League of Municipalities, characteristically began doing something about it last year.

In October 1966, Mayor Healey appointed Dr. Edmund L. Tink, Kearny superintendent of schools, as chairman of the town's centennial commission. The mayor and Dr. Tink then began to discuss with other area municipal officials their experiences with centennial and other similar observances. Healey explained:

> We want to avoid the mistakes made in other communities and also wished to profit by the benefits gained in their celebrations.

Early in February, the Kearny Centennial Commission, consisting of 17 prominent citizens, was legally incorporated to conduct the business of the event. At this time, Mayor Healey was named honorary chairman. In addition to Dr. Tink, the general chairman, the commission appointed Ralph Borgess, secretary of the board of education as secretary, and William G. Davey, board chairman of the First National Bank of Kearny, as treasurer. Chairmen of the various committees were named representing patriotic, veterans, youth, women's, senior citizens, service clubs, recreation, civic, and fraternal organizations.

Committee chairmen were slated for historical exhibits, the commemoration of the first town meeting—which was held in the high school—industrial relations and industrial and business exhibits, tree planting and beautification, special school programs, centennial high school concert, centennial high school graduation, July 4th celebration, town departments and municipal exhibits, time capsule, historical art, scholastic sports and homecoming, recreation events, souvenirs and street decorations, centennial calendar and publicity record book, publicity, religious coordination, town of Kearny history, and parade. An official photographer, attorney, auditor, and recording secretary were appointed.

The local weekly, the Observer, has been most generous in granting space to the many centennial events. It carries an events calendar on page 1 of each issue. The area dailies have also been most cooperative with news and photo coverage of the various activities. These include the Newark News, Newark Star-Ledger, the Journal, and Hudson Dispatch, both of Jersey City.

The kickoff event was held in the high school in April and featured a reenactment, by a professional acting group, of the first meeting of the township committee which was held on April 8, 1867. Later that month a bus load of schoolchildren, teachers, and commission members journeyed to Trenton to witness the introduction of assembly and senate resolutions congratulating Kearny on its centennial. Mayor Healey spoke on the assembly floor, recounting some of the town's history and achievements of its legislators since the turn of the century. The group also met with Gov. Richard J. Hughes in his office.

A "patriots luncheon" was held June 2, to honor Gen. Philip Kearny, Civil War hero for whom the town is named. A noted historian and writer, Harold Latham, retired vice president of the MacMillan Publishing Co., gave the principal address. Descendants of the general were honored guests. Over 200 attended.

Also in June, the jaycees conducted a "centennial junior champs" track and field meet in the high school stadium and the local Rotary Club presented to the town and dedicated a centennial cherry blossom orchard.

June 11 marked the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Natatorium in Lincoln School. R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, representing the Kennedy family, was the principal speaker. I was very proud to be on the program that day.

July was marked by a visit of 800 townspeople by charter bus to Yankee Stadium to attend a professional soccer match held in honor of the town's anniversary. Mayor Healey kicked off the ball to start the game. Somewhat marred by rain, an Independence Day centennial program was held in the stadium.

Other centennial events scheduled were a bicycle race through the Kearny streets August 20 and the homecoming football game September 23.

A centennial time capsule will be buried on October 20. Manufactured by the local Monsanto Co., it will contain thousands of microfilmed items pertaining to the history of the town and other memorabilia including signatures of all the schoolchildren and historical matter relevant to the many service clubs and organizations of Kearny.

The centennial year will end on October 21 with a great street parade featuring floats, the centennial queen and occupying a special place of honor the 10 oldest residents will ride in open cars. Many of these are in their 90's.

Now—to some of the history of the town of Kearny:

Prior to the 18th century the area which is now Kearny was known to the American Indians as Mighgecticok. Among those who have contributed to the history of Kearny are the Indian Chief Tantaqua, plantation owner Arent Schuyler, the slave who discovered copper here, and Gen. Philip Kearny—after whom the town is named.

The pioneer settler of this section was Capt. William Sandford, who came here from Barbadoes, West Indies, in 1668. On July 4 of that year he purchased for the sum of 20 pounds sterling all the territory which is now Kearney, Harrison, and East Newark.

Captain Sandford also purchased from the Indians all their reserve rights and titles. A condition of the sale was that within 3 years of the purchase, Sandford had to settle eight families on the land. The deed drafted by Captain Sandford and Chief Tantaqua described the area as the tract lying between the Hackensack and Pasawack—now Passaic—Rivers. In 1670 the settlement was named New Barbadoes Neck, after Sandford's former home in the West Indies.

Nine years later, Arent Schuyler bought the Kingsland Plantation in New Barbadoes Neck. The purchase price was 350 pounds sterling—approximately $1,700.

Shortly after his purchase of the Kingsland Plantation, one of Arent Schuyler's slaves brought him a peculiar green stone picked up while plowing. The stone was sent to England for analysis and found to contain 80 percent copper. As a result of the discovery a copper mine was opened and the first steam engine used in the United States was employed in its operation. Until the steam engine and mine machinery were destroyed by fire in 1772, the mines produced and shipped to England 1,306 tons of rich copper ore.

During the Revolutionary War, the Battle of Schuyler Heights was fought here, and the area was temporarily held by British troops under General Clinton.

The name "New Barbadoes Neck" was changed to Lodi in 1825. In 1840 it was changed again, to Harrison.

The town was named "Kearny" in 1867 to honor the memory of Gen. Philip Kearny, major general of U.S. Volunteers. The general was killed in the battle of Chantilly, Va., September 1, 1862. His body was brought back to his home in Kearny where an impressive military funeral was held. For many years his castle, Belle Grove, a reproduction of a French chateau, stood as a Kearny landmark.

The Clark Thread Co., of Scotland, extended its activities to this country in 1875. It erected two large mills in Kearny, and by 1890 had added two others. Close on the heels of the cotton thread industry came that of flax spinning. In 1883 the Marshall Flax Spinning Co., of England, erected a large plant in Kearny which is operated today as the Linen Thread Co.

Just as the Clark concern brought thousands of Scottish immigrants, so did the need for experienced flax spinners lead to an influx of people from other parts of the British Isles. Families of those early textile workers were the nucleus of Kearny's present population. To that nucleus were added the families of businessmen whose enterprises were growing here, or who commuted to Newark or New York but settled in this section as an ideal suburban residential community.

Also dating from 1883 is the Arlington Co. factory, a plant of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co. The concern was a pioneer in cellulose field.

If Peter Clark can be credited with inaugurating Kearny's industrial history, another Scottish industrialist must be recognized as having contributed largely to its development. In 1887 Sir Michael Nairn established the Nairn Linoleum Co., in Kearny. A fluorishing firm from the very outset, its merger with Congoleum Co., of Philadelphia, in 1924 has placed Congoleum-Nairn of Kearny in the forefront of the world's linoleum industry.

Other important industries which have settled in Kearny and employed its townspeople are: Koppers Co., Inc., Swift & Co., Western Electric Co., Standard Tool Manufacturing Co., Wilkata Box Co., Coca Cola, and Monsanto.

Since the turn of the century, Kearny's industrial development has been marked by steady growth, with particular emphasis in the southern part of town. Scores of new plants have located there within the past two decades. The transportation picture in Kearny presents every element desirable to commerce. Waterways at the front door, railways at the back door, air service overhead, and well-maintained highways interlace the entire area. To meet the expanding needs of these new industries the town has established separate fire and police headquarters in South Kearny. It has extended its water supply system and provided a network of local streets to supplement the vital National, State, and county highways crossing the town.

Less than 5 miles from New York City, Kearny has two other metropoli as immediate neighbors. To the west lies Newark, site of one of the world's busiest airports. To the east lies Jersey City.

Under Mayor Healey's energetic guidance, a new deep-water facility, Port Kearny is developing in the southern part of the town. When dredging operations by the Corps of Army Engineers are completed, Port Kearny will provide access to the maritime world for the largest ocean-going vessels.

Kearny today is an incorporated town with a population of approximately 40,000. Located in the important northeastern section of New Jersey, it covers an area of 9.33 square miles. It occupies a peninsula bounded by the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers both of which are navigable by ocean-going vessels. The rivers converge in Newark Bay, at Kearny's southernmost tip, affording access to New York harbor and the Atlantic Ocean. The town's pleasant, well ordered residential streets, its fine, modern schools, progressive merchants, and thriving industries, under a program of constant development, are ample proof of its designation as "A good place to live, work, and shop."

With so much going for it, Kearny's future is bound to be as progressive and exciting as its illustrious past.

DOING MORE THAN TIME

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, last year

the Congress enacted, as a part of Public Law 89-792, an amendment to the Manpower Development and Training Act, authorizing a program of skill training for inmates of correctional institutions. This new provision, section 251 of the act, was made a part of the act because of the splendid showing made in similar pilot projects in two Federal institutions.

This year the first budget requests for section 251 were allowed by the House, but the Appropriations Committee in the other body saw fit to delete them. I think it is unfortunate that a program which received the unanimous assent of both Houses of the Congress in 1966 should be even temporarily shelved in 1967 for lack of funds.

When one compares the small investment in training inmates, the good probability that pilot projects have indicated of rehabilitating them, and the very high annual cost of maintaining a prisoner who does not learn how to make an honest living on the outside, it seems to me that the amount budgeted for funding of section 251 is a very high return investment, indeed.

In a recent edition of Employment Service Review, there appeared an excellent article by Charles W. Phillips, of the Department of Labor, entitled "Doing More Than Time." I recommend this article, and particularly urge the conferees on the Labor-HEW appropriation bill to give it careful consideration in their deliberations:

DOING MORE THAN TIME

(By Charles W. Phillips)

Every year over 100,000 prisoners are released from State and Federal prisons. Sooner or later, one out of every three of these ex-convicts will be back behind bars, many for the third and fourth time. The costs involved in the apprehension, prosecution, and confinement of the 100,000 criminals released annually border on the astronomical, perhaps exceeding the budgets of most of our States.

Perhaps the old-time prison pictures overfictionalized a bit when they depicted the ex-convict leaving a jail as the big gate clanged shut behind him. There he stood in his ill-fitting prison-issued suit—friendless and jobless. However, the exaggeration wasn't too far from reality because the ex-convict of not too long ago actually had no place to go except, perhaps back to his old haunts, associations, and life of crime. Thus, in due time, chances were that he would be back "home," in jail.

Fortunately, modern methods of dealing with convicts, whether they be confined in reformatories, jails, correctional centers, work farms, or any other place where a human being is kept under lock and key, have been undergoing revolutionary changes. Modern thinking holds that from the day his incarceration begins a prisoner is attached to a processing line which will prepare him for release, but in a manner which returns him to society better equipped to withstand the rigors of everyday life.

Many of these newer ideas have been tested and verified in the experimental, demonstration, and research projects in prerelease prison training, funded by the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor. Notable among these have been the contract research program at Rikers Island, N.Y., and experimental and demonstration programs at the Draper Correctional Center in Alabama, the South Carolina Department of Corrections, and the Lorton Youth Center of the District of Columbia.

The number and types of programs which aim to train a man to be a better citizen when he is released are limitless. An inmate at an Alabama correctional institution perhaps summed up the value of the newer prerelease programs best by stating that he felt he was "doing more than time."

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Occupational training is being utilized as the major weapon from the arsenal of techniques being used to attack the problem of guidance of prisoners toward more useful lives outside prison walls. Unfortunately, job training alone probably is not the answer, but such training, combined with other factors, such as institutional attitude, counseling programs, job development and placement, and community support and followthrough, makes for practically a complete rehabilitation and prerelease program.

The Congress took cognizance of the importance of prerelease prisoner training when it amended the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) so as to enlarge the program. A total of 10,000 prisoners will be engaged under the act. This total is expected to build a base for more comprehensive future programs.

The initiative for establishing prerelease training programs under MDTA will, in most cases, come from the institutions working, most likely, through the Employment Service.

The disciplines and requirements for ordinary MDTA programs must also obtain for prereleased prisoners if the rehabilitative goal is to be attained. This calls for proper institutional attitude which must permit prisoners to become available for training for 35 to 40 hours per week, preferably 6 months to a year prior to release.

Offhand, it would appear that prisons would welcome such subsidized prerelease programs. However this attitude is not universally applicable, especially with respect to institutions which find themselves in a bind for funds and are hard pressed to do away with their prison industries. Besides, housekeeping duties alone keep most of a prison's work force busy; meals must be prepared, laundry cleaned, vehicles repaired, and buildings maintained. These chores entail full-time jobs for a sizable number of a prison's inmates, yet the training provided by these jobs is of minimal value on the outside. In fact, the training acquired in many prison jobs may be of negative value, since more workers are usually on a job than are needed and bad work habits often are acquired.

Directors of a prison training program cannot have antagonism toward the trainees. They can expel a student for absolute recalcitrance, but such instances have been extremely rare in the experimental and demonstration programs. The teachers are there to solve the problems of rebellion at school and of emotional blocks to learning. Of course, this is what every good teacher does. The point is, this is a special group. The teacher must maintain standards, while not becoming too harsh with those who do not respond easily.

The teacher must be equally acute to note and avoid entrapment in an opposite kind of problem—that of performance without learning. Students usually do not get into training programs unless they volunteer for them. Such trainees are not hard to obtain, for the training program itself is a kind of bonus. If a person is not in the program, he is likely to be working on the prison farm, in a road gang, or in some prison duty more distasteful than is involved in a training course. Training may also be a road to an earlier parole. But these built-in motivations to take on a training program do not prevent the deep-seated emotional objections and rebellions to it.

This situation raises the issue of the moral dimension of education and the relation of the training program to rehabilitation. The Socratic dictum that "knowledge is virtue" probably has few, if any, literal adherents. Likewise, few persons, especially educators, will be content to have education concern itself only with means and not ends; to serve only techniques and not values. More colloquially, the purpose of teaching welding is not to make better safecrackers, or by virtue of teaching literacy, to develop a capacity for check forging. Thus, a high premium is placed, in an effective prison training program, on the teachers, counselors, shop instructors, therapeutic staff (if it exists), and prison authorities, to function as a genuine team, as opposed to an aggregate of individuals.

Programed instruction has been attractive to those responsible for prison programs and has been effective. Its value in permitting individual pacing, in permitting slow learners to close the performance gap between themselves and others, and in eliminating invidious public grade comparisons has seemed to work well. The Draper Correctional Institution (in Elmore, Ala.) has done a considerable amount of development of these materials for the occupations in which it trains. The Federal prison at Petersburg, Va., has used the Du Pont programed texts for the courses where they apply. A special evaluation study of this usage by the Federal Bureau of Prisons showed a considerable benefit.

The experimental and demonstration projects involving theories of "Contingency Management" also bear watching. A simple illustration of this is when a parent contracts with a child to raise the child's allowance contingent on his bringing home a better report card. Prisoners are engaged formally in negotiating contracts to complete certain work in a specified time. If they do it, they earn certain rewards. This management of the learning contingencies, involving elaborate "menus of choice," is a growing part of the experimentation at Draper and is a major area of experimentation in Project CASE, funded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency at the National Training School for boys.

Not to be neglected either is the work of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. For more than 10 years, it has been working with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. They have established apprenticeship programs in about a dozen institutions. Joint Councils of Apprenticeship set up and approve the programs and register them for continuation on the outside. Perhaps these can be expanded in the State systems. Also, the coupled institutional on-the-job program, in which MDTA now has considerable involvement, may have a place in new training designs for prisoners.

COUNSELING IN THE TRAINING PROGRAM

Just as the teacher or vocational instructor in a prison setting must adopt special teaching methods and techniques, so also must the counselor come to grips with special problems with respect to prison trainees. In addition to the usual counseling problems involving discipline, motivation, and adjustment, the counselor must deal with subsidiary problems attendant to people separated from society and undergoing social deprivations. These problems are bound to have adverse effects on a prisoner's emotions and habits. Thus, the counselor becomes an important link between the prisoner and the training program, prison administration, and, perhaps, the prisoner's potential employers upon release.

Many counselors are making excellent use of volunteers and subprofessional persons. The Lorton project (outside of Washington, D.C.), for example, has made good use of VISTA volunteers, and college student interns have been used at Draper as educational aides.

JOB DEVELOPMENT AND PLACEMENT

A prisoner at the Danbury, Conn., prison goes to work daily at a nearby manufacturing plant and works as a hearing aid repairman. He was trained to do this work by the company while doing his "time" in jail. Thus, he is able to support his family and is assured of a job upon release.

Modern prison work-release plans are certainly a far cry from the lash and the hole. What is happening at Danbury and other places like it is a tribute to modern penal thinking. The record of job development and placement by these institutions borders on the fantastic.

In most of these projects, cooperation with the Employment Service has been excellent, even though there are a number of unique factors involved in the task of placing prisoners in jobs. First of all, the labor area served by a prison is usually much larger than the immediate vicinity of the jail. A State prison, for example, serves inmates coming from all parts of the State, and most prisoners usually return to their home communities upon release. A Federal prison serves even a larger area, in most cases an entire region.

Jobs for about-to-be-released convicts must be developed prior to discharge. Fortunately, many State Employment Service agencies cooperate with parole boards and usually assure jobs for ex-prisoners.

A vital factor in the job-getting process is community cooperation, whereby churches, civic groups, unions, trade associations, and others have worked out programs for dealing with ex-convicts. In many cases, halfway houses and other transitional centers have been established for released prisoners.

CONCLUSION

Dealing with those in our society who must be incarcerated for breaches of the law is indeed a vexing problem. The task involves walking a tightrope between lax, country-club-type treatment on the one hand and ineffectual, harsh punishment on the other. During the past several decades, more and more balance has been achieved with respect to authority-prisoner relationships, and newer techniques are constantly being devised. The newer methods seem to cry out to the convict: "Look, this prison life is no bed of roses, but if you participate in our programs you'll be a better man when you are free."

President Johnson touched base with all the issues, as he added the urgency to serve criminal offenders to the vision and imperative of the Great Society. In his address to Congress on February 15, 1965, he said:

"The problems run deep and will not yield to quick and easy answers. We must not weaken in our resolve to identify and eliminate the causes of criminal activity. . . . Correctional agencies charged with responsibility for those who have been found guilty of a criminal offense face enormously complex problems. Some of the time-honored methods are proving to be inadequate. Many new ideas are being developed and applied, with still uncertain results. We cannot wait until they are certain new ideas are being developed and endless, self-defeating cycle of imprisonment, release, and reimprisonment which fails to alter undesirable attitudes and behavior. We must especially find ways to help the first offender avoid a continuing career of crime."

VISITING CHAPLAIN, REV. ALEXANDER GEORGE

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CULVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, today, the House of Representatives is honored to have as its visiting chaplain the Rev. Alexander George, pastor of St. John's Eastern Orthodox Church in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Father George's presence here today gives recognition to the important role which orthodoxy plays in our society, as a community of Christians which numbers nearly 7 million in the United States.

Father George himself is a symbol of his church's role—as a pastor, an active community leader, and a former clergyman in Latin America as well.

He is also a symbol of religion freedom in this Nation. As a man who was born in Berlin at the height of Nazi power and raised in Communist Hungary after World War II, he remarked to me after the opening ceremonies in the House this noon that only in America could an immigrant stand in the halls of government to lead the Nation's lawmakers in prayer.

Unfortunately, those of us in America who have always enjoyed this fundamental freedom too often take it for granted, and we are indebted to Father George for reminding us of it today.

Father George was born in Berlin in 1937 and received his early education in Austria and Hungary. In 1953, he came with his parents from Hungary to the United States where he attended high school in New Jersey and college in Los Angeles. On December 25, 1959, after seminary studies at Orthodox Trinity College in Jordanville, N.Y., he was ordained by the late Archbishop Antony Bashir in St. Nicholas Orthodox Cathedral in Brooklyn.

Following his ordination, Father George served parishes in New York and California, before going to South America, where he served in the dioceses of Buenos Aires. São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro from 1962 to 1964.

Since February of 1964, Father George has been pastor of St. John's Eastern Orthodox Church in Cedar Rapids. And in the past 4 years, he has come to be known and respected in Cedar Rapids and throughout Iowa, not only as a religious leader, but as a lecturer, executive director of the Citizens Committee on Alcoholism, and an adviser to the Cedar Rapids Teen Club.

He has been active in the ecumenical movement in eastern Iowa, and in the statewide program to deal with the problem of alcoholism.

Mr. Speaker, Father George's appearance today is an appropriate occasion to reflect on the question of proper recognition of Eastern Orthodoxy in the United States. Traditionally, in this country we consider three major faiths—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. There are legitimate arguments which the Eastern Orthodox Christians pose as to why their faith should be recognized separately.

Considerable notice has been given to the separate identity of Eastern Orthodoxy. Legislatures in nearly 80 percent of the States have enacted resolutions which designate it as a separate major faith, and last May Iowa joined in that recognition.

The Armed Forces use the letters "EO" on dog tags to identify Eastern Orthodox Christians.

Representatives of the Eastern Orthodox faith have been invited to participate in recent Presidential inauguration ceremonies, as Father George has been invited here today.

But in spite of these steps, there are still serious situations which members of the church consider to be discriminatory and about which they are justifiably concerned.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Father George for being with us, and to offer my own respect and admiration for the outstanding work which he is doing, for his parish, his church, and his community.

NASA'S LANGLEY RESEARCH CENTER: 50 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE NATION

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DOWNING] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, this Monday I had the privilege of visiting once again the Langley Research Center, NASA's advanced research and technology facility in my district in Hampton, Va. Although I have visited that remarkable installation many times—both before 1958, when it was a major cog of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and over the past 9 years when it has been part of the space agency—this visit had particular significance. For this week has been chosen to mark the 50th anniversary of Langley's establishment; 50 years of service to the Nation.

It was my good fortune to be joined on this visit by several able members of the Science and Astronautics Committee—Mr. MILLER, chairman, Mr. CABELL, Mr. PETTIS, and Mr. ECKHARDT—and by the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia, HARRY F. BYRD. And it was my distinct honor to be accompanied by a great lady, Mrs. Hugh L. Dryden, whose late husband rendered service of incalculable value to the Nation and the world over many years, culminating in his service as Deputy Administrator of NASA.

Mr. Speaker, I was struck on this visit, as I have been often impressed before, with the outstanding record of accomplishment of the Langley Center. Indeed, it would take me a full day just to list those accomplishments, let alone discuss them. Suffice it to say that every airplane, every missile, every spacecraft this country builds has benefited from Langley work. And although many fail to realize it, today our highways are safer, our hydroplane boats are swifter, our everyday electronics and materials are better, and our lives are richer in many ways because of research done at Langley.

What a wise decision it was for the United States to establish this first research capability 50 years ago; and how wise we have been to nurture and support it over the years since 1917.

I would like to make one more point, Mr. Speaker. Impressed as I was with the laboratories, the test stands, the experimental rigs, and all the other hardware at Langley, I was far, far more impressed with one point made quite convincingly by Dr. Floyd L. "Tommy" Thompson, the Langley director, and a close adviser of Administrator James E. Webb. He reminded us that research is not facilities, not buildings, not lasers, computers wind tunnels, or test tubes, but people. Scientists and administrators like Hugh Dryden, laboratory directors like Tommy Thompson, and total managers like Jim Webb, together with thousands of able, self-sacrificing Americans of thorough education and noble purpose go together to make a center like Langley.

And whether we celebrate its 50th or its hundredth anniversary, this Nation can be proud today and always of the system that maintains the Langley Research Center.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States, the Vice President, who is Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and the Royal Aircraft Establishment of Great Britain joined in this celebration, along with many others. I include their commendatory messages in the RECORD at this point:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 26, 1967.

DR. F. L. THOMPSON,
Director,
NASA Langley Research Center,
Langley Station,
Hampton, Va.

DEAR DR. THOMPSON: I am happy to join with those honoring the Langley Research Center on the occasion of your fiftieth anniversary.

For half a century, your Center has demonstrated how the Federal Government, assisted by universities and private industry, can meaningfully contribute to the peaceful use of aeronautics and space for the benefit of all mankind.

On this milestone year in your record of national achievement, I salute the entire Langley staff and wish you Godspeed in the crucial course ahead.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C.

DR. FLOYD L. THOMPSON,
Director, Langley Research Center,
NASA Langley AFB, Va.:

The aeronautic aerospace age is highlighted by your outstanding ceremonies at the 50th anniversary of Langley Air Force Base. I convey warmest congratulations to you personally on the superb contributions you have made, particularly to America's manned space program. What a debt our people and all the world's people owe to pioneers of the skies who have made possible our epic achievements in realms never before within man's reach much less travel.

As chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, I extend personal regards to the many distinguished guests, public officials and private citizens, leaders in every walk of life in Virginia and throughout the nation who share these happy hours with you.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

From: RAE Farnborough.
To: NASA, Langley Research Center, Hampton, Va., U.S.A.

For Floyd L. Thompson Director from Sir Robert Cockburn Director. The Royal Aircraft Establishment congratulates the Langley Research Center on their fifty years of continuous contribution to aeronautical advancement. Your institution has had a far-reaching influence on the development of aviation, not only in the United States of America but throughout the world. Of all the modern technologies, aviation has surely been the most international since its inception. Your work has contributed to the defense of our countries, and to the evolution of a great system of world transport; we are pleased and honored that during the last fifty years there has been such a close relationship between our establishments. As early aviation pioneers ourselves, we know the difficulties that have been surmounted, and understand the feelings of Samuel Pierpoint Langley who wrote in 1891 quote a great many scientific men treated the whole subject with entire indifference, as unworthy of attention, or as outside of legitimate research, the proper field of the charlatan, and one on which it was scarcely prudent for a man with reputation to lose to enter unquote. This we have changed. There have been a few developments which, measured in terms of their impact on human affairs, have progressed as rapidly as has aviation in the last half-century. The aeronautical links between us are well known, but there are geographical and historical links as well. Your town of Hampton was named for the Earl of Southampton, whose ancestors were also responsible for giving their name to the county to Hampshire, in which the RAE is situated. It remains for us to wish you continuing success in meeting the challenges of the future, which are every bit as great as those which our predecessors helped to bring to achievement.

UNITED'S NEW CARGO TERMINAL AT FRIENDSHIP

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, United Air Lines' $1 million air cargo terminal at Friendship International Airport was officially dedicated last month and it was my pleasure to tour this excellent facility. It represents a major improvement in air cargo service through Friendship, which is so centrally located for millions of residents and businesses in the Baltimore-Washington area.

United plans to use the terminal as an interim cargo facility until a cargo complex that will serve all airlines is readied at Friendship. Such a cargo complex is under study by airport planners. I am convinced that United has shown great foresight in choosing Friendship for this vast cargo operation. Despite the interim designation, United's new terminal can handle 12 million pounds of cargo per month. I was tremendously impressed with the efficient manner in which this volume of freight can be handled, which represents six times United's current monthly average of cargo business.

The terminal is now being served by DC–6A propeller cargo planes, but is designed for cargo operations by jet freighters. United officials announced at the dedication that the airline will double its propeller all-cargo service at Friendship before the end of the year and introduce jet freighter service next spring. As you know, Friendship is in a unique position to offer this room for expansion and I am delighted that United has taken advantage of Friendship's unusual planning.

The jet service will be provided by the 727 Quick Change (QC) aircraft that can be converted from passenger plane to cargo aircraft in 30 minutes. Under a typical schedule, a 727QC passenger flight would arrive at Friendship in the evening hours and deplane passengers at the main terminal building. It would then be moved to United's cargo terminal for the conversion process.

The DC–6A cargoliner is a four-engine aircraft with cargo capacity of 30,710 pounds while the 727QC has a cargo capacity of 40,000 pounds.

Local United executives said at the dedication that air cargo in the Baltimore-Washington area is growing at a very fast rate. The terminal, they said, reflects the company's confidence in Friendship and its prime location for serving the two communities and I am sure that United's business will continue to grow and prosper.

The cargo terminal is designed to handle the company's growing cargo business in the area for at least the next 5 years.

It is interesting to note that in 1964 United's cargo business out of Friendship totaled 16.1 million pounds. In 1965, this reached 21.3 million and last year, despite, the 43-day strike that halted United's operation, 21.4 million pounds were carried. Currently, United is carrying about 2 million pounds a month from Friendship.

A POSITIVE PROPOSAL—A NEGATIVE RESPONSE

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson yesterday proposed a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed. Today, we have heard a vicious and unfounded attack on one aspect of this new program. Accusations of "bribery," "corruption," and "clandestine deals" have been made.

The problem of unemployment in our central cities and our rural areas is too important for honest attempts at solution to be slandered in this manner. Accordingly, I would like to set the record straight right now. The target of the irresponsible attack today is a proposal that ghettos in urban centers, as well as small pockets of rural poverty would be designated as labor surplus areas so that businesses willing to locate or to do business in these areas would be entitled to bid on the "set aside" portions of Government contracts designated for labor surplus areas. Under the "set aside" policy, a portion of Government contracts is given special consideration for allocation to firms located in or performing some of their work in labor surplus areas. This practice has been followed for more than 15 years, and has been of immeasureable assistance to these disadvantaged areas, while at the same time adequately meeting the legitimate procurement needs of the Federal Government. To characterize this practice as "bribery," "corruption," and "clandestine deals" is the grossest distortion of the facts. No responsible people or groups have ever suggested that this practice be done away with, and I am sure that such a step backward would be resisted wholeheartedly by the Members of this body. Because the lack of jobs is at the very heart of the problems of our central cities and rural poverty areas, it is encumbent upon all of us to examine, critically, but positively, every proposal put forth for the solution of the job problem. The President's proposal surely deserved that kind of a response. Statements such as we heard today by the Member from Illinois contribute nothing but confusion, negativism, and partisan poison. I ask all Members to examine the President's proposal in its entirely, and to evaluate it against the needs of the Nation and of its people.

AMERICA'S PRESENCE IN VIETNAM

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Sikes] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Gosport, the well-written publication of the Naval Air Station at Pensacola, had in its September 29 issue a letter from Chaplain G. P. Murray, U.S. Navy, in which he speaks impressively about the war in Vietnam and the necessity for America's presence there.

I submit it for reprinting in the Congressional Record:

Letter to the Editor

Sir: I have had it!

I am getting weary indeed of the many articles and letters submitted concerning Red China and the war in Vietnam. They are written, I'm sure, by people who have never been ashore in the combat area.

This pains my heart, because the things they are saying are just not so. I spent eight months in the combat zone with a group of men who literally worked themselves to death on humanitarian projects. We built roads, a hospital, dug water wells, and did countless acts of civic improvement, such as working in Catholic and Protestant orphanages.

Then, returning to the good old U.S.A. I find criticism, bickering, and questions like: "Are you still burning innocent villages and shooting civilian women and children?" I find that patriotism is suspect, military obligation is something to be avoided, and to almost kill yourself trying to rescue a man is now a sin.

I wish that the critics of the war, and those who are always clamoring about Red China, would shut up and listen once in a while to those who have been there. Please excuse my phraseology, but I mean it. I'm sick to death of battlefield experts who have never left home, and of mushy Christians who have never been to an area where to believe in Christ means torture and death. Let them spend their time under fire, then I'll listen. Let them go over and talk to the refugees from China and North Vietnam, then I'll talk with them. May God have mercy on these political and military experts who debate in a classroom and never get more than a hundred miles from home. May God have mercy on us all, for condemning so easily and commending so slowly.

When I ask these people back in the States if they have been to Asia, if they have talked to any refugees from North Vietnam lately, or questions of that nature, they say, "No, but it doesn't make any difference!" Can you imagine that?

I hear continual criticism of our presence in Asia and continual harping to withdraw. North Vietnamese to get out of South Vietnam? Why isn't there more condemnation of the raping, looting, burning, and the hell the Communists are spreading south of the demilitarized zone? I think the thing that burns the soul of every soldier is to come home and hear some fat, comfortable preacher in his clerical garb denounce our country's policy, and spout off about a war he hasn't fought in and discuss issues he has no firsthand knowledge of. I know this has been true since "Willie and Joe" came back from World War II, but for heaven's sake we ought to learn something by now.

How stupid can we get?

I know that this war is a terrible thing. I know that there is a lot of feeling about "political policy," and "foreign affairs," and that it is not a simple thing. Oh, Lord, how will I know this—as does anyone who has been there for a few months.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is the "Good-Samaritan-Parable War!" We've got a bruised and bleeding South Vietnamese desperately in need of help. And a lot of Americans fear getting involved by stopping to help. The thing that breaks my heart is, that having been one of the many who did stop and try to help a little, I straighten up, and turn around looking for our Church to help—and I don't find it! What's wrong with being on the side of freedom? What's wrong with helping a brother who is hurt badly and calling for help? What's wrong with speaking out against the godless ruthlessness of Communism? Nothing, you say? Then why don't we do it?

I loved the Reformed Church of America, and I hope I'm Christian in the matter of speaking to the Red Chinese, and working for peace. The only trouble is the last Red Chinese I saw tried to mortar me to death.

Now, brother, if you want to speak with him, and discuss the issues of peace with him, go right ahead! Be my guest. I have had it. You try it for a while. Then, after you come back, let me know how you made out.

Fraternally,

G. P. Murray,
Chaplain, USN, Naval Shipyard,
Boston, Mass.

THE INEVITABLE RACE WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Waggonner] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, open hostility between the Negro and white races is now being spoken of as inevitable. An alarming number of men who call themselves religious leaders are preaching the "desirability" of black power, urging the Negroes into civil disobedience, riots, and bloody confrontations with authorities.

A tiger has been loosed in the streets; an animal that threatens to destroy civilized men. Instead of searching for ways to undo the mischief they brought about by setting this inevitable conflict into motion, too many leaders are egging it on by speeches suggesting, even advocating, increased violence.

In recent days, churchmen from all over the Nation gathered in Milwaukee to launch further street demonstrations against the city's housing laws or lack of them. This attack upon constituted authority, this challenge to the police is a deliberate effort to provoke violence. How terrible that it should be led by men of the cloth, men of God, men of peace.

Here in Washington, a retired Episcopal bishop compares the vile, hate-ridden scavenger Rap Brown to the prophet Isaiah. I can only call down upon them both the Lord's own admonition in the Book of Isaiah:

> Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes.

And I would recall to the Bishop and the man he fawningly admires, the further caution of the Lord in that same chapter:

> You shall be devoured by the sword.

One man who is of national reputation has dared to stand up and speak some of the much-needed verities is sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan. In a frank address to the leftwing ADA. Mr. Moynihan laid the blame for fomenting this black revolution squarely at the door of the liberal cranks. It is a revealing address and I urge every Member of the House to study it, to commit it to memory.

If men of Mr. Moynihan's perceptiveness had been at the helm 10 or 15 years ago, this Nation would not be on the brink of another civil war. Hear his words well:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star,
Sept. 24, 1967]

Moynihan Chides Liberals on Negro Violence

Sociologist Daniel Patrick Moynihan yesterday told his fellow liberals the time has come for them to stop "sticking up for and explaining away everything, howsoever outrageous, which Negroes individually and collectively might do."

In an address to the national executive board of Americans for Democratic Action, Moynihan warned: "The time for the confrontation of the realities of black and white has come in America. It will not be pretty."

Moynihan, director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs and a former assistant secretary of labor, also told the ADA leaders that liberal Democrats must:

1. Recognize that "their essential interest is in the stability of the social order" and promote that goal through "much more effective alliances with political conservatives who share that concern."

2. Abandon "the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington," and instead place more emphasis on local programs.

FAMILY STRUCTURE BLAMED

Moynihan became the center of a controversy two years ago when he prepared a Labor Department report arguing that the real cause of the American Negro's problems was not so much segregation or the lack of voting power.

Instead, he said, Negroes had failed to gain equality because their family structure was "highly unstable, and in many urban centers . . . approaching complete breakdown."

Yesterday's speech was as sharp a critique as advanced by any liberal Democrat in the wake of the summer's urban violence.

Moynihan told the ADA members that the summer riots had brought into focus two related sets of problems:

"On one hand, the problems of the conditions of life and social behavior of the vast Negro underclass that has somehow grown up in our Northern cities; a disorganized, angry, hurt group of persons easily given to self-destructive violence.

"NIHILIST YOUTH"

"And along with them, another group of radical nihilist youth, not themselves members of this underclass, but identifying with it, able to communicate with it, and determined to use it as an instrument of a violent, apocalyptic confrontation with a white society they have determined to be irredeemably militaristic and racist."

Moynihan added:

"I do not believe we have yet realized the depth and intensity of the feelings of this second group, nor of the extent to which they have succeeded in politicizing the always existing torment of the urban masses, and in persuading them both of the inevitability and the desirability of a nihilistic solution.

"All the signs, such as they are, declare that the violence is not ended. What is more, a new set of signs tells us something that is painful, even hateful to have to hear, namely that we must prepare for the onset of terrorism.

"Indeed it may already have begun. How widespread and how successful remains to be seen, but the probability is so great that it would be an act of irresponsibility or of cowardice not to face it."

"THEIR COURSE IS SET"

Moynihan said, "There is nothing whatever to be done to change the minds of the Negro nihilists, nor of their white associates, that have been so much in evidence of late. Their course is set. The only option for the nation is to deprive them of the Negro underclass, which is the source of their present strength."

Moynihan told the ADA leaders, many of them opposed to President Johnson's policies in Vietnam, that:

"President Johnson will almost certainly be re-elected in 1968 . . . Moreover, the war in Asia is likely to go on many more years, although possibly in different forms. And most importantly, the violence in our cities, tensions between racial and ethnic groups, is just as likely to go on and, if anything, get worse."

To promote what he called "the politics of stability," Moynihan called on the liberal Democrats to abandon "the rhetoric that Republicans don't know anything about the social problems of the nation, or, in any event, don't really care."

Pointing to New York City Mayor John Lindsay and New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller as examples, Moynihan called for a new alliance between GOP leaders and Democrats.

ASKS NEW ALLIANCE

Moynihan said the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and many other liberals "are no doubt correct in holding that the war in Vietnam has brought a stalemate to government efforts on behalf of Negroes at home, but they are wrong, I would think, in their proposed solution, which is for the government to get out of Vietnam."

He explained: "An American government in this age will always give priority to foreign affairs. A system has to be developed, therefore, under which domestic programs go forward regardless of what international crisis is preoccupying Washington at the moment. This, in effect, means decentralizing the initiative and the resources for such programs."

On Tuesday, September 26, following Mr. Moynihan's remarks, the Washington Star endorsed his position in an editorial, "The Liberal Dilemma." It, too, is worthy of our attention.

THE LIBERAL DILEMMA

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is a man dedicated to the proposition that the truth should be heard, regardless of whose sacred cow is scarred in the process. And this fact alone sets him apart from the majority of those whose function it is to think aloud in public today.

Two years ago, Moynihan—then assistant secretary of labor—was asked to study the root causes of the Negro problem. His report, arguing that the basis of the trouble was the instability of the Negro family structure, resulted in his being labeled a racist by the people who make a practice of basing their conclusions on emotion rather than facts.

Now, he's done it again.

Moynihan, who is now director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs, undertook to tell the executive board of the Americans for Democratic Action what the proper role of the liberal should be today. As a result, there are bound to be demands that his credentials as a liberal be canceled.

The core of Moynihan's argument is that the major international and domestic crises that face the nation today cannot merely be the targets of liberal political wrath. The liberals, he said, should face up to their responsibility by seeking solutions to the problems, and should stop preaching against what is happening, because "it is they who have been in office . . . and in large measure presided over the onset of both the war in Vietnam and the violence in American cities."

It is time, he said, to recognize that "getting out of Vietnam is a matter not just of summoning the will, but also of finding a way."

It is time for liberals to approach the domestic crisis with an understanding "that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order" and to form "much more effective alliances with political conservatives."

Liberals should "divest themselves of the notion that the nation . . . can be run from agencies in Washington" and should work toward a decentralization of government power.

And finally "liberals must somehow overcome the curious condescension which takes the form of sticking up for and explaining away anything, howsoever outrageous, which Negroes, individually or collectively, might do."

Pat Moynihan does not have all the answers. But here is a man who thinks, who cares, and who has the courage to speak his mind. And he has put his finger on an essential truth.

This is a time of choice for the liberals of this nation. It is a time of division between those hopelessly enmeshed in the politics of opposition and change, and those who are truly liberal enough in their thinking to realize that the nation is indeed in a major crisis at home and abroad. It is a time when the only sane reaction is to stabilize the ship and to start bailing, not to drill more holes in the hull.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. McDade (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), for the balance of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. Watkins (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), for today and the balance of the week, on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Snyder for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Mathias of California), to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Snyder, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. Halpern, for 20 minutes, on October 4.

Mr. Halpern, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Pryor), to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Feighan, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Waggonner, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson, for 15 minutes, on October 4.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Bow, to include extraneous matter with remarks made in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Ryan, to include certain tables and extraneous matter with remarks made in the Committee of the Whole.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Mathias of California) and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Pettis.

Mr. Dickinson.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Pryor) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Ullman.

Mrs. Griffiths.

Mr. Reuss.

Mr. Howard.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The Speaker announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1564. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; and

S. 2162. An act to amend the act of January 17, 1936 (49 Stat. 1094), reserving certain public domain lands in Nevada and Oregon as a grazing reserve for Indians of Fort McDermitt, Nev.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 4, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1132. A letter from the Under Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for each vacancy at the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1133. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a contract relating to drainage and minor construction work on the Roza division of the Yakima project, Washington, pursuant to 70 Stat. 274; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1134. A letter from the Federal Cochairman, Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, transmitting a copy of a resolution recommending the establishment of the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1135. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting the second report on the High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965 made pursuant to section 10(a) of the act approved September 30, 1965 (79 Stat. 895), as amended by the act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 931); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1136. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of the orders entered in the cases of certain aliens who have been found admissible to the United States, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(a) (28) (I) (ii) of the Immigration and Nationality Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1137. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation as well as a list of the persons involved, pursuant to section 244(a) (1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1138. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a copy of an order suspending deportation, pursuant to section 244(a) (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1139. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of list and orders entered in cases in which the authority contained in section 212(d) (3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act was exercised in behalf of certain aliens, pursuant to section 212(d) (6) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1140. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated August 8, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, on a letter report on Pithlachascotee River, Fla., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted June 7, 1961; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. STAGGERS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 780. An act to amend the Clean Air Act to authorize planning grants to air pollution control agencies; expand research provisions relating to fuels and vehicles; provide for interstate air pollution control agencies or commissions; authorize the establishment of air quality standards, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 728). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FLOOD: Committee of Conference. H.R. 10196. An act making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 729). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 13270. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 13271. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to work schedules of annual rate regular employees in the postal field service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 13272. A bill to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 with regard to definition of the term "nationals of the United States"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GARMATZ (for himself, Mr. Lennon, Mr. Mailliard and Mr. Mosher):

H.R. 13273. A bill to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 13274. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCULLOCH (for himself, Mr. Gerald R. Ford, Mr. Poff, Mr. Moore, Mr. Cahill, Mr. MacGregor, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. McClory, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Roth, Mr. Meskill, Mr. Railsback, Mr. Biester, Mr. Wiggins, Mr. Betts, Mr. Cramer, Mr. Conable, Mr. King of New York, Mr. Price of Texas, Mr. Wyman, Mr. Shriver, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Mathias of California and Mr. Erlenborn):

H.R. 13275. A bill to prohibit electronic surveillance by persons other than duly authorized law enforcement officers engaged in the investigation or prevention of specified categories of offenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONAGAN (for himself, Mr. Conte, Mr. Dent, Mr. Howard, Mr. Keith, Mr. Meskill, Mr. Philbin, Mr. Roudebush, and Mr. Tiernan):

H.R. 13276. A bill to extend the tariff quota treatment for certain stainless steel table flatware; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H.R. 13277. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rates of duty on certain billets of iron or steel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 13278. A bill to establish a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 13279. A bill to require reports to Congress of certain actions of the Federal Power Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CLANCY:

H.R. 13280. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 13281. A bill to require reports to Congress of certain actions of the Federal Power Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 13282. A bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 13283. A bill relative to age discrimination in employment; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 13284. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize aircraft noise abatement research and regulation, and for other purpose; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 13285. A bill to amend the National Firearms Act to impose special (occupational) taxes with respect to engaging in the business of importing, manufacturing, and dealing in destructive weapons such as bombs, grenades, rockets, missiles, bazookas, and antitank guns, to impose taxes with respect to the making and to the transfer of such weapons, and to increase the rates of special (occupational) tax, transfer tax, and making tax imposed by the act, and for other purpose; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 13286. A bill to amend the Federal Firearms Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KLEPPE:

H.R. 13287. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRICE of Texas:

H.R. 13288. A bill to amend title 38 of the

United States Code to prevent loss of veteran pension benefits as a result of increases in social security benefit payments resulting from enactment of the Social Security Amendments Act of 1967; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 13289. A bill to amend section 620, title 38, United States Code, to authorize payment of a higher proportion of hospital costs in establishing amounts payable for nursing home care of certain veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13290. A bill to amend section 1114 of title 18, United States Code, so as to extend its protection to postmasters, officers, and employees of the field service of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13291. A bill to amend section 3104 of title 38, United States Code, to permit certain service-connected disabled veterans who are retired members of the uniformed services to receive compensation concurrently with retired pay, without deduction from either; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MIZE:

H.R. 13292. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 13293. A bill to amend the National School Lunch Act to strengthen and expand food service programs for children, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.J. Res. 864. Joint resolution creating a Federal Committee on Nuclear Development to review and reevaluate the existing civilian nuclear program of the United States; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. GURNEY:

H.J. Res. 865. Joint resolution in opposition to vesting title to the ocean floor in the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.J. Res. 866. Joint resolution creating a Federal Committee on Nuclear Development to review and reevaluate the existing civilian nuclear program of the United States; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. WYATT:

H. Con. Res. 518. Concurrent resolution requiring appropriate committees of the Congress to consider and report whether further congressional action is desirable in respect to U.S. policies in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H. Con. Res. 519. Concurrent resolution authorizing certain printing for the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 13294. A bill for the relief of John S. Avagelou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 13295. A bill for the relief of John Papadatos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 13296. A bill for the relief of Lo Wing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KYL:

H.R. 13297. A bill for the relief of Evangeline Yinwan Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUMSFELD:

H.R. 13298. A bill for the relief of Ibrahim Awad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 13299. A bill for the relief of Aviva Stavisky; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 13300. A bill for the relief of Lt. Col Burdon L. Davidson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 13301. A bill to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. John R. Aneli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

We Need Stepped Up Action To Combat Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the President has asked this session of Congress to act for cleaner air for our Nation. The need for action is great and the time for action is now.

Air pollution is not a new problem. It is an old problem which is usually identified with our large cities.

Yet, air pollution is not a problem of our cities only. It is a problem for every American, no matter where he lives, because everyone directly or indirectly must eventually pay the price for dirty air. Polluted city air is not contained within city limits. It is carried by the winds to our suburbs, towns, and farms. And the sources of air pollution are to be found not only in the city but wherever people work or are transported.

A look at projections of future levels of population, industrial production, electric power generation, use of heating fuels, automobiles produced, and gasoline consumed can lead to only one conclusion: that we are going to have to run fast just to stay where we are in terms of air quality.

To go further and clean up the befouled air that most city dwellers now breathe requires sharply increased antipollution efforts involving cooperation among the Federal, State, and local governments.

The proposed Air Quality Act provides for planning, for control on a regional basis, between and within the States. It assists the States to take the initiative and develop programs in cooperation with the counties and cities interlocking this effort with the Federal program. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I urge enactment of S. 780, so that the interests of the American people in clean air may be adequately protected.

Statement in Honor of the German-American People on the Occasion of German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 284 years ago, the good ship *Concord* docked at Philadelphia, disembarking the first German settlers in America. It was a major event in our national history, ushering in the force and the spirit of a people who have served our country's cause to remarkable effect.

The primary German contribution to America is in the form of human resources constituting about one-fifth the total white population of the United States today. Another major contribution has been an enduring belief in the democratic process. The German Quakers of Germantown, Pa., immortalized themselves by formally protesting the existence of Negro slavery in America, in 1788. Another deed of imperishable fame was the position adopted by Peter Zenger, a German immigrant and a printer and publisher, who gambled everything in the process of establishing the great American freedom of the press, in 1735. Eight years later another German printer, Christopher Saur, published the complete Lutheran Bible in the German language. It was the first Bible printed in a European language in the American Colonies. Another eminent German printer and publisher was Henry Miller, subsequently the printer of Congress, who announced the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in the form of a news release, a day ahead of all other newspapers in America.

Technological improvement in this country also has been tied to German immigration. The industrial history of 19th century America reveals the German presence in the forefront. German technical schools produced an extraordinary number of talented students who fled the country following the abortive revolution of 1848, and settled in America. Of these, perhaps the best known were engineers. John A. Roebling, a German immigrant, built the first great suspension bridge over the Niagara River, and then built the Brooklyn Bridge. Charles C. Schneider, also German, built the first successful cantilever railroad bridge of any considerable size. Gustav Lindenthal was the architect of the Hell Gate bridge, spanning the Hudson. The great tunnel under Virginia City, Nev., was constructed by Adolf Sutro. Among electrical engineers, the outstanding German-Americans were George P. Steinmetz and George Westinghouse.

When American undergraduate colleges began expanding into universities, toward the close of the 19th century, the German university served as a model.

And three of the major churches in America were founded by Germans: The Lutheran, the German Reformed, and the United Brethren.

The names of outstanding Americans of German birth spread out across almost three centuries of American history. Those in the limelight of history and those in the obscurity of the masses of immigrants integrated themselves into the rhythm of the new country and did their share to help it in the struggle for national preeminence.

Today, all America salutes Americans of German heritage. They are, indeed, outstanding contributors to our national way of life.

National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, October 1 marked the observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, 1967. The employment of the physically handicapped is good business as well as a means of extending a helping hand to those persons who are willing and eager to become a productive part of the economy. At this time, I insert in the Record the proclamation of President Lyndon B. Johnson, designating National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week:

National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, 1967

(A proclamation by the President of the United States)

Millions of American families know, firsthand, the painful and frustrating limitations of physical disability.

Those handicaps, cruel as they are, need not be totally disabling. Our society should not be deprived of the skills and talents of disabled men and women. Many of those men and women have a remarkable capacity for achievement despite their disability.

It is part of America's promise that every citizen should have the opportunity to escape from perpetual dependence, make the most of his capacities, and take a full part in community life.

Government and private organizations have long worked to reduce the consequences of disability. Research, health conservation programs, and medical and rehabilitation facilities have all combined to lessen the residual damage of disease and injury.

The Federal Government is assisting States and communities in training the handicapped for jobs in a continually changing job market. It offers leadership to business and industry to increase the range of job opportunities for the handicapped. It encourages voluntary organizations to create the necessary climate of acceptance for the full admission of the handicapped into the mainstream of everyday life.

Yet pockets of prejudice still exist, particularly against certain categories of the more severely disabled.

We must continue to educate our citizens—employers and workers, healthy and handicapped—about the benefits of developing and using every person's skills.

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, in consonance with the joint resolution of Congress approved August 11, 1945 (59 Stat. 530), designating the first full week of October of each year as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, do hereby call upon the people of our Nation to observe the week beginning October 1, 1967, for such purpose.

During this 20th anniversary year of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, I urge all public and private organizations and all citizens to renew their dedication to this volunteer effort to further job opportunities for the handicapped. Let us work together for their meaningful participation in the world of work, and in a life of dignity.

I urge all the Governors of States, mayors of cities, and other public officials, as well as leaders of industry, educational and religious groups, labor, civic, veterans', agricultural, women's, scientific, professional, and fraternal organizations, and all other interested organizations and individuals, including the handicapped themselves, to participate in this observance.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of August in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-second.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

Congressman Jack Edwards Comments in a Letter to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, Congressman Jack Edwards, representing the First Congressional District of Alabama, is this week sending a letter to his constituents highlighting and commenting on several current and important legislative issues. I think the letter will be of interest to the Members and I include the text of his letter at this point in my remarks:

Newsletter of Congressman Jack Edwards, of Alabama

ON THE BRIGHT SIDE

With so many troublesome issues facing the country at home and abroad it often seems difficult to point to any news that is optimistic and hopeful. But there have been some developments on the bright side in these past few weeks.

1. The Congressional demand for cuts in federal spending is making headway. The House Ways and Means Committee is holding back action on LBJ's tax increase bill, asking some solid assurance from the President that he will make substantial cuts in non-essential spending. While Mr. Johnson has refused so far to make these specific assurances, some form of spending reduction may be forthcoming. Never before in the past seven years has the matter of deficit spending and irresponsible fiscal management been so clear in the minds of Americans.

2. Both House and Senate have approved a proposal similar to mine, providing for studies and recommendations on ways to limit the distribution of pornographic materials. The final version now being worked out gives special attention to the need to protect children from the effects of the growing and lucrative pornography racket.

3. On Sept. 11 the House of Representatives approved a bill providing benefits to local law enforcement officers (or their families) who are killed or injured while on duty apprehending persons in connection with violations of federal law. This is the least the federal government should do for policemen whose work is being made more difficult because of decisions made in Washington.

4. The Organization of American States has asked all nations to stop trading with Cuba until Castro halts aggression against other countries. This is the major result of Venezuela's call for OAS action following last May's Cuban infiltration of guerrillas onto a Venezuelan beach. While I have no illusions that this new move will solve the Communist Cuba problem, the OAS action was stronger than some had predicted.

IT'S FAIR TIME AGAIN

Again this year there will be a Jack Edwards booth at the Greater Gulf States Fair in Mobile from October 16th to 21st. I hope you will be able to come by.

BULLETINS AVAILABLE

I can send you, at no charge, booklets providing useful information on many aspects of home, garden, and farm care. Write me for a list of booklets available.

NEW DELAYS IN MARITIME POLICY

With U.S. Merchant Marine strength going steadily down hill over the past few years there has been rising concern in Congress, in maritime labor and industry. Despite assurances going back several years the Johnson Administration has failed to provide a working policy and program for rebuilding the U.S. merchant fleet. Positive suggestions put forth by many in Congress, including myself, have gone unheeded while U.S. shipping capability falls further and further behind.

Early last month, after Congressional leaders implored LBJ for action, it seemed that a real program was finally about to be presented. But none has been. And now, even if the Administration does announce proposals, it is too late for any real forward progress to be made until next year.

FAIRNESS IN FEDERAL TAX COLLECTION

You may recall that last January I introduced a proposal to set up a small claims tax court. The idea was to give help to the taxpayer who becomes involved in a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service over a tax claim of less than $2500. The way it is now, when the taxpayer defends his position as fully as he can, and the IRS still says he owes more taxes, his only recourse is long and costly court action even if he is in the right. My bill would give him a chance to defend himself before an impartial third party—the small claims tax court—at minimum cost.

Unfortunately, there is no sign that the Edwards bill will be given consideration in Congress very soon. And yet reports of unfair and even illegal activity of federal tax agents continue. Nearly every Congressman receives complaints from taxpayers. The *Reader's Digest* magazine published an article in August detailing several cases.

Tax payments are such a big expense item for all of us that the public must be assured of legality and fairness in tax collections. The charges and countercharges must be heard if confidence in government is to be retained. For this purpose I have made a formal request for Congress to hold public hearings on the issue. I made the request of the chairman of the subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs of which I am a member. With all sides in the controversy presenting their cases, it should then be possible for us to enact legislation protecting the rights of taxpayers. Unfortunately, my request has just been turned down. But I shall keep trying.

CRIME

The crime rate across the nation is rising at a fast pace. Americans in rural areas and in the biggest cities are fearful, and are asking for remedies.

President Johnson has made some proposals to combat street crime. But they would have given Washington too much control over local law enforcement agencies, opening the way to more Federal "guidelines." The House has voted to channel Federal help through state governments instead, and this is a much better approach.

The other kind of crime is organized crime. Unlike street crime, organized crime crosses state lines. Narcotics traffic, numbers games, vice, and loan sharking require federal as well as local government attention.

Yet, where organized crime is concerned, LBJ has done very little, even though his own National Crime Commission has made recommendations for corrective action.

It is a fact that the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Department of Justice is far less active now in efforts against organized crime than it was in 1964. Its work should be intensified.

Growing crime and the conditions which bring it about require serious attention.

POSTAL RATES

Just as the overall federal budget deficit is growing so fast, the Post Office operating deficit is also on the rise. To help meet rising costs an increase in postage rates is likely to be approved this year.

As planned now, the first class mail rate would go from 5¢ to 6¢; the air mail rate from 8¢ to 10¢. Second class rates would go up about 21 percent, and third class rates about 32 percent.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN SUBSIDY

A committee in the Senate has approved new legislation which would subsidize election campaign expenses for Presidential and Senatorial candidates. Though intended to reduce the influence of big political contributors, the proposal seems unlikely to do that job, and raises many new problems.

Under the plan a Presidential candidate could tap the Treasury for $14 million. The subsidy to Senate candidates would vary from state to state. In Alabama it would be about $250,000 per candidate. The total cost in 1968 could be $54 million, not counting minor party candidates. The cost would be sure to rise later.

This bill would certainly create more mischief than it would eliminate. It should not be enacted into law and I intend to vigorously oppose it.

Briefing at Langley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 50th anniversary of the Langley Research Center at Hampton, Va., and I had the high privilege of representing the House Committee on Science and Astronautics yesterday at a briefing on the accomplishments at the Langley Research Center.

I stand today to express the gratitude which citizens of this Nation hold for Langley and its continuing vital role in developing U.S. preeminence, in both the air age and the space age.

In 1917, the Langley Center began its illustrious function as a key installation of the former National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the NACA. Langley was the first national laboratory established to conduct basic research in the science of aeronautics, and, for 41 years, was a facility of the NACA. In 1958, Langley became a bulwark of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration when NASA was formed.

As a former airline pilot, I have personally observed the fruits of the Langley harvest of research while piloting their aircraft.

In Langley's 50 years of service to the Nation, the speed of airplanes has increased from less than 100 miles per hour to more than 4,000 miles per hour. Langley's accomplishments in aeronautics have been vital to this progress.

The first of these Langley milestones was the development in the late twenties of the cowling for radial air-cooled engines, a streamlining effect credited with increasing airplane speeds of that period from 12 to 15 percent. The development of World War II aircraft began at Langley in the thirties. In the forties, Langley conceived of research airplanes leading to history-making aeronautical advancement at supersonic and hypersonic speeds, and in the fifties, the design, development, and practical application of the world's first transonic wind tunnels. Langley's discovery and verification of revolutionary design concepts concerning aircraft configuration after World War II became the key to practical supersonic flight.

Today, Langley's aeronautical research includes investigations of current and future concepts such as hypersonic flight vehicles and their propulsion systems; supersonic aircraft of advanced design, such as the SST and military vehicles; helicopters; VTOL/STOL aircraft, which combine vertical or short takeoff and landing capability with the performance and handling qualities of a conventional airplane in cruising flight; and the development and practical application of pioneering aircraft design concepts such as the variable sweepwing.

Langley was the birthplace of Project Mercury, the first U.S. manned space flight project. Some of Langley's other milestones in space—both past and present—include research in support of the successful Gemini program and the current Apollo; the invention of automatically erectable spacecraft which made possible the successful Explorer and Echo-type satellites; the development of the versatile Scout, the first all-solid fueled launch vehicle to place a satellite in orbit; the management of Lunar Orbiter, Project Fire, and other major space flight efforts; and analytical, laboratory, and flight investigations which are providing basic information useful in future projects concerned with the exploration of the planets.

In addition to Lunar Orbiter, the Langley Center is supporting Apollo through the use of unique simulators and specialized laboratories, which are making it possible for Langley scientists and research pilots, working with NASA astronauts, to duplicate some of the conditions of space and to develop techniques for such events as lunar landing, walking on the moon, extravehicular activity, rendezvous and docking in lunar orbit, reentry, and earthlanding.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and a professional rated pilot, it was an inspiration to see these facilities in use and to meet the dedicated Langley team who are working to assure that Langley's proud record of the past 50 years is but a prolog of greater achievements in the future.

Roosevelt-Kennedy Memorial Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in an address at Medford, Oreg., last Saturday, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman helped Oregonians commemorate two great Democratic Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

During this time of domestic crisis and foreign trial, it is well for us to recall some of the major achievements of the past 6 years. Secretary Freeman has not only done this, but has repeated the pledge of the Democratic Party to work to resolve the problems of rural America.

I commend the Secretary's remarks to my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN AT A ROOSEVELT-KENNEDY MEMORIAL DINNER IN MEDFORD, OREG., 8 P.M., SEPTEMBER 30, 1967

Tonight we meet to honor the memory and the accomplishments of two great Democratic Presidents—Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

But it is not my purpose to eulogize the man who taught us that all we had to fear was fear itself and the man who inspired this country to get moving again.

Their deeds do not need eulogy. They are inscribed in the annals for all time to come.

I grew up in Franklin Roosevelt's time and he was my hero. I served in John Kennedy's Administration. And he was my hero, too. My memories, my respect, my deep affection for both will never die.

Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy shared many attributes, and not the least of these was their deep concern for a continuity of responsibility, a concern that progress be a steady procession, unmarked by backward steps.

So tonight I want to address myself to the matter of continued responsibility and steady progress, for this is what I think the two men we honor tonight would want me to talk about. Their attention, too, was focused on the present and the future . . . and only rarely on the past.

Now I am told that there are some Republicans in the audience this evening. I trust they will not be too uncomfortable. My purpose will not be to embarrass them . . . but it *will* be to convert them. The Democratic party, you know, keeps a candle in the window for all repentent wanderers.

This year marks the 175th year of the founding of the Democratic party, and perhaps it is in order, tonight, to say a few words about our party—about how it began—about how and upon what it grew.

It began as the Republican party, as most of you know, but in those days the word Republican carried a different connotation than it does today. Specifically, the party called itself Republican to distinguish itself from the Monarchist party.

Later it became the Democratic-Republican party, but as if this incongruity were too much to bear, it divested itself of both hyphen and Republican in the 1830's and became the Democratic party.

From that time to now, the Democratic party has been distinguished by two characteristics, both of them described by Thomas Jefferson in this statement:

"No maxim," Jefferson said, "can be laid down as being wise and expedient for all times and circumstances. The maxim to be applied to a concrete case must depend on the circumstances which shall then govern."

Was everything, then, changeable?

"Yes," said Jefferson, "everything except the inherent, unalienable rights of man."

A pragmatism dedicated to respecting and best serving the unalienable rights of man . . . this is the philosophy and the modus operandi of the Democratic party. And this is the secret of its historical success.

In a phrase, the Democratic party has been, is, and will continue to be the party of concern, compassion, courage . . . and continuity. The party of Yesterday. The party of Today. The party of Tomorrow.

It is my purpose tonight to inspire you to go out and tell the story of how the Administration of Lyndon Baines Johnson has kept faith with the people—and enhanced the great traditions of the party of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

We've got the oldest and the greatest political party of all time. We represent a party that in the past seven years has written a record of accomplishment and progress unmatched in the annals of government in any country of the world.

And we have a President who will go down in history as one of the most courageous, humanitarian, imaginative and resourceful leaders this nation has ever known.

And yet, with all this going for us, there are too darned many Democrats going around these days wearing a hangdog look and an apologetic air!

Well, I'm here tonight to tell them to wipe it off! To stand tall and walk proud—because they've got every right to stand tall and walk proud.

Let me tell you right now that whatever political troubles the Democratic party is experiencing *are in large part a direct—and ironic—result of the successes we've had in building the foundations of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society on John Kennedy's New Frontier*.

Why? Because so much has been done, so much progress has been made in so short a time that perhaps the people of this country have come to expect too much too soon.

A rising tide of expectations—a tide drawn by the moon and the sun of seven years of prosperity and performance—has not yet washed ashore the *full* realization of those expectations.

But worst of all, we're letting the opposition use the resulting frustrations to their own advantage. We're letting them smokescreen the very real, dramatic, record-setting progress that *has* been made since 1960 and detract attention from their own record of obstructionism and negativism. And it's gone on long enough!

Let me ask my fellow Democrats some questions:

Are you ashamed of the greatest seven years of economic and social advance this nation has ever seen?

Are you ashamed of a gross national product 50 percent greater than it was in 1960?

Are you ashamed of the 7½ million new jobs created in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations?

Are you ashamed of a three percent *drop* in the unemployment rate?

Are you ashamed that personal income has jumped $180 billion, that you and your fellow citizens have $40 billion more to spend today than you had last year at this time?

Are you ashamed that corporate profits, *after taxes*, have doubled in the last seven years?

Are you ashamed that net per farm income jumped 70 percent from the beginning of 1961 to the close of 1966?

Are you ashamed that there is 25 percent less poverty in this country today than there was in 1960?

Are you ashamed that more progress, in less time, has been made in ending discrimination and righting the wrongs of two centuries than in any other era in history?

Are you ashamed of the record advance in aid to education?

Are you ashamed of Medicare, and what it has done to lighten the worries of our elderly?

Are you ashamed of the efforts this Administration is making to restore sociological health to our cities and economic vigor to our countryside?

Are you ashamed of the landmark legislation of the past seven years: Voting Rights, Elementary and Secondary Education, Higher Education, Peace Corps, Nuclear Test Ban, Alliance for Progress, Model Cities, Rent Supplements, Minimum Wage, establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation, a host of anti-poverty measures, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, Food for Freedom?

Are you ashamed that while 90 percent of the Republicans in Congress were voting *against* increased funds for education, building programs to reduce unemployment, finding ways to combat sickness, poverty and ignorance . . . 90 percent of the Democrats in Congress were voting *for* these measures?

Are you ashamed that your party put that legislation on the books and that that legislation was directly responsible for the remarkable progress of the past seven years?

Of course you aren't.

But you hear grumbling. And you hear complaints. And you hear criticism. And it disturbs you.

Don't let it. Remember, because our party and our Administration have done so much in such an incredibly short time, people have come to expect even more.

And they should!

This nation was built on the groundswell of rising expectations . . . and so was the Democratic party.

I am proud that our party—like the Man of LaMancha—fights unbeatable foes and tries to right unrightable wrongs and dreams impossible dreams . . . for humanity's victory lies not in realizing *all* that is expected, *it lies in the trying*.

Let them call us Quixotic dreamers. The dreamers get more done than those who merely sleep!

Robert Browning said it:

". . . a man's reach should exceed his grasp.

Or what's a heaven for?"

The earthly heaven we seek will always lie beyond our grasp . . . *but the extent to which we exert ourselves to reach the unattainable will determine the possible.*

We have not made all the progress we wanted to make in the last seven years. We've made mistakes. We've goofed on occasion. *But we tried. And we continue to try.*

And while we try, the opposition contents itself by denouncing and decrying, delaying and destroying, carping and criticizing, and nullifying and nay-saying.

And in few places is this more evident than in agriculture.

Let me preface my remarks by emphasizing as strongly as I can that we have not been able to solve all of agriculture's problems. Perhaps they never will be completely solved.

And let me say for the record that I am not satisfied, nor is the President satisfied, with our progress—remarkable though it has been in the last seven years.

How could we say we're satisfied as long as farmers still earn only two-thirds what city people earn, are still caught in the painful crunch of the cost-price squeeze?

Moreover, after a record income year in 1966 farmers have seen prices soften this year in the face of temporary oversupplies. I'll have more to say about that in a minute.

But these blemishes and disappointments cannot, and should not, obscure the record of advances made since 1961, nor dull the hope that further progress can be made.

Let's examine the record of just what has happened since the Democratic party regained the White House in 1960.

In the dreary eight years that preceded this happy event, farm income dropped 17 percent; grain surpluses piled up into mountains, crushing farm prices and flattening taxpayers' wallets; and the Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities rose to more than $8 billion.

In 1960 we had 2 billion bushels of corn in storage, enough grain sorghum to last a year and a half, and enough wheat to meet domestic needs for more than two years. We had so much surplus we were running out of storage space . . . and the farm outlook was as bleak as it could be.

But then, in 1961, things started to happen. Early that year an emergency feed grain bill set up a voluntary program that provided acreage reduction and price support for corn and grain sorghum. This program authorized payments to farmers for diverting feed grain acreage to soil conserving uses.

This was the first of the recovery measures. Had it not come when it did, feed grain stocks would have grown another 300 to 400 million bushels within the year.

But it was passed, and it was passed by Democratic votes . . . and it set the stage for four more gruelling fights to put four more great farm acts on the books: the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Voluntary Feed Grains Bill of 1963, the Wheat-Cotton Bill of 1964, and—finally—the great Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 . . . great because it gave us the wheat, cotton, wool and feed grains commodity programs, milk quotas and acreage retirement provisions so necessary to round the corner from gloom to promise.

Now . . . what's happened since?

First of all, those mountains of surplus are gone. No more do they plague farmers *and* taxpayers. The CCC investment in commodities is now below $3.4 billion, the lowest level since 1953 and less than half the more than $8 billion peak. Feed grains and wheat—which once made up over 65 percent of the investment total—are now less than 30 percent.

And—Republican charges of "grain-dumping" notwithstanding—these surpluses of the Fifties were worked off *without* depressing farm prices.

While this was happening, farm income was climbing steadily. By 1966, net farm income had climbed 40 percent *and stood at* *the second highest mark in history. And gross farm income and net per farm income set all time records last year . . . the latter climbing 70 percent in six years.*

Now statistics are cold consolation for those who have not shared in this upward income thrust. I know that. But to measure economic progress we have to deal with numbers and averages. They're the only tools we have.

At the same time, I am deeply concerned—and the President is deeply concerned—about those areas, those States—including your own—where farm income progress has not kept pace with the national advance. An impersonal set of statistics is one thing. A living, breathing, suffering farm family is another. No one is more aware of this than the President.

But we have made progress, and there's no denying it. And there's no denying that the legislation put on the books by Democrats was the legislation that enabled us to get rid of surpluses, strengthen prices, increase income and set farm export records. In the last fiscal year, farm exports climbed to $6.7 billion, 44 percent higher than the 1960 level. This fiscal year we'll hit $6.8 billion, despite less tonnage in some commodities and tougher competition abroad. We now have over 90 percent of the world soybean trade, almost half the world feed grain trade, and about 37 percent of the world wheat trade. And our dollar sales overseas are going up with each passing year.

That's the record of progress in agriculture since 1960. And here's how the opposition contributed to that record. Of the possible 1,576 Republican votes for the five great farm bills that produced this progress, House Republicans voted *No* 1,494 times! And Senate Republicans voted *No* by a margin of better than 2 to 1.

And the nay-sayers are still at it.

They're footdragging on two new concepts for continued farm progress and playing footsie with a measure that promises farm disaster.

After the bumper income year in 1966, this year we've had a little setback. That old bugaboo of overproduction has resulted in temporary supply gluts that have pushed prices down.

When the effort is to bring production in on a supply target, slight weather variations can mean a difference of millions of bushels in the total crop. This year excellent growing conditions in many areas have resulted in bumper crops. We expect a feed grain crop 12 percent above last year, a wheat crop 14 percent bigger than a year ago, and a billion bushel soybean crop for the first time.

This temporary glut—not a surplus—will require restraint on the part of farmers on the quantities of a commodity they move into the market at one time.

There are a number of things to help them avoid panic selling for too-low prices. The price-support program helps in the holding process. With a reseal program for onfarm and warehouse storage, farmers can hold on to their products and make the market work *for* them, rather than *against* them. Price supports and payments strengthen their holding power, and direct and diversionary payments make it possible for them to compete in world markets and, at the same time, maintain their income.

And just two weeks ago the President authorized me to open negotiations with a number of countries for the additional sale of our wheat and feed grains. These commodities will be sold under the Public Law 480 plan, and foreign countries will use their own currency to buy our grains.

This will mean the sale of hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat and feed grains and vegetable oil, and is certain to have a healthy effect on farm prices.

But . . . we need still another tool to keep prices strong in the face of temporary oversupplies. We need a strategic reserve bill of the kind that Congressman Graham Purcell has introduced. Not only would this bill permit the storing of a strategic reserve of grain to insure against a critical drawdown in an emergency or a bad crop year—*it would also bolster farm prices.*

But despite the obvious need for such legislation, the Republicans in Congress are trying to hamstring this bill with attempts to attach impossibly restrictive provisions to it.

I am appealing to farmers everywhere to tell their Congressmen how much they want—and need—the Purcell Bill.

Such a bill, coupled with the current commodity programs, would do much to stabilize the prices of the basic commodities. But, there still remains the problem of balancing supply and demand in those non-storable commodities not covered by programs. And 60 percent of our farmers' cash receipts come from the sale of those non-program commodities. In these commodities, the farmer is at the mercy of the market. There simply isn't very much—under present law—that the government can do.

What else can be done, then? Well, for the past six months I've been engaged in a continuing dialogue with farmers and farm leaders about an idea whose time has come—farmer bargaining—as one means to strengthen the farmers' muscle in the market place.

Interest and consensus are building rapidly. The idea is catching hold everywhere, and now we're considering possible legislation to give the farmer legal sanction to bargain effectively. Without this sanction, farm bargaining power remains just a phrase.

The approach could take several forms. One could be a National Farm Bargaining Board. Under this, producers could request the board to call elections and certify bargaining agents for farmers to negotiate with buyers. Another could be the broadening of the present system of marketing orders to include new commodities and new concepts.

Under either system, producers would thus have at least some power to determine their own prices.

But despite the excitement and the enthusiasm this concept is spurring in farm circles, *I have yet to hear one Republican leader—in or out of the Congress—utter a single word of support for it.*

But this, again, shouldn't surprise us. Farm bargaining is a positive idea . . . and Republicans instinctively gravitate toward the negative . . . just as they appear to be doing now in the case of a bill introduced by Tom Curtis, a powerful city Republican Congressman from Missouri.

The Curtis Bill is called a farm bill. In truth, it ought to be called a banker's bill.

I say this because the Curtis Bill would change the crop loan program by authorizing only private lending agencies to make recourse loans. The non-recourse CCC commodity loan program has long been one of the cornerstones of the farm programs. In the last 10 years, farmers have put a total of 3,916 million bushels of corn, 1,603 million bushels of grain sorghum, and 2,698 million bushels of wheat under non-recourse CCC loans. These non-recourse loans permitted a farmer to avoid dumping his crops on the market at harvest time. He could use the loan as a price support with the knowledge that should the market price fall below the loan level, he could deliver the crop in full satisfaction of the loan and not be subject to any legal deficiency judgment.

But the Curtis Bill would require the farmer to repay the loan on or before the maturity date, plus interest. The bill does provide for purchases by lending agencies, true, but how many private lending agencies have facilities for storage or are likely to want to pay the costs for commercial storage? And how many banks charters authorize such action?

Let no farmer delude himself about the real purpose of this bill. It has the support of the Farm Bureau . . . and the tacit approval of the Republican party. And this is exactly what Farm Bureau President Charles Shuman said about it:

"We are supporting a bill (the Curtis Bill) in the Congress which would eliminate the feed grain and the wheat control and subsidy plan immediately."

Could it be any clearer than that? And how long do you suppose cotton, tobacco, peanut, and rice programs would last once the wheat and feed grain programs were eliminated?

I hope our farmers realize how this would hurt them. Our studies and our consultations with agricultural economists in a number of land-grant colleges indicate *that in the absence of these programs net farm income might well fall by a third . . . or some $5 billion below the 1966 level of $16.4 billion!*

With these programs, wheat receipts have climbed $500 million over what they were in 1960, and feed grain receipts have soared $2.1 billion.

The Curtis Bill has been introduced. I think it's time for Republicans to stand up and be counted. Are they *for* this bill? Do they *want* to get rid of farm programs? Do they *want* to plunge agriculture back into the depths of the Dismal Fifties?

If that's what they want, let them say it. We'll stand on our record . . . not just for the past seven years, but for the past 57 years!

That record will show, my friends, that every single time since 1910 that a Democrat has succeeded a Republican in the White House farm prices and farm income have gone up. And every single time that a Republican has succeeded a Democrat in the White House farm prices and farm income have gone down!

And now, in closing, let me examine another phase of progress in rural America, a record of rural areas development that has also been written under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

It is fast becoming apparent to millions of Americans that unless we restore across-the-board vitality to rural America we'll never stem the tide of migration to the big cities.

With each passing year, more than half a million Americans move from the countryside to the city . . . a move which simultaneously drains human resources from rural America and jams more bodies into big cities already all but overcome by the problem of too many people for too little space.

There seems little doubt that much of the social unrest of the cities is brought on by human friction—congestion and frustration—and that this congestion and frustration is being compounded by the continuing influx of rural migrants.

The challenge, then, is to restore economic vitality to the towns and the small and medium size cities in order to create enough opportunity to keep people there . . . and out of the big cities.

Industrial, recreation and service industries will come to rural America, if we work at it, and they will provide the economic backbone for jobs, new tax income, new business, and the social benefits that people want and need.

These things just don't find their way to a community. They can't be bestowed by a benevolent government. They don't just happen. They are the product of dynamic local leadership, working with determined local citizens, and using every tool—public and private—that is adaptable to the task.

In the past few months I have visited a number of states to see, first hand, how this partnership of people with their governments is working with respect to creating a rural renaissance. I can report to you that it's working well in many places and not very well in others. But the tide is running our way. There is positive and dynamic action in enough places—including your own state—to convince me that rural America is stirring once again.

People who fled jobless to the big cities a few years ago are actually returning to the countryside, because this is where they want to live, and this is where they can get jobs again.

I won't try to tick off all the things the Johnson Administration is trying to do to bring about this revitalization of the countryside, but I will tell you what the Department of Agriculture alone is doing to bring the facilities, preserve and enhance the resources, that rural America must have to enjoy parity of opportunity and the amenities of life.

This fiscal year we will make 1,500 water system loans, 320 sewer system loans, 600 water and sewer planning grants, add another 100,000 rural telephones and provide electricity for another 150,000 rural Americans.

We will help rural Americans obtain 4,000 moderate cost houses, build or repair 47,089 low to moderate cost houses, 12,274 farm labor housing units and 2,230 rental units.

We'll make 243 more recreation association loans and we'll add another 13 Resource Conservation and Development Districts to the 21 we already have. We'll add 11 more new constructions for flood prevention and add hundreds of additional Watershed Protection projects. There are 68 project plans completed, 702 under construction and a total of 817 approved for operation.

This past fiscal year we added 219 new recreational sites, bringing the total to 9,500, and we reforested 116,468 acres and improved 194,906 acres of timber land.

For Oregonians, with their understandable preoccupation with forest lands, other natural resources, and outdoor recreation, these latter statistics should have particular significance.

As ardent conservationists, Oregonians should know, too, that under President Johnson the Congress has passed more conservation measures than any other Congress in history . . . including Highway Beautification, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the Water Pollution Control Act, the Clean Air Act Amendment, the Small Watershed Program under Public Law 566, and authorization for Resource Conservation and Development.

Laws aren't everything, of course. The laws of the 1900's and the 1930's would not have succeeded without the wise administration of two great Presidents—both named Roosevelt.

Today, another great conservationist President is in the White House and his First Lady is the nation's leading advocate of natural beauty. Like the two Roosevelts, Lyndon Johnson is focusing national attention on conservation because he believes in it . . . and because he understands it.

And . . . like Franklin Roosevelt and John Fitzgerald Kennedy . . . this great President believes in the people because he understands the people.

He gives a brave heart to their aspirations . . . he gives a sad heart to their frustrations . . . he gives a glad heart to their Great Expectations.

For he, too, dreams the Impossible Dream . . . to wine the Possible Dream for the people.

Thank you.